

Odnos nekropola i naselja u rimskodobnoj Liburniji¹

The relation between necropolises and settlements in Roman Liburnia¹

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Od najstarijih vremena uz nastambe i putove prostiralo se područje grobova, a prilikom izgradnje svakog planiranog urbanog ili ruralnog naselja trebao se uvijek organizirati i posvećen prostor gdje će pokojnici imati svoj vječni mir. Kako danas tako i u prošlosti, dakle i u rimskom razdoblju, prostor nekropola bio je nedjeljivo povezan s naseljem, što je određivalo razvoj cjelokupnog urbanog, ali i ruralnog teritorija, a dodatnu povezanost «grada mrtvih» s «gradom živih» naglašavao je i sam kult mrtvih štovan među živima. Neraskidiva veza između naselja i nekropole potvrđena je na cjelokupnom teritoriju Liburnije gdje je upravo razvoj naselja i pripadajuće nekropole odražavao prosperitet zajednice, dok su nalazi u nekropolama bili odraz bogatstva i statusa pojedinaca. Kao rezultat navedenog, sličnosti između naselja i nekropole mogu se pronaći u grobnim konstrukcijama, koje su oponašale izgled prosječne kuće, kao i u organizaciji nekropole koja je oponašala unutarnju simetriju naselja. Osim toga, kontinuitet ruralnih i urbanih naselja i nekropola kao i kompleksni procesi, koji su određivali njihov razvoj, rast i konačnu propast, također se obrađuju u ovom članku.

Ključne riječi: Dalmacija, Liburnija, nekropola, naselje

Since the beginning of recorded history, graves have spanned near the houses and roads, and during the construction of any planned urban or rural settlement an area where deceased would have had their eternal rest had to be planned as well. In the past, i.e. in the Roman period, just as it is today, the area of the necropolis was intrinsically connected to the settlement, which defined the development of an entire urban and rural territory, and the cult of the dead was cherished among the living, which strengthened the connection between the "city of the living" and the "city of the dead". The unbreakable bond between the settlement and necropolis has been attested throughout the territory of Liburnia. The growth of the settlement and its related necropolis reflected the prosperity of the community, and the finds in the necropolis reflected the wealth and status of an individual. As a result, the similarities between the settlement and necropolis could be sensed both in sepulchral constructions, which imitated the everyday house, and in the organisation of the necropolis, which mirrored the inner symmetry of the settlement. Furthermore, the continuity of settlements and necropolises, both rural and urban, as well as complex processes which determined the development, growth and final abandonment of the necropolis are also discussed in this paper.

Key words: Dalmatia, Liburnia, necropolis, settlement

Uvod

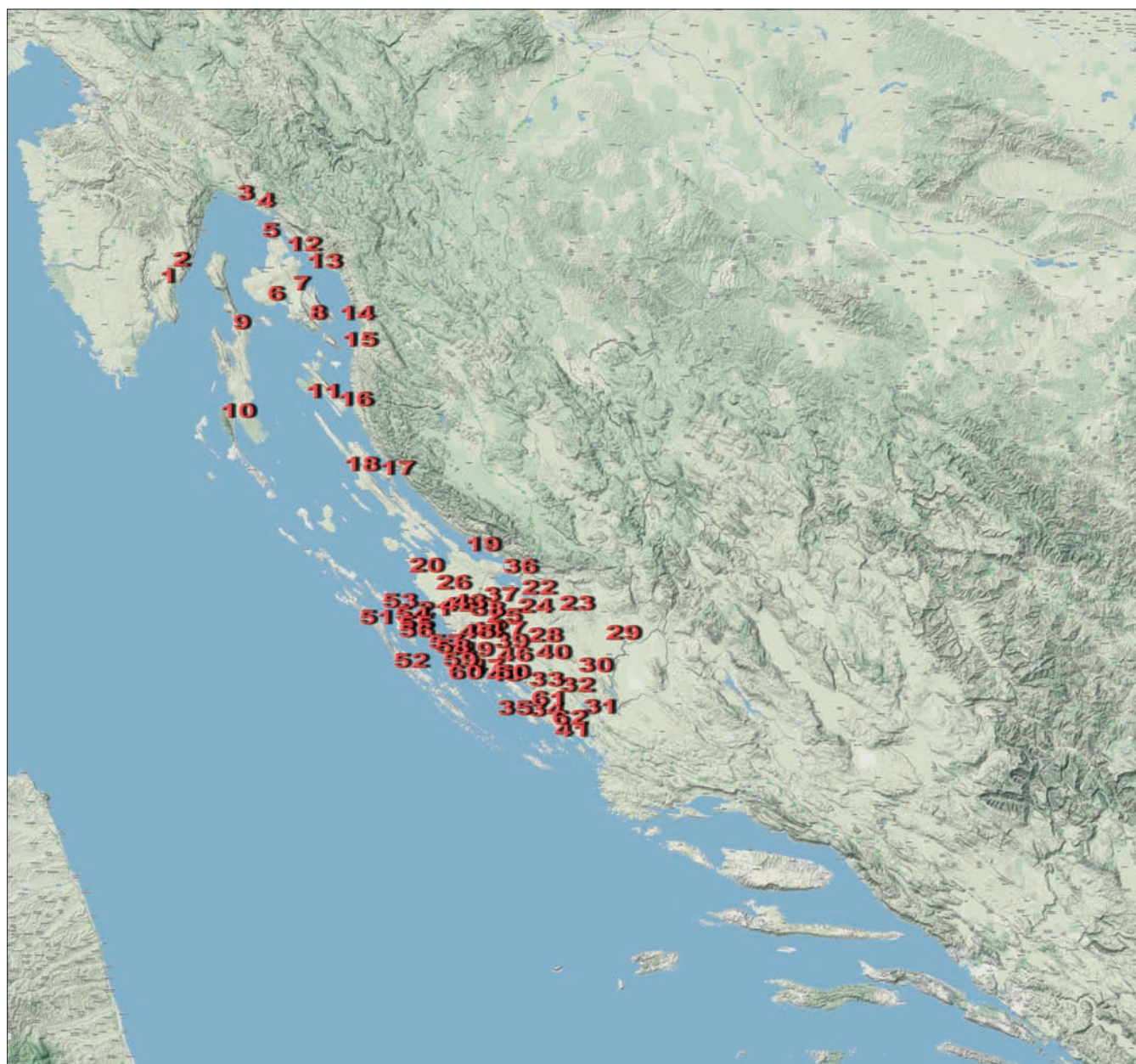
U ovom se radu, na temelju starijih i novijih istraživanja, predstavlja sažeta analiza problematike povezanosti naselja i nekropola u rimskodobnoj Liburniji. Svaka tema, problem i hipoteza potkrijepljeni su najvažnijim i najbolje dokumentiranim arheološkim nalazištima, kako ruralnim tako i urbanim. Usprkos činjenici da su mnogi znanstveni radovi

Introduction

Based on both older and more recent excavations, the concise analysis of problems regarding the connections between necropolises and settlements in Roman Liburnia is given in this article. Each topic, problem and hypothesis is substantiated by the most important and best documented

¹ Tema ovog članka predstavljena je na međunarodnoj konferenciji Fourth Conference of the Adriatic Forum, «Geopolitical Issues of the Adriatic – Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow» (Zadar, 16.–18. rujna 2011.), koju su organizirali Odjel za geografiju Sveučilišta u Zadru, Međunarodna geografska unija i Hrvatsko geografsko društvo.

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Sl. 1 Razmještaj nekropola, grobova i pojedinačnih grobnih nalaza u Liburniji (izradile: M. Jurjević i Z. Serventi 2011.): 1 Albona (Labin); 2 Flanona (Plomin); 3 Tarsatica; 4 Volcera (Bakar); 5 Fulfinum (Omišalj); 6 Curicum (Krki); 7 Vrbnik; 8 Baška – sv. Marko; 9 Crexa (Cres); 10 Apsorus (Osor); 11 Arba (Rab); 12 Ad Turres (Crikvenica); 13 Novi Vinodolski; 14 Senia (Senj); 15 Lopsica (sv. Juraj); 16 Stinica; 17 Karlobag; 18 Caska; 19 Argyruntum (Starigrad); 20 Aenona (Nin); 21 Iader (Zadar); 22 Cvijina gradina (Ansium); 23 Medviđa (Sidrona); 24 Corinium (Karin); 25 Biljane Donje (lokalitet „Pržine“ i lokalitet „Begovača“); 26 Briševo; 27 Nedinium (Nadin); 28 Asseria; 29 Burnum; 30 Varvaria; 31 Scardona (Skradin); 32 Dragišić; 33 V. Mrdakovica; 34 Ivinj – sv. Martin; 35 Murter; 36 Maslenica; 37 Kašić – „Mastirine“; 38 Škabrnja – sv. Luka; 39 Polača; 40 Lepuri – Dolac; 41 Srima; 42 Babindub; 43 Smoković – Crkvina; 44 Tinj – oranice Mumovac; 45 Donje Raštane – položaj Podjaruge; 46 Miranje; 47 Biograd; 48 Pakoštane; 49 Turanj – Tukljača; 50 Vrana; 51 Dugi otok – selo Luka; 52 Dugi otok – Sali – lok. Crkvina; 53 Ugljan – Supetar; 54 Ugljan – Gospodska gomila; 55 Ugljan – Mirine; 56 Ugljan – Čeprljanda; 57 Pašman – Ždrelac; 58 Pašman – Dobropoljana; 59 Pašman – Neviđane; 60 Pašman – Tkon; 61 zaleđe Pirovca – Kašić – položaj Dražica – Pudarica; 62 okolica Vodica – lokalitet Gradelji

Fig. 1 Distribution of necropolises, graves and isolated grave finds in the Liburnian territory (made by: M. Jurjević and Z. Serventi 2011.): 1 Albona (Labin); 2 Flanona (Plomin); 3 Tarsatica; 4 Volcera (Bakar); 5 Fulfinum (Omišalj); 6 Curicum (Krki); 7 Vrbnik; 8 Baška – St. Marko; 9 Crexa (Cres); 10 Apsorus (Osor); 11 Arba (Rab); 12 Ad Turres (Crikvenica); 13 Novi Vinodolski; 14 Senia (Senj); 15 Lopsica (St. Juraj); 16 Stinica; 17 Karlobag; 18 Caska; 19 Argyruntum (Starigrad); 20 Aenona (Nin); 21 Iader (Zadar); 22 Cvijina gradina (Ansium); 23 Medviđa (Sidrona); 24 Corinium (Karin); 25 Biljane Donje (sites “Pržine” and “Begovača”); 26 Briševo; 27 Nedinium (Nadin); 28 Asseria; 29 Burnum; 30 Varvaria; 31 Scardona (Skradin); 32 Dragišić; 33 V. Mrdakovica; 34 Ivinj – St. Martin; 35 Murter; 36 Maslenica; 37 Kašić – „Mastirine“; 38 Škabrnja – St. Luka; 39 Polača; 40 Lepuri – Dolac; 41 Srima; 42 Babindub; 43 Smoković – Crkvina; 44 Tinj – plough-fields Mumovac; 45 Donje Raštane – position Podjaruge; 46 Miranje; 47 Biograd; 48 Pakoštane; 49 Turanj – Tukljača; 50 Vrana; 51 Dugi otok – village Luka; 52 Dugi otok – Sali – lok. Crkvina; 53 Ugljan – Supetar; 54 Ugljan – Gospodska gomila; 55 Ugljan – Mirine; 56 Ugljan – Čeprljanda; 57 Pašman – Ždrelac; 58 Pašman – Dobropoljana; 59 Pašman – Neviđane; 60 Pašman – Tkon; 61 Pirovac hinterland – Kašić – position Dražica – Pudarica; 62 Vodice surroundings – site Gradelji

napisani o pojedinačnim liburnskim nekropolama (među najistaknutije autore spadaju Abramić, Colnago 1909; 2009; Nedved 1980; Jovanović 1984; Fadić 1989; Gluščević 2005; Kukoč 2009), niti jedan rad nije obradio Liburniju u cijelosti, već su se usredotočili na obradu manjih segmenata i areala. Dakle, članak koji bi se bavio širom problematikom razvoja naselja i nekropola na cjelokupnom području antičke Liburnije još nije ugledao svjetlo dana, a ovaj rad je, pogotovo uzimajući u obzir složenost teme, tek manji doprinos u rasvjetljavanju ovog kompleksnog problema.

