

Interpretiranje novovjekovnih nalaza iz grobova crkve Sv. Martina na Prozorju

Interpretation of the Modern Age finds from the graves of the church of St. Martin at Prozorje

Izvorni znanstveni rad
Novovjekovna arheologija

*Original scientific paper
Modern Age archaeology*

UDK/UDC 904(497.5 Prozorje):726.54“653“

Primljeno/Received: 02. 05. 2006.

Prihvaćeno/Accepted: 11. 09. 2006.

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Nakon kraćeg prikaza stratigrafije lokaliteta, izdvaja se horizont novovjekovnih grobova. Opisuju se bogatiji grobovi, te se pojedini nalazi analiziraju i interpretiraju. Na temelju analize odabranih nalaza i njihove interpretacije, nalazi se, a time i grobovi, kronološki smještaju uglavnom u početak 18. st. Pritom se koriste i podaci iz pisanih izvora: kanonskih vizitacija, matične knjige umrlih te župne spomenice. Problematizira se tumačenje novovjekovnih nalaza i potreba multidisciplinarnog pristupa. U radu se posebna pozornost obratila osobitoj krunici iz groba 60, na kojoj su među zrnima visjeli i privjesci - simboli arma Christi.

Ključne riječi: novi vijek, crkva Sv. Martina na Prozorju, medaljice, krunice, križevi - privjesci, arma Christi, gumbi

Following a brief presentation of the site stratigraphy, a horizon of postmediaeval graves is singled out. Richer graves are described and specific finds are analyzed and interpreted. Based on the analysis of the chosen finds and their interpretation, the finds, and thus also the graves, are chronologically attributed mostly into the beginning of the 18th century. Data are used from written sources in the process: canonical visitations, register of the dead and parochial memorials. The interpretation of Modern Age finds and the need for a multidisciplinary approach are discussed. Particular attention was given in the paper to a singular rosary from grave 60, on which, among the beads also hung pendants – the arma Christi symbols.

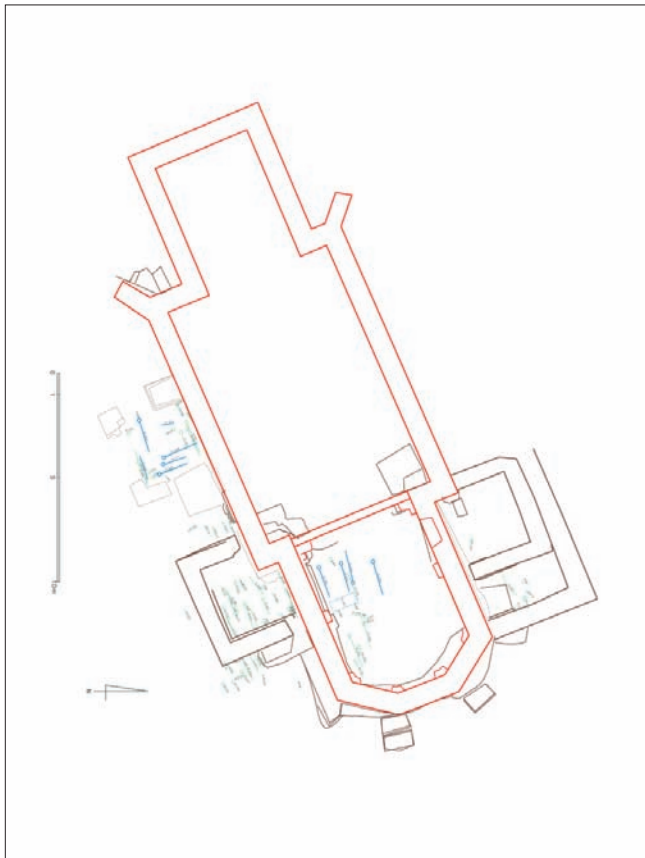
Key words: Modern Age, church of St. Martin at Prozorje, medallions, rosaries, crosses-pendant, arma Christi, buttons

Crkva Sv. Martina nalazi se na vrhu djelomično obzidana brežuljka u selu Prozorje, kraj Dugoga Sela, odnosno na Martin Bregu - kako se taj kraj, prema crkvi, u puku naziva. Prosječna nadmorska visina lokaliteta je oko 203-204 m, odnosno nadvisuje okolno područje za stotinjak metara. Od crkve se pruža sjajan vidik na sve strane, pa je položaj kao predodređen za stratešku promatračnicu.

Od godine 2002. Institut za arheologiju provodi zaštitna arheološka istraživanja ruševne crkve Sv. Martina. U dosadašnjim istraživanjima otvoreno je više sondi unutar i uokolo crkve (tlocrt 1). Poviješću lokaliteta te poviješću istraživanja posjeda *terra Sancti Martini* bavio sam se u svom magistarskom radu (Belaj J. 2001, 149-169), gdje je navedena i osnovna literatura. Opširniji rezultati dosadašnjih

The church of St. Martin is situated on top of a partially walled hill in the village of Prozorje near Dugo Selo, that is, on Martin Breg – as people call this area, after the church. The average site altitude is around 203-204 m above sea level, and it rises above the surrounding area by about a hundred metres. There is an excellent view from the church on all sides, making the position almost as if predestined for a strategic observation post.

Since 2002 the Institute of Archaeology has been carrying out salvage archaeological excavations of the decrepit church of St. Martin. Several trenches within and outside the church have been opened in the excavations so far (plan 1). I have dealt with the history of the site and the history of research of the *terra Sancti Martini* estate in my master's thesis (Belaj J.



Tloctrt 1

Ground plan 1

istraživanja¹ prikazani su nakon svake pojedine kampanje u izvješćima koja su pohranjena u Institutu za arheologiju (Belaj J. 2002; Belaj J. 2003; Belaj J. 2005). Najnoviji sažeti prikaz objavljen je nedavno u godišnjaku *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* (Belaj J. 2006, 79-84). Stoga ću ovdje ponoviti samo osnovne podatke o lokalitetu.

Najstariji nadzemni ostaci građevine potječu s kraja 15. st. Crkva je kasnije više puta pregrađivana i dograđivana. Jednobrodna je, s nešto užim, danas trostrano zaključenim svetištem. Krajem 17. st. pred zapadno pročelje dozidan joj je zvonik. Današnje stanje ruševina crkve izuzetno je loše.

Srednjovjekovna crkva Sv. Martina postojala je i ranije. Prvi put se u povijesnim izvorima (posredno) spominje 1209. god., kada je kralj Andrija darovao templarima *zemlju* koja se po crkvi nazivala *svetoga Martina* (CD III., 84, doc. 74.).

Već se 1270. god. spominje templarski zamjenik preceptora (*perpreceptor*) Sv. Martina, (CD V., 577, doc. 14), a precep-

tor (2001, 149-169), where the basic literature was listed as well. Extensive results of former excavations¹ were presented following each individual campaign in the reports kept in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology (Belaj J. 2002; Belaj J. 2003; Belaj J. 2005). The latest summary report was recently published in the annual publication *Annales Instituti Archaeologici* (Belaj J. 2006, 79-84). I shall therefore repeat here only the basic data about the site.

The earliest above-ground remains of the building date from the late-15th century. The church was subsequently reconstructed and added to on several occasions. It has a single nave, with a somewhat narrower shrine, presently enclosed on three sides. Toward the end of the 17th century a bellfry was built in front of the western façade. The present state of the church ruins is exceptionally poor.

The medieval church of St. Martin existed even before. It was first (indirectly) mentioned in historical sources in 1209, when King Andrija gave the *land*, known as *St. Martin's* after the church, to the Templars (CD III, 84, doc. 74).

Already in 1270 there is mention of a Templar deputy preceptor (*perpreceptor*) of St. Martin (CD V, 577, doc. 14), and preceptors appear in documents from 1277, 1292 and 1311 (Mon. Episc. Zagr. I, 184, doc. 184; CD VII, 98, doc. 79; CD VII, 287, 288, doc. 240, 241). After their order was abolished, the Templars were succeeded also on this estate by the Hospitallers. A document from 1320 mentions the Hospitaller house of St. Martin (CD VIII, 556, doc. 456), and their preceptor (as *preceptor domus sancti Martini de Zelina*) is mentioned in 1340 (CD X, 555, doc. 390). Following the departure of the Hospitallers, towards the end of the 15th century, secular feudal lords appear as managers (Dobronić 1984, 30).

Even though St. Martin's name appears already in the first known document, the church as a building is mentioned only starting with archdeacon John's list of parishes in the Cathedral archdeaconry of the Zagreb diocese of 1344: *Item ecclesia beatissimi Martini in possessione cruciferorum* (Buturac 1984, 66). True, Buturac writes that the *parish church of St. Martin in Prozorje* appears in 1209, 1268, 1270, 1320 and 1340, but this is only inferred from the name of St. Martin.

Although most researchers of its history agree that the church of St. Martin had always stood on this position, which has an exceptional view on all four sides of the world, other opinions were also put forward (Belaj J. 2001, 149-169; Belaj J. 2002, 4-12). There are even more differences of opinion regarding the exact location of the house (*domus*) of the Knights Templar and Hospitaller, which (as the seat of their preceptorate) was, at least from the middle of the 13th cen-

1 Uz voditelja istraživanja, dr. sc. Jurja Belaja, u dosadašnjim su istraživanjima sudjelovali: dr. sc. Bartul Šiljeg i mr. sc. Kristina Jelinčić (iz Instituta za arheologiju), Marijeta Babin, Stanka Crvik, Damir Fofić, Iva Kaić, Siniša Krznar, Ivana Miletić, Maja Pasarić, Maja Šunjić (diplomirani arheolozi), Nikolina Antonić, Kristina Grubišić, Ksenija Jurejevčič, Dalibor Kereša, Ana Krolo, Andreja Kudelić, Ivana Murati, Filomena Sirovica (apsolventi i studenti arheologije) te Marija Brajković i Ivana Bago (apsolventice povijesti umjetnosti).

1 In addition to the excavation director, Juraj Belaj, PhD, the following persons took part in the excavations carried out so far: Bartul Šiljeg, PhD and Kristina Jelinčić, MSc (from the Institute of Archaeology), Marijeta Babin, Stanka Crvik, Damir Fofić, Iva Kaić, Siniša Krznar, Ivana Miletić, Maja Pasarić, Maja Šunjić (graduate archaeologists), Nikolina Antonić, Kristina Grubišić, Ksenija Jurejevčič, Dalibor Kereša, Ana Krolo, Andreja Kudelić, Ivana Murati, Filomena Sirovica (senior and junior students of archaeology) and Marija Brajković and Ivana Bago (senior students of art history).

tori se javljaju u ispravama iz 1277, 1292. i 1311. god. (Mon. Episc. Zagr. I., 184, doc. 184; CD VII., 98, doc. 79; CD VII., 287, 288, doc. 240, 241). Templare su, nakon njihova ukinuća, i u ovom posjedu naslijedili ivanovci. U ispravi iz 1320. god. spominje se ivanovačka kuća Sv. Martina (CD VIII., 556, doc. 456), a njihov se preceptor (kao *preceptor domus sancti Martini de Zelina*) spominje 1340. god. (CD X., 555, doc. 390). Nakon odlaska ivanovaca, krajem 15. st., kao upravitelji se javljaju svjetovni feudalci (Dobronić 1984, 30).

Iako se s imenom svetog Martina susrećemo od prve poznate isprave, sama crkva kao građevina spominje se tek od popisa župa arhidakona Ivana u Katedralnom arhidakonatu zagrebačke biskupije iz 1334. god.: *Item ecclesia beatissimi Martini in possessione cruciferorum* (Buturac 1984, 66). J. Buturac, doduše, piše da se *župska crkva sv. Martina u Prozorju* javlja 1209., 1268., 1270., 1320. i 1340. god., ali to se samo služi po imenu sv. Martina.

Iako se većina istraživača njezine povijesti slaže da se crkva Sv. Martina oduvijek nalazila na ovome položaju, s kojega se pruža izuzetni pogled na sve četiri strane svijeta, bilo je i drugih mišljenja (Belaj J. 2001, 149-169; Belaj J. 2002, 4-12). Još je više razmimoilaženja oko ubikacije kuće (*domusa*) vitezova templara i ivanovaca, koja se (kao središte njihova preceptorata), također, barem od sredine 13. st., nalazila na velikome svetomartinskom posjedu (Dobronić 1984, 30; Belaj J. 2001, 154-155). No izuzetnost ovoga položaja opravdano nameće pretpostavku dugog kontinuiteta zaposjednutosti lokaliteta.

U dosadašnjim arheološkim kampanjama intenzivnije je istraživano svetište crkve i njezina okolica te istočni kutovi broda kao i prostor južno od njega. Otkriveni su tragovi više faza gradnje i dogradnje crkve Sv. Martina. Pronađeni su i ostaci dviju sakristija (starije, južne i mlađe, sjeverne), predvorja koje je kasnije bilo pregrađeno u južnu bočnu kapelicu Sv. tri kralja te (plitko otkopane) sjeverne bočne kapelice Sv. Barbare. Dominantna je gotička faza crkve s potpornjima, koji su također otkriveni u istraživanjima. Vidi se da je ona barem djelomično sjela na starije temelje crkve, koji su možda bili čak i drukčije orijentacije. Današnja crkva nije posve pravilno orijentirana u smjeru istok – zapad. Otklonjena je za 24° prema pravcu jugozapad-sjeveroistok. Svi grobovi ukopani u novome vijeku prate takvu orijentaciju: ili su paralelni s osi crkve, ili su pak (zbog očite skučenosti prostora) ukopani okomito na nju.

Istražena su 93 groba različitih stupnjeva očuvanosti, različitih orijentacija (prevladavaju ukopi paralelni s osi crkve) i pokojnika različite dobi (položaj im je ucrtan na tlocrt 1). Pronađeni su nalazi koji svjedoče o srednjovjekovnim aktivnostima na lokalitetu, primjerice, novci kovani u doba vladavine kralja Žigmunda (1387.-1437.) i Karla I. Roberta (a za vrijeme banovanja Stjepana IV. Babonića, dakle između 1310. i 1316. godine). S prijelaza 13. na 14. st. potječe nadgrobna ploča s uklesanim prikazom štita i mača, a još je starija karičica sa S petljom (Belaj J. 2006, 81, sl. 2,84).

Namjera u ovom radu nije prikazati svu slojevitost istraživana lokaliteta (između ostalog i zbog činjenice

ture located on the large St. Martin estate (Dobronić 1984, 30; Belaj J. 2001, 154-155). However, the singularity of this position requires that we assume a long continuity of the site's occupation.

In the archaeological campaigns carried out so far excavation was focused on the church sanctuary and its surroundings as well as the eastern corners of the nave and the space to the south of it. Traces of several phases of construction of and additions to the church of St. Martin were discovered. The remains of two sacristies (an earlier, southern one and a later, northern one) were also found, a lobby that was later reconstructed into a southern lateral chapel of the Magi and a (shallowly excavated) northern lateral chapel of St. Barbara. The dominant phase of the church is the Gothic phase with supports, which were also discovered by the excavations. It is obvious that it at least partly sat on the earlier church foundations, which were perhaps even orientated differently. The present-day church is not fully oriented in the east-west direction. It has a tilt of 24° to the southwest-northeast direction. All graves dug in the Modern Age follow this orientation: they are either parallel to the church axis or (due to obviously restricted space) are dug vertically to it.

Ninety-three graves were excavated, in various degrees of preservation, of variable orientation (predominant are burials parallel to the church axis) and belonging to deceased persons of different ages (their position was drawn on plan 1). Finds were discovered that bear testimony to the medieval activities on the site, e.g. coins minted during the reign of King Sigismund (1387-1437) and Charles I Robert (and during the *banship* of Stephen IV Babonić, i.e. between 1310 and 1316). A tombstone with a carved representation of a shield and a sword dates from the transition from the 13th to the 14th century, while a ring with an S-shaped loop is even older (Belaj J. 2006, 81, Fig. 2,84).

It is not the intention of this paper to present the entire stratigraphy of the excavated site (among other things also due to the fact that the excavations are continuing, and it is expected that they will lead to additional finds and understanding of the earlier periods, which will, hopefully, complement the medieval picture), but to draw attention to the relatively rich Modern Age horizon explored in the excavations carried out so far.

There are several reasons for such an intention. It is almost impossible to excavate archaeologically medieval sacral architecture without first encountering a Modern Age horizon with abundant material. The finds in that horizon, mostly in graves, can often be quite interesting, but it is somehow as if they are out of the focus of attention of archaeologists, who focus on the search for the earliest medieval (or even earlier) layers, for the deepest roots of the church building.

It is perfectly clear that archaeologists cannot simply "wash their hands" of the finds that they acquired through *systematic excavations* and leave them to others who may be interested. Unless they represent exceptional works of art, art historians do not want them, ethnologists do not focus on the interpretation of excavated material, and historians would say that they are not interested in grave finds as such. And thus the



Sl. 1 Portret nadvojvode Sigismunda iz 1480. god. (detalj) (Prema *Gotik in Österreich*, 121-122, kat. br. 40, sl. 4)

Fig. 1 *Portrait of archduke Sigismund from 1480 (detail) (After Gotik in Österreich, 121-122, cat. nr. 40, Fig. 4)*

što se istraživanja nastavljaju, pa se očekuju dodatni nalazi i spoznaje o starijim razdobljima koji će, nadamo se, upotpuniti srednjovjekovnu sliku), već ukazati na relativno bogati novovjekovni horizont istražen u dosadašnjim iskopavanjima.

Postoji više razloga za ovakvu nakanu. Gotovo je nemoguće arheološki istraživati srednjovjekovnu sakralnu arhitekturu, a da se pritom prvo ne naiđe na materijalom bogat novovjekovni horizont. Nalazi u tom horizontu, ponajviše u grobovima, znaju biti vrlo zanimljivi, no kao da uglavnom izmiču pozornosti arheologa, usredotočenih na potragu za najstarijim srednjovjekovnim (ili još starijim) slojevima, za najdubljim korijenom crkvene građevine.

Sasvim je očito da od nalaza do kojih su došli *sustavnim iskopavanjima*, arheolozi ne mogu samo tako "oprati ruke" i prepustiti ih eventualnom zanimanju drugih. Naime, ukoliko se ne radi o izuzetnim umjetničkim ostvarenjima, povjesničari umjetnosti ih ne žele, etnolozi nisu usredotočeni na interpretiranje iskopina, a povjesničari će reći da ih nalazi iz grobova kao takvi ne zanimaju. I tako materijal ostaje ničiji, neobrađen, razasut u kutijama po depoima daleko od očiju javnosti.

Iz novije stručne literature vidljivo je da slično razmišlja sve više arheologa u Hrvatskoj. Stoga se nadamo da će i ovaj rad pridonijeti boljem vrednovanju novovjekovnog materijala (iz grobova).

material ends up with no-one to care for it, unanalyzed, scattered in boxes in depots far from the eyes of the public.

The recent expert literature shows that this view is increasingly adopted by a growing number of archaeologists in Croatia. We therefore hope that this paper will contribute to a better evaluation of the Modern Age material (from graves).

METHODOLOGY

The Modern Age archaeology differs in several respects from its 'elder sisters'; it has its advantages and the researcher should make the most of them. The foremost advantage is that it disposes with numerous written (but also other) sources that can shed light on an encountered object or phenomenon. Each new source type requires a new approach (new method, mostly interdisciplinary).

The mentioned written sources are, in the case of a sacral site, primarily visitations, parochial memorials, registers of the dead, but also cadastre maps, ancient maps, archive entries about producers of certain objects or the systems of their acquisition.

The second important difference is that the analogies for discovered objects (when it comes to finds from Modern Age graves they primarily consist of the remains of clothes and footwear, jewellery and items of a religious character with which the deceased were buried – saintly medallions, rosaries, crosses...) should also be looked for in the places other than usual (e.g. in the ethnological literature and in the works of art historians, in various museums – of Arts and Crafts, the Ethnographic Museum, the History Museum..., in auction catalogues, on the portraits in picture galleries...).

SITE STRATIGRAPHY

Modern Age archaeological finds on the observed site derive mostly from two types of stratigraphic units: from graves (closed units) and from mixed, disturbed layers, together with earlier finds. Sometimes, although less frequently, they are also found in the grave fills.

Layers in the narrow sense of the word are not numerous, which is usual on such sites; manifold and prolonged burials at the same space have mostly taken their toll on the stratigraphy, which remained preserved only at few places.

However, finds from certain grave assemblages (belonging to the deceased) are the most appropriate for a typological analysis because they were placed into the grave at the same moment. Naturally, even in these occasions one ought to remain cautious when dating the objects, as it is easily possible that certain objects with which the deceased was buried could have been older, inherited from ancestors etc. A degree of certainty is provided only by the regular, and at the same time simultaneous appearance of identical – and chronologically attributable – objects.

Helpful in establishing a chronology are the relations between the graves and their position with regard to the architecture, and sometimes also – with particular caution – the relative depth at which the graves were dug, as well as their orientation.

In the excavation of this site, graves and dislocated bones were found in all the opened trenches. The exception is the

METODOLOGIJA

Novovjekovna arheologija se unekoliko razlikuje od svojih "starijih sestara", ima svoje prednosti koje istraživač treba čim bolje iskoristiti. Prvenstvena je prednost u tome što raspolaže brojnijim pisanim (ali i nekim drugim) izvorima koji mogu osvijetliti predmet ili pojavu na koju se naišlo. Svaka nova vrsta izvora traži novi pristup (novu metodu, uglavnom interdisciplinarnu).

Spomenuti pisani izvori su, kod sakralnog lokaliteta, prvenstveno vizitacije, župne spomenice, matične knjige umrlih, ali i katastarske mape, stare karte, arhivski podaci o izrađivačima određenih predmeta ili sustavima njihove nabave.

Druga bitna razlika je da i analogije za pronađene predmete (a kada je o nalazima iz novovjekovnih grobova riječ, prvenstveno se radi o pronađenim ostacima odjeće i obuće, nakita te predmeta nabožnog karaktera s kojima su se pokojnici pokapali - svetačke medaljice, krunice, križevi...) treba tražiti i na drukčijim mjestima od uobičajenih (primjerice, u etnološkoj literaturi i u radovima povjesničara umjetnosti, u raznim muzejima - za umjetnost i obrt, etnografskom, povijesnom..., u aukcijskim katalogima, galerijama slika na portretima...).

STRATIGRAFIJA NALAZIŠTA

Novovjekovni arheološki nalazi na promatranom lokalitetu potječu uglavnom iz dvije vrste stratigrafskih jedinica: iz grobova (zatvorenih cjelina) te iz izmiješanih, prekopanih slojeva, zajedno sa starijim nalazima. Ponekad, iako rjeđe, nalaze se i u zapunama grobova.

Slojeva, u užem smislu riječi, nema mnogo, što je uobičajeno na ovakvim lokalitetima; višekratnost i dugotrajnost pokopavanja na istome prostoru uglavnom je uništila slojevitost, te je ona tek mjestimice ostala očuvana.

No nalazi iz pojedinih grobnih cjelina (koji pripadaju pokojniku) najpodesniji su za tipološku analizu jer su u grob dospjeli u istome trenutku. Naravno, i u takvim prilikama moramo zadržati određeni oprez pri datiranju predmeta, jer je lako moguće da su pojedini predmeti s kojima je pokojnik pokopan mogli biti stariji, naslijeđeni od predaka i sl. Određenu sigurnost pruža tek učestala, a istodobna pojava istovrsnih - vremenski opredjeljivih - predmeta.

Kod uspostavljanja kronologije mogu nam pomoći i međusobni odnosi grobova te njihovi odnosi prema arhitekturi, a ponekad i - uz osobit oprez - relativna dubina ukopa grobova kao i njihova orijentacija.

Istražujući ovaj lokalitet, u svim su otvorenim sondama pronađeni grobovi i dislocirane kosti. Iznimka je prostor istočno od svetišta, gdje se - vjerojatno zbog prevelike strmice - možda nije niti pokopalo. Možemo zaključiti kako se u i oko crkve Sv. Martina pokopavalo u više faza. Kao najstariji, za sada su prepoznati grobovi ukapani prije izgradnje pojedinih zidova sakristija i predvorja. Grobovi za koje se to pouzdano može tvrditi, su grobovi koji ulaze pod zidove, oni koje su zidovi presjekli te oni koji svojim položajem izlaze djelomično izvan gabarita predvorja. Primijetiti se može kako je njihova orijentacija isključivo paralelna s osi crkve (Belaj J. 2005). Kasnije će (u promatrano doba) smjer polaganja biti manje bitan jer su se ljesovi slagali na ograničeni, skučen prostor.

space east of the shrine, which – probably due to the excessive steepness – was not used for burial at all. We can conclude that there were several phases when burials were practiced in and around St. Martin's church. The earliest recognized graves are those dug prior to the building of some of the walls of the sacristies and of the lobby. This can be claimed with certainty for the graves that extend beneath the walls, those that were cut by the walls and those that by virtue of their position partly protrude outside the lobby perimeter. We can see that their orientation is exclusively parallel to the church axis (Belaj J. 2005). Later on (during the observed period) the orientation of positioning will be less important, because the coffins were laid in a limited, confined space. The finds from the graves will then be of particular help to us.

