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## Utvrđeni grad Livno (Cleuna, Hlivno) u okvirima ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države

*U radu se raspravlja o gradu Livnu u kontekstu ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države. Nastoji se odgovoriti na pitanje je li Livno bilo jedno od važnih središta ili tek ruralno područje na periferiji države. S obzirom na to da je Livno kao urbano naselje arheološki gotovo neistraženo, temi se pristupa iz različitih aspekata, pri čemu se izlazi iz strogih kronoloških i geografskih okvira utvrđenog ranosrednjovjekovnog grada, koji je stratigrafski još uvijek najveća nepoznanica. Povijesni izvori potvrđuju postojanje utvrđenog ranosrednjovjekovnog grada Livna (Cleuna, Hlivno), a osim njih, pri istraživanju su poslužili arheološki nalazi, topografija i rijetki sačuvani ostatci s terena. Na temelju sakupljenih podataka nastojalo se rekonstruirati položaj i ulogu ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada Livna, s okolnim područjem, u okvirima ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države te ukazati na okolnosti stradanja i pregradnji srednjovjekovnog grada.*

*Ključne riječi: Livno, Cleuna, Hlivno, Županija Hlivno, ranosrednjovjekovna hrvatska država, grobni nalazi, predromaničke crkve.*

## The fortified town of Livno (Cleuna, Hlivno) within the framework of the early medieval Croatian state

*This paper examines the town of Livno within the context of the early medieval Croatian state and aims to determine whether Livno was a significant centre or merely a rural area on the periphery of the early medieval Croatian state. The topic is approached from various perspectives, especially since Livno, as an inhabited urban area, is almost archaeologically unexplored. Consequently, the research and methods used allow us to go beyond the narrow chronological and geographical frameworks of the fortified early medieval town, which, in terms of stratigraphy, is the greatest unknown to us. Historical sources confirm that Livno was a fortified early medieval town, and in addition to these sources, we also used archaeological finds, topography and rare remains originating from sites, based upon which we attempted to reconstruct the location and role of the early medieval fortified town of Livno (Cleuna, Hlivno), along with its surrounding area, within the early medieval Croatian state. We also aimed to highlight the circumstances of its destruction and reconstruction.*

*Keywords: Livno, Cleuna, Hlivno, county of Hlivno, early medieval Croatian state, grave finds, pre-Romanesque churches.*



Sl. 1. Položaj Livna uz rub Livanjskog polja  
 Fig. 1 Location of Livno on the edge of the plain of Livno

## Uvod

Današnji grad Livno nalazi se u jugozapadnoj Bosni, a udaljen je oko 30 km od granice s Republikom Hrvatskom. Livanjsko polje od Dalmacije je odvojeno planinskim masivom Dinarom, koji osim Dinare obuhvaća i planine Troglav i Kamešnicu. Grad Livno smješten je uz rub Livanjskog polja, u podnožju visoravni Kruga, zaklonjen strmim stijenama Crvenica, odakle izvire rijeka Bistrica (sl. 1), te je upravo taj položaj utjecao na razvoj ovog grada kroz različita povijesna razdoblja.

Livno kao urbano naselje arheološki je gotovo neistraženo, stoga istraživanje srednjovjekovnog Livna počiva na različitim izvorima podataka, kao što su pisani povijesni izvori, arheološki nalazi iz Livna i okolice, topografija odnosno do danas sačuvani toponimi te rijetki ostatci arhitekture na terenu. Novi pristup temi uključuje i proučavanje topografskih planova iz 17., 18. i 19. stoljeća te fotografija iz druge polovine 19. stoljeća. Navedeni izvori predstavljaju poveznicu s ostacima arhitekture koja do danas ili nije sačuvana ili je slabo sačuvana, a koja je izgrađena iznad ostataka srednjovjekovne arhitekture. Istraživanje ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrde-

## Introduction

The present town of Livno is situated in southwestern Bosnia, approximately 30 km from the border with Croatia. The plain of Livno (*Livanjsko Polje*) is separated from Dalmatia by the Dinara mountain massif, which includes the mountains Troglav and Kamešnica, with Livno at the edge of this plain, at the foot of the Krug plateau and sheltered by the steep cliffs of Crvenice, from where the Bistrica River springs (Fig. 1).

This location has in many ways determined the town's fate through various historical periods. As an inhabited urban area, Livno is almost archaeologically unexplored and consequently, the research of medieval Livno is a complex and multifaceted endeavour, encompassing a range of sources, including written records, archaeological finds from the town and its surrounding area, topographical data with preserved toponyms, and rare architectural remains. A novel approach to this research involves the analysis of topographical maps from the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as photographs from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These types of sources provide a link to the architectural remains

nog grada stavit ćemo u kontekst ranosrednjovjekovne Županije Hlivno, kojoj je istoimeni grad bio upravno središte.

Na temelju pisanih izvora saznajemo da se u ranom srednjem vijeku Livno razvijalo kao utvrđeni grad. Županija Hlivno, kao teritorijalno-upravna jedinica, bila je uključena u županijsku organizaciju ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države, a obuhvaćala je područje Livanjskog i dijela Grahova polja, gdje je graničila sa Županijom Psetom, te vjerojatno Glamočko i Duvanjsko polje. Na sjeveru je planinama Vitorogom, Cincarom i Ljubušom graničila sa Županijom Plivom, a na jugu je bila omeđena Dinarom te je preko prijevoja Vagnja bila povezana sa Županijom Cetinom.<sup>1</sup> Županija je ime dijelila sa svojim sjedištem, gradom Livnom. S obzirom na položaj u zaleđu planinskog masiva Dinare, Livno vjerojatno nije bilo jedno od rezidencija hrvatskih vladara, ali je bilo sjedište srednjovjekovne županije koja je obuhvaćala područje nekoliko kraških polja u zaleđu današnje Dalmacije. Uloga Livna kao županijskog sjedišta temeljila se na kasnoantičkom nasljeđu livanjskog područja i njegovu strateškom položaju.<sup>2</sup>

U pisanim izvorima se od kraja 9. stoljeća toponim Livno bilježi u različitim inačicama (lat. *Cleona*, *Cleuna*, *Cliuna*, *Clivuna*, *Hliuna*; stsl. Hlivno, Hlevno), a u kasnijim dokumentima, iz 14. i 15. stoljeća, navodi se i kao Bistrički Grad ili Bistrica (Biztrica, *castrum suum Byztriche in Hleuna*, *castrum Bystrychky*, grad Bistrêčki).<sup>3</sup>

Što se tiče etimologije imena Livno/Hlivno<sup>4</sup>, najviše je usvojena teorija da je u korijenu ovog toponima staroslavenska riječ *hlijev*, *hliv* (*chliev*), u značenju 'staja', 'stan za stoku'. Isto tako, moguće

that are either poorly preserved or no longer extant, and which were built above the remains of medieval structures. The research of the early medieval fortified town is placed in the context of the early medieval county of Hlivno, of which it was the centre.

Written sources indicate that Livno developed as a fortified town and the administrative seat of the county of Hlivno during the Early Middle Ages. Hlivno county, as a territorial-administrative unit, was included in the county organization of the early medieval Croatian state. It encompassed the plain of Livno and part of the plain of Grahovo, where it bordered the Pset county, and possibly extended into the plains of Glamoč and Duvno. To the north, it bordered Pliva county, with the mountains Vitorog, Cincar and Ljubuša serving as natural boundaries. To the south, it was bordered by the Dinara mountain and connected with the county of Cetina through the Vaganj pass.<sup>1</sup> The name of the county is identical to its seat, the town of Livno. Due to its location behind the Dinara mountain massif, Livno was probably not one of the residences of Croatian rulers. However, it was the seat of the medieval county that encompassed a territory of several karst fields in the hinterland of present-day Dalmatia. The role of Livno as the county seat was based on late ancient heritage of the Livno area and its strategic position.<sup>2</sup>

The toponym Livno has been recorded in various versions in written sources from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Latin: *Cleona*, *Cleuna*, *Cliuna*, *Clivuna*, *Hliuna*; Old Slavonic: *Hlivno*, *Hlevno*), while in later documents from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Livno was also referred to as Bistrički Grad or Bistrica (Biztrica, *castrum suum Byztriche in Hleuna*, *castrum Bystrychky*, grad Bistrêčki).<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the etymology of the name Livno/Hlivno,<sup>4</sup> the most accepted theory is that the root of

<sup>1</sup> Granice županije okvirno su određene na temelju geografskih značajki te je pretpostavljeno da je Duvanjsko polje bilo u okvirima Livanjske županije, a da je negdje iza tog područja bila granica s Imotskom županijom.

<sup>2</sup> Marić Baković 2022, str. 129–162; Marić Baković 2023, str. 221–262.

<sup>3</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 16–20.

<sup>4</sup> Ovaj toponim i iz njega izvedeni etnonimi zabilježeni su na još nekim područjima, primjerice uz donji tok rijeke Elbe, u današnjoj Slovačkoj, te u okolici Zadra. Prema *Franačkim analima* i srednjovjekovnoj toponimiji, M. Ančić toponim Hlivno povezuje s kretanjem slavenske etničke skupine Obodrita u migracijskom valu u sklopu franačkih protuavarskih ratova s kraja 8. stoljeća (Ančić 2001a, str. 4–5; Ančić 2001b, str. 11–13, 43).

<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of the county were approximately determined based on geographical features, assuming thereby that the plain of Duvno was within the boundaries of the county of Livno and that somewhere beyond this area was the border with the county of Imotski.

<sup>2</sup> Marić Baković 2022, pp. 129 – 162; Marić Baković 2023, pp. 221–262.

<sup>3</sup> Klaić 1928, pp. 16–20.

<sup>4</sup> This toponym and the ethnonyms derived from it have been recorded in other areas as well, along the lower Elbe, in today's Slovakia, and around Zadar. Accord-

je da je ime izvedeno od staroslavenske riječi *hljep* (*hljeb*), *hlip*, u značenju ‘ustava’ (kod vode), ‘slap’, ‘ponor’, na način da je riječi *hlip* (*hlib*) pridodan nastavak -no, čime se dobio naziv *Hlibno*,<sup>5</sup> slično onome u kasnosrednjovjekovnim izvorima, gdje se navodi toponim Bistrički Grad označavajući utvrdu poviše izvora rijeke Bistrice.

### Pisani izvori

Prvi spomen Livna zabilježen je u latinskom obliku *Cleuna* u ispravi od 28. rujna 892. godine kojom je hrvatski vladar Muncimir (892. – 910.), nakon rasprave između splitskog nadbiskupa i ninskog biskupa, potvrdio Splitskoj nadbiskupiji sadržaj Trpimirove darovnice od 4. ožujka 852. godine.<sup>6</sup> Tom ispravom hrvatski vladar Trpimir (oko 845. – 864.) poklanja Solinskoj (Splitskoj) nadbiskupiji crkvu i samostan sv. Jurja u Putalju zajedno s još nekim posjedima.<sup>7</sup>

Među svjedocima Muncimirove isprave u Bijaćima<sup>8</sup> navodi se dvanaest župana, od kojih je većina bila s vladareva dvora. Uz dvojicu svjedoka ne navodi se ništa, pa su možda samo po položaju bili župani, a druga dvojica koja se spominju bila su dio teritorijalne organizacije te se navodi koje su im županije pripadale. To su Zbidrag, župan Klisa, i Želimir, župan Livna (*Zelimiro iupano Cleunae*).<sup>9</sup> Želimir se u ulozi svjedoka navodi iza Muncimira, koji je vladar i izdavač darovnice, i Budimira, dvorskog župana, a ta isprava ujedno predstavlja i najraniji spomen povijesne osobe iz Livna. Kod većine srednjovjekovnih isprava svjedoci su prisutni pri samom pravnom činu te pisar njihova imena unosi u ispravu tijekom sastavljanja. Prisutnost svjedoka, među kojima su bili crkveni i državni velikodostojnici, župani i ugledni građani, ukazuje na važnost

this toponym is the Old Slavic word “hliev,” “hliv” (chliev), meaning barn or stable for livestock. It is also possible that the name is derived from the Old Slavic word “hljep” (hljeb), “hlip,” meaning weir (at water), waterfall, abyss; Hlip (hlib) with the suffix –no is Hlibno,<sup>5</sup> which is similar to how in late medieval sources the toponym Bistrički Grad refers to the fortress above the source of the Bistrice River.

### Written sources

The first mention of Livno is in its Latin form under the name *Cleuna* in a document dated 28 September 892. This document, issued by Croatian ruler Muncimir (892–910) and after a dispute between the Archbishop of Split and the Bishop of Nin, confirmed the contents of Trpimir’s deed of donation from 4 March 852 to the Archdiocese of Split.<sup>6</sup> In this charter, Croatian ruler Trpimir (c. 845–864) donated the church and monastery of St. George in Putalj along with some estates to the Archdiocese of Solin (Split).<sup>7</sup>

Among the witnesses of Muncimir’s document in Bijaći,<sup>8</sup> twelve district-prefects (župans) are listed. The majority of them were members of the ruler’s court. Two are not specified and might only be župans by their position, while two were part of the territorial organisation, with their respective counties (administrative unit *županija*) mentioned. These are Zbidrag, the district-prefect of Klis, and Želimir, district-prefect of Livno (... *Zelimiro iupano Cleunae*...).<sup>9</sup> Želimir is mentioned

ing to the *Frankish Annals* and medieval toponymy, M. Ančić associates the toponym Hlivno with the movement of the Obodrites, a Slavic ethnic group, in the migration wave at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century as part of the Frankish anti-Avar wars. (Ančić 2001a, pp. 4–5; Ančić 2001b, pp. 11–13, 43.)

<sup>5</sup> Manderalo 1983, str. 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Codex diplomaticus I*, 1967, str. 22–25. Drugo mišljenje je da ispravu treba datirati između 840. i 844. godine (Ančić 2001b, str. 69).

<sup>7</sup> *Codex diplomaticus I*, 1967, str. 3–8.

<sup>8</sup> Bijaći se nalaze na granici trogorskog i donjokaštelanskog Velog polja. Na tom je lokalitetu pretpostavljeno jedno od povremenih ranosrednjovjekovnih sjedišta hrvatskih vladara te su tamo otkriveni ostatci crkve sv. Marte (Marasović 1999, str. 332–341; Marasović 2008, str. 149).

<sup>9</sup> Rački 1877, str. 16; Klaić 1928, str. 16; *Codex diplomaticus I*, 1967, str. 24. U prvom svesku *Codex diplomaticus*, koji su uredili J. Stipišić i M. Šamšalović, navodi se *Zelirrico zuppano Cleoniae*, a M. Brković to ime čita kao Željivek (Brković 1994, str. 53).

<sup>5</sup> Manderalo, 1983, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Codex diplomaticus I*, 1967, pp. 22–25; an alternative hypothesis suggests that the document should be dated between 840 and 844. (Ančić 2001b, p. 69)

<sup>7</sup> *Codex diplomaticus I*, 1967, pp. 3–8.

<sup>8</sup> An area at the contact point between the Trogir part and the Lower Kaštela part of the Velo field, where one of the occasional early medieval seats of Croatian rulers is presumed to have been located, and where the remains of the church of St. Martha were discovered. (Marasović 1999, pp. 332–341; Marasović 2008, p. 149)

<sup>9</sup> Rački 1877, p. 16; Klaić, 1928, p. 16; *Codex diplomaticus I*, 1967, p. 24. In the *Codex diplomaticus* vol.

potvrđivanja isprava, odnosno oni svojom nazočnošću, pristankom i voljom osnažuju sadržaj isprave.<sup>10</sup> Iz navedenih isprava jasno je da su župani nosioci javne vlasti, pripadnici rodovske aristokracije, koji u ranosrednjovjekovnom uređenju služe vladaru, kako na dvoru tako u teritorijalnoj organizaciji.<sup>11</sup>

Bez obzira na to što Muncimirova isprava kao ni ona ranija, Trpimirova, nisu sačuvane u svojem prvotnom obliku nego kao kasniji prijepisi,<sup>12</sup> kojima se u određenoj mjeri izgubila autentičnost, radi se o povijesnim izvorima koji su od iznimnog značaja za ranosrednjovjekovnu povijest Livna. U ispravi se navodi latinsko ime županije i livanjskog župana, koji je među ostalim uglednicima svjedok potvrđivanja vladarske isprave, i to u okvirima županijske organizacije Hrvatske Kneževine. Muncimirova isprava kojom se potvrđuje darovnica Splitskoj nadbiskupiji može se tumačiti kao mudar politički potez hrvatskog vladara usmjeren prema dalmatinskim gradovima u kojima se još nije bila učvrstila hrvatska vlast, odnosno prema crkvenim vlastima čija biskupija dobiva poklon od hrvatskog vladara i čija se crkvena jurisdikcija proteže na hrvatski teritorij.<sup>13</sup>

Gotovo dva stoljeća poslije, u ispravi kralja Dmitra Zvonimira od 9. listopada 1075. godine, kojom se splitskoj Crkvi potvrđuje Trpimirova i Muncimirova darovnica crkve i posjeda sv. Jurja u Putalju, među velikim brojem crkvenih i svjetovnih svjedoka navodi se livanjski *comes* Dobrila (*Dobrili comitis Cleunensis*).<sup>14</sup> U ovoj se Zvonimirovoj ispravi za kraljeve pomoćnike u upravnoj vlasti upotrebljava titula *comes*, a ne župan ili podžupan, iako se u drugim Zvonimirovim ispravama nailazi na termin župan te im je u tim ispravama kao i u drugim djelima značenje jednako.<sup>15</sup>

U crkvenom pogledu, Župa Livno stoljećima je bila u jurisdikciji Splitske nadbiskupije, koja je imala metropolitansku ulogu zasnovanu na temelju kontinuiteta Salonitanske nadbiskupije, što se da iščitati iz crkvenog sinoda održanog u Splitu 925. godine.<sup>16</sup> Iz povijesnih izvora vidljivo je da su ovla-

as a witness after Muncimir, the ruler and issuer of the charter, and Budimir, the district-prefect of the court. This document thus contains the earliest mention of a historical figure from Livno. In most medieval documents, witnesses were present during the legal act itself, and their names were recorded by the scribe during the drafting of the document. The presence of witnesses, who were church and state dignitaries, district-prefects and respectable citizens, underscores the importance of the validation of the documents. Their presence, consent and will confirmed and emphasized the content of the deed.<sup>10</sup> These documents clearly show that župans were bearers of public authority, members of the clan-related aristocracy, who served the ruler either at court or within the territorial organisation in the early medieval period.<sup>11</sup>

Although Muncimir's document, like the earlier one from Trpimir, has not survived in its original form but as later copies,<sup>12</sup> which have to a certain extent lost their authenticity during their transcriptions, it remains an extremely significant historical source for the early medieval history of Livno. The document mentions the Latin name of the county and the župan of Livno, who, among other dignitaries, witnessed the confirmation of the ruler's document, within the framework of the county organisation of the Croatian Principality. Muncimir's document, which confirms the donation to the Archdiocese of Split, can be interpreted as a prudent political move by the Croatian ruler in regard to the Dalmatian cities where Croatian authority had not yet been established, i.e. in regard to the Church, whose diocese received a donation of the Croatian ruler and whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction extended into Croatian territory.<sup>13</sup>

Almost two centuries later, in a document from King Demetrius Zvonimir dated 9 October 1075, which confirms Trpimir's and Muncimir's donation of the church and estates of St. George in Putalj to the church of Split, the *comes* of Livno named Dobrila (...Dobrili comitis Cleunensis...) is listed

<sup>10</sup> Brković 2011, str. 119–120.

