

Tonči Burić
Kralja Petra Svačića 17,
HR - 21 215 Kaštel Lukšić
tonci.buric@gmail.com

Arheološki nalazi kopči iz srednjega vijeka u Kaštelima

Autor obrađuje nalaze kopči od 13. do 16. st. koje su otkrivene uglavnom u recentnim iskopavanjima u Kaštelima, a potječu sa župnih grobalja srednjovjekovnih sela Sućurac (Sv. Juraj od Putalja) i Radun (Sv. Juraj - Svećurje). Do sada je otkriveno ukupno 17 primjeraka, koji su podijeljeni na četiri tipa: okrugle kopče, kopče D-tipa, gljivaste kopče i dvodijelne simetrične kopče s okovom. Mali broj tipova u Kaštelima, samo petina u odnosu na ukupan tipološki repertoar kopči u Hrvatskoj, posljedica je prije svega niskog stupnja istraženosti te mikroregije. Analogije su potvrđene na brojnim lokalitetima u Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji, a predočene su i paralele iz Engleske. Kopče su odraz promjena u načinu odijevanja u srednjem vijeku do kojeg je došlo na prijelazu iz 13. u 14. st., a ujedno i svjedoci širenja tih promjena iz urbanih središta u ruralne zajednice, ovdje konkretno na prostoru distrikata Trogira i Splita. Sukladno navedenim podjelama može se govoriti o romaničkom, gotičkom i renesansnom obrtu i modnim elementima.

Cljučne riječi: kopče, Kaštela, Svećurje - Radun, Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Baba lokva.

Archaeological Finds of Medieval Buckles in Kaštela

The author discusses finds of buckles from the 13th to the 16th century discovered on the whole in recent excavations in Kaštela, deriving from the parish graveyards of the medieval villages of Sućurac (Sv. Juraj od Putalja) and Radun (Sv. Juraj – Svećurje). Discovered to date have been 17 specimens, which can be divided into four types: round buckles, D-type buckles, mushroom-shaped buckles and two-part symmetrical buckles with mounting. The small number of types in Kaštela, no more than a fifth of the total typological repertoire of buckles in Croatia is the consequence above all of this micro region having been so little researched. Analogies have been confirmed at numerous sites in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, and parallels from England have also been adduced. Buckles are a reflection of the change in the manner in which people dressed in the Middle Ages, which occurred at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and also tells of the expansion of these changes from urban centres to rural communities, here, to be precise, to the space of the districts of Trogir and Split. In line with these divisions, it is reasonable to speak of Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance trades and fashion elements.

Key words: buckles, Kaštela, Svećurje – Radun, Sv. Juraj od Putalja, Baba Lokva.

Uvod¹

U grobovima i naseobinskim slojevima iz srednjega vijeka i početka ranoga novog vijeka u Kaštelima pronađeni su, uz druge nalaze, i ukrasno-uporabni dijelovi odjeće i obuće, koje prema tadašnjim suvremenim stilskim razdobljima nazivamo romaničkim, gotičkim i renesansnim. To su nalazi iz grobalja i naselja seoskih zajednica koje su tada bile na teritoriju komunalnih distrikata Splita i Trogira. Predmeti iste namjene nisu nalaženi u grobovima ranoga srednjeg vijeka na tom prostoru. Ovdje će se razmatrati kopče, kao sastavni dijelovi odjeće.² Nalazi kopči poznati su na velikom broju nalazišta izvan Kaštela, a može ih se stratigrafski i tipološki svrstati u razvijeni (12. - 13. st.) i kasni srednji vijek (14. - 15. st.) te rani novi vijek (16. - 18. st.). Lokaliteti na kojima su pronađeni analogni primjerci raspoređeni su na širem arealu povijesnih hrvatskih zemalja u srednjem vijeku (Hrvatska, Dalmacija, Slavonija, Istra). Oni su utilitarnog karaktera, a dio ih ima i prepoznatljive stilske odlike, pa ih valja sagledavati kao segment produkcije umjetničkoga obrta toga vremena i govoriti o njima kao o elementima romaničke gotičke i renesansne mode u našoj zemlji. Jedan od razloga odabira kopči za ovaj rad je i taj što su one desetljećima bile bez opravdanog razloga zanemarivane u odnosu na estetski i vizualno atraktivniji nakit, posebice naušnice, o kojima je literatura već obimna, uključujući i monografske obrade. Svi nalazi u Kaštelima su ponajviše otkriveni u zadnja dva desetljeća, tijekom sustavnih i zaštitnih iskopavanja srednjovjekovnih grobalja i naselja. Radi se o većim župnim grobljima nastalima oko ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava; groblju oko crkve sv. Jurja od Putalja i onome oko crkve sv. Jurja od Raduna te o naseobinskom lokalitetu na položaju Baba lokva u predjelu Plano. Putaljsko groblje

¹ Retke koji slijede posvećujem pokojnom kolegi Mati Zekanu, s kojim me vežu gotovo četiri desetljeća suradnje na polju hrvatske srednjovjekovne arheologije i brojne prijateljske uspomene.

² Nalaze koji pripadaju elementima obuće toga doba (kopče za cipele - *fiube da scarpe*) već sam obradio u radu objavljenom u zborniku posvećenom profesoru emeritusu Janku Beloševiću o 80. obljetnici života. Cf. Burić, 2010. Kopče za cipele s Putalja u prvoj sam objavi donio bez pobliže specifikacije funkcije, zajedno s ostalim kopčama koje su na Putalju nađene u 25% grobova s nalazima u gornjem sloju (14. - 16. st.), iako sam već tada ukazao na razliku u njihovim dimenzijama (Burić 2001, 224). Ostale vrste funkcionalno-dekorativnih elemenata odjeće (dvodijelne kopčice, puceta, aplike) obradit ću uskoro u posebnom radu.

Introduction¹

In the graves and settlement strata of the Middle Ages and the beginnings of the early modern age in Kaštela, along with other discoveries, decorative-cum-use parts of clothing and footwear were found; according to the stylistic periods then contemporary, we call these items Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance. These are finds from the graveyards and settlements of rural communities then present on the territory of the commune districts of Split and Trogir. No items of the same purpose were discovered in graves of the early medieval period in this area. Particularly to be considered in this paper are buckles, integral parts of clothing. ² Finds of buckles are known in a large number of sites outside Kaštela; they can be classified in terms of stratigraphy and typology into the high (12th-13th century) and late Middle Age (14th - 15th century) and also into the early modern age (16th to 18th century). The sites at which analogous specimens have been found are distributed over the wider space of historically Croatian lands in the Middle Ages (Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia and Istria). They are utilitarian in character, and some of them have recognisable stylistic features, and they ought to be considered as a segment of the work of the fine crafts of the period, and discussed as elements of fashion, whether Romanesque, Gothic or Renaissance, in our country. One of the reasons for choosing buckles for this paper is that for decades they have been unjustly neglected, as compared with the aesthetically and visually more attractive jewellery (earrings in particular) the literature concerning which is very capacious, including several monographic treatments. All finds in Kaštela were,

¹ The following lines are dedicated to our late colleague Mato Zekan, with whom I am connected by almost four decades of collaboration in the field of Croatian medieval archaeology, as well many friendly memories.

² I have already discussed finds relating to elements of footwear of the period (shoe-buckles, or *fiube da scarpe*) in a paper published in a festschrift for the 80th birthday of Professor Emeritus Janko Belošević. Cf. Burić, 2010. I referred to shoe buckles from Putalj in the first publication without any very detailed specification of their function, together with other buckles found in Putalj in 25% of the graves with finds in the upper stratum (14th to 16th century), although even then I referred to differences in their dimensions (Burić 2001, 224). I shall discuss other kinds of functional/decorative elements of clothing (hooks and eyes, buttons, appliqués) in a separate work shortly.

bilo je ukopište žitelja srednjovjekovnoga Sućurca više od četiri stoljeća (12. - 16. st.), a radunsko je pripadalo dijelu sela Radun i ima još duži kontinuitet ukopavanja (11. - 16. st.).³ Na Baba lokvi otkriven je jedan od zaselaka srednjovjekovnog sela Baba.⁴ Ukupno, svega tri nalazišta, no očekivati je da će buduća istraživanja u Kaštelima iznjedrati još lokaliteta s nalazima kopči.⁵

Većina nalaza potječe iz grobova, jer srednjovjekovna naselja u Kaštelima praktički i nisu istraživana. Iznimka su nalazi s lokaliteta Baba lokva, gdje su otkrivene nastambe kasnoga srednjeg i ranoga novog vijeka.⁶ Uz to, nije na odmet naglasiti da su navedena groblja iskopavana tek u novije vrijeme, pa su i rezultati koje u ovom radu donosim proizašli iz sasvim recentnih obrada grobnih nalaza.

Dio nalaza iz grobova otkriven je *in situ*, što omogućuje njihovu precizniju funkcionalnu determinaciju na osnovi stilsko-tipoloških paralela, kao i točniju atribuciju dislociranih nalaza tih kategorija u grobovima s višekratnim ukopima. Vremenski su koherentni i pripadaju definiranim slojevima grobalja, koja se prema utvrđenim parametrima (stratigrafija, tipologija nalaza) mogu datirati od 12. do 15. st. Predmeti iz 12. i 13. st. pripadaju razvijenom (zrelom) srednjem vijeku, kada je romanički stil već sasvim prevladao. Oni su malobrojniji u odnosu na drugu skupinu, koja vremenski pripada kasnom srednjem vijeku i gotičkoj zanatsko-umjetničkoj produkciji 14. i 15. st., premda se i u okviru tog razdoblja mogu približno izdvojiti dvije faze za pojedine kategorije nalaza. Nalazi kopči s Baba lokve dijelom ulaze i u sferu ranoga novog vijeka pa možemo raspravljati i o obrtničkim proizvodima renesanse u 16. stoljeću. Kopče iz Kaštela najvjerojatnije pripadaju proizvodima umjetničkog obrta u

above all, discovered in the last two decades, during systematic and rescue excavations of medieval graveyards and settlements. Involved here are large parish graveyards created around medieval churches: the graveyard around the Church of Sv. Juraj od Putalja (St George) and that around the Church of Sv. Juraj (George) of Radun, and in the settlement site at the position Baba Lokva in the Plano area. The Putalj cemetery was the cemetery for the inhabitants of medieval Sućurac for more than four centuries (12th to 16th), and that at Radun belonged to part of the village of Radun and has a still longer history of interment (11th to 16th century).³ At Baba Lokva, one of the hamlets of the medieval village of Baba was revealed.⁴ In all, just three archaeological sites, but it can be expected that future excavations in Kaštela will reveal still other sites with finds of buckles.⁵

Most of the finds derive from graves, for the medieval settlements in Kaštela have, for practical purpose, hardly been explored. An exception is constituted by finds from the site of Baba Lokva, where dwellings of the late medieval and early modern age have been uncovered.⁶ What is more, it is not out of the way to point out that these graveyards have been excavated only in very recent times, and the results that I adduce in this paper stem from entirely recent studies of grave finds.

Some of the finds from the graves were found *in situ*, which enables their precise functional determination on the basis of stylistic and typological parallels, as well as a more accurate attribution of displaced finds of these categories in graves with multiple cuts/burials. They are coherent in terms of

³ Za spomenuta groblja i lokalitete usp. Burić 2001; Burić 2002 i Oreb 1983.

⁴ Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013.

⁵ Ovdje valja ukazati i na nalaze kopči u srednjovjekovnim grobovima oko crkve sv. Nikole u Kaštel Starom, također u sklopu srednjovjekovnoga sela Radun. One su nađene u zaštitnim iskopavanjima oko Sv. Nikole i spomenute u objavi tih iskopavanja, ali bez pobiljež opisa i fotografija pa ih ovdje ne možemo razmatrati. Usp. Babin 2012, str. 111. Tu je horizont grobova oko crkve okvirno datiran od 12. do 15. st.

⁶ Lokalitet Baba lokva jedini je naseobinski lokalitet u Kaštelima iz srednjega i ranoga novog vijeka na kojemu su do danas vršena arheološka istraživanja (usp. Burić 2008; Burić 2009; Burić 2012). Među pokretnim nalazima iz otkrivenih nastambi su i tri željezne kopče različitih oblika.

³ For these cemeteries and archaeological sites, cf. Burić, 2001, Burić, 2002 and Oreb, 1983.

⁴ Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013.

⁵ Here it is worth drawing attention to finds of buckles in medieval graves around the Church of St Nicholas in Kaštel Stari, also part of the medieval village of Radun. They were found in rescue excavations around St Nicholas' and mentioned in the report about these excavations, but without any detailed description or photographs, and here we cannot discuss them. Cf. Babin 2012, p. 111. Here the grave horizon around the church has been dated roughly to the 12th to 15th century.

⁶ The site of Baba Lokva is the only settlement site in Kaštela of the medieval and early modern period in which archaeological investigations have been conducted (cf. Burić 2008, Burić 2009, Burić 2012). Among the moveable finds from the dwellings uncovered there are three iron buckles of various shapes.

zanatskim radionicama Splita i Trogira u to vrijeme, koji su dospjeli na prostore gradskih distrikata tih komuna.⁷ Paralele u susjednim regijama u Dalmaciji i šire upotpunjuju spoznaje o arealu disperzije tih proizvoda i trgovačkim putovima kojima se oni šire iz obalnih dalmatinskih gradova u unutrašnjost.

