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## Srednjovjekovni pečatnjak s područja Ražanca\*

*Rad tematizira pečatnjak od bakrene slitine koji spada među rijetke vrste srednjovjekovnih nalaza. Otkriven je slučajno, nedaleko od crkve sv. Andrije, oko 2 km južno od Ražanca. Pripada tipu dvostranih pečatnjaka. Na nasuprotnim kružnim pločastim poljima nejednaka promjera ugravirani su različiti zrcalni sadržaji. U središtu većega polja je grb oko kojega teče kružni natpis s gotičkim slovima, a na manjem dominira prikaz križa. Vlasnik dvostranog pečatnjaka bio je Simoneto da Vale. Pripadnici te navedene obitelji spominju se u više srednjovjekovnih povijesnih dokumenata u Zadru i Trogiru.*

Ključne riječi: *pečatnjak, sfragistika, Simoneto da Vale, srednji vijek, Ražanac.*

## Mediaeval seal matrix from the area of Ražanac\*

*The topic of this paper is a copper alloy seal matrix as a rare mediaeval find. It was discovered by chance, not far from the church of St. Andrew, about two kilometres south of Ražanac. It is a double seal matrix. Various mirrored elements are engraved on opposite circular laminate fields of unequal diameter. In the centre of the larger field there is a coat of arms around which runs a circular inscription in Gothic letters, while the smaller one is dominated by a representation of the cross. The owner of the double seal matrix was Simoneto da Vale. Members of this family were mentioned in several mediaeval historical documents from Zadar and Trogir.*

Keywords: *seal matrix, sphragistics, Simoneto da Vale, Middle Ages, Ražanac.*

\* Ovaj rad posvećujemo dragom, prerano preminulom kolegi Mati Zekanu.

\* We dedicate this paper to Mate Zekan, our dear, prematurely deceased colleague.

U studijskoj zbirci Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru čuva se do sada neobjavljeni srednjovjekovni pečatnjak koji je darovao Pero Kožul.<sup>1</sup> Taj mještanin Ražanca slučajno ga je pronašao 2011. godine na poljskom putu oko 50 m južno od crkve sv. Andrije (Sl. 1). Udaljena je oko 2 km južno od današnjeg Ražanca. Riječ je o sakralnoj građevini koja još uvijek čuva uspomenu na položaj srednjovjekovnoga Ražanca, sela koje je bilo smješteno oko 18 km sjeverno od Zadra (Karta 1). Uz crkvu sv. Andrije nalazi se i groblje koje je danas smješteno između ražanačkih zaselaka Rudića i Garića. U povijesnim dokumentima Ražanac se prvi puta navodi 1332. godine. Središte srednjovjekovnog sela nalazilo se u okolišu crkve sv. Andrije koja vjerojatno potječe iz 15. stoljeća.<sup>2</sup> Zanimljive podatke o lokalitetu donosi Bianchi koji uz crkvu spominje i staro groblje koje se zove *Campo Eliso*. Navodi i da su tu pokopani razni hrvatski kraljevi, pa tako i Stjepan I.<sup>3</sup> Stari Ražanac arheološki nije istraživan te je prvi srednjovjekovni pokretni nalaz s njegova područja upravo ovaj pečatnjak. U dobrom je stanju očuvanosti. Visok je 21 mm, a težak 15,84 g. Izrađen je od bakrene slitine i na sebi ima izvornu tamnu patinu (Sl. 2a-c). To je tek drugi primjerak takve vrste srednjovjekovnih nalaza iz sjeverne Dalmacije.<sup>4</sup>

Stručni i znanstveni radovi o srednjovjekovnoj sfragistici s područja Hrvatske relativno su brojni, no najvećim dijelom obrađuju samo pečate, dok ih je vrlo mali broj djelomično ili u cijelosti posvećen nalazima pečatnih matrica, odnosno pečatnjaka.<sup>5</sup> Izrađivani su od kamena, stakla te kovine. Sastoje

The study collection at the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar holds a hitherto unpublished mediaeval seal matrix, donated by Pero Kožul.<sup>1</sup> This resident of Ražanac accidentally found it in 2011 on a field path, about 50 m south of the church of St. Andrew (Fig. 1). The church is located about two kilometres south of today's Ražanac. It is a sacral building that still preserves the memory of the position of mediaeval Ražanac, a village about 18 km north of Zadar (map 1). Next to the church of St. Andrew there is a cemetery, today located between the Ražanac hamlets of Rudići and Garići. Ražanac was first mentioned in historical documents in 1332. The centre of the mediaeval village was in the vicinity of the church of St. Andrew, which probably dates from the 15th century.<sup>2</sup> Bianchi provided some interesting information about the site, and mentioned not only the church, but also an old cemetery called *Campo Eliso*. He also noted that Croatian kings, including Stephen I, had been buried there.<sup>3</sup> Old Ražanac has not been archaeologically researched, so this seal matrix is in fact the first mediaeval small find from the area. It is well preserved, 21 mm high, weighing 15.84 g. It is made of copper alloy and has an original dark patina (Figs. 2 a-c). This is only the second example of this type of mediaeval finds from northern Dalmatia.<sup>4</sup>

Professional and scientific papers on mediaeval sphyragistics from Croatia are relatively numerous, but mostly cover seals only, while a very small number of them are partly or entirely dedicated to seal matrix finds.<sup>5</sup> They used to be made of stone,

<sup>1</sup> U skladu sa svojim mogućnostima Pero Kožul je puno pomogao u spašavanju pokretnih nalaza i lociranju lokaliteta na području Općine Ražanac. Zahvaljujući njemu otkriveni su i arheološki tragovi rimske keramičarske radionice u uvali Plemići između Ljupča i Rtine. Svjetli je primjer izvrsne suradnje pojedinca iz lokalne zajednice sa stručnjacima. Ovom se prigodom tome zaljubljeniku u kulturnu baštinu najljepše zahvaljujemo na ukazanom povjerenju i darovanoj dobroti. Na pomoći oko izrade ovog rada najsrađnije zahvaljujemo kolegama Emili Hilji, Anamariji Kurilić, Edi Modriniću, Ameru Sulejmanagiću i Juri Šućuru.

