

RITUAL UKOPA NA NEKROPOLI VELIKE MRDAKOVICE



BURIAL RITUALS AT THE NECROPOLIS OF VELIKA MRDAKOVICA

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Abstract

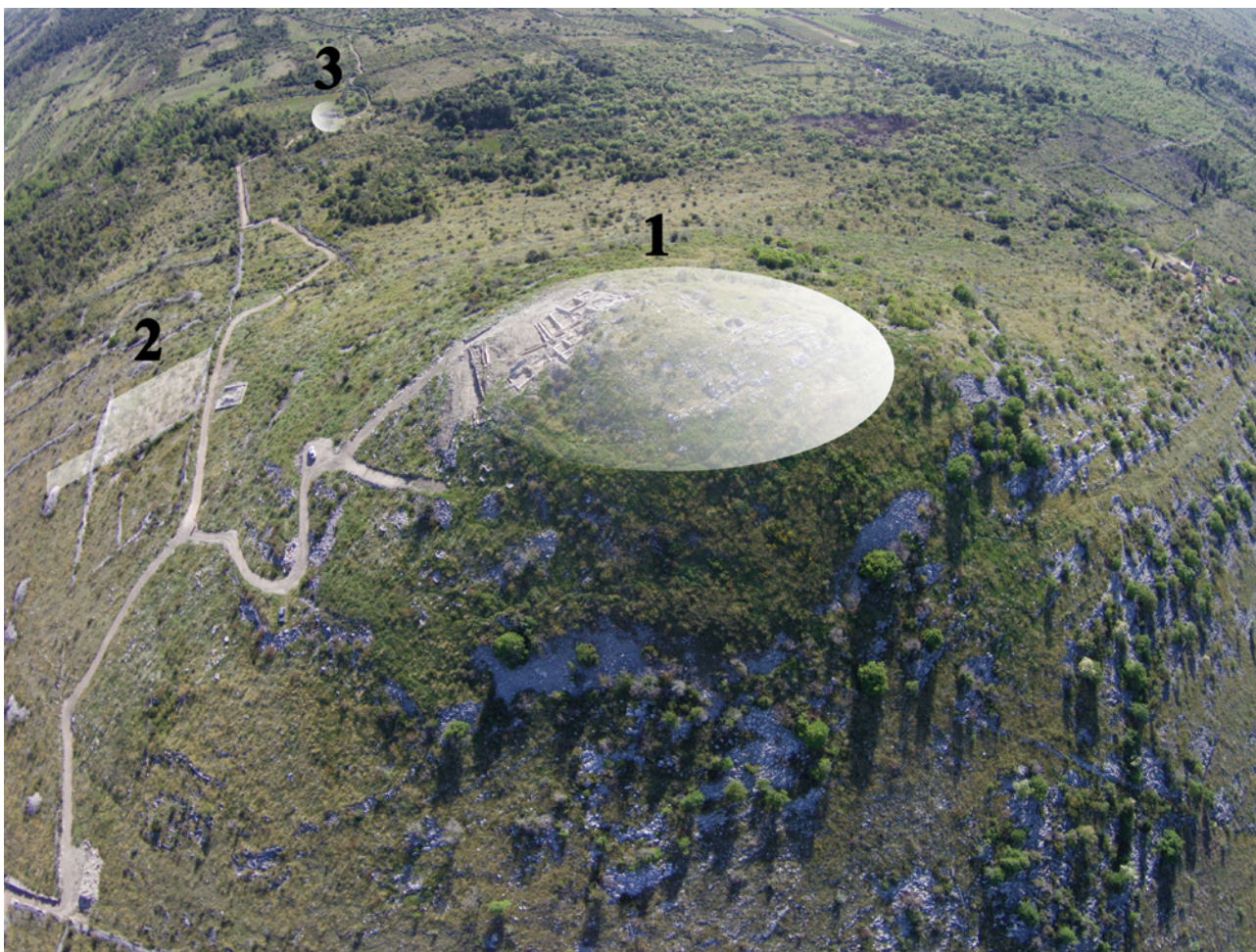
Nekropola na Velikoj Mrdakovici, u blizini šibenskog Zatona, s kontinuitetom ukopavanja od 8./7. stoljeća prije Krista do oko početka 3. stoljeća poslije Krista, jedan je od najbolje istraženih lokaliteta takve vrste u Liburniji. U arheološkim kampanjama 1969. – 1974. otkriveno je oko 130, uglavnom rimskih, paljevinskih ukopa, dok je tijekom najnovijih istraživanja svjetlo dana ugledalo još njih petnaest. Izuzetno velik broj rimskodobnih grobova koji se datiraju od početka 1. do okvirno početka 3. stoljeća predstavlja reprezentativan uzorak na osnovi kojega se može rekonstruirati ili barem pokušati rekonstruirati ono što je oduvijek zaokupljalo pažnju struke – ritual ukopa. S obzirom na to da nemamo izravnih pisanih svjedočanstava koja bi nam iz prve ruke posvjedočila tijek i rituale vezane uz jedan od najsvetijih i najvažnijih događaja u životu Liburna – obred ukopa, pokušat ćemo ga rekonstruirati na osnovi materijalne ostavštine, tj. grobnih priloga i načina na koji su u tu svrhu korišteni. Pojedine teme proizašle iz interpretacije uglavnom luksuznijega keramičkog materijala već su obrađivane u stručnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi od kraja 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća naovamo, pri čemu je tek usput dotaknuta i naslovna tema ovoga rada. Ovdje ćemo pokušati podrobnije razmotriti navedene teze koje se tiču pojedinih elemenata vezanih uz ritual ukopa i dati podrobniji prikaz procesa sahrane liburnskog stanovništva s Velike Mrdakovice na osnovi zapažanja proisteklih iz starijih te posebno najnovijih arheoloških istraživanja.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Velika Mrdakovica; Liburni; nekropola; ritual ukopa; grobni priloz

