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Tekstilni fragmenti bizantskog kulturnog kruga u Dalmaciji – izabrani primjeri

Tekstilni fragmenti nastali u bizantskom kulturnom krugu na području Dalmacije nisu brojni. Njihovom tehnološkom analizom te stilskom i likovnom valorizacijom mogu se utvrditi utjecaji i kontakti onodobne države, gradskih komuna i crkvenih redova tijekom srednjeg i novog vijeka. Valorizacija građe s obzirom na motiviku pridonosi kontekstualizaciji građe u europskim okvirima.

Ključne riječi: *Crkvina u Biskupiji, Sv. Spas na vrelu Cetine, relikvijar sv. Staša, bizantska tekstilna produkcija, grifon*.

Textile fragments of the Byzantine cultural sphere in Dalmatia: selected examples

Textile fragments originating within the Byzantine cultural sphere are relatively scarce in the territory of Dalmatia. Through technological analysis, together with stylistic and visual assessment, it is nevertheless possible to identify the influences and contacts maintained by the then state, the urban communes and the ecclesiastical orders during the medieval and early modern periods. Evaluating this material with regard to its use of motifs contributes to the contextualization of these finds within broader European frameworks.

Keywords: *Crkvina in Biskupija, Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina river, Reliquary of St. Anastasius, Byzantine textile production, griffin*

Da je ruho bizantskog podrijetla bilo prisutno u kulturnom krugu rane hrvatske populacije, svjedoče srednjovjekovni tekstilni ostatci pronađeni u grobovima na lokalitetima Crkvina u Biskupiji, Potravlje kod Sinja i Plavno kod Knina te na nekropoli Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine. Ukupno 13 tekstilnih fragmenata čuva se u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, a prva ih je objavila kustosica muzeja Magdalena Dragičević. Uz tehnološku analizu materijala priređena je i izložba „Srednjovjekovni kostim na području stare hrvatske države", popraćena katalogom koji je relevantan i danas.[1] Uz jasno određenje podrijetla tkanine gotovo je nezamijećen ostao autoričin zaključak o izgledu nošnje hrvatskih dostojanstvenika. Uspoređujući materijalne ostatke pronađene tijekom arheoloških istraživanja s plastičnim prikazima na starohrvatskoj skulpturi i onodobnim freskama, autorica zaključuje da se nošnja višeg sloja starohrvatske zajednice sastojala od triju komponenti: franačkih hlača, bizantske tunike i slavenskog „zubuna", krznenog prekrivala koje se nosilo prebačeno preko ramena i koje je kroz povijest dugo bilo karakteristično za slavenske kulture. Upravo je etnografska komponenta od presudne važnosti za proučavanje ovog segmenta naše kulturne baštine jer, iako je dokazano da je podrijetlo zlatnih niti kojima je izveden ornament na tekstilnoj podlozi bizantsko, tehnika tkanja osnove na koju su niti polagane pripada tradicijskoj kulturi tkanja rasprostranjenoj po srednjodalmatinskom zaleđu gotovo do danas.[2]

Tekstilni materijal pronađen u spomenutim grobovima neiscrpno je vrelo spoznaja o našem kulturnom identitetu. Njegovom analizom moguće je rekonstruirati nošnju starohrvatske populacije, a stilskom i likovnom valorizacijom utvrditi utjecaje i kontakte onodobne države te njezin položaj u ranom srednjem vijeku. Nalazi fragmenata tekstila s prikazima grifona i svastike iz grobova kod crkve Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine, koji se čuvaju u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, ukazuju na ranu pripadnost kršćanskom svijetu, ali i na istančan ukus te materijalnu moć. Niti svile omotane pozlaćenom srebrnom žicom, nedvojbeno bizantske pro-

1 Dragičević 1988.

2 Predgovor katalogu izložbe „Srednjovjekovni kostim na području stare hrvatske države" napisala je dr. sc. Vesna Čulinović Konstantinović, dugogodišnja ravnateljica Etnografskog muzeja u Splitu. U njemu opširno navodi elemente starohrvatske kulture koji su se zadržali u tradicijskim zajednicama.

Medieval textile remains discovered in graves at the sites of Crkvina in Biskupija, Potravlje near Sinj, Plavno near Knin and at the necropolis of the Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina river attest to the presence of garments of Byzantine origin within the cultural environment of the early Croatian population. A total of thirteen textile fragments are kept at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split and were first published by the museum's curator, Magdalena Dragičević. In addition to the technological analysis of the material, an exhibition entitled "Medieval costume in the territory of the early Croatian state" was organized, which was accompanied by a catalogue that continues to be of relevance to the present day.[1] While the Byzantine origin of the fabrics was clearly established, the author's conclusions concerning the appearance of the attire of Croatian dignitaries have received comparatively little scholarly attention. By comparing the material evidence recovered through archaeological investigations with sculptural representations of mediaeval early Croatian stone sculpture and contemporary frescoes, Dragičević concluded that the costume of the upper stratum of early Croatian society comprised three components: Frankish trousers, a Byzantine tunic and the Slavic *zubun*, a fur covering worn fastened around the shoulders and characteristic of Slavic cultures over a long historical period. It is precisely this ethnographic component that is of particular significance for the study of this aspect of cultural heritage. Although it has been demonstrated that the gold threads forming the ornament applied to the textile substrate are of Byzantine origin, the weaving technique of the ground fabric itself belongs to a textile tradition that, until very recent times, was widespread throughout the hinterland of central Dalmatia.[2]

The textile material recovered from these graves constitutes an inexhaustible source for our cultural identity. Its analysis allows for the reconstruction of the costume of the early Croatian population, while the stylistic and visual assessment permits the iden-

1 Dragičević 1988.

2 The preface to the exhibition catalogue "Srednjovjekovni kostim na području stare hrvatske države" (Medieval costume in the territory of the early Croatian state) was written by Vesna Čulinović-Konstantinović, PhD, long-serving director of the Ethnographic Museum in Split, who discusses at length those elements of early Croatian culture that have persisted within traditional communities.

izvodnje, svjedoče o mogućnosti i želji za nabavom luksuznog i skupocjenog tekstila. Nije nemoguće pretpostaviti da bi se istovrsni komadi tekstila našli i u sakristiji franjevačkog samostana u neposrednoj blizini nekropole Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine. Smatra se da je jedan od prvih franjevačkih samostana na hrvatskom tlu bio onaj sv. Kate, koji se uzdizao u Vrh Rici na vrelu Cetine, gradu hrvatskih velikaša Čubranića i Berislavića.[3] Također, na temelju niza povelja i listina iz 14. stoljeća jasno je da je franjevački samostan u Sinju u tom stoljeću nedvojbeno postojao. Zanimljivo je i postojanje dviju samostanskih crkava, Sv. Marije i sv. Katarine (u franjevačkim šematizmima i monografiji o redu iz 1982. godine nazivi se miješaju te se govori o samostanu i crkvi sv. Kate na Vrh Rici).[4] Iako postoje dvojbe o smještaju samostana na položaju Vrh Rika uz crkvu Sv. Spasa ili južno od zidina grada Sinja, neupitno je da je samostan postojao. Njegov osnivač Ivan Nelipić time je širio anžuvinski utjecaj te je u Cetinsku krajinu doveo franjevce bliske vlasti.[5] Brojni analogni primjeri legata vlastodržaca samostanima s kojima su bili povezani župom ili čiji su bili osnivači potvrđuju ovu tezu. Komparacijom s poznatim oporukama Ivana Jančina Draganje iz 1327. godine i Milice, žene Milgosta Kragujevića iz Splita, iz 1419. godine samostanu sv. Dominika u Splitu, možemo pretpostaviti da su ove luksuzne tkanine bile darovane samostanu i crkvi te analogijom rekonstruirati izgled misnog ruha i odrediti njegovu provenijenciju.[6]

Za naše razmatranje valja kronološkim slijedom obratiti pozornost na fragmente tekstila pronađene u grobovima na prethodno navedenim arheološkim lokalitetima. Osobito je zanimljiv fragment tekstila s nekropole Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine (inv. br. 4514 MHAS), koji se datira u širokom vremenskom rasponu od 9. do 11. stoljeća. Na vrlo oštećenom fragmentu vidljiv je motiv svastike koji se ponavlja u horizontalnom raportu. Taj najstariji i najvišeznačniji simbol tokova energije, koji simbolizira solsticij i ekvinocij, a poznat je svim indoeuropskim narodima, posebice je bio raširen u staroj Grčkoj te

[3] Malo više svjetla na postojanje samostana bacaju objava listine cetinskog kneza Ivana Nelipića i članak Ivana Botice o franjevačkom samostanu i crkvi Sv. Marije u Podgrađu pod Sinjem (Jurić 1977, str. 233–236; Botica 2010, str. 9–28).

