

NABOŽNI PREDMETI PRONAĐENI TIJEKOM ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA CRKVE UZNESENJA BLAŽENE DJEVICE MARIJE U GORI

DEVOTIONAL OBJECTS DISCOVERED DURING ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN GORA

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Tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori istraženo je i dokumentirano ukupno 426 grobova iz više različitih horizonata ukopavanja, ali se na temelju nalaza, prije svega nabožnih predmeta pronađenih u njima, samo četiri groba mogu sa sigurnošću svrstati u najmlađi, postosmanlijski horizont ukopavanja, datiran u 18. stoljeće. U sva su četiri groba pokopani muškarci vrlo loše patološke slike, koja upućuje na kontinuirani i težak fizički rad te loše životne uvjete. Brojnošću i kvalitetom izrade nalaza posebno se ističe pokojnik iz groba 253 koji je, osim vrlo rijetkih nabožnih predmeta, sa stražnje strane vrata imao i kopču za ovratnik (engl. stock buckle), prvi takav objavljeni nalaz iz zatvorene grobne cjeline pronađen u Hrvatskoj. Osim predmeta pronađenih uz pokojnike, detaljno su, uz brojne analogije diljem Europe, obrađeni i oni pronađeni izvan zatvorenih grobnih cjelina. Ukupno je tijekom arheoloških istraživanja u Gori pronađeno pet religijskih medaljica, tri križa i osam zrna krunica, dok je u grobu 297 pronađen predmet koji svojim oblikom podsjeća na brevar.

Ključne riječi:

novi vijek, groblje, Gora, crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije, nabožni predmeti, religijske medaljice, križevi, zrna krunice, brevar, kopča za ovratnik

During the archaeological excavation of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora, a total number of 426 graves of various burial horizons were researched and documented. However, only four graves can be dated to the latest, that is post-Ottoman, horizon of the 18th century with certainty, on the basis of the finds from the graves, primarily the devotional objects. All four of the graves had males with poor pathology buried in them, indicating continuous hard labour and poor living conditions. The number and quality of the finds from grave 253 especially stand out; aside from the very rare devotional objects, it also contained a stock buckle that was discovered on the back of the deceased individual's neck, the first such published find from a closed grave unit in Croatia. Aside from the objects discovered alongside the deceased individuals, this paper also analyses those finds discovered outside closed grave units, listing many analogies across Europe. The archaeological excavation in Gora yielded five religious medals, three crosses and eight rosary beads altogether, while grave 297 yielded an object whose shape is reminiscent of a breverl.

Key words:

early modern period, cemetery, Gora, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, devotional objects, religious medals, crosses, rosary beads, breverl, stock buckle

Uvod

Gora je danas malo selo na području Banovine, u Sisačko-moslavačkoj županiji, sa samo 228 stanovnika,¹ a nalazi se 8 km jugozapadno od Petrinje, uz cestu prema Glini. Vizuirom sela uz glavnu cestu dominira crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije, omeđena cinktorom s četiri ugaone kule. Nažalost, proteklih tridesetak godina sudbina joj nije bila naklonjena. Prvo je, nakon temeljite obnove tijekom 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća, crkva teško nastradala za vrijeme Domovinskog rata. Nakon što je 1991. godine zapaljena, već je iduće bila minirana. Na sreću, eksploziv nije bio uspješno aktiviran na trima od šest mjesta na kojima je bio postavljen.² Paradoksalno, tim destruktivnim činom, usmjerenim protiv kulturnog naslijeđa okupiranog područja, otkriveni su – ispod baroknog ruha – sačuvani dijelovi ranogotičke templarske crkve. Po završetku rata je, zbog brojnih *in situ* sačuvanih ključnih dijelova i sklopova arhitektonske plastike ranogotičke crkve, odlučeno da se crkva rekonstruira uglavnom u svojem izvornome gotičkom obliku.³ Višegodišnji radovi na obnovi završeni su posvetom crkve u prosincu 2015. godine,⁴ ali tada vjerojatno nitko nije niti slutio da će za pet godina, u smiraj 2020., crkva ponovno biti značajno oštećena, ovog puta zbog prirodne nepogode – razornog potresa koji je pogodio Banovinu.⁵ Urušio se veći dio prednjeg zabatnoga zida i zvonika na preslicu, a veće su pukotine vidljive i na zidovima cinktora te na ugaonim kulama (sl. 1).

Na prostoru ove značajne povijesne crkve lokalno stanovništvo se, uz povremene prekide, pokapalo gotovo 800 godina, od početka 11. pa do pretkraj 18. stoljeća. Cilj je ovog rada⁶ prikazati i obraditi malobrojne otkrivene grobove koji se, na temelju nalaza, s velikom sigurnošću mogu datirati u zadnjih stotinu godina funkcioniranja groblja. Radi boljeg razumijevanja, obrađeni su i predmeti pronađeni u zapunama grobova i slojevima, a koji pripadaju razdoblju novog vijeka te su iznesene njihove detaljne analogije koje prilično dobro ilustriraju geografsku rasprostranjenost dijela nalaza. Osim detaljne analize najučestalijih nalaza u grobovima tog razdoblja, nabožnih predmeta i pratećih dijelova odjeće, u radu se donose i podaci antropološke analize pokojnika. Na temelju brojnosti patologija, nastoji se iščitati kvaliteta njihova života, a usporedbom dobivenih rezultata s nalazima pronađenim u njihovim grobovima, za neke pokojnike pokušat će se rekonstruirati njihov društveno-ekonomski položaj.

Introduction

Present-day Gora is a small village of only 228 inhabitants in the Banovina region in Sisak-Moslavina County.¹ It is situated eight kilometres south-west of Petrinja, along the road leading to Glini. The view of the village along the main road is dominated by the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with an arched porch that has four corner towers. Unfortunately, in the past 30 years, fate has not been very kind to it. First, after a thorough reconstruction in the 1980s, the church was severely damaged during the Croatian War of Independence. In 1991 the church was burned, and in 1992 it was blown up with explosives. Luckily, in three out of six places, the explosives did not activate successfully.² Paradoxically, this destructive act against the cultural heritage of the occupied area revealed the preserved parts of an Early Gothic Templar church hidden underneath the Baroque layer. Since numerous key areas of the church and constructions of the architectural stonework of the Early Gothic church were preserved *in situ*, after the war it was decided that the church would mostly be reconstructed in its original Gothic form.³ Renovation work spanning several years ended in the consecration of the church in December 2015,⁴ when nobody could foresee that in five years the church would be badly damaged again, but this time as a consequence of a natural disaster: a devastating earthquake that struck Banovina in late 2020.⁵ On that occasion, a large part of the front gable wall and bellcote collapsed, while the walls of the arched porch and corner towers showed significant cracks (Fig. 1).

With periodic interruptions, the local population has performed burials around the area of the church for almost 800 years: from the beginning of the 11th century almost to the very end of the 18th. The aim of this paper is to portray and analyse the few graves discovered, which can be dated with great precision, on the basis of the finds, to the last one hundred years of the use of the cemetery.⁶ To improve our understanding of the matter, items discovered in the backfills of the graves and layers between them were also analysed, since they also belong to the early modern period. The paper presents their detailed analogies, illustrating the geographical distribution of some of the finds. Aside from the detailed analysis of the most common finds from the graves of this period, devotional objects and costume parts, this paper also brings the results of the anthropologic analysis of the deceased individuals. The pathologies discovered were used in an attempt to interpret the quality of their lives, while the correlation of the acquired results with the finds discovered in the graves was used in the reconstruction of their social and economic position within society.

1 Podatak prema službenom popisu stanovništva iz 2021. godine Državnog zavoda za statistiku Republike Hrvatske dostupnom na: <https://popis2021.hr/> (siječanj 2022.).

2 Miletić 1999, 134–136.

3 Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 51.

4 <https://www.radio-banovina.hr/posvecena-zupna-crkva-uznesenja-blazene-djevice-marije-u-gori/> (lipanj 2021.).

1 This is data acquired from the official 2021 census conducted by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, and it can be found at: <https://popis2021.hr/> (January 2022).

2 Miletić 1999, 134–136.

3 Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014, 51.

4 <https://www.radio-banovina.hr/posvecena-zupna-crkva-uznesenja-blazene-djevice-marije-u-gori/> (June 2021).



SLIKA 1. Pogled iz zraka na današnje stanje crkve (snimio S. Stingl).

FIGURE 1. Aerial view of the present state of the church (photo by S. Stingl).

Kratak pregled povijesti lokaliteta i arheoloških istraživanja

Sporadični ulomci keramike, koji se mogu datirati u razdoblje prapovijesti i antike, svjedoče o kontinuiranom naseljavanju gorskog prostora, koji svoj najveći značaj dobiva u razdoblju srednjeg vijeka. Da su Slaveni u Goru stigli vrlo rano, svjedoče i nalazi keramike praškog tipa, koja se datira u 7. i 8. stoljeće.⁷ U srednjem vijeku Gora se nalazila na glavnoj cesti, koja je iz Ugarske vodila prema moru. Ta je prometnica omogućavala Gorskoj županiji veze s ostalim važnijim središtima tog vremena.⁸ Vitezovi templari upravo su u Gorskoj županiji imali jedan od svojih prvih posjeda na prostoru srednjovjekovne Slavonije, a riječ je o predjelu Haco u blizini Petrinje, koji su dobili darovnicom Gu-

A short overview of the history of the site and the excavations conducted

Sporadically-discovered pottery fragments that can be dated to prehistory and Antiquity testify to the continuity of settlement in the Gora area. In the Middle Ages, this location gains the most importance. Finds of Prague-type pottery dated to the 7th and 8th centuries support the thesis of early Slavic settlement in this area.⁷ In the Middle Ages, Gora was situated on the main road leading from Hungary to the coast. This road linked Gora County with other important centres of the period.⁸ One of the first Templar estates in medieval Slavonia was in Gora County: a praedium called Haco, near Petrinja, given to the Templars by Gutitemer, the *iuppanus* of Gora County. The deed was con-

5 Više podataka vezanih uz pojavu, nastanak i posljedice ovog potresa vidi u Ros Kozarić 2021.

6 Ovaj rad sufinancirala je Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom "Razvoj i naslijeđe viteških redova u Hrvatskoj (milOrd)" (HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513).

7 Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 90.

8 Dobronić 2002, 88.

5 For more information regarding the occurrence and consequences of this earthquake, see Ros Kozarić 2021.

6 This paper has been supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project "milOrd – Development and Heritage of the Military Orders in Croatia" (HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513).

7 Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 90.

8 Dobronić 2002, 88.

titemera, župana Gore, i koju je potvrdio ugarsko-hrvatski kralj Stjepan.⁹ Posjed Goru, zajedno s romaničkom crkvom,¹⁰ templari su zasigurno posjedovali već krajem 12. stoljeća u vrijeme kralja Bele III. koji im daruje tržne pristojbe trga u Gori za „rasvjetu” (*pro luminari*) crkve Svete Marije.¹¹ Prvi spomen, doduše neimenovanog, templarskog preceptora Gore u povijesnim je izvorima iz 1242. godine.¹² Njegov izaslanik sudjeluje u utvrđivanju granica zemalja između Topuskog i Gline, a samo njegovo postojanje nepobitno upućuje na to da je Gora bila središte preceptorata.¹³ Templari su u Gori bili sve do ukinuća reda, kada njihove posjede preuzimaju vitezovi ivanovci. Vjerojatno su brojni templari u srednjovjekovnoj Slavoniji prešli među ivanovce pa su tako mogli ostati i u svojim starim kućama (*domusima*), a sve to se očito odvijalo vrlo brzo jer se već u ožujku 1314. godine u Gori i Dubici spominju ivanovački preceptor.¹⁴ Ivanovci su se u Gori zadržali do početka osmanlijskih provala, kada je napuštaju prvi put. Kralj Vladislav Goru je krajem 15. stoljeća darovao zagrebačkom biskupu Osvaldu, a već početkom 16. stoljeća ona je ponovno pod vranskim priorima, koji su je držali do 1514. godine, kada ivanovci trajno nestaju s Banovine.¹⁵ Od tada pa do osmanlijskog osvajanja 1592. godine,¹⁶ Gora je bila u svjetovnim

firmated by Stephen, the King of Croatia and Hungary.⁹ Templars had already been the lords of the estate of Gora, including the Romanesque church,¹⁰ at the end of the 12th century, during the time of the reign of King Bela III, who granted them fees of the Gora market for “the illumination” (*pro luminari*) of St Mary’s Church.¹¹ The first, and unnamed, Templar preceptor of Gora was mentioned in historical sources in 1242.¹² His emissary took part in the determination of the borders of lands between Topusko and Glina. His very existence undeniably points to Gora as one of the centres of the preceptory.¹³ Templars were the lords of Gora until their order was abolished and their estates were taken over by the Knights Hospitaller. It is possible that many Templars in medieval Slavonia became Hospitallers, which enabled them to remain in their houses (*domus*). All of this probably happened quite quickly, since Hospitaller preceptors in Gora and Dubica were already mentioned in March 1314.¹⁴ Hospitallers remained in Gora until the first Ottoman raids, when they abandoned it for the first time. King Vladislaus granted Gora to the Bishop of Zagreb, Osvald, in the late 15th century, while in the early 16th century it was already under the Priors of Vrana, who held it until 1514, when the Knights Hospitaller permanently abandoned

9 Karbić, Karbić 2021, 69. Ne može se sa sigurnošću tvrditi radi li se o Stjepanu III. (1162. – 1163. i 1164. – 1172.) ili Stjepanu IV. (1163. – 1164.).

10 Zbog pogrešne interpretacije povijesnih izvora povijest gorske crkve, kao i same Gore, poprilično je zamršena. Već Stjepan Gunjača (1975, 396) prilikom neslaganja s topografskim rješenjem prostiranja biskupskih posjeda koje je donijela Lelja Dobronić (1951, 276) upozorava da se taj problem ne može riješiti dok se ne riješi „nejasno poimanje što u dokumentima znači Gora pri navođenju posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola i posjeda templara.” Glavni problem je u višestrukom tumačenju naziva Gora. Naime, Gunjača (1975, 396) navodi, osim Gore kod Petrinje, postojanje još jedne Gore na području kaptolskog imanja Vinodola, a koje smješta na desnu obalu rijeke Petrinjčice. Lelja Dobronić (1951, 276) pak to imanje postavlja na suprotnu, lijevu obalu. Milan Kruhek (1991, 102, bilj. 29) upozorio je i na nekadašnju Goru, a kasnije Goričku kod Dvora na Uni. U toj svoj zbrci od velike pomoći nije bio niti poznati popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije kojeg je sastavio gorički arhidakon Ivan 1334. godine. Od 42 navedene crkve goričkog arhidakonata nama su posebno zanimljive četiri. Na 14. mjestu je *ecclesia beate Virginis de Gora*, potom jednu za drugom na 28. i 29. mjestu Ivan navodi *ecclesia sancti Clementis de Gora* i *ecclesia sancti Petri, que est plebania, que in loco illius de Gora*, dok je na 40. mjestu *ecclesia cruciferorum de Gora*. Josip Buturac (1944, 414–416) smatra da su se četiri navedene crkve nalazile u Gori, pri čemu tvrdi da su crkve na 14. i 29. mjestu župne, dok je 40. „križarska (templarska, zatim ivanovačka) crkva u Gori.” Upravo ta posljednja je prema Dragi Miletiću (1999, 133) današnja župna crkva Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije jer „ni jedna od prvih triju crkva s Ivanova popisa u goričkom arhidakonatu (14., 28. i 29.) nije bila u Gori kod Petrinje.” Temeljem geografskog rasporeda i ubikacije crkva koje se na popisu nalaze prije i poslije 14. crkve Blažene Djevice Marije, Miletić smatra da je Kruhek bio u pravu ubicirajući ovu crkvu u Goričku kod Dvora. Crkvu sv. Klementa, koja je 28. na Ivanovu popisu, Gunjača (1975, 425) je ubicirao na već navedenom kaptolskom imanju na desnoj obali Petrinjčice, dok se u blizini, prema najstarijoj vizitaciji kapele sv. Petra u Taborišću, nalazila crkva „sagrađena od starih ruševina, a nešto poslije Krčelić je još vidio ruševine ‘prastarog hrama sv. Petra’” (Miletić 1999, 133). S obzirom na to da je 30. crkva na Ivanovu popisu crkva sv. Kvirina u Hrastovici, ova ubikacija crkva sv. Klementa i sv. Petra bi mogla biti ispravna. Slijedom navedenog, preostala 40. crkva s Ivanova popisa bi zaista trebala biti današnja župna crkva u Gori.

11 Karbić 2005, 53, bilj. 23; Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 108–109; Karbić, Karbić 2021, 70.

12 Templarski preceptor se možda spominje već 1217. godine (Belaj 2011, 124).

13 Dobronić 1984, 62.

14 Dobronić 2002, 75.

15 Dobronić 2002, 215–216. Gora i dalje ostaje u vlasništvu Vranskog priorata, ali je 1514. godine Petar Berislavić, tadašnji upravitelj dobara Vranskog priorata, daje za 2000 forinti u zakup Mihovilu Frankopanu Slunjskom (Peričić 1971, 314).

16 Prema Miletiću (1999, 136) crkva je tada bila teško oštećena te zapaljena.

9 Karbić, Karbić 2021, 69. It cannot be ascertained whether this was Stephen III (1162 – 1163 and 1164 – 1172) or Stephen IV (1163 – 1164).

10 Due to the faulty interpretation of historic sources, the history of the Gora church, as well of Gora itself, is rather complicated. It was Stjepan Gunjača (1975, 396) who, in his disagreements with the topographic solution of the Bishop’s estates proposed by Lelja Dobronić (1951, 276), warned of this problem, which could not be solved until the resolution of ambiguities about the term ‘Gora’ in the list of estates of the Chapter in Zagreb and the Templar estates. The main problem lies in the various interpretations of the term ‘Gora’. Gunjača (1975, 396) mentions the existence of one more Gora in the Vinodol chapter estate aside from this one near Petrinja; the one on the right bank of the River Petrinjčica. Lelja Dobronić (1951, 276) positioned the estate on the other bank, left of the river. Milan Kruhek (1991, 102, n. 29) cautioned that there had been another Gora, later known as Gorička, near Dvor na Uni. This conundrum was not helped by the well-known list of parishes of the Zagreb Diocese written by Ivan, archdeacon of Gora, in 1334. Four of the 42 churches of the archdeaconry of Gora are especially interesting to us. The fourteenth on the list is *ecclesia beate Virginis de Gora*; in 28th and 29th places, consecutively, Ivan mentions *ecclesia sancti Clementis de Gora* and *ecclesia sancti Petri, que est plebania, que in loco illius de Gora*, while in 40th place we can find *ecclesia cruciferorum de Gora*. Josip Buturac (1944, 414–416) believes that these four churches were all in Gora, stating that the churches in 14th and 29th places were parish churches, while the 40th was a Crusader (Templar and later Hospitaller) church in Gora. According to Drago Miletić (1999, 133), the latter church is the present-day parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, since none of the first three churches on Ivan’s list in the Archdeaconry of Gora (14th, 28th and 29th) was situated in the Gora near Petrinja. On the basis of the geographical distribution and location of the churches placed before and after the 14th on the list, the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Miletić believes that Kruhek was right when he located this church in Gorička, near Dvor. Gunjača (1975, 425) locates St Clement’s Church, 28th on Ivan’s list, in the abovementioned chapter’s estate on the right bank of the River Petrinjčica. Meanwhile, according to the earliest visitation of St Peter’s Chapel in Taborište, near this church there was a church constructed from old ruins; and, somewhat later, Krčelić saw the ruins of “the age-old St Peter’s Temple” (Miletić 1999, 133). Given that the 30th church on Ivan’s list is St Quirinus’s Church in Hrastovica, this could be the proper location of St Clement’s and St Peter’s Churches. Consequently, the 40th church on Ivan’s list should really be the present-day parish church in Gora.

11 Karbić 2005, 53, n. 23; Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 108–109; Karbić, Karbić 2021, 70.

12 A Templar preceptor might be mentioned as early as 1217 (Belaj 2011, 124).

13 Dobronić 1984, 62.

14 Dobronić 2002, 75.

rukama. Crkva se nakon toga prvi put spominje u kanonskoj vizitaciji iz 1702. godine.¹⁷ Tri godine kasnije Župa je obnovljena, a ubrzo kreće i obnova same građevine te njezina „radikalna” barokizacija, koja je dovršena 1736. godine.¹⁸ Crkva je u takvome stanju, uz neke preinake izvedene u 19. stoljeću, stajala sve do početaka Domovinskog rata.

Ubrzo, nakon oslobođenja Banovine, na teren izlaze članovi Komisije za popis ratnih šteta na spomenicima kulture te dolaskom u Goru otkrivaju prve gotičke elemente polurazrušene crkve.¹⁹ Prilikom raščišćavanja ruševina, krajem devedesetih godina, provedena su i prva arheološka istraživanja lokaliteta, a jedan od najznačajnijih pronalazaka svakako su temelji polukružne apsida romaničke faze crkve.²⁰ Pod vodstvom Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda istraživanja su provedena i 2003. godine, a većinom su se koncentrirala na utvrđivanje dubina sačuvanih temelja crkve, prvenstveno njezina pročelja.²¹ Nakon toga su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja nastavljena tek 2008. godine, a provodio ih je Institut za arheologiju do 2011. Istraživanja je površina s vanjske strane temelja ranogotičke crkve, dva rova – istočno i zapadno od crkve – neke manje površine unutar same crkve te prostor sakristije,²² a otkriveno je, istraženo i dokumentirano ukupno 426 grobova iz više različitih horizonata ukopavanja. Na prostoru sakristije, jedinom kompaktnom, u potpunosti istražene, pronađena su 53 groba, koji se mogu rasporediti u četiri različita horizonta (faze) ukopavanja. Najstariji horizont, koji je obilježen nalazima tzv. bjelobrdске kulture, može se datirati od početka 11. stoljeća²³ do dolaska templara tijekom druge polovice 12. stoljeća. Drugi horizont, koji ima mlađu i stariju fazu, trebao bi se vremenski podudarati s boravkom templara u Gori, a čini se da završava u prvim desetljećima 14. stoljeća, kada Goru od templara preuzimaju ivanovci. Templari u Gori, na prostoru stare romaničke crkve, grade novu, ranogotičku, koja je nešto pravilnije orijentacije od prethodne. Upravo temeljem orijentacije grobova, koji prate orijentaciju crkve, razlučila se mlađa od starije faze templarskog horizonta ukopavanja. Treći horizont, uvjetno nazvan „ivanovačkim”, datira se u 14. stoljeće, a vjerojatno obuhvaća i početak 15. stoljeća. Posljednji, četvrti horizont ukopavanja definiran na prostoru sakristije, započinje u 15. stoljeću, a traje do kraja 16., odnosno najkasnije do početka 17. stoljeća.²⁴ Horizont ukopavanja, koji je najzanimljiviji za glavnu temu ovog rada, onaj posljednji, novovjekovni, koji je nastao nakon oslobođenja Gore od Osmanlija,²⁵ nije definiran u sakristiji, već su pojedini grobovi tog horizonta pronađeni u

Banovina.²⁵ From that time until 1592,¹⁶ when the Ottomans captured Gora, it was held by laymen. After that, the first mention of the church can be found in the canonical visitation of 1702.¹⁷ Three years later the parish was restored, and the restoration of the building itself started soon afterwards, in the ‘radical’ Baroque style. The restoration was completed in 1736.¹⁸ In this state, the church stood until the beginning of the Croatian War of Independence, aside from the slight adjustments made in the 19th century.

Following the liberation of Banovina, the members of the Committee for the Listing of War Damage Inflicted on Cultural Heritage arrived in Gora and discovered the first Gothic elements of the semi-demolished church.¹⁹ During the clearing out of the ruins in the late 1990s, the first archaeological excavation of the site was conducted, resulting in the uncovering of the foundations of the semi-circular apse of the Romanesque phase of the church as one of the most significant discoveries.²⁰ The research in 2003 conducted by the Croatian Conservation Institute concentrated mostly on ascertaining the depths of the preserved foundations of the church, primarily of its facade.²¹ After that, the rescue excavation was resumed only in 2008 and conducted until 2011 by the Institute of Archaeology. The excavation encompassed the area outside the Early Gothic church foundations, two trenches (on the east and west sides of the church), some smaller areas inside the church itself, and the sacristy area.²² Altogether 426 graves of various burial horizons were discovered, excavated and documented. In the sacristy, the only fully-excavated compact area, 53 graves were discovered, which can be divided into four horizons (phases) of burials. The earliest horizon, identified by the finds of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, can be dated to the period from the beginning of the 11th century²³ up to the arrival of Templars during the second half of the 12th century. The second horizon, with an earlier and later phase, should coincide with the Templar presence in Gora. It seems to end in the first decades of the 14th century, when Gora came into Hospitallers’ hands. The Knights Templar in Gora built a new Early Gothic church in the area of the old Romanesque church. The new church’s orientation was somewhat more precise than the former one’s. The orientation of the graves, which follows the orientation of the church, enabled distinction between the earlier and the later phase of the Templar burial horizon. The third horizon, tentatively called the ‘Hospitaller horizon’, is dated to the 14th century, but it probably also included the beginning of

17 Belaj 2011, 126–127.

18 Cvitanović 1971, 151–152.

19 Miletić 1999, 127–129.

20 Miletić 1999, 144.

21 Azinović Bebek, Pleše 2004, 146–155.

22 Belaj, Sirovica 2012, 58–59.

23 Da se na prostoru gorske crkve ukapalo i ranije, možda već krajem 10. stoljeća, mogao bi svjedočiti uzorak iz donekle poremećenog groba 60 izvan prostora sakristije, a koji je radioaktivnim ugljikom datiran u relativno uski vremenski raspon, od 979. do 1035. godine (Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 107).

