

KASNOANTIČKI UKOPI I SREDNJOVJEKOVNO GROBLJE KOD CRKVE SV. ŠIME U ZADRU

THE LATE ANTIQUITY BURIALS AND THE MIEVEAL CEMETERY AT ST. SIMON'S CHURCH IN ZADAR

Tijekom arheološkoga istraživanja na Poljani Šime Budinića otkriveno je 14 grobova. Prema visinama ukopa i njihovim karakteristikama grobove je moguće podijeliti u dvije skupine. U prvu skupinu spadaju grobovi 8, 9 i 15, ukopani u dublje SJ. Vjerojatno predstavljaju sporadične ukope iz kasnoantičkoga vremena kada popuštaju stroga pravila o ukapanju izvan gradskih bedema. Ostali grobovi ukopani u SJ koje su se formirale nad ostatcima antičke arhitekture čine drugu skupinu. Ovi su grobovi bili dijelom gradskoga groblja koje se u srednjemu vijeku formiralo s južne strane crkve sv. Stjepana, kasnije sv. Šime. U vezu s ovim grobovima moguće je dovesti zid 10, koji je odvajao prostor groblja od glavne gradske ulice. Vrijeme egzistiranja groblja moguće je okvirno odrediti u razdoblje od 12 do 14. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: Zadar, srednji vijek, groblje, Koloman, novac

Fourteen graves were discovered during the archaeological excavations at Poljana Šime Budnića public space. Based on the altitude of burials and their characteristics, the graves can be divided in two groups. Graves no. 8, 9 and 15, dug in deeper stratigraphic units, belong to the first group. These are probably sporadic burials from the Late Antiquity, when the rules insisting on burials only outside city walls became somewhat less strict. Other graves, dug in the stratigraphic units formed above the remains of the antique architecture, belong to the second group. They were part of the city cemetery created in the medieval period to the south of St. Stephen's Church, later renamed St. Simon's Church. The wall no. 10 that separated the cemetery area from the main street could be connected with the latter graves. Roughly, the cemetery existed in the period spanning the 12th and 14th centuries.

Key words: Zadar, medieval period, cemetery, Coloman, coins

Poljana Šime Budinića javni je otvoreni prostor površine oko 900 m², koji se pruža pravcem jugoistok – sjeverozapad u dužini gotovo 60 i širini 15 metara. Omeđen je s jedne strane crkvom sv. Šime, a s druge Kneževom i Providurovom palačom. Jugozapadnim dijelom Poljane prolazi glavna gradska ulica. Prema sjeverozapadu nivo površine blago se spušta, pa je taj rub Poljane otprilike 1 metar niži od jugoistočnoga, što je, sudeći po živcu otkrivenom u sondama, posljedica prirodnoga pada terena. Na ovome prostoru su 1984. godine, u sklopu radova na crkvi sv. Šime, provedena zaštitna istraživanja popraćena detaljnom studijom arhitekture, dok su rezultati arheoloških istraživanja ostali u okviru šturoga priopćenja.¹

Tijekom 2011. godine, u sklopu građevinskih radova uređenja Poljane Šime Budinića, Arheološki muzej proveo je zaštitno arheološko istraživanje.² Istraživanja iz 2011. godine, uz brojne pokretne i nepokretne nalaze koji datiraju od prapovijesti do novoga vijeka, rezultirala su i otkrićem 14 grobova, koji su tema ovoga rada. Istraživanje je započelo praćenjem širokoga iskopa tijekom kojega su strojno uklanjani asfalt, dijelovi nogostupa i raslinje. Slijedilo je čišćenje, dokumentiranje i uklanjanje novovjekovnih struktura koje su zatečene ispod recentnih slojeva. Spomenute strukture pripadale su ranijim fazama popločavanja prostora, a manifestirale su se na većem dijelu istraživanih površina kao žbukana podloga položena dijelom preko crvenice, označena u dnevniku kao SJ2, SJ6, SJ91 i SJ168. U jednome manjem dijelu, u vezi s ranije spomenutim SJ, dokumentiran je i niz vertikalno položenih opeka. Neposredno ispod SJ2, SJ6 i SJ91 u više su navrata zatečeni grobovi koji su dokumentirani i potom uklonjeni kako bi se moglo nastaviti s građevinskim radovima. Naposljetku, u dogovoru s nadležnim Konzervatorskim odjelom i investitorom, provedeno je sondažno iskopavanje kako bi se stekao uvid u stratigrafiju prostora.

Do završetka iskopavanja na Poljani Šime Budinića je istraženo 14 grobova. U samoj dokumentaciji evidentirano je 15 grobova, no kako, po svemu sudeći, kosturi označeni brojevima 12 i 13 ne predstavljaju zasebne grobove, već dvostruki ukop u istoj grobnici, u ovom su tekstu tretirani i broje se kao jedan grob s oznakom 12/13.

Na temelju stratigrafije grobove je moguće podijeliti u dvije skupine. Prvu čine grobovi označeni brojevima 8, 9 i 15, ukopani u niže slojeve i otkriveni prilikom sondažnoga iskopavanja. Ovi su grobovi ukopani u ostatcima antičke arhitekture, a nad njima su zatečeni ostatci arhitekture kasnoga srednjeg ili ranoga novoga vijeka.³ Nadmorska visina

Poljana Šime Budinića is an open public space of approx. 900m², almost 60m long and 15m wide, stretching in the southeast – northwest direction. It is bordered by St. Stephen Church on one side and Rector's and Governor's Palaces on the other. The city's main street runs along the Poljana's southwestern part. The ground is slightly sloping towards northwest, so the Poljana's northwestern edge is approx. 1 meter lower than its southeastern edge. Based on the bedrock discovered in the trenches, the sloping of the terrain is natural. Rescue archaeological excavations were carried out here in 1984, as part of the works on the St. Stephen's Church. A detailed study of the architecture was made, but the results of the archaeological excavations were merely announced without many details.¹

In 2011, the Archaeological Museum carried out rescue archaeological excavations preceding the construction work as part of the development of the Poljana Šime Budinića public space.² In addition to the numerous movable and immovable finds dated to the period between prehistory and Modern Age, the 2011 excavations resulted in the discovery of 14 graves – the subject of this paper. The archaeological work began with monitoring of the wide excavation made as part of the construction work that also included machine removal of the asphalt and parts of the pavement and vegetation. It was followed by cleaning, documenting and removal of the Modern Age structures found under the recent layers. The said structures belonged to earlier pavements; in most of the researched area, they manifested as a base with plaster on it, partly laid over terra rossa (designated in the excavation logs as stratigraphic units SU2, SU6, SU91 and SU168). In a smaller section, in connection with the earlier mentioned stratigraphic unit, a vertical line of bricks was documented, too. Immediately underneath SU2, SU6 and SU91, graves were found at several occasions. They were then documented and removed so that the construction work could continue. Eventually, in consultation with the Conservation Department and with the investor, test excavations were carried out in order to become acquainted with the stratigraphy of the space.

Until the completion of the excavations at Poljana Šime Budinića, 14 graves were explored. Although 15 graves were documented, there is every indication that the skeletons 12 and 13 do not represent separate graves but a double burial in the same tomb. As such, they are treated like a single grave in this paper and are designated as Grave no. 12/13.

Based on the stratigraphy, the graves can be divided in two groups. Group I consists of Graves no. 8, 9 and 15, dug in the lower layers and discovered during the test excavation. The graves were made in the remains of antique

1 R. Jurić, 1986; P. Vežić, 1990.

2 Pregled istraživanja i preliminarne rezultate donose J. Vučić – H. Manenica, 2015.

3 Grobovi 8 i 9 otkriveni su u sondi S3A. Iznad grobova je zatečen SJ14A koji su činili nabijena masna zemlja i horizontalno položene ploče kamena škriljevca. Ove su ploče možda imale funkciju poklopnica grobova. Grob 8 je kao stranicu iskoristio sjeverozapadno lice antičkoga zida 13. Grob 15 položen je uz sjeverozapadno lice antičkoga zida 37.

1 R. Jurić, 1986; P. Vežić, 1990.

2 For the overview and preliminary results of the excavations, see J. Vučić – H. Manenica, 2015.

dna grobova kreće se od 425 cm kod groba 15, koji se nalazi na jugoistočnome rubu Poljane, do 328 cm kod groba 9, koji se nalazi na sjeverozapadnome rubu. Razlika u visini uvjetovana je prirodnim padom terena.⁴ Sva tri groba skupine I orijentacijom slijede smjer pružanja ostataka antičke arhitekture, azimut im se kreće od 224° do 235°. Što se tiče načina izrade, grobovi su raznoliki. Grob 15 načinjen je od polovice amfore zatvorene ulomcima tegula, grob 8 od tankih kamenih, vertikalno položenih ploča, a kao stranicu koristi i antički zid, dok je grob 9 ukopan u običnoj zemljanoj jami. Pokojnici su pokopani na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, s glavom na jugozapadu. Ruke pokojnika su u svim grobovima bile ispružene niz tijelo. U grob 15 istovremeno je, čini se, pokopano četvero djece mlađe od godinu dana, u grobu 9 također je, po svemu sudeći, istovremeno pokopano troje djece u dobi od 0,5 do 7 godina, dok je grob 8 korišten u dva navrata: prvo je u njemu pokopana odrasla osoba, čije su kosti naknadno izmještene i u isti je grob položeno dijete starosti do 15 godina. Višekratno ukopavanje u grob 8 bilo je moguće jer je imao kamenu konstrukciju. U ova tri groba ukopano je sedmero djece preminule u dobi od 1 do 7 godina, jedno dijete u dobi 14 do 15 godina i odrasla ženska osoba. U grobovima ove skupine nisu pronađeni prilozi, nakit ni dijelovi nošnje.

U nedostatku nalaza grobove skupine I teško je preciznije datirati. Njihov odnos prema antičkoj arhitekturi te činjenica da u antičkom razdoblju nije bilo uobičajeno ukapanje unutar bedema grada⁵ ukazuju na razdoblje kasne antike kao *terminus ante quem non*. Horizontalno stratigrafski odnosi, veća relativna dubina ukopa u odnosu na grobove skupine II i činjenica da su za razliku od njih preko ovih grobova izgrađeni objekti iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka (što sugerira kako su se ti grobovi nalazili izvan granica srednjovjekovnoga groblja), ukazuje kako prva skupina grobova vjerojatno prethodi formiranju srednjovjekovnog groblja. Na temelju spomenutih odnosa i činjenice da grob 15 za ukop koristi dio amfore, grobove skupine I moguće je uvjetno datirati u razdoblje kasne antike, u vrijeme kada je antička građevina na ovome položaju već uklonjena, ali se u prostoru još uvijek razaznaju njeni ostatci.

Skupinu II čini 11 grobova ukopanih u sloj tamne smeđe zemlje (SJ3) koji se formirao iznad ostataka antičke arhitekture, sadrži ulomke većinom kasnoantičke keramike i kasnoantičke kovanice. Grobovi su, zbog male dubine ukopa, uočeni uglavnom već prilikom radova na širokome iskopu. Ukopani su u stratigrafske jedinice označene tijekom iskopavanja kao SJ3 i SJ72. Nadmorska visina dna ovih grobova prati prirodan pad terena. Najviši je grob 14, smješten na jugoistočnome rubu skupine, ukopan do visine 505 cm, a najniži je grob 5,

architecture and were covered with the remains of the late medieval or early modern age architecture.³ The altitude of their bottoms ranges from 425 cm for Grave no. 15 on the Poljana's southeastern edge to 328 cm for Grave no. 9 on the northwestern edge. The difference in the altitude is due to the natural sloping of the ground.⁴ All three graves from the group I are oriented in parallel with the remains of the antique architecture, their azimuths ranging from 224° to 235°. They are of different types, too: Grave no. 15 consists of a half of an amphora closed with tegula fragments; Grave no. 8 is made of thin vertical stone slabs and uses an antique wall as its side; Grave no. 9 is a plain earthen pit. Bodies were buried in the extended position, lying flat on their back, head to the southwest. It seems that four children below the age of one were buried in Grave no. 15 at the same time. By all accounts, a simultaneous burial also took place in Grave no. 9. Three children between 0.5 and 7 years of age were buried in it. As for Grave no. 8, it was used twice. An adult person was first buried in it and the bones were subsequently removed and a child of up to 15 years of age was then buried there. The repeated use was possible due to the grave's stone structure. Overall, these three graves contain bodies of seven children between 1 and 7 years of age, one child of 14 or 15, and an adult female. No grave goods, jewelry or parts of attire have been found in them.

