

## Ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi uz crkvu Porodenja Marijina u Gradcu kod Drniša\*

*U radu se donosi dio rezultata arheoloških iskopavanja koja su 1996. i 1997. godine provedena na nalazištu uz crkvu Porodenja Marijina u Gradcu kod Drniša pod vodstvom Mate Zekana. Razmatra se nekoliko ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova koji su pripadali najstarijem sloju ukapanja na spomenutom lokalitetu. Nalazi osobito luksuznog nakita iz tih grobova dodatno svjedoče o već prethodno prepoznatom značenju ovog mjesta u razdoblju ranoga hrvatskog srednjeg vijeka.*

*Ključne riječi: Petrovo polje, Gradac, Crkva Porodenja Marijina, grobovi, nakit.*

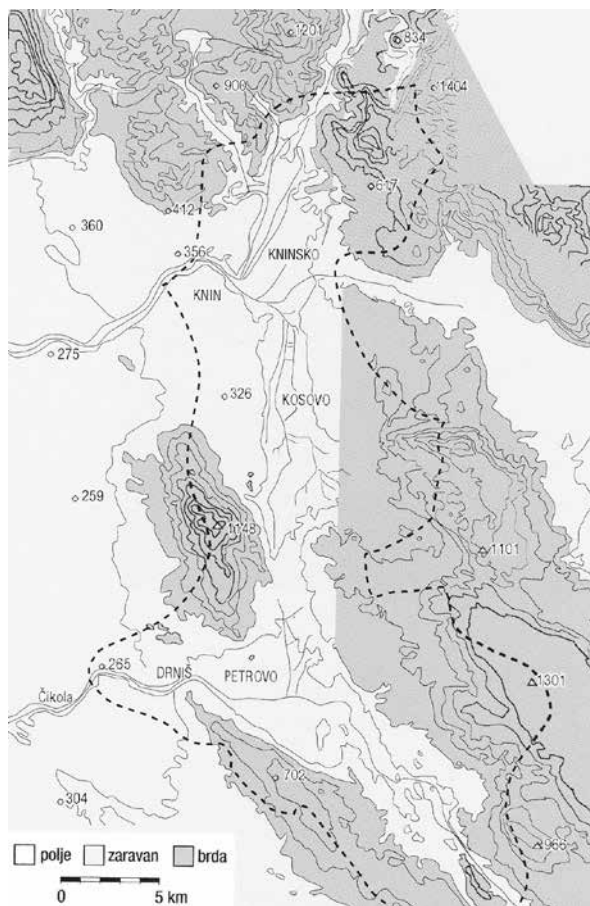
## Early mediaeval graves by the church of the Nativity of Mary in Gradac near Drniš\*\*

*The paper presents a part of the results of archaeological excavations carried out in 1996 and 1997 at the site next to the church of the Nativity of Mary in Gradac near Drniš, directed by Mate Zekan. Several early mediaeval graves, belonging to the earliest burial layer at the mentioned site, are discussed. Finds of particularly luxurious jewellery from these graves are further testimony to the already recognised significance of this location in the early Croatian Middle Ages.*

*Keywords: Petrovo polje, Gradac, church of the Nativity of Mary, graves, jewellery.*

\* Ovaj prilog posvećujem uspomeni na pokojnog kolegu Matu Zekana s kojim sam punih dvadeset godina zajedno radila u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. S njim sam i prvi put posjetila lokalitet u Gradcu Drniškom 16. kolovoza 1995. godine, neposredno nakon vojno-redarstvene operacije Oluja, kada je crkva Porodenja Marijina bila u ruševinama, a spaljene seoske kuće, nakon četiri godine okupacije, jedva se nazirale od raslinja.

\*\* This paper is dedicated to the memory of our late colleague Mate Zekan, with whom I worked together for twenty years at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. I visited the site in Gradac Drniški with him for the first time on 16 August, 1995, immediately after the Storm military-police operation, when the church of the Nativity of Mary was in ruins, and the burned village houses were barely visible from the vegetation after four years of occupation.



Sl. 1. Shematski prikaz polja gornje Krke  
(izvor: Friganović 1961)

Fig. 1 Schematic representation of the upper Krka fields (source: Friganović 1961)

#### Današnje selo i položaj lokaliteta

Selo Gradac smješteno je 13 km jugoistočno od Drniša. Nalazi se u jugoistočnom dijelu Petrova polja i u podnožju Svilaje. Poznato je da su se nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata stanovnici spustili iz Gornjeg Gradca, koji se nalazi na obroncima Svilaje i formirali jezgru današnjeg naselja u polju. Gradac je središte Općine Ružić, uspostavljene 1993. godine. Arheološki lokalitet o kojem će biti riječi nalazi se u okolišu župne crkve Porođenja Marijina na rimokatoličkom groblju koje se razvilo uz crkvu i danas je još uvijek u funkciji.

#### Geografske značajke prostora

Petrovo polje dio je šireg prostora koji se obično naziva kninsko-drniškim krajem. Riječ je o području sjeverne Dalmacije, koje se prostire oko gornjeg toka rijeke Krke i u kojem se ističu tri polja: Kninsko, Kosovo i Petrovo.<sup>1</sup> Prema sjeveru uokvireno je

#### Today's village and the location of the site

The village of Gradac is located 13 km south-east of Drniš. It is situated in the south-eastern part of Petrovo polje and at the foot of Svilaja. It is known that after the Second World War, the inhabitants descended from Gornji Gradac, which is located on the slopes of Svilaja, and formed the core of today's settlement in the polje. Gradac is the centre of the Municipality of Ružić, established in 1993. The archaeological site covered in this paper is located in the vicinity of the parish church of the Nativity of Mary in the Roman Catholic cemetery that developed next to the church and which is still in use today.

#### Geographical features of the area

Petrovo polje is part of a wider area which is usually called the Knin-Drniš region. It is an area in northern Dalmatia, stretching around the upper course of the river Krka, with three prominent polja: Knin, Kosovo, and Petrovo.<sup>1</sup> To the north, it is enclosed by the mountain range of Podinarje and the slopes of Velebit, to the west by the Krka, to the north-east by the Zrmanja, and to the south by the Čikola and the Moseć mountain. To the east, it is enclosed by the mountain range of Svilaja.

Today's polja (Kninsko, Kosovo, and Petrovo) are part of a tectonic depression that stretches almost to the tri-border junction of Dalmatia, Lika and Bosnia, and south to Drniš, whence it turns south-east and ends below the present-day village of Bračević. This depression is separated in two places by hills that divide it into three parts, i.e. today's three polja.<sup>2</sup>

Petrovo polje has the shape of an isosceles triangle with its base running along the south-eastern edge of Promina. Its vertex is located at the confluence of the Vrba and Čikola. The polje is 17 km long and stretches from north-west to south-east from Tepljuh to Kljaci. It is widest on the Drniš-Miočić stretch, viz. seven kilometres. Its area is about 57 square kilometres. It is clearly enclosed by limestone cliffs, except in the north-west, where it turns into the southern part of Promina in the form of gentle marl slopes. Petrovo polje has the most extensive and most connected alluvial plain. The uniform flatness of the polje is counteracted by

<sup>1</sup> Smiljanić 1990, str. 55.

<sup>1</sup> Smiljanić 1990, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Friganović 1961, pp. 10–12.

planinskim nizom Podinarja i obroncima Velebita, na zapadu tokom Krke, na sjeveroistoku tokom Zrmanje, a na jugu tokom Čikole i planinom Moseć. Sa istoka ga zatvara planinski niz Svilaje.

Današnja polja (Kninsko, Kosovo i Petrovo) dio su tektonske ulegnine koja se proteže gotovo do tromeđe Dalmacije, Like i Bosne, a prema jugu do Drniša, odakle zaokreće prema jugoistoku i završava ispod današnjeg sela Bračević. Ta ulegnina na dva je mjesta rastavljena uzvisinama koje ju dijele na tri djela, odnosno na današnja tri polja.<sup>2</sup>

Petrovo polje ima oblik istokračnog trokuta s osnovicom duž jugoistočnog ruba Promine. Vrh mu se nalazi u sutoku tokova Vrbe i Čikole. Dugo je 17 km i proteže se od sjeverozapada prema jugoistoku od Tepljuha do Kljaka. Najšire je na potezu Drniš - Miočić, gdje mu širina iznosi 7 km. Površina mu je oko 57 kilometara četvornih. Jasno je ograničeno vapnenačkim strmcima osim na sjeverozapadu gdje blažim laporovitim padinama prelazi u južni dio Promine. Petrovo polje ima najprostraniju i najpovezaniju aluvijalnu ravnicu. Jednoličnu zaravnjenost polja ublažuje nekoliko rubnih glavica i humova koji se dižu sa stjenovite podloge aluvijalne ravni: Kadina glavica, Bučići, Midenjak, Patijerna i dr.<sup>3</sup>

## Povijesni pregled

### *Prapovijesno razdoblje*

Prostor triju današnjih polja naseljen je još u prapovijesno vrijeme, a osobito značenje dobiva u željezno doba, kada se na području Dalmacije počinju oblikovati različita ilirska plemena koja obitavaju u gradinskim naseljima. Smatra se da je upravo Krka bila granica između plemena Liburna i Delmata.

Prema Plinijevim podacima rimska se vojska nadomak prostoru triju polja prvi put pojavljuje već 129. godine prije Krista, kada u jednom pohodu konzul Gaj Sempronije Tuditan dopire sve do Krke. O ovim krajevima piše i Apijan iz Aleksandrije, donoseći važne podatke o odnosima Delmata i Rimskog Carstva u međusobnim ratovima. On ukazuje na brdovito i utvrđeno mjesto koje okružuju brežuljci šiljati kao zupci pile. Taj opis odgovara stvarnoj terenskoj slici, pa se s velikom vjerojatnošću može pretpostaviti da se upravo ovdje nalazila predrim-ska Promona. Tu se iznad prijevoja Klanac, koji po-

several hill-tops and hummocks rising on the edges from the rocky base of the alluvial plain: Kadina glavica, Bučići, Midenjak, Patijerna, and others.<sup>3</sup>

## Historical overview

### *Prehistoric period*

The area of the three present-day polja was inhabited as early as prehistoric times. It gained special significance in the Iron Age, when various Illyrian tribes began to form in Dalmatia, dwelling in hill-fort settlements. It is believed that the Krka was the border between the Liburnian and Delmatian tribes.

According to Pliny, the Roman army first appeared near the area of the three polja as early as 129 BC, when Consul Gaius Sempronius Tuditan managed to reach as far as the Krka in his campaign. Appian of Alexandria also wrote about this area, bringing important information about the relations between the Delmatae and the Roman Empire during their mutual wars. He pointed out to a hilly and fortified place surrounded by knolls pointed like saw teeth. This description corresponds to the actual field situation, so it can be assumed with high probability that pre-Roman Promona was located right there. Above the Klanac pass, which connects Kosovo and Petrovo polje, there is a succession of eleven sharp hillocks (Kuk, Zelenika, Oštra Glava, Petrovac, Velika Orišnica, Mala Orišnica, etc.). It is a system of naturally connected hill-forts from which the Delmatae were holding out against the attacks of the Roman army for a long time. Promona is mentioned by the Greek historian Strabo as one of the Delmatian cities reduced to ashes by Octavian (Augustus).<sup>4</sup> During Augustus's campaign, Delmatian *Synodium*, was burnt down as well. It was also located in Petrovo polje, situated on Balina glavica near Umljanovići. *Municipium Magnum* developed in its place in Roman times.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Friganović 1961, str. 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> Friganović 1961, str. 12; Matas 2009, str. 77-79.

<sup>3</sup> Friganović 1961, p. 12; Matas 2009, pp. 77-79.

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/36692153/Arheolo%C5%A1ka\\_topografija\\_rijeke\\_Krke\\_i\\_predrimski\\_Burnum\\_i\\_Promona](https://www.academia.edu/36692153/Arheolo%C5%A1ka_topografija_rijeke_Krke_i_predrimski_Burnum_i_Promona) [accessed: 17/07/2020]

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/24952163/Hodolo%C5%A1ka\\_zapa%C5%BEanja\\_o\\_arheologiji\\_Petrova\\_polja\\_osamdesetih\\_godina\\_XX\\_vijek\\_a](https://www.academia.edu/24952163/Hodolo%C5%A1ka_zapa%C5%BEanja_o_arheologiji_Petrova_polja_osamdesetih_godina_XX_vijek_a) [accessed 17/07/2020]

vezuje Kosovo i Petrovo polje niže jedanaest oštih brežuljaka prislonjenih jedan uz drugog (Kuk, Zeleznika, Oštra Glava, Petrovac, Velika Orišnica, Mala Orišnica i dr.). Riječ je o sustavu prirodno povezanih gradinskih utvrđenja iz kojih su Delmati dugo odolijevali napadima rimske vojske. Među delmatskim gradovima koje je spalio Oktavijan (August) Promonu navodi i grčki povjesničar Strabon.<sup>4</sup> U Augustovu pohodu spaljen je i delmatski *Sinodium*, koji se također nalazio u Petrovom polju, a bio je smješten na Balinoj glavici kraj Umljanovića, gdje se u rimsko vrijeme razvio *Municipium Magnum*.<sup>5</sup>

### Antičko razdoblje

Predrimsku Promonu treba razlikovati od rimske, koja se smješta između današnjih sela Tepljuh, Biočić i Miočić u Petrovu polju.<sup>6</sup> Ona se nalazila na trasi jedne od najvažnijih antičkih prometnica, koja je, polazeći iz Zadra (*Iader*), preko Babinduba, Škabrnje, Nadina (*Nedinum*) i Podgrađa (*Asseria*) dopirala do vojnog logora u Burnumu. Potom je kod Bobodola prelazila Krku te se nastavljala do Promone, a onda uz Kadinu glavicu (gdje se nalazio logor pomoćnih jedinica), kroz današnji Gradac, preko Čikole do Baline glavice (*Municipium Magnum*). Dolinom potoka Vrbe polazila je prema Muću (*Andetrium*) i Klisu spuštajući se u Salonu u tri kraka.<sup>7</sup> Riječ je o jednoj od važnijih cesta koja je spajala naselja i vojna središta tzv. Delmatskog limesa čiji su glavni logori bili u Tiluriju (Gardun kraj Trilja) i Burnumu (Ivoševci kraj Kistanja). Upravo na prostoru Biočića, Miočića, Kadine Glavice i Gradca ova je rimska cesta vjerojatno slijedila istu trasu kao i današnja lokalna prometnica koja povezuje navedena mjesta. Dokazi o tomu mogu se pronaći upravo na lokalitetu uz crkvu Porođenja Marijina u Gradcu, gdje su bila otkrivena dva poklopca rimskih sarkofaga, a treći se nalazi kod seoskog vrela preklešan u korito. No najzanimljiviji nalaz s lokaliteta svakako je krunište veće nadgrobne are pronađeno neposredno uz današnju cestu. Istočno od

### Antique period

Pre-Roman Promona should be distinguished from the Roman one, which was located between the present-day villages of Tepljuh, Biočić and Miočić in Petrovo polje.<sup>6</sup> It was situated on the route of one of the most important antique roads, stretching from Zadar (*Iader*), through Babindub, Škabrnja, Nadin (*Nedinum*) and Podgrađe (*Asseria*), all the way to the military camp at Burnum. Then it crossed the Krka near Bobodol and continued to Promona, along Kadina glavica (where an auxiliary unit camp was located), through today's Gradac, across the Čikola to Balina glavica (*Municipium Magnum*). It ran along the valley of the Vrba stream towards Muć (*Andetrium*) and Klis, and then descended to Salona in three branches.<sup>7</sup> This was one of the most important roads that connected the settlements and military centres of the so-called Delmatian limes, whose main camps were in Tilurium (Gardun near Trilj) and Burnum (Ivoševci near Kistanje). In the area of Biočić, Miočić, Kadina Glavica and Gradac, this Roman road probably followed the same route as the current local road that connects these places. Evidence of this can be found at the very site next to the church of the Nativity of Mary in Gradac, where two lids of Roman sarcophagi were discovered, while the third is located near a local water spring, carved into a trough. However, the most interesting find from the site is certainly the cusp of a large altar tombstone found next to today's road. East of the church of St. Mary, there are traces of a large antique building with the remains of hypocaust *suspensura*.<sup>8</sup>

*Municipium Magnum* (Balina glavica) acquired the status of municipium before the time of Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The existence of this settlement and Promona as two important centres in Roman times in the polje that Roman sources called *Campus Illyricus* was a kind of harbinger of the later development of Petrovo polje in which two most important mediaeval centres would develop in the same area.<sup>9</sup>

### Early Christianity

*Municipium Magnum* was last mentioned in 533, when it was assigned to the newly founded Di-

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/36692153/Arheolo%C5%A1ka\\_topografija\\_rijeka\\_Krke\\_i\\_predrimski\\_Burnum\\_i\\_Promona](https://www.academia.edu/36692153/Arheolo%C5%A1ka_topografija_rijeka_Krke_i_predrimski_Burnum_i_Promona) [konzultirano 17/07/2020.]

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/24952163/Hodolo%C5%A1ka\\_zapa%C5%BEanja\\_o\\_arheologiji\\_Petrova\\_polja\\_osamdesetih\\_godina\\_XX\\_vijek](https://www.academia.edu/24952163/Hodolo%C5%A1ka_zapa%C5%BEanja_o_arheologiji_Petrova_polja_osamdesetih_godina_XX_vijek) [konzultirano 17/07/2020.]

<sup>6</sup> Opširnije vidi: Rašković 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Miletić 1993, str. 117.

<sup>6</sup> For more, see: Rašković 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Miletić 1993, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Rašković 1991, pp. 217–218, 220.

<sup>9</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, p. 65.

crkve sv. Marije zamjećuju se i tragovi većeg antičkog objekta s ostacima suspenzura hipokausta.<sup>8</sup>

*Municipium Magnum* (Balina glavica) status municipija stječe prije vremena cara Marka Aurelija. Postojanje ovog naselja i Promone kao dvaju značajnih središta u rimsko doba u polju koje rimski izvori nazivaju *Campus Illyricus* bilo je svojevrsan vjesnik kasnijeg razvoja Petrova polja u kojem će se u istom arealu razviti i dva najznačajnija srednjovjekovna središta.<sup>9</sup>

#### Rano kršćanstvo

*Municipium Magnum* zadnji se put spominje 533. godine, kada je odlukom drugog sabora u Saloni dodijeljen novoosnovanoj biskupiji Ludrum. Nije poznato gdje se ova biskupija točno nalazila, a u povijesnoj literaturi navode se različite pretpostavke (Kosovo polje, Livno, Sinj i dr.). Iz vremena ludrumske biskupije svakako su ranokršćanske bazilike na području današnjeg Petrova polja: jedna je smještena između Biočića i Tepljuha, a druga na Ceceli u Siveriću. Iako je u literaturi uvriježeno mišljenje da toponim Cecela potječe od titulara ranokršćanske crkve sv. Cecilije, A. Škegro ukazuje na mogućnost da je Cecela dobila ime po jedinom imenom poznatom ludrumskom biskupu Celijanu, koji se u nekim rukopisima navodi i kao Cecilijan.<sup>10</sup>

#### Srednji vijek

Prostor triju polja u srednjem je vijeku integralni dio teritorija koji je obuhvaćala ranosrednjovjekovna Kninska županija, koja se u povijesnim vrelima prvi put spominje u 10. stoljeću u djelu *De administrando imperio* bizantskog cara Konstantina Porfirogeneta.

Nisu poznati povijesni izvori koji bi se odnosili na razdoblje Hrvatske kneževine/kraljevine. Podatke vezane uz dvije verzije legende o smrti kralja Dmitra Zvonimira pronalazimo u kasnijim izvorima 16. i 17. st.<sup>11</sup>

U 14. i 15. stoljeću kninsko-drniški prostor podijeljen je u nekoliko upravnih cjelina: distrikt *grada Knina*, distrikt *Unačice*, distrikt *Campus Petri* i distrikt *Oprominje*.<sup>12</sup> Od 40-ih godina 14. st. u posjedu je velikaške obitelji Nelipčića. Nelipčići su Petrovo

oces of Ludrum by a decision of the second council in Salona. The exact location of this diocese is unknown, and various assumptions have been made in the historical literature (Kosovo Polje, Livno, Sinj, etc.). The early Christian basilicas in today's Petrovo polje certainly originate from the time of the Ludrum Diocese: one is located between Biočić and Tepljuh, and the other at Cecela in Siverić. Although it is widely believed in the literature that the place-name Cecela originates from the dedicatee of the early Christian church of St. Cecilia, A. Škegro pointed to the possibility that Cecela had been named after the only Bishop of Ludrum known by name – Celian – also referred to in some manuscripts as Cecilian.<sup>10</sup>

#### Middle Ages

In the Middle Ages, the area of the three polja was an integral part of the territory covered by the early mediaeval Knin County, first mentioned in historical sources in the tenth century in the work *De administrando imperio* of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

There are no known historical sources that refer to the period of the Croatian Principality/Kingdom. The information related to two versions of the legend of the death of King Dmitar Zvonimir can be found in later sources from the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>11</sup>

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the Knin-Drniš area was divided into several administrative units: the district of the *town of Knin*, the district of *Unačice*, the district of *Campus Petri*, and the district of *Oprominje*.<sup>12</sup> It was in possession of the noble family of Nelipčić from the 1340s. The Nelipčićs held Petrovo polje until the extinction of its male line. Thereafter it was taken over first by the Frankopans in 1435, and then by the Talovacs in 1437.<sup>13</sup>

The district of *Campus Petri* included today's Kosovo and Petrovo polja, at the time called by the unique name of Petrovo polje.<sup>14</sup> F. Radić believed

<sup>8</sup> Rašković 1991, str. 217-218, 220.