24 Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 107–111. Za više detalja o nalazima pronađenim u grobovima ranijih horizonata vidi i Belaj 2011; Belaj, Belaj 2016.

25 Zasada na lokalitetu nije definiran horizont ukopavanja za vrijeme osmanlijske vladavine.

15 Dobronić 2002, 215–216. Gora was still owned by the Priory of Vrana, but in 1514 Petar Berislavić, the procurator of the Priory of Vrana at the time, lends it to Michael Frankopan of Slunj for 2000 forints (Peričić 1971, 314).

16 According to Miletić (1999, 136), the church was severely damaged and burned.

17 Belaj 2011, 126–127.

18 Cvitanović 1971, 151–152.

19 Miletić 1999, 127–129.

20 Miletić 1999, 144.

21 Azinović Bebek, Pleše 2004, 146–155.

22 Belaj, Sirovica 2012, 58–59.

23 The sample from the somewhat disturbed grave 60 outside the sacristy could testify to earlier burials in the area of the church in Gora, perhaps even in the late 10th century. This sample was radiocarbon-dated to a relatively narrow period between 979 and 1035 AD (Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 107).

istraživanjem rovovima uz temelje crkve. Ukopavanja su na prostoru gorske crkve trajala do pretkraj 18. stoljeća. Prvi ukop na novom župnom groblju iza Novog Sela bio je 1789. godine.²⁶

Nabožni predmeti pronađeni u Gori

Krajem 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća događaju se promjene u sahranjivanju, koje su u katoličkim dijelovima novovjekovne Europe neraskidivo povezane s djelovanjem protureformacije, odnosno katoličke obnove. U kasnom je srednjem vijeku tijelo pokojnika najčešće bilo umotano u mrtvačko platno, koje je potom zavezano vezicom ili zašiveno te položeno u svježe iskopanu grobnu raku. S druge strane, ako je tijelo bilo pokopano u odjeći, onda su najčešći i većinom jedini nalazi dijelovi nošnje (dugmad, okovi rukava i sl.), dijelovi i ukrasi pojasa (kopče i sl.) te nakit za glavu i ruke (parte, igle i prstenje).²⁷ Iako je ukop pokojnika u lijesu učestaliji u razdoblju novog vijeka, pojavljuje se i ranije pri čemu nužno ne isključuje omotavanje pokojnika mrtvačkim platnom.²⁸ I dok ukopavanje pokojnika u lijesu ili bez njega nema nikakve veze s katoličkom obnovom, već je vjerojatno odraz financijskih mogućnosti određenih članova društva, posebna vrsta nalaza iz grobova, nabožni predmeti, neraskidivo su povezani s njom. U tri koncilna razdoblja, od 1545. do 1563. godine, održan je sabor u Tridentu na kojemu je, kao jedan od zaključaka, donesen i *Dekret o zazivanju, štovanju i relikvijama svetaca i o svetim slikama*.²⁹ U njemu je, među ostalim, navedeno da je korisno i dobro ponizno zazivati svece te se utjecati njihovim molitvama i pomoći kako bi izmolili dobročinstva od Boga.³⁰ Religijske su medaljice jedan od najčešćih nabožnih predmeta pronađenih u grobovima pokojnika iz razdoblja novog vijeka. Nabožni predmeti ili devocionalije su „predmeti koji potiču ili proširuju pobožnost, ili pak imaju svrhu podsjetnika na neke religiozne misterije”.³¹ Osim o medaljicama, najčešće je riječ o križevima, kronicama i sličnim predmetima, pri čemu je Crkva uvijek naglašavala da pomoć ne dolazi od njih samih, već od čovjekova vjerovanja.³² S druge pak strane, etnografska istraživanja upućuju na to kako je u vjerovanjima puka općera-

the 15th century. The fourth and last burial horizon, identified in the sacristy area, starts in the 15th century and lasts until the end of the 16th, or no later than the beginning of the 17th century.²⁴ The most interesting horizon for the main topic of this paper is the last horizon: early modern. This horizon came about after Gora was liberated from the Ottomans;²⁵ it was not discovered in the sacristy, but individual graves of the horizon were discovered in the excavated trenches alongside the foundations of the church. Burials around the church in Gora were carried out until the very end of the 18th century. The first burial in the new parish cemetery behind Novo Selo was conducted in 1789.²⁶

Devotional objects discovered at Gora

The late 16th and early 17th centuries are marked by changes in burial practices inextricably linked to the Counter-Reformation, i.e. the Catholic Revival in Catholic areas of early-modern Europe. In the Late Middle Ages, the body of the deceased individual was most often wrapped in a burial shroud, which was tied with lace or sewn up and placed in a freshly-dug grave pit. If the body was buried dressed in clothes, the most common – and usually the only – finds include costume parts (buttons, sleeve mounts etc.), parts and decorations of the belt (buckles etc.), and head and hand jewellery (headdress, pins and rings).²⁷ Although coffin burials became more common in the early modern period, they appeared earlier as well, not necessarily excluding the wrapping of the deceased in the burial shroud.²⁸ While burials with or without a coffin had nothing to do with the Catholic Revival, but were probably a reflection of the financial means of certain members of the society, a special type of grave goods, devotional objects, is inextricably linked to it. The Council of Trent was held on three occasions between 1545 and 1563 and, among other conclusions, produced the decree On the Invocation, Veneration and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images.²⁹ This decree, *inter alia*, proclaimed that it is useful and good to humbly invoke the saints, use their prayers and help to acquire charity from God.³⁰ Some of the most common devotional objects discovered in the early-modern-period graves are religious medals. Devotional objects are items that encourage or deepen piety or that have the purpose of reminding the believers of some religious mysteries.³¹ Aside from medals, they most commonly include crosses, rosaries and similar objects. It should be noted that the Church has always stressed that the help does not come from the objects themselves, but from the person's belief.³² On the other hand, ethnographic research indicates that, among the faith-

26 Cvitanović 1971, 154.

27 Demo 2007, 36–38.

28 Stingl 2017, 17–18.

29 Cijeli tekst dekreta vidi na <https://katolik.hr/231-tridentski-sabor-dekreti-o-istillitu-o-tovanju-svetaca-i-svetih-slika-o-oprostima> (lipanj 2021.)

30 Stingl 2017, 24.

31 Badurina 1979, 202.

32 Azinović Bebek 2012, 2.

24 Belaj, Sirovica, Bedić 2021, 107–111; for more details on the finds discovered in graves of earlier horizons see: Belaj 2011; Belaj, Belaj 2016.

25 At this moment, a burial horizon from the period of Ottoman rule has not been identified.

26 Cvitanović 1971, 154.

27 Demo 2007, 36–38.

28 Stingl 2017, 17–18.

29 For the complete text, see: <https://katolik.hr/231-tridentski-sabor-dekreti-o-istillitu-o-tovanju-svetaca-i-svetih-slika-o-oprostima> (June 2021).

30 Stingl 2017, 24.

31 Badurina 1979, 202.

32 Azinović Bebek 2012, 2.

širena uloga nabožnih predmeta u zaštiti od bolesti i drugih ne- daća pa su često i dar bliskim osobama. Vjernici u pravilu takve zaštitničke predmete stalno imaju uz se, u prostoru u kojem žive ili uz svoje tijelo. Medaljice s likom određenog sveca mogle su se koristiti i kao simbol pripadnosti nekoj skupini ili zajednici, a za hodočasnička odredišta medaljice su bile svojevrsta propagandna sredstva.³³ Osim nabožnih predmeta, uz pokojnike se, kao i u razdoblju kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, pronalazi i nakit te metalni dijelovi odjeće i obuće, koji su ponekad vrlo raskošni. Rijetko se pronalaze i neki drugi predmeti, poput lokota, noževa, ključeva, životinjskih zubi i sl., koji su najčešće povezani s praznovjerjima i strahom od negativnog djelovanja mrtvih.³⁴ Postoci novovjekovnih grobova s pronađenim nalazima u ukupnom broju istraženih grobova variraju od lokaliteta do lokaliteta, a ovise o tome jesu li arheološka istraživanja provedena u unutrašnjosti crkve ili izvan nje. Tako su, primjerice, tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, koja su provedena samo u unutrašnjosti crkve Svete Marije Magdalene u Čazmi, nalazi pronađeni u čak 56 % grobova.³⁵ U Hrvatskoj se nalazi pronađene u otprilike trećini novovjekovnih grobova, a najčešći nalaz su nabožni predmeti, pronađeni u 20 do 25 % ukupnog broja grobova.³⁶

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, provedenih u Gori, pronađeno je 16 nabožnih predmeta. U čak šest slučajeva riječ je o usamljenim nalazima pojedinačnih zrna, za koje pretpostavljamo da su ili bila dio krunica ili su nošena uz medaljice i križeve kao privjesci. S obzirom na to da je riječ o zrnima pronađenim izvan grobnih konteksta, ne možemo isključiti niti mogućnost da je riječ o perlama nekih ukrasnih predmeta, poput ogrlica ili narukvica. Religijskih je medaljica pronađeno pet, a križeva tri, pri čemu je jedan možda bio dijelom neke manje krunice jer su uz njega pronađeni i ostaci manjih drvenih zrna. Kao nabožni predmet još smo definirali i ostatke najvjerojatnije manjeg brevara. Od 426 grobova, koliko ih je ukupno istraženo na lokalitetu, u samo njih četiri pronađeni su nabožni predmeti. Razlog tomu najvjerojatnije leži u malom broju istraženih novovjekovnih grobova. Naime, kao što je već ranije navedeno, arheološki istražena površina vrlo je mala, a većinom je riječ o uskim rovovima uz temelje crkve, dok unutar sakristije, koja je jedini kompaktni prostor istražen u potpunosti, nema novovjekovnog horizonta ukopavanja. Iako je riječ o premalom broju grobova za donošenje bilo kakvih ozbiljnijih zaključaka, zanimljivo je da su u sva četiri groba, u kojima su pronađeni nabožni predmeti, bile pokopane muške osobe, dok je, primjerice, na groblju oko crkve Svetog Nikole Biskupa u Žumberku s nabožnim predmetima pokopano nešto više žena u odnosu na muškarce.³⁷

Običaj nošenja raznih religijskih privjesaka je u kršćanstvu poznat još iz razdoblja antike, a ubrzo su kršćanski vjernici oko vrata počeli nositi i posebne krsne medaljice. U razdoblju ka-

ful, the belief in devotional objects as protection from disease and other misfortunes was widespread, and such objects were often gifted to loved ones. Believers usually have these protective items with them at all times, in their living area, or close to their bodies. Medals with the depiction of a saint could be used as an indication of membership of a certain group or community and were a type of advertising tool for pilgrimage sites.³³ Just as in the Middle Ages, aside from the devotional objects, jewellery and metal parts of clothing and footwear, at times quite elaborate, can be found alongside the deceased. Rarely, some other objects can also be discovered, such as padlocks, knives, keys, animal teeth etc. They most often have to do with superstitions and the fear of the harmful effects of the dead.³⁴ The percentage of early-modern graves with discovered finds in the total number of excavated graves varies from one site to another and greatly depends on whether the excavations were conducted inside or outside the church. For instance, during the excavation conducted only within the Church of Mary Magdalene in Čazma, as many as 56 % of graves yielded artefacts.³⁵ In Croatia, around one-third of early-modern graves yield finds; these are most commonly devotional objects, found in around 20 to 25 % of the total number of graves.³⁶

Sixteen devotional objects were discovered during the excavations conducted in Gora. Six of them are lone finds of individual beads assumed to have been parts of rosaries or worn alongside the medals and crosses as pendants. Given that these beads were discovered outside the burial context, we cannot exclude the possibility that these beads were parts of some decorative items, such as necklaces or bracelets. The site yielded five religious medals and three crosses, one of which might have been a part of a smaller rosary, given that remains of small wooden beads were also discovered next to it. Probable remains of a small breverl were also identified as a devotional object. Only four graves out of the total of 426 graves excavated on the site yielded devotional objects. This was probably due to the low number of early-modern graves excavated. As previously mentioned, the area that was archaeologically excavated is very small; it mostly includes narrow trenches alongside the foundations of the church, while the sacristy (the only fully excavated compact area) did not yield an early-modern burial horizon. Although the number of graves is too small to allow for any type of concrete conclusions, what is interesting is that all four graves that yielded devotional objects were the graves of male individuals, while at the Church of St Nicholas the Bishop, in Žumberak, slightly more women were buried with devotional objects than men.³⁷

It is well known that wearing various religious pendants has been a custom in Christianity since Antiquity; and, soon after

33 Stingl, Belaj 2021, 186.

34 Krznar 2012, 54–55.

35 Azinović Bebek 2012, 12.

36 Do ovog zaključka dr. sc. Ana Azinović Bebek došla je temeljem terenskog iskustva i dugogodišnjeg znanstvenog proučavanja novovjekovnih groblja i nabožnih predmeta. Ovim putem joj zahvaljujemo na ustupljenoj informaciji.

37 Stingl 2017, 19. Na ostalim novovjekovnim grobljima u Hrvatskoj zasad nisu radene slične analize.

33 Stingl, Belaj 2021, 186.

34 Krznar 2012, 54–55.

35 Azinović Bebek 2012, 12.

36 Dr Ana Azinović Bebek reached this conclusion on the basis of her fieldwork experience and scientific research of early-modern graves and devotional objects of many years. We thank her for this information.

37 Stingl 2017, 19. Similar analyses have not been conducted on other early-modern cemeteries in Croatia.

snoga srednjeg vijeka, ponovno dominiraju privjesci, a najčešće je riječ o hodočasničkim oznakama.³⁸ Njihova je uloga bila podsjećati na provedeno hodočašće, a najčešće su se ušivali u odjeću. Postojale su brojne varijacije u obliku i veličini privjesaka, a izrađivani su od različitih materijala, najčešće od legura olova i kositra. Oblici su varirali od jednostavnih, najčešće manjih privjesaka, kao što je školjka sv. Jakova, preko perforiranih „medaljona” pa do kompleksnih prikaza svetaca, Majke Božje, biblijskih životinja i sl.³⁹ Njih u razdoblju ranoga novog vijeka postupno zamjenjuju religijske medaljice, koje je Ana Azinović Bebek, prema prikazima na licu i naličju, podijelila na medaljice s prikazom Isusa i Marije, medaljice na kojima je Marija nositeljica pobožnosti, svetačke medaljice,⁴⁰ hodočasničke medaljice te na jubilejske i biblijske medaljice.⁴¹ Sami hodočasnici su često vjerovali da su medaljice čudotvorne poput svetaca koji su prikazani na njima.⁴² Katolici⁴³ su u razdoblju novog vijeka medaljice nosili iz mnoštva razloga, a najčešće kao izraz pripadnosti vjeri, zbog nekog zavjeta, radi čašćenja određenog sveca i dobivanja njegove zaštite ili kao oznaka pripadnosti nekoj bratovštini. Neupitno je da su medaljice imale i ukrasnu ulogu, a često su ih vlasnici postavljali i u razne dijelove kućanstva. Tako su se, primjerice, vješale i iznad ulaza u kuću ili štalu kao zaštita od zlih duhova, polagale su se u korita za prehranu životinja, zakapale u polja kako bi ih štutila od korova, insekata i miševa, a često su svoje mjesto pronalazile i u posteljama vlasnika zbog vjerovanja da utječu na plodnost.⁴⁴ U početku su se proizvodile uglavnom lijevanjem različitih vrsta kovina, a potom ih od 17. stoljeća brojnošću nadmašuju kovane medaljice.⁴⁵ Od pet medaljica, pronađenih tijekom arheoloških istraživanja u Gori, tri su svetačke, dok je na dvije Marija nositeljica pobožnosti. Dvije od tri svetačke medaljice su medaljice sv. Benedikta, a izrađene su kovanjem. Treća svetačka medaljica ima prikaze sv. Franje i sv. Antuna Padovanskog. Izrađena je tehnikom lijevanja, kao i medaljice s Marijom kao nositeljicom pobožnosti.

Iako su se u razdoblju ranog kršćanstva i progona umjesto križa koristili drugi simboli, kao što su na primjer riba ili sidro,⁴⁶ već od razdoblja Konstantina Velikog započinje opća primjena križa kao simbola kršćanstva, prije svega u simboličke i dekorativ-

that, believers started wearing special baptism medals around their necks, as well. In the Late Middle Ages, pendants became more prominent again, most commonly in the form of pilgrim badges.³⁸ They served as reminders of pilgrimages made and were usually sewn into clothes. The shapes and sizes of the pendants were manifold; they were made of various materials, most commonly from lead and tin alloys. The shapes varied from simple (usually for smaller pendants, for instance the shape of the Mediterranean scallop) to perforated ‘medallions’ and complex images of saints, the Virgin Mary, biblical animals etc.³⁹ In the early modern period, these were gradually replaced by religious medals, divided by Ana Azinović Bebek into five groups according to the images on their obverse and reverse: medals with a depiction of Jesus and Mary, medals with Mary as the carrier of the devotion, medals of saints,⁴⁰ pilgrim medals, and jubilee and biblical medals.⁴¹ The pilgrims themselves often believed that the medals were miraculous, just as were the saints depicted on them.⁴² In the early modern period, Catholics⁴³ wore medals for many different reasons, most common of which were to express their religious affiliation, as an oath, to venerate a saint and gain their protection, or as a sign of their membership of a confraternity. Without question, the medals also had a decorative purpose and were often placed in various parts of households by their owners. For instance, they would hang them above the entrance of the house or barn as protection from evil spirits, put them in a manger, or bury them in the fields as protection from weeds, insects and mice. It was not rare for their owners to place them in their beds as well, since it was believed they boosted fertility.⁴⁴ At first, they were produced mostly by casting in various metals; but, from the 17th century onwards, wrought medals took over in numbers.⁴⁵ Of the five medals discovered during the excavations in Gora, three are saints medals and two are dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Two of the three saints medals are wrought St Benedict medals. The third saints medal contains depictions of St Francis and St Anthony of Padua. It was cast, as were the medals with Mary as the carrier of the devotion.

Although other symbols, like fish and anchor,⁴⁶ were used in early Christianity and during the time of persecution, from the time

38 Fassbinder 2003, 35.

39 Grünewald 2001, 71–163.

40 Kao posebna kategorija često se, zbog brojnosti i popularnosti u razdoblju novog vijeka, izdvajaju i medaljice sv. Benedikta iako je zapravo riječ o potkategoriji svetačkih medaljica. Medaljice sv. Benedikta najčešće su medaljice 17. i 18. stoljeća (Azinović Bebek 2012, 73).

41 Azinović Bebek 2012, 55.

42 Knez 1994, 66.

43 Zanimljivo je da su poznate i protestantske medaljice iz 16. i 17. stoljeća, ali taj oblik njihove pobožnosti nije dovoljno istražen (Fassbinder 2003, 37; Azinović Bebek 2012, 49).

44 Knez 2001, 18.

45 Mittermeier 1989, 133. Više metoda kovanja medaljica omogućilo je njihovu veću proizvodnju, a samim time i nižu cijenu te veću dostupnost širim masama. U 17. stoljeću pretežno su se kovalale pomoću Da Vincijeve preše na vijak, sprave za kovanje tzv. *Balanciera* te kovanjem na valjku, a od 18. stoljeća koriste se i strojevi za prešanje na paru. Ipak, lijevane medaljice su bile nešto teže i čvršće, a zahvaljujući upotrebi glinenih kalupa u kojima je u nekom drugom materijalu bio otisnut pozitivan, bila je mnogo veća mogućnost kombiniranja lica i naličja medaljica (Fassbinder 2003, 31; Martini 2009, 607–608; Azinović Bebek 2012, 26).

46 Knez 2005, 17.

38 Fassbinder 2003, 35.

39 Grünewald 2001, 71–163.

40 Due to their high number and popularity in the early modern period, medals with a depiction of St Benedict often make up a separate category, although they actually belong to a subcategory of saint medals. St Benedict medals usually date to the 17th and 18th centuries (Azinović Bebek 2012, 73).

41 Azinović Bebek 2012, 55.

42 Knez 1994, 66.

43 Interestingly, there are known protestant medals of the 16th and 17th centuries, but that type of piety has not been researched well (Fassbinder 2003, 37; Azinović Bebek 2012, 49).

44 Knez 2001, 18.

45 Mittermeier 1989, 133. A rise in the number of forging methods allowed for their higher production, which resulted in lower price and wide availability for the masses. In the 17th century, they were usually wrought in Da Vinci's press, a forging machine called *Balanciera*, or by roll forging. From the 18th century, the steam-powered coin press is also used. However, cast medals were somewhat heavier and firmer, and, thanks to the use of clay dies with a positive in some other material, the possibilities for combinations of obverse and reverse were much greater (Fassbinder 2003, 31; Martini 2009, 607–608; Azinović Bebek 2012, 26).

46 Knez 2005, 17.

ne, ali i u praktične svrhe. Iz Konstantinova monogramnog križa počinju se razvijati drugi oblici, poput klasičnog latinskog križa na zapadu ili grčkog na istoku, a s vremenom je križ utvrđen kao simbol Crkvene vlasti.⁴⁷ Amuletom križ postaje već u 6. stoljeću kada se, kao zaštita od kuge, nosi tau križ. Kasnije se križevi počinju nositi i kao privjesci oko vrata, a s vremenom postaju i dijelom krunice.⁴⁸ Tako je u razdoblju novog vijeka poznato više vrsta križeva, za koje se vjerovalo da imaju zaštitničku ulogu od različitih nedaća, ne samo za ljude već i za životinje, stambene prostore i sl.⁴⁹ Najčešće se na arheološkim lokalitetima u Hrvatskoj pronalazi klasični latinski križ s dvije ukrštene grede.⁵⁰ Tri različita križa latinskog oblika pronađena su i tijekom arheoloških istraživanja u Gori. Jedan je križ s prikazom na licu i na naličju, jedan ima trolisne završetke greda i reljefno prikazanog Krista na licu, a treći je perforirani.

Nalazi krunica⁵¹ na novovjekovnim grobljima nešto su rjeđi u odnosu na nalaze medaljica i križeva, a osim učestalog ukopavanja novih i prekopavanja starijih grobova, tijekom čega su takvi krhki predmeti često nepovratno uništavani, razlog njihovoj malobrojnosti su i propadljivi materijali od kojih su bila izrađena zrna.⁵² Prilikom istraživanja u Gori pronađeno je samo osam zrna ili njihovih ulomaka, pri čemu bismo samo za ostatke jednog ili više drvenih zrna, pronađenih uz križ u grobu 33, pod uvjetom da prihvatimo mogućnost da je riječ o ostacima više zrna, mogli uz veliku dozu opreza pretpostaviti da je bila riječ o dijelu manje krunice, popularno zvane cener (njem. *Zehner*). Prema mišljenju nekih autora, taj je tip krunice u 17. stoljeću smatran tipično muškom krunicom,⁵³ a da to nije baš tako, dokazuju nalazi cenera i u ženskim grobovima.⁵⁴

of Constantine the Great the cross started being widely used as the symbol of Christianity, primarily for its symbolic and decorative purposes, but also practical ones. Other forms of cross developed from Constantine's monogram cross: for instance, the classic Latin cross in the West and the Greek cross in the East. In time, the cross became the symbol of Ecclesiastical authority.⁴⁷ It also became an amulet as early as the 6th century, when the tau cross was worn for protection against the plague. Later on, crosses were worn as pendants around people's necks, and with time they became a part of the rosary.⁴⁸ In the early modern period, several types of crosses existed. They were believed to have the power to protect the believers, and also their animals, places in which they resided, etc., from various misfortunes.⁴⁹ Archaeological sites in Croatia most often yield the classic Latin cross with two crossed beams.⁵⁰ Three different Latin crosses were discovered during the archaeological excavations in Gora. One of them has a depiction on the obverse and reverse, the other has trefoil endings and a depiction of Christ in relief, while the third one is perforated.

Rosary finds⁵¹ at early modern cemeteries are somewhat rarer than the finds of medals and crosses. Besides the frequent new burials and disturbing of old graves during which such fragile objects are irreversibly destroyed, rosary finds are also scarce due to the perishable materials they are often made of.⁵² Only eight beads or bead fragments have been discovered during the excavations in Gora. For the remains of only one of these beads (or fragments of several beads) we could, extremely cautiously, assume that they were parts of a smaller rosary popularly known as a 'tenner' (German: *Zehner*), provided that we accept the possibility that these were several beads, rather than just one wood-

47 Pavičić 1994, 28–29.

48 Fingerlin 1977, 495–496.

49 Primjerice, Uldarikov križ je, prema vjerovanju, štutio od kuge i uroka, Andrijin od udara groma, Valentinov je među ostalim imao i ulogu zaštite stoke, križevi tipa *Pölling*, *Donauwörth* i *Scheyerer* su štitali od nevremena, demona i vještica, a tip *Wiblinger* je služio za zaštitu novoizgrađenih kuća (Mittermeier 1989, 134–137; Azinović Bebek 2012, 163–164).

50 Okomita se naziva *patibulum*, a vodoravna je *antena*. Kada je na križu reljefno prikazano Kristovo tijelo, naziva se korpusom. Oko glave najčešće ima trnovu krunu, a bokovi su mu ogrnuti *perizomom*. Postolje za noge naziva se *suppedaneum*. Na gornjem dijelu *patibulum* redovito se nalazi *titulus*, dok je na njegovu dnu čest prikaz Adamove lubanje, koja je simbol raspeća na Golgoti (Knez 2010, 12). Prema legendi Krist je bio razapet točno iznad Adamova groba, pa taj prikaz postaje čest motiv u umjetnosti (Azinović Bebek 2009a, 277–278).

