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Latinski nadgrobni natpis s arheološkog nalazišta Rižinice

Na arheološkom nalazištu Rižinice kraj Solina pronađena je prednja strana sarkofaga na kojoj je uklesan ranokršćanski natpis. Bila je sekundarno ugrađena u srednjovjekovni grob. Natpis donosi podatke o naručitelju i obrambenu formulu za zaštitu groba od oskvrnuća. U tekstu se primjećuju primjeri vulgarnog latinizeta, a osobito je zanimljiv podatak o svoti denara koji su označeni asteriskom. Autor također upozorava na mogućnost postojanja manje kasnoantičke nekropole na tom lokalitetu.

Ključne riječi: *Rižinice, ranokršćanski natpis, asterisk, nekropole.*

Latin tombstone inscription from the archaeological site of Rižinice

The front of a sarcophagus with an early Christian inscription was found at the archaeological site of Rižinice near Solin. It was secondarily built into a mediaeval grave. The inscription provides information about the purchaser and a minatory formula against desecration of the grave. Examples of vulgar Latinity can be noted in the text, while the piece of information on the amount of denarii, marked with an asterisk, are particularly interesting. The author also warns of the possibility of the existence of a small late antique necropolis at the site.

Keywords: *Rižinice, early Christian inscription, asterisk, necropolises.*

Uvod

Rižinice su lokalitet na predjelu Rupotine, na istočnoj padini brda Kozjak i na desnoj obali Ilijina potoka, koji je povijesna granica između Klisa i Solina. Na Rižinicama se najprije formirala rimska *villa rustica* (2. st.), flankirana između dvaju kamenih grebena koji se pružaju u smjeru istok-zapad. Vila nije bila velika u odnosu na druge nađene u salonitanskom ageru, no njezin položaj uz potok omogućavao je sigurnu opskrbu vodom. Prostor uz Ilijin potok tradicionalno je zbog mogućnosti navodnjavanja korišten za tzv. *vrtle*, odnosno za uzgoj povrća. Udaljenije parcele bile su pokrivene mediteranskim kulturama, maslinom, smokvom, bademom i vinovom lozom. Prostor Rupotine u rimsko vrijeme nije bio centuriran, tj. nije bio podijeljen pravilnom podjelom zemljišta na parcele površine 710 x 710 m. Najvjerojatnije se radilo o zemljištu koje su gromatici nazivali *ager arcifinus* i *subseciva*.¹ To je bilo zemljište koje se nije moglo pravilno izmjeriti, ali se moglo davati u najam ili podnajam. Takvoj kategorizaciji zemljišta zasigurno je pridonio brežuljkast teren premrežen kamenim hrptima. Tijekom kasne antike i srednjega vijeka cijeli je prostor do litica Kozjaka bio premrežen terasama s kamenim podzidima.² Rimska vila na Rižinicama vicinalnom je cestom bila spojena sa sjeveroistočnim vratima Salone, tzv. *Porta Andetria*. Od njih je najvjerojatnije preko današnje ulice Zgon u Solinu pravac vodio dalje, na krško polje Blaca u zaleđu Kozjaka.

Glavna "osovina" prostora ipak je bio Ilijin potok. Od njegova izvora do ušća kod Gašpine mlinice nalazi se cijeli grozd lokaliteta. Na lijevoj strani potoka na vrhu uzvisine smještene su Crikvine. Posljednja su istraživanja pokazala da se ondje također nalazila *villa rustica*, a poslije srednjovjekovna crkvice s grobljem.³ Rižinice se nalaze na nekoliko stotina metara zračne linije prema jugozapadu, na desnoj obali potoka. Na istoj strani potoka je tzv. Ilirska Salona.⁴ Veliki kameni blokovi stare delmatске gradine i danas su dobro očuvani. Na suprotnoj strani, na lijevoj obali Ilijina potoka, na samom

Introduction

Rižinice is a site in the area of Rupotine, on the eastern slope of the Kozjak hill and on the right bank of the Ilijin potok stream, which is the historical border between Klis and Solin. A Roman *villa rustica* from the 2nd century was the first structure in Rižinice, flanked between two stone ridges that stretch in an east-west direction. The villa was not large compared to others discovered in the Salonitan ager, but its location by the stream provided a secure water supply. Thanks to the possibility of irrigation, the area along the Ilijin potok stream has traditionally been used for gardening in the so-called *vrtli*, i.e. for growing vegetables. More distant plots were covered with Mediterranean crops, olives, figs, almond-trees and vines. In Roman times, the area of Rupotine was not centuriated, i.e. its land was not divided into parcels measuring 710 x 710 metres. Probably it was the land that the gromatics called *ager arcifinus* and *subseciva*.¹ This land could not be properly surveyed, but could be leased or subleased. The hilly ground interspersed with stone ridges surely contributed to such a categorisation of its land. During late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the entire area up to the cliffs of Kozjak was interspersed with terraces with stone under-pinnings.² A vicinal road connected the Roman villa in Rižinice to the northeastern gate of Salona, the so-called *Porta Andetria*. Thence the route most probably led further through today's Zgon Street in Solin to the karst field of Blaca in the hinterland of Kozjak.