OVERVIEW OF THE IMMOVABLE MODERN AGE FINDS

The Modern Age archaeological finds can primarily be divided into the immovable architectural remains and movable finds.

Several Modern Age building interventions on the structure were observed in the course of the excavation. These were mostly annexes to the church itself. Even though this segment will not be analyzed in detail in this paper, at least its basic information and features will be given.

Regarding certain features of the graves dug along the church walls, at least two burial horizons can be distinguished: the graves older than the walls of the sacristies and chapels (the graves cut by these walls and the contemporary ones) and the graves younger than the walls – which adjusted to them. It is certain that many graves will not be easily determined chronologically without ¹⁴C analyses of bone age, in other words, only on the basis of the finds (which are rare in the older graves).

The graves laid into wooden tombs, whose beams were joined by a *hrvatski vugel* ("Croatian corner"), and which were discovered in the southern sacristy and to the east of it, turned out to be more interesting. Some of them are obviously later than the sacristy walls, while some were cut by them. Perhaps this practice was applied precisely at the time the sacristy was being built, but this question also remains open, as we cannot know whether there were also other graves, those buried at higher levels, with similar constructions. This could not have been observed due to the different, considerably darker colour of the layers in comparison with the virgin soil (Belaj J. 2005, 18, 20, 24-25).

The dating of some graves can sometimes be aided by canonical visitations and a parochial memorial, because one can learn from them about the time at which a building was constructed in the Modern Age.² Canonical visitations are kept in the Archdiocesan archives in Zagreb, and the earliest regarding this parish date from 1622. They were partly retold by Rudolf Horvat (Horvat 1931).

² I thank Dr Stjepan Razum, the Director of the Archdiocesan Archives in Zagreb for permission to review the canonical visitations as well as Dr Andrija Lukinović for a stimulating conversation. I thank p. Slavko Kresonja, the pastor of Dugo Selo, for an inspection of the parochial memorial.

Tada će nam za datiranje grobova osobitu pomoć pružiti nalazi iz grobova.

OSVRT NA NOVOVJEKOVNE NEPOKRETNE NALAZE

Arheološke nalaze iz novog vijeka prvenstveno možemo podijeliti na nepokretne ostatke arhitekture i pokretne nalaze.

Tijekom istraživanja uočeno je više novovjekovnih građevinskih intervencija na objektu. Uglavnom je riječ o dogradnjama uz samu crkvu. Iako ovaj segment neće u ovome radu biti detaljnije analiziran, iznijet će se ukratko barem njegovi osnovni podaci i značajke.

Prema pojedinim obilježjima grobova ukopanih uz zidove crkve, razlučiti se mogu barem dva horizonta ukopavanja: grobovi stariji od zidova sakristija i kapela (grobovi koje su ti zidovi presjekli i njima suvremeni) te grobovi mlađi od zidova - koji su se njima prilagodili. Sigurno da mnoge grobove neće biti lako vremenski odrediti bez ¹⁴C analiza starosti kostiju, odnosno samo na temelju nalaza (koji su u starijim grobovima rijetkost).

Zanimljivijim su se pokazali grobovi položeni u drvene grobnice, čije su grede bile spojene *hrvatskim vuglom*, a koji su pronađeni u južnoj sakristiji i istočno od nje. Pojedini su očito mlađi od zidova sakristije, a pojedini su bili njima presječeni. Možda se radi o praksi koja se primjenjivala upravo u doba gradnje sakristije, ali i to pitanje ostaje otvoreno, jer ne možemo znati nisu li i neki drugi grobovi, oni ukopani na višim razinama, imali slične konstrukcije. To nije moglo biti primijećeno zbog drukčije, znatno tamnije boje slojeva no što je slučaj kod zdravice (Belaj J. 2005, 18, 20, 24-25).

Daticijama pojedinih grobova mogu ponekad pomoći kanonske vizitacije i župna spomenica, jer iz njih možemo doznati kada je koji objekt u novome vijeku bio građen.² Kanonske se vizitacije čuvaju u Nadbiskupskom arhivu u Zagrebu, a najstarije o ovoj župi potječu iz 1622. god. Djelomice ih je prepričao Rudolf Horvat (Horvat 1931).

Općenito, u vizitacijama je težište izvješćivanja na opremljenosti crkve obrednim predmetima koji omogućuju župniku obavljanje svih obreda, na njihovo čuvanje te na upravljanje dobrima kojima župa raspolaze. Iz spomenutih se zapisnika može zaključiti kako je dohodovna imovina (zovu je *bona*, dobra) župe "sv. Martina biskupa i priznavatelja" (to je puni svečev naziv, ponegdje ga baš tako citiraju) relativno skromna, pa su svi popravci i preinake tekli veoma usporeno.

U prvoj sačuvanoj vizitaciji, iz 1622. god., zabilježeno je da je stara crkva Sv. Martina utemeljena (*fundata*) u Božjakovini te da je građevinski u dobrom stanju, ali unutrašnjost nije ušćuvana.³

Vizitacije iz 1630. i 1634. govore o potresu 1630. god., zbog čega su popucali zidovi i svod nad svetištem (Horvat 1931, 294). Izjava je vrlo realna jer se to događalo na svim našim srednjovjekovnim crkvama, no dobro vezani gotički

Generally speaking, the focus of the visitations' report is on the degree of furnishment of the church with ritual objects enabling the pastor to perform all the rites, on their keeping and on the management of the goods managed by the parish. It can be concluded from the mentioned records that the income property (called *bona*, the goods) of the parish of "St. Martin bishop and confessor" (this is the full name of the saint, and this is exactly how he is quoted in some places) is relatively modest, so all the repairs and modifications proceeded at a very slow pace.

In the first preserved visitation, from 1622, it was registered that the old church of St. Martin was founded (*fundata*) in Božjakovina, and that it is physically in good condition, but the interior is not preserved.³

The visitations from 1630 and 1634 speak of the 1630 earthquake, which brought about ruptures in the walls and in the vault over the shrine (Horvat 1931, 294). The statement is very realistic because this happened on all our medieval churches, but well connected Gothic vaults are so solid that they survived, like the ones in Remetinec and Lepoglava, but also elsewhere. After that earthquake the church had to be buttressed by wooden pillars to prevent its collapse, which is a piece of information that might help us in the interpretation of some of the discovered pits (as finally renovated it is mentioned as late as 1688; Horvat 1931, 294).

Later visitations also occasionally speak about the state of the church building, about repairs and annexes of certain structures, but unfortunately the visitations contain no information about the graves. In rare occasions only the state of the cemetery and the construction of the grave chapel of the Magi are mentioned (on the 7th October 1680 [47/IIIa, 1]); later, in 1746, it says that the chapel leans against the church and one enters it from the cemetery.

The visitors' reports are frequently summarized and can end, for example with the sentence: *Caetera ut prius* - "the rest as before" (1634 [3/III, 120]).

We learn from the parochial memorial that in 1826 the sacristy was moved from the southern to the northern side (according to Horvat 1931, 303). The debris of the southern sacristy with the Gothic profulations, found southwards next to its foundations, also probably dates from that time.

It seems very likely that some of the children's graves were dug along the church wall even after the collapse of the sacristy (and the building of the northern sacristy in 1826). Similar burials of small children on deserted church cemeteries have been registered elsewhere in Croatia as well.⁴

DATA ABOUT THE GRAVES FROM THE REGISTER OF THE DEAD

The dating of the excavated graves can be aided by the Register of the dead of St. Martin's parish in Prozorje.⁵ It

2 Zahvaljujem se dr. Stjepanu Razumu, ravnatelju Nadbiskupskog arhiva u Zagrebu na omogućenom pregledavanju kanonskih vizitacija te dr. Andriji Lukinoviću na poticajnom razgovoru. Na uvidu u župnu spomenicu zahvaljujem se o. Slavku Kresonji, župniku dugoselskom.

3 Horvat 1931, 294 kaže "slabo čista", a latinski tekst približno: "minima ... servatam" (1622. [1/1,73]).

3 Horvat 1931, 294 says "poorly clean", while in the Latin text stands approximately: "minima ... servatam" (1622. [1/1,73]).

4 Comp.: Sekelj Ivančan and Tkalčec, 2003, 28 and the thesis put forward there.

5 Microfilm copies are kept in the Croatian State Archives, registers collection, register of the dead of the parish of Prozorje - Dugo Selo (1775-1784).

svodovi su toliko solidni da su opstali, npr. u Remetincu i u Lepoglavi, ali i drugdje. Nakon tog potresa crkvu su morali poduprijeti drvenim stupovima da se ne sruši, što je podatak koji nam može pomoći pri interpretaciji pojedinih pronađenih jama (kao konačno obnovljena, spominje se tek 1688. god.; Horvat 1931, 294).

I kasnije vizitacije govore ponekad o stanju crkvene građevine, o popravcima i dogradnjama pojedinih objekata, no o grobovima u vizitacijama nažalost nema podataka. Rijetko se spominje tek stanje uređenosti groblja te gradnja grobne kapele Sv. tri kralja (7. listopada 1680. god. [47/IIIa, 1]); kasnije se, 1746. god., kaže kako je ona prislonjena uz crkvu te da se u nju ulazi iz groblja.

Izvjешća vizitatora su često sažeta i znaju završavati, primjerice, rečenicom: *Caetera ut prius* - "ostalo kao prije" (1634. [3/III, 120]).

Iz župne spomenice, pak, doznajemo da je godine 1826. sakristija premještena s južne na sjevernu stranu (prema Horvat 1931, 303). Iz toga su nam vremena vjerojatno preostala i urušenja južne sakristije s gotičkim profilacijama, pronađena južno uz njezine temelje.

Čini se vrlo vjerojatnim kako su pojedini dječji grobovi ukopani uz zid crkve i nakon rušenja sakristije (i izgradnje sjeverne sakristije 1826. god.) (Belaj J. 2005, 21). Slična ukapanja male djece na napuštenim crkvenim grobljima uočena su i drugdje u Hrvatskoj.⁴

PODACI O GROBOVIMA IZ KNJIGE UMRILIH

Za dataciju istraživanih grobova, pomoć nam može pružiti Matična knjiga umrlih župe Sv. Martina u Prozorju.⁵ Ona počinje riječima: *Incipit Liber Mortuorum Parochiae S. Martini E. et C. in Prozorje supra Bozjachovinam in Dioecese Zagrabiansi, Comitatuque ejusdem Nominis sita ab Anno 1775. Mensis November...* ("Počinje Knjiga mrtvih župe Sv. Martina biskupa i priznavatelja u Prozorju nad Božjakovinom u Biskupiji zagrebačkoj, u županiji istoga imena smještena, od godine 1775.").

Prvi upisi uneseni su u studenome 1775.⁶ Prva je upisana osoba osam dana stara Katarina Presnecz, ukopana 13. studenoga s oskudnom oznakom *in Parochiali* ("u župnoj, u župnome"). Pet dana kasnije, 18. studenoga, pokopan je *Jacobus Gijurak* (80 god.) *in Parochiali Ecclesia*, dakle "u župnoj crkvi".

Za sljedeću dvojicu piše samo da su ukopani, bez pobliže oznake lokacije, a nakon toga se koriste manje više skraćena formule za *in Coemeterio Parochialis Ecclesiae*, "na groblju župne crkve", primjerice, kao *In Coemet. Paroch.*, ili jednostavno *Coem. Paali*, pa čak i samo *Coe*. To i ne treba čuditi, jer je u prva dva mjeseca ondje (i u grobljima područnih kapela) po-

starts with the words: *Incipit Liber Mortuorum Parochiae S. Martini E. et C. in Prozorje supra Bozjachovinam in Dioecese Zagrabiansi, Comitatuque ejusdem Nominis sita ab Anno 1775. Mensis November...* ("Here starts the Register of the dead of the parish of St. Martin Bishop and Confessor in Prozorje above Božjakovina in the Zagreb diocese, situated in the county of the same name, since the year 1775").

The first entries were made in November 1775.⁶ The first entered person was eight-day old Katarina Presnecz, buried on 13th November with a short label *in Parochiali* ("in the parochial"). Five days later, on 18th November, *Jacobus Gijurak* (aged 80) was buried *in Parochiali Ecclesia*, meaning "in the parochial church".

The entries for the next two persons only mention that they were buried, without any closer indication of the location, and after that more or less shortened formulae are used for *in Coemeterio Parochialis Ecclesiae*, "in the cemetery of the parochial church", such as *In Coemet. Paroch.*, or simply *Coem. Paali*, or even only *Coe*. This is not surprising, because in the first two months more than 200 burials took place there (and in the cemeteries of the local chapels) – obviously due to a pestilence. There were only two more cases where burials outside the cemetery and within the church were registered: on 18th November *Dorothea Czimás* (Cimaš), aged around 44 (Fol 2b) from Ježevo (*Jesevo*) was buried *in Chripta Paroch Ecclesiae*, "in the crypt of the parochial church", while four days later, on 22nd November, 70-year-old *Paulus Miholichich* (Pavao Miholičić) from Ostrna (*Oszterna*) was buried *in Ecclesia Parochial*".

We have no more information regarding burials within the church after these burials (with one exception in 1834). Therefore, the year 1775 would be the terminal year for dating the graves found within the church.

Besides this, on 11th July 1784 *Josephus Fran. Bukovec* wrote in the register of the dead, with larger and more decorative letters, that on that day it was established that the cemetery near the old parish church of St. Martin, Bishop and Confessor above Božjakovina was adapted according to the most eminent I. and R. [Imperial and Royal] order; it was elevated (*Coemeterium sublatum est*), the new perimeter wall was built (*Cinctura mortuorum nova esse*), and the graves started acquiring a better appearance (fol 39). The newly furnished cemetery was presented by His Eminence and Illustrious Highness, the venerable Josip Galjuf, Bishop of Zagreb, and opened with a benediction ceremony, assisted by Bukovac's collaborator, reverend Andrija Alojzije Vidović. The first burial took place the very next day (12th July 1784).

The burials were registered at first only with *sept est ad Coem*, and later on (from 1780) with *ad. S. Martinum*. Towards the end of the 1770s the usual entry is *sepultus* (from *sepultus* = buried) *est ad. S. Martinum*. From the 1790s the main cemetery is mentioned in the register as *Coemeterio*

4 Usp. Sekelj Ivančan i Tkalčec, 2003, 28 i tamo iznesenu tezu.

5 Kopije na mikro-filmovima čuvaju se u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu, zbirka matičnih knjiga, matična knjiga umrlih župe Prozorje - Dugo Selo (1775-1784).

6 U svojoj vizitaciji od 19. svibnja 1746. arhidakon katedralni Adam Antun Čegetek hvali župnika Tomu Botičkog, između ostaloga i zato što "U redu drži knjigu za upis krštenih, vjenčanih i umrlih osoba" (prema Horvat 1931, 301), što znači da je postojala i barem jedna prijašnja knjiga.

6 In his visitation from 19th May 1746 the cathedral archdeacon Adam Antun Čegetek praises paroch Tomo Botički, among other things, also because "he holds the register for entering the baptized, married and deceased persons" (after Horvat 1931, 301), which means that there already existed at least one previous register.

kopano gotovo 200 pokojnika - očito zbog neke pošasti. Samo su u još dva slučaja zabilježeni ukopi izvan groblja, a unutar crkve: 18. studenog je pokopana *Dorothea Czimas* (Cimaš), stara oko 44 god. (Fol 2b) iz Ježeva (*Jesevo*) in *Chripta Paroch Ecclesiae*, "u kriпти župne crkve". Četiri dana kasnije, tj. 22. studenog pokopan je 70 god. stari *Paulus Miholichich* (Pavao Miholičić) iz Ostrne (*Oszterna*) in *Ecclesia Parochial*".

Nakon ovih ukopa nemamo više podataka o pokapanjima unutar crkve (uz jednu iznimku godine 1834.). Dakle, 1775. bila bi granična godina za datiranje grobova nađenih u crkvi.

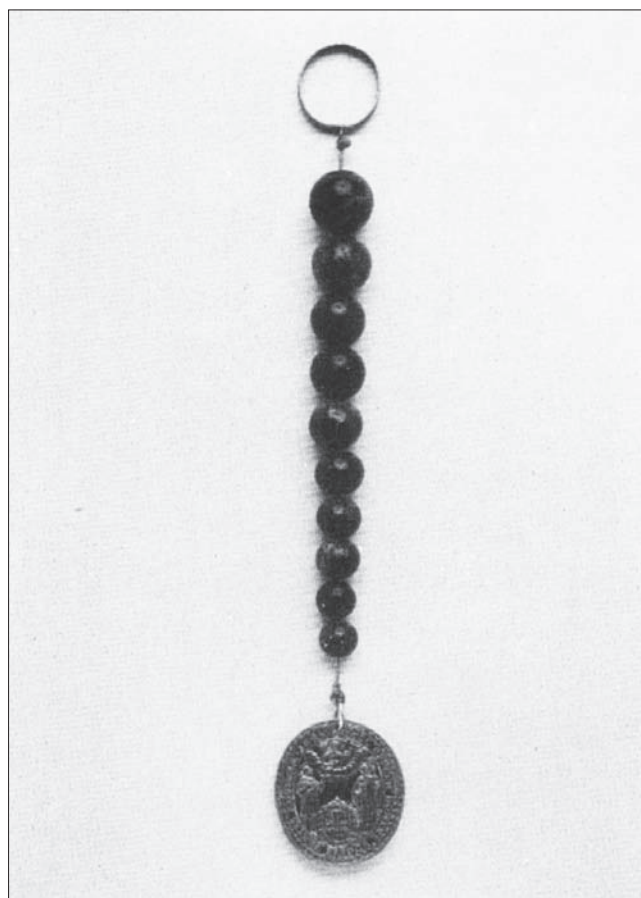
Osim toga, 11. srpnja 1784. upisao je u matičnu knjigu umrlih, većim i ukrašenijim slovima, *Josephus Fran. Bukovec* da je toga dana utvrđeno kako je groblje kraj starinske župne crkve Sv. Martina, biskupa i priznavatelja iznad Božjakovine prilagođeno prema najuzvišenijoj C. Kr. [carsko-kraljevskoj] uredbi; povišeno je (*Coemeterium sublatum est*), obzid je nov (*Cinctura mortuorum nova esse*), a grobovi počinju pridobivati bolji izgled (fol 39). Novouređeno groblje predstavio je preuzvišeni, presvijetli gospodin i prečasni Josip Galjuf, biskup zagrebački, i otvoreno ceremonijom blagoslova kojoj je asistirao Bukovčev suradnik velečasni Andrija Alojzije Vidović. Prvi ukop obavljen je već sljedećega dana (12. srpnja 1784.).

Ukopi su isprva obilježavani u knjizi samo sa *sept est ad Coem*, a kasnije (od 1780.) *ad S. Martinum*. Potkraj sedamdesetih godina 18. st. uobičajena je zabilješka *seplts* (od *sepultus* = pokopan) *est ad S. Martinum*. Od devedesetih se godina 18. st. glavno groblje u knjizi spominje kao *Coemeterio S. Martini Eppi fundata in Prozorje*. Kripta se spominje još samo 10. veljače 1834. kod ukopa pokojnog župnika župe Sv. Martina, Josipa Terbića (*Josephus Terbich*).

NOVOVJEKOVNI NALAZI IZ GROBOVA

Budući da će, iz razumljivih razloga, biti prikazani samo odabrani posebni nalazi (PN) pronađeni u pojedinim bogatijim grobovima, najprije će biti obrađene okolnosti u kojima su ti grobovi pronađeni (naravno, nisu svi grobovi imali nalaze - vidjeti terenska izvješća). Opsežnije će se obraditi tipološki srodni, odnosno međusobno usporedivi nalazi, i to oni koji su se pri dosadašnjim istraživanjima pokazali databilniji. Pritom će se usporediti sa sličnim nalazima iz drugih slojeva na lokalitetu. Iz tog će postupka biti izuzeta analiza tekstila i zanimljivih tragova metalnoga tkanja, čije kompletno čišćenje i konzervacija tek predstoji, kao i nekih kronološki nedovoljno osjetljivih nalaza (primjerice, nalaza pojasnih predica). Neki drugi, također oblikom kronološki nedovoljno osjetljivi nalazi (gumbi i kopčice), ipak će biti prikazani. Iako svojim oblikom ne govore mnogo o vremenu kada su izrađeni, vjerujemo da bi njihov raspored u datiranim grobovima, odnosno način nošenja, mogao ukazivati na modu određenog vremena.

U zapunama grobova često su pronalazeni i drugi nalazi o kojima u radu neće biti riječi. Prvenstveno su to manji ulomci keramike (uključujući i nekoliko ulomaka rimske keramike) i stakla, poneki ulomak obrađenog kamena ili kamene ploče od popločenja, jedan mali ulomak cijepane litike, željezni čavli i sl. U istraživanjima su prikupljeni i razni uzorci i to uglavnom kosti, drva, žbuke, opeke, poneki komadić ugljena.



Sl. 2 Primjer nekada vrlo popularne "muške krunice" od deset velikih zrna na otvorenoj vrpci (njem. *Zehner*) (Prema Brauneck, 1979, 254, sl. 98)

Fig. 2 Example of once very popular "male rosary", consisting of ten large beads on an open band (Germ. Zehner) (After Brauneck, 1979, 254, Fig. 98)

S. Martini Eppi fundata in Prozorje. The crypt is mentioned again only on 10th February 1834 regarding the burial of the deceased priest of St. Martin's parish, Josip Terbić (*Josephus Terbich*).

MODERN AGE FINDS FROM THE GRAVES

Due to understandable reasons, only the chosen special finds (SF) discovered in some of the richer graves will be presented. This is why we shall first analyse the circumstances in which those graves were found (of course, not all the graves contained objects – see the fieldwork reports). A more extensive analysis will be made in the case of typologically related finds, that is those that can be compared with each other, precisely those that turned out to be more datable in the excavations carried out so far. In the process they will be compared with similar finds from other layers at the site. The analyses of textiles and interesting traces of metal weaving, whose complete cleaning and conservation is yet to come, will be excluded from the procedure, as well as certain finds that are not sufficiently sensitive in terms of chronology (e.g. finds of belt buckle pins). Certain other finds, also insufficiently sensitive chronologically (buttons

Iako količina nalaza i vrsta uzoraka varira od groba do groba, neću se na to više osvrnuti. Također, neću donositi druge opsežne podatke o grobovima (opsežnije podatke o stratigrafiji, ukoliko se ne radi o međusobnom odnosu, opise sastava pojedinačnih grobnih zapuna, niti izgleda ukopa, što je sve vidljivo iz terenskih izvješća i dokumentacije koja se čuva u Institutu za arheologiju), jer bi samo opteretili tekst, a jedva da bi pridonijeli temi ovog rada. Valja istaknuti kako ukopi novovjekovnih grobova uglavnom nisu bili vidljivi, rijetko se koji bilo bojom bilo sastavom razlikovao od sloja u kojega je ukopan. Takve su situacije bile vidljive tek kod dublje ukopanih, starijih, srednjovjekovnih grobova.

Bogatstvom i zanimljivošću svojih nalaza ističe se pet grobova iz svetišta (grobovi 2, 4, 42, 60 i 93) te šest grobova iz predvorja, odnosno južne bočne kapele (45, 50, 58, 63, 69 i 71), ukupno 11 grobova.

Grob 2

Grob 2 nalazio se u sredini zapadnog dijela svetišta, u osi crkve, između oltara i trijumfalnoga luka. Važnost ovog groba naglašena je, osim samim središnjim mjestom ukopa, i sekundarnom uporabom srednjovjekovne kamene nadgrobne ploče za njegovo pokrivanje. Unutar ukopa dobro se lučilo više različitih zapuna.⁷ Na dnu ukopa bio je položen pokojnik, orijentiran kao i crkva, s glavom na zapadnoj strani. Preliminarna antropološka analiza pokazala je da je riječ o muškarcu starom između 30 i 40 godina.⁸ Čavli lijesa su također sačuvani. Pokojnik je bio pokopan sa zavjetnom, svetačkom brončanom medaljicom, vjerojatno u rukama, (PN 029, sl. 15), a u blizini su pronađene i željezne kopčice (PN 030). Postrugavši zemljanu zapunu ispod kostura, na dnu groba došlo se do zdravice, narančaste gline. Uza zapadnu polovicu sjevernog profila grobnog ukopa nalazi se neuredno sazidani zid od komada opeke i kamenja. Čini se kako je riječ o zidanoj arhitekturi susjedne grobnice na prostoru koji još nije istraživani. Izgleda da je taj zid dublji za 20-ak cm od groba 2, koji nije imao nikakvu grobnu arhitekturu.