Due to lack of finds, accurate dating of the graves belonging to group I is not easy. Their position against the antique architecture and the fact that burials inside the city walls were not common in the antiquity⁵ indicate Late Antiquity as the *terminus ante quem non*. The horizontal stratigraphy, the bigger relative depth of the burials compared to the graves from group II and the fact that, unlike in the case of the latter ones, late medieval structures were built above these graves (suggesting they were outside the boundary walls of a medieval cemetery) indicate that the first group of graves must have preceded the forming of the cemetery. Based on the above mentioned spatial relations and the fact that a part of an amphora was used for the burial in Grave no. 15, we can tentatively date the group I graves to Late Antiquity – to the period when the antique structure had already been removed but its remains could still be seen.

Group II consists of 11 graves dug in a layer of dark brown earth (SU3), formed above the remains of the antique architecture. The layer contains coins and fragments of pottery, both mostly from Late Antiquity. Due to shallow burials, most of these graves were spotted as early as the

4 Kod svih triju grobova ove skupine visina dna grobova bliska je visini temeljnih stopa njima najbližih zidova druge faze antičke gradnje na istraživanome prostoru.

5 Z. Serventi – M. Jurjević, 2013, 197, 198.

3 Graves no. 8 and 9 were discovered in the trench S3A. Above them was the stratigraphic layer SU14A, consisting of compact greasy earth and horizontally placed schist slabs. The slabs could have served as the cover slabs. Grave no. 8 used the northwestern face of the antique wall as its side. Grave no. 15 lies along the northwestern face of the antiquity wall no. 37.

4 The altitudes of the bottoms of all three graves correspond with those of the footings of the closest Phase 2 antique walls in the area explored.

5 Z. Serventi – M. Jurjević, 2013, 197, 198.



Slika 1. Odnos podloge SJ2 i groba 2.
Figure 1. SU2 base as against Grave no. 2.

foto / photo: Jakov Vučić

koji se nalazi na sjeverozapadnome kraju, ukopan do visine 440 cm. Iznad grobova i SJ u koje su ukopani u kasnijem vremenu formirala se podloga pločnika označena tijekom istraživanja kao SJ2, SJ6 i SJ91 (Sl. 1).⁶ Prilikom pripremnih radova za postavljanje podloge izvedena je denivelacija terena i tom prilikom vjerojatno je uništen i oštećen dio grobova na zapadnome dijelu Poljana.⁷ Zbog relativno male dubine ukopa u odnosu na recentni nivo pločnika, velik dio grobova ove skupine uništen je ili oštećen prilikom postavljanja instalacija.⁸ Izuzev groba 1 ovi grobovi nisu imali grobne konstrukcije, već se uglavnom radilo o običnim zemljanim jamama. Većina

works on the wide excavation had begun. They were dug in the stratigraphic layers designated during the excavations as SU3 and SU72. The altitudes of these graves follow the natural sloping of the terrain. The highest grave – Grave no. 14 – lies on the group's southeastern end, the altitude of its bottom being 505 cm. The lowest is Grave no. 5, on the northwestern end, with its bottom at 440 cm above sea level. A pavement base, designated during the excavations as SU2, SU6 and SU91 (Fig. 1), formed subsequently above the graves and the SUSU in which they had been dug.⁶ It was probably during the delevelling of the terrain – part of the preliminaries for the base – that some of the graves at the western side of Poljana were damaged.⁷ As the burials were relatively shallow compared to the present-day level of the pavement, most of the graves from this group were

6 Ova se podloga nalazila i na prostoru Trga Petra Zoranića, gdje je označena kao SJ168. Njenim postavljanjem u potpunosti su negirani i prekriveni ostatci novovjekovnih, kasnosrednjovjekovnih i srednjovjekovnih građevina na Trgu Petra Zoranića i Poljani Šime Budinića. Na Poljani Šime Budinića, na položaju sonde S7, podloga SJ91 dokumentirana je na visini od 520 do 500 cm, u liniji bočnoga portala crkve. SJ2 je dokumentirana na visini od 470 cm, na položaju PKV1. SJ6 je dokumentirana na nadmorskoj visini od 445 cm. U jednome dijelu, na Poljani Šime Budinića, nad podlogom se sačuvala konstrukcija od vertikalno postavljenih cigli, u dužini od 17 metara, koje su vjerojatno pripadale uređenju pločnika.

7 Na ovaj zaključak upućuje činjenica da se ispod SJ6 u PKV1 uopće ne nalazi stratigrafska jedinica u koju su ukopani grobovi, već SJ6 direktno leži preko starijih SJ. Na isto upućuje i situacija groba 10, kojem je u potpunosti uništen sjeverozapadni dio i to na istoj poziciji na kojoj je uklonjen i dodatni niz kamenja sa zida 10, uz koji je grob ukopan. Grob 2, kojem je uništen sjeverozapadni dio, zatečen je u direktnom kontaktu sa SJ2.

8 Na ovaj način ukopavanjem kanala 2 i postavljanjem PTT instalacije oštećeni su grob 5 i grob 12/13.

6 The base also extended to the present-day Petra Zoranića Square, where it is designated as SU168. When it was made, it covered the remains of the modern age, late medieval and medieval structures on Petra Zoranića Square and Poljani Šime Budinića, totally neutralizing their function. At Poljana Šime Budinića, in trench S7, the base SU91 was documented on the altitude ranging from 520 to 500 cm, parallel with the lateral portal of the church. SU2 was documented on the altitude of 470 cm, at PKV1 position. SJ6 was documented on the altitude of 445 cm. On one section, a 17 m-long structure made of vertically placed bricks has been preserved above the base in Poljana Šime Budinića. This is probably a remainder of the pavement improvement works.

7 This is indicated by the fact that the stratigraphic unit in which the graves were dug cannot be found at all under SU6 in PKV1. The SU6 lies directly on older stratigraphic units. The condition of Grave no. 10 indicates the same: its northwestern part is totally destroyed, on the same position from which the additional line of stones originating from wall no. 10 (along which the grave was made) was removed. Grave no. 2, with its northwestern part destroyed, was found in direct contact with SU2.

grobova ove skupine (grobovi 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12/13) orijentacijom od 315° do 320° slijede pravac pružanja crkve sv. Šime (sv. Stjepana) i glavne gradske ulice. Grob 14 položen je okomito na prije spomenute grobove i ima orijentaciju 225°. Budući da je to ujedno i posljednji grob iz skupine II gledano prema jugoistoku, može se pretpostaviti kako je njegova orijentacija uvjetovana rubnim položajem, tj. ukopom uz zid koji je možda na ovome kraju ograđivao groblje. Grobovi 1 i 16 orijentacijom od 270° odnosno 287° pokazuju tendenciju pravilnoga usmjerenja istok-zapad. Kod deset od jedanaest istraženih grobova ove skupine nisu zabilježeni tragovi grobne arhitekture i, po svemu sudeći, radi se o ukopima u obične zemljane jame. Nad kosturom iz groba 1, koji je također čini se položen u običnu zemljanu jamu, zatečeni su ostatci kamene konstrukcije nalik podlozi za polaganje nadgrobne ploče ili nekoga drugog nadzemnog obilježja groba.

Pokojnici su u ove grobove položeni na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, s glavom na zapadu, jugozapadu i sjeverozapadu. Kod triju kostura ruke su bile prekrížene na prsima, u ostalih sedam dokumentiranih slučajeva bile su ispružene niz tijelo. Kod ove skupine grobova nema potvrde višekratnih ukopa u istoj grobnoj jami, makar se na taj način mogu interpretirati grobovi 11 i 12/13. Prema odnosu kostura u ovim dvama grobovima moguće je pomišljati kako su u grobu 12/13 u široku, plitku jamu prvotno položeni dijete i do njega ženska osoba, a naknadno je iznad njih položena odrasla muška osoba. Ipak, izmaknut položaj kostura iz groba 11 u odnosu na grob 12/13 te sloj zemlje koji je dijelio kosture groba 12/13 i groba 11 ukazuju kako ovdje vjerojatno nije riječ o naknadnome ukopu u istu zemljanu grobnicu, već o iskopu nove grobne jame koja dijelom leži nad starijom. Istovremeni ukop dviju osoba u istoj grobnoj jami može se pretpostaviti u dva slučaja, kod groba 12/13 i groba 6. U ostalih devet grobova ukopana je po jedna osoba. U 11 grobova skupine II evidentirano je ukupno 13 kostura. Analizom je obuhvaćeno njih 11, među kojima je evidentirano jedno dijete starosti između 6,5 i 7,5 godina, dvoje djece starosti između 10 i 15 godina, četiri žene starosti između 20 i 45 godina i četiri muškarca starosti između 30 i 60 godina.

U većini grobova skupine II nisu pronađeni nikakvi nalazi. Prilikom istraživanja groba 4 otkrivena su tri željezna čavla koja nije moguće sa sigurnošću povezati uz grob. U grobu 1 pronađene su, uz glavu pokojnice, tri S-karičice u funkciji nakita (Sl. 2: 1-3), a u grobu 16, uz podlakticu pokojnika, kao prilog mali srebrni denar (Sl. 2: 4). Tri S-karičice iz groba 1 spadaju u skupinu maloformatnih S-karičica. Dvije srebrne sličnih su karakteristika i očito su činile par, dok im je treća, nešto veća i brončana, vjerojatno pridodana. Srebrne maloformatne S-karičice, na temelju materijala od kojega su izrađene, dimenzija, debljine žice i kaneliranih S-petlji, možemo pribrojiti kasnim primjercima ovoga tipa naušnica koji

destroyed or damaged when pipes and cables were laid.⁸ With the exception of Grave no. 1, these graves had no grave structures – they were merely plain earthen pits. With their azimuths between 315° do 320°, most of the graves from this group (Graves no. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12/13) are parallel with the line of St. Simon's (St. Stephen's) Church and the main street. Grave no. 14 lies at right angle to the above mentioned graves, its azimuth being 225°. As this is the last grave of group II towards the southeast, we can assume that it was this peripheral position that determined its orientation because the burial must have taken place by the cemetery's boundary wall. With their respective azimuths of 270° and 287°, Graves no. 1 and 16 are positioned on the east – west line, making no departure from it. In ten out of eleven explored graves belonging to this group, no traces of sepulchral architecture were found. By all indications, the burials were made in plain earthen pits. Above the skeleton in Grave no. 1, also seemingly buried in a plain earthen pit, there were remains of a stone structure resembling a base for a tombstone or for some other grave monument above the ground.

The bodies in these graves were buried in the extended position, lying on their back, head to the west, southwest or northwest. Three skeletons had their arms folded upon the chest and the remaining seven documented cases had their arms straight. In this group of graves there is no evidence of repeated burials in the same grave, although graves 11 and 12/13 could be interpreted that way. The juxtaposition of the skeletons in these two graves allows us to believe that – in Grave no. 12/13 – it was a child and an adult female that were first buried in it and then, subsequently and above them, an adult male. However, the fact that the skeleton from Grave no. 11 is shifted to the side in relation to Grave no. 12/13 and the earth layer that separated the skeletons in Graves 12/13 and 11 indicate that there probably were no repeated burials in the same grave here; instead, a new grave was dug above the older one, partly overlapping with it. Simultaneous burials in the same grave can be assumed in two cases – in Grave no. 12/13 and Grave no. 6. One person was buried in the each of the remaining nine graves. In the 11 graves belonging to the group II, a total of 13 skeletons were recorded. Eleven of them were analyzed: one child between 6.5 and 7.5 years of age, two children between 10 and 15 years, four females between 20 and 45 years and four males between 30 and 60 years of age.

