

PATERNOSTER BROJANICA IZ RUDINE

A PATERNOSTER COUNTER FROM RUDINA

Petar Sekulić
Ana Azinović Bebek
Mihael Golubić

Hrvatski restauratorski zavod
Nike Grškovića 23
HR – 10000 Zagreb
psekulic@hrz.hr
aazinovic@hrz.hr
mgolubic@hrz.hr

Petar Sekulić
Ana Azinović Bebek
Mihael Golubić

Croatian Conservation Institute
Nike Grškovića 23
HR – 10000 Zagreb
psekulic@hrz.hr
aazinovic@hrz.hr
mgolubic@hrz.hr

UDK / UDC: 27-526.4(497.541 Rudina)"653"
Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper
<https://doi.org/10.52064/vamz.54.1.24>

Tijekom revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja benediktinske opatije sv. Mihovila Arkandela u Rudini 2019. godine pronađena je, u Hrvatskoj, najstarija poznata sačuvana brojanica koju je moguće datirati na prijelaz 14. u 15. stoljeće. Ostaci su brojanice pronađeni zajedno s olovnom bulom pape Bonifacija IX. uz posmrtnu ostatku starije ženske osobe, pokopane u opekom zidanoj grobnici u južnoj prigradnji opatijske crkve. Uz određeni oprez, na temelju rezultata antropološke analize, pisanih vrela i pronađenih pokretnih nalaza može se pretpostaviti kako je riječ o posmrtnim ostacima pripadnice plemićkog roda Podvrški – Margareti, kojoj je papa Bonifacije IX. 1397. godine izdao nama danas nepoznatu ispravu.

Ključne riječi:

Rudina, benediktinska opatija sv. Mihovila Arkandela, kasni srednji vijek, Podvrški, Paternoster, brojanica, krunica, konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi

During revision excavations of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Michael the Archangel, in Rudina in 2019, a preserved counter was discovered, the oldest known in Croatia, which can be dated to the transition from the 14th century to the 15th. The remains of the counter were discovered with a lead bull of Pope Boniface IX, alongside the remains of an older woman buried in a brick tomb in the southern extension to the abbey church. With a certain caution, and on the basis of the results of anthropological analysis, written sources and discovered movable finds, we can conclude that the remains belong to Margaret, a member of the Podversai (Podvrški) noble family, to whom, in 1397, Pope Boniface IX issued a document unknown to us today.

Key words:

Rudina, Benedictine Abbey of Saint Michael the Archangel, Late Middle Ages, Podversai, Paternoster, counter, rosary, conservation and restoration

Rudina

Benediktinska opatija sv. Mihovila Arkandela u Rudini nalazi se na jugoistočnim obroncima Psunja. Opatija se prvi put spominje u ispravi kralja Bele IV. iz 1250., ali pretpostavlja se da su je osnovali pripadnici roda Borić tijekom druge polovine 12. stoljeća. Uslijed osmanske opasnosti opatija je napuštena tijekom druge četvrtine 16. stoljeća.¹

Hrvatski je restauratorski zavod započeo 2013., u suradnji s Konzervatorskim odjelom u Požegi, program revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja i izrade cjelovite nacrtne dokumentacije ostataka benediktinske opatije u Rudini. Predmetna su istraživanja stvorila preduvjete za konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove i primjereno prezentiranje toga iznimnog spomenika kasnosrednjovjekovne kulturne baštine.

Rudina

The Benedictine Abbey of Saint Michael the Archangel, in Rudina, is situated on a south-eastern slopes of the Psunj mountain. The abbey was first mentioned in a document of King Bela IV from 1250, but it is assumed to have been established by members of the Boricus (Borić) family during the second half of the 12th century. Due to the danger from the Ottomans, the abbey was abandoned in the second quarter of the 16th century.¹

The Croatian Conservation Institute, in cooperation with the Conservation department in Požega, recently launched a programme of revision excavations and the drawing up of a plan of the remains of the Benedictine abbey in Rudina. The research in question created preconditions for conservation, restoration and adequate presentation of this outstanding memorial of late-medieval cultural heritage.

1 Pleše, Sekulić, Mostarčić 2018.

1 Pleše, Sekulić, Mostarčić 2018.

SLIKA 1. Zračna snimka istraživanog prostora rudinske opatije 2019. godine (snimio Skimi64 d.o.o.).

FIGURE 1. Aerial photograph of the excavated area of the Rudina abbey in 2019 (photo by Skimi64 d.o.o.).



