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Lobor i karolinška Donja Panonija

Od kraja 8. do kraja 11. stoljeća teritorij između rijeka Drave i Save bio je poprište različitih radikalnih političkih i društvenih promjena. Nakon kraja avarske dominacije u Panonskoj nizini i južnoalpskim predjelima, potkraj 8. stoljeća započelo je novo vrijeme, koje je kroz cijelo 9. stoljeće bilo u znaku franačke vladavine. O tome što se ondje događalo u to doba svjedoče arheološka nalazišta, ponajviše ona ruralnog tipa, ali i ona kojima je bila namijenjena okupljajuća uloga u okviru novog društvenog poretka. Nova zdanja obično se podižu na starim kasnoantičkim pozicijama, unutar napuštenih antičkih gradova i uz stare prometnice. Uz Sisak, koji je spomenut u povijesnim izvorima u vrijeme Ljudevitove pobune protiv franačke vlasti, najznačajnija sakralna pozicija 9. stoljeća nalazi se u Loboru, Majka Božja Gorska, te ona predstavlja danas najbolje istraženo ranosrednjovjekovno karolinško crkveno središte u Donjoj Panoniji s dugim kontinuitetom.

Ključne riječi: Lobor, karolinško doba, Panonija, crkve, groblja, naselja.

Lobor and Carolingian-Age Lower Pannonia

The territory between the Drava and Sava rivers was a site of various radical political and social changes from the end of the 8th to the end of the 11th century. Following the end of Avar domination in the Pannonian Plain and the southern Alpine regions at the end of the 8th century, a new era began under the influences of Frankish rule that lasted throughout the entire 9th century. Archaeological sites, particularly rural ones, provide insights into this period, including those that served as gathering places within the new social order. These places were usually established in old, late ancient locations, within abandoned ancient cities, and along old roads. In addition to Sisak, which is mentioned in historical sources during the time of Ljudevit's rebellion against Frankish rule, the most significant sacral site of the 9th century is located in Lobor, i.e. the Church of Our Lady of the Mountain (Majka Božja Gorska). Today, this church represents the most extensively researched early medieval Carolingian ecclesiastical centre in Lower Pannonia, with a long history of continuity.

Keywords: Lobor, Carolingian era, Pannonia, churches, cemeteries, settlements.

Do nedavno se u hrvatskoj arheološkoj i općenito povijesnoj stručnoj literaturi moglo pročitati samo nekoliko sažetih rečenica o povijesti karolinške Panonije/Panonija, posebno njezina južnog ili danas hrvatskog dijela.¹ U novije doba situacija je stubokom promijenjena, ponajviše zahvaljujući arheološkim istraživanjima. Činilo se da su kritička izdanja pisanih izvora iscrpljena, da se interpretacije množe sa svakim novim radom i da, osim već poznatih činjenica, nema novih spoznaja kojima bi se pridonijelo razrješavanju pojedinih važnih pitanja o izgledu i funkcioniranju provincije. Panonija se u povijesnim izvorima spominje u vrijeme propasti Avarskog Kaganata, područje između rijeka Drave i Save ponovno se više spominje u vrijeme Ljudevitove pobune, a potom se istočni dijelovi međuriječja spominju u svezi s bugarskim upadom u Panoniju. Nakon toga, sve do pred kraj 9. stoljeća, nema gotovo nikakvih podataka o zbivanjima na ovom području. Situacija je nešto bolja sjeverno od rijeke Drave, gdje se spominje nekoliko vođa koji, premda su intrigantni, još uvijek nisu dobili svoju pravu interpretaciju, ni oni ni njihovo vrijeme, počevši od nepoznatog Slavena Vojnomira koji je vodio franačku vojsku prema avarskom hringu. Moguće je da je *dux* Ljudevit najpoznatiji među njima te da se o njemu najviše pisalo, ali je još uvijek mnogo toga ostalo nepoznato uključujući i podatak o tome kojim je područjem on zaista vladao, gdje su bile istočne i zapadne granice tog teritorija. Vojvoda Ratimir nije ništa manje značajan, kao ni *Montemer*, a moguće je da su obojica vladali istočnim dijelom međuriječja Drave i Save nakon prve trećine 9. stoljeća. Taj istočni dio Panonije, koji je izvan karolinške kontrole, od prve trećine 9. stoljeća drukčije će se razvijati u odnosu na zapadni dio koji se i dalje, još u 10. stoljeću, može podvesti pod naziv karolinška Panonija. U konačnici, tu je i vojvoda Braslav koji je vladao područjem između rijeka Drave i Save (*regnum inter Dravum et Savum flumine*), ali je upravo dobio i nad prekodravskim posjedima, gdje je upravljao Blatnim (Blatnograd). On je poveznica teritorija s obaju bregova rijeke Drave i tamošnjeg naroda na istočnom rubu Karolinškog Carstva. Moguće je da je među njima bio još jedan vođa koji se spominje na natpisu iz Siska: ...*esamer*.² Već popis poznatih

Up until recently, Croatian archaeological literature as well as historical literature in general made only brief references to Carolingian Pannonia, particularly its southern region, which corresponds to an area that is located now in present-day Croatia.¹ However, this has fundamentally changed due to recent archaeological research. Previously, it seemed that critical written sources had been exhausted, that interpretations had multiplied with each new work, and that, in addition to the already known facts, there was nothing new to contribute to resolving certain important questions about the appearance and functioning of the province. Pannonia is mentioned in historical sources during the fall of the Avar Khaganate, and then again as the area between the Drava and Sava rivers during Ljudevit's rebellion. Later, the eastern parts of the interfluvium are noted in connection with the Bulgarian incursion into Pannonia, and then, after this period up to until the end of the 9th century, there is almost no information whatsoever about what happened there and then. The situation is slightly better in terms of the area north of the Drava river. Certainly, there are several leaders, who are mentioned in these sources, all of whom are intriguing, yet neither they nor their time have received a thorough analysis and hence interpretation, starting with the unknown Slav Vojnomir who led the Frankish army towards the Avar "ring". *Dux* Ljudevit might be the most well-known among them and perhaps the one most written about, but there is still so much that remains unknown, including the precise territory he ruled over and the borders of his eastern and western territories. Duke Ratimir is no less significant, nor is *Montemer*, both of whom possibly ruled the eastern part of the land between the Drava and Sava rivers after the first third of the 9th century. This eastern part of Pannonia, which was outside Carolingian control, had from the first third of the 9th century developed differently compared to the western part, which continued to be known as Carolingian Pannonia until the 10th century. Ultimately, there is also Duke Braslav, who ruled the area between the Drava and Sava rivers (*regnum inter Dravum et Savum flumine*) and was also given control over the territories beyond the Drava river, including Blatno

¹ Ovaj rad financirala je Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom „*Terra nullius* – na granici i iza granice od 8. do 12. st.“ (IP-2022-10-9121).

² Horvat 1954, str. 97–99.

¹ This work was funded by the Croatian Science Foundation with the project "Terra nullius - on the border and beyond the border from the 8th to the 12th century" (IP-2022-10-9121).

upravitelja, vođa provincije (*dux*), upućuje na to da je riječ o prostoru koji je imao značajnu ulogu u turbulentnim događajima 9. stoljeća. U raspravama se ta provincija shvaća kao hrvatska ili mađarska periferija, a u kasnije doba, od druge trećine 10. do pred kraj 11. stoljeća, kao ničija zemlja (*terra nullius*), kao područje izvan ičije kontrole.

Sukus višegodišnjih arheoloških istraživanja cijelog panonskog, prije svega južnog, područja dan je u monografiji „Donja Panonija od 9. do 11. stoljeća“³, koja je trebala biti polazište za nova arheološka istraživanja i interpretacije u hrvatskom dijelu Panonije. U novije doba, nakon tiskanja navedene monografije, pojavile su se nove spoznaje koje su ili dopunile ili posve izmijenile postavke i teze iznijete u spomenutoj knjizi. Tako je u novijoj monografiji o povijesti Panonije B. M. Szóke predočio svoja istraživanja karolinške Panonije ponavljajući neke stare, ali i iznoseći sasvim nove teze koje su rezultat njegova dugogodišnjeg rada u mađarskom dijelu Panonije (u franačkoj Gornjoj Panoniji).⁴ Szóke se posve površno dotiče južnog dijela Panonije, tzv. Donje Panonije, iznosi manje-više starije teze te ignorira novija arheološka istraživanja, pa tako i ona u Loboru gdje se pronalazi najviše sličnosti sa zalavarskom aglomeracijom, Blatnim i njegovom okolicom.⁵ Osim uzgrednog spominjanja paljevinskog groba iz Lobora, ne spominje ni loborske crkve, ni drvenu crkvu pa ni trobrodnu baziliku s upisanom apsidom, čija se najbliža analogija nalazi upravo u Zalaváru na položaju Récéskút, kao ni groblje koje ima slične karakteristike.⁶ Ne treba napominjati da su se mnogi problemi na koje se naišlo prilikom višedesetljetnih istraživanja u Zalaváru i okolici pojavili i u Loboru, o čemu je na više mjesta opširno pisano.

