

GROBLJE, GROBOVI I DVIJE CRKVE U LOBORU – NEKI PROBLEMI I RJEŠENJA

CEMETERY, GRAVES AND TWO CHURCHES IN LOBOR – PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

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U radu se raspravlja o grobovima oko predromaničke bazilike u Loboru, Majka Božja Gorska. Glavni je naglasak na grobovima vezanim uz vrijeme kada je ona već bila srušena. Nakon njenog rušenja počinje sukcesivno sahranjivanje mrtvih već po ruševini i njenoj unutrašnjosti. Prema arheološkim predmetima, sloj grobova iznad ruševine mogao bi se datirati kroz cijelo 11. stoljeće, a najkasnije do sredine 13. stoljeća. To je vrijeme kad se primjećuje određeno blagostanje, ali također praćenje trendova tada prisutnih diljem Panonske nizine i okolnih krajeva, a koje karakterizira relativno velik broj predmeta u grobovima, što je sve bilo manje prisutno u ranijem dobu kad se u grobove nije unosilo gotovo ništa. Dakle, vrijeme diskontinuiteta, kad je predromanička bazilika bila porušena, a još nije bila sagrađena kasnoromanička crkva, proteže se od prve trećine 11. do sredine 13. stoljeća. Gledajući kronološki, taj bi se diskontinuitet mogao povezati s događajima vezanim uz ponovni ulazak Svetoga Rimskog Carstva u vrijeme vladavine Otona III., u drugoj polovini 10. stoljeća u Panoniju, ili kad su Mađari teoretski prvi put zauzeli ove prostore južno od rijeke Drave, vjerojatno u doba ugarskog kralja Stjepana I., ili je možda riječ o vremenu nakon smrti hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira (nakon 1089.), kad su sjevernu Hrvatsku zauzeli Mađari. Najkasnije se taj diskontinuitet mogao zbiti tek u vrijeme mongolske provale 1242., ali takvo što bilo bi moguće samo ako se pojedinim tipovima predmeta produži vijek trajanja do 13. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi:
srednjovjekovno groblje, grobovi, 11. – 13. stoljeće, predromanička bazilika, kasnoromanička crkva

The paper discusses the graves around the pre-Romanesque basilica in Lobor, Our Lady of the Mountain. The main emphasis is on the graves in relation to the time when it was already demolished. After its demolition, the serial burial of the dead began in the ruins and their interior. According to the archaeological finds, the layer of graves above the ruins could be dated throughout the 11th century, and no later than the middle of the 13th century, when not only a certain prosperity is evident, but also the following of trends then present throughout the Pannonian Plain and surrounding areas, and a greater abundance of finds in the graves, which had been present in smaller numbers in the earlier period, when graves were almost devoid of finds. Thus, the discontinuity between the demolition of the pre-Romanesque church and the building of the late-Romanesque church extends from the first third of the 11th century to the middle of the 13th. Chronologically, this could be connected with events relating to the re-entry of the Holy Roman Empire during the reign of Otto III in the second half of the 10th century, or the time when the Hungarians first occupied these areas south of the River Drava, possibly during the reign of the Hungarian King Stephen I, or perhaps the time after the death of the Croatian King Zvonimir (after 1089), when northern Croatia was occupied by the Hungarians. At the latest, this happened at the time of the Mongol invasion in 1242, but such an occurrence would be possible only if certain types of objects were extended to the 13th century.

Key words:
cemetery, graves, 11th – 13th centuries, pre-Romanesque basilica, late-Romanesque church

Uvod

U Loboru, na lokalitetu Majka Božja Gorska, u ranome srednjem vijeku bile su podignute dvije crkve, drvena crkva i predromanička bazilika (sl. 1). Stajale su jedna uz drugu, ali oko preciznije datacije njihove izgradnje postoje mnoge nedoumice. Prema

Introduction

Two churches were built in the early Middle Ages in Lobor, at the site of the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Mountain: a wooden church and a pre-Romanesque basilica (Fig. 1). They stood next to each other, but there are many problems with more precise

sadašnjem stanju istraživanja, čini se da je drvena zgrada starija od zidane, ali koliko je prošlo vremena između podizanja jedne i izgradnje druge, nije baš najjasnije. Bazilika se prema određenim konstruktivnim elementima (oblik apsida, vanjske lezene poklapaju se s pilastrima na unutrašnjem zidu), a prema sličnim tlocrtnim rješenjima, također se ne može preciznije datirati. Takva građevinska i konstruktivna rješenja se, prema sličnim zgradama sa sličnim tlocrtima, obično datiraju pretkraj ranoromaničkog razdoblja ili barem u 11. stoljeće, i to prema onima sagrađenim na užem ranosrednjovjekovnom hrvatskom području, Solinu, bizantskom Zadru i Mlecima ili prema bazilici u Zalaváru-Récéskútu (Blatno, Blatnograd), nekadašnjem najznačajnijem panonskom središtu, okvirno u 9. stoljeće. Najstariji pronađeni ulomak predromaničke skulpture s natpisom +SVMME, Lj. Karaman datirao je u 11. stoljeće, a nakon njega su isti ulomak drugi arheolozi datirali bliže 9. stoljeću, točnije u prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća.¹ Kako kasnije pronađeni ulomci na lokalitetu nisu isti, postoje znatne stilske razlike, ne samo kod izbora motiva već i kod načina obrade, pa je predloženo da pripadaju različitoj dobi, ali rasprava nije dovršena.²

S time je povezan problem vezan uz datiranje podizanja predromaničke bazilike – u 9. stoljeće, odnosno početak, sredinu ili kraj 9. stoljeća, ili tek na početak ili kraj 11. stoljeća. Oko obje crkve u Loboru nalaze se grobovi, ali u onima bliže njima gotovo da nema nikakvih predmeta. Oni su datirani arheološkim slojem koji razdvaja sloj grobova prije i nakon rušenja predromaničke bazilike. Građevni materijal, štuta, kamen i obrađeni kamni ulomci razasuti su uokolo i preko srušenih perimetralnih zidova i zvonika, a sloj prekriva i ranije srušenu ranokršćansku crkvu. Ovisno o mjestu, taj je sloj debljine od 30 do 60 cm, ponajviše ispred pročelja i s južne strane, a na sjevernoj strani najviše deset centimetara. Kada je srušena predromanička bazilika, nije najjasnije. Iznad nje je podignuta nova (kasno)romanička crkva, ali postoji hijat, prekid dovoljno dug da započnu pokopi iznad ruševine bazilike, i to na više pozicija sa sjeverne i južne strane te ispred pročelja. Na prostoru, koji okružuje drvenu crkvu, predromaničku baziliku i kasnoromaničku crkvu, sahranjuje se od prijelaza 8. u 9. stoljeće tako da se prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja okvirno može izdvojiti nekoliko faza do izgradnje kasnoromaničke crkve (sl. 1):

1. Paljevinsko groblje: kraj 8. do početak 9. stoljeća (uz ranokršćansku crkvu / prije podizanja ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava),
2. Groblje uz drvenu crkvu i predromaničku baziliku: 9. – 10. do 11./12. ili 13. stoljeća,
3. Groblje nakon rušenja predromaničke bazilike: 11. ili 12. do 13. stoljeća,
4. Groblje uz kasnoromaničku crkvu: od 13. stoljeća.

dating. According to the current state of research, it seems that the wooden building is older than the stone one, but how much time passed between the erection of the one and the construction of the other is not very clear. According to certain structural elements (the shape of the apse, the outer wall lesenes being aligned with the inner wall pilasters) and according to similar floor plans, the basilica cannot be precisely dated. Such building and construction solutions in buildings with similar floor plans are usually dated towards the end of the early-Romanesque period or at least through the 11th century, according to those built in early-medieval Croatia, Solin, Byzantine Zadar and Venice or Zalavár-Récéskút (Blatno, Blatnograd), which was the most important Pannonian centre in the 9th century, but similar floor plans can also be found before that time. The oldest found fragment of pre-Romanesque sculpture, with the inscription +SVMME, was dated to the 11th century by Lj. Karaman, but after that other archaeologists dated the same fragment closer to the 9th century, more precisely to the first decades of the 9th century.¹ As later-found fragments at the site are not the same, and there are significant stylistic differences not only in the choice of motifs but also in the way the stone was processed, I have suggested that they belong to different periods, but that discussion has not been finished.²