[4] Soldo 1982, str. 6.

[5] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, str. 37–38.

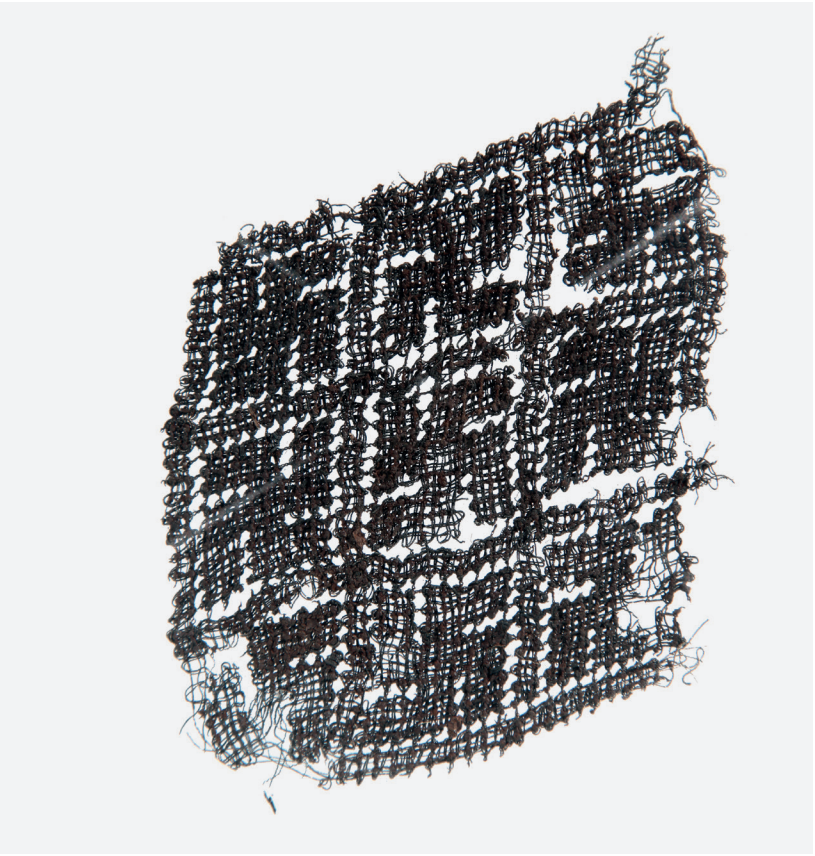
[6] Sokol 1999, str. 51.

tification of the influences and contacts of the contemporary state and an assessment of its position in the Early Middle Ages. The textile fragments from the graves at the Church of the Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina river, bearing depictions of griffins and swastikas and now preserved at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, testify not only to an early affiliation with the Christian world, but also to refined taste and considerable material wealth. Silk threads wrapped in gilded silver wire, indisputably of Byzantine manufacture, attest both to the financial means and to the desire to acquire luxurious and costly textiles. It is entirely plausible that similar textile pieces could have been found also in the sacristy of the Franciscan monastery situated in the immediate vicinity of the necropolis of the Holy Saviour at the spring of the Cetina river. One of the earliest Franciscan monasteries on Croatian soil is believed to have been the monastery of St. Kate, which was erected at Vrh Rika near the source of the Cetina river, within a town associated with the Croatian noble families of Čubranić and Berislavić.[3] Documentary evidence from a series of 14th-century charters and deeds likewise confirms beyond doubt the existence of a Franciscan monastery in Sinj during that period. Equally noteworthy is the existence of two monastic churches, St. Mary and St. Catherine; however, in Franciscan schematisms and in the monograph on the order from 1982, the nomenclature is confused, and reference is made to a monastery and Church of St. Kate in Vrh Rika.[4] While doubts persist as to whether the monastery was located at the toponym Vrh Rika next to the Church of the Holy Saviour or to the south of the walls of Sinj, the existence of the monastery itself is beyond question (its founder, Ivan Nelipić, thereby extended Angevin influence and brought Franciscans loyal to the ruling authorities into the Cetina region).[5] Numerous analogies of bequests made by rulers to monasteries to whose parishes they belonged or which they themselves founded further confirm this thesis. A comparison with the well-known wills of Ivan Jančin, son of

[3] Further insight into the existence of the monastery is provided by the publication of the charter of Duke Ivan Nelipić of Cetina, as well as by Ivan Botica's study on the Franciscan monastery and the Church of St. Mary in Podgrađe beneath Sinj; Jurić 1077, pp. 233–236; Botica 2010, pp. 9–28.

[4] Soldo 1982, p. 6.

[5] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, pp. 37–38.



Sl. 1 - Fragment tekstila iz nekropole sv. Spasa inv. br. 4514 MHAS (9.-11. stoljeće) (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 1 - Textile fragment from the necropolis of the Holy Saviour, inv. no. 4514 MHAS (9th –11th centuries), (photo: Ž. Bačić)

se ponekad naziva „grčkim“ ornamentom. Krakovi stopljeni u kružnom pokretu dostižu svoju puninu i tvore krug – savršeno sveobuhvatno tijelo niklo iz tvoračkog vrtloga. Kao simbol Krista svastika je prisutna u umjetnosti od prikaza u katakombama do romaničkih prikaza na kojima se pojavljuje uz Krista.[7] Analiza materijala pokazala je da je riječ o bizantskoj tehnologiji izrade pozlaćenih niti, a stilski je primjer kvadrata s motivom u dijagonalnom raportu preko čitave površine tkanine poznat u bizantskoj umjetnosti sve do kasnog 14. stoljeća[8] (sl. 1).

7 Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987, str. 661–662.

8 Najbližu analogiju nalazimo u prikazu odjeće sv. Lovre na poliptihu iz trogirske katedrale, datiranom u drugu polovinu 13. stoljeća. Poliptih je izložen u Muzeju sakralne umjetnosti u Trogiru. Na umjetnini su prisutni elementi zapadnog i bizantskog načina slikanja, no odjeća prikazanih likova nedvojbeno je bizantskog podrijetla. Vidi Thieme 2008, T. u boji br. VI i XIII.

Dragan, from 1327 and of Milica, wife of Milgost Kragujćević from Split, drawn up in 1419 in favour of the Dominican monastery in Split, suggests that such luxurious fabrics were indeed donated to the monastery and church, allowing us in turn to infer, by analogy, the appearance and provenance of the liturgical vestments.[6]

For the purposes of the present discussion, attention may be directed, in chronological order, toward the textile fragments recovered from graves at the various sites. Of particular significance is the textile fragment from the necropolis of the Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina river, listed in the museum's inventory under no. 4514 (MHAS) and broadly dated between the 9th and 11th centuries. Despite its severely damaged condition, a swastika motif repeated within a horizontal pattern repeat remains discernible on the fragment. As the oldest and most multivalent symbol of the flow of energy, signifying the solstice and the equinox, the swastika is known to all Indo-European peoples and was especially widespread in ancient Greece, where it is sometimes referred to as the "Greek" ornament. Its arms, fused in the motion of circular rotation, attain their fullness in forming a circle—the perfect, all-encompassing body that emerges from the creative vortex. As a symbol of Christ, the swastika appears in the art of the catacombs to Romanesque depictions of Christ accompanied by this symbol.[7] Material analysis has shown that the gilded threads were produced according to Byzantine technology, while the stylistic scheme of a square with a motif arranged in diagonal repeat across the entire surface of the fabric is well attested in Byzantine art until the late 14th century.[8] (Fig. 1)

Confirmation of the influence of Byzantine textile production on the manner and types of dress among the early Croatian population is provided not only by the analysis of the gilt-wrapped silk threads, which are unquestionably Byzantine in

6 Sokol 1999, p. 51.

7 Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1998, pp. 661–662.