Osim sinteze rezultata prethodnih arheoloških istraživanja, također se daje novi uvid u sveukupnu problematiku interakcije nekropola i naselja, kako bi se koncizno i sistematično predočila povezanost i sličnost grobova i njihovih naseobinskih pandana, kuća, ali i istaknuli različiti fenomeni i procesi u razvoju naselja i pripadajuće nekropole te prikazao odnos svih spomenutih elemenata s aspekta geografskog prostora. Naglasak je, sukladno tome, primarno stavljen na nekropolu i na odraz organizacije naselja u unutar-njem rasporedu sastavnih dijelova nekropole. Ovaj članak je, osim toga, pisan kako bi se potaknula šira interdisciplinarna analiza karakteristične veze «grada živih» i «grada mrtvih». Znanstvena metodologija uključuje kompilaciju i analizu pretežno nacionalne, kao i strane znanstvene i stručne arheološke literature, ali i radova iz srodnih znanosti. Također, u rad je uključen osobni uvid stečen tijekom brojnih arheoloških istraživanja, koji je omogućio bolje razumijevanje specifičnih nekropola i rezidencijalnih kompleksa na teritoriju Liburnije.

Nekropole i rimska vjerovanja

Preživljavanje duše poslije smrti bilo je od davnina duboko ukorijenjeno vjerovanje u Rimljana. Stoici i epikurejci su tijekom 1. stoljeća prije i poslije Krista doveli u pitanje rimsko poimanje smrti s idejom da je duša u osnovi materijalna i da propašću tijela i ona nestaje. Takav stav bio je vidljiv i na mnogim epitafima koji su naglašavali prolaznost ljudskog života. Većina ljudi ipak je odbacila spomenutu ideju, ustrajući u vjeri da će njihova svijest i dalje egzistirati nakon smrti i u nekom vidu utjecati na svijet živih, iako prije u duhovnom nego u fizičkom obliku (Toynbee 1982: 34). Osim toga, smatralo se, što i navodi rimskih izvora potvrđuju, da su mrtvi bili sveti i čašćeni preci koji su, ako bi ih se poštivalo, bili sposobni pomoći svojim nasljednicima, ali su, također, bili osvetoljubivi i na kraju štetni ukoliko bi ih se zanemarilo (Toynbee 1982: 35). Duše pokojnika često su se nazivale *Manes*, a taj naziv je opetovano upisivan na nadgrobne spomenike u obliku formule *D(is) M(anibus)* ili *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*, sa značenjem Bogovima Manima, tj. (mjesto) posvećeno bogovima Manima. Iako se koncept njihovog posljednjeg prebivališta s vremenom mijenjao, za većinu Rimljana Mani su boravili u podzemnim mjestima u blizini ili na mjestu njihovog groba. Ova vjerovanja su, kroz sam smještaj nekropole uz ceste izvan perimetra grada, uvjetovala razvoj klasičnog rimskog naselja i nekropole (Toynbee 1982: 37). Također, Zakonik dvanaest ploča (*Leges Duodecim Tabularum*) izričito je navodio da se ukop pokojnika morao izvršiti izvan granica naselja, a ponekad

archaeological sites, both rural and urban. Despite the fact that many archaeological papers have been written on the specific ancient Liburnian necropolises (among the most prominent authors being Abramić, Colnago 1909; 2009; Nedved 1980; Jovanović 1984; Fadić 1989; Gluščević 2005; Kukoč 2009), none of them analyzed the entire Liburnia but concentrated their research more on smaller segments and areas. Therefore, an article dealing with wider problems of development of settlements and necropolises in the territory of entire Liburnia has yet to be written making this paper just a “tip of an iceberg” in regards to the complexity of the theme.

This paper, apart from the synthesis of the previous results of the archaeological excavations, also gives a new insight into the overall issue of settlement and necropolis interaction. It is intended to be the scientific work which will offer a concise and systematic overview of the connections and similarities between graves and their potential settlement counterparts, houses, but it will also point out different phenomena and processes in the development of the settlement and its respective necropolis, as well as the interaction of each component with the elements in the geographical space. Furthermore, the emphasis will be placed primarily on the necropolis and the reflection of the organization of the settlement in the internal distribution of components within the necropolis. This article should also be an incentive for a wider interdisciplinary analysis of the intrinsic connection between the “city of the living” and the “city of the dead”. The research methodology includes the collection and analysis of mostly national but also foreign academic and professional archaeological literature as well as literature from other cognate disciplines. The personal insight gained during the archaeological excavations of several sites, which has provided a better understanding of specific necropolises and residential complexes in the territory of Liburnia, will be included here as well.

Necropolises and Roman beliefs

With the Romans, the survival of the soul after death was an ancient deep-seated belief. During the 1st centuries BC and AD the Stoics and Epicureans challenged the Roman preconception of death with the idea that the soul was itself material and was dispersed at the moment the body ceased to exist. This was also reflected on a number of epitaphs, most of them mentioning the brevity of human life. However, majority of the population rejected such views and persisted in the belief that their consciousness would exist after death and in some way affect the world of the living, although in a spiritual rather than corporal form (Toynbee 1982: 34). Roman literary sources also indicate that the dead were regarded as divine and venerated ancestors, who, if treated with respect, were capable of aiding their descendents, but were also vengeful and in the end harmful to the living if neglected (Toynbee 1982: 35). The souls of the dead were often called *Manes* and were repeatedly inscribed as such on the tombstones through the formula *D(is) M(anibus)* or *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*, meaning to the *Manes* gods i.e. a place dedicated to *Manes*. Although the concept of their residing place changed throughout time, for the majority

su uredbe određivale i minimalnu udaljenost grobova od grada. Ovaj se zakon poštivao sve do kasne antike, iako su neki važniji pojedinci i carevi bili izuzeti iz spomenutog pravila. S obzirom da su higijenski problemi, onečišćenje i vatra predstavljali velike opasnosti koje su prijetile sigurnosti naselja, ovakva ograničenja bila su posve razumljiva. Iako su bogati veleposjednici imali svoje grobnice na vlastitim imanjima, većina ljudi u rimskom svijetu pokapala se u raznovrsne grobove uz glavne prometnice koje su vodile do naselja (Toynbee 1982: 49). Osim toga, vjera u besmrtnost duše rezultirala je idejom da je grobnica mjesto gdje su mrtvi prebivali, što je uvjetovalo da oblik bar dijela nadgrobnih spomenika oponaša vanjski izgled doma, sve u nadi da će se mrtvi u svojoj grobnici osjećati kao kod kuće i da će ih to spriječiti da zalaze u svijet živih (Toynbee 1982: 37). Veza živih i mrtvih osobito je opipljiva u interakciji nekropole i naselja. Takva povezanost vidljiva je u mnogim segmentima: od jednostavne organizacije nekropole koja je oponašala organizaciju naselja, preko rituala koje su stanovnici naselja obavljali u čast svojih mrtvih predaka ili voljenih, sve do promjena koje su se odvijale na nekropoli ekspanzijom naselja, ali također i kroz uništavanje nekropola kada je sigurnost živih bila važnija od besmrtnih želja njihovih predaka.

Arheološki nalazi, konstrukcije nekropola i grobni prilozidaju uvid u koncept smrti i zagrobnog života u starom liburnskom društvu. Iako se ne može reći da su željeznodobni Liburni bili opsjednuti zagrobnim životom i smrću, bar ne u mjeri Etruščana koji su imali neizmjeran utjecaj na rimske pogrebne običaje, ipak su dovoljno pažnje posvećivali pokopu i predmetima koji su se prilagali uz pokojnika. Važno je naglasiti da su Liburni u pravilu pokapali svoje mrtve izvan granica grada, međutim, same nekropole nisu bile zapravo organizirane uz ceste nego su u većoj mjeri okruživale naselja, dok su grobni humci bili pretežno građeni dalje od naselja na istaknutim pozicijama u okolišu (Batović 1987: 355–357). Nekropola je osim toga, po našem mišljenju, mogla imati i svojevršno apotropijsko značenje tijekom prapovijesti, jer su možda neki napadači, u strahu od osвете mrtvih, bili neskloni kročiti na prostor nekropole. Integracijom liburnskog teritorija¹ u prostor rimske države, autohtona je populacija s vremenom prihvatila tekovine i tradicije rimskog svijeta, uključujući i pogrebne običaje. Unatoč tome što su Liburni tijekom prapovijesti imali ukorijenjeni ritual prilikom kojeg su pokapali pokojnike u zgrčenom položaju, pretežno u pravokutne grobove obložene kamenim pločama, dolaskom Rimljana brzo usvajaju spaljivanje pokojnika i potpuno nove običaje (Glušćević 2005: 382).

Prostiranje nekropola

Organski spoj i razvoj naselja i njegove pripadajuće nekropole odražavali su i prosperitet zajednice, dok su nalazi u nekropolama bili odraz statusa i bogatstva pojedinaca. Smrt je bila u prošlosti, kao i danas, neizbježna realnost, a u rimskom svijetu i bogati i siromašni morali su biti pokopani ili bi njihova besmrtna duša snosila teške posljedice.

¹ Za više o granicama Liburnije tijekom rimskog perioda v. Suić 1970: 705–716; Medini 1980: 363–435; Čaće 1982: 41–52; 1989: 59–91; 2006: 65–79 i Kurilić 2008: 9–35.

of the Roman people the *Manes* dwelt in the underground places near or at their burial place. These beliefs conditioned the development of classical Roman settlement and necropolis, mostly by placing the necropolis near the roads, although outside the city's perimeter (Toynbee 1982: 37). Furthermore, the Law of the Twelve Tables (*Leges Duodecim Tabularum*) clearly stated that the burial of the deceased individuals had to be conducted outside of the city limits and sometimes regulations even stated the minimal distance of the graves from the city. This law was respected until the late Empire, although exceptions could be made for special individuals or emperors. These restrictions were understandable as sanitary problems, defilement and fire were considered to be grave threats to the safety of the city. Although the rich landowners had their tombs on their own estates, the great majority of people in the Roman world were buried in various tombs next to the main road leading to the city (Toynbee 1982: 49). The belief that the soul survived also brought about the idea that the tomb itself was the place in which the dead resided, which in turn conditioned the form of at least some sepulchral monuments to mirror the outer resemblance of a house. This was all an attempt to make the dead feel at home in the tomb and to prevent them to venture in the world of the living (Toynbee 1982: 37). The bond between the dead and the living is particularly discernible in the interaction of the necropolis with the settlement. Such correlations are visible in many segments, from the simple organization of the necropolis mirroring the organisation of the settlement, through the rituals performed by the inhabitants of the settlement in order to honour their deceased ancestors and loved ones, to the changes made to the necropolis as the settlement expanded, but also through the destruction of the necropolis as the living placed their safety before the eternal wishes of their ancestors.

The concept of death and afterlife in the ancient Liburnian society can be derived from the archaeological finds, the construction of their cemeteries and the grave goods. We cannot say that the Iron Age Liburnians were obsessed with afterlife and death, at least not to the extent Etruscans were, which had an enormous influence on Roman funerary rites, but enough attention was certainly placed on the burial and the items placed next to the deceased. It must be noted that the Liburnians also had a rule to bury their dead outside of the city walls. However, the necropolises were not exactly organized next to the road, but rather surrounded the settlement, and the burial mounds were often constructed further away from the settlement on the prominent points in the geographical space (Batović 1987: 355–357). In our opinion, the necropolis also might have had a deterrent function during the prehistory, as some of the assailants might have been reluctant to venture through the necropolis for the fear of the retaliation of the dead. With the integration of the Liburnian territory¹ into the Roman Empire, the autochthonous population accepted in time the achievements and traditions of the Empire, including the burial forms. Despite the Liburnian quite persistent

¹ More on territorial boundaries of Liburnia during the Roman period see Suić 1970: 705–716; Medini 1980: 363–435; Čaće 1982: 41–52; 1989: 59–91; 2006: 65–79 and Kurilić 2008: 9–35.

