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# Župna crkva ... *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* – prilog tumačenju širenja ugarskoga političkog utjecaja južno od Drave

## *The parish church ... sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam – a contribution to the interpretation of the spread of Hungarian political influence south of the Drava*

Izvorni znanstveni rad  
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*U radu se pokušalo preciznije odrediti u kojem je razdoblju crkvi ... sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam u Torčecu dodijeljen titular - sv. Stjepan Kralj. Na temelju pisanih i arheoloških materijalnih izvora na primjerima dvaju veoma jakih ranosrednjovjekovna središta južno od Drave, Zagreba i Knina, koji imaju crkve koje nose titular sv. Stjepana Kralja, preciznije je određeno vrijeme kao i prostorni preduvjeti koji su bili potrebni nekoj lokaciji da određeni sakralni objekt bude posvećen najslavnijem vladaru ugarskog prijestolja, Stjepanu I. Težnje za krajevima južno od Drave, Ugarska je dinastija, između ostalog, provodila kulturnom politikom koja se očituje u vidu širenja kršćanstva putem organizacije crkve, a jedan od načina bio je i dodjeljivanje titulara odabranim sakralnim objektima. Poznato ih je još svega pet, koji su se nalazili u blizini važnijih prometnica kao bitnog čimbenika povezivanja ugarskoga panonskog prostora i njihovih središta s područjem južno od Drave. Zaključeno je da su posvećenja uslijedila nakon što je Andrija II. prvo posvetio zagrebačku crkvu, poslije izdavanja isprave godine 1217/1227, pa najkasnije do vremena kraja vladavine Bele IV. (-1270. g.) u drugoj polovini 13. stoljeća. Taj je postupak, kao i rasprostranjenost tih crkava na prostoru Zagrebačke biskupije, vjerojatno potaknut i intenzivnim djelovanjem biskupa Stjepana II.*

*Crkva u Torčecu je u trenutku posvećenja sv. Stjepanu Kralju već bila izgrađena, čemu u prilog ide brojnost okolnih naselja, čije postojanje je evidentirano sustavnim arheološkim istraživanjima toga prostora, kao i nalaz deformirane S-karičice. Brojnost okolnih naselja prvo ranog, a kasnije i razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka u danom je trenutku rezultirala potrebom formiranja župnog središta i nastavka ukopavanja oko nje, o čijem kontinuitetu nam svjedoče provedena arheološka istraživanja na položaju Cirkvišće, kao i u povijesnim pisanim izvorima zabilježena situacija zatečena u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća.*

*Ključne riječi: crkva Sv. Stjepan Kralj, Torčec, Zagreb, Knin, rani i razvijeni srednji vijek*

*In this paper we tried to determine with more precision in which period the church ... sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam was assigned its patron saint – St. Stephen the King. Based on written and archaeological material sources on the examples of two highly important mediaeval centres south of the Drava, Zagreb and Knin, both with churches whose patron saint is St. Stephen the King, the time and the spatial preconditions that rendered a location eligible to have a sacral object dedicated to the most glorious ruler of the Hungarian throne, Stephen I was determined with more precision. The Hungarian dynasty pursued its aspirations for the lands south of the Drava, among other things, by a cultural policy reflected in the spread of Christianity through the church organization, and one of the methods was the assignment of a patron saint to chosen sacral buildings. Only five other are known, which were situated next to important communications as an essential factor in connecting the Hungarian Pannonian territory and its centres with the territory south of the Drava. The conclusion was reached that the consecrations took place after Andrew II first consecrated the Zagreb church, after issuing the document in 1217/1227, and at the latest until the rule of Bela IV (-1270) in the second half of the 13th century. That act, as well as the wide distribution of those churches in the area of the Zagreb diocese, was probably motivated also by intense activity of bishop Stephen II.*

*At the moment of the consecration to St. Stephen the King, the church in Torčec had already been constructed, in favour of which speaks the number of neighbouring settlements, whose existence is documented by systematic archaeological excavations of that area, as well as by the find of a deformed S-ring. The considerable number of neighbouring settlements first of the Early and later also of High Middle Ages, at a given moment resulted in the need to form a parish centre and to continue with the burials around it. A testimony to its continuity is provided by archaeological excavations carried out at the site of Cirkvišće, as well as by the situation in the first half of the 14th century, documented in historical written sources.*

*Key words: church of St. Stephen the King, Torčec, Zagreb, Knin, Early and High Middle Ages*

Na nalazištu indikativnog toponima Cirkvišće, smještenom sjeverozapadno od današnjeg mjesta Torčec u Podravini (sl. 1,1; sl. 2,1), nalaze se materijalni ostaci koji ukazuju da se na ovom položaju nalazila crkva Sv. Stjepana Kralja, koja se spominje u popisu župa Zagrebačke biskupije iz 1334. godine kao ... *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* (Buturac 1984, 75-76). Naime, pokusnim se arheološkim istraživanjem, provedenim tijekom 2002. godine, potvrdio pretpostavljeni sakralni karakter nalazišta i dobiveni su elementi za ubikaciju spomenute crkve, poznate iz popisa župa 1334. godine, upravo na tom položaju. Usporedbom pisanih povijesnih izvora, rezultata arheoloških istraživanja i analize materijala, predložena je slika povijesne i arheološke slojevitosti tog nalazišta. Prema prvim povijesnim izvorima znamo da je na tom mjestu 1334. godine postojala župna crkva, a istraženi ukopi pokojnika svjedoče kako se oko crkve pokapalo tijekom kasnoga srednjeg vijeka. Crkva je možda stradala oko 1474. g., kada je turska vojska pustošila oko Koprivnice i Varaždina, jer se u popisu iz 1501. godine ne spominje, a to je na istraženom dijelu lokaliteta potvrđeno i arheološkim iskopavanjima kojima je prepoznat hijatus u pokopavanju do oko prve polovine 17. stoljeća<sup>1</sup>. Većina grobova istraženih tijekom provedenih pokusnih iskopavanja ipak pripada najmlađem i najočuvanijem horizontu ukopavanja, koji je trajao od oko 1649. do između 1731. i 1733. g., vremenu o kojem nam svjedoče i učestaliji pisani povijesni izvori (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2002; Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003).

Na lokalitetima gdje je prepoznat kontinuitet zaposjedanja mjesta tijekom više stoljeća, kakav je slučaj i groblje oko crkve na položaju Cirkvišće, često se događa da su najstariji nalazi uništeni ili su očuvani tek u tragovima. Tako je prigodom spomenutih istraživanja u poremećenom sloju, nastalom ukopavanjem pokojnika u kasnome srednjem vijeku ili ranome novom vijeku, pronađena deformirana S-karičica izrađena od posrebrene bronce<sup>2</sup> (sl. 3), nakit koji je ukazivao da je ovaj položaj vjerojatno bio korišten za pokope i prije nego što crkvu spominje povijesni izvor. To je pobudilo dodatna promišljanja o karakterističnom titularu župne crkve uz Dravu, posvećene sv. Stjepanu Kralju. Nametnulo se pitanje o tome postoje li neke smjernice koje bi, *per analogiam*, ukazivale i na ranije vrijeme posvećenja crkve Sv. Stjepanu Kralju, što nam povijesni izvor prenosi tek u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća.

Prije nego što se osvrnemo na povijesna vrela i arheološke dokaze povezane s položajima na kojima su registrirane crkve s tim titularom, valja konstatirati da je titular sv. Stjepana Kralja usko vezan s dinastijom ugarskih kraljeva Arpadovića, što nas slijedom toga vodi u vrijeme kraja 11. i početka 12. stoljeća, kada je uspostavljena ugarska vlast

1 Istraženi dio lokaliteta obuhvaćao je jugoistočni i istočni dio blagog uzvišenja te se ne može isključiti mogućnost da se, možda ne tako učestalo, ukopavanje nastavilo na nekom drugom dijelu groblja koji nije obuhvaćen arheološkim sondama.

2 Konzervaciju nalaza obavio je Damir Doračić iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu koji je odredio i materijal od kojeg je S-karičica izrađena. Iskrivljena S-karičica je brončana s tragovima posrebrene na vanjskoj površini, S-petlja usko joj je raskucana. Dužina deformirane karike do S-petlje je 6,5 cm; dužina S-petlje 0,8 cm; promjer karike – 0,14 cm; težina – 1,2 g., (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003, sl. 33).

The site with the indicative toponym of Cirkvišće, situated northwest of the present-day village of Torčec in the Podravina region (Fig. 1,1; Fig. 2,1), contains material remains indicating that this had been the position of the church of St. Stephen the King, mentioned in the 1334 list of parishes of the Zagreb diocese as ... *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* (Buturac 1984, 75-76). Test archaeological excavation carried out in 2002 confirmed the presumed sacral character of the site and the elements were obtained for placing the mentioned church, known from the 1334 list of parishes, precisely at that position. By means of a comparative study of written historical sources, the results of archaeological excavations and the analysis of the material, we put forward a picture of the historical and archaeological stratification of that site. We know from the first historical sources that in 1334 there was a parish church at that location, and the excavated burials of the deceased bear witness that interments around the church took place during Late Middle Ages. The church may have sustained damage in 1474, when the Turkish troops were laying waste to the area around Koprivnica and Varaždin, because it is missing from the 1501 list. This was corroborated also by archaeological excavations in the investigated part of the site, which led to the recognition of a hiatus in burials lasting until around the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>.

Most of the graves excavated during test excavations nevertheless belong to the youngest and best preserved horizon of burials, which lasted from around 1649 up until between 1731 and 1733. This is the time of which there is additional evidence in historical sources, which now appear with a greater frequency (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2002, Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003). It often happens at the sites where a continuity of occupation of a position through several centuries can be recognized, as in the case of the cemetery around the church at the Cirkvišće site, that the earliest finds are destroyed or preserved only in traces. Thus, during the mentioned excavations, a disturbed layer brought about through interment of the deceased during Late Middle Ages of early Modern Age yielded a deformed S-ring made of silvered bronze<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 3), a piece of jewellery indicating that this position had probably been used for burials even before the church was mentioned in a historical source. This inspired additional considerations about the characteristic patron saint of the parish church next to the Drava, dedicated to St. Stephen the King. The question presented itself as to whether there were certain guidelines that would, *per analogiam*, point to an even earlier time of consecration of the church to St. Stephen the King, which is conveyed to us by the historical source only in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Before we take a look at historical sources and archaeological evidence relating to the positions in which churches

1 The investigated part of the site comprised the southeastern and eastern part of the gentle elevation, and the possibility cannot be excluded that, perhaps not on such a frequent basis, the burials continued at another part of the cemetery, which was not covered by archaeological trenches.

2 Damir Doračić from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb conserved the finds, and determined also the material the S-ring was made of. The twisted S-ring is of bronze, with traces of silvering on the outer surface, with the S-loop narrowly beaten-out. The length of the deformed ring to the S-loop is 6,5 cm; the length of the S-loop is 0,8 cm; the diameter of the ring – 0,14 cm; weight – 1,2 g (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003, Fig. 33).

nad srednjovjekovnom Hrvatskom. Ona nije osvojena vojno već rodbinskim vezama i političkim putem u vidu posebnih povlastica neplaćanja poreza, koje je kralj dao predstavnicima dvanaest hrvatskih rodova (Goldstein 1995, 446-448, fus. 80). U tom političkom prožimanju crkva je zasigurno imala veliku ulogu jer upravo je ona osiguravala potvrdu posebnosti ugarskoga kraljevskog roda Arpadovića u kojem je više vladara proglašeno svetima - Stjepan Kralj, Ladislav i Emerik<sup>3</sup>. Ovaj kraljevski svetački trio osnova su promicanja dinastičkoga kulta o «rodu kraljevske krvi» tih vladara, koji je bio vrlo važan upravo u vrijeme Kolomana koji stječe vlast nad Hrvatskim Kraljevstvom kao i u vremenu nakon njega (Ančić 2002, 87-88), u kojem se nastojalo ojačati intenzitet političkih, a time i crkvenih utjecaja sa sjevera.

Pitanje koje proizlazi jest - je li moguće na temelju pisanih i arheoloških materijalnih izvora preciznije odrediti vrijeme kao i prostorne preduvjete koji su bili potrebni nekoj lokaciji da određeni sakralni objekt bude posvećen upravo najslavnijem vladaru ugarskog prijestolja, Stjepanu I. Kralju, a ne nekome drugom svecu ugarske dinastije<sup>4</sup>? Ono što je indikativno jest činjenica da za područje kontinentalne, ali i priobalne Hrvatske nema puno pisanih i arheoloških dokaza o postojanju takvih objekata, a da upravo dva crkveno vrlo jaka ransrednjovjekovna središta južno od Drave, Zagreb i Knin, imaju crkve koje nose titular sv. Stjepana Kralja, kako je zaključeno prema povijesnim izvorima ili arheološkim nalazima.

Za Zagreb su prvenstveno značajni povijesni izvori koji govore o osnutku biskupije i o vremenu njezina posvećenja sv. Stjepanu Kralju (sl. 1,2). Kao najvjerodostojniji dokument uzima se listina ostrogonskog nadbiskupa, poznata kao Felicianova isprava iz 1134. godine, u kojoj se spominje da je Ladislav I. Arpadović osnovao "*zagrabensis episcopatum*". Kako se ne navodi točna godina osnutka već se samo spominju neke osobe kao svjedoci tome činu za koje se pouzdano zna kada su obnašali dužnost nadbiskupa, povjesničari su zaključili da je Ladislav osnovao biskupiju oko 1094. g. u mjestu koje se zove Zagreb<sup>5</sup>. Sljedeći pisani izvor iz 1198.

3 Prvi od njih, Stjepan I., zvan «Sveti», nakon rođenja 975. g. je kršten, a nakon ustoličenja na vladarski tron 997. g. od pape Silvestara II. dobiva 1001. g. krunu te se smatra da tim činom on uvodi Mađare u svijet kršćanstva. Na vlasti je bio do 1038. godine, a kao najslavniji vladar na ugarskom prijestolju proglašen je svetim 1087. g. u stolnome Biogradu, u vrijeme vladavine Ladislava I. Drugi vladar, Ladislav I., bio je okrunjen za kralja 1077. g. i intenzivno je radio na učvršćivanju kršćanstva u Ugarskoj sve do smrti 1095. g.. Pripisane su mu mnoge kreposti i vrline te je proglašen svetim 1192. g. Stjepanov, pak, sin Emerik život je proveo u molitvi i pokori te kako je, uoči svoje krunidbe 1031. g. umro, godine 1083. je kanoniziran (Dobronić 2003, 22-23).

4 Osim putem crkava koje nose tzv. «ugarski titular», od kojih uz sv. Stjepana Kralja valja izdvojiti sv. Ladislava i sv. Emerika (zatim sv. Elizabetu, sv. Margaretu i dr.), zajedništvo Hrvatske i Ugarske tijekom višestoljetnog suživota u istoj državnoj zajednici odražava se na širokom prostoru Hrvatske i u likovnoj i crkvenoj umjetnosti, o čemu nam svjedoči bogatstvo prikaza likova ugarskih svetaca izrađenih na raznolikim predmetima i u različitim materijalima (Mirković 1995, 18-26). Oni su u ovom radu izostavljeni jer bi njihovim uvrštavanjem sagledavana tema bila preopširna, a ne bi značajno pridonijela zaključku.

5 Prema tumačenjima povjesničara, nepostojanje papinskog dokumenta o utemeljenju biskupskog sjedišta u Zagrebu nema ovdje presudno značenje jer Ladislav postupa u skladu s povlasticom koju je Apostolska Stolica, odnosno papa Silvestar II. (999-1003) podijelio ugarskom kralju Stjepanu I. Svetom (Gyorffy 1992, 261-263).

with that patron saint were registered, we have to state that the titular of St. Stephen the King was narrowly connected with the Hungarian kings of the Arpad dynasty, which brings us to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when the Hungarian authority was established over mediaeval Croatia. It was not occupied by force but through kinship ties and politically, in the form of specific privileges of tax exemption, given by the king to the representatives of twelve Croatian clans (Goldstein 1995, 446-448, foot. 80). The role played by the church in this political turmoil must have been important, because it was precisely the church that authenticated the special status of the Hungarian royal line of the Arpads, in which several rulers were canonized – King Stephen, Ladislaus, Emerik<sup>3</sup>. This royal saintly trio forms the basis for the promotion of the dynastic cult of the "royal blood lineage" of those rulers, of great importance precisely during the rule of Coloman, who assumed power over the Croatian Kingdom, as well as in the time after him (Ančić 2002, 87-88), characterized by the wish to strengthen the intensity of political and with that also ecclesiastical influences from the north.

The question that presents itself is – is it possible, on the basis of written and archaeological material sources, to be more specific in the determination of the time, as well as the spatial preconditions required from a certain location to have a given sacral structure consecrated precisely to the most glorious ruler of the Hungarian throne, St. Stephen the King, and not to another saint from the Hungarian dynasty<sup>4</sup>? It is indicative that there is not much written and archaeological evidence for continental or for littoral Croatia about the existence of such structures, while precisely two early mediaeval centres south of the Drava river, very strong in the ecclesiastical terms, Zagreb and Knin, have churches whose patron saint is St. Stephen the King, as concluded by the analysis of historical sources or archaeological finds.

