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Ranosrednjovjekovna naselja i crkve u ruralnim područjima današnje Vojvodine: Studija slučaja Crkveno brdo

Lokalitet Crkveno brdo nalazi se u Vojvodini, u blizini grada Sente. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja ovog lokaliteta otkriveno je naselje s pripadajućom nekropolom i crkvom, a u samom naselju zabilježeno je nekoliko desetaka objekata, među kojima pet kuća, devet peći, četrdeset i jedna jama, trinaest rovova i jedan bunar nepravilnog oblika. Naselje je bilo nastanjeno uglavnom od 11. do 13. stoljeća, međutim, pojedini sitni nalazi upućuju na naseljenost i tijekom 14. i 15. stoljeća. Tamošnja crkva podignuta je na već postojećoj nekropoli, a njezina se izgradnja može povezati s pokrštaivanjem Mađara u 11. stoljeću. Crkva se gradila u nekoliko faza, tijekom kojih je proširivana i oslikavana freskama. Takva posvećenost jednoj sakralnoj građevini svjedoči o njezinoj važnosti za lokalno stanovništvo, koje je težilo očuvanju kontinuiteta tog kulnog prostora. Nekropola oko crkve bila je u uporabi od 10./11. pa sve do 15./16. stoljeća. Dugo razdoblje naseljenosti i života na ovom lokalitetu upućuje na to da je ovo bilo važno lokalno središte u ovom dijelu mađarske srednjovjekovne države.

Ključne riječi: Vojvodina, Mađari, Crkveno brdo, srednjovjekovno naselje, srednjovjekovna nekropola, srednjovjekovna crkva.

Early Medieval settlements and churches in rural areas of modern Vojvodina: Crkveno brdo case study

Crkveno brdo site is situated in the vicinity of the town of Senta in Vojvodina. During archaeological excavations, a settlement with an adjacent necropolis and a church were discovered. During the excavation of the settlement, several dozens of structures were documented, among them five houses, nine kilns, forty-one pits, thirteen trenches, and a water well of irregular shape. The settlement was mainly in use from the 11th to the 13th century, while several discovered small finds suggest the usage also during the 14th and 15th centuries. The church was erected on the already existing necropolis, and its founding can be tied to the conversion of Magyars to Christian faith in the 11th century. Church had several building phases, during which it was enlarged and depicted in fresco technique. Such treatment of this sacral building suggests that it had great importance for the local population who insisted on the continuity of this cultic space. The necropolis around the church was used from the 10th/11th century until the 15th/16th century. The longevity of life on this site suggests it was an important local central place in this part of the Magyar medieval state.

Key words: Vojvodina, Magyars, Crkveno brdo, medieval settlement, medieval necropolis, medieval church.



Sl. 1. Položaj lokaliteta (prema: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, sl. 1)

Fig. 1 Position of the site (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, Fig. 1)

Lokalitet Crkveno brdo nalazi se oko 10 km jugozapadno od grada Sente (Szenta) odnosno oko 1,5 km jugozapadno od današnjeg sela Gornjeg Brega (Felsőhegy) u Vojvodini (sl. 1), a obuhvaća površinu od oko 10 hektara. Smješten je uz desnu stranu lokalne ceste Senta – Tornjoš, nasuprot imanju obitelji Babin.

Ovaj lokalitet prvi je uočio Andor Dudaš, lokalni zaljubljenik u povijest i starine, krajem 19. stoljeća.¹ Kasnije je, u kratkom članku iz 1944. godine, Joseph Korek² objavio položaj arheološkog nalazišta navodeći postojanje ostataka kamene crkve oko koje je formirana nekropola. Nalazište je ponovno zabilježeno tek 2018. godine u sklopu projekta *Arheološka karta sjeverne Bačke*, a 2019. godine započela su iskopavanja naselja radi izgradnje plinovoda.³ Geofizička istraživanja koja su uslijedila omogućila su uvid u točan položaj crkve opasane dvama rovovima, smještene oko 200 metara jugozapadno od naselja. Konačno su 2021. godine započela sustavna iskopavanja crkve i okolne nekropole.⁴

Prema rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja, na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo postojalo je srednjovjekovno naselje otvorenog tipa koje se prostiralo na površini od oko 6 hektara. Tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja provedenih 2019. godine istražena

Crkveno brdo site is located about 10 km southwest from the town of Senta (Szenta), about 1.5 km southwest of modern village of Gornji breg (Felsőhegy) in Vojvodina (fig. 1). It encompasses the area of around 10 ha along the right side of the local road Senta – Tornyos, opposite the farm of the Babin family.

It was first noticed in the late 19th century by Andor Dudaš, local antiquity and history admirer.¹ Later, in a short article from 1944 the position of the archaeological site is presented by Joseph Korek,² who noted that there exist the remains of the stone church around which a necropolis is formed. It was again recorded only in 2018 within the project *Archaeological map of the northern Bačka region*, and in 2019 the settlement was excavated within the activities performed during the building of the gas pipeline.³ The geophysical survey that followed enabled an insight into the precise position of the church surrounded by two trenches, about 200m southwest of the settlement. Finally, in 2021 started systematic excavations of the church and surrounding necropolis.⁴

According to the results of archaeological surveys, at the site of Crkveno Brdo there existed an open-type medieval settlement, which extended over an area of about 6 ha. During protective ar-

¹ Dudaš 1890.

² Korek 1944, str. 324–325.

³ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 83.

⁴ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 95.

¹ Dudaš 1890.

² Korek 1944, pp. 324–325.

³ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, p. 83.

⁴ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, p. 95.



Sl. 2. Tlocrt naselja
(prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, sl. 3)
Fig. 2 Ground plan of the settlement
(after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, Fig. 3)

je površina od cca 1250 m² na lijevoj padini danas gotovo presušene rijeke. Istraživanjem je otkriveno pet kuća, devet peći, četrdeset i jedna jama, jedan bunar kao i trinaest rovova različitih dimenzija i oblika (sl. 2).⁵

Najčešći tip kuće bile su zemunice nepravilnog ovalnog ili pravokutnog oblika. Istražene dimenzije tih nastambi bile su od 2,20 do 4 m (S-J) × 1,15 do

archaeological excavations conducted in 2019, an area was investigated of approximately 1250 m² on the left slope of a now almost dried-up river. This investigation revealed five houses, nine furnaces, forty-one pits, one well, as well as thirteen trenches of various dimensions and shapes (fig. 2).⁵

The most common type of houses are dug-out houses with irregular oval or rectangular shapes, the explored dimensions of which were 2.20–4 m (N–S) × 1.15–4.60 m (E–W), while the depth to which they were dug ranged from 0.40 m to 1.80 m. Their floors could have had a slope, created by the difference in the digging depth that could reach up to 0.90 m. Access to the houses was via staircases, with the width of the steps ranging from 0.25/0.30 m to 0.80 m, while their height was between 0.40 and 0.45 m. In some cases, oval arched niches were discovered in the walls of the dug-out houses, with maximum dimensions of 0.90 m in length, 0.60 m in width, and 0.30 m in height. The houses were heated using circular domed furnaces made of earth, with a diameter of up to 1.50 m, which were located next to the dwellings, at the level from which the house was dug into the loess, or in the mentioned niches in the walls of the houses. Since no traces of structures that would carry the roof were found inside the dug-outs, nor along their outer edges, it remains unknown how they were covered. However, it should be noted that in the leveled area of irregular rectangular shape (6 × 2.20 m), located between houses 2 and 3, three circular pits were discovered, with a diameter of 0.20–0.25 m and 2 m apart from each other, forming an equilateral triangle (fig. 3A). It can be assumed that these pits held posts that supported some kind of roof structure, covering the aforementioned courtyard area.⁶

In the settlement, a semi-dug-out wooden dwelling (house 4) was discovered, that had somewhat larger dimensions of inner space, 7.25 m (N–S) × 5 m (E–W), with a maximum digging depth of 0.45 m (fig. 3B). Along all the edges of the house, at the floor level, there was a 0.10 m wide shallow trench, which served as the foundation for the walls made using the wattle and daub technique. The house had a gabled roof supported by three large posts arranged along the N–S axis. The diameters of the end posts were 0.40 m, while the central post was twice as large with a diameter of

⁵ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 85.

⁵ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, p. 85.

⁶ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, pp. 85–87.



Sl. 3. A – Kuće 2 i 3, ortofoto (prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, sl. 5); B – kuća 4, ortofoto (prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, sl. 7)

Fig. 3 A – Houses 2 and 3, orthophoto (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, Fig. 5); B – House 4, orthophoto (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, Fig. 7)

4,60 m (I-Z), dok se dubina ukopa kretala od 0,40 do 1,80 m. Podovi su mogli imati nagib koji je mogao sezati i do 0,90 m, a koji je nastao razlikom u dubini kopanja. Kućama se pristupalo pomoću stubišta, pri čemu je širina stepenica bila od 0,25/0,30 do 0,80 m, a visina između 0,40 i 0,45 m. U pojedinim slučajevima u zidovima zemunica otkrivene su ovalne lučne niše, koje su bile duge maksimalno 90 cm, široke 60 cm i visoke 30 cm. Kuće su se grijale zemljanim kružnim kupolnim pećima koje su imale promjer do 1,50 m, a nalazile su se uz nastambe, na razini na kojoj su kuće bile ukopane u les, ili unutar spomenutih niša u zidovima. Budući da unutar zemunica, kao ni uz njihove vanjske rubove, nisu pronađeni tragovi konstrukcija koje bi nosile krovšte, ostaje nepoznato kako su bile natkrivene. Međutim, treba napomenuti da su u zaravnatom prostoru nepravilnog pravokutnog oblika (6 × 2,20 m), smještenom između kuća 2 i 3, otkrivene tri kružne rupe promjera 0,20 – 0,25 m, udaljene jedna od druge 2 m, koje zajedno tvore jednakostranični trokut (sl. 3A). Moguće je da su te rupe služile za stupove koji su nosili neku vrstu krovne konstrukcije, koja je natkrivala spomenuti prostor dvorišta.⁶