51 Krunica ili ružarij je oblik pobožnosti Blaženoj Djevici Mariji, a sastoji se od razmišljanja (otajstava) i molitvi usredotočenih na živote Isusa Krista i Djevice Marije (Azinović Bebek 2009b, 167). Na kršćanskom zapadu se brojna, preteča krunice, pojavljuje oko 11. stoljeća i u početku je imala 150 zrna kako bi pomoću njih nepismeni redovnici izmolili 150 molitvi Gospodnjih (Očenaša) umjesto 150 psalama (Burić 2003, 230). Razvoj marijanskog kulta podudara se s razvojem popularnosti krunice te se već od 13. stoljeća u molitvu krunice ubacuje marijanski psaltir, a u samu krunicu manja zrna koja su služila za molitvu Zdravomarijo (Anzulović 2007, 268). Današnji oblik krunice službeno je ozakonio papa Pio V. 1569. godine, a nakon pobjede združenih kršćanskih snaga nad Osmanlijama u bitci kod Lepanta 1571. godine, „papa od ružarija” Grgur XIII. uvodi i blagdan Gospe od ružarija (Stingl 2017, 47).

52 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

53 Knez 2009, 97.

54 Azinović Bebek 2012, 237.

47 Pavičić 1994, 28–29.

48 Fingerlin 1977, 495–496.

49 For instance, the Uldarik cross was protection against the plague and spells, the St Andrew's cross against thunderbolts, St Valentine's protected cattle, among other things, crosses of the *Pölling*, *Donauwörth* and *Scheyerer* type protected from storms, demons and witches, and the *Wiblinger* type protected newly-constructed houses (Mittermeier 1989, 134–137; Azinović Bebek 2012, 163–164).

50 The vertical beam is called *patibulum*, and the horizontal is *antenna*. If the cross has the Christ's body in relief, it is called the *corpus*. It usually has a thorny crown around the head and *perizoma* (loincloth) around the hips. The support for the feet is called *suppedaneum*. The upper part of the patibulum usually has the *titulus*, while the bottom often has a depiction of Adam's skull, the symbol of Christ's crucifixion at Calvary (Knez 2010, 12). According to the legend, Christ was crucified right above Adam's grave, due to which this depiction became very common in art (Azinović Bebek 2009a, 277–278).

51 The rosary is a form of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary which consists of contemplation and prayers which focus on the life of Christ and the life of the Virgin Mary (Azinović Bebek 2009b, 167). In the Christian West, the counter, the predecessor of the rosary, appeared around the 11th century. At first it had 150 beads to help illiterate monks to count and pray 150 Our Fathers instead of 150 psalms (Burić 2003, 230). The development of the cult of the Virgin Mary coincided with the rising popularity of the rosary, resulting in St Mary's Psalter being included in praying the rosary as early as the 13th century. Simultaneously, smaller beads were included in the rosary for praying the Hail Mary (Anzulović 2007, 268). The modern form of the rosary was legitimized by Pope Pius V in 1569; and, after the coalition of Catholic states defeated the Ottoman power in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, the 'rosary pope', Gregory XIII, introduced Our Lady of the Rosary as a holiday (Stingl 2017, 47).

52 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

Posebno zanimljivu skupinu nabožnih predmeta čine brevari. Brevar⁵⁵ je svojevrsna kutijica u kojoj se, na presavijenom komadiću papira, nalaze zapisani razni zazivi i blagoslovi ili neki tekst iz Biblije, najčešće odlomak iz Evanđelja, a osim zapisa, na papirima mogu biti i grafike svetaca zaštitnika izvedene tehnikom drvoreza ili bakroreza. Uglavnom su se brevari nosili u platenim vrećicama, ušiveni u odjeću ili kao privjesci oko vrata, a njihov sadržaj vlasniku nije smio biti poznat tako da su najčešće bili lemljeni.⁵⁶ Mogu biti različitih oblika. Predmet iz groba 297, koji je pronađen u izrazito lošem stanju, možda predstavlja ostatke jednog brevara.

Nabožni predmeti pronađeni u grobovima uz pokojnike

Kao što je navedeno, nabožni su predmeti pronađeni uz četiri muška pokojnika, u grobovima 33, 253, 264 i 297.

GROB 33

U grobu 33 pokopan je muškarac dosta loše patološke slike, koji je u trenutku smrti imao između 45 i 50 godina.⁵⁷ Bio je položen na leđa s glavom na zapadu, a ruke su mu bile postavljene u nevakadašnjem položaju, savijene u laktu tako da podlaktice preklapaju nadlaktice (sl. 2). Moguće je da su ruke bile sklopljene na prsima pokojnika, ali su prilikom procesa raspadanja skliznule na nadlaktice. Brojne patologije na kostima upućuju na cjeloživotni prekomjerni i kontinuirani fizički rad, a na kostima su vidljivi i tragovi direktnih trauma ili učestalih mikrotrauma. Na temelju nekih pokazatelja pokojnik je možda bolovao i od lepre.⁵⁸

en bead, discovered alongside the cross in grave 33. According to some authors, the tenner was considered a typical rosary for men in the 17th century,⁵³ but the finds of this type of rosary in women's graves, as well, prove that this was not the case.⁵⁴

Brevels make up an especially interesting group of devotional objects. A brevel⁵⁵ was a type of box containing a piece of paper with various invocations and blessings or texts from the Bible (most commonly a paragraph from one of the Gospels). Aside from the texts on pieces of paper, they could include graphics of patron saints carved in wood or copper. Brevels were usually carried in bags made of fabric, but they were sometimes sewn into clothes or carried as pendants around believers' necks. Since their owners were not supposed to be familiar with their contents, they were usually soldered closed.⁵⁶ They could be found in various shapes. The item from grave 297, discovered in an especially poor condition, could actually be the remains of a brevel.

Devotional objects discovered in graves alongside the deceased

As previously stated, devotional objects were discovered alongside four deceased male individuals in graves 33, 253, 264 and 297.

GRAVE 33

A man of quite poor pathology was buried in grave 33. At the time of death, he was between 45 and 50 years old.⁵⁷ The individual was laid with his head to the west and his arms in an unusual position: bent at the elbow, with his forearms overlapping over the upper arms (Fig. 2). It is possible that the hands were clasped on his chest, but they slid onto his upper arms during the decomposition process. Numerous pathologies on his bones point to lifelong continuous excessive physical labour. His bones also show traces of direct trauma or frequent microtrauma. There are indicators that the individual might have had leprosy, as well.⁵⁸

55 Termin je nastao prema njemačkom nazivu *Brevel*, koji dolazi od latinskog naziva za kratka pisma – *epistula brevis*. Za dodatno lingvističko pojašnjenje riječi brevar vidi Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 284, bilj. 4).

56 Azinović Bebek 2012, 38; Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 284; Stingl 2022, 158.

57 Antropološku analizu kosturnih ostataka provela je dr. sc. Željka Bedić iz Antropološkog centra Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, kojoj ovim putem zahvaljujemo na ustupljenim podacima (Bedić 2021).

58 Schmorlovi defekti prisutni su na četiri prsna i četiri slabinska kralješka, a njihova prisutnost može biti idiopatska ili povezana s nizom drugih uzročnika među kojima je najčešći prekomjerni i kontinuirani fizički rad (Schmorl, Junghanns 1971). O cjeloživotnoj intenzivnoj fizičkoj aktivnosti pokojnika svjedoče i benigni kortikalni defekti na hvatištima obje nadlaktične kosti te blagi degenerativni osteoartritis prisutan na oba kuka, desnom ramenu te na četiri prsna i jednom slabinskom kralješku. Osim toga na kostima su prisutni i tragovi kalcifikacije mekih tkiva (*myositis ossificans*) te jedna lezija zaobljenih rubova i poroznog dna (*osteochondritis dissecans*). Oni najčešće nastaju kao posljedica direktne traume ili učestalih mikrotrauma. Uz sve navedeno, možda je bolovao i od lepre, bolesti uzrokovane bakterijom *Mycobacterium leprae*, koja primarno zahvaća periferni živčani sustav, a zatim kožu, kosti i neka druga tkiva (Ortner 2003).

53 Knez 2009, 97.

54 Azinović Bebek 2012, 237.

55 The term was coined from the German noun *Brevel*, which is a derivation of the Latin name for short letters: *epistula brevis*. For additional linguistic explanation of the word 'brevel', see Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 284, n. 4).

56 Azinović Bebek 2012, 38; Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 284; Stingl 2022, 158.

57 Anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains was conducted by Dr Željka Bedić of the Anthropological Centre of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. We would like to use this opportunity to thank her for the data she shared with us (Bedić 2021).

58 There are Schmorl's nodes on four thoracic vertebrae and four lumbar vertebrae. Their presence can be idiopathic or linked to a string of other causes, one of which, and the most common one, is extensive continuous physical labour (Schmorl, Junghanns 1971). The life-long intense physical activity of the deceased individual is also testified to by the benign cortical defects on muscle attachments of both humeri and mild degenerative osteoarthritis on both hips, the right shoulder, four thoracic vertebrae and one lumbar. Aside from that, the bones show visible signs of soft-tissue calcification (*myositis ossificans*) and of one lesion with rounded edges and porous bottom (*osteochondritis dissecans*). They are usually the consequences of direct trauma or frequent microtrauma. In addition to all of this, he might have had leprosy, a disease (caused by bacteria called *Mycobacterium leprae*) which primarily affects the peripheral nervous system, followed by skin, bones and some other tissues (Ortner 2003).



SLIKA 2. Kostur iz groba 33 (Arhiva Instituta za arheologiju).

FIGURE 2. Skeleton from grave 33 (Archive of the Institute of Archaeology).

Uz lijevu su nadlaktičnu kost pronađeni ostaci jednog ili više drvenih zrna (T. 1: 14) i latinski križ (T. 1: 6) izrađen od lijevane bakrene legure.⁵⁹ Pokojnik ga je najvjerojatnije držao na uzici u lijevoj ruci. Lice križa krasi prikaz raspetog Krista, dok je na naličju prikaz Marije od sedam žalosti. Prikaz na licu nije najbolje sačuvan, ali se jasno vidi korpus Krista s blago povijenim nogama i koso ispruženim rukama. Iznad glave nazire se stiliziran *titulus*. Na takvim križevima obično se oko Kristove glave nalazi svetokrug, a ispod nogu Adamova lubanja, ali zbog izlizanosti prikaza, oni nisu vidljivi. Naličjem dominira prikaz Marije u položaju Bezgrešne s mačevima koji joj probadaju srce. Pobožnost Marije od sedam žalosti istoimene bratovštine šire se Europom u 16. stoljeću. Tada se definirao i konačan broj mačeva koji prolaze kroz Marijino srce, a žalosti⁶⁰ je početkom 17. stoljeća definirao papa Pavao V.⁶¹ Na križu iz groba 33 vidljivo je samo šest mačeva, po tri sa svake strane, a uobičajeno je da ih je sedam, po jedan mač za svaku žalost, i to četiri s Marijine desne te tri s lijeve strane. Za razliku od prikaza na križevima, kada je riječ o medaljicama s prikazom Marije od sedam žalosti, četiri mača češće su prikazivana s Marijine lijeve, naspram tri mača s njezine desne strane.⁶² Moguće je da je na križu iz groba 33 još jedan mač bio prikazan na dnu lijevog kraka *antene*, ali je baš na tome mjestu križ malo izlizan. Oko Marijine glave nazire se svetokrug, a na svakom kraju antene, i na patibulumu ispod Marijinih nogu, vidljiva su slova. Lijevo na anteni nalazi se slovo M· (*Mater*), de-

Next to his left humerus, remains of one or several wooden beads (Pl. 1: 14) and a Latin cross (Pl. 1: 6) made of cast copper alloy were discovered.⁵⁹ The deceased individual probably kept it on a string in his left hand. The obverse of the cross contains a depiction of Jesus Crucified, while the reverse has a depiction of Our Lady of Sorrows. The depiction on the obverse is not well-preserved, but the corpus of Christ is clearly visible: his legs are slightly bent and his arms are sidelong and slanted. A stylized *titulus* can vaguely be seen above his head. Such crosses usually have a halo above Christ's head and Adam's skull underneath his feet; but, due to the worn state of the artefact, they are not visible. The reverse is dominated by the depiction of Mary posed as Immaculata with swords piercing through her heart. The veneration of Our Lady of Sorrows was spread across Europe by fraternities of the same name in the 16th century. It was then that the final number of swords piercing her heart was established, while the sorrows⁶⁰ were defined by Pope Paul V at the beginning of the 17th century.⁶¹ There are only six visible swords on the cross from grave 33 – three on each side. There are usually seven of them, one sword for each sorrow, four on Mary's right side, and three on her left. In contrast to the depictions on crosses, on medals depicting Our Lady of Sorrows, Mary has four swords on her left side and three swords on her right side.⁶² There is a possibility that one more sword was depicted on the bottom of the left leg of the *antenna* on the cross from grave 33, but that part of the cross is slightly

59 Dimenzije križa su 31,7 x 18,4 x 2,2 (kod ušice 4,3) mm, karičica je promjera 7,2 mm, a promjer žice je 1,2 mm. Težak je 1,85 g. Najveći ulomak zrna dimenzija je 6,5 x 4,4 x 2,7 mm, a ukupna težina svih ulomaka manja je od 1 g.

60 Riječ je o događajima iz Marijina života u kojima ona proživljava majčinsku bol: Šimunovo proročanstvo, bijeg u Egipat, gubljenje dječaka Isusa u jeruzalemskom Hramu, Marijin susret s Isusom koji nosi križ, raspeće, skidanje s križa, polaganje u grob mrtvog Isusova tijela (Rebić 2002, 849).

61 Fassbinder 2003, 291.

62 Azinović Bebek 2012, 101.

59 The dimensions of the cross are 31.7 x 18.4 x 2.2 (at the eye 4.3) mm, the diameter of the cirlet is 7.2 mm, and the diameter of the wire is 1.2 mm. The weight of the cross is 1.85 g. The largest fragment of the bead is 6.5 x 4.4 x 2.7 mm, while the total weight of the beads is less than 1 g.

60 The sorrows are events from Mary's life in which she experienced the pain of being a mother: Simeon's prophecy, flight to Egypt, loss of the Child Jesus in the Temple of Jerusalem, meeting Jesus on the Via Dolorosa, crucifixion, taking Jesus down from the cross, and burial of Jesus (Rebić 2002, 849).

61 Fassbinder 2003, 291.

62 Azinović Bebek 2012, 101.

sno slovo D· (*Dolorosa*), dok se na patibulumu nazire slovo O[·] (*ora*), a ispod njega trebalo bi biti slovo P· (*pro nobis*), čime bi puni zaziv trebao glasiti *Majko žalosna moli za nas*. Križ ima profiliran rub i na licu i na naličju, a na vrhu se nalazi okomita ušica sa sačuvanom karičicom kojom je križ bio obješen o uzicu. Gotovo identičan križ je u Hrvatskoj pronađen na groblju oko crkve Svetog Nikole Biskupa u Žumberku, a datira, kao i većina nalaza s tog groblja, u 17. i 18. stoljeće.⁶³ Prekrasan primjerak takvog tipa križa, datiran u kraj 17. stoljeća, čuva se u Narodnom muzeju Slovenije,⁶⁴ a vrlo sličan je i primjerak iz Dommuseuma u Salzburgu.⁶⁵ Tri vrlo slična križa, ali s više slova u zazivu, nalaze se i u Arheološkom muzeju Istre, a pronađeni su u Dvigradu, Marčani i Poreču. Na antenama im je nešto duži natpis MAT DOL pa autorice križeve datiraju u 17. i 18. stoljeće.⁶⁶ Hrvatski povijesni muzej u svojem fundusu čuva dva križa tog tipa pronađena krajem 19. stoljeća prilikom iskopavanja u Novim Banovcima. Kao i primjerci iz Istre, i križevi pronađeni u Novim Banovcima na antenama imaju natpis MAT DOL, a na dnu patibuluma su slova OP / N u dva reda. Prvi križ je sličan ostalim križevima s prikazom Marije od sedam žalosti za sada objavljenim u Hrvatskoj, dok je drugi nešto kvalitetnije izrade od ostalih, a specifičan je po tome što, osim detaljnijeg prikaza Marije, umjesto uobičajenih sedam, samo jedan mač probada njeno srce.⁶⁷ Slični križevi s niti jednim ili samo jednim mačem koji probadaju Marijino srce, a s više slova u zazivu poznati su i u Poljskoj te Njemačkoj.⁶⁸ Uz križ iz groba 33 pronađeni su i loše sačuvani ostaci jednog ili više drvenih zrna. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o ukrasnom zrnu ili zrnima jer kada su pronađena „pojedinačno ili u skupini do 2 do 3 komada, u okviru intaktnoga groba, uz nabožni predmet, onda vjerojatno čine cjelinu s nabožnim predmetom, u smislu da su se izvorno nalazila na niti neposredno iznad medaljice ili križa”.⁶⁹ U Hrvatskoj su takva ukrasna zrna uz medaljice i križeve do sada pronađena u novovjekovnim grobovima unutar i oko crkava u Čazmi, Kamenskom, Mateškom Selu, Remetama, Vin-kovcima⁷⁰ te na Prozorju kraj Dugog Sela.⁷¹

worn. A halo can vaguely be seen around Mary's head, and letters are visible at each end of the *antenna* and the *patibulum* underneath Mary's legs. The left side of the *antenna* contains the letter M· (*Mater*), while the right has the letter D· (*Dolorosa*). There is a slightly visible letter O[·] (*ora*) on the *patibulum*, and the letter P· (*pro nobis*) should be underneath it. The full inscription should make up the sentence, "Mother Dolorosa, pray for us". The cross has a profiled edge on its obverse and reverse. There is a vertical eye on top of the cross with a preserved circlet that connects the cross to the string. An almost identical cross was found at the Cemetery of St Nicholas the Bishop in Žumberak, in Croatia. Just like most finds from that cemetery, it was dated to the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶³ A beautiful cross of this type dated to the end of the 17th century is kept in the National Museum of Slovenia.⁶⁴ A cross at the Cathedral Museum in Salzburg is very similar to this one, as well.⁶⁵ Three very similar crosses with more letters in the invocation are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istria; they were discovered in Dvigrad, Marčana and Poreč. They have somewhat longer inscriptions on their *antennas*: MAT DOL. The authors date these crosses to the 17th and 18th centuries.⁶⁶ The Croatian History Museum's collection holds two crosses of this type discovered at the end of the 19th century during excavation in Novi Banovci. Just like the crosses from Istria, those discovered at Novi Banovci have the inscription MAT DOL on their *antennas*. At the bottom of the *patibulum*, they have the letters OP / N in two rows. The first cross is similar to other crosses with the depiction of Our Lady of Sorrows published in Croatia thus far, while the other is of somewhat higher quality than the rest of them. What makes it distinctive is the more detailed depiction of Mary and only one sword piercing through her heart.⁶⁷ There are similar crosses with only one sword through Mary's heart, or none at all, and with more letters, known from Poland and Germany.⁶⁸ Poorly preserved remains of one or more wooden beads were also discovered alongside the cross in grave 33. This was most probably a decorative bead or beads, since, when they are discovered individually or in a group of two to three pieces, "within an intact grave, together with a devotional object, they probably make up a whole with the devotional object, meaning that they were originally on a thread right above the medal or cross".⁶⁹ In Croatia, such decorative beads have thus far been discovered alongside medals and crosses in early-modern graves in and around the churches in Čazma, Kamensko, Mateško Selo, Remete and Vinkovci,⁷⁰ and at Prozorje, near Dugo Selo.⁷¹

63 Stingl 2017, 69, T. 6: 51.

64 Knez 2010, 112, kat. br. 67.

65 Gratz et al. 2010, 312, kat. br. 8.253.

66 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 404–405, kat. br. 166. Nažalost, u objavi je prikazano naličje samo jednog križa, kojem nije sačuvan donji dio *patibuluma*.

67 Pavičić 1994, 75, kat. br. 49–50.

68 Chudzińska 1998, 66–67, kat. br. 4, 113, kat. br. 64, T. 18; Fassbinder 2003, T. 38: 2–4.

69 Perkić 2017, 210.

70 Perkić 2010, 247; 2017, 210–211; Azinović Bebek 2012, 211; Rapan Papeša 2012, 196.

71 Autori ovog članka su ondje provodili sustavna arheološka istraživanja.

63 Stingl 2017, 69, Pl. 6: 51.

64 Knez 2010, 112, cat. no. 67.

65 Gratz et al. 2010, 312, cat. no. 8.253.

66 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 404–405, cat. no. 166. Unfortunately, the depiction of only the reverse of one of the crosses has been published. That cross does not have the bottom portion of its *patibulum* preserved.

67 Pavičić 1994, 75, cat. no. 49–50.

68 Chudzińska 1998, 66–67, cat. no. 4, 113, cat. no. 64, Pl. 18; Fassbinder 2003, Pl. 38.2–4.

69 Perkić 2017, 211.

70 Perkić 2010, 247; 2017, 210–211; Azinović Bebek 2012, 211; Rapan Papeša 2012, 196.

71 The authors of this paper have conducted systematic archaeological excavations at this site.

GROB 253

Grob 253 nalazima je najbogatiji grob na lokalitetu datiran u razdoblje novog vijeka. Radi cjelovitog prikaza, osim nabožnih predmeta obradit ćemo i sve ostale nalaze pronađene u grobu. Manji dio, nažalost, ostao je neistražen jer se grob nalazio uz sam rub iskopa. Lako bi se, uvidom samo u nalaze o kojima će riječi biti nešto kasnije, dalo zaključiti da je u grobu bio pokopan istaknut i bogat član zajednice, ali patološka slika nas upućuje na oprez. Pokojnik je u trenutku smrti imao između 40 i 50 godina, a postoje neke naznake da je, kao i pokojnik iz groba 33, i on bolovao od lepre. Sudeći prema patologijama, i ovaj pokojnik je za života teško i kontinuirano fizički radio.⁷² Uz to su mu na zubima vidljivi hipoplastični defekti koji se vežu uz pojavu jakih avitaminoza, neonatalne žutice, anemije, zaraznih bolesti ili kronične neishranjenosti. Mario Šlaus pretpostavlja da su „osobe s hipoplastičnim defektima pripadale nižim društvenim staležima, zbog čega se fiziološki stres – glad, zarazne bolesti i loš socijalni status kojem su bili izloženi tijekom djetinjstva (odnosno u razdoblju kada je nastao defekt na zubnoj caklini) nastavio i nakon završetka rasta.”⁷³

Pokojnik je bio položen na leđa, glavom prema zapadu, a ruke su mu bile sklopljene na prsima (sl. 3). U rukama je, ili držao uzicu, ili je ona bila namotana oko njegova desnog dlana. Uzica nije ostala sačuvana, ali su u blizini zgloba desne ruke, uz palčanu kost, pronađeni rijetki nabožni predmeti (T. 1: 7). Riječ je o koštanoj *memento mori* zrnju krunice, srebrnom perforiranom križu s drvenim umetkom i medaljici od lijevane bakrene legure, koje su međusobno povezane karičicama. *Memento mori* zrna krunice su zrna u obliku lubanje, a najčešće su izrađena od kosti ili drva.⁷⁴ Takva su zrna imala ulogu podsjećanja čovjeka na prolaznost života, odnosno opominjala su ga na to da je smrtno biće koje će jednog dana umrijeti stoga treba živjeti na najbolji mogući način.⁷⁵ Zrno pronađeno u grobu 253 je oblika lubanje, ali bez donje čeljusti.⁷⁶ Oči su udubljene, nos urezan, a zubi izbočeni, dok je rupica probušena s gornje strane, otprilike na sredini zrna. Uz rupicu je mjestimice vidljiva zelena patina. U Hrvatskoj su *memento mori* zrna pronađena na novovjekovnim grobljima u Puli, Senju, Šenkovcu i Vinkovcima. Zrno pronađeno na groblju crkve Svetog Teodora u Puli datira se u 17. stoljeće, a na njemu je, za razliku od primjerka iz Gore, vidljiva i donja čeljust.⁷⁷ Najsličniji gorskome primjerak je pronađen na groblju oko crkve Svetog Ilije na Meraji u Vinkovcima,⁷⁸ a kvalitetom izrade i detaljima ističe se zrno pronađeno na Pavlinskom trgu u Senju, za koje autori navode da je izrađeno od stakla.⁷⁹ Specifično je koštano *memento mori* zrno, koje je bilo dio krunice uglavnom od drvenih zrna, pronađene na groblju pavlinskog samostana u Šenkovcu. Riječ je o zrnju oblika dvostruke lubanje, na kojem je s jedne strane prikaz Isusove glave, a s druge mrtvačka lubanja. Ta je krunica datirana u široko razdoblje, od 16. do 18. stoljeća.⁸⁰

GRAVE 253

Grave 253 produced the most finds among the graves dated to the early modern period. In order to gain a complete image of the grave, we will analyse all other finds discovered inside it, not just the devotional objects. Unfortunately, a small portion of the grave remained unexcavated, since it was positioned at the very edge of the trench. Given the finds that will be analysed thoroughly later, the individual buried in this grave could be characterized as a distinguished and wealthy member of the community. However, the pathology asks for caution. This deceased individual was between 40 and 50 years of age when he died, and there are some indicators that he, as well as the individual from grave 33, had leprosy. The pathology indicates that this individual's life was also marked by continuous hard physical labour.⁷² His teeth have visible signs of enamel hypoplasia linked to severe avitaminosis, neonatal jaundice, anaemia, infectious diseases, or chronic malnutrition. Mario Šlaus assumes that individuals with enamel hypoplasia belonged to the lower strata of society, due to which the physiological stress – famine, infectious diseases, and poor social status – that they were exposed to during childhood (i.e. in the period when the enamel defect was formed) continued even after they finished growing.⁷³

The deceased individual was laid on his back with his head to the west and his hands clasped on his chest (Fig. 3). There was a string that he held in his hands or that was wrapped around his right palm. The string was not preserved, but rare devotional objects (Pl. 1: 7) were discovered near the wrist of his right hand, alongside the radial bone. The find in question includes a *memento mori* rosary bead, a silver perforated cross with a wooden insert, and a medal made of cast copper alloy. The medal and cross were linked together by circlets. The *memento mori* rosary beads are skull-shaped beads, most commonly made of bone or wood.⁷⁴ Such beads served as a reminder of the impermanence of human life, i.e. that humans are mortal beings and that one day they have to die. Therefore, they should live the best possible life.⁷⁵ The bead from grave 253 is skull-shaped but missing the lower jaw.⁷⁶ The eyes on the skull are recessed, the nose etched, and the teeth protruding. A hole was pierced at the top, approximately in the middle of the bead. A green patina is sporadically visible around the hole. In Croatia, *memento mori* beads have been discovered at early-modern cemeteries in Pula, Senj, Šenkovec and Vinkovci. The bead discovered at the cemetery of St Theodore's Church in Pula is dated to the 17th century. Unlike the bead from Gora, this one has a visible lower jaw as well.⁷⁷ The most similar to the bead from Gora is the one discovered at the cemetery around the Church of St Elijah at Meraja, in Vinkovci,⁷⁸ while the bead discovered at Pavlinski trg in Senj – made of glass, according to the authors – stands out in quality and detail.⁷⁹ A special bone *memento mori* bead which used to

72 Na donjoj čeljusti prisutan je mandibularni torus, blagi degenerativni osteoarthritis prisutan je na desnom ramenu, kukovima, koljenima, te na sedam prsnih i dva slabinska kralješka, umjereni osteoarthritis na tri vratna kralješka, a jaki degenerativni osteoarthritis i ankiloza (sraštavanje) prisutni su na devetom i desetom prsnom kralješku. Blagi zarasli periostitis prisutan je na desnoj goljeničnoj i lisnoj kosti, a Schmorlovi defekti na četiri prsna kralješka.

