

POČELO SREDNJOVJEKOVNOG ĐURĐEVCA NA POLOŽAJU SOŠICE

ORIGINS OF MEDIEVAL ĐURĐEVAC AT THE LOCATION OF SOŠICE

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Na arheološkom lokalitetu Đurđevac-Sošice kroz četiri arheološke kampanje Muzeja grada Koprivnice, između 2016. i 2019. godine, istražen je razvoj srednjovjekovnih sakralnih objekata i pripadajućeg im groblja kroz četiri horizonta pokapanja. Lokalitet je poznat duže vrijeme, a u literaturi se naziva „Pri turnu“ ili „Za turnom“ prema ostacima crkvenog zvonika vidljivima još u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća. Istraživanjima je potvrđeno korištenje položaja kao groblja prije najstarije potvrđene crkve iz 12. ili prve polovine 13. stoljeća, a koja je kroz naselje sv. Jurja posredno dokumentirana i u jednoj ispravi iz 1270. godine. Crkva je tada mogla biti drvena, dok je prva zidana crkva izgrađena oko 1300. godine i u svom je osnovnom tlocrtu uz manje građevinske intervencije u uporabi sve do prijelaza 15. u 16. stoljeće, kada se izgrađuje veća kasnogotička crkva sa zvonikom na zapadnom pročelju. Kroz čitavo to vrijeme prostor crkve i okoliš korišten je kao groblje, od kojeg su istražena 243 kosturna groba. Brojnost grobnih nalaza pokazuje da je riječ o značajnom sakralnom lokalitetu oko kojega se prostiralo naselje prema sjeveru (Sošice 2) i jugoistoku (Sošice 3). Provedena arheološka i povijesna istraživanja potvrdila su da se tijekom razvijenoga i kasnoga srednjega vijeka na Sošicama nalazilo središte važne Župe sv. Jurja u crkvenoj organizaciji Gornjokomarničkog arhidakonata, kao i (trgovišnog) središta vesnikata u upravnoj organizaciji dvojnog vlastelinstva Prodaviz/Đurđevac.

Ključne riječi:

Podravina, Đurđevac, srednji vijek, crkva, groblje, grobni nalazi, naselje

The development of sacred medieval edifices and the appurtenant graveyards through four burial horizons has been investigated at the archaeological site of Đurđevac-Sošice. This was done through four archaeological campaigns of the Koprivnica Town Museum in the period between 2016 and 2019. The site has been known for a lengthy period of time, and in the literature it has been named 'Pri turnu' or 'Za turnom' after the remains of the church bell tower, which was visible even in the first half of the 20th century. Research has confirmed that the site had been used as a graveyard before the oldest church existence, of the 12th century or the first half of the 13th, was confirmed. The existence of this church was indirectly documented through the settlement of sv. Juraj (St George) in one document of 1270. The church could then have been made of wood, while the first church made of brick was built around 1300. In its basic layout, with minor construction interventions, it was used until the turn of the 16th century, when a larger late-Gothic church was built, with a bell tower on the western front. During all that time, the church and its surrounding area were used as a graveyard. There, 243 skeletal graves were investigated. The number of burial finds shows that this is a significant sacred site, around which the settlement stretched to the north (Sošice 2) and south-east (Sošice 3). The archaeological and historical investigations conducted have confirmed that, during the developed and late Middle Ages at the location of Sošice, there was the centre of the important parish of St George in the church organization of the Archdeaconry of Gornja Komarnica, as well as the (trading) district centre of the municipality (borough) in the administrative organization of the dual estate of Prodaviz/Đurđevac.

Key words:

Podravina, Đurđevac, Middle Ages, church, graveyard, burial finds, settlement

Uvodna riječ i povijesna saznanja

Lokalitet Sošice nalazi se jugozapadno od grada Đurđevca, u Koprivničko-križevačkoj županiji, istočno uz cestu koja iz Đurđevca vodi prema naselju Čepelovac, a kod samog skretanja za naselje Mičetinac (karta 1). Na mjestu povišenom za oko 1,5 m od navedenog raskrižja (127,36 mnv) nalaze se poljoprivredne

Introductory words and historical cognitions

The Sošice site is located southwest of the town of Đurđevac, in Koprivnica-Križevci County, along the road leading from Đurđevac to the village of Čepelovac, and right at the turn towards the village of Mičetinac (Map 1). At a place elevated by about 1.5 m from the said intersection (127.36 AMSL), there are agricultural parcels

čestice na kojima se površinski pronalaze ulomci lomljenih opeka, građevinske žbuke i keramičkog posuđa. Lokalitet je prema nalaznoj terenskoj situaciji podijeljen na tri položaja, pri čemu je na položaju Sošice 1 arheološkim iskopavanjima dokumentirana Crkva sv. Jurja, zatim na široj površini od oko 70 000 m², prema sjeveru, rasprostire se položaj Sošice 2, koji čini srednjovjekovno naselje što se razvilo uz navedenu crkvu, a na položaju Sošice 3, na nešto nižem terenu istočno od crkve i preko puta lokalne ceste, također su dokumentirani površinski ulomci keramičkog posuđa, što znači da se srednjovjekovno naselje širilo i prema tom dijelu.¹ Između spomenutog raskrižja i položaja Sošice 1 prolazi duboki kanal nastao u 19. stoljeću produbljivanjem korita potoka Tumaski koji se u istočnijem toku ulijeva u potok Čivičevac.

Prvu skicu i arheološki zapis o lokalitetu donosi Zvonko Lovrenčević: „Još oko 1940. godine bio je ovdje vidljiv ugao zida debelog oko 100 cm, opeka iz XV. st. te dosta keramike iste starosti. Već 1972. god. tu i tamo našla se samo koja opeka i nešto keramike, sve je ostalo uništeno“, a u istom radu dalje navodi kako je „1964. god. novinar iz Đurđevca Andrija Turković zapazio ovdje jednu grobnicu s kosturom...“.² Već na temelju tih zapažanja, a napose na tragu toponimskih naziva „Za turnom“ („iza zvonika“, op.a.) i danas nešto udaljenijeg toponima Sošice prema zapadu, zaključeno je da se upravo na tome mjestu nalazila srednjovjekovna crkva posvećena sv. Jurju, oko koje je bilo srednjovjekovno naselje Sušica. Prvi terenski pregledi šireg prostora lokaliteta od strane autora rada započeli su 2015. godine, pri čemu je potvrđeno postojanje zidanoga sakralnog objekta i naselja prema ulomcima keramičkog posuđa, datirano između 13. i 16. stoljeća. Odmah potom, pokrenut je proces preventivne zaštite lokaliteta pri Ministarstvu kulture RH,³ a sustavna arheološka istraživanja Muzej grada Koprivnice provodio je kontinuirano od 2016. do 2019. godine.⁴

Prvi spomen posjeda *Oxzeu Sengurg*⁵ datira iz 1237. godine i označava postojanje crkve uz naselje, a sama crkva čitljiva je i u ispravi iz 1270. godine,⁶ kada se na međi posjeda Prodiviz navodi cesta koja ide prema Selu sv. Jurja. Naselje i Crkva sv. Jurja spominju se dalje i u ispravama 14. stoljeća, koje prenosi hrvatski povjesničar Rudolf Horvat,⁷ a koji piše o (župnoj?) Crkvi sv. Ivana i castrumu u Sušici u 14. stoljeću, za koje tvrdi kako su se

on the surface of which various fragments of broken bricks, construction plaster and ceramic pottery can be found. The site was divided into three locations. At the location of Sošice 1, the church of St George was documented through archaeological excavations. The location of Sošice 2 extends over a wider area of about 70,000 m² to the north and forms a medieval settlement which had developed next to that church. Furthermore, at the location of Sošice 3, on slightly lower terrain east of the church and across the local road, surface fragments of ceramic pottery were also documented, which means that the medieval settlement spread towards that part as well.² Between the abovementioned intersection and the location of Sošica 1, there is a deep canal created in the 19th century by deepening the bed of the Tumaski stream, which flows into the Čivičevac stream in its eastern part.

The first sketch and archaeological record of the site was made by Zvonko Lovrenčević: “Even around the year 1940, there was a visible corner of a wall which was about 100 cm thick, bricks from the 15th century and a lot of pottery of the same age. As early as 1972, only a few bricks and some pottery could be found here and there. Everything else had been destroyed”. In the same work he further states that “in 1964, a journalist from Đurđevac, Andrija Turković, noticed a tomb with a skeleton here...”.² Already on the basis of these observations, and especially given the nature of the toponym ‘Za turnom’ (‘behind the bell tower’, author’s comment) and the somewhat more distant toponym of Sošice to the west, it was concluded that this was the location of a medieval church dedicated to St George, around which there was the medieval settlement of Sušica. The first field inspections of the wider area of the site by the author of the paper began in 2015, confirming the existence of a sacred edifice made of brick, and a settlement, based on fragments of ceramic pottery dated between the 13th and 16th centuries. Immediately afterwards, a process of preventive protection of the site was initiated at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia,³ and systematic archaeological investigation was continuously conducted by the Koprivnica Town Museum from 2016 to 2019.⁴

The first mention of the *Oxzeu Sengurg*⁵ estate dates to 1237 and marks the existence of a church next to the settlement, while mention of the church itself can be found in a document of 1270.⁶ There, the road leading towards the village of St George is men-

1 Naselje do sada nije arheološki iskopavano, a provedeno je nekoliko terenskih pregleda kojima je zaključeno da se prostiralo na iznimno velikoj površini.

2 Lovrenčević 1985, 173.

3 U prvim terenskim pregledima sudjelovali su Robert Čimin, Filip Vukres i Nikola Cik iz Đurđevca, a tijekom godina okolni je prostor višekratno pregledan i od Ivana Valenta. Lokalitet je zaštićen kao nepokretno kulturno dobro pod oznakom P-5098.

4 Uz voditelja istraživanja Roberta Čimina i zamjenika Ivana Valenta, u istraživanjima je sudjelovalo više arheologa i povjesničara, kao i desetak pomoćnih radnika, a 2019. godine je kroz program Međunarodne ljetne škole (bio) arheologije bilo uključeno jedanaest američkih studenata antropologije preko projekta Sveučilišta Mississippi State voditeljice prof. Anne Osterholtz (Novak, Čimin 2019). Sredstva za istraživanja osiguravali su tijekom svih godina Ministarstvo kulture i Grad Đurđevac.

5 MOL, sign. 207.

6 CD, V, 1270, 564.

7 Horvat 1940, 10–14.

1 The settlement has not been archeologically excavated so far, and several field inspections have been carried out, which concluded that it was spread over an extremely large area.

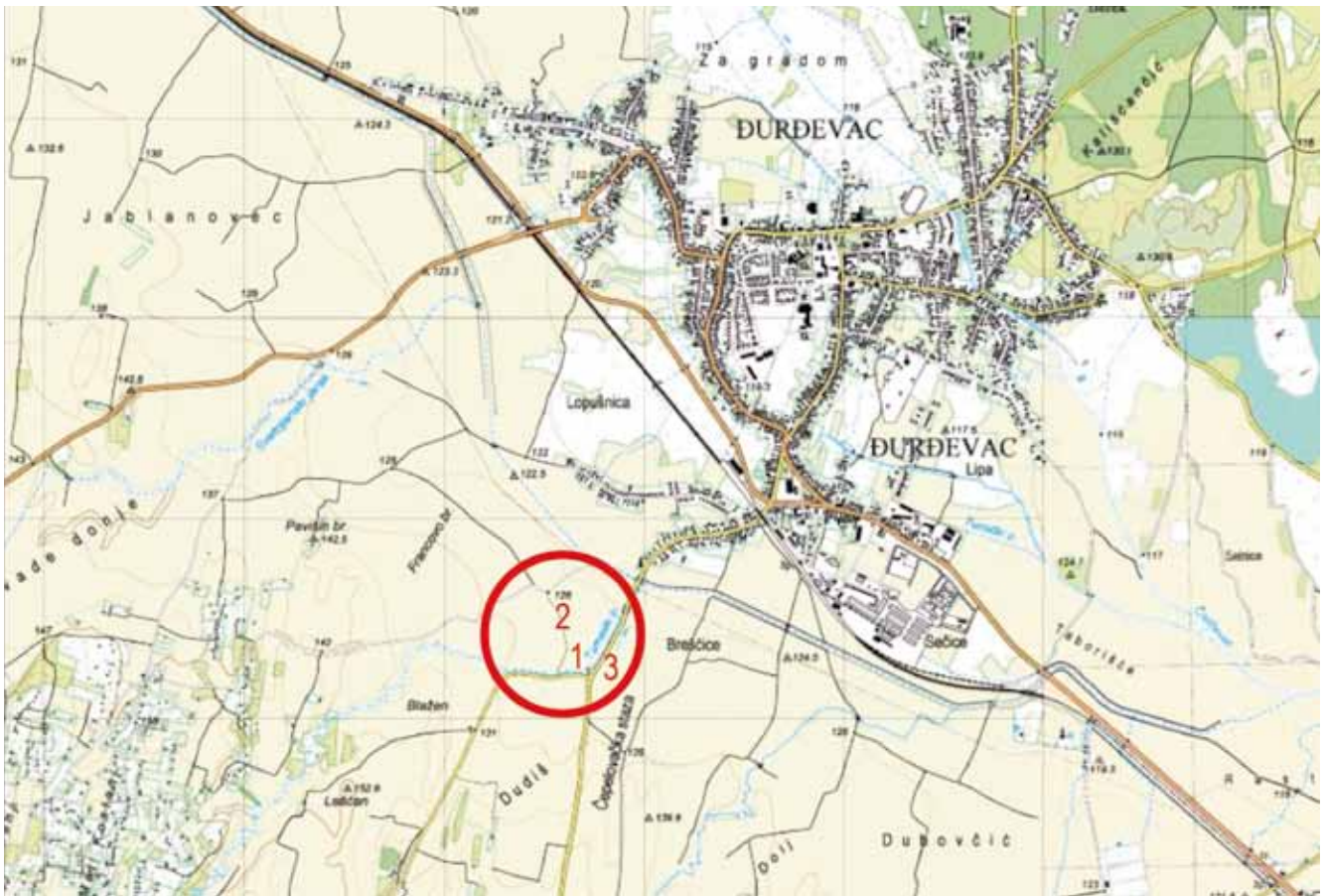
2 Lovrenčević 1985, 173.

3 Robert Čimin, Filip Vukres and Nikola Cik of Đurđevac took part in the first field inspections, and, over the years, the surrounding area has also been inspected several times by Ivan Valent. The site is protected as a tangible cultural property under identification P-5098.

4 Alongside research leader Robert Čimin and his deputy Ivan Valent, several archaeologists and historians participated in the research, as well as a dozen support workers; and, in 2019, through the International Summer School of (Bio)Archaeology program, eleven American students of anthropology participated in the investigation through the Mississippi State University project, whose leader was Prof. Anne Osterholtz (Novak, Čimin 2019). Funds for the investigation have been provided during all these years by the Ministry of Culture and the Town of Đurđevac.

5 MOL, sign. 207.

6 CD, V, 1270, 564.



KARTA 1. Đurđevac-Sošice, položaj lokaliteta na topografskoj karti TK25 (geoportal.dgu.hr, obradio R. Čimin).

MAP 1. Đurđevac-Sošice, location of the site on topographic map TK25 (geoportal.dgu.hr, adapted by R. Čimin).

nalazili na identičnoj lokaciji tzv. Sela svetog Jurja na lokalitetu koji danas poznajemo kao Pri turnu ili Za turnom. Dalje Horvat piše da se Sušica prvi put u pisanim izvorima spominje 1341. godine, dok se Sušica i Đurđevac prvi put zajedno bilježe u ispravi iz 1346. godine. Horvat je očito pod đurđevačkom utvrdom mislio na današnji Stari grad, a Sošicama je smatrao današnji lokalitet na predmetnom položaju Pri turnu. Godine 1367. dalje postoji zapis *in villa Zenthgurg de Zuhalog*⁸ pri čemu Ranko Pavleš⁹ naziv *Zuhalog* povezuje sa Svetojanskim potokom koji protječe sjeverozapadno od lokaliteta, a u čemu se crkva ponovno pojavljuje s naseljem.

Godine 1426.¹⁰ prvi se put pojavljuje i kao trgovište u popisu naselja, što već tada govori o statusu i značaju među okolnim naseljima, a što se ponovno naglašava 1439.¹¹ i 1477. godine.¹²

tioned at the property line of the Prodaviz estate. The settlement and the church of St George are further mentioned in documents of the 14th century, which are mentioned by the Croatian historian Rudolf Horvat,⁷ who writes about the (parish?) church of sv. Ivan (St John) and a *camp* in Sušica from the 14th century, which he claims were located at the identical location of the so-called *Villages of St George* at the site today known as 'Pri turnu' or 'Za turnom'. Horvat further writes that Sušica was first mentioned in written sources in 1341, while Sušica and Đurđevac were first recorded together in a document of 1346. Obviously, when he mentioned Đurđevac's fort, Horvat meant the present-day Old Town, and he considered Sošice to be the present-day site at the location of Pri turnu. In 1367, there was still a record *in villa Zenthgurg de Zuhalog*,⁸ where Ranko Pavleš⁹ links the name *Zuhalog* with the Svetojanski stream, flowing northwest of the site, and in which the church was mentioned again together with the settlement.

8 CD, XIV, 1367.26.VII, 68.

9 Postoji određena problematika oko ubiciranja srednjovjekovnoga naselja Sušica koju je, primjerice, Paškal Cvekan ubicirao na područje današnjeg sela Sveta Ana, smatrajući da je to tamošnji lokalitet Gradina, a ozbiljnije se tom problematikom bavio i Ranko Pavleš koji zaključuje kako se naselje uz Crkvu sv. Jurja ponekad navodi i kao Sušica (Pavleš 2013, 181–184).

10 MOL, DL43654, 1426.24.I.

11 Teleki 1853, 59.

12 AHAZU, D–X–76.

7 Horvat 1940, 10–14.

8 CD, XIV, 1367.26.VII, 68.

9 There is a certain problem with the location of the medieval settlement of Sušica, which, for example, Paškal Cvekan located in the area of today's village of Sveta Ana, believing it to be the site of Gradina, while Ranko Pavleš dealt with this problem more thoroughly. He concluded that the settlement next to the church of St George is sometimes also referred to as Sušica (Pavleš 2013, 181–184).



KARTA 2. Na Jozefinskoj izmjeri druge polovine 18. stoljeća (1763. – 1787.), na položaju lokaliteta ucrtan je sakralni objekt (www.mapire.eu).

MAP 2. On a Joseph II land survey of the second half of the 18th century (1763 – 1787), a sacred building is drawn on the site (www.mapire.eu).

U ispravi pak iz 1495. godine¹³ đurđevačko naselje i trgovište spominje se samo pod nazivom Sušica, što ponovno potvrđuje da se to naselje (trgovište) ponekad i ovako zapisivalo. Crkva sv. Jurja pak spominje se prvi put u popisu župa Zagrebačke biskupije 1334. godine te ponovno 1501. godine,¹⁴ dok se đurđevačko trgovište kao Sušica spominje u više popisa poreza u razdoblju između 1507. (*villicatus Zwsycza ad oppidum Zenth Gerg*) do 1520. godine.¹⁵ Zapis iz 1548. godine koji, među ostalim, opisuje i gospodarsko stanje vlastelinstva Đurđevac, navodi da je naselje i trgovište napušteno te da se unutar utvrde nalazi samo nekoliko desetaka ljudi.¹⁶ Budući da je naselje napušteno i da u njemu nema više ljudi, logika nalaže da je i crkva napuštena, tj. da se Crkva sv. Jurja više ne koristi kao župna crkva, a utvrda je u tom slučaju Stari grad.

Radoslav Lopašić¹⁷ u djelu *Spomenici hrvatske krajine* navodi kako su 1575. godine Osmanlije nakon neuspješnog napada na

In 1426,¹⁰ it first appeared as a market town in the list of settlements, which already then spoke of its status and importance among the surrounding settlements. This was again emphasized in 1439¹¹ and 1477.¹² In a document of 1495,¹³ the settlement of Đurđevac and the market town are mentioned only under the name of Sušica, which again confirms that this settlement (market town) was sometimes noted under this name. Also, the church of St George was first mentioned in the list of parishes of the Zagreb diocese in 1334, and again in 1501,¹⁴ while the market town of Đurđevac was mentioned under the name of Sušica in several tax lists in the period between 1507 (*villicatus Zwsycza ad oppidum Zenth Gerg*) and 1520.¹⁵ A record from 1548 which, among other things, describes the economic condition of the Đurđevac manor, states that the settlement and the market town were abandoned, and that only a few dozen people could be found inside the fort.¹⁶ Since the settlement was abandoned and there were no more people in it, logic dictates that the church was also abandoned, i.e. the

13 AHAZU, D-X-76.

14 Rački 1872, 214.

15 Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 28, 60–61, 95, 128.

16 Adamček 1969, 25–27.

17 Lopašić 1884, 22.

10 MOL, DL43654, 1426.24.I.

11 Teleki 1853, 59.

12 AHAZU, D-X-76.

13 AHAZU, D-X-76.

14 Rački 1872, 214.

15 Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 28, 60–61, 95, 128.

Đurđevac u njegovoj okolici zapalili dvije crkve. Iako ne navodi o kojim se crkvama radi, Rudolf Horvat¹⁸ kasnije zaključuje da bi jedna od njih mogla biti Crkva sv. Jurja, čemu se priključuje i Paškal Cvekan,¹⁹ a s obzirom na to da je to bila najbliža crkva u okolici, vjerojatno su njihova razmišljanja ispravna. Nakon toga, povijesnih zapisa o staroj đurđevačkoj župnoj crkvi nema, ona je napuštena i u narednom se razdoblju više ne koristi.

No, sredinom 17. stoljeća, kako navodi Rudolf Horvat,²⁰ „Malo pomalo počeli su se u Gjurgjevec i okolici vraćati hrvatski seljaci. Tako se u Gjurgjevcu obnovila katolička župa, kojom su isprvice upravljali redovnici (Franjevci)“, nova je župna crkva bila posvećena Blaženoj Djevici Mariji i prvi ju je put „po nalogu biskupa Petra Petretića vizitirao g. 1651. zagrebački kanonik Juraj Turjak, kao arhidjakon komarnički“. U svome zapisu on ne spominje staru župnu Crkvu sv. Jurja, a prvi zapis o njoj dolazi u kanonskoj vizitaciji od 13. ožujka 1659. godine, koju provodi Andrija Vinković:²¹ „Iza tornja zapuštene crkve sv. Jurja nalazi se 1 ral zvana ‘Kosmaševa zemlja’ kraj zemlje Gjure Štefanova“. Iz tog je navoda očigledno da se mjesto položaja stare župne crkve spominje samo u kontekstu oranice u crkvenom vlasništvu koja se nalazila pored nje. Takvo je stanje bilo sve do prijelaza prve na drugu trećinu 18. stoljeća, kada se crkva dijelom obnavlja kao kapela (karta 2),²² u kakvom se obliku povremeno koristila sve do 1804. godine, a tada je potpuno dekonsekrirana.²³ Od tog se vremena s prostora crkve počela odvoziti opeka za potrebe gradnje okolnih kuća, što se ubrzalo od 1871. godine, kada prostor nekadašnje crkve prelazi iz uprave Vojne Krajine pod upravu Đurđevca.

church of St George was no longer being used as a parish church, and the fortress in that case was the Old Town.