U naselju je otkrivena i poluukopana drvena nastamba (kuća 4) nešto većih unutrašnjih dimenzija, odnosno 7,25 (S-J) × 5 m (I-Z) s maksimalnom ukopanom dubinom od 0,45 m (sl. 3B). Uz sve rubove kuće u razini poda nalazio se plitki rov širine 0,10 m, koji je služio kao temelj za zidove rađene od pletera omazanog zemljom. Kuća je imala dvostrešni krov poduprt trima velikim stupovima postavljenim

0,85 m. This central post was also dug to a depth of 1.20 m below the floor level.⁷ In the remaining part of the settlement earthen domed furnaces were discovered, that were built independently, as well as an unwallled well with a diameter of about 2.20 m, which was explored to a depth of 2.00 m. The most numerous type of explored structures are pits, which could be circular, with a diameter of 0.70 to 1.20 m, oval with a maximum length of 1.20 m, as well as irregularly shaped, with various dimensions. In cross-section, they could be pear-shaped, or have straight or sloped walls. Their depth also varies, ranging from 0.40 to about 1 m. Most of the pits were used as waste disposal, although almost a third of them could have served as storage pits. The final type of explored structures are trenches of various shapes and dimensions, which could have belonged to a fence or served as drainage channels.⁸

Discovered finds, primarily pottery, suggest that the settlement lived from the 11th to the 15th century, which is confirmed by the C¹⁴ dating of animal bones. It is necessary to accentuate that the finds dated later than the 13th century are primarily discovered within the horizon formed above the dug-out structures, while within those structures the ceramics dating from the 11th to the 13th century predominate.⁹ Those are primarily pottery cauldrons belonging to the mid-Tisa region type (fig. 4A),¹⁰

⁷ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, p. 87.

⁸ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, pp. 88–90.

⁹ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, p. 95, Grafikon. 1.

¹⁰ Takács 1986; Takács 1996, p. 135; Takács 2010, pp. 139, 141, 148, 153; Takács 2012, p. 229; Takács 2022, p. 347.

⁶ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 85–87.

duž osi sjever-jug. Promjeri krajnjih stupova iznosili su 0,40 m, dok je središnji stup bio dvostruko veći s promjerom od 0,85 m i dubinom ukopa od 1,20 m ispod razine poda.⁷ U ostatku naselja otkrivene su zasebno građene zemljane kupolaste peći i nezidani bunar promjera oko 2,20 m koji je istražen do dubine od 2 m. Od svih istraženih objekata najbrojnije su jame. Neke su kružne, promjera od 0,70 do 1,20 m, neke ovalne s maksimalnom duljinom od 1,20 m, a neke su i nepravilnog oblika različitih dimenzija. Gledajući presjek, jame su imale kruškolik oblik, ili ravne ili zakošene stijenke, a njihova dubina kretala se od 0,40 do 1 m. Većina jama služila je za odlaganje otpada iako ih je gotovo trećina mogla poslužiti i za skladištenje. Posljednji tip istraženih objekata su rovovi različitih oblika i dimenzija, koji su mogli biti dio ograde ili služiti kao odvodni kanali.⁸

Arheološki nalazi, pogotovo keramike, upućuju na to da je ovaj lokalitet bio naseljen od 11. do 15. stoljeća, što potvrđuju i radiokarbonske analize životinjskih kostiju. Potrebno je naglasiti da se nalazi datirani nakon 13. stoljeća otkrivaju prvenstveno unutar horizonta formiranog iznad sloja zemunice, dok unutar tih objekata prevladava keramika iz razdoblja od 11. do 13. stoljeća.⁹ To su, prije svega, keramički kotlovi koji pripadaju tipu srednjeg Potisja (sl. 4A)¹⁰ i lonci datirani u razdoblje između 12. i 13./14. stoljeća (sl. 4B).¹¹ Izgledom se ističe jedna boca, nađena na podu kuće 4, koja se na temelju analogija datira u 12. ili prvu polovicu 13. stoljeća (sl. 4C).¹² Budući da su u istraženim kućama otkriveni tragovi gorenja ili požara, može se pretpostaviti da je otkopani dio bio naseljen od 11. do 13. stoljeća, ali je vjerojatno napušten tijekom mongolske invazije. U razdoblju od 13. do 15. stoljeća napušteni dio naselja služio je kao odlagalište otpada, a nove nastambe podignute su na obližnjem mjestu. U prilog tome govori i činjenica da je tijekom istraživanja kuće 4 otkrivena znatna količina opeke, što ukazuje na postojanje objekata od čvrstog materijala, no oni još nisu locirani. Ova tvrdnja dodatno je potkrijepljena otkrićem kaljevih peći iz

as well as pots dated to the period between 12th and 13th/14th century (fig. 4B).¹¹ One bottle, from the floor of House 4, stands out by its appearance and is dated, according to the analogies, to the 12th or the first half of the 13th century (fig. 4C).¹² Since traces of burning were discovered in the explored houses, it can be assumed that the excavated part of the settlement was in use from the 11th to the 13th century and was likely abandoned during the Mongol invasion. In the period from the 13th to the 15th century, the abandoned part of the settlement served as a dump, while dwellings were built in another nearby location. This is supported by the fact that a significant quantity of bricks was discovered during the excavation of House 4, indicating the existence of buildings made of solid materials, which have not yet been located. This claim is further substantiated by the discovery of tiled stoves dated to the 14th/15th century (fig. 4D),¹³ that were usually discovered on furnaces within houses built of solid materials, and were not typical for the type of houses discovered during excavations.¹⁴

The rest of the collected archaeological material provides insight into the economy of the population that lived at Crkveno Brdo. It was an agricultural community, as evidenced by the finds of iron scythes and several fragments of grindstones with the diameters of 38–50 cm, as well as a fragmented stone mortar with a handle that was used for grinding and crushing food. Discovered stone and ceramic spindle whorls with diameters of 2.2–3.3 cm indicate wool processing, which indirectly suggests livestock farming, confirmed by archaeozoological evidences. The most significant domestic species for the economy were cattle and horses, while sheep, goats, and pigs were raised to a lesser extent, along with chickens, ducks, geese, dogs, and cats. Hunting and fishing did not play a major role in the economic strategy of the inhabitants of this settlement, but it was noted that they consumed hare and deer meat, as well as carp and sterlet. The inhabitants of the medieval settlement used animal bones as raw material for making objects. Based on their morphological features and usage traces, these objects can be classified into two main types: ice

⁷ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 87.

⁸ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 88–90.

⁹ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 95, grafikon 1.

¹⁰ Takács 1986; Takács 1996, str. 135; Takács 2010, str. 139, 141, 148, 153; Takács 2012, str. 229; Takács 2022, str. 347.

¹¹ Zečević 1997, str. 188, T/V; Gyöngyvér 2014, str. 123–125, T. 7, 9, 13.

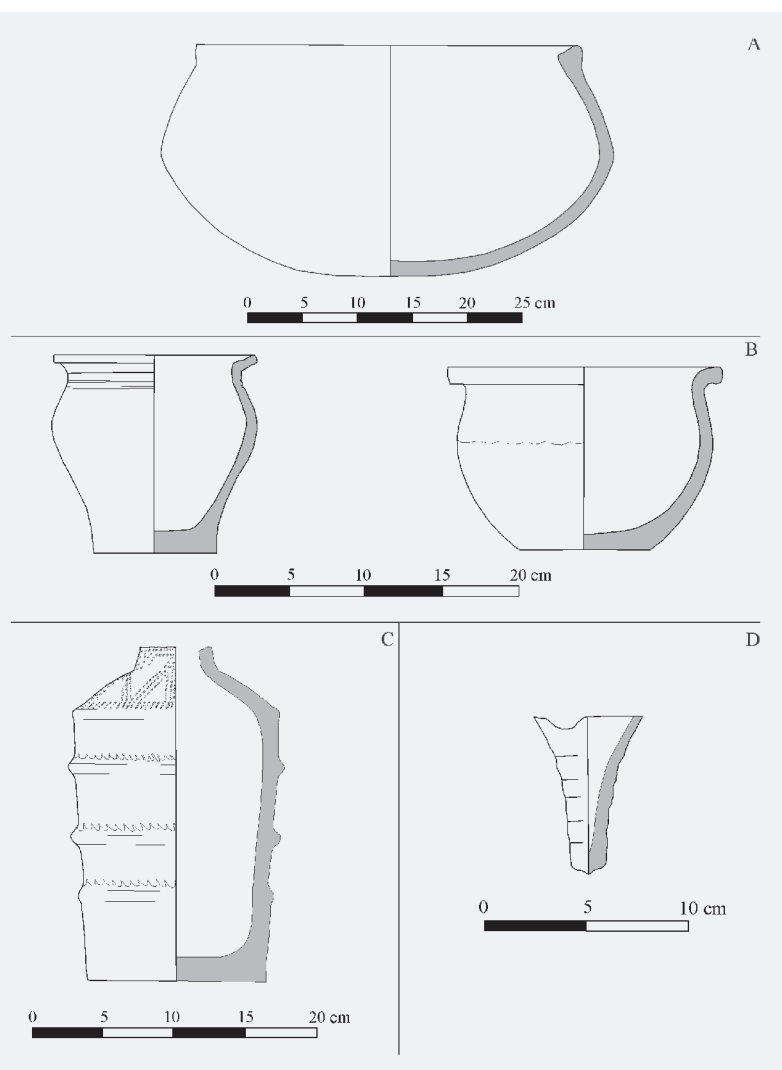
¹² Takács 1996, str. 172, sl. 8/8–9, 17.

