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O odnosu dalmatinskih gradova i njihova zaleđa na primjeru nakita otkrivenog u srednjovjekovnim grobovima

U radu se razmatraju nalazi nakita koji se datiraju u raspon od razdoblja formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine na prijelazu iz 8. u 9. stoljeće do osmanskih osvajanja u 16. stoljeću. Ukazuje se i na povijesne i likovne izvore koji govore o radionicama i zlatarima, od kojih najstariji potječu iz 11. stoljeća. Arheološki nalazi upotpunjeni navedenim izvorima jasno svjedoče kako obalni dalmatinski gradovi svoje neposredno ali i šire balkansko zaleđe u čitavom navedenom vremenskom rasponu opskrbljuju luksuznim zlatarskim izradevinama.

Ključne riječi: obalni gradovi, bizantska Dalmacija, srednjovjekovne komune, srednjovjekovna groblja, zlatarstvo, nakit.

On the relationship between Dalmatian cities and their hinterland, using the example of jewellery discovered in medieval graves

The paper focusses on the analysis and examination of finds of jewellery from the period of the formation of the Croatian Principality at the turn of the 8th to the 9th century until the Ottoman conquests in the 16th century. It also refers to historical and artistic sources, which provide information on workshops and goldsmiths, the oldest of which date back to the 11th century. The archaeological finds, complemented by the aforementioned sources, clearly provide evidence on how coastal Dalmatian cities supplied their immediate and broader hinterland in the Balkans with luxurious goldsmith works throughout the aforementioned period of time.

Keywords: coastal cities, Byzantine Dalmatia, medieval communes, medieval cemeteries, goldsmithing, jewellery.



Sl. 1. Hrvatska i susjedne sklavinije u doba sporazuma u Aachenu 812. godine

Fig. 1 Croatia and neighbouring Slavonia during the Treaty of Aachen in 812

Početak 7. stoljeća, u prvim nemirnim godinama vladavine cara Heraklija, tijekom velike perzijske ofenzive na Siriju, Palestinu i Egipat dolazi do slabljenja bizantske vlasti u zapadnim dijelovima Carstva, pa tako i u južnoj i jugoistočnoj Europi. Generalno povlačenje bizantske vojske s Balkana u drugom desetljeću 7. stoljeća omogućilo je nesmetan dolazak novim etničkim skupinama, što je rezultiralo naglim prekidom višestoljetne kršćanske tradicije na najvećem dijelu navedenog prostora.¹ Tu se polako naseljavaju razna slavenska plemena, koja u susretu s moćnim ostacima antičke civilizacije stvaraju svoje prve političke tvorevine. Izaslanik pape Ivana IV., opat Martin, otkupljuje zarobljenike i relikvije dalmatinskih i istarskih svetaca od „pogana“, što jasno svjedoči o dolasku novih populacija na zapadni dio Balkana.²

Na samom početku 9. stoljeća ovdje se isprepliću interesi dvaju velikih onodobnih carstava, franačke države na zapadu i Bizantskog Carstva na istoku, a može se reći da kršćanstvo na ovo područje dopire iz triju smjerova, iz Bizanta, Rima i Franačkog Carstva (Akvilejske patrijaršije).

Biskup bizantskog grada Zadra, imenom Donat, zajedno s nekim pregovaračima iz Venecije putuje na dvor Karla Velikog u Didenhofenu, a potom i na bizantski dvor u Konstantinopolu, gdje u ime

At the beginning of the 7th century, during the first turbulent years of the reign of Emperor Heraclius and the great Persian offensive on Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the Byzantine Empire and its power began to weaken in both its western regions and parts of southern and south-eastern Europe. The widespread withdrawal of the Byzantine army from the Balkans in the second decade of the 7th century facilitated the unhindered arrival of new ethnic groups, which in turn ultimately resulted in the sudden break of the centuries-old Christian tradition in most of the afore-stated territory.¹ The region saw an influx of various Slavic tribes who started forming their own political entities in interaction with the powerful remnants of the ancient civilization. Pope John IV appointed Abbot Martin as his envoy to recover prisoners and relics of Dalmatian and Istrian saints from the “pagans”, which clearly confirms and bears testimony of the arrival of a new population in the Western Balkans.²

At the very beginning of the 9th century, the interests of the two great empires of that time, i.e. the Frankish state in the west and the Byzantine Empire in the east, intertwined here. And Christianity came to this area from three directions: Byzantium, Rome and the Frankish Empire (the Patriarchate of Aquileia).

Donatus, the bishop of the Byzantine city of Zadar, accompanied by several negotiators from Venice, travelled first to Charlemagne’s court in Didenhofen and then to the Byzantine court in Constantinople, where the delegation negotiated a demarcation agreement on behalf of Charlemagne.³ It is believed that thanks to these meetings, an agreement was reached between Charlemagne and Michael I in 812, according to which the border between the Byzantine and Frankish empires was established along the Cetina River in Croatia. However, some areas beyond this line still remained under Byzantine control. These included the ancient cities located along the eastern Adriatic coast; Krk, Osor and Rab on the islands in the northern Adriatic Sea, and Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor in the coastal areas on the mainland. These cities, in which the Roman population had continued to live, were organized into the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia in 870 AD.⁴

¹ Jakšić 1984; Marović 2006; Katić 2018.

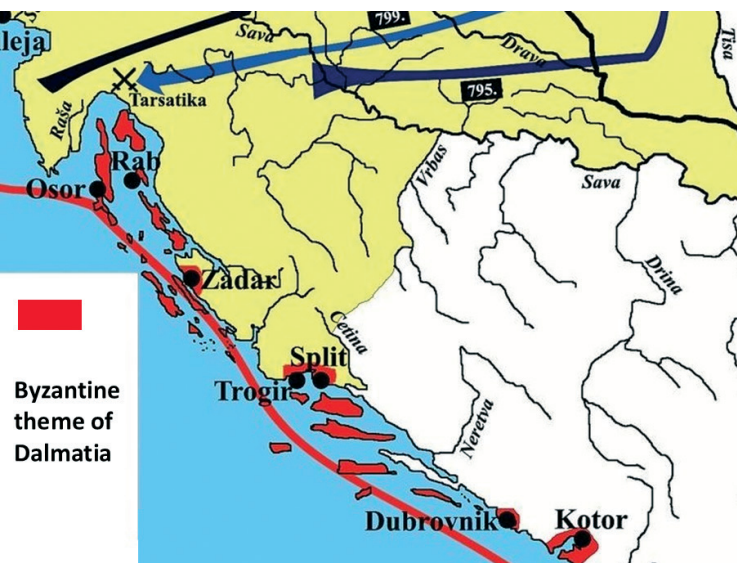
² Škunca 2006; Marin 2007.