Grob 4

Zanemarimo li dječje, plitko ukopane grobove pronađene uz same zidove crkve s vanjske strane, ovo je jedan od najmlađih istraženih grobova. Pronađen je neoštećen, u jugozapadnom dijelu svetišta crkve, iznad starijeg groba 42 odnosno iznad starije grobnice 42/60/93. Uočeno je da su njegovim ukopom bile probijene sve očuvane podnice za podove od opeka s njihovim otiscima, od SJ 050 naniže (Belaj J. 2002, 23-24).

U grob je bio pokopan muškarac star između 35 i 45 godina. Ukop je iste orijentacije kao i crkva, ali s glavom na istoku. Na dnu ukopa pronađeni su tragovi dasaka od lijesa i pripadajući mu čavli. Iako je kostur loše očuvan, do danas su se očuvali kožni ostaci obuće (PN 021 i 023). Na podlakticama te u predjelu prsnih kostiju i ispod njih pronađeni su nizovi

and clasps), will nevertheless be presented. Even though their shape does not say much about the time when they were made, we believe that their distribution in the dated graves, that is, the way they were worn, might indicate the fashion of a specific period.

The grave fills often contained other finds, which will not be mentioned in the paper. This primarily applies to the smaller ceramic sherds (including several sherds of Roman ceramics) and glass, an occasional fragment of worked stone or a stone slab from the pavement, a small piece of chipped lithics, iron nails etc. Various samples were collected in the excavations, mostly bones, wood, mortar, brick and a few pieces of charcoal. Although the quantity of finds and the type of samples vary from grave to grave, I shall not mention them further. Similarly, I shall not mention other particulars about the graves (extensive information about stratigraphy, unless there is a relationship, descriptions of the texture of individual grave fills, or the appearance of burials, which can all be seen in the fieldwork reports and documentation kept in the Institute of Archaeology), as they would only burden the text while barely contributing to the topic of this paper. It should be emphasized that the burials of Modern Age graves were mostly not visible, there were very few that stood out from the layer into which they were dug due to the colour or texture. Such situations were noticeable only in the case of the earlier, more deeply dug graves, from the medieval period.

Regarding the wealth and interest of the finds, five graves from the shrine stand out (graves 2, 4, 42, 60 and 93) as well as six graves from the lobby, that is the southern lateral chapel (45, 50, 58, 63, 69 and 71), 11 graves in total.

Grave 2

Grave 2 lay in the centre of the western part of the shrine, in the church axis, between the altar and the triumphal arch. The importance of this grave is accentuated, besides the very central position of the burial, also by the secondary use of a medieval stone tombstone slab for its covering. Several different fills were clearly visible within the burial.⁷ The deceased was placed at the bottom of the burial, orientated the same as the church, with the head to the west. Preliminary anthropological analysis showed that it was a man between 30 and 40 years of age.⁸ The coffin nails have also been preserved. The deceased was buried with a votive, saintly bronze medallion, probably in his hands (SF 029, Fig. 15), and small iron clasps (SF 030) were also found close by. Having scratched away the soil fill beneath the skeleton, we reached the virgin soil – orange clay – at the bottom of the grave. Along the western half of the northern profile of the grave hole there is a clumsily built wall made of pieces of bricks and stones. It seems that this is the built architecture of the adjacent tomb in the area that has not been excavated yet. It appears that this wall is some 20 cm deeper than grave 2, which lacked any grave architecture.

⁷ Detaljnije vidjeti u Belaj J. 2002.

⁸ Na preliminarnoj se analizi osteološkog materijala zahvaljujem mr. sc. Mariu Novaku, asistentu na Odsjeku za arheologiju HAZU.

⁷ For details see Belaj, J. 2002.

⁸ I thank MSc Mario Novak, junior researcher at the Department of Archaeology of CASA, for the preliminary analysis of the osteological material.



Sl. 3 Primjer krunice s "pet Kristovih rana" (Prema Schinnerl, 1995, 16)

Fig. 3 Example of the rosary with "the five wounds of Christ" (After Schinnerl, 1995, 16)

brončanih kopči (ušice i kukice, PN 020 i 024, sl. 42). Nad kosturom su pronađeni i ulomci debljeg željeznog predmeta nepoznata oblika, ovijena tkaninom koja je ostala očuvana (PN 022). Zbog rijetko dobra stupnja očuvanosti tkanine, tijekom čišćenja i konzerviranja predmeta nije se pokušalo ustanoviti o kakvu je predmetu riječ.⁹ Zbog položaja u kojem je nalaz pronađen, postoji mogućnost da se on nije nalazio na prsima pokojnika već na drvenom lijesu, te je kasnije pao na pokojnikova prsa s istrunula lijesa.

Grob 42

Ispod razine na kojoj je bio ukopan grob 4, u jugozapadnom dijelu svetišta nađena je grobnica koja je orijentacijom pratila zidove crkve. Najprije se pokazao pravokutni prostor prislonjen uz južni zid svetišta koji je s ostalih strana bio omeđen više-manje čistom, tvrdo nabijenom ilovačom. Ponegdje su, u južnom i jugozapadnom dijelu, na kontaktu s ilovačom ostali očuvani tragovi raspadnutog drveta. Zapuna tog prostora od početka nije djelovala kompaktno: u sjevernom je dijelu prevladavao pjeskovit sloj s ponešto kamenja, dok je u južnom prevladavala hrpa amorfno kamenja, s ponekom opekam i

Grave 4

If we neglect the shallowly dug children's graves discovered right along the church walls on the outside, this is one of the youngest excavated graves. It was found undamaged, in the southwestern part of the church shrine, above the older grave 42, that is above the older tomb 42/60/93. It was observed that its burial cut through all the preserved floors for brick floors with their impressions, from SU 050 downwards (Belaj J. 2002, 23-24).

A man between 35 and 45 years of age was buried in this grave. The burial has the same orientation as the church, but the head is to the east. Traces of coffin planks and nails belonging to it were found at the bottom of the burial. Even though the skeleton is poorly preserved, the leather footwear remains have been preserved to this day (SF 021 and 023). A series of bronze clasps (small loops and hooks, SF 020 and 024, Fig. 42) were found on the forearms, in the area of the chest bones and beneath. Above the skeleton were also found fragments of a thicker iron object of indeterminate shape, wrapped in a cloth that remained preserved (SF 022). On account of the exceptionally good preservation of the cloth, in the process of cleaning and conservation of the object no attempt was made at determining what type of object it was.⁹ Due to the position in which the find was discovered, it is possible that it was not positioned on the deceased's chest but on the wooden coffin, from where it later fell onto the deceased's chest after it decayed.

Grave 42

Below the level on which grave 4 was dug, in the southwestern part of the shrine, a tomb was found whose orientation followed the church walls. The first to appear was a rectangular space adjacent to the southern wall of the shrine, delimited by a more or less clean, hard-packed loam. In the southern and southwestern parts traces of decomposed wood have occasionally remained preserved at the point of contact with the loam. The fill of this space did not look compact from the start: dominant in the northern part was a sandy layer with some stones, while in the southern part there was a dominance of amorphous stones, with occasional bricks and fragments of crumbled mortar and sandy earth. It later became clear that there were two graves in that space, grave 42 to the north and grave 60 to the south, along the church wall, while ossuary 93 was positioned transversally to the east of them. These graves are at the same time the richest in finds excavated so far at the site. The mentioned pile of building material obviously fell into grave 42 from the tomb structure. No specific claims can be made at this point (because it is located at the very edge of the trench) as to the features of the loam surrounding the tomb, but it seems that it does not represent the virgin soil into which the tomb was dug, but that it was probably placed along the walls of the tomb as a fill for isolation and greater solidity. This is indicated by the situation some ten centimetres to the north, where the mentioned loam layer longitudinally cut the earlier grave 33.

⁹ Sve je metalne nalaze očistio i konzervirao Nikola Erlich.

⁹ All the metal finds were cleaned and conserved by Nikola Erlich.

ulomcima izmrvljene žbuke te s pjeskovitom zemljom. Kasnije se pokazalo da su se na tom prostoru nalazila dva groba, grob 42 sjevernije i grob 60 južnije, uz zid crkve, a istočno od njih se nalazila poprijeko položena kosturnica 93. Ovo su ujedno i nalazima najbogatiji grobovi dosad istraženi na lokalitetu. Spomenuta hrpa građevinskog materijala očito je pala u grob 42 s konstrukcije grobnice. O značajkama ilovače koja okružuje grobnicu zasad (jer se nalazi na samom rubu sonde) još nije moguće ništa određeno tvrditi, no čini se kako se ne radi o zdravici u koju je grobnica ukopana, već je ona vjerojatnije bila ubačena uz zidove grobnice kao ispuna radi izolacije i veće čvrstoće. Na to nam ukazuje situacija desetak centimetara sjevernije, gdje je navedeni sloj ilovače uzdužno presjekao stariji grob 33.

U grobu 42 pronađen je prilično cjeloviti kostur muškarca starog između 30 i 40 godina. Gornji je dio kostura djelomično ispremiješan (rebra i kralješci odvojeni od lubanje; podlaktica desne ruke nađena je tek pri vađenju konstrukcije). Vjerojatni uzrok necjelovite očuvanosti kostura je spomenuto urušenje zidane konstrukcije u grob, na pokojnika. Velika količina čavala nađenih u ovom grobu upućuje na to da je pokojnik bio pokopan u lijesu.

Uz kostur je nađeno dosta metalnih predmeta, vjerojatno dijelova odjeće, od kojih su ostale očuvane (doduše u vrlo lošem stanju) dvije potkovicice za pete čizmi, nađene uz kosti stopala (PN 114, 115). Uz obje potkoljenice nalazile su se željezne uske i dugačke pločice, ali jako korodirane i raspadnute (PN 116, 117). Na zdjelici je pronađena mala pravokutna, željezna pojasna pređica s trnom (PN 118). Uz kralježnicu je nađeno sedam pari (uz još nekoliko sitnih ulomaka) željeznih (jako korodiranih) kopčica ("ušica i kukica") (PN 111, sl. 43). Pokraj lubanje je nađen ulomak brončane žice, debljine oko 1 mm (PN 110), vjerojatno ulomak pribadače (što je čest nalaz pored lubanja na lokalitetu).

Oko obiju ruka, te osobito ispod i iznad zdjelice nađeno je mnoštvo različitih zrna (PN 119-122, 125, 127, 131, 133-136, 143, 145, 148, 217, sl. 24) pa možemo pretpostaviti da je pokojnik pokopan s krunicom.

Pronađene su tri vrste zrna. Najviše je (36 komada) velikih (10-12 mm) crnih, osamnaestplošnih zrna izrađenih od staklene paste (PN 119, 121, 122, 125, 133, 134, 136, 143, 148 i 217). Malih je 19 komada (3,5-4 mm) zrnaca, tamnosmeđe boje sa zelenkastim sjajem, izrađenih od staklene paste (PN 127, 131 i 145). U predjelu zdjelice je pronađeno i jedno jedino koštano lijepo obrađeno zrno u obliku rastvorenog cvijeta (veličine 13 x 10 x 11 mm) (PN 120), te jedan koštani, uzdužnoprbušeni "čunjčić" dug 13 mm (PN 135).

Iz rasporeda pronađenih zrna može se zaključiti da je pokojnik krunicu najvjerojatnije držao u sklopljenim rukama na zdjelici, a zrna su se naknadno rasula, kada je istrunula nit na koju su bila nanizana.

Tijekom čišćenja groba pokazalo se da je zidana struktura okruživala grob 42 s istočne, sjeverne i zapadne strane, dok je s južne uglavnom nedostajala. Vjerojatno se nastavljala na konstrukciju groba 60, odnosno ta su dva groba imala zajedničku zidanu grobnicu.

Grob 60

Grob 60 nađen je jednako položen i u ukopu iste veličine

A quite complete skeleton of a man between 30 and 40 years of age was found in grave 42. The upper part of the skeleton was partly mixed (the ribs and vertebrae are detached from the skull; the right forearm was found only when the structure was being removed). The probable cause of the incomplete preservation of the skeleton was the mentioned collapse of the built construction into the grave, over the deceased. The large quantity of nails found in this grave indicates that the deceased was buried in a coffin.

Numerous metal objects were found with the skeleton, probably pieces from the costume. Of those, two boot heels have remained preserved (albeit in a very poor state), found next to the foot bones (SF 114, 115). Narrow and long iron plaques lay next to both lower legs, but very corroded and decomposed (SF 116, 117). A small rectangular iron belt pin with a thorn (SF 118) was found on the pelvis. Seven pairs (together with several more small fragments) of (very corroded) iron clasps ("small loops and hooks") (SF 111, Fig. 43). A fragment of approximately 1 mm thick bronze wire was found next to the skull (SF 110), probably a fragment of a pin (a frequent find next to the skulls at the site).

Many various beads were found around both arms and especially above and beneath the pelvis (SF 119-122, 125, 127, 131, 133-136, 143, 145, 148, 217, Fig. 24), so we can presume that the deceased was buried with a rosary.

Three types of beads were found. The largest group (36 pieces) consists of big (10-12 mm) black beads of glass paste/ with eighteen surfaces (SF 119, 121, 122, 125, 133, 134, 136, 143, 148 and 217). There are 19 small (3,5-4 mm) beads of dark-brown colour with a green sheen, made of glass paste (SF 127, 131 and 145). A single bone bead was found in the area of the pelvis, finely worked in the shape of an open flower (measuring 13 x 10 x 11 mm) (SF 120) and a 13 mm-long, longitudinally perforated "small cone" of bone (SF 135).

The distribution of the discovered beads leads to the conclusion that the deceased most probably held the rosary in his closed hands on the pelvis, and that the beads scattered once that the string on which they were arrayed decayed.

During the cleaning of the grave it became apparent that the built structure surrounded grave 42 from the eastern, northern and western sides, while it was mostly missing at the southern side. It probably continued onto the structure of grave 60, in other words these two graves had a common built tomb.

Grave 60

Grave 60 was discovered with the same orientation and in the hole of the same size as that of the neighbouring grave 42. Moreover, it appears that the deceased were buried in a common tomb of weak construction, which collapsed with the passage of time. The bottom of the tomb, stones joined with mortar, was found on the eastern and western sides of the grave. To the north it continued onto the structure of grave 42, while the southern side leans against the southern wall of the shrine. This grave was dug some ten centimetres deeper. The preliminary anthropological analysis of the osteological material produced interesting results: a woman was buried in this grave, of approximately the same age or only slightly younger

kao i susjedni grob 42. Štoviše, izgleda da su pokojnici bili pokopani u zajedničku, nesolidno sazidanu grobnicu, koja se vremenom urušila. Pronađeno je njezino dno, kamenje povezano žbukom, i to s istočne i sa zapadne strane groba. Prema sjeveru se nastavlja na konstrukciju groba 42, a južna je strana prislonjena uz južni zid svetišta. Ovaj je grob ukopan desetak centimetara dublje. Zanimljive je rezultate dala preliminarna antropološka analiza osteološkog materijala: u ovaj je grob bila pokopana žena približno iste starosti ili tek nešto mlađa (25-35 godina) kao i njezin muški "susjed" (30-40 godina) u grobu 42 odnosno u zajedničkoj grobnici. Nameće se pomisao da je riječ o obiteljskoj grobnici osobito uglednih i, prema nalazima, imućnijih župljana.

I ova je pokojnica bila pokopana u lijesu od kojeg su očuvani tragovi dasaka i mnoštvo čavala. Čini se da je to bio široki lijes, ruke su pokojnice bile položene prilično široko u laktovima, a sklopljene na prsima. Kostur je pronađen uglavnom očuvan (od lubanje je očuvana samo donja čeljust).

I ovaj se grob također izdvaja zbog velikog broja pronađenih posebnih nalaza.

Prije svega, treba spomenuti primjerak srebrnog denara, kovana za kralja Ferdinanda II. 1636. god. (PN 152, sl. 10), nađena između desne potkoljenice i južnog zida svetišta. Smatram da je novac, zajedno s jednom opekom i grumenjem ilovače, naknadno upao, spuznuo u grob. Ispod toga grumena na kojem je novac nađen, nalazili su se tragovi tkanine (PN 154) koja je pripadala ovom grobu.

Očuvani su mnogi dijelovi pokojničine odjeće. Na više su mjesta pronađeni ostaci ili barem tragovi metalne tkanine. Najljepši su primjerci u obliku čipkaste trake (finog metalnog tkanja) nađeni uz kralješke i na području desnih rebara (PN 171), vjerojatno kao ukras na odjeći. U gornjem dijelu groba nađena je i dosta loše očuvana tkanina kakva je, puno bolje očuvana, nađena oko kostiju nogu i djelomično ispod kralježnice (PN 154, 176, 179 i 180). Bolje očuvano metalno tkanje i metalne pletene trake pronađeni su i ispod lijeve lopatice (PN 167). Pri dnu kralježnice pronađena je i jedna brončana pribadača, duga 38 mm, s (turbanastom) glavicom, širokom oko 2 mm (PN 172).

Uz prsni koš, s lijeve i desne strane, nalazila su se dva niza mjedenih pločica s alkicama (PN 160, 161, 168 i 169, sl. 47), ukupno 12 pari. Pločice su imale dva para rupica za prišivanje na odjeću. Kako su se s obje strane nalazile alkice, možemo zaključiti da su one služile za vezanje odjeće nekom trakom. Nizovi su pronađeni u razmaku od petnaestak cm. Budući da su na poleđini pojedinih pločica ostali očuvani ostaci metalne tkanine, jasno je i da je ta odjeća bila tkana uporabom metalnih niti.

Ispod desnih rebara pronađene su i uobičajene kopčice, tzv. "ušice i kukice" (par i pol), ali luksuznije izvedbe, s kalotastim ukrasom na "kukici" (PN 173 i 220, sl. 48).

Ipak, i u ovome je grobu najveću pozornost privukao nalaz krunice. Oko desne ruke i ispod desnih rebara, ispod i iznad zdjelice te između natkoljenica nađena su staklena i metalna zrna različitih veličina (PN 170, 173, 175, 219, 220, sl. 25). Pronađeno je 13 (ili 14 - teško je točno reći zbog fragmentiranosti pojedinih primjeraka) velikih (promjera 8-9 mm) staklenih prozirnih zrna, 92 malih (5,5-6 mm), također staklenih,

(25-35) than her male "neighbour" (30-40 years of age) in grave 42, that is, in the common tomb. The thought springs to mind that this was a family tomb belonging to particularly respectable and, judging by the finds, wealthy parishioners.

This woman also was buried in a coffin, of which traces of planks and numerous nails have been preserved. The coffin appears to have been broad, the woman's arms were placed quite broadly at the elbows and clasped at the chest. The skeleton was found mostly preserved (only a mandible has remained of the skull).

This grave is likewise distinguished on account of large number of special finds.

First of all, we should mention a silver denar, minted during the reign of Ferdinand II in 1636 (SF 152, Fig. 10), discovered between the right lower leg and the southern wall of the shrine. I think that the coin, together with a brick and a lump of loam, later fell, slipped into the grave. Traces of cloth (SF 154) that belonged to this grave lay beneath the lump on which the coin was found.

Numerous pieces of the deceased woman's clothes have been preserved. Remains or at least traces of metal cloth have been found in several places. The most beautiful are specimens in the shape of a lace stripe (finely woven in metal thread) found next to the vertebrae and in the area of the right ribs (SF 171), probably as decorations on the clothes. In the upper part of the grave a quite poorly preserved cloth was found, such as was also found, but much better preserved, around the leg bones and partly below the spine (SF 154, 176, 179 and 180). Towards the base of the spine a bronze pin was also found, 38 mm long, with a 2 mm wide (turban-shaped) head (SF 172).

On the left and right side of the chest there were two rows of brass plaques with rings (SF 160, 161, 168 and 169, Fig. 47), 12 pairs in total. The plaques had two pairs of holes for sewing onto clothes. Considering that the rings were located on both sides, we can conclude that they served to fasten clothing by means of a band. The rows were found at a distance of some fifteen cm. Because remains of the metal fabric remained preserved on the back of some plaques, it is also clear that this clothing was woven with metal threads.

The usual clasps, the so-called "loops and hooks" (a pair and a half) were found beneath the right ribs, but they had a more luxurious make, with a dome-shaped decoration on the "hook" (SF 173 and 220, Fig. 48).

Nevertheless, in this grave too, it was the find of a rosary that drew the greatest attention. Glass and metal beads of various sizes were found around the right arm and beneath the right ribs, beneath and above the pelvis, as well as between the thighs (SF 170, 173, 175, 219, 220, Fig. 25). Thirteen (or 14 - it is difficult to be precise owing to the fragmented state of some pieces) large (8-9 mm in diameter) transparent glass beads were found, 92 small (5,5-6 mm) beads also of glass, transparent or with a brownish film, as well as 37 smallest (3-3,5 mm) metal beads. Altogether, therefore, 105 (106) glass and 37 metal beads. In addition to these, a small glass "cone" was also found (SF 155, Fig. 33).

Even more interesting than the beads are the small (1-1,5 cm) metal pendants discovered with them (SF 153, 154, 162, 163, 164, 177, 178, 181, Fig. 34). They also formed part of a ro-



Sl. 4 Krunica Tome Erdödyja ili njegova roda s početka 17. st. (Prema Žmegač, 1994, 206, kat. br. 19)

Fig. 4 Rosary of Toma Erdödy or his kin from the beginning of the 17th cent. (After Žmegač, 1994, 206, cat. nr. 19)

prozirnih ili sa smečkastim filmom te 37 najmanjih (3-3,5 mm) metalnih zrna. Ukupno, dakle, 105 (106) staklenih i 37 metalnih zrna. Uz njih je pronađen i jedan stakleni "čunjić" (PN 155, sl. 33).

Još zanimljiviji od zrna su mali (1-1,5 cm) metalni prijevjesci pronađeni uz njih (PN 153, 154, 162, 163, 164, 177, 178, 181, sl. 34). I oni su bili sastavni dio krunice, što će biti kasnije pokazano pri analizi nalaza.

Uz desna rebra, blizu zrna kao i kopčica, pronađena su i dva dijela prelomljenog dvostrukoga križića (PN 168 i 174, sl. 19). Sličnih je, ali znatno većih, križeva pronađeno još nekoliko na ovom lokalitetu. Ovaj je bio pronađen u tako lošem stanju da se sve do čišćenja nije moglo ustanoviti o čemu je riječ. Gornji je dio križića pronađen ispod desnih rebara slijepljen na prsnu kost (PN 174). Kasnije će se u tekstu pokazati da i ovaj križić pripada istoj krunici.

Grob 93

Na istočnoj strani ukopa grobova 42 i 60 ustanovljen je grob 93 definiran kao kosturnica. Ovaj grob se pruža smjerno okomitim na os crkve, a dugačak je koliko su zajedno široki grobovi 42 i 60 te se može smatrati dijelom grobnice 42/60/93, položene u istom smjeru kao i crkva. Izgleda da je ovaj, istočni dio novoukopane grobnice, ostavljen za smještaj kostiju nađenih prigodom iskopa. U kosturnici su nađene najmanje tri lubanje te veća količina različitih kostiju (uglavnom odrasle muške osobe, ali prisutne su i kosti odrasle žene), a uz

sary, as will be demonstrated later in the analysis of the finds.

Next to the right ribs, close to the beads just as the small clasp, two pieces were found of a double cross broken in two (SF 168 and 174, Fig. 19). Several similar, but considerably larger, crosses were found on this site as well. This one was discovered in such a poor state that up until the cleaning it could not be established what it represented. The upper portion of the cross was found beneath the right ribs pasted to the chest bone (SF 174). It will be shown later in the text that this cross also belonged to the same rosary.