Most of the group II graves contained no finds. Three iron nails were found when Grave no. 4 was explored, but no positive connection with this grave can be made. Three S-shaped circlets used as jewelry (Fig. 2: 1-3) were found next

8 This way, by digging the channel no. 2 and by laying the telephone cables, Graves 5 and 12/13 were damaged.



Slika 2. Maloformatne S-karičice iz groba 1 i Kolomanov denar iz groba 16.

Figure 2. Small-size S-circllets from Grave no. 1 and Coloman denarius from Grave no. 16.

foto / photo: Jakov Vučić

prevladavaju na prijelazu 11. u 12. stoljeće.⁹ Denar iz groba 16 kovan je za vrijeme kralja Kolomana (1095. –1116.).

Na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije najbližu paralelu grobovima 1 i 16 kod crkve sv. Šime u Zadru predstavlja grob 422, s groblja Begovača u Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra, u kojem su pronađene srebrne maloformatne S-karičice i Kolomanov denar.¹⁰ Iako potječu izvan grobnoga konteksta, s nalazima iz grobova 1 i 16 usporedivi su i nalazi srebrnih maloformatnih S-karičica i Kolomanov denar pronađeni na groblju uz crkvu sv. Ivana Evanđelista u Biogradu (kat. 3).¹¹ Maloformatne srebrne S-karičice pronađene su i u grobu 80 na Mastirinama u Kašiću.¹² Među usporedive nalaze iz grobova i s nekropola izvan grobnoga konteksta, s prostora sjeverne Dalmacije, možemo još ubrojiti Kolomanov novac pronađen u grobu prilikom istraživanja u crkvi sv. Nikole u Zadru,¹³ Kolomanov novac s groblja kod crkve, na položaju Smratine na Viru,¹⁴ s groblja kod crkve sv. Križa u

to a female's head in Grave no. 1 and a small silver denarius was found as a grave good next to a male's forearm in Grave no. 16 (Fig. 2: 4). The three S-circllets from Grave no. 1 belong to the group of small-size S-circllets. Two silver ones have similar characteristics and were obviously a pair; the third, somewhat larger bronze circllet was probably added to them. Based on the material, size, wire thickness and fluted S-loops, we can include them in a late type of these earrings, predominant at the turn of the 11th and the 12th centuries.⁹ The denarius from Grave no. 16 was minted during King Coloman's reign (1095 – 1116).

In northern Dalmatia, the closest analogy for Graves no. 1 and 16 near St. Simon's Church in Zadar is Grave no. 422 in Begovača Cemetery in Biljane Donje near Zadar, in which silver small-size S-circllets and a Coloman's denarius were found.¹⁰ Although not found in the grave context, the silver small-size S-circllet and a Coloman's denarius from the cemetery at St. John the Baptist's Church in Biograd (cat. 3) can also be compared with the finds from Graves 1 and 16.¹¹ Small-size silver S-circllets were also found in Grave no. 80 at the Mastirine site in Kašić.¹² Of the comparable north Dalmatian grave finds and those from necropolises but out of the grave context, we can also mention here the above mentioned Coloman's coins found in a grave during the excavations in St. Nicholas' Church in Zadar,¹³ at the cemetery near the church on the Smratine location on the island of Vir,¹⁴ at the cemetery near the Church of the Holy Cross in Nin,¹⁵ near St. Anselm's Church in Nin,¹⁶ from the cemetery context at Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II in Zadar (cat. 2), near the cemetery on Petar Zoranić square (cat. 5), and at the already mentioned Begovača Cemetery in Biljane Donje.¹⁷ The literature mentions individual finds of Coloman's coins which, for now, cannot be connected with cemeteries, such as two coins from Ljubač,¹⁸ one from Šopot near Benkovac¹⁹ and one from Smokovica near the spring of the river Krupa.²⁰ One Coloman's denarius that cannot be connected with a medieval cemetery yet was found in Zadar, in the cloister of the former St. John's Monastery (cat. 1), and one denarius was found out of context on Kolovare beach in Zadar (cat. 4). In Lepuri (Podgrađe)

9 Ž. Tomičić, 1990, 88; M. Petrinc, 2009, 236, 237.

10 D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 91, 111, 128, T. 30:422.

11 Fotografiju karičica donosi R. Jurić, 2009, 5. Kolomanov novac tipa Rethy 47, Unger 32, čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar.

12 D. Jelovina, 1982, 47, 48, T. 5:80.

13 Korištenje ove informacije dopustio mi je voditelj istraživanja Luka Bekić. Novac je na temelju uvida na terenu odredio Dejan Filipčić.

14 Novac spominje M. Ilkić, 2017, 155, bilj 15. Prema usmenom pripćenju voditelja istraživanja Tomislava Fabijanića, novac je pronađen izvan grobnoga konteksta.

9 Ž. Tomičić, 1990, 88; M. Petrinc, 2009, 236, 237.

10 D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 91, 111, 128, Pl. 30:422.

11 The photo of the circllets was published in R. Jurić, 2009, 5. Coloman's coin of Rethy 47, Unger 32 type is kept in the Archaeological Museum Zadar.

12 D. Jelovina, 1982, 47, 48, Pl. 5:80.

13 Luka Bekić, who headed the excavations, allowed me to use this information. The coin was identified by Dejan Filipčić on the basis of a field analysis.

14 The coin is mentioned by M. Ilkić, 2017, 155, footnote 15. According to the information orally provided by Tomislav Fabijanić, head of the excavations, the coin was found out of the grave context.

15 J. Belošević, 1999, Pl. 21:19, Pl. 31:3; M. Ilkić, 2013, 87, 88, Cat. D10.

16 M. Ilkić – M. Vukušić, 2012, 199, 230, Cat. 189.

17 Unlike the coin from Grave no. 422, this one was found out of the grave context. D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 105 Pl. 52:92.

18 M. Ilkić – P. Kožul – I. Čurković, 2014, 77, 91, Cat. 41; M. Ilkić, 2017, 155, 174, Cat. 113, 114.

19 N. Jakšić, 1990, 427.

20 M. Ilkić, 2017, 155, footnote 16.

Slika 3. Odnos ogradnoga zida groblja (Zid 10) i zida druge faze antičke gradnje (Zid 14)

Figure 3. Cemetery boundary wall (Wall no. 10) as against wall of antique structure's phase two (Wall no. 14)

foto / photo: Jakov Vučić

Ninu,¹⁵ kod crkve sv. Asela u Ninu,¹⁶ iz konteksta groblja na Poljani pape Ivana Pavla 2. u Zadru (kat. 2), i u blizini groblja na Trgu Petra Zoranića u Zadru (kat. 5) te s već spomenutoga groblja Begovača u Biljanima Donjim.¹⁷ U literaturi se spominju pojedinačni nalazi Kolomanova novca koji se za sada ne mogu dovesti u vezu s grobljima, poput dvije kovanice iz Ljupča,¹⁸ jedne iz Šopota kod Benkovca,¹⁹ te jedne iz Smokovice kod izvora Krupe.²⁰ Jedan Kolomanov denar koji se za sada ne može povezati uz srednjovjekovno groblje pronađen je i u Zadru u klausturu bivšega samostana sv. Ivana (kat. 1), a jedan slučajni nalaz potječe s plaže Kolovare u Zadru (kat. 4). Iz Lepura, odnosno Podgrađa kod Benkovca, potječe poznata ostava s oko 2000 Kolomanovih denara.²¹ Spomenuti novac i nakit dovode se u literaturi u vezu s akcijama koje je na ovim prostorima početkom 12. stoljeća vodio kralj Koloman.²² Nalazima Kolomanovih denara i maloformatnih srebrnih S-karičica na groblju uz crkvu sv. Šime početkom 12. stoljeća Zadar se uklapa u sliku prostora koji ga okružuje.

Uz Kolomanove denare i srebrne maloformatne S-karičice, u Zadru i zadarskoj okolici pronađeni su i drugi oblici nakita koji se u literaturi često povezuju uz bjelobrdsku kulturu. Iz groba u crkvama sv. Andrija i Petar Stari u Zadru potječe lunulasto-grozdolika naušnica.²³ Na nekropolama Mastirine u Kašiću, Grede u Kašiću, sv. Križ u Ninu, Crkvine u Galovcu, Begovača kod Kašića, Lepuri kod Benkovca, Stara Poveljana na Pagu i Sv. Nediljica u Korlatu, pronađene su brončane i srebrne S-karičice.²⁴ Jedan primjerak ovoga tipa pronađen je izvan grobnoga konteksta prilikom arheoloških istraživanja na Aseriji.²⁵ Na Mastirinama u Kašiću i Crkvinama u Galovcu



near Benkovac, the well-known hoard of approx. 2,000 Coloman's denarii was found.²¹ The literature connects the above mentioned coins and jewelry with the military operations carried out by King Coloman in these parts in the early 12th century.²² With all these Coloman's denarii and small-size silver S-circllets found at the cemetery of St. Simon's Church, Zadar clearly fits in the picture of the early-12th-century area that surrounded it.

In addition to Coloman's denarii and silver small-size S-circllets, other types of jewelry, often connected in the literature with the Bijelo Brdo culture, were also found in Zadar and its surroundings.

A lunula- and grape-shaped earring was found in a grave in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Peter the Old in Zadar.²³ Bronze and silver S-circllets were found at the necropolises Mastirine in Kašić, Grede in Kašić, Holy Cross in Nin, Crkvine in Galovac, Begovača near Kašić, Lepuri near Benkovac, Stara Poveljana on Pag and St. Nediljica Church in Korlat.²⁴ A specimen of this type was found during the archaeological excavations at Asseria, outside the grave context.²⁵ Earrings of the so-called Pilin type – also typical of the Bijelo Brdo culture – were found at Mastirine in Kašić and at Crkvine in Galovac.²⁶

Although they belong to the same group in terms of stratigraphy and were once part of the same cemetery, Graves

15 J. Belošević, 1999, T. 21:19, T. 31:3; M. Ilkić, 2013, 87, 88, kat. D10.

16 M. Ilkić – M. Vukušić, 2012, 199, 230, kat. 189.

17 Za razliku od novca iz groba 422, ovaj je pronađen izvan grobnoga konteksta. D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 105 T. 52:92.

18 M. Ilkić – P. Kožul – I. Ćurković, 2014, 77, 91, kat. 41; M. Ilkić, 2017, 155, 174, kat. 113, 114.

19 N. Jakšić, 1990, 427.

20 M. Ilkić, 2017, 155, bilj. 16.

21 I. Mirnik, 1987, 85, 89; N. Jakšić, 1999, 274.

22 N. Jakšić, 1990, 427, 428; N. Jakšić, 1999, 274; M. Ilkić – P. Kožul – I. Ćurković, 2014, 76, 93.

23 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1971, 196, sl. 20, T. 1. Grobnica je na planu označena brojem 45. Ovaj tip naušnice datira se između 965. i 1030. godine (Ž. Tomičić, 2003, 152).

24 D. Jelovina, 1982, 47, 48, 51, T. 5:80, T. 6:83, 87, T. 7:110; D. Vrsalović, 1968, 79, T. 5:134, T. 6:139; J. Belošević, 1999, 116, T. 19:1, 2, T. 23:7, 8; J. Belošević, 1993, 135, T. 15, T. 17, T. 23:1, 2, 5; D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 85, 111, T. 29:271; M. Petrinec, 2009, 61, 82, T. 268:2. Naušnice iz Korlata pronađene su u grobu tijekom arheološkoga istraživanja, čuvaju se u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar. Cjelovit popis nalazišta S-karičica donosi M. Petrinec, 2009, 235, 236.