³ For more details on the political situation in that period, see: Imperial Spheres 2018.

⁴ Goldstein 1992, pp. 169-183.

¹ Jakšić 1984; Marović 2006; Katić 2018.

² Škunca 2006; Marin 2007.



Sl. 2. Bizantski posjed na istočnoj jadranskoj obali (arhontija, kasnije tema Dalmacija)
Croatia and neighbouring Sclaviniae during the Treaty of Aachen in 812

Karla Velikog dogovara razgraničenje.³ Vjeruje se kako je upravo zahvaljujući tim susretima postignut sporazum između Karla Velikog i Mihajla I. iz 812. godine, prema kojem je granica između Bizantskog i Franačkog Carstva uspostavljena na rijeci Cetini (Hrvatska). Pod bizantskom vlašću ostaju i neka područja izvan te linije razgraničenja. Riječ je o starim antičkim gradovima na istočnoj obali Jadranskog mora. Krk, Osor i Rab smješteni su na otocima sjevernog Jadrana, a Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik i Kotor u obalnom pojasu. Ovi gradovi, u kojima je nastavilo živjeti romansko stanovništvo, 870. godine organizirani su u bizantsku temu Dalmaciju.⁴

U njihovu zaleđu razvija se Hrvatska kao vazalna franačka kneževina s istočnom granicom na rijeci Cetini, a dalje prema jugu, u bizantskoj zoni, nižu se Neretvanska kneževina (Paganija), Humska kneževina (Zahumlje), Travunija i Duklja. Spomenuti obalni gradovi ostaju pod političkom vlašću Bizanta sve do sredine 11. stoljeća. Baštineći bogatu antičku tradiciju, oni postaju žarištima bizantske kulture. Ta nova ranosrednjovjekovna Dalmacija u početku je u potpunosti orijentirana na more i pomorske utvrde, kao važna uporišta za plovidbu duž jadranske obale,⁵ no ubrzo dolazi do kontakta s novonaseljenim stanovništvom iz zaleđa, pa pret-

In their hinterlands, Croatia gradually emerged as a vassal Frankish principality with its eastern border at the river Cetina. Further south, in the Byzantine zone, were the Neretva principality (Paganija), the Hum principality (Zahumlja), Travunia and Dioclea. Said coastal cities remained under Byzantine political control until the mid-11th century, thereby preserving their rich ancient traditions and thus becoming centres of Byzantine culture. This new, early mediaeval Dalmatia initially focused primarily on maritime activities and naval fortifications, which were important strongholds for navigation along the Adriatic coast.⁵ However, a short time later, these coastal cities established contact with the newly settled populations in the hinterland, likely leading to the early establishment of goldsmith workshops in these urban centres which started to craft jewellery for the ruling class of the Sclaviniae that were emerging in their hinterland.

The goldsmith production in these earliest times is evidenced solely by archaeological finds, primarily found in the earliest layer of early medieval graves in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast. Regardless of the fact whether these pieces of jewellery from the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century were made for the late ancient population of Dalmatia or rather for the newly settled Slavs or even possibly for members of other immigrant groups (Germanic, Avar), it can be stated that they were authentic Byzantine products, i.e. that jewellery, which was undeniably Byzantine in cultural terms, remained in use.⁶ The most luxurious pieces of jewellery belonged to women of the highest social class, and the graves in which they were found correspond to the same burial horizon as the male graves that contained Western-type weapons and equestrian equipment.⁷

Apart from luxurious jewellery items, a series of simpler earrings, which had the hook bent into a loop or with chains hanging through them, also started to appear.⁸

By the mid-9th century, there were also several other new types of earrings. Particularly characteristic were earrings decorated with heart-shaped tendrils, which evolved from the earlier tradition of

³ Opširnije o političkoj situaciji u tom razdoblju vidi u: Imperial Spheres 2018.

⁴ Goldstein 1992, str. 169–183.

⁵ Opširnije: Suić 1976, str. 253–262.

⁵ For more details, see: Suić 1976, pp. 253–262.

⁶ Petrinc 2010; Petrinc 2019a; Petrinc 2019b.

⁷ Petrinc 2019a.

⁸ Petrinc 2009, pp. 232–234; Petrinc 2019b, pp. 62–64.



Sl. 3. Zlatni nakit iz razdoblja druge polovine 8. i početka 9. stoljeća (Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 3 Gold jewellery from the second half of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century (Z. Alajbeg)

postavljamo da već u to najranije vrijeme gradske zlatarske radionice započinju proizvoditi nakit za vladajući sloj sklavinija, koje su nastajale u njihovu zaleđu.

Zlatarska produkcija u tom najranijem vremenu posvjedočena je isključivo arheološkim nalazima, koji potječu iz najstarijeg sloja ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova u zaleđu dalmatinske obale. Neovisno o tome jesu li nositelji pojedinih primjeraka iz druge polovine 8. i prve polovine 9. stoljeća bili kasnoantički žitelji Dalmacije, novonaseljeni Slaveni ili eventualno pripadnici drugih imigrantskih (germanskih, avarskih) skupina, može se konstatirati da je riječ o autentičnim bizantskim proizvodima, odnosno da je i dalje u uporabi nakit koji je u kulturnom smislu nedvojbeno bizantski.⁶ Najluksuzniji primjerci nakita pripadali su ženama najvišeg društvenog sloja, a grobovi iz kojih potječu u istom su ukopnom horizontu kao i muški grobovi s oružjem i konjaničkom opremom zapadnog tipa.⁷

Uz luksuzni nakit pojavljuje se i niz jednostavnih naušnica s karikom povijenom u petlje ili s provješanim lančićima.⁸

star-shaped earrings and which represented a specific regional style found exclusively in the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast and in Istria.⁹ During the latter half of the 9th century, grape-shaped earrings, including also simpler cast versions, became quite common as well.¹⁰

Along with these earrings, there have also been finds of rings that were primarily made of hammered silver or bronze sheet with a rhombic or oval widening in the front part and with decorations in the form of Christian symbols. Exceptionally luxurious pieces were rather rare.¹¹

There were also relatively numerous necklaces made of glass beads. Graves of wealthier women often contained necklaces made of metal beads or combinations of glass and metal beads.¹²

Significant changes in the design of earrings occurred at the turn from the 9th to the 10th century. These changes did not occur only in the territories of Croatia, but across all regions under direct Byzantine influence. Earrings with beads became the most popular piece of jewellery during the 10th and 11th centuries, especially in the Balkans, where

⁶ Petrinec 2010; Petrinec 2019a; Petrinec 2019b.

⁷ Petrinec 2019a.