<sup>11</sup> Smiljanić 2007, str. 35–36.

<sup>12</sup> Najstariji sačuvani prijepisi obiju isprava potječu iz 1568. godine (Brković 2011, str. 86, 94).

<sup>13</sup> Brković 2011, str. 113.

<sup>14</sup> Rački 1877, str. 106; *Codex diplomaticus* I, str. 141–142.

<sup>15</sup> Smiljanić 2007, str. 39; Brković 2011, str. 122.

<sup>16</sup> Maslač 1936, str. 72; *Codex diplomaticus* I, 1967, str. 30–33.

I., edited by J. Stipišić and M. Šamšalović, the name *Zellirrico zuppano Cleoniae* is mentioned, and M. Brković reads this name as Željivek. (Brković 1994, p. 53)

<sup>10</sup> Brković 2011, pp. 119–120.

<sup>11</sup> Smiljanić 2007, pp. 35–36.

<sup>12</sup> The oldest preserved transcripts of both documents date from 1568. (Brković 2011, pp. 86, 94)

<sup>13</sup> Brković 2011, p. 113.

sti splitskog nadbiskupa nad Župom Livno obnavljane i potvrđivane sve do 1736. godine, kad je prvo privremeno, a zatim 1757. godine za stalno, Livanjska župa priključena uspostavljenom apostolskom vikarijatu u Bosni.<sup>17</sup>

Drugi pisani izvor od iznimnog značenja za srednjovjekovnu povijest Livna je djelo Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta *De administrando imperio*, pisano oko sredine 10. stoljeća. Tri njegova poglavlja, 29., 30. i 31., spadaju među najvažnije izvore za poznavanje najranije hrvatske povijesti, pa tako i za povijest Livna. Navedena poglavlja nisu djelo istog autora i nisu nastala u istom vremenu. Poglavlja 29. i 31. su prvotne, izvorne cjeline unutar kojih je naknadno, nedugo nakon što je djelo dovršeno, dodan tekst 30. poglavlja. U tom 30. poglavlju, na popisu 11 srednjovjekovnih hrvatskih županija, Livanjska županija (*Hlebiana*) navedena je na prvom mjestu, a potom slijede Cetina, Imotski, Pliva, Pset, Primorje, Bribir, Nona, Knin, Sidraga i Nin te tri područja kojima upravlja ban: Lika, Gacka i Krbava.<sup>18</sup> U 31. poglavlju stoji kako krštena Hrvatska ima naseljene gradove: Nin, Biograd, Velicin, Skradin, Livno (*Hlebena*), Stup, Knin, Kori i Klobuk.<sup>19</sup>

Kad se spoje podatci iz obaju poglavlja, dolazi se do saznanja da su u Livanjskoj, Kninskoj i Ninskoj županiji bila istoimena utvrđena naselja. Da je 30. poglavlje, koje je pisao anonimni autor, ušlo u djelo kasnije, zaključuje se prema vremenskoj razlici u donošenju podataka, jer anonimni autor poglavlja s popisom županija piše o prošlosti, a bizantski car kad donosi popis naseljenih gradova krštene Hrvat-

among a large number of ecclesiastical and secular witnesses.<sup>14</sup> In this document by Zvonimir, the title *comes* was used for the king's administrative aides, rather than the titles župan or *podžupan*, although the term župan is encountered in other documents by Zvonimir and other works, where it has the same meaning.<sup>15</sup>

In ecclesiastical terms, the parish of Livno had been under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Split for centuries, which had a metropolitan role based on the continuity of the Archdiocese of Salona, as evidenced by the church synod held in Split in 925.<sup>16</sup> Historical sources indicate that the authority of the Archbishop of Split over the parish of Livno had been renewed and confirmed several times until 1736, when the parish of Livno was temporarily and then permanently annexed to the newly established Apostolic Vicariate in Bosnia.<sup>17</sup>

Another written source of exceptional importance for the medieval history of Livno is the work *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, written around the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century. The text, which comprises three chapters, namely chapter 29, 30 and 31, is among the most important sources for understanding early Croatian history, including that of Livno. These chapters were not written by the same author and were not composed at the same time. Chapters 29 and 31 represent the first and original sections within which, shortly af-

<sup>17</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 16; Vrdoljak 1994, str. 115–116. Ispravom iz 1103. Splitskoj nadbiskupiji potvrđuje se *vilam in Cleuna Sudumirizam, et villam in Zetina Stolez. Decimas preterea Cleunae, Zetine, Clisie et eius districtus* (Codex diplomaticus II, str. 11). Godine 1185. na crkvenom saboru u Splitu Splitskoj nadbiskupiji dodjeljuju se župe: *Clissam, (...) Zettinam, totam Cleunam* (Codex diplomaticus II, str. 193). Papa Celestin III. 1192. godine splitskom nadbiskupu Petru određuje opseg nadbiskupije: *parochiam Cleune, parochias Citine, Clisse cum tota iupania Polici* (Codex diplomaticus II, str. 251). Kralj Andrija II. 1207. potvrđuje Splitskoj nadbiskupiji *Item Ziminam et Cithinam, Cleonam et totum Mazarum* (Codex diplomaticus III, str. 70). Arhidakon Toma oko 1250. u historiji Solinsko-splitske nadbiskupije navodi župe koje je nadbiskupija htjela zadržati: *comitatum Cetinae, Cleunae, Clissae, Massarum* (Rački 1877, str. 200).

<sup>18</sup> Porfirogenet 2003, str. 78.

<sup>19</sup> Porfirogenet 2003, str. 82.

<sup>14</sup> Rački 1877, p. 106; Codex diplomaticus I, pp. 141–142.

<sup>15</sup> Smiljanić 2007, p. 39; Brković 2011, p. 122.

<sup>16</sup> Maslač 1936, p. 72; Codex diplomaticus I, 1967, pp. 30–33.

<sup>17</sup> Klaić 1928, p. 16; Vrdoljak 1994, pp. 115–116. With a document from 1103, it is confirmed to the Archdiocese of Split: *vilam in Cleuna Sudumirizam, et villam in Zetina Stolez. Decimas preterea Cleunae, Zetine, Clisie et eius districtus...* (Codex diplomaticus II, pp. 11); In 1185, at the church council held in Split, the Archdiocese of Split is granted the parishes: *...Clissam, ..., Zettinam, totam Cleunam* (Codex diplomaticus II, p. 193); Pope Celestine III, in 1192, designates the extent of the archdiocese to the Split Archbishop Peter: *parochiam Cleune, parochias Citine, Clisse cum tota iupania Polici* (Codex diplomaticus II, p. 251); In 1207, King Andrew II confirms to the Archdiocese of Split: *Item Ziminam et Cithinam, Cleonam et totum Mazarum* (Codex diplomaticus III, p. 70); Archdeacon Thomas around 1250 in the history of the Solin-Split Archdiocese lists the parishes the archdiocese wanted to keep: *...comitatum Cetinae, Cleunae, Clissae, Massarum,...* (Rački, 1877, p. 200)

ske piše o sadašnjosti.<sup>20</sup> Naime, tekst 30. poglavlja predstavlja drukčiju interpretaciju prošlosti Dalmacije od one u izvornom tekstu 29. i 31. poglavlja. Dok je izvorna verzija prikazivala prošlost Dalmacije kao carske provincije, tekst 30. poglavlja pripovijeda o tome kako su Hrvati zaposjeli dio provincije Dalmacije i pretvorili ga u svoju zemlju u kojoj su oni „samosvojni i samovlasni“, u smislu da sve odluke koje se tiču njih donose sami.<sup>21</sup> Činjenica da je netko, u određenim okolnostima, osjetio potrebu da dijelu izvorne cjeline doda novu verziju povijesne naracije o Hrvatima, koja stvari predstavlja na drukčiji način, vodi tome da je izvorni tekst imao utilitarnu vrijednost za bizantsku diplomaciju te da ga je u promijenjenim okolnostima trebalo ažurirati, odnosno promijeniti mu smisao kako bi korespondirao s aktualnim, očito promijenjenim prilikama.<sup>22</sup>

Iako se u dvjema spomenutim cjelinama radi o različitim interpretacijama činjenica vezanih za povijest istočnojadranskog prostora i povijest Hrvata, spominjanje Livna i istoimene županije u dvama različitim poglavljima koja su pisali različiti autori s kraćim vremenskim odmakom predstavlja činjenice koje ne bi trebale biti sporne. Stoga možemo zaključiti da se radi o iznimno važnom bizantskom izvoru koji Livno izdvaja kao naseljeni utvrđeni grad, *castrum*, koji je ujedno i sjedište istoimene županije u županijskoj organizaciji ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države. Dakle, već na temelju pisanih izvora možemo zaključiti da je Livno bilo jedno od značajnih središta na ovom prostoru.

Što se tiče županije kao društvenog i teritorijalnog uređenja, treba napomenuti kako u 12. stoljeću za vrijeme vladavine Bele III. započinje proces pretvaranja kraljevskih županija u nasljedno dobro hrvatskih velikaša ili Crkve.<sup>23</sup> Ipak, neke su županije i dalje obnašale čast kraljevskog župana, među kojima i Livanjska županija koja je svoju važnost sačuvala sve do kraja srednjeg vijeka, o čemu svjedoči i darovnica kralja Stjepana Ostoje za vojvodu Hrvoja Vukčića iz 1400. godine.<sup>24</sup>

### Arheološki nalazi iz grobova

Arheološki nalazi koji dokumentiraju razdoblje o kojem nema sačuvanih pisanih izvora prvenstve-

ter the work was completed, the text of Chapter 30 was later added. In Chapter 30, the list of 11 medieval Croatian counties includes the county of Livno (*Hlebiana*) as the first entry, followed by Cetina, Imotski, Pliva, Pset, Primorje, Bribir, Nona, Knin, Sidraga and Nin. Additionally, three areas governed by a ban are included: Lika, Gacka, and Krbava.<sup>18</sup> Chapter 31 states that baptized Croatia has inhabited towns including Nin, Biograd, Velicin, Skradin, Livno (*Hlebena*), Stup, Knin, Kori and Klobuk.<sup>19</sup>

When the information from both chapters is combined, it is evident that the counties of Livno, Knin and Nin had fortified settlements bearing the same names. As Chapter 30, which was written by an anonymous author, was incorporated into the work at a later date, the explanation lies in the temporal difference in the data provided. Namely, the anonymous author of Chapter 30 with the list of counties writes about the past, while the Byzantine emperor, when providing the list of inhabited towns of baptized Croatia, uses the present tense.<sup>20</sup> Chapter 30 offers a different interpretation of Dalmatia's past compared to the original text of Chapters 29 and 31. While the original version depicted Dalmatia's past as an imperial province, Chapter 30 describes the Croat's occupation of part of the province of Dalmatia and its transformation into their land, where they are "independent and autonomous," meaning they make all decisions about themselves.<sup>21</sup> The fact that someone, under certain circumstances, felt the need to add a new version of the historical narrative about the Croats to part of the original section, presenting things differently from the original text of Chapters 29 and 31, suggests that the original text had utilitarian value in Byzantine diplomacy. In changed circumstances, it needed to be updated, or its meaning altered, to correspond with the current, evidently changed, circumstances.<sup>22</sup>

Although the two sections offer different interpretations of facts related to the history of the eastern Adriatic area and the history of the Croats, the mere mention of Livno and the eponymous county in two different chapters written by different authors within a short time span represents facts that should not

<sup>20</sup> Klaić 1985, str. 54.

<sup>21</sup> Ančić 2010, str. 145.

<sup>22</sup> Ančić 2010, str. 146.

<sup>23</sup> Smiljanić 2007, str. 55, 92.

<sup>24</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 17–18; Ančić 2001a, str. 16.

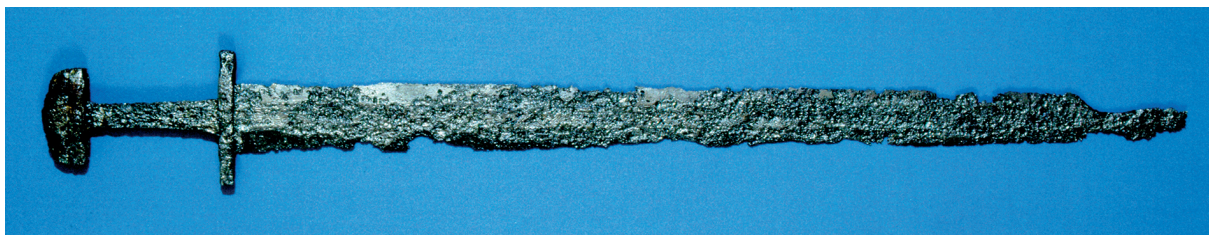
<sup>18</sup> Porfirogenet 2003, p. 78.

<sup>19</sup> Porfirogenet 2003, p. 82.

<sup>20</sup> Klaić 1985, p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> Ančić 2010, p. 145.

<sup>22</sup> Ančić 2010, p. 146.



Sl. 2. Mač iz groba 4, Podgradina, Rešetarica (Z. Alajbeg)  
Fig. 2 Sword from grave 4, Podgradina, Rešetarica (Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 3. Ostruge iz groba 4, Podgradina, Rešetarica (Z. Alajbeg)  
Fig. 3 Spurs from grave 4, Podgradina, Rešetarica (Z. Alajbeg)

no se odnose na grobne nalaze. Najstarija groblja predstavljaju ona s grobovima u koje su se uz pokojnika prilagali predmeti, a datirana su od kraja 8. ili početka 9. stoljeća te pripadaju ranom horizontu hrvatskih (kosturnih) groblja. Ta groblja dokumentirana su načinom ukopa i predmetima u grobovima te se razlikuju od sačuvanih starijih, kasnoantičkih ukopa, što ukazuje na neromansko stanovništvo. Zbog nedostatka arheološkog materijala nije moguće govoriti o procesu koji se odvijao tijekom 7. i 8. stoljeća, već se samo može ustvrditi postojanje svojevrsnog prekida u arheološkim nalazima. No, s obzirom na nedostatnu arheološku istraženost Livanjskog polja, posebice postrimskog razdoblja, to ne može biti pokazatelj stvarnog stanja. Određeni kontinuitet i tranzicija identiteta preostale indigene populacije doseljavanjem novog stanovništva morali su postojati i na Livanjskom polju, ali ne znamo na koji način i u kojoj mjeri.

Krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća na dijelu prostora današnje Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, koji je nekad bio obuhvaćen Hrvatskom Kneževinom, pojavljuju se prvi predmeti karolinške provenijencije, koji su zabilježeni i tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća. Na Buškom jezeru, na užoj lokaciji Kraljičina nasipa, poznatoj kao Rešetarica, iznad osta-

be disputed. It can therefore be concluded that this is an extremely important Byzantine source which highlights Livno as an inhabited fortified town, a *castrum*, which is also the seat of the eponymous county within the county organisation of the early medieval Croatian state. Based on written sources alone, it can be concluded that Livno was one of the significant centres of the early medieval Croatian state.

With regard to the county as a social and territorial organisation, it is pertinent to note that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Bela III, a process commenced whereby royal counties were transformed into hereditary estates of Croatian nobles or the Church.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, there remained counties where the office of the royal župan was still exercised, including the Livno county, which retained its importance until the end of the Middle Ages. This is evidenced by the deed of donation of King Stephen Ostoja in 1400 to Duke Hrvoje Vukčić.<sup>24</sup>

### Archaeological finds from graves

Archaeological finds that document the period for which there are no preserved written sources primarily relate to grave finds. The oldest cemeteries are those with items buried together with the deceased, dating from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and belong to the early horizon of Croatian (skeletal) cemeteries. These cemeteries are documented by burial methods and grave goods, which differ from those of preserved older late ancient burials, indicating a non-Roman population. Due to the lack of archaeological material, it is not possible to discuss the process that occurred in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. It can be stated that there is a kind of interruption in the archaeological material. However, given the insufficient state of archaeological exploration in the plain of Livno,

<sup>23</sup> Smiljanić 2007, pp. 55, 92.

<sup>24</sup> V. Klaić. 1928, pp. 17-18; Ančič 2001a, p. 16.

taka ranokršćanske bazilike otkrivena su dva groba s priložima karolinških obilježja.<sup>25</sup> U grobu br. 4 uz pokojnika su pronađeni dvosjekli mač Petersenova tipa K sa sedam režnjeva, par tzv. karolinških ostruga hrvatskog tipa, dva jezičca, sklopivi nož s koricama-britvica, kresivo i nožić (sl. 2 i 3),<sup>26</sup> a u grobu br. 3 uz pokojnika su pronađeni par ostruga, nož i ulomci okova neutvrđene namjene.<sup>27</sup>

Na prostoru bazilike nađeni su i drugi željezni predmeti, koji vjerojatno potječu iz vodom razorenih grobova istog horizonta (noževi, kresiva, šilo).<sup>28</sup> Iz razorenih grobova je i keramička posuda koja je ispod oboda ukrašena urezanom valovnicom te ulomak druge posude.<sup>29</sup> Izravna analogija grobu 4 s groblja na Rešetarici je grob 1 s položaja Vukovića most u Gornjim Koljanima u kojem su uz mač tipa K pronađene i karolinške ostruge hrvatskog tipa s pripadajućim jezičcima garnitura, a koji je datiran na kraj 8. ili početak 9. stoljeća.<sup>30</sup> Lagane ostruge iz groba 3 na Rešetarici nešto su mlađe, datiraju se u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća (sl. 4),<sup>31</sup> a pripadaju istoj skupini ostruga kao i ostruge iz groba 312 na Ždrijacu i iz Bajagića kod Sinja.<sup>32</sup> Svi istraženi grobovi iznad ostataka ranokršćanske bazilike na Rešetarici pripadaju istom stratigrafskom sloju. Nažalost, možda i značajan dio grobova razoren je vodom akumulacijskog jezera, čime je onemogućeno dobivanje cjelovite sliku ovog groblja.

Sloju grobova s karolinškim nalazima pripada i grob iz Rudića kraj Glamoča, koji se vjerojatno nalazio u okvirima ranosrednjovjekovne Županije Hlivno. U njemu su nađeni karolinški mač tipa H, koplje s krilcima, koplje izduženog lista, brončani

especially of the post-Roman period, this cannot be considered an indicator of the actual state. It is likely that there was some continuity and transition of identity between the indigenous population that remained in the area and the newly settled population in the plain of Livno. However, the extent of this transition and the manner in which it occurred remain unknown.

The first items of Carolingian provenance started to appear in parts of present-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were once within the Croatian Principality, at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but also during the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. At Buško Lake, i.e. at the specific location Kraljičin nasip (Queen's dyke), also known as Rešetarica, two graves were discovered above the remains of an early Christian basilica, which contained grave goods with Carolingian features.<sup>25</sup> A double-edged sword with seven lobes, which according to Petersen's typology belonged to type K, was found next to the deceased in grave no. 4, besides a pair of so-called Carolingian spurs of the Croatian type, two strap-ends, a folding knife with a sheath-razor, a fire striker and a small knife (Fig. 2 and 3).<sup>26</sup> Grave no. 3 contained in addition to the deceased, a pair of spurs, a knife and fragments of fittings whose purpose could not be determined.<sup>27</sup>

Also other iron items were found in the area of the basilica which likely originated from graves of the same period (knives, fire strikers, awl) that were destroyed by the water.<sup>28</sup> A ceramic vessel decorated with incised wavy lines under the rim and a fragment of another vessel were also recovered from the destroyed graves.<sup>29</sup> A direct analogy can be drawn between grave 4 at Rešetarica and grave 1

<sup>25</sup> Nakon slučajnih nalaza lokalitet je sustavno istražen (Vrdoljak 1988, str. 119–194).