Repertoar predloženih nalaza nije širok i možemo ih prema tipološkom kriteriju razvrstati u četiri skupine, što je vidljivo iz kataloga koji slijedi.

time and belong to defined strata of the graveyards, which according to the parameters established (stratigraphy, typology of finds) can be dated to the period from the 12th to the 15th century. Items from the 12th and 13th century belong to the High Middle Age, when the Romanesque style was still completely prevailing. They are fewer in number than the second group, which belongs in time to the Late Middle Age and to Gothic fine craft production of the 14th and 15th century, even though within the context of this period two phases can be approximately distinguished for individual categories of finds. Buckle finds from Baba Lokva in part come into the sphere of the Early Modern Age, and we can also discuss the products of Renaissance tradesmen in the 16th century. Kaštela buckles most probably belong among the products of fine crafts in the workshops of Split and Trogir of the time, which arrived in the areas of the city districts of these communes.⁷ Parallels in neighbouring regions in Dalmatia and further afield supplement our knowledge about the range over which these products were dispersed and the trade routes by which they were spread from the coastal cities of Dalmatia into the interior.

The repertoire of finds presented below is not very broad, and we can classify them in typological terms into four groups, as can be seen from the following catalogue,

⁷ Za primjer radionica u tim gradovima cf. Burić, 1995.

⁷ For an example of workshops in these cities cf. Burić, 1995.

Katalog

A) okrugle kopče (tip I)⁸

1. **Opis:** par okruglih, spljoštenih kopči s trnom zaravnjenoga tupog vrha; **Materijal:** bronca; **Dimenzije:** d = 3 cm, duž. trna = 4 (4,2) cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-33); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano, stariji ukop; **Datacija:** 13. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Inv. br. 5998-5999); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 205, 265; Tab. IV/3, 4.



2. **Opis:** okrugla kopča provučena kroz masivni tordirani trn svinutog vrha; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** d = 2,6 cm, duž. trna = 3,9 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja; **Položaj nalaza:** u sloju među grobovima; **Datacija:** 14-15/16. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Inv. br. 10169); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 286; Tab. XV/29.

3. **Opis:** okrugla kopča nagrižena korozijom⁹ (trn nedostaje); **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** d = 1,5 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna - Svećurje (G-22); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano; **Datacija:** 13. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej grada Kaštela¹⁰ (Inv. br.: A3/5); **Literatura:** Oreb 1983, 191, 198-199; Tab. I/22.

⁸ U zagradama donosim broj tipa prema podjeli B. Burazer, o čemu više u daljnjem tekstu.

⁹ Korozija često dovodi do deformiranja osnovnih oblika kod predmeta izrađenih od željeza, što je ponekad rezultiralo i pripisivanju različitim tipovima istih predmeta u literaturi, o čemu više u narednom poglavlju.

¹⁰ Zahvaljujem ravnatelju Muzeja grada Kaštela Ivanu Šuti i kolegici Ivanki Kamenjarin, muzejskoj savjetnici u istom Muzeju, na susretljivosti i pomoći pri obradi nalaza koji se čuvaju u njihovoj ustanovi.

Catalogue

A) Round buckle (type I)⁸

1. **Description:** a pair of round, flat buckles with a prong having a levelled blunt tip; **Material:** bronze; **Dimensions:** l = 3 cm, prong length = 4 (4.2) cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-33); **Position of find:** displaced, older cut; **Dating:** 13th century.; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (Inv. no. 5998-5999); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 205, 265; Tab. IV/3, 4.

2. **Description:** round buckle drawn through a heavy twisted prong with a curving tip; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l = 2.6 cm, prong length = 3.9 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja; **Position of find:** in stratum among graves; **Dating:** 14th to 15th/16th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (Inv. no. 10169); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 286; Pl. XV/29.



3. **Description:** round buckle, corroded,⁹ missing prong; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l = 1.5 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna - Svećurje (G-22); **Position of find:** displaced; **Dating:** 13th century; **Currently held:** Kaštela Municipal Museum¹⁰ (Inv. no.: A3/5); **Reference:** Oreb 1983, 191, 198-199; Pl. I/22.

⁸ In brackets I provide the number of the type in terms of the Burazer division, which will be discussed below.

⁹ Corrosion often leads to the deformation of the basic shapes in the case of iron objects, which has sometimes resulted in the ascription of the same objects to various types in the literature, more of which can be found in the next chapter.

¹⁰ My gratitude is due to the director of the Kaštela Municipal Museum, Ivan Šuta and colleague Ivanka Kamenjarin, museum adviser in the same museum, for their kindness and help in the study of the finds that are kept in their institution.



4. **Opis:** okrugla kopča zadebljanog kraja (trn nedostaje); **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** d = 4 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna - Svećurje (G-71); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano; **Datacija:** 14. - 15. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej grada Kaštela (Inv. br.: A3/21); **Literatura:** Oreb 1983, 193, 198-199; Tab. III/71, lijevo.

5. **Opis:** manja okrugla kopča s tankim ravnim trnom; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** d = 1,5 x 1,2 cm, duž. trna = 1,8 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-2); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano; **Datacija:** 14. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** neobjavljeno.



6. **Opis:** okrugla kopča s jednim trnom četvrtastog presjeka, suženim pri vrhu; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** d = 2,8 cm, duž. trna = 2,9 cm; **Lokalitet:** Baba lokva; **Položaj nalaza:** okoliš K-1 (= kuća 1), o. sl. 1; **Datacija:** 15. - 16. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013, 19-20.

4. **Description:** round buckle with thickened ending (prong missing); **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l = 4 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna - Svećurje (G-71); **Position of find:** displaced; **Dating:** 14th to 15th century; **Currently held:** Kaštela Municipal Museum (Inv. no.: A3/21); **Reference:** Oreb 1983, 193, 198-199; Pl. III/71, left.



5. **Description:** round buckle with thin straight prong; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l = 1.5 x 1.2 cm, prong length = 1.8 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-2); **Position of find:** displaced; **Dating:** 14th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory still under way); **Reference:** unpublished.

6. **Description:** round buckle with a single prong of a square cross section, tapering to the tip; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l = 2.8 cm, prong length = 2.9 cm; **Site:** Baba Lokva; **Position of find:** surrounding K-1 (= house 1), o. sl. 1; **Dating:** 15th-16th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013, 19-20.



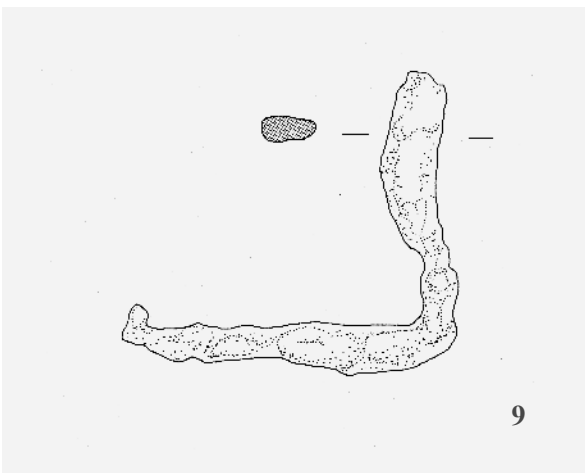
B) D – kopče (tip IV)

7. Opis: pojasna D-kopča izdužene pređice s jednim trnom, nagriženim korozijom; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** duž. = 4,7 cm, šir. = 2,2 x 2,3 cm, duž. trna = 4,2 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-23/2, Kostur *in situ* 3); **Položaj nalaza:** u visini pojasa; **Datacija:** 14. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 224, 269; Tab. VI/3.



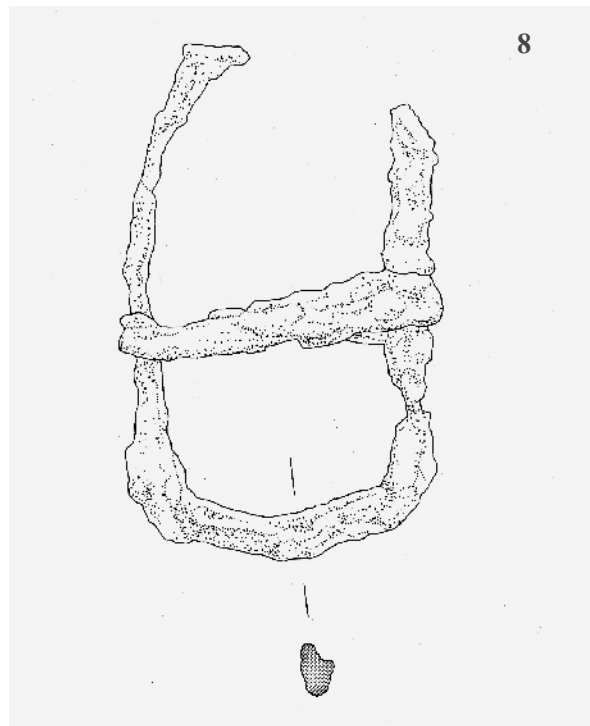
8. Opis: pojasna kopča D-tipa s jednim trnom; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** 5,5 x 3 cm, duž. trna = 3,4 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-122); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano (u visini pojasa pod kosturom *in situ*); **Datacija:** 14. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 224, 272; Tab. VII/2.

9. Opis: deformirani ulomak pređice od kopče D-tipa (trn nedostaje); **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** 2,9 x 3,2 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-228); **Položaj nalaza:** po sredini groba iznad kostura *in situ*; **Datacija:** 15. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 224, 280; Tab. XI/11.

**B) D-type buckle (type IV)**

7. Description: belt D-buckle, elongated frame with a single prong, corroded; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** length. = 4.7 cm, width. = 2.2 x 2.3 cm, prong length = 4.2 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-23/2, skeleton *in situ* 3); **Position of find:** waist level; **Dating:** 14th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 224, 269; Pl. VI/3.

8. Description: belt D-buckle, with a single prong; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** 5.5 x 3 cm, prong length = 3.4 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-122); **Position of find:** displaced (waist high under skeleton *in situ*); **Dating:** 14th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 224, 272; Pl. VII/2.



9. Description: deformed fragment of frame of D-type buckle (missing prong); **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** 2.9 x 3.2 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-228); **Position of find:** in the centre of a grave above a skeleton *in situ*; **Dating:** 15th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 224, 280; Pl. XI/11.

10. **Opis:** kopča D-tipa s tri trna, dijelom oštećena; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** duž. = 5,4 cm, šir. = 4,2 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-273); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano, stariji ukop; **Datacija:** 15. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Inv. br. 6015); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 224, 284; Tab. XII/15.



10. **Description:** D-type buckle with three prongs, partially damaged; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l. = 5.4 cm, width = 4.2 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja (G-273); **Position of find:** displaced, older cut; **Dating:** 15th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (Inv. no. 6015); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 224, 284; Pl. XII/15.

11. **Opis:** ulomak kopče D-tipa (trn nedostaje); **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** 3,2 x 3,6 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja; **Položaj nalaza:** u sloju među grobovima; **Datacija:** 14. - 15./16. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Inv. br. 10180); **Literatura:** Burić 2001, 286; Tab. XV/35.



11. **Description:** fragment of a D-type buckle (missing prong); **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** 3.2 x 3.6 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Putalja; **Position of find:** in stratum among graves; **Dating:** 14th to 15th-16th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (Inv. no. 10180); **Reference:** Burić 2001, 286; Pl. XV/35.

12. **Opis:** kopčica izduženog D-tipa sa zašiljenim vrhom (trn nedostaje), a zbog izražene korozije oblik je dosta deformiran; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** duž. = 1,8 cm, šir. = 1,1 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-5); **Položaj nalaza:** po sredini groba; **Datacija:** 13. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej grada Kaštela (Inv. br.: A3/3); **Literatura:** Oreb 1983, 190, 198-199; Tab. I/5.



12. **Description:** elongated D-type buckle with pointed top (missing prong), marked corrosion, because of which the shape is fairly deformed; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** l. = 1.8 cm, w. = 1.1 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-5); **Position of find:** centre of the grave; **Dating:** 13th century; **Currently held:** Municipal Museum (Inv. no.: A3/3); **Reference:** Oreb 1983, 190, 198-199; Pl. I/5.

13. **Description:** D-type belt buckle (missing prong); **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** 5.4 x 3.5 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-42); **Position of find:** displaced (at waist level); **Dating:** 14th century.; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** never published.

C) Mushroom shaped buckle (type III)

14. **Description:** mushroom shaped buckle with a single square cross-section prong; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** 3.2 x 1.9-2.9 cm; **Site:** Baba Lokva;

13. **Opis:** pojasna kopča D-tipa (trn nedostaje); **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** 5,4 x 3,5 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-42); **Položaj nalaza:** dislocirano (u visini pojasa); **Datacija:** 14. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** neobjavljeno.



C) gljivaste kopče (tip III)

14. **Opis:** kopča gljivastog tipa s jednim trnom četvrtastog presjeka; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** 3,2 x 1,9-2,9 cm; **Lokalitet:** Baba lokva; **Položaj nalaza:** okoliš K-1, o. sl. 1; **Datacija:** 15. - 16. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013, 19-20.

