
**STUDIJA SLUČAJA KRBAVSKE
STOLNICE – PRILOG DATIRANJU
KASNOSREDNJOVJEKOVNOG NAKITA I
DIJELOVA NOŠNJE****A CASE STUDY OF THE CATHEDRAL OF
KRBAVA – A CONTRIBUTION TO DATING OF
THE LATE MEDIEVAL JEWELRY AND DRESS
ACCESSORIES**

Na temelju stratigrafije prikazana je kronologija pojedinih oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje otkrivenih na groblju srednjovjekovne Krbave. Intenzivno ukapanje na tom groblju datira od druge polovine 13. do kraja prve četvrtine 16. stoljeća. Najstariji horizont, koji se datira do posljednjih desetljeća 14. stoljeća, karakteriziraju ukopi s trojagodnim naušnicama, okruglim pojasnim kopčama, ostrugama i prstenjem od plemenitog metala s umetcima. Idući horizont ukopa, koji se nastavlja na prethodni, karakterizira pojava masivnog pečatnog prstenja od plemenitog metala, obujmica od brončanog i srebrnog lima i dvostrukih simetričnih i asimetričnih pojasnih kopči. Posljednji horizont, koji se datira od prvih desetljeća 15. do kraja prve četvrtine 16. stoljeća, obilježava masovna pojava brončanih vitica, brončanog prstenja s umetcima, prstenja s motivom rukovanja, aplika za dijademe od tiještenog srebrnog ili brončanog lima i pseudogranuliranih puceta.

Ključne riječi: srednji vijek, Krbava, nakit, dijelovi nošnje

Chronology of certain jewelry forms and dress accessories from the cemetery of medieval Krbava is presented on the basis of stratigraphy. Most intense use of this cemetery dates to the period from the second half of the 13th century to the end of the first quarter of the 16th century. The earliest horizon, dated to the last decades of the 14th century is characterized by burials with three-beaded earrings, circular frame belt buckles, spurs and rings of precious metals with insets. The following horizon of burials that continues from the previous one, is characterized by appearance of massive signet rings of precious metal, lace chapes of bronze and silver sheet, and double-loop belt buckles. The last horizon, dated from the first decades of the 15th to the end of the first quarter of the 16th century, is marked by an abundance of bronze bands, and bronze rings with settings, rings with clasped hands, appliqués for diadems of pressed silver or bronze sheet and pseudo-granulated buttons.

Key words: Middle Ages, Krbava, jewelry, dress accessories

UVOD

Arheološki muzej Zadar u suradnji s Muzejom Like u Gospiću već gotovo dva desetljeća provodi sustavna arheološka istraživanja ostataka krbavske katedrale i dvora krbavskih biskupa na položaju Kalaurija, odnosno Karija u Udbini.¹ Ispod katedrale otkriveni su ostatci starije crkve skromnijih dimenzija.² Na cijelom prostoru otkriveno je i više stotina grobova. Budući da su se na tom groblju vjerojatno ukapali žitelji Krbave, ono se u tekstu naziva krbavskim grobljem. Velik broj istraženih grobova sadržavao je različite oblike nakita i dijelova nošnje, koji se u suvremenoj literaturi datiraju u kasni srednji vijek.³

Cilj je rada utvrditi relativnu i apsolutnu kronologiju grobova te tako odrediti vrijeme pojave i trajanja pojedinih oblika koji su u njima pronađeni. Kao alati za utvrđivanje kronologije koristit će se stratigrafija, ¹⁴C mjerenja, numizmatički nalazi i povijesni izvori. Pouzdanost dobivenih rezultata provjerit će se usporedbom s drugim kasnosrednjovjekovnim grobljima i datumima koje sugeriraju nalazi dostupni u literaturi.

Rad je podijeljen na šest dijelova. U prvom dijelu analiziraju se stratigrafski odnosi među ukopima istraženim u pojedinim prostornim cjelinama i donose se matrice sa stratigrafskim pozicijama pojedinih ukopa. Slijedi dio u kojem se grupe grobova iz prostorno odvojenih cjelina međusobno povezuju u tri vremenski izdvojena horizonta, za koje se nastoje odrediti kronološki okviri. U trećem dijelu donosi se pregled zastupljenosti oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje u svakom

INTRODUCTION

The Archaeological Museum Zadar in cooperation with the Museum of Lika in Gospić has conducted systematic archaeological excavations of the Krbava cathedral remains and the palace of the bishops of Krbava at the position Kalaurija i.e. Karija in Udbina.¹ Remains of an older church of modest size have been discovered under the cathedral.² Several hundreds of graves were found in the entire area. Since most likely residents of Krbava had been buried in this cemetery, it will be referred to as the Krbava cemetery. A number of excavated graves contained various forms of jewelry and dress accessories, that are dated to the Late Middle Ages in the relevant contemporary works.³

The aim of the paper is to establish relative and absolute chronology of the graves, and thence determine the earliest appearance and duration of certain forms recovered from the graves. Stratigraphy, ¹⁴C measurements, numismatic finds and historical sources will be used as tools for determining chronology. Accuracy of acquired results will be verified in comparison with other late medieval cemeteries and dates suggested by the published finds.

The paper is divided into six parts. The first part offers an analysis of stratigraphic relations between the burials excavated in separate spatial wholes. Matrices with stratigraphic positions of certain burials are also presented. In the next part, groups of graves from spatially detached wholes are connected into three horizons, separate in terms of chronology. An attempt is made to determine chronological frameworks of these horizons. The third part

- 1 Krbavska biskupija osnovana zaključkom Splitskog pokrajinskog koncila 1185. godine. Vidi S. Kovačić 1988, 24–30. Godine 1835. Fras je na ovom položaju opisao jasno vidljive ostatke crkve koju interpretira kao krbavsku katedralu i uz nju „veliku zgradu s dvorištem“ za koju drži da je bila samostan ili biskupski dom. Vidi F. J. Fras 1988, 138–139. O tijeku arheoloških istraživanja, vidi R. Jurić 2009.
- 2 Pojedini autori pretpostavili su da se ta starija crkva, manjih dimenzija i izrađena u stilu predromanike ili rane romanike, mogla nalaziti na mjestu kasnije izgrađene katedrale. Vidi M. Kruhek, Z. Horvat 1988, 191–192; 1997, 162; 2003, 87. Arheološkim iskopavanjem u brodu katedrale pronađeni su ostatci zidova za koje se pretpostavlja kako su pripadali starijoj crkvi. Vidi J. Vučić 2020b, 168.
- 3 Izdvajanje kasnosrednjovjekovnih nalaza iz korpusa ostalog srednjovjekovnog nakita započelo je zaključkom J. Brunšmida, kako trojagodne naušnice poput onih pronađenih u ostavi iz Lipove Glavice s početka 15. stoljeća treba datirati u razdoblje nakon sredine 14. stoljeća. Pola stoljeća kasnije, potaknut nalazima u zatvorenim kontekstima s novcem u Brnazima i Biskupiji, S. Gunjača je također pretpostavio da se ovaj tip nije proizvodio mnogo prije 14. stoljeća. Slijedio je rad N. Jakšića koji je na primjeru grobljima Maljkovo i Grborezi ukazao na mogućnost utvrđivanja relativne kronologije nakita korištenjem horizontalne stratigrafije. U iduća dva rada analizirao je ukupne do tada raspoložive informacije, pri čemu je argumentirano utvrdio da trojagodne naušnice i njima suvremen nakit treba izdvojiti od onog starijeg i datirati u kasni srednji vijek. Na kraju je analizom horizontalne stratigrafije groblja na Begovači i kod crkve Sv. Spasa nedvojbeno dokazao relativno kronološki odnos kasnosrednjovjekovnog i ranijih horizonata. Uz spomenute radove N. Jakšića doprinos rješavanju ove problematike predstavljaju radovi J. Beloševića, T. Burića, A. Miloševića, Ž. Krnčevića i M. Zekana. Vidi J. Brunšmid 1900, 152–153; S. Gunjača 1955, 128, 132; 1958, 25; N. Jakšić 1978; 1983, 68–70, bilj. 113, 114; 1984, 332, 334, 336; 1990; 1996; J. Belošević 1989, 78, bilj. 13; A. Milošević 1991, 36; Ž. Krnčević 1994, 284; T. Burić 2001, 200–250; M. Zekan 2010.

- 1 The diocese of Krbava was founded at the Council of Split in the year 1185. See S. Kovačić 1988, 24–30. In the year 1835, Fras described clearly visible remains of a church that he interpreted as the cathedral of Krbava and an adjoining “big building with a courtyard” which was interpreted as a monastery or bishop’s palace. See F. J. Fras 1988, 138–139. About the course of the archaeological research see R. Jurić 2009.
- 2 Some authors assumed that this older church, smaller and built in pre-Romanesque or early Romanesque style, could have been located at the place where the cathedral was subsequently built. See M. Kruhek, Z. Horvat 1988, 191–192; Z. Horvat 1997, 162; Z. Horvat 2003, 87. Archaeological excavation in the cathedral nave unearthed wall remains that possibly belonged to the older church. See J. Vučić 2020b, 168.
- 3 Separation of the late medieval finds from the rest of the medieval jewelry started with a conclusion by J. Brunšmid that three-beaded earrings such as the ones found in the hoard from Lipova Glavica dating to the early 15th century should be dated to the period after the mid-14th century. Half a century later, incited by finds from closed contexts with coins from Brnaze and Biskupija, S. Gunjača also assumed that this type was not produced much earlier than the 14th century. Paper by N. Jakšić further elaborated the subject on the examples of cemeteries from Maljkovo and Grborezi suggesting a possibility of determining relative chronology of the jewelry by using horizontal stratigraphy. In the next two papers he analyzed all available data, and determined with arguments that three-beaded earrings and contemporary jewelry should be separated from the older specimens and dated to the Late Middle Ages. Finally, analysis of horizontal stratigraphy of the cemeteries in Begovača and at the church of the Holy Saviour confirmed without any doubt relative chronological relation of the late medieval and earlier horizons. In addition to the mentioned papers by N. Jakšić, works by the following authors contributed to better understanding of this topic: J. Belošević, T. Burić, A. Milošević, Ž. Krnčević and M. Zekan. See J. Brunšmid 1900, 152–153; S. Gunjača 1955, 128, 132; 1958, 25; N. Jakšić 1978; 1983, 68–70, notes 113, 114; 1984, 332, 334, 336; 1990; 1996; J. Belošević 1989, 78, note 13; A. Milošević 1991, 36; Ž. Krnčević 1994, 284; T. Burić 2001, 200–250; M. Zekan 2010.

pojedinom horizontu krbavskog groblja. U četvrtom se dijelu uspoređuje relativno kronološka stratifikacija dobivena analizom krbavskog groblja s relativno kronološkim pokazateljima koje nude srodna kasnosrednjovjekovna groblja. U petom dijelu problematizira se datiranje trojagodnih naušnica koje su ključan element za određivanje kraja prvog i početka drugog horizonta krbavskog groblja. U zaključnom dijelu iznosi se osvrt na dobivene rezultate i ocjenjuje doprinos istraživanja krbavskog groblja boljem poznavanju kronologije kasnosrednjovjekovnog nakita i dijelova nošnje.

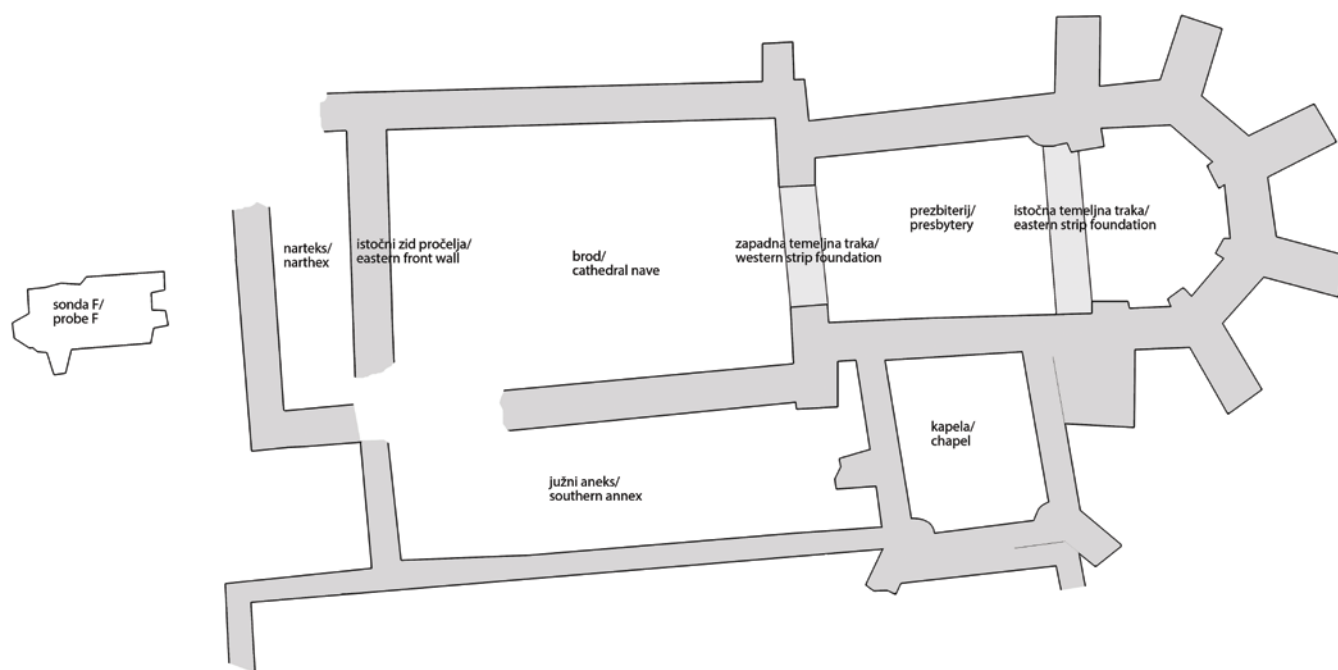
ANALIZA STRATIGRAFSKIH ODNOSA GROBOVA NA PROSTORU KRBAVSKE STOLNICE

Stratigrafskom analizom u ovom je radu obuhvaćeno 537 jedinica. Najveći dio njih, 507, čine ukopi.⁴ Ostatak se odnosi uglavnom na zidane grobnice i dijelove arhitekture. Analiza se temelji na dnevničkim zapisima, tehničkoj i fotodokumentaciji.⁵ Da bi se olakšalo sagledavanje i uvažile moguće razlike u dinamici ukapanja na pojedinim dijelovima nalazišta, analiza je provedena prema zasebno izdvojenim prostornim cjelinama. Redom su obrađeni

brings an overview of presence of jewelry forms and dress accessories in every horizon of the Krbava cemetery. The fourth part offers a comparison of relative chronological stratification resulting from the analysis of the cemetery of Krbava with relative chronological indicators offered by similar late medieval cemeteries. In the fifth part, dating of three-beaded earrings is analyzed, as a key element in determining the end of the first horizon and the beginning of the second horizon of the Krbava cemetery. The final part deals with consideration of the results, and evaluates the research contribution to better understanding of the late medieval jewelry and dress accessories in a chronological framework.

ANALYSIS OF STRATIGRAPHIC RELATIONS IN THE AREA OF THE CATHEDRAL OF KRBAVA

Stratigraphic analysis in this paper includes 537 units. Burials with 507 units constitute the dominant category.⁴ The rest relates mostly to stone-built tombs and parts of architecture. The analysis is based on journal entries, technical and photographic documentation.⁵ In order to facilitate understanding and acknowledge possible differences in the burial dynamics



Slika 1. Tlocrt krbavske katedrale

Figure 1. Ground plan of the cathedral of Krbava

izradili / made by: I. Čondić, R. Maršić, J. Vučić

4 Pod pojmom „ukop“ u ovom su radu obuhvaćeni ostatci pojedinačnih pokojnika, bilo da su pokopani u zemljanim jamama bilo u zidanim grobnicama, kao i tri ispražnjene grobnice ukopane u matičnu stijenu. Od tog broja numerirano je 459 jedinica koje se uglavnom odnose na kosture koji su bili u cijelosti ili dijelom intaktni. U ovaj rad nisu uključeni grobovi koji pripadaju mlađem groblju koje se formiralo na izdvojenom dijelu nalazišta tijekom 19. stoljeća. O ovom groblju vidi J. Vučić 2020a, 41.

5 Istraživanje krbavske stolnice vodili su R. Jurić, T. Kolak i autor ovih redaka. Terenske dnevničke, fotodokumentaciju i tehničku dokumentaciju tijekom istraživanja vodili su i izradili: N. Čondić, T. Kolak, A. Žderić, J. Vekić, N. Burica, J. Vučić, I. Čondić, F. Nedved i R. Maršić.

4 The term burial in this paper refers to remains of an individual deceased person, whether buried in earthen pits or stone-built tombs, as well as to three emptied tombs dug into bedrock. Out of that number, 459 units have been numerated, relating mostly to skeletons that were completely or partly intact. Graves belonging to the younger cemetery, formed at the isolated part of the site in the 19th century, were not included in this paper. More about this cemetery in J. Vučić 2020a, 41.

5 Research of the cathedral of Krbava was led by R. Jurić, T. Kolak and the author of this paper. Excavation journals, photographic and technical documentation were made and managed during the excavations by: N. Čondić, T. Kolak, A. Žderić, J. Vekić, N. Burica, J. Vučić, I. Čondić, F. Nedved and R. Maršić.

prostor prezbiterijski, brod katedrale, nartheks, južna pri-gradnja, kapela i sonda F (Sl. 1). Na kraju se donose i četiri prostorno izdvojena ukopa s istog nalazišta.⁶

Za svaku od navedenih prostornih cjelina donosi se matrica na kojoj je prikazan odnos stratigrafskih jedinica (Sl. 2–7).⁷ Na matricama je naznačena podjela ukopa po grupama koje su označene odgovarajućim slovom.

U tekstu se iznose opće informacije vezane za površinu, zatečeno stanje, ostatke arhitekture, visinu matične stijene i broj ukopa u svakom pojedinom prostoru. Potom se zasebno opisuju pojedine grupe ukopa. Ističu se elementi temeljem kojih je svaka od tih grupa izdvojena, kao i odnosi pojedinačnih ukopa prema ostatcima arhitekture i drugim grupama. Ako postoje, navode se i podatci koji upućuju na datiranje pojedinih grupa.

Prezbiterij

Površina prostora iznosi otprilike 83 m². Zatečen je zatrpan nasipom visine od +66 do +170.⁸ Kroz zapadni dio prostora prokopan je rov koji je zahvatio oko 18 m² prostora apside, prilikom čega su uklonjeni slojevi do visine +17, probijen je dio južnog zida, oštećena zidna grobnica 8 i oštećena temeljna traka koja se nalazila ispod slavolučne stijene. Obje temeljne trake koje su dokumentirane u prezbiteriju nisu organski vezane s temeljnim stopama zidova, već su priljubljene uz njih. Ta činjenica ne mora nužno ukazivati na vremensku razliku, već može biti vezana za dinamiku izgradnje. Na dijelu površine koja nije zahvaćena rovom uočen je ispod nasipa sloj tamne zemlje pomiješane s kamenom, kroz koji je ukopano više grobnih jama. Ispod tog sloja nalazio se na manjem dijelu pod od cigle, a na većoj površini žbukana podloga istog poda. Najviša visina poda od cigle bila je +44, dok je podloga od žbuke bila na visini do +21. U kvadrantu 26, ispod ciglenog poda pronađena je kovanica kovana između 1400. i 1413. godine.⁹ Matična stijena na tom dijelu nalazišta bila je na visini od -70 do -180 i padala je od zapada prema istoku. Na prostoru prezbiterijski dokumentirana su 83 ukopa, pokopana u zemljanim jamama i 7 grobnica (Sl. 2).

Najstariju grupu A čini 20 ukopa koji uglavnom leže na matičnoj stijeni.¹⁰ Jedan je pokopan u zidanoj grobnici Z9, dok su ostali ukopani u zemljanim jamama. Nad

in certain parts of the site, the analysis was conducted separately for each spatial whole. Following areas were analyzed: presbytery, cathedral nave, narthex, southern annex, chapel and probe F (Fig. 1). Finally there is an analysis of four isolated burials from the same site.⁶

Matrix depicting relations of stratigraphic units is presented for each of the mentioned spatial units (Figs. 2–7).⁷ Division of burials into groups (marked with letters) is denoted on the matrices.

The text presents general information related to the area, extant state, architectural remains, bedrock height and number of burials in each separate area. Certain groups of burials are described separately. Defining elements of each group are emphasized, as well as the relations of individual burials to architectural remains and other groups. Information related to dating of certain groups is mentioned, if there is any.

Presbytery

The presbytery covers the area of roughly 83 m². It was filled to a height from +66 to +170.⁸ Through the western part of the area a trench was dug encompassing around 18 m² of the apse area, when layers to a height of +17 were removed, and a part of the southern wall was penetrated. Stone-built tomb 8 was damaged as well as the strip foundation under the triumphal arch. Both strip foundations that were documented in the presbytery were not organically connected with wall foundations, but they adjoin them. This fact does not have to be a sign of chronological gap, but it could be related to construction dynamics. In the part of the surface that was intact by the trench, under the fill was a layer of dark soil mixed with stones, through which several grave pits were dug. Under this layer was a brick floor in the smaller segment, and the bigger part consisted of a mortar base of this floor. The biggest height of the brick floor was +44, while the mortar base was at a height of up to +21. In quadrant 26, a coin struck between 1400 and 1413 was found under the brick floor.⁹ In this part of the site the bedrock was at a height of -70 to -180, falling from west to east. Eighty three burials in the presbytery area were buried in earthen pits and seven in tombs (Fig. 2).

The oldest group A consists of 20 burials, mostly on the bedrock.¹⁰ One deceased person was buried in stone-built tomb Z9, while others were interred in earthen pits.

6 Ovi ukopi nisu uključeni u spomenuti broj od 537 jedinica koje su prikazane na matricama.

7 Na matricama se koriste različite oznake za pojedine grupe jedinica. Ukopi su prikazani crnim pravokutnicima unutar kojih su crnom bojom ispisani brojevi ili tekst „disloc“ (za dislocirane kosture), odnosno „jama“ (za prazne grobne jame). Zidane su grobnice unutar crnog pravokutnika označene crvenim slovom „Z“ i pripadajućim brojem. Okvirima u boji i pripadajućim linijama prikazani su ostatci arhitekture.

8 Visine su dane u odnosu na reper i izražene su u centimetrima.

9 J. Vučić 2020a, 52, kat. br. 34.

10 Jedan dislocirani kostur i ukopi: 230, 231, 270, 272, 274, 276, 281, 283, 295, 297, 300, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 411, 412, 413.

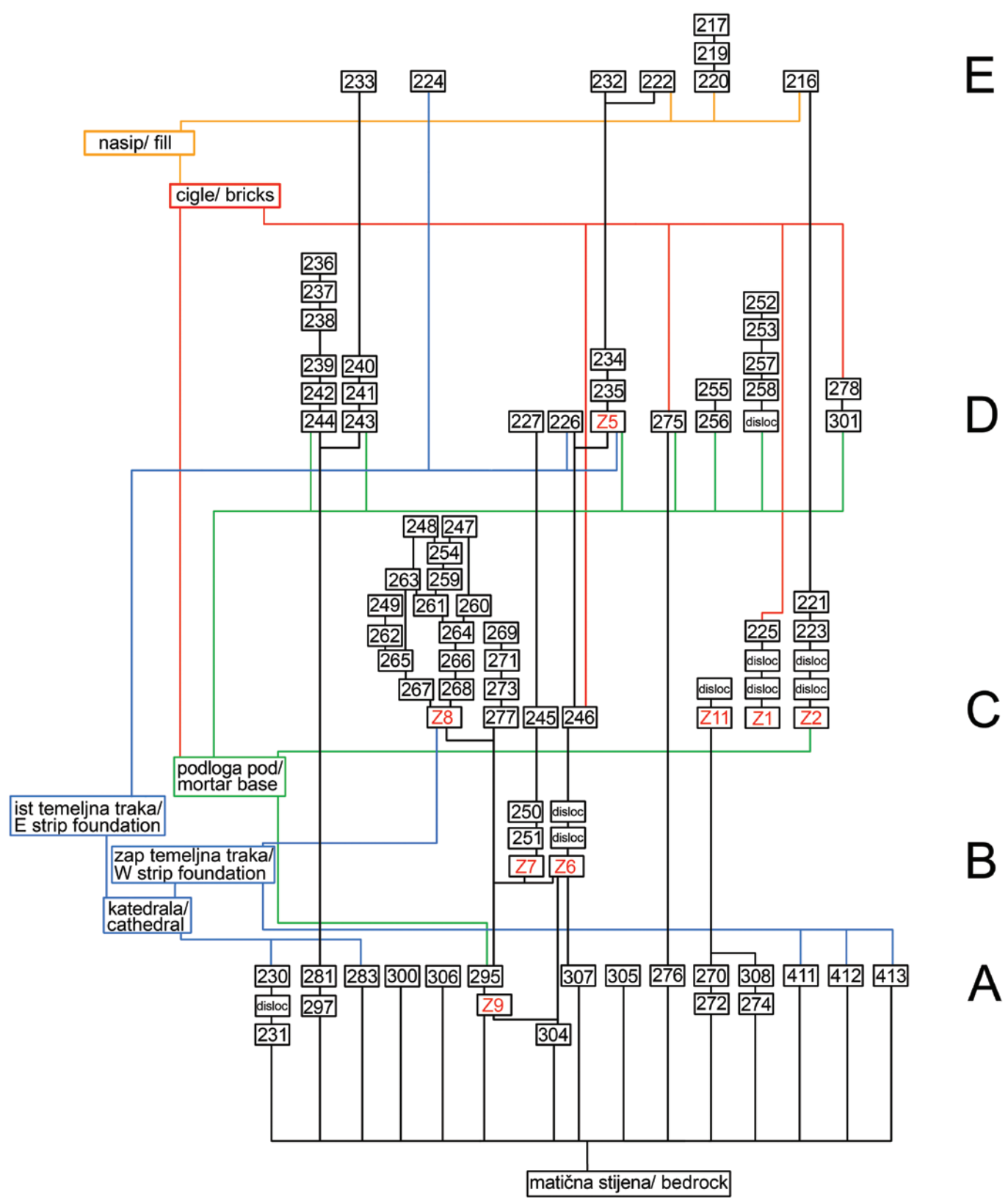
6 These burials were not included in the mentioned number of 537 units depicted in the matrices.

7 In the matrices different signs were used for certain groups of units. Burials were represented with black rectangles within which numbers were written in black color or text “disloc” (for dislocated skeletons), or “pit” (for empty grave pits). Stone-built tombs are marked with the red letter “Z” and the accompanying number inside a black rectangle. Architectural remains are represented by frames in color and bordering lines.

8 Heights in centimeters are given in relation to the benchmark.

9 J. Vučić 2020a, 52, cat. no. 34.

10 One dislocated skeleton and burials: 230, 231, 270, 272, 274, 276, 281, 283, 295, 297, 300, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 411, 412, 413.



Slika 2. Matrica s prikazom odnosa stratigrafskih jedinica u prostoru prezbitarija
 Figure 2. Matrix representing relations of stratigraphic units in the presbytery area

jednom od jama nalazila se nadgrobna kamena ploča, dok kod ostalih nisu zamijećena nadzemna obilježja. Ploča se nalazila na visini 60 cm nižoj od razine poda prezbiterija, što ukazuje na njezino postavljanje prije izgradnje katedrale.¹¹ Na isti zaključak upućuje i odnos grobnice Z9 spram poda katedrale.¹² Dva ukopa iz ove grupe presjekli su zidovi katedrale, tri je presjekla temeljna traka koja se nalazi u ravnini slavolučne stijene, dok ih je pet presječeno zidovima grobnica, što sve ukazuje na to da su raniji od vremena izgradnje katedrale, odnosno grobnica.¹³ Osim navedenih pokazatelja, na zaključak da se radi o ukopima nastalim prije izgradnje katedrale, upućuje i to što su mahom pokopani u zemljane jame, duboko ispod poda prezbiterija.¹⁴ Stratigrafski odnosi ukopa unutar ove grupe sugeriraju njezino trajanje tijekom dužeg razdoblja.¹⁵

Grupi B čine ukopi u zidanim grobnicama Z6 i Z7.¹⁶ Jedino se za ove dvije grobnice može sa sigurnošću utvrditi da su bile pokrivene nadgrobni pločama koje su se nalazile u razini poda crkve, a koje su u kasnijoj fazi uklonjene i zamijenjene podom od cigli.¹⁷ Njihov smještaj sugerira da su planski sagrađene u vrijeme izgradnje katedrale.¹⁸ U Z7 pronađena su dva ukopa, položena jedan nad drugim. U Z6 nije se sačuvao intaktan ukop koji bi pripadao ovoj grupi, ali su na dnu zatečene dislocirane kosti dvoje pokojnika. U ovoj grupi, koja se datira neposredno nakon izgradnje katedrale, ne treba ni očekivati masovnije ukapanje u prezbiteriju.

Slijedi grupa C sa 27 ukopa.¹⁹ Ova grupa ukopa poklapa se s preuređenjem prezbiterija, prilikom čega su uklonjene ploče nad Z6 i Z7, preuređen pod, izgrađene četiri nove grobnice, sužen otvor slavolučne stijene i vjerojatno izgrađeni ovalni polustupovi uz pojasnice. Za ove su ukope iskorištene četiri nove i tri starije

Tombstone was found over one of the pits, while above-ground markers have not been noticed on other pits. The tombstone was at a height of 60cm lower than the presbytery floor level, suggesting its placement before the cathedral was built.¹¹ Same conclusion is indicated by the relation of the tomb Z9 to the cathedral floor.¹² Two burials from this group were cut by the cathedral walls, three by strip foundations in the level of the triumphal arch, while five burials were cut by the tomb walls, suggesting they are earlier than the cathedral, and tombs.¹³ In addition to the mentioned indicators, conclusion that these burials precede the cathedral building is indicated by their burying into earthen pits, deep under the presbytery floor.¹⁴ Stratigraphic relations of burials within this group suggest its long continuity.¹⁵

Group B consists of burials in stone-built tombs Z6 and Z7.¹⁶ The only thing we can state with certainty for these two tombs is that they were covered with tombstones that were located at the church floor level. These grave markers were removed in the later phase and replaced with brick floor.¹⁷ Their location suggests that they were part of the original building plan.¹⁸ Two burials were found in Z7, one atop another. Intact burial that might belong to this group was not preserved in Z6, but dislocated bones of two deceased persons were found at the bottom. In this group that is dated to the period immediately after the cathedral construction, we should not expect a big number of burials in the presbytery.

Group C follows with 27 burials.¹⁹ This group corresponds to presbytery alteration, when tombstones over Z6 and Z7 were removed, the floor was changed, four new tombs were built, opening of the triumphal arch was narrowed, and probably oval engaged columns were built with transverse arches. Four new and three old tombs

11 Ploča je dokumentirana iznad ukopa 276, na visini -18. Na ovom dijelu nalazišta dokumentirano je nekoliko višekratnih ukopa u obične zemljane jame (ukopi 230, 231, 281, 297, 270 i 272), na temelju čega se može pretpostaviti učestalije nadzemno obilježavanje grobova, možda čak i pločama koje su uklonjene izgradnjom katedrale.

12 Vrh stranica Z9 bio je na visini -13, dakle 55 cm niže od poda katedrale. Žbukana podnica u jednoj je fazi u cijelosti prelazila preko ove grobnice koja orijentacijom ne prati zidove katedrale i oštećena je gradnjom mlađih grobnica.

13 Zidovi su presjekli ukope 230/31 i 283, temeljna traka ukope 411, 412 i 413, a zidane grobnice ukope 307, 270, 272, 274, 308.

14 Teško bi bilo zamisliti, u kontekstu funkcije prostora, da se neposredno nakon izgradnje katedrale kroz pod prezbiterija kopaju duboke zemljane grobne jame.

15 Na to upućuju višekratni ukopi u grobnim jamama te činjenica da pojedini grobovi negiraju ranije ukope, pribrojene istoj grupi.

16 Grupi čine dva dislocirana kostura i ukopi 250 i 251.

17 Na vrhu zidova ovih dviju grobnica sačuvali su se otisci kamenih okvira i ploča kakvih nema kod ostalim grobnicama. Jedino se kod ovih grobnica uočava direktan odnos arhitekture grobnica i podloge poda.