Grob i atribucija

Revizijska su arheološka istraživanja 2019. godine obuhvatila prostor južne prigradnje opatijske crkve. Pritom su u zapadnom dijelu prigradnje pronađeni ostaci pet grobnica ukopanih u sloj nekompaktnog živca (sl. 1). U grobnici izrađenoj od opeke sačuvani su posmrtni ostaci ženske osobe (G 077/2019). Osim ostataka koštanih zrna, na desnoj strani prsnog koša pronađena je olovna bula (*bullā plumbea*) pape Bonifacija IX. (1389. – 1404.). Riječ je o olovnom pečatu koji je bio potvrda valjanosti isprave na kojoj je bio pričvršćen (sl. 2). Prema nekima autorima, olovne su bule polagane uz pokojnika u svojstvu amuleta budući da su se povijesno uz olovo vezale magijske konotacije. Ovakvo tumačenje najčešće se povezuje uz nalaze s područja srednjovjekovne Engleske te se, budući da je često riječ o pokojnicama, pripisuje laicima. Isto tako, olovne bule u grobovima dio je autora interpretirao kao potvrdu otkupljenja grijeha.² S obzirom na kontekst nalaza rudinske bule,³ uz određeni oprez moguće je pretpostaviti da je riječ o dijelu isprave nepoznatog sadržaja privatnog karaktera. Nadalje, smještaj same grobnice ukazuje i na aspekt ovozemaljskoga društvenog položaja pokojnice.

Grave and attribution

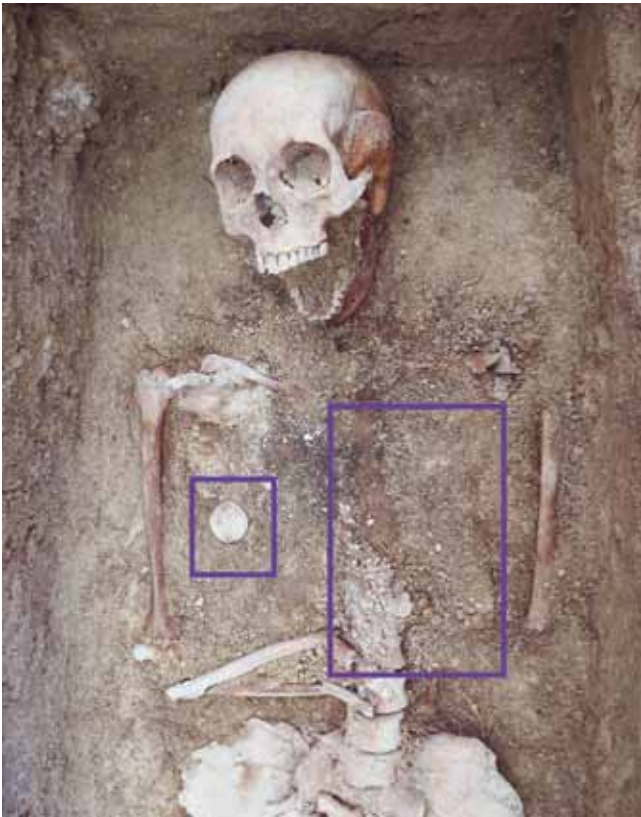
The revision excavations in 2019 encompassed the southern extension of the abbey church. Remains of five tombs dug in the bedrock layer were discovered in the western part of the extension (Fig. 1). A brick tomb contained the remains of a woman (G 077/2019). Aside from the remains of the bone beads, a lead bull (*bullā plumbea*) of Pope Boniface IX (1389 – 1404) was discovered at the right side of the chest. The bull is actually a lead seal serving as confirmation of the authenticity of the document to which it was attached (Fig. 2). According to some authors, lead bulls were laid alongside the deceased as amulets, since lead was historically linked to magical connotations. This interpretation is most commonly connected with finds from medieval England and with laypersons, since the deceased buried with it were often women. Likewise, lead bulls in graves have been interpreted by some authors as confirmation of absolution of sins.² Given the context of the find of the bull from Rudina,³ with some caution, we can assume that it was a part of a private document of unknown content. Besides, the position of the tomb itself points to the deceased woman's earthly social status.

² Pleše 2012, 130–131.

³ Pronađena bula pape Bonifacija IX. treća je takva bula pronađena na području benediktinske opatije sv. Mihovila arkandela na Rudini (Pleše, Sekulić, Mostarčić 2018, 24).

² Pleše 2012, 130–131.

³ Pope Boniface IX's bull is the third bull discovered in the area of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Michael the Archangel, in Rudina (Pleše, Sekulić, Mostarčić 2018, 24).



SLIKA 2. Detalj groba 077/2019 – nalaz bule i koštanih zrna (snimio P. Sekulić).

FIGURE 2. Detail of grave 077/2019 – find of the bull and bone beads (photo by P. Sekulić).