Abstract

Continually used for burials between the 8th-7th centuries BC and early 3rd century AD, the necropolis at Velika Mrdakovica in the vicinity of Zaton (near Šibenik) is one of the best researched sites of this type in Liburnia. Some 130 incineration burials – mostly Roman – were discovered during the 1969 – 1974 archaeological campaigns, while recent excavations yielded 15 more. This exceptionally large number of Roman-period graves dated to the period between the 1st century AD and, roughly, early 3rd century AD is a representative sample that can help us reconstruct, or at least attempt to reconstruct, what has always been uppermost in experts' mind – the burial ritual. As we lack written sources that would serve as first-hand testimony about the details of one of the most important and most sacred rituals in the lives of the Liburni – the burial ritual – we will try to reconstruct it with the help of material evidence: the grave goods and the way they were used for the purpose. Some issues arising from the interpretation of – mostly – luxurious ceramic material have been discussed in scientific papers and professional articles since the 1970s, only offhandedly dealing with the main subject of this paper. Based on the observations from earlier and – particularly – recent archaeological excavations, we will try to discuss in some detail the theses about certain elements of the burial ritual, while also giving a detailed description of the funeral process carried out by the Liburni of Velika Mrdakovica.

KEY WORDS: Velika Mrdakovica; Liburni; necropolis; burial ritual; grave goods



SLIKA 1. Velika Mrdakovica: 1 – naselje, 2 – nekropola, 3 – rimskodobna cisterna (foto: T. Brajković).

FIGURE 1. Velika Mrdakovica: 1 – Settlement, 2 – Necropolis, 3 – Roman-period cistern (photo: T. Brajković).

1. UVOD

Velika Mrdakovica (Sl. 1), pretpostavljena Arauzona,¹ jedno je od pedesetak liburnskih naselja koja su dočekala rimsku upravu.² Smještena 15 kilometara sjeverozapadno od Šibenika, nedaleko od rijeke Krke, u vizualnom je kontaktu s gradinama

¹ Iako se u znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi Velika Mrdakovica poistovjećuje s Arauzonom ili se smatra jednim od mogućih mjesta toga naselja, za tu tvrdnju nemamo neosporive dokaze. Njezin je prvi istraživač Zdenko Brusić na temelju evidentnog bogatstva naselja i nekropole zaključio da je ovaj lokalitet nesumnjivo Ptolemejeva *Arauzona* koja se nalazila u donjem toku rijeke Krke (Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 7, 12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2010: 242), dok drugi autori to uzimaju sa zadržkom (M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 33; S. ČAČE, 1993: 25; Ž. MILETIĆ, 1993: 64-66; A. STARAC, 2000: 94.)

² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987: 353; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2010: 242; A. STARAC, 2000: 11.

1. INTRODUCTION

Velika Mrdakovica (Fig. 1), the hypothetical *Arauzona*,¹ is one of fifty or so Liburnian settlements that lived to see the Roman rule.² Located 15 kilometers northwest of Šibenik, in the vicinity of the

¹ Although scientific and professional papers identify Velika Mrdakovica with *Arauzona* or believe it could, at least, be a “candidate” for this settlement, there is no solid evidence that could substantiate this claim. Based on the obvious wealth of Velika Mrdakovica and its necropolis, Zdenko Brusić, the first researcher of this settlement, concluded that this site was beyond doubt Ptolemy’s *Arauzona*, believed to have been in the lower reaches of the River Krka (Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 7, 12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2010: 242). Other authors are not so certain (M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 33; S. ČAČE, 1993: 25; Ž. MILETIĆ, 1993: 64-66; A. STARAC, 2000: 94.)

² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987: 353; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2010: 242; A. STARAC, 2000: 11.

na Dragišiću (6 km zračne linije) i Bribirskoj glavici (14 km zračne linije) te je prva postaja na trgovačkoj ruti koja ide Krkom do Skradina (10,5 km zračne linije) i dalje kopnenim putem do legijskog logora Burnum (Sl. 2).³ Naselje Velike Mrdakovice terasasto je izgrađeno na gornjoj trećini istoimenog brda u 8./7. stoljeću prije Krista i egzistira do oko 2. stoljeća poslije Krista. Svojom veličinom od približno 1,5 ha i opsegom bedema većim od 400 metara, spada među manja opida. Sa zapadne strane, tik do vanjskog vijenca bedema, pruža se prapovijesni i rimskodobni kolni put čiji smjer nije ustanovljen do same nekropole, udaljene stotinjak metara od južnog ulaza u naselje, no to je, sudeći po konfiguraciji terena i položaju rimske cisterne niže u polju, jedini suvisao i vjerojatan pravac. Prva sustavna arheološka istraživanja nekropole, i manjim dijelom naselja, provedena su krajem šezdesetih i početkom sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća (1969. – 1974.).⁴ Tijekom navedenih kampanja istraženo je 112⁵ uglavnom rimskodobnih paljevinskih grobova, uključujući i petnaest prapovijesnih inhumacijskih ukopa te manji dio naselja, pri čemu je utvrđeno da je sitni materijal (keramičke i staklene

River Krka, it commands view of the hill-forts on Dragišić (6km by air) and Bribirska glavica (14km by air). It is the first station of the trade route passing along the Krka to Skradin (10.5km by air) and further into the hinterland, to the legionary camp Burnum (Fig. 2).³ The terraced settlement of Velika Mrdakovica was built on the upper third of the eponymous hill in the 8th-7th centuries BC and it existed until around the 2nd century AD. Covering an area of approx. 1.5 hectares and with the circumference of its perimeter walls exceeding 400 meters, it was a minor oppidum. To the west of it, right next to the outer girdle of walls, there is a prehistoric and Roman dirt road. While its route to the necropolis (located some one hundred meters from the settlement's southern gate) has not been determined yet, the layout of the terrain and the position of the Roman cistern down in the field indicate that it is its only possible route.