18 Za razliku od grobnica iduće grupe, one nisu prislonjene direktno na arhitekturu katedrale, već su nekoliko centimetara izmaknute od zidova. Grobnice iduće grupe sazidane su u kutovima prezbiterija, dok su ove dvije na istaknutom položaju u njegovu središtu.

19 Četiri dislocirana kostura i ukopi 221, 223, 225, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 254, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 273, 277. Nepoznat broj dislociranih kostura pronađen je i u Z11.

11 The tombstone was documented above burial 276, at a height of -18. At this part of the site there were several sequential multiple burials in common earthen pits (burials 230, 231, 281, 297, 270 and 272), suggesting more common marking of graves above ground, perhaps even with stone slabs that were removed when the cathedral was built.

12 Top of the Z9 sides was at a height of -13, meaning 55 cm lower than the cathedral floor. In one phase mortared floor covered this tomb that does not follow the cathedral walls in orientation. It was also damaged by younger tombs.

13 Walls had cut burials 230/31 and 283, strip foundation burials 411, 412 and 413, and stone-built tombs burials 307, 270, 272, 274, 308.

14 It would be difficult to imagine, in the context of space function, that deep grave pits were dug through the presbytery floor immediately after the cathedral had been built.

15 This is indicated by sequential multiple burials in grave pits as well as the fact that certain graves negated earlier burials, added to the same group.

16 The group consists of two dislocated skeletons and burials 250 and 251.

17 At the top of these tombs imprints of stone frames and slabs were preserved, that were not found in other tombs. Only in these tombs one can notice direct relation between the tomb architecture and floor base.

18 As opposed to the tombs of the next group, they do not lean directly on the cathedral architecture but they are few centimeters away from the walls. Tombs of the next group were built in the presbytery corners while these two are in a prominent position in the presbytery center.

19 Four dislocated skeletons and burials 221, 223, 225, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 254, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 273, 277. Unknown number of dislocated skeletons was found in Z11.

grobnice.²⁰ U starijim grobnicama jasno se uočava odnos između izvornih i naknadnih ukopa. Tako ukop 246 u Z6 leži nad slojem zemlje i dislociranim kostima starijih ukopa. Ukop 245 u Z7 od ranijih ukopa dijeli deblji sloj tla pomiješan s mrvljenom žbukom. U Z9 četiri istovremeno pokopana pokojnika bila su slojem tla odijeljena od starijeg ukopa. Od novih grobnica posebno se ističe Z8, u koju je istovremeno pokopano 14 pokojnika nakon čega, čini se, grobnica nije više korištena. U ovoj fazi nove i starije grobnice nisu imale monolitnih poklopnica, već su bile zapunjene šutom nad kojom se nalazio pod od cigli.²¹ Na datiranje ove grupe upućuje kovanica iz Z1 kovana između 1402. i 1411.²² Vrijedan orijentir predstavljaju ¹⁴C datumi triju istovremenih ukopa iz Z8.²³ Dobiveni rezultati preklapaju se za razdoblje između 1406. i 1454. godine. Na temelju ¹⁴C datuma s njima se vremenski poklapa i ukop 245 iz Z7. S velikom vjerojatnošću može se pretpostaviti da ukopi ove grupe potječu iz prve polovine 15. stoljeća. Na temelju osteološke analize čini se da je veći broj pokojnika preminuo nasilnom smrću.²⁴

U grupu D ubrajaju se 23 ukopa, od kojih je 21 pokopan u običnu zemlju, a dva u zidanu grobnicu Z5, načinjenu od sedrenih blokova.²⁵ U ovoj grupi ponovno susrećemo ukope u običnoj zemljanoj jami, slično onima pribrojenim grupi A. Za razliku od njih, ove su jame znatno pliće ukopane.²⁶ Odnos ovih ukopa prema ostacima arhitekture i zidanim grobnicama jasno ukazuje da su oni mlađi od katedrale i prethodno opisane grupe C. Dva ukopa ove grupe i Z5 ukopani su preko arhitekture katedrale, koju su pritom i oštetili.²⁷ Ista dva ukopa oštetila su i starije grobnice, dok se Z5 prislonila uz očito stariju grobnicu Z6. Dio ukopa je za grobno mjesto iskoristio prostor između Z7 i zida prezbitarija, pri čemu je probijena podnica.²⁸ Ponovna afirmacija zemljanih jama sugerira drukčiji odnos prema prostoru prezbitarija.²⁹ Na datiranje ove grupe ukazuju dva numizmatička nalaza, jedan vezan za ukop 235 iz Z5 i drugi

were used for these burials.²⁰ Relation between original and subsequent burials is clearly visible in older tombs. Thus burial 246 in Z6 covers a soil layer and dislocated bones from older burials. Burial 245 in Z7 is separated from earlier burials by a thick layer of earth mixed with crushed mortar. In Z9 four simultaneously buried individuals were separated from the older burial by a soil layer. Z8 stands out among the new tombs, as 14 deceased persons were simultaneously buried in it. It seems that was the final use of the tomb. In this phase new and older tombs did not have monolithic covers, but they were filled with rubble covered by the brick floor.²¹ Dating of this group is suggested by a coin struck between 1402 and 1411, recovered from Z1.²² ¹⁴C dates of three simultaneous burials from Z8 represent a valuable benchmark.²³ Acquired results overlap for the period between 1406 and 1454. On the basis of ¹⁴C dates burial 245 from Z7 is another chronological match. We can assume with high degree of certainty that burials from this group date to the first half of the 15th century. On the basis of osteological analysis it seems that a number of the deceased died a violent death.²⁴

Group D comprises 23 burials, of which 21 in the ground, and two in tomb Z5 made of tufa blocks.²⁵ Burials in earthen pits are represented in this group as well, similar to the ones added to group A. Unlike them, these pits are much shallower.²⁶ Relation of these burials to the architectural remains and stone-built tombs clearly indicates that they are younger than the cathedral and previously described group C. Two burials of this group and Z5 were dug over the cathedral structure, that was damaged in the process.²⁷ The same two burials also damaged older tombs, while Z5 leaned on obviously older tomb Z6. Some burials are located between Z7 and the presbytery wall, wherein the floor was penetrated.²⁸ Reaffirmation of earthen pits suggests different relation to the presbytery area.²⁹ Dating

20 U ovoj su fazi vjerojatno izgrađene Z1, Z2, Z8 i Z11, dok su od ranijih korištene Z6, Z7 i Z9. Z9, koja je starija od katedrale i nije bila vidljiva u podu, otkrivena je vjerojatno prilikom izgradnje Z8, koja se prislanja na nju, pa je tada ponovno iskorištena za mlađe ukope.

21 Zbog raspadanja tijela i ljesova došlo je do ulijeganja podnice iznad njih, što je dokumentirano kod Z1, Z6 i Z9.

22 Jedna kovanica kovana između 1275. i 1280. godine pronađena je u Z11. Zbog staranja u kojem je grobnica zatečena, može se pretpostaviti da je kovanica u nju dospjela naknadno. Vidi J. Vučić 2020a, 51, 54, kat. br. 28, 39.

23 To su ukopi 260, 264 i 266. Rezultati ¹⁴C mjerenja donose se na sl. 9.

24 Antropološka analiza ljudskog osteološkog materijala načinjena je u Antropološkom centru Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti.

25 To su grobovi označeni brojevima: 226, 227, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 275, 278, 301.

26 Pliće su za više od 35 cm u odnosu jame grupe A. Vremensku razliku između ove dvije grupe slikovito podcrtava ukop 275 grupe D koji dijelom leži preko nadgrobne ploče ukopa 276 iz grupe A.

27 To su grobovi 226 i 227.

28 To su grobovi 252, 253, 257 i 258. U ovu zemljanu grobnicu pokojnici su ukapani u dva navrata. Prvo su istovremeno pokopani pokojnici označeni kao grobovi 252 i 253, a potom 257 i 258.

29 U vrijeme njihova ukopa prezbitarij više nema prvotno značenje.

20 Z1, Z2, Z8 and Z11 were probably built in this phase, while Z6, Z7 and Z9 were reused. Z9, which is older than the cathedral and was not visible in the floor, was discovered probably when Z8 was built, leaning on it, so it was reused for later burials.

21 Due to decomposition of bodies and coffins, the floor above them sank, as documented in Z1, Z6 and Z9.

22 One coin struck between 1275 and 1280 was found in Z11. We can assume that the coin subsequently ended in the tomb, on the basis of its condition. See J. Vučić 2020a, 51, 54, cat. no. 28, 39.

23 These are burials 260, 264 and 266. Results of ¹⁴C measurements are given in fig. 9.

24 Anthropological analysis of human osteological material was carried out in the Anthropological Center of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

25 These graves were marked with numbers: 226, 227, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 275, 278, 301.

26 They are shallower for over 35 cm in relation to the group A pits. Chronological difference between these two groups is well illustrated by burial 275 from group D that partly covers the tombstone of burial 276 from group A.

27 These are graves 226 and 227.

28 These are graves 252, 253, 257 and 258. The deceased were buried in this earthen tomb on two occasions. First the deceased marked as graves 252 and 253 were buried, and then 257 and 258.

29 Presbytery lost its original meaning when they were buried.

za zemljanu grobnicu smještenu uz sjeverni zid prezbitarija.³⁰ U oba slučaja riječ je o novcu kovanom između 1471. i 1473. godine.³¹ U skladu s numizmatičkim nalazima je i ¹⁴C datum ukopa 236/237 (Sl. 10). Ova se grupa može datirati u drugu polovinu 15. i početak 16. stoljeća. Osteološka analiza kostura iz ove grupe ukazuje na to da je dio njih stradao nasilnom smrću.

Posljednju grupu E u prezbitariju čini 8 ukopa u običnim zemljanim jamama.³² O kronološkom odnosu prema ostatcima arhitekture i ostalim grupama slikovito govori činjenica da se dio njih ukapa kroz sloj tamne zemlje i kamena, koji se mogao formirati u prezbitariju tek nakon napuštanja katedrale. Jedan ukop iz ove grupe presjekao je stranicu Z5, što ga definira mlađim od prethodne grupe. U vrijeme nastanka ukopa grupe E tlo je u prezbitariju bilo znatno povišeno, pa su pojedine grobne jame ukopane do visine koja odgovara visini poda prezbitarija. Stoga ukop 224, koji se nalazio iznad temeljne trake, nije poput ukopa prethodne grupe oštetio temeljnu traku, već leži na njoj. Sve ukazuje na to da je ova grupa iznimno kasnih ukopa, nastala u vrijeme kada je katedrala napuštena. Na pojedinim kosturama ove grupe također se uočavaju pokazatelji nasilne smrti.

Brod katedrale

Površina broda iznosi otprilike 125 m². Zatečen je zatrpan nasipom čija se visina kretala od +140 do +220. Kroz zapadni dio prostora prokopan je rov koji je zahvatio oko 45 m² površine. Zatečena visina rova iznosila je -4.³³ Istočni dio prostora manjim je dijelom oštećen prilikom kopanja drugog rova koji je bio položen istočnije.³⁴ Unutar broda katedrale otkriveni su ostatci zidova starije crkve, sačuvani do visine +24. Na unutrašnjem licu južnog zida broda katedrale jasno je vidljiva istaknuta temeljna stopa. Njezin vrh je na visini od +27 do +32. Na temelju toga možemo pretpostaviti da je pod u brodu katedrale bio na visini otprilike +44, što odgovara visini zatečenog poda u prezbitariju. Matična stijena na ovom dijelu nalazišta bila je na prosječnoj visini -60. Na prostoru broda katedrale dokumentirano je 166 ukopa u zemljanim jamama i deset zidanih grobnica (Sl. 3).

of this group is indicated by two numismatic finds, one associated with burial 235 from Z5 and the other with earthen tomb situated next to the northern wall of the presbytery.³⁰ Both coins were struck between 1471 and 1473.³¹ ¹⁴C date of the burial 236/237 corresponds to the numismatic finds (Fig. 9). This group can be dated to the second half of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Osteological analysis of skeletons from this group suggests that some of them died a violent death.

The last group E in the presbytery consists of 8 burials in common earthen pits.³² Chronological relation to the architectural remains and other groups is best illustrated by the fact that some of them are buried through a layer of dark soil and stone that could have been formed in the presbytery only after the cathedral was abandoned. One burial from this group cut the side of Z5 which defines it as younger than the previous group. At the time of formation of the group E burials, ground in the presbytery was much higher, so certain groups were buried to the height that corresponds to the presbytery floor level. Therefore burial 224 that was located under the strip foundation did not damage it like the burials from the previous group but lies on it. All these facts indicate that this group of exceptionally late burials was formed after the cathedral was abandoned. Indicators of violent death can be noticed on some skeletons of this group.

Cathedral nave

The nave covers the area of about 125 m². Height of the fill in its interior was from +140 to +220. A trench was dug through the western part of the area. It encompassed roughly 45 m² of the area. Extant height of the trench was -4.³³ Smaller segment of the eastern part of the area was damaged when another trench, placed more easterly, was dug.³⁴ Remains of the earlier church walls were discovered inside the cathedral nave. They were preserved to a height of +24. Distinct foundation is clearly visible on the inner face of the southern wall of the cathedral nave. Its top is at a height from +27 to +32 allowing an assumption that the floor in the cathedral nave was at a height of roughly +44, which corresponds to the height of the extant floor in the presbytery. The bedrock in this part of the site was at an average height of -60. In the area of the cathedral nave, 166 burials in earthen pits and ten stone-built tombs were documented (Fig. 2).

30 Na ovom mjestu u prostranijoj zemljanoj jami najprije su pokopani pokojnici označeni brojevima 239, 241, 242, 243 i 244, možda istovremeno. Nakon nekog vremena na istom prostoru iskopane su dvije jame, pri čemu su oštećeni stariji ukopi. U jednu jamu položen je ukop 240, a u drugu su istovremeno položeni ukopi 236, 237 i 238.

31 J. Vučić 2020a, 53, 54, kat. br. 35, 36.

32 To su ukopi: 216, 217, 219, 220, 222, 224, 232, 233. Ukopi 217, 219 i 220 pokopani su istovremeno u istu zemljanu jamu, dok su ostali ukopi pojedinačni. Jama ukopa 224 bila je dijelom obrubljena kamenjem.

33 Ovaj je rov u potpunosti uklonio dio mlađih ukopa i oštetio ukope 373, 393, 394, 395, 397, 401, 418, 421, 428, 427, 429 i 430.

34 Ovaj rov oštetio je ukope 193, 279, 282, 284 i 291.

30 At this spot deceased persons marked with numbers 239, 241, 242, 243 and 244 were buried first, perhaps simultaneously, in a spacious earthen pit. After a while, two pits were dug in the same place, damaging older burials. Burial 240 was placed in one pit, and burials 236, 237 and 238 were simultaneously placed in the other pit.

31 J. Vučić 2020a, 53, 54, cat. no. 35, 36.

32 These are burials: 216, 217, 219, 220, 222, 224, 232, 233. Burials 217, 219 and 220, were buried simultaneously in the same earthen pit, while the rest are individual burials. Burial 224 pit was lined with stones.

33 This trench completely removed some of younger burials and damaged burials 373, 393, 394, 395, 397, 401, 418, 421, 428, 427, 429 and 430.

34 This trench damaged burials 193, 279, 282, 284 i 291.

Najstariju grupu F čini 35 ukopa.³⁵ Tri ukopa ove grupe položena su u zidanim grobnicama Z20 i Z23, 1, dok su ostali u zemljanim jamama.³⁶ Gotovo svi ukopi izdvojeni u ovu grupu leže na matičnoj stijeni. Ni jedan od njih ne negira zidove starije crkve. Prema katedrali, koja je sagrađena nad ostacima starije crkve, grupa F pokazuje drukčiji odnos. Dva ukopa presjekao je zid katedrale, a njegova temeljna stopa leži preko južnog zida Z23, 1. Sedam ukopa presjekle su grobnice Z14, Z15, Z21 i Z23, 2. Na temelju navedenog možemo pretpostaviti da se grupa F ukapa tijekom postojanja starije crkve, a gornju joj granicu predstavlja vrijeme izgradnje katedrale. Apsolutne datume ukapanja grupe F sugeriraju rezultati ¹⁴C mjerenja pet ukopa. Datumi dobiveni mjerenjem kreću se u rasponu od 1224. do 1398. godine.³⁷ Posebno je ovom prilikom važno istaknuti rezultat koji je pružila analiza ukopa 345, preko kojeg prelazi zid katedrale, koji je s većom vjerojatnošću datiran između 1336. i 1398. godine. Za datiranje grupe važan je i nalaz dviju kovanica kovanih između 1329 i 1339. godine.³⁸

Relativno kronološki slijedi grupa G u koju su ubrojena 22 ukopa, svi pokopani unutar devet zidanih grobnica.³⁹ Zidane grobnice ove grupe presijecaju ukope grupe F i zidove starije crkve, dok svojim položajem prate arhitekturu katedrale, na temelju čega možemo zaključiti da su sazidane nakon ili tijekom njezine izgradnje. Logičnom se čini pretpostavka da se nakon izgradnje katedrale na prostoru broda jedno vrijeme nije prakticiralo ukapanje u zemljane jame, koje bi uzrokovalo oštećivanje poda. Pretpostavljamo stoga da ukopi grupe G, pokopani isključivo u grobnicama, predstavljaju prvi sloj ukopa u brodu katedrale. U ovoj grupi nisu uočeni primjeri istovremenog pokapanja pokojnika, već je u pravilu riječ o uzastopnim ukopima, pri čemu su recentniji pokojnici položeni preko ostataka prethodnog ukopa ili su kosti prethodnog ukopa pomaknute uz rub grobnice. Primjer za to je dječji ukop 338, pokopan u Z18, pri čemu su dislocirane i oko ovog kostura složene kosti starije osobe koja je ukopana prije njega. U dnu Z22 bile su izmaknute kosti dvoje odraslih pokojnika. Kostu jednog pokojnika koji je prethodio ukopu 354,

The oldest group F comprises 35 burials.³⁵ Three burials of this group are found in stone-built tombs Z20 and Z23,1, while the rest are in earthen pits.³⁶ Almost all burials classified into this group lie on the bedrock. None of them negates walls of the older church. Group F shows different relation towards the cathedral that was built above the remains of the older church. Two burials were cut by the cathedral wall, and its foundation lies over the southern wall Z23,1. Tombs Z14, Z15, Z21 and Z23,2 have cut seven burials. On the basis of the aforementioned we can conclude that group F burials took place during the existence of the older church, with cathedral construction as its upper chronological border. Absolute dates of group F burials are suggested by ¹⁴C measurements of five burials. These dates range from 1224 to 1398.³⁷ It is particularly important to emphasize the result offered by an analysis of burial 345, overlain by the cathedral wall, that is dated with higher probability between 1336 and 1398. Find of two coins struck between 1329 and 1339 is important for dating of the group.³⁸

Group G with 22 burials follows in terms of chronology, all buried within nine stone-built tombs.³⁹ Stone-built tombs of this group cut group F burials and older church walls, while their positions follow the cathedral architecture, whereby we can conclude that they were built during or after its building. It is reasonable to assume that after the cathedral construction, burying in earthen pits was not practiced for some time in the nave area, as it might have damaged the floor. Therefore we can assume that group G burials, only in tombs, represent the first layer of burials in the cathedral nave. In this group simultaneous burials of the deceased have not been noticed but usually successive burials, when more recent deceased persons were placed over the remains of the previous burial, or bones from the previous burial were moved next to the edge of the tomb as in the case of child's burial 338, buried in Z18. Bones of an older person from previous burial were dislocated and arranged around this skeleton. Bones of two adults were removed to the bottom of Z22. Bones of a deceased person preceding burial 354 were arranged next to the edges of Z19. Dislocated bones of the deceased

35 Uz jedan dislociran kostur to su ukopi: 215, 218, 309, 311, 313, 344, 345, 362, 365, 367, 369, 380, 390, 391, 392, 399, 400, 403, 406, 409, 410, 414, 415, 424, 425, 426, 427, 429, 431, 443, 449, 450, 452 i 453.

36 Z20 je ukopana u matičnu stijenu tako da je vrh grobnice bio u razini s površinom matične stijene. Kod Z23 uočene su dvije faze izgradnje. Prva faza, koja pripada ovoj grupi, rađena je u žbuci i označena kao Z23, 1. U drugoj fazi, označenoj kao Z23, 2, grobnica je naknadno proširena i preoblikovana u tehnicu suhozida. Sukladno dvjema fazama izrade uočavaju se i dvije faze ukapanja. Najstariji ukop te onaj nakon njega leže pri matičnoj stijeni, u crvenoj zemlji, dok kosti triju mlađih ukopa leže u svijetloj zemlji pomiješanoj s obiljem žbuke.

37 To su ukopi 345, 431, 443, 452 i 453. Vidi sl. 9.

38 Pronađene su uz ukop 390. Vidi J. Vučić 2020a, 51, kat. br. 29, 30.

39 Uz šest dislociranih kostura to su ukopi: 282, 292, 299, 302, 303, 310, 312, 335, 348, 354, 338, 366/1, 366/2, 422, 444 i 447. Zidane grobnice izrađene su od kamena, izuzev Z22 koja je zidana ciglom.

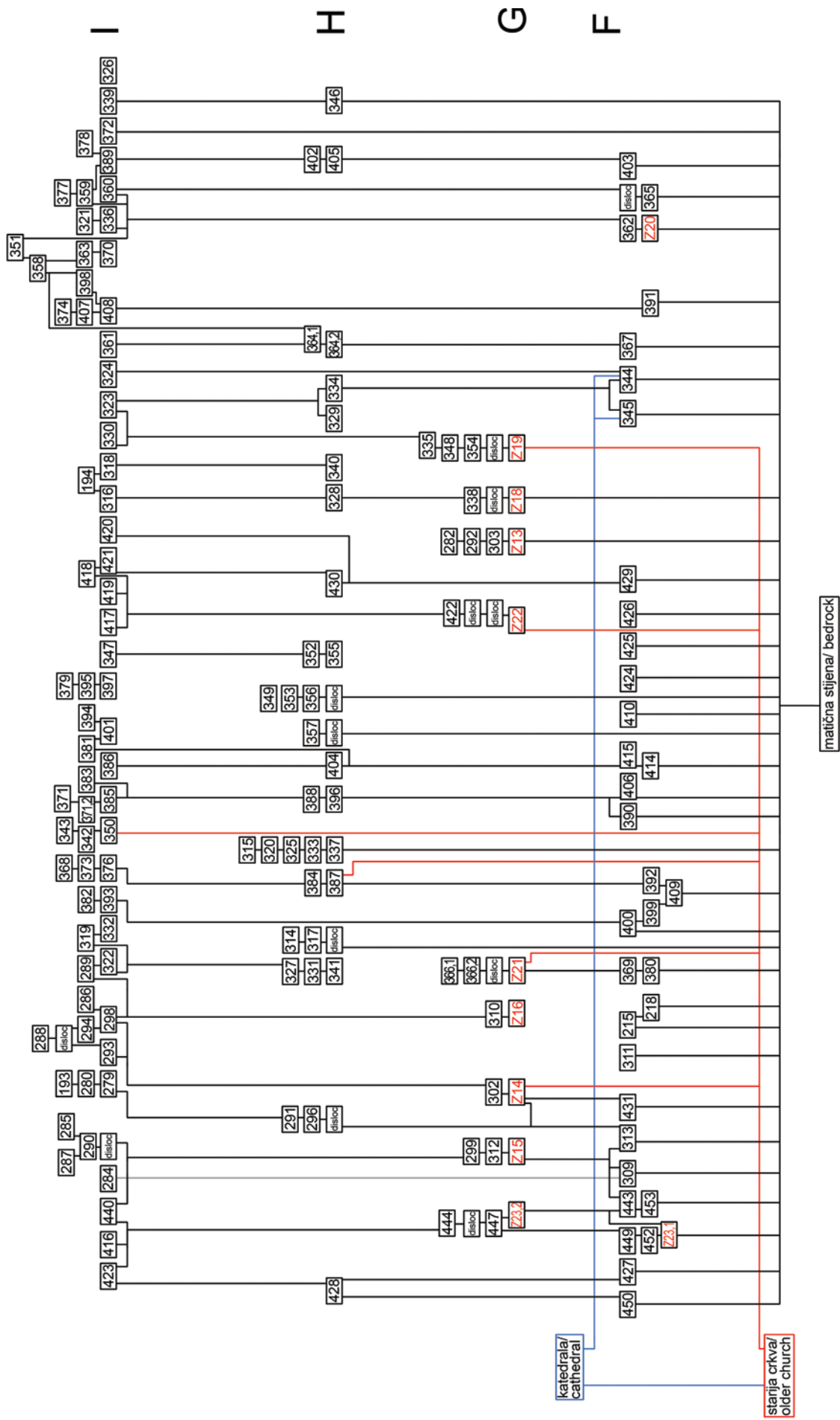
35 In addition to one dislocated skeleton, these are burials: 215, 218, 309, 311, 313, 344, 345, 362, 365, 367, 369, 380, 390, 391, 392, 399, 400, 403, 406, 409, 410, 414, 415, 424, 425, 426, 427, 429, 431, 443, 449, 450, 452 and 453.

36 Z20 was dug into bedrock so that the top of the tomb was at the level of the bedrock surface. Two building phases were noticed in Z23,1. The first phase, belonging to this group, was made in mortar and marked as Z23,1. In the second phase, marked as Z23,2, the tomb was subsequently expanded and remodelled in dry stone wall technique. Two burial phases correspond to two phases of formation. The oldest burial, as well as the one after it, lie on the bedrock, in red soil, while three younger burials lie in light-colored soil mixed with abundant mortar.

37 These are burials 345, 431, 443, 452 and 453. See fig. 9.

38 They were found next to burial 390. See J. Vučić 2020a, 51, cat. no. 29, 30.

39 In addition to six dislocated skeletons, these are burials: 282, 292, 299, 302, 303, 310, 312, 335, 348, 354, 338, 366/1, 366/2, 422, 444 and 447. Tombs were made of stone, except Z22 which was made of brick.



Slika 3. Matrica s prikazom odnosa stratigrafskih jedinica u prostoru broda katedrale
 Figure 3. Matrix representing relations of stratigraphic units in the cathedral nave area

nalazile su se složene uz rubove Z19. Dislocirane kosti pokojnika nalazile su se ispod ukopa 366/2 Z21. Prilikom ukopa 444 u Z23, 2 u potpunosti su uklonjene i uz rub grobnice složene kosti prethodnog ukopa i desna polovica još starijeg ukopa označenog brojem 447. Orijentir za datiranje ove grupe pružaju dva ukopa s pojedinačnim nalazima novca, stariji kovan između 1268. i 1275. i mlađi između 1365. i 1381. godine.⁴⁰

Slijedi 38 ukopa grupe H, pokopanih u zemljanim jamama i zidanim grobnicama koje se i dalje koriste.⁴¹ Zemljane jame ukopa grupe H većinom su iskopane na prostorima između zidanih grobnica, uz grobnice ili između grobnica i zidova katedrale. Odnos prema arhitekturi zidanih grobnica ukazuje na to da su ukopi mlađi od vremena njihove izgradnje.⁴² U ovoj grupi dokumentirani su primjeri istovremenih ukopa više pokojnika u istim grobnicama.⁴³ Prilikom ukopa mlađeg pokojnika u zemljanim jamama ponekad je ukop koji je prethodio velikim dijelom uništen.⁴⁴ Za datiranje ove grupe kao orijentir može poslužiti kovanica iz groba 333, kovana između 1412. i 1437.⁴⁵

U najmlađu grupu I svrstan je 71 ukop.⁴⁶ Svi su pokopani u zemljane jame. Za razliku od prethodne grupe, grobne jame grupe I iskapanne su neovisno o položaju zidanih grobnica, pa ih u velikoj mjeri i oštećuju.⁴⁷ Možemo pretpostaviti da je u vrijeme ukopa ove grupe razina poda u brodu katedrale bila povišena i da se na njemu nisu raznavale pozicije zidanih grobnica. Povišenu razinu poda sugerira i visina na kojoj su zatečeni ukopi grupe I, koji su dosta plići od ukopa grupe H. Ukop 440, koji je ubrojen u ovu grupu, mjerenjem ¹⁴C, datiran je s većom vjerojatnošću između 1393. i 1437. godine.⁴⁸ Taj datum sugerira da je u brodu ranije došlo do negiranja zidanih grobnica negoli u prezbiteriju.

were found under burial 366/2 Z21. In burial 444 in Z23,2, bones from the previous burial were completely removed and arranged next to the tomb edge as well as the right half of an even older burial marked with the number 447. Reference point for dating of this group is provided by two burials with individual finds of coins, the older one struck between 1268 and 1275, and the younger one between 1365 and 1381.⁴⁰

Group H comprises 38 burials in earthen pits and stone-built tombs that continued to be used.⁴¹ Earthen pits of the group H burials are mostly dug in the areas between the stone-built tombs, next to them or between the tombs and the cathedral walls. Relation with the architecture of the stone-built tombs indicates that burials are younger than the period when the tombs were built.⁴² In this group simultaneous burials of several deceased persons in one tomb have been recorded.⁴³ In cases of later burials in earthen pits, previous burials were sometimes destroyed for the most part.⁴⁴ This group can be coin-dated by a find from grave 333 struck between 1412 and 1437.⁴⁵

The youngest group I contains 71 burials in earthen pits.⁴⁶ As opposed to the previous group, grave pits of group I were dug irrespective of the positions of stone-built tombs resulting in frequent damage to the latter.⁴⁷ We can assume that during the burials of this group floor level in the cathedral nave was elevated and positions of stone-built tombs could not be discerned on it. Elevated floor level is suggested also by the height of the group I burials that are much shallower than the group H burials. Burial 440 that has been classified into this group, was dated by ¹⁴C measurement to the period between 1393 and 1437 with higher probability.⁴⁸ This date suggests that stone-built tombs were negated earlier in the nave than in the presbytery.

40 Novac potječe od ukopa 299 u Z15 i ukopa 447 iz Z23, 2. Vidi J. Vučić 2020a, 50, 54, kat. br. 25, 37.
41 To su četiri dislocirana kostura i ukopi: 291, 296, 314, 315, 317, 320, 325, 327, 328, 329, 331, 333, 334, 337, 340, 341, 346, 349, 352, 353, 355, 356, 357, 364/1, 364/2, 384, 387, 388, 396, 402, 405, 404, 428 (kasnije označen brojem 448), 430.
42 Ukope grupe H u zidanim grobnicama teško je izdvojiti od onih prethodne grupe. To je moguće pretpostaviti s većom sigurnošću tek u situacijama kakva je dokumentirana kod ukopa 328 i 338 u Z18, koji su odijeljeni debljim slojem šute.
43 To su ukopi 356, 353, 402 i 405.
44 Takav je odnos dokumentiran kod ukopa 355, 352, 364, 1 i 364, 2. Jedan od uzroka mogao je biti i izostanak nadzemnih obilježja groba.
45 J. Vučić 2020a, 54–55, kat. br. 41.
46 Ovoj grupi pribrojena su dva dislocirana kostura i ukopi: 193, 194, 279, 280, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 298, 316, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 330, 332, 336, 339, 342, 343, 347, 350, 351, 358, 359 (u dokumentaciji je označen i brojem 375), 360, 361, 363, 368, 370, 371, 371,2, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 381, 382, 383, 385, 386, 389, 393, 394, 395, 397, 398, 401, 407, 408, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 440.
47 Nad arhitekturom zidanih grobnica leže ukopi 194, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 298, 321, 323, 330, 336, 351, 359, 360, 416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 423, 440.
48 Na kosturu su uočene perimortalne ozljede.

