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Novi nalaz ulomka grede oltarne pregrade s natpisom iz Uzdolja

Na arheološkom nalazištu Uzdolje kraj Knina pronađen je ulomak grede oltarne pregrade s natpisom. Bio je ugrađen u obiteljsku grobnicu na današnjem groblju u Uzdolju. Greda predstavlja izravan nastavak ranije pronađene grede s uklesanim imenom kneza Muncimira. Natpis donosi spomen indikcije u sklopu već pronađene datacije po kršćanskoj eri.

Ključne riječi: *Uzdolje, Muncimir, natpis, indikcija.*

A newly discovered fragment of an altar screen beam with an inscription from Uzdolje

A fragment of an altar screen beam with an inscription has recently been identified at the archaeological site of Uzdolje, near Knin. The stone had been built into a family tomb located in the present-day cemetery in Uzdolje. This beam fragment represents a piece that directly adjoins the earlier discovered beam bearing the inscribed name of Duke Muncimir. The inscription provides a reference to the indiction, complementing the dating by the Christian era that had already been recorded.

Keywords: *Uzdolje, Muncimir, inscription, indiction*

Uvod

Rijetko koji arheološki nalaz pobudi toliko veselja kao pronalazak nastavka natpisa uklesanog na kamenoj gredi čiji su prvi ulomci otkriveni još prije stotinjak godina. Tijekom ljeta 2019. godine Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu provodio je sustavna arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Orlić kod Knina. U isto vrijeme jedan od radnika na tom istraživanju, Vlade Treskavica, priređivao je svoju obiteljsku grobnicu u nedalekom Uzdolju za novi ukop (sl. 1). Tom je prilikom uočio neobičnu kamenu spoliju koju je izvadio i predao Milošu Biserku, arheologu koji je bio sudionik istraživanja na lokalitetu Orlić. Pronađeni ulomak grede potom je otkupljen za Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. Po zaprimanju novog ulomka u Muzej uočeno je da odgovara gredi koja je sa zabatom oltarne pregrade, na kojem je uklesano ime kneza Muncimira, bila izložena u tadašnjem postavu Muzeja.

Greda i zabat predromaničke oltarne pregrade s natpisom hrvatskog kneza Muncimira iz Uzdolja ubrajaju se među najdragocjenije primjere hrvatske baštine iz ranog srednjeg vijeka. Ističu se među ranosrednjovjekovnim epigrafskim spomenicima 9. stoljeća te zajedno s njima pripadaju sačuvanim početcima hrvatske pismenosti. Pronalasci se sukcesivno pojavljuju u vrijeme kada istraživanje najranije hrvatske povijesti dobiva zamah zahvaljujući maru Luje Maruna.[1] Od pronalaska prvog ulomka 1890. godine do danas ovim se natpisom bavio cijeli niz uglednih znanstvenika, kako njegovim prijevodom[2] tako i smještanjem njegove pojave u širi kontekst ranosrednjovjekovne epigrafije.[3] Novopronađeni ulomak grede s natpisom u osnovi se skladno nadovezuje na ranije pronađeni dio pa autor ovog članka neće ulaziti u dosadašnje spoznaje, nego će objaviti novi ulomak natpisa i iznijeti novo čitanje povezano s njim.

Za potrebe izložbe u povodu 1100 godina Hrvatskog Kraljevstva „U početku bijaše kraljevstvo“ objavljena je tek kataloška bilješka[4] dok ovaj članak nije bio dovršen. Sada se novo otkriće prikazuje cjelovitije te se na novi način donose neki dvojbeni dijelovi.

1 Marun 1927, str. 284–293.
2 Vedrana Delonga je, uz vlastito čitanje, donijela i pregled dotadašnjih čitanja. Vidi Delonga 1996, str. 156–157.
3 Matijević Sokol 2009.
4 Gogala 2025, str. 39.

