

THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS

Studies on the East, West and South Slavs:
Civitas, Oppidas, Villas and Archeological Evidence
(7th to 11th Centuries AD)

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3 The Fortifications of the Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine Period on the Later Territory of the South-Slavic Principalities, and Their Re-occupation

DEJAN BULIĆ

As the title reveals, this text will cover the Early Byzantine period (early 5th – early 7th century) in the areas we have surveyed ourselves, i.e. Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro. However, as some authors use the two designations – the Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period – synonymously, the time frame for the territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia is set from the 330s to 610s. It was already pointed out that a precise chronological estimate cannot be determined without excavation works and analysis of ceramics and small findings.¹⁸⁴ The sites indexed with poor, often just unspecific data, and described in acquired, conservative interpretations, offer insecure datings, making fine-tuned chronological estimations impossible, most of the time. For all these reasons, a revision of the already-existing lists of sites for the territories of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina could not be done, as the material was impossible to gain insight into.

Considering territory, the work will cover the area of the former Yugoslavia, without Slovenia and Istria, or more precisely, the area delimited by the river Raša on the north, i. e. Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia. In other words, the territories that

184 M. Garašanin, *Odbrambeni sistemi u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije*, Materijali 22, Novi Sad 1986, 10; I. Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja u BiH s osvrtom na utvrđenja kasne antike*, Arheološki Vestnik 41 (1990) 355 (= Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*).

first formed a part of South Slavic principalities, and then states, during the Early Middle Ages. During the research undertaken until now in this area, a large number of fortifications were noticed, with a cultural layer from the Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine period. Information on these was, in a large measure, obtained through terrain reconnaissance. Sondages were undertaken on dozens of sites, while systematic archaeological excavations were seldom conducted. The territory covered in this work encompasses geographical entities defined according to the present-day administrative borders of the states, which is why we did not take into account the provincial demarcations from the Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine period, as these present-day territories were part of two, three or several provinces throughout the Late Antiquity.¹⁸⁵

After the creation of lists and maps of the Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine localities, the final objective of this work is registering the Early Medieval and Medieval strata in the mentioned fortifications, and on detecting potential continuity and discontinuity that marked the medieval and Early Byzantine period. It is difficult to report some of the relevant data about the construction or particularities of specific fortifications, their functions, interconnections, and the roles they played in the defence system of the Empire in the Late Antiquity or the Early Byzantine era. The aim of this research is to reflect on the historical context, and not on the movable archaeological material, which is a task beyond the scope of this kind of study.

Some zones of present-day countries remain insufficiently covered, a consequence of local museums' policies and interest, because of which some areas have not even been reconnoitred, which caused uneven level of exploration among the regions. For example, the regions of continental Croatia are the least examined territory.

All that was mentioned above pertains to medieval sites, too, and to a far greater degree, as they were neglected. They were not the subjects of initiated projects, but have always remained out of the focus of researchers to such a degree that these days clear distinction between the Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine ceramics is no longer made, and the medieval strata are not even registered.

185 Issues regarding precise delineations of the Late Antiquity provinces have not been considered relevant for this work.

The Province of Dalmatia – A Historical Overview

With the Hunnic invasion, the majority of Illyrian towns were destroyed.¹⁸⁶ The decline of Roman-Byzantine towns, together with the restricted means of artisanal industry and trade, led to these towns being reduced to well-fortified settlements with entirely rural agglomeration. The centre shifted towards the south, to the settlements whose crisis could be alleviated by an influx of agrarian population fleeing the barbarians.¹⁸⁷

The new circumstances, which emerged from the crisis of the third century, led to the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine the Great, but ultimately to the division of the Empire in 395. During the reign of the Ostrogoths, Dalmatia retained the basic structure of its earlier organization, but with one novelty: the merger of Dalmatia and Savia into one administrative unit that had its centre in Salona.¹⁸⁸ Salona was an archiepiscopal see; the existence of Dalmatian dioceses is known because of the presence of bishops at the ecclesiastical councils in Salona in 530 and 533, which also provided a delimitation of the province of Dalmatia.¹⁸⁹ But it remains unknown whether organization of dioceses was preserved after 537, when Byzantium pushed the eastern Goths out of Dalmatia, early on in the conflict between Byzantium and the Goths. As follows from the ecclesiastical

186 For further information on the history of towns in the mid-400s Illyricum, cf.: *Prisci fragmenta* (ed. L. Dindorf), *Historici graeci minoris I*, Lipsiae 1870, Frg. 2, 280.20-281.6; Frg. 8, 291.9-15; *ВИНЈ I*, 7-16; Т. Живковић, *Словени и РOMEЈИ*, Београд 2000, 59-60 (= Живковић, *Словени*). The following works offer a wider account of this problem: D. S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180-395*, London 2004; A. Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1993; S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641: The Transformation of the Ancient World*, Hoboken, New Jersey 2007.

187 For further information regarding the process of disintegration and ruralization in the hinterland of Illyricum, and the archaeological traces it left, see: В. Поповић, *Дезинтеграција и рурализација града у источном Илирику од 5. до 7. века*, *Sirmium град царева и мученика (Сабрани радови о археологији и историји Сирмијума)*, Сремска Митровица 2003, 239-258; Живковић, *Словени*, 58-66.

188 Ј. Ферлуга, *Византијска управа у Далмацији*, Београд 1957, 23-24 (= Ферлуга, *Византијска управа*).

189 *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske s Dalmacijom i Slavonijom I* (ured. I. Kukuljević Sakcinski), Zagreb 1874, No. 239 and No. 240.

policy of Justinian I, he strived to reshape the borders of archdioceses so as to match the borders of dioceses to those of provinces.¹⁹⁰ Salona held its status as an archdiocese, because Dalmatia was part of the Diocese of Illyricum in the Late Empire period, with its seat in Salona.¹⁹¹

Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Fortifications of the Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine Period

Bosnia and Herzegovina occupies the central part of the Balkans. It borders with Croatia on the north, north-west and south, by the rivers Sava and Una, and the Dinarid mountains, Serbia on the east and north-east, by the river Drina, and Montenegro on the south-east. Bosnia and Herzegovina accesses the Adriatic Sea on the south, through the coastal municipality of Neum.

The very name of Bosnia and Herzegovina reveals the duality of this land. The major part of northern, peri-Pannonian Bosnia belongs to the southern rim of the Pannonian Basin, except for the area around the river Sava, including Semberia, which is an extension of the Pannonian Plain. Northern Bosnia is marked by a predominantly mountainous terrain which slopes northwards from the south.¹⁹² The mountain areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina represent a wide expanse, part of the Dinarid mountain range with high and medium mountains, as well as with long and deep, often canyon-like valleys, between them. Fields of karst are by far more numerous than basins. Eastern parts of Bosnia have karst depressions, rather than karst fields.¹⁹³

Geographically speaking, two units can be discerned in Herzegovina: the upper or mountainous pastoral Herzegovina, and the lower or Adriatic agricultural Herzegovina, situated in the south.¹⁹⁴ The mountainous Herzegovina represents the south-eastern extension of the

190 Т. Живковић, *Црквена организација у српским земљама (Рани средњи век)*, Београд 2004, 41-42 (= Живковић, *Црквена организација*).

191 For the entire issue on the province of Dalmatia and its eastern borders, see: Живковић, *Црквена организација*, 33-49.

192 Марковић, *Географске области*, 151-152.

193 Марковић, *Географске области*, 489-490.

194 Ј. Ђ. Марковић, *Географске области СФР Југославије*, Београд 1972, 495 (= Марковић, *Географске области*).

western Bosnian high karst, land with mountain ridges and karst fields lying between.¹⁹⁵ The maritime Adriatic region expands into the lower Herzegovina, along the lower course of the river Neretva, its tributaries and the great karst field known as Popovo polje.¹⁹⁶

In hydrographical terms, the greatest part of Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to the Black Sea drainage basin, i.e. to the river Sava basin, with the Una, Vrbas, Bosna and Drina rivers as its longest tributaries, all flowing parallelly from the south towards the north.¹⁹⁷ A small area of Herzegovina drains into the Adriatic Sea, with Neretva being the longest river. Surface rivers are prevalent in northern and central Bosnia, while subterranean rivers flow through western Bosnia and the mountainous regions of Herzegovina.¹⁹⁸ The lower Herzegovina is distinguished by rivers, lost rivers, springs, surface and subterranean lakes and wetlands. During the humid seasons of the year, karst fields become temporary lakes, often large and deep.¹⁹⁹

A moderate continental climate is characteristic of northern Bosnia, while the sub-alpine climate is prevalent in the wider Dinara area. The lower Herzegovina has the Adriatic climate, which is a variation of an altered Mediterranean type of climate, influencing the mountainous regions of Herzegovina as well, due to the proximity of the Adriatic coast.²⁰⁰

During the Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine period, the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina approximately encompassed the hinterland of the province of Dalmatia (Dalmatiae), as well as parts of the provinces Pannonia Prima (Pannonia I) and Pannonia Secunda (Pannonia II).

Excavations confirmed Patsch's hypothesis that castra were erected in Doboj and Šipovo (several, since castra lying on the road Salona-Servitium were confirmed by the sources),²⁰¹ in the aftermath of the Pannonian uprising in the first century AD. The forms of ceramic findings from the castrum of Doboj dated from the first to the fifth century,²⁰² as was confirmed by a test excavation conducted at Šipovo.²⁰³ In those early

195 Марковић, *Географске области*, 496-497.

196 Марковић, *Географске области*, 806-807.

197 Марковић, *Географске области*, 152.

198 Марковић, *Географске области*, 490.

199 Марковић, *Географске области*, 812.

200 Марковић, *Географске области*, 490, 811.

201 C. Patsch, *Zbirka rimskih i grčkih starina u bos.-herc. Zemaljskom muzeju*, Sarajevo 1915, 57 (= Patsch, *Zbirka*).

202 I. Čremošnik, *Rimski kastrum kod Doboja*, GZM 39 (1984) 70.

203 Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 355.

days, the important crossings on the river Sava were doubtlessly well-protected, which in time developed into the Sava limes,²⁰⁴ but, not a single fortification on the Sava has been discovered, let alone excavated, up to the present.

Information about the movable findings are available for very few sites, especially for the medieval ones, since published material is absent, most of the times, despite long archaeological excavations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, initiated at the end of the 19th century.²⁰⁵

Irma Čremošnik composed a list of 263 Roman fortifications, with emphasis on ones from the Late Antiquity. Most of these fortifications, considering they are mainly in the highlands, were built in the Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine period.²⁰⁶ But a certain number of them were not indexed in the Lexicon: 79, 92, 93, 94, 100, 108; and some sites were identified as prehistoric strongholds (gradine): 44, 65, 69, 70, 105; or as a tumul: 90. Site 106 was identified as a prehistoric (gradina) and a medieval town; site 104 as a prehistoric stronghold and a Turkish tower, while sites 28 and 30 were identified as medieval towns. We assume that in these examples, the author probably obtained information inaccessible to us, which led him to classify these sites as antique fortifications. But a few sites remain problematic, as they do not appear to have been strongholds: sites 25, 83 and 114; and it would be reasonable to omit from the list site 42 (a Roman camp deserted in the third century), site 89 (identified as a Roman structure) and the site 203 (classified as a medieval necropolis).²⁰⁷

Another six sites mentioned in Perica Špehar's list of 60 fortifications from the Early Byzantine period,²⁰⁸ should be added to the list of 263 sites composed by I. Čremošnik and incorporated into her work:²⁰⁹

204 Patsch, *Zbirka*, 159.

205 For further information regarding the history of the undertaken research, see: *Arheološki leksikon Bosne i Hercegovine 1*, Sarajevo 1988, 15-49 (= *Leksikon*).

206 Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 355-364.

207 *Leksikon 2-3*.

208 The register of the fortifications, to economise space, was attached to the list of I. Čremošnik: Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 355-364.

209 Špehar compiled his register without having taken into account the work written by I. Čremošnik: П. Шпехар, *Касноантичка и рановизантијска утврђења у Босни и Херцеговини (Залеђе провинције Далмације)*, Зборник за историју Босне и Херцеговине 5, Београд 2008, 17-48 (= Шпехар, *Касноантичка*).

264. Gradina, Rajičke, Glamoč²¹⁰
265. Gredine, Potočani, Livno²¹¹
266. Mareljića gradina, Staro selo-Carevica, Glamoč²¹²
267. Gradina, Prisoje-Perkovići, Duvno²¹³
268. Gradina, Podgradina, Livno²¹⁴
269. Teferič, Krupac, Ilidža²¹⁵

The aforementioned list should be expanded with several other sites mentioned in the Archaeological Lexicon of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These probably represent fortifications dating from the Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine period and include the following:²¹⁶

270. Crkvena, Kamičani, Prijedor²¹⁷
271. Velika Gradina, Donja Slabinja, Bosanska Dubica²¹⁸
272. Vracarevo (Vracar-grad), Briševo, Prijedor²¹⁹

- 210 Шпехар, Касноантичка, 42; *Leksikon 3*, 240; A. Benac, *Utvrdjena ilirska naselja I. Delmatske gradine na Duvanskom polju, Buškom blatu, Livanjskom i Glamočkom polju*, Sarajevo 1985, 158-160 (= Benac, *Ilirska naselja*).
- 211 Шпехар, Касноантичка, 42; *Leksikon 3*, 242; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 103-104.
- 212 Шпехар, Касноантичка, 42; *Leksikon 3*, 245-246; D. Sergejevski, *Putne bilješke iz Glamoča*, GZM 54 (1942) 153; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 180-181.
- 213 Шпехар, Касноантичка, 42; *Leksikon 3*, 266; V. Radimsky, *Starine kotarska županjčog u Bosni*, GZM 6 (1894) 300; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 21.
- 214 M. Mandić, *Gradine, gromile i druge starine u okolini Livna*, GZM 47 (1935) 12; Шпехар, Касноантичка 42; *Leksikon 3*, 239.
- 215 Шпехар, Касноантичка, 42; *Leksikon 3*, 57; М. Поповић, *Утврђене земље Павловића*, Зборник радова са научног скупа Земље Павловића, Бања Лука – Српско Сарајево 2003, 103; D. Sergejevski, *Arheološki nalazi u Sarajevu i okolici*, GZM 2 (1947) 46-48.
- 216 The deficiencies of this classification are evident; a considerable number of these forts were categorized only after surface findings, collected during reconnaissance. Scarce information from the Lexicon often omit pottery findings, while the chronological classification is most often given with a simple, broad phrase „Late Antique fortification“.
- 217 *Leksikon 2*, 34.
- 218 *Leksikon 2*, 39.
- 219 V. Radimsky, *O nekim prehistorijskim i rimskim građevnim ostacima u području rijeke Sane u Bosni*, GZM 3 (1891) 439-440; D. Sergejevski, *Epigrafski nalazi iz Bosne*, GZM 12 (1957) 112-116; D. Sergejevski, *Rimski rudnici željeza u sjeverozapadnoj Bosni*, GZM 18 (1963) 88-92; *Leksikon 2*, 39.

273. „Mali Grad“-Blagaj kod Mostara.²²⁰
274. Cetinac, Boškovići, Laktaši²²¹
275. Lisičji Brijeg-Cintor, Laminici, Bosanska Gradiška²²²
276. Gradac, Trnovica, Zvornik²²³
277. Veliki Gradac, Ostojićevo, Bijeljina²²⁴
278. Zvornik 1, Zvornik²²⁵
279. Crkvena, Dragočaj, Banja Luka²²⁶
280. Gradina, Brdo-Rudići, Mrkonjić Grad²²⁷
281. Gradina, Bosansko Grahovo²²⁸
282. Gradina, Drvar Selo-Glavica, Drvar²²⁹
283. Velika Gradina, Lastve-Rakovice, Bosanski Petrovac²³⁰
284. Šarampovo, Gornji Vakuf²³¹
285. Bašbunar (Saraj), Travnik²³²
286. Blace, Rankovići, Pucarevo²³³

- 220 Đ. Basler, *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1972, 50 (= Basler, *Arhitektura*).
- 221 *Leksikon* 2, 48.
- 222 L. Žeravica - Z. Žeravica, *Arheološka nalazišta u okolini Bosanske Gradiške*, Zbornik Krajiških muzeja 6, Banja Luka 1974, 220-221; *Leksikon* 2, 52.
- 223 *Leksikon* 2, 91.
- 224 C. Patsch, *Mali rimski nahodaji i posmatranja*, GZM 9 (1897) 518; *Leksikon* 2, 98.
- 225 M. Babić, custodian of the museum in Bijeljina, has confirmed the existence of an Early Byzantine layer by means of sondage, of which he was kind to let us know. Đ. Mazalić, *Zvornik (Zvonik)*. *Stari grad na Drini*, GZM Istorija i etnografija 10 (1955) 73-116; D. Kovačević-Kojić, *Zvornik (Zvonik) u srednjem vijeku*, Godišnjak društva istoričara BiH 16, Sarajevo 1967, 19-35; *Leksikon* 2, 98.
- 226 *Leksikon* 2, 128.
- 227 *Leksikon* 2, 146.
- 228 I. Čremošnik, *Dva srednjovekovna grada u okolici Grahova*, GZM 8 (1953) 349-351; *Leksikon* 2, 161.
- 229 V. Čurčić, *Starine iz okoline Bosanskog Petrovca*, GZM 14 (1902) 252; Z. Vinski, *Kasnoantički starosjedioci u salonitskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata*, VAHD 69, 1967 (1974) 41; *Leksikon* 2, 162.
- 230 V. Čurčić, *Starine iz okoline Bosanskog Petrovca*, GZM 14 (1902) 22-23; *Leksikon* 2, 165-166.
- 231 J. Petrović, *Novi arheološki nalazi iz doline Gornjeg Vrbasa*, GZM 15-16 (1960-1961) 1961, 231-234; Basler, *Arhitektura*, 84; *Leksikon* 2, 186.
- 232 P. A. Hoffer, *Nalazišta rimskih starina u travničkom kotaru*, GZM 7 (1895) 50 (= Hoffer, *Nalazišta*); J. Korošec, *Travnik i okolina u predhistorijsko doba*, GZM 4-5 (1949-1950) 1950, 254-265 (= Korošec, *Travnik*); *Leksikon* 2, 195.
- 233 *Leksikon* 2, 195.

287. Glavica, Mali Mošunj, Vitez²³⁴
288. Gradac (Tarabovac), Vilenica, Travnik²³⁵
289. Gradina-Megara, Goleš, Travnik²³⁶
290. Grbavica Brdo, Grbavica, Vitez²³⁷
291. Jankovići, Jankovići, Travnik²³⁸
292. Oblak, Mali Mošunj-Divljaci, Vitez²³⁹
293. Trojan, Pazarić, Hadžići²⁴⁰
294. Domavia, Gradina-Sase, Srebrenica²⁴¹
295. Radež, Neum. Sitomir, Radišići, Ljubuški²⁴²
296. Veliki vrh, Romanija, Sokolac²⁴³
297. Veliki Gradac, Presjeka-Mahinići, Nevesinje²⁴⁴
298. Brijeg, Parežani, Bileća²⁴⁵
299. Gradina, Brova, Trebinje²⁴⁶

- 234 Korošec, *Travnik*, 257; *Leksikon* 2, 197.
- 235 Korošec, *Travnik*, 256; *Leksikon* 2, 198.
- 236 Korošec, *Travnik*, 250; *Leksikon* 2, 199.
- 237 Hoffer, *Nalazišta*, 54; Korošec, *Travnik*, 259; *Leksikon* 2, 199.
- 238 Korošec, *Travnik*, 265; *Leksikon* 2, 200.
- 239 Korošec, *Travnik*, 258; D. Sergejevski, *Novi i revidirani rimski natpisi*, GZM 6 (1951) 309; *Leksikon* 2, 203.
- 240 *Leksikon* 3, 57.
- 241 L. Pogatschnig, *Stari rudokopi u Bosni*, GZM 2 (1890) 125-130; V. Radimsky, *Rimski grad Domavija u Gradini kod Srebrenice u Bosni i tamošnji iskopi*, GZM 3 (1891) 1-19; F. Bulić, *Rimski nadpisi u Srebrenici (Municipium Domavia)*, GZM 3 (1891) 387-390; V. Radimsky, *Prekopavanje u Domaviji kod Srebrenice godine 1891.*, GZM 4 (1892) 1-24, C. Patsch, *Prilozi našoj rimskoj povjesti*, GZM 22 (1910) 1911, 192-195; D. Sergejevski, *Epigrafski i arheološki nalazi (Šipovo, Livno, Duvno)*, GZM 42, sv. 2 (1930) 162-163; D. Sergejevski, *Rimski natpisi iz Bosne, užičkog kraja i Sandžaka*, Spomenik SKA 93, Beograd 1940, 144; I. Bojanovski, *Bilješke iz arheologije I*, Naše Starine 19 (1964) 193; I. Bojanovski, *Arheološki pabirci sa područja antičke Domavie*. Članci i građa za kulturnu istoriju istočne Bosne, Tuzla 1965, 103; *Leksikon* 3, 69.
- 242 C. Patsch, *Mali rimski nahodaji i posmatranja*, GZM 9 (1897) 528-529; *Leksikon* 3, 334.
- 243 Č. Truhelka, *Prethistorijske gradine na Glasincu*, GZM 3 (1891) 306-307; *Leksikon* 3, 108.
- 244 D. Sergejevski, *Rimska cesta na nevesinjskom polju*, GZM 3 (1948) 55; I. Bojanovski, *Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (s posebnim obzirom na područje Bosne i Hercegovine)*. II - Prethistorijska i rimska cesta Narona - Sarajevsko polje s limotrofnim naseljima, Godišnjak Akademije nauka i umetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine 17, Sarajevo 1978, 90-91; *Leksikon* 3, 153.
- 245 *Leksikon* 3, 170.
- 246 *Leksikon* 3, 177.

300. Velika Gradina, Slivnica, Trebinje²⁴⁷
301. Vračevica, Panik, Bileća²⁴⁸
302. Grad Lis, Repovci, Konjic²⁴⁹
303. Gradac, Glavatićevo, Konjic²⁵⁰
304. Ilina, Gorani, Konjic²⁵¹
305. Velika Gradina, Varvara, Prozor²⁵²
306. Anđelića (Jurića) Gradina, Lipa, Livno²⁵³
307. Gradina, Podgradina, Livno²⁵⁴
308. Gradina (Nuhbegovića gradina), Podhum, Livno²⁵⁵
309. Kasalov Gradac, Livno²⁵⁶
310. Brina, Vinjani, Posušje²⁵⁷
311. Bukovac 2, Čitluk, Posušje²⁵⁸
312. Grad, Stipanići, Duvno²⁵⁹
313. Gradina, Korita, Duvno²⁶⁰

- 247 Đ. Odavić, *Praistorijska nalazišta na prostoru Trebinja (gomile i gradine)*, Tribunia 4, Trebinje 1978, 153; *Leksikon 3*, 195.
- 248 I. Bojanovski, *Arheološki spomenici*, Naše starine 8 (1962) 12; *Leksikon 3*, 196.
- 249 P. Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici Konjica i okoline*, Konjic 1975, 158-160 (= Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici*); *Leksikon 3*, 213.
- 250 P. Anđelić, *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Neretvi*, GZM 13 (1958) 200-202; *Leksikon 3*, 213.
- 251 Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici*, 29; *Leksikon 3*, 217.
- 252 V. Čurčić, *Gradina na vrelu Rame, prozorskog kotara*, GZM 12 (1900) 99-118; Ć. Truhelka, *Kulturne prilike Bosne i Hercegovine u doba prethistorije*, GZM 26 (1914) 79-80; B. Čović, *Prelazna zona*, Praistorija Jugoslovenskih zemalja 4 (1983) 390-412; N. Miletić, *Rani srednji vijek*, Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do pada ovih zemalja pod osmansku vlast, Sarajevo 1984, 422; *Leksikon 3*, 225.
- 253 V. Čurčić, *Arheološke bilješke iz Livanjskog kotara*, GZM 21 (1909) 169-170; M. Mandić, *Gradine, gromile i druge starine u okolini Livna*, GZM 47 (1935) 9-10; A. Benac, *Utvrdjena ilirska naselja, I. Delmatske gradine na Duvanskom polju, Buškom blatu, Livanjskom i Glamočkom polju*, Sarajevo 1985, 134 (= Benac, *Ilirska naselja*); *Leksikon 3*, 235.
- 254 *Leksikon 3*, 239.
- 255 V. Čurčić, *Arheološke bilješke iz Livanjskog kotara*, GZM 21 (1909) 169; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 80-83; *Leksikon 3*, 239-240.
- 256 M. Mandić, *Gradine, gromile i druge starine u okolini Livna*, GZM 47 (1935) 7; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 108-110; *Leksikon 3*, 244.
- 257 *Leksikon 3*, 260.
- 258 P. Oreč, *Prapovjesna naselja i grobne gromile*, GZM 32 (1977) 1978, 218-219 (= Oreč, *Naselja*); *Leksikon 3*, 261.
- 259 *Leksikon 3*, 264.
- 260 N. Miletić, *Ranosrednjovekovna nekropola u Koritima kod Duvna*, GZM 33 (1978) 1979, 141-204, Ž. Mikić, *Rezultati antropoloških ispitivanja ranosre-*

- 314. Vukove Njive, Gradac, Posušje²⁶¹
- 315. Bilobrig, Vionica, Čitluk²⁶²
- 316. Gradina, Mali Ograđenik-Donji Ograđenik, Čitluk²⁶³
- 317. Krstina, Hamzići, Čitluk²⁶⁴
- 318. Mala Gradina, Čapljina²⁶⁵
- 319. Milanovača, Gorica, Grude²⁶⁶
- 320. Trebinje-Crkvine²⁶⁷

With these additions, we reach a total of 320 fortifications, mainly from the Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine period. This figure still does not reflect their real quantity, with all the already mentioned deficiencies of such a classification and some zones having been poorly explored, but it is certainly closer to the actual number. The empty zones were not uninhabited in the Late Antiquity, for these were the mining districts of eastern Bosnia or the fertile valleys around the Bosna river. A lot of strongholds (gradine) were, with inertia, were dated of as prehistoric. But even if we accept such datings, there remains a number of Late Medieval towns whose Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine phase can be assumed to exist. The conjectured density of fortifications can be glimpsed at by comparing the empty zones with the surrounding ones.

Since the historical information being absent and the adequate archaeological information being scarce, it is difficult to speak of the historical context beyond general observations. The process of adapting to the new circumstances unfolded in two directions. The first was fortifying the already existing settlements in the plains, as seen in Mogorjelo at Čapljina, where an agricultural estate was fortified already in the early fourth century. The other direction, far more efficient, is the so-called vertical migration – resettlement to the fortifications on higher altitudes.²⁶⁸

dnjovekovne nekropole u Koritima kod Duvna, GZM 33 (1978) 1979 205-222; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 74-76; *Leksikon 3*, 264-265.

261 Oreč, *Naselja*, 184-185; *Leksikon 3*, 279.

262 *Leksikon 3*, 290.

263 Š. Bešliagić, *Stećci. Kataloško topografski pregled*, Sarajevo 1971, 315 (= Bešliagić, *Stećci*); *Leksikon 3*, 297.

264 *Leksikon 3*, 301.

265 C. Patsch, *Pseudo-Skylaxovo jezero. Prinos povjesti donjeg porečja Neretve*, GZM 18 (1906) 374-376 (= Patsch, *Pseudo-Skylaxovo*); *Leksikon 3*, 330.

266 Patsch, *Pseudo-Skylaxovo*, 379; *Leksikon 3*, 331.

267 Ђ. Јанковић, *Српско Поморје од 7. до 10. столећа*, Београд 2007, 158 (= Јанковић, *Поморје*).

268 Шпехар, *Касноантичка*, 37.

But this does not exclude the possibility that the exploitation of fertile plains, suitable for agricultural production, could have continued. We can speak of a more large-scale fortification construction in the hinterland of Dalmatia only after 535 and the final expulsion of the Goths from Dalmatia, since it is unlikely that during their reign they would allow living in strongholds.²⁶⁹ Besides, the number of the known fortifications in continental Croatia is, so far, meagre.

Perica Špehar divided the fortifications in four big groups, based on a sample of 60 fortifications from Late Antiquity or Early Byzantine period, according to their surface area: big, middle-sized and small, while the fortifications with an unknown surface made a group of its own.²⁷⁰ Small fortifications, in the hinterland of Dalmatia, represent the most numerous group.

As Mihajlo Milinković warned, when classifying the fortifications according to their size, one should be aware that, most of the times, the outer extensive ramparts often remained undiscovered, and that they could have been used occasionally to keep the livestock during the siege.²⁷¹

Špehar's division may be accepted, but it should be borne in mind that all the fortifications on high altitudes were located on more or less steep slopes. When making a projection of a ground plan, which is normally executed on a horizontal plane, shrinking of the surface area unavoidably happens, in line with the laws of mathematics.²⁷² But the conclusions that the big-sized fortifications, erected on the elevations overlooking the fertile plains, rivers or fields, acted as a sort of collective centres in addition to having a defensive role, and maybe even that of ore storages—remain dubious.²⁷³ One of the main functions the fortifications had was probably the protection of the mining basins and auriferous rivers.

