

# Prstenasti broš s natpisom iz templarske Gore - prijedlog dekodiranja

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# Prstenasti broš s natpisom iz templarske Gore – prijedlog dekodiranja

## *An Inscribed Annular Brooch from the Templar Site of Gora – A Possible Decipherment*

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*Krenuvši od srebrnoga prstenastog broša s natpisom, u Hrvatskoj jedinstvenog nalaza pronađenog u arheološkim istraživanjima templarske crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori kod Petrinje, autori u ovom radu, prvi put u hrvatskoj literaturi, ukratko prikazuju vrste broševa, usredotočivši se pritom na one koji na sebi nose neki natpis. Osvrćući se na vrste natpisa, pokušavaju shvatiti svu slojevitost funkcija nalaza istaknutog u naslovu. Pokušavajući pročitati jedinstven natpis urezan u broš iz Gore, u čemu u velikoj mjeri i uspijevaju, usput uspijevaju dekodirati i natpis na još jednom brošu, iz Strasbourga. Analizom broša iz Gore i njegova arheološkog konteksta te komparacijom s analognim nalazima širom Europe, autori za njega nude dataciju, određuju provenijenciju ali i otkrivaju vjerojatni identitet osobe koja je s njime pokopana. U svojem zaključku ističu važnost odgonetanja simboličkih kodova na nakitu srednjeg vijeka, jer nas on približava bogatom svjetonazoru srednjovjekovnih ljudi, o čemu sačuvani srednjovjekovni izvori za sada uglavnom malo govore.*

*Ključne riječi: broš, prstenasti broš, inskripcija, natpis, Ave Maria, kasni srednji vijek, templari, identitet*

*Starting from an inscribed silver annular brooch discovered in the archaeological excavations of the Templar church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora near Petrinja, as a unique find in Croatia, the authors in this paper, for the first time in the Croatian literature, present in brief the types of brooches, focusing on those bearing an inscription. Commenting on the types of inscriptions, the authors try to comprehend the full stratification of the functions of the artefact singled out in the title. In their attempt to read the unique inscription incised into the Gora brooch, in which they have been successful to a large extent, they at the same time succeed in decoding the inscription on another brooch, this time from Strasbourg. Having analysed the brooch from Gora and its archaeological context, as well as having compared it with analogous finds throughout Europe, the authors have put forward a date for the brooch and determined the provenance, while at the same time revealing the probable identity of the person buried together with it. In the conclusion, they put a stress on the importance of the decipherment of symbolic codes on mediaeval jewellery, since it brings us closer to the rich worldview of mediaeval populations, which generally figures very modestly in the preserved mediaeval sources.*

*Key words: brooch, annular brooch, inscription, Ave Maria, Late Middle Ages, Templars, identity*

### 1. OPIS BROŠA

Nalaz koji je okosnica ovog rada prstenasti je broš širokog i ravnog okvira,<sup>1</sup> izrađen od srebra, s natpisom na prednjoj i geometrijskim ukrasom na stražnjoj strani, pronađen tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja templarske crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori kod Petrinje (PN 34). Izrađen je od lagano zatamnjenoga srebra, tanje i deblje urezanih ukrasa. Slova i deblje ukrasne linije ispunjene su niellom. Vanjski promjer broša iznosi 2,8 cm, a unutarnji

1 O terminološkim raznolikostima kada su u pitanju slični nalazi, kao i o njihovoj tipološkoj podjeli, bit će još govora u radu.

### 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE BROOCH

The object that is the topic of this paper is an annular brooch with a wide and flat frame<sup>1</sup>, made of silver, with an inscription on the front and a geometric design on the back. The brooch was discovered during the salvage archaeological excavation of the Templar church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora near Petrinja (SF 034). It is made of slightly darkened silver, with thinner and thicker

1 Terminological differences pertaining to similar finds, as well as their typological division, will be discussed later in the paper.

1,8 cm. Okvir broša širok je 5 mm, a debljina mu iznosi 1,05 mm. Dužina igle je 2,5 cm te ona doseže do sredine okvira na suprotnoj strani. Težina broša je 4,043 g.

Na prednjoj strani broša nalazi se natpis kojeg čini niz



Sl. 1 Prstenasti broš iz Gore – prednja strana (snimio: Janko Belaj, 2015.)

Fig. 1 Annular brooch from Gora – front (photo: Janko Belaj, 2015)

od 15 slova: AVEMAIGLNROAICS. Natpis, kojem će biti posvećen glavni dio rasprave, urezan je te ispunjen niellom, jednako kao i linija koja teče između njega i vanjskog ruba broša, koji je ukrašen urezanim tankim, koso položenim crticama, što će se pokazati njegovom sitnom ali vrlo važnom značajkom (sl. 1).

Stražnja strana broša ukrašena je urezanim linijama (sl.



Sl. 2 Prstenasti broš iz Gore – stražnja strana (snimio: Janko Belaj, 2015.)

Fig. 2 Annular brooch from Gora – back (photo: Janko Belaj, 2015)

incised decoration. Letters and thicker decorative lines are filled with niello. The exterior diameter of the brooch is 2.8 cm, and the interior one is 1.8 cm. Brooch frame is 5 mm wide and 1.05 mm thick. The pin is 2.5 cm long, reaching to the middle of the frame on the opposite side. The brooch weighs 4.043 g.

The front of the brooch features an inscription consisting of a sequence of fifteen letters: AVEMAIGLNROAICS. The inscription, to which we have dedicated the main part of the discussion, is incised and filled with niello, same as the line running between it and the outer edge of the brooch, which is decorated with thin incised oblique notches, which will prove to be a small, but very important feature (Fig. 1).

The back of the brooch is decorated with incised lines (Fig. 2). The frame is divided into four equal parts, and the decoration makes up a square inscribed in an annulus. One corner of that square accommodates the bed for the pin, so the two sides of the square next to it are slightly curved and bent outwards, while the opposite two are totally straight. Each side of the square consists of three thicker lines filled with niello: the interior lines in the middle reach to the interior border of the frame, and they join each other at the outer border of the frame; running alongside these lines are the second and, a bit further away, the third line. The space between the second and third lines is filled with tiny incised zigzag lines, and the space between the third line and the outer edge of the frame is decorated in a similar way, however, this is presently poorly visible due to the wear. Naturally, the corner accommodating the bed of the pin is not decorated, and in the other three corners there is the motif of a stylized lily in the negative – the surrounding space is filled with niello.

At one point the frame is narrowed in the length of 3 mm so that it forms a groove for the bed of the pin; at that place the width of the frame is narrowed from 5 to approximately 2 mm. A movable pin, made of the same material as the brooch frame, has also been preserved. Its cross-section is rectangular, carefully rounded only at the front. Its base is bent into a somewhat flattened open loop allowing it to rotate around the narrowed frame without moving out of the groove-bed. This allowed the brooch to be worn on either side. A little below the base the pin slightly widens, from 2.4 to 3.15 mm, and at that place there is a shield-shaped decoration only at the front, perhaps a simple coat of arms consisting of a shield (raised part) with two incised transverse beams. Coats of arms appeared in Europe at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. as symbols of affiliation. The first known stamp with a coat of arms dates from 1140.<sup>2</sup> Deciphering which coat of arms this might be is rendered more difficult by its simplicity and the fact that we do not know its colours (tinctures).

2 Ravlić 2016: Coat of arms; <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=23190> (Accessed on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2016).



2). Okvir je podijeljen na četiri jednaka dijela, a izvedeni ukras tvori kvadrat upisan u kružni vijenac. U jednom kutu toga kvadrata nalazi se ležište igle, pa su dvije stranice kvadrata uz nju malo zakrivljene, izvijene prema van, dok su dvije nasuprotne potpuno ravne. Svaka stranica kvadrata sastoji se od tri deblje linije ispunjene niellom: unutarnje linije u sredini dolaze sve do unutarnjeg ruba okvira, a međusobno se spajaju na vanjskom rubu okvira; uz njih teku druga pa, malo udaljenije, i treća linija. Prostor između druge i treće linije ispunjen je vrlo sitnim urezanim cik-cak linijama, a slično je ukrašen i prostor između treće linije i vanjskog ruba okvira, ali je to danas – zbog izlisanosti – slabije vidljivo. Ugao u kojem se nalazi ležište igle, naravno, nije ukrašen, a se u ostala tri nalazi motiv stiliziranog ljiljana u negativu – niellom je ispunjen okolni prostor.

Okvir je na jednom dijelu u dužini od 3 mm sužen tako da tvori utor za ležište igle; na tom je mjestu širina okvira sužena sa 5 na oko 2 mm. Sačuvana je i pomična igla iskavana od istog materijala kao i okvir broša. Njezin je presjek pravokutan, brižno zaobljen samo s prednje strane. Baza joj je savijena u pomalo spljoštenu otvorenu petlju koja joj omogućava da se okreće oko suženog okvira a da pritom ne izlazi iz utora-ležišta. Zbog toga je broš bilo moguće nositi na obje strane. Malo ispod baze igla je blago proširena, sa 2,4 na 3,15 mm, i na tom se mjestu samo s prednje strane nalazi štitoliki ukras, možda jednostavan grb koji se sastoji od štita (izdignuti dio) s urezane dvije poprečne grede. Grbovi se u Europi javljaju početkom 12. stoljeća kao oznake pripadnosti. Prvi poznati pečat s grbom potječe iz 1140. godine.<sup>2</sup> Odgonetavanje o kojem je eventualno grbu riječ otežavaju njegova jednostavnost i činjenica da ne znamo njegove boje (tinkture).

## 2. ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA CRKVE UZNESENJA BLAŽENE DJEVICE MARIJE U GORI

Broš je pronađen u arheološkim istraživanjima crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori nedaleko od Petrinje na Banovini, koje je, radi potrebe njezine potpune obnove, proveo Institut za arheologiju, pod vodstvom Jurja Belaja, u razdoblju od 2008. do 2011. godine (sl. 3).<sup>3</sup>

Tijekom iskopavanja istražena su 424 groba. Najstariji su bili ukopani oko romaničke crkve.<sup>4</sup> Grobovi srednje faze ukopavani su od vremena izgradnje ranogotičke crkve, koju su sredinom prve polovine 13. stoljeća izgradili templari (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014: 58), do prvih stoljeća novog vijeka.

Ostaci iz barem ponekih grobova na koje su naišli graditelji templarske ranogotičke crkve, brižno su položeni u kosturnice ukopane uz potpornjake. Jednu od njih, uko-

2 Ravlić 2016: Grb; <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=23190> (20. 1. 2016.).

3 Opširnije o ovim istraživanjima crkve vidjeti u: Belaj 2011; Belaj, Sirovica 2012a. O ranijim istraživanjima koja je 1997., 1998. te 2003. godine proveo Hrvatski restauratorski zavod vidjeti u: Miletić 1999; Azinović Bebek, Pleše 2004.

4 Riječ je o crkvi koju su templari dobili za vladavine Bele III. (1172.–1196.) (Smičiklas 1905: 85; Dobronić 1984: 27–29; 2002: 32–33).

## 2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS OF THE CHURCH OF THE ASSUMPTION OF BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN GORA

The brooch was found in the archaeological excavation of the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora near Petrinja in the Banovina region, carried out between 2008 and 2011 by the Institute of Archaeology under the management of Juraj Belaj as part of the preparations for the complete reconstruction of the church (Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup>

A total of 424 graves were discovered in the excavations. The earliest graves were buried around the Romanesque church.<sup>4</sup> The beginning of burials of the middle phase started when the Templars built the early Gothic church in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> cent. (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014: 58) and lasted until the first centuries of the modern period.

The remains from at least some graves encountered by the builders of the early Gothic Templar church were carefully deposited in the ossuaries buried next to the supporting pillars. One of the ossuaries, buried next to a pillar in the middle of the southern church wall was cut at the edge by grave 50. The grave contained the complete skeleton of an adult female. The bones are excellently preserved (Fig. 4). On the left side of the ribs (on the chest) lay a brooch (SF 34), as one of the most interesting grave goods, and at the same time the main topic of this paper (Fig. 5).<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the ossuary, this grave cut also the backfill of the pillar-hole, which gives us the lower chronological limit of the burial – the time of building of the Templar church in the middle of the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. We are less lucky with the upper chronological limit of the burial, because the younger graves that cut through it did not contain any datable finds, meaning that the most informative element for dating the grave will be the brooch itself.

## 3. WHAT IS AN ANNULAR BROOCH?

Annular brooch (sometimes also *ring brooch* or simply *brooch*) is an object similar to a buckle frame, consisting of a frame of various shapes and a movable pin. However, in brooches like this the pin cannot slide unhindered along the frame, like on buckle frames, but its bed is fixed in a way – either by thinning the frame at one place, which is the most common case, by piercing a small hole, or by surrounding the bed by some kind of appliques on a frame of round cross-section.<sup>6</sup> It served for attaching clothes on the chest

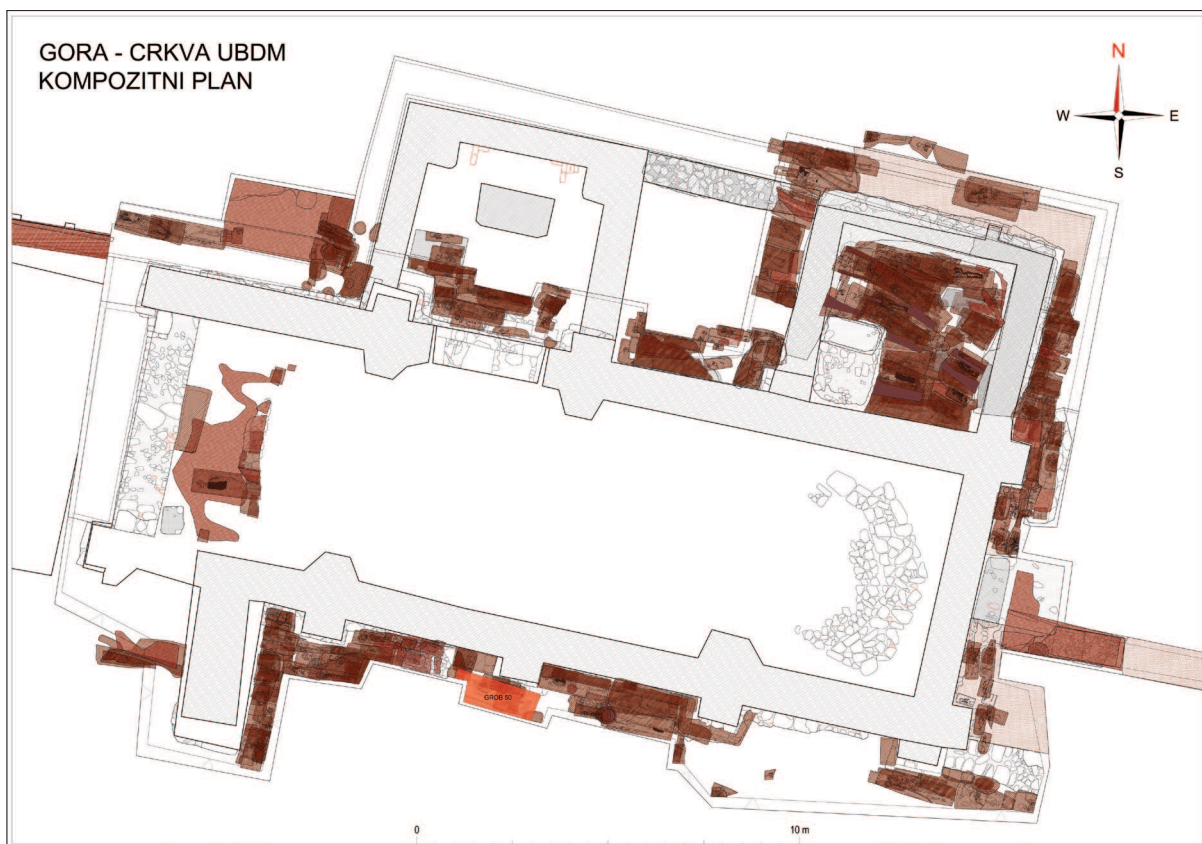
3 For a more extensive account of this research of the church see: Belaj 2011; Belaj, Sirovica 2012a. For the earlier research carried out by the Croatian Restoration Institute in 1997, 1998 and 2003 see in Miletić 1999; Azinović Bebek, Pleše 2004.

4 This church was given to the Templars during the reign of Bela III (1172–1196) (Smičiklas 1905: 85; Dobronić 1984: 27–29; 2002: 32–33).

5 The basic ideas in this paper were communicated in brief by J. Belaj in his paper “Devotional Mary’s brooch from Gora” at the scientific symposium *Worship of the Virgin in the Sisak Diocese*, held between 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> December 2015 in Sisak, organized by the Sisak Diocese and the Croatian Mariological Institute of the Catholic Faculty of Theology of the University of Zagreb. The proceedings from this conference are being prepared.