8 The closest parallel is found in the depiction of the vestments of St. Lawrence on a polyptych from the Cathedral in Trogir, dated to the second half of the 13th century. The polyptych is currently exhibited in the Museum of Sacred Art in Trogir. The artwork itself displays traces of both Western and Byzantine painting traditions; however, the garments represented on the figures are unquestionably of Byzantine origin. Thieme 2008, colour plates VI and XIII.

Da je utjecaj bizantske tekstilne proizvodnje na način odijevanja starohrvatske populacije bio prisutan, ne govori samo analiza pozlate omotanih svilenih niti, koja je nedvojbeno bizantska, nego i činjenica da su bizantski elementi česti u grobovima te populacije.[9] Dok su vojnička oprema i oružje uglavnom karolinškog podrijetla, nalazi novca u grobovima od 9. do 11. stoljeća često su upravo bizantski.[10] Možda je najpoznatiji primjer grob u sarkofagu otkriven u narteksu crkve Sv. Marije u Biskupiji, koji se u novije vrijeme smatra grobnicom kneza Borne.[11] Uz poznati inventar groba, karolinšku konjsku i jahaću opremu, nađen je i zlatnik Konstantina V. Kopronima, no za našu je temu puno zanimljiviji dio nalaza koji su neko vrijeme imali pred očima fra Lujo Marun i don Frane Bulić, a koji je zatim nepovratno nestao. U izvješću Hrvatskoga starinarskog družtva u Kninu iz 1891. godine navodi se: „Kad se prvi put otvorio sarkofag, mrtvacu nije se vidilo kostiju, doli članaka ruku i nogu, pošto je vas bio pokriven odjećom“.[12] Sarkofag je prenesen u Knin, gdje ga je desetak dana nakon pronalaska pregledao i don Frane Bulić, koji je bio iznenađen očuvanošću ruha. No kada je pokušao prikupiti odjeću, tkanina se raspadala „kao paučina“ te je od nje ostalo tek nekoliko „lapata“.[13] Ove nalaze analizirao je dr. Janeček, sveučilišni profesor iz Zagreba, koji je ustvrdio da su komadi odijela svileni.[14]

Prema analogijama s poznatim i sačuvanim tekstilnim fragmentima moguće je pretpostaviti da je i ovdje riječ o bizantskoj svilarskoj produkciji. Takve su svile bile važan dio široko razgranate bizantske diplomatske mreže, bilo kao odjeća bizantskih vladara u strogo određenim ceremonijama bilo kao diplomatski darovi poklanjani u različitim prigodama.[15] Uzimajući u obzir visoki društveni rang osobe sahranjene u sarkofagu iz crkve Sv. Marije u Biskupiji, moguće je pretpostaviti bizantsku provenijenciju tog tekstila.

„Lapate“, kako fragmente tekstila iz crkve Sv. Marije u Biskupiji nazivaju tadašnji istraživači, detaljno je u svojem članku obradila i analizira-

9 Petrinec 2014, str. 63–96.
10 Petrinec 2009, str. 164–174.
11 Šeparović 2021, str. 77–78.
12 Radić 1896, str. 73.
13 Radić 1896, str. 73.
14 Radić 1896, str. 73.
15 Muthesius 1992, str. 101–102.

origin, but also by the fact that the Byzantine element is more than amply attested in the graves of the early Croatian population.[9] Whereas military equipment and weaponry are, for the most part, of Carolingian origin, coin finds from graves of the 9th to the 11th centuries are frequently Byzantine.[10] Perhaps the best-known example is the sarcophagus burial discovered in the narthex of the Church of St. Mary in Biskupija, which has more recently been interpreted as the tomb of Duke Borna.[11] In addition to the well-known grave goods, the Carolingian horse and horseman equipment, and a gold coin of Constantine V Copronymus, another element of particular relevance to the present discussion was examined for a time by Lujo Marun and Don Frane Bulić before disappearing irretrievably thereafter. As recorded in the report of the Croatian Antiquarian Society at Knin for the year 1891: “*When the sarcophagus was first opened, no bones of the deceased could be seen except for the joints of the hands and feet, since the body was entirely covered with garments*.”[12] The sarcophagus was transferred to Knin, where, some ten days after its discovery, it was also examined by Don Frane Bulić, who was astonished by the state of preservation of the garments. Yet when he attempted to lift the cloth, it disintegrated “like cobwebs,” leaving only a few *lapata* (shreds) behind.[13] These remnants were subsequently analysed by Dr Janeček, a university professor from Zagreb, who established that the pieces of clothing were of silk.[14]

By analogy with well-known and preserved textile fragments, it is reasonable to assume that the material in question likewise derives from Byzantine silk production. Such silks constituted an important component of the extensive Byzantine diplomatic network, whether worn by Byzantine rulers in various strictly regulated ceremonies or presented as diplomatic gifts on various occasions.[15] Given the high social rank of the individual interred in the sarcophagus at the Church of St. Mary in Biskupija, a Byzantine provenance for this textile appears highly plausible.

9 Petrinec 2014, pp. 63–96.
10 Petrinec 2009, pp. 164–174.
11 Šeparović 2021, pp. 77–78.
12 Radić 1896, p. 73.
13 Radić 1896, p. 73.
14 Radić 1896, p. 73.
15 Muthesius 1992, pp. 101–102.

la Magdalena Dragičević.[16] Tri fragmenta tekstila potječu iz Biskupije. Prvi primjerak (inv. br. 569 MHAS) pronađen je u grobnoj cjelini br. 4, dok za druga dva (inv. br. 3987 MHAS i 3988 MHAS) nije poznat točan broj groba u kojem su pronađeni. Ustanovljeno je da je na svim trima primjercima vrlo oštećenog i tek fragmentarno sačuvanog nalaza iz crkve Sv. Marije u Biskupiji organska jezgra niti istrunula, dok je ovojnica načinjena od pozlaćenih srebrnih lamela. S obzirom na dataciju grobova koja je definirana numizmatičkim nalazima, autorica tekstilne fragmente smatra bizantskim importom. Da je riječ o bizantskoj proizvodnji potvrđeno je i 2024. godine u članku Ozane Martinčić, u kojem se na temelju suvremenijih analiza proučava primjena metalnih niti na srednjovjekovnom tekstilu istočnog Jadrana i njegova zaleđa.[17]

Još jedan komad tekstila s nekropole Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine možemo povezati s bizantskom produkcijom, i to ne samo na temelju analize materijala od kojeg je načinjen nego i prema ornamentu koji ga krasi. Riječ je o fragmentu iz groba 808, koji se u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika čuva pod inventarnim brojem 1488, a datira se u širokom rasponu od 12. do 15. stoljeća. Tekstilni fragment čini mreža pletena tekstilnim nitima i vezena metalnim nitima. Najduža sačuvana nit duga je 15 cm, a najkraća 10 cm. Tkanje je načinjeno od svilenih niti koje su ovijene pozlaćenom srebrnom ovojnicom.[18] Fragment je podijeljen u tri reda s po tri kvadratna polja u kojima su prikazi grifona i stiliziranog četverolatičnog cvijeta. Stilizirani grifon prikazan je u profilu, bez krila, s izduženim vratom i visoko podignutim repom. Kao i većina motiva i ornamenata koje poznajemo na liturgijskom i svjetovnom ruhu, i grifon nosi niz značenja, a ona se mogu tumačiti ovisno o kontekstu, vremenu i htijenju naručitelja. U antičkoj Grčkoj grifoni su čuvari blaga zemlje Hiperborejaca, bdiju nad vinom boga Dioniza, a na njima jaše Apolon.[19] U kršćanskom svijetu grifon simbolizira dvojaku Kristovu narav – božansku (ptica) i ljudsku (zvijer). Zbog svoje sposobnosti da se vine u visine može predstavljati Spasitelja, dok s druge strane zbog spoja orlovske proždrljivosti i

[16] Sva četiri tekstilna fragmenta istražena su u Laboratoriju za opću i anorgansku kemiju Tehnološkog fakulteta u Splitu spektrografskom analizom kvalitativnog sastava (Dragičević 1981).

[17] Martinčić 2024, str. 69–93.

[18] Dragičević 1988, str. 24.

[19] Hall 1998, str. 104.