D) dvodijelne simetrične kopče s okovom¹¹

15. **Opis:** pojasna kopča dvodijelne predice s okvirom valovito oblikovanih kraćih strana. Na jednoj polovici predice je tanki okov, presavijen preko prečke, koji pridržava kratki i ravni trn zašiljenog vrha; **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** predica = 5 x 4 cm, okov = 3,6 x 2,2 cm, duž. trna = 1,5 cm; **Lokalitet:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-20); **Položaj nalaza:** s desne strane pojasa; **Datacija:** 14. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** neobjavljeno.

Position of find: environment of K-1, o. sl. 1; **Dating:** 15th to 16th century **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013, 19-20.



D) Two-part symmetrical buckle with mounting¹¹

15. **Description:** On one half of the frame there is a thin mounting, bent over the bar, which holds the short and straight point tip prong; **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** frame = 5 x 4 cm, mounting = 3.6 x 2.2 cm, prong length = 1.5 cm; **Site:** Sv. Juraj od Raduna – Svećurje (G-20); **Position of find:** right of the waist; **Dating:** 14th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** not published.



¹¹ Donosim ih pod ovim nazivom jer se tip XVIII B. Burazer odnosi na kopčice za cipele, a tip XIX na asimetrične dvodijelne kopče s okovom: Burazer 2019, str. 82-83.

¹¹ I give them under this name because the Burazer type XVIII refers to shoe buckles, and Type XIX to asymmetric two-part buckles with plate. Burazer 2019, pp. 82-83.

16. **Opis:** dvodijelna pojasna kopča pravokutne pređice s valovito oblikovanim kraćim stranama okvira (trn i okov (?) nedostaju); **Materijal:** željezo; **Dimenzije:** 4,5 x 3,5 cm; **Lokalitet:** Baba lokva; **Položaj nalaza:** okoliš K-1, površinski nalaz; **Datacija:** 15. - 16. st.; **Smještaj:** Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (neinventirano, u obradi); **Literatura:** Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013, 19-20.



Analiza

Iz popisa kataloških jedinica razvidno je da je na prostoru Kaštela u dosadašnjim istraživanjima i iskopavanjima pronađeno 17 kopči (dvije u paru) iz srednjega i ranoga novog vijeka, u vremenskom okviru od oko 400 godina (13. - 16. st.), a koje sam razvrstao u četiri tipa, od kojih tri spadaju u jednostrojne (A, B, C), a jedan u dvodijelne kopče (D). Dvije od njih na temelju položaja nalaza u zatvorenim grobnim cjelinama bez sumnje pripadaju pojasnim kopčama (Kat. br. 7, 15), za pet je to najvjerojatnije premda su zbog višestrukih ukopa dislocirane (Kat. br. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), a za preostalih deset nemamo čvršće parametre za određenje uže funkcije, bilo zbog potpune dislociranosti u grobu (Kat. br. 1, 3, 4, 5 – tri iz Raduna i jedan par s Putalja), ili zbog nalaza u slojevima između grobova (Kat. br. 2, 11 – primjerci s Putalja), ili pak u naseobinskim slojevima (Kat. br. 6, 14, 16 – primjerci s Baba lokve). Unatoč tome velika je vjerojatnost da je većina njih, ako ne i sve, pripadala pojasnim kopčama po funkciji, posebice kopče iz grobova.¹² Iz predočene sheme proizlazi da su D-kopče iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka i dvodijelne simetrične ploče s okovom bile u funkciji pojasnih kopči, dok namjena okruglih

16. **Description:** two-part belt buckle with rectangular frame with undulating short sides of the frame (prong and mounting (?) missing); **Material:** iron; **Dimensions:** 4.5 x 3.5 cm; **Site:** Baba Lokva; **Position of find:** environs of K-1, surface find; **Dating:** 15th to 16th century; **Currently held:** Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (inventory under way); **Reference:** Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013, 19-20.

Analysis

From the catalogue entries it can be seen that in the Kaštela area in research and excavations to date, seventeen buckles have been found (two in a pair) from the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age, over a span of about 400 years (from the 13th to the 16th century), which I have classified into four types, three of which are single-looped (A, B, C) while one type consists of double looped buckles (D). Two of them can pursuant to the positions of the finds in closed grave units undoubtedly be classified as belt buckles (cat. nos. 7 and 15); five of them are also probably belt buckles, although because of the multiple burials they have been displaced (cat. nos. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), while there are no firm parameters for the remaining ten that would allow us to determine their precise functions, either because of their total displacement in the grave (cat. nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, three from Radun and a pair from Putalj), or because of finds in the strata between the graves (cat. nos. 2, 11 – specimens from Putalj), or in the settlement strata even (cat. nos. 6, 14, 16 – specimens from Baba Lokva). Nevertheless, there is a great possibility that most if not all of them are belt buckles, particularly the buckles from the graves.¹² From the diagram appended it turns out that D-buckles are from the Late Middle Ages and double symmetrical plates with mounting were also belt buckles, while the purpose of the round buckles from all phases is still in part an issue for discussion. As for the mushroom shaped buckle from Baba Lokva, it was also probably meant for a belt, but since it was not found in a grave, rather in a settlement stratum, there is some open possibility of a different attribution.

¹² Detaljniju analizu namjene pojedinih tipova kopči bit će moguće dati po obradi nalaza s većeg broja lokaliteta na širem prostoru.

¹² It will be possible to give a more detail analysis of the purpose of the different types of buckles after the study of finds from a larger number of sites in the general area.

kopči iz svih faza ostaje dijelom i dalje pitanje za raspravu. Što se tiče gljivaste kopče s Baba lokve, i ona je vjerojatno bila pojasna, ali kako nije nađena u grobu, nego u naseobinskom sloju, ostaje djelomice otvorenom mogućnost i neke druge atribucije.

Kopče inače čine glavninu nalaza svih funkcionalnih dijelova odjeće u Kaštelima (75 %), a nađene su na sva tri lokaliteta, dakle i u grobovima i u naselju (Kat. br. 1-16.). Sve su izrađene od željeza, a samo dvije (par) od bronce (Kat. br. 1). Ta spoznaja se uklapa u opću sliku nalaza s navedenih lokaliteta i pokazuje da istražena groblja i naselje pripadaju seoskim zajednicama koje su još uvijek donekle izjednačene u svojim socijalnim statusima, kako međusobno, tako i unutar pojedine zajednice.

Uz opisane nalaze iz Kaštela arheološka istraživanja iznjedrila su na svjetlo dana i brojne druge primjerke kopči na više lokaliteta s prostora srednjovjekovne Dalmacije i Hrvatske, kao i Europe općenito. Ne pretendirajući na potpunost, koju traže sveobuhvatne stilsko-tipološke analize, ovdje ću nakon opisa svih kaštelanskih nalaza donijeti i taj širi krug analogija u Hrvatskoj i s europskih prostora. Prednost u takvom odabiru imat će analogije sa sustavno istraženih lokaliteta, prvenstveno groblja, jer nam one pružaju veće mogućnosti kronoloških i tipoloških usporedbi. Također ću se ograničiti na paralele za one tipove koji su do sada otkriveni u Kaštelima.

Već sam istaknuo da 75 % svih nalaza funkcionalnih dijelova odjeće u Kaštelima čine kopče. Stoga je i tipološki ta skupina najraznovrsnija i nalazimo joj najviše paralela i kod nas i u Europi. Ukupno do sada imamo 17 kopči iz srednjega vijeka s kaštelanskih lokaliteta (Kat. br. 1-16). Pitanju tipološke podjele kopči nije doskora u hrvatskoj arheologiji bila posvećivana veća pozornost. Tek nedavno je B. Burazer u svojem diplomskom radu provela temeljitu i sustavnu podjelu kopči koristeći se i već razrađenim tipologijama iz europske literature.¹³ Ona je ukazala i na neujednačenu terminologiju u našoj literaturi, čemu bi trebalo ubuduće posvetiti više pozornosti. Naime, često se različiti nazivi koriste za iste oblike ili pojedine dijelove kopči pa dolazi do njihovog preklapanja (primjerice: kopča, pređica, spona).¹⁴ Kako ovdje nije mjesto za jednu takvu

In fact, buckles constitute the major part of the finds of all the functional parts of clothing in Kaštela (75%), and have been found at all three sites, in the graves and in the settlement (cat. nos. 1-16). All are made of iron with the exception of two (a pair) made of bronze (cat. no. 1). This fits into the general picture of finds from the sites referred to and shows that the graveyards and settlement excavated belong to rural communities that were to an extent still fairly equal in their social statuses, both inter- and intra-group.

As well as the finds described from Kaštela, archaeological research has brought to the light of day numerous other examples of buckles from several sites in medieval Dalmatia and Croatia, as well as in Europe in general. Without claiming the completeness that comprehensive stylistic and typological analyses would require, here after a description of all the Kaštela finds I shall bring up this wider circle of analogies in Croatia and from the wider European space. In this kind of selection, priority will be given to analogies from systematically excavated sites, primarily graveyards, for they provide us with great possibilities for chronological and typological comparisons. I shall also restrict myself to parallels for those types that have been discovered in Kaštela to date.

As already stated, 75% of all finds of functional parts of clothing in Kaštela consist of buckles. Accordingly, in terms of typology too, this group is the most heterogeneous, and the most parallels can be found for it, both here and in the rest of Europe. To date we have in all seventeen buckles from the Middle Ages from Kaštela sites (cat. nos. 1-16). No very great attention has been devoted to the issue of the typological division of buckles in Croatian archaeology until very recently. It is not long since in her graduation dissertation that B. Burazer carried out a thoroughgoing and systematic division of buckles making use of well worked-out typologies from European literature.¹³ She raised the issue of the inconsistent terminology in Croatian archaeological writing, and more attention should be paid to this in the future. Quite often, different terms are used for the same shapes or individual parts of the buckles, and they tend to overlap (frame and buckle, for example).¹⁴ Since this is not the place for such a

¹³ Burazer 2019, 23-27.

¹⁴ Za terminologiju usp. Fabijanić 2009, str. 123-124; Burazer 2019, str. 23-24, te Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011, str. 138. U dosadašnjoj literaturi se, primjerice, odvajao

¹³ Burazer 2019, pp. 23-27.

¹⁴ For terminology, cf., Fabijanić 2009, pp. 123-124; Burazer 2019, pp. 23-24, as well as Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011, p. 138. In previous literature, for example the

raspravu, najvećim dijelom ću se koristiti tipologijom koju je predložila B. Burazer i pokušati u tu tipološku skalu uklopiti nalaze kopči iz Kaštela. Pri tome treba ukazati na činjenicu da je broj tipova s nalazišta u Kaštelima vidno manji negoli je cjelovita tipološka skala za Hrvatsku i Europu, što je u prvom redu posljedica slabe istraženosti srednjovjekovnih grobalja, a pogotovo naselja, u Kaštelima. Zbog toga, kao i zbog činjenice da se ovdje radi o jednoj užoj mikroregiji, neću ulaziti u detaljniju podjelu na podtipove. To valja ostaviti za neki budući rad, u kojemu bi trebalo obuhvatiti nalaze kopči na znatno širem prostoru.

Polazište za predloženu tipološku podjelu autorica je našla u detaljno razrađenim skalama u engleskoj literaturi, koje je na primjeru nalaza u Londonu dao G. Egan i njegovi suradnici, a posebice R. Whitehead.¹⁵ Brojni primjeri iz tih radova tipološki su sukladni našima i pokazuju visok stupanj tipološke ujednačenosti u obrtničkoj proizvodnji kasnoga srednjeg i ranoga novog vijeka u Europi. Iz te podjele, nadopunjene radovima naših autora, proizašla je njezina podjela koja sadrži pet glavnih skupina, razvrstanih na 20 tipova od kojih većina ima i svoje podtipove.¹⁶ Glavne skupine su:

1. Jednodijelne kopče (tip I do IX)
2. Dvodijelne kopče (tip X do XIII)
3. Kopče s pločicom/okovom (tip XIV do XIX)
4. Pafta (tip XX)
5. Kopče pojasnih garnitura.

Prikaz kopči s kaštelanskih nalazišta započet ću s najstarijim nalazima iz 13. st., koji su vidno malobrojniji u odnosu na one iz 14. - 15. st. ili one iz 15. - 16. st. To su, dakle, proizvodi romaničkog obrta pronađeni u grobovima na Putalju i u Radunu na Svećurju. Ukupno su nađene četiri kopče, od kojih dvije s Putalja čine par (kat. br. 1), a preostale dvije su sa Svećurja u Radunu (Kat. br. 3, 12). Sve one

termin predica od termina kopča, koji je u pravilu obuhvaćao i predicu i okov kopče, premda se zapravo radi o predmetima istovrsne funkcije, a oba se preklapaju s nazivom spona.

¹⁵ Egan, Pritchard 1991¹ (2002, 2008), 27-583; Egan 2005, str. 33-58; Whitehead 2003. Za pomoć u nabavi ove literature zahvalnost dugujem kolegicama Ani Azinović Bebek, Marici Milić i kolegi Juri Šučuru. Te engleske podjele obuhvaćaju dugo razdoblje od sredine 13. do 18. st.