Introduction

Rarely does an archaeological find cause such a degree of excitement as the discovery of another fragment that bears the continuation of an inscription carved into a stone beam, whose first fragments were uncovered approximately a century ago. During the summer of 2019, while the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split was conducting systematic excavations at the site of Orlić near Knin, one of the workers engaged in the project, Vlade Treskavica, was preparing his family tomb in nearby Uzdolje for a new burial (Fig. 1). On that occasion, he noticed an unusual stone spolium, which he removed and handed over to Miloš Biserka, an archaeologist participating in the excavations in Orlić. The fragment of the beam was subsequently acquired by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. Upon its arrival at the Museum and a detailed examination, it was recognised that the newly recovered piece corresponded to the beam that was displayed together with the gable of the altar screen bearing the carved name of Duke Muncimir in the Museum’s permanent exhibition at the time.

The beam and gable of the pre-Romanesque altar screen from Uzdolje, inscribed with the name of the Croatian duke Muncimir, belong to the most valuable surviving examples of Croatian early medieval heritage. Within the corpus of early medieval epigraphy, this inscription from the 9th century occupies a distinctive position and is regarded as one of the earliest surviving testimonies to Croatian literacy. These discoveries, which occurred successively, coincide with a time when research into the earliest periods of Croatian history was gaining considerable momentum through the dedicated efforts of Lujo Marun[1]. From the discovery of the first fragment in 1890 to the present day, the inscription has attracted the attention of numerous distinguished scholars, who have examined and addressed both its translation[2] and its broader significance within the context of early medieval epigraphy[3]. Since the newly identified fragment essentially aligns with the earlier discovered section of the inscription in a coherent manner, the author of this paper does not

1 Marun 1927, pp. 284–293.
2 In addition to her own reading, Vedrana Delonga compiled a survey of the readings proposed up to that point; see Delonga 1996, pp. 156–157.
3 Matijević Sokol 2009.



Sl. 1 - Mjesto nalaza označeno crvenom strelicom (foto: T. Bartulović)
Fig. 1 - The find spot, marked with a red arrow (photo: T. Bartulović)

Greda s natpisom

Pronađeni ulomak s latinskim natpisom vapnenačka je greda dužine 59 cm, visine 21 cm i debljine 9 – 10 cm. Izravno se nastavlja na djelomično rekonstruiranu gredu iz Uzdolja na kojoj se uz simboličnu invokaciju nalazi i datacija slovima po kršćanskoj eri.[5] Kao i na rekonstruiranom dijelu, vanjski rubni pojas ukrašen je motivom kuka. Ispod tog pojasa izvedeno je profilirano rebro pod kojim se nalazi niz troprutih lukova naslonjenih na tordirano uže koje s gornje strane omeđuje natpisno polje što se proteže donjim dijelom grede. Tropruti lukovi međusobno se presijecaju, a profilirano rebro iznad njih većim je dijelom otučeno. Visina natpisnog polja iznosi 4,5 cm (sl. 2).

Natpis

Natpis je izveden u jednom retku, isklesan rustičnom kapitalom. Dobro je očuvan, osim na samom desnom kraju, gdje su u donjem dijelu oštećena slova i moguća ligatura. Prvi dio teksta klesan je bez razmaka među riječima (*scriptio continua*). U nastavku slijedi znak dvotočke, potom jedna riječ, zatim znak točke i oštećeni dio natpisa. U prvom dijelu nalazi se jedna ligatura, a u oštećenom dijelu moguća je druga. Prijepis natpisa glasi:

[5] Delonga 1996, str. 156–157.

seek to reassess earlier scholarship in detail; rather, its purpose is to publish the new fragment and to propose a revised reading based specifically on this new part.

For the exhibition *"In the Beginning was the Kingdom"*, marking 1100 years of the Croatian Kingdom, the find was only briefly presented in a catalogue entry[4], while the present paper had not yet been completed. The following discussion offers a more comprehensive presentation of the new discovery and reconsiders several previously disputed details.

