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SREDNJOVJEKOVNI NADGROBNI SPOMENICI-STEĆCI NA LOKALITETU GREBINE PORED ČEVELJUŠE (PLINA) KOD PLOČA

MEDIEVAL MONOLITHIC TOMBSTONES/STEĆCI AT THE GREBINE SITE NEXT TO ČEVELJUŠA (PLINA) NEAR PLOČE

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U radu se analiziraju srednjovjekovni nadgrobni spomenici-stećci na nekropoli Grebine iznad naselja Čeveljuša (Plina) pored Ploča. Prikaz se temelji na terenskim pregledima lokaliteta čiji je cilj bio utvrditi karakteristike spomenika. Te karakteristike bile su polazište za usporedbu s kasno-srednjovjekovnim nekropolama i spomenicima na području donjega toka Neretve, primorskoga pojasa jugoistočno od Neretve i njegova zaleđa, Župe dubrovačke, Konavala, Makarskog primorja, okolice Ljubuškog i šire. Na temelju analogija ukrasa, oblika i smještaja spomenika i nekropole te uvažavajući povijesni kontekst i arhivske izvore spomenici se približno datiraju u kraj 14. i početak 15. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: kasni srednji vijek, srednjovjekovni nadgrobni spomenici, stećci, Grebine, Čeveljuša, Neretva, 14/15. stoljeće

In this paper, stećci – medieval monolithic tombstones – at the Grebine necropolis of the Čeveljuša (Plina) settlement next to Ploče are analyzed. The presentation is based on field inspections of the site aimed at ascertaining the characteristics of the monuments. These characteristics served as the basis for comparison with the late medieval necropolises and monuments in the territory of the lower course of the Neretva River; the coastal belt south-east of the Neretva and its hinterland, Župa Dubrovačka, Konavle, the Makarska littoral, the Ljubuški environs and beyond. Based on analogies of the decorations, forms and distribution of the monuments and necropolises and taking into account the historical context and archival sources, the monuments were approximately dated to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Key words: Late Middle Ages, medieval grave monuments, stećak/stećci, Grebine, Čeveljuša, Neretva, fourteenth/fifteenth century

PRIKAZ LOKALITETA I HISTORIJAT ISTRAŽIVANJA

Lokalitet Grebine nalazi se na brdskoj zaravni na oko 80 m n. v., smještenoj ispod vrha Kuke (254 m) na brdu Petrovac (karta 1). Položaj je uvučen, s dobrim pregledom nad jugoistočnim dijelom Neretvanskoga

SITE DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH HISTORY

The Grebine site is located on a highland plateau at an elevation of roughly 80 above sea level, situa-



Karta 1. Položaj lokaliteta Grebine-Čeveljuša na karti 1:25 000 (autor: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Map 1. Location of Grebine-Čeveljuša site on a map, 1:25,000 (made by: M. Šunjić, 2007).

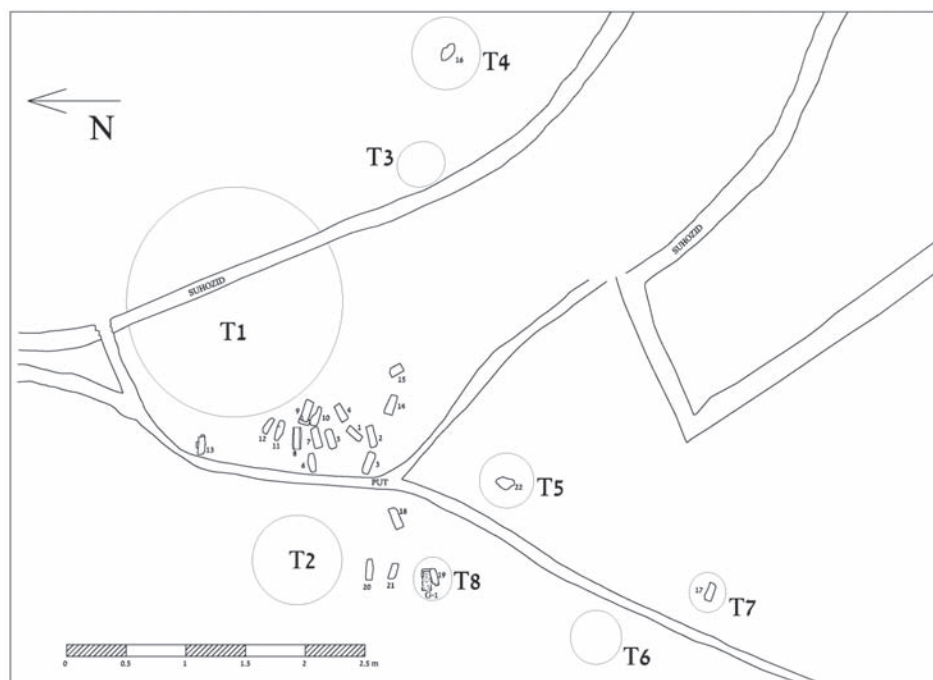
kanala. Arheološki lokalitet smješten je uz zapadni rub omanjega krškog polja zvanog Dolac, no naziv Grebine koristi se i za napušteno selo raštrkano uz istočni rub polja, čiji su zaselci uglavnom napušteni nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata. U knjizi *Raseljena Plina* autor A. Erak za naselje Grebine piše da je to "ranije napušten zaselak, u brdu iznad Čeveljuše. Ime Grebine potječe od starih grobova, kojih je na ovom lokalitetu više nego bilo gdje u Plini" (Erak 1995: 6). Pristup terenu moguć je jedino brdskim putem koji novije naselje Čeveljuša spaja sa selom Grebine i nastavlja se dalje prema Plini.

Terenskim je obilaskom utvrđeno 8 kamenih gomila i 22 srednjovjekovna nadgrobna spomenika-stećka raspoređena na površini od oko 2 000 m². Površinskim pregledom gomila i terena uokolo njih nisu

ted below the peak called Kuka (254 m) on Petrovac Hill. This position is withdrawn, offering a good view of the south-eastern part of the Neretva Channel. The archaeological site is located at the western edge of a small karst field called Dolac, but the term Grebine is also used to refer to the abandoned village scattered along the eastern periphery of the field, where the hamlets were generally abandoned after the Second World War. In his book *Raseljena Plina* ('Plina Deserted'), author A. Erak wrote of the Grebine settlement that it was "a hamlet abandoned earlier, on a hill above Čeveljuša. The name Grebine is derived from the old graves, of which there were more at this site than in Plina" (Erak 1995: 6, quotation translated by E. Bosnar). This terrain can only be approached by a mountain trail which connects the newer settlement of Čeveljuša with the village of Grebine and continues on toward Plina.

During a field tour, 8 cairns and 22 medieval monolithic tombstones, or *stećci* (sing. *stećak*) were ascertained over a surface of approximately 2,000 m². A surface inspection of the cairns and terrain around them did not yield any remains of prehistoric ceramics nor any other finds which would permit dating. Only a few fragments of Roman pottery and construction material were recorded, on a field path somewhat farther from the cairns and *stećci*. It should be noted that very thick vegetation, which even covers the *stećci*, makes field inspections quite difficult.

Most of the stone forming the cairns have been largely destroyed, so their height generally varies from 0.5 to 1 m, while some were entirely eliminated (e.g. cairns 7 and 8). The diameter of the cairns runs from 4 to 7 m, with the exception of cairn no. 1, with a diameter of approximately 18 m. This cairn was preserved to a height of approximately 3–4 m. A more recent 2 meter-high dry stone wall inter-



Slika 1. Skica nekropole na Grebinama-Čeveljuši (autori: M. Šunjić i K. Turkalj, 2008).

Figure 1. Sketch of the necropolis at Grebine-Čeveljuša (made by: M. Šunjić and K. Turkalj, 2008).

nađeni ostaci prapovijesne keramike ni bilo kakvi drugi nalazi koji bi potvrdili njihovu dataciju. Evidentirano je tek nekoliko ulomaka rimske keramike i građevnog materijala i to na poljskome putu nešto dalje od gomila i stećaka. Treba istaknuti da pregled terena u velikoj mjeri otežava vrlo bujna vegetacija, koja prekriva i same stećke.

Kameni nasip većine gomila dobrim je dijelom uništen, pa im se visina uglavnom kreće od 0,5 do 1 m, a kod nekih je gotovo u potpunosti eliminiran (npr. gomile 7 i 8). Promjer gomila kreće se od 4 do 7 m, s izuzetkom gomile br. 1, kod koje iznosi oko 18 m. Nasip te gomile očuvan je u visini od oko 3–4 m. Njega u smjeru SZ–JI presijeca recentni suhozid visok 2 m. Riječ je o produžetku istočnoga zida koji s jedne strane omeđuje put između dva naselja Grebine, a svrha mu je bila da spriječi ulazak stoke na polje na kojem su se uzgajali vinova loza i smokve (S. R., M. Š.¹). Za gradnju te suhozidne ograde korišten je materijal s velike gomile (M. Š.). Široki put omeđen s obje strane suhozidom na tom se mjestu spaja sa znatno užim (brdskim) putom od Čeveljuše prema Plini, koji većim dijelom zaobilazi gomilu br. 1 i skupinu stećaka smještenu uz nju, dok je dio stećaka ostao na zapadnoj strani. Kamenje s obližnjih gomila također je korišteno pri izgradnji drugih suhozida.

sects it in a north-west/south-east direction. This is an extension of the eastern wall, which on one side borders the path between two hamlets of Grebine, and its purpose was to prevent livestock from entering fields on which grapes and figs were cultivated (S.R., M.Š.¹). Materials from the large cairn were used to make this dry stone fence (M.Š.). The wide path bordered on both sides with dry stone walls merges at this point with a considerably narrower (mountain) path from Čeveljuša to Plina, which largely bypasses cairn no. 1 and the group of *stećci* located

along it, while a part of the *stećci* remained on the western side. Stones from the nearby cairns were also used to construct the other dry stone walls.

Even though the vegetation currently prevents mapping and a complete examination of the terrain, a sketch of the necropolis (Fig. 1) indicates that the *stećci* are spatially, and even in terms of orientation, linked to the cairns. This is most apparent at the monuments grouped along the edge of cairn no. 1 (15 monuments). They constitute the core of the necropolis, and most of them extend radially from the cairn (Figs. 2, 3). Not one of them is located on the cairn itself. A vertically installed stone slab is visible north-east of monument no. 14, and its features are very difficult to ascertain because it is covered by soil and vegetation, and also because it is surrounded by newer dry stone constructions.

Somewhat to the west of the group, between cairns nos. 2 and 8, three *stećci* were recorded (nos. 18, 20, 21), while nearby, on the remains of cairn no. 8, an amorphous stone block (no. 19) was also registered. The block lies directly alongside a dug-over grave, in which the cut was subsequently filled with broken stones from the cairn. A headstone is visible on the eastern side of the grave, and a vertically wedged slab continues from its northern side, while the length of the grave and the east-west orientation

¹ Kazivači: S. R. – Stjepan Rončević (r. 1944), M. Š. – Mara Šunjić (r. 1932).

¹ The initials of the informants: S.R. – Stjepan Rončević (born in 1944), M.Š. – Mara Šunjić (born in 1932).



Slika 2. Pogled na spomenike uz gomilu 1 (br. 6, 7 i 5 u prvom planu) (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 2. View of monuments next to cairn 1 (nos. 6, 7 and 5 in forefront) (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Iako vegetacija zasad onemogućava izradu plana i potpuno sagledavanje prostora, skica nekropole (sl. 1) upućuje na to da su stećci prostorno, pa čak i orijentacijski, povezani s gomilama. To je najuočljivije kod spomenika grupiranih uz rub gomile 1 (15 spomenika). Oni čine jezgru nekropole, a većina ih se pruža radijalno uz gomilu (sl. 2, sl. 3). Nijedan od njih nije smješten na samoj gomili. Sjeveroistočno od spomenika br. 14 vidljiva je okomito postavljena kamena ploča čije je karakteristike vrlo teško utvrditi stoga što je prekrivena zemljom i vegetacijom, kao i zbog činjenice da je okružena novijim suhozidnim konstrukcijama.

Nešto zapadnije od te skupine, između gomila 2 i 8, evidentirana su 3 stećka (br. 18, 20, 21), a vrlo blizu njih, na ostacima gomile br. 8, i amorfni kameni blok (br. 19). Blok leži neposredno uz prekopani grob, čiji je ukop naknadno ispunjen lomljenim kamenjem s gomile. Na istočnome dijelu groba vidljiva je jedna doglavnica, na koju se sa sjeverne strane nastavlja okomito uglavljena ploča, a dužina ukopa i orijentacija u smjeru istok–zapad sugeriraju srednjovjekovnu dataciju i ukop odrasle osobe. Iako oba kazivača načelno govore o poštovanju i posebnom odnosu koji je domaće stanovništvo imalo prema stećcima – “Mi smo ih poštovali, a prevrtali su ih drugi [koji bi tu došli]” (S. R.) – čini se da to nije podrazumijevalo strahopoštovanje ili pripisivanje nekih nadnaravnih pojava. Skupina djece iz znatiželje je krajem 30-ih godina 20. st. “išla gledat šta ima

suggest a medieval dating and the burial of an adult. Even though both informants generally spoke of the respect for and special attitude to the *stećci* on the part of the local population – “We respected them, they were overturned by others [who would come here]” (S.R.) – it would appear that this did not entail outright awe or attribution to some supernatural phenomena. During the 1930s, a group of children, prompted by curiosity, “went to see what’s under the slabs”, upon which they found some small bones and skulls (M.Š.). They reburied

all of this later. According to testimony from M.Š., it was believed that cairn no. 1 was the site “once long ago of a church which somebody demolished, [...] who knows who, maybe the Turks”. It is interesting that in Cista Katić also recorded the belief that below the demolished cairn in Crljevica there was a small church which “during the flight before the Turks was buried in stones” (Katić 1954: 135).

One amorphous stone block was registered on cairns no. 4 (no. 16) and no. 5 (no. 22), while the remains of cairn no. 7 contain a regularly carved chest² (no. 17). This monument is situated on the most protruding south-west point and along with the amorphous monolith no. 16 on the south-east part (on cairn no. 4), it indicates the contours of the size of the medieval necropolis.

In the literature, the Grebine site was first mentioned in a piece from the “Miscellaneous News” section of the journal *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* in 1896, in a report filed by Fr. Mate Šimić from Zaostrog to the president in Makarska. A description of the *stećci* in Pasičina and Brista is followed by a reference to Plina: “In Plina, at the Church of St. John in ‘Zavala’ there is a slab to the east of the church, and another to its west. I have been told quite positively that there are about 15 above Čeveljuša, which they call ‘Grebine’, the same in Plina, but it is far and I

² A more appropriate term would be ‘chest-shaped *stećci*’ since these are monolithic blocks used exclusively as tombstones.



Slika 3. Spomenici br. 12, 11 i 8 uz plašt gomile 1 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 3. Monuments nos. 12, 11 and 8 next to mantle of cairn 1 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).

ispod jedne male ploče”, pri čemu su našene male kosti i lubanja (M. Š). Sve su opet naknadno zatrpani. Prema kazivanju M. Š. za gomilu 1 držalo se da je tu “nekad davno bila crkva koju je netko srušio, [...] tko bi znao tko, možda i Turci”. Zanimljivo je da je Katić u Cisti također zabilježio vjerovanje da se ispod srušene gomile na Crljevici nalazila crkvića koja je “za bježanja pred Turcima bila zasuta kamenjem” (Katić 1954: 135).

Po jedan amorfnu kameni blok evidentiran je na gomilama br. 4 (br. 16) i br. 5 (br. 22), a na ostacima gomile br. 7 nalazi se pravilno klesan sanduk (br. 17). Taj je spomenik smješten na najisturenijoj jugozapadnoj točki te uz amorfnu monolit br. 16 na jugoistočnome dijelu (na gomili br. 4) daje obrise veličine srednjovjekovne nekropole.

U literaturi se lokalitet Grebine prvi put spominje u dopisu iz rubrike “Razne viesti” u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti* iz 1896. g., u izvještaju o. Mate Šimića iz Zaostroga predsjedniku u Makarskoj. Nakon opisa stećaka u Pasićini i Bristi spominje se Plina: “U Plini kod crkve S. Ivana u »Zavali« imade jedna ploča u iztok crkve, a druga u zapad. Kazaše mi vrlo pozitivno, da ih ima jedno 15 više »Čeveljuše«, što ih zovu »Grebine«, isto u Plinoj, al’ je daleko i ja nisam mario ić, jer mi rekoše, da su obične pločetine” (Radić 1896: 65–66). Taj izvještaj kasnije je neprecizno prenesen u literaturi: u svom kataloško-topografskom pregledu Bešliagić navodi da se “u zaseoku Zavala pored crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja i više Čeveljuše nalazi skupina sa 17 stećaka u obliku ploče”, što

opted not to go there, because I was told they were just ordinary big slabs” (Radić 1896: 65–66, quotation translated by E. Bosnar). This report was later inaccurately cited in the literature: in his catalogue and topographic survey, Bešliagić stated that “in the hamlet of Zavala next to the Church of St. John the Baptist and above Čeveljuša there is a group of 17 *stećci* shaped like slabs”, which means that he simply added up the monuments from both sites (although he mentions them both), which creates the mistaken

impression that it is a single necropolis, which in its turn led to some confusion later (Bešliagić 1971: 86). The data in this form was accepted in the literature, so in an assessment from 1980, V. Sokol stressed that not one of these 17 *stećci* is at the necropolis in Zavala (at the Church of St. John) (Sokol 1980: 272). Fr. Vjeko Vrčić, in his survey of the Neretva parishes from 1974, mentioned the Grebine site “with 17 slabs, of which 5 are thicker”. He also mentioned “a carved attractive shield on one slab” and “a figure with a cross to the side” on another, which suggests that he had visited the site (cf. Vrčić 1974: 155, quotations translated by E. Bosnar). R. Jurić also classifies Grebine as a late medieval cemetery without a more detailed description of the site, based, it would appear, on Vrčić’s statements (cf. Jurić 2003: 337). The site is also mentioned in the topographic survey of medieval grave monuments in Croatia in the catalogue entitled *Stećci*.³ The authors mention 20 chests and 3 slabs in the context of several tumuli with a description of the decorations (Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83). It is assumed that the number of 23 monuments was derived by counting the base at monuments no. 9 as an independent monument.