<sup>26</sup> Zbog okolnosti nalaza grob nije arheološki istražen i dokumentiran te je precizniji kontekst nalaza, nažalost, nepoznat. Položaj groba i grobnih predmeta temelji se na podacima fra Bone Vrdoljaka, koji je grob otkrio i prikupio predmete iz njega (Vrdoljak 1988, str. 153–155; Zekan 1994, str. 56, 71; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 33, kat. br. 219–226; Bilogrivić 2009, str. 134, Petrinc 2009, str. 28, T. 69).

<sup>27</sup> Vrdoljak 1988, str. 154–155; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 33, kat. br. 227–232; Petrinc 2009, str. 28, T. 68, 1–3.

<sup>28</sup> Vrdoljak 1988, str. 154–156, 183.

<sup>29</sup> Vrdoljak 1988, str. 190, T. XXVI, 1–2.

<sup>30</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 33; Milošević 2001, str. 54; Bilogrivić 2019, str. 126.

<sup>31</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 33, 87, kat. br. 127–128; Petrinc 2009, str. 28, T. 68, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 175.

<sup>25</sup> Following the discovery of accidental finds, the site was subjected to a systematic investigation. (Vrdoljak 1988, pp. 119–194)

<sup>26</sup> Due to the circumstances of the find, the grave was not archaeologically investigated or documented, and the precise context of the find is unfortunately unknown. The position of the grave and the items within it is provided based on data from Fra Bono Vrdoljak, who discovered the grave and collected the items. (Vrdoljak 1988, pp. 153–155; Zekan 1994, pp. 56, 71; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 33, cat. no. 219–226; Bilogrivić 2009, p. 134, Petrinc 2009, p. 28, T. 69)

<sup>27</sup> Vrdoljak 1988, pp. 154–155; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 33, cat. no. 227–232; Petrinc 2009, p. 28, T. 68, 1–3.

<sup>28</sup> Vrdoljak 1988, p. 154–156, 183.

<sup>29</sup> Vrdoljak 1988, p. 190, T. XXVI, 1–2.



Sl. 4. Ostruge iz groba 3, Podgradina, Rešetarica  
(Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 4 Spurs from grave 3, Podgradina, Rešetarica  
(Z. Alajbeg)

prsten preklopljenih krajeva s rombičnim proširenjem i nožić.<sup>33</sup>

Grobovi s mačem/oružjem i konjaničkom opremom (ostruge s garniturom za nošenje na obući) odraz su moći i društvenog statusa koji je pokojnik imao u zajednici te ukazuju na svojevrsno formiranje lokalne elite u vrijeme prevlasti Franačkog Carstva i formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine. Naime, stavljanjem oružja i konjaničke opreme u grob potomci pokojnika kreiraju određenu sliku o njemu ujedno legitimirajući vlastiti položaj u društvu,<sup>34</sup> čime se formira viši društveni sloj po principu nasljeđivanja. Isto tako, predmeti ove vrste ukazuju na tip ratnika konjanika koji je opremljen novom vrstom bojne opreme, u kojoj posebno mjesto pripada ostrugama čija je primjena povećala učinkovitost ratnika na konju.

Većina tzv. karolinških ostruga hrvatskog tipa na područje današnje Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine pristigla je u relativno kratkom periodu, krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća, a pojedine su mogle biti u upotrebi sve do sredine 9. stoljeća.<sup>35</sup> Dvosjekli mačevi Petersenova tipa K najučestaliji su tip karolinškog mača na prostoru obuhvaćenom Hrvatskom Kneževinom. Pretpostavljalo se da se kao produkt franačkih radionica pojavljuju nakon franačkih

discoverd at the site of Vuković's Bridge in Gornji Koljani. In the latter, a K-type sword and Carolingian spurs of the Croatian type with corresponding strap-ends were discovered, which were dated to the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> The light spurs from grave 3 at Rešetarica are slightly younger and dated to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4)<sup>31</sup>. They belong to the same group of spurs as those from grave 312 at Ždrijac and from Bajagić near Sinj.<sup>32</sup> The investigated graves above the remains of the early Christian basilica at Rešetarica belong to the same stratigraphic layer. Unfortunately, a possibly significant number of graves may have been destroyed by the water of the accumulation lake, and therefore a complete picture of this cemetery may never be obtained.

The grave in Rudići near Glamoč, which was likely part of the early medieval county of Hlivno, belongs to the same layer of graves with Carolingian finds. This grave contained a Carolingian sword of the type H, a winged spearhead, a spearhead with an elongated leaf-shaped head, a bronze ring with folded ends and a rhombic bezel, and a small knife.<sup>33</sup>

The presence of swords and weapons, as well as equestrian gear (spurs with boot fittings), within graves reflects the power and social status of the deceased within the community and indicates the formation of a local elite during the dominance of the Carolingian Empire and the establishment of the Croatian Principality. By placing weapons and equestrian gear in the grave, the descendants of the deceased aimed to create a specific image of the buried person, simultaneously legitimising their own social position<sup>34</sup> and thereby forming a higher social class based on the principle of inheritance. This type of items also indicate a type of mounted warrior equipped with a new kind of combat gear,

<sup>33</sup> Iskopom šljunka 1972. godine slučajno je otkriveno i uništeno desetak kosturnih grobova. Osim navedenih nalaza, koji bi trebali biti jedna grobna cjelina, navodno su u ostalim grobovima bile još i keramičke posude, od kojih je samo jedna sačuvana, a ulomci ostalih djelomično su prikupljeni (Miletić 1977, str. 231–238, T. 1–2; Belošević 2007, str. 410, T. 5, 3–5; Jurčević 2011, str. 130).

<sup>34</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, str. 118.

<sup>35</sup> Bilogrivić 2009, str. 149–150; Jurčević 2011, str. 130, 137.

<sup>30</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 33; Milošević 2001, p. 54; Bilogrivić 2019, p. 126.

<sup>31</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 33, 87, cat. no. 127–128; Petrinc 2009, p. 28, T. 68, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Petrinc 2009, p. 175.

<sup>33</sup> In 1972, while conducting gravel extraction about ten skeletal graves were accidentally discovered and destroyed. Besides the mentioned finds, which should be one grave unit, other graves allegedly contained ceramic vessels, of which only one has been preserved, and fragments of the others have been partially collected. (Miletić 1977, pp. 231–238, T. 1–2; Belošević 2007, p. 410, T. 5, 3–5; Jurčević 2011, p. 130)

<sup>34</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, p. 118.

misija oko 800. godine,<sup>36</sup> no s druge strane, na temelju novca Konstantina V. Kopronima i Lava IV. nađenog u grobovima s mačevima južno od bazilike na Crkvini u Biskupiji, smatra se da se pojavljuju prije 800. godine, odnosno u zadnjoj trećini 8. stoljeća.<sup>37</sup> Uglavnom se pretpostavlja da su na ovo područje prispjeli kao franački poklon hrvatskim velikašima,<sup>38</sup> a isto tako su mogli biti predmet trgovine franačkih trgovaca ili dio opreme vojnika koji je sudjelovao u franačkim ratovima, jer se interpretiraju kao službeni mačevi karolinške vojske.<sup>39</sup>

Ranosrednjovjekovno groblje na lokalitetu Mramorje u Grborezima, nedaleko od Livna, većim dijelom je presloženo i uništeno kasnosrednjovjekovnim grobljem, te se samo devet grobova može pripisati ovom razdoblju. Prema grobnim priložima izdvaja se grob 112 u kojem su nađene tri zlatne naušnice s grozdolikim ukrasom, par srebrnih naušnica s grozdolikim ukrasom, par srebrnih karičica, ogrlica od srebrnih jagodica i žutih i modrih staklenih perlica, srebrni torkves, srebrni prsten od raskovanog lima sa srednjim proširenjem i graviranim ukrasom, srebrni prsten kaneliranog obruča sa srednjim proširenjem i kasetom za umetanje uloška od stakla ili dragog kamena i keramička posuda (sl. 5).<sup>40</sup>

Navedeni grobni prilozi pripadaju ženskoj osobi i očito je da se radi o bogatijem grobnom inventaru.<sup>41</sup> Analogijom s nakitom iz grobova u Ninu (grob 322 na Ždrijacu<sup>42</sup> i grob 41 uz crkvu sv. Asela),<sup>43</sup> zatim s nakitom iz groba 53 s Maklinova brda u Kašiću,<sup>44</sup> grobova 1 i 11 iz Glavica,<sup>45</sup> groba odlič-

where spurs play a crucial role in enhancing the effectiveness of the mounted warrior.

The majority of the so-called Carolingian spurs of the Croatian type are believed to have arrived in the present-day regions of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in a relatively short period of time, namely at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, with some potentially in use until the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup> The double-edged swords of type K according to Petersen are the most common type of Carolingian swords within the Croatian Principality. It is assumed that they started to appear as products of Frankish workshops after the Frankish missions around the year 800.<sup>36</sup> However, coins of Constantine V Copronymus and Leo IV found in graves with swords south of the basilica at Crkvina in Biskupija on the other hand indicate that they appeared before the year 800, i.e. in the last third of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup> It is generally presumed that they arrived in the area as Frankish gifts to Croatian nobles.<sup>38</sup> It is also possible that they were traded by Frankish merchants or were part of the equipment of soldiers who participated in Frankish wars, with the swords being interpreted as the official swords of the Carolingian army.<sup>39</sup>

The early medieval cemetery at site Mramorje in Grborezi near Livno was mostly destroyed by the new layer of the late medieval cemetery, with only nine graves attributed to this period remaining. In terms of grave goods, grave 112 particularly stands out as it contained three gold earrings with grape-shaped ornaments, a pair of silver earrings with grape-shaped ornaments, a pair of silver ringlets, a necklace with silver beads and yellow and blue glass pearls, a silver torque, a silver ring made from hammered sheet metal with a central expansion and engraved decoration, a silver ring with a fluted hoop and a central expansion with a setting for glass or gemstone inserts, and a ceramic vessel (Fig. 5).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Vinski 1981, str. 9–53. Jurčević smatra da je većina karolinškog naoružanja na područje Liburnije i Dalmacije došla u razdoblju od početka do tridesetih godina 9. stoljeća (Jurčević 2011, str. 139).

<sup>37</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 164; Bilogrivić 2019, str. 122.

<sup>38</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, str. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Vinski 1985, str. 64; Milošević 2001, str. 64.

<sup>40</sup> Bešliagić, Basler 1964, str. 30–31, T. IX–XX; Petrinc 2009, str. 17–18, T. 7; Petrinc 2019, str. 58, T. 9, 1–14.

<sup>41</sup> Predmeti se nalaze u Zemaljskom muzeju BiH u Sarajevu.

<sup>42</sup> Milošević 2001, str. 72; Petrinc 2009, str. 26–27, T. 62–64; Petrinc 2019, str. 88, 106.

<sup>43</sup> Rapanić 2001, str. 36–37; Petrinc 2009, str. 83, T. 81, 1–17; Petrinc 2019, str. 49, 51, sl. 3, T. 19, 1–22.

<sup>44</sup> Belošević 1980, str. 44–45, T. XXXV, 1–6; Milošević 2001, str. 72; Petrinc 2009, str. 19, T. 18.

<sup>45</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 41–42, T. 120 i 122, 1–2; Petrinc 2019, str. 52–56, 101, sl. 5 i 6.

<sup>35</sup> Bilogrivić 2009, pp. 149–150; Jurčević 2011, pp. 130, 137.

<sup>36</sup> Vinski 1981, pp. 9–53. Jurčević believes that most Carolingian weaponry arrived in the Liburnian and Dalmatian areas in the time from the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the 830s. (Jurčević 2011, p. 139)

<sup>37</sup> Petrinc 2009, p. 164; Bilogrivić 2019, p. 122.

<sup>38</sup> Bilogrivić 2019, p. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Vinski 1985, p. 64; Milošević 2001, p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> Bešliagić, Basler 1964, pp. 30–31, T. IX–XX; Petrinc 2009, pp. 17–18, T. 7; Petrinc 2019, p. 58, T. 9, 1–14.



Svi ti elementi ženske nošnje dio su šire mode zastupljene među raznim etničkim i kulturnim skupinama na području srednje i jugoistočne Europe te istočnog Mediterana, a pripadaju onodobnoj bizantskoj produkciji. U kontekstu hrvatskih groblja, odgovaraju grobljima tzv. horizonta Biskupija – Crkvina, koja su obilježena nalazima karolinške provenijencije (zadnja desetljeća 8. i prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća), te nešto mlađem razdoblju (do sredine odnosno kraja druge trećine 9. stoljeća).<sup>54</sup>

Na Grepcima u Prispu slučajno je nađena keramička posuda kojoj je površina ispod oboda čitava ukrašena urezanim ravnim i valovitim linijama.<sup>55</sup> Posuda vjerojatno potječe iz jednog od nekoliko uništenih ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova s poganskim značajkama pokapanja. Keramičke posude u grobovima obilježje su tog poganskog horizonta pokapanja i pretpostavlja se da su bile prisutne tijekom cijelog njegova trajanja. Na Grepcima je danas katoličko groblje te se, nažalost, kontinuirano uništavaju kasnosrednjovjekovni grobovi kojima je prethodilo i starije groblje te predromanička crkva.<sup>56</sup>

Na lokalitetu Groblje sv. Ive u Livnu, gdje je ranokršćanski kompleks podignut na ostatcima rimske nekropole te preslojen franjevačkim samostanom iz 14. stoljeća,<sup>57</sup> istraženo je nekoliko grobova koji pripadaju slabo sačuvanom ranosrednjovjekovnom sloju. U unutrašnjosti ranokršćanske grobnice 2, među dislociranim kostima, nađeni su keramička posuda, dva noža, kresivo<sup>58</sup> i nekoliko ulomaka željeznih okova nepoznate namjene (šipke s plastičnim rebrima i mjestimičnim perforacijama) koji su slični onima iz groba 3 na Rešetarici.<sup>59</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je došlo do naknadnog ukopa u ranokr-

At the site of Grepci in Prisap, a ceramic vessel was accidentally found, the surface of which was entirely decorated with incised straight and wavy lines below the rim.<sup>55</sup> The vessel is likely to have originated from one of the several destroyed early medieval graves with pagan burial characteristics. The presence of ceramic vessels in graves is indicative of the horizon with pagan burial features, and it is assumed that they were placed inside the graves throughout the duration of this horizon. The site of Grepci is nowadays a Catholic cemetery still in use, where late medieval graves were unfortunately systematically destroyed. These were preceded by an older cemetery and a pre-Romanesque church.<sup>56</sup>

At the site of the cemetery of St. John in Livno, an early Christian complex was erected on the remains of a Roman necropolis and overlaid by a 14<sup>th</sup>-century Franciscan monastery.<sup>57</sup> Excavations at the site revealed several graves from a poorly preserved early medieval layer. In the early Christian tomb no. 2, amidst dislocated bones, a ceramic vessel, two knives, a fire steel<sup>58</sup> and several fragments of iron fittings of unknown purpose (bars with plastic ribs and occasional perforations), similar to those from grave 3 at Rešetarica, were discovered.<sup>59</sup> It is assumed that a later burial occurred in the early Christian tomb. In another grave above the remains of early Christian architecture, a necklace of multi-coloured glass beads, a small knife and a fragment of an unknown object (a ring) were found.<sup>60</sup> In another grave, designated as “grave

<sup>54</sup> Petrinec 2009, str. 123; Petrinec 2019, str. 97.

<sup>55</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 34, 91, kat. br. 249; Petrinec 2009, str. 28, T. 70, 1.

<sup>56</sup> Na groblju je istražen dio kasnosrednjovjekovnih grobova tijekom zaštitnog arheološkog istraživanja 2019. godine u organizaciji Franjevačkog muzeja i galerije Gorica – Livno. Keramička posuda i ulomak grede s ograde svetišta raniji su slučajni nalazi (Delonga 1994, str. 82, sl. 1; Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 84, kat. 212).

<sup>57</sup> Glavaš 1994, str. 105–111; Vrdoljak 1994, str. 115–125; Marijan 1995, str. 120–126; Marić Baković 2017, str. 53–92; Marić Baković 2023, str. 221–262.

<sup>58</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 34, 89, kat. br. 238–241; Petrinec 2009, str. 21, T. 26.

<sup>59</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 87–88, kat. br. 229–231.

<sup>55</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 34, 91, cat. no. 249; Petrinec 2009, p. 28, T. 70, 1.

<sup>56</sup> During the rescue archaeological investigation in 2019, organized by the Franciscan Museum and Gallery Gorica-Livno, part of the late medieval graves was explored in the cemetery. A ceramic vessel and a fragment of a beam belonging to an altar screen were earlier accidental finds. (Delonga 1994, p. 82, fig. 1; Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 84, cat. 212)

<sup>57</sup> Glavaš 1994, pp. 105–111; Vrdoljak 1994, pp. 115–125; Marijan 1995, pp. 120–126; Marić Baković 2017, pp. 53–92; Marić Baković 2023, pp. 221–262.

<sup>58</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 34, 89, cat. no. 238–241; Petrinec 2009, p. 21, T. 26.

<sup>59</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 87–88, cat. no. 229–231.

<sup>60</sup> Petrinec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 34, 89–90, cat. no. 242–244; Petrinec 2009, p. 21, T. 27, 1–3. An iron arrowhead in the shape of a spike from a supposedly destroyed grave is mistakenly attributed to the cemetery of St. John; it is actually an accidental find from the hillfort of Nuhbegović in Podhum. (Petrinec,

ščansku grobnicu. U još jednom grobu iznad ostataka ranokršćanske arhitekture pronađeni su ogrlica od raznobojnih staklenih zrnaca, nožić i ulomak predmeta nepoznate namjene (alka),<sup>60</sup> te u drugom grobu, označenom kao „grob na zidu iza zvonika“, fragmenti ogrlice od raznobojnih staklenih zrnaca i dvije srebrne naušnice (sl. 6).<sup>61</sup> Ogrlice od raznobojnih staklenih zrnaca često su zastupljene u okviru groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja, a s najvećim brojem primjeraka registrirane su na Ždrijacu u Ninu i na Maklinovu brdu u Kašiću.<sup>62</sup>

Naušnice pripadaju rijetko zastupljenom tipu s izduženim zvonolikim privjeskom nataknutim na kariku i dvama koljencima od ovijene filigranske žice.<sup>63</sup> Kod jedne od naušnica privjesak nije sačuvan. One se mogu datirati u prvu polovinu 9. stoljeća kao oblik naušnica koji prethodi sljepoočničarkama s okomito postavljenom jagodom, koje su datirane iza sredine 9. stoljeća.<sup>64</sup> Možemo zaključiti da je na desnoj obali rijeke Bistrice, iznad ostataka ranokršćanske crkve, tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća došlo do pokapanja stanovnika ranosrednjovjekovnog Livna. Groblje je presloženo i uništeno kasnosrednjovjekovnim i novovjekovnim ukopima te kasnosrednjovjekovnom arhitekturom, zbog čega raspoložemo vrlo ograničenim podacima. Zasad još nije poznato radi li se o manjem broju ukopa ili se na još neistraženom prostoru ovog lokaliteta nalazi veće ranosrednjovjekovno groblje. Za položaj groblja ključno je što je to prostor sa sakralno-sepulkralnom tradicijom od rimske antike preko srednjeg vijeka do najnovijeg doba.<sup>65</sup> Eventualni ostatci srednjovjekovne crkve mogli bi se nalaziti na njivi Crkvinu sjeverno od istraženog dijela lokaliteta, međutim, to nije moguće potvrditi jer je 1925. godine tamo izgrađen bolnički objekt.