In his work *Monuments of the Croatian Krajina*, Radoslav Lopašić²⁷ states that, in 1575, after an unsuccessful attack on Đurđevac, the Ottomans set fire to two churches in its vicinity. Although he does not state which churches those were, Rudolf Horvat¹⁸ later concludes that one of them could be the church of St George. Paškal Cvekan also shares his opinion,¹⁹ and given that it was the closest church in the area, their thinking is probably correct. After that, there are no historical records of the old parish church of Đurđevac. It was abandoned and no longer used in the period that followed.

However, in the middle of the 17th century, as Rudolf Horvat²⁰ states, “Little by little, Croatian peasants began returning to Gjurgjevec and the surrounding area. Thus, the Catholic parish in Gjurgjevec was rebuilt, and was initially managed by monks (Franciscans)”. The new parish church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and for the first time “it was visited by Zagreb’s canon Juraj Turjak, as archdeacon of Komarnica, by order of bishop Petar Petretić”. He does not mention the old parish church of St George in his record, and the first record of it comes from the canonical visitation which occurred on 13th March 1659 and which was conducted by Andrija Vinković:²² “Behind the tower of the abandoned church of St George, there is 1 acre called ‘Kosmaševa land’ near the land of Gjuro Štefanov”. From this statement, it is obvious that the location of the old parish church is mentioned only in the context of the arable land which was the property of the church located next to it. The state of things remained such until the transition from the first third of the 18th century to the second, when the church was partly restored as a chapel (Map 2).²² In such form,

18 Horvat 1940, 11.

19 Cvekan 1991, 30.

20 Horvat 1940, 14.

21 Horvat 1940, 15.

22 Iz zapisa kanonske vizitacije od 17. veljače 1706. godine arhidakona Antuna Vukmerovića doznaje se da je nekadašnja Crkva sv. Jurja uslijed čestih osmanlijskih provala dospjela u očajno stanje, groblje oko nje nije ograđeno niti se koristi, a umjesto nje tada se kao župna crkva koristi ona Blažene Djevice Marije koja se nalazi u đurđevačkom trgovištu. Prvi zapis o novoj Kapeli sv. Jurja na drugoj lokaciji u Malom Brvcu nalazi se u zapisu vizitacije koju obavlja zagrebački kanonik Toma Augustić: „U Malom Brvcu postoji g. 1700. drvena kapela sv. Jurja. Kapela je ožbukana i povapnjena, a ima oltar i vrata s dobrom ključanicom. Kapela je blagoslovljena, a u drvenom se tornjiću nalazi posvećeno zvono.“ (Horvat 1940, 25). Mali Brvci nalazili bi se između arheološkog lokaliteta na Sošicama i utvrde Stari grad (Cik 2016, 347, Prilog G4). U zapisu kanonika Gabrijela Juraja Bisticajca od 13. svibnja 1733. godine opisuje se stanje Crkve sv. Jurja: „Na polju izvan Gjurgjevca nalazila se kapela sv. Jurja. To bijaše nekada župna crkva, po kojoj je trgovište Gjurgjevec dobilo svoje ime. Stara je crkva propala u vrijeme turskih provala. Na njezinim je ruševinama obnovljena kapela, i to na onom mjestu, gdje je nekada bilo svetište. Kapela ipak nije izgubila oblik Kristove ladje. Dobro je pokrivena hrastovim daščicama. Ima dvoja vrata, zvono od 60 funti i oltar s platanenom slikom sv. Jurja. Razabiru se temelji nekadašnjeg solidno gradjenoga tornja.“ (Horvat 1940, 41). Iz zapisa kanonika Adama Stepanića, koji je vizitirao župu 19. siječnja 1746. godine, doznaje se: „Crkva sv. Jurja, koja je prije 200 godina zapuštena, sada je obnovljena brigom župnika Demšića. Svršena je dogradnja njenog tornja, a dobar joj je i krov. Uz veliki ima i malen oltar, te sve potreštine za čitanje sv. mise. U tornju se nalazi jedno zvono.“ (Horvat 1940, 46–47).

23 Prema ustupljenom podatku iz Spomenice župe Đurđevac od Nikole Cika iz Đurđevca, kojemu se autor rada ovom prilikom zahvaljuje.

16 Adamček 1969, 25–27.

17 Lopašić 1884, 22.

18 Horvat 1940, 11.

19 Cvekan 1991, 30.

20 Horvat 1940, 14.

21 Horvat 1940, 15.

22 From the records of the canonical visitation which occurred on 17th February 1706, Archdeacon Antun Vukmerović was made aware of the fact that the former church of St George, due to frequent Ottoman incursions, had been left in a desperate state. The graveyard around it was not fenced or used, and instead the parish church of the Virgin Mary, located in the market town of Đurđevac, was used. The first written record of the new chapel of St George at another location, in Mali Brvci, can be found in the record of the visitation by Zagreb’s canon Toma Augustić: “In 1700, in Mali Brvci, there was a wooden chapel of St George. The chapel was plastered and limestoned and had an altar and a door with a good keyhole. The chapel was blessed, and there was a consecrated bell in the wooden tower” (Horvat 1940, 25). Mali Brvci would have been located between the archaeological site at Sošice and the Stari grad fortress (Cik 2016, 347, Appendix G4). The record of canon Gabrijel Juraj Bisticaj of 13th May 1733 describes the condition of the church of St George as follows: “In the field outside Gjurgjevec, there was the chapel of St George. It used to be a parish church, after which the market town of Gjurgjevec got its name. The old church collapsed during the Turkish invasions. A chapel has been restored on its ruins, precisely on the site where the sanctuary once stood. The chapel, however, has not lost the shape of Christ’s nave. It is well covered with oak planks. It has two doors, a 60-pound bell and an altar with a canvas painting of St George. The foundations of the former solidly-built tower can be discerned, as well” (Horvat 1940, 41). From the records of canon Adam Stepanić, who visited the parish on 19th January 1746, we learn that “the Church of St George, which was neglected 200 years ago, has now been restored with the care of pastor Demšić. The renovation of its tower has been completed, and its roof is good. In addition to the large altar, there is also a small one, and all the necessities for holding Masses. There is one bell in the tower” (Horvat 1940, 46–47).

Istraženi dijelovi sakralne arhitekture

Četverogodišnjim je arheološkim radovima istraživani prostor dviju crkvi na ukupnoj površini od 565,75 m² (sonda dimenzija 36,5 x 15,5 m), pri čemu su u najvećoj mjeri istraženi samo posljednji ostaci temeljnih zidova (sl. 1). Nažalost, većina ih se prepoznaje u nižim dijelovima temelja ili samo kao negativni, uslijed čega je bilo moguće prepoznati tlocrtni položaj ukopa jer je lokalitet punih stotinu godina služio kao izvor građevinskog materijala lokalnom stanovništvu. Na temelju istraženih dijelova arhitekture, odnosno relativno-kronoloških odnosa pronađenih zidova, potpornjaka i drugih struktura u odnosu na provedeno radiokarbonsko datiranje moguće je odrediti nekoliko građevinskih faza crkvi i vrijeme njihova korištenja u širokom vremenskom rasponu od 11. do početka 19. stoljeća (sl. 2).

Prvoj građevinskoj fazi, koja se sa sigurnošću mogla odrediti i dokumentirati, svakako pripadaju pročeljni zid SJ 9, sjeverni zid SJ 19, južni zid SJ 23 te zidovi četvrtasto zaključene apside u donjim kotama SJ 143, SJ 144 i SJ 145. Radi se o vrlo jednostavno zatvorenoj crkvi s pravokutnom jednobrodnom lađom i kraćim četvrtastim svetištem (sl. 3: tamnoplavo). Unutrašnje dimenzije lađe su dužine 11,33 m i širine 6,55 m, čime zauzima površinu od 74,21 m², apside je dužine 6,97 m i širine 4,75 m, što je 33,11 m², a kako su vanjske dimenzije ukupno dužine 20,25 m i širine 8,30 m, time se zauzima površina od 168,08 m². Za tu je crkvu karakteristična gradnja različitim vrstama, isključivo nepravilno lomljenog i neuredno polaganog kamena pješčenjaka koji je povezan slabom žbukom sive boje. Način gradnje, kao i relativna kronologija u odnosu na nalaz nekoliko ovalnih grobnih raka (SJ 182/(183), SJ 184/(185) i SJ 186/(187)) karakterističnih za tzv. bjelobrdsku kulturu u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj, koje su se nalazile ispod dna ukopa južnih zidova apside te crkve, ukazuju na romaničko ili, još prije, kasnoromaničko vrijeme gradnje. Odnosno, dokumentirana je situacija gdje zasigurno postoje grobovi starijeg postanka od crkve s četvrtastom apsidom. No, iako se na prostoru Podravine, kao i cijele Hrvatske, tijekom romaničkog razdoblja uglavnom grade crkve s polukružno zaključenim svetištem, nije neobično da tadašnje crkve imaju i svetište četvrtasto zaključeno, kao što se može vidjeti na više primjera crkvi na prostoru Mađarske i Slovenije.²⁴ Sve se one okvirno datiraju od kraja 12. pa kroz čitavo 13. stoljeće.

Zanimljivo je da se uzori za ovakvu arhitekturu u Europi u njezinoj razvojnoj fazi povezuju uz karolinšku umjetnost, u Hrvatskoj se nešto kasnije povezuju uz red cistercita i vidljivi su u kutjevačkoj okolici na samo nekoliko sakralnih objekata.²⁵ Tako je Crkva sv. Stjepana u Glogovici dimenzijama slična Crkvi sv. Jurja na Sošicama, dok se u Zdencima i Srednjem Lipovcu nalaze kapele manjih dimenzija, a svima redom vremenske su odrednice vrlo nesigurne.²⁶ Tlocrtno oblikovno i sličnih dimenzija jest i primjer

it had occasionally been used until 1804, when it was completely deconsecrated.²³ From that time, bricks began to be removed from the area of the church to help the construction of the surrounding houses. This was accelerated in 1871, when the former church stopped being administrated by Vojna Krajina and began being administrated by Đurđevac.

Parts of sacred architecture investigated

Four years of archaeological work was spent exploring the area of the two churches on a total area of 565.75 m² (probe measuring 36.5 x 15.5 m), with only the last remains of the foundation walls being investigated to the greatest extent (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, most of them can be recognized in the lower parts of the foundations or only as negatives, as a result of which it was possible to recognize the layout of the burial location, because the site served as a source of building material for the local population during a period of a hundred years. Based on the parts of the architecture examined, i.e. relative-chronological condition of the walls, supports and other structures discovered, in relation to the radiocarbon dating performed, it is possible to determine several construction phases of the church and the time of their usage in a broad time span from the 11th century to the beginning of the 19th (Fig. 2).

The first construction phase, which has been determined and documented with certainty, definitely includes the front wall (SU 9), the northern wall (SU 19), the southern wall (SU 23), and walls of the quadrangular apse in the lower elevations of SU 143, SU 144 and SU 145. It is a very simple enclosed quadrangular single-nave church with a shorter quadrangular sanctuary (Fig. 3: dark blue). The nave occupies an area of 74.21 m², having internal dimensions of length 11.33 m and width 6.55 m. The apse is 6.97 m long and 4.75 m wide, which is 33.11 m², and given that the external dimensions are length 20.25 m and width 8.30 m, it occupies an area of 168.08 m². This church is notable for its specific construction, in which various types of exclusively irregular fragments of sandstone, laid in a disorderly manner, were used, bound with frail grey plaster. The method of construction, as well as the relative chronology in relation to the findings of several oval burial pits (SU 182/(183), SU 184/(185) and SU 186/(187)), characteristic of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture in continental Croatia, which were located below the bottom of the burial finds of the southern walls of the apse of that church, point to the Romanesque or even late-Romanesque construction period. That is, we have a documented situation in which there certainly are graves of older origin than the origin of the church with a quadrangular apse. However, although in the area of Podravina, as well as in the whole of Croatia, churches during the Romanesque period were generally built with semicircular shrines, it is not unusual for churches of that time to also have a quadrangular shrine, as can be seen in several examples of church-

24 Zadnikar 1982, 209; Parádi, Holl 1988, 208–209, Taf. 1; Szakács 2005, 33, sl. 2.

25 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 33.

26 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 102–103, 141, 155–157.

23 According to the information found in the Parish Memorial of Đurđevac, provided by Nikola Cik of Đurđevac, to whom the author of this paper extends his gratitude on this occasion.



SLIKA 1. Lokalitet u tijeku arheoloških istraživanja 2019. godine na prostoru unutrašnjosti najstarije dokumentirane crkve (snimio R. Čimin).

FIGURE 1. Site during archaeological investigations in 2019 in the interior area of the oldest documented church (photo by R. Čimin).

Crkve sv. Andrije u Kamešnici, kao rijetko očuvan primjer gotičke arhitekture u bližem okruženju. Toj je crkvi lađa na unutrašnjosti širine 8,5 m i dužine 13 m, svetište je široko 6,5 m i dužine oko 5,5 m, tako da je nešto većih dimenzija negoli crkva na Sošicama. Pretpostavlja se da je tamošnja crkva izgrađena 1377. godine,²⁷ što je ipak za nekih 70 do 80 godina kasnije nego Crkva sv. Jurja pa je i u tome moguće tražiti neke razlike u dimenzijama.

Provedeno je nekoliko radiokarbonskih analiza koje mogu pomoći u apsolutnom datiranju te crkve. Prvi analizirani uzorak ugljena iz žbuke (tab. 1: 4), prikupljen u zidu SJ 23, nije pružio precizniji uži datum budući da se proteže od kraja 13. pa do kraja 14. stoljeća. Međutim, zanimljiviji su i mnogo precizniji datumi dobiveni analizom uzoraka kostiju grobova koji su prethodili gradnji. Tako je recimo grob 51 datiran u sredinu 13. stoljeća (tab. 1: 7), na koji je nasjeo južni zid svetišta SJ 143, ali ga nije poništio; dok je grob 61 datiran u prijelaz druge u treću trećinu 13. stoljeća (tab. 1: 8), koji je presjekao sjeverni zid svetišta SJ 145. To bi značilo kako su svetište i čitava crkva izgrađeni najranije krajem 13. stoljeća ili najkasnije početkom 14. stoljeća, čime pripada prijelaznom razdoblju kasne romanike prema ranoj gotici.

es in Hungary and Slovenia.²⁴ All of them roughly date to the end of the 12th century and appear throughout the entire 13th century.

It is interesting that the models for such architecture in Europe in its development phase were associated with Carolingian art. In Croatia, they were later associated with the Cistercian order and visible in the Kutjevo area on only a few sacred edifices.²⁵ Thus, the church of sv. Stjepan (St Stephen) in Gogovica is similar in dimensions to the church of St George in Sošice. In Zdenci and Srednji Lipovac, there are chapels of smaller dimensions, and the time stamp on all of them is very uncertain.²⁶ Similar layout, shape and dimensions can also be found in the example of the church of sv. Andrija (St Andrew) in Kamešnica, as a rarely preserved example of Gothic architecture in the immediate vicinity. The church has an interior nave which is 8.5 m wide and 13 m long, and a sanctuary which is 6.5 m wide and about 5.5 m long, which makes it slightly larger than the church in Sošice. The church there was presumably built in 1377,²⁷ which is some 70–80 years later than the church of St George; therefore, it is possible to observe certain differences in dimensions.

27 Okroša Rožić 2003, 80, sl. 3.

24 Zadnikar 1982, 209; Parádi, Holl 1988, 208–209, Taf. 1; Szakács 2005, 33, Fig. 2.

25 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 33.

26 Vukičević-Samaržija 1986, 102–103, 141, 155–157.

27 Okroša Rožić 2003, 80, Fig. 3.



SLIKA 2. Pogled iz zraka na istražene dijelove arhitekture dviju srednjovjekovnih crkvi (snimio I. Cikač).

FIGURE 2. Aerial view of the investigated parts of the architecture of the two medieval churches (photo by I. Cikač).

Đurđevačkoj crkvi sa sjeverne je strane naslonjena istovremena sakristija, a koja se nadovezala na sjeverni zid svetišta i na rame lade s tri nova zida prepoznata prilikom iskopavanja u negativu, tj. ukopu. Sastojala se od istočnog zida SJ 157, sjevernog zida SJ 169 i zapadnog zida SJ 170, a zauzimala je unutarnju površinu od 8,70 m². Treba reći kako ne postoji neko određeno pravilo za položaj sakristije sjeverno ili južno od svetišta te se koriste obje strane u kasnosrednjovjekovnim i ranonovovjekovnim crkvama kontinentalne Hrvatske, no prisutnije su na sjevernoj strani. Takav slučaj postoji na primjeru istovremene gotičke Crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja na Starom gradu u Ivancu, s kojom takva crkva ima vrlo sličan tlocrtni oblik, izuzev viška uglovnih potpornjaka na rubovima četvrtasto zaključenog svetišta.²⁸

Several radiocarbon analyses have been conducted which may help in the absolute dating of that church. The first analysed sample of coal from plaster (Tab. 1: 4) collected in the wall of SU 23 did not provide a more precise date, because it stretches from the end of the 13th century to the end of the 14th. However, more interesting and much more precise are the dates obtained by analysing the bone samples from the graves which preceded the construction of that church. Thus, for example, grave 51 dates to the middle of the 13th century (Tab. 1: 7), with the southern wall of the sanctuary (SU 143) leaning on it, but not destroying it; while grave 61 dates to the transition from the second third of the 13th century to the third (Tab. 1: 8), and it is intersected by the northern wall of the sanctuary (SU 145). This would mean that the sanctuary and the whole church were not built before the 13th century or at the beginning of the 14th century at the latest, and thus belong to the transition period of the late Romanesque towards the early Gothic. The Đurđevac church also had a sacristy dating to the same period, which was attached to it on its north side, and which

Redni broj / Order No.	Oznaka uzorka / Sample ID	SJ / SU	1 Sigma (cal AD)	2 Sigma (cal AD)	Radiokarbonska starost / Radiocarbon Age (BP)	Kalendaraska starost / Calendric Age (cal AD)
1	Beta-475694	G 1 (SJ 242)	1416 - 1440 (1.000)	1404 - 1450 (1.000)	490 +/- 30	1422 +/- 10
2	Beta-475695	SJ 247	1522 - 1572 (0.389) 1630 - 1660 (0.293)	1498 - 1504 (0.009) 1616 - 1666 (0.382) 1784 - 1795 (0.021)	280 +/- 30	1585 +/- 56
3	Beta-475696	SJ 236	1398 - 1432 (1.000)	1390 - 1440 (0.759) 1320 - 1350 (0.195)	530 +/- 30	1379 +/- 41
4	UABA-39172	SJ 23	1298 - 1317 (0.388) 1353 - 1372 (0.377) 1377 - 1389 (0.235)	1291 - 1327 (0.396) 1342 - 1395 (0.604)	628 +/- 21	1339 +/- 38
5	UABA-39174	G 30 (SJ 456)	1432 - 1449 (1.000)	1419 - 1463 (1.000)	453 +/- 25	1437 +/- 9
6	UABA-41689	G 36 (SJ 473)	1460 - 1518 (0.692) 1594 - 1618 (0.308)	1450 - 1525 (0.575) 1556 - 1632 (0.425)	367 +/- 26	1537 +/- 66
7	UABA-41690	G 51 (SJ 520)	1248 - 1277 (1.000)	1223 - 1280 (1.000)	763 +/- 25	1249 +/- 17
8	UABA-41691	G 61 (SJ 554)	1269 - 1284 (1.000)	1257 - 1295 (1.000)	725 +/- 24	1272 +/- 8
9	UABA-41692	G 243 (SJ 1219)	1421 - 1442 (1.000)	1409 - 1450 (1.000)	481 +/- 29	1425 +/- 10

TABLICA 1. Popis radiokarbonskih analiza provedenih na uzorcima (drvo, ugljen, kost), provedenih u laboratorijima ¹⁴CHRONO Centre, Queens University, Belfast, Sjeverna Irska (UABA) i Beta Analytic, Miami, Florida, SAD (Beta). Kalibrirani je datum dobiven korištenjem aplikacije CalPal Online (www.calpal-online.de/, izradio R. Čimin).

TABLE 1. List of radiocarbon analyses conducted on samples (wood, coal, bone) in the laboratories of ¹⁴CHRONO Centre, Queens University, Belfast, Northern Ireland (UABA) and Beta Analytic, Miami, Florida, USA (Beta). The calibrated date was obtained using the CalPal Online application (www.calpal-online.de/, made by R. Čimin).

