

PRILOG POZNAVANJU GROBNIH NALAZA 10. I 11. STOLJEĆA U MEĐIMURJU

A CONTRIBUTION TO RESEARCH ON GRAVE FINDS OF THE 10TH AND 11TH CENTURIES IN MEĐIMURJE

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UDK / UDC: 904:726.821(497.524)»653»
10.52064/vamz.55.2.5
Pregledni članak / Review

Rad sagledava ranije poznate i nepoznate grobne nalaze kasnog 10. i 11. stoljeća iz Šenkovca, Sv. Jurja u Trnju i Sv. Martina na Muri u Međimurju. Njihovom, prvi put cjelovitom obradom, na jednome mjestu upotpunjena su saznanja o procesima koji se događaju između Drave i Mure te širem prostoru istočnih Alpi i Panonske nizine. Za prepoznavanje i utvrđivanje regionalnog okvira bilo je potrebno kartiranje analogija za grobne nalaze. Stavljanje u povijesni kontekst pružilo je neophodne determinante za razumijevanje tog prostora, a dodatni ekskursi o transformacijama ranoga srednjeg vijeka u međurječju Drave i Mure upotpunili su interpretaciju grobnih nalaza.

Ključne riječi:

Međimurje, istočne Alpe, Panonija, bjelobrdská kultura, ranosrednjovjekovna groblja, Sv. Juraj u Trnju, Sv. Martin na Muri, Šenkovec

The paper examines previously known and unknown grave finds of the late 10th and 11th centuries from Šenkovec, Sv. Juraj u Trnju, and Sv. Martin na Muri, in Međimurje. Their complete interpretation in one place has widened our knowledge of the processes that take place in the Drava and Mura interfluvium and the wider area of the Eastern Alps and Pannonian Plain. Mapping analogies for grave finds was necessary for identification and the establishment of a regional framework. The historical context has provided the necessary determinants for understanding the area, and additional excursions on the transformations of the early Middle Ages between the Rivers Drava and Mura complemented the interpretation of the grave finds.

Keywords:

Međimurje, Eastern Alps, Pannonia, Bijelo Brdo culture, early-medieval cemeteries, Sv. Juraj u Trnju, Sv. Martin na Muri, Šenkovec

Uvod

Prostor Međimurja u 10. i 11. stoljeću predstavlja graničnu zonu između velikih kulturnih zona, a grobni nalazi tog vremena odražavaju kompleksnu ranosrednjovjekovnu povijest Međimurja i sjeverne Hrvatske općenito.¹ Ovaj je najsjeverniji dio Hrvatske omeđen rijekom Murom na sjeveru i istoku te Dravom na jugu. Geografski gledano, međimurski kraj nalazi se na dodiru dviju reljefnih cjelina – istočnih Alpi i Panonske nizine. Geomor-

Introduction

In the 10th and 11th centuries, the region of Međimurje represented a border zone between large cultural zones, and grave finds of that time reflect the complex early-medieval history of Međimurje, and of northern Croatia in general.¹ This northernmost part of Croatia is bounded by the River Mura to the north and east, and the Drava to the south. Geographically, Međimurje is at the junction of two relief units: the Eastern Alps and the

¹ Ovaj je članak prerađena verzija diplomskog rada koji je nastao pod mentorstvom dr. sc. Mirje Jarak na Odsjeku za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, obranjenog 21. rujna 2018. Ovim se putem zahvaljujem mentorici dr. sc. Mirji Jarak za svu pomoć i savjete te višoj kustosici Branki Marcioš, voditeljici arheoloških zbirki u Muzeju Međimurja, što mi je omogućila uvid u zbirku.

¹ This article is a revised version of the master's thesis created under the mentorship of Mirja Jarak, PhD, at the Archaeological Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, and defended on 21 September 2018. I would like to thank my mentor, Dr. Mirja Jarak, for all the help and advice, and senior curator Branka Marcioš, head of archaeological collections at the Museum of Međimurje, for providing me with insight into the collection.

fološku strukturu čini pobrđe na zapadu i aluvijalne ravni Mure i Drave na istoku, tzv. gornje i donje Međimurje.² Većinu je srednjovjekovnih lokaliteta na ovom prostoru istražio Muzej Međimurja Čakovec, a u novije vrijeme pridružuje mu se Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, s fokusom na razvijeni i kasni srednji vijek. Ipak, arheološka slika Međimurja u 10. i 11. stoljeću poprilično je krnja, nešto su poznatija jedino groblja, a njima istovremena naselja još su uvijek nepoznanica. Ovaj rad tematizira sve dosad poznate grobne nalaze tog razdoblja. Najveći je dio nalaza već ranije publiciran, ali uz njih, u širi povijesno-kulturni kontekst stavljaju se neki neobjavljeni nalazi, a predstavljaju se i dodatna tumačenja arheoloških nalaza.

Povijesni kontekst

Od kraja 3. stoljeća Međimurje je sastavni dio Prve Panonije (*Pannonia Prima*), a poznato je više rimskih prometnih pravaca koji su prolazili njime ili njegovom neposrednom blizinom. Najbliže je značajno prometno čvorište bilo Petovij (*Poetovio*, Ptuj) odakle je cesta lokalnog tipa skretala i prolazila Međimurjem te se priključivala na Jantarni put i išla na sjever prema Savariji, Skarbantiji i Vindoboni.³ Postojao je još jedan odvojak ceste iz Petovija koji je međurječjem Mure i Drave išao za Sallu i dalje prema Savariji. Preko Drave pružala se cesta *Poetovio – Mursa*.⁴

Ovaj prostor nakon propasti avarske države postaje zona izravnoga franačkog utjecaja. Franačko Carstvo tijekom 9. stoljeća organizira administrativnu i crkvenu upravu s rijekom Dravom kao granicom. Međimurje, kao područje sjeverno od Drave, franački anali smještali su u Gornju Panoniju.⁵ U vrijeme donjopanonskog vojvode Braslava, kojem je povjerena obrana prekodravskog dijela Panonije, provaljuju mađarska plemena (894.), a franačka uprava 907. godine doživljava rasap. U tom najranijem razdoblju mađarskog osvajanja, prema arheološkim nalazima, Mađare možemo sigurno smjestiti samo sjeverno od Balatona i uz Dunav. Tek od druge polovice 10. stoljeća nalazimo konjičke grobove oko jugozapadnog dijela Balatona, npr. Zalaszánto – Szőlőhegy, Vörs – Majori dűlő.⁶ Nema arheoloških pokazatelja da je Donja Panonija u tim vremenima teško stradala, nego se čini da su je mađarske provale velikim dijelom zaobišle budući da im je fokus bio talijanski i njemački teritorij.⁷ Smatra se da su koristili staru trasu Jantarnog puta koja je vodila prema Italiji, od Savarije prema Petoviju i Akvileji, a koja je kasnije poznata kao „ugarska cesta“. Međimurje se stoga nalazilo uz put napredovanja prema Italiji.⁸ Upadi prestaju porazom Mađara 955. godine, nakon čega oni počinju uređivati svoju državu.

Pannonian Plain. The geomorphological structure consists of hills in the west and the alluvial plains of the Mura and Drava in the east, the so-called upper and lower Međimurje.² Most of the medieval sites in this area have been investigated by the Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec, and more recently the Croatian Conservation Institute, with a focus on the later Middle Ages. However, the archaeological image of Međimurje in the 10th and 11th centuries is rather incomplete; only the cemeteries are somewhat well known, and the contemporaneous settlements are still unknown. This paper examines all known grave finds of that period. Most of the grave finds have already been published earlier; but, alongside them, some unpublished findings are also placed in a wider historical and cultural context, and additional interpretations of the archaeological artefacts are also provided.

Historical context

Since the end of the 3rd century, Međimurje had been an integral part of First Pannonia (*Pannonia Prima*), and several Roman roads passed through it or its immediate vicinity. The nearest important traffic hub was *Poetovio* (Ptuj), from where the local road turned and passed through Međimurje and joined the Amber Road and went north towards *Savaria*, *Scarbantia* and *Vindobona*.³ There was another branch of the road from *Poetovio* which went through the Mura – Drava interfluvium for *Salla* and further towards *Savaria*. The *Poetovio – Mursa* road stretched across the Drava.⁴

This area became a zone of direct Frankish influence after the collapse of the Avar state. In the 9th century the Frankish Empire organized an administrative and ecclesiastical administration with the River Drava as its border. Međimurje, with its position north of the Drava, was located in Upper Pannonia by Frankish annals.⁵ In the time of the Lower Pannonian Duke Braslav, who was entrusted with the defence of the Trans-Drava part of Pannonia, Hungarian tribes invaded (894), and in 907 the Frankish administration disintegrated. According to archaeological finds, in the earliest period of their conquest Hungarians can be located with certainty only north of Lake Balaton and along the Danube. Only from the second half of the 10th century do we find equestrian tombs around the southwestern part of Lake Balaton, such as Zalaszánto-Szőlőhegy or Vörs-Majori dűlő.⁶ There are no archaeological indications that Lower Pannonia suffered badly in those times; it seems that the Hungarian invasions largely bypassed it, since their main focus was Italian and German territory.⁷ It is believed that they used the old route of the Amber Road, which led to Italy, from *Savaria* to *Poetovio* and Aquileia, and which was later known as the ‘Hungarian road’. Therefore, Međimurje was located near their path of advancement on the way to Italy.⁸ The incursions ended with the defeat of the Hungarians in 955, after which they began to organize their state.

2 Šestak 2004, 9; Magaš 2013, 108.

3 Gračanin 2011, 37–38.

4 Gračanin 2010, 11, 41.

5 Filipec 2015, 19, 100–119.

6 Hegyi, Költő, 2017; Horváth 2020, 177, 632.

7 Filipec 2015, 169, 191.

8 Gračanin 2011, 192.

2 Šestak 2004, 9; Magaš 2013, 108.

3 Gračanin 2011, 37–38.

4 Gračanin 2010, 11, 41.

5 Filipec 2015, 19, 100–119.

6 Hegyi, Költő, 2017; Horváth 2020, 177, 632.

7 Filipec 2015, 169, 191.

8 Gračanin 2011, 192.

Pisani izvori ne nude puno informacija o događanjima 10. i 11. stoljeća u Međimurju. Znamo da je u neposrednom susjedstvu istočnoalpska Karantanska marka 976. godine uzdignuta na rang vojvodstva i odvojena od izravne bavarske uprave. Kao takva, imala je više graničnih grofovija / krajina / marka, od kojih je najbliža Podravska marka.⁹ Ove granične grofovije označuju teritorij koji je Franačko / Otonsko Carstvo uspjelo zadržati u mađarskim naletima.¹⁰ Ono što ostaje upitno je točno razgraničenje. Poznato je da nije uvijek postojala jasna ideja granice tijekom prve polovice i sredinom 11. stoljeća u slučaju upravitelja Karantanije i kraljeva Ugarske, npr. za vrijeme Konrada II. (1024. – 1039.) i Henrika III. (1039. – 1056.).¹¹ Iz tog razloga teško je rekonstruirati odakle je sezala čija ingerencija u slučaju današnjeg Međimurja, o čemu postoje oprečna mišljenja. Neki su mišljenja da je Međimurje sve do početka 11. stoljeća bilo dio Karantanije, kao najistočniji dio Podravske krajine, a da ga Ugarska prisvaja tek u drugoj polovici 11. stoljeća.¹² Gračanin priznaje mogućnost da se u Međimurju mogla učvrstiti mađarska vlast do kraja 10. stoljeća.¹³ Ne možemo biti sigurni dokle je sezao stvarni utjecaj Hrvatskog Kraljevstva tijekom 10. i 11. stoljeća. U svakom slučaju, negira se, ili je barem malo vjerojatno, njegovo proširenje sjeverno od Drave.¹⁴ Dvije kovanice ugarskog kralja Stjepana I. (1000. – 1038.), otkrivene u Loboru, podižu dodatna pitanja, ali ne nude razrješenje.¹⁵ Čini se da je ovaj prostor bio zanimljiva zona više okolnih sila i teško da je postojala jasno definirana granica. Pripadnost područja međurječja Save, Drave i Mure dvojbena je sve do kralja Ladislava, kada ovaj prostor zajedno s Dalmacijom potpada pod vlast ugarskih kraljeva.¹⁶ Znamo da je međurječje Drave i Mure od kraja 11. stoljeća pa sve do 13. stoljeća bilo poprište sukoba hrvatsko-ugarskih kraljeva i upravitelja salzburškog vlastelinstva sa sjedištem u Ptuju.¹⁷ Također, postoji mogućnost da u rano doba od svog uspostavljanja, krajem 11. stoljeća, Zagrebačka biskupija nije prelazila Dravu pa bi u tom slučaju Međimurje ulazilo u Vesprémsku biskupiju.¹⁸

Stanje administrativne organizacije u 10. i 11., pa i 12. stoljeću ostaje donekle zamršeno. Ugarski kralj Stjepan I. (1000. – 1038.) radio je na teritorijalnoj i crkvenoj organizaciji. U njegovo je vrijeme organiziran sustav županija (mađ. *vármegye*) sa središnjom županijskom utvrdom kojom upravlja *comes*, tj. župan, *ispán*.¹⁹ Tako za Kolonsku županiju postoji mogućnost da se prostirala južno od rijeke Drave i uključivala Međimurje.²⁰ Ona je preimenovana u Zaladsku / Zalsku županiju nakon što je utvrdu Kolon zamijenio Zalavár 1019. godine.²¹ Zaladska županija u 12. stoljeću

Written sources do not offer much information on the events of the 10th and 11th centuries in Međimurje. We know that, in the immediate vicinity, the Eastern Alpine Carantanian march was elevated to the rank of duchy in 976 and separated from direct Bavarian administration. As such, it had several border marches, the closest being the Podravina march.⁹ These border counties mark the territory that the Frankish/Ottonian Empire managed to keep in Hungarian raids.¹⁰ What remains questionable is the exact demarcation. It is known that there was not always a clear idea of the border through the first half and middle of the 11th century in the case of the governors of Carantania and the kings of Hungary, for instance during the reign of Conrad II (1024 – 1039) and Henry III (1039 – 1056).¹¹ For that reason, it is difficult to reconstruct the exact border in the case of today's Međimurje, and there are conflicting opinions. Some are of the opinion that Međimurje was part of Carantania until the beginning of the 11th century as the easternmost part of the Podravina march, and that Hungary appropriated it only in the second half of the 11th century.¹² On the other hand, Gračanin acknowledges the possibility that Hungarian rule could have been consolidated in Međimurje by the end of the 10th century.¹³ We cannot be sure how far the real influence of the Croatian Kingdom reached through the 10th and 11th centuries. In any case, its expansion north of the Drava is denied, or at least unlikely.¹⁴ The two coins of the Hungarian King Stephen I (1000 – 1038) discovered in Lobor raise additional questions, but do not offer a solution.¹⁵ It seems that this area was a zone of interest for several surrounding forces, and there was hardly a clearly defined border. The affiliation of the area between the Rivers Sava, Drava and Mura is doubtful until King Ladislaus, when this area, along with Dalmatia, fell under the rule of the Hungarian kings.¹⁶ We know that the interfluvium of the Rivers Drava and Mura was the scene of conflicts between Croatian-Hungarian kings and the Salzburg governor based in Ptuj from the end of the 11th century until the 13th century.¹⁷ Also, there is a possibility that the Zagreb diocese did not cross the Drava at the earliest time of its establishment in the late 11th century, and in that case Međimurje would have fallen under the Vesprém diocese.¹⁸

The state of the administrative organization in the 10th and 11th centuries, and even in the 12th, remains somewhat complicated. Hungarian King Stephen I (1000 – 1037) worked on the territorial and ecclesiastical organization. In his time, a system of counties (Hun. *vármegye*) was organized with a central county fort

9 Reuter 1991, 176, 194.

10 Filipec 2015, 212.

11 Reuter 1991, 204.

12 Srša 1994a, 66–68.

13 Gračanin 2011, 205.

14 Šišić 2004, 128.

15 Filipec 2013, 284–285; Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 220, kat. br. 168–169.

16 Nikolić Jakus 2015, 619–621; Budak 2018, 217.

17 Kalšán 2006, 22.

18 Gračanin 2011, 271–274.

19 Kontler 2007, 63–64.

20 Zsoldos 2001, 33–34.

21 Zelko 1963, 39–40; Györfy 1994, 107.

9 Reuter 1991, 176, 194.

10 Filipec 2015, 212.

11 Reuter 1991, 204.

12 Srša 1994a, 66–68.

13 Gračanin 2011, 205.

14 Šišić 2004, 128.

15 Filipec 2013, 284–285; Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 220, cat. nos 168–169.

16 Nikolić Jakus 2015, 619–621; Budak 2018, 217.

17 Kalšán 2006, 22.

18 Gračanin 2011, 271–274.

19 Kontler 2007, 63–64.

KARTA 1. Položaj groblja 10. i 11. stoljeća iz Međimurja (© Google maps; obradila P. Jeršek).

MAP 1. Location of the 10th and 11th century cemeteries of Međimurje (© Google maps; adapted by P. Jeršek).



obuhvaća Prekmurje, Međimurje i dio današnje Zaladske županije.²² Osnovna je teritorijalna jedinica bila župa. Njihov popis nalazimo u Statutu zagrebačkog kaptola iz 1334. i 1501. godine u kojem prostor Međimurja nalazimo pod Bekšinskim arhidakonomat i pripada Zagrebačkoj biskupiji.²³ U Međimurju je poznato 11 župa, što je razmjerno puno i vjerojatno odražava dobru naseljenost: *ecclesia sancte Trinitatis* (Nedelišće), *item sancte Marie Magdalene de Strigo* (Štrigova), *item sancti Martini* (Sv. Martin na Muri), *item sancti Marci* (Selnica), *item sancti Michaelis* (Mihovljan, danas prenesena u Čakovec), *item sancta Maria de Sabaria* (Mala Subotica), *item sancti Laurentii de Perlok* (Prelog, župna crkva titular predala kapeli u Cirkovljanu), *item due ecclesie sancti Martini* (Podturen, Mursko Središće), *item sancti Georgii* (Sv. Juraj na Bregu ili Sv. Juraj u Trnju) i *item sancti Martini* (nepoznato).²⁴ Svakako, primjećujemo da Međimurje tada administrativno ulazi pod ugarsku Zaladsku županiju, a u nadležnosti je Zagrebačke biskupije.

Groblja 10. i 11. stoljeća

Poznata su samo tri, točnije dva groblja 10. i 11. stoljeća na području Međimurja. Riječ je o grobljima u Sv. Jurju u Trnju, Sv. Martinu na Muri te šenkovečkoj skupini nalaza (karta 1). Postoji mogućnost da se groblje nalazilo u Donjem Vidovcu, u kojem su 1925. godine pronađeni nalazi koji bi odgovarali ovom vremenu, a koji su izgubljeni već sredinom prošlog stoljeća.²⁵ Položaj groblja u Donjem Vidovcu nije utvrđen.

managed by *comes* or *ispan*.³⁹ Thus, for Kolon county, there is a possibility that it stretched south of the River Drava and included Međimurje.²⁰ It was renamed Zala county after Kolon was replaced by Zalavár in 1019.²¹ Zala county in the 12th century included Prekmurje, Međimurje and part of today's Zala county.²² The basic territorial unit was the parish. A list of these can be found in the 'Statut zagrebačkog kaptola' of 1334 and 1501, in which the area of Međimurje is under the Archdeaconry of Bekšin and belongs to the Zagreb diocese.²³ There are 11 known parishes in Međimurje, which is a relatively large number and probably speaks of a well-populated region: *ecclesia sancte Trinitatis* (Nedelišće), *item sancte Marie Magdalene de Strigo* (Štrigova), *item sancti Martini* (Sv. Martin na Muri), *item sancti Marci* (Selnica), *item sancti Michaelis* (Mihovljan, today transferred to Čakovec), *item sancta Maria de Sabaria* (Mala Subotica), *item sancti Laurentii de Perlok* (Prelog, patron later handed over to the chapel in Cirkovljan), *item due ecclesie sancti Martini* (Podturen, Mursko Središće), *item sancti Georgii* (Sv. Juraj na Bregu or Sv. Juraj u Trnju) and *item sancti Martini* (unknown).²⁴ We must certainly note that at this time Međimurje falls administratively under the Hungarian Zala county and is under the jurisdiction of the Zagreb diocese.

Cemeteries of the 10th and 11th centuries

Only three, or more precisely two, cemeteries of the 10th and 11th centuries are known in Međimurje. These are the cemeteries in Sveti Juraj u Trnju, Sveti Martin na Muri and the Šenkovec group of grave finds (Map 1). There is a possibility of another cemetery in Donji Vidovec, where finds were found in 1925 that would correspond to this time, but which were lost in the middle of the last century.²⁵ The location of the cemetery in Donji Vidovec has never been determined.

22 Srša 1994a, 69; Zsoldos 2001, 38.

23 Korunek 2012, 114.

24 Buturac 1984, 102–103.

25 Horvat 1956, 21.

20 Zsoldos 2001, 33–34.

21 Zelko 1963, 39–40; Györfy 1994, 107.

22 Srša 1994a, 69; Zsoldos 2001, 38.

23 Korunek 2012, 114.

24 Buturac 1984, 102–103.

25 Horvat 1956, 21.

Šenkovečka skupina nalaza

Skupina ranosrednjovjekovnih grobnih nalaza iz Muzeja Međimurja u Čakovcu povezuje se s konzervatorskim radovima izvršenim 1924. godine od strane E. Laszowskog kod Kapele sv. Jelene, nekadašnjega pavlinskog samostana u Šenkovcu, neda-leko od Čakovca. Da su „prema nesigurnom sjećanju Ladislava Kronasta“, koji je navodno 1928. godine poklonio nalaze muzeju, tom prilikom pronađeni i ovi nalazi, doznajemo od A. Horvat.²⁶ Horvat nije isključila mogućnost da se radi o danas izgubljenim nalazima iz Donjeg Vidovca koji su sadržavali nalaze istog tipa.²⁷ U međuvremenu su provedena arheološka istraživanja Kapele sv. Jelene i mauzoleja obitelji Zrinski u Šenkovcu te je ustanovljeno kasnosrednjovjekovno i ranonovovjekovno groblje²⁸ pa možda ne bi trebalo polagati velike nade da nalazi potječu s ove pozicije. A. Horvat prva je objavila fotografije nalaza. Na njima je vidljiv metalni ulomak nepoznatog predmeta, možda čavla, koji se nije sačuvao do danas.²⁹ Nalaze je 2017. godine obradio Ž. Tomičić koji se priklanja mogućnosti da se doista radi o nalazima iz Donjeg Vidovca, ali donosi samo crteže nalaza.³⁰

Riječ je o 19 zasigurno grobnih nalaza, ali kako ne postoji nikakva dokumentacija, nemamo podatke o grobnim cjelinama. Lijevanoj četverojagodnoj naušnici, tj. sljepoočničarki tipu 16 po Giesleru, nije sačuvana karika (kat. br. 1, T. 1: 1). Veća pojavnost ovakvih naušnica uočena je u zapadnom dijelu međurječja Drave i Save, a datiraju se od 950. do prvih desetljeća 11. stoljeća, o čemu su pisali Vinski,³¹ Giesler³² i Tomičić.³³ Ipak, općenito gledajući, ovaj tip naušnica nije toliko česta pojava u međurječju Drave i Save, pa ni između Drave i Mure. Četverojagodna forma naušnice govori o bizantskom uzoru do kojeg dolazi posredno, najvjerojatnije preko luksuznih četverojagodnih naušnica Dalmacije.³⁴ Kako se naušnice slične forme nose i u Srbiji, Makedoniji, Bugarskoj, to dodatno potvrđuje vjerojatan bizantski uzor koji dobiva lokalne ili regionalne varijante. Najbliže analogije šenkovečkom primjerku dolaze iz Kloštra Podravskeg-Pijesci,³⁵ Središća ob Dravi,³⁶ Ptuj-skoga grada.³⁷ Slične naušnice nalaze se još zapadnije u Sloveniji (Kranj-križišče Iskra³⁸ i Bledski grad)³⁹ te sjeverozapadnoj Bosni i Hercegovini (Gomjenica, Petoševci-Bagruša, Mahovljani).⁴⁰

Šenkovec group of finds

A group of early-medieval grave finds from the Museum of Međimurje, in Čakovec, is associated with conservation work carried out in 1924 by Emilije Laszowski at the Chapel of St Jelena, a former Pauline monastery in Šenkovec, near Čakovec. We learn from A. Horvat that “according to the uncertain memory of Ladislav Kronast”, who allegedly donated the findings to the museum in 1928, they were found on that occasion.²⁶ Horvat did not rule out the possibility that these were lost finds from Donji Vidovec, since they were similar in type.²⁷ In the meantime, additional archaeological excavations of the chapel of St Jelena in Šenkovec and the Zrinski family mausoleum were carried out, and a late-medieval and an early-modern cemetery were found.²⁸ Therefore, one should not have high hopes that the findings really come from this position. Horvat was the first to publish photographs of the Šenkovec grave finds. A metal fragment of an unknown object is also visible in them, perhaps a nail, which has not been preserved to this day.²⁹ The finds were published in 2017 by Ž. Tomičić, who supports the possibility that they are indeed from Donji Vidovec, but provides only drawings of the findings.³⁰

The Šenkovec group consists of probably 19 grave finds; but, as there is no documentation, we do not have information about the graves. A cast tetra-beaded earring, a Giesler type 16, does not have a preserved hoop (cat. no. 1, Pl. 1: 1). A higher incidence of such earrings was observed in the western part of the Drava and Sava interfluvium, about which Vinski,³¹ Giesler³² and Tomičić³³ have written, and they date from 950 to the first decades of the 11th century. However, generally, this type of earrings is not so common in the interfluvium of the Drava and Sava, or even between the Rivers Drava and Mura. It is generally believed that the tetra-beaded form of the earring speaks of the Byzantine model, which influenced these earrings indirectly, most likely through luxurious Dalmatian tetra-beaded earrings.³⁴ As earrings of a similar shape were also worn in Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria, this further confirms a probable Byzantine model that acquired local or regional variants. The closest analogies to the Šenkovec earring come from Kloštar Podravski-Pijesci,³⁵ Središće ob Dravi,³⁶ and Ptujski Grad.³⁷ Similar earrings can be found further west in Slovenia (Kranj-križišče Iskra³⁸ and Bled Castle)³⁹ and northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina (Gomjenica, Petoševci-Bagruša, Mahovljani).⁴⁰

26 Horvat 1956, 23; DMMČ.

27 Horvat 1956, 23.

28 Vidović 1992, 42–45; Pleše 2012, 214–217; 2013, 251–254.

29 Horvat 1956, sl. 8–9.

30 Tomičić 2017, 126. Nalazi su ovdje kataloški obradeni uz odgovarajuće fotografije (kat. br. 1–19, T. 1–4).

31 Vinski 1970, 73.

32 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

33 Tomičić 2017, 129; Tomičić 2019, 101.

34 Petrinec 2009, 216–219, 230–232, 592.

35 Brunšmid 1904, 81, sl. 33: 6.

36 Korošec 1947, 37, sl. 34; Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 118 (388).

37 Korošec 1999, Taf. 10: 12–14; Tomičić 2017, 131; 2019, 440.

38 Sagadin 1987, 27–28, T. 29; Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 111–112 (373).

39 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 107 (356); Štular (ed.) 2020.