⁸ Petrinec 2009, str. 232–234; Petrinec 2019b, str. 62–64.

⁹ Petrinec 2019b, ppr. 235–237.

¹⁰ Petrinec 2009, pp. 230–232.

¹¹ Petrinec 2009, pp. 147–151.

¹² Petrinec 2009, pp. 152–160.



Sl. 4. – 4a. Ogrlice iz Golubića i Trilja (Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 4 – 4a Necklaces from Golubić and Trilj (Z. Alajbeg)

Sredinom 9. stoljeća među naušnicama se pojavljuju pojedini novi tipovi. Osobito su karakteristične naušnice s ukrasom u obliku srcolikih vitica, nastale na tradiciji ranijih zvjezdolikih naušnica. Riječ je o specifičnom lokalnom obliku pronađenom isključivo u zaleđu dalmatinske obale i u Istri.⁹ Tijekom druge polovine 9. stoljeća učestalo se nose još i grozdolike naušnice, koje se tada izrađuju i u jednostavnijim lijevanim varijantama.¹⁰

Uz naušnice se pronalazi i prstenje, a pretežito je riječ o prstenju od raskovanog srebrnog ili brončanog lima s prednjim rombičnim ili ovalnim proširenjem, koje je ukrašeno kršćanskim simbolima. Izrazito luksuzni primjerci ovakvog prstenja su rijetki.¹¹

Relativno su brojne i ogrlice od staklenih perlica, a u bogatijim ženskim grobovima zastupljene su ogrlice od metalnih jagodica ili ogrlice u kojima su kombinirane staklene perlice i metalne jagode.¹²

Velike promjene u oblikovanju naušnica nastupaju prijelazom 9./10. stoljeće. To se ne odnosi samo na Hrvatsku, već na sve zemlje pod izravnim bizantskim utjecajem. Naušnice s jagodama postaju najpopularniji nakit 10. i 11. stoljeća u zemljama bizantskog kulturnog kruga, a osobito na Balkanu, gdje je zastupljen niz inačica, u rasponu od naušnica s jednom jagodom kao samostalnim ukrasom

these earrings came in various styles, from earrings with one single bead as a standalone decoration to earrings with three, four or more beads placed on the sides and lower part of the hoop.¹³

On the eastern Adriatic coast, these earrings first appeared in the late 9th century during the reign of Duke Branimir (879-892 AD), a contemporary of Byzantine Emperor Basil I (867-886 AD), whose rule marked the beginning of a prosperous period for the emperors of the Macedonian dynasty.

With the establishment of the Split metropolis in the early 10th century, the dioceses of Split and Zadar expanded into Croatian territory. This in turn paved the way to stronger influences from Byzantine cities into the Croatian hinterland, particularly evident through the appearance of jewellery, and especially in the widespread use of earrings with beads.¹⁴ These were massive pieces of jewellery, primarily worn not on the ears but threaded through a textile or leather strap wrapped around the head or woven into the hair.

Other types of earrings were extremely rare, with only a few examples of lunular-shaped earrings found in some sites on the southernmost part of the eastern Adriatic coast.¹⁵ Their appearance coincides with the peak of Byzantine influence at the turn from the 10th to the 11th century, when Stephen

⁹ Petrinec 2019b, str. 235–237.

¹⁰ Petrinec 2009, str. 230–232.

¹¹ Petrinec 2009, str. 147–151.

¹² Petrinec 2009, str. 152–160.

¹³ Petrinec 2014, pp. 89-92.

¹⁴ Petrinec 2019b, pp. 64-66.

¹⁵ Petrinec 2014, pp. 76-81.

karike do naušnica s trima, četirima ili više jagoda smještenih na bočnim stranama i u donjoj polovini karike.¹³ Na istočnoj obali Jadrana ove se naušnice pojavljuju krajem 9. stoljeća, u doba kneza Branimira (879. – 892.), suvremenika bizantskog cara Bazilija I. (867. – 866.), za čije vladavine započinje prosperitetno razdoblje careva iz makedonske dinastije.

Osnutkom Splitske metropolije, početkom 10. stoljeća, Splitska i Zadarska dijeceza proširuju se na hrvatsko područje, čime je otvoren put snažnijim utjecajima iz bizantskih gradova u hrvatsko zaleđe, što se odrazilo upravo kroz pojavu nakita, a posebno u masovnoj pojavi naušnica s jagodama.¹⁴ Riječ je o masivnom nakitu koji se pretežito ne nosi na uhu, već je provučen kroz tekstilnu ili kožnu traku koja se nosi omotana oko glave ili upletena u kosu.

Drugi tipovi naušnica izuzetno su rijetki, pa se mogu navesti tek pojedini primjerci lunulastih naušnica, zastupljeni na nekoliko lokaliteta na krajnjem južnom dijelu istočnojadranske obale.¹⁵ Njihova pojava pada u vrijeme vrhunca bizantskog utjecaja na prijelazu iz 10. u 11. stoljeće, kada Stjepan Držislav iz Bizanta dobiva znakove kraljevske vlasti zajedno s titulom eparha i patricija, a Gornja Dalmacija biva organizirana u zasebnu temu sa središtem u Dubrovniku. Prstenje se također oslanja na rimske i kasnoantičke prototipove, osobito kada je riječ o pojedinim luksuznim primjercima sa staklenim umetcima.¹⁶ Ogrlice su u ovom razdoblju rijetke. Najčešće je riječ o primjercima iz sredine i druge polovine 9. stoljeća, s nanizanim običnim, ali i višočlanim posrebrenim ili pozlaćenim perlama od raznobojne staklene paste, koje su na prsnom košu raspoređene u vodoravnim i okomitim nizovima i čine složeniji ukras vrata, poput primjerka s groblja u Žestinju (Svećurje u Kaštel Novom).¹⁷

Posebno se ističe ogrlica iz druge polovine 10. stoljeća, izrazito bizantskog tipa, s trostrukim nizom metalnih jagodica i ovalnim privjescima, pronađena u Caskoj na otoku Pagu.¹⁸ Osim ogrlica, zastupljena su i luksuzna puceta te brončane, srebrne i pozlaćene aplike i privjesci kao ukrasni dijelovi po-



Sl. 5. Naušnice s jednom jagodom (A. Jurčević)
Fig. 5 Earrings with a single bead (A. Jurčević)

Držislav received the royal insignia from the Byzantine Emperor together with the title eparch and patricius, while the province Upper Dalmatia became a separate theme with its centre in Dubrovnik. The design of the rings of that time was also based upon Roman and late ancient prototypes, especially when it came to luxurious specimens with glass inserts.¹⁶ Necklaces were rather rare during this period, primarily consisting of specimens from the mid to late 9th century. These necklaces featured simple or multi-part silver or gold-plated beads made of various coloured glass paste, which were arranged with horizontal and vertical strings on the chest, creating a lavish neck ornament, as seen in an example from the Žestinje (Svećurje) cemetery in Kaštel Novi.¹⁷

Particularly noteworthy is a necklace from the latter half of the 10th century, distinctly Byzantine in style, with a triple row of metal beads and oval pendants from Caska on the island of Pag.¹⁸ In addition to necklaces, there were also luxurious buttons

¹³ Petrinec 2014, str. 89–92.