<sup>2</sup> Hilje 2008, str. 120-121.

<sup>3</sup> Bianchi 1879, str. 281; Hilje 2008, str. 121, bilj. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Do sada je bio poznat samo zadarski nalaz pečatnjaka čiji je vlasnik bio Pavao I. Šubić. Usp. Belošević 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Bianchi 1877, str. 540; Zmajić 1996, str. 86, 89-92; Belošević 1965; Fučić 1972; Petricioli 1972, str. 124; Brajković 1980; Klemm 1985; Gulin 1988; Delonga 1996.

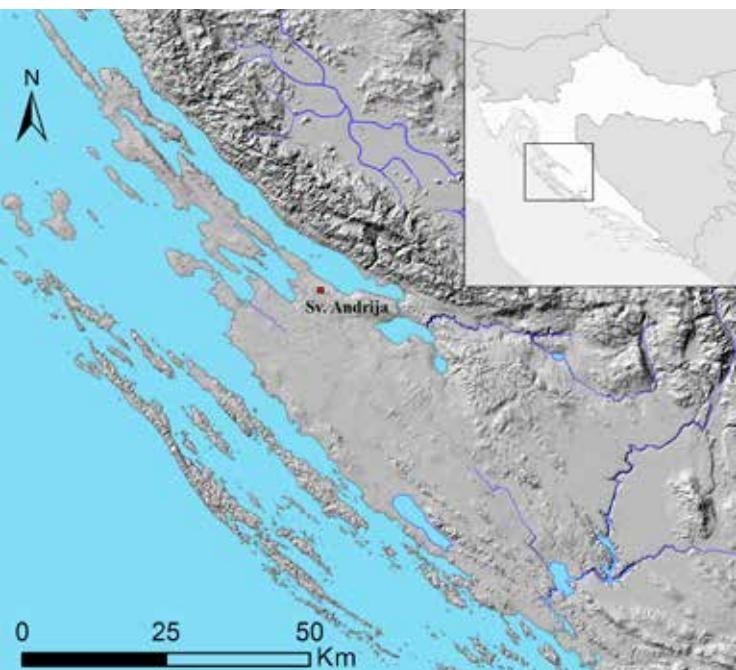
<sup>1</sup> In accordance with his abilities, Pero Kožul helped a lot in rescuing movable finds and locating sites in the area of the Municipality of Ražanac. Thanks to him, archaeological traces of a Roman pottery workshop were discovered in the Plemići cove between Ljubač and Rtina. He is a shining example of an excellent collaboration of an individual from the local community with experts. On this occasion, we would like to thank this lover of cultural heritage for his trust and kindness. We would like to extend our sincere gratitude to our colleagues Emil Hilje, Anamarija Kurilić, Edi Modrinić, Amer Sulejmanagić and Jure Šućur for their help in preparing this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Hilje 2008, pp. 120-121.

<sup>3</sup> Bianchi 1879, p. 281; Hilje 2008, p. 121, fn. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Until now, only the Zadar seal matrix has been known, once owned by Paul I Šubić. Cf. Belošević 1965.

<sup>5</sup> Bianchi 1877, p. 540; Zmajić 1996, pp. 86, 89-92; Belošević 1965; Fučić 1972; Petricioli 1972, p. 124; Brajković 1980; Klemm 1985; Gulin 1988; Delonga 1996.



Karta 1. Geografski položaj crkve sv. Andrije na području Ražanca (izradio: J. Šućur)

*Map 1 Geographical position of the church of St. Andrew in the area of Ražanac (made by: J. Šućur)*

se od drške i pločastoga proširenja s ugraviranim sadržajem kojim se utiskivao pečat u vidu nekog lika, znaka ili slova, i to najčešće u vosku, a rjeđe u kovini.<sup>6</sup> Srednjovjekovni pečatnjaci većinom su izrađeni od bakrene slitine, rijetko od srebra ili zlata, a zabilježeni su i primjerici od bjelokosti te gagata.<sup>7</sup> Na pločastom proširenju kružne ili drugačije forme najčešće imaju urezani prikaz u negativu koji ostavlja reljefni otisak prilikom pečaćenja. Općenito, srednjovjekovni pečatnjaci u Europi predstavljaju rijetke arheološke nalaze jer se smatra da su obično bili uništavani nakon smrti vlasnika ili čak pokapani s njime radi izbjegavanja njegove zloupotrebe.<sup>8</sup> Ukoliko se radi o obiteljskim pečatnjacima, oni su se nasljeđivali, sve do smrti zadnjeg člana obitelji.<sup>9</sup>

Pečati i pečatnjaci koriste se još od starog vijeka, a nakon antičkog razdoblja,<sup>10</sup> preuzimaju ga



Sl. 1. Pero Kožul na mjestu pronašla pečatnjaka  
(foto: M. Ilkić)

*Fig. 1 Pero Kožul at the site where the seal matrix was found (photo: M. Ilkić)*

glass and metal. They consist of a handle and a plate extension with engraved content for stamping in the form of a figure, sign or letter, usually in wax, and sometimes in metal.<sup>6</sup> Mediaeval seal matrices were mostly made of copper alloy, and rarely of silver or gold, while ivory and jet specimens have also been recorded.<sup>7</sup> Circular or other shapes on the plate extension usually have an engraved representation in negative that makes a relief impression upon stamping. In general, mediaeval seal matrices in Europe are rare archaeological finds because they are believed to have been destroyed as a rule after the owner's death or even buried with them to prevent misuse.<sup>8</sup> Family seal matrices were inherited, until the death of the last member of the family.<sup>9</sup>

Seals and seal matrices have been used since ancient times. After the Antiquity<sup>10</sup>, they were taken up by the Carolingians.<sup>11</sup> In the sixth century,

<sup>6</sup> Zmajić 1996, str. 86, 89; Brajković 1980, str. 8; Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Brajković 1980, str. 8; Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Brajković 1980, str. 10; Andersen 2008, str. 71; Whatley 2019, str. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Klemm 1985, p. 134; Zmajić 1996, p. 91.