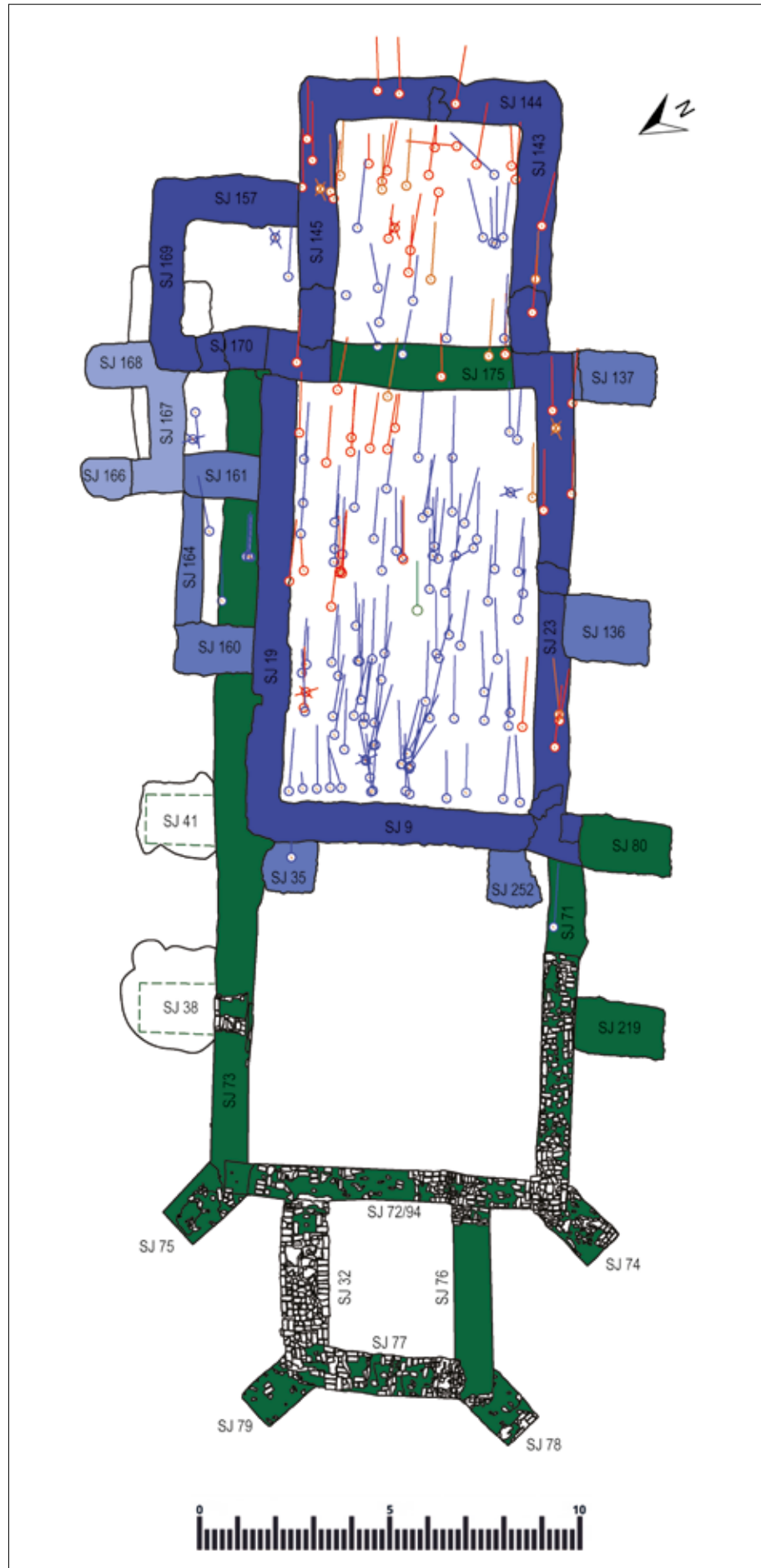
U nekom se trenutku na postojeću crkvu na zapadnom pročelju i bočnim zidovima lađe dodaju potpornjaci, po dva na svaku frontu zida, a što je jasan pokazatelj veće građevinske intervencije (sl. 3: plavo). Vjerojatno se to radi u trenutku neke obnove crkve, pri čemu joj se podiže visina i radi novo krovništvo s križno-rebrastim svodjenjem svetišta i tabulatom nad lađom (sl. 5),²⁹ a što je bilo potrebno da bi se građevina dodatno ojačala s vanjske strane te se raspodijelio teret s postojećih temeljnih zidova (sl. 4). Tako su na zapadu dodani potpornjaci SJ 35 i SJ 252, na južnoj strani potpornjaci SJ 136 i SJ 137 i na sjevernoj strani potpornjaci SJ 160 i SJ 161. Svi su potpornjaci lijepljeni na lice zidova crkve, odnosno nisu organski vezani s postojećim zidovima, a izgrađeni su

was connected to the northern wall of the sanctuary, as well as on the shoulder of the nave with three new walls recognized during excavations in negative, i.e. burial. It consisted of the eastern wall (SU 157), the northern wall (SU 169) and the western wall (SU 170), and it occupied an internal area of 8.70 m². It should be said that there is no specific rule for the position of the sacristy north or south of the sanctuary, and both sides were used in the late-medieval and early-modern churches of continental Croatia; however, they were more present in the north. Such a case can be observed in the example of the contemporaneous Gothic church of sv. Ivan Krstitelj (St John the Baptist) in the Old Town of Ivanec, with which such a church shares a very similar layout, except for the excess

²⁹ Pronađeno je uistinu mnogo sitnih ulomaka kamene plastike, među kojima su se pojedini mogli odrediti kao dijelovi svodova ili okvira otvora poput prozora ili vrata.

SLIKA 3. Tlocrt istražene arhitekture s građevinskim fazama i groblja prema horizontima pokopavanja: narančasto = 1. horizont (11. st.), crveno = 2. horizont (12. – 13. st.), plavo = 3. faza/horizont (14. – 15. st., od tamnije prema svjetlijoj dolaze tri građevinske podfaze), zeleno = 4. faza/horizont (poč. 16. – 18. st.); M 1:150 (izradili I. Cikač, R. Čimin).

FIGURE 3. Floor plan of the researched architecture with construction phases and the layout of the graveyard according to the burial horizons: orange = first horizon (11th century), red = second horizon (12th – 13th century), blue = third phase/horizon (14th – 15th century, from darker to lighter come three building subphases), green = fourth phase/horizon (beginning of 16th century to 18th); 1:150 (made by I. Cikač, R. Čimin).





SLIKA 4. Zapadni dio najstarije istražene crkve s dograđenim potpornjacima, unutrašnjim opekovnim popločenjem i bočnim oltarom (snimio I. Cikač).

FIGURE 4. The western part of the oldest excavated church with supports, internal brick flooring and a side altar (photo by I. Cikač).

uglavnom od lomljenih komada kamena vapnenca i pokoje opeke, povezani žbukom svijetle boje. Vidljiv je tlocrtni nerazmjer položaja novih bočnih potpornjaka, a što je bilo definirano postojećom situacijom. Naime, na južnom je zidu SJ 23 izgrađen jedan masivniji potpornjak (SJ 136), na njegovoj sredini, i jedan nešto manjih dimenzija (SJ 137) na ramenu crkve. S druge strane, na ramenu sjevernog zida SJ 19 i četvrtastog svetišta u trenutku spomenute građevinske rekonstrukcije već je postojao uža zid (SJ 170) sakristije, vjerojatno prizemnog objekta, a uz koju su se dodatno ugradila dva potpornjaka na manjim razmacima (SJ 160, SJ 161). Nedugo zatim, između posljednje navedenih potpornjaka dograđuje se uzak zid SJ 164 kojim se zajedno sa sjevernim zidom lađe SJ 19 zatvara bočna kapela unutarnje površine 4,77 m². Na sve to zajedno, u trećem građevinskom zamahu, uz stariju crkvu na Sošicama, podiže se zvonik, vrlo vjerojatno u 15. stoljeću (sl. 3: svjetloplavo). Zvonik koristi postojeću građevinsku situaciju pa se nadograđuje na prostor između sakristije i bočne kapele, gdje dogradnjom jednog zida SJ 167 na zidove sakristije SJ 170 i bočne kapele SJ 161 te uz sjeverni zid lađe crkve SJ 19, zatvara novu unutarnju površinu od 4,45 m². Kako je riječ o dogradnji jednoga vanjskog zida na postojeće strukture, isti se dodatno pojačava dvama potpornjacima sa sjeverne strane, zidovima SJ 166 i SJ 168.

Sve navedene obnove i dogradnje potpornjaka i objekata sa sjeverne strane crkve događaju se vrlo vjerojatno od kraja 14. pa tijekom prve polovine 15. stoljeća. Naime, u tom smjeru ide nalazna situacija oko groba 243 koji je pronađen u niši na vezu zidova SJ 9 i SJ 19. Grob se nalazio ispod razine temelja potpornjaka SJ 35, što znači kako je pokop izvršen prije njegove izgradnje. Kako je radiokarbonska analiza uzorka groba pružila vrijeme druge četvrtine 15. stoljeća (tab. 1: 9), tako se i izgradnja potpornjaka može vezati u vrijeme neposredno nakon toga datuma i najkasnije do sredine 15. stoljeća. Kao pripremna faza i nivelacija poda u tijeku jedne od obnova starije crkve, interpretira se i SJ 236, sloj tamnosmeđe zemlje s manjim ulomcima opeke, komadima kamene plastike i žbuke, nivelacija nastala iznad SJ 303 ili sloja poremećenih grobnih raka, koji je radiokarbonska analiza uzorka ugljena iz sloja datirala u prijelaz 14. na 15. stoljeće (tab. 1: 3). Tom vremenu pripada i grob 1 vrlo precizno datiran u prijelaz prve u drugu četvrtinu 15. stoljeća (tab. 1: 1).

corner supports on the edges of the quadrangular sanctuary.²⁸ At some point, support was added to the existing church on the western front and side walls of the nave, two on each wall front, which is a clear indicator of a larger construction intervention (Fig. 3: blue). This was probably done at the time of one of the church's renovations, increasing its height and building a new roof with a cross-ribbed vault of the sanctuary and a tab over the nave (Fig. 5),²⁹ which needed to be further strengthened from the outside to distribute the load from the existing foundation walls (Fig. 4). Thus, supports SU 35 and SU 252 were added in the west, supports SU 136 and SU 137 were added in the south, and supports SU 160 and SU 161 were added in the north. All the supports were fixed to the face of the church walls, i.e. they were not organically connected to the existing walls, and they were mostly built from broken pieces of limestone and a few bricks joined by light-coloured plaster. The layout disproportion of the position of the new side supports is visible, and was defined by the existing situation; on the southern wall of SU 23, a more massive support was built (SU 136) in the middle, and a slightly smaller one (SU 137) was built on the shoulder of the church. On the other hand, there was already a narrower wall (SU 170) of the sacristy, probably a ground-floor edifice, with two additional supports at shorter distances (SU 160, SU 161) on the shoulder of the northern wall (SU 19) and the quadrangular sanctuary at the time of the above-mentioned reconstruction. Shortly afterwards, a narrow wall (SU 164) was added among the previously-mentioned supports which, together with the northern wall (SU 19), enclosed a side chapel with an inner surface of 4.77 m². On top of all this, in the third reconstruction wave, a bell tower was built next to the older church in Sošice, most probably in the 15th century (Fig. 3: light blue). The bell tower used the existing construction situation, i.e. it was built in the space between the sacristy and the side chapel, where, by adding one wall (SU 167) to the walls of the sacristy (SU 170) and side chapels (SU 161)

²⁸ Belaj, Sirovica 2016, 57, Figs 1, 3.

²⁹ Many small fragments of stone plastic were found, some of which could be identified as parts of arches or frames of openings such as windows or doors.

SLIKA 5. Izbor pronađene kamene plastike (snimio I. Valent).

FIGURE 5. Selection of stone plastic finds (photo by I. Valent).



Stoga, okvirno, krajem 15. ili početkom 16. stoljeća izgrađuje se mlađa crkva velikih dimenzija, koja se proširuje prema zapadu i djelomično koristi postojeću situaciju, odnosno stariju gotičku crkvu (sl. 3: zeleno). Zidovi i potpornjaci nove crkve sa zvonikom građeni su od cijelih i polovičnih komada opeke vezanih žbukom svjetlosmeđe do oker boje. Zidovi su crkve označeni kao SJ 71 (južni), SJ 72 (zapadni) i SJ 73 (sjeverni), zidovi zvonika su SJ 76 (južni), SJ 77 (zapadni) i SJ 32 (sjeverni), ugaoni potpornjaci crkve su SJ 74 (jugozapadni) i SJ 75 (sjeverozapadni) i ugaoni potpornjaci zvonika su SJ 78 (jugozapadni) i SJ 79 (sjeverozapadni). Sjeverni i južni zid velike crkve, SJ 71 i SJ 73, uspjeli su se tek djelomično istražiti, sjeverni u dužini od 11,20 m i južni u dužini od 10,46 m, dok im je preostali dio dokumentiran u ukopnom rovu. Širina te crkve na unutrašnjem prostoru iznosi 7,69 m, a zajedno sa zidovima iznosi 9,49 m širine na zapadnom pročelju. Širina zvonika sa zidovima iznosi 5,51 m, unutrašnja mu je širina 3,32 m, dok mu vanjska dužina iznosi 4,93 m i unutrašnja 4,08 m, čime unutrašnja površina zvonika iznosi oko 13,5 m². Ugaoni potpornjaci crkve i zvonika imaju zanimljiv način vezanja. Nisu njima vezani, već su potpornjaci nalijepljeni na uglove crkve. S obzirom na konstruktivnu ulogu potpornjaka, ovakav je način vezanja neuobičajen jer potpornjak ima ulogu prenošenja težine bočnih zidova i služi tek kao podupirač uglova građevine. S druge strane, ovakvo lijepljenje potpornjaka može značiti i da su dograđeni naknadno, a kako je opeka istog modela i vezna žbuka sastavom i bojom ista na zidovima i potpornjacima, i kod crkve i kod zvonika, takva se mogućnost odbacuje. Primijećeno je da su dimenzije opeke korištene na zvoniku nešto veće od onih upotrijebljenih u izgradnji crkve, što bi moglo ukazivati na dogradnju zvonika na isti način kao i kod crkve. No nalazna situacija oko vezanja sjevernog i zapadnog zida crkve, SJ 72 i SJ 73, na sjeverozapadnom uglu crkve pokazuje „živi gotički vez“ spajanja njezinih dvaju zidova, što govori o istovremenoj gradnji pri kojoj bi čitavo pročelje crkve bilo srušeno da bi se ponovno gradilo zajedno sa zvonikom, što je ipak manje vjerojatno.

Kao što je prethodno spomenuto, crkva je koristila postojeće stanje pri čemu je bočnim zidovima u istočnom dijelu, gdje se nalazi-

and along the northern wall of the nave of the church (SU 19), it enclosed a new inner area of 4.45 m². As this was an extension of one external wall onto the existing structures, it was additionally reinforced with two supports on the north side: walls SU 166 and SU 168.

All the above-mentioned renovations, support additions and edifice additions on the northern side of the church probably took place from the end of the 14th century throughout the first half of the 15th. The situation around the finding of grave 243, which was found in a niche at the connection of walls SU 9 and SU 19, goes in that direction. The grave was located below the level of the foundation of the SU 35 support, which means that the burial had been carried out before its construction. Since radiocarbon analysis of the grave pattern put the grave in the second quarter of the 15th century (Tab. 1: 9), the construction of the support can also be linked to the time immediately after that date and to the middle of the 15th century at the latest. A preparatory phase and floor levelling during one of the renovations are also used to interpret SU 236, a layer of dark brown soil with small fragments of brick, pieces of stone plastic and plaster, a levelling developed above SU 303 or a layer of shifted tombs, which was dated to the turn of the 15th century by a radiocarbon analysis of the coal sample from one layer (Tab. 1: 3). Grave 1 also belongs to that period, and it can be very precisely dated to the transition from the first quarter of the 15th century to the second (Tab. 1: 1).

According to this, a newer church of large dimensions was built around the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th, which expanded to the west and partially used the existing situation, i.e. the older Gothic church (Fig. 3: green). The walls and supports of the new church, with a bell tower, were built of whole and half pieces of brick connected with light-brown to ochre plaster. The walls of the church are marked as SU 71 (south), SU 72 (west) and SU 73 (north); the walls of the bell tower are marked as SU 76 (south), SU 77 (west) and SU 32 (north); the corner supports of the church are marked as SU 74 (southwest) and SU 75 (northwest),

la prethodna crkva, preslojavala bočne zidove do tada korištene crkve. Tako je na južnom dijelu u potpunosti preslojila i nadogradila se na zid SJ 23, dok se na sjevernom dijelu odmaknula prema sjeveru novim ukopom zida od SJ 19 za širinu zida i preslojila potpornjake starije bočne kapele i zvonika do zapadnog zida sakristije SJ 170. Takvo izmicanje zida u odnosu na postojeći zid starije građevine nije neuobičajeno i vjerojatno se radi o lošem građevinskom stanju zida koji je elevacijom spušten do razine nove hodne površine. Crkva vrlo vjerojatno završava na mjestu ramena starije crkve, odnosno svetište je nove crkve četvrtasto zaključeno povezivanjem ramena starije crkve gradnjom novog zida SJ 175, od kojeg je evidentiran samo ukopni rov. Potpornjaci su na sjevernoj strani skraćeni za izmještanje zida (0,90 m), dok se na zapadnoj polovini crkve izgrađuju potpornjaci, paralelni jedni nasuprot drugih te sličnih dužina i širina: SJ 80 i SJ 219 na južnom zidu lađe, dok su na sjevernom zidu lađe mlađe crkve pronađeni ukopi SJ 38 i SJ 41 na mjestu negiranih potpornjaka u procesu eksploatacije crkve kao izvor građevinskog materijala u 19. stoljeću. Vanjske dimenzije crkve tako definirano tlocrta iznosile bi 22,65 m dužine i 9,75 m širine, a zajedno sa zvonikom dužina crkve sveukupno bi dosegla i do 28 m. Kasnogotičke ili ranonovovjekovne crkve četvrtasto zaključenog svetišta nisu neuobičajene, a najbliži joj je primjer u današnjoj Crkvi sv. Nikole u Koprivnici, sagrađenoj sredinom 17. stoljeća (nema zvonik na pročelju i nešto je većih dimenzija).

S obzirom na nisku očuvanost zidova mlađe crkve, teško je govoriti o položaju trijumfalnog luka, odnosno dužini svetišta i lađe, već je moguće odrediti ukupne dimenzije njene unutrašnjosti, koje iznose oko 21 m dužine i 7,5 m širine, čime bi se zauzela korisna površina od 157,50 m². Ako se tomu doda površina zvonika i potpornjaci, onda bi vanjska površina zauzetog prostora iznosila oko 400 m². Što se tiče unutrašnjosti crkve, u ovoj je fazi njezin pod bio popločen velikim opekovnim pločama SJ 218, a u sjeverozapadnom su se uglu nalazile tri strukture definirane kao bočni oltari u kasnijim graditeljskim fazama obnove objekta (sl. 4). Ispod navedenog pada nalazio se grob 2, koji je zasigurno pripadao vremenu gradnje crkve, no u vrlo lošem stupnju očuvanosti, a neposredno ispod njega grob 36, koji je pokopan prije gradnje mlađe crkve, ali u posljednjim godinama korištenja starije crkve i definira kraj 3. horizonta pokapanja u početna desetljeća 16. stoljeća (tab. 1: 6).

U kontekstu graditeljskih faza starije i mlađe crkve zanimljiva je jama SJ (247)/248, ovalnog tlocrta, smjera zapad – istok, kosih stijenki i ravnog dna u dvije razine, a nalazila se u istočnom dijelu broda. Zapunjena je tamnosmeđom do crnom zemljom, pomiješanom sa šutom (ulomci opeke i svijetle žbuke), ulomaka lomljenog kamena i iznimno velike količine manjih ulomaka crkvene kamene plastike. Radiokarbonska analiza uzorka ugljena prikupljenog u zapuni jame ne pruža preciznu dataciju, koja s vjerojatnošću od 38,90 % može pripadati početnim desetljećima 16. stoljeća (tab. 1: 2). No velika količina kamene plastike neupitno ukazuje i na veliku građevinsku aktivnost, u vidu sekundarnog korištenja postojećeg materijala prikupljenog sa starije crkve koji se klesanjem prilagođava za potrebe gradnje mlađe crkve.

Arheološka su istraživanja slojeva pokazala kako je ta crkva završena i korištena kroz neko određeno vrijeme do trenutka

while the corner supports of the bell tower are marked as SU 78 (southwest) and SU 79 (northwest). The northern and southern walls of the large church, SU 71 and SU 73, were only partially explored, the northern one to a length of 11.20 m and the southern one to a length of 10.46 m, while the remaining part was documented in the trench. The inner width of that church is 7.69 m, and together with the walls it is 9.49 m wide on the western front. The width of the bell tower with walls is 5.51 m, and its inner width is 3.32 m, while its outer length is 4.93 m and its inner one is 4.08 m – whereby the inner area of the bell tower is around 13.5 m². The corner supports of the church and the bell tower have an interesting way of being attached. They are not attached to them, but the supports are fixed to the corners of the church. Given the constructive role of the supports, this attachment method is unusual, since the supports have the role of transmitting the weight of the side walls and serve only as a support for the corners of the building. On the other hand, this fixing of supports can also mean that they were added later, and, since the bricks are of the same model, and the binding plaster is the same in composition and colour, on the walls and supports in both the church and the bell tower, such possibility is ruled out. It was only noted that the dimensions of the bricks used on the bell tower were slightly larger than those used in the construction of the church, which could indicate that the bell tower was added in the same way as it happened with the church. However, the situation with the findings regarding the attachment of the northern and western walls of the church, SU 72 and SU 73, on the northwest corner of the church shows a 'living Gothic attachment' of its two walls, indicating a simultaneous construction in which the entire front of the church would have been demolished in order for it to be built again together with the bell tower, which is less likely, though.

As mentioned earlier, the church was using the existing condition by layering the side walls of the previously-used church with the side walls in the eastern part where the previous church had been located. Thus, in the southern part it was completely layered and attached to wall SU 23, while in the northern part it was moved to the north with a new wall buried in the ground from SU 19 for the width of the wall, while the supports of the older side chapel and bell tower were layered to the western wall of the sacristy (SU 170). Those kinds of wall shifting in relation to the existing wall of the older edifice is not uncommon, and it was probably done due to the poor construction condition of the wall, which had been lowered by elevation to the level of the new walking surface. The church most likely ends at the site of the shoulders of the older church, i.e. the sanctuary of the new church was quadrangularly closed by connecting the shoulders of the older church with the construction of a new wall (SU 175), of which only the trench has been registered. The supports were shortened on the north side due to wall displacement (0.90 m), while supports were built on the west half of the church, parallel to each other and of similar lengths and widths: SU 80 and SU 219 on the southern wall of the nave, while on the northern wall of the nave of the newer church, burial pits SU 38 and SU 41 were found on the site of negated supports in the process of exploitation of the church as a source of building material in the 19th century. The external dimensions of the church with such defined layout would be 22.65 m in length and 9.75 m in width; and, together with the bell tower, the length of the church would reach 28 m. Late-Gothic or early-modern

kada je napuštena zbog opasnosti od Osmanlija. Budući da se u povijesnim izvorima navodi kako je naselje i trgovište Sušica napušteno 1548. godine,³⁰ ta je crkva zasigurno izgrađena do tog vremena. Jamu SJ (247)/248 preslojio je sloj nabijene gline SJ 223 interpretiran kao hodna površina, što znači da je mlađa crkva stavljena u uporabu prije odlaska stanovništva, a ta je hodna površina bila jednostavna, nabijeni zemljani pod u kojem nije evidentiran ni jedan grobni ukop.