In the case of Zagreb, historical sources that speak of the foundation of the diocese and the time of its consecration to St. Stephen the King are of primary importance (Fig. 1,2). The 1134 charter of the archbishop of Esztergom, also known as Felicianus' Charter, is considered the most genuine of the documents. It mentions that Ladislaus I Arpad founded the "*zagrabensis episcopatum*". The document do-

3 The first of them, Stephen I, called "Saint", was baptised after his birth in 975, and after his accession to the throne in 997 he received in 1001 the crown from pope Sylvester II. This act is considered to have represented the acceptance of Christianity by the Hungarians. He ruled until 1038, and he was canonized as the most glorious ruler on the Hungarian throne in 1087 in Székesfehérvár, during the rule of Ladislaus I. The second ruler, Ladislaus I, was crowned king in 1077, and he intensely worked on strengthening Christianity in Hungary until his death in 1095. he was attributed many virtues and qualities and he was declared a saint in 1192. Stephen's son Emerik, on the other hand, spent his life in prayer and penance, and as he died on the eve of his coronation in 1031, he was canonized in 1083 (Dobronić 2003, 22-23).

4 Besides through churches that carry the so-called "Hungarian titular", in which in addition to St. Stephen the King one should single out St. Ladislaus and St. Emerik (and then also St. Elizabeth, St. Margaret etc.), the unity of Croatia and Hungary during the centennial coexistence in the same state union is reflected over a wide territory of Croatia also in visual and sacral arts, as testified by the wealth of representations of figures of the Hungarian saints on various objects and in various materials (Mirković 1995, 18-26). They were not included in this work because otherwise the observed subject would become too extensive, without significantly contributing to the conclusion.



godine govori o naselju uz biskupiju u Zagrebu, kada se spominje naseljavanje slobodnih kolonista (spominju se Latini, Slaveni i Ugri), među kojima ne postoje pravne razlike, ali im biskup postavlja suca (Klaić 1982, 15). Treći važan dokument jest Andrijina isprava iz 1217. g. koju izdaje na svom putu u Svetu Zemlju, a koja prvi put spominje da je u Zagrebu Ladislav osnovao *monasterij* koji je on (Andrija II.) posvetio sv. Stjepanu Kralju - ...*qui* (Ladislav)...*monasterium in honore sancti regis Stephani construxit* (Deanović 1960, 69; Deanović 1963, 26, s navedenim izvorima; Klaić 1982, 300-301, 312, Margetić 2000, 125-127, 130)<sup>6</sup>. Na ovome mjestu zamjetna je naglašena potreba isticanja osnutka biskupije te u istom dokumentu naglašavanje njezina posvećenja sv. Stjepanu Kralju, od strane Andrije II., početkom 13. stoljeća.

Što se tiče arheoloških materijalnih dokaza o zaposjedanju položaja kaptolskog brežuljka u Zagrebu, na kojem se u povijesnim izvorima spominje sakralni objekt s titulom sv. Stjepana Kralja, može se ustanoviti da iako su se istraživanja, doduše pretežito zaštitnoga karaktera, provodila gotovo jedno stoljeće, ona su tek posljednjih godina značajnije upotpunila sliku naseljenosti Zagreba.

Prve informacije o arheološkim nalazima s Kaptolskog trga ispred zagrebačke katedrale, dobivene su prilikom rušenja Bakačeve kule 1906/7. godine, kojom prigodom su uz njezine temelje slučajno pronađene ranosrednjovjekovne naušnice. Ti su nalazi bili povezani s pretpostavljenim grobljem na Kaptolskom trgu jer je oko 1935. godine zabilježeno da je prigodom niveliranja terena uništeno mnoštvo ljudskih kostura, navodno bez priloga<sup>7</sup> (Vinski 1952, 30, 51, fig. 8-11; 1960, 54-55, sl. 50-53, 58). Analizirajući slučajno pronađeni nakit s Kaptolskog trga, Z. Vinski ističe da spomenute naušnice pripadaju groblju na redove 11. stoljeća te da se ne mogu vezati ni uz jednu crkvu na Kaptolu, pa čak ni uz onu najstariju (Vinski 1960, 58-59). Provedenom revizijom nakita pronađenog ispred katedrale u novije vrijeme, Ž. Demo zaključuje da nalazi nisu istodobni, već da se radi o četiri naušnice koje se mogu svaka različito datirati u široko razdoblje, i to od druge polovine 8. do početka 11. stoljeća (Demo 2007, 23-25)<sup>8</sup>. Takva datacija potvrđuje kon-

6 N. Klaić smatra da je ova isprava falsifikat iz 1227. g. i da je sastavljena u kancelariji biskupa Stjepana II., koji povlastice kojima zagrebački Kaptol uživa isti imunitet kao i biskupija, šalje u Rim na potvrdu (Klaić 1981, 37-40, bilj. 33; 1982, 312-313, fus. 42). Mišljenja je da je čak i Felicianova isprava radi načina njezine ovjere hirografiranjem također iz vremena početka 13. stoljeća (Klaić 1976, 497-500; 1990, 150, bilj. 22). Iz povijesnih rasprava koje su se vodile oko izraza *monasterij* koji se pojavljuje u više dokumenta iz početka 13. stoljeća, postoje promišljanja da on označava ili crkvu kao građevinu, katedralu ili crkvu kao pravnu osobu (o tome opširnije u Margetić 2000, 122-131).

7 Valja ovdje spomenuti jednu od pretpostavki prema kojoj je na mjestu srušene Bakačeve kule od kuda potječu spomenuti nalazi, bila smještena i župna crkva Sv. Emerika za koju nije poznato kada je točno izgrađena. Povijesni izvori prvi put je spominju 1328. g. (CD, IX, 405; CD, V, 126), a srušena je 1511. godine, prema Z. Vinskome, vjerojatno zbog izgradnje kule oko 1529. g. (Vinski 1960, 58-59).

8 Revizija četiriju naušnica pokazala je da naušnica sa zvjezdolikim privjeskom pripada inačici u jednodijelnom kalupu lijevanih zvjezdolikih naušnica karakterističnih za avaroslovensko vrijeme druge polovine 8. stoljeća, zatim da je karičica sa spiralnim završetkom izrađena od tanke brončane žice u upotrebi u kasnoavarsko vrijeme te da se pojavljuje od prijelaza 8. na 9. stoljeće, a najraširenija je u drugoj polovini 9. i u prvoj polovini 10. stoljeća, i konačno da je karičica s lančanim privjeskom prema analogijama datirana od prve trećine do kraja 9. stoljeća. Jedino je naušnica s grozdolikom privjeskom izlivena u dvodijelnom kalupu tipičan oblik ranijega bjelobrdskog nakita kraja 10. i početka 11. stoljeća, koja bi odgovarala ranijim interpretacijama Z. Vinskog (Demo 2007, 23-25, s literaturom za analoge primjerke).

es not mention the exact year of the foundation, but it gives the names of certain persons as witnesses of that act. As it is known for certain that they held the office of the archbishop, and also at what period, the historians concluded that Ladislaus set up a diocese in 1094 in a place called Zagreb<sup>5</sup>. The next written source from 1198 speaks of a settlement next to the diocese in Zagreb, when the settling of free colonists is mentioned (the Latins, Slavs and Ugrians are mentioned), among which there were no legal differences, but the bishop appointed them a judge (Klaić 1982, 15). The third important document is Andrew's document from 1217, which he issued on his way to the Holy Land, and which for the first time mentioned that Ladislaus founded in Zagreb a *monasterium* that he (Andrew II) consecrated to St. Stephen the King - ...*qui* (Ladislav)...*monasterium in honore sancti regis Stephani construxit* (Deanović 1960, 69; Deanović 1963, 26, with mentioned sources; Klaić 1982, 300-301, 312, Margetić 2000, 125-127, 130)<sup>6</sup>. Conspicuous in this place is the need to put stress on the foundation of the diocese and to underline in the same document that it was consecrated to St. Stephen the King by Andrew II, at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

As for the archaeological material evidence about the occupation of the position of the Kaptol hill in Zagreb, for which historical sources mention a sacral structure with the titular of St. Stephen the King, it can be established that, even though the investigations – albeit mostly of a salvage kind – have been carried out over almost an entire century, they complemented the picture of the settling of Zagreb only in the recent years.

The first information about the archaeological finds from the Kaptol Square in front of the Zagreb cathedral were obtained when the Bakač tower was being pulled down in 1906/1907, when early mediaeval earrings were found by chance next to its foundations. These finds were connected with the presumed cemetery at the Kaptol Square, because around 1935 it was registered that a number of human skeletons, allegedly without grave goods, were destroyed during leveling of the terrain<sup>7</sup> (Vinski 1952, 30, 51, Fig. 8-11; 1960, 54-55, Fig. 50-53, 58). In his analysis of the accidentally found jewellery from the Kaptol Square, Z. Vinski pointed

5 In the interpretations of historians, the fact that a papal document on the foundation of a diocesan see in Zagreb does not exist is not decisive, because Ladislaus acted in accordance with the privilege granted by the Apostolic See, that is pope Sylvester II (999-1003) granted to Hungarian King Stephen I the Saint (Gyorffy 1992, 261-263).

6 N. Klaić thinks that this charter is a fabrication from 1227 and that it was composed in the chancellery of bishop Stephen II, who sends the privileges that grant the Kaptol of Zagreb the same immunity as the diocese to Rome for confirmation (Klaić 1981, 37-40, not. 33; 1982, 312-313, foot. 42). In her opinion even Felicianus' charter, due to the method of its authentication by chirography, also belongs to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Klaić 1976, 497-500; 1990, 150, note 22). From the historical discussions regarding the term *monasterium*, which appears in several documents from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, there are interpretations that it denotes either the church as a building, cathedral, or the church as a legal entity (more extensively about this in Margetić 2000, 122-131).

7 We have to mention here one of the assumptions, that at the place of the razed Bakač tower, from where the mentioned finds came, once stood the parish church of St. Emeric, whose exact date of building is unknown. It is first mentioned in historical sources in 1328 (CD, IX, 405; CD, V, 126), and it was torn down in 1511, in the opinion of Z. Vinski, probably due to the construction of a tower in 1529 (Vinski 1960, 58-59).

tinuitet zaposjedanja položaja Kaptolskog trga od najranijih stoljeća ranoga srednjeg vijeka, a on je prisutan i tijekom narednih stoljeća.

Kontinuirano zaposjedanje Kaptolskog brežuljka prepoznato je u nalazu ranoromaničkog rustično izrađenoga kapitela koji je pronađen prigodom konzervatorskih istraživanja katedrale 1949-1953. i 1956. g.<sup>9</sup>, što je tumačeno materijalnom potvrdom postojanja prve crkve u Ladislavovo vrijeme<sup>10</sup>. Kapitel je pronađen u podnožju sjevernog zida s unutrašnje strane, istočno od ulaznih vrata u gotičkoj kapele Sv. Stjepana iz sredine 13. stoljeća, sekundarno uzidan kao spolija u temelju zida koji spaja dva kontrafora kasnije tzv. predtatarske katedrale, te nije bilo moguće utvrditi njegov primarni položaj. Oštećen nalaz predromaničkoga kapitela iz skupine stiliziranih korintskih kapitela, izrađen je, prema tumačenju voditeljice istraživanja A. Deanović, pod utjecajem sjevernoga likovnog kruga koji se širio iz Ugarske krajem 11. ili samim početkom 12. stoljeća (Deanović 1963, 23). Vremenu oko kraja 11. stoljeća pripisani su i ostaci pronađenog temelja, izvedenog iz «tipične ranoromaničke ili predromaničke žbuke», kao i ulomak menze s križevima (Deanović 1960, 67-72, 78, ilustracija 19; Deanović, 1963, 16, 20, 22, fus. 8, na dubini od 167 cm evidentirana su i dva čitava kostura pokojnika položenih na zdravicu, bez priloga). Istodobnim je opredijeljen i nalaz zida ispod poda u sjevernoj lađi sadašnje katedrale, nasuprot sakristiji, izveden od kamenih klesanaca približno jednake veličine, svijetlosive boje, guste zrnate strukture. Sličan ostatak zida pronađen je i između trećega i četvrtog pilona u južnoj lađi katedrale, te je zaključeno da su sve to ostaci prve, prilično velike crkve izgrađene oko druge polovine 11. stoljeća, crkve koju je zatekao Ladislav (Ivandija 1981, 10-11).

Drugoj građevini pripadali bi nalazi dva, već spomenuta, kontrafora tzv. predtatarske katedrale, a pronađeni su ispod južne lađe sadašnje katedrale. Prema svojim kasnoromaničkim značajkama ovi kontrafori su tzv. prijelaznog stila, datirani u drugu polovinu 12. stoljeća, odnosno preciznije u treću četvrtinu 12. stoljeća (vremenski opredijeljeni prema ukopima triju biskupa: Prodana, Dominika i Gotharda, u razdoblje od 1175. do 1214. g.), a pripadali bi drugoj, mlađoj sakralnoj građevini, ali prvoj katedrali (Deanović 1960, 68, 80, bilj. 6; 1963, 27; Vinski 1960, 63, bilj. 102, 116)<sup>11</sup>. U ovu drugu građevinu, prepoznatu preko spomenuta dva kontrafora, uklopljena je prva građevina/crkva, i to kao južna lađa trobrodne bazilike, posvećene 1217. g. (Deanović 1979, 9). Tijekom 1981. godine prigodom radova na uvođenju centralnoga grijanja u katedralu, također su pronađeni nepokretni materijalni ostaci za koje se pretpostavlja da pripadaju spomenutoj drugoj građevini (Ivandija 1981, 7-10, sl. 1). Analogije pronađenim kontraforima s područja Ugarske

9 Na prostoru između južne strane katedrale i kapele sv. Stjepana u nadbiskupskoj palači, prigodom sondiranja koje je provodio Konzervatorski zavod 1950. g. pronađeni su ulomci srednjovjekovne keramike, pobliže neopredijeljene (Vinski 1960, 56).

10 U literaturi se često isticala mogućnost da je zagrebačka stolnica prvotno bila posvećena Blaženoj Djevici Mariji, a da je tek kasnije titular promijenjen (Budak 1992, 27, 29, Karta 2,1)

11 Karaman datira ove kontrafore na temelju načina izvedbe te vremenu kada se takvi kontrafori počinju javljati, od 1175. g. na dalje (Karaman 1963, 7-8).

out that the mentioned earrings belonged to a row-grave cemetery from the 11<sup>th</sup> century and that they could not be brought into connection with any church at Kaptol, not even the earliest one (Vinski 1960, 58-59). Ž. Demo's review of the jewellery found in front of the cathedral in recent time led him to conclude that the finds were not contemporaneous, but that they belonged to four earrings, each of which could be dated differently within a wide time range, from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> cent. to the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Demo 2007, 23-25)<sup>8</sup>. Such dating confirms the continuity of the occupation of the position of the Kaptol Square from the earliest centuries of the Early Middle Ages, and it was present also during subsequent centuries.

The continuity of occupation at the Kaptol hill was recognized in the find of a rustic early Romanesque capital, found during the 1949-1953 and 1956 conservation investigations of the cathedral<sup>9</sup>, which was interpreted as a material confirmation of the existence of the first church in the time of Ladislaus<sup>10</sup>. The capital was found at the foot of the northern wall in the interior, east of the entrance door in the Gothic chapel of St. Stephen from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, secondarily built as a spolium in the foundations of the wall connecting two counterforts of the later, so-called pre-Tatar cathedral, and it was not possible to ascertain its primary position. The damaged find of a pre-Romanesque capital from the group of stylized Corinthian capitals was made, according to the interpretation of A. Deanović, the director of the investigation, under the influence of the northern visual circle, which spread from Hungary at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> or the very beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Deanović 1963, 23). The remains of the discovered foundation, rendered with "the typical early Romanesque or pre-Romanesque mortar", as well as a fragment of a mensa with crosses, were attributed to the period around the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Deanović 1960, 67-72, 78, illustration 19; Deanović, 1963, 16, 20, 22, fot. 8, at the depth of 167 cm two complete skeletons of the deceased were found laid on the virgin soil, without grave goods). Also interpreted as belonging to the same time was the find of a wall below the floor in the northern aisle of the present-day cathedral, opposite the sacristy, built of hewn stones of approximately equal size, of light gray colour and dense grainy texture. A similar remnant of a wall was found between the third and fourth pier in the southern aisle of

8 A review of the four earrings showed that the earring with the star-shaped pendant belongs to a variant of star-shaped earrings cast in a one-piece mould, which are characteristic for Avaro-Slavonic period of the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century; next, that a ring with a spiral ending, made of a thin bronze wire, was in use in the late Avar period and that it appears from the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, with its widest distribution in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. and the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century; and finally, that the analogies date the ring with a chain pendant from the first third to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Only the earring with a cluster-shaped pendant, cast in a two-piece mould, is a typical form of the earlier Bijelo Brdo jewellery from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which would correspond with Z. Vinski's earlier interpretations (Demo 2007, 23-25, with literature for analogous objects).

9 The salvage excavations carried out in 1950 by the Conservation Department in the zone between the southern side of the cathedral and the St. Stephen's chapel in the archbishop's palace yielded fragments of mediaeval pottery, without narrower determination (Vinski 1960, 56).

10 It was frequently mentioned in the literature that it was possible that the Zagreb cathedral was initially consecrated to Blessed Virgin Mary, and that its patron saint was changed at a later date (Budak 1992, 27, 29, Map 2,1).

ukazuju na sličnosti s ovom tzv. predtatarskom ili Prodanovom katedralom (Karaman 1963, 9-11, fus. 20-25.; Deanović 1979, 8-10)<sup>12</sup>, koja nakon tatarske provale prijeto rušenjem te sredinom 13. stoljeća biskup Stjepan II. gradi privremen prostor za liturgiju - kapelu Sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika.