³ The catalogue for the exhibition “*Stećci*” (Tomasović *et al.* 2008) was published when this text was still undergoing its approval process.

znači da je jednostavno zbrojio spomenike s jednog i drugog lokaliteta (iako ih navodi oba), iz čega se stječe pogrešan dojam da je riječ o jednoj nekropoli, što je kasnije dovelo do određenih zabuna (Bešlagić 1971: 86). Podatak je u tom obliku prihvaćen u literaturi, pa u reviziji iz 1980. g. V. Sokol ističe kako na nekropoli u Zavali (kod crkve Sv. Ivana) nema nijednog od 17 spomenutih stećka (Sokol 1980: 272). Fra Vjeko Vrčić u svom pregledu neretvanskih župa iz 1974. g. navodi lokalitet Grebine "sa 17 ploča od kojih 5 debljih". Također spominje "uklesan lijepi štit na jednoj ploči" te "figuru s križem sa strane" na drugoj, što sugerira da je posjetio lokalitet (usp. Vrčić 1974: 155). U kasnosrednjovjekovna groblja Grebine uvrštava i R. Jurić, bez pobližeg opisa nalazišta, i to, kako se čini, na temelju Vrčićeva navoda (usp. Jurić 2003: 337). Lokalitet se spominje i u topografskome pregledu srednjovjekovnih nadgrobnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj u katalogu *Stećci*.² Autori navode podatak o 20 sanduka i 3 ploče u kontekstu nekoliko tumula s opisom ukrasa (Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83). Pretpostavljamo da su do broja od 23 spomenika došli ubrajanjem postolja kod spomenika br. 9 kao samostalnog spomenika.

OBRADA, POLOŽAJ I OBLICI SPOMENIKA

Nadgrobnji spomenici relativno su dobro očuvani i u cjelovitom stanju. No kod sviju su prisutna značajna oštećenja od atmosferilija, osobito na rubovima, što je uvjetovano lošom kvalitetom vapnenca. Bočne su plohe uglavnom ispucale, a kod nekih su spomenika prisutne i vrlo specifične pukotine slične utorima, obično na gornjoj plohi. Od 22 evidentirana spomenika 18 ih je obrađeno i djelomično obrađeno, a 4 su amorfnu. Širine donjih ploha uglavnom su manje od gornjih i slabije obrađene. Redovito su površno priklisane i neravne, a često i samo lomljene, o čemu svjedoče varijacije u visini spomenika. Za 12 spomenika s velikom se vjerojatnošću može pretpostaviti da se nalaze *in situ*, dok je kod ostalih evidentno da su pomicali u stranu (br. 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 19), potkopavani (br. 3, 6) ili preokretani (br. 8). U dva slučaja to nije moguće pouzdano utvrditi (br. 16, 17). Spomenik br. 11 vjerojatno se nalazi na izvornom mjestu, ali je potkopavan. Kod dosta je spomenika ispod ležišta ili uokolo spomenika vidljivo usitnjeno kamenje. Od spomenika kod kojih je utvrđeno da nisu pomicali (ukupno 12) njih 5 (41,66%) orijentirano je u smjeru SZ–JI (uglavnom uz 10–30° odstupanja od pravca zapad–istok), 5 spomenika (41,66%) u smjeru JZ–SI (10–75° odstupanja od



Slika 4. Sanduk br. 1 (u prvom planu) i 2 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 4. Chest no. 1 (in forefront) and 2 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).

WORKING, LOCATION AND FORMS OF MONUMENTS

The grave monuments are relatively well-preserved and complete. But all of them have sustained considerable damage from weathering, particularly at the edges, which is due to the poor quality of limestone used to make them. The lateral surfaces are generally chapped, and some of the monuments bear very specific fissures resembling slots, normally on the upper surface. Of the 22 recorded monuments, 18 have been worked or partially worked, while 4 are amorphous. The width of the upper surfaces are generally smaller than the lower surfaces and less worked. They are as a matter of course superficially carved and uneven, and often simply broken off, to which the variations in the height of the monuments testify. In case of 12 monuments, it can be assumed with great probability that they are located *in situ*, while the remainder were evidently moved to one side (nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 19), partially buried (nos. 3, 6) or overturned (no. 8). In two cases no certain conclusion can be drawn (nos. 16, 17). Monument no. 11 is probably at its original location, but it has been partially buried. Crushed stones are visible at the base or around a number of monuments. Of those monuments for which it has been established

² Katalog izložbe *Stećci* (Tomasović *et al.* 2008) objavljen je u fazi prihvaćanja ovoga teksta.

pravca zapad–istok), a 2 spomenika (16,66%) orijentirana su u smjeru zapad–istok. Takva orijentacija spomenika, osobito s odstupanjima od pravca zapad–istok, uobičajena je na svim lokalitetima i najčešće je uvjetovana gibanjem sunca u različito doba godine (otuda i oscilacije), a u ovome slučaju i položajem prapovijesnih gomila, kao jednim vidom kontinuiteta ukopnog mjesta (Milošević 1982: 188; Kovačić 1983: 11; Bešlagić 1966: 55, 59–60).

Na Grebinama prevladavaju niži oblici stećaka, čija se visina u većini slučajeva kreće od 20 do 45 cm. Izuzetak su nešto viši sanduci: br. 4 (58 cm), br. 8 (72 cm) i br. 21 (63 cm). Od prosjeka su niže tek amorfnе ploče, kod kojih su zbog neobrađenosti prisutne velike varijacije u visini. Kvalitetom obrade ističe se spomenik br. 7, s vrlo pravilnim bridovima i plohama, a solidnije su obrađeni i spomenici br. 1, 5, 8 i 21. No čak su i kod njih donje plohe vrlo grubo obrađene. Iako je prema Bešlagićevoj kategorizaciji (Bešlagić 1971: 80–88) kao granica između ploča i sanduka uzimana visina od 30 cm, neki se spomenici odnosom dimenzija ipak približavaju obliku ploče (npr. br. 7) ili sanduku (npr. br. 12). Svi amorfni spomenici ulaze u kategoriju ploča. Spomenik br. 9 ima postolje od obrađene ploče koja je postavljena okomito u odnosu na smjer sanduka (br. 9). Slično su postavljena postolja sanduka na lokalitetu Pratrova glavica (Kovačić 1983: 19). Postoljima bi se mogle smatrati dvije manje neobrađene kamene ploče vidljive sa sjeverne i istočne strane spomenika br. 13.



Slika 5. Sanduk br. 5 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2006).

Figure 5. Chest no. 5 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2006).

Česta je pojava zakošenost sanduka prema dolje, čime sanduci dobivaju oblik trapeza. Ta je karakteristika vrlo česta i evidentirana na svim područjima (Bešlagić 1966: 67; 1982: 84). Najnaglašenija je kod sanduka br. 5 i 8. Iako drugdje postoje oblici kod kojih su vertikalne strane zakošene prema gore (Bešlagić 1982: 84), to nije slučaj kod sanduka br. 8.

that they were not moved (a total of 12), 5 of them (41.66%) have north-west/south-east orientation (generally with a 10–30° deviation from the west-east direction), 5 monuments (41.66%) are oriented in south-west/north-east (10–75° deviation from the west-east), and 2 monuments (16.66%) are oriented in the west-east direction. Such an orientation of the monuments, particularly with deviations from the west-east direction, is customary at these sites and most often due to movement of the sun in different seasons (hence the oscillations), and, in this case, also due to the location of the prehistoric cairns, as one aspect of the continuity of the overall site (Milošević 1982: 188; Kovačić 1983: 11; Bešlagić 1966: 55, 59–60).

At Grebine, the lower forms of *stećci* predominate, with heights generally ranging from 20 to 45 cm. The exceptions are the somewhat higher chest-shaped *stećci*: no. 4 (58 cm), no. 8 (72 cm) and no. 21 (63 cm). Only the amorphous slabs are lower than the average, among which great variations in height are present due to their coarse state. Monument no. 7 stands out due to the quality of its working, with very straight edges and surfaces, while more solid work can be seen on monuments no. 1, 5, 8 and 21. But even here the lower surfaces are very coarsely worked. Although a height of 30 cm is taken as the boundary between slabs and chests according to Bešlagić's categorization (Bešlagić 1971: 80–88), some monuments with these dimensions nonetheless appear more akin to slabs (e.g. no. 7) or chests (e.g. no. 12). All amorphous monuments are placed in the slab category. Monument no. 9 has a base made of a carved slab placed vertically in relation to the direction of the chest (no. 9). The bases of the chests at the Pratrova glavica site is similarly placed (Kovačić 1983: 19). Two smaller unworked stone slabs visible on the northern and eastern side of monument no. 13 can be deemed bases.



Slika 6. Sanduk br. 8 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 6. Chest no. 8 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Naime on je danas okrenut tako da se uža ploha nalazi s gornje strane, a šira dolje. Ukrasi na sanduku jasno sugeriraju da je spomenik preokrenut, tako da izvorno gornja ploha leži na tlu. S obzirom na to da su ornamenti zabilježeni na svim pobočnim stranama, moguće je da se ukras nalazi i na toj plohi.

Spomenici br. 3, 11 i 12 najširi su na središnjem dijelu. Br. 14 sužava se od SZ prema JI, a br. 15 od JI prema SZ, iako je kod njega zbog oštećenja rubova to manje uočljivo.

Spomenici srednjeg vijeka s područja donjega toka Neretve vrlo su slabo istraženi (Tomasović 2001: 44–45). Pregledi srednjovjekovnih nekropola uglavnom se baziraju na već poznatoj literaturi koja se zbog promjena stanja na terenu pokazala vrlo nepouzdanom. Osim toga, nadgrobni spomenici u većini su radova zabilježeni nezadovoljavajućom terminologijom, kao ploče(tine), veće ploče ili stećci, bez točnih dimenzija, što onemogućuje kvalitetnu usporedbu oblika.

Stanje istraženosti donekle se promijenilo zahvaljujući zaštitnim radovima na dionici spojne ceste Čvor Ploče–Luka Ploče. Budući da rezultati istraživanja još uvijek nisu objavljeni, podaci o novim lokalitetima temelje se prije svega na spomenutom topografskom pregledu iz kataloga *Stećci* (Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83–84). Od šest istraživanih manjih srednjovjekovnih nekropola na području Pline (Krč, Ograde, Garište-Šarić Struga, Granica-Šarić Struga, Dračevac-Šarić Struga i Mišja Draga-Šarić Struga) čak se četiri nalaze na prapovijesnim gomilama i neposredno pored njih (prema priopćenju M. Katića u veljači 2008; Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83–84). Osim već spomenutoga lokaliteta Sv. Ivan u Zavali na području Pline treba još spomenuti lokalitet Vrbica-Šarić Struga (Radić 1896: 65–66; Bešlagić 1971: 86; Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 84). Prema postojećim podacima stećci na području Pline uglavnom ulaze u red sanduka i nešto manje ploča. Na području napuštenih naselja Briste i Pasićine pored Staševice u zapadnome zaleđu Ploča u literaturi se spominju lokaliteti sa stećcima na ovim položajima: Krvavac, Grebine pored Kužića kuća, Grebine pored župne crkve (Jurišić 1968: 24–26; Radić 1896: 65). Osobito treba istaknuti dvije veće nekropole: Grebine-Crnoća s 36 stećaka i Grebine-Jezerce s 22 sanduka i 1 pločastim sljemenjakom na prapovijesnoj gomili (Sokol 1980: 272; Jurišić 1968: 24–25; Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83). Prema dostupnim opisima teško je procijeniti je li u svim slučajevima zaista riječ o stećcima ili možda nadgrobnim pločama (npr. “šest skromnih ploča” oko crkve Svih Svetih u Bristi kod Staševice koje navodi M. Jurišić [1968: 25]). U topografskome pregledu navodi se da su sanduci, ali bez naznake o reviziji (Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83).

A frequent phenomenon is the downward slant of chests, giving them a trapezium shape. This feature is very common and it has been recorded at all sites (Bešlagić 1966: 67; 1982: 84). It is most notable on chests no. 5 and 8. Although there are forms elsewhere on which the vertical sides are slanted downward (Bešlagić 1982: 84), this is not the case with chest no. 8. It is today turned so that the narrower surface is on top, and the wider on the bottom. The decorations on the chest clearly suggest that the monument was overturned, so that the surface originally on top now lies on the ground. Given that ornaments were registered on all lateral sides, it is possible that there are decorations on this surface as well.

Monuments no. 3, 11 and 12 are the widest at the centre. No. 14 narrows from the north-west to south-east, while no. 15 narrows from the south-east to north-west, even though this is less noticeable here due to damaged edges.

Very little research has been conducted on medieval monuments from the territory of the lower course of the Neretva River (Tomasović 2001: 44–45). Surveys of medieval necropolises are largely based on the already published literature which, due to changes in the field, has proven quite unreliable. Also, grave monuments in most works are recorded using unsatisfactory terminology, as slabs, large slabs or *stećci*, without precise dimensions, which hinders a quality comparison of forms.

The state of research has changed somewhat thanks to rescue excavations conducted on a section of the connecting road from the Ploče interchange to the port of Ploče. Since the results of this research have not yet been published, data on new sites are based first and foremost on the aforementioned topographic survey from the catalogue *Stećci* (Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83–84). Out of the six small medieval necropolises studied on the territory of Plina (Krč, Ograde, Garište-Šarić Struga, Granica-Šarić Struga, Dračevac-Šarić Struga and Mišja Draga-Šarić Struga), as many as four are located on prehistoric cairns and directly next to them (based on a report by M. Katić compiled in February 2008; Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83–84). Besides the already mentioned site of Sveti Ivan (St. John) in Zavala in the Plina area, the Vrbica-Šarić Struga site should also be mentioned (Radić 1896: 65–66; Bešlagić 1971: 86; Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 84). According to existing data, *stećci* in the territory of Plina are mainly chests, with a slightly lower number of slabs. In the vicinity of the abandoned settlements of Brista and Pasićina next to Staševica in the western hinterland of Ploče, the literature mentions sites with *stećci* at these locations: Krvavac, Grebine next to Kužića kuće, Gre-

U smislu potpune objave moguće se osloniti tek na podatke s lokaliteta Zanoga u Borovcima (Tomasović 2001: 37–52). Lokalitet je od Grebina-Čeveljuše udaljen tek nekih 10-ak km. Na Zanogi su utvrđena 44 kamena bloka od kojih najveći broj otpada na sanduke, a tek manji dio na amorfne blokove (*ibid.* 40–43). Nijedan stećak nije ukrašen (*ibid.* 43). Lokaliteti se podudaraju po prostornoj povezanosti nekropole s gomilama i slabijoj obradi spomenika. Treba spomenuti i obližnji lokalitet Mravinci-Borovci, na kojem se pored gomile nalaze sanduk ukrašen polumjesecom i zvijezdom, amorfni kamenerni blok i jedan kamenerni ulomak (*ibid.* 50). Na oko 500 m udaljenosti od nekropole nalazi se kasnosrednjovjekovna crkva Sv. Nikole datirana u kraj 14. ili početak 15. st. Iako crkva i nekropole nisu prostorno povezane, njihov odnos, bez obzira na to kojoj se dataciji priklonimo (ranog ili kasnog), nije do kraja razjašnjen (*ibid.* 51–52). U svakom slučaju, moguća je situacija u kojoj je isto stanovništvo bilo vezano uz nekropole i gradnju, odnosno korištenje crkve.

Tijekom istraživanja kasnosrednjovjekovne nekropole na lokalitetu Sv. Vid u Vidu kod Metkovića pronađen je stećak – kamenerni blok ukrašen motivom ljiljana, koji je odijeljen debljim slojem zemlje bio položen iznad grobnice s dva kostura (Marin 1994–96: 18). E. Marin spominje još jedan kamenerni blok (stećak?) bez ukrasa položen iznad groba 54, no bez detaljnijeg opisa stratigrafske situacije (*ibid.* 14). Važno je napomenuti da je crkva Sv. Vida sagrađena tek kad je kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje već bilo izvan upotrebe (*ibid.* 13). Na lokalitetima Krstače i Ograđe u okolici Vida zabilježeni su srednjovjekovni ukopi u prapovijesnim gomilama (Marović 1980: 46–55, 63–68). Iako oni nisu obilježeni stećcima (što, naravno, ne isključuje mogućnost da ih je izvorno bilo), pretpostavljamo da pripadaju istom vremenskom i kulturnom okviru. I na spomenutom lokalitetu Zanoga u Borovcima unutar perimetra gomile vidljivi su grobovi koji nisu pokriveni stećcima, a koji sudeći prema broju sačuvanih (dislociranih) stećaka vjerojatno nikada i nisu bili pokriveni (Tomasović 2001: 40).