However, the main "axis" of this area was the Ilijin potok stream. From its spring to the mouth at Gašpine mlinice there is a whole cluster of sites. On the left bank of the stream, at the top of a rise, there is the site of Crikvina. Recent research has shown that there had also been a *villa rustica*, and later a mediaeval church with a cemetery.³ Rižinice is located a few hundred meters to the southwest as the crow flies, on the right bank of the stream. So-called Illyrian Salona is on the same side of the stream.⁴ Large stone blocks of the old Delmatian hill-fort are still well preserved. On the opposite side, viz.

¹ Šuvak 2016, str. 34–35.

² Sam naziv Rupotine možda na to ukazuje, uzmemo li u obzir riječi iz srednjovjekovnog latiniteta "rupēre" (*rupere terras*), "rupinum, n.", u *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae*, volumen II (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1978), 1019.

³ Uroda 2010.

⁴ Cambi 1989.

¹ Šuvak 2016, pp. 34–35.

² The very name Rupotine may indicate this, if we take into account the words from the medieval Latin "rupēre" (*rupere terras*), "rupinum, n.", in *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae*, volume II (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1978), 1019.

³ Uroda 2010.

⁴ Cambi 1989.

vrhu blage uzvisine, nalazi se još jedna neistražena *villa rustica*. Blizu ušća potoka smjestila se Šuplja crkva, ranokršćanski i srednjovjekovni lokalitet. Ilijin potok ne plavi okolni prostor poput rijeke Jadro i zato je u njegovu okolišu bujao život.

Rižinice su arheološko nalazište poznato ponajprije po istraživanju hrvatske srednjovjekovne baštine (sl. 1). Slučajni nalaz zabata oltarne pregrade s natpisom kneza Trpimira godine 1891. potaknuo je istraživanja koja s prekidima traju od 1895. do danas. Ta su istraživanja između ostalog otkrila da arheološki nalazi potječu od doba principata pa sve do kraja srednjeg vijeka. To se odnosi i na pojedinačne grobne nalaze, tako da nije isključeno postojanje nekropola iz antike, bilo poganskih, bilo kršćanskih.

U ovom tekstu obrađuje se arheološki nalaz s lokaliteta Rižinice. Za vrijeme istraživanja 2019. godine viši kustos Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Ljubo Gudelj, voditelj istraživanja, predložio je da obradim jedan nalaz koji je pronađen u prijašnjim iskopavanjima.⁵ Tijekom istraživanja ranosrednjovjekovnoga groblja 2013. godine pronađena je, uz ostale antičke spolije uzidane u grobne strukture, i stranica ranokršćanskog sarkofaga s nadgrobnim natpisom.⁶ Bila je uzidana kao poklopnica koja je gotovo u potpunosti pokrivala otvor groba. Nakon dokumentiranja nalaz je konzerviran i pohranjen u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika. Osim obrade ostataka sarkofaga i pripadajućeg natpisa, koji je u ovom slučaju zanimljiv sam po sebi, pozornost je usmjerena i na odnos prema nalazištu kao i odnos prema drugim arheološkim lokalitetima u blizini koje bi se moglo vezati uz ovakav nalaz.

Otkriće stranice sarkofaga

Kao što je rečeno, stranica sarkofaga bila je sekundarno upotrijebljena kao poklopnica groba iz 10. st. U trenutku otkrića bila je razlomljena na dva dijela, ali ne i rastavljena, tako da je sačuvani dio natpisa još uvijek bio jedna cjelina (sl. 2). Duljina ovako sačuvane stranice je 1,74 m, širina 0,76 m, a debljina 0,11 m. To je u izvornom položaju bio dio prednje strane sarkofaga, koji je bio izrađen od kamena vapnenca. Većinu plohe čini natpisno polje, a u produžetku s desne strane dio je praznog polja. Radi se o natpisnom polju s ručkama (*tabula*



Sl. 1. Lokalitet Rižinice na istočnoj padini Kozjaka, uz oštećenu cestu koja povezuje Solin i Klis (foto: Lj. Gudelj)

Fig. 1 Rižinice site on the eastern slope of Kozjak, by the damaged road connecting Solin and Klis (photo: Lj. Gudelj)

the left bank of the Ilijin potok, at the very top of a gentle rise, there is another unexplored *villa rustica*. Near the mouth of the stream there is the Hollow Church (Croatian: Šuplja crkva), an early Christian and mediaeval site. Ilijin potok has never flooded the surrounding area as opposed to the Jadro River, and that is why life has flourished around it.

