

Mladen Zagarčanin
Zavičajni muzej Bar
Kralja Nikole bb
85000 Bar, MNE
mladarh@t-com.me

UDK 904:929.651

Apstrakt:

“Novi” pečat dioklitijskog arhonta Petra predstavlja jedan od najznačajnijih pokretnih nalaza u poslednjih nekoliko decenija u srednjovjekovnoj medijevalistici Crne Gore. Pečat još jednom potvrđuje postojanje arhonta (kneza) koji je vladao u X vijeku, a samim tim i postojanje razvijene administracije koja je korespondirala na grčkom jeziku kao zvaničnom jeziku romejskog carstva. Pečat je pronađen unutar utvrđenja Oblun, što daje novu istorijsku dimenziju ovog izuzetno važnog utvrđenja.

Ključne riječi: bronzani pečat, arhont Petar, Oblun

Abstract:

The new seal of Diocletian Archon Petar, represent one of the most important findings in the last several decades in Montenegrin medieval archaeology. It's confirmed existing of the duke which were ruled in the 10th century, and thus existing of very developed administration, which were made correspondence on Greek language as an official language of the Byzantine Empire. Seal was found inner the walls of fortifications, which gave a new dimension of this very important site.

Key words: bronze seal, arhon Petar, Oblun

Tokom obilaska ilirskog i srednjo-vjekovnog lokaliteta Oblun, slučajno je pronađen bronžani pečat dioklitijskog arhonta Petra (oko 970 - oko 990.). Pečat (Sl. 1) je otkriven na oko 3 metra sjeveroistočno od ostataka crkve, unutar utvrđenja, i predstavlja jedan od rijetkih nalaza ovakve vrste u Crnoj Gori. Urađen je utiskivanjem negativa u komad usijane bronze, sa obje strane, tako da je dobijen kružni otisak dimenzija 1.7 cm širine i 0.3 mm debljine. Na aversu se nalaze dvije perforacije koje su služile za končić o koji pečat visio na pismu ili nekoj drugoj pošiljci. Perforacije su vidno otrgnute pa je lako uočiti da je pošiljka otvorena, odnosno da je pečat skinut sa nje. Tako zaključujemo da pošiljka nije zajedno sa končićem istrulila u zemlji, što bi moglo da se pretpostavi u slučaju da je bila namjerno zakopana ili da je tokom određenog dešavanja slučajno dospjela ispod zemlje.

During inspection of Illyrian and early-medieval locality Oblun, which is located on one of the hills along the edge of Skadar Lake, a bronze seal of Dioklian archont Petar (about years 970 – 990) has been found accidentally. The seal (sl. 1) was discovered at about 3 meters to the northeast from the remains of a church, inside of the fortification, and it represents one of rare finding of such sort in Montenegro. It was made by impressing of the negative into the piece of incandescent bronze, from both sides, so the circle impression of the dimensions: width 1.7 cm and thickness 0.3 mm was obtained. On the averse there are two perforations which served for the thread on which the seal was hanged on the letter or on some other consignment. Perforations were visibly torn out so it is easy to notice that the consignment was opened, respectively that the seal was taken off from the



1.



2.

Sl. 1. Pečat arhonta Petra / Fig. 1. New seal of archont Petar

Na aversu (Sl. 1.1.) se javlja predstava Svetog Đorđa, u stojećem položaju, sa dugim kopljem u desnoj ruci i lijevom rukom savijenom u laktu koja pridržava mač okačen o pojas (Sl. 1-1). Mač nije spušten uz nogu, već je zakošen u odnosu na vrlo blagi kontrapost. Ispod desne ruke uočavaju se slabo očuvani nabori koji prikazuju ogrtač, koji pada niz leđa, dok je pod mikroskopom moguće vidjeti minuciozno

same. So we conclude that the consignment did not putrefy in the soil together with the thread, what would be assumed that it was intentionally buried or that during some certain occasion it accidentally came bellow the soil.