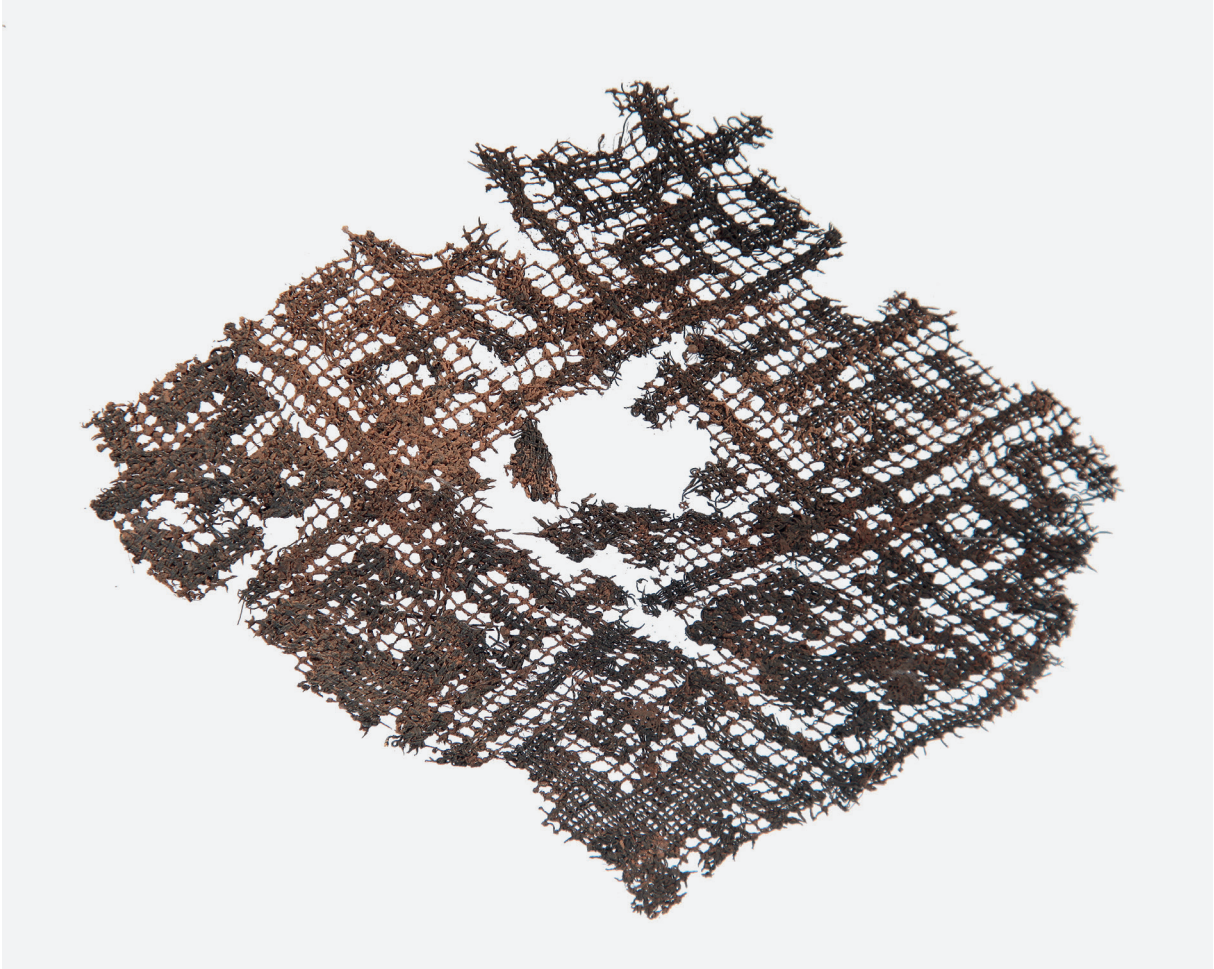
The *lapata* (shreds), as researchers of the period termed the textile fragments from the Church of St. Mary in Biskupija, were examined and analysed in detail by Magdalena Dragičević in her paper.[16] Three textile fragments originate from Biskupija. The first (inv. no. 569 MHAS) is known to have come from grave unit no. 4, while the remaining two (inv. nos. 3988 MHAS and 3987 MHAS) also originate from the same site, although the precise grave number in which they were discovered is unknown. It has been established that, in all three of these severely damaged and only fragmentarily preserved finds from the Church of St. Mary in Biskupija, the organic core of the thread had decayed, whereas the wrapping consisted of gilded silver strips. Given the dating of the graves, established on the basis of numismatic finds, the author interpreted the textile fragments as Byzantine imports. This identification of their place of manufacture was further corroborated in 2024 in a paper by Ozana Martinčić, in which the use of metal threads in medieval textiles in the area of the eastern Adriatic and its hinterland is examined on the basis of new and more advanced analyses.[17]

Another textile fragment from the necropolis of the Holy Saviour at the spring of the Cetina river may also be associated with Byzantine production, not only on the basis of the material analysis of its constituent elements, but also through consideration of its ornamental decoration. The piece in question, discovered in grave 808, is preserved at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments under inv. no. 1488 and has been broadly dated between the 12th and 15th centuries. The fragment consists of a net woven from textile threads and embroidered with metal threads, with the longest preserved thread measuring 15 cm and the shortest 10 cm. The woven fabric is composed of silk threads wrapped in a gilded silver coating.[18] The fragment is divided into three rows of three square fields, each containing representations of griffins and a stylised four-petalled flower. The stylised griffin is shown in profile, without wings, with an elongated neck and a tail raised high. Like most of the motifs and orna-

[16] All four textile fragments were analysed at the Laboratory of General and Inorganic Chemistry of the Faculty of Technology in Split by means of spectrographic analysis of qualitative composition; Dragičević 1981.

[17] Martinčić 2024, pp. 69–93.

[18] Dragičević 1988, p. 24.



Sl. 2 - Fragment tekstila iz nekropole sv. Spasa inv. br. 808 MHAS (12.-15. stoljeće) (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 2 - Textile fragment from the necropolis of the Holy Saviour, inv. no. 808 MHAS (12th –15th centuries), (photo: Ž. Bačić)

lavlje okrutnosti može biti i simbol progonitelja kršćana.[20] U bizantskom svijetu grifon se često veže za osobu cara. Najbolji primjer za to jest bjelokosni prikaz na kovčegu iz Hessisches Landesmuseuma, datiran u prvu polovinu 10. stoljeća.[21] Na stranicama kovčega prikazan je život Aleksandra Velikog, koji završava njegovim nebeskim putovanjem. Aleksandar Veliki, noseći insignije bizantskog cara, sjedi u kočiji koju vuku grifoni.[22] Možda je upravo taj imaginarni prizor utjecao na stihove Danteova *Čistilišta* u kojima grifon vuče trijumfalna kola Crkve[23] (sl. 2).

[20] Chevalier, Gheerbrant 1987, str. 177; Badurina 1979, str. 247.
[21] Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. br. Kg 54:219.
[22] Garnczarska 2015, str. 65.
[23] Hall 1998, str. 104.

ments known from liturgical and secular garments, the griffin also carries multiple layers of meaning, which may be interpreted according to context, period and the intentions of the person who commissioned it. In ancient Greece, griffins guard the treasures of the land of the Hyperboreans, watch over the wine of the god Dionysus, and are ridden by Apollo.[19] In the Christian world the griffin symbolises the dual nature of Christ, the divine (bird) and the human (beast). Owing to its ability to ascend to great heights, it may represent the Saviour; while on the other hand it may also be a symbol of the persecutors of Christians through the combination of the rapacity of the eagle with the cruelty of the lion.[20] In the Byzantine world, the griffin is frequently associated with the person of the emperor. The most

[19] Hall 1998, p. 104.
[20] Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1998, p. 177; Badurina 1979, p. 247.



Sl. 3 - Portret cara Aleksija V, 1204. godina (preuzeto iz Muthesius 1992.)
Fig. 3 - Portrait of Emperor Alexios V, 1204, (taken from Muthesius 1992)

Istovremeni prikazi bizantske nošnje pokazuju da je grifon bio čest motiv u ukrašavanju tkanina. Jedan od najpoznatijih prikaza bizantske odjeće s motivom grifona jest portret cara Aleksija V. iz 1204. godine. Naslikana minijatura prikazuje vladara odjevenog u ceremonijalnu purpurnu nošnju ukrašenu medaljonima s prikazom grifona.[24] Tekstilni fragment pod inventarnim brojem 1488 u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika široko je datiran u razdoblje od 12. do 15. stoljeća i možda upravo ova paralela pomaže pobliže odrediti vrijeme njegova nastanka. U svakom slučaju, riječ je o fragmentu koji upućuje na osobu višeg društvenog ranga (sl. 3).