The beam with the inscription

The discovered fragment with the Latin inscription is a limestone beam measuring 59 cm in length, 21 cm in height, and 9–10 cm in thickness. It directly joins the partially reconstructed beam from Uzdolje, where a symbolic invocation appears together with a date expressed in letters according to the Christian era[5]. As on the reconstructed portion, the outer border moulding is decorated with a hook motif. Below it runs a moulded rib, beneath which is a row of triple-band arches that rest on a twisted rope; the latter delimits, from above, the inscription field that extends along the lower portion of

[4] Gogala 2025, p. 39.
[5] Delonga 1996, pp. 156 – 157.



Sl. 2 - Novi ulomak grede iz Uzdolja (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 2 - The new beam fragment from Uzdolje (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

ASCILICETNIMIRQ:INDICTIO·S[a?]R[y?]

Predložena restitucija ovog dijela natpisa jest:

a scilicet nimir(um)q(ue) indictio s(a?)r(y?)…

U dijelu natpisa koji je klesan bez razmaka među riječima donose se dvije riječi povezane veznikom, prilozi *scilicet* i *nimirum*, značenjski bliski prilozima poput 'dakako', 'svakako', 'doista', 'sigurno' i sl. Slijedi riječ *indictio*, koja je omeđena interpunkcijskim znakovima – dvotočkom s lijeve strane i točkom s desne strane. Termin *indictio* označava indikciju, kontrolni element u datiranju uobičajen u ranom srednjem vijeku (sl. 3).

Novo čitanje natpisa

Kada se ovaj novopronađeni dio grede prisloni uz stari, djelomično rekonstruirani dio, dobiva se nova cjelina u kojoj razbijeni dijelovi pravilno nasjedaju jedan na drugi (sl. 4). Time se otvara mogućnost novog čitanja ovog za hrvatsku povijest znamenitog natpisa. Prema zabatu, nažalost, još nemamo izravan spoj. Prijepis natpisa te nove cjeline glasi:

+OCTIGENTI[…]AGINTAETQNQ[…]
NORDÑI·FERETDE[m]
ASCILICETNIMIRQ:INDICTIO·S[a?]R[y?…]

Restitucija bi glasila:

+Octigenti [non]aginta et q(ui)nq[ue] [an]nor(um) D(omi)ni fere t(ertia)de(ci)[m]a scilicet nimir(um)q(ue) indictio s(a?)r(y?)

Jasno izražena indikcija i dvije riječi stavljaju usamljeno slovo A, koje se nalazi na početku novog

the beam. The triple-band arches intersect one another, while the moulded rib above them is largely chipped away. The inscription field is 4.5 cm high (Fig. 2).

The inscription

The inscription was executed in a single line and carved in rustic capitals. Its state of preservation is generally good, with the exception of the extreme right-hand end, where the letters, and what may be a ligature, are damaged in the lower section. The first part of the text was carved without word separation (*scriptio continua*). It is followed by a colon, then a single word, then a punctuation mark, and finally the damaged portion. One ligature is present in the first section, while another may have existed in the damaged portion. The transcription of the inscription reads as follows:

ASCILICETNIMIRQ:INDICTIO·S[a?]R[y?]

The proposed restoration of this portion is:

a scilicet nimir(um)q(ue) indictio s(a?)r(y?)….

Within the section that was carved without word separation, two words or more precisely two adverbs appear—*scilicet* and *nimirum*—which carry closely related meanings ("naturally," "certainly," "indeed," "surely") and are linked by a conjunction. This is followed by the word *indictio*, which is flanked by punctuation marks: a colon to the left and a point to the right. The term *indictio* designates the indiction, a control element in dating that was commonly used in the Early Middle Ages (Fig. 3).