¹¹ Zečević 1997, p. 188, T/V; Gyöngyvér 2014, pp. 123–125, T. 7, 9, 13.

¹² Takács 1996, p. 172, Fig. 8/8–9, 17.

¹³ Бикић 1994, pp. 105–108, Fig. 41.

¹⁴ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, p. 92.



Sl. 4. A – Keramički kotao (prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. I/1); B – keramički lonci (prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. II/1–2); C – keramička boca (prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. II/3); D – pećnjak ili dio kaljeve peći (prema Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. II/4)

Fig. 4 A – Ceramic cauldron (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. I/1); B – Ceramic pots (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. II/1–2); C – Ceramic bottle (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. II/3); D – Part of the ceramic stove (after: Špehar, Marković, Jović 2021, T. II/4)

14./15. stoljeća (sl. 4D),¹³ koje se obično pronalaze unutar kuća građenih od čvrstog materijala i nisu bile karakteristične za tipove kuća koji su otkriveni u sklopu ovih arheoloških istraživanja.¹⁴

Ostatak prikupljenog arheološkog materijala pruža uvid u gospodarstvo stanovništva koje je

skates and a more massive puncher with a rounded tip. The ice skates can be further divided into two subtypes: those made from the radius bones of horses and cattle, and one from the metatarsal bone of a horse. The discovery of smaller pieces of slag, which are found throughout the entire investigated area, also indicates metalworking, although the location of the workshop is currently unknown.¹⁵

The presented data indicates that this was a small unfortified settlement of a self-sufficient community from the Árpadian period,¹⁶ having in mind that larger settlements with areas of up to 20 ha occur in the vicinity of Budapest.¹⁷ However, since these are peripheral areas of the Magyar medieval state, it is expected that settlements would be of smaller dimensions. Nevertheless, the discovered settlement was a significant regional center, to which, among the rest, testify nearby church of considerable size and adornment, with necropolis around it.

The remains of the church and the surrounding necropolis were discovered about 200m away from the settlement (fig. 5).

Archaeological excavations showed that the necropolis was in use before the church was erected, namely from the 10th/11th century, and continued to be used until the 15th/16th century. The church was built over older graves containing inhumed deceased individuals placed in simple rectangular pits, oriented in the W–E direction, which were buried in loess. These include a child's grave intersected by the northern wall from the first phase of the church, as well as two graves beneath the apse, in which adults were buried. When digging the church foundations, builders did not remove the deceased, but began building the apse directly above them. According to the small finds discovered in the child's grave, namely two simple earrings with S-shaped loops, this earliest burial horizon could be dated to the 10th–11th century. Therefore, it is assumed that the construction of the church could be dated in the 11th or early 12th century.¹⁸

¹⁵ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, pp. 92–94, Tab. 1; Marković, Špehar 2023.

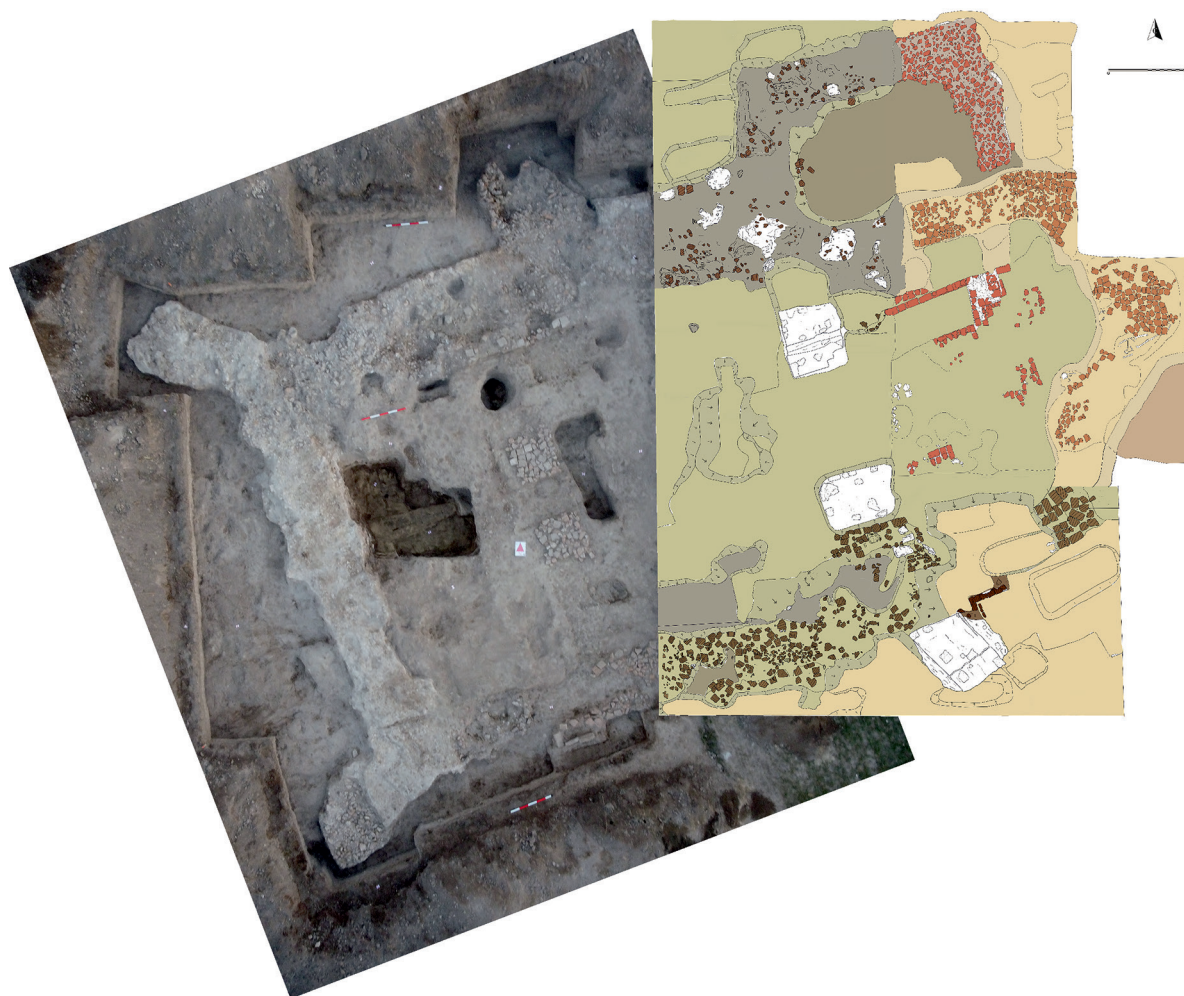
¹⁶ Vágner 2002, p. 310.

¹⁷ Terei 2010, p. 110; Takács 2017, p. 7.

¹⁸ It is suggested that early Magyar churches, especially the rural churches dated to the 11th or 12th centuries, were often built of non-permanent materials, such as wood or mud, which in some places explain the possibility that the necropolis was formed before the church, cf. Jékely 2018, p. 101; Takács 2018, p. 22.

¹³ Bikić 1994, str. 105–108, sl. 41.

¹⁴ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 92.



Sl. 5. Tlocrt i ortofoto crkve
Fig. 5 Ground plan and orthophoto of the church

živjelo na Crkvenom brdu. Nalazi željeznih kosa i nekoliko ulomaka žrvnjeva promjera 38 – 50 cm te fragmentirani kameni mužar s drškom, koji je služio za mljevenje hrane, svjedoče da se ovdje radilo o zemljoradničkoj zajednici. Pronađeni kameni i keramički pršljenovi promjera 2,2 – 3,3 cm upućuju na preradu vune, što posredno ukazuje na stočarstvo, a dodatno je potkrijepljeno arheozoološkim nalazima. Za gospodarstvo su najznačajniji bili goveda i konji, dok su se u manjoj mjeri uzgajale ovce, koze i svinje te kokoši, patke, guske, psi i mačke. Lov i ribolov nisu igrali veliku ulogu u gospodarstvu stanovnika ovog naselja, ali je zabilježeno da su konzumirali meso zeca i jelena te šarana i kečige. Stanovnici srednjovjekovnog naselja koristili su životinjske kosti kao sirovinu za izradu predmeta. Na temelju morfoloških obilježja i tragova uporabe ovi se predmeti mogu svrstati u dvije glavne kategorije: klizaljke za led i masivnije pro-

Excavations showed that the church had several building phases, that could be marked off by different building techniques and very few chronologically sensitive finds. To the first phase of the building belongs the apse and small part of the southern wall (fig. 6). The walls of the apse were 1.2 m wide, while of the small remaining part of the southern wall only several bricks were preserved, protruding further to the south, that most probably marked the transition from the apse to somewhat wider original nave. Both apse and the said part of the wall were dug into the loess and were built of bricks with the dimensions of around 25 x 15 x 5 cm. Bricks were tied by mortar that could be up to 2 cm thick. The negative of the western wall from the first phase was confirmed 3.5 m east of the inner face of the

However no traces of even the humblest architecture built with non-permanent materials was discovered on Crkveno brdo site.

bojce sa zaobljenim vrhom. Klizaljke se dalje mogu podijeliti na dvije podvrste: one izrađene od radijalnih kostiju konja i goveda te one od metatarzalne kosti konja. Manji komadi zgure pronađeni tijekom istraživanja po cijelom području lokaliteta ukazuju na obradu metala iako točna lokacija radionice još uvijek nije poznata.¹⁵

Na temelju ovih podataka može se zaključiti da je riječ o manjem, neutvrđenom naselju samodostatne zajednice iz arpadovskog razdoblja.¹⁶ Dok su veća naselja, površine do 20 hektara, zabilježena u okolici Budimpešte,¹⁷ na rubnim područjima mađarske srednjovjekovne države, poput ovog, za očekivati je da su naselja manja. Unatoč tome, otkriveno naselje bilo je značajno regionalno središte, o čemu, između ostalog, svjedoči obližnja bogato ukrašena crkva značajnih dimenzija i pripadajuća nekropola.