Na osnovi toga i sami grobovi pokojnika varirali su od najjednostavnijih konstrukcija do kompleksno ukrašenih i arhitektonski složenih spomenika (Toynbee 1982: 73). Većina gradova u Rimskom Carstvu pružila je barem rudimentarne dokaze takvih grobova i nekropola, a ni područje Liburnije nije se u tome razlikovalo. Nekropole se, na temelju trenutnog stanja istraženosti i u odnosu prema pripadajućem naselju, mogu podijeliti u nekoliko tipova, što je i vidljivo iz prikaza (sl. 1), gdje brojke od 1 do 35 označavaju urbana i ruralna naselja s arheološki potvrđenim nekropolama, od 36 do 41 su označena pretežno ruralna naselja s naznačenim nekropolama, dok brojke od 42 do 62 predstavljaju izolirane grobne nalaze. Najveća koncentracija nekropola i pojedinačnih grobnih nalaza potvrđena je na prostoru Bukovice i Ravnih kotara, djelomično zbog velikog broja prapovijesnih središta koja su nastavila živjeti i tijekom rimske dominacije, ali i zbog obradivih površina koje su mogle opskrbljivati veći broj ljudi i naselja. Osim toga, mnogi znanstvenici smatraju da je južni dio Liburnije bio središnji teritorij Liburna (Abramić, Colnago 1909: 13–112; 2009: 161–206; Colnago 1915: 175–188; Belošević 1975: 103–117; Batović 1981: 85–90; Čače 1982: 41–52; 2006: 65–79; Fadić 1989: 223–254; 2003: 106–111; Delonga 1990: 85–110; Nedved 1990: 213–246; Kurilić 1993: 61–68; Zorić 1994; 1999: 103–108; 2006: 330–331; Nimac, Delonga 1997; Uroda 2010: 241–254). Pojedinačni nalazi su pretežno povezani s već utvrđenom ili naznačenom ruralnom arhitekturom ili gospodarskim kompleksima sagrađenim na periferiji plodnih polja.²

Kad nekropola oponaša naselje

Sličnosti između grobova i obične kuće mogu se uočiti već i u osnovnim grobnim konstrukcijama, poput onih izrađenih od tegula i imbreksa u obliku jednostavnog dvoslivnog krova, a s obzirom da su takvi grobovi bili iznimno popularni, koristili su se diljem rimskodobne Liburnije (Jovanović 1984: 54–57). U Zadru (Glušćević 2005: 220–221) i Aseriji (Cambi 2004: 24–39), pronađeno je nekoliko ostataka kompleksnijih nadgrobnih spomenika koji bi se mogli povezati s edikulama, možda nalik onima iz Šempetra u blizini Celeie (današnja Slovenija),³ koje su uglavnom imale kvadratne baze nadopunjene niskim podijem i edikulom s krovom (Kolšek 1997: 16–45).

Još jedna grupa nadgrobnih spomenika s arhitektonskim završecima i reljefnim prikazima konstrukcijskih elemenata kuća bile su stele koje su često prikazivale lukove ili četvrtaste niše ispod kojih su stajale klesane portretne biste vlasnika grobova (Rendić-Miočević 1960: 107 i d). Također, takvi spomenici su često imali dvoslivne završetke u obliku krova ili arhitrava, prikaze bočnih pilastara, baza, lučnih ili kvadratičnih niša i edikula (Toynbee 1982: 246), dok su slične stele nosile dekorativne prikaze vrata, simbole ulaza u Had.⁴ Nadalje, u rimskom su društvu kvadratne cinerarije ponekad bile u potpunosti izrađene u obliku kuća ili hra-

sepulchral ritual during the prehistory, i. e. burying their dead in the foetal position mostly in graves made of stone slabs constructed into a square pit, with the Roman domination the cremation of the deceased and completely new funerary rites were soon accepted (Glušćević 2005: 382).

Distribution of necropolises

The organic bond and development of the settlement and its related necropolis reflected the prosperity of the community, and the finds in the necropolis reflected wealth and status of the individual. Death was, and still is, an inevitable reality, and in the Roman world rich and poor alike had to be buried or their soul would suffer dire repercussions. The graves of the deceased ranged from those of the simplest construction to those that were marked by elaborately carved or architecturally complex monuments (Toynbee 1982: 73). Most cities of the Empire have produced at least some evidence of graves and cemeteries and Liburnian territory was no different. The necropolises can be divided into several types according to their interaction with the settlement and the state of the current archaeological research. As it is evident in this representation (Fig. 1), numbers 1 to 35 mark the urban and rural settlements with archaeologically attested necropolises, 36 to 41 mark mostly rural settlements with presumed necropolises and numbers 42 to 62 represent isolated grave finds. The greatest concentration of necropolises and individual grave finds has been attested in Bukovica and Ravnih kotari, partly due to the great number of prehistoric settlements, which continued to exist throughout the Roman domination, but also due to the fertility and abundance of the land, which could have supported a greater number of people and settlements. Also, the southern part of Liburnia is considered to be the core territory of the Liburnians by many scientists (Abramić, Colnago 1909: 13–112; 2009: 161–206; Colnago 1915: 175–188; Belošević 1975: 103–117; Batović 1981: 85–90; Čače 1982: 41–52; 2006: 65–79; Fadić 1989: 223–254; 2003: 106–111; Delonga 1990: 85–110; Nedved 1990: 213–246; Kurilić 1993: 61–68; Zorić 1994; 1999: 103–108; 2006: 330–331; Nimac, Delonga 1997; Uroda 2010: 241–254). Individual finds are mostly connected to the already determined or presumed rural architecture or agricultural complexes which were constructed on the outskirts of the fertile fields.²

Necropolis imitating the settlement

Similarities between the graves and the everyday house can be found even in the most basic sepulchral constructions, like the ones made with tegulae and imbrices imitating a simple gabled roof. These graves were used throughout Roman Liburnia being among the most popular sepulchral constructions (Jovanović 1984: 54–57). Several remains of the more complex sepulchral monuments, which could be associated with aediculae, were found in Zadar (Glušćević 2005: 220–221) and Asseria (Cambi 2004: 24–39). Such complex sepulchral monuments are perhaps similar to those found in Šempeter near the ancient town of Celeia (present

2 Više o smještaju gospodarskih zgrada v. Zaninović 1967: 357–371.

3 Slične grobnice također su pronađene u Akvileji, Sarsini i Noriku (Cambi 2004: 28–29).

4 Smatra se da je Bliski istok bio izvorište ovakvih nadgrobnih spomenika (Starac 2002: 37).

2 More on the placement of agricultural complexes see Zaninović 1967: 357–371.



Sl. 2 Kasnoantički sarkofag na otoku Sv. Petar u blizini otoka Lošinja (snimila: Z. Serventi 2010.)

Fig. 2 Late antiquity sarcophagus found on the island of St. Petar near the island of Lošinj (photo: Z. Serventi 2010)

mova, s dvoslivnim krovovima i arhitektonskim elementima uklesanim u površinu kamena (Toynbee 1982: 255). Takve cinerarije još uvijek nisu pronađene na teritoriju Liburnije. No, dugo se vremena smatralo da je liburnski cipus, važan nadgrobni spomenik karakterističan za ovaj teritorij, oblikom oponašao konstrukciju tumula, posljednjeg počivališta mrtvih u prapovijesti, koji je u to vrijeme oponašao kuće živih (Suić 1951: 69). Danas je takva teorija osporavana, no unatoč tome sam spomenik je zasigurno nosio simbolizam posljednjeg počivališta mrtvih.⁵ Osim toga, ovaj tip nadgrobnog spomenika proizvodio se izričito za područje Liburnije, a velik broj je bio vrlo vjerojatno izrađen upravo u lokalnoj radionici u Aseriji (Fadić 2003: 104).

Sarkofazi, koji su bili istovremeno i nadgrobni spomenici i sami grobovi jer je tijelo pokojnika bilo polagano u unutrašnjost sanduka, čest su nalaz na teritoriju Liburnije. Standardni kasnoantički sarkofazi imali su poklopac u obliku dvoslivnog krova s akroterijem na svakom kutu (sl. 2), a oni bogatije ukrašeni imali su na jednoj ili više strana sanduka reljefne prikaze arhitekture (Cambi 2002: 256). Ovaj tip nadgrobnog spomenika, također, podsjeća na prosječnu kuću, a činjenica da neki sarkofazi nisu bili vidljivi široj javnosti, već su bili pokriveni pločama ili zakopani uslijed čega neke dekoracije nisu bile namijenjene divljenju prolaznika, nego su trebale ugoditi duši pokojnika, dodatno potkrijepljuje ideju da su grobovi, bar za neko vrijeme, bili prebivalište i dom za pokojnikovu dušu (Toynbee 1982: 275).

Nekoliko je rimskih nekropola u Liburniji bilo organizira-

5 Nekoliko liburnskih cipusa pronađenih s udubinom za koju se smatra da je služila kao *theka*, tj. spremnik za ljudski pepeo, dodatno potvrđuju ovu teoriju (Fadić 2001: 101).

day Slovenia)³, which consisted mostly of rectangular base topped by a low podium and aedicula ending with a roof (Kolšek 1997: 16–45).

The stelae are another group of gravestones that have architectural similarities with the houses as well as depictions of architectural elements. Stelae often had arches or rectangular niches under which the portrait bust(s) of the owner(s) of the grave were carved in stone (Rendić-Miočević 1960: 107 etc.). Also, they often had gabled tops representing gabled roofs or architraves, as well as lateral pilasters, pediments and arched or rectangular niches or aediculae (Toynbee 1982: 246). Other similar monuments had decorative elements which depicted the doors symbolizing the entrance to Hades.⁴ Also, in Roman society the rectangular cineraria were sometimes constructed exactly in the form of the houses or temples, with gabled roofs and architectural elements carved in the surface of the stone (Toynbee 1982: 255). Such cineraria have not yet been found in the territory of Liburnia, but for a long time the important grave monument specific for this territory, the Liburnian cippus, has been theorized to have originated from the construction of the tumulus, prehistoric resting place of the dead, which at that time mimicked the house of the living (Suić 1951: 69). Nowadays such theories have been challenged, but nevertheless the monument still retains the symbolism of the resting place of the dead.⁵ Furthermore, this type of monument has been produced specifically for the territory of Liburnia, and many of them were most likely made in *Aseria* (Fadić 2003: 104).

Sarcophagi, another type of sepulchral monument and the grave proper, as the body of the deceased was laid inside the coffin, are often found in the territory of Liburnia. The standard late antiquity sarcophagi were equipped with a lid in the form of a gabled roof with acroteria in each corner (Fig. 2), and the more decorated ones also had depictions of architectural elements made in relief on one or more sides of the coffin (Cambi 2002: 256). This type of sepulchral monument is also reminiscent of the standard house and the fact that some sarcophagi were not visible to the general public but were buried or covered with slabs of stone and therefore some decorations were not intended for the admiration of the passers-by but were meant to please the soul of the deceased, also support the idea that the grave was a residing place and a house for the deceased's soul, at least for a certain amount of time (Toynbee 1982: 275).

Several Roman necropolises in Liburnia were also organized and divided into grave plots⁶ which not only indicates the preplanning of at least a part of the necropolis but also replicates the organization of the settlement itself. The gra-

3 Similar tombs were found also in Aquileia, Sarsina and Noricum (Cambi 2004: 28–29).

4 The point of origin of such tombstones is considered to be from the Near East (Starac 2002: 37).

5 This theory is also attested by several Liburnian cippi found with a hole, which was presumably used as *theka* or receptacle for human ashes (Fadić 2001: 101).

6 For more see Dubolnić 2007: 28–33; Gluščević 2005: 263–284; Gregl, Lazar 2008: 13–26; Kukoč 2009: 52 etc.; Nedved 1980: 342–350; Pedišić 2001: 32 and Vasilj 2008: 117.

no i podijeljeno u grobne parcele⁶ što ne samo da ukazuje na planiranje bar dijela nekropole nego i oponaša unutrašnju organizaciju samog naselja. Grobne parcele bile su sistematične, ortogonalne i vrlo uredno poredane jedna do druge, nalik na insule u obližnjem naselju.

Organizacija gradskih nekropola pretežno je ovisila o bogatim i dobrostojećim stanovnicima koji su si mogli priuštiti kupnju dijela zemljišta, većeg spomenika ili grobnice, od kojih su neke već unaprijed bile pripremljene za potencijalne kupce koji su samo trebali dodati svoj osobni ukus grobnici, a ponekad čak niti to (Toynbee 1982: 74). Dobar primjer je nekropola u Argiruntumu (antički Starigrad) koja se protezala s obje strane ceste u dužini od više od pola kilometra od ulaza u naselje. Nprekinut niz kvadratnih grobnih parcela bio je okružen zidovima i podijeljen uskim prolazima, a svaka grobna parcela imala je više ukopa, pretežno incineracijskih (Dubolnić 2007: 28–33) (sl. 3). Osim Starigrada (*Argyrumtum*), arheološka istraživanja potvrdila su postojanje grobnih parcela u Nadinu (*Nedinum*) (Kukoč 2009: 52 i d.), Skradinu (*Scardona*) (Pedišić 2001: 32), Bakru (*Volcera*) (Gregl, Lazar 2008: 13–26), Zadru (*Iader*) (Nedved 1980: 342–350; Gluščević 2005: 263–284) i možda u Podgrađu kod Benkovca (*Asseria*) (Vasilj 2008: 117). Osim toga, mnogi nadgrobni spomenici imali su uobičajen natpis koji je u tekstu određivao veličinu, tj. širinu i duljinu grobne parcele ili grobnice.⁷ Takvi natpisi, koji dodatno potvrđuju prisutnost grobnih parcela u spomenutim naseljima, pronađeni su, između ostalog, u Labinu (*Albona*), Karinu (*Corinium*), Ninu (*Aenona*), Polači, Biogradu i Osoru (*Apsorus*).⁸ Podaci o organizaciji i veličini rimskih nekropola u ruralnim područjima Liburnije, na temelju sadašnjeg stanja istraženosti, iznimno su oskudni; ipak, otkriće prije spomenutih nadgrobničkih spomenika u Biogradu (Nedved 1990: 214–215, bilj. 7, 9) i Polači (Uroda 2010: 242, bilj. 2), naznačilo je prisutnost stroge organizacije nekropola čak i u ruralnim područjima.