¹⁴ Petrinec 2019b, str. 64–66.

¹⁵ Petrinec 2014, str. 76–81.

¹⁶ Petrinec 2009, str. 278–283.

¹⁷ Petrinec 2014, str. 81–87.

¹⁸ Petrinec 2014, str. 84, sl. 33–34; Jurić 2015, str. 66–67; Petrinec 2019a, str. 33, sl. 22; Petrinec 2019b, str. 67, sl. 22.

¹⁶ Petrinec 2009, pp. 278–283.

¹⁷ Petrinec 2014, pp. 81–87.

¹⁸ Petrinec 2014, p. 84, fig. 33–34; Jurić 2015, pp. 66–67; Petrinec 2019a, p. 33, fig. 22; Petrinec 2019b, p. 67, fig. 22.



Sl. 6. Dijelovi ukrasa na prsnom košu pokojnice iz groba 22 u Kaštel Novom (Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 6 Decorative elements on the chest of a female deceased from grave 22 in Kaštel Novi (Z. Alajbeg)



Sl. 7. Ukas glave (dijadema) s nalazišta Bribirska glavica (10. – 11. stoljeće) (Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 7 Head ornament (diadem) from site Bribirska glavica (10th-11th century) (Z. Alajbeg)

rubu odjeće, i to pretežito na predjelu prsnog koša, o čemu svjedoči veći broj arheoloških nalaza.¹⁹

Bademasti privjesci provješeni kroz aplike prišivena na odjeću pojavljuju se i kao dijelovi ogrlica, ali i kao dijelovi ukrasa za glavu ili obruba odjeće.²⁰ I za ovo razdoblje može se pretpostaviti nastavak duge tradicije proizvodnje nakita u obalnim gradovima.

U isto vrijeme karakteristična su i puceta zastupljena jednim, dvama ili trima primjercima u bogatijim ženskim ili dječjim grobovima.²¹

and bronze, silver and gold-plated appliques and pendants as decorative elements of the hem, predominantly worn on the chest, as evidenced by a significant number of archaeological finds.¹⁹

Almond-shaped pendants threaded through appliques sewn onto clothing also occurred during this period as parts of necklaces, head ornaments or embellishments on the clothing's hem.²⁰ It can be assumed that even in this period, the long tradition of jewellery production in coastal cities had continued.

Buttons, often represented by one, two or three specimens in wealthier female or child graves were also characteristic of this period of time.²¹

During the second half of the 11th century, a period marked by the rule of powerful Croatian monarchs Peter Krešimir IV and Dmitar Zvonimir and as the Byzantine cities of Dalmatia and the Neretva Principality became part of the Croatian Kingdom, a gradual change in fashion occurred. New types of earrings and rings luxuriously crafted in the sophisticated form of filigree work and granulation started to appear. The first known mention of the goldsmiths in Split also originates from this time. Namely, Thomas the Archdeacon referred to them

¹⁹ Petrinec 2019b, str. 66–67.

²⁰ Petrinec 2014, str. 85–86.

²¹ Petrinec 2020, str. 357–360, 371–376.

¹⁹ Petrinec 2019b, pp. 66–67.

²⁰ Petrinec 2014, pp. 85–86.

²¹ Petrinec 2020, pp. 357–360, 371–376.

Tijekom druge polovine 11. stoljeća, u doba moćnih hrvatskih vladara Petra Krešimira IV. i Dmitra Zvonimira, u doba kada bizantski gradovi Dalmacije i Neretvanska kneževina ulaze u sastav Hrvatskog Kraljevstva dolazi do postupne promjene mode, te se pojavljuju novi tipovi naušnica i prstenja luksuzne izrade u visokoj tehnici filigrana i granulacije. Iz tog razdoblja potječe i prvi poznati podatak o splitskim zlatarima, koji u svojoj kronici donosi Toma Arhidakon, a prema kojem je splitski nadbiskup Lovro u 11. stoljeću poslao jednog svog slugu u Antiohiju da izuči zlatarski zanat. U darovnici kojom velikaš Petar Crni oko 1080. godine poklanja više posjeda samostanu sv. Petra u Selu (Poljičko primorje) spominju se pak kao vlasnici neke zemlje zlatari Đuro (*Zurra aurifico*) i Grupša (*Grubizo aurifico*).²²

Nakon ulaska Hrvatske u Ugarsko Kraljevstvo ne naziru se neke bitne promjene. Tijekom romaničkog i gotičkog razdoblja obalni gradovi Dalmacije (povremeno pod vlašću Ugarske, a povremeno Venecije) s brojnim zlatarskim radnjama, bratovštinama pa i zlatarskim ulicama i dalje ostaju glavna središta proizvodnje nakita od plemenitih kovina, kojim opskrbljuju čitavu zapadnobalkansku unutrašnjost, o čemu svjedoči i bogata arhivska građa. Svladavanje zlatarske vještine zahtijevalo je od kandidata dug period obučavanja, u rasponu od 8 do 15 godina, a u arhivima su sačuvani i popisi učenika koji dolaze na obuku kod dalmatinskih zlatara. Oni sami, pak, borave u unutrašnjosti, pa čak i na dvorovima hrvatskih i bosanskih velikaša. Najstarija vijest takve prirode potječe iz 12. stoljeća, a prenosi je splitski kroničar Toma Arhidakon. On bilježi da su zadarski građani Matej i Aristodije odlazili većinom u Bosnu jer su bili vrlo dobro uvježbani u zlatarskom umijeću.²³ Zlatarski proizvodi koje spominju izvori veoma su brojni i raznoliki. Među njima su i oni svjetovnog karaktera, poput različitog nakita. Dalmatinski notari zabilježili su i podatke koji izravno svjedoče o potražnji za naušnicama i drugim nakitnim predmetima proizvedenim u obalnim gradovima.²⁴

Dubrovačke priznanice iz druge polovine 13. stoljeća svjedoče o naušnicama kao sastavnom

in his chronicle, where he wrote that Archbishop Laurentius of Split sent one of his servants to Antioch in the 11th century to learn the goldsmith's trade. Additionally, in the deed of donation dated around 1080, the nobleman Petar Crni mentioned the names of goldsmiths Đuro (*Zurra aurifico*) and Grupša (*Grubizo aurifico*) as landowners when donating several estates to the St. Peter Monastery in Selo (Poljica coast).²²