Izgradnja treće građevine započinje tek s dozvolom pape koju je ishodio biskup Filip, a nastavlja se s njegovim nasljednikom biskupom Timotejem u drugoj polovini 13. stoljeća. Višegodišnja gradnja građevine, čiji dijelovi (svetište s pokrajnjim kapelama) čine današnju katedralu, otpočinje na temeljima stare, tzv. predtatarske katedrale, u počecima stila srednjoeuropske rane gotike s reminiscencijama na romaniku, prema planu po uzoru na Sv. Urbain u Troyesu, Francuska (Karaman 1963, 12-23; Deanović 1979, 20-21, 26)<sup>13</sup>.

Vratimo li se ponovno na tumačenje povijesnih izvora o najstarijoj povijesti Zagreba od strane povjesničara, valja konstatirati da iako postoje nesuglasice među stručnjacima o tome da Ladislav, premda je osnovao biskupiju nije izgradio i katedralu<sup>14</sup>, ipak su mišljenja na stanovit način usuglašena da kralj Ladislav nikako nije mogao osnovati biskupiju, a da nije postojao neki sakralni prostor u kojem se služba obavljala, te da je tako značajna crkvena i društvena institucija kao što je biskupija morala biti na mjestu gdje je naselje bilo izuzetno jako (Klaić 1981, 35-40; Deanović, Čorak 1988, 16-23, s citiranom literaturom).

12 Postoje još neki ulomci kamene plastike za koje ne postoje sigurni podaci potječu li iz katedrale ili nekog drugoga srednjovjekovnoga sakralnog prostora u Zagrebu, a čuvaju se u Hrvatskome povijesnom muzeju ili Arheološkome muzeju u Zagrebu. Kameni ulomci su izrađeni u duhu (kasne) romanike 12. i početka 13. stoljeća. Radi se o kapitelu pilastra (kat. br. 94), arhitektonskom ulomku nadprozornika ili dijela pilastra (kat. br. 95) te o kapitelu (kat. br. 96) (Goss 2007, 22, 24, 101-103).

13 Prema mišljenjima nekih autora, poneki kameni ulomak predtatarske katedrale izrađen u duhu romanike, sekundarno je korišten u Timotejovoj ranogotičkoj obnovi. Takav je primjerak kameni reljef sv. Pavla datiran u rano 13. stoljeće (?), koji potječe s oltara Sv. Petra i Pavla, podignutog 1275. g. (Goss 2007, 108, kat.br.104).

14 Uvriježeno je mišljenje povjesničara da je prema spomenutim imenima dostojanstvenika u ispravi iz 1134. g., godina osnutka biskupije 1094. Sumnje u izgradnju katedrale od strane Ladislava polaze od činjenice da je kralj umro već godinu dana nakon osnutka biskupije i nije imao vremena katedralu i izgraditi, a s druge strane očekivalo bi se da Felicianova isprava koja je izdana četrdesetak godina kasnije od toga značajnog događaja, spomene njegov udio pri gradnji katedrale, ako je on postojao. Tako ostaje otvorenim promišljanje povjesničara o tome nije li Ladislav započeo gradnju katedrale i samostana (?), stan za biskupe), a ona je dovršena tek kasnije, odnosno je li osnovao biskupiju u nekoj već postojećoj crkvi (o tome opširnije - Karaman 1963, 6-7, s tvrdnjom da je bio utemeljitelj katedrale, ali ne i graditelj, s tamo citiranom opsežnom literaturom do godine izdanja rada; Klaić 1981, 37, bilj. 20, i ostala citirana literatura u članku). N. Klaić smatra da je danas srušenu crkvicu Sv. Emerika gradio Ladislav te da je ona postala župna crkva za čitavo naselje. Nadalje, smatra da su sva povijesna vrela koja o tome govore, a zajedničko im je to da se u njima za zagrebačku katedralu upotrebljava izraz «...*monasterium sancti Stephani regis*...», krivotvorine. Radi se o pet listina izdanih od ugarskih vladara u korist zagrebačke crkve od kojih su, prema autorici, četiri sačuvane u prijepisima iz kasnijih godina (od 1227. g. na dalje tijekom 13. stoljeća). To su sljedeće isprave - Emerikova iz 1201. g. - nastala nakon 1227. g.; Andrija II. - isprava iz 1217. g. napisana prigodom posvećenja zagrebačke katedrale - prijepis iz 1227; povlastica Andrije II. također iz 1217. g. koja govori da je on posvetio zagrebačku crkvu - sastavljeno 1324. g.; zatim darovnica za Črnc i Pokupsko iz 1253. g. - prijepis iz 1359. g. Jedino za presudu bana Rolanda iz 1267. g. smatra da je original (Klaić 1981, 37-38). Na kraju, N. Klaić sumnja čak i je li Ladislav smjestio sjedište biskupije u Zagreb (Klaić 1981, 40, bilj. 45).

the cathedral, and the conclusion was that all that belonged to the remains of the first, fairly large church, built around the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the church that Ladislaus saw (Ivandija 1981, 10-11).

The second building would include the finds of the two mentioned flying buttresses from the so-called pre-Tatar cathedral, which were found below the southern aisle of the present cathedral. By their late Romanesque features, these counterforts belong to the so-called transitional style, and they are dated to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely the third fourth of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (chronologically attributed by the burials of three bishops: Prodan, Dominik and Gothard, in the period between 1175 and 1214), and they would belong to the second, younger sacral building, but the first cathedral (Deanović 1960, 68, 80, note 6; 1963, 27; Vinski 1960, 63, note 102, 116)<sup>11</sup>. The first building/church was incorporated within this second building, recognized by the mentioned two counterforts, in the role of the southern aisle of a three-aisled basilica, consecrated in 1217 (Deanović 1979, 9). During the 1981 works of installation of central heating into the cathedral, immovable material remains were discovered, believed to have belonged to the mentioned second building (Ivandija 1981, 7-10, Fig. 1). The analogies with discovered counterforts from Hungary point to similarities with this so-called pre-Tatar or Prodan's cathedral (Karaman 1963, 9-11, foot. 20-25.; Deanović 1979, 8-10)<sup>12</sup>, which threatened to collapse after the Tatar invasion, so in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century bishop Stephen II built a temporary structure for liturgy - the chapel of St. Stephen the Protomartyr.

The construction of the third building started only with the permission of the pope, obtained by bishop Philip, and it continued with his successor, bishop Timotej, in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The several-year-long construction of the building, whose parts (sanctuary with the side chapels) make up the present cathedral, started on the foundations of the old, so-called pre-Tatar cathedral, in the beginnings of the style of Central European early Gothic period with reminiscences of the Romanesque period, according to the plan modelled on St. Urbain in Troyes, France (Karaman 1963, 12-23; Deanović 1979, 20-21, 26)<sup>13</sup>.

If we return again to the interpretation of historical sources about the earliest history of Zagreb by the historians, it should be stated that even though there are differences among the experts with regard to the idea that Ladislaus may have founded the diocese but did not build the

11 Karaman dates these counterforts based on the method of construction and the time of appearance of such counterforts, from 1175 onwards (Karaman 1963, 7-8).

12 There are other fragments of stone sculpture without reliable information whether they come from the cathedral or from another mediaeval sacral structure in Zagreb, and they are kept in the Croatian Historical Museum or in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Stone fragments were made in the spirit of (late) Romanesque period of the 12<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. They represent a capital of a pilaster (cat. no. 94), an architectural fragment of a window lintel or a part of a pilaster (cat. no. 95) and a capital (cat. no. 96) (Goss 2007, 22, 24, 101-103).

13 In the opinion of certain authors, occasional stone fragments of the pre-Tatar cathedral, made in the spirit of the Romanesque period, were secondarily used in Timotej's early Gothic renovation. One such piece is the stone relief of St. Paul, dated to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (?), which comes from the altar of St. Peter and Paul, erected in 1275 (Goss 2007, 108, cat. no. 104).



O mjestu prvotnoga srednjovjekovnog naselja u Zagrebu također postoje različita mišljenja (Klaić 1968, 7-18). Tumačenja o njegovu postojanju bila su usmjerena na Kaptolu susjedni brežuljak – Gradec, o čemu su se više desetljeća vodile rasprave. U dosadašnjim arheološkim istraživanjima to ipak nije sa sigurnošću potvrđeno. Naime, istraživanja na Gradecu provedena su na nekoliko položaja. Jedan od njih je bivši samostan klarisa u Opatičkoj 20 (danas Muzej grada Zagreba), no nema sigurnih arheoloških nalaza koji bi ukazivali na postojanje naselja starijeg od druge polovine 13. i početka 14. stoljeća<sup>15</sup>. Ta se lokacija nalazi uza sam sjeveroistočni dio bedema, dok je N. Klaić pretpostavila da se naselje moglo nalaziti na jugoistočnom dijelu zaravni, točnije u samome uglu brda Gradac (Klaić 1982, 22). Pisanu potvrdu o tome da je već u 10. stoljeću postojalo naselje, donosi Kronika anonimnog notara Bele III. "De Gestis Hungarorum liber" (magistra P) iz 12. stoljeća, koji govoreći o ugarskim osvajanjima navodi i podatak da su vojskovođe Bulču i Botond, prešavši Dravu zauzeli utvrdu Zagrab "castrum Zagrab ceperunt" (Klaić 1982, 15, 17, 19, fus. 13, 21, fus. 3)<sup>16</sup>. Sljedeća isprava, gubernatora Kalana iz 1193. g., donosi podatak o darivanju prihoda slavonskoga hercega zagrebačkom biskupu, a takvi su se prihodi do tada nosili u tri utvrde (utvrdu u Podgori, Okiću i Krapini), te slijedom toga N. Klaić pretpostavlja da je i u Zagrebu u to vrijeme postojala utvrda (Klaić 1982, 22)<sup>17</sup>. Novija arheološka istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu brežuljka Gradec, za sada nisu te pretpostavke potvrdile jer je na položaju Gornjogradske gimnazije sigurno jedino postojanje srednjovjekovnoga gradskog bedema iz 13. i 14. stoljeća kao i istodobnih

15 U izložbenom prostoru u Muzeju grada Zagreba postoji rekonstrukcija bedema pronađenog u tim istraživanjima, kojem je jedan od građevnih elemenata bilo drvo. Dendrokronološka analiza datirala je ostatke drva iz bedema u 679. godinu (ovaj podatak I. Goldstein prenosi kao usmeni podatak istraživača A. Durmana, navodeći da je provedena <sup>14</sup>C analiza), dok drugi uzorak drva datira u godinu 1171. (Goldstein 1995, 288). Stariji datum opravdao bi pretpostavku koju je iznijela N. Klaić o naseljavanju oba brežuljka podno Medvednice, od strane avarsko-slavenskog stanovništva (Klaić 1982, 15, 17, fus. 6), dok bi mladi ukazivao na postojanje utvrde na tom položaju već krajem 12. stoljeća, iako su, kako sam autor ističe, arheološki nalazi iz spomenutih vremena potpuno izostali (Goldstein 1995, 288). Također na temelju usmenih podataka voditeljice tih istraživanja M. Šmalcelj, N. Budak donosi zaključak da se najstarija utvrda iz druge polovine 12. stoljeća nalazila na mjestu Popovog tornja te navodi analogije sličnih situacija na drugim lokalitetima (Budak 1992, 25, 29, Karta 2.I.), a takav podatak koristi i V. Bedenko (Bedenko 1992, 33, fus. 1). Do objavljivanja cjelokupnih analiza višegodišnjih arheoloških istraživanja na toj lokaciji ovi podaci nisu dostatni za konačne zaključke te pitanje ranosrednjovjekovnih naseljenika na ovom položaju i dalje ostaje otvoreno.

16 Ovaj se povijesni izvor iz druge polovine 12. stoljeća u posljednje vrijeme ne uzima kao vjerodostojan izvor za 10. stoljeće (Margetić 2000, 71).

17 O lokaciji i prostiranju naselja povjesničari su imali razna mišljenja koja prenosi N. Klaić (Klaić 1968, 7-19), dok su o ispravi iz 1242. godine kojom grad, nakon intenzivnoga kolonizacijskog procesa u drugoj polovini 12. i prvoj polovini 13. stoljeća, dobiva status slobodne kraljevske varoši, imali jedinstveno mišljenje kako se nalazi na Griču (Klaić 1968, 16-19). Naime, u spomenutoj ispravi Bela IV. izjavljuje da mu se "svidjelo u Zagrebu na brdu Greču osnovati slobodnu varoš". Starija, pak, isprava iz 1201. g. koja spominje mjesto Kerec na potoku Crkvencu "...Kerec locus ad riuum Circuniza, prema nekim mišljenjima ne odnosi se sa sigurnošću na Gradec (Heller 1980, 121, CD, III,7), dok isprava iz 1242. g. izričito spominje Grič - "...in Zagrabia, in monte Grech civ. libera (CD, IV,172; Heller 1980, 121; Klaić 1982, 18-19, fus. 11; Klaić 1990, 263-264, bilj. 71).

cathedral<sup>14</sup>, the opinions are reconciled in a way that king Ladislaus could never have founded the diocese, without the existence of a sacral space where the office could be held, and that such an important religious and social institution as the diocese must have stood at a place where the settlement was exceptionally strong (Klaić 1981, 35-40; Deanović, Čorak 1988, 16-23, with the quoted literature).

Opinions also differ when it comes to the position of the first mediaeval settlement in Zagreb (Klaić 1968, 7-18). The interpretations regarding its existence focused on the hill opposite Kaptol – Gradec, the idea that had been discussed during several decades. Previous archaeological excavations, however, failed to prove that for certain. The excavations at Gradec were carried out at several positions. One of these is the former Poor Clares nunnery in Opatička Street 20 (presently the Zagreb City Museum), but there are no secure archaeological finds that would point to the existence of a settlement earlier than the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. That location lies

14 There is a deeply rooted opinion among the historians that, based on the mentioned names of the nobles in the charter from 1134 the year of the foundation of the diocese is 1094. Doubts that Ladislaus had built the cathedral emanate from the fact that the king died merely a year after the foundation of the diocese and that he did not have enough time to complete the cathedral, and on the other hand it would be expected that Felicianus' charter, issued around forty years after that important event, would mention his part in the construction of the cathedral, if there had been any. Thus the considerations of the historians remain open as to whether Ladislaus started building the cathedral and monastery (? , quarters for the bishops), and it was completed later, and whether he founded the diocese in an already existing church (more extensively about it – Karaman 1963, 6-7, with the claim that he was the founder of the cathedral, but not its builder, and with extensive literature up to the year the work was published; Klaić 1981, 37, note 20 and other quoted literature in the paper). N. Klaić thinks that the presently ruined small church of St. Emeric was built by Ladislaus and that it became the parish church for the entire settlement. Moreover, she thinks that all historical sources that speak about this, and they all share the same term for the Zagreb cathedral - «... *monasterium sancti Stephani regis...*», were forgeries. This refers to five charters issued by the Hungarian rulers in favour of the Zagreb church, four of which, according to the author, are preserved as transcriptions from later years (from 1227 onwards during the 13<sup>th</sup> century). These are the following charters – Emeric's charter from 1201 – made after 1227; Andrew II – the document from 1217 written when the Zagreb cathedral was consecrated – a transcription from 1227; Andrew II's grant, also from 1217, speaking that he consecrated the Zagreb church – composed in 1324; further, charter for Črnc and Pokupsko from 1253 – transcription from 1359. The only original document in her opinion is the ruling of *ban* Roland from 1267 (Klaić 1981, 37-38). In the end, N. Klaić even doubts that Ladislaus placed the diocesan see in Zagreb (Klaić 1981, 40, note 45).

15 The exhibit of the Zagreb City Museum features a reconstruction of the rampart discovered in these excavations, whose constructional elements included timber. Dendrochronological analyses date the wood remains into 679 (I. Goldstein mentions this piece of information as a personal communication by the investigator A. Durman, mentioning that <sup>14</sup>C analysis was carried out), while another wood sample is dated to 1171 (Goldstein 1995, 288). The earlier date would corroborate the assumption put forward by N. Klaić regarding the settlement of both hills under the Medvednica mountain by the Avaro-Slavonic populations (Klaić 1982, 15, 17, foot. 6), while the later date would point to the existence of a fort at that place already at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, even though, as the author himself pointed out, the archaeological finds from the mentioned periods are lacking altogether (Goldstein 1995, 288). Also based on personal communication by the director of these excavations, M. Šmalcelj, N. Budak reached the conclusion that the earliest fort from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century stood at the position of Popov Toranj (Priest's Tower) and he presents analogous situations at other sites (Budak 1992, 25, 29, Map 2.I.), the information used also by V. Bedenko (Bedenko 1992, 33, foot. 1). Until the comprehensive analyses of several-year-long archaeological excavations at that position are published, these data are not sufficient for final conclusions, and the issue of early mediaeval settlers at this position still remains open.



ulomaka keramičkih posuda iz jedne otpadne jame (Mašić, Pantlik 2006, 163)<sup>18</sup>. Međutim, najnovija istraživanja provedena tijekom 2005-2007. godine na Trgu sv. Marka prvo su ukazala na postojanje nekih kosturnih grobova ukopanih prije preinaka crkve Sv. Marka u drugoj polovini 14. i na prijelazu 14. u 15. stoljeće (Mašić et al. 2006, 168-171), da bi u konačnici nalaz dvaju grobova (grob br. 14 i 21) presječenih ukopom temelja zapadnog zida crkve omogućilo interpretaciju najstarijega srednjovjekovnog horizonta. Naime, zaključeno je kako je ovdje postojalo groblje starije od postojeće crkve što je i potvrđeno <sup>14</sup>C analizom, koja ukopavanje ovih pokojnika smješta u razdoblje od 11. do 13. stoljeća<sup>19</sup> i nameće logična promišljanja o «postojanju starije crkve s grobljem i pripadajućem naseljem koje je moralo egzistirati i prije tatarske provala» (Mašić, Bugar 2007, 182-183). Arheološki tragovi tog naselja koje se spominje u Zlatnoj buli iz 1242. godine, kao i još stariji ranosrednjovjekovni arheološki nalazi, za sada još uvijek na brežuljku Gradec nisu sigurno dokumentirani<sup>20</sup>.