72 Torus mandibularis is present on the lower jaw, mild degenerative osteoarthritis is present on the right shoulder, hips, knees, seven thoracic and two lumbar vertebrae, and mild osteoarthritis on three cervical vertebrae, while severe degenerative osteoarthritis and ankylosis are present on the ninth and tenth thoracic vertebrae. Mild healed periostitis is present on the right tibia and fibula, while Schmorl's nodes are present on four thoracic vertebrae.

SLIKA 3. Djelomično istražen koštur iz groba 253 (Arhiva Instituta za arheologiju).

FIGURE 3. Partially-excavated skeleton from grave 253 (Archive of the Institute of Archaeology).



Irene Mittermeier primjećuje da se takvi primjerci zrna, oblika dvostruke lubanje, pojavljuju većinom uz *caravaca* križeve te ih datira u 17. stoljeće.⁸¹ Darko Knez pak smatra da se krunice sa zrnima u obliku lubanje proizvode tek od 18. stoljeća.⁸² Osim dvostrukih, u Njemačkoj postoje i *memento mori* zrna oblika trostruke lubanje, na kojima se uz Kristovu glavu i mrtvačku lubanju pojavljuje i glava nekog smrtnika, najčešće pape ili cara, a radi se o personifikaciji smrti, odnosno o upozorenju da je sve ljudsko prolazno.⁸³ *Memento mori* zrna uobičajeno su dijelovi manjih krunica, tzv. *cenera* ili većih, tzv. *arma Christi* krunica, koje, među ostalima, imaju i zrna što simboliziraju oruđa Kristove muke,⁸⁴ dok su, primjerice, u novovjekovnoj Poljskoj *memento mori* zrna na drvenim krunicama nosili članovi bratovštine „dobre smrti”.⁸⁵ Zrno u obliku lubanje, pronađeno u Vinkovcima, moglo bi biti dijelom *cenera* jer je, osim njega, pronađeno još

belong to a rosary made mostly of wooden beads was discovered at the cemetery of the Pauline monastery in Šenkovec. This bead is in the shape of a double skull, with a depiction of Christ's head on one side and a skull on the other. This rosary was dated to a long period, from the 16th century to the 18th.⁸⁰ Irene Mittermeier notices that such beads, with double skulls, usually appear alongside *caravaca* crosses, and she dates them to the 17th century.⁸¹ On the other hand, Darko Knez believes that rosaries with skull-shaped beads only started being produced in the 18th century.⁸² Aside from the beads with a double skull, there are examples of *memento mori* beads with a triple skull in Germany. Alongside Christ's head and a skull, they also include the head of a prominent mortal, usually a pope or an emperor. This is a personification of death, i.e. a warning that everything human is impermanent.⁸³ *Memento mori* beads are usually parts of smaller rosaries, so-called 'tenners', or larger, so-called *arma Christi* rosaries, which, among other things, have the beads symbolizing the Instruments of the Passion.⁸⁴ For instance, in early-modern Poland, *memento mori* beads on wooden rosaries were worn by the

73 Šlaus 2006, 125.

74 Knez 2009, 99.

75 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 387, bilj. 980.

76 Dimenzije zrna su 15,2 x 10,5 x 14,3 mm, promjer rupice je 3 mm, a težina 2,35 g.

77 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 387, 391, kat. br. 155.

78 Rapan Papeša 2012, 196, 206, kat. br. 9.

79 Glavaš, Glavičić 2012, 46.

80 Azinović Bebek 2012, 209, T. 80: 943.

81 Mittermeier 1989, 137–138.

82 Knez 2009, 99.

83 Ritz 1975, 86.

84 Küffner, Schulten 1975, 164–165, B 10, Abb. 24 (Posebno valja istaknuti ovu manju krunicu, tzv. *cenera*, koji se sastoji od čak sedam drvenih *memento mori* zrna, između kojih je osam razdjelnih zrna od zlatnog filigrana. Autori je datiraju u kraj 16. stoljeća, a riječ je o španjolsko-meksičkom proizvodu.), 171, B 55, Abb. 35, B 57, Abb. 50. U Hrvatskoj je za sada objavljena samo jedna krunica sa tzv. *arma Christi* zrnima, a pronađena je tijekom arheoloških istraživanja crkve sv. Martina u Prozorju kraj Dugog Sela (Belaj). 2006, 283–284).

85 Nowak, Drązkowska, Łyczak 2021, 99, Fig. 75.

73 Šlaus 2006, 125.

74 Knez 2009, 99.

75 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 387, n. 980.

76 The dimensions of the bead are 15.2 x 10.5 x 14.3 mm, and the diameter of the hole is 3 mm. The bead weighs 2.35 g.

77 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 387, 391, cat. no. 155.

78 Rapan Papeša 2012, 196, 206, cat. no. 9.

79 Glavaš, Glavičić 2012, 46.

80 Azinović Bebek 2012, 209, Pl. 80: 943.

81 Mittermeier 1989, 137–138.

82 Knez 2009, 99.

83 Ritz 1975, 86.

84 Küffner, Schulten 1975, 164–165, B 10 Abb. 24 (This smaller rosary, the so-called 'tenner', should be especially emphasized. It consists of seven wooden

pet manjih, drvenih zrna krunice i perforirani križ od bakrene legure,⁸⁶ dok je *memento mori* zrno iz Šenkovca dio veće krunice od 67 zrna.⁸⁷ Iz literature nije jasan kontekst nalaza zrna pronađenih na grobljima u Puli i Senju, što nalaz *memento mori* zrna iz gorskog groba 253 za sada, uz križ i medaljicu, čini jednim takvim pojedinačnim zrnom pronađenim u Hrvatskoj. Iako je uzorak premalen za donošenje bilo kakvih konkretnijih zaključaka, zanimljivo je primijetiti da su, za razliku od, primjerice *caravaca* križeva u Njemačkoj, uz *memento mori* zrna u Gori, Šenkovcu i Vinkovcima pronađeni isključivo perforirani križevi, koji inače nisu toliko učestali. Križ s krunice iz Šenkovca je latinskog oblika s trolisnim završecima, a perforiran je na sjecištu patibuluma i antene te s po dvije okrugle rupice na svakom trolistu.⁸⁸ Križ pronađen u Vinkovcima oblikom je sličniji gorskom primjerku iz groba 253. Riječ je o najobičnijem latinskom križu, izrađenom od kovanog lima bakrene legure.⁸⁹ Ipak, križ pronađen u Gori mnogo je kvalitetnije izrade i, za razliku od navedenih primjera, ima sačuvan drveni umetak.

Križ iz groba 253 u Gori izrađen je kombinacijom drva i metala.⁹⁰ Sastoji se od srebrnog okvira izrađenog lijevanjem na proboj i drvenog umetka. Na vrhu okvira nalazi se paralelna ušica s karičicom pomoću koje je povezan s medaljicom. Drveni umetak sastoji se od dva međusobno povezana komadića drva, jedan čini vodoravnu gredu, a drugi okomitu. Pošto su obje strane umetka jednako izvedene, a reljefni korpus Krista – ako se uopće i nalazio na ovom križu – nedostaje, teško je odrediti je li antena bila umetnuta u patibulum ili obrnuto, odnosno koja je strana lice, a koja naličje. Drveni umetak s obje strane ima po jednu kružnu izvedenu prazninu na krajevima antene i na vrhu patibuluma, dok su na njegovu donjem dijelu četiri praznine u nizu. Kružne praznine slabo se naziru, ali je u sredini svake jasno vidljiva rupica. Dio rupica mogao je služiti pričvršćivanju Kristova korpusa, titulusa ili Adamove lubanje, koji su možda otpali još za života pokojnika. Ipak, sudeći prema analogijama, u takvim kružnim prazninama najčešće su se nalazili križići izrađeni od sedefa, kao što je vidljivo na primjercima iz Berlina, Passaua, Krakova i Višegrada.⁹¹ U Hrvatskoj su sedefasti križići ispunjavali kružne praznine na križu iz Novske,⁹² dok je na križu iz Čazme, prema autorici, riječ o maloj aplici križića izrađenoj od srebra.⁹³ Kružne praznine ponekad su mogle u potpunosti biti ispunjene sedefom, o čemu nam svjedoči križ iz zbirke Dommuseuma u Salzburgu.⁹⁴ Ovdje je važno upozoriti na nekoliko detalja. Križevi iz Krakova i Novske u potpunosti su izrađeni od drva, bez metalnog okvira i bez ušice; vrh im je rombično izveden te je oko njega mogla biti omotana uzica. Svi nabrojani

members of the Fraternity of All Saints.⁸⁵ The skull-shaped bead discovered in Vinkovci could have been a part of a ‘tenner’, since five more smaller wooden beads of the rosary and a perforated cross made of copper alloy were discovered with it.⁸⁶ The *memento mori* bead from Šenkovec is part of a large rosary made of 67 beads.⁸⁷ The literature does not provide a clear context of the finds of the beads discovered at cemeteries in Pula and Senj, which makes the *memento mori* bead from grave 253 in Gora the only such individual bead discovered in Croatia alongside a cross and medal. Although this sample is not enough for drawing any specific conclusions, it is interesting that exclusively perforated crosses, which are usually not as common, have been discovered alongside *memento mori* beads in Gora, Šenkovec and Vinkovci, in comparison to *caravaca* crosses in Germany. The one from the rosary from Šenkovec is a Latin cross with trefoil endings. It is perforated in the middle of the *patibulum* and *antenna* and has three round holes on every trefoil.⁸⁸ In shape, a cross discovered in Vinkovci is more similar to the cross from grave 253 in Gora. It is a common Latin cross made of wrought copper-alloy sheet.⁸⁹ However, the cross discovered in Gora is of significantly higher-quality production and, unlike the other crosses, has a preserved wooden insert.

The cross from grave 253 in Gora is made of a combination of wood and metal.⁹⁰ It consists of a metal frame produced by casting and punching, and a wooden insert. The top of the frame has a parallel eye with a circler for linking the cross to the medal. The wooden insert consists of two linked pieces of wood; one of them makes up a horizontal beam, and the other a vertical one. Since the two sides of the insert are the same, and the relief corpus of Christ (which might or might not have been on this cross at all) is missing, it is difficult to ascertain whether the *antenna* was inserted onto the patibulum or it was the other way around – i.e. which side is the obverse, and which the reverse. There is one circular hole at each end of the *antenna* and the top of the patibulum of the wooden insert, while its bottom part has four holes in a sequence. The circular holes are difficult to make out, but there is a visible opening in the middle of each of them. Some of the openings could be used for attaching Christ’s corpus, a *titulus* or Adam’s skull onto the cross. They might have fallen out even during the deceased individual’s life. However, analogies indicate that such circular openings were most commonly used for attaching mother-of-pearl crosses, as can be seen on crosses from Berlin, Passau, Krakow and Visegrád.⁹¹ In Croatia, mother-

86 Rapan Papeša 2012, 206.

87 Azinović Bebek 2012, 209, T. 80: 943.

88 Azinović Bebek 2012, 187, T. 66: 836.

89 Rapan Papeša 2012, 196, 206, kat. br. 9.

90 Dimenzije križa su 33,2 x 17,2 x 2,4 mm, promjer karičice je 8,3 mm, a promjer žice 1,2 mm. Težina je 1,82 g.

91 Melisch 2011, 113, T. 4: 2; Schenk 2018, 654, Abb. 10; Nowak, Drązkowska, Łyczak 2020, 221–222, Ryc. 128; Kováts MKM (siječanj 2023).

92 Stingl 2022, 161, sl. 5.

93 Azinović Bebek 2012, 188, T. 67: 848.

94 Gratz et al. 2010, 284, kat. br. 8.53.

memento mori beads, among which there are eight beads of golden filigree separating them. The authors date this rosary to the end of the 16th century. It is a Spanish-Mexican product), 171, B 55 Abb. 35, B 57 Abb. 50. Only one rosary with the so-called *arma Christi* beads has been published in Croatia thus far. It was discovered during excavation of the church of St Martin in Prozorje, near Dugo Selo (Belaj J. 2006, 283–284).

85 Nowak, Drązkowska, Łyczak 2021, 99, Fig. 75.

86 Rapan Papeša 2012, 206.

87 Azinović Bebek 2012, 209, Pl. 80: 943.

88 Azinović Bebek 2012, 187, Pl. 66: 836.

89 Rapan Papeša 2012, 196, 206, cat. no. 9.

90 The dimensions of the cross are 33.2 x 17.2 x 2.4 mm, the diameter of the circler is 8.3 mm, and the diameter of the wire is 1.2 mm. The cross weighs 1.82 g.

91 Melisch 2011, 113, Pl. 4: 2; Schenk 2018, 654, Abb. 10; Nowak, Drązkowska, Łyczak 2020, 221–222, Ryc. 128; Kováts MKM (January 2023).

primjerci veći su od gorskog, a većina križeva s metalnim okvirom i drvenim umetkom veća je i od 6 cm. Križ iz Čazme je pak jedini primjerak križa sa sedefastim ispunama na kojem je pričvršćen korpus Krista, i to zakovicama, bez korištenja ijedne kružne praznine. Svaki od nabrojanih križeva, uključujući druge slične križeve pronađene na župnom Groblju Svete Hedvige u Berlinu,⁹⁵ kao i primjerke pronađene na groblju uz crkvu Svetog Pavla u Wormsu,⁹⁶ na mjestu sjecišta antene i patibuluma imaju izrezbaren oblik manjeg križa, koji je najčešće ispunjen nekom drugom vrstom drva. Iznimka su primjerci iz Čazme gdje se, kao što je već navedeno, nalazio Kristov korpus, te Salzburga, koji je ispunjen sedefom. Marek Kołyszko takve križeve s manjim drvenim križem od druge vrste drva smatra vrstom križa za relikvije, koje su se najvjerojatnije čuvala unutar manjega središnjeg križa izrađenog od druge vrste drva, a to potkrepljuje i simbolikom broja sedam.⁹⁷ Znakovito je što je na većini primjeraka jednak broj, sedam, i raspored kružnih praznina, izuzev salzburškog – koji ih ima šest, a nedostaje mu jedna na vrhu patibuluma – te jednog većeg primjerka iz Berlina,⁹⁸ koji na donjem dijelu patibuluma ima jednu prazninu više, ukupno osam na cijeloj površini. U slučaju da su kružne praznine na gorskom križu zaista bile ispunjene sedefom, bilo da je riječ o običnoj ispuni ili o križićima, onda je riječ je o najmanjem do sada objavljenom primjerku takvog tipa. Osim što bi bio najmanji, jedini na sjecištu dvaju greda nema izrezbaren manji križ.

Ako križ pronađen u gorskom grobu 253 nije imao kružne praznine ispunjene sedefom, već su one služile pričvršćivanju Kristova korpusa, titulusa ili Adamove lubanje, u Hrvatskoj su mu najbližnji križevi pronađeni u Humu u Istri te u Krapini. Križ iz Huma ima okvir od lijevane bakrene legure, paralelnu ušicu, drveni umetak pričvršćen sa šest zakovica te sačuvani titulus. Ipak, humski primjerak mnogo je većih dimenzija od gorskoga. Dugačak je gotovo deset, a širok više od četiri centimetara, a s oprezom je datiran u početak 19. stoljeća.⁹⁹ Dvostruko veći od križa iz Gore jest i primjerak pronađen početkom 20. stoljeća na groblju pored crkve Svetog Nikole u Krapini. Okvir križa iz Krapine izrađen je od željeza, na vrhu se nalazi okomita ušica sa sačuvanom karičicom, a titulus, koji je širi od patibuluma, korpus i rozeta na naličju su mjedeni. Datiran je u 19. stoljeće.¹⁰⁰ U kraj 19. i početak 20. stoljeća datirani su i njemu slični križevi, dimenzijama bližim gorskom primjerku, iz Njemačke i Slovenije.¹⁰¹ Okvir križa iz Narodnog muzeja Slovenije u Ljubljani također je izrađen od srebra, ali na vrhu, umjesto paralelne, ima okomitu ušicu. Križ pronađen u grobu 253 u Gori trebao bi se datirati u 18. stoljeće, što će biti objašnjeno kasnije u tekstu.

of-pearl crosses filled circular openings on the cross from Novska,⁹² while the Čazma cross, according to the author, has a small cross-shaped silver mount.⁹³ Circular openings could sometimes be completely filled with mother-of-pearl, as the cross from the Cathedral Museum in Salzburg testifies.⁹⁴ It is important to warn about several details at this point. The crosses from Krakow and Novska are completely made of wood; they do not have a metal frame or an eye, their top is rhombic, and it could have had a string tied around it. All the abovementioned crosses are larger than the one from Gora; most crosses with metal frames and wooden inserts are larger than 6 cm. The cross from Čazma is the only cross with mother-of-pearl inlays with Christ's corpus attached with rivets and with no circular openings. Each of the crosses mentioned, including other similar crosses discovered at the parish cemetery of St Hedwig in Berlin⁹⁵ and the crosses discovered at the cemetery next to St Paul's Church in Worms,⁹⁶ have an engraving of a smaller cross usually filled with some other type of wood where the *antenna* and the *patibulum* meet. The crosses from Čazma and Salzburg are exceptions; as has already been mentioned, the Čazma cross had Christ's corpus, and the Salzburg had a mother-of-pearl inlay. Marek Kołyszko believes such crosses having smaller crosses made of some other type of wood are some kind of relic crosses. The relics were probably kept inside the smaller central cross made of some other type of wood. He uses the symbolism of the number seven to support his thesis.⁹⁷ What is significant is that there is the same number of circular openings, seven, on most of the crosses. The exceptions are the crosses from Salzburg – with six openings, since the opening at the top of the *patibulum* is missing – and from Berlin⁹⁸ – with one extra opening on the bottom part of the *patibulum*, eight of them altogether. If the circular openings on the cross from Gora were really filled with mother-of-pearl, in the form of a circular inlay or a cross, this is the smallest object of this type published thus far. Aside from being the smallest, it is the only one that does not have a smaller cross carved out where the two beams meet.

If the cross discovered in grave 253 in Gora had its circular openings not filled with mother-of-pearl but for attaching Christ's corpus, a *titulus* or Adam's skull, the most similar crosses in Croatia to this one were discovered in Hum (in Istria) and Krapina. The Hum cross has a frame made of cast bronze, a parallel eye, a wooden insert fitted with six rivets, and a preserved *titulus*. However, the Hum cross is significantly larger in dimensions than the one from Gora. It is almost ten centimetres long and more than four centimetres wide. It has cautiously been dated

95 Melisch 2011, 112, T. 3: 3, 113, T. 3: 4, 114, T. 5: 3–4.

96 Grünewald 2001, 31, M 3416, 44, M 3457 b.

97 Sedam križeva razdvaja skraćene molitve Zaharijina zaziva, broj sedam je simbol božanstvenosti, svetosti i sreće, sedam rečenica je Krist izgovorio na križu, sedam je žalosti Majke Božje itd., prema Kołyszko 2013, 29–31.

98 Melisch 2011, 114, T. 5: 4.

99 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 406–407, kat. br. 173.

100 Pavičić 1994, 80, kat. br. 65.

101 Fassbinder 2003, T. 34: 4; Knez 2010, 142, kat. br. 124.

92 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 67: 848; Stingl 2022, 161, Fig. 5.

93 Azinović Bebek 2012, 188, Pl. 67: 848.

94 Gratz et al. 2010, 284, cat. no. 8.53.

95 Melisch 2011, 112, Pl. 3: 3, 113, Pl. 3: 4, 114, Pl. 5: 3–4.

96 Grünewald 2001, 31, M 3416, 44, M 3457 b.

97 There are seven crosses between the shortened prayers of the Cantic of Zechariah, the number seven is the symbol of divinity, sanctity and good fortune, seven is the number of sentences Christ uttered from the cross, there are seven sorrows of the Virgin Mary, etc., after Kołyszko 2013, 29–31.

98 Melisch 2011, 114, Pl. 5: 4.

Od nabožnih predmeta pronađenih u grobu 253 kvalitetom izrade posebnu pozornost plijeni medaljica s prikazom Bogorodice s djetetom na licu i sv. Florijanom na naličju, a izrađena je od lijevane bakrene legure.¹⁰² Ona je već obrađena i objavljena u zasebnom radu¹⁰³ te će ovdje, radi boljeg razumijevanja grobne cjeline, biti doneseni samo kratki opisi i glavni zaključci. Medaljica na licu ima vrlo zanimljiv prikaz Bogorodice koja, ogrnuta plaštem, stoji u polumjesecu s djetetom Isusom u naručju, naslonjenim na njezinu lijevu ruku. Oboje su okrunjeni, a Isus u svojoj lijevoj ruci drži vladarsku kuglu. Takav prikaz Marije s djetetom zasad je, barem što se tiče onih na medaljicama, jedinstven. Podsjeća na ikonografski prikaz Bogorodice Bezgrešne, odnosno Marijina bezgrešnog začeca, čemu u prilog ide i natpis koji teče uz profilirani rub medaljice SINE LABE CONCEPTA (Bez ljage začeta). Međutim, Bezgrešna se vrlo rijetko prikazuje s djetetom Isusom u naručju.¹⁰⁴ Moguće je da se radi o prikazu Marijina kipa iz nekog hodočasničkog mjesta,¹⁰⁵ koje zasad možemo samo pretpostaviti s obzirom na to da na medaljici nije navedeno njegovo ime. Imajući u vidu izvorišta kulta sv. Florijana, prikazanoga na naličju medaljice, može se pretpostaviti kako je to hodočasničko odredište s područja njemačkih zemalja. Hodočasnička Marija, koja je najbližnja Mariji prikazanoj na gorskom primjerku, jest na medaljici iz Svete Hore.¹⁰⁶ Osim prikaza, vrlo je zanimljiv i natpis koji na medaljicama ne susrećemo često u tom obliku. Sa sličnim natpisom u Hrvatskoj pronađene su još samo dvije medaljice, jedna na riječkom groblju Pul Vele Crikve,¹⁰⁷ a druga u klausturu samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku.¹⁰⁸ Dvije medaljice oblika sličnog violini (njem. *geigenförmig*), za koje se pretpostavlja da su proizvod čeških i njemačkih kovnica 18. stoljeća, imaju – uz prikaz Bezgrešnog začeca – sličan natpis s latinskim terminom *labes*.¹⁰⁹ Medaljice nešto novijeg datuma, iz 19. i 20. stoljeća, a s dužim verzijama natpisa s terminom *labes*, dio su inventara Narodnoga muzeja Slovenije u Ljubljani i Dommuseuma u Salzburgu.¹¹⁰ U Hrvatskoj su s prikazom Bezgrešne nešto češće medaljice s latinskim terminom *peccatum* (hrv. grijeh)¹¹¹ u zazivu slične formulacije, a u

to the beginning of the 19th century.⁹⁹ The cross discovered at the beginning of the 20th century at the cemetery next to St Nicholas's Church in Krapina is also twice the size of the cross from Gora. The frame of this cross was made of iron. There is a vertical eye with a preserved cirlet on the cross. The *titulus* (wider than the *patibulum*), the corpus, and the rosette on the reverse are made of brass. It was dated to the 19th century.¹⁰⁰ Crosses similar to these have been dated to the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Their dimensions are more like the cross from Gora, and they were discovered in Germany and Slovenia.¹⁰¹ The frame of the cross from the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana is also made of silver, but it has an eye at the top that is parallel, instead of vertical. The cross discovered in grave 253 in Gora should be dated to the 18th century, as will be elaborated on later in the text.