<sup>10</sup> There are few works that cover Croatian finds of Roman leaden seals. A number of such lead specimens from Sotin (*Cornacum*) have been published. For more details cf. Ilkić 2006, pp. 57–80.

<sup>11</sup> Antoljak 1971, pp. 115–116; Brajković 1980, p. 10.

i Karolinzi.<sup>11</sup> U 6. stoljeću pečati su uobičajeni na ispravama papa i bizantskih careva, a od 8. stoljeća javljaju se na dokumentima većine vladara zapadne i srednje Europe.<sup>12</sup> Praksa pečaćenja u 11. i 12. stoljeću širi se i na nevladarske elite, pa se njima koriste biskupi, opati, plemstvo i gradovi, a od 13. stoljeća i svo društvo.<sup>13</sup> Pečat je predmet koji igra važnu ulogu u životu srednjovjekovnog pojedinca jer mu koristi da se uključi u razne administrativne poslove i pravno ih potvrdi.<sup>14</sup> U srednjem vijeku teško ih je izraditi i krivotvoriti, a s obzirom na njihov karakter jasno i razumljivo predstavljaju svoga vlasnika svima, pa i nepismenom dijelu stanovništva.<sup>15</sup> Pečati se razlikuju po veličini, materijalu od kojeg su načinjeni i načinu na koji se apliciraju na dokument, pa se tako javljaju veliki, srednji i mali, voštani i kovinski (bule) te utisnuti i viseci. Mogu biti raznih oblika, a također se javljaju jednostrani i dvostrani pečati.<sup>16</sup> Većina njih ima na sebi natpis koji okružuje središnji prikaz, a on počinje s križem i legendom *Sigillum...* nakon čega obično slijedi ime vlasnika na latinskom jeziku, i to u genitivu.<sup>17</sup> Prikazi unutar središnjeg polja također mogu biti različiti, pa su, primjerice, od 14. stoljeća najčešći motiv na pečatima raznovrsni grbovi.<sup>18</sup> U srednjovjekovnom razdoblju najkvalitetnije pečatnjake izrađivali su zlatari, što se osobito odnosi na vladarske pečate. No u povijesnim izvorima se već od kasnog 13. stoljeća u Londonu posebno navode obrtnici koji izrađuju pečatnjake, i to terminom *sigillarius*.<sup>19</sup>

Iz razdoblja hrvatskih narodnih vladara očuvan je pečat s isprave kralja Petra Krešimira IV. iz 1070. godine,<sup>20</sup> a do sada najstariji pečatnjak je onaj Pavla I. Šubića, pronađen arheološkim istraživanjem u Zadru 1961. godine i datiran u početak 14. stoljeća.<sup>21</sup> U prilog općoj raširenosti korištenja pečata na našem području u kasnom srednjem vijeku govori i podatak da bogati zadarski trgovac Luka Leonov u drugoj polovici 14. stoljeća posjeduje pečatnjak kojim pečatira svoju poštu.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Antoljak 1971, str. 115-116; Brajković 1980, str. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Brajković 1980, str. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Bedos-Rezak 2009, str. 1; Whatley 2019, str. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Whatley 2019, str. 1-3.

<sup>15</sup> Antoljak 1971, str. 116.

<sup>16</sup> Antoljak 1971, str. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 79.

<sup>18</sup> Brajković 1980, str. 9-10.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Brajković 1980, str. 10-11.

<sup>21</sup> Belošević 1965.

<sup>22</sup> Klaić, Petricioli 1976, str. 433.

seals were common on the documents of popes and Byzantine emperors. From the eighth century, they started appearing on the papers of most rulers of Western and Central Europe.<sup>12</sup> The practice of sealing in the 11th and 12th centuries also spread among non-ruling elites. Thus, seals were used by bishops, abbots, nobility and towns, and from the 13th century by the society in general.<sup>13</sup> Seals played an important role in the life of the mediaeval people, because they allowed them to be involved in various administrative tasks and legally certify them.<sup>14</sup> In the Middle Ages, they were difficult to make and forge, and, given their character, they clearly and understandably represented their owner, even to the illiterate people.<sup>15</sup> Seals differ in size, the material they are made of and the method of their impression on the document, so they can be large, medium or small, wax or metal (bulls), as well as embossed or hanging. They can be of various shapes, as well as single or double.<sup>16</sup> Most of them have an inscription that surrounds the central motif. It begins with a cross and the word *Sigillum...*, usually followed by the name of the owner in Latin, in the genitive.<sup>17</sup> The motifs on the seals within the central field can also vary. For instance, the most common from the 14th century were various coats of arms.<sup>18</sup> In the mediaeval period, the finest seal matrices were made by goldsmiths, which is especially true of rulers' seals. However, historical sources from as early as the late 13th century London specifically mention craftsmen making seal matrices, denoted by the term *sigillarius*.<sup>19</sup>

From the period of Croatian national rulers, the seal from a document issued by King Peter Krešimir IV in 1070 has been preserved.<sup>20</sup> The oldest seal matrix to date is the one of Paul I Šubić, unearthed during the 1961 archaeological research in Zadar and dated to the early 14th century.<sup>21</sup> The general widespread use of seals in our area in the late Middle Ages is confirmed by the fact that Luka Leonov, a rich merchant from Zadar in the second half of the 14th century, owned a seal matrix for his mail.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Brajković 1980, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Bedos-Rezak 2009, p. 1; Whatley 2019, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Whatley 2019, pp. 1-3.

<sup>15</sup> Antoljak, 1971, p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> Antoljak, 1971, p. 117.

<sup>17</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, p. 79.

<sup>18</sup> Brajković 1980, pp. 9-10.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Brajković 1980, pp. 10-11.

<sup>21</sup> Belošević 1965.

<sup>22</sup> Klaić, Petricioli 1976, p. 433.