The first systematic archaeological excavations at the necropolis and – to an extent – at the settlement, were carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s (between 1969 and 1974).⁴ During these campaigns, 112⁵ mostly Roman-period incineration

³ O rijeci Krki kao plovnom putu u antici vidjeti Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 114-115; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 10; I. KONCANI UHAČ, 2007: 362 (sl. 1), 363-364, 366, 368-371; M. GLAVIČIĆ & Ž. MILETIĆ, 2011: 145-147; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 499, 624; D. VRSALOVIĆ, 1974: 24, 37, 72.

⁴ Istraživanja je vodio Zdenko Brusić, u to vrijeme kustos prapovijesne zbirke Muzeja grada Šibenika. U arheološkim kampanjama 1969. – 1974. fokus istraživanja usmjeren je na nekropolu. Vidjeti M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 33-38; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1974: 60-61; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1978: 32-33; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 11-12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1985: 141-143; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 28-29; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 7-12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2002: 218. O samom naselju vidjeti Z. BRUSIĆ, 1974: 61-62, T. XXVI, sl. 1; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116 (Sl. 1-2, Sl. 5); Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 12, T. II, T. IX-XII; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 12-15; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000b: 137-139.

⁵ U prijašnjoj literaturi javlja se broj od oko 130 grobova. Brusić je naime paljevinske grobove numerirao od 1 do 117, ali neke je brojeve preskočio. Kada se sve zbroji, dolazi se do 109 paljevinskih grobova, no u njih 12 nisu pronađeni nikakvi priloz. Brusić ih je definirao grobovima ili zbog vanjske konstrukcije, o kojoj ćemo u raspravi pisati, ili zato što je primijetio „u procijepu živca dosta gara“. Te „grobove“, njih 12, izuzeli smo iz popisa, jer osim priloga nisu pronađeni ni ostaci pokojnika. Kada broju 97 dodamo još 15 prapovijesnih grobova/grobnica, dolazimo do ukupnog broja grobova – 112.

³ For River Krka as a waterway in Antiquity, see Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 114-115; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 10; I. KONCANI UHAČ, 2007: 362 (fig. 1), 363-364, 366, 368-371; M. GLAVIČIĆ & Ž. MILETIĆ, 2011: 145-147; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 499, 624; D. VRSALOVIĆ, 1974: 24, 37, 72.

⁴ The excavations were led by Zdenko Brusić, then curator of the prehistoric collection of the Šibenik City Museum. The archaeological campaigns of 1969 – 1974 were focused on the necropolis. See: M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 33-38; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1974: 60-61; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1978: 32-33; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 11-12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1985: 141-143; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 28-29; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 7-12; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2002: 218. For the settlement as such, see: Z. BRUSIĆ, 1974: 61-62, T. XXVI, fig. 1; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116 (fig. 1-2, fig. 5); Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 12, T. II, T. IX-XII; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 12-15; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000b: 137-139.

⁵ Earlier literature mentions approx. 130 graves. Brusić designated the incineration graves with numbers from 1 to 117, but he skipped some numbers. Ultimately, there is a total of 109 incineration graves, but no grave goods were found in 12 of them. Brusić defined them as graves either because of their outer structure (to be tackled further in this paper) or because he had noticed “lots of soot in the crack in the bedrock”. These “graves” – 12 of them – are not included here because neither grave goods nor remains of the deceased were found in them. When we add 15 other prehistoric graves/tombs to this number (97), the overall number of the graves is 112.



SLIKA 2. Velika Mrdakovica (označena crvenom bojom) i gradine u okolici: 1 – Dragišić, 2 – Bribirska glavica, 3 – Sonković, 4 – Žažvić, 5 – Mala gradina kod Velima, 6 – Zibonoga (kartu izradio T. Brajković; geografska podloga: NASA – Credit: Jeff Schmaltz, MODIS Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC; dostupna na <https://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/69000/69204/Italy.A2003262.1005.1km.jpg>, pristupljeno 12/07/2018).

FIGURE 2. Velika Mrdakovica (marked in red) and hill-forts in the vicinity: 1 – Dragišić, 2 – Bribirska glavica, 3 – Sonković, 4 – Žažvić, 5 – Mala gradina near Velim, 6 – Zibonoga (map created by T. Brajković; geographic basis: NASA – Credit: Jeff Schmaltz, MODIS Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC; available at <https://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/69000/69204/Italy.A2003262.1005.1km.jpg>, accessed 12/07/2018).

posude, koštani predmeti...) istovjetan onome pronađenom u rimskodobnim grobovima, kao i to da su tehnike gradnje zidova pojedinih prostorija istovjetne onima kod helenističkih grobnica.⁶ Nastavak

burials were researched, including fifteen prehistoric inhumation burials and a small part of the settlement. It was established then that the small artefacts found there (ceramic and glass vessels, bone items...) were identical to the ones found in Roman-period graves and that the techniques used for building walls of some premises were identical to the ones used in

⁶ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 12; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 499.

istraživanja nekropole (2011. – 2013.)⁷ te naselja, koje je započelo 2014. i traje do danas, upotpunilo je i dijelom potvrdilo prijašnje zaključke, iako su i dalje mnoga pitanja ostala nerazjašnjena.⁸ Unutar u zadnjim kampanjama istraženog dijela naselja na površini od 1500 m² nije pronađen intaktan prapovijesni sloj. Sav pokretni materijal – ogromna količina ulomaka amfora, tegule s pečatima, kozmetički i farmaceutski pribor, novac, utezi tkalačkih stanova, kao i oni ribarski itd. – govori o intenzivnoj trgovini naselja s mediteranskim i galskim proizvodnim centrima zadnjih stoljeća stare ere i u prvom stoljeću nove ere te o životu jedne prosperitetne i organizirane zajednice. Tijekom ranog principata dolazi do značajnih građevinskih radova. Prapovijesni bedemi se obnavljaju, a isto se događa i unutar perimetra naselja. Pojedini se prolazi između prostorija zatvaraju, zidovi građeni u helenističkom slogu ustupaju mjesto rimskom načinu gradnje i inkorporiraju se unutar redizajniranih prostorija. Tom se prilikom sterilno čisti podnica – „do tvrdoga“, a prapovijesni se šut izbacuje unutar ili van vanjskih zidina.⁹ Gradnja novih objekata ili obnavljanje starih u novim gabaritima neposredno je utjecalo i na izgled komunikacija – ulica, prolaza – mada se njihov smjer pružanja, uvjetovan konfiguracijom terena, na strmome brdu, nije mogao uvelike promijeniti. Zasad je utvrđen dio ortogonalno postavljene mreže ulica koje su stepeništima i u litici izdubljenim prolazima povezivale terase naselja s dva glavna ulaza. Jedan je na jugozapadnoj strani naselja, usmjeren prema rijeci Krki, nekropoli i zatonskoj luci, dok se drugi nalazi na sjeverozapadnoj strani naselja i gravitira vodičkom polju.