Nešto sjevernije, na području Ljubuškog (osobito lokaliteti Gornji Studenci, Bijača, Pržine, Zvirici i Borje), spomenici su po svojim dimenzijama također bliski onima s Grebina (Vego 1954: 7–36). Većinom je riječ o nižim oblicima, uglavnom sanducima, od kojih je velik broj slabije obrađen ili amorfan, no znatno ukrašeniji od spomenika s Grebina, a osobito Zanoge. Npr. lokalitet Bijača kod Ljubuškog, koji se nalazi na udaljenosti od oko 4 km zračne linije od Zanoge, odnosno oko 11 km od Grebina, pokazuje sasvim druge karakteristike. Iako od oblika prevladavaju srednje visoki sanduci,

bine next to the parish church (Jurišić 1968: 24–26; Radić 1896: 65). Two larger necropolises should be emphasized: Grebine-Crnoća with 36 *stećci* and Grebine-Jezerce with 22 chests and 1 slab-shaped ridged tombstone on a prehistoric cairn (Sokol 1980: 272; Jurišić 1968: 24–25; Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83). Based on available descriptions, it is difficult to assess whether these are truly *stećci* or perhaps simply grave slabs (e.g. the “six modest slabs” around the Church of All Saints in Brista at Staševica cited by M. Jurišić [1968: 25]). In the topographic survey it states that they are chests, but without any indication of an audit (Tomasović *et al.* 2008: 83).

Only the data from the Zanoga site in Borovci can be relied upon in the sense of full publication (Tomasović 2001: 37–52). The site is only about 10 km from Grebine-Čeveljuša. At Zanoga, 44 stone blocks were observed, of which most are chests, and only a few are amorphous blocks (*ibid.* 40–43). Not one *stećak* is decorated (*ibid.* 43). The sites correspond in terms of spatial connections to the necropolis with cairns and the poorer work on the monuments. The nearby Mravinci-Borovci site should also be mentioned; here, next to the cairn, there is a chest decorated with a crescent moon and star, an amorphous stone block and a stone fragment (*ibid.* 50). The late medieval Church of St. Nicholas, dated to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, is approximately 500 m from the necropolis. Even though the church and necropolis are not spatially connected, their relationship, regardless of which dating is used (earlier or later), has not been entirely clarified (*ibid.* 51–52). In any case, a possible situation is that the same community made use of the necropolis and the building, i.e. the church.

During research into the late medieval necropolis at the Sveti Vid (St. Vitus) site in Vid, near Metković, a *stećak* was discovered – a stone block decorated with lily motifs, which, separated by a thick layer of soil, was placed above a grave containing two skeletons (Marin 1994/96: 18). E. Marin mentions another stone block (a *stećak?*) without decoration placed above grave 54, but without a more detailed description of the stratigraphic situation (*ibid.* 14). It is important to note that the Church of St. Vitus was only constructed when the late medieval cemetery was no longer in use (*ibid.* 13). At the Krstače and Ograđe sites in the vicinity of Vid, medieval burials in prehistoric cairns were registered (Marović 1980: 46–55, 63–68). Although not marked by *stećci* (which, naturally, does not exclude the possibility that they were originally here), it is assumed that they belong to the same chronological and cultural framework. Graves not covered by *stećci* are also visible at the aforementioned Zanoga

više od 50% spomenika na lokalitetu ukrašeno je, po čemu se izdvaja i u odnosu na druge nekropole na području Ljubuškog (*ibid.* 15–22). Slična je situacija i na području Imotskoga, gdje su sanduci također zastupljeni u većoj mjeri (Katić 1954: 131–169). Valja istaknuti lokalitet Pratrova glavica u Ričicama kod Imotskog, gdje su zabilježeni slični oblici i način obrade (Kovačić 1983: 11–39). To se ponajprije odnosi na spomenik br. 9 s Grebina, koji je položen na manju, okomito položenu i slabije obrađenu ploču, i br. 13, kod kojega također postoje naznake manjih postolja.



Slika 7. Ploča/sanduk s postoljem (br. 9) i amorfna ploča (br. 10) (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2006).

Figure 7. Slab/chest with base (no. 9) and amorphous slab (no. 10) (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2006).

U Baćini, koja se naslanja na neretvansko područje, stećci su zabilježeni na položajima Sv. Luka, Krstac, Dvorine i Sladinac (Tomasović 2007: 59–62). U Sladinu je postojala nekropola od oko stotinu stećaka, koja je uništena pri gradnji ceste 1937. g. (Bezić-Božanić 1966: 170, n. 40).

Kad je riječ o srednjovjekovnim nadgrobnim spomenicima u Makarskom primorju, daleko su najučestalije nadgrobne ploče (65,07%), dok u skupini stećaka prevladavaju sanduci, a broj ploča daleko je manji (Tomasović 2007: 62–63). Iako se na tom području stećci najčešće susreću zajedno s nadgrobnim pločama na mjestu današnjih grobalja, ipak se uočava njihova prostorna odvojenost – stećci su uvijek položeni na margini (*ibid.* 66, 79). Indikativno je da se tek na rubnim dijelovima i u zaleđu Makarskog primorja javljaju nekropole na čije postojanje upućuju isključivo stećci, odnosno nekropole u blizini prapovijesnih gomila (*ibid.* 64–66). Premda se stanje evidentiranosti i istraženosti srednjovjekovnih nekropola na području delte Neretve nikako ne može mjeriti s onim u Makarskom primorju, pa je prema tome i znatno nezahvalnije za neke veće zaključke, ipak se uočava manji broj nekropola na kojima se susreću nadgrobne ploče i stećci (prostorno vezane uz

site in Borovci within the perimeter of the cairn, which, based on the number of preserved (dislocated) *stećci* were probably never covered (Tomasović 2001: 40).

Somewhat farther north, in the territory of Ljubuški (particularly these sites: Gornji Studenci, Bijaća, Pržine, Zvirici and Borje), the monuments are similar to those from Grebine in terms of their dimensions (Vego 1954: 7–36). Most consist of lower forms, generally chests, of which many are poorly worked or amorphous, but considerably more decorated than the monuments from Grebine and, in particular, from Zanoga. For example, the Bijaća site at Ljubuški, which is approximately 4 km in a straight line from Zanoga, and roughly 11 km from Grebine, exhibits entirely different characteristics. Although medium-high chests predominate among the shapes, over 50% of the monuments at the site are decorated, which sets it apart even from other necropolises in the Ljubuški area (*ibid.* 15–22). The situation is similar in the Imotski area, where chests are also present to a greater measure (Katić 1954: 131–169). Notable also is the Pratrova glavica site at Ručice near Imotski, where similar forms and dressing methods were recorded (Kovačić 1983: 11–39). This primarily pertains to monument no. 9 from Grebine, which is installed on a small, vertically placed and more poorly worked slab, and no. 13, on which the indications of small pedestals also exist.



Slika 8. Ploča/sanduk s postoljem (br. 13) (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2006).

Figure 8. Slab/chest with base (no. 13) (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2006).

In Baćina, which is adjacent to the Neretva region, *stećci* were recorded at the sites of Sveti Luka, Krstac, Dvorine and Sladinac (Tomasović 2007: 59–62). In Sladinac there was a necropolis with approximately one hundred *stećci* which was destroyed during road construction in 1937 (Bezić-Božanić 1966: 170, n. 40).

sakralne građevine) i veća učestalost srednjovjekovnih nekropola sa stećcima, osobito sanducima, koje su prostorno vezane uz prapovijesne gomile.

Ukopi u kamenim gomilama ili neposredno uz njih obilježeni srednjovjekovnim nadgrobnicima (kao i bez njih) vrlo su česta pojava. Zabilježeni su i na području Trilja, Imotske krajine, Hodova, Popova polja, okolici Hutova, u zapadnoj Hercegovini (Lazine kod Vitine, Tremine kod Ljubuškog), okolici Kupresa te nešto rjeđe u Konavlima (Sv. Nikola na Kuni i Sv. Đurđe u Mikulićima) i Župi dubrovačkoj (lokalitet Vidovo groblje) (Katić 1954: 135–136; Vego 1954: 37, 39; Bešlagić 1966: 55, 60–61; 1970: 115, 136; 1982: 44; Milošević 1991: 31; Kovačić 1983: 11; Žeravica & Kovačić 2002: 17, 34; Perkić & Perkić 2007: 42).

Najbliža nekropola s lijeve strane Neretve nalazi se u Slivnu (Prović-Greblje), gdje prevladavaju ploče (36 spomenika) i sanduci (29 spomenika), a zabilježena su i 2 sljemenjaka, no ta je nekropola po ukrašenosti spomenika daleko iznad Grebina i Zanože (Benac 1953: 62). I za ostale lokalitete na području od Slivna do Čepikuća, koje je 1953. pregledao A. Benac, može se načelno ustvrditi prevlast niskih oblika, tj. ploča, a potom i sanduka, iako su na nekim lokalitetima ploče i sanduci zastupljeni ravnomjerno. (Treba skrenuti pažnju na to da Benac [1953: 74] u svojoj klasifikaciji sanducima drži spomenike koji su viši od 40 cm.) Iako je Š. Bešlagić na području "Popova" utvrdio neznatnu brojčanu prevlast sanduka nad pločama, iz njegova je prikaza ipak potrebno izdvojiti lokalitete na području oko Hutova (Hutovo, Prapratnica, Gradac, Brštanica), gdje je broj sanduka i ploča gotovo podjednak, dok je udio ostalih oblika (sljemenjaci i krstače) sasvim zanemariv (Bešlagić 1966: 55–63). Slično kao na Makarskom primorju u Župi dubrovačkoj (dakle području Dubrovačke Republike) pojava nekropole na kojoj se nalaze isključivo stećci vezana je uz prostor prapovijesne gomile (lokalitet Vidovo groblje) (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 43). Iako je u slučaju lokaliteta Barbara na Gornjem Brgatu također riječ o ostacima nekropole sa stećcima, zbog neutvrđene lokacije crkve Sv. Barbare teško je reći je li nekropola zaista bila smještena uz crkvu (*ibid.* 59). Prema podacima iz kataloga arheoloških lokaliteta čini se da se nadgrobne ploče i stećci zajedno javljaju jedino kod crkve Sv. Đurđa u Bujićima (stećci jedino kao spolij) (*ibid.* 32). U Konavlima su nekropole na kojima se nalaze isključivo stećci smješteni uz sakralne prostore, a na nekoliko lokaliteta u njihovoj blizini, odnosno na samoj gomili (Žeravica & Kovačić 2002: 25, 34, 36, 39–42).

Oblici nadgrobni spomenika-stećaka s Grebina-Čeveljuše, njihova obrada i smještaj upućuju na

When speaking of medieval grave monuments in the Makarska littoral, by far the most frequent are grave slabs (65,07%), while the *stećak* group is dominated by chests and the number of slabs is far lower (Tomasović 2007: 62–63). Even though *stećci* in this area are most often encountered together with grave slabs at the site of present-day cemeteries, their spatial separation is nonetheless notable: the *stećci* are always placed at the margin (*ibid.* 66, 79). It is indicative that necropolises whose existence is indicated solely by *stećci* or necropolises near prehistoric cairns appear on the peripheries and in the hinterland of the Makarska littoral (*ibid.* 64–66). Although the level of evidence and research into medieval necropolises in the territory of the Neretva delta can by no means be compared to that in the Makarska littoral, therefore making it much less suitable to draw any significant conclusions, one can nonetheless observe a small number of necropolises at which grave slabs and *stećci* (spatially linked to sacral buildings) can be found, as well as a greater frequency of medieval necropolises with *stećci*, particularly chests, which are spatially linked to prehistoric cairns.

Burials in stone cairns or directly adjacent to them marked with medieval grave stones (or without them) are a very common phenomenon. They are also recorded in the territory of Trilj, Imotska krajina (the Imotski border zone), Hodovo, Popovo Polje, the Hutovo vicinity, in Western Hercegovina (Lazina near Vitina, Tremina near Ljubuški), the Kupres area and somewhat more rarely in Konavle (Sveti Nikola on Kuna and Sveta Đurđa in Mikulići) and Župa Dubrovačka (the Vidovo cemetery site) (Katić 1954: 135–136; Vego 1954: 37, 39; Bešlagić 1966: 55, 60–61; 1970: 115, 136; 1982: 44; Milošević 1991: 31; Kovačić 1983: 11; Žeravica & Kovačić 2002: 17, 34; Perkić & Perkić 2007: 42).

The closest necropolis on the left bank of the Neretva is in Slivno (Prović-Greblje), where slabs (36 monuments) and chests (29 monuments) predominate, while 2 ridged tombstones were also recorded, although in terms of monument decoration this necropolis is far above Grebine and Zanože (Benac 1953: 62). A predominance of lower forms, i.e. slabs, can also be ascertained for the other sites in the area from Slivno to Čepikuće, examined in 1953 by A. Benac, followed by chests, even though at some sites slabs and chests are equally present. (It should be noted that in his classification, Benac [1953: 74] deemed monuments higher than 40 cm chests.) Although Š. Bešlagić established an insignificant predominance of chests over slabs in the "Popovo" area, the sites in the area around Hutovo (Hutovo, Prapratnica, Gradac, Brštanica) should be set aside



Slika 9. Amorfnna ploča br. 19 pored groba u gomili br. 8 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 9. Amorphous slab no. 19 next to cairn no. 8 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).

bliskost sa spomenicima s lokaliteta Zanoga, a po položaju i s drugim nekropolama na području Pline i Briste-Pasičine. Za postolja ispod spomenika br. 9 i br. 13 analogije nalazimo na lokalitetu Pratrova glavica. Zajednička karakteristika sa Zanogom i Pratrovom glavicom jest površnost u obradi i nedotjeranost spomenika. U odnosu na srednjovjekovne nekropole sa stećcima na obalnom pojasu, poput Makarskog primorja ili Župe dubrovačke, na području ušća Neretve uočava se veći broj nekropola sa stećcima koje su prostorno vezane uz prapovijesne gomile. Iz dostupne literature nije moguće utvrditi da li se ista situacija susreće na primorskom pojasu jugoistočno od Neretve, no ona je vrlo česta u zaleđu tog područja (između Neuma i Hutova, Popovo) te na lokalitetima u okolici Ljubuškog. U vezi s oblikom načelno se može utvrditi sličnost sa svim dosad navedenim područjima, u smislu da je uglavnom rijetk o nižim oblicima. Na Grebinama, kao uostalom na dosad poznatim lokalitetima na području delte Neretve, nema sljemenjaka. Detaljnija usporedba sa stećcima čije su dimenzije poznate pokazala je da su nadgrobni spomenici s Grebina nešto manjih dimenzija (npr. najveća dužina iznosi 177 cm).

UKRASI³

Ukrasi su utvrđeni na dva sanduka: br. 1 (gornja ploha) i br. 8 (sve bočne strane).

Na gornjoj plohi sanduka br. 1 nalazi se reljefni motiv srcolikog štita s udubljenom gornjom stranom (sl. 4,

in his survey, as here the number of chests and slabs is almost the same, while the share of other forms (ridged and cross tombstones) is almost negligible (Bešliagić 1966: 55–63). Similar to the Makarska littoral, in Župa Dubrovačka (thus in the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic), the appearance of necropolises on which *stećci* can be found is exclusively linked to the area of prehistoric cairns (Vidovo cemetery) (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 43). Although the Barbara site at Gornji Brgat also accounts for the remains of a necropolis with *stećci*, due to the unidentified location of the Church of St. Barbara, it is difficult to say whether this necropolis was truly situated next to the church (*ibid.* 59). According to the data from the catalogue of archaeological sites, it would appear that the grave slabs and *stećci* appear together only at the Church of St. George in Bujici (the *stećci* only as spolia) (*ibid.* 32). In Konavle, the necropolises containing only *stećci* are located next to sacral premises, and at several sites in their vicinity, i.e. on cairns themselves (Žeravica & Kovačić 2002: 25, 34, 36, 39–42).