Rižinice is an archaeological site known primarily for research of Croatian mediaeval heritage (Fig. 1). The 1891 chance find of the altar-screen gable with the inscription of Duke Trpimir prompted research that has lasted intermittently from 1895 to the present day. The research has revealed, *inter alia*, that the archaeological finds date from the time of the principality until the end of the Middle Ages. This also applies to individual grave finds, and therefore the existence of necropolises from antiquity, either pagan or Christian, cannot be ruled out.

This paper covers an archaeological find from the site of Rižinice. During the 2019 research, the senior curator of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Ljubo Gudelj, also the investigation director, suggested that I attend to a find unearthed in previous excavations⁵. Namely, during the 2013 investigations of the early mediaeval cem-

⁵ Zahvaljujem višem kustosu Ljubi Gudelju na ustupanju ovog neobjavljenog natpisa.

⁶ Gudelj 2014.

⁵ I am grateful to the senior curator Ljubo Gudelj for referring me to this unpublished inscription.



Sl. 2. Prednja strana sarkofaga, koja je sekundarno upotrijebljena kao poklopnica srednjovjekovnoga groba (foto: Lj. Gudelj)

Fig. 2 Front side of the sarcophagus, secondarily used as the lid for a mediaeval grave (photo: Lj. Gudelj)

ansata), koje je uobičajeno na sarkofazima lokalne produkcije u Saloni.⁷ Prazna polja s obje strane natpisnog polja također su uobičajena kod ovakvih sarkofaga. Slobodni prostor u trokutu između drški i tabule s gornje je strane ukrašen biljnim ukrasom, stiliziranim listom akanta. S donje se strane u analognom prostoru nalazi samo jedno ispupčenje. I jedan i drugi primjer potvrđeni su kao uobičajeni kod salonitanskih sarkofaga. Izvorna duljina prednje strane sarkofaga nije poznata.

Natpisno polje ima pravokutni oblik, a ručke imaju oblik trapeza. Uokvireni su obrubom širine od 0,06 do 0,07 m. Na spoju se obrubi natpisnog polja i ručki stapaju u jedno tijelo. S obje strane nastavlja se još jedna kamena vrpca širine 0,07 do 0,08 m. Prostor unutar ručki također je ukrašen biljnim motivima. Ovdje se radi o rozeti i stiliziranim listovima akanta, s time da se unutar lijeve ručke nalazi jedna rozeta u sredini i dva prikaza lista akanta sa strane, dok se unutar desne ručke nalaze dvije rozete simetrično raspoređene i listovi akanta oko njih. Duljina natpisnog polja je 0,86 m, a ukupna duljina natpisnog polja s ručkama je 1,53 m. Gornjem dijelu natpisnog polja nedostaje obrub i prvi redak natpisa, dok je drugi manjim dijelom oštećen.

etery, a side of an early Christian sarcophagus with an epitaph⁶ was found, along with other antique spolia built into grave structures. It was immured as a lid that almost completely covered the grave opening. The find was recorded, and then conserved and stored in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments. In addition to the treatment of the remains of the sarcophagus and the appurtenant inscription, which is interesting in itself in this case, attention has been focused on the relationship with the site as well as other archaeological sites in the vicinity, which could be associated with such a find.

Discovery of the sarcophagus side

As already mentioned, the side of the sarcophagus was secondarily used as the lid for a grave from the 10th century. At the time of its discovery, it was broken into two parts which were not severed, so that the preserved part of the inscription was still whole (Fig. 2). The preserved side is 1.74 m long, 0.76 m wide, and 0.11 m thick. Original it was part of the front side of the sarcophagus, which was made of limestone. Most of the surface is taken up by the inscription field, while in the extension on the right there is a part of an empty field. The

⁷ Cambi 2010, str. 22-23.

⁶ Gudelj 2014.



Sl. 3. Mjesto nalaza, označeno bijelom bojom (foto: Lj. Gudelj)

Fig. 3 Find-spot, marked in white (photo: Lj. Gudelj)

inscription field is with handles (*tabula ansata*), which is common on locally made sarcophagi from Salona⁷. Blank fields on both sides of the inscription field are also common in such sarcophagi. The free space in the triangle between the handles and the tablet is decorated with a plant ornament, viz. a stylised acanthus leaf on the upper side. At the bottom, there is only one projection in the corresponding space. Both examples have been confirmed as common in Salonitan sarcophagi. The original length of the front side of the sarcophagus is unknown.

The inscription field is rectangular in shape, while the handles are trapezoidal. They are framed by a border 0.06 to 0.07 m wide. At the junction, the borders of the inscription field and the handles merge into one form. Another stone band, 0.07 to 0.08 m wide, extends on both sides. The space within the handles is also decorated with plant motifs. These are a rosette and stylised acanthus leaves, i.e.



