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Neka zapažanja o novootkrivenom natpisu na brdu Spas u Kninu

Tijekom sanacije devastiranog arheološkog lokaliteta na sjevernom platou brda Spas pronađen je fragment natpisa koji zbog oštećenosti nije moguće sa sigurnošću pripisati rimskoj epigrafiji, ali ni epigrafiji razvijenog srednjeg vijeka. U radu su iznesene neke od mogućnosti restitucije, pri čemu se može utvrditi jedino da natpis nije predromanički. Autor ostavlja otvorenu mogućnost atribucije rimskoj natpisnoj građi ili natpisnoj građi razvijenog srednjeg vijeka te iznosi pretpostavke o mogućoj izvornoj namjeni i sadržaju natpisa. Nalaz je značajan jer je riječ o tek drugom natpisu podrijetlom sa sjevernog platoa, čiju će pripadnost biti moguće *pouzdano odrediti isključivo provedbom budućih istraživanja koja bi mogla iznjedriti srodne epigrafske nalaze.*

Ključne riječi: *Spas, natpis, arhitrav, Rim, Sever, fragment, inkarnacija, restitucija*.

Some observations on a newly discovered inscription on Spas hill in Knin

During the restoration of a devastated archaeological site on the northern plateau of Spas hill, a fragment of an inscription was discovered which, owing to its damaged state, cannot be confidently assigned to either the Roman period or to the epigraphic tradition of the High Middle Ages. This study offers several possible restitutions of the text, with the only firm conclusion being that the inscription is not pre-Romanesque. The author therefore leaves open the possibility that the fragment may be of Roman origin or belong to the epigraphic corpus of the High Middle Ages and proposes several hypotheses regarding its potential original purpose and content. The find is particularly significant as it represents only the second inscription discovered on the northern plateau. Its definitive attribution, however, will be possible only through future research that may reveal related epigraphic material.

Keywords: *Spas, inscription, architrave, Rome, Severus, fragment, incarnation, restitution.*

Tijekom formiranja protupožarnog puta trasiranog preko zaštićenog arheološkog nalazišta na sjevernom platou brda Spas u Kninu pronađen je fragment arhitrava s latiničnim slovima *NAC*. Devastacija zaštićenog nalazišta dogodila se 2023. godine, kada su teškom mehanizacijom oštećeni areal istraživanog ranosrednjovjekovnog groblja ali i površine koje nikad nisu bile obuhvaćene istraživanjima. Osim grobne, oštećeni su dijelovi kasnoantičke civilne i fortifikacijske arhitekture, a ambijentalna vrijednost prirodnog krajolika nepovratno je narušena uništavanjem prirodne litice. Postojeća trasa puta od Ulice Gojka Šuška do porušenog spomenika Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi dodatno je produbljena, dok je nova trasa puta iskrčena dalje prema zapadnim padinama brda i prestaje svega nekoliko metara od planski građene serpentine. Od spomenika prema južnoj strani brda novoformirani put presijeca brdsku zaravan, nastavljajući se potom rubnim dijelom u smjeru grebena ispred Kalunerice. Duljina novoiskrčenog puta iznosi oko 360 metara, s tim da ukupna duljina zahvaćenog područja zajedno s već postojećim putom iznosi oko 740 metara. Opisana trasa protupožarnog puta mjestimično je prokopana do 50-ak centimetara dubine, što je s obzirom na karakteristike nalazišta bilo sasvim dovoljno za uništenje arheoloških i geoloških slojeva. Fragment arhitrava s natpisom otkriven je na segmentu trase puta od porušenog spomenika NOB-a prema južnom rubu zaravni. Širina formiranog puta varira između 5 i 7 metara, no mjesto pronalaska grede zasigurno upućuje na to da su radovima bile zahvaćene i neistražene površine. Na prikazanoj trasi mjestimično su bile primjetne grobna arhitektura, veća količina razbijene prirodne stijene i manje količine djelomično obrađenog kamena koji može pripadati kasnoantičkim ili ranosrednjovjekovnim strukturama. Prirodna litica ponegdje je umjetno prilagođavana, a istraživanja D. Jelovine pokazala su da su pojedini grobovi i starija rimska arhitektura bili izravno utemeljeni na geološkom sloju, zbog čega se i snižavanje litice može smatrati djelomičnom devastacijom kulturnog sloja (sl. 1).

Brdo Spas (345 m) smješteno je pri jugozapadnom rubu Kninskog polja i predstavlja njegovu najvišu točku.[1] Čini se da je formirano diseciranjem prostrane vapnenačke zaravni duž tektonskih linija, kojima su se kasnije lakše usjekli tokovi Krke i

[1] Friganović 1961, str. 10; Friganović 1993, str. 4.

During the cutting of a firebreak across the protected archaeological site on the northern plateau of Spas hill in Knin, a fragment of an architrave with the Latin letters *NAC* was uncovered. The destruction of the protected site occurred in 2023, when heavy machinery caused extensive damage not only to the previously investigated early medieval cemetery, but also to areas that had not been encompassed by archaeological research in the past. In addition to the burial complex, parts of late antique civilian and fortification architecture were damaged, while the environmental value of the natural landscape was irreversibly impaired by the destruction of the natural scarp. The existing road from Gojko Šušak Street to the demolished National Liberation War monument was further deepened, while a completely new section was cut toward the western slopes of the hill, ending only a few meters away from the designed serpentine road. From the monument southward, the newly formed path intersects the hilltop plateau and then continues along its edge toward the ridge in front of Kalunerica. The newly cleared segment measures approximately 360 meters, and together with the existing path, the total length of the impacted zone reaches roughly 740 meters. In several sections, the firebreak was cut to a depth of approximately 50 cm, which, given the nature of the site, was more than sufficient to destroy both archaeological and geological layers. The architrave fragment bearing the inscription was discovered within the section of the route leading from the demolished NLW monument toward the southern edge of the plateau. The width of the newly constructed path varies between 5 and 7 meters; however, the beam's site of discovery indicates that the works also affected previously unexplored areas. Along the presented route, grave architecture was noticeable at several locations, as well as substantial quantities of fragmented natural rock and smaller amounts of partially worked stone that may be attributable to late antique or early medieval structures. In certain areas, the natural cliff had been artificially modified. Moreover, research by D. Jelovina has shown that certain graves and earlier Roman architectural elements had been established directly upon the geological stratum, which means that the lowering of the cliff can also be regarded as a partial destruction of the cultural layer (Fig. 1)

Spas hill (345 m) is located at the southwestern edge of the plain of Knin and represents its high-



Sl. 1 - Trasa protupožarnog puta (foto: Google Earth)
Fig. 1 - Route of the firebreak road (photo: Google Earth)

Butižnice.[2] Navedeno se posebno očituje protezanjem transverzalnog sekundarnog rasjeda zapadnim rubom depresije, duž Raljevca i Butižnice, što je izravno utjecalo na formiranje brda.[3] Visina brda i svih glavica u polju niža je od tzv. sjevernodalmatinske zaravni, čime se najčešće objašnjavaju reljef i geološka povijest Spasa.[4] Današnji smjer otjecanja Krke i Butižnice isti je još od pleistocena,[5] stoga je brdo u svim arheološkim razdobljima predstavljalo najpogodnije mjesto za formiranje naselja i egzistenciju zajednica. Najranije tijekom kasnog eneolitika ili ranog brončanog doba povoljne prirodne predispozicije rezultirale su uspostavom snažnog obrambenog položaja, flankiranog tokom Krke i prostranim barsko-jezerskim pojasom s jugoistočne strane te omeđenog nekadašnjim prirodnim ušćem Butižnice u Krku s jugozapadne strane. To se ušće nalazilo neposredno ispod jugozapadnih padina brda Spas, odnosno na samom završetku Kninskog polja.[6] Primanjem Butižnice Krka iz polja otječe dubokim kanjonom, kuda su nesumnjivo morale postojati vrlo stare komunikacije, vjerojatno sezonskog karaktera. Visoki, prirodno zaštićen vapnenački greben bio je primarni razlog formiranja

2 Friganović 1961, str. 16.
3 Margetić 1948, str. 84.
4 Friganović 1993, str. 5.
5 Friganović 1961, str. 24.
6 Friganović 1961, str. 31.

est point.[1] The hill appears to have formed through the dissection of an extensive limestone plateau along tectonic lines, which later facilitated the incision of the Krka and Butižnica river courses.[2] This is particularly evident in the extension of a transverse secondary fault along the western edge of the depression following the Radljevac and Butižnica rivers, which directly influenced the formation of the hill.[3] The elevation of Spas hill and other small elevations in the plain are lower than that of the so-called Northern Dalmatian plateau, which is most often used to explain the relief and geological history of Spas.[4] Since the current flow directions of the Krka and Butižnica rivers have remained largely unchanged since the Pleistocene,[5] the hill has represented the most suitable location for the establishment of a settlement and the existence of a community throughout all archaeological periods. From as early as the Late Eneolithic or Early Bronze Age, the favourable natural conditions facilitated the development of a strong defensive site, flanked by the course of the Krka river and a vast pond-lake zone to the southeast, while the southwest side was bordered by the former natu-

1 Friganović 1961, p. 10; Friganović 1993, p. 4.
2 Friganović 1961, p. 16.
3 Margetić 1948, 84.
4 Friganović 1993, p. 5.
5 Friganović 1961, p. 24.

prapovijesnog utvrđenog naselja, odakle je bio moguć nadzor putova kroz polje iz više smjerova.

Promatrano u cijelosti, brdo predstavlja jedinstvenu geološku cjelinu. Međutim, Spas je mikrotoponim koji je izvorno obilježavao sjeverni zaravnjeni plato brda. Toponimija je poput jezika „živa" i slojevita, stoga tijekom vremena neki toponimi posve iščeznu dok drugi iz raznih razloga postaju dominantni, pa je tako s vremenom oronim Spas u potpunosti prevladao te se ustalio kao naziv čitave geološke cjeline. Analiza vrlo slojevite toponimije brda obujmom bi zahtijevala zaseban članak, stoga ovdje naglašavam samo mikrolokaciju naznačenu temom rada. Spas je najvjerojatnije sakralni toponim motiviran vjerskim zajednicama ili crkvenim građevinama.[7] S obzirom na to da su na sjevernoj zaravni pronađeni fragmenti predromaničkih instalacija, D. Jelovina pretpostavio je mogućnost postojanja crkve posvećene Kristu Spasitelju.[8] No ime može upućivati i na sepulkralni karakter toponima. Primjera radi, spasovištima su nazivana i stara groblja, a kako sjeverni plato zaista jest veliko ukopište, treba ostaviti mogućnost da je očuvana svijest o prisutnosti groblja mogla oblikovati oronim Spas bez svetačkog atributa.[9] Sufiksi -ište/-išta, koji najčešće upućuju na područja na kojima se nešto nekad obavljalo ili se još uvijek obavlja,[10] nisu prisutni, stoga, objektivno govoreći, nije sasvim jasno je li kao motiv u imenovanju poslužila živa svijest o crkvi ili groblju. Spas također može potjecati od izraza *spasovati*, odnosno označavati mjesto na kojem kršćani spasuju – obilježavaju svetkovinu Spasovdana.[11] Na sjevernoj zaravni zaista su potvrđeni ranosrednjovjekovni ukopi i fragmenti predromaničkog crkvenog namještaja, što upućuje na to da novovjekovni oronim Spas posve sigurno pripada toponimiji motiviranoj odrazima kršćanske duhovnosti. Arhitektonski ostatci crkve istraživanjima nisu potvrđeni, stoga bi se veliko groblje možda trebalo smatrati primarnim razlogom takvog imenovanja. Stariji autori, poput E. Čelebija, D. Farlatija i A. Fortisa, uopće ne ističu sjeverni plato, već okvirno spominju čitavo brdo. E. Čelebi zapravo naznačuje položaj utvrde smještene na vrhu neral confluence of the Butižnica into the Krka river. This natural confluence was located just below the southwestern slopes of Spas hill, i.e. at the very end of the plain of Knin.[6] Upon receiving the waters of the Butižnica river, the Krka river flows out of the plain through a deep canyon, along which very old communication routes must undoubtedly have existed, likely of a seasonal nature. The high, naturally protected limestone ridge was the primary reason for the establishment of a fortified prehistoric settlement from which the routes across the plain could be controlled in multiple directions.

Viewed as a whole, the hill represents a single geological unit; however, 'Spas' is a microtoponym that originally denotes the northern flattened plateau of the hill. Toponymy, like language, is "alive" and layered, so some toponyms disappear entirely over time, while others, for various reasons, become dominant. In the case of Spas hill, the oronym 'Spas' gradually prevailed, eventually coming to denote the entire geological unit. A comprehensive analysis of the hill's complex, multi-layered toponymy would require a separate study, therefore, only the micro-location relevant to the topic of the paper is highlighted. The name 'Spas' is most likely a sacral toponym, motivated by religious communities or ecclesiastical structures.[7] Given that fragments of pre-Romanesque elements have indeed been found on the northern plateau, D. Jelovina has suggested the possible existence of a church dedicated to Christ the Saviour.[8] At the same time, the name may indicate a sepulchral character of the toponym. For example, old cemeteries were often referred to as '*Spasovišta*,' and since the northern plateau functioned as a large burial ground, one must consider the possibility that preserved awareness of the cemetery shaped the oronym Spas without the saintly attribute.[9] The suffixes *–ište* / *–išta*, which typically denote areas where certain activities once occurred or continue to occur,[10] are absent in this case. Consequently, it remains uncertain whether the toponym was originally motivated by an active awareness of a church or a cemetery. The name *Spas* may

7 Vidović 2017, str. 120; Vidović 2020, str. 78.
8 Jelovina 1991, str. 124.
9 Iako je u austrijskoj kartografiji brdo zabilježeno sa svetačkim atributom (Sv. Spas), lokalno stanovništvo često ga izostavlja nazivajući brdo samo Spas.
10 Skok 1971, str. 684; Lisičić 2010, str. 257.
11 Skok 1973, str. 309.