269 Procopius makes no mention of fortification construction in Dalmatia.

270 The first group is made up of fortifications with a surface area greater than 1 hectare; the second of fortifications with a surface area between 0.5 and 1 hectare; while the fortifications of a surface area smaller than 0.5 hectare fall into the third group: Шпехар, *Касноантичка*, 19.

271 М. Милинковић, *Градина на Јелици. Рановизантијски град и средњовековно насеље*, Београд 2010, 225–226.

272 In order to take the measurements of the surface area, it is necessary to have in mind the shrinkage that occurs when projecting terrain onto a flat horizontal plane, except for where there are no slopes and the surface remains the same. Practically, this would mean that the represented surface of the fortification is 86.6% of the real one, if the angle of the slope is 30°; and only 70.7%, if the angle of the slope is 45°. It is an entirely different question if some surfaces are useful due to these terrain slopes.

273 Шпехар, *Касноантичка*, 38.

Findings of slag indicate that the fortifications were erected in the vicinity of the mining shafts, and the residues of slag are frequently found on many sites, regardless of their geographical position or size, as had been suggested. The idea that the discovered buildings had the function of *horeum* (silo for storage of agricultural products) has no foundation.

Positions these fortifications occupied could determine their main tasks and functions; however, the excavations carried out in or around these sites so far do not yield sufficient elements that could make a correlation between the surface of a fortification and its function. The crucial function of the fortifications situated along the main roads was to secure the traffic, settlements or river crossings. Besides the insufficient research on the fortifications and the deficient knowledge of the traffic ways (especially the less significant ones), additional difficulty lies in the locations of a majority of Roman settlements that we know of from the sources, remaining unidentified.²⁷⁴

On the other hand, perceived clusters of fortified points along the border of the maritime Adriatic belt and on the mountain massifs that separated the coastal regions from the hinterland of Dalmatia are spurious as well.²⁷⁵ We think that such attitude comes, doubtlessly, from the insufficient research of the given areas that led to the false clusterization of the fortified points. Also, without understanding that these generally represented fortified villages,²⁷⁶ with no military function, this theory should be rejected. Nevertheless, the unquestionably higher density of fortifications

274 Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 357.

275 Other than the local functions - protection of roads and settlements - the fortifications around Bosanski Petrovac, Grahovo, Livanjsko polje, Glamočko polje, Duvanjsko polje, Posušje, Gruda, Imotsko polje, Ljubuško polje, and those lying along the lower course of Neretva, formed a solid barrier towards the hinterland; See: Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 357.

276 In the last couple of years, an opinion prevailed that most of the fortifications served as fortified settlements, without excluding additional functions. The nature of the archaeological findings confirms this hypothesis, since these have been predominantly associated with craftsmanship and agriculture, and there are objects pointing to the presence of women and existence of churches, all indicating a longer stay within the forts. Cf: Д. Рашковић, *Рановизантијски археолошки локалитети и комуникације у ширем крушевачком окружју*, Трећа југословенска конференција византолога, Београд-Крушевац 2002, 71-72; М. Милинковић, *Нека запажања о рановизантијским утврђењима на југу Србије*, Ниш и Константин III, Ниш 2005, 180; М. Милинковић, *Градина на Јелици. Рановизантијски град и средњовековно насеље*, Београд 2010, 227.

comes as a consequence of geographic conditions – i.e. the fact that these were erected on a low, coastal stretch of land – which led some inhabitants to leave the area for the island fortifications, and the majority to flee to the highlands of the Dinara mountains. Most likely such process of receding was happening on the northern side of the massif as well.

The following, revised list, includes the fortifications that, besides the already mentioned Late Antique/Early Byzantine strata, contain medieval traces that indicate a continuous or re-initiated use of the fortification.²⁷⁷

1. Brekovica, Bihać (95)²⁷⁸
2. Zecovi, Čarakovo, Prijedor (81)²⁷⁹
3. Grad, Gornji Vrbljani, Ključ (Velika and Mala Gradina (80)²⁸⁰
4. Gradina (Grad), Gradac, Posušje (46)²⁸¹
5. Zelengrad, Han Kola-Čutkovci, Banjaluka (134)²⁸²

277 The number within the parentheses designates the number of the site, corresponding to the number on the provided map.

278 *Leksikon* 2, 14. Some authors date the remains of ramparts and of the pentagonal tower only to the Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period: V. Radimsky, *Nekropola na Jezerinama u Pritoci kod Bišća*, GZM 5 (1893) 41; P. Špehar, *Late Antique and Early Byzantine Fortification in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Hinterland of the Province of Dalmatia)*, Höfensiedlungen zwischen Antike und Mittelalter-Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Band 58, Berlin – New York 2008, 586 (= Špehar, *Late Antique*).

279 The foundations of the church, as well as the sporadic medieval objects confirm that these fortifications were used in the Middle Ages: *Leksikon* 2, 39; I. Čremošnik, *Rimski ostaci na Gradini Zecovi*, GZM 11 (1956) 137-146; Basler, *Arhitektura*, 55.

280 The occupation continued into the Carolingian age (8th – 9th century). That is confirmed by the archaeological findings such as the ceramics of Early Slavonic type, a bronze spur and a gold-plated prong of a belt buckle: *Leksikon* 2, 144; Z. Vinski, *Novi ranokarolinški nalazi u Jugoslaviji*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu 10-11 (1977-78) 1979, 143-190; I. Bojanovski, *Kasnoantički kaštel u Gornjim Vrbljanima na Sani*, GZM 34 (1979) 1980, 109-119.

281 In some of the researched structures on the slopes of gradina were noticed material remains of the Early Medieval period (the Slavic period): *Leksikon* 3, 264.

282 Remnants of the wall above the Late Antique fortification are thought to be related to the town of Zemljanik, mentioned in the sources from the late 13th century: M. Карановић, *Границе средњовековне жупе Земљаник*, GZM 48 (1936) 33. West of the plateau, a necropolis arranged in rows was discovered and categorized as medieval: *Leksikon* 2, 133.

6. Mogorjelo, Čapljina (252)²⁸³
7. Biogradi, Lištice, Mostar (37)²⁸⁴
8. Gradac, Hudutsko, Prozor (29)²⁸⁵
9. Gradina, Bivolje brdo, Čapljina (263)²⁸⁶
10. Grad Biograd, Zabrdje, Konjic (24)²⁸⁷
11. Blagaj (Stjepan Grad), Blagaj, Mostar (35)²⁸⁸
12. Vidoški Grad, Stolac (191)²⁸⁹
13. Gradina, Alihodže, Travnik (68)²⁹⁰
14. Crkvina, Makljenovac, Doboj (73)²⁹¹

- 283 Besides the necropolis dating from the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, on the fortified site and in its immediate surroundings human habitation in the Early Middle Ages was confirmed with the medieval ceramics and Early Carolingian findings. Several tombstones (*stećci*) have also been preserved, so the archaeological findings cover the period from the eighth to fifteenth century; J. Werner, *Ranokarolinška pojasna garnitura iz Mogorjela kod Čapljine (Hercegovina)*, GZM 25-26 (1961) 235-242; Z. Vinski, *O nalazima karolinških mačeva u Jugoslaviji*, SP 11 (1981) 9-54; Z. Vinski, *Zur karolingischen Schwertfunder aus Jugoslawien*, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 30 (1983) 465-501; *Leksikon* 3, 331.
- 284 This fortification was again used during the eighth and ninth centuries; by a population of Slavic characteristics, but under Frankish influence, as confirmed by the discovered spur: I. Čremošnik, *Rimsko utvrđenje na Gradini u Biogradi kod Lištice*, GZM 42/43 (1989) 89-92.
- 285 The use of Gradac in the Middle Ages has been confirmed by the findings of Late Medieval ceramics: *Leksikon* 3, 213.
- 286 Discovered movable findings represent pre-historic and Roman ceramics and bricks, so it remains unclear why a medieval settlement was even mentioned: *Leksikon* 3, 325.
- 287 This site was mentioned in 1444, 1448 and 1454 as the domain of Herzeg Stjepan. In the Turkish census of 1469, it was mentioned as a deserted town, while the square (*trg*, a suburb) of the same name had 17 houses: *Leksikon* 3, 213; P. Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici Konjica i okoline*, Konjic 1975, 125-129 (= Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici*).
- 288 The earliest source that explicitly mention the town dates back to 1423. The Turks took the town in 1465 and in the eighteenth century the walls of this structure were once again redesigned. What particularly draws attention is a twelfth-century stone plate with a cyrillic inscription, in a secondary use: *Leksikon* 3, 290-291.
- 289 This town was mentioned for the first time in the fifteenth century and it was destroyed later, during the construction of Austro-Hungarian barracks: *Leksikon* 3, 195; Basler, *Arhitektura*, 50-51.
- 290 A fragment of Early Medieval (Slavic) ceramics was discovered in the area of Gradina: *Leksikon* 2, 198.
- 291 During the Middle Ages, there was a wooden church on the hilltop with graves around it dated from the ninth to thirteenth centuries: *Leksikon* 2, 63.

15. Bobovac, Dragovići-Miljakovići, Vareš (63)²⁹²
16. Gradac, Homolj, Kiseljak (59)²⁹³
17. Gradina, Dabravina, Vareš (171)²⁹⁴
18. Teferić, Krupac, Ilidža (269)²⁹⁵
19. Crkvena, Kamičani, Prijedor (270)²⁹⁶
20. Bosanska Gradiška, Bosanska Gradiška (113)²⁹⁷
21. Lisičji Brijeg-Cintor, Laminci, Bosanska Gradiška (275)²⁹⁸
22. Zvornik 1, Zvornik (278)²⁹⁹
23. Gradina, Bosansko Grahovo (281)³⁰⁰

- 292 For the first time Bobovac was mentioned in 1350, while a royal court was being built from the second half of the fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century. The Turks took it in 1463: P. Anđelić, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska. Stolna mesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stoleću*, Sarajevo 1973; *Leksikon* 3, 15. For further information regarding remains from the Early Byzantine period, see: Đ. Basler, *Kanelirani stup iz Stoca*, Slovo Gorčina 10, 1982, 52-53.
- 293 Besides one medieval ceramic vessel, graves dated to the Middle Ages were discovered above the Early Byzantine basilica: *Leksikon* 3, 19. Špehar claims that these tombs have to be dated to the Late Antiquity: Špehar, *Late Antique*, 573. V. Skarić, *Altertümer von Gradac in der Lepenica (Bosnien) (Starine na Gracu u bosanskoj Lepenici)*, GZM 44 (1932) 1-21.
- 294 Individual medieval findings were found inside the Gradina. These include several objects made of iron and a trefoil arrow, dated to the Early Middle Ages. The issue of dating these objects to the Antiquity or the Middle Ages remains open: D. Sergejevski, *Bazilika u Dabravini (Revizija)*, Sarajevo 1956; I. Nikolajević, *Kasnoantičke presvođene grobnice u srednjovekovnoj crkvenoj arhitekturi Bosne i Hercegovine*, Predslavenski etnički elementi na Balkanu u etnogenezi Južnih Slovena, Sarajevo 1969, 223-227. I. Nikolajević, *Oltarna pregrada u Dabravini*, ZRVI 12 (1970) 91-112; For a more generalized overview, see: *Leksikon* 3, 19.
- 295 D. Sergejevski and K. Topolovac claim that this was a late medieval fortification: D. Sergejevski, *Arheološki nalazi u Sarajevu i okolini*, GZM 2, (1947) 46; *Leksikon* 3, 57, while M. Popović and P. Špehar support the theory of Late Antique/Early Byzantine fortification: Поповић, *Утврђене земље*, 103; Špehar, *Late Antique*, 586.
- 296 *Leksikon* 2, 34.
- 297 E. Pašalić, *Antička naselja i komunikacije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1960, 27; L. Žeravica - Z. Žeravica, *Arheološka nalazišta u okolini Bosanske Gradiške*, Zbornik Krajiških muzeja 6, Banja Luka 1974, 215-233 (= Žeravica - Žeravica, *Arheološka nalazišta*); G. Kraljević, *Rimski novci iz Bosanske Gradiške i Laktaša*, GZM 34 (1978) 197, 137.
- 298 Žeravica - Žeravica, *Arheološka nalazišta*, 220-221; *Leksikon* 2, 52.
- 299 *Leksikon* 2, 98; Đ. Mazalić, *Zvornik (Zvornik). Stari grad na Drini*, GZM Istorija i etnografija 10 (1955) 73-116; D. Kovačević-Kojić, *Zvornik (Zvornik) u srednjem vijeku*, Godišnjak društva istoričara 16, 1967, 19-35.
- 300 I. Čremošnik, *Dva srednjovekovna grada u okolini Grahova*, GZM 8 (1953) 349-351; *Leksikon* 2, 161.

24. Glavica, Mali Mošunj, Vitez (287)³⁰¹
25. Gradina-Megara, Goleš, Travnik (289)³⁰²
26. Kastel- Banja Luka (76)³⁰³
27. Veliki vrh, Romanija, Sokolac (296)³⁰⁴
28. Grad Lis, Repovci, Konjic (302)³⁰⁵
29. Gradac, Glavatićevo, Konjic (303)³⁰⁶
30. Velika Gradina, Varvara, Prozor (305)³⁰⁷
31. Gradina (Nuhbegovića gradina), Podhum, Livno (308)³⁰⁸
32. Gradina, Korita, Duvno (313)³⁰⁹
33. Vukove Njive, Gradac, Posušje (314)³¹⁰
34. Gradina, Mali Ograđenik-Donji Ograđenik, Čitluk (316)³¹¹

- 301 Korošec, *Travnik*, 257; *Leksikon* 2, 197.
- 302 Korošec, *Travnik*, 257; *Leksikon* 2, 197; Bešlagić, *Stećci*, 145; *Leksikon* 2, 199.
- 303 In the thirteenth century, Banja Luka belonged to the *župa* Zemljanik and the *oblast* (area) of Donji Kraji. Its modern name was mentioned for the first time in 1494. After the fall of the Bosnian state (1463), Banja Luka became a part of the *banovina* of Jajac, and the Turks took it in early 1528: A. Bejtić, *Banja Luka pod turskom vladavinom*, *Naše Starine* 1 (1953) 91-116; V. Skarić, *Banja Luka i njena okolina u davnini*, *Otađbina* 31-33 (1924), 2;3;2; I. Čremošnik, *Kastel Banja Luka. Gradina sa slojevima od praistorije do danas*, *AP* 14 (1972) 133-134; L. Žeravica, *Kastel Banja Luka. Kompleksno utvrđenje*, *AP* 15 (1973) 112-113; B. Graljuk, *Posavina u antici u svjetlu novih istraživanja*, *Antički gradovi i naselja u južnoj Panoniji i graničnim područjima*, Varaždin 1977, 147-154; *Banja Luka*, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 1, A-Biz, Zagreb 1980, 492-494 (M. Vasić); *Leksikon* 2, 130; D. Periša, *Zlatnik cara Justinijana iz Banjaluke*, *GZM* 45 (1990) 171-176.
- 304 *Leksikon* 3, 108.
- 305 Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici*, 158-160; *Leksikon* 3, 213.
- 306 P. Anđelić, *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Neretvi*, *GZM* 13 (1958), 200-202; *Leksikon* 3, 213.
- 307 V. Čurčić, *Gradina na vrelu Rame, prozorskog kotara*, *GZM* 12 (1900) 99-118; N. Miletić, *Rani srednji vijek*, *Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do pada ovih zemalja pod osmansku vlast*, Sarajevo 1984, 422; *Leksikon* 3, 225.
- 308 V. Čurčić, *Arheološke bilješke iz Livanjskog kotara*, *GZM* 21 (1909) 169; A. Benac, *Utvrdjena ilirska naselja, I. Delmatske gradine na Duvanskom polju, Buškom blatu, Livanjskom i Glamočkom polju*, Sarajevo 1985, 80-83; *Leksikon* 3, 239-240.
- 309 N. Miletić, *Ranosrednjovekovna nekropola u Koritima kod Duvna*, *GZM* 33 (1978) 1979, 141-204; Ž. Mikić, *Rezultati antropoloških ispitivanja ranosrednjovekovne nekropole u Koritima kod Duvna*, *GZM* 33 (1978) 1979, 205-222; Benac, *Ilirska naselja*, 74-76; *Leksikon* 3, 264-265.
- 310 *Leksikon* 3, 279.
- 311 *Leksikon* 3, 297.

35. „Mali Grad“-Blagaj near Mostar (273)³¹²
36. Grad Vitanj, Kula, Sokolac (106)³¹³
37. Gradina Loznik, Podloznik, Pale (104)³¹⁴
38. Gradina Bokaševac, Kostajnica, Konjic (28)³¹⁵
39. Gradina, Vrabač, Bijela, Konjic (30)³¹⁶
40. Vrtine, Žrvanj, Ljubinja (203)³¹⁷
41. Trebinje-Crkvine (320)³¹⁸

This leads us to the conclusion that out of 320 Late Antique/Early Byzantine sites, medieval traces appear on 41 sites, or 12.81%. We hold this percentage to be much higher in reality, which can be deduced if we bear in mind the deficiencies and scarcity of information, because of which medieval horizons are impossible to discern.

And since the sites taken into account here were often merely registered in the process of reconnaissance, or yielded only scarce and inaccurately dated findings, a wider picture and chronological frame of these sites has proved very complex to grasp. The absence of written sources and infrequent occurrence of the remaining architectural monuments add to the complexity of this task, as well.

A more accurate dating of certain fortifications has not been established beyond them being medieval towns: 1, 23, 31, 36, 38, 39; some represented a medieval town with a church in it: 2; or a medieval town and a necropolis: 5. When it comes to site 18, only a broad conclusion can be made that it belongs to the Middle Ages. Sites 20 and 21 were classified as

312 About 2.5 km from the fortification of Blagaj near Mostar, stands “Mali Grad”, formed of a tower, what was probably a cistern, and another building. The ground floor of the tower corresponds with the time of Emperor Justinian I: Basler, *Arhitektura*, 50.

313 Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 360; *Leksikon* 3, 96.

314 Bešlagić, *Stećci*, 263; Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 360; *Leksikon* 3, 54.

315 Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 358; Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici*, 163-167; 250-255; *Leksikon* 3, 215.

316 Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 358; P. Anđelić, *Srednjovekovni gradovi u Neretvi*, GZM 13 (1958) 185-189; Anđelić, *Historijski spomenici*, 129-133; *Leksikon* 3, 215.

317 Bešlagić, *Stećci*, 379; Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 361; *Leksikon* 3, 196.

318 Archaeological excavations confirm existence of a town, about 1.2 ha in surface area. Accidental pottery findings point to the Early Byzantine period the seventh century, as well as to the period between the ninth and tenth centuries: Ђ. Јанковић, *Српско Поморје од 7. до 10. столећа*, Београд 2007, 158 (= Јанковић, *Поморје*).

medieval settlements; site 19 as a medieval building, while individual medieval findings were discovered on several sites: 16, 17, 24. Slightly more precise designations were provided for sites 8, 10, 12, 15, 22, 26, 28?, 29? as Late Medieval towns; site 33 was classified as a Late Medieval settlement; the following sites were identified as Late Medieval necropolises: 32, 34, 40; site 25 as a tombstone; site 11 was dated to the Late Medieval, Ottoman period; site 37 was identified as a Turkish tower. Site 14 was identified as church with a necropolis, dated between the 9th and 13th centuries.

According to Slavic and Early Carolingian findings, the following sites were defined as Early Medieval: 3, 4, 6, 7, 13; site 30, which represent a settlement with a necropolis, was also dated to the Early Medieval period. Site 9 was dated to the Middle Ages, for unknown criteria; site 27 was destroyed during later construction works, which might corroborate the hypothesis that it dates back to the Middle Ages.

Years after the fall of Salona represented the beginning of a new age, one of continuous Slavic settlement in the decades that followed. In the second wave of migrations, with the emperor's consent, the Serbs and the Croats got hold of the entire area of the former province of Dalmatia, where the first principalities would rise some time later. About them we know from the treatises of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos.³¹⁹ Byzantine coastal towns and some islands were the only ones spared of the conquests and they will play an important role in Christianization and the development of Slavic hinterland.³²⁰

There is almost no historical information on the events in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the first couple of centuries after the Slavic colonization, and the archaeological insights hardly provide a more profound perspective. Opportunities were not taken adequately, just because many sites with these remains were either excavated too early – at the turn of the century, or too late – destroyed before being researched.

Why the architectural elements attributed to the Slavs are difficult to recognize will be discussed later; for now, it will suffice to acknowledge their presence in the strongholds (gradine). During excavation of the

319 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio I* (ed. Gy. Moravcsik – R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington DC 1967, cc 31-36 (= *DAI*).

320 Антоновић, *Град*, 309.

fortifications, fragments of early Slavic ceramics were discovered. These findings reflect the attitude of the Slavs towards their new environment, but the use of these sites is not an evidence for the adaptation of the newcomers to the earlier settlements, nor is it a proof for the continuity of life. However, it is a proof of analogous factors that led to the fortifications being re-used – immediate war danger, in this case. Purposely chosen and situated on important strategic points, they justified the reason of their choice and affirmed their centuries-long importance.

The first to mention Bosnia was Constantine Porphyrogenitos in the mid-tenth century, when it was still a part of Serbia, while other lands lying within the province of Dalmatia were principalities of the Narentines, Zachlunia and Travunia, ruled by archonts. Salines (in the vicinity of the present-day Tuzla) was included as well, among other Serbian towns, whereas only two towns in Bosnia were mentioned, Katera and Desnik.³²¹

Katera was thought to be Kotorac near Sarajevo, but this site has no medieval strata whatsoever; it could have been Kotor, in the middle of the Vrbanje župa (administrative unit). It has been known under the name of Bobac (Bobos), but all that is known of the town pertains to the Late Middle Ages. The location of Desnik remains unidentified, but it was thought to be located near the present-day Dešanj.³²² Alternatively, if we follow the understanding that the term *kastra oikoumena* in *De administrando imperio*, the treatise of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, does not designate inhabited towns, but lists the towns in the ecclesiastical organization of the Roman church, these two towns might be Bistua (Zenica or Vitez) and Martar (Mostar or Konjic).³²³

Porphyrogenitos mentions five towns in Travunia: Trebinje, Vrm, Risan, Lukavete and Zetlivi;³²⁴ in Zachlunia aside from Bona and Hum, another five: Ston, Mokriskik (Mokro), Josli (Ošlje), Galumajnik and Dobriskik;³²⁵ and among the Narentines (Pagans) the towns of Rastoka and Dalen (Doljani). Risan is a well-known coastal town in Montenegro. Trebinje was founded at the site of the present-day Crkvine, over an earlier Roman fortification. Accidental findings of pottery were dated to the Early

321 DAI I, 32.149-151.

322 Лексикон градова и тргова средњовековних српских земаља, Београд 2010, 183.

323 T. Živković, *On the Beginnings of Bosnia in the Middle Ages*, Spomenica akademika Marka Šunjića (1927-1998), Sarajevo 2010, 177-178.

324 DAI I, 34.19-20.

325 DAI I, 33.20-21.

Byzantine period and the 7th century, and fragments from the 9th - 10th centuries were found next to the ramparts.³²⁶ The position of Vrm has not been established yet, but it is being searched for around the Trebišnjica river east of Trebinje (maybe around Panik). Lukavetija and Zetlivija have not been localized with certainty.³²⁷

Bona and Hum were, in all likelihood, located at the site of Blagaj beside Mostar. Smaller forts were erected on two hilltops, Stjepan grad and Mala gradina, outside which settlements existed probably already in the Early Middle Ages, which corresponds to the reports by Constantine Porphyrogenitos on these two towns.³²⁸

In the tenth century, Bosnia was a part of the Serbian realm, ruled by prince Časlav. And it seems that after his death, in the mid-tenth century, Bosnia broke off and became politically independent.³²⁹ At the close of the century, it was subjugated by the Bulgarian tsar Samuil, and afterwards became a part of the Byzantine Empire. Throughout the 11th century, Bosnia, Travunia and Zachumlie were under the authority of the Doclean state. From the mid-twelfth century, Bosnia was under the supreme rule of Hungary, followed by a brief return to Byzantium. Then began a new age for Bosnia and Herzegovina that would last until the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463, and of Herzegovina in 1481.³³⁰

In all these times of war, the fortifications were more or less used, but as no systematic excavations took place until today, it is guesswork to say when and under what circumstances were some of them sites of war operations, which are proven by remains of weapons and traces of fire on some of the sites.

326 Јанковић, *Поморје*, 158.

327 For further information regarding the proposed locations, see: С. Новаковић, *Српске области X и XII века (пре владавине Немањине). Историјско географска студија*, Гласник Српског ученог друштва 48 (1880) 1-152; С. Ђирковић, „Насељени градови“ *Константина Порфирогенита*, ЗРВИ 37 (1998) 20-21; А. Лом, *Serbischen und kroatisches Sprachgut bei Konstantin Porphyrogenetos*, ЗРВИ 38 (1999/2000) 87-160; Т. Живковић, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Kastr oikoumena in the Southern Slavs Principalities*, Историјски часопис 57 (2008) 9-28.

328 Basler, *Arhitektura*, 50; *Leksikon* 3, 290-291.

329 Живковић, *Портрети*, 57.

330 For a general chronological frame of the development of Bosnia, see: В. Ђоровић, *Историја Босне I*, Београд 1940; С. Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, Београд 1964.

Croatia

Most of the present-day Croatia belonged to the province of Dalmatia, with the exception of the northern, flat areas that were parts of the Upper and Lower Pannonia, i.e. the provinces of Savia and Pannonia II. Byzantine presence in Slavonia remains dubious. On the section of limes from Aquincum to Singidunum, distance of several hundred kilometres, no Roman camp was discovered, not even in Mursa.³³¹ The only relict of urban life from the Late Antiquity is Siscia (Sisak), the town that survived until the early eighth century.³³²

Geographically speaking, the province of Dalmatia can be divided into two areas, the coastal and the mountainous region. In the present time, the coastal area belongs to Croatia, except for Neum. The littoral karst region is characterized by a jagged coastline, shortage of drinking water, and a few arable, fertile fields. There are only few passages fit for travel in the high, insurmountable mountains immediately beyond the coastline. Only two existed through the mountain Velebit – the northern one, through which Senj was connected with the Iapyd lands in the present-day Lika and with Sisak; and the southern one, which connected Lika with Ravni Kotari. Except for these, the passage from Klis to Sinjsko polje led in the same direction as did the communication line along the Neretva river.³³³

Roman roads built in the early first century AD, immediately after the conquest of these lands, facilitated the control and the process of Romanization in Dalmatia and Illyricum. The proximity of the Adriatic seaports made the delivery of material and goods, required by the army, convenient. A string of permanent Roman camps was erected in the area stretching from the Krka to the Neretva rivers, and south of the Dinara mountain. Among these, only two legion camps stood: Burnum and Tilurium, while auxiliary camps were based in Promona, Magnum,

331 M. Sanader, *Rimske legije i njihovi logori u hrvatskom dijelu panonskog limesa*, *Opuscula archaeologica* 27 (2003) 463-468.

332 B. Miggoti, *Arheološka građa iz ranokršćanskog razdoblja u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj*, *Od nepobjedivog sunca do sunca pravde. Rano kršćanstvo u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 1994, 47.

333 J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, XXI-XXVII.

Andetrium and Bigeste.³³⁴ After the conquest of Dalmatia, the population came down from strongholds (gradinas) into the plains and foothills, where antique settlements developed. Antique settlements, which existed until the fourth century were situated near a moderately hilly terrain, on slightly lifted terraces in the middle of fertile plains, close to the sources of fresh water and yet safe from seasonal floods.³³⁵

In the turbulent times of the Late Antiquity, these prehistoric locations were revived and turned once again into fortified settlements. The frequent barbarian incursions that move in from the north and used the roman roads forced the endangered and decimated population to seek protection in these fortified sites that then evolved into genuine settlements. This pattern of life became a habit out of necessity, not because these sites served as shelters, which they did not. The process of the so-called horizontal migration took place in the coastal region of Dalmatia, in which the inhabitants of the coastal area moved to the islands and maintained contacts with the mainland via the sea.³³⁶

Within the class of fortifications from the Late Antiquity, focus in Croatia was only on the fortifications erected on promontories and towering heights of certain islands, and in similar locations on the coast line. Some of these structures were built on uninhabited islands, or in locations far from any settlements, which led to the conclusion that they were not built for defensive purposes, but that they together formed a system that was meant to ensure full control over seafaring on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Their position to each other and to the main seafaring routes between the islands and along the coast point to this, too.³³⁷

Zlatko Gunjača classified the Late Antique fortifications on the coastline and on the islands. Besides the fortifications he assorted with utter certainty, he also mentioned the positions in which remains of forti-

334 D. Periša, *Je li delmatsko područje presjekao rimski limes?*, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 2 (2008), 507; I. Borzić - I. Jadrić, *Novi prilozi arheološkoj topografiji dugopoljskoga kraja*, *Archaeologia Adriatica* 1 (2007) 167.

335 T. Tkalčec, S. Karavanić, B. Šiljeg, K. Jelinčić, *Novootkrivena arheološka nalazišta uz rječicu Veliku kod mjesta Majur i Ladinec*, *Cris. Časopis Povjesnog društva Križevci* 9-1, Križevci 2007, 5-25.

336 Ž. Tomičić, *Arheološka svjedočanstva o ranobizantskom vojnom graditeljstvu na sjeverojadranskim otocima*, *Prilozi* 5/6 (1988/1989), Zagreb 1990, 29-53.