Naselje na Velikoj Mrdakovici po svemu je sudeći izgubilo ulogu mjesta stalnog boravka domicilnog stanovništva, vjerojatno tijekom 2. stoljeća. Taj je proces bio postupan i odigravao se u vremenu *pax*

Hellenistic tombs.⁶ The continuation of the excavations at the necropolis (2011 – 2013)⁷ and at the settlement (2014 – present), complemented and partly confirmed the earlier conclusions, although many questions still remain unanswered.⁸ No intact prehistoric layer was found on the 1,500m²-large portion of the settlement researched during recent campaigns. The movable finds – a huge quantity of amphorae, stamped tegulae, cosmetic and pharmaceutical accessories, loom weights, sinkers etc. – can be seen as evidence of the settlement's intensive trade with Mediterranean and Gaulish manufacturing centers in the last centuries BC and the first century AD, also reflecting the life of a prosperous and organized community. In the days of the Early Principate, substantial construction work took place here. The prehistoric walls were reconstructed and so were the structures within the perimeter. Passages between individual rooms were sealed, Hellenistic masonry gave way to the Roman type of construction and the earlier walls were incorporated in the redesigned rooms. All the layers were thoroughly removed from the bedrock and the prehistoric rubble was disposed, both within and outside the defense walls.⁹ Building of new structures or expanding of the old ones had a direct impact on the roads and passages – but to an extent only, because their lines had largely depended on the configuration of the terrain (the slope of a steep hill) and could not be changed substantially. Part of the orthogonal grid of streets, staircases and passages carved in the rock that interconnected the settlement's terraces with two town gates has been identified so far. One gate was on the southwestern side, facing the River Krka, necropolis and port of

⁶ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 12; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 499.

⁷ The excavations were carried out by the author of this text. See T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014.

⁸ Reports on the excavations at the Velika Mrdakovica settlement, carried out by the author since 2014, were submitted to the *Croatian Archaeological Yearbook* (HAG). However, it has not been printed or published online in the meantime.

⁹ The ramparts at the southern gate consist of two parallel walls, 3.5 to 4 meters from each other, with a filling in between. This is what the reference “inside the walls” means. The filling also contains some disposed prehistoric material.

⁷ Istraživanje nekropole vodio je autor ovoga teksta. Vidjeti T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014.

⁸ Istraživanja koja na naselju Velike Mrdakovice od 2014. godine provodi autor članka do sada su u obliku izvješća slana za HAG koji međutim nije ni tiskan ni objavljen u *online* izdanju.

⁹ Bedemi kod južnog ulaza rađeni su od dvaju paralelnih zidova, udaljenih 3,5 – 4 metra, između kojih je ispunjena. Na to se referiramo kada kažemo „unutar zidina“. Ispunjena sadrži i raniji, odbačeni materijal prapovijesne provenijencije.

Romana kada život unutar utvrđenih opida gubi smisao i seli se u areale plodnih polja – u nizinu. Ostaci novog naselja, podno Mrdakovice, nisu mogli biti utvrđeni jer na tom prostoru nikad nisu provedena arheološka istraživanja. No nedavno je, nedaleko od rimskodobne cisterne iz 1. – 2. stoljeća, tijekom rekognosciranja primijećena velika količina ulomaka tegula, amfora i tesera, što upućuje na veći objekt rezidencijalne i gospodarske namjene. Nadalje, pretpostavku da se život u vrijeme principata premješta u blizinu polja i u samo polje podupiru i kazivanja mještana o pronalasku grobova na tom području. Naravno, sve će to razjasniti daljnja sustavna istraživanja koja će i dati odgovore na pitanja do kada se mrdakovička nekropola koristila za ukope i znači li do sada utvrđeni *terminus post quem non* – 2. stoljeće, do kada se datira materijal u svojstvu grobnih priloga, konačnu depopulaciju ovoga prostora.

2. NEKROPOLA

Mrdakovička nekropola spada u tip nekropola na ravnom i nalazi se u udolini između brda Velike i Male Mrdakovice. Prostor joj je izuzetno krševit, s visoko uzdignutom liticom te plitkim slojem obradivog tla (Sl. 3, 4). I nekropola i okolno područje ispresijecani su nizom novovjekih ogradnih suhozida i krčevina koji su izmijenili prapovijesnu i rimskodobnu organizaciju prostora.¹⁰ Jasno se uočava plansko pozicioniranje ukopnih mjesta. Oni najstariji, željeznodobni, smješteni su na njezinu sjeverozapadnom dijelu i grupirani u klaster od pet grobova. U ranijoj literaturi datirali su se u 5./4. stoljeće prije Krista, da bi se sada taj vremenski okvir na osnovi novije komparativne analize materijala pomakao nekoliko stoljeća ranije. Oblika su pačevtòrinè rađene u priklesanoj litici, čiji su procijepi kod tri groba popunjeni jednostavnim suhozidom od neobrađenih kamena. Grobna raka ispunjena je zemljom s uglavnom ispremiješanim osteološkim materijalom i ostacima nošnje i nakita, što se pripisuje rezultatu više naknadnih ukopa. Pokojnici su

Zaton, and the other was on the northwestern side, facing the direction of Vodice Field.