Postojanje naselja u Zagrebu u najranijim razdobljima ranoga srednjega vijeka, ali ne na Gradecu već na kaptolskom brežuljku, potvrdila su najnovija arheološka iskopavanja na položaju ispred crkve Sv. Franje na Opatovini. Ispod brojnih ukopa iz vremena od druge polovine 13. do sredine 16. stoljeća, pronađene su dvije nakupine lomljenoga kamenja s paljevinom za koje je zaključeno da su ostaci ognjišta ranosrednjovjekovnih poluzemunica (Demo 2007, 26-27). Dugo zaposjedanje ovog položaja rezultiralo je nalazima vrlo usitnjene keramike, koja je ipak omogućila okvirnu vremensku opredijeljenost nalazišta te je prepoznato da se u ranijoj kronološkoj skupini ulomaka nailazi na dvije grupe. Jednu, pronađenu na istoj razini s ognjištima, koja predstavlja stariji sloj naseljavanja iz vremena od kasnog 8. do sredine 10. stoljeća, i drugu koja ukazuje na postojanje naselja i kasnije, tijekom druge polovine 10. stoljeća, ali i u razdoblju 11. i 12. stoljeća, kada na Opatovini dolazi do rasta naseljenosti, uz koju se vežu i nalazi tri srebrna novca kovana tijekom 12. i prve polovine 13. stoljeća (Demo 2007, 28-29).

Današnja saznanja o rasprostranju ranosrednjovjekovnog naselja na sjeverozapadnom dijelu kaptolskog brežuljka, omogućuju njihovu direktnu povezanost sa slučajnim nalazima ranosrednjovjekovnih naušnica pronađenih u jugoistočnom dijelu brežuljka, s prepoznatim kontinuitetom zaposjedanja ovog prostora koji je, najvjerojatnije, rezultirao i izgradnjom najstarijega sakralnog objekta na položaju današnje katedrale, a slijedom tih događaja i krajem 11. stoljeća utemeljenjem katedrale koju je na samom početku 13. stoljeća Andrija II. posvetio sv. Stjepanu Kralju. Najnovija arheološka istraživanja u kojima je prepoznat kontinuitet «života» na Kaptolu, kao i novi nalazi s Trga sv. Marka potvrđeni suvremenim metodama, nadopunila su

18 Na položaju park Grič arheološkim je istraživanjima potvrđeno postojanje mladih srednjovjekovnih horizonata. Radi se o nalazima grobova 15. i 16. stoljeća i jama iz 14. i 15. stoljeća (Mašić, Pantlik 2006a, 166-168).

19 Za grob br. 5 i grob br. 8 vrijednosti <sup>14</sup>C analize ukazuju na najvjerojatnije vrijeme ukopa u drugoj polovini 12. i početka 13. stoljeća, dok za grob. br. 14 vrijednosti <sup>14</sup>C ukazuje i na starije razdoblje (Bugar, Mašić 2008).

20 Na položaju Kuševićeve ulice slučajno su pronađeni nalazi keramičkih lonaca koji bi mogli ukazivati na vrijeme 13. stoljeća (Vinski 1960, 55).

adjacent to the northeastern part of the rampart, while N. Klaić presumed that the settlement may have been located in the southeastern part of the elevation, more precisely in the very corner of the Gradac hill (Klaić 1982, 22). A written confirmation that in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the settlement was already there is found in the Chronicle of an anonymous scribe of Bela III "De Gestis Hungarorum liber" (magistra P) from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which, speaking about the Hungarian conquests mentions also the information that the commanders Bulču and Botond, having crossed the Drava, occupied the Zagreb fort "castrum Zagrab ceperunt" (Klaić 1982, 15, 17, 19, foot. 13, 21, foot. 3)<sup>16</sup>. The next document, by governor Kalan from 1193, brings information about the gift of tribute of the herceg of Slavonia to the bishop of Zagreb, and such gifts were until then carried to three forts (the forts in Podgora, Okić and Krapina), and consequently N. Klaić presumes that there was a fort in Zagreb also at that time (Klaić 1982, 22)<sup>17</sup>. Recent archaeological excavations in the southeastern part of the Gradec hill so far did not back these assumptions, because at the position of the Upper Town Gymnasium the only thing certain is the existence of a mediaeval city wall from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as the contemporaneous fragments of pottery vessels from a refuse pit (Mašić, Pantlik 2006, 163)<sup>18</sup>. However, the latest excavations carried out during 2005-2007 at St. Mark's Square first pointed to the existence of certain skeletal graves buried prior to the modifications of St. Mark's church in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Mašić et al. 2006, 168-171), and finally the discovery of two graves (graves no. 14 and 21) cut by the digging of the foundations of the western church wall made it possible to interpret the earliest mediaeval horizon. It was concluded that a cemetery older than the existing church existed there, which was confirmed by C14 analysis, which places the burial of these deceased persons in the period between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup> and inspires logical considerations about "the existence of an earlier church with a cemetery and accompanying settlement, which must have existed even before the Tatar invasion" (Mašić, Bugar 2007, 182-183). Archaeological traces of that settlement, mentioned in the Golden Bull of 1242, as well as the even earlier early mediaeval archaeological

16 This historical source from the second half of the 12th century has lately ceased to be a trustworthy source for the 10th century (Margetić 2000, 71).

17 The historians had various opinions on the location and spread of the settlement, which were conveyed by N. Klaić (Klaić 1968, 7-19), while regarding the 1242 document, which gave the town, following the intense colonizing process in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the status of a free royal town, they were unanimous in thinking that it lay at Grič (Klaić 1968, 16-19). In the mentioned document Bela IV states that he "wished to establish a free town in Zagreb at the hill of Grič". An earlier document from 1201, on the other hand, which mentions a place called Kerec on the Crkvenec stream ...*Kerec locus ad riuum Circuniza*, in the opinion of some does not refer with certainty to Gradec (Heller 1980, 121, CD, III,7), while the 1242 document specifically mentions Grič - ...*in Zagrabia, in monte Grech civ. libera* (CD, IV,172; Heller 1980, 121; Klaić 1982, 18-19, foot. 11; Klaić 1990, 263-264, note 71).

18 At the position of Grič, archaeological excavations confirmed the existence of younger mediaeval horizons. These are finds of graves from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and of pits from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Mašić, Pantlik 2006a, 166-168).

19 The <sup>14</sup>C values for grave 5 and 8 indicate the most likely time of burial in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, while an even earlier period is indicated by <sup>14</sup>C values for grave 14 (Bugar, Mašić 2008).

pisane povijesne izvore. Time je u potpunosti opravdano promišljanje stručnjaka koji su se slagali u tome da je tako značajna crkvena i društvena institucija kao što je biskupija mogla biti osnovana samo na mjestu jakog i dobro organiziranog naselja.

Drugi značajan lokalitet koji je, prema povijesnim izvorima iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, imao crkvu koja nosi titular sv. Stjepana Kralja, jest prijestolnica Knin (sl. 1,3). Prve podatke o postojanju župne crkve tog titulara u Kninu donosi Farlati, navodeći dokument u kojem se opisuje spor koji je izbio oko prava izbora župnika u Kninu 1490. g. - *Templum perantiquum erat in suburbano nomine S. Stephani regis extra muros consecratum idemque opulentis vectigalibus instrumentum et curam animorum annexam habebat* (Farlati 1769, 296-297; Ančić 1996, 84-85). Iz navoda je moguće očitati da je izvan bedema tvrđave postojala crkva Sv. Stjepana Kralja od davnih vremena, prema čemu Gunjača zaključuje kako je ona postojala u 14. stoljeću (Gunjača 1960, 58-59). Mišljenja je da ova crkva ne pripada među najstarije crkve u Kninu jer nosi naslov Sv. Stjepana Kralja, arpádovski titular koji u ove krajeve stiže tek pod jačim utjecajem Mađara. Iz povijesnog izvora također zaključuje da je crkva bila opskrbljena dobrim приходima i da joj je pripadalo dušobrižništvo, a to znači da je bila župna crkva u Kninu (Gunjača 1960, 58-59). Dva nešto ranija (Gunjači nepoznata) povijesna navoda potvrđuju također postojanje župne crkve toga titulara i to ...*in ecclesiam S. Stephani de Tinino*, iz godine 1477. te dokument iz 1403. g. ... *Vir dominus Nicolaus Sancouich de Bichigio rector ecclesie Tininiense et plebanus ecclesie S. Stephani de Tinino* (Jakšić 1988, 129, fus. 64, s citiranim izvorima; 2000, 23).

Iako povijesni izvori potječu iz 15. stoljeća, sama posveta crkve svetom Stjepanu Kralju navodi na pretpostavku da njezina gradnja potječe iz starijeg razdoblja. S tim u vezi, prigodom determinacije i datacije slučajno pronađenih kamenih spomenika s područja grada Knina, neki su autori skupinu kninskih reljefa ranoromaničkih značajki interpretirali kao ostatke crkve Sv. Stjepana. Toj skupini kamenih reljefa pripadaju ulomci arhitrava s natpisima (Jakšić 1981, 29, sl. 3-5) te dva ulomka dovratnika portala od kojih jedan nosi natpis *STEFATON* (Jakšić 1981, 28, sl. 1-2). Iako se ulomak s natpisom *STEFATON* u arheološkoj literaturi različito datirao, od vremena 6. i 7. stoljeća, preko 10. pa sve do druge polovine 13. stoljeća, za što se zalagao Gunjača (Gunjača 1959, 131-135; 1960, 122-124, Tab. XX, s citiranom literaturom o ranijim datacijama; Jakšić 1981, 32), u novijoj literaturi stilskom<sup>21</sup> i epigrafskom analizom utvrđuje se da natpis *STEFATON*, kao i natpisi na ulomcima arhitrava pripadaju vremenu rane romanike samog kraja 11. ili početka 12. stoljeća (Delonga 1980, 160; 1992, 83, sl. 13, 89-93, sl. 14, 16, 17; Jakšić 1992, 128). Prihvaćeno je i uvriježeno mišljenje da spomenuti fragmenti potječu iz crkve Sv. Stjepana Kralja (Delonga 1996, 103-106; 1996a, 175, Sl. 1; 178, Sl. 11, 12; Jakšić 1996, 17-19;

<sup>21</sup> Provedena stilaska analiza ovih spomenika upućuje na ukras jedinstvenim ornamentalnim, gotovo uniformnim sistemom, pri čemu su ornamentalni pojasevi komponirani na osnovi florealnih motiva lozica, palmeta, girlanda i kimatija, koji upućuju na kraj 11. i prijelaz u 12. stoljeće kao vrijeme njihova nastanka.

finds, have still not been reliably documented at the Gradec hill<sup>20</sup>.

The existence of the settlement in Zagreb in the earliest periods of the Early Middle Ages, but not at Gradec but on the Kaptol hill, was confirmed by the latest archaeological excavations at the position in front of St. Francis church at Opatovina. Under numerous burials from the period from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, two piles of broken stones with traces of burning were found, interpreted as remains of hearths of early mediaeval semi-pit-houses (Demo 2007, 26-27). The long occupation of this position resulted in finds of highly fragmented pottery, which nevertheless enabled an approximate chronological attribution of the site, and it was recognized that two groups are identifiable in the earlier chronological group of fragments. One of these, discovered at the same level with the hearths, represents the earlier settlement layer from the period from the late 8<sup>th</sup> to the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, while the other indicates that the settlement continued to exist even later, during the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, but also in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, when population of Opatovina increased, with which one can connect the finds of three silver coins minted during the 12<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Demo 2007, 28-29).

The present knowledge on the distribution of the early mediaeval settlement on the northwestern part of the Kaptol hill, enable its direct connection with the chance finds of early mediaeval earrings discovered in the southeastern part of the hill, with the recognized continuity of occupation of this space which, in all probability, resulted in the construction of the earliest sacral structure at the position of the present-day cathedral, and in line with these events, also, at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, in the foundation of the cathedral that was consecrated by Andrew II to St. Stephen the King at the very beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The latest archaeological excavations, which led to the recognition of the continuity of "life" at Kaptol, in addition to the finds from St. Mark's Square, corroborated by up-to-date methods, complemented the written historical sources. This entirely justified the considerations of experts who agreed that such an important religious and social institution such as a diocese could have been established only within a strong and well organized settlement.

The second important site that had, according to historical sources from the Late Middle Ages, a church whose patron saint was St. Stephen the King, is the capital city of Knin (Fig. 1,3). The first information on the existence of a parish church of that titular in Knin was provided by Farlati, who mentions a document describing a dispute that arose surrounding the right to choose a parish priest in Knin in 1490. - *Templum perantiquum erat in suburbano nomine S. Stephani regis extra muros consecratum idemque opulentis vectigalibus instrumentum et curam animorum annexam habebat* (Farlati 1769, 296-297; Ančić 1996, 84-85). The quotation reveals that outside the fortification walls existed a church of St. Stephen the King from distant times, which led Gunjača to conclude that it existed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Gunjača 1960, 58-59). In his opinion, this church is not among the earliest

<sup>20</sup> Chance finds of ceramic pots that might point to the 13<sup>th</sup> century come from Kušičeva Street (Vinski 1960, 55).

2000, 24-26).

Dosadašnjim arheološkim istraživanjima, na žalost, nije ustanovljena precizna ubikacija župne crkve Sv. Stjepana Kralja u Kninu, pa su je stručnjaci pokušali locirati oslanjajući se na povijesne izvore. O položaju crkve svjedoči naziv ... *S. Stephani regis extra muros*, koji ukazuje da se ona (prema pronađenim ulomcima kamenih spomenika vjerojatno već u 12. stoljeću) nalazila izvan zidina tvrđave, a navod ... *in suburbano* ukazuje da se u 15. stoljeću taj prostor nazivao podgrađe. Prema tim podacima, kao i kasnijim povijesnim izvorima, zaključuje se da je objekt kod Loredanovih vrata velika džamija, odnosno kninska župna crkva Sv. Jeronima iz 1688. g., porušena početkom 18. stoljeća, ustvari stara župna crkva Sv. Stjepana Kralja, pri čemu je funkcija župne crkve zadržana na istome mjestu (Smiljanić 1985, 127, fus. 61; Jakšić 2000, 26-28).

Najstariji, pak, povijesni podatak o naselju podno kninske utvrde u kojoj je izgrađena crkva Sv. Stjepana Kralja, prema nekim mišljenjima datira u drugu polovinu 13. stoljeća. Naime, naselje se indirektno spominje u oznaci općinskog službenika ... *buccarius fori tiniensis*, pri čemu se zaključuje da je u to vrijeme naselje administrativno organizirano, da je gradsko naselje (forum) koje nema kraljevske slobode, te da je u funkciji trga ili trgovišta odnosno da predstavlja naselje obrtnika i trgovaca<sup>22</sup> (Smiljanić 1985, 125). U tom naselju podno utvrde bilo je nekoliko sakralnih objekata, od kojih su neki poznati samo putem povijesnih izvora i nisu očuvani *in situ*, kakav je slučaj i s crkvom Sv. Stjepana Kralja koja se donosi pozicionirana na pretpostavljenom položaju podno Loredanovih vrata (Smiljanić 1985, 129, sl. 1, s označenim položajem župne crkve Sv. Stjepana Kralja, sl. 1, 2).

Promišljanja oko vremena gradnje župne crkve Sv. Stjepana Kralja smještene podno zidina utvrde, nisu do kraja usuglašena. S jedne strane stilska i epigrafska analiza kamenih ulomaka ukazuje, kako je prije navedeno, na vrijeme kraja 11. i početka 12. stoljeća, dok neki autori povezuju njezinu izgradnju s vremenom krupnijih zahvata na kninskoj fortifikaciji, odnosno podizanja zidova kojima se ograđuje prostor kasnije nazvan *castrum maiors*. To bi odgovaralo vremenu vladavine kralja Bele III. u drugoj polovini 12. stoljeća, koji provodi reforme razdvajanja banske vlasti na zasebnu bansku čast Slavonije na jednoj i Dalmacije i Hrvatske na drugoj strani, pri čemu Knin, kao geostrateški važan lokalitet zauzima posebno važnu ulogu (Ančić 1996, 60-61).

Na prostoru južnije od Knina, prema povijesnim izvorima iz 1397. g., tj. popisu kojim je provedena reambulacija dobara splitskog nadbiskupa, uočava se da ne postoji niti jedna crkva s titularom sv. Stjepana Kralja<sup>23</sup> (Katić 1956).