¹⁶ Burazer 2019, str. 28-96. Ova opsežna podjela nezaobilazna je podloga za daljnju razradu tipološke skale kopči, kako u pogledu same tipologije, tako i u pogledu terminologije, o čemu će usputno i ovdje biti riječi.

discussion, I shall mostly make use of the typology proposed by Burazer and endeavour to fit the finds of buckles from Kaštela into this typological scale. Also, attention should be drawn to the fact that the number of types from sites in Kaštela is noticeably smaller than the whole typological scale for Croatia and the rest of Europe, which is primarily the result of the meagre research devoted to medieval graveyards, not to speak of settlements, in Kaštela. For this reason, and because we are concerned here only with one small micro-region, I shall not embark on any more detailed division into subtypes, which has to be postponed until some future paper, in which finds of buckles from a much wider area should be included.

The aforementioned author took her point of departure for the proposed typological division in the scales worked out in detail in English archaeological writing, provided on the basis of finds in London by G. Egan and his associates, particularly by R. Whitehead.¹⁵ Many examples from these works are typologically consistent with our specimens and show a high degree of typological unity in the artisan production of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age in Europe. From this division, supplemented with papers by Croatian authors, came her division that contains five main groups, classified into 20 types, most of which have their own sub-types¹⁶. The main groups are as follows.

1. One-part buckles (types I to IX)
2. Two-part buckles (types X to XIII)
3. Buckles with plate/mounting (types XIV to XIX)
4. Paftas (type XX)
5. Buckles of belt sets.

I shall start the review of buckles from Kaštela archaeological sites with the oldest finds from the

term "predica" has divided from the term "buckle", which on the whole encompassed the frame and the plate of the buckle, although in fact these are objects with the same function, both of them overlapping with the term "spona", fastener or clasp.

¹⁵ Egan, Pritchard 1991¹ (2002, 2008), 27-583; Egan 2005, p. 33-58; Whitehead 2003. For help in procuring these publications I am grateful to colleagues Ana Azinović Bebek, Marica Milić and colleague Jura Šučur. These English classifications cover a long period, from the mid 13th to the 18th century.

¹⁶ Burazer 2019, pp. 28-96. This lengthy analysis is essential base for further elaboration of the typological scale of buckles, with respect to the typology and with respect to the terminology, which will be discussed in passing here.

pripadaju skupini jednodijelnih kopči, tj. sastoje se od pređice i trna. Putaljski primjerci su okrugle kopče (tip I prema B. Burazer) od bronce, sa zaravnjenim tupim vrhom trna (igle).¹⁷ Trn je presavijen tako da se može pomicati po okviru pređice. Vijek uporabe pokazuje dug kronološki raspon. Javljaju se već od 13. st., poput ovih s Putalja, česte su do 16. st., a nalazimo ih i među nalazima sve do 18. st.¹⁸

I jedna manja kopča s Raduna (Kat. br. 3) također pripada tipu I. Izrađena je od željeza, a trn se raspao zbog oksidacije. Predstavlja jedini nalaz u grobu koji je već bio oštećen prije iskopavanja pa se točan položaj nalaza nije mogao utvrditi, a time ni točnija namjena kopče.¹⁹ Drugu radunsku kopču (Kat. br. 12), također od željeza, koja je u prvoj objavi definirana kao pravokutna,²⁰ mogli bismo unatoč rustičnosti izrade i velikom stupnju korozije pripisati kopčama D-tipa. To je tip IV po klasifikaciji B. Burazer, i to njezin podtip 5.

Predočeni nalazi kopči s Putalja i Raduna pokazuju da se na prostoru Kaštela, tada razdijeljenom u okvirima distrikata splitske i trogirске komune, već u 13. st. javljaju među opremom odjeće i kopče kojih nije bilo u grobovima 11. i 12. st. na tim istim ukopištima. Dakle, i ruralne zajednice tih komuna počinjju koristiti tu vrstu opreme za odjeću u skladu sa suvremenim kretanjima u Europi. Mali broj nalaza, svega 4 primjerka u 13. st., govori da je prihvaćanje tog modnog detalja, barem u seoskim zajednicama, tek u začetku. Nalazi iz 14. i 15. st. to će bjelodano i potvrditi.

Na ovome mjestu još bih se osvrnuo na dataciju radunskih primjeraka koju je postavio F. Oreb. On je, striktno slijedeći tipološko-kronološku podjelu D. Jelovine, datirao radunske kopče od 9. do 12. st.²¹ Što se tiče Svećurja u Radunu treba istaknuti da u literaturi nije bio razriješen odnos između crkve i groblja oko nje, o čemu sam raspravljao prije 18 godina. Tada sam ukazao na činjenicu da crkvu sv. Jurja svi autori datiraju okvirno u 11. st., a da je grobne nalaze zbog tipološko-kronoloških

13th century, which are clearly less numerous than those from the 14th and 15th century or those from the 15th to 16th century. These are, then, the productions of Romanesque craftsmen found in graves at Putalj and in Radun at Svećurje. In total, four such buckles have been found, two from Putalj making a pair (cat. no. 1) and the other two from Svećurje in Radun (cat. nos. 3, 12). All of these belong to the group of one-part buckles that consist of the frame and the prong. Putalj examples are round buckles (Burazer's type I) of bronze, with a flat blunt tip to the prong (or tongue).¹⁷ The prong is bent so that it can be moved around the frame. This type was used for a long period of time. They appeared in the 13th century, like those from Putalj, were common up to the 16th century and can be discerned among the finds right up to the 18th century.¹⁸

One other smallish buckle from Radun (cat. no. 3) also belongs to type I. It is made of iron and the prong has rusted away. It is the only find in a grave that was already damaged before the excavation, and the exact position of the find was impossible to ascertain, as was accordingly the intended use of the buckle.¹⁹ We might assign a second Radun buckle (cat. no. 12), also of iron, which when it was first described in a publication was defined as rectangular,²⁰ in spite of its rustic workmanship and the great extent of corrosion to buckles of the D-type. This is Burazer's type IV, and within it, sub-type 5.

The finds of buckles from Putalj and Radun presented show that in the area of Kaštela, at that time divided in the frameworks of the districts of the Split and the Trogir commune, as early as the 13th century buckles appear among the trappings of clothing that were not found in the graves of the 11th and 12th centuries in the same graveyards. Thus, the rural communities of these communes had already started to use this kind of equipment for clothing in line with contemporary trends in Europe. A small number of finds, no more than four specimens in the 13th century, shows that the reception of this fashion detail was, at least in rural communities, only in its infancy. Finds from the 14th and 15th century will make this very clear.

¹⁷ B. Burazer ih naziva kružnim kopčama (njezin tip I), a u engleskoj literaturi još se nazivaju i *ring buckles*, prstenaste kopče (usp. Whitehead 2003, str. 16). Ovo navodim samo kao poticaj na daljnjem radu oko usuglašavanja hrvatske stručne terminologije za srednji vijek.

¹⁸ Burazer 2019, str. 28, bilj. 95, 96.

¹⁹ Oreb 1983, str. 191, 198-199; Tab. I/22.

²⁰ Oreb 1983, str. 190, 198-199.

²¹ Oreb 1983, str. 199; Jelovina 1976, str. 127-128.

¹⁷ Burazer calls them circular buckles (her Type I), while in English literature they are also called ring buckles (cf. Whitehead 2003, p. 16). I mention this as a stimulus to further work about harmonization of the Croatian technical terminology for the Middle Ages.

¹⁸ Burazer 2019, p. 28, n. 95, 96.

¹⁹ Oreb 1983, pp. 191, 198-199; Pl. I/22.

²⁰ Oreb 1983, pp. 190, 198-199.

skala koje je postavio Jelovina istraživač F. Oreb datirao od 9. do 15. st., što je metodološki neodrživo.²² Taj problem je dodatno otežan zbog toga što za velika srednjovjekovna groblja dugog kontinuiteta ukopavanja (navodim za primjer Sv. Spas u Vrh Rici, Begovaču u Donjim Biljanima i Galovac kod Zadra) tipološko-kronološka atribucija nalaza nije bila usklađena s prostornom analizom ukopišta kao takvih, pa su pojedini tipovi nalaza kasnijih faza datirani u ranija razdoblja,²³ premda je Jakšić prije gotovo pola stoljeća ukazao na važnost praćenja stratigrafskih i prostornih relacija pri analizi groblja, i to na primjeru velikoga groblja oko crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici.²⁴

Broj nalaza kopči u grobovima 14. i 15. st. na župnim grobljima na Putalju i u Radunu gotovo je utrostručen u odnosu na 13. st. Ukupno je nađeno deset kopči, šest na Putalju (Kat. br. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) i četiri na Svećurju u Radunu (Kat. br. 4, 5, 13, 15). Sve su, bez izuzetka, izrađene od željeza, a više od polovice ih pripada D-tipu (Kat. br. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13). Od toga ih pet potječe iz grobova na Putalju (Kat. br. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11), a samo jedna iz Raduna (Kat. br. 13). Međutim, iz te razlike nije uputno izvlačiti dalekosežnije zaključke, jer se radi o malom broju uzoraka i o svega dva groblja. Veliki porast broja kopči među grobnim nalazima kasnoga srednjeg vijeka odraz je zamjetnog gospodarskog rasta i općeg uspona svih segmenata društva tijekom vladavine anžuvinske dinastije na ugarsko-hrvatskom prijestolju, a paralelno se zbivala i temeljita promjena u načinu odijevanja, što je dovelo do novih stilskih pomaka i u umjetničkom obrtu. Taj opći procvat bit će prekinut u 15. st. uspostavom trajne mletačke vlasti nad Dalmacijom i sve jačim prodorima Turaka prema Jadranu, posebice nakon pada Bosne 1463. godine.²⁵ Uz kopče D-tipa u grobovima 14. - 15. st. u Kaštelima do sada imamo nalaze još dvaju tipova. To su okrugle kopče i dvodijelne simetrične kopče s okovom. Okruglim kopčama pripadaju tri primjerka (Kat. br. 2, 4, 5), a dvodijelnim simetričnim kopčama s okovom za sada samo jedan nalaz (Kat. br. 15). Na Putalju je nađena samo jedna okrugla kopča mlađa od 13. st. (Kat. br. 2), i to u sloju između grobova pa je možda i iz ranoga novog vijeka. Radunsko ukopište na Svećurju dalo je do sada

In this place I would also refer to the dating of the Radun specimens established by F. Oreb. Strictly following the typological and chronological divisions of D. Jelovina, he dated the Radun buckles to the period from the 9th to the 12th century.²¹ As for Svećurje in Radun, it has to be pointed out that the relation between church and the graveyard around it has not been resolved in the literature, which I discussed 18 years ago. At that time I drew attention to the fact that all authors dated the Church of St George (Juraj) approximately to the 11th century, while the grave finds, because of the typological and chronological scales established by Jelovina were dated by the researcher F. Oreb to the period from the 9th to the 15th century, which is methodologically untenable.²² This problem is made additionally more difficult because with respect to large medieval graveyards that had long histories of interment (I give the examples of St Saviour's in Vrh Rika, Begovača in Biljane Donje and Galovac by Zadar), the typological and chronological attribution of the finds was incompatible with the spatial analysis of the burial grounds as such, and some types of finds of later phases were dated to earlier periods,²³ although almost half a century ago, Jakšić referred to the importance of following the stratigraphic and spatial relations in analyses of cemeteries, taking as an example the great graveyard around the Church of St Saviour (Sv. Spas) at Vrh Rika.²⁴

The number of finds in 14th and 15th century graves in parish graveyards at Putalj and Radun is almost thrice that of the 13th century. In all, ten buckles have been found, six at Putalj (cat. nos. 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) and four at Svećurje in Radun (cat. nos. 4, 5, 13, 15). All without exception are made of iron, and more than a half are of D-type (cat. nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13). Five of these come from graves at Putalj (cat. nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) and only one from Radun (cat. no. 13). However, no far-reaching conclusions should be drawn from this difference, for there is but a small number of examples, and only from two graveyards. The large rise in the number of buckles among grave finds of the Late Middle Ages is a reflection of the perceptible economic growth and the general rise of all segments of society while the Angevins occupied the throne of the Kingdom of

²² Burić 2002, str. 322-325.

²³ Burić 2001, str. 229-231.

²⁴ Jakšić 1976.

²⁵ Usp. Šunjić 1967; Raukar 1982; Raukar 1984.

²¹ Oreb 1983, p. 199; Jelovina 1976, pp. 127-128.

²² Burić 2002, str. 322-325.

²³ Burić 2001, pp. 229-231.