Arheološka istraživanja provedena u posljednjim trima desetljećima podosta su promijenila način na koji percipiramo avarska, slavenska i franačka postignuća u istočnoalpskom i panonskom prostoru tijekom turbulentnog doba od 6. do 9. stoljeća. Vrijeme karolinškog vladanja provincijom između rijeka Drave i Save obilježavaju najmanje dva lokaliteta s velebnim crkvama.⁷ U cijeloj provinciji još uvijek je mali broj naselja, groblja i grobova iz

(Blatnograd). He is the link between the territories on both banks of the Drava river and the people on the eastern edge of the Carolingian Empire. There is possibly also another leader, which is mentioned in an inscription from Sisak: ...*esamer*.² The list of known governors, provincial rulers (*dux*), already indicates that this area played a significant role in the turbulent events of the 9th century. In scientific discussions, this province is seen as either a Croatian or Hungarian periphery, and in later times, from the second third of the 10th century to the end of the 11th century, as no man's land (*terra nullius*), i.e. an area outside anyone's control.

The essence of many years of archaeological research across the entire Pannonian region, with a particular focus on the southern area, is presented in the monograph “Lower Pannonia from the 9th to the 11th century.”³ It was intended to serve as a foundation for new archaeological research and interpretations regarding the Croatian part of Pannonia. In recent times, following the publication of this monograph, new findings have emerged that have generally supplemented or completely changed the premises and theses presented in it. The recent monograph on the history of Pannonia by B. M. Szóke presents the research on Carolingian Pannonia, in which some old theses were repeated and entirely new ones presented as a result of his long-term work in the Hungarian part of Pannonia (in Frankish Upper Pannonia).⁴ He only briefly addresses the southern part of Pannonia, the so-called Lower Pannonia, presenting more or less the older theses and ignoring more recent archaeological research, including that in Lobor, which bears the closest resemblance to the Zalavár agglomeration, Blatno and its surroundings.⁵ Apart from the brief mention of the cremation grave in Lobor, the author does not mention the churches in Lobor, the wooden church or the three-nave basilica with an incorporated apse, whose closest and most similar analogy is found precisely in Zalavár at the Récéskút site. Furthermore, the author does not mention the cemetery with similar characteristics.⁶ It is also noteworthy that many of the problems encountered during decades of research in Zalavár and its vicinity

³ Filipec 2015.

⁴ Szóke 2021.

⁵ Szóke 2021, str. 143–160.

⁶ Szóke 2021, str. 399–408.

⁷ Filipec 2015, str. 250–269.

² Horvat 1954, pp. 97–99.

³ Filipec 2015.

⁴ Szóke 2021.

⁵ Szóke 2021, pp. 143–160.

⁶ Szóke 2021, pp. 399–408.

9. stoljeća, što upućuje na zaključak da je tada bilo i malo stanovništva. Nakon „povlačenja“ franačke uprave, početkom 10. stoljeća, za očekivati je bilo da Panonija gubi ekonomski zalet, da nazaduje, da je opustošena. Arheološka istraživanja to ipak jednoznačno ne potvrđuju, već naprotiv pokazuju da je upravo u tom razdoblju došlo do demografskog oporavka stanovništva. Nazadak je nesumnjivo vidljiv u Blatnom, koje očito nije bilo sposobno zadržati postojeću infrastrukturu, ali ne i u Loboru koji se „skriva“ na gori Ivanščici, prvoj većoj planinskoj prepreci na jugozapadnom rubu Panonske nizine. Tako se recimo broj grobova oko crkava nakon prvih desetljeća 10. stoljeća u Loboru deseterostruko uvećava. Je li to bilo moguće u vremenu kad bi se očekivali upravo suprotni procesi uslijed političkih neprilika uzrokovanih mađarskom provalom i puštošnjima?

Zaista je vjerojatno da su teritorij nekadašnje franačke Donje Panonije podijelile okolne države, ali je izvjesno da je takva situacija pozitivno utjecala na tamošnje ljude, barem kad je riječ o povećanom broju sahrana na grobljima, što posredno svjedoči da se naselja povećavaju. Mađara tu očito još nema ili se njihove aktivnosti ne mogu utvrditi, a uloga Svetog Rimskog Carstva, koje s otoskom dinastijom pokušava povratiti vlast nad izgubljenim teritorijem, još uvijek se ne može jasno definirati. Strelice zapadnog tipa u grobovima razmještenim uokolo trobrodne bazilike u Loboru više bi upućivale na ove druge, na pokušaje Svetog Rimskog Carstva da povрати izgubljene teritorije.⁸ Teritorij omeđen Podravinom na sjeveru i Posavinom na jugu, u povijesnoj literaturi opisivan kao Panonska Hrvatska, područje između Save i Drave, Južna Panonija, Donja Panonija, Slavonija, Zagorje itd. često se u ranom srednjem vijeku pripisuju različitim okolnim zemljama i gospodarima, a ponekad se taj teritorij opisuje i kao ničija zemlja, odnosno *terra nullius*. U pomanjkanju drugih dostupnih povijesnih izvora, istražena groblja često su jedini pokazatelj veza i odnosa u ranom srednjem vijeku na tom području. Tu se može pratiti s jedne strane protok predmeta koji često upućuju na različite veze, a s druge strane položaj groblja u prostoru, npr. u odnosu na crkvu, koji svjedoči je li riječ o organiziranom području s gospodarom koji prati tadašnje procese ili ne. Smještanje groblja uz crkvu općenito se povezuje s vremenom u kojem postoji jača politička organi-

also appeared in Lobor. These problems have been extensively addressed and written about in various works.

The results of archaeological research conducted over the past three decades has significantly changed our perception of Avar, Slavic and Frankish achievements in the Eastern Alpine and Pannonian regions during the turbulent period from the 6th to the 9th centuries. The era of Carolingian rule over the province between the Drava and Sava rivers is marked by at least two sites with grand churches.⁷ Throughout the province, only a few settlements, cemeteries and graves from the 9th century have been discovered so far, indicating that there was a sparse population. After the “withdrawal” of Frankish administration at the beginning of the 10th century, it was expected that Pannonia would experience a loss of economic momentum, a decline and widespread devastation. However, archaeological research does not unequivocally confirm this; on the contrary, it shows that during this period, there was a demographic recovery of the population. Decline is undoubtedly visible in Blatno, which was clearly unable to maintain its existing infrastructure, but not in Lobor, which is hidden on mount Ivanščica, the first significant mountain barrier on the southwestern edge of the Pannonian Plain. In Lobor, for example, the number of graves around the church increased tenfold after the first decades of the 10th century. Was this possible at a time when opposite processes would be expected due to political turmoil caused by Hungarian invasions and devastations?

It seems likely that the territory of the former Frankish Lower Pannonia was divided among surrounding states. However, it is also reasonably certain that this situation had a positive effect on the local population, at least in terms of an increased number of burials in cemeteries, which indirectly indicates that settlements were growing during that time. It is evident that the Hungarians had not yet established themselves in the region, or their activities simply cannot be discerned, while the role of the Holy Roman Empire, which, with the Ottonian dynasty, attempted to reclaim power over the lost territories, still cannot be clearly defined. The presence of Western-type arrowheads in graves surrounding the three-nave basilica in Lobor strongly suggests the second option, namely that the Holy

⁸ Filipec 2021a, str. 77, 79, slika na str. 100 (grob 149).

⁷ Filipec 2015, pp. 250-269.

zacija koja ljude može „natjerati“ da svoje mrtve sahranjuju na za to određenim pozicijama, a ako je još crkvu moguće uzdržavati, popravljati i opremiti, onda je to nesumnjivo znak da postoji organizirana vlast. Ako se ne uočavaju ti pokazatelji, onda na tom području ne postoji jača politička struktura, ona ne prati opće trendove pa je čak moguće da je riječ o zemlji u kojoj vlada anarhija.⁹ Osnovno je pitanje je li nakon prve trećine 10. stoljeća u Loboru, kao i na širem području južno od rijeke Drave, bilo moguće nastaviti ranije započete procese i razvijati ih u skladu s tadašnjim općim tendencijama?

Lobor – Majka Božja Gorska

Položaj Lobor – Majka Božja Gorska danas je, uz Sisak, najvažniji arheološki lokalitet karolinškog doba južno od rijeke Drave, u provinciji između rijeke Drave i Save (Donja Panonija). Sisak (*Siscia*) se više puta spominje u povijesnim izvorima, a Lobor ni jednom.¹⁰ Crkva Majke Božje Gorske ne spominje se do 17. stoljeća, kada se po prvi put spominje 1639. godine. U prvom popisu župa Zagrebačke biskupije iz 1334. spominje se župa u Loboru, ali se u Zagorskom arhiđakonatu samo kod Lobora ne navodi kome je župa bila posvećena, pa nije jasno koja je crkva bila župna, Sv. Ana podno gradine ili kasnija proštenjarska posvećena Rođenju Marijinu (Majka Božja Gorska).¹¹ Nije poznato zašto je u 9. stoljeću izabrana baš ta pozicija za smještaj misijskog središte. Unutar kasnoantičke utvrde nalazile su se tada još zasigurno dobro vidljive ruševine kasnoantičkih zgrada, a među njima je dominirala ranokršćanska crkva s odvojenom zgradom krstionice.¹² Moguće je da je ona bila poticaj da se misijski punkt smjesti na tu poziciju. U svakom slučaju, bilo je dovoljno građevinskog materijala da se podigne zgrada, ali isto tako i mramora da se ureši njezina unutrašnjost. Vjerojatno je ova pozicija odabrana i jer je ondje moguće bilo središte ovdašnje slaven-ske zajednice i sjedište njihova vođe. Misionari biraju upravo takva mjesta, ali i ona koja su u kasnoj

Roman Empire was attempting to reclaim lost territories.⁸ The territory bordered by Podravina to the north and Posavina to the south was historically described as Pannonian Croatia, the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, Southern Pannonia, Lower Pannonia, Slavonia, Zagorje, and is often attributed to different surrounding countries, rulers, or sometimes described as no man's land, or *terra nullius* in the Early Middle Ages. In the absence of other available historical sources, investigated cemeteries are often the only indicators that reveal the interrelations and connections in this area in the Early Middle Ages. On the one hand, the flow of artefacts can be traced, often pointing to various connections and relations, while the location of cemeteries in the space, for example in relation to the church, indicates whether it was an organised area with a lord overseeing the processes or not at that time. The location of a cemetery in close proximity to a church is generally associated with a period of greater political organisation, which could have “forced” the population to bury their dead in locations designated for this purpose, and if also the church itself was maintained, repaired and equipped, this would certainly be an indication of a well-organised authority. If such indicators are absent, it suggests a lack of strong political structure in the area, potentially even anarchy, but also deviations from general trends.⁹ The fundamental question is whether it was possible to continue previously initiated processes and develop them in accordance with the general tendencies of the time after the first third of the 10th century in Lobor, as well as in the larger area south of the Drava river.