6 Friganović 1961, p. 31.
7 Vidović 2017, p. 120; Vidović 2020, p. 78.
8 Jelovina 1991, p. 124.
9 Although the hill is recorded in Austrian cartography with a saintly attribute (Saint Saviour), the local population often omits this, referring to the hill simply as Spas.
10 Skok 1971, p. 684; Lisičić 2010, p. 257.

pristupačne žuto-crvene klisure, dok A. Fortis brdo spominje u kontekstu toka Krke, imenujući ga općenito Kninskim brijegom.[12] U obama slučajevima autori naglašavaju južni dio kojim dominira kninska tvrđava. Inženjer Marcantonio Alberti 1653. godine također ukazuje samo na tvrđavu smještenu na grebenastom brdu između Krke i Butižnice,[13] a Ferdinand Scotto opisuje brdo s nepristupačnim kamenjarom, ističući pritom mogućnost osvajanja tvrđave jedino sa sjevernog dijela istog brda.[14] Doznajemo kako su u vrijeme neuspješne opsade kninske tvrđave 1654. godine dijelovi papinske vojske bili smješteni na susjednom Milekinu brdu dok je konjaništvo bilo stacionirano u njegovu podnožju, bliže Raljevcu. Pojedine pješačke formacije također su bile smještene u podnožju Milekina brda (u mletačkim izvorima Brdo pontifikata ili Papinsko brdo), a dio vojske nalazio se i ispod Kninskog brda, na kojem su bili raspoređeni mletački topovi predviđeni za napad na tvrđavu.[15] Spomenuto izvješće jasno opisuje Kninsko brdo (mlet. *Collina di Chnin*) s one strane Butižnice, što upućuje na pogled isključivo prema sjevernoj strani brda i na činjenicu da su mletački topovi bili raspoređeni po istaknutoj zaravni promatranoj u kontekstu iste geološke formacije.[16] Pojedine mletačke mape i izvori 17. stoljeća za opis sjevernog platoa koriste termin *Piazza* (trgovište), čime se zapravo aludira na administrativnu pripadnost istom naselju, s obzirom na to da se sličan izraz rabi i u imenovanju civilnog naselja na drugoj strani brda (*Piazza di Chnin*). Vojnički karakter utvrde često je istican zasebno (*Fortezza di Chnin*). Takvo imenovanje puno govori o statusu i karakteru naselja, koje je, osim vojničkog, očito baštinilo i tradiciju šireg trgovačkog središta. Relativno pravilnu, očišćenu i vjerojatno dobrim dijelom umjetno niveliranu zaravan mletački su zapovjednici prepoznali kao strateški najpogodniju poziciju za planiranje napada. Nešto kasnije francuski časnik L. Matutinović također naglašava samo južnu stranu brda, ističući uglavnom nedostatke kninske tvrđave te zapuštenost mjesta i šireg područja.[17] Dostupna mletačka kartografija od početka

[12] Čelebija 1957, str. 177; Fortis 1984, str. 76.
[13] Brusoni 1673, str. 255.
[14] Vinjalić 2010, str. 144–145.
[15] Uz topove bilo je stacionirano još 800 vojnika koje je pobila osmanska pješadija. Vidi Vinjalić 2010, str. 146.
[16] Vidi Brusoni 1673, str. 258, 261.
[17] Matutinović 2009, str. 166–167.

also derive from the verb *spasovati*, referring to a place where Christians celebrate the Feast of the Ascension (*Spasovdan*).[11] On the northern plateau, early medieval burials and fragments of pre-Romanesque church furnishings have indeed been identified, suggesting that the early modern oronym *Spas* certainly belongs to a toponymy motivated by expressions of Christian spirituality. As architectural remains of a church have not been confirmed archaeologically, it is plausible that the large cemetery represents the primary motivation for such a naming. Earlier authors, including E. Çelebi, D. Farlati and A. Fortis, did not single out the northern plateau in their works, but rather referred to the hill in general terms. E. Çelebi actually indicated the location of the fortress situated atop an inaccessible yellow-red cliff, whereas A. Fortis mentioned the hill in the context of the course of the Krka River, referring to it broadly as the "hill of Knin."[12] In both accounts, the emphasis rests on the southern part, dominated by the Knin Fortress. Similarly, the engineer Marcantonio Alberti, also referred only to the fortress positioned on the ridged hill between the Krka and Butižnica rivers in 1653.[13] Ferdinand Scotto likewise described the hill's rugged, inaccessible rocky terrain, noting that the fortress could be approached or conquered only from the northern side of the same hill.[14] During the unsuccessful siege of the Knin Fortress in 1654, contemporary accounts indicate that parts of the papal army were stationed on the nearby Milekin hill, while the cavalry was positioned at its base, closer to Raljevac. Additional infantry units were likewise located at the foot of Milekin hill—referred to in Venetian sources as *Brdo pontifikata* or Papal hill. A part of the forces was positioned below the hill of Knin, where Venetian cannons were strategically placed for the attack on the fortress.[15] The report in question clearly describes the hill of Knin (*Collina di Chnin* in Venetian) as lying beyond the Butižnica river, reflecting a viewpoint oriented exclusively to-

[11] Skok 1973, p. 309.
[12] E. Čelebija 1957 (edited by Šabanović), p. 177; Fortis (edited by Bratulić), 1984, p. 76.
[13] Brusoni 1673, p. 255.
[14] Vinjalić (edited by Pezo and Kapitanović), 2010, pp. 144 – 145.
[15] Alongside the cannons, there were also 800 soldiers stationed there, who were killed by Ottoman infantry. See Vinjalić (edited by Pezo and Kapitanović), 2010, p. 146.

16. stoljeća pa sve do 1797. godine gotovo nikakvu pažnju ne pridaje sjevernom platou, koji je jedino na Coronellijevoj karti iz 1700. godine općenito označen kao zaravnjeni dio brijega ispred kninske tvrđave.[18] Prema G. Vinjaliću, ruševine stare crkve Sv. Spasa bile su još uvijek vidljive tijekom 18. stoljeća u predjelu Vojničkog groblja kod Loredanovih vrata, no značajna je autorova napomena da je upravo po toj crkvi čitavo brdo nazvano Sv. Spas još nakon osmanskih osvajanja.[19] Jedini Vinjaliću vidljivi ostatci crkvene arhitekture na području Vojničkog groblja mogli su biti ostatci jednobrodne crkve uz put prema Loredanovim vratima, čija je apsida bila primjetna i u Marunovo vrijeme. Pojedinosti o Marunovim istraživanjima crkve nisu poznate, no S. Gunjača je prema arhitektonskim obilježjima datira u 15. stoljeće.[20] Koliko mi je poznato, u kartografiji i primarnim izvorima Vinjalićeva teza nije potvrđena, ali je primjetno da još polovinom 18. stoljeća postoji jedinstveno imenovanje čitave geološke cjeline, drukčije od starijeg mletačkog.[21] Kako je prije 18. stoljeća lokalno stanovništvo nazivalo brdo, nije poznato, stoga u nedostatku potpunijih podataka mletački izvori zasad predstavljaju vjerodostojnije svjedočanstvo. Spomenuti položaj crkve poprilično je udaljen od sjevernog platoa, pa ostaje nejasno kojem bi razdoblju Vinjalićev Sv. Spas mogao pripadati.[22] Mletački mrtvački upisnici ne spominju groblje Sv. Spasa, no čini se da je u nekom trenutku postojalo uvjerenje da bi ono moglo biti groblje sv. Katarine izvan zidina.[23] Početkom 19. stoljeća mrtvački upisnici doista spominju pojedince ukopane u vojničke grobnice izvan grada, kod porušene crkve sv. Katarine, što upućuje na to da je riječ o istom grobnom arealu, različito imenovanom ovisno o promjenama vlasti. Prema izrečenom, na-

[18] Koriste termin *Piazza* (vidi prilog br. 16 u Škarpa, Durbeta 2018, str. 108). Prema V. Klaiću, prikaz potječe iz 1687. godine (Klaić 1928, str. 259).

[19] Gunjača 1960, str. 36.

[20] Gunjača 1960, str. 115–116.

[21] Potvrdu Vinjalićevih teza valja tražiti u osmanskim arhivima koji su za Kninsko polje najvećim dijelom slabo obrađeni.

[22] Prema upisnicima, vojničko groblje izvan Loredanovih vrata u funkciji je najranije od 1689. godine (DAZD, inv. br. 474) pa sve do sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća. Međutim, austrijski upisnici bilježe da su Petar Stella 1826. i Ilija Šerić 1881. godine ukopani na vojničkom groblju Sv. Spasa, čime se zapravo ukazuje na isto područje.

[23] Gunjača 1960, str. 114.

ward the northern side of the hill. This description also implies that the Venetian artillery was placed along the prominent plateau, which was understood as belonging to the same geological formation.[16] Certain Venetian maps and written sources from the 17th century use the term *Piazza* (marketplace) in the description of the northern plateau, thereby suggesting its administrative association with the settlement bearing the same name, since a similar term was used for the civilian settlement on the other side of the hill (*Piazza di Chnin*). The military character of the stronghold was typically expressed separately as Fortezza di Chnin. Such a naming says a lot about the status and character of the settlement, which, alongside its military function, clearly preserved the tradition of a broader commercial centre. The relatively regular, cleared and likely to a significant degree artificially levelled plateau was recognized by Venetian commanders as the most strategically advantageous location from which to mount an assault. Somewhat later, the French officer L. Matutinović likewise drew attention exclusively to the southern side of the hill, focusing primarily on the deficiencies of the Knin Fortress and on the general neglect of the site and its wider surroundings.[17] Available Venetian cartography from the beginning of the 16th century until 1797 pays almost no attention to the northern plateau, which is depicted only on Coronelli's map from 1700, where it is broadly indicated as the levelled section of the hill in front of the Knin Fortress.[18] According to G. Vinjalić, the ruins of the old Church of the Holy Saviour (*Sveti Spas*) remained visible in the 18th century in the area of the military cemetery near the Loredan Gate, though it is significant that the author notes that the entire hill was named Sveti Spas after the church, already in the time after the Ottoman conquests.[19] The only remains of church architecture visible to Vinjalić in the area of the military cemetery could have been the remnants of a single-nave church along the road toward the Loredan Gate, whose apse was reportedly still visible in Marun's time. Although specific details of Marun's excavations are unknown, S. Gunjača, based on the surviving

[16] See Brusoni 1673, p. 258 and 261.

[17] Matutinović (edited by Milinković) 2009, pp. 166 – 167.

[18] They use the term Piazza. See Appendix no. 16 in Škarpa – Durbeta 2018, p. 108. According to V. Klaić, the depiction is from 1687. Klaić 1928, p. 259.

[19] Gunjača 1960, p. 36.

ziv Vojničko groblje korišten je najduže, a samo u nekoliko slučajeva istaknuto je da je riječ o vojnim ukopima na Spasu, odnosno vojničkim grobnicama kod Sv. Katarine.[24] Pritom treba istaknuti da upisnici 19. stoljeća Spasom smatraju područje oko Loredanovih vrata, koje također ne pripada sjevernoj zaravni. Osim toga, izneseni opisi sugeriraju da položaju crkve sv. Katarine u potpunosti odgovara pozicija one iste jednobrodne crkvice koju Gunjača datira u 15. stoljeće, stoga uvjerenje da su Vojničko groblje, Sv. Spas i groblje sv. Katarine zapravo isto ukopište postaje nešto jasnije. Slijedom izrečenog, izvjesno se čini da je najstarije imenovanje jedinstvene geološke formacije glasilo Kninsko brdo, dok Spas predstavlja samo jedan od brojnih mikrotoponima koji je iz nekog razloga postao dominantan. Pojedincima je toponim Spas očito poznat još polovinom 18. stoljeća, no intenzivnija uporaba toga naziva zabilježena je tek u austrijskoj kartografiji 19. stoljeća, kada se redovito javlja sa svetačkim atributom. Već je tijekom druge polovine 19., a osobito prve polovine 20. stoljeća toponim Spas postao uvriježen, što se jasno očituje u radu S. Nakićenovića (1882. – 1926.), koji kninsku tvrđavu smješta na brdo Sv. Spas.[25] Autor također ističe da je i sam Knin pozicioniran u podnožju brežuljka Sv. Spas, gdje intenzivnija gradnja kuća bliže desnoj obali Krke, odnosno s druge strane glavnog puta započinje tek nakon austrijskog osvajanja 1797. godine.[26]

Nakon kraćeg izlaganja nameće se pitanje ispravnog imenovanja brda. S. Gunjača zaista ispravno ukazuje da se mikrotoponim Spas odnosi na sjeverni zaravnjeni plato. Međutim, vidimo da je znatno ranije čitava geološka formacija nazivana Kninskim brdom, a najranije od polovine 18. stoljeća i Sv. Spas. Sjeverni (Spas) i južni dio brda (Kninski brijeg ili Kninsko brdo) čine istu geološku formaciju, pa je zbog specifičnosti toponimije današnje razdvajanje zapravo nepotrebno. Zaključno, geološku formaciju u cjelini nije pogrešno nazivati Sv. Spas, no važno je održavati svijest o tome da je izvorno riječ o mikrotoponimu koji je iz neznanih razloga u proteklih 250 godina postao dominantan, što u oblikovanju toponimije krajolika nije rijet-

[24] Zahvaljujem M. Gambiroži, koji mi je ustupio prijepise matica umrlih te samim činom olakšao potragu za opisanim mikrotoponimima (DAZD, inv. br. 476).