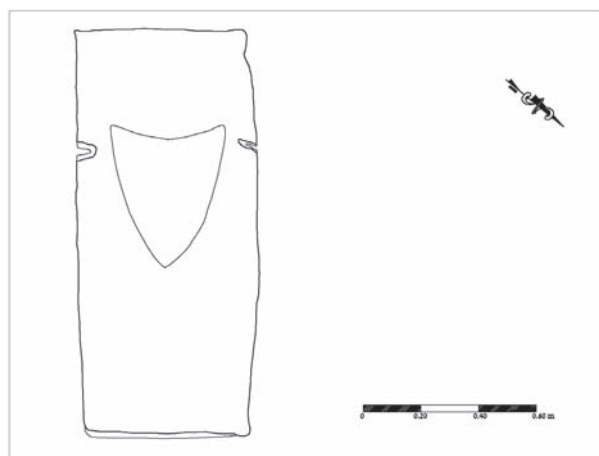
The forms of grave monuments/*stećci* from Grebine-Čeveljuša, their dressing and arrangement indicate a kinship with the monuments from the Zanoga site, and, in terms of their positioning, with other necropolises in the Plina and Brista-Pasičina site. Analogies for the base below monuments no. 9 and no. 13 can be found at the Pratrova glavica site. A common feature with Zanoga and Pratrova glavica is the superficial work and coarseness of the monuments. In relation to the medieval necropolises with *stećci* in the coastal belt, such as the Makarska littoral or Župa Dubrovačka, in the territory of the Neretva's mouth, a higher number of necropolises with *stećci* can be observed which are spatially linked to prehistoric cairns. From the available literature, it is not possible to ascertain whether the same situation can be encountered in the littoral belt south-east of the Neretva, but it is very frequent in the hinterland of this region (between Neum and Hutovo, Popovo) and at sites in the Ljubuški vicinity. With reference to the form, generally one can ascertain a similarity with all areas mentioned thus far, in the sense that they are generally lower forms. There are no ridged tombstones at Grebine, nor at any of the so far known sites in the Neretva delta. A more detailed comparison with *stećci* with known dimensions has shown that the grave monuments from Grebine are somewhat smaller (e.g. greatest length is 177 cm).

³ Budući da su prikazi istraživanja na dionici spojne ceste Čvor Ploče–Luka Ploče (HAG 4/2007) još uvijek neobjavljeni, a u katalogu *Stećci* (Tomasović *et al.* 2008) donose se samo uopćeni opisi bez slikovnih priloga, u radu se nisam referirala na ukrase na tim spomenicima.



Slika 10. Sanduk br. 21 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 10. Chest no. 21 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).



Slika 11. Crtež sanduka br. 1 s reljefnim štitom (crtež: M. Šunjić i K. Turkalj, 2008).

Figure 11. Drawing of chest no. 1 with shield in relief (drawing: M. Šunjić and K. Turkalj, 2008).

11). Klinasti heraldički štitovi, u koje spada i sroliki, s konkavno oblikovanom gornjom stranom javljaju se početkom 14. st. upravo na arhitekturi obalnog pojasa, od Hrvatskog primorja do Dalmacije (Horvat 1996: 45). Mali sroliki štitovi s uvučenim gornjim dijelom i petljom datirani u 1336. g. javljaju se na grbovima obitelji Silvestrović uklesanima na kamenoj spomen-ploči s crkve Sv. Stjepana u Dupcu u Župi dubrovačkoj (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 49; Foretić & Marinović 1962: 165–175). Štitu sa sanduka br. 1 na Grebinama ipak su po izduženu obliku bliži sroliki štitovi gotičke profilacije na kamenom grbu grada Splita, koji se datiraju u drugu polovinu 14. st. (između 1357. i 1387. g.) (Fisković 1936: 189, sl. 3).

Š. Bešlagić i N. Miletić ističu motiv srolikog štita kao specifičnost spomenika u primorskom području (s izuzetkom područja između Neuma i Hutova te Popova polja) (Bešlagić 1982: 226; Miletić 1982: 62). Obliku štita s Grebina najbližnji je prikaz reljefnog štita u kombinaciji s mačem iz Prgometa u

DECORATIONS⁴

Decorations have been ascertained on two chests: no. 1 (upper surface) and no. 8 (all lateral sides).

The upper surface of chest-shaped *stećak* no. 1 contains a motif of a heart-shaped shield rendered in relief with a deepened upper side (Figs. 4, 11). The spade-shaped heraldic shield, which includes the heart-shaped shield, with concave upper side, appeared at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the architecture of the coastal belt, from the Croatian Littoral to Dalmatia (Horvat 1996: 45). Small heart-shaped shields with withdrawn upper sides and knots dated to 1336 appear on the coats of arms of the Silvestrović family on a stone memorial plaque from the Church of St. Stephen in Dubac in Župa Dubrovačka (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 49; Foretić & Marinović 1962: 165–175). The shield on chest no. 1 at Grebine, based on its elongated form, is nonetheless closer to the heart-shaped shields of the Gothic moulding on the stone coat of arms of Split, which has been dated to the latter half of the fourteenth century (between 1357 and 1387) (Fisković 1936: 189, fig. 3).

Š. Bešlagić and N. Miletić stressed the heart-shaped shield motif as a specific aspect of monuments in the littoral (with the exception of the area between Neum and Hutovo and Popovo Polje) (Bešlagić 1982: 226; Miletić 1982: 62). The shape of the shield from Grebine most resembles the portrayal of a shield in relief combined with a sword from Prgomet in the Zagora (hinterland) of Kaštele (Kužić 2006: 37, 42, fig. 5). The recognizable cross guard on the sword shaped like a horizontal letter “S” allows dating of the monument to the mid-fifteenth century (Kužić 2006: 38; Sijarić 2004: 69). The spatially nearest analogy is the shield (shown together with the sword) from Prović-Slivno (Benac 1953: pl. I: 1). The portrayals of shields from the “central chest” from Bistrina are also very close, although their flanks are somewhat more rounded, and in case of shields with narrower flanks, there is a somewhat greater depression on the top of the shield (Benac 1953: pl. VIII: 1, 2; Wenzel 1965: 235, pl. LVIII: 5, 8).

In the Makarska littoral, shields and swords are by far the most common images on grave stones (Tomasović 2007: 67–68). Although typologically similar, these shields are differently formed – their flanks are straighter and longer than on the shield on chest no. 1 at Grebine, which basically has the

⁴ Since reports on the research conducted on the connecting road between the Ploče interchange and the port of Ploče (HAG 4/2007) have not yet been published, while the catalogue *Stećci* (Tomasović *et al.* 2008) only contains vague descriptions without illustrations, in this work I do not refer to the decorations on these monuments.

kaštelanskoj Zagori (Kužić 2006: 37, 42, sl. 5). Prepoznatljiva nakrsnica mača u obliku okomito položenog slova "S" omogućava dataciju spomenika u sredinu 15. st. (Kužić 2006: 38; Sijarić 2004: 69). Prostorom najbližu analogiju predstavlja štit (prikazan zajedno s mačem) iz Provića-Slivna (Benac 1953: T. I: 1). Prikazi štitova s "centralnog sanduka" s Bistrine također su vrlo bliski, s time da oni imaju ipak nešto zaobljenije bokove, a u slučaju štita s uže bočne strane i nešto veće udubljenje na vrhu štita (Benac 1953: T. VIII: 1, 2; Wenzel 1965: 235, T. LVIII: 5, 8).

U Makarskom primorju štitovi i mačevi daleko su najučestaliji prikazi na nadgrobnim pločama (Tomasović 2007: 67–68). Iako tipološki bliski, ti su štitovi drugačije oblikovani – bokovi su im ravniji i izduženiji nego kod štita sa sanduka 1 na Grebinama, koji u osnovi ima oblik klina (*ibid.* 124, T. II: 1, 2, 3; 132, T. X: 1; 133, T. XI: 1, 5; 135, T. XIII: 3; 138, T. XVI: 4). Isti način oblikovanja štitova zapaža se i na nadgrobnim pločama u Župi dubrovačkoj (scoliki štit bez konkavnog udubljenja: Sv. Stjepan u Kuparima, Sv. Ilar u Mlinima) i na Pelješcu (Osobljava i opis bez fotografije za Potomje i Stonsko polje) (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 45, 48; Sokol 1976: 331, 333, sl. 20). No s navedenih područja postoje bliže paralele za oblik štita sa sanduka br. 1. Riječ je o štitu urezanom zajedno s mačem na nadgrobnoj ploči u Gracu n/m (Tomasović 2007: 141, T. XIX: 2) te štitu sa sekundarno upotrijebljene nadgrobne ploče iz Bujića kod Cavtata (Fisković 1961: 161). Isto vrijedi i za štit na nadgrobnoj ploči (?) s lokaliteta Sv. Petar u Uskoplju kod Cavtata, koji je poznat jedino na temelju crteža iz terenske bilježnice Mijata Sabljara (*Bilježnica Mijata Sabljara* br. 29: 46; Wenzel 1965: 234–235). Slična je oblika i reljefni štit s petljom s kamenog bloka uzidanog u crkvu u Gracu u zaleđu Neuma (Bešlagić 1966: 59, sl. 114). Na obližnjem lokalitetu Granač Greb u istom mjestu (Gradac) na sanduku je urezan scoliki štit (*ibid.* 59–60, 165, sl. 117). Riječ je o pojednostavljenoj verziji reljefnog prikaza s obližnjeg lokaliteta u Gracu (Palameta 2004: 133). Na tragu tvrdnje M. Palamete o nespretnu "kopizmu" trebalo bi promatrati i štit na sanduku br. 10 s lokaliteta Gornji Studenci kod Ljubuškog (Palameta 2004: 133; Vego 1954: 8, 13, T. II: 4).

Štit na sanduku 1 s Greblja prikazan je kao samostalan motiv (bez mača) i bez heraldičkih oznaka, što je obilježje isključivo primorskoga pojasa (Miletić 1982: 62). Analogije za scoliki štit s udubljenom gornjom stranom kao samostalan motiv nalazimo na Uskoplju kod Cavtata i Bistrini (*Bilježnica Mijata Sabljara* br. 29: 46; Benac 1953: T. VIII). U opisu štita sa sanduka na Bistrini "samostalan" treba shvatiti u smislu da se ne nalazi u kombinaciji s mačem, jer se pored štita nalazi križ.

form of a spade (*ibid.* 124, pl. II: 1, 2, 3; 132, pl. X: 1; 133, pl. XI: 1, 5; 135, pl. XIII: 3; 138, pl. XVI: 4). The same method of forming shields can be observed on grave stones in Župa Dubrovačka (heart-shaped shield without concave depression: St. Stephen in Kupari, St. Hilarion in Mlini) and on the Pelješac Peninsula (Osobljava and the description without photograph for Potomje and Stonsko Polje) (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 45, 48; Sokol 1976: 331, 333, fig. 20). There are, however, closer analogies to the shield from chest no. 1 in this region. This includes the shield carved together with the sword on the grave stone in Gradac on the sea (Tomasović 2007: 141, pl. XIX: 2) and the shield from the grave stone in secondary use from Bujići at Cavtat (Fisković 1961: 161). The same applies to the shield from the grave stone (?) from the Sveti Petar site in Uskoplje near Cavtat, which is only known on the basis of a drawing from the field notes of Mijat Sabljara (*Bilježnica Mijata Sabljara* no. 29: 46; Wenzel 1965: 234–235). The shield with knot in relief on the stone block walled into the church in Gradac, in the Neum hinterland, is similar (Bešlagić 1966: 59, fig. 114). At the nearby Granač Greb site in the same place (Gradac), a heart-shaped shield is carved into a chest (*ibid.* 59–60, 165, fig. 117). This is a simplified version of the relief image from the nearby site in Gradac (Palameta 2004: 133). The shield from chest no. 10 from the Gornji Studenci site near Ljubuški should also be viewed with regard to M. Palameta's assertions of unaccomplished "copyism" (Palameta 2004: 133; Vego 1954: 8, 13, pl. II: 4).

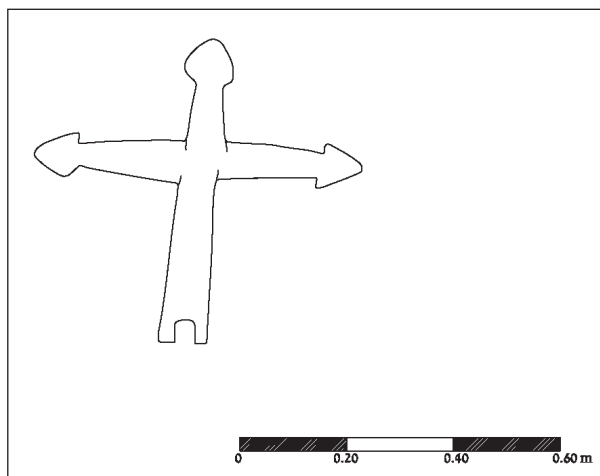
The shield on chest no. 1 from Grebalj is depicted as an independent motif (without sword) and without heraldic designations, which is an exclusive characteristic of the coastal belt (Miletić 1982: 62). An analogy to the heart-shaped shield with indented upper side as an independent motif can be found in Uskoplje near Cavtat and in Bistrina (*Bilježnica Mijata Sabljara* no. 29: 46; Benac 1953: pl. VIII). In the description of the shield from the chest at Bistrina, "independent" means that it is not combined with a sword, rather there is a cross next to the shield.

In contrast to all similar (independent!) portrayals of heart-shaped shields with concave depressions, no ribbon tied into a knot, for which no direct analogy can be found, appears on the upper part of the shield at Grebine. The lack of a knot leads to the hypothesis that the shield is a purely heraldic portrayal, i.e. a status symbol which indicates the burial site of some important personality, who certainly followed much more noble models (Bešlagić 1982: 228; Lovrenović 2006: 523–524). A more solid rendering on the other side certainly speaks to the fact that the decoration was not made cursorily, based on another model, in which case some details, such as

Za razliku od svih sličnih (samostalnih!) prikaza srcolikih štitova s konkavnim udubljenjem na gornjem dijelu štita na Grebinama ne javlja se vrpca savijena u petlju, za što se ne može naći direktna analogija. Nedostatak petlje upućuje na pretpostavku o štitu kao čisto heraldičkom prikazu, odnosno statusnom simbolu koji označava mjesto ukopa neke važnije ličnosti, koja je zasigurno slijedila mnogo plemenitije uzore (Bešlagić 1982: 228; Lovrenović 2006: 523–524). Solidnija izvedba s druge strane svakako govori u prilog činjenici da ukras nije bio rađen paušalno, prema nekom drugom predlošku, u kojem bi se slučaju moglo dogoditi da se izostave neke pojedivosti, poput vrpce (Palameta 2004: 133). Iako razvoj pojedinih obrta (kovača, oružara, oklopara, mačara, štitara i dr.) koji je pratio trgovačke aktivnosti na neretvanskom području ostavlja mjesta za mogućnost povezanosti uporabnog i heraldičkog štita, činjenica da u ovom slučaju taj funkcionalni element (petlja) nije bio od presudne važnosti naglašava njegov simbolički karakter (Tošić 1987: 245).

Ukrasi na sanduku br. 8 puno su lošije sačuvani, vjerojatno zbog kiše koja je preokretanjem uže plohe sanduka na gornju stranu lakše ispirala ionako ne osobito kvalitetno izrađene ukrase.

Na zapadnoj (užoj) bočnoj strani nalazi se plitko urezan križ s nepravilnim pravokutnim utorom dubine 3,5 cm na donjem (ako gledamo izvorni položaj sanduka) završetku okomite haste (sl. 6, 12). Ostale tri haste imaju završetke u obliku trokuta s lagano zaobljenim kutovima, s tim da je završetak gornje haste nešto zaobljeniji nego završeci bočnih. Između gornje i bočnih hasti nalaze se slabo vidljivi, nerazpoznatljivi ukrasi. Utor na križu sugerira funkcionalnu ulogu, pa je vjerojatno kao predložak poslužio plastični križ koji je s podnožjem možda bio



Slika 12. Crtež križa na užoj bočnoj strani sanduka br. 8 (crtež: M. Šunjić i K. Turkalj, 2008).

Figure 12. Drawing of cross on narrower lateral side of chest no. 8 (drawing: M. Šunjić and K. Turkalj, 2008).

a ribbon, could have been omitted (Palameta 2004: 133). Even though the development of individual trades (blacksmithery, weapon-smithery, armour production, sword-smithery, shield-making, etc.) which accompanied trade activities in the Neretva region indicates the possibility of links between heraldic shields and those in practical use, the fact is that in this case the functional element (the knot) was not of crucial importance emphasizes its symbolic character (Tošić 1987: 245).

The decorations on chest no. 8 are much more poorly preserved, probably due to the rain which washed out the already not very high-quality decorations much more easily on the capsized narrower surface of the chest.