337 Z. Gunjača, *Kasnoantička fortifikacijska arhitektura na istočnojadranskom priobalju i otocima*, *Odbrambeni sistemi u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije*, *Materijali* 22, Novi Sad 1986, 124 (= Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*).

fications allegedly existed (but were yet to be confirmed), some positions which he marked based on his own impressions, the importance of the locations and the potential oversight over seafaring in a wider area.³³⁸ From this list and from the fortifications provided by Goldstein,³³⁹ here were included only those that underwent archaeological excavations as well as those where architectural elements have been preserved. Count of the already-mentioned fortifications from the Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine period we added to the fortifications in the hinterland of Dalmatia, as well as those covered by the latest excavations, to the extent of availability of more recent publications:

1. Fortifications on the cape Molunat (15th century)³⁴⁰
2. Epidaurus (Cavtat) (up to the 9th century, Late Middle Ages)³⁴¹
3. Island of Mrkan³⁴²
4. Islet of Bobara near Cavtat³⁴³
5. Gradac near Dubrovnik³⁴⁴
6. Spilan above Župa at Dubrovnik³⁴⁵
7. Dubrovnik (continuity)³⁴⁶
8. Stari Grad in the Pelješac peninsula³⁴⁷
9. Fortifications on St. Micheal's hill in Pelješac (church, 11th century)³⁴⁸

338 Such assumptions are supported, in some cases, by the toponyms of these sites, or by the continuous presence of fortifications on them, whose construction most probably destroyed previous structures: Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128-129.

339 Goldštajn, *Bizant*.

340 L. Beretić, *Molunat. Utvrde i regulacioni plan Molunata iz druge polovine 15. stoljeća*, Prilozi povijesti umetnosti u Dalmaciji 14, Split 1962, 53; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

341 Suić, *Antički grad*, 35; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

342 I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima neronitskog područja*, Dolina rijeke Neretve od prethistorije do ranog srednjeg vijeka, Izdanja HAD 5, Split 1980, 243 (= Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim*); Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

343 Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim*, 249; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

344 I. Marović, *Arheološka istraživanja u okolini Dubrovnika*, Anali Dubrovnik 4-5 (1955/1956) 9-31 (= Marović, *Arheološka istraživanja*); Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

345 Marović, *Arheološka istraživanja*, 24; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

346 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 36-37.

347 M. Zaninović, *Antička osmatračnica kod Stona*, Situla 14/15, Ljubljana 1974, 163-173; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 38.

348 C. Fisković, *Likovna baština Stona*, Anali Dubrovnik 22-23 (1985) 80; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 39.

10. Polača in Mljet³⁴⁹
11. Kaštel in Mljet³⁵⁰
12. Fortification in the upper part of the islet of Majsan³⁵¹
13. Fortification in the site Glabalovo selo above Orebić³⁵²
14. Straža above Pjevor in Lastovo³⁵³
15. Fortification on the islet of Svetac, near Vis³⁵⁴
16. Gradina above Trpanj in Pelješac³⁵⁵
17. Zamasline in Pelješac³⁵⁶
18. Baćina at Ploče³⁵⁷
19. Fortification on the island of Osinje³⁵⁸
20. Gradina in Jelsa³⁵⁹
21. Faros-Starigrad (continuity)³⁶⁰
22. Grad or Galešnik on the hill Paljevica, in Hvar³⁶¹
23. Tor in Hvar³⁶²
24. Fort Gračešće on the exit out of Starigradski bay³⁶³
25. Bol on the island of Brač (9th century)³⁶⁴
26. Mirja above Postire in Brač³⁶⁵

- 349 M. Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu*, Zagreb 1976, 239.
- 350 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125
- 351 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125.
- 352 Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim*, 230; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 39.
- 353 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 40.
- 354 B. Kirgin - A. Milošević, *Svetac*, Arheo 2, Ljubljana 1981, 45-51; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 40.
- 355 I. Fisković, *Pelješac u protopovijesti i antici*, Pelješki zbornik 1, Zagreb 1976, 15-80; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42.
- 356 Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim*, 221; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42.
- 357 Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim*, 14-15; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42.
- 358 J. Jeličić, *Narteks u ranokršćanskoj arhitekturi na području istočnog Jadrana*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 23, Split 1983, 26-27; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 125; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42.
- 359 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42; M. Katić, *Nova razmatranja o kasnoantičkom gradu na Jadranu*, Opvscula archaeologica 27 (2003) 525 (= Katić, *Nova razmatranja*).
- 360 On the Croatian coast Faros is the only example of a town from the Antiquity that underwent a reduction in its urban form: Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 525; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42-43.
- 361 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 126; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 42.
- 362 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 43.
- 363 M. Zaninović, *Neki prometni kontinuiteti u srednjoj Dalmaciji*, Materijali 17, Peć 1978, 39-53; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 43.
- 364 D. Hranković, *Braciae insulae descriptio (Opis otoka Brača)*, Legende i kronike, Split 1977, 210, 219; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 43.
- 365 E. Marin, *Mirje nad Postirama*, AP 19 (1977) 152-154; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 43.

27. Salona³⁶⁶
28. Split (Diocletian's Palace) (continuity)³⁶⁷
29. Trogir (continuity)³⁶⁸
30. Gradina on the island of Žirje³⁶⁹
31. Gustijerna on the island of Žirje³⁷⁰
32. Trdanj on the lower Krka river³⁷¹
33. St. Ana fortification in the Šibenik area³⁷²
34. Fortification on the island of Vrgada³⁷³
35. Toreta – Tarac on the island of Kornati³⁷⁴
36. Pustograd on the island of Pašman³⁷⁵
37. St. Mihovil in Ugljan³⁷⁶
38. Koženjak near Sala in Dugi otok³⁷⁷
39. Građevina on the islet of St. Peter near Ilovik³⁷⁸
40. Jader (Zadar) (continuity)³⁷⁹

- 366 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 44.
- 367 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 44.
- 368 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 44; T. Burić, *Vinišća. Rezultati rekognosciranja*, SP 27 (2000) 59.
- 369 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 126; Z. Brusić, *Kasnoantička utvrđenja na otocima Rabu i Krku*, Arheološka istraživanja na otocima Krku, Rabu, i Pagu i Hrvatskom primorju, Izdanja HAD 13, Zagreb 1988, 111-119 (= Brusić, *Kasnoantička*).
- 370 Z. Gunjača, *Gradina Žirje. Kasnoantička utvrda*, AP 21 (1980) 133; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 126; Brusić, *Kasnoantička*, 111-119.
- 371 Z. Gunjača, *O kontinuitetu naseljavanja na području Šibenika i najuže okolice*, Šibenik. Spomen-zbornik o 900. obljetnici, Šibenik 1976, 46 (= Gunjača, *O kontinuitetu*); Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 47.
- 372 Gunjača, *O kontinuitetu*, 46; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 47.
- 373 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 126; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 47.
- 374 I. Petricoli, „Toreta“ na otoku Kornatu, *Adriatica Praehistorica et Antiqua* (ur. V. Miroslavljević, et al.), Zagreb 1970, 717-725; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 126.
- 375 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 127; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 48.
- 376 N. Jakšić, *Prilozi povjesnoj topografiji otoka Ugljana*, Radovi FF-a u Zadru 15 (1989) 83-102; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 48; Z. Karač, *Tragovi bizantskog urbanizma u Hrvatskoj*, Prostor 3-2 (10), Zagreb 1995, 291 (= Karač, *Tragovi*).
- 377 Č. Iveković, *Dugi Otok i Kornat*, Rad JAZU 235 (1928) 256; I. Petricoli, *Spomenici iz ranog srednjeg vijeka na Dugom Otoku*, SP 3 (1954) 53-65; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 49.
- 378 A. Badurina, *Bizantska utvrda na otočiću Palacol*, Arheološka istraživanja na otocima Cresu i Lošinju, Izdanja HAD 7, Zagreb 1982, 171-174; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128.
- 379 Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 49-50.

41. St. Damjan fortification in the island of Rab³⁸⁰
42. Kaštelin fortification above Kamporska draga on the island of Rab³⁸¹
43. Fortification on the hill of Bosar, near Baška, on the island of Krk³⁸²
44. Fortification of Veli Grad on the cape Glavina, on Krk³⁸³
45. Fortification on the islet St. Mark (Almis)³⁸⁴
46. Gradina above Omišlje, on the island of Krk³⁸⁵
47. Fortification on the islet of Palacol³⁸⁶
48. Apsorus (Osor) (Late Middle Ages)³⁸⁷
49. Drid³⁸⁸
50. Island of Drvenik, at the foothill of Gračina³⁸⁹
51. Ostrvica in Poljice³⁹⁰
52. Gradina above Modrić draga³⁹¹
53. Sveta Trojica³⁹²
54. Gradina above Donja Prizna³⁹³

- 380 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 127; Brusić, *Kasnoantička*, 111-119; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 51.
- 381 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Brusić, *Kasnoantička*, 112; Ž. Tomićić, *Sv. Juraj iznad Paga. Ranobizantski kastron*, Obavijesti HAD 21, Zagreb 1989, 28-31; Karač, *Tragovi*, 293.
- 382 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 127; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 52.
- 383 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 128; Faber, *Osvrt*, 116-121; Brusić, *Kasnoantička*, 112-116; Karač, *Tragovi*, 291; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 52.
- 384 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 127; A. Faber, *Osvrt na neka utvrđenja otoka Krka od vremena prethistorije do antike i srednjeg vijeka*, Prilozi 3-4 (1986/1987), Zagreb 1988, 116-121 (= Faber, *Osvrt*); Brusić, *Kasnoantička*, 111-119; Karač, *Tragovi*, 291.
- 385 N. Novak - A. Božić, *Starokršćanski kompleks na Mirinama u uvali Sapan kraj Omišlja na otoku Krku*, SP 21 (1991) 1995, 32.
- 386 A. Badurina, *Bizantska utvrda na otočiću Palacol*, Arheološka istraživanja na otocima Cresu i Lošnju, Izdanja HAD 7, Zagreb 1982, 171-177; Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 127; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 52.
- 387 In the year of 530, it became the episcopal see: A. Faber, *Počeci urbanizacije na otocima sjevernog Jadrana, Arheološka topografija Osora*, Arheološka istraživanja na Cresu i Lošnju, Izdanja HAD 7, Zagreb 1982, 61-78; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 54.
- 388 M. Katić, *Utvrdna Drid*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 34 (1994), 5-19.
- 389 T. Burić, *Arheološka topografija otoka Drvenika i Ploče*, SP 27 (2000), 41.
- 390 Ž. Rapanić, *Kasnoantička palača u Ostrvici kod Gata (Poljica)*, Cetinska krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka, Izdanja HAD 8, Split 1984, 149-162.
- 391 Ž. Tomićić, *Materijalni tragovi ranobizantskog vojnog graditeljstva u velebitskom podgorju*, Vesnik Arheološkog muzeja 23, Zagreb 1990, 139-162 (= Tomićić, *Materijalni tragovi*).
- 392 A. Glavičić, *Arheološki nalazi iz Senja i okolice (VI)*, Senjski zbornik 10-11, Senj 1984, 17; Tomićić, *Materijalni tragovi*, 139-162.
- 393 Tomićić, *Materijalni tragovi*, 139-162.

55. Kastron in Sutojašnica (Svetojanj, Sutojanj, Svetojašnica)³⁹⁴
56. St. Juraj above Pag³⁹⁵
57. Fortification on a plateau near Klopotnica³⁹⁶
58. Site Košlja Gromača north of Novalja³⁹⁷
59. Trinićelo near Stara Novalja³⁹⁸
60. Izvor near Kolan³⁹⁹
61. Fortification on the hill of Košljun near Zaglava (Novaljsko polje)⁴⁰⁰
62. Petrić near Stara Novalja⁴⁰¹
63. Fortification in Slatina above Gajac⁴⁰²
64. Gradina near Baška voda⁴⁰³
65. Site Luna in the western upper part of the island of Pag⁴⁰⁴
66. Guard post in the island of Ist⁴⁰⁵
67. Korintija on in the island of Krk (until the 11th century)⁴⁰⁶
68. St. Peter peninsula⁴⁰⁷
69. Beretinova gradina⁴⁰⁸
70. Hill Pupavica, in the Vučipolje area near Dugopolje⁴⁰⁹
71. Burnum, the Roman camp⁴¹⁰

394 Tomičić, *Materijalni tragovi*, 139-162; Ž. Tomičić, *Svetojanj. Kasnoantička utvrda kraj Stare Novalje na otoku Pagu*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 12, Zagreb 1996, 291-305.

395 Ž. Tomičić, *Arheološka svjedočanstva o ranobizantskom vojnom graditeljstvu na sjeverojadranskim otocima*, Prilozi 5/6 (1988/1989), Zagreb 1990, 29-53. A Byzantine gold coin was discovered in one of the rooms: K. Regan, *Utvrdna Sv. Jurja u Caskoj na otoku Pagu*, Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 19 (2002) 141-148 (= Regan, *Utvrdna*). After the fall under the Slavic control, the settlement kept on living until 1203, when it was razed and deserted, during a conflict between Rab and Zadar.

396 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

397 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

398 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

399 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

400 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

401 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

402 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

403 Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 523.

404 Regan, *Utvrdna*, 141.

405 Karač, *Tragovi*, 291.

406 Karač, *Tragovi*, 290.

407 Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 523.

408 Š. Batović, *Istraživanje ilirskog naselja u Radovini*, Diadora 4 (1968) 53-69.

409 I. Borzić - I. Jadrić, *Novi prilozi arheološkoj topografiji dugopoljskoga kraja*, Archaeologia Adriatica 1, Zagreb 2007, 160.

410 M. Zaninović, *Burnum, casellum-municipium*, Diadora 4 (1968) 121; M. Zaninović, *Od gradine do castruma na području Delmata*, Odbrambeni sistemi

72. Knin, ancient Ninia⁴¹¹
73. Gradac (above the road leading to Promona), round the St. Marijen church⁴¹²
74. Danilo Gornji, ancient Ridera near Šibenik⁴¹³
75. Balina glavica (Magnum)⁴¹⁴
76. Gradina of Subotiče⁴¹⁵
77. Podgrađe near Benkovac (Aserija) (Middle Ages)⁴¹⁶
78. Čukar in Mokro Polje⁴¹⁷
79. Keglevića gradina – Mokro Polje⁴¹⁸
80. Glavica near the small village of Meter in Lug (Middle Ages)⁴¹⁹
81. Kokića glavica – Pripolje⁴²⁰
82. Grad on the slopes above Knezović and Mamić jezero⁴²¹
83. Ljubljana – Ravni kotari⁴²²
84. Kuzelin near Zagreb⁴²³
85. Narona (Vid)⁴²⁴

u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije, Materijali 22, Novi Sad 1986, 166 (= Zaninović, *Od gradine*).

- 411 M. Zaninović, *Kninsko područje u antici*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 7, 1974, 309; Zaninović, *Od gradine*, 167.
- 412 A. Uglešić, *Ranohrišćanska arhitektura na području današnje Šibenske biskupije*, Drniš - Zadar 2006, 51-53.
- 413 M. Zaninović, *Gradina u Danilu i Tor nad Jelsom, Dva gradinska naselja u srednjoj Dalmaciji*, Materijali 15, Beograd 1978, 17-29 (= Zaninović, *Gradina*).
- 414 I. Glavaš, *Municipij Magnum. Raskrižje rimskih cestovnih pravaca i beneficijarska postaja*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 52, Zagreb - Zadar 2010, 45-59.
- 415 I. Alduk, *Uvod u istraživanje srednjovekovne tvrđave Zadvarje (1. dio - do turskog osvajanja)*, Starohrvatska prosvjeta 32 (2005), 218.
- 416 Suić, *Antički grad*, 136, including the relevant bibliography. Many structures were dated to the Middle Ages.
- 417 Life on Gradina ended with the Slavic and Avar incursions, but several ceramic fragments were discovered, dated to the Late Middle Ages: V. Delonga, *Prilog arheološkoj topografiji Mokrog Polja kod Knina*, SP 14 (1984) 259-283 (= Delonga, *Prilog*).
- 418 Delonga, *Prilog*, 259-283.
- 419 Lj. Gudelj, *Proložac Donji. Izvješće o istraživanjima lokaliteta kod crkve Sv. Mihovila u Postranju*, SP 27 (2000) 130. (= Gudelj, *Proložac Donji*)
- 420 Gudelj, *Proložac Donji*, 129-146.
- 421 Gudelj, *Proložac Donji*, 129-146.
- 422 Tomićić, *Materijalni tragovi*, 147.
- 423 This fortification has existed since the 4th century: V. Sokol, *Das spatantike Kastrom auf dem Kuzelin bei Donja Glavica*, Arheološki vestnik 45 (1994) 199-209.
- 424 N. Cambi, *Antička Narona. Postanak i razvitak grada prema najnovijim arheološkim istraživanjima*, Materijali 15, Beograd 1978, N. Cambi, *Arhitektura*

- 86. Gradina – Badanj⁴²⁵
- 87. Bribir (Late Middle Ages, Ottoman period)⁴²⁶
- 88. Mala Vijola near Knin⁴²⁷
- 89. Čitluk near Sinj (ancient veteran colony of Aequum)⁴²⁸

This list enumerates 89 fortifications in Croatia, but this number must have been higher. Until now, a plenty of strongholds (gradine) on the territory of Mokro polje⁴²⁹ and dry-stone fortifications erected on the hills overlooking Sinjsko polje have been sighted; some Late Antique/Early Byzantine ones might be found among the latter.⁴³⁰ Just so, some fort would surely be registered with sondages on a few of medieval fortifications on the slopes of Medvednica (Medvedgrad, Susedgrad), Samoborsko gorje (Okić, Samobor), and Žumberak/Gorjanac (Mokrice).⁴³¹ In the vicinity of the already-mentioned Balina Glavica near Umljanovići (75), several gradinas were discovered, some of which might be from the Early Byzantine period.⁴³²

- Narone i njezina teritorija u kasnoj antici*, Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta u Zadru 24 (1984/1985) 33-58; E. Marin, *Narona: Vid kod Metkovića*, Split 1999.
- 425 Besides the Late Antiquity period, ranging from the fourth to the sixth century, medieval findings were registered, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: R. Matejčić, *Gradina Badanj kod Crkvenice*, Jadranski zbornik 10, Pula 1978, 239-271.
- 426 Z. Gunjača, *Strateško i istorijsko-arheološko značenje Bribira*, Kolokvij o Bribiru. Pregled rezultata arheoloških istraživanja od 1959. do 1965. godine, Zagreb 1968, 9-16; Z. Gunjača, *Nalaz srednjovekovnih arhitektura na Bribiru*, SP 10, Zagreb 1968, 235-242; T. Burić, *Bribir u srednjem vijeku*, Split 1987.
- 427 M. Zaninović, *Kninsko područje u Antici*, Arheološki radovi i rasprave 7, Zagreb 1974, 303.
- 428 N. Gabrić, *Kolonia Claudia Aequum (Pregled dosadašnjih iskopavanja, slučajnih nalaza i usputnih zapažanja)*, Cetinjska krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka, Split 1984, 273-284. The town was mentioned in 533, at the second Council of Salona; Suić, *Antički grad*, 131.
- 429 Delonga, *Prilog*, 262
- 430 D. Periša, *Je li delmatsko područje presjekao rimski limes?*, Archaeologia Adriatica 2 (2008) 511-512; Ž. Barlutović, *Neka pitanja iz povijesti Senja*, Senjski zbornik 34 (2007) 265-296.
- 431 D. Ložnjak - Dizdar, *Terenski pregled područja izgradnje HE Podsused*, Annales Instituti Archaeologici 4 (2008) 109-112.
- 432 I. Glavaš, *Municipij Magnum. Raskrižje rimskih cestovnih pravaca i beneficijarska postaja*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 52, Zagreb-Zadar 2010, 45-59.

By applying the criteria of urban continuity, Z. Karač proposed the following classification:

- Towns with antique foundations
- Dislocated, i.e. abandoned towns
- Newly-emerged settlements, some of which lasted continuously⁴³³

According to the proposed classification, Zadar (40), partly Trogir (29) and probably Rab, too (41-42) fall into the first type of settlement, i.e. they represent towns with the least turbulent transitions from the Antiquity and Byzantine era to the Middle Ages.⁴³⁴ These towns survived historic calamities, but have persevered up to the present, and are towns with full continuity of existence.

The second group of settlements are those that transferred their urban functions to more secure areas towards the coast or to the islands when the hinterland was lost and the terrestrial communication interrupted. The dwindling population of Salona (27) moved closer to the sea – partly into Diocletian's palace (28), from which the town of Split would develop, and partly towards the nearby Trogir.⁴³⁵ The population of Epidaurus (2) sought refuge on the nearby islands of Mrkan (3) and Bobara (4),⁴³⁶ but also to the gradinas of Gradac (5) and Spilan (6), that had already been inhabited for centuries before,⁴³⁷ while the episcopal see was transferred to Dubrovnik (7). Epidaurus lingered on until the ninth century.⁴³⁸ Naron, an important harbour on the Neretva, was transferred above Ston (8-9) when the lower course of the river silted;⁴³⁹ the same phenomenon struck Nin (Aenona) too.

But some ancient cities disappeared completely because new locations could not be found, which happened to a whole string of settlements

433 Karač, *Tragovi*, 285-298.

434 Karač, *Tragovi*, 285.

435 Golštajn, *Bizant*, 91.

436 I. Fisković, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima naronitskog područja*, Dolina rijeke Neretve od prethistorije do ranog srednjeg vijeka, Izdanja HAD 5, Split 1980, 233, 246, 249; Goldštajn, *Bizant*, 34.

437 *Annales Anonymi Ragusini*, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium 25, Zagreb 1983, 7; Golštajn, *Bizant*, 34. For further information regarding the results of the archaeological excavations, see: I. Marović, *Arheološka istraživanja u okolini Dubrovnika*, Anali Dubrovnika 4-5 (1955-6) 24; J. Medini, *O nekim kronološkim i sadržajnim značajkama poglavlja O Dalmaciji u djelu Cosmographia anonimnog pisca iz Ravene*, Putevi i komunikacije u antici, Materijali 17, Peć 1978, 76-77 (= Medini, *O nekim kronološkim*).

438 Karač, *Tragovi*, 289.

439 Golštajn, *Bizant*, 96, 98.

below Velebit: Ortopla (Stitnica), Vegium (Karlobag), Lopsica (Jurjevo), Argyruntum (Starigrad). These settlements lost their terrestrial communications, and found themselves beyond Byzantine sea routes.⁴⁴⁰ Senia (Senj) was the only town to have arranged transfer of its location to the castrum of Korinthia on the island coast of Krk (67), which lasted until the eleventh century.⁴⁴¹

Late Antique underwent transformations, due to historical events and economic factors, political and administrative changes, and new cultural and ideological structures, as analysed in detail by M. Suić.⁴⁴² Towns underwent ruralization; elements of rural economy and rustic architecture spread inside towns – elements of agrarian production in urban palaces.⁴⁴³ Most of the agglomerations inherited from the Antiquity were ruralized and thus survived in the form of the „agro-urban“ milieu.⁴⁴⁴ In the Late Antiquity, towns were depopulated and villages repopulated. This exodus of the urban population was a consequence of the permanent economic crisis, which led to the growth of villages and of agricultural production.⁴⁴⁵ In the hinterland, the prevailing insecurity caused the strongholds to be re-evaluated; and not just the settlements that continued to exist throughout the entire Antiquity, but also those that were abandoned. This fits in the already stated tendencies of the castrization process.⁴⁴⁶

Because the terrestrial communications were lost, the only road stretching along the coast was the maritime one. Therefore, it was necessary to build a system of watchtowers and fortifications along the sea routes of Byzantine ships. Around forty of them were built in the area stretching from the cape Planka in central Dalmatia to the coast of Istria, 5-10 km apart, allowing for visual communication.⁴⁴⁷ The other reason to

440 Karač, *Tragovi*, 289.

441 Karač, *Tragovi*, 289-290.

442 For further information regarding the transformation of antique towns into medieval ones (post-Antiquity), changes and reduction of public spaces, construction and adaptation works, usage of monumental objects for secondary purposes, issues regarding *spolia*, spacial conceptions, internal disposition and articulation, as well as the questions of spatial solutions and relations within a town area, see: Suić, *Antički grad*, 227-251.

443 Suić, *Antički grad*, 248-9.

444 Suić, *Antički grad*, 248-9.

445 Suić, *Antički grad*, 249.

446 Suić, *Antički grad*, 249.

447 A. Badurina, *Bizantski plovni put po vanjskom rubu sjevernih jadranskih otoka*, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 16, Zagreb 1992, 7-9.

construct fortifications was to create a necessary network of refuges for the adjacent unfortified rural settlements.⁴⁴⁸ Most of these fortifications did not survive the Middle Ages, although some of them stood for a very long time, like the Brioni castel, which existed until the sixteenth century. The fortified Byzantine locations were abandoned early, especially the agglomerations on high altitudes, far away from the sea and/or a suitable harbour. Late Antique rural palaces (e.g. Ostrvica in Poljaci, Polača on Mljet) suffered a similar faith. In the sixth and seventh centuries, small rural settlements of a limited duration formed around them.⁴⁴⁹

Most authors attribute the horizons of fortification creation along the eastern Adriatic coast to the reconquista of the Emperor Justinian.⁴⁵⁰ These fortifications were, doubtlessly, providing safety for the naval transportation in this part of the Adriatic, bays suitable for anchoring and safe from winds establishing control over the navigation routes, and were offering protection to the local population. Byzantium showed significant interest in harbours and islands lying on the east Adriatic coast, since that route enabled the most direct and, in the aftermath of Slavic migrations, the only connection with Ravenna and the territories in northern Italy. Pursuing the goal of the restoration of the Roman Empire within its former boundaries, Justinian had to defeat the Gothic fleet. And only after the victory was won, at the beginning of the second half of the sixth century, Byzantium managed to seize the entire Adriatic. According to Gunjača, this period should be considered *terminus post quem* for the start of the construction of the fortification system, at least regarding the structures in the central and northern parts of the Adriatic.⁴⁵¹

Contrary to the aforementioned prevailing opinion of the utter demise of Illyricum (depopulation, ravaged economy, razed and abandoned towns as a consequence of the plague epidemics, loss of trade and traffic connections with the occupied hinterland), Katić considers the process of decay and transformation of the Dalmatian towns to be far more complex and lengthy in nature. Recent research has also pointed to another, quite opposite process that took place in the Late Antiquity.⁴⁵²

448 Golštajn, *Bizant*, 104.

449 Karač, *Tragovi*, 294.

450 Tomičić, *Materijalni tragovi*, 146; Karač, *Tragovi*, 291; Regan, *Utvrd*, 147.

451 Gunjača, *Kasnoantička*, 131.

452 M. Katić, *Nova razmatranja o kasnoantičkom gradu na Jadranu*, *Opuscula archaeologia* 27, Zagreb 2003, 523-528 (= Katić, *Nova razmatranja*).

The process of decay indeed struck larger towns, like Salona and Narona.⁴⁵³ The author underlines the example of Hvar, i.e. Lisine, founded at the end of the fourth century. It had no earlier roots in the Antiquity, and yet it flourished in the sixth century.⁴⁵⁴ Kopar and Novigrad in Istria have roots in the Late Antiquity, and the same applies to Biograd, Šibenik and Dubrovnik.⁴⁵⁵ Written sources and archaeological excavations clearly indicate that new fortified centres of the Late Antiquity contain ports, churches and ramparts, and some of these became diocese sees. Because of all this, Katić claims that the notion of the crisis of the Late Antiquity in the eastern Adriatic needs to be more clearly defined, depending on the available archaeological and historical facts, which is why generalizing the process of urban settlements' decay cannot be accepted.⁴⁵⁶

Cosmographia of the Anonymous from Ravenna speaks in favour of this hypothesis. In this work, the number of towns registered compared to the earlier Roman itineraries is higher. These are the new centres of the Late Antiquity,⁴⁵⁷ and the newly-established system of habitation in the littoral regions.⁴⁵⁸ The anonymous writer from Ravenna, author of *Cosmographia*, a treatise composed at the end of the sixth or in the early seventh century, designated civitates on the coastal stretch of land at the foothill of the Velebit Mountain.⁴⁵⁹ The explanation given for this fact was that his contemporaries did not differentiate between towns and villages (and even today many rural settlements are called towns), and that the fortifications held so much importance that a mere presence of ramparts enhances the status of settlement.⁴⁶⁰

As Slobodan Čače states, the accounts given by the Anonymous of Ravenna are precious as they indicate that the process of „castrization“ - i.e. transfer of settlements towards more easily defensible hilltops – had advanced well even before the sixth century and that it took off during Justinian's

453 Golštajn, *Bizant*, 90-91; 96.

454 M. Katić, *Kasnoantički grad na Jadranu. Primer grada Hvara*, Prilozi povijesti umetnosti u Dalmaciji 38, Split 1999/2000, 19-49 (= Katić, *Kasnoantički grad*).

455 Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 525.

456 Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 525.

457 Medini, *O nekim kronološkim*, 69-83.

458 S. Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae* u „Kozmografiji“ Anonima Ravenjanina, *Diadora* 15 (1993) 431 (= Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae*).