Among the devotional objects discovered in grave 253, the medal with the depiction of the Madonna and Child on the obverse and St Florian on the reverse, made of cast copper alloy, attracts special attention due to the quality of its production.¹⁰² It has already been analysed and published in a separate paper;¹⁰³ and, for an easier understanding of the grave unit, only a short depiction and main conclusions will be presented here. The medal has a very interesting depiction of the Madonna on the obverse. She is cloaked and standing in a crescent moon holding the Infant Jesus, who leans on her left arm. They are both crowned, and Jesus holds the *globus cruciger* in his left hand. This depiction of the Virgin Mary with the Child is, thus far, unique as far as depictions on medals go. It is reminiscent of the iconographic image of Mary Immaculata, i.e. the Immaculate Conception, as is supported by the inscription running along the profiled edge of the medal, SINE LABE CONCEPTA (conceived without fault). However, Mary Immaculata is quite rarely depicted with the Infant Jesus in her arms.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that this is the depiction of an image of Mary from a pilgrimage site,¹⁰⁵ the location of which we can only speculate, since the medal does not mention its name. Having in mind the places of origin of the cult of St Florian, who is depicted on the reverse of the medal, we can assume with more certainty that that pilgrim site is located in German-speaking lands. The most similar pilgrim-style Mary to the one depicted on the medal from Gora is the Mary on the medal from Sveta Hora.¹⁰⁶ Aside

102 Dimenzije medaljice su 39,7 x 27,3 x 3,2 (ušica 6,2) mm, karičica je promjera 8,6 mm, a promjer žice je 1 mm. Težina medaljice je 11 g.

103 Stingl, Belaj 2021.

104 Perkić 2020, 134.

105 Hodočasničke Marije novovjekovne Europe na medaljicama se prikazuju vrlo različito. Brojna hodočasnička mjesta imaju prikazanu Mariju u zvonoliku plaštu, poput Mariazella ili Loreta (Azinović Bebek 2007, 392). S druge pak strane, ako se u hodočasničkom određištu štovala slika, najčešće je ona prikazana na medaljicama, kao što su primjeri Marije Pomoćnice iz Passaua ili Majke Božje iz Svete Gore pri Novoj Gorici (Chudzińska 1998, 68–69; Stingl 2017, 38). U posttridentskoj pobožnosti kipovi Marije su obujmljeni kićenim haljinama te su kao takvi prikazivani, a dobar primjer je medaljica iz Marije Bistrice pronađena u Brkaču kraj Motovuna (Krnjak 2006, 134, kat. br. 14).

106 Omelka, Rebounová, Čechura 2013, 385, Obr. 4: a.

107 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

108 Perkić 2020, 39, kat. br. 9.

109 Gorny & Mosch 2014, 22–23, kat. br. 3041, 3048.

110 Knez 2001, 137, kat. br. 206, 171, kat. br. 276, 175, kat. br. 285, 177, kat. br. 288, 220–221, kat. br. 379, 380, 224, kat. br. 387; Mayrhofer, Neuhardt, Pinezits 2010, 190, kat. br. 6.779.

111 Pronađene su u Brkaču kod Motovuna (Krnjak 2006, 132, kat. br. 8), u klausturu samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku (Perkić 2020, 40, kat. br. 12), u Kruševu kraj Obrovca (Vrkić 2014, 260, kat. br. 11), u Remetama (Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 27: 371) te u Vodnjanu (Krnjak 2008, 146, kat. br. 12a; Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 398–399, kat. br. 159), a autori ih datiraju u 17. ili 18. stoljeće.

99 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 406–407, cat. no. 173.

100 Pavičić 1994, 80, cat. no. 65.

101 Fassbinder 2003, Pl. 34.4; Knez 2010, 142, cat. no. 124.

102 The dimensions of the medal are 39.7 x 27.3 x 3.2 (the eye is 6.2) mm, the diameter of the cirlet is 8.6 mm, and the diameter of the wire 1 mm. The medal weighs 11 g.

103 Stingl, Belaj 2021.

104 Perkić 2020, 134.

105 Pilgrimage-style Marys of early-modern Europe on medals are depicted quite variously. Numerous pilgrimage sites have Mary depicted in a bell-shaped cloak: for instance, Mariazell or Loreto (Azinović Bebek 2007, 392). On the other hand, if the pilgrimage site venerated a painting of Mary, she was usually portrayed on medals, such as Mary, the Help of Christians from Passau, or Mary, Mother of God from Sveta Gora, near Nova Gorica (Chudzińska 1998, 68–69; Stingl 2017, 38). The statues of Mary of the Post-Trident period were cloaked in embellished dresses and were depicted as such. One fine example is the medal from Marija Bistrica discovered at Brkač, near Motovun (Krnjak 2006, 134, cat. no. 14).

106 Omelka, Rebounová, Čechura 2013, 385, Obr. 4a.

dostupnoj literaturi zasad je pronađena samo jedna medaljica s latinskim terminom *macula* (hrv. mrlja).¹¹² Naličje gorske medaljice krasi blago izlizan prikaz sv. Florijana. Svetac je odjeven kao rimski vojnik s plaštem, oko glave mu se nalazi svetokrug, u desnoj ruci drži vjedro iz kojeg izlijeva vodu i gasi požar, a u lijevoj štap s dugačkom dvorepom zastavom koja vijori. Uz profilirani rub medaljice teče natpis S-FLORIANI MAR[TYR] (Sv. Florijan, mučenik), a u odsječku na središnjem donjem dijelu medaljice nalazi se oznaka rimske kovnice, ROMA.¹¹³ Medaljica iz gorskog groba 253 prva je medaljica s likom sv. Florijana objavljena u Hrvatskoj,¹¹⁴ a na temelju dostupne literature možemo zaključiti da su takve medaljice rijedak nalaz i u ostatku Europe.¹¹⁵ Dommuseum u Salzburgu čuva dvije lijevane ovalne medaljice s prikazom sv. Florijana.¹¹⁶ Jedna je izrađena od mjeđi u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća, a druga od srebra u 18. stoljeću. Ova potonja luksuzan je rad neke njemačke kovnice, a ima prikaz donekle sličan onom na medaljici iz Gore. Zaziv sv. Florijanu na njemačkom jeziku (S. FLORIANI BITT FÜR UNS) nalazi se na naličju medaljice. Na novovjekovnom groblju u selu Maniowyy, na Podhalu u Poljskoj, pronađene su dvije međusobno slične medaljice s prikazima sv. Florijana na naličju, a izrađene su od kovane bakrene legure. Iako su objavljene kao sedmerokutne, riječ je zapravo osmerokutnim medaljicama s izduženim gornjim dijelom (ušicom), koji je probušen kako bi kroz njega prošla karičica.¹¹⁷ Na medaljicama iz Maniowyy, za razliku od prikaza na gorskoj medaljici, sv. Florijan drži zastavu u svojoj desnoj, dok je vjedro, iz kojeg izlijeva vodu na goruću kuću, u njegovoj lijevoj ruci. Jasno se vide crte svečeva lica i njegova brada, a oko glave mu se nalazi svetokrug. Uz desni rub medaljice teče natpis S. FLORIAN, a obje su datirane u 17. stoljeće. Riječ je o hodočasnničkim medaljicama jer im lice krasi prikaz Marije s djetetom Isusom iz Passaua.¹¹⁸ Zbog malobrojnosti objava medaljica s prikazom sv. Florijana te malobrojnosti komparativnih podataka, etnografski podaci o pobožnostima i štovanju svetaca, iako se odnose na novije vrijeme, mogu nam biti od pomoći pri rasvjetljavanju značenja gorske medaljice. Sv. Florijanu se u pobožnostima ponajviše pripisuju uloge zaštite od vatre i požara, ali i od velikih voda, oluja i suša¹¹⁹ te ga za svojeg zaštitnika uzimaju vatrogasci, kovači, lončari, pečari i drugi čiji je rad vezan

from the depiction, the inscription on it is also quite interesting, since we do not come across inscriptions of this type on medals often. There are only two more medals discovered in Croatia with similar inscriptions: one at the cemetery of Pul Vele Crikve in Rijeka,¹⁰⁷ the other in the cloister of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik.¹⁰⁸ Two violin-shaped medals (Ger. *geigenförmig*), assumed to be the products of Czech and German workshops of the 18th century, have a similar inscription with the Latin term *labes* alongside the depiction of the Immaculate Conception.¹⁰⁹ The medals with longer inscriptions including the term *labes* are part of the collections of the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana and the Cathedral Museum in Salzburg, respectively. They are somewhat more recent, of the 19th and 20th centuries.¹¹⁰ In Croatia, more common than these are medals with the depiction of Mary Immaculata with the Latin term *peccatum* (Eng. *sin*)¹¹¹ in the similarly-formed invocation. Only one medal with the Latin term *macula* (Eng. *stain*) has thus far been discovered in the available literature.¹¹² The reverse of the medal contains a slightly worn depiction of St Florian. He is dressed as a cloaked Roman soldier and has a halo around his head. He is putting out a fire with the water from the bucket in his right hand and holding a cane with a long fluttering swallowtail flag in his left hand. Along the profiled edge of the medal, there is the running inscription S-FLORIANI MAR[TYR] (St Florian, martyr), while the central bottom segment has a sectioned part containing the mark of the workshop where it was produced: ROMA.¹¹³ The medal from Gora grave 253 is the first medal with a depiction of St Florian published in Croatia.¹¹⁴ On the basis of the available literature, we can conclude that medals of this type are rare finds in the rest of Europe, as well.¹¹⁵ The Cathedral Museum houses two cast oval medals with a depiction of St Florian.¹¹⁶ One of them was made of brass in the first half of the 20th century, while the other was made of silver in the 18th. The latter is a luxury item produced

112 Riječ je o vrlo kvalitetnom radu, najvjerojatnije neke njemačke kovnice, a datira se u 17. stoljeće. Natpis glasi SINE MACVLA CONCEPTA (Gorny & Mosch 2014, 76, kat. br. 3328).

113 Upravo se u rimskoj kovnici, od 16. i 17. stoljeća, za najznačajnija europska hodočasnnička mjesta kuju najkvalitetnije medaljice. Pretpostavlja se da su, između ostalih, autori medaljica u rimskoj kovnici bili i članovi poznate medaljerske obitelji Hamerani, a isti kalupi su se najvjerojatnije koristili više desetljeća (Mirnik 1992, 501).

114 Stingl, Belaj 2021.

115 Za razliku od prikaza na medaljicama, sv. Florijan je svetac koji se učestalo prikazuje na, primjerice, hodočasnničkim slikama ili freskama. U Narodnom muzeju Slovenije čuva se jako puno prikaza sv. Florijana, ali niti jedan se ne nalazi na medaljicama (a zbirka medaljica je povećala). Na informacijama zahvaljujem Darko Knezu, voditelju Oddeleka za zgodovino in uporabno umetnost Narodnega muzeja Slovenije u Ljubljani.

116 Mayrhofer, Neuhardt, Pinezits 2010, 175, kat. br. 6.643–6.644.

117 U Hrvatskoj su dobro poznate medaljice takvog oblika s prikazom sv. Benedikta (Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 14: 188–190, T. 15: 197, 202–203, 206; Stingl 2017, 66, T. 3: 21).

118 Chudzińska 1998, 68–69, kat. br. 6, 74–75, kat. br. 13, T. 23.

119 Schauber, Schindler 1995, 204–205; Gorys 2003, 131.

107 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

108 Perkić 2020, 39, cat. no. 9.

109 Gorny & Mosch 2014, 22–23, cat. no. 3041, 3048.

110 Knez 2001, 137, cat. no. 206, 171, cat. no. 276, 175, cat. no. 285, 177, cat. no. 288, 220–221, cat. no. 379–380, 224, cat. no. 387; Mayrhofer, Neuhardt, Pinezits 2010, 190, cat. no. 6.779.

111 They were discovered in Brkač near Motovun (Krnjak 2006, 132, cat. no. 8), in the cloister of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik (Perkić 2020, 40, cat. no. 12), in Kruševo near Obraovac (Vrkić 2014, 260, cat. no. 11), in Remete (Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 27: 371), and in Vodnjan (Krnjak 2008, 146, cat. no. 12a; Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 398–399, cat. no. 159). They are dated by the authors to the 17th or 18th century.

112 This is a medal of extraordinary quality, probably produced in some German workshop, and dated to the 17th century. The inscription states SINE MACVLA CONCEPTA (Gorny & Mosch 2014, 76, cat. no. 3328).

113 It was in the Rome workshop that the medals of highest quality were produced for the most significant European pilgrim sites from the 16th and 17th century onwards. It is assumed that the list of makers of medals from the Rome workshop includes members of the well-known medal-making family of Hamerani. The same dies were probably used throughout several decades (Mirnik 1992, 501).

114 Stingl, Belaj 2021.

115 Unlike on medals, St Florian was quite often portrayed on pilgrim paintings and frescoes, for instance. There are quite a lot of depictions of St Florian kept at the National Museum of Slovenia, none of them on medals (despite their medal collection being significant). For this information I thank Darko Knez, the head of the Department for History and Applied Art of the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana.

116 Mayrhofer, Neuhardt, Pinezits 2010, 175, cat. no. 6.643–644.

uz vatru. Diljem kontinentalne Hrvatske, uključujući područje Banovine, prema etnografskim podacima od kraja 19. do druge polovice 20. stoljeća,¹²⁰ sv. Florijanu se u pobožnosti najučestalije dodjeljuje uloga zaštitnika od požara, a u nekim mjestima sisačke Posavine štjuje ga se i kao zaštitnika od opeklina. Kao svojeg zaštitnika na širem sisačkom području, uzimaju ga vatrogasci i kovači stoga ne možemo odbaciti niti mogućnost da se pokojnik iz groba 253 za života možda bavio nekom djelatnošću ili obrtom povezanim s vatrom.¹²¹

Navedeni nabožni predmeti nisu jedini vrijedni nalazi pronađeni u ovome grobu. Blizu zgloba, uz lakatnu kost desne ruke, otprilike u istoj razini gdje su pronađeni i nabožni predmeti, nalazila su se dva para dvopetljastih kopčica (sl. 4). Svaki par kopčica sastoji se od dva dijela, ušice i kukice, koje su u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj poznate i kao „babe i dede“.¹²² Proizvodile su se od metalne žice, u ovom slučaju od bakrene legure, koja se kliještama navijala oko okrugle palice. Pojavljuju se u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća, a koriste se za vezanje steznika i usko krojene odjeće. Upotreba im se širi u 16. i 17. stoljeću, što je razvidno iz različitih mjesta pronalaska u grobovima, od potkoljenice, bedrenih kostiju, razine pojasa, kralježnice pa sve do uz kosti vrata.¹²³ Pretpostavlja se da su kopčice od tanje žice služile za zakopčavanje košulja, a deblje za zakopčavanje kaputa i čarapa.¹²⁴ U Hrvatskoj se redovito pronalaze na brojnim kasnosrednjovjekovnim i na gotovo svim novovjekovnim grobljima.¹²⁵ S obzirom na to da su u grobu 253 pronađene u blizini ručnog zgloba i da su uz njih pronađeni i ostaci tkanine, najvjerojatnije su služile za zakopčavanje rukava košulje.

Sa stražnje strane vrata pokojnika pronađen je rijedak nalaz, kopča za ovratnik (engl. *stock buckle*).¹²⁶ Bila je dijelom muškoga svečanog odijela i odražavala je visok društveno-ekonomski status pojedinca. Naime, tijekom 18. stoljeća, muškarci su oko vrata nosili komad tkanine sličan marami, odnosno preteču današnje kravate, koja je odostraga bila vezana ili zakopčana. Takve su kopče često bile prekrivene kosom ili odjećom, ali su, unatoč tome, redovito bile vrlo raskošne. Izrađivane su od srebra, pozlaćenog ili pokositrenog bakra, tombaka¹²⁷ ili nekih legura kositra. Često su bile dodatno ukrašavane dragim ili poludragim kamenjem i staklom.¹²⁸ Najčešće su izduženoga pravokutnog okvira sa zaobljenim rubovima, kroz sredinu je provučena osovina na kojoj je postavljen još jedan pomični okvir

in a German workshop with a depiction somewhat similar to that on the medal from Gora. An invocation to St Florian in German (S. FLORIANI BITT FÜR UNS) stands on the reverse. Two medals similar to each other with depictions of St Florian on their reverse were discovered at the early-modern cemetery in the village of Maniowoy, in Podhale, in Poland. They were made of wrought copper alloy. Although they were published as heptagon medals, they are actually octagonal, with an elongated top part (eye) that is pierced to accommodate the circlet.¹²⁷ Unlike the depiction on the Gora medal, the medals from Maniowoy have depictions of St Florian holding the flag in his right hand while he is putting out the flaming house with a bucket in his left hand. The saint's facial features and beard are clearly visible. He also has a halo around his head. There is an inscription S. FLORIAN running along the right edge of the medal. Both of these medals have been dated to the 17th century. They are pilgrim medals, since they have a depiction of the Madonna and Child from Passau on their obverse.¹²⁸ Due to the scarcity of publications of medals with a depiction of St Florian, as well as the scarcity of comparative data, ethnographic data on devotions and the veneration of saints can help us shed some light on the meaning of the medal from Gora, despite its being more recent. St Florian is usually venerated as a protector from fire, but also from floods, storms and droughts.¹²⁹ He is the patron saint of firefighters, blacksmiths, potters, tile-stove manufacturers and other professions that involve fire. According to ethnographic information from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th,¹²⁰ across continental Croatia, including the Banovina area, St Florian is most commonly venerated as a protector from fires, while the inhabitants of some settlements in Posavina around Sisak also venerate him as a protector from burns. All around Sisak, he is also venerated by firemen and blacksmiths as their protector. Therefore, we cannot rule out the possibility that the deceased individual from grave 253 could have been a member of a profession or craft linked with fire during his lifetime.¹²¹

The abovementioned devotional objects are not the only valuable finds discovered in this grave. There were two pairs of two-part double-looped clasps near the wrist, alongside the ulna of the right arm, around the same level at which the devotional objects were discovered (Fig. 4). Every pair consists of two parts, a hook and an eye, known in continental Croatia as 'grandpas and grandmas'.¹²² They were made of metal wire, copper alloy in this

120 Belaj M. 2006, 69, 125–128, 158–159.

121 Stingl, Belaj 2021, 190.

122 Jedna kukica je nažalost propala prilikom konzervatorsko-restauratorskog postupka. Ušice su dugačke oko 16 mm, široke oko 13, a žica je promjera malo većeg od milimetra. Kukica je dimenzija 15,8 x 9,9 x 7,9 mm, a žica je nešto deblja nego kod ušice, oko 1,3 mm promjera. Ušice teže 0,34 i 0,44 g, a kukica je nešto teža, 0,72 g.

123 Janeš 2017, 54–56.

124 Azinović Bebek 2009c, 471.

125 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 94; Gjurašin 1997, 169; Burić 2000, 19; Pleše, Azinović Bebek 2005, 301; Belaj 2006, 284–285; Demo 2007, 73–74; Perkić 2010, 247; Krznar 2012, 463–464; 2016, 93; Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 217; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017; Janeš 2017, 54–56; Manenica 2017, 193–194; Perkić 2017, 211; Vrkić 2017, 105; Bradara 2019, 92; Vučić 2020, 494, kat. br. 75; Tomasović 2022, 88, 103, T. 19: 5.

126 Dimenzije kopče su 36,8 x 33,1 x 4,9 mm, a težina je 8,32 g.

127 Riječ je o leguri bakra i cinka koja je često oponašala zlato.

128 White 2009, 250.

127 In Croatia, there are well-known medals in this shape with a depiction of St Benedict (Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 14: 188–190, 15: 197, 202–203, 206; Stingl 2017, 66, Pl. 3: 21).

128 Chudzińska 1998, 68–69, cat. no. 6, 74–75, cat. no. 13, Pl. 23.

129 Schaubert, Schindler 1995, 204–205; Gorys 2003, 131.

120 Belaj M. 2006, 69, 125–128, 158–159.

121 Stingl, Belaj 2021, 190.

122 Unfortunately, one eye perished during conservation-restoration work. The eyes are around 16 mm long and 13 mm wide, while the wire diameter is slightly above one millimetre. The hook's dimensions are 15,8 x 9,9 x 7,9 mm, and the wire is somewhat thicker than the eye's, around 1,3 mm in diameter. The eyes weigh 0,34 and 0,44 g respectively, while the hook is somewhat heavier: 0,72 g.



SLIKA 4. Dvopetljaste kopčice pronađene u blizini zgloba pokojnika iz groba 253 (snimio H. Jambreč).

FIGURE 4. Two-part double-looped clasps discovered near the wrist of the deceased individual in grave 253 (photo by H. Jambreč).

drugačijeg oblika s trnovima za kopčanje i zakovicama pomoću kojih je kopča pričvršćena za tkaninu. Broj trnova i zakovica na takvim kopčama uvijek se podudara, a najčešće je riječ o tri ili četiri. Ross Whitehead takve kopče za ovratnike datira u raspon od osamdesetak godina, od 1720-ih do 1790-ih.¹²⁹ Primjerak iz Gore ima po tri zakovice i tri trna, pri čemu su trnovi nejednake duljine (sl. 5). Desnom trnu nedostaje vrh, a središnji je nešto duži od lijevoga. Zanimljivo je što je kopča izrađena od dva različita materijala. Baza i trnovi najvjerojatnije su izrađeni od tombaka, jeftinije imitacije zlata, dok je ostatak kopče vjerojatno od bakra ili neke njegove legure. S obzirom na to da su mjestimice vidljive sivkaste mrlje, lako je moguće da je riječ o pokositrenom bakru. Pomični okvir sa zakovicama je trapezoidnog oblika, dok je na glavnom, pravokutnom okviru stražnja strana glatka i ravna, a prednja zaobljena. Uz kopču su pronađeni i ostaci tkanine, najvjerojatnije ovratnika. Nedavno je u okolici Vinkovaca, izvan jasnoga arheološkog konteksta, pronađena slična kopča za ovratnik, također s po tri zakovice i trna.¹³⁰ Ulomak još jedne slične kopče za ovratnik pronađen je prilikom arheoloških istraživanja groblja uz crkvu Svetog Teodora u Puli, a jedan primjerak kopče za ovratnik, pronađen u samostanu klarisa, čuva se u Muzeju Grada Zagreba.¹³¹ Riječ je, dakle, o jedinim zasad poznatim nalazima ove vrste na prostoru današnje Republike Hrvatske.

Slijedom svega navedenoga, neupitno je da je pokojnik iz groba 253 u Gori imao težak život, pogotovo u djetinjstvu, o čemu nam najbolje svjedoče hipoplastični defekti na zubima. Osteoartritis, ankiloza i Schmorlovi defekti upućuju nas na to da je puno i teško radio, a periostitis je također možda posljedica neke nezgode na radnome mjestu. S druge pak strane, u grobu su pronađeni predmeti koji izlaze iz uobičajenog repertoara pa si ih vjerojatno nije mogao priuštiti običan seljak niti siromašniji građanin. Uočeni nesrazmjer između antropološke slike pokojnika i kvalitete nalaza pronađenih u grobu, vodi nas prema pretpo-

case. It was wound around a round baton with wires. They appeared in the second half of the 15th century and were used for tying corsets and tight clothing. Their use expanded in the 16th and 17th centuries, as is evident from various positions in which they are discovered in graves, near the shins, tibiae, pelvis and spine, and up to the neck bones.¹²³ It is assumed that thin wire clasps were used for hooking up shirts, while thick wire clasps were used for hooking up coats and socks.¹²⁴ They are often discovered at numerous late-medieval cemeteries, and almost all early-modern ones, in Croatia.¹²⁵ Given that, in grave 253, they were discovered near the wrist and alongside remains of fabric, they were probably used for hooking up shirt sleeves.

On the back of the deceased individual's neck, a rare find was discovered: a stock buckle.¹²⁶ It was part of a male formal suit, and it reflected the high social and economic status of the individual. During the 18th century, men wore a piece of fabric similar to a scarf, i.e. the precursor of the present-day tie, around their necks. This scarf was tied or hooked at the back. These buckles were often covered by hair or clothes, but they were quite lavish, despite that. They were made of silver, gilded or tinned copper, tombak,¹²⁷ or certain tin alloys. They were often additionally decorated with precious and semi-precious stones, as well as glass.¹²⁸ They usually had elongated rectangular frames with rounded edges and an axis going through the middle. They also had another differently-shaped movable frame, with tongues for hooking and studs that attach the buckle to the fabric. The number of tongues and studs on such buckles always matches; there are most often three or four of them. Ross Whitehead has dated such stock buckles to a period spanning eight decades, from the 1720s to the 1790s.¹²⁹ The stock buckle from Gora has three studs and tongues; the tongues are of unequal lengths (Fig. 5). The right tongue is missing its tip, but the central tongue is somewhat longer than the left one. What is interesting is that the stock buckle was made of two different materials: the base and the tongues were probably made of tombak, an affordable imitation of gold, while the rest of the buckle is probably made of copper or one of its alloys. Given that there are sporadic visible greyish stains, it is quite possible that this is tinned copper. The movable frame with studs is trapezoidal, while the main, rectangular frame's back is smooth and straight, and the front is rounded. Remains of fabric, probably of the collar, were discovered alongside the stock buckle. A similar stock buckle, also with three studs and tongues, was recently discovered with no archaeological context in the vicinity of Vinkovci.¹³⁰ A fragment of another similar stock buckle was dis-

129 Whitehead 1996, 112.

130 Na podacima zahvaljujemo ravnatelju Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci Hrvoju Vuliću.

131 Bradara forthcoming.

123 Janeš 2017, 54–56.

124 Azinović Bebek 2009c, 471.

125 Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, 94; Gjurašin 1997, 169; Burić 2000, 19; Pleše, Azinović Bebek 2005, 301; Belaj 2006, 284–285; Demo 2007, 73–74; Perkić 2010, 247; Krznar 2012, 463–464; 2016, 93; Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 217; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017; Janeš 2017, 54–56; Manenica 2017, 193–194; Perkić 2017, 211; Vrkić 2017, 105; Belaj, Stingl 2019, 92; Vučić 2020, 494, cat. no. 75; Tomasović 2022, 88, 103, Pl. 19: 5.