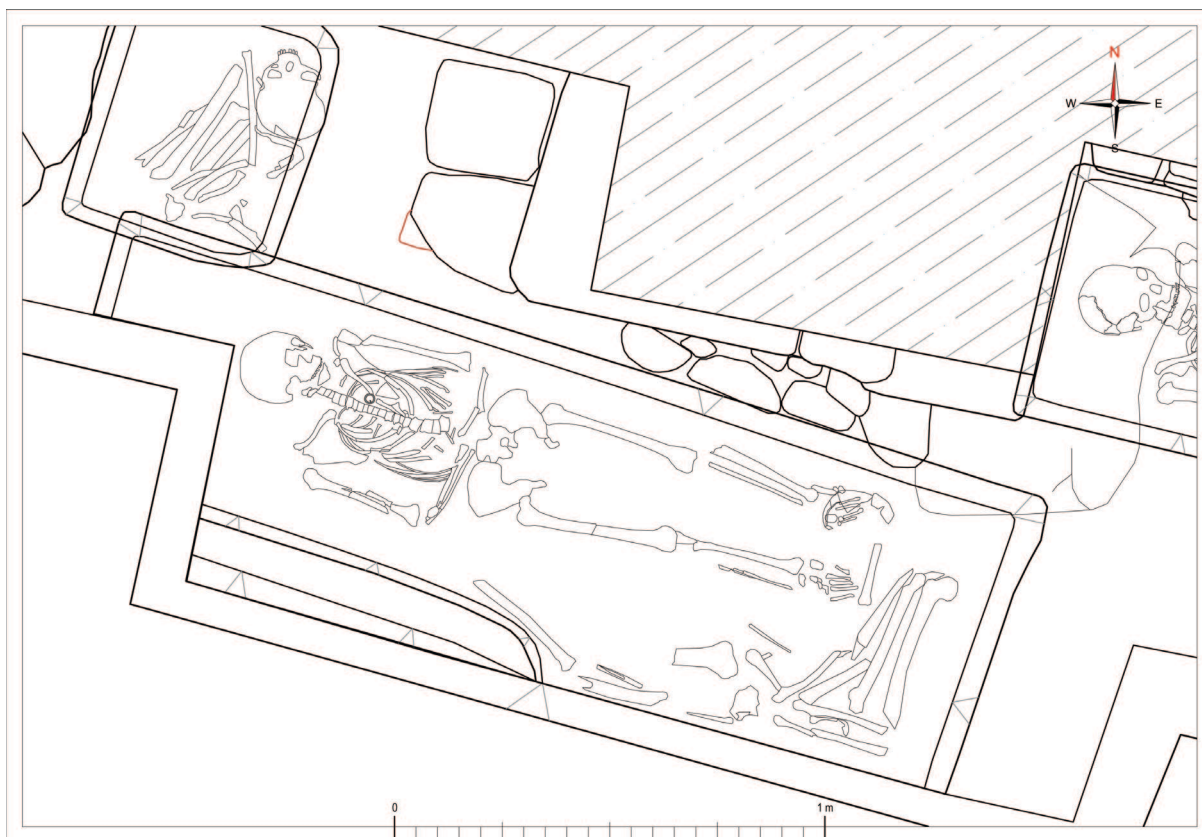
6 Unlike plain annular buckles (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 248), which were also found at Gora (Belaj 2011: 136).





Sl. 3 Tlocrt temelja ranogotičke templarske crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori (izradila: N. Kovačević, 2011.) s istraženim arheološkim ostacima (izradila: F. Sirovica, 2012.)

Fig. 3 Layout of the foundations of the Templar church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora (design: N. Kovačević, 2011), with excavated archaeological remains (design: F. Sirovica, 2012)



Sl. 4 Položaj groba 50 (izradila: F. Sirovica, 2012.)

Fig. 4 Position of grave 50 (design: F. Sirovica, 2012)

panu uz potpornjak na sredini južnog zida crkve, rubno je presjekao grob 50. U njega je bio položen i cjeloviti kostur odrasle ženske osobe. Kostu su izvrsno očuvane (sl. 4). Na lijevoj strani rebara (na prsima) nađen je broš (PN 34), jedan od najzanimljivijih grobnih nalaza, a koji je okosnica ovog rada (sl. 5).<sup>5</sup>

Osim kosturnice, ovaj je grob presjekao i zapunu ukopa za potpornjak, što nam daje donju granicu ukopa – vrijeme izgradnje templarske crkve sredinom prve polovine 13. stoljeća. S utvrđivanjem gornje granice ukopa nemamo sreće, jer se u mlađim grobovima koji su ga presjekli nisu nalazili nikakvi nalazi koji bi ih mogli datirati, tako da će pri dataciji groba ipak najveću pomoć pružiti sam broš.

### 3. ŠTO JE TO PRSTENASTI BROŠ

Prstenasti broš (engl. *annular brooch*, *ring brooch*, ponekad nazivan samo *brooch*) je predmet sličan predici koji se sastoji od okvira različitih oblika i igle koja se može okretati. No, kod ovakvog broša igla se ne može kretati nesmetano po okviru, kao kod predica, nego ima na neki način definirano svoje ležište – bilo stanjenjem okvira na jednom mjestu, što je najčešći slučaj, bilo da je za nju na okviru probušena rupica, bilo da je njezino ležište omeđeno kakvim aplikama na okviru okrugla presjeka.<sup>6</sup> Služio je za zakapčanje odjeće na prsima ispod vrata ili na jednom odnosno oba ramena. Premda su broševi najčešće kružnog oblika, mogu se javljati i u drukčijim oblicima, no zajedničko im je to da se sastoje od okvira u čijoj je sredini prazan prostor.<sup>7</sup> Egan upozorava da su prstenasti broševi tek jedna od dviju osnovnih grupa broševa; drugu čine broševi s nepomičnom iglom koji uglavnom nemaju okvir, ali ga mogu imati, a izrađeni su isključivo od olova ili kositra te su vrlo slični „hodočasničkim bedževima“ (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 247–248).

U inozemnoj literaturi ova će se vrsta nalaza također različito nazivati, no neki od najčešće korištenih termina su *fermail* (francuski), *Fürspan* (njemački), *spilla anulare* (talijanski), *zapon* (srpski) i *zaponka* (slovenski). U hrvatskoj literaturi ovaj se nalaz tek sporadično javlja te se terminologija još nije ustalila pa se javlja pod nazivima: *predica od pojasa* (Brunšmid 1904), *spona za plašt* (Tomičić 2009), *spona* (Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011), *kopča za plašt* (Ilkić 2010; Minichreiter, Marković 2013; Demo 2014), *spona za odjeću* (Tkalčec 2010), *okrugli broš* (Belaj 2011; Belaj, Sirovica 2012b), *kopča-broš* (Krznar 2012) i *kopča* (Ilkić 2010; Krznar 2015; Šimek 2016). U radu ćemo pak nadalje jednostavno govoriti o broševima, a pridjev „prstenasti“ ćemo izostaviti.

Broš se pojavio spontano s bizantskom modom oblače-



Sl. 5 Gorski broš *in situ* (snimila: F. Sirovica, 2008.)

Fig. 5 Gora brooch *in situ* (photo: F. Sirovica, 2008)

below the neck or on one or both shoulders. Although brooches are most often circular, they may also come in other shapes. One thing they all have in common is that they consist of a frame with empty space in the middle.<sup>7</sup> Egan draws attention to the fact that annular brooches are merely one of the two basic groups, the other consisting of brooches with immovable pin, which generally lack the frame, although they may have one, and which were made exclusively of lead or tin and closely resemble “pilgrim badges” (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 247–248).

In the foreign literature this type of objects has received different names, however, among the most commonly used terms we can single out *fermail* (French), *Fürspan* (German), *spilla anulare* (Italian), *zapon* (Serbian), *zaponka* (Slovenian). Since in the Croatian literature this artefact appears only sporadically, the terminology has not stabilized yet, so it is variously referred to as: *predica od pojasa* (*buckle frame*; Brunšmid 1904), *spona za plašt* (*mantle brooch*; Tomičić 2009), *spona* (*brooch*; Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011), *kopča za plašt* (*mantle clasp*; Ilkić 2010; Minichreiter, Marković 2013; Demo 2014), *spona za odjeću* (*clothes fastener*; Tkalčec 2010), *okrugli broš* (*round brooch*; Belaj 2011; Belaj, Sirovica 2012b), *kopča-broš* (*clasp-brooch*; Krznar 2012), *kopča* (*buckle*; Ilkić 2010; Krznar 2015; Šimek 2016). From here onwards we shall simply talk about brooches, leaving the adjective “annular” aside.

The brooch emerged spontaneously with the Byzantine clothing fashion in the 12<sup>th</sup> cent., which imposed the wearing of long-sleeved and ankle-long tunics for both sexes (Engl. *kirtle*, *cotte*, *cotehardie*). Garments of this type had a cut below the neck, which was fastened by a brooch. More robust brooches were used to fasten also long coats and mantles or robes draped over tunics (Søvsø 2009: 190). They could be fastened below the neck, but also on one or both shoulders (Radišić 2014: 110)<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes they were worn

5 Osnovne ideje ovog rada u kratkim je crtama priopćio J. Belaj u izlaganju *Zavjetni Marijin broš iz Gore* na znanstvenom simpoziju *Štovanje Bogorodice na području Sisačke biskupije* koji je bio održan od 4. do 6. prosinca 2015. u Sisku, u organizaciji Sisačke biskupije i Hrvatskoga mariološkog instituta Katoličkoga bogoslovnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Zbornik radova s toga skupa je u pripremi.

6 Za razliku od predica okruglog okvira (engl. *plain annular buckles*; Egan, Pritchard 2002: 248) koje su također pronađene u Gori (Belaj 2011: 136).

7 Po tome se razlikuju od diskoidnih broševa koji nemaju otvor u sredini i tipičniji su za 11. nego za 12. stoljeće (Hinton 2005: 173, sl. 6.1); v. i primjere na tapiseriji iz Bayeuxa (Gibbs-Smith 1973).

7 In this they differ from discoid brooches, which lack the empty space in the middle and which are more typical for the 11<sup>th</sup> than for the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. (Hinton 2005: 173, Fig. 6.1); see another examples on tapestry from Bayeux (Gibbs-Smith 1973).

8 During the Middle Byzantine period, judging by figural depictions, the officials fastened their mantles with brooches placed either on the chest or on the right shoulder. After that they are only sporadically mentioned, at least in the written sources. Based on this, Parani concluded that



nja u 12. stoljeća koja je za oba spola nametnula nošenje odjeće dugih rukava i koja je sezala do gležnjeva, tuniku (engl. *kirtle*, *cotte*, *cotehardie*). Ona je imala prorez ispod vratnog otvora koji se pomoću broša zakopčavao. Robusniji broševi su pričvršćivali i duge kapute te plašteve, odnosno ogrtače prebačene preko tunika (Søvsø 2009: 190). Mogli su se zakapčati ispod vrata, ali i na jednom ili oba ramena (Radišić 2014: 110).<sup>8</sup> Ponekad su nošeni i samo kao ukras (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 247). Na likovnim prikazima možemo vidjeti da su se znali nositi i u kombinaciji s većim, robusnijim i samim time otpornijim diskoidnim broševima, koji bi znali zakapčati plašt tako da se broš koji je kopčao tuniku također vidio. Nosili su se diljem Europe od 12. do 15. stoljeća, s tim da su najveću popularnost imali tijekom 13. i 14. stoljeća.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. VRSTE BROŠEVA

Pojedini istraživači ponudili su različite tipološke podjele prstenastih broševa. Naravno, osnovne se podjele prstenastih broševa tiču upravo njihova oblika, a nadalje se u obzir osobito uzima vrsta ukrasa. Danska arheologinja Mette Højmark Søvsø napravila je detaljnu tipološku klasifikaciju prstenastih broševa iz srednjovjekovne Danske. Razvrstala ih je u sedam vrsta sa 24 podvrsta (Søvsø 2009: 185–190). Budući da je riječ o relativno velikom korpusu (215 komada) te da je tipologija učinjena nedavno, prikazat ćemo je u osnovnim crtama imajući na umu da zrcali i stanovite regionalne specifičnosti. Prstenasti su broševi u autoričnoj tipologiji prema obliku podijeljeni na: prstenaste broševe širokog i ravnog okvira, uskog i debelog okvira, s motivom rukovanja, štitolikog ili scrololikog okvira, zvjezdolikog okvira, na višekutne prstenaste broševe te one višelisnog i „valovitog“ okvira. Svaki od tipova podijeljen je dalje na podtipove, uglavnom prema načinu ukrašavanja ili pak prema varijacijama oblika.<sup>10</sup> Budući da gorski broš na prednjoj strani nosi natpis, u nastavku ćemo se detaljnije osvrnuti upravo na broševe s natpisom, odnosno na natpise same.<sup>11</sup>

#### 5. VRSTE NATPISA NA BROŠEVIMA

Natpisi su u broševe urezani, često dorađeni u niello tehnici, ili su utisnuti lijevanjem u kalupu. Mogu se nalaziti sa-

8 Tijekom srednjega bizantskog razdoblja, sudeći prema likovnim prikazima, dužnosnici su svoje plašteve zakopčavali brošem postavljenim ili na prsa ili na desno rame. Poslije se, barem u pisanim izvorima, spominju tek sporadično. Parani prema tome zaključuje da je tada zakapčanje plašteva brošem izašlo iz mode, barem što se višeg staleža tiče (Parani 2015: 420).

9 Iako pojedini crteži u rukopisima s područja Engleske pokazuju da je visoko plemstvo nosilo broševe kao ustaljeni simbol statusa već početkom 12. stoljeća, arheološki nalazi to ne potvrđuju (Hinton 2005: 171). U nekim dijelovima Europe, primjerice u Škotskoj i Norveškoj, prstenasti je broš sve do nedavno preživio kao dio tradicionalne seljačke nošnje (Lightbown 1992: 385; Søvsø 2009: 207, bilj. 11).

10 Autoričnoj bismo klasifikaciji mogli dodati još nekoliko vrsta uočenih drugdje u Europi, primjerice, prstenastih broševa izrađenih od uvijenih žica (Hinton 2005: 188–189), onih sa sklopljenim rukama koje izlaze izvan osnovnoga kružnog oblika (Lightbown 1992: 495, kat. br. 14) ili onih koncipiranih od dvaju nasuprotno postavljenih romanički stiliziranih bića (Hinton 2005: 189).

11 Natpisi se u ovo vrijeme nalaze i na drugim predmetima, osobito na prstenju (v. primjere u: Ragolič 2010), no na njih se u ovom radu nećemo osvrnuti.

specifically as decoration (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 247). Figural depictions reveal that they were also worn in combination with bigger, more robust and consequently also more resistant discoid brooches, which could fasten a mantle in a way that allowed also the brooch fastening the tunic to be visible. They were worn throughout Europe from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., enjoying peak popularity during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4. BROOCH TYPES

Various researchers put forward different typological classifications of annular brooches. Naturally, the basic divisions of annular brooches are based primarily on their shape and, additionally, on the type of decoration in particular. The Danish archaeologist Mette Højmark Søvsø created a detailed typological classification of annular brooches from mediaeval Denmark. She divided them into seven types with 24 subtypes (Søvsø 2009: 185–190). Considering that this is a relatively large assemblage (215 specimens), and that this typology has only recently been introduced, we shall present it in basic outlines, keeping in mind that it also reflects certain regional specificities. The author's typology divides annular brooches by shape into: annular brooches with wide and straight frame; narrow and thick frame; with a handshake motif, with a shield-shaped or cordate frame; star-shaped frame; polygonal annular brooches and those of multi-leaf and "undulated" frames. Each of these types is further divided into subtypes, mainly by method of decoration or by variations of shape.<sup>10</sup> Since the Gora brooch is inscribed on the front, later in the text we shall review inscribed brooches, that is, the inscriptions themselves in more detail.<sup>11</sup>

#### 5. TYPES OF INSCRIPTIONS ON BROOCHES

Inscriptions were incised into brooches, and then often further worked in niello, or impressed by casting in a mould. They may decorate one or, more rarely, both sides of the brooch. The inscriptions present on brooches may be divided into several categories: devotional, magical, love inscriptions and those unintelligible to us. What they all share in common is their undeniable protective role. The so-called proprietary inscriptions are very rare. Another not uncommon feature of the inscriptions are "misspellings", which may be accidental or deliberate.

fastening clothes with brooches went out of fashion, as far as the upper classes are concerned (Parani 2015: 420).

9 Although certain drawings in the manuscripts from England show that the nobility wore brooches as a customary status symbol as early as the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> cent., this has not been corroborated by archaeological finds (Hinton 2005: 171). In certain parts of Europe, for instance Scotland and Norway, annular brooches have survived until recently as part of the traditional peasant attire (Lightbown 1992: 385; Søvsø 2009: 207, note 11).

10 We may add to the author's classification a few other types encountered elsewhere in Europe, for instance, annular brooches made of twisted wire (Hinton 2005: 188–189), those with folded hands extending beyond the basic round shape (Lightbown 1992: 495, cat. no. 14) or those consisting of two opposing Romanesque stylized beings (Hinton 2005: 189).

11 There are inscriptions at that time also on other objects, rings in particular (for examples see Ragolič 2010), however, we shall not discuss those in this paper.

mo na jednoj ili, rjeđe, na obje strane broša. Natpise koji se javljaju na broševima možemo podijeliti u nekoliko kategorija: nabožne, magijske, ljubavne i one nama nerazumljive. Ono što je svima njima zajedničko jest nedvojbeno zaštitna funkcija. Vrlo rijetki su tzv. vlasnički natpisi. U izvedbi natpisa nerijetke su i poneke „pravopisne pogreške“, slučajne ili namjerne, o čemu će još biti riječi u radu.