Related to that is the problem of dating the construction of the pre-Romanesque basilica to the beginning, the middle or the end of the 9th century, or to the beginnings or the end of the 11th century. There are graves around both churches in Lopor, but there are almost no objects in the ones close to them. They are well dated by the archaeological layer that separates the layer of graves before and after the demolition of the pre-Romanesque basilica. Building material, rubble, stone and processed stone fragments are scattered all around it and over its ruined perimeter walls, and it covers the early-Christian church. Depending on the location, this layer is on average 30 to 60 cm thick, mostly in front of the church and on the south side, while on the north side it is mostly 10 cm thick. It is not clear when the pre-Romanesque basilica was demolished. A new (late-) Romanesque church was built above it, but there is a hiatus, a break long enough for burials above the ruins of the basilica at several positions on the north and south sides of the facade. Around the wooden pre-Romanesque and late-Romanesque churches are burials from the turn of the 9th century, and, according to the current state of research, several phases can be roughly separated until the construction of the late-Romanesque church began (Fig. 1):

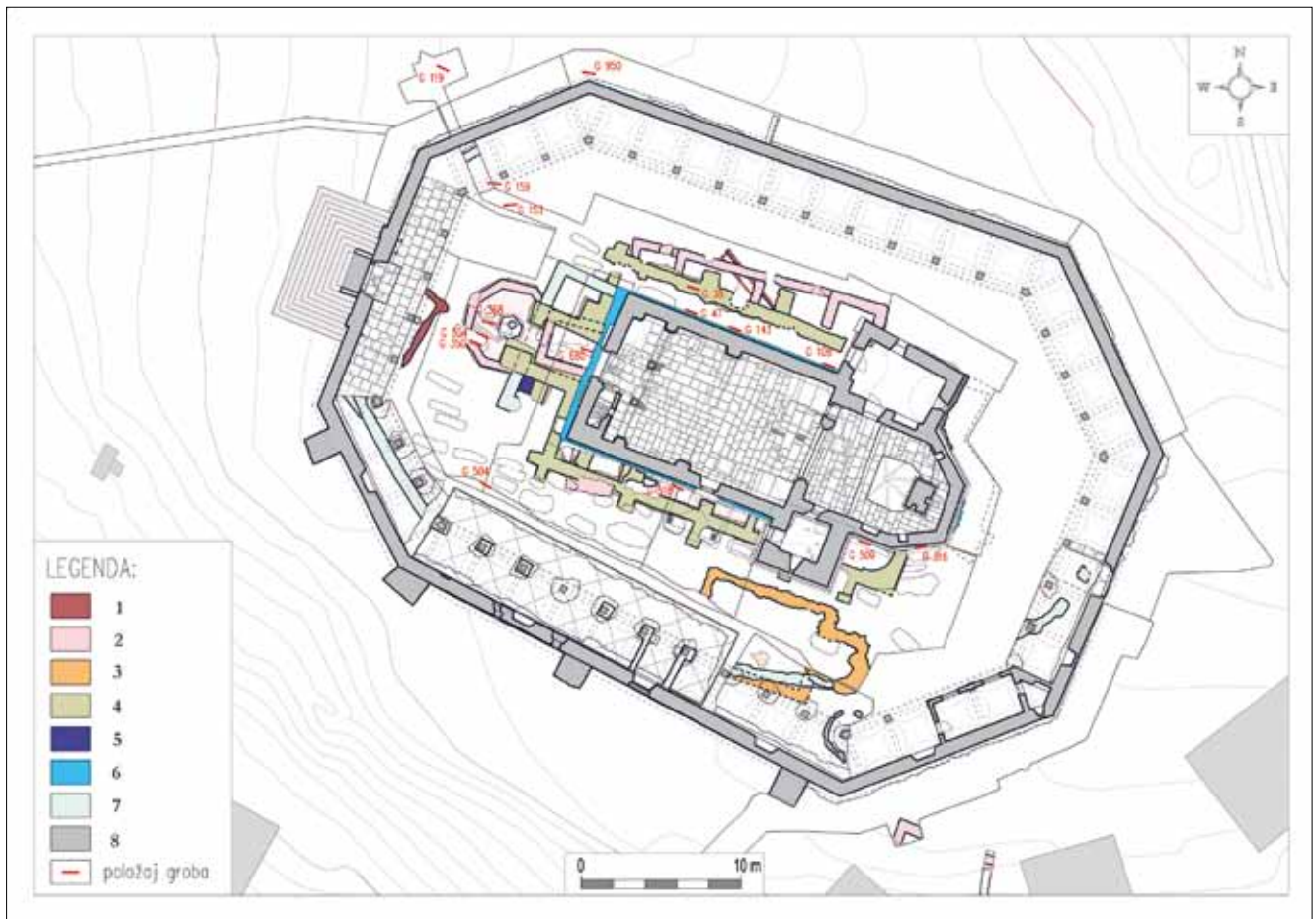
1. Cremation graves: end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 9th (next to the early-Christian church, before the erection of the early-medieval churches).
2. Cemetery next to the wooden church and pre-Romanesque basilica: 9th – 10th to 11th/12th or 13th century?
3. Cemetery after the demolition of the pre-Romanesque basilica: 11th or 12th century to the 13th.
4. Cemetery next to the late-Romanesque church: from the 13th century onwards.

1 Karaman 1948, 109–110, Taf. 1: 1; 1952, 96–97; Delonga 2000, 91–92, Il. 13; Burić 2001, 191; Filipec 2015, 263–269, sl. 166–167.

2 Filipec 2018, 345–361.

1 Karaman 1948, 109–110, Taf. 1: 1; 1952, 96–97; Delonga 2000, 91–92, Il. 13; Burić 2001, 191; Filipec 2015, 263–269, sl. 166–167.

2 Filipec 2018, 345–361.



SLIKA 1. Lobar, Majka Božja Gorska. Lokalitet s fazama izgradnje pojedinih crkvenih zgrada i s naznačenim pozicijama grobova od 10. do 13. stoljeća.

(1) Kasna antika; (2) Ranokršćanska crkva i istovremena zgrada; (3) Drvena crkva; (4) Predromanička crkva; (5) dogradnje na predromaničkoj crkvi; (6) Kasnoromanička crkva; (7) Novovjekovne dogradnje; (8) Gotička crkva s kasnijim dogradnjama (izradio ARHEO PLAN d.o.o.).

FIGURE 1. Lobar, Our Lady of the Mountain. Site with the phases of construction of individual church buildings and with positions indicated of graves from the 10th century to the 13th.

(1) Late antiquity; (2) early-Christian church and building; (3) wooden church; (4) pre-Romanesque church; (5) additions to the pre-Romanesque church; (6) late-Romanesque church; (7) an annexe from the 16th and 17th centuries (demolished); (8) Gothic church with later additions (made by ARHEO PLAN d.o.o.).

Rasprava

Najstariji kosturni grobovi, ponajviše oni bez ikakvih predmeta, nalaze se unutar zvonika, u predvorju, uz vanjske zidove predromaničke bazilike, a neki točno između lezena, pa je time nepobitno dokazano da su došli na to mjesto nakon njezina podizanja. Predmeti se nalaze samo u grobu 895 (dva ukrasna gumba položena u grob malog djeteta) te još samo u grobu 149 (dvije strelice zabodene u desno rame).³ Nakon prvih redova, počinju se nizati novi redovi u kojima ima nešto više nalaza, a o njihovoj interpretaciji bit će riječ u nastavku. U apsidi drvene crkve istražen je grob (grob 536) u kojem je sahranjeno tijelo mlade djevojke (na prostoru drvene crkve nalaze se više oštećenih paljevinskih grobova položenih prije njezina podizanja).⁴ O vremenu podizanja bazilike, dakle, svjedočili bi grobovi uokolo, posebno oni rijetki s predmetima iz 9. i početka 10. stoljeća. Dio

Discussion

The oldest graves, mostly those without any grave goods, are located inside the bell tower, in the narthex, along the outer walls of the basilica, and some exactly between the lesenes, so it can be irrefutably proven that they were buried there after its erection. Objects were found only in grave 895 (two decorative buttons in the grave of a small child) and in grave 149 (two arrows stuck in the right shoulder).³ After the first rows, new rows of graves began to appear in which there were more finds, and their interpretation will be discussed below. In the apse of the wooden church, a grave was excavated (grave 536) in which the body of a young girl was buried. (In the area of the wooden church there are two or more damaged cremation graves laid that pre-date its erection).⁴ The time when the basilica was built would be evidenced by the graves around it, especially the rare



SLIKA 2. Srebrni lijevani prsten, romboidnog presjeka sa stanjenim otvorenim krajevima iz uništenoga groba pronađen na ranokršćanskoj oktogonolnoj krstionici u šuti srušene predromaničke bazilike; G-tip 27 (snimio K. Filipec).