40 Coins were found in burials 299 in Z15 and burial 447 from Z23,2. See J. Vučić 2020a, 50, 54, cat. no. 25, 37.
41 These are four dislocated skeletons and burials: 291, 296, 314, 315, 317, 320, 325, 327, 328, 329, 331, 333, 334, 337, 340, 341, 346, 349, 352, 353, 355, 356, 357, 364/1, 364/2, 384, 387, 388, 396, 402, 405, 404, 428 (later marked with the number 448), 430.
42 Group H burials in stone-built tombs are difficult to distinguish from the previous group examples. More certain assumption can be made only in situations as documented in burials 328 and 338 in Z18, separated by a thick layer of rubble.
43 These are burials 356, 353, 402 and 405.
44 Such relation was documented in burials 355, 352, 364,1 and 364,2. One of causes might have been lack of above-ground grave marker.
45 J. Vučić 2020a, 54–55, cat. no. 41.
46 This group comprises two dislocated skeletons and burials: 193, 194, 279, 280, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 298, 316, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 330, 332, 336, 339, 342, 343, 347, 350, 351, 358, 359 (in excavation documentation marked with the number 375), 360, 361, 363, 368, 370, 371, 371,2, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 381, 382, 383, 385, 386, 389, 393, 394, 395, 397, 398, 401, 407, 408, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 440.
47 Burials 194, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 298, 321, 323, 330, 336, 351, 359, 360, 416, 417, 418, 419, 421, 423, 440 overlie stone-built tombs.
48 Perimortem injuries were noticed on the skeleton.

Narteks

Narteksom je u dnevniku istraživanja nazivana prostorija koju su zatvarali zidovi na zapadnom kraju crkve. Na tom položaju, dijelom u gabaritima katedrale, a dijelom izvan njih, istražena je površina oko 50 m². Iskop zapadnog rova za teško naoružanje zahvatio je tek mali dio jugoistočnog ruba tog prostora. Prilikom iskopa rova ta je površina dodatno nasuta, pa je zatečeno tlo bilo visoko do jedan metar iznad sačuvane visine unutrašnjeg zida narteksa. Početna relativna visina nasipa iznosila je do +160. U prostoru je zatečena velika kamena ploča na visini +120 i prevrnuti stup ukrašen prikazom ljljana i križa na visini +89. Vanjski pročelni zid koji je sa zapada zatvarao taj prostor sačuvan je od visine -48 do +13. Unutrašnji zid koji je zatvarao prostor s istoka sačuvan je velikim dijelom do visine +90, a vrh temeljne stope mu je na visini +13.⁴⁹ Budući da sačuvana visina vanjskog zida odgovara visini temeljne stope unutrašnjega, može se pretpostaviti da je taj zid u jednom trenutku planski uklonjen do visine hodne površine. Visina matične stijene na tom prostoru kretala se između -45 i -90 cm u odnosu na reper. Tijekom iskopavanja pronađene su četiri kovanice, dvije nedeterminirane, jedna kovana između 1289. i 1311. i druga između 1373. i 1382. godine.⁵⁰ Sve su kovanice pronađene dosta plitko i nisu asocirane uz grobove. Na tom prostoru istražen je 101 ukop (Sl. 4).

Kao najstarija grupa J, izdvojena su 22 ukopa koji počivaju na matičnoj stijeni ili su ukopani u nju.⁵¹ Ti ukopi u pravilu nemaju arhitekture. Preko pet ukopa iz ove grupe prelazi temeljna stopa istočnog zida pročelja, po čemu se može zaključiti da su raniji od vremena njegove izgradnje.⁵² Kako taj zid nije organski vezan za lateralne zidove katedrale, postoji mogućnost da je sagrađen nešto kasnije.⁵³ Stoga odnos ukopa prema tom zidu ne određuje istovremeno i njihov odnos prema izgradnji katedrale. Činjenica da ni jedan ukop na ovom prostoru nije presječen ni lateralnim, ni zapadnim zidom katedrale, ostavlja otvorenom mogućnost da su ti ukopi, ili dio njih, mlađi od vremena izgradnje katedrale i da su nastali u pretpostavljenom razdoblju, između izgradnje same katedrale i izgradnje istočnog zida pročelja. Blaga zakošenost ukopa 182, 184, 195, 196, 197 i 198 u odnosu na zidove katedrale ne dopušta nedvojben zaključak da je njihova orijentacija uvjetovana

Narthex

Room enclosed by walls in the western part of the church was referred to as the narthex in the excavation journal. An area of 50 m² was excavated in this position, partly within the cathedral outline. Digging of western trench for heavy weapons encompassed only a small part of the south-eastern edge of this area. When the trench was dug, this area was additionally filled, so that ground level was up to one meter above the preserved height of the inner wall of the narthex. The initial relative height of the fill was up to +160. In the area we found a big stone slab at a height of +120 and an overturned column decorated with a depiction of lily and cross at a height of +89. Outer front wall that opened this space from the west was preserved at a height from -48 to +13. Inner wall that enclosed the space from the east was preserved for the most part to a height of +90, and top of its foundation is at a height of +13.⁴⁹ Since the preserved height of the outer wall corresponds to the height of the foundation of the inner wall, we can assume that this wall was intentionally removed to the walking surface height at one point. The bedrock height varied from -45 to -90 cm in relation to benchmark. Four coins were found in the course of the excavation, two undetermined, one struck between 1289 and 1311, and the other one between 1373 and 1382.⁵⁰ All coins were found shallow under the ground and they were not associated with graves. One hundred and one burials were excavated in this area (Fig. 4).

The oldest group J comprises 22 burials on the bedrock or dug into it.⁵¹ These burials usually do not have any elements of grave architecture. Foundation of the eastern front wall passes over five burials from this group, suggesting they were earlier than the time of the foundation construction.⁵² Since this wall is not organically connected with the lateral walls of the cathedral, it might have been built somewhat later than the cathedral itself.⁵³ Therefore the relation of the burials with this wall does not determine their relation with the cathedral construction. The fact that not a single burial in this area was cut by lateral or western wall of the cathedral, allows a possibility that these burials, or some of them, might be younger than the period when the cathedral was built, and that they were created in the assumed period, between the cathedral building and construction of the eastern wall of the front. Slight inclination of burials 182, 184, 195, 196,

49 Ovaj zid će se u tekstu, sukladno terenskoj dokumentaciji, nazivati istočnim zidom pročelja.

50 J. Vučić 2020a, 50, 56, 57, kat. br. 24, 26, 47, 49.

51 Uz dva dislocirana kostura to su ukopi: 175, 176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 188, 189, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 204, 211, 212, 213, 214. Visine dna ovih ukopa kreću se od -61 do -92. Plići su jedino ukopi 176 i 184.

52 To su ukopi 180, 181, 188, 189 i 196.

53 Mogao je biti sagrađen kao dio narteksa istovremeno s katedralom ili nešto kasnije. Treća je mogućnost da je sagrađen prilikom skraćivanja broda, kao novi zid pročelja.

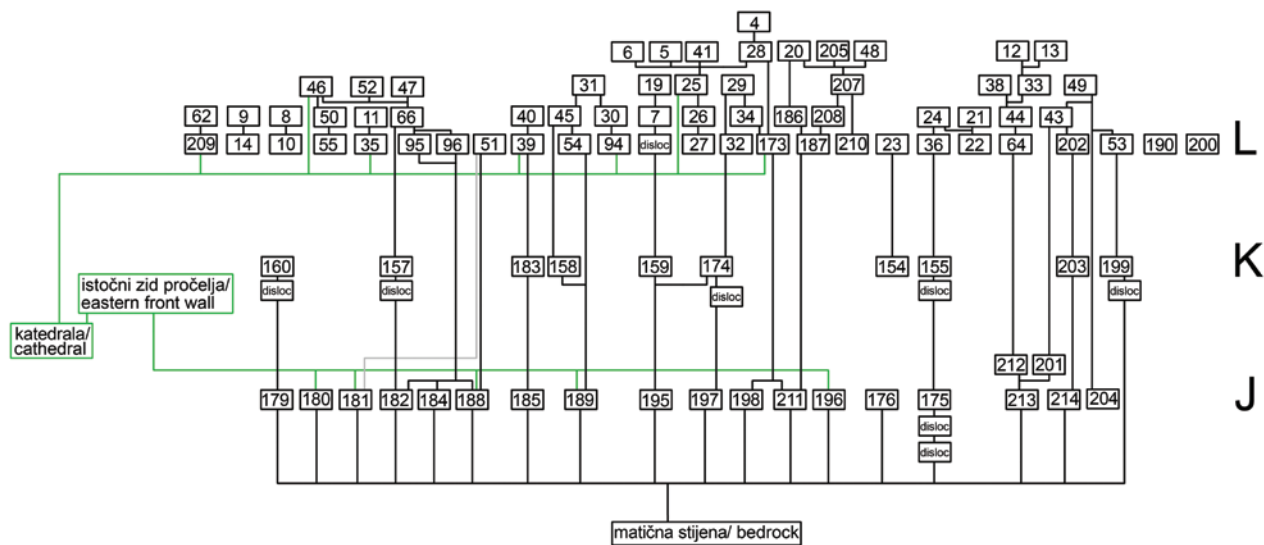
49 This wall will be referred to as the eastern wall of the front in accordance with the excavation documentation.

50 J. Vučić 2020a, 50, 56, 57, cat. no. 24, 26, 47, 49.

51 Alongside two dislocated skeletons these are burials: 175, 176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 184, 185, 188, 189, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 204, 211, 212, 213, 214. Heights of bottoms of these burials range from od -61 to -92. Only burials 176 and 184 are shallower.

52 These are burials 180, 181, 188, 189 and 196.

53 It might have been built as a part of the narthex simultaneously with the cathedral, or somewhat later. The third possibility is that it was built when the nave was shortened, as a new front wall.



Slika 4. Matrica s prikazom odnosa stratigrafskih jedinica u prostoru nartekse

Figure 4. Matrix representing relations of stratigraphic units in the narthex area

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

arhitekturom. Dvojben je i odnos prema arhitekturi ukopa 201, 211, 212, 213 i 214, ukopanih u matičnu stijenu, koji leže na pretpostavljenoj liniji uništenog zapadnog zida katedrale. Ako spomenuti ukopi ne prethode izgradnji katedrale, moralo bi se pretpostaviti da zid u tom dijelu nije bio sagrađen u punom opsegu ili datirati ukope nakon njegova uklanjanja.⁵⁴ Kronološki odnos prema katedrali sugerira ukop 204, iznad kojeg se na visini -22 nalazila masivna nadgrobna kamena ploča. Budući da je vrh ploče 35 cm niži od temeljne stope zidova i pretpostavljene razine tla u vrijeme izgradnje katedrale, velika je vjerojatnost da su ploča i ukop na to mjesto dospjeli prije njezine izgradnje. Dio ukopa grupe J vjerojatno prethodi izgradnji katedrale, dok dio njih može biti i iz vremena neposredno nakon izgradnje.

Vremenski slijedi 15 ukopa grupe K.⁵⁵ Čini se da je položaj tih ukopa uvjetovan ostatcima arhitekture, iz čega se može pretpostaviti da su nastali nakon izgradnje katedrale. Odnos prema arhitekturi najočitije ilustrira ukop 157, čija je glava prislonjena uz pročelni zid, kao i ukopi 155 i 160 koji su se smjestili uz zidove, uz južni i sjeverni rub prostora. Ni jedan od tih ukopa nije presječen istočnim zidom pročelja, što sugerira da je zid raniji od ukopa. Grobne jame ove grupe uglavnom su ukopane u crvenu zemlju, dok im zapune ponekad sadrže manju količinu fragmenata žbuke.

197 and 198 in relation to the cathedral walls does not permit a definite conclusion that their orientation was affected by architectural structures. The situation is similar with burials 201, 211, 212, 213 and 214 that are dug into bedrock as they lie on the assumed line of the destroyed western wall of the cathedral. If the mentioned burials do not predate building of the cathedral, it would be reasonable to assume that the wall in this part was not built in full scale or burials should be dated to the period after its removal.⁵⁴ Chronological relation with the cathedral is suggested by burial 204, above which was a massive tombstone at a height of -22. Since the top of the tombstone is 35 cm lower than the wall foundation, and the assumed ground level at the time when the cathedral was built, it is very likely that the tombstone and burial precede the cathedral's construction. Some burials from group J probably predate building of the cathedral, while some can be dated to the period immediately after its construction.

The following group in terms of chronology is group K with 15 burials.⁵⁵ It seems that the position of these burials was directly affected by the architectural remains, indicating that they were formed after the cathedral had been built. Burial 157 is the best illustration of the relation to the architectural structures, as the head leans on the front wall, as well as burials 155 and 160 located next to the walls, along southern and northern edge of the area. None of these burials was cut by the eastern front wall, suggesting that the

54 Pretpostavimo li da su nabrojani ukopi nastali nakon uklanjanja zapadnog zida katedrale, onda bi ih trebalo pribrojiti grupi L. Ukopi grupe L u pravilu leže preko ostataka zida, ne negirajući ga u cijelosti, ukopani dosta plitko, u zemlju izmiješanu s obiljem žbuke, uglavnom s prekrizanim rukama. Sve su to obilježja suprotna onima koja karakteriziraju nabrojene ukope, pa se mogućnost njihova pribrajanja grupi L čini malo vjerojatnom.

55 Uz pet dislociranih kostura u ovu grupu ubrojani su ukopi: 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 174, 183, 199 i 203. Visine dna kreće se između -39 i -71.

54 If we assume that listed burials were formed after the western wall of the cathedral was removed, then they should be attributed to group L. Burials of this group mostly cover the wall remains, not negating it completely, dug quite shallowly, into soil mixed with abundant mortar, mostly with arms crossed. All these characteristics are opposite to the ones characterizing mentioned burials, so possibility of their attribution to group L seems unlikely.

55 Alongside five dislocated skeletons, this group comprises burials: 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 174, 183, 199 and 203. Bottom heights vary from -39 to -71.

Najmlađu grupu L čine 64 ukopa.⁵⁶ Ukopani su u pravilu u svjetliju zemlju u kojoj se nalazi dosta usitnjene žbuke. Kod određenog broja tih ukopa uočava se nizanje u redove, a kod dijela njih sačuvale su se i vertikalno pobodene kamene ploče iza glave, na temelju čega možemo pretpostaviti da su imali određena nadzemna obilježja.⁵⁷ Kod pojedinih ukopa jame su dijelom obrubljene s nekoliko amorfnih kamenja, a ukop 43 imao je komoru načinjenu od cigli, od kakvih je načinjen i pod katedrale. Za utvrđivanje kronološkog odnosa prema katedrali važno je istaknuti da je dio ukopa plići od visine temeljne stope istočnog zida pročelja, a dio je ukopan preko zidova katedrale.⁵⁸ Ova se grupa može datirati u vrijeme nakon građevinske intervencije tijekom koje je sistematski uklonjen dio ziđa katedrale koji se nalazio zapadno od istočnog zida pročelja. Ukop 33, jedan od mlađih iz ove grupe, ¹⁴C mjerenjem s većom vjerojatnošću datiran je u razdoblje između 1434. i 1520. godine (Sl. 10). Taj ukop, kao i još četiri stratigrafski bliska, na temelju perimortalnih trauma na kostima, doveden je u vezu s Krbavskom bitkom.⁵⁹

Južni aneks

Prostor južnog aneksa površine je oko 72 m². Preko zapadnog ruba prostora prokopan je rov do dubine -30, koji je ošteti 16 m² površine. Preko istočnog ruba prelazi drugi rov, prokopan do dubine +4, koji je također ošteti 16 m² površine.⁶⁰ Na tim dijelovima prostora sačuvan je samo najniži sloj ukopa. Na prostoru između rovova zatečen je nasip visine od +91 do +159. Prostor je na sjeveru omeđen južnim zidom broda katedrale, sačuvanim do visine +155. Temeljna stopa tog zida na visini je +30, iznad nje su dva istaknuta reda kamenja na visini +70. S južne strane prostor zatvara južni zid aneksa, sačuvan do visine +45. Temeljna stopa zida aneksa nije organski vezana s bočnim zidom katedrale, već je priljubljena uz njega. Po sredini prostora, na visini -76 pronađena je jama za čuvanje hrane bačvasta oblika, ukopana u matičnu stijenu, koja je na tom mjestu vjerojatno prethodila ukopima.⁶¹ Matična stijena na tom prostoru blago pada prema jugu, zatečena je na visini od -59 do -91. Na prostoru južnog aneksa istraženo je

wall was earlier than the burials. Grave pits of this group are mostly dug into red soil, while their fills sometimes contain some mortar pieces.

The youngest group L consists of 64 burials.⁵⁶ They are buried into light-colored soil with abundant crushed mortar. Some of these burials exhibit a tendency of arranging into rows, while some of them have vertically placed stone slabs behind the heads, suggesting that they had certain above-ground markers.⁵⁷ In some cases pits are partially lined with several amorphous stones, and burial 43 had a chamber made of bricks, of the same kind as the cathedral floor. In order to determine chronological relations with the cathedral it is important to emphasize that some burials are shallower than the height of the foundation of the eastern front wall, and some are buried over the cathedral walls.⁵⁸ This group can be dated to the period after the building intervention when the cathedral walls west of the eastern front wall were systematically removed. Burial 33, one of younger examples from this group, has been dated by ¹⁴C measurements with higher probability to the period between 1434 and 1520 (Fig. 9). This burial as well as four more examples, close in stratigraphical terms, were associated with the Battle of Krbava on the basis of perimortem traumas on the bones.⁵⁹

Southern annex

The southern annex covers the area of about 72 m². Over the western edge of the area a trench was dug to a depth of -30, damaging 16 m² of the area. Another trench passes over the eastern edge. This trench was dug to a depth of +4, also damaging the area of 16 m².⁶⁰ Only the lowest layer of burials was preserved in this segments. Fill measuring +91 to +159 in height was found in the area between the trenches. Foundation of this wall is at a height of +30, and above it are two distinct horizontal rows of stone at a height of +45. Foundation of the annex wall is not organically connected with the lateral wall of the cathedral, but it leans next to it. In the middle of the area, at a height of -76, a barrel-shaped pit for food storage was found, which was dug into the bedrock. This pit probably predates the burials.⁶¹ At this spot bedrock slightly slopes southwards, and it was found at a height from

56 Uz jedan dislocirani kostur to su ukopi: 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 64, 66, 94, 95, 96, 173, 186, 187, 190, 200, 202, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210. Visine dna su od +21 do -58. Iznimka je ukop 210 čije je dno na visini -77.

57 Jedan niz čine ukopi 46, 50, 40, 45, 94, 34, 35, 41, 4, 19, 23, 24, 21, 22, 33, 62, 38, 43, 49 i 53, a drugi 173, 20, 48, 207, 190 i 44. Kamen postavljen iza glave uočen je kod ukopa 11, 23, 24, 33, 44.

58 Preko ostataka zapadnog zida zatečeni su ukopi 11, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 39, 46, 94 i 173, a iznad sjevernog lateralnog zida ukopi 62 i 209. Ni jedan ukop ne negira istočni zid pročelja, što ukazuje na to da je on u vrijeme nastanka ovih ukopa sačuvan iznad razine tla.

59 Riječ je o ukopima 8, 10, 28, 33 i 38. Vidi V. Vyroubal 2007.

60 Prvi rov ošteti je ukope 80, 84, 85 i 118, a drugi ukope 65, 68, 76, 83 i 91.

61 Nad jamom, na visini -76 pronađen je novac kovan za dužda Andrea Contarinia (1368. – 1382.).

56 Alongside one dislocated skeleton, these are burials: 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 62, 64, 66, 94, 95, 96, 173, 186, 187, 190, 200, 202, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210. Bottom heights vary from +21 to -58. An exception is burial 210 whose bottom is at a height of -77.

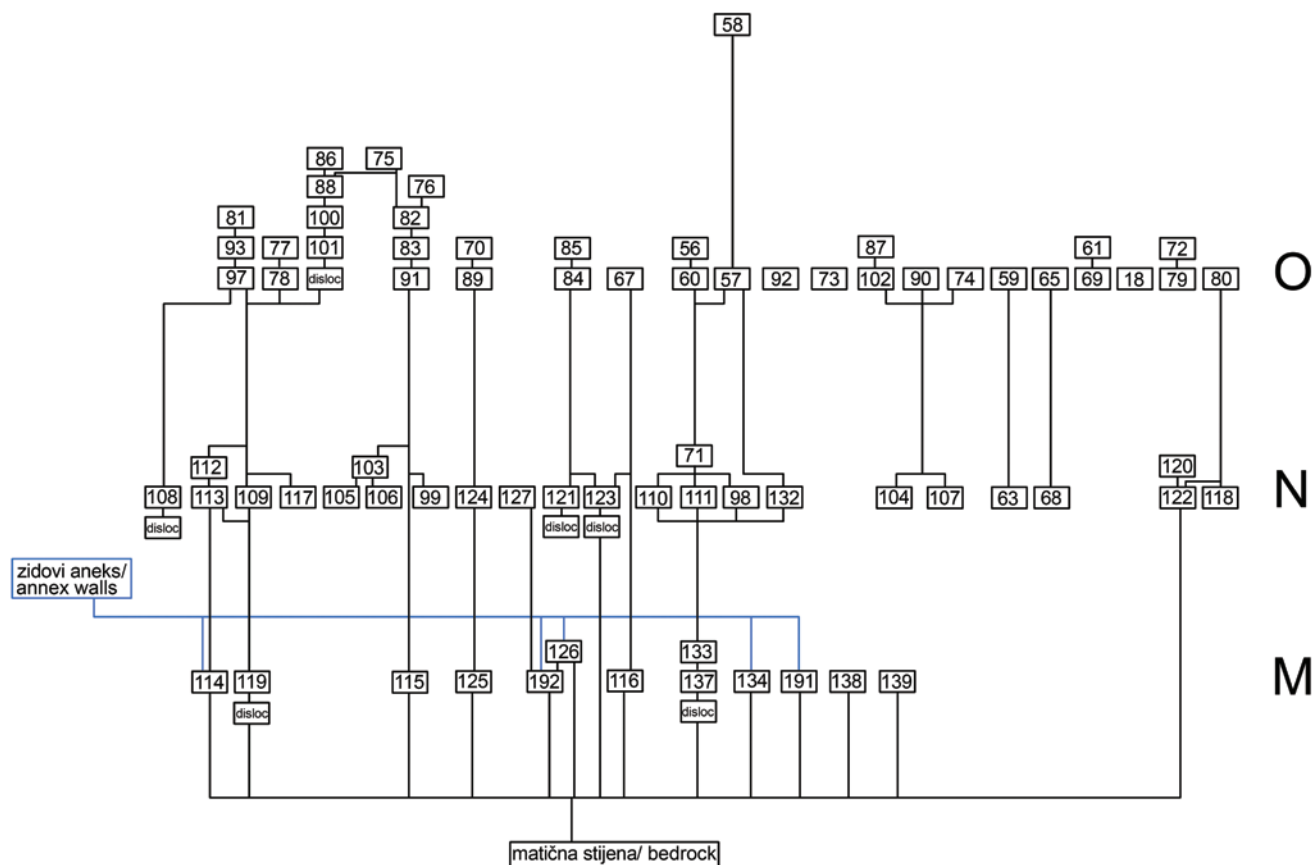
57 One row consists of burials 46, 50, 40, 45, 94, 34, 35, 41, 4, 19, 23, 24, 21, 22, 33, 62, 38, 43, 49 and 53, and the other of 173, 20, 48, 207, 190 and 44. Stone placed behind the head was noticed in burials 11, 23, 24, 33, 44.

58 Above the remains of the western wall we found burials 11, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 39, 46, 94 and 173, and above the northern lateral wall burials 62 and 209. None of the burials negates the eastern wall of the front indicating that it was preserved above the ground level when these burials were formed.

59 These are burials 8, 10, 28, 33 and 38. See V. Vyroubal 2007.

60 The first row damaged burials 80, 84, 85 and 118, and the other burials 65, 68, 76, 83 and 91.

61 A coin struck during doge Andrea Contarini (1368 – 1382) was found over the pit, at a height of -76.



Slika 5. Matrica s prikazom odnosa stratigrafskih jedinica u prostoru južnog aneksa

Figure 5. Matrix representing relations of stratigraphic units in the southern annex area

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

80 kasnosrednjovjekovnih ukopa (Sl. 5). Najbliži su ukopani na visinu +18, a najdublji je ukopan u matičnu stijenu s dnom na visini -108.⁶²

Najstariju grupu M čini 15 ukopa, pokopanih u zemljanim jamama.⁶³ Jedan ukop bio je obilježen masivnom nadgrobnom pločom. Ukopi ove grupe leže na matičnoj stijeni ili su usječeni u nju. Šest ukopa ove grupe pokazuje odklon u odnosu na orijentaciju zidova aneksa, dok su četiri presječena tim istim zidovima, a jedan je oštećen zidom katedrale.⁶⁴ Vrh nadgrobne ploče nad ukopom 116 nalazio se 25 cm niže od pretpostavljene razine poda aneksa. Nad ukopom 138 zatečen je kompaktan sloj žbuke, koji vjerojatno potječe od poda aneksa. Navedeni pokazatelji ukazuju na to da su ukopi grupe M prethodili izgradnji katedrale i aneksa.

-59 to -91. Eighty late medieval burials have been excavated in the area of the southern annex (Fig. 5). The shallowest burials were at a height of +18, and the deepest one was dug into bedrock with the base at a height of -108.⁶²

The oldest group M consists of 15 burials in earthen pits.⁶³ One burial was marked with a massive tombstone. Burials of this group lie on the bedrock or they were cut into it. Six burials of this group show a deviation in relation to orientation of the annex walls, while four burials were cut by these same walls, and one was damaged by the cathedral wall.⁶⁴ Top of the tombstone over burial 116 was located 25 cm lower than the assumed level of the annex floor. Burial 138 was covered by a compact layer of mortar, probably of the annex floor. Mentioned indicators suggest that group M burials preceded the construction of the cathedral and annexes.

62 Plići je jedino ukop 58, koji nije vezan za kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje, već za ono iz 19. stoljeća.

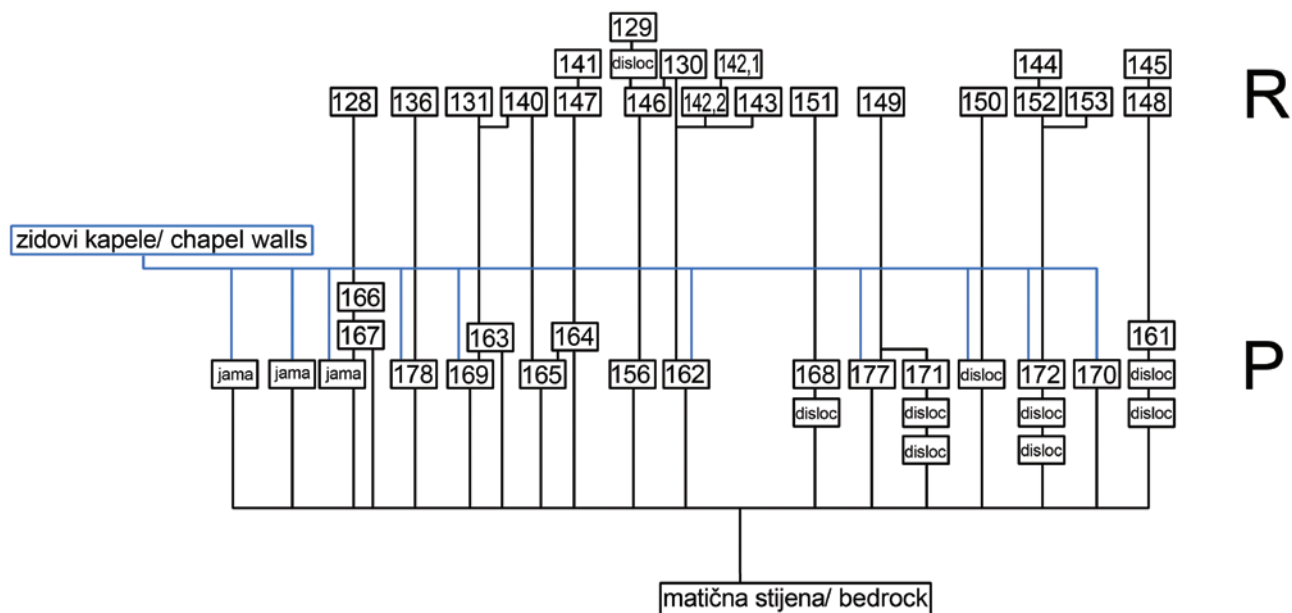
63 Uz dva dislocirana kostura ovoj su grupi pribrojani ukopi: 114, 115, 116, 119, 125, 126, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 191, 192. Dna ukopa ove grupe zatečena su na visinama od -84 do -108, izuzev ukopa 114 i 125 koji su se nalazili uz temeljnu stopu zida broda, gdje je matična stijena viša, pa su oni ukopani na visinu -59 odnosno -66.

64 Zidovi aneksa presjekli su ukope 126, 134, 191 i 192, dok je ukop 114 ošteti južni zid katedrale.

62 Only burial 58 is shallower. It is not related to the late medieval cemetery, but to the 19th-century one.

63 Alongside two dislocated skeleton, this group comprises following burials: 114, 115, 116, 119, 125, 126, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 191, 192. Bottoms of burials of this group were found at heights from -84 to -108, except for burials 114 and 125, that were located next to the nave wall foundation where the bedrock was highest so they were dug to a height of -59, that is -66.

64 Annex walls cut burials 126, 134, 191 and 192, while burial 114 damaged the southern cathedral wall.



Slika 6. Matrica s prikazom odnosa stratigrafskih jedinica u prostoru kapele

Figure 6. Matrix representing relations of stratigraphic units in the chapel area

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

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Slijedi mlađa grupa N od 28 ukopa koji se ukapaju nakon izgradnje aneksa.⁶⁵ To se može pretpostaviti na temelju položaja ukopa 121, 123, 110, 111 i 98, čije su lubanje bile prislonjene uz južni zid aneksa. Ukopi ove grupe pokopani su u nizovima.⁶⁶ Većinom su ukopani u tlo crvene boje, a dio ih leži na matičnoj stijeni. Za datiranje grupe iznimno je važan ukop 123 uz koji je pronađen skupni nalaz 25 kovanica, kojemu je *terminus post quem* 1382. godina.⁶⁷

Relativno kronološki najmlađi ukopi, njih 37, pribrojeni su grupi O.⁶⁸ Ukopani su uglavnom u svjetlije tlo koje je sadržavalo dosta primjesa mrvljene žbuke. Dio njih visinom, koja je gotovo jednaka visini hodne površine, jasno ukazuje da su se ukapali kada je taj prostor bio zapušten i kada se razina tla u aneksu povisila. Ni jedan od dokumentiranih ukopa nije ukopan iznad ostataka zidova, a većina ih orijentacijom slijedi njihovo pružanje pa možemo pretpostaviti da su ukopani prije urušavanja i napuštanja sklopa.

The younger group N is next, with 28 burials conducted after the annex had been built.⁶⁵ This can be assumed on the basis of burials 121, 123, 110, 111 and 98, whose skulls were leaning on the southern wall of the annex. Burials from this group were arranged in rows.⁶⁶ They were mostly buried in red soil, and some lie on the bedrock. Burial 123 is exceptionally important for dating of the group as a hoard of 25 coins was found next to it. *Terminus post quem* for this find is the year 1382.⁶⁷

The youngest burials in terms of relative chronology, 37 specimens, were attributed to group O.⁶⁸ They were mostly buried in light-colored soil that contained a lot of inclusions of crushed mortar. Height of some of them clearly indicates that they were buried when this area was neglected and when the ground level in the annex had risen. None of the documented burials was dug above the wall remains, and most follow their spreading, so we can assume that they were buried prior to the devastation and desertion of the complex.

65 U ovu grupu uz tri dislocirana kostura spadaju ukopi: 63, 68, 71, 98, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 132. Dna su im na visinama od -51 do -83. Dublji su jedino ukopi 123 i 127, ukopani na -88 i -91.

66 Jedan niz čine ukopi orijentirani paralelno s dužim zidovima aneksa, poredani poprijeko prostora, s glavama na zapadu. Dva niza čine ukopi orijentirani okomito na duže zidove prostorije. Njih sedam nalaze se uz južni zid i svi su, osim jednog, pokopani s glavom na jugu. Deset ih je pokopano uz sjeverni zid i svi su, izuzev dviju iznimki, ukopani glavom prema sjeveru.

67 J. Vučić 2020a, 40.

68 Uz dislociran kostur ovoj su grupi pribrojeni ukopi: 18, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 97, 100, 101, 102. Ukopani su na visinama od +18 do -51, izuzev ukopa 91 koji je na -66.