### Nabožni natpisi

Među broševima s natpisom osobito su česti oni koji nose neki nabožni natpis. Callander i njih ubraja među magijske natpise (Callander 1924: 165), naglašavajući time upravo njihovu zaštitnu funkciju, odnosno vjerovanje kako posjeduju zaštitnu moć. Sv. Toma Akvinski u 13. stoljeću naglašava da je pogrešno u natpise stavljati riječi koje bi mogle prizvati demone, nepoznata imena ili miješati tajanstvene znakove s riječima *Svetog pisma*. Zapravo, samo je znak križa bio zakonit. Sa stajališta Crkve, odnosno institucionalne religije, pogrešnim se smatralo nositi natpise zbog vjerovanja u njihovu zaštitnu moć umjesto u njihovu duhovnu snagu (Lightbown 1992: 98–99). Sa stajališta vjernika, pak, religijski život u dva sustava vjerovanja – u onom institucionalnom i liturgijskom te u onom neslužbenom, izvanliturgijskom i neliturgijskom – koji su dio jednoga konzistentnoga simboličkoga sustava (Badone 1990: 9; Belaj 2006: 5–10) nije neuobičajen. Oslanjajući se na srednjovjekovne izvore Aron Gurevič navodi kako je na vjernike velik utjecaj imao onaj svetac čija se svetost ogleda u djelotvornoj i aktivnoj čudotvornosti te posebno ističe hagiografsku književnost u kojoj se sveci pojavljuju u svojstvu maga i iscjelitelja, no zaodjeveni kršćanskim plaštom: magija, vjera u čuda i nadnaravni postupci svetaca neraskidivo su povezani u vjerničkoj svijesti (Gurevič 1987: 92–93, 126–127). Mnogo građe pokazuje da su ljudi u srednjem vijeku koristili dijelove *Evandjelja* i sveta imena kao formule sa zaštitnom moći (Lightbown 1992: 98–99).

Jedna od najčešćih formula na broševima jest ona s Isusova križa: IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDAEORVM. Češće je napisana u nekom skraćenom obliku, primjerice u obliku INRI (Ottaway, Rogers 2002: 2912, 3122, kat. br. 14506), IHS ili IHC, od srednjovjekovnoga grčkog IHCOYC, Isus (Hinton 2005: 190). Ti su se natpisi često rabili kao zaštita protiv iznenadne smrti, kako navodi Hinton (2005: 190).

Zazivanje Marijina imena poznato je pak još od vremena kasne antike (Vuk 1998: 142). *Zdravomariji*, uz *Očenaš*, najčešće izgovaranoj kršćanskoj molitvi, korijeni su u Lukinu *Evandjelju* gdje su u dva maha navedeni pozdravi upućeni Mariji. Već od 11. stoljeća ti su pozdravi, u koje su uskoro dodana imena *Maria* i *Isus* kako bi tekst molitve bio razumljiviji, služili u pojedinim pobožnostima i u *Časoslovu*. Vjerojatno su vjernici nošenjem zaziva upućenog Mariji barem željeli biti prepoznati kao njezini štovatelji ako ne i zadobiti njezinu milost odnosno njezin zagovor kod Boga. S obzirom na mjesto nalaza gorskoga broša, u grobu uz templarsku crkvu, važno je napomenuti da su mnoge donatorske povelje templarskom redu bile izdane „Bogu, Blaženoj Djevici Mariji i Redu Hrama“ te su mnoge njihove crkve bile posvećene upravo Mariji. Njihovo duboko štovanje Djevice Marije

### Devotional inscriptions

A particularly common category of inscribed brooches consists of those bearing a devotional inscription. Callander includes these, too, into magical inscriptions (Callander 1924: 165), thus underscoring their protective role, that is, the belief that they possess protective power. St. Thomas of Aquinas in the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. warned against the practice of including into inscriptions words that might summon demons, unknown names or mixing secret symbols with the words of the Holy Script. In fact, only the sign of the cross was legitimate. From the perspective of the Church, that is, the institutional religion, it was considered wrong to carry inscriptions because of the belief in their protective power, instead of their spiritual force (Lightbown 1992: 98–99). From the point of view of believers, on the other hand, the religious life in two systems of belief—the institutional and liturgical one and the other, unofficial, extra-liturgical and non-liturgical—both forming part of a consistent symbolic system (Badone 1990: 9; Belaj 2006: 5–10), is nothing unusual. Relying on mediaeval sources, Aron Gurevič stated that great influence was exerted on believers by a saint whose holiness is reflected in an effective and miraculous power, laying special emphasis on hagiographic literature, where saints appear in the role of mages and healers, albeit clothed in a Christian mantle: magic, belief in miracles, and supernatural acts of saints are inextricably linked in the consciousness of believers (Gurevič 1987: 92–93, 126–127). There is copious evidence that mediaeval people used parts of the Gospels and holy names as protective formulas (Lightbown 1992: 98–99).

One of the most common formulae on brooches was the inscription from the Jesus' cross, IESVS NAZARENVS REX IVDAEORVM. It more often appears in an abbreviated form, for instance as INRI (Ottaway, Rogers 2002: 2912, 3122, cat. no. 14506), as HIS, from mediaeval Greek IHCOYC, Jesus (Hinton 2005: 190). These inscriptions were often used as protection from sudden death, in the words of Hinton (2005: 190).

Invoking Mary's name had been known from late antiquity (Vuk 1998: 142). The *Hail Mary*, in addition to the *Our Father*, the most commonly spoken Christian prayer, has roots in the Gospel of Luke, where salutations to Mary are mentioned on two occasions. Starting from as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> cent. these salutations, which soon incorporated the names *Maria* and *Isus* to render the text of the prayer more intelligible, were used in individual devotions and in the Breviary. In all likelihood the believers, by invoking Mary, wanted at least to be acknowledged as her worshipers if not also to win her mercy or her intercession with God. In view of the place of discovery of the Gora brooch, in a grave next to the Templar church, it is important to state that many donation charters to the Templar Order were issued to “God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Order of the Temple” and many of their churches were dedicated to her. Their deep devotion to the Virgin Mary had a very positive echo in the Catholic Europe, which is a trait they shared with the Teutonic Knights and the Cistercians. Precisely at that time, during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> cent., the loyalty of the Catholic Eu-

imalo je vrlo pozitivan odjek u katoličkoj Europi, a po tome su im slični bili i teutonci te cisterciti. Upravo u to vrijeme, tijekom 12. i 13. stoljeća, odanost katoličke Europe prema Djevici Mariji i nekim drugim ženskim sveticama, osobito mučenicama, bila je u iznimnom porastu (Nicholson 2001: 142–144).

Na broševima su najzastupljeniji upravo početni stihovi molitve *Zdravomarijo* (*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui Iesus*) i to osobito u 13. stoljeću (Ward et al. 1981: 58; Ragolič 2010: 18). Brojnost ove vrste natpisa dala je naziv podvrsti broševa „broševi Ave Maria“ (*Ave-Maria-Schnallen*; Heindel 1986). Heindel im je posvetio poseban rad u kojem je analizirao 52 takva broša sa 33 nalazišta, nađena ponajprije na širem području oko Baltičkog mora (Heindel 1986).<sup>12</sup>

Ilustracije radi, donosimo popis varijanti natpisa Ave Maria koje Heindel prikupio: AVEMA; AVE MARI; + AVE MARI; +AVE MARI°; AVE MARIA; AVE + A MARI; AVE MARIA G; AVE MARIA GT; AVE MARIA GRACI; + AV MARIA GRACIA; AVE MARIA GRATIA; MARIA BEROT + HILF GOT; + AVE + MARIA + AVE : MARIA; av.: + AVC : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA : DOMINUS, rev. : ECUM : BENEDICTA : TU : IN : MULIENRIB (Heindel 1986: 68). Javljuju se i drugi natpisi u kojima se zaziva Marija, primjerice MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI (Evans 1921: 58), AVE REGNA CELORVM + AVE DOMINA (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 99, br. 91), AVE MARIA O (možda ORA PRO NOBIS?) (Krabath, Bühler 2004: 452–453, kat. br. 48) te brojni drugi.

Nerijetko nalazimo i na imena svetih Triju kraljeva te, ponekad, i na imena nekih drugih svetaca.

### Magijski natpisi

Ponekad su na broševe, kao i na druge predmete (zvona, oružje i sl.) urezane pojedine magijske formule. Svi ovakvi natpisi nisu do danas sasvim razjašnjeni i postoje različite hipoteze za njihovo čitanje. Budući da je česta pojava magijskih pseudonima za Boga iz *Starog zavjeta*, pripisivali su im se kabalistički utjecaji, no te su pretpostavke odbačene zbog učestalosti kombiniranja ovakvih formula s kršćanskim značenjima (Ragolič 2010: 30). Kao primjer možemo navesti formulu AGLA, hebrejski אלגא. To je, prema uvriježenom mišljenju, kabalistički akronim od hebrejskog izraza *Atah Gibor Le-olam Adonai* (יְהוָה מְלוּעַל רוּבֵג הַתָּא, Gospodine, vječni junak si Ti) kojeg su koristili i alkemičari (McLean 1979). Taj se akronim koristio kao zaštita od bolesti i nasilne smrti, požara, vrućice i neprijateljskog djelovanja (Evans 1921: 58; Hinton 2005: 191; Ragolič 2010: 31). Hinton naglašava da je ova inskripcija, premda podrijetlom hebrejska ili pseudohebrejska, bila dopustiva, jer je hebrejski bio najraniji „sveti“ jezik te je, uz latinski i grčki, stajao i na Isusovu križu (Hinton 2005: 191, 341, bilj. 76). Tako se i na prstenju natpis AGLA često javlja zajedno uz znak križa, natpise INRI, AVE MARIA i ANA MATER (Ragolič 2010: 36). Očito je postojalo vjerovanje da formula AGLA može pojačati djelovanje zaštite (Søvsø 2011: 274).

Vjerovanje u zaštitnu, tj. čudotvornu moć (predmeta, riječi, formula, postupaka, pojedinaca) zadovoljavaju stvarne

rope to Virgin Mary and certain other female saints, martyrs in particular, was gaining significant momentum (Nicholson 2001: 142–144).

The most commonly featured text on brooches were the introductory verses of the *Hail Mary* prayer (*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui Iesus*), particularly during the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. (Ward et al. 1981: 58; Ragolič 2010: 18). Because of the great frequency of this type of inscriptions a subtype of brooches was named the “Ave Maria brooches” (*Ave-Maria-Schnallen*; Heindel 1986). Heindel dedicated to these brooches a separate paper, in which he analysed 52 brooches of this type from 33 sites, by and large discovered in a wider area around the Baltic Sea (Heindel 1986).<sup>12</sup>

To give an illustration, here is a list of variants of the Ave Maria inscriptions collected by Heindel: AVEMA; AVE MARI; + AVE MARI; +AVE MARI°; AVE MARIA; AVE + A MARI; AVE MARIA G; AVE MARIA GT; AVE MARIA GRACI; + AV MARIA GRACIA; AVE MARIA GRATIA; MARIA BEROT + HILF GOT; + AVE + MARIA + AVE : MARIA; av.: + AVC : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA : DOMINUS, rev. : ECUM : BENEDICTA : TU : IN : MULIENRIB (Heindel 1986: 68). There are also other inscriptions invoking Mary, for instance MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI (Evans 1921: 58), AVE REGNA CELORVM + AVE DOMINA, (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 99, no. 91), AVE MARIA O (perhaps ORA PRO NOBIS?) (Krabath, Bühler 2004: 452–453, cat. no. 48) and many others.

We often encounter the names of the three Magi and, sometimes, the names of certain other saints.

### Magic inscriptions

Sometimes magic formulae were inscribed on brooches, as well as on other objects (bells, weapons etc.). Not all such inscriptions have been fully interpreted and there exist different hypotheses as to their reading. The frequent use of magic pseudonyms for the God of the Old Testament inspired many to attribute cabalistic influences to them, however, such assumptions were refuted due to the widespread practice of combining such formulae with Christian meanings (Ragolič 2010: 30). We may cite the formula AGLA, the Hebrew אלגא as an example. The common knowledge is that this is an acronym of the Hebrew expression *Atah Gibor Le-olam Adonai* (יְהוָה מְלוּעַל רוּבֵג הַתָּא, “Thou art powerful and eternal, Lord”) which was also used by alchemists (McLean 1979). This acronym was used to ward off illness and violent death, fire, fever and hostile action (Evans 1921: 58; Hinton 2005: 191; Ragolič 2010: 31). Hinton lays emphasis on the fact that this inscription, even though it was originally Hebraic or pseudo-Hebraic, was nevertheless acceptable, because Hebrew was the earliest “holy” language, which appeared also on Jesus’ cross alongside Latin and Greek (Hinton 2005: 191, 341, note 76). Thus, for instance, on finger rings the inscription AGLA often appears in association with the symbol of the cross, the inscriptions INRI, AVE MARIA and ANA MATER (Ragolič 2010: 36). Obviously the belief was extant that the formula AGLA may enhance the effect of protecti-

12 Ukupno je obradio 45 nalazišta sa 90 Ave Maria i njima srodnim zaručničkim broševima.

12 He analysed a total of 45 sites with 90 Ave Maria brooches and brooches from the related group of engagement brooches.



i simboličke potrebe čovjeka i time pribavljaju korist – koncepciju čudesnog i čudotvornog koristila je i sama Crkva za promicanje vlastitih interesa (usp. Belaj 2006: 281; Gurevič 1987: 126–127; Španiček 2002: 217). U koncepciji čudesnog prepliće se izvaninstitucionalno vjerovanje i naučavanje Crkve, konkretno i apstraktno, što je prema Le Goffu (1998: 425) „osnova ustroja srednjovjekovnoga duha i osjetilnosti”. Slijedom toga, i religijski su natpisi nerijetko bili namjerno isprepleteni s magijskim („čudotvornim”) elementima ne bi li se time pojačala njihova zaštitna moć. Tako, na broševima često nalazimo anagrame, riječi koje se čitaju unatrag i „druge kombinacije slova” (Søvsø 2011: 272). To vrijedi i za riječi i izraze koji su se mogli čitati u oba smjera (palindromi), primjerice ANSOGANAGOSNA (Callander 1924: 165; Hinton 2005: 191, 341, bilj. 76). U literaturi se često nailazi i na druge magijske formule, primjerice ANANIZAPTA (Evans 1921: 58), no mnogo su češće i raznolikije na prstenju nego na broševima (Ragolič 2010: 30–43). Čini se da su i slova A ili M imala određenu magijsku moć (Søvsø 2011: 274, bilj. 50), jer je njihova pojava u nerazjašnjivim natpisima vrlo česta.

### Ljubavni natpisi

Broševi su nerijetko nosili natpise ljubavnog karaktera, koji su ukazivali na ljubav ili odanost darovatelja broša ili, primjerice, želju da darivani sačuva svoju čistoću i čednost (Hinton 2005: 190). Najeksplicitnije to izražava natpis na brošu iz Writtlea (Essex, Engleska) koji glasi: + IEO : SUI : FERMAIL : PVR : GAP : DER : SEIN / + KE : NV : SVILEIN : NIMETTE : MEIN, *ja sam broš za čuvanje grudi / da ne bi neka hulja stavila svoju ruku na njih* (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 248), ili pak na brošu iz 13. stoljeća s natpisom: NON DETUR PETENTI, *Ne daj bilo kome tko zatraži* (Lightbown 1992: 491). Čest ljubavni natpis na broševima jest AMOR VINCIT OMNIA, *Ljubav sve pobjeđuje* (Søvsø 2011: 277–278), a javljaju se i mnogi drugi poput: IE SVI CI EN LIV DAMI (*ja sam ovdje na mjestu ljubavnika*), IO SUI FLVR DE FIN AMOR (*ja sam cvijet najčišće ljubavi*) ili PENSEET DE LI PAR KI SUE CY (*misli na onoga od kojega sam ovdje*) (Lightbown 1992: 100).

Posebna podvrsta broša, osobito pogodna za izražavanje odanosti, ljubavne, ali i pobožne, jest ona kojoj su dodane sklopljene ruke, bilo u obliku ruku sklopljenih u molitvi, bilo u obliku sličnome zaručničkim odnosno bračnim (*fede*, od tal. *mani in fede*, „ruke u vjeri”) prstenima. To je vrlo popularan motiv na nakitu kako srednjeg tako i novog vijeka, rasprostranjen širom Europe, a podrijetlo vuče još iz vremena antike (Hinton 2005: 190). Vjernost koju simbolizira vjerojatno treba shvatiti vrlo široko: ona može biti bračna, zaručnička i prijateljska (Lightbown 1992: 492) ili između braće (Søvsø 2011: 278) pa i duhovna – može simbolizirati, primjerice, zaruke redovnice s Isusom (Søvsø 2011: 268, sl. 2a; 269, sl. 4, 279).

### Vlasnički natpisi

Vrlo su rijetki broševi s natpisima koji ističu njegove vlasnike. Primjerice, broš nepoznatog nalazišta ukrašen natpisom: + IANE RVELT PORTER ME (*nosi me Jane Ruelt*) (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 103, br. 97). Drugi je primjer za nas još zanimljiviji, a riječ je o brošu „velikog kneza humskog Petra” (urezani natpis glasi: +ЗАПОНЪВЕЛНЕНАКНЪЗАХЪЛМСКОГАПЕ ТРА:PRETENDECOMIITPET) pronađenom u sjeveroistočnoj Crnoj Gori (Jovanović, Tomović 2011: 499).

on (Søvsø 2011: 274).