Sl. 2 a-c. Pečatnjak iz Ražanca (foto: M. Ilkić)  
Fig. 2 a-c The Ražanac seal matrix (photo: M. Ilkić)

Ražanački dvostrani pečatnjak stožasto se sužava od nasuprotnih graviranih polja prema središtu korpusa gdje je okruglo proširenje s kružnom rurom, tj. ušica namijenjena vješanju i nošenju (Sl. 2b). Takvi primjeri poznati su u srednjovjekovnom razdoblju, ali nisu česti dvostrani bikoničnog oblika. Tada se javljaju dva osnovna tipa pečatnjaka: plosnati s hrptom ili malim ispušćenjem na stražnjoj strani koji služe kao drške te konični koji se sužava od gravirane pločice prema vrhu drške.<sup>23</sup> Oba imaju rupicu za vješanje na lanac ili uzicu. Konični tipovi učestaliji su od 14. stoljeća nadalje.<sup>24</sup> Kod dvostranih primjeraka, koji se u Europi javljaju od 11. stoljeća, najčešće su zastupljeni upravo plosnati tipovi.<sup>25</sup> Treći tip srednjovjekovnih pečatnjaka je pečatni prsten koji je nešto češći od 15. stoljeća.<sup>26</sup>

Na dvostranom pečatnjaku iz Ražanca unutar šire kružne pločice (Sl. 2a), čiji je promjer 22 mm, dominira prikaz grba. Po tome pripada heraldičkom tipu.<sup>27</sup> Oko toga središnjeg motiva su tri florealna ukrasa, a uokolo je rubna legenda uokvirena vanjskom i unutarnjom točkastom kružnicom. Grb ima formu štita starog francuskog oblika. Gornja mu je stranica uvijena, a bočne su zaobljene i spajajući se tvore šiljasti završetak. To je uobičajeni oblik kakav je prisutan u Europi od 12. do početka 15. stoljeća.<sup>28</sup> Sam grb je raskoljen, tj. po sredini okomito podijeljen.

The Ražanac double seal matrix tapers conically from its opposite engraved fields towards the centre of its body, where there is a round extension with a circular hole, i.e. an eyelet, intended for hanging and carrying (Fig. 2b). Such specimens are known from the mediaeval period, though double biconical-shaped ones are not that common. There were two basic types of seal matrices at the time: flat, with a ridge or small bulge on the back that served as handles, and conical, tapering from the engraved plate towards the top of the handle.<sup>23</sup> Both have a hole for hanging on a chain or string. Conical types were more common from the 14th century onwards.<sup>24</sup> In the case of double specimens, which started appearing in Europe in the 11th century, flat types were the most prevalent.<sup>25</sup> The third type of mediaeval seal matrices is the signet ring, somewhat more common from the 15th century.<sup>26</sup>

Inside the wider circular plate (Fig. 2a) on the double seal matrix from Ražanac, 22 mm in diameter, the coat of arms is dominant. Thus, it is of heraldic type.<sup>27</sup> Around this central motif there are three floral ornaments, surrounded by an edge inscription framed by an outer and inner dotted circle. The coat of arms is in the shape of the old French shield. Its upper side is curved, while the lateral sides are rounded and merge into a pointed end. This is a common form, used in Europe from

<sup>23</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 8. Plosnata forma s dugmetastom ručicom prisutna je kod pečatnjaka Pavla I. Šubića iz Zadra. Usp. Belošević 1965, str. 160, T. I.

<sup>24</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Cherry 2020.

<sup>26</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 9-10.

<sup>27</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, str. 51-58; Zmajić 1996, str. 91.

<sup>28</sup> Andelić 1970, str. 111.

<sup>23</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, p. 8. The seal matrix of Paul I Šubić from Zadar is also flat, with a button-shaped handle. Cf. Belošević 1965, p. 160, Pl. I.

<sup>24</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Cherry 2020.

<sup>26</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, pp. 9-10.

<sup>27</sup> Harvey, McGuiness 1996, pp. 51-58; Zmajić 1996, p. 91.

ljen na dva polja.<sup>29</sup> Lijevo je prekriveno kosim mrežastim motivom. Čini se da je desno polje prazno. Naime, na njemu je niz točkica za koje nije jasno jesu li one tu izvorno ili su nastale kao posljedica korozije, odnosno oštećenja. Bilo kako bilo, u središtu grba, i to preko oba njegova polja, prikazana je ruža s pet sročlikih latica. Tinkture na poljima se u heraldici tumače kao krvavocrvena ili purpurnocrvena patina za polje s mrežastim motivom, srebro za prazno polje, a zlato za istočkano.<sup>30</sup> Kod prikaza ruže koja je inače vrlo čest motiv na grbovima,<sup>31</sup> na žalost nije posve jasno o kojim je tinkturama riječ. Dobro je vidljiva okomita crta koja i ružu dijeli na dva polja, što se ponavlja i na donjoj latici kojoj je, čini se, lijeva polovica prazna, a desna ispunjena mrežastim motivom. Stoga je moguće da se ovdje radi o kontraizmjeni tinctura, tj. da je možda lijeva strana ruže prazna ili istočkana, a desna ispunjena mrežastim motivom. To bi značilo da je njen lijevo polje srebrno ili zlatno, a desno krvavocrveno ili purpurnocrveno, odnosno da su tincture na ruži raspoređene suprotno onima na grbu s bočnih strana toga cvjetnog motiva. No zbog loše vidljivosti, tj. tankih naslaga nečistoće, to možemo uzeti samo kao pretpostavku. Florealni ukrasi oko grba su istovjetni. Sastoje se od okomitog izdanka i onih bočnih koji su svinuti. Prikazuju, čini se, stilizirane ljiljane.<sup>32</sup> Uokolo središnjega grba i florealnih ukrasa ugravirano je rubno natpisno polje. Započinje istokračnim križem proširenih krakova, a na tri mjesta naznačena je i interpunkcija. Dakle, legenda glasi: + • SIMONETO • DA VALE •. Natpis je izведен gotičkom majuskulnom kapitalom s uncialnim slovima E, M i N (Sl. 3). Ražanački dvostrani pečatnjak na nasuprotnoj manjoj kružnoj pločici, promjera 14,5 mm, ima ugraviran jednostavniji sadržaj (Sl. 2c). Tvori ga križ proširenih krakova koji je postavljen na dva djelomice preklapljenih luka. Taj motiv koji je uokviren rubnom točkastom kružnicom, vjerojatno simbolizira Golgotu.<sup>33</sup>