65 This group consists of three dislocated skeletons and burials: 63, 68, 71, 98, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 132. Their bottoms are at heights from -51 to -83. Only burials 123 and 127 are deeper, dug from -88 and -91.

66 One row consists of burials parallel to longer wall of the annex, arranged across the space, with the heads westwards. Two rows consist of burials positioned vertically in relation to the longer walls of the room. Seven burials are located along the southern wall, and they are all, except for one, buried with the head southwards. Ten burials are found along the northern wall and they are all, with two exceptions, buried with the head northwards.

67 J. Vučić 2020a, 40.

68 This group consists of a dislocated skeleton and burials: 18, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 97, 100, 101, 102. They are buried at heights from +18 to -51, except for burial 91, that is at -66.

Kapela

Kapelom je u dnevniku istraživanja označena prostorija s južne strane prezbiterialnog dijela katedrale površine oko 28 m². Bila je prekrivena nasipom čija je najviša visina iznosila +99. Zapadno od kapele zatečen je rov iskopan tijekom Domovinskog rata, koji je ošteti dio zida sjeveroistočnog kuta kapele, dok unutrašnjost nije zahvatio. Zidovi kapele sačuvani su od visine +24 do -21. Zidovi su temeljeni na matičnoj stijeni, koja je u sjevernom dijelu visoka -110, a na južnom kraju -165. Sudeći prema licima zidova, izvorna hodna površina kapele mogla je biti na visini -10. Unutar nje otkriveno je 47 ukopa (Sl. 6). Dno najvišeg ukopa bilo je na visini -47, a dno najnižeg na -168.

Analizom dokumentacije uočavaju se dvije grupe. Stariju grupu označenu slovom P čini 26 ukopa.⁶⁹ Svi su ukopani u crveno, kompaktno tlo i većinom počivaju na matičnoj stijeni. Čak 10 ukopa ove grupe presjekli su zidovi kapele, pa se nedvojbeno može zaključiti da su raniji od njezine izgradnje. U prilog tome govori i njihova orijentacija koja pokazuje odklon u odnosu na zidove kapele. Veći broj njih ukopan je dublje u matičnu stijenu, na temelju čega možemo zaključiti da je u vrijeme njihova pokopa tlo nad matičnom stijenom bilo relativno plitko.

Mlađoj grupi R pribrojen je 21 ukop.⁷⁰ Za razliku od prethodne grupe ukopani su u svjetlije tlo koje sadrži dosta mrvljene žbuke. Orijehtacijom slijede zidove kapele. Velika razlika u visini ukopa u odnosu na prethodnu grupu sugerira da među njima postoji određeni vremenski diskontinuitet. Vjerojatno se u kapeli nakon izgradnje određeno vrijeme nije ukapalo. Orijehtir za određivanje vremena ukopa ove grupe pruža ukop 147 koji se na temelju ¹⁴C mjerenja datira između 1450. i 1530., odnosno između 1538. i 1635. godine (Sl. 10). Kostu tog ukopa pronađene su u neobičnom položaju, a na njima su uočene i perimortalne ozljede.⁷¹

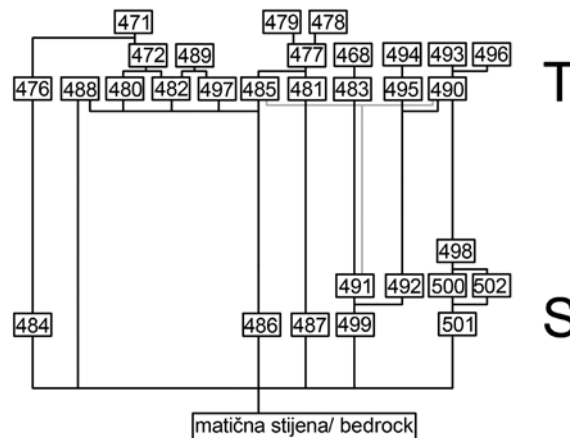
Sonda F

Sonda F smještena je pred pročeljem katedrale. Površine je oko 10 m². Početna visina bila je od +15 na istočnom do -10 cm na zapadnom rubu. Matična stijena zatečena je na visini od -70 do -90 cm, dok su pojedini ukopi bili u nju ukopani i do visine -135. U prostoru sonde dokumentirano je 30 ukopa (Sl. 7). Svi pokojnici položeni su

Chapel

The excavation journal marks a room on the southern side of the presbyterial part of the cathedral as the chapel. It covers an area of about 28 m². It was covered with a fill whose biggest height was +99. West of the chapel we found a trench dug during the Croatian War of Independence that damaged a part of the wall of the northeastern corner of the chapel, while the interior was left intact. Chapel walls are preserved from a height of +24 to -21. Walls are founded on the bedrock, which is -110 high in the northern part, and -165 in the southern end. Judging from the wall faces, original walking surface of the chapel might have been at a height of -10. Forty seven burials have been found in it (Fig. 5). Bottom of the highest burial was at a height of -47, and bottom of the lowest burial at -168.

Two groups can be differentiated after the documentation analysis. The older group marked with the letter P consists of 26 burials.⁶⁹ They are all dug in red, compact soil, mostly resting on the bedrock. As many as 10 burials of this group have been cut by the chapel walls, so we can conclude that they are earlier than its construction. This statement is supported by their orientation that deviates from the chapel walls. A number of burials were dug deeper into the bedrock suggesting that the soil over the bedrock was relatively shallow at the time of burying.



Slika 7. Matrica s prikazom odnosa stratigrafskih jedinica u sondi F

Figure 7. Matrix representing relations of stratigraphic units in probe F

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

69 U ovu grupu uz sedam dislociranih kostura ubrojani su ukopi 156, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 177 i 178 te grobne jame ukopane u matičnoj stijeni, označene slovima A, B, C i D. Za razliku od ostalih koje su bile ispražnjene, u jami D nalazile su se dislocirane kosti pokojnika. Dna su im na visini od -112 do -168. Njih 10 presjekli su zidovi kapele.

70 U ovu grupu ubrajaju se uz dislociranih kostur ukopi 128, 129, 130, 131, 136, 140, 141, 142,1, 142,2, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152 i 153. Ukopani su na dubinu od -47 do -84.

71 Tijelo nije pravilno ukopano, već je odloženo u jamu na način koji sugerira da je odnekud doneseno umotano u platno ili vreću.

69 In addition to seven dislocated skeletons, this group consists of burials: 156, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 177 and 178 and grave pits dug in the bedrock marked with the letters A, B, C and D. As opposed to the others that were emptied, pit D contained dislocated bones of the deceased. Their bottoms were at heights from -112 to -168. Ten burials were cut by the chapel walls.

u zemljane jame i jame ukopane u matičnu stijenu. Te ukope zbog izdvojenog položaja nije moguće dovesti u izravan odnos s arhitekturom, pa se razdvajanje u grupe temelji isključivo na odnosima među ukopima.

U stariju grupu S ubrojeno je 10 ukopa.⁷² Svi su pokopani u zemljanim jamama. U pravilu se radi o pojedinačnim ukopima, izuzev jame u kojoj su ukopani odrasla osoba i dvoje djece.⁷³ Sedam starijih ukopa iz ove grupe počiva uglavnom na matičnoj stijeni ili su dublje ukopani u nju.⁷⁴ Preslojavaju ih i dijelom oštećuju tri mlađa ukopa.⁷⁵ U vrijeme iskapanja grobnih jama mlađih ukopa, stariji ukopi vjerojatno nisu bili vidno označeni na tlu. Možemo pretpostaviti da je između starijih i mlađih ukopa grupe S, zbog horizontalnog širenja groblja, postojao vremenski interval tijekom kojeg se na toj površini nije pokapalo.

U mlađu grupu T ubrojeno je 20 ukopa.⁷⁶ Radi se o pojedinačnim ukopima, pokopanim u zemljanim jamama koje su u više slučajeva dijelom obrubljene amorfnim kamenjem.⁷⁷ U više navrata uočeno je polaganje većeg kamenja najčešće preko glave ili grudi pokojnika, a u jednom slučaju cijelo je tijelo prekrivao niz kamenja.⁷⁸ Za razliku od ukopa prethodne grupe čije su jame zapunjene u pravilu crvenom zemljom, jame ovih ukopa zapunjene su većinom svjetlijom zemljom koja sadrži dosta mrvljene žbuke, a ponekad su i ukopane u nju. Na jednom od starijih ukopa ove grupe (485) uočene su perimortalne ozljede.

Ostali kasnosrednjovjekovni ukopi

U prostoru zapadno od južnog aneksa, koji je dijelom istražen, otkrivena su tri ukopa koji se također mogu datirati u kasni srednji vijek.⁷⁹ Kasnom srednjem vijeku treba pribrojiti i ukop 206 koji je pronađen izdvojen, u trijemu biskupskog dvora. Na tom dijelu nalazišta prilikom nivelacije terena uklonjen je dio matične stijene i s njom gotovo svi ukopi. Ukop 206 sačuvao se zahvaljujući dubini. Njegovu pripadnost kasnom srednjem vijeku potvrđuje nalaz para naušnica s tri granulirana koljenca.

Twenty one burials were attributed to the younger group R.⁷⁰ As opposed to the earlier group, they were dug into light-colored soil with abundant crushed mortar. Their orientation follows the chapel walls. Big difference in the height of burials in relation to the previous group suggests certain chronological discontinuity. Probably there were no burials in the chapel some time after the construction. Burial 147 is point of reference in terms of dating of this group as ¹⁴C measurements offered dating between 1450 and 1530, that is between 1538 and 1635 (Fig. 9). Bones in this burial were in an uncommon position, with perimortem injuries.⁷¹

Probe F

This probe, covering an area of 10 m², was located in front of the cathedral front. Initial height was from +15 in the eastern end to -10 cm in the western end. Bedrock was hit at a height from -70 to -90 cm, while certain burials were buried in it to a height of -135. Thirty burials were documented in the probe area (Fig. 7). All the deceased were laid in earthen pits dug into the bedrock. These burials cannot be related directly to the architectural structures due to their isolated position, so classification into groups is based solely on the relations between the burials.

Ten burials were classified into the older group S,⁷² all in earthen pits. Individual burials are common, except for a pit in which an adult person and two children were buried.⁷³ Seven older burials from this group lie on the bedrock or they are dug deeper into it.⁷⁴ Three younger burials overlie and partially damage them.⁷⁵ Older burials were probably not marked on the ground at the time when younger grave pits were dug. We may assume there was an interval between older and younger burials of group S when this area was not used for burials due to horizontal expansion of the cemetery.

Twenty burials comprise younger group T.⁷⁶ These are individual burials in earthen pits that are sometimes lined with amorphous stones.⁷⁷ In several cases big stones were placed upon the head or chest of the deceased, and in one case entire body was covered with stones.⁷⁸ As opposed

72 To su ukopi: 484, 486, 487, 491, 492, 498, 500, 499, 501 i 502. Ukopani su na visinama od -74 do -135.

73 Ukopi: 500, 501 i 502.

74 Ukopi: 384, 486, 487, 499, 500, 501, 502.

75 Ukopi: 491, 492, 498.

76 To su ukopi: 468, 471, 472, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 485, 488, 489, 490, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497. Ukopani su na visinama između -32 i -71, izuzev ukopa 485 i 497 koji su na visinama -75 i -78.

77 Obrubljivanje jama amorfnim kamenjem dokumentirano je kod ukopa: 468, 471, 472, 478, 488, 490, 493 i 494.

78 Pojava polaganja pojedinačnog krupnijeg kamenja najčešće na glavu, a ponekad grudi ili potkoljenice dokumentirana je kod ukopa: 477, 478, 479, 482, 488, 493, 495 i 496. Ukop 480 bio je u cijelosti prekriven nizom kamenja.

79 Ukopi: 15, 16 i 17. Ukop 15, kod kojeg su uočene perimortalne ozljede, na temelju ¹⁴C mjerenja datiran je s većom vjerojatnošću između 1441. i 1522. godine. Vidi sl. 9.

70 This group comprises dislocated skeleton and burials 128, 129, 130, 131, 136, 140, 141, 142,1, 142,2, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152 and 153. They were buried to a depth from -47 to -84.

71 The body was not buried in the usual way, but deposited in the pit in a manner suggesting that it was brought from somewhere wrapped in a cloth or a sack.

72 These are burials: 484, 486, 487, 491, 492, 498, 500, 499, 501 and 502. They are buried at heights from -74 to -135.

73 Burials: 500, 501 and 502.

74 Burials: 384, 486, 487, 499, 500, 501, 502.

75 Burials: 491, 492, 498.

76 These are burials: 468, 471, 472, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 485, 488, 489, 490, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497. They are buried at heights between -32 and -71, except for burials 485 and 497, at heights of -75 and -78.

77 Lining pits with amorphous stones is documented in burials: 468, 471, 472, 478, 488, 490, 493 and 494.

78 Placing large stones on the head, or chest and shins is documented in burials: 477, 478, 479, 482, 488, 493, 495 and 496. Burial 480 was entirely covered with a row of stones.

HORIZONTI UKAPANJA

Prethodno izdvojene grupe grobova u ovom će se poglavlju međusobno povezati i razvrstati u tri vremenska horizonta. U prvi horizont ili horizont 1 svrstat će se grupe za koje se s većom vjerojatnošću pretpostavlja da su starije od vremena izgradnje katedrale. U drugi horizont svrstat će se grupe koje se datiraju u vrijeme neposredno nakon izgradnje katedrale. Treći horizont obuhvatit će grupe ukopa koje mogu datirati od vremena u kojem katedrala doživljava značajnije preinake do trenutka njezina napuštanja. Za sva tri horizonta, na temelju povijesnih izvora i arheoloških pokazatelja koji su većinom izneseni prilikom opisa pojedinih grupa, pokušat će se odrediti trajanje. Na kraju ovog poglavlja, pod pretpostavkom da se s vremenom mogu mijenjati pojedini običaji vezani za pokapanje, točnost razvrstavanja ukopa po grupama i povezivanja grupa u horizonte provjerit će se analizom zastupljenosti različitih načina polaganja ruku kod pokojnika.

Horizont 1

Horizontu 1 mogu se pribrojiti grupe A, F, J, M, P, S i grob 206.⁸⁰ Prema stratigrafskim pokazateljima to su relativno kronološki najstarije grupe. Grobovi tih grupa u pravilu leže na matičnoj stijeni ili su u nju ukopani. Pripadaju uglavnom groblju koje se formiralo uz crkvu koja je prethodila izgradnji katedrale. Preslojeni su velikim dijelom mlađim ukopima i često negirani arhitekturom katedrale i biskupskog dvora. U ovom horizontu prevladavaju ukopi u običnim zemljanim jamama, nad kojima je u tri slučaja potvrđeno postojanje masivnih neukrašenih nadgrobni ploča. Uz zemljane jame dokumentirane su i tri zidane grobnice, jedna unutar crkve i dvije izvan nje.

Na temelju ranije iznesenih odrednica vezanih za datiranje grupa koje su pribrojene horizontu 1, ovaj se horizont ukopa na krbavskom groblju može datirati od druge polovine ili posljednje trećine 13. stoljeća. Vrijeme početka ukapanja može se naslutiti iz rezultata dobivenih ¹⁴C mjerenjem kostiju, koje ukazuje na drugu polovinu 13. stoljeća.⁸¹ Sugestivna je u tom pogledu i struktura numizmatičkih nalaza, kojih je na terenu za sada pronađeno nešto više od 50, od kojih su najstariji kovani u posljednjoj trećini 13. stoljeća.⁸² Kraj ovog horizonta može se datirati u vrijeme izgradnje krbavske katedrale. Pitanje vremena izgradnje u literaturi nije riješeno na zadovoljavajući način, pa se ovom prilikom

to the previous group burials in which pits are filled with red soil, these burial pits are filled with light-colored soil with abundant crushed mortar, and sometimes they are dug into it. Perimortem injuries were noticed on one of the older burials of this group (485).

Other late medieval burials

In the area west of the southern annex that is partially excavated, three burials were discovered that can also be dated to the Late Middle Ages⁷⁹ as well as burial 206 that was found isolated, in the porch of the bishop's palace. In this part of the site, when the terrain was levelled, a part of the bedrock was removed and almost all burials along with it. Burial 206 was preserved owing to its depth. Its attribution to the Late Middle Ages is confirmed by a pair of earrings with three granulated joints.

BURIAL HORIZONS

Previously defined grave groups will be mutually associated and classified into three chronological horizons. The first horizon or horizon 1 will comprise groups that are assumed to be older than the time of the cathedral building with great degree of possibility. The second horizon will refer to all groups that date to the period immediately after the cathedral construction. The third horizon will encompass burial groups that may be dated from the time when the cathedral saw more significant alterations to the moment of its abandonment. An attempt will be made to determine the duration of all three horizons, on the basis of historical sources and archaeological evidence. At the end of this chapter, under the assumption that certain funerary customs can change over time, accuracy of classifying burials in groups and associating groups into horizons will be verified by analysis of presence of different arm positions in burials.

Horizon 1

Groups A, F, J, M, P, S and grave 206 belong to this horizon.⁸⁰ Stratigraphic indicators suggest that these are the oldest groups in relative chronological terms. Graves from these groups usually lie on the bedrock or they are dug into it. They belong to the cemetery formed next to the church that preceded the cathedral building. For the most part they are overlain by younger burials in common earthen pits, above which massive tombstones were found in three cases. In addition to earthen pits, stone-built tombs were documented in three cases, one inside the church and two outside.

⁸⁰ Ukupno 129 ukopa.

⁸¹ To su grobovi 345, 431, 443, 452 i 453. Dobivene su vrijednosti od 758. do 624. godine prije sadašnjosti, dok kalibrirani rezultati s većom pouzdanošću nude okvir između 1224. i 1398., a s manjom pouzdanošću između 1252. i 1391. godine. O datiranju starijih ukopa na krbavskom groblju vidi J. Vučić 2020b, 163, 168, 169.

⁸² J. Vučić 2020a, 40–41.

⁷⁹ Burials: 15, 16 and 17. Burial 15, with perimortem injuries, was dated on the basis of ¹⁴C measurements to the period between 1441 and 1522 with higher probability. See fig. 9.

⁸⁰ Total of 129 burials.

ukratko osvrćemo i na tu problematiku.⁸³ Najstariji u povijesnim izvorima zabilježeni spomeni katedrale sv. Jakova i biskupskog dvora datiraju iz 1389. i 1394. godine.⁸⁴ Tim izvorima s rezervom se mogu priključiti i riječi M. Sladovića iz sredine 19. stoljeća koji piše da „ne zna je li biskup Bonifacije zidao dvore na Udbini, ali su nakon njegova stolovanja trajno postojali“.⁸⁵ Povijesni izvori nedvojbeno potvrđuju postojanje katedrale od 1389. godine, dok nepotkrijepljeni navod M. Sladovića upućuje na izgradnju prije 1339. godine. Povijesni izvori mogu se nadopuniti pokazateljima koje pružaju arheološka iskopavanja. Jedan od njih nalaz je kovanice koja ukazuje na to da biskupski dvor sigurno nije izgrađen prije 1337. godine.⁸⁶ Dvije kovanice pronađene uz ukop 390, koji je najvjerojatnije prethodio katedrali, ukazuju na to da je katedrala građena nakon 1329.⁸⁷ Posebno je za ovu problematiku značajan ¹⁴C datum ukopa 345, preko kojeg prelazi zid katedrale, a koji je s manjom vjerojatnošću datiran između 1291. i 1333. godine, dok je s većom vjerojatnošću datiran između 1336. i 1398. godine. Na temelju navedenih povijesnih izvora i arheoloških pokazatelja može se pretpostaviti da je katedrala sagrađena između 1340. i 1389. godine. U tom rasponu treba pretpostaviti i završetak prvog horizonta ukopa na krbavskom groblju.

Horizont 2

U horizont 2 ubrojene su grupe B, G, K i N koje se datiraju u vrijeme nakon izgradnje katedrale.⁸⁸ Ukopi ovog horizonta često preslojavaju ukope horizonta 1, po čemu se pokazuju mlađima od njih. Za razliku od ukopa horizonta 1, u ovom horizontu nisu zastupljeni ukopi negirani arhitekturom. Uz ukope u običnim zemljanim jamama, nad kojima nije potvrđeno postojanje masivnih nadgrobni ploča, brojne su i zidane grobnice.

Početak ovog horizonta ukapanja, sukladno ranije iznesenim razmišljanjima, može se datirati između 1340. i 1389. godine. U taj okvir uklapa se i skupni nalaz novca uz

On the basis of previously presented determinants related to dating of groups that were attributed to horizon 1, this horizon of burials in the cemetery of Krbava can be dated from the second half or the last third of the 13th century. The beginning of burials can be conjectured from ¹⁴C results of bone analyses, suggesting second half of the 13th century.⁸¹ Structure of numismatic finds is suggestive in that regard. Over 50 such finds have been recovered thus far, the oldest being struck in the last third of the 13th century.⁸² The end of this horizon can be dated to the period of building of the cathedral of Krbava. The question of dating of the cathedral building has not been solved in a satisfying manner so we will address this subject briefly.⁸³ The earliest mention of the cathedral of St James and bishop's palace in the historical sources dates to the years 1389 and 1394.⁸⁴ These sources can be tentatively complemented by M. Sladović's quote, dating to the mid-19th century: "it is not known if bishop Bonifacius built a palace in Udbina, but after his see, it was permanently there."⁸⁵ Historical sources confirm without any doubt the presence of the cathedral from the year 1389, while unsubstantiated claim by M. Sladović suggests its building before 1339. Historical sources may be supplemented by archaeological evidence such as a coin indicating that bishop's palace was definitely not built before the year 1337.⁸⁶ Two coins found next to burial 390, that probably preceded the cathedral, suggest that the cathedral was built after 1329.⁸⁷ ¹⁴C date of burial 345 is particularly important with regard to this subject-matter since it is overlain by the cathedral wall which is dated between the years 1291 and 1333 with lower probability and between 1336 and 1398 with higher probability. On the basis of the mentioned historical sources and archaeological evidence, one can assume that the cathedral was built between 1340 and 1389. The end of the first horizon of burials in the Krbava cemetery should fall to that range.

83 Na temelju analize tlocrta i ostataka arhitektonske dekoracije Z. Horvat i M. Kruhek zaključili su da je katedrala sv. Jakova vjerojatno izgrađena u drugoj polovini 13. ili početkom 14. stoljeća, odnosno oko 1300. godine. Vidi M. Kruhek, Z. Horvat 1988, 193–194; 1997, 160–162; 2003, 84–87, 159.

84 M. Bogović 1988, 52; I. Anzulović 2017, 148–149, 167–169, bilj. 23, sl. 2. Katedrala se spominje i u buli prilikom imenovanja biskupom Vida Ostojića Marinića 1431. godine, na temelju koje povjesničar I. Lucius piše da je ona bila zadužbina Kurjakovića, koji su je obnovili ili izgradili. Vidi M. Bogović 1988, 52–53, bilj. 43.

85 M. Sladović 2003, 136. M. Bogović se osvrće na ovu tvrdnju navodeći da je šteta što Sladović nije naznačio na temelju čega je došao do nje. Drži da je, s obzirom na trošno stanje crkve 1460. godine, ona tada mogla biti starija od 100 godina te prema tome i sagrađena u vrijeme biskupa Bonifacija (1332. – 1339.). Vidi M. Bogović 1988, 52–53, 61, bilj. 91.

86 Novac je objavljen u J. Vučić 2020a, 41, 56, kat. br. 44, T. 7: 44. Pronađen je 2018. u stambenom dijelu sklopa, u SJ36, koji je prethodio niveliranju prostora šutom SJ20 u koju je ukopana temeljna stopa zida biskupskog dvora.

87 Kovane su između 1329. i 1339. godine. Vidi J. Vučić 2020a, 51, kat. br. 29, 30.

88 Ukupno 69 ukopa.

81 These are burials 345, 431, 443, 452 and 453. Dates from 758 to 624 BP were obtained, while calibrated results offer a framework between the years 1224 and 1398 with higher probability, or between 1252 and 1391 with lower probability. On dating the older burials in the Krbava cemetery see also J. Vučić 2020b, 163, 168, 169.

82 J. Vučić 2020a, 40–41.

83 On the basis of the analysis of the ground plan and architectural decoration remains, Z. Horvat and M. Kruhek concluded that the cathedral of St James was probably built in the second half of the 13th century or early 14th century, that is around the year 1300. See M. Kruhek, Z. Horvat 1988, 193, 194; Horvat 1997, 160–162; Horvat 2003, 84–87, 159.

84 M. Bogović 1988, 52; I. Anzulović 2017, 148–149, 167–169, note 23, fig. 2. The cathedral is mentioned in the bull of appointment of bishop Vid Ostojić Marinić in the year 1431. On the basis of this bull, historian I. Lucius wrote that it was an endowment of the Kurjaković family, who had it renovated. M. Bogović 1988, 52–53, note 43.

85 M. Sladović 2003, 136. M. Bogović responds to this claim by stating that it is a pity that Sladović did not offer argumentation for this statement. He believes that, considering poor state of the church in 1460, it might have been over a hundred years old at that point, and accordingly built during bishop Bonifacius (1332 – 1339). See M. Bogović 1988, 52–53, 61, note 91.

86 The coin was published in J. Vučić 2020a, 41, 56, cat. no. 44, T. 7, 44. It was found in 2018 in the residential part of the complex, in SU 36, that preceded leveling of the area by rubble from SU20. Foundation of the bishop's palace wall was dug into SU20.

87 They were struck between 1329 and 1339. See J. Vučić 2020a, 51, cat. no. 29, 30.

ukup 123 kojemu je *tpq.* 1382. godina.⁸⁹ Dva groba sadržavala su pojedinačne nalaze novca, stariji kovan između 1268. i 1275. i mlađi između 1365. i 1381. godine.⁹⁰ Ti nalazi dopuštaju pretpostavku da horizont 2 datira iz posljednjih desetljeća 14. i početka 15. stoljeća.

Horizont 3

U horizont 3 ubrojene su grupe C, D, H, I, L, O, R, T i tri izdvojena ukopa.⁹¹ Ukopi ovog horizonta često preslojavaju ukope horizonta 1 i 2, po čemu se pokazuju mlađima od njih. Stariji ukopi ovog horizonta pokapaju se u zemljanim jamama i zidanim grobnicama, dok se oni mlađi pokapaju isključivo u zemljanim jamama, koje često oštećuju zidane grobnice i preslojavaju zapadni zid katedrale.

Početak ovog horizonta ukapanja poklapa se s vremenom u kojem dolazi do određenih građevinskih preinaka na katedrali. To se odnosi na izradu novih grobnica i izmjenu poda u dijelu prezbiterija. Tijekom trajanja ovog horizonta sužen je otvor slavoluka prezbiterija, negirane su zidane grobnice u brodu katedrale i možda uklonjen zapadni zid pročelja, čime je skraćen brod katedrale. Preinake, koje podrazumijevaju i reduciranje prostora, možda su uvjetovane lošim stanjem građevine. U prilog lošem stanju svjedoči i bula pape Pia II. koja već 1460. godine katedralu opisuje kao ruševnu. Preseljenje biskupije iz Krbave u Modruš, koje je dopušteno tom bulom, vjerojatno je negativno utjecalo i na daljnje održavanje zdanja.⁹² Na temelju ranije iznesenih pokazatelja, vezanih za grupe koje su mu pribrojene, početak ovog horizonta može se datirati u prva desetljeća 14. stoljeća.⁹³ Mlađi ukopi istog horizonta datiraju u razdoblje kraja 14. i prvih desetljeća 15. stoljeća.⁹⁴ Završetak ovog horizonta ujedno predstavlja i prekid kontinuiranog korištenja krbavskog groblja. Do toga je vjerojatno došlo zbog upada Osmanlija i konačnog zauzimanja ovog prostora 1527. godine, što

89 J. Vučić 2020a, 40.

90 J. Vučić 2020a, 50, 54, kat. br. 25, 37.

91 Ukupno 304 ukopa. U prostoru prezbiterija i broda katedrale, ovaj se horizont mogao razdvojiti na stariju i mlađu fazu. Stariju fazu predstavljaju grupe C i H, a mlađu D i I. Budući da takvo razdvajanje nije bilo moguće u drugim prostorima, sve su grupe sagledane u sklopu istog horizonta. Izdvojeni ukopi su 15, 16, 17.

92 M. Bogović 1988, 52–53, 65–70. U buli se navodi: „...krbavska crkva...pod zaštitom svetog Jakova...u svojoj strukturi i zdanju ruševna, a nalazi se u šumom obraslom i od naselja udaljenom kraju i kao takva potpuno neprikladna za biskupsko sjedište. Uz to trenutačno nema ni biskupskog dvora ni kaptola...Ali treba osigurati da se rečena crkva svetog Jakova, nekada krbavska katedrala, ne upotrebljava za svjetovne svrhe, nego da se u njoj služi misa i druga služba Božja...“

93 Na vrijeme početka ovog horizonta ukazuje pet kostura s perimortalnim ozljedama, koji su na temelju ¹⁴C mjerenja datirani od 531. do 466. godine prije sadašnjosti. Kalibrirani datumi smještaju ih između 1393. i 1475. godine, dok se preklapaju za razdoblje između 1406. i 1437. godine. Uz ukope koji se vezuju za početke ovog horizonta pronađene su kovanice kovane od 1400., 1402. i 1412. godine.

94 Četiri ukopa, također s perimortalnim ozljedama, mjerenjem ¹⁴C pokazala su se starima između 406. i 310. godina prije sadašnjosti. Kalibrirani datumi smještaju ih između 1441. i 1648. godine, dok pokazuju određenu razinu preklapanja za razdoblje od 1490. do 1520. godine. U dva navrata uz ove mlađe ukope pronađene su kovanice kovane nakon 1471. godine.

Horizon 2

Horizon 2 comprises groups B, G, K and N that are dated to the period after the cathedral building.⁸⁸ Burials of this horizon often overlie the horizon 1 burials, proving to be younger than them. As opposed to the horizon 1 burials, this horizon does not contain any burials negated by architectural structures. In addition to burials in common earthen pits, without massive tombstones as cover, stone-built tombs are numerous in this horizon.

The beginning of this burial horizon, in accordance with previously expressed opinions, can be dated between 1340 and 1389. Hoard of coins next to burial 123 corresponds to this framework as the year 1382 is its *terminus post quem*.⁸⁹ Two graves contained individual finds of coins, the older was struck between 1268 and 1275, and the younger one between 1365 and 1381.⁹⁰ These finds allow an assumption that horizon 2 dates to the last decades of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century.

Horizon 3

Horizon 3 includes groups C, D, H, I, L, O, R, T and three isolated burials.⁹¹ Burials of this horizon often overlie burials of horizons 1 and 2, proving to be younger than them. Older burials of this horizon are in earthen pits and stone-built tombs, while the younger ones are in earthen pits only, that often damage stone-built tombs and overlie the western wall of the cathedral.