Beliefs in protective, i.e. miraculous power (of objects, words, formulae, actions, individuals) satisfy real and symbolic human needs and by this provide benefits – the concept of miraculous and magical was used by the Church itself to further its own interests (cf. Belaj 2006: 281; Gurevič 1987: 126–127; Španiček 2002: 217). In the concept of the miraculous the non-institutional belief is interwoven with the Church doctrine, the concrete and the abstract, which in Le Goff's opinion (1998: 425) is the “basis of the structure of the mediaeval spirit and sensibility”. Following this, religious inscriptions are often deliberately interrelated with magical elements in order to improve their protective power. Thus, we often find anagrams on brooches, words that are read backwards and “other combinations of letters” (Søvsø 2011: 272). This is also true for words and expressions that can be read in both directions (palindromes), for instance ANSOGANAGOSNA (Callander 1924: 165; Hinton 2005: 191, 341, note 76). In the literature one often encounters other magical formulae, for instance ANANIZAPTA (Evans 1921: 58), however, these are much more common and varied on finger-rings than on brooches (Ragolič 2010: 30–43). It seems that the letters A or M also had certain magical power (Søvsø 2011: 274, bilj. 50), because they very often appear in inexplicable inscriptions.

### Love inscriptions

Brooches often contained inscriptions of love nature, which pointed to love or devotion of the donor of the brooch or, for instance, desire for the receiving person to preserve his/her purity and chastity (Hinton 2005: 190). This is most explicit in the inscription on a brooch from Writtle (Essex, England), which reads + IEO : SUI : FERMAIL : PVR : GAP : DER : SEIN / + KE : NV : SVILEIN : NIMETTE : MEIN, *I am a brooch that protects breasts / lest some rascal should put his hand on them* (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 248), or on a 13<sup>th</sup> cent. brooch with the inscription NON DETUR PETENTI, *Give not to anyone who asks* (Lightbown 1992: 491). A common love inscription on brooches is AMOR VINCIT OMNIA, “Love conquers all” (Søvsø 2011: 277–278), and there are also many other inscriptions, such as IE SVI CI EN LIV DAMI (*I am here in place of the lover*), IO SUI FLVR DE FIN AMOR (*I am the flower of purest love*) or PENSEET DE LI PAR KI SUE CY (*think of him from whom I come*) (Lightbown 1992: 100).

A separate subtype of brooches, especially suitable for expressing devotion, in love, but also in piety, consists of brooches with added folded hands, either in the shape of hands folded in prayer, or in the shape similar to engagement or wedding rings (*fede*, from Ital. *mani in fede*, “hands in belief”). This is a very popular motif on jewellery both from the Middle Ages as well as the modern period, distributed throughout Europe, with origins that stretch back as far as antiquity (Hinton 2005: 190). The devotion that it symbolizes probably ought to be understood very broadly: it can be related to marriage, engagement, or it can be friendly (Lightbown 1992: 492) or brotherly (Søvsø 2011: 278) and even spiritual, it may symbolize, for instance, the betrothal of a nun with Jesus (Søvsø 2011: 268, Fig. 2a, 269, Fig. 4, 279).



### Neodgonetnuti natpisi

U ovu skupinu možemo uvrstiti sve one natpise koji do danas nisu odgonetnuti. Neki od njih su možda bili razumljivi samo onima koji su ih naručili i vrlo su vjerojatno imali magijsko značenje koje nam danas više nije razvidno (Lightbown 1992: 99), dok su pojedini mogli nastati kao proizvod slabo pismenih majstora, odnosno njihova lošeg oponašanja viđenih natpisa, što je češće prisutno kod jeftinijih primjeraka izrađenih od neplemenitih metala (poput broševa objavljenih u Egan, Pritchard 2002: 249, sl. 160, kat. br. 1308, 1313; 251, sl. 162, kat. br. 1317). Osobitu varijantu čine natpisi čiji se početak još i dade razjasniti, no završetak je teže odgonetnuti. Među njih pripada i naš primjer. Slično je primijetio i Heindel kada je za natpise iz svoje skupine 4 (Skrraćeni, danas manje nerazumljivi natpisi) napomenuo da su vjerojatno povezani sa *Zdravomarijom* (Heindel 1986: 70). Na neke ćemo se od navedenih mogućnosti još osvrnuti u tekstu.

## 6. BROŠEVI PRONAĐENI U HRVATSKOJ

Sve donedavno je tek rijetkim primjercima bio znan arheološki kontekst – broševi su u muzeje i zbirke uglavnom stizali kao slučajne akvizicije. Porast broja broševa u novije vrijeme u nekim zemljama zapadne Europe možemo zahvaliti uporabi detektora metala.<sup>13</sup>

Broševa širokog i ravnog okvira, pa i onih s natpisima, kao i ostalih tipova, ima mnogo po čitavoj Europi. Osvrnut ću se na najvažnije primjerke koji nam mogu pomoći u razumijevanju našeg nalaza, osobito u poglavljima o dataciji i analizi natpisa.

U Hrvatskoj su do sada pronađeni tek malobrojni broševi, doduše bez ikakvih natpisa, no ipak ćemo ih ovdje barem navesti. Pronađena su, osim nalaza iz Gore, još dva broša širokog i ravnog okvira, neukrašena, oba u Ivancu. Jedan je od njih brončani sa željeznom iglom, dok je od drugog, srebrnog, sačuvan tek manji ulomak okvira i čitava igla. Oba groba možemo pripisati drugom horizontu pokapanja koji se datira u kraj 12. i 13. stoljeće, a grob sa srebrnim ulomkom broša eventualno bi mogao pripadati početku 14. stoljeća (Belaj 2009; Belaj, Sirovica 2010; 2011; 2012b).

Najviše broševa pronađenih u Hrvatskoj jesu brončani lijevani četverokutni („rombični“) broševi. U Sotinu su pronađena tri primjerka (Tomičić 2009: 236, sl. 8, 3; Ilkić 2010: 386, 389–390, br. 7, 8; 393, T. 1: 7, 8), po dva na lokalitetima Kliškovac kraj Suhopolja (Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011: 120, sl. 212 i 213; 138, kat. br. 23 i 36; 140, 142, T. 2: PN 31 i 57) i TorčecCirkvišće (Krznar 2015: 57, sl. 10),<sup>14</sup> a jedan u Bentežu kraj Beketinaca (Minichreiter, Marković 2013: 306, 330, 331; T. 58: 6). Još jedan četverokutni broš nađen je na Paki kod Novog Marofa, no taj je izrađen od tanke brončane, pozlaćene žice (Šimek 2016: sl. 15). U ostavi iz Slakovaca blizu Vinkovaca nađen je šesterokutni broš (Brunšmid 1904; Demo 2014: 96–112), a

<sup>13</sup> U Hrvatskoj je ona dopuštena isključivo stručnim osobama – arheolozima – u sklopu arheoloških istraživanja odobrenih od nadležnoga konzervatorskog odjela Ministarstva kulture RH, što je regulirano *Zakonom o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara i Pravilnikom o arheološkim istraživanjima*.

<sup>14</sup> Drugi primjerak pronađen je 2015. godine i tek čeka objavu. Zahvaljujemo kolegi Siniši Krzнару na uvidu u materijal.

### Proprietary inscriptions

Brooches with inscriptions that mention their owners are very rare. For instance, a brooch from an unknown site, which bears the inscription + IANE RVELT PORTER ME (*Jane Ruelt wears me*) (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 103, no. 97). The second example is even more interesting for us, namely, a brooch of “Peter, the Grand Duke of Hum” (the incised inscription reads: +ЗАПОНЪВЕЛНЕГАКНЪЗАХЪЛМСКОГАПЕ ТРА:PRETENDECOMIITIPET), discovered in north-eastern Montenegro (Jovanović, Tomović 2011: 499).

### Undeciphered inscriptions

In this group we include all those inscriptions that still have not been deciphered. Some of these inscriptions were perhaps intelligible only to those who had commissioned them, and most likely had a magical significance, which is no longer clear to us today (Lightbown 1992: 99), while there were also other inscriptions that may have been made by poorly literate craftsmen, that is, their poor execution of the inscriptions they emulated, which is often the case with cheaper specimens made of non-precious metals (for instance, brooches published in Egan, Pritchard 2002: 249, Fig. 160, cat. no. 1308, 1313; 251, Fig. 162, cat. no. 1317). A separate variant consists of inscriptions whose beginning we can still decipher, but whose ending is more difficult to unravel. Our specimen belongs to the latter group. Heindel made a similar observation, when he stated for the inscriptions of his group 4 (abbreviated, presently less incomprehensible inscriptions) that they were probably connected with the *Hail Mary* (Heindel 1986: 70). We shall refer to some of these possibilities later in the text.

## 6. BROOCHES FOUND IN CROATIA

Until very recently the accurate archaeological context was known for only a very few specimens – brooches arrived in museums and collections mostly by chance. We owe the recent rise in the number of brooches in some countries of Western Europe to the use of metal detectors.<sup>13</sup>

Brooches with wide and straight frame, including inscribed ones, as well as other types, are common throughout Europe. We shall review the most important specimens, which can facilitate our understanding of the brooch from Gora, especially regarding its date and in the analysis of the inscription.

Although only a few brooches have been discovered so far in Croatia, none of which bear inscriptions, we shall at least mention them here. In addition to the brooch from Gora, two other brooches with wide and straight frame, both undecorated, were found in Ivanec. One is made of bronze, with an iron pin, while all that has remained of the other, made of silver, is a small piece of the frame and the entire pin. Both graves can be attributed to the second horizon of burials, dated to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and to the 13<sup>th</sup> cent., while the grave with the silver brooch fragment might po-

<sup>13</sup> In Croatia, such a use is permitted only to professionals—archaeologists—as part of archaeological research permitted by the Conservation Departments of the Ministry of Culture, as regulated by the Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Goods and the Ordinance on Archaeological Excavations.

u Sotinu je, osim već navedenih, pronađen i ulomak brončanoga osmerokutnog zvjezdolikog broša (Ilkić 2010: 386, 389, br. 6; 393, T. I: 6). Dakle, s nalazom iz Gore, u Hrvatskoj trenutačno raspolažemo s ukupno 14 primjeraka broševa.

Do iskopavanja u Gori u Hrvatskoj nije pronađen broš s natpisom, ili barem ne znamo za njega. Jedan od razloga svakako je mogla biti praksa pretapanja nakita od plemenitih metala u kriznim vremenima, slično kao u Škotskoj (Callander 1924: 165). Dio razloga za takvo stanje leži i u lošijem stanju istraženosti i objavljenosti materijala, osobito kada su u pitanju kasnosrednjovjekovna groblja, ali možda i u činjenici da ovoj vrsti nalaza kod nas još nije posvećena dovoljna pozornost u znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi. Ipak, prvenstveni bi razlog mogao biti taj da zapadna moda nošenja broša u našim krajevima, kao i drugdje južno od Drave, Save i Dunava, nije bila u znatnijoj mjeri prihvaćena od domaćeg stanovništva, što bi bilo neobično barem kad razmišljamo o višim slojevima društva. Za potvrdu te pretpostavke trebalo bi ipak pričekati na veći broj objavljenih kasnosrednjovjekovnih grobalja u Hrvatskoj. Iznimka su možda bili četverokutni broševi (devet primjeraka od ukupno poznatih 14, odnosno 64%). Zanimljivo je primijetiti da su jedini broševi širokog i ravnog okvira nađeni uz crkve koje su u Hrvatskoj izgradili i njima upravljali viteški redovi – templari u Gori i ivanovci u Ivancu. Vitezovi obaju viteških redova bili su u Hrvatskoj mahom stranci, većinom isprva Francuzi, koji su sa sobom zasigurno donijeli zapadnu modu. Pripadaju li i pokojnici s broševima iz Ivanca ivanovcima ili njihovim obiteljima, ne znamo. Gorski nalaz nedvojbeno ističe značaj Gore kao jednog od važnijih centara duhovnih, kulturnih, umjetničkih, trgovačkih, a vjerojatno i obrtničkih zbivanja srednjovjekovne Hrvatske, koji je imao i međunarodni značaj.

## 7. DATACIJA I PROVENIJENCIJA GORSKOG BROŠA

Broševi se datiraju na osnovi tipoloških i stilskih značajki i arheološkoga konteksta (ako je poznat). Ako nisu bili nađeni u zatvorenoj i uže datiranoj arheološkoj cjelini, u literaturi se datiraju uglavnom prilično široko, unutar jednog ili čak dva stoljeća.

Za oblik, veličinu, materijal, način izrade i oblik slova, gorskom nalazu možemo naći brojne analogije širom Europe. Malobrojni broševi imaju jednaki ukras vanjskog dijela prednje strane broša, a ono što broš iz Gore čini posebnijim pa čak i jedinstvenim jesu ukras na igli, ukras na stražnjoj strani te svakako natpis.

Igle broševa uglavnom ostaju neukrašene, ili se ukras svodi na poneko rebro smješteno odmah ispod vrata igle (Callander 1924: 177; Egan, Pritchard 2002: 250). Vrlo rijetko na sebi imaju raskošnije ukrase, ali baš ne i grbove. Ipak, u ovom smislu vrlo je zanimljiv dobro očuvani srebrni broš, promjera 5,5 cm, pronađen detektorom metala u francuskom departmanu Marne u regiji Champagne-Ardenne.<sup>15</sup> Administratori francuskog foruma posvećenog kopčama, predicama i broševima (<http://boucles.clicforum.fr>) datiraju

ssibly date from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> cent. (Belaj 2009; Belaj, Sirovica 2010; 2011; 2012b).

Most brooches found in Croatia belong to the group of bronze cast rectangular (“rhombic”) brooches. Sotin yielded three specimens (Tomičić 2009: 236, Fig. 8, 3; Ilkić 2010: 386, 389–390, no. 7, 8; 393, Pl. I: 7, 8), two were found at Kliškovac near Suhopolje (Tomičić, Jelinčić 2011: 120, Fig. 212 and 213; 138, cat. no. 23 and 36; 140, 142, Pl. 2: SF 31 and 57) and TorčecCirkvišće (Krznar 2015: 57, Fig. 10),<sup>14</sup> while one was discovered at Bentež near Beketinci (Minichreiter, Marković 2013: 306, 330, 331; Pl. 58: 6). Yet another rectangular brooch was found at Paka near Novi Marof, however, this one was made of thin bronze gilded wire (Šimek 2016: Fig. 15). A hexagonal brooch was found in a hoard from Slakovci near Vinkovci (Brunšmid 1904; Demo 2014: 96–112), while Sotin, in addition to the already mentioned specimens, yielded also a fragment of a bronze octogonal star-shaped brooch (Ilkić 2010: 386, 389, no. 6, 393; Pl. I: 6). Therefore, together with the find from Gora, there are presently fourteen brooches known from Croatia.

Before the excavations at Gora no inscribed brooches were ever found in Croatia, at least to our best knowledge. One of the possible reasons for this is certainly the practice of melting precious-metal jewellery during crisis times, similar to what happened in Scotland (Callander 1924: 165). A part of the reasons for such a situation also lies in the modest state of research and publication of materials, especially when it comes to late mediaeval cemeteries, but also possibly in the fact that this type of artefacts has not received sufficient attention in scholarly and professional literature in Croatia. Nevertheless, the primary reason might be that the western fashion of wearing brooches in our lands, as well as elsewhere south of the Drava, Sava and Danube, has not been adopted to any greater extent by the local population, which might seem unusual, at least when we consider the higher classes of society. To verify this assumption we ought to wait until more late mediaeval cemeteries in Croatia have been published. One exception might be the rectangular brooches (9 specimens out of the total of 14 known specimens, i.e. 64%). It is interesting to note that the only brooches of wide and flat frame were found next to churches built and managed in Croatia by military orders – the Templars in Gora and the Hospitallers in Ivanec. Knights of both orders in Croatia were by and large foreigners, at first primarily French, who certainly brought together with them also the western fashion. We do not know whether the individuals buried with brooches from Ivanec belonged to the Hospitallers, or their families. The Gora brooch undeniably highlights the significance of Gora as one of the more important centres of spiritual, cultural, artistic, commercial and possibly also artisanal events of mediaeval Croatia, which was significant also at international level.

<sup>14</sup> The second specimen was found in 2015 and still awaits to be published. We thank our colleague Siniša Krznar for his permission to inspect the assemblage.

<sup>15</sup> <http://boucles.clicforum.fr/t4324-boucle-argent-a-id.htm?q> (20. 1. 2016.).

ga u 13. stoljeće. Na stražnjoj strani igle nalazi se utisnut grb grada Clermonta (u francuskoj regiji Auvergne) koji se sastoji od križa u štiti i četiri ljiljana. Napominju da su grbovi ovog razdoblja vrlo rijetki, a obično pripadaju nekom gradu ili pokrajini.

Što se tiče ukrasa na stražnjoj strani broša, nismo pronašli niti jedan sličan nalaz. Svaka analogija staje na razdiobi okvira na četiri jednaka dijela, uočenoj kod pojedinih nalaza širom Europe. No, vjerujemo da nam zato ukras vanjskog ruba prednje strane broša može pomoći ne samo u dataciji nego i u otkrivanju provenijencije našeg nalaza. Sličan ukras na vanjskom rubu, a da im pritom na isti način nije ukrašen i unutarnji rub, vidljiv je na više broševa iz fundusa Musée Dobrée u Nantesu na zapadu Francuske<sup>16</sup> (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 94, br. 84; 94–95, br. 85; 96–97, br. 88; 97–98, br. 89 [Pontâcheau, departman Loire-Atlantique]; 98, br. 90; 99–100, br. 92; 100, br. 93; 100–101, br. 94 [Strasbourg]; 104, br. 99; 104–105, br. 100). Svi su on izrađeni, za pretpostaviti je, u Francuskoj, a datiraju se u 13. (br. 84 i 85), 13.–14. (br. 88, 89, 90, 92, 93 i 94) odnosno 14. stoljeće (br. 99 i 100). Oblikom slova gorskom je brošu najbliži br. 84, datiran u 13. stoljeće. S obzirom na analogije, može se zaključiti da je gorski broš nastao u 13. stoljeću (ili eventualno početkom 14.) i to, kako smo vidjeli, u Francuskoj.