Predmeti iz dosad navedenih grobova pripadaju uobičajenim nalazima tzv. horizonta grobova s



Sl. 6. Naušnice i fragment ogrlice iz grobova s Groblja sv. Ive u Livnu (M. Marić Baković)

*Fig. 6 Earrings and fragment of a necklace from graves at the cemetery of St. John in Livno (M. Marić Baković)*

at the wall behind the bell tower,” fragments of a necklace of multi-coloured glass beads and two silver earrings were discovered (Fig. 6).<sup>61</sup> Necklaces of multi-coloured glass beads have frequently been discovered in cemeteries with pagan burial features. The most numerous specimens have been recorded at Ždrijac in Nin and Maklinovo brdo in Kašić.<sup>62</sup>

The earrings belong to a type that is scarcely represented, it features an elongated bell-shaped pendant attached to the circlet and two joints of coiled filigree wire.<sup>63</sup> One of the earrings' pendants is not preserved. The earrings can be dated to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century as an earring type that preceded the temple rings with a vertically set bead, which are dated to after the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> It can be concluded that the inhabitants of early medieval Livno were buried on the right bank of the Bistrica River, above the remains of the early Christian

<sup>60</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 34, 89–90, kat. br. 242–244; Petrinc 2009, str. 21, T. 27, 1–3. Željezna strelica u obliku šiljka iz navodno razrušenog groba pogrešno se pripisuje Groblju sv. Ive. Radi se o slučajnom nalazu s Nuhbegovića gradine u Podhumu (Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 90, kat. br. 248; Petrinc 2009, str. 21, T. 27, 4).

<sup>61</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 34, 90, kat. br. 245–247; Petrinc 2009, str. 21, T. 28.

<sup>62</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 137–138.

<sup>63</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 124, T. 28, 1.

<sup>64</sup> Petrinc 2005, str. 21–52; Petrinc 2009, str. 215.

<sup>65</sup> Duvnjak, Marić Baković 2018, str. 259–276.

Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 90, cat. no. 248; Petrinc 2009, p. 21, T. 27, 4)

<sup>61</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 34, 90, cat. no. 245–247; Petrinc 2009, p. 21, T. 28.

<sup>62</sup> Petrinc 2009, pp. 137–138.

<sup>63</sup> Petrinc 2009, p. 124, T. 28, 1.

<sup>64</sup> Petrinc 2005, pp. 21–52; Petrinc 2009, p. 215.

poganskim značajkama pokapanja i imaju svoje paralele na širem području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske i susjednih sklavinija. Riječ je o kraju 8. i prvoj polovini 9. stoljeća, dakle o razdoblju u kojem dolazi do formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine.

Proces kristijanizacije posredstvom franačkih utjecaja bio je dugotrajan i sukcesivan. Treba imati na umu da su se prvo pokrštavali vladajući sloj i lokalna elita, čime su dodatno učvršćivali svoju vlast dižući se na višu razinu moći. Kršćanstvo je u većoj mjeri bilo stvar zajednice, a ne pojedinca, te se širilo od viših slojeva prema manjim lokalnim zajednicama. Općenito se smatra da su kosturna groblja na redove bez priloga u grobovima, samo s elementima nošnje (bilo da se radi o nakitu ili, u manjoj mjeri, ostrugama), pokazatelj kršćanske pripadnosti zajednice. Ipak, u nekim slučajevima moglo se raditi o preuzimanju običaja ne stavljanja priloga u grob i prije pokrštavanja zajednice, ali i obratno, prilozi u grobu ne moraju nužno ukazivati na poganstvo te su ih istaknutiji pripadnici zajednice mogli priložiti u grob unatoč kršćanskoj pripadnosti obilježavajući tako svoj socijalni status, barem u samim počecima prihvaćanja kršćanstva.<sup>66</sup>

Od grobova horizonta s poganskim značajkama pokapanja, koji su uglavnom pojedinačno istraženi ili otkriveni slučajno, na Livanjskom polju bolje je dokumentirano groblje na lokalitetu Podvornice u Lištanima, koje ima obilježje groblja na redove s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja. Groblje je smješteno uz rub Livanjskog polja, u podnožje prapovijesne gradine u Lištanima. Na njemu se kroz više stoljeća sahranjivala zajednica koja je živjela u naselju negdje uz padinu Gradine, dok se poljodjelsko zemljište pružalo prema polju, obuhvaćeno današnjim toponimom Podvornice. Za položaj groblja ključno je što su na istom mjestu već u ranijim razdobljima bila ukopišta i sakralna ranokršćanska arhitektura. Tijekom arheoloških iskopavanja na lokalitetu su istraženi ostatci rimske nekropole,<sup>67</sup> na čijem se mjestu kasnije razvio ranokršćanski kompleks s dvjema crkvama,<sup>68</sup> da bi se zatim na ostat-

church, during the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. However, the cemetery was destroyed by a layer of late medieval and modern burials, as well as late medieval architecture, leaving us with very little data about this cemetery. The number of burials is not yet known, nor is it known whether there is a larger early medieval cemetery in the area of this site that has not been explored yet. For the location of the cemetery itself, it is crucial that it is a space with a sacral-sepulchral tradition spanning from Roman antiquity through the Middle Ages to the modern times.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that the remains of the medieval church may have been located on the field Crkvina, north of the excavated area of the site. However, this will remain unknown due to the construction of a hospital building in 1925.

The items from the graves previously mentioned are common finds of the so-called horizon of graves with pagan burial features, with parallels in the wider area of early medieval Croatia and the neighbouring *scлавинија*. The time in question is the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, a period during which the Croatian Principality was established.

The Christianisation process through Frankish influences was lengthy and gradual. It is important to note that the ruling class and local elite were the first to be baptised, thereby consolidating their power by rising to a higher level of authority. Christianity was largely a matter of the community rather than an individual one, spreading from the upper classes to smaller local communities. It is generally believed that row-grave cemeteries without grave goods, with only elements of the costume (whether jewellery or, to a lesser extent, spurs), indicate the Christian affiliation of the community. However, in some cases, it is possible that the custom of not placing grave goods was adopted prior to the actual conversion of a community. Conversely, the presence of grave goods does not necessarily indicate paganism. It is plausible that prominent community members placed items in the grave despite their Christian faith to mark their social status, at least in the early stages of the conversion process to Christianity.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Osim toga, praznovjerje, koje je dijametralno kršćanskom učenju, u različitim kontekstima, pa i onima vezanim za predmete, dugo se zadržalo među kršćanskom zajednicom na Livanjskom polju, ali i na ostalim prostorima. Time se može objasniti kasnije stavljanje predmeta u grobove, posebno noževa i novca (Marić Baković 2020, str. 122–124, bilj. 4).

<sup>67</sup> Škegro, Marić, Šimić 2008, str. 259–288.

<sup>68</sup> Marić Baković 2022, str. 129–162.

<sup>65</sup> Duvnjak, Marić Baković 2018, pp. 259–276.

<sup>66</sup> In addition, superstition, which is diametrically opposed to Christian teaching, persisted among the Christian community in the plain of Livno and other areas, in different contexts and hence those related to objects. This might explain the later placement of items in graves, especially knives and coins. (Marić Baković 2020, pp. 122–124, fn. 4)



Sl. 7 a – f. Nakit iz ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova na Podvornicama u Lištanima (Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 7 a-f Jewellery from early medieval graves at Podvornice in Lištani (Z. Alajbeg)*

cima ranokršćanske arhitekture razvilo srednjovjekovno groblje.

Na primjeru groblja u Lištanima po prvi put smo na području Livanjskog polja uspjeli pratiti kontinuirani slijed ukapanja kroz razdoblje od otprilike šest stoljeća analizirajući promjene u pogrebnim običajima koji reflektiraju različite društvene, gospodarske i religijske aspekte jedne zajednice na jasno definiranom području.<sup>69</sup> Istraživanjima su dosad obu-

<sup>69</sup> Marić Baković 2010, str. 253–263; Marić Baković 2020, str. 109–128.

Better documented than the horizon of graves with pagan burial features, which have mostly been individually investigated or are chance finds, is in the area of the plain of Livno the cemetery at site Podvornice in Lištani, which has the characteristics of a row-grave cemetery with Christian burial features. The cemetery is situated at the edge of the plain of Livno, at the foot of the prehistoric hillfort in Lištani. For centuries, the community that inhabited a settlement on the slope of the hillfort buried

hvaćena 233 srednjovjekovna groba s 266 ukopa, a arheološka iskopavanja još nisu završena pa to nije konačan broj. Utvrđena su tri horizonta grobova u kontinuitetu, uz prostorno širenje groblja od zapada prema istoku te od sjevera prema jugu. Relativna kronologija prve faze groblja u Lištanima sukladna je kronologiji groblja na redove s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja, ali se bez prekida nastavlja tijekom razvijenog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka. Prvoj fazi groblja pripadaju grobovi koje smo načinom ukapanja te nakitom i metalnim dijelovima nošnje u grobovima datirali od kraja 9. do druge polovine 11. stoljeća. Ukopi u redovima većinom su orijentirani u smjeru istok-zapad, dok dvije manje skupine grobova imaju orijentaciju sjever-jug.<sup>70</sup> Od nakita su u grobovima nađeni brončane i srebrne jednojagodne sljepoočničarke s bradavičastim ispupčenjima, brončane i srebrne jednojagodne sljepoočničarke s neukrašenom jagodom, četverojagodna prošupljena sljepoočničarka, karičice od brončane i srebrne žice s petljom i kvačicom za zakopčavanje, karičice rastavljenih i ravno odsječenih krajeva, srebrne karičice s koljencima od ovijene žice, prstenje preklapljenih i zalemljenih krajeva, prstenje preklapljenih i zakovicom spojenih krajeva, lijevano prstenje D-presjeka i prsten od pletene srebrne žice te aplikacije za odjeću kružnog oblika ukrašene iskucanim ispupčenjima (sl. 7 a–f).<sup>71</sup>

Radi se o karakterističnom nakitu u okviru ranosrednjovjekovnih groblja s kršćanskim načinom pokapanja, datiranom od sredine 9. do pred kraj 11. stoljeća. Iz grobova je i ulomak kalote ostruge iz 10. stoljeća te ostružna garnitura sa željeznim ostrugama kojima krakovi završavaju četvrtastom predicom s dvjema ušicama, datirana oko sredine 11. stoljeća.<sup>72</sup> Kao posebna značajka ranosrednjovjekovne faze groblja izdvaja se ukop sa željeznom žlicom nađenom u grobu 12 između ruku pokojnika, za koju smo pretpostavili da je euharistijska žlica (sl. 8). U tom slučaju, pokojnik se isticao u religijskom smislu unutar ranosrednjovjekovne zajednice. Ovakav običaj sahranjivanja nema poznatu analogiju na grobljima s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države, čime se ukop izdvaja u socijalnom i religijskom smislu.

their dead ones there, while agricultural land extended towards the field, now encompassed by today's toponym Podvornice. Regarding the location of the cemetery, it is crucial to note that there had been burials and sacred early Christian architecture at the same location already in earlier periods. During the course of archaeological excavations at the site, the remains of a Roman necropolis were explored.<sup>67</sup> At the place of the abandoned necropolis, an early Christian complex with two churches subsequently developed.<sup>68</sup>

Later on, a medieval cemetery developed between and above the remains of the early Christian architecture. The cemetery at Lištani provides an example where for the first time we have been able to trace a continuous chronological sequence of burials over approximately six centuries and analyse the changes in burial customs that reflect various social, economic and religious aspects of a community in a clearly defined area.<sup>69</sup> So far, 233 medieval graves with 266 burials have been investigated. However, the archaeological excavations are not yet complete, so this figure is not definitive. Three distinct continuous horizons of graves have been identified, with a spatial expansion of the cemetery from west to east and from north to south. The relative chronology of the initial phase of the Lištani cemetery aligns with that of row-grave cemeteries with Christian burial features, but continues uninterrupted into the High and Late Middle Ages. Graves attributed to the initial phase are those that have been identified based upon the burial method and the presence of jewellery and metal parts of the attire found in the graves and thereupon dated to the time from the late 9<sup>th</sup> to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the burials in rows are orientated east-west, with two smaller groups of graves orientated north-south.<sup>70</sup> Finds of jewellery within the graves consisted of bronze and silver single-bead temple rings with knobby protrusions, bronze and silver single-bead temple rings with an unadorned bead, four-bead perforated temple rings, bronze and silver wire circlets with a loop and hook for fastening, circlets with disjointed and straight cut ends. Additionally, a variety of other items were

<sup>70</sup> Marić Baković 2020, str. 113.

<sup>71</sup> Marić Baković 2020, str. 111–113, 116, sl. 2–4, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Marić 2003, str. 177–184; Petrinc 2009, str. 267, T. 200, 1–2; Petrinc 2012, str. 93, 107, kat. br. 65.

<sup>67</sup> Škegro, Marić, Šimić 2008, pp. 259–288.

<sup>68</sup> Marić Baković 2022, pp. 129–162.

<sup>69</sup> Marić Baković 2010, pp. 253–263; Marić Baković 2020, pp. 109–128.

<sup>70</sup> Marić Baković 2020, p. 113.



Sl. 8. Euharistijska žlica iz groba 12 na Podvornicama u Lištanima (Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 8 Eucharistic spoon from grave 12 at Podvornice in Lištani (Z. Alajbeg)

Groblje u Lištanima nije se formiralo oko crkve, osim ako se sjeverna, od dviju ranokršćanskih crkvi, nije koristila u tu svrhu, u prilog čemu bi moglo ići širenje groblja do njezinih ostataka. Naime, dok je južna crkva preslojena i uništena srednjovjekovnim grobljem, na prostoru sjeverne crkve nije pronađen ni jedan srednjovjekovni grob, a arhitektura crkve je granica groblja. Iako na lokalitetu nije pronađen nijedan ulomak srednjovjekovnog crkvenog namještaja, to ne isključuje mogućnost korištenja crkve, koja u tom slučaju nije opremljena novim crkvenim namještajem. Nije poznato i zasad ne možemo utvrditi je li crkva korištena u kontinuitetu, što bi značilo i prežitak dijela indigene zajednice, a čime bi se možda moglo objasniti neke pogrebne običaje, kao što je stavljanje euharistijske žlice u grob.

Nešto kasniji je, iz sredine 12. stoljeća, grob br. 21 u kojem je na jednoj od uzdužnih obložnih ploča uklesan natpis popa Tjehodraga pisan hrvatskom cirilicom (bosančicom). Natpis govori o popu Tjehodragu, svećeniku glagoljašu, a spominje i peticu njegovih sinova.<sup>73</sup> To je, uz euharistijsku žlicu, drugi put na ovom groblju da se kroz pogrebne običaje ističe religijski status pojedinca u zajednici.

Ovdje smo se kratko osvrnuli na prvu, ranosrednjovjekovnu fazu groblja na Podvornicama u Lištanima koje se prema grobnim nalazima može usporediti s grobljima na širem području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države (Bribir,<sup>74</sup> Galovac,<sup>75</sup> Kašić kod Zadra,<sup>76</sup> Biljane Donje – Begovača,<sup>77</sup>

discovers, including silver circlets with joints of twisted wire, rings with overlapping and soldered ends, rings with overlapping and riveted ends, cast rings with a D-shaped cross-section, a ring of braided silver wire and circular appliques for clothing decorated with embossed protrusions (Fig. 7, a-f).<sup>71</sup>

This is characteristic jewellery within early medieval cemeteries with Christian burial methods, from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> to the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. A fragment of a dome belonging to a spur from the 10<sup>th</sup> century was also found in the graves, as well as a spur strap set with iron spurs, whose branches end with a square buckle frame with two eyelets, dated to around the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>72</sup> A distinctive feature of the early medieval phase of the cemetery is the burial with an iron spoon found in grave no. 12 between the hands of the deceased, which is presumed to be an Eucharistic spoon (Fig. 8). It suggests that, in religious terms, the deceased stood out within the early medieval community. Such a burial custom has no known analogy with other cemeteries with Christian burial features in the territory of the early medieval Croatian state, and therefore this burial is quite distinctive, in both social and religious terms.

The cemetery in Lištani was not established around a church, unless the northern of the two early Christian churches was used for this purpose. This assumption may be supported by the expansion of the cemetery up to the remains of the northern church. Namely, while the southern church was overlaid and destroyed by the medieval cemetery, no medieval graves were found within the northern church, hence the structure of the church is the cemetery's boundary. Although no fragments of medieval church furnishings were found at the site, this does not rule out the possibility of the church's use, potentially without new church furnishings. It remains unconfirmed whether the church was in use continuously, which would imply the survival of part of the indigenous community and could explain certain burial customs, such as the placing of a Eucharistic spoon in the grave.

A slightly later grave is grave no. 21 from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, which features an inscription carved in the Croatian Cyrillic script (bosančica), on one of the longitudinal lining plates. This inscription mentions priest Tjehodrag, a Glagolitic priest,

<sup>73</sup> Marić, Šimić, Škegro 2007, str. 9–32.

<sup>74</sup> Jelovina 1992, str. 7–63; Uroda 2020, str. 303–339.

<sup>75</sup> Belošević 1997, str. 301–350.

<sup>76</sup> Jelovina 1982, str. 35–66.

<sup>77</sup> Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, str. 55–135.

<sup>71</sup> Marić Baković 2020, pp. 111–113, 116, fig. 2–4, 10.

<sup>72</sup> Marić 2003, pp. 177–184; Petrinec 2009, p. 267, T. 200: 1–2; Petrinec 2012, p. 93, 107, cat. no. 65.

Spas kod Knina,<sup>78</sup> Biskupija – Crkvina,<sup>79</sup> Koljani Gornji – Crkvina,<sup>80</sup> Bijaći,<sup>81</sup> Muć Gornji – Sv. Petar,<sup>82</sup> Gradac kod Drniša<sup>83</sup>). Ipak, kroz pogrebne običaje mogu se uočiti neke posebnosti zajednice koja se ukapala na ovom groblju (euharistijska žlica u grobu, odnos prema arhitekturi ranokršćanske crkve i natpis u grobu), no zasad ga se, nažalost, na Livanjskom polju nema s čime usporediti. Moguće je da se radi o eventualnim prežicima indigene populacije, ali je, isto tako, udaljenost od utvrđenog središta županije<sup>84</sup> mogla ovu zajednicu, koja se nalazila na trasi nekadašnje antičke komunikacije Salona – Servitium, izložiti različitim utjecajima te stvaranju i nekih vlastitih običaja.