Ostatci crkve i pripadajuće nekropole otkriveni su otprilike 200 metara od naselja (sl. 5). Arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da je nekropola bila u uporabi još prije izgradnje crkve, od 10. i 11. stoljeća, a nastavila se koristiti sve do 15. i 16. stoljeća.

Crkva je podignuta iznad starijih grobova u kojima su pokojnici bili položeni u jednostavne pravokutne rake ukopane u lesnom tlu, orijentirane u smjeru zapad-istok. Među njima su se nalazili dječji grob, koji je bio presječen sjevernim zidom iz prve faze gradnje crkve, i dva groba ispod apside u kojima su pokapani odrasli pokojnici. Zanimljivo je da graditelji prilikom kopanja temelja crkve nisu premjestili ove pokojnike, već su apsidu izgradili izravno iznad njih. Na temelju sitnih nalaza iz dječjeg groba, odnosno dviju jednostavnih naušnica s petljama u obliku slova „S“, ovaj najraniji horizont ukopa mogao bi se datirati u razdoblje 10. – 11. stoljeća, te se stoga pretpostavlja da je gradnja crkve započela u 11. ili početkom 12. stoljeća.¹⁸

Istraživanja su pokazala da je crkva građena u nekoliko faza, a one su prepoznate prema različitim



Sl. 6. Tlocrt crkve s fazama izgradnje

Fig. 6 Ground plan of the church with building phases

later western wall. It appears that during the first phase the church was a simple single-nave building with semicircular apse, 15 m long, from the outer face of the original western wall to the outer wall of the apse, and around 8 m wide. It obviously underwent various alterations in centuries to follow, which resulted in its greater size and more representative appearance.

The first subsequent change implied the repairing of the southern wall and erection of the rectangular northern annex, that most probably had the role of the sacristy. Unlike the walls of the first phase, which were built by using whole bricks tied by mortar, all walls dated to the second phase were built by broken bricks tied by mud. The walls were 1.5 m thick. A coin of Geza II (1141–1161),¹⁹ discovered within the foundations of the eastern part of the annex, suggests that this phase can be dated around the middle of the 12th century (fig. 7). It appears that some other small alterations happened not long after. Namely, the south-eastern buttress was added, as well as two massive pillars that separated altar from the naos. Both pillars and a buttress were once again built of regular rectangular bricks tied by mortar, similar to the architectural elements erected during the first phase. Yet, since the foundations of the south-eastern buttress cut the remaining original part of the southern wall, it can with certainty be said that this alteration did not belong to the first phase despite the similar construction method. This

¹⁵ Špehar, Marković, Jović 2019, str. 92–94, T. 1; Marković, Špehar 2023.

¹⁶ Vágner 2002, str. 310.

¹⁷ Terei 2010, str. 110; Takács 2017, str. 7.

¹⁸ Pretpostavlja se da su rane mađarske crkve, osobito seoske crkve iz 11. ili 12. stoljeća, često građene od nepostojanih materijala poput drva ili blata, što na nekim mjestima objašnjava mogućnost da je nekropola nastala prije crkve. Usp. Jékely 2018, str. 101; Takács 2018, str. 22. Međutim, na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo nisu otkriveni tragovi čak ni najskromnije arhitekture građene takvim materijalima.

¹⁹ Type Huszár 123, after Huszár 1979.

tehnikama gradnje i vrlo malom broju kronološki osjetljivih nalaza. U prvoj fazi izgrađeni su apsida i manji dio južnog zida (sl. 6). Zidovi apside bili su široki 1,2 m, a od južnog zida sačuvano je samo nekoliko opeka koje su stršile prema jugu, a koje su najvjerojatnije označavale prijelaz iz apside u nešto širu izvornu lađu. I apsida i spomenuti dio zida bili su ukopani u les i zidani opekama dimenzija oko $25 \times 15 \times 5$ cm, koja je bila vezana mortom debljine do 2 cm. Negativ zapadnog zida iz prve faze potvrđen je 3,5 m istočno od unutrašnje strane kasnijeg zapadnog zida. Čini se da je crkva u prvoj fazi bila jednostavna, jednobrodna građevina s polukružnom apsidom, koja je od vanjskog lica prvotnog zapadnog zida do vanjskog zida apside bila duga 15 m, a široka oko 8 m. Očito je da je u narednim stoljećima doživjela razne preinake, što je rezultiralo njezinim povećanjem i reprezentativnijim izgledom.

Prva značajna izmjena uključivala je obnovu južnog zida i izgradnju pravokutnog sjevernog aneksa, koji je najvjerojatnije služio kao sakristija. Za razliku od zidova prve faze, koji su građeni cijelim opekama vezanim mortom, svi zidovi datirani u drugu fazu izgrađeni su od polomljenih opeka spojenih blatom, a bili su široki 1,5 metara. Novčić kralja Gejze II. (1141. – 1161.),¹⁹ otkriven unutar temelja istočnog dijela aneksa, upućuje na mogućnost približnog datiranja ove faze u sredinu 12. stoljeća (sl. 7). Čini se da su nedugo zatim nastale još neke manje izmjene. Naime, dograđen je jugoistočni kontrafor i dva masivna stupa koji su dijelili oltar od naosa. Oba stupa i kontrafor građeni su od pravilnih pravokutnih opeka povezanih mortom, slično arhitektonskim elementima izgrađenim tijekom prve faze. No, budući da temelji jugoistočnog kontrafora sijeku preostali izvorni dio južnog zida, sa sigurnošću se može reći da ova izmjena ne pripada prvoj fazi unatoč sličnom načinu gradnje. O tome svjedoči i vrlo loše očuvan novčić otkriven zapadno od kontrafora, koji najvjerojatnije potječe iz sredine 12. stoljeća. Taj novčić pruža *terminus post quem* za navedene izmjene. Položaj kontrafora i njegova povezanost sa sjevernim aneksom upućuju na zaključak da su gornji dijelovi crkve bili presvođeni opekama. Njegovi ostatci otkriveni su uz unutrašnji istočni dio južnog zida. Dakle, aneks i kontrafor očito su imali konstruktivnu ulogu, odnosno nosili su dio tereta svoda. U ovoj fazi su dužina i širina crkve ostale iste kao i u prvoj fazi izgradnje crkve.

¹⁹ Tip Huszár 123, prema Huszár 1979.



Sl. 7. Novčić Gejze II. (1141. – 1162.)

Fig. 7 Coin of Geza II (1141–1162)

was further testified by the very badly preserved coin that can most probably be dated to the middle of the 12th century, which was discovered west of the buttress. This coin gives the *terminus post quem* for the said alterations. The position of the buttress, as well as its communication to the northern annex, suggest that upper parts of the church were covered in brick vaults. Its remains were discovered along the eastern inner part of the southern wall. Therefore, the annex and the buttress obviously had constructive purpose, i.e. they carried part of the vault weight. In this phase the length and width of the church was the same as in the first phase.

The church was later destroyed in a fire, which is suggested by the traces of burnt bricks discovered within what was the original western part of the church. The damaging of the church can probably be dated to the period of Mongol raid. Namely, during the turbulent period of the Mongolic intrusions in 1241–1242, large number of parish churches was damaged beyond repair. It caused the destruction and abandonment of a large number of Christian temples, some of them never to be rebuilt.²⁰ Locals used various methods in order to prevent the destruction. For example, recent excavations showed that numerous churches were encompassed by large trenches around them,²¹ and it is interesting to note that the church on Crkveno brdo site was encompassed not by one, but by two such trenches. Despite that, it was gravely damaged. The pillars were destroyed, as well as the original western wall and western part of the annex. Unlike many oth-

²⁰ Jékely 2018, p. 102. About the overall scale of destruction during this period, as described in written sources, cf. Laszlovsky, Pow, Romhányi, Ferenczi, Pinke 2018, pp. 423–424.

²¹ Laszlovsky, Pow, Romhányi, Ferenczi, Pinke 2018, p. 427.

Crkva je kasnije stradala u požaru, na što upućuju tragovi spaljene opeke otkriveni unutar izvornog zapadnog dijela crkve. Oštećenje crkve vjerojatno se može datirati u razdoblje mongolskog napada. Naime, u burnom razdoblju mongolskih prodora 1241. – 1242. veliki broj župnih crkava stradao je do nepopravljivih razmjera. To je uzrokovalo uništenje i napuštanje velikog broja kršćanskih hramova, od kojih neki nikad nisu bili obnovljeni.²⁰ Kako bi spriječilo uništenje, lokalno stanovništvo poduzimalo je razne mjere obrane. Primjerice, nedavna arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da su brojne crkve bile opasane velikim rovovima,²¹ a zanimljivo je da crkva na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo nije bila okružena jednim već dvama takvim rovovima. Međutim, unatoč tome, pretrpjela je velika oštećenja; uništeni su stupovi, izvorni zapadni zid i zapadni dio aneksa. No, za razliku od mnogih drugih crkava, crkva na Crkvenom brdu ipak je bila obnovljena. Tijekom kasnije obnove, čije točno vrijeme nije poznato, crkva je čak i proširena.²² Njezin zapadni dio produljen je za oko 5 m, a iznad porušenog izvornog zapadnog zida podignuta su dva stupa, najvjerojatnije kao reprezentativni ulaz u crkveni naos. Na južnom zidu otvoren je još jedan ulaz u crkvu. Novi zapadni zid dodatno su poduprla dva kontrafora postavljena na njegovu sjevernom i južnom uglu. Na unutrašnjoj strani zapadnog zida otkrivena je velika količina fragmentiranog, plavkastog, prozorskog stakla, što upućuje na veliki prozor u sredini njegova gornjeg dijela. Sjeverni zid crkve u potpunosti je obnovljen i dodatno poduprt novim kontraforom, a uz unutrašnje lice južnog zida, prema istoku, dodan je masivni pilastar. Zapadni dio aneksa također je obnovljen u to vrijeme, jer je popravljen na potpuno jednak način kao i zidovi zapadnog dijela crkve. Ova najopsežnija obnova povezuje se s općom obnovom crkvenog života u Kaločko-bačkoj nadbiskupiji nakon 1242. godine, koja je trajala sve do početka 14. stoljeća.