40 Tomičić 2017, 131–132; 2019, 440–441.

26 Horvat 1956, 23; DMMČ.

27 Horvat 1956, 23.

28 Vidović 1992, 42–45; Pleše 2012, 214–217; 2013, 251–254.

29 Horvat 1956, Figs 8–9.

30 Tomičić 2017, 126. The findings are catalogued here with corresponding photographs (cat. nos 1–19, Pls 1–4).

31 Vinski 1970, 73.

32 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

33 Tomičić 2017, 129; 2019, 101.

34 Petrinec 2009, 216–219, 230–232, 592.

35 Brunšmid 1904, 81, Fig. 33: 6.

36 Korošec 1947, 37, Fig. 34; Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 118 (388).

37 Korošec 1999, Taf. 10: 12–14; Tomičić 2017, 131; 2019, 440.

38 Sagadin 1987, 27–28, T. 29; Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 111–112 (373).

39 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 107 (356); Štular (ed.) 2020.

40 Tomičić 2017, 131–132; 2019, 440–441.

Druga naušnica iz ove skupine nalaza lunulastog je oblika s umecima od emajla, plave i zelene boje (kat. br. 2, T. 1: 2). Ima četiri emajlirane ćelije koje čine shematizirani ornament drva života. Ovakav tip naušnice tradicionalno se pripisuje tzv. karantansko-ketlaškoj kulturi,⁴² a nalazimo ih diljem istočnoalpskog područja današnje Slovenije i Austrije (Koruška, Štajerska, Gornja i Donja Austrija).⁴² Giesler emajlirane lunulaste naušnice smješta u fazu Köttlach II, a Eichert u grupu C3 (10./11. st.) svoje revidirane kronologije istočnoalpskog prostora.⁴³ Zapravo se radi o istočnoalpskoj materijalnoj skupini unutar koje se od 10. stoljeća pojavljuju emajlirani predmeti i postaje očita uključenost ovog prostora u milje Otonskog Carstva, a da pojedina ranija regionalna obilježja poput žičanog nakita nisu potpuno nestala.⁴⁴ Ovakve lunulaste naušnice ukrašavaju se sakralnim motivima, a često se nalaze s emajliranim pločastim fibulama.⁴⁵ Tehnika emajliranja koristila se u Bizantu, a omiljena je u radionicama karolinško-otonskog vremena,⁴⁶ gdje se uglavnom izvodio jamičasti, ili *champlevé* emajl, pri kojem se na površini predmeta izrađivala jama u koju se talio emajl, što je slučaj i sa šenkovečkim primjerkom. Granica karantanskog vojvodstva i međurječja Mure, Drave, Save tijekom 10./11. stoljeća predstavlja točku prožimanja dviju regionalnih moda nošenja, gdje se istočnoalpski nakit nosi u kombinaciji s južnopanonskim. Šenkovečki primjerak valja usporediti s primjercima s Ptujškoga grada,⁴⁷ Kranja-križišće Iskra⁴⁸ te Csepreg-Szentkirályja.⁴⁹ U Kloštru Podravskom pronađena je lunulasta naušnica s urezanim ukrasom⁵⁰ kakve su inače karakteristične za istočnoalpski prostor, a pronađene su, primjerice, na Ptujskom gradu.⁵¹

U šenkovečkoj su skupini najbrojniji torkvesi od žica okruglog presjeka, sačuvana su tri cijela primjerka i četiri ulomka (kat. br. 13–19, T. 2–4). Pri spajanju ulomaka dosad su ponuđena različita rješenja. Horvat ulomke kat. br. 16 i 17 spaja kao jednu ogrlicu, što funkcionalno nema smisla. Tomičić ulomke bez ušice i kuke spaja s ulomcima koji imaju dio za zakapčanje.⁵² Uvidom u materijal pokazalo se da možemo s velikom sigurnošću složiti jedan torkves (od kat. br. 18 i 19) te da preostala dva ulomka najvjerojatnije nisu činila jednu ogrlicu (T. 3: 16–17; T. 4). Torkves spojen od ulomaka kat. br. 18 i 19 vidljiv je na fotografiji koji donosi Horvat iako nije jasno je li već tada bio slomljen.⁵³ Ulomak kat. br. 18 u

The second earring from this group of finds is crescent-shaped, with blue and green enamel inlay (cat. no. 2, Pl. 1: 2). It has four enamelled cells that make a schematic ornament of the tree of life. This type of earring is traditionally attributed to the so-called Carantanian-Köttlach culture,⁴² which was found throughout the eastern Alpine area of today's Slovenia and Austria (Carinthia, Styria, Upper and Lower Austria).⁴² Giesler places enamelled crescent earrings in the Köttlach II phase, and Eichert in the C3 group (10th and 11th centuries) of his revised chronology of the Eastern Alps.⁴³ In fact, it is an Eastern Alpine material group within which enamelled objects have appeared since the 10th century, and with which inclusion of this area in the Ottonian Empire milieu becomes obvious, without the complete disappearance of some earlier regional types of jewellery, such as wire jewellery.⁴⁴ These crescent-shaped earrings are decorated with sacral motifs and are often found with enamelled round brooches.⁴⁵ The enamelling technique was used in Byzantium and was popular in the workshops of the Carolingian-Ottonian period,⁴⁶ where pitted, or *champlevé*, enamel was mostly made, with the surface carved out to form pits in which the enamel is fired, as is the case with the Šenkovec specimen. The border of the Carantanian duchy and the interfluvium of the Mura, Drava and Sava through the 10/11th century represents the mixing point of two regional fashions, where Eastern Alpine jewellery is worn in combination with Southern Pannonian. The Šenkovec examples can be compared with those from Ptujski grad,⁴⁷ Kranj-križišće Iskra⁴⁸ and Csepreg-Szentkirály.⁴⁹ In Kloštar Podravski one crescent-shaped earring with engraved decoration was found.⁵⁰ This is a type of earring characteristic of Eastern Alpine territory and found, for example, in Ptujski grad.⁵¹

Torcs made from wires of round cross-section are the most numerous jewellery type in the Šenkovec group; three whole ones and four fragments have been preserved (cat. nos 13–19, Pls 2–4). Various solutions have been offered so far when joining fragments. Horvat shows fragments cat. nos 16 and 17 as one necklace, which functionally makes no sense. Tomičić connects both fragments that have no eyelet or hook with fragments that have a part for fastening.⁵² Analysis of the finds has shown that we can indeed assemble one torc with great certainty (from cat. nos 18

41 Za sažeta razmišljanja o ovoj kulturi vidi bilj. 176.

42 Schwarz 1975, 360; Beck *et al.* (eds.) 1986, 230–239; Tomičić 2020, 166.

43 Giesler 1980, 87–88; Eichert 2013, 426–427.

44 Kramer 1994, 31.

45 Eichert 2013, 426–427.

46 Teofil (*Theophilus Presbyter*), benediktinski redovnik iz 12. stoljeća opisuje postupak emajliranja u otonskom razdoblju u djelu *Schedula diversarum artium / De diversis artibus*, zajedno s ostalim srednjovjekovnim tehnikama u staklu i metalu. O emajliranju: Theophilus 1979, 126–128.

47 Korošec 1999, Taf. 42: 3–10, 43: 1, 100: 12–22.

48 Sagadin 1987, T. 40: 3.

49 Kiss (ed.) 2000, 33, sl. 17: 11; Horváth 2015, 393, Abb. 4: 2, 408, Abb. 19: 4.

50 Brunšmid 1904, 79, sl. 31: 3; Bunčić (ed.) 2020, 95, sl. C.

51 Korošec 1999; Tomičić 2017, 134; 2019, 443.

52 Tomičić 2017, 135–136, sl. 4. Tomičić je spojio ulomke kat. br. 16 i 19 te ulomke kat. br. 17 i 18.

53 Horvat 1956, sl. 5, gornji red torkvesa, prvi slijeva.

41 For brief thoughts on this culture, see n. 176.

42 Schwarz 1975, 360; Beck *et al.* (eds.) 1986, 230–239; Tomičić 2020, 166.

43 Giesler 1980, 87–88; Eichert 2013, 426–427.

44 Kramer 1994, 31.

45 Eichert 2013, 426–427.

46 *Theophilus Presbyter*, a 12th-century Benedictine monk, described the process of enamelling in the Ottonian period in the work *Schedula diversarum artium / De diversis artibus*, along with other medieval techniques in glass and metal. About enamelling: Theophilus 1979, 126–128.

47 Korošec 1999, Taf. 42: 3–10, 43: 1, 100: 12–22.

48 Sagadin 1987, T. 40: 3.

49 Kiss (ed.) 2000, 33, Fig. 17: 11; Horváth 2015, 393, Abb. 4: 2, 408, Abb. 19: 4.

50 Brunšmid 1904, 79, Fig. 31: 3; Bunčić (ed.) 2020, 95, Fig. C.

51 Korošec 1999; Tomičić 2017, 134; 2019, 443.

52 Tomičić 2017, 135–136, Fig. 4. Tomičić joined fragments cat. nos 16 and 19 and fragments cat. nos 17 and 18.



SLIKA 1. Pogled na način izvedbe zakapčanja torkvesa, kat. br. 13 (gore), kat. br. 14 (dolje) i kat. br. 15 (desno; MMČ 17586 – MMČ 17588; snimila P. Jeršek).

FIGURE 1. View of the fastening method of torc cat. no. 13 (upper), cat. no. 14 (lower) and cat. no. 15 () (MMČ 17586 – MMČ 17588; photo by P. Jeršek).

nešto je lošijem stanju od ulomka kat. br. 19, ali međusobne dotirne točne, koje rezultiraju skladnom ogrlicom, broj i debljina žica potvrđuju ovaj zaključak (T. 4).

Torkvesi ovog vremena većinom imaju mehanizam za zakapčanje od ušice i kuke te su rijetki oni zatvorenog tipa ili otvorenog tipa bez mehanizma zakapčanja.⁵⁴ Pletu se od više kraćih žica ili manjeg broja duljih žica. Potonje se mogu presaviti dva ili čak tri puta, i više puta ući u preplet, što je vidljivo prema realizaciji kuke i ušice. Analizom torkvesa kat. br. 13 uvidamo da ga sačinjavaju originalno tri žice, od kojih je jedna dulja i svinuta, pa preplet čine četiri žice, a mehanizam zakapčanja čini ušica od jedne žice i kuka od dvije žice (T. 2: 13, sl. 1). Takvo rješenje pokazuje i torkves kat. br. 14 koji koristi dvije žice za trostruki preplet i vidno je tanji (T. 2: 14). Torkves kat. br. 15 ima središnji dio od tri žice, kao torkves kat. br. 13, ali je pleten od jedne malo deblje i trostruko svinute žice, na što sugerira kuka načinjena od jedne žice oblikovane u ušicu, a potom stisnute tako da ima funkciju kuke (T. 3: 15). Takav mehanizam ima i torkves spojen od ulomaka kat. br. 18 i 19, također od jedne trostruko svinute žice (T. 4).

Najlakši je torkves kat. br. 14 od relativno uskog prepleta (0,5 cm), ima 36 grama, a najteži je torkves kat. br. 15 sa 101 gramom i prepletom širokim 0,8 cm. Šenkovečki torkvesi većinom pripadaju skupini težih primjeraka s debljim žicama koji se datiraju između 1020-ih i 1060-ih godina.⁵⁵ Zanimljivo je da Giesler u svojoj klasifikaciji određuje tri tipa (1a–c), i to prema broju žica, a sve ih smješta u vremenski period od 970. do 1050. godine, tj. njegovi tipovi nisu vremenski osjetljivi.⁵⁶ Za šenkovečke torkvese postoji mnogo bliskih analogija s okolnih lokaliteta. Torkvesi su široko rasprostranjeni „unutar međurječja Mure, Drave, Dunava i Save,

and 19) and that the remaining two fragments probably did not form one torc (Pl. 3: 16–17; Pl. 4). The torc made of fragments cat. nos 18 and 19 is visible in the photo provided by Horvat, although it is not clear whether it was already broken then.⁵³ Fragment cat. no. 18 is in slightly worse condition than fragment cat. no. 19, but the contact points that result in a harmoniously shaped necklace, and the number and thickness of the wires, confirm this conclusion (Pl. 4).

Torcs of this time mostly have an eye-and-hook fastening mechanism, and only a few of them are closed or open-ended without fastening mechanism.⁵⁴ They are made from a smaller number of longer strings or more numerous shorter strings. Longer strings can be folded twice, or even thrice, and intertwined several times, which is evident from the hook-and-eye realization. Analysis of torc cat. no. 13 showed that it is composed of three strings, one of which is longer and bent, so the interlacing consists of four strings, and the fastening mechanism consists of a loop made with one string and a hook made with two strings (Pl. 2: 13, Fig. 1). Such a solution is also shown by torc cat. no. 14, which uses two wires for triple interlacing and is visibly thinner (Pl. 2: 14). Torc cat. no. 15 has a central part of three wires, like torc cat. no. 13, but is made from one slightly thicker and triple-bent wire, suggested by a hook made of a single wire shaped into an eyelet and then compressed so that it has the function of a hook (Pl. 3: 15). The torc assembled from fragments cat. nos 18 and 19 also has this mechanism and is made from a single triple-bent wire (Pl. 4).

The lightest is torc cat. no. 14; it is relatively narrow (0.5 cm) and weighs 36 grams, and the heaviest is torc cat. no. 15, at 101 grams with a braid 0.8 cm wide. Šenkovec torcs mostly belong to heavi-

54 Demo 2009, 462–466.

55 Demo 2009, 467.

56 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

53 Horvat 1956, Fig. 5, upper row of torcs, first from left.

54 Demo 2009, 462–466.

SLIKA 2. Detalj praporca, kat. br. 11 (MMČ 17585; snimila P. Jeršek).

FIGURE 2. Detail of bell-pendant cat. no. 11 (MMČ 17585; photo by P. Jeršek).



ali i u okolnim područjima, primjerice u bosanskoj Posavini (Junuzovci) i u južnom dijelu Potkozarja u Gomjenici te u Bačkoj i susjednom mađarskom dijelu Baranje⁵⁷. Najbliži lokalitet s torkvesima jest Središće ob Dravi, odakle su poznata dva. Onaj iz groba 12 najslabiji je torkvesu kat. br. 14.⁵⁸ Od ukupno 17 torkvesa s Ptujškoga grada, njih šest ima kombinaciju šire i tanje žice, što ne nalazimo kod šenkovečkih torkvesa. No slični su oni iz grobova 100, 175, 210 i 385.⁵⁹ Jedan torkves iz Kloštra Podravskeg pleten je kao torkves kat. br. 14.⁶⁰ Iz velikoga groblja u Halimbi dolaze samo tri torkvesa, a sva tri su pletena kao torkves kat. br. 15.⁶¹

Torkvese često prate lunulasti privjesci pa ne iznenađuje njihova prisutnost u šenkovečkoj skupini (kat. br. 7–10, T. 1: 7–10). Četiri su primjerka lijevana u bronci, a ukras čine plastična ispupčenja raspoređena u oblik piramide s vrhom prema dolje, zajedno s reljefnim linijama u obliku riblje kosti. Giesler ih je označio tipom 12 i datirao od 960-ih do 1040-ih godina, ali pojavljuju se i kasnije.⁶² Pretpostavlja se da su se nosili prišiveni na lanenu traku, kao samostalan privjesak ili kao privjesak na ogrlici.⁶³ Privjeske s identičnim ukrasom nalazimo, primjerice, na Ptujskom gradu,⁶⁴ Csepreg-Szentkirályju⁶⁵ i Majs-Udvaru.⁶⁶ Grob 385 s Ptujškoga grada uz pet lunulastih privjesaka sadrži sličan torkves i praporac te je datiran u kraj 10. ili prvu polovicu 11. stoljeća.

Kružoliki praporac ima križno razrezan donji dio ukrašen paralelnim linijama, što je jedan od tipičnih načina ukrašavanja praporaca (kat. br. 11, sl. 2, T. 2: 11). U unutrašnjosti se nalazi kamen-

er specimens with thicker strings that can be dated between the 1020s and 1060s.⁵⁵ Interestingly, Giesler in his classification distinguished three types (1a–c) depending on the number of wires, and placed all types in the period 970 – 1050; i.e. his types are not time-sensitive.⁵⁶ There are many close analogies to Šenkovec torcs from the surrounding sites. Torcs are widely distributed “within the interfluvium of the Mura, Drava, Danube and Sava, but also in the surrounding areas, such as Bosnian Posavina (Junuzovci) and in the southern part of Potkozarje, in Gomjenica, and in Bačka and the neighbouring Hungarian part of Baranja”.⁵⁷ The nearest site with torcs is Središće ob Dravi, where two are known. The one from grave 12 is most similar to torc cat. no. 14.⁵⁸ Out of a total of 17 torcs from Ptujski grad, six have a combination of wider and thinner wire, unlike the Šenkovec torcs. However, the torcs from graves 100, 175, 210 and 385 are similar.⁵⁹ One torc from Kloštar Podravski is made like torc cat. no. 14.⁶⁰ Only three torcs come from the large cemetery in Halimba, and all three are made like torc cat. no. 15.⁶¹

Torcs are often accompanied by crescent-shaped pendants, so their presence in the Šenkovec group is not surprising (cat. nos 7–10, Pl. 1: 7–10). They are cast in bronze, and the decoration consists of granules arranged in an inverted pyramidal shape, along with herringbone relief lines. Giesler marked them as type 12 and dated them from the 960s to the 1040s, but they can appear later.⁶² It is assumed that they were worn sewn on a linen ribbon, as a stand-alone pendant or as a necklace pendant.⁶³ Pendants

57 Tomičić 2017, 136; 2019, 443–444.

58 Korošec 1947, 40, sl. 37; Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 116–118 (385, 388).

59 Korošec 1999, Taf. 10: 10, 17: 3, 24: 1, 39: 1; Tomičić 2017, 136; 2019, 443.

60 Brunšmid 1904, 80, sl. 32. Analiza izloženog stalnoga postava u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu (2018).

61 Török 1962, 152 (G399), 155–156 (G534, G607), Taf. 27: 399, 35: 534, 36: 607.

62 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

63 Demo 2014, 82; Tomičić 2017, 138.

64 Korošec 1999, 63, Taf. 39: 1; Tomičić 2017, 138; 2019, 444.

65 Kiss (ed.) 2000, 33, sl. 17: 12.

66 Kiss 1983, 321, T. 13, 400, T. 92.

55 Demo 2009, 467.

56 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

57 Tomičić 2017, 136; 2019, 443–444.

58 Korošec 1947, 40, Fig. 37; Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 116–118 (385, 388).

59 Korošec 1999, Taf. 10: 10, 17: 3, 24: 1, 39: 1; Tomičić 2017, 136; 2019, 443.

60 Brunšmid 1904, 80, Fig. 32. Analysis of the exhibits on permanent display at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (2018).

61 Török 1962, 152 (G399), 155–156 (G534, G607), Taf. 27: 399, 35: 534, 36: 607.

62 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

63 Demo 2014, 82; Tomičić 2017, 138.

čić za proizvodnju zvuka. Konvencionalno se klasificira kao tip 10a po Giesleru koji ih je, poput dvodijelnih privjesaka, uvrstio u forme staromađarskog miljea.⁶⁷ Primjerci s groblja Vukovar-Lijeva Bara dolaze kao ukras gornjeg dijela odjeće ili kao dodatak ogrlici te redovito dolaze u grobovima s torkvesima kojih u šenkovečkoj skupini imamo poprilično.⁶⁸ U slovenskom Središču jedan je praporac sačuvan s ostacima tkanine.⁶⁹ Na Ptujskom gradu nalaze se u grobovima s torkvesima, ogrlicama od perli, dvodijelnim i lunulastim privjescima.⁷⁰ Nalazimo ih i u obližnjem Velikom Bukovcu,⁷¹ Kloštru Podravskom,⁷² Zvonimirovu,⁷³ Josipovu⁷⁴ te Mahovljanima,⁷⁵ Bagruši kod Petoševaca⁷⁶ i Gomjenici u Bosanskoj Posavini.⁷⁷ Praporac iz groba 717 iz Lobora-Majka Božja Gorská datiran je u 11. stoljeće, tj. do početka 12. stoljeća.⁷⁸

Šenkovečkoj skupini pripada i jedan dvodijelni privjesak u ulomcima (kat. br. 5–6, T. 1: 5–6). Okrugli gornji dio je s prednje strane ukrašen konveksnim krugom sa središnjim udubljenjem, a sa stražnje strane ima dva žičana istaka okrenuta prema dolje za pričvršćivanje na odjeću. Mjesto spoja gornjeg i donjeg dijela nedostaje. Donji je dio listolikog ili srcolikog oblika, a središnji ukras čini motiv stilizirane sovine glave. Privjesak odgovara tipu 9a po Giesleru koji ih datira od sredine 10. stoljeća, ako ne i ranije, do 1030-ih godina. Giesler ih smješta u forme staromađarskog miljea koje se pojavljuju u tzv. bjelobrdskoj kulturi.⁷⁹ Smatra se da se razvijaju iz staromađarskih jednodijelnih privjesaka vrlo sličnog izgleda, tj. imali su samo donji listoliki dio, što potvrđuju istraživanja grobalja na Kami i Uralu, gdje su se nosili na ogrlicama.⁸⁰ U Panoniji privjesci dobivaju gornji dio s kojeg visi listoliki dio dopunjen više ili manje izraženim kapljičastim krajem. Dvodijelni privjesci imaju bogatiji repertoar ukrasa.⁸¹ Šenkovečki primjerak pripada Deminom tipu 10, odnosno tipu 1b po Bálintu i 10h2.4 po Gállu,⁸² s analogijama u Kloštru Podravskom (5 komada), Ptujskom gradu (grob 181, 2 komada), Fiad-Kérpusztu (grob 62, 4 primjerka, grob 285, 2 primjerka), Gomjenici (grob 69 s 1, 125 sa 6, grob 161 sa 6 primjeraka), Mahovljanima (grob 68, 4 primjerka), Vasasu (grob 33, 12 primjeraka).⁸³ Privjesci ovog tipa iz Csongrád-Máme datirani su novcem Stjepana I. (1000. – 1038.).⁸⁴ Ulomci

with identical decoration can be found for example in Ptujski grad,⁶⁴ Csepreg-Szentkirály⁶⁵ and Majs-Udvar.⁶⁶ Tomb 385 of Ptujski grad, with five crescent-shaped pendants, contains a similar torc and bell-pendant and is dated to the very end of the 10th century or the first half of the 11th.

The pear-shaped bell-pendant has a cross-cut lower part decorated with parallel lines, which is one of the typical ways of decorating such pendants (cat. no. 11, Fig. 2, Pl. 2: 11). Inside there is a stone for sound production. It is conventionally classified as type 10a by Giesler, who included them, like the two-piece pendants, in the forms of the Old Hungarian milieu.⁶⁷ Specimens from the Vukovar-Lijeva Bara cemetery come as a decoration of the upper part of clothing or as an addition to a necklace, and regularly come in graves with torcs, of which we have quite a few in the Šenkovec group.⁶⁸ In Središče ob Dravi a bell-pendant was found with the remains of a cloth.⁶⁹ In Ptujski grad they were found in tombs with torcs, bead necklaces, two-piece and crescent-shaped pendants.⁷⁰ We also find them in nearby Veliki Bukovec,⁷¹ Kloštar Podravski,⁷² Zvonimirovo,⁷³ Josipovo,⁷⁴ Mahovljani,⁷⁵ Bagruša near Petoševac,⁷⁶ and Gomjenica in Bosanska Posavina.⁷⁷ The bell-pendant from grave 717 of Lobor-Our Lady of the Mountain is dated to the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century.⁷⁸

One fragmented two-part pendant also belongs to the Šenkovec group of finds (cat. nos 5–6, Pl. 1: 5–6). The round upper part is decorated with a convex circle with a central recess, and two wire protrusions on the back, facing downwards for fastening to clothing. The junction of the upper and lower part is missing. The lower part is leaf-shaped or heart-shaped, and the central decoration is a stylized owl's head. The pendants correspond to Giesler type 9a, dated from the mid-10th century, if not earlier, to the 1030s. Giesler places them in the forms of the Old Hungarian milieu that appears in the 'Bijelo brdo' culture.⁷⁹ It is believed that they developed from Hungarian one-piece pendants of a very similar appearance, i.e. they had only a lower leaf-like part,

67 Giesler 1981, 89, Taf. 53.

68 Demo 2009, 484–486.

69 Korošec 1947, 38.

70 Korošec 1999, Taf. 4: 4–7, 17: 7, 18: 1, 39: 7, 42: 1.

71 Brunšmid 1904, 85, sl. 38: 4–5; Tomičić 2000, 291, 295.

72 Brunšmid 1904, 79, sl. 31: 1, 82, sl. 35: 2.

73 Tomičić 1997, 52, sl. 39; 2000, 291.

74 Tomičić 1997, 25, sl. 15; 2000, 291.

75 Miletić 1979, T. 14–15, 18; Tomičić 2017, 141.

76 Žeravica 1985/1986, T. 4, 7; Tomičić 2010, T. 15: 5, 24: 7; 2017, 141.

77 Tomičić 2007, T. 1. 2, 3, 5–6; 2017, 141.

78 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 197, kat. br. 121.

79 Giesler 1981, 90, Taf. 53.

80 Demo 1983, 275–276.

81 Demo 1983, 275–276.

82 Bálint 1991, 125, Taf. 37: 1–17, 126; Gáll 2013, T. 315, 10h2.4.

83 Demo 1983, 284–286.

84 Petrinec 2009, 254–255.

64 Korošec 1999, 63, T. 39: 1; Tomičić 2017, 138; 2019, 444.

65 Kiss (ed.) 2000, 33, Fig. 17: 12.

66 Kiss 1983, 321, T. 13, 400, T. 92.

67 Giesler 1981, 89, Taf. 53.

68 Demo 2009, 484–486.

69 Korošec 1947, 38.

70 Korošec 1999, Taf. 4: 4–7, 17: 7, 18: 1, 39: 7, 42: 1.

71 Brunšmid 1904, 85, Fig. 38: 4–5; Tomičić 2000, 291, 295.

72 Brunšmid 1904, 79, Fig. 31: 1, 82, Fig. 35: 2.

73 Tomičić 1997, 52, Fig. 39; 2000, 291.

74 Korošec 1999, 63, T. 39: 1; Tomičić 2017, 138; 2019, 444.

75 Miletić 1979, T. 14–15, 18.

76 Žeravica 1985/1986, T. 4, 7; Tomičić 2010, T. 15: 5, 24: 7; 2017, 141.