FIGURE 2. A silver cast ring of rhomboid cross-section with thinned open ends (G-type 27) from a destroyed grave found within the early-Christian octagonal baptistery in the debris of the demolished basilica (photo by K. Filipec).

tih grobova, iz istog sloja, položen je ispred pročelja iznad ranokršćanske oktogonalne krstionice, što je dokaz da grobovi bez nalaza ne pripadaju kasnoj antici i vremenu kad je još stajala ranokršćanska crkva. Sve bi to išlo u prilog tezi da je predromanička bazilika podignuta najkasnije prije sredine 10. stoljeća, ali vjerojatnije, prema stilskim karakteristikama kamenih ulomaka predromaničke skulpture, ranije, bliže početku 9. stoljeća.⁵ Redovi mlađih grobova šire se svuda uokolo crkve nakon tih najstarijih grobova koji zauzimaju prednji dio. U grobovima nalaze se predmeti karakteristični već za 10. i 11. stoljeće. Groblje se širi do krajnjih rubova gradine pa se nakon toga, ili već u vrijeme njezina najvećeg širenja, započinje ponovno sahranjivanje bliže bazilici, odnosno počinju preslojavanja, pokopi na mjestima starijih grobova (sl. 1). Drvena crkva, sagrađena početkom 9. stoljeća, i bazilika korištene su u isto vrijeme, i to barem do početka ili sredine 11. stoljeća, kad je vjerojatno srušena drvena crkva, jer su u slojevima ruševine nađene dvije kovanice ugarskog kralja sv. Stjepana I. (1000. – 1038.).⁶ Ključno je pitanje: je li tada srušena i predromanička bazilika?

Prvi problem o kojem se ovdje nastoji pisati jest može li se zaključiti prema grobovima obično datiranim od 10. do 12. stoljeća, odnosno onima za tzv. bjelobrdске i ketlaške kulture, da se oni nalaze u nastavku onih najranijih, kao posljedica logičnog širenja groblja, kad je još bazilika bila neoštećena? To je problem vezan općenito uz definiranje najstarije faze tzv. bjelobrdске kulture, čija je kronološka shema, unatoč pokušajima, kako je to jasno naznačio Ž. Demo, manjkava i nije savršena, ali ipak

ones with finds from the 9th century and early 10th. Some of these graves in front of the facade are placed above the early-Christian octagonal baptistery, which is proof that these graves do not belong to Late Antiquity, at the time when the early-Christian church was still standing. All this would support the hypothesis that the wooden church was erected no later than the middle of the 10th century, but more likely, according to the stylistic characteristics of stone fragments of pre-Romanesque sculpture, closer to the beginning of the 9th century.⁵ Rows of newer graves spread all around the basilica, after the older ones that were located at the front. In these graves there are finds characteristic of the 10th and 11th centuries. This cemetery expands to the very edges of the hillfort, and after that, or already at the time of its greatest expansion, reburial begins closer to the basilica, which means that the layering begins (Fig. 1). The wooden church, built at the beginning of the 9th century, and the basilica were used at the same time, at least until the beginning to the middle of the 11th century, when the wooden church was probably demolished, because two coins of the Hungarian King Stephen I were found in the ruins (1000 – 1038).⁶ The key question is whether the basilica was demolished at that time.

The first problem to be discussed here is whether it can be concluded from the graves usually dated from the 10th century to the 12th, those belonging to the so-called Bijelo Brdo and Köttlach cultures, that they are the natural continuation of the earlier ones as a consequence of the logical expansion of the cemetery when the basilica was still intact.⁷ This is a problem relating to

4 Filipec 2015, 258, 263–267, sl. 99.

5 Jurković 2017, 459–460; Filipec 2018, 359.

6 Filipec 2012a, 281–288; 2015, 227, sl. 82.

7 Pojmovi bjelobrdска i ketlaška kultura koriste se samo zbog toga što su nazivi još česti kod opisivanja predmeta iz grobova datiranih od sredine 10. do sredine 11. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj. O korištenju, vidi u najnovije doba Demo 2009, 552–553 i Tomičić 2019. O tome da bjelobrdска kultura ne postoji, vidi Filipec 2012b, 232.

4 Filipec 2015, 258, 263–267, sl. 99.

5 Jurković 2017, 459–460; Filipec 2018, 359.

6 Filipec 2012a, 281–288; 2015, 227, sl. 82.

7 The terms 'Bijelo Brdo' and 'Köttlach' for cultures are still in use because they are often used to describe the finds from graves dated from the middle of the 10th century to the middle of the 11th in Croatia. For the use of the terms, see Demo 2009, 552–553 and Tomičić 2019. For the fact that the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture does not actually exist, see Filipec 2012b, 232.

rješava određene probleme.⁸ Naime, ključno je pokazati pojavljuju li se predmeti vezani uz tu „kulturu“ uslijed promjene trendova mode i načina sahrane među postojećom ili kao posljedica dolaska neke nove populacije nakon rasapa franačke uprave u Panoniji, možda uslijed mađarskih provala. Također, problem je vezan uz utvrđene arheološke slojeve pa nije najjasnije jesu li svi pokojnici s predmetima datiranim od 10. do 12. stoljeća sahranjeni nakon što je bazilika bila porušena. Predromanička bazilika, cjelovita ili srušena, uvijek je u središtu groblja.

Prema stratigrafskim odnosima, prije svega prema dobro definiranom sloju šute s ruševine bazilike, razvidno je da se grobovi i predmeti najranije datirani od druge polovine 10. stoljeća, vezani uz tzv. bjelobrdsku kulturu, nalaze iznad ili u spomenutom sloju sa šutom i kamenjem. Oni u kojima su sahranjeni pokojnici s predmetima nalaze se na temelju (grob 38 / nalazi u grobu: četiri obične brončane karičice) i u unutrašnjosti srušene bazilike (npr. grob 143 / jedna obična karičica; grob 47 / dvije? okrugle pređice i grob 108 / dvije trojagodne naušnice; sl. 1). Nekoliko grobova s južne i sjeverne strane crkve te u zvoniku nalazi se ispod temelja kasnoromaničke crkve. Oni su dokaz da postoji jasan i vidljiv građevinski prekid jer nova kasnoromanička crkva nije odmah podignuta nakon rušenja predromaničke bazilike, nego tek nakon „određenog vremena“ koje je bilo dovoljno dugo da se razvuče građa i materijal s porušene bazilike te da započne polaganje grobova preko nje, i to, kako se čini, preko cijele površine. U grobu 143, koji je se nalazi unutar predromaničke (sl. 1), a jednim dijelom ispod temelja kasnoromaničke crkve, pronađena je obična brončana karičica (sl. 6). Slične brončane obične karičice rastavljenih krajeva različitih veličina vrlo su dugo u upotrebi, sve do sredine 13. stoljeća, tako da se prema njima ne može puno zaključiti. Definiranju toga sloja pomaže nalaz srebrnoga lijevanog prstena romboidnog presjeka sa stanjenim otvorenim krajevima, na čijoj se površini s obje strane hrpta nalaze dva reda kanelura (Giesler (G) tip 27; sl. 2). On potječe iz nekog od uništenih ili oštećenih grobova, a pronađen je u navedenom sloju ruševine iznad ranokršćanske krstionice, dakle iznad najstarijih grobova bez nalaza, koji su svi ispod ruševine (sl. 3). Slični prsteni pojavljuju se ponajviše u grobnim cjelinama 11. stoljeća, ali se obično datiraju već od kraja 10. stoljeća.⁹ Prema Ž. Tomičiću, oni se u međurječju Drave, Dunava i Save pojavljuju pretkraj I. ili na početku II. stupnja bjelobrdske kulture. Osnovno je pitanje koliko se dugo nose, do početka ili kroz cijelo 12. stoljeće? Prema B. M. Szókeu i L. Vándoru, riječ je o početku 11. pa sve do prve polovine 12. stoljeća.¹⁰ Čini se da se koriste dosta dugo u Loboru pa se nalaze u rubnim grobovima na sjevernoj strani lokaliteta (grob 12), što otvara mogućnost da se u doba kad se groblje još širilo do krajnjih rubova lokaliteta, do sredine ili kraja 12. stoljeća, već započelo sahranjivati bliže bazilici, ali tek nakon njezina rušenja.¹¹ Prema L. Kovácsu, srebrni prsten (G-tip 27) bio je u upotrebi do sredine 12. stoljeća, a još duže na grobljima oko crkve.¹² Prsten iz uništenoga groba,

the definition of the oldest phase of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, whose chronological scheme, despite attempts clearly indicated by Ž. Demo, is flawed and not perfect, but still solves certain problems.⁸ More precisely, it is crucial to prove whether objects relating to this so-called culture appear due to changing fashion trends and burial methods among the existing population or as a consequence of the arrival of a new population after the disintegration of the Frankish administration in Pannonia, perhaps due to Hungarian attacks. The problem also relates to the established archaeological layers, so it is not clear whether all the deceased with finds dating from the 10th century to the 12th were buried after the basilica was demolished.