Još jedan građevinski zahvat koji se veže za ovu posljednju fazu je izgradnja grobnice u sjevernom

er churches, the one on Crkveno brdo site was restored. During that restoration, which happened in an unknown time afterwards, the church was even enlarged.²² Its western part was elongated around 5 m further to the west, while above the destroyed original western wall two pillars were erected, most probably to mark the representative entrance to the church naos. Another entrance to the church was opened on the southern wall. The new western wall was additionally supported by two buttresses, placed on its north and south corners. Large amount of fragmented bluish window glass was discovered on the inner side of the western wall, suggesting the large window in the midst of its upper part. Northern wall of the church was completely restored, and another buttress was added to support it, while along the inner face of the southern wall, towards the east, a strong pilaster was added. Western part of the annex was also restored at that time, since it was repaired in exactly the same manner as the walls in western part of the church. This most extensive reconstruction can be tied to the overall restoration of the church life in Kalocza-Bach archbishopric after 1242 that continued until the beginning of the 14th century.

Another building intervention that can be tied to this last phase is the construction of a grave in the northern part of the altar space, which is quite unusual position for the regular burial. Therefore, there is the possibility that it was the grave of some prominent person. One possible interpretation may lie in the fact that during the Angevine period the nobleman, that had the patronage over some ecclesiastical building, whether in terms of its foundation *de novo* or in its restoration or embellishment, could have the benefit of burial within the church itself.²³ It would be in accordance to the fact that the main contribution of the Angevines to the Church development of the countryside was that the nobleman took over the patronage over the erection of

²⁰ Jékely 2018, str. 102. O ukupnim razmjerima razaranja tijekom ovog razdoblja, kako je opisano u pisanim izvorima, usp. Laszlovszky *et al.* 2018, str. 423–424.

²¹ Laszlovszky *et al.* 2018, str. 427.

²² Proširivanje starijih crkava tipično je obilježje anžuvinskog razdoblja. Preinake su uglavnom koncentrirane na istočne dijelove crkve, odnosno svetište, ali mogu uključivati i proširenje prostora broda prema zapadu. Usp. Jékely 2018, str. 105.

²² The enlargement of the older churches is typical feature of the Angevine period. The alterations are mostly concentrated to the eastern parts of the church, namely the sanctuary, but they can also imply the enlargement of the nave space toward the west, cf. Jékely 2018, p. 105.

²³ Although typical for the said period, it should be noted that the practice of burial of prominent noblemen within the church space can be traced back quite early, even to the 11th century, cf. Laszlovszky 1991, pp. 42–43.

dijelu oltarnog prostora. To je prilično neuobičajena lokacija za pokop, zbog čega se pretpostavlja da je riječ o grobu neke ugledne osobe. Jedno od mogućih tumačenja temelji se na činjenici da su tijekom razdoblja Anžuvinaca plemići koji su imali patronat nad nekom crkvenom građevinom, bilo da je riječ o njezinu osnivanju *de novo*, obnovi ili ukrašavanju, mogli imati privilegiju ukopa unutar same crkve.²³ Taj običaj bio bi u skladu s činjenicom da je glavni doprinos Anžuvinaca razvoju Crkve u ruralnim područjima bio u tome što su plemići preuzimali patronat nad gradnjom seoskih crkava.²⁴ Takva praksa može objasniti postojanje grobova patrona unutar crkvenih prostora, no specifičan položaj ovog groba, smještenog unutar oltarnog dijela crkve na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo, i dalje ostaje neobičan. U posljednju fazu rekonstrukcije crkve mogle bi se ubrojiti i male opeke nepravilnog oblika (sl. 8), koje su možda korištene za oblikovanje zidnih dekorativnih arhitektonskih elemenata, poput pilastara, vijenaca, okvira portala ili prozora.

Pronađeni tragovi fresko-žbuke u raznim bojama svjedoče da je crkva bila oslikana freskama s motivima geometrijskog i floralnog karaktera. Fragmenti fresaka pronađeni su u ruševinama oko crkve; veći fragmenti otkriveni su u blizini jugoistočnog kontrafora, dok su znatno manji dijelovi, premda brojniji, pronađeni uz sjeverni zid produženog dijela crkve. Čini se da su na freskama na južnom zidu prevladavali geometrijski motivi, koji su možda bili imitacija *opus sectile* ili mramorne oplata (sl. 9A). Paleta boja ograničena je na crnu, bijelu, svjetlocrvenu i oker, a među motivima se mogu primijetiti rombovi i ravne linije. Ovako skroman repertoar motiva mogao bi značiti da su ulomci pripadali donjim dijelovima zida ili rubovima nekih nesačuvanih ili neotkrivenih figuralnih scena. S druge strane, na fragmentima fresaka s novog sjevernog zida crkve uočava se bogatija paleta boja koja uključuje nekoliko nijansi crvene, oker, svjetložutu (koja imitira zlato), ružičastu, bijelu, crnu, različite nijanse sive itd. (sl. 9C). Iako su sačuvane freske bile vrlo fragmentirane, naziru se aureole, dijelovi odjeće i eventualna lica nekih neidentificiranih likova kao i linearni motivi zakrivljenih i cik-cak linija. Poseb-



Sl. 8. Opeka nepravilnog oblika
Fig. 8 Brick of irregular shape

rural churches.²⁴ Of course, this can be the explanation for the existence of patron's burials within the church spaces. Yet, the deposition of the grave within the altar of the church on Crkveno brdo site is still peculiar. Finally, to the last phase of the church reconstruction may also belong small bricks of irregular shape (fig. 8), maybe used for some decorative architectural elements that embellished the walls of the church, such as pilasters, cornices, portal or window frames, etc.

According to discovered finds of fresco mortar in various colour, the church was decorated with frescoes with preserved geometric and floral motifs, the fragments of which were discovered in the debris around the church. Some larger fragments were discovered around the south-eastern buttress, while more numerous, although significantly smaller fragments, were discovered around the north wall of the elongated part of the church. It seems that the frescoes on the southern wall were depicted with predominant geometric motifs, maybe the imitation of *opus sectile* or marble revetment (fig. 9A). Their colour palette is restricted to black, white, light red and ocher, while among the motifs rombs and straight lines could be noticed. Such modest repertory of motifs could mean that the fragments belonged to the lower parts of the wall or to the verge of some unpreserved or undiscovered figural scenes. The fragments that belonged to the paintings on the new northern wall of the church have significantly larger palette consisting of several shades of red, ocher, light yellow imitating gold, pink, white, black, several shades of gray, etc (fig. 9C). Although the preserved frescoes were very fragmented, halos, parts of clothing and possible faces of some uni-

²³ Iako je to obilježje navedenog razdoblja, treba napomenuti da se običaj pokapanja uglednih plemića unutar crkvenog prostora može pratiti već vrlo rano, čak od 11. stoljeća, usp. Laszlovszky 1991, str. 42–43.

²⁴ Jékely 2018, str. 104.

²⁴ Jékely 2018, p. 104.

no je zanimljiv manji ulomak s oslikanim slovima „P“ i (vjerojatno) „H“, koji sugerira da su freske sadržavale natpise (sl. 9B). Nažalost, teško je izvesti zaključke o sadržaju izvornog natpisa na temelju samo jednog fragmenta, no ovaj nalaz potvrđuje da su freske, barem djelomično, bile označene imenima prikazanih osoba ili scena.

Na nekoliko odlomaka moglo se uočiti da su freske zapravo oslikane preko drugog sloja fresko-žbuke. Takvi su odlomci otkriveni u novopodignutom zapadnom dijelu crkve, a sloj žbuke između dvaju slojeva fresaka vrlo je tanak. Stoga nije jasno je li pojava dvaju slojeva fresko-žbuke samo posljedica popravaka ili pak svjedoči o dvjema fazama oslikavanja fresaka u ovom dijelu crkve. Što se tiče mogućeg repertoara fresaka, on se na ovoj razini istraživanja ne može definirati. Ipak, treba imati na umu da su se u tadašnjim seoskim crkvama freske s narativnim ciklusima uobičajeno postavljale na sjeverni zid lađe. U skladu s tim, moguće je da na sjevernom zidu nisu ugrađeni prozori kako bi se osigurao veći prostor za prikazivanje scena. Patroni koji su financirali oslikavanje seoskih crkava također su bili pripadnici domaćeg plemstva, ali ponekad je oslikavanje mogla financirati i cijela lokalna zajednica.²⁵

Kroz svoju povijest crkva je bila središte lokalnog vjerskog života, ali i mjesto ukopa, koji su se obavljali na nekropoli nalik crkvenom groblju. Iako je crkva izgrađena na već postojećoj nekropoli, nakon njezine izgradnje ukopi su se obavljali isključivo oko crkve, jer unutar nje nisu otkriveni grobovi, što odgovara tadašnjem pravilu da se ukopi obavljaju na posvećenom području crkvenog groblja.²⁶ Jedina iznimka na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo bio je zapadni dio crkve iz treće faze gradnje, gdje je istraženo desetak grobova. Neki od njih su sačuvani, dok su drugi uništeni, no svi pripadaju razdoblju prije posljednje obnove crkve. Dakle, ti su se ukopi zapravo obavljali izvan izvorne crkve. Dosad je oko crkve istraženo šezdesetak grobova,

identified figures could be detected, as well as linear motifs of curved and zig-zag lines. Likewise, one small fragment with painted letters P and (probable) H suggest that the frescoes were inscribed (fig. 9B). Unfortunately, only one fragment with letters does not allow us any hypothesis about the content of the original inscription. But this finding clearly testify that the frescoes were at least designated with names of depicted persons or scenes.