Sl. 4. Prednja strana sarkofaga nakon restauracije (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 4 Front side of the sarcophagus after restoration (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

Natpis je pisan rustičnom kapitalom. Visina slova u redcima je ujednačena i iznosi 4,3 cm, a razmak između redaka je 0,8 cm. Ukupno je sedam sačuvanih redaka, koji nisu ravnomjerno raspoređeni po natpisnom polju (sl. 5). Iskorištene su gornje 2/3 polja, a drugi, treći i četvrti redak (sačuvanoga natpisnog polja) na desnoj se strani protežu izvan natpisnog polja, na obrub prema ručki. Nije poštivana ni cjelovitost riječi, nego ih u pravilu prekida kraj retka, čak i u slučaju kad je taj redak izišao iz nat-

one rosette in the middle and two acanthus leaves on the sides on the left handle, and two rosettes symmetrically arranged with acanthus leaves around them on the right handle. The inscription field is 0.86 m long, while the total length of the inscription field with handles is 1.53 m. The upper part of the inscription field lacks the border and the first line of the inscription, while the second is slightly damaged.

⁷ Cambi 2010, pp. 22–23.

pisnog polja (samo drugi i četvrti sačuvani redak ne presijecaju riječ). Tekst je klesan bez razmaka među riječima. Nema ligatura ni znakova interpunkcije. Završetak teksta označen je asteriskom i rimskim brojem koji označava 250.000, tj. podatkom o tolikoj svoti denara.



Sl. 5. Natpis (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
Fig. 5 Inscription (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

Prijepis natpisa glasi:

**FAVVSTINAARCAMS[...].VIVICOM
MVNEMCONPARUNTETPOSVERVNT
GRATIASDEOOMNIPOTENTIREFEREN
TESVTSIQVISPOSTOVI[.]VMNOSTRVM
APERIREETSUPERNOSALIQV
EMCORPUSPONEREVOLVE
RITINFERETAECLESIAE*CCL**

(s vodoravnom crtom iznad rimske brojke)

Restitucija natpisa glasila bi:

**Fauustina arcam s[ibi] vivi com/munem
conpa(rave)runt et posuerunt/
gratias deo omnipotenti referen/tes ut si quis
post ovi[t]um nostrum/
aperire et super nos aliqu/em corpus ponere
volue/rit inferet aeclesiae * CCL (s vodoravnom
crtom iznad rimske brojke)**

Natpis kazuje da su naručitelji sebi za života pripravili i postavili zajednički sarkofag, da su zahvalni Bogu svemogućemu te da, isticanjem odredbe o zaštiti groba, ne dopuštaju naknadno korištenje grobnice. Za tu odredbu poslužila im je formula za zaštitu groba od oskvrnuća, na kraju koje se nalazi i

The inscription is written in rustic capital. The height of the letters in the lines is uniform, i.e. 4.3 cm, while the distance between the lines is 0.8 cm. A total of seven lines are preserved. They are not evenly distributed over the inscription field (Fig. 5). The upper two-thirds of the field are utilised, while the second, third and fourth lines (of the preserved inscription field) extend on the right side beyond the inscription field, onto the border towards the handle. The integrity of words is not observed either. As a rule, they are truncated by the ends of the lines, even in those extending out of the inscription field (viz. only the second and fourth preserved lines have no trimmed words). The text is carved without spaces between words. There are no ligatures or punctuation marks. The end of the text is marked with an asterisk and the Roman number denoting 250,000, i.e. the information on the amount of denarii.

The transcript of the inscription reads as follows:

**FAVVSTINAARCAMS[...].VIVICOM
MVNEMCONPARUNTETPOSVERVNT
GRATIASDEOOMNIPOTENTIREFEREN
TESVTSIQVISPOSTOVI[.]VMNOSTRVM
APERIREETSUPERNOSALIQV
EMCORPUSPONEREVOLVE
RITINFERETAECLESIAE*CCL**

(with a horizontal line above the Roman number)

The restitution of the inscription would read:

**Fauustina arcam s[ibi] vivi com/munem con-
pa(rave)runt et posuerunt/
gratias deo omnipotenti referen/tes ut si quis
post ovi[t]um nostrum/
aperire et super nos aliqu/em corpus ponere
volue/rit inferet aeclesiae * CCL (with a horizontal
line above the Roman number)**

The inscription indicates that the purchasers had made arrangements for their joint sarcophagus during their lifetime, that they were grateful to God Almighty and that, by emphasising the provision on the protection of the grave, they did not allow use as a place of further burial. For this provision, they used the formula against desecration of the grave, at the end of which there is a fine expressed in denarii. That fine amounted to 250,000 denarii and was to be handed over to the church community (institution). Not all of the purchasers' names have

kazna izražena u denarima. Ta kazna je trebala biti predana crkvenoj zajednici (instituciji) i iznosila je 250.000 denara. Imena svih naručitelja nisu sačuvana. Faustina, naručiteljica čije se ime spominje na početku prvoga sačuvanog retka, samo je jedna od njih.