Iz istog razdoblja kao i ranosrednjovjekovna faza ukapanja na Podvornicama u Lištanim potječe par jednojagodnih naušnica s neukrašenom jagodom iz susjednog Čaića. Radi se o slučajnom nalazu iz razorenog ranosrednjovjekovnog groba ukopanog u prapovijesni tumul.<sup>85</sup>

### Crkvena arhitektura

O građevinskoj djelatnosti na livanjskom području potkraj 9. stoljeća svjedoče ostatci predromaničke crkve i ulomci ograda svetišta nađeni na nekoliko lokaliteta u Livnu i njegovoj bližoj okolini. Već se na temelju onog što je dosad otkriveno može pretpostaviti pojačana građevinska djelatnost na području Županije Hlivno, što ukazuje na uređenu crkvenu organizaciju potkraj 9. stoljeća. Pojačana gradnja crkvene arhitekture u tom razdoblju u duhu je procvata građevinsko-umjetničke djelatnosti na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države u vrijeme kneza Branimira. Gradnju crkvi inicira župan i njemu bliska društvena elita, a opremanje unutrašnjosti donosi novo poimanje duhovnosti kroz likovnost.

Jedina dosad istraжена predromanička crkva na livanjskom području nalazila se u neposrednoj blizini grada, u Rapovinama, a bila je posvećena

along with the names of his five sons.<sup>73</sup> This is the second time at this site, along with the Eucharistic spoon, that the religious status of an individual in the community was highlighted by burial customs.

We have only briefly touched upon the first or early medieval phase of the cemetery in Podvornice in Lištani, which we can compare based on its grave finds to other cemeteries within the broader area of the early medieval Croatian state (Bribir,<sup>74</sup> Galovac,<sup>75</sup> Kašić near Zadar,<sup>76</sup> Biljane Donje-Begovača,<sup>77</sup> Spas near Knin,<sup>78</sup> Biskupija-Crkvin,<sup>79</sup> Koljani Gornji-Crkvin,<sup>80</sup> Bijaći,<sup>81</sup> Muć Gornji-St. Peter,<sup>82</sup> Gradac near Drniš<sup>83</sup>). Nevertheless, certain distinctive characteristics of the community buried at this cemetery could be identified through their burial customs (Eucharistic spoon in the grave, the relation to the architecture of the early Christian church, and the inscription in the grave), but unfortunately, we currently lack any more material within the plain of Livno with which we could compare it. These could be remnants of the indigenous population, but it could also be that the distance from the established county centre<sup>84</sup> might have exposed this community, which lived on the route of the ancient Salona-Servitium road, to various influences as well as to the development of some of their own customs.

A pair of single-bead earrings with an undecorated bead, discovered in nearby Čaići, belongs to the same period as the early medieval burial phase at the Podvornice cemetery in Lištani. The earrings were a chance find from a destroyed early medieval grave buried in a prehistoric tumulus.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Jelovina 1991, str. 121–241.

<sup>79</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 66–71, T. 230–239.

<sup>80</sup> Jelovina 1984, str. 227–242; Petrinc 2009, str. 81.

<sup>81</sup> Jelovina 1985, str. 217–225.

<sup>82</sup> Petrinc 2009, str. 82.

<sup>83</sup> Zekan 2000, str. 273–281; Petrinc 2020, str. 341–380.

<sup>84</sup> Udaljenost suvremenim putom, koji u velikoj mjeri prati onaj srednjovjekovni obilježen grobljima, iznosi 24,8 km.

<sup>85</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 91, kat. br. 250–251.

<sup>73</sup> Marić, Šimić, Škegro 2007, pp. 9–32.

<sup>74</sup> Jelovina 1992, pp. 7–63; Uroda 2020, pp. 303–339.

<sup>75</sup> Belošević 1997, pp. 301–350.

<sup>76</sup> Jelovina 1982, pp. 35–66.

<sup>77</sup> Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, pp. 55–135.

<sup>78</sup> Jelovina 1991, pp. 121–241.

<sup>79</sup> Petrinc 2009, pp. 66–71, T. 230–239.

<sup>80</sup> Jelovina 1984, pp. 227–242; Petrinc 2009, p. 81.

<sup>81</sup> Jelovina 1985, pp. 217–225.

<sup>82</sup> Petrinc 2009, p. 82.

<sup>83</sup> Zekan 2000, pp. 273–281; Petrinc 2020, pp. 341–380.

<sup>84</sup> The distance measured along the modern road, which largely follows the medieval one marked by cemeteries, is 24.8 km.

<sup>85</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 91, cat. no. 250–251.

sv. Petru. Riječ je o jednobrodnoj građevini neraščlanjenih vanjskih i unutrašnjih zidnih ploha koja je bila orijentirana u smjeru istok-zapad uz manje odstupanje od idealnog pravca. Na istočnoj strani imala je istaknutu apsidu koja je bila polukružno oblikovana s vanjske i unutrašnje strane. Zapadno pročelje s ulazom u crkvu imalo je tzv. zapadni korpus, oblikovan kao uži prostor organski uklopljen u pročelje, od kojeg je slabo sačuvan tek dio sjevernog zida. Nije isključeno da je riječ o aksijalno postavljenu zvoniku koji je građevinski srastao sa zapadnim pročeljem, a koji je nastao istodobno s gradnjom predromaničke crkve ili u naknadnoj građevinskoj intervenciji.<sup>86</sup> Dužina crkve od pročelja broda do tjemena apside iznosi 8,7 m, a zajedno sa zidom zapadnog korpusa oko 10 m. Širina crkve iznosi oko 6,4 m, a sama unutrašnjost široka je oko 5,5 m. Fragmentirani ostatci arhitekture pronađeni izvan zatečena prostora crkve ukazuju na građevinske intervencije kojima su uglavnom prekriveni ili preoblikovani ostatci predromaničke crkve.<sup>87</sup> U unutrašnjosti crkve dominirala je ograda svetišta, od koje su sačuvani ulomci arhitravne grede, pluteja, pilastra, stupića i kapitela, ukrašeni pletenim motivom kružnica i međusobno isprepletenih troprutnih vrpce izvedenim u plitkom reljefu (sl. 9). Na temelju epigrafskih obilježja zavjetnog natpisa i stila izvedbe reljefno ukrašenih ulomaka ograde svetišta gradnja crkve u Rapovinama vremenski je smještena u posljednju četvrtinu 9. stoljeća.

Na temelju ulomaka crkvenog namještaja potvrđene su još dvije predromaničke crkve, u Prispu i Potočanima, selima u okolini Livna. U Prispu, na položaju Grepca, gdje je danas smješteno aktualno katoličko groblje, nađen je ulomak grede ograde svetišta. Na srednjovjekovno naselje s dugim kontinuitetom trajanja, koje je nastalo na tradiciji prapovijesnog i rimskog nalazišta, upućuje nalaz posude iz ranosrednjovjekovnog groba,<sup>88</sup> kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje s oko 40 stećaka<sup>89</sup> i spomen naselja Grepca u povelji bosanskog kralja Stjepana Ostoje iz 1400. godine.<sup>90</sup>

Dio grede ograde svetišta s ostatkom uklesanog latinskog natpisa ...OPERAS XPM... (...operas

## Church architecture

Evidence of construction activities in the Livno area towards the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century is provided by the remains of a pre-Romanesque church and fragments of altar screens discovered at several sites in Livno and its immediate surroundings. Based on the discoveries so far, we can assume that the area of the county of Hlivno saw a surge in construction activities, which hence indicates the existence of an organised church structure by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The intensified construction of church architecture during this period corresponds to the boom of the construction-art activity in the area of early-medieval Croatia during the rule of Duke Branimir. The construction of churches was initiated by the župan of the county and the associated social elite close to him, while the interior furnishing of the churches introduced a new understanding of spirituality through art.

The only pre-Romanesque church in the Livno area that has been explored so far was located in Rapovine, in the immediate vicinity of the town. The church, dedicated to St. Peter, was a single-nave building with undivided exterior and interior wall surfaces, oriented east-west with a slight deviation from the ideal direction. On the eastern side, it had a prominent apse in a semi-circular shape, both on the external and the internal side. The western façade, which featured the entrance to the church, had a so-called westwork in the form of a narrower space that had been organically integrated into the façade, of which only a part of the northern wall has been poorly preserved. It is possible that this was an axially positioned bell tower that was structurally integrated with the western façade, built simultaneously with the pre-Romanesque church or added during a subsequent construction intervention.<sup>86</sup> The length of the church from the façade of the nave to the tip of the apse is 8.70 metres, while together with the wall of the westwork it is approximately 10 metres. The external width of the church is approximately 6.40 metres, while the internal width is approximately 5.50 metres. The fragments of architectural remains outside the discovered space of the church indicate that construction interventions were carried out, which mostly covered or reshaped the remains of the pre-Romanesque church.<sup>87</sup> In-

<sup>86</sup> Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, str. 15.

<sup>87</sup> Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, str. 35–43.

<sup>88</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 91, kat.br. 249.

<sup>89</sup> Arheološki leksikon 1988, str. 242. Danas je veliki dio tih grobova pod stećcima devastiran suvremenim grobnicama.

<sup>90</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 18.

<sup>86</sup> Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, p. 15.

<sup>87</sup> Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, pp. 35–43.



Sl. 9. Ulomci ograde svetišta iz predromaničke crkve sv. Petra u Rapovinama  
*Fig. 9 Fragments of the altar screen from the pre-Romanesque church of St. Peter in Rapovine*



Sl. 10. Ulomak grede ograde svetišta, Prisap, Grepci (Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 10 Fragments of the beam belonging to the altar screen, Prisap, Grepci (Z. Alajbeg)

*Christum...*)<sup>91</sup> svjedoči da je za potrebe ranosrednjovjekovnog naselja podignuta crkva (sl. 10). Ona je izgrađena na mjestu gdje je već prije postojalo groblje, što potvrđuje keramička posuda iz razrušenog groba s poganskim načinom pokapanja.

Na položaju Crkvina u Potočanima, smještenom u podgrađu Gradca, nekadašnje prapovijesne gradine i kasnoantičkog kastruma, nađeni su ulomci pluteja predromaničke ograde svetišta.<sup>92</sup> U Potočanima je predromanička crkva, po svemu sudeći, nastala pregradnjom ili iznad temelja ranokršćanske crkve, čemu u prilog idu ulomci ranokršćanske ograde svetišta iskopani na istom lokalitetu.<sup>93</sup> Predromanička crkva najvjerojatnije je bila posvećena sv. Petru, kao i ona u Rapovinama, jer se istoimena crkva u Potočanima kasnije spominje u turskom defteru iz 1575. godine.<sup>94</sup> Bez arheološkog istraživanja ne možemo znati više o arhitekturi, eventualnim pregradnjama i egzistiranju crkve u Potočanima, ali pretpostavljamo da posveta crkve sv. Petru seže iz predromaničkog razdoblja.

Na temelju nekoliko slučajnih nalaza može se zaključiti da se u utvrđenom dijelu ranosrednjovje-

side the church, the altar screen was the dominant feature, of which fragments of the architrave beam, pluteus, pilaster, columns and capitals decorated with a interlace motif of shallow relief circles and intertwined three-ribbon bands (Fig. 9) have been preserved. The epigraphic features of the votive inscription and the style of the relief-decorated fragments of the altar screen indicate that the church in Rapovine was built in the last quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Two additional pre-Romanesque churches have been confirmed based on fragments of church furnishing in Prisap and Potočani, villages located in the vicinity of Livno. In Prisap, at the site of Grepci, where the present-day Catholic cemetery is located, a fragment of the beam of the altar screen was discovered. The discovery of a vessel from an early medieval grave,<sup>88</sup> a late medieval cemetery with approximately 40 stećak tombstones<sup>89</sup> and the mention of the settlement Grebac in a charter by the Bosnian king Stephen Ostoja from 1400<sup>90</sup> indicates the presence of a medieval settlement with a long continuity that arose on the tradition of a prehistoric and Roman site.

Part of the beam with the remaining inscribed Latin inscription 'OPERAS XPM...' (...*operas Christum...*)<sup>91</sup> indicates that the church was erected to serve the needs of the early medieval settlement (Fig. 10). The site where the church was built had previously been a cemetery, as evidenced by the discovery of a ceramic vessel from a destroyed grave featuring a pagan burial method.

At the Crkvina site in Potočani, located at the foot of Gradac, a former prehistoric hillfort and late ancient castrum, fragments of a pluteus of a pre-Romanesque altar screen were found.<sup>92</sup> In Potočani, the pre-Romanesque church was most likely erected by reconstructing or by building over the foundations of an early Christian church. This is supported by the discovery of fragments belonging to an early Christian altar screen excavated at

<sup>91</sup> Delonga 1994, str. 82, sl. 1; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 84, kat. 212.

<sup>92</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 85–86, kat. 217–218.

<sup>93</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 81–83, kat. 341–348, 357. Ulomke je u samostan na Gorici u Livnu donio fra Branko Krilić, meštar novaka, koji je s novacima 1938. – 1939. godine iskopavao na Crkvini u Potočanima. Na istom lokalitetu fra Bono Vrdoljak je 1990. godine napravio sondažno iskopavanje. Tom prigodom otkriven je dio zida za koji je pretpostavio da pripada apsidi crkvenog objekta. Osim pisanog izvješća, pritom nije napravljena arheološka dokumentacija.

<sup>94</sup> TD 533 (1575), str. 336.

<sup>88</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 91, cat.br. 249.

<sup>89</sup> Arheološki leksikon 1988, p. 242. Nowadays, a large part of these graves under the stećci is devastated by modern tombs.

<sup>90</sup> Klaić 1928, p. 18.

<sup>91</sup> Delonga 1994, p. 82, fig. 1; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 84, cat. 212.

<sup>92</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 85–86, cat. 217–218.



Sl. 11. Ulomak zabata ograde svetišta, Livno, Perkuša (Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 11 Fragments of the gable belonging to the altar screen, Livno, Perkuša (Z. Alajbeg)*

kovnog Livna nalazila barem jedna predromanička crkva. Svi ulomci iz Livna nađeni su dislocirani, što i nije neobično s obzirom na to da je grad konstantno preslojavan, te se njegova urbana struktura mijenjala i još uvijek se mijenja.

Ulomak zabata ograde svetišta nađen je pri raščišćavanju ruševina džamije Perkuške, razrušene savezničkim bombardiranjem 1944. godine. Džamija Perkuška ili džamija Muhameda Spahije nalazila se na Trgu Žitarnica, a tijekom njezine gradnje, u drugoj polovini 16. stoljeća, kao spolij je u zidove džamije uzidan ulomak ograde svetišta predromaničke crkve čiji položaj nije poznat. Na donjem dijelu zabata uklesan je natpis koji govori o zavjetnom činu podizanja ili obnove crkve: ...HVNC TE(m)PL(um) D(e)I (h)VMILITER (sl. 11).<sup>95</sup>

Više ulomaka pluteja nađeno je na izlazu iz grada, uz cestu Livno – Šujica (sl. 12). Ulomci su bili odbačeni s građevinskim materijalom, zbog čega se pretpostavilo da su pronađeni tijekom rušenja ili

the site itself.<sup>93</sup> The pre-Romanesque church was most likely dedicated to St. Peter, as was the one in Rapovine, since a church with this name in Potočani is later mentioned in a Turkish defter from 1575.<sup>94</sup> Without archaeological research, it is not possible to ascertain more about the architecture of the church, its possible reconstructions or the existence of the church in Potočani. However, it can be assumed that the dedication to St. Peter dates back to the pre-Romanesque period.

Based on a few chance finds, we assume that at least one pre-Romanesque church was located in the fortified part of early medieval Livno. All fragments from Livno were found dislocated, which is not unusual given that the town has been constantly layered and its urban structure has changed and continues to change up to the present day.

A fragment of the gable of an altar screen was found during the clearing of the ruins of the Perkuška Mosque, which was destroyed by Allied bombing in 1944. The Perkuška Mosque or the Muhamed Spahija Mosque was situated in Žitarnica Square. During the mosque's construction in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a fragment of an altar screen from a pre-Romanesque church, whose location is unknown, was incorporated into the mosque's walls as spolia. An inscription on the lower part of the gable speaks of a votive act of erecting or restoring the church: ...HVNC TE(m)PL(um) D(e)I (h)VMILITER (Fig. 11).<sup>95</sup>

Several of fragments of a pluteus were discovered at the exit of the town, along the Livno–Šujica road (Fig. 12). The fragments were discovered discarded among construction materials, leading to the assumption that they were found during demolition or construction works on a building where they might have been embedded or used as filler, and subsequently discarded after their secondary use.

<sup>93</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 81-83, cat. 341-348, 357. The fragments were brought to the monastery in Gorica, Livno, by pater Branko Krilić, a novice master who conducted excavations at Crkvina in Potočani with novices in 1938-39. Pater Bono Vrdoljak conducted a sondage trench excavation at the same site in 1990, discovering part of a wall he assumed belonged to an apse of a church. No archaeological documentation was made besides a written report.

<sup>94</sup> TD 533 (1575), p.336.

<sup>95</sup> Delonga 1994, p. 85, fig. 3; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 84, cat. 213. Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, p. 24.

<sup>95</sup> Delonga 1994, str. 85, sl. 3; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 84, kat. 213; Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, str. 24.



Sl. 12. Ulomci pluteja ograde svetišta, Livno (Z. Alajbeg)

*Fig. 12 Fragments of the pluteus belonging to the altar screen, Livno (Z. Alajbeg)*

građevinske intervencije na nekom objektu, gdje su mogli dospjeti uzidavanjem ili kao zapuna, što znači da su nakon sekundarne upotrebe ponovno odbačeni. Pravo nalazište nije poznato, odnosno nije poznato odakle su ulomci, vjerojatno slučajno, odbačeni, a još manje kojoj predromaničkoj crkvi su pripadali. Pokušaji ubiciranja nalazišta uputili su na položaj rezervoara za gradski vodovod koji se nalazi na užem području starog grada, odakle su prilikom njegove gradnje ovi ulomci odbačeni s ostalim iskopanim materijalom.

Uz ulomke pluteja navodno su nađeni i ulomci stupova.<sup>96</sup> No, radi se o nepouzdanim podacima na koje se ne možemo osloniti. Isto tako, postojale su indicije da ti ulomci ograde svetišta potječu iz crkve u Rapovinama,<sup>97</sup> ali nam se vjerojatnijom čini pretpostavka da su iz neke druge predromaničke crkve koja se nalazila u ranosrednjovjekovnom gradu. Pažnju privlači i podatak da se 1940-ih u franjevačkom samostanu na Gorici u Livnu čuvalo nekoliko



Sl. 13. Ulomak pluteja ograde svetišta, Livno (M. Marić Baković)

*Fig. 13 Fragment of the pluteus belonging to the altar screen, Livno (M. Marić Baković)*

The precise location of their discovery is unknown, i.e. it is unclear where the fragments, likely accidentally discarded, originated from. Furthermore, it is not possible to determine which pre-Romanesque church they may have belonged to. Attempts to identify the precise location of the site led to the city water reservoir, situated within the narrow confines of the old town, where they were discarded along with other excavated material during its construction.

Allegedly, fragments of columns were also found along with the fragments of the pluteus.<sup>96</sup> However, these are unreliable data we cannot rely on. Additionally, there were indications that the fragments might have originated from the altar screen of the church in Rapovine.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, it is more probable that they originated from another pre-Romanesque church situated within the early medieval town. Another noteworthy information is that several fragments with interlace ornamentation were kept in the Franciscan monastery in Gorica in Livno in the 1940s. Of these, three belonged to one panel (pluteus) measuring 60 x 35 cm, with a thickness of 10 cm.<sup>98</sup> None of the still preserved fragments belonging to pre-Romanesque church furnishing, which are kept in the monastery in Livno, correspond to the aforementioned data.