[25] Nakićenović 1999, str. 6.

[26] Nakićenović 1999, str. 124.

architectural features, dated the church to the 15th century.[20] As far as I know, Vinjalić's thesis has not been corroborated by cartographic evidence or primary sources. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that even by the mid-18th century, there was evidently a distinct naming of the entire geological formation, differing from the earlier Venetian designation.[21] Since it is not known how the local population referred to the hill before the 18th century, the Venetian sources therefore, in the absence of more comprehensive data, represent a more reliable testimony for now. The mentioned location of the church is quite far from the northern plateau, so it remains unclear to which period Vinjalić's *Sveti Spas* might have belonged.[22] Venetian death registers make no reference to a cemetery of the Holy Saviour; however, it appears that, at some point, it was believed to correspond to the cemetery of St. Catherine situated outside the walls.[23] At the beginning of the 19th century, death registers do indeed record individuals interred in soldier's graves near the demolished Church of St. Catherine, suggesting that this is the same burial ground, which was named differently according to occurring shifts in local authority. Based on the foregoing, the designation 'military cemetery' was used for the longest period, whereas only in a few cases was it specified that these were soldier's burials on Spas hill or tombs of soldiers near St. Catherine.[24] Furthermore, it should be noted that the registers from the 19th century considered the area around the Loredan Gate as Spas, which also does not belong to the northern plateau. Moreover, said descriptions indicate that the site of the Church of St. Catherine corresponds exactly to that of the same single-nave church which Gunjača dated to the 15th century, thereby supporting the conclusion that the military cemetery, Sveti Spas

[20] Gunjača 1960, pp. 115 – 116.

[21] Confirmation of Vinjalić's theses should be sought in Ottoman archives, which remain largely insufficiently studied for the area of the plain of Knin.

[22] According to the registries, the military cemetery outside Loredan's Gate was in use at least from 1689 (DAZD, Inv. no. 474) up to the 1870s; however, Austrian registries record that Petar Stella (1826) and Ilija Šerić (1881) were buried in the military cemetery of the Holy Saviour, indicating the same area.

[23] Gunjača 1960, p. 114.

[24] I would like to thank M. Gambiroža, who provided me with transcriptions of the death registers and thereby greatly facilitated the search for the described microtoponyms (DAZD, Inv. no. 476).



Sl. 2 - Geološke granice brda Spas (foto: Google Earth)
Fig. 2 - Geological boundaries of Spas hill (photo: Google Earth)

kost.[27] Pritom valja istaknuti da je upotreba starijih toponima (Kninsko brdo i Kninski brijeg) potpuno iščezla (sl. 2).

Prvo istraživanje sjevernog dijela brda proveo je L. Marun na danas još uvijek nedefiniranoj poziciji. Kako se čini, pokusna istraživanja provedena su 1932. godine s vanjske strane istočnog prapovijesnog bedema i južno od pretpostavljenog ulaza. Tom su prilikom pronađeni fragmenti kasnoeneolitičke keramike te nekoliko kamenih i bakrenih alatki, no prepoznati su i fragmenti keramike halštatskog i latenskog razdoblja, dok je u najmlađim slojevima prisutna slavenska keramika. Stariji suhozidni bedem od masivnih grubih blokova građen je najvjerojatnije tijekom halštatskog razdoblja, a mlađi bedem s tragovima žbuke pripisan je ranoslavenskim građevinskim aktivnostima.[28] Buttlerov zaključak jasno upućuje na to da su ranosrednjovjekovni bedemi djelomično preslojili i iskoristili trasu prapovijesnih, što otvara mogućnost da se najstarije kninsko ranosrednjovjekovno utvrđenje nalazilo na sjevernom dijelu brda.[29] Ostaje nejasno u kolikoj

[27] Navedeno je posebno izraženo kod oronima koji su velikom većinom formirani i bilježeni tijekom novog vijeka. Zbog slabe iskoristivosti planina oronimiji nije posvećivano previše pažnje, stoga su nerijetko pogrešno bilježeni, što se moralo odraziti i na konačno oblikovanje. Šimunović 2009, str. 288; Ivšić 2012, str. 99.

[28] Buttler 1933, str. 188.

[29] Vidi Sinobad 2014.

and the cemetery of St. Catherine were in fact the same burial grounds. In light of the above, it appears that the oldest designation for the distinctive geological formation was *Knin hill*, whereas *Spas* represents only one of several microtoponyms that, for reasons not entirely clear, eventually became dominant. The toponym *Spas* was evidently known to certain individuals as early as the mid-18th century; however, its more widespread use is documented only in Austrian cartography of the 19th century, where it consistently appears with a saintly attribution. Already during the second half of the 19th century, and especially during the first half of the 20th century, the toponym *Spas* had become firmly established, as is clearly evident in the work of S. Nakićenović (1882–1926), who places the Knin Fortress on the hill of Sveti Spas.[25] The author also emphasizes that Knin itself is located at the foot of the hill of Sveti Spas, where more intensive house construction closer to the right bank of the Krka river, or on the other side of the main road, only began after the Austrian conquest in 1797.[26]

Following this brief exposition, the question of the hill's correct designation arises. S. Gunjača rightly notes that the microtoponym Spas refers specifically to the northern levelled plateau; however,

[25] Nakićenović 1999, p. 6.

[26] Nakićenović 1999, 124.

je mjeri ranosrednjovjekovno utvrđenje iskoristilo ostatke starijeg utvrđenja, no sudeći prema drugim primjerima, površinom je moralo biti znatno reducirano. Točna pozicija Marunove sonde nije ustanovljena, no čini se da je riječ o položaju izvan perimetra prapovijesnih bedema i dalje od zaravnjenog platoa. Desetodnevna pokusna istraživanja sjeverne zaravni proveo je D. Jelovina 1971. godine iskopom triju sondi dimenzija 6 × 3 m. Istraživanja su rezultirala otkrićem 15 ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova s različitim nalazima, od kojih posebno ističem grobove iz sonde A koji preslojavaju antički porušeni objekt. Od 1977. do 1982. godine Jelovina provodi sustavna arheološka istraživanja na površini od 1200 m², tijekom kojih je otkriveno 228 ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova s brojnim nalazima.[30] Osim toga, ustanovljena je prisutnost sakralnog predromaničkog objekta te činjenica da groblje dijelom preslojava porušeno rimsko naselje koje se prostiralo gotovo čitavom površinom platoa (sl. 3).[31] Ranija sustavna istraživanja provedena su između 1966. i 1971. godine pod sporazumnim vodstvom Z. Vinskog i D. Jelovine, kada je na položaju Greblje, smještenom pri sjeveroistočnom podnožju platoa, otkriveno naseobinsko groblje iz razdoblja seobe naroda. Objavom rezultata istraživanja Z. Vinski iznosi tezu da bi se glavno naselje zajednice moglo nalaziti na području sjevernog kastruma (Tina),[32] no D. Jelovina, temeljem vlastitih istraživanja, iznosi tezu da bi porušeno antičko naselje, preslojeno ranosrednjovjekovnim ukopima, moralo pripadati zajednici ukapanoj na Greblju.[33] Prema K. Reganu, na sjevernom je platou moguće prepoznati tlocrt utvrde kvadratnog oblika,[34] no smionije zaključke nije moguće donositi bez revizijskih i posve novih istraživanja. Jelovinina istraživanja sjevernog platoa potvrdila su prisutnost porušenog rimskog naselja, stoga je njegova pretpostavka opravdana, ali još uvijek ne postoje dovoljno pouzdani argumenti kojima bi se mogli potvrditi status i ime naselja.[35]

[30] Jelovina 1991, str. 123.

[31] Jelovina 1991, str. 125.

[32] Novija arheološka istraživanja dokazala su potpunu odsutnost rimskih i ranosrednjovjekovnih slojeva unutar perimetra sjevernog kastruma. Prepoznat je diskontinuitet od ranog brončanog doba pa sve do 13. stoljeća, kada se mogu datirati najraniji srednjovjekovni nalazi. Vidi Sinobad 2025, str. 169–170.

[33] Vinski 1991, str. 5, 33; Jelovina 1991, str. 122, 125.

[34] Vidi Regan 2020, str. 669–670.

[35] Naselje na sjevernom platou brda dovođeno je u vezu s

it is evident that the entire geological formation was long known as Knin hill and, from at least the mid-18th century, also as Sveti Spas. The northern (Spas) and southern (Knin hill or Kninski brijeg) parts of the hill are exactly the same geological formation, and, given the nature of toponymy, their current separation is entirely unnecessary. In conclusion, it is not incorrect to refer to the entire formation as Sveti Spas, but it is important to recognize that the name originally denoted a microtoponym that, for reasons unknown, has become dominant over the past 250 years, a phenomenon that is not uncommon in the formation of toponymy related to landscapes.[27] It should also be noted that the use of the older toponyms (Knin hill and Kninski brijeg) has completely disappeared (Fig. 2).

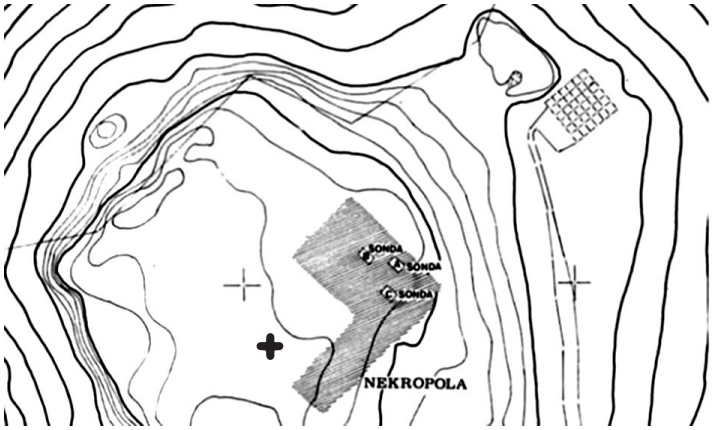
The first investigation of the northern section of the hill was conducted by L. Marun at a location that has remained undefined to this day. It appears that trial excavations were carried out in 1932 outside the eastern prehistoric rampart and south of the presumed gate. During these investigations, fragments of Late Neolithic pottery, along with several stone and copper tools, were discovered. Additionally, fragments of pottery belonging to the Hallstatt and La Tène period were identified, while Slavic pottery was unearthed in the uppermost layers. The older dry-stone rampart, constructed of massive rough blocks, likely dates to the Hallstatt period, whereas the younger rampart, exhibiting traces of plaster, has been attributed to early Slavic construction activities.[28] Buttler's conclusion clearly indicates that the early medieval ramparts partially overlapped and reused the prehistoric rampart lines, which strongly suggests that the earliest early medieval fortification of Knin could have been located in the northern part of the hill.[29] It remains unclear to what extent the early medieval fortification made use of the remains of the earlier structure, but judging by other examples, its area must have been significantly reduced. The exact location of Marun's trench has not been established, but it appears to have been outside the perimeter of the prehistoric ramparts and farther

[27] This is particularly evident with oronyms, which were mostly formed and recorded during the modern period. Due to the low usability of mountains, little attention was given to oronymy, and names were often recorded incorrectly, which must have influenced their final form. Šimunović 2009, p. 288; Ivšić 2012, p. 99.

[28] Buttler 1933, p. 188.

[29] See Sinobad 2014.

Fragment arhitrava s natpisom očito je pronađen izvan područja obuhvaćenog Marunovim i Jelovininim istraživanjima, jer je teško očekivati da bi tako značajan nalaz mogao ostati nezamijećen (sl. 4 i 5). Taj je fragment grede od lokalnog vapnenca dug 40 cm i širok 22 cm. Jasno se mogu prepoznati tri latinična slova, od kojih je prvo slovo *N* djelomično očuvano dok su slova *A* i *C* očuvana goto-



Sl. 3 - Približna pozicija pronalaska u odnosu na područje obuhvaćeno istraživanjima D. Jelovine (fotografija: Jelovina 1991, prilog 1)
Fig. 3 - Approximate location of the discovery in relation to the area investigated by D. Jelovina (photo: Jelovina 1991, appendix 1)

from the levelled plateau. In 1971, D. Jelovina conducted ten days of trial excavations on the northern plateau, opening three trenches measuring 6 × 3 m each. These excavations yielded 15 early medieval graves containing various artefacts, with the graves in Trench A being particularly significant, as they overlay the remains of a destroyed ancient structure. Between 1977 and 1982, Jelovina carried out systematic archaeological research over an area of 1,200 m², resulting in the discovery of 228 early medieval graves accompanied by numerous finds.[30] These excavations also confirmed the presence of a pre-Romanesque sacred structure and established that the cemetery partially overlies a destroyed Roman settlement that once occupied nearly the entire surface of the plateau (Fig. 3).[31] Earlier systematic research, jointly led by of Z. Vinski and D. Jelovina, was conducted between 1966 and 1971, resulted in the discovery of a settlement cemetery from the migration period at the site of Greblje at the northeastern foot of the plateau. Following the publication of these findings, Vinski proposed the thesis that the principal settlement of the community may have been situated in the area of the northern castrum (Tina).[32] Jelovina, however, drawing on the results

[30] Jelovina 1991, p. 123.

[31] Jelovina 1991, p. 125.