²⁴ Jakšić 1976.

dva primjerka okruglih kopči, koje bismo mogli pripisati stratumu 14. - 15. st. Jedna je nađena u prvim iskopavanjima 1974. (Kat. br. 4, G-71), a druga u iskopavanjima 2004. (Kat. br. 5, G-2).²⁶ Od kopče iz G-71 sačuvana je okrugla pređica zadebljana na jednoj strani, dok je trn vjerojatno propao zbog oksidacije. Kopča iz G-2 pripada po svim odlikama tipu I, i to njegovu podtipu 1 po B. Burazer. Isto bismo mogli kazati i za kopču iz G-71, iako zadebljanje na jednom kraju otvara mogućnost daljnjih potpodjela u ovoj tipološkoj skali, u što ovdje ne bih ulazio, jer to traži sustavnu obradu svih nalaza toga tipa. Kopča iz G-71 nađena je u segmentu groblja koji je okvirno datiran u 14. - 15. st., dok je ona iz G-2 sigurno datirana u 14. st. Drugih nalaza iz 15. st. i inače nema na radunskom Svećurju, premda ih je moguće očekivati u neistraženom dijelu groblja.

Iz segmenta radunskoga groblja datiranog u 14. st.²⁷ potječe i jedan novi tip kopče, do tada nezabilježen među nalazima iz Kaštela. To je dvodijelna simetrična kopča s okovom (Kat. br. 15) iz G-20. Okov je od željeznog lima i presavijen je oko prečke koja dijeli okvir pređice na dva simetrična dijela, a ujedno učvršćuje kratki zašiljeni trn. Dvodijelne kopče izrazito su rijetke među nalazima u Kaštelima, a i inače. Uz ovu radunsku nađena je još samo jedna o kojoj će biti govora u opisu sljedeće faze. Dakle, ukupno 2 primjerka od 17 iz svih faza (oko 12 %).

Broj nalaza vidno opada na prijelazu iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka u rani novi vijek (konac 15. - 16. st.). Do sada su iz tog razdoblja otkrivene svega tri kopče, i to sve iz nasebinskih slojeva na Baba lokvi (Kat. br. 6, 14, 16). To, naravno, nije odraz stvarnoga stanja, jer naselja zapravo još nisu ni istraživana osim malog segmenta na Baba lokvi, a i veći dio župnih grobalja je neistražen, posebice nova groblja organizirana oko novopodignutih crkava u naseljima uz obalu, nastalima oko utvrđenih kaštela podignutih zbog obrane od Turaka koncem 15. i početkom 16. st.²⁸ Stoga u dogledno vrijeme treba očekivati porast broja nalaza kopči i iz ovoga

Hungary-Croatia. In parallel there was a fundamental change in the manner of dressing, which led to new shifts in style and in the fine crafts. This general flowering was interrupted in the 15th century, when the Venetians took permanent control of Dalmatia and when there were ever-stronger inroads of the Ottoman Turks in the direction of the Adriatic, particularly after the fall of Bosnia in 1463.²⁵ Along with D-type buckles in 14th to 15th century Kaštela graves, we have to date finds of two more types. These are round buckles and two-part symmetrical buckles with mounting (plate) Round buckles include three examples (cat. nos. 2, 4, 5), while so far there has been only one find of a two-part symmetrical buckle (cat. no. 15). Just one round buckle later than the 13th century has been found at Putalj (cat. no. 2), in the stratum between the graves, and that perhaps derives from the Early Modern Age. The Radun burial site at Svećurje has to date yielded two examples of round buckles, which we might ascribed to the 14th-15th century stratum. One was found in the first excavations of 1974 (cat. no. 4, G-71) and the second in the 2004 excavations (cat. no. 5, G-2).²⁶ Preserved of the buckle from G-71 is only the round frame, thicker at one side, while the prong has probably been rusted away. All the features of the G-2 buckle assign it to type I, sub-type 1 in the terminology of B. Burazer. We might say the same thing for the buckle from G-71, although the thickening at one end leaves room for further subdivisions in this typological scale, which I would not go into at the present time, for it would require systematic discussion of all finds of the type. The G-71 buckle was found in the graveyard segment that is dated roughly to the 14th and 15th century, while that from G-2 is dated with confidence to the 14th century. There are no other 15th century finds from Radun-Svećurje, although they can perhaps be expected in the unexplored part of the graveyard.

Coming from the segment of Radun Graveyard dated to the 14th century²⁷ is a new type of buckle,

²⁶ Iskopavanja 1974. vodio je F. Oreb, iz tadašnjeg Zavoda za zaštitu kulture u Splitu (Oreb 1983), a ona 2004. i kasnija T. Burić, iz Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (Burić 2005, str. 249-250).

²⁷ Uz stilsko-tipološke odlike pojedinih nalaza u grobovima toga dijela groblja važan kronološki reper za tu dataciju predstavlja nalaz novca Ludovika I. Anžuvinca (1342. - 1382.) u G-22.

²⁸ Omašić 2001, str. 149-199; Marasović 2003.

²⁵ Cf. Šunjić 1967; Raukar 1982; Raukar 1984.

²⁶ The excavations of 1974 were conducted by F. Oreb from what was then the Institute for the Protection of Culture in Split (Oreb 1983) and that in 2004 and later by T. Burić of the MCAM (Burić 2005, pp. 249-250)

²⁷ Along with the stylistic and typological features of some of the finds in the graves of this part of the cemetery an important chronological vantage point for this dating is provided by the find of a coin of Louis I Angevin (1342-1382) in G-22.

vremenskog horizonta. Teoretski tu možemo ubrojiti i okruglu kopču s Putalja (Kat. br. 2), koju sam spomenuo u opisu kopči 14. - 15. st., ali kako je nađena u sloju između grobova može biti i kasnija. Kopče s Baba lokve nađene su u recentnom sloju poremećenom obradom tla pa nije moguća preciznija kronološka distinkcija pojedinih nalaza po stoljećima. Kao i one iz prethodne faze i kopče iz 15. - 16. st. sve su rađene od željeza. Tipološki novum u Kaštelima predstavlja gljivasta kopča (Tip III po B. Burazer) s Baba lokve s trnom četvrtastog presjeka (Kat. br. 14). Taj je tip korišten od 14. do 16. st., a najčešće se javlja u nalazima 15. st. Okrugla kopča s Baba lokve (Kat. br. 6) pripada tipu poznatom i u prethodnim fazama (Tip I po B. Burazer), a ovdje bih se pobliže osvrnuo na nalaz dvodijelne simetrične kopče. Taj tip je na Baba lokvi zastupljen s jednim primjerkom (Kat. br. 16), ali dosta manjkavim. Nađen je samo okvir pređice, a nedostaju trn i po mojoj prosudbi okov, jer je pređica gotovo ista kao i kod starijega radunskog primjerka iz G-20. Zbog toga obje te kopče donosim pod jednim tipom: dvodijelne simetrične kopče s okovom, unatoč manjkavosti primjerka s Baba lokve.

Za razliku od prethodnih stoljeća u kasnom srednjem vijeku i početkom ranoga novog vijeka povećan je tipološki repertoar kopči s nalazišta u Kaštelima. Prvi put tu ubrajamo i kopče iz naselja (Baba lokva), gdje su i nađeni pojedini tipovi koji do sada nisu bili zastupljeni (gljivaste kopče). Ukupno četiri tipa kopči: D-tip, okrugle, gljivaste i dvodijelne.²⁹

Prigoda je ovdje iznijeti jednu dvojbu vezanu uz tipološko razvrstavanje srednjovjekovnih kopči, a radi se o tome da se pojedini nalazi pripisuju, ovisno o autorima, različitim tipovima. Konkretno, pojedini isti oblici u literaturi su opisani kao kopče D-tipa ili kao gljivaste kopče.³⁰ Ta se dvojba zorno ogleda i kroz nalaze iz Kaštela. I sâm sam dijelom pridonio tome objavljujući kopče s Putalja, koje sam tada definirao kao „kopče s gljivastom pređicom“.³¹ Ovdje sam se nakon ponovne analize istih nalaza ipak odlučio pripisati ih kopčama

previously unrecorded among Kaštela finds. This is a two part symmetrical buckle with plate (cat. no. 15) from G-20. The plate is made of iron sheeting and is bent around the bar that divides the frame into two symmetrical parts, and also anchors the short pointed prong. Two part buckles are actually very rare among finds in Kaštela. Along with this from Radun, only one more has been found, to be discussed below. A total of two specimens, then, from the 17 of all phases (about 12%).

The number of finds visibly declines at the transition from the Late Middle Ages into the Early Modern Period (end of the 15th to the 16th century). To date no more than three buckles have been found from this period, all of them from the settlement strata at Baba Lokva (cat. nos. 6, 14, 16). This naturally is not a reflection of a real state of affairs, for the settlements have not yet been excavated apart from the small segment at Baba Lokva, and most of the parish graveyards are unexplored, particularly the new graveyards organised around the newly built churches in the settlements along the coast, created around the fortified mansions built for the sake of defence against the Ottomans at the end of the 15th and in the early 16th century.²⁸ Hence we can expect in the foreseeable future a rise in the number of buckle finds from this temporal horizon. Theoretically we can include here the round buckle from Putalj (cat. no. 2) that I mentioned in the description of 14th to 15th century buckles, but since it was found in the stratum between the graves, it could also be of later origin. The buckles from Baba Lokva were found in the recent stratum disturbed by cultivation and it is not possible to make any very precise chronological distinction among the given finds in terms of centuries. Like those of the previous phase, the buckles of the 15th and 16th century too were all made of iron. A typological new departure in Kaštela is the mushroom-shaped buckle (Burazer Type III) from Baba Lokva with a square-sectioned prong (cat. no. 14). This type was used from the 14th to the 16th century, and most often appears in 15th century finds. The Baba Lokva round buckle (cat. no. 6) belongs to a type known in previous phases as well (Burazer Type I), and I would refer in greater detail to the find of a two-part symmetrical buckle. There is one example of this type at Baba Lokva (cat. no. 16), but it is fairly incomplete. Nothing has been found but the frame, and the prong is missing,

²⁹ Različiti postotci nalaza pojedinih tipova na pojedinim lokalitetima nisu zbog malog broja primjeraka statistički relevantni pa se na temelju toga još ne mogu donositi čvršće utemeljeni zaključci. Ovako mali broj tipova kopči (4), u odnosu na ukupan broj koji je iznijela B. Burazer (20), jedan je od pokazatelja koliko je nizak stupanj istraženosti srednjovjekovnih lokaliteta u Kaštelima općenito.

³⁰ Burazer 2019, str. 39, bilj. 148.

³¹ Burić 2001, str. 224.

²⁸ Omašić 2001, pp. 149-199; Marasović 2003.

D-tipa, na što me je potaknula i atribucija kopče iz G-23/2 koju je donijela B. Burazer,³² kao i atribucija D-tipu pojedinih nalaza iz Engleske.³³ I premda bi se za neke od njih moglo polemizirati spadaju li u gljivasti ili D-tip, to ću ostaviti za drugu prigodu, uz napomenu da se radi o željeznim kopčama čiji je stupanj korozije znatan, pa često nije moguće precizno odrediti oblik, što također pridonosi dvojbi oko tipološkog razvrstavanja.

Analogije za kopče iz Kaštela zaista su brojne. Detaljno navođenje svih poznatih paralela nije ovdje nužno, pa ću se ograničiti na one koje su izravno tipološki bliske ili istovjetne i one sa sustavno istraženih grobalja, koja pružaju mogućnosti širih komparacija i s ostalim kategorijama nalaza. Za početak donosim analogije za okrugle kopče (tip I). Prema građi koja je objavljena uočljivo je da ovaj tip kopči prevladava na nalazištima uz istočnu obalu Jadrana i u njegovu zaleđu, dok je u unutrašnjosti rijetko zastupljen. Brojnošću nalaza ovoga tipa kopči ističu se dva lokaliteta. To su groblje oko crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici i gradsko groblje Rijeke Pul Vele crkve. Na groblju oko Sv. Spasa pronađen je veći broj okruglih kopči s pokretnim trnom od kojih je samo jedna brončana, a deset ih je od željeza. Od toga su tri para po dvije, odnosno dvije kopče pronađene u istom grobu.³⁴ Osim toga nađeno je i sedam koluta (alki), od kojih 5 od bronce, a dvije od željeza. Željezne i četiri brončane nađene su u paru, a samo jedna brončana pojedinačno. Kod ove vrste nalaza, koja također spada u funkcionalnu opremu odjeće, nije uvijek sigurno radi li se o kolutu ili paru koluta, kroz koji se provlačio pojas, ili pak o predici s koje je otpao trn i nije pronađen; to više što su neki od njih nađeni zajedno s jednodijelnim okruglim kopčama kao u G-879. Primjerci s ovoga groblja datirani su u kasni srednji vijek od sredine 14. do sredine 15. st.³⁵ Na velikom groblju grada Rijeke na lokalitetu Pul Vele crkve nađen je iznimno velik broj kopči tipa I, ukupno 24 kopče. I na ovom groblju nađen je veći broj koluta (alki), kao i na groblju kod Sv. Spasa. Gustoća intenzivnog ukopavanja na riječkom groblju onemogućila je precizniju krono-

as is, in my opinion, the plate or mounting, for the frame is almost the same as in the earlier Radun example from G-20. For this reason, I include both of these buckles in a single type: two-part symmetrical buckle with plate, notwithstanding the incompleteness of the Baba Lokva example.