Njegova vlasnica koja je, pretpostavimo, taj broš donijela sa sobom iz Francuske, u trenutku smrti imala je između 35 i 50 godina.<sup>17</sup> Ne može se znati u kojoj je životnoj dobi dobila broš – još u djetinjstvu, na pragu zrelosti ili kad je kretala na put – no nikako ga nije mogla nositi dulje od pola stoljeća. Iz arheološkog je konteksta vidljivo, kako je već u radu prikazano, da je bila pokopana nedugo nakon izgradnje ranogotičke crkve, no nije bilo moguće utvrditi koliko nedugo. Sada je, na osnovi argumenata, njezin pokop moguće datirati u kraj 13. ili prvu polovinu 14. stoljeća.

## 8. TKO JE NOSIO GORSKI BROŠ?

U početku je broševe kao ustaljeni statusni simbol nosilo visoko plemstvo (Hinton 2005: 171), poslije se moda proširila i na građanstvo ako si ju je moglo priuštiti, no nije vjerojatno da su broševe nosili i pripadnici seljaštva (Hinton 2005: 178). Broševi su izrađivani od različitih materijala. Skupocjeniji – srebro, pozlaćenog srebra i osobito zlato – upućuju na visoki društveni položaj vlasnika: plemstvo, svećenstvo i bogatije građane (Heindel 1986: 71; Søvsø 2011: 280). Mnogo se češće koristilo srebro nego zlato, zbog njegove veće čvrstoće (Ragolič 2010: 57). Broševi od jeftinijih materijala (bronca, kositar te legure bakra, kositra, cinka i olova), koji su često izrađivani u kalupima, bili su pristupačniji, pa su se proširili i među manje imućnim slojevima društva. U literaturi su u početku bili slabije zastupljeni, možda zbog manje atraktivnosti. Nema naznaka da su se izrađivali od željeza (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 248). S druge strane, ima primjera kada je samo igla bila izrađena od željeza – jedan takav pronađen je u Ivancu.

16 Većini je broševa nalazište nepoznato, a za rijetke kojima nije, bit će navedeno gdje su nađeni.

17 Antropološku analizu osteološkog materijala provela je Zrinka Premužić s Instituta za antropologiju u Zagrebu, na čemu joj i na ovom mjestu zahvaljujemo.

## 7. DATING AND ORIGIN OF THE GORA BROOCH

Brooches are dated based on their typological and stylistic features and the archaeological context (if known). If they were not found in a closed and narrowly dated archaeological context, they are dated in the literature mainly rather broadly, within one or even two centuries.

There are a number of analogies all over Europe for the shape, size, material, method of manufacture and the shape of the letters of the Gora brooch. Few brooches feature identical decoration of the exterior side of the front, and the trait that makes the Gora brooch more exceptional or even unique are the decoration on the pin, the ornament on the back, and certainly its inscription.

Brooch pins are generally left undecorated, or the ornament is reduced to one or few ribs immediately below the pin neck (Callander 1924: 177; Egan, Pritchard 2002: 250). They may very rarely feature more lavish decoration, but not exactly coats of arms. Nevertheless, in this sense there is a very interesting and well preserved silver brooch 5.5 cm in diameter, found by a metal detectorist in the French department of Marne in the Champagne-Ardenne region.<sup>15</sup> The administrators of the French forum dedicated to buckles, buckle frames and brooches (<http://boucles.clicforum.fr>) date it to the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. The impression on the back of the pin is the coat of arms of the city of Clermont (in the French region of Auvergne), which consists of a cross in the shield and four lilies. They state that coats of arms of this period are very rare, and usually belong to a town, city or region.

As regards the ornament on the back of the brooch, we haven't found anything similar. Any analogy is limited to the division of the frame into four equal parts, observed in a number of specimens throughout Europe. However, we believe on the other hand that the decoration on the exterior rim of the front of the brooch might be of help not only for dating but also for unravelling the origin of our find. A similar ornament on the outer edge, without analogous decoration on the interior, is found on several brooches from the holdings of the Musée Dobrée in Nantes in Western France<sup>16</sup> (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 94, no. 84; 94–95, no. 85; 96–97, no. 88; 97–98, no. 89 [Pontâcheau, department Loire-Atlantique]; 98, no. 90; 99–100, no. 92; 100, no. 93; 100–101, no. 94 [Strasbourg]; 104, no. 99; 104–105, no. 100). All these brooches were made, so we may assume, in France, and date from the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. (no. 84 and 85), 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cent. (no. 88, 89, 90, 92, 93 and 94), or 15<sup>th</sup> cent. (no. 99 and 100). The most similar specimen to the brooch from Gora by the shape of letters is no. 84, dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. In view of the analogies, we may conclude that the Gora brooch was made in the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. (or possibly at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> cent.), as we have seen, in France.

Its owner, who presumably brought this brooch with her from France, was between 35 and 50 years old at the

15 <http://boucles.clicforum.fr/t4324-boucle-argent-a-id.htm?q> (accessed on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2016).

16 Most brooches come from unknown sites, and for the few that come from known sites, we shall mention their names.



Broševe su, kao uostalom i veliku većinu ostalog nakita, nosili pripadnici obaju spolova, pa i djeca (Hinton 2005: 226), što je vidljivo na brojnim kipovima i portretima, ali i u grobovima. Među rijetkim broševima za koje pouzdano možemo reći da ih je nosila žena jest spomenuti broš iz Writtlea koji upućuje na zaštitu ženskih grudi, ali i broševi pronađeni u ženskim grobovima, a upravo je gorski nalaz jedan od njih. Dakle, možemo zaključiti da je žena koja je nosila gorski broš, sudeći prema materijalu od kojeg je izrađen, bila imućna i vjerojatno ugledna pripadnica višeg sloja društva.

## 9. FUNKCIJA GORSKOG BROŠA

Broševi su iznimno zanimljivi nalazi zbog njihove višeslojne funkcionalnosti koja je proizašla iz njihovih različitih značajki. Kao prvo, njihova je osnovna namjena bila zakopčati odjeću (sl. 6). Zato su, uostalom, i nastali. Sudeći prema svojoj veličini, a vanjski promjer našeg nalaza iznosi 2,8 cm, gorski broš nije mogao nositi teret nekoga težeg odjevnog predmeta, nego je vjerojatnije služio za zakapčanje kakve laganije tunike i to – sudeći prema položaju u grobu – na prsima.<sup>18</sup> Poslužimo li se rezultatima analize danskih broševa, vidjet ćemo da se veličinom gorski broš može uklopiti u najbrojniju skupinu čiji se vanjski promjer kreće u rasponu 2–2,9 cm (Søvsø 2009: 185, 204).<sup>19</sup>

Ljepši su primjerci uglavnom bili izrađeni od plemenitih metala, a neki su na sebi nosili i drago ili poludrago kameenje. Pojedini primjerci imaju čak i tragove emajla.<sup>20</sup> Luksuzniji su broševi rjeđi i zbog te su ekskluzivnosti otpočetak bili nošeni kao oznaka statusa nositelja. Naravno da su s vremenom, kako to obično i biva, novu modu počeli oponašati i pripadnici manje imućnih slojeva, ali tada su broševi lijevani od neplemenitih metala.

Premda je u početku funkcija zakopčavanja morala biti najvažnija, simbolički potencijal broševa možda je bio i veći. Baš kao i prstenje i krune, broševi kružnog oblika već su tijekom 12. stoljeća bili simbolički osobito privlačni kao simboli vječnosti, jedinstva i vjernosti (Lightbown 1992: 100; Søvsø 2011: 264). Pritom su se uklapali i u tadašnju geometrijsku teoriju ljepote neometanu kutovima, te „neprekinutu“ kao svjedočanstvo vjere (Hinton 2005: 190). Zbog toga je, pogotovo ako je još nosio prikladan natpis, bio zgodan medij za zavjete ljubavi i odanosti (pa i Majci Božjoj). Od simbola vjernosti do predmeta koji posjeduje moć zaštite te vjernosti, ali i mnogošto drugo, mali je korak. Osim toga, i drugi su različiti oblici okvira broša također sadržavali određenu simboliku – to je dobro vidljivo kod srcolikih okvira ili onih s prikazom rukovanja. Takvi primjerci često nose natpise koji to dokazuju. I neki drugi oblici poput višelisnih ili zvjezdoli-

18 Marina Šimek izvela je zanimljiv eksperiment pomoću replike nalaza s Pake kojim je pokazala da tako mali broš (dimenzija 3,6 × 4 cm), izrađen od brončane žice debljine 1,3 mm, nije mogao izdržati težinu plašta izrađenog od „čvršće i deblje tkanine“ (Šimek 2016).

19 Od 215 analiziranih danskih broševa, njih čak 185 pripada ovoj grupi. Njih 12 ima promjer 1,3–1,9 cm, osam ima 5–5,9 cm, a deset najvećih koji su vjerojatno služili pričvršćivanju težih plašteva promjera je 6–9,6 cm (Søvsø 2009: 204).

20 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15219/ring-brooch-unknown/> (30. 12. 2015.).

time of death.<sup>17</sup> We do not know in which period of her life she was given this brooch – during childhood, at the turn of her adulthood or when she was about to start her journey – however, there was no way she could have worn it for longer than half a century. The archaeological context, as we have already demonstrated earlier in this paper, makes it clear that she was buried not long after the early Gothic church had been built, however, we could not ascertain the length of time that passed between the two events. At this time, based on arguments, we may date her burial to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. or the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> cent.

## 8. WHO WORE THE GORA BROOCH?

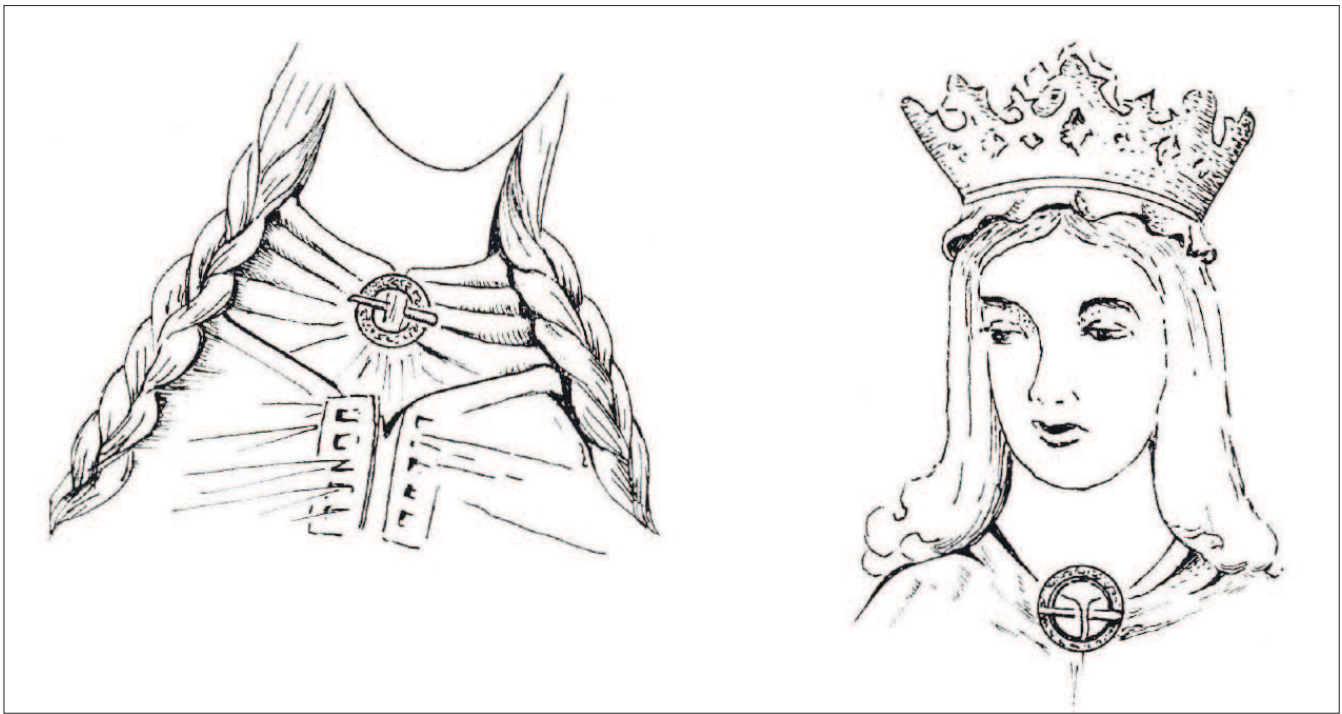
In the beginning, brooches were worn by nobility as a habitual symbol of status (Hinton 2005: 171), while later on the fashion spread also to townspeople, provided they could afford it. On the other hand, it is not very likely that brooches were also worn by peasants (Hinton 2005: 178). Brooches were produced from various materials. The more expensive ones—those made of silver, gilded silver and particularly gold—point to the high social position of their owner: nobility, clergy and prosperous citizens (Heindel 1986: 71; Søvsø 2011: 280). Silver was much more common than gold, particularly due to its greater hardness (Ragolič 2010: 57). Brooches made of less expensive materials (bronze, tin and alloys of copper, tin, zinc and lead), which were often produced in moulds, were more accessible, so they spread also among less affluent social classes. There are no indications that they may have been made of iron (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 248). On the other hand, there are examples where only the pin was made of iron – one such specimen was found in Ivanec.

Like most other types of jewellery, brooches were worn by members of both sexes, as well as children (Hinton 2005: 226), which is perceptible on numerous sculptures and portraits, but also in graves. Among the few brooches for which we may safely say that they were worn by women is the mentioned brooch from Writtle, which points to the protection provided by female breasts, as well as brooches found in female graves – of which the Gora brooch is certainly one. Therefore, we may conclude that the women who wore the Gora brooch, judging by the material of which it was made, was a rich and probably esteemed member of the higher social class.

## 9. FUNCTION OF THE GORA BROOCH

Brooches are exceptionally interesting due to their multiple functionality derived from their various characteristics. First, their basic function was to serve as clothes fasteners (Fig. 6). This, to start with, was why they were made. Judging by their size, and the outer diameter of our piece is 2.8 cm, the Gora brooch could not carry the weight of any heavier clothing item, but more likely served to fasten a lighter tunic or the like—apparently, judging from the position in the

17 The anthropological analysis of the osteological assemblage was carried out by Zrinka Premužić of the Institute of Anthropological Research in Zagreb, for which we express our gratitude.



Sl. 6 Rekonstrukcije načina nošenja prstenastih broševa (Heindel 1986: 72, sl. 5)  
 Fig. 6 Reconstructions of the way annular brooches were worn (Heindel 1986: 72, Fig. 5)

kih, baš kao i korištenje „značenja” brojeva te geometrijski ukrasi vjerojatno su nosili neko simboličko značenje, ali to je danas teže dokazati (Søvsø 2011: 275–276, 278–280).

Navedena zaštitnička funkcija dodatno je osnaživana odabirom materijala za izradu. Za metale, osobito plemenite, te drago i poludrago kamenje, ali i njihove imitacije poput staklene paste, u srednjem se vijeku vjerovalo da, kao i drugi geološki materijali, imaju stanovita svojstva koja mogu dobro djelovati na ljude. O tome govore i srednjovjekovni izvori (Evans 1921: 56; Ragolič 2010: 55–58; Søvsø 2011: 266, 274–275). Zaštita je dodatno mogla biti pojačana i određenim natpisima. Natpisi su bili vrlo česti i – kako se smatralo – učinkoviti kao i izgovorena riječ (Søvsø 2011: 266). Možemo vidjeti kako je u srednjem vijeku granica između propisanih vjerovanja u okviru nauka Crkve i izvaninstitucionalnih vjerovanja bila zamagljena (Le Goff 1998: 425), odnosno da su se sve tri glavne teme (nabožne, magijske i ljubavne) često međusobno ispreplitale (Søvsø 2011: 272). Nije stoga čudno što su natpisi na različitim materijalima obilno korišteni tijekom srednjeg vijeka prilikom liječenja i u borbi protiv uroka, a ta se praksa ponegdje sačuvala sve do danas. Tako je u folklornom gradivu poznata uporaba magijskih riječi i formula, nama danas često nerazumljivih, zapisanih na papiru, koži, platnu, dijelovima tijela, zašivenih u odjeću ili nošenih uz tijelo, sakrivenih od pogleda (Brenko et al. 2001: 127, 150–152; Gilchrist 2008: 125; Zečević 1978: 430).

Ponekad je, kod nepismenih, svrha zaštite mogla poslužiti i imitacija slova, pa čak i primjena jednostavnih ukrasa poput običnog cik-cak ukrasa (Søvsø 2011: 267) ili naizmjenično nizanje tek nekoliko slova, što se često može naći i na prstenju. Imitacije su, kako materijala tako i natpisa na njima, imale sličan učinak na nositelje – inače ne bi ni postojale.

grave—on the chest.<sup>18</sup> If we use the results of the analysis of Danish brooches, we will see that the Gora brooch fits well by its size into the most common group, whose outer diameter ranges between 2–2.9 cm (Søvsø 2009: 185, 204).<sup>19</sup>

Nicer specimens were mainly made of precious metals, with some carrying also precious or semi-precious stones. Certain specimens even have traces of enamel.<sup>20</sup> More luxurious brooches are rarer and, due to this exclusivity, from the beginning they were worn as a status symbol of their bearer. It is only natural that over time, as it is usually the case, the new fashion started to be emulated by the members of less affluent classes, this time cast from non-precious metals.