Lobor, Church of Our Lady of the Mountain (Majka Božja Gorska)

The site of Lobor, i.e. the Church of Our Lady of the Mountain, is today, along with Sisak, the most important archaeological site from the Carolingian period south of the Drava river in the province between the Drava and Sava rivers (Lower Pannonia). While Sisak (*Siscia*) is mentioned several times in historical sources, Lobor is not even once.¹⁰ There is no mention of the Church of Our Lady of the Mountain until the 17th century, when it appears in

⁹ Filipec 2009b, str. 113–124; Filipec 2021b, str. 397–410.

¹⁰ Horvat 1954, str. 93–104; Filipec 2015, str. 119–124, 259–261.

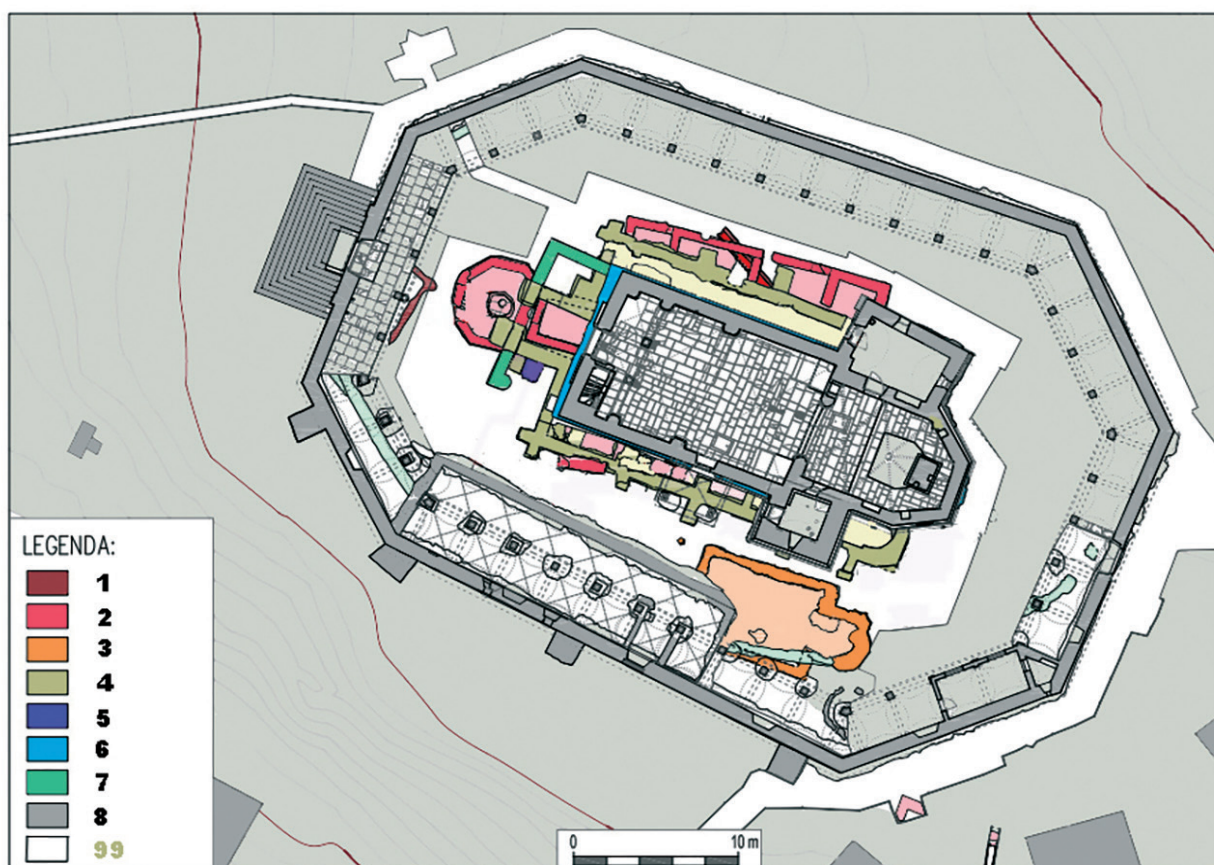
¹¹ 1334. *Item ecclesia de Lobor*; 1501. *Benedictus plebanus de Lobor*. Župa je u Loboru 1507., 1517. (AK popisi 37, 107, 110) i 1669. (Butorac 1984, str. 51).

¹² Filipec *et al.* 2002; Filipec 2007, str. 411–422; Filipec 2008; Filipec 2017a; Filipec 2021a, str. 33–64.

⁸ Filipec 2021, pp. 77, 79, (grave 149) figure on p. 100.

⁹ Filipec 2009, pp. 113–124; Filipec 2021a, pp. 397–410.

¹⁰ Horvat 1954, pp. 93–104; Filipec 2015, pp. 119–124; 259–261.



Sl. 1. Lobor – Majka Božja Gorska, lokalitet s fazama izgradnje pojedinih crkvenih zgrada i s naznačenim pozicijama grobova od 10. do 13. st.: (1) kasna antika, (2) ranokršćanska crkva i istovremena zgrada, (3) drvena crkva, (4) predromanička bazilika, (5) dogradnje na predromaničkoj crkvi, (6) kasnoromanička crkva, (7) novovjekovne dogradnje, (8) gotička crkva s kasnijim dogradnjama, (9) istražena površina.

Fig. 1 Lobor; Our Lady of the Mountain. The site with construction phases of individual church buildings and marked positions of graves from the 10th to the 13th century. (1) Late Antiquity; (2) early Christian church and building from the same time; (3) wooden church; (4) pre-Romanesque basilica; (5) additions to the pre-Romanesque church; (6) late Romanesque church; (7) modern additions; (8) Gothic church with later additions; (9) excavated area

antici imala značenje. Znali su o geografiji i povijesti Panonije više nego što mi danas znamo. Lobor i pozicija oko Majke Božje Gorske najstarije je poznato misionarsko središte u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj, a uz drvenu crkvu, koju nesumnjivo treba datirati na sam početak 9. stoljeća, valja očekivati i benediktinski samostan.

Najstarije ranosrednjovjekovno naselje, nakon razaranja i napuštanja kasnoantičke utvrde, osniva se otprilike u isto vrijeme kada se na rijeci Savi pojavljuju avarske posade na ključnim geostrateškim pozicijama, prijelazima preko rijeke.¹³ Očito nemirno vrijeme potaklo je ljude da na tom utvrđenom položaju osnuju naselje, o čemu svjedoče istraženo

sources for the first time in 1639. In the first list of parishes of the Zagreb diocese from 1334, the parish of Lobor is mentioned, but it is the only parish in the Zagorje archdeaconry whose dedication is not specified. Therefore, it is unclear whether the parish church was St. Anne's at the foot of the hillfort or the later pilgrimage church dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Our Lady of the Mountain).¹¹ It is not known why this site specifically was chosen for the establishment of a missionary centre in the 9th century. Within the late ancient fort were the ruins of late ancient buildings, which surely were

¹³ Filipec *et al.* 2002; Filipec 2003, str. 89–107; Filipec 2017b, str. 23–34.

¹¹ Butorac 1984, p. 51: 1334. *Item ecclesia de Lobor*; 1501. *Benedictus plebanus de Lobor*. The parish is in Lobor in 1507, 1517 (AK lists, 37, 107, 110), 1669.

paljevinsko groblje i ulomci keramičkih posuda iz više jama.¹⁴ Moguće je da je na odabir upravo te pozicije za osnivanje misijskog središta utjecala komunikacijska povezanost s Ptujem (*Poetovio*) i Sisakom (*Siscia*), ruševine starije ranokršćanske crkve te postojeće naselje.

Od karolinškog vremena do izgradnje kasnoromaničke crkve okvirno se može izdvojiti nekoliko razvojnih stupnjeva:

1. kasnoavarsko i predkarolinško doba (paljevinsko groblje, od kraja 8. do početka 9. stoljeća)
2. karolinško doba (drvena crkva i predromanička bazilika te groblje uz njih, od 9. do 10. stoljeća)
3. poslijekarolinško doba (groblje oko predromaničke bazilike do izgradnje kasnoromaničke bazilike s podfazom, kada se grobovi šire i preko ruševina predromaničke bazilike).