[32] Recent archaeological research has confirmed the complete absence of Roman and early medieval layers within the perimeter of the northern castrum. A chronological discontinuity has been identified from the Early Bronze Age until the 13th century, when the earliest medieval finds can be dated. See Sinobad 2025, pp. 169–170.

više različitih mjesta, od kojih su najpopularnije tvrdnje o antičkoj Niniji i Ardubi. Starija mletačka kartografija te autori poput Farlatija i Fortisa Knin nazivaju Ardubom, dok je teza o Niniji zasnovana uglavnom na prividnoj sličnosti s modernim imenom grada, što je vrlo dvojbeno (Farlato 1769, str. 280; Fortis 1984, str. 75). U Strabonovu tekstu Niniju ni u jednom trenutku nije moguće pouzdano poistovjetiti s naseljem na Spasu, a mlađi itinerari, primjerice, Niniju uopće ne spominju (usporedi Strabon, 7:5). Jasno je da Strabon piše o predrimskoj Niniji koja je, ma gdje bila, teško stradala u vrijeme Oktavijanovih pohoda, stoga izostanak spomena upućuje na to da nakon rimskih osvajanja očito više nije bila toliko značajno mjesto. No čak i ako je naselje preživjelo razaranje, ono kasnije gotovo sigurno nije imalo gradski status, već je nastavilo egzistirati u reduciranom obliku. Teza o Kninu kao drevnoj Ardubi znatno je starija, no ni ona nema čvrsto uporište. Zasnovana je na opisu Diona Kasija, koji naselje opisuje kao dobro utvrđeno mjesto smješteno na visokoj hridi obavijenoj koritom neimenovane rijeke (D. Kasije, knjiga LVI). U Fortisovu i Farlatijevu tekstu vidimo da autori Ardubom smatraju južni dio brda na čijim su vrhovima građene utvrde Lab i Tina. Arheološka istraživanja unutar utvrda nisu potvrdila prisutnost rimskih slojeva kao ni ostatke prapovijesnih bedema, stoga su teze o Ardubi također teško prihvatljive. Kasijev opis može se poistovjetiti s nekoliko mjesta na području Ilirika, no treba istaknuti da je brdo Spas obavijeno dvjema rijekama, a ne jednom, kako tvrdi antički izvor. U bližem okruženju takvom opisu ponajviše odgovara Gradina u Puljanima nasuprot Burnumu (vidi Periša 2008, str. 513; Cesarik 2022, str. 37). Slijedom izrečenog jasno je da pouzdani dokazi o antičkom imenovanju naselja na Spasu ne postoje. Sve su to još uvijek samo neutemeljene i proizvoljne pretpostavke, što se posebno očituje u istovremenom izjednačavanju s Ardubom i Ninijom. Osim toga, prisutnost rimskih naseobinskih nalaza evidentirana je i na području Stare tržnice, što upućuje na to da u rimsko doba nije bio naseljen samo sjeverni plato nego gotovo čitavo brdo, s posebnim naglaskom na područje zaštićene gradske jezgre. U prilog navedenom svakako ide prisutnost rimskih grobnih nalaza u dvorištima kuća Monti, Tomić, Novaković i Popović, kao i nedefiniranih rimskih nalaza prikupljenih tijekom izgradnje Grand Hotela i oficirskih stanova. Znati ime naselja nije primarno pitanje, a proizvoljna nagađanja nisu dobar model podizanja svijesti o drevnosti mjesta.



Sl. 4 - Precizna pozicija pronalaska (foto: Google Earth)
Fig. 4 - Precise location of the find (photo: Google Earth)



Sl. 5 - Precizna pozicija pronalaska (foto: M. Biserko)
Fig. 5 - Precise location of the beam with inscription (photo: M. Biserko)

vo u cijelosti. Natpisno polje nije finije obrađeno, a slova, unatoč rustikalnijoj izvedbi, upućuju na težnju prema (nespretnom) oponašanju kvadratne kapitale. Svježa oštećenja slova uzrokovana su radom stroja prilikom opisanih radova. Dakle, natpis sadrži tri latinična slova, *NAC*, visine 15 cm, klesana na neravnoj površini širine 22 cm. Promatrano u cjelini, fragment arhitrava ima rustična obilježja i nedvojbeno je proizvod lokalnih klesarskih radionica. Gornji i donji dio grede posve su zaglađeni, dok je na bočnim stranama primjetan nepravilan lom uzrokovan davnim nasilnim oštećenjem, bez tragova svježeg loma. Patina je identičnog tona kao i površina čitavog nalaza, što govori u prilog tomu da je greda dugo stajala netaknuta i odbačena. Nema tragova žbuke. Dimenzije natpisnog polja i visina slova upućuju na izvedbu natpisa u jednom redu te na to da je najvjerojatnije riječ o posvetnom natpisu s pročelja neke važnije građevine (sl. 6).

of his own investigations, argued that the destroyed ancient settlement, later overlaid by early medieval burials, must have belonged to the same community that was buried at Greblje.[33] According to K. Regan, the ground plan of a square-shaped fort can be discerned on the northern plateau;[34] however, such a bold conclusion, in my view, cannot be made without comprehensive revision and entirely new archaeological investigations. Jelovina's research on the northern plateau did indeed confirm the existence of a destroyed Roman settlement, so his assumption is entirely justified. Nonetheless, the available evidence remains insufficient to determine with confidence either the status or the name of that settlement.[35]

[33] Vinski 1991, p. 5 and 33; Jelovina 1991, p. 122 and 125.

[34] See Regan 2020, pp. 669 – 670.

[35] The settlement on the northern plateau of the hill has been associated with several different locations, the most popular being claims identifying it with ancient Ninia and Arduba. Older Venetian cartography, as well as authors such as Farlati and Fortis, refer to Knin as Arduba, whereas the hypothesis of Ninia is based largely on an apparent similarity to the modern name of the city, which is highly questionable (Farlato 1769, p. 280; Fortis 1984, p. 75). In Strabo's text, Ninia cannot at any point be reliably identified with the settlement on Spas, while later itineraries do not mention Ninia at all (cf. Strabo 7.5). It is clear that Strabo refers to a pre-Roman Ninia which, wherever it may have been located, suffered severe destruction during Octavian's campaigns. The absence of later references therefore suggests that, following the Roman conquests, it was evidently no longer a place of significance. Even if the settlement had survived the devastation, it almost certainly did not retain urban status but continued to exist



Sl. 6 - Fragment arhitrava s ostacima latiničnog natpisa (foto: M. Biserko)
Fig. 6 - Fragment of the architrave with remnants of the Latin inscription (photo: M. Biserko)



Sl. 7 – Crtež fragmenta arhitrava s ostacima latinskog natpisa (crtež: M. Marković)
Fig. 7 – Drawing of an architrave fragment with remains of a Latin inscription (drawing: M. Marković)

Iako je prepoznatljiva težnja prema skladu, fragmentiranost onemogućava pouzdano pripisivanje isključivo rimskom razdoblju. Cjelokupna izvedba ne pokazuje morfološke i epigrafske karakteristike predromanike, no ne treba u potpunosti odbaciti mogućnost izrade tijekom razvijenog srednjeg vijeka. Otežavajuću okolnost predstavlja činjenica da je nalaz otkriven tijekom grubih strojnih radova, zbog čega stratigrafski kontekst ostaje posve nepoznat. Uz gredu nisu zabilježeni nalazi poput keramike ili fragmenata oštećene arhitekture, stoga nije jasno je li nalaz bio spolija u ranosrednjovjekovnoj grobnoj ili crkvenoj arhitekturi. Natpis je možda izvorno pripadao nekoj javnoj rimskoj građevini, no s obzirom na snažnu devastiranost naselja vjerojatnije je da je u srednjem vijeku iskorišten kao građevinski materijal. Previše je nejasnoća oko samog nalaza te

The architrave fragment with an inscription was evidently discovered outside the areas explored by Marun and Jelovina, as it is indeed difficult to imagine that such a significant find would have gone unnoticed during their campaigns (Figs. 4 and 5). The beam fragment, carved from local limestone, measures 40 cm in length and 22 cm in width. Three Latin letters can be clearly identified: the first letter, *N*, is only partially while *A* and *C* are almost entirely preserved. The inscription field itself was not a finely finished, yet despite the rather rustic execution of the letters, it shows an attempt, albeit clumsy, to imitate square capitals. The fresh damage visible on the letters was caused by machinery during the works described. The inscription comprises three Latin letters, *NAC*, each approximately 15 cm in height, carved on an uneven surface 22

in a reduced form. The hypothesis identifying Knin with ancient Arduba is considerably older, yet it too lacks firm foundations. It is based on the description provided by Cassius Dio, who describes the settlement as a well-fortified place situated on a high rock surrounded by the course of an unnamed river (Cassius Dio, Book LVI). In the works of Fortis and Farlati, it is evident that the authors regarded Arduba as the southern part of the hill, where the fortresses of Lab and Tina were built. Archaeological research within these fortifications have not confirmed the presence of Roman layers or the remains of prehistoric ramparts, rendering the Arduba hypothesis likewise difficult to accept. Cassius Dio's description could correspond to several locations within Illyricum; however, it should be emphasized that Spas hill is surrounded by two rivers rather than one, as stated by the ancient source. In the immediate vicinity, the description most closely matches Gradina at Puljani, opposite Burnum (see Preriša 2008, p. 513; Cesarik 2022, p. 37). In light of the above, it is evident that reliable evidence for the ancient name of the settlement on Spas does not yet exist. These identifications remain unsubstantiated and arbitrary hypotheses, particularly evident in the simultaneous equation of the site with both Arduba and Ninia. Moreover, the presence of Roman settlement remains has also been recorded in the area of the Old Market, indicating that during the Roman period not only the northern plateau but almost the entire hill was inhabited, with particular emphasis on the area of the protected urban core. This interpretation is further supported by the discovery of Roman grave finds in the courtyards of the Monti, Tomić, Novaković and Popović houses, as well as unspecified Roman finds collected during the construction of the Grand Hotel and the Officers' Apartments. Knowing the name of the settlement is not the primary issue, while arbitrary speculation is not a sound model for raising awareness of the site's antiquity.

ovdje nije namjera iznositi konačne zaključke, već samo ukazati na neke od mogućnosti tumačenja. Nalaz je značajan jer je riječ o tek drugom natpisu pronađenom na sjevernoj zaravni, zbog čega predstavlja autentičan spomenik. Prvi natpis otkriven je tijekom iskopa vojničkih rovova i akcije pošumljavanja, izvedenih nešto prije pokusnih istraživanja 1971. godine.[36] Predromanički arhitrav s ostatcima natpisa okvirno je datiran u 9. stoljeće,[37] a dvozonska podjela i način izrade naglašeno iskošenih kuka s višestrukim zavojnicama i dvoprutim peteljkama upućuju na pripadnost klesarskoj radionici iz Trpimirova vremena (845. – 864).[38] Predromanički arhitrav nema nikakvih morfoloških ni epigrafskih sličnosti s novootkrivenim natpisom. Postoje i indicije o trećem natpisu otkrivenom negdje na sjevernoj strani brda. Poznat je samo prijepis natpisa zabilježen u privatnim spisima Stefana Petkovića, u kojem se spominje Ninija pokorena u Augustovo vrijeme, dok sam nalaz nije očuvan.[39] Još uvijek nije utvrđeno je li rimski epigrafski sadržaj doslovno prepisan ili je riječ o autorovoj proizvoljnoj restituciji, stoga je već iskazana sumnja u autentičnost Petkovićeva podatka.[40]

Promatrajući nalaz u kontekstu rimske epigrafije, kombinacija slova *NAC* nema mnogo mogućnosti restitucije, stoga se najizvjesnijim čini da je riječ o spomenu cara Septimija Severa (193. – 211).[41] Kombinacija sigli *NAC* uglavnom se javlja u njegovoj carskoj nomenklaturi iskazanoj u dativu ili genitivu jednine. Među ostalim, službeno imenovanje Septimija Severa sadrži ime *Pertinax*, prisutno na brojnim posvetnim spomenicima, koje u dativu jednine glasi *Pertinaci*.[42] Nakon uspješno završenih vojnih kampanja protiv Didija Julijana, Pescenija Nigera i Klodija Albina Septimije Sever dokazao je svoju moć i postao legitimni car.[43] Dolaskom u Rim deificirao je Publija Helvija Pertinaksa, smatrajući ga zakonitim prethodnikom, zbog čega po

[36] Jelovina 1991, str. 123.
[37] Delonga 1996, str. 102.
[38] Usporedi srodne primjere u: Jakšić 2015, str. 299; Josipović 2013, str. 113–115, T. XXVII.
[39] Alačević 1878, str. 103.
[40] Zaninović 1974, str. 307.
[41] Zahvaljujem kolegi i prijatelju N. Cesariku, koji mi je skrenuo pažnju na tu mogućnost.
[42] Iskazivanje počasti nekoj osobi redovito se navodi u dativu. Matijašić 2002, str. 116.
[43] Pintarević 1960, str. 17–18; Radman-Livaja 2010, str. 195–197.

cm wide. Viewed as a whole, the architrave fragment exhibits rustic characteristics, indicating it was almost certainly produced by local stone-carving workshops. The upper and lower surfaces of the beam are fully smoothed, whereas the sides display irregular breaks resulting from deliberate ancient damage. There are no traces of fresh breaks visible on the sides. The patina matches the tone of the entire surface of the find, suggesting that the beam had long remained untouched and discarded. There are also no traces of plaster. The dimensions of the inscription field, along with the height of the letters, indicate that the inscription was executed in a single line and was most likely a dedicatory inscription from the façade of a probably very important structure (Fig. 6).