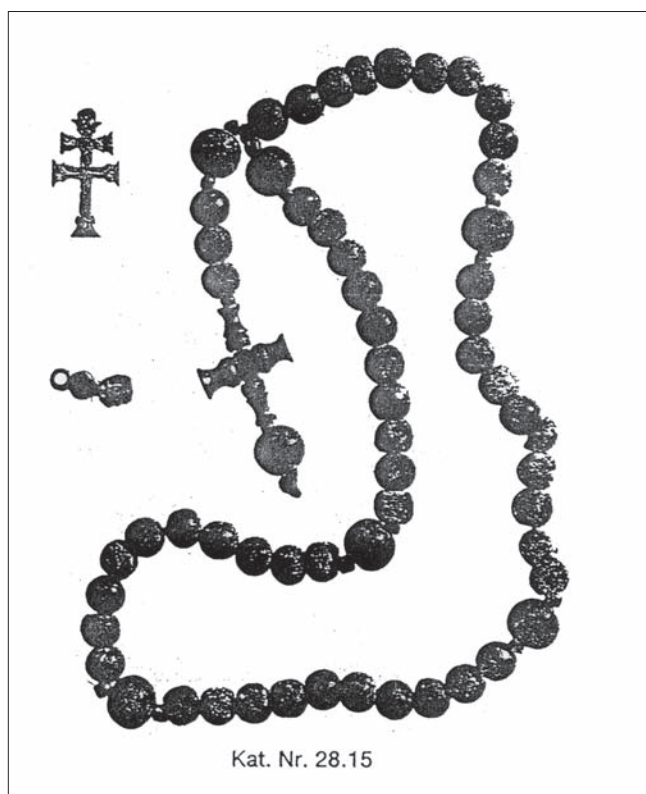
Grave 93

Grave 93, determined as an ossuary, was found on the eastern side of the burials of graves 42 and 60. This grave extends vertically to the church axis, and its length equals that of the combined width of graves 42 and 60, and it can be considered part of tomb 42/60/93, orientated in the same direction as the church. It appears that this, eastern part of the newly-dug tomb, was left for placing the bones found during the excavation. A minimum of three skulls and a large quantity of various bones (mostly belonging to an adult male, but there are also those of an adult woman present) were found in the ossuary, and in addition to two ceramic sherds and the small remains of a cloth, a silver coin of King Matthias II from 1610 was found as well (SF 204, Fig. 7). That year can be taken as the rough date for the dug-up graves placed into this ossuary. Also discovered here was a structure, still connected with mortar, which speaks in favour of the idea that graves 42, 60 and 93 were placed in a common, i.e. jointly constructed tomb. This is corroborated by the relations in their layout, the depth of these graves (from 202,70 on the northern, to 202,55 on the southern side), the finds discovered in them, the burial into SU 662 (virgin soil) and SU 663 (overturned virgin soil) as well as the relationship with SU 390, which bordered this tomb at the right angle on its western and northern sides, and for which it can be supposed that it represented the subsequently introduced loam along the outer wall of the structure of the tomb 42/60/93. Impressions of beams, laid in the manner of bed support rails appeared in outlines at the bottom of the grave hole (Belaj J. 2005, 41).

Grave 45

Grave 45 was found in the lobby, along the south profile. It is orientated like the church. A woman around 30-40 years of age was buried in the grave, at the height of 203,19-203,22 m, of whom only the right side and the spine remained, whereas the entire left side (except the lower leg) and the skull are missing. The arm is placed on the chest. It is possible that the grave was cut by the later burial of grave 63.

Five small (4-5 mm) glass (?) beads (1 transparent/white, 2 grey and 2 very brown) (SF 113, Fig. 26) were found when the bones beneath the ribs were being removed. No concrete burial lines were visible. A cross (SF 106, Fig. 17) was found a bit earlier above this grave, in the layer of the disturbed grave assemblages SU 265. The grave, precisely as many others in the lobby, was buried into this layer. Most of the fills of Modern Age graves dug into that layer did not differ from it.



Sl. 5 Krunica iz 17. st. sa simbolom Vjeronanja (*Credo*) (Prema Fundort Kloster, 297, 280, kat. br. 28.15)

Fig. 5 Rosary from the 17th century with the symbol of the Creed (*Credo*) (After Fundort Kloster, 297, 280, cat. nr. 28.15)

dva fragmenta keramike i sitne ostatke tkanine nađen je i srebrni novac kralja Matije II. iz 1610. g. (PN 204, sl. 7). Ta godina može u grubo datirati prekopane grobove položene u ovu kosturnicu. I ovdje je ustanovljena, još uvijek žbukom povezana, konstrukcija koja govori u prilog tome da su grobovi 42, 60 i 93 bili smješteni u zajedničku, tj. zajednički konstruiranu grobnicu. To potvrđuju i odnosi u njihovu položaju, dubina ukopa ovih grobova (od 202,70 sa sjeverne do 202,55 s južne strane), nalazi nađeni u njima, ukop u SJ 662 (zdravicu) i SJ 663 (prekopanu zdravicu) te odnos sa SJ 390 koja je pravokutno obrublivala ovu grobnicu s njezine zapadne i sjeverne strane, a za koju se može pretpostaviti da je naknadno ubačena ilovača uz vanjski zid konstrukcije grobnice 42/60/93. Na dnu ukopa grobnice ocrtavali su se otisci greda, položenih poput podnica za krevet (Belaj J. 2005, 41).

Grob 45

Grob 45 pronađen je u predvorju, uz južni profil. Orijeantiran je kao i crkva. U grobu je, na visini 203,19-203,22 m bila ukopana žena stara oko 30-40 godina, a ostala joj je sačuvana samo desna strana i kralježnica, dok cijela lijeva strana (osim potkoljenice) i lubanja nedostaju. Ruka je položena na prsa. Postoji mogućnost da je grob presječen mlađim ukopom groba 63.

Prilikom vađenja kostiju ispod rebara je pronađeno pet malih (4-5 mm) staklenih (?) zrna (1 prozirno/bijelo, 2 siva 2 jako smeđa) (PN 113, sl. 26). Konkretnije se linije ukopa nisu

Grave 50

The remains of the quite destroyed grave 50 were found along the western wall of the lobby (the earlier buttress of the church) at the height of 203,25 cm. Only the lower legs have remained preserved, most likely belonging to a man between 35 and 50 years of age. The grave was buried vertically to the church direction. There were remains of charred wood between the lower legs as well as two rows, that is, 12 pairs of metal, probably brass, clasps (loops and hooks, SF 139, Fig. 44). It was not determined what it was cut by.

Grave 58

Grave 58 was located approximately in the centre of the lobby, orientated vertically to the direction of the church, at the height of 203,10-203,16 cm. The edge of its burial was clearly visible on the western side. A woman between 35 and 50 years of age, whose skeleton remained well preserved, was placed into the grave.

The woman's arms were placed on the belly, and during the cleaning an entire row of glass-paste beads was found along her right arm (from the wrist up to above the elbow). It was made of various beads (SF 149, Fig. 27). We can divide them into larger, polygonal (of irregular shape) beads in ochre and white (their size varies mostly from 9 to 12 mm) and small (4-5 mm) multicoloured beads. In order to maintain the well preserved row of beads, they were removed – as much as it was possible – in the order in which they lay in the grave, and were then arrayed on a string accordingly.

The larger part of the sequence was preserved: 1 large (ochre) – 1 small (light blue) – 12 large (ochre) – 1 large (white) – 1 large (ochre) - ... - 2 large (white) - ... - 6 large (ochre) – 1 large (white) – 5 large (ochre) – 1 medium (white) – 14 large (ochre) – 1 large (white) – 10 large (ochre) – 1 small (light blue) – 2 large (white) beads. Several more broken beads were found, around 4 large ochre beads and 1 white bead as well as three dislocated small beads (red, blue and black).

This makes altogether 5 small beads of various colours, 9 large white and 53 large ochre beads (even though the difference in colour is not always entirely clear), that is, 62 large and 5 small beads were found in this grave.

Grave 63

Grave 63 was discovered in the southwestern part of the lobby. The grave burial was of rectangular shape, with visible contours, around 60 cm wide. The grave extended in the same direction as the church, at the height of 203,05-202,98 cm.

The remains of a man between 30 and 40 years of age lay in the grave. The bones were well preserved and the hands were placed on the belly. The feet were not preserved, and it is quite likely that they were cut by a subsequent burial (perhaps that of grave 71). Next to the man's spine lay a series of metal (probably an alloy of lead and tin) sleigh-bell-shaped buttons (SF 156, Fig. 40, 12 larger pieces), such as were found dislocated in the surrounding layer SU 265. Another two smaller sleigh-bell-shaped buttons were found next to the right elbow and the left upper arm of the deceased (SF 156, Fig. 40, 2 smaller pieces). Five metal dome-shaped buttons were found in the area of the belly (SF 157, Fig. 41). Three pieces lay

vidjele. Nešto ranije je iznad ovog groba, u sloju poremećenih grobnih cjelina SJ 265, pronađen križ (PN 106, sl. 17). Grob je, upravo kao i mnogi drugi u predvorju, bio ukopan u taj sloj. Većina zapuna novovjekovnih grobova ukopanih u taj sloj nije se od njega razlikovala.

Grob 50

Uz zapadni zid predvorja (stariji potporanj crkve) pronađeni su na visini od 203,25 m ostaci poprilično uništenoga groba 50. Očuvane su ostale samo potkoljenice, najvjerojatnije muškarca starog između 35 i 50 godina. Grob je bio ukopan okomito na smjer crkve. Između potkoljenica nalazili su se ostaci pougljenjenog drveta te dva niza odnosno 12 pari metalnih, vjerojatno mjedenih, kopčica (ušice i kukice, PN 139, sl. 44). Nije ustanovljeno čime je bio presječen.

Grob 58

Otrprike u sredini predvorja, položen okomito na smjer pružanja crkve, nalazio se grob 58 na visini 203,10-203,16 m. Sa zapadne su strane bili jasno vidljivi rubovi njegova ukopa. U grob je bila položena žena stara između 35 i 50 godina, čiji je kostur ostao dobro očuvan.

Ruke su pokojnici bile položene na trbuh, a tijekom čišćenja uz desnu je ruku (od zapešća do iznad lakta) pronađen cijeli niz zrna od staklene paste. Riječ je o krunici koja je pokojnici bila ovijena oko ruke (PN 149, sl. 27). Sastojala se od različitih zrna. Možemo ih podijeliti na veća, višekutna (nepravilna oblika) zrna oker i bijele boje (veličina im varira uglavnom od 9 do 12 mm) te na sitna (4-5 mm), raznobojna zrnca. Kako bi se sačuvao dobro očuvani niz zrna, vađena su - koliko je to bilo moguće - redosljedom kojim su ležala u grobu i tako su nizana na konac.

Veći je dio niza sačuvan: 1 veliko (oker) - 1 malo (svijetloplavo) - 12 velikih (oker) - 1 veliko (bijelo) - 1 veliko (oker) - ... - 2 velika (bijela) - ... - 6 velikih (oker) - 1 veliko (bijelo) - 5 velikih (oker) - 1 srednje veliko (bijelo) - 14 velikih (oker) - 1 veliko (bijelo) - 10 velikih (oker) - 1 malo (svijetloplavo) - 2 velika (bijela). Pronađeno je još polomljenih, otprilike 4 velika oker, i jedno bijelo, te tri dislocirana mala zrnca (crveno, plavo i crno).

To je ukupno 5 malih, raznih boja, 9 velikih bijelih, 53 velikih oker (iako razlika u boji nije uvijek sasvim jasna), odnosno, pronađeno je 62 velikih i 5 malih zrna u ovome grobu.

Grob 63

U jugozapadnom dijelu predvorja pronađen je grob 63. Ukop groba bio je četvrtastog oblika, vidljivih kontura, širok oko 60 cm. Grob se pružao u istom smjeru kao i crkva, na visini 203,05-202,98 m.

U grobu su ležali ostaci muškarca starog između 30 i 40 godina, vrlo dobro očuvanih kostiju, a ruke su bile položene na trbuh. Stopala nisu očuvana, a vrlo je vjerojatno da ih je presjekao neki naknadni ukop (možda ukop groba 71). Uz pokojnikovu kralježnicu nalazio se niz metalnih (vjerojatno legura olova i kositra) praporastih gumba (PN 156, sl. 40, 12 većih primjerka), kakvi su već nađeni dislocirani u okolnom sloju SJ 265. Još dva manja praporasta gumba pronađena su uz desni lakat i lijevu nadlakticu pokojnika (PN 156, sl. 40, 2

quite low, close to the pelvis, while two were located higher, near the chest.

During the removal of bones beneath the right ribs a bronze sheet metal saintly medallion was found with the representation of St. Benedict on the obverse (head), and the cross of St. Benedict on the reverse (tail) (SF 159, Fig. 13); further, a thin-wire metal clasp (SF 165, Fig. 45). While in the case of the clasp, in fact a half of a pair ('a loop'), we can suppose that it did not belong to this man but was rather a part of a destroyed grave, in the case of the medallion it is difficult to make any claims at all. With regard to the position of the find, it is unfortunately unclear whether it belonged to this grave or to an earlier, destroyed one.

Grave 69

Grave 69 is the grave of a man aged around 30-40. It is buried at the height of 202,98-202,94 m along the eastern wall of the lobby, vertically to the direction of the church (the head was to the south). The right arm was bent at the elbow and placed high on the chest, while the left arm, pelvis and leg were cut by a later burial, that is grave 71, dug next to it. A sequence of 17 buttons was found next to the spine as well as another one next to the right thigh (SF 182, Fig. 35). In his right hand he held a bronze cross - pendant attached to an oval sheet metal plaque (SF 185, Fig. 20). A fragment of a small clasp probably made of metal (SF 183) was found in the area of the belly/pelvis, as were scattered beads (SF 184, Fig. 28). There were altogether 10 various beads: 1 bone bead (10-12 mm), 1 dark bead of glass paste (8 mm) and 8 (or 9) medium-size (8 mm) beads of an as yet indeterminate material.

Grave 71

Grave 71 was laid parallel with grave 69 in the same direction and at the same height, but, as has already been said, it nevertheless damaged it during the digging. It can be supposed that so much time had passed between the two burials that the precise position of the earlier grave was not well known any longer (or was it only negligence?). A skeleton of a child between 7 and 10 years of age was found in the grave. The state of the found bones was quite good. The arms were placed along the body and in the area of the belly lay a cross (SF 186, Fig. 16). Twenty very small (around 3 mm) beads (SF 188, Fig. 29) were found in a pile next to the left arm. There were 19 blue ones, made of glass paste, while one was of glass and transparent. Another somewhat larger (around 5,5 mm) transparent glass bead (SF 187, Fig. 30) was found near. A fragment of a twisted wire, similar to the find SF 183 from the grave 69, but somewhat thinner (SF 190), was found on the chest. During the skeleton removal, six very thin gilt metal leaves in the shape of a very closed "C" and a small sheet metal circle with a perforation in the centre (SF 191) were found beneath the ribs. These were obviously decorations sewn onto the clothes of the child, considering that a cloth sample was found with them (S 537).

ANALYSIS OF CHOSEN FINDS

Following is the analysis of chosen finds from the described graves as well as similar finds from the surrounding



Sl. 6 Kutijica s kronicom iz dijecezanske zbirke u Freisingu. Južnonjemački rad iz oko 1700. god. (Prema Steiner, 1984, 182)

Fig. 6 Box with a rosary from the Diocesan collection in Freising. South German work from around 1700 (After Steiner, 1984, 182)

manja primjerka). Na predjelu trbuha pronađeno je pet metalnih kalotastih gumba (PN 157, sl. 41). Tri su se primjerka nalazila nisko, već blizu zdjelice, a dva više, kod prsnog koša.

Pri vađenju kostiju ispod desnih rebara pronađena je brončana limena svetačka medaljica s prikazom lika sv. Benedikta na aversu (licu), te križa sv. Benedikta na reversu (naličju) (PN 159, sl. 13), zatim metalna kopčica od tanke žice (PN 165, sl. 45). Dok za kopčicu, koja je u stvari polovica para ("ušica"), možemo pretpostaviti da nije pripadala ovom pokojniku već je vjerojatnije ostatak nekog uništenog groba, za medaljicu teško možemo bilo što tvrditi. Prema mjestu nalaza, nažalost, nije jasno je li pripadala ovom, ili nekom starijem, uništenom grobu.

Grob 69

Grob 69 je grob muškarca starosti oko 30-40 godina, ukopan je na visini 202,98-202,94 m uz istočni zid predvorja, u smjeru okomitom na crkvu (glava je bila na jugu). Desna ruka bila mu je savijena u laktu i položena visoko na prsa, dok su lijeva ruka, zdjelica i noga presječene novijim ukopom, odnosno grobom 71 ukopanim pored njega. Uz kralježnicu

layers. We can divide them into: coins, devotionals (finds of a religious nature: saintly medallions, crosses and rosaries) and metal parts of clothes. Regarding the latter, these were mostly – like in the case of other, earlier periods – various metal objects, which served for fastening or as parts of decorations. Among comparable finds, the most interesting are buttons and small clasps. Most finds from that group remained unchanged during centuries and as such cannot help us with the dating of the graves. We present them as yet another testimony of their use and, to a degree, of the way they were worn in the observed period.

COINS

Two coins were found in the fills of the observed graves. Neither arrived in the grave together with the buried person, but ended up there either from the soil turned over when the graves were dug or when the soil from the neighbouring layers collapsed into the graves.

A silver denar, minted during the reign of King Matthias II in 1610 (SF 204, Fig. 7), just two years after he became the king of Croatia and Hungary, was found in grave 93 (ossuary). Even though it was half worn, it is clearly visible that it was minted in Kremnica (Kremnitz, Körmöcybanya; mint abbreviation K – B). A drawing of a similar piece, but minted in 1609, was published by E. Unger (Unger 1976, Pl. LIII, nr. 868), but not with such an indented crown as on this piece.

Denars of Matthias II (1608-1619) were also found in SU 144 (SF 033, Fig. 8) and SU 249 (SF 065, Fig. 9), but worn and damaged, with the year of minting not visible. Judging by the inscription on the obverse, SF 033 is similar to the piece from 1612 published by E. Unger (Unger 1976, Pl. LIII, nr. 869), while SF 065 bears a greater resemblance to the piece from 1609 (Unger 1976, Pl. LIII, nr. 868). These are at the same time, after the well-preserved Slavonian *banovac* and two very worn pieces of King Sigismund's (1387-1437) obols, the oldest coin pieces found so far at this site.

A half-worn silver denar minted in 1636 during King Ferdinand II reign, also in Kremnica, was found in the grave 60 (SF 152, Fig. 10). It probably subsequently slipped into the grave from the layer to its south.

An interesting find is also a relatively rare specimen of a well preserved 2-pfennig silver coin of King Ferdinand II, minted in 1624 in Graz, Styria (SF 031, Fig. 11), found relatively high, beneath one of the layers of mortar for brick paving in the southwestern corner of the shrine (SU 140). It was minted only on one side and shows three coats of arms.

One should also mention here the youngest discovered coin dating from the observed period. This is a quite worn bronze specimen of King Charles VI's (1711-1740) thaler (SF 036, Fig. 12), found in the uppermost fill of grave 4, immediately beneath the thick surface layer of construction debris. In the opinion of Dr Ivan Mirnik from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb it was perhaps minted precisely in a Tyrolian mint in Hall. The year of minting is not visible, and it is possible that it was not present in the first place, as

je pronađen niz od 17 metalnih gumba te još jedan uz desnu natkoljenicu (PN 182, sl. 35). U desnoj je ruci držao brončani križ - privjesak pričvršćen za limenu ovalnu pločicu (PN 185, sl. 20). U području trbuha/zdjelice pronađen je ulomak vjerojatno metalne kopčice (PN 183) te razasuta zrnca (PN 184, sl. 28). Bilo je ukupno 10 različitih zrna: 1 koštano zrno (10-12 mm), 1 tamno zrno od staklene paste (8 mm) i 8 (ili 9) srednje velikih (8 mm) zrna od zasad nejasnog materijala.

Grob 71

Grob 71 bio je položen paralelno uz grob 69 u istom smjeru i na istoj razini, ali ga je ipak, kako je već navedeno, prilikom ukopa ošteti. Može se pretpostaviti kako je između dva ukopa prošlo već toliko vremena da točna pozicija starijeg groba nije bila više dobro poznata (ili je samo bila riječ o nemaru?). U grobu je pronađen kostur djeteta staroga između 7 i 10 godina. Kostiju su pronađene u dosta dobrom stanju. Ruke su bile položene uz tijelo, a na predjelu trbuha ležao je križ (PN 186, sl. 16). Pored lijeve ruke na hrpici je pronađeno 20 vrlo sitnih (oko 3 mm) zrna (PN 188, sl. 29). Njih 19 je bilo plave boje, izrađenih od staklene paste, a jedno je bilo stakleno, prozirno. U blizini je pronađeno još jedno nešto veće (oko 5,5 mm) stakleno prozirno zrno (PN 187, sl. 30). Na prsima je pronađen ulomak uvijene žice, slične nalazu PN 183 iz groba 69, ali nešto tanje (PN 190). Pri vađenju kostura pronađeno je ispod rebara šest vrlo tankih pozlaćenih metalnih listića u obliku jako zatvorenog "C" te mali limeni kružić s rupicom u sredini (PN 191). Očito je riječ o ukrasima prišivenim na odjeću djeteta, jer je uz njih pronađen i uzorak tkanine (U 537).

ANALIZA ODABRANIH NALAZA

Slijedi obrada odabranih nalaza iz opisanih grobova te njima sličnih nalaza iz okolnih slojeva. Podijeliti ih možemo na: novce, devocionalije (nalaze nabožnog značaja: svetačke medaljice, križice i krunice) te metalne dijelove odjeće. Kod potonjih je uglavnom riječ - kao i u drugim, starijim razdobljima - o raznim metalnim predmetima koji su služili za zakapčanje te o dijelovima ukrasa. Među usporedivim nalazima najzanimljiviji su gumbi i kopčice. Većina nalaza iz te skupine traje nepromijenjena tijekom stoljeća pa nam, nažalost, ne pomažu pri datiranju grobova. Donosimo ih kao još jedno svjedočanstvo njihove uporabe i, donekle, načina nošenja u promatrano vrijeme.

NOVCI

U zapunama promatranih grobova pronađena su dva primjerka kovana novca. Niti jedan od njih nije u grob dospio zajedno s pokojnikom, već su u njima završili ili iz prekopane zemlje kod ukopa grobova, ili urušavanjem zemlje u grobove iz susjednih slojeva.

U grobu 93 (kosturnici) pronađen je srebrni denar, kovan za kralja Matije II. godine 1610. (PN 204, sl. 7), samo dvije godine nakon što je postao hrvatsko-ugarskim kraljem. Iako je napola izlizan, dobro je vidljivo da je kovan u Kremnici (Kremnitz, Körmöcybánya; sigle kovnice K - B). Crtež sličnoga primjerka, ali kovanog 1609. god., objavio je E. Unger (Unger 1976, T. LIII, br. 868), no ne s tako razvedenom krunom kao kod ovoga primjerka.

Primjerci denara Matije II. (1608.-1619.) pronađeni su još

similar cases have already been registered.¹⁰ All these coins are of the same size, around 15 mm in diameter (depending also on the degree of wearing)

The only thing we can conclude from what was mentioned, with a certain degree of caution, is that the coins found in the graves represent a *terminus post quem* for the creation of the tomb, that is, of the individual grave burials. Naturally, they themselves cannot date the graves into the first half or the middle of the 17th century.

SAINTLY MEDALLIONS

Only few saintly medallions have been found at the site so far, two of which in the graves.

The first one was found in grave 63. It was made of a thin bronze or copper sheet (SF 159, Fig. 13). The obverse (head) depicts the entire figure of St. Benedict in a habit, holding a bishop's staff in his right hand and in his left a jar with a snake above. The sun's rays radiate behind his head. Around the representation of the saint, in the interior of the astragalus, starting from bottom left, runs a partly readable inscription, which probably read: S.(ANCTE) BENEDICTE ORA PRO NOBIS ("Saint Benedict, pray for us").

On the reverse (tail) is the so-called *Benedict's cross* with an inscribed inscription consisting of the following initials¹¹:

- vertically on the cross is written: C.S.S.M.L. (CRUX SACRA SIT MIHI LUX, 'May the Holy Cross be my light');
- horizontally on the cross: N.D.S.M.D. (NON DRACO SIT MIHI DUX, 'Let not satan be my guide');
- letters between the cross' arms: C.S.P.B. (CRUX SANCTI PATRIS BENEDICTI, 'Cross of the holy father Benedict');
- inscription around the cross: V.R.S.N.S.M.V.S.M.Q.L.I.V. B. (VADE RETRO SATANA, NUNQUAM SUADE MIHI VANA, SUNT MALA QUAE LIBAS, IPSE VENENA BIBAS, 'Be gone, satan, suggest not to me what is vain, what you proffer me is evil, drink yourself your poison).

The height of the medal with the loop is 28 mm, the width is 21 mm.

A similar medallion was also found in the mixed layer in the southern lobby/chapel SU 239 (SF 057, Fig. 14). It almost certainly (like some other finds from layers 239 and 265) arrived into this layer from some overturned grave. This bears testimony to the density - spatial as much as temporal - of burial in the area. Unlike the previous one, the inscription on the head of this medallion reads: CR(U)X. S.(ANCTI) P.(ATRIS) BENEDICTI ("Cross of the holy father Benedict"). Its dimensions are around 30 x 22 mm.

10 Here I would like to thank Dr Ivan Mirnik, scientific advisor from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, for numerous instructions, advices, expert assessments, which made my work considerably easier.