S druge strane, titular sv. Stjepan Kralj nosi još svega pet sakralnih objekata koji se spominju u popisu župa

<sup>22</sup>Prema Smiljaniću, iako se naselje kasnije spominje i kao *suburbium*, ovdje nije riječ o dva različita naselja podno utvrde već o jednom, pri čemu termin *suburbia* označava naselje u prostornom smislu koje zahvaća jugoistočnu stranu brda Spas podno utvrda kao tipično podgrađe, a termin *fori* označava njegovu gospodarsku, tržišnu funkciju.

<sup>23</sup>Popis je obuhvaćao područje otoka Brača te uže okolica Splita, Solina i Trogira s okolnim posjedima.

ones in Knin, as it carries the title of St. Stephen the King, an Arpad titular that arrived in these areas only under the stronger influence of the Hungarians. He also deduces from the historical source that the church was furnished with considerable income and that it took care of the souls, meaning that it was the parish church in Knin (Gunjača 1960, 58-59). Two historical references from a slightly earlier date (unknown to Gunjača) likewise confirm the existence of a parish church of that patron saint, namely ... *in ecclesiam S. Stephani de Tinino*, from 1477, and a document from 1403 ... *Vir dominus Nicolaus Sancouich de Bichigio rector ecclesie Tininiense et plebanus ecclesie S. Stephani de Tinino* (Jakšić 1988, 129, foot. 64, with the quoted sources; 2000, 23).

Even though historical sources belong to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the act of consecration of the church to Saint Stephen the King leads one to think that its construction took place in an earlier period. In connection with this, while determining and dating chance finds of stone monuments from the area of the town of Knin, certain authors interpreted a group of Knin reliefs with early Romanesque features as the remains of the church of St. Stephen. This group of stone reliefs includes fragments of architraves with inscriptions (Jakšić 1981, 29, Fig. 3-5) and two fragments of a door jamb of the portal, one of which carries the inscription *STEFATON* (Jakšić 1981, 28, Fig. 1-2). Even though the fragment with the inscription *STEFATON* was dated in the archaeological literature in different ways, from the period of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, through the 10<sup>th</sup> century, up until the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, as advocated by Gunjača (Gunjača 1959, 131-135; 1960, 122-124, Pl. XX, with the quoted literature about earlier datings; Jakšić 1981, 32), it was determined in the recent literature through the stylistic<sup>21</sup> and epigraphic analysis that the inscription *STEFATON*, as well as the inscriptions on the fragments of architrave belong to the early Romanesque period of the very end of the 11<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Delonga 1980, 160; 1992, 83, Fig. 13, 89-93, Fig. 14, 16, 17; Jakšić 1992, 128). The conventional opinion was accepted that the mentioned fragments belonged to the church of St. Stephen the King (Delonga 1996, 103-106; 1996a, 175, Fig. 1; 178, Fig. 11, 12; Jakšić 1996, 17-19; 2000, 24-26).

Archaeological excavations that have been carried out to date, unfortunately, failed to establish the precise position of the parish church of St. Stephen the King in Knin, so the experts tried to locate it by relying on historical sources. The position of the church is testified by the name ... *S. Stephani regis extra muros*, indicating that it (judging by the discovered fragments of stone monuments probably already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century) stood outside the fortification walls, while the reference ... *in suburbano* shows that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century that area was referred to as a suburb. Based on these data, as well as on later historical sources, it was concluded that the structure next to Loredan's Gate was a big mosque, that is the Knin parish church of St. Hieronymus from 1688, destroyed at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in fact the old parish church of St. Stephen the King, in which the function of a parish church had been preserved at the same place

<sup>21</sup>A stylistic analysis of these monuments points to a decoration with a single ornamental, almost uniform system, in which the ornamental bands were composed on the basis of floral motifs of tendrils, palmettes, garlands and cymatia, which point to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> and the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century as the time of their creation.



Zagrebačke biskupije 1334. i 1501. godine. Jugozapadno od središta biskupije u arhiđakonatu Gorica 1334. g. zapisana je župna crkva ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani matrix de Senich, de fundatione regis Bele, ut creditur*, u Šemiču kod Črnomelja u Sloveniji (sl. 1,4) (Buturac 1984, 86, br. 396). Južno od Zagreba u arhiđakonatu Gora spominje se 1334. g. ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani de Petrina* te 1501. g. ... *sancti Stephani regis de Petrowyna*, objekat smješten vjerojatno u staroj Petrinji, kod Jabukovca, južno od današnje Petrinje (sl. 1,5) (Buturac 1984, 47, br. 24). U arhiđakonatu Dubica spominje se samo 1334. g. *Primo ecclesia sancti Stephani regis de Pluharia*, topografski vjerojatno smještena u Puharsku kod Prijedora u Bosni (sl. 1,6) (Buturac 1984, 71, br. 232). Istočno od Zagreba u arhiđakonatu Gušće (Guescha) na neubiciranoj poziciji u okolici Zdenaca kod Bjelovara bila je smještena župna crkva poznata u popisu 1334. g. kao ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani* ... (sl. 1,7) (Buturac 1984, 60, br. 133). U arhiđakonatu Čazma 1334. g. spominje se ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani in Cherna reka*, i 1501. g. ... *Ecclesia sancti regis, vacat.*, smještena možda u Hercegovcu koji danas ima crkvu titulara sv. Stjepana (sl. 1,8) (Buturac 1984, 96, br. 485). Spomenutim crkvama, koje su popisane 1334. g., bio bi iscrpljen popis najstarijih sakralnih objekata s titularom sv. Stjepan Kralja u Zagrebačkoj biskupiji, ali i na području čitave Hrvatske<sup>24</sup>, iz kojeg je vidljivo da je ustvari svima njima danas točna pozicija nepoznata ili upitna.

Spomenuti se lokaliteti ne mogu promatrati iz arheološkoga gledišta, sagledavanjem materijalnih dokaza o zaposjedanju ili kontinuitetu života na njima, kao što se to moglo kod Zagreba i Knina, jer oni naprosto nisu poznati<sup>25</sup>, ipak po nekim se zajedničkim značajkama oni izdvajaju.

Promotri li se, naime, rasprostranjenost crkava s titularom sv. Stjepana Kralja može se ustvrditi da su to položaji uz važne cestovne pravce, na velikim raskrižjima najznačajnijih putova ili na prijelazima rijeka (sl. 1). Prema stupnju obrađenosti srednjovjekovnih cestovnih mreža u

<sup>24</sup>Prema Hagiotopografiji, popisu kršćanskih (katoličkih) svetih mjesta u Hrvatskoj (unutar današnjih granica, ali i onih koji su tijekom dužega razdoblja bili u sklopu Hrvatske) koju je izradio Anđelko Badurina, u dijelu popisa crkava s titularom sv. Stjepan Kralj postoji još nekoliko crkava s tim naslovom. Radi se o objektima koji su građeni tijekom 19. i 20. stoljeća te nisu vezani uz temu kojom se ovaj rad bavi. To je crkva u Šatrinčima izgrađena 1850. godine (župa Irig, Đakovačko-srijemska biskupija); crkva u Slatniku izgrađena 1876. godine (župa Drenje u Đakovačkoj biskupiji); crkva na lokalitetu Dalj Planina izgrađena 1984. godine (župa Aljmaš, Đakovačka biskupija); crkva u Bistrici izgrađena 1813. godine (župa Belišće u Đakovačkoj biskupiji) te župna crkva I – centar u Novoj Gradiški građena od 1811. do 1828. godine (Požeška biskupija). Prema istom popisu dvije su crkve datirane u 15. stoljeće i to jednobrodna crkva tj. kapela s jednom poligonalnom apsidom (kasnije barokizirana) u Bregima Kostelskim (župa Kostel, Zagrebačka biskupija) koju ostala literatura prema stilskoj analizi inventara datira u prvu polovinu 17. stoljeća (Horvat 1985, 190-191; Baričević 1998, 42), kao i prema povijesnim izvorima, također u 17. stoljeće (Botica 2004, 58-60), te župna jednobrodna crkva s jednom polukružnom apsidom izgrađena 1754. godine, kako navodi autor na mjestu starije iz 15. stoljeća u Slavonskom Brodu (Đakovačka biskupija). Jedna crkva nije datirana, a radi se o crkvi u mjestu Prelog u Varaždinskoj biskupiji (Badurina 2006).

<sup>25</sup>U Gradskome muzeju u Bjelovaru nalazi se pohranjen slučajni nalaz kapitela koji je «nekoč pripisivan Hercegovcu, danas hipotetski Strezi ... , koji je izradila ista radionica koja radi u Pornóapáti u zapadnoj Ugarskoj 1210. godine» (Goss 2007, 24, fus. 19, 54, kat. br.1).

(Smiljanić 1985, 127, foot. 61; Jakšić 2000, 26-28).

There are those who think that the earliest historical information about the settlement at the foot of the Knin fortification, in which the church of St. Stephen the King was built, dates from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The settlement is indirectly mentioned in the indication of a municipal officer ... *buccarius fori tiniensis*, and it can be concluded that at that time the settlement had an administrative organization, that it was an urban settlement (forum) without royal liberties, and that it functioned as a square or market, that is, that it represented a settlement of craftsmen and merchants<sup>22</sup> (Smiljanić 1985, 125). There were several sacral structures in that settlement below the fort, some of which are known to us only through historical sources and they have not been preserved *in situ* – a case in point is the church of St. Stephen the King, believed to have been positioned at the presumed position below Loredan's Gate (Smiljanić 1985, 129, Fig. 1, with marked position of the parish church of St. Stephen the King, Fig. 1, 2).

The considerations regarding the time of construction of the parish church of St. Stephen the King, situated below the walls of the fort, are not entirely unanimous. On the one hand a stylistic and epigraphic analysis of stone fragments points, as has been mentioned previously, to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, while some authors connect its construction with the time of bigger interventions on the Knin fortification, that is, building of the walls that surround the zone that was later named *castrum maiors*. This would correspond to the reign of king Bela III in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, who carried out reforms with the aim of separating the authority of the *ban* into a separate *ban's* honour for Slavonia on one side, and Dalmatia and Croatia on the other, in which Knin, as a geostrategically important site, occupied a particularly important place (Ančić 1996, 60-61).

It is perceptible that in the territory south of Knin, according to historical sources from 1397, i.e. the list that served for the reambulation of the properties of the Split archbishop, there is not one church with St. Stephan the King as its patron saint<sup>23</sup> (Katić 1956).

On the other hand, only five other sacral structures with St. Stephen the King as the titular, were mentioned in the list of parishes of the Zagreb diocese in 1334 and 1501. In 1334, southwest of the diocesan centre in the archdeaconry of Gorica, a parish church ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani matrix de Senich, de fundatione regis Bele, ut creditur*, was registered in Šemič near Črnomelj in Slovenia (Fig. 1,4) (Buturac 1984, 86, no. 396). South of Zagreb, in the archdeaconry of Gora, ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani de Petrina* was mentioned in 1334, and in 1501 ... *sancti Stephani regis de Petrowyna*, a building situated probably in the old Petrinja, near Jabukovac, south of present-day Petrinja (Fig. 1,5) (Buturac 1984, 47, no.

<sup>22</sup>In Smiljanić's opinion, even though the settlement is later mentioned also as a *suburbium*, we are not discussing two different settlements below the fort, but merely one, in which the term *suburbia* denotes a settlement in the spatial sense, which comprises the southeastern side of the Spas hill below the forts as a typical suburb, while the term *fori* denotes its economic, market function.

<sup>23</sup>The list included the area of the island of Brač and the narrower surroundings of Split, Solin and Trogir with nearby estates.

historiografiji uočava se da je Zagreb bio glavno sjecište svih putova te da je jedan srednjovjekovni cestovni pravac iz Zagreba vodio južno preko Buševca i Siska prema Petrinji (Čoralić 1997, karta 1), gdje je, vjerojatno u staroj Petrinji kod Jabukovca, južno od današnje Petrinje bila pozicionirana jedna od crkava. Ta je cesta, preko Komogovina i Kostajnice, dalje skretala istočno do Bosanske Dubice, a od Dubice je ponovno skretala južno prema Prijedoru, gdje je vjerojatno u mjestu Puharsku kod Prijedora bila smještena još jedna takva crkva. Iz Prijedora cesta je oštro skretala prema zapadu na Bosanski Novi, Bosansku Krupu te prateći rijeku Unu protezala se do Bihaća. Ovaj je srednjovjekovni cestovni pravac dobro dokumentiran u historiografiji do Bihaća, a potom se, kako se pretpostavlja, spuštao južno na Knin (Čoralić 1997, karta 2, 5). Na primjeru Knina važno je ustvrditi da je razvoj utvrde kao i naselja tijekom više stoljeća srednjovjekovlja uvjetovan samom pozicijom Knina<sup>26</sup>. Ona je kroz povijest izuzetno strateški važna jer se tvrđava nalazi na mjestu glavnog prolaza kroz kojeg se iz unutrašnjosti dolazi u Dalmaciju. Značajan položaj na važnim prometnim pravcima koji su povezivali istočnojadransku obalu sa zaleđem prepoznati su u pravcu srednjovjekovne ceste koja je većim dijelom prolazila Ravnim kotarima, te iz Knina vodila prema Splitu, ali i prema Ninu i Zadru (Jakšić 2000, 90). Prema povijesnim izvorima, cesta se u zadarskim srednjovjekovnim dokumentima prvi put spominje 1324. g. kao ... *via Magna cesta vocata tendens per Lucam*. U Kninu je bilo sjecište kontinentalnih cestovnih pravaca koji su dolazili sa sjevera i istoka, od kuda se cestom dolazilo do priobalja, pretpostavljenim putem kojim je do Zadra došao i ugarski Koloman (Jakšić 1985, 326). Spomenuti cestovni pravac, promatrajući ga iz suprotnog smjera, iz Nina, prema nekim tumačenjima, srednjovjekovni izvori nazivaju «cestom za Ugarsku», odnosno «Hrvatsku pod ugarskim kraljem» (Jakšić 1998, 271).

Područje Hercegovca i Zdenaca nalazilo se, pak, na pravcu koji je od Križevaca preko Rovišća i Bjelovara gdje je cesta dobro dokumentirana, vjerojatno preko Severina, vodila za Daruvar (Čoralić 1997, karta 2).

Razmotre li se spomenuti cestovni pravci uočljivo je da su se crkve s titularom sv. Stjepana Kralja nalazile na određenim punktovima uz ili u blizini markiranih komunikacija (sl. 1). To je bio jedan od veoma važnih preduvjeta da neki sakralni objekt bude posvećen upravo najslavnijem vladaru ugarskog prijestolja, Stjepanu I. Kralju. Drugi značajan preduvjet je duže razdoblje zaposjedanja lokaliteta odnosno kontinuitet života na određenom nalazištu kao što su to pokazali arheološki nalazi na primjeru Zagreba i Knina. Intenzitet života na nekom prostoru u razdoblju ranoga srednjeg vijeka zasigurno je bio jedan od preduvjeta za osnivanje i, nadalje, proces organizacije župa koji je vjerojatno započeo puno prije vremena iz kojeg nam

26 O razvoju Knina kao i arheološkim spomenicima Knina bavili su se mnogi arheolozi, povjesničari umjetnosti i povjesničari od kojih ovom prigodom valja izdvojiti S. Gunjaču koji prvi donosi sažeti pregled arheoloških spomenika Knina s povijesnom topografijom (Gunjača 1960), te Nikolu Jakšića koji posljednjih godina obradu Knina i okolice objavljuje na jednome mjestu s citiranom literaturom (Jakšić 2000, 7-58).

24). In the archdeaconry of Dubica, in 1334, only *Primo ecclesia sancti Stephani regis de Pluharia* was mentioned, topographically probably located in Puharska near Prijedor in Bosnia (Fig. 1,6) (Buturac 1984, 71, no. 232). South of Zagreb, in the archdeaconry of Gušće (Guescha), at an unknown position in the neighbourhood of Zdenci near Bjelovar, stood a parish church known from the 1334 list as ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani* ... (Fig. 1,7) (Buturac 1984, 60, no. 133). In the Čazma archdeaconry the ... *ecclesia sancti regis Stephani in Cherna reka* is mentioned in 1334, and ... *Ecclesia sancti regis, vacat.* in 1501, situated perhaps in Hercegovac, where today stands the church with St. Stephen as the titular (Fig. 1,8) (Buturac 1984, 96, no. 485). The mentioned churches, catalogued in 1334, are the last ones in the list of the earliest sacral buildings with St. Stephen the King as their patron saint in the Zagreb diocese, but also in the whole of Croatia<sup>24</sup>, from which it is clear that in fact the exact position of all of those churches is presently unknown or doubtful.

The mentioned sites cannot be looked at from an archaeological standpoint, by studying the material evidence on the occupation or continuation of life on them, as had been possible in the case of Zagreb and Knin, because these are simply not known<sup>25</sup>. Nevertheless, they are distinguished by certain shared features.