Više primjeraka dvostranih pečatnjaka vrlo sličnog oblika i dimenzija, a datiranih u 13. i 14. ston-

the 12th to the beginning of the 15th century.<sup>28</sup> The coat of arms itself is split, i.e. divided vertically in the middle into two fields.<sup>29</sup> The left field is covered with a cross-hatched mesh. The right field appears to be empty. Namely, there are a number of dots on it, but it is not clear whether they were made originally or occurred as a result of corrosion or damage. Either way, in the centre of the coat of arms, across both of its fields, there is a rose depicted with five heart-shaped petals. The tinctures in the fields are interpreted in heraldry as sanguine or purpure for the field with the hatched mesh, argent for the empty field, and Or for the dotted one.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, as to the depiction of a rose, a very common motif on coats of arms,<sup>31</sup> tinctures are not entirely discernible. There is a clearly visible vertical line dividing the rose into two fields, repeated on the lower petal, whose left half is seemingly empty, while the right counterpart is covered with the hatched mesh. Therefore, this may be a counterchange of tinctures, i.e. perhaps the left side of the rose is empty or stippled, while the right is filled with the hatched mesh. This would mean that its left field is argent or Or, while the right is sanguine or purpure, that is, the tinctures on the rose are countercoloured compared to those on the coat of arms from the lateral sides of that floral motif. However, since it is hard to discern all the details, due to thin deposits of dirt, we can only take this as an assumption. The floral decorations around the coat of arms are identical. They consist of a vertical offshoot and lateral bent shoots. It seems that they depict stylized lilies.<sup>32</sup> An edge inscription field is engraved around the central coat of arms and floral decorations. It begins with an equilateral cross with extended arms, with punctuation in three places. Thus, the inscription reads: + • SIMONETO • DA VALE •. The writing is made in Gothic majuscule with uncial characters E, M and N (Fig. 3). The engraved content on the opposite smaller circular plate, 14.5 mm in diameter, of the Ražanac double seal matrix is simpler (Fig. 2c). It is formed by a cross with expanded arms set on two partially overlapping arches. This motif, framed by a dotted circle on the edge, probably symbolizes Golgotha.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Zmajić 1996, str. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Fearn 1995, str. 13–14.

<sup>31</sup> Zmajić 1996, str. 44–45.

<sup>32</sup> Tri florealna ukrasa ali u obliku vitica nalazi se na pečatu vojvode Ivaniša Pavlovića. O tome vidjeti u: Andelić 1970, str. 53, br. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Sličan motiv uklesan je iznad južnog bočnoga portalna crkve sv. Krševana u Zadru, na što nas je uputio Pavuša Vežić kojem srdačno zahvaljujemo.

<sup>28</sup> Andelić 1970, p. 111.

<sup>29</sup> Zmajić 1996, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Fearn 1995, pp. 13–14.

<sup>31</sup> Zmajić 1996, pp. 44–45.

<sup>32</sup> The seal of Duke Ivaniš Pavlović has three floral ornaments in the shape of tendrils. For more details cf. Andelić 1970, p. 53, No. 27.

<sup>33</sup> A similar motif is carved above the southern side por-


**• SIMONETO • DA VALE •**

Sl. 3. Natpis s ražanačkog pečatnjaka  
(izradio: M. Ilkić)

*Fig. 3 Inscription from the Ražanac seal matrix  
(made by: M. Ilkić)*

ljeće, čuvaju se u British Museumu u Londonu.<sup>34</sup> Pečatnjak gotovo identičan našem francuskog je podrijetla, a na sebi nosi ime vlasnika. Bio je to Guiliermus Honestus, associated with the 14th century.<sup>35</sup>

Ražanački primjerak je osobni pečatnjak na kojem se uz grb vlasnika javlja i njegovo ime, a to je Simoneto da Vale. Osobni pečati i pečatnjaci javljaju se od 13. stoljeća i služe za pečaćenje isprava koje su vezane isključivo za osobu koja se njime koristi.<sup>36</sup> Zadarska plemićka obitelj Vale u povijesnim izvorima spominje se od 12. stoljeća. Prvi član obitelji Valentin navodi se 1178. godine, a nakon njega u prvoj polovici 13. stoljeća spominju se sudac Lampredije, Pelegrin i Ivan.<sup>37</sup> Godine 1247. u popisu Zadrana, koje su protjerali Mlečani, a koji se ponovno vraćaju u svoj grad, navodi se Drese de Vale.<sup>38</sup> U dokumentu iz zadarskog samostana Sv. Krševana 1250. godine spomenut je Derse (Drže) de Vale, sin Ivana, koji zajedno sa svojim nasljednicima donira zemlju u blizini crkve Sv. Marije Velike.<sup>39</sup> Posljednji član ove patricijske obitelji je Držin sin Ivan, koji se u izvorima javlja od 1283. do 1306. godine. Sredinom 14. stoljeća spominju se sinovi pokojnog Simeona (Šimuna) de Valle iz Venecije, i to kao trgovci i stanovnici Zadra.<sup>40</sup> Oni nisu u izravnoj rodbinskoj vezi sa ranije spomenutom zadarskom patricijskom obitelji.<sup>41</sup> Šimun se spominje 1339. godine kao stanovnik Trogira,<sup>42</sup> a u Zadru su nastanjeni njegovi sinovi Petar, Filip, Zanin i Nikoleto, od kojih je prema očuvanim srednjovjekov-

A number of double seal matrices very similar in shape and dimensions, dated to the 13th and 14th centuries, are kept in the British Museum in London.<sup>34</sup> One seal matrix that is almost identical to ours is of French origin, and bears the name of the owner. It was Guliermus Honestus, associated with the 14th century.<sup>35</sup>