<sup>9</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 65.

<sup>10</sup> Usp. Škegro 2007, str. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Opširnije vidi: Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 67.

<sup>12</sup> Smiljanić 1984-1985, str. 135-145; Smiljanić 1988, str. 135-137, 140, 146-147.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Škegro 2007, p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> For more, see: Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 67.

<sup>12</sup> Smiljanić 1984-1985, pp. 135-145; Smiljanić 1988, pp. 135-137, 140, 146-147.

<sup>13</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2013, p. 256.

<sup>14</sup> Jakovljević and Isailović, unlike Smiljanić, emphasises that *Oprominje* had been mentioned almost exclusively in the 14th century, and Petrovo Polje in the 15th century (in 1411 for the first time), and pointed out the possibility that the name *Oprominje* had been

polje držali sve do izumiranja loze po muškoj liniji, a nakon toga ga preuzimaju najprije Frankopani 1435. godine, a potom Talovci 1437. godine.<sup>13</sup>

Distrikt *Campus Petri* obuhvaćao je današnje Kosovo i Petrovo polje, koje se tada nazivalo jedinstvenim imenom Petrovo polje.<sup>14</sup> F. Radić je smatrao da je polje dobilo ime upravo po jednom od titulara predromaničke crkve, koja se nalazila na mjestu današnje župne crkve Porođenja Marijina.<sup>15</sup> Nedvojbeno je da su povijesno-geografski pojmovi Petrovo polje i Petrova gora (danas Moseć) međusobno povezani pa se Radićeva teorija ne može u potpunosti odbaciti jer je Gradac s okolicom bio važno središte kako tijekom rimskoga tako i tijekom srednjovjekovnoga razdoblja. Što se tiče naselja Petrovo Polje koje se u izvorima javlja u razdoblju od 16. do 18. stoljeća, mišljenja povjesničara su različita. F. Smiljanić smatrao je da se selo Petrovo Polje (*Petrovo polli*), spomenuto 1342. godine, nalazilo na teritoriju današnjeg polja, dok ga A. Jakovljević i N. Isailović smještaju u Cetinsku krajinu.<sup>16</sup> K. Kosor ubicirao je naselje Petrovo Polje između Kadine Glavice, Otavice i Gradca, ali to je tek pretpostavka koju nije moguće izravno potvrditi.<sup>17</sup> Petrovo polje (*Petrovo poglie* ili *Campus Petri*) u dokumentima iz 15. stoljeća uvijek se navodi s jasnim značenjem teritorija (kraja), a ne naselja.

Samo selo Gradac pod tim imenom nije zabilježeno u srednjem vijeku. Prvi spomen imena Gradac (Gradčac) pada u 1528. - 1530. godinu, kada ga nalazimo navedenog u prvome turskom popisnom defteru Bosanskog sandžaka, koji je sastavljen odmah nakon osvajanja kninsko-drniškog teritorija. Stoga je sigurno riječ o ranijem srednjovjekovnom naselju. A. Jakovljević i N. Isailović pretpostavljaju da se selo Grad(č)ac može dovesti u vezu sa srednjovjekovnim kastrumom Brečevo, utvrdom koja

that the polje had been named after one of the dedicatees of the pre-Romanesque church, located on the site of today's parish church of the Nativity of Mary.<sup>15</sup> There is no doubt that the historical-geographical terms of Petrovo polje and Petrova gora (present-day Moseć) are interconnected, so Radić's theory cannot be completely rejected because Gradac and its surroundings were an important centre, both during the Roman and mediaeval periods. As for the settlement of Petrovo Polje, which appeared in the sources from the 16th to the 18th century, the opinions of historians vary. F. Smiljanić believed that the village of Petrovo Polje (*Petrovo polli*), mentioned in 1342, had been located in today's polje, while A. Jakovljević and N. Isailović placed it in the Cetinska krajina region.<sup>16</sup> K. Kosor believed that the settlement of Petrovo Polje had been situated between Kadina Glavica, Otavice and Gradac, but this is merely an assumption that cannot be directly confirmed.<sup>17</sup> Petrovo polje (*Petrovo poglie* or *Campus Petri*) was always mentioned in documents from the 15th century with clear references to the territory (region), rather than the settlement itself.

The very village of Gradac was not recorded under that name in the Middle Ages. The name Gradac (Gradčac) was first mentioned in 1528–1530, in the first Turkish census defter of the Sanjak of Bosnia, made immediately after the conquest of Knin-Drniš territory. Therefore, it must have been an earlier mediaeval settlement. A. Jakovljević and N. Isailović assume that the village of Grad(č)ac can be associated with the mediaeval castrum of Brečevo, a fortification that controlled the eastern part of Petrovo polje, and which definitely saw its end no later than during the Turkish conquest of this area. The same authors also point out that the newly discovered sources and Turkish censuses prejudice Gunjača's earlier localisation of Brečevo near the present-day village of Bračević.<sup>18</sup> Namely, the earliest mention of Brečevo dates to 1311, rather than

changed to Petrovo Polje at one point (between 1408 and 1411). They also noted that the name Polje (*Campus, Poyle*) or Polje Kanjane (*Polye Kanane*) had been in use until 1400, and that parts of Kosovo north of Petrov klanac and Oprominja (the area between the Krka and Promina) had thence been called Petrovo polje. Cf. Jakovljević, Isailović 2013, pp. 255–256; Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, p. 110.

<sup>13</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2013, str. 256.

<sup>14</sup> Jakovljević i Isailović za razliku od Smiljanića naglašavaju da se Oprominje spominje gotovo isključivo u 14. st., a Petrovo Polje u 15. st. (prvi put 1411.) te ukazuju na mogućnost da je termin Oprominje u jednom trenutku (između 1408. i 1411.) zamijenjen terminom Petrovo Polje. Također ističu da je naziv Polje (*Campus, Poyle*) ili Polje Kanjane (*Polye Kanane*) u uporabi do 1400., a nakon toga se dijelovi Kosova sjeverno od Petrova klanca i Oprominje (područje između Krke i Promine) naziva Petrovim poljem. Usp. Jakovljević, Isailović 2013, str. 255–256; Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 110.

<sup>15</sup> Radić 1898, str. 108.

<sup>16</sup> Usp. Jakovljević, Isailović 2012, str. 36, bilj. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Kosor 1979, str. 137.

<sup>15</sup> Radić 1898, p. 108.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Jakovljević, Isailović 2012, p. 36, fn. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Kosor 1979, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, pp. 85–86.

je kontrolirala istočni dio Petrova polja, a koja je definitivno propala najkasnije s turskim osvajanjem ovih prostora. Isti autori naglašavaju i to kako novootkrivena vrela i turski popisi dovode u pitanje raniju Gunjačinu ubikaciju Brečeva u blizinu današnjeg sela Bračević.<sup>18</sup> Najstariji spomen Brečeva potječe, naime, iz 1311. godine, a ne iz 1345., kako se donedavno smatralo. Riječ je o ispravi iz registra Splitskog kaptola, koja je vezana za određivanje međa posjeda Obrov prodanog petorici braće iz roda Čudimirovića iz Brečeva. Među međama posjeda Obrov navodi se i crkva Blažene Djevice Marije te je nedvojbeno riječ o crkvi u današnjem selu Gradac.<sup>19</sup> Stoga se može zaključiti da je selo Grad(č)ac bilo dio podgrađa nekadašnjeg Brečeva, što sugerira i njegovo ime (gradić, mali grad, mala utvrda).

### *Razdoblje osmanske vladavine*

Pretpostavlja se da je osmansko osvajanje ovih prostora dovršeno oko 1522. godine. Novoosvojena područja u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji priključena su najprije kao vilajet Hrvati Bosanskom sandžaku.<sup>20</sup> Vezano uz prethodno spomenuto ubiciranje kastruma Brečevo treba naglasiti i to da se već u prvom osmanskom popisnom defteru dovršenom 1530. godine Petrovo polje javlja kao nahija u granicama koje su najpribližnije teritoriju nekadašnjeg Polja, tj. Polja Kanjane kakvo je postojalo sredinom 14. st. Stoga i Polje, odnosno Polje Kanjane treba locirati u današnje Petrovo polje, odnosno može se s velikom vjerojatnošću zaključiti da je selo Gradac nasljednik naselja koje se u ranijem srednjem vijeku razvilo ispod kastruma Brečevo u Polju Kanjane, koje će se kasnije, u 15. i 16. stoljeću nazivati Petrovim poljem.

Već godine 1537. područje nahije Petrovo polje našlo se u okviru novouspostavljenog Kliškog sandžaka. Termin Petrovo polje tek tada se počeo odnositi uglavnom na prostor polja koje se od Uzdolja pružalo u smjeru jug-jugoistok do ispod Drniša, Ružića, Gradca i Umljanovića, odnosno od Klanca kod utvrđenja Petrovac do ravnice koja se prostirala duž gornjeg toka rijeke Čikole.<sup>21</sup> Čikola se u predosmansko doba nazivala Poljščica, a u 16. stoljeću još uvijek su u uporabi oba imena.<sup>22</sup>

1345, as believed until recently. The document in question is from the register of the Split Chapter, related to determining the boundaries of the Obrov estate sold to five brothers from the Čudimirović family from Brečevo. The church of the Blessed Virgin Mary was also mentioned as a boundary of the Obrov estate. It is undoubtedly the church in the present-day village of Gradac.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that the village of Grad(č)ac was part of the suburbium of former Brečevo, as also suggested by its name (small town or small fortification).

### *Ottoman rule period*

It is assumed that the Ottoman conquest of these areas was completed around 1522. The newly conquered areas in Croatia and Dalmatia were first annexed as the Croatian Vilayet to the Sanjak of Bosnia.<sup>20</sup> In connection with the previously mentioned localisation of castrum Brečevo, it should be pointed out that Petrovo polje was already mentioned in the first Ottoman census defter completed in 1530 as a nahiye within the borders closest to the territory of former Polje, i.e. Polje Kanjane as it had existed in the mid-14th century. Therefore, Polje, viz. Polje Kanjane, should also be localised in today's Petrovo polje, i.e. it can be concluded with high probability that the village of Gradac was the successor of the settlement that had developed in the earlier Middle Ages below castrum Brečevo in Polje Kanjane, which would later, in the 15th and 16th centuries, be called Petrovo polje.

As early as 1537, the area of the nahiye of Petrovo polje was part of the newly established Sanjak of Klis. The term Petrovo polje only then began to refer mainly to the area of the polje that stretched from Uzdolja in the south-southeast direction to the tract below Drniš, Ružić, Gradac and Umljanovići, i.e. from Klanac near the Petrovac fortification to the plain that expanded along the upper course of the Čikola River.<sup>21</sup> In the pre-Ottoman period, the Čikola was called Poljščica, and in the 16th century both names were still in use.<sup>22</sup>

Gradac (Gradčac) was also mentioned in the 1542 and 1550 defters, as well as those from the last quarter of the 16th century. The 1585/1586 census

<sup>18</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 85-86.

<sup>19</sup> Ančić 2014, str. 157-160, br. 44 i br. 44a.

<sup>20</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2013, str. 257-258.

<sup>21</sup> Opširnije vidi u: Jakovljević, Isailović 2012; Jakovljević, Isailović 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Rački 1882, str. 180, 195.

<sup>19</sup> Ančić 2014, pp. 157-160, No. 44 and No. 44a.

<sup>20</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2013, pp. 257-258.

<sup>21</sup> For more, see Jakovljević, Isailović 2012; Jakovljević, Isailović 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Rački 1882, pp. 180, 195.

Gradac (Gradčac) spomenut je i u defferima iz 1542. i 1550. godine kao i onima iz posljednje četvrtine 16. stoljeća. Popis iz 1585./1586. godine donosi podatak da se u selu održavao sajam (*panađur*).

Tijekom osmanskog razdoblja u vjerskom je smislu stanovništvo nahije Petrovo polje bilo većinom kršćansko, uz određeni stupanj islamizacije koji se može utvrditi u gotovo svim selima.

Godine 1683., tijekom Kandijskog rata, Mletačka Republika naposljetku je zauzela Drniš, čime je okončano dugotrajno razdoblje osmanske vlasti na ovom području.<sup>23</sup>

## Povijest arheoloških istraživanja

### Crkva

Prvu vijest o arheološkom lokalitetu uz crkvu Porođenja Blažene Djevice Marije donosi godine 1887. don Frane Bulić, koji uočava predromaničke ulomke u crkvenim zidovima.<sup>24</sup> Godine 1895. tadašnji gradački župnik poklanja *Prvom muzeju hrvatskih spomenika* u Kninu ulomak s natpisom na kojem se spominje sv. Petar. Dvije godine kasnije *Hrvatsko starinarsko društvo* preuzima još sedam ornamentiranih spomenika. Prvi put ih, uz neke tada još uzidane u crkvu, publicira Frano Radić u IV. broju *Starohrvatske prosvjete* 1898. godine.<sup>25</sup>

Prvi arheološki zahvat proveo je 1904. godine fra Lujo Marun, istražujući oko temelja sakristije župne crkve, ali u toj prigodi otkriven je tek jedan ornamentirani ulomak ugrađen u malu lezenu između apside i sakristije.<sup>26</sup> Pojedini ulomci otkrivani su prigodom izgradnje suvremenih grobnica 1967. i 1974. godine, koje su znatno devastirale čitav lokalitet. Ti ulomci bili su pohranjeni u Franjevačkom samostanu u Sinju, a 1976. god. poklonjeni su *Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika* za stalni muzejski postav.<sup>27</sup>

Prvo arheološko istraživanje sondažnog karaktera provedeno je u rujnu 1981. godine i u toj je prigodi otkriven jedan manji kapitel predromaničke crkve.<sup>28</sup>

Crkva Porođenja Marijina u Domovinskom je ratu minirana do temelja pa su po završetku rata iz

contained information on a fair held in the village (*panađur*).

In religious terms, during the Ottoman period, the population of the Petrovo polje nahije was mostly Christian, with a certain level of Islamization that can be found in almost all villages.

In 1683, during the Candian War, the Venetian Republic eventually occupied Drniš, thus ending a long period of Ottoman rule in the area.<sup>23</sup>

## History of archaeological research

### Church

The first report about the archaeological site next to the church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was brought in 1887 by Don Frane Bulić, who had detected pre-Romanesque fragments in the church walls.<sup>24</sup> In 1895, the then parish priest of Gradac bestowed the *First Museum of Croatian Monuments* in Knin with a fragment bearing an inscription mentioning St. Peter. Two years later, the *Croatian Antiquarian Society* received seven more ornamented monuments. They were first published by Frano Radić in issue IV of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* in 1898, along with some others, still incorporated in the church at the time.<sup>25</sup>

The first archaeological project was carried out in 1904 by Friar Lujo Marun, who researched around the foundations of the parish church sacristy. However, only one ornamented fragment was discovered on that occasion, built into a small lesene between the apse and the sacristy.<sup>26</sup> Single fragments were discovered during the construction of modern tombs in 1967 and 1974, which significantly devastated the entire site. These fragments were stored in the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj. In 1976, they were donated to the *Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments* for permanent museum display.<sup>27</sup>

The first archaeological research with test excavations was carried out in September 1981, when a small capital of the pre-Romanesque church was discovered.<sup>28</sup>

The church of the Nativity of Mary was blasted to the ground in the Homeland War. After the war,

<sup>23</sup> Vidi: Kosor 1979.

<sup>24</sup> Bulić 1887.

<sup>25</sup> Radić 1898.

<sup>26</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 275

<sup>27</sup> Gabrić 1974, str. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Jelovina 1982, str. 237-238.

<sup>23</sup> See: Kosor 1979.

<sup>24</sup> Bulić 1887.

<sup>25</sup> Radić 1898.

<sup>26</sup> Zekan 2000, p. 275

<sup>27</sup> Gabrić 1974, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Jelovina 1982, pp. 237-238.





Sl. 2. Ulomak s natpisom na kojim se spominje titular crkve sv. Petar (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 2 Fragment with an inscription mentioning the dedicatee of the church of St. Peter  
 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

ruševina prikupljeni svi ranije uočeni ulomci, ali i neki nepoznati ulomci predromaničke i ranoromaničke plastike.<sup>29</sup>

Prije obnove suvremene crkve provedena su 1996. i 1997. godine pod vodstvom Mate Zekana sustavna arheološka istraživanja, koja su rezultirala nalazom polukružnog zida apside predromaničke crkve. Tijekom tih istraživanja iz zidova recentnih grobnica u unutrašnjosti porušene župne crkve izvađeno je više kamenih spomenika iz rimskoga i predromaničkoga razdoblja.<sup>30</sup>

Na temelju rezultata istraživanja i prikupljene građe o srednjovjekovnoj crkvi koja se nalazila na istome mjestu kao i današnja župna crkva, mogu se donijeti sljedeći zaključci:

a) Tlocrt crkve ostao je nepoznat. Otkrivena polukružna apside pripada predromaničkom razdoblju (9. - 11. st.), ali se ne može preciznije vremenski opredijeliti.<sup>31</sup>

b) Sačuvani latinski natpisi na predromaničkoj oltarnoj ogradi potječu s kraja 9. st. ili iz prve polovine 10. st. te otkrivaju ime sv. Petra kao glavnog crkvenog titulara, ali ukazuju i na sunaslovnika, najvjerojatnije sv. Mariju, koja će kao titular prevladati u kasnijim stoljećima.<sup>32</sup>

c) Crkva je vjerojatno podignuta krajem 9. ili početkom 10. stoljeća, što se može zaključiti na os-

all previously discovered fragments were salvaged from the ruins, as well as some unknown fragments of pre-Romanesque and early Romanesque sculpture.<sup>29</sup>

Prior to the restoration of the modern church, systematic archaeological investigations were carried out in 1996 and 1997 under the leadership of Mate Zekan, which resulted in the discovery of the semicircular apse wall of the pre-Romanesque church. During the research, a number of stone monuments from the Roman and pre-Romanesque periods were extracted from the walls of recent tombs inside the ruined parish church.<sup>30</sup>

Based on the results of the research and the collected material on the mediaeval church that was located on the same site as the present parish church, the following conclusions can be made:

a) The ground plan of the church has remained unknown. The discovered semicircular apse belongs to the pre-Romanesque period (9th–11th c.), but cannot be dated more precisely.<sup>31</sup>

b) The preserved Latin inscriptions on the pre-Romanesque altar screen date from the end of the ninth century or the first half of the tenth century. They reveal the name of St. Peter as the principal dedicatee of churches, and also refer to the co-dedicatee, most probably St. Mary, who would prevail as dedicatee in subsequent centuries.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 276.

<sup>30</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 276

<sup>31</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 277.

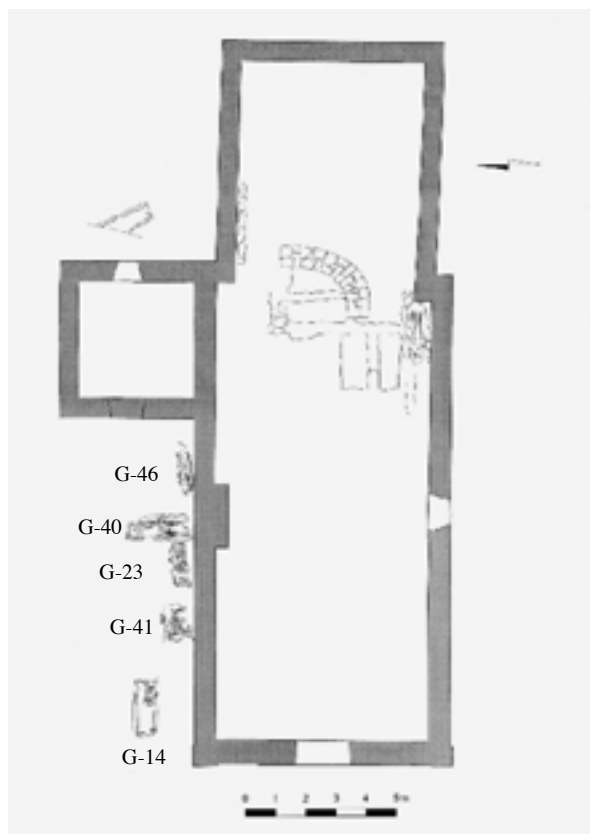
<sup>32</sup> Delonga 1996, str. 90-91.

<sup>29</sup> Zekan 2000, p. 276.

<sup>30</sup> Zekan 2000, p. 276

<sup>31</sup> Zekan 2000, p. 277.

<sup>32</sup> Delonga 1996, pp. 90–91.