Grobovi se nalaze na relativno velikoj površini, no svi su gotovo na jednakim razinama. Bilo ih je teško odvojiti fazama, pogotovo kad u njima nema nalaza. Pronađeni grobovi pripadaju sljedećim etapama razvoja:

1. kasnobrončanodobno paljevinsko groblje / kultura polja sa žarama
2. groblje uz ranokršćansku crkvu (od prve trećine do zadnje trećine 6. stoljeća)
3. paljevinsko groblje (od kraja 8. do početka 9. stoljeća)
4. groblje uz drvenu crkvu i predromaničku baziliku (od 9. ili 10. stoljeća do prijelaza iz 11. u 12. stoljeće ili u 13. stoljeću)
5. groblje nakon rušenja predromaničke bazilike (od 11. ili 12. do 13. stoljeća)
6. groblje uz kasnoromaničku crkvu (od 13. stoljeća)
7. groblje uz gotičku crkvu (do sredine 19. stoljeća).

Južno od ruševina ranokršćanske crkve i sjeverozapadno od još jedne kasnoantičke zidane građevine nepoznate namjene bila je početkom 9. stoljeća podignuta drvena crkva (sl. 2).¹⁵

U jamama od stupova drvene crkve i ispod njezina zemljanog poda nađeno je ukupno šest jama i arheološki sloj zemlje koji bi se mogao dovesti u vezu s ostacima paljevinskih grobova. Većina tih jama, moguće grobova, bila je potpuno ili većim di-

still visible at that time, and among them an early Christian church with a separate building holding the baptistery which dominated the space.¹² This church may have prompted the establishment of the mission at this location. If nothing else, there was enough building material to erect a structure and marble to adorn its interior. It was probably chosen because it might have been the centre of the local Slavic community and the seat of their leader. Missionaries often chose such places, especially those that were important in the late ancient period. They certainly knew more about the geography and history of Pannonia than we do today. Lobor, and the area around the Church of Our Lady of the Mountain, is the oldest known missionary centre in northern Croatia. Alongside the wooden church, which undoubtedly dates to the early 9th century, a Benedictine monastery is certainly expectable there.

After the destruction and abandonment of the late ancient fort, the oldest early medieval settlement was founded around the same time as Avar garrisons appeared at key geostrategic positions at crossings over the Sava river.¹³ The obviously turbulent times prompted people to establish a settlement at this fortified position, as evidenced by the cremation cemetery and fragments of ceramic vessels excavated from several pits.¹⁴ It is possible that the establishment of the missionary centre at this site was also influenced by the existing communication links with Ptuj (*Poetovio*) and Sisak (*Siscia*), the ruins of the older early Christian church and the existing settlement, which were decisive for the choice of this location.

From the Carolingian period to the construction of the late Romanesque church, several stages of development can be roughly distinguished:

1. Late Avar and pre-Carolingian period Cremation cemetery: late 8th to early 9th century
2. Carolingian period Wooden church and pre-Romanesque basilica with adjacent cemetery: 9th – 10th century
3. Post-Carolingian period

Cemetery around the pre-Romanesque basilica until the construction of the late Romanesque basilica, with a sub-phase during which the graves were

¹⁴ Filipec 2009a, str. 347–357; Filipec 2021a, str. 65–68.

¹⁵ Filipec 2010, str. 112–126.

¹² Filipec 2002; Filipec 2007, pp. 411–422; Filipec 2008; Filipec 2017; Filipec 2021, pp. 33–64.

¹³ Filipec 2002; Filipec 2003, pp. 89–107; Filipec 2017, pp. 23–34.

¹⁴ Filipec 2009, pp. 347–357; Filipec 2021, pp. 65–68.



Sl. 2. Ostaci drvene karolinške crkve, poč. 9. st. (K. Filipec)

Fig. 2 Remains of the Carolingian wooden church, beginning of the 9th century. (K. Filipec)

jelom uništena. Svi nalazi vezani za taj sloj bili su dislocirani prilikom podizanja crkve. U kvalitetno izrađenoj glinenoj posudi, koja pripada jednom od uništenih grobova, uz ljudske (samo nekoliko sitnih čestica kosti) i životinjske ostatke pronađeni su oštećeni i deformirani brončani limovi, a u ostalim jamama nađeni su brončani limovi, dijelovi ogrlice sastavljene od perli od staklene paste, pečene gline i bronce te djelomično očuvana brončana žica čiji je jedan kraj zašiljen (možda je riječ o deformiranoj i oštećenoj karičici – sljepoočničarki). Još je u trima jamama, koje pripadaju istom tom sloju, a koje se sve nalaze ispod poda drvene crkve, otkriven pepeo i gar, no u jamama nije bilo ničega što bi ih moglo opredijeliti kao paljevinske grobove. Sukladno tome, teško je utvrditi koliko je veliko bilo to paljevinsko groblje. Ostaci ljudskih kostiju nisu pronađeni u jamama, već samo u dislociranoj posudi/urni.

Paljevinsko groblje osnovano je na prijelazu iz 8. u 9. stoljeće. Tada je Labor nastanjivala zajednica čije je groblje (moguće namjerno) uništeno ili s namjerom presloženo sakralnom građevinom. Drvena crkva sagrađena iznad paljevinskog groblja predstavlja radikalni prekid sa starim tradicijama.

Drvena crkva, kao najstarija karolinška građevina

expanded over the ruins of the pre-Romanesque basilica.

All graves are spread over a relatively large area, but are almost all within the same level. It was difficult to attribute the graves to certain phases, especially when there were no finds in them. Graves from the following developmental phases were found:

1. Cremation cemetery from the Late Bronze Age / Urnfield culture
2. Cemetery next to the early Christian church (first third of the 6th century to the last third of the 6th century)
3. Cremation cemetery (from the end of the 8th to the beginning of the 9th century)
4. Cemetery next to the wooden church and the pre-Romanesque basilica: from the 9th or 10th century to the turn from the 11th to the 12th century or to the 13th century.
5. Cemetery after the destruction of the pre-Romanesque basilica: from the 11th or 12th century to the 13th century.
6. Cemetery next to the late Romanesque church: from the 13th century onwards
7. Cemetery next to the Gothic church: until the mid-19th century

na na lokalitetu, jednobrodna je zgrada s pravokutnom apsidom i trijemom na pročelju. Orijentirana je poput ranokršćanske crkve, u smjeru zapad-istok. Ruševine ranokršćanske crkve zasigurno su bile dobro vidljive u vrijeme njezina podizanja, stoga je razumljivo da je nova građevina slijedila orijentaciju stare. Njezinu dužinu teško je točno izračunati s obzirom na to da je kanal sa stupovima u apsidi poprilično širok. Dužina broda s apsidom iznosi oko 11 metara, a širina oko 6 metara (sl. 2). Od drvene crkve ostale su sačuvane samo jame za stupove ili rovovi u koje su drveni stupovi bili okomito usađeni, a o kojima svjedoče pronađeni sitni ulomci drveta: ostatci greda i ostatci daske, planjke na podnici. Ispred pročelja građevine, na udaljenosti od oko jednog metra, otkrivena je još jedna jama od stupa identična onima u konstrukciji broda crkve. Takvo što tumači se postojanjem trijema ispred ulaza koji se nalazio na zapadnoj strani. U crkvi je bila vjerojatno drvena oltarna pregrada, jer su pred apsidom s unutrašnje strane očuvane rupe od stupova. Unutar nje stajala je mramorna menza, spolij prenesen iz ranokršćanske crkve. Najvažniji nalaz na prostoru ove crkve predstavljaju ostatci relikvijara.¹⁶

Dataciju loborskog relikvijara određuju okolnosti njegova nalaza. Otkriven je na prostoru drvene crkve koja može datirati u početak 9. stoljeća. Zaključuje se da je na to mjesto došao s akvilejskim misionarima koji su ondje započeli misionarsku djelatnost nakon što je ovaj dio Avarskog Kaganata većinski naseljen Slavenima i stavljen pod njihovu kontrolu. Loborski relikvijar nije izrađen od slonovače, već od kosti običnog jelena, što na neki način govori u prilog tome da su slični primjerci, rađeni od dostupnijeg materijala, vrlo vjerojatno izrađivani za područne crkve i misije, a moguće i u samim misijama. U Zalaváru su se vjerojatno proizvodili slični predmeti obloženi koštanim pločicama. U radionici koja je djelovala krajem 9. stoljeća na mjestu crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja pronađeni su ostatci radionice specijalizirane za izradu korica za kutijice i knjige.¹⁷ Zanimljivo je da se pozicija radionice nalazi u blizini drvene crkve kao i u Loboru, gdje se također prvotno mislilo da je riječ o radionici za izradu koštanih obloga knjiga, kutijica i noževa.