Posljednja građevinska intervencija vezana uz mlađu crkvu pripada njenoj obnovi u kasnom 17. stoljeću koja se opisuje i u navedenim kanonskim vizitacijama.³¹ Pretpostavlja se da je crkva nakon cjelokupne obnove, budući da se navodi kako je u potpuno ruševnom stanju, zadržala svoj tlocrt i u njoj je bio postavljen novi drveni pod. Pretpostavka o takvom podu temelji se na nalazu šest negativa dužine oko 6 m i širine 0,30 do 0,60 m (SJ 199) interpretirani kao nosivi drveni grednici za neki daščani pod. Nalazna je situacija pokazala da su ti grednici djelomično bili ukopani u mlađi zemljani pod SJ 223. Nakon toga, crkva se više ne obnavlja, nisu zabilježene mlađe građevinske intervencije sve do njezina rastvaranja u 19. stoljeću.

Groblje kroz stoljeća

Groblje je istraživano na prostoru starije crkve, odnosno njezine lađe i svetišta te sjevernih dijelova sa sakristijom, zvonikom i bočnom kapelom, nekoliko je grobova evidentirano na prostoru lađe mlađe crkve, tako da se trenutno raspolaže sa 243 dokumentirana groba, a među kojima je 201 većim dijelom očuvan (sl. 6). Prema stratigrafiji lokaliteta, građevinskim fazama sakralnih objekata i nalaznim situacijama ukopa i zapune, bilo je moguće groblje podijeliti u četiri horizonta pokopavanja (sl. 7A).

Tako najmlađem, ili 4. horizontu, pripada samo jedan grob (0,41 %) svih istraženih grobova, gdje je grob 2 istovremeno podizanju mlađe crkve početkom 16. stoljeća budući se nalazio iznad sloja SJ 373, sloja prekopanih grobnih raka starije crkve i neposredno ispod hodne površine (poda) mlađe crkve. Grobovi pripisani 3. horizontu ujedno su i najbrojniji pa tako njih 145 (59,67 %) datira u vrijeme od trenutka podizanja starije do gradnje mlađe crkve, što bi odgovaralo razdoblju od početka 14. pa do kraja 15. ili početka 16. stoljeća. Osim stratigrafski nalaznih situacija, taj horizont definira i sastav zapune grobnih raka koji umnogome slični sloju SJ 373, a radi se o sivoj do tamnosmeđoj glinasto-pješkovitoj zemlji koja sadrži sitne komadiće opeke, žbuke i ugljena. Grobovi 2. horizonta datiraju od sredine 12. i čitavo 13. stoljeće te imaju zapunu grobnih raka zelenkasto-sive boje zemlje, bez primjesa žbuke i komada opeka uz pojavu komadića ugljena, te joj je pripisano 69 grobova (28,40 %), dok je 1. horizontu pokapanja određeno 18 grobova (7,41 %) kod kojih je zapuna čišća siva ili žućkasto-siva zemlja, bez primjesa ugljena, a mogli bi se datirati kroz 11. i do sredine 12. stoljeća. Uz to, za 10 grobova nije bilo moguće odrediti pripadnost horizontu (4,11 %), do čega je došlo uslijed velike gustoće pokapanja na uskom prostoru, gdje im uslijed vrlo slabe očuvanosti nije bilo moguće odrediti niti okvirno vrijeme pokapanja.

churches with a quadrangular enclosed sanctuary are not uncommon, and the most similar example can be found in today's church of sv. Nikola (St Nicholas) in Koprivnica, which was built in the middle of the 17th century. (There is no bell tower at the front, and the church is somewhat larger.)

Given the weak preservation of the walls of the newer church, it is difficult to talk about the position of the triumphal arch, i.e. the length of the sanctuary and the nave, but it is possible to determine the overall dimensions of its interior, which are about 21 m in length and 7,5 m in width, amounting to 157,50 m² of usable area in total. If the area of the bell tower and its supports is added to that, the outer area of the space taken would amount to about 400 m². As for the interior of the church, in this phase, its floor was paved with large brick slabs (SU 218), and in the northwest corner there were three structures defined as side altars in the later construction phases of the renovation (Fig. 4). Below this floor, there was a grave 2, which certainly belongs to the time of the church's construction, but in a very poor state of preservation. Just below it, there is grave 36, which had been filled and left under the newer church before its construction, but in the last years of usage of the older church, and which defines the end of the third burial horizon in the early decades of the 16th century (Tab. 1: 6).

In the context of the construction phases of the older and newer churches, there is burial pit SU (247)/248, with oval layout, west-east orientation, sloping walls and a flat bottom in two levels. It was located in the eastern part of the nave. It is filled with dark-brown to black soil mixed with rubble (fragments of bricks and light-coloured plaster), fragments of crushed stones and extremely large quantities of smaller fragments of church stone plastic. Radiocarbon analysis of the coal sample collected in the burial-pit fill does not provide an accurate dating; with a probability of 38.90 %, it may belong to the early decades of the 16th century (Tab. 1: 2). However, the large amount of stone plastic unquestionably indicates great construction activity, in the form of secondary usage of the existing material collected from the older church, which was adapted by carving to be made suitable for the needs of building a newer church.

Archaeological investigation of the layers showed how this church had been completed and used over a certain period of time until it was abandoned due to danger from the Ottoman invasion. Since historical sources state that the settlement and market town of Sušica was abandoned in 1548,³⁰ this church had certainly been built by that time. Burial pit SU (247)/248 was overlaid by a layer of compacted clay (SU 223) interpreted as a walking surface, which means that the newer church had been put into use before the departure of the population. Furthermore, that walking surface was simple and made of compacted earthen floor, where not a single grave burial was recorded.

The last construction intervention relating to the newer church belongs to its restoration in the late 17th century, which is also described in the previously-mentioned canonical visitations.³¹ It

30 Adamček 1969, 25–27.

31 Vidi bilješku 22.

30 Adamček 1969, 25–27.

31 See footnote 22.



SLIKA 6. Primjer vrlo dobro očuvanoga groba G 30 u 3. horizontu pokapanja položenog u drveni sanduk SJ 458 (snimio I. Valent).

FIGURE 6. Example of a very well-preserved grave: G 30, in the third burial horizon, laid in a wooden coffin, SU 458 (photo by I. Valent).

Grobovi su istraživani tako da su poštovane relativno-kronološke faze pokopavanja, bez obzira na smještaj unutar prostora u kojem su se nalazili. To znači kako su se na prostoru broda i svetišta crkve, sakristije, bočne kapele i zvonika prvo istraživali grobovi koji su pripadali 3. horizontu, a potom stariji grobovi. Grobovi 2. horizonta pokapanja najbolje su bili sačuvani ispod linije južnog zida starije crkve SJ 23 i na prostoru njezina svetišta, omeđenog zidovima SJ 143, SJ 144 i SJ 145, tj. ispod njih. U zapunama grobova 3. i 2. horizonta evidentirani su dislocirani nalazi koji su se okvirno mogli opredijeliti u razdoblje 12. i 13. stoljeća (najčešće brončane ili srebrne S-karičice te primjerci novca), a koji su ponekad bili u toliko fragmentiranom stanju da ih se nije moglo niti prikupiti. Kosturni ostaci grobova 1. horizonta pokapanja daleko su najlošije očuvani, što zbog presijecanja okolnim mladim ukopima, što zbog loše očuvanog koštanog materijala kakav je nastao utjecajem kemijskog sastava tla, a uslijed čega su prona-

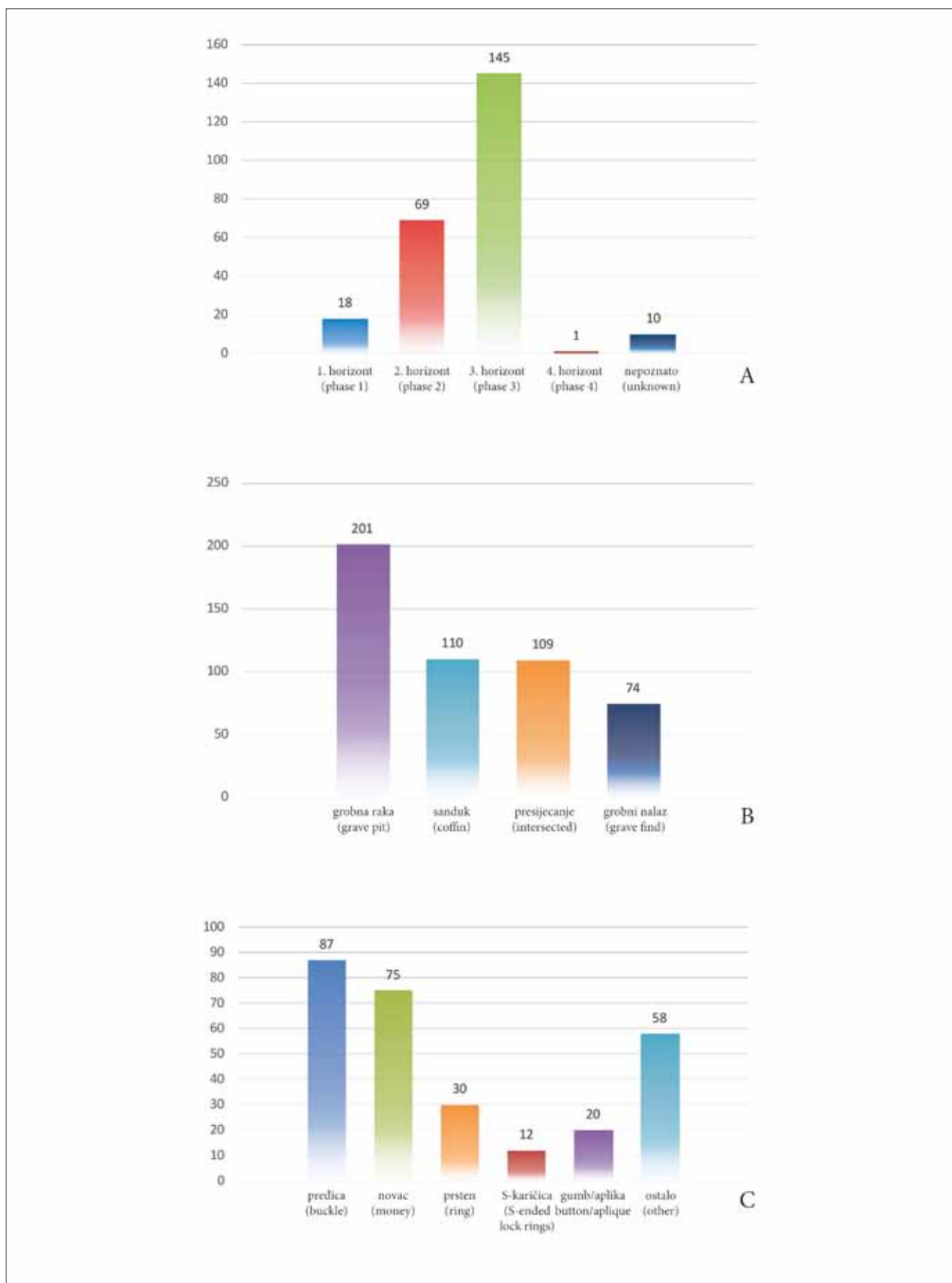
is assumed that the church, which is said to have been in a completely ruined condition, kept its layout after the complete renovation, and a new wooden floor was laid in it, as well. The assumption behind the existence of such a floor is based on the findings of six negatives which were about 6 m long and 0.30 to 0.60 m wide (SU 199). They were further interpreted as load-bearing wooden beams for some plank floor. The initial situation showed that those beams were partially buried in the newer earthen floor, SU 223. After that, the church was never again rebuilt, and no other building interventions were recorded until the 19th century.

The graveyard through the centuries

The graveyard was investigated in the area of the older church, i.e. its nave and sanctuary and the northern parts with the sacristy, bell tower and side chapel, while several graves were registered in the area of the nave of the newer church. Therefore, there are currently 243 documented graves, 201 of which are preserved to a great extent (Fig. 6). According to the stratigraphy of the site, the construction phases of the sacred edifices and the state of the found burial pit and filling, it was possible to divide the graveyard into four burial horizons (Fig. 7A).

Thus, only one grave (0.41 % of all graves researched), belongs to the youngest, or fourth, horizon, where grave 2 was made at the same time as the newer church, i.e. at the beginning of the 16th century, given that it was located above layer SU 373, a layer of excavated burial pits of the older church and just below the walking surface (floor) of the newer church. The graves attributed to the third horizon are also the most numerous. Therefore, 145 of them (59.67 %) date to the time between the construction of the older church and that of the newer one, which would correspond to a period from the beginning of the 14th century to the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th. In addition to the stratigraphic findings, that horizon also defines the composition of the burial-pit filling, which closely resembles the SU 373 layer, and is a grey to dark-brown clay-sandy soil which contains small pieces of brick, plaster and coal. Graves of the second horizon, dated from the middle of the 12th century through the 13th, have a burial-pit filling of greenish-grey earthy colour without plaster and pieces of brick, with the appearance of coal pieces. This horizon has 69 graves (28.40 %), while 18 graves (7.41 %) have been assigned to the first burial horizon, in which the filling is made of a purer grey or yellowish-grey soil without coal, and could be dated through the 11th century to the mid-12th. In addition, it was impossible to determine to which horizon the remaining 10 graves belonged (4.11 %), which came about due to the high density of burials in a narrow area where, because of very poor preservation, it was not possible to determine the approximate time of burial.

The graves were researched in such a way that the relative-chronological phases of burials were respected, regardless of the location within the area in which they were found. This means that, in the area of the nave, the church sanctuary, sacristy, side chapel and bell tower, graves which belonged to the third horizon were being investigated first, which was followed by investigation of older graves. The graves of the second horizon were best preserved below the line of the southern wall of the older church (SU 23) and in the area of its sanctuary, bounded by walls SU 143, SU



SLIKA 7. Analitika groblja: A. Podjela istraženog dijela groblja prema horizontima pokapanja; B. Zastupljenost grobnih elemenata, presjecanja i grobnih nalaza; C. Tipološka podjela svih nalaza na lokalitetu (izradio R. Čimin).

FIGURE 7. Graveyard analysis: A. Division of the examined part of the graveyard according to the burial horizons; B. Representation of grave elements, inter-sections and grave finds; C. Typological classification of all finds at the site (made by R. Čimin).

đene i prazne zapune grobnih raka.³² Prema nalaznim situacijama prvih dvaju horizonta pokapanja, može se pretpostaviti da su najstariji grobovi ovdje bili prije gradnje prve crkve, što bi moglo ukazivati na mogućnost da se ovdje radi o prijelaznom (tranzicijskom) groblju koje započinje bjelobrdskim poimanjem pokapanja na redove koje se potom razvija u župno groblje s crkvom.³³

Od grobnih elemenata (sl. 7B) bilo je moguće prepoznati i dokumentirati grobnu raku u čak 201 slučaju (82,71 %), a drvene sanduke u 110 slučajeva (45,27 %). Za razliku od srednjovjekovnih groblja u Koprivnici i Virju, riječ je o iznimno visokim udjelima oba grobna elementa, pri čemu gotovo da nema groba kojem nije uočena grobna raka, a kod polovine je zabilježeno postojanje drvenog sanduka. Razlog tomu leži u činjenici da je na čitavom prostoru starije crkve ispod sloja poremećenih grobnih raka (SJ 373) očigledno bilo manjeg zadiranja u vrijeme mladih građevinskih intervencija negoli je to bio slučaj kod drugih navedenih groblja koja su većim dijelom istraživana izvan crkvi. Kod pokapanja na uskom i omeđenom prostoru u crkvi zabilježeno je 109 slučajeva presijecanja (44,86 %) starijega groba pri ukopu mlađega groba, a do čega dolazi zbog skučenosti unutrašnjeg prostora poželjnog za pokop velikog broja pokojnika.

Grobni su nalazi (sl. 7C) zabilježeni u 74 primjeraka (30,45 %) koji su se mogli povezati uz pojedini grob, a ukupno su na lokalitetu pronađena 282 različita metalna predmeta izvan konteksta groba, najčešće pronađeni u sloju prekopanih grobnih raka ili u njihovim zapunama. Među njima se tipološki brojem najviše pojavljuju predica i novac s po 87 i 75 primjeraka, potom slijedi prstenje u 30 primjeraka, gumb ili kakva aplikacija u 20 primjeraka, naušnice ili karičice u 12 primjeraka te 58 drugih nalaza (igla, nožić, strelica samostrela, ostruga, čavao, kremen itd.).

Novac kao databilno najpouzdaniji nalaz pokazuje vremenski raspon od razvijenoga srednjega vijeka pa do modernoga doba, odnosno od vremena prije gradnje starije ranogotičke crkve pa sve do vremena obnove i korištenja mlađe crkve u 18. stoljeću. Najraniji nalazi tako pripadaju kraju 12. ili prije 13. stoljeća, među kojima je više primjeraka srebrnog novca, poput kat. br. 2 i 3, koji bi po svojim dimenzijama (promjer 16 mm) mogli biti frizatici.³⁴ Problem oko preciznijeg determiniranja primjeraka jest veoma loše očuvana (istrošena) površina obje strane novca, ali kako se na njima ipak razaznaju ljudski likovi u paru na reversu, vjerujem kako je barem u jednom slučaju riječ o nekoj od brojnih

144 and SU 145, i.e. below them. Dislocated findings were recorded in the fillings of graves of the third and second horizons, which could be roughly put in the period of the 12th and 13th centuries (most often bronze or silver S-loops and coin samples), and which were sometimes in such a fragmented state that it was impossible to collect them. The skeletal remains of graves from the first horizon are by far the worst-preserved, either due to the cutting of the surrounding newer burial pits or due to poorly preserved bone material formed by the chemical composition of the soil. Moreover, sometimes only empty burial-pit fills were found.³² According to the findings of the first two burial horizons, it is to be assumed that the oldest graves were here before the construction of the first church, which could indicate the possibility that this is a transitional cemetery that begins with burials of the Bijelo Brdo culture and develops into the parish cemetery with the church.³³

Among the grave elements (Fig. 7B), it was possible to identify and document a burial pit in as many as 201 cases (82.71 %) and wooden coffins in 110 cases (45.27 %). Unlike the medieval graveyards in Koprivnica and Virje, a very high number of both grave elements were present here, with almost no grave without a burial pit, and half of which had a wooden coffin. The reason for this lies in the fact that, in the entire area of the older church, under the layer of dislocated burial pits (SU 373), there was obviously less interference during the newer construction interventions, compared with the other graveyards, which were mostly explored outside the church. During the burial in a narrow and limited space in the church, 109 cases (44.86 %) of cutting the older grave during the digging of the newer grave were recorded, which is due to the cramped interior space for the burial of a large number of deceased.

Grave findings (Fig. 7C) were recorded in 74 samples (30.45 %) which could have been associated with a particular grave, and a total of 282 different metal objects were found at the site outside the context of the grave, most often in a layer of excavated burial pits or in their fills. Among them, typologically, there is the highest number of buckles and money, with 87 and 75 samples, followed by rings in 30 samples, a button or an applique in 20 samples, earrings or loops in 12 samples, and 58 other findings (needle, knife, crossbow arrow, spurs, nails, flints etc.).

32 I na groblju uz koprivničku Crkvu sv. Nikole grobovi najstarijeg horizonta pokapanja pokazuju lošu očuvanost osteološkog materijala. Na oba lokaliteta radi se o ukopu u pješčanu podlogu koja je vrlo abrazivna po koštani materijal, do te mjere da ga u potpunosti razgrađuje.

33 Na svim osteološkim ostacima grobova nisu provedene sve antropološke analize koje bi polučile iznošenje statističkih odnosa u spolno-dobnoj distribuciji, pregled mortaliteta i bolesti te slično. Dio je grobova analiziran u sklopu Međunarodne ljetne škole (bio)arheologije ostvarene u suradnji Muzeja grada Koprivnice, Instituta za antropologiju u Zagrebu i Sveučilišta Mississippi State iz Sjedinjenih Američkih Država (Novak, Čimin 2019). Nastavak škole, a time i antropološke analize, obustavljen je tijekom 2020. i 2021. godine zbog širenja epidemije bolesti uzrokovane SARS-CoV-2 i nemogućnosti njezina održavanja. Pretpostavka je da će se s njome nastaviti, a cjelovita analiza bit će predmet nekog budućega rada.

34 Mirnik 2008, 127.

32 Even in the graveyard next to Koprivnica's church of St Nicholas, graves of the oldest buried soil horizon show poor preservation of osteological material. At both sites, burials were made on a sandy base which is very abrasive to the bone material. This was done to such an extent that it completely decomposed it.

33 Not all anthropological analyses were performed on all osteological remains of graves, which would have resulted in the presentation of statistical relations in the sex-age distribution, examination of mortality and disease, etc. Some of the graves were analysed as part of the International Summer School of (Bio)Archaeology, realized in cooperation with the Koprivnica Town Museum, the Institute of Anthropology in Zagreb, and the Mississippi State University of the United States (Novak, Čimin 2019). The continuation of this school, and thus the anthropological analysis, was suspended during 2020 and 2021 due to the spread of the epidemic of the disease caused by SARS-CoV-2 and the impossibility of its maintenance. The assumption is that it will be continued, and a comprehensive analysis will be the subject of some future work.



SLIKA 8. Zlatni novac, venecijanski dukat, kovan tijekom druge polovine 14. stoljeća (snimio R. Čimin).