Da je svila u bizantskom svijetu imala važnu političku ulogu, odavno je poznato. O bizantskoj „svilenoj" ceremoniji i diplomaciji postoje autentični izvori. Sam car Konstantin Porfirogenet (905. – 959.) među ostalim je djelima napisao i *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, u kojem detaljno opisuje uzuse ponašanja i urešavanja osoba i prostora

[24] Muthesius 1992, str. 109.

striking example is the ivory representation on the casket from the Hessisches Landesmuseum, dated to the first half of the 10th century.[21] The sides of the casket depict the life of Alexander the Great, culminating in his celestial ascent: Alexander, bearing the insignia of a Byzantine emperor, is shown seated in a chariot drawn by griffins.[22] It is possible that this imaginary scene may have influenced the verses of Dante's *Purgatorio*, in which a griffin draws the triumphal chariot of the Church.[23] (Fig. 2)

Contemporary depictions of the Byzantine dress indicate that the griffin motif was a frequent decorative element on textiles. One of the most well-known representations of Byzantine ceremonial attire featuring griffins is the portrait of Emperor Alexios V dated to 1204. The painted miniature shows the ruler clothed in ceremonial purple attire decorated with griffins set within medallions.[24] The textile fragment inv. no. 1488 in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments is broadly dated between the 12th and the 15th century, and this parallel may help to determine a more precise dating of its production, but at the very least, it clearly indicates a person of high social standing. (Fig. 3)

The fact that silk had a powerful political role within the Byzantine world has long been known. Authentic sources attest to Byzantine "silk diplomacy" and ceremonial practice. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905–959) himself, among his other works, wrote *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, in which he provides a detailed description of the protocols governing behaviour and the decoration of persons and spaces at the imperial court on various occasions.[25] According to the words of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, silks decorated with motifs of lions and eagles formed the attire of the upper class, serving as an unmistakable sign of political, military and economic success, while garments adorned with the griffin motif were interpreted by certain sources as an expression of the splendour and radiance of the imperial identity.[26] Throughout the entire 10th and 11th centuries, such textiles cir-

[21] Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. no. Kg 54:219.
[22] Garnczarska 2015, p. 65.
[23] Hall 1998, p. 104.
[24] Muthesius 1992, p. 109.
[25] https://archive.org/details/decerimoniisaul01consgoog/page/n20/mode/2up (accessed 21st January 2026).
[26] Garnczarska 2015, p. 67.

na carskom dvoru u različitim prigodama.[25] Prema njegovim riječima, svile s prikazima lavova i orlova bile su odjeća pripadnika više klase, jasan znak političkog, vojnog i ekonomskog uspjeha, dok je ruho ukrašeno motivom grifona, prema nekim izvorima, odražavalo sjaj i blještavilo carskog identiteta.[26] Kroz čitavo 10. i 11. stoljeće takve se tkanine pojavljuju u zapadnoj Europi, kamo dospijevaju kao diplomatski darovi koji vizualnim jezikom srednjeg vijeka govore o snazi i moći bizantskog imperija.[27] Prema bizantskom diplomatskom ceremonijalu, ruho ukrašeno motivima orla, lava ili grifona, bojano purpurom i protkano zlatom, darivalo se kao znak ugleda osobe koja ga prima, ali i dobrih namjera darovatelja. Poraženi bizantski protivnici dobivali su ruho niske kvalitete i neuglednog uzorka.[28] O europskoj svilarskoj proizvodnji ne možemo govoriti prije 12. stoljeća pa je u tom razdoblju svila s Istoka bila dragocjen dar u europskim vladarskim kućama. Potreba za luksuznim tkaninama bilo je mnogo, od ceremonijalnih prigoda i vjerskih slavlja do rituala vezanih za posmrtne obrede. U ranom srednjem vijeku pokojnike se često omatalo tkaninom prije polaganja u grob. Legenda kaže da je carica Gala Placidija (392./393. – 450.) dala omotati tijelo preminulog sv. Germana (378. – 448.) u svilu prije nego što je, prema njegovoj izričitoj želji, vraćeno u njegovu matičnu opatiju u Auxerreu.[29]

Iako su njihovo značenje i važnost u ceremonijama dvora u Konstantinopolu dokazani, prikazi grifona nisu izgubili funeralnu komponentu koju nose još od antike. Svile s prikazom grifona često se nalaze među grobnim prilozima,[30] kao i u našem primjeru, u kojem je takav tekstilni fragment pronađen u grobu na nekropoli Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine. Velik broj bizantskih svila iz tog vremena sačuvao se do danas zahvaljujući običaju da se dragocjene svile, često dobivene kao diplomatski darovi prili-

[25] https://archive.org/details/decerimoniisaul01consgoog/page/n20/mode/2up [konzultirano 21. 1. 2026.].

[26] Garnczarska 2015, str. 67.

[27] Muthesius 1992, str. 99–100.

[28] McClanan 2019, str. 138–139.

[29] Ovaj skupocjeni komad tekstila, poznat kao „Pokrov sv. Germaina“, danas je izložen u crkvi sv. Euzebija u Auxerreu. Riječ je o bizantskom samtu iz 10. stoljeća s prikazom orlova i ruža („cum rosa et aquilis“). Po kvaliteti tkanja i materijala riječ je o dvorskom tekstilu koji vremenski ne odgovara legendi o njegovu nastanku (Scott 1993, str. 84–89).

[30] McClanan 2019, str. 142.

culated widely throughout western Europe, where they were distributed as diplomatic gifts that conveyed, through the symbolic visual language of the Middle Ages, the strength and authority of the Byzantine Empire.[27] In accordance with the protocols of Byzantine ceremonial diplomacy, garments adorned with eagles, lions or griffins, dyed in purple and interwoven with gold, were bestowed as signs of the recipient's prestige as well as of the benevolent intentions of the person making the gift. Defeated Byzantine adversaries, by contrast, received garments of inferior quality and unprepossessing pattern.[28] It is not possible to speak of a European silk production prior to the 12th century; consequently, during this period, silk from the East represented a highly valued gift within the ruling houses of Europe. Demand for luxury textiles was considerable, like for example in ceremonial occasions, religious celebrations and rituals associated with funerary rites. In the Early Middle Ages, the deceased were often wrapped in fabric before being laid in the grave. Legend has it that the Empress Galla Placidia (392/93–450) had the body of the deceased St. Germanus (378–448) wrapped in silk before it was returned, in accordance with the saint's express wish, to his home abbey at Auxerre.[29]

Although their meaning and importance within the ceremonial context of the Constantinopolitan court have been well established, representations of griffins did not lose the funerary connotations they had carried since antiquity. Silks with depictions of griffins are frequently encountered among grave goods as well,[30] precisely as in the present example, where a textile fragment with a griffin was recovered from a grave (necropolis of the Holy Saviour at the source of the Cetina rvier). A considerable number of Byzantine silks from this period has survived to the present day thanks to the practice of presenting such precious fabrics, frequently received as diplomatic gifts on the occasion of the

[27] Muthesius 1992, pp. 99–100.

[28] McClanan 2019, pp. 138–139.

[29] This precious textile, known as the "Shroud of St Germain," is today displayed in the Church of St. Eusebius in Auxerre. It is a 10th-century Byzantine velvet bearing a representation of eagles and roses ("cum rosa et aquilis"); judging by the quality of its weave and materials, it is a courtly textile whose date does not correspond to the legend surrounding its origin. Scott 1993, pp. 84–89.