Bez obzira na to što nije izrađen od bjelokosti ili drugog skupocjenog materijala, radi se o majstorskom djelu koje se po načinu izrade, motivima

South of the ruins of the early Christian church and northwest of another late ancient masonry building of unknown purpose, a wooden church was erected at the beginning of the 9th century (Figure 2).¹⁵

In the postholes of the wooden church and beneath its earthen floor, a total of six pits and an archaeological layer of soil, possibly related to the remains of cremation graves, were found. Most of these pits, possibly graves, were completely or largely destroyed. All finds related to this layer were displaced during the construction of the church. A well-made pottery vessel belonging to one of the destroyed graves yielded human (only a few small bone fragments) and animal remains, as well as damaged and deformed bronze sheets. The other pits contained bronze sheets, parts of a necklace with beads made of glass paste, fired clay and bronze, and a partially preserved bronze wire with a pointed end, possibly a deformed and damaged temple ring. Ash and charcoal were found in three other pits belonging to the same stratum, all under the floor of the wooden church, but the pits contained nothing to identify them as cremation graves. Given the aforementioned, it is difficult to determine the size of this cremation cemetery. No human bone remains were found in the pits, only in the displaced vessel/urn.

The cremation cemetery was established at the turn from the 8th to the 9th century. At that time Lobar was inhabited by a community whose cemetery might have been deliberately destroyed or covered by a sacred building. The wooden church built over the cemetery represents a radical break with old traditions.

The wooden church, as the oldest Carolingian building at the site, was a single-nave structure with a rectangular apse and a porch at the front. It had the same orientation as the early Christian church: west to east. The ruins of the early Christian church were certainly well visible at the time of its construction, so it is understandable that the new structure followed its orientation. It is difficult to establish its exact length, given that the channel with the pillars in the apse is quite wide. The length of the nave with the apse is about eleven meters, and the width is about six meters (Figure 2). All that remains of the wooden church are the postholes or trenches in which the wooden posts were vertically embedded,

¹⁶ Filipec 2021a, str. 77–78.

¹⁷ Szőke 2014, str. 89–90, sl. 65.

¹⁵ Filipec 2010, pp. 112–126.

i koncepciji može uvrstiti među ljepše izradevine sjevernotalijanskih radionica. Prema stratigrafskim odnosima, pripada sloju koji se veže za drvenu crkvu, stoga je u Lobor došao najkasnije početkom 9. stoljeća s prvim misionarima s akvilejskog područja. Prema stilskim karakteristikama, pripada starijem vremenu, vjerojatno 6. ili 7. stoljeću. Pretpostavlja se da je riječ o relikvijaru koji nije nov donesen u misiju, jer je nađen u karolinškoj crkvi, već je stariji primjerak naknadno dopunjavan različitim novim komadićima. Relikvijar iz Lobora najstariji je sakralni predmet crkvenog inventara s područja srednjovjekovne Sisačke biskupije, koja je osnovana na akvilejskom misijskom prostoru i koja je obuhvaćala otprilike isti onaj prostor koji će nešto kasnije zauzimati i njezina nasljednica, Zagrebačka biskupija.

Nakon rušenja ili napuštanja crkve prostor je još neko vrijeme ostao prazan. Služio je kao odlagalište šute i otpada te se na tom mjestu nije pokapalo sve do sredine 12. stoljeća, a u sloju ruševine nađene su dvije kovanice ugarskog kralja sv. Stjepana.¹⁸

U apsidi crkve pronađen je grob i kostur djevojčice te par srebrnih, grozdolikih naušnica i par ovalnih karičica s koljencima i kuglom na dnu.¹⁹ Grob datira u 9. stoljeće i svjedoči o višem društvenom statusu pokojnice. Neuobičajena je okolnost da se grob nalazi unutar crkve, u njezinoj apsidi, jer takvi ukopi nisu česti u prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća. Grob pripada sloju grobova koji su ukapani u stijenu i u kojima najčešće nema nikakvih nalaza. Gotovo svi pokojnici iz tog sloja bili su položeni u ljesove, o čemu ponajviše govore oblici raka, a ponegdje i drveni ostatci.²⁰ Većina tih grobova, uglavnom bez ikakvih nalaza, ravna se prema predromaničkoj trobrodnoj bazilici, ali i drvenoj crkvi. Cijeli taj horizont grobova datira se u 9. i 10. stoljeće, najviše u odnosu prema zgradama, jer su samo u dvama grobovima pronađeni predmeti koji bi se mogli datirati: u grobu 149 pronađene su strelice kojima je pokojnik ubijen, a u grobu 895, grobu vrlo malog djeteta, pronađeni su ovalni filigranski gumbi s kraja 9. i početka 10. stoljeća.²¹

Pored drvene crkve podignuta je do sredine ili kraja 9. stoljeća nova kamena trobrodna bazilika nad ruševinama ranokršćanske crkve (sl. 3).

as evidenced by the small fragments of wood that were discovered, i.e. the remains of beams and the remains of planks on the floor. Approximately one metre in front of the façade of the building, another posthole was discovered. It is identical to the ones in the structural part of the nave of the church and points to the existence of a porch in front of the entrance, which was on the western side. The church likely had a wooden altar screen, as holes from posts have been preserved in front of the apse on the inside. It also housed a marble mensa, a spolia transferred from the early Christian church. The most important find in its area is the remains of a reliquary.¹⁶

The dating of the Lobor reliquary is determined by the circumstances of its discovery. Namely, it was found in the area of the wooden church, which can be dated to the beginning of the 9th century. It is believed that it arrived in Lobor with Aquileian missionaries, who began their missionary work here after this part of the Avar Khaganate was mainly settled by Slavs and brought under their control. The Lobor reliquary is not made of ivory but of common deer bone, which in some ways suggests that these kind of reliquaries, namely made of more accessible materials, were probably made for regional churches and missions, possibly even within the missions themselves. Similar items, covered with bone plates, were most probably also produced in Zalavár. The remains of a workshop specialising in the production of box and book covers were found at the site of a workshop that operated at the end of the 9th century at the Church of St. John the Baptist.¹⁷ Interestingly, the location of this workshop was close to a wooden church, as in the case of Lobor, where it was initially also thought to be a workshop for making covers for books, boxes and knives out of bone.

Although it is not made of ivory or any other precious material, it is a masterpiece that, in terms of craftsmanship, motifs and conception, can be compared to the finest works of northern Italian workshops. Based on the stratigraphic relationships, it belongs to the layer associated with the wooden church, indicating its arrival in Lobor no later than the beginning of the 9th century with the first missionaries from the Aquileian region. Its stylistic features place it into an earlier period, probably the 6th

¹⁸ Filipec 2012, str. 281–288.

¹⁹ Filipec 2021a, str. 77–79.

²⁰ Filipec 2021a, str. 104.

²¹ Filipec 2021a, str. 102.

¹⁶ Filipec 2021, pp. 77–78.

¹⁷ Szőke 2014, pp. 89–90, fig. 65.



Sl. 3. Ranokršćanska krstionica, predromanički zvonik ispred pročelja kasnoromaničke i postojeće gotičke crkve, zaštitna arheološka istraživanja (K. Filipec)

Fig. 3 Early Christian baptistery, pre-Romanesque bell tower in front of the facade of the late Romanesque and existing Gothic church, rescue archaeological excavations (K. Filipec)

Iako je podignuta iznad ranije crkve, ne koristi njezine zidove i ima nešto drukčiju orijentaciju, odstupa malo od pravilne orijentacije zapad-istok. Crkva je bila trobrodna, imala je tri apside, predvorje i zvonik u kojem je bio glavni ulaz u crkvu na pročelju. Unutar svetišta postojeće gotičke i kasnoromaničke crkve još uvijek je djelomično vidljiva središnja apside bazilike u visini od oko dva metra. U središnjoj apsidi kasnoromaničke crkve ostao je očuvan sjeverni zid središnje predromaničke apside, a gotička crkva preuzela je kasnoromaničku apsidu u cijelosti. Sjeverni i južni zidovi bili su raščlanjeni leznama, a zvonik ispred pročelja bio je s južne strane ojačan kontraforima. Od čeonog zida do kraja južne apside crkva je bila duga oko 24 metra, a široka oko 13 metara. Sporedni južni ulaz nije bio vidljiv u strukturi sačuvana temelja, već su samo stepenice ukazivale na njegovo postojanje. Njezina se unutrašnjost više puta uređivala te su pronađeni mnogobrojni ukrašeni kameni ulomci, dijelovi njezina inventara (sl. 7–8). Oni su djela ra-

or 7th century. It is assumed that the reliquary was brought to the mission not as a new item, because it was found in the Carolingian church, but that it is an older specimen that was later supplemented by various new elements. The Lobor reliquary is the oldest sacred object belonging to ecclesiastical inventory from the area of the medieval diocese of Sisak, which was founded in the Aquileian mission area and which roughly covered the same area that would later be occupied by its successor, the diocese of Zagreb.

After the church was demolished or abandoned, the area remained empty for some time and was used as a dumping ground for rubble, waste and garbage and no burials took place there until the mid-12th century. In the layer of ruins, two coins of the Hungarian King Saint Stephen were found.¹⁸

The grave and skeleton of a young girl were discovered in the apse of the church, together with a pair of grape-shaped silver earrings and a pair of

¹⁸ Filipec 2012, pp. 281–288.