If one looks at the distribution of churches with St. Stephen the King as their titular, it can be established that these are positions situated next to important road communications, on big crossroads of most important roads or on river crossings (Fig. 1). It is perceptible from the level of analysis of mediaeval road networks in the historiography that Zagreb was the main intersection of all roads, and that one mediaeval road communication led from Zagreb south through Buševac and Sisak towards Petrinja (Čoralić 1997, map 1), where one of the churches was situated, probably in the old Petrinja near Jabukovac, south of the present-day Petrinja. That road, via Komogovina and Kostajnica, later turned east to Bosanska Dubica, from where it again turned south towards Prijedor, where probably in the place of Puharska near Prijedor another such church was located. From Prijedor the road sharply turned west towards Bosanski Novi and Bosanska Krupa and, following the Una river stretched to Bihać. This mediaeval road

24 According to Anđelko Badurina's Hagiotopeography, a list of Christian (Catholic) holy places in Croatia (those within the present-day borders, but also those that had formerly been included within Croatian borders over a longer period), in the part of the list dealing with the churches with St. Stephen the King as the titular, there are several other churches with that title. These buildings were built during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and are not related to the topic dealt with in this paper. These are the following churches: the church in Šatrinči, built in 1850 (the Irig parish, the diocese of Đakovo and Syrmia); the church in Slatinik, built in 1876 (the Drenje parish in the Đakovo diocese); the church at the site of Dalj Planina, built in 1984 (the Aljmaš parish, the Đakovo diocese); the church in Bistrica, built in 1813 (the Belišće parish in the Đakovo diocese) and the parish church I – Centre in Nova Gradiška, built from 1811 to 1828 (the Požeška diocese). The same list contains two churches dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a single-nave church, i.e. a chapel with a polygonal apse (later turned Baroque-style) in Bregi Kostelski (the Kostel parish, the Zagreb diocese), dated in other literature by a stylistic analysis of the inventory to the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Horvat 1985, 190-191; Baričević 1998, 42), and by historical sources also to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Botica 2004, 58-60); and the single-nave parish church with a semicircular apse, built in 1754, in the words of the author, at the place of an earlier church from the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Slavonški Brod (the Đakovo diocese). One church was not dated, the church in Prelog in the Varaždin diocese (Badurina 2006).

25 The Bjelovar Municipal Museum keeps a chance find of a capital that was "formerly attributed to Hercegovac, presently the hypothetical Streza... made in the same workshop active in Pornóapáta in western Hungary in 1210" (Goss 2007, 24, foot. 19, 54, cat. no.1).





Sl. 1 Karta s označenim položajima crkava s titularom sv. Stjepan Kralj južno od Drave i pravci srednjovjekovnih cestovnih komunikacija: 1-Torčec-Cirkvišće; 2-Zagreb-Kaptol; 3-Knin; 4-Šemič kod Črnomelja; 5-stara Petrinja, Jabukovac (?); 6- Puharska kod Prijedora (?); 7-Zdenci (?); 8-Hercegovac(?)

Fig. 1 A map with marked positions of churches with the titular of St Stephen the King south of the Drava, and the directions of mediaeval road communications: 1-Torčec-Cirkvišće; 2-Zagreb-Kaptol; 3-Knin; 4-Šemič near Črnomelj; 5-old Petrinja, Jabukovac (?); 6- Puharska near Prijedor (?); 7-Zdenci (?); 8-Hercegovac(?)

potječu prvi pisani povijesni izvori<sup>27</sup>.

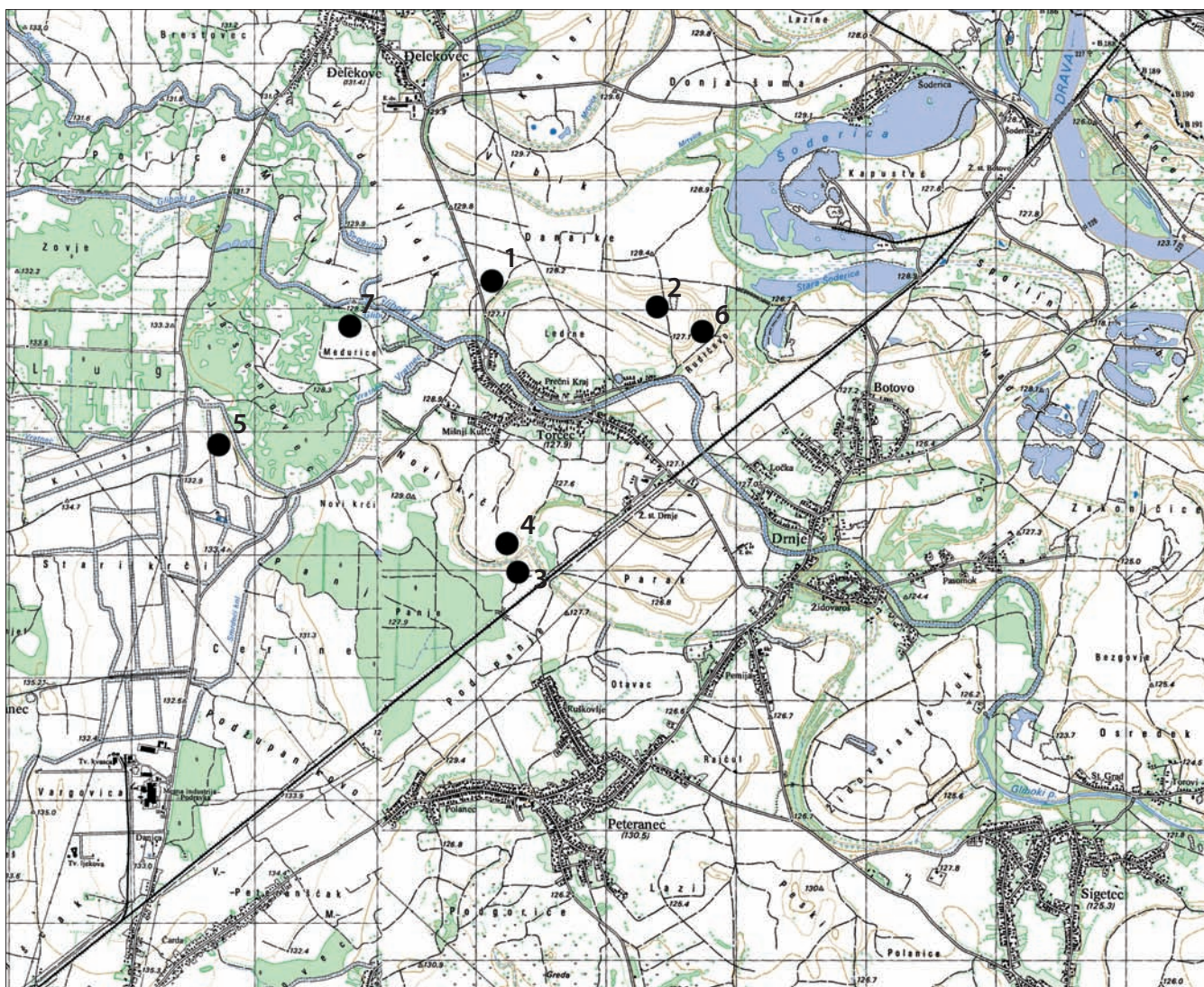
Vratimo li se ponovno na lokalitet Cirkvišće, valja ustvrditi da je na širem prostoru u okolici Torčeca prema dosadašnjim spoznajama, prepoznat intenzivan život tijekom ranoga srednjeg vijeka koji je zasigurno u danom trenutku rezultirao i izgradnjom sakralnog objekta. Naime, dosadašnja provedena arheološka istraživanja pokazala su da je ovo područje, između ostalog, bilo naseljeno krajem

27 U Zagrebačkoj biskupiji taj je proces okončan prije 1334. g., od kada potječe i prvi popis crkava i vjeran prikaz organizacijske strukture Biskupije, s više od četiri stotine župa podijeljenih u četrnaest arhidakonata u koje nisu uvrštene samostanske crkve i privatne kapele. Do danas je utvrđen položaj za 282 župe od 412, a 130 ih je ostalo neubicirano (Buturac 1984), od kojih samo nekoliko nosi titular sv. Stjepan Kralj.

communication was well documented in historiography until Bihać, after which, it is presumed, it descended south to Knin (Čoralić 1997, map 2, 5). On the example of Knin it is important to state that the development of the fort and the settlement during several mediaeval centuries was conditioned by the position of Knin itself<sup>26</sup>. Through history it had an exceptional strategic importance because the fort stood at the position

26 Many archaeologists, art historians and historians dealt with the development of Knin and its archaeological monuments. Here we single out S. Gunjača, who was the first to offer a summary review of the archaeological monuments of Knin with a historical topography (Gunjača 1960), as well as Nikola Jakšić, who recently published his analysis of Knin and its surroundings in a single volume with quoted literature (Jakšić 2000, 7-58).





Sl. 2 Karta okolice mjesta Torčec s označenim položajem župne crkve ... sancti Stephani regis circa Drauam na Cirkvišću i položajima rano-srednjovjekovnih naselja: 1-Cirkvišće; 2-Ledine; 3-Pod Panje; 4-Pod Gucak; 5-Vratnec 2; 6-Rudičevo; 7-Međuriče

Fig. 2 A map of the surroundings of the village of Torčec with marked position of the parish church ... sancti Stephani regis circa Drauam at Cirkvišće and the positions of early mediaeval settlements: 1-Cirkvišće; 2-Ledine; 3-Pod Panje; 4-Pod Gucak; 5-Vratnec 2; 6-Rudičevo; 7-Međuriče

10. do druge polovine 11. stoljeća, na što ukazuju arheološki nalazi slabo očuvanih manjih kvadratičnih objekata pronađenih na lokalitetu Ledine<sup>28</sup>, položaju smještenom oko 1 km istočno od Cirkvišća (sl. 2,2) (Sekelj Ivančan et al. 2005). U jednoj od kuća, između ostalih nalaza, pronađena je i S-karičica izrađena od slitine bakra<sup>29</sup> (sl. 4). S-karičice, koje se pojavljuju u više inačica, su vrsta nakita koja je uobičajena i široko rasprostranjena tijekom 10.-13. stoljeća na području

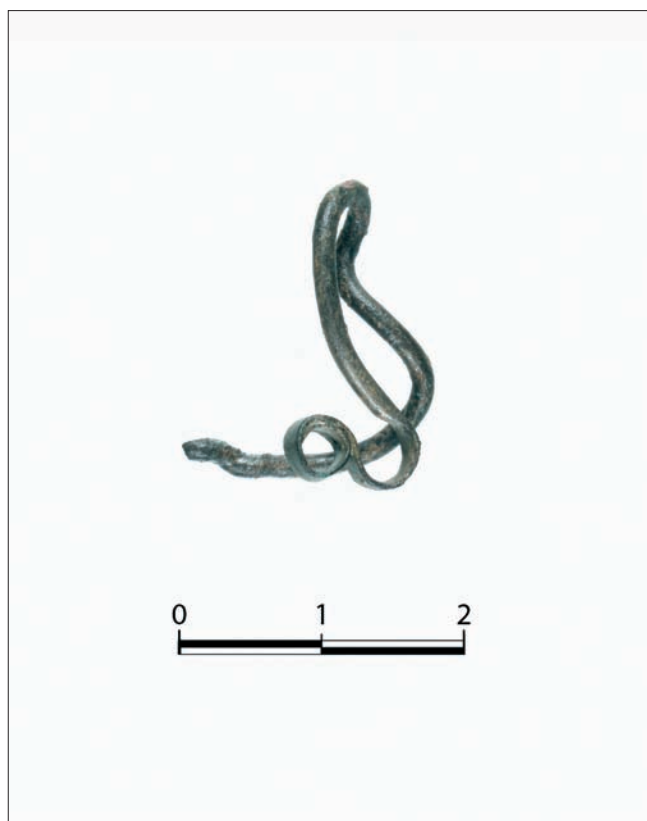
<sup>28</sup> Analiza dva uzorka ugljena <sup>14</sup>C metodom prikupljena u istraživanjima 2002. g. (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003a) provedena su u Institutu «Ruđer Bošković» u Laboratoriju za mjerenje niskih aktivnosti i dala su godinu BP 980+80, odnosno raspon kalibracije AD 990-1160 (68%) i drugi uzorak BP 1115+90, odnosno AD 810-1020 (65,7%). Analiza dva uzorka ugljena prikupljena prigodom iskopavanja 2003. g. (Sekelj Ivančan 2003) u istom laboratoriju dala su vrijednosti BP 1150+65, odnosno AD 810-980 (64,3%) i BP 985+65, odnosno AD 990-1070 (36,6%) i AD 1080-1160 (31,6%). Analiza keramike pronađene u objektima tijekom 2002. g. potvrdila je tu dataciju, dapače, suzila je donju i gornju granicu nalazišta na kraj 10. do druge polovine 11. stoljeća (Sekelj Ivančan et al. 2005).

<sup>29</sup> Širina obruča karike - 2,2 cm; promjer karike - 0,15 cm; dužina S-petlje - 0,65 cm; težina - 0,69 gr.

of the main passage from the interior to Dalmatia. Important position on principal traffic routes that connected the eastern Adriatic coast with the hinterland was recognized in the route of a mediaeval road that for the most part passed through the area of Ravni Kotari, and led from Knin towards Split, but also towards Nin and Zadar (Jakšić 2000, 90). According to historical sources, the road is mentioned in the mediaeval documents from Zadar for the first time in 1324, as ... *via Magna cesta vocata tendens per Lucam*. Knin was an intersection of continental road communications from the north and east, from where a road led to the littoral, following the presumed route through which Coloman of Hungary arrived in Zadar (Jakšić 1985, 326). The mentioned road route, looked at from the opposite direction, from Nin, according to certain interpretations, is called in the mediaeval sources "the road to Hungary", that is, "Croatia under the Hungarian king" (Jakšić 1998, 271).

The area of Hercegovac and Zdenci was situated, on the other hand, on the route that led from Križevci over





Sl. 3 Torčec – Cirkvišće - S-karičica izrađena od posrebrne bronce (foto: Damir Doračić, digitalna obrada fotografije: Miljenko Gregl)

Fig. 3 Torčec-Cirkvišće – An S-ring made of silvered bronze (photo: Damir Doračić, digital processing of the photograph: Miljenko Gregl)



Sl. 4 Torčec – Ledine – S-karičica izrađena od slitine bakra (foto: Damir Doračić, digitalna obrada fotografije: Miljenko Gregl)

Fig. 4 Torčec-Ledine – An S-ring made of a copper alloy (photo: Damir Doračić, digital processing of the photograph: Miljenko Gregl)

Rovišće and Bjelovar, where the road is well documented, probably through Severin, to Daruvar (Čoralić 1997, map 2).

If one looks at the mentioned routes it is perceptible that the churches with St. Stephen the King as the titular were situated at certain points next to or near the marked communications (Fig. 1). This was one of the very important preconditions that a sacral structure be consecrated precisely to the most glorious ruler of the Hungarian throne, Stephen I the King. The second important precondition is a longer period of occupation of the sites, that is, the continuity of life at a certain site, as has been shown by archaeological finds on the example of Zagreb and Knin. The intensity of life in a certain area during the Early Middle Ages was certainly one of the prerequisites for a foundation and, further, the process of the organization of parishes, that had probably begun long before the period that gave us the first written historical sources<sup>27</sup>.

If we return again to the site of Cirkvišće, we have to state that in the wider area surrounding Torčec, according to present knowledge, we recognized intense life during the early middle ages, which certainly at one point resulted in the construction of a sacral building. Archaeological excavations carried out to date have shown that this area, among other things, was populated at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> until the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, as indicated by the archaeological finds of poorly preserved smaller square structures discovered at the site of Ledine<sup>28</sup>, situated around 1 km east of Cirkvišće (Fig. 2,2) (Sekelj Ivančan et al. 2005). One of the houses yielded, among other finds, an S-ring made of a copper alloy<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 4). S-rings, which appear in a number of variants, are a type of jewellery accustomed and widely distributed during the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries in continental Croatia, but also beyond its borders (Tomičić 1990, 87-88, foot. 6). Our piece belongs to a variant with a simple thicker ring with a genuine S-ending, if we follow Sokol's interpretation of the chronological frame of their use. He classifies it as his type no. 25, present from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Sokol 2006, 191, 279-281, map 25). They were probably worn arrayed on a band or woven into the hair, and they are a characteristic and most frequent ornamental item in the row-grave cemeteries of the so-called Bijelo Brdo cultural circle, but also of the wider area between the Drava, Dunav

<sup>27</sup> In the Zagreb diocese that process was finished before 1334, the date of the first list of churches and a reliable portrayal of the organizational structure of the Diocese, with more than four hundred parishes divided into fourteen archdeaconries, without including the monastery churches and private chapels. To date the position of 282 out of 412 parishes has been ascertained, while 130 remained without known position (Buturac 1984), and only several among them had St. Stephen the King as the titular.

<sup>28</sup> The <sup>14</sup>C analysis of two charcoal samples collected in the 2002 excavation (Sekelj Ivančan, Tkalčec 2003a) were carried out at the Ruđer Bošković Institute in the Laboratory for Measurements of Low-level Radioactivity, and they gave the year BP 980+-80, that is, calibration range of AD 990-1160 (68%), and BP 1115+-90, that is AD 810-1020 (65,7%) respectively. The analysis of two charcoal samples from the 2003 excavation (Sekelj Ivančan 2003), carried out in the same laboratory, gave the values of BP 1150+-65, that is AD 810-980 (64,3%) and BP 985+-65, that is AD 990-1070 (36,6%) and AD 1080-1160 (31,6%).