[30] McClanan 2019, p. 142.

kom pregovora ili sklapanja brakova između vladarskih kuća bizantskog Istoka i latinskog Zapada, kao i u drugim prigodama koje su uključivale diplomatsku razmjenu, daruju crkvenim riznicama kako bi se u njih omatale relikvije svetaca. Nabrojimo samo najpoznatije primjere. „Lovačka svila iz Mozaca", fragment svile koji se danas čuva u fundusu Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs u Lyonu, s prikazom bizantskog cara u ceremonijalnom kostimu, nalazila se uz relikviju sv. Austremonija u Mozacu sve do 19. stoljeća, kada je dospjela u lyonski muzej. Identificirana je kao svila koju je vladar Pipin 764. godine donirao relikvijama svetca. Pretpostavlja se da je tekstil na Pipinov dvor dospio kao diplomatski dar vezan za bračne pregovore između Pipinove kćeri i nasljednika bizantskog cara Konstantina V. Fragment svilene tkanine poznat pod nazivom „Božica prirode" potječe iz katedrale u Durhamu. Prema tipu tkanja i grčkom natpisu datiran je u 9. stoljeće, a bio je omotan oko relikvije sv. Cuthberta. Pretpostavlja se da je riječ o daru koji je kralj Edmund 944. godine namijenio relikvijama svetca. Poznat je i niz fragmenata pokrova sv. Potentiena, bizantskog podrijetla, koji se datiraju u 12. stoljeće te se danas čuvaju u Musée national du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny pod inventarnim brojem CL 22817. Tekstilni fragmenti ukrašeni su motivom uparenih grifona u medaljonima, a povezuju se s funeralnom simbolikom koju grifon zadržava uz dvorski narativ. Grifonima je ukrašena i zagrobna tunika sv. Kunigunde, izrađena od bizantske svile 11. stoljeća, koja se danas čuva u Bayerisches Nationalmuseumu pod inventarnim brojem T16. Također, motivom grifona urešena je misnica sv. Vitalisa iz Salzburga iz groba u opatiji sv. Petra, danas pohranjena u Abegg-Stiftungu u Riggisbergu pod inventarnim brojem 232[31] (sl. 4 i 5).

U ovom je kontekstu važan nalaz fragmenata različitih svilenih tkanja pronađenih u relikvijarnom poprsju sv. Anastazija (Staša) iz splitske prvostolnice (Trevisan 1704.). U restauratorskim radovima izvedenim u Austriji 1995. godine fragmenti su razvrstani u pet grupa, pri čemu je svaka grupa istovrsnih fragmenata objedinjena na kartonima većih dimenzija.[32] Dva komada svilenog tkanja obradila je

[31] Muthesius 1992, str. 102; McClanan 2019, str. 133–145.

[32] U *Izvješću o izvršenoj preventivnoj konzervaciji na fragmentima iz relikvijara sv. Staša u vlasništvu splitske katedrale sv. Dujma* iz 2010. godine, koje

negotiation or conclusion of marriages between the ruling houses of the Byzantine East and the Latin West, or on other occasions involving diplomatic exchange. They were also often a gift to church treasuries, where they were used to wrap the relics of saints. Among the best known examples is the "Hunter Silk from Mozac," a silk fragment preserved today in the collection of the Musée des Tissus et des Arts Décoratifs in Lyon, which bears the image of a Byzantine emperor in ceremonial attire. It had been placed within the reliquary of St. Austremonius in Mozac until its transfer to the Lyon museum in the 19th century. It has been identified as the silk donated to the saint's relics by Pepin in 764. It is assumed that the textile reached Pepin's court as a diplomatic gift connected with the marriage negotiations between his daughter and the heir of the Byzantine emperor Constantine V. A fragment of silk fabric known as the "Nature Goddess Silk" comes from the Cathedral of Durham, which, based on its weave structure and its Greek inscription, is dated to the 9th century and was wrapped around the relics of St. Cuthbert. It was presumably a gift of King Edmund for the saint's relics in 944. Also notable is the series of textile fragments belonging to the shroud of St. Potentien, which is of Byzantine origin and dated to the 12th century, kept today at the Musée national du Moyen Âge—Thermes de Cluny under inv. no. CL 22817. These textile fragments are decorated with paired griffins within medallions and linked to the funerary symbolism that the griffin retains alongside its courtly associations. Griffins likewise adorn the funerary tunic of St. Cunigunde, made of 11th-century Byzantine silk, which is housed in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (inv. no. T16). The griffin motif also embellishes the chasuble of St. Vitalis of Salzburg, recovered from a grave in the abbey of St. Peter and now kept at the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg under inv. no. 232.[31]

(Figs. 4 and 5)

A particularly important find within this context is represented by fragments of various silk weaves discovered within the reliquary of the bust of St. Anastasius (Staš) (Trevisan 1704) in the Cathedral of Split. During the restoration carried out in Austria in 1995, these fragments were sorted into five groups, with each set of corresponding fragments mounted together on cardboards of larger dimen-

[31] Muthesius 1992, p. 102; McClanan 2019, pp. 133–145.



Sl. 4 - Tunika sv. Cunigunde , bizantska svila (11. stoljeće), (preuzeto iz McClanan 2019)
Fig. 4 - Tunic of St. Cunigunde, Byzantine silk (11th century); (taken from McClanan 2019)



Sl. 5 - Misnica sv. Vitalisa, inv. br. 232, Abegg-Stiftung, Riggsberg (preuzeto iz McClanan, 2019)
Fig. 5 - Chasuble of St. Vitalis, inv. no. 232, Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, (taken from McClanan 2019)

2008. godine Anna Muthesius, uz napomenu da je fragmentima potrebna dodatna tehnološka analiza, koju najavljuje u nekoj budućoj publikaciji.[33] Autorica obrađuje fragment tekstila koji naziva „Lisnata tapiserija“ (dim. 97 × 20 cm). Riječ je o svilenom komadu tkanine ljubičastocrvene boje na kojem je prikazano pet kružnih medaljona visine 18,5 – 19,5 cm, postavljenih u vertikalnom raportu. Medaljoni se razlikuju po ukrašenosti, od prikaza varijacija sasanidske palmete do ornamentalnih rješenja s motivom paunova pera. Autorica smatra da motiv potječe iz srednje Azije, iako ne isključuje korištenje istovrsnih motiva po čitavom islamskom i bizantskom Mediteranu, te tkaninu datira u razdoblje od 10. do 11. stoljeća.[34] Drugi tekstilni fragment anali-

sions.[32] Two silk fragments were studied in 2008 by Anna Muthesius, who noted that further technological examination would be required and anticipated in a future publication.[33] The author analysed a textile fragment which she named the “Leaf Tapestry,” measuring 97 × 20 cm. It is a piece of purple-red silken cloth bearing five circular medallions of 18.5–19.5 cm in height arranged in a vertical repeat pattern. The medallions vary in their ornament, from variants of the Sassanian palmette to designs incorporating the peacock-feather motif. The author assigns the origin of the motif to Central Asia, though she does not exclude the use of analogous motifs throughout the Islamic and Byzantine Mediterranean. She dates the fabric from the 10th

je sastavila konzervatorica-restauratorica savjetnica Sandra Lučić Vujičić iz Odjela za tekstil, papir i kožu Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda, navodi se da je riječ o šest, odnosno mogućih sedam različitih vrsta tkanine.

33 Muthesius 2008, str. 197.

34 O preplitanju motiva, tehnika tkanja i tehnologija bojanja islamskog i bizantskog Mediterana govori čitav niz autora. Kao prvog možemo spomenuti Otta von Falkea, koji je već 1913. i 1922. godine u svojim zna-

32 According to the document “Report on the preventive conservation carried out on the fragments from the reliquary of St. Anastasius in the possession of the Cathedral of St Domnius in Split,” from 2010, which was published by Sandra Lučić Vujičić, conservator-restorer and senior adviser at the Department for Textiles, Paper and Leather of the Croatian Conservation Institute, the fragments represent six or possibly seven distinct types of fabric.