126 The dimensions of the buckle are 36.8 x 33.1 x 4.9 mm. It weighs 8.32 g.

127 Tombak is an alloy of copper and zinc often used in imitation of gold.

128 White 2009, 250.

129 Whitehead 1996, 112.

130 We thank Hrvoje Vulić, director of the Vinkovci Municipal Museum, for this data.



SLIKA 5. Kopča za ovratnik pronađena sa stražnje strane vrata pokojnika iz groba 253 (snimio H. Jambrek).

FIGURE 5. Stock buckle discovered at the back of the neck of the deceased individual in grave 253 (photo by H. Jambrek).

stavci da se pokojnik iz groba 253 uspio obogatiti tijekom svoga života. S obzirom na provenijenciju kopče za ovratnik, možda se obogatio podalje od Gore, negdje na zapadu, gdje ju je mogao i nabaviti. Iz istoga kulturnog kruga zacijelo dolazi i medaljica sv. Florijana. Iako je teško uspoređivati društveni sustav u novovjekovnoj Europi s onim u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, zanimljiv je podatak da su sposobni robovi krajem 18. stoljeća mogli doći do važnijih radnih pozicija i da su si mogli priuštiti i luksuznu odjeću. Takav je primjer roba Carla Coxa, koji je bio glavni mlinar na plantaži Whitehall u Marylandu. Iako je imao i svoju kuću, škrinju s vrijednostima držao je na radnome mjestu. Nažalost, jedne noći mlin je u potpunosti izgorio, nakon čega je provedena istraga čiji su zapisi do danas ostali sačuvani. Među ostalim, zapisan je i sadržaj Carlove škrinje u kojoj je držao sve svoje vrijednosti, knjigu o mlinovima, jednu zlatnu gvineju, nekoliko srebrnih kovanica manje nominale, tri britve, dvije kopče za cipele, srebrnu manžetu za rukav košulje te svu svečanu odjeću, među kojom se posebno isticao kaput od smeđeg sukna sa srebrnim gumbima koji je nosio nedjeljom. Upečatljiv je i zapis da je nesretni Carl cijeli dan proveo na zgarištu, otprilike na mjestu gdje je držao svoju škrinju, tražeći gvineju, srebrne kovanice ili još neki vrijedan predmet. Iz pepela je uspio izvući srebrne gume i kopču za ovratnik uz još neke sitnice.¹³² Podatak da si je čak i sposoban rob mogao nabaviti luksuzne proizvode, kao što je kopča za ovratnik, te primjer pokojnika iz groba 253 u Gori upućuju na nužan oprez prilikom interpretiranja društvenog, kulturnog ili ekonomskog identiteta pokojnikā isključivo na temelju nalaza pronađenih u grobovima; potrebno je sliku upotpuniti antropološkim podacima koji često otkrivaju manje očekivanu dimenziju.

covered during the archaeological excavation of the cemetery alongside St Theodore's Church in Pula, while one stock buckle, discovered in a Clarissine monastery, is kept in the Zagreb City Museum.¹³¹ Therefore, alongside the Gora stock buckle, these are the only finds of this type in the area of the present-day Republic of Croatia known thus far.

Given all the above-mentioned, it is clear that the deceased individual from grave 253 in Gora had a difficult life, especially during his childhood, which is specifically testified to by the enamel hypoplasia on his teeth. Osteoarthritis, ankylosis and Schmorl's nodes indicate that he laboured extensively and hard, while periostitis could also be the result of an occupational accident. On the other hand, the objects discovered in the grave are quite uncommon, and an ordinary peasant or a poor townsman probably would not be able to afford them. The disparity noticed between the deceased individual's anthropological condition and the type and quality of the finds discovered in the grave leads to the assumption that the deceased individual from grave 253 managed to become rich during his lifetime. Given the stock buckle's provenance, he might have got rich far away from Gora, in the West, where he could have obtained the stock buckle. The St Florian medal certainly originates from the same culture. Although it is quite difficult to compare the social system of early-modern Europe with that in the United States of America, it is interesting that competent enslaved individuals could gain significant posts, which resulted in their being able to afford more luxurious clothes, as well, at the end of the 18th century. Carl Cox is an example of that. He was an enslaved individual, the head miller at the Whitehall Plantation in Maryland. Although he had his own house, he kept a chest with his valuables at his workplace. Unfortunately, the mill burned to the ground one night, after which an investigation ensued, records of which have been preserved to this day. Among other things, the contents of Carl's chest, where he kept his valuables, were recorded; the mill book, one gold guinea, several silver coins of low value, three razors, two shoe buckles, a silver sleeve button, and all his formal clothing, with the light-brown broadcloth coat with silver buttons he wore on Sundays especially standing out. What is also remarkable is the note that the unfortunate Carl spent the whole day at the site of the fire searching for the guinea, silver coins, or some other valuable object in the area around the place where he kept his chest. He managed to salvage the silver buttons, stock buckle and some other small items from the ashes.¹³² The fact that even a competent slave could acquire luxury items, such as the stock buckle, and the example of the deceased individual from grave 253 in Gora indicate that the interpretation of the social, cultural or economic identity of the deceased based exclusively on finds discovered in graves requires due caution. This image needs to be completed with anthropologic data that often reveal something that might not have been expected.

132 Sprinkle Jr. 1991, 91–92.

131 Bradara forthcoming.

132 Sprinkle Jr. 1991, 91–92.

GROB 264

Muškarac, koji je u trenutku smrti bio star između 16 i 18 godina, pokopan je u grob 264.¹³³ Većina kostiju ruku i lubanje nisu sačuvane jer je grob bio presječen kasnijim ukopom, ali je vidljivo da je pokojnik bio položen na leđa s glavom prema zapadu (sl. 6). Jedini nalaz u grobu jest sitna medaljica (T. 1: 4)¹³⁴ pronađena na lijevoj strani prsa. Ovalnog je oblika s okomitom ušicom, rub joj je profiliran i na licu i na naličju, a izrađena je od lijevane slitine bakra. S obzirom na to da je medaljica poprilično izlizana, prikazi su slabo vidljivi. Na licu je prikaz Svete Euharistije: u gornjem dijelu medaljice vidljiva je hostija iz koje isijava deset zraka. Ispod hostije, u sredini, nazire se kalež, a oko njega sa svake strane po jedna figura, najvjerojatnije anđeli. Presveti oltarski sakrament, odnosno Sveta Euharistija, vrhunac svoje pobožnosti izvan mise doseže uvođenjem blagdana Tijelova u 13. stoljeću. U Kölnu se uskoro javljaju svečane euharistijske procesije koje se odatle ubrzo šire i u druge krajeve.¹³⁵ Prikaz Svete Euharistije relativno je čest na svetačkim medaljicama, a dolazi u kombinaciji s prikazom Bezgrešne na naličju. Zanimljivo je da je većinom riječ o medaljicama manjih dimenzija, gotovo svih oblika: okrugle, ovalne, osmerokutne i vitičaste. Medaljice s prikazom Svete Euharistije u Hrvatskoj pronađene su u Kotišini iznad Makarske, Kruševu kod Obrovca, Mihovljanu, Puli, Remetama, Rijeci, Zadru i na još jednemu nepoznatom lokalitetu, a datiraju se u 17. i 18. stoljeće.¹³⁶ Na naličju se nalazi vrlo jednostavan prikaz sućutne Bogorodice (*Pietà*). Isusovo mrtvo tijelo, s nogama savijenim pod pravim kutom, položeno je u Marijinom krilu s glavom otprilike u predjelu njezina desnog ramena. Svetokrugovi se naziru oko njihovih glava. Prikaz *Pietà* ili Bogorodice Sućutne (ucviljene), koja tuguje nad mrtvim Kristom, nastaje na njemačkom prostoru krajem 13. stoljeća.¹³⁷ Naziva se još i *Vesperbild*, a u osnovi je izrazito povezan s pučkim vjerovanjima.¹³⁸ Takvim se „ikonografskim rješenjima željelo potaknuti promatrače na dublje suosjećanje i iskrenu pobožnost prema Kristovoj muc i boli, za što se valjalo osloniti na Mariju, najmoćniju posrednicu.“¹³⁹ *Pietà* na hodočasničkim medaljicama najčešće simbolizira dva hodočasnička mjesta, Taferl i Mariaschein.¹⁴⁰ Ne računajući njih, prikaz Bogorodice sućutne nije pretjerano čest. U Hrvatskoj ih je, uz medaljicu iz Gore, za sada pronađeno još šest, po dvije na grobljima u Puli i Rijeci te po jedna u Kamenškom i Remetama. Na groblju Samostana Svetog Teodora u Puli s prikazom *Pietà* na licu pronađena je po jedna osmerokutna i ovalna medaljica. Vrlo je lijep prikaz na osmerokutnoj medaljici

GRAVE 264

A man aged between 16 and 18 at the time of his death was buried in grave 264.¹³³ Since the grave was intersected by a later burial, most of the bones of his arms and skull have not been preserved, but it is clearly visible that the deceased individual was placed on his back with his head to the west (Fig. 6). The only find from this grave is a small medal (Pl. 1: 4)¹³⁴ discovered on the left side of his chest. It is oval with a vertical eye, it has a profiled edge on both the obverse and reverse, and it was made of cast copper alloy. Given that this medal is quite worn, the depictions on it are barely visible. The obverse has a depiction of the Eucharist: the top part of the medal has visible Sacramental bread with ten rays radiating from it. Underneath the Sacramental bread, in the middle, a faint depiction of a chalice can be seen with one figure, probably of an angel, on each of its sides. The Most Blessed Sacrament, the Eucharist, reached its peak with the introduction of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the 13th century. Soon after that, ceremonial Eucharistic processions appeared in Köln, from where they quickly spread to other areas.¹³⁵ The depiction of the Eucharist is relatively common on medals; it often appears in combination with the image of Mary Immaculata on the reverse. Interestingly, these medals are mostly of small dimensions but can be found in almost all shapes: round, oval, octagonal and tendril-shaped. In Croatia, medals with an image of the Eucharist have been discovered in Kotišina above Makarska, Kruševu near Obrovac, Mihovljan, Pula, Remete, Rijeka, Zadar and one more unknown site. They are dated to the 17th and 18th centuries.¹³⁶ There is a very simple image of Our Lady of Compassion (*Pietà*) on the reverse of this medal. Jesus' dead body, with his legs bent under the right angle, is positioned in Mary's lap with his head somewhere near her right shoulder. Haloes can faintly be seen around their heads. The *Pietà*, or the image of Our Lady of Compassion mourning the deceased Christ, was developed at the end of the 13th century somewhere in Germany.¹³⁷ Another name for it is *Vesperbild*, and it is deeply linked to popular piety.¹³⁸ Such iconographic solutions were intended to inspire the observers to feel deep compassion and genuine piety in relation to Christ's passion and pain, for which Mary was the best intermediary.¹³⁹ On pilgrim medals, the *Pietà* usually symbolizes one of two pilgrim sites: Taferl and Mariaschein.¹⁴⁰ Apart from them, the depiction of Our Lady of Compassion is not very common. In Croatia, seven of them have been discovered thus far, including the medal from Gora; two each at the cemeteries in Pula and Rijeka, one

133 Na zubima donje čeljusti su mu, kao i kod pokojnika iz groba 253, vidljivi hipoplastični defekti, a na četiri prsna i tri slabinska kralješka prisutni su Schmorlovi defekti.

134 Dimenzije su joj 15,7 x 8,3 x 1,5 (ušica 3,2) mm, a težina 0,47 g.

135 Škarica 2001, 315.

136 Krnjak 2008, 150–151, sl. 21a; 2010, 36, kat. br. 15, 39, kat. br. 20, 40, kat. br. 21, 50, kat. br. 36; Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 23: 323, 26: 363, 368; Vrkić 2014, 258, kat. br. 5, 260, kat. br. 11; 2017, 176, kat. br. 8; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, T. 2: 4, 5: 13, 15–16, T. 11: 1; Tomasović 2022, 88, 90, T. 11: 3, T. 12: 3.

137 Davies et al. 2008, 427.

138 Fisković 1986, 41.

139 Pintarić, Tulić 2018, 62.

140 Azinović Bebek 2012, 103.

133 As in the deceased individual from grave 253, the teeth of his lower jaw reveal visible enamel hypoplasia, and four thoracic and three lumbar vertebrae reveal Schmorl's nodes.

134 Its dimensions are 15.7 x 8.3 x 1.5 (the eye is 3.2) mm. It weighs 0.47 g.

135 Škarica 2001, 315.

136 Krnjak 2008, 150–151, Fig. 21a; 2010, 36, cat. no. 15, 39, cat. no. 20, 40, cat. no. 21, 50, cat. no. 36; Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 23: 323, 26: 363, 368; Vrkić 2014, 258, cat. no. 5, 260, cat. no. 11; 2017, 176, cat. no. 8; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, Pl. 2: 4, 5: 13, 15–16, 11: 1; Tomasović 2022, 88, 90, Pl. 11: 3, 12: 3.

137 Davies et al. 2008, 427.

138 Fisković 1986, 41.

139 Pintarić, Tulić 2018, 62.

140 Azinović Bebek 2012, 103.



SLIKA 6. Kostur iz groba 264 (Arhiva Instituta za arheologiju).

FIGURE 6. Skeleton from grave 264 (Archive of the Institute of Archaeology).

na kojem su, osim Marije i Isusa, vidljiva i dva anđela sa svijećama. Naličje krase prikaz sv. Marije Magdalene. Ovalna je medaljica naknadno probušena u gornjem dijelu, a zanimljiva je jer Mariju krune dva anđela.¹⁴¹ Prikaz sveca, najvjerojatnije Antuna Padovanskog, nalazi se na naličju.¹⁴² Sv. Antun Padovanski zasigurno je na naličju jedine kovane medaljice s prikazom Sućutne Bogorodice do sada pronađene u Hrvatskoj. Riječ je o osmerokutnoj medaljici iz Remeta, a datirana je u 17. ili 18. stoljeće.¹⁴³ Prilikom istraživanja pavlinskog samostana u Kamenskom pronađena je mala, ovalna medaljica s vrlo jednostavnim prikazom Sućutne Bogorodice na naličju. Lice medaljice krasio je prikaz hodočasničke Marije u zvonolikom plaštu, najvjerojatnije iz Altöttinga.¹⁴⁴ Obje medaljice, pronađene na groblju Pul Vele Crikve u Rijeci, ovalnog su oblika s okomitom ušicom, a datiraju se u 17. stoljeće. Najvjerojatnije su rađene iz istog kalupa, a na naličju imaju prikaz sv. Ivana Krstitelja koji krsti Isusa. Prikaz *Pietà* na licu spomenutih medaljica je specifičan jer je Isus u Marijinom krilu prikazan kao dijete, a ne uobičajeno, kao odrastao čovjek.¹⁴⁵ Ovakve male medaljice ili neznatno veće, mogle su biti dio krunica. U tom slučaju, sve su medaljice, osim završne, imale po dvije ušice, kako bi se mogle povezati u lančić krunice, a služile su za moljenje žalosnih otajstava. Na Mihovljanu ih je pronađeno pet, a sve su imale Mariju od sedam žalosti na licu, a na naličju različite prikaze muke i smrti Kristove.¹⁴⁶ S obzirom na veličinu medaljice i prikaz *Pietà*, koji je usko povezan sa žalosnom Marijom, ne možemo otkloniti niti mogućnost da

in Kamensko, and one in Remete. At the cemetery of St Theodore in Pula, one octagonal and one oval medal were discovered with the *Pietà* on their obverse. The depiction on the octagonal medal is very nice; other than Mary and Jesus, there are also two visible angels holding candles. The reverse contains a depiction of St Mary Magdalene. The oval medal was subsequently pierced in the top part. What makes it interesting is a depiction of Mary being crowned by two angels.¹⁴¹ There is a depiction of a saint, probably Anthony of Padua, on the reverse.¹⁴² There is definitely a depiction of St Anthony of Padua on the reverse of the only wrought medal with a depiction of Our Lady of Compassion discovered in Croatia thus far. It is an octagonal medal from Remete, dated to the 17th or 18th century.¹⁴³ A small oval medal with a very simple depiction of Our Lady of Compassion on the reverse was discovered during the excavation of the Pauline monastery in Kamensko. The medal's obverse was decorated with a depiction of Mary from a pilgrim site, probably Altötting, wearing a bell-shaped cloak.¹⁴⁴ Both medals discovered at the Pul Vele Crikve cemetery in Rijeka are oval with a vertical eye and are dated to the 17th century. They were probably produced in the same die; they both have a depiction of St John the Baptist baptizing Jesus on the reverse. The *Pietà* on the obverse of these medals is specific, since Jesus in Mary's lap is depicted as a child rather than as an adult, as is customary.¹⁴⁵ Medals of this small size, or slightly larger, could have been parts of rosaries. In that case, all medals aside from the last one had two eyes so they could be connected

141 Ta medaljica je jedina za sada poznata medaljica na prostoru Hrvatske s prikazom sućutne Bogorodice koju krune dva anđela. Marija je okrunjena još samo na medaljici iz Remeta na kojoj nisu prikazani anđeli. Na ostalim ovdje navedenim medaljicama kruna nije prikazana, a anđeli su, kao što je već navedeno, sa svijećama u rukama vidljivi na osmerokutnoj medaljici iz Pule.

142 Krnjak 2010, 38–39, kat. br. 18–19.

143 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 25: 354.

144 Perkić 2010, 242, 268, T. 4: 8.

145 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

146 Azinović Bebek 2012, 102, T. 25: 338–342.

141 This is the only medal known thus far in Croatia with a depiction of Our Lady of Compassion being crowned by two angels. The only other medal with a crowned Mary is the one from Remete, but without the angels. Other above-mentioned medals do not depict the crown, while angels holding candles can be seen on the octagonal medal from Pula.

142 Krnjak 2010, 38–39, cat. no. 18–19.

143 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 25: 354.

144 Perkić 2010, 242, 268, Pl. 4: 8.

145 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

je medaljica iz groba 264 primarno bila dio krunice, ali je potom sekundarno nošena samostalno kao privjesak.¹⁴⁷ Što se samih prikaza na medaljici tiče, najbližnja joj je mala, okrugla medaljica, pronađena na groblju Pul Vele Crikve u Rijeci, koja na licu ima prikaz Svete Euharistije, dok je na naličju prikaz *Pietà* s kamenim križem u pozadini, koji je simbol hodočašća u Taferl.¹⁴⁸ Zbog već spomenute izlizanosti prikaza, ne možemo biti sigurni je li kameni križ bio i na medaljici iz groba 264 u Gori. Naša pretpostavka je da nije jer su hodočasničke medaljice najčešće nešto većih dimenzija i kvalitetnije izrade.

GROB 297

U grobu 297 bio je pokopan muškarac u dobi između 18 i 25 godina. Za života je najvjerojatnije patio od mnogih bolesti, a suđeci prema dijelu patologija je zaključeno da je, poput ostalih ovdje analiziranih pokojnika, i on mnogo i teško radio.¹⁴⁹ U grob je bio položen na leđa s glavom prema zapadu. Lijeva ruka bila mu je položena na trbuhu, a desna na prsima, ali prilikom bilo kakve interpretacije treba biti oprezan jer se čini da je nekim naknadnim ukopom blago pomaknuta desna strana pokojnika. U blizini kostiju podlaktice lijeve ruke, na desnoj strani zdjelice pronađen je predmet koji svojim četvrtastim oblikom podsjeća na brevar, što je dobro vidljivo na nekim fotografijama nalaza *in situ* (sl. 7). Nažalost, nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskog postupka predmet je neprepoznatljiv. Sačuvana su dva nešto veća ulomka kože¹⁵⁰ i ukupno šest metalnih ulomaka, većinom željeznih i nešto manjih ulomaka bakrene legure. Jedan željezni ulomak izgleda poput vrha naprstka. Brevari su najčešće bili izrađivani od kože, metala (slitina bakra, srebro, kositar), drva, kartona ili brokata, a često su korišteni i ostaci raznih materijala, koji su potom spajani kako bi se dobio šareni izgled.¹⁵¹ U Hrvatskoj je zasad poznato nekoliko brevara izrađenih kombinacijom kože i metala, a pronađeni su na grobljima Pul Vele

to the chain of the rosary. They were used for praying Sorrowful mysteries. Five of these were discovered at Mihovljan, all of which had Our Lady of Sorrows on their obverse and various depictions of Christ's passion and death on their reverse.¹⁴⁶ Given the size of the medal and the depiction in the style of the *Pietà*, closely linked to Our Lady of Sorrows, it is possible that the medal from grave 264 was originally part of a rosary and was later worn on its own as a pendant in its secondary use.¹⁴⁷ Regarding the depictions on the medal, the most similar are those on the small round medal discovered at Pul Vele Crikve cemetery in Rijeka. The medal has a depiction of the Eucharist on the obverse and the *Pietà* with a stone cross in the background, the symbol of pilgrimage to Taferl on the reverse.¹⁴⁸ Due to the abovementioned poor condition of the depiction, we cannot be certain whether or not there was a stone cross on the medal from grave 264 in Gora, as well. We assume that there was not, since such pilgrim-style medals are usually of somewhat larger dimensions and higher quality of production.

GRAVE 297

A man between 18 and 25 years of age at the time of death was buried in grave 297. He probably suffered from many illnesses during his lifetime, and some of the pathologies revealed that he also laboured hard and extensively, like the other deceased individuals analysed in this paper.¹⁴⁹ He was laid on his back with his head to the west. His left arm was placed on his stomach, and his right arm on his chest. Any interpretation of the position of the arms should be approached cautiously, since it seems that a later burial slightly moved the right side of this deceased individual. An object reminiscent of a breverl in its rectangular shape (as can clearly be seen in some *in situ* photographs) was discovered near the forearm bones of the left arm, on the right side of the pelvis (Fig. 7). Unfortunately, after the conservation-restoration work, this object is unrecognizable. Two leather fragments of considerable size were preserved,¹⁵⁰ alongside six fragments of metal, mostly iron, and several small fragments of copper alloy. One iron fragment looks like the tip of a thimble. Breverls were usually made of leather, metal (copper alloys, silver, tin), wood, cardboard or brocade. The use of the remains of various other materials was also common; they were linked together to achieve a multicoloured look.¹⁵¹ There are several brev-

147 Zahvaljujemo dr. sc. Ani Azinović Bebek iz Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda koja nas je upozorila na tu mogućnost.

148 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, T. 2: 4.

149 Kao i kod preostala tri pokojnika analizirana u ovom radu, i na njegovim kralješčima vidljivi su Schmorlovi defekti. Prisutni su na šest prsnih i pet slabinskih kralježaka. Hipoplastični defekti prisutni su na zubima. Na desnoj orbiti je blaga zarasla *cribra orbitalia*. Ona se smatra posljedicom anemije, odnosno slabokrvnosti, a morfološki se očituje po pojavi šupljikave kosti na gornjim svodovima orbita (Huss-Ashmore, Goodman, Armelagos 1982). Osim *cribre orbitalie* na slabokrvnost bi mogao upućivati i makroporozitet, koji je vidljiv na anteriornoj strani četiri prsna kralješka. S obzirom na to da je riječ o pokazateljima koji najčešće ne upućuju na nasljednu slabokrvnost, vrlo je lako moguće da je ona posljedica nekvalitetne i slabe prehrane muškarca iz groba 297. Pokojnik je možda imao i povišeni kranijalni tlak na što upućuju hipervaskularizacija i izražene meningealne arterije na lijevoj tjemenoj kosti. Na još nekim kostima vidljivi su blagi upalni procesi u obliku periostitisa te lezije.

150 Najveći kožni ulomak dimenzija je 21,7 x 19,3 x 0,5 mm, a težina svih ulomaka zajedno iznosi 0,87 g.

151 Böhne 1967, 209; Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 284–285.

146 Azinović Bebek 2012, 102, Pl. 25: 338–342.

147 We thank Dr Ana Azinović Bebek, of the Croatian Conservation Institute, for warning us of this possibility.

148 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, Pl. 2: 4.

149 His vertebrae also reveal Schmorl's nodes, just as in the three other deceased individuals analysed in this paper. There is enamel hypoplasia on his teeth. The right orbital bone has a mild healed *cribra orbitalia*. It is considered to be the consequence of anaemia, and it is morphologically revealed as the appearance of spongy bones on the top arches of the orbits (Huss-Ashmore, Goodman, Armelagos 1982). Aside from *cribra orbitalia*, macroporosity could be another indicator of anaemia, visible on the anterior side of four thoracic vertebrae. Given that these indicators usually do not indicate genetic anaemia, it is quite possible that it is a consequence of poor, low-quality diet of the man from grave 297. This deceased individual might also have had intracranial hypertension, as indicated by the hypervascularization and enlarged meningeal arteries on his left parietal bone. Mild infections are visible on some other bones in the form of periostitis and lesions.