459 *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Gvidonys Geographica* (ed. M. Pinder - G. Parthey), Berlin 1860; Suić, *Antički grad*, 303-305.

460 More extensively on this issue, see: Suić, *Antički grad*, 248-9; Goldštajn, *Bizant na Jadranu*, 101-2.

reign, when the entire province was covered by a dense network of different fortifications, ranging from towns and small fortifications to watchtowers. Even the settlements that were not on the main road were listed: Dubrovnik, Ston, Makar, Drid;⁴⁶¹ but still, many settlements were located along the sea routes, which should be taken into consideration.

With the cessation of terrestrial traffic, commerce and traffic shifted to sea routes. Skilful in seafaring and shipbuilding, the islanders benefited from the newly-emerged circumstances and took part in trade and transportation in the Mediterranean. These circumstances led, together with an increasing influx of population, to the formation of late antique civitates on the coastline. In this process, Justinian's reconquista played an important, but not the key role.⁴⁶² Justinian was not setting up a limes by building fortifications along the sea roads of the eastern Adriatic, but was rather striving to secure and improve the seafaring conditions in the Adriatic.⁴⁶³ Therefore, castrization was not the only process taking place, but also the construction of docks and harbours, usually below fortifications, which was helping trade and providing harbours for ships.⁴⁶⁴

Tomičić and several other authors had an idea of a limes set up along the southern coast below the Velebit mountain, acting as a defensive system against Slavic incursions towards the Adriatic;⁴⁶⁵ I. Čremošnik shared this opinion to a certain extent.⁴⁶⁶ Such a point of view is a product

461 Čače, *Civitates Dalmatiae*, 430.

462 Katić claims that the impact of Justinian's castrization, with which the Late Antiquity fortifications on the eastern Adriatic coast are associated, has been overestimated, and that earlier, fortified settlements on high terrain need to be differentiated from the Early Byzantine castra: Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 525-526.

463 Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 526.

464 Ž. Rapanić, *Predromaničko doba u Dalmaciji*, Split 1987, 58.

465 The spatial distribution of the Early Byzantine fortifications lying at the foothill of Velebit and on the island of Pag indicates their in-depth arrangement, and that the forts on the coastal rim could have acted as the first defensive line, with the castra on the Pag island being the second. The position of mountain passages on the Velebit mountain fits with the arrangement of the forts on the coastal rim, i.e. they are guarding the access to the passages from the coast. The forts arranged in-depth on the Pag's coastal rim (56; 65) were guarding the naval zone, but also the island and its urban agglomerations: Tomičić, *Materijalni tragovi*, 139-162.

466 She speaks of the clustering of fortified sites along the Adriatic coastal rim and along the mountain ridges separating the coast from the Dalmatian hinterland: Čremošnik, *Rimska utvrđenja*, 357.

of focusing on a small area only and of not perceiving the entire distribution of the fortifications, densely clustered throughout the territory of Dalmatia and Illyricum.

The Avar forays and the Slavic colonization in the eastern Adriatic, followed by the second wave of the arriving Serbs and Croats, marked the end of Late Antiquity in these lands. In such circumstances, the local Romanized population managed to survive for a long time in heterogeneous enclaves surrounded by Slavs. It was only in Istria that nearly all earlier settlements continued to exist,⁴⁶⁷ in contrast to very few on the coastline of the present-day Dalmatia: Zadar, Trogir, Split and Dubrovnik on the mainland, and Krk, Cres and Rab in the islands.⁴⁶⁸ The hinterland was cut off, while the islands and the few surviving coastal towns maintained economic relations with the metropolis by the sea route. These were towns with an inherited continuity, cities with cultural, ethnic and topical continuity (Krk, Osor, Rab, Zadar, Trogir...). Others preserved the urban traditions of some destroyed town, but not its location, like Split and Dubrovnik – meaning, only cultural and ethnic continuity. More numerous are the settlements that rose at the sites of earlier urban settlements from the Antiquity that suffered destruction, like Nin, Skradin and many others. Although uninterrupted continuity has not been established in the previously-mentioned cases, some precedents from the Antiquity played a certain role in the formation of the new town, e.g. by retracing the ancient ramparts, preserving some important communications...⁴⁶⁹ Some rural settlements would spurn urban organisation, even though they sprung up above the antique ruins (Solin). Small Roman enclaves pressed against the coastal rim could only have been rejuvenated by receiving fresh forces from the hinterland. Thus began the process of Slavization in the coastal towns.⁴⁷⁰ As we have seen in the afore-mentioned list, and as J. Medini said earlier, after the Slavic colonization there were far more surviving Roman oases in littoral Dalmatia than previously thought.⁴⁷¹

While the issues regarding Byzantine towns on the eastern Adriatic were widely spoken of and are now well-known, the Byzantine fortifications in the hinterland remain a neglected topic. Because of this we have today a very small number of fortifications in continental Croatia

467 Suić, *Antički grad*, 253.

468 *DAI I* 29. 49-54; *BHJ*, 12-13.

469 Suić, *Antički grad*, 257.

470 Suić, *Antički grad*, 249.

471 Medini, *O nekim kronološkim*, 75.

from this era, and the movable findings from such sites equally remain unknown. It was already mentioned that the settlements in the rural areas are developed along Roman roads, which now acted as the main streets. Their locations in the valleys and the dispersion of dwellings made defensive features inexistent and fortification rather impossible, which is why the population moved to the nearby hills and plateaus in tumultuous times – most often to the sites of former Illyrian strongholds.⁴⁷² Except for a few forts, they remain unfamiliar to us. If the analogous situation from the nearest neighbourhood, Bosnia and Slovenia,⁴⁷³ is applied, an approximate dispersion of Early Byzantine fortifications should be expected. Katić's remark on the re-use of Illyrian strongholds (*gradina*) provides a good guideline for identifying them. A repeated analysis of the ceramic material could yield surprising results, by simply using the presence of mortar to distinguish these epochs.

Montenegro

What is today Montenegro was, for the greatest part, the province of Prevalis, which was detached from the province of Dalmatia at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, in 297 or 305/6.⁴⁷⁴ All that was said of the coastal towns in Croatia stands for those in Montenegro as well. The towns in the maritime Zeta had a common origin – their urban identity had been established in the Antiquity. Only a few of them continued to exist into the Middle Ages without suffering destruction during the Great Migrations (Ulcinj, Svač), while in the case of Acruvium, still not localized precisely, the old settlement was entirely abandoned, and a new one was founded that then took over the traditions of the old town together with its diocese (Kotor). The town of Bar represents an exception, since it was, most likely, restored in the sixth century, during Justinian's reconstruction of towns in Illyricum. All the coastal towns entered the

472 Katić, *Nova razmatranja*, 523.

473 For further information regarding fortifications in Slovenia, see: S. Ciglencečki, *Hohenbefestigungen als Siedlungsgrundeinheit der Spätantike in Slowenien*, *Arheološki vestnik*, 45 (1994) 239-266; S. Ciglencečki, *Hohenbefestigungen aus der Zeit vom 3. bis 6. Jh. Im Ostalpenraum*, Ljubljana 1987.

474 *Историја Црне Горе 1*, Титоград 1967, 242 (Ј. Ковачевић).

Middle Ages with a Christian population of Roman descent and as diocesan centres.⁴⁷⁵

While it is undeniable that the founders of the medieval towns in the coastal Zeta were Romaions (Romanoi), the process of Slavization began after the hinterland politically stabilized. In this process, the populations of the towns became mainly Slavic and the Romaions dissappeared over time. Although greater or smaller Romaion “islands” persisted in the towns, the urban districts were entirely Slavic.⁴⁷⁶ This process was followed by antagonisms between the native, Romaion population, and the Slavic newcomers, which gained a sectarian note, in addition to the ethnic one.⁴⁷⁷ Besides this, the Slavs in the hinterland lived of agriculture and animal husbandry, while the Romaions were forced to “live of the sea”.⁴⁷⁸

At the very beginning of the Early Medieval period, the episcopal towns brought together the need for gathering, commerce, defence and preservation of the Christian way of life. The last-mentioned is well reflected in the fact that towns smaller in size and closer to each other opened their doors for the refugees from the hinterland who carried with them their dioceses (the cathedrae from destroyed Doclea and Acrvium were transferred to Bar and Kotor, respectively).⁴⁷⁹

1. Bar (continuity)⁴⁸⁰
2. Ulcinj (Olcinium) (continuity)⁴⁸¹
3. Old Ulcinj (Late Middle Ages, 17th century)⁴⁸²
4. Svač (8th-10th; 11th-15th century)⁴⁸³

475 М. Антоновић, *Град и жупа у зетском приморју и северној Албанији у XIV и XV веку*, Београд 2003, 17 (= Антоновић, *Град*).

476 Антоновић, *Град*, 18-19.

477 Ђ. Бошковић, *Проблем урбанизације дукљанско-зетско-црногорског приморја у средњем веку*, Историјски записи 14/1-2 (1958) 230.

478 Антоновић, *Град*, 26.

479 Антоновић, *Град*, 307.

480 Ђ. Бошковић, *Стари Бар*, Београд 1962; Антоновић, *Град*, 42-44; М. Загарчанин, *Стари град Бар*, Бар 2008.

481 Ђ. Бошковић - П. Мијовић - М. Ковачевић, *Улцињ I*, Београд 1981; Антоновић, *Град*, 45-48; Јанковић, *Поморје*, 124.

482 П. Мијовић - Ј. Ковачевић, *Градови и утврђења у Црној Гори*, Београд-Улцињ 1975, 61, 141 (= Мијовић - Ковачевић, *Градови*).

483 Е. Зећевић, *Late Phase of the Medieval Town Svač*, *ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑΣΤΗ ΝΗΜΗ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΗ ΚΙΣΣΑ, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ* 2001, 685-695; Јанковић, *Поморје*, 27-33; 159; Антоновић, *Град*, 48-50; *Свач*, Лексикон градова и тргова средњовековних српских земаља - према писаним изворима (уред. С. Мишић), Београд 2010, 249-250 (М. Антоновић) (= Лексикон градова).

5. Budva (Buthua) (continuity)⁴⁸⁴
6. Duklja (Doclea) (church, 9th century)⁴⁸⁵
7. Gradac – Budimlja⁴⁸⁶
8. Gradac – Kaludra, Berane⁴⁸⁷
9. Gradina – Andrijevića⁴⁸⁸
10. Onogošt (Nikšić) (14th-15th century, Ottoman rule)⁴⁸⁹
11. Samograd (Kamengrad), in the vicinity of Berane⁴⁹⁰
12. Gradina Đuteza in Dinoše⁴⁹¹
13. Vladimir (Oblak) near Svač⁴⁹²

484 Мијовић-Ковачевић, *Градови*, 162 ; Антоновић, *Град*, 37-42; Јанковић, *Поморје*, 34-36; 89-96.

485 Archaeologists M. Živančević and D. Drašković have confirmed the existence of the Early Byzantine ceramics; P. Sticotti, *Die römischen Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, Wiena 1913; P. Sticotti, *Rimski grad Doklea u Crnoj Gori*, Podgorica 1999; Мијовић - Ковачевић, *Градови*, 63-69; *Nova antička Duklja I*, Podgorica 2010; *Историја Црне Горе 1*, Титоград 1967, 269-270 (Ј. Ковачевић); Јанковић, *Поморје*, 160; Ceramical findings dated to the earliest stage could be attributed to the 4th and 5th century, whereas the traces of the 6th century are still questionable: D. Drašković - M. Živanović, *Keramika prostoriје 3/IX. Prilog poznavanju svakodnevnog života antičke Duklje*, *Nova antička Duklja II*, Podgorica 2011, 76-77.

486 М. Лутовац, *Стари градови и утврђења у Полимљу*, Гласник Српског географског друштва 53-1, Београд 1973, 117; П. Лутовац, *Светосавске светиње у долини Лима*, Древнохришћанско и светосавско наслеђе у Црној Гори (Зборник радова са научног скупа одржаног у манастиру Михољска Превлака 17. јануара 2010), Цетиње - Београд 2010, 182.

487 Based on an insight into the unpublished research of P. Lutovac, archaeologist from the Polimski Museum in Berane.

488 Based on an insight into the unpublished research of P. Lutovac, archaeologist from the Polimski Museum in Berane.

489 *Историја Црне Горе 1*, Титоград 1967, 241-280, 253-4 (Ј. Ковачевић); Мијовић - Ковачевић, *Градови*, 122-123; *Никшић*, Лексикон градова, 187-188 (К. Митровић).

490 Д. Мркобрад, П. Лутовац, *Резултати истраживања вишеслојног утврђења Самоград у Полимљу*, Гласник САД 6 (1990) 135-139; Д. Мркобрад, А. Јовановић, *Самоград. Археолошка истраживања*, НПЗ 13 (1989) 31-46.

491 Given the provided description and the construction technique of the *gradina*, we decided to include this site into the review, although excavations have not been conducted. Cf. O. Velimirović-Žižić, *Ostaci fortifikacione arhitekture na gradini Đuteza u Dinošama kod Titograda*, Odbrambeni sistemi u praistoriji i antici na tlu Jugoslavije, Materijali 22, Novi Sad 1986, 80-87, табла 14 (= Velimirović-Žižić, *Ostaci*).

492 Јанковић, *Поморје*, 159-160.

14. Risan (Rhizinium) (Late Middle Ages)⁴⁹³
15. Herceg Novi (continuity)⁴⁹⁴
16. Nehaj (14th-16th century)⁴⁹⁵
17. Gradina Martinići (9th-12th century)⁴⁹⁶

As we have seen, like with the towns in Croatia, we can speak of the continuity between medieval and antique towns in the case of the coastal towns of Zeta. Residential and other buildings have not been preserved, because later buildings were built of their material and on their foundations. The earliest remnants of stone buildings belong to sacral objects, inscriptions and stone carvings that allow the buildings to be dated.⁴⁹⁷

Except for the typical towns, fortified places were also registered (albeit to a lesser degree), such as fortified villages and occasional military outposts that mostly did not survive into the Middle Ages. The three-naved basilica above Samograd from the Early Byzantine period is an exception. At this site, fragments of medieval pottery dated to the tenth century were discovered in the course of sondage exploration.⁴⁹⁸

Old medieval fortifications have been preserved in late medieval towns thanks to their growth and development (Bar), or to their stagnation (Svač). Fortifications from the eight to tenth centuries of other towns have remained unknown, since they were either completely demolished and built over or superposed on in the following period.⁴⁹⁹

493 Мијовић - Ковачевић, *Градови*, 130-131; Јанковић, *Поморје*, 157-158; *Рисан*, Лексикон градова, 242-244 (К. Митровић).

494 A tower of a circular groundplan, now submerged under the sea but built after the fall of the Roman Empire, indicates that a ferry traffic existed between Luštica and Herceg-Novi: Мијовић-Ковачевић, *Градови*, 55-58; Р. Мijović, *Nekoliko opažanja o rekonstrukciji antičkih i kasnoantičkih puteva kroz Crnu Goru*, *Putevi i komunikacije u antici*, Materijali 17, Peć 1978, 133-144.

495 М. Загарчанин, *Стари град Бар*, Бар 2008, 67-70.

496 Мијовић - Ковачевић, *Градови*, 61; V. Korać, *Martinići. Ostaci srednjovekovnog grada*, Beograd 2001; Јанковић, *Поморје*, 51-55, 126-128.

497 For further information on this issue, including the bibliography, see: Живковић, *Црквена организација*, 154-155.

498 Archaeological material has not been published yet: Д. Мркобрад, П. Лутовац, *Резултати истраживања вишеслојног утврђења Самоград у Полимљу*, Гласник САД 6 (1990) 135-139; Д. Мркобрад, А. Јовановић, *Самоград. Археолошка истраживања*, НПЗ 13 (1989) 31-46.

499 Јанковић, *Поморје*, 169.

According to the chapter XXXV of *De administrando imperio*, three inhabited towns existed in Doclea: Gradac, Novograd and Lontodokla, all three still not located. Gradac could have been any of the many toponyms with this name, but its name indicates its antique core, unlike Novograd. The name Lontodokla is made out of two parts – the latter being Dokla, i.e. Duklja.⁵⁰⁰ Dioclea was too big to be a town in the Middle Ages, and no reconstruction is known, which is why Lontodokla should be looked for in the surrounding area.

Porphirogenitos recorded the following inhabited towns in Travunia and Konavle: Trebinje, Vrm, Risan, Lukaveti and Zetlivi.⁵⁰¹ Since Travunia extended into the areas of the present-day Montenegro up to Risan, some of the mentioned towns were in the territory of the present-day Montenegro, or they are assumed to have been. Risan is a well-known but unexplored maritime town, lying on a hill approximately 200 m high. On the other side of a stream, an older church was discovered beneath the floor of the Sts. Peter and Paul church.⁵⁰² Lukaveti and Zetlivi are unknown and there are several proposals where to ubicate them.⁵⁰³

Janković identified Oblak from the *Chronicle of Dioclea* (Letopis popa Dukljanina), with the site called Vladimir (Oblak), near Svač, where remains of a church and of a fortification (dimensions 50 x 15/20m) were discovered. The fortification was not inhabited throughout its whole existence, nor was the refuge, as their surface areas are too small, so it must have served primarily as a border-line fort. Fragments of antique pottery are the only movable findings that were discovered. This site has not been researched.⁵⁰⁴

Life returned to the gradina of Dinoše at the time of Byzantine restoration. Velimirović-Žižić holds that this gradina could have been the centre of Gorska župa.⁵⁰⁵ It is considered that these remains could represent Novigrad from Porphyrogenitos' writings.⁵⁰⁶

500 P. Skok, *Kako bizantski pisci pišu slovenska mjesna i lična imena*, SP n.s. 1 (1927) 73.

501 DAI I, 34.19-20.

502 Јанковић, *Поморје*, 158.

503 Cf. note 142. We mention them since these locations, most probably, had an earlier, Late Antique phase.

504 Јанковић, *Поморје*, 159-160.

505 Velimirović - Žižić, *Ostaci*, 82-83. Two smaller gradinas guarded the rear of the fortification; since these gradinas - in the north Gradac in Lopari, and in the east, gradina Vukoš - have not been researched, their chronological frame cannot be established either.

506 The author identifies the remains of the medieval citadel as Ribnica. In support of this hypothesis, he mentions the remains of the church of St. Archangel

In a string of castra appearing at the end of Antiquity, the fortified settlement of Onogošt should be underscored, built close to the former Roman castrum Anderba in the present-day Nikšić in Montenegro. It is believed it was named after a Gothic comes (Anagast, Anegast, hence Anegastum), who had his residence at the spot.⁵⁰⁷

The small number of Early Byzantine fortifications comes as a consequence of never-conducted systematic reconnaissance on the one hand and on the other, of a small number of excavations undertaken in the late medieval towns that overlay the earlier strata. That it is so can be seen from a simple fact that a large number of fortifications were discovered around Berane after sondage works had been initiated.⁵⁰⁸ In this case, 11 out of 17 sites had later phases of use (64.7 %).

Macedonia

In 295, the reforms of Diocletian had Macedonia assigned into the diocese of Moesia. In the first half of the fourth century, during Constantine's reign, it was transferred under the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Illyricum.⁵⁰⁹ The territory of this prefecture was divided into two dioceses: Dacia in the north and Macedonia in the south. Macedonia was made up of the following provinces: Macedonia Prima, Macedonia Secunda, Epirus Nova, Epirus Vetus, Thessalia, Achaia and Creta.⁵¹⁰ Macedonia I, Macedonia II, and parts of the provinces Dardania, Dacia Mediterranea, Praevalitana and Epirus Nova were situated within the boundaries of the present-day Macedonia.⁵¹¹ The crisis that befell the Roman state and the barbarian invasions affected Macedonia as one of Rome's provinces.

The first Gothic incursions and the ravaging of towns in the third century had a major impact on the eastern- and central-Balkan lands. The

Michael, in which Nemanja could have been baptized by the Catholic rite: Velimirović - Žižić, *Ostaci*, 82-83.

507 *Историја Црне Горе 1*, Титоград 1967, 253-4 (Ј. Ковачевић).

508 Based on an insight into the unpublished research of P. Lutovac, archaeologist from the Polimski Museum in Berane.

509 *Историја на Македонскиот народ 1*, Скопје 1969, 53-54.

510 Љ. Максимовић, *Северни Илирик у VI веку*, ЗРВИ 19 (1980), 19 (= Максимовић, *Северни Илирик*).

511 I. Mikulčić, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Befestigungen in Nordmakedonien. Städte-Vici-Refugien-Kastelle*, München 2002, 19 (= Mikulčić, *Spätantike*).

area of Macedonia suffered destruction chiefly in 268 and 269, when most towns, big and small, were destroyed and never rebuilt again. The barbarian menace reappeared after the ruin of the Roman army in the Battle of Hadrianopolis in 387, when the Gothic squads ravaged the interior of the Peninsula unchecked. In the fifth century, the barbarian threat became the prime problem of the Balkan Peninsula. The Byzantine border on the Danube repeatedly gave way in the mid-fourth century to the Hunnic onslaught and the Ostrogothic incursions around 480. At the time, Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis were destroyed, Dyrrachium and Salona taken and the surroundings of Thessalonica pillaged. Several barbarian assaults led by the Avars, Bulgarians, Kutrigurs and Slavs struck the Balkans during the sixth century. In 517, a barbarian squad made up of "Geths" (Bulgarians) roamed Illyricum ultimately reaching Thermopylae, after plundering several forts on the way, Skupi among others.⁵¹² In 540, "Huns" (the Kutrigurs) crossed the Danube and descended southwards to Chalkidiki. During this raid, 32 fortified sites in Illyricum were destroyed.⁵¹³

Taking a lesson from the experiences with the Huns and the Goths, Emperors Leo and Zeno, followed by Anastasius and Justinian, conducted fortification efforts to restore Late Antique fortifications and to construct many new ones. Procopius of Caesarea compiled a list of fortifications that were restored and towns that were built in provinces and smaller regions; he made a record of 47 newly-erected and restored forts in Macedonia.⁵¹⁴ Justinian's defensive system did not withstand the Avaro-Slavic incursions in the years that followed. During the Kutrigur raid of 558/9 that the "Danubian Bulgars" and Slavs joined, Lower Moesia and Thrace were devastated and one of their parties proceeded towards Thessalonica. Several fortifications in Macedonia were most likely destroyed in this raid. Twenty years of peace followed, except in 571, when the Slavs (judging by a horizon of deposits) penetrated all the way to Macedonia.⁵¹⁵ During the 580s, Slavic invasion from the lower Danube

512 И. Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови и тврдини во Македонија*, Скопје 1996, 24 (= Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*).

513 *Proc. BG II* 4, 163.8-164.16.

514 *ВИНЈ* 1, 59.

515 V. Popović, *Une invasion slave sous Justin II inconnue des sources écrites*, Нумизматичар 4, Београд 1981, 111-126. In Voden by Skoplje, on the acropolis tower, a stratum with traces of fire and demolition was stratigraphically established: И. Микулчиќ, *Старо Скопје со околните тврдини*, Скопје 1982, 50-51.

overran Thrace, parts of Illyricum (mainly those in Macedonia), and then spread southward, to Hellas and Peloponnese. This campaign grew to become a permanent barbarian settlement. Cases of hoarding soared, indicating the jeopardy or disappearance of earlier urban life in the towns of the mid-580s Macedonia.⁵¹⁶ The next Slavic incursion happened probably in 580/81, when the Slavs penetrated deep to the south, into Greece, where they spent the following four years (581-584).⁵¹⁷ Some areas of Macedonia undoubtedly suffered destruction at that time, too. Already in 584/5, the Avars from the Valachian plain, combined with the Slavs from the Ukraine and Moldova, thoroughly desolated eastern Balkan provinces and reached Thessalonica in 586.

The remaining Romaion population fled either to the south or into the inaccessible mountain fortifications. The Byzantine presence was reduced to holding a few most important fortifications. Evidence of continuous life was discovered in about twenty larger fortified sites: coins from the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, and a Byzantine soldier fibula from the same period.⁵¹⁸ After the collapse of the limes lines in Dardania, the Slavs gradually occupied entire Greece in waves of settlement, having already covered Macedonia on their way.

In the territory of the present-day Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, more than 500 fortifications were registered. They were all dated to the Late Roman (mid-200s – mid-400s) and the Early Byzantine period (late fifth – sixth centuries).⁵¹⁹ Their number is significantly higher than the available written sources tell us.⁵²⁰ The information on most of the fortifications comes from summary reports or side notes, since only very few of them underwent thorough archaeological research. Eighty one medieval fortifications with an antique nucleus have been enlisted. Of

516 Максимовић, *Северни Илирик*, 20-48.

517 V. Popović, *Aux origines de la slavisation des Balkans. La constitution des premières Sklavinies macédoniennes vers la fin du VIème siècle*, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres I, Paris 1980, 232. More extensively on the settlement of the Slavs into the Peloponnese and Greece, see: Т. Живковић, *Јужни Словени под византијском влашћу*, Београд 2002, 65-83; 119-141 (= Живковић, *Јужни словени*).

518 Микулчић, *Средневековни градови*, 26.

519 For further information regarding the proposed categorization of the fortified sites, see: И. Микулчић, *Антички градови во Македонија*, Скопје, 1999, 190-191 (= Микулчић, *Антички градови*).

520 Procopius' list omits in entirety the provinces of Prevalitana and Macedonia II, and a greater part of Macedonia I.

these 81 registered medieval fortifications, the existence of the previous stage (Late Antiquity) was found lacking only in the case of one town in Macedonia, Debar:

1. Gradište – Budinarci (Budingrad?)
2. Bitola Herakleja Linkestidska (Heraclea Lyncestis)
3. D. Oreovo – Kale
4. Živojno – Gradište
5. Zovik (Čemren) – Gradište
6. Streževo – Kale (Gabalarion?)
7. Belica
8. Belica, site Kale na Stolovatec
9. Devič, site Devini Kuli
10. Zagrad (Rasteš)
11. Zdunje
12. Ižište, Vulkanska kupa Kale
13. Modrište, site Markovo kale
14. Valandovo
15. Vinica, site Gradište, Kale
16. Gabrovo (Petrovo), site Markov manastir
17. G. Banica, site Gradište
18. Gradec, site Gradište
19. Kalište, Grad Sokolec, site Sokolec
20. Srbino (Trnovo), site Kale – Zvezda
21. Raštani – Kale
22. Virče
23. Dramče (Bigla)
24. Zvegor, site Malo (dolno) Gradište
25. Lukovica
26. Bučin – Kale
27. Graište – Gradište, medieval Dobrun
28. Železnec – Gradište
29. Drenovo, site Gradište, or Devol-grad
30. Resava
31. Arangel (Srbica)
32. Kičevo
33. Podvis
34. Morodvis, site Gradište

35. Opila, site Gradište
36. Gradište, the town of Lukovo?
37. Kanarevo, the town of Kozjak, site Grade
38. Konjuh, site Golemo Gradište
39. Mlado Hagoričane, the town of Žegligovo
40. Demir kapija, Prosek
41. Markov grad – Korešnica
42. Kula – Korešnica
43. Čelovec, site Strezov Grad (kale), the village of Čelovec
44. Godivje – Kula, site Kula
45. Ohrid
46. Pesočani – Kula, Debrica (Deuritsa)
47. Varoš, the town of Prilep, site Markovi Kuli
48. Debrešte, site Kale
49. Desovo, site Kale, Leska
50. Zrze, site Kale, Sveti Spas
51. Manastir – Gradok, „Markovi Kuli“ (the town of Morihovo?)
52. Prilepac, site Markov zid
53. Treskavec
54. Zletovo, site Baučar, Gradište
55. Radoviš, site Hisar
56. Šopur, Brdo Pilat Tepe
57. Evla – Kale, Vasilida?
58. Stenje (Konsko) – Golem Grad (Golema Petra)
59. Trebenište – Kale
60. Sopot (Trstenik), site Donjo Gradište
61. Vodno, the town of Črnče, site Markovi Kuli
62. Kožle, site Markovi Kuli
63. Markova Sušica, site Markovi Kuli
64. Matka, site Markov grad
65. Skopje, site Kale
66. Čučer, site Davina or Kula
67. Zagradčani
68. Bansko, Termica? site Gradište
69. Konče, site Gornja Kula
70. Kosturino (Raborci), site Vasilica
71. Strumica, Ridot Careva Kuli
72. Donja Lešnica, site Kale

73. Jegunovce, Gradište
74. Lešok, site Kale or Gradište
75. Oraše, site Gradište, Sobri
76. Rogle, site Kuka
77. Stenče, the town of Stena?, site Gradište
78. Teovo, site Markovo kale
79. Veles, site Kale
80. Krupište, site Kale
81. Creška, site Hisar
82. Štip, site Hisar⁵²¹

Expressed in percentages, 16.4% of antique forts had a medieval town or a medieval fortified site appearing after them. A conclusion can be made that new stone fortifications were seldom encountered in medieval Macedonia and are therefore an exception.

I. Mikulčić proposed a categorization of medieval fortified sites that we convey here without questioning its accuracy: castrum, regional centre, mining fortification and the settlement, guard, refuge, fortified monastery and suburb-town.⁵²²

Ramparts on some of the fortifications were considered in a good shape. This was of particular importance in the Middle Ages, when it was necessary to repair only the dilapidated upper parts of the ramparts, battlements, towers, gates and so on. Because these sections caved in at some later time, it is difficult to register construction interventions everywhere. This is why the remark of I. Mikulčić that some fortifications were not rebuilt in the Middle Ages, does not hold up, since these reconstruction works could not have been registered. Examples of walling-off are easier to notice but are less frequent, too. Most often, the walling-off was part of resizing and reducing the fortifications, and the settlements were made of timber and are therefore undetectable except by excavations. Having this in mind, rare medieval findings make sufficient evidence that the fortifications were used in the Middle Ages.