Nekropole i glavne prometnice iz naselja

Općenito, pogrebni rituali i grobovi mogu se promatrati kroz prizmu složene socijalne diferencijacije i komunikacije, a slojevitost informacija, koju je određeni grob mogao prenijeti, varirala je ovisno o društvu, području i simboličkim uzorcima prisutnim u određeno vrijeme. Tijekom takve komunikacije prostor mrtvih ulazio je u svijet živih i povezivao se s čitateljem putem riječi zapisanih na nadgrobnom spomeniku. Nekropola je stoga morala biti postavljena u prostor koji su ljudi često posjećivali kako bi se olakšala komunikacija i prisjećanje na mrtve, osobito jer je sam zakon nametao ograničenja, a u takvim se okolnostima glavna

ve plots were systematic, orthogonal and quite neatly stacked next to each other, just like the insulae in the settlement nearby.

The organization of city cemeteries largely depended on the wealthy and reasonably well-to-do who could afford to buy a piece of land, a larger monument or a tomb, some of which must have been previously prepared and organized for a perspective customer who only had to add a personal touch to the tomb, and sometimes not even that (Toynbee 1982: 74). For example in *Argyrumtum* (ancient Starigrad), the necropolis ran for more than half a km on both sides of the road leading from the city's gate. Uninterrupted series of rectangular grave plots were enclosed by walls and separated from one another by narrow passages, and each grave plot had several burials, predominately incinerations (Dubolnić 2007: 28–33) (Fig. 3). Apart from Starigrad (*Argyrumtum*), archaeological evidence of burial plots has been found in Nadin (*Nedinum*) (Kukoč 2009: 52ff), Skradin (*Scardona*) (Pedišić 2001: 32), Bakar (*Volcera*) (Gregl, Lazar 2008:13–26), Zadar (*Iader*) (Nedved 1980: 342–350; Gluščević 2005: 263–284) and perhaps in Podgrađe near Benkovac (*Asseria*) (Vasilj 2008: 117). Furthermore, many sepulchral monuments have had the common inscriptions determining the size i.e. the width and depth of the burial plot or a tomb mentioned in the text.⁷ Such inscriptions were found in Labin (*Albona*), Karin (*Corinium*), Nin (*Aenona*), Polača, Biograd and Osor (*Apsorus*) and they additionally attest to the presence of burial plots in aforementioned settlements.⁸ The data regarding the organization and the size of the ancient Roman necropolises in rural areas of ancient Liburnia, based on the current state of research, is insufficient; however, the discovery of the aforementioned sepulchral monuments, the one from Biograd (Nedved 1990: 214–215, n. 7, 9) and the other from Polača (Uroda 2010: 242, n. 2), has proven that the existence of the strict organization of necropolises was present even in rural areas.

Necropolises and main roads leading from the settlement

Generally, funerary rituals and graves may be considered to have been functions of complex social differentiation and communication and the complexity of the information conveyed by graves may vary in different societies and territories, depending on the symbolic patterns valid at a specific time. During such communication the space of the dead entered the realm of the living and connected to the one reading the inscribed words written on the sepulchral monuments. Because of the restrictions imposed by the law and in order to facilitate that need for communication and remembrance of the dead, the necropolises had to be placed in the area which was often frequented by people, and

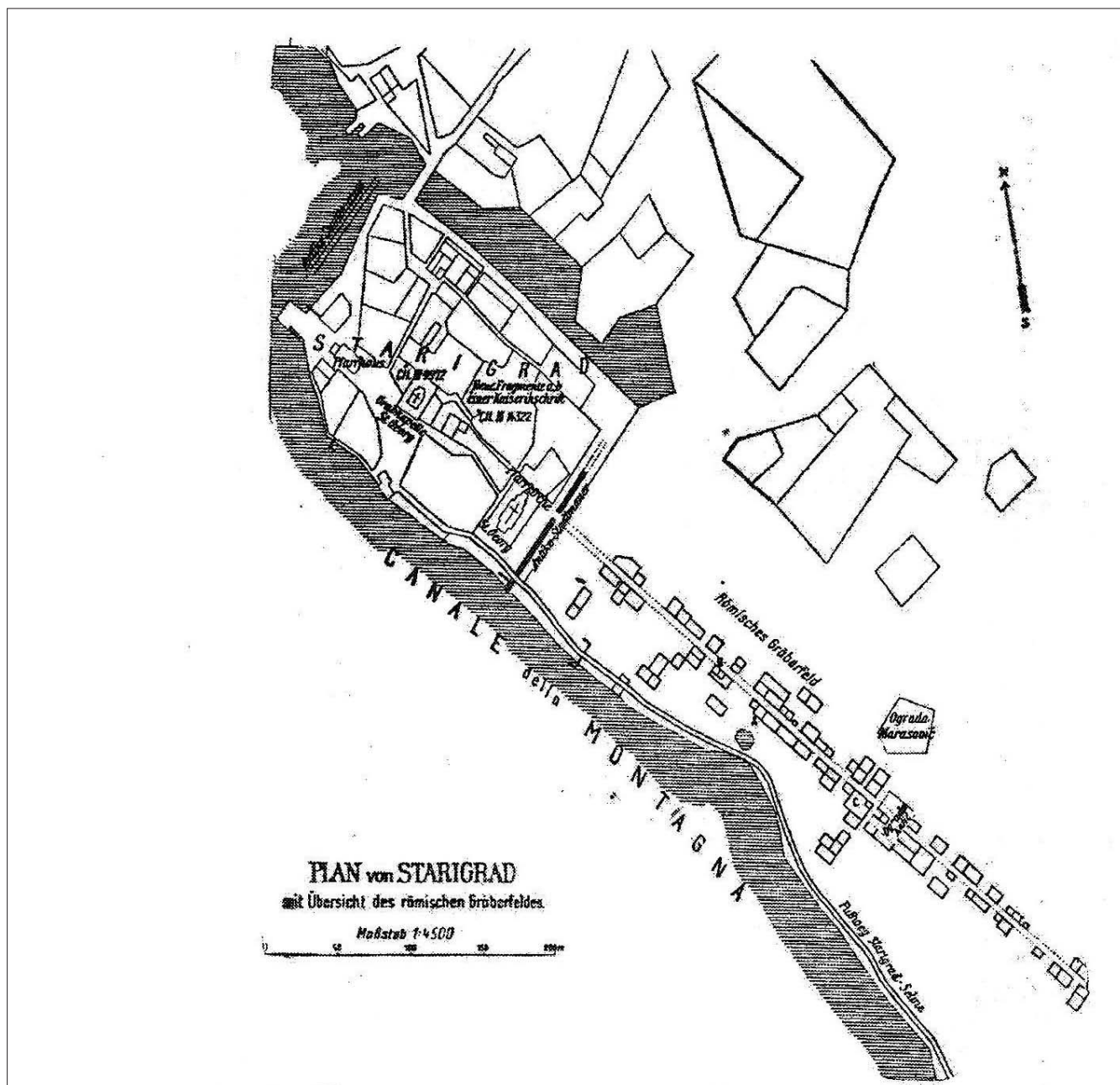
6 Za više v. Dubolnić 2007: 28–33; Gluščević 2005: 263–284; Gregl, Lazar 2008: 13–26; Kukoč 2009: 52 i d.; Nedved 1980: 342–350; Pedišić 2001: 32 i Vasilj 2008: 117.

7 Najuobičajenija abrevijacija je IN FR P (in fronte pedes), koja određuje širinu grobne parcele, dok IN A P (in agro pedes) određuje dužinu grobne parcele. Druge skraćenice, Q Q V P (quoquoversus pedes), L M (locus monumenti) i LOC SEP (locus sepulturae) također indiciraju prisutnost grobnih parcela (Matijašić 2002: 75).

8 Podaci su sakupljeni iz epigrafske baze podataka Internet epigraphic database Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss Slaby EDCS (http://oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr/epigraphik_en).

7 The most common of such abbreviations are IN FR P (in fronte pedes), which determines the width of the burial plot, and IN A P (in agro pedes), which determines the depth of the burial plot. Other abbreviations, Q Q V P (quoquoversus pedes), L M (locus monumenti) and LOC SEP (locus sepulturae), also indicate the presence of burial plots (Matijašić 2002: 75).

8 Information collected from the Internet epigraphic database Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss Slaby EDCS (http://oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr/epigraphik_en).



Sl. 3 Plan nekropole u Argiruntumu (Abramić, Colnago 1909: 48)
 Fig. 3 The plan of the necropolis in Argyruntum (Abramić, Colnago 1909: 48)

prometnica, koja je vodila prema naselju, nametnula kao idealno rješenje. Važnost spomenutih cesta mogla se primijetiti u svakom aspektu razvoja naselja; boljitak naselja ovisio je o komunikacijama i trgovačkim pravcima koji su bili uspostavljeni s drugim centrima i regijama, a sjaj nekropole ovisio je o bogatstvu stanovnika. Svi ovi elementi bili su nedjeljivo povezani i ako bi jedan od njih podbacio, razarajući efekt odrazio bi se u svim drugim segmentima. U osnovi, glavne ceste iz naselja bile su žile kućavice živućih stanovnika, ali vječni mir i «prosperitet» mrtvih umnogome je, također, ovisio o toj komunikaciji. Stoga položaj pojedinih grobova i cijele nekropole, osim što nudi pregršt informacija o socijalnom statusu stanovnika naselja i njihovim vjerovanjima, također ukazuje na usmjerenje cesta i moguće izravne veze između više naselja. Jedan od najboljih primjera je

what better place to organize a necropolis than the main road leading to and from the settlement. The importance of main roads leading to the settlement could be sensed in all aspects of its development. The prosperity of the settlement depended on the communications and trade routes it established with other centres and regions and the splendour of the necropolis depended on the wealth of the inhabitants of the settlement. All these elements were interconnected and if one failed the cascading effect was sensed in all other components. Basically the main roads of the settlement were the lifelines of the living inhabitants but the peace and “prosperity” of the dead depended heavily on that communication as well. Therefore, the placement of individual graves and the entire necropolis, apart from offering an abundance of information regarding the social

zadarska nekropola. Teritorij antičkog Zadra bio je opsežno istraživano tijekom zadnjih dvadeset godina, osobito suburban dio, koji je otkrio kompleksnu nekropolu, a nedavno je na području Relje, na mjestu današnjeg trgovačkog centra, iskopan segment nekropole, koji je sadržavao više od 900 grobova, kao i dio antičke ceste koja je vodila iz ladera prema Enoni (Gluščević 2001: 217). Osim ceste, koja je bila oko 5,5 m široka, otkrivena su i oba rubnika kao i površina neposredno uz cestu, izrađena od manjeg nabijenog šljunka, za koju se pretpostavlja da je bila korištena za potrebe posjetitelja nekropole. Sekundarna komunikacija između grobova zasigurno je igrala važnu ulogu na nekropolama, ali je ponekad i mijenjala smjer, kao što se može vidjeti u Zadru gdje je nekoliko grobova pronađeno ispod spomenute trase (Gluščević 2005: 305–307). Položaj nekropole u suburbanom teritoriju Zadra indicira složenost prigradskih komunikacija i ukazuje na to da je nekropola postojala i dalje od grada, zajedno s odvojkom ceste koji je vodio u zadarski ager (Gluščević 2002: 383). Paljevinski grobovi s obje strane Zrinsko-frankopanske ulice, otkriveni nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, upućuju na mogući smjer ceste iz Zadra prema Aseriji (Gluščević 2005: 312).

Još jedna nekropola s pripadajućom cestom istražena je na položaju Maraguša u blizini antičkog naselja Skardone. Položaj nekropole i više istraženih grobnih parcela udaljeni su više od milje od grada, dok se cesta, koja je vodila od spomenutog naselja, nastavljala uz Skradinsko polje u smjeru Aserije (Miletić 2004: 16).