150 The dimensions of the largest leather fragment are 21.7 x 19.3 x 0.5 mm, and the weight of all fragments combined is 0.87 g.

151 Böhne 1967, 209; Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 284–285.



SLIKA 7. Kostur iz groba 297 i detalj ostataka brevara *in situ* (snimila F. Sirovica).

FIGURE 7. Skeleton from grave 297 and a detail of the remains of the breverl *in situ* (photo by F. Sirovica).

Crikve u Rijeci, oko crkve Rođenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Sveticama i oko crkve Svetog Nikole biskupa u Žumberku.¹⁵² Naša pretpostavka je da bi i predmet pronađen u grobu 297 mogao biti brevar, ali to ne možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi jer, osim što nije uspješno prošao konzervatorsko-restauratorski postupak, unutar njega se nije nalazio (ili nije sačuvan) ni jedan nabožni predmet ili papir s blagoslovima i/ili zazivima svecima ili grafičkim prikazima svetaca, koji su redovito pohranjeni u njihovoj unutrašnjosti.

Nabožni predmeti pronađeni u zapunama i u slojevima

U zapunama grobova i slojevima zabilježenim tijekom arheoloških istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori pronađene su još tri medaljice i jedan križ te četiri cijela i dva polovična zrna krunice. Sve tri medaljice su svetačke, izrađene od slitine bakra, dvije kovanjem, a jedna lijevanjem. Kovane medaljice nose prikaz sv. Benedikta. Ovalnog su oblika, a ni jedna nema sačuvanu ušicu, koja je na obje bila paralelna.¹⁵³ Vrlo su rijetka novovjekovna katolička groblja u Hrvatskoj ili ostatku Europe na kojima nije pronađena barem jedna medaljica sv. Benedikta, a razloga za to ima nekoliko. Kao prvo, Benedikt je u 17. i 18. stoljeću bio omiljeni svetac zaštitnik. Među ostalim, smatran je zaštitnikom od kuge koja je stoljećima morila europsko stanovništvo, a unatoč njezinoj jenjavanju u većem dijelu Europe tijekom 17. stoljeća, zbog blizine Osmanskog Carstva, i dalje je prijetila te bila učestala na prostoru današnje Republike Hrvatske.¹⁵⁴ Rasprostranjenost i brojnost medaljica sv. Benedik-

erls made of a combination of leather and metal known from Croatia at this moment. They were discovered at the cemetery of Pul Vele Crikve in Rijeka, around the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Svetice, and around the Church of St Nicholas the Bishop in Žumberak.¹⁵² It is our assumption that the item from grave 297 could also be a breverl, but we cannot claim that with certainty, since, besides the conservation-restoration being unsuccessful, there were no devotional objects or papers with blessings and/or invocations of saints or graphic images of saints, which are usually stored inside – or, at least, none of them have been preserved.

Devotional objects discovered in backfills and layers of the cemetery

Three more medals, one cross, four whole rosary beads and two fragmented ones were discovered in the backfills of graves and layers recorded during archaeological excavation of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora. All three of the medals have depictions of saints on them and were made of copper alloy; two were wrought, and one cast. The wrought medals have depictions of St Benedict on them. They are oval, and neither of them has an eye (which was parallel on both of them) preserved.¹⁵³ Early-modern Catholic cemeteries in Croatia, as in the rest of Europe, that have not yielded a single medal of St Benedict are very rare. The reasons for that are numerous. First of all, St Benedict was a favourite patron saint of the 17th and 18th centuries. He was, among other things, considered to be a protector against the plague, which was troubling the European population. Despite the abatement of the plague on much of the continent during the 17th century, due to the proximity of the Ottoman

152 Azinović Bebek 2010, 31, kat. br. 9; Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 294, kat. br. 2, 295, kat. br. 8; Stingl 2017, 95, T. 10: 67.

153 Zbog načina proizvodnje, kovane medaljice uvijek imaju paralelnu ušicu.

154 Azinović Bebek 2012, 73. Sanitarni kordoni i lazareti su se zbog toga počeli prebacivati s obale prema unutrašnjosti, u dalmatinsko zaleđe, ali i u pogranični prostor Vojne krajine (Buklijaš 2002, 90–94).

152 Azinović Bebek 2010, 31, cat. no. 9; Azinović Bebek, Filipec 2015, 294, cat. no. 2, 295, cat. no. 8; Stingl 2017, 95, Pl. 10: 67.

153 Due to the way they are manufactured, wrought medals always have a parallel eye.

ta se, osim omiljenošću među pukom i zaštitničkom ulogom,¹⁵⁵ može objasniti i većom dostupnošću širim masama jer su se najčešće proizvodile kovanjem. Naime, pošto je kovanje omogućavalo masovnu proizvodnju medaljica, njihova je cijena bila prihvatljivija pripadnicima siromašnijih društvenih slojeva.¹⁵⁶ Tipologiju medaljica sv. Benedikta napravio je, za područje jugozapadne Njemačke, Stefan Fassbinder. Razlikuje 21 glavni tip i nekoliko podtipova, koji ovise o načinu prikazivanja sv. Benedikta, o prikazu na naličju, o svecu koji se nalazi uz sv. Benedikta te o obliku same medaljice.¹⁵⁷ Ana Azinović Bebek nadopunila je njegovu tipologiju primijetivši neke razlike na prikazima koje je zanemario Fassbinder, kao što su, primjerice, kojom rukom svetac drži štap, bilo da je riječ o biskupskom ili štapu s križem, ili pak razlike u natpisima na medaljici. Prema ovoj posljednjoj kategoriji, razlučuje četiri glavna tipa: medaljice sa Zaharijinim zazivom,¹⁵⁸ s natpisom ORA PRO NOBIS ili CRVX S PATRI BENEDICTI te medaljice s nekom drugom formulacijom ili specifičnim prikazom.¹⁵⁹ Od dvije medaljice sv. Benedikta pronađene u Gori, jedna ima Zaharijin zaziv, a druga bi ulazila u skupinu medaljica s natpisom ORA PRO NOBIS.¹⁶⁰ Na donjem dijelu lica medaljice (T. 1: 1) nalazi se štit sa zazivom.¹⁶¹ Zapisan je u četiri reda: [+Z+] DIA+B / IZ+SAB / +Z+HGF / +[BFR]S,¹⁶² a na dnu su vidljivi obrisi triju strelica koje simboliziraju tri redovnička zavjeta: čistoću, siromaštvo i poslušnost. Iznad štita nazire se figura sv. Benedikta, koji u svojoj lijevoj ruci drži biskupski štap, a u desnoj kalež s otrovom iznad kojeg je zmija. Svečevo lice nije vidljivo. Uz rub medaljice teče gotovo u potpunosti nečitak natpis. Jasno se razaznaje samo riječ ORA, a s obzirom na broj i izlisanost ostalih slova, natpis je najvjerojatnije glasio SPBENEDICT ORA PN (*Sancti patri Benedicti ora pro nobis*). Štit sv. Benedikta¹⁶³ prikazan je na naličju, ali su čitka samo slova oko greda i unutar

Empire, it still remained a threat and was common on the territory of the present-day Republic of Croatia.¹⁵⁴ Besides his protective role and the fact that he was very popular among the folk,¹⁵⁵ the distribution and abundance of St Benedict medals can be explained by the high availability of these medals, since they were usually produced in a forge. Since production in a forge enabled the mass production of medals, their price was more affordable to members of the poorer social strata.¹⁵⁶ Stefan Fassbinder has made a typology of St Benedict medals for the area of southwestern Germany. He identifies 21 main types of medals and several subtypes depending on the type of St Benedict depiction on them, on the depiction on the reverse, on the saint depicted alongside St Benedict, and on the shape of the medal itself.¹⁵⁷ Ana Azinović Bebek has added to his typology by noticing some differences in the depictions that Fassbinder neglected: for instance, the hand in which the saint holds his staff, whether it is a crosier or a staff with a cross, and the variations in the inscriptions on the medals. According to the latter, she identifies four main types of medals: those with the Cantic of Zechariah,¹⁵⁸ with the inscription ORA PRO NOBIS, CRVX S PATRI BENEDICTI, or with some other formulation or specific depiction.¹⁵⁹ Of the two medals of St Benedict discovered at Gora, one has the Cantic of Zechariah, while the other is the type with the inscription ORA PRO NOBIS.¹⁶⁰ The bottom part of the medal's obverse (Pl. 1: 1) is a shield with a Cantic.¹⁶¹ It is written in four rows: [+Z+] DIA+B / IZ+SAB / +Z+HGF / +[BFR]S,¹⁶² with the visible outlines of three arrows symbolizing three religious vows: chastity, poverty and obedience. The figure of St Benedict can faintly be seen above the shield. He holds a crosier in his left hand and a cup with poison, above which there is a serpent, in his right hand. The saint's face is not visible. An almost totally illegible inscription runs along

155 Osim od kuge, u narodu je postojalo vjerovanje da je sv. Benedikt zaštitnik i od sotone, uroka, vještica, čaranja, da pomaže kod uzgoja stoke i poboljšava urod, itd. Medaljice s njegovim likom bile su svojevrsna univerzalna zaštita, a zbog rasprostranjenosti je u njemačkim govornim područjima nazivaju i Benediktovim pfennigom (Braunneck 1978, 295).

156 Stingl 2017, 32.

157 Fassbinder 2003, 239–243.

158 Poput sv. Benedikta i Zaharijin zaziv je bio namijenjen obrani od kuge, a na medaljicama se pojavljuje od 17. stoljeća. Autorstvo zaziva pripisivalo se mnogim osobama tog imena, a najčešće se spominje ime pape Zaharije (714. – 752.). Prema tom tumačenju, svako slovo i križ zaziva predstavlja cjelovit odlomak iz evanđelja ili psalma (Knez 2001, 13). Ipak, vjerojatnijom se čini teza da je riječ o skraćenoj molitvi Svetom Križu kojeg su Perzijanci kao dio plijena uzeli nakon opsade Jeruzalema 614. godine. Molitva se pripisuje tadašnjem jeruzalemskom patrijarhu sv. Zahariji, koji je, s Križem i dijelom kršćanskog živilja, u progonstvu proveo 14 godina (Kolyszko 2013, 137).

159 Azinović Bebek 2012, 73–81.

160 Ovdje je važno naglasiti da medaljice sa Zaharijinim zazivom mogu uz rub imati i bilo koji od dva najčešća natpisa na medaljicama sv. Benedikta, ali su zbog brojnosti i specifičnosti prikaza zaziva izdvojene u posebnu potkategoriju.

161 Medaljici nedostaje paralelna ušica, a dimenzije ostatka medaljice su 22,9 x 19,1 x 0,48 mm, težina joj iznosi 1 g.

162 S obzirom na to da je vrh štita izlisan, te na njegovu veličinu, moguće je da je zaziv bio zapisan u pet redova, a da najgornji, u kojem se nalazilo slovo Z između dva križa, danas više nije čitak.

163 Štit sv. Benedikta sastoji se od križa i okrugle trake koja ga okružuje. Cijeli štit je ispunjen slovima: oko greda križa: C.S.P.B. - *Crux Sancti Patris Benedicti* (križ sv. oca Benedikta); u križu na *patibulumu*: C.S.S.M.L. - *Crux Sacra sit mihi lux* (Neka mi sv. križ bude svijetlo); u križu na *anteni*: N.D.S.M.D. - *Non draco sit mihi dux* (Neka mi zmaj ne bude vođa); u traci oko križa: I.H.S. - *Iesus hominum salvator* (Isus spasitelj ljudi) V.R.S.N.S.M.V.S.M.Q.L.I.V.B. - *Vade retro satanas nunquam suade mihi vana sunt mala quae libas ipse venena bibas* (Odlazi Sototno, ne savjetuj me ispraznostima, zlo je što nudiš, sam pij svoj otrov; Kuncze 1885, 68–73; prijevod u zagradama prema Azinović Bebek 2012, 73).

154 Azinović Bebek 2012, 73. Due to this, cordons sanitaires and lazarets began to be transferred from the shore inland, to the hinterlands, and also to the borderlands of the Military Border (Buklijaš 2002, 90–94).

155 Aside from the protection from the plague, there was a belief spread among the population that St Benedict is a protector from Satan, spells, witches and magic, that he helps with livestock farming, improves the yield of the crop, etc. The medals with his depiction were a type of universal protection; due to their distribution in the German-speaking lands, they are also known as Benedict's pfennig (Braunneck 1978, 295).

156 Stingl 2017, 32.

157 Fassbinder 2003, 239–243.

158 Just like St Benedict, the Cantic of Zechariah was intended as protection against the plague. It appears on medals from the 17th century onwards. Many different people of that name have been mentioned as authors, most commonly Pope Zachary (714 – 752). According to this, every letter and cross of the cantic represents a whole paragraph of the Gospel or Psalm (Knez 2001, 13). However, it seems that the most probable thesis is that this is a shortened Prayer to the Holy Cross that the Persians took as booty after the siege of Jerusalem in 614. The prayer is attributed to Saint Zacharias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who spent 14 years in exile with the Cross and some of the Christian population (Kolyszko 2013, 137).

159 Azinović Bebek 2012, 73–81.

160 It is important to stress here that the medals with the Cantic of Zechariah can have any of the two most common inscriptions on St Benedict's medals along their edge as well; but, due to their number and the specificity of the invocation, they make up a separate subcategory.

161 The medal is missing its parallel eye. The dimensions of the rest of the medal are 22.9 x 19.1 x 0.48 mm. It weighs 1 g.

162 Given that the top of the shield is worn away, and given its size, it is possible that the invocation had run through five rows and that the one on the top containing the letter Z between two crosses is no longer legible today.

križa, dok traka oko križa na medaljici uopće nije vidljiva. U Hrvatskoj su takve ovalne medaljice sa Zaharijinim zazivom unutar štita te sv. Benediktom, koji drži biskupski štap u lijevoj ruci, pronađene u Remetama, Rijeci, Sveticama, Torčecu i Žumberku,¹⁶⁴ a nisu rijetkost niti u ostatku Europe.¹⁶⁵ Sv. Benedikt u halji s bradom i zrakastim svetokrugom oko glave nalazi se na licu medaljice (T. 1: 2).¹⁶⁶ U svojoj desnoj ruci drži kalež s otrovom iznad kojeg je zmija, a u lijevoj štap. Ne raspoznaje se je li riječ o biskupskom ili štapu s križem. Uz rub medaljice djelomično je sačuvan i natpis S.BENEDIC[TE] ORA [P.N.]. Na naličju medaljice nalazi se štit sv. Benedikta, a uz rub se pruža biserni niz. Takav tip medaljice vrlo je čest, a pošto nismo sigurni kakav mu je vrh štapa, nema prevelikog smisla nabrajati potencijalne analogije jer su zaista brojne.¹⁶⁷

Izvan grobne cjeline pronađena je i jedina ovalna medaljica s ispupčenjima na polovima (T. 1: 3).¹⁶⁸ Izrađena je od lijevane slitine bakra, ima okomitu ušicu, a rub joj je profiliran i na licu i na naličju. Nešto je lošije sačuvan prikaz na licu medaljice, ali ipak se razaznaje. Prikazana je stigmatizacija sv. Franje Asiškog koji kleči u lijevom poluprofilu, raširenih ruku i pogledom uperenim prema nebu na kojem je, u gornjem lijevom dijelu medaljice, vidljiv križ. Iz križa bi trebale isijavati zrake koje, zbog izlizanosti prikaza, nisu vidljive. Na sličnim prikazima često se ispod križa nalazi kućica, ispod ili ispred koje brat Leo čita knjigu, ali čini se da oni nisu bili prikazani na ovoj medaljici. Sv. Franjo je odjeven u habit, a oko glave mu se nazire svetokrug. Četiri vodoravne linije ispod Franjinih nogu možda simboliziraju tlo ili pećinu. Mnogo je jasniji prikaz na naličju kojim dominira stojeći lik sv. Antuna Padovanskog, a koji je odjeven u habit i oko glave mu je vidljiv svetokrug. U svojoj desnoj ruci drži ljiljane (knjiga nije jasno vidljiva), a u lijevoj dijete Isusa oko čije glave je poveći zrakasti svetokrug, tako da se na trenutak promatraču može učiniti da isijava gotovo polovicom tijela. Sv. Antun stoji na dvije vodoravne linije, a sa svake strane se nalazi po jedan mali ljiljan. Tri šestokrake zvjezdice nalaze se na samom dnu medaljice ispod vodoravnih linija, a najvjerojatnije simboliziraju redovničke zavjete: čistoću, siromaštvo i poslušnost. Medaljica pronađena u grobnici crkve Svetog Jurja u Piranu najbližnja je gorskom primjerku, proizvod je rimske kovnice i datirana je u drugu polovicu 17. stoljeća.¹⁶⁹ Također, ima okomitu ušicu i ispupčenja na polovima, ali su ona nešto raskošnije izvedena. Prikazi na medaljici iz Pirana gotovo su identični gorskima, ali su obrubljeni kartušom. Ispod prikaza stigmatizacije sv. Franje, koja krasi lice, ispisano je mjesto proizvodnje, ROMA, dok zbog lošije fotografije naličja ne možemo ustvrditi jesu li i na medaljici iz Pirana ispod nogu sv. Antuna prikazane tri šestokrake zvjezdice. Stilski najbližnji prikazi u Hrvatskoj su na medaljicama pronađenima

the edge of the medal. The only clearly distinguishable word is ORA; but, given the number and worn condition of the remaining letters, the inscription probably read SPBENEDICT ORA-PN (*Sancti patri Benedicti ora pro nobis*). St Benedict's Shield¹⁶³ is depicted on the reverse, but only the letters around the beams and inside the cross are illegible, while the band around the cross on the medal is not even visible. Such oval medals with the Canticle of Zechariah inside the Shield and with St Benedict holding the crosier in his left hand have been discovered in Croatia in Remete, Rijeka, Svetice, Torčec and Žumberak.¹⁶⁴ They are not rare in the rest of Europe, either.¹⁶⁵ St Benedict in a robe, with a beard, and with a radiant halo around his head, is on the obverse of the other medal (Pl. 1: 2).¹⁶⁶ He holds a cup with poison in his right hand, above which there is a serpent, and a staff in his left hand. It cannot be determined whether this is a crosier or a staff with a cross. St. Benedict's Shield is depicted on the reverse and string of pearls runs along the edge of the medal. The inscription S.BENEDIC[TE] ORA [P.N.] is partly preserved along the edge of the medal. This type of medal is very common; but, since we cannot determine the top of the staff, listing the many analogies would not make much sense.¹⁶⁷

The only oval medal with protrusions on its sides was also discovered outside the grave unit (Pl. 1: 3).¹⁶⁸ It was made of cast copper alloy and had a vertical eye and profiled edge on both the obverse and reverse. The depiction on the obverse is slightly less well preserved than the depiction on the reverse, but it can still be discerned: it is Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata. The saint kneels in left semi-profile, with his arms opened and looking at the sky, in which there is a visible cross in the top part of the medal. There should be rays radiating from the cross; but, due to the worn condition of the medal, they are not visible. Similar depictions often have a small house underneath the cross, beneath or in front of which there is Brother Leo reading a book, but it seems they were not depicted on this medal. St Francis wears a religious habit, with a slightly visible halo around his head. Four horizontal lines underneath St Francis's feet might symbolize the ground or a cave. The depiction on the reverse is much clearer, dominated by the standing image of St Anthony of Padua. He is wearing a religious habit and has a visible halo around his head. He is holding lilies in his right hand (the book is not clearly

164 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 15: 211, 16: 212–214, 16: 218–219; Krznar 2016, 94, kat. br. 180; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, T. 1: 1; Stingl 2017, 86, T. 3: 27.

165 Chudzińska 1998, 75–76, kat. br. 14, 79–80, kat. br. 19, 107–108, kat. br. 58, T. 4; Grünwald 2001, 65, kat. br. 29; Knez 2001, 42, kat. br. 16, 120–121, kat. br. 174–175; Fassbinder 2003, T. 29: 1; Kołyszko 2013, 136–138.

166 Ni na ovoj medaljici nije sačuvana paralelna ušica; dimenzije sačuvanog dijela iznose 21,1 x 18,5 x 0,36 mm, a težina joj je 0,48 g.

167 Za početak vidi Azinović Bebek 2012, 82, tab. 6.

168 Dimenzije medaljice su 30,6 x 20,5 x 1,7 (ušica 3,8) mm, a težina je 1,95 g.

169 Knez 1994, 66, kat. br. 1.

163 St Benedict's Shield consists of a cross and a round band that surrounds it. The whole shield is filled with letters; around the beams of the cross: C.S.P.B. – *Crux Sancti Patris Benedicti* (The Cross of [our] Holy Father Benedict); in the *patibulum* of the cross: C.S.S.M.L. – *Crux Sacra sit mihi lux* (May the holy cross be my light); in the cross on the *antenna*: N.D.S.M.D. – *Non draco sit mihi dux* (May the dragon never be my overlord); in the band around the cross: I.H.S. – *Iesus hominum salvator* (Jesus the Saviour of Men) V.R.S.N.S.M.V.S.M.Q.L.I.V.B. – *Vade retro satanas nunquam suade mihi vana sunt mala quae libas ipse venena bibas* (Begone, Satan, never tempt me with your vanities. What you offer me is evil. Drink the poison yourself); Kuncze 1885, 68–71; translated by Kristina Deskar.

164 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 15: 211, 16: 212–214, 16: 218–219; Krznar 2016, 94, kat. no. 180; Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, Pl. 1: 1; Stingl 2017, 86, Pl. 3: 27.

165 Chudzińska 1998: 75–76, cat. no. 14, 79–80, cat. no. 19, 107–108, cat. no. 58, Pl. 4; Grünwald 2001: 65, cat. no. 29; Knez 2001: 42, cat. no. 16, 120–121, cat. no. 174–175; Fassbinder 2003: Pl. 29: 1; Kołyszko 2013: 136–138.

166 This medal does not have a preserved parallel eye, either. The dimensions of the preserved part are 21.1 x 18.5 x 0.36 mm. It weighs 0.48 g.

167 To start, see Azinović Bebek 2012, 82, Pl. 6.

168 The dimensions of the medal are 30.6 x 20.5 x 1.7 (the eye is 3.8) mm. It weighs 1.95 g.

na grobljima oko crkve Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru¹⁷⁰ i Pul Vele Crikve u Rijeci,¹⁷¹ pri čemu je potonja bolje sačuvana. Obje su rad vrsnih majstora, možda čak i istog kalupa, ovalne su s o-omitom ušicom, ali bez ispupčenja na polovima, a datiraju se u 17. ili 18. stoljeće.¹⁷² Ističu se detaljima, kao što je kućica ispod koje se brat Leo, koji čita knjigu, nalazi lijevo od Franje, ili je pak drvo desno od njega. Naličje je također puno detalja, jasno se vidi knjiga u Antunovoj lijevoj ruci, uz rub medaljice zapisano je svečevo ime, a oko bokova mu je privezan pasac.¹⁷³ Oblikom, veličinom i jednostavnim prikazom stigmatizacije na naličju, gorskoj medaljici je najbližnja hodočasnička medaljica iz Loreta, koja je pronađena na groblju pavlinskog samostana u Šenkovcu.¹⁷⁴

U kripi istraženoj u brodu crkve, pronađen je i jedan latinski križ s trolisnim završecima greda (T. 1: 5), izrađen od lijevane slitine bakra.¹⁷⁵ Na lijevom kraju antene i na dnu patibuluma trolisni završetak nije u potpunosti sačuvan, dok na vrhu križa središnji list trolista ima ulogu paralelne ušice. Raspeti Krist, s lagano povijenim rukama, ispruženim nogama i perizomom oko bokova, reljefno je izveden na licu. Iznad Kristove glave, na patibulumu, nazire se urezan titulus u dva reda IN / RI. Naličje je prazno, bez prikaza i natpisa. Ovaj je križ vrlo skromne izvedbe pa je samim time vjerojatno bio pristupačniji širim društvenim slojevima. Izgled križa, pogotovo sa stražnje strane, mogao bi upućivati na kovanje, ali je zbog svoje težine i reljefno izvedenog Krista, ipak jasno da je riječ o proizvodu izrađenom lijevanjem. Najbližnji mu je križ datiran u 18. stoljeće koji se čuva u Narodnom muzeju Slovenije u Ljubljani.¹⁷⁶ Gotovo je istih dimenzija (pretpostavljamo malo deblji), ali nešto teži. Središnji list trolista na vrhu križa također služi kao ušica, titulus je zapisan u dva reda, a jedina razlika u reljefnom prikazu Krista su nešto kraće ruke. U istoj zbirci čuva se još jedan tipološki vrlo sličan križ, koji je neznatno duži od dva dosad navedena te ima jasnije naznačenu perizomu i urezan zrakasti svetokrug iznad Kristove glave.¹⁷⁷ Pet, gotovo identičnih križeva, ali nešto manjih dimenzija, čuva se u Dommuseumu u Salzburgu. Svi su izrađeni od lijevane slitine bakra u južnoj Njemačkoj, a datiraju se u 19. stoljeće.¹⁷⁸ Križ, kojem nedostaje donji završetak patibuluma s trolistom, pronađen na groblju u Remetama, najbližnji je primjerak u Hrvatskoj, a datira se u 17. i 18. stoljeće.¹⁷⁹

visible), and the Infant Jesus in his left arm with a radiant halo so large that it could seem to the observer that the halo covers almost half of his body. St Anthony is standing on two horizontal lines, with one small lily on each side. There are three six-pointed stars at the very bottom of the medal underneath the horizontal lines, probably symbolizing religious vows: chastity, poverty and obedience. The medal discovered in the tomb of St George's Church in Piran is the most similar to this medal from Gora. It was produced by a Roman workshop and dated to the second half of the 17th century.¹⁶⁹ It also has a vertical eye and protrusions on its sides, but they are somewhat more lavish. The depictions on the medals are almost identical, but those from Piran are lined with a cartouche. The place of production, ROMA, is marked underneath the depiction of Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata on the obverse. Due to the poor quality of the photograph of the reverse, we cannot see whether this medal has three six-pointed stars underneath St Anthony's feet, as well. The most stylistically similar images in Croatia were discovered at cemeteries around the Church of Our Lady of the Mountain in Lobar,¹⁷⁰ and Pul Vele Crikve¹⁷¹ in Rijeka, where a better-preserved medal was found. Both of these medals were produced by extremely skilful craftsmen, perhaps even using the same die. They are oval, with a vertical eye, with no protrusions on their sides, and are dated to the 17th or 18th century.¹⁷² Their details stand out; for instance, the small house beneath which Brother Leo is reading a book on St Francis's left or the tree on his right. The reverse is also filled with details: in St Anthony's left hand, there is a clearly visible book, the saint's name is written along the edge of the medal, and there is a cincture tied around his hips.¹⁷³ In shape and size, and in the simplicity of the depiction of Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata on the reverse, the medal most similar to the one from Gora is the pilgrim-site medal from Lotreto discovered at the cemetery of the Pauline Monastery in Šenkovec.¹⁷⁴

One Latin cross with trefoil beam endings (Pl. 1: 5), made of cast copper alloy, was discovered in the crypt excavated in the nave of the church.¹⁷⁵ On the left end of the *antenna* and the bottom of the *patibulum*, the trefoil endings are not completely preserved, while, at the top of the cross, the central protrusion of the trefoil ending serves as a parallel eye. The obverse has the depiction of

170 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 20: 277.