On the averse there is a pre-sentation of Saint George, in standing position, with a long spear in his right hand and the left hand bended in elbow which holds the sword hanged on a belt

izgraviranu pancirnu odjeću, formiranu od koncentrično ređanih nabubrenja. Glava je okružena velikim oreolom, dok je kosa bujna, što je karakteristika na njegovim predstavama.¹ Sa desne strane Svetog ratinika nalazi se podužni (vertikalni) natpis: **S ΓΕΩ** - odvojen tankom linijom, dok je sa lijeve strane na praznom polju podužno napisano: **ΓΙΟ**, što bi predstavljalo **S (?) ΓΕω(P)ΓΙΟ**.

Na reversu se nalazi uobičajna skraćena formulacija utisnuta u tri horizontalna reda: **KERΘ / ΤΩΣΩΙ/ ΠΕΤΡ/**, koja se u potpunosti čita kao: **Κύριε βοήθη τώ σώ δούλώ**. Ovo u prevodu glasi: Gospode spasi slugu tvog Petra (Sl. 1-2). Ova formulacija obraćanja Gospodu Isusu Hristu na pečatima javlja se od V vijeka, i uobičajna je za grčku sfragistiku tokom skoro svih vijekova postojanja vizantijskog carstva. Po paleografskim osobinama, pečat datujemo u X vijek, što se uklapa u vrijeme života i vladanja dioklitijskog kneza Petra. Istovjetna paleografija slova se javljaju i na starijem i dosad poznatijem Petrovom pečatu koji je objavio Gustav Šlubmerže, 1884.² godine, na kojem je, na aversu, ispisano **+ΠΕΤΡ(Ο)Υ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΛ(Ε)ΙΑ(Σ) ΑΜΗΝ-ΠΕΤΑΡ ΑΡΧΟΝΤ ΔΙΚΛΙΕ ΑΜΙΝ**, dok je na reversu predstava Bogorodice sa malim Hristom. Još jedan natpis s imenom arhonta Petra, ali uklesan u kamenu, po stilskim osobinama odgovara našem pečatu, i datuje ga u isti period. To je natpis na gredi epistiliona u crkvi Svetog Mihaila na Maritnića Gradini.³ Natpis je dvojezičan, na grčkom i latinskom, ali grčki natpis palografijom

(Fig. 1-1; Fig. 1-2). The sword is not laid down alongside the leg, but it is sloped in relation to the very mild counter post. Below the right hand poorly preserved lines are noticed which show the overcoat which falls downwards the back, while under microscope it is possible to see that thorough engraved protective clothes, formed from concentric lined up blubbers. Head is circled with a large aureole, while the hair is thick, what is the characteristic at his presentations.¹ From the right side of the holly warrior there is lined (vertical) inscription: **S ΓΕω** - separated by thin line, while from the left side on the empty field in line written: **ΓΙΟ**, what would represent **S (?) ΓΕω(P)ΓΙΟ**.

On the reverse (Fig. 1-2) there is usual shortened formulation in Greek language in three horizontal lines, **KERΘ / ΤΩΣΩΙ/ ΠΕΤΡ/**, what is read in whole as: **Κύριε βοήθη τώ σώ δούλώ**. This in translation worded: Lord save your servant Petar. This formulation of addressing to the Lord Jesus Christ on seals appears from the V century, and it is usual for the Greek sfragistic during almost all centuries of existing of the Byzantium Empire. As per paleographic characteristics we dated the seal into the X century, what fit into the time of the live and rule of Dioclian Duke Petar. The identical paleography of letters appears also on the older and so far more known Petar's seal published by Gustav Schlumberge, in 1884.², on which is, on the avers, written out: **+ΠΕΤΡ(Ο)Υ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΚΛ(Ε)ΙΑ(Σ) ΑΜΗΝ-ΠΕΤΑΡ ΑΡΧΟΝΤ ΔΙΚΛΙΕ ΑΜΙΝ**, while on the reverse there is a presentation of the Holly Lady with small Christ. One more inscription with the name of archont Petar, but carved into the stone, according to style characteristics, responds to our stamp, and it is dated in the same period. That is the inscription

1 Na pečatu Romana Sklerosa (1054. - 1055.), antiohijskog duksa i predora, moguće je uočiti mnogo izraženije detalje, jer je primjerak pečata veći (3.8 cm), što je prilika da se upoznamo sa originalnom ikonografijom prikaza Svetog Đorđa na vizantijskim sigilumima. Vidjeti: Byzantine seals- Online Catalogue, Dumbarton Oaks, research library and collection- <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5699>