Even though at first the fastening function must have been paramount, the symbolic potential of brooches was perhaps even greater. Just like rings and crowns, round brooches were already from the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. symbolically particularly attractive as symbols of eternity, unity and faithfulness (Lightbown 1992: 100; Søvsø 2011: 264). At the same time they fit into the geometric theory of beauty of the time, unhindered by angles, and “uninterrupted” as testimony of faith (Hinton 2005: 190). Due to this, especially if it bore an appropriate inscription, it was a good medium for vows of love and devotion (including to the Mother of God). It is a

18 Marina Šimek carried out an interesting experiment using a replica of the find from Paka, demonstrating that such a small brooch (measuring 3.6 x 4 cm), made of a 1.3 mm thick bronze wire, could not support the weight of a mantle made of “a solid and thick fabric” (Šimek 2016).

19 As many as 185 out of 215 analysed Danish brooches belong to this group. Twelve brooches have the diameter between 1.3–1.9 cm, eight have 5–5.9 cm, while the ten biggest brooches, which probably served for fastening heavier mantles, have the diameter of 6–9.6 cm (Søvsø 2009: 204).

20 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15219/ring-brooch-unknown/> (accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> December 2015).

Male dimenzije nekih srednjovjekovnih broševa i njihovih natpisa upućuju na to da su ih nosili kao diskretan i osobni znak. Dok su prema van bili simboli statusa i bogatstva, njihovi su natpisi bili značajni samo nositelju.<sup>21</sup> Slično kao što vrijedi i za ljubavne natpise čiji je sadržaj ponekad bio tajna samo između dvoje ljudi koji su jedini doista znali tko je kome broš darovao, i drugi su se broševi s natpisom mogli nositi tako da se ne vide kako bi tajna ostala privatnom (Hinton 2005: 190–191).

Dvostrana ukrašenost gorskog primjerka, a to i nije tako česta pojava kod ostalih broševa, pokazuje da je on mogao biti nošen na obje strane, dakle: mogao je biti nošen s ukrašenom stranom prema van, a natpisnom prema unutra, jer to je natpis koji zaziva Marijinu zaštitu i koji je nošen prije svega zbog svoje apotropejske funkcije. Štoviše, na taj bi se način pojačala funkcija broša kao amuleta.<sup>22</sup>

Ipak, na fotografiji broša *in situ* (sl. 5), prema položaju igle, možemo vidjeti da je u trenutku polaganja pokojnice u grob broš bio pričvršćen tako da natpis bude vidljiv. Moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je takva orijentacija broša već bila namijenjena onostranom promatraču na *Posljednjem sudu*, a da je tijekom života nošen s natpisom okrenutim na unutarnju stranu. Ali, kao što smo vidjeli kod opisa broša, to očito nije bio slučaj. Osim što i obrada igle i položaj grba na njoj nedvojbeno pokazuju koja je strana broša bila glavna, na to upućuju i tragovi izlzanosti koji su izrazitiji na strani s natpisom – u tolikoj mjeri da je vrh igle izlazio donji dio jednog slova – a na stražnjoj su strani jedva primjetni. Možemo, dakle, zaključiti da je gorski broš i za života većinu vremena bio nošen tako da zavjetni natpis bude vidljiv. No, kako ćemo uskoro pokazati, ne i svima razumljiv.

## 10. POSTUPAK ODGONETAVANJA NATPISA NA BROŠU IZ GORE

Odgonetavanje natpisa trajalo je dugo. AVEMA je od početka upućivalo da je u neku ruku riječ o „Ave Maria” brošu. No ostatak natpisa bio je potpuno nejasan (sl. 7).



Sl. 7 Natpis na brošu iz Gore (snimio: Juraj Belaj, 2015.; obrada D. Tresić Pavičić, 2015.)

Fig. 7 Inscription on the brooch from Gora (photo: Juraj Belaj, 2015; processing: D. Tresić Pavičić, 2015)

Na početku se činilo da se jednostavno radi o magijskom natpisu, ili možda čak imitaciji natpisa, kojeg nikada nećemo moći odgonetnuti. Takvih broševa ima, kako smo

21 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15219/ring-brooch-unknown/> (30. 12. 2015.).

22 Tekstualni amuleti bili su vrlo česti u srednjem vijeku, a vrhunac uporabe im pada između 12. i 15. stoljeća, što se odražava i na broševima. Zapisivali su se na različitim materijalima: pergamentu, olovu, kositru, dijelovima tijela ili pak hostijama i drugim jestivim predmetima. Zapisivani na svitke, sadržavali su čitave molitve ili tek imena svetaca, te se omatali oko trudnica pri porodu ili oko bilo kojega oboljelog dijela tijela. Osim što su se zapisivale, magijske su se riječi i formule još češće i izgovarale. Metalne pločice često su pronalazene presavijene. Čini se da je upravo fizički čin presavijanja bio od presudne važnosti u magijskim obredima jer je čarobna formula tako ostajala tajna te se time čuvala njezina snaga (Gilchrist 2008: 125).

small step from a symbol of faithfulness to an object possessing the power of protecting that faithfulness, as well as many other things. Besides, also the other different shapes of brooch frames carried a certain symbolism – this comes well to the fore in cordate frames or those depicting a handshake. Specimens of this kind often have inscriptions that prove this. Some other shapes, such as multi-leaf or star-shaped, just like the use of the “meanings” of numbers and geometric ornaments, probably carried a symbolic meaning, although it is difficult to prove this today (Søvsø 2011: 275–276, 278–280).

The mentioned protective function is further reinforced by the choice of the material used for its production. For metals, precious ones in particular, as well as precious and semi-precious stones, but also their imitations like glass paste, it was believed in the Middle Ages that, like other geological materials, they have certain properties that may have beneficial effects on humans. This is mentioned also in mediaeval sources (Evans 1921: 56; Ragolić 2010: 55–58; Søvsø 2011: 266, 274–275). Such protection may have been additionally improved by certain inscriptions. Inscriptions were very common and—as it was believed—as effective as the spoken word (Søvsø 2011: 266). The study of inscriptions on brooches allows us to observe that during the Middle Ages the border between the prescribed beliefs within the doctrine of the Church and non-institutional beliefs was blurred (Le Goff 1998: 425), that is, that all three main themes (devotional, magical and love-related) were often interwoven (Søvsø 2011: 272). It therefore comes as no surprise that inscriptions on various materials were copiously used in the Middle Ages for cure and for fighting against spells, a practice that has remained in certain places to this day. For instance, the folklore literature abounds with references to the use of magical words and formulae, today often incomprehensible to us, written on paper, leather, canvas, body parts, sewn into clothes or worn next to one’s body, hidden from view (Brenko et al. 2001: 127, 150–152; Gilchrist 2008: 125; Zečević 1978: 430).

Occasionally, in case of illiterate persons, protection may

have been secured by imitating letters, and even by using simple decoration like ordinary zigzag (Søvsø 2011: 267) or alternating series of only a few letters, which is often encountered on rings. Imitations, both of materials as well as inscriptions on them, had a similar effect on the bearers – otherwise they would not exist in the first place.

The small size of some mediaeval brooches and their inscriptions suggest that they were worn as discrete and personal symbols. While externally they symbolized status and wealth, their inscriptions were only important to the bearer.<sup>21</sup> Similar to what is true for love inscriptions, whose content was sometimes a secret shared by only two people who were the only ones to know who gave the brooch

21 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15219/ring-brooch-unknown/> (accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> December 2015).



vidjeli, dosta. Ipak, rad je previše kvalitetan da bi bio djelo nepismenog ili polupismenog majstora.

Na prvom prijedlogu čitanja valja zahvaliti Željku Demi iz Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu. On ga je podijelio u dva dijela pri čemu je *AVEMA* interpretirao kao skraćenicu od *Ave Maria*, dok je *InLNROAICS* (sic!) predložio kao akronim za: *In Laudem Nostris Regis Omnipotentis Altissimi Iesu Christi Salvatoris* („U Slavu Našemu Kralju Svemogućem Svevišnjem Isusu Kristu Spasitelju”).<sup>23</sup> Ipak, iako je takvo čitanje teorijski i teološki korektno, ne može mu se poreći proizvoljnost. No, ono je pružilo nadu da se natpis može pročitati.

Posebno je zbunjivala pretpostavka da je riječ „In” zavrijedila biti čitava zapisana, a ne samo njezino početno slovo, kako je to bio slučaj s ostatkom akronima. Drugo što se činilo nelogično jest pretpostavka da bi majstor slovo N zapisao na dva različita načina u istom natpisu. Koji bi imao razlog za takav postupak? Uvidjeli smo da zrcalno okrenuto „minuskulno n” poprilično slično slovu G, kako je urezano na pojedinih broševima iz 13. stoljeća, primjerice na francuskom brošu iz Strasbourga (sl. 9), na zlatnom brošu iz Engleske (Lightbown 1992: 491, kat. br. 2; Victoria and Albert Museum, Search the Collections)<sup>24</sup> ili pak na srebrnom iz Italije (Lightbown 1992: 491, kat. br. 1; Victoria and Albert Museum, Search the Collections).<sup>25</sup> Jedino, na gorskom se primjerku crta slova lijevo dolje na savija prema unutra poput kuke. Uzrok tomu jest izlisanost broša na tom mjestu jer upravo tu sjeda vrh igle i opipom se može ustanoviti da je okvir broša upravo ovdje, gdje se nalazi donji dio slova, stanjen (sl. 8).

Kada se, dakle, temeljem ovog zapažanja, u formulu na



Sl. 8 Prstenasti broš iz Gore – uočljivo stanjenje okvira (snimio: Janko Belaj, 2015.)

Fig. 8 Annular brooch from Gora – conspicuously thinned frame (photo: Janko Belaj, 2015)

mjesto n stavi slovo G, dobije se sljedeći niz slova:

AVEMA IGLNROAICS

Upravo je novouvedeno slovo asociiralo na riječ *GRATIA* koja u molitvi, toliko puta zapisanoj na raznim broševima diljem Europe, dolazi nakon *AVE MARIA*, a potom i slovo L na

<sup>23</sup> Ova je interpretacija objavljena u ranijim radovima koji su se doticali ovog nalaza (Belaj 2011; Belaj, Sirovica 2012a).

<sup>24</sup> <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O103331/ring-brooch-unknown/> (30. 12. 2015.).

<sup>25</sup> <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O103325/ring-brooch-unknown/> (30. 12. 2015.).

to whom, the other inscribed brooches could be worn hidden from view, to ensure the secret remains private (Hinton 2005: 190–191).

The bifacial decoration of the Gora specimen—which is not such a common phenomenon in other brooches—suggests that it may have been worn on either side, namely: it could be worn with the decorated side front and the inscribed side back, since this is an inscription invoking Mary’s protection, which was worn primarily for its apotropaic function. What is more, this would enhance the brooch’s function as an amulet.<sup>22</sup>

Still, we can see on the photograph of the brooch *in situ* (Fig. 5), that at the moment the deceased woman was being placed in the grave, the brooch was attached in such a way that the inscription remain visible. We might presume that the brooch was oriented that way for the observer from beyond at the *Judgement Day*, and that during life it was worn with the inscription facing inwards. However, as we have seen in the description of the brooch, this was obviously not the case. In addition to the fact that both the workmanship of the pin and the position of the coat of arms on it undeniably show which side of the brooch was the principal one, this is also suggested by the traces of wear, which are more distinct on the side with the inscription—to the extent that the tip of the pin abraded the lower part of one of the letters—whereas they are barely discernible on the back. We may therefore conclude that the Gora brooch was worn during life with the votive inscription visible to all. But, as we shall soon demonstrate, not everyone could understand it.

## 10. THE PROCESS OF DECIPHERMENT OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BROOCH FROM GORA

It took us a long time to decipher the inscription. *AVEMA* pointed from the very start to the idea that this was an “*Ave Maria*” brooch. However, the remainder of the inscription was completely unclear (Fig. 7).

At first it seemed that this was simply a magical inscription, or perhaps even an imitation of an inscription, which we would never decode. As we have seen, there are quite many such brooches. Still, the piece is far too fine to be considered a work of an illiterate or semi-literate craftsman.

For the first suggestion for reading we are grateful to Željko Demo of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. He divided the inscription into two parts, interpreting *AVEMA* as an abbreviation of *Ave Maria*, while he suggested that *InLNROAICS* (sic!) was an acronym for: *In Laudem Nostris Regis Omnipotentis Altissimi Iesu Christi Salvatoris* (“In the Glory of Our Lord the Almighty and Supreme Jesus Christ

<sup>22</sup> extual amulets were very common in the Middle Ages, reaching peak use between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> cent., which is reflected on the brooches. They were inscribed in various materials: parchment, lead, tin, body parts or wafers and other edible objects. Inscribed on scrolls, they contained entire prayers or only names of saints, and were wrapped around pregnant women at childbirth, or around any other diseased part of the body. Besides being written down, magical words and formulae were even more often spoken. Metal plaques were often found folded. It seems that it was precisely the physical act of folding of crucial importance in magical rituals, because this way the magic formula remained secret, and thereby its power was preserved (Gilchrist 2008: 125).

iduću riječ, PLENA. Tako se javila ideja da natpis možda krije veći dio molitve *Ave Maria* nego što se to u početku činilo. Naravno, učinilo se neobičnim da bi bilo odabrano drugo slovo iz riječi PLENA, jer se tako ne postupa u kreiranju akronima koji se uvijek sastoje od početnih slova riječi. Ipak, valjalo je propitati ovu novu pretpostavku provjerom koja su sve slova uvrštena, odnosno ispuštena iz natpisa. Tomu je poslužila tablica sa slovima zapisanim na brošu u gornjem retku i svim slovima početka molitve u donjem retku:

A	V	E	M	A		I	G									L	N	R	O	A	I	C	S		
A	V	E	M	A	[R]	I	[A]	G	[R	A	T	I	A	P]	L	[E]	N	[A]	D	O	M	I	N	[U]	S

U oči upadaju dvije namjerne nepravilnosti: jedna je simetričnost, koja je ujedno ohrabrujuća, a druga je zamjena slova, koja je zbunjujuća.

### Prva nepravilnost: simetričnost

Prije svega, tko god da je koncipirao ovaj natpis, pojedina je slova molitve uvrštavao, odnosno ispuštao planski. Zanimarimo li zadnje slovo S (premda se mora priznati da još uvijek nije jasan pravi razlog zašto ga zanemariti) i pogledamo sva ostala slova, uočiti ćemo pravilnu simetriju: ispušteno je srednjih šest slova, potom je s obje strane, i lijeve i desne, po jedno slovo uvršteno, pa ispušteno, zatim uvršteno, pa ispušteno, potom ih je po pet uvršteno. To je učinjeno tako precizno da ne ostavlja mjesto sumnji da je do toga došlo slučajno i ujedno objašnjava zašto je, primjerice, iz riječi PLENA uvršteno L a ne P. Sama činjenica da su slova ispuštena i nije tako neobična i rijetka. Vjerojatno je majstor želio, najvjerojatnije prema narudžbi, staviti određeni natpis na broš, ali nije za nj imao dovoljno mjesta, a da ga ne pokrati.

Kako bismo smjeli pretpostaviti da je riječ o namjernom postupku, pa makar i vrlo rijetko provođenom, valjalo bi raspolagati s još primjera sličnog postupka. Pritom nailazimo na probleme. Broševi se u literaturi često površno predstavljaju: natpisi se često prenose neprecizno, već interpretirani, a eventualne anomalije ili dvojbena slova se uglavnom prešućuju. Nalazi često nisu ilustrirani, a ako jesu, nerijetko se publicira samo prednja strana broša. Ilustracije su, osobito u starijim objavama, često toliko loše da onemogućavaju točno čitanje natpisa. Ipak, vremenom se i u tom pogledu situacija mijenja.

Donekle slična koncepcija natpisa uočena je na već spomenutom brošu iz Francuske (broš je iz Strasbourga, čuva se u Musée Dobrée, Nantes; Debais, Favreau 2008: 100–101, br. 94). Riječ je o srebrnom primjerku promjera 3,6 cm, koji se prema analogijama datira u 13. do 14. stoljeće. Važno je primijetiti i ukras na vanjskom rubu, s druge strane uzdužne linije, koji je izveden kosim crticama, baš kao i na gorskom nalazu, o čemu je prije bilo govora, a što možda čak upućuje na istu radionicu (sl. 9). Natpis se nalazi na prednjoj strani, dok stražnja strana broša nije objavljena, pa možemo pretpostaviti da nije bila ukrašena.

Natpis je urezan prilično nezgrapno, očito rukom nevje-

the Saviour”).<sup>23</sup> However, although such an interpretation is correct in theory and in terms of theology, its arbitrariness cannot be denied. Still, it gave us hope that the inscription could be decoded.

We were particularly confused by the assumption that the word “In” merited to be written fully, instead of with only its initial letter, as it was the case with the rest of the acronym. The second thing that seemed illogical was the assumption that the craftsman would write the letter N in two different ways in the same inscription. What reason would he have to act this way? We have seen that mirror-reflected “minuscule n” bears considerable resemblance to the letter G” as incised on some 13<sup>th</sup> century brooches, for instance, on a French brooch from Strasbourg (Fig. 9), on a golden brooch from England (Lightbown 1992: 491, cat. no. 2; Victoria and Albert Museum, Search the Collections),<sup>24</sup> or on a silver brooch from Italy (Lightbown 1992: 491, cat. no. 1; Victoria and Albert Museum, Search the Collections).<sup>25</sup> The only thing is that on the Gora brooch the line of the letter bottom left does not curve inwards like a hook. The reason for this is the worn-out state of the brooch at that place, because this is where the tip of the pin rests, and it can be ascertained by touching that the frame of the brooch was thinned precisely at that place, where the lower part of the letter is (Fig. 8).