11 The inscriptions were clarified by Ferdinand Leo Kunze in his work *Systematik der Weihmünzen. Eine ergänzende Studie für alle Freunde der Numismatik*. Raab/Győr, 1885 (see also: Knez 2001, 9-10). In Croatian literature there are various translations into Croatian; in this work we used the translation by Dr Anđelko Badurina from the catalogue of crosses of the Croatian History Museum (Pavičić 1994, 44).

i u SJ 144 (PN 033, sl. 8) i SJ 249 (PN 065, sl. 9), ali izlizani i oštećeni, bez vidljivih godina kovanja. Sudeći prema natpisu na aversu, PN 033 je sličan primjerku iz 1612. god. kojeg je objavio E. Unger (Unger 1976, T. LIII, br. 869), dok je PN 065 sličniji primjerku iz 1609. god. (Unger 1976, T. LIII, br. 868). To su ujedno, nakon dobro očuvana slavenskog banovca i dva vrlo izlizana primjerka obola kralja Žigmunda (1387.-1437.), najstariji primjerci novca do sada pronađeni na ovome lokalitetu.

U grobu 60 pronađen je srebrni, poluizlizani denar, kovan za kralja Ferdinanda II. godine 1636., također u Kremnici (PN 152, sl. 10). Vjerojatno je naknadno spuznuo u grob iz sloja južno od njega.

Zanimljiv je i relativno rijedak primjerak dobro očuvanog srebrnog novca od 2 pfeninga kralja Ferdinanda II, iskovanoga 1624. god. u Grazu, u Štajerskoj (PN 031, sl. 11), pronađenog relativno visoko, ispod jednog od slojeva žbuke za popločenje opekam u jugozapadnom kutu svetišta (SJ 140). Kovan je samo s jedne strane i prikazuje tri grba.

Ovdje valja spomenuti i najmlađi pronađeni novac koji potječe iz promatranog razdoblja. To je dosta izlizani brončani primjerak talira kralja Karla VI. (1711.-1740.) (PN 036, sl. 12), koji je nađen u najvišoj zapuni groba 4, odmah ispod debelog površinskog sloja šute. Prema mišljenju dr. Ivana Mirkovca iz AMZ-a, možda je bio kovan upravo u tirolskoj kovnici Hall. Ne vidi se godina kovanja, a moguće je da niti nije imao otisnutu godinu, jer je bilo i takvih primjera.¹⁰ Svi su ti novci iste veličine, promjera oko 15 mm (ovisno i o izlizanosti).

Jedino što iz navedenoga možemo zaključiti, uz određenu mjeru opreza, jest da novci pronađeni u grobovima predstavljaju *terminus post quem* za nastanak grobnice, odnosno pojedinih grobnih ukopa. Naravno, oni sami za sebe ne mogu datirati grobove u prvu polovicu, odnosno sredinu 17. st.

SVETAČKE MEDALJICE

Na lokalitetu je dosad pronađeno tek nekoliko svetačkih medaljica, od toga dvije u grobovima.

Prva je pronađena u grobu 63. Izrađena je od tankog brončanog ili bakrenog lima (PN 159, sl. 13). Na aversu (licu) je prikazana cijela figura sv. Benedikta u habitu kako u desnoj ruci drži biskupski štap, a u lijevoj vrč sa zmijom iznad. Iza glave mu se šire sunčeve zrake. Uokolo svečeva prikaza, s unutarnje strane astragala, počevši dolje lijevo, teče djelomično čitak natpis koji je vjerojatno glasio: S.(ANCTE) BENEDICTE ORA PRO NOBIS („Sveti Benedikte, moli za nas”).

Na reversu (naličju) se nalazi tzv. *Benediktov križ* s upisanim natpisom koji se sastoji od inicijala¹¹:

- okomito na križu piše: C.S.S.M.L. (CRUX SACRA SIT MIHI LUX, „Sveti križ nek mi bude svjetlo”);
- vodoravno na križu: N.D.S.M.D. (NON DRACO SIT

10 Na ovome se mjestu zahvaljujem dr. Ivanu Mirkovcu, muzejskom savjetniku iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu, za brojne naputke, savjete, ekspertize koje su mi uvelike olakšale rad.

11 Natpise je rastumačio Ferdinand Leo Kuncze u radu *Systematik der Weihmünzen. Eine ergänzende Studie für alle Freunde der Numismatik*. Raab/Győr, 1885. (vidjeti i: Knez 2001, 9-10). U hrvatskoj se literaturi može naći različitih prijevoda na hrvatski, u ovome radu preuzet je prijevod dr. Anđelke Badurine iz kataloga križeva Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja (Pavičić 1994, 44).

Such and similar medallions of St. Benedict appear in the church cemeteries of central Europe already in the 15th cent. (Knez 2001, 37), but become more frequent from the middle of the 17th century – the time of the plague.¹² Judging by the reviewed literature¹³, our specimens were most probably produced at the beginning of the 18th century.

St. Benedict's medallions¹⁴ were massively produced from the second half of the 17th century. Their point of origin was, apparently, Metten monastery near Straubing. With the help of the so-called *St. Benedict's medallions* or *Benedict's pfennig* people tried to safeguard their health. Also, in order to dispel evil spirits from the dying person, the so-called *Benedict's bells* were tolled (Schauber, Schindler 1995, 347). A written entry from 1861 testifies that such a medallion “wards off all spells, cures animals from epidemic diseases, destroys poison, cures the plague, kidney stone, darting pain, epilepsy, blood throwing, protects from fire and lightning, facilitates delivery and repels any action by the Devil”.¹⁵

Particularly interesting and rare is the medallion (SF 029, Fig. 15) found in grave 2, covered with a medieval slab. The deceased was probably buried holding it in his hands. It is made of bronze, in Rome, as testified by the inscription ROMA in the section as the mark of the mint. Dr. Ivan Mirkovic from the Zagreb Archaeological Museum thinks that it was not the work of the most skilled Roman craftsmen, but that it is nevertheless a quality product with numerous details. The height of the medallion with the loop is 42 mm and the width 28 mm.

The head shows Carlo Borromeo¹⁶ (S. CAR) in prayer before a crucifix. The tail is divided into two equal parts. St. Thomas Aquinas¹⁷ (S. TOM D ACVI), possibly with a pigeon, is depicted in the lower part, while Our Lady of the Rosary with Jesus in her lap is represented in the upper. Both are holding a rosary with a cross in their hands. In the basic older professional literature (Kuncze 1885, 310-311, 382-383) not a single specimen of a medallion with a combination of these two saints is mentioned.

12 Several similar pieces were published in the literature, e.g. in: Kloster, Archäologie im Klösterreich, (exhibition catalogue), Altenburg, 2000, p. 305, cat. nr. 28.47.

13 For example: Brauneck 1979; Dobrinčić 2001; Knez 2001; Kuncze 1885; *Fundort Kloster* 2000.

14 This is Benedict of Nursia (*around 480 in Nursia, present-day Norcia in Umbria - †547 in Montecassino). Around 529 he founded the monastery in Montecassino near Naples, where under the motto *Ora et labora* he set down the rules of the Benedictine order (Regula Benedicti), the oldest order in the West. This order set the foundations for western medieval culture.

15 Taken from: Marie Andree-Eysn: *Volkskundliches aus dem bayrisch-österreichischen Alpengebiet*. Braunschweig 1910, 126. It is quoted there from a document from 1861, by the well-known Benedictine writer dom Prosper-Louis-Pascal Guéranger (1805-1875).

16 Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) is a protector against the plague. Artists depict him in cardinal's purple holding a cross, with a rope around his neck; comforting those affected by the plague, with arrows and a skull and crossbones (symbols of epidemics)

17 Thomas Aquinas (around 1225-1274) was a famous Dominican professor at Sorbonne and the founder of the Thomistic school in philosophy. He is represented with various attributes, primarily intended to point out his numerous virtues. He is represented as a Dominican with a bright star on the chest, with a book and a quill for writing, a pigeon speaking into his ear or taking off from his mouth, with a lily, a gem; in prayer before a crucifix.

- MIHI DUX, „Nek' mi sotona ne bude vođa”);
- slova između krakova križa: C.S.P.B. (CRUX SANCTI PATRIS BENEDICTI, „Križ Svetoga oca Benedikta”);
 - natpis uokolo križa: V.R.S.N.S.M.V.S.M.Q.L.I.V.B. (VADE RETRO SATANA, NUNQUAM SUADE MIHI VANA, SUNT MALA QUAE LIBAS, IPSE VENENA BIBAS, „Odlazi, sotono, nikad mi ne savjetuj što je isprazno, zlo je što mi pružaš, sam pij svoj otrov”).

Visina medaljice s ušicom je 28 mm, širina 21 mm.

Slična medaljica pronađena je i u izmiješanom sloju u južnom predvorju/kapeli SJ 239 (PN 057, sl. 14). Gotovo je sigurno (kao i neki drugi nalazi iz slojeva 239 i 265) u ovaj sloj dospjela iz nekog prekopanog groba. To nam svjedoči o gustoći - prostornoj kao i vremenskoj - ukapanja na tome prostoru. Za razliku od prethodne, ova medaljica na licu ima natpis: CR(U)X. S.(ANCTI) P.(ATRIS) BENEDICTI („Križ Svetoga oca Benedikta”). Dimenzije su joj oko 30 x 22 mm.

Ovakve i slične medaljice sv. Benedikta javljaju se u crkvenim grobljima srednje Europe već u 15. st. (Knez 2001, 37), no češće su od sredine 17. st. - vremena kuge.¹² Sudeći prema pregledanoj literaturi¹³, naši su primjerci najvjerojatnije izrađeni početkom 18. st.

Medalje sv. Benedikta¹⁴ masovno su se izrađivale od druge polovice 17. st. Ishodište im je, očito, samostan Metten kod Straubinga. Puk je pomoću tzv. *Benediktovih medaljica* ili *Benediktova pfeninga* nastojao osigurati zdravlje. Također se, radi rastjerivanja zlih duhova od umirućeg, zvonilo tzv. *Benediktovim zvoncima* (Schauber, Schindler 1995, 347). Jedan zapis iz godine 1861. svjedoči da takva medaljica „odbija sve čarolije, oslobađa životinje od epidemija, uništava otrov, liječi od kuge, kamenaca, probadanja, padavice, bacanja krvi, štiti od ognja i munje, pomaže ženama za lakši porod i potire svako Vragovo djelovanje”.¹⁵

Osobito je zanimljiva i rijetka medaljica (PN 029, sl. 15) koja je pronađena u grobu 2, pokrivenu srednjovjekovnom pločom. Vjerojatno je pokojnik pokopan s njom u rukama. Izrađena je od bronce, u Rimu, o čemu svjedoči natpis ROMA u odsječku kao oznaka kovnice. Dr. Ivan Mirnik iz zagrebačkog Arheološkog muzeja smatra da to nije rad najvršnjih rimskih majstora, no ipak je riječ o kvalitetnom izratku s mnogo detalja. Visina medalje s ušicom je 42 i širina 28 mm.

Na licu je prikazan sv. Karlo Boromejski¹⁶ (S. CAR) kako

In recent history, according to ethnological knowledge, it appears that these three saints – Benedict of Nursia, Carlo Borromeo and Thomas Aquinas – did not have a significant repercussion on Croatian folk devoutness – which looks upon saints primarily as patrons and helpers. In ethnological journals and sources that altogether cover the period from approximately the second half of the 19th century until today (particularly *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena (Proceedings on folk life and custom of Southern Slavs)* and *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu (Bulletin of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina)* and the archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb) and on the basis of individual contemporary ethnological research there are only two sites where veneration of St. Thomas Aquinas is documented: as the patron of education in Đurdanci near Đakovo and as the patron of youth in Sarajlije near Tomislavgrad in Herzegovina, but there are no records regarding the forms of that veneration.

According to these sources, it seems that in our culture St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Carlo Borromeo did not have a significant impact on folk devoutness (Belaj M. 2006).¹⁸ The medallion with their images was most probably brought to Prozorje by a paroch from his pilgrimage, and it certainly represents a rarity.

The number of medallions and crosses of St. Benedict, on the other hand, raises other questions. His cult was spread by the Jesuits through southern German lands, and it soon spread into Slovenia (which, in the observed period, we can likewise consider a German land in the political sense). A confirmation of his veneration in the folk (and not only among the higher classes or the clergy) and St. Benedict's popularity in general in neighbouring northeastern Slovenia, is presented by D. Knez (2001, 29, with the literature). Peasants from that area were bringing a *root for the benediction of cows* to the capuchins in Varaždin for blessing.

Still, the quantity of medals and crosses of St. Benedict in Croatia, as considerable as it may seem, cannot be compared with the known body of finds in Slovenia, where, for instance, in the National Museum, the number of St. Benedict's medallions is second only to those of Mary. It seems probable that the Jesuits who were spreading the cult of St. Benedict across south German lands were doing the same in Slovenia as well. In northern Croatia, the Jesuits (Varaždin, Zagreb, Požega, Osijek) were organizationally connected, like Ljubljana, with Vienna. Even so, the veneration of St. Benedict did not spread that much in this area or at least it did not survive.

The Jesuits in Croatia, as a relatively young order, had their monasteries in several larger towns that were cultural and educational centres, but in the territory between the Sava, Drava, Danube and Sutla rivers – from Klanjec to Ilok, the Franciscans were active in more than twenty towns and numerous villages (where they were entrusted with the parish pastoral as well), and with their religious activity they influ-

12 Ima više sličnih primjeraka objavljenih u literaturi, primjerice, u: Fundort Kloster, Archäologie im Klösterreich, (katalog izložbe), Altenburg, 2000, str. 305, kat. br. 28.47.

13 Primjerice: Brauneck 1979; Dobričić 2001; Knez 2001; Kuncze 1885; *Fundort Kloster* 2000.

14 Riječ je o Benediktu Nursijskome (*oko 480. u Nursiji, današnja Norcia u Umbriji – †547. u Montecassinu). Oko godine 529. osnovao je samostan u Montecassinu kod Napulja, gdje je pod geslom Ora et labora postavio pravila benediktinskoga reda (Regula Benedicti), najstarijega reda na Zapadu. Taj je red postavio temelje zapadnjačkoj srednjovjekovnoj kulturi.

15 Preuzeto iz: Marie Andree-Eysn: Volkskundliches aus dem bayrisch-österreichischen Alpengebiet. Braunschweig 1910, 126. Tamo je navod prema nekome spisu iz god. 1861. poznatog benediktinskoga pisca dom Prospera-Louisa-Pascala Guérangera (1805-1875).

16 Karlo Boromejski (1538.-1584.) zaštitnik je od kuge. Umjetnici ga prikazuju u kardinalskom purpuru kako drži križ, s užetom oko vrata; kako tješi oboljele od kuge, sa strjelicama i mrtvačkom glavom (simboli epidemija).

18 In this paper are listed numerous limitations and flaws of the material from the sources in the scope of research on patron saints in Croatian folk devoutness, owing to which numerous data about saints (including the mentioned three) remained unrecorded (Belaj M. 2006, 193-201).

se moli pred raspelom. Naličje je podijeljeno na dva jednaka dijela. U donjem je dijelu prikazan sv. Toma Akvinski¹⁷ (S. TOM D ACVI), možda s golubom, a u gornjem Gospa od Ružarija s Isusom u krilu. Oboje drže u ruci po krunicu s križem. U osnovnoj starijoj stručnoj literaturi (Kuncze 1885, 310-311, 382-383) ne navodi se niti jedan primjerak medaljice s kombinacijom ovih dvaju svetaca.

U novijoj povijesti, prema etnološkim saznanjima, čini se da ova tri sveca – Benedikt Nursijski, Karlo Boromejski i Toma Akvinski – nisu imala nekog odraza u hrvatskoj pučkoj pobožnosti – pobožnosti koja u svecima u prvom redu vidi zaštitnike i pomoćnike. Naime, u etnološkim časopisima i izvorima koji sveukupno pokrivaju razdoblje negdje od druge polovice 19. st. do danas (posebice *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena* i *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Sarajevo* te arhivi Odsjeka za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu) te prema pojedinačnim suvremenim etnološkim istraživanjima u samo dva lokaliteta bilježi se štovanje sv. Tome Akvinskog: kao zaštitnika školstva u Đurđancima kod Đakova i kao zaštitnika mladeži u Sarajlijama kod Tomislavgrada u Hercegovini, a o oblicima te pobožnosti nema zapisa. Prema ovim izvorima, čini se da kod nas sv. Toma Akvinski i sv. Karlo Boromejski nisu imali većega odjeka u pučkoj religioznosti (Belaj M. 2006).¹⁸ Najvjerojatnije je medaljicu s njihovim prikazima u Prozorje donio koji od župnika sa svojega hodočašća i svakako je raritet.

Brojnost medaljica i križeva sv. Benedikta, pak, otvara druga pitanja. Njegov su kult širili isusovci po južnonjemačkim zemljama, a ubrzo se proširio i na Sloveniju (koju, u promatranu vrijeme, također možemo u političkom smislu promatrati kao njemačku zemlju). Potvrdu za njegovo štovanje od strane puka (a ne samo viših slojeva ili redovnika) i uopće o popularnosti sv. Benedikta u susjednoj sjeveroistočnoj Sloveniji, donosi D. Knez (2001, 29, s literaturom). Iz tog su kraja, naime, seljaci nosili *korijen za blagoslivljanje krava* na blagoslov kapucinima u Varaždin.

No količina medalja i križeva sv. Benedikta u Hrvatskoj, koliko god se činila znatnom, ne može se usporediti s poznatim fondom u Sloveniji, gdje je, primjerice, u Narodnom muzeju broj medaljica sv. Benedikta najbrojniji, osim Marijinih. Vjerojatnim se čini da su isusovci koji su širili kult sv. Benedikta po južnonjemačkim zemljama to činili i u Sloveniji. U sjevernoj su Hrvatskoj isusovci (Varaždin, Zagreb, Požega, Osijek) bili organizacijski povezani, kao i Ljubljana, s Bečom. Pa ipak se štovanje sv. Benedikta ovim područjem nije tako proširilo ili se barem nije održalo. Isusovci su, naime, kao relativno mladi red, u Hrvatskoj imali svoje samosta-

enced a considerably larger population. Benedict's medallions obviously flooded our market from the northwest, from the German speaking territory, without being accompanied by any particular beliefs.

CROSSES-PENDANT

Eight pendants have been found in the excavations at Martin Breg so far, but only three pieces were discovered within graves. Three were found in mixed layers, in which they almost certainly arrived through the digging of the earlier graves, while a further two were found in the construction debris of the northern sacristy.

Four crosses belong to the same type by virtue of their shape. This is the so-called Caravaca-cross (named after the town of Caravaca de la Cruz in the province of Murcia), also known as the Loreto or St. Benedict's cross.¹⁹ The shape of this cross is explained by a legend according to which the Byzantine empress Helen ("the Crusader") arranged the fragments of the wood of the cross she found in Jerusalem in the shape with two bars. However, it is more probable that the upper bar was created from the plate with the inscription INRI. The cross with two bars was from very early on the symbol of Jerusalem's patriarch, and the other eastern bishops followed suit.

One of the Caravaca crosses was found in grave 71, in the belly area (SF 186, Fig. 16). It was made of somewhat poorer alloy and its lower part was slightly bent to the side. The ring on which the cross was suspended was also preserved. A similar cross was found in layer SU 265 (SF 106, Fig. 17), while another cross from the same layer was made from a first-class alloy and excellently cast (SF 079, Fig. 18). Consequently, the letters on it are the easiest to read.

The discovered Caravaca crosses were, like the new ones, of the same size: around 58 mm high and around 28 mm wide (the wider bar). However, all were obviously used for a long time so they are considerably worn (particularly the corners of the bars and the loop) or even broken. Thus, it can be seen that around 1 mm of the loop of cross SF 186 was worn, while the loop of cross SF 079 broke and around 2-3 mm are missing

17 Toma Akvinski (oko 1225.–1274.) poznati je dominikanski profesor na Sorboni i osnivač tomističkog smjera u filozofiji. Prikazuju ga s najrazličitijim atributima, prije svega da bi ukazali na njegove brojne krijevnosti. Prikazuju ga kao dominikanca sa sjajnom zvijezdom na prsima, s knjigom i perom za pisanje, s golubom koji mu govori na uho ili mu polijeće s usta, s ljljanom, s dragim kamenom; kako moli pred raspelom.

18 U navedenu su radu naznačena brojna ograničenja i nedostaci građe iz izvora u okviru istraživanja svetaca zaštitnika u hrvatskoj pučkoj pobožnosti, zbog čega su mnogi podaci o svecima (uključeno i o spomenutoj trojici) ostali nepribilježeni (Belaj M. 2006, 193-201).

19 Legend has it that in the 13th century, during the Reconquest, a miracle occurred before the eyes of the Moorish king Zeit-Abu-Zeit (later Alfonso X "the Wise"). He asked an arrested missionary, who preached the gospel to the Arabs, to show him how he serves mass. He even sent an emissary to Christian Cuenca to fetch whatever was necessary for the mass. The emissary forgot to bring a cross. But the missionary, in his elation, did not notice that there was no cross on the altar and began the service. However, when he noticed that the cross was missing, he told the king that he could not continue as, alas, there was no cross. At that moment the king saw two angels placing the cross on the altar and he asked the missionary: is this it? The missionary thanked God and finished the mass, while the king, together with his entire family and everyone present, converted to Christianity and baptized. This was, the legend says, what is today the famous cross from Caravaca. This original contains, supposedly, a fragment of wood from Jesus' cross (*lignum Crucis*). It became very famous, so it was spread by means of numerous copies. Such crosses spread in the 16th cent. through southern Germany, often with three bars, usually as protection from the plague or bad weather. In 1988 in Schwarzenberg such a cross replaced an earlier one, and people, on account of its three bars, called it a "plague-famine-war cross". Incidentally, this is a frequent shape of a cross in the East, and the Lorraine cross also has the same shape.

ne u nekoliko većih gradova koji su bili kulturna i prosvjetna središta, no na području međurječja Save, Drave, Dunava i Sutle - od Klanjca do Iloka, djelovali su franjevci u više od dvadeset gradova i u brojnim selima (gdje im je bio povjeren i župni pastoral), te su svojom vjerskom aktivnošću utjecali na znatno brojniju populaciju. Benediktove su medaljice očito preplavile naše tržište sa sjeverozapada, iz njemačkog govornog područja, a da ih nisu pratila neka posebna vjerovanja.

KRIŽEVI - PRIVJESCI

U dosadašnjim istraživanjima na Martin Bregu je pronađeno i osam križića, no samo su tri primjerka pronađena u grobovima. Tri su pronađena u izmiješanim slojevima u koje su gotovo sigurno došli prekopavanjem starijih grobova, a još su dva križića pronađena u štiti sjeverne sakristije.

Četiri križića svojim oblikom pripadaju istom tipu. Riječ je o tzv. Caravaca-križu (nazvan po mjestu Caravaca de la Cruz, provincija Murcia), zvanu još i loretski ili Benediktov križ.¹⁹ Oblik toga križa tumači se legendom prema kojoj je bizantska carica Jelena („Križarica“) dala, navodno, dijelu križeva drva kojega je našla u Jeruzalemu, oblik s dvjema prečkama. No vjerojatnije je da je gornja prečka nastala iz ploče s natpisom INRI. Već je rano jeruzalemski patrijarh imao kao svoj znak križ s dvjema prečkama, a za njime su se povelili i drugi istočni biskupi.

Jedan od Caravaca-križeva pronađen je u grobu 71, na predjelu trbuha (PN 186, sl. 16). Izrađen je od nešto lošije legure i donji mu je kraj bio lagano svijen u stranu. Očuvana je i alkica kojom je križić bio obješen. Sličan je križić pronađen u sloju SJ 265 (PN 106, sl. 17), dok je drugi križić iz istog sloja izrađen od najkvalitetnije legure i najbolje odliven (PN 079, sl. 18). Stoga se i najbolje mogu pročitati slova na njemu.

Pronađeni Caravaca-križevi bili su, kao novi, iste veličine: visoki oko 58 mm, a široki (duža prečka) oko 28 mm. No očito su svi bili dugo u uporabi, pa su znatnije izlizani (osobito uglovi prečki i ušica) ili čak polomljeni. Tako je vidljivo da je križu PN 186 izlizano oko 1 mm ušice, dok je križu PN 079 ušica bila puknula, te nedostaje oko 2-3 mm (kasnije je na križu probušena druga rupica, nešto niže od originalne). Na svima se nalazi reljefni korpus. Pregledana literatura donosi dosta sličnih križeva, različitih veličina. Uglavnom su veći od naših, a Kristov prikaz je ugraviran. Oblikom je, primjerice,

19 Legenda kaže da se u 13. st., u vrijeme Reconquiste, pred očima maurskog kralja Zeit-Abu-Zeita (kasnije Alfons X. „Mudri“) dogodilo čudo. Uhapšenog misionara, koji je Arapima navješćivao evanđelje, zamolio je da pred njim pokaže kako služi misu. Čak je poslao poslanika u kršćansku Cuencu, da donese sve što je potrebno za misu. Ovaj je zaboravio ponijeti križ. Ni misionar u svojem uzbuđenju nije primijetio kako nema križa na oltaru i počeo je služiti misu. No kada je uočio da nema križa, rekao je kralju da ne može nastaviti jer, eto, nema križa. Kralj je u tom trenu vidio dva anđela kako stavljaju križ na oltar, i pitao misionara: je li to to? Ovaj je zahvalio Bogu i priveo misu kralju, a kralj se s cijelom obitelji i svima nazočnima obratio i pokrstio. To je, kaže legenda, bio danas poznati križ iz Caravace. Taj original sadrži, navodno, trijesku iz Isusova križa (*lignum Crucis*). Postao je jako poznat, pa se širio brojnim kopijama. Takvi su se križevi raširili u 16. st. po južnoj Njemačkoj, često s tri prečke, obično kao zaštite od kuge ili nevremana. Godine 1988. je u Schwarzenbergu takav križ nadomjestio neki stariji, a ljudi su ga, zbog tri prečke, nazvali „kužno-gladno-ratni križ“. Inače, to je česti oblik križa na Istoku, a i lotarinški križ ima taj oblik.