77 Tomičić 2007, T. 1. 2, 3, 5–6; 2017, 141.

78 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 197, cat. no. 121.

79 Giesler 1981, 90, Taf. 53.

SLIKA 3. Detalji prstena, kat. br. 3 (lijevo) i kat. br. 4 (desno; MMČ 17440 – MMČ 17441; snimila P. Jeršek).

FIGURE 3. Ring cat. no. 3 (left) and cat. no. 4 (right), details (MMČ 17440 – MMČ 17441; photo by P. Jeršek).



ovog tipa iz Središća,⁸⁵ Spodnje Hajdine⁸⁶ i Lobora⁸⁷ dosad nisu istaknuti kao analogije. Položaj dvodijelnih privjesaka u grobovima upućuje na to da su se nosili u predjelu vrata, našiveni na odjeći ili ogrlici.⁸⁸ Nažalost, teško je znati je li šenkovečki privjesak izolirani nalaz ili ih je bilo više pa nisu sačuvani; spomenuti lokaliteti pokazuju da njihov broj u grobovima varira, od jednog privjeska do čak dvanaest. Tomičić prisutnost ovog ukrasnoga dijela odjeće tumači nazočnošću staromađarske populacije u mursko-dravskom međurječju,⁸⁹ što nije nemoguće, međutim, vidljivo je da se pojavljuju i na grobljima udaljenima od Ugarske. Razumljivo je da je staromađarska nošnja utjecala na tadašnju modu prostora izvan ugarske države.

Šenkovečka skupina sadržava dva prstena (sl. 3, T. 1: 3–4). Jedan, kat. br. 3, zatvorenog je tipa i valovito definirane površine, a drugi, kat. br. 4, pravokutnog presjeka i otvorenog tipa kojemu se dodiruju krajevi. Prsten kat. br. 3 pripada tipu 34a po Giesleru, a vrlo sličan prsten nalazi se u grobu 9 u Sv. Jurju kod Trnja, koji se doima njegovom iznošenijom varijantom (kat. br. 27, T. 6: 27). Od drugih analogija valja spomenuti prsten iz Kloštra Podravskeg,⁹⁰ Središća,⁹¹ Sv. Gore iznad Bistrice ob Sotli.⁹² Dvije analogije nalaze se u kombinaciji sa srebrnim denarom ugarskog kralja Andrije I. (1046. – 1060.), u Bijelom Brdu i Halimbi,⁹³ koje daju okvirno vrijeme korištenja, što ostali šenkovečki nalazi manje-više podržavaju. Za prsten kat. br. 4 najbližnje primjerke nalazimo u Kranju-križišće Iskra⁹⁴ i na Ptujskom gradu, gdje je u grobu 192 u funkciji privjeska torkvesa.⁹⁵

which is confirmed by research on cemeteries in the Kama region and the Urals, where they were worn on necklaces.⁸⁰ In Pannonia, the pendants are given an upper part from which the leaf-shaped part hangs, supplemented by a more or less pronounced tear-drop-shaped end. Two-piece pendants have a richer repertoire of decoration.⁸¹ The Šenkovec specimen belongs to Demo's type 10, i.e. Bálint's type 1b and Gáll's type 10h2.4,⁸² with analogies in Kloštar Podravski (5 pieces), Ptujski grad (grave 181, 2 pieces), Fiad-Képuszta (grave 62, 4 specimens; grave 285, 2 specimens), Gomjenica (grave 69 with 1, grave 125 with 6, grave 161 with 6 specimens), Mahovljani (grave 68, 4 specimens), Vasas (grave 33, 12 specimens).⁸³ Pendants of this type from Csongrád-Máma are dated by coinage of Stephen I (1000 – 1038).⁸⁴ Fragments of this type from Središće,⁸⁵ Spodnja Hajdina⁸⁶ and Lobor⁸⁷ have not yet been highlighted as analogies. The position of the two-part pendants in the tombs suggests that they were worn in the neck area, sewn on clothing or on a necklace.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, it is difficult to know whether the Šenkovec specimen is an isolated find or there were more, but not preserved; the abovementioned analogies show that their number in graves varies, from one pendant to as many as twelve. Tomičić explains the presence of this jewellery form by the presence of the Old Hungarian population in the Mura – Drava interfluvium,⁸⁹ which is not impossible, but it is evident that they also appear in cemeteries far from Hungary. It is understandable that the old Hungarian costume influenced fashion outside the Hungarian state.

85 Korošec 1947, 37, sl. 34 (gornji dio dvodijelnog privjeska, na slici unutar velikoformatne s-karičice).

86 Korošec 1947, 30–31, sl. 28 (gornji dio dvodijelnog privjeska).

87 Filipec 2021, 405–407; Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 191, kat. br. 11–14.

88 Tomičić 2017, 140.

89 Tomičić 2017, 144.

90 Brunšmid 1904, 78–79, sl. 30: 10, 31: 7.

91 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 117 (387).

92 Korošec 1969, T. 1.

93 Török 1962, 157 (G624), 166 (G631), Taf. 39: 624, 78: 631; Tomičić 1991, 103; 2017, 137.

94 Sagadin 1987, 95, T. 38.

95 Korošec 1999, Taf. 16: 6, 20: 12a, 21: 15.

80 Demo 1983, 275–276.

81 Demo 1983, 275–276.

82 Bálint 1991, 125–126, Taf. 37: 1–17; Gáll 2013, T. 315, 10h2.4.

83 Demo 1983, 284–286.

84 Petrinc 2009, 254–255.

85 Korošec 1947, 37, Fig. 34 (the upper part of the two-part pendant, inside the large-format S-hoop in the photograph).

86 Korošec 1947, 30–31, Fig. 28 (the upper part of the two-part pendant).

87 Filipec 2021, 405–407; Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 191, cat. nos 11–14.

88 Tomičić 2017, 140.

89 Tomičić 2017, 144.

Posljednji je nalaz iz ove skupine životinjski zub (kat. br. 12, T. 2: 12). Horvat ga svojedobno nije fotografirala zajedno s drugim nalazima. U staru inventarnu knjigu Muzeja Međimurja uveden je kao „vjerojatno zub mlađeg vepra nošen vjerojatno kao amajlija“, a u novu inventarnu knjigu kao zub divlje svinje.⁹⁶ Tomičić smatra da se radi o perforiranom očnjaku psa, interpretira ga kao privjesak i amajliju, a kao najbližu analogiju izdvaja grob 230 na Ptujskom gradu.⁹⁷ Ustanovljeno je da je ipak riječ o sjekutiću svinje, ali ne može se sa sigurnošću reći radi li se o domaćoj ili divljoj svinji.⁹⁸ Nadalje, spomenuta perforacija može se interpretirati kao oštećenje, odnosno prirodna morfologija zuba. Oštećenje je vidljivo samo s unutarnje strane, na samom vrhu zuba, gdje ga je normalno očekivati kao posljedicu trošenja zuba.⁹⁹

Kada ovu skupinu nalaza sagledamo u cjelini i pokušamo je vremenski opredijeliti, teško je dati užu dataciju od kraja 10. i prve polovice 11. stoljeća, tim više što govorimo o skupini nalaza iz neubiciranoga groblja koje bi vjerojatno dalo još komparativnog arheološkog materijala kada bi ga bilo moguće dalje istraživati. Tipovi nalaza poput torkvesa, lunulastih i dvodijelnih privjesaka govore o vremenu kada je repertoar grobnih nalaza bio nešto bogatiji, barem u odnosu na grobove kasnijeg 11. stoljeća.

The Šenkovec group contains two rings (Fig. 3, Pl. 1: 3–4). One, cat. no. 3, has a wavy defined surface and closed band, and the second, cat. no. 4, has rectangular cross-section and open band with touching ends. Ring cat. no. 3 is Giesler type 34a, and a very similar ring is found in grave 9 in Sv. Juraj u Trnju, which seems to be a worn-out variant (cat. no. 27, Pl. 6: 27). Among other analogies we mention those from Kloštar Podravski,⁹⁰ Središće⁹¹ and Svete Gore, near Bistrica ob Sotli.⁹² Two other analogies, in combination with the silver denarius of the Hungarian King Andrew I (1046 – 1060) were found in Bijelo Brdo and Halimba,⁹³ which give an approximate usage time that other Šenkovec finds more or less support. Ring cat. no. 4 has close analogies in Kranj-križišče Iskra⁹⁴ or Ptujski grad, where it is used as a torc pendant in grave 192.⁹⁵

The last find from this group is an animal tooth (cat. no. 12, Pl. 2: 12). Horvat did not photograph this tooth with the other findings. In the old Museum of Međimurje inventory book it is mentioned as “probably the tooth of a younger boar worn probably as an amulet”, and in the new inventory book as the tooth of a wild boar/pig.⁹⁶ Tomičić believes that this is a perforated dog’s canine, interprets it as a pendant and amulet, and as the closest analogy he singles out grave 230 in Ptujski grad.⁹⁷ However, it has been established that it is a pig’s incisor, but it cannot be said with certainty whether it is a domestic or wild pig.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the said perforation can be interpreted as tooth damage, i.e. the natural morphology of the tooth. It is visible only from the inside of the tooth, at the very tip, where it is normal to expect it as a result of tooth wear.⁹⁹

When we look at this group of finds as a whole and try to date it, it is difficult to give a narrower dating than the end of the 10th century and the first half of the 11th, especially since we are talking about a group of finds from an unknown cemetery which could probably give more archaeological material when further research is possible. Finds such as torcs, crescent-shaped and two-part pendants speak of a time when the repertoire of grave finds was somewhat richer, at least compared to the graves of the later 11th century.

96 DMMČ.

97 Tomičić 2017, 141.

98 Mišljenje dr. sc. Zdravke Hincak (email 2. 12. 2021.).

99 Hillson 2005, 214.

90 Brunšmid 1904, 78–79, Figs 30: 10, 31: 7.

91 Bitenc, Knific (eds.) 2001, 117 (387).

92 Korošec 1969, T. 1.

93 Török 1962, 157 (G624), 166 (G631), Taf. 39: 624, 78: 631; Tomičić 1991, 103; 2017, 137.

94 Sagadin 1987, 95, T. 38.

95 Korošec 1999, Taf. 16: 6, 20: 12a, 21: 15.

96 DMMČ.

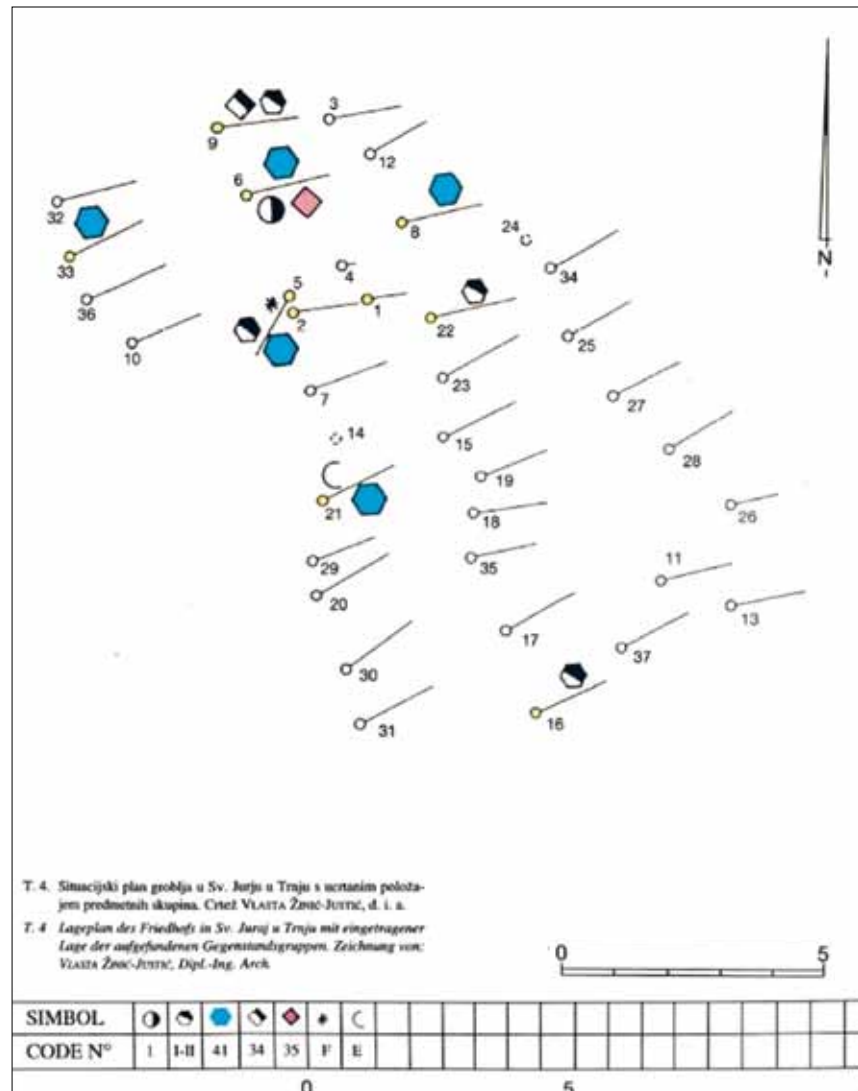
97 Tomičić 2017, 141.

98 Opinion of Zdravka Hincak, PhD (via email December 2nd 2021).

99 Hillson 2005, 214.

SLIKA 4. Plan groblja Sv. Juraj u Trnju (Tomičić 1999, T. 4).

FIGURE 4. Plan of the cemetery of Sv. Juraj u Trnju (Tomičić 1999, T. 4).



Sveti Juraj u Trnju – Područna škola

Sv. Juraj u Trnju manje je naselje u nizinskom dijelu Međimurja u kojem se 1983./4. godine istraživalo groblje na redove, otkriveno prilikom izgradnje područne škole (sl. 4). Kosturni ukopi nalaze se u neposrednoj blizini župne Crkve sv. Jurja, preko puta državne ceste Goričan – Čakovec.¹⁰⁰ Istražen je jedan dio groblja sa 40 grobova južno od crkve. Pokojnici su orijentirani Z – I uz veći ili manji otklon i sahranjeni u pravilnim redovima.¹⁰¹

Groblje i nalaze obradio je i objavio 1999. godine Ž. Tomičić.¹⁰² Tada je objavljen najveći dio materijala, ali ne u cijelosti svi nalazi, što je autor i naveo. Naime, za potrebe svoje analize izdvaja 5 od 13 grobnih cjelina s nalazima (grobovi 5–6, 8–9 i 16). U grobu 5 nalazila se ogrlica s glinenim perlama, perlama od ametista i fluorita, izduljenim metalnim tuljcem zelene boje i kauri pužićem u funkciji perle, ulomak zvjezdolikog petokrakoga privjeska

Sveti Juraj u Trnju-Područna škola (District school)

Sveti Juraj u Trnju is a smallish village in the lowland part of Međimurje, where a medieval cemetery was explored in 1983/4, discovered during the construction of the district school (Fig. 4). Skeletal burials are located near the parish church of St Juraj (St George), across the Goričan – Čakovec state road.¹⁰⁰ One part of the cemetery, with 40 graves south of the church, was explored. The deceased were oriented W – E, with various degrees of deviation, and were buried in rows.¹⁰¹

The cemetery and the findings were analysed and published in 1999 by Ž. Tomičić.¹⁰² Most of the material was published then, but not all of the findings, as the author stated in the article. For the purposes of the analysis, he singled out 5 of the 13 graves with finds (graves 5–6, 8–9 and 16). Grave 5 contained a necklace with clay beads, amethyst and fluorite beads, an elongated green

100 Tomičić 1999, 41; 2020, 167.

101 Tomičić 1999, 41–42.

102 Tomičić 1999. Svi nalazi i prateća terenska dokumentacija pohranjeni su u Muzeju Međimurja u Čakovcu.

100 Tomičić 1999, 41; 2020, 167.

101 Tomičić 1999, 41–42.

102 Tomičić 1999. The findings and accompanying field documentation are stored in the Museum of Međimurje in Čakovec.

te jedna manja s-karičica raskucanog i narebrenog kraja u obliku slova „s“ (kat. br. 20–22, T. 5: 20–22).¹⁰³ Perle su poliedarskog oblika i facetirane, tj. imaju izbrušene plohe, odnosno facete. Ogrlica danas ne sadržava sve navedene perle, međutim, postoje neatribuirane perle iz ove skupine nalaza. Izbor od bolje sačuvanih perli uvršten je u katalog (kat. 50–54, T. 7: 50–54). Slična ogrlica nalazila se u grobu 6, zajedno sa srebrnom lijevanom naušnicom tzv. volinjskog tipa (Gieslerov tip 17b) i prstenom (Gieslerov tip 35) od raskovanog lima ukrašenog nizom trokutastih motiva (kat. br. 23–25, sl. 5, T. 5: 23–25).¹⁰⁴ Prsten s istim ukrasom pronađen je i u grobu 36 (kat. br. 47, sl. 5, T. 7: 47). Ogrlica od kauri pužića te poliedarskih fluoritnih i glinenih perli jedini je nalaz u grobu 8 (kat. br. 26, T. 5: 26).¹⁰⁵ Terenska dokumentacija spominje pronalazak glinenih perli, perli od ametista i kauri pužića u grobu 4, međutim, kako danas nisu povezane u ogrlicu, nije poznato o kojim perlama iz fundusa muzeja je točno riječ.¹⁰⁶ Jedna staklena(?) perla pronađena je u grobu 33.¹⁰⁷

Od ostalih grobova s nalazima, grobna cjelina 9 sadržavala je dvije velikoformatne s-karičice od tanje žice i jedan prsten s režnjevima ili narebrenim grebenom, Gieslerov tip 34a (kat. br. 27–29, T. 6: 27–29).¹⁰⁸ Karičice su dosta oštećene; s karičice kat. br. 28 otrgnut je dio s-nastavka, a karičica kat. br. 29 je slomljena, ali krajevi se mogu spojiti, nema sačuvan s-nastavak, ali se može zaključiti da ga je imala. Grobna cjelina 16 sadržavala je pet s-karičica i poznate su iz crteža s kojeg ih nije bilo jednostavno identificirati.¹⁰⁹ Usporedbom je utvrđeno da se radi o s-karičicama kat. br. 31–35, od kojih su dvije brončane i tri željezne (T. 6: 31–35). Za sedam s-karičica iz groba 22 (kat. br. 37–43, T. 6: 37–43) otprije je poznato da su srebrne, što je olakšalo atribuciju brončanih, odnosno željeznih s-karičica u grobu 16. Grob 22 obrađen je u katalogu izložbe 40 godina arheoloških istraživanja (...), gdje se daju mjere nalaza i fotografija,¹¹⁰ a u objavi groblja nalazi se tabla s pet od sedam s-karičica iz ovoga groba.¹¹¹ S-karičice iz groba 22 djelomično su oštećene te na njih tri nedostaje s-završetak. Postoji mogućnost da je ovom grobu, ili grobu 12, pripadao pr-

metal bead and a cowrie shell functioning as a bead, a fragment of a star-shaped five-pointed pendant and a small S-hoop with a torn and ribbed end in the shape of the letter 'S' (cat. nos 20–22, Pl. 5: 20–22).¹⁰³ The beads are polyhedral in shape and faceted, i.e. they have polished surfaces, facets. The necklace today does not contain all of the beads listed; however, there are unattributed beads from this group of finds in the Museum of Međimurje. A selection of preserved beads is contained in the catalogue (cat. nos 50–54, Pl. 7: 50–54). A similar necklace was found in grave 6, together with a silver cast earring of the 'Volyn type' (Giesler type 17b) and a ring (Giesler type 35) made of thinned sheet metal decorated with a series of triangular motifs (cat. nos 23–25, Fig. 5, Pl. 5: 23–25).¹⁰⁴ A ring with the same ornament was also found in grave 36 (cat. no. 47, Fig. 5, Pl. 7: 47). A necklace made of cowrie shells, polyhedral fluorite and clay beads is the only find in grave 8 (cat. no. 26, Pl. 5: 26).¹⁰⁵ The field documentation also mentions clay beads, amethyst pearls and cowrie shells from grave 4; however, since they are not connected in a necklace today, it is not known exactly which beads from the museum's holdings these are.¹⁰⁶ One (listed as) glass bead was found in grave 33.¹⁰⁷

Of the other tombs with finds, grave 9 contained two large-format S-hoops of thinner wire and one ring with ribbed ridge, Giesler type 34a (cat. nos 27–29, Pl. 6: 27–29).¹⁰⁸ The S-hoops are quite damaged; S-hoop cat. no. 28 has part of the S-end torn off, and S-hoop cat. no. 29 is broken; its ends can be joined: there is no preserved S-extension, but it is visible that it was there. Grave 16 contained five S-hoops, and they are known from a drawing, but it was not easy to identify them.¹⁰⁹ By comparison, it was determined that these are the S-hoops cat. nos 31–35, two of bronze and three of iron (Pl. 6: 31–35). Seven S-hoops from grave 22 (cat. nos 37–43, Pl. 6: 37–43) are already known to be silver, which made the attribution of bronze/iron S-hoops to grave 16 easier. Grave 22 was included in the catalogue of the exhibition *40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, where measurements and photographs are given;¹¹⁰ and, when the site

103 Tomičić 1999, 51; 2020, 167.

104 Tomičić 1999, 43, 46.

105 Tomičić 1999, 47, T. 2.

106 Terenska dokumentacija Muzeja Međimurja Čakovec (ne sadržava fotografije nalaza). Poteškoće s atribuiranjem perli iz fundusa muzeja ogrlice iz groba 4 proizlaze djelomično i iz toga što terenska dokumentacija, koja navodi broj perli i vrstu perli za svaku ogrlicu, spominje glinene perle i na ogrlicama iz grobova 6 (njih na ogrlici u muzeju nema, a navode se 3) i 8 (na ogrlici su samo 3 od 6 spomenutih glinenih perli). Kako na ogrlici iz groba 8 danas nedostaju i neki kauri pužići (spominje ih se 14, sastavljeno ih je 11), kao što uostalom vrijedi i za jedini kauri pužić s ogrlice iz groba 5 i 6, niti njih nije moguće sigurnije povezati s ogrlicom iz groba 4.

107 Terenska dokumentacija Muzeja Međimurja Čakovec.

108 Tomičić 1999, 45–47, T. 3.1. Radi se o izlisanom prstenu koji je nekada imao valovitu površinu, što je vidljivo na fotografiji iz Tomičić 2019, 430, T. 12.

109 Tomičić 1999, T. 3.2.

110 40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj 1986, 70, sl. 36, 158 (br. 261).

111 Tomičić 1999, 55, T. 5.2.; 2019, 430, T. 13–14. Međutim, vjerojatno omaškom, navedeno je da se radi o karičicama iz groba 16. Usporedbom crteža, odnosno table 3. 2 (Tomičić 1999) s nalazima iz groba 16 i table 5. 2 (fotografije) s istim nalazima uočljivo je da se ne radi o istim s-karičicama. Iz teksta, kataloga izložbe iz 1986. i iz terenske dokumentacije očito je da iz groba 22 potječe sedam srebrnih karičica, a iz groba 16 pet brončanih karičica.

103 Tomičić 1999, 51; 2020, 167.

104 Tomičić 1999, 43, 46.

105 Tomičić 1999, 47, T. 2.

106 Field documentation of the Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec (which does not contain photographs of the findings). The difficulties with attributing the beads from the museum to the necklace from grave 4 arise partly from the fact that the field documentation, which lists the number of beads and the type of beads for each necklace, also mentions clay beads on the necklaces from grave 6 (3 of them should be, but are not, on the necklace in the museum) and 8 (only 3 of the 6 clay beads mentioned are on the necklace). Since some cowrie shells are missing from the necklace from grave 8 today (14 are mentioned, 11 were assembled), as is also the case with the only cowrie shell from the necklaces from graves 5 and 6, it is not possible to connect them with the necklace from grave 4.

107 Field documentation of the Čakovec Museum of Međimurje.

108 Tomičić 1999, 45–47, T. 3.1. It is a worn ring that once had a wavy surface, which is visible in the photo in Tomičić 2019, 430, T. 12.

109 Tomičić 1999, T. 3.2.

110 40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj 1986, 70, Fig. 36, 158 (no. 261).



SLIKA 5. Prsten, kat. br. 27 i limeni prsteni s istovjetnim ukrasom punciranih trokuta, kat. br. 25 (sredina) i kat. br. 47 (desno; MMČ 1715, MMČ 1721, MMČ 1723; snimila P. Jeršek).

FIGURE 5. Ring cat. no. 27 and rings with banded cross-section and identical decoration of punctured triangles, cat. no. 25 (middle) and cat. no. 47 (right) (MMČ 1715, MMČ 1721, MMČ 1723; photo by P. Jeršek).

sten.¹¹² Radi se o neukrašenom ulomku trakastog prstena kat. br. 48 koji je jedini ostao neatribuiran (T. 7: 48). Terenska dokumentacija spominje jednu s-karičicu u grobu 12 (kat. br. 30, T. 6: 30) i jednu okruglu karičicu iz groba 30 te se najvjerojatnije radi o karičici s perforacijom na kraju (kat. br. 46, T. 7: 46). Uz grob 20 pronađen je željezni nož (kat. br. 36, T. 7: 36).¹¹³ Dijete iz groba 29 imalo je uz sebe dva životinjska zuba i zdrobljenu glinenu perlu.¹¹⁴ Zub kat. br. 44 je očnjak svinje oštećen pri korijenu, a zub kat. br. 45 sje-kutić donje čeljusti svinje (T. 7: 44–45). Ponovno nije moguće sa stopostotnom sigurnošću reći radi li se o domaćoj ili divljoj svinji (*Sus sp.*).¹¹⁵ Nijedan zub nije perforiran.