Although a tendency toward symmetry is discernible, the fragmentary state of the find prevents a reliable attribution exclusively to the Roman period. While its overall execution does not exhibit the morphological or epigraphic features characteristic of pre-Romanesque inscriptions, the possibility that it was produced during the High Middle Ages cannot be entirely dismissed. Interpretation is further complicated by the fact that the fragment was uncovered during works with heavy machinery, leaving its stratigraphic context completely unknown. There were also no associated finds, such as pottery or fragments of damaged architecture, making it impossible to determine whether the fragment originally belonged to a spolia incorporated into early medieval grave or church architecture. The inscription may originally have belonged to a public Roman building; however, given the extensive destruction of the settlement, it seems more likely that it was reused as construction material in the Middle Ages. As there are too many uncertainties surrounding the find itself, it is not my intention here to present definitive conclusions, but merely to point out some possible interpretations. The find is significant insofar as it represents only the second inscription discovered on the northern plateau, which makes it an authentic monument. The first inscription was uncovered during the excavation of military trenches and afforestation works conducted shortly before the trial excavations of 1971.[36] The pre-Romanesque architrave with the remains of an inscription has been broadly dated to the 9th

[36] Jelovina 1991, p. 123.

vlastitom naređenju uzima ime *Pertinax*.[44] Iako je kasnije, navodno zbog praznovjerja, ime namjeravao povući, bila je to jasna aluzija na izravno nasljeđe i primarni razlog njegove prisutnosti u Severovoj carskoj nomenklaturi.[45] Oblik slova doista podsjeća na razdoblje dinastije Severa, a visina od 15 cm upućuje na to da je moralo biti riječ o nečemu važnom za lokalnu zajednicu, upotpunjenom posvetom caru.[46] Najbolji primjer Severove carske nomenklature s titulacijama svakako predstavlja rimski slavoluk,[47] no u našem je slučaju moguće restituirati samo ime *(PERTI)NAC(I)* u dativu, odnosno *(PERTI)NAC(IS)* u genitivu jednine. S obzirom na dimenzije slova i grede te činjenicu da je klesan u jednom redu, kninski natpis nije mogao biti previše sadržajan u smislu detaljnijih opisa, već je morao sadržavati samo ključne podatke, poput imena ili namjene objekta, zajedno s osnovnim carskim obilježjima.[48] U najosnovnijoj restituciji, bez počasnih pridjeva *Parthico*, *Arabico*, *Adiabenico* itd., najvjerojatnije pročelni natpis mogao bi u dativu glasiti [*Imp. Caes. Lucio Septimio Severo M. Fil. Pio Pertinaci Avg P. P.*], što predstavlja minimum podataka. Nezahvalno je govoriti o kakvoj bi građevini moglo biti riječ, no to svakako može biti arhitrav hrama, mjesto štovanja carskog kulta odnosno bilo koje druge javne pa i privatne investicije. Sve upućuje na to da se radilo o građevini podignutoj na nekom reprezentativnom mjestu, poput centra naselja (foruma?) ili iznad ulaznih vratnica, gdje se najčešće izražavala počast caru i njegovoj obitelji.[49] Sigurno je da fragment ne sadrži ime osobe koja podiže spomenik, jer bi u tom slučaju imenovanje bilo u no-

century,[37] however, its division in two zones and the manner of carving, marked by sharply slanted hooks with multiple volutes and double-ribbed tendrils, indicate that it belongs to a stonemason workshop from the time of Trpimir (845–864).[38] This pre-Romanesque architrave exhibits neither morphological nor epigraphic similarities to the newly discovered inscription. There are also indications of a third inscription reportedly found somewhere on the northern side of the hill. Only a transcript preserved in the private papers of Stefan Petković is known, mentioning the conquest of Nin in the time of Augustus, while the original artefact itself has not survived.[39] Whether the Roman epigraphic content was copied accurately or represents an arbitrary reconstruction by the author remains uncertain, thus doubts have already been raised about the authenticity of Petković's information.[40]

When the find is viewed within the context of Roman epigraphy, the letter sequence *NAC* permits only a limited number of plausible restitutions, and it therefore seems most plausible that the fragment contains a reference to Emperor Septimius Severus (193–211).[41] The combination of the sigla *NAC* appears primarily in his imperial nomenclature, expressed in the dative or genitive singular. Among other titles, the official name of Septimius Severus includes *Pertinax*, which appears on numerous dedicatory monuments and in the dative singular reads *Pertinaci*.[42] Following his successful military campaigns against Didius Julianus, Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus, Septimius Severus consolidated his authority and emerged as the legitimate emperor.[43] Upon his arrival in Rome, he deified Publius Helvius Pertinax, whom he regarded as his rightful predecessor, and, by imperial decree, adopted the name *Pertinax*.[44] Although he later allegedly intended to abandon this name, supposedly out of superstition, it was a clear allusion to his direct suc-

44 *Historiae Augustae*, Severus VII., str. 387.

45 Prema Dionu Kasiju, Sever je Pertinaksu iskazao veliku čast zapovjedivši da se njegovo ime spominje u molitvama i zakletvama. Osim toga, iako je prošlo dosta vremena od Pertinaksove smrti, organizirao mu je veleban ispraćaj na Forumu, gdje je na odar postavljena Pertinaksova voštana figura odjevena u purpur i trijumfalnu odjeću. Nakon govora pogrebna povorka odlazi na Marsovo polje, gdje je priređena velebna trokatna lomača s brojnim prilozima, žrtvama, kipovima i sl. (*Cassius Dio's Roman History*, Book LXXV).

46 Carevo ime najčešće je pisano najvećim slovima, što se posebno očituje u tekstovima koncipiranim u više redova. Matijašić 2002, str. 13.

47 Lloyd 2013, str. 550.

48 Izvrstan primjer sadržajnog natpisa predstavlja nedavno otkrivena baza iz Lambeasisa. Detaljnije u Bertolazzi 2019, str. 358.

49 Matijašić 2002, str. 55.

37 Delonga 1996 p. 102.

38 Compare related examples in Jakšić 2015, p. 299 and Josipović 2013, pp. 113 – 115. T. XXVII.

39 Alačević 1878, p. 103.

40 Zaninović 1974, p. 307.

41 I would like to thank my colleague and friend N. Cesarik for drawing my attention to this possibility.

42 Honouring a person is regularly expressed in the dative. Matijašić 2002, p. 116.

43 Pinterović 1960, pp. 17 – 18; Radman - Livaja 2010, pp. 195 – 197.

44 *Historiae Augustae*, Severus VII., p. 387.

minativu.[50] Carski su spomeni zabilježeni na brojnim manje važnim objektima, poput tabularija ili milijacija, no treba istaknuti da je Septimije Sever uživao golemu popularnost u provincijama te da su spomenici posvećeni njemu i carskoj obitelji među najzastupljenijim u rimskom svijetu.[51] Izvrstan primjer posvetnog natpisa nalazi se na zapadnim vratnicama vojnog logora u Bu Njemu (u Libiji), čiji su vojnici građevine često posvećivali carevima.[52] Širom Carstva postoje raznoliki primjeri Severove carske nomenklature u dativu, a ovdje navodim Anulinovu posvetu iz Ucre blizu Kartage,[53] rimski slavoluk podignut 203. godine na sjeverozapadnom rubu Foruma i slavoluk s Foruma Boarija, koji su financirali argentariji i trgovci.[54] Primjera je zaista mnogo, stoga dodatnu pažnju skrećem na nekoliko reprezentativnih natpisa.[55] Kninski primjerak sadrži tri sigle klesane na arhitravu dužine 40 cm, iz čega proizlazi da bi minimalna dužina potrebna za navođenje osnovnih podataka, bez počasnih naziva, trebala iznositi između 7 i 8 m, što u potpunosti odgovara pročelju neke manje građevine.

Pertinax također često stoji u genitivu jednine, u obliku *Pertinacis*, što ne mora nužno predstavljati implikaciju izravnog pokroviteljstva ili vlasništva nad nekim objektom, već se može odnositi i na građevinu podignutu u nečiju korist, čast, slavu, zahvalnost, sreću, spasenje, zdravlje i sl.[56] Carsku nomenklaturu u genitivu bilježi natpis iz Lyona, koji svjedoči da su dvije žene u znak zahvalnosti nakon Severove pobjede nad Albinom izvršile tauroboliju Kibeli za carevo spasenje.[57] Nedugo zatim careva je prisutnost u Germaniji posvjedočena natpisom iz Cirte.[58] Opisane forme zabilježene su i na znatno manjim nalazima, primjerice na pečatima na fra-

cession and the primary reason for its inclusion in Severus's imperial nomenclature.[45] The form of the letters is indeed consistent with epigraphic practices of the Severan period, while their considerable height of 15 cm suggests that the inscription must have referred to something of particular importance to the local community, complemented by a dedication to the emperor.[46] The best example of Severus's imperial nomenclature with titles is, of course, the Roman triumphal arch;[47] however, in our case it is possible to restitute only the name *(PERTI)NAC(I)* in the dative or *(PERTI)NAC(IS)* in the genitive singular. Given the dimensions of both the letters and the beam, as well as the fact that the text was carved in a single line, the inscription from Knin could not have been very detailed in terms of extensive descriptions; it must have conveyed only essential information, such as the name or the purpose of the structure, together with the basic imperial features.[48] In the most basic restitution, without the honorific epithets *Parthico, Arabico, Adiabenico*, etc., the most likely inscription on the façade could, in the dative form, have read [*Imp. Caes. Lucio Septimio Severo M. fil. Pio Pertinaci Aug. P. P.*], which represents the minimum amount of information. It is difficult to say what type of building it might have been; nevertheless, the fragment may have belonged to the architrave of a temple, a place of worship of the imperial cult, or any other public, and possibly even private, structure. All available indications suggest that the building stood in a prominent location, such as the centre of the settlement (perhaps the forum) or that the fragment

50 Matijašić 2002, str. 142.

51 Murphy 1945, str. 71, 88; Pintarević 1960, str. 20.

52 *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Septimio Seuero* / *Pio Pert(inaci) Aug(usto) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) IX imp(eratori)* vac. *co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriae) et* / *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurel(io) Antonino* / *Aug(usto) tr(ibunicia)*, CIL VIII, 10992; Cooley 2012, str. 287; vidi i natpis iz Bilja, CIL III, 10269.

53 Murphy 1945, str. 7.

54 Murphy 1945, str. 29–30.

55 CIL VIII, 15449 (Uchi Maius – forum); CIL IX, 5747 (Camerinum); CIL XI, 531 (Ostia); CIL IV, 431 (Lanuvium); CIL XIV, 2101 itd.

56 Cooley 2012, str. 314–316.

57 /*[Pro] salute imp. L. Septimi [Seve]ri Pii Pertinacis Aug.*/, Murphy 1945, str. 5; Bertolazzi 2020, str. 35.

58 Murphy 1945, str. 6.

45 According to Cassius Dio, Severus bestowed great honour upon Pertinax by ordering that his name be mentioned in prayers and oaths. Moreover, although a considerable amount of time had passed since Pertinax's death, he organized a magnificent funeral for him in the Forum, where a wax effigy of Pertinax, dressed in purple and triumphal attire, was placed upon the bier. After the speech, the funerary procession proceeded to the Campus Martius, where an imposing three-tiered pyre was erected, with numerous offerings, sacrifices, statues and the like. Cassius Dio's *Roman History, Book LXXV*.

46 The emperor's name was usually written in the largest letters, which is particularly evident in inscriptions composed in multiple lines. Matijašić 2002, 13.

47 Lloyd 2013, p. 550.

48 An excellent example of a substantial inscription is the recently discovered base from Lambeasis. For more details see: Bertolazzi 2019, pp, 358 – 358.

gmentima cijevi za opskrbu vodom u Puteolima,[59] na kamenu s Via Appia koji bilježi obnovu kasteluma *Aqua Claudia*[60] te na terminacijskim natpisima, vojničkim diplomama[61] i sl. U slučaju iskazivanja u genitivu, kninski bi natpis u najosnovnijem obliku mogao glasiti [*Imp. Caes. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Avg*]. Postoji i mogućnost da je riječ o spomenu Publija Helvija Pertinaksa, međutim, kako je spomenuti car vladao svega tri mjeseca, teško da je njegov utjecaj mogao podjednako zaživjeti u svim ruralnim sredinama.[62] Zabilježeni su spomeni božanskog Pertinaksa, što s obzirom na njegovu kratkotrajnu vladavinu predstavlja svojevrstan fenomen, jer pojedini carevi s višegodišnjim vladarskim iskustvom nemaju očuvane takve počasti.[63] Primjera radi, epigrafsku posebnost predstavlja žrtvenik iz Narone, na kojem se kognomen javlja u obliku *Pertenacis* zajedno s posvetom Jupiteru Dolihenu.[64] Car je u provincijama ostao poštovan možda dijelom i zbog ranije izuzetno bogate vojničke karijere,[65] no najvjerojatnije su ranije opisane Severove počasti odigrale presudnu ulogu u očuvanju sjećanja na Pertinaksa. Slijedom izrečenog, ako je riječ o posveti caru, znatno izglednijom smatram mogućnost spomena Lucija Septimija Severa (193. – 211.).

Koliko mi je poznato, kognomen *Pertinax* općenito nije osobito česta pojava. Pripada skupini latinskih kognomena koji naglašavaju snagu nečijeg karaktera, odnosno upornost.[66] Istoj skupini pripada kognomen *Tenax*, proizašao iz nepravilnog pridjeva treće deklinacije, koji u dativu/genitivu glasi *tenaci*/*tenacis*, a također označava tvrdokornog ili čvrstog čovjeka. U obzir svakako valja uzeti i kognomen *Hermosenax*, u Dalmaciji zabilježen samo

59 Cooley 2012, str. 101.

60 Murphy 1945, str. 32.

61 Vidi primjer diplome iz mjesta Jeka kod Umaga izdane 194. godine. Ilkić 2010, str. 271.

62 Spomen cara Pertinaksa zabilježen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama (*Aquae Iasae*) na natpisu iznad reljefa s nimfama. Natpis je preciznije datiran jer je navedeno obnašanje drugog konzulata Helvija Pertinaksa. Prije careva spomena prepoznato je brisanje sjećanja na raniju Komodovu vladavinu (Kušan Špalj 2017, str. 297).