Sl. 3. Tlocrt crkve iz 1997. godine s otkrivenom apsidom srednjovjekovne crkve i ranosrednjovjekovnim grobovima (izradila: M. Marković)

Fig. 3 Ground plan of the church from 1997 with the discovered apse of the mediaeval church and early mediaeval graves (made by: M. Marković)

novi najstarijih ulomaka kamenog namještaja koji potječu s lokaliteta. Riječ je uradcima tzv. *Benediktinske klesarske radionice iz vremena kneza Branimira (i Muncimira)*.<sup>33</sup> Ta radionica djelovala je na širokom području Hrvatske Kneževine i dalmatinskih gradova, a njezini proizvodi pripadaju među najkvalitetnije u cjelokupnom korpusu predromaničke skulpture.

d) Crkva je vjerojatno obnavljana u drugoj polovici 11. stoljeća, o čemu svjedoče ukrašene ranoromaničke vratnice koje se pripisuju opusu tzv. *Zadarsko-kninske klesarske radionice* koja je djelovala u doba vladavine hrvatskog kralja Petra Krešimira IV.<sup>34</sup>

c) The church was probably built at the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, which can be concluded on the basis of the oldest fragments of stone furniture originating from the site, made by the so-called *Benedictine stonemasonry workshop from the reigns of Duke Branimir (and Murimit)*.<sup>33</sup> This workshop operated in a wide area of the Croatian Principality and Dalmatian towns, and its products are among the finest in the entire corpus of pre-Romanesque sculpture.

d) The church was probably rebuilt in the second half of the 11th century, as evidenced by the decorated early Romanesque door frames, attributed to the so-called *Zadar-Knin stonemasonry workshop*, active during the reign of Croatian King Petar Krešimir IV.<sup>34</sup>

e) Given the excellence of the sculptural-epigraphic finds, V. Delonga assumed that the church had functioned as part of a ruler's estate.<sup>35</sup>

f) A document from the register of the Split Chapter dating to the beginning of the 14th century, mentions the church in Gradac as the church of St. Mary under Brečevo.

g) It is not entirely clear what happened to the church during the Ottoman rule, but it should be considered that the Ottomans did not record all the churches, but only those related to some income or tax liability. Although such sources mention merely two active churches in Petrovo polje in the 16th and early 17th centuries (St. John in Badanj and St. Jesus and Mary in Biočić), it should be taken into account that a fair (panadur) was held next to the church in Gradac, which indicates the great significance of this location.<sup>36</sup> A. Jakovljević and N. Isailović believe that the Roman Catholic parish of Petrovo polje, mentioned during the Ottoman rule, must have had its centre in Gradac, in the church of St. Mary. After all, the largest concentration of the Catholic population lived around Gradac, in the very area called Petrovo polje.<sup>37</sup> This is also indicated in the Gradac civil registers from the beginning of the 18th century, in which it is recorded that the parish priest was *parochus Campi Petri que vocatur Gradaz*.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Jakšić 2000, str. 209-212; Jurčević 2016, str. 137-150.

<sup>34</sup> Radionicu je izdvojio I. Petricioli. Usp. Petricioli 1960; Petricioli 1995; Jakšić, Hilje 2008; Jurčević 2016.

<sup>33</sup> Jakšić 2000, pp. 209-212; Jurčević 2016, pp. 137-150.

<sup>34</sup> The workshop was identified by I. Petricioli. Cf. Petricioli 1960; Petricioli 1995; Jakšić, Hilje 2008; Jurčević 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Delonga 1996, p. 90.

<sup>36</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, pp. 302-305.

<sup>37</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, pp. 307-308.

<sup>38</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, pp. 374-375.

e) S obzirom na vrsnoću skulptorsko-epigrafskih nalaza V. Delonga pretpostavlja da je crkva funkcionirala u okviru jednog od vladarskih posjeda.<sup>35</sup>

f) U jednoj ispravi iz registra Splitskog kaptola s početka 14. stoljeća crkva u Gradcu navodi se kao crkva sv. Marije pod Brečevom.

g) Što se s crkvom događalo u doba osmanske vladavine nije sasvim jasno, ali treba imati u vidu da osmanski popisi ne bilježe sve crkve, već samo one vezane uz neki prihod ili poreznu obvezu. Pa premda ti izvori govore o samo dvije aktivne crkve u Petrovu polju u 16. st. i početkom 17. st. (Sv. Ivan u Badnju i Sv. Isus i Marija u Biočiću) treba uzeti u obzir da se uz crkvu u Gradcu održavao sajam (*panadur*), što ukazuje na veliko značenje lokacije.<sup>36</sup> A. Jakovljević i N. Isailović smatraju da je rimo-katolička župa Petrovo polje, spomenuta tijekom osmanske vlasti, morala imati središte u Gradcu, u crkvi sv. Marije. U okolici Gradca uostalom bila je i najveća koncentracija katoličkog stanovništva, a sam se prostor oko navedenog sela nazivao Petrovim poljem.<sup>37</sup> Na to upućuju i gradačke matične knjige s početka 18. st., gdje se navodi da je župnik bio *parochus Campi Petri que vocatur Gradaz*.<sup>38</sup>

h) Svi kasniji podaci o crkvi vezani su uz djelatnost franjevačkog reda na teritoriju današnje Provincije Presvetog Otkupitelja.<sup>39</sup> Prvi spomen nakon oslobođenja Drniša od osmanske vlasti iz godine je 1693., kada donja fra Ignacije Vukasović bilježi da je crkva u Gradcu bila hodočasnička Gospina crkva. U to doba selo je pripadalo petropoljskoj župi. Već godine 1700. nastaje samostanska župa zajedno sa selom Kljacima, a stara porušena crkva obnovljena je 1710. godine. Na istome mjestu između 1752. i 1757. sagradio je Gašpar Vinjalić potpuno novu crkvu, koja je navodno slijedila temelje starije srednjovjekovne crkve.<sup>40</sup> Vinjalićeva crkva popravljena je 1771. godine, o čemu je svjedočio natpis nad ulazom. Godine 1832. Kljaci se odcjepljuju od Gradca, a župu opslužuju franjevci s Visovca. Crkva je i kasnije više puta prepravljena, 1897. godine dozidan

h) All later information about the church is related to the activities of the Franciscan order in the territory of today's Province of the Most Holy Redeemer.<sup>39</sup> The first mention after the liberation of Drniš from the Ottoman rule dates to 1693, when Friar Ignacije Vukasović recorded that the church in Gradac was the pilgrimage church of Our Lady. At the time, the village belonged to the Parish of Petrovo polje. As early as 1700, the monastery parish was established together with the village of Kljaci, while the old ruined church was restored in 1710. Between 1752 and 1757, Gašpar Vinjalić built a completely new church at the same spot. Allegedly, it was in line with the foundations of the earlier mediaeval church.<sup>40</sup> Vinjalić's church was repaired in 1771, as indicated by the inscription above the entrance. In 1832, Kljaci became detached from Gradac, and the parish was served by the Franciscans from Visovac. The church was later rebuilt several times. In 1897, a presbytery was added, and in 1856 a sacristy. Before its blasting and complete demolition in the Homeland War, the church was last rebuilt in 1971 according to the new liturgical regulations.<sup>41</sup>

i) After the Homeland War, the parish church of the Nativity of Mary was completely reconstructed and restored to its original form. The parish museum was built below it. The conserved apse of the pre-Romanesque church is visible in it, and it also exhibits facsimile and original portable archaeological evidence. This museological presentation was initiated by none other than our colleague Mate Zekan.<sup>42</sup>

### Cemetery

The first archaeological research with test excavations, which included the cemetery, was conducted from 11 to 26 September 1981, under the leadership of Dušan Jelovina, in collaboration with Zdenko Vinski and Željko Rapanić.<sup>43</sup> The existence

<sup>35</sup> Delonga 1996, str. 90.

<sup>36</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 302-305.

<sup>37</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 307-308.

<sup>38</sup> Jakovljević, Isailović 2019, str. 374-375.

<sup>39</sup> Soldo 1979, str. 84-85.

<sup>40</sup> Usp. Kapitanić 2010, str. 10. Kapitanić ističe kako Urlić i Bačić podatak o tome da je fra Gašpar Vinjalić sa seljanima obnovio crkvu na starohrvatskim temeljima ne potkrepljuju arhivskim dokumentima. Budući da su spisi provincijala Filipovića iz 1751. - 1754. nestali, teško je reći je li podatak vjerodostojan.

<sup>39</sup> Soldo 1979, pp. 84-85.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Kapitanić 2010, p. 10. Kapitanić pointed out that Urlić and Bačić had not provided archival documents in support of the information that Fra Gašpar Vinjalić and the villagers had restored the church on early Croatian foundations. Since the records of the Provincial Filipović from 1751-1754 are missing, it is difficult to ascertain the credibility of the information.

<sup>41</sup> Soldo 1979, pp. 84-85.

<sup>42</sup> Zekan 2000, p. 281.

<sup>43</sup> Jelovina 1982, pp. 237-238.

je prezbitarij, a 1856. godine sakristija. Posljednji put prije miniranja i potpunog rušenja u Domovinskom ratu crkva je 1971. preuređena prema novim liturgijskim propisima.<sup>41</sup>

i) Nakon Domovinskog rata župna crkva Porodenja Marijina u potpunosti je rekonstruirana i dovedena u prvobitni oblik, a ispod nje izgrađen je župni muzej, u kojem je vidljiva konzervirana apside predromaničke crkve te izložena faksimilna i originalna pokretna arheološka građa. Inicijator ove muzeološke prezentacije bio je upravo kolega Mate Zekan.<sup>42</sup>

### Groblje

Prvo arheološko istraživanje sondažnog karaktera koje je obuhvatilo groblje provedeno je od 11. do 26. rujna 1981. godine pod vodstvom Dušana Jelovine, a uz suradnju Zdenka Vinskog i Željka Rapanića.<sup>43</sup> U iskopanim sondama utvrđeno je postojanje dva do tri sloja grobova. Istraženo je ukupno 55 grobova, od kojih su oni u donjem sloju sadržavali priloge. Rezultati ovih iskopavanja nikada nisu publicirani, a dokumentacija i nalazi čuvaju se u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.

Arheološkim istraživanjima provedenim 1996. i 1997. godine pod vodstvom Mate Zekana istraženi su grobovi u unutrašnjosti crkve i unutrašnjosti sakristije, te prostor uz vanjsku stranu crkvenih zidova. Arheološka istraživanja provedena su i na površini pravokutnih apsida (iz 1771. i 1879. godine). Na navedenim površinama obuhvaćenim arheološkim iskopom dokumentiran je niz kosturnica i recentnih grobnica, ali i veći broj grobova kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, među kojima i pojedini s izrazito luksuznim nalazima.<sup>44</sup>

Međutim, kako je istaknuo sam istraživač Mate Zekan, posebnu pozornost zaslužuju grobovi u sondi otvorenoj zapadno od sakristije, smješteni s vanjske strane sjevernog zida župne crkve (vidi tlocrt na sl. 2).<sup>45</sup> Riječ je o pet grobova, od kojih jedan pripada mlađem srednjovjekovnom sloju (G-14), jedan je gotovo u potpunosti devastiran (G-41), a tri su iz ranosrednjovjekovnog razdoblja (G-23, G-40 i G-46) i sadržavaju osobito luksuzne nalaze nakita. Upravo ova tri groba razmatram u tekstu koji slijedi. Kako se ovdje prvi put objavljuju, donosim i katalog, kako samih grobova tako i grobnih nalaza.

of two to three layers of graves was identified in the excavated trenches. A total of 55 graves were explored, of which those in the lower layer contained goods. The results of these excavations have never been published, while the documentation and finds are kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.

The 1996 and 1997 archaeological excavations, led by Mate Zekan, explored the graves inside the church and sacristy, as well as the area along the outside of the church walls. Archaeological investigations were also carried out on the surface of rectangular apses (from 1771 and 1879). A number of ossuaries and recent tombs were documented in the mentioned areas covered by the archaeological excavations, as well as a large number of graves from the late Middle Ages, including some with exceedingly luxurious finds.<sup>44</sup>

However, as researcher Mate Zekan himself pointed out, the graves in the open trench to the west of the sacristy, located on the outside of the north wall of the parish church (see the ground plan), deserve special attention.<sup>45</sup> There are five graves in all, one of which belongs to the later mediaeval layer (G-14), one is almost completely destroyed (G-41), and three are from the early mediaeval period (G-23, G-40 and G-46) and contain particularly luxurious jewellery finds. It is these three graves that will be covered in the text below. Since they are published here for the first time, a catalogue of both the graves and the grave finds is also presented.

<sup>41</sup> Soldo 1979, str. 84-85.

<sup>42</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 281.

<sup>43</sup> Jelovina 1982, str. 237-238.

<sup>44</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 276-280.

<sup>45</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 280.

<sup>44</sup> Zekan 2000, pp. 276-280.

<sup>45</sup> Zekan 2000, p. 280.

## Katalog

### 1. Grob 23

**Opis groba:** Grob je orijentiran u pravcu zapad-istok. Bio je prekriven nepravilnim kamenim pločama. Obložnice, uzglavnica i donožnica načinjeni su od okomito postavljenih nepravilnih kamenih ploča. Dno groba je zemljano.

**Opis kostura:** U grobu su otkriveni kosturni ostaci jednog pokojnika (dijete 8-10 godina) s rukama ispruženim niz tijelo.

**Grobni nalazi:** Na prsnom košu pokojnika otkriveno je puce-privjesak.

**Opis nalaza:**

*Puce-privjesak.*

Pozlaćeno srebro. Vis. 3,8 cm. Najveća šir. 1,4 cm. Iskucavanje, filigran i granulacija.

Puce-privjesak sastoji se od dva međusobno spojena kuglasta dijela načinjena od srebrnog pozlaćenog lima. Manji gornji dio ukrašen je trima kalotastim ispupčenjima s granulom na vrhu. Donji dio podijeljen je po sredini četverostrukom nabranom filigranskom niti. Gornja polovina ukrašena je istovjetno kao gornji dio privjeska, a donja kružnicama od nabrane filigranske niti. Na dnu je kapljičasti završetak optočen nabranom filigranskom niti, a na vrhu ušica za pričvršćivanje. Inv. br. MHAS 5689.



## Catalogue

### 1. Grave 23

**Description of grave:** The grave is oriented in the west-east direction. It was covered with irregular stone slabs. The side, head and foot liners are made of vertically placed irregular stone slabs. The bottom of the grave is earthen.

**Description of skeleton:** The skeletal remains of a deceased child (8–10 years old) with the arms extended along the body were found in the grave.

**Grave finds:** A button-pendant was found on the chest of the deceased.

**Description of finds:**

*Button-pendant.*

Gilded silver. Height: 3.8 cm. Max. width: 1.4 cm. Repoussé, filigree and granulation.

The button-pendant consists of two interconnected spherical parts made of gilded silver sheet. The smaller upper part is decorated with three dome-shaped bosses with a granule at the top. The lower part is divided in the middle by a quadruple twisted filigree wire. The upper half is decorated in the same manner as the upper part of the pendant, while the lower half is ornamented with twisted filigree wire in circles. At the bottom, there is a teardrop-shaped end lined with twisted filigree wire, and at the top, there is the eyelet for fastening. Inv. No. MHAS 5689.



SL. 5. Puce iz groba 34 (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
Fig. 5 Button from grave 34 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

Sl. 4. Crtež groba 23 (izradila: M. Marković)  
Fig. 4 Drawing of grave 23 (made by: M. Marković)

## 2. Grob 40

**Opis groba:** Grob je presječen sjevnim zidom župne crkve. Bio je orijentiran u pravcu jug-sjever. Zatečen je djelomično prekriven nepravilnim kamenim pločama. Uzglavnica i obložnice načinjeni su od okomito postavljenih nepravilnih kamenih ploča, donožnica nedostaje, a dno je bilo popločano kamenim pločicama. Navodno se ispod ovog groba nalazio još jedan, ali o tome kasnije nema nikakvih podataka u dostupnoj dokumentaciji.

**Opis kostura:** U grobu su zatečeni prilično uništeni kosturni ostaci odraslog pokojnika (vjerojatno pokojnice) s rukama ispruženim niz tijelo.

**Grobni nalazi:** par karičica s koljencima uz ostatke potpuno uništene lubanje; prsten na prstu desne ruke

### Opis nalaza:

*Par karičica s koljencima od ovijene filigranske niti.*

Srebro. Pr. 4 cm. Povijena žica, filigran.

Tri koljenca u donjoj polovini karike načinjena su od trostruke nabrane filigranske niti. Karičice nemaju sustav za pričvršćivanje na uho te su vjerojatno bile provučene kroz tkaninu ili kožu. Inv. br. MHAS 5671-5672.

*Prsten.*

Zlato. Pr. 2,3 cm, najveća šir. 1,5 cm. Filigran i granulacija.



Sl. 6. Crtež groba 40 (izradila: M. Marković)  
Fig. 6 Drawing of grave 40 (made by: M. Marković)

## 2. Grave 40

**Description of grave:** The grave is intersected by the north wall of the parish church. It was oriented in the south-north direction. It was found partially covered with irregular stone slabs. The head and side liners are made of vertically placed irregular stone slabs, while the footboard is missing, and the bottom was paved with stone tiles. Allegedly, there was another grave under this one, but no subsequent information about it can be found in the available documentation.

**Description of skeleton:** Rather damaged skeletal remains of a deceased (probably female) adult were found with the arms extended along the body.

**Grave finds:** A pair of circlets with joints with the remains of a completely destroyed skull; a ring on a finger of the right hand.

### Description of finds:

*A pair of circlets with joints made of coiled filigree wire.*  
Silver. Dia.: 4 cm. Twisted wire, filigree.

Three joints in the lower half of the hoop are made of triple twisted filigree wire. The circlets have no ear loop and were probably fed through fabric or leather. Inv. No. MHAS 5671-5672.

*Ring.*

Gold. Dia. 2.3 cm; max. width 1.5 cm. Filigree and granulation.

The ring is incomplete, since it lacks the face (crown). It is made of a wide gold band decorated with a plastically rendered depiction of two animal heads (one on each side). Inv. No. MHAS 5673.



Sl. 7. Par karičica iz groba 40 (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
Fig. 7 Pair of circlets from grave 40  
(photo: Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 8. Prsten iz groba 40 (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
Fig. 8 Ring from grave 40 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

Prsten je nepotpun te mu nedostaje prednja pločica (krunište). Načinjen je od široke zlatne vrpce koja je ukrašena plastičnim prikazom dviju životinjskih glava (po jedna sa svake strane). Inv. br. MHAS 5673.



Sl. 9. Prsten iz groba 40, detalj (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 9 Ring from grave 40, detail  
 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

### 3. Grob 46

**Opis groba:** Grob je orijentiran u pravcu zapad-istok. Bio je prekriven nepravilnim kamenim pločama. Obložnice i uzglavnica načinjeni su od okomito postavljanih nepravilnih kamenih ploča. Donožnica je uklonjena tijekom arheoloških istraživanja 1904. godine. Dno groba je zemljano.

**Opis kostura:** U grobu su zatečeni oštećeni kosturni ostaci jednog pokojnika (pokojnice?). Desna ruka bila je položena niz tijelo.

**Grobni nalazi:** Par sljepoočničarki s jednom jagodom.

#### Opis nalaza:

*Par sljepoočničarki s jednom jagodom.*

Pozlačeno srebro. Pr. karike 7,8 cm, šir. jagode 3 cm. Filigran i granulacija.

Sljepoočničarke u donjoj polovini karike imaju ovalnu limenu jagodu bogato ukrašenu nizom kalotastih ispupčenja s granulom na vrhu. Ta ispupčenja nalaze se unutar rombova načinjenih od dvostruke nabrane filigranske niti. Inv. br. MHAS 5669-5670.

### 3. Grave 46

**Description of grave:** The grave is oriented in the west-east direction. It was covered with irregular stone slabs. The side and head liners are made of vertically placed irregular stone slabs. The foot liner was removed during the 1904 archaeological research. The bottom of the grave is earthen.

#### Fig. 10

**Description of skeleton:** Damaged skeletal remains of one deceased (female?) person were found in the grave. The right arm was extended along the body.

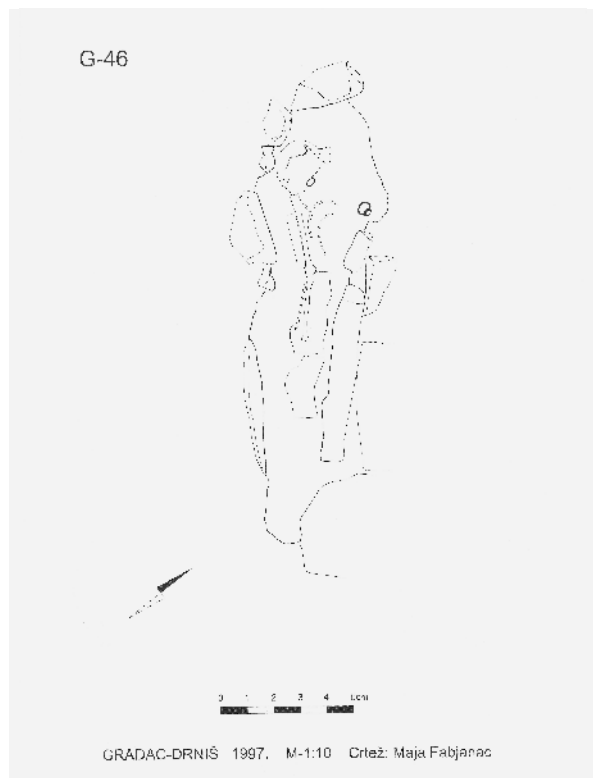
**Grave finds:** A pair of temple ear-rings with one bead.

#### Description of finds:

*A pair of temple ear-rings with one bead*

Gilded silver. Hoop dia. 7.8 cm, bead width 3 cm. Filigree and granulation.

In the lower half of the temple ear-ring hoops, there is an oval tin bead, lavishly decorated with a series of dome-shaped bosses with a granule at the top. These bosses are located inside rhombuses made of double twisted filigree wire. Inv. No. MHAS 5669–5670.