Grobne parcele otkrivene u Argiruntumu pružale su se s obje strane ceste koja se nastavljala od gradskih vrata prema jugu, sve do aluvijalnog dijela Paklenice gdje su pronađeni zadnji ostaci ceste s potvrđenim grobnicama. Cesta je, najvjerojatnije, preko najpovoljnijeg prijevoja, Malog i Velikog Rujna, nastavljala prema Lici, ali su njeno stvarno stanje i karakter još uvijek upitni kao i točne veze s Jaderom i drugim važnim obližnjim naseljima poput Vegija, Cvijine gradine, Sidrone, Korinija ili Hadre (Dubolnić 2007: 36; Miletić 2006: 129). Osim spomenutih nalazišta i sve ostale istraživane nekropole uz veća naselja, također, ukazuju usmjerenje glavnih cesta, ali, nažalost, arheološka iskopavanja su u manjoj mjeri otkrila njihove ostatke, dok je ruralni prostor dao još malobrojnije podatke.

Glavnu okosnicu socio-ekonomskog razvoja Liburnije predstavljala je jaka pomorska tradicija uz koju su se u unutrašnjim dijelovima (Bukovica i Ravni kotari) razvili zemljoradnja, stočarstvo, proizvodnja mesa i sira te eksploatacija šuma (Nedved 1990: 235–236; Kurilić 2008: 21, 25). Uz snažan razvoj pomorstva, jednu od važnih okosnica razvoja predstavljao je sustav cesta kojim su međusobno bila povezana urbana i ruralna središta na obali s onima u zaleđu. Osim toga, tijekom izgradnje bilo kojeg gospodarskog kompleksa, njegov smještaj na dobro poznatim trgovačkim pravcima i pristupačnost bilo kopnom ili morem bili su od krajnje važnosti. Na temelju gustoće rasporeda takvih gospodarstava očito je da je većina nalazišta koncentrirana na obalnoj liniji i otocima, osobito na otocima Ugljanu i Pašmanu, a većina je bila sagrađena na padinama i terasama uz more, po mogućnosti u zaštićenim uvalama (npr. Ivinj, Gospodska gomila)

status of the inhabitants of the settlement and their religious beliefs, also indicates the direction of the roads and the possible direct connections between several settlements. One of the best examples is lader's necropolis. The territory of ancient Zadar has been extensively excavated during the last twenty years, especially the suburban area, which revealed a complex necropolis. Recently, in the area of Relja in the place of the current shopping mall, the necropolis containing more than 900 graves has been excavated, as well as a section of the ancient road leading from lader to Aenona (Gluščević 2001: 217). Apart from the road, which was approximately 5.5 m wide, both curbs were found as well. Next to the road a surface made of small compacted gravel has been discovered, which was presumably the communication used for the needs of the visitors to the necropolis. The secondary communications between the graves certainly played an important role in all necropolises but sometimes they changed direction, as can be seen in Zadar where several graves were found underneath the communication (Gluščević 2005: 305–307). The placement of the necropolis in lader's suburban territory indicates the complexity of the suburban communications and implies the existence of a necropolis further away from the ancient city as well as a detour of the road which led to the lader's ager (Gluščević 2002: 383). After World War II, cremation tombs, which indicated the possible direction of the road from Zadar to Asseria, were found on both sides of the Zrinsko-Frankopanska Street (Gluščević 2005: 312).

Another necropolis and its corresponding road have been excavated in the site of Maraguša, next to the Liburnian ancient settlement of Scardona. The site of the necropolis and several excavated grave plots are over a mile away from the city. The road leading from the aforementioned settlement continues next to Skradinsko polje and further on towards Asseria (Miletić 2004: 16).

In Argiruntum a larger section of the road was discovered along with burial plots spanning on both sides. It continued from the city gates towards the South, and the last remains of the road, together with the last attested graves, were found near the alluvial area of Paklenica gorge. Presumably the road crossed the easiest pass towards Lika, which is Malo and Veliko Rujno, but its actual status and character is still questionable as are the actual connections with lader and other important adjacent settlements like Vegium, Cvijina gradina, Sidrona, Corinium or Hadra (Dubolnić 2007: 36; Miletić 2004: 129). Apart from previously mentioned sites, all other excavated necropolises pertaining to the major settlements also indicated the directions of the main roads but unfortunately the excavations revealed their remains to a lesser extent and the rural areas provided even less information.

The primary backbone of socio-economic development of Liburnia was the strong maritime tradition which was supported by the inland (Bukovica and Ravni kotari) agriculture and cattle breeding as well as the meat and cheese production and the exploitation of woodland resources (Nedved 1990: 235–236; Kurilić 2008: 21, 25). With the strong development of maritime trade, one of the impor-

(Zaninović 1967: 358–359, 367–368; 1995: 89, 94). Osim toga, uz položaj na važnim trgovačkim pravcima i konfiguraciju terena, odlučujuću ulogu imala je dostupnost pitke vode (Suić 2003: 324). Ostaci antičkih ruralnih nekropola pretežno su pronalazeni uz takve komplekse, no za više podataka bit će potrebna detaljnija i opsežnija istraživanja.

Kontinuitet naselja i nekropola

Kao što je već navedeno, brojna prapovijesna naselja u Liburniji živjela su i napredovala tijekom rimske prevlasti, a sukladno tome su se razvijale i nekropole i pogrebni rituali. Rimljani su uveli još raskošnije priloge i novi običaj pokapanja, spaljivanje. Iako takav običaj nije nepoznat autohtonoj populaciji, rijetko se koristio i to pretežno tijekom mlađeg željeznog doba, možda pod rimskim utjecajima (Kukoč 2009: 40). Promjena, koliko u priložima uz pokojnike toliko i u organizaciji grobova i nekropola, prožela je u cijelosti rituale pokapanja, ali sve te razlike jasan su odraz složenih procesa koji su se zbivali u naseljima, kako u njihovom smještaju tako i u unutarnjoj organizaciji. Načini pokapanja nisu ostali fiksirani i nepromijenjeni do kraja rimskog perioda, već su se običaji spaljivanja i inhumacije koristili u različitim omjerima i odnosima tijekom različitih razdoblja. Spaljivanje je bilo popularnije tijekom 1. i 2. stoljeća, dok su se krajem 2. i u 3. stoljeću oba rituala koristila podjednako. S promjenama u rimskom društvu, ali i širenjem kršćanstva, običaj inhumacije preuzima vodeću ulogu (Toynbee 1982: 39). Potrebno je naglasiti da se tijekom vremena pojavio određeni uzorak u običajima pokapanja; tijekom prapovijesnih vremena grobovi su bili raspoređeni oko naselja, ali su se nalazili i na većim udaljenostima; tijekom ranog carstva nekropole su se organizirale uz ceste koje su vodile iz grada, a u kasnoj antici takva organizacija se gubi, osobito s dominacijom kršćanstva kada grobovi imaju tendenciju grupiranja oko prostora s vjerskim značenjem, bilo crkve ili mjesta mučeništva. Ipak, unatoč općim sklonostima i modi, koja je određivala način na koji će se određeni pojedinac pokapati, činjenica je da su izbor grobnice i rituala bili na kraju odluka koju je svaki čovjek donosio na osnovi vlastite tradicije i osobnih želja te uslijed ekonomskih, društvenih i pravnih okolnosti vremena u kojem je djelovao. Nadalje, proces, koji se odvijao u naseljima, odražavao se u nekropolama, a prestanak egzistencije naselja značio je napuštanje nekropole, stoga je kroz pojedine grobove u nekropoli moguće utvrditi i općenitu dataciju naselja.

Mnoge nekropole u Liburniji koristile su se kroz duže razdoblje, a osobito je značajna nekropola Aserije s rasporedom od prapovijesti do kraja kasne antike. Prapovijesni grobovi pronađeni su u blizini i ispod rimskodobnih gradskih zidina (Brusić 2005: 7), dok su kasnoantički grobovi (5./6. stoljeće) koristili prostor između ranijeg gradskog bedema i sekundarnog obrambenog zida, ali i konstrukciju samog kontrafora, nadodanog tijekom kasne antike na ranoantički zid (Fadić 2001: 69). Ti prapovijesni grobovi, koji su se nepravilno protezali oko naselja, ne samo da dokazuju kontinuitet nekropole nego i ukazuju na to da je željeznodobno naselje imalo, bar u jednom dijelu, iste granice kao i rimski grad. Nažalost, ranoantički grobovi bili su sustavno devastirani u 19.

tant backbones of the economical growth was certainly the road-system, which connected the urban and rural centres on the coast with inland territory. Also, during the construction of an agricultural estate, its placement on the well-known trade routes and its accessibility by either land or sea was of the utmost importance. Based on the density of the distribution of such estates it is quite apparent that the majority of the sites were concentrated on the coastal line and islands, especially on the islands of Ugljan and Pašman, and most of them were built on the gentle slopes or terraces next to the sea, preferably in sheltered coves (e.g. Ivinj, Gospodska gomila) (Zaninović 1967: 358–359, 367–368; 1995: 89, 94). Furthermore, in addition to the placement on important trade routes and the configuration of the terrain, the availability of fresh water source had a crucial role as well (Suić 2003: 324). The remnants of ancient rural necropolises were mostly found next to such complexes, however, wider and more accurate discoveries have yet to be found.

Continuity of settlements and necropolises

As we mentioned before, a number of prehistoric settlements in the Liburnian territory continued to exist and thrive during the Roman dominance, and their necropolises and sepulchral rituals evolved as well. Romans introduced a more lavish way of providing for the deceased and a new burial ritual, cremation. Even though such procedure was not unknown to the autochthonous people, it was rarely used and that was mostly during the late Iron Age, perhaps under the Roman influences (Kukoč 2009: 40). The difference in the overall burial ritual was profound, both in the grave goods given to the dead and in the organization of the graves and necropolises, but these changes were also a clear reflection of the complex processes taking place in the settlements both in their placement and inner organization. Burial forms however did not remain fixed and unchanged till the end of the Roman period but the two rites of cremation and inhumation were used in different amount and frequency during different times. Cremation was more popular during the 1st and 2nd century while in the 2nd and 3rd century both rituals existed simultaneously. With the changes in Roman society and also through the spread of Christianity the rite of inhumation took the dominant role (Toynbee 1982: 39). It has to be emphasized that a pattern emerged in burial practices throughout time. During the prehistoric times graves were spread around the settlement but could also be found further away; during the early Roman period necropolises were organized next to the roads leading from the settlement, and in the late Roman time such order was lost, especially with the domination of Christianity, when graves tended to concentrate around the areas with religious meaning, whether a church or a place of martyrdom. However, despite the overall inclinations and fashion determining the way a certain individual was buried, the fact remains that the choice of a tomb and ritual was in the end the decision each person based on their tradition and individual preference and in accordance with their social, economic and legal circumstances present during their life. Furthermore, the processes taking place in settlements

i početkom 20. stoljeća, a potvrda o razmjeru te devastacije ostala je zapisana u dnevnicima Luje Maruna.⁹

Nedinum je još jedan reprezentativni primjer kontinuiteta naselja i nekropole od prapovijesti do kasne antike. Grobna parcela pronađena u blizini naselja imala je dva razdoblja pokapanja, željeznodobnu liburnsku fazu (od 6. stoljeća prije Krista na dalje) i drugu koja je pripadala rimskodobnom razdoblju (1.–2. stoljeće), gdje su zid cele, baza vjerojatno nadgrobno spomenika ili edikule i paljevinski ritual pripadali rimskodobnom periodu, a prapovijesni period vidljiv je u standardnom liburnskom običaju pokapanja (Kukoč 2009: 54–75). Rimskodobna nekropola izgrađena je na području željeznodobne liburnske nekropole, što ne samo da dokazuje kontinuitet naselja i nekropole nego i ukazuje na kontinuitet same populacije i grobnog areala.

Nekoliko liburnskih pokopa (od 7. stoljeća prije Krista nadalje) pronađeno je i na teritoriju nekropole antičkog Zadra (Fadić 2007: 350–352), a razlomljene posude otkrivene rasute oko nekih spaljenih pokojnika, također, ukazuju na mogući kontinuitet prapovijesnih rituala u rimskodobno razdoblje (željeznodobni Liburni često su obavljali ritual koji djelomično podsjeća na libacije pri čemu bi razbijene posude rasipali iznad grobova) (Gluščević 2005: 357). Ipak, detaljnija publikacija spomenutih nalaza još se iščekuje.

Proces tijekom kojeg su naselja postupno prihvaćala tekovine rimske kulture, ali u isto vrijeme zadržavala svoje lokalne autohtone karakteristike, potvrđen je i na nekropoli Enone. Nekropola je otkrivena prije Prvog svjetskog rata, a tijekom istraživanja, osim standardnih liburnskih željeznodobnih grobova, pronađeni su i grobovi sa spaljenim pokojnicima, ali i s pokojnicima položenim na leđa koji su pripadali razdoblju od 1. stoljeća prije Krista do 3. stoljeća (Suić 1969: 65).