Sl. 4. U grobu muškarca (grob 149), u prvom redu do predromaničke bazilike, na desnom ramenu pokojnika pronađene su dvije strelice, jedna cijela i dio trna druge (K. Filipec)

Fig. 4 Two arrowheads were found in the grave of a man (grave 149) in the first row next to the pre-Romanesque basilica – one whole arrowhead and part of the shaft of another. The arrowheads were found on the right shoulder of the deceased. (K. Filipec)

zličitih majstora, vrlo su kvalitetni i pokazuju stil-ske karakteristike koje se, prema analogijama s talijanskih i hrvatskih dalmatinskih nalazišta, datiraju od 9. do 11. stoljeća. Ulomci se stilski razlikuju, što ukazuje na kontinuirano dopunjavanje i mijenjanje inventara od početka 9. do kraja 11. stoljeća. Sva skulptura izrađena je od mramora koji je pronađen na lokalitetu, a riječ je o antičkim spolijima. Prema stilskim osobitostima, uočavaju se ne samo različiti

oval ringlets with joints and a sphere at the bottom.¹⁹ The grave dates from the 9th century and indicates a higher social status of the deceased. It is somewhat unusual for a grave to be located inside the church, in its apse, as such burials were not common in the first half of the 9th century. The grave belongs to the layer of graves, all of which were dug into the rock and most of which contained no finds. Almost all of the deceased in this layer were buried in coffins, as evidenced by the shape of the pits and the occasional remains of wood.²⁰ The majority of these graves, mostly without finds, are aligned with the pre-Romanesque three-nave basilica, but also with the wooden church. This whole horizon of graves is dated to the 9th and 10th centuries, mostly based on relation to the buildings, as only two graves contained datable items. Namely, arrowheads, which killed the deceased, were found in grave 149, while oval filigree buttons from the late 9th and early 10th centuries were discovered in grave 895, which belonged to a very young child.²¹

A new three-nave basilica was built out of stone next to the wooden church by the mid or late 9th century, over the ruins of the early Christian church (fig. 3).

Although built on top of it, it did not use its walls and had a slightly different orientation, i.e. a minor deviation from the correct west-east orientation. The structure was a three-nave church with three apses, a narthex and a bell tower featuring the main church entrance on the façade. Within the sanctuary of the existing Gothic and late Romanesque church, the central apse of the basilica is still partially visible at a height of about two metres. In the central apse of the late Romanesque church, the northern wall of the pre-Romanesque central apse has been preserved, while the Gothic church has fully incorporated the late Romanesque apse. The north and south walls were divided by lesenes, and the bell tower in front of the façade was reinforced with buttresses on the south side. From the front wall to the end of the southern apse, the church was approximately 24 metres long and 13 metres wide. The side entrance on the southern side was not visible in the structure of the preserved foundations, and only the staircase indicated its existence. The interior of the church was renovated several times and many dec-

¹⁹ Filipec 2021, pp. 77-79.

²⁰ Filipec 2021, 104.

²¹ Filipec 2021, p. 102.

stilovi ukrašavanja, odnosno podložaka prema kojima su isklesani motivi i ulomci, već i razlike u načinu obrade kamena, klesanju i izvedbi motiva. Mogu se izdvojiti najmanje tri ili čak četiri stila klesanja i ukrašavanja, prema čemu je moguće zaključiti da ulomci nisu bili isklesani u istom vremenu. Rasprava na ovu temu još nije završena.

Bazilika u Loboru imala je više titulara, što je uobičajeno u ranom srednjem vijeku u Dalmaciji i općenito na akvilejskom misijskom području kojem Lobor pripada. Na ulomcima se spominju ili se mogu pretpostaviti sljedeći sveci: sv. Marija, Marta ili Marcela, sv. Andrija, Ambroz ili sv. Anselmo odnosno neki drugi svetac s početnim slovima Ai, An ili Am, te Pavao, a vjerojatno se u invokaciji spominje i Sv. Trojstvo. Crkva je bila porušena ili napuštena do kraja 12. ili najkasnije do sredine 13. stoljeća, ali vjerojatnije i ranije, jer osim jednog eventualno romaničkog kapitela nema drugih dokaza o kasnijoj, romaničkoj dopuni unutrašnjosti. Zidovi središnje apside bili su dovoljno visoki i dobro očuvani te su uklopljeni u polukružnu apsidu znatno manje kasnoromaničke crkve koja je sagrađena iznad njezina središnjeg dijela. Prema arheološkim slojevima vidljivo je da se na lokalitetu nešto događa, da se crkva urušila ili je srušena u „određenom vremenu“, ali se to vrijeme teško detektira. U novom vijeku crkva je bila posvećene Majci Božjoj, tj. Rođenju Marijinu, te su zaboravljeni svi stari titulari.

U sjevernom dijelu predvorja predromaničke bazilike nalazila se presvođena grobnica (grob 107) u kojoj je bio položen mlađi muškarac, vjerojatno pripadnik kneževske obitelji. U grobnici uz pokojnika nema nikakvih predmeta, pa se taj grob uklapa u vrijeme kada nije bilo uobičajeno prilagati predmete u grobove.²² Uokolo crkve razvija se i širi groblje. Najstariji grobovi nalaze se uz samu crkvu, između ležena, uz apside i na pročelju ispred zvonika, većinom su bez ikakva nalaza, a sahranjivanje je obavljeno na uobičajen način, u ljesovima. Groblje se širi po cijelom lokalitetu, u svim smjerovima, sve do podnožja zemljanog bedema koji okružuje sjevernu i sjeverozapadnu stranu.

Nakon što su redovi grobova dosegnuli rub lokaliteta, ponovno počinju sahrane bliže crkvi, a moguće je da se to dogodilo i dok se groblje širilo na sve strane. Kako je utvrđeno da se dio grobova, čiji se predmeti okvirno mogu datirati od 11. do

orated stone fragments, elements of its inventory, from the 9th to 11th centuries were found (Figs. 7-8) there. These fragments, generally of high quality, were made by different masters and show stylistic features that, based on analogies with Italian and Croatian Dalmatian sites, are dated to the period from the 9th to the 11th century. As stylistically diverse fragments can be discerned, it suggests that the inventory was continuously supplemented and modified from the early 9th to the late 11th century. All the sculptures were made of local marble, which were ancient spolia. Based on the stylistic features, it is evident that there are different styles not only in the decoration, i.e. models based upon which motifs and fragments were carved, but also in the stone carving techniques and the execution of motifs. There are at least three or even four distinct styles of carving and decoration, which suggests that they were not all made at the same time. However, the discussion on this topic is not yet concluded.

The basilica in Lobor had several titular saints, which was common in the Early Middle Ages in Dalmatia and in the area of the Aquileian missions in general, to which Lobor belonged. The following saints are mentioned or can be assumed on the fragments: St. Mary, Martha or Marcella, St. Andrew, Ambrose or St. Anselm or another saint with the initials Ai, An or Am, and St. Paul. The invocation probably also mentions the Holy Trinity. The church was demolished or abandoned at the end of the 12th or mid-13th century at the latest, but probably even earlier, as there is no other evidence of later, Romanesque additions to the interior, except for a possibly Romanesque capital. The walls of the central apse were high and preserved well enough to be incorporated into the semicircular apse of the much smaller late Romanesque church, which was built over its central part. Archaeological layers indicate that there had been some activity on the site, suggesting that the church collapsed or was demolished at a “certain point in time”, which is difficult to determine. In modern times, the church was dedicated to the Mother of God, the Nativity of Mary, and all old titulars were forgotten.

A vaulted tomb (tomb 107) was found in the northern part of the narthex of the pre-Romanesque basilica, which contained the remains of a young man, probably a family member of the duke. There were no objects next to the deceased in the tomb, therefore this grave fits into the period when it was

²² Hincak *et al.* 2016, str. 155–164; Filipec 2021a, str. 101.

sredine ili druge polovice 13. stoljeća, pojavljuje i preko ruševina crkve, moguće je da se predmeti u grobovima počinju pojavljivati već od sredine 10. stoljeća. Među tim predmetima bile su različite varijante lijevanih grozdolikih naušnica, žičanih više ili manje kvalitetnih S-karičica i običnih karičica, zatim karičice s dvama zadržljajima na krajevima, različite trojagodne naušnice načinjene od filigranske žice, najrazličitiji prstenovi, dvodijelni i drugi privjesci, praporci, ogrlice od perli i različiti drugi ukrasni predmeti. Predmeti koji potječu s različitih strana, konkretno predmeti tzv. bjelobrdske i ketlaške kulture, upućuju na komunikaciju ove zajednice s drugim zajednicama i na preuzimanje nakita iz drugih kulturnih krugova. Nošnja tog vremena odražava tadašnja modna kretanja, a karakterizira je bogatstvo ukrasa. Pronađen je velik broj naušnica izrađenih od plemenitih metala, prvenstveno vrlo dobrog srebra, pa se može zaključiti da je u mjestu vladao prosperitet koji nije slabio kroz vrijeme. U jednom od uništenih grobova pronađena je kovаница ugarskog kralja Ladislava (1077. – 1095.). Grobovi iz Lobora pokazuju da se uz crkve najprije počinju sahranjivati pripadnici elite, a onda i ostali članovi zajednice. Pokopi u dubokim rakama i lješovima, kao i bogato opremljena predromanička bazilika uz koju su sahranjeni, svjedoče da nije riječ o siromašnu puku.