(subsequently another hole was perforated on the cross, a bit lower than the original one). All contain a body in relief. The reviewed literature presents many similar crosses, of various sizes. They are mostly bigger than ours, while the representation of Christ is engraved. Similar in terms of shape, for instance, is a cross of St. Benedict in the Croatian History Museum (Pavičić 1994, 82, cat. Nr. 72), dated in the 18th-19th cent., with the remark that similar crosses are dated starting with the 17th century.

The fourth Caravaca cross is approximately half the size (31 x 16 mm) and only by virtue of its shape does it belong to this type of cross (SF 168 and 174, Fig. 19). At the same time, the small dimensions are not surprising if one knows its function – it was suspended on a rosary discovered in grave 60. More will be said about it later on in this text. A ring running through the loop was also preserved.

Another relief cross, attached to a thin oval sheet metal plaque (SF 185, Fig. 20) was found in the right hand of the man buried in grave 69. The cross and the plaque differ with regard to size (cross: 35 x 21, plaque: 34 x 27 mm). It appears that the cross was subsequently soldered to the plaque and that in this way it imitated a medallion – perhaps a more modern, i.e. valued and desired object at the time.

Another two similar crosses-pendants were found at Martin Breg. In the already mentioned layer SU 239 in the southern lobby a fragment of a very worn cross-pendant was found, made of cast bronze, with no preserved lower part (SF 055, Fig. 21). The dimensions of the preserved fragment are: 22 x 16 mm. Its loop is broken, the plaque with the incised ‘‘INRI’’ inscription is visible. Around Christ’s head rays are visible, while the plastically shaped body is made quite subtly, and it was probably the work of a good workshop. The cross bar appears to have ended in the shape of a clover.

A cross of the same type, complete but much more worn and – it appears – quite badly cast, was found in the layer of construction debris in the northern sacristy (SF 129, Fig. 22). That layer (SU 028) lay immediately below a ten-centimetre thick layer of deposited humus. The size of this piece was 33 x 15 mm. An identical cross was found in a grave in Klostermarienberg (Fundort Kloster, 300, 301, cat. Nr. 28.27, with an image). Its height is 33 mm. It is dated in the 18th century. A similar cross is also kept in the Croatian History Museum, found in Novi Banovci, measuring 33 x 11 mm. It is dated somewhat more cautiously, in the 17th-18th centuries (Pavičić 1994, 79, cat. nr. 63).

Another interesting cross-pendant was found in the mentioned layer of construction debris in the northern sacristy (SU 028), so we present it here as well. The cross is thick, made of iron, of good quality and relatively well preserved, with representations on both sides (SF 130, Fig. 23). The front side depicts the crucified Jesus with rays around the head, an ‘‘INRI’’ plaque and an *Adam’s skull* with two crossed bones under the legs, which is a symbol of the Crucifix at Golgotha.²⁰ On the

20 Golgotha means ‘‘a skull’’ in translation. According to a legend, Jesus’ cross was driven into the soil above Adam’s grave, which symbolizes the victory of eternal life over the first death of man.

sličan križ sv. Benedikta u Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju (Pavičić 1994, 82, kat. br. 72), datiran u 18.-19. st., uz napomenu da se slični križevi datiraju već od 17. st.

Četvrti Caravaca-križić je otprilike upola manjih dimenzija (31 x 16 mm) te samo svojim oblikom pripada ovom tipu križeva (PN 168 i 174, sl. 19). Pritom, male dimenzije ne čude ako znamo njegovu funkciju - bio je obješen o krunicu pronađenu u grobu 60. O njemu će još biti govora u ovom tekstu. Očuvana je i alkica provučena kroz ušicu.

U desnoj ruci pokojnika iz groba 69 pronađen je još jedan reljefni križić koji je bio pričvršćen na tanku limenu ovalnu pločicu (PN 185, sl. 20). Križ i pločica razlikuju se u dimenzijama (križić: 35 x 21, pločica: 34 x 27 mm). Čini se da je križić bio naknadno zalemljen na pločicu te da je na taj način oponašao medaljicu - možda u to doba moderniji odnosno cjenjeniji i poželjniji predmet.

Još su dva slična križića-privjeska pronađena na Martin Bregu. U već spominjanom sloju SJ 239 u južnom predvorju pronađen je i ulomak vrlo izlizanog križića-privjeska, izrađen od lijevane bronce, bez očuvana donjeg dijela (PN 055, sl. 21). Dimenzije očuvana ulomka su: 22 x 16 mm. Ušica mu je polomljena, vidljiva je pločica s urezanim "INRI" natpisom. Oko Kristove glave su vidljive zrake, a plastično oblikovani korpus izrađen je prilično suptilno, vjerojatno je to bio rad dobre radionice. Izgleda da je prečka križa završavala djetelinasto.

Križić istog tipa, cjelovit ali još mnogo izlizaniji i - čini se - prilično loše izliven, pronađen je i u sloju šute u sjevernoj sakristiji (PN 129, sl. 22). Taj se sloj (SJ 028) nalazio odmah ispod desetak centimetara debelog nanesenog humusnog sloja. Ovaj je primjerak veličine 33 x 15 mm. Identičan je križić pronađen u jednome grobu u Klostermarienbergu (Fundort Kloster, 300, 301 kat. nr. 28.27, sa slikom). Visina mu iznosi 33 mm. Datiran je u 18. st. U Hrvatskom povijesnom muzeju također se čuva sličan križ, pronađen u Novim Banovcima, veličine 33 x 11 mm. Datiran je nešto opreznije, u 17.-18. st. (Pavičić 1994, 79, kat. br. 63).

U navedenom sloju šute u sjevernoj sakristiji (SJ 028) pronađen je još jedan zanimljiv križić-privjesak, pa i njega ovom prigodom donosimo. Križić je debeli, željezni, kvalitetni i relativno dobro očuvani, s prikazima na obje strane (PN 130, sl. 23). Na prednjoj je strani prikazan raspeti Krist sa zrakama oko glave, "INRI" pločicom i *Adamovom lubanjom* s dvjema prekriženim kostima pod nogama, što je simbol Raspeća na Golgoti.²⁰ Na drugoj su strani prikazani simboli Kristove muke (*arma Christi*): trnova kruna, različiti bičevi, koplje i motka s nataknutom spužvom. Križić je veličine 41 x 19 mm i s obje je strane uokviren bordurom. Ušica mu je okomita na plohu križa.

Križići su imali u kužnim godinama i zaštitnu ulogu, pa su se osobito u razdobljima kasnog srednjeg vijeka te u 17. i na početku 18. st. više izrađivali. Pritom su neki tipološki oblici bili cjenjeniji, pa su se duže i održavali, među kojima je

other side are depicted the symbols of Christ's passion (*arma Christi*): a crown of thorns, various scourges, a spear and a pole with a sponge attached on top. The cross measures 41 x 19 mm and its frame was bordered on both sides. Its loop lies vertically to the surface of the cross.

During the years of the plague, crosses also fulfilled a protective role, so particularly during the late Middle Ages and in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century they were produced in larger numbers. Certain typological shapes were valued more highly and, consequently, lasted longer, among them also the mentioned protective cross of St. Benedict. It is therefore not surprising that they are found among the Benedictines in Mariazell (Horány 2004, 360), and our finds also form part of that group of protective or rosary crosses.

ROSARY BEADS

It is obvious from the description of the grave assemblages that the larger or smaller beads were found in graves 42 (Fig. 24), 60 (Fig. 25), 45 (Fig. 26), 58 (Fig. 27), 69 (Fig. 28) i 71 (Fig. 29-30). It is interesting that the number of beads is never repeated (in two different graves). A similar situation was also registered at other sites, for example in the recent excavations in Čazma.²¹ At Martin Breg, grave 45 particularly stands out with only five beads beneath the rib bones, which is why it appears that this was only the remainder of a rosary, perhaps even from some earlier grave. A particularly large and rich rosary was found in grave 60, there are larger ones from graves 42 (56 various beads) and 58 (62+5 beads), while in grave 71 were found 20+1 beads and in grave 69 - ten beads.

Yet another rosary was found in the southern lobby area (SF 050, Fig. 31). A rosary consisting of 140 small and 14 large beads of dark (in few cases bluish) glass paste (?) was found at the bottom of a large (around 60 cm in diameter) circular pit, already at quite a shallow depth. It was found outside any context whatsoever, but with a preserved sequence in the largest part. It is obviously, already by virtue of its position (at the height of 203,44 m, the level at which layer SU 265 only begins), the youngest of those observed here, so by its shape it is also somehow closest to present-day rosaries: ten small beads (Hail Mary; diameter around 5 mm) and one large bead (Our Father; diameter around 8 mm) alternate in regular succession. Nevertheless, in contrast to the present-day form, it consists of 14 decades (140 small and 14 large beads were found).

In addition to this rosary, a polyhedral bead was also found in SU 265, with a diameter around 8 mm, of reddish colour, made of glass paste (?) (SF 124, Fig. 32). It is unique at this site, but rosaries with similar beads have been found elsewhere in Croatia, for instance in the mentioned excavations at Čazma.

At the site of Torčec - Cirkvišće, a rosary made of two types of beads was found in the grave of a man aged over 60 (Sekelj Ivančan and Tkalčec, 2003, 9-10, 24, 30, Fig. 23). Six

20 Golgota u prijevodu znači „lubanja”. Prema legendi, Isusov je križ bio zaboden nad Adamovim grobom, što simbolizira pobjedu vječnog života nad prvom smrću čovjeka.

21 I express my sincere thanks for the information about the rosary finds from Čazma to my colleague Ana Azinović Bebek from the Croatian Restoration Institute, Department of Land Archaeology, who is analyzing that material.

i spomenuti Benediktov zaštitni križ. Nije stoga čudno da ih se nađe i u benediktinaca u Mariazellu (Horányi 2004, 360), a u tu skupinu zaštitnih ili kruničnih križića idu i naši nalazi.

ZRNA OD KRUNICA

Iz opisa grobnih cjelina vidljivo je da su veća ili manja zrna pronađena u grobovima 42 (sl. 24), 60 (sl. 25), 45 (sl. 26), 58 (sl. 27), 69 (sl. 28) i 71 (sl. 29-30). Zanimljivo da se broj zrna nijednom ne ponavlja (u dva različita groba). Slična je situacija zabilježena i na drugim lokalitetima, primjerice u nedavnim istraživanjima u Čazmi.²¹ Na Martin Bregu osobito odskače grob 45 sa samo pet zrna ispod kostiju rebara, pa se čini da je riječ samo o ostatku krunice, možda čak i iz nekog starijeg groba. Osobito velika i bogata krunica pronađena je u grobu 60, veće su krunice iz grobova 42 (56 različitih zrna) i 58 (62+5 zrna), dok je u grobu 71 pronađeno 20+1, a u grobu 69 - deset zrna.

Još je jedna krunica pronađena na prostoru južnog predvorja (PN 050, sl. 31). Na dnu velike (promjera oko 60 cm) okrugle jame, otkrivena već dosta plitko, nalazila se krunica od 140 malih i 14 velikih zrna od tamne (poneka od plavkaste) staklene paste (?). Pronađena je izvan bilo kakva konteksta, ali u većem dijelu uredno očuvana niza. Očito je, već po svojem položaju (na visini od 203,44 m, što je razina na kojoj tek počinje sloj SJ 265), najmlađa od razmatranih, pa je i svojim izgledom nekako najbliža današnjim krunicama. Naime, u pravilnom se nizu smjenjuje po deset malih (Zdravomarija; promjera oko 5 mm) i jedno veliko (Očenaš; promjera oko 8 mm) zrno. Ipak, za razliku od današnjih, sastoji se od 14 desetina (pronađeno je 140 malih i 14 velikih zrna).

Osim ove krunice, u SJ 265 pronađeno je i jedno poliedarsko zrno, promjera oko 8 mm, crvenkaste boje, izrađeno od staklene paste (?) (PN 124, sl. 32). Jedinствeno je na ovom nalazištu, no krunice od sličnih zrna pronalazene su i drugdje u Hrvatskoj, primjerice u spomenutim istraživanjima u Čazmi.

Na lokalitetu Torčec - Cirkvišće pronađena je u grobu muškarca starijeg od 60 godina krunica formirana od dviju vrsta zrna (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalcćec 2003, 9-10, 24, 30, sl. 23). Šest zrna Očenaša promjera 9 mm, žuto-bijele boje, slična su našem poliedarskom zrnu, dok su manja, plava, okrugla zrnca Zdravomarija (45 komada, promjera 6 mm) sličnija zrcima "krunice iz jame" (PN 050).²²

Zanimljiva je i različitost zrna, često i u istoj krunici. Sudeći prema materijalu, uglavnom ih možemo podijeliti na staklena zrna, zatim zrna od staklene paste i od metala te, izuzetno, od kosti. Boja im je također promjenljiva, od prozirnih i bijelih do oker, staklenih s malo smeđeg filma, smeđih - sa zelenkastim sjajem, crvenih, tamnoplavih i svijetloplavih do crnih.

S obzirom na njihovu veličinu, raznolikost je još veća, što se može najbolje vidjeti iz Tablice 1 (krunice pronađene u grobovima):

beads of Our Father, 9 mm in diameter, of a yellowish-white colour, are similar to our polyhedral bead, while the smaller, blue, round beads of Hail Mary (45 pieces, 6 mm in diameter) are more like "the rosary from the pit" (SF 050).²²

The differences between the beads, often within the same rosary, are also interesting. Judging by the material, we can mostly classify them into glass beads, beads of glass paste and metal and, in exceptional cases, of bone. Their colour is likewise varied, from transparent and white to ochre, glass with a bit of brown film, brown - with a greenish sheen, red, dark blue and light blue to black.

Regarding their size, the variety is even bigger, as can be best seen from the Table 1 (rosaries found in the graves):

The greatest similarity exists between the transparent (few are brownish) glass beads from graves 60 (5,5-6 mm) and 71 (5,5 mm) and the multicoloured beads, probably made of glass paste, from graves 42 (3,5-4 mm) and 58 (4-5 mm). With regard to the size and shape (but not the material), the most similar are the 3-mm beads again from graves 60 (of glass and glass paste) and 71 (of metal). With regard to the material, the glass beads from graves 71, 60 and 45 stand apart.

Exceptional in terms of the material and shape, is a nicely worked bone bead in the shape of an open flower, discovered in grave 42 (SF 120). Similar bone beads were found on the cemetery from the late Middle Ages and early Modern Age around the church of Our Lady of the Rushes in Stražanac near Split (Gjurašin 1997, 167 with an image, 169, 173; see also: Burić 2003, 221-222, Fig. 12). T. Burić places the bone beads in a phase earlier than the beads made of glass and glass paste, and he thinks that the bone beads marked the graves of the 16th century. On the example of the site in Oriovica he concludes that they should be dated from the end of the 15th until possibly the first half of the 17th century (Burić 2003, 221). Of course, this is not the date he gives for the rosaries, in the case of which some bone beads were used anew. The graves with rosaries were similarly dated by H. Gjurašin, *into the 15th or possibly the beginning of the 16th century* (Gjurašin 1997, 175).

Among the beads found at Martin Breg those made of glass paste are frequent. Similar beads were also found at Dalmatian cemeteries, e.g. around the church of St. Kuzma and Damjan in Kaštel-Gomilica (Burić 2003, 223), where a rosary made from combination of bone beads and those of glass paste was discovered in grave 1. Beads of glass paste are cautiously dated by T. Burić into the *advanced 17th century*, which he bases on the archaeological finds from Oriovica (Burić 2003, 225).

It seems that the conspicuous diversity of beads and rosaries tells us several things. Firstly, the rosaries were probably brought by individuals from their voyages or even pilgrimages, even from very remote lands. The best proof for this is a comparison with medallions and crosses. The mentioned diversity is an indicator of this, bearing testimony to various workshops from various places of pilgrimage, but also craft centres.

21 Na podacima o nalazima krunica iz Čazme srdačno zahvaljujem kolegici Ani Azinović Bebek iz Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda, Odjela za kopnenu arheologiju, koja obrađuje taj materijal.

22 Krunica je objavljena kao "ogrlica", a horizont kojemu grob pripada datiran je u razdoblje između 1649. i 1731/33. god.

22 The rosary was published as "a necklace", while the horizon to which the grave belongs is dated in the period between 1649 and 1731/33.

VELIČINA (mm) SIZE (mm)	MATERIJAL MATERIAL	BOJA COLOUR	BROJ GROBA GRAVE NUMBER
3	staklo / glass	Prozirne / transparent	gr. 71
3	staklena pasta / glass paste	Tamnoplave / dark blue	gr. 71
3 - 3,5	metal / metal		gr. 60
3,5 - 4	staklena pasta / glass paste	smeđe-zelene / brown-green	gr. 42
4 - 5	staklena pasta / glass paste	Raznobojne / of various colour	gr. 58
4 - 5	staklo / glass	Prozirne/smečkaste / transparent /brownish	gr. 45
5,5	staklo / glass	Prozirne / transparent	gr. 71
5,5 - 6	staklo / glass	Prozirne/smečkaste / transparent /brownish	gr. 60
7,5 - 8	staklena pasta / glass paste	Tamna / dark	gr. 69
8	staklena pasta / glass paste	Crne / black	gr. 69
8 - 9	staklo / glass	Prozirne / transparent	gr. 60
9 - 12	staklena pasta / glass paste	oker-bijele / ochre-white	gr. 58
10-12	staklena pasta (?) / glass paste (?)	Crne / black	gr. 42

Tablica 1 Raspored zrna krunica po grobovima

Table 1 Diffusion of rosary beads in graves

Najsličnije su staklena prozirna (poneka smečkasta) zrnca iz grobova 60 (5,5-6 mm) i 71 (5,5 mm) te raznobojna zrna, vjerojatno izrađena od staklene paste, iz grobova 42 (3,5-4 mm) i 58 (4-5 mm). Prema veličini i obliku (ali ne i materijalu), najbližnja su 3-milimetarska zrnca ponovno iz grobova 60 (od stakla i staklene paste) i 71 (metalna). Prema materijalu izdvajaju se zrna od stakla iz grobova 71, 60 i 45.

Izuzetno je, i materijalom i oblikom, lijepo obrađeno koštano zrno u obliku rastvorenog cvijeta pronađeno u grobu 42 (PN 120). Slična su koštana zrna pronađena i na groblju kasnog srednjeg vijeka i ranog novog vijeka oko crkve Goste od Sita u Stražancu kraj Splita (Gjurašin 1997, 167 sa slikom, 169, 173; vidjeti i: Burić 2003, 221-222, sl. 12). Zrna od kosti T. Burić svrstava u raniju fazu od zrna izrađena od stakla i staklene paste, te smatra da su koštana zrna obilježila grobove 16. st. Prema nalazištu u Oriovici zaključuje da ih treba datirati od kraja 15. do eventualno prve polovice 17. st. (Burić 2003, 221). Naravno, tako ne datira i krunice kod kojih je došlo do preuporabe pojedinih koštanih zrna, a upravo je to ovdje

The second reason can be the combination of beads from various older (or even inherited) rosaries. Considering that no traces of metal chains were found, it should be assumed that the rosaries were arrayed on strips of organic material, prone to snapping. If one takes into consideration the brittleness of beads, but also their presumed relative costliness, it can be easily conceived how it could occur that the number of beads on individual rosaries decreased or even how the older beads were secondarily used to create new rosaries (they were obviously frequently rearranged).

T. Burić also wrote about the combination of bone beads with those made of glass/glass paste. By the way, it should be mentioned here that similar combinations can be seen also on luxurious, earlier rosaries. For instance, on the portrait of archduke Sigismund from 1480 it can be seen that he is holding a rosary combined of four dark beads and one twisted bead made of wood or bone (Fig. 1, after: *Gotik in Österreich*, 121-122, cat. nr. 40, Fig. 4). The assumption that most of our rosaries were created by combining beads from

slučaj. Slično je grobove s kronicama datirao i H. Gjurašin, u *15. ili možda u početak 16. stoljeća* (Gjurašin 1997, 175).

Među zrnima, nađenima na Martin Bregu, česta su ona izrađena od staklene paste. Slična su zrna također pronađena na dalmatinskim grobljima, primjerice oko crkve Sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel-Gomilici (Burić 2003, 223), gdje je u grobu 1 nađena krunica izrađena kombinacijom zrna od kosti i od staklene paste. Zrnca od staklene paste T. Burić oprezno datira u *podmaklo 17. stoljeće*, što argumentira i arheološkim nalazima iz Oriovice (Burić 2003, 225).

Čini se da upadljiva raznolikost zrna odnosno krunica svjedoči o više toga. Kao prvo, vjerojatno su krunice pojedinci donosili sa svojih putovanja ili čak hodočašća, pa i iz udaljenijih krajeva. Najbolji dokaz za to je usporedba s medaljicama i križićima. Na to upućuje navedena raznolikost i svjedoči o različitim radionicama iz različitih hodočasničkih centara, ali i obrtničkih središta.

Drugi razlog može biti kombiniranje zrna s različitim starijih (čak i naslijeđenih) krunica. Budući da nisu ustanovljeni tragovi metalnih lančića, valja pretpostaviti da su krunice bile nizane na trakice od organskog materijala, sklona pucanju. Uzme li se u obzir i lomljivost zrna, ali i njihovu pretpostavljenu relativnu skupoću, lako se može zamisliti kako je došlo do eventualnog smanjenja broja zrna pojedine krunice, pa i do sekundarne uporabe starijih zrna za formiranje novih krunica (očito je da su bile jako preslagivane).

O kombiniranju koštanih zrna s onima izrađenima od stakla/staklene paste pisao je i T. Burić. Uzgred, ovdje valja pripomenuti da su slične kombinacije uočljive i na luksuznim, ranijim kronicama. Primjerice, na portretu nadvojvode Sigismunda iz 1480. god. vidi se kako ovaj u rukama drži krunicu kombiniranu od po četiri tamna zrna i jednog tordiranog zrna, izrađenog od drva ili kosti (sl. 1, prema: *Gotik in Österreich*, 121-122, kat. br. 40, sl. 4). U pretpostavku da je većina naših krunica nastala kombiniranjem zrna od starijih krunica, uklapa se i različitost broja zrna pojedinih krunica kao i nepodudarnost odnosa broja velikih i malih zrna (ili čak pomanjkanje razlike u veličini) kod svake pojedine krunice (izuzetak je ona najmlađa, PN 050) te nedostatak privjesaka odnosno križića uz pojedine krunice.

Treće, i možda najvažnije: krunice nisu oduvijek izgledale kao današnje. Niti su uvijek imale oblik vijenca (krune), niti su nužno imale isti broj zrna.

O razvoju krunica se kod nas još uvijek premalo zna, premda je njezino značenje za duhovni život puka bilo ogromno. Tako je, primjerice, krunica oko godina 1600-tih bila najbolja zaštita od kuge i drugih epidemija (odatle Gospa od Zdravlja) (Demori-Staničić 1992, 193). Dragocjen je, nedavno objavljen, spomenuti rad Tončija Burića o kronicama u Dalmaciji kao rijedak arheološki pogled na kasnosrednjovjekovnu krunicu kao predmet. Poviješću krunice su se uglavnom bavili teolozi, no ne razvojem krunice kao predmeta, već (logično) kao vrste molitve. Ipak, budući da krunica kao predmet svojim oblikom nedvojbeno prati razvoj krunice kao molitve, od velike su važnosti i njihovi radovi. Nažalost, ta je problematika preopsežna da bi je se moglo prikazati u

earlier rosaries is also corroborated by the diversity in the number of beads in individual rosaries as well as the imbalance in the ratio of large and small beads (or even the lack of difference in size) with each and every rosary (with the exception of the youngest, SF 050) and the lack of pendants or crosses with some rosaries.

Third, and perhaps the most important: rosaries did not always look like those today. Nor did they always have the shape of a wreath (crown) or the same number of beads.