Osim urbanih sredina, kontinuitet pokapanja, također, postoji i u ruralnim područjima. Jedan od najboljih primjera je nalazište Pržine u selu Biljane Donje gdje je trajanje pokapanja i ruralnog života dokazano od prapovijesti do srednjeg vijeka, tj. do 8. stoljeća (Belošević 1975: 103; Fadić 1989: 223–254).

Također, tijekom istraživanja kompleksnog arheološkog lokaliteta s romaničkom crkvom sv. Jakova u Vrsima kraj Zadra utvrđen je kontinuitet naseljenosti od 1. do 17. stoljeća. Najranijoj fazi izgradnje pripada rimskodobni građevinski kompleks koji je izgrađen u nekoliko faza u razdoblju od 1. do 6. stoljeća. U neposrednoj blizini objekta nalazio se prostor za sahranjivanje stanovnika navedenog kompleksa. Adaptacijom prostora, tijekom starokršćanskog razdoblja, jedna od dvije prostorije s egzedrom najvjerojatnije je prenamijenjena u ranokršćansku crkvu na što, uz samu izvedbu prostora, upućuje i nalaz ulomka starokršćanskog pluteja i kamene grede s reljefnim ukrasom. Tijekom 13. stoljeća iznad jedne od navedenih građevina podignuta je crkva sv. Jakova (Batović 1973: 103–117; 1981: 88–90). Sukcesivnim rastom susjedne srednjovjekovne zajednice sela Zloušane, kojem je crkva sv. Jakova pripadala, raslo je i groblje uokolo crkve. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja utvrđeni su ukopi iz

were clearly reflected in necropolises and if the settlement ceased to exist the necropolis was accordingly abandoned. Therefore, through individual graves in the necropolis the overall dating of the settlement can be determined as well.

Many necropolises in Liburnia were used for extended periods, and the necropolis pertaining to Asseria is quite distinctive with a span from prehistory to late antiquity. The prehistoric graves (4th century BC) were found near and under the Roman city walls (Brusić 2005: 7), and the late antiquity graves (5th/6th century) used the space between the primary city wall and the secondary rampart, as well as the construction of the buttress, added to the early Roman wall during the late antiquity, as a place of burial (Fadić 2001: 69). Those prehistoric graves, spread irregularly around the settlement, not only prove the continuity of the necropolis, but also indicate that the Iron Age settlement had, at least partially, the same boundaries as the Roman city. Unfortunately the early Roman graves were thoroughly devastated in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and only the written attestation of the scale of the devastation remains in the diaries of Lujo Marun.⁹

Another representative example of continuity of the settlement and necropolis from prehistory to late antiquity is the ancient Nedinum. The burial plot found near the settlement has two periods of burial, the Iron Age Liburnian phase (from 6th century BC onward) and the other pertaining to the Roman period (1st to 2nd century AD). The wall of the cella, the base of perhaps monumental tombstone or aedicula and the incineration ritual belong to the Roman period and the prehistoric period is discernible in the standard Liburnian burial ritual (Kukoč 2009: 54–75). The Roman necropolis was built on top of the Liburnian Iron Age necropolis, which not only emphasizes the continuity of the settlement and necropolis but also indicates the continuity of the same population and burial area.

Several Liburnian burials (from 7th century BC onward) were also found in the territory of the necropolis of ancient Iader (Fadić 2007: 350–352), and the fragmented vessels discovered scattered around the cremated burials are also indicative of the continuity of the prehistoric rituals into the Roman period (Iron Age Liburnians often performed a ritual, reminiscent of the libations, during which the vessels were shattered above the grave) (Gluščević 2005: 357). However, more detailed publication of such finds is still pending.

The process during which the settlement gradually accepted the outer forms of the Roman culture but at the same time preserved its local autochthonous characteristics has been attested by the necropolis in *Aenona*. Necropolis was discovered before the First World War and during the excavations, apart from the standard Liburnian Iron Age graves, cremation graves and inhumations with the deceased buried on their back, spanning from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD, were discovered as well (Suić 1969: 65).

Apart from the urban centres, the continuity of burial also exists in rural areas. One of the best examples is the site

⁹ On navodi preko 200 otvorenih i opljačkanih antičkih grobova koji su se protezali uz cestu u blizini novijeg groblja (Šeparović 2004: 106).

⁹ He mentioned over 200 opened and plundered ancient graves strung along the road next to the more recent graveyard (Šeparović 2004: 106).

kasne antike (5./6. stoljeće) kao i oni iz razdoblja od 9. do 17. stoljeća. Naime, početkom 17. stoljeća u mletačko-turskim ratovima dolazi do rušenja sela Zloušane, oštećenja crkve i napuštanja nekropole (Batović 1981: 86).

Nekropola i njena devastacija

Širenje grada, ključni proces koji je utjecao na razvoj nekropole, često je, ako ne i uvijek, uključivalo i samo uništavanje grobova, a potvrde takvog uništenja vidljive su i sveprisutne u mnogim naseljima u Liburniji.¹⁰ Međutim, uništavanje grobova uglavnom nije bio postupak odobren od strane uprave/naselja nego je zapravo bio čin nasilja pojedinca nad manjim brojem grobnica zbog osobnog probitka. Ovaj proces zasigurno je motivirao potrebu da se odrede granice pojedinih grobova i grobnih parcela što je potvrđeno mnogim epigrafskim nalazima koji zapravo dokazuju koliko su se ljudi bojali za sigurnost svog vječnog mira (Rebillard 2009: 70). S obzirom na to da je pokojnik zapravo bio bespomoćan u odnosu na žive, zapisivao je pravne formule koje su određivale tko je bio zadužen za zaštitu njegovog posljednjeg počivališta kako bi spriječio njegovo oskvrnuće. Osim toga, zakonske odredbe potvrđuju da takvi slučajevi nisu bili rijetki, osobito jer je *violatio sepulcri* bila kriminalno djelo s visokim kaznama za prekršitelje (Pottage, Mundy 2004: 56 i d; Rebillard 2009: 72 i d). Unatoč pravnim ograničenjima mnoštvo dokaza potvrđuje da se svetost nekropola Liburnije vrlo često zanemarivala. Najčešći slučajevi uključivali su ponovno korištenje sarkofaga za sekundarne pokope, korištenje nadgrobnih spomenika kao građevinskog materijala prilikom izgradnje gradskih bedema i kontrafora i iskorištavanje starijih nadgrobnih spomenika za izgradnju novijih grobova. S obzirom na to da su bile pogodno smještene u blizini gradskih zidina, a materijal je bio odgovarajući za brzu izgradnju sekundarnih zidova i kula, nekropole su među prvima uništavane prilikom izgradnje fortifikacija u kasnoj antici. Iz navedenog je jasno da niti brojne zaštitne formule napisane na nadgrobnim spomenicima nisu mogle spriječiti devastaciju grobova, a njihova svetost nije puno značila kada su «barbari» stajali pred vratima.

Mnoga arheološka nalazišta potvrđuju ove postavke; na primjer, nekropola u Aseriji bila je uništena tijekom kasne antike kako bi se sagrađio još jedan gradski bedem. Neophodna zaštita stanovnika naselja rezultirala je negiranjem prostora nekropole. Ipak, nije samo teritorij nekropole devastiran nego su i sami nadgrobnici spomenici skinuti sa svojih postamenata i iskorišteni kao građevinski materijal. Unutar strukture kasnoantičkog bedema pronađeni su brojni liburnski cipusi, stele, čak i ostaci kompleksnih nadgrobnih spomenika (možda edikula), a slične ranorimske spolije mogle su se utvrditi i u kasnoantičkim kontraforima dodanim na ranije fortifikacije (Fadić 2001: 72–73).

10 U Saloni, glavnom gradu provincije Dalmacije, otkriven je sličan, ako ne i kompleksniji primjer. Kada su izgrađeni zidovi oko zapadnog suburbija, neki dijelovi zapadne i sjeverne nekropole, s obzirom na to da su sada bile unutar gradskih zidova, bili su uključeni u naselje, a veliki kameni blokovi, koji su prije bili dijelovi nekropole, sada su iskorišteni za konstrukciju vanjskog zida fortifikacije. Osim toga, Ž. Miletić ističe mogućnost da su se dijelovi sjeverne i zapadne nekropole, koji su bili inkorporirani u područje naselja, koristili još neko vrijeme za ukope čak i nakon širenja gradskih zidina (Miletić 2001: 111).

of “Pržine” in the village Biljane Donje where the continuity of burial and rural life has been proven to exist from prehistory to the mediaeval times, i.e. 8th century (Belošević 1975: 103; Fadić 1989: 223–254).

Time span from the 1st to the 17th century has been proven for the settlement of Vrsi near Zadar during the excavation of the complex archaeological site of St. Jacob’s Romanesque church. The earliest phase of the settlement pertains to the Roman building complex, built in several phases from the 1st to the 6th century. In the near vicinity of the object, a necropolis pertaining to that building was discovered.

During the early Christian period, through the adaptation of the space, one of two rooms with an exedra has been converted into the early Christian church, which was, apart from the overall execution of the space, proven by the discovery of the fragmented early Christian pluteus and the stone beam with the decoration made in relief. During the 13th century, above one of the mentioned buildings, the church of St. Jacob was erected (Batović 1973: 103–117; 1981: 88–90). The neighbouring mediaeval communities of Zloušane, the village to which the church of St. Jacob appertained, grew accordingly, as well as the necropolis surrounding the aforementioned church. During the archaeological excavations, the late antiquity graves (5th/6th century) were discovered, as well as those belonging to the period from the 9th to the 17th century. In fact, at the beginning of the 17th century the village of Zloušane was devastated during the Ottoman-Venetian wars, the church was damaged and the necropolis abandoned (Batović 1981: 86).

Necropolis and its devastation

The crucial process that affected the development of the necropolis is the expansion of the city, which often, if not always, included the destruction of the necropolis. The evidence attesting to such destruction is comprehensive and evident in many settlements in the territory of Liburnia.¹⁰ However, the destruction of tombs was mostly unsanctioned by the state/settlement and was actually an act of violence on a lesser number of tombs for someone’s personal gain. This process certainly motivated the need to determine the boundaries of individual graves and grave plots, which is attested by a great deal of epigraphic evidence proving to what extent ancient people feared for their eternal peace (Rebillard 2009: 70). The deceased were in fact helpless in regards to the living, not being able to decide their fate, and in order to prevent desecration of their graves, they wrote legal formulae which stipulated who was designated to protect their eternal rest. Furthermore, legal compilations testify that such acts were not rare, as

10 A similar and even more complex example was determined outside of the Liburnian borders, in Salona, the capital of the province of Dalmatia. When the walls around the western suburbium were built, some parts of western and northern necropolis, as they were now within the city walls, were incorporated into the settlement, and large blocks of stone which were once parts of walls of the necropolis were used in the construction of the outer wall of the fortification. Furthermore, Ž. Miletić, points out the possibility that parts of northern and western necropolis, which were then incorporated into the settlement area, were used for burial for some time even after the expansion of the settlement walls (Miletić 2001: 111).

Nekropola antičkog Zadra još je jedan dobar primjer spomenutih devastacija. Tijekom ranog srednjeg vijeka, pa sve do recentnih razdoblja, nekropola je iskorištavana kao jednostavan i pogodan izvor građevinskog materijala. Zadar, kao središnje naselje šireg teritorija, bio je podvrgnut dugotrajnom uništavanju, osobito tijekom prevlasti Venecije, a takve su povijesne okolnosti zahtijevale kontinuirano obnavljanje i utvrđivanje obrambenih sustava i bedema (Gluščević 2005: 45–47). Naravno, za takve građevinske zahvate bile su potrebne velike količine kvalitetnog građevinskog materijala, a obližnja nekropola bila je savršen izvor već obrađenog kamena. Ranosrednjovjekovni zid, koji je u velikoj mjeri izgrađen od konstrukcijskih elemenata akvedukta i nadgrobnih spomenika, potvrđuje takvu postavku. Ovakve nesretne povijesne okolnosti uvjetovale su kontinuiranu destrukciju zadarske nekropole, a čak smo i danas svjedoci česte nebrige za vrijedno antičko nasljeđe. Osim toga, tijekom bombardiranja zadarskog gradskog centra tijekom jeseni 1991. godine, Kopnena vrata (*Porta terraferma*), izgrađena 1543. godine, bila su teško oštećena. Tijekom restauracije i konzervacije, prilikom rastavljanja glavnog vijenca vrata, pronađeno je deset četvrtastih rimskih nadgrobnih spomenika, iskorištenih kao građevinski materijal u proходу Kopnenih vrata (Appio Giunio 2002: 289). Također, tijekom nedavnih istraživanja na Trgu Petra Zoranića rimska stela iz 1. ili 2. stoljeća, podrijetlom s obližnje antičke nekropole, pronađena je unutar konstrukcije vrata iz 13. stoljeća (Fadić 2008: 170; Fadić, Štefanac 2011: 329).