A new reading of the inscription



Sl. 3 - Crtež novog ulomka (N. Šimundić Bendić)
Fig. 3 - Drawing of the new fragment (N. Šimundić-Bendić)



Sl. 4 - Crtež nove cjeline (N. Šimundić Bendić, M. Marković)
Fig. 4 - Drawing of the new composite (N. Šimundić-Bendić, M. Marković)

ulomka, u vezu sa završetkom starog, već poznatog dijela grede. Oko značenja tog dijela dosad se dvojilo, a pod upitnikom je bilo i posljednje slovo od kojeg su ostali jedna okomita hasta i spoj s kosom hastom. Sada bi prijepis tog dijela izgledao ovako:

ŦDE[N ili M][6]A

Pojava indikcije uz dataciju po kršćanskoj eri potvrđuje pravilo koje je bilo rašireno u ranom srednjem vijeku. Uz indikciju redovito stoji i njezin broj jer bez njega ona nema smisla. Prema tablicama za izračunavanje indikcije godini 895. odgovara trinaesta indikcija.[7] Prema tome bi restitucija ovog dosad dvojbenog dijela bila:

t(ertia)de(ci)[m] a

Prijevod na hrvatski jezik, u svjetlu novih saznanja, bio bi:

+Godine Gospodnje osam stotina devedeset i pete, upravo trinaeste, sigurno i uobičajeno (…) indikcije, …

Značenje oštećenog nastavka je dvojbeno, a iza njega slijedi i dalje velika lakuna prema dijelu natpisa na zabatu koji spominje ime kneza Muncimira (sl. 5). Taj je dio poznat od prije i glasi:

[…hu]NC BENE CO(m)PSIT OPVS PRINCEPS NA(m)Q(ue) MUNCIMYR […][8]

Prijevod:
Ovo je djelo dao izraditi knez Muncimir…

Glede oštećenog nastavka, njegova su oštećenja takva da se u ovom trenutku ne može sa sigurnošću

When the newly recovered section of the beam is placed next to the earlier, partially reconstructed part of the beam, a new coherent whole emerges in which the broken segments align correctly with one another (Fig. 4). This makes it possible to propose a new reading of this, for Croatian history highly significant, inscription. Unfortunately, a direct join with the gable has not yet been established. The transcription of the new reconstructed part reads as follows:

+OCTIGENTI[…]AGINTAETQNQ[…]
NOR̄DN̄I·FERE T̄DE[m]
ASCILICETNIMIR̄Q:INDICTIO·S[a?]R[y?…]

The proposed restoration is:

+Octigenti [non]aginta et q(ui)nq[ue] [an]nor(um) D(omi)ni fere t(ertia)de(ci)[m]a scilicet nimir(um)q(ue) indictio s(a?)r(y?)

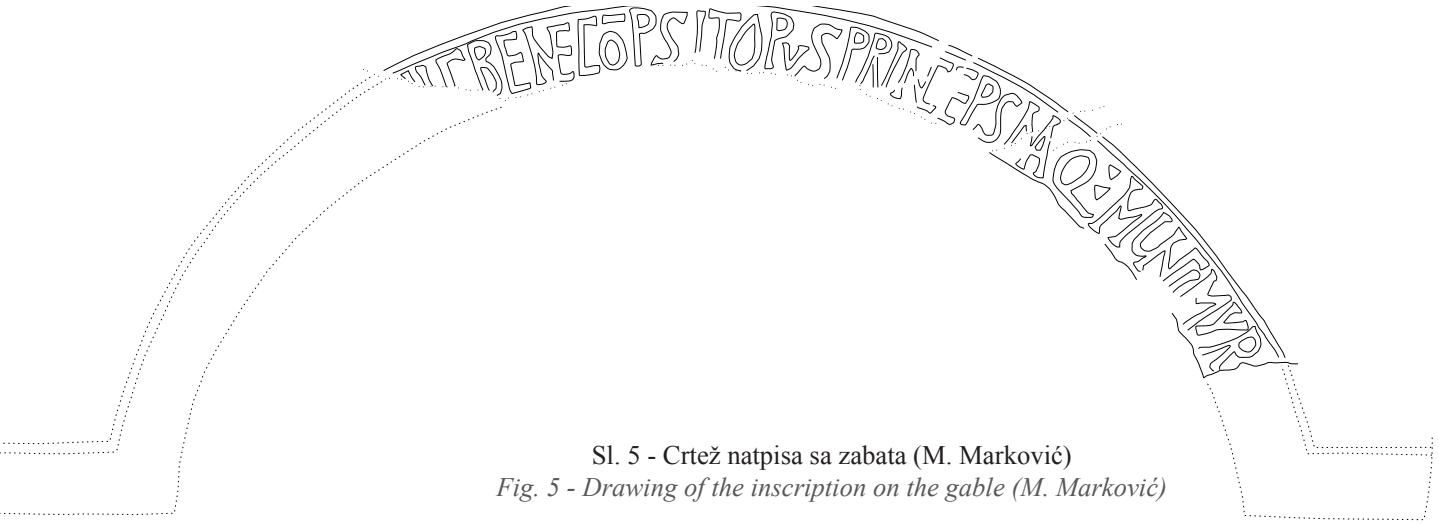
The clearly expressed indiction and the accompanying pair of adverbs allow the isolated letter A at the beginning of the new fragment to be linked with the end of the earlier, already known portion of the beam. The meaning of that section had previously been a matter of debate, and the final letter—of which only one vertical stroke and a junction with an oblique stroke had been preserved—had remained uncertain. The transcription of that segment may now be given as:

ŦDE[N ili M][6]A

The occurrence of the indiction alongside the dating according to the Christian era confirms a practice widespread in the Early Middle Ages. The

6 U ovom slučaju valja pretpostaviti da je iznad oštećenog slova M bila i oznaka za kraticu ¯.
7 Stipišić 1985, str. 203.
8 Delonga 1996, str. 156.

6 In this case, it should be assumed that above the damaged letter M there was also a superscript abbreviation mark (¯).



Sl. 5 - Crtež natpisa sa zabata (M. Marković)
Fig. 5 - Drawing of the inscription on the gable (M. Marković)

govoriti o valjanoj restituciji. Nakon znaka točke iza riječi *indictio* slijede četiri slova. Prvo slovo je bez sumnje S. Drugo je s donje strane oštećeno, a iz njegova gornjeg dijela može se iščitati slovo A s kosom hastom na vrhu. To može, ali ne nužno, upućivati na ligaturu. Treće slovo također je pri dnu oštećeno, ali se može iščitati kao R. Od četvrtog slova sačuvan je samo dio kose haste, što upućuje na jedno od triju slova: V, Y ili X.

Zaključak

Pojava datacije po kršćanskoj eri na kamenim spomenicima novina je koja se u 9. stoljeću još uvijek relativno rijetko koristi. Iako je taj sustav datiranja osmišljen još u 6. stoljeću,[9] čini se da se na kamenim natpisima duže zadržao tradicionalni način datiranja. Tek od 10. stoljeća datiranje prema kršćanskoj eri postaje učestalije u epigrafici.[10] Uz tu novinu redovito se navodila i indikcija jer je ona i dotad bila kontrolni element u datiranju. Upravo indikcija daje sigurnost novom načinu računanja vremena jer dodatno potvrđuje točnost donesenog kronološkog podatka. Prilozi *scilicet* i *nimirum* ne mogu se odnositi izravno na imenicu *indictio*. Ako se značenje koje je navedeno u prijevodu ipak odnosi na sigurnost indikcije, moglo bi se prevesti: **sigurno i uobičajeno nazvane indikcije**.

Prema ostatku natpisa, osim dvojbenog oštećenja, nalazi se i poveća lakuna. Sadržaj tog dijela, naravno, nije poznat i o njemu se može samo nagađati.

indiction is regularly accompanied by its numerical designation, since without it the reference would be meaningless. According to the tables for calculating the indiction, the year 895 falls within the thirteenth indiction[7]. The restoration of this hitherto disputed segment would therefore be:

t(ertia)de(ci)[m] a

In the light of these new findings, the Croatian translation of the text would read:

+Godine Gospodnje osam stotina devedeset i pete, upravo trinaeste, sigurno i uobičajeno (…) indikcije, ……

(English translation: "In the Year of Our Lord eight hundred and ninety-five, in the thirteenth, certainly and customarily (…) indiction, …….")