Sadržaj natpisa upućuje na zaključak da se radi o ranokršćanskom natpisu. Dijelovi natpisa poput *gratias deo omnipotenti referentes* i *inferet aeclesiae* otklanjaju svaku sumnju. Natpis su naručitelji dali isklesati za svoga života, tako da donosi njihova imena. Jednočlano žensko ime je u nominativu. Ima dvostruko slovo *u*. Za ostala imena znamo samo da postoje zbog množinskih oblika u rečenici. Ime Faustina je u rimskoj Dalmaciji poznato i potvrđeno još od 2. st., kada je uspostavljen i kult Faustine Starije, žene cara Antonina Pija, i Faustine Mlađe, kćeri cara Antonina Pija i žene cara Marka Aurelija.⁸ Ime nije izgubilo popularnost u kršćanskom razdoblju (druga žena cara Konstantina I. zvala se Fausta). Obrambena formula u drugom dijelu natpisa višestruko je potvrđena na salonitanskim sarkofazima.⁹ Formirala se u pretkršćanskom razdoblju, a nastavljena je u kršćanskom. Razlika je u pravnoj osobi koja utjeruje kaznu. Prije se kazna davala gradskoj upravi (*rei publicae, rei publicae Salonitanae...*) ili državnoj blagajni (*fisco, in fisco...*), a poslije Crkvi (*ecclesiae*).¹⁰ Za razliku od formule koja je uobičajena, svota od 250 000 denara za plaćanje kazne koja je označena asteriskom vrlo je rijetka. Jedan takav natpis potvrđen je u Saloni,¹¹ a drugi u Zadru.¹² Denar je ovdje, uzimajući u obzir tako velik iznos, vrlo vjerojatno tek obračunska jedinica. Denar se prestao kovati u drugoj polovici 3. st. i vrijednost mu je do tada izrazito pala. U kasnom carskom razdoblju denar se upotrebljavao kao oznaka za jedinicu vrijednosti (1/6000 solidi).¹³ U ovom slučaju, na ranokršćanskom natpisu, to bi značilo raniju dataciju, vjerojatno unutar 4. stoljeća.

U tekstu natpisa nalaze se i određene osobitosti. Na početku prvoga sačuvanog retka u imenu Faustine nailazimo na dva uklesana *VV*. U drugom retku stoji *con* umjesto *com* na početku riječi *comparunt*, a i perfekt od glagola *com-paro*, 1. ovdje bi bio *comparaverunt*. U četvrtom retku unutar obrambe-

not been preserved. Faustina, the purchaser whose name is mentioned at the beginning of the first surviving line, is but one of them.

The inscription points to the conclusion that it is early Christian. Parts of the inscription such as *gratias deo omnipotenti referentes* and *inferet aeclesiae* dispel any doubts. The inscription was commissioned by the purchasers themselves, and therefore it bears their names. The female mononym is in the nominative case. It has a double letter *u*. As to the other names, we only know of their existence because of the plural forms in the sentence. The name Faustina has been known and confirmed in Roman Dalmatia since the second century, when the cult of Faustina the Elder, wife of Emperor Antoninus Pius, and Faustina the Younger, daughter of Emperor Antoninus Pius and wife of Emperor Marcus Aurelius was established⁸. The name did not lose its popularity in the Christian period (e.g., the name of the second wife of Emperor Constantine I was Fausta). The minatory formula in the second part of the inscription has been repeatedly confirmed on Salonitan sarcophagi⁹. It was formed in the pre-Christian period, and its use continued in the Christian era. The difference is in the legal entity recovering fines. In the beginning, fining was entrusted to town administrations (*rei publicae, rei publicae Salonitanae...*) or the Treasury (*fisco, in fisco...*), and later on to the Church (*ecclesiae*)¹⁰. Unlike the usual formula, the fine amounting to 250,000 denarii as marked with an asterisk was very rare. One such inscription has been confirmed in Salona¹¹, and another one in Zadar¹². In our case, the denarius is very likely merely a unit of account, given such a hefty amount. The denarius ceased to be minted in the second half of the third century, by which time its value had plummeted. In the Late Imperial Period, the denarius was used as a denomination (1/6000 of the solidus)¹³. In this case of an early Christian inscription, this would imply an earlier date, probably within the fourth century.

The text of the inscription contains certain peculiarities. At the beginning of the first preserved line, there are two engraved letters *VV* in the name of Faustina. The second line reads *con* instead of

⁸ Kurilić – Štefanac 2018.

⁹ Kovačić 1992, str. 303-304.

¹⁰ Cambi 2010, str. 46-47.

¹¹ Demicheli 2017, str. 177-180.

¹² Bulić 1912, str. 46-49.

¹³ Kos 1998, str. 85.

⁸ Kurilić – Štefanac 2018.

⁹ Kovačić 1992, pp. 303–304.

¹⁰ Cambi 2010, pp. 46–47.

¹¹ Demicheli 2017, pp. 177–180.

¹² Bulić 1912, pp. 46–49.