U sačuvanim popisima isprava, koje je dodijelio papa Bonifacije IX., poznate su četiri isprave koje je moguće povezati s rudinskom opatijom.⁴ Za razliku od ranijih nalaza, koje nije moguće izravno dovesti u vezu s pojedinačnom ispravom, nalaz bule iz predmetnoga groba može se uz određeni oprez povezati s ispravom izdanom 1396. godine Margareti Podvrški. Naime, na temelju sačuvanih vrela može se zaključiti da je u trenutku izdavanja isprave 1396. godine Margareta Podvrški bili udovica u zreloj dobi. Budući da se u nizu sačuvanih isprava o posjedovnim sporovima s početka 15. stoljeća njezino ime ne spominje, pretpostavlja se da je umrla tijekom prvog desetljeća 15. stoljeća.

Na temelju rezultata antropološke analize osteološkog materijala iz groba G 077, prema kojima je riječ o ostacima ženske osobe starije životne dobi,⁵ kao i mjesto ukopa u pretpostavljenoj grobnoj kapeli,⁶ upućuju na mogućnost da je doista riječ o grobu Margarete Podvrški.

There are four known documents among the preserved lists of documents granted by Pope Boniface IX that can be linked with the Rudina abbey.⁴ Unlike earlier finds that cannot be directly linked with specific documents, the bull find from the grave in question, with some caution, can be linked with a document issued to Margaret Podversai (Podvrški) in 1396. On the basis of preserved historical sources, we can conclude that Margaret Podversai was an older widow at the moment the document was issued in 1396. Since a whole array of preserved documents about ownership disputes from the beginning of the 15th century do not mention her name, we can conclude that she died during the first decade of the 15th century.

The results of the anthropological analysis of osteological material from grave G 077, according to which they belong to an older woman,⁵ as well as the fact that they were buried in an assumed grave chapel,⁶ indicate that this is indeed Margaret Podversai's grave.

4 Prva isprava, izdana 13. siječnja 1395. godine, papinsko je dopuštenje pavlinu Stjepanu, sinu Ivanovom, da prijeđe iz samostana Bonis u Pečujskoj biskupiji u opatiju u Rudini (Andrić 1998, 41; Buturac 2004, 235; Kramberger 2013, 103–113). Druga je isprava od 3. prosinca 1396. godine izdana Tomi, sinu Stjepanovom de Rudina (Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M.: 1389. – 1396.). Sredinom iste godine izdane su još dvije isprave – Dominiku Podvrškom te njegovoj majci Margareti (Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M.: 1389. – 1396.). Ime Dominika Podvrškog spominje se u čitavom nizu sudskih isprava tijekom prva dva desetljeća 15. stoljeća te su, među ostalim, dokumentirani njegovi bliski odnosi s rudinskim opatom Stjepanom u kontekstu sukoba s novim patronima – obitelji Tamásy (Andrić 1998, 42–43).

5 Novak, Carić 2020, 6–7.

6 Sekulić 2020, 66–68.

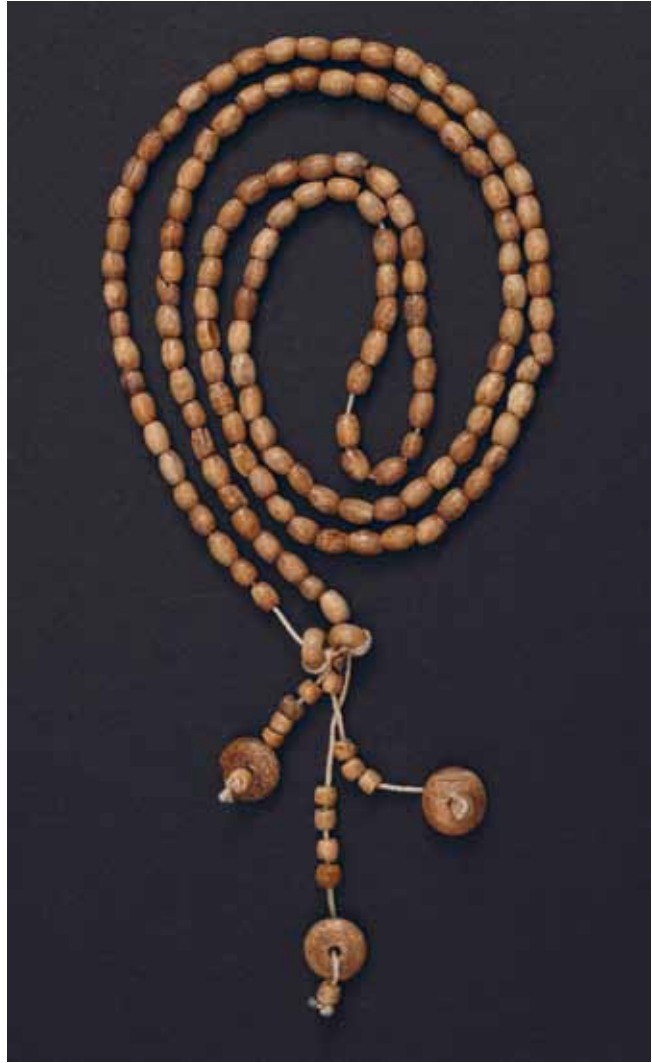
4 The first document, issued on 13th January 1395, is papal permission granted to the Pauline Stjepan, son of Ivan, to move from Bonis Monastery, in the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pécs, to the Rudina abbey (Andrić 1998, 41; Buturac 2004, 235; Kramberger 2013, 103–113). The second document was issued on 3rd December 1396 to Tomo, son of Stefan de Podversai and his mother Margaret (Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M.: 1389 – 1396). In mid-1396, two more documents were issued – to Dominik Podversai and his mother Margaret (Bullae Bonifacii IX. P. M.: 1389 – 1396). The name of Dominik Podversai is mentioned in a whole array of court documents during the first two decades of the 15th century. Among other things, they document his close relationship with Rudina's abbot Stjepan in the context of the conflict with the new patrons: the Tamásy family (Andrić 1998, 42–43).