Therefore, based on this observation, when we replace the letter n in this formula with the letter G, we get the following sequence of letters:

A V E M A I G L N R O A I C S

It was precisely this newly introduced letter that pointed to the word GRATIA, which in the prayer, so many times inscribed on brooches throughout Europe, follows after AVE MARIA, and then also the letter L pointed to the next word, PLENA. This way the idea was formed that the inscription might hide a greater part of the *Ave Maria* prayer than it originally appeared. Naturally, it seemed unusual that the second letter in the word PLENA would be chosen, because this was not the right way to form acronyms, which always consist of the initial letters of the words. Nevertheless, it was necessary to test this new assumption by verifying which letters were included, that is, omitted from the inscription. This was done with the help of a table with letters written on the brooch in the upper row and with all the letters of the beginning of the prayer in the lower row:

A	V	E	M	A		I	G									L	N	R	O	A	I	C	S		
A	V	E	M	A	[R]	I	[A]	G	[R	A	T	I	A	P]	L	[E]	N	[A]	D	O	M	I	N	[U]	S

Two deliberate irregularities are conspicuous: the first one is symmetry, which is at the same time encouraging, and the other is the substitution of letters, which is confusing.

<sup>23</sup> This interpretation was published in previous works dealing with this discovery (Belaj 2011; Belaj, Sirovica 2012a).

<sup>24</sup> <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O103331/ring-brooch-unknown/> (accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> December 2015).

<sup>25</sup> <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O103325/ring-brooch-unknown/> (accessed on the 30<sup>th</sup> December 2015).



Sl. 9 Broš iz Strasbourga (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 100–101, br. 94; © Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale / Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale)

Fig. 9 Brooch from Strasbourg (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 100–101, no. 94; © Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale / Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale)

štoga gravera, velikim uglatim slovima, koja nisu sva dobro vidljiva – kao i kod gorskog natpisa, izlizana su upravo ona slova po kojima je igla „šetala“. Ono što se može pročitati glasi:

A M I V L A M ? ? N I A M I<sup>26</sup>

Smatramo da je i ovdje riječ o zapisu prvog dijela molitve *Ave Maria* (*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus*), ali je natpis na osobit način pokraćen. Ako iz prvog dijela molitve – *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus, tecum, benedicta* – uzmemo svako treće slovo, dobit ćemo niz:

A M I R I L A M V E M N I A

a prvi dio natpisa na brošu glasi:

A M I V L A M ? ? N I A

Nizovi su gotovo identični, osim u dva detalja. Prvo, umjesto dva slova RI nalazi se samo jedno slovo V. Razlog za tu zamjenu nije jasan. I drugo, umjesto triju slova VEM, na brošu se nalaze nečitka dva (teško da se radi o tri slova, pogotovo jer je slovo M na broš urezivano izrazito široko). Možda su i u ovom dijelu, iz sličnog razloga, dva slova zamijenjena jednim, pa nam zato jedno slovo manjka.

Ostatak molitve, *tu in mulieribus*, zapisan je po drugom ključu: zapisano je točno tek svako peto slovo – MI – kao da je graver uvidio da će mu, ako zadrži isti ritam (odnosno ako će i dalje zapisivati svako treće slovo) pomanjkati prostora za dva slova.

Dakle, iako u ovom natpisu nema simetrije, zajedničko mu je s gorskim natpisom da su slova odabirana po određenom ključu, pa smatramo da on može poslužiti kao potvrda ispravnosti čitanja gorskog natpisa. Sasvim je jasno da nije

26 U objavi stoji transkripcija AMIVLAMNIIAMI u kojoj su nečitka slova zanemarena, a dodano je, čini se, i jedno I viška (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 101, br. 94).

### The first irregularity: symmetry

To start with, whoever conceived this inscription also included, or omitted individual letters of the prayer according to a plan. If we neglect the last letter S (although we have to admit that the real reason to do so is still not clear) and look at all the other letters, we shall note a regular symmetry: the middle six letters were omitted, and after this on both sides, the left and right, one letter was included, then omitted, again included, again omitted, which is followed by five included letters. This was done with such precision that it leaves no place for doubt that it may have been accidental, and at the same time explains why, for instance, the word PLENA is represented with L instead of P. The very fact that the letters were omitted is not really unusual and rare. The craftsman probably wanted, most likely due to the wish of the commissioner, to put a certain inscription on the brooch, but there was not enough space for it, unless he shortened the text.

To validate our assumption that this was a deliberate act, if only rarely practiced, we ought to have a few more cases in which a similar procedure was carried out. In this we encounter problems. Brooches are often superficially presented in the literature: inscriptions are often imprecisely transcribed, in an interpreted form, and possible anomalies or doubtful letters are generally passed over. The objects are often not illustrated, and if they are, frequently only the front of the brooch is depicted. Illustrations are often so bad that they prevent one to read the inscription with accuracy, especially in older publications. Nevertheless, the situation is changing for the better with time also in this respect.

A somewhat similar concept of inscription was observed on the already mentioned brooch from France (the brooch is from Strasbourg, kept at the Musée Dobrée, Nantes; Debiais, Favreau 2008: 100–101, no. 94). This is a silver specimen 3.6 cm in diameter, dated by analogies to the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cent. Worthy of mention is the ornament on the outer edge, on the other side of the longitudinal line, executed with oblique notches, just like on the Gora brooch, as we have already mentioned, and which might even point to the same workshop (Fig. 9). The inscription occupies the front of the brooch, while the back has not been published, allowing us to assume that it was not decorated.

The inscription was incised clumsily, obviously by an inexperienced engraver, with big angular letters, not all of which are clearly visible – like in the case of the Gora inscription, it is precisely the letters along which the pin “strolled” that are worn out. The part that can be read reads:

A M I V L A M ? ? N I A M I<sup>26</sup>

We think that here too this is the transcription of the first part of the *Ave Maria* prayer (*Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus*), but the inscription was abbreviated in a particular way. If we take every third letter from the first part of the prayer, *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus, tecum, benedicta*, we shall obtain the following sequence:

A M I R I L A M V E M N I A

26 The transcription in the publication reads AMIVLAMNIIAMI. Here the illegible letters were substituted, but it seems that there is an additional I (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 101, no. 94).



postojao jedan jedini obrazac za kriptiranje, jer tada to ne bi imalo niti smisla; ovdje nije riječ samo o simboličkom zakrivanju natpisa zrcalnim okretanjem jednog slova ili nekoga sličnog postupka protiv uroka nego o stvarnoj težnji da se drugima onemogućí ispravno čitanje. Prema tome, u ovakvim slučajevima svakom predmetu treba prići kao slučaju za sebe.

### Druga nepravilnost: zamjena slova

Ostaje prikazati i „zbunjujuću nepravilnost“, a tiče se zamjene pojedinih slova. Naime, u pretpostavljenoj riječi DOMINUS, kao prvo, jedno je od dvaju predzadnjih slova ispušteno (N ili U), a kao drugo, od preostalih šest slova, svako „parno“ upisano je ispravno (O, I, S), dok su „neparna“ slova promijenjena: umjesto D zapisano je R,<sup>27</sup> umjesto M stoji A, umjesto N/U jest C. Ovaj pravilan naizmjeničan raspored zadržanih i promijenjenih slova daje nam za pravo slutiti da je riječ o nekoj namjeri, iako to nikako ne možemo tvrditi.

Nameću se dva osnovna moguća razloga zbog kojih je do te zamjene slova došlo. Prvi razlog, kako se često u literaturi navodi, bila bi mogućnost da majstor nije bio pismen. Imamo pokazatelja, istaknutih i u literaturi, da poneki majstori graveri nisu bili vični pisanju na latinskom: postoje slučajevi kada su, primjerice, poneka slova umetana (MULIENRIB umjesto MULIERIBUS), ispuštena (ECUM umjesto TECUM), suglasnici su zamjenjivani, moguće zbog jednakog izgovora (GRACIA – GRATIA) (Heindel 1986: 68). Česta su i zrcalno prikazana slova (Heindel 1986: 68). Primjere vjerojatno loše kopiranog teksta navodi Hinton (2005: 341, bilj. 74). Callander smatra da je među graverima natpisa na škotskim broševima bilo mnogo nepismenih jer rijetko koji natpis ima sve riječi pravilno napisane, česti su slučajevi zrcalno obrnutih i iskrivljenih slova te krivo ili unatraske zapisanih riječi (Callander 1924: 165).

Mislimo da sve pobrojene greške ne možemo jednako tretirati. Ispuštanje pojedinih slova treba gledati odvojeno od ostalih pogrešaka jer je to bio uobičajen način motiviran željom da se poduža fraza upiše na skućeni prostor koji nude okviri broševa, pogotovo oni manjih dimenzija. Zamjena slova zbog jednakog izgovora svakako ocrta nedovoljno poznavanje latinskog pravopisa (što ne treba odmah proglašavati nepismenošću) i sama po sebi ne upućuje na kakav magijski postupak. Slično možda možemo gledati i na spomenuto, rijetko prisutno, umetanje slova, ako se u ovom slučaju ne radi o slučajnoj pogrešci, „tipfeleru“.

No navedene greške nisu tako drastične pogreške da bi učinile natpise nečitkima ili da bismo njihove gravere proglasili nepismenima. Na slabu pismenost gravera najviše ukazuju iskrivljena slova, a na nepismenost njihova imitacija. Što se tiče zrcalno zapisanih slova, čini se da ona mogu nastati kao posljedica slabog poznavanja abecede, ponekad možda i zbunjenosti majstora pri obradi kalupa. No, kao što je već istaknuto, toj pojavi moramo pristupiti opreznije, jer je pokazano da su neke takve „pogreške“ učinjene namjerno kako bi se pojedinom natpisu pridodala magijska zaštita, pa to onda ni nisu pogreške nego svjesni postupci.

and the first part of the inscription on the brooch reads:  
A M I V L A M ? ? N I A

The sequences are almost identical, except in two details. First, instead of two letters RI there is only a single letter V. The reason for this substitution is not clear. And secondly, instead of three letters VEM, on the brooch there are two illegible letters (it is not likely that these are three letters, especially because the letter M was incised on the brooch extremely wide). Perhaps in this part, too, two letters were substituted with a single one, due to a similar reason, and this is why we are a letter short.

The rest of the prayer, *tu in mulieribus*, was written down based on another code – only every fifth letter was written – M I – as if the engraver realized that, if he keep the same rhythm, (respectively if he will continue to write every third letter), he lack the space for two letters.

Therefore, even though there is no symmetry in this inscription, a trait it shares with the Gora brooch is that the letters were selected based on a certain key, so we believe that it might be used to corroborate the accuracy of the reading of the Gora inscription. It is entirely clear that there was not only one method for encryption, because this would be meaningless; here we are not dealing only with a symbolic hiding of the inscription by reflecting a letter in the mirror, or with another similar practice against spells, but rather with a real desire to disqualify others from reading the inscription correctly. Therefore, in such cases we ought to approach each object as a separate case.

### The second irregularity: letter substitution

It remains to present the “confusing irregularity” regarding the substitution of several letters. Namely, in the supposed word DOMINUS, first, one of the two letters before the last was omitted (N or U), and, secondly, of the remaining six letters every “even” letter was inscribed correctly (O, I, S), while “odd” letters were changed: instead of a D there is an R,<sup>27</sup> instead of an M – A, instead of an N/U – C. This regular alternating order of kept and omitted letters allows us to believe that there is a design in it, even though we cannot assert that was indeed the case.

Two basic potential reasons impose themselves as to why such a substitution occurred. The first reason, as often stated in the literature, is the possibility that the craftsman was illiterate. There are indications, pointed out in the literature, that some engravers were not used in writing Latin: there are cases, for instance, when letters were inserted (MULIENRIB instead of MULIERIBUS), omitted (ECUM instead of TECUM), consonants were replaced, possibly due to identical pronunciation (GRACIA – GRATIA) (Heindel 1986: 68). Mirror-reflected letters are also common (Heindel 1986: 68). Hinton cited examples of probably inaccurately copied texts (2005: 341, note 74). Callander believes that there were a number of illiterate engravers of Scottish brooches, since only a few inscriptions have all the words accurately transcribed, mirror-image and distorted letters are common, and so are the words that were written incorrectly or back to front (Callander 1924: 165).

In our opinion, not all the listed errors should be treated the same. The omission of certain letters ought to be con-

27 Zanimljivo je primijetiti trag neke dvojbe kod urezivanja slova R, kao da je graver počeo urezivati neko drugo slovo, pa se predomislio.

27 It is interesting to notice a trace some doubt with grooving letter R, as if the engraver began to commit another letter, but he changed his mind.

Još oprezniji moramo biti u kritici zlatarove pismenosti kada govorimo o unutraške zapisanim riječima koje su, smatramo, učinjene namjerno radi magijske zaštite.

Važno je imati na umu da su procvati gradova i novčana privreda doveli su do toga da su se od 12. stoljeća i trgovci opismenjivali ne bi li uštedjeli na zapošljavanju pisara, a u 13. stoljeću imućnije obitelji već i žensku djecu šalju u samostanske škole (Vidmar 2009: 100). Možemo pretpostaviti da je za neka zanimanja pismenost jednostavno bila važnija nego za druga. Graveri natpisa na nakitu, osobito od skupocjenijih plemenitih metala, svakako bi trebali spadati među takva, pogotovo zato što se svojim proizvodima obraćaju bogatijem, pismenom društvenom sloju. No, to ne znači da do pogrešaka, pa i zamjene slova, nije dolazilo – primjera za to imamo. No oni su češći na broševima izrađenima od jeftinijih materijala, vjerojatno od manje vještih majstora, a samim time namijenjenima slabije obrazovanoj publici.

Smatramo da je teško zamislivo da je francuski graver gorskog broša bio nepismen pa da bismo u njegovoj nepismenosti tražili razloge za krivo upisana slova. Molitvu je vrlo vjerojatno znao, pa je teško zamislivo da ne bi znao napisati slova D, M, N/U u riječi DOMINUS, pogotovo kad je slovo M već urezao na početku. Zbog toga moramo promisliti i o drugoj mogućnosti: majstor je slova zamijenio namjerno. Zašto? Na nakitu s natpisima ovog vremena (a tu su uz broševe još i brojni nalazi prstenja) često se mogu naći, primjerice, magijski pseudonimi za Boga iz *Starog zavjeta*. Kako je već navedeno, česta je uporaba formule AGLA, a i ona se susreće i u varijantama s ispremiješanim slovima (GAAL, LAGA, ALGA). Vjerovalo se da će zaštita ostati učinkovita samo ako je i sama zaštićena od uroka, a to bi se često postizalo izmjenom redosljeda slova, zapisom unatrag, pisanjem slova naglavačke ili zrcalno i sl. Time se onemogućavalo da drugi lako i brzo pročitaju natpis (Ragolič 2010: 30).

Zrcalno okrenuta slova javljaju se često. Kao primjer navodim broš s natpisom IESVS NAZARENVS u kojemu su slova S i Z zrcalno okrenuta (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 254, sl. 164, br. 1337, 255). Još smo jedan primjer zakrivanja, ovaj put premetanjem slova, zapazili u francuskoj literaturi. Na brončanom brošu zapisano je II AVE MARIA GRIATA PLA T DM. Debiais i Favreau opravdano su zaključili da je to pokraćeni natpis od AVE MARIA GRATIA PL(EN)A D(OMINU)S T(ECUM) (Debiais, Favreau 2008: 100, br. 93).<sup>28</sup> Dakle, u oba su slučaja, unutar korpusa slova odabranih za zapisivanje, slova prebačena za dva mjesta naprijed.

Još bolji primjer zakrivanja natpisa, ovog puta i zapisom unatrag te zrcalno okrenutim slovima, dolazi iz Danske, iz arheološkog istraživanja ženskoga benediktinskog samostana u Randersu. Riječ je o srebrnom brošu datiranom 1330.–1375., koji na prednjoj strani ima šest nosača u kojima se nalaze ružičasta stakla (Søvsø 2011: 275, sl. 7). Na poledini je natpis OHANNES:ME:FECIT (je li riječ o potpisu autora?), dok je na prednjoj strani, između nosača, izveden natpis koncipiran u dvije trake. Na unutarnjoj zrcalno okrenutim slovima piše ROMA RTEP, a na vanjskoj pravilnim zapisom

sidered separate from other errors, since this was the usual method motivated by desire to inscribe a long phrase into a limited space delineated by the brooch frames, especially in case of smaller brooches. The substitution of letters due to identical pronunciation certainly points to insufficient familiarity with Latin orthography (which shouldn't be outright labelled as illiteracy) and in itself does not indicate a magical practice. We may look similarly at the mentioned, rarely present, insertion of letters, unless in this case this was an accidental mistake, a misspelling.

Still, these errors are not so drastic as to render the inscriptions illegible, or to declare their engravers illiterate. Distorted letters are the main indicator of the low literacy of engravers, while their imitation points to illiteracy. When it comes to mirror-image letters, it seems that they are created as a result of the poor knowledge of the alphabet, and sometimes also due to the confusion of the craftsman in the making of the mould. However, as pointed out previously, we should approach this phenomenon with more caution, because it had been demonstrated that certain "errors" of this kind were in fact deliberate in order to lend an inscription a magical protection, which means that these were not errors at all, but conscious acts. We should be even more cautious in criticizing a goldsmith's literacy when we discuss the words written backwards, which, in our opinion, was done deliberately to achieve magical protection.