2 Gustav Schlumberger, *Silographie de l'empire byzantine*, Torino 1904.

3 Rekonstuisani natpis bi prema Koraću glasio- ZASTUPNIŠVOM ARHISTRATIGA MIHAILA ČUVAJ PETRA: V.Korać, Martinića Gradina, Beograd 2000, 123; Korać izvodi i jednu zanimljivu tezu da bi dioklitiski arhont Petar mogao da bude i Petar Gojniković, jedan drugi knez i arhont koji je vladao Srbijom (892.-917.), što je sa sadašnjeg stanovišta istražnosti malo vjerovatno: Korać, n.d, 185.

1 On the stamp of Roman Skleros (1054.-1055.), antiochian duke and predor, it is possible to notice much expressed details, because the sample of the stamp is bigger (3.8 cm), what is the opportunity to make familiar ourselves with the original iconography of the presentation of Saint George on Byzantine sigilums. See: Byzantine seals- Online catalogue, Dumbarton Oaks, research library and collection- <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5699>

2 Gustav Schlumberger, *Silographie de l'empire byzantine*, Torino 1904.

slova odgovara i starijem i novom pečatu.

Arhont Petar je po Ljetopisu popa Dukljanina sin Hvalimirov, a brat Dragimira, upravitelja Travunije i Huma, i Miroslava koji se nesrećno utopio u Skadarskom jezeru prethodno vladavši Podgorjem. Petar je nakon Miroslavljeve smrti, pripojio njegovu oblast svojoj, Zetskoj oblasti.⁴ Njegovo mjesto stolovanja je svakako Skadar, ali i Martinića Gradina⁵, gdje je otkopana veoma moćna fortifikaciona cjelina sa dvorom i crkvom pridvoricom, kojoj je on bio ktitor. Prema Vatikanskom rukopisu i Lučićevom prevodu arhont Petrislav (Petar) je sahranjen u mjestu koje se zove Gazeni (in loco cui dicitur Gazzeni)⁶ iako neki rukopisi navode da je mjesto sahrane arhonta Petra Prečista Krajinska, što su arheološka istraživanja pokazala netačnim, kao što nije bilo grobnih ostataka i kneza Vladimira (Svetog Jovana Vladimira) i žene mu Kosare, koji su, takođe po Ljetopisu, sahranjeni u ovoj crkvi.⁷

4 F. Šišić, Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina, Beograd-Zagreb 1928, 330.

5 O tome da je Martinića Gradina Porfirogenitova Lontodokla vidjeti: B. Borozan, Civita Diocletiana, Srenjovjekovna istorija Crne Gore, Zbornik radova okruglog stola, knjiga 3, Podgorica 1993. 79-108.;

6 S. Mijušković dobro primjećuje da je Šišićeva glosa neutemeljena i da u Lučićevom i Vatikanskom rukopisu mjesto Petrove sahrane je Gazzeni ili Gazem, a ne Krajina, iako toponim Gazem još nije do sada ubiciran: S. Mijušković, Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina, Titograd 1967, 79 : Šišić, n.d, str. 455, napomena 119.

7 Sadašnji ostaci crkva u Prečistoj Krajinskoj potiču svakako iz 14. vijeka. Konceptiju arhitekture ove crkve najbolje je obradio V. Đurić u Istoriji Crne Gore, dokazujući da je to neodvojivi dio cjelokupnog korpusa bašičkih trikonhosa na Skadarskom jezeru druge polovine 14. i prve polovine 15. vijeka: V. Đurić, Istorija Crne Gore II/I, Titograd, 1967, 427. Ovo datovanje su prihvatili Tatjana Pejović i Aleksandar Čilikov u svojoj novoj, zajedničkoj publikaciji o pravoslavnim manastirima na tlu Crne Gore: T. Pejović, A. Čilikov, Pravoslavni manastiri u Crnoj Gori, Podgorica-Beograd 2011, 146-149. Uprkos raznim drugim stremljenjima da se ova crkva pripíše mnogo ranijem periodu, najbolje dokaze neodrživosti ovih teorija pružaju arheološka istraživanja 1976. i 1985. Prva su vršena pod rukovodstvom Zavičajnog muzeja u Baru, a druga pod rukovodstvom Muzeja u Podgorici. Od nekoliko desetina prepunih kutija keramičkog, staklenog i drugog materijala koji se nalaze u muzeju u Baru, samo je pronađen jedan predmet koji može da se veže za period prije kraja 14. vijeka, a to je hronološki prilično neosjetljiv dio bronzanog krsta-enkolpiona. Na hiljade krhotina keramike nije starije od druge polovine 14. vijeka.