According to stratigraphy, and first of all according to the well-defined layer of rubble from the ruins of the basilica, it is evident that graves and finds dated back to the second half of the 10th century, and relating to the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, are found above or within the above-mentioned layer with rubble and stones. Those containing the deceased buried with finds are located on the foundation (grave 38, finds in grave: four ordinary bronze hoops) and inside the ruined basilica (grave 143, finds in grave: one ordinary hoop; grave 108, finds in grave: two three-beaded earrings; grave 47, finds in grave: two? buckles; Fig. 1). Several tombs on the south and north sides of the church and in its bell tower are below the foundations of the late-Romanesque church, proving that there is a clear and clearly visible building hiatus, because the new late-Romanesque church was not erected immediately after the demolition of the pre-Romanesque basilica, but only after a certain time, which was long enough for the spreading of the building material from the ruined basilica and the start of burials over it and, as it seems, over its entire surface. In grave 143, located inside the pre-Romanesque church (Fig. 1) and below the foundations of the late-Romanesque church, a plain bronze hoop was found (Fig. 6). Similar ordinary bronze hoops with split ends of different sizes were in use for a very long time until the middle of the 13th century, so not much can be deduced from them. The defining of this layer is aided by the finding of a cast silver ring with rhomboid cross-section and thinned open ends, on the surface of which, on both sides of the ridge, are two rows of grooves (G-type 27; Fig. 2). It originates from one of the destroyed or damaged graves, and was found in the layer above the early-Christian baptistery, i.e. above the oldest tombs without finds, all of which are below the ruins (Fig. 3). Similar rings appear mostly in the 11th-century graves, but usually date from the end of the 10th century.⁹ According to Ž. Tomičić, they appear in the plain between the rivers Drava, Danube and Sava before the end of the 1st stage and the beginning of the 2nd stage of Bijelo Brdo culture. The main question is how long they were worn, which, according to B. M. Szóke and L. Vándor, is from the beginning of the 11th century to the first half of the 12th.¹⁰ They seem to have been in use for a long time in Lobor, which opens the possibility of reburials closer to the basilica at the

8 Demo 2009, 552.

9 Giesler 1981, 110, Taf. 4, 53 (G-tip 27); Kovács 1994, 140.

10 Szóke, Vándor 1987, 151.

11 Filipec 2002, 7–37.

12 Kovács 2019, 421.

8 Demo 2009, 552.

9 Giesler 1981, 110, Taf. 4, 53 (G-type 27); Kovács 1994, 140.

10 Szóke, Vándor 1987, 151.

SLIKA 3. Stariji grobovi, ispod sloja sa šutom i kamenjem vezanim uz ruševinu predromaničke bazilike, na ranokršćanskoj oktogonalnoj krstionici (snimio K. Filipec).

FIGURE 3. Older graves, below the layer with rubble and stones tied to the ruins of the pre-Romanesque basilica, on top of the early-Christian octagonal baptistery (photo by K. Filipec).



blizu pročelja (G-tip 20), srebrni je i znatno kvalitetnije izrađen, a vjerojatno je stariji od brončanih inačica, ako je kvaliteta izrade prstena kronološki relevantna.

Iznad oktogonalne krstionice nalaze se tri groba u jednom redu (sl. 4). U grobu 350 je, uz srebrni tordirani prsten na području oko pojasa (sl. 5), pronađena željezna, okrugla karike. Tordirani prsteni datiraju iz sredine i u drugu polovinu 11. stoljeća. Željezne karike, vjerojatno dio pojasa, poznate su kroz duže vrijeme, od kasnoavarskog vremena do 11. stoljeća.¹³ Mala pozlaćena aplikacija od lima, s malom rupicom za navođenje iz groba 354, pronađena je s lijeve strane glave, a u trećem grobu nije pronađeno ništa. Svi su oštećeni jer su se nalazili neposredno ispod raka kasno-srednjovjekovnih grobova. Prema predmetima iz groba 350 i prema prstenu nađenom izvan konteksta (G-tip 29), čini se da bi ovu skupinu trebalo datirati okvirno oko sredine i u drugu polovinu 11. stoljeća (sl. 5).¹⁴

Općenito, straživanja su pokazala da se grobovi u kojima se ponajviše pojavljuju srebrne i brončane S-karičice ili brončane obične karičice, različitih oblika i veličina, različiti lijevani prsteni, tordirani prsteni, rustikalne trojagodne naušnice stenjevečkog tipa (grob 108 i grob 504), okrugle kopče, ogrlice sastavljene od različitih zrna od pečene zemlje, od staklene paste, fluoritne perle te kauri puževi, nalaze u blizini bazilike, ponajviše iznad sloja s ruševinom te u grobovima ukopanim u sloj ili su razasuti u zasipima raka kasnijih grobova. Dio pronađenih predmeta vezan je okvirno uz 11. stoljeće, a drugi pak i uz relativno kasno vrijeme pojave sličnog nakita među populacijom, od sredine 12. do sre-

time when the cemetery was still expanding until the middle of the 12th century, but only after its demolition.¹¹ According to L. Kovács, the silver ring (G-type 27) was in use until the middle of the 12th century, and even longer in the cemeteries around the church.¹² The ring from the destroyed grave near the facade is silver and of much better quality, possibly older than the bronze versions, if the quality of the ring-making is chronologically relevant.

Three graves in a row are located above the octagonal baptistery (Fig. 4). A round iron link was found in grave 350 next to a twisted silver ring in the area around the waist (Fig. 5). The twisted rings date from around the middle of the 11th century to its second half. Iron links, probably belt parts, have been known for a long time, from late Avar times to the 11th century.¹³ A small gilded sheet-metal appliqué with a small hole from grave 354 was found on the left side of the head, and in the third grave nothing was found. All were damaged, because they were located just below the late-medieval graves. According to objects from grave 350, and according to a ring found out of context (G-type 29), it seems that this group should be dated approximately to the 11th century, around the middle and into the second half (Fig. 5).¹⁴

In general, research has shown that the graves with silver and bronze S-hoops or plain bronze hoops, of various shapes and sizes, various cast rings, twisted rings, rustic three-beaded earrings of the Stenjevec type (grave 108 and grave 504), necklaces composed of various beads of baked clay or glass paste, fluorite and cowrie shells, were found near the basilica, mostly above

13 Demo 2009, 542–543.

14 Demo 2009, 515, sl. 43: 9.

11 Filipec 2002, 7–37.

12 Kovács 2019, 421.

13 Demo 2009, 542–543.

14 Demo 2009, 515, sl. 43: 9.



SLIKA 4. Mlađi grobovi iskopani u razvučenu šutu nakon rušenja predromaničke bazilike (snimio K. Filipec).

FIGURE 4. Graves dug in the rubble spread after the demolition of the pre-Romanesque basilica (photo by K. Filipec).

dine 13. stoljeća. Oni jednoznačno ne pokazuju kad se je zbilo rušenje bazilike i započelo sahranjivanje po njezinim ruševinama.

Cijela skupina dobro datiranih grobova s predmetima, nožićima, različitim grozdolikim naušnicama, S-karičicama i običnim karičicama, karičicama sa zadebljanjima na krajevima, različitim lijevanim prstenima nalazi se, otprilike, sedam do devet metara udaljena od bazilike. U grobu 159 (sl. 7–8), koji pripada toj skupini grobova, a koji lijepo reprezentira nalaze iz te skupine, pronađena su četiri dvodijelna privjeska (vjerojatno ih je bilo više, ali oštećenja groba i kostura su najveća baš oko glave), četiri srebrne grozdolike naušnice s dva koljenca sa svake strane, tzv. volinjsko-kijevskog tipa, dvije srebrne grozdolike naušnice s tri koljenca sa svake strane te četiri S-karičice. Svi su se predmeti nalazili ispod razbijene lubanje sa stražnje strane, pomaknuti sa svoga originalnog mjesta, a veći dio trupa i noge nisu istražene jer su izlazile izvan zone iskopa te je grob jako oštećen kasnijim prekopavanjima. Grozdolike naušnice s tri koljenca sa svake strane ne nalaze se često kao one s dva koljenca, a obično se datiraju u kraj 10. i početak 11. stoljeća.¹⁵ O tzv. volinjsko-kijevskom tipu grozdolikih naušnica napisano je puno te se navedeni primjerci datiraju pretkraj 10. ili u prva desetljeća 11. stoljeća. Ž. Demo piše da naušnice tih tipova zasigurno nisu ranije od 11. stoljeća, a sudeći prema popratnim nalazima, najveću popularnost dosežu u drugom, trećem i četvrtom desetljeću 11. stoljeća.¹⁶ U grobu 159 pronađene su slične, ali također opet u različitim kalupima lijevane grozdolike naušnice od lošeg srebra, s dva koljenca sa svake strane, i tipološki nešto drugačije grozdolike naušnice s tri koljenca i četiri S-karičice. Oba su grozdolika tipa vrlo česta na ši-