The Ražanac specimen is a personal seal matrix with the owner's coat of arms and his name, viz. *Simoneto da Vale*. Personal seals and seal matrices have been used since the 13th century to seal documents related exclusively to the persons utilizing them.<sup>36</sup> Since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the noble family Vale from Zadar has been mentioned in historical sources. The first member of the family, Valentin, is mentioned in 1178, and after him judge Lampredio, Pelegrin and Ivan in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup> In the 1247 census of the inhabitants of Zadar returning to their town after having been expelled by the Venetians, the name Drese de Vale is registered.<sup>38</sup> A 1250 document from the Zadar monastery of St. Chrysogonus mentions the name of Derse (Drže) de Vale, son of Ivan, who together with his heirs donated some land near the church of St. Mary the Great.<sup>39</sup> The last member of this patrician family is Ivan, the son of Drže, who appears in the sources from 1283 to 1306. In the mid-14th century, the sons of the late Simeon (Šimun) de Valle from Venice were mentioned as merchants and inhabitants of Zadar.<sup>40</sup> They are not directly related to the previously stated patrician family from Zadar.<sup>41</sup> Šimun is mentioned in 1339 as a resident of Trogir,<sup>42</sup> while his sons Petar, Filip, Zanin and Nikoleto live in Zadar, of whom, according to preserved mediaeval documents, Petar was the most spirited among them. In 1353, he bought the salt-

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tal of the church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar. We are sincerely grateful to Pavuša Vežić, who drew our attention to it.

<sup>34</sup> The British Museum 2020, No. 1872,0603.327; 1872,0603.268; 1876,1017.63; 1873,0214.12.

<sup>35</sup> The British Museum 2020, No. 1872,0603.327.

<sup>36</sup> Antoljak 1971, str. 118.

<sup>37</sup> Dokoza, Andreis 2020, str. 542-543.

<sup>38</sup> Ljubić 1868, str. 74; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, str. 225; Dokoza, Andreis 2020, str. 542-543.

<sup>39</sup> HR-DAZD-336, Benedictinski samostan sv. Krševana, Pergamene, br. 73, 9. 9. 1250. g.

<sup>40</sup> Fabijanec 1996, str. 37-40; Fabijanec 2001, str. 120, br. 168, str. 122, br. 188 i 193, str. 124, br. 221.

<sup>41</sup> Dokoza, Andreis 2020, str. 542, bilj. 857.

<sup>42</sup> Andreis 2006, Dokoza, Andreis 2020, str. 542, bilj. 857.

nim dokumentima najaktivniji prvi navedeni. Petar 1353. godine, zajedno s još jednim trgovcem, kupuje solane u Privlaci, a u raznim trgovačkim poslovima javlja se do 1367. godine.<sup>43</sup> Isti se spominje i 1359. godine u sporu sa samostanom Sv. Krševana u Zadru oko selišta u Neviđanima na otoku Pašmanu.<sup>44</sup> Navedena braća de Valle bave se posudivanjem novca, ulaganjem u trgovačka društva, prodajom na kredit te trgovinom solju, a u poslovima surađuju i s domaćim plemstvom i hrvatskim knezovima. Djelatnost im se odvija na prostoru od Venecije do Kotora, sa sjedištem u Zadru.<sup>45</sup> Također, postoji mogućnost da su spomenuti članovi ove obitelji u svom rodnom gradu mogli biti predstavnici plemstva, dok u Zadru nemaju takav status.<sup>46</sup>

Zadarski povjesni izvori iz 12., 13. i 14. stoljeća navode spomenute obitelji kao de Vale, de Ualle i de Valle, dok se na pečatnjaku javlja ponešto drugačija varijanta prezimena (da Vale). Također među članovima ovih obitelji ne nalazimo spomen Simoneta već samo Simeona, oca zadarskih trgovaca koji je podrijetlom iz Venecije, a već 1353. godine navodi se kao pokojni.

Istoj obitelji venecijanskog podrijetla pripadaju pojedinici koji se javljaju u povjesnim izvorima 14. i 15. stoljeća u Trogiru i spominju se kao pučani.<sup>47</sup> U 14. stoljeću navode se članovi obitelji de Valle iz Venecije, nastanjeni u Trogiru, a to su već spomenuti Šimun i sin njegovog nećaka Donata, Fantin. Oni na glavnem gradskom trgu imaju kuću i dućan, a posjeduju i nekoliko kuća koje su iznajmljivali.<sup>48</sup> Potomak te obitelji je svećenik Fantin della Valle koji je u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća jedan od sudaca vrhovnog crkvenog suda (*auditor Sacrae Rotae*) na papinskom dvoru. Fantin je posjedovao bogatu knjižnicu koju je oporučno ostavio dominikanskom samostanu sv. Križa na otoku Čiovu.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Fabijanec 1996, str. 37-39.

<sup>44</sup> HR-DAZD-336, Benediktinski samostan sv. Krševana, Pergamene, br. 203, 15. 10. 1359. g.

<sup>45</sup> Fabijanec 1996, str. 40.

<sup>46</sup> Fabijanec 2004, str. 64-65, 68.

<sup>47</sup> Lučić 1979a, str. 516; Lučić 1979b, str. 1110; Krasić 1973; Andreis, Benyovsky Latin, Plosnić Škarić 2007, str. 129-130; Benyovsky Latin 2009, str. 59, 165.

<sup>48</sup> Andreis 2006, str. 340; Andreis, Benyovsky Latin, Plosnić Škarić 2007, str. 129-130. Šimun se navodi u dokumentima 1335., 1339. i 1347. godine (usp. Dodatak: br. 149, 183, 248 i 504), Donat 1380. godine (usp. Dodatak: br. 433), a Fantin 1387. i 1392. godine (usp. Dodatak: br. 468 i 490); Benyovsky Latin 2009, str. 165, bilj. 1139.

<sup>49</sup> Krasić 1973, str. 367-368; Andreis 2006, str. 340; Benyovsky Latin 2009, str. 165, bilj. 1139.

works in Prvlaka together with another merchant, and he also took part in various other commercial transactions until 1367.<sup>43</sup> Petar was also mentioned in 1359 concerning a dispute with the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar over property in Neviđani on the island of Pašman.<sup>44</sup> The mentioned de Valle brothers were engaged in cash loans, investing in companies, credit sales and trading in salt, and also cooperated in business ventures with local nobility and Croatian dukes. Their activities covered the area from Venice to Kotor, with the head office in Zadar.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, there is a possibility that the mentioned members of this family could have belonged to the nobility in their home-town, while in Zadar they did not enjoy the same status.<sup>46</sup>

Historical sources from Zadar dating to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries refer to the stated families as de Vale, de Ualle and de Valle, while a slightly different variant of the surname (da Vale) appears on the seal. There is also no mentioning of a Simoneto among the members of these families, but only a Simeonis, who is the father of Zadar merchants and originally from Venice. He is referred to as deceased as early as 1353.