171 Azinović, Bebek, Janeš 2017, T. 8: 6.

172 Većinu medaljica još uvijek je teško uže vremenski odrediti. Lijevene medaljice starije su od kovanih, ali se i nakon njihove pojave nastavljaju proizvoditi. Kalupi su dugo u upotrebi te se često precizniji elementi datiranja skrivaju u detaljima kao što su, primjerice, signature majstora medaljera ili titula osobe prikazane na medaljici. Takva je, primjerice, medaljica pronađena na lokalitetu Torčec-Cirkvišče koja prikazuje papu Pia V. (Krznar 2016, 94, kat. br. 181). Pio je na njoj naslovljen kao blaženik S obzirom na to da je beatificiran 1672. godine, a kanoniziran 1712., s velikom sigurnošću možemo pretpostaviti da je riječ o medaljici proizvedenoj unutar tih 40 godina.

173 Pasac je vidljiv i na prikazu stigmatizacije sv. Franje, ali je teže uočljiv.

174 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 40: 571.

175 Dimenzije križa su 54,4 x 30,7 x 3,1 mm, a težina je 3,59 g.

176 Knez 2010, 100, kat. br. 42.

177 Knez 2010, 101, kat. br. 45.

178 Mayrhofer, Neuhardt, Pinezits 2010, 219, kat. br. 6.989–6.993.

179 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 59: 799.

169 Knez 1994, 66, cat. no. 1.

170 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 20: 277.

171 Azinović, Bebek, Janeš 2017, Pl. 8: 6.

172 Most medals are still difficult to date precisely. Cast medals are older than wrought ones, but they still continued to be produced even after the wrought medals appeared. Dies were used for a long period of time, making details, if present, more more precise for dating – for instance, master medal makers' marks or signatures or the title of the person depicted on the medal. This is the case with the medal discovered at the site of Torčec-Rirkvišče, depicting Pope Pius V (Krznar 2016, 94, cat. no. 181). On it, Pius is titled as Blessed. Given that he was beatified in 1672 and canonized in 1712, we can claim that this medal was produced in those 40 years with great certainty.

173 The cincture is also visible in the depiction of Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata, but not as prominently.

174 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 40: 571.

175 The dimensions of the cross are 54.4 x 30.7 x 3.1 mm. It weighs 3.59 g.

Osim već navedenog *memento mori* zrna krunice iz groba 253 te nalaza jednog slomljenoga drvenog zrna ili ulomaka više njih, uz križ u grobu 33, u raznim drugim slojevima na lokalitetu, među kojima su i zapune dva groba,¹⁸⁰ pronađena su još četiri cjelovita i dva polovično sačuvana zrna krunice. Sva su zrna izrađena od stakla osim jednog koje je jantarno (T. 1: 8). Pretežno je smeđe boje s nijansama žute, ovalnog oblika, naborane površine i s rupom nešto većeg promjera.¹⁸¹ Originalno je vjerojatno bilo izrađeno kao manje, *Avemaria* zrno krunice. Jantar je u puku imao gotovo magijsko značenje zaštite od uroka te mu je Crkva, preuzevši kontrolu nad distribucijom, ograničila upotrebu isključivo na religijske predmete, prvenstveno jantarne brojanice i krunice koje su bile omiljene u 15. i 16. stoljeću.¹⁸² Najčešće se, kao i krunice od drugih skupocjenih materijala, poput zlata i koralja, ne pronalaze u arheološkim istraživanjima, već o njima doznajemo iz povijesnih izvora, prvenstveno oporuka.¹⁸³ Jantarne su krunice već u 14. stoljeću u upotrebi na zadarskom području, a često su, zbog veće vrijednosti, bile korištene kao zalag.¹⁸⁴ Na cijenu je, osim velike udaljenosti od glavnog izvora, Baltika, zasigurno utjecala i komplicirana proizvodnja jer su prilikom bušenja rupa često pucala jantarna zrna.¹⁸⁵ U Hrvatskoj je, u Remetama, do sada pronađena samo jedna krunica od jantarnih zrna, njih ukupno 18 sačuvanih, a datira se u širok vremenski raspon, od 16. do 18. stoljeća.¹⁸⁶ Pojedinačna su jantarna zrna pronađena i na prostoru crkve Svetog Martina na Prozorju pokraj Dugog Sela. S druge pak strane, zrna i krunice od stakla učestalo se pronalaze na novovjekovnim grobljima. Iako su u ranijim stoljećima bile čuvane kao obiteljsko naslijeđe, vrijednost staklenih krunica postupno je opadala.¹⁸⁷ Jedan od glavnih razloga leži u činjenici da je nakon Crkvenog ograničenja proizvodnje predmeta od jantara, upravo staklo postalo njegova glavna zamjena, a u masovnoj proizvodnji je dominirala obližnja Venecija. Jedan od jačih centara bila je i Šumava.¹⁸⁸ Krunice sa zrnima od stakla, primjerice u Dalmaciji, u arheološkom se kontekstu počinju pronalaziti u slojevima kasnog 16. stoljeća, a od 18. stoljeća u potpunosti prevladavaju nad zrnima proizvedenim od drugih materijala. Tonči Burić, kao jedno od mogućih objašnjenja, navodi opadanje lokalnog obrta, koji je prvenstveno proizvodio koštane i drvene krunice, zbog osmanlijske opasnosti te posredno sve veće ovisnosti o mletačkim proizvodima.¹⁸⁹ Na groblju oko crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori pronađena su tri cjelovita i dva polovično sačuvana zrna od stakla. U zapuni groba 253 pronađeno je jedno ovalno zrno krunice (T. 1: 9) bijele (mutno prozirne) boje. Manje je veličine te

the crucified Christ with slightly bent arms, extended legs, and with a loincloth around his hips in relief. Above Christ's head, on the *patibulum*, the incised titulus in two rows IN / RI is slightly visible. The reverse is without depiction or inscription. This cross's execution is of poor quality, which probably made it more accessible to the wide population. By the look of the cross, we could conclude that it was wrought; however, its weight and the depiction of Christ in relief clearly indicate that this object was produced by casting. The most similar cross to this is one dated to the 18th century, kept in the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana.¹⁷⁶ It is of almost the same dimensions (we assume it is slightly thicker), but somewhat heavier. The central protrusion of the trefoil at the top of the cross also serves as an eye. The titulus is divided into two rows, and the only difference between the two depictions of Christ in relief are the somewhat shorter arms. The same collection houses another typologically very similar cross, slightly longer than the two abovementioned. It also has a more emphasized loincloth and a carved radiant halo above Christ's head.¹⁷⁷ Five almost identical crosses of somewhat smaller dimensions are kept in the Cathedral Museum in Salzburg. They were all made in Southern Germany of cast copper alloy and are dated to the 19th century.¹⁷⁸ A cross missing the bottom part of the *patibulum* with a trefoil was discovered at the cemetery in Remete. Of all those discovered in Croatia, this cross is the most similar to our cross, and it is dated to the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁷⁹

Aside from the already-mentioned *memento mori* bead of the rosary from grave 253 and the finds of one broken wooden bead, or the fragments of several beads, in grave 33, four more whole rosary beads and two partially preserved ones were discovered in various other layers of the site, including the backfills of two graves.¹⁸⁰ All the beads were made of glass, except one which was made of amber (Pl. 1: 8). It is mostly brown with traces of yellow, and oval in shape; it has a wrinkled surface and a hole of significant diameter.¹⁸¹ It was probably originally a small *Avemaria* rosary bead. Amber had an almost magical significance as protection against spells among the folk, which propelled the Church to take control over its distribution and limit its use to religious items exclusively, primarily to amber counters and rosaries, which were very popular in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁸² Just like rosaries made of other expensive materials, such as gold and coral, these are usually not discovered during archaeological excavations; we usually find out about them from historical sources,

180 U zapuni već opisanog groba 253, pronađeno je jedno zrno (T. 1: 9) i dvije gotovo identične okrugle aplike s okomitom ušicom, a ukrašene s pet odnosno šest rupica.

181 Dimenzije su mu 6,3 x 7,5 x 8,1 mm, promjer rupe je otprilike 4,2 mm, a težina 0,3 g.

182 Azinović Bebek 2009b, 171.

183 Burić 2003, 231.

184 Anzulović 2007, 270.

185 Mead 1977, 212–214.

186 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 73: 910.

187 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

188 Azinović Bebek 2009b, 171–172.

189 Burić 2003, 236.

176 Knez 2010, 100, cat. no. 42.

177 Knez 2010, 101, cat. no. 45.

178 Mayrhofer, Neuhardt, Pinezits 2010, 219, cat. no. 6.989–6.993.

179 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 59: 799.

180 The backfill of grave 253, which has already been depicted, yielded one bead (Pl. 1: 9) and two almost identical round mounts with a vertical eye decorated with five or six openings.

181 Its dimensions are 6,3 x 7,5 x 8,1 mm. The diameter of the hole is around 4,2 mm. It weighs 0,3 g.

182 Azinović Bebek 2009b, 171.

183 Burić 2003, 231.

je, kao i većina ostalih, najvjerojatnije bilo *Avemaria* zrno krunice.¹⁹⁰ Ovalnog je oblika i zrno sivosmeđe boje (T. 1: 10), koje se ističe neuobičajeno velikim promjerom rupe.¹⁹¹ Specifično je i zrno izrađeno od žutog stakla zbog svojega izduženog ovalnog oblika (T. 1: 11).¹⁹² Moglo bi biti nešto novijeg datuma, a pronađeno je izvan jasnoga arheološkog konteksta, prilikom struganja profila. Zrna takvog oblika u Hrvatskoj ne pronalaze se često, a sva poznata izrađena su od kosti. Najljepši primjerci čuvaju se u Arheološkom muzeju Istre u Puli, datiraju se u 17. i 18. stoljeće, a imala su ulogu *Paternoster* zrna.¹⁹³ Nekoliko je sličnih zrna pronađeno u Rijeci¹⁹⁴ te jedno na manjoj krunici u Remetama.¹⁹⁵ Bez konteksta ne možemo biti sigurni je li zrno (T. 1: 11) imalo ulogu *Avemaria* ili *Paternoster* zrna, ali uspoređujući njegovu veličinu sa zrnima na istarskim krunicama, mogla bi biti riječ o *Paternoster* zrnu. Preostala dva zrna nisu sačuvana u potpunosti, a oba su izrađena od crnog stakla. Manje, *Avemaria* zrno (T. 1: 12) kvalitetnije je izrade,¹⁹⁶ a veće, *Paternoster* zrno, (T. 1: 13) poprilično je korodiralo.¹⁹⁷

mostly last wills and testaments.¹⁸³ Amber rosaries were used in the Zadar area as early as the 14th century and were often used as pledges, due to their high value.¹⁸⁴ Besides the great distance from the main source of amber, in the Baltic Region, the complicated process of production of these beads, which often broke during the piercing of holes, probably affected their high price.¹⁸⁵ Only one amber rosary has been discovered in Croatia thus far, in Remete. This rosary consists of 18 beads and is dated to the long period between the 16th and the 18th centuries.¹⁸⁶ Individual amber beads have been discovered in the area of St Martin's Church at Prozorje, near Dugo Selo. On the other hand, beads and rosaries made of glass are often discovered at early-modern cemeteries. Although they were kept as a family heirloom in past centuries, the value of glass-bead rosaries gradually declined.¹⁸⁷ One of the main reasons for this lies in the fact that, after the Church limited the production of amber items, it was mainly replaced by glass, with nearby Venice being the dominant force in its production. Another significant production centre was Šumava.¹⁸⁸ For instance, rosaries with glass beads started to appear in the archaeological context in Dalmatia in the late 16th-century layers onwards; and, from the 18th century, their numbers started dominating over the beads produced from other materials. One of the possible explanations, proposed by Tonči Burić, is the decline of local artisan workshops, which produced primarily rosaries from bone and wood. This was spurred by the fear of the Ottomans and the rise in dependency on Venetian products.¹⁸⁹ Three whole and two partially preserved glass beads were discovered at the cemetery around the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora. One white (murky translucent) oval rosary bead (Pl. 1: 9) was discovered in grave 253's backfill. It is small, and, like most other beads, it was probably an *Avemaria* rosary bead.¹⁹⁰ The grey-brown bead with an unusually large diameter of the hole is also oval (Pl. 1: 10).¹⁹¹ Another distinctive bead is the one made of yellow glass; it has an elongated oval shape (Pl. 1: 11).¹⁹² It could be somewhat more recent than the rest of the beads. It was discovered outside a clear archaeological context, since it fell out of the edge of the trench. Sites in Croatia do not yield beads of this shape often; all those known were made of bone. The nicest elongated beads are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istria. They are dated to the 17th and 18th centuries, and they served as *Paternoster* beads.¹⁹³ Several similar beads have been discovered in Rijeka,¹⁹⁴ while one was discovered on

190 Zrno je visoko 7,6 mm, vanjski promjer mu je otprilike 8,2 mm, promjer rupice je 3,2 mm, a težina zrna 0,6 g.

191 Zrno je visoko 5,6 mm, široko od 8,3 do 9 mm, promjer rupice je oko 5,3 mm, a težina zrna 0,25 g.

192 Zrno je visoko 11,7 mm, vanjski promjer mu je 7,7 mm, promjer rupice je 1,4 mm, a težina zrna je 0,83 g.

193 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 383–384, sl. 78, 389, kat. br. 152; Bradara, Rajić Šikanjić, Premužić 2016, 248–249, sl. 9a.

194 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, T. 21: 6.

195 Azinović Bebek 2012, T. 76: 925.

196 Možda je, čak, izrađeno od gagata. Visina zrna je 8,3 mm, sačuvano je u širini od 6,3 mm, promjer rupice je 1,9 mm, a težina 0,13 g.

197 Visina zrna je 10,9 mm, vanjski promjer zrna je bio oko 14,3 mm, promjer rupice oko 8,2 mm, a težina 0,89 g.

184 Anzulović 2007, 270.

185 Mead 1977, 212–214.

186 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 73: 910.

187 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017.

188 Azinović Bebek 2009b, 171–172.

189 Burić 2003, 236.

190 The height of the bead is 7.6 mm, its outer diameter is around 8.2 mm, and the diameter of the hole is 3.2 mm. The bead weighs 0.6 g.

191 The height of the bead is 5.6 mm, the width from 8.3 to 9 mm, and the diameter of the hole around 5.3 mm. The weight of the bead is 0.25 g.

192 The height of the bead is 11.7 mm, its outer diameter is 7.7 mm, and the diameter of the hole is 1.4 mm. It weighs 0.83 g.

193 Bradara, Krnjak 2016, 383–384, Fig. 78, 389, cat. no. 152; Bradara, Rajić Šikanjić, Premužić 2016, 248–249, Fig. 9a.

194 Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2017, Pl. 21: 6.

Zaključak

Iako grobovi s nalazima, kao i pojedinačni nalazi, koji se mogu datirati u novovjekovni sloj ukopavanja na lokalitetu crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori nisu brojni, otkrivaju nam pregršt korisnih informacija. U sva četiri groba s pronađenim ili pretpostavljenim novovjekovnim nalazima pokopani su muškarci. Dvojica su u trenutku smrti bili mlađe životne dobi, od 16 do 25 godina, a dvojica starije, od 40 do 50 godina. Svi su od malih nogu ili od mladosti imali teške životne uvjete i naporno su radili. Ipak, pokojnik iz groba 253 je, pretpostavljamo, za života uspio steći određeni imetak (možda i značajniji društveni položaj) na što bi, prvenstveno, mogla ukazivati kopča za ovratnik, rijedak nalaz na području Republike Hrvatske, ali i vrlo kvalitetno izrađeni nabožni predmeti. Ako prihvatimo pretpostavku da je pokojnik imao značajniji imetak, je li ga stekao u Gori ili negdje izvan nje, vjerojatno nikada nećemo saznati niti sa sigurnošću pretpostaviti. S druge pak strane, patološka slika pokojnika vrlo je loša te ne upućuje na istaknutog i dobrostojećeg pripadnika zajednice. Prilikom ovakvih interpretacija uvijek moramo biti vrlo oprezni jer bez većeg statističkog uzorka ili ikakvoga arhivskog podatka teško možemo interpretirati društveni i imovinski status pokojnika. Na to nas upozorava i slučaj prve povijesne osobe iz razdoblja kasnoga srednjeg vijeka koja je identificirana bioarheološkim pristupom u Hrvatskoj. Riječ je o Sofiji Kaštelančić di Prata, pripadnici visokog plemstva, čiji je grob otkriven u svetištu pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije na Moslavačkoj gori. Naime, unatoč visokom društvenom položaju njezina je patološka slika bila vrlo loša.¹⁹⁸ Preostala tri ovdje analizirana pokojnika nisu se isticala luksuznošću nabožnih predmeta niti bilo kojim drugim nalazom, kao niti mjestom ukopa. Uspoređujući nalaze s patološkom slikom njihovih vlasnika, možemo pretpostaviti da je najvjerojatnije riječ o siromašnijem seoskom stanovništvu. Ipak, nabožni predmeti pronađeni uz njih vrlo su zanimljivi i po mnogočemu jedinstveni. Medaljica s prikazom *Pietà* jedna je od najmanjih pronađenih u Hrvatskoj, križ sa žalosnom Marijom i drvenim zrnom (ili zrnima) upotpunjuje ne baš pozamašan korpus medaljica ili križeva pronađenih uz manji broj zrna, dok predmet pronađen uz pokojnika iz groba 297, ako se doista radilo o brevaru, upućuje na prisutnost te rijetke i posebne vrste nabožnog predmeta i na području Banovine. Na kraju, moramo se još jednom osvrnuti na nabožne predmete iz groba 253 zbog njihove posebnosti. Medaljica se ističe vrlo lijepo izvedenim prikazom sv. Florijana, jedinstvenim prikazom Bezgrešne te rijetkom verzijom natpisa. Srebrni perforirani križ luksuzan je predmet vrlo kvalitetne izrade i prava je šteta što nisu ostali sačuvani njegovi ostali dijelovi, poput sedefastih ispuna ili mogućeg reljefnog Krista, titulusa, Adamove lubanje i sl.

a small rosary in Remete.¹⁹⁵ Since it was discovered outside archaeological context, we cannot be sure whether this bead (Pl. 1: 11) was an *Avemaria* or a *Paternoster* bead; but, by comparing its size with the beads on the rosaries from Istria, this could be a *Paternoster* bead. The two remaining beads were not completely preserved. They were both made of black glass. The smaller, an *Avemaria* bead (Pl. 1: 12), is of higher quality,¹⁹⁶ while the larger, a *Paternoster* bead (Pl. 1: 13), is quite corroded.¹⁹⁷

Conclusion

Although the graves with finds, as well as the individual finds, that can be dated to the early-modern layer of burials at the site of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora are not numerous, they reveal plenty of valuable information. All four graves with discovered or assumed early-modern finds had men buried in them. Two of them were young at the time of death, between 16 and 25 years of age, while two were older, between 40 and 50 years of age. All of them suffered harsh living conditions and laboured hard from an early age or from youth. Still, we assume that the deceased individual from grave 253 managed to acquire a certain amount of wealth (and, perhaps, a more significant social position) during his lifetime, as could be indicated not only by the stock buckle, a very rare find in the territory of present-day Croatia, but also by devotional objects of high-quality production. Accepting that the deceased individual was of considerable wealth, we will probably never know nor be able to assume with some certainty whether he gained that wealth in Gora or somewhere else. On the other hand, the pathology of this individual is quite poor, and it does not indicate he was a prominent and well-off member of the community. These interpretations always require much caution because, without a large statistical sample or archival data, we cannot interpret the social and economic status of the deceased individual. This is what the case of the first historical individual from the Late Middle Ages identified through bioarchaeology in Croatia alerts us to. This was Sofija Kaštelančić di Prata, a member of the high nobility, whose grave was discovered in the sanctuary of the Pauline Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Moslavačka Gora. Despite her high social status, her pathology was very poor.¹⁹⁸ The other three deceased individuals analysed in this paper did not stand out with luxury devotional objects or any other finds, including the place of their burial. If we compare the finds with the pathology of their owners, we can conclude that these were probably poor members of the rural population. However, the devotional objects discovered alongside them are very interesting and, in many ways, unique. The medal with the depiction of the *Pietà* is one of the smallest discovered in Croatia. The cross with Our Lady of Sorrows and a wooden bead (or beads) completes

198 Novak et al. 2020, 34.

195 Azinović Bebek 2012, Pl. 76: 925.

196 It might even have been made of jet. The height of the bead is 8.3 mm, the preserved width is 6.3 mm, and the hole diameter is 1.9 mm. It weighs 0.13 g.

197 The height of the bead is 10.9 mm, the outside diameter of the bead was around 14.3 mm, and the hole's diameter is around 8.2 mm. It weighs 0.89 g.

198 Novak et al. 2020, 34.

Iako nisu brojni, nabožni predmeti pronađeni u Gori obogatili su korpus devocionalija zasad poznatih u Hrvatskoj. Nalazi medaljica sv. Benedikta dodatno potvrđuju njihovu omiljenost među pukom te široku geografsku rasprostranjenost, dok bi, primjerice, medaljica sv. Florijana i Bezgrešne te srebrni perforirani križ s drvenim umetkom mogli ukazivati na razlike u ekonomskoj moći pokojnika, što je dodatno potvrđeno nalazom kopče za ovratnik u grobu 253. S druge pak strane, nalaz križa s trolisnim završecima gređa, a prilično jednostavne izrade u unutrašnjosti crkve, iako pronađen izvan zatvorene grobne cjeline, potvrđuje da niti ekonomski moćniji ili društveno značajniji pripadnici zajednice, za koje se pretpostavlja da su prvenstveno ukapani u crkvenoj unutrašnjosti, ponekad nisu imali nabožne predmete ništa kvalitetnije izrade od onih koje su si mogli priuštiti i najsiromašniji te društveno najniži slojevi.

the small collection of medals or crosses discovered alongside a low number of beads, while the object discovered alongside the deceased individual from grave 297, if it really is a breverl, points to the presence of this rare and special type of devotional object in the Banovina area, as well. In the end, due to their distinctiveness, we have to look back on the devotional objects from grave 253. The medal stands out with the very nice depiction of St Florian, a unique depiction of Mary Immaculata, and a very rare version of the inscription. The silver perforated cross is a high-quality luxury item, and it is a real shame that other parts of it have not been preserved, such as the mother-of-pearl inlays or a possible Christ in relief, the titulus, Adam's skull, etc.

Although they are not numerous, the devotional objects discovered in Gora have enriched the collection of these items known in Croatia at this moment. The finds of St Benedict medals further confirm their popularity among the folk and their territorial distribution, while, for instance, St Florian and Mary Immaculata medal and the silver perforated cross with a wooden inlay could point to differences in economic might of the deceased individuals, as was further confirmed by the stock buckle from grave 253. On the other hand, the find of the simply-produced cross with trefoil beam ends discovered inside the church, outside the closed grave unit, confirms that the economically or socially more significant members of the community, presumed to have been buried primarily inside the church, sometimes did not possess devotional objects of better quality than those that could be bought by the poorest members and the lowest strata of the community.

Prevela: Kristina Deskar

IZVOR SOURCE

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TABLA 1.
Nabožni predmeti pronađeni tijekom arheoloških istraživanja crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori (izradila M. Korić).

PLATE 1.
Devotional objects discovered during archaeological excavation of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora (made by M. Korić).