Sl. 10. Crtež groba 46 (izradila: M. Marković)  
 Fig. 10 Drawing of grave 46 (made by: M. Marković)



Sl. 11. Par sljepoočničarki iz groba 46  
 (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 11 Pair of temple ear-rings from grave 46  
 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

## Pregled grobnih nalaza

### *Par sljepoočnicarki s jednom jagodom i kalotastim ispupčenjima*

Srebrne pozlaćene sljepoočnicarke s jednom jagodom iz groba 46 (kat. br. 3) svakako pripadaju među najluksuznije primjerke ove vrste ženskog nakita općenito, a u svojoj užoj skupini, uz primjerke s Crkvine u Gornjim Koljanima, zauzimaju vodeće mjesto. Riječ je o inačici kojoj je površina jagode ukrašena kalotastim ispupčenjima s istaknutim granuliranim zrnom u središtu. Dosad ih je otkriveno ukupno 28, od toga 9 parova i 10 pojedinačnih primjeraka (vidi priloge 1, 2 i 3).

Istoj skupini pridodajem još nekoliko veoma srodnih, ali ne i posve istovjetnih primjeraka; to su 4 para i 2 pojedinačna primjerka, pa ih je sveukupno 38.

Sljepoočnicarke o kojima je riječ pojavljuju se na 14 različitih lokaliteta.

Uz ovdje objavljeni par iz Gradca Drniškog od pozlaćenog srebra su još četiri para i četiri pojedinačna primjerka. Srebrna su također četiri para i četiri pojedinačna primjerka. Od bronce je načinjen jedan par i dva pojedinačna primjerka. Jedan pojedinačni primjerak je od pozlaćene bronce. Tri para imaju staklene umetke umjesto zrna na vrhu kalote; jedan je od pozlaćene, jedan od posrebrene bronce, a jedan brončani.



Sl. 12. Sljepoočnicarke iz groba 46, detalj  
(foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 12 Temple ear-rings from grave 46, detail  
(photo: Z. Alajbeg)

Sljepoočnicarke s jednom jagodom najbrojniji su i najzastupljeniji nakit na grobljima s prostora srednjovjekovne Hrvatske kneževine. Uz mnoštvo jednostavnih brončanih i srebrnih neukrašenih primjeraka u manjem se broju pojavljuju izrazito luksuzne sljepoočnicarke izrađene u tehnici filigrana i granulacije.<sup>46</sup> Jedna od prepoznatljivijih skupina među potonjima upravo su sljepoočnicarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima poput primjeraka iz groba 46 u Gradcu.

<sup>46</sup> Jelovina 1963, str. 101-118; Jelovina 1976, str. 97-99; Petrinec 2009, str. 208-212.

## Overview of grave finds

### *Pair of temple ear-rings with one bead and dome-shaped bosses*

The gilded silver temple ear-rings with one bead from grave 46 (Cat. No. 3) certainly belong among the most luxurious examples of this type of female jewellery in general, and hold a leading position in their narrower group, along with examples from Crkвина in Gornje Koljane. They are of the type with the surface of the bead decorated with dome-shaped bosses with a prominent granulated pellet in the centre. A total of 28 have been discovered to date, viz. nine pairs and ten individual specimens (see Appendices 1, 2, and 3).

I tend to add a few more quite related, but not entirely identical specimens to this group, i.e. four pairs and two single specimens, which makes a total of 38.

The temple ear-rings in question have been found at 14 different sites.

In addition to the pair from Gradac Drniški published here, there are four more pairs and four individual specimens made of gilded silver. Four pairs and four individual specimens are made of silver. One pair and two single specimens are made of bronze. One single specimen is made of gilded bronze. Three pairs have glass inserts instead of a pellet at the top of the dome; one is made of gilded bronze, one of silver-plated bronze, and one of bronze.

Temple ear-rings with one bead are the most numerous and most represented jewellery in cemeteries from the area of the mediaeval Croatian Principality. Whereas simple bronze and silver undecorated specimens are myriad, extremely luxurious temple ear-rings made in filigree and granulation are fewer.<sup>46</sup> One of the most recognisable groups among the latter are temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses, such as the specimens from grave 46 in Gradac.

The list of sites where they were discovered indicates mostly important early mediaeval centres (Knin, Plavno, Biskupija, Gornji Koljani, Gradac Drniški, Bribirska glavica, Podgrađe), many of which were the centres of mediaeval counties or in possession of Croatian rulers.

Temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses have been found in cemeteries next to churches, as well as row cemeteries. In our archaeological literature, they have not been analysed as a separate group, but rather treated exclusively as part of a large group of single-bead temple ear-rings.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Jelovina 1963, pp. 101–118; Jelovina 1976, pp. 97–99; Petrinec 2009, pp. 208–212.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. In his latest book, V. Sokol divides single-bead temple ear-rings into three groups (A. filigree ear-rings – temple ear-rings with smooth beads and filigree joint, B. filigree ear-rings – temple ear-rings with sur-



Pogledamo li popis lokaliteta na kojima su pronađene, vidjet ćemo da je u najvećem broju slučajeva riječ o važnim ranosrednjovjekovnim središtima (Knin, Plavno, Biskupija, Gornji Koljani, Gradac Drniški, Bribirska glavica, Podgrađe), od kojih su mnoga središta srednjovjekovnih županija ili se nalaze u posjedu hrvatskih vladara.

Sljepoočnicarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima pojavljuju se na grobljima uz crkve, ali i u okviru grobalja na redove. U domaćoj arheološkoj literaturi dosad nisu obrađene kao posebna skupina, već su tretirane isključivo kao dio velike skupine jednojagodnih sljepoočnicarki.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Puce-privjesak*

Puce-privjesak otkriveno u grobu 23 (kat. br. 1) nema izravnih analogija, ali na temelju pojedinih detalja može se povezati sa specifičnom skupinom sličnih privjesaka – njih ukupno 27. Pojavljuju se pojedinačno (u pet slučajeva), u paru (u šest slučajeva) i u jednom slučaju tri primjerka zajedno u istom grobu (Kašić-Grede). Pet ih je nepoznatih okolnosti otkrića, a dva potječu s nepoznatih nalazišta (vidi priloge 1 i 3).

Devet ih je od pozlaćenog srebra, devet je srebrnih, dva su od pozlaćene bronce, šest ih je brončanih te jedan od posrebrene bronce. Svi na vrhu imaju ušicu za pričvršćivanje. Na dnu većine privjesaka aplicirana je cilindrična cjevčica u kojoj se nalazio stakleni umetak koji je kod svih primjeraka na kojima je sačuvan modre boje. Primjerak iz Drniškog Gradca, kao i onaj s Kose u Vrpolju, te dva primjerka s nepoznatih nalazišta završavaju krupnim kapljicaštim ukrasom i nemaju stakleni umetak.<sup>48</sup> Puceta-privjesci ovog tipa pojavljuju se na 10 različitih nalazišta.

Puce-privjesak iz groba 23 specifično je i zbog ukrasa u obliku kalotastih ispupčenja, čime se izravno povezuje upravo uz istovjetno ukrašenu skupinu jednojagodnih sljepoočnicarki.

Osim navedenih primjeraka nalazi drugačijih tipova puceta-privjesaka (običnih limenih brončanih ili srebrnih) najčešće bikoničnog, kuglastog ili jajolikog oblika u istom ukopnom horizontu iznimno su rijetki: Rupotina-Crikvine, Sv. Križ u Ninu, Kaštel Novi-Svećurje, Stranče-Gorica u Vinodolu (vidi prilog 4).

Puceta-privjesci u domaćoj arheološkoj literaturi nisu



Sl. 13. Puce iz groba 23 (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 13 Button from grave 23*

*(photo: Z. Alajbeg)*

#### *Button-pendant*

The button-pendant discovered in grave 23 (Cat. No. 1) has no direct analogies, but on the basis of certain details it can be associated with a specific group of similar pendants, numbering 27 in total. They have been found individually (in five cases), in pairs (in six cases), and in one case as three specimens together in the same grave (Kašić-Grede). The circumstances of discovery are unknown for five of them, while two originate from unknown sites (see Appendices 1 and 3).

Nine of them are made of gilded silver, another nine are made of silver, two are made of gilded bronze, six are made of bronze, and one is made of silver-plated bronze. All of them have the eyelet for fastening at the top. Most of the pendants have a cylindrical tube applied at the bottom. It contained a glass insert, blue in colour in all specimens where it is still preserved. The specimen from Drniški Gradac, as well as those from Kosa in Vrpolje, and two specimens from unknown sites have a large teardrop-shaped decoration on their ends, but no glass insert.<sup>48</sup> Button-pendants of this type have been unearthed at ten different sites.

face richly decorated with filigree, C. ear-rings – temple ear-rings with smooth unadorned beads). However, he also believes that all three variants mostly match chronologically. Cf. Sokol 2019, pp. 269–285.

<sup>47</sup> Isto kao i prethodna bilješka. U najnovijoj knjizi V. Sokol jednojagodne sljepoočnicarke dijeli na tri skupine (A. filigranske naušnice - sljepoočnicarke glatkih jagoda i filigranskog spojnog vijenca, B. filigranske naušnice – sljepoočnicarke kojima je oplošje bogato ukrašeno filigranom, C. naušnice – sljepoočnicarke glatkih neukrašenih jagoda). I on međutim smatra da su sve tri varijante kronološki uglavnom podudarne. Usp. Sokol 2019, str. 269-285.

<sup>48</sup> Gunjača 1980, str. 125, sl. 6,3; str. 127, sl. 7, 4; Piteša 2009, str. 125, kat. br. 183; str.127, kat. br. 187.

<sup>48</sup> Gunjača 1980, p. 125, fig. 6, 3; p. 127, fig. 7,4; Piteša 2009, p. 125, cat. no. 183; p. 127, cat. no. 187.

bili predmetom posebnog interesa te se spominju tek sporadično. Također se ovdje navedena skupina (s izuzetkom puceta ranog 9. st. iz Trilja i Biskupije)<sup>49</sup> nije odvajala od kuglastih puceta kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, u kojem su ti predmeti zastupljeni velikim brojem primjeraka u jednom grobu, a o čemu svjedoče arheološki nalazi, ali i podaci u arhivima dalmatinskih gradova.<sup>50</sup> Objavljajući nalaz iz groba 20 s Goričine u Pridrazi, S. Gunjača dolazi do zaključka da je riječ o jagodi sljepo-očničarke pretvorenoj u privjesak dodavanjem ušice na vrhu.<sup>51</sup> D. Jelovina preuzima staro Niederleovo mišljenje da se radi o slavenskom elementu u nošnji koji služi zakopčavanju gornjeg dijela odjeće.<sup>52</sup> Veću pozornost ovim je nalazima posvetio jedino Z. Gunjača u prigodi objave groba 112 na Kosi u šibenskom Vrpolju.<sup>53</sup> On navodi kako je riječ o rijetkom inventaru starohrvatskih grobova te kako bi se osim riječi dugme (puce) mogao upotrijebiti i termin dugme-privjesak. Isti termin koristi i N. Miletić u objavi nalaza puceta u dvama grobovima na Baltinim barama u Gomjenici kod Prijedora. Unatoč terminu puca-privjesak Gunjača ipak smatra da je riječ o zatvaraču kojim se zakopčavao neki dio odjeće, najvjerojatnije košulja. Pretpostavlja i da su te predmete nabavljali i nosili samo najbogatiji članovi ondašnjeg društva.

Kada je riječ o ukrašenim primjercima s dodatkom cilindrične cjevčice s umetnutim staklom, jedine paralele našim nalazima mogu se pronaći na grobljima moravske srednjovjekovne kneževine, ali i šire na prostoru Češke i Slovačke. Tamo su puceta-privjesci znatno zastupljeniji i raznovrsnije ukrašeni. Dosad je pronađeno oko 700 primjeraka, od toga najviše u kneževskim središtima Moravske. S obzirom na učestalu pojavu u tamošnjoj im je arheološkoj literaturi posvećena znatna pozornost.

E. Pavlovičová obradila je 1996. godine sve dotad poznate primjerke.<sup>54</sup> Ona prva ukazuje na mogućnost da nije riječ o pucetima za zakopčavanje odjeće. Uzimajući u obzir položaj unutar groba (u 228 slučajeva ispod lubanje, 76 slučajeva ispod vrata, 47 slučajeva u blizini ključnih kostiju i 25 slučajeva uz ruke i ramena), Pavlovičová pretpostavlja da je riječ o ukrasima prišivenim na odjeću (na ceremonijalnu kapu ili ukrasni vijenac na glavi pokojnika).

H. Chorvátová pak ističe kako se detaljnijim proučavanjem puceta otvorio niz pitanja vezanih ne samo uz terminologiju nego i uz moguću funkciju ovih predmeta.<sup>55</sup> Njihova veličina (od 0,9 do 4 cm), konstrukcija

The button-pendant from grave 23 is also specific for its decoration in the form of dome-shaped bosses, which directly connects it with the identically decorated group of single-bead temple ear-rings.

Apart from the above specimens, finds of other types of button-pendants (ordinary tin bronze or silver), most often biconical, spherical or ovoid in shape, have been extremely rare in the same burial horizon: Rupotina-Crikvine, Holy Cross in Nin, Kaštel Novi-Svećurje, Stranče-Gorica in Vinodol (see Appendix 4).

Buttons-pendants in our archaeological literature have not been particularly reviewed, but rather mentioned only sporadically. In addition, the group mentioned here (with the exception of the button from the early ninth century from Trilj and Biskupija)<sup>49</sup> has not been regarded separately from the spherical buttons of the late Middle Ages, when such objects were represented by a large number of specimens in one grave, as evidenced by archaeological finds and the information in the archives of Dalmatian cities.<sup>50</sup>

In his publication of the find from grave 20 at Goričina in Pridraga, S. Gunjača concluded that it was a temple ear-ring bead converted into a pendant by adding an eyelet at the top.<sup>51</sup> D. Jelovina adopted Niederle's earlier opinion that it was a Slavic component of a costume that had served to fasten the upper part of clothing.<sup>52</sup> Only Z. Gunjača paid more attention to these finds in the publication of grave 112 at Kosa in Vrpolje, Šibenik.<sup>53</sup> He stated that this was a rare inventory of early Croatian graves and that in addition to the word button, the term button-pendant could also be used. The same term was used by N. Miletić in the publication of the buttons found in two graves at Baltine bare in Gomjenica near Prijedor. Despite the term button-pendant, Gunjača still believed that it was a fastener for a part of the clothes, most likely a shirt. He also assumed that such items had been acquired and worn only by the richest members of the society at the time.

When it comes to decorated specimens with an added cylindrical tube with inserted glass, the only parallels to our finds have been found in cemeteries of the Moravian mediaeval principality, but also in a wider area of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Button-pendants are much more represented and more diversely decorated there. About 700 specimens have been found to date, most of them in Moravian princely centres. In view of their frequent occurrence, local archaeological publications have paid considerable attention to them.

<sup>49</sup> Usp. Petrinec 2019, str. 82-84, gdje je navedena i sva relevantna literatura.

<sup>50</sup> Jakšić 1996, str. 167.

<sup>51</sup> Gunjača 1963, str. 60.

<sup>52</sup> Jelovina 1976, str. 113-114. Vidi i Petrinec 2009, str. 256-258.

<sup>53</sup> Gunjača 1980, str. 126-129.

<sup>54</sup> Pavlovičová 1996, str. 95-153.

<sup>55</sup> Chorvátová 2009, str. 7-19.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Petrinec 2019, pp. 82-84, where all relevant literature is listed.

<sup>50</sup> Jakšić 1996, p. 167.

<sup>51</sup> Gunjača 1963, p. 60.

<sup>52</sup> Jelovina 1976, pp. 113-114. See also Petrinec 2009, pp. 256-258.

<sup>53</sup> Gunjača 1980, pp. 126-129.

od tankog brončanog ili srebrnog lima sa staklenim dodacima, zatim filigranski i granulirani ukrasi dovode u sumnju pretpostavku da je riječ o praktičnim zatvaračima odjeće (ogrtača ili kaputa). Osim toga povijesna istraživanja razvoja ranosrednjovjekovnog kostima pokazala su da se puceta u funkciji zatvarača odjeće pojavljuju tek početkom 13. stoljeća, a dotad se odjeća sapinjala pomoću vrpce (vezica).

Na području Moravske puceta se najčešće pronalaze u dječjim i ženskim grobovima, a prisutnost u ograničenom broju grobova podupire teoriju o njihovoj ekskluzivnosti te dopušta mogućnost da ih se poveže s konkretnim društvenim slojem, odnosno moravskom elitom. Chorvátová ukazuje na velik broj nalaza u grobovima djevojčica, ali i u grobovima dječaka najmlađe dobi koji su bili opremljeni i ostrugama, ističući kako upravo ti grobovi manifestiraju duboke promjene u tadašnjem društvu, u kojem nasljedni status započinje igrati zapaženu ulogu. Bogato opremljena djeca pripadala su obiteljima koje su bile sposobne koncentrirati značajnu ekonomsku moć, a ovi se ukopi mogu povezati sa staležom koji se u pisanim izvorima vezanim uz moravsku kneževinu naziva "kneževima" ili "vjernim plemićima". Puceta su jedan od identificirajućih simbola upravo tog staleža.

Okolnosti otkrića puceta-privjesaka u grobovima na teritoriju Hrvatske kneževine pružaju gotovo istovjetnu sliku. Puceta su pretežito otkrivena u dječjim grobovima (Gradac Drniški, grob 117 na Baltinim barama u Gomjenici kod Prijedora, grob 135 na Gredama u Kašiću, grob 37 na Spasu u Kninu, svi grobovi s nalazima puceta na Gorici u vinodolskim Strančama, grob 51 na Crikvinama u Rupotini, grob 20 na Svećurju u Kaštel Novom), a u nekoliko slučajeva i u bogato opremljenim ženskim grobovima (grob 112 na Kosi u Vrpolju i grob 141 na Baltinim barama u Gomjenici). U oba ženska groba puca-privjesak pronađeno je kod desnog ramena uz glavu pokojnice.<sup>56</sup> U grobu 23 iz Gradca puca je pronađeno na prsnom košu, isto kao i puca u grobu 20 na Goričini u Pridrazi<sup>57</sup> te tri puceta u grobu 135 na Gredama u Kašiću.<sup>58</sup> U grobu 37 na Spasu u Kninu puceta-privjesci bila su na položaju vrata,<sup>59</sup> u grobu 117 na Baltinim barama na predjelu pojasa kod lijeve ruke,<sup>60</sup> u grobu 30 na Strančama ispod lubanje, u grobu 73 na istom lokalitetu na predjelu lijevog ramena, a u grobu 77 jedno s desne, a drugo s lijeve strane glave.

<sup>61</sup> U grobu 51 na Crikvinama u Rupotini jedno je puca bilo na lijevoj, a drugo na desnoj ključnoj kosti.<sup>62</sup>

E. Pavlovičová analysed all the known specimens in 1996.<sup>54</sup> She was the first to point out the possibility that these were not buttons for fastening clothes. Taking into account the position in the grave (in 228 cases under the skull, in 76 cases under the neck, in 47 cases near the collarbones, and in 25 cases by the arms and shoulders), Pavlovičová assumed that these ornaments had been sewn on clothes (ceremonial hats or wreaths on the heads of the dead).

H. Chorvátová, on the other hand, pointed out that a more detailed study of the buttons opened up a number of questions related not only to the terminology but also to the possible purpose of these objects.<sup>55</sup> Their size (from 0.9 to 4 cm), and structure made of thin bronze or silver sheet with glass additions, as well as filigree and granulated decorations, cast doubts on the assumption that they are practical clothes fasteners (for cloaks or coats). Furthermore, historical research into the development of early mediaeval dress has shown that buttons appeared as fasteners only at the beginning of the 13th century, and that ribbons (laces) had been used to fasten clothes until then. The position of the buttons in the chest or neck area of the dead in the graves indicates the possibility that they were sewn as ornaments on tunic-like clothes in the early Middle Ages.

In the Moravian area, buttons have most often been found in children's and female graves, and their presence in a limited number of graves supports the theory of their exclusive nature and allows the possibility to associate them with a specific social class, i.e. the Moravian elite. Chorvátová pointed out a large number of finds in girls' graves, but also in the graves of young boys, also furnished with spurs, and highlighted that such graves reflected profound changes in the society of that time, in which hereditary status had begun to play a significant role. Richly equipped children belonged to families able to concentrate significant economic power, and such burials can be affiliated with the class called "dukes" or "faithful nobles" in written sources related to the Moravian Principality. Buttons were one of the identifying symbols of this very class.

The circumstances of discoveries of button-pendants in graves in the territory of the Croatian Principality provide an almost identical picture. Buttons have mostly been discovered in children's graves (Gradac Drniški, grave 117 at Baltine bare in Gomjenica near Prijedor, grave 135 at Grede in Kašić, grave 37 at Spas in Knin, all graves with button finds at Gorica in Stranče-Vinodol, grave 51 in Crikvine in Rupotina, grave 20 at Svećurje in Kaštel Novi), and in several cases in richly equipped women's graves (grave 112 at Kosa in Vrpolje and grave 141 at Baltine bare in Gomjenica). In

<sup>56</sup> Gunjača 1980, str. 124, sl. 5; Miletić 1967, str. 99.

<sup>57</sup> Gunjača 1963, str. 60.

<sup>58</sup> Vrsalović 1968, str. 79.

<sup>59</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 130.

<sup>60</sup> Miletić 1967, str. 97.

<sup>61</sup> Cetinić 2011, str. 54, 69-70.

<sup>62</sup> Uroda 2010, str. 69.

<sup>54</sup> Pavlovičová 1996, pp. 95-153.

<sup>55</sup> Chorvátová 2009, pp. 7-19.