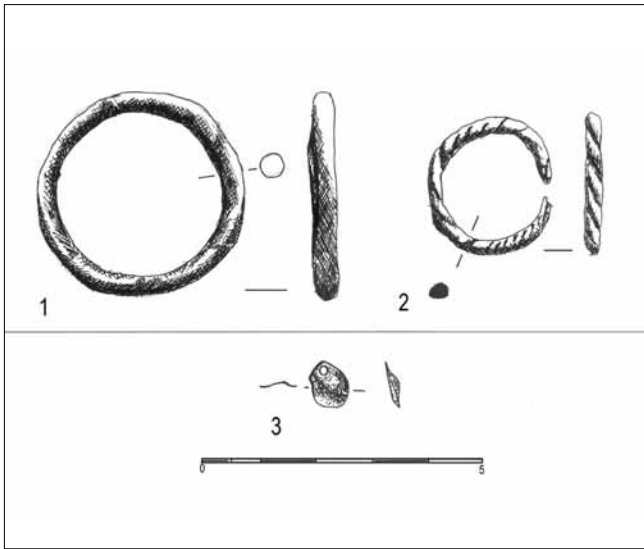
that layer with rubble, and in graves dug in that layer or scattered in the soil used for covering the later graves. Some of the objects found relate to the 11th century, and others to the relatively late period when similar jewellery appeared among the population, from the middle of the 12th century to the middle of the 13th. Clearly, they do not indicate when the demolition of the basilica took place and burial began in its ruins.

A whole group of well-dated graves with finds, with knives, with various grape-shaped earrings, S-hoops and plain hoops, rings with thickened ends, and various cast rings are located approximately seven to nine metres away from the basilica. In grave 159 (Fig. 7–8), which belongs to this group of graves, and which nicely represents the findings from that group, four two-part pendants were found (of which there may have been more, but the damage to the grave and skeleton is greatest around the head), four silver grape-shaped earrings with two beads on each side – the so-called Volyn-Kiev type – two silver grape-shaped earrings with three beads on each side, and four S-hoops. All the finds were located under the broken skull, moved from their original place, and most of the torso and legs were not excavated because they were outside the excavation zone, and the grave was badly damaged by later interventions. Grape-shaped earrings with two beads on each side are found at nearby sites, usually dated to the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th.¹⁵ A lot has been written about the Volyn-Kiev type of grape-shaped earrings, and the above specimens date back to the end of the 10th century or the first decades of the 11th. Ž. Demo writes that earrings of these types are certainly not earlier than the 11th

15 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 113, sl. 376: 4.

16 Demo 2009, 457.

15 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 113, sl. 376: 4.



SLIKA 5. Predmeti iz groba 350: brončana karičica na pojasu (1) i tordirani prsten, G-tip 29 (2); privjesak (3) iz groba 354 (izradila Terenska arheološka radionica Odsjeka za arheologiju u Bizovcu 2006. – 2010.).

FIGURE 5. Finds from grave 350: bronze hoop on the midsection (1) and twisted ring (2); pendant with a hole (3) from grave 354 (made by the Field Archaeology Workshop of the Department of Archaeology in Bizovac 2006 – 2010).

rokom prostoru od jugoistočnih Alpa, duž cijele Panonske nizine. Otprilike, dva metra ispred groba 159, dakle bliže crkvi, nalazio se djelomično uništen grob u kojem je, između ostalog, pronađena lijevana grozdolika brončana (bakrena) naušnica, sitnija i prema svojem obliku bliža sličnima datiranim kroz 10. stoljeće, S-karičica (područje oko glave je oštećeno) te dva lijevana prstena otvorenih krajeva. Nakon grobova bez nalaza ili s karakterističnim predmetima s kraja 9. i početka 10. stoljeća pojavljuju se u nastavku, u neprekinutom slijedu, grobovi koji se mogu datirati okvirno u drugu polovinu 10. ili ponajviše u drugu polovinu ili kraj 10. i početak 11. stoljeća (G 119, 153, 159, 950). Sve njihove rake su najdublje iskopane pa su tako ostale relativno dobro očuvane. Iznad njih se nalazi drugi, mlađi sloj s grobovima u kojima se pojavljuju ponajviše velikoformatne brončane i željezne S-karičice u plićim rakama. Svi ti grobovi kao da sugeriraju neprekinuti slijed pokopa na groblju od bazilike prema sjeverozapadu. Iako su tipološke razlike između grozdolikih lijevanih naušnica znatne, nesumnjivo je, ne samo što se nalaze u relativnoj blizini, da je riječ o bliskom vremenu sahrane cijele skupine, stoga, čini se da su u isto doba kolali slični predmeti među tamošnjim stanovnicima ili barem među bogatijim obiteljima ako je unos predmeta u grob pravi znak bogatstva zajednice. Sve žene nisu nosile isti nakit, neke pripadnice imale su vrlo lijepo izrađene srebrne karičice sa zadebljanjima na krajevima obruča, druge pak srebrne S-karičice ili obične karičice, a neke nisu sahranjene s predmetima. Sahranjivanje bez predmeta može značiti da su to kršćanke koje poštuju staru usvojenu i nastavljenju tradiciju donesenu preko misionara iz sjeverne Italije.

century, and, judging by the accompanying finds, they reached their greatest popularity in the second, third and fourth decades of the 11th century.¹⁶ In grave 159 similar grape-shaped earrings with two beads on each side were found, but cast in a different mould from bad silver, as well as typologically somewhat different grape-shaped earrings with three beads and four S-hooks. Both types of grape-shaped earrings are very common in a wide area of the southeastern Alps, and along the entire Pannonian Plain. Approximately two metres in front of grave 159, i.e. closer to the basilica, there was the partially destroyed grave 119, in which, among other things, a cast grape-shaped bronze (copper) earring was found, smaller than and closer in shape to similar ones dated through the 10th century, a S-hook (the area around the head is damaged) and two cast rings with open ends. After graves without finds or with characteristic finds from the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th, graves appear in a continuous sequence, which can be dated approximately to the second half of the 10th century or to the second half or end of the 10th century, and the beginning of the 11th century (G 119, 153, 159, 950). They were all dug deepest, so they remained relatively well preserved. Above them is a second, newer layer with shallow graves in which mostly large bronze and iron S-hooks appear. All of these graves seem to suggest an unbroken sequence of burials in the cemetery from the basilica to the northwest. Although the typological differences between the grape-shaped cast earrings are considerable, there is no doubt, not only because they are found relatively close, that the whole group was buried at the same period. Therefore, similar objects seem to have circulated among the locals or at least among the wealthier families, if the grave finds are a true sign of the wealth of the community. Not all women wore the same things; some members of the community had very finely crafted silver hoops with thickened ends, while others had silver S-hooks or plain hoops, and some were not buried with grave goods. Burial without goods can only mean that they were Christians who respected the old adopted and continued tradition brought in by the missionaries from northern Italy.

The silver two-piece pendants, found in the same position with the grape-shaped earrings in grave 159, consist of a round button-shaped upper part and a lower leaf-shaped pendant. There is a perforated circle in the centre, around which is a wider concave circle, then a convex circle decorated with radially-arranged short incisions, grooves and a final slightly narrower concave circle below, which is a hook that connects to the lower part. On the back there are two bent hooks with which the pendant was tied or strung to the base. On the lower leaf-shaped or heart-shaped part, inside the transverse grooves, there is an ornament in the shape of a stylized palm leaf reminiscent of stylized bird (owl) heads, and the pendant on the lower part ends with a teardrop-shaped central shoot. There are slight hints of the frontal decoration on the back. All four two-part pendants are typologically the same, but they are not exactly the same, i.e. they were not cast in the same mould. The upper parts are very similar, but the lower parts are all different. Pendant no. 2 has two small protrusions at the point where it connects with the upper part, while that part is different in the others.

16 Demo 2009, 457.



SLIKA 6. Grob 143 s običnom karičicom, većim dijelom uništen temeljem kasnoromaničke crkve (snimio K. Filipec).

FIGURE 6. Grave 143 with plain hoops, mostly destroyed by the foundations of the late-Romanesque church (photo by K. Filipec).