The beginning of this burial horizon corresponds to the period in which certain building alterations happened on the cathedral. This refers to formation of new tombs and floor replacement in a part of the presbytery. During this horizon, the opening of the presbytery triumphal arch was narrowed, stone-built tombs in the cathedral nave were negated and the western wall of the front may have been removed, shortening thus the cathedral nave. Alterations that include space reduction, may have been caused by the poor state of the edifice. The Bull of Pope Pius II testifies to its poor condition as it describes the cathedral as derelict as early as 1460. Moving of the diocese from Krbava to Modruš that was allowed in the bull probably had adverse effect on the maintenance of the edifice.⁹² On the basis of previously expressed indicators, related

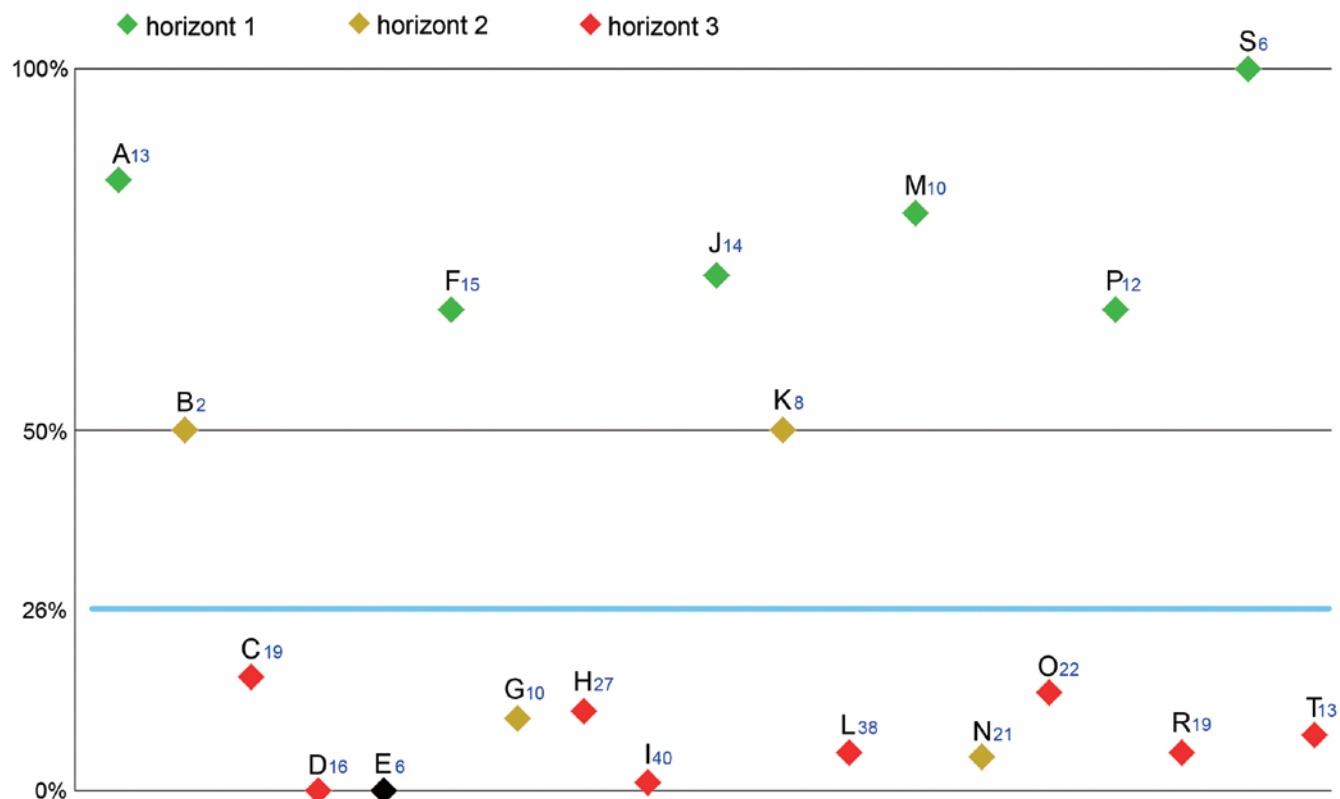
88 Total of 69 burials.

89 J. Vučić 2020a, 40.

90 J. Vučić 2020a, 50, 54, cat. no. 25, 37.

91 Total of 304 burials. In the area of the presbytery and cathedral nave, this horizon can be divided to older and younger phase. The older phase is represented by groups C and H, and the younger one by D and I. Since such division was not possible in other areas, all groups were analyzed within the same horizon. Burials 15, 16, 17 were singled out.

92 M. Bogović 1988, 52–53, 65–70. The bull states: „...the church of Krbava...under the protection of St James...derelict in its structure and state, located in a woody and secluded area, as such completely inappropriate for episcopal see. Furthermore presently it does not have neither bishop's palace nor chapter... However it should be ensured that the mentioned church of St James, once the cathedral of Krbava, is not used for profane purposes, but that mass and other liturgical services are celebrated in it...“



Slika 8. Grafički prikaz zastupljenosti ukopa s ispruženim rukama u pojedinim grupama ukopa (uz grupe koje su označene slovima naveden je i broj koji označava veličinu uzorka)

Figure 8. Graphic representation of the number of burials with extended arms in separate burial groups (groups are marked with letters, and the number denotes the size of the sample)

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

je uzrokovalo velike migracije, nakon čega je cijeli kraj opustio.⁹⁵

Statistički pregled položaja ruku pokojnika

Položaj ruku mogao se utvrditi kod 311 ukopa.⁹⁶ Za potrebe ove analize napravljena je jednostavna podjela na ukope s ispruženim i sa savnutim, odnosno prekrizanim

to associated groups, the beginning of this horizon can be dated to the first decades of the 14th century.⁹³ Younger burials of the same horizon date to the period of the end of the 14th and first decades of the 15th century.⁹⁴ The end of this horizon is also the end of continuous use of the Krbava cemetery. This probably happened due to the Ottoman incursions and final conquest of this area in 1527, causing great migrations, and eventually depopulation of the entire region.⁹⁵

95 M. Valentić 1990, 50, 52, 55; K. Jurin-Starčević 2003, 81, bilj. 6; M. Kruhek, Z. Horvat 2009, 261–262.

96 Analiza se temelji na tvrdnji Lj. Karamana kako se u dalmatinskoj Hrvatskoj nalaze isključivo mrtvaci s rukama ispruženim niz tijelo, dok se kod Hrvata mrtvaci s prekrizanim rukama pojavljuju tek u kasnijem srednjem vijeku. Vidi Lj. Karaman 1940, 10. U prilog njegovoj tvrdnji išli su rezultati kasnijih istraživanja. Vidi Š. Bešlagić 1964, 64; N. Jakšić 1983b, 62; T. Burić 2001, 204, 221–222. Prilikom analize položaja ruku, uvijek treba imati na umu opasku A. Miloševića koji je argumentirano pokazao da položaj ruku pokojnika nije uvijek rezultat namjere ili običaja, već ponekad i njihova naknadnog pomicanja prilikom polaganja pokojnika u grob. Vidi A. Milošević 1991, 36. Prema tome položaj ruku ne može se koristiti kao element na osnovi kojega bi se datirali pojedinačni ukopi, već samo kao alat za usporedbu većih skupina ukopa izdvojenih na temelju drugih pokazatelja.

93 The beginning of this horizon is indicated by five skeletons with perimortem injuries, dated by ¹⁴C measurements from 531 to 466 BP. Calibrated dates place them between the years 1393 and 1475, while they overlap for the period between 1406 and 1437. Coins dating to the years 1400, 1402 and 1412 were found next to burials associated with the beginnings of this horizon.

94 Four burials, also with perimortem injuries, were dated from 406 to 310 BP by ¹⁴C measurement. Calibrated dates place them between 1441 and 1648, overlapping to a certain extent for the period from 1490 to 1520. In two cases coins struck after 1471 were found with these younger burials.

95 M. Valentić 1990, 50, 52, 55; K. Jurin-Starčević 2003, 81, note 6; M. Kruhek, Z. Horvat 2009, 261–262.

rukama.⁹⁷ Od ukupnog broja ukopa na krbavskom groblju, 24 % imalo je ispružene ruke. Horizont 1 značajno odstupa od te vrijednosti. Unutar njega ukopi s ispruženim rukama zastupljeni su 76 %.⁹⁸ Po pojedinim grupama pribrojenim tom horizontu postotak pokopanih s ispruženim rukama kreće se između 67 i 100 % (Sl. 8).⁹⁹ U horizontu 2 bilježi se 21 % ukopa s ispruženim rukama.¹⁰⁰ Po pojedinim grupama pribrojenim tom horizontu postotak se kreće između 5 i 50 % (Sl. 8).¹⁰¹ Najmanji broj, odnosno tek 7 % ukopa s ispruženim rukama dokumentiran je u horizontu 3.¹⁰² Po pojedinim grupama pribrojenim tom horizontu postotak pokopanih s ispruženim rukama kreće se između 0 i 16 % (Sl. 8).¹⁰³

Čini se da je kod starijih ukopa na krbavskom groblju prevladavao običaj pokapanja pokojnika s ispruženim rukama. U drugom horizontu intenzivira se način pokapanja s prekrštenim rukama, dok u posljednjem horizontu postaje gotovo pravilom. Znatne razlike u načinu polaganja ruku pokojnika starijeg i mlađih horizonata potvrđuju da podjela po grupama i horizontima odražava stvarne, relativno kronološke odnose.¹⁰⁴

NAKIT I DIJELOVI NOŠNJE U HORIZONTALIMA KRBAVSKOG GROBLJA

U ovom poglavlju donose se podatci o oblicima nakita i dijelova nošnje zastupljenim u ranije definiranim horizontima. Utvrđeno trajanje horizonata predstavlja ujedno i vremenski okvir pojedinih oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje na krbavskom groblju. Slično kao i u prethodnome, na kraju ovog poglavlja donosi se statistički pregled zastupljenosti različitih položaja ruku pokojnika, ovisno o specifičnim oblicima nakita i dijelova nošnje koji su uz njih pronađeni.

97 U grupu s ispruženim rukama svrstavaju se ukopi kod kojih su obje ruke ispružene ili je jedna ruka ispružena, dok druga može biti blago savinuta, s dlanom na zdjelici. Primjeri s oba dlana položena ili prekrštena na zdjelici, trbuhu ili prsima te slučajevi kod kojih je jedna ruka ispružena, a druga savinuta s dlanom položenim na trbuhu ili prsima ubrajaju se među ukope s prekrštenim rukama. Ako su sačuvane kosti samo jedne ruke, ukop se definira prema tome je li ona savinuta ili ispružena.

98 Položaj ruku utvrđen je kod 70 ukopa ovog horizonta.

99 A = 85 %, F = 67 %, J = 71 %, M = 80 %, P = 67 %, S = 100 %.

100 Položaj ruku utvrđen je kod 41 ukopa.

101 B = 50 %, G = 10 %, K = 50 %, N = 5 %. Na velika odstupanja po grupama unutar horizonta možda utječe mali uzorak, naime u grupi B analiza se temelji na dva ukopa, a u grupi K na osam.

102 Položaj ruku utvrđen je kod 195 ukopa.

103 C = 16 %, D = 0 %, H = 11 %, I = 3 %, L = 5 %, O = 14 %, R = 5 %, T = 8 %.

104 Sukladan ovim rezultatima je i odnos pokojnika s ispruženim i prekrštenim rukama na nekropolama Grborezi i Maljkovo s jedne i nekropoli na Lopuškoj glavici s druge strane, na što je ukazao Š. Bešlagić. Vidi Š. Bešlagić 1964, 64. Na Lopuškoj glavici, na kojoj se javljaju naušnice s tri granulirana koljenca, a izostaju trojagodne, većinu ukopa čine oni s ispruženim rukama. Na grobljima Maljkovo i Grborezi, koja ne sadrže naušnice s tri granulirana koljenca, ali se na njima javljaju ukopi s trojagodnim naušnicama i oni mlađi od njih, prevladavaju ukopi s prekrštenim rukama. Usp. S. Gunjača 1954, 25; D. Jelovina 1960, 258; Š. Bešlagić 1964, 64.

Statistic overview of the arm position

The arm position could be determined in 311 burials.⁹⁶ For this analysis, a simple division was made, to burials with extended, and bent, that is crossed arms.⁹⁷ Out of the total number in the cemetery of Krbava, 24 % had arms extended. Horizon 1 shows significant deviation from this percentage as burials with extended arms constitute 76 %.⁹⁸ In individual groups attributed to this horizon, percentage of burials with extended arms varies between 67 and 100 % (Fig. 8).⁹⁹ In horizon 2 we recorded 21 % burials with extended arms.¹⁰⁰ In individual groups attributed to this horizon, percentage varies between 5 and 50 % (Fig. 8).¹⁰¹ The smallest number, only 7 % burials with extended arms was documented in horizon 3.¹⁰² In individual groups attributed to this horizon, percentage varies between 0 and 16 % (Fig. 8).¹⁰³

It seems that the custom of burials with extended arms of the deceased was dominant in older burials in the Krbava cemetery. In the second horizon burials with crossed arms became more common, while in the last horizon they were prevalent. Significant differences in the arm placement of the deceased in the older and younger horizons confirm that the division into groups and horizons reflects actual chronological relations.¹⁰⁴

96 The analysis is based on the claim by Lj. Karaman that in Dalmatian Croatia only the deceased with arms extended along the body are found, while the Croats buried their dead with arms crossed only in the later Middle Ages. See Lj. Karaman 1940, 10. Results of the later research supported his thesis. See Š. Bešlagić 1964, 64; N. Jakšić 1983b, 62; T. Burić 2001, 204, 221–222. When analyzing arm position, we should always keep in mind a remark by See A. Milošević who showed with valid arguments that arm placement is not always the result of an intention or custom, but it can be related to subsequent movements during the deposition of the body within the grave. A. Milošević 1991, 36. Thus arm position cannot be used as an element for dating certain burials, but only as a tool for comparison of larger groups of burials differentiated on the basis of other indicators.

97 Group with extended arms comprises burials with both arms extended, or only one arm extended and the other can be slightly bent with the palm on the pelvis. Examples with both palms placed or crossed on the pelvis, abdomen or chest, and cases when one arm is extended and the other bent with palm resting on the abdomen or chest belong to burials with crossed arms. If only bones of one arm were preserved, the burial is defined on the basis of its position, extended or bent.

98 Arm position was determined in 70 burials of this horizon.

99 A=85 %, F=67 %, J=71 %, M=80 %, P=67 %, S=100 %.

100 Arm position was determined in 41 burials.

101 B=50 %, G=10 %, K=50 %, N=5 %. Great deviations in groups of this horizon might be related to a small sample, as the analysis was based on two burials in group B, and eight in group K.

102 Arm position was determined in 195 burials.

103 C=16 %, D=0 %, H=11 %, I=3 %, L=5 %, O=14 %, R=5 %, T=8 %.

104 These results correspond to the relation between the deceased with extended and crossed arms on cemeteries Grborezi and Maljkovo on the one hand, and Lopuška Glavica on the other, as already emphasized by Š. Bešlagić. Š. Bešlagić 1964, 64. In Lopuška Glavica, where earrings with granulated joints were recorded, but not three-beaded examples, extended arms are dominant among burials. Burials with crossed arms are prevalent in cemeteries in Maljkovo and Grborezi, in which earrings with three granulated joints were not found, but there are burials with three-beaded earrings and the ones younger than them. Cf. S. Gunjača 1954, 25; D. Jelovina 1960, 258; Š. Bešlagić 1964, 64.

Nakit i dijelovi nošnje u ukopima horizonta 1

U ukopima horizonta 1 zastupljene su dvije vrste naušnica. Srebrne naušnice s tri granulirana koljenca predstavljene su jednim parom, pronađenim u izdvojenom ukopu 206. Kontekst pronalaska ne omogućuje utvrđivanje neposrednog odnosa s ostalim ukopima, već samo upućuje na to da je raniji od izgradnje biskupskog dvora.¹⁰⁵ Znatno brojnije od njih su trojagodne naušnice, zabilježene u četrnaest ukopa.¹⁰⁶ Prema podjeli koju donosi N. Jakšić, zastupljeni su tipovi A, B, D, E i F.¹⁰⁷ Također su zastupljene obje verzije, s diskovima među jagodama i bez njih. Nekoliko situacija na nalazištu ukazuje na relativne i apsolutne kronološke odnose pojedinih tipova trojagodnih naušnica. Kod ukopa 390, koji se datira u četvrto i peto desetljeće 14. stoljeća, pokojnica je nosila dva para, jedan tipa F i drugi tipa D s diskovima. Ukop 281 koji je sadržavao naušnice tipa F (T. 1: 2), pokopan je iznad ukopa 297 koji je sadržavao naušnice tipa A (T. 1: 1). Četiri ukopa s naušnicama tipa A i po jedan tipa B i F pokopani su s ispruženim rukama. Dva ukopa s naušnicama tipa D i dva tipa F imala su prekrizane ruke. Ukop 431, iz kojeg potječe par naušnica tipa D s diskovima, datiran je ¹⁴C metodom u posljednja desetljeća 13. i prva desetljeća 14. stoljeća. Ukop 345 s naušnicama tipa A datiran je ¹⁴C metodom od prve trećine do kraja 14. stoljeća. Na temelju tih pokazatelja na krbavskom se groblju ne uočava razlika u vremenu izrade i korištenja trojagodnih naušnica s diskovima među jagodama i bez njih.¹⁰⁸ Nasuprot tome, naslućuju se moguće razlike u kronologiji naušnica tipa A, koje bi možda mogle biti starije od tipova F i D. Do sada objavljena građa ne pruža dovoljno pokazatelja na temelju kojih bi se moglo zaključiti javljaju li se svi tipovi trojagodnih naušnica istovremeno ili postoje određene kronološke razlike među njima.¹⁰⁹ Budući da se trojagodne naušnice ne javljaju u ukopima horizontata 2 i 3, njihovo pojavljivanje na krbavskom groblju može se, ovisno o vremenu izgradnje katedrale, datirati do polovine ili kraja 14. stoljeća.

Uz naušnice u prvom horizontu javlja se i veći broj prstena. Tri na obruču imaju ovalnu, odnosno oktogonalnu kazetu u koju je uložen umetak (T. 1: 3).¹¹⁰ Dva

JEWELRY AND DRESS ACCESSORIES IN THE HORIZONS OF THE CEMETERY IN KRBAVA

This chapter presents information about jewelry forms and dress accessories represented in the previously defined horizons. Determined duration of the horizons represents also the chronological framework for certain forms of jewelry and costume elements in the cemetery in Krbaava. As in the previous chapter, this one also ends with a statistical overview of the arm placement in burials, in relation to specific jewelry forms and dress accessories found next to them.

Jewelry and dress accessories in the horizon 1 burials

Two types of earrings are represented in the horizon 1 burials. Silver earrings with three granulated joints are represented with one pair, found in the isolated burial 206. Discovery context does not allow determining direct relations with other burials, but only indicates that it is earlier than building of the bishop's palace.¹⁰⁵ Three-beaded earrings are much more common, recorded in fourteen burials.¹⁰⁶ Types A, B, D, E and F are represented, in accordance with N. Jakšić's classification.¹⁰⁷ Both versions are found, with or without discs between the beads. Several situations at the site indicate relative and absolute chronological relations between individual types of three-beaded earrings. In burial 390, dated to the fourth and fifth decades of the 14th century, the deceased woman wore two pairs, type F and type D with discs. Burial 281 that contained type F earrings (T. 1: 2), was dug over burial 297, with type A earrings (T. 1: 1). In four burials with type A earrings the deceased was buried with extended arms as well as in one burial with type B and one burial with type F earrings. In two burials with type D earrings and another two with type F, the deceased had arms crossed. Burial 431 with a pair of type D earrings with discs was dated by using the ¹⁴C method to the last decades of the 13th century and first decades of the 14th century. On the basis of these indicators, there is no chronological difference with regard to production and use of three-beaded earrings with or

105 Na temelju horizontalne stratigrafije groblja na Vrh Rici N. Jakšić zaključio je da se one javljaju prije trojagodnih. Prema njemu, jedno se vrijeme koriste usporedo s trojagodnim, dok kasnije iščekavaju, a trojagodne se nastavljaju koristiti i dalje, što potkrepljuje primjerima groblja Grborezi i Maljkovo. Datira ih od druge polovine 13. do kraja 14. stoljeća, dok se obimnije koriste od kraja 13. do sredine 14. stoljeća. Vidi N. Jakšić 1996, 150, 156–158. V. Sokol ističe njihovu pojavu na grobljima Knin – Spas i Lopuška glavica, završavaju prije pojave trojagodnih naušnica, a datira ih između posljednje trećine 12. i posljednje trećine 13. stoljeća. Vidi V. Sokol 2006, 139, 285. Jedan grob s ovim naušnicama mjerjenjem ¹⁴C datiran je u vrijeme između 1344. i 1394. godine. Vidi S. Đuričić, S. Galiot 2017, 20–21.

106 To su ukopi: 184, 188, 189, 195, 272, 274, 281, 297, 313, 345, 367, 390, 431 i dislocirani ukop u kapeli.

107 Usp. N. Jakšić 1983. U ovom su radu tip A i C izjednačeni i nazvani tipom A.

108 Svojedobno smo, na temelju uočavanja izdvojenog položaja na groblju kod Sv. Spasa, pretpostavili da su trojagodne naušnice s diskovima među jagodama nešto mlađe od onih bez diskova. Vidi J. Vučić 2011, 121.

109 U Grborezima su naušnice tipa E pronađene u grobu koji je preselio stariji ukop s naušnicama tipa F. Vidi Š. Bešlagić 1964, 35, T. 23: 3, 4.

110 Ukopi: 189, 195, 307.

105 On the basis of horizontal stratigraphy of the cemetery in Vrh Rika, N. Jakšić concluded that they precede three-beaded earrings. According to him, they were used simultaneously with three-beaded earrings, and then they disappeared, while three-beaded ones continued to be used, as corroborated by cemeteries in Grborezi and Maljkovo. He dates them from the second half of the 13th to the end of the 14th century, while they were used more intensely from the late 13th to mid-14th century. See N. Jakšić 1996, 150, 156–158. V. Sokol emphasizes their presence at cemeteries Knin-Spas and Lopuška Glavica, that end before the appearance of three-beaded earrings and dates them between the last third of the 12th and the last third of the 13th century. V. Sokol 2006, 139, 285. One grave with these earrings was dated to the period between 1344 and 1349 on the basis of ¹⁴C measurement. S. Đuričić, S. Galiot 2017, 20–21.

106 These are burials: 184, 188, 189, 195, 272, 274, 281, 297, 313, 345, 367, 390, 431 and a dislocated burial in the chapel.

107 Cf. N. Jakšić 1983. In this paper types A and C were unified and referred to as type A.

slična njima imaju dodatan ukras od nalemljenih ušica oko kazete (T. 1: 4).¹¹¹ Uz njih pronađena su i dva zlatna prstena nešto povišene krune u kojoj se nalaze manji umetci i elegantni pozlaćeni srebrni prsten raskoljene glave.¹¹² U dva navrata prstenje je pronađeno s trojagodnim naušnicama tipa F i D, a u jednom slučaju s pojasnom garniturom.¹¹³ Osim prstenja, pronađene su i vitice trakastog presjeka s dvije kanelure, koje se učestalo javljaju u mlađim horizontima.¹¹⁴

U nakit se mogu ubrojiti i trake, tkane nitima obložnim zlatnom ili srebrnom pozlaćenom folijom, pronađene većinom na glavama pokojnika. Na krbavskom groblju zabilježene su učestalije među ukopima horizonta 1, ali se javljaju i kasnije, u mlađim horizontima.¹¹⁵ U više navrata pronađene su s trojagodnim naušnicama tipa F.¹¹⁶

Najčešći dio nošnje u ukopima prvog horizonta predstavljaju pojasne kopče. Među njima najbrojnije su okrugle, načinjene od bronce.¹¹⁷ One se javljaju u više kombinacija, najsloženija je kombinacija dviju većih alki bez trna, koje su stajale na položaju kukova, i manje s trnom, koja se nalazila između njih (T. 1: 5).¹¹⁸ Uz brončane javljaju se i željezne okrugle kopče (T. 1: 6).¹¹⁹ U dva primjera uz te kopče ukop je sadržavao i ostruge.¹²⁰ Dva ukopa s tim kopčama bila su pokopana u zidanim grobnicama u kojima osim njih nije bilo drugih ukopa, što možda ukazuje na društveni položaj pokojnika.¹²¹ Jedna skupina ukopa s brončanim kopčama koncentrirana je na prostoru jugoistočno od stare crkve. Poput trojagodnih naušnica, ni te se kopče ne javljaju u mlađim horizontima pa se njihovo pojavljivanje na krbavskom groblju može datirati do polovine ili kraja 14. stoljeća.¹²²

Uz okrugle u ovom horizontu zastupljene su i željezne pojasne kopče gljivaste forme, iako znatno rjeđe od okruglih (T. 1: 7).¹²³ Taj je tip znatno brojniji u idućem horizontu. Navedenim tipovima kopči treba pribrojiti i

without discs between the beads.¹⁰⁸ As opposed to this, possible differences can be noticed in the chronology of the type A earrings that might be older than types F and D. Material that has been published so far does not offer enough evidence to conclude if all types of three-beaded earrings appear simultaneously or if there are certain chronological differences between them.¹⁰⁹ Since three-beaded earrings are not represented in the burials of horizons 2 and 3, their presence in the cemetery in Krbava can be dated to the mid-14th century or its end, depending on the dating of the cathedral building.

Alongside earrings, first horizon is characterized by a number of finger rings. Three of them have an oval or octagonal bezel with an inset (T. 1: 3).¹¹⁰ Two similar specimens have an additional decoration of soldered eyelets around the bezel (T. 1: 4).¹¹¹ With them were two golden rings with somewhat elevated bezel containing small insets and an elegant gilt silver ring with a split bezel.¹¹² In two cases rings were found with three-beaded earring of types F and D, and in one case with a belt set.¹¹³ In addition to rings, bands with strip-shaped section were found, decorated with two channels, that are more common in the younger horizons.¹¹⁴

Headbands also belong to jewelry. They were woven with threads wrapped in gold or silver foil, recovered usually from the deceased person's head. In the cemetery in Krbava they were more common among the horizon 1 burials, but they were present later as well, in younger horizons.¹¹⁵ In several cases they were found with three-beaded earrings, type F.¹¹⁶

Belt buckles represent the most common type of dress accessories in the first horizon burials. Circular examples made of bronze are most common,¹¹⁷ coming in several combinations, the most complex being a combination of two big rings without a pin, that stood at hips, and a smaller ring with a pin, that was positioned between them (T. 1:

111 Ukopi: 178 i 484.

112 Ukopi: 309, 365, 391.

113 Ukopi: 189, 195 i 309.

114 Ukopi: 270 i 380. N. Jakšić je ove vitice nazvao viticama s dva žlijeba i naveo da su karakteristične za kasnosrednjovjekovno razdoblje. Vidi N. Jakšić 1990, 420. Ovaj tip vitice na grobljima na Bukorovića podvornici, Brnazama kod Sinja i kod crkve Sv. Spasa pronađen je u istom grobu s trojagodnim naušnicama. Vidi S. Gunjača 1952, 67, sl. 10; 1955, 121, T. 1: 13; M. Petrinc 1996, 27.

115 U horizontu 1 pronađene su u ukopima 176, 184, 189, 403, 425 i 431.

116 Ukopi: 184, 189 i 431.

117 U ukopima 156, 161 i 295 pronađene su po dvije veće brončane alke i jedna manja kopča s trnom u sredini, a u 169, 305, 362 i uz dislocirane kosti ispod ukopa 161 po dvije veće brončane kopče s trnom. Ukop 182 sadržavao je dvije veće brončane kopče u kombinaciji s koštanom garniturom pojasa.

118 Ista kombinacija dokumentirana je i na groblju kod Sv. Spasa. Usp. M. Petrinc 1996, 84–85.

119 Ukopi: 119, 211 i 486. Ukop 392 sadržavao je dvije okrugle željezne karike.

120 Ukopi: 119 i 362.

121 Ukopi: 295 i 362.

122 Ovaj tip kopče pojasa pronađen je u grobu u crkvi sv. Martina kod Sukošana sa skupnim nalazom novca, koji datira ukop u 50-e godine 14. stoljeća. Isti tip, samo u funkciji male kopče za obuću, na istom je nalazištu pronađen u grobu koji je skupnim nalazom novca pouzdano datiran u kraj 14. stoljeća. Vidi J. Vučić 2006, 215–216. Na položaju Jazine-Lignum u Zadru iste kopče pronađene su u sloju grobova, koji se na temelju ¹⁴C datuma datiraju u 15. stoljeće. Na informaciji zahvaljujem kolegi Dariju Vujeviću.

123 Ukopi 133 i 195 (skupa s trojagodnim naušnicama tipa D).

108 At one time we assumed that three-beaded earrings with discs between beads are somewhat younger than the ones without discs on the basis of noticing their separate position at the cemetery at Holy Saviour. See J. Vučić 2011, 121.

109 In Grborezi type E earrings were found in a grave that overlay an older burial with type F earrings. See Š. Bešlić 1964, 35, t.23:3, 4.

110 Burials: 189, 195, 307.

111 Burials: 178 and 484.

112 Burials: 309, 365, 391.

113 Burials: 189, 195 and 309.

114 Burials: 270 and 380. N. Jakšić referred to these finds as bands with two grooves and claimed they were characteristic of the late medieval period. See N. Jakšić 1990, 420. This type of band at the cemeteries in Bukorovića Podvornica, Brnaze near Sinj and at the church of the Holy Saviour was found in the same grave with three-beaded earrings. See S. Gunjača 1952, 67, fig. 10; 1955, 121, T. 1:13; M. Petrinc 1996, 27.

115 In horizon 1 they were found in burials 176, 184, 189, 403, 425 and 431.

116 Burials 184, 189 and 431.

117 Burials 156, 161 and 295 produced two big bronze circular frames without a pin, and one smaller circular buckle frame with a pin. Pairs of big bronze circular buckle frames with pin were found in 169, 305, 362 and next to dislocated bones under burial 161. Burial 182 contained two bigger bronze circular buckle frames in combination with bone belt set.

jedan primjerak željezne kopče u obliku izduženog pravokutnika.¹²⁴

Među nabrojenim nalazima horizonta 1 nalaze se i dva primjera iznimno rijetkih pojasnih garnitura, jedna od kosti i druga od srebra (T. 1: 9, 8).¹²⁵ Pojas na kojem je bila aplicirana srebrna garnitura bio je istkan od pozlaćenih niti. Uz njega su pronađeni ranije spomenuti prsten s umetkom i ulomci široke, spiralno uvijene brončane trake, dok su se u sastavu koštane garniture nalazile i dvije ranije spomenute brončane okrugle pojasne kopče. Rijedak nalaz predstavlja i gornji dio odjeće na kojem su se nalazila bogato ukrašena srebrna puceta oblika leće (T. 1: 10).¹²⁶ Jedan od nalaza specifičan za ovaj horizont su i željezne ostruge sa zvjezdica, koje se ne javljaju u mlađim horizontima.¹²⁷

Nakit i dijelovi nošnje u ukopima horizonta 2

U ukopima horizonta 2 nisu zastupljene naušnice. U četiri ukopa pronađeni su prsteni.¹²⁸ Vrijednošću materijala od kojeg je načinjen ističe se masivni zlatni prsten vitica, trokutastog presjeka, s ugraviranim natpisom, iz zidane grobnice u prezbiteriju katedrale (T. 2: 1). U dvije zidane grobnice u brodu katedrale pronađeni su masivni srebrni lijevani prsteni. Oba prstena imaju bogato ukrašenu kariku „D“ presjeka, jedan kružnog i drugi krušolikog oblika, te glavu ukrašenu graviranjem (T. 2: 2). Uz njih je u ovom horizontu pronađen i lijevani srebrni, pozlaćeni prsten visoke glave s umetkom koju pridržavaju dva plastično prikazana lava (T. 2: 3). Prstenje ovog horizonta, kao i prethodnog, rađeno je od plemenitog metala. Svi su primjerci masivni, s karikama „D“ ili trokutastog presjeka. Ovom prilikom može se istaknuti da je jedini zlatni prsten vezan za povlaštenu ukop u zidanoj grobnici u prezbiteriju. Isti je ukop imao i traku od pozlaćenih niti na glavi, kakve su zabilježene u prethodnom horizontu.¹²⁹ Uz prstenje u ovom je horizontu zastupljena i vitica trakastog presjeka, ukrašena dvjema kanelurama.¹³⁰ Za razliku od prstenja prethodnoga, u ovom se horizontu javlja masivna vitica od plemenitog metala, prstenje s glavom ukrašenom graviranjem i prstenje s plastično izvedenim ukrasom.

124 Ukop 189. Uz nju su pronađene trojagodne naušnice tipa F i traka za glavu.

125 Koštana pripada ukopu 182, a srebrna 309. Usporediva koštana garnitura pronađena je u Galovcu kod Zadra. O vremenu izrade i korištenja koštanih pojasnih garnitura svjedoči spomen pojasa izrađenih od kosti u popisu robe zadarske trgovkinje Fumice iz 1346. godine. Vidi I. Anzulović, 2007, 242–243. Srebrna garnitura usporediva je s onom pronađenom na groblju kod crkve Sv. Spasa, koja se datira u drugu polovinu 14. stoljeća. Vidi M. Petrinec 1996, 104–105; N. Jakšić, 1996, 160–165.

126 Ukop 270. Pokojnik je na ruci imao viticu s dvije kanelure. Prema zatečenim ostatcima možemo pretpostaviti da se radi o odjeći sličnoj onoj prikazanoj na škrinji svetog Šimuna u Zadru, koja je izrađena u osmom desetljeću 14. stoljeća.