<sup>96</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 14, 85, kat. br. 216.

<sup>97</sup> Glavaš 1990, str. 186–187, sl. 9; Delonga 1994, str. 85; Burić 1995, str. 103.

<sup>96</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 14, 85, cat. no. 216.

<sup>97</sup> Glavaš 1990, pp. 186–187, fig. 9; Delonga 1994, p. 85; Burić 1995, p. 103.

<sup>98</sup> Kučan 1943, p. 141.

fragmenata pleternog ornamenta od kojih tri komada pripadaju jednoj ploči (pluteju) dimenzija 60 × 35 cm i debljine 10 cm.<sup>98</sup> Međutim, nijedan od danas sačuvanih ulomaka predromaničkog crkvenog namještaja koji su se čuvali u samostanu u Livnu ne odgovara navedenim podacima.

Posljednji u nizu je ulomak pluteja ograde svetišta nađen između platoa Topovi, na kojem se nalazi džamija Ahmeta Dukata, i ostataka nekadašnje *džebthane*, skladišta oružja iz osmanskog doba (sl. 13). I ovaj ulomak nađen je slučajno, izvan konteksta arhitekture kojoj je mogao pripadati.

Ulomak pluteja, koji kao i prethodne datiramo u posljednju četvrtinu 9. stoljeća, pripadao je ogradi svetišta crkve koja se nalazila na prostoru ranosrednjovjekovnog grada. Iako je riječ o manjem ulomku, ovo je još jedan vrijedan nalaz koji bi išao u prilog topografiji predromaničke arhitekture Livna. Okolnosti nalaza ulomka ukazuju da je odnekud donesen i vjerojatno recentno ugrađen u suhozid, ali pretpostavljamo da je donesen s nekog obližnjeg lokaliteta koji je mogao biti dijelom ranosrednjovjekovnog grada.

Na temelju dosad evidentiranih ulomaka ograde svetišta iz Livna i okolice utvrđeno je da je u posljednjoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća na tom području djelovala skupina kamenoklesara, čija je djelatnost, prema karakterističnim zajedničkim obilježjima, objedinjena nazivom Dvorske klesarske radionice.<sup>99</sup> Značajke ove radionice prepoznaju se na kimationu trabeacije ograde svetišta koji je oblikovan kao niz listića pod istaknutom letvom koja dijeli natpis od gornjeg ukrasnog polja. Karakteristična je i izvedba mreže troprutih, nepovezanih kružnica iskrižanih dijagonalnim vrpcama koje tvore rombove na plutejima. Prema natpisima na sačuvanim dijelovima kamenog namještaja, djelovanje radionice veže se za kneza Branimira, a kako se osim imena Branimira na tim natpisima spominju i imena dvorskih župana Gostihe u Cetini i Prištine u Ždrapnju, skupina majstora vezana za ovu radionicu dobila je naziv Dvorska klesarska radionica.<sup>100</sup> S obzirom na rasprostranjenost spomenika koji se pripisuju ovoj

The last one in the series is a fragment of the pluteus of an altar screen, discovered between the plateau Topovi, where the Ahmet Dukata Mosque is situated, and the remains of the former *džebthane*—an arsenal from the Ottoman era (Fig. 13).

This fragment was also discovered accidentally, outside an architectural context to which it might have belonged. The fragment of the pluteus, which, like the previous ones, is dated to the last quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, belonged to an altar screen of a church located in the area of the early medieval town. Although it is a small fragment, it is another valuable find that supports the topography of pre-Romanesque architecture in Livno itself. The circumstances of the fragment's discovery suggest that it was brought from somewhere and probably not long ago incorporated into a dry stone wall. However, we assume it was brought from a nearby site that could have been part of the early medieval town. Based on the fragments of the altar screens from Livno and its surroundings that have been recorded so far, it has been established that a group of stonemasons was active in the Livno area in the last quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, whose works with their common characteristics became known as the Court stonemason workshop.<sup>99</sup> The characteristics of this workshop have been identified based upon the cymatium on the entablature of the altar screen, which shows a series of small leaves under a prominent strip separating the inscription from the upper decorative field. The execution of the net of threefold unconnected circles crossed

with diagonal ribbons that form rhombuses on the plutei is also characteristic. Based on the inscriptions on the preserved fragments of stone furnishing, the workshop's activity is linked to Duke Branimir, and given that, apart from Branimir's name, also the names of court župans Gostiha in Cetina and Priština in Ždrapanj are mentioned, the group of stonemasons associated with this workshop was designated the Court stonemason workshop.<sup>100</sup> In consideration of the spatial distribution of the monuments attributed to this workshop, it can be assumed that they continued to be active over a

<sup>98</sup> Kučan 1943, str. 141.

<sup>99</sup> O djelatnosti ove radionice u više navrata se raspravljalo u stručnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi: Burić 1995, str. 91–116; Jakšić 1995, str. 141–150; Jakšić 2001, str. 51–53; Jakšić 2009, str. 29–32; Marasović 2008, str. 366–367; Josipović 2013, str. 149–168; Jurčević 2016, str. 115–136.

<sup>100</sup> Jakšić 2001, str. 52–53; Marasović 2008, str. 366–367.

<sup>99</sup> The activities of this workshop have frequently been a topic of discussion in professional and scientific literature: Burić 1995, pp. 91–116; Jakšić 1995, pp. 141–150; Jakšić 2001, pp. 51–53; Jakšić 2009, pp. 29–32; Marasović 2008, pp. 366–367; Josipović 2013, pp. 149–168; Jurčević 2016, pp. 115–136.

<sup>100</sup> Jakšić 2001, pp. 52–53; Marasović 2008, pp. 366–367.

radionici, može se pretpostaviti da je djelovala još neko vrijeme, odnosno u doba kneza Muncimira. Izvedbi ove radionice svojstvena je pojednostavljena i rustična klesarska izvedba uobičajenih predromaničkih motiva, a prepoznata je na skupini spomenika koja je rasprostranjena na širem dinarskom području obuhvaćenom granicama teritorija ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske Kneževine. Lokalizirani s pronađenim spomenicima koncentrirani su na današnjem srednjodalmatinskom<sup>101</sup> i sjevernodalmatinskom području,<sup>102</sup> zatim u današnjoj Bosni i Hercegovini na području Drvara (Šobića groblje u Drvaru,<sup>103</sup> Spasovina kraj Drvara<sup>104</sup>) i Glamoča (Glamoč,<sup>105</sup> Vrba<sup>106</sup> i Radaslije)<sup>107</sup> te na livanjskom području, gdje je ova radionica potvrđena ulomcima ograde svetišta iz Livna,<sup>108</sup> Rapovina,<sup>109</sup> Prispa (Grepći)<sup>110</sup> i Potočana.<sup>111</sup> Dakle, kamenoklesari ove radionice izrađivali su dijelove liturgijskog namještaja na livanjskom području, i to očito opremajući nekoliko crkvenih objekata.

### Topografija i ostatci arhitekture

Uz pomoć topografskih elemenata i arheoloških tragova došli smo do pretpostavke da je utvrđeni srednjovjekovni grad u Livnu nastao na uzvišenom, sjevernom dijelu današnjeg naselja, uz obod strme stijene Crvenica, na prisojnoj strani, u zavjetrini, u

period of time, i.e. during rule of Duke Muncimir. A simplified and rustic stonemasonry workmanship of conventional pre-Romanesque motifs is inherent to the activities of this workshop. The workmanship of the Court stonemason workshop was recognised on a group of monuments prevailing in the wider Dinaric area of the early medieval

Croatian Principality. The sites with these types of monuments are concentrated in the present-day central<sup>101</sup> and northern<sup>102</sup> Dalmatian area, and in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of Drvar (Šobić cemetery in Drvar,<sup>103</sup> Spasovina near Drvar<sup>104</sup>) and Glamoč (Glamoč,<sup>105</sup> Vrba<sup>106</sup> and Radaslije),<sup>107</sup> as well as in the area of Livno, where it was confirmed by fragments of altar screens from Livno,<sup>108</sup> Rapovine,<sup>109</sup> Prisap (Grepći)<sup>110</sup> and Potočani.<sup>111</sup> The stonemasons of this workshop crafted parts of liturgical furnishing in the Livno region and evidently equipped several churches with it.

### Topography and architectural remains

The fortified medieval town in Livno is believed to have been established on the elevated northern part of the present-day settlement, along the edge of the steep Crvenice cliff, near the source of the Bistrica River. This assumption has been reached through the analysis of topographic elements and

<sup>101</sup> Burić 1988, T. V, sl. 11; T. VIII, sl. 12; Burić 1995, str. 91–116, sl. 12–13, 29; Jakšić 1995, str. 144–145, 147, 149, sl. 19; Šeparović 1995, str. 81–90; Marasović 2009, str. 476–477, 481–486, 544, 551–555; Jurčević 2016, str. 127, sl. 48.

<sup>102</sup> Jakšić 1995, str. 144; Jakšić 2001, str. 51; Burić 1995, str. 96; Marasović 2009, str. 253, 263, 267; Josipović 2013, T. XL, 2–3; Josipović 2017, str. 72, sl. 4.

<sup>103</sup> Glavaš 1990, str. 179–180, sl. 2; Burić 1995, str. 100, 105, sl. 27; Marasović 2013, str. 297–298.

<sup>104</sup> Glavaš 1990, str. 178–179, sl. 1; Burić 1995, str. 105; Marasović 2013, str. 297–298.

<sup>105</sup> Kučan 1943, str. 142–143.

<sup>106</sup> Kučan 1943, str. 142; Burić 1995, str. 104, sl. 22.

<sup>107</sup> Kučan 1943, str. 142–143.

<sup>108</sup> Delonga 1994, str. 84–86; Jakšić 1995, str. 147, sl. 16; Burić 1995, str. 103, sl. 17–18; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 84–85, kat. 213, 216; Marić Baković 2019, str. 47–55.

<sup>109</sup> Delonga 1994, str. 84–86; Marić Baković, Palčok 2019, str. 29–45; Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, str. 23–25.

<sup>110</sup> Delonga 1994, str. 82, sl. 1; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 84, kat. 212.

<sup>111</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 85–86, kat. 217–218.

<sup>101</sup> Burić 1988, T. V, fig. 11; T. VIII, fig. 12; Burić 1995, pp. 91–116, fig. 12–13, 29; Jakšić 1995, pp. 144–145, 147, 149, fig. 19; Šeparović 1995, pp. 81–90; Marasović 2009, pp. 476–477, 481–486, 544, 551–555; Jurčević 2016, p. 127, fig. 48.

<sup>102</sup> Jakšić 1995, p. 144; Jakšić 2001, p. 51; Burić 1995, p. 96; Marasović 2009, pp. 253, 263, 267; Josipović 2013, T. XL, 2, 3; Josipović 2017, p. 72, fig. 4.

<sup>103</sup> Glavaš 1990, pp. 179–180, fig. 2; Burić 1995, pp. 100, 105, fig. 27; Marasović 2013, pp. 297–298.

<sup>104</sup> Glavaš 1990, pp. 178–179, fig. 1; Burić 1995, p. 105; Marasović 2013, pp. 297–298.

<sup>105</sup> Kučan 1943, pp. 142–143.

<sup>106</sup> Kučan 1943, p. 142; Burić 1995, p. 104, fig. 22.

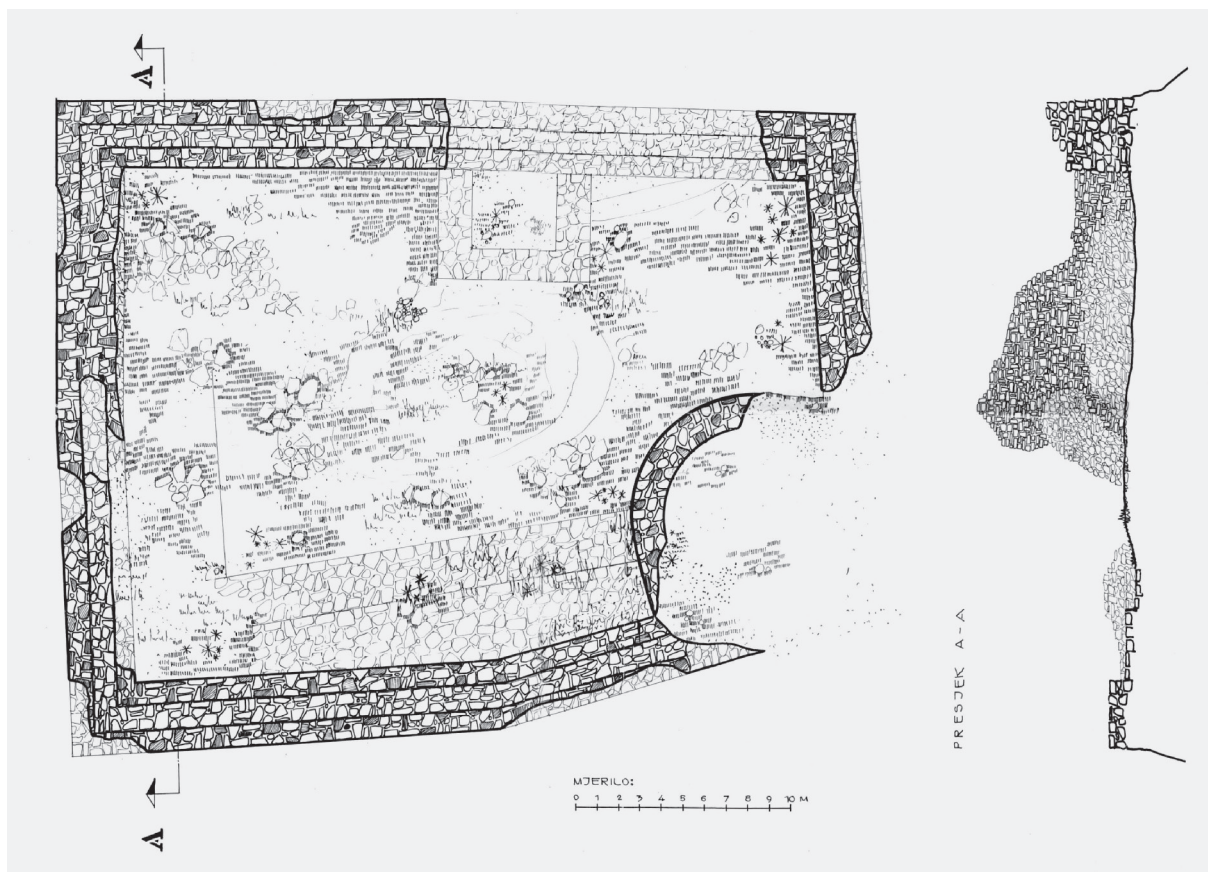
<sup>107</sup> Kučan 1943, pp. 142–143.

<sup>108</sup> Delonga 1994, pp. 84–86; Jakšić 1995, p. 147, fig. 16; Burić 1995, p. 103, fig. 17, 18; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 84–85, cat. 213, 216; Marić Baković 2019, pp. 47–55.

<sup>109</sup> Delonga 1994, pp. 84–86; Marić Baković, Palčok 2019, pp. 29–45; Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, pp. 23–25.

<sup>110</sup> Delonga 1994, p. 82, fig. 1; Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, p. 84, cat. 212.

<sup>111</sup> Petrinc, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 85–86, cat. 217–218.



Sl. 14. Plan ostataka arhitekture na prostoru džebhane u Livnu (Zavod za zaštitu spomenika BiH)

Fig. 14 Map of the architectural remains at the džebhana in Livno  
(Institute for the Protection of Monuments BiH)

blizini izvora rijeke Bistrice po kojoj se u kasno-srednjovjekovnim pisanim izvorima naziva Bistrički Grad.<sup>112</sup> Pretpostavljamo da se srednjovjekovna tvrđava nalazila negdje u okvirima danas djelomično sačuvane osmanske utvrde. U prilog tome idu ostatci džebhane koji se nalaze na istaknutoj stjenovitoj uzvisini, ispod strmih litica Crvenica, položaju koji bi odgovarao topografskim uvjetima nastanka srednjovjekovnog grada.

Iako nisu provedena arheološka istraživanja, prema položaju, osnovi i načinu gradnje sačuvanih bedema džebhane, očito je da je ovdje u pitanju srednjovjekovna gradnja. Osnova sačuvanog srednjovjekovnog utvrđenja je nepravilnog četverokutnog oblika koji je prilagođen terenu (dimenzija 37,5 × 30 (24) m). Prvobitno su bedemi bili debeli oko 1,5 m, a kasnije, u osmansko doba ojačani su do debljine od oko 3 m (sl. 14).

U jugoistočnom kutu nalazila se kula kružne (poligonalne?) osnove, vanjskog promjera oko 10

archaeological traces. Its location, sheltered from the wind on the sunny side, is referred to in late medieval written sources as Bistrički Grad.<sup>112</sup> It is assumed that the medieval fortress was located within today's partially preserved Ottoman fort. This is corroborated by the remains of the džebhana, an armoury from the Ottoman period, situated on a prominent rocky elevation below the steep cliffs of Crvenice, a position that would correspond to topographical requirements for the establishment of a medieval town.

Although no archaeological research has been conducted, the location, foundation and construction methods of the still preserved walls of the džebhana provide clear indications of medieval construction. The base of the preserved medieval fortification has an irregular quadrilateral shape that has been adapted to the terrain (dimensions 37.5 x 30 (24) m). The ramparts were initially constructed to a thickness of approximately 1.5 metres, but were

<sup>112</sup> *Codex diplomaticus* XII, 1914, str. 376–377; Klaić 1928, str. 17–19.

<sup>112</sup> *Codex diplomaticus* XII, 1914, pp. 376–377; Klaić 1928, pp. 17–19.



Sl. 15 a – c. Ostatci zidova džebhane u Livnu  
(M. Marić Baković)

Fig. 15 Remains of the walls of the džebhana in Livno  
(M. Marić Baković)

m, sa zidom debljine do 1,6 m. Izgleda da je kula bila skoro uvučena u konstrukciju bedema. Uz sjeverni zid džebhane zabilježeni su tragovi temelja uvučene četverokutne kule vanjskih dimenzija 7,2 × 5 m i debljine zidova 1,5 m. Lokaciju ulaza nije moguće ustanoviti bez arheološkog istraživanja, a isto tako, bez arheološkog istraživanja i preciznog istraživanja arhitekture uz pomoć vertikalne stra-

subsequently reinforced during the Ottoman period to a thickness of approximately 3 metres (Fig. 14).