Still too little is known about the development of rosaries, even though their significance for the spiritual life of the folk was enormous. Thus, for instance, around the 1600s the rosary was the best protection from the plague and other epidemics (hence Our Lady of Health) (Demori-Staničić 1992, 193). The mentioned – recently published work by Tonči Burić about rosaries in Dalmatia, is very valuable as a rare archaeological view on the late medieval rosary as an artefact. The history of the rosary has mostly been dealt with by theologians, but they did not deal with the development of the rosary as an artefact but (which is logical) as a type of prayer. Still, because the rosary as an artefact by virtue of its shape undeniably follows the development of the rosary as a prayer, their work is also important. Unfortunately, these issues are too extensive to be presented in this work²³, or, as summarized by p. Celestin Belamarić: *The history of the rosary is a long chain composed of innumerable links that are interrupted in some places and difficult to interpret* (Belamarić 1973, 59).

It is also obvious from the depictions on portraits, sculptures, tombstones etc. that during the Middle Ages and in the early Modern Age the rosary could have been closed in a circle (crown), like those of the present day (usually arranged in decades – but it should not be forgotten that such depictions show the most representative rosaries). We can thus see the rosaries of four decades of dark black beads from the end of the 17th century (for instance in *Das Kloster Jasna Góra und seine Kunstsammlungen*, 1989, 62), of six decades from the first half of the 16th cent. (for instance in *Jasnogórska Bogurodzica 1382-1982*, 1987, 207), and of seven decades, from the 17th cent. (for instance in *Isusovačka baština u Hrvata (The Jesuit legacy among the Croats 1992, 185)*.

Nowadays also, in addition to the customary rosary, small rings are used with 10 beads and a small cross, which can always be at hand, in a pocket. By its number it is reminiscent of the once very popular ‘male rosaries’ consisting of ten large beads on an open strip (Germ. *Zehner*, Fig. 2, after: Brauneck 1979, 254, Fig. 98). Still, the most frequent are ‘standard’ rosaries of 5 decades separated by a bead of equal size or bigger between them and with 5 separate (1+3+1) beads, suspended from the rosary together with the cross, for the introductory Our Father, 3 Hail Marys and 1 Glory be to the Father.

23 One of the basic works is a paper by G. Ritz (1960). A good review is also given by M. Brauneck (1979, 238-262). A valuable review with the basic literature is provided by for example A. Heinz in *Marienlexicon* under the entry Rosenkranz. *Theologiegeschichte* (Heinz 1993, 553-555). A popularly written booklet by P. Lubine (2003) can also be mentioned.

ovom radu²³, ili, kako je to sažeo o. Celestin Belamarić: *Povijest krunice jest dugi lanac sastavljen od bezbrojnih karika koje su na nekim mjestima isprekidane i teško protumačive* (Belamarić 1973, 59).

Iz prikaza na portretima, skulpturama, nadgrobnicima i sl. razvidno je također da je krunica tijekom srednjeg i u ranom novom vijeku mogla biti zatvorena u krug (krunu), poput današnjih, ili je mogla izgledati poput otvorena niza zrna na vrpici, te da je mogla imati različiti broj zrna (obično svrstanih u desetine – no ne treba zaboraviti da takvi prikazi ipak donose one najreprezentativnije krunice). Tako možemo vidjeti krunice od četiri desetine velikih tamnocrnih zrna s kraja 17. st. (primjerice u Das Kloster Jasna Góra und seine Kunstsammlungen 1989, 62), od šest desetina iz prve polovice 16. st. (primjerice u Jasnogórska Bogurodzica 1382-1982, 1987, 207), te od sedam desetina, iz 17. st. (primjerice u Isusovačka baština u Hrvata 1992, 185).

I u današnje se vrijeme, osim uvriježene krunice, koriste mali prstenčići s 10 zrna i jednim križićem koji može uvijek biti pri ruci u džepu molitelja. Brojem podsjeća na nekada vrlo popularne “muške krunice” od deset velikih zrna na otvorenoj vrpici (njem. *Zehner*, sl. 2, prema: Brauneck 1979, 254, sl. 98). Ipak, najčešće su “standardne” krunice od 5 desetina razdvojenih jednakim ili većim zrnom između njih te s 5 odvojenih (1+3+1), koji vise zajedno s križem s krunice, za uvodni Očenaš, 3 Zdravomarije i 1 Slavaocu.

Put do suvremeno uobličene krunice na koju se mogu moliti po izboru sve tri (sada i četiri) standardne krunice, dug je. Na početku su samostanski laici molili samo 150 Očenaša, u ženskim se samostanima nešto kasnije molilo isto toliko Očenaša, ali zajedno s toliko Zdravomarija i Slavaocu.

Novije su krunice uobličene kao pet puta po deset Zdravomarija koje razdvajaju zrna za Očenaš (i Slavaocu na istom zrnju). Utrostručenjem te osnovne krunice (a cijeli je ružarij sve do naših dana imao tri krunice, dakle 150 Zdravomarija), nastajali su oni dugi lančići često dragocjenih zrnaca koja su razdvajali najčešće isto tako skupi privjesci.

Među grobnim nalazima česti su lančići ili samo zrna, čiji se broj ne uklapa u poznate sheme 10+1 ili 5 x (10+1) + odvojenih 5, što dovodi istraživače do nedoumica. No i u suvremenim se redovničkim molitvenicima, osim opisa molitava uobičajena ružarija, pojavljuju i posebne krunice, npr. samo tog reda. Jedna je od najpoznatijih franjevačka krunica, poznata još pod imenom *Krunica 7 radosti Blažene Djevice Marije* u kojoj se moli (uz prikladna razmatranja o njezinim radostima) 7 puta po Očenaš, 10 Zdravomarija i Slavaocu, s dodatkom od još 2 Zdravomarije, jer se smatra da je Marija živjela 72 godine. No krunica Marijinih 7 žalosti ima samo 7 x 7, tj. 49 zrna i 7 medaljica s prizorima njezinih žalosti. Treća marijanska krunica, Bezgrješnog začeca, ima samo 18 zrna, a moli se u ritmu 1 Očenaš, 4 Zdravomarije i 1 Slavaocu.

To su samo suvremeni primjeri (Serafsko cvijeće 1959). Nažalost, podaci iz srednjeg vijeka, renesanse i baroka nisu

The road to the contemporary shape of the rosary on which all three (now also four) standard rosaries can be prayed was long. In the beginning the monastery laymen prayed only 150 Our Fathers, in women's monasteries somewhat later the same number of Our Fathers was prayed, but together with the same number of Hail Marys and Glory be to the Fathers.

More recent rosaries are shaped as five times ten Hail Marys, separated by the beads for Our Father (and Glory be to the Father on the same bead). By tripling this basic rosary (and the entire rosary system has contained three rosaries, i.e. 150 Hail Marys, to this day), these long chains were made often of valuable beads separated most frequently by equally expensive pendants.

Among the grave finds frequent are small chains or only beads, whose number does not fit into the known schemes 10+1 or 5 x (10+1) + a separate 5, which raises doubts with the researchers. However, also in the contemporary monks' prayer books, in addition to the descriptions of the usual rosary prayers, special rosaries also appear, e.g. prayers of that order only. One of the best known is the Franciscan rosary, known also under the name of the *Rosary of the 7 joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary* in which one prays (in addition to the appropriate meditations about her joys) 7 Our Fathers, 10 Hail Marys and Glory be to the Fathers, with an additional 2 Hail Marys, as it is believed that Mary lived to be 72 years of age. However, in the rosary of 7 sorrows of Mary there are only 7 x 7, i.e. 49 beads and 7 medallions with the representations of her sorrows. The third rosary of Mary, that of the Immaculate Conception, has only 18 beads, and it is prayed in the rhythm of 1 Our Father, 4 Hail Marys and 1 Glory be to the Father.

These are only contemporary examples (Seraphic flowers 1959). Unfortunately, information from the Middle Ages, Renaissance and Baroque is not so easily available, but on account of the spirit of those times similar parallels can be taken for granted, and therefore the unusual number or variety of beads, grouped by 3, 7 or 10 can also be an impetus for further research.

ROSARY WITH AN ARMA CHRISTI FROM GRAVE 60

Special attention should be given to the most interesting find – the aforementioned rosary from grave 60 (Fig. 34). Along with scattered glass beads – large and small – and tiny metal beads, small metal pendants were also found. These are models of tools – symbols of the passion of Christ (*arma Christi*). We can recognize a crown of thorns (SF 153), pliers (SF 154), a bunch of nails, a closed fist (the thief's hand), a sponge on a spear and the spear itself (SF 162), a hammer and a sword (SF 163). Their length, although roughly balanced, varies between 8 and 15 mm, with the exception of the spear, which is 20 mm long. All pendants have a small perforation, usually in the centre, so that they can be positioned symmetrically on the rosary band when arrayed. Only the cross and the fist are perforated near the edge so that they “hang” from the rosary. The spears are, naturally, disproportionately thick, so that they can be perforated and suspended on a rosary without breaking easily.

23 Jedan od temeljnih radova je članak G. Ritz (1960). Dobar pregled nudi i M. Brauneck (1979, 238-262). Vrijedan prikaz s osnovnom literaturom donosi, primjerice, A. Heinz u *Marienlexikon* pod natuknicom Rosenkranz. Theologiegeschichte (Heinz 1993, 553-555). Može se spomenuti i popularno pisana knjižica P. Lubine (2003.)

tako lako dostupni, ali zbog duha onog vremena mogu se podrazumijevati slične paralele, pa stoga ni neuobičajeni broj našđenih kao i različitih zrna, grupiranih po 3, 7 ili 10 može biti poticaj na daljnja istraživanja.

KRUNICA S ARMA CHRISTI IZ GROBA 60

Posebnu pozornost valja obratiti najzanimljivijem nalazu - prije spomenutoj krunici iz groba 60 (sl. 34). Zajedno s razasutim staklenim, velikim i malim, te sitnim metalnim zrcima pronađeni su i mali metalni privjesci. Radi se o modelima oruđa - simbolima Kristove muke (*arma Christi*). Možemo prepoznati trnovu krunu (PN 153), kliješta (PN 154), snop čavala, stisnutu šaku (izgrednikovu ruku), spužvu na koplju i samo koplje (PN 162), čekić i mač (PN 163), ljestve i haljinu (PN 164), križ (PN 177), kocke i kesu zlatnika (PN 178) te stup za bičevanje (PN 181). Duljina im, iako približno uravnotežena, varira od 8 do 15 mm, s iznimkom koplja koje je 20 mm dugo. Svi privjesci imaju malu rupicu, obično u sredini, tako da nanizani budu simetrično postavljeni na vrpce krunice. Jedino su križić i šaka probušeni pri rubu tako da s krunice "vise". Koplja su, naravno, nerazmjerno debela, kako bi se mogla probušena objesiti na krunicu, bez da privjesci lako puknu.

Rijedak je to i zanimljiv nalaz. Češći je sličan oblik krunice, s "pet Kristovih rana" - s dvije ruke, dvije noge te sa srcem (primjerice, sl. 3, prema: Schinnerl 1995, 16). Simboli Kristove muke inače su česti motiv umjetnosti i narodne umjetnosti srednjeg i novog vijeka, pa stoga ne čudi njihovo apliciranje na krunice.

Uz privjeske je pronađen i jedan stakleni "čunjic" (PN 155, sl. 33). Pomoću takvih "čunjica" se ponekad oblikovao križ na kraju krunice, primjerice, na krunici Tome Erdödyja ili njegova roda s početka 17. st. (sl. 4, prema: Žmegač 1994, 206, kat. br. 19). Od čunjica koji tvore četiri balustra složen je simbol Vjeronanje (*Credo*) na krunici iz 17. st. (sl. 5, prema: Fundort Kloster, 297, 280, kat. br. 28.15).

Uz zna i simbole *arma Christi* pronađen je i dvostruki križić tzv. Caravaca tipa, prelomljen na dvoje (PN 168 i 174, sl. 19). Vrlo vjerojatno ovaj križić pripada istoj krunici. Caravaca-križići su, naime, nerijetko bili pridodavani krunicama (sl. 5, Caravaca križić od mjedenog lima veličine 30 mm).

Krunice s privjescima *arma Christi* mogu se naći u njemačkoj literaturi. Tako se, primjerice, u dijecezanskoj zbirci u Freisingu nalazi kutijica s krunicom što ju je darovao skupljač Hans Otto Münsterer. Kutija je južnonjemački rad iz oko 1700. god., a i krunica će biti otprilike iz istog vremena (sl. 6, prema: Steiner 1984, 182).

Minijaturni privjesci slični našima (osobito motiv ruke, mača te pojedinih oruđa i sprava kao što su čekić i ljestve) poznati su još od kasnog latena, česti su u doba antike te se, nadživjevši pogansko doba, susreću širom Europe sve do novog vijeka (Capelle 1994, 86-89). Možda je najdojmljiviji lanac s privjescima pronađen u ostavi II. iz nalazišta Szilágysomlyó. Nastao je u istočnogermanskome miljeu i datira se u 5. st.²⁴ O simbolici svakog pojedinog predmeta i dalje se raspravlja u literaturi, a

This is a rare and interesting find. More frequent is a similar shape of the rosary, with "five wounds of Christ" - two hands, two legs and a heart (for instance, Fig. 3, after: Schinnerl 1995, 16). The symbols of the passion of Christ are frequent motifs of art and the folk art of the Middle and Modern Ages, and therefore their application on the rosaries is not surprising.

A small glass "cone" (SF 155, Fig. 33) was found with the pendants. Such "cones" were sometimes used to shape the cross at the end of a rosary, as, for instance, on the rosary of Toma Erdödy or his kin from the beginning of the 17th cent. (Fig. 4, after: Žmegač 1994, 206, cat. nr. 19). Small cones arranged into four balusters make up the symbol of Creed (*Credo*) on the rosary from the 17th century (Fig. 5, after: Fundort Kloster, 297, 280, cat. nr. 28.15).

In addition to the beads and the *arma Christi* symbols a double cross of the so-called Caravaca type was found, broken in two (SF 168 and 174, Fig. 19). This cross most probably belongs to the same rosary, considering that the Caravaca-crosses were often added to rosaries (Fig. 5, a Caravaca-cross of sheet brass, 30 mm in size).

Rosaries with the *arma Christi* pendants can be found in German literature. Thus, for instance, the episcopal collection in Freising contains a small box with a rosary given by the collector Hans Otto Münsterer. The box is a south German work from around 1700, and the rosary would likewise be from roughly the same period (Fig. 6, after: Steiner 1984, 182).

Miniature pendants similar to ours (particularly the motifs of the hand, sword and certain tools and devices such as a hammer and a ladder) have been known since the late La Tene, they are frequent during classical antiquity and, outliving the pagan period, they are encountered throughout Europe up until the Modern Age (Capelle 1994, 86-89). Perhaps the most impressive chain with pendants was found in hoard II from the site of Szilágysomlyó. It was found within the east German milieu and is dated in the 5th century.²⁴ The symbolism of each individual object is still being discussed in the literature, and it is interesting that some finds are brought into connection with funerary rites. It appears that, in spite of the substantial chronological distance, we can also include our find from Martin Breg and those related to it among a number series of similar finds. This would mean that baroque rosaries with such and similar pendants are not that innovative, either with regard to shape or the (hidden) function - they had previous models for that - but only with regard to the new (Christian) message they carried.

As rosary beads were inherited and used anew, the same must have been true for such pendants as well. It is therefore not surprising that they should be occasionally found hanging together, like amulets, on later rosaries. A nice example of an obviously secondary use was published in the auction catalogue *Wiener Kunst Auktionen*, 22. Kunstauktion, 23.

24 O privjescima s toga lančića te o njihovim analogijama i simbolici opširno je pisao T. Capelle (1994).

24 T. Capelle (1994) wrote extensively about the pendants from that chain and their analogies and symbolism.

zanimljivo je da se pojedini nalazi dovode u vezu s pogrebnim obredima. Čini se da i ovaj naš martinbreški i njemu srodne nalaze možemo, usprkos velikom vremenskom razmaku, smjestiti u niz sličnih nalaza. To bi značilo da barokne krunice s ovakvim i sličnim privjescima nisu toliko inovativne niti po obliku niti po (skrivenoj) funkciji – za to su imale ranije uzore – već jedino po novoj (kršćanskoj) poruci koju nose.

Kako su se zrnca krunica nasljeđivala i nanovo upotrebljavala, tako je to zasigurno vrijedilo i za ovakve privjeske. Stoga nije čudno da će ih se povremeno pronalaziti kako zasebno vise, poput amuleta, na mlađim krunicama. Zgodan primjer očite sekundarne uporabe objavljen je u aukcijskom katalogu *Wiener Kunst Auktionen*, 22. Kunstauktion, 23. April 1999. Pod rednim br. 1025 prikazana je raskošna krunica iz 19. st. u kojoj se može prepoznati snop čavala, a možda i Judina kesa.

GUMBI

U dva groba u predvorju/kapeli pronađeni su praporcima slični gumbi, izrađeni od slitine slične olovu i kositru. Napravljani su od veće šuplje kuglice i na nju zalemljene ušice. Na kuglici svakoga gumba se, ispod spoja s ušicom, nalazi mala rupica veličine oko 3 mm.

U grobu 69 gumbi su se nalazili okomito poredani na prsima (sl. 35). Jedan je bio pronađen već blizu sredine desne potkoljenice. Bilo ih je ukupno 18 (PN 182), promjer kuglice je oko 12-14 mm, a ušice oko 8 mm. Slični su gumbi pronađeni i razasuti u okolnom sloju SJ 265 (PN 105, sl. 36; 107, sl. 37; 123, sl. 38; 166, sl. 39).

I u grobu 63 nalazilo se 12 velikih gumba, okomito poredanih po sredini prsa. Ovi su primjerci nešto veći od ostalih, promjer kuglice je oko 17 mm, a ušice oko 7 mm. Uz desni lakat i lijevu nadlakticu pokojnika nalazili su se još po jedan nešto manji gumb promjera kuglice oko 13 mm s ušicama iste veličine kao i kod velikih (PN 156, sl. 40).

U ovom su grobu, uz navedene praporaste gumbe, na predjelu trbuha pronađeni i kalotasti gumbi (PN 157, sl. 41). Tri su primjerka nađena blizu zdjelice, a dva ispod prsnog koša. Bili su izrađeni od jednakog metala, kalote su im bile slične veličine (oko 13 mm), a i ušice pod njima (oko 8 mm).

Praporasti gumbi su oblika koji jako dugo traje te ih je kronološki nemoguće odrediti. Sličnom vremenskom horizontu pripadaju i slični gumbi izrađeni od slitine olova i kositra (dimenzija 20 x 13 mm) pronađeni na lokalitetu Torčec - Cirkvišće (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003, 14-15, 24, 31, sl. 28 s analogijama). Jedino što se na ovome mjestu može, jest utvrditi njihovu pripadnost ovom horizontu i rekonstruirati način kopčanja: jednoredno s mogućnošću nošenja još po jednog gumba u visini lakta, te njihovu kombinaciju s "kalotastim" gumbima.

KOPČICE "UŠICE I KUKICE"

Osim gumba, u promatrano su se vrijeme za zakapčanje odjeće koristile i brončane kopčice, tzv. "ušice i kukice". U više su grobova pronađene tri vrste kopčica. Sve su izrađene savijanjem 1 - 1,5 mm debele žice različite kvalitete, a i izgled im pomalo varira (do pojedinih je deformacija zasigurno došlo i tijekom nošenja). Slične su veličine, uglavnom su dugačke oko 13 - 15 mm.

April 1999. Under the number 1025 is presented a lavish rosary from the 19th cent., in which a bunch of nails and perhaps also Juda's purse can be recognized.

BUTTONS

Buttons similar to sleigh-bells, made of an alloy similar to lead and tin, were found in two graves in the lobby/chapel. They were made of a larger hollow ball and a loop soldered to it. A small hole, about 3 mm in size, is located on the ball of each button below the joint with the loop.

In grave 69 the buttons stood in vertical order on the chest (Fig. 35). One was found near the middle of the right lower leg. There were altogether 18 buttons (SF 182), the diameter of the ball was around 12-14 mm and of the loop around 8 mm. Similar buttons were also found scattered in the surrounding layer SU 265 (SF 105, Fig. 36; 107, Fig. 37; 123, Fig. 38; 166, Fig. 39).

Also in grave 63 there were 12 large buttons, vertically arranged across the centre of the chest. These pieces are somewhat larger than the rest, the diameter of the ball is around 17 mm, while that of the loop is around 7 mm. Along the left elbow and left upper arm there was a somewhat smaller button, with the diameter of the ball around 13 mm and with loops of the same size as those on the large buttons (SF 156, Fig. 40).

In this grave, in addition to the mentioned sleigh-bell-shaped buttons, dome-shaped buttons (SF 157, Fig. 41) were also found, in the area of the belly. Three pieces were found near the pelvis and two beneath the chest. They were made of the same metal, their domes were of similar size (around 13 mm), as well as the loops below them (around 8 mm).

The shape of the sleigh-bell-buttons is long-lasting and it is therefore impossible to determine them chronologically. Similar buttons made of a lead and tin alloy (measuring 20 x 13 mm) discovered at the site of Torčec - Cirkvišće (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003, 14-15, 24, 31, Fig. 28 with analogies) belong to a similar chronological horizon. The only thing that can be done here is to establish that they belong to this horizon and to reconstruct the method of buttoning: in one row with the possibility of wearing a pair of buttons at elbow level, and their combination with the "dome-shaped" buttons.

"LOOPS AND HOOKS" CLASPS

Besides buttons, during the observed period clothes was fastened with bronze clasps, the so-called "loops and hooks". Three types of clasps were found in several graves. All were made by bending a 1-1,5 mm thick wire of variable quality, and their appearance also somewhat varies (some deformations certainly also occurred during wearing). They are of similar size, mostly around 13-15 mm long.

The most frequent and chronologically probably least sensitive type was found in graves 4, 42 and 50. In grave 4 there were 13 pairs, on the chest and a forearm (SF 020 and 024, Fig. 42). In grave 42, along the spine, 7 pairs and many tiny fragments were found – perhaps altogether 9 pairs of clasps of poorer quality (poorer material) and varied size (SF 111, Fig. 43). In the very damaged grave 50, between the lower legs (the only bones that remained) we found 12

Najčešći i vjerojatno kronološki najmanje osjetljiv tip pronađen je u grobovima 4, 42 i 50. U grobu 4 nađeno je 13 pari, na prsima i na podlaktici (PN 020 i 024, sl. 42). U grobu 42 nađeno je uz kralježnicu 7 pari i još dosta sitnih ulomaka, možda ukupno 9 pari kopčica lošije kvalitete (lošijeg materijala) i neujednačenih veličina (PN 111, sl. 43). U jako oštećenom grobu 50, između potkoljenica (jedinih sačuvanih kostiju) pronašli smo 12 pari mjedenih kopčica te još jedan mali ulomak takve žice (PN 139, sl. 44).

Od nešto tanje žice je jedna "ušica" pronađena na dnu ukopa groba 63 (PN 165, sl. 45), a slične su dvije "ušice" pronađene u dječjem grobu 25 južno uz južnu sakristiju, i to uz tjeme (PN 088, sl. 46). Prema tom nalazu iz groba, može se za "ušice" pretpostaviti da su se nosile i samostalno, možda međusobno povezane kakvom vrpcom.

Ovu pretpostavku osnažuje i nalaz najluksuznijih i, očito, nesvakidašnjih kopčica iz groba 60 - mjedenih pločica s alkicama. Pronađeno ih je 12 pari u dva razmaknuta okomita niza lijevo i desno od prsnog koša. Ukrasne su pločice bile prišivene za metalnu tkaninu, čiji su ostaci ostali sačuvani na poleđinama mnogih pločica. Dobro uglačane imale su zlatni sjaj (PN 160, 161, 168 i 169, sl. 47).

U istom grobu 60 pronađene su i kopčice sličnije prije opisivanim, ali također luksuznije izvedbe. Riječ je o paru (PN 173) i polovici para ("kukica", PN 220) koji su bili pronađeni ispod desnih rebara (sl. 48). Razlikuju se po kalotastom ukrasu na "kukici", čime su, kada su bile zakopčane, očito trebale podsjećati na (skuplje) gumbe.

Dakle, najslabije su kopčice pronađene u grobovima 4, 42 i 50, a bliske su im, no nešto lošije, od tanje žice, u grobu 63. Kao puno kvalitetnije odskaku kopčice iz ionako bogatijeg groba 60. No taj tip kopčica nije dovoljno kronološki osjetljiv, slične se nose od srednjeg vijeka, a i dandanas se mogu vidjeti na suvremenim odjevnim predmetima, te nam manje pomažu u dataciji koliko, možda, u društvenoj diferencijaciji pokojnika.

Od analogija pronađenih u pregledanoj literaturi mogu se spomenuti slične željezne (loše očuvane), kopčice pronađene uz svaku potkoljenicu u grobu 12 na martinbreškim nalazima suvremenog sloja nalazišta Torčec - Cirkvišće (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003, 15, 24, 31, sl. 29. s analogijama) te kopčice iz novovjekovnoga groblja na Čontošu u Lendavi.²⁵

ZAKLJUČAK

Cilj ovog članka nije bio prikazati rezultate iskopavanja na Martin Bregu same, nego pokušaj, na prikupljenom materijalu pokazati probleme na koje se može naići pri interpretiranju novovjekovnih nalaza.