Srebrni dvodijelni privjesci, pronađeni na istoj poziciji s grozdolikim naušnicama u grobu 159, sastoje se od gornjeg dijela u obliku okrugloga gumba i donjega listolikog privjeska. Okrugli gumb, u čijem je središtu perforirani krug oko kojeg se nalazi širi konkavni krug, potom konveksni krug ukrašen radijalno raspoređenim kratkim urezima, kanelurama te završni, nešto užji konkavni krug ispod kojeg se nalazi kuka kojom je spojen s donjim dijelom. Sa stražnje strane nalaze se dvije savijene kukice kojom se privjesak vezao ili nizao uz podlogu. Na donjem listolikom ili srcolikom dijelu unutar poprečnih kanelura nalazi se ukras u obliku stilizirane palmete koji podsjeća na stilizirane ptičje, sovine glave, a privjesak na donjem dijelu završava kapljičastim izdankom. Na stražnjoj strani, nalaze se blage naznake ukrasa s prednje strane. Sva su četiri dvodijelna privjeska tipološki ista, ali nisu posve ista, odnosno nisu lijevana u istom kalupu; gornji su dijelovi vrlo slični, ali donji su svi različiti. Privjesak br. 2 ima dva mala izdanka kod mjesta gdje se povezuje s gornjim dijelom, dok je taj dio kod drugih neizražen.

Slične dvodijelne privjeske definirao je Ž. Demo u okviru svoga tipa 10, a česti, iako podosta različiti, rasprostiru se od zaleđa jadranskog primorja do Podunavlja, Potisja i šire.¹⁷ Razlike između njih su ponekad manje, a ponajviše znatne, ponekad se podudara donji, ali ne i gornji dio, a ponekad je donji dio sličniji i podudarniji. Privjesak s identičnim okruglim gumbom, ali različitim donjim dijelom, datiran je kovanicom ugarskoga kralja Stjepana I. u grobu 5 s groblja Csongrad-Máma u prva desetljeća 11. stoljeća, sličan se gornji dio nalazi u grobu 181 na Ptujском gradu u Ptuju.¹⁸ Nešto su bliži lokalitet, na kojem se pojavljuju identični primjerci, na groblju u Središću ob Dravi, gdje su u grobu 54, osim jednoga vrlo sličnog dvodijelnog privjeska, pronađene volinjske

Similar two-part pendants were defined by Demo within his type 10, which are frequent, although quite different, and spread from the hinterland of the Adriatic coast to the Danube region, Potisje and beyond.¹⁷ The differences between them are sometimes smaller, but usually considerable; sometimes the lower parts coincide, but not the upper parts, and sometimes the lower part is more similar. The pendant with an identical round button, but a different lower part, is dated by a coin of the Hungarian King Stephen I from grave 5 at the Csongrad-Máma cemetery to the first decades of the 11th century, but the coins of Stephen I were still in use until the middle of the 11th century. A similar upper part is found in grave 181 in Ptujski Grad, in Ptuj.¹⁸ The closest site where identical specimens appear is the cemetery in Središće ob Dravi, where in grave 54, with a very similar two-part pendant, earrings and grape-shaped earrings were found along with other objects that the authors date to the second half of the 10th century and first third of the 11th.¹⁹ In the spectrum of very different two-part pendants, according to their shape, the upper button is often very similar, and the palm leaf is shaped very similarly to the pendants from Dalj (in Eastern Slavonia) and Novi Banovci (in Srijem), a whole series of pendants around Pécs – e.g. in Vasas (Somogy) in grave 33, a total of eleven pieces – and those found in grave XXV of the Varfálva (Moldovenesti) cemetery in the Transylvania region to northwestern Bosnia and the cemeteries in Mahovljani and Gomjenica.²⁰ These are just some of the examples, but in a very distant area, so that it is difficult to determine from which area they actually originated; the

17 Demo 1983, 284–286, sl. 10.

18 Demo 1983, 286; Bálint 1991, T. 40: 13.

17 Demo 1983, 284–286, sl. 10.

18 Demo 1983, 286; Bálint 1991, T. 40: 13.

19 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 116–118, nos 385 and 387.

20 Roska 1914, 134–135, sl. 5 (Varfálva); Dombay 1962, 71–72, T. 4: 1–24, 33. sír (Vasas); Demo 1983, 286, 294, Tab. 1: 1–3 (Novi Banovci), 1: 4 (Dalj); Miletić 1967, T. 16: 69, 18: 100, 21: 125, 25: 161 (Gomjenica); Miletić 1979, T. 18 (Mahovljani).

i grozdolike naušnice uz druge predmete koje autori datiraju u drugu polovinu 10. i prvu trećinu 11. stoljeća, a još jedan nalazi se među slučajnim nalazima.¹⁹ U spektru vrlo različitih dvodijelnih privjesaka prema svom obliku, gornjem jednostavnijem gumbu, češće se nalaze vrlo slični primjerci, dok je prije svega prema načinu kako je oblikovana palmeta, velika sličnost s privjescima iz Dalja u istočnoj Slavoniji, iz Novih Banovaca u Donjem Srijemu, s cijelim nizom privjesaka oko Pečuha, npr. u Vasasu (Somogy) iz groba 33, ukupno jedanaest komada, onima pronađenima u grobu XXV groblja Varfálva (Moldovenesti) u dalekoj Sedmogradskoj, do sjeverozapadne Bosne i groblja u Mahovljanima i Gomjenici.²⁰ To su samo neki od primjera, ali raspoređeni na širokom području tako da je teško utvrditi iz kojeg su područja zapravo izvorno potekli jer je očito trgovina pokrivala veliki prostor. Prema broju pronađenih primjeraka, Ž. Demo je napisao da privjesci pristižu iz jugoistočnoga panonskog prostora omeđenog Dravom, Savom i Dunavom jer su tu najčešći. Primjerci iz Lobora upotpunjuju broj sličnih primjeraka na tome području. Očito su bili vrlo popularni među ondašnjim pukom te su u relativno kratkom vremenu izrađivani u vrlo različitim varijantama, a ono što je došlo do nas kroz arheološka istraživanja jest očito samo mali spektar onoga što je zaista tada kolalo. Nedaleko od groba 159, u istom sloju, istražen je grob 950, u kojemu su pronađene četiri veće srebrne karičice s dva zadebljanja na kraju, dvije manje srebrne karičice s dva kod jedne te, čini se, nejasno jednim ili više zadebljanja na drugoj naušnici i još jednoj naušnici s blago raskucanim i poput kuke oblikovanim završetkom, na kojoj se nalazio mali privjesak od tordirane srebrne žice, oblikovane poput latice cvijeta. Na groblju u Kranju-Farna cerkev (župna crkva), u grobu 1972_20065, nađene su srebrne karičice s jednim i dva zadebljanja na kraju te ogrlica sastavljena od dvodijelnih privjesaka, sveukupno trinaest komada, među kojima ima vrlo sličnih tipova.²¹

Slijed grobova i njihova relativna dubina govore u prilog tomu da su polagani u uredne redove kao posljedica sukcesivnog širenja groblja oko crkve. U dataciji, nažalost, ne pomaže arheološki sloj sa šutom s ruševine, koji se zbog kasnijih oštećenja ne može najbolje pratiti u tome dijelu gdje se pojavljuju grobovi skupine s predmetima iz 11. do 13. stoljeća. Time je naznačeno moguće rješenje prvog problema, ali nije do kraja razjašnjeno zašto se isti ili slični predmeti pojavljuju u sloju nakon što je srušena bazilika. Moguće je da su samo grobovi u neposrednoj blizini istovremeni s bazilikom, a ostali da su nastali nakon neke katastrofe datirane otprilike u doba vladavine ugarskog kralja sv. Stjepana I. ili neposredno nakon njega prema gore naznačenim predmetima i grobu 159 te pronađenim kovanicama iznad porušene drvene crkve. U to doba bi, prema tomu, bila porušena bazilika, ali bi se prema bogatim predmetima u grobovima, prije svega velikoj količini srebra, moglo zaključiti da ljudi žive bolje nego prije. Kako sve to objasniti?

trade obviously covered a large area. According to the number of pendants found, Demo wrote that these pendants come from the southeastern Pannonian area bordered by the rivers Drava, Sava and Danube, because they are most common there. The pendants from Lobor complete the number of similar pendants in the area. They were clearly very popular among the people of that time, and in a relatively short time they were made in many different variants, and what has come down to us through archaeological research is obviously only a small range of what was really circulating at the time. Not far from grave 159, in the same layer, grave 950 was excavated, in which were found four larger silver hoops with two beads at the end, two smaller silver hoops with two beads, or just one in one case, and another earring with a slightly flattened and hook-shaped end on which a small pendant was hung, made of twisted silver wire shaped like a flower petal. At the cemetery in Kranj-Farna Cerkev (Parish church), in grave 1972_20065, silver hoops were found with one and two beads at the end and a necklace composed of two-part pendants, a total of thirteen pieces, among which there are very similar types.²¹

The sequence of graves and their relative depths speak in favour of the fact that they were spread by the expansion of the cemetery around the church. Unfortunately, the archaeological layer with rubble from the ruins does not help the dating. Due to later damage, it cannot be traced in the part of the site where the graves of that group appear. This indicates a possible solution to the first problem, but does not fully explain why the same or similar finds appear in a layer after the basilica was demolished. Theoretically, it is still possible that only the graves in the immediate vicinity are contemporaneous with the basilica, and the rest were buried after a catastrophe dated approximately to the reign of the Hungarian King Stephen I, all according to the above objects and grave 159 and coins found above the destroyed wooden church. At that time, the basilica would have been destroyed, but – according to the rich finds, especially the large amount of silver – it could be concluded by the graves that people lived better than before. How can all this be explained?