5 Novak, Carić 2020, 6–7.

6 Sekulić 2020, 66–68.

SLIKA 3. Rekonstruirana brojanica nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio I. Marinković).

FIGURE 3. Reconstructed counter after conservation and restoration (photo by I. Marinković).



Paternoster brojanica iz groba 77

Identifikacijom pokojnice moguće je i predmete u grobu pobliže datirati. Tako je najstariju brojanicu, pronađenu arheološkim istraživanjima, moguće datirati u kraj 14. i početak 15. stoljeća. Sastoji se od 139 očuvanih koštanih zrna valjkastog oblika, 14 manjih okruglih zrna, 2 ovalna zrna i 3 veća diskoidna zrna. Možemo pretpostaviti da je izvorno imala 150 valjkastih zrna. Kako zrna nemaju vidljive tragove zelene boje nastale korozijom brončanih kukica, možemo pretpostaviti da su zrna bila povezana nekom vrstom konopca ili vrpce. Zrna su nanizana na lanenu uzicu, a prema analogijama slikovnih prikaza tog vremena pretpostavljen je završetak u obliku tri viseća ukrasa, isključivo dekorativne funkcije (sl. 3). Kao najbliža tipološka analogija za nizanje brojanice poslužila je naslovnica kataloga izložbe o medaljicama *500 Jahre Rosenkranz*, održane u Kölnu 1975. godine. Naslovnica prikazuje dio oltarne slike Poklonstva kraljeva iz katedrale u Kölnu, autora Stefana Lochera iz 1440. godine, na kojoj jedna od dvorskih dama drži brojanicu od vjerojatno koraljnih zrna i onih gorskog kristala, a koja završava trima diskoidnima, vjerojatno jantarnim zrnima.

Paternoster counter from grave 77

The identification of the deceased woman allows for a more precise dating of the items from the grave. The oldest counter discovered during excavations can be dated to the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th. It consists of 139 preserved cylindrical bone beads, 14 smaller round beads, 2 oval beads, and 3 larger discoid beads. We can assume that it originally had 150 cylindrical beads. Since the beads have no visible traces of green colour caused by corrosion of bronze hooks, we can assume that the beads were connected by some kind of a string or band. The beads were arranged on a linen string, and by analogy with contemporary paintings, the ending was imagined in the form of three hanging decorations serving a solely decorative function (Fig. 3). The cover of the catalogue of the exhibition on medals, *500 Jahre Rosenkranz*, held in Cologne in 1975, is the closest typological analogy for the arrangement of the counter. The cover depicts part of the *Altarpiece of the Patron Saints* of Cologne cathedral, painted by Stefan Locher in 1440, in which one of the ladies-in-waiting holds a counter, probably made of coral and quartz, ending in three discoid beads, probably of amber.



SLIKA 4. Koštana zrna brojnice prije konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio J. Škudar).

FIGURE 4. Bone beads of the counter before conservation and restoration (photo by J. Škudar).



SLIKA 5. Velika diskoidna zrna nakon restauratorskih radova (snimio I. Marinković).

FIGURE 5. Large discoid beads after conservation and restoration (photo by I. Marinković).

Konzerviranje i restauriranje brojnice iz Rudine

Zrna brojnice zaprimljena su na konzervatorsko-restauratorsku obradu u dosta lošem stanju. Kost je bila lomljiva i meka, a površina je bila prekrivena tankom naslagom zemlje. Rupe za nizanje bile su popunjene zemljom, a manji dio zrna se raspolovio. Ukupno je 158 zrna, u 4 različita oblika. Velika diskoidna zrna su široka 14 mm i promjera 6 mm, a 2 ovalna 10 x 6 mm. Dimenzije manjih zrna nisu ujednačene (od 6 x 4 mm do 5 x 4 mm), dok dimenzije najbrojnijih valjkasto-ovalnih variraju od 8 x 6 mm do 6 x 5 mm.