FIGURE 8. Golden coin, Venetian ducat, minted during the second half of the 14th century (photo by R. Čimin).

inačica tog novca. Oba su primjerka pronađena u zapuni ukopa svetišta starije crkve, kojima se ista negira, a u koju je mogla dospjeti presjekavši određeni grob ili sloj koji je prethodio njezinoj izgradnji. Mnogo je lakše novac kat. br. 1 pripisati denaru, obolu ili poludenaru budući da se na reversu razaznaje jednakokračni ili možda čak patrijarhalni križ.³⁵ Novac je pronađen u sloju SJ 142 koji se interpretira kao sloj poremećenih grobnih raka na prostoru svetišta starije crkve uz 1. i 2. horizont pokapanja. Kod novca kat. br. 4 potpuno je jasno da se radi o venecijanskom zlatnom dukatu dužda Andrea Contarinija kovanom sredinom ili u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća, koji na aversu ima tipičan prikaz Isusa Krista u ovalnom medaljonu okružen zvjezdicama, dok na reversu lijevo stoji sveti Marko, držeći štap, a desno je mletački dužd koji kleči na jednom koljenu (sl. 8). Taj novac nije tako čest nalaz, visoke je čistoće i vrijednosti, te se kao pojam kvalitete i stabilnosti zadržava u sličnom obliku sve do sredine 18. stoljeća. Nalaz iz Đurđevca pokazuje ikonografske karakteristike likova kakvi su bili u 14. stoljeću, pronađen je u sloju SJ 699 koji je zapunjavao grobnu raku negiranu mlađim ukopom groba 37 između ukopa grobova 78 i 81, a svi su pripisani starijoj fazi 3. horizonta pokapanja. Sljedeći primjerak novca (kat. br. 5) jest akvilejski denar Ludovica II. kovan između 1412. i 1420. godine. Pronađen je u višem sloju prekopanih grobnih raka SJ 373 koji se povezuje uz vrijeme podizanja mlađe crkve krajem 15. stoljeća, a u koji je dospio u vrijeme tih građevinskih intervencija. Druga tri primjerka novca odraz su novovjekovne obnove i ponovnog korištenja sakralnog prostora u svojstvu kapele tijekom novoga vijeka, kao što je ranije navedeno u kanonskim vizitacijama. Tako je srebrni novac kat. br. 6 nominale 3 krajcara kovan 1698. godine u vrijeme Leopolda I. (1657. – 1705.) i može se odnositi na vizitacijski spomen

Money, as the most reliable finding, shows a time span from the developed Middle Ages to the modern age, i.e. from the time before the construction of the older early-Gothic church until the time of restoration and usage of the newer church in the 18th century. The earliest findings thus belong to the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th, among which there are several samples of silver coins, such as cat. nos 2 and 3, which could, by their dimensions (diameter 16 mm) be frizatijski.³⁴ The problem with more precise determination of samples is the poorly preserved (worn) surfaces on both sides of the coins; but, as it is still possible to distinguish human figures in pairs on the reverse, I believe that at least in one case we can talk about some of the numerous versions of those coins. Both samples were found in the burial-pit filling of the sanctuary of the older church, which could have ended up there by cutting a certain grave or layer that preceded the construction of that church. It is much easier to attribute the coin of cat. no. 1 as obol or semi-denar, since the reverse shows an isosceles or perhaps even patriarchal cross.³⁵ The money was found in layer SU 142, which is interpreted as a layer of dislocated burial pits in the area of the sanctuary of the older church along the first and second burial horizons. Regarding the money of cat. no. 4, it is quite clear that it is a Venetian gold ducat minted by the doge Andrea Contarini in the middle or the second half of the 14th century, which, on the obverse, has a typical depiction of Jesus Christ in an oval medallion surrounded by stars, while, on the reverse, on the left there is St Mark holding a cane, and on the right a Venetian doge kneeling on one knee (Fig. 8). That coin is not such a common finding. It is of high purity and value, and, as a notion of quality and stability, it was kept in a similar form until the middle of the 18th century. The finding from Đurđevac shows the iconographic characteristics

35 Mirnik 2008, 129.

34 Mirnik 2008, 127.

35 Mirnik 2008, 129.

korištenja 1700. godine, dok su bakreni novac kat. br. 7 nominale 1 krajcara kovan 1761. godine za Marije Terezije (1740. – 1780.) i bakreni novac kat. br. 8 nominale 1/2 krajcara kovan 1781. za Josipa II. (1764. – 1790.) odraz korištenja novoizgrađene kapele između 1746. i 1804. godine.

U grobu 51, koji je radiokarbonskom analizom apsolutno datiran oko sredine 13. stoljeća, pronađene su zajedno dvije vrste srebrnih naušnica: obična i S-karičica (kat. br. 10 i 11). I dok su obične karičice rastvorenih krajeva u Mađarskoj i istočnoj Slavoniji čest nalaz 10. i 11. stoljeća (Đakovo, Osijek-Bijelo Brdo, Vukovar-Lijeva bara), ovakvi nalazi pokazuju da se obje zadržavaju sve do 13. stoljeća iz čega proizlazi da nisu pogodan databilan element.³⁶ Mali primjerak srebrne obične karičice rastvorenih krajeva sa zaobljenim i šiljatim završetkom iz groba 18 (kat. br. 15) pripisan je 2. horizontu pokapanja, odnosno 12. ili 13. stoljeću. Klasičnim brončanim S-karičicama s raskucanom petljom na vrhu pripada ju primjeri kat. br. 12–14 pronađeni u zapuni ispod groba 65 i vjerojatno ih se može povezati sa 1. horizontom pokapanja tijekom čitavog 11. ili na prijelazu u 12. stoljeće. Takve naušnice manjih dimenzija u promjeru 24 do 26 mm nekim su tipologijama povezane upravo uz razdoblja 10. i 11. stoljeća, dok su 12. i 13. stoljeću pripisane naušnice većih dimenzija. Na nekolicini srednjovjekovnih grobalja vidljivo je kako se u najranijim fazama pokapanja u istim grobovima zajedno pojavljuju S-karičice manjih i većih dimenzija,³⁷ a karičice sličnih dimenzija, pronađene u grobu 33 na Kliškovcu u Suhopolju, datirane su u 1. fazu pokapanja od 11. do sredine 13. stoljeća.³⁸ Na lokalitetu se pojavljuju i brončane S-karičice srednjih dimenzija izrađene od tanje žice, a kojima se pripisuju tri ili četiri predmeta (kat. br. 16, 19 i 20 te možda kat. br. 17), izvorno u promjeru 33 do 34 mm, a pronađene su deformirane ili necjelovite. Valja napomenuti kako se na nizu drugih istovremenih grobalja u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj pojavljuju podjednako srebrne, brončane i željezne S-karičice. No među klasičnim nalazima takvih naušnica posebno se izdvaja naušnica kat. br. 18 kao srebrna trojagodna sljepoočničarka na S-karičici raskucanog vrha. Izvedba bikoničnih košarastih jagoda izvedena je finim filigranskim povezanim poljima. Naušnica je pronađena u zapuni groba 64, kojem vjerojatno i pripada ili je ondje dospjela u vrijeme njegova pokapanja. Na zagrebačkom groblju Stenjevec na gotovo 500 m² kroz petnaest godina istražena su 193 groba koja su funkcionirala tijekom 11. i 12. stoljeća, a sadržavala su veoma mnogo karakterističnih nalaza za to razdoblje: obične karičice, manje ili veće S-karičice, grozdolike naušnice i limeno prstenje. Među njima, zanimljiv je inventar groba 96 u kojem je pokopana žena s deset primjeraka istovjetnih srebrnih trojagodnih sljepoočničarki i dva ukrasna zrna od ametista i gorskog kristala.³⁹ Zbog rijetkosti nalaza i specifičnosti umjetničkog izričaja radio-nice takvog nakita, ovi su primjerci naušnica dali osnovu za imevanje Tipa Stenjevec koji analogije u kvaliteti i načinu izrade pronalazi na lokalitetima Pijesci, sjeverno od Kloštra Podravskog,

of the figures as they were in the 14th century, found in layer SU 699, which filled the burial pit negated by the younger burial pit of grave 37 between the burial pits of graves 78 and 81, all of which were attributed to the older phase of the third burial horizon. The next money sample (cat. no. 5) is an Aquileian denar of Lodovico II minted between 1412 and 1420. Found in a higher layer of excavated burial pits SU 373, it would correspond to the time of the creation of the newer church at the end of the 15th c.; it must have been deposited precisely during these construction works. The other three money samples are a reflection of the modern restoration and reuse of the sacred space as a chapel during the modern period, as stated earlier in the canonical visitations. Therefore, the silver coins of cat. no. 6 with a nominal value of 3 kreuzers were minted in 1698 under Leopold I (1657 – 1705) and may refer to a visitation memorial of usage in 1700, while the copper coins of cat. no. 7 with a nominal value of 1 kreuzer were minted in 1761 under Maria Theresa (1740 – 1780). Furthermore, the copper coins of cat. no. 8 with a nominal value of 1/2 kreuzer were minted in 1781 under Joseph II (1764 – 1790), and they were a reflection of the usage of the newly-built chapel between 1746 and 1804.

In grave 51, which was dated by the radiocarbon analysis to a period around the middle of the 13th century, two types of silver earrings were found together: plain and S-loop (cat. nos 10 and 11). While the plain open earrings were a common finding of the 10th and 11th centuries in the regions of Hungary and eastern Slavonia (Đakovo, Osijek-Bijelo Brdo, Vukovar-Lijeva bara), such findings show that both types of earrings had existed until the 13th century, which means they are not a suitable element for determining the time period,³⁶ which had already been concluded while processing the graveyard next to Koprivnica's church of St Nicholas. A small sample of a plain open silver loop with a thick, pointed end from grave 18 (cat. no. 15) is attributed to the second horizon, i.e. to the 12th or 13th century. Classic bronze S-loops with a knot on top belong to cat. nos 12–14, found in the filling below grave 65, and they could very easily be associated with the first horizon, during the entire 11th century or at the turn of the 12th century. Such earrings of smaller dimensions, with a diameter of 24 to 26 mm, have been associated by some typologies with periods of the 10th and 11th centuries, while earrings of larger dimensions were attributed to the 12th and 13th centuries. In several medieval graveyards, it is visible that, in the earliest stages of burials in the same graves, S-loops of smaller and larger dimensions appear together,³⁷ and loops of similar dimensions found in grave 33 at Kliškovac, in Suhopolje, date to the first burial phase: from the 11th century to the middle of the 13th.³⁸ Medium-sized bronze S-loops made of thinner wire also appear at the site, to which three or four objects are attributed (cat. nos 16, 19 and 20, and perhaps cat. no. 17), originally with diameters of 33 to 34 mm. Also, they were found deformed or incomplete. It should be noted that, in a number of other graveyards in northern Croatia, which date to the same time periods, other silver, bronze

36 Filipec 2012, 112. Slične nalazne situacije autor rada dokumentirao je prilikom arheoloških iskopavanja groblja uz koprivničku Crkvu sv. Nikole 2014. i 2015. godine, a čiji rezultati još nisu objavljeni.

37 Brunšmid 1904, 78; Simoni 2004, 52; Filipec 2012, 210–211.

38 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, T. 1: PN 21.1–PN 21.3.

39 Simoni 2004, 32–33, kat. br. 22.

36 Filipec 2012, 112. Similar findings were documented by the author of the paper during the archaeological excavations of the cemetery next to the Koprivnica church of St Nicholas in 2014 and 2015, the results of which have not been published yet.

37 Brunšmid 1904, 78; Simoni 2004, 52; Filipec 2012, 210–211.

38 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, Pl. 1: PN 21.1–PN 21.3.

i Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti, nedaleko od Budimpešte.⁴⁰ U Mađarskoj je takav predmet pronađen u ostavi ukopanoj neposredno pred mongolsku najezdu, odnosno tridesetih godina 13. stoljeća, što datiraju najmlađi primjerci novca u ostavi, ali koja sadrži i predmete čija donja granica ide do sredine 12. stoljeća.⁴¹ Primjerak raskošnije naušnice iz Kloštra Podravskog datira se u široko 12. ili 13. stoljeće.⁴² Nešto je oštećenija naušnica pronađena i na lokalitetu Suhopolje-Kliškovac, u grobu 92, koji je pripisan 1. fazi pokapanja od 11. do sredine 13. stoljeća.⁴³ Prema svemu navedenom, razvidno je kako je izrada takvih filigranskih trojagrodnih košarastih naušnica bila proizvod određene umjetničke radionice koja ih je proizvodila u užem vremenskom rasponu od nekoliko desetljeća oko sredine 12. stoljeća.

U sastavu je groba 50 (2. horizont pokapanja) pronađen srebrni prsten kat. br. 21 s tankim obručem i krunom u koju je umetnuto oko, izrađeno od tamnozeleno staklene paste, a krunište je okruženo finim filigranskim zrnatim ukrasom s proširenom pločicom djetelinastog oblika (sl. 9). Prema načinu, tehnici i kvaliteti izrade odgovara naušnici pod kat. br. 18 pa ga je potrebno slično datirati oko sredine 12. stoljeća, a moguće da čak potječe i iz iste radionice. Prstenje sa središnjom krunom i staklenim okom nije rijetkost toga vremena pa su tako poznati slični pojedinačni primjerci na Kliškovcu u Suhopolju,⁴⁴ Đakovu,⁴⁵ Lijevoj Bari kod Vukovara⁴⁶ ili Bijelom Brdu kod Osijeka,⁴⁷ gdje se datiraju kroz šire vrijeme 11. i 12. stoljeća.

U zapuni groba 36 (3. horizont pokapanja) pronađena je brončana igla pribadača s manjom kuglastom glavicom pod kat. br. 22, a izrađena od žice. Takvi su predmeti relativno rijedak nalaz na grobljima, kako zbog malih dimenzija tako i zbog podložnosti propadanju. Nešto mlađi primjerci pronađeni su na grobljima Sv. Martin u Virju⁴⁸ i Sv. Nikola u Koprivnici,⁴⁹ gdje datiraju u ranonovovjekovno razdoblje, a u Celju ih je pronađeno više desetaka primjeraka.⁵⁰ Primjerak iz Đurđevca sličnosti pronalazi u primjerku s Kliškovca u Suhopolju, gdje je pronađena izvan konteksta groba, a datirana u 14. stoljeće, kada se mogla koristiti pri pričvršćivanju velova i drugih oglavlja,⁵¹ čemu bi odgovarala i nalazna situacija predmeta iz Đurđevca. No čak devet primjeraka pronađeno je u mađarskoj utvrdi Bajcsa gdje su datirane u drugu polovinu 16. stoljeća pa se očigledno koriste kroz duže vrijeme.⁵² Najviše isto-

and iron S-loops appear in the same amount. However, among the classic findings of such earrings, one stands out. It is the earring of cat. no. 18, a silver three-bead S-loop with a cracked top. The biconical basket-like beads were executed here with fine filigree-connected fields. The earring was found in the fill of grave 64, where it probably belonged or had arrived at the time of the burial. At the Stenjevec graveyard in Zagreb, which covers almost 500 m², 193 graves which were used during the 11th and 12th centuries have been investigated over fifteen years and contained many findings characteristic of that period: ordinary loops, S-loops of various sizes, grape-shaped earrings and tin rings. Among them, one interesting inventory item comes from grave 96, in which a woman is buried with ten samples of identical silver three-bead loops and two decorative beads of amethyst and mountain crystal.³⁹ Due to the rarity of the findings and the specificity of the artistic expression of such jewellery making, these samples of earrings provided the basis for the naming of Type Stenjevec, which finds analogies in the quality and method of production at the sites of Pijesci, north of Kloštar Podravski, and Nyáregyháza-Pusztapótharaszti, near Budapest.⁴⁰ In Hungary, an object was found in a hoard buried just prior to the Mongol invasion, i.e. in the third decade of the 13th century. Also, the newest samples of money in the hoard date to those years. However, the hoard also contains objects that date as far back as the middle of the 12th century.⁴¹ A sample of a more luxurious earring from Kloštar Podravski dates to the broader 12th or 13th century.⁴² A slightly more damaged earring was found at the Suhopolje-Kliškovac site in grave 92, which is attributed to the first phase of burial, from the 11th century to the middle of the 13th.⁴³ According to all of the above, it is clear that the making of such filigree three-bead basket-like earrings was a product of a certain art workshop that was producing them in a relatively narrow time span of several decades around the middle of the 12th century.

A silver ring, cat. no. 21, was found in grave 50 (second burial horizon). The ring had a thin hoop and a crown in which a centre stone made of dark green glass paste was inserted, while the crown was surrounded by a fine filigree beaded ornament with an extended clover-shaped plate (Fig. 9). According to the method, technique and quality of making, it corresponds to the earring of cat. no. 18 and, therefore, needs to be similarly dated to around the middle of the 12th century, and possibly even originated from the same

40 Simoni 2004, 53–55.

41 Parádi 1975, 126, 158, 2. ábra: 3, 3. ábra: 7.

42 Brunšmid 1904, 81, sl. 33, br. 8; Simoni 2004, 55, sl. 20.

43 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, T. 1: PN 56.

44 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, T. 1: PN 55, PN 65.

45 Filipec 2012, 137–141, sl. 57: 1–6.

46 Demo 2009, 74–75, 136–137, 202–203, 266–267, 278–279, 314–315, 328–329, 364–365.

47 Brunšmid 1904, 74, sl. 7: 1–3.

48 Čimin 2013: 59, 63, kat. br. 44.

49 Nalazi prikupljeni na tom lokalitetu nisu objavljeni, a iskapanja je proveo autor ovog rada.

50 Guštin, Bressan, Komplet 2001, 284, kat. br. 343–396.

51 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 138–139, T. 1: PN 26.

52 Kovács (ed.) 2002, 181, kat. br. 214.

39 Simoni 2004, 32–33, cat. no. 22.

40 Simoni 2004, 53–55.

41 Parádi 1975, 126, 158, 2. ábra: 3, 3. ábra: 7.

42 Brunšmid 1904, 81, sl. 33, br. 8; Simoni 2004, 55, Fig. 20.

43 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, Pl. 1: PN 56.



SLIKA 9. Srebrni prsten sa staklenim okom, kat. br. 41 (snimio I. Valent).
FIGURE 9. Silver ring with a glass centre stone, cat. no. 41 (photo by I. Valent).

vjetnih primjeraka dolazi pak s brodoloma pronađenog kod Gnalića u biogradskom akvatoriju, a gdje ih čak 80 primjeraka datira najkasnije do 1583. godine, kada se sam brodolom i dogodio.⁵³ Vremenu sredine i druge polovine 16. stoljeća pripadaju nalazi s Opatovine u Zagrebu, dok više primjeraka iz Pavlinskog samostana u Kamenskom kod Karlovca, Crkve sv. Jurja u Mateškom Selu ili Kaposvaru ne podliježu preciznijoj dataciji.⁵⁴ U svojstvu nakita tijekom srednjega vijeka u Đurđevcu pojavljuju se i prstenasti broševi različitih oblika, sastavljeni od okvira i pomične igle s unaprijed definiranim ležištem. U Europi su takvi broševi bili u modi od 12. do 15. stoljeća, s najvećom popularnošću u 13. i 14. stoljeću. Mogu biti različitih oblika, od prstenastih okruglih do rombičnih, šesterolisnih, šestokrakih ili osmokrakih, s natpisom ili bez njega.⁵⁵ Uglavnom su služili za zakopčavanje proreza na tunicima, neposredno ispod vrata ili kakvih plaštava na ramenima. Na Sošicama su pronađena tri predmeta koja bi se mogla inter-

workshop. Rings with a central crown and a glass centre stone were not uncommon at that time, so similar individual samples have been found at Kliškovac in Suhopolje,⁴⁴ Đakovo,⁴⁵ Lijeve Bara near Vukovar,⁴⁶ and Bijelo Brdo near Osijek,⁴⁷ where they date to the broader 11th and 12th centuries.

A bronze pin with a small spherical head (cat. no. 22) made of wire was found in the filling of grave 36 (third burial horizon). Such objects are a relatively rare find in graveyards, both because of their small size and because of their susceptibility to decay. Somewhat younger samples were found in the graveyards of St Martin in Virje⁴⁸ and St Nicholas in Koprivnica,⁴⁹ where they date back to the early modern period, while dozens of samples were also found in Celje.⁵⁰ The sample from Đurđevac has similarities with the sample from Kliškovac, in Suhopolje, where it was found outside the context of a grave, and which dates to the 14th century, when it could have been used to fasten veils and other headgear,⁵¹ which would correspond to the situation of the Đurđevac find. However, no fewer than nine samples were found in the Hungarian fortress of Bajcs, where they date to the second half of the 16th century and had apparently been used over a lengthy period of time.⁵² Most of the identical specimens come from a shipwreck found near Gnalić in the sea off Biograd, where as many as 80 specimens date back to 1583 at the latest, when the shipwreck itself took place.⁵³ Finds from Opatovina, in Zagreb, belong to the time of the middle and second half of the 16th century, while several specimens from the Pauline monastery in Kamenski, near Karlovac, the church of St George in Mateško Selo or in Kaposvar are not subject to more precise dating.⁵⁴

During the Middle Ages, ring brooches of various shapes appeared in Đurđevac as jewellery, consisting of a frame and a movable needle with a predefined bearing. In Europe, such brooches were in fashion from the 12th century to the 15th, with their greatest popularity being in the 13th and 14th centuries. They can be of various shapes, from ring-shaped to rhombic, six-leafed, six-pointed or eight-pointed, with or without an inscription.⁵⁵ They were mainly used for fastening slits in the tunic just below the neck or on some kind of cloak on the shoulders. Three objects which could be interpreted as brooches were found in Sošice. The first belongs to cat. no. 24 and is made of bronze plate, decorated only with a series of

53 Jaruga 1981, 69–70.

54 Demo 2007, 69; Mérai 2007, 59–62, Fig. 12; Perkić 2010, 246, T. 2: 21–22; 2017, 208–209, T. 5: 2–7.

55 Belaj, Belaj 2016; Belaj 2017.

44 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, Pl. 1: PN 55, PN 65.

45 Filipec 2012, 137–141, Fig. 57: 1–6.

46 Demo 2009, 74–75, 136–137, 202–203, 266–267, 278–279, 314–315, 328–329, 364–365.

47 Brunšmid 1904, 74, Fig. 7: 1–3.

48 Čimin 2013, 59, 63, cat. no. 44.

49 The findings collected at that site have not been published, and the excavations were carried out by the author of this paper.

50 Guštin, Bressan, Komplet 2001, 284, cat. nos 343–396.

51 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 138–139, Pl. 1: PN 26.