On the western (narrower) lateral side, there is a shallowly engraved cross with an irregular rectangular slot, which is 3.5 cm deep on the lower end (viewed from the original position of the chest) of the horizontal arm (Figs. 6, 12). The remaining three arms end in triangles with lightly rounded corners; the end of the upper arm is more rounded than the ends on the lateral arms. Scarcely visible, unrecognizable decorations can be found between the upper and lateral arms. The slot on the cross suggests a functional role, so the sculpted cross which may have been connected to the pedestal over some kind of wedge or system as with pilasters probably served as a model. Such realism in portrayal indicates a kinship with Gothic tendencies (Ivančević 1984: 469; Palameta 2004: 133). A similar slot appears on the cross on chest no. 1 from Prović-Slivno, on the monument from Vrlika and at Borje, near Klobuk (Benac 1953: pl. 1: 2; Vego 1954: pl. XXXIX: 78; Wenzel 1965: 116, pl. XXX: 21). The slot from the high chest at Borje is not rectangular, rather it is lightly rounded and described as a 1.5 cm depression (Vego 1954: 8). The gently rounded triangular ends of the arms greatly resemble the ends from the relief cross portrayed on the longer side of the aforementioned "central" chest from Bistrina (Benac 1953: pl. VIII: 2). The arms of two crosses at the necropolis in Topolo are similarly formed, as are those on the chest from Začulo in Popovo Polje and the ridged tombstone at the Osmanci site at Zvornik, even though they are closer in form to a rhombus than to a triangle (Benac 1953: 63, fig. a1, fig. a4; Bešlagić 1966: 140, fig. 69; Wenzel 1965: 116–117, pl. XXX: 8). The ends of the arms of the relief cross on the stone pediment next to the Church of St. Vičenca in Začule in Župa Dubrovačka are also formed as rhombuses (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 57). Two stone pediments from the same area (next to the Church of St. Stephan in Kupari and the Church of St. Matthew between Čibača and Čelopek) have crosses engraved on them on which the arms have

spojen preko kakva klina ili sustavom kao kod pila-stara. Takav realizam u prikazu pokazuje bliskost s gotičkim tendencijama (Ivančević 1984: 469; Pala-meta 2004: 133). Sličan utor javlja se na križu sa sanduka br. 1 iz Provića-Slivna, na spomeniku iz Vrlike te na Borju kod Klobuka (Benac 1953: T. 1: 2; Vego 1954: T. XXXIX: 78; Wenzel 1965: 116, T. XXX: 21). Utor s visokog sanduka na Borju nije pravokutan, već je lagano zaobljen i opisan kao udubljenje od 1,5 cm (Vego 1954: 8). Blago zaobljenim trokutastim završecima hasti vrlo su bliski završeci s reljefnog križa prikazanog na dužoj strani spomenutog "centralnog" sanduka s Bistrine (Benac 1953: T. VIII: 2). Na sličan su način oblikovani završeci hasti dvaju križeva na nekropoli u Topolu, na sanduku iz Začule u Popovu polju i sljemenjaku s lokaliteta Osmanci kod Zvornika, iako su oni bliži obliku romba nego trokuta (Benac 1953: 63, sl. a1, sl. a4; Bešlagić 1966: 140, sl. 69; Wenzel 1965: 116–117, T. XXX: 8). Završeci hasti reljefnoga križa na kamenom učelku pored crkve Sv. Vićenca u Zakuli u Župi dubrovačkoj također su oblikovani kao rombovi (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 57). Na dvama kamenim učelcima s istog područja (pored crkve Sv. Stjepana u Kuparima i crkve Sv. Mateja između Čibače i Čelopeka) isklesani su križevi kod kojih haste imaju udvojene završetke (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 45–55). Rubni završeci hasti oblikovani su kao trokuti.

Na južnoj (dužoj) plohi sanduka br. 8, koja se u izvornom položaju nalazila na sjevernoj strani, prikazana je scena lova s konjanikom i košutom (sl. 8, 13, 14).



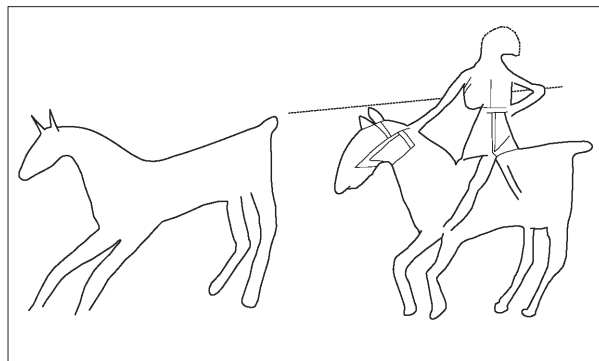
Slika 13. Scena lova na košutu na dužoj bočnoj strani sanduka br. 8 (snimila: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Figure 13. Scene depicting hunt on roe-deer on the longer lateral side of chest no. 8 (photograph: M. Šunjić, 2007).

Sanduk je s gornje i istočne (lijeve) strane uokviren bordurom od tordirane trake, dok sama kompozicija zauzima nešto manje od dvije trećine plohe. Glava konjanika izlazi izvan tog zadanog okvira. Cijeli je prikaz vrlo neujednačene izrade, dijelom urezan,

split endings (Perkić & Perkić 2007: 45–55). The peripheral arms are formed as triangles.

A hunting scene featuring a man on horseback and a roe deer (Figs. 8, 13, 14) is depicted on the southern (longer) surface of chest no. 8, which was originally on the northern side. The chest is lined by a trimming of twisted bands on the upper and eastern (left) sides, while the actual composition occupies somewhat less than two thirds of the surface. The head of the horseman is outside of this given frame. The entire portrayal is very unequally rendered, partially engraved, and partially in shallow relief. Even though, as already noted, this monument has been exposed to weathering, the entire portrayal seems unfinished, like a sketch based on some much more detailed model. The horseman is wearing a tunic with one arm holding the reigns, while the other is bent at the waist or holding a sword, similar to the scene on the chest from Začula in Popovo (Bešlagić 1966: 41, 142, fig. 73). The horseman's left leg is in a stirrup, while two parallel lines are visible to its right. It is unclear as to whether this is a sword or a saddle strap. A sword is a very frequent motif on horsemen in hunting scenes (Bešlagić 1982: 223). The head of the horseman is plainly visible, but the contours nonetheless suggest that he was wearing a hat or helmet. The animal (roe-deer) which the horseman is pursuing is depicted at a run, with extended forelegs and a bent body. The entire composition is turned toward the east. A line is visible (crossed out in the drawing) at the level of the horseman's torso, and its function cannot be ascertained. Since such a portrayal appears quite tentative, it is possible that the mason here only indicated a spear based on a much higher quality model. Even though such a variant apparently has no real foundation, for the horseman is holding the reigns in his right hand, while his left arm is bent at the waist, similar portrayals of horsemen from Mijatovci at Nevesinje and Radimlja and Boljun at Stolac confirm this possibility (Wen-



Slika 14. Skica prikaza lova na košutu na dužoj bočnoj strani sanduka br. 8 (crtež: D. Šunjić i K. Turkalj, 2008).

Figure 14. Sketch showing a hunt on a roe-deer on the longer lateral side of chest no. 8 (drawing: D. Šunjić and K. Turkalj, 2008).

a dijelom u plitkom reljefu. Iako je, kao što je već istaknuto, spomenik bio izložen djelovanju atmosfere, cjelokupni prikaz djeluje nedorađeno, poput skice prema nekom puno dotjeranijem predlošku. Konjanik odjeven u tuniku s jednom rukom drži konjske uzde, dok mu je druga ruka savijena u struku ili njome pridržava mač, slično kao na prikazu sa sanduka iz Začule u Popovu (Bešlagić 1966: 41, 142, sl. 73). Konjanikova lijeva noga umetnuta je u stremen, dok su desno od toga vidljive dvije paralelne linije. Nije jasno je li riječ o maču ili o remenju za sedlo. Mač je inače vrlo čest prikaz kod konjanika u sceni lova (Bešlagić 1982: 223). Glava jahača vrlo je slabo vidljiva, no obrisi ipak sugeriraju da je nosio kapu ili kacigu. Životinja (košuta) koju konjanik slijedi prikazana je u trku, s ispruženim prednjim nogama i savijenim tijelom. Cijela kompozicija okrenuta je u smjeru istoka. U ravnini konjanikova torza vidljiva je linija (na crtežu iscrtkana) kojoj značenje i funkciju nije moguće pouzdano utvrditi. Budući da se čitav prikaz doima vrlo provizorno, moguće je da je klesar po uzoru na mnogo kvalitetnije izvedbe ovdje samo naznačio koplje. Iako takva varijanta naizgled nema realan oslonac, jer konjanik desnom rukom drži uzde, a lijevu drži savijenu u struku, slični prikazi konjanika iz Mijatovaca kod Nevesinja te Radimlje i Boljuna kod Stoca potvrđuju takvu mogućnost (Wenzel 1965: 404, 406, 408, T. CX: 11, 12, T. CXI: 9, T. CXII: 5). Na njima konjanik desnom rukom pridržava uzde, dok je koplje polegnuto uz lijevu ruku koja je savijena u laktu i položena na struk (izuzetak je prikaz konjanika s Radmilje, gdje su ruke zamijenjene).

M. Wenzel ističe lov na jelena kao najčešći motiv iz lovnog repertoara (Wenzel 1965: 397). Kompozicijske analogije za prikaz s Grebina susreću se na dosta široku području od istočne Hercegovine do okolice Imotskoga i Sinja, uz poneki primjer s obalnog pojasa. Među sličnim prizorima na kojima jelen/košuta bježi od konjanika mogu se nabrojiti oni s lokalitetâ Krvavica-Zakuće kod Makarske, Brštanica i Glumina u okolici Hutova, Ravno u Popovu polju, okolica Ljubuškog (Bijača, Bijača-Pržine i Zvirici), Cista, Vinjani i Voštane kod Trilja (Vego 1954: T. XXII: 44, T. XXV: 50, T. XXX: 59; Wenzel 1965: 406, T. CXI: 1, 3, 7, 13, 24; Bešlagić 1966: 52, 61, sl. 97, sl. 122; Tomasović 2007: T. VII: 1). No njihova izvedba (oblikovanje) nije svugdje riješena na isti način. Vrlo sličan kompozicijski okvir u kombinaciji sa sličnom izvedbom i oblikovanjem konjanika i životinje koju on slijedi primijenjen je na sceni lova urezanoj na visokom sanduku s lokaliteta Teg u Ravnom (Popovo) (Bešlagić 1966: 51, 52, sl. 97). Slično je izveden prikaz sa sanduka iz Vranjeva Sela, s time da ondje konjanik u desnoj ruci drži sokola (Wenzel 1965:

1965: 404, 406, 408, pl. CX: 11, 12, pl. CXI: 9, pl. CXII: 5). On them, the horseman holds the reins in the right hand, while the spear is laid along the left arm, bent at the elbow and placed on the waist (the exception is the portrayal of the horseman from Radmilja, where the arms are oppositely portrayed).

M. Wenzel stresses the deer hunt as the most frequent hunting scene motif (Wenzel 1965: 397). In terms of composition, an analogy to the portrayal from Grebine can be found over quite a broad territory from Eastern Herzegovina to the vicinity of Imotski and Sinj, with some examples from the coastal belt. Among the similar scenes in which the deer/roe is shown fleeing from a horseman, one can count those from the Krvavica-Zakuće site at Makarska, Brštanica and Glumina in the Hutovo area, Ravno in Popovo Polje, the Ljubuški vicinity (Bijača, Bijača-Pržine and Zvirici), Cista, Vinjani and Voštane at Trilj (Vego 1954: pl. XXII: 44, pl. XXV: 50, pl. XXX: 59; Wenzel 1965: 406, pl. CXI: 1, 3, 7, 13, 24; Bešlagić 1966: 52, 61, fig. 97, fig. 122; Tomasović 2007: pl. VII: 1). But their rendering (formation) was not done in the same way at all sites. A very similar compositional framework combined with a similar rendering and formation of the horseman and the animal he is following has been applied in the hunt scene engraved on the high chest from the Teg site in Ravno (Popovo) (Bešlagić 1966: 51, 52, fig. 97). The scene depicted on the chest from Vranjevo Selo is similar, although there the horseman holds a falcon in his right hand (Wenzel 1965: 404, pl. CXII 19; Benac 1953: pl. III: 2). Although the chest from Vranjevo Selo is somewhat farther from the group of *stećci* from the eastern site, which dates to the second half of the fourteenth century according to the inscriptions ("necropolis of the Nikolić princes"), both parts of the necropolis, based on the similarity of monuments and their proximity, date to the same period (Benac 1953: 66, 80–81; Glavaš 1987–88: 163–164). Although these are compositionally different scenes, the horseman from the "central" chest from Bistrina and that on chest no. 8 from Grebine are very similarly modelled (Benac 1953: pl. VIII: 1). Portrayals of deer and roe-deer on *stećci* in the littoral are not unusual, because the forests at the end of the fourteenth century were much more expansive (Kužić 1999: 396–397). Regardless of the severe conditions which prevailed in the Neretva delta due to the marshy terrain, the surrounding hills were at the time still rich in vegetation. This is confirmed by the complaint filed by Dubrovnik residents in 1399 against the Radivojevići, who barred them access to Prud and Jasenice, where "our merchants always went (...) and chopped wood" (Jerković 1939: 6, n. 14). The devastation of forests was not only spurred by the need for lumber, but also by more intensive clearing

404, T. CXII 19; Benac 1953: T. III: 2). Iako se sanduk iz Vranjeva Sela nalazi nešto dalje od skupine stećaka s istog lokaliteta, koja se prema natpisima datira u drugu polovinu 14. st. ("nekropola knezova Nikolića"), oba se dijela nekropole na temelju sličnosti spomenika i blizine datiraju u isto razdoblje (Benac 1953: 66, 80–81; Glavaš 1987–88: 163–164). Premda je riječ o kompozicijski različitim scenama, konjanik s "centralnog" sanduka s Bistrine i onaj sa sanduka br. 8 s Grebina vrlo su slično modelirani (Benac 1953: T. VIII: 1). Prikazi jelena i košuta na stećcima u primorju nisu neuobičajeni jer su šume krajem 14. st. bile puno prostranije (Kužić 1999: 396–397). Bez obzira na teške uvjete koji su zbog močvarnog zemljišta u delti Neretve vladali, okolna brda tada su još uvijek bila bogatija vegetacijom. To potvrđuje i žalba Dubrovčana iz 1399. g. na Radivojeviće, koji dubrovačkim trgovcima brane pristup u Prud i Jasenice, kamo su "vazda naši trgovci hodili (...) i drva sjekli" (Jerković 1939: 6, n. 14). Devastacija šuma nije uvjetovana samo iskorištavanjem drvne građe, nego i intenzivnijim krčenjem za potrebe stočarstva, koje se općenito povezuje s Vlasiima, ali i kasnijom turskom i mletačkom eksploatacijom (Kužić 1999: 396–397). Tako je i spomenuto brdo Jasenica poviše Pruda danas uglavnom obraslo makijom.

Na sjevernoj (uzdužnoj) plohi sanduka br. 8, koja je nekada bila na južnoj strani, tek se u obrisima nazire motiv konjanika.⁴

Na istočnoj (užoj pobočnoj) plohi uz oba okomita brida sanduka također teče bordura od tordirane vrpce široke 5 cm. I ovdje se unutar tog okvira naziru ukrasi, no sasvim su nerazpoznatljivi.

Već na prvi pogled evidentno je da su analogije za ukrase štita i križa bliže obalnom pojasu. Uz lokalitete u primorju južno od Neretve, pa i njegovu zaleđu (Hutovo i Popovo), važne paralele postoje i na području Župe dubrovačke. Ne bi trebalo zanemariti ni prikaze štitova iz Makarskog primorja, koji, iako drugačije oblikovani, predstavljaju tipološki isti oblik. S druge strane kod prikaza lova više analogija susreće se u zaleđu.

POVIJESNI KONTEKST I DATACIJA SPOMENIKA

Područje donjega toka rijeke Neretve u kasnome srednjem vijeku u prvom je redu određeno trgovinom,

for the needs of cattle grazing, which is generally associated with the Vlachs, and by later Ottoman and Venetian exploitation (Kužić 1999: 396–397). Thus even the aforementioned Jasenice hill above Prud is today generally overgrown with maquis.

On the northern (lengthwise) surface of chest no. 8, which was one on the southern side, only the vague lines of a horseman motif can be discerned.⁵

On the eastern (narrower lateral) surface, a 5 cm wide trimming of twisted bands also runs along vertical edge of the chest. Decorations can be discerned within this frame as well, but they are entirely unrecognizable.

Already at first glance it is apparent that the analogies for shield and cross decorations are closer to the coastal belt. Besides sites in the littoral south of the Neretva River, and its hinterland (Hutovo and Popovo), there are also important parallels in the territory of Župa Dubrovačka. The portrayals of shields from the Makarska littoral should not be neglected either, for even though they are differently rendered, they are typologically the same form. On the other hand, more analogies to the hunt scene can be found in the hinterland.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND DATING OF THE MONUMENT

The territory surrounding the lower course of the Neretva River was primarily marked by trade during the Late Middle Ages, which has been a continual aspect from prehistory to the present. Trade commodities included salt, wine, oil, and fabric (from the coast) and livestock, meat, metals, lumber and other products (from the interior) (Tošić 1987: 83; Brković 1990: 55; Petrović 1976: 90). Although the Neretva (Drijeva) market town was already mentioned by the end of the twelfth century, trade only assumed its true dimensions over the course of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth (Ljubić 1886: 48–49; Anđelić 1963: 182, 187; Brković 1990: 55–57). This was primarily the result of the economic flowering of Bosnia in the fourteenth century, tied to the growing political power of the Bosnian rulers. The fall of the Šubić magnates signified the political ascent and territorial expansion of the state during the reign of the ruler (*ban*) Stjepan II Kotromanić, and it would attain its peak during the reign of Tvrtko I (Goldstein 2003: 87). The tempo-

⁴ M. Tomasović u poglavlju "Srednjovjekovni nadgrobni spomenici makarsko-neretvanskog područja" iz kataloga *Stećci* ukrase na današnjoj južnoj plohi interpretira kao kompoziciju plesa žena i muškaraca s konjanikom, dok za ukrase oko križa navodi da je riječ o dvjema simetrično postavljenim pticama (Tomasović 2008: 124, 126).