Vidljivo je da prevladava žičani nakit, u velikom broju su zastupljene ogrlice te nešto manje prsteni. O s-karičicama se u literaturi dosta pisalo, brojni autori tematizirali su pitanje njihova podrijetla i datiranja početka pojavljivanja u pojedinim regijama srednje Europe, ali nije postignut opći dogovor. Veliki interes posvećen ovom nakitnom obliku posljedica je trenda smanjivanja broja grobnih nalaza i njihovih tipova od sredine 10. stoljeća.¹¹⁶ Naime, s-karičice postaju najčešći i često jedini predmet pronađen u grobovima, a nekad su se koristile kao marker slavenskog etniciteta, što se danas odbacuje. Fusek je pokazao da su s-karičice tip nakita s vrlo izraženim lokalnim karakteristikama, tj. razne regije Karpatske kotline pokazuju različite preferencije u veličini karičica, debljini žice i širini s-nastavka.¹¹⁷ Upravo zato je zanimljiva pojava s-karičica s narebrenim krajevima. Riječ je o tri primjerka iz Sv. Jurja u Trnju s manjim dimenzijama i debljom žicom (kat. br. 22, 41, 49, sl. 6). Promjena u formatu i debljini žice uočljiva je tijekom 11. stoljeća. Žica postaje nešto deblja, često se radi o srebrnoj žici, a „s“ završetak postaje sve širi i ponekad s paralelnim linijama, tzv. narebrenim krajevima. Szóke smatra

was published, a plate with five of the seven S-hoops from this grave was provided.¹¹¹ The S-hoops from grave 22 were partially damaged, and three of them lacked the S-ending. Also, there is a possibility that a ring belonged to this grave, or to grave 12.¹¹² It is an undecorated fragment of a ring with banded cross-section, cat. no. 48, which remained unattributed (Pl. 7: 48). The field documentation mentions one S-hoop in grave 12 (cat. no. 30, Pl. 6: 30) and one simple round hoop from grave 30, and it is most likely a simple temple ring with a perforation at the end (cat. no. 46, Pl. 7: 46). An iron knife was found near grave 20 (cat. no. 36, Pl. 7: 36).¹¹³ The child's grave 29 contained two animal teeth and a crushed clay bead.¹¹⁴ Tooth cat. no. 44 is a pig's canine, damaged at the root, and tooth cat. no. 45 is a pig's incisor (Pl. 7: 44–45). Again, it cannot be said with absolute certainty whether it is a domestic or wild pig (*Sus sp.*).¹¹⁵ The teeth are not perforated to be worn as a pendant.

It can be seen that wire jewellery predominates; necklaces and rings are also quite common. A lot has been written about S-hoops; numerous authors have addressed the issue of their origin and first appearance in different regions of Central Europe, but no general agreement has been reached. The great interest dedicated to this form of jewellery is a consequence of the trend of the decreasing number of grave finds and their types from the middle of the 10th century.¹¹⁶ S-hoops became the most com-

112 Terenska dokumentacija Muzeja Međimurja Čakovec, nejasne informacije.

113 Terenska dokumentacija Muzeja Međimurja Čakovec.

114 Tomičić 1999, 47, 54, T. 4. Terenska dokumentacija Muzeja Međimurja Čakovec.

115 Mišljenje dr. sc. Zdravke Hincak (email 2. 12. 2021).

116 Štefan 2009, 171.

111 Tomičić 1999, 55, T. 5.2; 2019, 430, T. 13–14. However, probably by mistake, it is stated that these are S-hoops from grave 16. Comparing T. 3.2 (Tomičić 1999) with the findings from grave 16 and T. 5.2 (the photographs mentioned) with the same findings, it is noticeable that these are not the same S-hoops. It is clear from the text, the 1986 catalogue of the exhibition and the field documentation that seven silver hoops originate from grave 22, and five bronze S-hoops from grave 16.

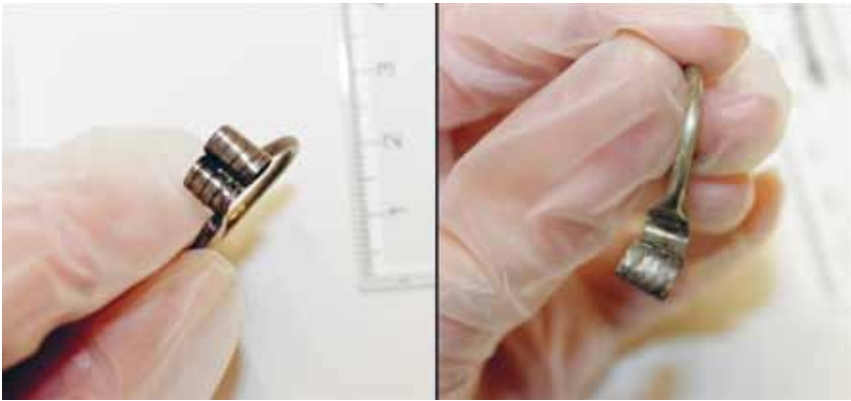
112 Field documentation of the Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec, unclear information.

113 Field documentation of the Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec.

114 Tomičić 1999, 47, 54, T. 4. Field documentation of the Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec.

115 Opinion of Zdravka Hincak, PhD (via email December 2nd 2021).

116 Štefan 2009, 171.



SLIKA 6. Narebreni krajevi s-karičica. Lijevo, kat. br. 22 / grob 5, desno kat. br. 41 / grob 22 (MMČ 1719, MMČ 1722; snimila P. Jeršek).

FIGURE 6. Ribbed ends of S-hoops. Left cat. no. 22 / grave 5, right cat. no. 41 / grave 22 (MMČ 1719, MMČ 1722; photo by P. Jeršek).

da tako s-završetak postaje snažniji i čvršći budući da je dosta širok, a tanak. Naravno, rebra doprinose i estetici same naušnice. Postoje različita mišljenja o tome kada se pojavljuju narebreni krajevi, npr. Szőke smatra da već početkom 11. stoljeća, a Giesler u zadnjoj trećini 11. stoljeća.¹¹⁸ Novija istraživanja pokazuju da se pojavljuju već u prvoj trećini 11. stoljeća, kao što pokazuju groblja u Transilvanskoj kotlini u Rumunjskoj. Grob 41 iz Várfalve sadržavao je narebreni s-karičice i narukvicu sa zmijskim glavama na krajevima, što odgovara tome vremenskom razdoblju. Transilvanska kotlina pogodna je za razrješavanje ove dileme kako moda s-karičica tamo općenito dolazi nešto kasnije, tek 1010-ih i 1020-ih godina.¹¹⁹ Moramo imati na umu dugi vremenski period u kojem se s-karičice nose i činjenicu da je moda fluidna. Naušnice se mogu modificirati, a s-karičice su mijenjale materijal, veličinu, debljinu i izgled s-nastavka, čime se svakako produžilo vrijeme korištenja.

Grob 22 sadržavao je sedam s-karičica različitih veličina (T. 6: 37–43). Karičica kat. br. 37 s promjerom od 4 cm sparena je s manjim primjercima od 2 do 3 cm (kat. br. 39–43). Primjerak kat. br. 37 ima najveći promjer, debljinu žice od 2 mm i najširi s-nastavak od čak 9 mm. Zanimljivo, s-nastavak slične širine (7 mm) ima karičica kat. br. 41 koja je najmanjeg promjera (2 cm) i najdeblje žice. Vidljivo je da nije neobično susresti nešto veće s-karičice s manjima te da veće karičice mogu imati vrlo široki s-nastavak, što je karakteristika manjih s-karičica. Od dvije velikoformatne s-karičice iz groba 9, jedna ima sačuvan s-nastavak debljine 4,5 mm (kat. br. 28–29, T. 6: 28–29). Kombinirane su s prstenom tipa 34 po Giesleru pa grob možemo okvirno datirati u kraj 10. ili na sam početak 11. stoljeća.¹²⁰ Četiri primjerka velikoformatnih s-karičica iz Veržeja u slovenskom Pomurju pokazuju da se velikoformatne s-karičice mogu izrađivati i od deblje žice, imati širi i narebreni s-nastavak, što ne nalazimo u Sv. Jurju.¹²¹ Grobna cjelina 16 sadržava brončane i željezne s-karičice ujednačenih promjera od 2,2 do 3 cm i debljine od 1 do 2 cm (kat. br. 31–35, T. 6:31–35). Ono što im se razlikuje, i to dosta, širine su s-nastavka; imamo širinu od samo 2 do čak 9 mm.

mon, and often the only, object found in graves, and they were once used as a marker of Slavic ethnicity, which is now rejected. Fusek showed that S-hoops are a type of jewellery with very pronounced local characteristics, i.e. different regions of the Carpathian Basin show different preferences in hoop size, wire thickness and S-end width.¹¹⁷ That is why the appearance of S-hoops with ribbed ends is interesting. There are three examples from Sv. Juraj u Trnju, which are smaller and with thicker wires (cat. nos 22, 41, 49, Fig. 6). The change in the format and thickness of the wire is noticeable during the 11th century. The wire becomes a bit thicker, it is often made of silver, and the S-end becomes wider and sometimes bears parallel lines, so-called ribbed ends. Szőke believes that in this way the S-end becomes stronger and firmer, as it is quite wide and thin. Of course, the ribs also contribute to the aesthetics of the earring itself. There are different opinions as to when ribbed ends appear: e.g. Szőke believes as early as the 11th century, and Giesler in the last third of the 11th century.¹¹⁸ Recent research shows that they date back to the first third of the 11th century, as shown by cemeteries in the Transylvanian Basin in Romania. Grave 41 at Várfalva contained ribbed S-hoops and a bracelet with snake heads at the ends that can be attributed to that time period. The Transylvanian Basin is suitable for resolving this dilemma, since S-hoop fashion generally arrived there somewhat later, in the 1010s and 1020s.¹¹⁹ We must keep in mind the long period of time in which S-hoops are worn and the fact that fashion is fluid. The earrings can be modified, and S-hoops changed the material, size, thickness and appearance of the S-end, which certainly extended the time of use.

Grave 22 contained seven S-hoops of various sizes (Pl. 6: 37–43). Hoop cat. no. 37, with a diameter of 4 cm, was paired with smaller hoops of 2 – 3 cm (cat. nos 39–43). Hoop cat. no. 37 has the largest diameter, a wire thickness of 2 mm and the widest S-end (9 mm). Interestingly, S-hoop cat. no. 41, with the smallest diameter (2 cm) and the thickest wire, has an S-end of similar width (7 mm). It is obvious that it is not unusual to encounter larger S-hoops with smaller ones, and that larger hoops can have a very wide S-end, which is a characteristic of smaller S-hoops. Of the two

117 Fusek 2012, 808.

118 Szőke 1977, 288; Giesler 1981, 51.

119 Gáll 2009, 165.

120 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

121 Balažić, Kerman (eds.) 1997, 350–351.

117 Fusek 2012, 808.

118 Szőke 1977, 288; Giesler 1981, 51.

119 Gáll 2009, 165.

Lijevana „volinjska“ naušnica (tip 17b po Giesleru) pomaže datirati grob 6 (kat. br. 24).¹²² Lokaliteti Zvonimirovo i Vukovar-Lijeva bara govore nam da se lijevane kopije takvih naušnica počinju izrađivati od kraja 10. ili početka 11. stoljeća, a posebno popularne postaju od 1020/30/40-ih godina¹²³ te su u uporabi sve do kraja 11. stoljeća.¹²⁴ Ogrlice iz groba 6, s perlama od flourita i ametista, slične su onima iz grobova 5 i 8 (T. 5, 20, 23, 26). Čini se da su ogrlice od mineralnih perli većinom nosile mlađe žene i djeca.¹²⁵ Ogrlice od takvih perli nisu česte kao ogrlice od manjih nemineralnih perli, ali općenito ih nije moguće datirati preciznije od kraja 10., 11. stoljeća te čak 12. stoljeća.¹²⁶ Giesler se odlučio za nešto precizniju dataciju perli poliedarskog oblika (tip 41), u drugu polovicu 11. stoljeća.¹²⁷ Takve ogrlice relativno su česte na groblju Pusztaszentlászló, a ponekad su popraćene ugarskim novcem. Radi se o novcu kralja Salomona (1063. – 1074.) u grobu 172, Ladislava I. (1077. – 1095.) u grobu 178 i Kolomana (1095. – 1116.) u grobu 125, koji govore o dugotrajnom nošenju ogrlica s poliedarskim perlama.¹²⁸ Kauri pužići zabilježeni su, primjerice, u Vinkovcima-Meraji, Josipovu, Kloštru Podravskom, Velikom Bukovcu i Pusztaszentlászlu.¹²⁹ Čini se da se u većem broju nalaze u dječjim grobovima.¹³⁰ U Bijelom Brdu nalaze se zajedno s novcem ugarskih kraljeva Andrije I. (1046. – 1060.) i Bele I. (1061. – 1063.), u Vinkovcima-Meraji s novcem Ladislava I. (1077. – 1095.),¹³¹ a u Josipovu s novcem Andrije I. (1046. – 1060.).¹³² U konačnici, grob 6 pomaže datirati posljednji predmet iz grobnog inventara – puncirani limeni prsten (kat. br. 25, sl. 5, T. 5: 25). Takvi trakasti, lime- ni prsteni mogu biti ukrašeni i neukrašeni. Ukrašavaju se nizom punciranih ravnih ili cik-cak linija, a cik-cak linije mogu teći u jednom ili dva reda.¹³³ Ovdje ukras čini dvostruki niz cik-cak linija, a slično prstenje nalazimo u Pusztaszentlászlu,¹³⁴ Vukovaru-Lijeva Bara,¹³⁵ Zagrebu-Stenjevec¹³⁶, Đakovu-Župna crkva¹³⁷ i Loboru-

large-format S-hoops from grave 9, one has a preserved S-end 4.5 mm thick (cat. nos 28 and 29, Pl. 6: 28–29). They are combined with a ring, type 34 by Giesler, so the tomb can be roughly dated to the end of the 10th century or the very beginning of the 11th.¹²⁰ Four examples of large-format S-hoops from Veržej, in Slovenian Pomurje, show that large-format S-hoops can also be made of thicker wire and have a wider and ribbed S-end, which we do not find in Sv. Juraj u Trnju.¹²¹ Grave 16 contained bronze and iron S-hoops of uniform diameters of 2.2 – 3 cm and a thickness of 1 – 2 cm (cat. nos 31–35, Pl. 6: 31–35). What differentiates them, and quite a lot, are the widths of the S-end; they vary from only 2 mm to 9.

The cast ‘Volyn’ earring (Giesler type 17b) helps to date grave 6 (cat. no. 24).¹²² Sites like Vukovar-Lijeva Bara and Zvonimirovo tell us that these cast copies began to be made from the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th, became popular from the 1020s/30s/40s¹²³ and were used until the end of the 11th century.¹²⁴

The necklaces from graves 5 and 8 are quite similar to the necklace with beads of fluorite and amethyst from grave 6 (Pls 5, 20, 23, 26). Mineral bead necklaces appear to have been worn mostly by younger women and children.¹²⁵ Necklaces made of such beads are not as common as necklaces made of smaller non-mineral beads, but in general it is not possible to date them more precisely than the end of the 10th century or the 11th, and even the 12th.¹²⁶ Giesler opted for a more precise dating of polyhedral beads (type 41) to the second half of the 11th century.¹²⁷ Such necklaces are relatively common in the Pusztaszentlászló cemetery, and were sometimes accompanied by Hungarian coinage. Coins of King Solomon (1063 – 1074) were found in grave 172, of Ladislaus I (1077 – 1095) in grave 178, and of Coloman (1095 – 1116) in grave 125, which speaks of the long duration of the wearing of necklaces with polyhedral pearls.¹²⁸ As for the cowrie shells, they were found, for example, in the Vinkovci-Meraja, Josipovo, Kloštar Podravski, Veliki Bukovec and Pusztaszentlászló cemeteries.¹²⁹ They appear to be found in greater numbers in chil-

122 „Volinjske“ ili „volinjsko-kijevske“ naušnice (poznate i kao tip 17a po Giesleru) vrsta su luksuznih grozdolikih naušnica s filigranom i granulacijom iz Kijevske Rusije, posebno omiljene u 10. stoljeću. Poznatiji su nalazi pronađeni na lokalitetima Gnezdovo u Rusiji, Berestyane i ostavama Borshchevsky i Gushchin u Ukrajini, Nowa Obra u Poljskoj te ostavi Alcedar u sjevernoj Moldaviji. (Više u Ryabtseva 2010, 275–276; 2018, 438) Pretpostavlja se da oko 1000. godine doživljavaju ekspanziju prema Karpatskoj kotlini, ali nisu česte južno od linije Drava – Sava – Dunav. Česte su njihove lijevane varijante koje više ili manje vjerno imitiraju filigran i granulaciju.

123 Demo 2009, 456.

124 Tomičić 1997, 50, sl. 35 (G16 s dvije luksuzne volinjske naušnice i sedam lijevanih imitacija); Demo 2009, 453, 456, Fig. 27: 2.1a.1, 2.1b.1, 2.2a.1 („volinjske“ naušnice iz G426 koji se datira u kraj 10. stoljeća, a lijevane inačice u G62 i G440 koji se stavljaju u prvo desetljeće 11. stoljeća).

125 Szőke, Vándor 1987, 59; Demo 2009, 473.

126 Tomičić 1999, 46.

127 Giesler 1981, 132.

128 Szőke, Vándor 1987, 30 (G125), 38 (G172), 40 (G178).

129 Tomičić 1999, 46; 2019, 431. Kauri pužići govore o trgovačkim vezama zapada s Arapima i istokom, bili su luksuzna roba koja se dopremala s Maldiva i Lakadiva u Bizant, i dalje se prodavala diljem Europe. Više o tome: Tomičić 2019, 140–141.

130 Tomičić 2019, 431.

131 Filipec 2012, 135.

132 Tomičić 2019, 431.

133 Tomičić 2019, 507.

134 Szőke, Vándor 1987, sl. 47: 5, 73: 9. Ovi primjerci su nešto tanji.

135 Demo 2009, 168–169 (G164).

136 Simoni 2004, 27, 37–38 (G65 i G120).

137 Filipec 2012, 326 (G441).

120 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

121 Balažić, Kerman (eds.) 1997, 350–351.

122 ‘Volyn’, or ‘Volyn-Kiev’ earrings (i.e. Giesler type 17a) are a type of luxurious grape-shaped earrings with filigree and granulation from Kievan Russia and popular in the 10th century. Well-known finds come from the Gnezdovo in Russia, Berestyane, Borshchevsky and Gushchin hoards from Ukraine, Nowa Obra in Poland, and the Alcedar hoard in northern Moldova. (For more information: Ryabtseva 2010, 275–276; 2018, 438). It is assumed that around 1000 they experienced an expansion towards the Carpathian Basin, but they are not common south of the Drava–Sava–Danube line. Their cast variants, which copy filigree and granulation more or less successfully, are common.

123 Demo 2009, 456.

124 Tomičić 1997, 50, Fig. 35 (G16 with two luxurious ‘Volyn’ earrings and seven cast imitations); Demo 2009, 453 (Fig. 27: 2.1a.1, 2.1b.1, 2.2a.1), 456 ‘Volyn’ earrings from G426, which is dated to the end of the 10th century, and cast versions in G62 and G440, which are placed in the first decade of the 11th century.

125 Szőke, Vándor 1987, 59; Demo 2009, 473.

126 Tomičić 1999, 46.

127 Giesler 1981, 132.

128 Szőke, Vándor 1987, 30 (G125), 38 (G172), 40 (G178).

129 Tomičić 1999, 46; 2019, 431. Cowrie shells show trade ties of the west with the Arabs and the east. They were luxury goods brought from the Maldives and Laccadives to Byzantium, and then sold throughout Europe. For more information: Tomičić 2019, 140–141.

Majka Božja Gorska.¹³⁸ Često se nalaze sa s-karičicama i datiraju u drugu polovicu 11. i početak 12. stoljeća.¹³⁹

Na groblju je pronađen jedan primjerak noža s trnom za nasad drvene drške i ravnim gornjim rubom sječiva, a vrhom blago za-košenim prema dolje (kat. br. 36, T. 7: 36). Noževi pripadaju grupi predmeta za svakodnevno korištenje kao alat koji ponekad, čak i u 10./11. stoljeću, nalazimo u grobovima. U ovom slučaju nije poznato je li pripadao muškoj ili ženskoj osobi, ali usporedbom s grobljima Vukovar-Lijeva Bara¹⁴⁰ ili Đelekovec-Ščapovo¹⁴¹ možemo pretpostaviti da je najvjerojatnije riječ o muškoj osobi. Tamo su se tek rijetko nalazili u ženskim grobovima. Ipak, noževi nisu učestali nalaz na grobljima južno od Mure i Drave pa se jedino u Vukovaru-Lijeva Bara nalaze u relativno većem broju (23 noža na 438 grobova; 5 % grobova).¹⁴² S Bijelog Brda dolaze 3 noža na 221 ranosrednjovjekovni grob (1 % grobova),¹⁴³ a uopće nisu prisutni u Josipovu i Zvonimirovu.¹⁴⁴ Nema ih niti u Pusztaszentlászlu,¹⁴⁵ a u Halimbi-Cseres omjer je bio 18 noževa na 156 grobova (11,5 %).¹⁴⁶ U Bogojevu u Srbiji samo jedan od 40 grobova ima nož (2,5 %).¹⁴⁷ Dječji grob 29 sa životinjskim zubima mogao bi odražavati lokalno vjerovanje ili tradiciju budući da zubi nisu perforirani pa vjerojatno nisu nošeni kao privjesak (kat. br. 44–45, T. 7: 44–45). Inače, ne susreću se često u ovom vremenu.

Tomičić je datirao groblje od oko 1015./20. do 1080./90., gdje su mu glavne determinante bile prsten tipa 34a kombiniran s veli-koformatnim s-karičicama (grob 9) za početak, a trakasti prsten tipa 35 i lijevana imitacija „volinjske“ naušnice (grob 6) za kraj sahranjivanja.¹⁴⁸ No moramo imati na umu da je riječ o dva susjedna groba. Također, od 40 grobova samo ih 13 ima nalaze, a od tih 13 samo tri ili četiri groba daje sigurnije datacijsko uporište. Ne možemo osporiti ponuđene okvire za pojedine nalaze, ali moguće je da je u stvarnosti riječ o puno manjem vremenskom periodu, primjerice sredine 11. stoljeća. Dodatne informacije omogućilo bi daljnje arheološko istraživanje koje bi upotpunilo saznanja o ovom groblju koje trenutno poznajemo preko jednoga manjeg iskopanog dijela. Ne smijemo zaboraviti još jednu zanimljivu činjenicu – da se groblje nalazi uz župnu crkvu. Ako pretpostavimo rasprostiranje groblja prema crkvi, iskopani segment čini njegov periferni dio. Ovo podiže pitanje starosti (prvotnog) crkvenog objekta koji je potencijalno okružen ukopima ili oko kojih se smjestila kasnija crkva. Tomičić pretpostavlja gradnju crkve najkasnije na prijelazu iz 11. u 12. stoljeće, nakon čega je groblje postalo crkveno, što bi bilo u skladu s kraljev-

ren's graves.¹³⁰ In Bijelo Brdo they are found with coinage of the Hungarian kings Andrew I (1046 – 1060) and Bela I (1061 – 1063), in Vinkovci-Meraja with coinage of Ladislaus I (1077 – 1095),¹³¹ and in Josipovo with coinage of Andrew II (1046 – 1060).¹³² Ultimately, the banded ring also helps to date grave 6 (cat. no. 25, Fig. 5, Pl. 5: 25). Such rings with banded cross-section can be decorated or undecorated. They are usually decorated with a series of punched straight or zigzag lines, and the zigzag lines can flow in one or two rows.¹³³ Here we have a double row of zigzag lines, and a very similar rings can be found in Pusztaszentlászlo,¹³⁴ Vukovar-Lijeva Bara,¹³⁵ Zagreb-Stenjevec,¹³⁶ Đakovo-Parish Church¹³⁷ and Lobar-Our Lady of the Mountain.¹³⁸ They are often found with S-hoops and date to the second half of the 11th century and the early 12th.¹³⁹

One knife, with a tang for a wooden handle and a flat upper edge to the blade, with the tip slightly sloping downwards, was found at the cemetery (cat. no. 36, Pl. 7: 36). Knives belong to the group of items for everyday use as a tool, which sometimes, even in the 10/11th century, we find in tombs. In this case, it is not known whether it belonged to a male or female person, but according to comparisons with the Vukovar-Lijeva Bara¹⁴⁰ and Đelekovec-Ščapovo¹⁴¹ cemeteries, we can assume that it is most likely a male person. There they were seldom found in women's graves. However, knives were not frequently found in cemeteries south of the Mura and Drava, and only in Vukovar-Lijeva Bara are they found in relatively large numbers (23 knives in 438 graves; 5 % of graves).¹⁴² Three knives come from Bijelo Brdo (221 early-medieval graves, 1 % of graves)¹⁴³ and they are not present at all in Josipovo and Zvonimirovo.¹⁴⁴ The same goes for Pusztaszentlászlo,¹⁴⁵ and in Halimba-Cseres the ratio was 18 knives to 156 graves (11.5 %).¹⁴⁶ In Bogojevo (Serbia) only one of the 40 graves had a knife (2.5 %).¹⁴⁷ Child's grave 29, with animal teeth, could reflect local belief or tradition; judging by the fact that they are not perforated, they were probably not worn as a pendant (cat. nos 44–45, Pl. 7: 44–45). They are not often found in graves of the 10th and 11th centuries.

138 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 197, kat. br. 122.

139 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53; Simoni 2004, 58.

140 Demo 1996, 42.

141 40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj 1986, 132.

142 Demo 2009, 409.

143 Brunšmid 1904, 36, sl. 3: 1–2, 54 (G35), 55 (G52), 58 (G78); Bunčić (ed.) 2020, 94, informacija o ukupnom broju ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova na lokalitetu.

144 Tomičić 1997, 17–26, 37–52.

145 Szóke, Vándor 1987.

146 Török 1962, 55.

147 Stanojev 1989, 25 (G20), 27/132.

148 Tomičić 1999, 47–48.

130 Tomičić 2019, 431.

131 Filipec 2012, 135.

132 Tomičić 2019, 431.

133 Tomičić 2019, 507.

134 Szóke, Vándor 1987, Figs 47: 5, 73: 9. These specimens are somewhat thinner.

135 Demo 2009, 168–169 (G164).

136 Simoni 2004, 27, 37–38 (G65, G120).

137 Filipec 2012, 326 (G441).

138 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 197, cat. no. 122.

139 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53; Simoni 2004, 58.

140 Demo 1996, 42.

141 40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj 1986, 132.

142 Demo 2009, 409.

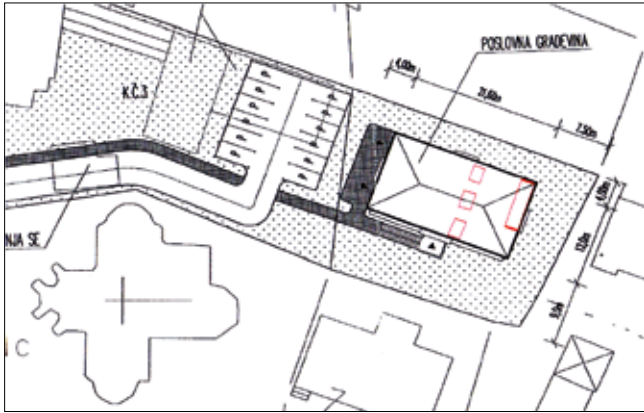
143 Brunšmid 1904, 36, Fig. 3: 1–2, 54 (G35), 55 (G52), 58 (G78); Bunčić (ed.) 2020, 94, information on the total number of early-medieval graves at the site.

144 Tomičić 1997, 17–26, 37–52.

145 Szóke, Vándor 1987.

146 Török 1962, 55.

147 Stanojev 1989, 25 (G20), 27/132.



SLIKA 7. Položaj iskopa u blizini župne crkve u Sv. Martinu na Muri. Sonde označene crvenom bojom (DMMČ).