¹³ Kos 1998, p. 85.

ne formule stoji *ovi[t]um* umjesto *obi[t]um*, što je primjer betacizma.¹⁴ Na kraju sedmog sačuvanog retka prije asteriska napisano je *aeclesiae* umjesto *ecclesiae*. Primjer hiperkorektizma je pisanje *ae* umjesto *e*, a pisanje *c* umjesto *cc* je izostavljanje dvostrukog konsonanta. Do pojave hiperkorektizma dolazi s jedne strane zbog nesigurnosti u pisanju diftonga *ae*, a s druge strane zbog težnje za učenošću. Izostavljanje konsonanata također se pripisuje nesigurnosti u pisanju, ovaj put dvostrukih konsonanata. Ovo su tipični primjeri vulgarnog latiniteta, koji je čest upravo kod imenice *ecclesia*, koja je u latinski jezik došla iz grčkog jezika.¹⁵ Ako se uzmu u obzir nepoštivanje natpisnog polja, nekorištenje razmaka i znakova interpunkcije, nepoštivanje cjelovitosti riječi te jezične i pravopisne osobitosti, može se reći da je natpis skroman klesarski rad i da ga odlikuje vulgarni latinitet.

Primarni položaj sarkofaga

Ovaj nalaz pronađen je na zahtjevnom arheološkom nalazištu, koje više od jednog stoljeća pobuđuje zanimanje arheologa i na kojemu jednako dugo traju povremeni pokušaji da se nalazište do kraja istraži i, naravno, ako je moguće, da se odgovori na mnogobrojna pitanja koja se otvaraju svakim novim istraživanjem. Pozornost stručnjaka na nalazištu o kojemu je riječ najvećim je dijelom okrenuta srednjovjekovnom razdoblju, što je potpuno razumljivo s obzirom na nalaz zabata s natpisom kneza Trpimira, istaknutog vladara ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države, po kojemu se zove i cijela dinastija. Ipak, koji put za bolje razumijevanje treba pogledati i širi kontekst, kako vremenski tako i prostorni. U ovom slučaju to bi moglo biti sagledavanje šireg prostora Rupotina, i to od Klisa pa do Salone.

Kada se ovakav natpis, tipičan za salonitanske sarkofage, pronađe u blizini (za ono doba) goleme metropole, prvo što se pomisli jest da potječe s jedne od salonitanskih nekropola. To je naravno i opravdano, jer postoji niz dokaza (ponajprije u Splitu) da se, nakon što je Salona prestala funkcionirati, razno obrađeno kamenje iz Salone i s njezinih nekropola koristi sekundarno u okolici. Međutim, ne treba zaboraviti da je i na potezu od Klisa do Salone, pokrivajući cijeli prostor Rupotina, u kasnoj antici također bujao život. Prostor je povezivala rimska cesta,

com at the beginning of the word *comparunt*, while the perfect of the verb *com-paro*, 1. should be *comparaverunt*. In the fourth line, the minatory formula contains the word *ovi[t]um* instead of *obi[t]um*, which is an example of betacism¹⁴. At the end of the seventh preserved line, *aeclesiae* is written before the asterisk instead of *ecclesiae*. An example of hyper-correctness is the use of *ae* instead of *e*, while the use of *c* instead of *cc* represents the omission of the double consonant. Hyper-correctness is due to uncertainty in writing the diphthong *ae* on the one hand, and to the aspiration towards learnedness on the other hand. The omission of consonants can also be attributed to uncertainty in the writing of double consonants in this case. These are typical examples of vulgar Latinity, common in the very noun *ecclesia*, which came into Latin from the Greek language¹⁵. If we take into account the disregard of the inscription field, failure to use spaces and punctuation marks, lack of the integrity of words, and linguistic and spelling peculiarities, it can be said that the inscription is a modest stonemason's work and that is characterised by vulgar Latinity.

Primary position of the sarcophagus

This find was discovered at a demanding archaeological site, which has been arousing the interest of archaeologists for more than a century. It has seen equally long occasional attempts to explore the site completely and, naturally and if possible, to answer the myriad questions arising with each new research. The experts' attention at this site has mostly been focused on the mediaeval period, which is completely understandable given the discovered gable with the inscription of Duke Trpimir, a prominent ruler of the early mediaeval Croatian state, after whom the entire dynasty is named. However, for a better understanding, sometimes one needs to look at the broader context, both temporal and spatial. In this case, it could be an overview of the wider area of Rupotine, from Klis to Salona.

When such an inscription, typical of Salonitan sarcophagi, is found near a huge metropolis (for the time), the first thing that comes to mind is that it originates from one of the Salonitan necropolises. Of course, this is justified, because there is a lot of evidence (primarily in Split) that, after Salona

¹⁴ Ovom prilikom zahvaljujem profesoru Cambiju na podršci.

¹⁵ Zović 2015, str. 177.

¹⁴ I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Cambi for his support.