On several fragments it could be noticed that the frescoes were actually depicted over another layer of fresco mortar. Those fragments were discovered in the newly erected western part of the church, and the layer of mortar between two layers of frescoes is very thin. Therefore, it is not clear whether the appearance of two layers of fresco mortar was only the consequence of the repair or of two phases of fresco paintings in this part of the church. When speaking of the possible fresco program, it can not be defined on this level of research. Still, we must have in mind that in rural churches of the time, frescoes with narrative cycles were customarily placed on the north wall of the nave. It can therefore happen that no windows were opened on the northern wall, in order to have more space for depicted scenes. The patrons that financed the depiction of rural churches were also members of local nobility, but sometimes the entire local community could finance the painting.²⁵

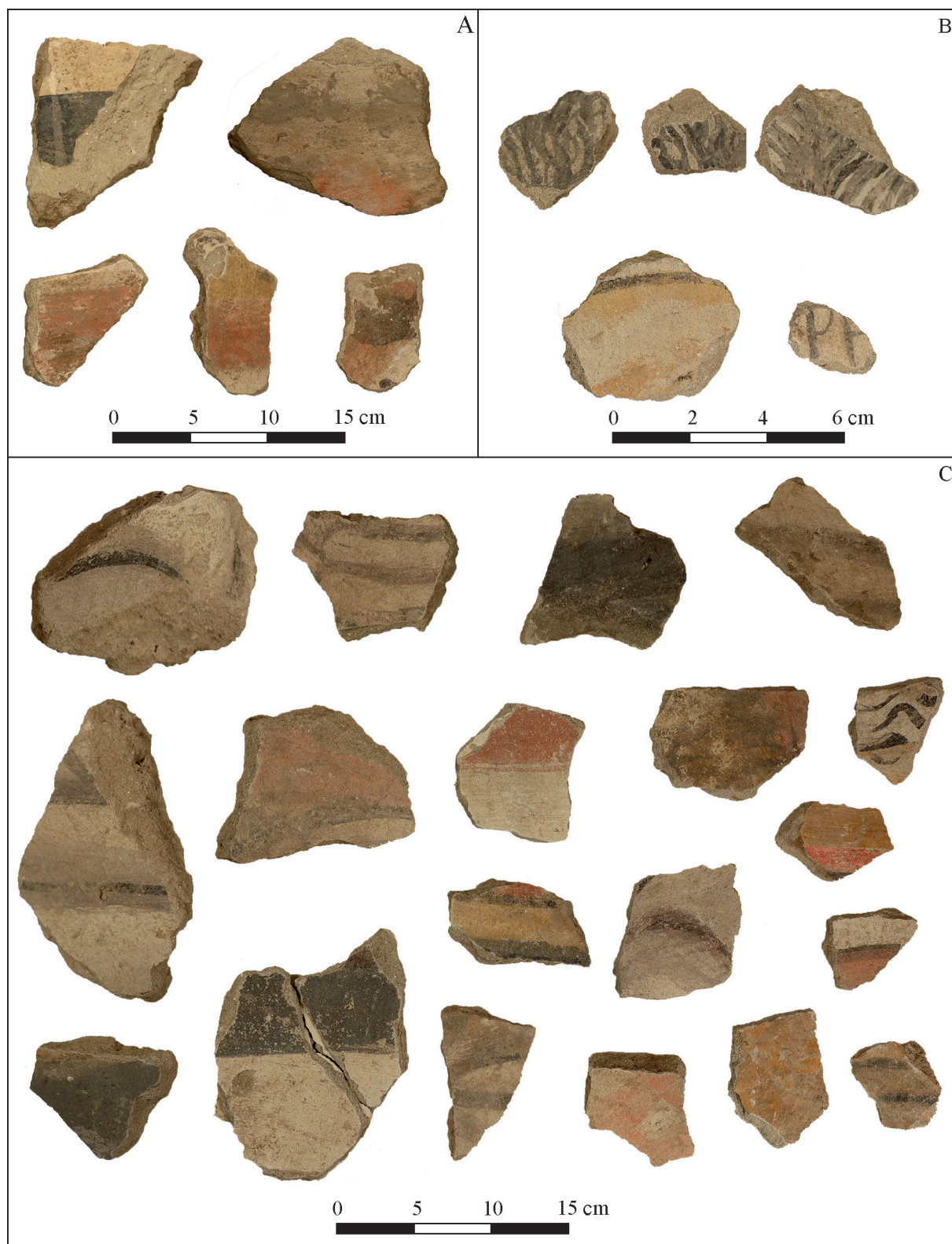
Throughout its existence, the church was the focus of the local religious life, among the rest of burials that were performed on the necropolis which actually had the appearance of the church graveyard. Although the church itself was built on the already existing necropolis, after its erection the burials were exclusively performed around the church, since no graves were discovered within it, which is in accordance to the rule that burials should be performed in the sacred area of church graveyard.²⁶ The only exception on the Crkveno brdo site was

²⁵ Uobičajeni repertoar fresaka na sjevernim zidovima sačuvanih crkava 14. stoljeća sastojao se od ciklusa Muke Kristove i Legende o sv. Ladislavu, usp. Klaniczay 2004, str. 126; Jékely 2018, str. 110–112.

²⁶ Već oko 1100. propisi sinode u Tarcalu navode da se pokopi trebaju obavljati oko crkve i impliciraju neke kazne za nepoštivanje tog pravila, usp. Vargha 2019, str. 17. Pretpostavlja se da su groblja oko crkava počela nastajati tijekom 11. stoljeća, usp. Berend, Laszlovsky, Zsolt Sakács 2007, str. 338–339.

²⁵ Usual repertory of frescoes on northern walls in preserved churches of the 14th century consisted of Passion of Christ cycle and the Legend of St. Ladislav, cf. Klaniczay 2004, p. 126; Jékely 2018, pp. 110–112.

²⁶ Already around 1100 the regulations of the synod of Tarcal stated that burials should be performed around the church and implied some penalties for not obeying to this rule, cf. Vargha 2019, p. 17. It is suggested that graveyards around churches appeared sometimes during the 11th century, cf. Berend, Laszlovsky, Zsolt Sakács 2007, pp. 338–339.



Sl. 9. A – Freske pronađene oko jugoistočnog kontrafora; B – freske pronađene uz sjeverni zid, detalji;
C – freske pronađene uz sjeverni zid

*Fig. 9 A – Frescoes found around SE buttress; B – Frescoes found by the northern wall, details;
C – Frescoes found by the northern wall*

a otkriven je i velik broj poremećenih grobova.²⁷ Svi grobovi orijentirani su u smjeru zapad-istok, a pokojnici su polagani u jednostavne grobne rake ili drvene ljesove, na što upućuju ostatci raspadnutog drva, željezni čavli, spojnice i šarke. U nekim slučajevima glava pokojnika bila je položena na već korištene opeke. Pokojnici su pokapani na leđima, u ispruženom položaju, s različitim položajima gornjih udova. Odrasli su pokapani dublje, do 1,20 m, dok su dječji grobovi bili znatno plići i nalazili su se već na dubinama od oko pola metra. Južno od crkve dosad je identificirano više dječjih nego odraslih grobova, a tijekom istraživanja prostora sjeverno od crkve otkrivena su najmanje dva horizonta ukopa. Budući da se radi o kršćanskim ukopima, u grobovima najčešće nema nalaza ili se povremeno pojavljuju predmeti bez precizne kronološke vrijednosti. Stoga je teško uspostaviti korelaciju između faza izgradnje crkve i pojedinih ukopa. Grobni inventar nije bio ni brojan ni raskošan, a uglavnom se sastojao od raznih vrsta metalnih dijelova odjeće i nakita iako su pronađeni i nalazi poput staklene boce i pikula. Gustoća grobova kao i njihovo preklapanje i poremećenost svjedoče o intenzivnoj pogrebnoj aktivnosti na ovom lokalitetu.