Preliminarni je pregled obavljen binokularnim povećalom na uvećanju od 10 puta i fotografirano je postojeće stanje (sl. 4), a detalji strukture fotografirani su digitalnim mikroskopom Dino Lite Pro s polarizacijskim filterom na uvećanju 40 puta. Na površini kosti vidljivi su i tragovi rotacione obrade, kao i brojne mikropukotine i oštećenja strukture. Čišćenje površine od zemlje je obavljeno 95 % etanolom uz pomoć kista, a za čišćenje rupa je upotrijebljena igla. Dio zrna raspolovio se tijekom čišćenja jer su već bila napukla i zajedno ih je držala samo zemlja u pukotini, a dva su velika zrna već bila manje oštećena. Kost je zbog nestabilne i porozne strukture konsolidirana namakanjem u otopini laka *Paraloid B72* u acetonu 2–5 %. Ulomci su spajani lijepljenjem epoksidnim, dvokomponentnim ljepljivom *UHU epoxy+*. Dva su velika, diskoidna zrna zaprimljena s manjim oštećenjima otkrhnute rubne površine. Nakon konsolidiranja, nedostajući dijelovi su restaurirani s istim dvokomponentnim epoksidnim ljepljivom koje je upotrijebljeno za lijepljenje ulomaka. S obzirom na to da je epoksidna smola prozirna, prilikom miješanja dviju komponenta u odnosu 1:1, dodan je talk bijele boje i u maloj količini smeđi pigment u prahu tona *Burnt sienna*. Tako je zamiješana gusta

Conservation and restoration of the Rudina counter

The counter beads were received for conservation and restoration treatment in fairly poor condition. The bone was brittle and soft, and the surface was covered in a thin layer of earth. The holes for threading were filled with soil, and a minority of the beads had broken in half. Altogether, there were 158 beads in four different shapes. The large discoid beads are 14 mm wide and 6 mm in diameter, and the two oval ones are 10 x 6 mm. The dimensions of the smaller beads are not uniform (from 6 x 4 mm to 5 x 4 mm), while the dimensions of the most numerous cylindrical and oval beads vary from 8 x 6 mm to 6 x 5 mm.

The preliminary examination was conducted with a binocular magnifier at 10X magnification. The current situation was photographed (Fig. 4), as well as the details of the structure, with a Dino Lite Pro digital microscope with a polarization filter at 40X magnification. Traces of rotary tools, numerous micro-cracks, and damage in the structure are visible on the surface of the bone. The surface was cleaned of earth with a brush and 95 % ethanol; the holes were cleaned with a needle. Some beads broke in half during the cleaning, because they had already cracked and only the soil in the cracks was holding them together, while the two large beads were already slightly damaged. Due to its unstable and porous structure, the bone was consolidated by soaking in *Paraloid B72* varnish solution in 2–5 % acetone. Fragments were joined with epoxy, dual-component *UHU epoxy+* adhesive. Two of the large, discoid beads were received with slight impairments of the chipped edges. After consolidation, the missing pieces were restored with the same dual-component adhesive used for gluing the fragments. Since the epoxy resin is translucent, white talc and a small amount of powdered brown pigment

masa slične boje originalnoj površini kosti. Nakon sušenja, rekonstruirani je dio obrađen mikrobrusovima pomoću mikromotora (sl. 5). *UHU epoxy* je reverzibilan i može se ukloniti/odvojiti namakanjem u 95 % etanolu ili acetonu, čime se može ukloniti i lak Paraloid B72, koji je upotrijebljen kao završni, zaštitni premaz (10 % otopina u acetonu).

Razvoj krunice

Povijesni razvoj krunice lijepo je prikazao o. C. Belamarić u *Ispravi o obnovi krunice*. Sistem moljenja krunice razvijao se stoljećima, a razvoj i način moljenja možemo pratiti od 11. stoljeća. U to je vrijeme u samostanima bio običaj svaki dan moliti 150 psalama iz Psalterija, što se zamijenilo moljenjem krunice od 150 zrna, koju nazivamo brojanica. Takve *Paternoster* brojnice služile su za 150 molitava Gospodnjih (Očenaša), a tako su i dobile ime „paternostri“ ili „očenaši“. Marijanski psaltir uvodi se u katoličku praksu Klinijevskom reformom i širenjem kulta Bogorodice.⁷ U 13. stoljeću je marijanski psaltir preimenovan u *rosarium* jer zamjenjuje vijenac od ruže Gospi u čast te se uz svaki Očenaš na brojnici moli i jedna Zdravo Marijo. Cijela ideja ponavljanja ovih dviju molitvi 150 puta potaknuta je idejom da nepismeni redovnici na taj način mogu lakše sudjelovati u molitvi.⁸ Današnji oblik krunice ustalio se krajem 15. stoljeća.⁹ Važno je naglasiti da do kraja 14. stoljeća govorimo isključivo o *paternoster* brojnici, a nakon toga o krunici i *paternoster* brojnici.¹⁰