63 Mayer 2005, str. 5.

64 Mayer 2005, str. 2.

65 Za poznavanje Pertinaksove vojničke karijere važan je tzv. kamen iz Brühla, pronađen u blizini Kölna. Detaljnije u Elliot 2020, str. 80–100.

66 Kajanto 1982, str. 256, 259.

had been above an entrance gate, where expressions of loyalty to the emperor and his family were most commonly displayed.[49] It is, however, certain that the fragment does not preserve the name of the individual who commissioned the monument, since such a designation would have appeared in the nominative case.[50] Imperial dedications are attested on numerous structures of lesser importance, such as tabularia or milestones; nevertheless, it should be emphasized that Septimius Severus enjoyed exceptional popularity throughout the provinces, and monuments dedicated to him and members of the imperial family rank among the most numerous in the Roman world.[51] A particularly illustrative example of such a dedicatory inscription is preserved on the western gate of the military camp at Bu Njem (Libya), whose soldiers frequently dedicated buildings to emperors.[52] Across the empire, numerous examples attest to the use of Septimius Severus's imperial nomenclature in the dative. Representative cases include Anullinus's dedication from Ucra near Carthage,[53] the triumphal arch erected in 203 on the northwestern edge of the Forum, and the arch in the Forum Boarium financed by argentarii and merchants.[54] The number of such examples is considerable, and for this reason particular attention is drawn here to only a few representative inscriptions.[55] The fragment from Knin contains three sigla carved on an architrave measuring 40 cm in length, which implies that the minimum length required to present the essential information, even without honorific epithets, would have been between 7 and 8 m. Such dimensions correspond well to the façade of a smaller architectural structure.

Pertinax also frequently appears in the genitive singular as *Pertinacis*, a form that does not necessarily imply direct patronage or ownership of a

49 Matijašić 2002, p. 55.

50 Matijašić 2002, p. 142.

51 Murphy 1945, pp. 71 and 88; Pintarević 1960, p. 20.

52 Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(ucio) Septimio Seuero / Pio Pert(inaci) Aug(usto) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) IX i mp(eratori) vac. co(n)s(uli) II p(atri) p(atriae) et / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurel(io) Antonino / Aug(usto) tr(ibunicia), CIL VIII 10992; Cooly 2012, p. 287; see also the inscription from Bilje, CIL III, 10269.

53 Murphy 1945, p. 7.

54 Murphy 1945, pp. 29 and 30.

55 CIL VIII, 15449 (Uchi Maius – forum); CIL IX, 5747 - (Camerinum); CIL XI, 531 (Ostia), CIL IV, 431 (Lanuvium); CIL 14, 2101 etc.

u Škripu,[67] no ništa od navedenog ne predstavlja uobičajeno epigrafsko obilježje Severovih natpisa. Osim toga, teško je očekivati da bi javni natpis iznesenih dimenzija mogao biti posvećen nekom manje značajnom ili lokalnom pojedincu. U teoriji se opisana kombinacija slova može restituirati u svaku riječ koja sadrži korijen *NAC*, no čak i u tom slučaju izbor nije osobito širok. Povodom izrečenog navodim primjer nepravilnog latiniteta, odnosno pomalo nespretno izvedenog centurionskog natpisa u stihovima iz Bu Njema, u kojem je zabilježen spomen pjeskovitog brda (*harenacis collibus*),[68] što u kninskom slučaju ne može biti opcija. Kao mogućnost se eventualno može razmotriti korištenje pridjeva *pugnax* ('borben, ratoboran'), koji u dativu/genitivu glasi *pugnaci*/*pugnacis*, a koji se donekle može povezati s carevim vojničkim karakterom ili borbenim sklonostima. Postoje brojni pridjevi sa završetkom *-ax*, od kojih bi se u kontekstu lokaliteta možda mogli istaknuti *agonax* ili *geminax*, no primjere navedene u ovom pasusu zaista smatram malo vjerojatnim.

Iskazivanje carske počasti čini se najizglednijom opcijom, stoga pronalazak natpisa predstavlja izuzetno važnu stavku u oblikovanju spoznaja o stupnju romanizacije ovog područja. Još jednom naglašavam da je riječ o malenom uzorku koji nije dovoljan za iznošenje konačnih zaključaka i da sve izrečeno treba promatrati kao pretpostavku. Za potpunije odgovore neophodno je provesti revizijska istraživanja i uspostaviti model novih sustavnih istraživanja usmjeravanjem pažnje na netaknute površine. Opisani nalaz nedvojbeno predstavlja svojevrsnu potvrdu ali i upozorenje da je riječ o značajnom lokalitetu kojem treba pristupati s najvišim stupnjem odgovornosti. Osim toga, potvrđeni ostatci rimskog naselja trebali bi zajedno s ranosrednjovjekovnim grobljem biti trajno prezentirani, što bi se u kombinaciji s prirodnim ljepotama brda Spas moglo ostvariti kao hortikulturno osmišljen arheološki park.

Pozicija pronalaska također može upućivati na mogućnost pripadnosti grede sakralnom sklopu razvijenog srednjeg vijeka. Pretpostavke o prisutnosti sakralnog objekta na sjevernom platou brda iznošene su i ranije, prvenstveno zbog pronalaska fragmenata predromaničke plastike pripisane klesarskim radionicama 9. stoljeća. Već sam ranije istaknuo da

[67] Alfoldy 1969, str. 216.

[68] Cooley 2012, str. 282.

structure, but may equally indicate that a building or dedication was made for someone's benefit, honour, glory, gratitude, welfare, salvation, health and the like.[56] Imperial nomenclature in the genitive is attested by an inscription from Lyon, in which two women, as an expression of gratitude, performed a taurobolium of Cybele for the emperor's salvation following Severus's victory over Albinus.[57] Shortly thereafter, the emperor's presence in Germania is likewise attested by an inscription from Cirta.[58] Such formulations have also been recorded on considerably smaller finds, including seals on fragments of water-supply pipes from Puteoli,[59] a stone from the Via Appia commemorating the restoration of the castellum of the Aqua Claudia,[60] inscriptions on milestones, military diplomas[61] and the like. If expressed in the genitive, the inscription from Knin, in its most minimal form, could have read: [*Imp. Caes. L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Avg*]. There is also the possibility that the inscription refers to Publius Helvius Pertinax; however, given that his reign lasted only three months, it is unlikely that his influence could have taken hold equally in all rural communities.[62] Nevertheless, attestations of the deified Pertinax do exist, which, considering the brevity of his reign, represents a kind of phenomenon, particularly since some emperors with significantly longer reigns lack comparable epigraphic evidence.[63] An illustrative epigraphic peculiarity is provided by an altar from Narona, where the cognomen appears in the form *Pertenacis* in a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus.[64] The emperor remained respected in the provinces, perhaps partly due to his

[56] Cooley 2012, pp. 314 – 316.

[57] /*[Pro] salute imp. L. Septimi [Seve]ri Pii Pertinacis Aug.*/, Murphy 1945, p. 5; Bertolazzi 2020, p. 35.

[58] Murphy 1945, p. 6.

[59] Cooley 2012, p. 101.

[60] Murphy 1945, p. 32.

[61] See the example of the diploma from Jeka near Umag issued in 194. Ilkić 2010, p. 271.

[62] A mention of Emperor Pertinax is recorded in Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*) on an inscription placed above a relief depicting nymphs. The inscription can be dated with precision, as it specifies the holding of the second consulship of Helvius Pertinax. Prior to the emperor's mention, an erasure of memory relating to the earlier reign of Commodus has been identified. Kušan–Špalj 2017, p. 297. For more details

[63] Mayer 2005, p. 5.

[64] Mayer 2005, p. 2.

ovdje prezentirana greda nema nikakva predromanička obilježja, stoga ukazujem na mogućnost njezine pripadnosti nekom mlađem sakralnom objektu kasnog 11., odnosno još vjerojatnije 12. ili 13. stoljeća. Potvrđena je prisutnost predromaničke crkve, pa postoji mogućnost da je objekt u nekom trenutku mogao biti obnovljen ili temeljito rekonstruiran. Izrečenu pretpostavku smatram malo vjerojatnom, ali je s obzirom na kompleksnost lokaliteta potrebno prezentirati moguće opcije. Prijedlog restitucije natpisa može se uklopiti u standardne oblike srednjovjekovnih datacijskih formula, stoga je sigle moguće protumačiti kao ostatke stila inkarnacije, inače snažno zastupljenog u notarskim službama Zadra i općenito na istočnoj obali Jadrana sve do kraja 14. stoljeća.[69] Kršćanska era datiranja uvedena je tek od 6. stoljeća, a uspostavljena je izračunima Dionizija Malog (Dionysius Exiguus), prema kojima se godine računaju od Kristova utjelovljenja.[70] Slijedom izrečenog, sigle *NAC* mogu se restituirati u *(incar) nac(ione)* odnosno *(incar)nac(ionis)*. Navedeno upućuje na formule poput *anno dominice incarnacionis* ili *anno ab incarnacione Domini*, nakon čega bi najčešće trebala uslijediti godina izgradnje objekta. U pisanim ispravama izrazi *incarnacione*/*incarnacionis* snažnije su zastupljeni tek od razdoblja vladavine ugarskih kraljeva Bele III. (1172. – 1196.) i Emerika (1196. – 1204.),[71] a njihova je uporaba dominantna sve do vladavine Bele IV. (1235. – 1270.), kada postupno iščezava ustupajući mjesto formuli *anno Domini*.[72] Već za Belina nasljednika Stjepana VI. (1270. – 1272.) formula *anno Domini* postaje dominantnija, dok u vrijeme Ladislava IV. (1272. – 1290.) i Andrije III. (1290. – 1301.) gotovo potpuno nestaje.[73] U zadarskim notarskim spisima različite varijante formula inkarnacije zadržavaju se okvirno do sredine 14. stoljeća.[74] Tijekom 14. stoljeća stil je zastupljen na Krku, u Senju i vjerojatno na Pagu pod snažnijim zadarskim utjecajem.[75] Na klesanim natpisima istočne jadranske obale inkarnacija je zastupljena izrazom *incarnatione*/*incarnationis*, što na kninskoj gredi nije slučaj. Ranosrednjovjekovni epigrafski spomenici uglavnom su datirani imenovanjem vladara, međutim, u Jeleninu

previously distinguished military career;[65] however, it is most likely that the honours later bestowed upon Septimius Severus played a decisive role in shaping the memory of Pertinax. In light of the foregoing, if the inscription from Knin is indeed an imperial dedication, a reference to Lucius Septimius Severus (193–211) seems far more probable.

As far as I am aware, the cognomen *Pertinax* is generally not very common. It belongs to a group of Latin cognomina that emphasize the strength of one's character or perseverance.[66] The cognomen *Tenax* also belongs to this group; it derives from an irregular third-declension adjective, which in the dative/genitive appears as *tenaci/tenacis*, and likewise denotes a stubborn or resolute person. One should also consider the cognomen *Hermosenax* in Dalmatia, recorded only in Škrip;[67] yet, none of these are typical epigraphic features of Severus' inscriptions. Moreover, it is difficult to expect that a public inscription of such dimensions would have been dedicated to a relatively minor or local individual. In theory, the preserved letter sequence could be restored to any word containing the root *NAC*, but even in that case, the plausible options are limited. In this context, one should mention the example of irregular Latin, i.e. the somewhat clumsily executed centurion's inscription in verse from Bu Njem, where a sandy hill is mentioned (*harenacis collibus*); [68] which is not the case in the example from Knin. Another potential restoration could involve the adjective *pugnax* ("combative"), which in the dative or genitive appears as *pugnaci/pugnacis* and might, in principle, reflect the emperor's military character or his belligerence. There are numerous adjectives ending in *–ax*, of which, in the context of the site, one might perhaps highlight *agonax* or *geminax*, yet these alternatives appear rather unlikely in the case under consideration.

In my view, the most plausible interpretation is that the inscription represents an expression of imperial honour. Accordingly, its discovery represents an extremely important element in understanding the degree of Romanization of this area. I emphasize, however, that the sample is very small and

69 Detaljnije u: Grbavac 2006; Grbavac 2010.
70 Declercq 2000, str. 5–6, 97–130.
71 Kovačev 2012, str. 29.
72 Kovačev 2012, str. 30.
73 Kovačev 2012, str. 31–32.
74 Leljak, Kolanović 2001; Leljak, Kolanović 2003.
75 Grbavac 2010, str. 112–113.

65 For understanding Pertinax's military career, the so-called Brühl Stone, discovered near Cologne, is of particular importance. For more details, see Elliott 2020, pp. 80–100.
66 Kajanto 1982, pp. 256 and 259.
67 Alfoldy 1969, p. 216.
68 Cooley 2012, p. 282.

natpisu iz Solina potvrđena je zastupljenost izraza *incarna* još tijekom druge polovine 10. stoljeća.[76] Izvrstan primjer inkarnacije predstavlja natpis biskupa Handegisa iznad vratnica pulske katedrale, gdje se uz godinu nalazi i spomen talijanskog kralja Ludovika, što općenito potvrđuje snažan zapadni utjecaj na srednjovjekovnu epigrafiju istočne obale Jadrana.[77] Inkarnacija se znatno češće javlja početkom 12. stoljeća, što korespondira s ugarskim preuzimanjem dalmatinskih gradova.[78] Ponajbolji primjer inkarnacije predstavlja Kolomanov donatorski natpis na zvoniku samostana Sv. Marije u Zadru, koji uz godinu naznačuje i okolnosti izgradnje.[79] Zapadni se utjecaj manifestira snažnijom ugarskom prisutnošću u Dalmaciji, dok istarsko područje baštini naglašeniji karolinški utjecaj.[80] Na području Kninskog polja datiranje stilom inkarnacije zabilježeno je na Kapitulu 1690. godine. Župnik Vidović donosi prijepis tada očuvanog natpisa postavljenog iznad ulaznih vrata kapitulske crkve s naznačenom 1203. godinom i drugim pojedinostima.[81] Natpis je osmišljen pod očitim ugarskim utjecajem jer je uz godinu jasno istaknuto razdoblje vladavine kralja Emerika. Slijedom navedenog, ako se ispostavi da kninski nalaz sadrži preostatak stila inkarnacije, jedino može biti riječ o formuli *anno ab incarnacione*, odnosno *anno dominice incarnacionis*, što u potpunosti odgovara sustavima datiranja između 12. i 14. stoljeća. Nije zgoreg podsjetiti da su pojedini ukopi istraženog dijela groblja datirani u razdoblje razvijenog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka,[82] stoga mogućnost prisutnosti kronološki i stilski podudarnog sakralnog objekta nije posve zanemariva.