With the Slavic settlement, and then with the arrival of the Serbs and the Croats, most of Illyricum became colonized by Slavic tribes and

521 The list of sites was composed after the following work: Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, with the exception of the site 21, which was taken from the work: Mikulčić, *Spätantike*, 278; and the site 59, taken from: Микулчиќ, *Антички градови*, 405.

522 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 134.

removed from the Byzantine control. However, there are no historical accounts on these first decades and relations between Byzantium and the sclavinia in Macedonia.

There were several attempts to deal with the situation in the Western areas of the Empire but this resulted only in a temporary subjugation to the supreme authority. Despite the transfer of populations to Asia Minor, nothing resulted in a permanent solution, as the Slavic sclavinia were rapidly acquiring independence. The restoration of power in Thessaly and Macedonia began during the reign of the dowager-empress Irine, when the Byzantine army led by the logothete Stauracius defeated and subjugated the Slavs in 783. The introduction of the theme system began after this event.⁵²³ The theme of Macedonia was mentioned already in 802,⁵²⁴ and the theme of Thessalonica was created in the years immediately following the campaign of Stauracius.⁵²⁵ What followed was a massive Christian Romaion colonization in the areas of Strimon, especially in 810/11, during the reign of Nicephoros. The aim was to Hellenize the Slavs and reduce the threat from the ascending Bulgaria under Krum.

It should be logical to expect that the sclavinia were not taken without a fight and that therefore some Early Byzantine fortifications were then used for defensive purposes during the Byzantine offensive in the Slavic territories.

No matter how much of a target or a stopover Macedonia was for the foraying Slavs, traces of their presence are scarce in the seventh, eighth and most of the ninth century. But we cannot agree with the opinion that the Slavs came from the valley of Danube simply passed through Macedonia, (already ravaged, with no traces of Romaion settlements, showing how unattractive it became) and settled in the coastal Mediterranean Greece with a mild climate. This does not seem credible.⁵²⁶ The accounts on the founded sclavinia, together with the Early Slavic findings from the basin of the Bregalnica river refute that theory. A ceramic vessel dating from the seventh century was discovered on the left bank of the Bregalnica, while fragments of an urn dating from the seventh century were unearthed on the site Kazandžijska Mala in Štip. Ceramic fragments of hand-made pottery discovered at Berovo and dating from the seventh and eighth centuries

523 For further information regarding the issue of sclavinia in Macedonia, see: Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 204-239.

524 *Teoph. I*, 475.22.

525 Живковић, *Јужни словени*, 232.

526 Микулчић, *Средневековни градови*, 27.

indicate the presence of a Slavic ethnic group around the upper course of the river Bregalnica. A bronze casting mould of Avaro-Slavic type was discovered at the site Bargala by Štip in a role of an amulet and as part of funerary inventory. It was dated to the early seventh century.⁵²⁷

However, the few findings from the fortified sites, dated to the seventh and eighth centuries indicate the presence of a non-Slavic population. These were attributed to the autochthonous Romaions, bearers of an inherently non-Slavic culture, as the case of the Komani-culture necropolis beside Ohrid confirms. On the island of Golem-grad in the Prespa lake, tombs were discovered containing jewelry of Byzantine-Italian type and coins of Constantine IV (668-685); whereas coins of Constans II were discovered at Isariot near Valandovo and at Selce near Prilep, as well as the coins of Justinian II (685-695) at the acropolis of Konjuh. In the castle of Debrešte near Prilep, objects of Byzantine origin were discovered and dated to the seventh century.⁵²⁸ Although these findings are not a priori proof of Romaion in the most important fortifications, they might indicate a short-term Byzantine control that was waning and waxing throughout the seventh and eighth centuries. The restoration of the diocese of Stobi that took place in the late seventh century was associated with the year 679 and the migration of Sermisianoï under Kuver from Pannonia to the Keramisian plain (today Prilepsko polje), although Stobi had been destroyed and left depopulated nearly a century before.⁵²⁹

The absence of the seventh- and eighth-century findings indicates that the fortifications were not used in this period, as was the case with Serbia. The high altitudes did not appeal to the Slavic tribes, which is why the traces of their presence are to be looked for in the valleys and basins, until the fortifications were once again re-used in the ninth and tenth centuries, because of the war.

On the other hand, a more thorough reconnaissance of the lowland positions was never undertaken, not in a way that would yield adequate results. The smallest of reparations on the upper parts of the walls are not visible today, since the relevant segments of the ramparts have been ruined. Wooden annexes, wallings, and dwellings made of light

527 З. Белдедовски, *Брегалничкиот басен во римскиот и раниот средновековен период*, Зборник 6, Штип 1990, 45-49.

528 Микулчиќ, *Средновековни градови*, 32.

529 V. Popović, *Aux origines de la slavisation des Balkans. La constitution des premiers Sklavinies macédoniennes vers la fin du VIème siècle*, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres I, Paris 1980, 249-252.

materials have not been preserved or, in rare cases, only in fragments. It is very common that the only indication these fortifications were occupied are rare movable archaeological findings. Except for the jewelry and some highly specific objects, a significant part of these findings can not be subjected to a precise chronological determination. This applies to tools in particular. Until recently, not enough attention was paid to the pottery, or it was not even possible to reliably set it apart according to the epochs. This calls for a revision and re-dating of some pottery fragments on some sites.

We will cover the ninth-century Slavic migration wave further on in the text, when touching upon the topic in the frame of Serbia. Mikulčić holds that new brotherhoods moved from the valley of the Danube after the collapse of the Chaganate in Pannonia (late 8th – early 9th century), when the Avars were shattered and the relations with the Slavic North could be re-established. The contacts with the Slavic tribes beyond the Danube have been archaeologically confirmed by numerous specific objects, discovered at fortifications of Črešče (79) and Davina (65).⁵³⁰

During the reign of Simeon (893-927), the Bulgarian rule reached the Drina and the Adriatic, including the entire Republic of Macedonia, nearly touching Thessalonica. After his death, Bulgaria weakened, the Russian prince Svyatoslav conquered it, and in 971 John Tzimiskes entered Preslav and annexed the Bulgarian to the Byzantine Empire.

Among the standard forms of metallic findings used by the Slavic population, occasional findings were discovered of specific objects attributed to the Bulgarian boyars, the officers of the new administration.⁵³¹ The ninth-century town of Kuprište (78) that sometimes served as a military camp was a Proto-Bulgarian town.⁵³² Bronze amulets representing a horse-riding mythical hero (or a shaman) were discovered at the fortresses of Prilep (47) and Čemren (5). It was assumed that these arrived to Macedonia from the lower Danube valley, along with the expansion of Boris' and Simeon's state, at the end of the ninth or in the tenth century.⁵³³ The well-known Bulgarian double-sided amulets (seals) were found at Jegunovci near Tetovo (71); another amulet was discovered at Devol-grad near Drenovo (29), as well as a small bronze plate with a tamgha, also dating

530 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 36. Numerous toponyms such as Morava, Boemija, Boemica, etc., corroborate this theory.

531 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 35.

532 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 348.

533 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 83-84.

from the late ninth or the tenth century, from a road watch Arangel near Kičevo (31).⁵³⁴ The belt ornament discovered at Čreška (79) typologically corresponds to the period of the collapse of the Avar khaganate. The use of these ornaments spread to the neighbouring Slavic boyars in the early ninth century.⁵³⁵

In 976, a rebellion broke out in Macedonia, led by the four “Cometopuli” – the sons of the comes (knez) Nikola. Samuil was the only one to survive the uprising of 978 and he managed to place under his authority entire Macedonia, except for Thessalonica; then he expanded his rule to Thessaly, Western Bulgaria, Epirus, areas of Albania including Dyrrachium and the Serbian lands, and he re-established the Patriarchate. After the Byzantines displayed their military and technical superiority during the campaign of 1001-1004, when they conquered Skopje and Voden, the Empire began to crumble, persisting until the death of Ivan Vladislav in 1018.⁵³⁶ A belt buckle with a representation of a griffon, a product of Byzantine craftsmanship, was discovered at Devol (29) and it could be dated to this period.

After the collapse of Samuil’s state, Basil II was determined to destroy the fortresses in the area that might have been used as new army strongholds. He spared only several key castra where Byzantine military crews were deployed. Thus were demolished Ohrid, Štip and Prilep, with only the Archdiocese of Ohrid left standing. Prosek was restored in the late 1100s and expanded in the early thirteenth century, since it became the centre of a new regional state.⁵³⁷

Of the conquered territory of Samuil’s state, the new theme of Bulgaria was formed centred in Skopje, while the Archdiocese of Ohrid was re-organized. We learn of the established ecclesiastical organization from the Golden Bull of 1272, issued by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII to the Archdiocese of Ohrid. This Bull contained copies of the three Bulls issued by Basil II to the same church in 1019, in May 1020 and between 1020 and 1025. In the Bull of 1019, 17 dioceses were listed. With each episcopal see, towns under its jurisdiction were listed and the number of clerics and parishioners written down. In the second Bull issued to the Archdiocese of Ohrid, another 14 dioceses were added to the list now totalling 31

534 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 84-85.

535 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 85.

536 Г. Острогорски, *Историја Византије*, Београд 1959, 294-295.

537 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 47.

dioceses.⁵³⁸ In this work we convey from the list of dioceses and towns only those lying in the territory of the present-day Macedonia. The list shows the extent of the restoration process undertaken:

1. Skopje – the episcopal see (64), and the towns Bineč (Serbia), Lukovo (36), Preamor and Princip (not located) placed under its jurisdiction.
2. Morovižd (34), with the parishes of Kozjak (37), Slavište (35), Zletovo (54), Pijanec and Maleševo (not located).
3. Diocese of Strumica (69) with its see most likely at the monastery of Veljusa. Towns lying in the jurisdiction of Strumica were Radovište (55) and Konče (68).
4. Butela – Bitolj with the following towns: Prilep (47), Debrešte (Deuretis) (48), Veles (77) and Pelagonija (probably Bitolj).
5. Ohrid (45) with the following towns: Kičava (32), Prespa (Greece) and Mokra (Albania).
6. The area of Polog and the town of Leskovec (Lešak 72) were placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Prisdiana (Prizren, Serbia).
7. Prosek (40-43) and Morihovo (51), in the present-day Macedonia, were placed under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Moglen in Greece.

Another two fortifications in the area of Ohrid – Prespa were mentioned in the treatise of John Skylitzes: one on the Prespa lake, and the other, Vasilid, situated on a mountain top lying between the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa.⁵³⁹ According to Mikulčić, Vasilid was most likely one of the two fortifications erected between the villages of Evlo and Petrino.⁵⁴⁰ The fortress of Termica was in the area around Strumica, and it was also mentioned in the 1016 campaign of David Arianites.⁵⁴¹

Archaeological findings of reliquary crosses discovered in the vicinity of the ecclesiastical centres could easily be associated with the establishment of the ecclesiastical organization in these areas. These sites include Skopje, Bitolj, Ohrid, Strumica, Prilep, Prosek, Lukovica, Kozjak and Lešak. The afore-mentioned crosses, made in Byzantine workshops, were generally attributed to the higher ranks of the tenth and eleventh century clergy.⁵⁴² An amulet with a representation of a Slavic deity, discov-

538 For more detailed information on this issue, including the map of dioceses and settlements, see: Т. Живковић, *Црквена организација у српским земљама*, Београд 2004, 172-177.

539 *ВИНЈ III*, 130.

540 Микулчић, *Средневековни градови*, 275-276.

541 *ВИНЈ III*, 119.

542 Микулчић, *Средневековни градови*, 83.

ered at the fortification of Davine near Čučer, should be dated to the times before the Slavs in Macedonia were Christianized, rather than to the tenth century, as the analogous findings might suggest.⁵⁴³

In 1040, the anti-Byzantine movement led by Petar Delyan broke out in Belgrade and in the Morava area, because of the new taxes levied in money and the abuse of the officials. It was not long before the revolt spread to Niš, Skopje and Macedonia. Delyan took Dyrrachium, attacked Thessalonica and advanced into Greece. Byzantium crushed the uprising the same year, with the help of Alusian, son of Ivan Vladislav.⁵⁴⁴

After the crushing defeat that Byzantium suffered at Manzikert (1071), the malcontents from Macedonia organized an uprising which Constantine Bodin joined, after having been proclaimed emperor in Prizren, in 1072. The rebels managed to take Skopje after defeating the strategos of the theme of Bulgaria.⁵⁴⁵ Bodin split his armies in two groups and headed towards Niš, while Petrilo, general of Michael VII Doukas, took Ohrid and Devol but suffered defeat at Kastoria. Soon after, Bodin himself was defeated in Kosovo and taken captive.⁵⁴⁶

The restoration of the Byzantine rule, along with the development of mining in the eleventh century, had a beneficial effect on the town growth, which culminated in the fourteenth century under the Serbian rule. Archaeological findings discovered at fortified sites close to the mining areas indicate the renewal of the mining industry. The findings include coins and many objects of cast iron, such as weapons and tools.⁵⁴⁷

Serbia

The social crisis that struck the Roman Empire caused striking pauperization of the population, while the continuous flood of settlers, various peoples and looters made the difficult situation even worse. These groups benefited from the proximity of the frontier and the well-branched road network to reach their loot in the flatland settlements and towns. The Hunnic wrath caused destruction of some important towns, such as Singidunum,

543 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 84-85.

544 *Историја српског народа I*, Београд 1981, 183 (С. Ђирковић).

545 For further information regarding these events, see: Т. Живковић, *Дукљанско-византијски рат 1072 – 1075*, ИЧ 47 (2000) 35-57.

546 *Историја српског народа I*, Београд 1981, 190-191 (С. Ђирковић).

547 Микулчиќ, *Средневековни градови*, 50.

Viminatium, Margum and Naissus. It took plenty of time for these towns to recover. The horrible times were exacerbated by the natural disasters that befell certain parts of the Empire. The catastrophic earthquake struck Dardania in 518,⁵⁴⁸ followed by a plague epidemic that decimated the population and weakened the defences of the Empire.⁵⁴⁹

Insecure times called for construction of fortifications. Some of these fortified sites were regional centres with military crews and a still functioning ecclesiastical organization. Besides these, the imperial authorities strived to build smaller fortifications on important strategic points along the roads, so as to defend and oversee the communication and supply systems. These fortified sites also served as refuge centres that provided safe haven to the populations fleeing the endangered lowland settlements. Parallel to the construction of these fortifications, smaller ones were built by rural communities, to provide them with safer positions. Although their positions changed by moving into locations on higher altitudes, they carried on with their economic activities on earlier agricultural fields with a shift towards pastoralism.

These measures created a new defensive system, born out of necessity and reflecting how weak the Empire had become. The aim was to reduce the influx of refugees that sought shelters in the south, since the refuges were built in every part of the Empire; but also put to a heavy test the barbarians' ability to lay siege and to maintain their supply chain; in addition, the barbarians were rather unaccomplished besiegers of fortifications, which by then had no riches left to loot. In any event, the smaller hordes roaming the roads of the Empire did not even pose a threat to the villagers any longer, unless they carried out sudden attacks. But the remains of fire on some fortifications, together with numismatic material and relevant archaeological horizons of hoards confirm that settlements were played havoc with, and speak of volatile times.⁵⁵⁰ This concept, adapted for the precarious sixth century, reached its culmination during the reign of Justinian, as was corroborated by the writings of Procopius, but also by the plentiful material finds from throughout the Empire.

548 *ВИНЈ I*, 57.

549 B. Geyer, *Physical Factors in the Evolution of the Landscape and Land Use*, *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century I* (ed. A. E. Laiou), Washington 2002, 31-45.

550 For further information regarding the horizon of hoards from the Early Byzantine period on the territory of Serbia, see: Р. Радић - В. Иванишевић, *Византијски новац из Народног музеја у Београду*, Београд 2006, 24-27.

The list of Early Byzantine sites on the territory of Serbia:

1. Zbradila – Korbovo⁵⁵¹
2. Rgotski kamen⁵⁵²
3. Gradište – Čukojevac, Kraljevo (9th - 11th centuries)⁵⁵³
4. Velika Gradina – Zamčanja (9th -10th centuries)⁵⁵⁴
5. Velika Gradina – Miločaj, municipality of Knić (7th century)⁵⁵⁵
6. Bogut grad – Bogutovac⁵⁵⁶
7. Braničevo – Svetinja (12th-13th centuries)⁵⁵⁷
8. Braničevo – Mali i Veliki grad (10th-11th, 12-13th centuries)⁵⁵⁸
9. Vranjska banja – Crkvište⁵⁵⁹
10. Vranjska banja – Kale⁵⁶⁰
11. Gradište – Korbevac⁵⁶¹

- 551 Љ. Бабовић, *Касноримска кула на локалитету "Збрадила" код села Корбова*, Гласник САД 6 (1990) 115-118.
- 552 М. Вуксан, *Средњовековни локалитети у околини Бора*, Гласник САД 6 (1990) 191-196.
- 553 Т. Михајловић, *Сондажна ископавања локалитета Градиште у Чукојевцу код Краљево 2002-2003.*, АП 1 (2007) 39-42; С. Спасић, *Римски и византијски новац са локалитета Градиште у Чукојевцу код Краљево*, Наша Прошлост 8, Краљево 2007, 9-16. The medieval phase has been identified by the personal insight into the material.
- 554 Т. Живковић, В. Иванишевић, Д. Булић и В. Петровић, *Извештај са сондажних истраживања локалитета Велика Градина у селу Замчања*, АП 1 (2007), 47-49.
- 555 Based on the personal insight into the unpublished material.
- 556 Д. Булић, *Извештај са сондажних истраживања Богут града*, АП 2/3 н.с. (2004/5) 2008, 72-3.
- 557 М. Поповић, *Светиња. Нови подаци о рановизантијском Виминацијуму*, Старица 38 (1988), 1-37.
- 558 М. Поповић, В. Иванишевић, *Град Браничево у средњем веку*, Старица 39 (1988), 125-176.
- 559 Д. Радичевић, Г. Стојичић, Г. Митровић и А. Ранисављевић, *Сондажна истраживања рановизантијских утврђења у Врањској бањи и Корбевцу*, Гласник САД 20 (2004), 145-169 (= Радичевић и остали, *Сондажна истраживања*).
- 560 М. Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија. Археолошка истраживања у 1964. години. Јужноморавска долина од Лепенице до Врања*, ВГ 1 (1965) 226; Д. Радичевић и остали, *Сондажна истраживања*, 145-169.
- 561 М. Гарашанин - Д. Гарашанин, *Археолошка налазишта у Србији*, Београд 1951, 136; М. Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија. Археолошка истраживања у 1964. години. Јужноморавска долина од Лепенице до Врања*, ВГ 1 (1965) 225-226; Д. Радичевић и остали, *Сондажна истраживања*, 145-169.

12. Markovo kale near Preševo⁵⁶²
13. Kale – Klinovac⁵⁶³
14. „Gradište“ – Veliki Trnovac⁵⁶⁴
15. Markovo Kale – Vranje (Late Middle Ages and the Ottoman period)⁵⁶⁵
16. Kacapun⁵⁶⁶
17. Stajkovac⁵⁶⁷
18. Jovac – site Gradište⁵⁶⁸
19. Tesovište – Oštri Čukar⁵⁶⁹
20. Dubnica – Kitka hill (Kale)⁵⁷⁰
21. Fortification Sv. Ilija (15th century)⁵⁷¹
22. Donji Romanovac – Gradište⁵⁷²
23. Kijevac – Gradište⁵⁷³
24. Ćurkovicа – Kulište⁵⁷⁴
25. Garinje – Mali Gradac⁵⁷⁵
26. Donje Balinovce – Gredak (Stoličica)⁵⁷⁶
27. Mrtvica⁵⁷⁷

- 562 М. Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања у 1968. години*, ВГ 4 (1968) 502; Д. Радичевић и остали, *Сондажна*, 145-169.
- 563 Д. Гај-Поповић, *Две оставе бронзаног византијског новца VI века*, ЗНМ 7 (1973), 25-37.
- 564 Т. Чершков, *Локалитет „Градиште“ - Велики Трновац – СО Бујановац*, Гласник ДКС 10 (1986) 59-60; Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1965*, 322.
- 565 Д. Максимовић - О. Паламаревић, *Марково Кале код Врања. Преглед истраживачких радова*, ВГ 20 (1987) 141-154.
- 566 М. Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија. Археолошка истраживања у 1964. години. Јужноморавска долина од Лепенице до Врања*, ВГ 1 (1965) 225 (= Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија*).
- 567 Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија*, 225.
- 568 Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија*, 225.
- 569 Ј. Ф. Трифуновски, *Врањска котлина, антропогеографска истраживања*, II, Скопје 1963, 171; Јовановић, *Археолошка топографија*, 227.
- 570 М. Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања у 1965. години*, ВГ 2 (1966) 322 (= Јовановић, *истраживања у 1965.*).
- 571 В. Кондић - В. Поповић, *Царичин Град. Утврђено насеље у византијском Илирику*, Београд 1977, 147-148 (= Кондић - Поповић, *Царичин Град*).
- 572 М. Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања у 1966. и 1967. години*, ВГ 3 (1967) 330 (= Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1966. и 1967.*).
- 573 Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1966. и 1967*, 330.
- 574 Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1966. и 1967*, 330.
- 575 М. Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања у 1968. години*, ВГ 4 (1968) 511-512 (= Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1968.*).
- 576 Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1968*, 512.
- 577 Јовановић, *Истраживања у 1968*, 512.

28. Gradište – Prvonek⁵⁷⁸
29. Skobaljić Grad – Leskovac (11th-15th centuries)⁵⁷⁹
30. Jerinin grad – Gornja Crnuća (16th-17th centuries)⁵⁸⁰
31. Gradina – Ilinje (11th-13th, 14th-15th centuries)⁵⁸¹
32. Gradina – Kaznoviće (9th-10th centuries)⁵⁸²
33. Gradina – Končulić (9th-11th, 12th centuries, Ottoman period)⁵⁸³
34. Gradina – Lisina⁵⁸⁴
35. Kale (Grgec) – Gornje Brijanje⁵⁸⁵
36. Leskovac, Hisar site (Late Middle Ages and the Ottoman period)⁵⁸⁶
37. Selište – Nakrivanj⁵⁸⁷
38. Sjarina, municipality of Medveđa⁵⁸⁸
39. Gornje Gradište, municipality of Lebane⁵⁸⁹
40. „Kulište“ or „Jezero“⁵⁹⁰
41. Sakicol site, municipality of Lebane (the church ?)⁵⁹¹
42. Radinovac, Gradište site (Kaljaja)⁵⁹²
43. Caričin Grad – Lebane (10th-11th centuries)⁵⁹³

- 578 Dj. Janković, *The Slavs in the 6th Century North Illyricum*, Гласник САД 20 (2004) 39, 43.
- 579 М. Јоцић - Ђ. Јанковић, *Резултати истраживања на средњовековном утврђењу Скобаљић град*, Лесковачки зборник 27 (1987), 61-67.
- 580 Н. Лудајић, С. Поповић, М. Милинковић, *Резултати истраживања вишеслојног налазишта на локалитету Јеринин град-Горња Црнућа код Горњег Милановца*, ЗРНМЧ 16 (1988), 81-94.
- 581 Д. Булић, *Манастир Илиње код Овчар бање. Рановизантијско и средњовековно утврђење*, ИЧ 53 (2006), 53 – 91.
- 582 Д. Булић, *Градина Казновиће. Резултати археолошких истраживања*, ИЧ 55 (2007) 45-62.
- 583 Д. Булић, *Утврђење Градина – Кончулић код Рашке*, ИЧ 57 (2008) 29-58.
- 584 Д. Булић, *Рановизантијско утврђење Градина – Лисина на Западном Копаонику*, ИЧ 54 (2007) 43-62.
- 585 С. Ерцеговић-Павловић и Д. Костић, *Археолошки споменици и налазишта лесковачког краја*, Београд 1988, 39 (= Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, *Археолошки споменици*).
- 586 Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, *Археолошки споменици*, 41.
- 587 Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, *Археолошки споменици*, 41.
- 588 Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, *Археолошки споменици*, 37, 42; Кондић - Поповић, *Царичин Град*, 152-153.
- 589 Кондић - Поповић, *Царичин Град*, 152.
- 590 Кондић - Поповић, *Царичин Град*, 150.
- 591 Кондић - Поповић, *Царичин Град*, 149-150.
- 592 Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, *Археолошки споменици*, 41.
- 593 Кондић - Поповић, *Царичин Град*; Ерцеговић-Павловић, Костић, *Археолошки споменици*, 81-82; В. Bavant - V. Ivanišević, *Justinijana Prima - Caričin Grad*, Beograd 2003.

44. Konjuša – Cer⁵⁹⁴
 45. Nemić – Donja Bukovica⁵⁹⁵
 46. Vidojevica – Cer (11th-12th century)⁵⁹⁶
 47. Gradina – Stapari⁵⁹⁷
 48. Kulina near Solotuša (15th century)⁵⁹⁸
 49. Gradina near Bajina Bašta⁵⁹⁹
 50. Bregovina (10th century)⁶⁰⁰
 51. Zlata⁶⁰¹
 52. Glašince – Kale near Žitorada⁶⁰²
 53. Balajnac – Gradište⁶⁰³
 54. Gornji Statovac – Milanov krš⁶⁰⁴
 55. Bogujevac – Bandera⁶⁰⁵
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- 594 M. Vasiljević, M. Popović, *Konjuša na Ceru . Ranovizantijsko utvrđenje*, AP 16 (1974) 111-112; Ђ. Бошковић, В. Кораћ, *Коњуша. Трагови града*, Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 43.
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 - 596 Ђ. Бошковић, В. Кораћ, *Видојевица. Трагови града*, Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 45-46; Јанковић, *Rekognosciranje*, 186.
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 - 603 Д. Срејовић - А. Симовић, *Портрет византијске царице из Балајнца*, Старица 9-10, Београд 1959, 77; М. Јерemić, *Balajnac. Agglomération protobyzantine fortifiée (Région de Niš, Serbie du Sud)*, Antiquité tardive 3 (1995) 193-207.
 - 604 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 54.
 - 605 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 54.

56. Rgaje – Grad (10th-12th centuries)⁶⁰⁶
57. Pestiš – Bukoloram⁶⁰⁷
58. Miljkovica⁶⁰⁸
59. Vidovački Krš⁶⁰⁹
60. Bučince⁶¹⁰
61. Smrdelj⁶¹¹
62. Babotinac – Veliko Kale (the Middle Ages)⁶¹²
63. Pirot (12th-14th centuries; Ottoman period)⁶¹³
64. Gradište, site Grad⁶¹⁴
65. Baranica⁶¹⁵
66. Gradina – Venčac⁶¹⁶
67. Koželj⁶¹⁷
68. Orešac⁶¹⁸
69. Kalna⁶¹⁹
70. Sveta Trojica near Ravna⁶²⁰
71. Gradina – Juhor (Momčilov grad)⁶²¹

- 606 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 44, 55, 65.
- 607 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 44, 55.
- 608 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 43.
- 609 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 43.
- 610 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 43.
- 611 Кузмановић-Цветковић, *Прокупље*, 43.
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- 615 Петровић - Јовановић, *Културно благо*, 25-26.
- 616 Н. Радојчић - О. Старчевић, *Извештај са сондажног рекогносцирања локалитета „Градина“ на Венчацу*, Шумадијски записи 1, Аранђеловац 2003; Н. Радојчић, *Археолошки локалитети на подручју општине Аранђеловац*, Шумадијски записи 4-5, Аранђеловац 2011, 36-7.
- 617 Петровић - Јовановић, *Културно благо*, 27-28.
- 618 Петровић - Јовановић, *Културно благо*, 28.
- 619 Петровић - Јовановић, *Културно благо*, 29.
- 620 Петровић - Јовановић, *Културно благо*, 29.
- 621 М. Брмболић, *Рановизантијско утврђење на Јухору*, ЗНМ 12-1 (1986) 199-217.