To all appearances, Velika Mrdakovica ceased to exist as a place of permanent settlement of the domicile population probably during the 2nd century AD. The process was gradual, taking place during the period of *pax Romana*, when there was no need for living in fortified oppida any more, so people moved to fertile valley. The remains of the new settlement underneath Mrdakovica have not been identified yet because no archaeological excavations have been carried out in the area. However, numerous fragments of tegulae, amphorae and tesserae were noticed recently during surveying near a Roman cistern from the 1st-2nd centuries AD. This indicates a relevant residential and economic structure must have been there. The accounts of the locals, mentioning graves found in the area, also substantiate the hypothesis that the population left hill-forts during the Principate and settled in or near the fields. Of course, it is up to future systematic excavations to cast more light on it. They will also have to establish until what period was the Mrdakovica necropolis used for burials and does the currently known *terminus post quem non* – the 2nd century AD – marked the final depopulation of the area.

2. THE NECROPOLIS

Located in between Velika Mrdakovica and Mala Mrdakovica hills, the Mrdakovica necropolis can be classified as a flat-ground necropolis. It is a very craggy area with a thin layer of cultivable land, dominated by a high cliff (Fig. 3, 4). Both the necropolis and the surrounding area are criss-crossed with many Modern-Age drywalls and clearings that have changed the prehistoric and Roman organization of the space.¹⁰ A planned pattern of graves can clearly be seen. The earliest graves – dated to Iron Age – can be found in the northwestern corner of the necropolis, grouped in clusters of five. Earlier literature dated them to the 5th or 4th centuries BC,

¹⁰ Prostor nekropole podijeljen je masivnom suhozidnom ogradom na dvije čestice unutar kojih je nekoliko krčevina. Pod jednom krčevinom, kao i pod spomenutom suhozidnom ogradom, utvrđeno je nekoliko paljevinskih ukopa.

¹⁰ A massive drywall divides the necropolis in two parts – each of them containing a few clearings. Several incineration burials were identified under one of the clearings and the drywall.



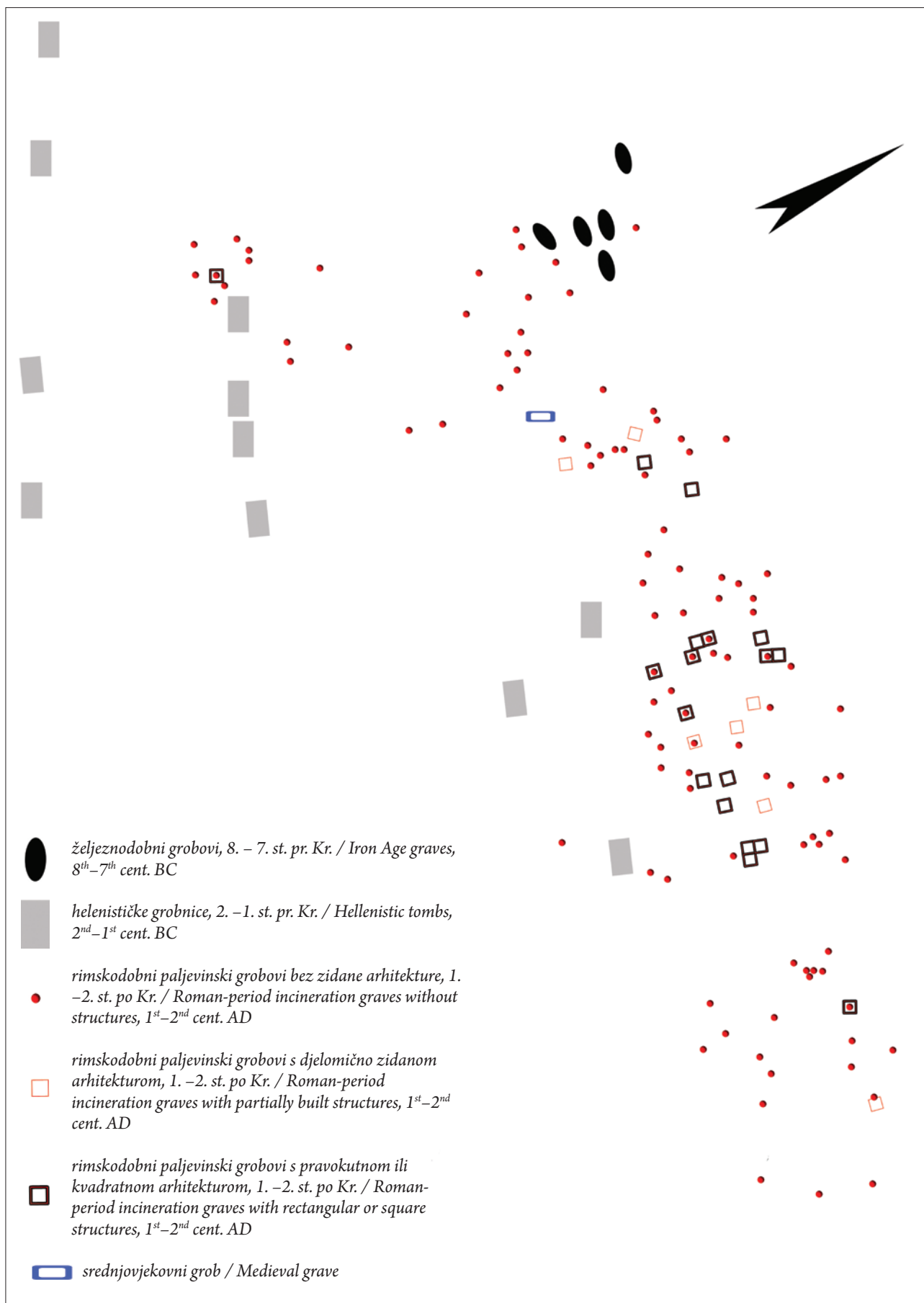
SLIKA 3. *Nekropola, sonda 3 (foto: T. Brajković).*
FIGURE 3. *Necropolis, Trench 3 (photo: T. Brajković).*

inhumirani, no ne nalazimo ih, za razliku od pokojnika sjevernoliburnskoga kulturnoga kruga, u zgrčenu položaju, već u ispruženu položaju, te u četiri od pet slučajeva glava okrenutih prema izlazećem suncu na istoku, kao i na nekropoli Dragišića. Jedini je grob s odmakom u orijentaciji (jugoistok – sjeverozapad) onaj s brojem 113. Svi se nalaze na malim dubinama od tek 20 – 30 cm ispod površine.