Sigle u kontekstu srednjovjekovne epigrafije mogu predstavljati i ostatak riječi *(mo)nac(horum)*, *(mo)nac(horium)* i *(mo)nac(hus)*, što može upućivati na prisutnost nekog nepoznatog samostana. U obzir svakako dolaze i različite varijante poput *monacha*, *monache*, *monacham*, *monacho*, *monaci* i sl., no zbog opisanih obilježja takvu mogućnost smatram najmanje vjerojatnom. Teze o samostanu osnovanom negdje na užem kninskom području bile insufficient for drawing definitive conclusions; all statements presented here must therefore be regarded as hypothetical. More comprehensive answers will require revision excavations and the development of a model for new systematic research, focusing attention on undisturbed surfaces. The find described here undoubtedly serves both as a form of confirmation and as a cautionary reminder that this is a site of considerable significance, which should be approached with the highest degree of responsibility. Moreover, the confirmed remains of the Roman settlement, together with the early medieval cemetery, should be permanently presented, which, combined with the natural beauty of Spas hill, could be showcased in the form of a horticulturally designed archaeological park.

The location of the find may also indicate that the beam belonged to a sacred complex from the High Middle Ages. Assumptions about the presence of a sacred building on the northern plateau of the hill have already been made earlier. These were primarily based on the discovery of fragments of pre-Romanesque sculpture attributed to 9th-century stonemason workshops. As I have noted earlier, the beam presented here exhibits no pre-Romanesque features; therefore, I point to the possibility that it may belong to a younger sacred structure from the late 11th century, or more likely the 12th or 13th century. The presence of a pre-Romanesque church has been confirmed, leaving open the possibility that the building was at some point renovated or thoroughly reconstructed. Although I consider this scenario less probable, the complexity of the site necessitates consideration of all plausible interpretations. The proposed restitution of the inscription can be placed within standard forms of medieval dating formulas, so the sigla could be interpreted as remains of the incarnation style, which was otherwise widely used in the notarial offices of Zadar and, more generally, along the eastern Adriatic coast up to the end of the 14th century.[69] The Christian era dating system was introduced only from the 6th century, established by the calculations of *Dionysius Exiguus*, who counted the years from the moment of Christ's incarnation.[70] Accordingly, the sigla *NAC* could be restituted as *(incar)nac(ione)* or *(incar)nac(ionis)*, indicating forms such as *anno dominice incarnacionis* or *anno ab incarnacione domini*, after which the year of

76 Rapanić 1987, str. 142; Delonga 1996, str. 97; Matijević Sokol 2020, str. 282.
77 Marušić 1967, T. III; Matejčić 2000, str. 60.
78 Klaić, Petricioli 1976, str. 106; Marinković 2003, str. 44; Ančić 2018, str. 21.
79 Petricioli 1968, str. 65; Jakšić 1998, str. 271–272.
80 Matijević Sokol 2020, str. 40.
81 Iveković 1928, str. 263; Gunjača 1949, str. 47.
82 Jelovina 1991, str. 208; Petrinec 2009, str. 78.

69 More detailed in Grbavac 2006; Grbavac 2010.
70 Declercq 2000, pp. 5 – 6 and 97 – 130.

su osobito zastupljene tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća, pa tako franjevački povjesničar I. Fabijanić smatra da je tijekom prve polovine 14. stoljeća negdje na pristranku brda, izvan vrata tvrđave, utemeljen franjevački samostan sv. Katarine. Smatrao je da recentni samostan sv. Ante zapravo preslojava stariji samostan sv. Katarine, što nikad nije dokazano.[83] Samostan sv. Ante navodno doista preslojava arhitekturu veće sakralne građevine, međutim, G. Vinjalić iz neimenovanih izvora ističe predaju o starijoj crkvi posvećenoj sv. Ivanu.[84] Isti autor spominje i dvije crkve smještene izvan Loredanovih vrata ističući maglovitu tradiciju o posveti sv. Katarini, sv. Petru i sv. Mihovilu, što također nikada nije potvrđeno.[85] Poput I. Fabijanića, S. Zlatović također smatra da početkom 14. stoljeća negdje u Kninu postoji samostan s crkvom sv. Katarine, no s Fabijanićem se ne slaže oko velikaških obitelji pod kojima franjevci doseljavaju u Knin.[86] Vinjalić crkvu sv. Katarine sa samostanom smješta na područje Vojničkog groblja, no jedini službeni izvor pronađen u ljubljanskom franjevačkom arhivu bilježi samo franjevačku samostansku crkvu posvećenu Sv. Mariji u Kninu.[87] Navedeni podatak upućuje na to da bi se pozicija starijeg samostana mogla očekivati negdje unutar grada,[88] što se može potvrditi jedino opsežnim arheološkim istraživanjima. Sve ukratko razmotrene pozicije poprilično su udaljene od mjesta pronalaska arhitrava, što znači da greda nema puno dodirnih točaka s južnim dijelovima brda. U tom je kontekstu možda moguće pretpostaviti prisutnost nekog dosad posve nepoznatog samostana na sjevernoj

[83] Gunjača 1960, str. 35.
[84] Gunjača 1949, str. 42.
[85] Gunjača 1960, str. 41.
[86] Gunjača 1960, str. 35.
[87] Čremošnik 1955, str. 25.
[88] S. Gunjača smatra da je nakon izgradnje nove crkve starija crkva Sv. Marije mogla biti ustupljena franjevcima te da je uz nju formiran samostan. Tijekom provedbe nekih građevinskih radova P. Cigni primijetio je veći zid u blizini Loredanovih vrata, preslojen bedemom podgrađa, što upućuje na to da je gotovo sigurno riječ o srednjovjekovnoj arhitekturi starijoj od novovjekovnih bedema i Vojničkog groblja. Arhitektonska obilježja nisu definirana, stoga ostaje otvoreno pitanje je li riječ o temeljima samostana s crkvom ili nečemu potpuno drugom. Smatram izglednijim da bi uočeni zid izvorno mogao pripadati arhitektonskom sklopu crkve sv. Stjepana Ugarskog, građenom u podgrađu izvan tadašnjih zidina. Detaljnije u Jakšić 1990, str. 128. Podatke o Cignijevu svjedočanstvu doznajemo iz Vinjalićeva pisma objavljenog u Gunjača 1960, str. 114.

construction of the building would typically follow. In written documents, the expressions *incarnacione/incarnacionis* gained prominence during the reigns of the Hungarian kings Béla III (1172–1196) and Emeric (1196–1204),[71] remaining the dominant form until the reign of Béla IV (1235–1270), when their use gradually declined in favour of the *anno domini* formula.[72] Already under Béla's successor, Stephen V (1270–1272), the formula *anno domini* became dominant, while during the time of Ladislaus IV (1272–1290) and Andrew III (1290–1301), it almost completely disappeared.[73] In notarial records from Zadar, various forms of the incarnation formula persisted roughly until the mid-14th century.[74] During the 14th century, the style is attested on Krk, in Senj, and, likely under strong influence from Zadar, on the island of Pag.[75] On carved inscriptions along the eastern Adriatic coast, the incarnation is represented by the expression *incarnatione/incarnationis*, which is not the case on the beam from Knin. Early medieval epigraphic monuments are most commonly dated by reference to the reigning ruler; however, the inscription of Jelena in Solin attests to the use of the expression *incarna* already in the second half of the 10th century.[76] A particularly notable example of the incarnation style is the inscription of Bishop Handegis above the door of the Cathedral of Pula, which, in addition to the year, also names the Italian king Louis. This combination clearly confirms the strong Western influences on medieval epigraphy along the eastern Adriatic coast.[77] The use of the incarnation formula occurred more frequently at the beginning of the 12th century, coinciding with the Hungarian takeover of the Dalmatian cities.[78] One of the best examples of the incarnation is the donor inscription of King Coloman on the bell tower of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, where both the year and the circumstances of construction are explicitly recorded.[79] On the one hand, Western influence is reflected in the stronger

[71] Kovačev 2012, p. 29.
[72] Kovačev 2012, p. 30.
[73] Kovačev 2012, pp. 31 – 32.
[74] Leljak, Kolanović 2001; Leljak, Kolanović 2003.
[75] Grbavac 2010, pp. 112 – 113.
[76] Rapanić 1987, p. 142; Delonga 1996, p. 97; Matijević – Sokol 2020, p. 282.
[77] Marušić 1967, T. III; Matejčić 2000, p. 60.
[78] Klaić, Petricioli 1976, p. 106; Marinković 2003, p. 44; Ančić 2018, p. 21.
[79] Petricioli 1968, p. 65; Jakšić 1998, pp. 271 – 272.

zaravni, osnovanog tijekom razvijenog srednjeg vijeka podalje od svjetovne vreve. Osim toga, izgradnja sakralnih sklopova unutar starijih utvrda kao i naknadna prilagodba odavno napuštenih većih bazilika nisu rijetkost.[89] Ponajbolji primjer predstavlja tzv. Šuplja crkva u Solinu, gdje mlađa ranoromanička crkva zauzima nešto širi prostor od središnjeg broda starokršćanske bazilike.[90] Redukcija prostora zabilježena je i na lokalitetu Crkvina – Sv. Marija u obližnjoj Biskupiji, gdje je središnji brod iskorišten za formiranje znatno manje crkve, razgrađene 1886. godine.[91] Objektivno govoreći, nemamo posebnih saznanja o aktivnostima na sjevernoj zaravni brda između 13. i sredine 17. stoljeća, što je pomalo neobično ako se ondje doista nekad nalazilo kasnoantičko ili ranosrednjovjekovno utvrđenje dimenzija 70 × 70 m.[92] U rezultatima istraživanja D. Jelovina nigdje ne spominje ostatke bedema, već uglavnom ističe temeljne ostatke stambenih zdanja, ulične pločnike te fragmente tegula i keramike.[93] Također ističe prisutnost nedefiniranog centenionala na zapadnoj periferiji nekropole,[94] međutim, ni u jednom trenutku ne prepoznaje vojnička obilježja pokretnih nalaza i definiranih struktura. Teško je očekivati da u srednjem vijeku nije ostalo baš ništa od tako markantne građevine, no budući da u kasnijem opisu događaja iz 1654. godine nije istaknuta prisutnost arhitektonskih ostataka, posve je opravdana Jelovinina sugestija o višestoljetnom raznošenju većih količina gotovog građevinskog materijala u svrhu izgradnje sjevernog kastruma.[95]

Problem Spasa jest potpuna odsutnost saznanja o arhitektonskim dimenzijama predromaničke cr-

89 Navodim samo nekoliko primjera, poput samostana sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Tkonu, crkve sv. Jurja na Pagu i utvrde Čuker. Detaljnije u: Tomičić 2016; Delonga 1984, str. 277; Ostojić 1963–1965, str. 221–222; Galović, Trogrlić 2018, str. 433.

90 Zekan 2000, str. 250–251.

91 Delonga 1996, str. ; Jurčević 2016, str. 228.

92 Regan 2020, str. 670.

93 Jelovina 1991, str. 125.

94 Jelovina 1991, str. 158.

95 U bedemima i zasebnim kućama kninske tvrđave pronalažene su ranosrednjovjekovne spolije, od kojih bi podrijetlom sa sjevernog platoa mogle biti one uzidane u stariji sjeverni kastrum. Vidi: Marun 1998, str. 31, 103–104, 129, 146, 171, 175; Jelovina 1991, str. 124; Gunjača 2009, str. 168–178; Gugo 2010, str. 222–223. Veći broj spolija pronađen je u starim kućama zaštićene gradske jezgre i u samostanu sv. Ante, no nije moguće pouzdano utvrditi jesu li podrijetlom s nekog objekta na brdu Spas ili s Kapitula.

Hungarian presence in Dalmatia, while Istria retained a more pronounced Carolingian legacy.[80] In the area of the plain of Knin, the use of the incarnation style for dating is attested at the site of Kapitul in 1690, when the parish priest Vidović transcribed an inscription that was then still preserved above the entrance to the church at Kapitul, noting the year 1203 along with additional details.[81] The inscription was clearly conceived under Hungarian influence, as it explicitly highlights the reign of King Emeric alongside the year. In light of the foregoing, should the find in Knin indeed preserve a remnant of the incarnation style, it could only represent a formula such as *anno ab incarnacione* or *anno dominice incarnacionis*, both fully consistent with dating practices from the 12th to the 14th centuries. It is also worth recalling that several burials within the excavated part of the cemetery have been dated to the High and Late Middle Ages,[82] consequently, the existence of a chronologically and stylistically compatible sacred structure at the site cannot be entirely ruled out.