72. Petrus (12th, 14th-15th centuries)⁶²²
73. Orlovića Grad – Lešje⁶²³
74. Mali grad – Dragoševac⁶²⁴
75. Jerinin grad – Dragoševac⁶²⁵
76. Jerinin grad – Beočić⁶²⁶
77. Gradište (Devojačka stena) – Sekurić⁶²⁷
78. Grad – Oparić⁶²⁸
79. Jerenin grad – Vojska⁶²⁹
80. Hanište – Grad, Dražmirovac⁶³⁰
81. Brdo – Krušar⁶³¹
82. Bukovačka česma⁶³²
83. Govedarnik – Grad, Glavinci⁶³³
84. Jerinin grad – Mišević (up to the 12th century)⁶³⁴
85. Jerinin Grad – Prevešt⁶³⁵
86. Gradac, Banja Koviljača⁶³⁶
87. Kosanin grad, Cer⁶³⁷
88. Trojanov grad, Cer⁶³⁸
89. Jerinin grad, Brangović (9th-10th centuries)⁶³⁹

- 622 М. Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта у Средњем Поморављу*, Споменица Јована Ковачевића, Београд 2003, 281-291 (= Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*); М. Брмболић, *Мала Света Гора у клисури реке Црнице*, Београд 2011, 8-11; 57-66.
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- 624 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 625 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 626 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 627 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 628 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 629 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291; *Zavičajni muzej Jagodina. Stalna izložbena postavka, Katalog*, Jagodina 2001, 36.
- 630 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 631 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 632 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 633 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 634 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 635 Брмболић, *Рановизантијска налазишта*, 281-291.
- 636 М. Васић, *Мачва и Подриње у римско доба*, Гласник САД 2 (1985) 131 (= Васић, *Мачва*).
- 637 Васић, *Мачва*, 131.
- 638 Васић, *Мачва*, 131.
- 639 Д. Мркобрад - Р. Арсић, *Бранговић. Прелиминарно археолошко истраживање раносредњовековног утврђења (VI-X век)*, Гласник Међуопштинског архива у Ваљеву 37 (2004) 79-101.

90. Graduština, Beljin (10th-12th centuries)⁶⁴⁰
91. Grad, Lis⁶⁴¹
92. Gradina, Vučkovića⁶⁴²
93. Stojkovića gradina, Viča⁶⁴³
94. Gradina, Jelica (7th-10th centuries)⁶⁴⁴
95. Sokolica, Ostra (10th-11th centuries)⁶⁴⁵
96. Lopaš, site Grad⁶⁴⁶
97. Velika Gradina, Vrsenice (9th-10th centuries)⁶⁴⁷
98. Gradina, Tuzinje⁶⁴⁸
99. Jerinin grad, Trojan⁶⁴⁹
100. Đurđevica, Đerekare (9th-11th centuries)⁶⁵⁰

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- 646 *Археологија Пожешког краја*, Пожега 2011, 39-40.
- 647 М. Popović - V. Bikić, *Vrsenice. Kasnoantičko i srpsko ranosrednjovekovno utvrđenje*, Beograd 2009 (= Popović - Bikić, *Vrsenice*).
- 648 Д. Премовић-Алексић, *Археолошко рекогносцирање подручја општине Сјеница*, НПЗ 6 (1982) 242-243.
- 649 В. Иванишевић, *Античко утврђење на Тројану*, НПЗ 13 (1989) 7-15.
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101. Gradina, Hum⁶⁵¹
102. Gradina, Ramošev⁶⁵²
103. Šarski krš, Duga Poljana⁶⁵³
104. Gradovi, Šaronje⁶⁵⁴
105. Gradina, Radalica⁶⁵⁵
106. Kulina, Rogatac⁶⁵⁶
107. Zlostup, Ostrovica⁶⁵⁷
108. Litice, Dobrinja⁶⁵⁸
109. Južac, Sopoćani⁶⁵⁹
110. Gradina, Šaronje⁶⁶⁰
111. Pazarište – Novi Pazar (9th- 11th, 11th-13th centuries)⁶⁶¹
112. Izbeg, Tupi krš⁶⁶²
113. Kula, Kaludra⁶⁶³
114. Gaj, Babrež⁶⁶⁴
115. Grad (Gradina), Nosoljin⁶⁶⁵
116. Gradina, Postenje (9th-12th centuries)⁶⁶⁶
117. Krš, Zlatni Kamen⁶⁶⁷

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- 652 В. Иванишевић, *Касноантичко утврђење у Рамошеву*, НПЗ 11 (1987) 5-11.
- 653 М. Поповић, *Античко утврђење на Шарском кршу код Дуге Пољане*, НПЗ 7 (1983) 5-14.
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- 655 Ј. Калић – Д. Мркобрад, *Градина у Радалици*, НПЗ 9 (1985) 39-46.
- 656 З. Симић, *Утврђење на Кулини у Рогатцу*, НПЗ 11 (1987) 13-20.
- 657 М. Милинковић, *Рановизантијско утврђење на Тупом Кршу и околна утврђења у тутинској области*, НПЗ 9 (1985) 47-54.
- 658 М. Милинковић, *Добриња. Локалитет Литице*, НПЗ 6 (1982) 238-239.
- 659 М. Поповић, *Južac kod Sopoćana*, АР (за 1986. godinu), Ljubljana 1987, 115-117.
- 660 Ј. Калић – М. Поповић, *Кузмичево и Шароње у прошлости*, Рашка Баштина 3, Краљево 1988, 51-68.
- 661 М. Поповић, *Tvrđava Ras*, Beograd 1999.
- 662 М. Милинковић, *Рановизантијско утврђење на Тупом Кршу и околна утврђења у тутинској области*, НПЗ 9 (1985) 47-54.
- 663 М. Поповић, *Утврђење на Кули у Калудри*, НПЗ 8 (1984) 11-18.
- 664 Д. Премовић-Алексић, *Касноантичко утврђење у Бабрежу*, НПЗ 13 (1989) 17-27.
- 665 Ј. Калић, Д. Мркобрад, *Утврђење у Носољину код Рашке*, НПЗ 7 (1983) 21-27.
- 666 Д. Мркобрад, *Рас-Постење. Истраживање уз јужни део североисточног бедема током 1994. године*, ГСАД 11 (1996) 198-207; Д. Мркобрад, *Рас-Постење. Истраживања 1995. године*, ГСАД 12 (1997) 121-129.
- 667 В. Иванишевић, *Касноантичко утврђење на Златном Камену код Новог Пазара*, НПЗ 14 (1990) 7-17.

118. Panojevići⁶⁶⁸
119. Matovići⁶⁶⁹
120. Ćuprija, medieval Ravna (ruined in 1183)⁶⁷⁰
121. Slatina, near Brza Palanka (8th-10th centuries)⁶⁷¹
122. Mokranje (Petres) (11th century)⁶⁷²
123. Mihajlovac – Blato (necropolis, 10th century)⁶⁷³
124. Kula – Mihajlovac (7th, 9th-10th centuries)⁶⁷⁴
125. Majur (Jagodina) (7th century)⁶⁷⁵
126. Kostol – Trajanov most (Pontes) (10th-12th centuries)⁶⁷⁶
127. Korbovo (7th century; the entire Middle Ages)⁶⁷⁷
128. Gamzigrad (Romuliana) (11th century)⁶⁷⁸
129. Prahovo (Aquae - Akvis) (7th, 9th-11th centuries)⁶⁷⁹

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- 670 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени у југословенском Подунављу*, Београд 1990, 115 (= М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*).
- 671 Ђ. Јанковић, *Средњовековно насеље код Ушћа Слатинске реке*, ЋС II (1984) 196-198; А. Јовановић, М. Коран, Ђ. Јанковић, *L'embouchure de la rivière Slatinska reka*, ЋС III (1986) 378-387; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 110.
- 672 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Mokranje kod Negotina. Kamienolom - višeslojni lokalitet*, АР 18 (1976) 22-24; М. Сретеновић, *Мокрањске стене. Вишеслојно насеље*, ЋС II (1984) 221-225; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 103.
- 673 Љ. Продановић - Љ. Зотовић, *Mihajlovac. Antičko utvrđenje*, АР 6, 1964; М. Томовић, *Mihajlovac „Blato“*. *Une forteresse de la basse antiquité*, ЋС III (1986) 404; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 101.
- 674 Ђ. Јанковић, *Le site d'habitation médiéval kula près du village Mihajlovac*, ЋС III (1986) 443-446; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 101-103.
- 675 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 100.
- 676 М. Гарашанин - М. Васић, *Трајанов мост. Кастел Pontes*, ЋС I (1980) 23-24; М. Гарашанин - М. Васић, *Castrum Pontes*, ЋС IV (1987) 81; М. Гарашанин - Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, *Трајанов мост. Castrum Pontes*, ЋС II (1984) 44-47; Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, *Pontes. Трајанов мост. Средњовековна остава В*, ЋС IV (1987) 135-136; Г. Марјановић-Вујовић, *Прилог проучавању стратиграфије раносредњовековних слојева унутар античког Pontesa*, ЋС IV (1987) 117-119.
- 677 Ђ. Јанковић, *Подунавски део области Аквиса у VI и почетком VII столећа*, Београд 1981, 194 (= Јанковић, *Подунавски део*); М. Јанковић, *Неки подаци о изради предмета од обојених метала на кључу Дунава у IX-XI веку*, ЗНМ 11 (1983) 101; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 95.
- 678 Byzantine authorities renewed the town in the early eleventh century and its population was resettled after the uprising of 1072: М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 87-89.
- 679 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 43-45.

130. Saldum⁶⁸⁰
131. Bosman⁶⁸¹
132. Kulina – Medvednik⁶⁸²
133. Mora Vagei⁶⁸³
134. Bordej⁶⁸⁴
135. Tekija (Transdierna?) (10th-11th centuries)⁶⁸⁵
136. Karataš (Diana)⁶⁸⁶
137. Donje Butorke⁶⁸⁷
138. Glamija – Rtkovo⁶⁸⁸
139. Vajuga – Karaula (medieval necropolis)⁶⁸⁹
140. Milutinovac⁶⁹⁰
141. Ljubičevac⁶⁹¹
142. Radujevac – Karamizar⁶⁹²
143. Site at the mouth of river Timok⁶⁹³

- 680 П. Петровић, *Saldum. Римско и рановизантијско утврђење на ушћу потока Кожица*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 319-331.
- 681 В. Кондић, *Босман. Рановизантијско утврђење*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 137-144
- 682 Према документацији Завода за заштиту споменика културе у Ваљеву.
- 683 А. Цермановић-Кузмановић - С. Станковић, *La forteresse antique Mora Vagei près de Mihajlovac (Fouilles de 1981)*, ТЈС 3 (1986) 453-466; Р. Шпехар, *Материјална култура из рановизантијских утврђења у Џердапу*, Београд 2010, 44-45 (= Шпехар, *Материјална култура*).
- 684 А. Цермановић-Кузмановић, С. Станковић, *Борђеј. Касноантичко утврђење*, ТЈС 2 (1984) 217-220.
- 685 А. Цермановић-Кузмановић, А. Јовановић, *Текја*, Београд 2004; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 114.
- 686 Т. Џвјетићанин, *Касноантичка глеђосана керамика. Глеђосана керамика Прве Мезије, Приобалне Дакије, Средоземне Дакије и Дарданије*, Београд 2006, 115-122, including the bibliography.
- 687 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 35; Шпехар, *Материјална култура*, 30-31.
- 688 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 39; Шпехар, *Материјална култура*, 32-34.
- 689 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 41; Љ. Поповић, *Вајуга. Караула (Извештај о археолошким истраживањима у 1980. години)*, ТЈС 2 (1984) 109; Шпехар, *Материјална култура*, 35.
- 690 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 41; Шпехар, *Материјална култура*, 35-37.
- 691 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 41; Шпехар, *Материјална култура*, 38-39.
- 692 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 45; М. Кораћ, *Late Roman and Early Byzantine Fort of Ljubičevac*, Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube (ed: Р. Петровић) Београд 1996, 105-110; Шпехар, *Материјална култура*, 48.
- 693 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 45; З. Бошковић - Ђ. Јанковић, *Рекогносцирање реке Тимока*, Гласник САД 8 (1991) 144-151.

144. Višnjica (Octavum)⁶⁹⁴
145. Jerinin Grad – Gradac by Batočina (medieval necropolis)⁶⁹⁵
146. Vidrovgrad – Vidrovac⁶⁹⁶
147. Gradina – Veljkovo⁶⁹⁷
148. Tabakovačko Brdo⁶⁹⁸
149. Gradište – Gradskovo⁶⁹⁹
150. Gradina – Grbice (10th-11th centuries)⁷⁰⁰
151. Gola Stena – Štubik⁷⁰¹
152. Brza palanka (Egeta)⁷⁰²
153. Sokolica⁷⁰³
154. Čuka – Podrška⁷⁰⁴
155. Miroč⁷⁰⁵
156. Sip⁷⁰⁶
157. Trajanov Most 2 – Kostol (12th century)⁷⁰⁷
158. Sirmium (the entire Middle Ages and the Ottoman period)⁷⁰⁸
159. Basiana⁷⁰⁹

- 694 M. Birtašević, *Višnjica - Castrum Octavum; Beograd. Vizantijsko utvrđenje i nekropola*, AP 6 (1964) 109-111.
- 695 Д. Петровић, *Средњевековна некропола на Донићком брду (Градац код Крагујевца)*, Старица 13-14, Београд 1965, 275-290 ; М. Богдановић, *Старе културе на тлу централне Србије*, Крагујевац 1981, 56.
- 696 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 49.
- 697 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 49-50.
- 698 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 51.
- 699 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 51.
- 700 М. Богдановић, *Старе културе на тлу централне Србије*, Крагујевац 1981, 57-8; М. Богдановић, *Централна Србија у бакарно доба*, Станишта, Крагујевац 1985, 26.
- 701 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 52.
- 702 П. Петровић, *Брза Паланка - Egeta*, ЋС II (1984) 153-166; Р. Petrović, *Brza Palanka - Egeta*, ЋС III (1986) 369-377.
- 703 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 54.
- 704 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 54.
- 705 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 54-56.
- 706 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 56; Špehar, *Materijalna kultura*, 26-27.
- 707 Јанковић, *Подунавски део*, 56-58; М и Ђ. Јанковић, *Подунавски градови поменути као пострадали 1072. године*, ГГБ 25 (1978) 52.
- 708 В. Поповић, *Сирмијум. Град царева и мученика (Сабрани радови о археологији и историји Сирмијума)*, Сремска Митровица, 2003; М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 114; *Сремска Митровица, Лексикон градова*, 281-284 (А. Крстић).
- 709 *Arheološki leksikon* (ured. D. Srejšević), Beograd 1997, 112 (А. Jovanović) (= *Arheološki leksikon*); М. Ђорђевић, *Arheološka nalazišta rimskog perioda u Vojvodini*, Beograd 2007, 45-49.

160. Remesiana⁷¹⁰
161. Beograd (Singidunum) (9th-15th centuries; Ottoman period)⁷¹¹
162. Dubravica (Margum) (10th-11th centuries)⁷¹²
163. Ram (Lederata) (10th-11th centuries)⁷¹³
164. Veliko Gradište (Pincum)⁷¹⁴
165. Golubac (Cuppae)⁷¹⁵
166. Boljetin (Smorna) (9th, 12th-15th centuries)⁷¹⁶
167. Ravna (Camps) (9th-11th centuries; necropolis, 14th-15th centuries)⁷¹⁷
168. Porečka reka⁷¹⁸
169. Sapaja (12th century; Turkish and Austrian period)⁷¹⁹

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712 М. Цуњак, *Заштитна археолошка истраживања у Маргуму у 1989. години. Прелиминарни резултати*, Гласник ДКС 14, 73-75; М. Цуњак, *Заштитна археолошка истраживања у Маргуму у 1990. години*, Гласник ДКС 15, 39-40; D. Spasić-Đurić, *Die römische Stadt-Margum*, Margum, Požarevac 2003, 11-24; *Arheološki leksikon*, 630-631 (А. Јовановић); М и Ћ. Јанковић, *Подунавски градови поменути као пострадали 1072. године*, ГГБ 25 (1978) 41-55 .

713 *Arheološki leksikon*, 576-577 (А. Јовановић); А. Јовановић, *The Problem of the Location of Lederata*, Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube (ed. P. Petrović), Belgrade 1996, 69-72; . М и Ћ. Јанковић, *Подунавски градови поменути као пострадали 1072. године*, ГГБ 25 (1978), 41-55.

714 М. Мirković, *Rimski gradovi na Dunavu u Gornjoj Meziji*, Beograd 1968, 101-103; *Arheološki leksikon*, 811 (А. Јовановић).

715 М и Ћ. Јанковић, *Подунавски градови поменути као пострадали 1072. године*, ГГБ 25 (1978) 43; *Arheološki leksikon*, 555-556 (А. Јовановић).

716 Љ. Зотовић, *Бољетин (Smorna). Римски и рановизантијски логор*, *Старинар* 33-34 (1982/83) 211-225; С. Ерцеговић-Павловић, *Бољетин. Средњовековно насеље и некропола*, *Старинар* 33-34 (1982/83) 227-230.

717 В. Кондић, *Равна (Camps)*. *Римско и рановизантијско утврђење*, *Старинар* 33-34 (1982/83) 233-251; С. Ерцеговић-Павловић, *Равна. Средњовековно насеље и некропола*, *Старинар* 33-34 (1982/83) 253-257.

718 П. Петровић, *Поречка река. Сабирни центар за снабдевање римских трупа у Ђердапу*, *Старинар* 33-34 (1982/83) 285-291; Špehar, *Materijalna kultura*, 20-22.

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170. Veliki Gradac (Taliata) (7th, 11th-12th centuries)⁷²⁰
171. Hajdučka Vodenica (11th-15th centuries)⁷²¹
172. Malo Golubinje⁷²²
173. Veliko Golubinje⁷²³
174. Čezava (Castrum Novae) (necropolis 11th-13th centuries; tomb 17th century)⁷²⁴
175. Niš (Naissus) (11th-15th centuries; Turkish period)⁷²⁵
176. Medijana (intermittent settling in the Middle Ages)⁷²⁶
177. Pajkovac – „Gradište“⁷²⁷
178. „Bedem“ – Maskare⁷²⁸
179. Veliki Vetren⁷²⁹
180. Donji Dubič – „Gradište“⁷³⁰
181. Puhovac – „Gradište“⁷³¹
182. Ladisled – „Gradište“⁷³²
183. Ukosa (Kućište) – Stalać (10th-11th centuries)⁷³³

- 720 В. Поповић, *Доњи Милановац - Велики Градац (Taliata). Римско и рановизантијско утврђење*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 265-282; М. Јанковић, *Средњовековно насеље на Великом Градцу у X-XI веку*, Београд 1981.
- 721 А. Јовановић, *Хајдучка Воденица. Касноантичко и рановизантијско утврђење*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 319-331; С. Ерцеговић-Павловић, *Хајдучка Воденица. Средњовековно насеље и некропола*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 333-336.
- 722 Љ. Поповић, *Мало и Велико Голубиње. Римско и византијско налазиште*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 297-300 (= Поповић, *Мало и Велико Голубиње*).
- 723 Поповић, *Мало и Велико Голубиње*, 297-300.
- 724 М. Васић, *Чезава - Castrum Novae*, Старице 33-34 (1982/83) 319-331.
- 725 П. Петровић, *Ниш у античко доба*, Ниш 1999; Ј. Калић, *Ниш у средњем веку*, ИЧ 31 (1984) 5-40.
- 726 С. Дрча, *Медијана*, Ниш 2006.
- 727 Д. Рашковић, *Археолошки споменици и налазишта на територији општине Варварин*, Крушевачки зборник 13 (2008) 9-52 (= Рашковић, *Археолошки споменици*).
- 728 Рашковић, *Археолошки споменици*, 9-52.
- 729 Рашковић, *Археолошки споменици*, 9-52.
- 730 Д. Рашковић – Н. Берић, *Резултати рекогносцирања античких и средњовековних налазишта трстеничке општине и суседних области*, Гласник САД 18 (2002) 137-156 (= Рашковић – Берић, *Резултати*).
- 731 Рашковић – Берић, *Резултати*, 150-152.
- 732 Рашковић – Берић, *Резултати*, 153-154.
- 733 О. Вукадин, *Утврђење Укоса (Кућиште)*, Рашка Баштина 3, Краљево 1988, 281-282; *Рановизантијска утврђења у Крушевачком окружју*, Крушевац 2000, 18 (= *Рановизантијска утврђења*); Д. Рашковић, *Стање истражености рановизантијских утврђења на северозападу области Наиса*, Ниш и Византија 3, Ниш 2005, 187-188.

184. Ljubinci – „Gradište“ (9th-11th centuries)⁷³⁴
185. Pločnik – „Gradac“⁷³⁵
186. Vitkovac – „Gradac“⁷³⁶
187. Boljevac – „Čukar“⁷³⁷
188. Porodin – „Gradište“⁷³⁸
189. Petina – „Gradac“ (13-14. centuries)⁷³⁹
190. Jablanica – „Odaje“⁷⁴⁰
191. Zlatari – „Gradište“⁷⁴¹
192. „Gradac“ – Đerekari in Gornji Levići (9th-10th centuries)⁷⁴²
193. Dupci – „Gradište“⁷⁴³
194. Brus – Gobelja – „Gradište“ (9th-11th centuries)⁷⁴⁴
195. Gradište – Trnavci⁷⁴⁵
196. Koznik⁷⁴⁶

- 734 Д. Мркобрад, *Жупа Александровачка. Нови археолошки споменици*, Гласник САД 9 (1993) 228-235; *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 17.
- 735 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 17.
- 736 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 17; Г. Тошић - Д. Рашковић, *Хришћански мотиви на археолошком материјалу из околине Крушевца и Алексинца*, Ниш и Византија 7, Ниш 2009, 188.
- 737 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 21; Д. Рашковић, *Стање истражености рановизантијских утврђења на северозападу области Наиса*, Ниш и Византија 3, Ниш 2005, 185 -186.
- 738 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 21.
- 739 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 24.
- 740 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 25.
- 741 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 24.
- 742 *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 28; Г. Тошић - Д. Рашковић, *Ранохришћански споменици на источним падинама Копаоника*, ЗРВИ 44/1 (2007) 27 – 45; Д. Рашковић, *Стање истражености рановизантијских утврђења на северозападу области Наиса*, Ниш и Византија 3, Ниш 2005, 189.
- 743 Г. Тошић - Д. Рашковић, *Хришћански мотиви на археолошком материјалу из околине Крушевца и Алексинца*, Ниш и Византија 7, Ниш 2009, 186, 188, сл. 5/4 и 7/2; *Рановизантијска утврђења*, 26.
- 744 В. Богосављевић-Петровић, Д. Рашковић, *Рановизантијско утврђење на брду Гобелја код Бруса*, Саопштења 32 – 33 (2002) 99-120.
- 745 Г. Тошић - Д. Рашковић, *Ранохришћански споменици на источним падинама Копаоника*, ЗРВИ 44/1 (2007) 38.
- 746 О. Вукадин, Д. Минић, *Козник*, Рашка Баштина 2, Краљево 1980, 307; *Козник*, Лексикон градова, 218-222 (В. Петровић). We were told of the existence of the Early Byzantine layer, from the unpublished excavations undertaken by Đ. Janković.

197. Kaljaja – Grgure near Blace⁷⁴⁷
198. Fortification in Pridvorica, Kurvingrad⁷⁴⁸
199. Gradina – Dedinci⁷⁴⁹
200. Duvarine – Viča (the town of Toplica Milan) (Middle Ages)⁷⁵⁰
201. Jelička čuka, Saganjevo⁷⁵¹
202. Gradina – Donja Rudnica, near Raška⁷⁵²
203. Višegrad (11th-12th centuries)⁷⁵³
204. Gradište – Geđe (9th-10th centuries)⁷⁵⁴
205. Radavac in the vicinity of Pec⁷⁵⁵
206. Jerinin grad – Dolac (Late Middle Ages and Turkish period)⁷⁵⁶
207. Crmljani near Đakovica (Middle Ages)⁷⁵⁷
208. Ereč⁷⁵⁸
209. Kusare⁷⁵⁹
210. Gradište – Zatrič⁷⁶⁰
211. Jablanica near Pec⁷⁶¹

747 Д. Рашковић, *Рановизантијски археолошки локалитети и комуникације у ширем крушевачком окружју*, Трећа југословенска конференција византолога, Београд - Крушевац 2002, 64.

748 Based on personal insight.

749 Based on personal insight.

750 Based on personal insight.

751 Based on personal insight.

752 Т. Михајловић, *Нови антички локалитети на Копаонику*, Гласник САД 13 (1997) 147-158.

753 В. Јовановић, *Косовски градови и дворци XI-XV века*, Задужбине Косова. Споменици и знамења српског народа, Призрен - Београд 1987, 371 (= Јовановић, *Косовски градови*); М. Милинковић, *Нова археолошка истраживања комплекса Св. Арханђела код Призрена*, Гласник САД 11 (1995) 208-223.

754 Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 371; Luan Përzhita, Gëezem Hoxha, *Fortifikime të shejve IV-VI në Dardaninë Perëndimore*, Tiranë 2003, 143 (= Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*); *Споменичка баштина Косова и Метохије*, Београд 2002 (= *Споменичка баштина*), 98.

755 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 145.

756 Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 375; Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 145-146.

757 *Споменичка баштина*, 93; Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 146.

758 This site was drawn on the map, among fortifications from the period between the fourth and sixth centuries, but was not mentioned in the text: Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 66 .

759 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 146-147.

760 Јовановић, *Косовски градови* 373; Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 147.

761 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 150-151.

212. Dobre Vode near Klina (Late Middle Ages)⁷⁶²
213. Kaljaja – Orahovac⁷⁶³
214. Gradina – Vranić (tombs bearing similarities to the Komani-Kruje culture)⁷⁶⁰
215. Hisar – Kosterc near Suva reka (11th-15th centuries)⁷⁶⁵
216. Gradina – Koriša (Middle Ages)⁷⁶⁶
217. Jerinina kula – Podgrađe near Klina⁷⁶⁷
218. Gradina – Žuti kamen (Guri i Kuq)⁷⁶⁸
219. Čečan (10th century; 14th century)⁷⁶⁹
220. Zvečan (throughout Middle Ages)⁷⁷⁰
221. Gradina – Gornji Streoci⁷⁷¹
222. Gradina – Crni vrh⁷⁷²
223. Žilivode⁷⁷³
224. Ulpiana – Lipljan (Iustiniana secunda)⁷⁷⁴
225. Gradina – Drsnik⁷⁷⁵

762 Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 372.

763 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 74-79.

764 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 148-149.

765 S. Fidanovski, *Kostrc. Eneolitsko naselje i ranovizantijsko utvrđenje*, AP (1986), Ljubljana 1987, 48-49; Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 375; С. Фидновски, *Римски и рановизантијски период*, Археолошко благо Косова и Метохије од неолита до раног средњег века, Београд 1998, 278 (= Фидновски, *Римски и рановизантијски период*); Ф. Пеја, *Нумизматика*, Археолошко благо Косова и Метохије од неолита до раног средњег века, Београд 1998, 370; Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 149-150.

766 Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 372; Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 147-148.

767 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 151-152.

768 Përzhita, Hoxha, *Fortifikime*, 152.

769 V. Ivanišević, P. Špehar, *Early Byzantine Finds from Čečan and Gornji Streoc*, Старица 55 (2005) 133-159 (= Ivanišević, Špehar, *Early Byzantine*).

770 А. Дероко, *Средњовековни градови у Србији, Црној Гори и Македонији*, Београд 1950, 169-170; Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 373-375; В. Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања средњовековних споменика и налазишта на Косову*, Зборник округлог стола о научном истраживању Косова, Београд 1988, 35-36 (= Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања*); *Звечан*, Лексикон, 112-115 (С. Мишић).

771 Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 371; V. Ivanišević, P. Špehar, *Early Byzantine Finds from Čečan and Gornji Streoc*, Старица 55 (2005) 133-159 (= Ivanišević, Špehar, *Early Byzantine*).

772 Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 371; Ivanišević, Špehar, *Early Byzantine*, 159.

773 Ivanišević, Špehar, *Early Byzantine*, 159.

774 М. Паровић-Пешикан, *Античка Улпијана према досадашњим истраживањима*, Старица 32 (1981) 57-75; Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 376; Фидновски, *Римски и рановизантијски период*, 342-344.

775 *Споменичка баштина*, 64.

226. Veletin (10th-12th centuries; 14th-15th centuries)⁷⁷⁶
227. Zidanac near Gotovuša⁷⁷⁷
228. Rimsko gradište-Brezovica⁷⁷⁸
229. Mali Petrič (14th century)⁷⁷⁹
230. Veliki Petrič (14th century)⁷⁸⁰
231. Kulina – Tenešdol (Late Middle Ages)⁷⁸¹
232. Stanišor – Prekopište⁷⁸²
233. Gradina – Čučaica in Guvnište⁷⁸³
234. Gradište – Trpeza (Late Middle Ages)⁷⁸⁴
235. Gradište – Grnčar⁷⁸⁵
236. Kaljaja (Gradište) – Binač (Late Middle Ages)⁷⁸⁶
237. Markov kamen – Topilo (Middle Ages)⁷⁸⁷
238. Gradina – Ariljača (Middle Ages)⁷⁸⁸
239. Banjica – Vučak (Middle Ages)⁷⁸⁹
240. Kaljaja – Vrbovac (Middle Ages)⁷⁹⁰
241. Koretište – Grančarica⁷⁹¹
242. Jerinin Grad – Tolisavac⁷⁹²

- 776 E. Shukriu, *Veletin, Multistrata Settlement*, AP 29 (1988) 1990, 104-106; B. Јовановић, *Утврђено насеље Велетин*, Старица 53-54 (20003/2004) 139-161.
- 777 Ђ. Јанковић, *Равна Гора између Призрена и Штрпца. Најстарије познато српско налазиште на југу Србије*, Старине Косова и Метохије 10 (1997) 31-35 (= Јанковић, *Равна Гора*).
- 778 Јанковић, *Равна Гора*, 31-35.
- 779 И. Здравковић, *Петрич-град (Мала и Велика Калеја)*, Старица 1 (1950) 219-222; Јовановић, *Косовски градови*, 368-369; *Петрич*, Лексикон градова, 218-222 (В. Петровић). The Early Byzantine layer was established to exist according to the information provided by Ђ. Јанковић.
- 780 According to Ђ. Јанковић, the existence of the Early Byzantine layer was confirmed.
- 781 Н. Mehnetaj, *Kulina a Vogël (Kulina Tenešdol), Vendobanim shumështresor (Multistrata Settlement)*, AP 29 (1988) 1990, 96-99.
- 782 Фидновски, *Римски и рановизантијски период*, 278.
- 783 Г. Тошић - Д. Рашковић, *Ранохришћански споменици на источним падинама Копаоника*, ЗРВИ 44/1 (2007) 39, 43.
- 784 Јовановић, *Косовски градови* 384; *Споменичка баштина*, 142.
- 785 Јовановић, *Косовски градови* 371; *Споменичка баштина*, 142.
- 786 Јовановић, *Косовски градови* 371; *Споменичка баштина*, 142.
- 787 Јовановић, *Косовски градови* 383; *Споменичка баштина*, 141.
- 788 Јовановић, *Косовски градови* 367; *Споменичка баштина*, 141.
- 789 *Споменичка баштина*, 140.
- 790 *Споменичка баштина*, 140.
- 791 *Споменичка баштина*, 90.
- 792 М. Васиљевић, *Соко-град*, Шабац 1998, 17 (= Васиљевић, *Соко*); Ђ. Бошковић, В. Корач, *Јеринин град у Толисавцу*, Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 48.