Crkva je prestala biti u uporabi već početkom 16. stoljeća, na što ukazuje grob 45/23 koji je djelomično izgrađen preko nekadašnjeg južnog ulaza (sl. 10). U tom grobu pronađena su dva predmeta položena na prsima pokojnika. Prvi od njih odnosi se na ulomke brončane aplikacije s kružno perforiranim središtem, koje je okruženo jednostrukim pletrom, a oko kojeg su raspoređene dvije košarice s grožđem/voćem povezane cvjetnim prepletom s malim čavličem za pričvršćenje aplikacije, najvjerojatnije na neki kožnati dio. Slične aplikacije uglavnom se datiraju u razdoblje od 14. do 16. stoljeća.²⁸ Drugi predmet iz istog groba je šuplje lijevano brončano zvonce, od kojeg je sačuvana samo jedna kupola s dvjema kružnim perforacijama spojenim uskim pravokutnim prorezom, a koje kronološki pripada istom razdoblju kao i brončana aplikacija.²⁹

Kao što je već istaknuto, crkva je bila opasana dvama rovovima. Tijekom istraživanja je uočeno da

the western part of the church from the third phase, where dozen of graves were excavated, some preserved some destructed, but they actually belonged to the period before the last restoration of the church. Therefore, those burials were actually performed outside the original church. About sixty graves have been excavated so far around the church, and a large number of disturbed burials was also detected.²⁷ All graves are oriented in the W–E direction, and the deceased were placed in simple grave pits or in wooden coffins, as indicated by the remains of decayed wood, iron nails, clamps, and hinges. In some cases, the head of the deceased was placed on reused bricks. The deceased were buried on their backs, in a stretched position, with variations in the placement of the upper limbs. Adults were buried deeper, up to 1.20 m, while child burials were much shallower and occurred at depths of about 0.50 m. So far, more child than adult graves have been identified south of the church. During the exploration of the area north of the church, at least two burial horizons were identified. Since these are Christian burials, graves usually contain no finds, or items that are not chronologically sensitive occasionally occur. Therefore, it is difficult to establish a correlation between the construction phases of the church and individual burials. The grave inventory was not numerous or lavish. It mainly consists of various types of metal clothing parts and jewelry, although finds such as a glass bottle or marbles are also present. The density of graves, as well as their overlap and disturbance, indicate intensive burial activity.

The church was already out of use by the early 16th century, which is suggested by a grave 45/23, partly constructed over the former southern entrance (fig. 10). In this grave, two finds were discovered on the chest of the deceased. Fragments of a bronze appliqué with a circular perforated center encircled by a single braid, around which two baskets with grapes/fruits are arranged and connected by a floral intertwining, with a small nail used to attach the appliqué, most likely to the leather. Similar appliqués are mostly dated to the 14th–16th century.²⁸ Also originating from the grave is a hollow-cast bronze jingle, of which only one dome is preserved, featuring two circular perforations connected by a

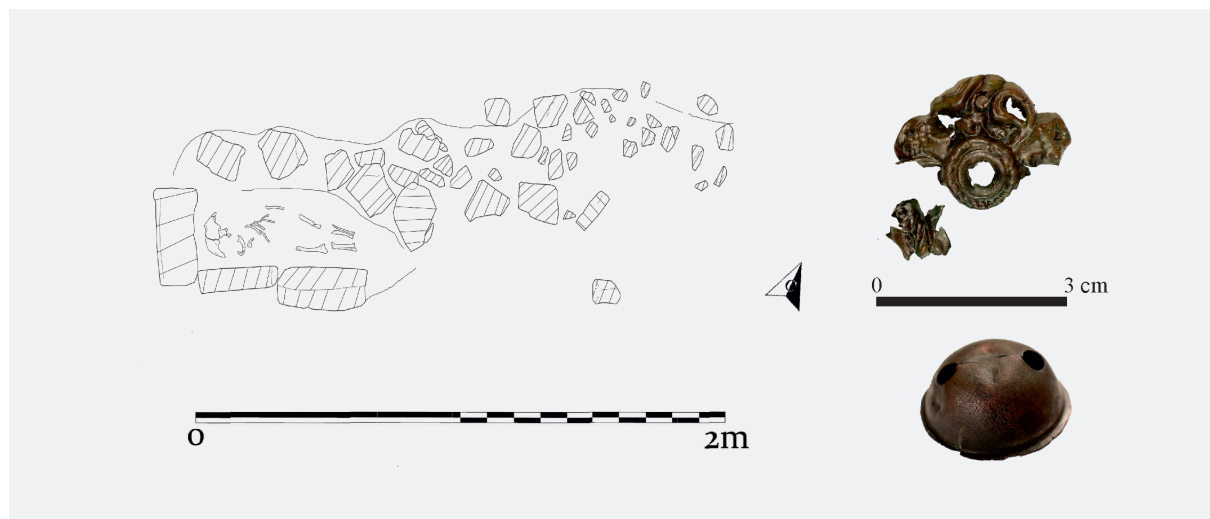
²⁷ Istraživanja nekropole još su u tijeku.

²⁸ Feher 1955, str. 218, T. XXXVI, t. 15, 227; Gábor 2006, str. 127; Dimovski 2021, str. 21, 54–56, kat. br. 37–40.

²⁹ Šafarik, Šulman 1954, str. 18; Dimovski 2021, str. 18–19, 53, kat. br. 34.

²⁷ The excavations of the necropolis are still in progress.

²⁸ Feher 1955, p. 218, T. XXXVI, t. 15, 227; Gábor 2006, p. 127; Dimovski 2021, p. 21, 54–56, cat. nr. 37–40.



Sl. 10. Grob 45/23 sa sitnim nalazima
Fig. 10 Grave 45/23 with small finds

je dio nekropole uništen vanjskim rovom koji je bio širok oko 1 m i dubok 1,20 m. Već je spomenuto da su takvi rovovi imali obrambenu ulogu, no njihovo točno vrijeme nastanka nije moguće utvrditi. Iako se čini razumnim pretpostaviti da se njihovo postojanje može povezati s mongolskim prodorima, pa čak i kasnijim osmanskim osvajanjima, to se ne može sa sigurnošću dokazati.³⁰

Kontinuirano postojanje naselja, crkve i nekropole na ovom području tijekom nekoliko stoljeća ukazuje na to da je lokalitet Crkveno brdo očito imao ulogu važnog lokalnog središta, tim više što se nalazio u neposrednoj blizini južne pogranične zone mađarske srednjovjekovne države. Ovaj zaključak temelji se na pretpostavci da su se seoske crkve gradile prvenstveno u onim naseljima koja su imala veliku gustoću naseljenosti i gospodarske mogućnosti za podizanje i stalnu obnovu crkve radi zadovoljenja duhovnih potreba stanovnika.³¹ Naselje je očito osnovano negdje tijekom 11. stoljeća, tj. u isto vrijeme kada je i izgrađena crkva. Takvo datiranje je u skladu sa zakonom izdanim za vrijeme vladavine Stjepana I. (1000. – 1038.) i još jednom je potvrđeno prvim zakonikom Ladislava I. (1077. – 1095.), kojima se poticalo osnivanje crkava u seoskim sredinama na području cijele zemlje. Naime, kralj Stjepan I. bio je osobito posvećen širenju kršćanske vjere među širim slojevima stanovništva,

narrow rectangular slit, chronologically determined to be contemporaneous with the bronze appliqué.²⁹

As we already pointed out, the church was encircled by two trenches. During the excavations, it was observed that part of the necropolis was destroyed by the external trench, which was approximately 1 meter wide and 1.20 meters deep. We already noted that it is mostly considered that such trenches had a defensive role. But the time of their digging can not be positively established and, although it seems reasonable to suppose that their existence can be tied to Mongol intrusions, or even to the later Ottoman conquests, it can't be testified with certainty.³⁰

The continuous presence of settlement, church and necropolis in this area during the period that was several centuries long, suggests that Crkveno brdo site obviously played the role of an important local central place, the more so because it was in the vicinity of the southern border zone of Magyar medieval state. This conclusion is based on the presumption that rural churches were built primarily in those settlements that had large density of population and economic capacity to erect and continuously restore the church to satisfy the spiritual needs of the inhabitants.³¹ The settlement obviously began its life sometimes during the 11th century, which is

²⁹ Šafarik, Šulman 1954, p. 18; Dimovski 2021, pp. 18–19, 53, cat. nr. 34.

³⁰ During the late 15th and throughout the 16th century, many Magyar churches were fortified in some way (either walls or simpler structures) in order to be preserved from Ottomans, cf. Jékely 2018, p. 106.

³¹ Romhányi 2022, p. 436.

³⁰ Tijekom kasnog 15. i kroz cijelo 16. stoljeće mnoge su mađarske crkve bile na neki način utvrđene (zidovima ili jednostavnijim građevinama) kako bi se zaštitile od Osmanlija, usp. Jékely 2018, str. 106.

³¹ Romhányi 2022, str. 436.

pa je donio zakon koji je propisivao da svaka skupina od deset sela mora izgraditi crkvu, kako bi se bogoslužje za lokalno stanovništvo u ruralnim područjima moglo obavljati redovito.³² No unatoč tome, poganski ustanci iz 1046. i 1072. godine ukazuju na to da ideje kralja Stjepana o brzom i uspješnom pokršćavanju mađarskog ruralnog područja nisu bile lako prihvaćene.³³ Ipak, kralj Ladislav I. izdao je zakon da lokalni biskupi i kršćanske zajednice moraju popraviti sve oštećene crkve i da se nijedna crkva ne smije napustiti čak i ako se samo selo napusti odnosno iseli.³⁴ Takve zakonske odredbe jasno svjedoče o važnosti intenzivnog pokršćavanja ne samo urbanih nego i ruralnih područja. Činjenica da je uspješno pokršćavanje sela bilo „ključni element u nastanku kršćanske monarhije“³⁵ danas se uglavnom smatra *toposom*, no zapravo je predstavljalo znak da je prihvaćanje nove vjere među seoskim stanovništvom bilo stvarni pokazatelj kako je srednjovjekovna mađarska država postala legitimni dio istog vjerskog i kulturnog kruga, koji je prihvatio iste kulturne i institucionalne modele kao i njezine dugogodišnje kršćanske susjedne države.³⁶