<sup>29</sup> The width of the ring hoop – 2,3 cm; diameter of the ring – 0,15 cm; the length of the S-loop – 0,65 cm; weight – 0,69 gr.

kontinentalne Hrvatske, ali i izvan njezinih granica (Tomičić 1990, 87-88, fus. 6). Naš primjerak pripada varijanti proste deblje karike s pravim S-završetkom, prema tumačenjima vremenskog okvira njihove upotrebe koje donosi Sokol opredijelivši ga u svoj tip br. 25 koji se javlja od kraja 10. do prijelaza 11. u 12. stoljeće (Sokol 2006, 191, 279-281, karta 25). Nosile su se vjerojatno nanizane na traci ili upletene u kosu, a karakteristična su i najčešća ukrasna tvorevina u grobljima na redove tzv. bjelobrdskoga kulturnoga kruga ovoga, ali i šireg prostora međuriječja Drave, Dunava i Save (razvrstane u tipove I i II, koji se najučestalije javljaju od druge polovine 10. do početka 12. stoljeća, Tomičić 1999, 98-102; 1999a, 45-46)<sup>30</sup>, «kulturi» čije ishodište, bez obzira na razne polemike koje su se vodile (Demo 1996, 41, 46-47), treba tražiti u istočnijim i sjeveroistočnijim krajevima, u Panonskoj nizini. Ledinski primjerak predstavlja nakit koji se može preciznije datirati do druge polovine ili kraja 11. stoljeća<sup>31</sup>, a može se povezati s veoma sličnim nalazom deformirane S-karičice iz poremećenog sloja groblja na Cirkvišću. Zbog sličnosti oba primjerka, moguće je da je upravo položaj Cirkvišće već u spomenutom razdoblju služio za pokop stanovništva s Ledina, ali kako se ovaj tip nakita široko datira te je u upotrebi i u mlađem vremenu<sup>32</sup>, što potvrđuje, nadalje, i njihova prisutnost u grobljima oko crkava gdje su pretežito datirane u 12. i prvu polovinu 13. stoljeća (Bóna 1978, 136-139), moguće je i to da potječe iz vremena izgradnje prvotnoga sakralnog objekta oko kojeg su se pokapali pokojnici.

Dugi položaj na kojem su ustanovljeni tragovi naseļljenosti u tom ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju nalaze se oko 1,5 - 2 km južno od položaja Cirkvišće na lokalitetu Pod Panje (sl. 2,3). Intenzivnim rekognosciranjem tog područja prikupljeni su površinski nalazi keramike koji po nekim značajkama pokazuju paralele s nalazima s Ledina, ali i izostanak karakterističnog ukrasa češljaste valovnice koja se od kraja 11. stoljeća na dalje kao ukrasni motiv slabije upotrebljava ili gubi (Poláček 1995, 153). Prema tumačenju površinskih keramičkih nalaza s položaja Pod Panje, kao i tragova nepokretnih nalaza, ustanovljeno je da naselje na ovom položaju vjerojatno egzistira od kraja 11. do oko 13. stoljeća (Sekelj Ivančan et al., 2003, 114, karta 1, 118-120, sl. 6-9, 122; Sekelj Ivančan 2008).

Dijelovi istodobnog ili istog naselja nalaze se i sjeverno od potoka ex Vratnec na položaju Pod Gucak (sl. 2,4), gdje je pokusnim arheološkim iskopavanjem ustanovljeno po-

and Sava rivers (classified into types I and II, which appear with greatest frequency from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Tomičić 1999, 98-102; 1999a, 45-46)<sup>30</sup>, a "culture" whose origins, regardless of various polemics that were waged (Demo 1996, 41, 46-47), should be sought in the eastern and northeastern lands, in the Pannonian plain. The piece from Ledine is a jewellery item that can be dated with more precision until the second half or the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>31</sup>, and brought into connection with a highly similar find of a deformed S-ring from the disturbed layer of the cemetery at Cirkvišće. The similarity between the two pieces make it possible that precisely the site of Cirkvišće was used already during the mentioned period for the burials of the residents from Ledine. However, as this type of jewellery is widely dated and remained in use even in a later period<sup>32</sup>, as further corroborated by their presence in the cemeteries around churches, where they are predominantly dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Bóna 1978, 136-139), it is likewise possible that it comes from the time of construction of the original sacral building, around which the deceased were buried.

The other site which yielded traces of settlement in that early mediaeval period lies around 1,5-2 km south of the site of Cirkvišće, at the Pod Panje site (Fig. 2,3). Intensive survey of that area yielded surface finds of pottery, with certain features that show parallels with the finds from Ledine, but also the lack of characteristic combed waveline decoration, an ornamental motif that was becoming less frequently used or lost from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Poláček 1995, 153). According to the interpretation of surface ceramic finds from the Pod Panje position, as well as the remains of immovable finds, it was ascertained that the settlement at that position existed probably from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> to around the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Sekelj Ivančan et al., 2003, 114, map 1, 118-120, Fig. 6-9, 122, Sekelj Ivančan 2008).

Parts of a simultaneous or the same settlement are found also north of the ex Vratnec stream at the Pod Gucak position (Fig. 2,4), where test excavations yielded a two-piece bread oven and several mediaeval features around it (Sekelj Ivančan 2008).

Archaeological excavations led to the recognition of an (early) mediaeval settlement at yet another site, with dates confirmed by radiocarbon analyses. This is the site of

30 Analiza karičica sa S-završetkom s bjelobrdskih groblja na području Karpatske kotline pokazala je da ih je moguće preciznije razvrstati u podtipove prema dužini žice karike, odnosno promjeru karike, i konačno njenoj debljini. Prema J. Giesleru moguće ih je okvirno kronološki opredijeliti, iako se starije forme zadržavaju i u mlađem razdoblju te se pojavljuju istovremeno. Razvoj se prati od velikoformatnih (tip I, dužina žice 8-10,5 cm, promjer karike 2,5-3,5 cm) prema maloformatnim (tip II, dužina žice oko 4 cm, promjer karike 1,3 cm) koje se pojavljuju početkom kasne faze bjelobrdske kulture (Bijelo Brdo II). I u mlađim grobljima 12. i 13. stoljeća kao i u ostavama iz vremena 13. stoljeća pronalaze se karičice sa S-završetkom, i to velikoformatni tipovi i do 12 cm dužine žice (Giesler 1981, 40, Abb. 7.a.; Taf. 53; 104-109).

31 Vidi fusnotu 28.

32 Karičice s S-petljom pojavljuju se prema Ž. Tomičiću u svim fazama bjelobrdske kulture od tzv. prijelazne faze (900-965. g.), preko rane i kasne faze I. i II. stupnja, pa i u III. stupnju bjelobrdske kulture od 1100. g. do sredine 13. stoljeća (Tomičić 1992, 120, 128, Taf. 6).

30 An analysis of the rings with an S-ending from the Bijelo Brdo cemeteries in the region of the Carpathian basin has shown that they can be classified into subtypes with more precision by the length of the wire of the ring, by the diameter of the ring, and finally by the thickness of the ring. In J. Giesler's opinion they can be determined chronologically in approximate terms, even though the earlier forms continue into the younger period, when they appear simultaneously. The development is traced from the large-size ones (type I, wire length 8-10,5 cm, ring diameter 2,5-3,5 cm) to the small-size rings (type II, wire length around 4 cm, ring diameter 1,3 cm), which appear at the beginning of the late phase of the Bijelo Brdo culture (Bijelo Brdo II). S-rings are found also in the younger graves from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries as well as in the hoards from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the large-size types with a wire up to 12 cm long (Giesler 1981, 40, Fig. 7.a.; Pl. 53; 104-109).

31 See footnote 28.

32 S-hoop rings appear, according to Ž. Tomičić, in all phases of the Bijelo Brdo culture from the so-called transitional phase (900-965), through the early and late phases of the I and II periods, and also in the III period of the Bijelo Brdo culture, from 1100 to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (Tomičić 1992, 120, 128, Pl. 6).



stojanje dvodijelne krušne peći te nekoliko srednjovjekovnih tvorevina oko nje (Sekelj Ivančan 2008).

Još su na jednom položaju arheološkim iskopavanjima prepoznati ostaci (rano) srednjovjekovnog naselja, čija datacija je potvrđena radiokarbonskim analizama. To je položaj Rudičevo koji je smješten oko 1,5 - 2 km istočno od Cirkvišča (sl. 2,6) (Sekelj Ivančan 2007). Od ostataka stambenih objekata, jedan, smješten na padini brežuljka i uništen plavljenjem vode iz meandra koji je taj brežuljak okruživao, datiran je u 11. do sredine 12. stoljeća<sup>33</sup>, dok su ostaci kuće s ognjištem kao i obližnji kanal, evidentirani na najvišem dijelu uzvišenja, datirani od sredine do kraja 13. stoljeća<sup>34</sup>.

Na lokalitetu Vratnec 2, smještenom oko 2,5 km jugozapadno od Cirkvišča (sl. 2,5), istraživanom tijekom 1999. godine, pronađeni su srednjovjekovni keramički nalazi unutar objekta s ognjištem. Analizom prikupljenih ulomaka ustanovljeno je da se keramika okvirno<sup>35</sup> može datirati u razdoblje od kraja 10. i početka 11. stoljeća pa najkasnije do prijelaza iz 12. u 13. stoljeće (Sekelj Ivančan 1999). Također je evidentirano i postojanje srednjovjekovnog lokaliteta na položaju Međuriće koji se nalazi oko 1 km jugozapadno od Cirkvišča (sl. 2,7) (Sekelj Ivančan 2001, 46, Pl. XLVIII, 309-311; Kovačević 2008).

Spomenuti položaji (rano)srednjovjekovnih naselja pripadali bi onom stanovništvu koje se počelo ukopavati na položaju Cirkvišče. Iako je prvi horizont ukopavanja na položaju Cirkvišče do nas dospio u tragovima, nalaz deformirane S-karičice ukazuje da je on postojao, a intenzitet naseljenosti prostora Torčeca tome ide u prilog, a koji je u konačnici rezultirao i izgradnjom ranosrednjovjekovnoga sakralnog objekta oko kojeg se pokapalo. Naime, uvriježeno je mišljenje da su se crkve podizale ili su postajale središtem župa ukoliko su zadovoljavale zahtjeve iz dekreta Stjepana I., prema kojem je nekoliko sela (najmanje deset) moglo podići zajedničku crkvu (Budak 1994, 66, fus. 198).

Sljedeći značajan čimbenik jest da je prostor Torčeca pozicioniran na vrlo dobroj strateškoj poziciji, čime i crkva zadovoljava određene preduvjete koji su bili, kako smo vidjeli, značajni pri dodjeljivanju titulara sv. Stjepan Kralj. Naime, promotri li se prostor duž Drave valja ustvrditi da su u historiografiji dobro dokumentiran dva prijelaza preko rijeke. Jedan prijelaz je na cesti koja vodi od Tornviszentmiklosa u Mađarskoj te preko Murskog Središća ide prema Čakovcu i Varaždinu, dok je drugi smješten kod Ždale na Dravi, otkud se cesta dalje spušta prema Virju (Čoralić 1997, karta 2). Kako je spomenuta relacija veoma dugačka, pretpostavlja se da je postojao još jedan prijelaz preko Drave i to južno od utoka Mure u Dravu, gdje je cesta prelazila rijeku kod mjesta

Rudičevo, situated around 1,5-2 km east of Cirkvišče (Fig. 2,6) (Sekelj Ivančan 2007). When it comes to the remains of residential structures, there is one, situated on a hill slope and destroyed by a flood of water from the meander encircling the hill, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> until the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>, while the remains of a house with a hearth, as well as a nearby canal, both documented on the highest part of the elevation, were dated from the middle to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup>.

The site of Vratnec 2, situated around 2,5 km southwest of Cirkvišče (Fig. 2,5), investigated during 1999, yielded mediaeval ceramic finds within a structure with a hearth. An analysis of the collected fragments showed that the pottery can in general terms<sup>35</sup> be dated to the period from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century up until the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest (Sekelj Ivančan 1999). Also, a mediaeval site was documented at the position of Međuriće, situated around 1 km southwest of Cirkvišče (Fig. 2,7) (Sekelj Ivančan 2001, 46, Pl. XLVIII, 309-311; Kovačević 2008).

The mentioned positions of (early) mediaeval settlements would belong to the population that started to be buried at the site of Cirkvišče. Even though the first horizon of burials at Cirkvišče was revealed to us only in traces, the find of a deformed S-ring suggests that it had existed, while the intensity of population of the Torčec area speaks in favour of this, which eventually resulted in the construction of an early mediaeval sacral building, around which people were buried. The conventional wisdom is that churches were erected or became parish centres if they fulfilled the demands from Stephen I's decree, stipulating that several villages (at least ten) could erect a shared church (Budak 1994, 66, foot. 198).

The next important factor is that the area of Torčec lies on a very good strategic position, by which also the church satisfies certain preconditions that were, as we have seen, important in assigning the titular of St. Stephen the King. If one looks at the territory along the Drava, it has to be said that in the historiography there are two well-documented crossings over the river. One crossing lies on the road leading from Tornyszentmiklos in Hungary, across Mursko Središće to Čakovec and Varaždin, while the other is situated near Ždala on the Drava, from where the road descends towards Virje (Čoralić 1997, map 2). Taking into account that the mentioned stretch is very long, it is presumed that there existed another crossing over the Drava, south of the confluence of the Mura and Drava rivers, where the road crossed the river near the village of Zákány on the Hungarian side, leading

33 Uzorak ugljena iz objekta uz meandar poslan je na <sup>14</sup>C analizu u Leibniz Labor für Altersbestimmung und Isotopenforschung Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel u Njemačku. Rezultati su dali kalibriranu godinu 979+-22, odnosno: One Sigma Range: cal AD 1019-1044 (44,4%); Two Sigma Range: cal AD 1015-1052 (50,6%) i 1080-1153 (44,8%).

34 Uzorak ugljena iz ognjišta stambenog objekta analiziran je u istom laboratoriju. Rezultati su dali kalibriranu godinu 779+-21, odnosno: One Sigma Range: cal AD 1227-1233 (13%); cal AD 1239-1268 (55,3%); Two Sigma Range: cal AD 1220-1274 (95,4%).

35 Nakon provedenih arheoloških iskopavanja nalazišta Vratnec 2 od strane Muzeja grada Koprivnice nisu provedene analize <sup>14</sup>C koje bi preciznije datirale lokalitet.

33 A charcoal sample from a structure next to the meander was sent to a <sup>14</sup>C analysis to the Labor für Altersbestimmung und Isotopenforschung Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel, in Germany. The results were as follows: cal. 979+-22, that is: One Sigma Range: cal AD 1019-1044 (44,4%); Two Sigma Range: cal AD 1015-1052 (50,6%) i 1080-1153 (44,8%).

34 A charcoal sample from the hearth of a residential structure was analyzed in the same laboratory. The results were as follows: cal 779+-21, that is: One Sigma Range: cal AD 1227-1233 (13%); cal AD 1239-1268 (55,3%); Two Sigma Range: cal AD 1220-1274 (95,4%).

35 Archaeological excavations of the Vratnec 2 site were carried out by the Koprivnica Municipal Museum, but <sup>14</sup>C analyses, which would date the site with more precision, have not been carried out.

Zákány na ugarskoj strani, a dalje negdje između Đelekovca i Peteranca<sup>36</sup> na hrvatskoj strani išla prema jugozapadu (Petrić 1993, 22,23). Vjerojatno je prolazila područjem uz šljunčaru Šodericu, u blizini Đelekovca i kroz Torčec (sl. 1). Cesta se zatim spuštala prema dolini podno Kamengrada, gdje je dokumentirana kao ... *via Colomani regis*, smjera prema Jagnjedovcu i dalje prema Rovišću (Lovrenčević 1980, 237-238; Demo 1984, 337, 340, sl. 14). Poveže li se područje šljunčare i okolice s mogućim mjestom riječnog prijelaza starih putova, kasnije i puta nazvanog *via Colomani regis* (Demo 1983-1984, 233-234), ceste koja je zasigurno u vojnim i političkim previranjima tijekom ranoga srednjeg vijeka bila veoma značajna, te ovladavanjem riječnim prijelazom i cestovnim pravcem na području uže ili šire okolice šljunčare (Petrić 1992, 43-44), može se ustvrditi da se ta okolnost može promatrati iz dva smjera. S jedne strane cesta je rezultirala razvojem naselja u obližnjem Torčecu i Đelekovcu<sup>37</sup>, ali i obratno, bez određene podloge, odnosno kontinuiranog života na tom prostoru, ona ne bi dobila/imala taj značaj. Iako u povijesnim izvorima nema spomena da se Torčec nalazio neposredno uz prometnu komunikaciju, cestovni pravac je vjerojatno bio upravo negdje na tom području, čemu u prilog idu i rezultati arheoloških istraživanja koji pokazuju intenzitet naseljenosti koji je uvijek u svezi s dobrom komunikacijom i povezanosti određenog područja sa širim prostorom. Brojnost sigurnih ranosrednjovjekovnih naselja rezultirala je, nadalje, i izgradnjom sakralnog objekta na položaju Cirkvišće, možda upravo, prema nalazu posrebrene brončane S-karičice, tijekom 12. stoljeća. Sam je položaj zbog svoje strateške važnosti i intenzivnog naseljavanja vrlo značajan te je prema iznesenim zakonitostima prepoznatim kod drugih lokaliteta, bio pogodan punkt da u određenom trenutku crkva dobije i titular sv. Stjepana Kralja. Pitanje koje se nameće jest - je li moguće približe odrediti koji je to «trenutak»?