25 Masivni primjerak s Aserije pronađen je na zapadnome bedemu 4. studenoga 1999., promjera je 23 mm i načinjen je od bronce. Čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar.

21 I. Mirnik, 1987, 85, 89; N. Jakšić, 1999, 274.

22 N. Jakšić, 1990, 427, 428; N. Jakšić, 1999, 274; M. Ilkić – P. Kožul – I. Ćurković, 2014, 76, 93.

23 I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1971, 196, fig. 20, Pl. 1. The grave is designated with number 45 on the plan. This type of earrings was dated to the period between 965 and 1030 AD (Ž. Tomičić, 2003, 152).

24 D. Jelovina, 1982, 47, 48, 51, Pl. 5:80, Pl. 6:83, 87, Pl. 7:110; D. Vrsalović, 1968, 79, Pl. 5:134, Pl. 6:139; J. Belošević, 1999, 116, Pl. 19:1, 2, Pl. 23:7, 8; J. Belošević, 1993, 135, Pl. 15, Pl. 17, Pl. 23:1, 2, 5; D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 85, 111, Pl. 29:271; M. Petrinec, 2009, 61, 82, Pl. 268:2. The Korlat earrings were found in a grave during archaeological excavations. They are kept in the Archaeological Museum Zadar. A complete list of sites where the S-circllets had been found was published in M. Petrinec, 2009, 235, 236.

25 The massive Asseria specimen was found on the western defensive wall on 4 November 1999. It is made of bronze and its diameter is 23mm. It is kept in Archaeological Museum Zadar.

26 D. Jelovina, 1982, 44, 45, 59, Pl. 4:66; J. Belošević, 1993, 135, Pl. 24:1. M. Petrinec, pointed at the differences within the group and possible different places of origin of individual subtypes. M. Petrinec, 2009, 238, 239.

Slika 4. Groblja 11. – 12. st. u Zadru
Figure 4. 11th-12th-century cemeteries in Zadar



1. SV. NIKOLA
2. POLJANA PAPE IVANA PAVLA 2.
3. SV. ANDRIJA I SV. PETAR STARI
4. SV. ŠIME (STJEPAN)
5. SV. PETAR OD VITLA/ TRG PETRA ZORANIČA
6. KLAUSTAR SAMOSTANA SV. IVANA

pronađene su naušnice tzv. pilinskoga tipa, a također su karakteristične za bjelobrdsku kulturu.²⁶

Iako stratigrafski pripadaju istoj skupini i bili su dijelom istoga groblja, grobovi 1 i 16 pokazuju određene karakteristike koje ih izdvajaju od ostalih grobova skupine II s groblja kod crkve sv. Šime. Orijentacijom ne slijede pravac pružanja zidova, već su pravilno orijentirani istok-

no. 1 and 16 show certain characteristics that distinguish them from the rest of the group II graves at the St. Simon's Church cemetery. They do not follow the line of the walls; instead, they follow the east – west line, never inclining away from it. Positioned next to each other, they are the only ones that contain finds.²⁷ One of them also stands out with the

26 D. Jelovina, 1982, 44, 45, 59, T. 4:66; J. Belošević, 1993, 135, T. 24:1. M. Petrinec, ukazuje na razlike unutar skupine i moguća različita ishodišta pojedinih podtipova. M. Petrinec, 2009, 238, 239.

27 At the necropolises in the hinterland it was also noticed that the graves with S-cirlet finds came in groups, as documented for four graves at Grede and two graves at Mastirine in Kašić near Zadar, as pointed out by N. Jakšić. D. Vrsalović, 1968; D. Jelovina, 1982; N. Jakšić, 1990, 425.



Slika 5. Nalazi zlatnika Romana III. Argira i denara kralja Kolomana na srednjovjekovnim grobljima na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije

Figure 5. Finds of Romanos III Argyros' gold coins and King Coloman's denarii on medieval cemeteries in northern Dalmatia

crtež / drawing: Jakov Vučić

zapad, jedini sadrže nalaze i pozicionirani su jedan pokraj drugoga,²⁷ a jedan od njih izdvaja se i kamenom konstrukcijom koja se nalazila nad grobom. Kako se ova dva groba kod crkve sv. Šime, ranije sv. Stjepana u Zadru, ne izdvajaju samo građom, već i položajem i orijentacijom

stone structure that used to cover it. As these two graves at St. Simon's (former St. Stephen's) Church in Zadar feature prominently not just because of the grave goods found in them, but also because of their position and orientation compared to other graves in the same layer, we can consider the possibility that they were used for burials of the Pannonians who had moved here in the context of King Coloman's assumption of power in Zadar and the administration reform that ensued.²⁸ We can also wonder was it because of the church's patron saint – after whom the first Hungarian king was also named – that the location of the burial place was chosen.

27 Na nekropolama u zaleđu također se uočava grupiranje grobova s nalazima S-karičica, kako je dokumentirano za četiri groba na „Gredama“ i dva na „Mastirinama“ u Kašiću kod Zadra, što je istaknuo N. Jakšić; D. Vrsalović, 1968; D. Jelovina, 1982; N. Jakšić, 1990, 425.

28 Coloman united the titles of the Ban, Princes of Dalmatia and Prince of Zadar in a single person. Ban Kledin used a house in the city for a while, and the ban's troops were stationed in the city tower. See N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 153-156, footnote 23, 31, 36. According to N. Jakšić, graves with distinctive Pannonian inventory are very illustrative for the time when the Pannonians stayed in the area in the early 12th century (N. Jakšić, 1999, 274).



Slika 6. Denari kralja Kolomana iz Zadra i Biograda na Moru. 1) Zadar – klaustar samostana sv. Ivana; 2) Zadar – Poljana pape Ivana Pavla 2.; 3) Biograd – Sv. Ivan Evanđelista; 4) Zadar – Kolovare; 5) Zadar – Trg Petra Zoranića

Figure 6. King Coloman's denarii from Zadar and Biograd na Moru.

1) Zadar – cloister of St. John's Monastery; 2) Zadar – Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II; 3) Biograd – St. John Evangelist; 4) Zadar – Kolovare; 5) Zadar – Petar Zoranić square

foto / photo: Jakov Vučić

u odnosu na ostale iz istoga sloja, možemo promišljati radi li se u ovome konkretnom slučaju o Panoncima čije je doseljenje povezano uz Kolomanovo preuzimanje vlasti u Zadru i reformu uprave koja je tada provedena,²⁸ te se možemo zapitati nije li na izbor lokacije posljednjega počivališta utjecao i titular crkve, čije je ime nosio i prvi ugarski kralj.

Uz grobove skupine II moguće je povezati i zid 10 (Sl. 3). Uz njegovo sjeveroistočno lice položeni su grobovi 7, 10, 11 i 12/13, što ukazuje kako je u vrijeme njihova ukopavanja zid vjerojatno služio kao ograda koja je odvajala groblje od glavne gradske ulice. Prilikom njegove izgradnje upotrijebljeni su antički spoliji. Plitka temeljna stopa sugerira kako ogradni zid nije bio velike visine. Stopa manjim dijelom počiva na ostacima ranije antičke građevine, no većinom ih dijeli sloj zemlje, pa je očito kako prilikom njegova zidanja raniji antički ostatci više nisu bili vidljivi. Zid nije sačuvan u cijelosti, no prema položaju i orijentaciji groba 14 moguće je pretpostaviti kako je na jugoistočnome kraju zakretao prema apsidi crkve.

Vrijeme nastanka groblja skupine II moguće je relativno kronološki smjestiti u razdoblje nakon formiranja mlađih stratigrafskih jedinica koje su između crkve sv. Stjepana i glavne gradske ulice u cijelosti prekrile ostatke ranijih antičkih građevina. Apsolutne kronološke odrednice ove skupine grobova dijelom pruža nalaz denara kralja Kolomana i triju malofornatnih S-karičice koji se mogu datirati u konac 11. i početak 12. stoljeća. Ovi nalazi mogu poslužiti kao pokazatelji dijela vremena u kojemu je srednjovjekovno groblje korišteno. Pripadaju li grobovi u kojima su nalazi pronađeni početku, sredini ili koncu razdoblja upotrebe groblja, s većim pouzdanjem

The wall no. 10 (Fig. 3) can also be connected with the group II graves. The fact that the graves 7, 10, 11 and 12/13 are placed along its northeastern face indicates that, at the time they were dug, the wall probably served as a boundary wall separating the cemetery from the main street. Roman spolia were used for its construction. Its shallow footing suggests that the wall was not very high. Small part of the footing rests on the remains of an earlier antique structure. However, as the two are in most places separated by an earth layer, it is clear that the earlier remains were not visible any more during the construction of the wall. The wall has not been preserved in its entirety, but the position and orientation of Grave no. 14 suggests that its southeastern part made a turn towards the church's apse.

In terms of relative chronology, the beginning of the group II cemetery could be dated to the period that followed the forming of the later stratigraphic units that completely covered the remains of the earlier antique structures between St. Stephen's Church and the main street. As for the absolute chronological determinants for this group of graves, they can be found in the King Coloman's denarius and three small-size S-circllets that can be dated to the late 11th or early 12th centuries. They can serve as the indicators of the part of the period in which the medieval cemetery was used. However, we cannot positively establish if the graves with the finds belong to the early, middle or late part of that period. The absence of earlier, destroyed graves on their site, support the interpretation that they belong to an earlier phase of the cemetery rather than to its later phase. Also, there are no reliable elements that would help us establish the upper time limit of the cemetery's existence. The waste pit SU50, dug within the cemetery and filled with the material dated to the 15th century and later, can be taken as the *terminus post quem* here. As it is hard to imagine that someone would dig a waste pit at a cemetery that has been in use until very recently and dispose waste in it, we should assume that a certain period of time passed between the closing of the cemetery and the digging of the waste pit. The fact that

28 Koloman je u jednoj osobi ujedinio čast bana, princepsa Dalmacije i zadarskoga kneza. Ban Kledin jedno je vrijeme koristio kuću u gradu, a u gradskoj kuli bila je smještena banska vojska. Vid: N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 153-156, bilj. 23, 31, 36. Prema N. Jakšiću grobovi s karakterističnim panonskim inventarom slikovit su primjer odraza boravka Panonaca na tom prostoru na samome početku 12. st. (N. Jakšić, 1999, 274).

nije moguće utvrditi. Slobodan položaj i izostanak tragova starijih uništenih grobova na mjestu njihova ukopa govore u prilog tome kako vjerojatnije pripadaju ranijem razdoblju korištenja groblja negoli njegovoj kasnijoj fazi. Za određivanje gornje vremenske granice korištenja groblja također ne postoje pouzdani elementi. Otpadna jama SJ50 ukopana na prostoru groblja, zapunjena materijalom koji se datira od 15. stoljeća nadalje, predstavlja *terminus post quem non*. Kako je teško zamisliti da bi netko na groblju, koje je do prije kratkoga vremena bilo u upotrebi, kopao otpadnu jamu i u nju odlagao otpad, treba pretpostaviti da je između prestanka korištenja groblja i kopanja otpadne jame prošlo neko vrijeme. Činjenica da na groblju nisu učestale pojave preklapanja ili negacije ranijih ukopa upućuje na slabiji intenzitet ili pak kraći vremenski period njegova korištenja. Na temelju ovih odrednica može se pretpostaviti kako je groblje korišteno od početka 12. do 14. stoljeća.