127 Ukopi: 119, 362, 409 i 413. Dva su pokopana u zemljanim grobnicama izvan crkve, a dva u crkvi, jedan u zidanom, a drugi u zemljanom grobu. Ovaj tip ostruga pojavljuje se krajem 13. stoljeća. Vidi D. Vrsalović 1963, 167.

128 Redoslijedom spominjanja u daljnjem tekstu to su ukop 251 u Z7, u prezbiteriju, ukopi 348 u Z19, 444 u Z23 u brodu katedrale i 132 u južnom aneksu.

129 Ukop 251.

130 Ukop 422.

5).¹¹⁸ Circular iron buckles are also represented (T. 1: 6).¹¹⁹ In two cases burials contained rowel spurs alongside these buckles.¹²⁰ These buckles were found in two stone-built tombs which contained no other burials, possibly indicating social status of the deceased.¹²¹ One group of burials with bronze circular buckle frames was concentrated in the area southeast of the old church. Like three-beaded earrings, they are not represented in younger horizons. Therefore their presence at the cemetery in Krbava can be dated to the middle or end of the 14th century.¹²²

Alongside circular frame belt buckles, this horizon also produced mushroom-shaped frame iron belt buckles (T. 1: 7), though round ones are much more common.¹²³ This type is significantly more numerous in the next horizon. An example of an iron belt buckle in shape of elongated rectangle should be added to the mentioned types.¹²⁴

Among the listed finds from horizon 1, there are two examples of exceptionally rare belt sets, one made of bone (T. 1: 9) and the other of silver (T. 1: 8).¹²⁵ Silver set was worn on a belt woven from gilt threads. Mentioned inset ring and fragments of wide spirally twisted bronze wire were found with it. Previously mentioned round bronze belt buckles belonged to the bone set. Another rare find is the upper part of clothing with elaborately adorned lentil-shaped buttons (T. 1: 10).¹²⁶ Iron rowel spurs are another characteristic find from this horizon, that is not represented in younger horizons.¹²⁷

118 Identical combination was recorded at the cemetery at Holy Saviour. Cf. M. Petrinec 1996, 84–85.

119 Burials: 119, 211 and 486. Burial 392 contained two round iron hoops.

120 Burials: 119 and 362.

121 Burials: 295 and 362.

122 This type of belt buckle was found in a grave in the church of St Martin at Sukošan with a hoard of coins that dates the burial to the 1350s. The same type, only functioning as small shoe buckle was found at the same site in a grave that was dated to the late 14th century with certainty owing to the hoard of coins. See J. Vučić 2006, 215–216. At the position Jazine-Lignum in Zadar identical buckles were found in the layer of graves dated to the 15th century on the basis of ¹⁴C dates. I would like to thank colleague Dario Vujević for the information.

123 Burials 133 and 195 (together with three-beaded earrings, type D).

124 Burial 189. Three-beaded earrings, type F, and headband were found next to it.

125 Bone belt set belongs to burial 182, and silver one to burial 309. Comparable bone set was found in Galovac near Zadar. Time of production and use of bone belt sets is documented in the list of goods of merchant Fumica from Zadar of the year 1346. See I. Anzulović, 2007, 242–243. Silver belt set is comparable to the one found at the cemetery of the church of the Holy Saviour dated to the second half of the 14th century. See M. Petrinec 1996, 104–105; N. Jakšić, 1996, 160–165.

126 Burial 270. The deceased wore a band with two channels on his finger. Judging from the extant remains, we can assume that it was clothes similar to the one depicted on the St Simon's chest in Zadar, that was made in the eighth decade of the 14th century.

127 Burials: 119, 362, 409 and 413. Two burials were in earthen tombs outside the church; two in the church - one in a stone-built grave and one in an earthen grave. This type of spurs appeared by the end of the 13th century. See D. Vrsalović 1963, 167.

U ovom horizontu pojavljuju se kuglasta i granulirana puceta od srebra, kakva nisu dokumentirana u prethodnom horizontu. Šest velikih kuglastih primjeraka pronađeno je s lijevanim prstenom visoke glave u ukopu 132, a datirani su skupnim nalazom novca u kraj 14. Stoljeća (T. 2: 4). Kod dva ukopa zabilježena su manja granulirana puceta s dugačkim petljama (T. 2: 5).¹³¹ Mnogo učestalije od puceata u ovom horizontu nalaze se obujmice načinjene od lima koji se omotavao oko rubova vezica (T. 2: 6).¹³²

Učestalije negoli u prethodnome, u ovom se horizontu javljaju željezne gljivaste pojasne kopče (T. 2: 7).¹³³ Novitet u odnosu na prethodni horizont predstavljaju dvodijelne simetrične i asimetrične željezne pojasne kopče (T. 2: 8, 9).¹³⁴ U jednom slučaju dokumentirana je manja željezna kopča, vjerojatno od obuće, oblika kružnice s ravnim završetkom.¹³⁵

Među ukopima ovog horizonta primjećuju se specifičnosti u prostornoj distribuciji pojedinih oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje, koje mogu upućivati na razdvajanje ukopa prema društvenom statusu. Tako ni jedan primjerak željeznih gljivastih i dvodijelnih kopči nije zabilježen među ukopima u brodu i prezbiteriju katedrale, već su sve pronađene među ukopima u narteksu i južnom aneksu. Nasuprot tome, prstenje od plemenitog metala nalazi se gotovo isključivo u zidanim grobnicama u prezbiteriju i brodu.¹³⁶

Nakit i dijelovi nošnje u ukopima horizonta 3

U horizontu 3, kao ni u prethodnome, ne javljaju se naušnice.

Osobitost horizonta predstavlja učestala pojava brončanog i bakrenog, rjeđe srebrnog, prstenja i vitica. Nerijetko se na rukama pokojnika nalazi veći broj njih.¹³⁷ Vitice se mogu razvrstati u šest tipova. Najučestalije se javljaju vitice trakasta presjeka, ukrašene na vanjskoj strani karike dvama paralelnim žljebovima (T. 3: 1).¹³⁸ Taj

Jewelry and dress accessories in the horizon 2 burials

Earrings are not represented in the burials of this horizon. Rings were found in four burials.¹²⁸ A massive golden ring-band stands out due to the value of the material it was made of (T. 2: 1). This specimen with a triangular cross-section and an engraved inscription was found in the stone-built tomb in the cathedral presbytery. Massive silver cast rings were found in two stone-built tombs. Both rings have elaborately decorated hoop with D-shaped section, one circular and the other piriform, with engraved bezels (T. 2: 2). This horizon also produced a cast silver gilt ring with high bezel with inset supported by two plastically rendered lions (T. 2: 3). Rings of this horizon were made of precious metals as was the case in the previous horizon. All examples are massive, with hoops with D-shaped or triangular cross-section. On this occasion we can emphasize that the only golden ring associated with a privileged burial was found in the stone-built tomb in the presbytery. The same burial had a headband of gilt threads, as recorded in the previous horizon.¹²⁹ This horizon also yielded a band with strip-shaped section decorated with two channels.¹³⁰ As opposed to the rings from the previous horizon, here we have a massive band of precious metal, rings with a bezel decorated by engraving and rings with plastically rendered decoration.

This horizon yielded globular and granulated buttons that have not been documented in the previous horizon. Six big globular examples were found with a cast ring with high bezel in burial 132, dated to the late 14th century by a hoard of coins (T. 2: 4). Small granulated buttons with long loops were recorded in two burials (T. 2: 5).¹³¹ More common finds than buttons in this horizon are lace chapes made of sheet metal, wrapped around lace ends (T. 2: 6).¹³²

Mushroom-shaped frame iron belt buckles are more common in this horizon than in the previous one (T. 2: 7).¹³³ Two-part symmetrical and asymmetrical iron belt buckles represent a novelty in this horizon (T. 2: 8,9).¹³⁴ There was also one find of a small iron D-shaped buckle, probably for shoes.¹³⁵

131 Ukopi 444 i 447.

132 Ukopi: 120, 121, 124, 251, 444, 447 i Z22. Na Opatovini slične obujmice pojavljuju se u ukopima druge i posljednje trećine 14. stoljeća, ali ih većina potječe iz ukopa 15. stoljeća. Vidi Ž. Demo 2007, 71.

133 Ukopi: 108, 109, 174, 203. Ukop 112 sadržavao je kopču koja bi se mogla pripisati ovoj grupi, iako okvir nema jasan gljivast oblik.

134 Ukopi 113, 154 i 183 sadržavali su simetrične, a 107 asimetričnu kopču. Usporediva dvostruka simetrična kopča pojasa pronađena je sa skupnim nalazom novca u grobu u crkvi sv. Martina kod Sukošana, koji je dosta pouzdano datiran u sam kraj 14. stoljeća. Vidi J. Vučić 2006, 216. Uz simetrične dvodijelne kopče u ukopima 154 i 183 pronađeni su i okovi rukava. Na nalazištu Opatovina oni se datiraju u drugu trećinu 14. stoljeća. Vidi Ž. Demo 2007, 40, 72, 73.

135 Ukop 444.

136 Na prepoznavanje društveno istaknutih pojedinaca, temeljem nalaza zlatnog prstenja, vrijednih pojasa i ostruga, ukazano je prilikom obrade groblja kod crkve Sv. Spasa. Vidi N. Jakšić 1996, 160–161.

137 Dječji ukop 82 pokopan je sa sedam vitica i jednim prstenom, odrasli ukop 75 imao je na rukama šest vitica, jedan prsten i naprstak, odrasli ukop 76 i dječji 320 imali su po šest vitica, odrasli ukopi 359 i 389 tri vitice i dva prstena, ukopi 10 i 44 po pet vitica. Po četiri vitice, odnosno vitice i prsten imali su ukopi: 23, 33, 83, 207, 248, 328, 316, 374 i 420. Iznimno su brojni i ukopi s dvije i tri vitice.

138 Pronađene su u 43 ukopa ovog horizonta: 6, 10, 12, 16, 24, 26, 33, 44, 47, 52, 53, 56, 65, 69, 74, 75, 76, 77, 82, 83, 90, 93, 152, 207, 266, 293, 298, 316, 320, 328, 334, 359, 373, 374, 377, 379, 381, 389, 416, 417, 420, 471, 480.

128 In the order of appearance in further text these are burial 251 in Z7, in the presbytery, burials 348 in Z19, 444 in Z23 in the cathedral nave and 132 in the southern annex.

129 Burial 251.

130 Burial 422.

131 Burials 444 and 447.

132 Burials: 120, 121, 124, 251, 444, 447 and Z22. Similar lace chapes appear in Opatovina in the burials of the second and last third of the 14th century, but most come from the 15th-century burials. See Ž. Demo 2007, 71.

133 Burials: 108, 109, 174, 203. Burial 112 contained a buckle that might be attributed to this group, though the frame is not clearly mushroom-shaped.

134 Burials 113, 154, 183 contained symmetrical buckles, and 107 an asymmetrical buckle. Comparable two-part symmetrical buckle was found with the hoard of coins in the grave in the church of St Martin at Sukošan, quite firmly dated to the very end of the 14th century. See J. Vučić 2006, 216. Sleeve mounts were found with two-part symmetrical buckles in burials 154 and 183. At the site of Opatovina they are dated to the second third of the 14th century. See Ž. Demo 2007, 40, 72, 73.

135 Burial 444.

se tip javljao, iako rijetko, u ukopima starijih horizonata. Prema učestalosti slijede vitice „D“ presjeka, ukrašene na vanjskoj strani karike dvama ili četirima paralelnim, uzdužnim plitkim žljebovima, među kojima može biti niz kraćih, ravnih, kosih ili cik-cak ureza, a ponekad i točkice (T. 3: 2, 3).¹³⁹ Taj tip vitica ne javlja se u starijim horizontima krbavskog groblja. Tri vitice istog tipa pronađene su na Crkvi kod Pakošтана, u grobnici koja je sadržavala 13 ukopa smještenih u četiri sloja. Najstariji sloj je na temelju ¹⁴C metode datiran u prvu polovinu, a mlađi u drugu polovinu 15. stoljeća.¹⁴⁰ Nešto su rjeđe neukrašene vitice „D“ presjeka, načinjene od bronce ili bakra i srebra.¹⁴¹ U nekoliko ukopa pronađene su vitice načinjene od gusto omotane tanke bakrene žice, s petljom na krajevima (T. 3: 4).¹⁴² Rjeđe se javljaju vitice trakastog, konkavnog presjeka i vitice s uzdužnim rebrima (T. 3: 5, 6).¹⁴³ Uz vitice se u ovom horizontu javlja i prstenje. Dva srebrna primjerka, s krunom zalemljenom na kariku trakasta presjeka, slična su prstenima iz horizonta 1 (T. 3: 7).¹⁴⁴ Od srebra su također dva masivna, lijevana prstena, s visokom krunom za umetak, koja se prema vrhu sužava, za koje ne nalazimo usporedbe u starijim horizontima (T. 3: 8).¹⁴⁵ Za razliku od starijih horizonata u ovom se, uz srebrno, znatno učestalije javlja brončano prstenje, rađeno lijevanjem, koje se može podijeliti u tri tipa. Najbrojniji tip oblikom je nalik prethodno spomenutom srebrnom prstenju, samo je manje masivan (T. 3: 9).¹⁴⁶ Nešto je rjeđe prstenje s ovalnom niskom krunom u kojoj leži umetak (T. 3: 10).¹⁴⁷ Slična je oblika prstenje koje na ovalnoj kruni umjesto ležišta za umetak ima ugraviran prikaz (T. 3: 11).¹⁴⁸ Uz nabrojene učestalije tipove prstenja u ovom su horizontu dokumentirani i nalazi dvaju prstena s motivom rukovanja (T. 3: 12), jedan srebrni i drugi brončani, te po jedan primjerak prstena s dvije ćelije za ukrasno zrno (T. 3: 13), prstena s natpisom na karici i vitice s natpisom.¹⁴⁹ Od nabrojanih vitica i prstenja, jedino se vitice trakastog presjeka, ukrašene dvjema kanelurama, makar u iznimno malom broju, javljaju ranije od horizonta 3.

Burials of this horizon exhibit specific spatial distribution of certain jewelry forms and costume elements that might indicate separation of burials in accordance with social status. Thus examples of mushroom-shaped frame buckles and two-part iron buckles were not recorded in burials in the nave and presbytery of the cathedral but they were all found among burials in the narthex and southern annex. As opposed to this, rings of precious metals are found almost exclusively in stone-built tombs in the presbytery and nave.¹³⁶

Jewelry and dress accessories in the horizon 3 burials

As in the previous case, there are no earrings in this horizon.

Horizon 3 is characterized by numerous rings and bands, made of bronze, copper, and less common silver. Several rings can be found on the hands of the deceased.¹³⁷ Bands can be classified into six types. Bands with strip-shaped section are most numerous, with decoration of two parallel grooves on the outer side (T. 3: 1).¹³⁸ This type was represented, though scarcely, in the burials of older horizons. Bands with D-shaped section are next in number. They are decorated on the outer side with two or four parallel, longitudinal shallow grooves, between which we can find short, straight, oblique or zig-zag incisions, or dots (T. 3: 2,3).¹³⁹ This type of bands is not recorded in the older horizons of the Krbava cemetery. Three bands of the same type were found in Crkvina near Pakošтана, in a tomb that contained 13 burials in four layers. The oldest layer was dated to the first half of the 15th century, and the younger to the second half of the same century, using the ¹⁴C dating method.¹⁴⁰ Undecorated bands with D-shaped section, made of bronze or copper and silver, are somewhat rarer.¹⁴¹ Several burials yielded bands made of densely wrapped thin copper wire, with loops at ends (T. 3: 4).¹⁴² Bands with strip-shaped and concave sections are less common, as well as the ones with longitudinal ribs (T. 3: 5,6).¹⁴³ Rings are also found in this horizon. Two silver specimens with

139 Pronađene su u 17 ukopa: 20, 23, 46, 67, 75, 76, 82, 128, 247, 248, 259, 289, 293, 320, 381, 382, 419.

140 A. Uglešić, K. Gusar 2017, 78, 80, bilj. 2, sl. 3.

141 Brončane ili bakrene potječu iz ukopa: 16, 23, 24, 67, 75, 76, 152, 255, 256, 353, 356. Srebrne iz ukopa: 51, 226, 349, 419.

142 Ukopi: 256, 314, 359, 379, 389.

143 U tip trakastog konkavnog presjeka ubrojene su vitice iz ukopa 10, 75 i 76, a u tip s uzdužnim rebrima, 22, 46, 152.

144 Ukopi: 35, 78. Slični su prstenju iz ukopa 178, 195, 307 i 484 horizonta 1, ali znatno lošije izrade i nezgrapnih proporcija u usporedbi s njima.

145 Ukopi: 248, 298.

146 Ukopi: 46, 75, 82, 296, 298, 336, 416, 417. Ovaj tip prstena pronađen je na Opatovini, u grobu koji je na temelju stratigrafije datiran u posljednju trećinu 15. ili na prijelaz 15. u 16. stoljeće. Vidi Ž. Demo 2007, 70.

147 Ukopi: 290, 361, 372 i 418.

148 Ukopi: 148, 334, 359, 379 i 389.

149 Ukopi: 93, 359, 356, 16, 328. Prsten s dvije ćelije za ukrasno zrno pronađen je u Opatovini u grobu datiranom u prvu polovinu ili drugu trećinu 15. stoljeća. Vidi Ž. Demo 2007, 79.

136 Possible recognition of socially prominent individuals on the basis of finds of golden rings, valuable belts and spurs, was indicated in the analysis of the cemetery of the church of the Holy Saviour. See N. Jakšić 1996, 160–161.

137 Child's burial 82 contained seven bands and one ring, adult burial 75 had six bands, one ring and one thimble on the fingers, adult burial 76 and child's burial 320 had six bands each, adult burials 359 and 389 three bands and two rings, burials 10 and 44 five bands each. Four bands, that is bands and a ring were found in burials: 23, 33, 83, 207, 248, 328, 316, 374, 375 and 420. Burials with two and three bands are exceptionally numerous.

138 They were found in 43 burials of this horizon: 6, 10, 12, 16, 24, 26, 33, 44, 47, 52, 53, 56, 65, 69, 74, 75, 76, 77, 82, 83, 90, 93, 152, 207, 266, 293, 298, 316, 320, 328, 334, 359, 373, 374, 377, 379, 381, 389, 416, 417, 420, 471, 480.

139 They were found in 17 burials: 20, 23, 46, 67, 75, 76, 82, 128, 247, 248, 259, 289, 293, 320, 381, 382, 419.

140 A. Uglešić, K. Gusar 2017, 78, 80, note 2, fig. 3.

141 Bronze or copper specimens were found in burials: 16, 23, 24, 67, 75, 76, 152, 255, 256, 353, 356. Silver bands from burials: 51, 226, 349, 419.

142 Burials: 256, 314, 359, 379, 389.

143 Type with strip-shaped concave section comprises bands from burials 10, 75 and 76, and type with longitudinal ribs refers to burials 22, 46, 152.

Od nakita u ovom se horizontu i dalje javljaju trake istkane od niti obloženih limom.¹⁵⁰ Novost u odnosu na prethodne horizonte predstavlja pojava perlica od staklene paste i kosti.¹⁵¹ Specifične su za ovaj horizont i aplikacije od liještenog brončanog lima koje su ukrašavale glave pokojnika, uglavnom djece (T. 3: 14).¹⁵²

Od dijelova nošnje u horizontu 3 najbrojnija su puceta. Rađena su od srebra i bronce, sa kratkim i dugim petljama i ukrašena pseudogranulacijom na dnu (T. 3: 15, 16).¹⁵³ Kao i u prethodnom horizontu, i u ovom su zastupljene obujmice.¹⁵⁴ Pojasne kopče iznimno su rijetke.¹⁵⁵ Od novih oblika u ovom se horizontu pojavljuju takozvane omega-spone, načinjene od brončane žice (T. 3: 18).¹⁵⁶ Dijelovima nošnje možda pripadaju i sitne željezne i brončane alke, kakve također nisu primijećene u ukopima starijih horizonata.¹⁵⁷

Osim nakita i dijelova nošnje, u ukopima pripisanim horizontu 3 pronađen je jedan nož i škare.¹⁵⁸

Glavna su obilježja horizonta 3 masovna pojava vitica i prstenja od bronce i bakra, pojava aplikacija (dijadema) od liještenog brončanog lima i pojava omega-sponica. Također, uočljiva je i učestalija pojava pseudogranuliranih puceta.

Odnos položaja ruku i određenih oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje

U prethodnom poglavlju, na temelju analize zastupljenosti po pojedinim horizontima, na krbavskom je groblju utvrđena kronološka uvjetovanost položaja ruku pokojnika. Na sličan način napravljena je analiza suodnosa položaja ruku i pojedinih oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje (Sl. 9). Među ukopima koji su sadržavali trojagodne naušnice, koje se vežu isključivo za prvi horizont, 67 % imalo je ispružene ruke.¹⁵⁹ Veći postotak ispruženih ruku, odnosno 82 %, utvrđen je kod ukopa koji su sadržavali okrugle jednodijelne željezne i brončane pojasne kopče, koje se također ne javljaju u mlađim horizontima.¹⁶⁰ Prstenje priloženo prvom

bezel soldered on the strip-shaped hoop are similar to rings from horizon 1 (T. 3: 7).¹⁴⁴ Two massive cast rings with high bezel for inset tapering to the top are also made of silver (T. 3: 8). Comparisons for these examples cannot be found in the older horizons.¹⁴⁵ As opposed to the older horizons, bronze rings made by casting are much more common in this horizon, in addition to silver specimens. They can be divided into three types. The most numerous type is similar to the previously mentioned silver rings, only not as massive (T. 3: 9).¹⁴⁶ Rings with low oval bezel for setting are somewhat rarer (T. 3: 10).¹⁴⁷ Similar form is found on signet rings that have an engraved depiction on the oval bezel instead of an inlay setting (T. 3: 11).¹⁴⁸ In addition to the mentioned common types of rings in this horizon, two rings with clasped hands were recorded, one made of silver (T. 3: 12), the other one of bronze, and one example of each of the following types: ring with two bezels (T. 3: 13), ring with an inscription on the hoop and band with an inscription.¹⁴⁹ Out of all mentioned bands and rings, only bands with strip-shaped section, decorated with two channels, appear earlier than horizon 3, though in exceptionally small number.

Jewelry finds in this horizon include bands woven from threads wrapped in sheet metal.¹⁵⁰ Presence of beads made of glass paste and bone is a novelty in relation to previous horizons.¹⁵¹ Appliqués of pressed bronze sheet are another specific find from this horizon. They were used to decorate heads of the deceased, mostly children (T. 3: 14).¹⁵²

Buttons are most numerous pieces of attire in horizon 3. They were made of silver and bronze, pseudo-granulated, with short and long loops (T. 3: 15, 16).¹⁵³ Lace chapes are found in this horizon as well.¹⁵⁴ Belt buckles are exceptionally rare.¹⁵⁵ New forms in this horizon are hook and eye fasteners, made of bronze wire (T. 3: 18).¹⁵⁶ Costume elements

150 Ukopi: 257, 273, 275, 301, 353, 356.

151 Po jedan je primjerak pronađen uz dva odrasla i jedan dječji ukop: 48, 285, 471.

152 Ukopi: 82, 142, 371, 374.

153 Ukopi: 76, 286, 290, 361, 364, 370, 372, 373. Uz ovaj najbrojniji oblik zabilježena su i kuglasta puceta u ukopu 146 te kuglasta puceta sa spljoštenim krajem u ukopu 76 (T. 3: 17).

154 Ukopi: 95, 248, 371, 388.

155 Pravokutna kopča od željeza pronađena je kod zdjelice ukopa 34. Uz ukope 28, 360 i 416 pronađene su kopče koje prema dokumentaciji ne pripadaju ukopima.

156 Ukopi: 21, 75, 322, 330, 358. U ukopu 322 uz njih je pronađen prerezani naprstak koji je iskorišten kao prsten. U ukopu 75 uz njih su pronađene vitice, prsten i naprstak.

157 Ukopi 93 i 205.

158 Nož je pronađen uz ukop 12 koji je sadržavao i dvije vitice trakastog presjeka s kanelurama, a škare uz ukop 423. Sličan nož potječe iz groba 13 iz Dugopolja. Vidi H. Gjurašin 2010, 118, 127. Slične, kasnorednojvekovne škare pronađene su u Starim Perkovicima. Usp. A. Janeš, I. Hirschler Marić, A. Azinović Bebek 2017, 355, 372, kat. br. 181, T. 9: 181.

159 Položaj je utvrđen za 9 od 14 ukopa. Ispružene ruke zabilježene su kod 6, a prekrizene kod 3.

160 Položaj je utvrđen kod 11 ukopa, 7 s brončanim i 4 sa željeznim kopčama. Svi ukopi sa željeznim kopčama imali su ispružene ruke, a među ukopima s brončanim kopčama njih 5.

144 Burials: 35, 78. They are similar to the rings from burials 178, 195, 307 and 484 of horizon 1, but exhibiting much poorer craftsmanship and awkward proportions.

145 Burials: 248, 298.

146 Burials: 46, 75, 82, 296, 298, 336, 416, 417. This type of ring was found at Opatovina in a grave that was dated on the basis of stratigraphy to the last third of the 15th century or the turn of the 16th century. See Ž. Demo 2007, 70.

147 Burials: 290, 361, 372 and 418.

148 Burials: 148, 334, 359, 379 and 389.

149 Burials: 93, 359, 356, 16, 328. A ring with two bezels was found in Opatovina in a grave dated to the first half or second third of the 15th century. See Ž. Demo 2007, 79.

150 Burials: 257, 273, 275, 301, 353, 356.

151 One example was found in two adult burials and one child's burial respectively: 48, 285, 471.

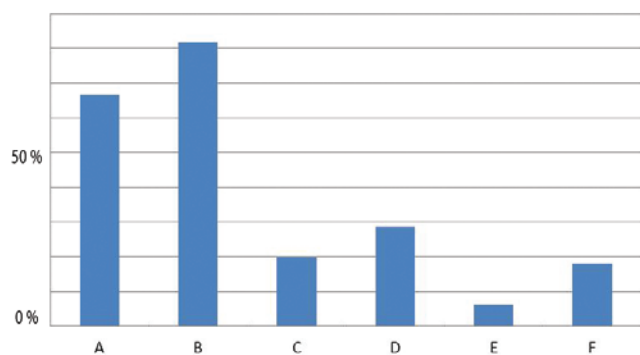
152 Burials: 82, 142, 371, 374.

153 Burials: 76, 286, 290, 361, 364, 370, 372, 373. Alongside this most numerous form, globular buttons were recorded in burial 146, as well as globular buttons with flattened end, in burial 76 (T. 3: 17).

154 Burials: 95, 248, 371, 388.

155 Rectangular iron buckle was found next to the pelvis of burial 34. Buckles were found next to burials 28, 360 and 416, but judging from documentation they did not belong to burials.

156 Burials: 21, 75, 322, 330, 358. In burial 322, a cut thimble used as a ring was found with them. Bands, a ring and a thimble were found with them in burial 75.



- A – trojagodne naušnice / three-beaded earrings (9)
 B – jednostjelne pojasne kopče kružnog oblika / circular belt buckles (11)
 C – jednostjelne gljivaste i dvodjelne pojasne kopče / mushroom-shaped and double-loop belt buckles (10)
 D – obujmice / lace chapes (7)
 E – vitice „D“ presjeka s kanelurama / bands with D-shaped section decorated with channels (16)
 F – vitice trakastog presjeka s dvije kanelure / bands with strip-shaped section decorated with two parallel channels (28)

Slika 9. Grafički prikaz zastupljenosti ukopa s ispruženim rukama prema tipovima nalaza (uz svaki tip nalaza naveden je i broj koji označava veličinu uzorka)

Figure 9. Graphic representation of the number of burials with extended arms with regard to types of finds (the number denoting the size of the sample is written next to each find type)

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

horizontu pronađeno je uz ukope s ispruženim rukama u 29 % slučajeva.¹⁶¹ Dvodijelne pojasne kopče i jednostjelne gljivaste kopče u 20 % slučajeva vezane su za ukope s ispruženim rukama.¹⁶² Obujmice, koje su karakteristične za horizonte 2 i 3, pronađene su u 29 % slučajeva uz ukope s ispruženim rukama.¹⁶³ Vitice trakasta presjeka, s dvije kanelure, koje se iznimno rijetko susreću u horizontima 1 i 2, dok su jako učestale u horizontu 3, vezane su za ukope s ispruženim rukama u 18 % slučajeva.¹⁶⁴ Vitice „D“ presjeka, ukrašene plitkim kanelurama, koje su vezane samo za treći horizont, samo u 6 % primjera bile su uz pokojnike s ispruženim rukama.¹⁶⁵

Primjetne razlike u načinu polaganja ruku pokojnika koje prate oblici nakita i nošnje karakteristični za prvi i nasuprot njemu za drugi i treći horizont, ukazuju na to da podjela nakita po horizontima reflektira stvarne kronološke odnose. Značajnije odstupanje od očekivanog utvrđeno je za prstenje prvog horizonta. S obzirom na to da je riječ o malom uzorku, možemo tek pretpostaviti da se na krbavskom

might comprise small iron and bronze rings, which have not been noticed in the older horizons.¹⁵⁷

Except for jewelry and dress accessories, a knife and scissors were found in burials attributed to horizon 3.¹⁵⁸

Main characteristics of horizon 3 are abundance of bands and rings of bronze and copper, presence of appliques (diadems) of pressed bronze sheet and appearance of hook and eye fasteners. Pseudo-granulated buttons became more common.

Relation of the arm position to certain jewelry forms and dress accessories

In the previous chapter, chronological conditionality of arm placement in burials was determined in the cemetery in Krbava on the basis of an analysis of its characteristics in separate horizons. In a similar way we undertook an analysis of correlation of arm positions and certain forms of jewelry and costume elements (Fig. 9). Among the burials that contained three-beaded earrings that are associated exclusively with the first horizon, 67 % had extended arms.¹⁵⁹ Higher percentage (82 %) of extended arms was determined in burials that included round single-part iron and bronze belt buckles which are also not represented in the younger horizons.¹⁶⁰ Rings attributed to the first horizon were found in burials with extended arms in 29 % of cases.¹⁶¹ Two-part belt buckles and single-part mushroom-shaped frame buckles in 20 % of cases are associated with burials with extended arms.¹⁶² Lace chapes characteristic of horizons 2 and 3, were found in 29 % cases with burials with extended arms.¹⁶³ Bands with strip-shaped section, decorated with two channels, that are exceptionally rare in horizons 1 and 2, and very common in horizon 3, are related to burials with extended arms in 18 % of cases.¹⁶⁴ Bands with D-shaped section decorated with shallow channels that are found only in the third horizon, were found next to the deceased with extended arms in only 6 % of cases.¹⁶⁵

Evident differences in the arm placement in burials that are accompanied by jewelry forms and dress accessories characteristic of the first horizon in comparison

157 Burials 93 and 205.

158 The knife was found with burial 12 that contained two bands with strip-shaped section, decorated with channels, and scissors with burial 423. Similar knife was found in grave 13 from Dugopolje. See H. Gjurašin 2010, 118, 127. Similar late medieval scissors were found in Stari Perkovci. Cf. A. Janeš, I. Hirschler Marić, A. Azinović Bebek 2017, 355, 372, cat. no. 181, T. 9: 181.

159 Arm position was determined for 9 out of 14 burials. Extended arms were recorded in 6, and crossed arms in 3 cases.

160 Arm position was determined for 11 burials, 7 with bronze and 4 with iron buckles. All burials with iron buckles had extended arms, as well as 5 burials with bronze buckles.

161 Arm position was determined for 7 burials, two of which had extended arms, and 5 crossed.

162 Two-part buckles are attributed to horizon 2, and mushroom-shaped ones to horizons 1 and 2. Arm position was determined for 10 burials that contained these types of buckles.

163 Out of 7 burials, 2 were with extended arms.

164 Out of 28 burials, 5 were with extended arms.

165 Out of 16 burials, 1 was with extended arms.

161 Položaj je utvrđen za 7 ukopa, od kojih su 2 imala ispružene, a 5 prekržiene ruke.

162 Dvodijelne se pripisuju horizontu 2, a gljivaste horizontima 1 i 2. Položaj ruku utvrđen je kod 10 ukopa koji su sadržavali ove tipove kopči.