Sakralni objekti s posvetom sv. Stjepanu Kralju na području južno od Drave svakako potječu iz vremena povezanosti s Ugarskom i snažnog utjecaja dinastije Arpadovića. Prvi vladar naših krajeva koji je ženidbenim vezama bio povezan s ugarskim dvorom bio je Zvonimir krajem 11. stoljeća pa bi spomenuto vrijeme bilo *terminus ante quem non* za ove indikativne posvete crkava na obrađivanom prostoru, kao i sama godina proglašenja svetim kralja Stjepana I. (1087. g.). Intenzitet veza Ugarske i krajeva južno od Drave snažno se pojačava na prijelazu u 12. stoljeće s Ladislavom I. i Kolo-

36 Naselje i posjed sa župom u Peterancu spominje se u 13. stoljeću, a u 14. stoljeću je prema H. Petriću tu bio smješten i važan prijelaz preko Drave (... *ecclesiaer sancti Petri circa portum Drauae*) (Petrić 1992, 43).

37 Torčec s jedne i Đelekovec s druge strane predstavljali su dva jaka uporišta ranosrednjovjekovne naseljenosti ovog dijela koprivničke Podravine. Oba imaju naselje, župnu crkvu s grobljem (1334. g. *ecclesia beate virginis de Gelekoucz* te župa iz 1501. g., Buturac 1984, 76) kao i utvrdu. Što se tiče crkve s grobljem, važno je napomenuti da su prije 30-ak godina provedena arheološka istraživanja na položaju *Šćapovo* u središtu mjesta gdje je evidentiran stariji sloj ukapanja na groblju s nalazima S-karičica. Taj je sloj datiran u 12. do sredine 13. stoljeća (do provale Tatara, 1242. g.). Ukapanje se nastavilo na istome mjestu i u daljnjem razdoblju, tijekom kasnoga srednjeg vijeka (Šmalcelj 1986, 132). Odabir upravo ovih dvaju punktova za intenzivnije naseljavanje i građenje sakralnih objekata, i to na relativno maloj međusobnoj udaljenosti, svoje povode ima u prirodnom geografskom položaju koji je još u ranome srednjem vijeku bio prepoznat te bio razlogom guste naseljenosti ovog prostora uz Dravu.

further southwest somewhere between Đelekovec and Peteranec<sup>36</sup> on the Croatian side (Petrić 1993, 22,23). It probably passed through the area next to the Šoderica gravel extraction plant, in the vicinity of Đelekovec, and through Torčec (Fig. 1). The road then descended towards the valley below Kamengrad, where it was documented as ... *via Colomani regis*, in the direction of Jagnjedovec and further to Rovišće (Lovrenčević 1980, 237-238; Demo 1984, 337, 340, Fig. 14). If we connect the area of the gravel extraction plant and its vicinity with the possible position where the old routes crossed the river, including also a later route called *via Colomani regis* (Demo 1983-1984, 233-234), a road that was certainly very important in the military and political turmoils during the Early Middle Ages, and with the control of the river crossing and the road route in the territory of the narrower or wider surroundings of the gravel extraction plant (Petrić 1992, 43-44), it can be established that this situation can be viewed from two directions. On the one side, the road led to the development of the settlements in nearby Torčec and Đelekovec<sup>37</sup>, but the other way round, without certain background, that is, continuous life in that area, it would not gain/have such importance. Even though there is no mention in historical sources that Torčec lay adjacent to a traffic route, a road probably lay precisely somewhere in that area, in favour of which speak also the results of archaeological excavations, which show an intensity of population that is always related to a good communication and connectedness of a given territory with a wider area. The large number of certain early mediaeval settlements resulted, moreover, in the construction of a sacral building at the position of Cirkvišće, perhaps precisely, considering the find of a silvered bronze S-ring, during the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The position itself, due to its strategic value and intense settlement process, is highly important, and according to the expressed patterns identified at other sites, it was a fitting position for the church to be assigned at one point the titular of St. Stephen the King. The question that presents itself is – is it possible to determine with more precision at what “moment” did that happen?

Sacral buildings consecrated to St. Stephen the King in the area south of the Drava certainly derive from the period of union with Hungary and the strong influence of the Arpad dynasty. The first ruler of our lands that had matrimonial ties with the Hungarian court was Zvonimir, at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, so the mentioned period would be the *terminus ante quem non* for these indicative dedications of churches in the area under study, same as the very year when King Stephen I was declared a saint (1087). The intensity of connections between Hungary and the lands south of the Drava strongly

36 The settlement and the estate with a parish in Peteranec is mentioned in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, while according to H. Petrić, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century there was an important crossing over the Drava (... *ecclesiaer sancti Petri circa portum Drauae*) (Petrić 1992, 43).

37 Torčec on one side and Đelekovec on the other, represented two important strongholds of the early mediaeval settlement of this part of the Podravina region around Koprivnica. Both have a settlement, a parish church with a cemetery (1334 *ecclesia beate virginis de Gelekoucz* and a parish from 1501, Buturac 1984, 76), as well as a fort. As to the church with a cemetery, it is important to mention that around 30 years ago archaeological excavations were carried out at the position of *Šćapovo* in the centre of the place where an earlier layer of burials in the cemetery with the finds of S-rings was documented. That layer was dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (until the Tatar invasion in 1242). Burials continued in the same place through the subsequent period, during the Late Middle Ages (Šmalcelj 1986, 132). A choice of precisely these two points for a more intense settling and building of sacral buildings, at a relatively small distance from each other, was based on the natural geographic position that had been recognized already during the Early Middle Ages and which was the reason for a dense population of this territory along the Drava.

manom, a traje i u narednom razdoblju. Za sagledavanje tih veza značajni su povijesni podaci, ali i arheološki materijalni nalazi koji se međusobno nadopunjuju. Pa tako, iako su o vremenu i mjestu osnutka Zagrebačke biskupije koju spominju povijesni izvori mišljenja različita, ostaje činjenica da ju je kralj hijerarhijski podredio svojoj najznačajnijoj nadbiskupiji u Ostrogonu, iz čega se očitava potreba kontrole tih prostora, odnosno da je Zagreb smatrao značajnim naseljem. To je, prema novim arheološkim nalazima, on i bio jer su se biskupije osnivale ipak u većim mjestima i na položajima koji su bili geopolitički značajni i dobro povezani putovima, što Zagreb zasigurno jest. Prema nekim mišljenjima sva povijesna građa koja spominje osnutak Zagrebačke biskupije potječe ipak iz kasnijeg razdoblja, odnosno vremena poslije 1192. godine, kada je i Ladislav proglašen svetim (Stošić 1994, 103-104). Naime, ispravom iz godine 1217. spominju se dva najznačajnija imena ugarske dinastije, sveti kraljevi Stjepan I. i Ladislav kao zaštitnici zagrebačke crkve. Nadalje se očitava potreba isticanja njezina posvećenja sv. Stjepanu Kralju od strane Andrije II. u istom dokumentu, što ukazuje na naglašene težnje i isticanje uloge vladajuće ugarske dinastije i samoga kraljevskog utjecaja na najznačajnije središte južno od Drave. Stoga je za pretpostaviti kako je upravo vrijeme samog kraja 12. ili vjerojatnije početka 13. stoljeća razdoblje najvećeg utjecaja Ugarske na ovo područje<sup>38</sup>. Da je posvećenje provedeno i već uvriježeno u narodu godine 1227. posredno nam potvrđuje i povijesni izvor koji govori o blagdanu Sv. Stjepana Kralja, koji se kao svetkovina slavila u zagrebačkoj katedrali 20. kolovoza, što se moglo održavati i uvriježiti tek poslije posvećenja. Izvor spominje najveći zagrebački sajam, «kraljevski sajam», u trajanju od 14 dana oko blagdana 20. kolovoza, kada je Nikola prinio dar ... *ad aram beati regis Stephani* (na oltar Svetoga Kralja Stjepana), kao i još nekoliko povijesnih izvora iz sredine 13. stoljeća koji govore o podavanju oprosta upravo na blagdan Sv. Stjepana Kralja<sup>39</sup> (Dobronić 2003, 23, 26).

Nakon što je Andrija II. zagrebačku crkvu posvetio sv. Stjepanu Kralju, vjerojatno je u vremenu neposredno nakon toga, dakle, po izdavanju isprave 1217, odnosno po nekima 1227. godine, negdje u prvoj polovini 13. stoljeća, uslijedilo dodjeljivanje titulara i ostalim, odabranim, spomenutim crkvama. Težnje za krajevima južno od Drave ugarska je di-

increased at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century with Ladislaus I and Coloman, and continued in the succeeding period. In order to comprehend these ties of importance are historical data, but also archaeological material finds, which complement each other. Thus, even though opinions differ regarding the time and place of foundation of the Zagreb diocese as mentioned in historical sources, the fact remains that the king hierarchically subjected it to his most important archdiocese, the one in Esztergom, which reveals the need to control these areas, that is, that he considered Zagreb a less important town. Recent archaeological finds suggest that in fact that's exactly how it was, because in the end dioceses were founded in bigger towns and at positions that were important geopolitically and well connected with roads, which Zagreb certainly was. There are opinions that all the historical materials that mention the foundation of the Zagreb diocese come from a later period, that is the time after 1192, when also Ladislaus was declared a saint (Stošić 1994, 103-104). The 1217 document mentions two most important names of the Hungarian dynasty, the saintly kings Stephen I and Ladislaus, as patron saints of the Zagreb church. Further, one can perceive the need to stress its consecration to St. Stephen the King by Andrew II in the same document, which points to prominent aspirations and emphasizing of the role of the ruling Hungarian dynasty and the influence itself of the kings to the most important centre south of the Drava. It can therefore be assumed that precisely the period of the very end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century or more probably the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was the period of the greatest influence of Hungary to this area<sup>38</sup>. That the consecration had been carried through and already rooted in the folk by 1227 is indirectly confirmed by a historical source that speaks of the holiday of St. Stephen the King, celebrated as a saint's day in the Zagreb cathedral on the 20<sup>th</sup> August, which could be held and could take roots only after consecration. The source mentions the biggest fair in Zagreb, the "royal fair" lasting 14 days around the holiday on the 20<sup>th</sup> August, when Nikola received a gift ... *ad aram beati regis Stephani* (to the altar of Saintly King Stephen), as well as several other historical sources from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, which speak of granting pardons precisely on the holiday of St. Stephen the King<sup>39</sup> (Dobronić 2003, 23, 26).

After Andrew II consecrated the Zagreb church to St. Stephen the King, probably during the immediately succeeding period, therefore, after the issuing of the document from 1217, that is in 1227, in the opinions of some, sometime

38 U posljednje godine 12. stoljeća datiraju i prvi povijesni tragovi o vladarskom pravu ubiranja desetine u Slavoniji. Naime, 1185. g. Bela III. šalje na francuski dvor popis prihoda što ih uživa ugarski kralj u svojim zemljama. U tom popisu među crkvenim dostojanstvenicima, kao sufragana kaločkog nadbiskupa, pojavljuje se i zagrebački biskup (Klaić 1982, 310-311). U prilog pretpostavci da je upravo vrijeme samoga kraja 12. i početka 13. stoljeća ono razdoblje u kojem je utjecaj Ugarske najintenzivniji, idu i neka razmišljanja povjesničara prema kojima Arpadovići sve do Bele III, nemaju prilike ni mogućnosti neposredno se povezati sa zagrebačkom crkvom (i zagrebačkom županijom, Klaić 1982, 25). Osim toga, u posljednje godine 12. stoljeća, od Bele III. i njegova nasljednika hercega Andrije, započinje proces dijeljenja kraljevskih posjeda po zagrebačkoj okolini. Taj se proces priveo kraju 70-ih godina 13. stoljeća, kada velikaši posve zamjenjuju kraljevsku vlast (Klaić 1982, 24-31). Takva se situacija može preslikati i na širi prostor južnije od Drave, gdje je proces prijelaza vladarskih posjeda i prava prelazio u privatne ruke te su zbog intenziteta tog procesa, kraljevska i hercevska prava u drugoj polovini 13. stoljeća u Slavoniji gotovo nestala, a time i njihov utjecaj (Klaić 1990, 251-255).

39 U svezi s blagdanima, na ovome mjestu valja istaknuti da se u Torčecu također najveće proštenje održava na Kralevo, na blagdan Sv. Stjepana, 20. kolovoza.

38 The last years of the 12th century is also the date of the first historical traces about the right of a ruler to levy a tithe in Slavonia. In 1185 Bela III sent the list of incomes enjoyed by the king of Hungary in his lands to the French court. The Zagreb bishop appears in that list among the church dignitaries as a suffragan of the archbishop of Kalocsa (Klaić 1982, 310-311). In favour of the assumption that precisely the time of the very end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century was the period in which the influence of Hungary was most intense, speak also certain considerations of historians, according to which the Arpads until Bela III had neither opportunity nor means to connect themselves directly with the Zagreb church (and the Zagreb county, Klaić 1982, 25). In addition to this, the process of bestowing royal estates over the surroundings of Zagreb started in the last years of the 12th century, from Bela III and his successor, herceg Andrew. That process came to an end in the 1270s, when nobles entirely replaced the royal authority (Klaić 1982, 24-31). Such situation is mirrored in the wider area south of the Drava, where the process of transfer of regal estates and rights to private individuals was going on, and where, due to the intensity of that process, the rights of kings and hercegs all but disappeared in the second half of the 13th century, together with their influence (Klaić 1990, 251-255).

39 With regard to holidays, it should be mentioned here that the greatest parish fair in Torčec takes place on Kralevo, the day of St. Stephen, on the 20th August.



nastija u prvo vrijeme ostvarivala putem svojih rodbinskih veza, mogli bismo reći dogovorno, a u kasnijem razdoblju i svojom kulturnom politikom u vidu širenja kršćanstva putem organizacije crkve (Goldstein 1995, 448-454). Jedan od načina svakako je bilo i dodjeljivanje titulara odabranim sakralnim objektima koji su bili posvećivani najznačajnijem svecu iz reda ugarske dinastije Stjepanu I. Svetom, i to u vremenu nakon 1217/1227. godine, koju možemo uzeti kao donju granicu, pa najkasnije do vremena kraja vladavine Bele IV. (-1270. g.) u drugoj polovini 13. stoljeća, koji se javlja kao utemeljitelj crkve u Šemiču kod Črnomelja u Sloveniji, kako je to zapisano 1334. godine. Možda je taj postupak, kao i rasprostranjenost tih crkava na prostoru Zagrebačke biskupije, potaknut i intenzivnim nastojanjima biskupa Stjepana II. (1225-1247), koji se nakon izbora za splitskog nadbiskupa (1242. g.) vraća u Zagreb, odakle diplomatskim putem nastoji od Rima ishoditi da se Zagrebačka biskupija objedini sa Splitskom nadbiskupijom, što se nije uspjelo ostvariti (Klaić 1968, 15; Šanjek 1994, 32-33).

Vjerojatno je u spomenutom razdoblju bila posvećena i crkva *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* u Torčecu koja se nalazila u blizini jedne od važnijih prometnica, kao bitnog čimbenika povezivanja ugarskoga panonskog prostora i njihovih središta s područjem južno od Drave, a sve su bile usmjerene prema istočnojadranskoj obali. Crkva je u trenutku posvećenja sv. Stjepanu Kralju između 1217/1227 – 1270. godine vjerojatno već bila izgrađena, čemu u prilog ide i brojnost okolnih naselja, čije postojanje je evidentirano posljednjih godina provedenim sustavnim arheološkim istraživanjima toga prostora, pa konačno i nalaz deformirane S-karičice. Brojnost okolnih naselja prvo ranog, a kasnije i razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka u danom je trenutku rezultirala potrebom formiranja župnog središta, odnosno uzdizanja sakralnog objekta na rang župne crkve i nastavka ukapanja oko nje, o čijem kontinuitetu nam svjedoče provedena probna arheološka istraživanja na položaju Cirkvišće, kao i u povijesnim pisanim izvorima zabilježena situacija zatečena u prvj polovini 14. stoljeća.

in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the titulars were assigned to the other mentioned chosen churches. The aspirations of the Hungarian dynasty towards the lands south of the Drava were accomplished at first through kinship ties, we might say in agreement, and in a later period also through its cultural policy in the form of the spread of Christianity through the organization of the church (Goldstein 1995, 448-454). One of the methods certainly included the assignment of titulars to chosen sacral buildings, which were consecrated to the most important saint from the ranks of the Hungarian dynasty, Stephen I the Saint, in the period after 1217/1227, the year that can be taken as the lower limit, up until the end of the rule of Bela IV (-1270) in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. Bela IV appears as the founder of the church in Šemič near Črnomelj in Slovenia, as documented in 1334. Perhaps that act, as well as the distribution of those churches in the area of the Zagreb diocese was induced among other things by intense efforts of bishop Stephen II (1225-1247) who, after he had been appointed the archbishop of Split (in 1242), returned to Zagreb, from where he attempted through diplomatic channels to obtain from Rome that the Zagreb archdiocese be united with the Split archdiocese, which did not come to fruition (Klaić 1968, 15; Šanjek 1994, 32-33).

Probably during the mentioned period the consecration took place of the church *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* in Torčec, which was situated near one of the more important communications, as an essential factor of connecting the Hungarian Pannonian area and their centres with the area south of the Drava, and they were all oriented towards the eastern Adriatic coast. At the moment of consecration to St. Stephen the King between 1217/1227-1270, the church had probably already been constructed, as corroborated also by the large number of neighbouring settlements, whose existence is documented in recent years through systematic archaeological excavations of that area, and finally also by the find of a deformed S-ring. The number of the surrounding settlements first from the Early, and later also from the High Middle Ages resulted at a given moment in the need to form a parish centre, that is, to elevate a sacral building to the rank of a parish church, and to continue with burials around it, the continuity of which is testified by test archaeological excavations at the site of Cirkvišće, as well as by the situation from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as documented in historical written sources.

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