⁵ M. Tomasović, in the chapter "Medieval grave monuments of the Makarska-Neretva area" from the catalogue *Stećci*, interpreted the decorations on today's south surface as a composition of women dancing and a man on horseback, while he stated that the decorations around the cross are two symmetrically placed birds (Tomasović 2008: 124, 126).

čiji predznak u kontinuitetu nosi od prapovijesti do danas. Riječ je o trgovini soli, ali i vina, ulja, tkanina (s mora) te stoke, mesa, metala, drva i drugih proizvoda (iz unutrašnjosti) (Tošić 1987: 83; Brković 1990: 55; Petrović 1976: 90). Premda se trgovište Neretva (Drijeva) spominje već krajem 12. st., trgovina svoje prave razmjere dobiva tek kroz 14. i prvu polovinu 15. st. (Ljubić 1886: 48–49; Anđelić 1963: 182, 187; Brković 1990: 55–57). To je ponajprije rezultat gospodarskog uspona Bosne u 14. st., povezanog s jačanjem političke moći bosanskih vladara. Padom Šubićevih počinje politički uspon i teritorijalno širenje bosanske države za bana Stjepana II. Kotromanića, koja će svoj vrhunac doseći u vrijeme vladavine Tvrtka I. (Goldstein 2003: 87). Privremena promjena vlasti 1357. g., kada je ovo područje došlo pod vlast Ludovika I., čak je ubrzala gospodarski razvoj (Glibota 2006: 11). Nije ga drastičnije omela ni veća politička destabilizacija do koje dolazi nakon smrti Tvrtka I. 1391. g. (Goldstein 2003: 87; Glibota 2006: 12). Od polovine 14. st. svojevrsan zamah uočava se i na području koje je bliže samom ušću Neretve. Pojava niza dotad manje značajnih ili sasvim nepoznatih lokaliteta u dubrovačkim arhivskim vrelima svjedoči o intenzivnoj trgovini, ali i važnosti političko-strateškog položaja ušća Neretve. Potvrda je tomu ne do kraja razjašnjena gradnja utvrde Sv. Mihovila i aktiviranje trgovišta u Brštaničku (Gradina kod Opuzena) kao jedne od okosnica u Tvrtkovu nastojanju da osnaži svoju ekonomsku i političku poziciju na Jadranu (Lovrenović 2006: 30–34). U vezi s Brštaničkom spominje se pristanište Lovorika (Tošić 1976: 38; Sivrić 2003: 384, n. 65). Iz istoga vremena datira i prvi spomen luke Ploča (1387. g.) u dokumentu o ugovorenom prijevozu škopaca i drva (Kovačević 1994: 27–28). Luka Ploča ponovno se spominje 1426. g. u dokumentu kojim se Dubrovčani obvezuju osigurati prijevoz Sandalj Hraniću (*ibid.* 29). Na desnoj obali Neretve kroz drugu polovinu 14. st. u više se navrata spominje utvrda Desna, između ostaloga s vojnom posadom na čelu koje je bio Filip Nosdronja (Jerković 1939: 5, 6, n. 12; Petrović 1976: 141). Iako se utvrda Vratar, koja je pripadala humskoj obitelji Radivojevića-Jurjevića-Vlatkovića, prvi put spominje 1434. g., vjerojatno je sagrađena već krajem 14. st. (Miklošič 1858: 377–379; Dodig 1998: 80). O općem poletu svjedoči i građevinski pothvat poput gradnje crkve Sv. Nikole u Borovcima, u neposrednoj blizini grada Vratara, krajem 14. ili početkom 15. st. (Tomasović 2001: 32).

U kontekstu intenzifikacije života treba promatrati i groblja poput Grebina-Čeveljuše, Provića u Slivnu, Zanoge, Grebine-Crnoće te groblja na lokalitetu Sv. Vid u Vidu. Time se nameće i pitanje populacije

rarely change in rule in 1357, when this region came under the authority of Ludovik I, actually spurred economic development (Glibota 2006: 11). It was not even greatly derailed by the political destabilization which ensued after the death of Tvrtko I in 1391 (Goldstein 2003: 87; Glibota 2006: 12). From the mid-fourteenth century onward, something of an upswing was also recorded in the territory closer to the actual mouth of the Neretva. The appearance of a series of until then less important or entirely unknown sites in archival sources from Dubrovnik testifies to intensive trade, and to the importance of the political and strategic position of the Neretva's mouth. Confirmation of this can also be seen in the not entirely explained construction of the Fortress of St. Michael and the activation of a market town in Brštanič (Gradina near Opuzen) as one of the mainstays of Tvrtko's efforts to reinforce his economic and political position on the Adriatic (Lovrenović 2006: 30–34). The Lovorika wharf is mentioned with reference to Brštanič (Tošić 1976: 38; Sivrić 2003: 384, n. 65). The first mention of the port of Ploče dates to this same period (1387) in a document concerning a transport contract for gelded livestock and lumber (Kovačević 1994: 27–28). The port of Ploče was once more mentioned in 1426, in a document which obliged Dubrovnik to secure transportation for Sandalj Hranić (*ibid.* 29). The fortress called Desna on the right bank of the Neretva was mentioned on a number of occasions during the fourteenth century, among other things as having a military contingent headed by Filip Nosdronja (Jerković 1939: 5, 6, n. 12; Petrović 1976: 141). Even though the Vratar fortress, which belonged to the Hum-based Radivojević-Jurjević-Vlatković family, was first mentioned in 1434, it had probably already been constructed at the end of the fourteenth century (Miklošič 1858: 377–379; Dodig 1998: 80). The construction of the Church of St. Nicholas in Borovci in the immediate vicinity of the Vratar town in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century also testifies to general prosperity (Tomasović 2001: 32).

Cemeteries such as Grebine-Čeveljuša, Prović in Slivno, Zanoga, Grebina-Crnoća and the cemetery at the Sveti Vid site in Vid should also be viewed in the context of this burgeoning life. This in turn imposes the question of the population which used them for interments. In the concluding considerations of the relationship between the Church of St. Nicholas in Borovci and the nearby necropolis under *stećci* at Zanoga and Mravinci, M. Tomasović (2001: 51) underlined that without a precise determination of the volume of migration, it is difficult to determine the population which was buried there. Even though other indications of the *stećci* – except for the already mentioned block with the lily, and perhaps the stone

koja ih je koristila za ukapanje. U zaključnome razmatranju o odnosu crkve Sv. Nikole u Borovcima i obližnjih nekropola pod stećcima na Zanogi i Mravincima M. Tomasović (2001: 51) podvlači kako je bez preciznog određivanja migracija teško odrediti stanovništvo koje se ondje pokapalo. Iako druge naznake stećaka – osim već spomenutog bloka s ljiljanom, a možda i kamenog bloka (stećka?) iznad groba 54 – ne postoje, kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje istraživano na lokalitetu Sv. Vid u Vidu važno je u pogledu antropomorfoloških obilježja populacije koja je ondje ukopavana (Marin 1994/96: 11–20; Šarić-Bužančić 1994–96: 209–212). Riječ je o brahikranijalnoj, tj. dinarskoj populaciji, koja je ondje prisutna u 14. i 15. st. (Marin 1994–96: 33; Šarić-Bužančić 1994–96: 212). Brahikranijalizacija je uočena kao glavno obilježje nekropola pod stećcima na kojima su dosada vršene antropološke analize (s izuzetkom ženske populacije na nekropoli Parlovi) i povezuje se s neslavenskom (vlaškom) populacijom (Mikić 1983: 52; 1985: 55–67). Za razliku od drugih područja u Hrvatskoj, gdje se vlaška prisutnost i migracije mogu vrlo dobro pratiti na temelju povijesnih izvora, podaci o području ušća Neretve u tom su pogledu prilično šturi i više općenite prirode. U povelji kralja Ostoje Radivojevićima iz 1408. g. spominju se Vlasi na području između Cetine i Neretve (*regionem Crainam a Narenta usque ad Cetinam cum omnibus Valachiis existentibus inter Narentam et Cetinam*) (Šišić 1938: 315–317; Anđelić 1982: 123). S obzirom na to da se u istom tekstu neposredno prije spominje župa Luka s obje strane rijeke Neretve (*Lucam provinciam ab utroque latere Narente/Luchu Zupu s obi strane Neretue*) (Anđelić 1982: 123; Miklošič 1858: 386), upitno je koliko se podatak odnosi na samo ušće Neretve, ali ipak govori o Vlasima koji su živjeli u neposrednoj blizini. Prisutnost Vlaha kao posrednika i prijevoznika robe u trgovištu Drijeva neosporna je, no pitanje je koliko je njihov boravak na tom području bio stalan (Tošić 1987: 30, n. 162, 132, n. 140, 145, n. 48, 146, n. 59, 154, n. 121, 196, n. 43, 216, n. 75). Već sredinom 14. st. nalazimo bilješku o Vlasima koji su u Drijevi opljačkali barku Foska Lukarevića natovarenu sirom (*ibid.* 95, n. 109). G. 1402. bilježi se svađa drijevskih trgovaca s “vlasima bosanskog kralja” (Ostoje), a g. 1434. prodaja soli Vlasima na ispolicu koju je organizirao Sandalj Hrančić (*ibid.* 120, n. 5, 132, n. 140). I iz turskih se izvora može iščitati prisutnost vlaških skupina na širem području Neretve u vremenu koje je prethodilo uspostavi osmanske vlasti. U tom pogledu ključni su defteri iz g. 1468/1469. i 1477. (Filipović 1974: 127). Pojedini posjedi na području zapadno od Neretve i u Makarskom primorju potvrđeni su kao stara, tj. predosmanska baština

block (*stećak?*) above grave 54 – do not exist, the late medieval cemetery researched at the Sveti Vid site is important in the sense of the anthropomorphic features of the population which was buried there (Marin 1994/96: 11–20; Šarić-Bužančić 1994–96: 209–212). This was a brachycephalic, i.e. Dinaric population, which was present here in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Marin 1994/96: 33; Šarić-Bužančić 1994–96: 212). Brachycephalization was observed as the primary feature of the necropolis under *stećci* at which anthropological analysis has so far been conducted (with the exception of the female population at the Parlova necropolis) and is associated with the non-Slavic (Vlach) population (Mikić 1983: 52; 1985: 55–67). As opposed to other areas in Croatia, where the Vlach presence and migrations can be very closely followed using historical sources, data from the area around the Neretva's mouth are rather terse in this sense and more vague in nature. In a charter issued by King Ostoja to the Radivojevići dated 1408, the Vlachs are mentioned in the territory between the Cetina and Neretva Rivers (*regionem Crainam a Narenta usque ad Cetinam cum omnibus Valachiis existentibus inter Narentam et Cetinam*) (Šišić 1938: 315–317; Anđelić 1982: 123). Since immediately prior this same text mentions the parish of Luka on both sides of the Neretva River (*Lucam provinciam ab utroque latere Narente/Luchu Zupu s obi strane Neretue*) (Anđelić 1982: 123; Miklošič 1858: 386), there is some question as to whether this only pertains to the mouth of the Neretva or about the Vlachs who lived in the immediate vicinity. The presence of Vlachs as intermediaries and freight transporters in the Drijeva market town is indisputable, but the question remains as to whether their stay in this region was permanent (Tošić 1987: 30, n. 162, 132, n. 140, 145, n. 48, 146, n. 59, 154, n. 121, 196, n. 43, 216, n. 75). Already by the mid-fourteenth century, a notation could be found referring to the Vlachs who robbed the barque of Fosko Lukarević laden with cheese in Drijeva (*ibid.* 95, n. 109). In 1402, a dispute was recorded between the Drijeva merchants and the “Vlachs of the Bosnian king” (Ostoja), while in 1434, there is mention of a sale of salt to the Vlachs organized by Sandalj Hrančić (*ibid.* 120, n. 5, 132, n. 140). Ottoman sources also indicate the presence of Vlach groups in the wider Neretva area during the period preceding the establishment of Ottoman rule. In this sense, the registers from 1468/1469 and 1477 are crucial (Filipović 1974: 127). Individual estates in the territory west of the Neretva and in the Makarska littoral have been confirmed as the old, i.e. pre-Ottoman heritage of the group of Vlachs from “Western Hum” (*ibid.* 165, 166). On the other hand, the archaeological and even historiographic picture of the Neretva delta in the

skupine Vlaha "zapadnog Huma" (*ibid.* 165, 166). S druge strane stanje arheološke, pa i historiografske slike delte Neretve u (kasnom) srednjem vijeku takvo je da je neku populaciju i njezine običaje, osim na temelju analogija s drugim područjima, teško okarakterizirati kao nešto "ново i drugačije" uz vrlo slabo poznavanje "uobičajenog" (starosjedilačkog) elementa. Stoga je bez arheološkog istraživanja sasvim suvišno ulaziti u daljnje rasprave o populaciji koja se ukapala na nekropoli Grebine-Čeveljuša.

Uz neosporan trgovački značaj delte Neretve (ponajprije Drijeve i Brštanika) kao poveznice između mora i unutrašnjosti koja je morala privlačiti najrazličitije kategorije stanovništva neodgovoreno ostaje i pitanje koliki su uteg pri tome predstavljale geografske i klimatske karakteristike podneblja. One su to područje zasigurno činile manje poželjnim odabirom za život. Odredba XCVII. glave reformacije *Korčulanskog statuta* iz 14. st. zabranjuje Korčulanima ulaz u okužene rijeke poput Neretve od sredine svibnja do sredine rujna (Šeparović 1987: 114). U obrazloženju svoga zahtjeva za preseljenjem stanovnika Drijeva u mjesto Orman herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača kao glavni motiv navodi baruštinu i nezdrav zrak u Drijevi, što ni Dubrovčani nisu mogli osporiti (Tošić 1987: 152, n. 113, 153, n. 118). Situacija se nije bitnije mijenjala do početka 20. st. Život je zasigurno morao biti podnošljiviji u brdskim dijelovima delte. Stoga položaj grebinske nekropole, kao i drugih na tom području, treba shvatiti kao indikator postojanja naselja o čijem je mogućem trajanju i populaciji na temelju postojećeg stanja istraženosti teško suditi. Položaj nekropole uz rub krškog polja svjedoči o svjesnom čuvanju plodnoga zemljišta.

Ukope, sudeći prema dosad istraženim nekropolama, ne treba očekivati samo ispod stećaka. Lokaliteti na kojima su vršena cjelovita istraživanja (npr. Ričice-Pratrova glavica, Borinovci kod Trilja, Bisko, Grborezi) pokazali su da se odnos nadgrobnih spomenika i grobova kreće između 1:2 i 1:3, pa bi se prema toj analogiji na Grebinama moglo računati s oko 50 grobova (Jakšić 1983: 62, n. 7; Milošević 1982: 186; 1991: 35).

Budući da je kod pokušaja datacije nadgrobnih spomenika s Grebina-Čeveljuše teško pronaći neki određeni povijesni moment uz koji bi ih bilo moguće vezati, intenzifikacija života u donjem toku Neretve u drugoj polovini 14. st. sugerira donju granicu upotrebe nekropole. Analogije u pogledu ukrasa te oblika i dimenzija spomenika, kao i njihova položaja uz gomile i na njima, prije svega upućuju na primorsko područje jugoistočno od Neretve s pripadajućim zaleđem (zaleđe Neuma, Hutovo, Popovo). Zapadnije se određene analogije mogu vući s lokalitetima na području Ljubuškog te s lokalitetom

(late) Middle Ages is such that any population and its customs can hardly – unless based on an analogy with other regions – be characterized as something "new and different" given the very poor knowledge of "normal" (indigenous) element. Thus, without archaeological research it is entirely futile to engage in any discussion of the population which conducted burials at the Grebine-Čeveljuša necropolis.

Besides the inarguable mercantile importance of the Neretva delta (primarily Drijeva and Brštanik) as a link between the sea and the interior, which must have attracted the most diverse populations, the question still remains as to the burden imposed in the process by local geographic and climatic characteristics. The latter certainly made it a less desirable choice as a place to live. The provision of Article XCVII of the reformed *Korčula Statute* of the fourteenth century prohibits Korčula natives from entering pestilent rivers such as the Neretva from mid-May to mid-September (Šeparović 1987: 114). In the explanation to his demand for resettlement of the residents of Drijeva to Orman, duke Stjepan Vukčić Kosača cites as his principal motive the swamps and impure air in Drijeva, which not even the residents of Dubrovnik could deny (Tošić 1987: 152, n. 113, 153, n. 118). The situation did not change greatly up to the early twentieth century. Life certainly had to be more bearable in the hilly tracts of the delta. So the location of the Grebine necropolis, and others in the region, has to be seen as an indicator of the existence of settlements about which it is difficult to speculate with reference to their possible duration and populations given the existing level of research. The location of the necropolis at the periphery of a karst field testifies to intentional preservation of fertile land.

Judging by the necropolises examined so far, burials need not be expected only beneath *stećci*. The sites at which comprehensive research has been conducted (e.g. Ričice-Pratrova glavica, Borinovci at Trilj, Bisko, Grborezi) have shown that the ratio between grave monuments and graves is between 1:2 and 1:3, so based on this analogy, one can estimate about 50 graves at Grebine (Jakšić 1983: 62, n. 7; Milošević 1982: 186; 1991: 35).