As distinct from previous centuries in the Late Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Age there is a larger typological repertoire of buckles from archaeological sites in Kaštela and for the first time we can list here buckles from the settlement (Baba Lokva), where some types that have not previously been represented have been found (mushroom-shaped buckles). In all there are four types: D-type, round, mushroom-shaped and two-part.²⁹

It is useful to raise here a dilemma related to the typological classification of medieval buckles; that is, individual finds get ascribed, according to different authors, to different types. To be precise, the same forms in the literature are described as D-type or as mushroom shaped buckles.³⁰ This dilemma is vividly manifested in finds from Kaštela. I myself have contributed to this in part writing about buckles from Putalj that I then defined as "buckles with a mushroom-shaped frame".³¹ Here after a renewed analysis of the same finds I have after all decided to ascribe them to the D-type buckle, prompted by the attribution of the buckle from G23/2 mentioned by Burazer,³² and the D-type attribution of some finds from England.³³ And although it might be argued that some of them belong either to the mushroom or the D-type, I shall leave any such discussion for a later occasion, remarking that these are after all iron buckles in which the degree of rusting has been very considerable, and quite often it is not possible to determine the shape very precisely, which also contributes to the quandary involved in typological classification.

²⁹ The various percentages of finds of given types at the sites are not statistically significant because there are too few finds, and no reliable conclusions can be drawn. This small number of types (4) as against the total number given by Burazer (20) is one of the indicators of how little research has been carried out in the medieval sites in Kaštela in general.

³⁰ Burazer 2019, p. 39, n. 148.

³¹ Burić 2001, p. 224.

³² Burazer 2019, pp. 45-46, fig. 33. This is her subtype no. 5. I take the opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to Ana Azinović Bebek for useful suggestions related to this topic.

³³ Whitehead 2003, pp. 19-20.

³² Burazer 2019, str. 45-46, sl. 33. To je njezin podtip 5. Koristim prigodu srdačno zahvaliti kolegici Ani Azinović Bebek na korisnim sugestijama vezanim uz ovu temu.

³³ Whitehead 2003, str. 19-20.

³⁴ Petrinc 1996, Katalog: G-123f, G-521, G-528, G-605, G-606, G-677, G-693, G-879.

³⁵ Jakšić 1996, str. 149-150.

lošku razdiobu svih nalaza, a kopče tipa I datirane su okvirno u kasni srednji vijek (14. - 15. st.).³⁶ U dubljem zaleđu Splita i Trogira također su potvrđeni nalazi okruglih kopči, i to na groblju Mramorje u selu Grborezima kod Livna. Ukupno su nađena tri primjerka i još dva koluta bez trna.³⁷ Datacija kopči s Mramorja nije izdiferencirana, već su okvirno pripisane širokom rasponu od 11. do 14. st.³⁸

Osim na ova tri lokaliteta kopče tipa I nađene su na još nekoliko srednjovjekovnih groblja kao pojedinačni nalazi. Ovdje ih donosim samo zbirno radi ilustracije rasprostranjenosti na obalnom i u priobalnom dijelu Hrvatske. To su groblja Brnaze – Mijoljača, Bribir – Dol (Sv. Marija); Donje Biljane – Begovača, Galovac – Crkvina, Donji Zemunik i Pakoštane – Crkvina.³⁹ Ovdje bih samo ukazao na par brončanih kopči ovog tipa iz G-497 na Crkvini u Galovcu, koje su po svemu iste kao i putaljski par iz G-33 (Kat. br. 1).⁴⁰ Većina primjeraka s ovdje navedenih groblja, posebice groblja oko Sv. Spasa i groblja Pul Vele crikve u Rijeci, tipološki odgovaraju brončanom paru s Putalja.

Preostaje još navesti nalaze kopči tipa I iz Istre. Pronađene su u grobovima u franjevačkom samostanu u Puli, a datirane su u 15. i 17. st. I tu je pronađeno nekoliko koluta (alki) bez trna, također datiranih od 15. do 18. st.⁴¹ Na kronološkoj razradi ovoga tipa kopči još treba dosta raditi. Objavljeni primjerci pokazuju iznimno dugotrajan vijek upotrebe, od 13. do 18. st., ali po svemu sudeći glavnina primjeraka pripada razdoblju kasnoga srednjeg vijeka (14. - 15. st.), što potvrđuju i nalazi tog tipa u Engleskoj.⁴²

Kopče D-tipa imaju pređicu u obliku slova D, i uz tip I predstavljaju najstarije tipove iz skupi-

There are indeed numerous analogies for the Kaštela buckles. It is not necessary here to list in detail all the known parallels, and I shall restrict myself to those that are directly typologically close or identical and those from systematically excavated cemeteries, which provide the possibility for wider comparisons and with other categories of finds. For a beginning, analogies for the round buckle (type I). According to the material that has been published, it is clear that this type of buckle prevails at archaeological sites along the eastern coast of the Adriatic and its hinterland, while deep in the interior it is seldom to be found. Two sites stand out in terms of numerousness of finds of this type of buckle. They are the graveyard around the Church of St Saviour in Vrh Rika and the Rijeka city cemetery Pul Vele Crikve. At the St Saviour graveyard a large number of circular buckles was found with a moveable tongue of which only one was of bronze, while ten were of iron. Of this there were three pairs of two, that is, two buckles found in the same grave.³⁴ Apart from that, seven hoops or rings were found, five of them of bronze, and two of iron. The iron and four of the bronze rings were found in pairs, and only one bronze ring was found on its own. With this kind of find, which also can be classified as functional equipment of clothing, it is not always certain whether it is actually a ring or a pair of rings (or loops) through which a belt could be drawn, or in fact a frame that has lost its prong; the more so that some of them have been found together with single part round buckles, as in G-879. Specimens from this cemetery are dated to the Late Middle Ages, from the mid-14th to the mid-15th century.³⁵ At the big graveyard of the city of Rijeka at the site called Pul Vele Crikve an exceptionally large number of type I buckles were found, 24 of them in all. At this graveyard too, a large number of rings or loops were found, as at the graveyard at St Saviour's. The great density of interments at the Rijeka graveyard made it impossible to make any very precise chronological division of all the finds, and buckles of type I are dated approximately to the Late Middle Ages (14th to 15th century).³⁶ Further

³⁶ Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, str. 103-106; Tab. 24, 1-4, 6-12; Tab. 25, 1-3, 5-8; Tab. 26, 1-6. Ovdje je dan širi pregled nalaza ovog tipa kopči u Europi i njihov kronološki raspon, iz kojega je vidljivo da naši primjerci s Putalja pripadaju među najranije. Autori su također dali i prikaz načina korištenja tih kopči za različite dijelove odjeće.

³⁷ Bešlagić, Basler 1964, Tab. XII, 1; Tab. XXIX/3; Tab. XXX, 2 (kopče) i Tab. XIV/5; Tab. XXV, 2 (koluti).

³⁸ Bešlagić, Basler 1964, str. 83-84.

³⁹ Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, str. 104; Burazer 2019, str. 28-29, sl. 8-9.

⁴⁰ Belošević 1993, str. 136, Tab. XXVI, 9-10; Tab. XXX, 1-2. Autor taj par datira u razvijeni srednji vijek, što bi odgovaralo dataciji putaljskoga para u 13. st.

⁴¹ Bradara, Krnjak 2016, str. 219-220, sl. 92-93.

⁴² Whitehead 2003, str. 16-17; Egan, Pritchard 1991¹ (2002, 2008), str. 21-22, 50-53, 57-58.

³⁴ Petrincec 1996, Catalogue: G- 123f, G-521, G-528, G-605, G-606, G-677, G-693, G-879.

³⁵ Jakšić 1996, pp. 149-150.

³⁶ Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, p. 103-106; Pl. 24, 1-4, 6-12; Pl. 25, 1-3, 5-8; Pl. 26, 1-6. Here there is a wider review of finds of this type of buckle in Europe and their temporal range, from which it can be seen that

ne jednodijelnih kopči. Najčešće su zastupljene u nalazima iz 12. i 13. st. te s početka 14. st., ali ih nalazimo i u kasnijim slojevima i grobovima.⁴³ Taj tip kopči u Engleskoj se dijeli na jednostavne kopče D-oblika, koje su često korištene na konjaničkoj opremi, i na one kvalitetnije, koje su korištene na odjeći. Okvirno su datirane od sredine 13. do kraja 15. st.⁴⁴ Radunski primjerak, unatoč skromnoj izradi, pokazuje da je taj tip bio u upotrebi i na prostoru Kaštela već u 13. st., a poznati su nalazi i iz kasnog 13. st. u Londonu.⁴⁵ Datacija primjeraka iz Kaštela pokazuje da su one u uporabi tijekom cijeloga 14. i 15. st., a za sada ih nema među nalazima iz 15. - 16. st. Javljuju se na većini velikih sustavno istraženih grobalja, s time da valja uzeti u obzir neriješeno pitanje svrstavanja pojedinih podtipova između D-tipa i gljivastog tipa, o čemu sam prethodno iznio svoj stav. Počet ću s velikim grobljem oko crkve Svetog Spasa u Vrh Rici, gdje je nađeno pet kopči D-tipa u grobovima (G-517, G-669, G-688, G-860, G-1008) i tri izvan grobova u slojevima (Inv. br. 105, 106, 107).⁴⁶ Većina ih je analogna podtipovima s Putalja i Raduna, ali ima i onih koji do sada nisu otkriveni u Kaštelima. Slijedi veliko groblje na "Begovači" u Donjim Biljanima, gdje su u grobovima nađene četiri kopče D-tipa, i to inačice koju B. Burazer svrstava u svoj podtip 2 gljivastih kopči (G-145, G-149, G-352, G-514).⁴⁷ Jedna kopča tog podtipa nađena je i na Crkvini u Galovcu, ali u sloju izvan groba.⁴⁸ Zanimljivo da na velikom riječkom groblju Pul Vele crikve nisu nađene kopče ovog tipa, no zato ih nalazimo na groblju s lokaliteta Opatovina u Zagrebu, gdje su nađene u sloju 14. do 16. st.⁴⁹ Zastupljene su i na Mramorju u Grborezima s dva primjerka. Uz već iznesenu napomenu o širokoj dataciji za kopče s tog lokaliteta ukazao bih i na terminološku različitost u odnosu na uobičajene nazive u hrvatskoj literaturi. Autori kopče s Mramorja nazivaju zaponi, dok pod kopčama podrazumijevaju pafte (tip XX po B. Burazer).⁵⁰

back in the hinterland of Split and Trogir, finds of round buckles were also confirmed, at the cemetery of Mramorje in the village of Grborezi by Livno. In total three specimens were found, and two more loops without a tongue.³⁷ The dating of the buckles from Mramorje has not been defined precisely, and they have been approximately assigned to a wide span of time, from the 11th to the 14th century.³⁸

Apart from at these three cites, type I buckles have also been found at several other medieval graveyards as individual finds. I include them here only collectively, for the sake of illustrating the wide distribution in the coastal and slightly further inland parts of Croatia. These are the cemeteries at Brnaze – Mioljača, Bribir – Dol (Sv. Marija); Biljane Donje – Begovača, Galovac – Crkvina, Donji Zemunik and Pakošane – Crkvina.³⁹ Here I would refer in particular only to a pair of bronze buckles of the type from G-497 at Crkvina in Galovac, which are in all respects the same as the Putalj pair from G-33 (cat. no. 1).⁴⁰ Most of the examples from the graveyards mentioned here, particularly the cemeteries around St Saviour's and the graveyard of Pul Vele Crikve in Rijeka correspond typologically to the bronze pair from Putalj.

It remains still to refer to finds of type I buckles from Istria. They have been found in the graves in the Franciscan friary in Pula, dated to the 15th and 17th centuries. Here two rings or loops have been found without prongs, also dated from the 15th to the 18th century.⁴¹ A lot of work has still to be done on the chronological elaboration of this type. Specimens that have been featured in publications show the very long period over which they were used, from the 13th to the 18th century, although from all accounts most of the specimens stem from the Late Middle Ages (14th to 15th century), as confirmed by finds of the type in England.⁴²

our examples from Putalj are among the earliest. The authors have also provided a depiction of how these buckles were used for different garments.

³⁷ Bešlagić, Basler 1964, Pl. XII, 1; Pl. XXIX/3; Pl. XXX, 2 (buckles) i Pl. XIV/5; Pl. XXV, 2 (rings).

³⁸ Bešlagić, Basler 1964, pp. 83-84.

³⁹ Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, p. 104; Burazer 2019, pp. 28-29, fig. 8-9.

⁴⁰ Belošević 1993, p. 136, Pl. XXVI, 9-10; Pl. XXX, 1-2. The author dates this pair to the High Middle Ages, which would correspond to the dating of the Putalj pair to the 13th century.

⁴¹ Bradara, Krnjak 2016, pp. 219-220, fig. 92-93.

⁴² Whitehead 2003, p. 16-17; Egan, Pritchard 1991¹ (2002, 2008), p. 21-22, 50-53, 57-58.

⁴³ Burazer 2019, str. 41, bilj. 167.

⁴⁴ Whitehead 2003, str. 16-21.

⁴⁵ Burazer 2019, str. 45, bilj. 189.

⁴⁶ Petrincec 1996, str. 44, 58, 60, 77, 97, 123.

⁴⁷ Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, Tab. VII, 145, Tab. VIII, 149, Tab. XXIV, 352, Tab. XXV, 514.