Iako je destrukcija nekropola prilikom širenja naselja bila češća, nedavna istraživanja zadarske nekropole otkrila su drugačiji proces koji je uključivao uništenje rimske vile širenjem nekropole. Više zidova pronađenih na području nekropole pripisano je, na temelju građevinskih konstrukcija, nalaza fresaka i pitosa, antičkoj vili. Ovaj kompleks vjerojatno se koristio tijekom vrlo kratkog perioda, jer su grobovi pronađeni u blizini zidova i unutar pretpostavljenih prostorija pripadali razdoblju od sredine 1. do 2. stoljeća. Ovaj proces ukazao bi na to da je nekropola ponekad bila jednako destruktivna kao i naselje, polako oduzimajući prostor potreban živima i postupno gušeći naselje u predodređene i fiksirane granice. Bunari su bili još jedan konstruktivni element koji je, nakon što je izgubio svoju primarnu funkciju, korišten za pokapanje. Bunar, koji je sadržavao 23 pokojnika, postavlja mnoga pitanja o značenju tako brojnog pokopa i upućuje na moguće izbijanje epidemije u naselju (Gluščević 2005: 241).

Zanimljiv primjer destrukcije i sekundarne uporabe grobnih struktura otkriven je u Ninu prilikom istraživanja na području Plokate u blizini crkve sv. Anselma u urbanom centru naselja. U grobu iznad prsa pokojnika, neposredno uz srednjovjekovnu keramičku posudu, otkrivena je kamena urna, no iako je ukop datiran u 14./15. stoljeće, sama urna potječe iz rimskog razdoblja (Radović 2008: 397). Dakle, ne samo da je urna odnesena s nekropole, smještene izvan gradskog perimetra, i uvedena u urbani kontekst nego je nakon više od tisuću godina iskorištena u sličnom okruženju, iako je originalno značenje te urne zasigurno izbljedje-

violatio sepulcri was a criminal offence with high fines imposed on those breaking the law (Pottage, Mundy 2004: 56 etc.; Rebillard 2009: 72 etc.). Despite the legal repercussions there is a mass of evidence to show that the sacrosanctity of Liburnian necropolises was frequently disregarded. The most numerous examples can be found in the constant reuse of sarcophagi for secondary burials, the exploitation of standing gravestones as building material in the walls and buttresses of cities, and the use of older gravestones as building material for more recent graves. Necropolises were among the first to be destroyed during the construction of fortifications in the late antiquity. They were conveniently situated near the city walls, and the material was adequate for rapid building of the supporting walls and buttresses. It is obvious that not even the numerous formulae written on the sepulchral monuments could stop the devastation of the tombs and the sanctity of the graves was not especially deterring when “barbarians” were standing in front of the gates.

Many archaeological sites prove the previous statements, in example necropolis in *Asseria* was devastated during the late antiquity in order to build another, secondary city wall. It is obvious that the area of the necropolis was negated by the simple need to protect the living inhabitants of the settlement. However, not only was the territory of the necropolis devastated but the tombstones themselves were torn from their postaments and used as building material. Within the structure of the late Roman wall a number of Liburnian cippi, stelae and even parts of the more complex grave buildings (perhaps aediculae) were found and similar early-Roman spolia could also be determined within the late-Roman buttresses, added to the earlier fortifications (Fadić 2001: 72–73).

Ancient Zadar’s necropolis is another good example of such devastation. Throughout the early middle ages and up to recent times the necropolis was used as a simple and useful source of building material. Zadar, as the central settlement of a wider territory, was subjected to a long-term destruction, especially during the Venetian supremacy, and such historical circumstances required a continuous reconstruction and fortification of defence systems and ramparts (Gluščević 2005: 45–47). Of course for such construction work, large quantities of high-quality building material were required, and the nearby necropolis was an excellent source of such pre-cut stone. The early mediaeval wall, which was in large part built from the building elements of the aqueducts and tombstones, attests to this claim. The entire unfortunate sequence of historical events caused a continuous destruction of Zadar’s ancient necropolis and even today we bear witness to the overall neglect towards the valuable ancient heritage. Furthermore, during the bombardment of Zadar’s urban centre during the fall of 1991, *Porta terraferma* (Kopnena vrata), built in 1543, was heavily damaged. In the process of restoration and conservation of this gate, the main crown was taken apart, and ten Roman square tombstones were found, used as a building material in the walkway of *Porta terraferma* (Appio Giunio

lo tijekom vremena.

Kada je riječ o devastacijama antičkih nekropola, brojni primjeri su otkriveni i na ruralnom području Liburnije. Najčešći način sekundarne uporabe nadgrobnih spomenika odnosi se na ugradnju istih kao građevinskog materijala prilikom gradnje crkvenih objekata, odnosno kao dio grobne arhitekture. Tako je, na primjer, prilikom istraživanja srednjovjekovnog groblja na lokalitetu Begovača u Biljanima Donjim pronađen ulomak rimskodobnog nadgrobnog natpisa upotrijebljen kao lijeva obložnica groba 205 (Delonga 1990: 87, 92, Tab. II. 1).

Kršćanstvo i kasna antika

Priznavanje kršćanstva i stalni porast popularnosti ove religije diljem liburnskog teritorija doveli su do promjene u obredu sahranjivanja. Razlika je očita u prevlasti inhumacije, koja je započela već krajem 2. stoljeća, a tijekom kasne antike dominirala je na području cijele Liburnije. Kasna antika je zaista vrijeme velikih pomicanja i promjena, a nekropole su, sukladno tome, bile odraz stalnih političkih i društvenih previranja diljem Rimskog Carstva. Osim što inhumacija postaje glavna vrsta pokapanja, kršćanstvo negira prethodne religije i vjerske ideje što se u kasnoj antici reflektira u uništavanju grobova koji su odražavali poganska vjerovanja. Kršćanstvo je, osim toga, podupiralo kult mučenika, a svaki pravi vjernik želio je biti ukopan u blizini takvog groba, što je rezultiralo time da su vrlo često takve svete grobnice kasnije poslužile kao polazište za veću kongregaciju kršćanskih vjernika, kao mjesto gdje će biti sagrađena kršćanska crkva ili kapela. Tijekom izgradnje takvih crkvi, s obzirom na to da su bile sagrađene na području nekropola, prijašnji antički nadgrobnji spomenici korišteni su kao običan građevinski materijal, s obzirom da je svetost navedenih spomenika pripadala nekom drugom vremenu (Cambi 1991: 24). Međutim, crkve su građene i unutar granica naselja, polako mijenjajući njegovu organizaciju i prebacujući središte utjecaja na drugo područje. Uslijed navedenog, tijekom kasne antike izgradnju i razvoj grada, kao i unutarnju organizaciju i uništenje nekropole, u velikoj mjeri definiralo je kršćanstvo.

Na području Liburnije otkriveni su brojni dokazi o sekundarnoj uporabi nadgrobnih spomenika u sakralnim objektima. Tako je, na primjer, u južni zid crkve sv. Krševana u Zadru ugrađen nadgrobnji spomenik sa sačuvanim natpisom koji spominje veličinu grobne parcele (Appio Giunio 2002: 289). Također, tijekom istraživanja crkve sv. Jurja u Kruševu pronađeno je nekoliko antičkih nadgrobnih natpisa ugrađenih u zidove crkve (srednjovjekovno i novovjekovno razdoblje), kao i u grobove iz razdoblja od kasnog srednjeg vijeka do 20. stoljeća (Colnago, Keil 1905: 45–46; Vučić 2010: 107, 136–137). Do još jednog otkrića došlo se na lokalitetu Podvršje–Glavčine kod Ražanca gdje je istražena dvojna crkva (*gemina*) s dodatnim prostorijama (*memoria, baptisterium*, itd.) i nekropolom. Uz krstionicu je izgrađena monumentalna memorija s većim brojem sekundarno upotrijebljenih ranoantičkih arhitektonskih elemenata poput ulomaka portretne stele. Iz iste memorije najvjerojatnije potječu dva otkrivena sarkofaga, a na zapadnoj strani crkve otkrivena je

2002: 289) Also, during the recent excavation at the site of Petar Zoranić square, within the construction of 13th century city gate, a Roman 1st or 2nd century sepulchral stela was discovered originating from the nearby necropolis (Fadić 2008: 170; Fadić, Štefanac 2011: 329).

Although the process of destruction of the necropolis by the expansion of the settlement was more common, recent excavations of lader's necropolis revealed a different kind of process which included the destruction of a Roman villa by the expansion of the necropolis. A number of walls, found in the area of the necropolis, were determined to be, on the basis of the building constructions and the finds of frescoes and pithoi, the remnants of villa. This complex would have had been used for a very short period of time because the graves found near the walls and inside the presumed rooms belonged to the period from the middle of the 1st century up to the 2nd century. This process indicates that the necropolises were sometimes as destructive as the settlements, in a way slowly taking the necessary space from the living and constricting the settlement into the predetermined and fixed boundaries. The wells, another constructive element in the necropolis, were also used for burial, after they lost their primary function. The well containing 23 deceased individuals raises many questions regarding the meaning of such numerous burials and indicates a possible outbreak of a contagious disease in the settlement (Glušćević 2005: 241).

Another quite interesting example of destruction and secondary use of grave structures was discovered in the settlement of Nin. During the excavation of the site Plokata near the church of St. Anselm (sv. Anselmo), in the urban centre of the settlement, a Roman stone urn was discovered in the grave, right above the deceased's chest, next to the mediaeval ceramic vessel. This burial was dated to the 14th/15th century but the urn originated from the Roman times (Radović 2008: 397). Therefore, not only was the urn taken from the necropolis, situated outside of the city perimeter, and introduced into the urban context, but it was used in a similar condition over a thousand years later, even though its original use and meaning was lost by that time.

Many other attestations of the devastation of the ancient necropolises have been found in the rural territory of Liburnia. The most common secondary usage of sepulchral monuments and architecture was in the constructions of other graves or sacral buildings. For example, during the archaeological excavation of the mediaeval necropolis in the site of Begovača in the village of Biljane Donje a fragment of Roman sepulchral inscription was found to have been used as a left side of the grave no. 205 (Delonga 1990: 87, 92, Tab. II 1).

Christianity and Late Antiquity

The acknowledgement of Christianity and the overall continuous rise of popularity of this religion throughout the Liburnian territory brought about a change in the funerary rite. The change is obvious in the domination of inhumation which started as early as the end of the 2nd century and during the late antiquity such rite was predominant throughout Liburnia. Late Antiquity was indeed a time of shifts and changes, and necropolises reflected the constant



Sl. 4 Caska, kasnoantički ukop unutar naselja (snimila: A. Kurilić 2008.)

Fig. 4 Caska, late antiquity burial within the settlement (photo: A. Kurilić 2008)

nekropola s tipičnim kasnoantičkim grobovima.¹¹

Antički nadgrobni spomenici uništavaju se u većem broju i tijekom srednjeg vijeka, a jedan od najboljih primjera je preinaka izvorno antičkog reljefa s portretima tri muška lika iz 1. stoljeća poslije Krista koji je uzidan u pročelje crkve sv. Mihovila u Zadru. Naime, u srednjem vijeku izvorno antički nadgrobni reljef prerađen je tako da su lica i frizure na poprsjima prilagođeni modi srednjovjekovnog doba. Najveće promjene napravljene su na muškom desnom portretu (poprsje, vrat, lice i odjeća), dok su oko glava svih bista dodane aureole. Izvorno, u rimsko doba, reljef je najvjerojatnije bio

¹¹ Crkva je najvjerojatnije sagrađena tijekom 5. ili 6. stoljeća. Izgradnja tako složene arhitekture može se povezati s rimskim poljoprivrednim dobrom, čiji se ostaci nalaze sjeverno i istočno od ranokršćanskog sakralnog kompleksa. Međutim, ovaj kompleks nije dugo postojao te je vjerojatno uništen za vrijeme provale Slavena u 7. stoljeću (Uglešić 2006: 301–304).

political and social turmoil throughout the Roman Empire. Besides the inhumation becoming the dominant burial type, Christianity negated previous religions and religious ideas and during the late antiquity the destruction of tombs which reflected “pagan” beliefs had taken place. Christianity also supported the cult of martyrs and each true Christian believer wanted to be close to the burial place of that martyr. Quite often such sacred tombs were later used as a starting point for a larger congregation of Christian believers, as a place where a Christian church or chapel would emerge. During the construction of such churches, as they were built in the area of the necropolis, the previous Roman tombstones were used as standard building material, the sanctity of such monuments belonging to a different time (Cambi 1991: 24). However, churches were also built within the boundaries of the settlement, slowly changing its organisation and shifting the centre of power to another area. Therefore, during the late antiquity, Christianity defined the construction and development of the city as well as the inner organisation and destruction of the necropolis.