U zadnjih se nekoliko godina višestruko povećala količina poznatoga Kolomanova novca pronađenoga u kontekstu srednjovjekovnih grobova ili na grobljima na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije. Ta činjenica zaslužuje širi osvrt na problematiku, koji ćemo ovom prilikom i napraviti. Uz grob 16 s groblja kod sv. Šime i grob iz sv. Nikole u Zadru, do sada je ova pojava bila dokumentirana jedino kod groba 422 u Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra. Zbog činjenice kako je pronađen na srednjovjekovnim grobljima uz crkve ili pokraj njih, iz ove grupe ne treba bezuvjetno isključiti ni novac pronađen kod crkve sv. Križa i crkve sv. Asela u Ninu, na Smratinama u Viru, kod sv. Ivana Evanđelista u Biogradu, na Poljani pape Ivana Pavla 2. u Zadru, na Trgu Petra Zoranića u Zadru, ni kovanicu pronađenu izvan grobnoga konteksta u Biljanima Donjim. Nakon bizantskih zlatnika Konstantina V. (741. – 775.) te franačkih srebrnjaka Ludovika I. (814. – 840.) i Lotara I. (849. – 855.),²⁹ sljedeći novac, prema vremenu kovanja, koji se pronalazi na srednjovjekovnim grobljima u Dalmaciji, čine zlatnici Romana III. Argira (1028. – 1034.) i spomenuti denari kralja Kolomana (1095. – 1116.).³⁰ Bizantski i franački novac 8. i 9. stoljeća potječe iz groblja s poganskim načinom pokapanja. Njegovo korištenje u funkciji obola dovodi se u vezu s franačkim

there are not many overlapping graves or neutralizing of earlier graves in the cemetery suggests either a lower intensity or a shorter duration of the use. Based on these determinants, we can assume that the cemetery was in use from the early 12th century to the 14th century.

The past few years have seen a substantial increase in the number of Coloman coins found in the context of medieval graves or at the cemeteries of the northern Dalmatia. As this fact deserves a more detailed overview, we are using the opportunity to offer one here. In addition to Grave no. 16 at the cemetery at St. Simon's Church and a grave in St. Nicholas Church in Zadar, this phenomenon has so far been documented only in Grave no. 422 in Biljani Donji near Zadar. Given the fact that they were found at medieval church cemeteries, or next to them, we should not unconditionally exclude from this group the coins found at the Church of the Holy Cross and St. Anselm's Church in Nin, on the Smratin location on Vir, by St. John the Evangelist in Biograd and on Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II in Zadar, on Petar Zoranić square, nor the coin found outside the grave context in Biljane Donje. After the Byzantine gold coins of Constantine V (741-775 AD) and Frankish silver coins of Louis I (814-840 AD) and Lothar I (849-855 AD),²⁹ the next coins found in the medieval cemeteries of northern Dalmatia, according to the chronology of their minting, are the gold coins of Romanos III Argyros (1028-1034) and the already mentioned denarii of King Coloman (1095-1116).³⁰ The Byzantine and Frankish coins from the 8th and 9th centuries come from the cemeteries with pagan burials. Their use as funerary obols can be attributed to Frankish influence. This custom persisted until the mid-9th century.³¹ Typically, the coins of Romanos III and Coloman are found at church cemeteries and in graves with Christian burials. As regards the time of their minting, there is a gap of over 170 years between the former and the latter group of coins. Typical in this context is the Holy Cross Cemetery in Nin. There, in Grave no. 140, located in a layer of the graves that had preceded the construction of the Church of the Holy Cross, a gold coin of Constantine V was found. The following coin, in terms of the chronology

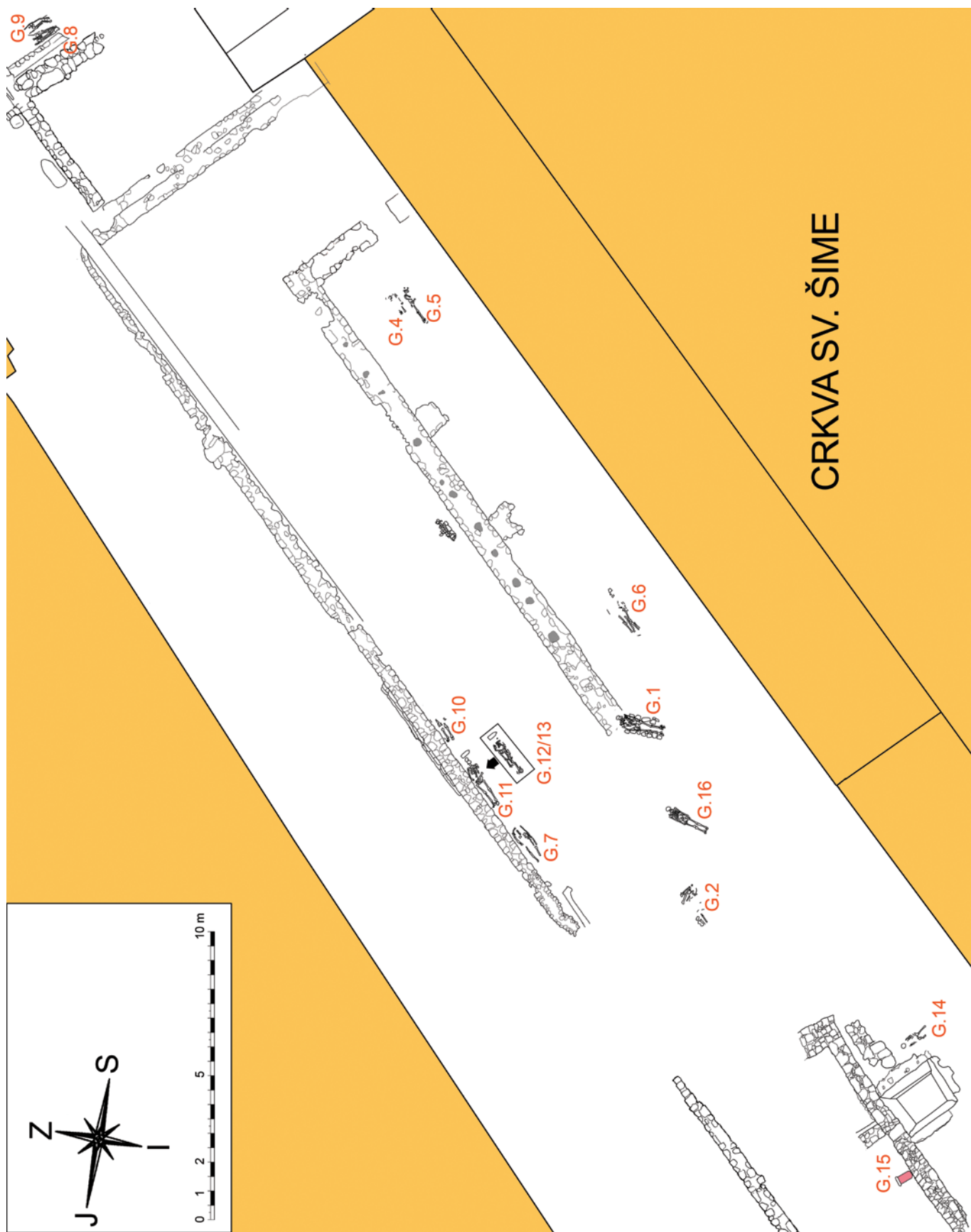
29 Novac Konstantina Kopronima kovan između 760. i 775. godine pronađen je u grobovima u Biskupiji, Dubravicama, Bajagiću, Trilju i Ninu. Novac kralja Ludovika I., kovan između 822. i 840., pronađen je u grobu u Lepurima kod Benkovca, a novac Lotara I. pronađen je na Ždrijacu u Ninu. T. Šeparović, 2003, 128, 130, 131; I. Mirnik, 2005, 209-211, 214-217; M. Petrinec, 2009, 195-198; T. Šeparović, 2012.

30 Zlatnik Romana III. Argira pronađen je u grobu na nekropoli zapadno od crkve sv. Danijela u Danilu kod Šibenika, tri su iz groba 75 s nalazišta Pakoštane-Crkvina, a jedan izvan grobnoga konteksta na nekropoli na brdu Spas kod Knina. Zanimljivo je kako je na užemu prostoru, u blizini pronalaska zlatnika na nekropoli Spas, pronađeno i sedam S-karičica (sve bronzane i promjera nešto preko 2 cm), dok ih je na ostatku groblja, na širem prostoru, dokumentirano pet. I na groblju kod crkve sv. Danijela u Danilu pronađene su S-karičice. I. Marović, 1998, 320, bilj 44.; K. Gusar – D. Vujević, 2014, 276, 277, 292, 293, kat. 1-3, T. 1:1-3. D. Jelovina, 1991, 136, 154, 158, kat. 32-35, 97, T. 10:95, T. 25:32-35; T. 32:97; V. Sokol, 2006, 80, plan 10; I. Mirnik, 2005, 215, 216; M. Petrinec, 2009, 73, T. 242:9.

29 The coins of Constantine Copronimus, minted between 760 and 775 AD, were found in the graves in Biskupija, Dubravice, Bajagić, Trilj and Nin. The coins of King Louis I, minted between 822 and 840 AD, were found in a grave in Lepuri near Benkovac, and the coins of Lothar I were found on the Ždrijac site in Nin. T. Šeparović, 2003, 128, 130, 131; I. Mirnik, 2005, 209-211, 214-217; M. Petrinec, 2009, 195-198; T. Šeparović, 2012.

30 One gold coin of Romanos III Argyros was found in a grave at the necropolis west of St. Daniel's Church in Danilo near Šibenik; three were found in Grave no. 75 at the Pakoštane-Crkvina site and one was found outside the grave context at the necropolis on Spas Hill near Knin. Interestingly, in the area around the location at Spas necropolis where the gold coin was found, seven S-circlets (all made of bronze, with diameters of a bit over 2cm) were also found, while five more of them were found on the rest of the cemetery. S-circlets were also found at the St. Daniel's Church cemetery in Danilo. I. Marović, 1998, 320, footnote 44; K. Gusar – D. Vujević, 2014, 276, 277, 292, 293, Cat. 1-3, Pl. 1:1-3; D. Jelovina, 1991, 136, 154, 158, Cat. 32-35, 97, Pl. 10:95, Pl. 25:32-35, Pl. 32:97; V. Sokol, 2006, 80, plan 10; I. Mirnik, 2005, 215, 216; M. Petrinec, 2009, 73, Pl. 242:9.

31 See M. Petrinec, 2009, 198, 199.



Slika 7. Tlocrt groblja uz crkvu sv. Šime

Figure 7. Plan view of St. Simon's Church cemetery

crtež / drawing: Robert Maršić

utjecajem, a taj se običaj zadržao do sredine 9. stoljeća.³¹ Novac Romana III. i Kolomana pronalazi se u pravilu na grobljima uz crkve i u grobovima s kršćanskim načinom pokapanja. Što se tiče vremena kovanja, među novcima prve i druge skupine vremenska je praznina od preko 170 godina. Ilustrativno je za ovu problematiku groblje uz crkvu sv. Križa u Ninu, gdje je u grobu 140, u sloju grobova koji su prethodili izgradnji crkve sv. Križa, pronađen zlatnik Konstantina V., a prema vremenu kovanja idući novac pronađen na groblju predstavlja Kolomanov denar, nakon čega slijedi srebrni novac grada Splita.³² Opisana situacija očito sugerira ponovnu pojavu prakse polaganja novca u grobove nakon određene vremenske stanke. Kako vrijeme kovanja novca predstavlja tek *terminus post quem*,³³ postavlja se pitanje u kojem se razdoblju nakon najmanje 150 godina zasvjedočene stanke ova praksa ponovno afirmirala. Iako su kovani do 1034. godine, jedini pouzdano datiran grob u kojemu su pronađeni zlatnici Romana III. Argira grobnica je 75 iz 12. stoljeća s Crkvine kod Pakoštana.³⁴ Raspravljajući o novcu Romana III. Argira na istočnoj obali Jadrana, Nikola Jakšić iznio je brojne potvrde njegove upotrebe u svakodnevnom životu tijekom čitavog 11. i 12. stoljeća, a objašnjava ju pretpostavkom kako se nakon Argirova vremena nije pojavila značajna akumulacija novca koja bi ga uspješno zamijenila,³⁵ stoga pojava ovoga novca, u kontekstu sto godina mlađem od njegova puštanja u opticaj, ne treba čuditi. Iz skupine nalaza denara kralja Kolomana moguće je u prva desetljeća 12. stoljeća, na temelju prisustva maloformatnih srebrnih S-karičica, relativno pouzdano datirati grob 422 s Begovače i grob 16 kod crkve sv. Šime, a u ovom smislu indikativni su i nalazi iz Biograda. Prema tome za sada primjeri triju nalazišta sugeriraju praksu polaganja novca u grobove tijekom prvih desetljeća 12. stoljeća, pa nema razloga sumnjati da su ostali Kolomanovi novci pronađeni u grobovima ili na grobljima tu dospjeli tijekom 12. stoljeća. Ranije je napomenuto kako se početak polaganja novca u grobove 12. st., rijetke i kratkotrajne pojave, možda može vezati uz priliv stanovništva iz bjelobrdskoga kulturnog kruga,³⁶ koji su u ovim krajevima boravili u velikom broju tijekom vojne kralja Kolomana, a dio zasigurno i duže. Na prostoru Dalmacije do sada nije poznat nalaz novca Kolomanovih prethodnika koji se učestalo nalaze na nekropolama bjelobrdske kulture; poznat je tek iz Bribira novac jednoga od njegovih nasljednika, Bele II. (1131. –