Uočavaju se velike sličnosti između grobova, grobnih nalaza i samog groblja oko bazilike na ovom lokalitetu i položaja i groblja oko bazilike u Zalaváru – Récéskút, kao i sličnosti s drugim zalavarskim lokalitetima. Ta se sličnost prvenstveno odnosi na činjenicu da su grobni nalazi rijetki ili potpuno izostaju, posebno kada je riječ o 9. i prvoj polovici 10. stoljeća. Nakon tog perioda raste broj predmeta u grobovima, osobito u ženskim grobovima, gdje se pojavljuju tipični ukrasni predmeti ženske nošnje uobičajeni na panonskom ili južnoalpskome prostoru. U poslijekarolinškom razdoblju uz baziliku se pojavljuje i grob s relativno velikim željeznim nožem u muškom grobu i s lijevanim prstenom.²³ Je li to znak poganstva ili samo trend vidljiv i na drugim grobljima, kao što je, primjerice, ono u Stenjevcu u Zagrebu, gdje je manji nož pronađen s velikoformatnim S-karičicama.²⁴

Općenito se trend sahranjivanja žena s nakitom

not customary to place items in graves.²² The cemetery further developed and expanded around the church, with the oldest graves close to the church, between the lesenes, next to the apses and in front of the bell tower. Most of the graves contained no finds while the burials were usually in coffins. The cemetery expanded over the entire site in all directions, reaching the foot of the earthen rampart that runs along the northern and north-western sides.

After the rows of graves reached the edge of the site, burials closer to the church were initiated again. It is possible that this even occurred during the time the cemetery expanded in all directions. Since it has been determined that part of the graves, which contained items roughly dated to the time from around the 11th to the mid or second half of the 13th century, were located on top of the ruins of the church, it is possible that items began appearing in graves already from the mid-10th century, including various cast grape-shaped earrings, S-shaped and plain wire ringlets of higher but also lower quality, rings with two thickened ends, various earrings with three beads made of filigree wire, a variety of rings, two-part pendants, bells, pendants, bead necklaces and other decorative items. Items from different cultures, such as the so-called Bijelo Brdo and Kötflach cultures, show that this community interacted with others and adopted jewellery from different regions. The clothing of the people was typical of the period, following the trends of that time and richly decorated. A large number of earrings made of precious metals and high quality silver was found, indicating a certain prosperity of the settlement that did not diminish over time. A coin of the Hungarian King Ladislaus (1077-1095) was found in one of the destroyed graves. The graves in Lobor reveal that members of the social elite were the first to be buried next to the churches, and then followed by other members of the community. Burials in deep pits and coffins, together with the richly furnished pre-Romanesque basilica next to which they were buried, suggest that the population there was not poor. In fact, the man buried in the vaulted tomb was not accompanied by any items in the grave.

There are notable similarities between the graves, the artefacts found in them, and the cemetery around the basilica with the location and cemetery around the basilica in Zalavár – Récéskút. These similarities are also evident at other sites in Zalavár. The most significant similarity is related to

²³ Nož je dužine 19,8 cm i širine 2 cm (Filipec *et al.* 2002, str. 22, 30, T. 2, 5).

²⁴ Simoni 2004, str. 28–29.

²² Hincak *et al.* 2016, pp. 155-164; Filipec 2021, p. 101.

i pojava nove mode može povezati s odmakom od onog što je ranije bilo uobičajeno, no to još uvijek nije dokaz povratka poganstvu. Nož u grobu nije uobičajeni nalaz toga vremena, ali se ipak pojavljuje kod starosjedilaca. Hrvati su kristijanizirani, no unatoč tome kroz cijeli rani srednji vijek nastavljaju pokojnike sahranjivati s podosta predmeta, premda kod njih nema nikakvog političkog prekida uzrokovanog mađarskom provalom.²⁵ Nalaz noža u jednom grobu i S-karičice u drugom, kao i grobovi bez ikakvih predmeta, dokaz su da su se i u Zalaváru sahrane nastavile obavljati ne samo tijekom 10. već i u 11. stoljeću, odnosno da se održao njihov kontinuitet iako u reduciranom obliku.²⁶ U Loboru i Zalaváru procesi su slični, stoga su očito oba mjesta krajem 10. ili vjerojatnije početkom 11. stoljeća došla pod mađarski politički utjecaj, moguće u vrijeme kralja Stjepana I., međutim, kad je u pitanju Lobor, taj utjecaj nije bio stalan. Običaji sahranjivanja i predmeti u grobovima pokazuju da su tamošnji ljudi pratili sve onodobne trendove i modu. Na istraženom dijelu nisu nađene kuće ni drugi slični građevinski objekti, a moguće je da su se kuće nalazile tamo gdje se nalaze i danas.

Kad se piše o Zalaváru, većinom se vodi time da je naselje uništeno ili napušteno u vrijeme mađarske seobe u prvim desetljećima 10. stoljeća te da je potom dio mjesta (benediktinski samostan) obnovljen za vrijeme vladavine ugarskog kralja sv. Stjepana ili, nešto ranije, u vrijeme njegova oca, velikog vojvode Gejze. Čini se da mjesto ipak nije bilo posve napušteno i da tamošnje crkve nisu bile porušene, možda tek napuštene. Sve što se piše o Zalaváru može se primijeniti i na Lobor, u kojem se nakon karolinškog vremena događaju neke neobične situacije. Jedna od njih je rušenje predromaničke bazilike nakon kojega nije odmah uslijedila izgradnja nove crkve. Dakle, postoji sakralni diskontinuitet. Moglo bi se također zaključiti da nakon rušenja bazilike počinje sporadično sahranjivanje pokojnika po ruševinama, koje se i nastavlja, što najbolje pokazuju

the fact that finds in the graves are rare or non-existent, especially when it comes to the 9th and the first half of the 10th century. After that, there are more items in the graves, particularly in women's graves, where typical decorative items of female attire common in the Pannonian or South Alpine region appear. Furthermore, in the post-Carolingian period, a grave next to the basilica yielded a relatively large iron knife in a male grave and a cast ring.²³ This raises the question of whether this is a sign of paganism or simply a trend visible also in other cemeteries, such as the one in Stenjevec in Zagreb, where a smaller knife was found with large S-shaped earrings.²⁴ The practice of burying women with jewellery and the appearance of a new type of fashion in general can be linked to a departure from what was customary in earlier times. However, it is not yet proof of a return to paganism. A knife in a grave is not a typical find of that time, but it nevertheless did appear among the indigenous population. The Croats were Christianised, yet throughout the entire Early Middle Ages, they brought in many items into burials, while they did not experience any political disruption caused by the Hungarian invasion.²⁵ The discovery of a knife in a grave accompanied by an S-shaped earring in another grave as well as graves without any items provide evidence that burials continued in Zalavár-Récskút not only during the 10th century but also in the 11th century, albeit in a reduced form.²⁶ The processes observed in Lobor and Zalavár are similar, indicating that both places came under Hungarian political influence at the end of the 10th or, more likely, at the beginning of the 11th century, possibly during the reign of King Stephen I, although this influence was not constant in Lobor. The burial customs and items found in graves reveal that the people there followed all trends and fashion of that time. No ev-

²⁵ Petrinc 2009.

²⁶ Szöke piše da je pogrešno govoriti o arpádovskom horizontu groblja oko crkve na temelju male naušnice sa S-završetkom od tanke žice u jednom grobu i na temelju željeznog noža. Nadalje piše da je mnogo vjerojatnije da ovi nalazi upućuju na stanovništvo koje je ostalo na tom području u 10. stoljeću i „vratilo se svom poganstvu“, nego na zajednicu koja se ponovno pokapala oko obnovljene crkve početkom arpádovskog razdoblja (Szöke 2021, str. 407, bilj. 2643).

²³ Filipec 2002, pp. 22, 30, T. 2,5: knife with length 19,80 cm, width 2,00 cm.

²⁴ Simoni 2004, pp. 28-29.

²⁵ Petrinc 2009,

²⁶ Szöke 2021, p. 407 and note 2643: it states that it is incorrect to speak of the Arpadian horizon of the cemetery around the church based on a small S-ended earring made of thin wire in one grave and based on an iron knife... Furthermore, it says that it is much more likely that these finds indicate a population that remained in place in the 10th century and "returned to their paganism" rather than a community that was buried again around the renovated church at the beginning of the Arpadian period.



Sl. 5 Grob pozicioniran uz rub lokaliteta u kojem su pronađene velikoformatne S-karičice. Posljednji redovi grobova uz groblje uz predromaničku baziliku, 12. st. (K. Filipec)

Fig. 5. Grave located at the edge of the site where large S-shaped ringlets were found. The last rows of graves by the cemetery next to the pre-Romanesque basilica (12th century). (K. Filipec)

grobovi datirani u 12. ili 13. stoljeće (sl. 5).

No, kako su tu uvijek prisutni i grobovi bez nalaza, teoretski se vrijeme kad na toj poziciji nema crkve, odnosno kad je predromanička bazilika bila porušena, a još nije bila sagrađena kasnoromanička crkva, proteže od zadnje trećine 10. i prve trećine 11. do sredine 13. stoljeća. Prema ulomcima crkvenog namještaja i postojećim analizama, čini se da problemu ne pripomaže ni kamena skulptura koja je krasila unutrašnjost crkve. Ako bi prostor potpao pod Mađare prije početka 11. stoljeća, bi li bilo za očekivati da se crkva nakon toga uopće uređuje. Teoretski bi to bilo moguće nakon 11. stoljeća, no nema podataka koji bi to potvrdili. Dakle, zbog mađarskih provala i povlačenja franačke vlasti, za očekivati je da to nije bilo podesno vrijeme za takve aktivnosti. One bi postale izvedive tek s relativnim smirivanjem stanja tijekom 11. stoljeća, osim ako ulazak Hrvata u Panoniju nije stabilizirao političko stanje i omogućio nesmetani napredak, opremanje i možda popravak bazilike (toranj je naknadno učvršćivan). Na splitskom koncilu 928. ispražnjena Sisačka biskupija, kojoj pripada i Lobor, nudi se Grguru.²⁷ Čini se da je u to doba ovo crkveno područje podređeno Splitskoj metropoliji, a posredno je to dokaz i političke podređenosti. Treba ispitati što se događa s Panonijom nakon što je Sveto Rimskog Carstvo započelo ponovno osvajanje. Moguće je da je upravo ugroza sa zapada dovela u tješnju vezu

idence of houses or similar structures was found in the investigated area, possibly because the houses were located where they are still today.