Krunica ili ružarij¹¹ oblik je pobožnosti Blaženoj Djevici Mariji. Sastavljena je od razmišljanja i molitvi koje su usredotočene na život Kristov i život Djevice Marije. Razmišljanja se još nazivaju otajstvima, a dijele se na četiri – radosna, žalosna, slavna i svjetla. Takav način molitve započinje u 15. stoljeću, a u opću se praksu uvodi u 16. stoljeću. U 16. stoljeću počinje se moliti Vjeronje na početku krunice, a početkom 17. stoljeća dodaju se tri Zdravo Marije.¹² Od kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, a češće od 16. stoljeća krunice/brojnice prilažu se u grobove,¹³ na njih se dodaju križevi i medaljice, što možemo vezati uz pojačanu posttridentsku pobožnost.¹⁴ U grobovima ih se uglavnom nalazi na mjestu sklopljenih ruku na području zdjelice ili trbuha, jer je takav običaj kod pokapanja, a ponekad i na prsnom košu, jer su nošene i oko vrata.

in burnt sienna colour were added when the two components were mixed in a 1:1 ratio. The resulting thick mass had a colour similar to the original surface of the bone. After drying, the reconstructed portion was processed with micro-whetstones with the help of micro-engines (Fig. 5). The *UHU epoxy* adhesive is reversible and can be removed/separated when soaked in 95 % ethanol or acetone, which can also remove Paraloid B72 varnish used as a protective finish (10 % solution in acetone).

Development of the rosary

Historical development of the rosary is nicely presented by father C. Belamarić in *Isprava o obnovi krunice*. The system of praying the rosary has developed over centuries, and its development and the way it is prayed can be traced back to the 11th century. At that time, it was a custom in monasteries to pray 150 psalms from psalters every day, which was replaced by praying the 150-bead rosary, called the counter. Such *Paternoster* counters were used for praying 150 Our Fathers. That is where they got their name from – *Paternosters*. St. Mary's Psalter was introduced in Catholic practice with the Cluniac Reforms and the spread of the cult of the Virgin Mary.⁷ In the 13th century, St. Mary's Psalter was renamed *rosarium*, because it replaced the rose wreath in Our Lady's honour, and one Hail Mary was prayed with every Our Father. The whole idea of repeating these two prayers 150 times was spurred by the notion that illiterate monks would be able to take part in prayer more easily that way.⁸ Today's form of the rosary was settled at the end of the 15th century.⁹ It is important to emphasize that until the 14th century there was only the *Paternoster* counter, and after the 14th century there are the rosary and *Paternoster* counter.¹⁰

The rosary¹¹ is a kind of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is made up of contemplation and prayers focusing on the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary. The contemplations are also called Mysteries, and they are divided into four sets: Joyful, Sorrowful, Glorious and Luminous Mysteries. This way of praying originated in the 15th century and came into general practice in the 16th. In the 16th century, the Apostle's Creed was introduced to the beginning of the rosary, and at the beginning of the 17th century, three Hail Marys were added.¹² From the Late Middle Ages, and more commonly from the 16th century, rosaries/counters were laid in graves,¹³ and crosses and medals were added to them, which can be associated with the rising post-Trident piety.¹⁴ In graves, they are mostly found at the position of the folded hands, since that was the burial custom, and sometimes on the chest, because they were worn around the neck as well.

7 Anzulović 2007, 268.

8 Burić 2005, 202–203.

9 Anzulović 2007, 269.

10 Braunneck 1979, 244.

11 Badurina (ed.) 1985, 368.

12 Fingerling 1992, 182.

13 Predovnik, Dacar, Lavrinc 2008, 88.

14 U ovom kontekstu posebno je zanimljiv Dekret o zazivanju, štovanju i relikvijama svetaca i o svetim slikama, koji pojašnjava pojačanu pučku pobožnost, a donesen je na Tridentskom saboru 1563. godine. <http://crkvenidokumenti.blogspot.com/2008/11/dekrete-i-ostilitu-o-zazivanju-tovanju.html> (5 March 2021).

7 Anzulović 2007, 268.

8 Burić 2005, 202–203.

9 Anzulović 2007, 269.

10 Braunneck 1979, 244.

11 Badurina (ed.) 1985, 368.

12 Fingerling 1992, 182.

13 Predovnik, Dacar, Lavrinc 2008, 88.

14 The decree On the Invocation, Veneration and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images is especially interesting in this context. It explains popular piety and was adopted by the Council of Trent in 1563, <http://crkvenidokumenti.blogspot.com/2008/11/dekrete-i-ostilitu-o-zazivanju-tovanju.html> (5 March 2021).