on the beam of epistilion in the church of Saint Michael at Martinica Gradina.³³ The inscription is bilingual, in Greek and Latin language, but the Greek part by the shape of letter responds to sphragistic findings.

Archont Petar is, according to the Chronicle of priest Dukljanin, was son of Hvalimir, and brother of Dragomir, administrator of Travunia and Hum, and of Miroslav who unfortunately drowned himself in Skadar Lake, previously ruling in Podgorje. Petar, after death of Miroslav, adjoined Miroslav's region to his one, the Zeta region.⁴ His place of ruling is certainly Skadar, but also Martinića Gradina⁵, where a very powerful fortification entirely was excavated with a palace and church next to palace to which he was the founder. According to Vatican manuscript and to Lucić's translation, Archont Petrislav (Petar) was buried at the place called Gazeni (in loco cui dicitur Gazzeni)⁶ although some manuscripts quote that the place of burial of the Archont Petar is Prečista Krajinska, what was shown as incorrect by archeological researches, as well there were no grave remains also the Duke Vladimir (Saint Jovan Vladimir) and his wife Kosara, which were, also according to the Chronicle, buried in this church.⁷

3 Reconstructed inscription would, according to Korac worded –BY THE REPRESENTATION OF ARCHISTRATIG MIHAILO PROTECT PETAR: V.Korac , Martinića Gradina, Belgrade 2000, 123; Korac derives also one interesting thesis that Dioklian Archont Petar would be also Petar Gojniković, the other Serbian Duke and Archont who ruled (892.-917.), what is from the present point of view of research, little probably: Korac, op. cit. 185.

4 F. Šišić, Ljetopis popa Dukljanina, Beograd -Zagreb, 1928, 330,

5 Hereof that Martinica Gradina is Porfirogenet Lontodokla please see: B. Borozan, Civita Diocletiana, Srednjovjekovna istorija Crne Gore, Zbornik okruglog stola, knjiga 3, Podgorica 1993, 79-108;

6 S. Mijuskovic notices well that the Sisić's gloss is unfounded and that the place of Petar's burial, in Lucić's and Vatican' manuscript, was Gazzeni or Gazem, even Gazem is not ubicated yet: S. Mijušković, Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina, Titograd 1967, 79: Šišić, op. cit., 455, remark 119.

7 The present remains and the church in Precista Krajina originate certainly from the 14th century. The conception of this church was the best processed by V. Djuric in the History of Montenegro, proving that this is the inseparable part of the entire corpus of Balsić's trikonhos at Skadar Lake of the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century: V. Đurić, Istorija Crne Gore II/I, Titograd,

Tvrđava Obolon, po Ljetopisu popa Dukljanina, ili slovenski Oblun, nalazi se pored istočne obale Malog blata Skadarskog jezera. To je krševito brdo sa razvučenim vrhom podjeljeno na dva dijela manjim ulegnućem. Prostor na kome su ostaci tvrđave iz dukljanskog perioda, a možda i starije, jer njen pravougaoni koncept više podsjeća na rimska i kasnoantička utrdjenja. Dužina sjeveroistočne strane je oko 70 metara, dok debljina zidova i do 20 metara, ukazuje na prvobitno prilično visoke bedeme. U blizini zapadnog ugla nalaze se ostaci manje građevine prizidane uz bedem, dok ostaci crkve leže skoro u centru. To je jednobrodna građevina zidana od lomljenog i pritesanog kamenja, dugačka oko 10.5 a široka oko 6 m. Interesantno je sa je način zidanja ove crkve skoro isti kao zidanje ovakvih crkava Svaču, datovanih u 10.-12. vijek. Na sjeverozapadnom uglu, spolja, crkva je imala jednu prizidanu prostoriju koja se protezala od polovine sjevernog zida prema zapadu i koja je bila dugača nešto manje od 8 metara.⁸ U Ljetopisu Popa Dukljanina Oblun (Obolon) se pominje sa imenom kralja Đorđa, koji se, bježeći kroz planine najzad utvrdio u kastelu koji se zvao Obolon. Aleksije Kontostefan se u međuvremenu vratio iz Drača u Skadar, tako da su sada svi komadanti učestvovali u opsadi Obluna. Usred pobune vojnika iz neposredne okoline kralja Đorđa, tvrđava Oblun je zauzeta a kralj Đorđe zarobljen.⁹