of its minting, was a Coloman's denarius. It was followed by silver coins of the city of Split.³² The described situation clearly suggests a return of the practice of leaving coins in graves after a certain pause. As the time of the minting represents merely the *terminus post quem*,³³ the question arises in what period after a proven pause of not less than 150 years was the practice reestablished. Although they were minted until 1034, the single positively dated grave in which the gold coins of Romanos III Argyros were found is the 12th-century Tomb no. 75 at Crkvine near Pakoštane.³⁴ Discussing the Romanos III Argyros coins on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, Nikola Jakšić presented numerous cases confirming their use in everyday life throughout the 11th and 12th centuries. He explains the fact with a hypothesis that, after the Argyros' reign, there appeared no relevant accumulation of coins that would successfully replace them,³⁵ so the appearance of these coins in a context one hundred years after its minting should not come as a surprise. A group of finds of King Coloman denarii and the presence of small-size silver S-circllets provide a relatively reliable dating of Grave no. 422 in Begovača and Grave no. 16 by St. Simon's Church to the first two decades of the 12th century. The finds from Biograd are also indicative in this respect. There are thus three graves known so far indicating the practice of leaving coins in graves in the early decades of the 12th century, so we have no reason to doubt that the other Coloman's coins found in graves or on cemeteries ended up there some time in the 12th century. We mentioned earlier that the beginning of the practice in the 12th-century graves – a rare and short-lasting phenomenon – could perhaps be connected with the arrival of the population from the Bijelo Brdo cultural circle,³⁶ who stayed in these parts during King Coloman's military campaign, and some of them certainly even longer. No coins of Coloman's predecessors have been found in Dalmatia so far, although their finds in the necropolises of the Bijelo Brdo culture are rather frequent. Only a coin of one of Coloman's successors, Bela II (1131-1141), was found in Bribir.³⁷ The ample evidence of the practice of leaving coins in graves in the 11th-century Bijelo Brdo culture,³⁸ the fact that such a practice in northern Dalmatia was proven only in the early 12th century after a long pause and the fact that, in many cases, these are King Coloman's coins, which are usually the oldest in a cemetery (unless there are some 8th and

31 O tome M. Petrinec, 2009, 198, 199.

32 J. Belošević, 1999, 110, 129, 140, 147, 148, T. 21:5, 18, 19, T. 31:1-3.

33 O dugotrajnom korištenju novca i njegovu znatno kasnijem dospjeću u grobove vidi: I. Čremošnik, 1952, 118; N. Jakšić, 1996, 154, 155; J. Vučić, 2006, 215, 216.

34 Ova je grobnica ukrašena kubičnim kapitelima, među kojima su za sada najraniji pouzdano datirani oni iz zvonika sv. Marije u Zadru koji nose ime kralja Kolomana. K. Gusar – D. Vujević, 2014, 290, 291.

35 N. Jakšić, 1982.

36 J. Vučić, 2011, 117.

32 J. Belošević, 1999, 110, 129, 140, 147, 148, Pl. 21:5, 18, 19, Pl. 31:1-3.

33 For the long-term use of the coins and their much later use in the graves, see: I. Čremošnik, 1952, 118; N. Jakšić, 1996, 154, 155; J. Vučić, 2006, 215, 216.

34 This tomb is decorated with cubic capitals, the earliest among them with positive dating being the ones from the King Coloman's bell-tower of St. Mary's Church in Zadar. K. Gusar – D. Vujević, 2014, 290, 291.

35 N. Jakšić, 1982.

36 J. Vučić, 2011, 117.

37 M. Ilkić – M. Vukušić, 2012, 199, footnote 21.

38 Numerous examples were given by I. Mirnik, 2005, 213, 214, 216-218. To the south of the area analyzed here, in Župa dubrovačka, coins from the late 10th, 11th and early 12th centuries were found. These are Byzantine coins. See Perkić, 2008.

1141.).³⁷ Obilno zasvjedočena praksa polaganja novca na grobljima bjelobrdске kulture tijekom 11. stoljeća,³⁸ činjenica da je nakon dugotrajne stanke, praksa polaganja novca u grobove na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije zasvjedočena tek početkom 12. st., da se u velikom broju slučajeva radi o novcu kralja Kolomana, koji obično predstavlja i najstarije kovanice (ako na groblju izostaju nalazi novca 8. i 9. st.),³⁹ govori u prilog pretpostavci o Panoncima kao nositeljima oživljavanja ovoga običaja na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije. Nalazi novca Kolomana i Romana III. Argira, potvrđeni za sada na dvanaest srednjovjekovnih nekropola, od čega u četiri slučaja unutar grobova, solidno su svjedočanstvo raširenosti ove prakse u prvoj polovini 12. st. i relativiziraju mišljenje kako se novac u grobovima na prostoru Dalmacije prije 13. stoljeća pojavljuje sasvim izuzetno.⁴⁰ Nabrojeni nalazi ne pružaju odgovor o karakteru same pojave, to jest radi li se u ovom slučaju o kratkotrajnoj praksi koja ubrzo zamire da bi se ponovno pojavila koncem 13. ili u 14. st. ili je pak riječ o običaju koji će se kontinuirano nastaviti, da bi svoj vrhunac doživio u 14. i 15. st.

Nakon novca kralja Kolomana, prema datumu kovanja, pronađeni su, u srednjovjekovnim grobovima na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije, zdjeliciasti denari mletačkih duždeva Orija Malipiera (1178. – 1192.) i Enrica Dandola (1192. – 1205.), kovani najmanje 52 godine kasnije. Nikola Jakšić drži kako u grobovima 13. st. nije bilo odlaganja novca. Prema njemu, novac kovan krajem 12. stoljeća, uključujući i denare O. Malipiera i E. Dandola, polagan je u grobove tek od konca 13. ili čak 14. st.⁴¹ Svoju pretpostavku potkrijepio je opsežnim pregledom i analizom nalaza novca od kraja 12. do sredine 15. st., kako na grobljima tako i unutar ostava.⁴² Ne ulazeći u problematiku ostava koje nedvojbeno svjedoče o dugotrajnoj cirkulaciji novca, određeni primjeri koji se navode kao potvrda polaganja novca 12. st. u grobove iz 14. st. nisu najpouzdaniji. Tvrdnja kako nalazi novca O. Malipiera u grobu 437 kod Sv. Spasa zajedno s novcem B. Gradeniga te oni u grobu na Crkvi u Biskupiji s trojagodnim naušnicama datiraju dospjeće novca u grob tek u 14. st.,⁴³ zbog činjenice da je novac u grobu 437 zatečen među dislociranim kostima triju pokojnika i nepoznatoga konteksta biskupijskoga nalaza,⁴⁴ ne mogu biti pouzdani pokazatelji. Letimičan pregled suodnosa novca i specifičnih oblika nakita, koji se može iščitati kod cjelovitije obrađenih

9th-century coins)³⁹ – all this supports the hypothesis that it was primarily the Pannonians who revitalized this practice in northern Dalmatia. The finds of Coloman and Romanos III Argyros coins, confirmed so far at twelve medieval necropolises (including in four graves), can be seen as solid evidence of the wide use of this practice in the first half of the 12th century, thus relativizing the opinion that coins appear in the Dalmatian graves before the 13th century only exceptionally.⁴⁰ However, these finds do not explain the nature of the phenomenon – whether it was a short-lived practice that soon disappeared only to reappear in the late 13th century or in the 14th century or was it a custom that persisted, seeing its peak in the 14th and 15th centuries.

According to the date of minting, the first among the coins found in the medieval graves of northern Dalmatia to follow Coloman's coins were the bowl-shaped denarii of the Venetian doges Orio Malipiero (1178-1192) and Enrico Dandolo (1192-1205), minted at least 52 years later. In Nikola Jakšić's opinion, there was a practice of leaving coins in graves in the 13th century. According to him, the coins minted in the late 12th century, including the said denarii of O. Malipiero and E. Dandolo found in the graves, were left in graves not before the late 13th century or even in the 14th century.⁴¹ He supported his hypothesis with an extensive overview and an analysis of the coin finds from between the late 12th century to the mid-15th century, found both in graves and in hoards.⁴² Without tackling the issue of the hoards, seen as undeniable evidence of a long-lasting circulation of money, some examples claimed to be a confirmation of the practice of leaving the 12th-century coins in the 14th-century graves are not the most reliable. The claim that the O. Malipiero's coins together with B. Gradenigo's coins in Grave no. 437 at the Church of Holy Salvation, as well as with three-bead earrings in a grave at Crkvine in Biskupija, suggest that the coins were left in the graves only in the 14th century⁴³ because the coins in Grave 437 were found among the dislocated bones of three persons and because the context of the Biskupija find is unknown,⁴⁴ cannot be substantiated. A glance at the interrelation of coins and specific types of jewelry, visible at the cemeteries analyzed in detail, is not incompatible with the assumption that the coins from the late 12th and early 13th centuries were left relatively earlier in the graves older than the coins minted in the late 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. In the necropolises characterized by the absence of earrings chronologically relatively earlier than the three-bead earrings and circlets with three molded bosses, the bowl-shaped denarii of Orio Malipiero

37 M. Ilkić – M. Vukušić, 2012, 199, bilj. 21.

38 Brojne primjere navodi I. Mirnik, 2005, 213, 214, 216-218. Južno od razmatranoga prostora, u Župi dubrovačkoj, također se na groblju javlja novac datiran od kraja 10. u 11. i početak 12. st. U ovom slučaju radi se o bizantskom novcu. Vidi: Perkić, 2008.

39 Kolomanov novac iz groba 422 na Begovači i još jedan nalaz pronađen izvan grobnoga konteksta su ujedno i dvije najstarije srednjovjekovne kovanice od ukupno 16 koliko ih je pronađeno na ovoj nekropoli. Usporedi: D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 105, 106, 128, 132.

40 N. Jakšić, 1996, 145, 146.

41 N. Jakšić, 1996, 145, 146, 155, 156.

42 N. Jakšić, 1996, 152, 156, 171.

43 N. Jakšić, 1996, 146, 153, 154.

44 M. Petrinec, 1996, 37.

39 Coloman's coins from Grave no. 422 at Begovača and another one found outside the grave context are the oldest among the 16 medieval coins found at this necropolis. Cf. D. Jelovina – D. Vrsalović, 1981, 105, 106, 128, 132.