- 243. Kostajnik⁷⁹³
- 244. Gradac – Dvorska⁷⁹⁴
- 245. Gradac – Vrhpolje⁷⁹⁵
- 246. Gradina on the Orovička mountain⁷⁹⁶
- 247. Gradina – Mikuljak⁷⁹⁷
- 248. Gradina – Pridvorica⁷⁹⁸
- 249. Zasad – Petrova⁷⁹⁹
- 250. Gradište – Osladić⁸⁰⁰
- 251. Gradina – Šengolj⁸⁰¹
- 252. Gradina – Drežnik⁸⁰²
- 253. Gradina – Ravni⁸⁰³
- 254. Gradina – Mokra Gora⁸⁰⁴
- 255. Gradina – Svračkovo⁸⁰⁵
- 256. Gradina – Radobuđa⁸⁰⁶
- 257. Gradina – Visoka (Golubinjak)⁸⁰⁷
- 258. Gradina – Kruščica⁸⁰⁸
- 259. Gradina – Krstac⁸⁰⁹

- 793 Васиљевић, Соко, 17; Ђ. Бошковић, В. Кораћ, *Костајник. Некадашњи град*, Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 49.
- 794 Васиљевић, Соко, 17.
- 795 Васиљевић, Соко, 17; М. Vasiljević, *Arheološko rekognosciranje Podrinja*, AP 18, 171.
- 796 Васиљевић, Соко, 17; Е. Чершков, *Ђурим. Остаци града*, Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 57-8.
- 797 Васиљевић, Соко, 17; Е. Чершков, *Кулина Микуљак. Трагови града*, Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 58.
- 798 Г. Симоновић, *Рекогносцирање слива реке Студенице од села Придворица до Студенице*, Гласник САД 6 (1990) 208-9 (= Симоновић, *Рекогносцирање*).
- 799 Симоновић, *Рекогносцирање*, 211.
- 800 Based on personal insight.
- 801 Г. Томовић, *У држави Немањића (XIII-XIV век)*, Историја Ужица (до 1918) I, Титово Ужице 1989, 126-127.
- 802 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 803 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 804 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 805 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 806 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 807 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 808 Based on personally carried out reconnaissance.
- 809 М. Мандић, *Археолошки налази античког периода у пожешком крају*, Пожешки годишњак 1, Пожега 2001, 35.

Most of the afore-listed sites were registered by reconnaissance or sondages and on fewest fortifications were conducted systematic excavations. Some random information was obtained by the study of material the material unearthed in the illegal excavations by looters euphemistically called "amateur archaeologists".

According to the compiled list, 259 fortifications used in the period ranging from the fifth to the early seventh century have been registered in Serbia up to the present. But this number is only temporarily correct, as it is constantly getting higher because of the fieldwork dynamics in some parts of Serbia.

The majority of these fortifications is located on high altitudes, often on locations difficult to reach. The wide area of the present-day Mačva was left almost entirely depopulated and without forts; first fortified sites were erected on the mountain slopes of Rudnik, Cer and Majevisa. Lowland fortifications were primarily situated along the limes and built mainly for military purposes; but they were now inhabited by both soldiers and civilians. If this is the case, it is an example of either continuous use of the fortifications or of their restoration. Only the crews in fortresses and towns were made up of actual army, whereas fortified settlements were defended by their own denizens. The supply was carried out with ships and the presence of amphorae is a sure sign of military presence.

A large number of the examined Early Byzantine fortifications was single-layered, that is to say that in most of the cases, they were re-built during Justinian's Restoration. In some areas, the restoration process was predominant, as shown on the example of Dardania, which does not necessarily mean that the rebuilt fortifications were built considerably before the early sixth century. Several fortifications have never been restored, after having suffered destruction in the first half of the sixth century – such as Kale in the village of Klinovce (13), destroyed during the Kutrigur incursion.⁸¹⁰

In Serbia, the lowland towns situated along the Danubian limes and with urban tradition, were pillars of defence. On the other hand, the newly-founded regional centres - of which the most researched are Caričin grad (45) and Gradina on Jelica (94) - display the utmost potential

810 Money deposits could be related to the Kutrigurian incursion of 544: Д. Гай-Поповић, *Две оставе бронзаног византијског новца VI века из нумизматичке збирке Народног музеја у Београду*, Зборник Народног Музеја VII (1973) 25-37.

of the Early Byzantine construction and the urbanistic notions of the age, in the Balkans. Some of these fortifications were built on lower, more accessible grounds, on strategically important points that secured traffic ways or supply routes or protecting ports – as was the case with Bedem-Maskare (178). Among these are the fortifications, such as Gamzigrad (128) and Mediana (176), of specific purpose or erected on the foundations of ancient Roman palaces.

Churches existed at a large number of sites and other buildings, as were multiple layers containing various movable findings. In most of the high fortifications, the assortment of these findings indicates the presence of a civilian population, refuting the hypothesis that these were refuges, and indicating that these were more likely fortified villages involved in mining and the communication-system control. Certainly, a smaller number could have been refuges. These fortifications represented the basic settlement-unit of the Illyrian provinces and could have been nothing more than rural settlements, i.e. villages,⁸¹¹ until the circulation of money finally ceased in 615, and with it monetary trade and presence of the state.⁸¹² A long gap followed before these fortified sites would be used again, apart from some rare exceptions.

Beside the Romaion population and other subjects of the Empire, there were other ethnical groups living in the fortifications: Germanic peoples primarily, but also individuals of nomadic and Slavic origin. In all likelihood, they came there after the confrontation of the Avars and the Langobards with the Gepids, in 567. The Empire was trying to solve the chronic lack of manpower, caused by the Hunnic scourge in the fifth century and the recurring Avaro-Slavic incursions of the sixth century. The depopulation was exacerbated by a great plague epidemic and an earthquake. With all the devastation and havoc caused by the permanent raids, the ever-present danger and insecurity, the population fled their homes and retreated towards the coastal towns and the safer provinces of the Empire.

The Slavs joined the ranks of the Byzantine army as individuals and fought in wars in Italy and Asia Minor, where some of them were promoted to officers (Hilwud). After the Avar conquests in 584 – 586, some of the fortresses remained derelict and Byzantium left the defence of

811 M. Милинковић, *Градина на Јелици. Рановизантијски град и средњовековно насеље*, Београд 2010, 228.

812 V. Popović, *Les temoins archéologiques des invasions avaro-slaves dans l'Illyricum byzantin*, MEFRA 87, Rome 1975, 494-496, 502-504.

some fortresses to the Slavs, as was the case with Alicaniburgo. In spite of its abandoned ramparts, a Slavic settlement „Dunav“ (Slatina) (121) sprang up just before the end of the sixth century.⁸¹³ Archaeological findings from Gamzigrad (128)⁸¹⁴ and the rural settlement „Reka“ – Vinča, near Belgrade⁸¹⁵ confirm a mutually consensual Slavic colonization. The fortification situated on the hill Govedarnik above Majur, near Jagodina (125) should be included among the Early Byzantine fortifications containing Slavic findings. Accidental findings include a bronze fibula dated to the early seventh century, a ring made of lead, and a small cross, most probably from the seventh century.⁸¹⁶

Findings of medieval pottery were rare in Early Byzantine fortifications, but not as rare as was thought at first. But now, this view is changing. Experience gained over time allowed for an easier distinction to be made between potteries from the two epochs, which was not possible initially. Because of this distinction, today we can, in some cases, speak of a medieval presence and that the percentage of such sites keeps rising. Rare seventh-century pottery fragments were discovered in a series of fortifications: Veliki Gradac (170); Tekija (135), Gradina-Jelica (94), Slatina (121), Kula-Mihajlovac (124) and Velika Gradina at Miločaji (5). The tomb discovered at Kamenovo near Petrovac on Mlava was also dated to the early seventh century, while sporadic findings of fibulae unearthed in Prahovo (129) and Korbovo (127) point toward the existence of tombs containing female skeletons.⁸¹⁷

It is assumed that with the fall of the limes, Byzantine hold did not fully disappear, because some accidental findings indicate Byzantine

813 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 18.

814 Within the Early Byzantine layer at Gamzigrad a house was discovered that contained Slavic objects from the period ending with 584/6: М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 87.

815 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 82-84; М. Јанковић, *Река, Ритопек. Ранословенско насеље*, АП 25 (1986), 61-63; М. Јанковић, *Београд у средњем веку* (Каталог Музеја града Београда) 27 (1985) 120; М. Јанковић, *Један археолошки налаз у околини Београда. Гроб VI века*, ГГБ 36 (1990) 5-16. Four sunken huts were discovered, together with the artisanal objects and a grave, dated between the sixth and the early eleventh centuries. Dating the settlement to the sixth century was carried out with the Byzantine products, primarily pottery. The only grave, of a female person in a fetal position, was also dated to the sixth century. The sunken hut with a stone oven is from the early seventh century, i.e. from before the reign of Heraclius.

816 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 100.

817 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 25.

presence in the Danubian basin, which would match the assumed role of the Serbs and the Croats as *foederati*. Buckles from the seventh century, discovered in Prahovo (129), Kostol (126) and Ćuprija (120), coins of Constantine IV, unearthed near Jagodina and dated to 634/4, and the Byzantine wheel-made pottery discovered in Dunav (121) and Kula (124) - confirm that hypothesis.⁸¹⁸ It would appear that in the seventh century Byzantium still held strongholds along the Danube and along the road Mitrovica-Belgrade-Niš-Sofia-Constantinople. This situation changed only with the Bulgarian incursion in 680.⁸¹⁹ The often disputed remark of Constantine Porphyrogenitos that a Byzantine strategos was present in Belgrade at the time of the Serb arrival, implies that Byzantium did manage to preserve some form of authority over the northern Illyricum, even after 614/5.⁸²⁰

After their arrival, the Slavs encountered two types of settlements. For one, towns from the Antiquity underwent significant reconstructions in the sixth century, accordant with the Byzantine construction policy. The answer to the question whether the Slavs immediately occupied the fortifications, is to be found in the ethnic attribution of fragments of hand-made pottery discovered on the sites. The dilemma has not yet been solved if the ceramics are Slavic, in that case present at the beginning of the seventh century, or if it was made by the autochthonous population, who had to rely on the local production of ware once the trade stopped. Interpreting several forms that seem to replicate Early Byzantine pottery forms, purports the latter hypothesis, especially since no recognizable Slavic pottery of a later date has been found in the areas of the sites where the above-mentioned pottery of Byzantine form was discovered. But before any ethnic attribution is made, it should be well considered if these vessels may have had a special function, such as metal-casting, which can be confirmed by the analysis of the interior. Hand-made vessels made for this function were discovered in Duklja (Doclea).⁸²¹

The absence of storage ceramics and luxury objects corresponds with commerce, craftsmanship and money circulation becoming defunct. But pottery production, especially of cookware, is a local activity and a

818 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 19.

819 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 20.

820 Поповић - Кондић, *Царичин град*, 180.

821 D. Drašković - M. Živanović, *Keramika prostoriје 3/IX. Prilog poznavanju svakodnevnog života antičke Duklje*, Nova antička Duklja II, Podgorica 2011, 76-77.

complete halt of its production would be unlikely. Remains of fire places above the layer of destruction at the basilica D offer some insight. They suggest the use of the church for habitation even after its demise in a fire evident from many traces of soot. Many fragments of characteristic Early Byzantine ceramics were discovered in the context of the fire places, giving basis to the assumption that there was no significant time gap between the creation of the fire places and the ruin of the church.⁸²² This fact sets a good example of how a local population, even after catastrophes, can continue to use locally produced, but distinctive wheel-made ceramics, while the use of hand-made ceramics can be attributed to another ethnos, and not explained away with a simple early seventh-century ruralization. Also, considering the disregard for the sacral place, we can assume that another ethnos used the existing material culture, which can give us an answer of why there are so few traces of Slavic material culture – and this would not be an isolated case, since findings of Roman ceramics appear in the Slavic settlement of Kula-Mihajlovac as well (124).

Setting this issue aside, no matter if the ceramics is Slavic or made by the autochthonous populations, it is from the seventh century and after it comes a hiatus until the ninth century on the fortifications. The exceptions are very rare and still unexplained. To be more precise, for now we know of only one such high site in Serbia – Gradina on Jelica (94).⁸²³ The shortcoming of researches conducted until now in Serbia is the lack of reliable methods that would allow for precise chronological datings of the discovered findings – above all, the C¹⁴ method. A lay person might conclude that maybe among the unearthed findings of pottery there are some that could be dated further back into the past. Argumentation in favour of this deliberation is reduced to pottery, since other types of findings are quite rare. On the one hand, the characteristics of the typology and style of the findings (tools, weapons) do not allow for precise dating. Moreover, such findings are rarer than findings of pottery and independent discoveries of such findings do not allow placing them into specific epochs.⁸²⁴

822 Милинковић, *Градина*, 180.

823 Д. Булић, *Трагови средњовековне материјалне културе са локалитета Градина на Јелици*, ИЧ 50 (2004) 153-204. Slatina (121) is a lowland site, which lasted in a continuum until the ninth century.

824 So an absurd situation happens that from a great site that has been systematically excavated for years, we have almost no object, weapon or tool that we could unequivocally declare medieval – except for the many findings of pottery, and some buildings: Милинковић, *Градина*.

Traces of fire indicate that a certain number of these fortifications perished in fires and show that life ended in a violent manner. This destruction was caused by the Avaro-Slavic incursions after which began the Slavic colonization of the areas south of the Sava and the Danube, when civilized life was discontinued. The Serbs and the Croats, along with other Slavic groups, would become in the centuries to follow the region's prevailing population.

Life in Singidunum was abruptly brought to an end, or the town had already been destroyed and ravaged. The new name of Belgrade speaks clearly of the discontinuity. Belgrade was mentioned as a diocese in 878, meaning it was an important centre, possibly since Krum brought the middle-Danube lands under his rule.⁸²⁵

Is this case paradigmatic? Did towns such as Belgrade, vanguards exposed to assaults on the Empire's frontiers, face discontinuity because of their disadvantageous geographic position? Arguments support this hypothesis. The situation was similar in other Early Byzantine fortifications on the Danube. The earliest agrarian settlements develop in the ninth and tenth centuries, except on the sites of Slatina (121) and Aquae (129).

In the territory of Serbia, the most northern fortifications such as Brangovići (89), point to the ninth century as the earliest medieval phase, thus reinforcing the hypothesis that other fortifications were not occupied in the period between the arrival of the Slavs and the ninth century. Current mental image has been based on the current level of research, which is not quite exemplary, but which shows that the Slavs most often settled by a river on flat or slightly hilly landscapes. The question is posed where are the settlements and necropolises that should exist? South of the Sava and the Danube, there were just a few of such locations. The reasons are rather banal. Focussed research in this direction and on these localities simply never took place. It has been simpler to register Slavic presence by researching already existing Byzantine fortifications, rather than to obtain these results by planned research.⁸²⁶

825 J. Калић, *Словени и византијско урбано наслеђе*, Европа и Срби. Средњи век, Београд 2006, 27-29.

826 Such an endeavour would demand systematic and organized reconnaissance of the locations in the flatlands and river valleys, followed by systematic and expensive excavations of these sites; and for something of that scale there was never any money, nor political interest.

The score of registered fortifications is high, and it is increasing every day, because there are still areas in the present-day Serbia where detailed reconnaissance was not conducted. Expressions for remains of fortifications appear as toponyms and point to these fortifications, especially if they are of a more recent date: Gradina, Gradište, Gradac, Gradačac, Gračica, Kula, Jerinin Grad. These are mainly pre-historic, Roman and Early Byzantine fortifications that had been there, but also the ones that through time lost their names, including the ones with a strong medieval phase.⁸²⁷ Slavic names „gradina“, „gradište“, etc. do not reveal a Slavic settlement, but indicate a Slavic settlement nearby, a Slavic environment, so to speak. The term „gradina“ also designated a medieval town that lost its name in time for whatever reason, even at a much later date.⁸²⁸

This loss of the name also shows that of the gradinas occupied in the Middle Ages (which was not a small number), only those that were occupied in the Late Middle Ages as well, preserved their name. Those that were occupied until about the twelfth century, usually lost their names. The discovered material points to temporary residences, without major economic activity or some important functions, even for the local people – except in the need for haven. As places irrelevant in economic sense, in times of peace they were quickly forgotten unless they gained a more important role in the Late Middle Ages, when their names were preserved. Frequent movements of population reduced the appellation to a general term for such kind of structures, visited only by pastoral populations. Also, many Late Medieval fortifications did not retain their names, probably because they were used for a short time.

Considering the inter-relation of the terms Grad-Gradina-Gradište-Gradac, etc. (living settlement, abandoned fortification, large/small fortification, destroyed fortification), one should keep in mind the lack of a clear distinction between the terms and that they are synonymous with an occasional particular meaning in local dialects.

The nature of the contact with the autochthonous population can only be speculated on; but the adoptions of the toponyms, of the local sacral places and even of the objects from the material culture, confirm that this contact took place. At Gradina on Jelica, the Slavic population

827 For the meaning of the mentioned terms, see: J. Калић, *Словени и византијско урбано наслеђе*, Европа и Срби. Средњи век, Београд 2006, 31.

828 J. Калић, *Словени и византијско урбано наслеђе*, Европа и Срби. Средњи век, Београд 2006, 31-32.

adopted from the autochthonous population the way of food-preparation on a hearth by using a shallow-bell lid (sač, vršnik), which mimicked the Early Byzantine type of the cookware, but with a different decoration.⁸²⁹ Other linguistic events from the history of the Serbian language also witness of the meeting between two different linguistic and cultural environments.⁸³⁰ The adoption of some of the river names also speaks that there were mutual contacts and a certain continuity. Indirectly, it also points towards the spaces the Slavs settled at first, fertile river valleys. One of the examples is the name of Ras. When Procopius of Caesarea portrayed the construction activity of Emperor Justinian, he marked Arsa among the fortifications in Dardania.⁸³¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitos was the first to mention the medieval Slavic form of this name: the form “Rasa” derived from the pre-Slavic name „Arsa“, a change that could only have happened as a product of metathesis of liquid consonants, a well-known and familiar linguistic phenomenon in Europe. This phenomenon occurred during the first years of life of the Slavic settlers in the new environment. In the Balkans, this process concluded in the ninth century.⁸³² Among known analogies from the wider area of Slavic settlement are: Arsia-Raša, a river in Istria, Arba-Rab, an island in Croatia, and Albona-Labin.⁸³³

* * *

We will attempt to shed light on the medieval events in certain fortifications by looking at them through the historical context. If Constantine Porphyrogenitos is to be believed, the Serbs began to settle the Balkan Peninsula during the reign of emperor Heraclius.⁸³⁴ The Serbs took the most of Dalmatia, i.e. the territories of the present-day Serbia, of

829 Д. Булић, *Трагови средњовековне материјалне културе са локалитета Градина на Јелици*, ИЧ 50 (2004) 153-204.

830 П. Ивић, *Српски народ и његов језик*, Београд 1971, 23-24; *Историја српског народа I*, Београд 1981, 128-129, 131 (П. Ивић).

831 *ВИНЈ I*, 61.

832 Ј. Калић, *Прокопијева Арса*, Европа и Срби. Средњи век, Београд 2006, 16-17.

833 Р. Skok, *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na Jadranskim otocima I*, Zagreb 1950, 57.

834 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio I* (ed. Gy. Moravcsik – R. J. H. Jenkins), Washington 1967, 32.7-12 (= *DAI*); *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије II* (уред. Б. Ферјанчић), Београд 1959, 47 (= *ВИНЈ II*).

Pagania, Zachlunia, Travunia and Konavle,⁸³⁵ as Einhard mentioned in the episode of Liudewitus' escape.⁸³⁶ After the Croats and the Serbs had settled, historical accounts made no further mention of Avar incursions.⁸³⁷ Conversion of the Serbs into Christianity took place during the reign of Heraclian dynasty, but the decisive point happened in the mid-ninth century, when Christian names were, for the first time, given to the children of Serbian rulers.⁸³⁸ There are assumptions that earlier, individual conversions to Christianity happened during the sixth century.⁸³⁹

Events in Serbia were closely intertwined with relations between Byzantium and Bulgaria. The first Serbo-Bulgarian conflict happened in 848, during the reign of the Bulgarian khan Presiam and Serbian archont Vlastimir, and it lasted for three years, until 851; soon after, in 853/4, the second war broke out.⁸⁴⁰ In the mid-ninth century, the border area was around Ras, be it a town or an area, which is why an entire string of fortifications has medieval layers from this period. The prevailing opinion holds that the Slavs, as an agrarian population, settled along river valleys, in fields, beyond urban units. It was only during the first Serbo-Bulgarian war that the fortified sites were used again, serving as refuges and important military strongholds – roles they would play in later conflicts with the Bulgarians.⁸⁴¹ Several fortifications might have been used in the conflicts between members of the ruling family, as well.

835 DAI I, 32.21-25; ВИНЈ II, 49.

836 Einhardi Annales (ed. G. Pertz), MGH SS I, Hannoverae 1826, 209.13-17.

837 According to Živković, the Serbs arrived as *foederati* between 630 and 634, to prevent Avar incursions. For more extensive information on this issue, including the relevant bibliography, see: Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 271-291. However, the idea that, before the Serbs arrived to the Balkans with the imperial concession and with the benefits coming from their status as *foederati*, such a status (of *foederati*) had been bestowed upon certain groups of the Slavs and the Antes since the reign of Justinian, was first put forward by M. Ćorović – Ljubinković, *Odnosi Slovena centralnih oblasti Balkana i Vizantije od VII do XII*, Materijali 9 (1972) 81, 89.

838 Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 391, 395.

839 It has been assumed that the Slavic fibulae discovered in skeleton graves in Velesnica, Prahovo and Korbovo could be attributed to Christians: Јанковић, *Словени*. 25. There are lead crosses from the late seventh century among the accidental findings from Kostolac, from the vicinity of Jagodina, and from Vinča; these indicate that the population, dwelling along the Danube valley, was most likely Christianized.

840 Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 388-392.

841 Живковић, *Словени* 118. He made this conclusion on the basis of the results of the excavations conducted in the region of Novi Pazar.

After a quarrel with his brothers, the reign of the Serbian archont Mutimir (851-891) went on rather peacefully. Only after his death, at the end of the ninth century, the struggle for power began, followed by undisturbed reign of Peter that ended when Simeon captured him in 917, in the aftermath of the battle of Anchialus.⁸⁴² Simeon installed Paul (Pavle), who ruled for the following six years (918-924), and was followed by Zacharius' rise to power and the Bulgarian raid into Serbia, which happened in 926, most likely.⁸⁴³ This was a year of great destruction,⁸⁴⁴ and of an apparent gap in the reign of Serbian archonts. At this point, fortifications were temporarily abandoned, until Časlav took over the power in Serbia (933-943).⁸⁴⁵ Belo, one of Časlav's successors, was forced to fight another war with the Syrmians and the Hungarians and won the battle of Belina (Bellina).⁸⁴⁶ Although many toponyms bear that name, there is a river crossing across the Sava in the present-day Mačva that even today has that name. Graduština (hydroelectric power station Graduština), near Beljina (90) and Kupinovo were, in all likelihood, fortresses built on the crossing point across the Sava, indicated by the toponym of the nearby village – Skela (meaning ferry). According to the Kanic's sketch, the bridge, whose remains are still visible, was on the road that passed through a fort. Graduština and Kupinovo are on the road connecting Bassianae (Bassianae – Donji Petrovci) (159) and Cusum (Cusum – Petrovaradin).⁸⁴⁷ Archaeological excavations confirmed the existence of layers dating until the end of the twelfth century.⁸⁴⁸ But the dilemma remains whether the lands around the Sava in Mačva (Mačvansko Posavlje) were part of Serbia just like the lands around the Sava in Bosnia were (Bosansko Posavlje); having in mind the account of the Priest of Duklja on the common struggle of the Hungarians and the Syrmians.⁸⁴⁹

842 Ibid, 413.

843 Ibid, 421

844 *DAI I*, 32.119-126; *ВИНЈ II*, 56.

845 On the years of the reign and the territory of the state, cf. Т. Живковић, *Портрети*, 55.

846 Mošin, *Ljetopis*, 72.

847 I. Popović, *Notes topographiques sur la région limitrophe entre la Pannonie Seconde et la Mésie Première*, Roman Limes on the Middle and Lower Danube, Београд 1996, 137-142.

848 *Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I*, Западна Србија, Београд 1953, 16 (М. Гарашанин - Д. Гарашанин).

849 Живковић, *Јужни Словени*, 432.

In the chapter XXXII of his treatise *De administrando imperio*, Porphyrogenitos mentions the following inhabited towns in Serbia: Destinik, Černavusk, Međurečje, Dresneik, Lesnik and Salines, and Kotor and Desnik as inhabited towns of Bosnia.⁸⁵⁰ The differing locations of the towns Porphyrogenitos mentions as Serbian indicate what an inaccurate and fanciful thing it is. According to S. Novaković, the first Serbian towns were situated in the eastern and south-eastern parts of the land, towards the Ibar river and Bulgaria, the source of danger for the country.⁸⁵¹ The events within the ruling dynasty and the flights of individuals in neighbouring lands, primarily Croatia, indicate that the seats of the archonts were located somewhere in the west. The location of the meeting between Petar Gojniković and the strategos of Drač, that took place in the lands of Arentani (Narentines), points to the same conclusion. It can be assumed that the Serbs protected their eastern borders from the Bulgarians, while the rulers continued to govern the land from the west of the country.⁸⁵² Although the locations of the mentioned towns were proposed back in the nineteenth century, most of these sites were not archaeologically surveyed. The only assumptions are that Destinik could be at Vrsenice (97),⁸⁵³ where there are layers of this period; and Lesnik, which S. Novaković considered to be at Lješnica by Vidojevica (46),⁸⁵⁴ where findings of tenth- to twelfth-century pottery were discovered.⁸⁵⁵

But by the beginning of the eleventh century, not one of these towns was mentioned in the bulls issued to the Archdiocese of Ohrid by Basil II, suggesting that these towns were either fortifications on rather inaccessible terrain, unsuitable for permanent settling, or that they began to lose their importance for reasons unknown to us. If these were part of a chain of fortifications along the Serb-Bulgar border, they became obsolete with Samuil's conquests and fell into disuse.⁸⁵⁶

850 DAI I, 32.149-151; ВИНЈ II, 58.

851 С. Новаковић, *Српске области X и XII века*, ГСУД 48 (1880) 140-143.

852 Живковић, *Словени* 121.

853 Поповић - Bikić, *Vrsenice*, 134. The toponym Crni vrh is situated in the nearest surroundings of this site.

854 С. Новаковић, *Српске области X и XII века*, Списи из историјске географије (уред. С. Ђирковић), Београд 2003, 203.

855 Ђ. Janković, *Rekognosciranje srednjovekovnih nalazišta u zapadnoj Srbiji i na Pešteru*, AP 20 (1978) 186. For further information on the preserved remains of the town, see: *Археолошки споменици и налазишта у Србији I, Западна Србија*, Београд 1953, 45-46 (Ђ. Бошковић - В. Корпаћ).

856 Живковић, *Словени* 125.