The same family of venetian origin probably included individuals mentioned as commoners in historical sources from Trogir, dating to the 14th and 15th centuries.<sup>47</sup> In the 14th century, members of the de Valle family from Venice were mentioned as residents of Trogir, i.e. earlier mentioned Šimun, and Fantin, the son of his nephew Donat. They had a house and a shop in the main town square, and also owned several other buildings that they rented.<sup>48</sup> A descendant of this family was the priest Fantin della Valle, one of the judges of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Tribunal (*auditor Sacrae Rotae*) at the Papal Court in the second half of the 15th century.

<sup>43</sup> Fabijanec 1996, pp. 37-39.

<sup>44</sup> HR-DAZD-336, Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus, Parchments, No. 203, 15 Oct 1359

<sup>45</sup> Fabijanec 1996, p. 40.

<sup>46</sup> Fabijanec 2004, pp. 64-65, 68.

<sup>47</sup> Lučić 1979a, p. 516; Lučić 1979b, p. 1110; Krasić 1973; Andreis, Benyovsky Latin, Plosnić Škarić 2007, pp. 129-130; Benyovsky Latin 2009, pp. 59, 165.

<sup>48</sup> Andreis 2006, p. 340; Andreis, Benyovsky Latin, Plosnić Škarić 2007, pp. 129-130. Šimun is mentioned in documents from 1335, 1339 and 1347 (cf. Appendix: Nos. 149, 183, 248 and 504), Donat from 1380 (cf. Appendix: No. 433), and Fantin from 1387 and 1392 (cf. Appendix: Nos. 468 and 490); Benyovsky Latin 2009, p. 165, fn. 1139.

Osim s rodnim Trogirom, dobre odnose održavao je i sa Zadrom, pa je poznato da je već prije 1463. godine imenovan zadarskim kanonikom i prebendarom crkve sv. Stošije.<sup>50</sup> Ivan Lučić navodi i da su Fantinovi preci posjedovali kuću na trgu iznad čijeg prozora se vidi mramorni grb podijeljen na dva polja, i to gornje i donje s ružom po sredini.<sup>51</sup> Taj vrlo interesantan podatak opisuje grb skoro identičan onom iz Ražanca, s tom razlikom da je podjela grba vodoravna, a ne okomita kao na ražanačkom. U knjizi Heyera von Rosenfelda iz 1873. godine, u kojoj obrađuje plemstvo Kraljevine Dalmacije, navodi se patricijska obitelj Valle ili de Valle iz Trogira koja ima grb u obliku štita podijeljen na dva okomita polja i po sredini se nalazi ruža (Sl. 4).<sup>52</sup> To je vrlo slično opisu grba na kući Fantina della Valle koji donosi Lučić, s tom razlikom da je kod njega, kako je već istaknuto, on podijeljen na dva vodoravna, a ne okomita polja. Prema crtežu koji je objavio Heyer von Rosenfeld, iznad grba je ukras koji tvori heraldički udesno okrenuta kaciga s krunom, velom, ružom i orlovskim krilima. Kako je vidljivo iz prikaza, heraldički lijevo polje štita je ispunjeno okomitim linijama, a desno točkicama.<sup>53</sup> I ruža, koja je ovdje prikazana sa šest latica, je također okomito podjeljena na dva polja s kontraizmjenama tinctura, od kojih je lijevo istočano, a desno iscrtkano. Dakle, lijevo polje štita s okomitim linijama je crveno, a desno s točkicama je zlatno, dok su kod ruže boja i kovina raspoređene suprotno te joj je lijevo polje zlatno, a desno crveno.<sup>54</sup> Sličan opis grba obitelji (de) Valle u Dalmaciji donosi i Rietstap u svojoj knjizi iz 1887. godine.<sup>55</sup>

Navedeni heraldički prikaz jako podsjeća na grb s pečatnjaka iz Ražanca, uz vrlo male razlike. Trogirski primjerak je crveno-zlatni, a kod ražanačkog pečatnjaka zbog stupnja očuvanosti nije posve jasno radi li se o prikazu crveno-srebrnog ili crveno-zlatnog grba. Razlike postoje u oblikovanju ruže koja kod trogirskog prikaza ima šest, a ražanačkog pet latica te gornjeg ruba štita kojem je na pečatnjaku gornja stranica uvijena za razliku od trogirskog prikaza. Ovdje se vjerojatno radi o umjetničkoj slobodi autora koji izrađuju pojedini prikaz, što

Fantin possessed a rich library which he bequeathed to the Dominican monastery of the Holy Cross on the island of Čiovo.<sup>49</sup> In addition to his native Trogir, he also maintained good relations with Zadar. It is known that even before 1463 he was appointed canon of Zadar and prebendary of the church of St. Anastasia.<sup>50</sup> Ivan Lučić noted that Fantin's ancestors had owned a house in the square with a visible marble coat of arms above its window, divided into two fields, the upper and the lower, with a rose in the middle.<sup>51</sup> This very interesting piece of information describes a coat of arms almost identical to the one from Ražanac, with the difference that this coat of arms was divided horizontally, rather than vertically as the Ražanac one. Heyer von Rosenfeld's book from 1873 on nobility in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, mentions the patrician family Valle or de Valle from Trogir, whose shield-shaped coat of arms was divided into two vertical fields, with a rose in the middle (Fig. 4).<sup>52</sup> This is very similar to the description of the coat of arms on the house of Fantino della Valle as given by Lučić, with the difference that, as already pointed out, this coat of arms is divided into two horizontal, rather than vertical fields. According to the drawing published by Heyer von Rosenfeld, above the coat of arms there is an ornament forming a heraldic right-facing helmet with a crown, veil, rose and eagle wings. It can be seen that the heraldic left field of the shield is filled with vertical lines, and the right one with dots.<sup>53</sup> The rose, shown here with six petals, is also divided vertically into two fields with counter-changes of tinctures, of which the left one is dotted, and the right hatched. Therefore, the left field of the shield with vertical lines is gules, and the right one with dots is Or, while the colours and metals of the rose are reversed, i.e. its left field is Or and the right one is gules.<sup>54</sup> A similar description of the coat of arms of the (de) Valle family in Dalmatia was given by Rietstap in his book from 1887.<sup>55</sup>

The mentioned heraldic representation is quite reminiscent of the coat of arms from the Ražanac

<sup>50</sup> Krasić 1973, str. 375.