*Karičice s koljencima*

Velike srebrne karičice s tri koljenca od ovijene filigranske niti (kat. br. 2) s obzirom na dimenzije (pr. karrike 4 cm) svrstavaju se među rjeđe primjerke inače veoma rasprostranjene i omiljene vrste ženskog nakita na području Hrvatske kneževine, koji će se u raznim inačicama proizvoditi i nositi sve do kasnoga srednjeg vijeka.<sup>63</sup> Uz par iz groba 40 može se izdvojiti samo nekoliko primjeraka većih dimenzija, među kojima se osobito ističe luksuzni par iz groba 5/1984 u Muću Gornjem, s najvećim promjerom karrike 5,8 cm,<sup>64</sup> te pojedinačni brončani primjerci s položaja Groblje na Bribiru (grob 3)<sup>65</sup>, Spas u Kninu<sup>66</sup> i Vratnice na Bribiru,<sup>67</sup> s promjerom karrike od 3,5 i više centimetara. Broj srodnih srebrnih i brončanih karičica manjih dimenzija (u rasponu od 2,5 do 3,5 cm) penje se na nekoliko stotina pa bi ih ovdje bilo izlišno navoditi. O datiranju ovih naušnica u domaćoj arheološkoj literaturi nema suglasja te ih se opredjeljuje u širokom vremenskom rasponu od 9. do 15. stoljeća. Danas ipak prevladava mišljenje da su najprisutnije u zreloom i kasnom srednjem vijeku, iako nije dvojbeno njihova sporadična ranija pojava negdje od zadnje trećine 10. i tijekom 11. stoljeća, ali u tom razdoblju nisu zastupljene sve inačice ove vrste nakita.<sup>68</sup>

*Prsten*

Zlatni prsten pronađen u grobu 40 (kat. br. 2) nema poznatih analogija. Riječ je o osobito luksuznom prstenu, kojemu na žalost nedostaje krunište. Kolut je prema sredini proširen te ukrašen otisnutim reljefnim prikazom dvaju nasuprotno okrenutih krilatih grifona, koji drže kaleže. U samom vrhu se s obiju strana nalazi po jedna mačkolika (lavlja?) glava.

Lik grifona odlikuje prednji dio koji pripada orlu (glava s velikim kljunom i krila) i stražnji koji pripada lavu (uključujući rep), te kao takav u kršćanskoj ikonografiji simbolizira Krista, odnosno odražava njegovu božansku i ljudsku narav.<sup>69</sup> Kao simbol Krista grifon je vrlo često čuvar euharistijskog kaleža, što je vjerojatno slučaj i na prikazu na prstenu iz groba 40.<sup>70</sup>

Može se konstatirati da je osoba koja je nosila ovaj prsten pripadala najvišem društvenom sloju.

both female graves, such button-pendants were found near the right shoulders next to the heads of the dead women.<sup>56</sup> In grave 23 from Gradac, the button was found on the thorax, exactly like the button in grave 20 at Goričina in Pridraga<sup>57</sup>, and three buttons in grave 135 at Grede in Kašić.<sup>58</sup> In grave 37 at Spas in Knin, the button-pendants were found on the neck,<sup>59</sup> in grave 117 at Baltine bare on the waist near the left hand,<sup>60</sup> in grave 30 at Stranče under the skull, in grave 73 at the same site on the left shoulder, and in grave 77 one to the right and the other to the left of the head.<sup>61</sup> In grave 51 at Crikvine in Rupotina, one button was on the left and the other on the right collarbone.<sup>62</sup>

*Circlets with joints*

Given their dimensions (diameter: 4 cm), large silver circlets with three joints made of twisted filigree wire (cat. No. 2) are among the rare specimens of the otherwise quite widespread and popular type of female jewellery in the territory of the Croatian Principality, produced and worn in various versions until the late Middle Ages.<sup>63</sup> In addition to the pair from grave 40, we will mention only a few larger specimens, among which the lavish pair from grave 5/1984 in Muć Gornji, with the largest diameter of the hoop measuring 5.8 cm,<sup>64</sup> and individual bronze specimens from the site of Groblje at Bribir (grave 3)<sup>65</sup>, Spas in Knin<sup>66</sup> and Vratnice at Bribir,<sup>67</sup> with hoop diameters of 3.5 or more centimetres. The number of related smaller silver and bronze circlets (ranging from 2.5 to 3.5 cm) rises to several hundred, so there is no need to list them here. There is no agreement on the dating of these ear-rings in our archaeological literature, i.e. they are dated to a wide time span, from the ninth to the 15th century. Today, nevertheless, the prevailing opinion is that they were most common in the high and late Middle Ages, although their sporadic earlier appearance, during the period approximately from the last third of the tenth and in the 11th century, is not doubtful. However, not all versions of this type of jewellery were in use in that period.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 227-228.

<sup>64</sup> Petrinec 2018, str. 34, sl. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Karičice nisu objavljene. Čuvaju se u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Zbirka Bribir, inv. br. 4986-4987).

<sup>66</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 179, T. XVII, G. 159.

<sup>67</sup> Jelovina 1990., str. 39, T. IV, 38.

<sup>68</sup> Usp. Petrinec 2009, str. 227-228. Drugačije mišljenje ima V. Sokol. On odvaja nefiligranske od filigranskih karičica s koljencima i različito ih kronološki vrednuje. Usp. Sokol 2019, str. 308-313.

<sup>69</sup> Izidor Seviljski piše da je Krist lav zbog toga što kraljuje i ima snagu, a orao zbog toga što nakon uskrsnuća uzlazi na nebo. Opširnije vidi: Šaško 2014, str. 17.

<sup>70</sup> Prsten svakako zaslužuje detaljniju obradu.

<sup>56</sup> Gunjača 1980, p. 124, Fig. 5; Miletić 1967, p. 99.

<sup>57</sup> Gunjača 1963, p. 60.

<sup>58</sup> Vrsalović 1968, p. 79.

<sup>59</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 130.

<sup>60</sup> Miletić 1967, p. 97.

<sup>61</sup> Cetinić 2011, pp. 54, 69-70.

<sup>62</sup> Uroda 2010, p. 69.

<sup>63</sup> Petrinec 2009, pp. 227-228.

<sup>64</sup> Petrinec 2018, p. 34, Fig. 1.

<sup>65</sup> The circlets have not been published. They are kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (The Bribir Collection, Inv. No. 4986-4987).

<sup>66</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 179, Pl. XVII, grave 159.

<sup>67</sup> Jelovina 1990., p. 39, Pl. IV, 38.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Petrinec 2009, pp. 227-228. V. Sokol has a dif-



Sl. 14. Zlatni prsten iz groba 40 (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
 Fig. 14 Gold ring from grave 40  
 (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

### Relativna kronologija

M. Zekan smatrao je da sva tri groba, kao i devastirani grob 41, pripadaju istom najstarijem sloju ukapanja, dok je grob 14 mlađi i pripada srednjem sloju ukapanja, koji obilježavaju nalazi trojagodnih naušnica, sitnih karičica s granuliranim koljencima u obliku zvijezde i komunalni novac 12., 13. i 14. stoljeća. Treći, najmlađi sloj pripada ranom novom vijeku.<sup>71</sup>

Treba ukazati i na to da je s obzirom na položaj predromaničke apside vrlo vjerojatno da su se grobovi 23, 40 i 46 nalazili u neposrednoj blizini (najvjerojatnije uz sam sjeverni zid) ranosrednjovjekovne crkve. To su ujedno i jedini grobovi koje se pouzdano može pripisati najstarijem sloju ukapanja. Numizmatički, ali i drugi nalazi u srednjem sloju grobova sa sigurnošću potvrđuju da su tri groba o kojima je ovdje riječ starija od 13. stoljeća. Uzimajući u obzir druge srodne nalaze iz arheološkoga konteksta (vidi prilog 1 i 2), moguće je još preciznije vremenski opredijeliti ova tri groba.

Najzanimljivije stratigrafske podatke pruža veliko groblje na redove na položaju Podvornice u Lištanima kod Livna.<sup>72</sup> Najstariji dio groblja pripada razdoblju od kraja 9. do kraja 11. stoljeća, a unutar tog dijela mogu se izdvojiti četiri prostorno, a djelomično i kronološki različite skupine. U najstarijoj prvoj skupini uz obične jednojagodne sljepoočnicarke i jednostavno prstenje u jednom se grobu pojavljuju i velike srebrne pozlačene sljepoočnicarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima poput onih iz groba 46 u Gradcu. Zanimljivo je da su istovjetne sljepoočnicarke otkrivene i u jednom od grobova u četvrtoj najmlađoj skupini prve faze groblja u Lištanima. Pri datiranju obiju skupina zanimljiv kronološki oslonac pronalazim u jednom od grobova treće skupine (grob 1) u kojem su pronađene konjaničke ostruge.

<sup>71</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 278–280.

<sup>72</sup> Groblje nije objavljeno. Opširnije o lokalitetu vidi: Marić Baković 2010.; Marić Baković 2018, [https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial\\_customs\\_on\\_the\\_example\\_of\\_the\\_medieval\\_community\\_in\\_Li%C5%A1tani\\_on\\_the\\_Livno\\_field](https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial_customs_on_the_example_of_the_medieval_community_in_Li%C5%A1tani_on_the_Livno_field) [konzultirano 17/07/2020.]



Sl. 15. Crtež prstena iz groba 40 (izradila: S. Juraga)  
 Fig. 15 Drawing of the ring from grave 40  
 (made by: S. Juraga)

### Ring

The gold ring discovered in grave 40 (Cat. No. 2) has no known analogies. It is a particularly lavish ring, but its crown is unfortunately missing. Its shank is widened towards the middle and decorated with an imprinted relief depiction of two confronted winged griffins holding chalices. At the very top, there is a cat-like (lion's?) head on both sides. The figure of the griffin is characterised by its head, large beak and wings of an eagle, and the rear part of a lion (including the tail), and as such symbolises Christ in Christian iconography, i.e. reflects his divine and human nature.<sup>69</sup> As a symbol of Christ, the griffin is very often the keeper of the eucharistic chalice, which is probably the case in the depiction on the ring from tomb 40.<sup>70</sup>

It can be stated that the person who wore this ring belonged to the highest social class.

### Relative chronology

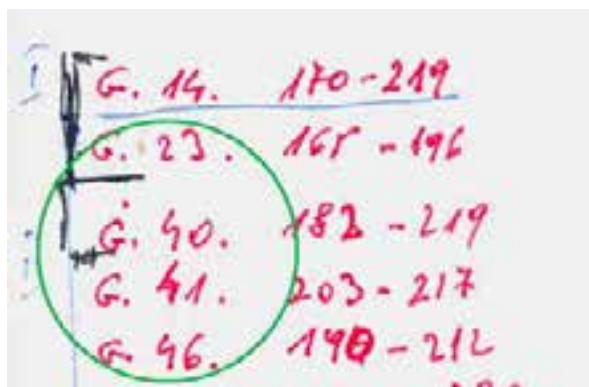
M. Zekan believed that all three graves, as well as the devastated grave 41, belonged to the same earliest burial layer, while grave 14 was younger and belonged to the intermediate burial layer, marked by the finds of three-bead ear-rings, small circlets with granulated star-shaped joints, and communal money from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The third, latest layer belongs to the early modern period.<sup>71</sup>

ferent opinion. He distinguishes non-filigree from filigree circlets with joints and dates them differently. Cf. Sokol 2019, pp. 308–313.

<sup>69</sup> Isidore of Seville writes that Christ is the lion because he reigns and has the power, and the eagle because after his death he ascended into heaven. For details, see: Šaško 2014, p. 17.

<sup>70</sup> The ring certainly deserves a more detailed analysis.

<sup>71</sup> Zekan 2000, pp. 278–280.



Sl. 16. Izvadak iz terenskog dnevnika M. Zekana gdje jasno odvaja kasnosrednjovjekovni grob 14 od ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova (23, 40, 41 i 46) u donjem sloju

*Fig. 16 Excerpt from M. Zekan's field log clearly distinguishing late mediaeval tomb 14 from early mediaeval tombs*

*(23, 40, 41, and 46) in the lower layer*

Riječ je o tipu ostruga kojima je šiljak blago povijen u odnosu na ostružni luk, dok je linija krakova još izrazito ravna, a moguće ih je datirati oko sredine ili na sam početak druge polovine 11. stoljeća. Ovaj nalaz svjedoči da se jednojagodne sljepoočnicarke javljaju i prije i nakon sredine 11. stoljeća.<sup>73</sup> U grobu u četvrtoj skupini uz sljepoočnicarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima pronađen je srebrni prsten od pletene žice, koji pripada kasnom stupnju tzv. bjelobrdske kulture i obično se datira u kraj 11. i početak 12. stoljeća.<sup>74</sup>

Sagledavajući cjelokupnu sliku razvoja lištanske nekropole, zaključujem da se sljepoočnicarke s jagodama iz prve skupine najstarije faze mogu datirati u zadnju trećinu 10. stoljeća ili najkasnije na prijelaz 10. u 11. stoljeće, dok one iz četvrte skupine pripadaju istom vremenu kao i prsten od pletene žice, odnosno prijelazu 11. na 12. stoljeće.

U kronološkom smislu zanimljivo je i groblje na redove na Baltinim barama u Gomjenici kod Prijedora, gdje su u istome grobu (grob 117) udružene brončane sljepoočnicarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima i staklenim umetcima i dva brončana puceta-privjeska, dok u grobu 141 pronalazimo puca-privjesak.<sup>75</sup> Oba groba smještena su u najstarijem jugoistočnom dijelu nekropole, koja inače sadržava kulturno raznorodni materijal, i ukopani su unutar prvih nekoliko redova. U njihovom su okruženju i drugi grobovi, s materijalom koji se pripisuje starohrvatskoj kulturi, odnosno tzv. dalmatinsko-hrvatskoj skupini: razni tipovi velikih sljepoočnicarki i običnih jednojagodnih srebrnih i brončanih sljepoočni-

It should also be pointed out that, given the position of the pre-Romanesque apse, it is very likely that graves 23, 40 and 46 were located in the immediate vicinity of the early medieval church, most probably next to the north wall. These are also the only graves that can be reliably attributed to the earliest burial layer. Numismatic, as well as other finds in the intermediate layer of graves, confirm with certainty that the three graves are older than the 13th century.

Taking into account other related finds from the archaeological context (see Appendices 1 and 2), it is possible to date these three graves even more precisely.

The most interesting stratigraphic data are provided by the large row cemetery at the site of Podvornice in Lištani near Livno.<sup>72</sup> The earliest part of the cemetery belongs to the period from the end of the ninth to the end of the 11th century. Within that part, four spatially and partly chronologically different groups can be distinguished. In the earliest first group, in addition to regular single-bead temple ear-rings and simple rings, one grave contained large gilded silver temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses like those from grave 46 in Gradac. It is interesting that identical temple ear-rings were also discovered in one of the graves in the fourth latest group of the first phase of the cemetery in Lištani. In dating both groups, I can see an interesting chronological support in one of the graves of the third group (grave 1), in which equestrian spurs were found. These spurs are of the type with the prick slightly bent in relation to the heel band, while the line of the branches is still distinctly straight. They can be approximately dated to the mid-11th century or the very beginning of the second half of the same century. This find testifies that single-bead temple ear-rings appeared both before and after the mid-11th century.<sup>73</sup> A silver ring made of braided wire was discovered in a grave of the fourth group, together with temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses. It belongs to the late period of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture and is usually dated to the late 11th and early 12th centuries.<sup>74</sup>

Taking into consideration the overall development of the Lištani necropolis, I can conclude that the temple ear-rings with beads from the first group of the earliest phase can be dated to the last third of the 10th century or the turn of the 11th century at the latest, while those from the fourth group originate from the same period

<sup>72</sup> The cemetery has not been published. For more on the site, see: Marić Baković 2010.; Marić Baković 2018, [https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial\\_customs\\_on\\_the\\_example\\_of\\_the\\_medieval\\_community\\_in\\_Li%C5%A1tani\\_on\\_the\\_Livno\\_field](https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial_customs_on_the_example_of_the_medieval_community_in_Li%C5%A1tani_on_the_Livno_field) [accessed: 17/7/2020]

<sup>73</sup> Marić 2003, pp. 177–184; Petrinec 2012, pp. 93–94, 106–107.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Petrinec 2009, p. 247.

<sup>73</sup> Marić 2003, str. 177–184; Petrinec 2012, str. 93–94, 106–107.

<sup>74</sup> Usp. Petrinec 2009, str. 247.

<sup>75</sup> Miletić 1967.

čarki. U kronološkom smislu zanimljiv je grob 53, sa željeznim ostrugama koje se mogu datirati oko sredine ili u drugu polovinu 10. stoljeća,<sup>76</sup> a koji se nalazi u istom redu kao i grob 141, dok je grob 117 vjerojatno nešto stariji.<sup>77</sup> Također je zanimljiv i nalaz iz groba 109, gdje je otkriven koštani tuljac (etui),<sup>78</sup> a smješten je odmah iza groba 117. Zapaziti je naime da se koštani predmeti (u funkciji etuija ili kao oplata drški željeznih noževa) na više lokaliteta pojavljuju u istim grobovima ili u neposrednoj blizini i u istome sloju kao i grobovi s pucetima-privjescima. U grobu 12 na Kosi u šibenskom Vrpolju uz puca-privjesak pronađen je nož s koštanom oplatom.<sup>79</sup> Na Gorici u Strančama koštane oplata pronalazimo u grobovima 58 i 91.<sup>80</sup> Grob 58 u istom je redu kao i grob 30, u kojem je pronađeno puca-privjesak, a grob 91 smješten je nedaleko od međusobno susjednih grobova 72 i 77 u kojima su u svakome pronađena po dva puceta-privjeska. Svi navedeni grobovi pripadaju mlađem horizontu nekropole i mogu se, zahvaljujući skupini grobova s materijalom ketlaške kulture, relativno kronološki prilično pouzdano datirati u 10. stoljeće.<sup>81</sup> Na nekropoli Goričina u Pridrazi, gdje je u grobu 20 otkriveno puca-privjesak nalazi se i grob 27 s koštanim etuijem.<sup>82</sup> Koštani etuiji registrirani su i na groblju na kninskom Spasu (grobovi 79 i 99), gdje pronalazimo velike jednojagodne sljepoočničarke s kalotastim ispučenjima (grob 128) i dva puceta-privjeska (grob 37).<sup>83</sup>

Ako se sada vratimo Baltinim barama u Gomjenici kod Prijedora, treba istaknuti da mlađa skupina ukopa na tom groblju pripada ranom stupnju tzv. bjelobrdske kulture, a prema tipovima lijevanih grozdolikih naušnica i dvodijelnih privjesaka mogu se vremenski opredijeliti u drugu polovinu 10. i prvu trećinu 11. stoljeća. Stoga nalazi puceta i sljepoočničarki koji pripadaju starijoj dalmatinsko-hrvatskoj skupini vjerojatno ne

as the ring made of braided wire, that is, the turn of the 12th century.

In chronological terms, the row cemetery at Baltine bare in Gomjenica near Prijedor is also interesting. Associated bronze temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and glass inserts and two bronze button-pendants were discovered there in the same grave (grave 117), while grave 141 contained a button-pendant.<sup>75</sup> Both graves are located in the earliest, south-eastern part of the necropolis, which otherwise comprises culturally diverse material, and are buried within the first few rows. There are other graves around them, with material attributed to the early Croatian culture, i.e. the so-called Dalmatian-Croatian group: various types of large temple ear-rings and regular single-bead silver and bronze temple ear-rings. In chronological terms, grave 53 is interesting, with iron spurs which can be approximately dated to the middle or second half of the tenth century,<sup>76</sup>. It is located in the same row as grave 141, while grave 117 is probably somewhat earlier.<sup>77</sup> The find from grave 109, a bone tube (pouch)<sup>78</sup> is also interesting. This grave is located just behind grave 117. It should be noted that bone objects (used as pouches or as iron knife handle overlays) have been discovered at several sites in the same graves or in the immediate vicinity and in the same layer as the graves with button-pendants. A knife with a bone overlay was discovered next to a button-pendant in grave 12 at Kosa in Vrpolje near Šibenik.<sup>79</sup> At Gorica in Stranče, bone overlays were found in graves 58 and 91.<sup>80</sup> Grave 58 is in the same row as grave 30, in which a button-pendant was found, while grave 91 is located not far from the adjacent graves 72 and 77, each containing two button-pendants. All these graves belong to the earlier horizon of the necropolis and can be reliably dated to the 10th century in terms of relative chronology, thanks to a group of graves with material from the Köttlach culture.<sup>81</sup> At the Goričina

<sup>76</sup> Miletić 1967, str. 89, sl. 1, str. 90, 138; Petrinec 2012, str. 86, 96, 105.

<sup>77</sup> O nekropoli u Gomjenici vidi i: Šmalcelj 2012.

<sup>78</sup> Miletić 1967, str. 96, T. XX, 109.

<sup>79</sup> Gunjača 1980, str. 127, sl. 7, 7, str. 129-130.

<sup>80</sup> Cetinić 2011, str. 63, str. 138, T. XIX, 3; str. 76, str. 149, T. XXX, 2.

<sup>81</sup> Ketlaški nalazi s Gorice u Strančama pripadaju stupnju Köttlach II (druga polovina 10. i prva polovina 11. stoljeća) po staroj Gieslerovoj periodizaciji (usp. Giesler 1980, str. 95). U najnovije vrijeme ova se skupina (skupina C prema periodizaciji S. Eicherta) opredjeljuje čak i ranije, u rasponu od 780. do kraja 10. st. (usp. Eichert 2010, str. 167-173). Novu Eichertovu periodizaciju potvrdili su i brojni radiokarbonski rezultati (vidi: Eichert 2013, str. 425-426). Opširnije o dataciji cijelog horizonta: Petrinec 2014, str. 89-92.