Very soon after the Hungarians arrived to Pannonia, Great Moravia was destroyed; masses of refugees fled to the neighbouring lands from the Hungarian marauders. Typical Moravian findings confirm this assumption: an axe, discovered close to Vršac⁸⁵⁷, a vessel from Požarevac, jewellery from Ram (163) and from Karaburma, most probably brought by the refugees,⁸⁵⁸ and the well-known finding from Trilj.⁸⁵⁹

The afore-mentioned Hungarian incursion instigated the foundation of new towns in Bulgaria (unfortified Ram with accidental findings, Veliko Gradište (164)?, Veliki Gradac (170), Tekija (135)?, Trajanov Most?-Kladovo (126)?, Prahovo (129); several smaller fortresses had been restored, like the one situated on a hill overlooking the Porečka river (168), and a new tower was erected on the Early Byzantine fortress near the “Dunav” resort (121).⁸⁶⁰

The Hungarians took advantage of the succession on the Bulgarian throne after the death of Simeon (893-927) and penetrated into Bulgaria all the way to Macedonia and to the Black Sea. As a result, several settlements on the Danube were abandoned, such as “Dunav”-Slatina (121), the settlement in Mihajlovac (123), the fortification above the Porečka river, but also settlements that were located outside the forts, like Fetislam. Most likely, the jewellery hoard from Boljetina (166) was cached at this point.⁸⁶¹ After the Hungarian arrival, many Slavic refugees were welcomed in the neighbouring lands. Findings of the Belobrd culture have been discovered deep in the Balkan hinterland, even in Kosovo and the coast, where refugees brought them.⁸⁶² Around this time, Časlav fought the Hungarians in the west.

Byzantium made good use of the military weakening of Bulgaria and managed to retake positions on the Danube, down the stream from Đerdap, with the help of the Russians and the prince Svyatoslav (946-972). The abandonment of an unfortified site near Grabovica, and the ending of

857 С. Барачки, *Југоисточни Банат у раном средњем веку*, Вршац 1977, 16-17.

858 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 36.

859 Р. Корошес, *Kronološka i kulturna ocjena triljskog nalaza*, SP 21 (1991) 1995/96, 87-96

860 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 42.

861 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 37.

862 В. Јовановић, *Археолошка истраживања средњовековних споменика и налазишта на Косову*, Зборник округлог стола о научном истраживању Косова, Београд 1988, 25.

use at a necropolis by Trajan's bridge near Kladovo, could be linked with the Russian military campaign.⁸⁶³

In the early eleventh century the restoration of the Byzantine power came about with the demise of Samuil's empire. After the new administrative order and ecclesiastical organization had been established, some towns experienced revival and gained new functions. Military crews retook strategically forefront positions, such as frontiers, roads and administrative centres. Along with the new ecclesiastical organization, the role of old episcopal towns became more important within the frame of the Archdiocese of Ohrid that the emperor brought under his authority. The Byzantine tradition took the ecclesiastical organization of the Prefecture of Illyricum as a foundation when, through the bulls of Basil II (976 - 1025), the authority of the Archbishop of Iustiniana Prima was transferred onto the bishop, that is to say, the Archbishop of Ohrid.⁸⁶⁴ In the already-mentioned bulls issued by Emperor Manuel to the Archdiocese of Ohrid, transcriptions were included of the bulls of 1019, May 1020 and from 1020-1025, issued by Basil II to the same church. The bull of 1019 lists 17 dioceses in total, six of which were in Serbia: Niš, Braničevo, Beograd, Sirmium, Prizren and Lipljan. Next to every episcopal see were listed towns in its demesne, with the number of clerics and parishioners written down. In the second bull, another 14 dioceses were attached to the Archdiocese of Ohrid, raising the total sum to 31, of which only Ras was in the territory of the present-day Serbia.⁸⁶⁵

Here is the list of dioceses in the territory of the present-day Serbia (including towns in their demesne):

Niš, with the following towns: Mokro (Bela Palanka), Kabl (lying on the road Prokuplje-Niš), Toplica (Kuršumlja), Sfeligovo (Svrljig);

Braničevo, with the following towns: Moravisk (Morava), Sfeneroman (Smederevo? or its surroundings), Grocka or Gruža, Divisisk (Levče or Temnić), Stalać, Brodarisk (Ćuprija);

Prizren: Hosno (or the region Hvosno), Leskovac (at the location where the Knina joins the Drim), Vret (Brut or Vrmnica, both lying south-west of Prizren);

863 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 38.

864 Живковић, *Црквена организација*, 37.

865 For more details on this issue, including the map of the dioceses and the towns within their jurisdiction, see: Живковић, *Црквена организација*, 172-177.

Belgrade, with the following towns: Gradečín (Gradac near Valjevo?), Omcon (Užice?), Glavenica (?) and Bela Crkva (?);

In the demesnes of Dmitrovica, Lipljan and Ras, no towns.⁸⁶⁶

Without venturing into unreliable hypothetical locations, only the towns in the list are mentioned, i.e. the towns with foundations in the Antiquity, and of familiar positions: Niš (175), Morava (162), Braničevo (8), Ćuprija (120), Prizren (225), Belgrade (161), Ras.

The throne of the Bishops of Ras is normally taken to have been in the church of St. Apostles Peter and Paul (St. Peter's church by Novi Pazar), while the town of Ras was probably situated at Gradina-Postenje (116)⁸⁶⁷, which corresponds to the discovered material, although locating it at Gradina by Trgovište (111) is not without grounds.⁸⁶⁸

During Samuil's reign, the Serbs were certainly not allowed to use or maintain any fortified strongholds, but when Basil threatened him, Samuil must have made some fortifications ready for defence. The reign of Basil II had no use of the high fortifications, except those that served the needs of Byzantine authorities. After the death of Basil II, the economic situation became worse. The increasing taxes and the introduction of taxes payable in money, led to an uprising in 1040, which spread across all Slavic lands as far as Thessaly (Margum, Belgrade, Niš, Skoplje). The uprising was quelled shortly after, in 1041.

Fortifications could also have been used during the uprisings in the eleventh century – in 1040, 1072, etc. The fortification of Belgrade was mentioned in the historical sources recounting the Byzantine-Hungarian war of 1071.⁸⁶⁹ It would be naive to think that the uprising which broke out a year later had no correlation to these events. And except for demonstrating the desire to get rid of the Byzantine rule, this uprising shows that some fortifications were most likely used, at least those overlooking the roads and suitable for organizing surprise attacks on smaller Byzantine military units. After the uprising of 1071, the Byzantine

866 For further information on locating the positions of these towns, see: С. Новаковић, *Охридска архиепископија у почетку XI века. Хрисовуља цара Василија II 1019. и 1020. год*, Списи из историјске географије (уред. С. Ђирковић), Београд 2003, 61-102; *Историја српског народа I*, Београд 1983, 178 (Љ. Максимовић); Т. Живковић, *Словени и Ромеји*, 160; Живковић, *Црквена организација*, 176.

867 Д. Мркобрад, *Рас-Постење. Фазе развоја утврђења*, ЗРВИ 36 (1997) 203-217.

868 М. Поповић, *Tvrđava Ras*, Београд 1999.

869 М. Динић, *Грађа за историју Београда у средњем веку I*, Београд 1951, 11-12.

authorities seem to have resettled the population from the fortified Danubian towns since several excavated fortifications were abandoned at the same time, around 1072. These were: Veliki Gradac, Tekija, Trajan's bridge, Prahovo and Gamzigrad. In Prahovo, additionally corroboration comes from the absence of coins minted after this year. Traces of life reappear only at Trajan's bridge (Kladovo), but with a new population that brought new pottery with them.⁸⁷⁰

Conclusions

In the Late Antiquity, fortifications sprang up all over the Roman Empire. Beside the restoration of the fortifications on the Danubian limes, which was the pinnacle of military architecture in the Antiquity, the focus was on organizing defence in depth, to prevent or at least buffer barbarian incursions into the interior of the Balkan Peninsula and soften the blow on the great urban centres of the Mediterranean. The hill forts are not particularly distinguishing for their fortifications; rather, their key advantage, in a military and strategic sense, was the inaccessible and naturally defensive terrain that did not require the construction of strong and complex fortifications. And while the forts on the limes, the forts along the traffic ways, and those in the mining districts were part of a singular defensive system, a large number of the fortifications in the interior were solely dedicated to securing local or regional defence.

One of the objectives of this work was to compile the lists and the maps of the Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine fortifications that would provide a sound basis for further research. But it was also our aim to reflect on the wider historical context in which these fortifications came to be; and to do so to the degree the current state of research of these sites allows us, not to mention the specifics of particular fortifications, construction technique, movable and immovable findings, the functions of fortifications, their mutual relations and their role in the defensive system of the Empire.

Procopius gives us a total figure of 654 fortifications in the territory of the Balkan Peninsula, but the figure of those known to us surpasses this number by far.⁸⁷¹ Approximately 500 fortifications were located in the

870 М. и Ђ. Јанковић, *Словени*, 40.

871 М. Милинковић, *Градина на Јелици. Рановизантијски град и средњовековно насеље*, Београд 2010, 226.

territory of Macedonia, 259 in Serbia, more than 300 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, almost 100 in Croatia, and at least 17 in Montenegro, without thorough survey or research, and without counting the multitude of fortifications in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. That is to say, just in this work, over a thousand fortifications have been encompassed, in a way.

With all the deficiencies of such a classification, the number of classified fortifications still does not correspond to the actual figure, because of the poor surveys in some areas. But it is getting closer to the actual number. The empty zones are not there because they were uninhabited in the Late Antiquity, but because of the insufficient research that has been carried out. Also, in some areas, several gradinas were, with inertia, designated as prehistoric. But in time, with the progress of research, it should be expected that the empty zones will be filled out with new sites.

Observing one long period as economic crisis starting in the third century, might not be the happiest of solutions, since such a long period could be defined as a state, rather than as a crisis. Perpetual barbarian attacks led to the gradual evacuation of the northern parts of Illyricum, i.e. the most threatened regions. A point has already been raised, of two directions of migrations – vertical and horizontal. As the state lasted, the transfer to the locations difficult to access was carried out completely and the flatland expanses of Illyricum were abandoned, given the fact that the settlements of the sixth century are unknown to have existed in the flatlands, except for the fortifications. In contrast to this, an entire web of single-layered fortifications sprang up in the high terrain. The horizontal migrations led to migrations towards south – the population withdrew to the coast and to the islands, where the water provided the only traffic way possible. We can assume that the wealthier kept on withdrawing deeper southwards, into safety, while the poor remained most exposed to the attacks.

The issue of depopulation was certainly less of a problem on the coast, because of the constant influx of refugees from the north. They probably provided a cheap workforce, new craft skills and entrepreneurial spirit. Some of them, of the wealthier kind, must have brought money and provided a financial injection for the littoral belt. We are not about to say that things were blossoming at the time, but generalisation of the urban environments dying off is not entirely accurate either, as we have seen from the process of creation of new settlement both on the coast and in the interior. Maybe it would not be wrong to observe the process of castrization

as urbanisation, to a certain degree, because, aside from the populations from the plains that came to the highlands, the pastoral population that probably lived in scattered villages was now brought into a relatively cramped space, which demanded a certain organisation and fulfilment with different contents and buildings, most often churches and workshops.

The final objective of this work was to register the early medieval and medieval strata at the existing fortifications, and to determine if there was continuity and/or discontinuity in the medieval and Early Byzantine period. Unlike the coastal towns of Dalmatia that continuously lasted, there is almost not a single site in the interior that was settled immediately after the arrival, except for short-term use. This situation shows discontinuity of fortifications and it demonstrates that the re-use came about as a consequence of new historic conditions.

In Bosnia, there are 41 Late Antique/Early Byzantine sites with medieval traces. Considering there are in total 319 Late Antique/Early Byzantine sites, this equals 12.81%. In Macedonia, the percentage is slightly higher, where a medieval town or fortification arose on 16.4 percent of the fortification sites from the Antiquity. It can be deduced from this that in medieval Macedonia newly-erected medieval stone fortifications were quite scarce and were more of an exception than a rule. We do not have a good insight in Croatia, but out of 89 fortifications, 16 were re-used, equalling 17.89%. In Montenegro, out of 17 sites, 11 have later phases of occupation, or 64.7%. In Serbia, 259 sites have been registered, out of which 84 re-used, amounting to 32.43%.

We hold this percentage to be much higher in reality, having in mind the already mentioned flaws and scarcity of information that make the isolation of the medieval layers impossible. The most accessible and accurate information pertains to Serbia, considering the poor knowledge of most sites and them being merely registered, in most of the cases. That is why these data would be most faithful to the actual situation in the field. Still, we expect that, with increased insight and research of the fortifications, the percentage of those that had been reutilized will rise to 35%, and possibly even to 40%.

The architecture of the fortifications from the period of their medieval re-use did not differ from the architecture in the Antiquity. In the territory of Illyricum, the Slavs encountered a multitude of fortifications that had much of their ramparts and towers in sound condition. Minimal

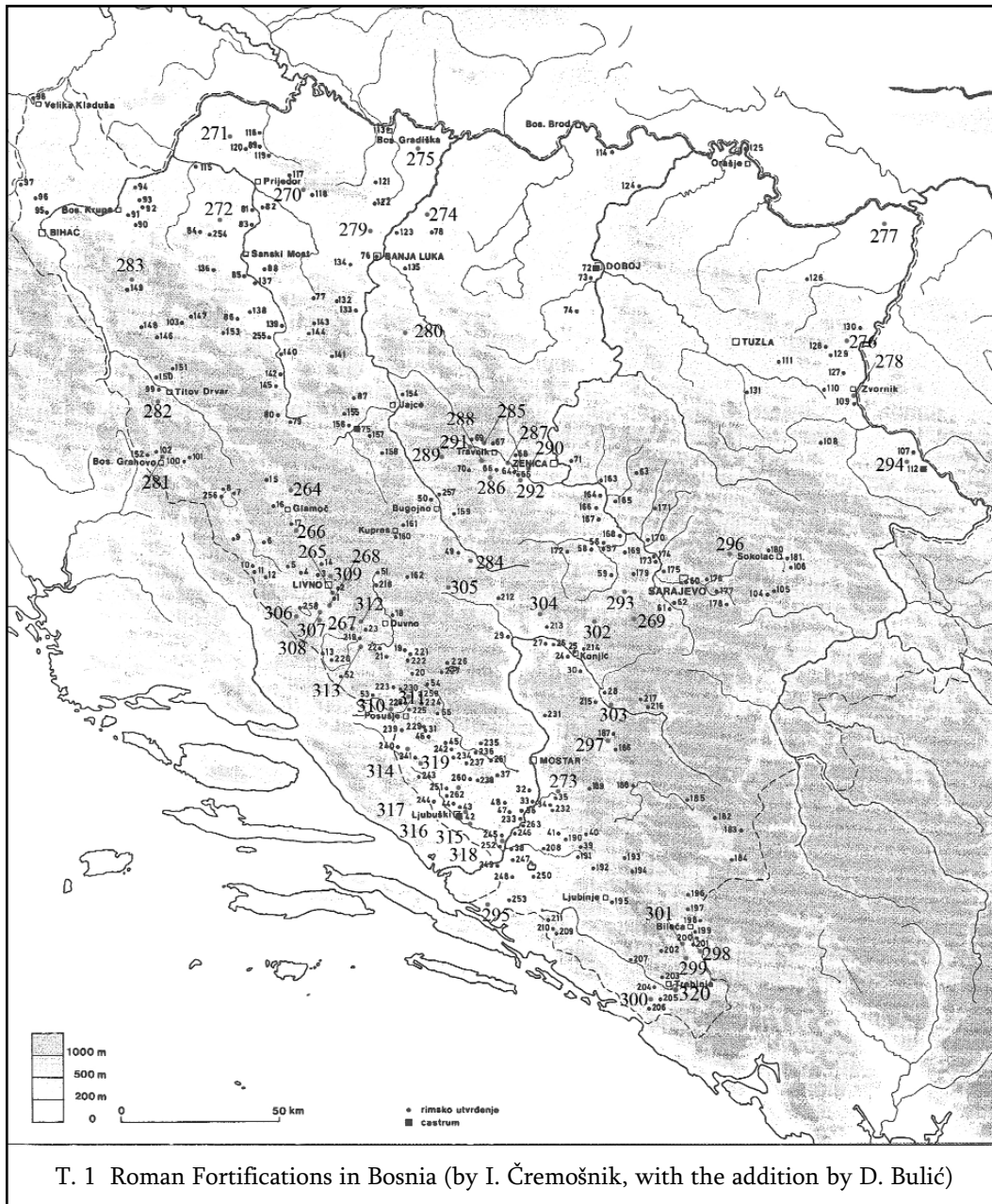
reconstruction works on the wall battlements can no longer be seen today, since those parts of walls are gone. The wooden superstructures, partitions and dwellings made of light materials have either not been preserved or, rarely, have been preserved in traces. This is one of the reasons for inability to recognize the architectural elements that could be attributed to the Slavs. The only evidence of a sometime use are frequently movable findings, of which a good part is impossible to chronologically determine, such as tools. On the other hand, pottery was never given due attention, or reliable differentiation by epochs. This will call, in the foreseeable future, for a revision and re-dating of some pottery fragments from certain sites.

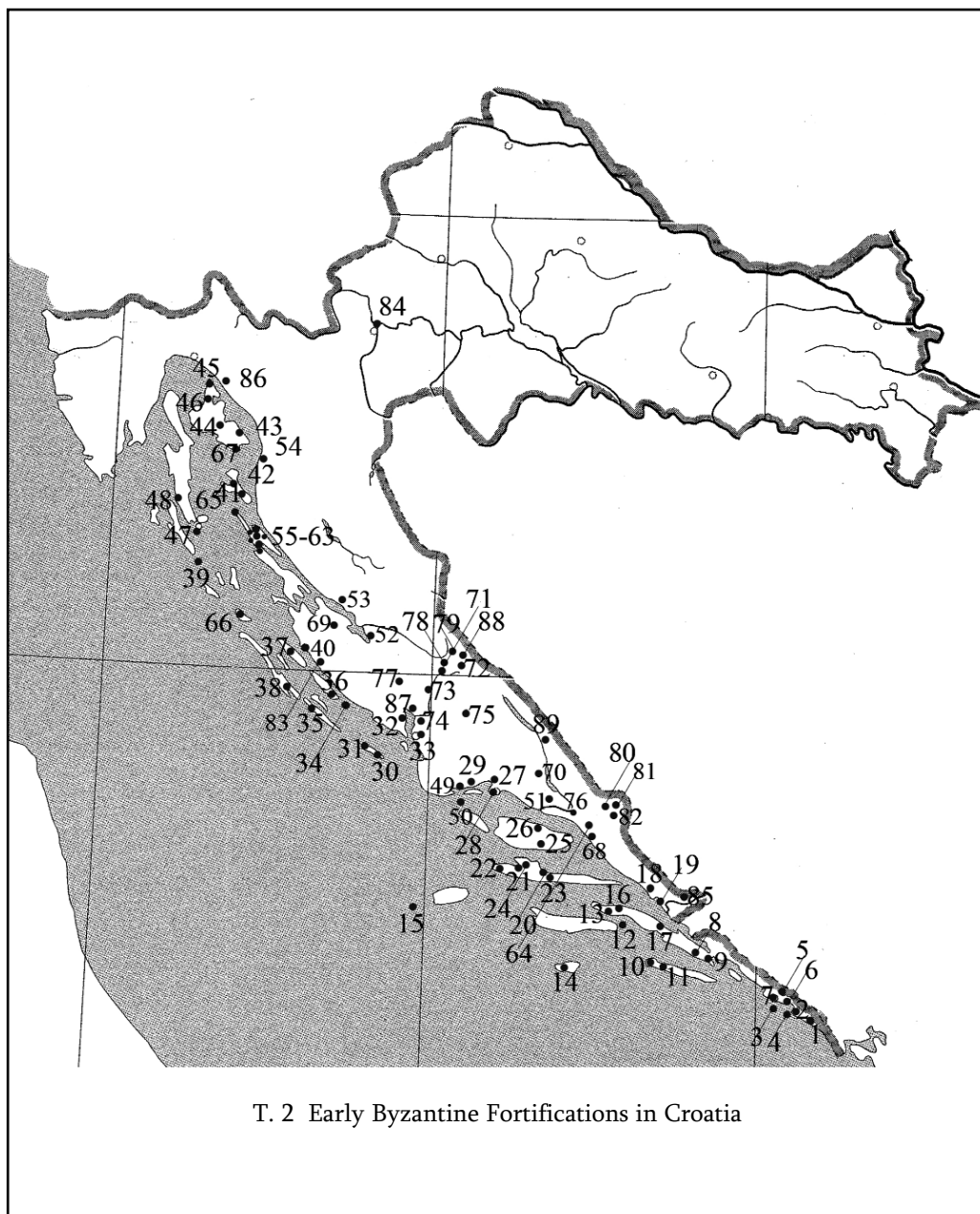
After the temporary use of particular fortifications during the seventh century, the previously defended space went desolate and uninhabited for more than two centuries. The absence of findings speaks of these forts lying vacant. The high-altitude terrain did not appeal to the Slavic tribes, which is why the traces of their presence should be looked for in valleys and river basins, until the ninth- and tenth- century phase of re-use, caused by wars and the need of their use. The only exception, for now, is Gradina on Jelica. The encountered fortifications were partly reconstructed with minimal interventions. On the other hand, thorough reconnaissance of flatland positions never took place, at least not in a way that would enable identification of flatland settlements.

Throughout the historical epochs and challenges, well-trying strategical positions were re-used in the Middle Ages, too. But then as seats of nobles and lords, seats of *župas* (districts), or as important frontier forts. During the Ottoman rule, very few of these points were used again, since garrisons stationed in the borderline areas, along most important traffic ways, and near economic centres, sufficed. The Turks maintained only the most important fortifications after the conquest, while the others were dismantled, preventing their later use.

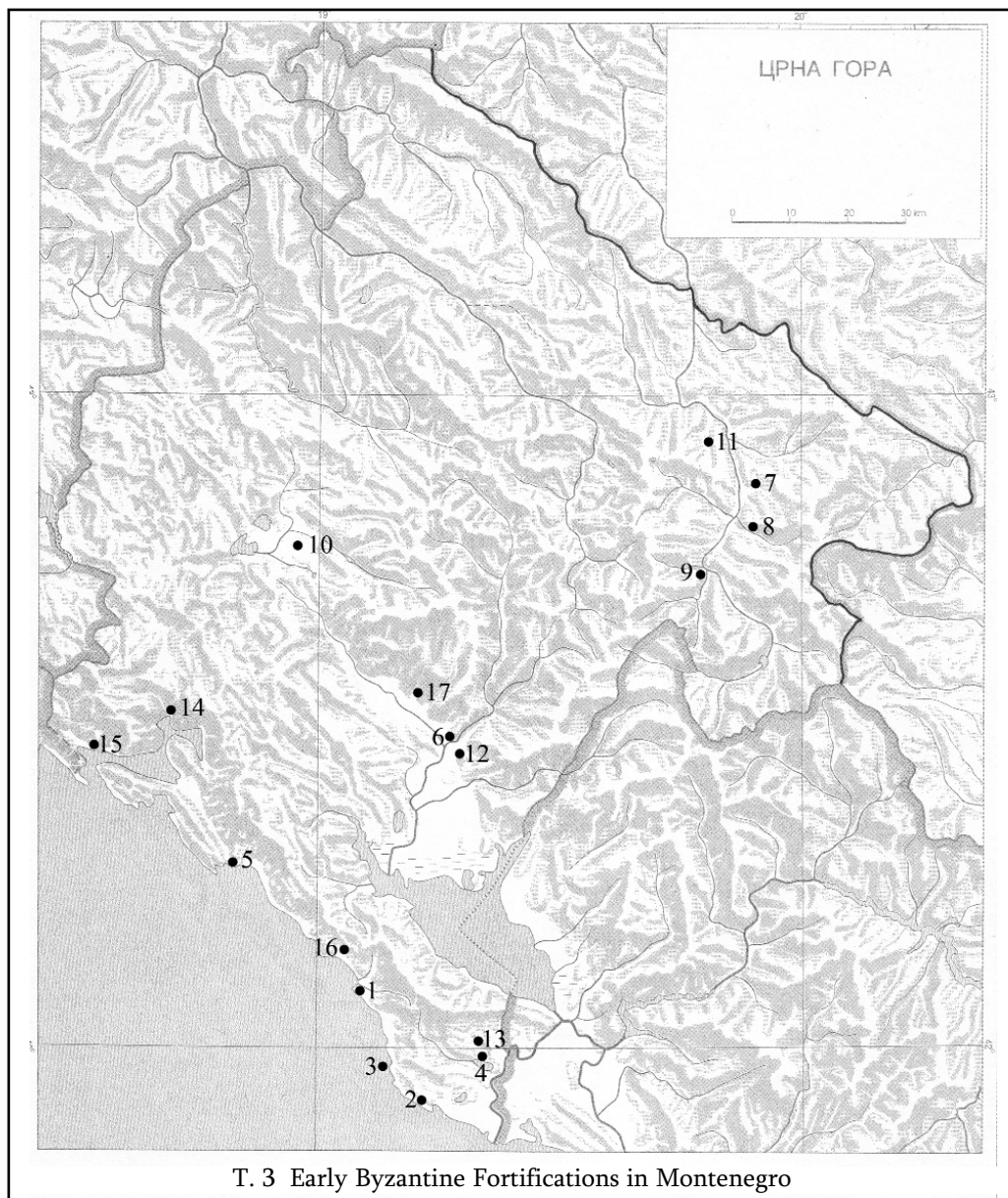
Archaeological findings speak of the relationship the Slavs built for their new environment, but the use of these sites is not a proof of the newly-arrived population adjusting to the previous settlements, nor is it a proof of the continuity of life. Rather, it is about the analogous factors leading to their subsequent re-use, which is the state of immediate war danger. Chosen with foresight and situated on important points, they justified the decision to build them with the strategic role they played and

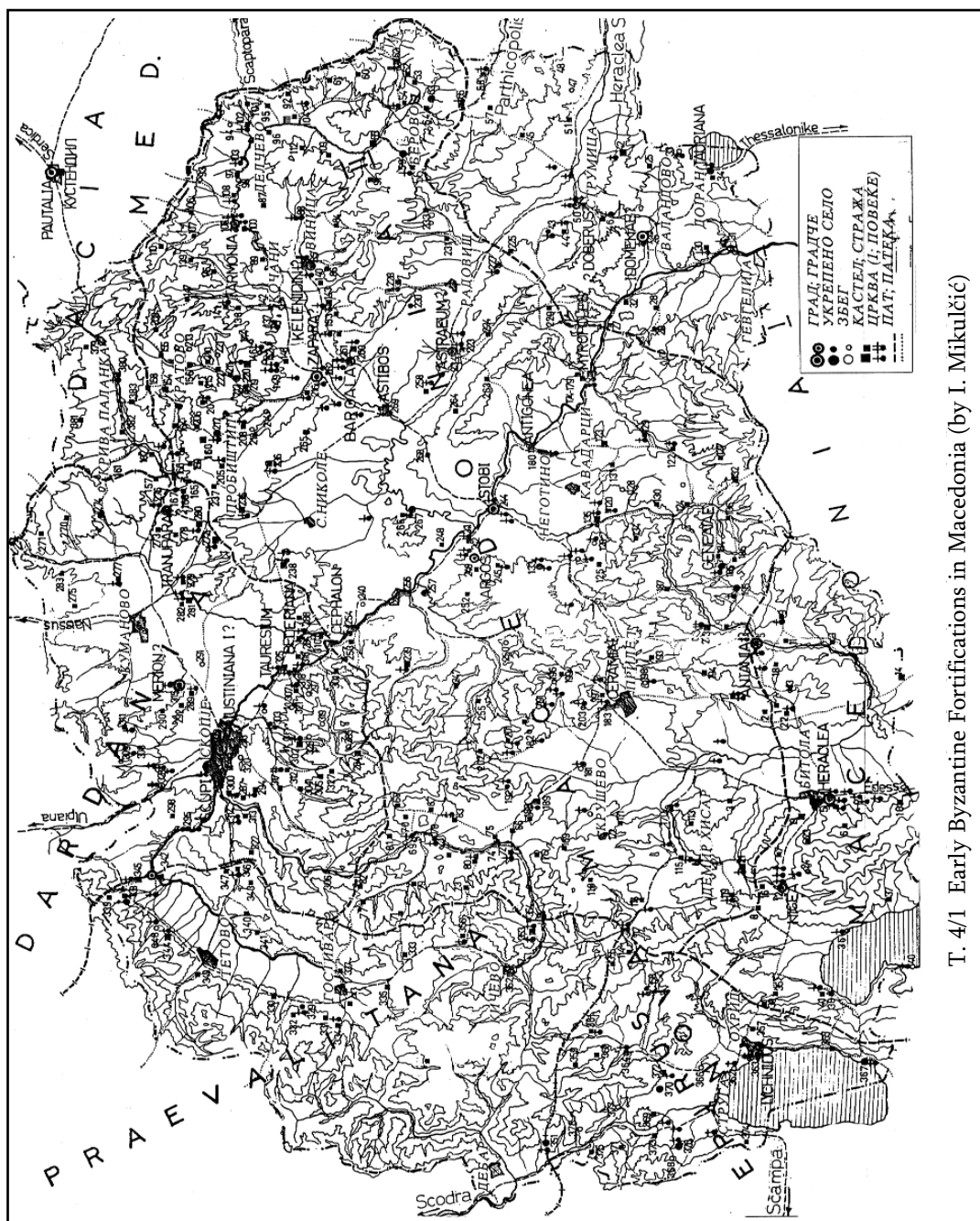
the importance they held down through the centuries. Only a few points on the coast and the islands remained continuously inhabited, where the continuity was upheld by the autochthonous population, which in time included into their ethnic group the “fresh blood” from the Slavic hinterland.





T. 2 Early Byzantine Fortifications in Croatia





T. 4/1 Early Byzantine Fortifications in Macedonia (by I. Mikulčić)