Helenističke grobnice omeđuju jugozapadni rub nekropole i poredane su u nizove u smjeru „sjeverozapad – jugoistok“. Iako, nažalost, ni u jednoj nije utvrđen točan broj pokojnika, kao ni njihov položaj i orijentacija, kosti su kao i materijal dislocirane, a grobovi često puta devastirani – na osnovi zatečenih grobnih priloga i količine osteološkog materijala znamo da su od početka namijenjene za sahranu više generacija pokojnika (Sl. 5). Dimenzije su ovih grobnica veće, a ukopna je jama, za razliku od ranijih ukopa, dublja – do preko jednog metra, premda

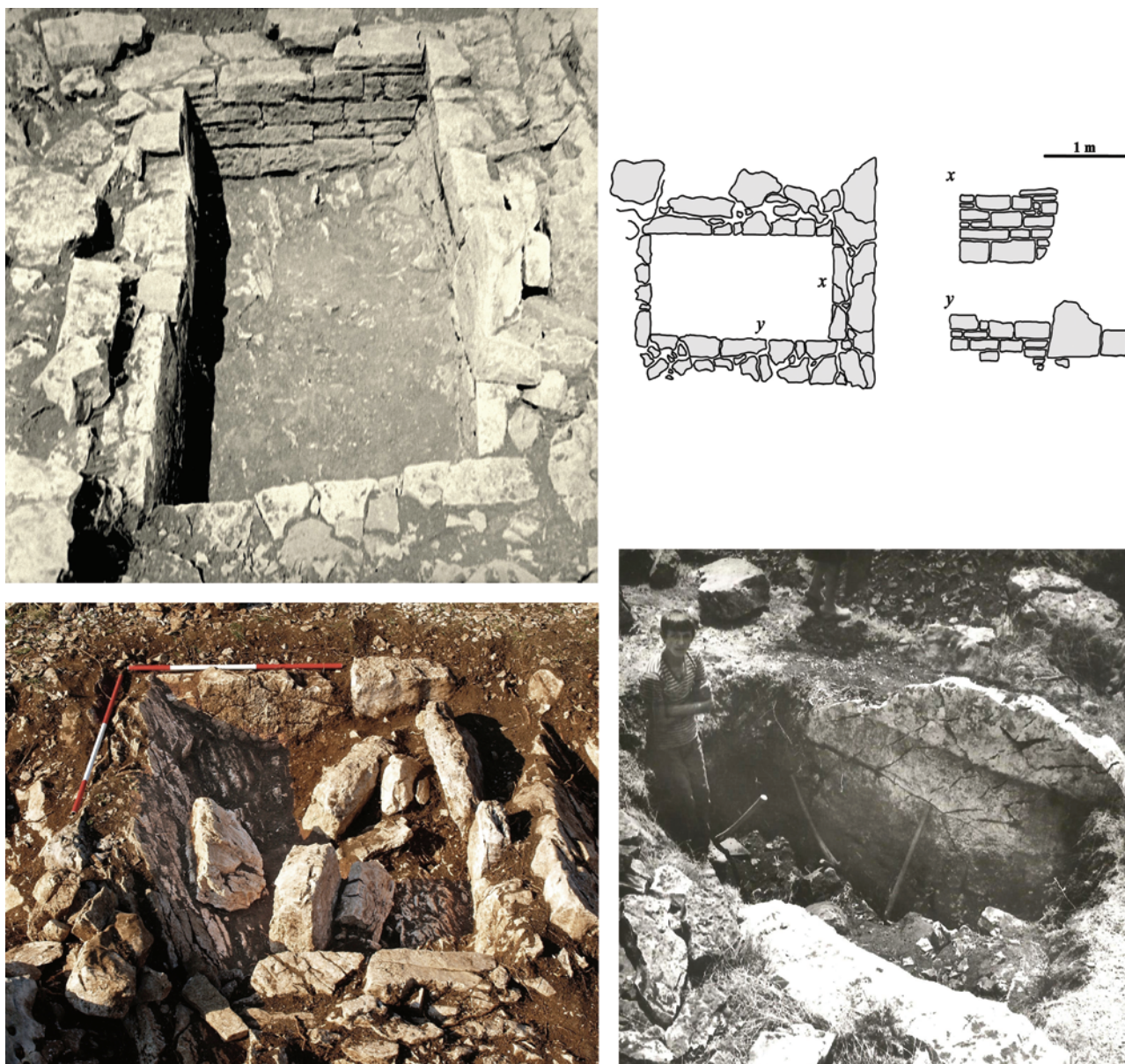
but new comparative analyses of materials have shifted the dating to several centuries earlier. The rectangular graves are cut in the bedrock and are bordered by drywalls made of rough, unworked stones. Graves are filled with earth that includes disordered osteological material and remains of attire and jewelry. It is believed that these originate from a number of subsequent burials. The dead were inhumed but, unlike those from the northern Liburnian cultural circle, they are not in a flexed position; instead, they are extended. In four out of five cases, they were buried with their heads towards the sun rising in the east (like those in Dragišić necropolis). The only differently oriented grave (southeast – northwest) is the one marked as 113. All the graves are shallow – only 20-30cm under the surface.

The southwestern edge of the necropolis is bordered with Hellenistic tombs arranged in lines, northwest-southeast. Although the exact number,



SLIKA 4. Velika Mrdakovica, nekropola – plan (izradio T. Brajković).

FIGURE 4. Velika Mrdakovica, Necropolis – plan (created by T. Brajković).



SLIKA 5. Helenistički grobovi: gore – grobnica I, dolje (s lijeva na desno) – grobnica NG 7, grobnica E (foto: T. Brajković, Z. Brusić).