FIGURE 7. Excavation site near the parish church in Sv. Martin na Muri. Trenches are marked in red (DMMČ).

skim propisima Ladislava I. i Kolomana.¹⁴⁹ Već je spomenuto da postoji problem jednoznačne identifikacije župe Sv. Jurja. Kako se 1334. godine u popisu župa spominje samo njezin titular Sv. Juraj, a u popisu iz 1501. godine postoje dvije župe tog titulara (Sv. Juraj u Trnju, Lopatinec), teško je sa sigurnošću reći na koju se odnosi raniji spomen. Problematika je tim veća što Rački za 1501. godinu iščitava obje župe – Thwrnyncz (Turninc, Trninc, tj. Trnje), smještenu između Sv. Mihaela u Čakovcu i župe u Bistrecu (Byztercz), i Lopathycz, a Buturac samo Lopatinec. Buturac u uvodnom dijelu čak radi opasku na kriva iščitavanja Račkog, ali na koja je točno mislio, nije precizirao.¹⁵⁰ Srša smatra da je 1334. godine riječ o župi u Lopatincu, dok Kalšan i Kolarić, koji je pisao o povijesti župe, smatraju da je riječ o župi u Sv. Jurju u Trnju.¹⁵¹ U prilog tome da je župa Sv. Jurja iz 1334. godine ona u Sv. Jurju u Trnju može ići ranosrednjovjekovno groblje. Može biti da se na tome mjestu sahranjivalo prije gradnje crkve te da se tek kasnije crkva smješta na postojeće groblje. Do 16. stoljeća na tom je položaju stajala drvena crkva, a sadašnja crkva sagrađena je u 18. stoljeću.¹⁵²

Tomičić has dated the cemetery from around 1015/20s to 1080/90s, where the main determinants were a ring of Giesler's type 34a combined with large-format S-hoops (in grave 9) for the beginning, and a band ring, type 35 by Giesler, and the cast imitation of a 'Volyn' earring (from grave 6) for the end of burial at the cemetery.¹⁴⁸ But we must keep in mind that these are two adjacent graves. Also, of the 40 graves, only 12 have finds; and, of those 12, only three or four can provide a more secure dating base. We cannot dispute the given framework for individual finds, but it is possible that, in reality, it is a much shorter period of time: for example, the middle of the 11th century. Additional information would be provided by further archaeological research that would complement our knowledge of this cemetery, which we currently know through a small excavated section. We must not forget another interesting fact: that the cemetery is located next to the parish church. If we assume the direction of spreading of the cemetery to be towards the church, the excavated segment forms the peripheral part of the cemetery. This raises the question of the age of the (original) church, which was potentially surrounded by burials, or around which the later church was located. Tomičić assumes the construction of the church to have been at the turn of the 12th century at the latest, after which the cemetery became a church graveyard, which would be in accordance with the royal regulations of Ladislaus I and Coloman.¹⁴⁹ It has already been mentioned that there is a problem of unambiguous identification of the parish of St George/Juraj. Since, in the 1334 list of parishes, we find the parish mentioned only by its patron of St Juraj (George), and in the list of 1501 we have two parishes with the same patron (in Sv. Juraj u Trnju and Lopatinec), it is difficult to say with certainty to which the earlier mention refers. The problem is all the greater because, in 1501, Rački reads both parishes: *Thwrnyncz* (Turninc, Trninc, i.e. Trnje), which is located between the parishes of St Mihael in Čakovec and the parish in Bistrec (*Byztercz*), and *Lopathycz*. On the other hand, Buturac reads only Lopatinec, and in the introduction he even makes a remark about the wrong readings of Rački, but he did not specify exactly which ones he meant.¹⁵⁰ Srša believes that Lopatinec parish is mentioned in 1334, while Kalšan and Kolarić, who have written about the history of the parish, believe that the parish in Sv. Juraj u Trnju is mentioned.¹⁵¹ The early-medieval cemetery of Sv. Juraj u Trnju can support the thesis that the parish of St George (Juraj) of 1334 is in Sv. Juraj u Trnju. It may be that the cemetery existed before the construction of the church, and that only later was the church located at the existing cemetery, which would also not be unusual. Until the 16th century a wooden church stood on this site, and the present church was built in the 18th century.¹⁵²

149 Tomičić 2019, 557; 2020, 168.

150 Rački 1872, 225–226; Buturac 1984, 43, 102–103.

151 Kolarić 1984, 12; Srša 1994b, 147–48; Kalšan 2006, 31.

152 Kolarić 1984, 11–33.

148 Tomičić 1999, 47–48.

149 Tomičić 2019, 557; 2020, 168.

150 Rački 1872, 225–226; Buturac 1984, 43, 102–103.

151 Kolarić 1984, 12; Srša 1994b, 147–48; Kalšan 2006, 31.

152 Kolarić 1984, 11–33.



SLIKA 8. Položaj triju ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova (snimio J. Vidović).

FIGURE 8. Position of three early-medieval graves (photo by J. Vidović).

Sv. Martin na Muri

Naselje Sv. Martin na Muri nalazi se uz granicu sa Slovenijom, na rijeci Muri. Upravo se ovdje najčešće ubicira rimski *Halicanum*.¹⁵³ Manji dio ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja u neposrednoj blizini Crkve Sv. Martina otkriven je 2003. godine, nakon što je Muzej Međimurja Čakovec obaviješten o iskopu na zaštićenoj arheološkoj zoni. Zaštitno istraživanje vodio je J. Vidović, a iskopavalo se na položaju buduće poslovne građevine, na udaljenosti od dvadesetak metara od istočne strane Crkve Sv. Martina. Sonda s istočne strane poslovnog objekta bila je veličine 6 x 3,80 metara, a naknadno su otvorene tri manje pomoćne sonde po sredini objekta, dimenzija 3 x 2 m, u funkciji lakšeg definiranja arheoloških slojeva (sl. 7).¹⁵⁴

Veći dio kasnije sonde već je bio djelomično iskopan pri dolasku arheologa. U njoj su otkrivena tri groba koja je moguće pripisati ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju (sl. 8). Po sredini glavne sonde nalazio se oštećeni rimskodobni ukop s velikim krovnim crjepovima, a crjepovi su pronađeni i na drugim mjestima u sondi.¹⁵⁵

Sv. Martin na Muri

Sv. Martin na Muri is located alongside the border with Slovenia, on the River Mura. It is often associated with the Roman town of *Halicanum*.¹⁵³ A small part of the early-medieval cemetery near the church of St Martin was discovered in 2003 after the Museum of Međimurje was informed about the excavation at the protected archaeological zone. The protective excavation was led by J. Vidović, and the position was the site of the future business building, at a distance of about twenty metres from the east side of the parish church of St Martin. The trench on the east side of the business building was 6 x 3.80 metres in size, and three smaller trenches were subsequently opened in the middle of the building, measuring 3 x 2 m, for easier definition of archaeological layers (Fig. 7).¹⁵⁴

A large part of the later trench had already been partially excavated before the arrival of archaeologists. Three graves have been discovered in it, which can be attributed to the early-medieval period (Fig. 8). In the middle of the main trench was a damaged Roman burial with large roof tiles. Tiles were also found elsewhere in the trench.¹⁵⁵

153 Marcuš 2016, 66–67.

154 DMMČ.

155 DMMČ. Svi nalazi s lokaliteta pohranjeni su u Muzeju Međimurja. Izvještaj o arheološkim istraživanjima donosi situacijski plan groblja, položaj grobova i fotografije nalaza s osnovnim mjerama, ali nalazi nisu obrađeni niti arheološki vrednovani.

153 Marcuš 2016, 66–67.

154 DMMČ.

155 DMMČ. All finds from the site are stored in Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec. The report on archaeological research contains the situational plan of the cemetery, the location of the graves, and photographs of the finds with basic measurements. The findings have not been analysed or archaeologically evaluated.

Vidović je zaključio da su se ukopi originalno nalazili na dubini od 1 metra, što je smanjeno na samo 20-ak centimetara tijekom mnogih snižavanja terena od strane vlasnika. Dijete iz groba 3 orijentirano je u smjeru JZ – SI, dok ukopi odraslih osoba imaju orijentaciju Z – I. Grobu 2 nedostaje lubanja, čemu je vjerojatno razlog iskopavanje bagerima pri gradnji objekta. Kod njegova groba, blizu nogu, pronađen je rimski novac, što Vidović tumači kao dislocirani nalaz iz antičkog perioda.¹⁵⁶ Riječ je o sesterciju cara Volusijana kovanog u Rimu između 251. i 253. godine (kat. br. 62, T. 8: 62).¹⁵⁷ Grobu 1 pripada šest s-karičica pronađenih kod glave te srebrni prsten na ruci (T. 8: 55–61).¹⁵⁸ Dvije s-karičice čuvaju se u Mlinarskoj kući u Sv. Martinu na Muri (kat. br. 59–60). Sve s-karičice imaju promjer između 3 i 4 cm, a najveća karičica ima promjer od 3,7 cm (kat. br. 61). Srebrni prsten otvorenog je tipa, karike pravokutnog presjeka zaobljenih rubova, a krajevi su mu suženi i dodiruju se (kat. br. 55). Pripada Gieslerovu tipu 27¹⁵⁹ i tipu 2a po Gállu.¹⁶⁰ Kao analogije, mogu se istaknuti prsteni iz Lobra-Majke Božje Gorske,¹⁶¹ Ptujškoga grada¹⁶² te Svinjarevaca.¹⁶³ Sasvim srodni prsteni prepoznati su na groblju Halimba-Cseres. Grob 371, uz srebrni prsten, sadržavao je i dvije male s-karičice načinjene od poprilično debele žice. Prsten iz Sv. Martina pratile su s-karičice nešto većih dimenzija i prosječne debljine, što možemo tumačiti kao odraz lokalne mode i preferencije. Grob 371 iz Halimbe pomažu datirati susjedni grobovi pa je tako susjedni grob 372 sadržavao srebrni denar Andrije I. (1046. – 1060.), a cijeli niz grobova u neposrednoj blizini novac kralja Salomona (1063. – 1073.).¹⁶⁴ Isti tip prstena nalazimo u grobu 552 iz Halimbe, koji je sadržavao samo prsten.¹⁶⁵ Susjedni grobovi s novcem Bele I., Salomona I. i Ladislava I. pomažu ga smjestiti u drugu polovicu 11. stoljeća. Svi navedeni grobovi iz Halimbe datiraju se šire, od sredine 11. do sredine 12. stoljeća, ali čini se da konkretni primjeri potječu iz druge polovice 11. stoljeća.¹⁶⁶ U Svinjarevcima je također pronađen novac Bele I. i Ladislava I.¹⁶⁷ Nešto robusniju varijantu prstena nalazimo na groblju Szob-Kiserdő pokraj Ostrogona. Taj prsten nema toliko sužene krajeve i nešto je deblji. Popraćen je luksuznom naušnicom „volinjskog“ tipa, ogrlicom od perli i narukvicom od pletene žice, što upućuje na sredinu 11. stoljeća.¹⁶⁸ Prsten iz Sv. Martina ima puno elegantnije proporcije i vjerojatno ga treba smjestiti u vremenski period kasnog 11. stoljeća ili kasnije.

Približavanjem 12. stoljeću moramo računati na pojavu novih nakitnih oblika poput trojagodnih naušnica, naušnica s tri koljenca ili naroskanih naušnica. Posebno treba istaknuti trojagodne naušnice s bikoničnim jagodama u tehničkim filigranske žice bez

Vidović has concluded that the burials were originally at a depth of 1 metre, which was reduced to only 20 centimetres during the lowering of the terrain by the owner. The child in grave 3 had a SW – NE orientation, while adult burials had W – E orientation. Grave 2 is missing a skull, which is probably because of mechanical excavation during the construction of the facility. At this grave, near the feet, Roman coinage was found, which Vidović interprets as a dislocated find from Antiquity.¹⁵⁶ It is a sesterce of Emperor Volusian, minted in Rome between 251 and 253 (cat. no. 62, Pl. 8: 62).¹⁵⁷ In grave 1, six S-hoops were found around the head and a silver ring on the hand (Pl. 8: 55–61).¹⁵⁸ Two S-hoops are kept in the Mill House (Mlinarska kuća) in Sv. Martin na Muri (cat. nos 59–60). All S-hoops have a diameter between 3 and 4 cm, the largest having a diameter of 3.7 cm (cat. no. 61). The silver open ring has a rectangular cross-section with rounded edges. The ends of the ring are narrowed and are touching (cat. no. 55). It is a Giesler type 27¹⁵⁹ and Gáll type 2a.¹⁶⁰ As analogies, rings from Lobra-Our Lady of the Mountain,¹⁶¹ Ptujski grad¹⁶² and Svinjarevci can be mentioned.¹⁶³ Quite similar rings were recognized at the Halimba-Cseres cemetery. Tomb 371 contained a silver ring of the same shape and two small S-hoops made of rather thick wire. The ring from Sv. Martin na Muri was accompanied by S-hoops of slightly larger dimensions and average thickness, which can be interpreted as a reflection of local fashion and preferences. Tomb 371 at Halimba can be dated with the help of neighbouring tombs, where grave 372 contained a silver denarius of Andrew I (1046 – 1060), and numerous tombs in the immediate vicinity contained coinage of King Solomon (1063 – 1073).¹⁶⁴ The same type of ring was found in tomb 552 at Halimba, which contained only the ring.¹⁶⁵ Neighbouring tombs with coins of Bela I, Solomon I and Ladislaus I help place it in the second half of the 11th century. All the Halimba tombs listed are dated somewhat broadly, from the middle of the 11th century to the middle of the 12th, but concrete examples seem to date from the second half of the 11th century.¹⁶⁶ Coins of King Bela I and Ladislaus I were also found in Svinjarevci.¹⁶⁷ A slightly more robust variant of the ring can be found in the Szob-Kiserdő cemetery near Esztergom. This ring does not have such narrowed ends and is slightly thicker, but otherwise it completely corresponds to the specimen from St Martin. It is accompanied by a luxury earring of the ‘Volyn’ type, a beaded necklace and a braided wire bracelet, which indicates a somewhat earlier dating than the one in Halimba, around the middle of the 11th century.¹⁶⁸ The ring from St Martin has much more elegant proportions and should probably be placed in the late 11th century or later.

156 DMMČ.

157 Mattingly, Sydenham, Sutherland (eds.) 1949, 187–189.

158 DMMČ.

159 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

160 Gáll 2013, 687, T. 312: 2a.

161 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 197, kat. br. 120.

162 Korošec 1999, Taf. 14: 8, 29: 17, 35: 9.

163 Brunšmid 1904, 88, sl. 39: 19.

164 Török 1962, Taf. 79: 371.

165 Török 1962, Taf. 81: 552.

166 Török 1962, 114, 166.

167 Brunšmid 1904, 89 (G21, 39, 41, 56).

168 Bakay 1978, 38, 41, T. 22: 16, 42, T. 23.

156 DMMČ.

157 Mattingly, Sydenham, Sutherland (eds.) 1949, 187–189.

158 DMMČ.

159 Giesler 1981, Taf. 53.

160 Gáll 2013, 687, T. 312: 2a.

161 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 197, cat. no. 120.

162 Korošec 1999, Taf. 14: 8, 29: 17, 35: 9.

163 Brunšmid 1904, 88, Fig. 39: 19.

164 Török 1962, Taf. 79: 371.

165 Török 1962, Taf. 81: 552.

166 Török 1962, 114, 166.

167 Brunšmid 1904, 89 (G21, 39, 41, 56).

168 Bakay 1978, 38, 41, T. 22: 16, 42, T. 23.

podloge, tj. à jour, kakve nalazimo primjerice u Zagrebu-Stenjevec,¹⁶⁹ Loboru,¹⁷⁰ Suhopolju-Kliškovac.¹⁷¹ Ne bi iznenadilo kada bi se u budućim istraživanjima u Sv. Martinu na Muri ili Sv. Jurju u Trnju doista naišlo na spomenute nove nakitne oblike. Nažalost, datiranje groblja u Sv. Martinu otežava vrlo mali broj otkrivenih grobova s malo ili nimalo nalaza. No ne smijemo zanemariti da se ponovno crkveni objekt nalazi u neposrednoj blizini groblja, s time da je ovdje moguće lakše povezati sadašnju župu sa župom iz popisa iz 1334. godine. Ipak, položaj crkve nije istražen, a postojeći objekt ima karakteristike kasne gotike 15. stoljeća. Kanonske vizitacije spominju groblje oko crkve te nešto kasnije grobnice unutar nje.¹⁷²

Međimurski lokaliteti u kontekstu Panonske nizine i istočnih Alpa

Međimurska ranosrednjovjekovna groblja pokazuju veliku srodnost s nekim grobljima u neposrednoj blizini, unutar radijusa od 50 kilometara (karta 2). Ovdje obrađeni nalazi nisu u potpunosti istovremeni; šenkovečka skupina nalaza zasigurno prije pripada početku 11. stoljeća nego njegovoj sredini, za razliku od Sv. Jurja u Trnju, koji možemo smjestiti oko sredine 11. stoljeća i prema drugoj polovici 11. stoljeća, te Sv. Martina na Muri koji, koliko nalazi dopuštaju, možemo datirati u drugu polovicu 11. stoljeća ili čak nešto kasnije. Nalazi iz obližnjeg Središća na Dravi poslužili su kao jedna od glavnih analogija za nalaze iz Šenkovca unatoč nedostatku s-karičica u šenkovečkoj skupini. Isti tipovi predmeta govore o lokalnoj modi tog vremena te jasnim kontaktima. Nedostatak s-karičica u šenkovečkoj skupini nije konačna činjenica zato što ne znamo što se sve moglo nalaziti u drugim, neistraženim grobovima; njihova pojava ne bi začudila. Mnoge analogije došle su iz groblja na Ptujskom gradu iako je to groblje nešto kompleksnije, dugotrajnije i pokazuje očite istočnoalpske značajke. Također, dopušta nazrijeti granicu istočnoalpskog i „bjelobrdskog“ kulturnog kruga¹⁷³ te prikazuje da je granični prostor prihvaćao oba utjecaja. Može se zaključiti da je prostor

As we approach the 12th century we must count on new types of jewellery, such as triple-beaded earrings, earrings with three joints, and earrings with filigree and granulated ornament. Special attention should be given to triple-beaded earrings with biconical beads made of filigree wire without a base, i.e. à jour, found in Zagreb-Stenjevec,¹⁶⁹ Lobor¹⁷⁰ and Suhopolje-Kliškovac.¹⁷¹ It would not be surprising if, in future research into Sv. Martin na Muri or Sv. Juraj u Trnju, these types of earring were found. Unfortunately, the very small number of graves discovered in Sv. Martin na Muri, with few or no finds, makes the dating of the cemetery difficult. But we must not neglect the fact that a church is again situated in the immediate vicinity of the cemetery, but this time the present parish is more easily connected with the parish of 1334. However, the space around the church has not been explored, and the existing building has the characteristics of 15th-century late-Gothic architecture. Canonical visitations mention the cemetery around the church and later tombs inside the church.¹⁷²

Archaeological sites in Međimurje in the context of the Pannonian Plain and Eastern Alps

Međimurje's early-medieval cemeteries show great uniformity with some cemeteries in the immediate vicinity, within a radius of 50 kilometres (Map 2). Cemeteries and grave finds analysed here are not entirely synchronous; the Šenkovec group should be dated closer to the beginning of the 11th century than to the mid-11th century, unlike Sv. Juraj u Trnju, which can be dated to the mid-11th century and the second half of the 11th century, and Sv. Martin na Muri, as far as the finds allow, to the second half of the 11th century or even a little later. Finds from nearby Središće ob Dravi served as one of the main analogies for the Šenkovec finds, despite the lack of S-hoops in the Šenkovec group. The same types of item speak of the local fashion of the time. The lack of S-hoops in the Šenkovec group is not final, because we do not know what could have been found in other, unexplored graves; their presence would not be surprising. Many analogies came from the cemetery of Ptujski grad, although this cemetery is somewhat more complex and longer-lasting, and it shows much clearer Eastern Alpine characteristics. It also allows us to glimpse the border of the Eastern Alpine and 'Bijelo brdo' cultural circles¹⁷³ and shows that the border area accepted both influ-

169 Simoni 2004, 32–33 (G96).

170 Filipec 2003, 564–565; Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 193–194, kat. br. 117.

171 Tomičić 2019, 117–119.

172 Korunek 2012, 113–114, 126–127.

173 U nedostatku bolje alternative, u hrvatskoj arheologiji još se uvijek koristi stručni termin „bjelobrdska kultura“, s ili bez navodnika, dok ga strana arheološka literatura najčešće uzima s rezervom ili ga odbija koristiti, poput mađarskih arheologa (prijedlog novije domaće literature: Demo 2009, 552; Filipec 2012, 230–232; Tomičić 2019, 15–41). Razlozi relativizacije pojma su brojni i kompleksni: pitanje početka i kraja arheološke kulture, opravdanost ustrajanja na postojanju arheološke kulture u vremenu kasnijeg ranoga srednjega vijeka (zastarjeli koncept), pitanje kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta, etničke konotacije koje su se vezale ili se još uvijek vežu uz termin (staromađarska, slavenska komponenta), a koje su mu donijele veliku stigmatu, te stvarna mogućnost etničke interpretacije arheološke građe. Osobni stav autora je da, kao najjednostavnije i najprihvatljivije rješenje, možemo istaknuti prepoznavanje groblja samo prema razdoblju/stoljeću kojem pripadaju, a da se time automatski podrazumijevaju sve povijesno-arheološke determinante ili pak izdvojene kronološke faze koje uvažava-

169 Simoni 2004, 32–33 (G96).

170 Filipec 2003, 564–565; Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 193–194, cat. no. 117.

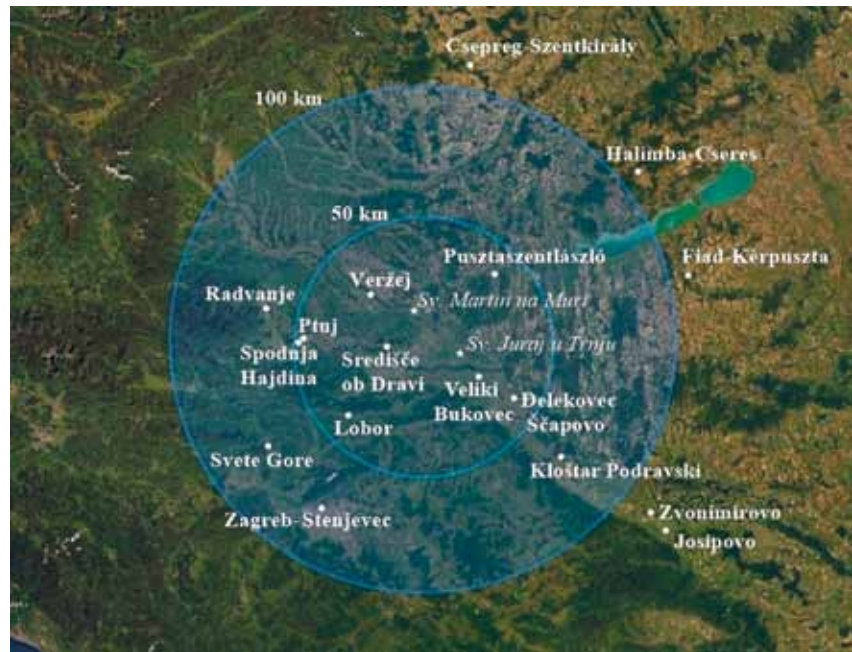
171 Tomičić 2019, 117–119.

172 Korunek 2012, 113–114, 126–127.

173 In the absence of a better alternative, Croatian archaeology still uses the term 'Bijelo brdo culture', with or without quotation marks, while foreign archaeological literature usually takes it with reservations or refuses to use it at all, like Hungarian archaeologists. (Recent domestic literature: Demo 2009, 552; Filipec 2012, 230–232; Tomičić 2019, 15–41.) The reasons for the relativization of the term are numerous and complex: the question of the beginning and end of archaeological culture, insisting on the existence of archaeological culture in the time of the later early Middle Ages (outdated concept), the question of continuity and discontinuity, ethnic connotations that were or are still attached to the term (Old Hungarian, Slavic component) which brought the term great stigma, and the real possibility of ethnic interpretation of archaeological material. The author's personal opinion is that, as the simplest and most acceptable solution is the identification of cemeteries only according to the period/century they belong to, and that all historico-archaeological determinants au-

Karta 2. Relevantni lokaliteti u radijusu od 50 i 100 km (© Google maps; obradila P. Jeršek).

Map 2. Relevant sites within a radius of 50 and 100 km (© Google maps; adapted by P. Jeršek).



istočne Karantanije bio nešto popustljiviji, tim više što neke tipične istočnoalpske nakitne oblike ne nalazimo preko granice, primjerice, ne nalazimo pločaste fibule i karakteristične karičice s okruglim zadebljanjem na kraju, kojih na Ptujском gradu ima popriličan broj.

Groblje u Sv. Jurju u Trnju nema toliko jasne paralele prema drugim okolnim lokalitetima. Neke sličnosti nalazimo ponovno na Ptujском gradu koji ipak ima puno izraženiju fazu s početka 11. stoljeća, uz uočljiv nedostatak nalaza koji bi ga približili 12. stoljeću.¹⁷⁴ Malo groblje u Spodnjoj Hajdini pokraj Ptuja pokazuje sličnosti jedino po pitanju lijevanih „volinjskih“ naušnica i velikom broju s-karičica.¹⁷⁵ Čini se da to groblje počinje prije Sv. Jurja u Trnju, sudeći barem po rustičnim grozdolikim naušnicama i ulomku dvodijelnog privjeska, ali se djelomično vremenski preklapaju, s time da Sv. Juraj ulazi i u drugu polovicu 11. stoljeća s novim karakterističnim nalazima koje ne nalazimo u Hajdini. Isti je slučaj s nešto bližim Središćem koje ima nalaze puno srodnije Šenkovcu, ali s mnoštvom s-karičica i lijevanim „volinjskim“ naušnicama koje Šenkovec nema. Ogrlice od poliedarskih perli i trakasti limeni prsteni najviše su analogija pronašli na groblju Puztaszentlászló, gdje su datirani novcem tijekom cijelog 11. stoljeća.¹⁷⁶ Na loborskom groblju sahranjivanje traje duže, ali dijele jednu istovremenu fazu i neke tipove nakita, poput s-karičica i lijevanih „volinjskih“ naušnica.¹⁷⁷

ences. It can be concluded that the area of eastern Carantania was somewhat more lenient, all the more so since we do not find some typical jewellery types from the Eastern Alpine area over the border, there are no round brooches, and no characteristic hoops with round thickening at the end, which are quite common in Ptujski grad.