33 Muthesius 2008, p. 197.

ziran u tom članku nazvan je „Životinjska tapiserija“ (dim. 50,8 × 13,5 cm), a ukrašava ga pet heksagonalnih medaljona. Unutar četiriju medaljona nalaze se prikazi nepoznate životinje, dok je u jednom medaljonu prikazan par ptica oko središnjeg motiva drveta. Autorica fragment pripisuje produkciji Fatimida iz Tiraza te ga datira između 1094. i 1171. godine. Oba tekstilna fragmenta objavio je u svojem radu i njihov pronalazač Joško Belamarić.[35] Prvi fragment, „Lisnatu tapiseriju“, smatra proizvodom radionica vezanih za kalifatski dvor krajem vladavine umajadske dinastije i početkom abasidske, odnosno nedugo nakon sredine 8. stoljeća. Prema njegovu mišljenju, fragment je dar bizantskog dvora splitskom nadbiskupu Ivanu prilikom njegova sudjelovanja na koncilu u Niceji. Poznato je da je nadbiskup pristupio preuređenju oltara svetaca zaštitnika Splita, a teza da je, slijedeći upute koncila, relikvije svetaca „darovao“ skupocjenim svilama više je nego vjerojatna u kontekstu sličnih postupaka diljem Europe. Iako se autori razilaze u pogledu podrijetla i datacije tkanina – Belamarić, primjerice, drugi fragment, „Životinjsku tapiseriju“, na temelju komparacije smatra proizvodom talijanskih ili španjolskih radionica 12./13. stoljeća te ga vezuje za obnovu oltara nadbiskupa Bernarda 1210. godine – ne isključuju mogućnost da su tekstili u prvostolnicu dospjeli posredstvom Bizanta.

U tom svjetlu obratila bih pozornost na svileni fragment s kartona br. 4.[36] Dimenzije fragmenta iznose 17 × 106,5 cm, a riječ je o svilenom samtu. Na velikom fragmentu vidljiv je medaljon obrubljen motivom bisera unutar kojeg je prikazan par krilatih konja. Medaljoni su međusobno povezani rozetama. Iako je fragment znatno oštećen, njegove likovne kvalitete možemo povezati s fragmentom tekstila „Tigerstoff“ iz Münsterbilsena, danas u Bruxellesu, koji je Otto von Falke 1913. godine objavio kao bizantsku svilu 6. stoljeća.[37] Nije isključeno da su svi svileni fragmenti nađeni u relikvijaru sv. Anastazija (Staša) srednjoazijskog podrijetla, no sigurno je da su u to vrijeme motivi i tehnologije

menitim knjigama *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* i *Decorative silks* jasno naznačio ovu problematiku. Anna Muthesius, Philippa Scott, Antony Cutler, Anna Ierusalimskaja i Birgitt Borkopp samo su neki od istraživača tekstila koji se u svojim tekstovima bave tom problematikom.

35 Belamarić 2014, str. 327–333.

36 Lucić Vujičić 2010, str. 5–7.

37 Falke 1913, str. 70.

to the 11th century.[34] The second fragment analysed in this paper, referred to as the “Animal Tapestry,” measures 50.8 × 13.5 cm and is decorated with five hexagonal medallions. Within four of the medallions are depictions of an unidentified animal, while the fifth features a pair of birds around a central tree motif. This textile is attributed to the Fatimid workshops from Tiraz and dated between 1094 and 1171. Both fragments will also be published by their finder, Joško Belamarić,[35] who believes the first fragment, i.e. the “Leaf Tapestry,” is a product of workshops associated with the caliphal court at the end of Umayyad rule and the beginning of the Abbasid dynasty, shortly after the mid-8th century. He considers the fragment to have been a gift from the Byzantine court to Archbishop John of Split, on the occasion of his participation in the Council of Nicaea. It is known that the archbishop undertook the refurbishment of the altar of the patron saints of Split. Furthermore, the thesis is more than plausible in light of comparable practices throughout Europe that he “endowed” the relics of these saints with costly silks following the directives of the councils. Although the two scholars diverge in their views on the origin and dating of the fabrics (Belamarić regards the second fragment, the “Animal Tapestry,” as the product of Italian or Spanish workshops of the 12th or 13th century on the basis of comparative analysis, and links it to the renovation of the altar by Archbishop Bernard in 1210), neither author excludes the possibility that the textiles reached the cathedral through Byzantine links.

In this regard, attention should also be drawn to a silk fragment from carton no. 4.[36] The fragment measures 17 × 106.5 cm and is woven in silk velvet. Across the large fragment, a medallion framed by a pearl-roundel border is discernible, within which paired winged horses are depicted. The medallions

34 Numerous authors have addressed the interweaving of motifs, weaving techniques and dyeing technologies across the Islamic and Byzantine Mediterranean. The earliest among them is Otto von Falke, who in his renowned works of 1913 and 1922, “Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei” and “Decorative Silks”, clearly outlined this issue. Anna Muthesius, Philippa Scott, Anthony Cutler, Anna Ierusalimskaja and Brigitta Borkopp are just some of the researchers of textile who have likewise engaged with this question in their works.

35 Belamarić 2014, pp. 327–333.

36 Lučić Vujičić 2010, pp. 5–7.

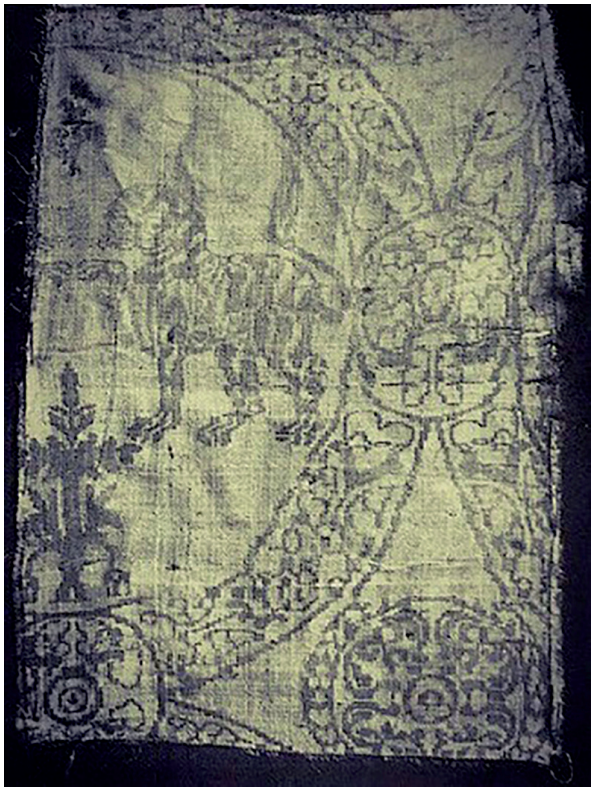


Sl. 6 - Fragment tekstila iz relikvijara sv. Staša, Riznica splitske katedrale, (foto: N. Vasić)
Fig. 6 - Textile fragment from the reliquary of St. Anastasius, Treasury of the Cathedral of Split; (photo N. Vasić)

bili isprepleteni te da do nas dolaze kao dio bizantskog kulturnog ozračja (sl. 6 i 7).

Motivi bizantske tekstilne produkcije još će jednom ući na velika vrata u oblikovanje liturgijskog ruha i pribora u sklopu velikih liturgijskih pokreta druge polovine 19. stoljeća.[38] Da bizantski utjecaj na liturgijsko ruho nije prestao sa srednjim vijekom, pokazuje i misnica od crne satenske svile koja se čuva u sakristiji franjevačkog samostana u Makarskoj.[39] Historicistički komad ruha, nastao pod utjecajem krefeldske tekstilne proizvodnje, zorno svjedoči o ponavljanju srednjovjekovnih motiva u liturgijskoj opremi i ruhu. Ukras osnovne tkanine misnice, stole i manipula čini biljni ornament složen u formi vitica koje uokviruju i ističu uparene orlove oko drveta života u središtu kružnog medaljona. Takav raspored motiva otkriva školovanog, darovitog tvorca kompozicije. Franz Bock, autor prvog industrijskog nacrta za tkanine s ovim motivom, smatra da izvornog autora svakako treba tražiti u bizantskom ili grčkom svijetu.[40] Prema rasporedu i načinu oblikovanja motiva tkanina se može datirati u 12. stoljeće, no za ovaj komad liturgijske odjeće vezana je i povijesna osoba. Naime, originalna misnica čuvala se u sakristiji benediktinske opatije Brauweiler kod Kölna. Franz Bock, ahenski kanonik, jedan od osnivača liturgijskog pokreta 19. stoljeća u Njemačkoj i neumorni sakupljač liturgijskog ruha, prilikom obilaska te opatije pronašao je misnicu.[41]

[38] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, str. 92–97.
[39] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, str. 131–132.
[40] Bock 1859, str. 8–9, T. u boji 4.
[41] Borkopp-Restle 2008, str. 5–35.