The hiatus, as a consequence of the demolition of the basilica and the spreading of its material, must have occurred no later than the middle of the 13th century, which can only be concluded, primarily by grave 108, because in most of the graves there are no finds, and the earliest date cannot be determined, because of the very great damage due to various later activities, especially the large number of burials up to the middle of the 19th century.²² According to certain objects, especially cast rings, the earliest date of possible demolition of the basilica could be set in the first third of the 11th century, or even at the end of the 10th century, but it must be assumed that some of these finds may have been in use for a long time; some other items are missing, such as

19 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 116–118, br. 385 i 387.

20 Roska 1914, 134–135, sl. 5 (Varfálva); Dombay 1962, 71–72, T. 4: 1–24, 33. sif (Vasas); Demo 1983, 286, 294, Tab. 1: 1–3 (Novi Banovci), 1: 4 (Dalj); Miletić 1967, T. 16: 69, 18: 100, 21: 125, 25: 161 (Gomjenica); Miletić 1979, T. 18 (Mahovljani).

21 Pleterški 2017, 143–146.

22 Filipec 2003, 564–565, sl. 5.

21 Pleterški 2017, 143–146.

22 Filipec 2003, 564–565, sl. 5.



SLIKA 7. S-karičice, lijevane grozdolike naušnice volinjsko-kijevskog tipa, s dva i tri koljenca sa svake strane, i dvodijelni privjesci iz groba 159 iz skupine grobova s nalazima sjeverozapadno od bazilike (snimio K. Filipec).

FIGURE 7. Grave 159 with cast grape-shaped earrings of the Volyn-Kiev type with two and three beads on each side, with S-hoops and two-part pendants / from the group of graves with finds northwest of the basilica (photo by K. Filipec).

Prekid (hijat), kao posljedica rušenja bazilike i razvlačenja njezine građe, morao je nastupiti najkasnije oko sredine 13. stoljeća, što se može tek zaključiti, prije svega prema grobu 108 (trojagodne naušnice), jer u većini opet nema nikakvih predmeta, a donju granicu nije moguće utvrditi jer su vrlo velika oštećenja zbog različitih kasnijih aktivnosti, prije svega velikom broju sahrana sve do sredine 19. stoljeća.²³ Prema određenim predmetima, prije svega prema lijevanim prstenima, donja granica mogućeg rušenja bazilike mogla se postaviti sve do prve trećine 11. stoljeća ili čak do kraja 10. stoljeća, ali se mora pretpostaviti da je dio tih predmeta mogao biti duže vrijeme u upotrebi. U tome sloju, nedostaju neki drugi predmeti, npr. grozdolike naušnice. Brončane obične karičice otvorenih krajeva pronađene su na srušenome sjevernom zidu predromaničke bazilike i unutar nje u grobu položenom točno ispod temelja kasnoromaničke crkve. U grobu 108, koji je jako oštećen, pronađene su trojagodne naušnice slične, ali ipak nešto različite od stenjevačkih, tj. velike filigranske naušnice, kopije luksuznih izrađenih tipova.²³ Činilo se logično da bi se vrijeme rušenja moglo datirati u vrijeme mongolske (tatarske) provale 1242., kad je kralj Bela IV. bio u primorju, te se spominje da je varaždinski župan Mihael „čuvao naše granice oko Varaždina i Ptuja protiv mnogih zločina“, a za zaslugu je dobio određene posjede, među njima i Lobar, koji je oduzet prijašnjem vlasniku zbog zločina koje je počinio.²⁴ Iz isprave se, istina, ne može

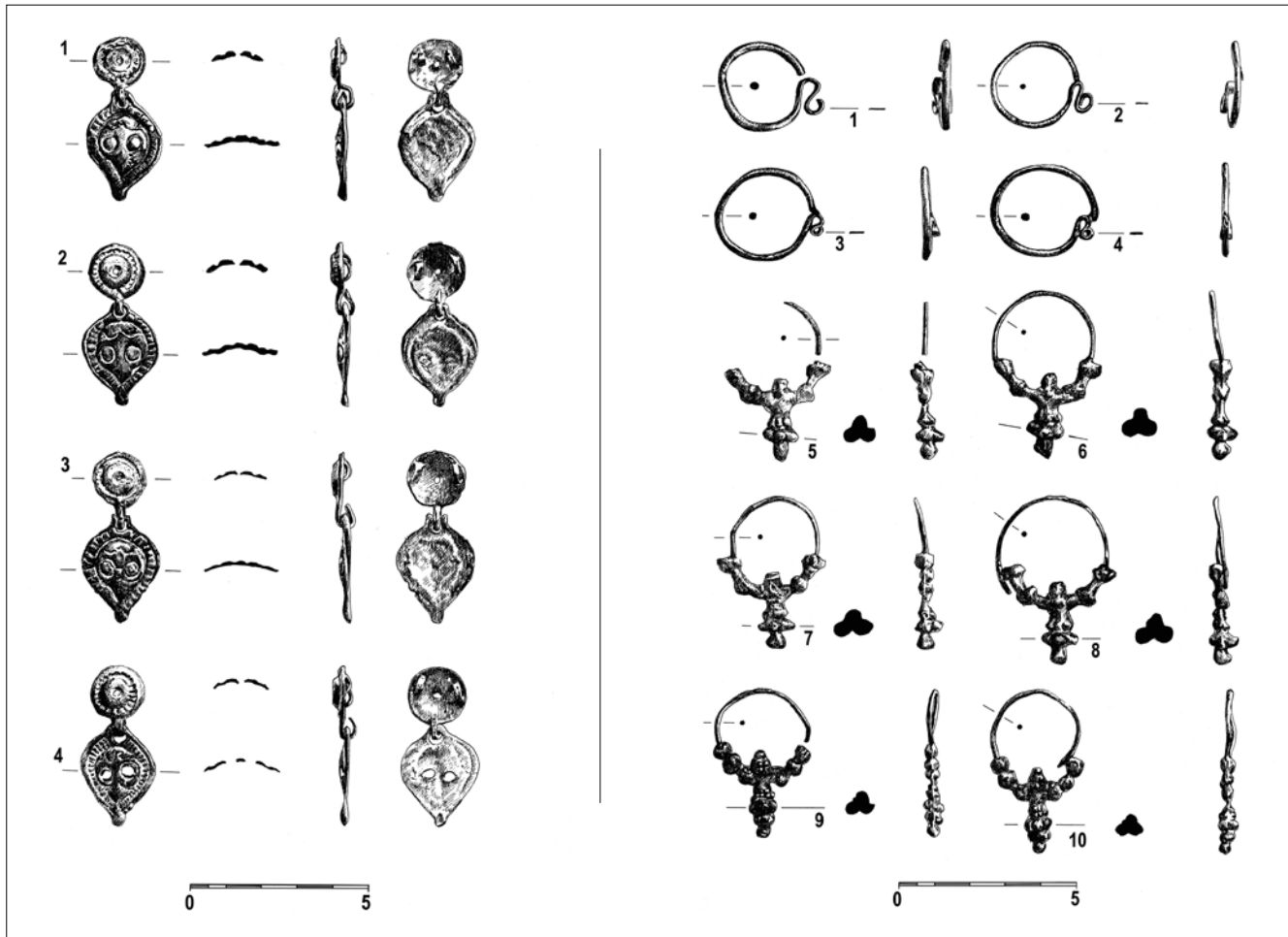
grape-shaped earrings. Plain bronze hoops with open ends were found on the ruined north wall of the pre-Romanesque basilica and inside it, just below the foundations of the late Romanesque church; and in grave 108, which was badly damaged, three-bead earrings similar to the Stenjevec type were found.²³ It seemed logical that the time of the demolition could be placed at the time of the Mongol (Tatar) invasion in 1242, when King Bela IV was on the coast, and it is mentioned that the governor of Varaždin, Mihael, “guarded our borders around Varaždin and Ptuj against many crimes” and for his merits received certain estates, among them Lobar, which was taken away from the previous owner because of the crimes he had committed.²⁴ From the document, it cannot be concluded that the estates were looted by the Mongols, and we cannot find out from it what was really going on there. Grave 108 was located right next to the foundation of the late-Romanesque church and oriented towards the wall, but badly damaged by later burials, as if it had come to that position after the pre-Romanesque basilica was demolished, but the question is whether a new, smaller church, which shows distinct late-Romanesque characteristics, had already been erected. The architectural forms found, before all the custodia (late 13th century), show that this may indeed have been about that time, but a hiatus of one or more decades is possible. Or maybe even longer? The wooden church was demolished, it seems, at the be-