⁴⁸ Belošević 1993, T. XXX/3.

⁴⁹ Demo 2007, str. 40, 78 (Kat. br. 16.16-18).

⁵⁰ Bešlagić, Basler 1964, str. 82-84, Tab. XIV,5; Tab. XX, /2.

Među paralelama za dvije kopče s Raduna iz 13. st. (Kat. br. 1, Kat. br. 12) posebice su važne analogije s lokaliteta "Staro groblje" u selu Trnjane kod Požarevca u istočnoj Srbiji. Tu je istraženo srednjovjekovno groblje koje je okvirno datirano od 11. do 13. st. Uz brojne nalaze nakita (naušnice, prstenje, ogrlice, narukvice itd.) i predmeta svakodnevnog upotrebe nađeno je i šest predica pojasnih kopči od željeza različitih tipova, uglavnom okruglih, a jedna je približno slična radunskoj, koju sam definirao kao kopču D-tipa (Kat. br. 12).⁵¹ Autorica ističe veliki stupanj korozije svih kopči, zbog čega je ponekad teže definirati osnovni oblik. Vrijeme trajanja trnjanskoga groblja u svom završnom dijelu podudara se sa slojem radunskoga ukopišta u 13. st. Ove su analogije važne jer pokazuju širinu rasprostranjenosti toga jednostavnog utilitarnog predmeta na širokim prostorima u isto vrijeme.

Treći tip jednodijelnih kopči iz Kaštela pripada kopčama gljivastog tipa (tip III po B. Burazer). Za sada je pronađen samo jedan primjerak u naselju na Baba lokvi iz 15. - 16. st. (Kat. br. 14). Taj nalaz je B. Burazer uvrstila u svoj podtip 1 gljivastih kopči, dok je u podtip 2 uvrstila one koje sam ja u prethodnim redcima pripisao D-tipu.⁵² Za primjere podtipa 1 donosi okvirnu analogiju od 14. do 16. st., u koji okvir se uklapa i naša kopča s Baba lokve. Paralele za podtip 1, a time i za kopču toga tipa s Baba lokve, za sada imamo u Donjem Zemuniku kod Zadra (utvrda)⁵³ i na Opatovini u Zagrebu, gdje su datirane u 15. st.,⁵⁴ što se također uklapa u okvir datacije kopče s Baba lokve. I premda detaljnija analiza i tipološka skala kopči kod nas tek predstoji, ovdje bih samo napomenuo da podtip 1 gljivastih kopči nije do sada evidentiran u Engleskoj prema meni dostupnoj literaturi. Puni areal njihove rasprostranjenosti na europskom tlu tek treba utvrditi.

Na kraju prikaza analogija navodim još one za dvodijelne simetrične kopče s okovom (Kat. br. 15, 16). Jedna je grobni nalaz s radunskog Svećurja iz 14. st., a druga je nađena u naselju na Baba lokvi i pripada vremenu 15. - 16. st. Već sam u prethodnom tekstu pojasnio zbog čega ih pripisujem istom tipu, iako primjerak s Baba lokve nema sačuvani okov. Taj je tip izrazito rijedak u Hrvatskoj. Nema

D-type buckles are so called because they have a D-shaped frame, and, together with type I, they are the oldest types from the single-part buckle group. Most often they are represented in finds of the 12th and 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, but they can also be found in later strata and graves.⁴³ This type of buckle is divided in England into simple D-shape buckles, often used as part of horse harness, and the better quality, used for clothing. They can be roughly dated from the middle of the 13th to the end of the 15th century.⁴⁴ The Radun specimen, notwithstanding the modest workmanship, shows that this type was in use in the Kaštela area as early as the 13th century, while finds from the late 13th century have been made in London.⁴⁵ The dating of the Kaštela specimens shows that they were in use the whole of the 14th and the 15th century, but to date they have not shown up in 15th to 16th century finds. They do appear in most of the big systematically excavated graveyards, with the proviso that one has to take into consideration the unresolved issue of the placing of individual sub-types in either the D- or the mushroom-type, concerning which I have already made my viewpoint clear. I shall start with the big graveyard around the Church of St Saviour in Vrh Rika, where five D-type buckles were found in the graves (G-517, G-669, G-688, G-860, G-1008) and three outside the graves in the strata (inv. nos. 105, 106, 107).⁴⁶ Most of them are analogous to the sub-types from Putalj and Radun, but there are some that have not yet been discovered in Kaštela. Then comes the big graveyard of Begovača in Biljane Donje, where four D-types were found in graves, versions that B. Burazer puts in her sub-type 2, mushroom shaped buckles (G-145, G-149, G-352, G-514).⁴⁷ One buckle of this sub-type was found at Crkvina in Galovac, but in a non-grave stratum.⁴⁸ It is interesting that at the big Rijeka graveyard Pul Vele Crikve no buckles of this type were found, but then they can be found at the cemetery from Opatovina in Zagreb, where they were discovered in the 14th to 16th century stratum.⁴⁹ Two specimens were also discovered at Mramor-

⁵¹ Marjanović Vujović 1984, str. 73, sl. 154, 155; Tab. XXVI/1-2.

⁵² Burazer 2019, str. 37-41, sl. 20-26.

⁵³ Gusar, Vujević 2016, str. 82, Tab. 21, 2.

⁵⁴ Demo 2007, str. 79-80.

⁴³ Burazer 2019, p. 41, n. 167.

⁴⁴ Whitehead 2003, pp. 16-21.

⁴⁵ Burazer 2019, p. 45, n. 189.

⁴⁶ Petrinec 1996, pp. 44, 58, 60, 77, 97, 123.

⁴⁷ Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981, Pl. VII, 145, Pl. VIII, 149, Pl. XXIV, 352, Pl. XXV, 514.

⁴⁸ Belošević 1993, Pl. XXX/3.

⁴⁹ Demo 2007, pp. 40, 78 (Cat. no. 16.16-18).

ga ni na velikim, sustavno istraženim grobljima, kao što su Sv. Spas u Vrh Rici, "Begovača" u Donjim Biljanima, Crkvena u Galovcu ili Pul Vele crkve u Rijeci. Jedina bliža analogija poznata mi je iz grobova u crkvi sv. Martina u Sukošanu kod Zadra, koji su datirani u drugu polovicu 14. i početak 15. st.⁵⁵ Dvodijelni okvir pređice istovjetno je oblikovan, kao i kratki zašiljeni trn. Ni među brojnim primjerima dvodijelnih kopči s okovom u Engleskoj također nema bliskih analogija za ovaj tip. Nadam se da će buduća iskopavanja i daljnje analize pružiti više podataka za sigurnije pozicioniranje ovog tipa u prostoru i vremenu, kako u Hrvatskoj, tako i u Europi.

Zaključak

Ponovna pojava kopči u arheološkom materijalu iz razvijenoga i kasnoga srednjeg vijeka odraz je vremena u kojemu ti elementi odjeće postupno prodiru i u ruralne zajednice izvan dalmatinskih gradova i feudalnih dvorova u Hrvatskoj, pa tako i u sela u distriktima Trogira i Splita. Ti nalazi, uz ostale elemente funkcionalno-dekorativnog karaktera vezane uz odjeću (puceta, dvodijelne kopčice, aplikacije), odražavaju postupno širenje utjecaja gradske mode, ponajprije gotičkoga sloga, iz gradova u seoska naselja.

Oni su materijalni trag novostvorenoga obogaćenog sloja među seoskim življem još uvijek dobrim dijelom organiziranim u rodovskim zajednicama. To je svojevrsna rodovska aristokracija čiji je ekonomski status, stasao na gospodarskom razvoju unutar feudalnih društvenih struktura u Hrvatskoj u plodnoj koegzistenciji s društvenim i materijalnim usponom gradskih dalmatinskih komuna. Taj društveni sloj bio je u mogućnosti pribaviti tu novu vrstu zanatskih proizvoda koje je nudila obrtnička produkcija gradova.

Isto tako, sve češća pojava kopči u nalazima 14. st. odraz je i velike promjene u načinu odijevanja u Europi općenito. Temeljna razlika između kasnoga srednjeg vijeka i prethodnih stoljeća ogleda se u novom poimanju i manifestiranju društvenih simbola koji u vrijeme gotike dolaze do izražaja, a zrcale se kroz sve veći utjecaj građanskoga staleža u društvu. Te se promjene onda ogledaju i u načinu odijevanja i modnim trendovima, koje možemo za to vrijeme već dosta dobro pratiti preko fresaka, slika i skulptu-

je in Grborezi, To add to the remark already made about the buckles found at this site being dated over a wide span of time, I would also refer to the terminological difference as compared to the usual terms in Croatian scholarship. Authors refer to the buckles from Mramorje as *zapon* (catch), understanding paftas (Burazer type XX) as buckles.⁵⁰

Among the parallels to the two 13th century buckles from Radun (cat. no. 1, cat. no. 12) there are some particularly important analogues from the site "Old graveyard" in the village of Trnjane by Požarevac in eastern Serbia. Here a medieval graveyard dated in outline to the 11th-13th centuries has been researched into. Along with numerous finds of jewellery (earrings, rings, necklaces and bracelets) and everyday use objects, six frames of belt buckles of iron of various types have been found, mainly round, and one is fairly similar to the Radun specimen, which I have defined as a D-type buckle. (cat. no. 12).⁵¹ The author points out the great extent of the corrosion of all the buckles, because of which it is sometimes rather difficult to define the basic shape. The time when the Trnjane graveyard was being used in its final part overlaps with the stratum of the Radun burial place in the 13th century. These analogies are important, for they indicate the wide distribution of this simple utilitarian object at the same time.

The third type of one-part buckle from Kaštela is that of mushroom-shaped type buckles (Burazer Type III);. For the moment, only one example has been found, in the settlement at Baba Lokva of the 15th to 16th century (cat. no. 14). Burazer classified this find into her sub-type 1, mushroom shaped buckles, while she put into sub-type 2 those that above I ascribed to the D-type,⁵² She provides an outline analogue from the 14th to the 16th century for examples of sub-type 1, into which outline our buckle from Baba Lokva would fit. For the moment we have parallels to sub-type 1, and accordingly also to the buckle of this type from Baba Lokva, in Donji Zemunik by Zadar (a fort)⁵³ and at Opatovina in Zagreb, where they are dated to the 15th century,⁵⁴ which also fits in with the dating of the Baba Lokva

⁵⁰ Bešlagić, Basler 1964, pp. 82-84, Pl. XIV,5; Pl. XX, /2.

⁵¹ Marjanović Vujović 1984, p. 73, fig. 154, 155; Pl. XXVI/1-2.

⁵² Burazer 2019, pp. 37-41, fig. 20-26.

⁵³ Gusar, Vujević 2016, p. 82, Pl. 21, 2.

⁵⁴ Demo 2007, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁵ Vučić 2006, str. 213, 216-217, str. 236, sl. 5.

re. Svakako da se to ponajprije odnosi na odijevanje i ures viših društvenih slojeva, feudalnih, kao i onih građanskih, koji s razvojem gradova i robno-novčane privrede sve više dolaze do izražaja na društvenoj ljestvici, a ta se diferencijacija onda prenosi i na ruralne zajednice po selima, pa se – eto – ogleda i u arheološkim nalazima pojedinih modnih detalja. Za razliku od teške i masivne romaničke odjeće, koja dominira do 13. st. – prijelaznoga stoljeća u načinu odijevanja u Zapadnoj Europi – gotičko vrijeme uvodi niz inovacija u kreiranju odjeće i modnih detalja, koji u 14. st. poprimaju prozračnost i raskoš u stilskim trendovima kroz brojne varijacije pune fantazije, do tada nepoznate u srednjem vijeku, koji će se nastaviti i u 15. st. te dalje u razdoblju renesanse u 16. st.⁵⁶

To je bio proces koji se paralelno odvijao širom Europe i koji je u 14. st. doveo do značajnih promjena u pogledu mode i odijevanja, o čemu se u europskoj literaturi već dosta pisalo, dok u Hrvatskoj takve teme nisu još došle u žarište istraživačkih interesa. Tek u novije vrijeme pojedini autori skreću pozornost i na taj segment interpretacije arheološkog materijala. Tako A. Azinović Bebek i A. Janeš ukazuju na temeljnu promjenu u načinu odijevanja do koje je došlo u 14. st., kada je “nezgrapnu široku odjeću 13. st. zamijenila nova, uža odjeća, krojena po mjerama”.⁵⁷

Proces širenja gradske mode u seoske zajednice dobro je uočen u Srbiji još šezdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Analizirajući nalaze sa “Starog groblja” u Trnjanima kod Požarevca i njihove paralele na drugim srednjovjekovnim grobljima u Srbiji, G. Marjanović Vujović zaključuje da je mali broj nalaza kopči, i to isključivo u muškim grobovima, odraz načina odijevanja seoskog stanovništva u to vrijeme, koji nije zahtijevao uporabu metalnih kopči, već eventualno pojasa od lana ili vune te kože. Iznimka je gradsko groblje oko crkve sv. Pantelejmona u Nišu, gdje veći broj kopči vjerojatno oslikava razliku u načinu odijevanja između gradskog i seoskog stanovništva, jer je gradska nošnja zahtijevala češću uporabu pojasa s kopčom. Također je indikativan i raspored lokaliteta s nalazima najranijih kopči u Srbiji, koji autorica povezuje s kretanjem bizantskih najamnih odreda i križarskih četa te ugarskih trgovaca. Većina nalaza tih kopči vezana je uz nalazišta uz Dunav i glavne promet-

buckle. And although a detailed analysis and typological scale of buckles hardly exists in this country, here I would only mention that the sub-type no 1 mushroom shaped buckles has not yet been recorded even in England, according to the literature available to me. The full range of their distribution in Europe is still to be ascertained.