¹⁵ Zović 2015, p. 177.

a nekropole su potvrđene na nalazištima Crikvine, Rižinice, kod tzv. Ilirske Salone i kod Šuplje crkve. Na svim tim nalazištima javlja se i obilje antičkih spolija, a u ranom srednjem vijeku pak nije neobično da se crkve i objekti vezani za crkve nalaze na mjestu nekadašnjih ranokršćanskih crkava. Kod Šuplje crkve je, dapače, primjer vrlo sličan ovome na Rižinicama. Srednjovjekovni grob pokriven je poklopnicom koja je također bila stranica sarkofaga. Čak postoji i zaštitna formula na kojoj su kao vrijednost za kaznu asteriskom navedeni denari.¹⁶ Napokon, na samom nalazištu Rižinice su osim srednjovjekovnoga groblja potvrđeni i ukopi iz 2. st. te reutilizirani poganski sarkofazi za koje je malo vjerojatno da su onako cjeloviti i teški dovučeni iz porušene Salone. Uz ovakve okolnosti postojanje manje kasnoantičke nekropole posve je izgledno.

Zaključak

Na prostoru uz Ilijin potok, kako smo već istaknuli, nalazio se niz antičkih lokaliteta oko kojih su se formirala groblja. Na Ilirskoj Saloni su dvadesetih godina prošlog stoljeća nađene rimske nadgrobne stele.¹⁷ Na udaljenosti od oko 400 m zračne linije od Rižinica u pravcu sjeverozapada, na padini Kozjaka, prilikom izgradnje stambene kuće nađene su baze sarkofaga. Svi lokaliteti se nalaze uz vicinalni put prema Blacima i Kozjaku. Moguće je da su uz njega formirane privatne grobišne parcele slične onima na zapadnoj strani Salone.¹⁸ Nedvojbeno je u neposrednoj okolici Rižinica bilo dovoljno komada kamena prikladnih za poklopicu groba. Pojava sličnih poklopnica s kasnoantičkim natpisima na Šupljoj crkvi pokazuje da su u srednjem vijeku rado odabirali ovakve komade za ugradnju u grobove. Brojni su slučajevi antičkih spolija nađenih u grobovima. U našem je slučaju zbog toga pročelna strana sarkofaga ostala sačuvana te je novi natpis tako izašao na svjetlo dana. Nastao je na početku razdoblja kad je kršćanstvo postalo legalno i može neizravno dati djelomičan uvid u društvene odnose tog vremena. Dio natpisa na kojemu piše *gratias deo omnipotenti referentes i inferet aeclesiae* nedvojbeno pokazuje da se radi o kršćanskom natpisu. Inače, na početku ranokršćanskog razdoblja ne može se na svim natpisima eksplicitno odrediti pripadnost kršćanstvu. Jedna od tradicija koja

ceased to function, its various dressed stones, including those from its necropolises, were used secondarily in the wider area. However, it should not be forgotten that life also flourished in late antiquity on the stretch from Klis to Salona, covering the entire area of Rupotine. The area was connected by a Roman road, and the necropolises have been confirmed at the sites of Crikvina, Rižinice, near so-called Illyrian Salona, and around the Hollow Church. There is an abundance of antique spolia at all these sites, and in the early Middle Ages it was not uncommon for churches and their related buildings to be located on the sites of former early Christian churches. In fact, we have an example near the Hollow Church, quite similar to that in Rižinice. There is a mediaeval grave covered with a lid that was originally also a side of the sarcophagus. There is even a minatory formula with a fine amount in denarii, marked with an asterisk¹⁶. Finally, in addition to the mediaeval cemetery, burials from the second century and reutilised pagan sarcophagi have been confirmed at the Rižinice site. They are unlikely to have been brought from the destroyed Salona, given their completeness and heaviness. Under such circumstances, the existence of a small late antique necropolis is quite probable.

Conclusion

As we have already pointed out, there were a number of antique sites with cemeteries formed around them in the area along Ilijin potok. In the 1920s, Roman grave stelae were discovered at Illyrian Salona.¹⁷ At a distance of about 400 m as the crow flies from Rižinice in the northwest direction, on the slope of Kozjak, sarcophagi bases were unearthed during the construction of a residential house. All sites are located along the vicinal road to Blaca and Kozjak. It is possible that private cemetery plots were formed along its route, similar to those on the west side of Salona¹⁸. Undoubtedly, there were enough pieces of stone in the immediate vicinity of Rižinice suitable for grave lids. The appearance of similar lids with late antique inscriptions on the Hollow Church shows that such pieces for fitting into graves were quite popular in the Middle Ages. There are numerous cases of antique spolia found in graves. In our case, this

¹⁶ Demicheli 2017, str. 177-179.

¹⁷ Bulić 1931, str. 65-67.

¹⁸ Kirigin, Lokošek, Mardešić, Bilić 1987, str. 35-52.

¹⁶ Demicheli 2017, pp. 177-179.

¹⁷ Bulić 1931, pp. 65-67.

¹⁸ Kirigin, Lokošek, Mardešić, Bilić 1987, pp. 35-52.