52 Kovács (ed.) 2002, 181, cat. no. 214.

53 Jaruga 1981, 69–70.

54 Demo 2007, 69; Mérai 2007, 59–62, Fig. 12; Perkić 2010, 246, Pl. 2: 21–22; 2017, 208–209, Pl. 5: 2–7.

55 Belaj, Belaj 2016; Belaj 2017.

pretirati kao broševi. Prvi je kat. br. 24, izrađen od brončane ploče, ukrašen samo s vanjske strane urezanim nizom trokutića omeđenih šrafiranim poljima. Sličan je srebrni primjerak pronađen u vojvođanskoj Dobrici, u ostavi datiranoj pred mongolsku najezdu do 1241. godine,⁵⁶ zatim su tu tri primjerka iz ostave na lokalitetu Nyáregyháza- Pusztaótharaszti blizu Budimpešte datirani u kraj 12. ili početak 13. stoljeća,⁵⁷ a slični trokutići na broševima primijećeni su i na baltičkom groblju Stangenwald, sjeverno od Kalinjingrada, datiranom u 13. i 14. stoljeće.⁵⁸ Takvi prstenasti broševi mogu nositi i kakav natpis, ponekad s posvetom Djevici Mariji, kao primjerak iz Gore, nositelji su češće žene, a zanimljiva je teorija po kojoj se povezuju uz utjecaj zapadne katoličke crkve i viteških redova (templari) na prostorima južne Ugarske u 12. i početku 13. stoljeća.⁵⁹ Dio brončanog broša pod kat. br. 25 ima nekoliko analogija u okruženju, ima plitki ukras urezanih kružića, a koje Juraj Belaj određuje kao šesterokrake prstenaste broševe, dvostruko spojenih krakova, i donosi dva primjerka iz Kamenitog hata u Subotici,⁶⁰ srebrni i brončani, gdje su datirani od kraja 13. do druge trećine 14. stoljeća. Posljednji broš kat. br. 26 cjelovito je očuvan, rađen na proboj, pri čemu je vanjski rub valovit, na alki se pojavljuje osam rozetnih polja, a polje s ležištem za trn i sam trn nisu sačuvani. Jedini sličan primjerak pronašao sam na sjeveru Europe na groblju Stangenwald, sjeverno od Kalinjingrada, datiran u 13. ili 14. stoljeće, s razlikom da tamošnji ima dodatno urezane vegetabilne rozetne motive između svaka dva polja.⁶¹ U zakopčavanju su odjeće korištene i brončane omega kopčice ili dvodijelne dvopetljuste kopče s kukom i ušicom kao kat. br. 23, koje se datiraju u mlađa razdoblja srednjega i početna stoljeća novoga vijeka.⁶²

Kod groba 61 pronađen je par kružnih brončanih predica (kat. br. 27–28). Takav slučaj nalazi se na groblju Begovača u Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra, gdje je datiran u 13. stoljeće,⁶³ u Mađarskoj su takvi primjerci datirani u kraj 12. pa do sredine 13. stoljeća,⁶⁴ a đurđevački grob 61 radiokarbonski je datiran na prijelaz druge u treću trećinu 13. stoljeća (tab. 1: 8).⁶⁵ Željezne kružne predice mogu biti elipsoidnog, romboidnog ili kružnog presjeka (kat. br. 29–32), sve su pronađene u sloju prekopanih raka SJ 373, dakle izvan grobnog konteksta, i pripadaju 13. i 14. stoljeću, kao i primjerci na Kliškovcu u Suhopolju,⁶⁶ ili drugim primjercima na Begovači u Biljanima Donjim.⁶⁷

triangles etched on the outside, bordered by striped fields. A similar silver sample was found in Dobrica, in Vojvodina, in a hoard dated back to the period before the Mongol invasion, before 1241.⁵⁶ Then there are three samples from a hoard at the Nyáregyháza-Pusztaótharaszti site near Budapest which are dated to the late 12th century or early 13th,⁵⁷ and similar triangles on brooches have also been noticed in the Baltic graveyard of Stangenwald, north of Kaliningrad, which date to the 13th and 14th centuries.⁵⁸ Such ring brooches can bear inscriptions, sometimes with a dedication to the Virgin Mary, such as the sample from Gora. They are more often worn by women, and an interesting theory says they are associated with the influence of the Western Catholic Church and the Knights Templar in southern Hungary in the 12th century and at the beginning of the 13th.⁵⁹ Part of the bronze brooch of cat. no. 25 has several analogies in the environment, with a shallow ornament of etched circles, which Juraj Belaj defines as six-pointed ring brooches of double-connected sides, and he brings two samples from Kameniti Hat in Subotica,⁶⁰ a silver and a bronze one, which date to the end of the 13th century and the second third of the 14th. The last brooch, cat. no. 26, is completely preserved. Its outer edge is wavy, and eight rosette fields appear on the tilt, while the field with the mandrel bearing and the mandrel itself are not preserved. I found the only similar sample in northern Europe at the Stangenwald graveyard north of Kaliningrad, which dates to the 13th or 14th century. The difference, however, is that this sample has additionally etched herbal-rosette motifs among each of the two fields.⁶¹ Bronze omega buckles or two-piece two-loop buckles with a hook and an eyelet, as in cat. no. 23, were also used for fastening clothes, and they date to the later periods of the Middle Ages and the early centuries of the New Age.⁶²

A pair of circular bronze buckles was found in grave 61 (cat. nos 27–28). Such a case was found in the Begovača graveyard in Biljani Donji, near Zadar, where it dates to the 13th century.⁶³ In Hungary, such examples date to the end of the 12th century and the middle of the 13th,⁶⁴ while Đurđevac's grave 61 was dated using radiocarbon to the transition from the second third of the 13th century to the third (Tab. 1: 8).⁶⁵ Circular iron buckles can have an elliptical, rhombic or circular cross section (cat. nos 29–32), and all were found in a layer of excavated burial pits (SU 373), i.e. outside the context of a grave. Furthermore, they belong to the 13th and 14th

56 Belaj 2017, 203, Pl. 1: 6.

57 Parádi 1975, 130, 7. ábra, 8. ábra: 9.

58 Bierman et al. 2011, 257–259, Taf. 13: 16–19.

59 Belaj 2017, 218.

60 Szekeres 2002, 3. tábla; Belaj 2017, 203, Pl. 3: 13–14.

61 Bierman et al. 2011, 257–259, Taf. 15: 1.

62 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 132, T. 35: 50; Demo 2007, 73–74, kat. br. 15: 1–20.

63 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 95, T. 36: 526.

64 Parádi 1975, 132, 9. ábra: 1.

65 Autor rada istražio je i slično datirao dva groba s identičnim nalazima i na groblju Sv. Nikole u Koprivnici, još neobjavljeno.

66 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, T. 2: PN 30, 64.

67 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 128, T. 46: 58–63.

56 Belaj 2017, 203, Pl. 1: 6.

57 Parádi 1975, 130, 7. ábra, 8. ábra: 9.

58 Bierman et al. 2011, 257–259, Taf. 13: 16–19.

59 Belaj 2017, 218.

60 Szekeres 2002, 3. tábla; Belaj 2017, 203, Pl. 3: 13–14.

61 Bierman et al. 2011, 257–259, Taf. 15: 1.

62 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 132, T. 35: 50; Demo 2007, 73–74, cat. no. 15: 1–20.

63 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 95, T. 36: 526.

64 Parádi 1975, 132, 9. ábra: 1.

65 The author of the paper researched and similarly dated two graves with identical findings in the graveyard of St Nicholas in Koprivnica, yet unpublished.

66 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 137, Pl. 2: PN 30, 64.

Pređice D-oblika pripadaju starijim oblicima pojasnih kopči u Europi koje se u jednostavnim oblicima pojavljuju već u 13. stoljeću, poput manjih primjerka pod kat. br. 33, a iz kojih se u 14. stoljeću razvijaju oblici poput brončane pređice djetelinastog oblika pod kat. br. 34.⁶⁸ Daljnji korak u tipološkom razvoju pređica su one četvrtastog ili trapezoidnog oblika, među kojima se prve kao kat. br. 35 javljaju već početkom 14. stoljeća, dok su druge poput kat. br. 43 svojstvenije drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća.⁶⁹ Primjerci trapezoidnih pređica mogu biti i većih dimenzija kao kat. br. 46, od kojih se postupno razvija tip pređice asimetrično-gljivastog okvira, od nenaglašenog oblika kao kat. br. 47 prema sve naglašenijem kod primjeraka kat. br. 48–51. Takve su pređice na zagrebačkoj Opatovini⁷⁰ i u Virju datirane u 14. i prvu polovinu 15. stoljeća,⁷¹ dok su primjerci iz Đurđevca nađeni u slojevima koji prije odgovaraju 15. stoljeću. No valja napomenuti kako se taj tip pređica vrlo postupno razvija, a uslijed čega mu se jednostavniji oblik, poput kat. br. 49, pojavljuje u kontekstu kružnih brončanih pređica druge polovine 13. stoljeća.⁷² Po primjerak D-oblika te četvrtastog ili trapezoidnog oblika pređice nalaze se na groblju oko Crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku, a datirani su u kasnosrednjovjekovno i ranonovovjekovno razdoblje,⁷³ što samo pokazuje njihovu praktičnu uporabu kroz više stoljeća.

Iako se dvodijelne pređice najčešće sastoje od unutrašnje četvrtaste alke i vanjskog ovalnog dijela s trnom, željezna pređica pod kat. br. 44 sastavljena je od dvije ovalne alke kvadratičnog presjeka, koje prema van završavaju trokutastim pločicama i odvojene su središnjom prečkom četvrtastog presjeka, na koju je pričvršćen trn, a tipološki se određuje kao dvopetljava naočalasta pređica. Po sličan primjerak pronađen je na groblju Kliškovac u Suhopolju, gdje je pripisana 3. fazi pokapanja u 15. stoljeću,⁷⁴ u naselju Bentež kod Beketinaca, gdje pripada sloju 15. stoljeća,⁷⁵ na mađarskom groblju u Győru, gdje je datirana u šire 16. i 17. stoljeće,⁷⁶ a u zapadnoj Europi datiraju se od 16. do u prvu polovinu 17. stoljeća.⁷⁷ Druge asimetrične pređice, kako je navedeno, uobičajena su pojava na kasnosrednjovjekovnim grobljima u Hrvatskoj i Europi kao moda druge polovine 14. i prve polovine 15. stoljeća.⁷⁸ Takvi su primjerci na đurđevačkom groblju pronađeni u slojevima izvan grobnog konteksta (kat. br. 45, 53–54), osim kod kat. br. 52, koja je nađena *in situ* u grobu 28, pripisanome 3. horizontu pokapanja, koja ima dio očuvanog tekstilnog remena i karakteristike primjerka sa zagrebačke Opatovine, datiranog na prijelazu 15. u 16. stoljeće.⁷⁹ Nekoliko sličnih pređica na đakovačkom groblju ima alku kružnog presjeka, dok je na primjercima iz

centuries, just like samples at Kliškovac in Suhopolje⁶⁶ or other samples at Begovača in Biljani Donji.⁶⁷

D-shaped buckles belong to older forms of belt buckles in Europe which appear in simple forms as early as the 13th century, such as the smaller samples of cat. no. 33, from which forms developed in the 14th century like the bronze clover-shaped buckle, cat. no. 34.⁶⁸ A further step in the typological development of buckles is the appearance of those of quadrangular or trapezoidal shape, among which the first belong to cat. no. 35 and appear as early as the 14th century, while others, like those of cat. no. 43, are more characteristic of the second half of the 14th century.⁶⁹ Samples of trapezoidal buckles can be of larger dimensions, like those belonging to cat. no. 46. Based on this buckle, a type of buckle with asymmetrical-mushroom frame had gradually developed from such shape, which can be found under cat. no. 47, towards the increasingly accentuated ones found in the samples of cat. nos 48 to 51. Such buckles in Zagreb's Opatovina⁷⁰ and in Virje date to the 14th century and the first half of the 15th,⁷¹ while samples from Đurđevac were found in layers that are better suited in the 15th century. However, it should be noted that this type of buckle developed very gradually. During this process, a simpler shape, like that of cat. no. 49, appears in the context of circular bronze buckles of the second half of the 13th century.⁷² Buckles of the D-shape and the square or trapezoidal shape were found in the cemetery around the church of St Nicholas the Bishop in Žumberak, and dated to the late medieval and early modern period,⁷³ which only shows their practical use through several centuries.

Although two-piece buckles usually consist of an inner quadrangular tilt and an outer oval part with a mandrel, iron buckle cat. no. 44 consists of two oval tilts of quadrangular cross-section which end with triangular plates on the outside and are separated by a central bar of quadrangular cross-section to which a mandrel is attached, and it is typologically defined as a two-looped spectacled buckle. A similar sample was found in the Kliškovac graveyard in Suhopolje, where it is attributed to the third burial phase in the 15th century,⁷⁴ in the settlement of Bentež near Beketinci, where it belongs to the 15th-century layer.⁷⁵ Also, it was found in the Hungarian graveyard in Győr, where it dates to the 16th and 17th centuries,⁷⁶ while in western Europe they date to the 16th century and the first half of the 17th.⁷⁷ Other asymmetrical buckles, as mentioned above, are a common occurrence in late-medieval graveyards in Croatia and Europe as a fashion of the second half of

68 Whitehead 1996, 16–20, no. 40, 90–92.

69 Whitehead 1996, 24–25, nos 126, 138.

70 Demo 2007, 84, kat. br. 16. 26–30.

71 Čimin 2010, 121, T. 1. 9; 2013, 49, kat. br. 1–15.

72 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 78, T. 7: 145.

73 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, 132, sl. 12.

74 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 138, T. 2: PN 38.

75 Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 306, T. 58: 4.

76 Mithay 1985, 193, 7. kép.

77 Whitehead 1996, 53, nos 314–316.

78 Whitehead 1996, 85, nos 538–541.

79 Demo 2007, 84, kat. br. 16. 34.

67 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 128, T. 46: 58–63.

68 Whitehead 1996, 16–20, no. 40, 90–92.

69 Whitehead 1996, 24–25, cat. nos 126, 138.

70 Demo 2007, 84, cat. no. 16. 26–30.

71 Čimin 2010, 121, T. 1. 9; 2013, 49, cat. nos 1–15.

72 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 78, T. 7: 145.

73 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, 132, Fig. 12.

74 Tomičić, Mahović 2011, 138, Pl. 2: PN 38.

75 Minichreiter, Marković 2013, 306, Pl. 58: 4.

76 Mithay 1985, 193, 7. kép.

77 Whitehead 1996, 53, nos 314–316.

Đurđevca alka presjeka oblika slova D, S ili B, što je odraz lokalne izrade. Uz to, kvadratična limena pločica pojasne kopče za pričvršćivanje pređice (kat. br. 39) predstavlja rijedak nalaz pojasne garniture.

Nekoliko nalaza pronađenih prilikom iskopavanja crkve i groblja pripada životnoj svakodnevici zajednice koja je tamo boravila. Tako dvije željezne ostruge, jedna cjelovita (kat. br. 37) i zvijezda druge (kat. br. 38), pokazuju konjaničku aktivnost na lokalitetu, a koja se može povezati uz plemićki sloj zajednice. Prva je ostruga manjih dimenzija, s lučno izvijenim krakovima i kružnim kotačićem s više od dvadeset iglica. Trn joj je vrlo kratak, a krakovi završavaju kružnom alkom za povezivanje, a takva je u Celju prisutna već u 13. stoljeću.⁸⁰ Druga ostruga, odnosno njezina zvijezda, pripada vremenu 14. i 15. stoljeća, sličan primjerak nalazi se na groblju na Crkvini u Biskupiji.⁸¹ Niti nalazi oružja nisu neuobičajeni na kasnosrednjovjekovnim grobljima pa su tako na Sošicama pronađena dva vrška željeznih četverbridnih strelica za samostrel s kružnim tuljcem za nasad tijela (kat. br. 40–41). Identičan je vršak strelice pronađen na groblju zagrebačke Opatovine,⁸² datiran od kraja 15. do sredine 16. stoljeća, a koji se povezuje uz neki sukob poput borbi u vrijeme građanskog rata na Kaptolu između pristaša Ivana Zapolje i Ferdinanda I. Habsburškog oko 1527. godine. Nekoliko identičnih primjeraka vršaka strelica s bilogorskog područja pokazuje da su ovakve strelice od 14. do 16. stoljeća u suštini lokalni proizvod, a radile su se po uzoru na starije srednjoeuropske radionice.⁸³ U Đurđevcu bi oba primjera samostrelnih strelica bilo najbolje datirati u prvu polovinu 16. stoljeća, sukladno mjestu nalaza, kao mogući odraz sukoba s Osmanlijama do kojeg je došlo neposredno prije 1548. godine, otkad je crkva napuštena.

Među klasičnim naseobinskim nalazima u terenskim pregledima, u radijusu od samo nekoliko desetaka metara oko crkve i groblja, pronađeno je mnoštvo usitnjenih ulomaka srednjovjekovnoga posuda. Izuzev njih, izdvaja se jedan predmet koji je Nikola Cik pronašao u proljeće 2016. godine na položaju Sošice 3, a riječ je o vrlo dobro očuvanom keramičkom loncu srednjih dimenzija, jednostavnog kaležasto profiliranog ruba i ravnog dna (kat. br. 42). Takva bi se posuda po tehnološkim karakteristikama izrade i načinu profiliranja ruba zasigurno mogla datirati u 13. stoljeće, a preko čitave je površine ukrašena nizom jednostrukih, nepravilno urezanih valovnica.

the 14th century and the first half of the 15th.⁷⁸ Such samples were found in the Đurđevac graveyard in layers outside the context of a grave (cat. nos 45, 53 and 54), except for cat. no. 52, which was found *in situ* in grave 28, which is attributed to the third burial horizon. This sample has part of a preserved textile belt and characteristics of a sample from Zagreb's Opatovina which dates to the turn of the 16th century.⁷⁹ Several similar buckles in the Đakovo graveyard have a tilt of circular cross-section, while on Đurđevac's samples the tilt has a cross-section in the shape of the letter D, S or B, which is a reflection of the local production. In addition, the quadrangular tin plate of the belt buckle for fastening the buckle (cat. no. 39) is a rare find of a belt set.

Several finds made during the excavation of the church and cemetery belong to the everyday life of the community that lived there. Thus, two iron spurs, one complete (cat. no. 37) and a star of the other (cat. no. 38), show equestrian activity at the site that can be associated with the aristocratic stratum of the community. The first is a spur of smaller dimensions with arched arms and a circular wheel with more than twenty needles. Its thorn is very short, and the arms end in a circular connecting link, which is present in Celje as early as the 13th century.⁸⁰ The second spur, i.e. its star, belongs to the time of the 14th and 15th centuries; a similar specimen is found in the cemetery at Crkvina in the Diocese.⁸¹ Weapons are also not uncommon in late-medieval cemeteries, so two tips of iron four-edged crossbow arrows with a circular sleeve for the body were found in Sošice (cat. nos 40–41). An identical arrowhead was found in the Zagreb cemetery of Opatovina,⁸² dating from the end of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th, which is associated with a conflict such as the fighting during the civil war on Kaptol between supporters of Ivan Zapolje and Ferdinand I of Habsburg around 1527. Several identical specimens of arrowheads from the Bilogora area show that such arrows, from the 14th century to the 16th, were essentially a local product, modelled on older Central European workshops.⁸³ In Đurđevac, both examples of crossbow arrows would be best dated to the first half of the 16th century according to the site, as a possible reflection of the conflict with the Ottomans that occurred just before 1548, when the church was abandoned. Among the classic settlement finds in field surveys within a radius of only a few tens of metres around the church and cemetery, a multitude of fragmented shards of medieval pots were found. Apart from them, one item that Nikola Cik found in the spring of 2016 at the Sošice 3 site stands out, and it is a very well-preserved medium-sized ceramic pot, with a simple chalice-profiled edge and a flat bottom (cat. no. 42). According to the technological characteristics of the construction and the way of profiling the edge, such a vessel could certainly be dated to the 13th century, and over the entire surface it is decorated with a series of single irregularly incised wavy lines.

80 Guštin, Bressan, Komplet 2001, 242, kat. br. 112.

81 Petrinec 2009, 183, T. 9: 10.

82 Demo 2007, 92–94, kat. br. 23.1.

83 Jakovljević 2008, 105–106, kat. br. 4–9, T. 2: 4–9.

78 Whitehead 1996, 85, nos 538–541.

79 Demo 2007, 84, cat. no. 16. 34.

80 Guštin, Bressan, Komplet 2001, 242, cat. no. 112.

81 Petrinec 2009, 183, T. 9: 10.

82 Demo 2007, 92–94, cat. no. 23.1.

83 Jakovljević 2008, 105–106, cat. nos 4–9, T. 2: 4–9.

Zaključna razmatranja

Na lokalitetu Đurđevac-Sošice tijekom četiri arheološke kampanje prepoznat je razvoj sakralnih objekata i pripadajućeg mu groblja kroz četiri horizonta pokapanja. Groblje je na lokalitetu započelo s funkcioniranjem prije, za sada najstarije evidentirane crkve, i to kroz prva dva horizonta pokapanja, pa je za očekivati da je u razdoblju 12. ili 13. stoljeća ovdje postojala crkva koja u dosadašnjim istraživanjima nije prepoznata, a koja je kroz Naselje sv. Jurja neposredno navedena u ispravi iz 1270. godine.⁸⁴ Moguće da je ta crkva bila i drvena, u drugačijim tlocrtnim gabaritima u odnosu na prvu istraženu crkvu, na ukopanim stupovima koji su negirani kasnijim građevinskim aktivnostima. Naime, prva dva horizonta pokapanja na groblju presložena su položajem zidova prve zidane crkve, što ukazuje na to kako je najstarija (drvena) crkva morala biti drugačijih dimenzija i drugog položaja. Prva je zidana crkva izgrađena oko 1300. godine, što je potvrđeno s nekoliko radiokarbonskih analiza, a koja je u svom osnovnom tlocrtu bila u uporabi sve do prijelaza 15. u 16. stoljeće, kada se izgrađuje mlađa, veća crkva.

Starija je crkva bila dimenzija oko 20,5 m dužine i 8,5 m širine, a sastojala se od pravokutne lađe i nešto suženijeg četvrtasto zaključenog svetišta. Građena je lomljenim lokalnim kamenom povezanim slabijom žučkastom vezivnom žbukom, a čiji su temeljni zidovi bili ukopani do najviše 1 m. Na tu je crkvu istovremeno, ili u kratkom vremenu nakon njene izgradnje, sa sjeverne strane svetišta dodana četvrtasta sakristija, a nakon čega se na postojeće stanje na zapadnom pročelju i bočnim zidovima dodaju potpornjaci u sklopu veće građevinske intervencije. Do toga je moglo doći pri nekoj obnovi koja se mogla dogoditi za vrijeme sinova bana Mikca Mihaljevića. U tom je pogledu zanimljiva 1383. godina, kada su Mikčevi sinovi među sobom podijelili đurđevačko vlastelinstvo koje se sastojalo od utvrde i 74 sela,⁸⁵ što pokazuje kakvu ekonomsku snagu posjeduje prostor, a što bi bilo dovoljno za djelomičnu obnovu i dogradnju postojeće crkve. Tada je mogla biti podignuta i prva faza đurđevačke utvrde Stari grad, koja se u izvorima prvi put spominje tek 1396. godine.⁸⁶ Dodavanje potpornjaka znači da je crkva dograđivana u visinu, pri čemu je bilo potrebno rasteretiti pritisak na zidove crkve. U to je vrijeme takva dogradnja bila moguća uz pomoć plemića s financijskom moći potrebnom za adaptaciju crkve, a kojima je adaptacija koristila u pokazivanju njihove nadležnosti nad tim prostorom. Potom se tijekom 15. stoljeća između dva sjeverna potpornjaka u nekom trenutku zatvara bočna kapela, a zatim se podiže i zvonik, koristeći prostor između sakristije i kapele.