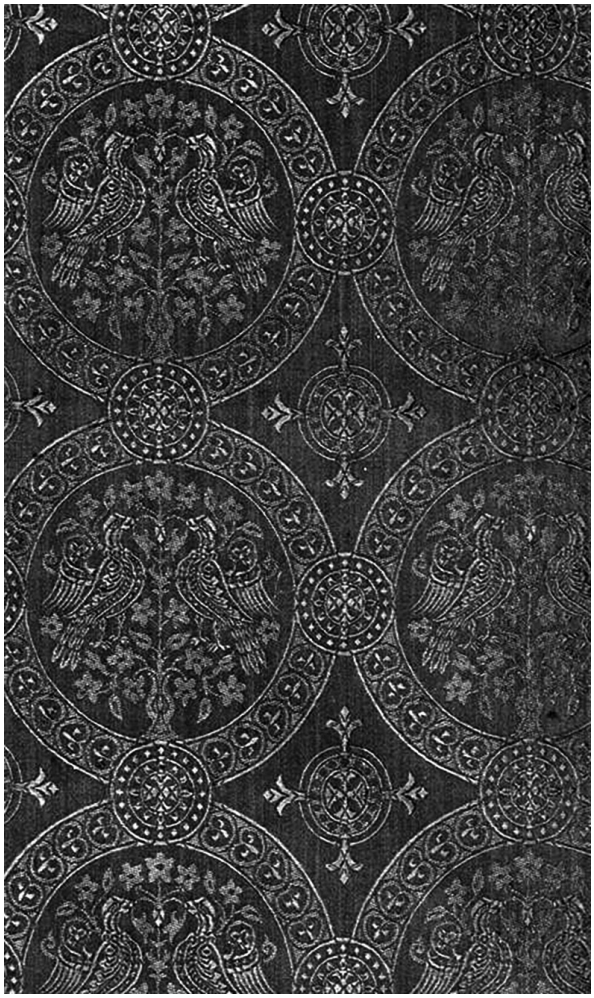


Sl. 7 - Fragment tekstila „Motiv tigra“, bizantska svila (6. stoljeće) (preuzeto iz Von Falke, 1913)
Fig. 7 - Textile fragment "Tiger motif," Byzantine silk (6th century), (taken from Von Falke 1913)

are linked to one another by rosettes. Although the fragment is severely damaged, its visual qualities may be associated with the textile fragment known as the "Tigerstoff" from Munsterbilzen, today in Brussels, which Otto von Falke published in 1913 as a 6th-century Byzantine silk.[37] It cannot be ruled out that all the silk fragments recovered from the reliquary of St. Anastasius are of Central Asian origin, yet it is certain that, during this period, motifs and technologies were deeply intertwined and reached these regions as part of the Byzantine cultural milieu. (Figs. 6 and 7)

The motifs of Byzantine textile production experienced a renewed revival in the design of liturgical vestments and accessories within the major liturgical movements of the second half of the 19th century.[38] That Byzantine influence on liturgical vestments did not end in the Middle Ages is also evident from a chasuble of black satin silk preserved in the sacristy of the Franciscan monastery

[37] Von Falke 1913, p. 70.
[38] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, pp. 92–97.



Sl. 8 - Detalj misnice M102 M, (19./20. stoljeće), Franjevački samostan u Makarskoj, (foto: I. Svedružić Šeparović).

Fig. 8 - Detail of the chasuble M 102 M (19th/20th century), Franciscan monastery in Makarska; (photo: I. Svedružić Šeparović)

Kako je poznato, sv. Bernard iz Clairvauxa 1157. godine pohodi Rajnsku oblast kako bi pozvao kršćane na rat protiv nevjernika u Svetoj zemlji. Na svojem putu, odjeven u taj misni ornat, propovijeda u crkvi opatije Brauweiler. Motiv preuzet s te znamenite povijesne misnice počeo se proizvoditi u Krefeldu krajem 19. stoljeća. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o tvrtki Dutzenberg, u čijoj staroj knjizi motiva i danas postoji identičan nacrt pod brojem 139.[42] Motiv su ubrzo prihvatile i druge tvrtke te se on do danas proizvodi u krefeldskim tvrtkama za izradu tkanina.

Misni komplet ukrašen motivom s misnice sv. Bernarda iz Clairvauxa nalazimo u franjevačkom samostanu u Makarskoj. Misnica M 102 M (dim.

[42] Beaucamp-Markowsky 1981, str. 266.

in Makarska.[39] This historicist vestment, produced under the influence of the textile production in Krefeld, clearly attests to the revival of medieval motifs in liturgical vestments and accessories. The decoration of the base fabric of the chasuble, stole and maniple consists of a vegetal ornament composed of tendrils framing and highlighting paired eagles around the Tree of Life at the centre of a circular medallion. This compositional scheme reveals the work of a trained and highly skilled designer. Franz Bock, author of the first industrial design pattern incorporating this motif on fabrics, argues that its original source should be sought in the Byzantine or Greek world.[40] On the basis of the arrangement and the shape of the motif, the textile can be dated to the 12th century, yet this particular piece of liturgical attire is also linked to a historical figure. Namely, the original chasuble was kept in the sacristy of the Benedictine abbey of Brauweiler near Cologne. During a visit to the Abbey of Brauweiler, Franz Bock, a canon from Aachen and one of the founders of the 19th-century liturgical movement in Germany and an indefatigable collector of liturgical vestments, discovered the chasuble.[41] As it is well known, St. Bernard of Clairvaux travelled through the Rhineland region in 1157 in order to summon Christians to wars against the unbelievers in the Holy Land. During this journey, he is said to have preached in the church of the Abbey of Brauweiler wearing precisely this richly ornamented chasuble. The motif derived from this remarkable historical chasuble soon began to be produced in Krefeld at the end of the 19th century. It was most likely manufactured by the Dutzenberg company, whose historical pattern book still preserves an identical design under catalogue number 139.[42] The motif was subsequently adopted by other manufacturers as well and continues to be produced to this day by the textile manufacturers in Krefeld.

A liturgical set decorated with the motif of the chasuble of St. Bernard of Clairvaux is preserved in the Franciscan monastery in Makarska. The chasuble M 102 M (103 × 66 cm), of black silk damask embroidered with silver thread, is dated to the turn of the 20th century,[43] and has a label of the com-

[39] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, pp. 131–132.
[40] Bock 1859, pp. 8–9, colour plate 4.
[41] Borkopp-Restle 2008, pp. 5–35.
[42] Beaucamp-Markowsky 1981, p. 266.
[43] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, pp. 131–135.

103 × 66 cm), izrađena od crnog svilenog damasta i izvezena srebrnim koncem, datira se na prijelaz iz 19. u 20. stoljeće.[43] Na misnici je pronađena etiketa s natpisom „Naša Sloga“, Ljubljana. Tvrtku „Naša Sloga“ osnovao je duhovnik Anton Mrkun (1876. – 1961.). Široka obrubna traka misnog kompleta ukrašena je crno-bijelim motivom meandra, a misnica je latinskog tipa sa stupom na prednjoj i križem na stražnjoj strani. U sjecištu krakova križa nalazi se Kristov monogram izvezen srebrnim koncem i uokviren zrakama. Iako izrađen na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće, ovaj liturgijski komplet svjedoči o dugom trajanju upečatljivih bizantskih motiva koji, čak i kada su reinterpretirani i usklađeni s motivikom 20. stoljeća, zadržavaju dostojanstvo i podsjećaju na snagu izričaja svilarske produkcije Bizantskog Carstva (sl. 8).

pany “Naša Sloga,” Ljubljana, which was founded by the clergyman Anton Mrkun (1876–1961). The wide border band of the set is decorated with a black-and-white meander motif, while the chasuble itself follows the Latin type, with a column on the front and a cross on the back. At the intersection of the arms of the cross appears Christ’s monogram, embroidered in silver thread and framed by rays. Although produced at the turn of the 20th century, this liturgical set testifies to the long continuity of distinctive Byzantine motifs, which, even when reinterpreted and adapted to the motifs of the 20th century, retain their dignity and evoke the enduring expressive power of the silk production of the Byzantine empire. (Fig. 8)

[43] Svedružić Šeparović 2025, str. 131–135.

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