After Croatia became part of the Kingdom of Hungary, there were no significant changes in this regard. During the Romanesque and Gothic periods, the coastal cities of Dalmatia (occasionally under Hungarian or Venetian rule) with their numerous goldsmith shops, brotherhoods and even goldsmith's streets remained the main centres for the production of jewellery made of precious metals. These cities supplied the entire western Balkan region with such jewellery, as evidenced by extensive archive material. Becoming a skilled goldsmith required candidates to undergo extensive training, spanning from 8 to 15 years. Archives contain lists of apprentices who sought apprenticeships with Dalmatian goldsmiths. These apprentices often resided in the interior regions and even at the courts of Croatian and Bosnian nobles. The earliest documented account of this nature dates back to the 12th century and was provided by the chronicler Thomas the Archdeacon from Split. He reported that two citizens of Zadar, namely Matej and Aristodije, were known for their exceptional goldsmithing skills and mostly went to Bosnia to practice their craft.²³ The goldsmith products mentioned in historical sources were numerous and diverse, encompassing not only religious items but also various secular jewellery. Records of Dalmatian notaries from that time directly attest to the demand for earrings and other jewellery items produced in coastal cities.²⁴

The Dubrovnik acknowledgements of receipt from the second half of the 13th century bear witness to earrings being an integral part of a bride's dowry.²⁵ The Dubrovnik archive also keeps a document, which states that Paško Bogdanov from Dubrovnik travelled to the well-known Serbian medieval economic centre of Brskovo (present-day Montene-

²² Fisković 1950, str. 149–150; Lakošeljac 2020, str. 23, bilj. 1.

²³ Fisković 1950, str. 150; Jakšić 1983, str. 71.

²⁴ Opširnije: Jakšić 1996, str. 160–169.

²² Fisković 1950, pp. 149–150; Lakošeljac 2020, p. 23, n. 1.

²³ Fisković 1950, p. 150; Jakšić 1983, p. 71.

²⁴ For more details, see: Jakšić 1996, pp. 160–169.

²⁵ Jakšić 1996, p. 168.

dijelu imovine udavače.²⁵ U dubrovačkom arhivu pohranjen je i dokument u kojem je zabilježeno da je Paško Bogdanov iz Dubrovnika otputovao u poznato srpsko srednjovjekovno privredno središte, Brskovo (danas u Crnoj Gori), gdje će čitave godine izrađivati naušnice.²⁶ Jedan sačuvani zapis donosi podatak kako je zadarski zlatar Pribislav posljednjeg dana mjeseca studenog 1389. otputovao u Pag prodavati naušnice.²⁷ U jednom pak trogirskom slučaju od 1. studenog 1266. stoji kako je kod drniškog Gradca neki Raday Bogdanov napao kamenom suprugu nekog Bratoša i potezao je za naušnice.²⁸

O kakvim je naušnicama riječ potvrđuju brojni arheološki nalazi koji potječu iz kasnosrednjovjekovnih grobova, a datirani su u vrijeme nastanka ovih zapisa. Među najpoznatijima je ostava iz Pridrage kod Zadra, gdje je otkriveno oko 1000 primjeraka srebrnog novca iz 14. i početka 15. stoljeća i jedan par naušnica s trima jagodama.²⁹ Slična ostava otkrivena je i na Lipovoj glavici u Lici, također s novcem 14. i 15. stoljeća.³⁰ Naušnice s trima jagodama u više su slučajeva pronađene zajedno s novcem 14. stoljeća, u Brnazama i Biskupiji s novcem Ludovika Anžuvina,³¹ a u Gornjim Koljanima u vrećici (novčaniku) s novcem, među kojim je najmlađi onaj venecijanskog dužda Lorenza Celsija.³²

Osim naušnica, u založnim bilješkama dalmatinskih komuna spominju se i zlatno i srebrno prstenje te različite vrste ukrasnih kamenova, među kojima su najčešće safiri, ametisti i dijamanti.³³ U kasnosrednjovjekovnim grobovima ipak najčešće pronalazimo srebrno prstenje s umetcima od stakla, dok se zlatno prstenje, poput dvaju zlatnih prstenova s umetcima od poludragog kamenja (ahat i krizolit) s velike nekropole uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini, pronalazi samo u iznimnim slučajevima.³⁴ U Arnautovićima u Bosni (srednjovjekovna Mila), u grobu koji se pripisuje bosanskom kralju Tvrtku I. (1377. – 1391.), otkriven je zlatni prsten s umetkom



Sl. 8. Naušnice 12. - 14. stoljeća (A. Jurčević)

*Fig. 8 Earrings from the 12th - 14th centuries
(A. Jurčević)*

gro) with the purpose to craft earrings for the entire year.²⁶

Another preserved record provides information that Pribislav, a goldsmith from Zadar, travelled to Pag on the last day of November 1389 to sell earrings.²⁷

In a case from Trogir dated 1st November 1266, it is mentioned that a certain Raday Bogdanov attacked the wife of someone named Bratoš near Gradac Drniški with a stone and pulled at her earrings.²⁸

The type of earrings in question is confirmed by numerous archaeological finds from late medieval graves, which date to the time these records were written. Among the most famous ones is the hoard discovered in Pridruga near Zadar, where about 1000 pieces of silver coins from the 14th and early 15th centuries were found, along with a pair of earrings featuring three beads.²⁹ A similar hoard was discovered at Lipova Glavica in Lika, also

²⁵ Jakšić 1996, str. 168.

²⁶ Jakšić 1996, str. 168.

²⁷ Jakšić 1996, str. 168.

²⁸ Jakšić 1996, str. 168.

²⁹ Ilkić, Belošević 2019, str. 40, T. I.

³⁰ Vinski 1949, str. 25, T. V, 22–28.

³¹ Marun 1900, str. 30–31, sl. 5/121; Marun 1998, str. 80 (15. 1. 1897.); Gunjača 1955, str. 107, 123, 126, 128, 132.

³² Jurčević 2008, str. 144–147.

³³ Jakšić 1996, str. 165.

³⁴ Petrincec 2008a, str. 249.

²⁶ Jakšić 1996, p. 168.

²⁷ Jakšić 1996, p. 168.

²⁸ Jakšić 1996, p. 168.

²⁹ Ilkić, Belošević 2019, p. 40, Table I.