FIGURE 5. Hellenistic graves: Top – Grave I, bottom (from left) – Tomb NG 7, Tomb E (photos: T. Brajković, Z. Brusić).

ni dubina ni konstrukcija nisu uniformne, već uvjetovane konfiguracijom terena i različitim tradicijama gradnje. Priklesana litica uvijek tvori podnicu, a često i cijelu ogradnu stranu ili jedan njen dio. Na nju se u pravilu nadovezuje obzid rađen u tehnici suhozida u različitim varijacijama obrade kamena. Ponegdje su to lijepo tesani kvaderi kombinirani s većim tesanim kamenim blokovima i tanjim pločama za niveliranje redova te sitnijim kamenjem za ispunu procijepa. Najbolje je očuvan primjer spomenute gradnje grobnica I napravljena u širokom procijepu matične stijene i u potpunosti obzidana

position and orientation of the persons buried in them could not be established due to the fact that the bones and grave goods are dislocated and the graves were repeatedly devastated, the grave finds and osteological material indicate that several generations of the dead were had been buried in them since the beginning (Fig. 5). These graves are of a bigger size, and are deeper – even more than one meter, unlike the earlier burials. However, the grave structures and depths are not uniform – they depend on the configuration of the terrain and on various traditions in construction. The graves are cut in such way that the

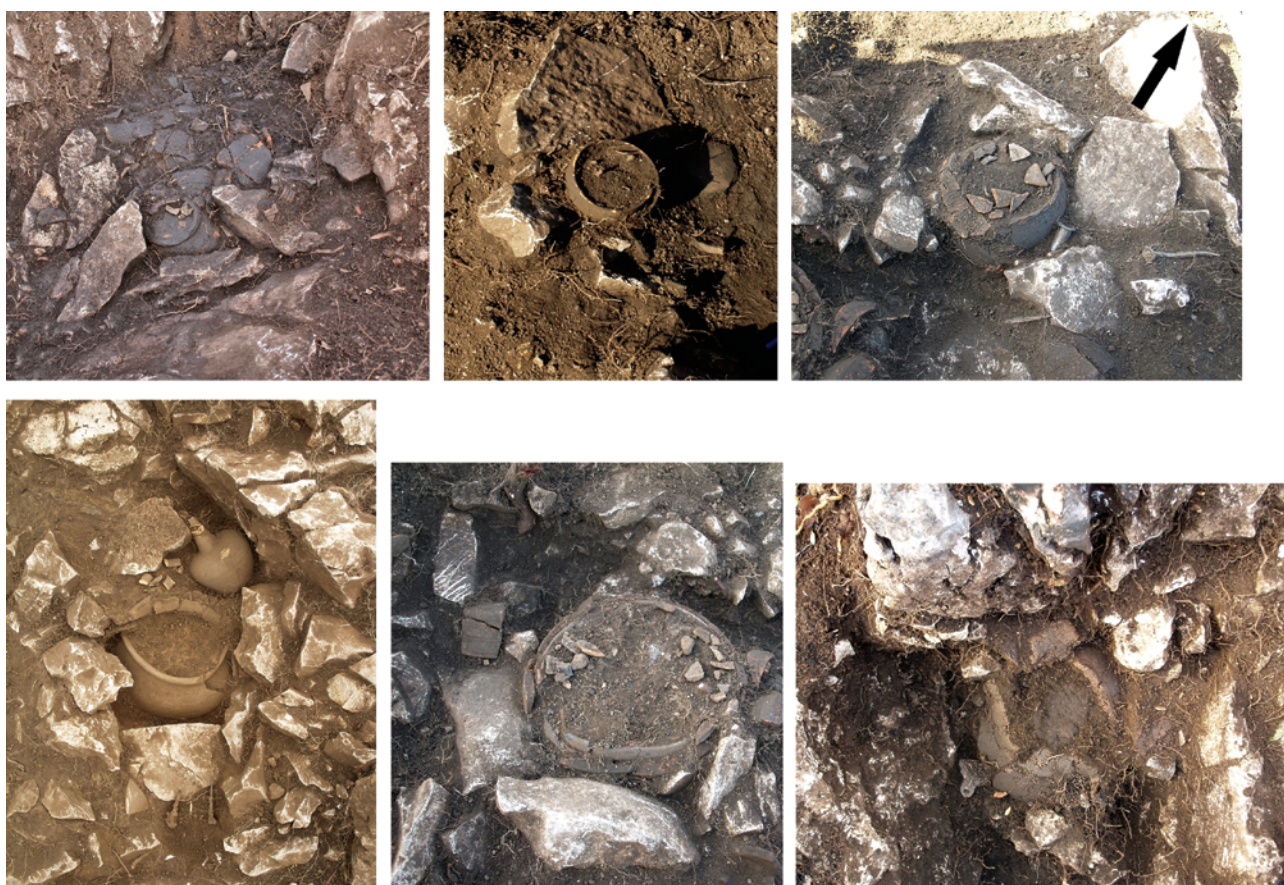


SLIKA 6. Grobovi „tipa 1“ omeđeni zidom oblika pravokutnika ili kvadrata (foto: Z. Brusić).

FIGURE 6. “Type 1” graves marked with stones lined in rectangular or square shapes (photos: Z. Brusić).

lijepo izgrađenim suhozidom. U drugim slučajevima grobnice se rade od većih (i preko 1 metar dužine), ponegdje i vidno lošije obrađenih kamenih

grave floors – and sometimes sides – are always cut directly in the bedrock. The graves are usually surrounded with drywall-style wall-lining consisting of stones of varied roughness. Sometimes these are finely dressed ashlars combined with large dressed stone blocks and thinner slabs for levelling of courses and crushed stones for filling the recesses in the bedrock. The best preserved example of such construction is



SLIKA 7. Grobovi „tipa 2“ bez zidane arhitekture (foto: T. Brajković).

FIGURE 7. “Type 2” graves without structures (photos: T. Brajković).