Scientific publications about Zalavár often state that it was destroyed or abandoned during the Hungarian migration in the first decades of the 10th century and that part of the settlement (the Benedictine monastery) was restored during the reign of the Hungarian King St. Stephen or, more likely, during the time of his father, Grand Prince Géza. However, it seems that it was not completely abandoned and that the local churches were not demolished, but perhaps only abandoned. Everything written about Zalavár can also be applied to Lobor. In Lobor, after the Carolingian period, unusual events occurred, one of which was the demolition of the pre-Romanesque basilica without immediately constructing a new church. Thus there was a sacred discontinuity present. It can be surmised that following the demolition of the basilica, sporadic burials commenced within the ruins, a practice that continued and is most evident in graves dated to the 12th or 13th century (Fig. 5).

However, as there are also graves without finds, theoretically, it is possible that the period of time when there was no church at that location, i.e., when the pre-Romanesque basilica was demolished and the late Romanesque church had not yet been built, spans from the last third of the 10th and the first third of the 11th century to the mid-13th century. Based on the fragments of the interior furnishings and existing analyses, the stone sculpture that adorned its interior does not help either in solving the problem. If the area fell under Hungarian control before the beginning of the 11th century, would it be possible to expect the church to be maintained in the time after. Theoretically, this would be possible after the 11th century, but there is no data to substantiate this. Therefore, one might expect that due to the Hungarian invasions and the withdrawal of Frankish authority, it was not a suitable time for such activities. Such activities would only be possible with the relative stabilisation that occurred during the 11th century, unless the arrival of the Croats in Pannonia stabilised the political situation and enabled uninterrupted progress, furnishing, and perhaps the repair of the basilica (the tower was subsequently reinforced). At the Council of Split in 928, the vacant diocese of Sisak was offered to Gregory, and Lobor belonged to that diocese.²⁷ It appears

²⁷ Horvat 1954, str. 95.

²⁷ Horvat 1954, p. 95.



Sl. 6 Pilastar oltarne ograde, mramor, prva pol. 9. st. (snimio K. Filipec)

Fig. 6 Pilaster of the altar screen, marble, first half of the 9th century. (K. Filipec)

Ugarsku i Hrvatsku te područja između njih.

Kod datiranja crkava i interpretacije nalaza iz Lobora, lokalitet se promatra kao dio Donje Panonije, te se na njega primjenjuju različite postavke hrvatske ili mađarske historiografije o pripadnosti srednjovjekovne Slavonije prije kraja 11. stoljeća. Kako se na dvjema pozicijama, koje geografski nisu jako udaljene jedna od druge (između Lobora i Zalavára je oko 140 km), ponavlja ista ili vrlo slična situacija, očito nešto u primijenjenoj metodi i interpretacijama nalazišta i predmeta nije dobro. Ni jedan od ova dva lokaliteta nije bio napušten, postoji kontinuitet (iako možda ne na svim mjestima) te na njima nema tipičnih predmeta mađarske provenijencije iz vremena zauzimanja Karpatske kotline. Ono što pokazuju sva dosadašnja arheološka istraživanja jest da ponovna pojačana gradnja crkava u Donjoj Panoniji započinje tek od sredine ili vjerojatnije pred kraj 12. stoljeća.

that during this period, the area was ecclesiastically subordinate to the Metropolitanate of Split, which indirectly indicates political subordination as well. It is also necessary to examine what happened to Pannonia after the Holy Roman Empire began its reconquest. It is possible that precisely the threat from the west may have brought about closer connections between Hungary and Croatia, as well as the areas between them.

In the context of dating the churches and interpreting the finds from Lobor, the site is viewed as part of Lower Pannonia and hence subject to different interpretations by Croatian or Hungarian historiographies regarding the belonging of medieval Slavonia before the end of the 11th century. Given that the same or similar circumstances are observed in both locations, which are geographically not far apart (approximately 140 km between Lobor and Zalavár), it can be concluded that the applied method and interpretations of the sites and artefacts are not accurate. Both sites were not abandoned, there was continuity (although perhaps not in all locations), and they do not contain typical items of Hungarian origin from the time of the occupation of the Carpathian Basin. Furthermore, all archaeological research to date indicates that the intensified construction of churches in Lower Pannonia commenced again only from the mid-12th century, or more likely before the end of the 12th century.

With regard to Lobor, it is evident that both its churches were destroyed; the wooden church at the beginning of the 11th century and the three-nave basilica during the 11th century. Theoretically, since the finds from the graves belong to the late phases of the so-called Bijelo Brdo culture, it might have been destroyed at the time of the Mongol invasion in 1242. While it is common to seek causes for the destruction of churches in the Hungarian invasions, other explanations are also possible. The perimeter walls of the three-nave basilica in Lobor were dismantled, and graves with items from the 12th or 13th century were found on them. There is no evidence that the basilica was burned down. In addition to the conflicts with the Hungarians, historical processes actually align more closely with events related to the re-entry of the Holy Roman Empire during the reign of Otto III in the second half of the 10th century or later, throughout the entire 11th until the 12th century when there were constant battles, conflicts and devastations along the border. Ultimately, perhaps no historical event can be directly linked to

Ono što je razvidno je da su obje loborske crkve porušene, drvena crkva početkom 11. stoljeća, a trobrodna bazilika tijekom 11. stoljeća. Kako grobni nalazi pripadaju kasnim fazama funkcioniranja tzv. bjelobrdske kulture, potonja je teoretski mogla biti razorena tek u vrijeme mongolske provale 1242. godine. Uobičajeno je uzroke uništavanja crkava tražiti u vremenu mađarskih provala, no mogući su i drugi uzroci. Perimetralni zidovi trobrodne bazi- like u Loboru razgrađeni su te se na njima nalaze grobovi s predmetima iz 12. ili 13. stoljeća. Nema dokaza da je crkva spaljena. Uz naravno sukobe s Mađarima, ti povijesni procesi mogu se povezati s događajima vezanim za ponovni ulazak Svetog Rimskog Carstva u vrijeme vladavine Otona III., u drugoj polovici 10. stoljeća ili kasnije, kroz cijelo 11. do u 12. stoljeće, kada se na granici stalno odvi- jaju borbe, sukobi i pustošenja. Na kraju, možda se ni jedan povijesni događaj ne može povezati s njezi- nim rušenjem. Moguće je da je jednostavno stradala u nekom potresu ili da se urušila zbog neodržavanja te neko vrijeme nije bilo crkve na lokalitetu dok nije sagrađena nova kasnoromanička, a to je već vrijeme kad se općenito puno gradi na području Zagrebačke biskupije.

Tijekom druge polovice 12. ili u prvoj polovici 13. stoljeća gradi se jednobrodna kasnoromanička crkva s polukružnom apsidom, a nakon nje uslijedi- la je kasnogotička crkva iz prvih desetljeća 16. sto- ljeća. Cijelo to vrijeme u kontinuitetu se sahranjuje oko crkve, što je dovelo do uništavanja mnogobroj- nih plićih grobova starijih faza u njihovu okolišu. Nakon 11. stoljeća značenje mjesta očito opada, što je moguće povezano s uspostavom nove političke strukture nakon povezivanja Hrvatske i Ugarske u zajednicu krajem 11. stoljeća i premještanja središta moći na druge pozicije. Nalazi s groblja svjedoče o zajednici koja je kroz razvijeni i kasni srednji vijek bila relativno bogata i koja će kasnije biti sposobna podignuti nove crkve, koje neće biti župne već uvi- jek hodočasničke.²⁸



Sl. 7. Ulomak tranzene s likom bradatog muškarca, prva pol. 9. st. (K. Filipec)

Fig. 7 Fragment of a transenna with the image of a bearded man, first half of the 9th century. (K. Filipec)

its destruction; it might have simply been destroyed in an earthquake or collapsed due to neglect, and for some time, there was no church at the site until the new late Romanesque church was built, which happened at a time when construction in the area of the diocese of Zagreb was in general more intense.

The single-nave late Romanesque church with a semicircular apse was built in the second half of the 12th or the first half of the 13th century. It was followed by the late Gothic church from the first decades of the 16th century. During this period, burials around the church took place continuously, which led to the destruction of numerous shallower graves from earlier phases in its surroundings. After the 11th century, the significance of the site appears to have declined. This may be attributed to the establishment of a new political structure following the formation of the Croatian-Hungarian union at the end of the 11th century, which resulted in the relocation of the centres of power to other places. The finds from the cemetery indicate that the local community was relatively wealthy throughout the High and Late Middle Ages, which enabled them to build new churches, which were always pilgrimage churches rather than parish churches.²⁸

²⁸ Župna crkva nalazi se na manjem brijegu ispod gradi- ne i posvećena je sv. Ani.

²⁸ The parish church is located on a small hill below the hillfort and is dedicated to St. Anne.

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