In the southeastern corner, there was a round (or polygonal?) tower with an external diameter of approximately 10 metres and walls up to 1.6 metres thick. It seems that the tower was almost integrated into the structure of the rampart. The foundations of an embedded quadrilateral tower, with external dimensions of 7.2 x 5 m and wall thickness of 1.5 m, were recorded along the northern wall of the džebhana. Without archaeological research, it is impossible to determine where the entrance was located. Furthermore, without any precise architectural investigation using vertical stratigraphy, establishing a chronology of the architectural remains is difficult. Nevertheless, it is assumed that the džebhana might have been the central part of the former medieval fortification, which was reconstructed during the Ottoman period with the purpose to store weapons there (Fig. 15a-c).<sup>113</sup>

It is assumed that the town developed on the foundations of the early medieval fortified town during the Late Middle Ages. In the context of the developed late medieval settlement below the fortified town, a suburb (varoš) emerged. Outside the area of the settlement on the right bank of the Bistrica River, at the site of St. John's Cemetery, was the monastery of St. John, which was part of the medieval urban structure. The monastery of St. John was constructed in the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>114</sup>

Generally, Franciscan monasteries were established in the vicinity of urban settlements and towns, including the monastery in Livno. For the construction site, a place outside of the walls of the fortified town was selected, that is, near the bank of the river Bistrica, with an already existing sacral-sepulchral tradition.<sup>115</sup> In the vicinity and surroundings of the medieval settlement, village communities and hamlets started to develop, as evidenced by cemeteries with *stećci* (tombstones). The Bistrica monastery is mentioned in 1469 during the time of Pope Paul II

<sup>113</sup> The remains of the entire fortress from the Ottoman period, along with the remains of the medieval fortress, have been declared a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, prior to this, a private house with a yard was built on the site of the džebhana. In cooperation with the town of Livno, efforts will be made to find a solution that will facilitate the conduct of archaeological research.

<sup>114</sup> Vrdoljak 1994, pp. 119-121.

<sup>115</sup> Duvnjak, Marić Baković 2018, pp. 259-276.

tigrafije teško je utvrditi kronologiju na ostacima arhitekture. Ipak, pretpostavlja se da bi džebhana mogla predstavljati središnji dio nekadašnje srednjovjekovne utvrde, koja je za osmanske uprave rekonstruirana za potrebe skladištenja oružja (sl. 15 a–c).<sup>113</sup>

Pretpostavljamo da se tijekom kasnog srednjeg vijeka grad razvijao na temeljima ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada. U kontekstu kasnosrednjovjekovnog razvijenog naselja, ispod utvrđenog grada nastala je varoš ili podgrađe. Izvan areala naselja, na desnoj obali rijeke Bistrice, danas na lokalitetu Groblje sv. Ive, nalazio se samostan sv. Ivana koji je podignut u prvoj četvrtini 14. stoljeća,<sup>114</sup> a koji je predstavljao dio strukture srednjovjekovne gradske sredine.

Uobičajeno je bilo da se franjevački samostani utemeljuju u neposrednoj blizini gradskih naselja i varoši, pa je tako i sa samostanom u Livnu. Za izgradnju je izabrano mjesto izvan zidina utvrđenog grada, uz korito rijeke, s već postojećom kršćanskom sakralno-sepulkralnom tradicijom.<sup>115</sup> U neposrednoj blizini srednjovjekovnog naselja i u njegovoj okolini razvijale su se seoske zajednice sa zaseocima koje su karakterizirala groblja sa stećcima. Samostan u Bistrici spominje se 1469. godine, za vrijeme pape Pavla II., kao jedan od franjevačkih samostana koji su opljačkale Osmanlije.<sup>116</sup> Uz njega se još navode opljačkani samostani u Cetini, Vrh Rici i Kninu u Splitskoj nadbiskupiji i Kninskoj biskupiji.<sup>117</sup> Osmanlije su Livno najvjerojatnije zauzele u jesen 1480. godine, kad su stradali tvrđava i varoš pod njom i kad je samostan sv. Ivana uz rijeku Bistricu spaljen.<sup>118</sup> Samostan se ne nalazi na popisu samostana Bosanske provincije iz 1514. godine ni na popisu pape Pavla III. (1534. – 1549.) iz 1539. godine. Sama crkva sv. Ivana posljednji se put spominje u osmanskim katastarskim knjigama (defterima) iz 1604. godine.<sup>119</sup>

as one of the Franciscan monasteries plundered by the Ottomans.<sup>116</sup> In addition to the Bistrica monastery, the plundered monasteries in Cetina, Vrh Rika and Knin in the Archdiocese of Split and the Diocese of Knin are also mentioned.<sup>117</sup> Livno was most likely taken by the Ottomans in the autumn of 1480, when the fortress and the town below it were destroyed, and the monastery of St. John by the Bistrica River was burned down.<sup>118</sup> The monastery does not appear on the list of monasteries in the Bosnian province from 1514 nor on the list of Pope Paul III (1534–1549) from 1539. The church of St. John itself is last mentioned in Ottoman cadastral books (defters) from 1604.<sup>119</sup>

In 1550, the Venetian traveller Catarino Zeno described Livno, then under Ottoman rule, as a well-fortified town (castle).<sup>120</sup> We believe that the medieval fortress was still clearly visible at that time. The structure of the town changed during the Ottoman period in comparison to the medieval town. The town expanded beyond the medieval fortress, undergoing a transformation and adaptation to accommodate new urban requirements. The čaršija (bazaar) became the central place of social and economic activity, while the *mahalla* was designated as the residential area. The surviving 16<sup>th</sup>-century mosques, built on the principle of endowment (*waqf*),<sup>121</sup> provide evidence of the existence of different mahallas, which were located also outside the fortified town in the area of the former medieval suburb. In the description of the Klis Sanjak, compiled in 1626 by Athanasio Georgiceo, a native of Split, for the Hungarian-Croatian Habsburg king Ferdinand II, Livno is depicted as a fortified town with a fortress within it.<sup>122</sup> In the relatively reliable travelogue (*Seyahatnâme*) by the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, who in the fifth book gives a concise description of the Livno fortress and town at the end of 1660,<sup>123</sup> it is mentioned that the Ottomans conquered the Livno (medieval) fortress and that a large part of the population left the fortress and fled to Venetian Dalmatia. He states that the Bosnian

<sup>113</sup> Ostaci utvrde iz osmanskog doba s ostacima srednjovjekovne tvrđave proglašeni su nacionalnim spomenikom BiH. Nažalost, prije toga je na prostoru džebhane već bila podignuta privatna kuća s okućnicom. U suradnji s Gradom Livnom nastojat će se naći rješenje s ciljem arheološkog istraživanja.

<sup>114</sup> Vrdoljak 1994, str. 119–121.

<sup>115</sup> Duvnjak, Marić Baković 2018, str. 259–276.

<sup>116</sup> Vrdoljak 1994, str. 118.

<sup>117</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 19.

<sup>118</sup> Ursinus 2021, str. 105.

<sup>119</sup> Vrdoljak 1994, str. 119, 123–124.

<sup>116</sup> Vrdoljak 1994, p. 118.

<sup>117</sup> Klaić, 1928, p. 19.

<sup>118</sup> Ursinus 2021, p. 105.

<sup>119</sup> Vrdoljak 1994, pp. 119, 123–124.

<sup>120</sup> Matković 1881, p. 91.

<sup>121</sup> The names of the donors who financed their construction have been preserved in the names of the mosques.

<sup>122</sup> Klaić 1928, p. 20.

<sup>123</sup> Çelebi 1954, pp. 153–156.

Katarino Zeno, venecijanski putopisac, 1550. godine opisuje Livno, koje je tad pod Osmanlijama, kao dobro utvrđen grad (*castel*),<sup>120</sup> pa pretpostavljamo da je tada još dobro vidljiva srednjovjekovna utvrda. Struktura grada u osmansko doba izmijenjena je u odnosu na srednjovjekovni grad. Grad se širio izvan srednjovjekovne tvrđave transformirajući se i prilagođavajući novim urbanističkim zahtjevima, prema kojima je čaršija dio grada u kojem se odvija društveni i gospodarski život, a mahala dio za stanovanje. O različitim mahalama svjedoče sačuvane džamije iz 16. stoljeća koje su se gradile na principu donatorstva, *vakufa*,<sup>121</sup> a bile su raspoređene i izvan utvrđenog grada, na području nekadašnje srednjovjekovne varoši. U opisu Kliškog sandžaka, koji je 1626. godine sastavio Splitsanin Atanasije Georgiceo za ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja, Habsburgovca Ferdinanda II., Livno je utvrđeni grad unutar kojeg se nalazi tvrđava.<sup>122</sup> U relativno pouzdanom *Putopisu* (*Seyahatnâme*) osmanskog putopisca Evlije Čelebija, koji u petoj knjizi daje sažet opis livanjske tvrđave i varoši koncem 1660. godine,<sup>123</sup> navodi se da su Osmanlije osvojile livanjsku (srednjovjekovnu) tvrđavu te da je veliki dio stanovništva napustio tvrđavu pobjegavši u mletačku Dalmaciju. On piše i da je bosanski valija (sandžakbeg ili upravitelj provincije) Melek Ahmed-paša popravio staru i na nekim mjestima porušenu tvrđavu. Ispred tvrđave podigao je zid *tophane* i sagradio gradske bedeme s velikim željeznim vratima na jugoistočnoj strani, a na jednom od vrhova Crvenica sagradio je kulu (Veis kulu?). U tvrđavi je bila mala džamija, starogradska ili careva džamija, tzv. Crkvina,<sup>124</sup> koja je prema predaji nekad bila crkvice sv. Petra.<sup>125</sup> Na eventualnu crkvu ukazuje danas sačuvani toponim Crkvina. Uz crkvu sv. Petra u Rapovinama<sup>126</sup> i onu u Potočanima<sup>127</sup> to bi bila treća predromanička crkva na livanjskom području posvećena sv. Petru. Budući da se starogradska džamija nalazila na ravni ispod džebhane, Čelebijev pojam „tvrđava“ obuhvaća čitav gradski fortifikacijski sklop.

<sup>120</sup> Matković 1881, str. 91.

<sup>121</sup> Imena donatora koji su ih dali sagraditi sačuvana su u nazivima džamija.

<sup>122</sup> Klaić 1928, str. 20.

<sup>123</sup> Čelebi 1954, str. 153–156.

<sup>124</sup> Čelebi 1954, str. 154; Spaho 1994, str. 149–150.

<sup>125</sup> Abbas 1967, str. 51, 64–66, 77–78.

<sup>126</sup> Delonga 1994, str. 84; Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, str. 31, kat. br. 27.

<sup>127</sup> TD 533 (1575), str. 336; Petrincec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, str. 85–86, kat. 217–218.

governor (sanjak-bey or provincial governor) Melek Ahmed Pasha undertook repairs to the old and partially destroyed fortress. In front of the fortress, he erected the wall of the armoury and built ramparts with an iron gate in the southeastern rampart. On one of the peaks of Crvenice, he built a tower (Vejs tower?). A small mosque, i.e. the old town or imperial mosque, also known as Crkvina<sup>124</sup> was located inside the fortress, which according to tradition was once the church of St. Peter.<sup>125</sup> The preserved toponym Crkvina also indicates the possibility of a church having existed there. Along with the churches of St. Peter in Rapovine<sup>126</sup> and Potočani<sup>127</sup>, this would be the third pre-Romanesque church in the Livno area dedicated to St. Peter. Since the old town mosque was situated on a plateau below the *džebhana*, Čelebi's term “fortress” encompasses the entire town fortification complex.

The remains of the preserved parts of the fortress are primarily from the Ottoman period, when the fortress was repaired and expanded. On the topographic map of Livno and its surroundings (1686–1689), created for the general provveditore of Dalmatia Girolamo Cornaro, a rectangular base of the fortress is shown above which is a tower on the cliffs. The rectangular fortification on the map depicts the *džebhana* below which a mosque is visible, probably the Balagija Mosque, which has survived to the present day. Below the still-preserved Vejs tower are the remains of a wall that extends towards the *džebhana*. It is assumed that sometime in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or after the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 respectively, which established the border between Venetian Dalmatia and the Ottoman Empire on the Dinaric Alps and Kamešnica, the entire fortification system with towers, walls and an entrance gate, as depicted on late 18<sup>th</sup>-century plans and maps, could have been constructed.<sup>128</sup>

### Photo documentation

For the reconstruction of the location of the early medieval fortified town, it is possible to utilise photographs taken towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Čelebi 1954, p. 154; Spaho 1994, pp. 149–150.

<sup>125</sup> Abbas 1967, pp. 51, 64–66, 77–78.

<sup>126</sup> Delonga 1994, p. 84; Marić Baković, Manderalo 2023, p. 31, cat. no. 27.

<sup>127</sup> TD 533 (1575), p. 336; Petrincec, Šeparović, Vrdoljak 1999, pp. 85–86, cat. 217–218.

<sup>128</sup> Žeravica, 1994, pp. 153–160.

Do danas sačuvani dijelovi utvrde uglavnom su iz osmanskog doba, kad se utvrda popravljala i dograđivala. Na topografskoj karti Livna i okolice (1686. – 1689.), nastaloj za generalnog providura Dalmacije Gerolama Cornara, prikazana je pravokutna osnova tvrđave iznad koje se na liticama nalazi jedna kula. Pravokutna fortifikacija na karti prikaz je džebhane ispod koje se vidi džamija, vjerojatno danas sačuvana Balagijina džamija. Ispod do danas sačuvane Veis kule sačuvani su ostatci zida koji se pruža prema džebhani. Pretpostavlja se da je nakon toga, negdje u 18. stoljeću, odnosno nakon Požarevačkog mira 1718. godine, kad je na Dinari i Kamešnici uspostavljena granica između mletačke Dalmacije i Osmanskog Carstva, mogao biti izgrađen kompletan fortifikacijski sustav s kulama, bedemima i ulaznim vratima, koji se vidi na planovima i kartama s kraja 18. stoljeća.<sup>128</sup>

### Fotografije

U rekonstrukciji položaja ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada mogu nam pomoći i fotografije nastale pred kraj 19. stoljeća. Naime, Livno je pod osmanskom upravom bilo između 1480. i 1878. godine, grad je, prema Čelebiju, dodatno utvrđivan i obnavljan sredinom 17. stoljeća,<sup>129</sup> a opsežni radovi na gradnji i obnovi livanjske tvrđave izvođeni su još 1708., 1737., 1817. i posljednji put 1854. godine.<sup>130</sup> Nakon toga, tijekom austro-ugarske uprave, a kasnije pod Jugoslavijom te sve do suvremenog doba dolazi do sustavnog uništavanja ostataka utvrde. Ostatci zidova, *tabija* i kula sporadično se nalaze u privatnim dvorištima, onda kad nisu u potpunosti iskrčeni ili prekriveni novogradnjama. Tim je procesima došlo do sve većeg prekrivanja i onih starijih, srednjovjekovnih slojeva.

Iz tog razloga iznimno su važne fotografije austrijskog fotografa Franza Thiarda de Laforesta (Beč, 1838. – Kotor, 1911.), koji je panoramu Livna snimio u nekoliko navrata između 1878. i 1888. godine.<sup>131</sup> Na Laforestovim fotografijama *Livno, Parthie der oberen Festung* (Livno, gornji dio tvrđave) iz 1878.<sup>132</sup> i *Panorama Livna* iz 1888. godine<sup>133</sup> vide se tada još dobro sačuvani dijelovi utvrđenja

century as a source of information. Namely, Livno was under Ottoman rule from 1480 to 1878, and the town was, according to Čelebi, further fortified and reconstructed in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>129</sup> Extensive construction and restoration work on the Livno fortress was carried out in 1708, 1737, 1817 and for the last time in 1854.<sup>130</sup> After this period, i.e. under Austro-Hungarian administration and later in Yugoslavia, and up to the modern era, there was a systematic destruction of the remains of the fortress. The remains of the walls, bastions and towers are occasionally discovered in private gardens, unless they have been entirely removed or covered by new structures. This has resulted in an increasing coverage of the older medieval layers.

For this reason, the photographs by Austrian photographer Franz Thiard de Laforest (Vienna, 1838 - Kotor, 1911), who captured the panorama of Livno several times between 1878 and 1888, are extremely important.<sup>131</sup> Laforest's photographs of *Livno, Parthie der oberen Festung* (Livno, upper part of the fortress) from 1878<sup>132</sup> and the *Panorama of Livno* from 1888<sup>133</sup>, show the then well-preserved parts of the fortification from the Ottoman period. Laforest's *Bird's Eye View* from 1888 reveals the appearance of the *džebhana* (Fig. 16) at that time.<sup>134</sup>

On the southeast side, there was a polygonal tower with a shingle-covered roof. The *džebhana* was constructed with double walls as were most of the town's ramparts. The outer wall, which served as a parapet with gun loops, was somewhat higher than the inner wall, and between the two walls was an embankment that served as a walkway for the guards.<sup>135</sup> From the *džebhana*, the rampart ran in a northerly direction towards the bastion of Gagić. From there, it turned towards the Lower Gate (Šarampov)<sup>136</sup> and continued towards Topovi, an elevated plateau where the Ahmed the Ducat Minter's Mosque has been standing since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At the base of this plateau, a fragment of a pre-Romanesque altar screen was discovered. It is assumed that the mediaeval town was located in this area,

<sup>129</sup> Čelebi 1954, pp. 153-156.

<sup>130</sup> Tadić 2023, p. 157.

<sup>131</sup> Tadić 2023, pp. 151-180.

<sup>132</sup> Tadić 2023, p. 159, fig. 4.

<sup>133</sup> Tadić 2023, p. 170, fig. 9.

<sup>134</sup> Tadić, 2023, p. 173, fig. 13.

<sup>135</sup> Tadić, 2023, p. 174, fig. 14.

<sup>136</sup> The toponym originates from the Hungarian word *so-rompó*, which denotes a trench (around the fortress).

<sup>128</sup> Žeravica 1994, str. 153–160.

<sup>129</sup> Čelebi 1954, str. 153–156.

<sup>130</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 157.

<sup>131</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 151–180.

<sup>132</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 159, sl. 4.

<sup>133</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 170, sl. 9.



Sl. 16. *Ptičja perspektiva* (detalj), F. Laforest, 1888. (Tadić 2023, sl. 13)  
Fig. 16 Bird's eye view (detail), F. Laforest, 1888. (Tadić 2023, Fig. 13)

iz osmanskog doba. Laforestova *Ptičja perspektiva* iz 1888. otkriva tadašnji izgled džebhane (sl. 16).<sup>134</sup>

Na jugoistočnoj strani nalazila se poligonalna kula s krovom pokrivenim šindrom. Džebhana je imala dvostruke zidove kao i većina gradskih bedema. Vanjski zid, u funkciji prsobrana s puškarnicama, bio je nešto viši, a između vanjskog i unutrašnjeg zida bio je nasip koji je služio kao stražarska šetnica.<sup>135</sup> Bedem je od džebhane vodio prema Gagića tabiji, a odatle se lomio prema Donjim vratima (Šarampov)<sup>136</sup> i dalje prema Topovima, povišenom platou na kojem se od 16. stoljeća nalazi Ahmet Dukatarova džamija, a u čijem je podnožju nađen ulomak predromaničke ograde svetišta. Pretpostavlja se da je na tom prostoru, između džebhane i tih dvaju zidova, bio srednjovjekovni grad, a da je džebhana bila tvrđava u tvrđavi. U svijesti Livnjaka taj prostor poznat je kao Stari grad dok je ostatak grada s ostacima osmanske utvrde tzv. Gornji grad (sl. 17). U tom kontekstu još nije razjašnjena funkcija zida koji je vodio od džebhane prema Veis kuli, a koji je danas gotovo u potpunosti uništen. Arheološka istraživanja trebala bi rasvijetliti taj položaj i odgovoriti na pitanje je li Veis kula najstarija livanjska kula, odnosno je li građena prije ostatka osmanske utvrde dograđene početkom 18.

between the *džebhana* and the two walls, and that the *džebhana* was a fortress within a fortress. In the minds of the people of Livno, this area is the old town, while the rest of the town with the remains of the Ottoman fortification is the so-called upper town (Fig. 17). In this context, the function of the wall that led from the *džebhana* to the Veis or the Great Tower, which is almost completely destroyed today, still remains unclear. Archaeological research should provide more information on this location and determine whether the Veis tower is the oldest tower in Livno, i.e. whether it was built before the rest of the Ottoman fortification, which was added at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A preliminary survey of the Klanac tower has revealed the remains of two interconnected towers (two towers are visible also on F. Laforest's photograph).<sup>137</sup>

These photographs provide a link to the remains of architectural structures that have not been preserved or are poorly preserved to this day, which were built above the remains of medieval architecture. They are important as a basis for future archaeological research.