Sl. 9. Nakit iz ostave iz Pridrage kod Zadra (s novcem 14. i 15. stoljeća) (preuzeto iz Ilkić, Belošević 2019)
Fig. 9 Jewellery from the hoard at Pridraga near Zadar (with coins from the 14th and 15th centuries) (taken from Ilkić, Belošević 2019)

od gorskog kristala, za koji se pretpostavlja da je pripadao samom kralju. U istom grobu otkrivena su još tri zlatna prstena s umetcima od dragog ili poludragoga kamenja.³⁵

Među nalazima u bogatim grobovima pojavljuju se i srebrna ili brončana puceta, poput primjeraka iz groba 1026 s groblja uz Sv. Spas u Cetini.³⁶ Također je zanimljiv nalaz iz Biskupa kod Konjica u Bosni sa 111 puceta u grobu koji se pripisuje županu Grdoju.³⁷ Puceta spominje niz različitih arhivskih vijesti. U priznanici gospođe Rudine iz 1420. godine zabilježeno je: „jedan čaval srebrn, putaca srebrnih na žicu 168“.³⁸

Među nakitom se pojavljuje i veći broj različito oblikovanih nizova pločica koje su bile načinjene od raskovanog brončanog ili srebrnog, ponekad pozlaćenog ili zlatnog lima. Najčešće su kvadratnog oblika, ali su zastupljeni i kružni primjerci te primjerci u obliku zvjezdica ili rozeta. U literaturi

with coins from the 14th and 15th centuries.³⁰ There have been several cases, in which earrings with three beads were discovered alongside 14th-century coins, such as in Brnaze and Biskupija with coins of Louis the Great of Hungary³¹ and in Gornji Koljani, where they were found in a bag (purse) together with various coins, the youngest of which belonged to Lorenzo Celsi, the Doge of Venice.³²

In addition to earrings, the records of bonds of Dalmatian communes mention gold and silver rings and gemstones, with sapphires, amethysts and diamonds being the most common.³³ However, in late medieval graves, silver rings with glass inserts were the prevailing finds, and only in exceptional cases, such as the two gold rings from the large necropolis near the Church of St. Saviour in Cetina, were inlays made of semi-precious stones (agate and chrysolite).³⁴ In Arnautovići in Bosnia (medieval Mila), a gold ring with an insert of mountain crystal was discovered in a grave attributed to Bosnian King Tvrtko I (1377-1391), believed to have belonged to the king himself. In the same grave, three more gold rings with inserts of precious or semi-precious stones were found.³⁵

Finds discovered in wealthy graves also included silver or bronze buttons, such as those from grave 1026 at the cemetery next to the Church of St. Saviour in Cetina.³⁶ Another interesting find originates from Biskup near Konjic in Bosnia, where 111 buttons were found in a grave attributed to župan (iupanus) Grdoje.³⁷ Various archive records mention buttons as well. In an acknowledgement of Mrs. Rudina from 1420, it is noted: “one silver nail, 168 silver buttons on a wire.”³⁸

A large number of differently shaped rows of plates also started to appear among these pieces of jewellery. These plates were made of hammered bronze or silver, sometimes gilded or gold sheet metal. Although square shapes were the most com-

³⁰ Vinski 1949, p. 25, T. V, 22-28.

³¹ Marun 1900, pp. 30-31, fig. 5/121; Marun 1998, p. 80 (15. 1. 1897); Gunjača 1955, pp. 107, 123, 126, 128, 132.

³² Jurčević 2008, pp. 144-147.

³³ Jakšić 1996, p. 165.

³⁴ Petrinec 2008a, p. 249.

³⁵ Anđelić 1980, pp. 221-222; Petrinec 2008a, pp. 249-254; Petrinec 2008b, p. 264.

³⁶ Petrinec 1996, pp. 99-103.

³⁷ Vego 1957, p. 134.

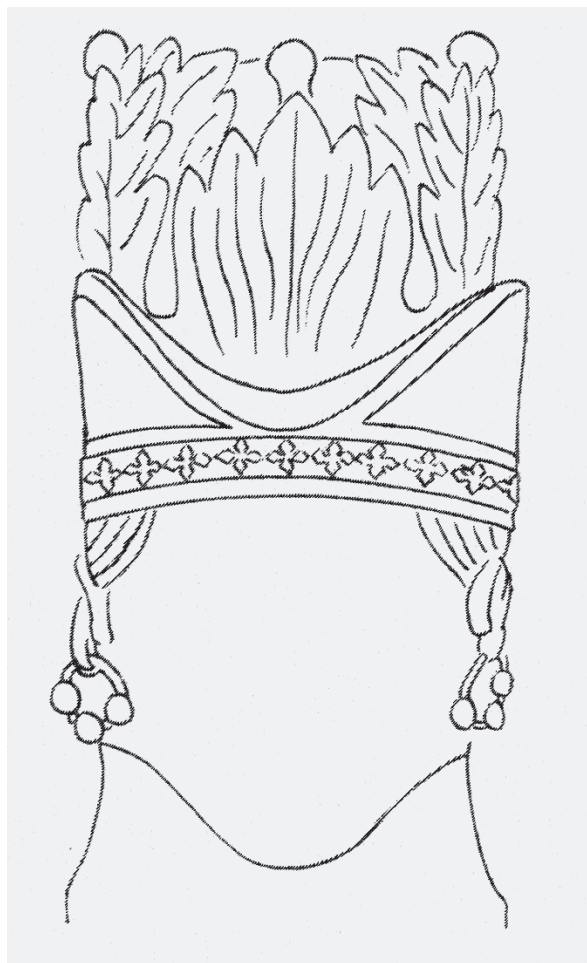
³⁸ Jakšić 1996, p. 167.

³⁵ Anđelić 1980, str. 221-222; Petrinec 2008a, str. 249-254; Petrinec 2008b, str. 264.

³⁶ Petrinec 1996, str. 99-103.

³⁷ Vego 1957, str. 134.

³⁸ Jakšić 1996, str. 167.