<sup>51</sup> Lučić 1979b, str. 1110.

<sup>52</sup> Heyer von Rosenfeld 1873, str. 86, str. 134, T. 52.

<sup>53</sup> U heraldici kut gledanja je onaj nositelja štita, a ne gledatelja.

<sup>54</sup> Fearn 1995, str. 13-14.

<sup>55</sup> Rietstap 1887, str. 991.

<sup>49</sup> Krasić 1973, pp. 367-368; Andreis 2006, p. 340; Benyovsky Latin 2009, p. 165, fn. 1139.

<sup>50</sup> Krasić 1973, p. 375.

<sup>51</sup> Lučić 1979b, p. 1110.

<sup>52</sup> Heyer von Rosenfeld 1873, p. 86, p. 134, Pl. 52.

<sup>53</sup> In heraldry, the point of view of the bearer of the shield is important, rather than that of the observer.

<sup>54</sup> Fearn 1995, pp. 13-14.

<sup>55</sup> Rietstap 1887, p. 991.



Sl. 4. Grb obitelji Valle iz Trogira (Heyer von Rosenfeld 1873, T. 52)

*Fig. 4 Coat of arms of the Valle family from Trogir (Heyer von Rosenfeld 1873, Pl. 52)*

je i inače zabilježeno u heraldici. Naravno, u obzir treba uzeti i različito vrijeme iz kojeg potječe ova dva primjera. Pečatnjak iz Ražanca prema svim karakteristikama prikaza nije kasniji od 15. stoljeća, dok ilustracija grba iz Trogira potječe s konca 19. stoljeća. Međutim, čini se da se u oba slučaja ipak radi o prikazu istog grba obitelji Valle koja potječe iz Venecije i u Dalmaciji je sigurno prisutna već u 14. stoljeću. Za patricijsku obitelj Vale koja se navodi u Zadru već od 12. stoljeća, na žalost, nemamo drugih podataka osim onih već navedenih.

S obzirom na samo mjesto pronalaska uz crkvu sv. Andrije, mogli bismo pretpostaviti da postoji veća mogućnost povezivanja ražanačkog pečatnjaka s pripadnicima trgovačke obitelji de Valle iz obližnjega Zadra, nego s onima iz nešto udaljenijega Trogira. No, još uvijek ostaje nerazjašnjeno tko je bio izvorni vlasnik pečatne matrice, Simoneto da Vale i u kakvom je odnosu s ostalim članovima obitelji u Zadru i Trogiru, primjerice, s već spomenutim Simeoneom. Je li je riječ o nekom krvnom srodniku ili čak istoj osobi za sada ne možemo utvrditi, kao ni to je li on posljednji korisnik pečatnjaka ili je to prema ustaljenim običajima tog vremena možda bio netko od njegovih nasljednika.

Prema svemu sudeći, dvostrani pečatnjak čiji je vlasnik bio Simoneto da Vale okvirno se može datirati u kasnosrednjovjekovno razdoblje (14.-15. stoljeće). S obzirom na to da je riječ o osobnom pečatnjaku postoji mogućnost da je izvorno bio pokopan zajedno s vlasnikom uz crkvu sv. Andrije. Kako

seal matrix, with very small differences. The Trogir specimen is gules-Or, whereas it is not entirely clear whether the coat of arms on the Ražanac one is gules-argent or gules-Or, due to the degree of its preservation. There are differences in the design of the rose, which has six petals in the Trogir depiction, and five in the Ražanac one, as well as in the top edge of the shield, curved on the seal matrix, in contrast to the Trogir depiction. This is probably due to the authors' artistic licence, as commonly recorded in heraldry. Naturally, the different periods from which these two examples originate should also be taken into account. Judging by all the features of the depiction, the Ražanac seal matrix can be dated to a period not later than the 15th century, while the illustration of the coat of arms from Trogir originates from the end of the 19th century. However, it seems that in both cases it is a depiction of the same coat of arms of the Valle family, which originates from Venice and is certainly present in Dalmatia as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century. There is, unfortunately, no other information for the patrician family Vale that has been mentioned in Zadar since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, than the one already stated.

Considering the place of discovery next to the church of St. Andrew, we could assume that there is a greater possibility of linking the signet ring from Ražanac to the members of the de Valle merchant family from nearby Zadar than to those from the somewhat more distant Trogir. However, it still remains unclear who was the original owner of the stamp mould, Simoneto da Vale, and what his relationship is with other family members in Zadar and Trogir, for example, with the already mentioned Simeonis. For the time being, we cannot determine whether he was a close relative or even the same person, nor whether he was the last user of the seal matrix or, according to the established customs at the time, one of his heirs.

Apparently, the double-seal matrix owned by Simoneto da Vale can be roughly dated to the late mediaeval period (the 14th–15th century). Since this is a personal seal matrix, there is a possibility that it was originally buried with the owner next to the church of St. Andrew. In any case, this very interesting and above all rare find gives rise to further research of historical archive material, but also encourages archaeological research at this hitherto unexplored northern Dalmatian site, about two kilometres south of Ražanac.

(D. G)

god bilo, taj vrlo zanimljiv i nadasve rijedak nalaz upućuje na daljna istraživanja povijesne arhivske građe, ali i potiče arheološka istraživanja na tome do sada neistraživanom sjevernodalmatinskom lokalitetu oko 2 km južno od Ražanca.

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