23 Demo 2014, 78–80.

24 Margetić 1992, 5–14.

23 Demo 2014, 78–80.

24 Margetić 1992, 5–14.



SLIKA 8. Dvodijelni privjesci, S-karičice i lijevane grozdolike naušnice volinjsko-kijevskog tipa, s dva i tri koljenca sa svake strane, iz groba 159 iz skupine grobova s nalazima sjeverozapadno od bazilike (izradila Terenska arheološka radionica Odsjeka za arheologiju u Bizovcu 2006. – 2010.).

FIGURE 8. Grave 159 with cast grape-shaped earrings of the Volyn-Kiev type with two and three beads on each side, with S-hoops and two-part pendants / from the group of graves with finds northwest of the basilica (made by the Field Archaeology Workshop of the Department of Archaeology in Bizovac 2006 – 2010).

zaključiti da su posjede poharali Mongoli te iz nje ne možemo doznati što se doista događalo. Grob 108, položen tik uz temelj kasnoromaničke crkve i orijentiran prema zidu, ali jako oštećen kasnijim pokopima na istoj poziciji, ukazuje na to da je na toj poziciji sahranjena ženska osoba nakon što je predromanička bazilika bila porušena, ali je li već bila podignuta nova, manja crkva, koja prema tlocrtnom rješenju pokazuje izrazite kasnoromaničke karakteristike, ostaje pod znakom pitanja. Pronađeni arhitektonski oblici, prije svih kustosija (13. st.), ukazuju na to da je riječ o istome razdoblju, no moguć je i hijat od jednog ili više desetljeća. Ili, možda još duže vrijeme? Drvena je crkva srušena, čini se, do sredine 11. stoljeća, stupovi su počupani, a srebrni je novac izgubljen – nije spaljena već porušena. S druge strane, na više ulomaka predromaničke skulpture vide se tragovi gorenja, ali to kao da je vezano uz kasnoromaničku crkvu koja je vjerojatno bila uništena u požaru, a u koju su gotovo svi bili naknadno ugrađeni kao spoliji.²⁵

gining of the 11th century, the pillars were torn down, and the silver money was lost. It was not burned, but demolished. On the other hand, several fragments of pre-Romanesque sculpture show traces of burning, but this seems to relate to the late-Romanesque church, which was probably destroyed in a fire, and in which almost all of them were subsequently installed as spolia.²⁵

25 Ovaj rad financirala je Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom „Lobor – ranosrednjovjekovno središte moći“ (IP-2016-06-622).

25 This work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project “Lobor – Early Medieval Center of Power” (IP-2016-06-622).

Zaključak

Prema arheološkim predmetima, sloj grobova iznad sloja sa šutom, koja pripada ruševini bazilike, mogao bi se datirati kroz cijelo 11. stoljeće, potom možda više prema kraju 11. stoljeća, a najkasnije do sredine 13. stoljeća. Prema grobovima, dakle, evidentno je duže vrijeme sahranjivanja, a vjerojatno je čak riječ o razdoblju tzv. bjelobrdске kulture (od zadnje trećine 10. do sredine 13. stoljeća). Moglo bi se, također, zaključiti da nakon rušenja bazilike počinje sporadično sahranjivanje mrtvih po ruševini, a onda se nastavlja i najbolje je vidljivo u grobovima datiranim najranije od kraja 10. i u početak 11. stoljeća, kad se vidi određeno blagostanje, ali i praćenje trendova tada prisutnih diljem Panonske nizine i okolnih krajeva koje karakterizira velik broj predmeta u grobovima. Sve je to bilo posve nepoznato u ranijem dobu kad se u grobove nije unosilo gotovo ništa. Dakle, vrijeme diskontinuiteta kad je predromanička bazilika bila porušena, a još nije bila sagrađena kasnoromanička crkva, proteže se od zadnje trećine 10. i prve trećine 11. do sredine 13. stoljeća. Uspoređujući s mogućim povijesnim procesima, to bi bilo bliže događajima vezanima uz ponovni ulazak Svetoga Rimskog Carstva u vrijeme vladavine Otona III. (983. – 1002.) u drugoj polovini 10. stoljeća, ili kad su Mađari prvi put zauzeli prostore južno od rijeke Drave, vjerojatno u doba ugarskog kralja sv. Stjepana I. Možda je najizglednije da je riječ o vremenu nakon smrti hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira (iza 1089.), kad su sjevernu Hrvatsku zauzeli Mađari (o tome da je tada još bazilika bila cijela možda bi svjedočila predromanička skulptura jer zasigurno nije izrađena u jednom mahu, ali, kako je rečeno, ni oko njezine datacije nema suglasja). Većina pak predmeta, koji se nalaze iznad sloja vezanog uz ruševinu, potječu iz relativno kasnijeg doba, iz kasnih faza tzv. bjelobrdске kulture te je crkva mogla zaista biti razorena tek u vrijeme mongolske provala 1242., ali takvo što bilo bi moguće samo ako se pojedinim tipovima predmeta produži vijek trajanja do 13. stoljeća. Na kraju, možda se ni jedan povijesni događaj ne može povezati s njenim rušenjem, možda je jednostavno stradala u nekom potresu ili požaru te neko vrijeme nije bilo crkve na lokalitetu dok nije sagrađena nova kasnoromanička. Postoji mogućnost i da je staro stanovništvo počelo sahranjivati svoje mrtve oko ruševina i središnje apside predromaničke bazilike koja nije bila u cijelosti porušena jer je uklopljena u kasnoromaničku crkvu. Također, moguće je da je iznad velike predromaničke bazilike jedno vrijeme stajala manja crkva, ali to ne možemo znati jer nemamo arheoloških potvrda.

Conclusion

According to the archaeological finds, the layer of graves above the layer of rubble belonging to the ruins of the basilica could be dated throughout the 11th century, perhaps more towards the end of the 11th century, and no later than the middle of the 13th century. According to the graves, a longer time of burial is evident; it is possible even throughout the whole period of the existence of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture (from the last third of the 10th century to the middle of the 13th). It could also be concluded that, after the demolition of the basilica, the sporadic burial of the dead began on the ruins, and then continued, and is best seen in graves dated approximately towards the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, when a certain prosperity is seen, but also the accepting of the trends then present throughout the Pannonian Plain and surrounding areas, and characterized by a large number of finds in the graves. All this was completely unknown in the earlier period, when there were almost no grave finds. Thus, the time of discontinuity when the pre-Romanesque basilica had been demolished and the late-Romanesque church had not yet been built extends from the last third of the 10th century and the first third of the 11th to the middle of the 13th. Looking chronologically, this would be closer to the events of the re-entry of the Holy Roman Empire during the reign of Otto III in the second half of the 10th century, or when the Hungarians first occupied these areas south of the River Drava, possibly in the time of the Hungarian King Stephen I. Before that it would have been very unlikely, perhaps most likely after the death of the Croatian King Zvonimir (after 1089), when northern Croatia was occupied by the Hungarians. (The fact that the basilica was still intact at the time may be evidenced by pre-Romanesque sculpture, because it was certainly not made at the same time, but – as mentioned above – there is no agreement about its dating.) Most of the finds from above the layer associated with the ruins originate from a relatively later period, from the late stages of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, and the basilica could have been destroyed at the time of the Mongol invasion in 1242, but such a thing would be possible only if the dating of certain types of finds was extended to the 13th century. In the end, perhaps no historical event can be associated with its demolition; it is possible that it simply perished in an earthquake or a fire, and that there was no church on the site until a new late-Romanesque one was built. It is possible that the old population began burying their dead around the ruins and central apse of the pre-Romanesque basilica, which was not completely demolished, because it was incorporated into the late-Romanesque church. It is possible that a small church once stood above the large pre-Romanesque basilica, but we cannot know this, because we have no archaeological evidence.

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