Since it is difficult to find some specific historical point with which it would be possible to tie the grave monuments at Grebine-Čeveljuša in an attempt at dating, intensification of life in the lower course of the Neretva River in the second half of the fourteenth century suggests a lower boundary for use of the necropolis. Analogies in the sense of decorations and the shapes and dimensions of the monuments, as well as their position next to and on cairns, above all indicate the littoral south-east of the Neretva with the adjacent hinterland (hinter-

Pratrova glavica u Ričicama. Kao značajan problem pri analizi postavila se činjenica da je na području delte Neretve poznat tek manji broj lokaliteta, od kojih većina na temelju literature s kraja 19. st. No na temelju postojećega stanja istraženosti ipak je moguće ustvrditi jedinstvo područja delte Neretve u pogledu oblika i dimenzija spomenika te njihova položaja uz gomile i na njima. Nekropole na nedalekim lokalitetima Zanova i Mravinci u Borovcima zbog nedostatka karakterističnih obilježja datiraju se kroz cijelo 14. i prvu polovinu 15. st. (Tomasović 2001: 48, 51). Na primorskom području južno i jugoistočno od Neretve poznavanje gotovo svih srednjovjekovnih nekropola (s izuzetkom Vranjeva Sela kod Neuma) temelji se na terenskom pregledu A. Benca. Ti su lokaliteti uglavnom datirani od polovine 14. do polovine 15. st. Tek se nešto preciznije (druga polovina 14. st.) može datirati skupina spomenika označena kao nekropola Nikolića u Vranjevu Selu kod Neuma (Glavaš 1987–88: 155–156).

Glavni oslonac u datiranju spomenika s nekropole Grebine predstavlja sroliki heraldički štit s udubljenim gornjim dijelom sa sanduka br. 1, koji bez sumnje pokazuje pripadnost obalnom pojasu. S obzirom na to da se motivi srolikog heraldičkog štita javljaju isključivo na spomenicima u primorju i njegovu neposrednom zaleđu, logično je kao njihovo ishodište pretpostaviti gradske komune, odakle je upotreba grbova prodirala prema zaleđu i unutrašnjosti (Zmajić 1971: 12). Gotički profilirani sroliki štit s petljom na kamenom grbu grada Splita datiran je u drugu polovinu 14. st., između 1357. i 1387. g. (Fisković 1961: 189). Vjerojatno se upravo to ishodište može pretpostaviti za prikaz štita sa stećka u Prgometu. Analogije koje susrećemo na području Župe dubrovačke (npr. grbovi obitelji Silvestrović iz Dupca datirani u 1336. g., štit na nadgrobnoj ploči iz Bujica i Uskloplja, kao i oblici hasti križeva s učelaka u Župi dubrovačkoj) svakako govore u prilog kulturnih utjecaja Dubrovnika na ovom području u kontekstu intenzivnih trgovačkih kontakata, pri čemu ne treba zanemariti ni ljudski element i utjecaj dubrovačke kolonije u Drijevi i one nešto kratkotrajnije na Posrednici i Brštaniku (Tošić 1976: 43; 1987: 17, 32, 239–260). Iako A. Benac srolike štitove sa stećka na području od Slivna do Čepikuća datira u 15. st., tj. nakon 1399. g., kada veći dio tog područja dolazi u posjed Dubrovnika, nema razloga sumnjati da se utjecaj Dubrovnika u cijelom humskom prostoru nije osjetio već ranije (Benac 1953: 64, 81). S obzirom na smjer kretanja utjecaja iz primorskih centara i dataciju nekropola u primorskome pojasu jugoistočno od Neretve sam kraj 14. i početak 15. st. čini se opravdanom, iako ne i decidiranom datacijom spomenika s Grebina-Čeveljuše.

land of Neum, Hutovo, Popovo). Farther west, certain analogies can be found at sites in the Ljubuški area, and the Pratrova Glavica site in Ričice. A major problem for analysis is the small number of sites known in the Neretva delta, of which most are based on the literature from the nineteenth century. However, based on the existing level of research, it is nonetheless possible to confirm the uniformity of the territory of the Neretva delta with reference to the shapes and dimensions of monuments and their position next to and on cairns. The necropolises at the nearby site of Zanova and Mravinci in Borovci are dated through the entire fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century due to a lack of characteristic features (Tomasović 2001: 48, 51). In the littoral south and south-east of the Neretva, knowledge of all medieval necropolises (with the exception of Vranjevo Selo at Neum) is based on the field inspection conducted by A. Benac. These sites are generally dated to the mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries. Only the group of monuments designated as the Nikolić necropolis in Vranjevo Selo at Neum can be dated somewhat more precisely (latter half of the fourteenth century) (Glavaš 1987–88: 155–156).

The principal item used to date the monuments from the Grebine necropolis is the heart-shaped heraldic shield with depressed upper section on chest no. 1, which without doubt shows that it belongs to the coastal belt. Given that the heart-shaped heraldic shield motifs appear exclusively on monuments in the littoral and its immediate hinterland, it is logical to assume that they have their origins in urban communes, whence the use of graves spread into the hinterland and deeper interior (Zmajić 1971: 12). The gothically moulded heart-shaped shield with a knot on the stone coat of arms of the city of Split has been dated to the latter half of the fourteenth century, between 1357 and 1387 (Fisković 1961: 189). This is very likely just the source of the shield image on the *stećci* in Prgomet. Analogies which can be found in the area of Župa Dubrovačka (e.g. the coats of arms of the Silvestrović family from Dubac dated to 1336, the shield on the grave plate from Bujici and Uskloplje, and the shapes of the cross arms from the pediments in Župa Dubrovačka) certainly indicate the cultural influence of Dubrovnik on this area in the context of intense trade contacts, wherein the human element and the influence of Dubrovnik's colony in Drijeva and of those of somewhat shorter duration at Posrednica and Brštanik should not be neglected (Tošić 1976: 43; 1987: 17, 32, 239–260). Even though A. Benac dated heart-shaped shields on *stećci* in the territory from Slivno to Čepikuće to the fifteenth century, i.e. after 1399, when most of this area came under the control of Dubrovnik, there is no reason to doubt that Dubrovnik's influence had already been

KATALOG

U katalogu se donose opis, dimenzije, izgled, stanje, orijentacija i ukras spomenika. Pregled dimenzija detaljnije je prikazan u Tablici 1, a ovdje se navodi samo dužina, gornja širina (uglavnom po sredini) i visina s opisom spomenika.

1. (sl. 4 i 11)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, s manjim oštećenjima na rubovima. Lagano je zakošen prema dolje (širina donje zapadne plohe iznosi 50 cm). Na gornjoj plohi sa svake se strane od štita prema rubu nalaze dva uleknuća koja podsjećaju na utore. Spomenik se ne nalazi *in situ*.

Dimenzije: 142 × 60 × 39–40 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ–SI (50° odmaka od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: Na gornjoj plohi nalazi se reljefni motiv srcolikog štita s udubljenom gornjom stranom i najvećom širinom u gornjem dijelu. Motiv je samostalan i bez heraldičkih oznaka.

Literatura: Vrčić (1974: 155); Tomasović *et al.* (2008: 83); Tomasović (2008: 124).

2. (sl. 4)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, pravilnih bridova i ravne gornje plohe, s oštećenjem na JZ rubu po cijeloj visini. Spomenik je naknadno pomican i podizan kako bi se vidjelo što se nalazi ispod.

Dimenzije: 163 × 60 × 27–32 cm.

Orijentacija: Z–I, s vrlo malim odmakom u smjeru JZ–SI.

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

3.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik u cjelovitom stanju. Kvaliteta klesanja slabija je, gornja ploha ravna, s oštećenjima na rubnim dijelovima. Spomenik je pomican, a vidljivo je da je ispod njega potkopavano. Istočni je rub otkrnut u cijeloj visini. Najširi je po sredini, a sužava se prema rubovima, kao i prema dolje (širina donje plohe iznosi 45 cm).

Dimenzije: 171 × 72 (po sredini) × 26–32 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ–JI (5° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

felt throughout the Hum area even earlier (Benac 1953: 64, 81). Given the trajectory of influence from coastal centres and the dating of necropolises in the coastal belt south-east of the Neretva, the very end of the fourteenth century and early fifteenth century seem justified, although not decisive as a date for the monuments from Grebine-Čeveljuša.

CATALOGUE

The catalogue contains descriptions, dimensions, appearances, conditions and decorations on monuments. An overview of the dimensions is shown in greater detail in Table 1, while here only the length, upper width (generally along the middle) and the height with a description of the monument are cited.

1. (Figs. 4 and 11)

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed, with minor damage at the edges. Light downward gradient (width of lower western surface is 50 cm). On each side of the shield on the upper surface toward the edge there are two hollows which resemble slots. The monument is not located *in situ*.

Dimensions: 142 × 60 × 39–40 cm.

Orientation: SW–NE (50° variance from W–E orientation).

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: A heart-shaped shield motif in relief on the upper surface with a withdrawn upper side and a maximum width in the upper portion. The motif is independent, without heraldic insignia.

Literature: Vrčić (1974: 155); Tomasović *et al.* (2008: 83); Tomasović (2008: 124).

2. (Fig. 4)

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed, with straight edges and a flat upper surface, and damage on the south-west edge over entire height. The monument was later moved and raised to see what was below it.

Dimensions: 163 × 60 × 27–32 cm.

Orientation: W–E, with very slight with very slight variance in SW–NE direction.

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

3.

Description: Grave monument, complete. The quality of the masonry is poorer, upper surface flat, with

4.

Opis: Cjelovit nadgrobni spomenik, slabije kvalitete klesanja i ispucao na više dijelova. Osobito su velika oštećenja prisutna na gornjoj plohi te na jugozapadnoj (užoj) bočnoj strani. Gornja ploha najšira je po sredini, a prema rubovima se lagano sužava.

Dimenzije: 140 × 60 × 58 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ-SI (30° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

5. (sl. 5 i 2)

Opis: Cjelovit i klesan nadgrobni spomenik s oštro priklesanim rubovima, zbog čega gornja ploha ima izgled izduženog oktogona. Gornja ploha na dva je mjesta popucala, a rubovi su oštećeni. Na SI strani izrazito zakošen prema dolje (širina donje plohe iznosi 26 cm) i ima izgled trapeza. Donja ploha izrazito je nepravilna.

Dimenzije: 158 × 64 × 45 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ-SI (15° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

6. (sl. 2)

Opis: Cjelovit nadgrobni spomenik, vrlo tupih bridova i lagano ispupčenih bočnih ploha, zbog čega se doima ovalno. Gornja je ploha popucala na jednom mjestu. Donja je ploha neobrađena, pa visina varira. Budući da je pomican s ležišta, teško je reći da li su lomljeni komadi kamenja pored njega predstavljali neku vrstu postolja.

Dimenzije: 153 × 74 × 20–30 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ-SI (10° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

7. (sl. 2)

Opis: Cjelovit i klesan nadgrobni spomenik izrazito pravilnih bridova i ravnih ploha. Ispucao po sredini gornje plohe. Iako ulazi u kategoriju sanduka, zbog dužine se više doima kao ploča. Čini se da se nalazi *in situ*.

Dimenzije: 177 × 84 × 40 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ-SI (10° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Sanduk/ploča.

damage to edges. The monument has been moved, and it is apparent that some digging was done below it. The eastern edge is chipped along its entire height. It is widest in the middle, and it narrows toward the edges, and downward (width of lower surface is 45 cm).

Dimensions: 171 × 72 (in middle) × 26–32 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (5° from W-E direction).

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

4.

Description: Grave monument, complete, poorer quality of masonry and cracked at a number of places. The damage present on the upper surface and on the south-west (narrower) lateral side is particularly great. The upper surface is widest in the middle, and it narrows lightly toward the edges.

Dimensions: 140 × 60 × 58 cm.

Orientation: SW–NE (30° from W-E direction).

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

5. (Figs. 5 and 2)

Description: Complete and dressed grave monument with edges sharply carved subsequently, giving the upper surface the appearance of an elongated octagon. The upper surface is fissured at two places, and the edges are damaged. Marked downward gradient on north-east side (width of lower surface is 26 cm), with appearance of trapezium. The lower surface is irregular.

Dimensions: 158 × 64 × 45 cm.

Orientation: SW-NE (15° from W-E direction).

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

6. (Fig. 2)

Description: Complete grave monument, very blunted edges and lightly protruding lateral surface, creating an ovular impression. The upper surface is fissured at one place. The lower surface is undressed, so the height varies. Since it has been moved from its initial location, it is difficult to say whether the broken pieces of stone next to it constitute some sort of base.

Dimensions: 153 × 74 × 20–30 cm.

Ukras: Moguć. Na JZ strani (užoj bočnoj) nalazi se ukras (?) u obliku brojke "8".

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

8. (sl. 6, 12, 13, 14)

Opis: Cjelovit nadgrobni spomenik, pravilno i kvalitetno klesan, s vrlo malim oštećenjima. Lagano je utonuo (1–2 cm) sa zapadne strane i preokrenut za 180°, tako da se nekadašnja baza danas nalazi gore. Širina uže plohe iznosi 39 cm po sredini sanduka, a na rubovima (Z i I) kreće se oko 50 cm. Donja ploha je šira (69 i 63/69 cm), što znači da se spomenik u svom izvornom položaju sužavao prema dolje.

Dimenzije: 163 × 39 × 72 cm.

Orijentacija: Z–I.

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: Spomenik je ukrašen sa svih bočnih strana, no samo su neki ukrasi jasno prepoznatljivi. Najuočljiviji je latinski križ urezan na zapadnoj užoj bočnoj strani kod kojega je gornji krak nešto kraći od poprečnih. Na završetku donje haste nalazi se utor (danas je okrenut prema gore jer je sanduk preokrenut), dok ostale tri haste imaju trokutaste završetke. Između njih se nalaze ukrasi koje nije moguće jasno odrediti. Na južnoj (u izvornom položaju sjevernoj) dužoj plohi sanduka uz dno (odnosno gornji rub) teče bordura od dvije paralelne linije ispunjene nizom kosih paralelica (plošna tordirana vrpca) koja se nastavlja i u okomitom smjeru, uz desni rub sanduka. Ispod bordure urezana je scena lova na košutu. Motivi su uslijed djelovanja atmosferskih prilika u velikoj mjeri izgubili na prepoznatljivosti. Ipak se nazire jahač na konju ispred kojeg se nalazi životinja. Oko nje su vidljivi noviji tragovi ocrtavanja, očito s ciljem da se dobiju jasniji obrisi ukrasa. Motiv konjanika nazire se i na suprotnoj, sjevernoj dužoj bočnoj plohi (izvorno južnoj), kao i još neki ukrasi neprepoznatljivih obrisa. Na istočnoj užoj bočnoj plohi također uz oba okomita brida sanduka teče bordura široka 5 cm ispunjena kosim crticama. I tu se unutar tog okvira naziru ukrasi, no sasvim nerazpoznatljivi.

Literatura: Tomasović *et al.* (2008: 83); Tomasović (2008: 124, 126, 127).

9. (sl. 7)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik cjelovit, klesan, pravilnih ploha, s većim oštećenjima na sjevernom uglu i gornjoj plohi. Na II dijelu gornje plohe nalazi se manje udubljenje nepravilna oblika nastalo pod utjecajem atmosferičkih, koje podsjeća na kamenicu. Donja je ploha neobrađena i jako neravna. Zapadna strana spomenika leži na postolju u vidu manje

Orientation: SW–NE (10° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

7. (Fig. 2)

Description: Complete and dressed grave monument with remarkably straight edges and flat surfaces. Middle of upper surface cracked. Although it falls within the category of chests, its length creates the impression of a slab. It would appear to be *in situ*.

Dimensions: 177 × 84 × 40 cm.

Orientation: SW–NE (10° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Chest/slab.

Decoration: Possible. On SW side (narrower lateral) there is a decoration (?) shaped like the figure "8".

Literature: Unpublished.

8. (Figs. 6, 12, 13, 14)

Description: Complete grave monument, masonry regular and quality work, with very minor damage. Lightly sunken (1–2 cm) on the western side and turned over 180°, so that the former base is now on top. The width of the narrower surface is 39 cm in the middle of the chest, while at the edges (W and E) it is roughly 50 cm. The lower surface is wider (69 and 63/69 cm), which means that the monument narrowed downward in its original position.

Dimensions: 163 × 39 × 72 cm.

Orientation: W–E.

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: The monument is decorated on all lateral sides, but only some of the decorations are clearly recognizable. The most striking is a Latin cross engraved on the western lateral, narrower side, on which the upper arm is somewhat shorter than the perpendicular arms. There is a slot at the end of the lower arm (it is today turned upward because the chest has been overturned), while the three remaining arms have triangular ends. Between them there are decorations which cannot be discerned. Trimming runs along the southern (original northern) longer surface of the chest along the bottom (i.e. the upper edge) made of two parallel lines filled in with a series of slanted parallelograms (flat twisted ribbons) which continues vertically as well, along the right edge of the chest. The scene of a roe-deer hunt is engraved below the trimming. The motifs have lost much of their recognizability due to the effects of the weather. Even so, a horseman can be discerned, as well as an animal in front of the horse. New traces of drawing are visible around them,

neobrađene ploče dimenzija: 112 × 55 × 11 cm. Postolje je položeno okomito u odnosu na smjer spomenika (SI-JZ; 20° od smjera S-J).