Krajem 15. stoljeća takva crkva postaje premala za potrebe rastućeg stanovništva pa se vrlo brzo izgrađuje nova crkva, koja u većem dijelu negira postojeću tako da je dijelom iskoristila postojeću arhitekturu, a dijelom je potpuno uklonila. Ta mlađa crkva zadržava orijentaciju starije i njenu tlocrtnu dispoziciju uz proširivanje prema zapadu, a prostor dotadašnjeg svetišta

Concluding remarks

Four archaeological campaigns at the Đurđevac-Sošice site allowed for the development of sacred edifices and its associated graveyard to be discovered through four burial horizons. The graveyard at the site had been put into use before the oldest church was registered and through the first two burial horizons. Therefore, it is to be expected that, in the 12th or 13th century, there was a church that had not been recognized by previous investigation, and which was sporadically mentioned to have existed in the settlement of St George in a document of 1270.⁸⁴ It is possible that the church mentioned was also made of wood, in different layout dimensions in relation to the first investigated church, on buried pillars which were said not to have existed on the basis of later construction activities. The first two burial horizons in the graveyard are layered with the position of the walls of the first brick church, which indicates that the oldest (wooden) church had to have been of different dimensions and in a different position. The first brick church was built around 1300, which was confirmed by several radiocarbon analyses; and, in its basic layout, it was in use until the turn of the 16th century, when a newer, larger church was built.

The older church was about 20.5 m long and 8.5 m wide, and it consisted of a rectangular nave and a slightly narrower quadrangular closed sanctuary. It was built of crushed local stones bound by a weaker yellowish binder plaster, while its foundation walls were buried up to a maximum of 1 m. A quadrangular sacristy was added to the church on the north side of the sanctuary at the same time as, or shortly after, its construction, after which supports were added on the western front and side walls as part of a major construction intervention. This could have happened during some reconstruction which could have taken place under governor Mikac Mihaljević's rule. In this regard, the year 1383 is particularly interesting, because in that year Mikac's sons divided the Đurđevac manor among themselves. The manor consisted of a fortress and 74 villages,⁸⁵ which shows the economic strength of the area. This would have been enough for partial renovation and extension of the existing church. At that time, the first phase of the Đurđevac fortress *Stari grad* could have been built, which was first mentioned in written sources only in 1396.⁸⁶ The addition of supports meant that the church was extended in height, whereupon it was necessary to relieve the pressure on the walls of the church. At that time, such an extension was possible with the help of the aristocrats with the financial power needed to reconstruct the church. In turn, the aristocrats used the reconstruction to demonstrate their authority over the area. Then, at some point during the 15th century, a side chapel was enclosed between the two northern supports, and then a bell tower was built using the space between the sacristy and the chapel.

At the end of the 15th century, such a church became too small for the needs of the growing population, and a new church was built

84 CD, V, 1270, 564.

85 Csánky 1893, 14.

86 CD, XVIII, 1396.6.XI., 151.

84 CD, V, 1270, 564.

85 Csánky 1893, 14.

86 CD, XVIII, 1396.6.XI., 151.

od tada se vjerojatno više i ne koristi. Od bočnih su zidova svetišta starije crkve iskorišteni zapadni dijelovi za temeljenje novih potpornjaka s istočne strane, vjerojatno su iskorišteni i drugi potpornjaci (skraćeni sa sjeverne strane radi izmicanja bočnog zida), dok se kod novoizgrađenog dijela lađe podižu novi masivniji bočni i uglovni potpornjaci (tri para). Na zapadnom je pročelju podignut zvonik s uglovnim potpornjacima, ali nije jasno je li to bilo istovremeno s gradnjom mlađe crkve ili naknadno kod neke rekonstrukcije čitavog pročelja u novom vijeku. Crkva je u to vrijeme bila oko 22 m dužine i gotovo 10 m širine, a zajedno sa zvonikom u jednom je trenutku bila dužine oko 28 m. Godine 1501. u popisu župnika Zagrebačke biskupije u Crkvi sv. Jurja u Đurđevcu navodi se župnik s tri svećenika, što pokazuje da se radilo o snažnoj župi,⁸⁷ a kako se 1505. godine navodi bočni oltar Sv. Križa, uz koji je povezan jedan posjed te potom posjed Župe sv. Jurja od deset poreznih dimova u popisima poreza od 1513. do 1520. godine,⁸⁸ izgradnja te mlađe crkve ipak se mogla dogoditi krajem 15. stoljeća. Mlađa je crkva u tom obliku funkcionirala samo do sredine 16. stoljeća, kada se napušta do druge polovine 17. stoljeća s povremenim korištenjem, potom se u prvoj polovini 18. stoljeća obnavlja kao kapela i uporabljuje do početka 19. stoljeća. Od trenutka njezine dekonsekracije korištena je kao izvor građevinskog materijala, što je doprinijelo slaboj očuvanosti arhitekture svih razvojnih faza.

Groblje pokazuje da je sakralizacija tog prostora započela već negdje u 11. stoljeću, što znači da se prethodno u njegovoj blizini razvijalo i naselje zapisano 1237. godine kao *Oxzeu Sengurg*. Groblje je vremenski razdvojeno u četiri horizonta pokapanja koji prate određene građevinske aktivnosti i odvojeni su sastavom zapuna grobnih raka. Najstarijem je horizontu pripisano 18 grobova, 2. horizontu 69 grobova, 3. horizontu 145 grobova, 4. horizontu 1 grob, a za 10 grobova nije bilo moguće odrediti kojem horizontu pripadaju. Ovakva raspodjela odgovara povijesnom razvoju prostora, na kojem je u početku malo stanovništva, koje se tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća znatno povećava sve do najvećeg broja u 14. i 15. stoljeću, i na kraju prestanka pokapanja na prijelazu u 16. stoljeće. Osobitost groblja jest velik broj zabilježenih grobnih raka sa 50-postotnim udjelom drvenih sanduka u kojima se sahranjuju pokojnici. Kod jedne je trećine grobova zabilježen i neki grobni nalaz, što ne čudi jer je riječ o najsvetijem prostoru groblja (u crkvi ili neposredno uz njeno svetište) na koji prvo pravo ukopa polaže viši sloj srednjovjekovne zajednice.

Pokretni nalazi pokazuju klasičan inventar kakav se očekuje pri srednjovjekovnim grobljima, među kojima brojem predvode predice (pojasne kopče) s više od 80 primjeraka te nakit (prstenje, naušnice, gumb i sl.) s oko 60 primjeraka. Pritom je važno naglasiti kako je tu dijelom riječ o klasičnim nalazima tzv. bjelobrdске kulture u vidu običnih i S-karičica, dok se pojavljuju i raritetni primjerci nakita, poput srebrne košaraste naušnice i prstena s kruništem (kat. br. 18 i 21), kakvi se sredinom 12. stoljeća pojavljuju na samo nekoliko lokaliteta ili pak brončanih kružnih bro-

very quickly. The newly-built church used the existing architecture of the old church and, by doing so, partly removed it completely. This newer church kept the orientation of the older one and its layout disposition with an extension to the west, while the area of the former sanctuary was probably not used again. The western parts of the side walls of the sanctuary of the older church were used for the foundation of the new supports on the east side. Furthermore, other supports were probably used as well (by being shortened on the north side because of the shift in the side wall), while new massive side and corner supports (three pairs) were built near the newly-built nave part. A bell tower with corner supports was built on the western front, but it is not clear whether it was done at the same time as the construction of the newer church or later, in some reconstruction of the entire front during modern history. The church at that time was about 22 m long and almost 10 m wide, and together with the bell tower at one point it was about 28 m long. In 1501, in the list of pastors of the Zagreb diocese in the church of St George in Đurđevac, a parson and three priests are mentioned, which shows how powerful the parish was.⁸⁷ Also, in 1505, the side altar of the Holy Cross is mentioned, with which a certain property, and later the property of the parish of St George, is linked in the tax lists from 1513 to 1520.⁸⁸ Given this, the construction of the newer church could still have taken place at the end of the 15th century. The newer church functioned in this form only until the middle of the 16th century, when it was abandoned until the second half of the 17th century, with occasional use. Then, in the first half of the 18th century, it was restored as a chapel and used until the beginning of the 19th century. From the moment of its deconsecration, it was used as a source of construction material, which contributed to the very poor preservation of architecture through all development phases.

The graveyard shows that the sanctification of this area began as early as the 11th century, which means that a settlement mentioned in 1237 as *Oxzeu Sengurg* had previously developed in its vicinity. The graveyard is temporally divided into four burial horizons which follow certain construction activities and are separated by the composition of the graveyard pit fills. Eighteen graves were assigned to the oldest horizon, 69 graves to the second horizon, 145 graves to the third horizon, and 1 grave to the fourth horizon, while it was not possible to determine which horizon the remaining 10 graves belonged to. Such distribution corresponds to the historical development of the area, which had initially had a small population, which increased significantly during the 12th and 13th centuries until reaching its peak in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the end, burials stopped being performed there at the turn of the 16th century. The peculiarity of the graveyard is in its large number of registered burial pits with a 50 % proportion of wooden coffins in which the deceased were being buried. In one third of the graves, a grave finding was also recorded, which is not surprising, because it is the holiest area of the graveyard (in the church or next to its sanctuary), where the first right of burial belonged to the upper class of the medieval community.

87 Rački 1872, 214.

88 Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 60, 95, 128; Pavleš 2013, 175.

87 Rački 1872, 214.

88 Adamček, Kampuš 1976, 60, 95, 128; Pavleš 2013, 175.

ševa i para predica (kat. br. 24–28) karakterističnih za srednju i sjevernu Europu u 13. stoljeću. Kroz 14. i 15. stoljeće pojavljuje se klasični repertoar željeznih predica, kakve se pronalaze na drugim istovremenim grobljima u Hrvatskoj i diljem Europe. Prilično velik broj novca sa 75 primjeraka datiran od 13. pa do 18. stoljeća govori o snažnim trgovačkim aktivnostima koje ta zajednica ostvaruje, a čije se naselje kao trgovište u povijesnim izvorima spominje od 1426. godine⁸⁹ s navodom održanih sajmova. Zasiurno se trgovačka aktivnost tu provodila već u 13. stoljeću, što pokazuju i navedeni predmeti, a koja se do druge polovine 14. stoljeća proširila i prema sjeveru Jadranskog mora, na što upućuje rijedak nalaz venecijanskog zlatnika (kat. br. 4). Nalazi pak željeznih ostruga (kat. br. 37–38) i samostrelnih strelica (kat. br. 40–41) samo dodatno potvrđuju da je u naselju na Sošicama boravio plemićki sloj zajednice, koji joj je pružao zaštitu u nemirnim vremenima.

Sakralni prostor na Sošicama pokazuje kontinuitet korištenja tijekom više stoljeća, počevši od 11. stoljeća, kada se razvija groblje na redove, potom se u 12. stoljeću tu nalazi župno groblje uz moguću drvenu crkvu, zatim se oko 1300. godine izgrađuje zidana crkva koja je u uporabi do kraja 15. stoljeća, s grobljem unutar i izvan nje, a na kraju se podiže veća crkva uz koju se više ne vrši pokapanje. Sličan razvoj u korištenju prostora vidljiv je u Đakovu, gdje se prva pokapanja provode do sredine 12. stoljeća, kada se podiže prva župna crkva (II. faza) s razvojem naselja sjeverno od njega, potom se od druge polovine 13. do sredine 16. stoljeća uz istu crkvu razvija veliko groblje s naseljem, a u vrijeme osmanlijske prisutnosti prostor više ne služi kao groblje.⁹⁰ Ova usporedba govori i o značaju položaja Sošice, kao središta važne župe u crkvenoj organizaciji i (trgovačkog) središta vesnikata u upravnoj organizaciji vlastelinstva Prodaviz tijekom čitavoga srednjega vijeka.

Movable findings show a classic inventory that is to be expected in medieval graveyards, among which the most numerous are buckles (belt buckles), with over 80 examples, and jewellery (rings, earrings, buttons etc.), with about 60. It is important to emphasize that these are partly the classic findings of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture in the form of plain and S-loops, while rare examples of jewellery, such as a silver basket earring and a ring with a crown (cat. nos 18 and 21), appear in the middle of the 12th century in only a few sites, or even circular bronze brooches and a pair of buckles (cat. nos 24 to 28) characteristic of central and northern Europe of the 13th century. Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, a classical repertoire of iron threads appeared, such as those found in other contemporaneous graveyards in Croatia and throughout Europe. Quite a large amount of money, with 75 coins dated from the 13th century to the 18th, speaks of the strong trading activities which this community had been involved in, and whose settlement had been mentioned as a trading post in historical sources since 1426,⁸⁹ with mention of the fairs held. Certainly, trading activity was happening there as early as the 13th century, as shown by the aforementioned items. This trading activity had spread to the north of the Adriatic Sea by the second half of the 14th century, as indicated by the find of a rare Venetian gold coin (cat. no. 4). The finds of iron spurs (cat. nos 37–38) and crossbow arrows (cat. nos 40–41) only further confirm that a noble stratum of the community lived in the settlement at Sošice, which provided protection in turbulent times.

The sacred area at Sošice shows a continuity of usage over several centuries, starting in the 11th century, when the graveyard was divided into rows. In the 12th century we have a parish cemetery next to a possible wooden church. Then, around 1300 a brick church was built, which was in use until the end of the 15th century, with a graveyard inside and outside. In the end, a larger church was built, next to which burial was no longer being performed. A similar development in the usage of space is visible in Đakovo, where the first burials were carried out until the middle of the 12th century, when the first parish church was built (phase II), with the development of settlements to the north of it. Then, from the second half of the 13th century to the middle of the 16th, a large graveyard with a settlement developed next to the same church, and, at the time of the Ottoman presence, that area no longer served as a graveyard.⁹⁰ This comparison testifies to the significance of the position of Sošice as the centre of an important parish in the church organization, as well as being an important district (trading) centre in the administrative organization of the Prodaviz estate throughout the entire Middle Ages.

89 MOL, DL43654, 1426.24.l.

90 Filipec 2012, 216–217, tab. 5.

89 MOL, DL43654, 1426.24.l.

90 Filipec 2012, 216–217, Tab. 5.

Katalog

TABLA 1.

1. Srebrni novac, denar ili poludenar (obol). Kovanje; promjer 11 mm. SJ 142, PN 17.
2. Srebrni novac, vjerojatno frizatik. Kovanje; promjer 16 mm. SJ 202, PN 7a.
3. Srebrni novac, vjerojatno frizatik. Kovanje; promjer 16 mm. SJ 202, PN 7a.
4. Zlatni novac, venecijanski dukat. Kovanje; promjer 20 mm. SJ 699, PN 125.
5. Srebrni novac, akvilejski denar. Kovanje; promjer 18 mm. SJ 373, PN 74.
6. Srebrni novac od 3 krajcara, 1698. Kovanje; promjer 22 mm. SJ 45, PN 1.
7. Bakreni novac od 1 krajcara, 1761. Kovanje; promjer 25 mm. SJ 127, PN 6.
8. Bakreni novac od 1/2 krajcara, 1781. Kovanje; promjer 21 mm. SJ 311, PN 5.
9. Ulomak srednje srebrne obične karičice od tanke žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 33 mm, širina 18 mm, promjer 1 mm. SJ 583, G 70, PN 154.
10. Ulomak manje srebrne S-karičice od deblje žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 28 mm, širina 18 mm, promjer 2 mm. SJ 520, G 51, PN 264.
11. Srednja srebrna obična karičica od deblje žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 31 mm, širina 26 mm, promjer 2 mm. SJ 520, G 51, PN 265.
12. Manja srebrna S-karičica od deblje žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 26 mm, širina 23 mm, debljina stijenke 2 mm, širina petlje 7 mm, debljina stijenke 2 mm. SJ 1112, G 65 (zapuna), PN 266a.
13. Manja srebrna S-karičica od deblje žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 24 mm, širina 21 mm, debljina stijenke 2 mm. SJ 1112, G 65 (zapuna), PN 266b.
14. Manja srebrna obična ili S-karičica od deblje žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 25 mm, širina 22 mm, debljina stijenke 2 mm. SJ 1112, G 65 (zapuna), PN 266c.
15. Manja srebrna obična karičica rastvorenih krajeva sa zadebljanim i šiljatim završetkom. Ručna izrada; visina 19 mm, širina 17 mm, promjer 1 mm. SJ 403, G 18 (44), PN 247.
16. Srednja brončana S-karičica rastvorenih krajeva od žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 36 mm, širina 29 mm, promjer 2 mm, širina petlje 6 mm. SJ 1, PN 37.
17. Srednja brončana S-karičica rastvorenih krajeva od žice kružnog presjeka. Ručna izrada; visina 30 mm, širina 23 mm, promjer 1 mm. SJ 127, PN 14.
18. Srebrna trojagodna sljepoočničarka na S-karičici od deblje žice kružnog presjeka i raskucanog vrha u petlju. Ručna izrada; visina 48 mm, širina 33 mm, promjer 2 mm. SJ 564, G 64 (zapuna), PN 267.
19. Srednja brončana S-karičica rastvorenih krajeva od žice kružnog presjeka, presavijenih krakova. Ručna izrada; visina 36 mm, širina 21 mm, promjer 1 mm, širina petlje 3 mm. SJ 343, PN 54.
20. Ulomak srednje brončane S-karičice s raskucanim vrhom u petlju. Ručna izrada; visina 34 mm, širina 13 mm, promjer 1 mm, širina petlje 5 mm. SJ 127, PN 11.

Catalogue

PLATE 1.

1. Silver coin, denar or half denar (obol). Minting; diameter 11 mm. SU 142, SF 17.
2. Silver coin, probably a frizatik. Minting; diameter 16 mm. SU 202, SF 7a.
3. Silver coin, probably a frizatik. Minting; diameter 16 mm. SU 202, SF 7a.
4. Gold coin, Venetian ducat. Minting; diameter 20 mm. SU 699, SF 125.
5. Silver coin, Aquileian denar. Minting; diameter 18 mm. SU 373, SF 74.
6. Silver coin of 3 kreuzers, 1698. Minting; diameter 22 mm. SU 45, SF 1.
7. Copper coin of 1 kreuzer, 1761. Minting; diameter 25 mm. SU 127, SF 6.
8. Copper coin of 1/2 kreuzer, 1781. Minting; diameter 21 mm. SU 311, SF 5.
9. Fragment of a medium-sized plain silver loop made of thin wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 33 mm, width 18 mm, diameter 1 mm. SU 583, G 70, SF 154.
10. Fragment of smaller silver S-loop made of thicker wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 28 mm, width 18 mm, diameter 2 mm. SU 520, G 51, SF 264.
11. Medium-sized plain silver loop made of thicker wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 31 mm, width 26 mm, diameter 2 mm. SU 520, G 51, SF 265.
12. Smaller silver S-loop made of thicker wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 26 mm, width 23 mm, wall thickness 2 mm, loop width 7 mm, wall thickness 2 mm. SU 1112, G 65 (fill), SF 266a.
13. Smaller silver S-loop made of thicker wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 24 mm, width 21 mm, wall thickness 2 mm. SU 1112, G 65 (fill), SF 266b.
14. Smaller plain silver or S-loop made of thicker wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 25 mm, width 22 mm, wall thickness 2 mm. SU 1112, G 65 (fill), SF 266c.
15. Smaller plain silver loop with dissolved edges and a thick, pointed end. Handmade; height 19 mm, width 17 mm, diameter 1 mm. SU 403, G 18 (44), SF 247.
16. Medium-sized bronze S-loop with dissolved edges made of wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 36 mm, width 29 mm, diameter 2 mm, loop width 6 mm. SU 1, SF 37.
17. Medium-sized bronze S-loop with dissolved edges made of wire with circular cross-section. Handmade; height 30 mm, width 23 mm, diameter 1 mm. SU 127, SF 14.
18. Silver three-bead S-loop made of thicker wire with circular cross-section and a tip dissolved in a loop. Handmade; height 48 mm, width 33 mm, diameter 2 mm. SU 564, G 64 (fill), SF 267.
19. Medium-sized bronze S-loop with dissolved edges made of wire with circular cross-section and folded ends. Handmade; height 36 mm, width 21 mm, diameter 1 mm, loop width 3 mm. SU 343, SF 54.
20. Fragment of a medium-sized bronze S-loop with a tip dissolved in a loop. Handmade; height 34 mm, width 13 mm, diameter 1 mm, loop width 5 mm. SU 127, SF 11.

TABLA 2.

21. Srebrni prsten s tankim obručem i krunom s okom od tamno zelene staklene paste i filigranskim ukrasom. Ručna izrada; promjer alke 22–23 mm, promjer pločice 13 mm, promjer središnjeg oka 10 mm. SJ 516, G 50, PN 283.
22. Brončana igla pribadača sa zadebljanom kuglastom glavom. Ručna izrada; visina 27 mm, promjer tijela 1 mm, promjer glave 3 mm. SJ 474, G 36 (zapuna), PN 118.
23. Mala brončana omega kopčica. Ručna izrada; visina 13 mm, širina 10 mm, promjer tijela 1 mm. SJ 308, PN 30.
24. Manji brončani broš kružnog oblika. Lijevanje; promjer 48 mm, širina alke 10 mm, dužina trna 20 mm, širina trna 4 mm. SJ 242, PN 19.
25. Ulomak brončanog kružnog broša. Lijevanje, visina 33 mm, širina 14 mm, debljina stijenke 1 mm. SJ 373, PN 65.
26. Brončani kružni broš rađen na proboj. Lijevanje; promjer 35 mm, debljina stijenke 1 mm. SJ 132, PN 6.
27. Brončana predica kružnog oblika s ovalnom alkom u presjeku. Kovanje; promjer 36 mm, širina alke 5 mm. SJ 554, G 61, PN 251.
28. Brončana predica kružnog oblika s ovalnom alkom u presjeku. Kovanje; promjer 36 mm, širina alke 5 mm, širina trna 5 mm. SJ 554, G 61, PN 252.
29. Željezna predica kružnog oblika i alke ovalnog presjeka. Kovanje; promjer 38–39 mm, dužina trna 29 mm, širina trna 4 mm. SJ 373, PN 101.
30. Željezna predica kružnog oblika i alke romboidnog presjeka. Kovanje; promjer 32 mm, dužina trna 35 mm, širina trna 4 mm. SJ 373, PN 104.
31. Željezna predica kružnog oblika i alke kružnog presjeka. Kovanje; promjer 46 mm, dužina trna 44 mm, širina trna 3 mm. SJ 373, PN 109.
32. Željezna predica kružnog oblika i alke ovalnog presjeka. Kovanje; promjer 43 mm, dužina trna 42 mm, širina trna 4 mm. SJ 373, PN 108.
33. Mala željezna predica D-oblika. Kovanje; visina 25 mm, širina 321 mm. SJ 33, PN 4.
34. Manja brončana predica djetelinastog oblika. Lijevanje; visina 28 mm, širina 19 mm. SJ 373, PN 97.
35. Željezna predica četvrtastog oblika zaobljenih rubova i alke kvadratičnog presjeka. Kovanje; visina 21 mm, širina 26 mm, dužina trna 24 mm, širina trna 2 mm. SJ 445, PN 99.
36. Dvodijelna željezna predica sastavljena od četvrtastog i ovalnog oblika. Kovanje; visina 74 mm, širina 70 mm, dužina trna 41 mm, širina trna 8 mm. SJ 452, PN 102.
37. Manja željezna ostruga s kotačićem i lučno izvijenim krakovima. Kovanje; visina 75 mm, širina 53 mm, dužina trna 16 mm, promjer kotačića 16 mm. SJ 333, PN 89.
38. Veća zvjezdica željezne ostruge s 12 iglica. Kovanje; promjer 46 mm, dužina iglice 18 mm, promjer rupe 6 mm. SJ 333, PN 87.
39. Dio manje željezne kvadratične limene pločice mehanizma za pričvršćivanje predice. Kovanje; visina 40 mm, širina 50 mm, promjer zakovice 3 mm, SJ 303, PN 58.
40. Vršak željezne četverobridne strelice za samostrel. Kovanje; dužina 76 mm, širina vrha 19 mm, promjer tuljca 16 mm. SJ 333, PN 78.
41. Vršak željezne četverobridne strelice za samostrel. Kovanje; dužina 67 mm, širina vrha 17 mm, promjer tuljca 15 mm. SJ 16, PN 16.