The meaning of the damaged continuation remains uncertain, and it is followed by a still substantial lacuna toward the section of the inscription preserved on the gable, which records the name of Duke Muncimir (Fig. 5). That section has already been known and reads as follows:

[...hu]NC BENE CO(m)PSIT OPVS PRINCEPS NA(m)Q(ue) MUNCIMYR [...][8]

.....Translation:

This work was commissioned by Duke Muncimir…

With regard to the damaged continuation, the extent of the damage is such that no reliable restoration can be offered at present. After the punctua-

[9] Šikić 2001, str. 46–47; HE 2001, str. 149.
[10] Matijević Sokol 2009, str. 155; Šikić 2001, str. 48–49.

[7] Stipišić 1985, p. 203.
[8] Delonga 1996, p. 156.

U 9. stoljeću uz dataciju po kršćanskoj eri može stajati i proširena inačica formule *ab incarnatione*,[11] koja nije svugdje zapisana na isti način, pa se oštećeni, nepoznati ili dvojbeni dio može sagledavati i u tom svjetlu. Također ne treba zanemariti ni mogućnost pojave titulara *ovog djela* ([…hu]NC BENE).

Osim samog natpisa, nova je cjelina zanimljiva i po svojoj veličini. Novi ulomak dužine 59 cm, budući da se izravno nastavlja na rekonstruiranu gredu, ukazuje na to da je ukupna dužina oltarne pregrade bila najmanje 118 cm veća. Prema sadašnjim podatcima to bi približno odgovaralo prostoru predviđenom za oltarnu pregradu na tlocrtu koji je nastao nakon posljednjih arheoloških istraživanja 2001. – 2002. godine.[12]

[11] Rački 1874, str. 106; Barada 1938, str. 60.
[12] Gudelj 2005, str. 70–71.

tion mark following *indictio*, four letters can be discerned. The first is unquestionably S. The second is damaged in its lower part, although in its upper part the letter A with an oblique stroke at the top can be made out; this may, but need not, indicate a ligature. The third letter is likewise damaged at the bottom but can be read as R. Of the fourth letter only a portion of an oblique stroke survives, pointing to one of three possible letters: V, Y or X.

Conclusion

The occurrence of dating according to the Christian era on stone monuments represents an innovation that was still relatively uncommon during the 9th century. Although this system of dating was established as early as the 6th century[9], it seems that the traditional method of dating persisted longer on stone inscriptions. It is only from the 10th century onwards that dating according to the Christian era becomes more regularly attested on epigraphic material[10]. This innovation was regularly accompanied by the indiction, which up to that point had served as a control element. It is precisely the indiction that lends reliability to the new manner of reckoning time, since it provides an additional confirmation of the given chronological data. The adverbs *scilicet* and *nimirum* cannot refer directly to the noun *indictio*. If the meaning indicated in the translation is nevertheless understood as referring to the certainty of the indiction, then the passage could be rendered as: **of the surely and customarily named indiction**.

As for the remainder of the inscription, a sizeable lacuna persists alongside the disputed damaged section. The content of this portion is, of course, unknown and can only be a matter of speculation.

In the 9th century, the dating according to the Christian era could be accompanied by an expanded variant of the formula *ab incarnatione*[11], which was not recorded uniformly across regions; the damaged, unknown or disputed part may therefore also be considered in this light. Nor should the possibility be discounted that the segment alludes to the titular of *this work* ([...hu]NC BENE).

Beyond the inscription itself, the newly composed whole is also notable for its dimensions. As

[9] Šikić 2001, pp. 46–47; HE 3 2001, p. 149.
[10] Matijević Sokol 2009, p. 155; Šikić 2001, pp. 48–49.
[11] Rački 1874, p. 106; Barada 1938, p. 60.

the new fragment, 59 cm in length, joins directly to the reconstructed beam, the total length of the altar screen must be increased by at least 118 cm. On the basis of currently available data, this would correspond approximately to the space allotted to the altar screen on the ground plan that was made after the most recent archaeological investigations in 2001–2002[12].

Skraćenice / *Abbreviations*

HE – Hrvatska enciklopedija
RJAZU – Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti

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