Sv. Juraj u Trnju does not have such a clear parallel to other surrounding sites. We find some similarities again in Ptujski grad, which has a much more pronounced phase from the beginning of the 11th century with a noticeable lack of findings that would bring it closer to the 12th century.¹⁷⁴ The small cemetery in Spodnja Hajdina, near Ptuj, shows similarities only in terms of cast ‘Volyn’ earrings and a large number of S-hoops.¹⁷⁵ It seems that this cemetery begins before Sv. Juraj u Trnju, judging by the rustic grape-shaped earrings and a fragment of a two-part pendant, but they partially overlap in time. Sv. Juraj u Trnju continues to be used through the second half of the 11th century with new characteristic finds that we do not find in Hajdina. The same is the case with the somewhat closer Središće, which has a lot of finds similar to those of Šenkovec, but with a multitude of S-hoops and cast ‘Volyn’ earrings, which Šenkovec does not have. Polyhedral pearl necklaces and rings with banded cross-section found the most analogies in the Puztaszentlászló cemetery, where they are dated by coinage throughout the 11th century.¹⁷⁶ Burial lasts

ju kompleksnost ovog razdoblja. Kao relevantni ogledni primjer može poslužiti kronologija S. Eicherta koja služi kao alternativa „karantansko-ketlaškoj kulturi“ (o problematici ove kulture i mogućim rješenjima, primjerice, Eichert 2013, Ungerman 2016).

174 Korošec 1999, 84.

175 Korošec 1947, 28–34.

176 Prsteni: Szóke, Vándor 1987, sl. 47: 5, 73: 9; ogrlice: Szóke, Vándor 1987, sl. 50: 8, 52: 4, 54: 3, 59: 1, 61: 2, 62: 4, 64: 6, 72: 1 (ovdje s kauri pužićima, što inače nije slučaj kod drugih primjera), 74: 5.

177 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 187–188, kat. br. 113, 189–191, kat. br. 114, 195, kat. br. 118, 196, kat. br. 119.

tomatically apply, or separate chronological phases that take into account the complexity of this period, S. Eichert’s chronology, which serves as an alternative to the ‘Carantanian-Köttlach culture’ can serve as a relevant example. (On the problems of this culture and possible solutions: for example, Eichert 2013, Ungerman 2016).

174 Korošec 1999, 84.

175 Korošec 1947, 28–34.

176 Rings: Szóke, Vándor 1987, Figs 47: 5, 73: 9; necklaces: Szóke, Vándor 1987, Figs 50: 8, 52: 4, 54: 3, 59: 1, 61: 2, 62: 4, 64: 6, 72: 1 (here with cowrie shells, which is not the case with other examples), 74: 5.

Ako pogledamo lokalitete na udaljenosti većoj od 50 km, vidjet ćemo da mnoge sličnosti šenkovečka skupina nalaza pokazuje s Kloštom Podravskim iako to groblje traje dulje. Njegova ranija faza korespondira sa šenkovačkim nalazima, iz koje svakako valja izdvojiti lunulastu naušnicu istočnoalpskog tipa, doduše s urezanim ukrasom. Jedna od faza sahranjivanja na groblju u Halimbi također odgovara šenkovečkoj skupini nalaza, i to prvenstveno torquesima i lunulastim privjescima. No sličnosti tu prestaju. Sv. Juraj u Trnju ima neke sličnosti s grobom iz *ville rustice* u Radvanju; radi se o trakastom neukrašenom prstenu i s-karičicama. Groblju kod Sv. Gore kod Bistrice ob Sotli možemo odrediti kao nešto ranije od Sv. Jurja, uz jednu paralelnu fazu. S druge strane, groblje u zagrebačkom Stenjevcu traje nešto dulje, ali postoji jedna istovremena faza s nalazima lijevanih „volinjskih“ naušnica i trakastih limenih prstena. Tip prstena iz Sv. Martina na Muri inače je poprilično raširen, kao i s-karičice. Broj nalaza ne dopušta detaljniju analizu.

Ovim pregledom uočljiva je, što je i logično, veća bliskost s istovremenim lokalitetima na manjoj udaljenosti do 50 km nego s onima do 100 km, s kojima dijele više pojedinačne tipove nalaza nego cjelokupni kontekst nalaza. Što se tiče lokaliteta na udaljenosti većoj od 100 km, oni redovito odražavaju neke dodatne elemente, kao npr. slavonsko-baranjski lokaliteti utjecaj iz istočne Mađarske i Srbije, a lokaliteti Bosanske Posavine elemente iz hrvatsko-dalmatinske tradicije. Imajući u vidu prisutnost jedne emaljirane lunulaste naušnice istočnoalpske provenijencije, može biti zanimljivo analizirati područje na kojem se izmjenjuju dva utjecaja, tj. gdje se paralelno pojavljuje moda istočnih Alpi i zapadnog dijela Panonije. Vidljivo je da se granica utjecaja djelomično poklapa s današnjom granicom Hrvatske i Slovenije. Kloštar Podravski nešto je istočnije pozicioniran, ali ima jedan primjerak lunulaste naušnice s urezanim ukrasom, Šenkovec također, samo s emajliranim ukrasom, a Lobor srebrne „ketlaške“ sljepoočničarke sa zadebljanjima na krajevima.¹⁷⁸ Središće ob Dravi i Spodnja Hajdina kod Ptuja odražavaju poprilično homogenu „bjelobrdsku“ modu. Veržej, sudeći prema nekolicini slučajno otkrivenih nalaza, također. Isto vrijedi i za groblje kod Crkve Sv. Gore kod Bistrice ob Sotli. Najkompleksniji je, svakako, Ptujski grad koji najjasnije prikazuje koegzistenciju obiju moda, ponekad i u istim grobovima. Možda je razlog tome važnost rano-srednjovjekovnog Ptuja u okviru pograničnih marki. Od jednog upravno-trgovačkog središta i prometnog čvorišta to svakako možemo očekivati.

Iako nam ove informacije ne mogu poslužiti u rekonstrukciji povijesnih granica, koje su u to vrijeme bile poprilično zamršene, nude nam barem mali uvid u život ljudi na razmeđu dviju materijalnih kultura, a zapravo mode te očitih međusobnih kontakata. Prisustvo lunulastih naušnica istočnoalpske tradicije primijećeno je i nešto sjevernije, na granici Austrije i Mađarske, na liniji Csepreg – Szentkirály – Lutzsmanssburg / Locsmánd. Pratiti ih možemo čak do istočne Mađarske (Pétervására, Eger, Tápé-Lebő) i zapadne Rumunjske (Zalău-Pálvár, Sălacea, Deta),¹⁷⁹ samo što

longer in the Lobor cemetery, but the cemeteries share one simultaneous phase and some types of jewellery, such as S-hoops and cast ‘Volyn’ earrings.¹⁷⁷

If we look the sites at a distance of more than 50 km, we will see that the Šenkovec group shows many similarities with Kloštar Podravski, although this cemetery lasts longer. Its earlier phase corresponds to the Šenkovec finds, from which a crescent-shaped earring of the Eastern Alpine type should certainly be singled out, albeit with an incised ornament. One of the phases of burial in the cemetery in Halimba also corresponds to the Šenkovec group of finds, primarily with torcs and crescent-shaped pendants. But the similarities end there. Sv. Juraj u Trnju has some similarities with the tomb from the *villa rustica* in Radvanje: a striped undecorated ring and S-hoops. The cemetery of Sv. Gore near Bistrica ob Sotli is somewhat earlier than Sv. Juraj u Trnju, with one parallel phase. On the other hand, Zagreb-Stenjevec cemetery lasts a bit longer, but there is one simultaneous phase with the findings of cast ‘Volyn’ earrings and rings with banded cross-section. The type of ring from Sv. Martin na Muri is quite widespread, as are S-hoops. The number of finds does not allow a more detailed analysis.

This review shows, quite logically, a greater similarity with contemporaneous sites at the lesser distance of up to 50 km than with those up to 100 km, with which they share more individual types of find than the overall context. As for sites at a distance greater than 100 km, they regularly reflect some additional elements, such as Slavonia – Baranja sites influenced from eastern Hungary and Serbia, and the sites of Bosanska Posavina with elements from the Croatian-Dalmatian tradition. Given the presence of an enamelled crescent-shaped earring of Eastern Alpine provenance, it may be interesting to analyse an area where two influences alternate, i.e. where the fashions of the Eastern Alps and the western part of Pannonia occur in parallel. It can be seen that the border of influence partially coincides with the current border between Croatia and Slovenia. Kloštar Podravski is positioned slightly to the east, but has one piece of crescent earring with incised decoration; Šenkovec also, only with enamelled decoration; and Lobor silver ‘Köttlach’ hoops with thickening at the ends.¹⁷⁸ Središće ob Dravi and Spodnja Hajdina, near Ptuj, reflect a fairly homogeneous ‘Bijelo brdo’ fashion – Veržej, judging by several chance finds, too. The same goes for the cemetery near the church of Sv. Gore near Bistrica ob Sotli. The most complex cemetery is Ptujski grad, which most clearly shows the coexistence of both fashions at the same time, sometimes in the same graves. Perhaps the reason for this is the importance of early-medieval Ptuj within the border marches. We can certainly expect that from an administrative-commercial centre and traffic hub.

Although this information cannot be used to reconstruct the historical boundaries, which were quite complicated at the time, they offer us at least a little insight into the lives of people at the crossroads of two material cultures, two fashions and obvious mutual contact. The presence of crescent-shaped earrings

178 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 192, kat. br. 115: 1–4.

179 Gáll 2009, 160.

177 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 187–188, cat. no. 113, 189–190, cat. no. 114, 195, cat. no. 118, 196, cat. no. 119.

178 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 192, cat. no. 115: 1–4.

tada najvjerojatnije govorimo o izoliranim primjercima posredstvom trgovine. U tom smislu regionalnost „bjelobrdске kulture“, odnosno onodobne materijalne ostavštine, progovara o zajedničkim korijenima prostora u arheološkom, a ne etničkom smislu, nadograđenima kasnijim regionalnim razvojem u kontekstu novih političkih tvorevina u centru i periferiji Karpatske kotline.

Promjene ranoga srednjeg vijeka – pogled iz Međimurja

Ranosrednjovjekovna groblja kontinentalne Hrvatske velikim su brojem groblja na redove, ne crkvena groblja. Međutim, jedan od procesa ranoga srednjeg vijeka jest premještanje grobalja uz crkve. Taj je proces započeo u prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća, ali upadom Mađara u Karpatsku kotlinu došlo je do usporavanja izgradnje crkvi, a time i premještanja grobalja uz crkve. Značajnije rezultate tog procesa uočavamo tek od 12. stoljeća, uz neke iznimke poput Lobora-Majka Božja Gorska.¹⁸⁰ Uzima se da do sredine 12. stoljeća ovaj proces završava u većem dijelu Panonije, na što je svakako utjecalo osnivanje Pečuške (1009.) i Zagrebačke biskupije (kraj 11. stoljeća).¹⁸¹ Neki od primjera u istočnom dijelu Panonije su lokaliteti Vinkovci-Meraja (Sv. Ilija)¹⁸² i groblje uz župnu crkvu u Đakovu.¹⁸³ Kao potencijalna ranosrednjovjekovna crkvena groblja u zapadnom dijelu Panonije, što bi sugerirala blizina crkvenih objekata, navode se položaji ispred zagrebačke katedrale, Zagreb-Stenjevec, Ivanec-Stari Grad i Sv. Juraj u Trnju.¹⁸⁴ Razvoj crkvene organizacije i zakonski propisi Ladislava I. (1077. – 1095.) i kasnije Kolomana (1095. – 1116.) imali su za cilj nametnuti pravilo o sahranjivanju isključivo oko crkvi. Uočljivo je da se groblja na redove postupno prestaju koristiti upravo u ovo vrijeme.¹⁸⁵ Popis župa iz 1334. godine može nam pomoći otkriti na kojim su položajima mogle postojati crkve čak u 10. ili 11. stoljeću, a sigurno i 12. stoljeću.¹⁸⁶ Poznato je da se svetišta najčešće podižu na uzvisinama i istaknutim mjestima.¹⁸⁷ U brdima nalazimo župu u Štrigovi, a na dodiru brežuljkastog kraja s murskom ravnicom smjestila se župa u Selnici. Većina međimurskih župa ipak se nalazi u nizini; župe u Sv. Martinu na Muri, Murskom Središću i Podturnu smještene su uz Muru, a zanimljivo je da su sve tri, uz

of the Eastern Alpine tradition has also been noticed somewhat further north, on the border of Austria and Hungary, on the line of Csepreg – Szentkirály – Lutzsmanssburg/Locsmánd. We can follow them all the way to eastern Hungary (Pétersvára, Eger, Tápé-Lebő) and western Romania (Zalău-Pálvár, Sălacea, Deta),¹⁷⁹ only then we are most likely talking about isolated specimens through trade. In that sense, the regional nature of the ‘Bijelo brdo culture’, i.e. the material heritage of that time, speaks of common roots in the archaeological, not ethnic, sense, upgraded by later regional development in the context of new political creations in the centre and periphery of the Carpathian Basin.

Changes of the early Middle Ages: a view from Međimurje

The early-medieval cemeteries of continental Croatia are mainly row-grave cemeteries, not church graveyards. However, one of the processes of the early Middle Ages was the relocation of cemeteries next to churches. This process began in the first half of the 9th century, but the Hungarian invasion in the Carpathian Basin slowed down the construction of churches, and thus the relocation of cemeteries next to churches. Significant results of this process can be observed only since the 12th century, with some exceptions, such as Lopor-Our Lady of the Mountain.¹⁸⁰ It is believed that, by the middle of the 12th century, this process was completed in most of Pannonia, which was certainly influenced by the foundation of the Diocese of Pécs (1009) and the Diocese of Zagreb (end of the 11th century).¹⁸¹ Examples from the eastern part of Pannonia are Vinkovci-Meraja (Sv. Ilija)¹⁸² and the parish-church graveyard in Đakovo.¹⁸³ As potential early church graveyards in the western part of Pannonia, their existence suggested by the proximity of church buildings, the positions in front of the Zagreb Cathedral, Zagreb-Stenjevec, Ivanec-Stari Grad and Sv. Juraj u Trnju are mentioned.¹⁸⁴ The development of the church organization and the legal regulations of Ladislaus I (1077 – 1095) and later Coloman (1095 – 1116) aimed to impose the rule of burial exclusively around the church. It is noticeable that the row-grave cemeteries are gradually ceasing to be used at this time.¹⁸⁵ The list of parishes of 1334 can help us discover the positions in which churches may have existed even in the 10th or 11th century, and certainly in the 12th century.¹⁸⁶ It is known that shrines are most often erected on hills and in prominent places.¹⁸⁷ In the hills we find the parish in Štrigova, and at the junction of the hilly re-

180 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021.

181 Filipec 2009, 119; Tomičić 2019, 557.

182 Iskra-Janošić 1997.

183 Filipec 2012.

184 Tomičić 2019, 556–557.

185 Tomičić 2019, 557–558.

186 Razlog za to je sakralni kontinuitet. Kao ogledni primjer valja istaknuti lokalitet Lopor-Majka Božja Gorska, gdje se iznad ranokršćanske crkve gradi prvo predromanička bazilika, a zatim kasnoromanička i gotička crkva. U okolišu ovih objekata formiralo se groblje. Popis župa iz 1334. godine spominje crkvu u Loboru, ali, nažalost, ne navodi se njezin titular (Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 55–60, 70 (plan lokaliteta s naznačenim fazama izgradnje crkvenih objekata), 85–117).

187 Badurina 2003, 305.

179 Gáll 2009, 160.

180 Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021.

181 Filipec 2009, 119; Tomičić 2019, 557.

182 Iskra-Janošić 1997.

183 Filipec 2012.

184 Tomičić 2019, 556–557.

185 Tomičić 2019, 557–558.

186 The reason for this is sacral continuity. As a shining example, the site of Lopor-Our Lady of the Mountain should be highlighted, where a pre-Romanesque basilica was built above the early-Christian church, and then a late Romanesque and Gothic church. A graveyard was formed in the surroundings of these buildings. The list of parishes of 1334 mentions the church in Lopor, but unfortunately not to whom it is dedicated (Filipec, Bunčić (eds.) 2021, 55–60, 70 (site plan with indicated stages of construction of church buildings), 85–117).

187 Badurina 2003, 305.

još jednu neubiciranu, posvećene Sv. Martinu. Ovo se može povezati s franačkim martinskim kultom te, svakako, s popularnošću martinskog kulta u okviru ugarske države. Naime, prema novoj legendarnoj genealogiji iz 12. stoljeća, Sv. Martin bio je ugarski princ te svetac zaštitnik ugarskih kraljeva i Ugarske općenito, čiji je kult bio vezan uz benediktinsku opatiju u Pannonhalmi, osnovanu 996. godine, odakle se kult širio panonskim područjem.¹⁸⁸

Ako se vratimo na groblje u Sv. Jurju u Trnju, valja napomenuti da nema konačne potvrde kada je sagrađena crkva na tom položaju. Ako računamo na postojanje crkve u 12. stoljeću, možemo govoriti da je zacijelo sagrađena na postojećem groblju. Nalazi i njihove analogije govore da istraženi dio groblja teško možemo datirati samo u 12. stoljeće; početak sahranjivanja s velikom sigurnošću možemo smjestiti u 11. stoljeće, a najvjerojatnije se koristi i dalje. S-karičice i trakasti limeni prsteni pojavljuju se i nakon 11. stoljeća, međutim, drugih karakterističnih tipova nakita 12. stoljeća nema. Još je teže interpretirati situaciju s grobljem uz crkvu u Sv. Martinu na Muri. Evidentno je riječ o crkvenom groblju, samo što ne znamo u kojoj su mjeri groblje i crkva sinkroni. Nemamo informacije o potencijalnim ranijim fazama crkve, a nekolicina otkrivenih grobova nije dovoljna za validnu interpretaciju. Neubicirano groblje, s kojeg potječe tzv. šenkovečka skupina nalaza, nikako ne pomaže.

Ne smijemo zaboraviti da omjer grobova s nalazima i grobova bez nalaza ne ide u prilog arheološkoj interpretaciji. Naime, grobova bez nalaza vrlo je velik broj. Uzmimo za primjer groblje Sv. Juraj u Trnju, gdje 13 od 40 grobova ima neki nalaz (32,5 %). Na tri groba u Sv. Martinu na Muri jedan je imao nalaze. Ako grobovi i imaju nalaze, obično se radi o nakitu, znači pratimo mahom grobove žena i žensku modu. U ovo vrijeme nakit ne mora biti izravan indikator društvenog statusa sahranjene osobe, a još manje može govoriti o njezinu etnicitetu. Kao što prvi redovi grobova oko crkve u Loboru, kao najpoželjnije grobno mjesto, pokazuju, nedostatak nalaza može govoriti o nešto bogatijim individuama koje si mogu priuštiti drvene lijesove, a ipak se sahraniti vrlo skromno.¹⁸⁹

Župe mogu poslužiti kao pomoć u rekonstruiranju gustoće naseljenosti, a vidljivo je da su organizirane prvenstveno u zapadnom i središnjem Međimurju (karta 3). Usporedimo li to s poznatim cestovnim pravcima, uočiti ćemo poklapanja. U novije vrijeme dodatno je potvrđena trasa lokalnog odvojka rimske ceste, koja je povezivala Vindobonu i Savariju s Petovijem, i prolazila Međimurjem. Zna se da je na njegovo područje ulazila na liniji Godeninci (Slovenija) – Preseka (Hrvatska), nastavljala kod sela Hrnje, prelazila rijeku Trnavu u smjeru Železne gore, dolazila do sela Toplice Sveti Martin uz potok Gradišćak, odakle ide prema Sv. Martinu na Muri pri kojem nastavlja pratiti rijeku Muru.¹⁹⁰ Iako ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati do kada se koristi ova cesta, ne smijemo zanemariti njezinu potencijalnu važnost, barem početkom ranoga srednjeg vijeka. Drži se da su putevi u ranom

gion with the Mura plain the parish in Selnica. However, most of Međimurje's parishes are located in the lowlands; parishes in Sv. Martin na Muri, Mursko Središće and Podturen are located alongside the Mura, and it is interesting that all three, along with another still unknown parish, are dedicated to St Martin. This can be related to the Frankish cult of Martin of Tours, and certainly to the popularity of this cult within the Hungarian state. As the result of the new legendary genealogy of the 12th century, St Martin was considered a Hungarian prince and patron saint of Hungarian kings and Hungary in general, whose cult was linked to the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, founded in 996, from where the cult spread through the Pannonian area.¹⁸⁸

If we return now to the cemetery in Sv. Juraj u Trnju, it should be noted that there is no final confirmation as to when the church was built on that site. If we count on the existence of the church in the 12th century, then we can say that it must have been built on the existing cemetery. The finds and their analogies suggest that the excavated part of the cemetery can hardly be dated to the 12th century alone; the beginning of burial can be placed with great certainty in the 11th century, and it was most likely used later. S-hoops and rings with banded cross-section appear after the 11th century; however, there are no other characteristic 12th-century types of jewellery. It is even more difficult to interpret the situation with the burial ground next to the church in Sv. Martin na Muri. Evidently it is a church graveyard, only we do not know to what extent the burial ground and the church are synchronous. We have no information about the potential earlier stages of the church, and the few tombs discovered are not enough for a valid interpretation. The unknown cemetery from which came the Šenkovec group of finds does not help at all.

We must not forget that the ratio of graves with finds to those without finds is not in favour of archaeological interpretation. Indeed, there is a very large number of graves without finds. In the case of the Sv. Juraj u Trnju cemetery, 13 of the 40 graves had finds (32.5 %). Of three graves in Sv. Martin na Muri, one had finds. If the graves have finds it is usually jewellery, so we follow mostly women's graves and women's fashion. At this time, jewellery does not have to be a direct indicator of the social status of the person buried, and even less of her ethnicity. As shown by the first rows of graves (as the most desirable place) around the church in Lobar, the lack of finds may indicate somewhat richer individuals who can afford wooden coffins and yet be buried very modestly.¹⁸⁹

Parishes can help in reconstruction of population density, and it is evident that they are organized primarily in western and central Međimurje (Map 3). If we compare this with the known road routes, coincidences can be seen. Recently, the route of the local branch of the Roman road that connected *Vindobona* and *Savaria* with *Poetovio* (Ptuj), and passed through Međimurje, has additionally been confirmed. It is known that it entered

188 Zaradija Kiš 2004, 63, 139–140; Seláf 2016, 491–493.

189 Filipec 2012, 225–226.

190 Marciuš 2016, 75.

191 Budak 2018, 56.

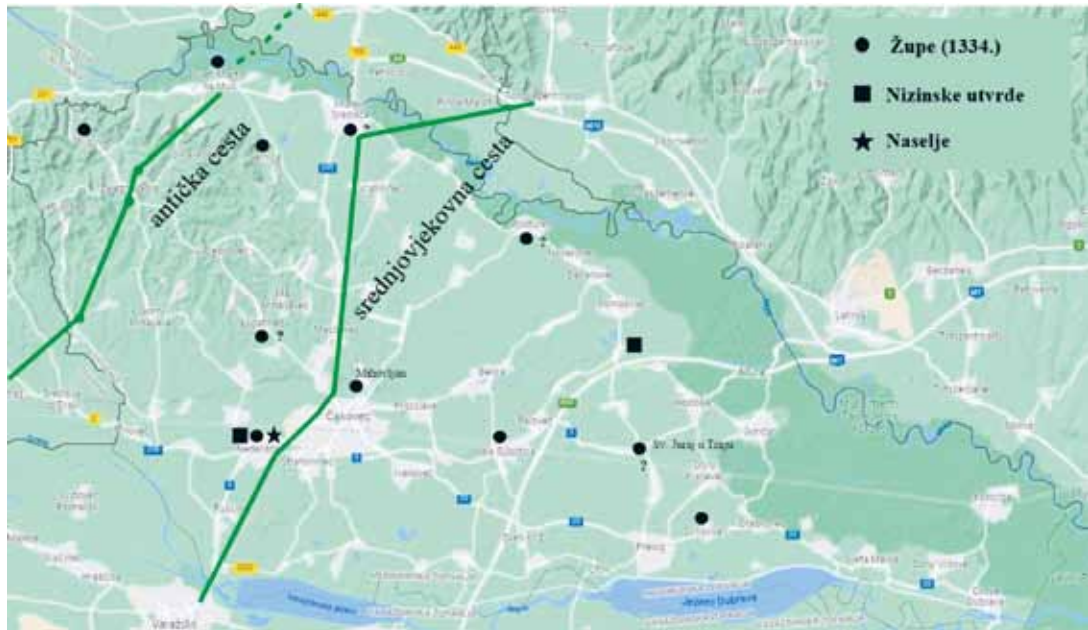
188 Zaradija Kiš 2004, 63, 139–140; Seláf 2016, 491–493.

189 Filipec 2012, 225–226.

190 Marciuš 2016, 75.

KARTA 3. Trase antičke i srednjovjekovne ceste uz položaje župa iz 1334., naselja i nizinskih utvrda / gradišta (© Google maps; obradila P. Jeršek).

MAP 3. Routes of Roman (antička cesta) and medieval (srednjovjekovna cesta) roads with the positions of the parishes of 1334 (župe), known settlements (naselje) and lowland forts (nizinske utvrde); (© Google maps; adapted by P. Jeršek).



srednjem vijeku, te čak i u 12. i 13. stoljeću, uglavnom pratili ove cestovne pravce.¹⁹² Kada tome dodamo srednjovjekovnu cestu, koja je povezivala Varaždin i Čakovec te išla na sjever do Murskog Središća, prelazila Muru i skretala prema Tornyiszentmiklósu, dobivamo okvir koji može objasniti veći broj župa na tim položajima.¹⁹² Naime, ceste prolaze središnjim i zapadnim dijelom Međimurja. Uspostavom mađarskih županijskih utvrda na granici prema Otonskom Carstvu na liniji Litava (Leitha) – Raba važnost stare rute jantarne ceste ponovno postaje jasnija te čini važnu vezu u smjeru sjever – jug između županijskih utvrda. Isto tako, ovdje se nalazilo raskrižje jantarne ceste i prometnog pravca zapad – istok.¹⁹³ Iz ovoga je vidljivo da se trase rimskih cesta mogu koristiti u srednjem vijeku. Ovo je važno razmotriti u kontekstu trgovine, o čemu govore nalazi poludragog kamenja, kauri pužića ili emajliranog nakita. Zanimljivo je da se antički položaj u Sv. Martinu na Muri nastavlja koristiti u srednjem vijeku, što je razumljivo kada uzmemo u obzir njegovu dobru prometnu povezanost.