40 N. Jakšić, 1996, 145, 146.

41 N. Jakšić, 1996, 145, 146, 155, 156.

42 N. Jakšić, 1996, 152, 156, 171.

43 N. Jakšić, 1996, 146, 153, 154.

44 M. Petrinec, 1996, 37.

groblja, nije u neskladu s pretpostavkom o relativno kronološki ranijem polaganju novca s kraja 12. i početka 13. stoljeća u grobove starije od novca koji je kovan krajem 13. te tijekom 14. i 15. st. U nekropolama na kojima izostaju nalazi naušnica relativno kronološki ranijih od trojagodnih naušnica i karičica s trima granuliranim koljencima, obično izostaju i nalazi zdjelastih denara Orija Malipiera i Enrica Dandola,⁴⁵ dok u nekropolama koje uz navedene sadrže i nalaze ranijih oblika naušnica, taj novac obično susrećemo.⁴⁶ Bez cjelovitije obrade i dostatnoga uzorka ovaj problem i dalje ostaje otvoren. Ako se pretpostavka N. Jakšića potvrdi, polaganje novca u grobovima s početka 12. stoljeća u sjevernoj Dalmaciji pokazat će se kao kratkotrajna epizoda, vezana uz doseljene Panonce.

Arheološkim istraživanjem na Poljani Šime Budinića u Zadru istraženo je 14 grobova. Tri groba predstavljaju sporadične ukope unutar grada iz vremena kasne antike i svjedoče o napuštanju čvrste prakse zabrane pokapanja *intra muros*. Ostalih 11 grobova je iz vremena srednjega vijeka i dio su organiziranoga groblja, ograđenoga zidom, koje se nalazilo na prostoru između crkve sv. Stjepana i glavne gradske ulice. U tim grobovima učestaliji su pojedinačni ukopi i prevladavaju kosturi odraslih osoba. Uz ranije objavljene grobove iz crkve sv. Andrije i Petra Starog i crkve sv. Petra od vitla, te nedavno istražene uz crkvu sv. Jurja na Poljani Ivana Pavla II, grobovi otkriveni uz crkvu sv. Šime još su jedan doprinos poznavanju organizacije groblja unutar bedema grada Zadra tijekom 11. i 12. stoljeća.⁴⁷ Učestali nalazi Kolomanovih denara i nakita bjelobrdske kulture unutar bedema srednjovjekovnoga Zadra u skladu su sa slikom koju o Zadru s početka 12. st. pružaju pisani izvori. Učestali nalazi Kolomanova novca u grobovima i na grobljima na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije, uz zlatnike Romana III. Argira, svjedoče o intenziviranju prakse polaganja novca u grobove početkom 12. stoljeća, možda pod utjecajem novopridošloga panonskog stanovništva tijekom vojne kralja Kolomana. Koliko je ta pojava bila tek kratkotrajna epizoda ili predstavlja početak kontinuirane prakse koja će svoj vrhunac na ovim prostorima doseći u 14. stoljeću, za sada nije moguće utvrditi.

and Enrico Dandolo are usually also absent,⁴⁵ while in the necropolises that do contain the earlier types of earrings these bowl-shaped coins are also usually found.⁴⁶ Without a more comprehensive analysis and a larger sample, this problem will remain open. If N. Jakšić's hypothesis is confirmed, the practice of leaving coins in the early 12th-century graves in northern Dalmatia will turn out to be a short-lived episode connected with the Pannonians who moved to the area.

Fourteen graves were explored during the archaeological excavation at Poljana Šime Budinića location in Zadar. Three of them are sporadic Late Antiquity burials inside the city walls, evidence of gradual departure from the strict ban of burials *intra muros*. The remaining 11 graves originate from the medieval period belong to an organized cemetery, surrounded with a boundary wall, located between St. Stephen's Church and the main street. More frequent in these graves are individual burials. Also, skeletons of adult persons prevail. In addition to the earlier published graves from the Church of St. Andrew and St. Peter the Old and Church of St. Peter on Petar Zoranić square, as well as the recently explored graves by St. George's Church on Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II, the graves discovered by St. Simon's Church constitute yet another contribution to our knowledge of how the cemetery inside the Zadar walls was organized in the 11th and 12th centuries.⁴⁷ The frequent finds of Coloman's denarii and the Bijelo Brdo culture jewelry inside the walls of the medieval Zadar correspond with the picture of the 12th-century Zadar as depicted in written documents. Together with the gold coins of Romanos III Argyros, these frequent finds of Coloman coins in the graves and cemeteries of northern Dalmatia can be seen as evidence of an intensification of the practice of leaving coins in graves in the early 12th century, perhaps under the influence of the newly arrived Pannonian population that moved there during King Coloman's military campaign. It is not possible yet to establish whether this phenomenon was a short-lived episode or the beginning of a continued practice that would see its peak in this area in the 14th century.

45 Najstariji pronađen na groblju u Grborezima je novac Verone, koji se prestao kovati 1250.; ista je situacija zabilježena u Koprivnom i Dugopolju (autor nije datirao 9 zdjelastih denara Venecije, među kojima su, čini se, tri kovana za P. Gradeniga). U Maljkovu, Brnazama i Ričicama najstariji je novac koji se prestao kovati 1382., N. Jakšić, 1996, 171; H. Gjurašin, 2005, 172, 173, 192; H. Gjurašin, 2010, 121, 122, G121.

46 Kao na groblju u Vrh Rici, Biskupiji, Begovači i Galovcu. Usporedi: N. Jakšić, 1996, 171.

47 J. Vučić, 2013; 2017; I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1971. Tijekom istraživanja na Poljani Ivana Pavla II, uz spomenuti denar kralja Kolomana, pronađena je jednojagodna sljepoočničarka i masivna brončana karika s trima koljencima od namotane žice. Na nalaze mi je ukazala voditeljica istraživanja K. A. Giunio. Prema I. Petricioliju, u blizini se nalazila crkva sv. Jurja. Vidi: N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 261, 285, 504, bilj. 26, 44.

45 The oldest coin found at the cemetery in Grborezi is a Verona coin, minted until 1250. It was the same in Koprivno and Dugopolje (the author did not date the 9 bowl-shaped Venetian denarii, three of them probably minted for P. Gradenigo). In Maljkovo, Brnazi and Ričice, the oldest coins are the ones minted until 1382. N. Jakšić, 1996, 171; H. Gjurašin, 2005, 172, 173, 192; H. Gjurašin, 2010, 121, 122, G121.

46 Like at the cemeteries of Vrh Rika, Biskupija, Begovača and Galovac. Cf. N. Jakšić, 1996, 171.

47 J. Vučić, 2013; 2017; I. Petricioli – S. Vučenović, 1971. Besides the above mentioned King Coloman's denarius, the excavations on Poljana Ivana Pavla II also resulted in the find of a three-bead hair-loop and a massive bronze circlet with three knuckles made of coiled wire. K. A. Giunio, who headed the excavations, drew my attention to these finds. According to I. Petricioli, a St. George's Church was located in the vicinity. See N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 261, 285, 504, footnote 26, 44.

KATALOG GROBOVA⁴⁸

Grob 1. Otkriven 21. veljače 2011. Iznad groba nalazila se SJ2, ukopan u SJ3, položen dijelom iznad zida 3. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 451 cm.

Od arhitekture su sačuvane kamene obložnice koje su uslijed pritiska tla pale preko kostura. Sačuvan *in situ* gotovo cijeli kostur. Orijentacija istok-zapad, glava na zapadu, azimut: 270°. Pokojnica je pokopana na leđima, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kostur ženske osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 25 do 30 godina.

Prilozi: 3 komada S-karičica uz lubanju pokojnice.

S-karičica PN10; od srebrne žice kružnoga presjeka; jedan kraj žice presječen, drugi kraj završava trakasto raskucanim kaneliranim S-završetkom; pr. obruča: 1,6 cm; pr. žice: 0,2 cm; šir. S-završetka: 0,44 cm; tež.: 0,76 g.

S-karičica PN11; od brončane žice kružnoga presjeka; jedan kraj žice presječen, drugi kraj završava trakasto raskucanim kaneliranim S-završetkom; pr. obruča: 1,69 cm; pr. žice: 0,15 cm; šir.: S-završetka 0,56 cm; tež.: 0,69 g.

S-karičica PN12; od srebrne žice kružnoga presjeka; jedan kraj žice presječen, drugi kraj završava trakasto raskucanim kaneliranim S-završetkom; pr. obruča: 1,45 cm; pr. žice: 0,2 cm; šir. S-završetka: 0,43 cm; tež.: 0,69 g.

Grob 2. Otkriven 23. veljače 2011. Iznad groba nalazila se SJ2, ukopan u SJ3. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 480 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Sačuvani su *in situ* dijelovi dviju potkoljenica s pripadajućim lisnim kostima. Orijentacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 320°. Pokojnica pokopana na leđima.

Kostur ženske osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 20 do 30 godina.

Grob 4. Otkriven 3. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 444 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Sačuvane su *in situ* kosti desne noge, desne ruke, dio rebara i kralješaka. Orijentacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 315°. Pokojnica pokopana na leđima u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kostur ženske osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 35 do 45 godina.

Nalazi: tri željezna čavla.

CATALOGUE OF THE GRAVES⁴⁸

Grave 1. Discovered on 21 February 2011. SJ2 above grave, dug in SU3, placed partly above Wall no. 3. Grave bottom altitude: 451cm.

The preserved architectural elements include the stone lining which fell over the skeleton due to the pressure of the soil. Almost entire skeleton preserved *in situ*. Orientation: east-west, head to the west, azimuth: 270°. The body was buried on the back, arms straight.

Female skeleton; estimated age at death: 25 to 30 years.

Grave goods: S-circlets, 3 pieces next to female's skull.

S-circlet PN10; of silver wire with round cross-section; one end of wire cut, the other with ribbon-shaped beaten fluted S-end; circlet diameter 1.6cm; wire diameter 0.2cm; width of S-end 0.44cm; weight 0.76g.

S-circlet PN11; of bronze wire with round cross-section; one end of wire cut, the other with ribbon-shaped beaten fluted S-end; circlet diameter 1.69cm; wire diameter 0.15cm; width of S-end 0.56cm; weight 0.69g.

S-circlet PN12; of silver wire with round cross-section; one end of wire cut, the other with ribbon-shaped beaten fluted S-end; circlet diameter 1.45cm; wire diameter 0.2cm; width of S-end 0.43cm; weight 0.69g.

Grave 2. Discovered on 23 February. SU2 above grave, dug in SU3. Grave bottom altitude: 480cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Fragments of two shin bones with appertaining fibulae preserved *in situ*. Orientation: north-west-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 320°. The body was buried on the back.

Female skeleton; estimated age at death: 20 to 30 years.

Grave 4. Discovered on 3 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 444cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Bones of right leg, right arm, part of ribs and vertebrae preserved *in situ*. Orientation: north-west - southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 315°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Female skeleton; estimated age at death: 35 to 45 years.

Finds: three iron nails.

48 Antropološka analiza provedena je u laboratoriju Odsjeka za arheologiju Hrvatske akademije znanosti (prof. dr. sc. Mario Šlaus, dr. sc. Mario Novak, Vlasta Vyroubal, Željka Bedić i Jozo Perić Peručić). Analizom nisu obuhvaćeni grobovi 6 i 15.

48 The anthropological analysis was carried out in the laboratory of the Department of Archaeology of the Croatian Academy of Science (Prof. Dr. Mario Šlaus, Dr. Mario Novak, Vlasta Vyroubal, Željka Bedić and Jozo Perić Peručić). The analysis did not include Graves no. 6 and 15.



GROB / GRAVE 1



GROB / GRAVE 2



GROB / GRAVE 4 i 5



GROB / GRAVE 6



GROB / GRAVE 7



GROB / GRAVE 8



GROB / GRAVE 9

Grob 5. Otkriven 3. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 440 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Sačuvan je *in situ* dio lijeve bedrene kosti, dio kostiju desnoga koljena, dio lijeve podlaktice i nekoliko rebara. Orijehtacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 315°. Pokojnik pokopan na leđima u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kostur djeteta; doživljena starost procijenjena na 10 do 12 godina.