<sup>82</sup> Gunjača 1963, T. XVI, 27. Vidi i točrt groblja na Goričini uz citirani tekst.

<sup>83</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 134, str. 170, T. VIII, 79; str. 137, T. XI, 99.

<sup>75</sup> Miletić 1967.

<sup>76</sup> Miletić 1967, p. 89, Fig. 1, pp. 90, 138; Petrinec 2012, pp. 86, 96, 105.

<sup>77</sup> For the necropolis in Gomjenica, see also: Šmalcelj 2012.

<sup>78</sup> Miletić 1967, p. 96, Pl. XX, 109.

<sup>79</sup> Gunjača 1980, p. 127, Fig. 7, 7, pp. 129-130.

<sup>80</sup> Cetinić 2011, p. 63, p. 138, Pl. XIX, 3; p. 76, p. 149, Pl. XXX, 2.

<sup>81</sup> The Köttlach finds from Gorica in Stranče belong to the Köttlach phase II (the second half of the tenth and the first half of the 11th century) according to the old Giesler's periodisation (cf. Giesler 1980, p. 95). Most recently, this group (group C according to S. Eichert's periodisation) is dated even earlier, to the period from AD 780 to the end of the tenth century (cf. Eichert 2010, pp. 167-173). Numerous radiocarbon results have also confirmed this new Eichert's periodisation (see: Eichert 2013, pp. 425-426). For more on the dating of the entire horizon: Petrinec 2014, pp. 89-92.

prelaze okvire 10. stoljeća i okvirno se mogu datirati u drugu trećinu 10. stoljeća. Također treba primijetiti da se bjelobrdski dvodijelni privjesci pojavljuju u istome sloju sa sljepoočničarkama s kalotastim ispupčenjima i s pucetima-privjescima na više lokaliteta. Posebno se ističu predmeti pronađeni u jednom ili možda dva groba na groblju sv. Jerolima u Lišanama Ostrovičkim, gdje su jednojagodne sljepoočničarke ukrašene kalotastim ispupčenjima udružene s dvodijelnim brončanim privjescima.<sup>84</sup> Sličan slučaj zabilježen je i na groblju uz crkvu sv. Lovre u šibenskom Donjem Polju, gdje su unutar dvaju grobova s jednom zajedničkom obložnicom otkrivene četverojagodne i jednojagodne sljepoočničarke, nož s koštanom oplatom i dva bjelobrdska privjeska.<sup>85</sup> Bjelobrdski dvodijelni privjesci zabilježeni su kao nalazi izvan groba i na groblju na kninskom Spasu.<sup>86</sup> Tu se pojavljuje i srebrno prstenje od pletene žice koje se može pripisati mlađem stupnju bjelobrdske kulture.<sup>87</sup> Bjelobrdski privjesci otkriveni na nekropolama u Dalmaciji pripadaju rijetkim ili na drugim područjima čak nepoznatim inačicama i pripisuju se najranijem stupnju tzv. bjelobrdske kulture.<sup>88</sup>

Nalaze jednojagodnih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i puceta-privjeske povezuje još niz nalaza s kojima su kombinirani u istim cjelinama. Četverojagodne sljepoočničarke u grobu 112 na Kosi u Vrpolju dolaze zajedno s pucetom-privjeskom.<sup>89</sup> S istoga groblja potječu i jedne jednojagodne sljepoočničarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima.<sup>90</sup> Jednojagodne sljepoočničarke s kalotastim ispupčenjima pojavljuju se zajedno s četverojagodnim sljepoočničarkama među nalazima iz Luke na otoku Prviću.<sup>91</sup> Osim brončanih sljepoočničarki iz groba 63 s Vratnica na Bribiru potječe i puca-privjesak otkriveno izvan groba.<sup>92</sup> Među nalazima iz uništenih grobova u Podgrađu kod Benkovca pojavljuju se jednojagodne sljepoočničarke sa staklenim umetcima, četverojagodne sljepoočničarke i bjelobrdski privjesci.<sup>93</sup> Na većini grobalja o kojima je bilo riječi, registrirane su i karičice s koljencima od ovijene žice, koje se smatraju najstarijom inačicom ovog nakita, a pojavljuju se u drugoj polovini ili zadnjoj trećini 10. stoljeća. Karičice s koljencima koje su većih dimenzija pronalazi-

necropolis in Pridraga, where a button-pendant was discovered in grave 20, there is also grave 27 with a bone pouch.<sup>82</sup> Bone pouches have also been recorded in the cemetery at Spas in Knin (graves 79 and 99), where large single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses (grave 128) and two button-pendants (grave 37) were discovered.<sup>83</sup>

If we now return to Baltine bare in Gomjenica near Prijedor, it should be pointed out that the later burial group in that cemetery belongs to the early period of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture. According to the types of cast grape-shaped ear-rings and two-part pendants, they can be dated to the second half of the tenth and the first third of the 11th century. Therefore, the discovered buttons and temple ear-rings that belong to the earlier Dalmatian-Croatian group did not last beyond the tenth century and can be approximately dated to the second third of the 10th century. It should also be noted that the two-piece pendants from Bijelo Brdo have been found at a number of sites in the same layer as temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and with button-pendants. The items discovered in one or maybe two graves in the cemetery of St. Jerome in Lišane Ostrovičke particularly stand out; single-bead temple ear-rings decorated with dome-shaped bosses are combined with two-part bronze pendants.<sup>84</sup> A similar case was recorded in the cemetery next to the church of St. Lawrence in Donje Polje near Šibenik, where four- and single-bead temple ear-rings, a knife with a bone overlay and two pendants from Bijelo Brdo were discovered in two graves with one common lid.<sup>85</sup> Two-part pendants from Bijelo Brdo were also recorded as finds outside graves in the cemetery at Spas in Knin.<sup>86</sup> Silver rings made of braided wire were also found there. They can be attributed to the later period of the Bijelo Brdo culture.<sup>87</sup> The pendants from Bijelo Brdo discovered in necropolises in Dalmatia belong to rare or even unknown varieties in other areas and are attributed to the earliest period of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture.<sup>88</sup> The discovered single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and button-pendants are affiliated with a number of other finds with which they are combined in the same contexts. The four-bead temple ear-rings in grave 112 at Kosa in Vrpolje were found

<sup>84</sup> Jurić 1988, str. 190, bilj. 13, str. 196, T. V, 1-5.

<sup>85</sup> Petrinec, Krnčević 2008, str. 93-95. Usp. Petrinec 2009, str. 220, 255, 260.

<sup>86</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 155; str. 188, T. XXVI, 51-52.

<sup>87</sup> Jelovina 1989, str. 155; str. 188, T. XXVI, 46-47.

<sup>88</sup> Usp. Demo 1983, str. 271-298; Petrinec 2009, str. 253-256.

<sup>89</sup> Gunjača 1980, str. 124-126.

<sup>90</sup> Gunjača 1976, str. 28, sl. 8.

<sup>91</sup> Vinski 1949, str. 22-24; T. I, II; T. III, 16-17; Krnčević 2001, str. 283-288.

<sup>92</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 52, str. 460, T. 182, 5.

<sup>93</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 93, str. 571, T. 293; str. 572, T. 294, 6-7.

<sup>82</sup> Gunjača 1963, Pl. XVI, 27. See also the ground plan of the cemetery in Goričina with the cited text.

<sup>83</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 134, p. 170, Pl. VIII, 79; p. 137, Pl. XI, 99.

<sup>84</sup> Jurić 1988, p. 190, fn. 13, p. 196, Pl. V, 1-5.

<sup>85</sup> Petrinec, Krnčević 2008, pp. 93-95. Cf. Petrinec 2009, pp. 220, 255, 260.

<sup>86</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 155; p. 188, Pl. XXVI, 51-52.

<sup>87</sup> Jelovina 1989, p. 155; p. 188, Pl. XXVI, 46-47.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Demo 1983, pp. 271-298; Petrinec 2009, pp. 253-256.



mo u grobu 3 na bribirskoj nekropoli Groblje (Tjeme) smještenom u blizini groba 2 s nalazom dvaju puceta-privjesaka.<sup>94</sup>

Uzimajući u obzir sve dosad izneseno, smatram da grobove 23, 40 i 46 u Gradcu Drniškom treba okvirno datirati u 11. stoljeće, vjerojatno negdje u razdoblje oko sredine tog stoljeća.

### Zaključak

Tri ranosrednjovjekovna groba u Gradcu bila su vjerojatno ukopana uz sjeverni zid predromaničke crkve. O tomu dodatno svjedoči orijentacija groba 40 u pravcu sjever-jug.<sup>95</sup> S obzirom na cjelokupnu sliku groblja, može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o najstarijim ukopima, koji padaju u vrijeme velike obnove crkve u razdoblju rane romanike, kada *Zadarsko-kninska klesarska radionica* izrađuje poznate vratnice.

Pozlaćene jednojagodne sljepoočničarke iz groba 46, istovjetno ukrašeno pozlaćeno puca-privjesak iz groba 23 te unikatni zlatni prsten i velike srebrne karičice iz groba 40 nedvojbeno svjedoče da su uz crkvu sv. Petra i Marije u Gradcu bili pokopani pripadnici elite Hrvatskoga Kraljevstva. Reprezentativna ranoromanička skulptura kojom je bio ukrašen crkveni interijer kao i luksuzni nakit iz triju ovdje publiciranih grobova dodatno osnažuju pretpostavku da je riječ o jednom od vladarskih posjeda iako za to nema izravne potvrde u pisanim izvorima.

together with a button-pendant.<sup>89</sup> A pair of single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses also originate from the same cemetery.<sup>90</sup> Single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses were discovered together with four-bead temple ear-rings among the finds from Luka on the island of Prvić.<sup>91</sup> Grave 63 in Vratnice at Bribir contained a button-pendant, discovered outside the grave, in addition to bronze temple ear-rings.<sup>92</sup> Single-bead temple ear-rings with glass inserts, four-bead temple ear-rings and pendants from Bijelo Brdo were discovered among the finds from the destroyed graves in Podgrađe near Benkovac.<sup>93</sup>

Circlets with joints made of coiled wire have been recorded in most of the mentioned cemeteries. They are considered to be the earliest version of such jewellery, appearing in the second half or the last third of the tenth century. Larger circlets with joints were found in grave 3 in the Bribir necropolis of Groblje (Tjeme), located in the vicinity of grave 2 which contained two button-pendants.<sup>94</sup>

Taking into account all of the above, I believe that graves 23, 40 and 46 in Gradac Drniški should be approximately dated to the 11th century, probably around the middle of that century.

### Conclusion

Three early mediaeval graves in Gradac were probably buried by the north wall of the pre-Romanesque church. This is further evidenced by the orientation of grave 40 in the north-south direction.<sup>95</sup> Considering the overall layout of the cemetery, it can be assumed that these are the earliest burials, from the time of the major restoration of the church in the early Romanesque period, when *Zadar-Knin stonemasonry workshop* made the renowned door frame.

The gilded single-bead temple ear-rings from grave 46, the identically decorated gilded button-pendant from grave 23, and the unique gold ring and large silver circlets from grave 40 undoubtedly testify that members

<sup>94</sup> Zekan 1995, str. 48. Vidi i tlocrt nekropole Groblje uz citirani tekst.

<sup>95</sup> Kod ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova uobičajena je orijentacija zapad-istok karakteristična ponajprije za groblja na redove bez sakralnog objekta, ali je primjenjivana i na grobljima smještenim uz crkve. Kada u 11. st. ukapanje uz crkve postaje obvezno, prestaje se poštovati ta orijentacija, a cilj postaje ukopati se što bliže sakralnom objektu.

<sup>89</sup> Gunjača 1980, pp. 124–126.

<sup>90</sup> Gunjača 1976, p. 28, Fig. 8.

<sup>91</sup> Vinski 1949, pp. 22–24; Pl. I, II; Pl. III, 16–17; Krnčević 2001, pp. 283–288.

<sup>92</sup> Petrinec 2009, p. 52, p. 460, Pl. 182, 5.

<sup>93</sup> Petrinec 2009, p. 93, p. 571, Pl. 293; p. 572, Pl. 294, 6–7.

<sup>94</sup> Zekan 1995, p. 48. See also the ground plan of the Groblje necropolis with the cited text.

<sup>95</sup> In early mediaeval graves, the usual west-east orientation is characteristic primarily of row cemeteries without sacral buildings, but it was also applied to cemeteries located next to churches. When burials next to churches became mandatory in the 11th century, this orientation was no longer observed, and burials as close as possible to sacral buildings became the new aim.



Sl. 17. Ranoromaničke vratnice (foto: Z. Alajbeg)  
*Fig. 17 Early Romanesque doorframes*  
(photo: Z. Alajbeg)

of the elite of the Croatian Kingdom were buried next to the church of Sts. Peter and Mary in Gradac. Representative early Romanesque sculptures that adorned the church interior, as well as lavish jewellery from the three tombs published here further reinforce the assumption that this was one of the royal estates, although there is no direct confirmation of this in written sources.

## Prilog 1

Grobovi s jednojagodnim sljepoočničarkama s kalotastim ispupčenjima i grobovi s pucetima-privjescima

### 1. BRIBIRSKA GLAVICA

#### Groblje

##### Grob 2

a. Dva brončana pozlaćena puceta-privjeska jajolikog oblika. Načinjena su od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki. Površina im je ukrašena pseudogranulama optočenima pseudofiligranskom niti. Na vrhu imaju ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak.

Lit. Zekan 1995, str. 47-49, 51; Petrinec 2009, str. 72-73, str. 257, sl. 136, str. 519, T. 241, 1.

#### Novi put

##### Grob 9

a. Par srebrnih pozlaćenih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu. Kalote su optočene nabranom filigranskom niti, a površina između njih ukrašena je kružnicama od nabrane filigranske niti; b. Masivni srebrni prsten s kositrenom prevlakom. Lit. Zekan 1995, str. 45-46; Petrinec 2009, str. 50, str. 455, T. 177, 1-2.

#### Vratnice

##### Grob 63

a. Par brončanih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i pseudogranulom na vrhu. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima formiranim od pseudofiligranske niti; b. Brončani prsten s proširenim kolutom na koji je bila zalemljena kruna koja nedostaje.

Lit. Jelovina 1990, str. 41, T. VI, 63.

#### Nalaz izvan groba

a. Brončano puca-privjesak jajolikog oblika. Načinjeno je od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki. Na vrhu ima ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak.

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 460, T. 182, 5.

### 2. GOMJENICA - BALTINE BARE

#### Grob 117 dijete

a. Dvije ovoidne brončane jagode sljepoočničarki ukrašene kalotastim ispupčenjima s pseudogranulama, ali i cjevčicama s umetcima od tamne staklene paste. Kalote i cjevčice uokvirene su rombovima od pseudofiligranske niti; b. Dva brončana puceta-privjeska načinjena od brončanog lima. Ovalnog su oblika i načinjena od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki. Površina im je ukrašena ovalima od pseudogranula i pseudofiligranskom niti. Na vrhu imaju ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak, koja kod jednog primjerka nedostaje, a kod drugog je oštećena.

Lit. Miletić 1967, str. 97, T. XX, 117.

## Appendix 1

Graves with single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and graves with button-pendants

### 1. BRIBIRSKA GLAVICA

#### Cemetery

##### Grave 2

a. Two bronze gilded button-pendants of ovoid form. They are made of two halves attached to each other. Their surface is decorated with pseudo-granules lined with pseudo-filigree wire. They have an eyelet for fastening at the top, and a cylindrical tube for a glass insert at the bottom.

Refs. Zekan 1995, pp. 47-49, 51; Petrinec 2009, pp. 72-73, p. 257, Fig. 136, p. 519, Pl. 241, 1.

#### Novi put

##### Grave 9

a. A pair of gilded silver temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top. The domes are lined with twisted filigree wire, and the surface between them is decorated with circles of twisted filigree wire; b. A massive silver ring with tin coating. Refs. Zekan 1995, pp. 45-46; Petrinec 2009, p. 50, p. 455, Pl. 177, 1-2.

#### Vratnice

##### Grave 63

a. A pair of bronze temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a pseudo-granule at the top. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of pseudo-filigree wire; b. A bronze ring with a widened shank onto which the missing crown was soldered.

Ref. Jelovina 1990, p. 41, Pl. VI, 63.

#### Find from outside the grave

a. A bronze button-pendant of ovoid form. It is made of two halves attached to each other. It has an eyelet for fastening at the top, and a cylindrical tube for a glass insert at the bottom.

Ref. Petrinec 2009, p. 460, Pl. 182, 5.

### 2. GOMJENICA - BALTINE BARE

#### Grave 117, a child

a. Two ovoid bronze beads of temple ear-rings decorated with dome-shaped bosses with pseudo-granules, as well as tubes with inserts of dark glass paste. The domes and tubes are framed by rhombuses of pseudo-filigree wire; b. Two bronze button-pendants made of sheet bronze. They are oval in shape, and consist of two halves attached to each other. Their surface is decorated with pseudo-granule ovals and pseudo-filigree wire. They have an eyelet for fastening at the top, and at the bottom, a cylindrical tube for a glass insert, missing in one specimen and damaged in the other.

Ref. Miletić 1967, p. 97, Pl. XX, 117.

*Grob 141 žena, naušnice i praporac pod glavom*

a. Srebrna naušnica s jednom jagodom načinjenom od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki glatke i neukrašene površine; b. Brončana naušnica s jednom jagodom načinjenom od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki i ukrašenom pseudofiligranskim trokutićima; c. Brončani praporac-privjesak s ušicom na vrhu; d. Brončano puca-privjesak ovalnog oblika. Načinjeno je od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki. Površina je ukrašena ovalima i kružićima od pseudofiligranske niti. Na vrhu ima ušicu, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak. Lit. Miletić 1967, str. 99, T. XX, 141.

**3. KAŠIĆ - GREDE**

*Grob 135 (dijete)*

a. Srebrna pozlaćena sljepoočničarka s jednom jagodom. Jagoda je načinjena od dviju spojenih polutki i ukrašena granuliranim trokutićima; b. Srebrna pozlaćena obična karičica ravno odrezanih krajeva; c. Tri srebrna oštećena puceta-privjeska ovalnog oblika sastavljena od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki. Dva su jednake veličine, a jedno je manje. Na vrhu imaju ušice za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindrične cjevčice za staklene umetke.

Lit. Vrsalović 1968, str. 79, T. VI, 135.

**4. KNIN - SPAS**

*Grob 37*

a. Dva puceta-privjeska načinjena od brončanog lima. Ovalnog su oblika i načinjena od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki. Na vrhu imaju ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak.

Lit. Jelovina 1989, str. 130, T. IV, 6-7.

*Grob 128*

a. Par srebrnih pozlaćenih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim znom na vrhu. Kalote su optočene nabranom filigranskom niti, a površina između njih ukrašena je kružnicama od nabrane filigranske niti; b. Srebrni prsten *D*-presjeka.

Lit. Jelovina 1989, T. XIII, 5-7.

*Nalaz izvan groba*

a. Pozlaćena srebrna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima na vrhu kojih se nalazi granulirano zrno.

Lit. Jelovina 1989, str. 154, T. XXV, 39.

**5. LIŠTANI - PODVORNICE**

*Grob u najstarijoj skupini ukopa u prvoj fazi groblja*

a. Par srebrnih pozlaćenih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim znom na vrhu. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke filigranske niti; b. Brončani prsten *D*-presjeka, preklapljenih i zalemljenih krajeva.

*Grob u najmlađoj skupini ukopa u prvoj fazi groblja*

a. Par srebrnih pozlaćenih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim znom na vrhu. Kalote su

*Grave 141, woman, ear-rings, and crotal bell under head*

a. A silver ear-ring with one bead made of two halves with smooth and undecorated surfaces attached to each other; b. A bronze ear-ring with one bead made of two halves attached to each other and decorated with pseudo-filigree triangles; c. A bronze crotal bell-pendant with an eyelet at the top; d. A bronze oval-shaped button-pendant. It is made of two halves attached to each other. The surface is decorated with ovals and circlets of pseudo-filigree wire. It has an eyelet at the top, and a cylindrical tube for a glass insert at the bottom.

Ref. Miletić 1967, p. 99, Pl. XX, 141.

**3. KAŠIĆ - GREDE**

*Grave 135 (a child)*

a. A gilded silver temple ear-ring with one bead. The bead is made of two joined halves and decorated with granulated triangles; b. A gilded silver plain circlet with straight cut ends; c. Three silver damaged oval-shaped button-pendants composed of two halves attached to each other. Two are of the same size, and one is smaller. They have eyelets for fastening at the top, and cylindrical tubes for glass inserts at the bottom.

Ref. Vrsalović 1968, p. 79, Pl. VI, 135.

**4. KNIN - SPAS**

*Grave 37*

a. Two button-pendants made of sheet bronze. They are oval in shape, and consist of two halves attached to each other. They have an eyelet for fastening at the top, and a cylindrical tube for a glass insert at the bottom.

Ref. Jelovina 1989, p. 130, Pl. IV, 6-7.

*Grave 128*

a. A pair of gilded silver temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top. The domes are lined with twisted filigree wire, and the surface between them is decorated with circles of twisted filigree wire; b. A silver ring, *D*-profiled.

Ref. Jelovina 1989, Pl. XIII, 5-7.

*Find from outside the grave*

a. A silver gilded temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses with a granulated pellet at their top.

Ref. Jelovina 1989, p. 154, Pl. XXV, 39.

**5. LIŠTANI - PODVORNICE**

*Grave in the earliest burial group from the first phase of the cemetery*

a. A pair of gilded silver temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double filigree wire; b. A bronze ring *D*-profiled, with overlapping and soldered ends.