Često se poklanjaju za vjenčanja, rođendane i važne događaje,¹⁵ a s obzirom na svoju veću ili manju dopadljivost, miješaju religioznost i potrebu za ukrašavanjem. U 17. i 18. stoljeću postaju omiljeni votivni dar vjernika raznim svetištima. Kako je smisao votivnih darova žrtva u zamjenu za neku potrebu ili molbu, tako je omiljena krunica/brojanica vrlo prikladan votivni dar. U jednom sadrži individualnost, vjeru, religioznost i ures. Do sada je u Hrvatskoj objavljeno nekoliko članaka o krunicama proizašlim iz arheoloških istraživanja,¹⁶ dok je brojne podatke moguće crpiti iz katoličke literature.¹⁷

Prikazi i izvori

Na prikazima na umjetničkim djelima od srednjeg vijeka broj zrna krunice/brojanice prilično varira, što vjerojatno možemo pripisati umjetničkoj slobodi autora, ali i tumačiti različitim oblicima krunice/brojanice i različitim brojem zrna. Taj broj čak i danas varira, a obično je ovisan o namjeni krunice/brojanice. Kroz prikaze na umjetničkim djelima možemo pratiti i razvoj stavljanja raznih završetaka na krunice od pompona, medaljica do križeva.

Najstarije zabilježene krunice/brojanice u Dalmaciji nalazile su se u inventaru zadarskog plemića Frane pok. Ivana Rajnerova de Varicassisa iz 1325. godine. Zabilježene su u paru, srebrne su, a imaju oko 180 zrna.¹⁸ U 14. stoljeću u trgovačkim inventarima Zadrana zabilježene su, osim srebrnih, još i krunice/brojanice od kosti, drva, jantara i stakla, a od 15. stoljeća i koralja.¹⁹ Jantarne krunice sa srebrnim križevima označavaju se u šibenskim inventarima kao ženske krunice, a omiljene su u 16. stoljeću.²⁰ I. Anzulović primjećuje da se u pisanim izvorima zrna označavaju kao *paterosteri*, a krunice kao *coronetta* i *corona*, a od 17. stoljeća i *rosario*.²¹

Koštane krunice/brojanice na području Hrvatske pojavljuju se od druge polovine 14. stoljeća pa do dvadesetih godina 17. stoljeća, s tim da ih najviše nalazimo na početku 16. stoljeća.²² Do sada su na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske pronađene četiri krunice koje zbog velikog broja zrna možemo interpretirati kao brojanice.²³

They were often gifted at weddings, birthdays and important events.¹⁵ Depending on the degree of their decorativeness, they combine religious purpose and the need for decoration. In the 17th and 18th centuries, they became worshipers' favoured votive offerings to various shrines. Since a votive offering is usually presented in need or exchanged for a plea, a favourite rosary/counter is a suitable votive offering. It combines individuality, faith, religiousness and decoration. Several articles about rosaries discovered during excavations have been published in Croatia,¹⁶ and plenty of data can also be acquired from Catholic literature.¹⁷

Depictions and sources

The number of rosary/counter beads in works of art from the Middle Ages onward varies considerably, which can probably be assigned to artistic freedom of artists, but also interpreted as various forms of rosaries/counters having different numbers of beads. Their numbers vary even today, usually depending on the function of the rosary/counter. We can also track the development of various endings of rosaries through depictions in art-work, from pompons and medals to crosses.

The earliest recorded rosaries/counters in Dalmatia were items in the inventory, of 1325, of Zadar nobleman Fran, son of the late Ivan Rainerri de Varicassis. They were silver, recorded as a pair, and contain around 180 beads.¹⁸ Aside from those made of silver, bone, wood, amber and glass, from the 15th century onwards, coral rosaries/counters were recorded in the trade inventories of the people of Zadar.¹⁹ Amber rosaries with silver crosses were recorded as women's rosaries in Šibenik inventories. They were favoured in the 16th century.²⁰ It has been noted by I. Anzulović that, in written sources, beads were recorded as *Paternosters*, and rosaries as *coronetta* and *corona*, from the 17th century even as *rosario*.²¹ Bone rosaries/counters appear in Croatian territory from the second half of the 14th century all the way to the third decade of the 17th century, but mostly at the beginning of the 16th century.²² Four rosaries have been discovered in the northwestern part of Croatia so far. Due to the large numbers of beads, they can be interpreted as counters.²³

15 Küffner, Schulten (eds.) 1976, 97.

16 Burić 2005; Belaj 2006; Azinović Bebek 2009; 2012; Rapan Papeša 2012; Azinović Bebek, Janeš (forthcoming).

17 Belamarić 1973; Šanjek 1983; Biškup 2001.

18 Anzulović 2007, 269.

19 Anzulović 2007, 269.

20 Anzulović 2007, 271.

21 Anzulović 2007, 268.

22 Gjurašin 1997, 175; Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.) 2000, kat. nr. 28.15; Lozar Štamcar, Žvanut 2002, 139, kat.br. 244; Burić 2005, 226–227, Fig. 12–15; Anzulović 2007, 276–277.