163 Od 7 ukopa 2 su imala ispružene ruke.

164 Od ukupno 28 ukopa, 5 je bilo s ispruženim rukama.

165 Od ukupno 16 ukopa, 1 je bio s ispruženim rukama.

Grave	Radiocarbon Age BP	% area enclosed 68.3 (1 sigma)/ cal AD age	ranges relative area under probability distribution	% area enclosed 95.4 (2 sigma)/ cal AD age	ranges relative area under probability distribution
443	758 +/- 26	1252-1279	1.000	1224-1282	1.000
452	701 +/- 27	1273-1294	1.000	1263-1304 1365-1384	0.864 0.136
431	683 +/- 29	1278-1300 1369-1380	0.743 0.257	1269-1314 1357-1388	0.668 0.332
453	674 +/- 28	1281-1302 1367-1382	0.629 0.371	1274-1316 1354-1389	0.595 0.405
345	624 +/- 28	1298-1320 1349-1372 1377-1391	0.389 0.382 0.229	1291-1333 1336-1398	0.395 0.605
440	531 +/- 26	1401-1429	1.000	1323-1346 1393-1437	0.157 0.843
266	490 +/- 34	1416-1440	1.000	1332-1337 1397-1454	0.009 0.991
245	488 +/- 36	1416-1442	1.000	1329-1340 1396-1458	0.019 0.981
264	486 +/- 41	1413-1444	1.000	1324-1345 1393-1471	0.046 0.954
260	466 +/- 35	1423-1448	1.000	1406-1475	1.000
33	406 +/- 28	1443-1486 1604-1606	0.974 0.026	1434-1520 1592-1619	0.873 0.127
15	391 +/- 27	1447-1493 1602-1614	0.841 0.159	1441-1522 1574-1625	0.770 0.230
147	360 +/- 36	1466-1522 1575-1626	0.538 0.462	1450-1530 1538-1635	0.485 0.515
236/37	310 +/- 27	1521-1577 1583-1591 1622-1642	0.688 0.069 0.243	1490-1602 1612-1648	0.764 0.236

Slika 10. Tablica s prikazom ¹⁴C datuma

Figure 10. ¹⁴C dates table

priređio / prepared by: J. Vučić

groblju to prstenje pojavljuje u mlađoj fazi prvog horizonta. Isto možemo pretpostaviti i za trojagodne naušnice tipa D i F, uz koje su dokumentirani nalazi prstenja.

RELATIVNO KRONOLOŠKI POKAZATELJI KRBAVSKOG U USPOREDBI S DRUGIM GROBLJIMA

U ovom poglavlju relativna kronologija nakita i dijelova nošnje krbavskog groblja usporedit će se s kronološkim pokazateljima groblja Maljkovo, Sv. Spas, Begovača i Grborezi. Ta su groblja izabrana zbog dostatne istraženosti i cjelovite objave, kao i zbog toga što datiraju u kasni srednji vijek ili je kasnosrednjovjekovni sloj na njima jasno izdvojen. Usporedbom će se pokušati razlučiti u kojoj su mjeri pokazatelji krbavskog groblja odraz opće kronologije, a u kojoj su mjeri odraz regionalnih specifičnosti.

Na groblju u selu Maljkovo istraženo je 140 grobova.¹⁶⁶ Po sastavu nalaza, to je groblje nalik krbavskom. Ipak, treba

166 D. Jelovina 1960.

with the second and third horizon, indicate that classification of jewelry in horizons reflects actual chronological relations. More significant deviation from the expected was found in case of the first horizon rings. Since the sample is small, we can only assume that these rings appeared in the Krbava cemetery only in the younger phase of the first horizon. We can make the same assumption for three-beaded earrings, types D and F, that were found with the rings.

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL INDICATORS FOR THE KRBAVA CEMETERY IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CEMETERIES

In this chapter relative chronology of the jewelry and dress accessories from the cemetery in Krbava will be compared to chronological indicators of cemeteries Maljkovo, Holy Saviour, Begovača and Grborezi. These cemeteries have been selected because of their satisfying state of exploration and complete publication as well as their dating to the Late Middle Ages or clearly differentiated late medieval layer. Comparison will be used in an attempt of determining to what extent are indicators from the cemetery in Krbava reflection of general chronology, and how much they reflect regional specificities.

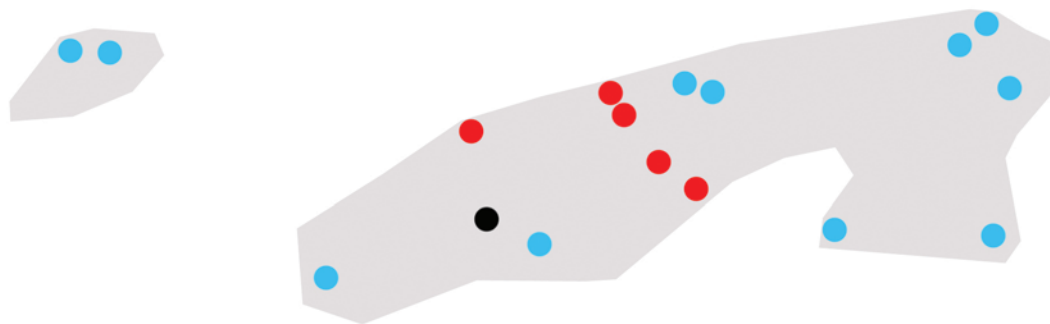
One hundred and forty graves were excavated at the cemetery in the village of Maljkovo.¹⁶⁶ This cemetery is similar to the one in Krbava with regard to the repertory of finds. It is worth mentioning that belt buckles were not found at this cemetery as opposed to the one in Krbava, but there were three-beaded earrings with pear-shaped pendant. At the cemetery in Maljkovo younger graves were not dug over the older ones which is why direct indicators of chronological relations are lacking. On the basis of analysis of horizontal stratigraphy and manner of grave construction, two horizons of burying were recognized (Fig. 12).¹⁶⁷ The older horizon is characterized by the finds of three-beaded earrings, while in the younger horizon bronze and copper bands are more numerous as well as beads and buttons.¹⁶⁸ Relative chronological relation of jewelry forms and dress accessories from the cemetery in Maljkovo corresponds to the one at the Krbava cemetery.

Over a thousand graves were excavated at the cemetery near the church of the Holy Saviour in Vrh Rika, that is older

166 D. Jelovina 1960.

167 N. Jakšić 1978, 91, 93, fig. 1. In the central part of the necropolis were earthen graves, in which finds of three-beaded earring were documented. These graves were regarded as older while graves made of stone, located east and west of the central part of necropolis, that contained coin finds, were regarded as younger. In the contact zone of these two groups of graves was a grave that contained three-beaded earrings with pear-shaped pendant.

168 Three-beaded earrings were found in graves: 68, 71, 74, 75 and 91. Bronze rings are represented with bands with strip-shaped section decorated with two channels, bands with concave section and common undecorated bands. They were found in graves: 7, 10, 16, 49, 62, 63, 89, 125, 132, 136. Cf. D. Jelovina 1960, 257–264.



- vitica s dvije kanelure / bands with two channels
- trojagodne naušnice / three-beaded earrings

Slika 11. Raspored nalaza trojagodnih naušnica i vitica s dvije kanelure na groblju u selu Maljkovo
Figure 11. Distribution of the finds of three-beaded earrings and bands with two channels at the cemetery in the village of Maljkovo

izradio / made by: J. Vučić

istaknuti da na njemu, za razliku od krbavskog, nisu dokumentirane pojasne kopče, a javlja se trojagodna naušnica s kruškolikim privjeskom. Na groblju u Maljkovu mlađi grobovi nisu ukapani preko starijih, pa izostaju neposredni pokazatelji kronoloških odnosa. Na temelju analize horizontalne stratigrafije i načina izrade grobova, prepoznata su dva vremenska horizonta ukapanja (Sl. 11).¹⁶⁷ Stariji horizont karakteriziraju nalazi trojagodnih naušnica, dok se u mlađem horizontu ukopa u većem broju javljaju brončane i bakrene vitice, perlice i puceta.¹⁶⁸ Relativno kronološki odnos oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje s groblja u Maljkovu podudara se s onim na krbavskom groblju.

Na groblju kod crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici, koje je po postanku starije od krbavskog, istraženo je više od 1000 grobova.¹⁶⁹ Kasni srednjovjekovni sloj karakteriziraju oblici nakita i nošnje kakvi se javljaju na krbavskom groblju, s time da se ovdje pojavljuju i trojagodne naušnice s kruškolikim privjeskom. Na groblju kod Sv. Spasa, kao i u Maljkovu, izostaju neposredni stratigrafski pokazatelji kronoloških odnosa među grobovima. Na temelju horizontalne stratigrafije prepoznate su vremenski izdvojene faze kasnog srednjovjekovnog sloja (Sl. 12). Raniju fazu karakteriziraju nalazi trojagodnih naušnica, prstenje s kasetama u kojima je umetnuto oko od staklene paste i kasnosrednjovjekovne ostruge. Za mlađu fazu karakteristična je pojava velikog broja vitica i

than the Krbava cemetery.¹⁶⁹ Late medieval layer is characterized by jewelry forms and costume elements that are represented at the cemetery in Krbava, but here we also have three-beaded earrings with pear-shaped pendant. At the cemetery at Holy Saviour, as in Maljkovo, direct stratigraphic evidence of chronological relations between the graves are missing. Chronologically separate phases of the late medieval layer were recognized on the basis of horizontal stratigraphy (Fig. 12) The earlier phase is characterized by the finds of three-beaded earrings, rings with bezels with inserted eye of glass paste and late medieval spurs. The younger phase is characterized by a great number of bands and rings with clasped hands and appliqués of pressed metal sheet.¹⁷⁰ Accordingly, situation at the cemetery at Holy Saviour is comparable to the one at the cemetery in Krbava.

Six hundred and four graves were excavated at the Begovača cemetery.¹⁷¹ Although this cemetery has an earlier phase, its late medieval horizon was clearly recognizable.¹⁷² Mapping of three-beaded earrings and bands with two channels revealed their separate distribution (Fig. 13) suggesting that they characterize two different late medieval horizons. This distribution finds its confirmation in relation of graves 517 and 518, the former containing a band with two channels, and the latter a pair of three-beaded earrings. Namely grave 517 that is attributed to the younger layer, partly overlies grave 518.¹⁷³

At the Grborezi cemetery 266 graves were excavated. As in Maljkovo and at Holy Saviour recognition of horizons was

167 N. Jakšić 1978, 91, 93, sl. 1. Zemljani grobovi locirani u centralnom dijelu nekropole, u kojima su dokumentirani nalazi trojagodnih naušnica, ocijenjeni su starijima, dok su grobovi izrađeni od kamena, locirani istočno i zapadno od centralnog dijela nekropole, koji su sadržavali nalaze novca, ocijenjeni mlađima. U kontaktnoj zoni tih dviju grupa grobova nalazio se grob s trojagodnim naušnicama s kruškolikim privjeskom.

168 Trojagodne naušnice pronađene su u grobovima: 68, 71, 74, 75 i 91. Brončano prstenje predstavljeno je viticama trakastog presjeka s dvije kanelure, viticama konkavna presjeka i običnim neukrašenim viticama. Pronađeno je u grobovima: 7, 10, 16, 49, 62, 63, 89, 125, 132, 136. Usp. D. Jelovina 1960, 257–264.

169 M. Petrinec 1996; N. Jakšić 1996.

169 M. Petrinec 1996; N. Jakšić 1996.

170 N. Jakšić 1996, 147–151.

171 See D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1981.

172 See N. Jakšić 1990. The author refers to the late medieval horizon as the Gothic layer.

173 See D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1981, 72–73.

prstenja sa znakom rukovanja i aplike od tiještenog lima.¹⁷⁰ Prema tome, i na groblju kod Sv. Spasa nalazimo situaciju usporedivu s onom na krbavskom groblju.

Na groblju Begovača istražena su 604 groba.¹⁷¹ Iako je groblje starijeg postanka, kasnosrednjovjekovni horizont na njemu jasno je prepoznat i izdvojen.¹⁷² Kartiranjem trojagodnih naušnica i vitica s dvije kanelure uočava se njihov izdvojen raspored (Sl. 13.) što sugerira da obilježavaju dva različita kasnosrednjovjekovna horizonta. Taj raspored potvrdu ima i u odnosu groba 517, u kojem je pronađena vitica s dvije kanelure, i groba 518, u kojem je pronađen par trojagodnih naušnica. Naime grob 517, koji autori svrstavaju u mlađi sloj, dijelom leži preko groba 518.¹⁷³

Na groblju Grborezi istraženo je 266 grobova. Kao u Maljkovu i kod Sv. Spasa, i tamo je prepoznavanje horizonata bilo moguće jedino na temelju horizontalne stratigrafije i načina izrade grobova.¹⁷⁴ Grobovi bez arhitekture, s trojagodnim naušnicama, nalaze se u centralnom dijelu groblja, dok se grobovi s arhitekturom, u kojima se češće pronalazi novac i izostaju trojagodne naušnice, učestalije nalaze uz rubni dio.¹⁷⁵ Slično kao u Krbavi, i u Grborezima se u grobovima mlađe faze, u kojima izostaju trojagodne naušnice, javljaju aplike od tiještenog lima i omega-spone. Iz priloženog su jasno vidljive podudarnosti u relativno kronološkim odnosima oblika nakita i dijelova nošnje na tim grobljima. Na razliku u vremenu intenzivnog korištenja brončanih vitica i trojagodnih naušnica upućuje i nekropola pod Borinovcem u Trilju.¹⁷⁶

Ovom prilikom treba ukazati i na određene razlike među grobljima. Na krbavskom groblju i Begovači izostaju trojagodne naušnice sa srednjim kruškolikim privjeskom, dok se kod Sv. Spasa javljaju iznimno rijetko.¹⁷⁷ U Grborezima, Maljkovu i Dugopolju javljaju se znatno učestalije.¹⁷⁸ Te razlike očito nisu uvjetovane kronologijom, već prije regionalnim posebnostima ili različitim populacijama s obzirom na to da se prva tri

possible only on the basis of horizontal stratigraphy and manner of grave construction.¹⁷⁴ Bare graves, without any construction elements, containing three-beaded earrings are located in the central part of the cemetery, while graves with construction elements that more often yield coins but not three-beaded earrings can be found next to the peripheral part.¹⁷⁵ Appliqués of pressed sheet metal and hook and eye fasteners are found in the younger phase graves in both Grborezi and Krbava while three-beaded earrings are missing. All of the aforementioned reveals correspondences in relative chronological relations of jewelry forms and costume elements at these cemeteries. Necropolis under Borinovac in Trilj also suggests difference in dating the intense usage of bronze bands and three-beaded earrings.¹⁷⁶

There are also some differences between the cemeteries. Three-beaded earrings with pear-shaped pendant are missing at the cemeteries in Krbava and Begovača while they are exceptionally rare at Holy Saviour.¹⁷⁷ They are much more common in Grborezi, Maljkovo and Dugopolje.¹⁷⁸ These differences are evidently not related to chronology, but rather to regional specificities or different populations, since the first three cemeteries are located next to the churches, and the remaining three are not.¹⁷⁹ Regional differences might explain the lack of two-part symmetrical belt buckles at the cemetery at Holy Saviour and Grborezi, and consequential longer lasting of round single-part buckles that are recorded in the younger phase graves at these cemeteries.¹⁸⁰ Lack of bronze bands in the younger phase of the Grborezi cemetery is another regional specificity as this type of artifacts was recorded at the cemeteries in Krbava, Maljkovo, Holy Saviour and Begovača.

170 N. Jakšić 1996, 147–151.

171 D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1981.

172 N. Jakšić 1990. Autor kasnosrednjovjekovni horizont naziva gotičkim slojem.

173 D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1981, 72–73.

174 Prilikom objave groblja Š. Bešlagić istaknuo je da ni jedan grob s trojagodnim naušnicama nije bio s kamenim okvirom. Vidi Š. Bešlagić 1964, 69–70.

175 N. Jakšić 1978, 91, 93, sl. 2. U kontaktnoj zoni ove dvije grupe grobova, u grobovima s arhitekturom i bez nje, javljaju se trojagodne naušnice s kruškolikim privjeskom.

176 Na ovoj nekropoli pronađene su vitice s dvije kanelure, a izostaju trojagodne naušnice. Autor drži da je ta situacija odraz vremena u kojem se nekropola koristi i datira ju u drugu polovinu 15. i početak 16. stoljeća. Vidi A. Milošević 1982, 195–196, 198, sl. 7: 2, 9, 10, 12.

177 Na krbavskom groblju zabilježeno je 14, a na Begovači 19 grobova s trojagodnim naušnicama, dok kruškolike izostaju. Kod Sv. Spasa zabilježeno je 67 grobova s trojagodnim i dva s kruškolikim naušnicama.

178 U Grborezima 19 je grobova sadržavalo trojagodne, a 6 naušnice s kruškolikom srednjom jagodom, dok je na grobljima Maljkovo i Dugopolje pronađeno po 5 grobova s trojagodnim i po 1 s naušnicama s kruškolikom srednjom jagodom.

174 When the cemetery was published, Š. Bešlagić emphasized that none of the graves with three-beaded earrings had a stone framework. See Š. Bešlagić 1964, 69–70.

175 N. Jakšić 1978, 91, 93, fig. 2. In the contact zone of these two groups of graves, three-beaded earrings with pear-shaped pendant are found in graves with and without construction elements.

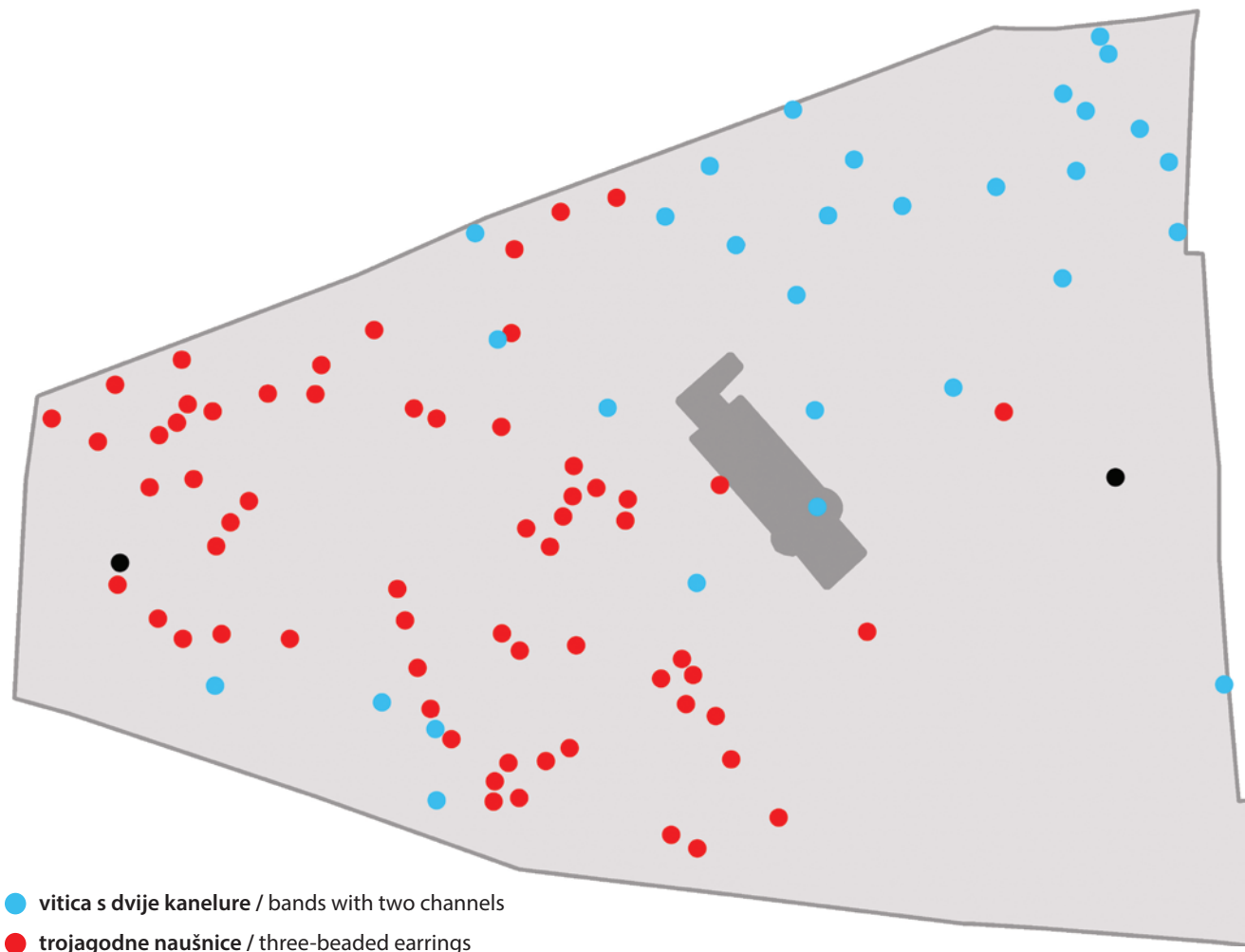
176 This necropolis produced bands with two channels, but three-beaded earrings are missing. The author believes that this situation is a reflection of the period when the necropolis was used and dates it to the second half of the 15th and early 16th century. See A. Milošević 1982, 195–196, 198, fig. 7: 2, 9, 10 and 12.

177 At the Krbava cemetery three-beaded earrings were recorded in 14 graves, in Begovača in 19 graves while pear-shaped examples are missing. At Holy Saviour 67 graves contained three-beaded earrings and two yielded pear-shaped examples.

178 In Grborezi 19 graves contained three-beaded earrings, and 6 graves had earrings with pear-shaped central bead. Cemeteries in Maljkovo and Dugopolje yielded 5 graves with three-beaded earrings and one grave with pear-shaped central bead, respectively.

179 V. Sokol claimed that this type was present in the regions of the Krka river, upper reaches of Cetina and in Livanjsko Polje. Their limited dispersion was associated with the Ottoman arrival, when deeper hinterland became inaccessible. He dated this type from the last third of the 14th to after mid-15th century. See V. Sokol 2006, 297–298.

180 Single-part round buckles ceased to be used when two-part buckles appeared at the Krbava cemetery. This situation is comparable to the cemetery at Opatovina, where two-part buckles were found, and single-part ones are missing. Cf. Ž. Demo 2007, 79–84.



Slika 12. Raspored nalaza trojagodnih naušnica i vitica s dvije kanelure na groblju kod crkve Sv. Spasa na Vrh Rici

Figure 12. Distribution of the finds of three-beaded earrings and bands with two channels at the cemetery near the church of the Holy Saviour in Vrh Rika

izradio / made by: J. Vučić

groblja nalaze uz crkve, a ostala tri ne.¹⁷⁹ Regionalnim razlikama možda se može pripisati i izostanak dvostrukih simetričnih pojasnih kopči na groblju kod Sv. Spasa i Grborezima te sukladno tome i duže trajanje okruglih jednodijelnih kopči koje se na tim grobljima bilježe i u grobovima mlađe faze.¹⁸⁰ Regionalnu specifičnost predstavlja i izostanak brončanih vitica u mlađoj fazi groblja Grborezi, koje su zabilježene na krbavskom groblju, Maljkovu, Sv. Spasu i Begovači.

179 V. Sokol ukazao je na to da se ovaj tip naušnica javlja u području rijeke Krke, gornjeg toka Cetine i u Livanjskom polju. Njihovu usku disperziju dovodi u vezu s dolaskom Turaka, zbog čije pojave dublja unutrašnjost više nije dostupna. Ovaj tip on datira od posljednje trećine 14. do iza polovine 15. stoljeća. Vidi V. Sokol 2006, 297–298.

180 Na krbavskom groblju istovremeno s pojavom dvodijelnih kopči prestaju se koristiti jednodijelne okrugle. Ova je situacija usporediva s onom groblja na Opatovini, na kojem su pronađene dvodijelne kopče, a izostaju jednodijelne okrugle. Usp. Ž. Demo 2007, 79–84.

DATING OF THREE-BEADED EARRINGS

One of the important questions in this paper is determining the chronological framework of building the cathedral in Krbava, that is the end of the first burial horizon at the Krbava cemetery. The available information suggests period between the years 1340 and 1389. Out of all forms of late medieval jewelry and dress accessories that appear only in the first horizon of the cemetery in Krbava, three-beaded earrings have been discussed most extensively in scholarly literature. In this chapter we will try to determine the chronological framework of more common presence of burials containing three-beaded earrings on the basis of insights provided by the Krbava cemetery and information available in scholarly literature. This would also provide a firm foothold for more precise dating of the end of the first burials horizon at the Krbava cemetery.

DATIRANJE TROJAGODNIH NAUŠNICA

Među važnijim je pitanjima u ovom radu utvrđivanje vremena izgradnje krbavske katedrale, odnosno završetka prvog horizonta ukopa na krbavskom groblju. Raspoloživi podatci ukazuju na razdoblje između 1340. i 1389. godine. Od svih oblika kasnosrednjovjekovnog nakita i dijelova nošnje, koji se javljaju isključivo u prvom horizontu krbavskog groblja, u znanstvenoj literaturi najtemeljitiše su obrađene trojagodne naušnice. U ovom se poglavlju na temelju spoznaja koje nudi krbavsko groblje i podataka dostupnih u literaturi pokušava utvrditi vremenski okvir intenzivnije pojave ukopa s trojagodnim naušnicama. Time bi se dobio i čvršći oslonac za preciznije datiranje završetka prvog horizonta ukopa na krbavskom groblju.

Posljednji rad u kojem su te naušnice temeljito vrednovane načinio je N. Jakšić prilikom obrade groblja otkrivenog kod crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici.¹⁸¹ Budući da je riječ o najrecentnijem konkretnom radu, ovdje ćemo iznijeti ukratko njegove rezultate i osnove na kojima počivaju. Temeljito analizom horizontalne stratigrafije N. Jakšić rekonstruirao je redoslijed širenja groblja. Na temelju nalaza novca, južno je proširenje datirao do početka 15. stoljeća, a sjeveroistočno i sjeverno u prvu, odnosno drugu polovinu 15. stoljeća. Kartiranjem grobova s trojagodnim naušnicama utvrdio je da se 68 njih nalazi unutar južnog proširenja, a 1 unutar sjeveroistočnog. Budući da su na sjeveroistočnom proširenju dokumentirani nalazi prstenja s ulošcima, tkanja od posrebranih niti i alke i kopče pojasa, za koje drži da čine jedinstven horizont s trojagodnim naušnicama, rijetku pojavu trojagodnih naušnica na tom dijelu pripisao je slabijoj istraživosti. Zaključio je da trojagodne naušnice obilježavaju prostor južnog i sjeveroistočnog proširenja i na temelju numizmatičkih nalaza na tim površinama datirao je njihovu pojavu na groblju kod crkve Sv. Spasa od sredine 14. do sredine 15. stoljeća.¹⁸² Te rezultate autor je nadopunio pregledom pojave naušnica s novcem unutar sedam zatvorenih grobnih cjelina, dviju ostava, te pronalaska jednog para na nekropoli Poljanice u Bisku na kojoj su, ne u istom grobu, pronađeni novac i natpis na stećku s uklesanom godinom.¹⁸³ Pri konačnom definiranju N. Jakšić ispravno se novcem služi kao reperom koji određuje *terminus post quem* nalaza. Ističe da se novac u grobovima može pojaviti i znatno kasnije od vremena kovanja.¹⁸⁴ Pojedinačne nalaze novca u grobovima ocjenjuje manje pouzdanima,

The last paper in which these earrings were comprehensively studied was written by N. Jakšić when he analyzed the cemetery discovered next to the church of the Holy Saviour in Vrh Rika.¹⁸¹ Since this is the most recent paper dealing with this specific subject, we will briefly present his results and premises they are based on. N. Jakšić reconstructed the sequence of cemetery expansion by a thorough analysis of horizontal stratigraphy. On the basis of coin finds, the southern extension was dated to the period until the beginning of the 15th century, and northeastern and northern to the first, that is second half of the 15th century. By mapping graves with three-beaded earrings he found that 68 examples were located within the southern extension, and only one in the northeastern one. Since the northeastern extension produced finds of rings with insets, fabrics of silver-plated threads, rings and belt buckles, that are believed to comprise a uniform horizon with three-beaded earrings, he ascribed scarce three-beaded earrings in this part to poorer level of exploration. Accordingly he concluded that three-beaded earrings mark the area of the southern and northeastern extensions, and on the basis of numismatic finds in these areas, he dated their presence at the cemetery near the church of the Holy Saviour from the mid-14th to the mid-15th century.¹⁸² The author supplemented these results with an overview of finds of earrings and coins in the same context, in seven closed grave units, two hoards, and discovery of one pair at the necropolis Poljanice in Bisko where a coin and an inscription on *stećak* tombstone with engraved year were found,¹⁸³ though not in the same grave. In the final definition, N. Jakšić used coins correctly as a benchmark to determine *terminus post quem* of finds. He emphasized that coins can appear in graves much later than the time they were struck.¹⁸⁴ He considered individual coin finds in graves less reliable while two finds in hoards and the context of the necropolis of Poljanice near Bisko were interpreted as the firmest footholds in terms of methodology. Accordingly he concluded that three-beaded earrings are well dated to the first half of the 15th century, indicating the time when coins that were found with them ended up in graves. These coins were struck from the late 12th to the early 14th century. Such interpretation of finds led him to dating three-beaded earrings to the period between 1350 and 1450.¹⁸⁵

The author based late dating of three-beaded earrings at the cemetery at Holy Saviour on the assumption that they belong to a uniform horizon with rings with

181 N. Jakšić 1996.

182 N. Jakšić 1996, 148–150, 152–153, Plan I–1V.

183 Datiranje naušnica na groblju Poljanice u Bisku temelji se na pretpostavci o kratkotrajnom korištenju groblja pri čemu se naušnice datiraju na temelju natpisa i nalaza novca iz dva druga groba s iste nekropole.

184 Ovaj zaključak ranije je iznijela I. Čremošnik 1952, 118.

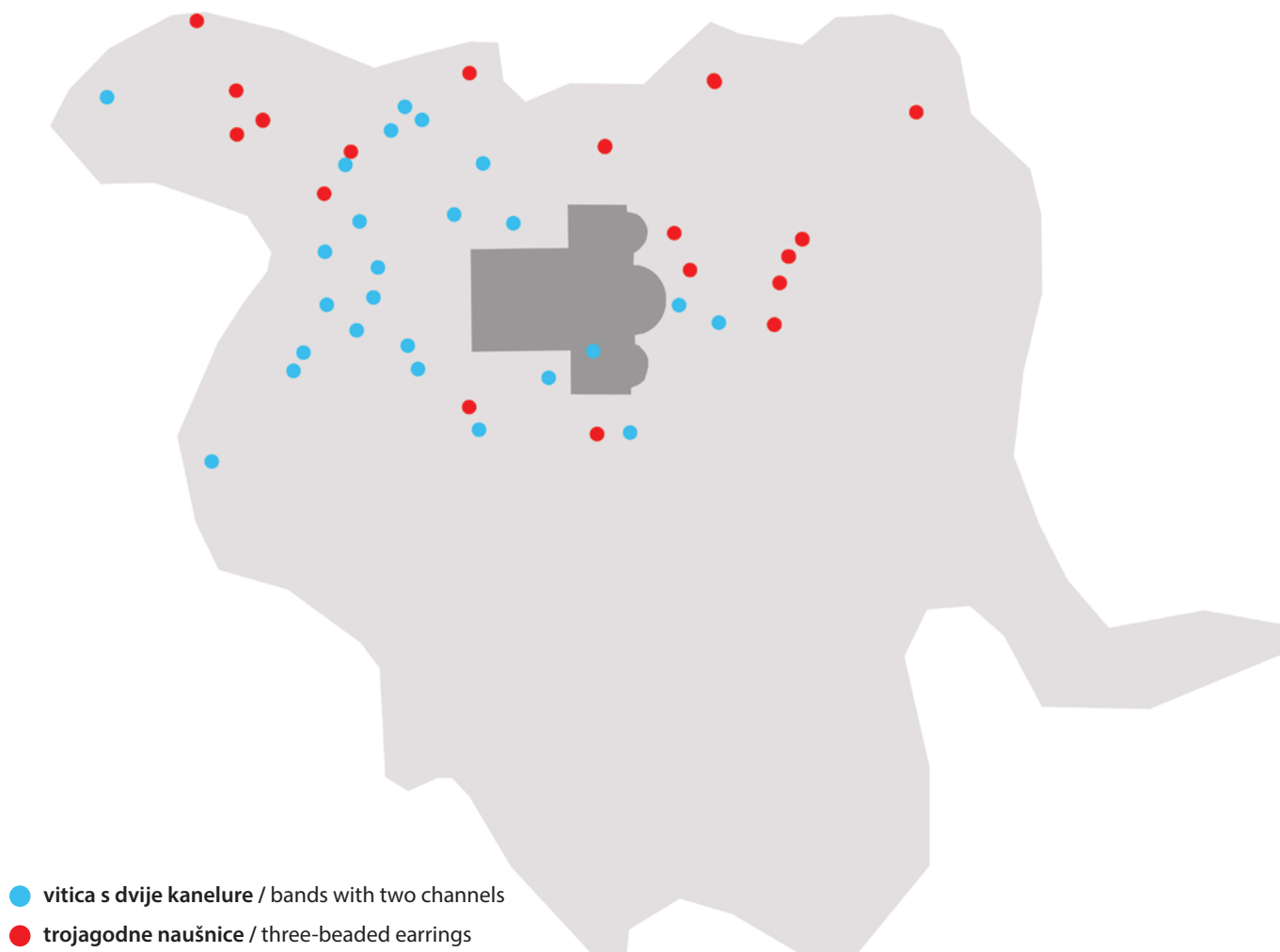
181 N. Jakšić 1996.