The fortress Obolon, according to the Chronicle of Priest Dukljanin, or in Slavic language Oblun, is located beside the eastern coast of Malo blato of Skadar Lake. This is a rugged hill with stretched peak divided into two parts by settling. The remains of the fortress are from the Dioclia period, and maybe older, because its rectangular concept reminds more to Roman and late antique fortresses. The length of the northeastern side is about 70 meters, while the thickness of the walls is also up to 1.20 meters points out to considerable big original height. In the vicinity of the western corner there are remains of a smaller building near built alongside the bulwark. This is a single-shipped construction brick-laid from broken and cut stones, long about 10.5 and wide of about 6 meters. It is interesting that the manner of brick-laying of this church is almost the same as the brick-laying of such churches in Svach, dated in the 10th -11th century. In the northwestern corner, from outside, the church had one brick-laid room which was stretching from the half of the northern wall toward the west and which was something lesser than 8 meters long.⁸ In the Chronicle of Priest Dukljanin, Oblun (Obolon) is mentioned with the name of king Djordje, who, running away through the mountains, at last fortified himself in the "castle which was named Obolon. Aleksije Kontostefan in mean time returned from Drač in Skadar, so all commandants participated in the

1967.,427. This dating was accepted by Tatjana Pejovic and Aleksandar Cilikov in theirs, new common publication on Orthodox monasteries on the soil of Montenegro: T. Pejovic, T. Pejović, A. Čilikov, Pravoslavni manastiri u Crnoj Gori, Podgorica-Beograd 2011, 146-149. Despite of other various aspirations that this church is to be attributed to much earlier period, the best proofs of the untenability of these theories are rendered by the archeological researches in 1976. and 1985. The first ones were carried out under the management of the Homeland museum in Bar, and the second ones were carried out under the management of the Museum in Podgorica. Of several tenths of overfilled boxes with ceramic, glass and other material which are located in the museum in Bar, only one object has been found which can be connected for the period before the end of the 14th century, and this is chronologically considerable insensitive piece of bronze cross – encolpion. Thousands of pieces of ceramic are not older from the second half of the 14th century.

8 M.Kovačević, Gdje se nalazio Oblun Popa Dukljanina. Starine Crne Gore, Cetinje 1976., 141-152.
9 F. Šišić, n.d, 373.

8 M. Kovačević, Gdje se nalazio Oblun Popa Dukljanina, Starine Crne Gore, Cetinje 1976., 141-152.

9 F. Šišić, n.d, 373.

siege of Oblun. In the middle of rebellion of the soldiers from the immediate surroundings of king Djordje, the fortress Oblun was taken, and king Djordje was captive".⁹

⁹ Šišić, op. cit. 373.

<http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.5699>

Gustav Schlumberger, *Silographie de l'empire byzantine*, Torino 1904.

V.Korać, *Martinića Gradina*, Beograd 2000.

F. Šišić, *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, Beograd-Zagreb 1928.

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T. Pejović, A. Čilikov, *Pravoslavni manastiri u Crnoj Gori*, Podgorica-Beograd, 2011. M. Kovačević,

M. Kovačević, *Gdje se nalazio Oblon Popa Dukljanina*, *Starine Crne Gore*, Cetinje, 1976.

B. Borozan, *Civita Diocletiana, Srenjovjekovna istorija Crne Gore*, *Zbornik radova okruglog stola*, knjiga 3, Podgorica 1993. 79-108