In the context of medieval epigraphy, the sigla may also represent remnants of the words *(mo)nac(horum)*, *(mo)nac(horium)* or *(mo)nac(hus)*, potentially indicating the presence of an otherwise unknown monastery. Various inflectional forms, such as *monacha, monache, monacham, monacho, monaci* and the like, must likewise be considered; however, in view of the described characteristics, I regard this possibility as the least likely. Hypotheses regarding the existence of a monastery in the immediate vicinity of Knin were particularly prevalent during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Franciscan historian I. Fabijanić, for instance, argued that a Franciscan monastery of St. Catherine had been established in the first half of the 14th century on the slope of the hill outside the fortress gate. He believed that the later monastery of St. Anthony overlies the earlier monastery of St. Catherine, a claim that has never been proven.[83] While the monastery of St. Anthony allegedly does indeed overlie the remains of a larger sacred structure, G. Vinjalić, citing unnamed sources, points out a local tradition of an older church dedicated to St. John.[84] The same

80 Matijević Sokol 2020, p. 40.

81 Iveković 1928, p. 263; Gunjača 1949, p. 47.

82 Jelovina 1991, p. 208; Petrinec 2009, p. 78.

83 Gunjača 1960, p. 35.

84 Gunjača 1949, p. 42.

kve, zbog čega nije moguće utvrditi je li joj prethodila veća ranokršćanska crkva ili je pak sama predromanička crkva imala bazilikalna obilježja te je kao takva bila reducirana, odnosno potpuno ili djelomično rekonstruirana. Moguća prisutnost kasnoantičkog, a prema svemu sudeći i reduciranog ranosrednjovjekovnog utvrđenja podrazumijevala bi postojanje arhitektonskih ostataka prikladnih za adaptaciju u svrhu stanovanja ili monaštva. Koliko god da je pretpostavka K. Regana o utvrdi dimenzija 70 × 70 m, s longitudinalnim građevinama uz bedeme i praznim prostorom u središtu opravdana,[96] toliko izneseni opis podsjeća na tlocrte napuštenih samostana s atrijem kakve možemo očekivati tijekom srednjeg vijeka. Ukapanje vjerojatno traje do 13. stoljeća, što korespondira s najranijim fazama izgradnje sjevernog kastruma s civilnim podgrađem. Kao srednjovjekovna utvrđenja 13. i 14. stoljeća, Tina i Lab zajedno s podgrađem egzistiraju prvenstveno na južnim predjelima brda, no objektivno govoreći još uvijek ne znamo u kakvom je tada stanju bila crkva na sjevernoj zaravni. Osim činjenice da je u novovjekovnim vojnim planovima to područje prepoznato kao značajna strateška točka pogodna za osvajanje sjevernog kastruma, nemamo preciznijih saznanja o kulturnim procesima sjevernog dijela brda, što stvara plodno tlo za oblikovanje različitih teza. Smatram da tumačenje kulturnog razvoja opisane mikrocjeline treba biti zasnovano isključivo na dokazanim rezultatima istraživanja, koji za sada upućuju na diskontinuitet rimskog naselja preslojenog ranosrednjovjekovnim grobljem. U prapovijesnim razdobljima ondje egzistira naselje s utvrdom, čiju suhozidnu trasu bedema djelomično preslojava znatno mlađe i, prema svemu sudeći, reducirano ranoslavensko utvrđenje. Bez uspostave modela novih arheoloških istraživanja svaka je teza u opasnosti da bude proizvoljna, stoga sve izrečeno još uvijek treba shvaćati kao pretpostavku.

Zaključak

Ovom nešto opsežnijom raspravom nastojalo se ukazati na širi kontekst iznesenih restitucija novopronađenog natpisa te općenito skrenuti pažnju na pojedina arheološka pitanja užeg gradskog područja. Prema stilskim karakteristikama i dimenzijama

[96] Za razliku od K. Regana, M. Sinobad prepoznaje ranobizantski kastrum znatno većih dimenzija, unutar kojeg vidi ranosrednjovjekovno naselje s crkvom i naseobinskim grobljem. Sinobad 2025, str. 164.

author also mentions two churches located outside the Loredan Gate, noting a vague tradition of dedications to St. Catherine, St. Peter and St. Michael, none of which has ever been confirmed.[85] Like I. Fabijanić, S. Zlatović believed that a monastery with a Church of St. Catherine existed in Knin at the beginning of the 14th century, although he disagreed with Fabijanić regarding the noble families under whose patronage the Franciscans settled in the town.[86] G. Vinjalić placed the Church of St. Catherine, along with its monastery, in the area of the military cemetery; however, the only official source found in the Franciscan archive in Ljubljana records the Franciscan monastery church dedicated to St. Mary in Knin.[87] This information suggests that the location of the earlier monastery should be sought somewhere within the town itself,[88] a hypothesis that can only be confirmed through extensive archaeological investigation. All of the briefly mentioned sites lie at a considerable distance from the location where the architrave was discovered, indicating that the beam is unlikely to be connected with the southern parts of the hill. In this context, one might reasonably hypothesize the existence of a previously entirely unknown monastery on the northern plateau, established during the High Middle Ages and deliberately situated away from the secular bustle of the town. Moreover, the construction of sacred complexes within older fortifications, as well as the later adaptation of long-abandoned large basilicas, is by no means unusual.[89] A nota-

85 Gunjača 1960, p. 41.

86 Gunjača 1960, p. 35.

87 Čremošnik 1955, p. 25.

88 S. Gunjača suggests that, following the construction of a new church, the older Church of St. Mary may have been given to the Franciscans, with a monastery subsequently established alongside it. During the execution of certain construction works, P. Cigni observed a larger wall near the Loredan Gate, overlaid by the rampart of the suburb, indicating with near certainty that it represents medieval architecture predating the early modern ramparts and the military cemetery. As the architectural characteristics have not been defined, the question remains open as to whether these are the foundations of a monastery with a church or something entirely different. I consider it more likely that the discovered wall originally belonged to the architectural complex of the Church of St. Stephen of Hungary, built in the suburb outside the ramparts at that time. For more details, see Jakšić 1990, p. 128. Information regarding Cigni's observation is known from Vinjalić's letter published in Gunjača 1960, p. 114

89 Only a few examples are mentioned, such as the mon-

slova, osobno sam najskloniji natpis pripisati razdoblju vladavine Septimija Severa (193. – 211.), koji još od 193. godine nosi ime *Pertinax*. Rustikalno izveden arhitrav s ostatcima posvetnog natpisa najvjerojatnije je izrađen u lokalnim radionicama, a sadrži carsku nomenklaturu u dativu ili genitivu jednine (*Pertinaci*/*Pertinacis*) kao dio neke zasad nepoznate javne građevine unutar rimskog naselja. Preostala dva prijedloga restitucije (*incarnacio* i *monachus*) smatram znatno manje vjerojatnim, no zbog slabe istraženosti i kompleksnosti lokaliteta potrebno je zadržati određenu dozu sumnje. Potpuniji zaključci bit će mogući isključivo otkrićem srodnog epigrafskog materijala, putem revizije starijih i provedbe novih sustavnih istraživanja. Sjeverna strana brda zasigurno krije odgovore o uspostavi, funkciji i gabaritima najstarijeg naselja, a kako nije zahvaćena širenjem modernog gradskog tkiva, predstavlja idealnu površinu za buduća arheološka istraživanja i trajnu prezentaciju njihovih rezultata. Potpunim istraživanjem platoa postalo bi moguće jasnije definirati prostorne odnose prapovijesnog, rimskog i ranosrednjovjekovnog kulturnog sloja, odnosno uspostaviti precizniju kronologiju razvoja. Atraktivan prirodni položaj i bogata flora u kombinaciji s trajnom prezentacijom kulturnih spomenika upućuju na visok turistički potencijal lokaliteta, koji se ponajbolje može iskazati u obliku arheološkog parka. Osim što lokalitet pruža dokaze o naseljenosti tijekom kasnog eneolitika te brončanog, željeznog i rimskog razdoblja, nalazište baštini i ranobizantske, a posebno slavenske kulturne slojeve, važne za proučavanje nacionalne arheologije.

ble example is the so-called Hollow Church (Šuplja crkva) in Solin, where a later early Romanesque church occupies a slightly broader area than the central nave of the earlier early Christian basilica.[90] A comparable reduction of space occurred at the site of Crkvina–St. Mary in nearby Biskupija, where the central nave was reused to form a much smaller church, which was researched in 1886.[91] Objectively speaking, we possess no specific information regarding activities on the northern plateau of the hill between the 13th and the mid-17th centuries, a circumstance that is somewhat surprising if a late antique or early medieval fortification measuring approximately 70 × 70 m had indeed once existed there.[92] In his excavation reports, D. Jelovina makes no mention of remains of fortification walls; rather, he mainly highlights foundational remnants of residential buildings, street pavements and fragments of tegulae and pottery.[93] He notes the presence of an undefined *centenionalis* on the western periphery of the necropolis,[94] yet at no point does he identify any military features among the movable finds or the architectural remains. It is difficult to believe that no trace whatsoever of such a prominent structure survived throughout the Middle Ages, particularly since a later account of events from 1654 likewise makes no mention of any architectural remains. Consequently, Jelovina's suggestion that large quantities of ready-cut building material were removed over the centuries for the construction of the northern *castrum* appears entirely plausible.[95]

astery of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Tkon, the Church of St. George on Pag, the Čuker fortress, etc. For more details, see Tomičić 2016; Delonga 1984, p. 277; Ostojić, pp. 221–222; Galović, Trogrlić 2018, p. 433.

90 Zekan 2000, pp. 250-251.

91 Delonga 1996, p. ; Jurčević 2016, p. 228.

92 Regan 2020, p. 670.

93 Jelovina 1991, p. 125.

94 Jelovina 1991, p. 158.

95 Early medieval spolia have been found in the ramparts and individual buildings of the Knin Fortress; those originating from the northern plateau may include the elements built into the older northern castrum. See Marun (ed. Petrinec) 1998, pp. 31, 103, 104, 129, 146, 171, 175; Jelovina 1991, p. 124; Gunjača 2009, pp. 168–178; Gugo 2010, pp. 222–223. A larger number of spolia have been found in older houses within the protected historic core of the town and in the Monastery of St. Anthony; however, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether they originated from a structure on Spas hill or from the site of Kapitul.

The main challenge regarding Spas lies in the complete absence of information concerning the architectural dimensions of the pre-Romanesque church. Consequently, we cannot determine whether a larger early Christian church preceded it, or whether the pre-Romanesque church itself may have had basilica-like features and was subsequently reduced or partially or entirely reconstructed. The potential existence of a late antique, and apparently also a reduced early medieval, fortification would imply the potential presence of architectural remains, which could have been adapted for residential or monastic purposes. As justified as K. Regan's hypothesis of a fortification measuring 70 × 70 m, with longitudinal buildings along the walls and an open central space, may be,[96] the described layout equally recalls the floor plans of abandoned monasteries with an atrium, such as those one might expect during the Middle Ages. Burials likely continued until approximately the 13th century, coinciding with the earliest phases of construction of the northern *castrum* and its civilian suburb. As medieval fortifications of the 13th and 14th centuries, Tina and Lab, together with their associated suburbs, existed primarily on the southern slopes of the hill; yet, objectively speaking, we still do not know what condition the church on the northern plateau was in at that time. Aside from the recognition of the area as a strategically important point for the conquest of the northern castrum in early modern military plans, precise knowledge of cultural processes on the northern part of the hill is lacking, leaving ample room for the formulation of various hypotheses. I believe that interpretations of the cultural development of this micro-region should rely exclusively on substantiated research evidence, which currently indicates a discontinuity between the Roman settlement and the early medieval cemetery that overlays it. During prehistoric periods, a settlement existed with a fortification whose dry-stone rampart was partially overlaid by a much later, and apparently reduced, early Slavic fortification. Without the establishment of a model for new archaeological investigations, any thesis remains speculative, so all statements made here must therefore still be understood as provisional assumptions.

Conclusion

After a somewhat more extensive discussion, my intention has been to highlight the broader context of the proposed restitutions of the newly discovered inscription and, more generally, to draw attention to specific archaeological issues within the immediate urban area. Based on stylistic features and the dimensions of the letters, I am personally most inclined to attribute the inscription to the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), who bore the name *Pertinax* from 193 onward. The roughly executed architrave, preserving remnants of the dedicatory inscription, was most likely produced in local workshops and contains the imperial nomenclature in the dative or genitive singular (*Pertinaci/Pertinacis*), as part of an as-yet unidentified public building within the Roman settlement. The two alternative restitutions (*incarnacio/monachus*) are, in my opinion, considerably less probable, yet, given the limited state of research and the complexity of the site, a degree of caution must be maintained. More definitive conclusions will only be possible through the discovery of related epigraphic material, and a critical review of earlier findings and the implementation of new systematic investigations. The northern side of the hill undoubtedly holds key information regarding the establishment, function and extent of the earliest settlement, and as it has largely been untouched by modern urban expansion, it represents an ideal area for future archaeological research and the permanent presentation of findings. A more comprehensive investigation of the plateau would allow for a clearer definition of the spatial relationships between prehistoric, Roman and early medieval cultural layers, as well as the establishment of a more precise chronology of the area's development. The site's attractive natural setting and rich flora, combined with the permanent presentation of its cultural monuments, underscore its considerable tourist potential, which could be most effectively realized through the establishment of an archaeological park. Beyond offering evidence of settlement during the Late Eneolithic, Bronze, Iron and Roman periods, the site also preserves early Byzantine and, particularly, Slavic cultural layers, which are of considerable significance for the study of national archaeology.

[96] Unlike K. Regan, M. Sinobad identifies a significantly larger early Byzantine castrum, within which he recognizes an early medieval settlement with a church and settlement cemetery. Sinobad 2025, p. 164.

Skraćenice / *Abbreviations*

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, tomovi III, IV, VIII, IX i XIV
DAZD – Državni arhiv u Zadru (prijepise izradio M. Gambiroža – neobjavljeno)

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