182 N. Jakšić 1996, 148–150, 152–153, Plan I–1V.

183 Dating of earrings at the cemetery Poljanice near Bisko is based on an assumption about its short-term use, whereby the earrings are dated on the basis of the inscription and coin finds from two other graves from the same necropolis.

184 This conclusion was expressed earlier by I. Čremošnik 1952, 118.

185 N. Jakšić 1996, 150, 152–156. On the basis of an earlier analysis, N. Jakšić dated three-beaded earrings throughout the 13th and the first half of the 14th century. See N. Jakšić 1978.



Slika 13. Raspored nalaza trojagodnih naušnica i vitica s dvije kanelure na groblju Begovača

Figure 13. Distribution of the finds of three-beaded earrings and bands with two channels at the cemetery Begovača

izradio / made by: J. Vučić

dok za metodološki najčvršće oslonce drži dva nalaza unutar ostava i kontekst nekropole Poljanice kod Biska. Zaključuje da su trojagodne naušnice dobro datirane u prvu polovinu 15. stoljeća pa one pobliže otkrivaju i vrijeme u kojem je novac kovan od kasnog 12. do ranog 14. stoljeća, pronađen uz njih, dospio u grobove. Tako interpretirani nalazi dovode ga do datiranja trojagodnih naušnica u razdoblje između 1350. i 1450. godine.¹⁸⁵

Kasno datiranje trojagodnih naušnica na groblju Sv. Spasa autor temelji na pretpostavci da one čine jedinstven horizont s prstenjem s ulošcima, tkanjem od posrebrjenih niti i alkama i kopčama pojasa. Budući da se ti nalazi, s novcem 15. stoljeća, javljaju na sjeveroistočnom proširenju groblja Sv. Spasa, on je do sredine

insets, fabric of silver-plated threads, and belt buckles and accompanying rings. Since all these finds were recovered from the northeastern extension of the cemetery at Holy Saviour together with the 15th-century coins, he dated three-beaded earrings until the mid-15th century. He related the lack of three-beaded earrings in this part of the cemetery to the poor level of exploration. Stratigraphy of burials at the cemetery in Krbava indicated that inlaid rings, fabric of silver-plated threads and belt buckles and rings appear also in the younger horizon that does not contain three-beaded earrings.¹⁸⁶ Therefore lack of three-beaded earrings in the northeastern extension of the cemetery of the church of the Holy Saviour should not be associated only with poor level of exploration. It seems more likely

¹⁸⁵ N. Jakšić 1996, 150, 152–156. Na temelju ranije analize N. Jakšić trojagodne je naušnice datirao u 13. i prvu polovinu 14. stoljeća. Vidi N. Jakšić 1978.

¹⁸⁶ Same relation was noticed at the cemetery Grborezi, so it cannot be interpreted as a regional specificity.

15. stoljeća datirao i trojagodne naušnice. Izostanak trojagodnih naušnica na tom dijelu groblja vezao je za nedostatnu istraženost. Stratigrafija ukopa na krbavskom groblju pokazala je da se prstenje s ulošcima, tkanje od pozlaćenih niti i kopče i alke pojasa javljaju i u mlađem horizontu koji ne sadrži trojagodne naušnice.¹⁸⁶ Sukladno tome, izostanak trojagodnih naušnica u sjeveroistočnom proširenju groblja kod crkve Sv. Spasa nije potrebno dovoditi u vezu isključivo sa slabijom istraženošću. Izglednijim se čini da se u vrijeme širenja groblja na taj prostor trojagodne naušnice prestaju prilagati u grobove.¹⁸⁷ Pretpostavimo li da izostanak trojagodnih naušnica na sjeveroistočnom proširenju nije posljedica nedostatne istraženosti, novac i trojagodne naušnice na groblju kod crkve Sv. Spasa pokazuju sljedeći suodnos. Od sedam precizno datiranih nalaza novca na južnom proširenju, najstariji je kovan između 1280. i 1289., a najmlađi između 1382. i 1385. godine. Nasuprot tim nalazima na sjeveroistočnom i sjevernom proširenju groblja, na kojem izostaju ili se iznimno rijetko nalaze trojagodne naušnice, pronađeno je pet nalaza novca, od kojih su tri kovana u vremenu 1402. do 1411., a po jedan između 1423. i 1457. odnosno 1444. i 1446. godine.¹⁸⁸ S podacima o suodnosu nalaza novca i trojagodnih naušnica na groblju kod crkve Sv. Spasa podudarni su i rezultati koje pruža analiza kasnosrednjovjekovnih groblja Grborezi i Maljkovo. U starijem horizontu tih nekropola, za koje se vezuju nalazi trojagodnih naušnica, pet je datiranih nalaza novca. Najmlađi među njima kovan je između 1356. i 1361. godine. U mlađem horizontu groblja koji karakterizira pojava grobova s kamenom arhitekturom, u kojima se ne pojavljuju trojagodne naušnice, pronađeno je osamnaest preciznije datiranih nalaza novca. Među njima jedan je kovan između 1400. i 1413., četiri između 1402. i 1411. i jedan između 1412. i 1439. godine.¹⁸⁹ Na sva tri groblja uočava se istovjetan suodnos novca i trojagodnih naušnica, pri čemu se u horizontima koje karakterizira prisutnost trojagodnih naušnica javlja isključivo novac stariji od početka 15. stoljeća, dok se u horizontima koji ne sadrže trojagodne naušnice javlja i novac kovan u 15. stoljeću. Prema navedenom bi kraj 14. i početak 15. stoljeća, odnosno godina 1400., predstavljao *terminus post quem non* učestalog pojavljivanja trojagodnih naušnica na tri spomenuta groblja. Mlađim

that three-beaded earrings ceased being placed in graves when the cemetery was extended.¹⁸⁷ Under the assumption that lack of three-beaded earrings in the northeastern extension was not a consequence of insufficient exploration, coins and three-beaded earrings at the cemetery of the church of the Holy Saviour present the following correlation. Out of seven precisely dated coin finds from the southern extension, the oldest was struck between 1280 and 1289, and the youngest between 1382 and 1385. As opposed to these finds, in the northeastern and northern cemetery extension, where three-beaded earrings are lacking or are exceptionally rare, five coins were found, three of which were struck from 1402 to 1411, one each between 1423 and 1457, that is 1444 and 1446.¹⁸⁸ Results of the analysis of medieval cemeteries in Grborezi and Maljkovo correspond to the data about correlation of coin finds and three-beaded earrings from the cemetery of the church of the Holy Saviour. Five dated coin finds originate from the older horizon of these cemeteries, that yielded finds of three-beaded earrings. The youngest among them was struck between 1356 and 1361. In the younger horizon of the cemetery that is characterized by graves with stone construction, but without three-beaded earrings, eighteen coins were found that were dated more precisely. One of them was struck between 1400 and 1413, four between 1402 and 1411, and one between 1412 and 1439.¹⁸⁹ Identical correlation of coins and three-beaded earrings can be noticed at all three cemeteries. In the horizons characterized by the presence of three-beaded earrings only coins older than the early 15th century are represented, while in the horizons that do not contain three-beaded earrings coins struck in the 15th century are found. In line with the aforementioned, late 14th or early 15th century, that is year 1400 would be *terminus post quem non* for common presence of three-beaded earrings at the three mentioned cemeteries. Only one burial containing three-beaded earrings from the northeastern extension of the cemetery of the church of the Holy Saviour seems younger than that period. Necropolises Pratrova Glavica and Parlovi in Ričice are also relevant in that regard. As in the younger phases of the three mentioned cemeteries, the 14th- and 15th-century coins are also recorded here, while three-beaded earring are lacking.¹⁹⁰ Similar relation of numismatic finds

186 Isti odnos uočava se i na groblju Grborezi, pa se ne može tumačiti kao regionalna specifičnost.

187 Na sjeveroistočnom proširenju, od ukupno istraženih grobova, trojagodne naušnice sadržavalo je njih nešto više od 1%. Na južnom proširenju trojagodne je naušnice sadržavalo više od 13% istraženih grobova. Ovaj odnos ukazuje na to da izostanak najvjerojatnije nije vezan za nedostatnu istraženost.

188 Od 67 grobova koji su sadržavali trojagodne naušnice samo se jedan nalazi u prostoru u kojem se javlja novac 15. stoljeća. Vidi N. Jakšić 1996, 141; J. Vučić, 2011, sl. 14.

189 J. Vučić, 2011, sl. 15, 16.

187 In the northeastern extension, little over 1% of all excavated graves contained three-beaded earrings. In the southern extension, over 13% of excavated graves contained three-beaded earrings. This relation indicates that their lack is most likely not associated with insufficient exploration after all.

188 Out of 67 graves that contained three-beaded earrings only one was located in the area where 15th-century coins were found. See N. Jakšić 1996, 141; J. Vučić, 2011, fig. 14.

189 J. Vučić, 2011, fig. 15, 16.

190 Burying in these cemeteries started in the late 14th or early 15th century. Two graves produced currencies dating to the second half and end of the 14th century, and in four graves coins from the early 15th century and its first half were found. See V. Kovačić 1983, 39–43; N. Jakšić 1983b, 62–64, 68.

od tog razdoblja čini se tek jedan ukop s nalazom trojagodnih naušnica sa sjeveroistočnog proširenja groblja kod crkve Sv. Spasa. Za ovu problematiku sugestivne su i nekropole Pratrova Glavica i Parlovi u Ričicama. Sukladno mlađim fazama triju ranije spomenutih groblja i ovdje je zabilježen novac 14. i 15. stoljeća, dok izostaju trojagodne naušnice.¹⁹⁰ Sličan odnos numizmatičkih nalaza i trojagodnih naušnica uočava se i na krbavskom groblju. Tamo se u mlađim horizontima u kojima izostaju trojagodne naušnice javlja skupni nalaz novca kojem je *terminus post quem* 1382. godina i pojedinačni nalazi kovani u vremenu 1402. – 1411. i 1412. – 1437., dok je u horizontu s trojagodnim naušnicama najmlađi novac kovan između 1329. i 1339. godine.

O datiranju trojagodnih naušnica može se prosuđivati i na temelju numizmatičkih nalaza pronađenih s njima u zatvorenim grobnim cjelinama. Takvih je grobova za sada utvrđeno sedam.¹⁹¹ Po jedan je bio s novcem kovanim u razdoblju 1178. – 1192., 1280. – 1289., 1329. – 1339., 1358. – 1371., 1402. – 1411. i dva u vremenu 1289. – 1311. godine. Pojedinačni nalazi zaključeni su kovanicom s početka 15. stoljeća, u grobu u kojem su zatečena dva kostura, pa treba istaknuti da ona možda nije istovremena s naušnicama. Ti nalazi u skladu su sa slikom koju pružaju pokazatelji međuodnosa naušnica i novca na ranije navedenim grobljima.

Već smo istaknuli da je N. Jakšić prednost pred zatvorenim grobnim cjelinama dao nalazu naušnice na groblju Poljanice i naušnicama koje su bile dijelom sadržaja dviju ostava.¹⁹² Na groblju Poljanice u Bisku otkriveno je 28 grobova, u kojima je bilo pokopano 40 pojedinaca. Na temelju nalaza kovanice u grobu 3, kovane 1443. ili 1444. godine, i natpisa na stečku iznad susjednog groba 6 na kojem se spominje godina 1440., A. Milošević cijelu je nekropolu, pa time i grob 19 u kojem su pronađene trojagodne naušnice, datirao u četrdesete i pedesete godine 15. stoljeća.¹⁹³ Datiranje cijelog groblja u tako kratko razdoblje, bez spoznaja o veličini, karakteru i godišnjoj stopi smrtnosti populacije koja se na

and three-beaded earrings is noticed at the cemetery in Krbava. Here in the younger horizons where three-beaded earrings are missing, we have a collective find of coins with the year 1382 as *terminus post quem* and individual finds struck in the intervals 1402 – 1411 and 1412 – 1437, while the youngest coin in the horizon with three-beaded earrings was struck between 1329 and 1339.

Dating of three-beaded earrings can be considered on the basis of numismatic finds recovered with them from closed grave units. So far seven such graves have been recorded.¹⁹¹ Chronological periods 1178 – 1192, 1280 – 1289, 1329 – 1339, 1358 – 1371, 1402 – 1411 are represented by one coin, and two coins were struck in the period 1289 – 1311. Individual finds end with a coin dating to the early 15th century, that was found in a grave with two skeletons so the coin does not have to be simultaneous with the earrings. These finds correspond to the image offered by indicators of interrelations of earrings and coins at the cemeteries mentioned earlier.

We have already emphasized that in terms of dating, N. Jakšić considered the earring from the cemetery of Poljanice and the earrings from two hoards more important than the closed grave units.¹⁹² The cemetery of Poljanice in Bisko yielded 28 graves, in which 40 individuals were buried. On the basis of the coin found in grave 3, struck in 1443 or 1444, and an inscription on *stećak* tombstone over the neighbouring grave 6 which mentions the year 1440, A. Milošević dated the entire necropolis, including grave 19 which contained three-beaded earrings to the 1440s and 1450s.¹⁹³ Dating of the entire cemetery to such short period, without knowledge about the size, characteristics and annual death rate of the population buried in it, remains hypothetical. Here we will mention that it is an extended necropolis measuring over 80 meters in length, and graves 3 and 6 adjoin each other, next to the western edge of the cemetery.

Finds from the hoards in Pridraga and Lipova Glavica deserve special consideration. The hoard from Pridraga was dated to the year 1415 with higher probability, while *terminus post quem* for Lipova Glavica is

190 Ustanovljenje ovih nekropola datira se u kraj 14. ili početak 15. stoljeća. U dva groba pronađene su monete iz druge polovine i kraja 14. stoljeća, a u četiri monete iz početka i prve polovine 15. stoljeća. Vidi V. Kovačić 1983, 39–43; N. Jakšić 1983b, 62–64, 68.

191 Uz pet koje je u radu objedinio N. Jakšić, treba pribrojiti ukop 390 na krbavskom groblju i nalaz iz groba 99 s nekropole Dugopolje. Vidi N. Jakšić 1996, 153–154; H. Gjurašin 2010, 113, 120–121, 124–126, 130–131. Ovom prilikom nije u obzir uzet nalaz s novcem koji nije poblizhe datiran, poput V. Gašparac Gunjača, A. Milošević 2008, 450, bilj. 9, sl. 10. Izostavljen je i nalaz iz groba 100 na groblju u Dugopolju, s turskom akćom, za kojeg sam autor sumnja da ne predstavlja zatvoren nalaz. Vidi H. Gjurašin 2010, 130–131. Ovom prilikom treba skrenuti pozornost i na podatak o nalazu novca kovanog 1565. godine u grobu s trojagodnim naušnicama kod crkve sv. Petra u Muću, koji znatno odskače od prije navedenih nalaza. Vidi F. Oreb, M. Zekan 1979, 224, bilj. 19. Na ovaj nalaz ukazao je i N. Jakšić, no u kasnijim ga radovima više ne spominje, na temelju čega se može pretpostaviti da nije riječ o zatvorenom nalazu u užem smislu. Usp. N. Jakšić 1983, 69, bilj. 109; 1996, 153–154.

192 N. Jakšić 1996, 154–156.

193 A. Milošević 1991, 14, 18, 28, 35, 36.

191 In addition to five graves analyzed by N. Jakšić in the paper, two more examples need to be added: burial 390 from the cemetery in Krbava, and find from grave 99 from the Dugopolje necropolis. See N. Jakšić 1996, 153–154; H. Gjurašin 2010, 113, 120–121, 124–126, 130–131. Here we did not consider finds with coins that were not dated more precisely, such as V. Gašparac Gunjača, A. Milošević 2008, 450, note 9, fig. 10. Find from grave 100 in Dugopolje was also left out, with a Turkish akçe, for which the author doubts if it is a closed find. See H. Gjurašin 2010, 130–131. Here we should also mention a coin struck in 1565, recovered from a grave with three-beaded earrings near the church of St Peter in Muć that stands out from the previously mentioned finds. See F. Oreb, M. Zekan 1979, 224, note 19. N. Jakšić noticed this find, but he did not mention it in his later works, suggesting it was not a closed find *sensu stricto*. Cf. N. Jakšić 1983, 69, note 109; N. Jakšić 1996, 153–154.

192 N. Jakšić 1996, 154–156.

193 A. Milošević 1991, 14, 18, 28, 35, 36.

njemu ukapala, ostaje tek na razini nagađanja. Ovom prilikom istaknut ćemo da je riječ o razvedenoj nekropoli koja se pruža više od 80 metara u dužinu, a grobovi 3 i 6 nalaze se jedan do drugoga, uz sam zapadni rub groblja.

Poseban osvrt zaslužuju nalazi iz ostava u Pridrazi i Lipovoj Glavici. Pridraška ostava datirana je s velikom vjerojatnošću u 1415. godinu, dok je za Lipovu Glavicu *tpq.* 1402. godina.¹⁹⁴ Naušnice zatečene u ostavama predstavljaju obiteljske dragocjenosti. U to su vrijeme još uvijek mogle, ali nisu nužno i morale, biti dijelom nošnje. Ako su bile dijelom nošnje, to ne znači da se u prvim desetljećima 15. stoljeća još uvijek prakticirao i običaj ukapanja s njima.

Utvrđivanju vremena upotrebe, ali ne i običaja polaganja u grobove trojagodnih naušnica, mogu doprinijeti i arhivski dokumenti. Općenite navode o nakitu teško je dovesti u vezu s konkretnim oblikom.¹⁹⁵ Spomen šest pari pozlaćenih srebrnih naušnica s lančićem u inventaru iz 1379. i deset pari srebrnih i zlatnih naušnica s jednim lancem od srebra u inventaru iz 1384. možda se odnosi na trojagodne naušnice.¹⁹⁶ Spoznaje je u današnje vrijeme moguće nadopuniti i trima poznatim ¹⁴C datumima kostura uz koje su pronađene trojagodne naušnice. Tako je grob 431 s krbavskog groblja datiran s većom vjerojatnošću između 1269. i 1314., a grob 345 između 1336. i 1398. godine, dok je grob 21 iz Dicma datiran između 1354. i 1390. godine.¹⁹⁷ Zbirno oni ukazuju na razdoblje od posljednje trećine 13. do kraja 14. stoljeća, što je u skladu s podacima koje pružaju ranije navedene analize. Indikativno je da ni jedno od tri navedena mjerenja ne ukazuju na 15. stoljeće.

Raspon koji nudi analiza stratigrafije cjelovito istraženih groblja, pojedinačni zatvoreni nalazi s novcem, arhivski dokumenti i rezultati ¹⁴C mjerenja upućuju za sada na datiranje ukopa s trojagodnim naušnicama u vrijeme od posljednje trećine 13. do kraja 14. stoljeća. Izvan tog vremenskog okvira trojagodne naušnice u grobovima mogle bi se javljati rijetko i na samom početku 15. stoljeća, na što možda ukazuje grob na sjeveroistočnom proširenju groblja kod crkve Sv. Spasa, nalaz iz groba u Dugopolju i nalaz s nekropole Poljanice.

1402.¹⁹⁴ Earrings found in hoards represent heirloom. At that time they could still have been a part of the costume, though not necessarily. If they had been a part of the costume, that does not mean that the custom of burying with them was still practiced in the first decades of the 15th century.

Archival documents can contribute to determining the time of usage of three-beaded earrings, but not the custom of their placing in graves. General statements about jewelry can hardly be associated with specific forms.¹⁹⁵ Three-beaded earrings might possibly be recognized in the mention of six pairs of gilt silver earrings with a chainlet in the inventory of the year 1379 or ten pairs of silver and golden earrings with a silver necklace in the inventory of 1384.¹⁹⁶ These insights can presently be complemented with three ¹⁴C dates for the skeletons with which three-beaded earring were found. Thus grave 431 from the Krbava cemetery was dated between the years 1269 and 1314 with higher probability, grave 345 between 1336 and 1398, while grave 21 from Dicmo was dated between 1354 and 1390.¹⁹⁷ Collectively they indicate the period from the last third of the 13th to the end of the 14th century, in accordance with the data provided by the earlier analyses. It is indicative that none of the measurements suggest the 15th century.

Range offered by the stratigraphic analysis of fully investigated cemeteries, individual closed finds with coins, archival documents and the results of ¹⁴C measurements suggest dating of burials with three-beaded earrings to the period from the last third of the 13th to the end of the 14th century. Three-beaded earrings could be found in graves at the very beginning of the 15th century, though rarely, as possibly indicated by the grave in the northeastern extension of the cemetery near the church of the Holy Saviour, find from the grave in Dugopolje and find from the Poljanice necropolis.

194 M. Ilkić, J. Belošević 2019, 38; I. Mirnik 1981, 123, kat. br. 582.

195 I. Anzulović 2007, 200, 204–208.

196 R. Leljak 2006, 288; I. Anzulović 2007, 205–206.

197 S. Đuričić, S. Galiot 2017, 16, 17, 20, 21, sl. 23.

194 M. Ilkić, J. Belošević 2019, 38; I. Mirnik 1981, 123, cat. no. 582.

195 I. Anzulović 2007, 200, 204–208.

196 R. Leljak 2006, 288; I. Anzulović 2007, 205–206.

197 S. Đuričić, S. Galiot 2017, 16, 17, 20, 21, fig. 23.

ZAKLJUČAK

Krbavsko groblje formiralo se uz manju crkvu, na mjestu na kojem je kasnije sagrađena katedrala sv. Jakova. Katedrala nije sagrađena prije četvrtog desetljeća 14. stoljeća, a moguće ni mnogo ranije od njezina prvog spomena u izvorima. Groblje je korišteno neprekidno od druge polovine 13. do kraja prve četvrtine 15. stoljeća. Repertoar nakita i dijelova nošnje uobičajen je za kasnosrednjovjekovna groblja na prostoru Dalmacije.

Na temelju analize stratigrafije krbavskog groblja izdvojena su tri horizonta ukopa s pripadajućim nalazima nakita i dijelova nošnje. Najstariji horizont, datiran od polovine 13. do posljednjih desetljeća 14. stoljeća, karakteriziraju rijetki nalazi naušnica s tri granulirana koljenca, učestali nalazi trojagodnih naušnica, prstenja s kazetama u koje je uloženo oko od staklene paste, traka od niti obloženih folijom od plemenitog metala, jednodijelnih okruglih i gljivastih pojasnih kopči i ostruga sa zvjezdolikim nastavkom. U sljedećem horizontu, datiranom u kraj 14. i početak 15. stoljeća, izostaju naušnice, a pojavljuje se masivno pečatno prstenje od plemenitog metala, obujmice, kuglasta i granulirana puceta s dugim petljama i dvodijelne pojasne kopče. U tom su horizontu još uvijek prisutne i jednodijelne pojasne kopče te trake od niti obloženih folijom od plemenitog metala. Najmlađi horizont, datiran od prvih desetljeća 15. do kraja prve četvrtine 16. stoljeća, karakterizira masovna pojava brončanog i bakrenog prstenja i vitica te dijadema od tiještenog brončanog lima. Posebno su brojne vitice trakastog presjeka, ukrašene dvjema paralelnim kanelurama, koje se pojavljuju, makar rijetko, već krajem prvog horizonta. Rezultate stratigrafske analize dodatno potvrđuju i statistički podatci vezani za način polaganja ruku pokojnika na krbavskom groblju. U skladu s kronologijom utvrđenom na krbavskom groblju jest i relativno kronološka slika koju pružaju groblja Maljkovo, Begovača, Grborezi i kod crkve Sv. Spasa.

Usporedbom sadržaja nalaza u krbavskom i ostalim spomenutim grobljima uočene su i određene lokalne specifičnosti. Tako se na krbavskom groblju jednodijelne okrugle kopče pojasa javljaju samo tijekom 14. stoljeća, dok se na grobljima kod Sv. Spasa i u Grborezima njihova upotreba nastavlja i tijekom 15. stoljeća. Nasuprot tome, na krbavskom groblju se na prijelazu 14. u 15. stoljeće javljaju dvodijelne simetrične kopče koje izostaju na ranije spomenutim grobljima. Na groblju u Grborezima izostaju nalazi brončanog i bakrenog prstenja i vitica, a znatno učestalije negoli na ostalim grobljima javljaju se naušnice s kruškolikim privjeskom.

Nešto širi prostor u radu posvećen je problematici datiranja trojagodnih naušnica. U cilju rješavanja tog problema načinjena je analiza suodnosa nalaza novca i trojagodnih naušnica na krbavskom groblju, kao i na grobljima Maljkovo, Begovača, Grborezi i kod crkve Sv.

CONCLUSION

The cemetery in Krbava was formed next to a smaller church, at the spot where the cathedral of St James was subsequently built. The cathedral was not built before the fourth decade of the 14th century, and possibly not much earlier than its first mention in the sources. The cemetery was used continuously from the second half of the 13th to the end of the first quarter of the 15th century. Repertory of jewelry and dress accessories is common for the late medieval cemeteries in the territory of Dalmatia.

On the basis of the stratigraphic analysis of the cemetery in Krbava, three horizons of burials with the belonging jewelry finds and dress accessories have been recognized. The oldest horizon, dated from the mid-13th century to the last decades of the 14th century, is characterized by rare finds of earrings with three granulated joints, common finds of three-beaded earrings, rings with bezels with a glass paste inset, bands of threads wrapped with foil of precious metals, single-part round belt buckles as well as the mushroom-shaped ones and rowel spurs. In the next horizon, dated to the late 14th and early 15th century, earrings are missing, and massive signet rings of precious metals appear, as well as lace chapes, globular and granulated buttons with long loops and two-part belt buckles. In this horizon single-part belt buckles are still present as well as the bands of threads wrapped in precious metal foil. The youngest horizon, dated from the first decades of the 15th until the end of the first quarter of the 16th century, is characterized by massive appearance of bronze and copper rings, bands and diadems of pressed bronze sheet. Bands with strip-shaped section decorated with two parallel channels are particularly numerous, appearing, though rarely, as early as the end of the first horizon. Results of the stratigraphic analysis are additionally corroborated by statistical data concerning the arm placement in burials at the Krbava cemetery. Relative-chronological image offered by the cemeteries in Maljkovo, Begovača, Grborezi and at the church of the Holy Saviour is in accordance with the chronology determined for the Krbava cemetery.

Certain local specificities were noticed after the comparison of finds from Krbava cemetery with other mentioned cemeteries. Thus single-part round belt buckles are represented at the cemetery in Krbava only during the 14th century, while at the cemeteries at Holy Saviour and Grborezi their use continues throughout the 15th century. On the other hand, at the transition from the 14th to 15th century, two-part symmetrical buckles are represented at the Krbava cemetery as opposed to the previously mentioned cemeteries. Finds of bronze and copper rings and bands are missing at the cemetery in Grborezi, and earrings with pear-shaped pendant are more common than at other cemeteries.

More attention was paid to the problem of dating three-beaded earrings. In order to shed more light on this subject, correlation of coin finds and three-beaded earrings was analyzed for the cemetery in Krbava, as well as

Spasa. Rezultati analize ukazuju na to da se trojagodne naušnice prestaju učestalo pojavljivati u grobovima u posljednjim desetljećima 14. stoljeća.

Rezultati analize stratigrafije krbavskog groblja potvrdili su i dopunili ranije predloženu kronologiju kasnosrednjovjekovnog nakita i dijelova nošnje.¹⁹⁸ Posebno se to odnosi na izdvajanje mlađeg kasnosrednjovjekovnog horizonta koji karakterizira masovna pojava brončanih i bakrenih vitica, osobito onih trakastog i „D” presjeka s kanelurama.¹⁹⁹ Rezultati upućuju na daljnju potrebu istraživanja, sustavne objave i analize srednjovjekovnih groblja.

the cemeteries in Maljkovo, Begovača, Grborezi and at the church of the Holy Saviour. Results of the analysis indicate that three-beaded earrings ceased to be common finds in graves in the last decades of the 14th century.

The results of the stratigraphical analysis of the cemetery in Krbava have confirmed and supplemented earlier proposed chronology of the late medieval jewelry and dress accessories.¹⁹⁸ This refers in particular to differentiation of the younger late medieval horizon characterized by massive appearance of bronze and copper bands, in particular the ones with strip-shaped and D-shaped sections, decorated with channels.¹⁹⁹ They suggest the need for further research, systematic publication and analysis of medieval cemeteries.

198 N. Jakšić 1996, 147–150.

199 U pojedinim se recentnim radovima navodi da su ovakvi oblici brončanog prstenja korišteni tijekom čitavog srednjeg vijeka. Usp. K. Gusar, D. Vujević 2014, 279; A. Uglešić, K. Gusar 2017, 79, 85.

198 N. Jakšić 1996, 147–150.

199 In certain recent works these forms of bronze rings were dated throughout the Middle Ages. Cf. K. Gusar, D. Vujević 2014, 279; A. Uglešić, K. Gusar 2017, 79, 85.



Tabla 1: 1. ukop 297, 2. ukop 281, 3. ukop 195, 4. ukop 484, 5. ukop 295, 6. ukop 211, 7. ukop 133, 8. ukop 309, 9. ukop 182, 10. ukop 270
 Plate 1: 1. burial 297, 2. burial 281, 3. burial 195, 4. burial 484, 5. burial 295, 6. burial 211, 7. burial 133, 8. burial 309, 9. burial 182, 10. burial 270
 foto, priredio / photo, prepared by: I. Čondić



Tabla 2: 1. ukop 251, 2. ukop 444, 3. ukop 132, 4. ukop 132, 5. ukop 447, 6. ukop 447, 7. ukop 108, 8. ukop 154, 9. ukop 107
 Plate 2: 1. burial 251, 2. burial 444, 3. burial 132, 4. burial 132, 5. burial 447, 6. burial 447, 7. burial 108, 8. burial 154, 9. burial 107

foto, priredio / photo, prepared by: I. Čondić



Tabla 3: 1. ukop 293, 2. ukop 248, 3. ukop 75, 4. ukop 256, 5. ukop 76, 6. ukop 22, 7. ukop 35, 8. ukop 298, 9. ukop 296, 10. ukop 361, 11. ukop 389, 12. ukop 93, 13. ukop 356, 14. ukop 82, 15. ukop 373, 16. ukop 370, 17. ukop 76, 18. ukop 75.

Plate 3: 1. burial 293, 2. burial 248, 3. burial 75, 4. burial 256, 5. burial 76, 6. burial 22, 7. burial 35, 8. burial 298, 9. burial 296, 10. burial 361, 11. burial 389, 12. burial 93, 13. burial 356, 14. burial 82, 15. burial 373, 16. burial 370, 17. burial 76, 18. burial 75.

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