It is important to bear in mind that due to the prosperity of towns and monetary economy, from the 12<sup>th</sup> cent. the traders started acquiring literacy to shed the costs of employing a scribe, and in the 13<sup>th</sup> cent. more affluent families started sending even female children to convent schools (Vidmar 2009: 100). We may presume that for certain professions literacy was more important than for some others. Engravers of inscriptions on jewellery, especially made of expensive precious metals, would certainly rank as such, particularly because with their products they cater for the richer, literate social class. This, however, does not mean that no mistakes were ever made, including the substitution of letters – we have examples of this. But they are more common on brooches made of cheaper materials, and probably also by less skilled craftsmen, and consequently also intended for a less educated public.

We find it difficult to imagine that the French engraver of the Gora brooch was illiterate, and that in his illiteracy we would search for reasons for inaccurately written letters. He most likely knew the prayer, and it is hardly conceivable that he wouldn't know how to write the letters D, M, N/U in the word DOMINUS, especially when he had already incised an M at the beginning. We must therefore consider also another possibility: that he substituted the letters on purpose. Why? Inscribed jewellery from that period (besides brooches there are also numerous rings) often bear, for instance, magical pseudonyms for the God of the Old Testament. As we have already stated, the formula AGLA was commonly used, and it sometimes appears in variants with mixed letters (GAAL, LAGA, ALGA). It was believed that the protection would remain effective only if it was itself protected from spells, which would often be achieved by changing the order of the letters, by writing backwards, upside-down or mirror-image letters etc. This practice would prevent others from reading the inscription quickly and ea-

28 Na prva dva slova II nisu se obazreli.

VINCIT OMNIA. Ako se prvi dio, zrcalno napisan, pročita unatraske dobivamo natpis PETR AMOR VINCIT OMNIA. Odakle ime nekog Petra (*Petr*) na brošu pronađenom u ženskom samostanu svakako je zanimljivo pitanje, a Søvsvø pretpostavlja da se možda radi o propalim zarukama ili o udovištvu (Søvsvø 2011: 278). No, bez obzira na to koji je bio razlog, ostaje osobito zanimljiva činjenica da je ime Petar iz određenih razloga ipak, barem donekle, napisano zakri-  
veno.

Primjer zakrivljanja natpisa zapisom unatrag u kojem slova nisu i zrcalno okrenuta, nalazi se na već spomenutom brošu s utisnutim grbom iz Marne u Francuskoj, datiranom u 13. stoljeće.<sup>29</sup> Na njegovoj se prednjoj strani nalazi natpis CARG AIRAM ECA, koji čitan unatrag glasi ACE MARIA GRAC. Očito je da je i tu riječ o početku *Ave Marije*, s tim da su prva dva slova zamijenjena. Broš, uz to, ima na vanjskom rubu jednaki ukras od kosih crtica, kao i gorski, ali se on ponavlja i na unutarnjem rubu. Važno je naglasiti da se u svim ovim slučajevima radi o slovima urezanima u broš, pa u obzir ne može doći pretpostavka o „zbunjenosti” majstora kod izrade kalupa.

Primjeri namjernih izmjena dvaju ili više slova zasada nam nisu poznati. No zato, uvjereni smo, imamo primjer namjerne zamjene jednog slova. Godine 2011. pronađen je srebrni broš u grobu na srednjovjekovnom groblju ukopavanom oko kapele u podgrađu ivanovačke velebne utvrde Margat, u Siriji (sl. 10). Na brošu je natpis ispunjen niellom koji glasi: + AVE MABIA G. Upravo je nezamislivo da bi postojao graver koji bi zarađivao kruh urezivanjem slova u srebru i njihovim ispunjavanjem niellom, a koji ne bi znao napisati pravilno ime Marijino. Kontekst datira nalaz u 13. stoljeće, prije 1285. (Major 2016: 159, sl. 148). Promjerom od



Sl. 10 Broš iz Margata, Sirija (Major 2016: 159, sl. 148)  
Fig. 10 Brooch from Margat, Syria (Major 2016: 159, Fig. 148)

sily (Ragolič 2010: 30).

Mirror-image letters are common. As an example we refer to the brooch with the inscription IESVS NAZARENVS, in which the letters S and Z are reflected as in a mirror (Egan, Pritchard 2002: 254, Fig. 164, no. 1337, 255). We have found also another instance of encrypting, this time by shuffling letters, in the French literature. The inscription on a bronze brooch reads II AVE MARIA GRIATA PLA T DM. Debais and Favreau justly concluded that this is an abbreviated inscription from AVE MARIA GRATIA PL(EN)A D(OMINU)S T(ECUM) (Debais, Favreau 2008: 100, no. 93).<sup>28</sup> Therefore, in both cases, within the group of letters chosen for inscription, the letters were shifted two places forward.

An even better example of encrypting an inscription, this time also by backward writing and mirror-image letters, comes from Denmark, from the archaeological research of the female Benedictine monastery in Randers. This is a silver brooch dated 1330–1375, with six settings on the front with inserted pink crystals (Søvsvø 2011: 275, Fig. 7). The inscription on the back reads OHANNES:ME:FECIT (is this the signature of the maker?), while on the front, between the settings, the inscription is arranged in two stripes. The mirror-image text in the interior stripe reads ROMA RTEP, while the text in the exterior stripe reads VINCIT OMNIA. If we read the first part, written as a mirror-image, backwards, we get the inscription PETR AMOR VINCIT OMNIA. How did the name of one Peter (*Petr*) find itself on a brooch discovered in a female convent is certainly an interesting question, and Søvsvø presumes that maybe the reason was a failed engagement or widowhood (Søvsvø 2011: 278). Whatever the reason, it still remains a very interesting fact that the name Peter was due to certain reasons written in at least partly encrypted form.

An example of encryption with back-to-front writing in which letters were not written in a mirror image is found on the already mentioned brooch with an impressed coat of arms from Marne in France, dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>29</sup> The inscription CARG AIRAM ECA on the front can be read backwards as ACE MARIA GRAC. This is obviously another case of the beginning of the *Ave Maria*, with first two letters substituted. Besides, on the outer edge of the brooch there is the same ornament consisting of oblique notches, like on the Gora brooch, however, it is repeated also on the interior edge. It is important to stress that in all these cases these are letters incised into the brooch, which means that the option that the craftsman was “confused” in the making of the mould is out of question.

We are presently not familiar with any examples of deliberate substitution of two or more letters. On the other hand, so we believe, we have an example of deliberate substitution of one letter. In 2011 a silver brooch was discovered in a grave at a mediaeval cemetery buried around a chapel in the suburbium of the grand fort of the Hospitallers of Margat in Syria (Fig. 10). The brooch bears an inscription filled with niello, which reads: + AVE MABIA G. It defies imagination that there would be an engraver who would earn his living by incising letters in silver, and filling them with niello, who would not know how to write Mary’s name

<sup>28</sup> They made no reference to the first two letters II.

<sup>29</sup> <http://boucles.clicforum.fr/t4324-boucle-argent-a-id.htm?q> (accessed on the 20<sup>th</sup> January 2016).

<sup>29</sup> <http://boucles.clicforum.fr/t4324-boucle-argent-a-id.htm?q> (20. 1. 2016.).



2,7–2,8 cm, broš je identičan gorskom.

Važno je primijetiti da postoji relativno velik broj *Ave Maria* broševa čiji natpisi počinju manje-više pravilno, ali im završeci danas nisu razumljivi. Njihova brojnost daje nam za pravo pretpostaviti da to nije posljedica tek nepoznavanja molitve ili puke nepismenosti gravera čiji je posao zapravo zahtijevao pismenost, niti slučajnih pogrešaka koje su se ponekad doista događale. Teško da bi majstori koji su izrađivali ovakve primjerke na kraju natpisa nasumično ubacivali slova samo da ispune prostor koji im je čak i nedostatan. Vjerojatnijom se čini pretpostavka da je riječ o sličnim konceptima natpisa, pri čemu se na kraj zapisa upisuju neke kriptirane formule, možda akronimi, koje su, s obzirom na njihovu međusobnu različitost i činjenicu da su luksuzniji broševi rađeni prema narudžbama, bile i personalizirane. Takva bi formula imala neku važnu zaštitničku funkciju za nositelja broša – možda je upravo ona nosila najveću težinu zaštite, a dodatno je pojačana *Zdravomarijom*. To bi onda moglo vrijediti i za gorski nalaz.

Budući da nije jasan razlog zbog kojeg su upravo određena slova na gorskom brošu odabrana kako bi bila zamijenjena, problem čitanja natpisa nije do kraja riješen. Možda je činjenica da je svako drugo ostavljeno slovo u DOMINUS tek puka slučajnost? Možda je ipak riječ o sasvim drukčijem završetku natpisa, čak isprepletеноj kombinaciji dviju riječi? Na neka pitanja, dakle, ne možemo ponuditi konačan odgovor.

## 11. ZAKLJUČAK

S obzirom na kvalitetu izrade i posebnost natpisa, lako je moguće da je broš iz Gore bio ciljano izrađen za konkretnu osobu. Ona ga je očito nosila dulje vremena. Također, zbog raznih značajki ovog broša koje su u radu prikazane nismo skloni pretpostavci da je bio nasljeđivanjem prenošen kroz generacije. Vjerujemo da je osoba koja ga je dugo nosila kao zaštitu ponijela sa sobom i u grob upravo zbog njegove takve kvalitete. Prema iznesenim analogijama, mislimo da možemo s velikom vjerojatnošću pretpostaviti da je žena ukopana uz gorsku crkvu Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u naše krajeve stigla iz Francuske noseći svoj amulet na sebi. U takvu se sliku uklapa i poznata činjenica da su templari u Hrvatsku dolazili uglavnom upravo iz francuskih pokrajina (Dobronić 2002: 27). K tomu, analogije tlocrta i drugih arhitektonskih značajki crkve u Gori najviše se nalaze u templarskim crkvama Francuske, odakle su „bez imalo sumnje, neposredno ili posredno, došli graditelji gorske crkve“ (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014: 58). I sam proces dekodiranja natpisa doveo nas je do istog izvora.

Premda je Pravilo Reda koje je dopuštalo oženjenim parovima da postanu pridruženi članovi, branilo ženama da žive u templarskim kućama (*domus*), templari su našli načina da prilagode Pravilo stvarnim potrebama, ali i željama donatora (Nicholson 2001: 131). Tako su sačuvani povijesni dokumenti koji svjedoče da su i žene mogle pristupiti tem-

accurately. The context dates the find to the 13<sup>th</sup> cent., prior to AD 1285 (Major 2016: 159, Fig. 148). With its diameter of 2.7–2.8 cm, the brooch is identical to the one from Gora.

It is important to observe that there are relatively many *Ave Maria* brooches whose inscriptions start more or less correctly, however, their endings are no longer intelligible. Their number allows us to assume that this was not a consequence of a mere lack of knowledge about the prayer or the sheer illiteracy of the engraver, whose occupation really required him to be literate, nor accidental mistakes that sometimes may have occurred. It is also not likely that the craftsmen who created such specimens would haphazardly insert letters towards the end of the inscription merely to fill the space, which they in fact lacked. A more likely assumption would be that these are similar concepts of inscriptions, in which their endings contain certain encrypted formulae, perhaps acronyms, which, in view of their differences and the fact that more luxurious brooches were made to order, may have been personalized. Such a formula would have had an important protective function for the bearer of the brooch – it is possible that it is precisely this part that carried the greatest weight of the protection, which was further enhanced by the *Hail Mary*. This might also be the case with the Gora brooch.

Since the reason why specific letters on the Gora brooch were chosen to be substituted is not clear, the interpretation of the inscription has not been entirely solved. Perhaps the fact that every second letter in the word DOMINUS was preserved was nothing but a mere coincidence? Perhaps the inscription ended in a completely different way, perhaps even as an intertwined combination of two words? Therefore, there are still some questions to which we cannot offer an answer.

## 11. CONCLUSION

In view of the quality of the workmanship and the distinctiveness of the inscription, it is quite likely that the brooch from Gora was custom made for a concrete person, who obviously wore it for a long time. Likewise, due to various features of this brooch, presented in this paper, we are not inclined to assume that the brooch was passed down through generations as an heirloom. We believe that the person who wore it for a long time as protection also carried it to the grave precisely because of this very quality. Based on the presented analogies we believe we can assume that it is very likely that the woman buried next to the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora arrived in our lands from France, wearing the brooch. The well-known fact that the Templars arrived in Croatia mostly from French provinces fits well into this picture (Dobronić 2002: 27). Furthermore, analogies for the ground plan and other architectural features of the Gora church are mainly found in Templar churches in France, from where “without any doubt, directly or indirectly, arrived the builders of the Gora church” (Miletić, Valjato Fabris 2014: 58). The very process of decoding the inscription has led us to the same source.

Although the Rule of the Order, which allowed married couples to become associate members, prohibited the wives from living in Templar houses (*domus*), the Templars found ways to adapt the Rule to the real needs, as well as to the wishes of the donors (Nicholson 2001: 131). For instan-

plarima, premda nije uvijek jasno u kojem svojstvu. Mogle su biti, kao i kod mnogih drugih crkvenih redova, kmetice, mljekarice ili peračice rublja. Mogle su biti primljene jer je njihov muž ili zaručnik pristupio Redu (Nicholson 2001: 122–123), ili mu čak pristupiti zajedno, što se vidi u pojedinim donatorskim poveljama (Nicholson 2001: 132). Jedna od njih, Ermengarda d'Oluja čak je postala preceptorica *domusa* u kojem je bilo i drugih žena (Nicholson 2001: 132), a ima i drugih dokumenata iz kojih je vidljivo da su i žene ponekad živjele u templarskim kućama (Nicholson 2001: 131–132, 134). Osim toga, templari su imali barem jedan ženski samostan, u Mühlenu u njemačkom Porajnju, 50-ak km istočno od Kölna (Nicholson 2001: 131). Naravno, postojali su pridruženi članovi i članice templara koji su živjeli u svojim vlastitim kućama, nisu u potpunosti pratili zavjete Reda, no uplaćivali su svoje donacije. Zauzvrat, templari su se brinuli za njih u starosti i pokapali bi ih po njihovoj smrti (Nicholson 2001: 133). To nam može objasniti pojavu broša templarske provenijencije (u Gori) u ženskom grobu.

Višeslojnost simbolike koja se daje iščitati iz natpisa, materijala te pojedinih oblika broševa, i različite poruke koje oni nose, odraz su bogatog svjetonazora srednjovjekovnih ljudi, njihovih vjerovanja, nadanja, strahova i – nadasve – htijenja da se utječe na životne okolnosti koje su ih okruživale. Vjerojatno su i drugi ukrasni elementi broševa bili nabijeni sličnim sadržajima. To ujedno daje naslutiti da bi u sličnom svjetlu valjalo razmotriti i mnoge druge srednjovjekovne nalaze koje možda i po inerciji doživljavamo ponajprije kao ukrasne. Valjalo bi ih, dakle, promotriti kroz sličnu prizmu simbolizma, imajući u vidu svjetonazor toga vremena koji je bio intenzivno zaokupljen religijskim, magijskim i ljubavnim temama. To prije svega vrijedi za druge vrste nakita, ali i, primjerice, za kamenu plastiku.

Nadamo se da će promišljanja prikazana u ovom radu potaknuti istraživanja iz raznih disciplinarnih područja s ciljem odgonetanja simboličkih kodova na nakitu srednjeg vijeka kako bismo se približili načinu razmišljanja ondašnjih ljudi, a o čemu sačuvani srednjovjekovni izvori za sada uglavnom malo govore.

ce, preserved historical documents bear testimony to the fact that women were also allowed to join the Templars, although it is not always clear in what role. They may have been, like in the case of many other religious orders, serfs, milkmaids or washerwomen. They could be accepted if their husband or fiancé joined the Templar Order (Nicholson 2001: 122–123), or they could even join the Order together, as documented in certain donation charters (Nicholson 2001: 132). One of these women, Ermengarda d'Oluja, even became the preceptress of a domus which housed also other women (Nicholson 2001: 132), and there are also other documents which make plain the fact that women also sometimes lived in Templar houses (Nicholson 2001: 131–132, 134). Besides, the Templars had at least one female monastery, in Mühlen in the Rhine basin in Germany, around 50 km east of Köln (Nicholson 2001: 131). Of course, there were also associated male and female members of the Templars who lived in their own houses, who did not fully observe the vows of the Order, but who paid their donations. In turn, the Templars took care of them in their old age and buried them when they died (Nicholson 2001: 133). This practice may explain the appearance of the brooch of Templar origin (in Gora) in a female grave.

The multiple symbolism inferable from the inscriptions, materials and certain brooch forms, as well as different messages they convey, reflect the rich worldview of the mediaeval man, his belief, hopes, fears and—above all—a desire to influence the circumstances surrounding their lives. The other decorative elements of brooches were in all probability also loaded with similar contents. This at the same time suggests that also many other mediaeval finds, which we perhaps out of inertia consider primarily as decorative objects, ought to be seen in a similar light. We should therefore look at them through a similar symbolic prism, keeping in mind the worldview of that period, which was intensively preoccupied with religious, magical and love-related topics. This is primarily true for other jewellery types, but also, for instance, for stone sculpture.

We hope that the observations presented in this paper would stimulate research in different disciplines with the aim to unravel the symbolic codes on mediaeval jewellery, so that we may come closer to the way of thinking of people of the time, which generally figures very modestly in the preserved mediaeval sources.

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