PLATE 2.

21. Silver ring with a thin hoop and a crown with a centre stone made of dark-green glass paste and filigree ornament. Handmade; diameter of the tilt 22–23 mm, diameter of the plate 13 mm, diameter of the centre stone 10 mm. SU 516, G 50, SF 283.
22. Bronze pin needle with thickened ball head. Handmade; height 27 mm, body diameter 1 mm, head diameter 3 mm. SU 474, G 36 (fill), SF 118.
23. Small bronze omega clip. Handmade; height 13 mm, width 10 mm, body diameter 1 mm. SU 308, SF 30.
24. Smaller circular bronze brooch. Casting; diameter 48 mm, tilt width 10 mm, mandrel length 20 mm, mandrel width 4 mm. SU 242, SF 19.
25. Fragment of a circular bronze brooch. Casting; height 33 mm, width 14 mm, wall thickness 1 mm. SU 373, SF 65.
26. Circular bronze brooch made using the openwork technique. Casting; diameter 35 mm, wall thickness 1 mm. SU 132, SF 6.
27. Bronze buckle of circular shape with oval tilt in cross-section. Minting; diameter 36 mm, tilt width 5 mm. SU 554, G 61, SF 251.
28. Bronze buckle of circular shape with oval tilt in cross-section. Minting; diameter 36 mm, tilt width 5 mm, mandrel width 5 mm. SU 554, G 61, SF 252.
29. Iron buckle of circular shape and a tilt with oval cross-section. Minting; diameter 38–39 mm, mandrel length 29 mm, mandrel width 4 mm. SU 373, SF 101.
30. Iron buckle of circular shape and a tilt with rhombic cross-section. Minting; diameter 32 mm, mandrel length 35 mm, mandrel width 4 mm. SU 373, SF 104.
31. Iron buckle of circular shape and a tilt with circular cross-section. Minting; diameter 46 mm, mandrel length 44 mm, mandrel width 3 mm. SU 373, SF 109.
32. Iron buckle of circular shape and a tilt with oval cross-section. Minting; diameter 43 mm, mandrel length 42 mm, mandrel width 4 mm. SU 373, SF 108.
33. Small D-shaped iron buckle. Minting; height 25 mm, width 321 mm. SU 33, SF 4.
34. Smaller clover-shaped bronze buckle. Casting; height 28 mm, width 19 mm. SU 373, SF 97.
35. Iron buckle of quadrangular shape with round edges and tilts of quadrangular cross-section. Minting; height 21 mm, width 26 mm, mandrel length 24 mm, mandrel width 2 mm. SU 445, SF 99.
36. Two-part iron buckle composed of quadrangular and oval shapes. Minting; height 74 mm, width 70 mm, mandrel length 41 mm, mandrel width 8 mm. SU 452, SF 102.
37. Smaller iron spur with a small wheel and arched ends. Minting; height 75 mm, width 53 mm, mandrel length 16 mm, small wheel's diameter 16 mm. SU 333, SF 89.
38. Larger star of an iron spur with 12 needles. Minting; diameter 46 mm, needle length 18 mm, hole diameter 6 mm. SU 333, SF 87.
39. Part of a smaller quadrangular iron metal-plate mechanism for fastening a buckle. Minting; height 40 mm, width 50 mm, bolt diameter 3 mm, SU 303, SF 58.
40. Tip of a four-edged iron crossbow arrow. Minting; length 76 mm, tip width 19 mm, cone diameter 16 mm. SU 333, SF 78.
41. Tip of a four-edged iron crossbow arrow. Minting; length 67 mm, tip width 17 mm, cone diameter 15 mm. SU 16, SF 16.
42. Ceramic belly pot with plain chalice-like rim and flat

42. Keramički trbušasti lonac s jednostavnim kaležastim rubom i ravnim dnom. Brzo lončarsko kolo; visina 166 mm, promjer ruba 126 mm, širina trbuha 158 mm, promjer dna 100 mm. Đurđevac-Sošice 3 2017, površinski nalaz.

TABLA 3.

43. Željezna četvrtasta pređica zakošenih rubova s tragom mehanizma za pričvršćivanje. Kovanje; visina 38 mm, širina 30 mm, dužina trna 13 mm, širina trna 3 mm. SJ 373, PN 88.
44. Dvodijelna željezna pređica od dvije ovalne alke. Kovanje; visina 51 mm, širina 56 mm, dužina trna 13 mm, širina trna 2 mm. SJ 2, PN 119.
45. Dvodijelna željezna pređica sastavljena od četvrtastog i ovalnog oblika. Kovanje; visina 49 mm, širina 42 mm, dužina trna 26 mm, širina trna 10 mm. SJ 373, PN 67.
46. Željezna pređica četvrtastog oblika proširene vanjske alke. Kovanje; visina 65 mm, širina 39 mm, dužina trna 26 mm, širina trna 6 mm. SJ 254, PN 23.
47. Željezna pređica asimetrično-gljivastog oblika. Kovanje; visina 62 mm, širina 33 mm, dužina trna 36 mm, širina trna 6 mm. SJ 373, PN 92.
48. Željezna pređica asimetrično-gljivastog oblika. Kovanje; visina 62 mm, širina 49 mm, dužina trna 43 mm, širina trna 4 mm. SJ 303, PN 58.
49. Ulomak željezne pređice asimetrično-gljivastog oblika. Kovanje; visina 70 mm, širina 43 mm, širina alke 13 mm. SJ 269, PN 27.
50. Željezna pređica asimetrično-gljivastog oblika. Kovanje; visina 80 mm, širina 64 mm, dužina trna 61 mm, širina trna 8 mm. SJ 373, PN 76.
51. Željezna pređica asimetrično-gljivastog oblika. Kovanje; visina 76 mm, širina 45 mm, dužina trna 46 mm, širina trna 6 mm. SJ 127, PN 9.
52. Dvodijelna željezna pređica sastavljena od četvrtastog i ovalnog oblika. Kovanje; visina 74 mm, širina 70 mm, dužina trna 41 mm, širina trna 8 mm. SJ 452, G 28, PN 102.
53. Dvodijelna željezna pređica sastavljena od četvrtastog i D oblika. Kovanje; visina 78 mm, širina 66 mm, dužina trna 45 mm, širina trna 8 mm. SJ 127, PN 13.
54. Dvodijelna željezna pređica sastavljena od četvrtastog i ovalnog oblika. Kovanje; visina 93 mm, širina 75 mm, dužina trna 53 mm, širina trna 8 mm. SJ 303, PN 75.

bottom. Fast potter's wheel; height 166 mm, rim diameter 126 mm, belly width 158 mm, bottom diameter 100 mm. Đurđevac-Sošice 3 2017, surface find.

PLATE 3.

43. Quadrangular iron buckle with skew edges and a trace of the fastening mechanism. Minting; height 38 mm, width 30 mm, mandrel length 13 mm, mandrel width 3 mm. SU 373, SF 88.
44. Two-piece iron buckle composed of two oval tilts. Minting; height 51 mm, width 56 mm, mandrel length 13 mm, mandrel width 2 mm. SU 2, SF 119.
45. Two-piece iron buckle composed of quadrangular and oval shapes. Minting; height 49 mm, width 42 mm, mandrel length 26 mm, mandrel width 10 mm. SU 373, SF 67.
46. Iron buckle with a quadrangular shape and an extended outer tilt. Minting; height 65 mm, width 39 mm, mandrel length 26 mm, mandrel width 6 mm. SU 254, SF 23.
47. Iron buckle of an asymmetrical mushroom-like shape. Minting; height 62 mm, width 33 mm, mandrel length 36 mm, mandrel width 6 mm. SU 373, SF 92.
48. Iron buckle of an asymmetrical mushroom-like shape. Minting; height 62 mm, width 49 mm, mandrel length 43 mm, mandrel width 4 mm. SU 303, SF 58.
49. Fragment of an iron buckle of an asymmetrical mushroom-like shape. Minting; height 70 mm, width 43 mm, tilt width 13 mm. SU 269, SF 27.
50. Iron buckle of an asymmetrical mushroom-like shape. Minting; height 80 mm, width 64 mm, mandrel length 61 mm, mandrel width 8 mm. SU 373, SF 76.
51. Iron buckle of an asymmetrical mushroom-like shape. Minting; height 76 mm, width 45 mm, mandrel length 46 mm, mandrel width 6 mm. SU 127, SF 9.
52. Two-piece iron buckle composed of quadrangular and oval shapes. Minting; height 74 mm, width 70 mm, mandrel length 41 mm, mandrel width 8 mm. SU 452, G 28, SF 102.
53. Two-piece iron buckle composed of quadrangular and D shapes. Minting; height 78 mm, width 66 mm, mandrel length 45 mm, mandrel width 8 mm. SU 127, SF 13.
54. Two-piece iron buckle composed of quadrangular and oval shapes. Minting; height 93 mm, width 75 mm, mandrel length 53 mm, mandrel width 8 mm. SU 303, SF 75.

KRATICE ABBREVIATIONS

AHAZU – Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, D–X–76.

MOL – Magyar Országos Levéltár, <https://mnl.gov.hu> (2018, 2019).

CD – T. Smičiklas, E. Laszowsky, M. Kostrenčić, S. Gunjača, D. Rendić-Miočević (eds.), *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* 1–18, 1967–1990.

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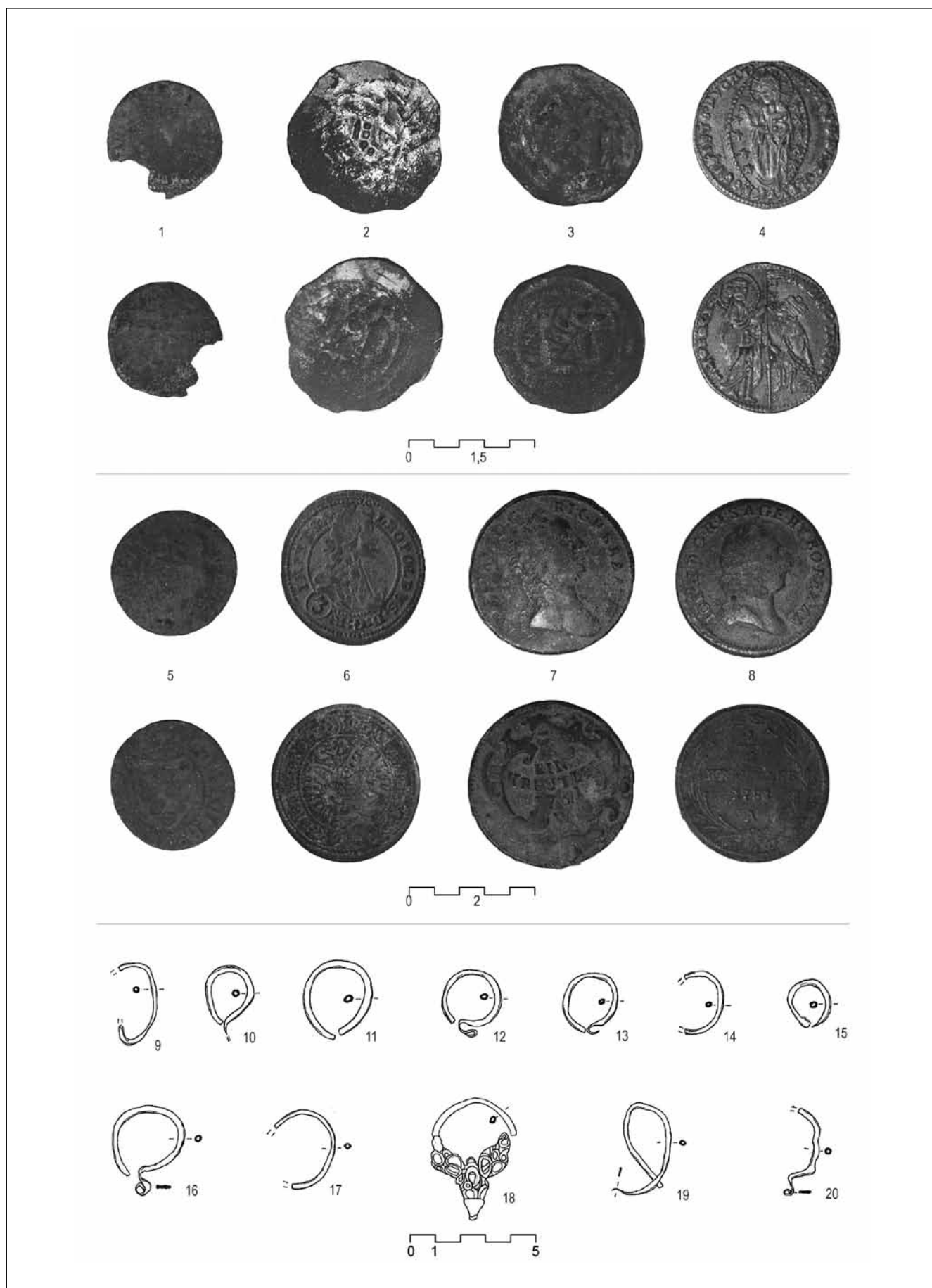


TABLA 1.
1–8 novac; 9–20 karičice i naušnice (snimio i izradio R. Čimin).

PLATE 1.
1–8 money; 9–20 rings and earrings (photo by and made by R. Čimin).

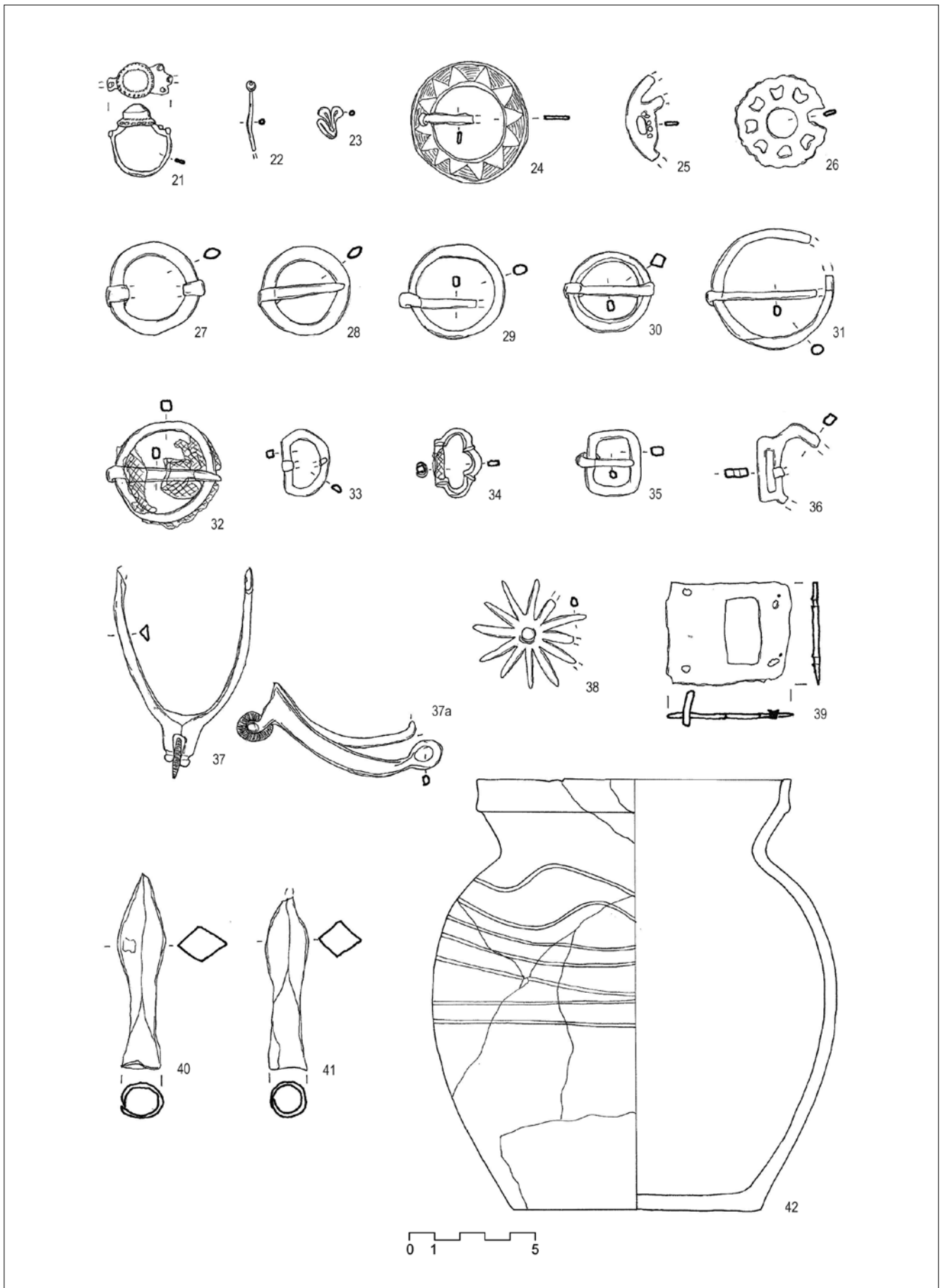


TABLA 2.
21–36, 39 nakit i dijelovi nošnje; 37–38 konjanička oprema; 40–41 vršci samo-strelnih strelica; 42 keramički lonac (izradio R. Čimin).

PLATE 2.
21–36, 39 jewellery and parts of costumes; 37–38 equestrian equipment; 40–41 crossbow arrowheads; 42 ceramic pot (made by R. Čimin).

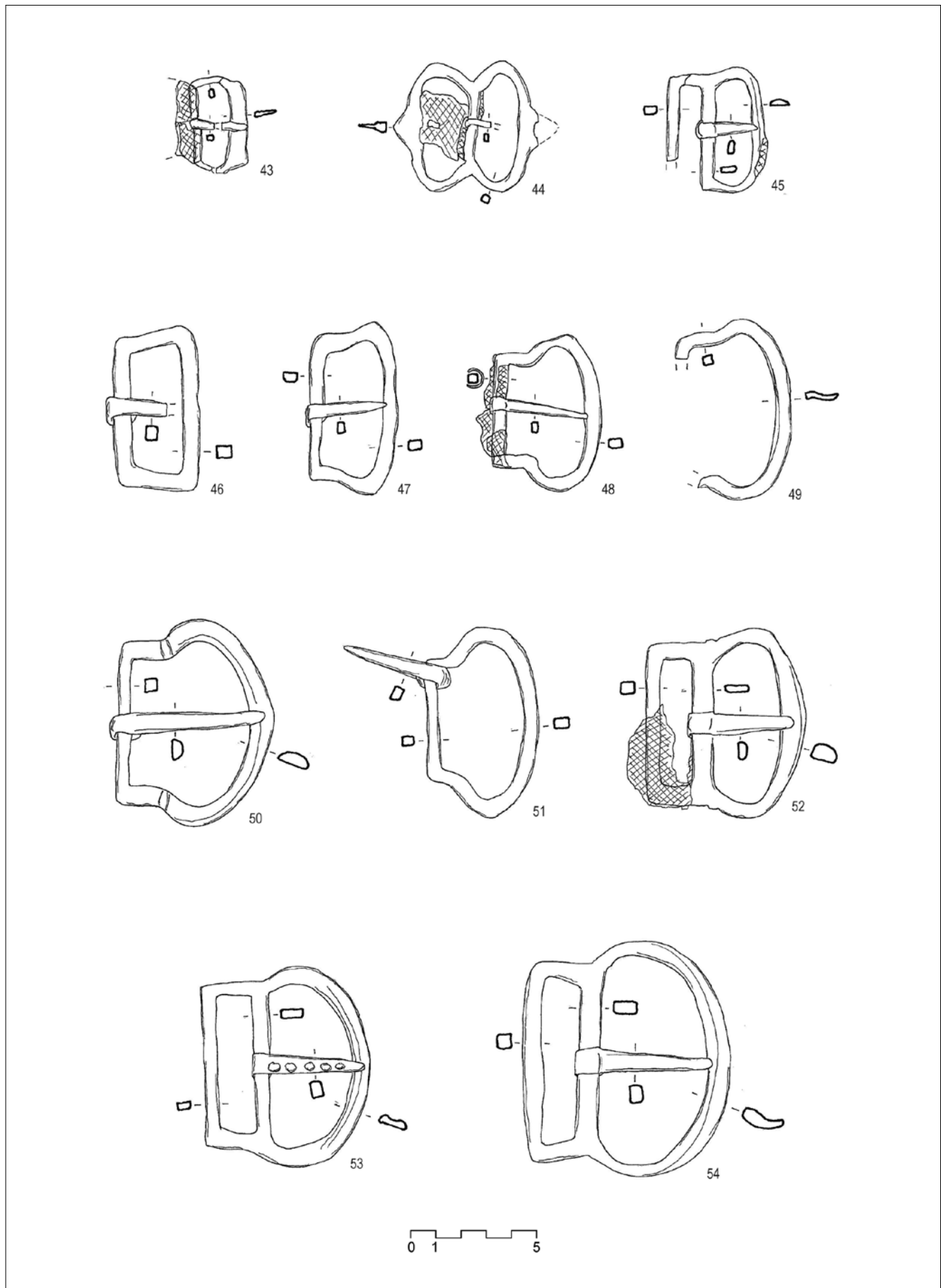


TABLA 3.
43–54 pojasne kopče (izradio R. Čimin).

PLATE 3.
43–54 belt buckles (made by R. Čimin).