Sl. 10.-10a Prikaz s konzole splitske katedrale (ženska glava s kapom ukrašenom nizom aplika i naušnicama s trima jagodama), 14. stoljeće

Fig. 10 – 10a Depiction on the console of the Split Cathedral (female head with a cap decorated with a row of appliques and earrings with three beads), 14th century)

se popularno nazivaju dijademama, ali ipak je vjerojatnije da je riječ o ukrašenom obrubu svećanih gotičkih kapa.³⁹ O tome zorno svjedoči prikaz na konzoli zvonika splitske katedrale, gdje su na ženskoj glavi, uz kapu s ukrašenim obrubom, prikazane i trojagodne naušnice.⁴⁰

Takvu žensku nošnju potvrđuju i brojni arheološki nalazi iz ženskih grobova, u kojima su na predjelu glave pronađeni tekstilni ostatci i to najčešće upravo u istim cjelinama s trojagodnim naušnicama.⁴¹ Riječ je o primjercima tkanine čiju osnovu čine srebrne i srebrno-pozlaćene ovojnice te središnja vlakna koja one ovijaju. Ta vlakna su životinjskog porijekla, načinjena od sirove svile, a vez na

mon form, there were also circular, star-shaped and rosette variations. In literature, they are commonly referred to as diadems, but it is more likely that they adorned hems of ceremonial Gothic caps.³⁹ This is vividly illustrated by the depiction on the console of the bell tower of the Split Cathedral that shows a woman's head wearing a cap with an adorned hem, but also the three-beaded earrings.⁴⁰

Numerous archaeological finds from female graves confirm this type of women's attire, where textile remnants were often found in the area of the head, usually in the same context as the three-beaded earrings.⁴¹ These textiles are characterized by a base comprised of silver and silver-gilded mantles,

³⁹ Burić 1995, str. 422.

⁴⁰ Jakšić 1983–1984, str. 333, crtež 1/3; Petrinec 2019b, str. 68.

⁴¹ Usp. Petrinec 1996, str. 26–57, 61–66, 72, 82–83, 88–89, 91–92.

³⁹ Burić 1995, p. 422.

⁴⁰ Jakšić 1983–1984, p. 333, drawing 1/3; Petrinec 2019b, p. 68.

⁴¹ Compare Petrinec 1996, pp. 26–57, 61–66, 72, 82–83, 88–89, 91–92.



Sl. 11. Tekstilna kapa iz groba otkrivenog u Biskupu kod Konjica u Bosni, 14. stoljeće (preuzeto iz Petrinec 2008b)

Fig. 11 Textile cap from a grave discovered in Biskup near Konjic in Bosnia, 14th century (taken from Petrinec 2008b)

ulomcima izrađen je od tzv. ciparskog zlata.⁴² Otok Cipar, naime, poznato je srednjovjekovno središte proizvodnje zlatnih niti i veza od zlata. Raskošna svilenja odjeća vjerojatno se uvozila iz Italije preko obalnih gradova, osobito Dubrovnika, o čemu svjedoče brojni arhivski podatci.⁴³ Bosanski i srpski vladari i velikaši dobivaju na poklon ili kupuju sukno, svilu i zlatni brokat upravo u Dubrovniku. Osim ženskih grobova uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini, zanimljivi arheološki nalazi tekstila potječu i iz pojedinih grobova u Bosni. Tu prvenstveno treba istaknuti ulomke tekstila iz tzv. Tvrtkova groba u Milima (Arnautovići), otkrivene uz već prethodno spominjano prstenje u kraljevskoj grobnici, na kojima se raspoznaju motivi grbova sa štitom, kacigom, velom i krunom.⁴⁴ Zanimljiv je i primjerak tekstila koji potječe iz Biskupa kod Konjica, gdje je pokojnik u grobu od vrata do nogu bio pokriven tkaninom, a na glavi je imao okruglu kapu.⁴⁵ Ulomci tekstila danas su u vrlo lošem stanju, ali se na njima raspoznaje veći broj ukrasnih motiva, među kojima su i oni heraldički.

Heraldički, ali i pojedini florealni i simbolički motivi pojavljuju se i na pojedinim ukrasnim aplikama s obruba odjeće. Među njima se posebno isti-

along with central fibres that are wrapped around them. These fibers are of animal origin and made of raw silk. The embroidery on the fragments is made of the so-called Cypriot gold thread.⁴² Namely, the island of Cyprus was a famous medieval centre for the production of gold threads and gold embroidery. Lavish silk clothing was likely imported from Italy through coastal cities, especially Dubrovnik. Abundant archive records support this notion, indicating that Bosnian and Serbian rulers and nobility received or purchased fabrics, silk and gold brocade in Dubrovnik.⁴³ In addition to the female graves near the Church of St. Saviour in Cetina, interesting archaeological textile finds were also revealed in certain graves in Bosnia. Particularly noteworthy are the fragments of textile from the so-called grave of Tvrtko in Mile (Arnautovići), which were discovered alongside the previously mentioned rings in the royal tomb and which feature motifs of a shield, helmet, veil and crown.⁴⁴ Another interesting piece of textile was discovered in a grave in Biskup near Konjic.⁴⁵ The deceased in this grave was entirely covered in fabric and had a round cap on the head. Although these textile fragments are in poor condition today, they still show numerous decorative motifs, including heraldic elements.

Heraldic, as well as certain floral and symbolic motifs, can also be identified on some decorative appliques adorning the hem of clothing. Among them, those depicting the triple-lobed Gothic crown and the Gothic letter "S" in capital form particularly stand out. The archaeological context allows for a dating of these artefacts to the 14th century.⁴⁶

A particularly noteworthy grave find within the scope of late medieval cemeteries is the silver belt from the necropolis next to the Church of St. Saviour in Cetina.⁴⁷ Several similar belt appliques were found in the Bila valley near Travnik, Bosnia.⁴⁸ Precious belts with silver appliques and elaborate buckles were part of the personal belongings of eminent individuals across medieval Europe from the

⁴² Dragičević 1982, str. 162.

⁴³ Dragičević 1982, str. 162.

⁴⁴ Anđelić 1980, str. 214–217; Petrinec 2008a, str. 258; Petrinec 2008b, str. 264.

⁴⁵ Vego 1957, str. 128; Petrinec 2008a, str. 257–258.

⁴² Dragičević 1982, p. 162.

⁴³ Dragičević 1982, p. 162.

⁴⁴ Anđelić 1980, pp. 214–217; Petrinec 2008a, p. 258; Petrinec 2008b, p. 264.

⁴⁵ Vego 1957, p. 128; Petrinec 2008a, pp. 257–258.

⁴⁶ Petrinec 1996, pp. 38–39.

⁴⁷ Petrinec 1996, pp. 104–106; Petrinec 2008a, pp. 262; Petrinec 2008b, pp. 265, 267.

⁴⁸ Bach 1980, pp. 95–105; Petrinec 2008a, p. 256; Petrinec 2008b, pp. 264–265.