At the end of this review of analogies, I would mention those for the two-part symmetrical buckles with plate (mounting) (cat. nos 15, 16). One is a grave found from Radun – Svećurje from the 14th century, and the other was found in the settlement at Baba Lokva and pertains to the period from the 15th to the 16th century. In a previous article I explained why I ascribe them to the same type, although the Baba Lokva specimen does not still have its plate. This type is extremely rare in Croatia. It has not been found at the large, systematically excavated graveyards, like Sv. Spas (St Saviour) in Vrh Rika, Begovača in Donji Biljani, Crkvina in Galovac or Pul Vele Crikve in Rijeka. The only reasonable close analogy I know of comes from the graves in the Church of St Martin in Sukošan by Zadar, dated to the second half of the 14th or the early 15th century.⁵⁵ The two-part frame is identically shaped, as is the short pointed prong. Among the many examples of two part buckles with plate in England there is also no close analogy to this type. I hope that future excavations and further analyses will provide more information for a more certain placing of this type in space and time, in Croatia and elsewhere in Europe.

Conclusion

The reappearance of buckles in archaeological material from the High and Late Middle Ages is a reflection of the time in which these elements of clothing gradually made their way into rural communities outside the Dalmatian cities and feudal courts in Croatia and thus also into villages in the districts of Trogir and Split. These finds, along with other elements of a functional and decorative character related to clothing (buttons, hooks-and-eyes, appliqués) reflect the gradual expansion of the impact of city fashions, primarily in the Gothic style, from the cities to the rural settlements.

They are a material trace of the newly-created enriched stratum among the rural population, which

⁵⁶ Lightbown 1992, str. 359-374.

⁵⁷ Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, str. 113.

⁵⁵ Vučić 2006, pp. 213, 216-217, p. 236, fig. 5.

nice kojima su prolazili razni vojni odredi.⁵⁸ Dio tih opservacija može se primijeniti i na kaštelanske nalaze kopči iz 13. st., s tom razlikom što ovdje nemamo mogućnost usporedbe sa sustavno istraženim gradskim grobljima Splita i Trogira.

Na kraju se može kazati da nalazi kopči s groblja i iz naselja srednjega vijeka u Kaštelima, unatoč nedostatnom stupnju istraženosti, pokazuju da su ruralne zajednice tog dijela gradskih distrikata Splita i Trogira išle ukorak s vremenom, prateći promjene u načinu odijevanja i modnih trendova koji su do njih stizali iz njihovih urbanih matica, Trogira i Splita.

was still to a large extent organised in clan communities. There was a kind of clan aristocracy, the economic status of which developed on the economic growth within feudal social structures in Croatia in fruitful coexistence with the social and material rise of the Dalmatian city communes. This social stratum was able to obtain the new kind of artisan products provided by the tradesmen of the cities.

Similarly, the ever more frequent appearance of buckles in finds of the 14th century is a reflection of a great change in the manner in which people dressed in Europe in general the basic difference between the Late Middle Ages and previous centuries can be seen in the new way of understanding and of making obvious social symbols that came to the fore in the period of the Gothic, and are mirrored in the every greater influence of the burgher class in society. These changes are then manifested in the manner of dressing and in fashion trends, which at that time we can track quite well in frescoes, paintings and sculptures. Certainly this primarily refers to the dressing and adornment of the higher classes, both feudal and burgher, which with the development of the cities and the new money/commodity economy came more and more to the fore on the social scale, a differentiation that was transferred to the rural communities in the villages and is subsequently reflected in archaeological finds of fashion accessories. Unlike the heavy and weighty clothing of the Romanesque, which dominated up to the 13th century – a transitional century in the manner of dressing in Western Europe – the time of the Gothic introduced a number of innovations in the creation of clothing and fashion details, which in the 14th century became lighter and more airy and more opulent in stylistic trends through numerous variations of pure fantasy, previously unknown in the Middle Ages, which was to continue in the 15th century and off into the period of the Renaissance in the 16th century.⁵⁶

This was a process that unfolded in parallel all over Europe and that led in the 14th century to important changes with respect to fashion and dressing, which has been written of quite a lot in European scholarship, while in Croatia such themes have not yet come into the centre of research interests. Only in recent times have individual authors drawn attention to this segment of the interpretation of archaeological material. A. Azinović Bebek and A.

⁵⁸ Marjanović Vujović 1964, str. 73-74.

⁵⁶ Lightbown 1992, pp. 359-374.

Janeš have thus drawn attention to the fundamental change in the way people dressed in the 14th century when “the awkward, clumsy wide clothing of the 13th century was placed by a new, tighter fitting dress, cut to measure”.⁵⁷

The process by which city fashions were transferred to rural communities was well observed in Serbia in the 1960s. Analysing finds from the Old Graveyard in Trnjane by Požarevac and their parallels in other medieval cemeteries in Serbia, G. Marjanović Vujović concluded that the small number of finds of buckles, and then only in men’s graves, was a reflection of the way in which the rural population dressed at that time, which did not require the use of metal buckles, perhaps only a belt of linen or wool and leather. An exception is the city graveyard around the Church of St Pantaleon in Niš, where a large number of buckles probably illustrates the difference in the manner of dressing between the burgher and the peasant population, for city attire required a more frequent use of belts with buckles. Also suggestive is the arrangement of sites with finds of the earliest buckles in Serbia, which the author links with the movements of Byzantine mercenary troops and Crusaders as well as Hungarian traders. Most of the finds of these buckles are related to archaeological sites along the Danube and the main roads that were traversed by various military units.⁵⁸ Some of these observations can also be applied to the Kaštela finds of buckles of the 13th century, with the difference that here we have no possibility of comparison with the systematically researched city graveyards of Split and Trogir.

At the end, one can say that finds of buckles from graveyards or settlements of the Middle Ages in Kaštela, in spite of the inadequate state of research, show that the rural communities of this part of the city districts of Split and Trogir kept up with the time, following the changes in the manner of dressing and fashion trends that arrived among them from their urban centres of Split and Trogir.

(G. M.)

⁵⁷ Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016, p. 113.

⁵⁸ Marjanović Vujović 1964, pp. 73-74.

Kratice / Abbreviations

AA	Archaeologia Adriatica, Zadar
HA	Histria antiqua, Pula
HAG	Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak, Zagreb
HZ	Historijski zbornik, Zagreb
Izd. HAD-a	Izdanja Hrvatskoga arheološkog društva
PPUD	Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
Radovi FFZd	Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar
SHP	Starohrvatska prosvjeta, Split.

Literatura / Bibliography

Azinović Bebek, Janeš 2016

A. Azinović Bebek, A. Janeš, Kasnosrednjovjekovno i novovjekovno groblje uz crkvu Uznesenja Blažene djevice Marije u Rijeci; u/in: N. Radić Štivić, L. Bekić (ur./ed.), *Pul Vele crikve, Arheološka istraživanja riječkog kasnosrednjovjekovnog i ranonovovjekovnog groblja*, Rijeka 2016, 41-334

Babin 2012

M. Babin, Zaštitno arheološko istraživanje crkve sv. Nikole u Kaštel Starom, u/in: T. Šeparović (ur./ed.), *Dani Stjepana Gunjače 2*, Split 2012, 107-114

Belošević 1993

J. Belošević, Ishod pete, završne kampanje istraživanja lokaliteta Crkvina u selu Galovcu kod Zadra, *Radovi FFZd 31 (18)*, Zadar 1993, 121-142, Tab. I-L

Bešlagić, Basler 1964

Š. Bešlagić, Đ. Basler, *Grborezi, srednjovjekovna nekropola*, Sarajevo 1964.

Bradara, Krnjak 2016

T. Bradara, O. Krnjak, *Temporis signa*, Arheološka svjedočanstva istarskog novovjekovlja, Pula 2016.

Burazer 2019

B. Burazer, *Arheološki nalazi kopča od 12. do 17. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj (diplomski rad)*, Zadar 2019.

Burić 1995

T. Burić, Tragom jedne splitske zlatarske radionice 14. stoljeća, *PPUD 35*, Split 1995, 419-426

Burić 2001

T. Burić, *Putalj u srednjem vijeku*, u/in: Burić, Čače, Fadić Split 2001, 151-323

Burić 2002

T. Burić, Srednjovjekovna groblja u Kaštelima (stratigrafsko-demografska razmatranja), *HA 8*, Pula 2002, 321-326

Burić 2005

T. Burić, Svećurje – Radun, *HAG 1/2004*, 249-250

Burić 2008

T. Burić, Baba lokva, *HAG 4/2007*, 439-440

Burić 2009

T. Burić, Baba lokva, *HAG 5/2008*, 527-52

Burić 2010

T. Burić, Arheološki nalazi dekorativno-funkcionalnih elemenata obuće iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka u Kaštelima, *AA 4* (posvećeno prof. emeritusu Janju Beloševiću), Zadar 2010, 271-279

Burić 2012

T. Burić, Srednjovjekovne kuće u Podmorju (trogirskom Velom polju – *Campus magnus traguriensis*). Istraženost, tipologija, tehnike zidanja, u/in: M. Jurković, A. Milošević (ur./eds.), *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, Zagreb – Motovun – Split 2012, 397-409

Burić, Anterić, Babin, Milić 2013

T. Burić, I. Anterić, M. Babin, M. Milić, *Baba lokva, kasnosrednjovjekovno naselje*, Split 2013.

Burić, Čače, Fadić 2001

T. Burić, S. Čače, I. Fadić, *Sv. Juraj od Putalja*, Split 2001.

Demo 2007

Ž. Demo, *Opatovina, tragovi povijesti izgubljeni u sadašnjosti. Rezultati arheoloških iskopavanja pred crkvom svetog Franje u Zagrebu 2002. godine*, Zagreb 2007.

Egan 2005

G. Egan, *Material culture in London in an age of transition. Tudor and Stuart period finds c. 1450-c. 1799 from excavations at riverside sites in Southwark*, London 2005.

Egan, Pritchard 1991¹ (2002, 2008)

G. Egan, F. Pritchard, *Dress Accesories c. 1150-c. 1450, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 3*, London.

Fabijanić 2009

T. Fabijanić, O nekim neobjelodanjenim arheološkim nalazima iz ostavštine fra Luje Maruna u Mu-

zeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, u/ in: Ž. Tomičić, A. Uglešić (ur./eds.), *Zbornik o Luji Marunu*, Šibenik – Zadar – Zagreb 2009, 122-131

Gusar, Vujević 2016

K. Gusar, D. Vujević, *Utvrdna u Zemunik Donjem u srednjem i novom vijeku. Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja 2014. godine*, Zadar 2016.

Jakšić 1976

N. Jakšić, Pokušaj određenja horizontalne stratigrafije starohrvatskih nekropola, *Izd. HAD-a 3*, Split 1976, 91-94

Jakšić 1996

N. Jakšić, Kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje kod crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici, *SHP III/23*, Split 1996, 139-172

Jelovina 1976

D. Jelovina, *Starohrvatske nekropole*, Split 1976.

Jelovina, Vrsalović 1981

D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović, Srednjovjekovno groblje na "Begovači" u selu Biljanima Donjim kod Zadra, *SHP III/11*, Split 1981, 55-136

Lightbown 1992

R. W. Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, Hong Kong 1992.

Marasović 2003

K. Marasović, Nastanak i razvitak kaštelanskih utvrđenih naselja, *HA 11*, Pula 2003, 511-527

Marjanović Vujović 1964

G. Marjanović Vujović, *Trnjane, srpska nekropola (kraj XI-početak XIII veka)*, Beograd 1964.

Omašić 2001

V. Omašić, *Kaštela od prapovijesti do početaka XX. stoljeća*, Kaštela 2001.

Oreb 1983

F. Oreb, Srednjovjekovno groblje oko crkve sv. Jurja od Raduna kod Kaštel-Starog, *SHP III/13*, Split 1983, 185-200

Petrinec 1996

M. Petrinec, Kasnosrednjovjekovno groblje kod crkve Sv. Spasa u Vrh Rici (Katalog), *SHP III/23*, Split 1996, 7-137

Raukar 1982

T. Raukar, Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV stoljeću, *HZ XXXIII-XXXIV(1)*, Zagreb 1982, 139-209

Raukar 1984

T. Raukar, Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u anžuvinskom razdoblju, *Radovi FFZd 23 (10)*, Zadar 1984, 243-250

Šunjić 1967

M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u 15. stoljeću*, Sarajevo 1967.

Vučić 2006

J. Vučić, Nalazi grobova u crkvi sv. Martina kod Sukošana, *SHP III/33*, 213-242

Whitehead 2003

R. Whitehead, *Buckles 1250 – 1800*, GB.