O nešto ranijem vremenu govori valovnicama ukrašena keramika avaroslavenskog vremena iz Goričana-Župnikov i Gudlinov vrt,¹⁹⁴ Hodošana-Velika gorica i Male Subotice-Crkvište.¹⁹⁵ U Maloj Subotici također je postojala župa prije 1334. Većina informacija

Međimurje on the line of Godenci (Slovenia) – Preseka (Croatia), continued near the village of Hrnje, crossed the River Trnava in the direction of Železna gora, came to the Toplice Sveti Martin along the Gradišćak stream, from where it goes to Sv. Martin na Muri, where it continues to follow the River Mura.¹⁹⁰ Although we cannot know with certainty how long this road was used, we must not neglect its potential importance, at least in the earliest times of the early Middle Ages. It is believed that roads in the early Middle Ages, and even in the 12th and 13th centuries, mostly followed these road routes.¹⁹¹ When we add to this the medieval road that connected Varaždin and Čakovec and went north to Mursko Središće, crossed the Mura and turned towards Tornyiszentmiklós, we get a framework that can explain the number of parishes in these positions, because the roads pass through the central and western part of Međimurje.¹⁹² With the emergence of Hungarian fortifications on the border with the Ottonian Empire on the Rivers Leitha and Rába, the importance of the old Amber Road becomes clearer again and makes an important N – S connection between the border fortifications. Also, here was the intersection of the Amber Road and the E – W traffic route.¹⁹³ From this it is evident that the routes of Roman roads could have been used in the Middle Ages. This is important to consider in the context of trade, as evidenced by the finds of semi-precious stones, cowrie shells or enamelled jewellery. It is interesting that the ancient position in Sv. Martin na Muri continues to be used in the Middle Ages, which is understandable when we consider its good transport links.

192 Čoralić 1997, 205–209.

193 Obenaus 2008, 205–207.

194 U Gudlinovu vrtu je pronađen čitav lonac u grobnom kontekstu, uz noge pokojnika, čuva se u Muzeju Međimurja Čakovec.

195 Šimek (ed.) 1990, 25–29; DMMČ.

191 Budak 2018, 56.

192 Čoralić 1997, 205–209.

193 Obenaus 2008, 205–207.

o populaciji ranoga srednjeg vijeka iz Međimurja, ali i šire, dolazi iz grobalja, dok istražena naselja najčešće pripadaju kasnijim stoljećima.¹⁹⁶ Ipak, dokumentirani su ranoslavenski plitko ukopani objekti s pripadajućim otpadnim jamama u Nedelišću-Stara ves.¹⁹⁷

Zaključak

Šenkovečka skupina nalaza i groblja u Sv. Jurju u Trnju i Sv. Martinu na Muri pružaju samo manji uvid u život ranosrednjovjekovne populacije kraja 10. i 11. stoljeća u Međimurju. Analiza grobnih nalaza omogućila je da prepoznamo tri zajednice od kraja 10. stoljeća pa sve do prijelaza u 12. stoljeće, na kojima su mogu pretpostaviti promjene u nošnji. Oba su groblja smještena uz crkvene objekte i stoga prepoznajemo rezultate procesa premještanja grobalja uz crkve ili gradnju crkvi na postojećim grobljima kao novi uzus. Upravo su ovi položaji spomenuti kao župe u prvom popisu župa iz 1334. godine. Arheološka interpretacija suočava se sa sve manjim brojem nalaza u grobovima, većinom dijelova (ženske) nošnje. Kako cjelokupna analiza zajednice ovisi o pokojnicima koji su unijeli neki predmet u grob, moramo biti dodatno oprezni. Dileme političke pripadnosti Međimurja ovdje obrađeni nalazi ne mogu riješiti, ali olakšavaju razumijevanje ispreplitanja utjecaja iz karolinško-otonskog i mađarskog kruga. Za konkretnije zaključke potreban je ipak nešto veći broj grobalja i arheološke građe, kao što su za dobivanje cjelokupnije slike potrebna istovremena naselja koja predstavljaju sastavni dio onodobnog povijesno-arheološkog krajolika.

Katalog

Kratice: G – grob/ p. – promjer/ šir. – širina/ tež. – težina/ vis. – visina/ MMČ – Muzej Međimurja Čakovec, inventarni broj

Šenkovečka skupina nalaza

1. (T. 1: 1, MMČ 17437) – četveroajagodna naušnica; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 30 mm, šir. 29 mm, tež. 4,9 g; sljepoočničarka s četiri okomito postavljene jagode, lijevana imitacija filigranski izvedene središnje osi između jagoda, središnje jagode imaju kapljiciasti istak, karika nije sačuvana; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.

Pottery with wave patterns from the Avaro-Slavic period has been found in Goričan-Župnikov vrt and Gudlinov vrt,¹⁹⁴ Hodošan-Velika Gorica and Mala Subotica-Crkvište.¹⁹⁵ There was also a parish in Mala Subotica before 1334. Most of the information about the population of the early Middle Ages in Međimurje, but also beyond, comes from cemeteries, while the settlements explored most often belong to later centuries.¹⁹⁶ But still, early Slavic shallowly-buried objects with waste pits were found in Nedelišće-Stara Ves.¹⁹⁷

Conclusion

The Šenkovec group of finds, and the cemeteries in Sv. Juraj u Trnju and Sv. Martin na Muri, provide only a little insight into the life of the early-medieval population of Međimurje at the end of the 10th century and in the 11th. The analysis of grave finds has enabled us to identify three communities between the end of the 10th century and the turn of the 12th century, but we get only a glimpse into the changes in costume. Both burial grounds are located next to churches, and therefore we recognize the results of the process of moving cemeteries next to churches or building churches on existing cemeteries as a new practice. It is these positions that are mentioned as parishes in the first list of parishes, of 1334. Archaeological interpretation is faced with a declining number of finds in graves, mostly parts of (female) costume. As the overall analysis of the community depends on burials with grave goods, we must be extra careful. The grave goods that are analysed here cannot solve the dilemmas of Međimurje's political affiliation, but they make it easier to understand the interweaving of influences from the Carolingian-Ottonian and Hungarian circles. For more concrete conclusions, however, a larger number of burial grounds and archaeological material is needed, just as, in order to obtain a more complete picture, synchronous settlements that represent an integral part of the historico-archaeological landscape of the time are needed.

Catalogue

Abbreviations: G: grave / d.: diameter / w.: width / wt.: weight / h.: height / MMČ: Museum of Međimurje, Čakovec, inventory number

Šenkovec group of finds

1. (Pl. 1: 1, MMČ 17437) – tetra-beaded earring; bronze, casting; h. 30 mm, w. 29 mm, wt. 4.9 g; temple ring with four vertically placed beads, cast imitation of filigree central axis between beads, central beads have a droplet-like elongation, hoop is not preserved; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.

196 Na položaju Gradišće kod Nedelišća otkriveno je kasnosrednjovjekovno nizinsko gradišće / utvrda pa svakako na području Nedelišća, gdje se spominje i župa 1334. godine, možemo govoriti o kontinuitetu naseljavanja u srednjem vijeku. Poznata je još jedna nizinska utvrda / mota iz 12./13. st., Gradišće u Turčišću nedaleko od Hodošana. O kasnosrednjovjekovnim naseljima u Međimurju: Tomičić 1985, 61–63; Krmpotić, Janeš, Sekulić 2017.

197 Bekić 2016, 55–57.

194 At the position of Gudlinov Vrt a whole pot was found in a grave, at the feet of the deceased, and is kept in the Museum of Međimurje.

195 Šimek (ed.) 1990, 25–29; DMMČ.

196 At the position of Gradišće, near Nedelišće, a late-medieval lowland fort is known, so in the area of Nedelišće, where the parish is mentioned in 1334, we certainly can talk about the continuity of settlement in the Middle Ages. Another lowland fortress/motte from the 12th/13th century is known from Gradišće in Turčišće, near Hodošan. On late-medieval settlements in Međimurje: Tomičić 1985, 61–63; Krmpotić, Janeš, Sekulić 2017.

197 Bekić 2016, 55–57.

2. (T. 1: 2, MMČ 17438) – lunulasta naušnica; bronca, lijevanje, emajliranje; vis. 34 mm, šir. 28 mm, tež. 3,9 g; naušnica polumjesečastog oblika, s emajlom zelene i plave boje umetnutim u četiri ćelije, gornji brid lunule valovito izveden, karika nije cjelovito sačuvana; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
3. (T. 1: 3, MMČ 17440) – prsten; bronca, lijevanje; p. 26 mm, tež. 6,5 g; prsten zatvorenog tipa polukružnog presjeka, valovito definirane površine i blago istaknutog zadebljanja na kolutu koje možda označava glavu prstena; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
4. (T. 1: 4, MMČ 17441) – prsten; bronca, lijevanje; p. 23 mm, tež. 3,8 g; prsten u obliku jednostavnoga otvorenog koluta pravokutnog presjeka, krajevi se dodiruju; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
5. (T. 1: 5, MMČ 17446) – gornji dio dvodijelnog privjeska; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 19 mm, šir. 14 mm, tež. 1,9 g; okrugla pločica sa središnjim konveksnim krugom s udubljenjem u sredini, prema otrgnutom donjem dijelu privjeska ide tanji istak svinut prema unutra, koji je originalno držao donji dio privjeska, stražnja strana je ravna i ima dvije alke za pričvršćivanje; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
6. (T. 1: 6, MMČ 17447) – donji dio dvodijelnog privjeska; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 24 mm, šir. 20 mm, tež. 2,1 g; pločica listolikog oblika naglašene bordure i središnjeg konveksnog ukrasa u formi stiliziranih vitica, na dnu kapljičasti dodatak, sa stražnje strane konkavno udubljenje ukrasa s prednje strane, oštećenje s gornje strane i pri dnu; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
7. (T. 1: 7, MMČ 17581) – lunulasti privjesak; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 38 mm, šir. 45 mm; tež. 12,7 g; privjesak polumjesečastog oblika s tunelastom ušicom za ovjes, ukras čini pet okruglih plastičnih ispupčenja (tri središnja i po jedno bočno) u obliku piramide s vrhom prema dolje, i reljefne linije u formi riblje kosti između središnjih i bočnih ispupčenja; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
8. (T. 1: 8, MMČ 17582) – lunulasti privjesak; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 37 mm, šir. 46 mm, tež. 17,8 g; privjesak polumjesečastog oblika s tunelastom ušicom za ovjes, ukras čini pet okruglih plastičnih ispupčenja (tri središnja i po jedno bočno) u obliku piramide s vrhom prema dolje, i reljefne linije u formi riblje kosti između središnjih i bočnih ispupčenja; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
9. (T. 1: 9, MMČ 17583) – lunulasti privjesak; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 38 mm, šir. 44 mm, tež. 17,9 g; privjesak polumjesečastog oblika s tunelastom ušicom za ovjes, ukras čini pet okruglih plastičnih ispupčenja (tri središnja i po jedno bočno) u obliku piramide s vrhom prema dolje, i reljefne linije u formi riblje kosti između središnjih i bočnih ispupčenja, lijevi kraj nepotpuno izliven; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
10. (T. 1: 10, MMČ 17584) – lunulasti privjesak; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 38 mm, šir. 46 mm, tež. 15,6 g; privjesak polumjesečastog oblika s tunelastom ušicom za ovjes, ukras čini pet okruglih plastičnih ispupčenja (tri središnja i po jedno bočno) u obliku piramide s vrhom prema dolje, i reljefne linije u formi riblje kosti između središnjih i bočnih ispupčenja; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
2. (Pl. 1: 2, MMČ 17438) – crescent-shaped earring; bronze, casting, enamelling; h. 34 mm, w. 28 mm, wt. 3.9 g; crescent-shaped temple ring with green and blue enamelling in four cells, upper edge of the lunula is wavy, hoop is not completely preserved; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
3. (Pl. 1: 3, MMČ 17440) – ring; bronze, casting; d. 26 mm, wt. 6.5 g; ring with closed band of semi-circular cross-section, wavy defined surface and slightly prominent thickening on the band, maybe representing the head of the ring; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
4. (Pl. 1: 4, MMČ 17441) – ring; bronze, casting; d. 23 mm, wt. 3.8 g; simple ring with open band and rectangular cross-section, ends of the band are touching; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
5. (Pl. 1: 5, MMČ 17446) – upper part of two-part pendant; bronze, casting; h. 19 mm, w. 14 mm, wt. 1.9 g; round plate with central convex circle with a recess in the middle, towards the torn-off lower part of the pendant there is a thinner protrusion bent inwards which holds the lower part, the back is flat and has two hooks for fastening; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
6. (Pl. 1: 6, MMČ 17447) – lower part of two-part pendant; bronze, casting; h. 24 mm, w. 20 mm, wt. 2.1 g; leaf-shaped plate with accentuated border and central concave decoration in the form of stylized tendrils, drop-shaped accessory at the bottom, concave copy of the decoration on the back, damaged on the top and bottom; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
7. (Pl. 1: 7, MMČ 17581) – crescent-shaped pendant; bronze, casting; h. 38 mm, w. 45 mm; wt. 12.7 g; crescent-shaped pendant with tunnel-shaped suspension eye, the decoration consists of five round plastic protrusions (three central and one on each side) in the shape of an inverted pyramid, and relief herringbone lines between the central and side protrusions; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
8. (Pl. 1: 8, MMČ 17582) – crescent-shaped pendant; bronze, casting; h. 37 mm, w. 46 mm, wt. 17.8 g; crescent-shaped pendant with tunnel-shaped suspension eye, the decoration consists of five round plastic protrusions (three central and one on each side) in the shape of an inverted pyramid, and relief herringbone lines between the central and side protrusions; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
9. (Pl. 1: 9, MMČ 17583) – crescent-shaped pendant; bronze, casting; h. 38 mm, w. 44 mm, wt. 17.9 g; crescent-shaped pendant with tunnel-shaped suspension eye, the decoration consists of five round plastic protrusions (three central and one on each side) in the shape of an inverted pyramid, and relief herringbone lines between the central and side protrusions, left side is not completely cast; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
10. (Pl. 1: 10, MMČ 17584) – crescent-shaped pendant; bronze, casting; h. 38 mm, w. 46 mm, wt. 15.6 g; crescent-shaped pendant with tunnel-shaped suspension eye, the decoration consists of five round plastic protrusions (three central and one on each side) in the shape of an inverted pyramid, and relief herringbone lines

11. (T. 2: 11, MMČ 17585) – praporac; bronca, lijevanje; vis. 22 mm, šir. 20 mm, tež. 5,1 g; šuplji praporac kruškolikog oblika s odlomljenom ušicom za ovjes, donji dio križno razrezan i ukrašen vertikalnim urezima ispod dvije horizontalne linije, unutra kamenčić za proizvodnju zvuka; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 8; 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
12. (T. 2: 12, MMČ 25877) – životinjski zub; vis. 37 mm, šir. 15 mm, tež. 2,5 g; sjekutić svinje (*Sus sp.*), oštećenje na kruni, griznoj plohi zuba; Tomičić 2017, sl. 2; 2019, 439.
13. (T. 2: 13, MMČ 17586) – torkves; brončana žica; vis. 153 mm, šir. 157 mm, debljina žice 2 mm, širina pletenog dijela 7 mm, tež. 81 g; masivan torkves od četiri upletene žice okruglog presjeka, petlja od jedne žice, kuka od krajeva dviju žica, torkves pleten od tri žice, od kojih je jedna dulja i dvostruko svinuta; Horvat 1956, sl. 9; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 3; 2019, 442.
14. (T. 2: 14, MMČ 17587) – torkves; brončana žica; vis. 156 mm, šir. 144 mm, debljina žice 2 mm, širina pletenog dijela 5 mm, tež. 36 g; torkves od tri upletene žice okruglog presjeka, ušica od jedne žice, kuka od kraja prve žice i oba kraja druge žice, torkves pleten od dvije žice, od kojih je jedna dulja i dvostruko svinuta; Horvat 1956, sl. 9; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 3; 2019, 442.
15. (T. 3: 15, MMČ 17588) – torkves; brončana žica; vis. 156 mm, šir. 139 mm, debljina žice 2 – 3 mm, širina pletenog dijela 8 mm, tež. 101 g; masivan torkves od tri upletene žice okruglog presjeka, petlja i kuka od po jedne dulje žice koja s oba kraja ulazi u pleteni dio, ali torkves je ispletan od samo dvije dulje žice; Horvat 1956, sl. 9; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 3; 2019, 442.
16. (T. 3: 16, MMČ 17589) – ulomak torkvesa; brončana žica; vis. 56 mm, šir. 130 mm, debljina žice 2 – 3 mm, širina pletenog dijela 6 mm, tež. 27 g; središnji dio torkvesa od tri upletene žice okruglog presjeka; Horvat 1956, sl. 9; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 4; 2019, 443.
17. (T. 3: 17, MMČ 17590) – ulomak torkvesa; brončana žica; vis. 82 mm, šir. 128 mm, debljina žice 2 – 3 mm, širina pletenog dijela 8 mm, tež. 39 g; središnji dio torkvesa od tri upletene žice okruglog presjeka; Horvat 1956, sl. 9; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 4; 2019, 443.
18. (T. 4: 18, MMČ 17591) – ulomak torkvesa; brončana žica; vis. 72 mm, šir. 164 mm, debljina žice 2 – 3 mm, širina pletenog dijela 7 mm, tež. 33 g; ulomak torkvesa od tri upletene žice okruglog presjeka i kukom za zakapčanje na jednom kraju, zajedno s ulomkom kat. br. 19 čini jedan cjeloviti torkves; Horvat 1956, sl. 9; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 4; 2019, 443.
19. (T. 4: 19, MMČ 17592) – ulomak torkvesa; brončana žica; vis. 75 mm, šir. 162 mm, debljina žice 2 – 3 mm, širina pletenog dijela 7 mm, tež. 39 g; ulomak torkvesa od tri upletene žice okruglog presjeka i petljom za zakapčanje na jednom kraju, zajedno s ulomkom kat. br. 18 čini jedan cjeloviti torkves; Horvat 1956, sl. 8; Tomičić 1978, sl. 9; 2017, sl. 4; 2019, 443.
- between the central and side protrusions; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 216, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
11. (Pl. 2: 11, MMČ 17585) – bell-pendant; bronze, casting; h. 22 mm, w. 20 mm, wt. 5.1 g; hollow pear-shaped bell-pendant with a broken suspension eyelet, the lower part is cross-cut and decorated with vertical incisions below two horizontal lines, a pebble inside for sound production; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 8; Tomičić 1978, 218, Fig. 8; 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
12. (Pl. 2: 12, MMČ 25877) – animal tooth; h. 37 mm, w. 15 mm, wt. 2.5 g; pig's incisor (*Sus sp.*), tooth wear at the crown, on the biting edge; Tomičić 2017, 127, Fig. 2; 2019, 439.
13. (Pl. 2: 13, MMČ 17586) – torc; bronze wire; h. 153 mm, w. 157 mm, wire thickness 2 mm, width of twisted part 7 mm, wt. 81 g; massive torc made of four twisted wires of round cross-section, loop of one wire, hook of the ends of two wires, torc braided of three wires total, one of which is longer and twice bent; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 135, Fig. 3; 2019, 442.
14. (Pl. 2: 14, MMČ 17587) – torc; bronze wire; h. 156 mm, w. 144 mm, wire thickness 2 mm, width of twisted part 5 mm, wt. 36 g; torc made of three twisted wires of round cross-section, loop of one wire, hook made from the end of the first wire and both ends of the second wire, torc braided of two wires total, one of which is longer and double bent; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 135, Fig. 3; 2019, 442.
15. (Pl. 3: 15, MMČ 17588) – torc; bronze wire; h. 156 mm, w. 139 mm, wire thickness 2–3 mm, width of twisted part 8 mm, wt. 101 g; massive torc made of three twisted wires of round cross-section, a loop and hook made of one longer wire, but torc is braided of only two longer wires; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 135, Fig. 3; 2019, 442.
16. (Pl. 3: 16, MMČ 17589) – torc fragment; bronze wire; h. 56 mm, w. 130 mm, wire thickness 2–3 mm, width of twisted part 6 mm, wt. 27 g; fragment is central part of torc, made of three twisted wires of round cross-section; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 136, Fig. 4; 2019, 443.
17. (Pl. 3: 17, MMČ 17590) – torc fragment; bronze wire; h. 82 mm, w. 128 mm, wire thickness 2–3 mm, width of twisted part 8 mm, wt. 39 g; fragment is central part of torc, made of three twisted wires of round cross-section; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 136, Fig. 4; 2019, 443.
18. (Pl. 4: 18, MMČ 17591) – torc fragment; bronze wire; h. 72 mm, w. 164 mm, wire thickness 2–3 mm, width of twisted part 7 mm, wt. 33 g; fragment is central part of torc, made of three twisted wires of round cross-section and a hook for fastening at one end, together with fragment cat. no. 19 makes one complete torc; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 136, Fig. 4; 2019, 443.
19. (Pl. 4: 19, MMČ 17592) – torc fragment; bronze wire; h. 75 mm, w. 162 mm, wire thickness 2–3 mm, width of twisted part 7 mm, wt. 39 g; fragment is central part of torc, made of three twisted wires of round cross-section and a loop for fastening at one end, together with fragment cat. no. 18 makes one complete torc; Horvat 1956, 23, Fig. 9; Tomičić 1978, 219, Fig. 9; 2017, 136, Fig. 4; 2019, 443.

Sv. Juraj u Trnju – Područna škola**Grob 5**

20. (T. 5: 20, MMČ 1734 (1–15)) – ogrlica od perli; najveća perla od ametista 18 x 14 mm, najveća fluoritna perla 13 x 12 mm, tež. 37 g; perle od ametista i fluorita poliedarskog oblika, jedna ovalna glinena perla, izduženi brončani tuljac; Tomičić 1986, 158; 1999, 51, 55; 2019, 427.

21. (T. 5: 21, MMČ 1714) – ulomak privjeska; bronca, lijevanje, urezivanje; vis. 32 mm, šir. 17 mm, tež. 1,8 g; ulomak zvjezdolikoga petokrakog privjeska sa središnjom perforacijom, ukras nizovi paralelno postavljenih ureza, nađen na prsima; Tomičić 1986, 158; 1999, 51, 57; 2019, 427.

22. (T. 5: 22, MMČ 1719) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 25 mm, šir. 22 mm, tež. 1,8 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“ te dodatno narebren, nađena kod desnog uha; Tomičić 1986, 135; 1999, 51; 2019, 427.

Grob 6

23. (T. 5: 23, MMČ 1733 (1–11)) – ogrlica od perli; najveća perla od ametista 14 x 13 mm, najveća fluorit perla 19 x 14 mm, tež. 30 g; perle od ametista i fluorita poliedarskog oblika; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 51, 55; 2019, 428.

24. (T. 5: 24, MMČ 1720) – grozdolika naušnica; srebro, lijevanje; vis. 32 mm, šir. 17 mm, tež. 4,5 g; sljepoočničarka s karikom okruglog presjeka, grozdolikim privjeskom i četiri koljenca, nađena kod lijevog uha; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 51, 55; 2019, 428.

25. (T. 5: 25, MMČ 1721) – prsten; bronca; p. 20 mm, tež. 1,7 g; prsten od raskucanog lima s rastavljenim krajevima koji prelaze jedan preko drugoga, ukrašen nasuprotno postavljenim punciranim trokutima po cijeloj dužini, nađen na prstenjaku desne ruke; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 51, 57; 2019, 428.

Grob 8

26. (T. 5: 26, MMČ 1732 (1–20)) – ogrlica od perli; najveća glinena perla 12 x 8 mm, najveća fluorit perla 17 x 15 mm, najveći kauri pužić 21 x 15 mm, tež. 29 g; ogrlica od perla od ametista i fluorita poliedarskog oblika, ovalnih glinenih perla i perforiranih kauri pužića; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 52, 57; 2019, 429.

Grob 9

27. (T. 6: 27, MMČ 1715) – prsten; bronca, lijevanje; p. 24 mm, tež. 5,3 g; prsten polukružnog presjeka i zatvorenih krajeva, cijeli kolut ukrašen narebrenim grebenom, pronađen na desnoj ruci; Tomičić 1986, 135; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53, 57; 2019, 430.

28. (T. 6: 28, MMČ 1726) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 41 mm, šir. 29 mm, tež. 1,2 g, debljina žice 1 mm, širina „s“ kraja 4,5 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53.

29. (T. 6: 29, MMČ 1749 (1–2)) – ulomci s-karičice; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 41 mm, šir. 32 mm, tež. 1,3 g, debljina žice 1 mm; lošije sa-

Sv. Juraj u Trnju – Područna škola (District School)**Grave 5**

20. (Pl. 5: 20, MMČ 1734 (1–15)) – bead necklace; largest amethyst bead 18x14 mm, largest fluorite bead 13x12 mm, wt. 37 g; amethyst and fluorite beads of polyhedral shape, one oval clay bead, elongated bronze bead; Tomičić 1986, 158; 1999, 51, 55; 2019, 427.

21. (Pl. 5: 21, MMČ 1714) – pendant fragment; bronze, casting, engraving; h. 32 mm, w. 17 mm, wt. 1.8 g; fragment of a five-pointed star-shaped pendant with central perforation, decorated with rows of parallel incisions, found on the chest; Tomičić 1986, 158; 1999, 51, 57; 2019, 427.

22. (Pl. 5: 22, MMČ 1719) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 25 mm, w. 22 mm, wt. 1.8 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of 'S' end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter 'S' and additionally ribbed, found near the right ear; Tomičić 1986, 135; 1999, 51; 2019, 427.

Grave 6

23. (Pl. 5: 23, MMČ 1733 (1–11)) – bead necklace; largest amethyst bead 14x13 mm, largest fluorite bead 19x14 mm, wt. 30 g; amethyst and fluorite beads of polyhedral shape; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 51, 55; 2019, 428.

24. (Pl. 5: 24, MMČ 1720) – grape-shaped earring; silver, casting; h. 32 mm, w. 17 mm, wt. 4.5 g; earring with a round cross-section hoop, grape-shaped pendant and four joints, found near the left ear; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 51, 55; 2019, 428.

25. (Pl. 5: 25, MMČ 1721) – ring; bronze; d. 20 mm, wt. 1.7 g; ring made of sheet metal with the ends crossed over each other, decorated with oppositely-placed punched triangles along the entire length of the band, found on ring finger of right hand; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 51, 57; 2019, 428.

Grave 8

26. (Pl. 5: 26, MMČ 1732 (1–20)) – bead necklace; largest clay bead 12x8 mm, largest fluorite bead 17x15 mm, largest cowrie shell 21x15 mm, wt. 29 g; necklace made of amethyst and fluorite beads of polyhedral shape, oval clay beads and perforated cowrie shells; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 52, 57; 2019, 429.

Grave 9

27. (Pl. 6: 27, MMČ 1715) – ring; bronze, casting; d. 24 mm, wt. 5.3 g; ring of semi-circular cross-section and closed ends, the whole ring decorated with a ribbed crest, found on the right hand; Tomičić 1986, 135; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53, 57; 2019, 430.

28. (Pl. 6: 28, MMČ 1726) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 41 mm, w. 29 mm, wt. 1.2 g, wire thickness 1 mm, width of 'S' end 4.5 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter 'S'; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53.

29. (Pl. 6: 29, MMČ 1749 (1–2)) – S-hoop fragments; silver wire twisting; h. 41 mm, w. 32 mm, wt. 1.3 g, wire thickness 1 mm; dam-

čuvana karičica kojoj je jedan kraj ravno odrezan, a na drugom se nazire početak raskucanog završetka u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53.