Grob 6. Otkriven 4. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 473 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Sačuvane su *in situ* kosti nogu dvaju pokojnika. Orijehtacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 315°. Pokojnici pokopani na leđima u ispruženome položaju. Ruka jednoga ispružena niz tijelo.

Grob 7. Otkriven 7. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 475 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Sačuvani su *in situ* ostatci jednoga kostura, nedostaju kosti glave. Orijehtacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 308°. Pokojnik pokopan na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kostur muške osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 35 do 45 godina.

Grob 8. Otkriven 8. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 330 cm.

Od grobne arhitekture sačuvane su dvije vertikalno položene tanke kamene ploče od kojih je jedna poslužila kao donožnica, a druga kao obložnica. Iznad groba zatečene su ploče kamena škriljevca (SJ14A) i sekundarno iskorišten poklopac kamene urne, koji su činili poklopnice groba. Jugozapadni dio groba uništen je naknadnom intervencijom. Za desnu stranicu grobne jame iskorišten je zid antičke građevine. Sačuvan je *in situ* dio kostura mlađe osobe, nedostaje dio kostura od prsnih kralješaka prema gore. Uokolo kostura mlađe osobe položene su kosti ranije ukopane starije jedinke. Orijehtacija: sjeveroistok-jugozapad, glava na jugozapadu, azimut: 224°. Pokojnik je pokopan na leđima u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Ženska osoba; doživljena starost procijenjena na 50 do 55 godina i kostur djeteta čija je doživljena starost procijenjena na 14 do 15 godina.

Grob 9. Otkriven 9. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 328 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Jugozapadni dio groba uništen je naknadnom intervencijom. Sačuvani su *in situ* ostatci triju kostura. Orijehtacija: sjeveroistok-jugozapad, glava na jugozapadu, azimut: 235°. Pokojnici su položeni jedan preko drugoga, pokopani na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kosturi troje djece; doživljena starost procijenjena na 6 do 7, 4 do 4,5 i 0,5 do 1 godine.

Grave 5. Discovered on 3 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 440 cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Part of left femur, part of right knee, part of left forearm and a few ribs preserved *in situ*. Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 315°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Child's skeleton; estimated age at death: 10 to 12 years.

Grave 6. Discovered on 4 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 473cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Bones of legs of two persons preserved *in situ*. Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 315°. The bodies were buried on the back in the extended position. The arm of one of them straight.

Grave 7. Discovered on 7 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 475cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Remains of one skeleton preserved *in situ*, skull bones missing. Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 308°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Male skeleton; estimated age at death: 35 to 45 years.

Grave 8. Discovered on 8 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 330cm.

Of the sepulchral architecture, two vertically placed thin stone slabs have been preserved. One was used as a grave foot and the other as a lining. Schist slabs (SU14A) and a reused cover of a stone urn were found above the grave. They had been used as the cover slab. The southwestern part of the grave was destroyed as a result of a subsequent intervention. The wall of an antique structure was used as the grave pit's right side. Part of a younger person's skeleton preserved *in situ*, the part from pectoral vertebrae upward missing. Bones of an earlier buried older person placed around young person's skeleton. Orientation: northeast-southwest, head to the southwest, azimuth: 224°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Female skeleton – estimated age at death: 50 to 55 years; and child's skeleton – estimated age at death: 14 to 15 years.

Grave 9. Discovered on 9 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 328cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. The southwestern part of grave was destroyed as a result of a subsequent intervention. Remains of three skeletons preserved *in situ*. Orientation: northeast-southwest, head to the southwest, azimuth: 235°. The bodies were placed on top of each other, on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Skeletons of three children, age at death estimated at from 6 to 7, from 4 to 4.5 and from 0.5 to 1 years, respectively.



GROB / GRAVE 10



GROB / GRAVE 11



GROB / GRAVE 12 i 13



GROB / GRAVE 14



GROB / GRAVE 15



GROB / GRAVE 16

Grob 10. Otkriven 18. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 464 cm.

Desnu stranicu grobne jame činio je zid 10. Sačuvane su *in situ* kosti nogu. Orijehtacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 315°. Pokojnik je pokopan na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, ruka ispružena niz tijelo.

Kostur muške osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na više od 30 godina.

Grob 11. Otkriven 18. ožujka 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 471 cm.

Od grobne arhitekture uočen je vertikalno položeni kamen iza glave pokojnika. Desnu stranicu grobne jame činio je zid 10. Sačuvan je *in situ* gotovo cijeli kostur. Orijehtacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 315°. Pokojnik je pokopan na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, ruke savijene u laktovima i položene na trbuh.

Kostur muške osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 40 do 50 godina.

Grob 12./13. Otkriven 21. ožujka 2011. Iznad groba se nalazio grob 11. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 450 cm.

Nisu uočeni ostatci grobne arhitekture. Sačuvani su *in situ* kosturi dviju osoba: kostur djeteta kojem nedostaju kosti glave i desna polovica kostura odrasle ženske osobe, lijeva polovica je uklonjena prilikom izrade telefonskih instalacija. Orijehtacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 315°. Pokojnik pokopan na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, lijeva ruka ispružena niz tijelo, desna savijena u laktu i položena na trbuh. Pokojnica pokopana na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kostur djeteta; doživljena starost procijenjena na 6,5 do 7,5 godina i kostur ženske osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 35 do 45 godina.

Grob 14. Otkriven 20. travnja 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 505 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Kostur je dijelom sačuvan. Nedostaje dio lubanje, desna nadlaktica, potkoljenične lisne kosti i kosti stopala. Orijehtacija: jugozapad-sjeveroistok, glava na jugozapadu, azimut: 225°. Pokojnik pokopan na leđima, u ispruženome položaju, ruku prekrštenih preko trbuha.

Kostur djeteta; doživljena starost procijenjena na 10 do 15 godina.

Grob 15. Otkriven 3. svibnja 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 425.

Grob je načinjen od donje polovice amfore i zatvoren trima fragmentarnim tegulama. Orijehtacija: sjeveroistok-jugozapad, azimut: 229°.

Najmanje četiri dječja kostura doživljene starosti do 1 godine.

Grave 10. Discovered on 18 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 464cm. Wall no. 10 was used as the grave pit's right side. Leg bones preserved *in situ*. Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 315°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Male skeleton; estimated age at death: more than 30 years.

Grave 11. Discovered on 18 March 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 471cm.

Of sepulchral architecture elements, a vertically placed stone was found under the person's head. Wall no. 10 was used as the grave pit's right side. Almost entire skeleton preserved *in situ*. Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 315°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms bent in elbows and folded on the belly.

Male skeleton; estimated age at death: 40 to 50 years.

Grave 12/13. Discovered on 21 March 2011. Grave 11 was above it. Grave bottom altitude: 450cm.

No sepulchral architecture remains have been found. Skeletons of two persons preserved *in situ*: child's skeleton (with skull bones missing) and right half of adult female skeleton (left half removed during laying of telephone cables). Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 315°. The male was buried on the back in the extended position, left arm straight, right arm bent in elbow and resting on belly. The female was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Child's skeleton, estimated age at death: 6.5 to 7.5 years; adult female: estimated age at death: 35 to 45 years.

Grave 14. Discovered on 20 April 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 505cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Skeleton partially preserved. Part of skull, right upper arm, fibulae and foot bones missing. Orientation: southwest – northeast, head to the southwest, azimuth: 225°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms crossed on the belly.

Child's skeleton; estimated age at death: 10 to 15 years.

Grave 15. Discovered on 3 May 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 425cm.

The grave is made of the lower half of an amphora and is closed with three fragmented tegulae. Orientation: northeast – southwest, azimuth: 229°.

At least four children's skeletons; age at death: up to 1 year.

Grob 16. Otkriven 6. svibnja 2011. Nadmorska visina dna groba: 455 cm.

Nisu uočeni tragovi grobne arhitekture. Sačuvan je *in situ* gotovo cijeli kostur. Orijeantacija: sjeverozapad-jugoistok, glava na sjeverozapadu, azimut: 287°. Pokojnik pokopan na leđima u ispruženome položaju, ruku ispruženih niz tijelo.

Kostur muške osobe; doživljena starost procijenjena na 55 do 60 godina.

Prilozi: srebrni denar kod lijeve podlaktice.

Srebrni denar kovan za Kolomana (1095. – 1116.); Av.: tri križa, sa strana natpis +CAL MAN; Rv.: križ u krugu, uokolo nečitak natpis i opet krug; promjer: 10,5 mm; težina: 0,19 g. Lit: E. Unger 1997, 30; L. Huszár 1979, 34; L. Réthy 1899, 42.

Nalazi Kolomanova novca u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar:

1. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. U središtu je križ s točkom u kutovima krakova. Rv.: nečitak. Promjer: 11 mm; težina: 0,23 g; loše sačuvan, izlomljen u četiri dijela. Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, klaustar bivšeg samostana sv. Ivana 1992.

2. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. U središtu je križ s točkom u kutovima krakova. Rv.: nečitak. Promjer: 11 mm; težina: 0,43 g; jako loše sačuvan, korodiran. Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II, 2007.

3. Av.: +CALMA. U središtu je križ, u kutovima polumjeseci. Rv.: križ u krugu, uokolo nečitak natpis i opet krug. Promjer: 12 mm; težina: 0,37 g. Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 32; L. Huszár, 1979, 39; L. Réthy 1899, 47; Biograd na Moru, Sv. Ivan Evanđelista, 2008.

4. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. U središtu je križ s točkom u kutovima krakova. Rv.: križ u krugu, uokolo nečitak natpis i opet krug. Promjer: 11,1 mm; težina: 0,33 g; loše sačuvan. Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, slučajan nalaz na plaži Kolovare.

5. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. U središtu je križ s točkom u kutovima krakova. Rv.: križ u krugu, uokolo nečitak natpis i opet krug. Promjer: 11,2 mm; težina: 0,42 g; dobro očuvan. Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, Trg Petra Zoranića, 2006.

Grave 16. Discovered on 6 May 2011. Grave bottom altitude: 455cm.

No signs of sepulchral architecture. Almost entire skeleton preserved *in situ*. Orientation: northwest-southeast, head to the northwest, azimuth: 287°. The body was buried on the back in the extended position, arms straight.

Male skeleton; estimated age at death: 55 to 60 years.

Grave goods: silver denarius at left forearm.

Silver denarius minted for Coloman (1095-1116); Av.: three crosses, inscription +CAL MAN on sides; Rv.: cross in circle, illegible inscription around and another circle; diameter 10.5mm; weight 0.19g.; Lit: E. Unger 1997, 30; L. Huszár 1979, 34; L. Réthy 1899, 42.

Finds of Coloman coins in Archaeological Museum Zadar:

1. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. In center: cross with dot in corner of each arm; Rv.: illegible. Diameter: 11 mm; weight: 0.23 g.; poorly preserved, broken in four pieces; Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, cloister of former St. John's Monastery, 1992.

2. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. In center: cross with dot in corner of each arm; Rv.: illegible. Diameter: 11 mm; weight: 0.43 g.; very poorly preserved, corroded; Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, Poljana pape Ivana Pavla II, 2007.

3. Av.: +CALMA. In center: cross with crescent in corner of each arm; Rv.: cross in circle, illegible inscription around and another circle. Diameter: 12 mm; weight: 0.37 g.; Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 32; L. Huszár, 1979, 39; L. Réthy 1899, 47; Biograd na Moru, St. John Evangelist, 2008.

4. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. In center: cross with dot in corner of each arm; Rv.: cross in circle, illegible inscription around and another circle. Diameter: 11.1 mm; weight: 0.33 g.; poorly preserved; Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, Kolovare beach.

5. Av.: +C-AL-M-N. In center: cross with dot in corner of each arm; Rv.: cross in circle, illegible inscription around and another circle. Diameter: 11.2 mm; weight: 0.42 g.; well preserved, corroded; Lit: E. Unger, 1997, 31; L. Huszár, 1979, 40; L. Réthy 1899, 48; Zadar, Petar Zoranić square, 2006.

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