23 Pronađene su u grobovima na grobljima oko pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Remetama, samostana Blažene Djevice Marije i Svih svetih u Šenkovcu, Crkve sv. Nikole biskupa u Žumberku i Crkve sv. Marije Magdalene u Čazmi i datiraju od 16. do 18. stoljeća (Azinović Bebek 2012, 220).

15 Küffner, Schulten (eds.) 1976, 97.

16 Burić 2005; Belaj 2006; Azinović Bebek 2009; 2012; Rapan Papeša 2012; Azinović Bebek, Janeš (forthcoming).

17 Belamarić 1973; Šanjek 1983; Biškup 2001.

18 Anzulović 2007, 269.

19 Anzulović 2007, 269.

20 Anzulović 2007, 271.

21 Anzulović 2007, 268.

22 Gjurašin 1997, 175; Bundesdenkmalamt (ed.) 2000, cat. no. 28.15; Lozar Štamcar, Žvanut 2002, 139, cat.no. 244; Burić 2005, 226–227, Figs 12–15; Anzulović 2007, 276–277.

23 They were discovered at cemeteries around the Pauline Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Remete, the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints in Šenkovec, the Church of Saint Nicolaus the Bishop in Žumberak, and the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Čazma, and they are dated from the 16th century to the 18th (Azinović Bebek 2012, 220).

Zaključak

U sačuvanim pisanim vrelima krunice/brojanice, odnosno majstori koji ih izrađuju, spominju se od 13. stoljeća,²⁴ dok hrvatski srednjovjekovni izvori prve krunice/brojanice bilježe u oporukama 14. stoljeća. Najranije arheološke potvrde sahranjivanja pokojnika s krunicom/brojanicom nalazimo od polovine 13. stoljeća,²⁵ dok se na području hrvatskih zemalja pojavljuju od 16. stoljeća. Tako je najstariji poznati primjerak brojanice pronađen u zatvorenome arheološkom kontekstu upravo rudinska brojanica koju je moguće datirati na sam kraj 14. i početak 15. stoljeća. Na temelju pokretnih arheoloških nalaza te rezultata interdisciplinarnih istraživanja, uz određeni oprez, moguće je istraženu grobnicu dovesti u vezu s Margaretom iz plemićkog roda Podvrški, patrona rudinske opatije tijekom 14. i 15. stoljeća. Nalaz papinske bule moguće je povezati s ispravom nama nepoznatog sadržaja, ali na temelju analogija moguće je pretpostaviti da je bila riječ o papinskom odrješenju grijeha. Osim bule, o duhovnom aspektu srednjovjekovnoga vjerničkog života, odnosno pobožnosti pokojnice i njene brige za osobnim spasenjem, svjedoči i pronađena brojanica.²⁶

Conclusion

In preserved historical sources, rosaries/counters or the craftsmen who made them were mentioned in the 13th century,²⁴ while Croatian medieval sources record the first rosaries/counters in testaments in the 14th century. The earliest archaeological confirmations of burying the deceased with a rosary/counter can be found from the 13th century onwards,²⁵ while in Croatia they appear from the 16th century. The earliest known counter from a closed archaeological context is the Rudina counter, which can be dated to the very end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th. Based on movable archaeological finds and the results of interdisciplinary research, with some caution, the excavated tomb can be linked to Margaret of the Podversai family, the patrons of the Rudina abbey during the 14th and 15th centuries. The find of the papal bull can be associated with a document of unknown content; but, based on analogies, we can assume that it served as papal absolution of sins. Aside from the bull, the discovered counter also testifies to the spiritual aspect of medieval religious life, i.e. the devotion of the deceased woman and her regard for her personal salvation.²⁶

24 Burić 2005, 231.

25 Mittelstraß 1999/2000, 242; Later 2011, 389.

26 Poznati su nam zapisi o duhovnom aspektu moljenja uz pomoć brojanice/krunice. Tako je prema sačuvanim vrelima, redovnica Anna od Winecha iz 13. stoljeća dnevno izmolila 1000 pa čak i 2000 Očenaša i Zdravo Marija, dok kronike bilježe da je franjevka sv. Margareta Kortonska krajem 13. stoljeća godišnje molila oko 14.000 molitvi (Burić 2005, 232).

24 Burić 2005, 231.

25 Mittelstraß 1999/2000, 242; Later 2011, 389.

26 There are known records of the spiritual aspect of praying with a rosary/counter. According to preserved historical sources, sister Anna of Winech, in the 13th century, prayed 1000 or even 2000 Our Fathers and Hail Marys daily, while chronicles record that Franciscan sister Saint Margaret of Cortona said around 14,000 prayers a year at the end of the 13th century (Burić 2005, 232).

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