Grob 12

30. (T. 6: 30, MMČ 1728) – s-karičica; bronca, uvijanje žice; vis. 27 mm, šir. 25 mm, tež. 2,2 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; deformirana karičica kojoj je jedan kraj ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“, pronađena kod desnog uha; neobjavljeno.

Grob 16

31. (T. 6: 31, MMČ 1735) – s-karičica; bronca, uvijanje žice; vis. 28 mm, šir. 22 mm, tež. 0,9 g, debljina žice 1 mm, širina „s“ kraja 2 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

32. (T. 6: 32, MMČ 1725) – s-karičica; željezo, uvijanje žice; vis. 30 mm, šir. 20 mm, tež. 0,91 g, debljina žice 1 mm, širina „s“ kraja 9 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

33. (T. 6: 33, MMČ 1737) – s-karičica; željezo, uvijanje žice; vis. 22 mm, šir. 19 mm, tež. 0,7 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

34. (T. 6: 34, MMČ 1747) – s-karičica; bronca, uvijanje žice; vis. 24 mm, šir. 24 mm, tež. 0,8 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 3 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

35. (T. 6: 35, MMČ 1736) – s-karičica; željezo, uvijanje žice; vis. 23 mm, šir. 20 mm, tež. 0,7 g, debljina žice 1–2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 2 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

Grob 20

36. (T. 7: 36, MMČ 1756) – nož; željezo, kovanje; dužina 15,3 cm, šir. 1,9 cm, tež. 18 g; nož ravnog hrpta i na vrhu blago povijenog sječiva sa sužavajućim trnom za nasad drvene drške, korodiran po sredini sječiva, nađen „kod groba“; neobjavljeno.

Grob 22

37. (T. 6: 37, MMČ 1724) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 41 mm, šir. 37 mm, tež. 3,2 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 9 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

38. (T. 6: 38, MMČ 1738) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 33 mm, šir. 30 mm, tež. 2,3 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 6 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

aged hoop with one end cut straight, on the other end the start of a thinned end in the shape of the letter ‘S’ is visible; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53.

Grave 12

30. (Pl. 6: 30, MMČ 1728) – S-hoop; bronze wire twisting; h. 27 mm, w. 25 mm, wt. 2.2 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; deformed hoop which has one end cut straight and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’, found near the right ear; unpublished.

Grave 16

31. (Pl. 6: 31, MMČ 1735) – S-hoop; bronze wire twisting; h. 28 mm, w. 22 mm, wt. 0.9 g, wire thickness 1 mm, width of ‘S’ end 2 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

32. (Pl. 6: 32, MMČ 1725) – S-hoop; iron wire twisting; h. 30 mm, w. 20 mm, wt. 0.91 g, wire thickness 1 mm, width of ‘S’ end 9 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

33. (Pl. 6: 33, MMČ 1737) – S-hoop; iron wire twisting; h. 22 mm, w. 19 mm, wt. 0.7 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

34. (Pl. 6: 34, MMČ 1747) – S-hoop; bronze wire twisting; h. 24 mm, w. 24 mm, wt. 0.8 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 3 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

35. (Pl. 6: 35, MMČ 1736) – S-hoop; iron wire twisting; h. 23 mm, w. 20 mm, wt. 0.7 g, wire thickness 1–2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 2 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 53; 2019, 430.

Grave 20

36. (Pl. 7: 36, MMČ 1756) – knife; iron, forging; length 15.3 cm, w. 1.9 cm, wt. 18 g; knife with a straight spine/blade, blade tip is slightly bent downwards, narrowing tang for wooden handle, corroded in the middle of the blade, found “near the grave”; unpublished.

Grave 22

37. (Pl. 6: 37, MMČ 1724) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 41 mm, w. 37 mm, wt. 3.2 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 9 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

38. (Pl. 6: 38, MMČ 1738) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 33 mm, w. 30 mm, wt. 2.3 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 6 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

39. (T. 6: 39, MMČ 1740) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 29 mm, šir. 26 mm, tež. 2,1 g, debljina žice 2 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, drugi djelomično oštećen, ali vidljivo raskucan, nedostaje kraj savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

40. (T. 6: 40, MMČ 1743) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 25 mm, šir. 27 mm, tež. 3 g, debljina žice 2,5 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, drugi djelomično oštećen, no vidljivo raskucan, nedostaje kraj savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić, 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

41. (T. 6: 41, MMČ 1722) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 20 mm, šir. 19 mm, tež. 1,6 g, debljina žice 2,5 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“ te dodatno narebren; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 2019, 430.

42. (T. 6: 42, MMČ 1739) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 32 mm, šir. 28 mm, tež. 2,7 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 6 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 2019, 430.

43. (T. 6: 43, MMČ 1730) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 27 mm, šir. 25 mm, tež. 2,4 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

Grob 29

44. (T. 7: 44, MMČ 1745) – životinjski zub; vis. 31 mm, šir. 13 mm, tež. 1,4 g; fragment očnjaka svinje (*Sus sp.*), oštećen pri korištenju; neobjavljeno.

45. (T. 7: 45, MMČ 1746) – životinjski zub; vis. 32 mm, šir. 12 mm, tež. 1,8 g; sjekutić mandibule svinje (*Sus sp.*); neobjavljeno.

Grob 30

46. (T. 7: 46, MMČ 1758) – karičica; bronca, uvijanje žice; vis. 20 mm, šir. 18 mm, tež. 0,6 g, debljina žice 2 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi završava perforacijom, nađena kod desnog uha; neobjavljeno.

Grob 36

47. (T. 7: 47, MMČ 1723) – prsten; bronca; p. 22 mm, tež. 3,4 g; prsten od raskucanog lima s rastavljenim krajevima koji prelaze jedan preko drugoga, ukrašen nasuprotno postavljenim punciranim trokutima po cijeloj dužini, iznošen, pronađen na desnoj ruci; Tomičić 1986, 158 (?).

Ostali nalazi

48. (T. 7: 48, MMČ 1748) – prsten; srebro; p. 18 mm, tež. 1,2 g; ulomak prstena od raskucanog lima bez ukrasa; neobjavljeno.

49. (T. 7: 49, MMČ 1755) – ulomak s-karičice; srebro; vis. 11 mm, šir. 9 mm, tež. 0,3 g, širina „s“ kraja 9 mm; raskucani i narebreni kraj s-karičice; neobjavljeno.

50. (T. 7: 50, MMČ 1754) – perla; glina; vis. 13 mm, šir. 12 mm, tež. 1,25 g; glinena cilindrična perla oker boje ukrašena nizom paralelnih ureza; neobjavljeno.

51. (T. 7: 51, MMČ 1750) – perla; staklo; vis. 13 mm, šir. 17 mm, tež.

39. (Pl. 6: 39, MMČ 1740) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 29 mm, w. 26 mm, wt. 2.1 g, wire thickness 2 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, the other is partially damaged but visibly thinned and missing the ‘S’ end; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

40. (Pl. 6: 40, MMČ 1743) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 25 mm, w. 27 mm, wt. 3 g, wire thickness 2.5 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, the other is partially damaged but visibly thinned and missing the ‘S’ end; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12–13; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

41. (Pl. 6: 41, MMČ 1722) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 20 mm, w. 19 mm, wt. 1.6 g, wire thickness 2.5 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’ and additionally ribbed; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 2019, 430.

42. (Pl. 6: 42, MMČ 1739) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 32 mm, w. 28 mm, wt. 2.7 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 6 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 2019, 430.

43. (Pl. 6: 43, MMČ 1730) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 27 mm, w. 25 mm, wt. 2.4 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; Tomičić 1986, 135, 158; Tomičić, Vidović 1986, 12; Tomičić 1999, 55; 2019, 430.

Grave 29

44. (Pl. 7: 44, MMČ 1745) – animal tooth; h. 31 mm, w. 13 mm, wt. 1.4 g; pig canine fragment (*Sus sp.*), damaged at the root; unpublished.

45. (Pl. 7: 45, MMČ 1746) – animal tooth; h. 32 mm, w. 12 mm, wt. 1.8 g; incisor of pig’s mandible (*Sus sp.*); unpublished.

Grave 30

46. (Pl. 7: 46, MMČ 1758) – hoop; bronze wire twisting; h. 20 mm, w. 18 mm, wt. 0.6 g, wire thickness 2 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other finishes with a perforation, found near the right ear; unpublished.

Grave 36

47. (Pl. 7: 47, MMČ 1723) – ring; bronze; d. 22 mm, wt. 3.4 g; a ring of thin sheet metal with the ends crossed over each other, decorated with oppositely-placed punched triangles along the entire length of the band, worn out, found on the right hand; Tomičić 1986, 158 (?).

Other finds

48. (Pl. 7: 48, MMČ 1748) – ring; silver; d. 18 mm, wt. 1.2 g; fragment of a ring of thinned sheet metal, without decoration; unpublished.

49. (Pl. 7: 49, MMČ 1755) – S-hoop fragment; silver; h. 11 mm, w. 9 mm, wt. 0.3 g, width of ‘S’ end 9 mm; thinned end of S-hoop, bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’ and ribbed; unpublished.

50. (Pl. 7: 50, MMČ 1754) – bead; clay; h. 13 mm, w. 12 mm, wt. 1.25 g; ochre-coloured cylindrical clay bead decorated with a series of parallel incisions; unpublished.

- 1,4 g; narebrena perla od plave staklene paste; neobjavljeno.
 52. (T. 7: 52, MMČ 1704) – kauri puž u funkciji perle; vis. 19 mm, šir. 14 mm; neobjavljeno.
 53. (T. 7: 53, MMČ 1705) – kauri puž u funkciji perle; vis. 14 mm, šir. 11 mm; neobjavljeno.
 54. (T. 7: 54, MMČ 1711) – kauri puž u funkciji perle; vis. 15 mm, šir. 10 mm; neobjavljeno.

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Grob 1

55. (T. 8: 55, MMČ 1716) – prsten; srebro; p. 23 mm, debljina 3 mm, tež. 3 g; prsten otvorenog tipa i karike pravokutnog presjeka, zaobljene gornje plohe, krajevi su suženi i dodiruju se; neobjavljeno.
 56. (T. 8: 56, MMČ 1717) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 31 mm, šir. 28 mm, tež. 2,6 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; neobjavljeno.
 57. (T. 8: 57, MMČ 1718) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 33 mm, šir. 31 mm, tež. 2,4 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; neobjavljeno.
 58. (T. 8: 58, MMČ 1727) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 30 mm, šir. 29 mm, tež. 2,5 g, debljina žice 2 mm, širina „s“ kraja 7 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; neobjavljeno.
 59. (T. 8: 59, MMČ 1729) – s-karičica; bronca, uvijanje žice; vis. 34 mm, šir. 26 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; neobjavljeno.
 60. (T. 8: 60, MMČ 1741) – s-karičica; bronca, uvijanje žice; vis. 32 mm, šir. 29 mm; jedan kraj karičice ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; neobjavljeno.
 61. (T. 8: 61, MMČ 1760) – s-karičica; srebro, uvijanje žice; vis. 37 mm, šir. 34 mm, tež. 1,4 g, debljina žice 1 mm; oštećena karičica kojoj je jedan kraj ravno odrezan, a drugi raskucan i savijen u obliku slova „s“; neobjavljeno.

Ostali nalazi

62. (T. 8: 62, MMČ 29446) – rimski novac; bronca, kovanje; p. 23 mm, tež. 8,25 g; sestercij cara Volusijana kovan u Rimu; avers [VO] LVSIANO [A]UG, ovjenčano poprsje s draperijom, okret na desno; revers nečitko, Felicitas drži kaducej i žezlo, naslonjena na stup, okret na lijevo, uz nju S C; datum kovanja od 251. g. do 253. g., RIC 251a; neobjavljeno.

51. (Pl. 7: 51, MMČ 1750) – bead; glass; h. 13 mm, w. 17 mm, wt. 1.4 g; ribbed necklace bead of blue glass paste; unpublished.
 52. (Pl. 7: 52, MMČ 1704) – necklace bead made of cowrie shell; h. 19 mm, w. 14 mm; unpublished.
 53. (Pl. 7: 53, MMČ 1705) – necklace bead made of cowrie shell; h. 14 mm, w. 11 mm; unpublished.
 54. (Pl. 7: 54, MMČ 1711) – necklace bead made of cowrie shell; h. 15 mm, w. 10 mm; unpublished.

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Grave 1

55. (Pl. 8: 55, MMČ 1716) – ring; silver; d. 23 mm, thickness 3 mm, wt. 3 g; ring with open band and rectangular cross-section, rounded upper surface, ends are narrowed and touching; unpublished.
 56. (Pl. 8: 56, MMČ 1717) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 31 mm, w. 28 mm, wt. 2.6 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; unpublished.
 57. (Pl. 8: 57, MMČ 1718) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 33 mm, w. 31 mm, wt. 2.4 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; unpublished.
 58. (Pl. 8: 58, MMČ 1727) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 30 mm, w. 29 mm, wt. 2.5 g, wire thickness 2 mm, width of ‘S’ end 7 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; unpublished.
 59. (Pl. 8: 59, MMČ 1729) – S-hoop; bronze wire twisting; h. 34 mm, w. 26 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; unpublished.
 60. (Pl. 8: 60, MMČ 1741) – S-hoop; bronze wire twisting; h. 32 mm, w. 29 mm; one end of the hoop is straight cut, and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; unpublished.
 61. (Pl. 8: 61, MMČ 1760) – S-hoop; silver wire twisting; h. 37 mm, w. 34 mm, wt. 1.4 g, wire thickness 1 mm; damaged hoop with one end cut straight and the other thinned and bent in the shape of the letter ‘S’; unpublished.

Other finds

62. (Pl. 8: 62, MMČ 29446) – Roman coin; bronze, forging; d. 23 mm, wt. 8.25 g; sestertius of Emperor Volusian, minted in Rome; obverse [VO] LVSIANO [A]UG, crowned bust with drapery, facing right; reverse illegible, Felicitas holding a caduceus and sceptre, leaning against a pillar, facing left, beside her S C; minted 251 – 253, RIC 251a; unpublished.

KRATICE

ABBREVIATIONS

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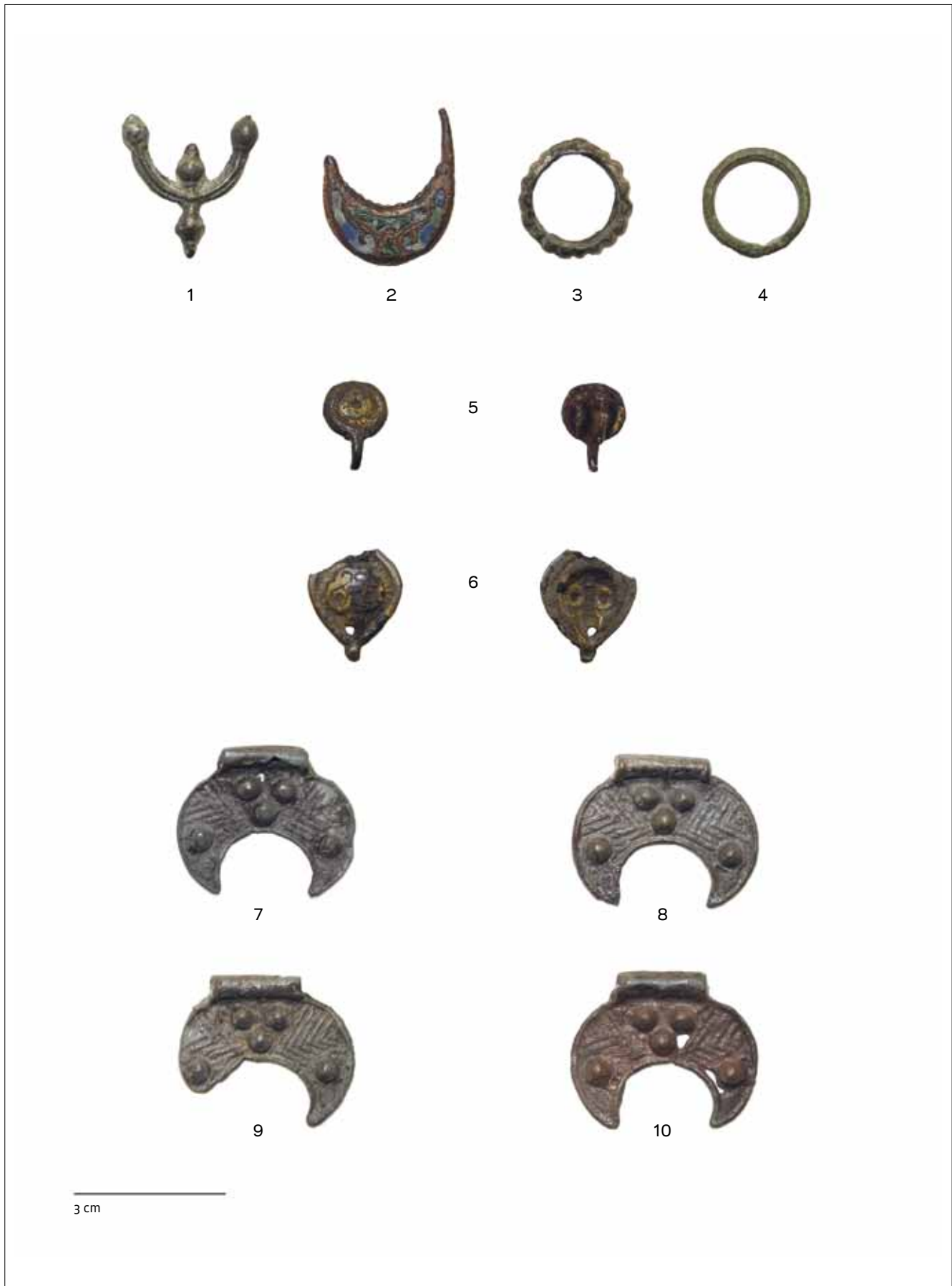


TABLA 1.
Šenkovečka skupina nalaza (kat. br. 1–10; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 1.
Šenkovec group of finds (cat. nos 1–10; made by P. Jeršek).



TABLA 2.
Šenkovečka skupina nalaza (kat. br. 11–14; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 2.
Šenkovec group of finds (cat. nos 11–14; made by P. Jeršek).



TABLA 3.
Šenkovečka skupina nalaza (kat. br. 15–17; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 3.
Šenkovec group of finds (cat. nos 15–17; made by P. Jeršek).

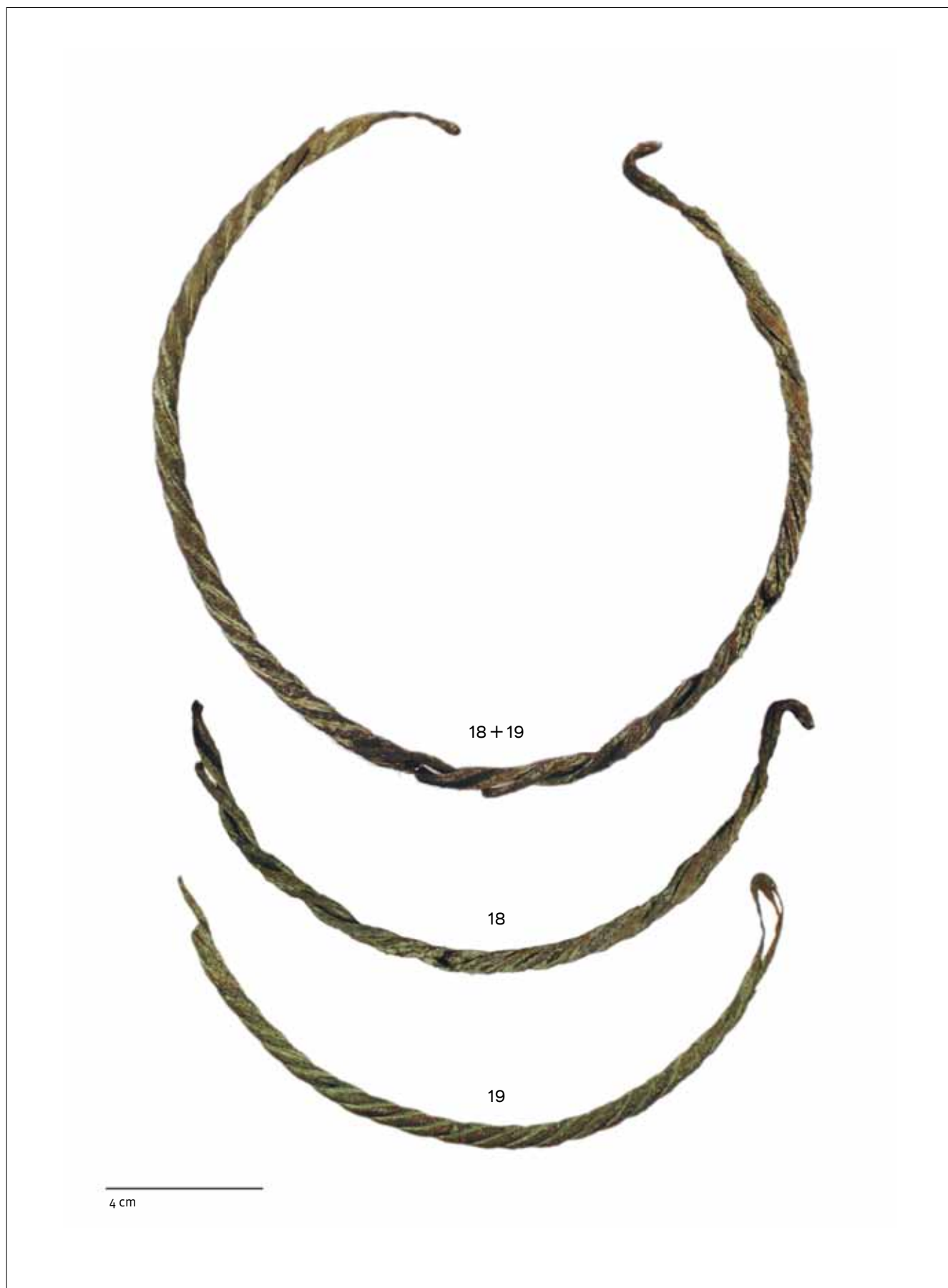


TABLA 4.
Šenkovečka skupina nalaza (kat. br. 18–19; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 4.
Šenkovec group of finds (cat. nos 18–19; made by P. Jeršek).



TABLA 5.
Sv. Juraj u Trnju (kat. br. 21–26; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 5.
Sv. Juraj u Trnju (cat. nos 21–26; made by P. Jeršek).

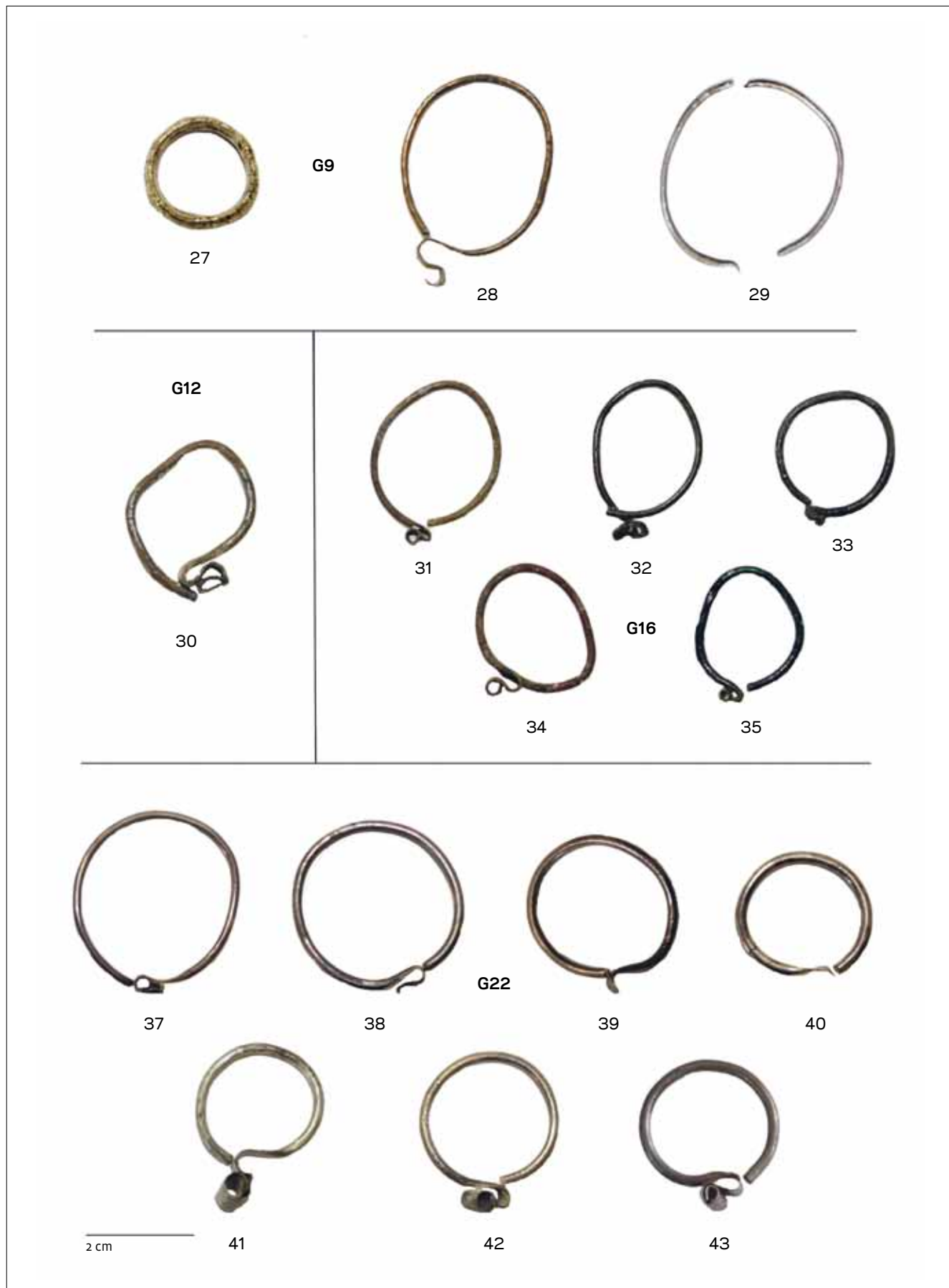


TABLA 6.
Sv. Juraj u Trnju (kat. br. 27–35, 37–43; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 6.
Sv. Juraj u Trnju (cat. nos 27–35, 37–43; made by P. Jeršek).



TABLA 7.
Sv. Juraj u Trnju (kat. br. 36, 44–54; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 7.
Sv. Juraj u Trnju (cat. nos 36, 44–54; made by P. Jeršek).



TABLA 8.
Sv. Martin na Muri (kat. br. 55–62; izradila P. Jeršek).

PLATE 8.
Sv. Martin na Muri (cat. nos 55–62; made by P. Jeršek).