U tom kontekstu može se promatrati i izgradnja crkve na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo. Cjelokupan izgled crkve ovisio je prvenstveno o domaćim zidarima i lokalno dostupnom materijalu, prije svega opeci, unatoč nekoliko ulomaka lomljenog kamena koji su otkriveni u ruševinama. Ipak, njezina arhitektonska koncepcija jednobrodne crkve sa širokom polukružnom apsidom i aneksom može se vezati za prostornu koncepciju crkava podignutih u dolini Gornje Tise. Kao i u drugim zapadnoeuropskim državama, mađarsko srednjovjekovno graditeljstvo, osobito romaničko, također je imalo regionalna obilježja. U tom kontekstu, crkva otkrivena na lo-

also the date of the erection of the church. Such dating is in accordance to the law issued during the reign of Stephen I's (1000–1038) and once again strengthened by the first book of laws by Ladislav I (1077–1095). By both regulations, the founding of churches in rural areas was encouraged on the territory of the entire country. Namely, king Stephen I was concerned with regulating the spreading of new faith among wider population. Therefore he issued the law that every ten villages have to build a church, in order for regular Church services to take place for the local population in rural areas.³² The pagan revolts of 1046 and 1072 suggest that king Stephen's ideas about the fast and successful Christianization of Magyar countryside were not easily accepted.³³ Yet, king Ladislav I issued the law that all damaged churches have to be repaired by local bishops and Christian communities, and that no church is to be abandoned even if the village itself is abandoned or relocated.³⁴ Such legal regulations clearly testify about the importance of intensive Christianization of not only the urban but of rural areas as well. The fact that the successful Christianizing of countryside was “a crucial element in the emergence of Christian monarchy”³⁵ is today mostly considered as *topos*, but it indeed mean that the acceptance of the new faith among rural population was a real mark that Magyar medieval state was a legitimate part of the same religious and cultural circle by accepting the same cultural and institutional models as their long-standing Christian neighboring states.³⁶

³² Takozvani „drugi zakonik kralja Stjepana“ zapravo počinje tvrdnjom „Decem villae ecclesiam edificent“, a zatim navodi da se trebaju izgraditi kuće za svećenike, nabaviti misno ruho i knjige te kupiti domaće životinje jer je svećenikova služba bila vezana za ruralno područje. *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae I. Decreta S. Stephani Regis, Liber Secundus*, 1. Također vidi: Bak 2000, str. 119; Jékely 2018, str. 100–101; Vargha 2019, str. 17. O problemima razmatranja pojma „vila“ u ovom kontekstu usp. Romhányi 1999, str. 161.

³³ Klaniczay 2004, str. 113–114; Berend, Laszlovsky, Zsolt Sakács 2007, str. 339–340; Vargha 2019, str. 17. Jékely 2018, str. 101; Vargha 2019, str. 18.

³⁴ Vargha 2019, str. 8.

³⁵ Klaniczay 2004, str. 111–112; Berend 2007, str. 1–2, 5.

³² The so called “second lawbook of King Stephen” actually starts with the statement: “Decem villae ecclesiam edificent“, and then specify that houses for the priests should likewise be erected, vestments and books acquired, and domestic animals purchased, since priests' service was tied to the rural area. *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae I. Decreta S. Stephani Regis, Liber Secundus*, 1. See also: Bak 2000, p. 119; Jékely 2018, pp. 100–101; Vargha 2019, p. 17. About the problems considering the term “villa” in this context, cf. Romhányi 1999, p. 161.

³³ Klaniczay 2004, pp. 113–114; Berend, Laszlovsky, Zsolt Sakács 2007, pp. 339–340; Vargha 2019, p. 17.

³⁴ Jékely 2018, p. 101; Vargha 2019, p. 18.

³⁵ Vargha 2019, p. 8.

³⁶ Klaniczay 2004, pp. 111–112; Berend 2007, pp. 1–2, 5.

kalitetu Crkveno brdo, na osnovi svojih arheoloških tragova, pokazuje najbližu paralelu jednobrodnim crkvama s jednim kvadratnim ili pravokutnim aneksom s područja Gornje Tise. Razmatrajući moguće reprezentativnije uzore za izgradnju, crkva na Crkvenom brdu može se gledati kao pojednostavljena varijanta tipova crkava sličnih izvornoj nadbiskupskoj crkvi u Kaloči, što je i razumljivo imajući u vidu činjenicu da je crkva na Crkvenom brdu bila pod njezinom nadležnosti. Prema rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja, ova rana kaločka katedrala, datirana u prva desetljeća 11. stoljeća, bila je jednobrodna crkva sa širokom polukružnom apsidom i najmanje jednim, a najvjerojatnije dvama aneksima na istočnom dijelu bočnih zidova.³⁷

Očito je da je crkva na lokalitetu Crkveno brdo duže vrijeme služila kao središte lokalnog srednjovjekovnog stanovništva i kao župna crkva pod nadležnosti Kaločke, a kasnije Kaločko-bačke nadbiskupije. Njezin značaj dodatno je naglašen opsežnom obnovom nakon mongolske invazije, jer su crkvu nastavili koristiti stanovnici istog naselja koji su se nakon invazije ponovno naselili u neposrednu blizinu izvorne lokacije. Iako je ova obnova u skladu s „novim valom“ gradnje crkava nakon povlačenja Mongola, koji je zabilježen na različitim područjima srednjovjekovne mađarske države, treba naglasiti da potreba za podizanjem novih i obnovom starijih crkava u to vrijeme nije bila samo posljedica ovog razornog povijesnog događaja, koliko god on bio važan. Naime, također je moguće da su rekonstrukcije starih i osnivanja novih crkava proizašli iz promijenjenih običaja gospodarenja velikim posjedima među plemićkim obiteljima, pri čemu je crkva bila jedno od najočitijih vizualnih svjedočanstava njihove moći i dominacije.³⁸ Nažalost, s obzirom na stanje istraženosti lokaliteta Crkveno brdo, ne možemo donijeti konačne zaključke o tome je li njezina obnova rezultat dobročinstva nekog nepoznatog plemića ili pothvat lokalne zajednice.

Istraživanja su jasno pokazala da je lokalno stanovništvo kontinuirano koristilo nekropolu oko crkve za pokapanja. Pokapalo se čak i nakon uništenja crkve iz druge faze, ali prije nego što je započela

The erection of the church on Crkveno brdo site can also be understood in this context. Its overall appearance depended primarily on local masons and locally available materials, primarily bricks, despite several fragments of broken stone discovered in the debris. Still, its architectural concept of a single-nave church with wide semicircular apse and an annex can be tied to the spatial concept of churches erected in the Upper Tisza valley. As in other west European countries, Magyar's medieval architecture, especially Romanesque, also showed regional characteristics. In regard to that, the church discovered on Crkveno brdo site, based on its archaeological traces, shows closest parallel to the single-naved churches with one square or rectangular annex from the area of Upper Tisza valley. When considering the more representative possible models for the church on Crkveno brdo, it can be understood as a simplified variant of those types of churches similar to the original archbishopric church in Kalocsa, which is understandable when having in mind the fact that Crkveno brdo church was under its jurisdiction. According to the results of archaeological excavations, this early cathedral of Kalocsa, dated to the first decades of the 11th century, was a single-nave church with wide semicircular apse and at least one, and most probably two annexes, in the eastern part of its lateral walls.³⁷

It is obvious that church at Crkveno brdo site served for longer time as a focal point for the local medieval population, as a parish church under the jurisdiction of Kalocsa and later of Kalocsa-Bacz archbishopric. In regard to that, its importance is additionally stressed by its extensive restoration after the Mongol conquest, because it continued to be used by inhabitants of the same settlement, which, as we saw, was also re-populated after the invasion in the close vicinity of the original location. Although this restoration is in accordance to the “new wave” of constructing churches after the Mongolian withdrawal, which is recorded in different areas of Magyar medieval state, it should be stressed that the necessity for erecting new and restoring of older churches at that time was not only the consequence of this devastating historical event, no matter how important it was. Namely, it is also possible that the reconstructions of old and founding of new churches was the result of changed customs of managing

³⁷ Takács 2018, str. 63–65; Zsolt Szakács 2018, str. 203–204, sl. 2; Buzás 2020, str. 16–17.

³⁸ Berend, Laszlovsky, Zsolt Szakács 2007, str. 356; Zsolt Szakács 2011, str. 231. Takve promjene u gospodarenju zemljom mogle su započeti i prije mongolske invazije, usp. Romhányi 2022, str. 441.

³⁷ Takács 2018, pp. 63–65; Zsolt Szakács 2018, pp. 203–204, sl. 2; Buzás 2020, pp. 16–17.

obnova iz posljednje faze. Nekropola se nastavila koristiti i u vremenima kada je ovo sakralno mjesto najvjerojatnije bilo napušteno, na što upućuje već spomenuti grob uz južni zid crkve. Sve to svjedoči o tome da je ovo sakralno i središnje mjesto imalo dugi kontinuitet, koji je potrajao do kraja 15. ili početka 16. stoljeća. U narednim stoljećima područje je doživjelo značajne promjene, sve dok nije postalo potpuno ruralizirano, a istovremeno je obližnja Senta počela dobivati na važnosti, ponajprije zahvaljujući svom strateškom položaju.

large properties among noble families, the church being one of the most eloquent visual testimonies of their power and dominance.³⁸ Unfortunately, considering the state of research of Crkveno brdo site, we can not give any definite conclusion about whether its restoration was the result of euergetism of some unknown aristocrat or of the effort of the local community.

Excavations clearly showed that local inhabitants continuously used the necropolis around the church for the burials. The burials were even performed in the times after the church from the second phase was destroyed, but the last phase restoration hasn't yet started. The necropolis continued to be used even in times when this religious place was most probably abandoned, which is suggested by the already mentioned grave built along the south wall of the church. This testifies the long-lasting continuity of this sacral and central place that stretches to the late 15th/early 16th century. In centuries that followed, this area has undergone significant changes, finally to become completely ruralized, while the nearby Senta began to gain more importance, primarily because of its strategic position.

³⁸ Berend, Laszlovsky, Zsolt Sakács 2007, p. 356; Zsolt Szakács 2011, p. 231. Such changes in land management could have begun even before Mongol invasion, cf. Romhányi 2022, p. 441.

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