Dimenzije: 143 × 71 × 29–38 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ-JI (20° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Ploča/sanduk s postoljem.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

10. (sl. 7)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik amorfnog oblika. Bočne strane nešto su pravilnije, što je vjerojatno rezultat lomljenja kamena. Gornja ploha sasvim je neravna. Prisutna su velika oštećenja. Spomenik je pomican.

Dimenzije: cca 147 × 67–105 × 14–25 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ-JI (15° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Amorfnu ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

11. (sl. 3)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, zavravnjene gornje plohe. Od sredine se lagano sužava prema rubovima. Zapadni rub je oštećen. Spomenik je smješten na rubnom dijelu gomile i lagano je utonuo, osim s južne strane. Na sjeveroistočnoj strani nalazi se manji "utor". S južne je strane potkopavan.

Dimenzije: 153 × 64 (po sredini) × 31 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ-JI (10° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

12. (sl. 3)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit, klesan, ravne gornje plohe. Zbog manjih dimenzija više se doima kao sanduk nego kao ploča. Smješten je uz rub gomile, i to *in situ*. Sjeverozapadna bočna strana lagano je sužena.

Dimenzije: 138 × 50 (po sredini) × 26–30 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ-JI (20° od smjera Z-I).

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

13. (sl. 8)

Opis: Cjelovit i neobrađen nadgrobni spomenik s ravnom gornjom plohom. Na sjevernoj je strani ispucao po cijeloj visini. Vrlo nepravilan, zbog čega

obviously made to obtain clearer contours of the decoration. The motif of the horseman can also be discerned on the opposite, northern and longer lateral surface (originally the southern side), together with some decorations with illegible contours. A 5 cm wide trimming filled with slanted lines also runs along the eastern, narrower lateral surface. Decorations can also be discerned inside this frame, but they are entirely unrecognizable.

Literature: Tomasović *et al.* (2008: 83); Tomasović (2008: 124, 126, 127).

9. (Fig. 7)

Description: Grave monument – complete, dressed, regular surfaces, with significant damage to the northern corner and upper surface. On the southeast part of the upper surface, there is minor indentation of irregular form made by weathering, which recalls a stone basin. The lower surface is undressed and very uneven. The western side of the monument lies on a base in the form of a small undressed slab with these dimensions: 112 × 55 × 11 cm. The base is placed vertically in relationship to the monument's orientation (NE–SW; 20° of the N-S direction).

Dimensions: 143 × 71 × 29–38 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (20° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Slab/chest with base.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

10. (Fig. 7)

Description: Grave monument with amorphous shape. The lateral sides are somewhat straighter, which is probably due to breakage of the stone. The upper surface is entirely uneven. Great damage is apparent. The monument has been moved.

Dimensions: ca 147 × 67–105 × 14–25 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (15° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Amorphous slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

11. (Fig. 3)

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed, upper surfaces flattened. It narrows gently from the middle toward the edges. The western edge is damaged. The monument is located on the edge of a cairn and is somewhat sunken, except for the southern side. There is a small "slot" on the north-east side. It has been dug under from the southern side.

Dimensions: 153 × 64 (in the middle) × 31 cm.

visina varira. Jugoistočni rub znatnije je oštećen. Na istočnoj bočnoj strani nalaze se male pukotine – “utori”. To je posljednji stećak na sjevernoj strani. Uz istočni rub sanduka nalazi se kamen (postolje?) dimenzija 60 × 30 cm, koji je sasvim utonuo u zemlju. Sličan kamen (postolje?) vidljiv je ispod sjeverne (duže) bočne strane.

Dimenzije: 139 × 65 × 28–36 cm.

Orijentacija: Z–I.

Oblik: Ploča/sanduk s postoljem (?).

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

14.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, ravnih gornje i bočnih ploha, sa znatnim oštećenjima. Gornja ploha širi se od zapada (SZ) prema istoku (JI).

Dimenzije: 147 × 66 × 35–38 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ–JI (25° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

15.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, oštećen na sjeveroistočnom rubu. Gornja ploha sužava se od JI prema SZ. Zbog manjih dimenzija ima izgled sanduka. Nalazi se *in situ*.

Dimenzije: 112 × 69 × 24 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ–JI (70° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

16.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik u obliku amorfne kamenog bloka. JI bočna strana (uža) nešto je pravilnija. Pod jakim je utjecajem atmosferilija. Smješten je na vrhu okrnjene kamene gomile br. 4. Ne može se s punom sigurnošću reći da nije pomican.

Dimenzije: cca 155 × 28–94 × 18–35 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ–JI (25° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Amorfna ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

17.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, ravne bočne i gornje plohe, na kojoj su vidljiva nepravilna

Orientation: NW–SE (10° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

12. (Fig. 3)

Description: Grave monument, complete, dressed, flat upper surface. Due to the small dimensions, it seems to be more of a chest than a slab. It is located on the edge of a cairn, *in situ*. The north-west lateral side is slightly narrowed.

Dimensions: 138 × 50 (in middle) × 26–30 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (20° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

13. (Fig. 8)

Description: Complete and unworked grave monument with flat upper surface. Cracked over the entire height of the northern side. Very irregular, so the height varies. The south-east edge is considerably damaged. On the eastern lateral side there are small cracks – “slots”. This is the last *stećak* on the northern side. There is a stone (base?) next to the eastern edge, dimensions 60 × 30 cm, which has completely sunken into the ground. A similar stone (base?) is visible below the northern (longer) lateral side.

Dimensions: 139 × 65 × 28–36 cm.

Orientation: W–E.

Shape: Slab/chest with base (?).

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

14.

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed, flat upper and lateral surfaces, with considerable damage. Upper surface expands from west (NW) to east (SE).

Dimensions: 147 × 66 × 35–38 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (25° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

15.

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed, damaged on the north-east edge. The upper surface narrows from the south-east to north-west.

kružna udubljenja nastala pod utjecajem atmosfere-
rilija. Donja ploha slabije je obrađena. Nalazi se na
ostacima gomile br. 7 i lagano je utonuo među ka-
menjem. Zbog manjih dimenzija ima izgled sandu-
ka. Čini se da nije pomican.

Dimenzije: 146 × 76 × 30 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ–JI (30° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

18.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik cjelovit, klesan, zarav-
njene gornje plohe. Bridovi su samo lagano pri-
klesani i mekani. Istočni rub je oštećen. Vidljiv je
utjecaj atmosfere-
rilija. Smješten je *in situ* istočno od
gomile br. 8.

Dimenzije: 162 × 82 × 31 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ–SI (15° od Z–I).

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

19. (sl. 9)

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik u obliku amorfnog ka-
menog bloka smješten je na uništenoj gomili pored
prekopanog groba koji je nakon toga zatrpan lom-
ljenjem s gomile. Ploča je pomican. Ukop ima
dimenzije 70 × 160–165 cm i orijentaciju u smjeru
Z–I. Na istočnoj je strani u širini cijelog ukopa vid-
ljiva kamena ploča (doglavnica) na koju se sa sjever-
ne strane naslanja druga kamena ploča.

Dimenzije: cca 116 × cca 57 × 10–30 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ–SI (10° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Amorfnu ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

20.

Opis: Nadgrobni spomenik, cjelovit i klesan, pravil-
nih ploha. Smješten je između gomile 2 i 8. Jugo-
istočni rub je oštećen. Donji dio je jako nepravilan,
ali je evidentno da je spomenik zakošen prema do-
lje.

Dimenzije: 156 × 57 × 22–28 cm.

Orijentacija: Z–I.

Oblik: Ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

Due to its smaller dimensions it resembles a chest.
Located *in situ*.

Dimensions: 112 × 69 × 24 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (70° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

16.

Description: Grave monument shaped like amor-
phous stone block. South-east side (narrower) is
somewhat straighter. Severely weathered. Located
on top of truncated stone cairn no. 4. Cannot be
stated with certainty weather or not it was moved.

Dimensions: ca 155 × 28–94 × 18–35 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (25° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Amorphous slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

17.

Description: Grave monument, complete and
dressed, flat lateral and upper surfaces, on which ir-
regular circular depressions visible, made by weath-
ering. The lower surface is less worked. Located on
the remains of cairn no. 7 and it has lightly sunk
among the stones. Due to its smaller dimensions it
resembles a chest. It would appear that it has not
been moved.

Dimensions: 146 × 76 × 30 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (30° from the W–E direction).

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

18.

Description: Grave monument – complete, dressed,
flattened upper surface. Edges lightly dressed and
soft. Eastern edge damaged. Impact of weathering
apparent. Located *in situ* east of cairn no. 8.

Dimensions: 162 × 82 × 31 cm.

Orientation: SW–NE (15° from W–E).

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

19. (Fig. 9)

Description: Grave monument shaped like amor-
phous stone block located on a devastated cairn

21. (sl. 10)

Opis: Nadgrobnni spomenik cjelovit i klesan. Gornja ploha je ravna te se od sredine neznatno sužava prema rubovima spomenika. Gornja ploha sužava se prema donjoj. Jugoistočna (uža) ploha lagano je ispupčena. Smješten nešto južnije od spomenika br. 21.

Dimenzije: 133 × 60 × 63 cm.

Orijentacija: SZ–JI (10° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Sanduk.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

22.

Opis: Izrazito amorfan nadgrobnni spomenik smješten na gomili br. 5.

Dimenzije: 150 × 98 × 20 cm.

Orijentacija: JZ–SI (75° od smjera Z–I).

Oblik: Amorfn ploča.

Ukras: –

Literatura: Neobjavljen.

next to a ransacked grave which was subsequently buried with broken stones from the cairn. The slab has been moved. The grave has dimensions of 70 × 160–165 cm and a W-E orientation. On the eastern side, a stone plate (headstone) is visible across the entire width of the grave, with another stone plate leaning against it on the northern side.

Dimensions: ca 116 × ca 57 × 10–30 cm.

Orientation: SW–NE (10° from the W-E direction).

Shape: Amorphous slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

20.

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed, straight, right-angled surfaces. Located between cairns 2 and 8. South-east edge is damaged. The lower portion is very irregular, but it is evident that the monument has a downward gradient.

Dimensions: 156 × 57 × 22–28 cm.

Orientation: W–E.

Shape: Slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

21. (Fig. 10)

Description: Grave monument, complete and dressed. The upper surface is flat and it narrows negligibly from the middle toward the edges of the monument. The upper surface narrows toward the lower surface. The south-east (narrower) surface protrudes slightly. Located somewhat farther south than monument no. 21.

Dimensions: 133 × 60 × 63 cm.

Orientation: NW–SE (10° from the W-E direction).

Shape: Chest.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

22.

Description: Extremely amorphous grave monument located on cairn no. 5.

Dimensions: 150 × 98 × 20 cm.

Orientation: SW–NE (75° from the W-E direction).

Shape: Amorphous slab.

Decoration: –

Literature: Unpublished.

Br.	Oblik	Dužina	Širina						Visina	Orijentacija	In situ
			Gornja			Donja					
			Istok	Sredina	Zapad	Istok	Zapad	Zapad			
1.	Sanduk	142	60	62	56/59	48 (otkrhnuti rubovi)	50 (otkrhnuti rubovi)	55	JZ-SI (50° od Z-I)	ne	
2.	Ploča	163	60	60	50/59	-	-	55	JZ-SI (5° od Z-I)	ne	
3.	Ploča	171	48/72	72	50/64	45 (otkrhnuti rubovi)	46 (otkrhnuti rubovi)	26-32	SZ-JI (5° od Z-I)	ne	
4.	Sanduk	140	60	67	66	-	63	58	JZ-SI (30° od Z-I)	da	
5.	Sanduk	158	45	64	40	26	65	45	JZ-SI (15° od Z-I)	da	
6.	Ploča	153	58	74	50	cca 20 (lagano zaobljen)	cca 10 (lagano zaobljen)	20-30	JZ-SI (10° od Z-I)	ne	
7.	Sanduk/ploča	177	53	84	65	70 (otučen)	78	40	JZ-SI (10° od Z-I)	da	
8.	Sanduk	163	51	39	47	69	63/69	72	Z-I	ne	
9.	Ploča/sanduk s postoljem	143	70	71	70	67	50/69	29-38	SZ-JI (20° od Z-I)	da	
10.	Amorfna ploča	147	105 (najveća širina)				67-75	14-25	SZ-JI (15° od Z-I)	ne	
11.	Ploča	153	48	64	-	- (utonuo)	- (utonuo)	31	SZ-JI (10° od Z-I)	?	
12.	Ploča	138	33/40	50	39	36	27 (zaobljen)	26-30	SZ-JI (20° od Z-I)	da	
13.	Ploča/sanduk s postoljem	139	60	65	50/60	62	34 (oštećen)	28-36	Z-I	da	
14.	Sanduk	147	50	66	72	10	66	35-38	SZ-JI (25° od Z-I)	da	
15.	Ploča	112	59/72	69	42/62	53/74	- (utonuo)	24	SZ-JI (70° od Z-I)	da	
16.	Amorfna ploča	155	94 (najveća širina)				28	18-35	SZ-JI (20° od Z-I)	?	
17.	Ploča	146	54/72	76	70/76	- (utonuo)	- (utonuo)	30	SZ-JI (30° od Z-I)	?	
18.	Ploča	162	54/76	82	76	- (utonuo)	80	31	JZ-SI (15° od Z-I)	da	
19.	Amorfna ploča	116	57 (najveća širina)				-	10-30	JZ-SI (10° od Z-I)	ne	
20.	Ploča	156	53/64	64	45/57	24 (jako sužen)	45	22-28	Z-I	da	
21.	Sanduk	133	57	60	40/56	34	38	63	SZ-JI (10° od Z-I)	da	
22.	Amorfna ploča	150	98 (najveća širina)				-	20	JZ-SI (75° od Z-I)	da	

Napomene: • Sve dimenzije izražene su u centimetrima.

• Znak / znači da je širina uzeta na samome rubu koji je oštećen i neposredno prije oštećenja.

Tablica 1. Prikaz dimenzija, orijentacije i položaja nadgrobnih spomenika (autor: M. Šunjić, 2008).

No.	Shape	Length	Width						Height	Orientation	In situ
			Upper			Lower					
			East	Middle	West	East	West	West			
1.	Chest	142	60	62	56/59	48 (chipped edges)	–	50 (chipped edges)	39–40	SW–NE (50° from W–E)	no
2.	Slab	163	60	60	50/59	–	–	55	27–32	SW–NE (5° from W–E)	no
3.	Slab	171	48/72	72	50/64	45 (chipped edges)	–	46 (chipped edges)	26–32	NW–SE (5° from W–E)	no
4.	Chest	140	60	67	66	–	–	63	58	SW–NE (30° from W–E)	yes
5.	Chest	158	45	64	40	26	–	65	45	SW–NE (15° from W–E)	yes
6.	Slab	153	58	74	50	ca 20 (lightly rounded)	ca 10 (lightly rounded)	ca 10 (lightly rounded)	20–30	SW–NE (10° from W–E)	no
7.	Chest /slab	177	53	84	65	70 (beaten)	78	78	40	SW–NE (10° from W–E)	yes
8.	Chest	163	51	39	47	69	63/69	63/69	72	W–E	no
9.	Slab/chest with base	143	70	71	70	67	50/69	50/69	29–38	NW–SE (20° from W–E)	yes
10.	Amorphous slab	147	105 (greatest width)			–	67–75	67–75	14–25	NW–SE (15° from W–E)	no
11.	Slab	153	48	64	–	– (sunken)	– (sunken)	– (sunken)	31	NW–SE (10° from W–E)	?
12.	Slab	138	33/40	50	39	36	27 (rounded)	27 (rounded)	26–30	NW–SE (20° from W–E)	yes
13.	Slab/chest with base	139	60	65	50/60	62	34 (damaged)	34 (damaged)	28–36	W–E	yes
14.	Chest	147	50	66	72	10	66	66	35–38	NW–SE (25° from W–E)	yes
15.	Slab	112	59/72	69	42/62	53/74	– (sunken)	– (sunken)	24	NW–SE (70° from W–E)	yes
16.	Amorphous slab	155	94 (greatest width)			–	28	28	18–35	NW–SE (20° from W–E)	?
17.	Slab	146	54/72	76	70/76	– (sunken)	– (sunken)	– (sunken)	30	NW–SE (30° from W–E)	?
18.	Slab	162	54/76	82	76	– (sunken)	80	80	31	SW–NE (15° from W–E)	yes
19.	Amorphous slab	116	57 (greatest width)			–	–	–	10–30	SW–NE (10° from W–E)	no
20.	Slab	156	53/64	64	45/57	24 (very narrowed)	45	45	22–28	W–E	yes
21.	Chest	133	57	60	40/56	34	38	38	63	NW–SE (10° from W–E)	yes
22.	Amorphous slab	150	98 (greatest width)			–	–	–	20	SW–NE (75° from W–E)	yes

Notes: • All dimensions expressed in centimetres.

• The symbol / means the width taken at the very edge which is damaged and immediately prior to such damage.

Table 1. Presentation of dimensions, orientations and positions of grave monuments (compiled by: M. Šunjić, 2008).

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

Anali	Anali Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku/Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku, Dubrovnik.
HAD	Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb.

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