*Grave in the latest burial group from the first phase of the cemetery*

uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke filigranske niti; b. Obična srebrna karičica; c. Srebrni prsten načinjen od isprepletene srebrne žice.

Lit. [https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial\\_customs\\_on\\_the\\_example\\_of\\_the\\_medieval\\_community\\_in\\_Li%C5%A1tani\\_on\\_the\\_Livno\\_field](https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial_customs_on_the_example_of_the_medieval_community_in_Li%C5%A1tani_on_the_Livno_field) [konzultirano 17/07/2020.]

## 6. PRIDRAGA - GORIČINA

Grob 20

a. Srebrno puce-privjesak jajolikog oblika. Sastavljeno je od dvije međusobno spojene polutke i ukrašeno valovnicom od dvostruke filigranske niti. Na vrhu ima ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak.

Lit. Gunjača, 1963, str. 60.

## 7. STRANČE - GORICA

Grob 30 (dijete), ispod glave

a. Srebrno puce-privjesak jajolikog oblika. Sastavljeno je od dvije međusobno spojene polutke i ukrašeno rombovima od nabrane filigranske niti. Na vrhu ima ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak.

Lit. Cetinić 2011, str. 54, str. 131, T. XII, 3.

Grob 73 (dijete), na predjelu lijevog ramena

a. Brončana naušnica s jednom jagodom; b. Dva srebrna pozlaćena puceta-privjeska jajolikog oblika. Površina im je ukrašena gusto granuliranim ovalima. Na vrhu imaju ušicu, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu s umetkom od modrog stakla; c. Željezni nožić

Lit. Cetinić 2011, str. 69, str. 143, T. XXIV, 1.4.

Grob 77 (dijete), s lijeve i desne strane glave

a. Srebrna naušnica s jednom jagodom ukrašena nabranom dvostrukom filigranskom niti; b. Dva srebrna puceta-privjeska jajolikog oblika. Površina im je ukrašena gusto granuliranim ovalima. Na vrhu imaju ušicu, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu s umetkom od modrog stakla; c. Željezni nožić.

Lit. Cetinić 2011, str. 70, str. 144, T. XXV, 1-4.

## 8. VRPOLJE - KOSA

Grob 112 (žena), desno od glave

a. Par posrebrnenih brončanih sljepoočničarki s četiri jednako velike jagode; jagode su glatke i neukrašene površine, na spoju polutke naglašene su plastičnim rebrom, a na vrhovima optočene nabranom filigranskom žicom. Dvije jagode po sredini karike završavaju kapljičastim zrnima. Donje polovine karike na prostoru između jagoda ukrašene su usporednim nizovima nabrane filigranske žice; b. Srebrni prsten vrpčastog presjeka s obručem ukrašenim nizom kuglastih ispupčenja. Optočen je pletenicama načinjenim od filigranske niti; c. Brončani prsten polukružnog presjeka s obručem ukrašenim nizom urezanih rombova; d. Srebrno puce-

a. A pair of gilded silver temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double filigree wire; b. A plain silver circlet; c. A silver ring made of entwined silver wire.

Ref. [https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial\\_customs\\_on\\_the\\_example\\_of\\_the\\_medieval\\_community\\_in\\_Li%C5%A1tani\\_on\\_the\\_Livno\\_field](https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial_customs_on_the_example_of_the_medieval_community_in_Li%C5%A1tani_on_the_Livno_field) [accessed 17/7/2020]

## 6. PRIDRAGA – GORIČINA

Grave 20

a. A silver button-pendant of ovoid form. It is made of two halves attached to each other, and decorated with a wavy line of double filigree wire. It has an eyelet for fastening at the top, and a cylindrical tube for a glass insert at the bottom.

Ref. Gunjača, 1963, str. 60.

## 7. STRANČE – GORICA

Grave 30 (a child), under the head

a. A silver button-pendant of ovoid form. It is made of two halves attached to each other, and decorated with rhombuses of twisted filigree wire. It has an eyelet for fastening at the top, and a cylindrical tube for a glass insert at the bottom.

Ref. Cetinić 2011, p. 54, p. 131, Pl. XII, 3.

Grave 73 (a child), in the left shoulder area

a. A bronze ear-ring with one bead; b. Two gilded silver button-pendants of ovoid form. Their surface is decorated with densely granulated ovals. They have an eyelet at the top, and a cylindrical tube with a blue glass insert at the bottom; c. A small iron knife.

Ref. Cetinić 2011, p. 69, p. 143, Pl. XXIV, 1.4.

Grave 77 (a child), left and right of the head

a. A silver ear-ring with one bead, decorated with twisted double filigree wire; b. Two silver button-pendants of ovoid form. Their surface is decorated with densely granulated ovals. They have an eyelet at the top, and a cylindrical tube with a blue glass insert at the bottom; c. A small iron knife.

Ref. Cetinić 2011, p. 70, p. 144, Pl. XXV, 1-4.

## 8. VRPOLJE – KOSA

Grave 112 (a woman), to the right of the head

a. A pair of silver-plated bronze temple ear-rings with four beads of equal size; the beads have smooth and undecorated surfaces, at the junction of the halves, they are accentuated with a plastic rib, and at the top, they are lined with twisted filigree wire. Two beads in the middle of the hoop end with teardrop-shaped pellets. The lower halves of the hoop in the space between the beads are decorated with parallel rows of twisted filigree wire; b. A silver ring with a ribbon-like profile; its shank is decorated with a row of spherical bosses.

privjesak jajolikog oblika s površinom ukrašenom valovnicama od filigranske niti i gustom granulacijom. Na vrhu ima ušicu, a na dnu završava kapljičastim zrnom; e. Željezni nož s koštanom oplatom drške. Površina pločica oplata ukrašena je koncentričnim kružnicama. Lit. Gunjača 1980, str. 121-131.

*Nepotpuno objavljen nalaz*

a. Par srebrnih jednojagodnih sljepoočničarki ukrašenih kalotastim ispupčenjima, koja su raspoređena po sredini jagode. Ispupčenja su oštećena pa nije poznato jesu li završavala granuliranim zrnom ili ležištima za umetanje stakla. Ostatak površine jagoda ukrašen je granuliranim trokutićima i filigranskom niti. Lit. Gunjača 1976, str. 28, sl. 8.

It is lined with plait-work made of filigree wire; c. A bronze ring with a semicircular profile; its shank is decorated with a row of incised rhombuses; d. A silver button-pendant of ovoid form; its surface is decorated with filigree wire wavy lines and dense granulation. It has an eyelet at the top and ends with a teardrop-shaped pellet at the bottom; e. An iron knife with a bone overlay on the handle. The surface of the overlay plates is decorated with concentric circles.

Ref. Gunjača 1980, pp. 121–131.

*Partially published find*

a. A pair of silver single-bead temple ear-rings decorated with dome-shaped bosses, arranged in the middle of the bead. The bosses are damaged, so it is not known whether they had a granulated pellet or glass insert beds at their ends. The rest of the bead surface is decorated with granulated triangles and filigree wire.

Ref. Gunjača 1976, p. 28, Fig. 8.

## Prilog 2

Nalazi djelomično poznatog arheološkog konteksta

### **1. LIŠANE OSTROVIČKE - GROBLJE SV. JEROLIMA**

Lokalitet nikad nije arheološki istraživan. Nalazi vjerojatno potječu iz jednog ili dva groba. Među njima je i par sljepoočničarki ukrašenih kalotastim ispupčenjima.

- a. Par srebrnih sljepoočničarki s jednom jagodom; jagode su ukrašene kalotastim ispupčenjima optočenim kružnicama od filigranske žice.
  - b. Srebrna sljepoočničarka s jednom jagodom; jagoda je glatke i neukrašene površine; na spoju polutki optočena je nabranom filigranskom žicom.
  - c. Donji dio lijevanog dvodijelnog brončanog privjeska s ušicom na vrhu i štapićastim izdankom na dnu; ukrašen je psuedogranulama.
  - d. Donji dio lijevanog dvodijelnog brončanog privjeska u obliku stilizirane životinjske glave s ušicom na vrhu
  - e. Donji dio brončanog lijevanog dvodijelnog privjeska u obliku stilizirane životinjske glave s ušicom na vrhu.
- Lit. Jurić 1988, str. 190, bilj. 13.

### **2. LUKA (OTOK PRVIĆ) - NEPOZNATI POLOŽAJ**

Lokalitet nikad nije ubiciran pa prema tome ni arheološki istraživan. Nalazi navodno potječu iz jednog osamljenog groba. Pretpostavljeno je da podatak nije točan te da se vjerojatno radi o nalazima iz nekoliko grobova otkrivenih na istome mjestu. Među njima je i par sljepoočničarki ukrašenih kalotastim ispupčenjima sa staklenim umetcima.

- a. Šest nepotpunih posrebrnenih brončanih sljepoočničarki s tri jagode i lunulastim ukrasom s unutarnje strane karike; jagode su djelomično sačuvane samo na jednoj od naušnica; glatke su i neukrašene površine, a na spoju polutki optočene dvostrukom nabranom filigranskom žicom; lunulasti ukras također je sačuvan samo na jednoj sljepoočničarki; vrhovi lunule obrubljene nabranom filigranskom žicom spojeni su, a na njih je postavljen ukras u obliku kapljičastog zrna; karike sljepoočničarki ukrašene su usporednim nizovima nabrane filigranske žice; na donjem dijelu luka na jednoj od sljepoočničarki nalaze se polukružne ušice kroz koje su vjerojatno bili provješeni lančići.
- b. Četiri posrebrene brončane sljepoočničarke s jednom jagodom; jagode su glatke i neukrašene površine; na spoju polutki optočene su nabranom filigranskom žicom.
- c. Par posrebrnenih brončanih sljepoočničarki s jednom jagodom; jagode su ukrašene filigranskom žicom; imaju metalna ležišta za staklene umetke.
- d. Četiri posrebrene brončane jagode sljepoočničarki; sve su na spoju polutki optočene dvostrukom nabranom

## Appendix 2

Finds with a partially known archaeological context

### **1. LIŠANE OSTROVIČKE – CEMETERY OF ST. JEROME**

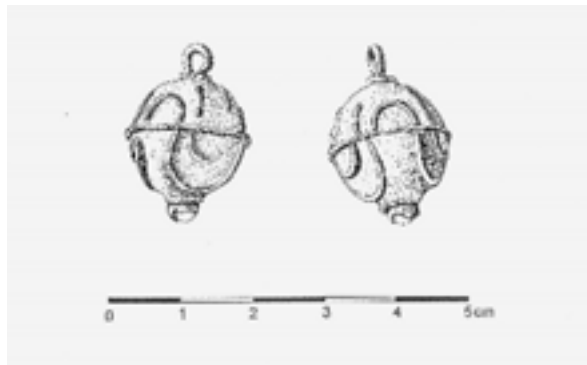
The site has never been archaeologically explored. The finds probably originate from one or two graves. Among them, there is a pair of temple ear-rings decorated with dome-shaped bosses.

- a. A pair of silver temple ear-rings with one bead; the beads are decorated with dome-shaped bosses surrounded by lined filigree wire circles.
  - b. A silver temple ear-ring with one bead; the bead has a smooth and undecorated surface; at the junction of the halves it is lined with twisted filigree wire.
  - c. The lower part of a cast two-part bronze pendant with an eyelet at the top and a rod-shaped appendage at the bottom; decorated with pseudo-granules.
  - d. The lower part of a cast two-part bronze pendant in the shape of a stylised animal head with an eyelet at the top.
  - e. The lower part of a bronze cast two-part pendant in the shape of a stylised animal head with an eyelet on top.
- Ref. Jurić 1988, p. 190, fn. 13.

### **2. LUKA (ISLAND OF PRVIĆ) – UNKNOWN SITE**

The site has never been localised and hence never archaeologically researched. The finds allegedly originate from one solitary grave. It is assumed that the information is not accurate and that the finds probably originate from several graves discovered at the same place. Among them, there is a pair of temple ear-rings decorated with dome-shaped bosses with glass inserts.

- a. Six incomplete silver-plated bronze temple ear-rings with three beads and a lunular ornament on the inside of the hoop; the beads are partially preserved on one ear-ring only; the surfaces are smooth and undecorated, and at the junction of the halves, they are lined with a double twisted filigree wire; the lunular ornament is also preserved on one temple ear-ring only; the tops of the lunula bordered by twisted filigree wire are joined, and a teardrop-shaped ornament is placed on top of them; the hoops of the temple ear-rings are decorated with parallel rows of twisted filigree wire; on the lower part of the arch of one of the temple ear-rings there are semicircular eyelets, probably for the passage of chains.
- b. Four silver-plated bronze temple ear-rings with one bead; the beads have smooth and undecorated surfaces; at the junction of the halves, they are lined with twisted filigree wire.
- c. A pair of silver-plated bronze temple ear-rings with



Sl. 18. Dva puceta iz Dobropoljaca  
(izradila: S. Juraga)  
Fig. 18 Two buttons from Dobropoljci  
(made by: S. Juraga)

filigranskom žicom; dvije od njih, s obzirom na kapljica-  
často zrno u dnu, vjerojatno pripadaju skupini naušnica  
s lunulom s unutarnje strane karike.

e. Posrebrena brončana jagoda sljepoočničarke; jago-  
da je ukrašena arkadama od nabrane filigranske žice; s  
obzirom na kapljicačasto zrno pripadala je ili sljepoočni-  
čarki s četiri jagode ili pak onoj s tri jagode i lunulastim  
ukrasom s unutarnje strane karike.

f. Srebrni lijevani prsten zatvorenog koluta; ima široku  
okruglu krunu rađenu na proboj, s uloženom kasnoan-  
tičkom gemom.

Lit. Vinski 1949, str. 22-24, T. I, 1-6; T. II, 7-14; T. III,  
16-19; T. VIII, 7774.; Krnčević 2000, str. 283-288, sl.  
4-6.

### 3. DOBROPOLJCI - NEPOZNATI POLOŽAJ

U Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika nalaze  
se dva puceta, koja se s velikom vjerojatnošću mogu  
povezati s dvije bilješke iz *Starinarskog dnevnika* fra  
Luje Maruna. To je posve razvidno iz druge bilješke,  
u kojoj se spominju dva puceta s modrim umetnutim  
kamenčićima od staklene paste za koje se navodi i da  
su jedini takvi primjerci u Muzeju. I danas, doista, osim  
ovih dvaju istovjetnih primjereka koji su se u inventaru  
vodili kao predmeti s nepoznatih nalazišta nema drugih  
puceta kojima se ne zna podrijetlo.

*Bilješke iz Marunovih dnevnika:*

“23. 02. 1908. - V. Ardalić poslao 3 proste naušnice, 1  
sa jednim zrnom, jedan prsten sa nešto omotane žice na  
karičici, 3 prosta prstena i 2 oveće srebrene sa 4 pupka  
na karičici naušnice. Predmeti našasti su u Dobropolj-  
cima obćine Kistanjske, prigodom krčidbe amerikan-  
skoga vinograda.”

“15. 03. 1908. - V. Ardalić poslao slijedeće kovinske  
predmete, našaste pri krčidbi za amerikanski vinograd  
..... u Dobropoljcima, kao i ove što mi ih iz isto-  
ga nalazišta poslao dne 23. 02. 1908.; sedam naušnica  
od proste žice, jednu sa jednim pupoljkom na karičici,

one bead; the beads are decorated with filigree wire;  
they have metal beds for glass inserts.

d. Four silver-plated bronze temple ear-ring beads, all  
lined with double twisted filigree wire at the junction  
of the halves; two of them, given the teardrop-shaped  
pellet at the bottom, probably belong to the group of  
ear-rings with a lunula on the inside of the hoop.

e. A silver-plated bronze temple ear-ring bead; the  
bead is decorated with arcades of twisted filigree wire;  
given the teardrop-shaped pellet, it belonged either to  
a temple ear-ring with four beads or to the one with  
three beads and a lunular decoration on the inside of  
the hoop.

f. A silver cast ring with a closed band; it has a broad  
round open-work crown, set with a late antique gem.

Refs. Vinski 1949, pp. 22-24, Pl. I, 1-6; Pl. II, 7-14;  
Pl. III, 16-19; Pl. VIII, 7774.; Krnčević 2000, pp. 283-  
288, Figs. 4-6.

### 3. DOBROPOLJCI – UNKNOWN SITE

The Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments  
keeps two buttons, which can most likely be associated  
with two entries from Fra Luj Marun's diary *Starin-  
arski dnevnik*. This is quite evident from the second  
entry, in which two buttons with blue inserted glass  
paste stones are mentioned, with a note stating they  
are the only such specimens in the Museum. Even to-  
day, indeed, apart from these two identical specimens,  
which were described in the inventory as objects from  
unknown sites, there are no other buttons whose origin  
is unknown.

*Entries from Marun's diary:*

“23/2/1908 – V. Ardalić has sent three plain ear-rings,  
one with one bead, one ring with some twisted wire on  
its shank, three plain rings, and two large silver ones  
with four dips on the ear-ring hoop. The items were  
found in Dobropoljci, the municipality of Kistanje,  
during the grubbing-up of a vineyard with American  
vines.”

“15/3/1908 – V. Ardalić has sent the following metal  
objects, discovered during the grubbing-up of a vine-  
yard with American vines ..... in Dobropoljci, in  
addition to those he sent me from the same site on  
23/2/1908; seven ear-rings made of plain wire, one  
with one bead on the hoop, one also with one bead, but  
with some wire wrapped around the hoop on both sides  
of the bead, two with three grape-shaped beads, fill-  
ing the space symmetrically ornamented with wire, the  
lower part ending with a blue inlaid glass paste stone.  
These buttons are the only examples of their kind pre-  
served in our museum.”

a. Two bronze button-pendants of ovoid form. They  
are composed of two halves attached to each other and  
decorated with a filigree wire wavy line. They have an



jednu takodjer sa jednim pupoljkom, ali na karičici s jedne i druge strane pupoljka nešto žice ovijene oko karičica, dvie sa tri pupoljka na grozd, ispunjujuć prostor simetrično izvezena sa žicom, donji dio svršavajuć sa modrim umetnutim kamenčićem od staklene tjesetine. Ova puceta jedini su esemplari svoje vrste u našem muzeju sačuvani.”

a. Dva brončana puceta-privjeska jajolikog oblika. Sastavljena su od dviju međusobno spojenih polutki i ukrašena valovnicom od filigranske niti. Na vrhu imaju ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu s modrim staklenim umetkom.

Lit. Marun 1998, str. 163, 165; Petrinec 2009, str. 88, 256-257, str. 582, T. 304, 8.

### Prilog 3

Predmeti nepoznatih okolnosti otkrića i predmeti s nepoznatih nalazišta

#### 1. BISKUPIJA - CRKVINA

a. Par srebrnih jednojagodnih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke nabrane filigranske niti. Sljepoočničarkama nedostaju karike.

b. Srebrna jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su optočene nabranom filigranskom niti.

c. Srebrna jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima i optočene kružnicama od dvostruke filigranske niti.

d. Srebrna jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s četiri kalotasta ispupčenja po sredini jagode i s istaknutim zrnima na vrhu kalota. Kalote su optočene filigranskom niti. Ostatak jagode ukrašen je nasuprotno postavljenim zrnatim trokutićima.

f. Srebrna jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s četiri kalotasta ispupčenja po sredini jagode i s istaknutim zrnima na vrhu kalota. Kalote su optočene dvostrukom filigranskom niti. Dvostrukom filigranskom niti ukrašeni su i vrhovi jagode.

f. Brončana jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s četiri kalotasta ispupčenja po sredini jagode i s istaknutim zrnima na vrhu kalota. Kalote su optočene dvostrukom pseudofiligranskom niti. Dvostrukom pseudofiligranskom niti ukrašeni su i vrhovi jagode.

Lit. Jelovina 1976, T. XVII, 5-6.; Petrinec 2009, str. 70, str. 508, T. 230, 3-5.

eyelet for fastening at the top, and a cylindrical tube with a blue glass insert at the bottom.

Refs. Marun 1998, pp. 163, 165; Petrinec 2009, p. 88, 256-257, p. 582, Pl. 304, 8.

### Appendix 3

Objects of unknown circumstances of discovery and objects from unknown sites

#### 1. BISKUPIJA – CRKVINA

a. A pair of silver single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the domes. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double twisted filigree wire. The temple ear-rings are lacking their hoops.

b. A silver single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the domes. The domes are lined with twisted filigree wire.

c. A silver single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the domes. The domes are framed by rhombuses and lined with circles of double filigree wire.

d. A silver single-bead temple ear-ring with four dome-shaped bosses in the middle of the bead, and with prominent pellets at the top of the domes. The domes are lined with filigree wire. The rest of the bead is decorated with confronted small granular triangles.

f. A silver single-bead temple ear-ring with four dome-shaped bosses in the middle of the bead, and with prominent pellets at the top of the domes. The domes are lined with double filigree wire. The bead tops are also decorated with double filigree wire.

f. A bronze single-bead temple ear-ring with four dome-shaped bosses in the middle of the bead, and with prominent pellets at the top of the domes. The domes are lined with double pseudo-filigree wire. The bead tops are also decorated with double pseudo-filigree wire.

Refs. Jelovina 1976, Pl. XVII, 5-6.; Petrinec 2009, p. 70, p. 508, Pl. 230, 3-5.

## 2. GORNJI KOLJANI - CRKVINA

a. Par srebrnih pozlaćenih jednojagodnih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke nabrane filigranske niti.

Lit. Piteša 2009, str. 106, kat. br. 154-155.

b. Srebrna pozlačena jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke filigranske niti.

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 81, str. 544, T. 266, 2.