### Archaeological research

In 2022, the city of Livno initiated a project for the archaeological research and conservation of the old town of Livno, known as Bistrički grad.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 173, sl. 13.

<sup>135</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 174, sl. 14.

<sup>136</sup> Toponim od mađ. *sorompó*, što označava opkop (oko tvrđave, utvrde).

<sup>137</sup> Tadić, 2023, p. 171, fig. 10.

<sup>138</sup> The research is being conducted in collaboration with



Sl. 17. Pogled na Veis kulu i položaj srednjovjekovnog grada u njezinu podnožju u suvremenom Livnu  
Fig. 17 View of the Veis Tower and the position of the medieval town at the foot of the tower in present-day Livno

stoljeća. Također, na Klanac kuli su samo preliminarnim pregledom utvrđeni ostatci dviju međusobno spojenih kula (dvije kule vide se i na fotografiji F. Laforesta).<sup>137</sup>

Navedene fotografije predstavljaju poveznicu s ostacima arhitekture koja do danas ili nije sačuvana ili je slabo sačuvana, a koja je izgrađena iznad ostataka srednjovjekovne arhitekture, te su važne kao osnova za buduće arheološko istraživanje.

### Arheološko istraživanje

U organizaciji Grada Livna 2022. godine pokrenut je projekt arheološkog istraživanja i konzervacije Starog grada Livna – Bistričkog Grada.<sup>138</sup> Tim projektom planirano je istraživanje danas vidljivih ostataka utvrde iz osmanskog doba uključujući kule ali i džebhanu. Time bi se konačno moglo doći do konkretnih arheoloških spoznaja o srednjovjekovnom utvrđenom gradu na prostoru današnjeg Livna. Arheološko istraživanje trenutno se odvija iznad strmih litica Crvenica na jednoj od kula osmanske utvrde, Efrem kuli. Kula s okolnim bedemima podignuta je iznad ostataka kasnoantičke utvrde, a tijekom dosadašnjih arheoloških istraživanja nije otkriven srednjovjekovni sloj. Eventualne ostatke iz

This project aims to investigate not only the still visible remains of the fortress from the Ottoman era, including its towers, but also the džebhana. This could finally yield concrete archaeological insights into the medieval fortified town located in present-day Livno. At present, the archaeological research is being conducted above the steep cliffs of Crvenice, at one of the towers of the Ottoman fortress, the Efrem Tower. The tower, along with the surrounding ramparts, was built on the site of a late ancient fortress, while no medieval layer has been discovered during the archaeological research so far. Potential remains of the medieval period may be discovered at the Veis Tower, which was connected by a wall to the džebhana and is likely to be the oldest of Livno's towers.

Since it is difficult to systematically conduct archaeological research in inhabited urban areas, the goal of this work is to gather all fragments in one place related to early medieval Livno, the seat of the county of the same name, which also developed during the Late Middle Ages. Unfortunately, only one site with remains of a pre-Romanesque church has been systematically explored so far, the one at the cemetery in Rapovine, but also the medieval cemetery at Podvornice in Lištani. All other finds

<sup>137</sup> Tadić 2023, str. 171, sl. 10.

<sup>138</sup> Istraživanje se provodi u suradnji s Franjevačkim muzejom i galerijom Gorica – Livno, pod vodstvom arheologinje Marije Marić Baković.

the Franciscan Museum and Gallery Gorica – Livno, under the guidance of archaeologist Marija Marić Baković.

srednjovjekovnog razdoblja možemo očekivati na Veis kuli, koja je zidom bila povezana s džebhanom te je vjerojatno najstarija od livanjskih kula.

S obzirom na to da je naseljene urbane cjeline teško arheološki sustavno istraživati, cilj ovog rada je na jednom mjestu sabrati sve fragmente vezane za ranosrednjovjekovno Livno, sjedište istoimene županije, koji se razvijao i tijekom kasnog srednjeg vijeka. Dosad je, nažalost, sustavno istražen samo jedan lokalitet s ostatcima predromaničke crkve, onaj na groblju u Rapovinama, te srednjovjekovno groblje na Podvornicama u Lištanima, a sve ostalo su slučajni nalazi, često s nepouzdanim mjestima nalaza. Prikupljeni podatci mogu poslužiti kao osnova budućim arheološkim istraživanjima, stoga bi ovaj rad trebao biti polazna točka i poticaj za daljnje istraživanje ovog područja koje je važno za proučavanje ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države.

## Zaključak

Prema dosad prikupljenim podatcima, Livno je bilo ranosrednjovjekovni utvrđeni grad i sjedište Županije Hlivno, koja je kao teritorijalno-upravna jedinica bila uključena u županijsku organizaciju ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države. Obuhvaćala je područje Livanjskog i dijela Grahova polja, gdje je graničila sa Županijom Pset, te vjerojatno Glamočko i Duvanjsko polje. S obzirom na položaj u zaleđu planinskog masiva Dinare, Livno nije bilo jedno od rezidencija hrvatskih vladara, ali je predstavljalo jedno od značajnih središta ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države. O tome ponajbolje svjedoče pisani izvori, a arheološkim nalazima iz grobova, ostatcima arhitekture, topografskim podatcima i starim fotografijama nastojali smo odrediti položaj i ulogu ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada u okvirima ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države. Iz darovnice hrvatskog vladara Muncimira, pisane 892. godine, poznato je da je jedan od svjedoka darovnice bio livanjski župan Želimir, a iz ove kao i iz drugih isprava jasno je da su župani nosioci javne vlasti, pripadnici rodovske aristokracije, koji u ranosrednjovjekovnom uređenju služe vladaru, bilo na dvoru bilo u teritorijalnoj organizaciji države. Isto tako, u djelu Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta *De administrando imperio*, pisanom oko sredine 10. stoljeća, u 30. poglavlju, koje donosi popis 11 srednjovjekovnih hrvatskih županija, Livanjska županija navedena je na prvom mjestu, a u 31. poglavlju se među naseljenim gradovima

are chance finds and often have unreliable information on the sites of discovery. The collected data can serve as a basis for future archaeological research. This should therefore be a starting point and incentive for further investigation of this area, as it is also important for studying the early medieval Croatian state.

## Conclusion

Based on the data collected so far, we believe that Livno was an early medieval fortified town and the seat of the county of Hlivno, which was included as a territorial-administrative unit in the county organization of the early medieval Croatian state. It encompassed the plain of Livno and part of the plain of Grahovo, where it bordered the Pset County, and possibly extended into the plains of Glamoč and Duvno. Due to its location behind the Dinara mountain massif, Livno was not one of the residences of Croatian rulers. However, it was one of the significant centres of the early medieval Croatian state and the written sources provide the best evidence of this. By using archaeological finds from graves, architectural remains, topographic data and old photographs we aimed to determine the location and role of the early medieval fortified town within the framework of the early medieval Croatian state. Based on the deed of donation of the Croatian ruler Muncimir written in 892, it is known that one of the witnesses of the deed was Želimir, the župan of Livno. This, along with other documents, shows that župans were bearers of public authority, members of the clan-related aristocracy, who served the ruler either at court or within the territorial organisation of the early medieval Croatian state. Furthermore, in the work *De administrando imperio* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, written around the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, the county of Livno is listed first among the 11 medieval Croatian counties in chapter 30, and in chapter 31, Livno is mentioned among the inhabited towns of baptized Croatia. These are two different chapters written by different authors within a short time interval between them. When the information from both chapters is combined, it is evident that the counties of Livno, Knin and Nin had fortified settlements bearing the same names. Historical sources from a later period reveal that the county of Livno retained its significance until the end of the Middle Ages. Archaeological finds documenting the period for which we

krštene Hrvatske navodi i Livno. Radi se o dvama različitim poglavljima koja su pisali različiti autori s kraćim vremenskim odmakom, a kad se spoje podateci iz obaju poglavlja, dolazi se do saznanja da je u Livanjskoj županiji, uz Kninsku i Ninsku, bilo istoimeno utvrđeno naselje. Iz kasnijih povijesnih izvora saznajemo da je Livanjska županija svoju važnost sačuvala sve do kraja srednjeg vijeka. Arheološki nalazi koji dokumentiraju razdoblje o kojem nemamo sačuvanih pisanih izvora prvenstveno se odnose na grobne nalaze. Groblja s poganskim značajkama pokapanja, koja su prema predmetima u grobovima datirana od kraja 8. do prve polovine 9. stoljeća, zabilježena su na Rešetarici u Podgradini, na Mramorju u Grborezima, u Kabliću Malom, na Grepcima u Prispu i na Groblju sv. Ive u Livnu. Nakit iz grobova u Grborezima i Kabliću Malom analogan je nakitu iz grobova u Ninu, Kašiću, Glavicama kod Sinja, Trilju, Lepuru, Golubiću, Solinu i Smrdelju kod Skradina, a pripada onodobnoj bizantskoj produkciji, široko zastupljenoj na području srednje i jugoistočne Europe te istočnog Mediterana krajem 8. i tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća. Keramičke posude kao obilježje horizonta s poganskim značajkama pokapanja nađene su u grobovima na Rešetarici, Grborezima, Prispu i na Groblju sv. Ive u Livnu. O karolinškim utjecajima svjedoče predmeti karolinške provenijencije koji se na livanjskom području, kao i na ostalim područjima obuhvaćenim u buduću Hrvatsku Kneževinu, pojavljuju prvi put krajem 8. i početkom 9. stoljeća te su zabilježeni i tijekom prve polovine 9. stoljeća. Oružje i konjanička oprema karolinškog tipa, među kojima je dvosjekli mač Petersenova tipa K i ostruge s garniturom za nošenje, nađeni su u grobovima na Rešetarici, a njihovo prilaganje uz pokojnika odraz je moći i društvenog statusa tog pokojnika u zajednici te ukazuje na svojevrsno formiranje lokalne elite. Proces kristijanizacije na livanjskom području bio je dugotrajan i sukcesivan, a odvijao se vjerojatno kao i na ostalom području Hrvatske Kneževine, posredstvom franačkih utjecaja. Groblje na redove s kršćanskim značajkama pokapanja istraženo je na lokalitetu Podvornice u Lištanima na Livanjskom polju, na kojem su se ukapanja obavljala u kontinuitetu tijekom ranog, razvijenog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka. Prvoj fazi groblja pripadaju grobovi koje smo prema načinu ukapanja te nakitu i metalnim dijelovima nošnje u grobovima datirali od pred kraj 9. do druge polovine 11. stoljeća. Iako se groblje

have no preserved written sources, primarily relate to grave finds. Cemeteries with pagan burial features, which were dated based upon the items found in the graves from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, have been recorded at Rešetarica in Podgradina, Mramorje in Grborezi, Kablić Mali, Grepci in Prisap, and the cemetery of St. John in Livno. The jewellery found in the graves in Grborezi and Kablić Mali is analogous to that found in graves in Nin, Kašić, Glavice near Sinj, Trilj, Lepuri, Golubić, Solin and Smrdelje near Skradin. This type of jewellery belongs to Byzantine products of that time, which was widespread throughout central and southeastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean from the late 8<sup>th</sup> century until the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Ceramic vessels, characteristic of the pagan burial horizon, were found in graves at Rešetarica, Grborezi, Prisap and the cemetery of St. John in Livno. The evidence of Carolingian influences is apparent in the appearance of items of Carolingian provenance in the Livno area, as well as in other areas included in the future Croatian Principality, at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but also during the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Weapons and equestrian gear of the Carolingian type, including a double-edged sword of Petersen's type K and spurs with a fastening set, were discovered in graves at Rešetarica, indicating the deceased's power and social status within the community and suggesting the formation of a local elite. The process of Christianisation in the Livno area was gradual and successive, likely occurring through Frankish influences, as in other areas of the Croatian Principality. The row-grave cemetery with Christian burial features was investigated at Podvornice in Lištani in the plain of Livno and revealed that it was continuously used for burials during the Early, High and Late Middle Ages. The first phase of the cemetery includes graves that have been dated from the late 9<sup>th</sup> to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century based on the burial method and the jewellery and metal parts of clothing found in the graves. Although the cemetery in Lištani can be compared to cemeteries in the wider area of the early medieval Croatian state based on the finds in the graves, some peculiarities of the community buried there can be observed through its burial customs (the Eucharistic spoon in a grave from the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century or the relation to the architecture of the early Christian church). The remains of a pre-Romanesque church

u Lištanima grobnim nalazima može usporediti s grobljima na širem području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države, kod pogrebnih običaja možemo uočiti neke posebnosti zajednice koja se ukapala na tom groblju (euharistijska žlica u grobu 10. ili 11. stoljeća i odnos prema arhitekturi ranokršćanske crkve). O uređenoj crkvenoj organizaciji na području Županije Hlivno potkraj 9. stoljeća svjedoče ostatci predromaničke crkve u Rapovinama, posvećene sv. Petru, i ulomci ograda svetišta nađeni na nekoliko lokaliteta u Livnu i njegovoj bližoj okolici, u Prispu i Potočanima. Pojačana gradnja crkvene arhitekture u tom razdoblju u duhu je procvata građevinsko-umjetničke djelatnosti na području ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske u vrijeme kneza Branimira. Gradnju crkvi inicirao je župan i njemu bliska društvena elita, a unutrašnjost crkvi opremala je skupina kamenoklesara čija je djelatnost, prema karakterističnim zajedničkim obilježjima, objedinjena kao Dvorska klesarska radionica, koja je u posljednjoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća djelovala na području Livna i Livanjske županije kao i na širem dinarskom području obuhvaćenom teritorijem ranosrednjovjekovne Hrvatske Kneževine.

Iako na području Livna nisu provedena arheološka istraživanja, uz pomoć topografskih elemenata i arheoloških tragova došli smo do pretpostavke da je utvrđeni srednjovjekovni grad nastao na uzvišenom, sjevernom dijelu današnjeg naselja, uz obod strme stijene Crvenica, u blizini izvora rijeke Bistrice. Pretpostavljamo da se srednjovjekovna tvrđava nalazila negdje u okvirima danas djelomično sačuvane osmanske utvrde. U prilog tome idu ostatci *džebthane*, skladišta oružja iz osmanskog doba, koji se nalaze na položaju koji bi odgovarao topografskim uvjetima nastanka srednjovjekovnog grada. Prema položaju, osnovi i načinu gradnje danas sačuvanih bedema *džebthane*, očito je da se radi o srednjovjekovnoj gradnji. Iz kasnosrednjovjekovnih izvora i onih iz osmanskog doba također saznajemo da je Livno bilo utvrđeni grad, Bistrički Grad. Pretpostavljamo da se tijekom kasnog srednjeg vijeka grad razvijao na temeljima ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada. U kontekstu kasnosrednjovjekovnog razvijenog naselja, ispod utvrđenog grada nastala je varoš, a izvan areala naselja na desnoj obali rijeke Bistrice, danas na lokalitetu Groblje sv. Ive, nalazio se samostan sv. Ivana, podignut u prvoj četvrtini 14. stoljeća. Utvrđeni grad stradao je tijekom osmanskog osvajanja Livna 1480. godine, no

dedicated to St. Peter in Rapovine, and fragments of altar screens found at several locations in Livno and its immediate surroundings, in Prisap and Potočani, provide evidence of an organised church structure in the area of Hlivno county at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The intensified construction of church architecture during this period corresponds to the boom of the construction-art activity in the area of early medieval Croatia during the rule of Duke Branimir. The construction of churches was initiated by the župan of the county and the associated social elite close to him, while the interiors of the churches were furnished by a group of stonemasons whose works with their common characteristics became known as the Court stonemason workshop that was active in the last quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century in the Livno area and the wider Dinaric region, which belonged to the territory of the early medieval Croatian Principality.

Although no archaeological research has been conducted in the area of Livno, topographical elements and archaeological traces indicate that the medieval fortified town is likely to have developed in the elevated northern part of the present-day settlement, along the edge of the steep cliff Crvenice, in the vicinity of the source of the Bistrica River. It is assumed that the medieval fortress was situated within the partially preserved Ottoman fortification. The remains of the *džebhana* from the Ottoman period, situated in a location that meets the topographical requirements for the establishment of a medieval town, provide corroboration for this hypothesis. Based on the position, foundation and construction technique of the still remaining ramparts of the *džebhana*, it was evidently built during the medieval period. Furthermore, historical sources from the late medieval period and the Ottoman era indicate that Livno was a fortified town, known as Bistrički Grad. It is assumed that the town developed on the foundations of the early medieval fortified town during the Late Middle Ages. In the context of the developed late medieval settlement below the fortified town, a suburb (*varoš*) emerged, while outside the area of the settlement on the right bank of the Bistrica River, at the site of St. John's Cemetery, was the monastery of St. John, which was built in the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The fortified town was significantly damaged during the Ottoman conquest of Livno in 1480, but it was later restored and expanded during the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, the photographs from the late 19<sup>th</sup>

tijekom Osmanskog Carstva utvrda je obnavljana i proširena. U rekonstrukciji položaja srednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada mogu pomoći i fotografije nastale pred kraj 19. stoljeća na kojima se vidi džebhana i tada još dobro sačuvani dijelovi utvrđenja iz osmanskog doba. Naime, navedene fotografije predstavljaju poveznicu s ostacima arhitekture koja do danas nije sačuvana ili je slabo sačuvana, a koja je nastala iznad ostataka srednjovjekovne arhitekture. One su značajne kao osnova za arheološko istraživanje koje je započeto 2022. godine na ostacima kasnoantičke i osmanske utvrde iznad današnjeg grada, a koje se planira proširiti na pretpostavljene ostatke srednjovjekovnog utvrđenog grada. Svi izneseni zaključci i pretpostavke temelje se na dosadašnjim istraživanjima i slučajnim nalazima, a kako je livanjsko područje arheološki velikim dijelom neistraženo, za očekivati je da će se priča o ranosrednjovjekovnom Livnu nadopunjavati te možda ići i u nekom novom smjeru.

century, which show the *džebhana* and the then still well-preserved parts of the fortification from the Ottoman time provide further help in reconstructing the location of the medieval fortified town. Namely, these photographs provide a link to the architectural remains that are either not preserved today or are poorly preserved, which were built above the remnants of medieval architecture. These are of significant value as a basis for the archaeological research initiated in 2022 on the remains of the late ancient and Ottoman fortress above today's town. It is the intention to expand this research to the presumed remains of the medieval fortified town. All presented conclusions and hypotheses are based on the research conducted so far and the chance finds, and since the Livno area is archaeologically still largely unexplored, it can be expected that the story of early medieval Livno will be supplemented and perhaps take a new direction.

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