Sl. 12. Luksuzni pojas otkriven u grobu uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini, 14. stoljeće (Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 12 Luxurious belt discovered in a grave next to the Church of St. Saviour in Cetina, 14th century (Z. Alajbeg)

ču oni s prikazom troroge gotičke krune i gotičkog slova S izvedenog u kapitali, a arheološki kontekst omogućava njihovu dataciju u 14. stoljeće.⁴⁶

Poseban nalaz u sklopu kasnosrednjovjekovnih groblja predstavlja srebrni pojas iz jednog groba na nekropoli uz crkvu Sv. Spasa u Cetini.⁴⁷ Nekoliko njemu srodnih pojasnih aplika potječe iz doline Bile kraj Travnika u Bosni.⁴⁸ Skupocjeni pojasevi sa srebrnim aplikama i bogatom garniturom za zakopčavanje dio su osobne imovine značajnih osoba diljem srednjovjekovne Europe počevši od 13. stoljeća nadalje.⁴⁹ O postojanju takvih pojaseva u dalmatinskim gradovima svjedoče povijesni izvori. Tako se u kasnom 13. stoljeću oni spominju u Trogiru i Dubrovniku, a u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća i u Splitu. U arhivskoj građi nazivaju se „slavenski“, „bosanski“ ili „hrvatski“, a takvo imenovanje odnosi se na stanovnike šireg zaleđa.

Pojasevi poput ovih iz Cetine i Bile proizvodi su gotičkog zlatarstva i vrlo su srodni sličnim zapadnoeuropskim zlatarskim rukotvorinama. I prije se pretpostavljalo da su proizvedeni u nekoj od dalmatinskih komuna, ali se smatralo da su ih izradili stranci, čiju prisutnost i djelovanje u Dalmaciji potvrđuju povijesni izvori. U novije vrijeme, međutim, usporedbom s pojedinim moćnicima iz riznice

13th century onwards.⁴⁹ Historical sources attest to the presence of such belts in Dalmatian cities. In the late 13th century, they were mentioned in Trogir and Dubrovnik, and in the first half of the 14th century also in Split. In archive records, they are called “Slavic,” “Bosnian,” or “Croatian,” referring to the inhabitants of the broader hinterland.

Belts akin to those from Cetina and Bila were products of Gothic goldsmithing and are closely related to similar Western European goldsmith crafts. Previously, it was assumed that they were produced in one of the Dalmatian communes, but it was believed that foreigners, whose presence and activity in Dalmatia are confirmed by historical sources, made them. However, recent comparisons with the reliquaries in the treasury of the Cathedral of Dubrovnik compellingly suggest that these belts were produced in Dubrovnik workshops during the first half of the 14th century.⁵⁰ Regarding the epithets (Slavic, Bosnian, Croatian) used to describe these belts, it should be noted that a similar record, also preserved in the Dubrovnik archives, refers to earrings, stating them as Slavic (*cercellis de argento slavoneschis*).⁵¹ These names assigned to jewellery indicate that it was intended for the inhabitants that lived closer or more distant in the continental hinterland. Based on the above, the following conclusions can be drawn:

⁴⁶ Petrinec 1996, str. 38–39.

⁴⁷ Petrinec 1996, str. 104–106; Petrinec 2008a, str. 262; Petrinec 2008b, str. 265, 267.

⁴⁸ Bach 1980, str. 95–105; Petrinec 2008a, str. 256; Petrinec 2008b, str. 264–265.

⁴⁹ Opširnije: Jakšić 1996, str. 160–165; Ančić 1995, str. 151–159.

⁴⁹ For more details, see: Jakšić 1996, pp. 160–165; Ančić 1995, pp. 151–159.

⁵⁰ Lupis 2006, pp. 187–211.

⁵¹ Jakšić 1983, p. 72.

dubrovačke prvostolnice, poprilično je uvjerljivo dokazano da su proizvedeni u dubrovačkim radionicama i da pripadaju prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća.⁵⁰ Vezano za pridjeve (slavenski, bosanski, hrvatski) kojima su se označavali pojasevi, treba ukazati i na jedan sličan zapis koji se odnosi na naušnice, a također je sačuvan u dubrovačkom arhivu. Naime, u tom dokumentu naušnice se nazivaju slavanskima (*cercellis de argento slavoneschis*).⁵¹ Ovi nazivi dodjeljivani nakitu dokazuju da je on bio namijenjen stanovnicima njihova bližeg ili daljeg kontinentalnog zaleđa.

Na osnovi iznesenog može se zaključiti sljedeće:

1. Ranosrednjovjekovna bizantska Dalmacija nikad nije bila jedinstvena cjelina, nego skup gradova.
2. Njihova široka autonomija pridonijela je da se kasnije, unatoč formalnoj vlasti hrvatskih ili ugarskih vladara, a zatim i Venecije, razviju kao slobodne komune zadržavši svoj status, uključujući prava na izbor vijeća i statuta te na razvoj gospodarstva temeljenog na robno-novčanoj privredi. Među njima se posebno ističe Dubrovnik, koji postaje samostalna međunarodno priznata jedinica.
3. Tako je i nakon 500 – 600 godina od vremena bizantske arhontije (kasnije teme) Dalmacije izražena distinkcija između obalnih gradova i njihova zaleđa.
4. Što se tiče groblja u zaleđu obale, važno je naglasiti da, unatoč postojanju posebnih ranosrednjovjekovnih kao i kasnosrednjovjekovnih groblja s kraćim periodom ukapanja, većina velikih groblja (u pravilu je riječ o onima koja se razvijaju uz crkve) pokazuje kontinuitet ukapanja od početka 9. stoljeća sve do osmanskih osvajanja u 16. stoljeću. Upravo ta groblja i sadržavaju luksuzne nalaze nakita datirane u navedenom vremenskom rasponu, pa se može pretpostaviti da ti predmeti već od najranijih vremena dolaze u zaleđe na isti način kao i oni koje nam potvrđuju povijesni izvori od druge polovine 11. stoljeća nadalje.

1. Early mediaeval Byzantine Dalmatia was never a unified entity but rather a cluster of cities.
2. Their considerable autonomy enabled them even later and despite the formal rule of Croatian or Hungarian monarchs and later Venice to develop as free communes, maintaining their status, which included the right to elect councils and statutes and to develop the goods-monetary economy. Dubrovnik, in particular, stands out as it became an internationally recognized independent entity.
3. Even after a span of 500-600 years following the Byzantine archontia (later referred to as theme) of Dalmatia, a clear distinction between coastal cities and their hinterlands persisted.
4. As for burial sites in the coastal hinterland, it is essential to emphasize that despite the existence of individual early medieval but also late medieval burial sites with a shorter burial phase, most of the large cemeteries (usually those that developed near churches) show a continuity of burials from the early 9th century to the Ottoman conquests in the 16th century. It is precisely these cemeteries which yielded the finds of luxurious jewellery that were dated to the mentioned timeframe, suggesting that these items had been reaching the hinterland since the early days, in the same way as those confirmed by historical sources from the second half of the 11th century onwards.

⁵⁰ Lupis 2006, str. 187–211.

⁵¹ Jakšić 1983, str. 72.

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