Many attestations of the secondary usage of sepulchral monuments in sacral buildings have been discovered in the territory of Liburnia. In Zadar a sepulchral tombstone was built in the southern wall of the St. Grisogono (sv. Krševan) church and the inscription on that tombstone was preserved, mentioning the size of a burial plot (Appio Giunio 2002: 289). Also, during the excavation of the church of St. George (sv. Juraj) in Kruševo, several ancient inscriptions of sepulchral character were found within the walls of the church (mediaeval and recent phase) and in graves spanning from the late mediaeval period up to the 20th century (Colnago, Keil 1905: 45–46; Vučić 2010: 107, 136–137). Another discovery was made on the site of Podvršje–Glavčine near Ražanac where a twin church (*geminae*) with additional chambers (memoria, baptisterium, etc.) has been excavated together with a necropolis. The first, southern, church was probably erected in the place of a Roman shrine dedicated to the Syrian gods, which was indicated by the inscription that mentioned its reconstruction. A monumental memoria was built next to the baptismal font with many reused early antiquity architectural elements such as fragments of a portrait stela. Two discovered sarcophagi probably also originated from the same memoria. The necropolis with typical late antiquity graves was also discovered on the western side of the church.¹¹

The devastation of the ancient sepulchral monuments occurred often during the mediaeval times. One of the best examples is the adaptation of the originally Roman relief with three male portraits, originating from the 1st century AD, which was immured into the facade of the St. Michael (sv. Mihovil) church in Zadar. Namely, during the Middle Ages ancient Roman sepulchral relief was refurbished and the faces on the busts as well as their hairstyles were remodelled according to the fashion of the mediaeval time. The greatest modifications were done on the male portrait on the right (bust, neck, face and clothes) and the haloes were added above the heads of each figure. Originally, during the Roman times, the relief was most likely built into the facade of the sepulchral building (mausoleum) and therefore be-

¹¹ The church was probably built during the 5th or the 6th century. The creation of such complex architecture could be connected to the Roman estate, the remains of which can be found north and east of the early Christian sacral complex. However, this complex has not been long-lived and was probably destroyed during the Slavic incursion in the 7th century (Uglešić 2006: 301–304).

uzidan u nadgrobnu građevinu (mauzolej) te pripada u skupinu «ugradbenih reljefa» (Maršić 2009: 23–34).

Pokapanje unutar naselja

Posljednja problematika, koja će se obrađivati u ovom radu, je pitanje ukopa unutar naselja. Tijekom kasne antike, a posebno u ranom srednjem vijeku, zakon o zabrani ukopa pokojnika u naselju često se zanemario. Vremenom su crkve dobile na važnosti preuzimajući središnja mjesta unutar naselja koja su u prošlosti zauzimali «poganski» kultovi i važna gradska infrastruktura. Također, zbog stalnih nemira i rata stanovništvo često nije bilo u mogućnosti napustiti gradske zidine i pokopati svoje mrtve uslijed čega su se pokojnici pokapali unutar granica naselja. Međutim, pokapanje male djece bilo je iznimka, čak i u ranocarsko doba. Takvi grobovi, korišteni uglavnom za ukop novorođenčadi, pojavljuju se sporadično u rimskom svijetu, osobito jer je bilo relativno uobičajeno da se djeca mlađa od 40 dana pokapaju unutar stambene arhitekture. Takva novorođenčad uglavnom je bila pokapana ispod kućnih pragova ili zidova, a ritual zvan *suggrundarium*, tj. «pokop pod strehom», provodio se tijekom noći (Kurilić 2011: 408–411). Mala djeca nisu imala pravo na obred spaljivanja, najvjerojatnije, jer još uvijek nisu bila smatrana osobama ili građanima. Moguće je da su se djeca pretežno i pokapala izvan zajedničkih groblja, osobito jer nalazi do 4. stoljeća poslije Krista, iako sveukupno malobrojni, uglavnom potječu iz unutrašnjosti kuća (Soren, Fenton, Birkby 1999: 478).

Najbolji primjer za navedeno, i nalaz koji je zapravo potaknuo interes za problematiku povezanosti naselja i nekropola, bilo je otkriće dječjeg groba u kasnoantičkom stambenom kompleksu na području današnjeg naselja Caska u blizini Novalje na otoku Pagu. Dijete, mrtвороđeno ili možda nedonošče (prerano rođeno), pokopano je uz zid kuće, bez ikakvih grobnih priloga, u jednostavnom grobu od imbreksa (*a coppo* grob) (sl. 4).

Još jedna potvrda takvih ukopa otkrivena je u Zadru tijekom istraživanja crkve sv. Nikole, gdje su ustanovljeni ostaci djeteta pokopanog u grob izrađen od dviju (različitih) amfora. Dijete je pokopano unutar naselja, uz zid pretpostavljenog stambenog kompleksa (*villa urbana?*), no ostaci su pripadali neznatno starijem djetetu uz čiju je zdjelicu pronađena i mala olovna kopča (Appio Giunio 2007: 354). Osim toga, tijekom rane antike dječje nekropole su bile rijetkost, no početkom kasnog 3. stoljeća i u 4. stoljeću, ukopi djece unutar vlastitih grobnih kompleksa ili unutar napuštenih vila postaju češći (Soren, Fenton, Birkby 1999: 480–481). Dokazi pokapanja male djece u zajedničkim nekropolama tijekom kasne antike mogu se naći na cijelom području Liburnije, npr. grob, vjerojatno, mrtвороđenog djeteta pokopanog u amfori pronađen je na nalazištu Podvršje–Glavčine (Uglešić 2006: 304). Osim toga, deset dječjih pokopa u amforama, od mrtвороđenih do osmogodišnjaka, koji pripadaju razdoblju kasne antike, najvjerojatnije 4. i 5. stoljeću, pronađeni su na nalazištu Sv. Marko–Baška.¹² Međutim, na ovom lokalitetu

longs to the group of “built-in reliefs” (Maršić 2009: 23–34).

Burials within the settlement

The last issue which will be addressed in this article is the question of burials within the settlement. During the late antiquity and especially in the early mediaeval period the law forbidding the burial of the deceased in the settlement has been frequently disregarded. The churches gained importance through time and as such reclaimed the places of importance within the settlement once occupied by the “pagan” cults and important city infrastructure. Also, due to the constant conflict and war people were often unable to venture outside of the city fortifications to bury their dead and as a result the deceased were buried inside the settlement limits. However, the burial of small children was an exception even in the early Roman times.

Such graves, mostly used for burial of infants, appear sporadically in the Roman world as it was relatively common to bury less than 40 days old children within the compounds of the residential architecture. These infants were mostly buried under the household thresholds or walls and the ritual, called *suggrundarium* i.e. the “burial under the eaves”, was conducted during the night (Kurilić 2011: 408–411). The babies were not given the rite of cremation probably because they were not yet considered to be individuals or citizens. It seems even likely that infants were generally buried outside the communal cemetery as they are normally found within houses, although still in small numbers, until the 4th century AD (Soren, Fenton, Birkby 1999: 478).

The best example, and the find that actually aroused an interest in the issue of connections between settlements and necropolises, was the discovery of an infant’s grave in the late antiquity residential complex in the area of today’s settlement of Caska near Novalja on the island of Pag. The child, stillborn or perhaps preterm newborn (premature infant), was buried next to the wall of the house, without any grave goods, in a simple grave made of imbrices (*a coppo* grave) (Fig. 4).

Another attestation of such burials has been found in Zadar during the excavation of church of St. Nicholas (sv. Nikola) where the remains of a small child were found buried in the grave made of two (different) amphorae. The child was buried inside the settlement, next to the wall of a presumed residential complex (*villa urbana?*), however the remains were of a slightly older child and a small lead clasp was found next to the pelvis of the skeleton (Appio Giunio 2002: 354). Infant cemeteries were therefore rare during the early Roman times, but beginning with the late 3rd and 4th century, burials of infants within their own cemetery complexes or within abandoned villas became more common (Soren, Fenton, Birkby 1999: 480–481). The evidence of burial of small children in the communal necropolises during the late antiquity can be found throughout the territory of Liburnia, in example one grave of a probably stillborn child has been discovered in Podvršje–Glavčine buried in an amphora (Uglešić 2006: 304). Also, ten amphorae graves of children from stillborns to eight-year-olds were discovered in the site of Sv. Marko - Baška belonging to the period of late antiquity, more accurately to the 4th and 5th centuries.¹² However, in this site the remains of a six-month old child were discovered buried in an unadorned hole in the gro-

12 Sastav tla je gotovo u potpunosti uništio ostatke najmlađe djece. Sve amfore su bile prepolovljene, a uz neku djecu pronađeni su i grobni prilozii (Bekić, Višnjić 2008: 211).

12 The remains of the youngest children were almost completely destroyed by the composition of the soil. All amphorae were cut in half and some children had grave goods next to them (Bekić, Višnjić 2008: 211).

su otkriveni ostaci šestomjesečnog djeteta pokopanog u jednostavnu zemljanu raku s keramičkom posudom koja se datira u 2. ili 3. stoljeće te time pripadaju starijem dijelu nekropole (Bekić, Višnjić 2008: 224). Također, na prostoru zadarske nekropole otkriveno je nekoliko dječjih grobova izrađenih pretežno od amfora (Glušćević 2005: 199). Dakle, mala djeca su se tijekom ranog Carstva mogla pokapati unutar granica naselja jer se smatralo da ne predstavljaju prave osobe. Ipak, tijekom kasne antike, odnos prema ukopu male djece se promijenio, što je rezultiralo sve češćim ukopima unutar zajedničkih nekropola ili u posebnim grobnim područjima.

Zaključak

Zaključno se može reći da su nekropole i naselja bili čvrsto povezani i isprepleteni, a nekropole su, jer je smrt bila nepromjenjiva i neizbježna stvarnost, postojale gdje god se razvilo naselje ili bilo koja vrsta sjedilačkog načina života. Stoga je svako naselje, da bi se ublažio strah stanovnika, moralo izgraditi posljednje počivalište za mrtve, a međuo-visnost i povezanost tih elemenata mogla se osjetiti u svakom aspektu njihovog postojanja i razvoja. U organizaciji nekropole ogledala se organizacija naselja, a stanovnici naselja štovali su pokojnike, sjećali ih se i povezivali se s njima kroz niz složenih rituala. Promjene nastale na nekropolama odražavale su politička, društvena i vjerska previranja unutar urbanih i ruralnih središta, a iako su rast i širenje naselja često vrlo agresivno negirali prostor nekropola, i same su nekropole tiho sputavale naselje uzimajući prostor živima za potrebe mrtvih. Dakle, naselja su, na isti način kao i ljudi, živjela i umirala, širila se i smanjivala, preživljavala i nestajala, a na neki način su i nekropole nalikovale živim organizmima, dok su živjele, rasle i razvijale se, iako primarni korisnici nisu bili zapravo niti aktivni niti živi.

und with a ceramic vessel dated to the 2nd or 3rd century and therefore belonging to the older segment of the necropolis (Bekić, Višnjić 2008: 224). Furthermore, several graves with children's remains were discovered in the territory of Zadar's necropolis, mostly constructed of amphorae (Glušćević 2005: 199). Therefore, babies were not considered to be proper individuals during the early Roman times and as such were buried within the boundaries of the settlement but during the late antiquity the attitude towards the burial of small children changed resulting in the more common burial in the communal necropolises or in separate burial areas.

Conclusion

In the end we can conclude that necropolises and settlements were integrally connected and intertwined. Necropolises existed wherever a settlement or any kind of sedentary life developed, death being the unchangeable and inescapable reality. Therefore, next to the settlement a resting place for the dead had to be constructed to appease the fears of the living and the interaction and connection of these elements could be sensed in every aspect of their evolution and development. The organization of the necropolis mirrored the organization of the settlement and the inhabitants of the settlement cherished, remembered and in the end interacted with their dead through series of complex rituals. The changes made to the necropolis reflected political, social and religious turmoil and shifts within the urban and rural centres and although the growth and expansion of the settlement often quite aggressively negated the space of the necropolises, the necropolises themselves silently constricted the settlement taking the space from the living for the needs of the dead. Therefore, as people lived and died so did the settlements and necropolises, expanding and retracting, surviving and disappearing and in a way necropolises resembled the living organisms as they lived, developed and evolved through time, although the primary users were not as lively or as alive.

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