## 3. PLAVNO - MEĐINE

a. Srebrna pozlačena jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke filigranske niti. Sljepoočničarki nedostaje karika.

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 92, str. 570, T. 292, 1.

## 4. PODGRAĐE - NEPOZNATI POLOŽAJI

a. Srebrna jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke filigranske niti. Karika nije sačuvana.

b. Par brončanih jednojagodnih sljepoočničarki s kalotastim ispupčenjima. Jagoda je po sredini uzdužno i poprečno podijeljena dvostrukom pseudofiligranskom niti. Na vrhu kalotastih ispupčenja nalaze se ležišta u kojima su stakleni umetci crvene i modre boje.

Lit. Petrinec 2009, str. 93, str. 571, T. 293, 1, T. 293, 3.

## 5. KAŠIĆ - VRELINE

a. Pozlačena brončana jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima optočenim pseudofiligranskom niti i zvjezdasto raspoređenim zrnatim trokutićima.

Lit. Belošević 1978, str. 145-146, sl. 6.

## 6. SOLIN

a. Pozlačeno srebrno puce-privjesak ukrašeno je valovnicama od filigranske niti ispunjenima gustom granulacijom. Na vrhu ima ušicu za pričvršćivanje.

b. Pozlačeno srebrno puce-privjesak ukrašeno gustom granulacijom i dvostrukom nabranom filigranskom niti. Na vrhu ima ušicu za pričvršćivanje, a na dnu cilindričnu cjevčicu za stakleni umetak koji nedostaje.

c. Srebrno puce-privjesak od kojeg je sačuvana gornja polovica s ušicom za pričvršćivanje. Površina je ukrašena nabranim filigranskim nitima i gustom granulacijom.

Lit. Piteša 2009, str. 161, kat. br. 169; str. 125, kat. Br. 184; str. 126, kat. br. 186.

## 2. GORNJI KOLJANI - CRKVINA

a. A pair of gilded silver single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the domes. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double twisted filigree wire.

Ref. Piteša 2009, p. 106, Cat. Nos. 154-155.

b. A gilded silver single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the dome. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double filigree wire.

Ref. Petrinec 2009, p. 81, p. 544, Pl. 266, 2.

## 3. PLAVNO - MEĐINE

a. A gilded silver single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the dome. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double filigree wire. The temple ear-ring is lacking its hoop.

Ref. Petrinec 2009, p. 92, p. 570, Pl. 292, 1.

## 4. PODGRAĐE - UNKNOWN SITES

a. A silver single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the domes. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double filigree wire. The hoop has not been preserved.

b. A pair of bronze single-bead temple ear-rings with dome-shaped bosses. The bead is divided longitudinally and transversely in the middle by double pseudo-filigree wire. At the top of the dome-shaped bosses, there are beds with red and blue glass inserts in them.

Ref. Petrinec 2009, p. 93, p. 571, Pl. 293, 1, Pl. 293, 3.

## 5. KAŠIĆ - VRELINE

a. A gilded bronze single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses lined with pseudo-filigree wire and small granular triangles in a star-shaped arrangement.

Ref. Belošević 1978, pp. 145-146, Fig. 6.

## 6. SOLIN

a. A gilded silver button-pendant decorated with filigree wire wavy lines filled with dense granulation. It has an eyelet for fastening at the top.

b. A gilded silver button-pendant decorated with dense granulation and double twisted filigree wire. It has an eyelet for fastening at the top, and at the bottom, a cylindrical tube for a glass insert, now missing.

c. A silver button-pendant whose upper half with an eyelet for fastening has been preserved. The surface is decorated with twisted filigree wires and dense granulation.

Ref. Piteša 2009, p. 161, Cat. No. 169; p. 125, Cat. No. 184; p. 126, Cat. No. 186.

### 7. DUGOPOLJE

a. Srebrno puca-privjesak od kojeg je sačuvana donja polovica ukrašena nabranom filigranskom žicom i s ostatkom cjevčice za stakleni umetak, koji nedostaje.

Lit. Piteša 2009, str. 126, kat. br. 185.

### 8. NEPOZNATA NALAZIŠTA

a. Srebrna pozlačena jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i granuliranim zrnom na vrhu kalota. Kalote su uokvirene rombovima od dvostruke filigranske niti.

Lit. Piteša 2009, str. 107, kat. br. 156.

b. Brončana jednojagodna sljepoočničarka s kalotastim ispupčenjima i pseudogranuliranim zrnom na vrhu. Površina uokolo kalota ukrašena je pseudofiligranskom niti.

Lit. Neobjavljeno (MHAS, inv. br. 7230)

c. Srebrno pozlačeno puca-privjesak ukrašeno nabranom filigranskom žicom i gustom granulacijom. Na dnu završava kapljičastim ukrasom.

Lit. Piteša 2009, str. 125, kat. br. 183.

d. Posrebreno brončano puca-privjesak ukrašeno pseudofiligranskom valovnicom i s kapljičastim završetkom na dnu.

Lit. Piteša 2009, str. 127, kat. br. 187.

## Prilog 4

Neukrašena jajolika, kuglasta ili bikonična puceta-privjesci

### 1. KAŠTEL NOVI - SVEČURJE

Grob 20

a. Brončano pozlačeno bikonično puca-privjesak. Sačuvana je gornja polovica s ušicom za pričvršćivanje na odjeću.

Lit. Burić 2015, str. 173.

### 2. NIN - SV. KRIŽ

Grob 89

a. Srebrni masivni prsten; b. Par običnih srebrnih karičica; c. Srebrno bikonično puca-privjesak s ušicom na vrhu i kapljičastim završetkom na dnu.

Lit. Belošević 1998, str. 122; T. XIX, 12-15.

### 3. RUPOTINA - CRIKVINE (SV. ILIJA)

Grob 51

a. Par srebrnih jednojagodnih sljepoočničarki; b. Dva srebrna bikonična puceta-privjeska, jedno je sačuvano u gornjoj polovici s ušicom na vrhu, drugo ima dvije ušice na spoju polutki; c. Prsten od raskovanoga brončanog lima.

Lit. Uroda 2010, str. 66, sl. 5; str. 69.

### 7. DUGOPOLJE

a. A silver button-pendant with the preserved lower half, decorated with twisted filigree wire and with the remains of the tube for a glass insert, now missing.

Ref. Piteša 2009, p. 126, Cat. No. 185.

### 8. UNKNOWN FIND-SPOTS

a. A gilded silver single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a granulated pellet at the top of the dome. The domes are framed by rhombuses formed of double filigree wire.

Ref. Piteša 2009, p. 107, Cat. No. 156.

b. A bronze single-bead temple ear-ring with dome-shaped bosses and a pseudo-granular pellet at the top. The surface around the domes is decorated with pseudo-filigree wire.

Ref. Unpublished (MHAS, Inv. No. 7230)

c. A gilded silver button-pendant decorated with twisted filigree wire and dense granulation. It ends with a teardrop-shaped decoration at the bottom.

Ref. Piteša 2009, p. 125, Cat. No. 183.

d. A silver-plated bronze button-pendant decorated with a pseudo-filigree wavy line and with a teardrop-shaped end at the bottom.

Ref. Piteša 2009, p. 127, Cat. No. 187.

## Appendix 4

Undecorated ovoid, spherical or biconical button-pendants

### 1. KAŠTEL NOVI – SVEČURJE

Grave 20

a. A bronze gilded biconical button-pendant. The upper half with an eyelet for fastening to the clothes has been preserved.

Ref. Burić 2015, p. 173.

### 2. NIN – HOLY CROSS

Grave 89

a. A massive silver ring; b. A pair of plain silver circlets; c. A silver biconical button-pendant with an eyelet at the top and a teardrop-shaped end at the bottom.

Ref. Belošević 1998, p. 122; Pl. XIX, 12–15.

### 3. RUPOTINA – CRIKVINE (ST. ELIJAH)

Grave 51

a. A pair of silver single-bead temple ear-rings; b. Two silver biconical button-pendants, one with preserved upper half with an eyelet at the top, and the other with two eyelets at the junction of the halves; c. A ring made of reforged sheet-bronze.

Ref. Uroda 2010, p. 66, Fig. 5; p. 69.

**4. STRANČE - GORICA**

*Grob 20*

a. Par brončanih kuglastih puceta-privjesaka s ušicom za pričvršćivanje na vrhu; b. Obična brončana karičica; c. Brončani užlijebljeni prsten preklopljenih krajeva spojenih zakovicom.

Lit. Cetinić 2011, str. 51, str. 130, T. XI, 1-4.

**4. STRANČE – GORICA**

*Grave 20*

a. A pair of bronze spherical button-pendants with an eyelet for fastening at the top; b. A plain bronze circlet; c. A bronze grooved ring with folded ends connected by a rivet.

Ref. Cetinić 2011, p. 51, p. 130, Pl. XI, 1–4.

**(D. G.)**

## Literatura / Bibliography

Belošević 1987

J. Belošević, Nekoliko neobjelodanjenih ranosrednjovjekovnih arheoloških nalaza s područja sjeverne Dalmacije, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 26 (31) 1986/1987, Zadar 1987, 141-163

Belošević 1998

J. Belošević, Srednjovjekovno groblje u okolišu crkve Sv. Križa u Ninu, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 37 (24)/1998, Zadar 1999, 105-154

Bulić 1887

F. Bulić, Razne starinske viesti, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata X*, Spalato 1887.

Burić 2015

T. Burić, Starohrvatsko groblje na položaju Svećurje u predjelu Rudine u Kaštel Novom, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 42, Split 2015, 165-208

Cetinić 2011

Ž. Cetinić, *Stranče – Vinodol, Starohrvatsko groblje na Gorici*, Rijeka 2011.

Chorvátová 2009

H. Chorvátová. Kultúrno-historický význam gombíkov, *Studia Mediaevalia Bohemica* 1, Praha 2009, 7-19

Delonga 1996

V. Delonga, *Latinski epigrafički spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*, Monumenta Medii Aevi Croatiae I, Split 1996.

Demo 1983

Ž. Demo, Bjelobrdski privjesci u Jugoslaviji (u povodu nalaza s lokaliteta Đelekovec – Gornji Batijan I), *Podravski zbornik* 83, Koprivnica 1983, 271-298

Eichert 2010

S. Eichert, *Die frühmittelalterliche Grabfunde Kärntens. Die materielle Kultur Karantaniens anhand der Grabfunde vom ende der Spätantike bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Klagenfurt - Wörthersee, 2010.

Eichert 2013

S. Eichert, Zur Absolutchronologie des Ostentalpenraums, *Bericht der Bayerischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 54, Bonn, 2013, 419-428

Friganović 1961

M. Friganović, Polja gornje Krke, *Acta Geographica Croatica*, sv./vol. 3, 1, Zagreb 1961, 8-164

Gabrić 1974

N. Gabrić, Neobjavljeni starohrvatski spomenici u Arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, *Kačić VI*, Split 1974, 39-51

Giesler 1980

J. Giesler, Zur Archaeologie des Ostentalpenraumes vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert, *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 10, München 1980, 85-98

Gunjača 1963

S. Gunjača, Srednjovjekovni Dolac kod Novigrada, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 8-9, Zagreb 1963, 7-66

Gunjača 1976

Z. Gunjača, Early medieval archaeological finds from Šibenik and its nearest surroundings, *Balcanoslavica* 5, Beograd 1976, 19-30

Gunjača 1980

Z. Gunjača, Grob jedne hrvatske plemenske odličnice iz IX stoljeća, u/in: I. Erceg, A. Horvat, I. Mažuran, M. Suić (ur./eds.), *Gunjačin zbornik*, Zagreb 1980, 121-131

Jakovljević, Isailović 2012

A. Jakovljević, N. Isailović, Srednjovjekovno Brečvo i Polje Kanjane – još jedan pokušaj ubikacije, *Povijesni prilozi*, sv./vol. 31, br./no. 43, Zagreb 2012, 31-58

Jakovljević, Isailović 2013

A. Jakovljević, N. Isailović, Popis nahije Petrovo polje iz 1574. godine, *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovjekovne studije* 1, Beograd 2013, 255-290

Jakovljević, Isailović 2019

A. Jakovljević, N. Isailović, *Petrovo polje u vrelima Osmanskog razdoblja (1528.-1604.)*, Šibenik 2019.

Jakšić 1996

N. Jakšić, Kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje kod crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 23, Split 1996, 139-172

Jakšić 2000

N. Jakšić, *Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije*, u/in: A. Milošević (ur./ed.) *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, Split 2000.

Jakšić, Hilje 2008

N. Jakšić, E. Hilje, *Kiparstvo I*, Zadar 2008.

Jelovina 1963

D. Jelovina, Statistički i tipološko-topografski pregled starohrvatskih naušnica na području SR Hrvatske, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 8-9, Zagreb 1963, 101-118

Jelovina 1976

D. Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole na području između rijeka Zrmanje i Cetine*, Split 1976.

Jelovina 1982

D. Jelovina, Djelatnost Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u godini 1981., *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 12, Split 1982, 235-240

Jelovina 1989

D. Jelovina, Starohrvatska nekropola na Brdu Spasu kod Knina, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 19, Split 1989, 121-241

Jelovina 1990

D. Jelovina, Starohrvatsko groblje pred glavnim ulaznim vratima u staru Varvariju, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 20, Split 1990, 7-63

Jurčević 2016

A. Jurčević, *Arhitektura i skulptura s lokaliteta Crkvina u Biskupiji kod Knina*, doktorski rad [[http://darhiv.ffzg.unizg.hr/id/eprint/9448/1/Jurcevic%2C%20Ante\\_Rasprava.pdf](http://darhiv.ffzg.unizg.hr/id/eprint/9448/1/Jurcevic%2C%20Ante_Rasprava.pdf)]

Jurić 1988

R. Jurić, Ranosrednjovjekovni grob iz Lišana Ostrovičkih kod Benkovca, *Diadora*, Zadar 1988, 185-196

Kapitanić 2010

V. Kapitanić, Gašpar Vinjalić i njegova povijest Slavena, u/in: G. Vinjalić, *Kratki povijesni i kronološki pregled zbivanja koja su se dogodila Slavenima u Dalmaciji, Hrvatskoj i Bosni 1514. – 1769.*, Split 2010, 7-19

Kosor 1979

K. Kosor, Drniška krajina za turskoga vladanja, *Kačić XI*, Split 1979, 125-194

Krnčević 2001

Ž. Krnčević, Srednjovjekovni arheološki nalazi na šibenskim otocima, *Diadora* 20, Zadar 2001, 271-296

Marić 2003

M. Marić, Ranosrednjovjekovne ostruge iz Lištana kod Livna, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 30, Split 2003, 177-184

Marić Baković 2010

M. Marić Baković, Razvoj srednjovjekovnoga groblja i prostorno širenje srednjovjekovnog naselja na primjeru Lištana, u/in: T. Šeparović (ur./ed.) *Zbornik Stjepana Gunjače I*, Split 2010, 253-263

Matas 2009

M. Matas, *Krš Hrvatske, geografski pregled i značenje*, Zagreb 2009.

Miletić 1967

N. Miletić, Slovenska nekropola u Gomjenici kod Prijedora, *Glasnik Zemljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, n. s. XXI-XXII, Sarajevo 1967, 81-154

Miletić 1993

Ž. Miletić, Rimske ceste između Jadera, Burnuma i Salone, *Radovi filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, sv./vol. 32(19), Zadar 1993, 117-150

E. Pavlovičová 1996

E. Pavlovičová, K vypovedacej schopnosti gombíka u naddunajských Slovanov v 9. storočí, *Slovenská archeologija* XLIV-1, Nitra 1996, 95-153

Petricioli 1960

I. Petricioli, *Pojava romaničke skulpture u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1960.

Petricioli 1995

I. Petricioli, Crkva sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 22, Split 1995, 19-28

Petrinec 2009

M. Petrinec, *Groblja 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države*, Monumenta Medii Aevi Croatiae 3, Split 2009.

Petrinec 2012

M. Petrinec, Zapažanja o poslijekarolinškom oružju i konjaničkoj opremi s područja Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine u kontekstu povijesnih zbivanja u 10. i 11. stoljeću, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 39, Split 2012, 71-192

Petrinec 2014

M. Petrinec, O pojedinim predmetima bizantske provenijencije na istočnoj obali Jadrana, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 41, Split 2014, 63-98

Petrinec 2018

M. Petrinec, Istraživanja u Gornjem Muću, u/in: A. Dugonjić, M. Bunčić (ur./eds.), *Hrvatska u vrijeme kneza Branimira* (katalog izložbe), Zagreb 2018, 30-34

Petrinec 2019

M. Petrinec, O nakitu iz Golubića i ženskoj nošnji iz razdoblja 8. i prve polovine 9. stoljeća, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 46, Split 2019, 45-166

Petrinec, Krnčević 2008

M. Petrinec, Ž. Krnčević, Koštane oplate drški noževa, u/in: *Imaginarni svijet zagonetnih predmeta od bjelokosti, kosti i rožina* (ur./ed. A. Ribić Županić), Zagreb 2008.

Piteša 2009

A. Piteša, *Katalog nalaza iz vremena seobe naroda, srednjeg i novog vijeka u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, Split 2009.

Rački 1882

F. Rački, Prilozi za geografsko-statistički opis bosanskog pašaluka, *Starine JAZU* 14, Zagreb 1882, 173-195

Radić 1898

F. Radić, Graditeljski uresni i nadpisni ulomci hrvatsko-bizantinskoga sloga sa crkve Bl. Gospe u drniškom Gradcu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. I, god. IV, br./no. 3-4, Knin 1898, 107-112

Rašković 1991

D. S. Rašković, Petrovo polje u antici – topografija i nalazi, *Srpska zora* 3-4, Knin 1991, 205-229

Rašković 1994

D. S. Rašković, Područje rimskog naselja Municipium Magnum-topografija i nalazi, u/in: *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije* 19, Beograd 1994, 7-32

Rašković 2001

D. S. Rašković, Antička Promona, Vestigatio Vetus, u/in: *Zbornik posvećen A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović*, Beograd 2001, 393-409

F. Smiljanić, Entstehung und Entwicklung des Verteidigungssystems der Županija Knin vom 11.–16. Jahrhundert, *Balkanoslavica* 11–12, Beograd 1984–1985, 135–145

Smiljanić 1988

F. Smiljanić, Teritorij i granice Kninske županije u srednjem vijeku, *Radovi filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, sv./vol. 27 (14), Zadar 1988, 135-149

Smiljanić 1990

F. Smiljanić, Građa za povijesnu topografiju kninsko-drniškoga kraja u srednjem vijeku, u/in: *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 15, Zagreb 1990 (1992), 55-63

Sokol 2019

V. Sokol, *Hrvatska srednjovjekovna arheološka baština (srednjovjekovni nakit, grobna arhitekturna i pogrebni običaji u Hrvatskoj od Save do Jadrana)*, Zagreb 2019.

Soldo 1979

J. A. Soldo, *Franjevačka provincija Presvetog Otкупitelja*, Split 1979.

Šaško 2014

I. Šaško, Lav i grifon – Životinje s dvoznačnom simbolikom, u/in: *Živo vrelo*, god. XXXI, Zagreb 2014, 12-19

Škegro 2007

A. Škegro, The Diocese of Ludrum (Ecclesia Ludronensis), *Povijesni prilozi* 32, Zagreb 2007, 9-24

Šmalcelj 2012

P. Šmalcelj, Kulturni elementi na grobljima sjeverozapadne Bosne, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 39, Split 2012, 131–170

Uroda 2010

N. Uroda, Ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi s lokaliteta Crikvine (Sv. Ilija) u naselju Rupotina u Solinu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 37, Split 2010, 61-75

Vinski 1949

Z. Vinski, Starohrvatske naušnice u arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 1, Zagreb 1949, 22-37

Vrsalović 1968

D. Vrsalović, Srednjovjekovno groblje na „Gredama“ u selu Kašiću kod Zadra, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 10, Zagreb 1968, 69-92

Zekan 1995

M. Zekan, Pet srednjovjekovnih nekropola Bribira, u/in: stručni kolegij Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (ur./eds.) *Bribir u srednjem vijeku*, Split 1995, 41-54

Zekan 2000

M. Zekan, Kratki prikaz rezultata arheološkog istraživanja crkve Porođenja Marijina u Gradcu kod Drništa i groblja uz nju, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, s. III, 27, Split 2000, 273-283

Internetski izvori:

Marić Baković 2018

[https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial\\_customs\\_on\\_the\\_example\\_of\\_the\\_medieval\\_community\\_in\\_Litani\\_on\\_the\\_Livno\\_field](https://www.academia.edu/43332014/Burial_customs_on_the_example_of_the_medieval_community_in_Litani_on_the_Livno_field) [konzultirano 17. 07. 2020.]

Rašković 2018

[https://www.academia.edu/36692153/Arheolo%C5%A1ka\\_topografija\\_rijeke\\_Krke\\_i\\_predrimski\\_Burnum\\_i\\_Promona](https://www.academia.edu/36692153/Arheolo%C5%A1ka_topografija_rijeke_Krke_i_predrimski_Burnum_i_Promona) [konzultirano 17. 07. 2020.]

Rašković

[https://www.academia.edu/24952163/Hodolo%C5%A1ka\\_zapa%C5%BEanja\\_o\\_arheologiji\\_Petrova\\_polja\\_osamdesetih\\_godina\\_XX\\_vijeka](https://www.academia.edu/24952163/Hodolo%C5%A1ka_zapa%C5%BEanja_o_arheologiji_Petrova_polja_osamdesetih_godina_XX_vijek) [konzultirano 17. 07. 2020.]