Naravno, ovdje ni izdaleka nisu iscrpljene sve analize. Prije svega, samo iskopavanje još nije završeno. Tek nakon toga moći će se dati temeljiti zbirni pregled rezultata istraživanja.

25 Na temelju nalaza iz malog broja istraživanih grobova, kolega Brane Lamut groblje datira u 16. i 17. st. (Pokrajinski muzej Murska Sobota, str. 53, 352, kat. br. 247).

pairs of brass clasps and a small fragment of such wire (SF 139, Fig. 44).

A "loop" found at the bottom of grave 63 (SF 165, Fig. 45) was made of a somewhat thinner wire, and similar are two "loops" found in child's grave 25, south of the southern sacristy, next to the vertex (SF 088, Fig. 46). Based on this grave find, we may assume that the "loops" were also worn independently, perhaps connected by a band.

This assumption is reinforced by a find of the most luxurious and, obviously, exceptional clasps from grave 60 - brass plaques with rings. Twelve pairs were discovered in two separated vertical rows to the left and right of the chest. Decorative plaques were sewn to the metal cloth, whose remains were preserved on the back of many plaques. Well-polished, they had a golden sheen (SF 160, 161, 168 i 169, Fig. 47).

The same grave 60 also yielded clasps similar to the aforementioned but likewise of a more luxurious make. This is a pair (SF 173) and a half of a pair ("hook", SF 220) found beneath the right ribs (Fig. 48). They are distinguished by a dome-shaped decoration on the "hook", because of which, when fastened, they were obviously meant to remind of (more expensive) buttons.

To sum up, the greatest similarity exists between the clasps found in graves 4, 42 and 50. Close to them, but somewhat poorer, made of thinner wire, are those from grave 63. The clasps from grave 60 - a richer grave at any rate - stand out with their much higher quality. However, this type of clasp is not sufficiently sensitive chronologically; similar pieces were worn since the Middle Ages and even to this day they can be seen on contemporary clothing and are less helpful in dating than, perhaps, in the social differentiation of the deceased.

Regarding the analogies found in the reviewed literature, we can mention the similar iron (poorly preserved) clasps, discovered next to each lower leg in grave 12 from the layer contemporary with the Martin Breg finds at the site of Torčec - Cirkvišće (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003, 15, 24, 31, Fig. 29 with analogies) and the clasps from the Modern Age cemetery at Čontoš in Lendava.²⁵

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was not to present the Martin Breg excavation results themselves, but to attempt, by using the collected material, to point out problems that can be encountered in the interpretation of Modern Age finds.

Naturally, all the analyses have not been remotely exhausted here. First of all, the excavation itself has not yet been finished. Only after it is finished will it be possible to give a comprehensive overview of the excavation results.

I am aware that what lies ahead is the extensive work of collecting the excavated and neglected (or put aside) finds

25 On the basis of the finds from a small number of excavated graves, colleague Brane Lamut dates the cemetery in the 16th and 17th cent. (Provincial Museum of Murska Sobota, p. 53, 353, cat. nr. 247).

Svjestan sam da predstoji opsežan posao prikupljanja iskopanih i zanemarenih (ili na stranu stavljenih) nalaza iz drugih lokaliteta. Potraga za analognim predmetima koje su prikupili i obradili raznorazni skupljači, etnolozi, povjesnici crkvene umjetnosti, ali i arheolozi, trajat će u nedogled. Valjat će pregledati brojne muzeje različitih profila, zbirke crkvene umjetnosti, galerije slika. Mukotrpan će biti posao na crpljenju relevantnih podataka iz različitih vrsta arhivskih izvora. Nerijetko će kvaliteta pisanih izvora, pa i njihova vremenska ograničenost, natjerati istraživača na zdvajanje. Likovni prikazi ograničeni su u pravilu samo na viši društveni sloj, koji u grobovima čini neznatnu manjinu.

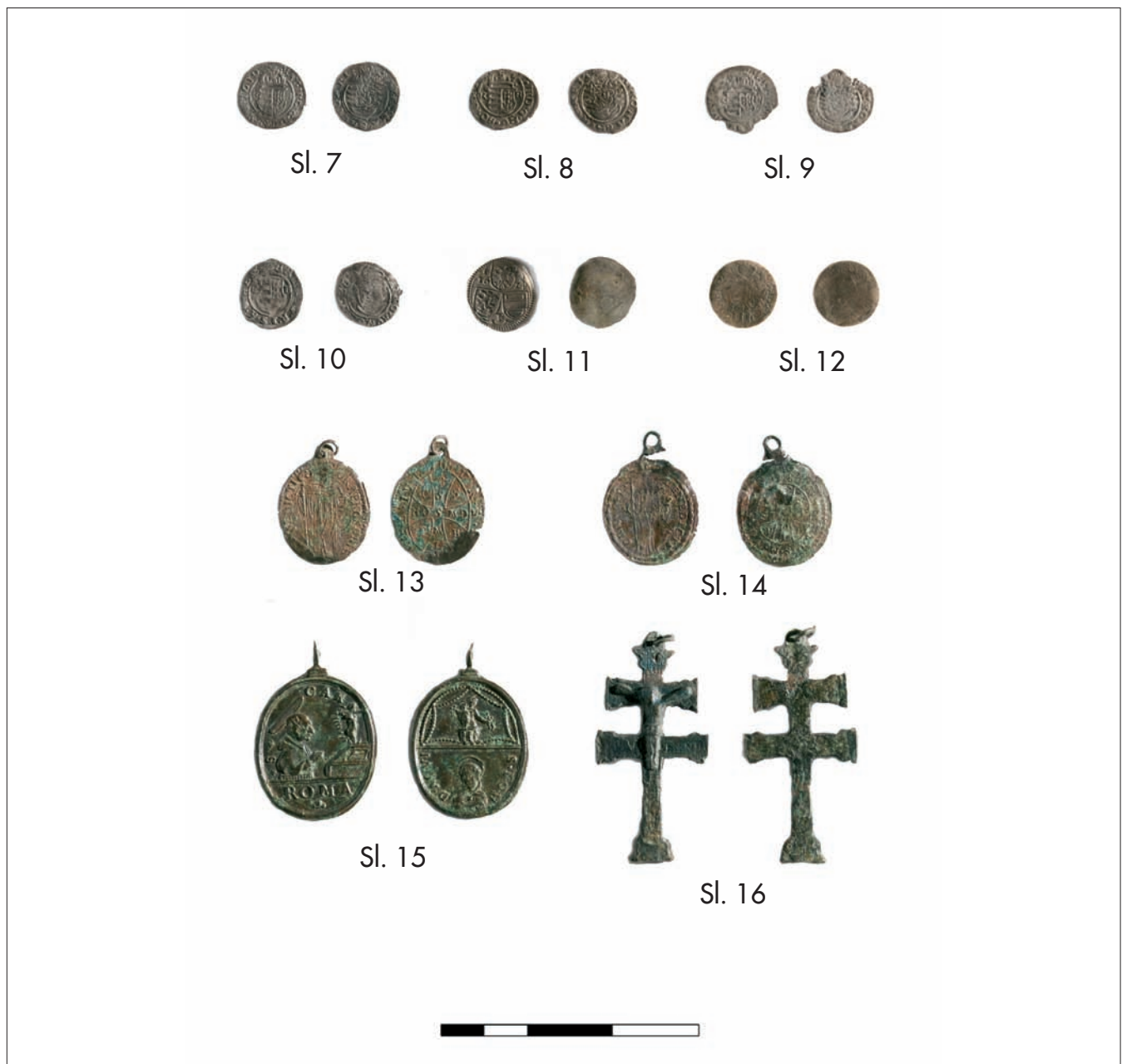
Ovaj članak donosi samo ono što se moglo učiniti u ovom kratkom razdoblju. No povremeno treba glasno razmišljati, kako bi se razbistrili pojmovi i otvorile nove mogućnosti istraživanja i interpretacije.

from other sites. The search for analogous objects collected and analyzed by diverse collectors, ethnologists, historians of ecclesiastical art, but also archaeologists, will last indefinitely. Numerous museums of various profiles, collections of ecclesiastical art and picture galleries will have to be examined. The task of gleaning the relevant information from various types of archival sources will be painstaking. Frequently the quality of written sources, and also their chronological limitations, will lead the researcher to despair. Figural representations are limited in general only to the higher social classes, which make up an insignificant minority in the graves.

This paper brings only what could be done in this short period. However, sometimes one needs to think aloud, in order to clarify concepts and open new possibilities for research and interpretation.

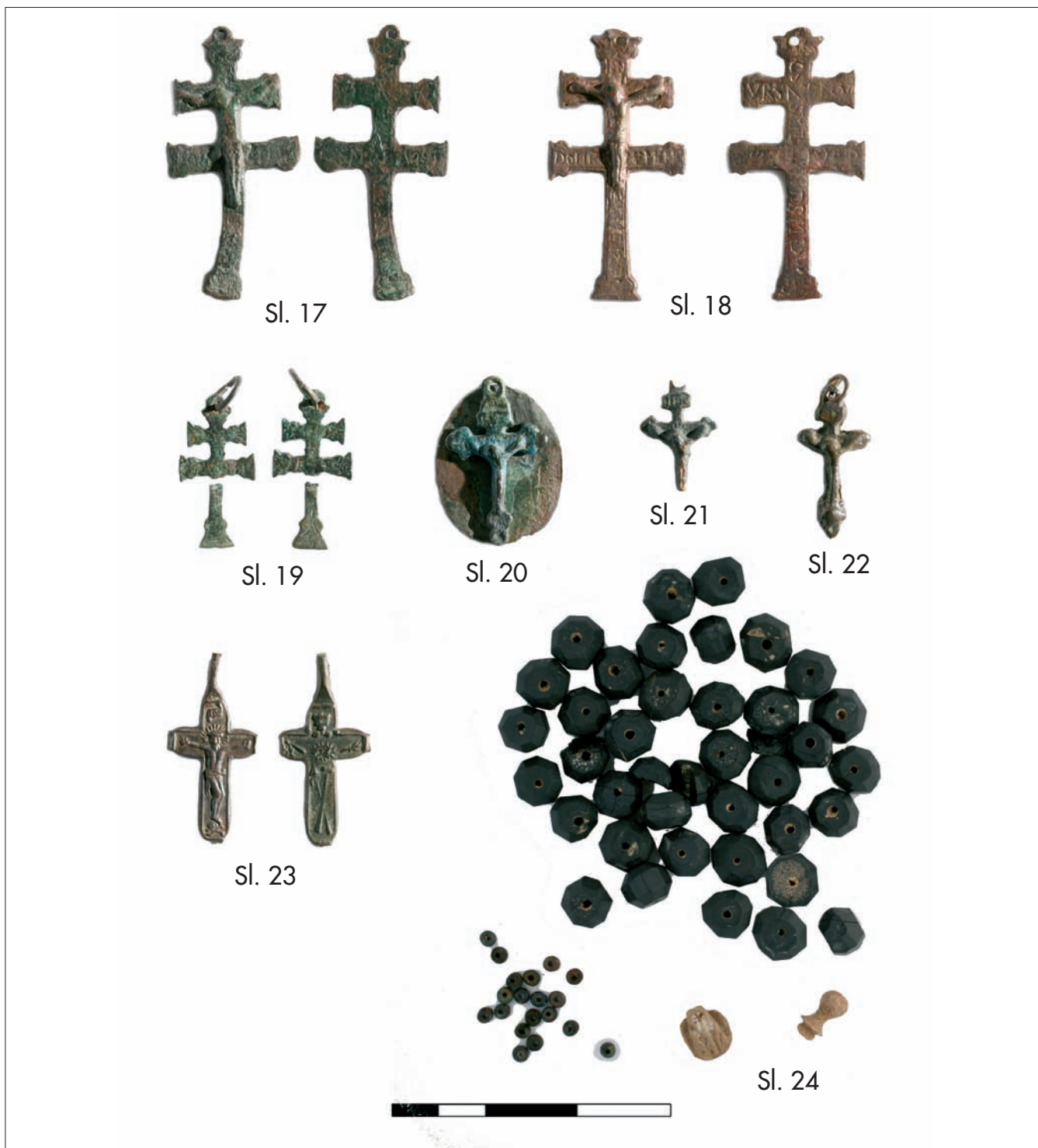
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- Sl. 7 Srebrni denar kovan za kralja Matije II. 1610. god. (PN 204) pronađen u zapuni kosturnice 93
- Sl. 8 Srebrni denar kralja Matije II. (PN 033) pronađen u SJ 144
- Sl. 9 Srebrni denar kralja Matije II. (PN 065) pronađen u SJ 249
- Sl. 10 Srebrni denar kovan u Kremnici za kralja Ferdinanda II. 1636. god. (PN 152) pronađen u zapuni groba 60
- Sl. 11 Srebrni novac od 2 pfeninga kralja Ferdinanda II, iskovan 1624. god. u Grazu, u Štajerskoj (PN 031)
- Sl. 12 Talir kralja Karla VI. (PN 036) pronađen u zapuni groba 4
- Sl. 13 Brončana limena svetačka medaljica s prikazom lika sv. Benedikta na licu te križa sv. Benedikta na naličju (PN 159), pronađena u grobu 63
- Sl. 14 Brončana limena svetačka medaljica s prikazom lika sv. Benedikta na licu te križa sv. Benedikta na naličju (PN 057), pronađena u SJ 239
- Sl. 15 Zavjetna, svetačka brončana medaljica (PN 029) pronađena u grobu 2. Izrađena je u Rimu; na licu je prikazan sv. Karlo Borromejski, a na naličju sv. Toma Akvinski te Gospa od Ružarija s Isusom u krilu
- Sl. 16 Caravaca-križ pronađen u grobu 71 (PN 186)

- Fig. 7 Silver denar minted during the reign of King Matthias II in 1610 (SF 204), found in the fill of ossuary 93
- Fig. 8 Silver denar of King Matthias II (SF 033) found in SU 144
- Fig. 9 Silver denar of King Matthias II (SF 065) found in SU 249
- Fig. 10 Silver denar minted in Kremnica during the reign of King Ferdinand II in 1636 (SF 152), found in the fill of grave 60
- Fig. 11 Silver 2-pfennig coin of King Ferdinand II, minted in 1624 in Graz, Styria (SF 031)
- Fig. 12 Thaler of King Charles VI (SF 036), found in the fill of grave 4
- Fig. 13 Bronze sheet metal saintly medallion with a representation of St. Benedict on the obverse and the cross of St. Benedict on the reverse (SF 159), found in grave 63
- Fig. 14 Bronze sheet metal saintly medallion with a representation of St. Benedict on the obverse and the cross of St. Benedict on the reverse (SF 057), found in SU 239
- Fig. 15 Votive, saintly bronze medallion (SF 029), found in grave 2. It was made in Rome; St. Carlo Borromeo is shown on the obverse while St. Thomas Aquinas and Our Lady of the Rosary with Jesus in her lap are shown on the reverse
- Fig. 16 Caravaca-cross found in grave 71 (SF 186)



- Sl. 17 Caravaca-križ pronađen u SJ 265 (PN 106)
 Sl. 18 Caravaca-križ pronađen u SJ 265 (PN 079)
 Sl. 19 Caravaca-križ manjih dimenzija (PN 168 i 174) iz groba 60
 Sl. 20 Brončani reljefni križić-privjesak pričvršćen za tanku limenu ovalnu pločicu (PN 185), pronađen u desnoj ruci pokojnika iz groba 69
 Sl. 21 Križić-privjesak izrađen od lijevane bronce (PN 055) iz SJ 239
 Sl. 22 Križić-privjesak izrađen od lijevane bronce (PN 129) iz SJ 028
 Sl. 23 Križić-privjesak s prikazom Raspetoga Krista s jedne te s arma Christi s druge strane (PN 130), pronađen u SJ 028
 Sl. 24 Zrna krunice iz groba 42 (PN 119-122, 125, 127, 131, 133-136, 143, 145, 148, 217)

- Fig. 17 Caravaca-cross found in SU 265 (SF 106)
 Fig. 18 Caravaca-cross found in SU 265 (SF 079)
 Fig. 19 Caravaca-cross of smaller dimensions (SF 168 and 174) from grave 60
 Fig. 20 Bronze relief cross-pendant attached to a thin oval sheet metal plaque (SF 185), found in the right hand of the deceased from grave 69
 Fig. 21 Cross-pendant made of cast bronze (SF 055) from SU 239
 Fig. 22 Cross-pendant made of cast bronze (SF 129) from SU 028
 Fig. 23 Cross-pendant with a representation of crucified Christ on one side and arma Christi on the other (SF 130), found in SU 028
 Fig. 24 Rosary beads from grave 42 (SF 119-122, 125, 127, 131, 133-136, 143, 145, 148, 217)



Sl. 25 Zrna krunice iz groba 60 (PN 170, 173, 175, 219, 220)

Sl. 26 Pet malih zrna pronađenih u grobu 45 (PN 113)

Sl. 27 Zrna krunice iz groba 58 (PN 149)

Sl. 28 Zrnca iz groba 69 (PN 184)

Sl. 29 Zrnca krunice iz groba 71 (PN 188)

Sl. 30 Zrno iz groba 71 (PN 187)

Fig. 25 Rosary beads from grave 60 (SF 170, 173, 175, 219, 220)

Fig. 26 Five small beads found in grave 45 (SF 113)

Fig. 27 Rosary beads from grave 58 (SF 149)

Fig. 28 Beads from grave 69 (SF 184)

Fig. 29 Rosary beads from grave 71 (SF 188)

Fig. 30 Bead from grave 71 (SF 187)



Sl. 31

Sl. 32

Sl. 33

Sl. 31 Zrna velike krunice pronađena u južnome predvorju (PN 050)

Sl. 32 Poliedarsko zrno (PN 124) iz SJ 265

Sl. 33 Stakleni "čunjić" (PN 155) iz groba 60

Fig. 31 Beads from a large rosary, found in the southern lobby (SF 050)

Fig. 32 Polyhedral bead (SF 124) from SU 265

Fig. 33 Glass "cone" (SF 155) from grave 60



Sl. 34



Sl. 35



Sl. 36



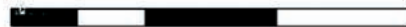
Sl. 37



Sl. 38



Sl. 39



Sl. 34 Metalni privjesci – simboli Kristove muke (PN 153, 154, 162, 163, 164, 177, 178, 181) pronađeni uz zrnca krunice u grobu 60

Sl. 35 Metalni gumbi iz groba 69 (PN 182)

Sl. 36 Metalni gumbi iz SJ 265 (PN 105)

Sl. 37 Metalni gumbi iz SJ 265 (PN 107)

Sl. 38 Metalni gumbi iz SJ 265 (PN 123)

Sl. 39 Metalni gumbi iz SJ 265 (PN 166)

Fig. 34 Metal pendants – symbols of the passion of Christ (SF 153, 154, 162, 163, 164, 177, 178, 181), found next to the rosary beads in grave 60

Fig. 35 Metal buttons from grave 69 (SF 182)

Fig. 36 Metal buttons from SU 265 (SF 105)

Fig. 37 Metal buttons from SU 265 (SF 107)

Fig. 38 Metal buttons from SU 265 (SF 123)

Fig. 39 Metal buttons from SU 265 (SF 166)



Sl. 40



Sl. 41

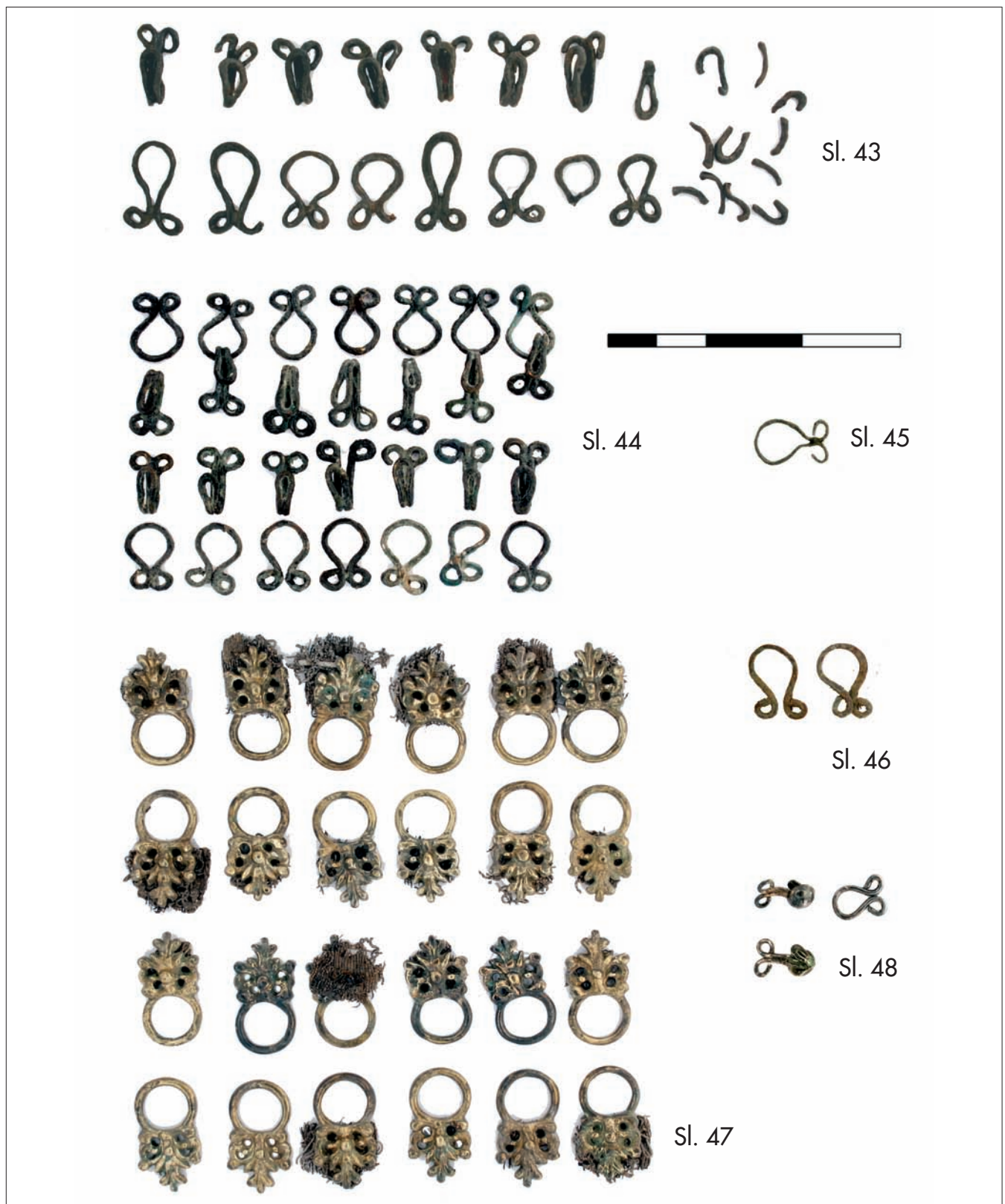


Sl. 42



Sl. 40 Praporasti gumbi iz groba 63 (PN 156)
Sl. 41 Metalni kalotasti gumbi iz groba 63 (PN 157)
Sl. 42 Brončane kopčice (ušice i kukice) iz groba 4 (PN 020 i 024)

Fig. 40 Sleigh-bell-shaped buttons from grave 63 (SF 156)
Fig. 41 Metal dome-shaped buttons from grave 63 (SF 157)
Fig. 42 Bronze clasps (loops and hooks) from grave 4 (SF 020 and 024)



- Sl. 43 Željezne kopčice (ušice i kukice) iz groba 4 (PN 111)
 Sl. 44 Mjedene kopčice (ušice i kukice) iz groba 50 (PN 139)
 Sl. 45 Metalna kopčica od tanke žice (PN 165) s dna groba 63
 Sl. 46 Ušice pronađene u grobu 25 (PN 088)
 Sl. 47 Mjedene pločice s alkicama (PN 160, 161, 168 i 169) iz groba 60
 Sl. 48 Kopčice (ušice i kukice) s kalotastim ukrasom na "kukici" (PN 173 i 220) iz groba 60

- Fig. 43 Iron clasps (loops and hooks) from grave 4 (SF 111)*
Fig. 44 Brass clasps (loops and hooks) from grave 50 (SF 139)
Fig. 45 Metal clasp of thin wire (SF 165) from the bottom of grave 63
Fig. 46 Loops found in grave 25 (SF 088)
Fig. 47 Brass plaques with rings (SF 160, 161, 168 and 169) from grave 60
Fig. 48 Clasps (loops and hooks) with dome-shaped decoration on the "hook" (SF 173 and 220) from grave 60