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potječe iz poganskog razdoblja, a nastavljena je i u kršćansko vrijeme jest i postavljanje obrambene formule za zaštitu groba od oskvrnuća, koja je očito bila popularna među Rimljanima. Na ovom natpisu nalazimo primjer kod kojeg je u formuli promijenjena pravna osoba kojoj se do tada uplaćivala novčana kazna. To je sada bila *ecclesia*, umjesto dotadašnje *rei publicae*, što pokazuje da je Crkva relativno brzo uobličila svoju pojavnost u javnom prostoru tadašnjeg društva. To pokazuje i povećanje autoriteta Crkve u kasnoj antici. Mnogi zemljišni posjedi daruju se Crkvi, što se najvjerojatnije dogodilo i na Rižinicama. Ondje je naime pronađena ranokršćanska kamena plastika, ali nema jasne arhitekture koja bi ukazivala na postojanje ranokršćanske crkve. Očito je prostor rimske vile adaptiran u sakralni prostor. Također, sam način na koji je na ovome natpisu napisana riječ koja označava Crkvu dosta govori o onome koji je natpis pripremao. To nije nužno onaj koji je klesao, jer se u ovom slučaju može reći da je taj slobodno mogao biti nepismen. To se vidi po načinu na koji je natpis složen unutar natpisnog polja te kako se riječi prekidaju na završetku polja. Umjesto *ecclesiae* piše *aeclesiae*. To znači da priređivač teksta nije siguran u način na koji bi trebalo napisati riječ, pa rabi diftong *ae* misleći da će napisana riječ izgledati učenije. U isto vrijeme nije napisao dvostruko *c*. Pojave nesigurnosti u pisanju pokazatelj su vulgarnog latiniteta, odnosno loše naobrazbe, koja postaje sve raširenija s razvojem kasne antike. U primjer vulgarnog latiniteta treba svrstati i betacizam u četvrtom retku. Glede fizičkog izgleda natpisnog polja nije isključeno ni da “priprava” u drugom retku znači preklješavanje nekog ranijeg natpisa. Moguće je bilo kupiti takav sarkofag i prilagoditi ga svojim potrebama. Najzanimljiviji podatak s ovog natpisa nalazi se na njegovu kraju. Svota od 250.000 denara označena asteriskom zanimljiva je zato što se u to vrijeme denar više ne koristi u svakodnevnom prometu. On je u ovom slučaju više mogao označavati obračunsku jedinicu i inače je rijedak na natpisima u ovakvu obliku kad je gotovo potpuno izgubio vrijednost. Ta zanimljivost ukazuje i na nešto raniju dataciju, možda sredinu 4. stoljeća.

is why the front side of the sarcophagus has been preserved, and the new inscription came to light. It originates from the beginning of the period when Christianity became legal and can indirectly provide partial insight into the social relations of the time. The part of the inscription that reads *gratias deo omnipotenti referentes* and *inferet aeclesiae* unequivocally shows that it is a Christian inscription. In general, it is not possible to explicitly determine affiliation to Christianity on all inscriptions from the beginning of the early Christian period. One of the traditions that dates back to the pagan period, and continued into Christian times, was the use of minatory formulae against desecration of graves, obviously popular among the Romans. In our inscription, we have an example in which the legal person charged with collecting the fine was altered in the formula. It was now *ecclesia*, instead of the previous *rei publicae*, which shows that the Church relatively quickly developed its public appearance in the then society. This is also indicated by the increase in the authority of the Church in late antiquity. Many landed properties were donated to the Church, most likely in Rižinice as well. Early Christian stone sculpture was found there, but there is no patent architecture that would indicate the existence of an early Christian church. Apparently, the Roman villa was adapted into a sacral edifice. In addition, the very way in which the word denoting the Church is written in our inscription reveals a lot about its author. This person is not necessarily the one who carved it, because in this case it can be said that they could have been illiterate. This can be seen by the way the caption is arranged within the inscription field and the words are truncated at the end of the field. Instead of *ecclesiae*, *aeclesiae* is used. This means that the author of the text was not sure how the word should have been written, so he used the diphthong *ae*, believing that the written word would seem more learned. At the same time, he failed to use the double *c*. Such insecurities in writing are an indicator of vulgar Latinity, i.e. poor education, which became more widespread with the development of late antiquity. Another example of vulgar Latinity is the betacism in the fourth line. As to the physical appearance of the inscription field, it is not excluded that the “alteration” in the second line is the result of carving on an earlier inscription. It was possible to purchase such sarcophagi and adapt them to one’s needs. The most interesting

information can be found at the end of this inscription. The sum of 250,000 denarii marked with an asterisk is interesting because the denarius was no longer in everyday use at the time. In this case, it could have served as the unit of account. In general, it was rare on inscriptions in this form at the time when it had almost completely lost its value. This peculiarity also points to a somewhat earlier date of origin, perhaps the mid-fourth century.

(D. G.)

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