SLIKA 8. Poklopnice i pokrovi urni. Gornji red (s lijeva na desno): grob 4, grob 47, grob 6; sredina (s lijeva na desno): grob 1; donji red (s lijeva na desno): grob 102 (foto: T. Brajković, Z. Brusić).

FIGURE 8. Cover slabs and urn lids. Top section (from left): Grave 4, Grave 47, Grave 6; middle section (from left): Grave 1; bottom section (from left): Grave 102 (photos: T. Brajković, Z. Brusić).

blokova, ili pak od megalitnih kamenih ploča postavljenih „na nož“. Sve su orijentirane kao i željeznodobni grobovi, što je nesumnjivo povezano s religijskom praksom.

Sjeverni rub nekropole flankiraju rimskodobni paljevinski ukopi koji se protežu prema jugoistoku. S obzirom na konstrukciju ukopnog mjesta, možemo ih podijeliti na dva tipa:

tip 1. – grobovi omeđeni zidom pravokutnog ili kvadratnog oblika građenim „u suho“ ili povezanim žbukom (Sl. 6). Velik broj ih je tek djelomično ograđen, što pripisujemo naknadnoj devastaciji terena. Zbog nedostatka dokumentacije nažalost ne znamo da li su ove grobne konstrukcije radene od jednog ili više redova kamena;

Grave I, built in a wide recess of the bedrock, lined on all sides with a high-quality drywall. In other cases, tombs are made of larger (even longer than 1 meter), sometimes visibly rougher stone blocks, or of vertically placed megalithic stone slabs. They all have the same orientation as the Iron Age graves, which is undoubtedly connected with religious practices.

On its northern edge, the necropolis is flanked by Roman-period incineration burials stretching to southeast. Based on the grave structure, they can be divided in two types:

Type 1 – Graves lined with rectangular or square walls, “dry” or plastered (Fig. 6). Many are only partly enclosed, probably because of subsequent devastation. Unfortunately, it has not been documented

tip 2. – grobovi smješteni u užji ili širi procjep prikljesane litice bez zidane arhitekture (Sl. 7).

Unutar tipa 2, na mjestima gdje litica to dopušta, grob ima izduženi oblik grobne rake te je smješten među njezinim ograncima, dok se drugdje litica koristi u mjeri u kojoj je to moguće pa čini jednu do tri omeđene strane groba, dok se ostale ograđuju neobrađenim kamenima.

Ponad velike većine grobova ovoga tipa uočene su poklopnice ili pokrovi urni. Poklopnice od neobrađenih kamena i kamenih ploča pokrivala su izdužene grobove oblika grobnih raka, dok su kod ostalih grobova uočeni pokrovi nad urnama uglavnom od neobrađenih kamenih ploča ili pak od napako okrenutih keramičkih tanjura te u jednom slučaju od dijela tegule (Sl. 8).

3. RASPRAVA

O najstarijem ukopnom horizontu na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice možemo govoriti samo na temelju pet istraženih željeznodobnih grobova. Na dostupnom uzorku primjećujemo potpunu dominaciju pružena u odnosu na zgrčen položaj tijela koji generalno prevladava unutar sjevernoga liburnskoga kulturnoga kruga.¹¹ Za upotpunjavanje slike mogla bi nam poslužiti nekropola obližnje gradine Dragišić na kojoj su istraživanja provedena 1973. i 1976. godine pod vodstvom Zdenka Brusića¹² te ona recentnija iz 2001. – 2003. pod vodstvom Marka Menđušića.¹³ Na nekropoli Dragišića sveukupno je istraženo četrdeset i osam grobova smještenih na istoku-jugoistoku, uz komunikaciju koja od gradine vodi u podnožje.¹⁴ Tek jedan je grob rimskodobni paljevinski, dok ostali pripadaju različitim fazama željeznog doba, uključujući i

¹¹ Za razliku od nekropole Velike Mrdakovice i Dragišića gdje su dominantni, ispružene ukope nalazimo, iako u manjoj mjeri i drugdje. Vidjeti u: M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 84; S. KUKOČ, 2009: 37-44; S. KUKOČ, 2011: 202

¹² Za opće podatke o lokalitetu i rezultatima istraživanja vidjeti Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116-117; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 11; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 28-29; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000; GLOGOVIĆ, 2014.

¹³ M. Menđušić bio je kustos Muzeja grada Šibenika od 1982. do 2005. godine.

¹⁴ Dva glavna rada za nekropolu Dragišić, u kojima su kataloški obrađeni i opisani pojedini grobovi svih ukopnih faza su Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000 i GLOGOVIĆ, 2014.

whether these grave structures have one or more stone layers;

Type 2 – Graves made directly in (narrower or wider) recesses of the dressed bedrock, with no sepulchral architecture (Fig. 7).

Where the bedrock allows it, Type 2 graves are oblong and located where the bedrock splits. In other places, only one to three sides of a grave are cut into the bedrock, while the remaining sides are walled with rough stones. Most of the graves of this type were covered by grave slabs or urn covers. The grave slabs made of rough stones and stone slabs covered the oblong graves, while the remaining graves had covers above urns, mostly made of rough stone slabs or inverted ceramic plates or, in one case, of a tegula fragment (Fig. 8).

3. DISCUSSION

The earliest burial horizon at the Velika Mrdakovića necropolis can only be discussed on the basis of five researched Iron Age graves. The available sample exhibits a total domination of extended positions of the bodies in them, contrary to the flexed position, which is generally predominant in the northern Liburnian cultural circle.¹¹ The necropolis of the nearby hill-fort Dragišić could be used here to “complete the picture”. The 1973 and 1976 excavations at that hill-fort were headed by Zdenko Brusić¹² and the more recent ones, in 2001 – 2003, were headed by Marko Menđušić.¹³ A total of forty eight graves have been explored in Dragišić necropolis so far. They are located in south-southeast, next to a road leading from the hill-fort to the foot of the hill.¹⁴ Only one grave is a Roman-period incineration grave, while

¹¹ Unlike at Velika Mrdakovića and Dragišić necropolises, where they are predominant, extended burials are less frequent at other places. See M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 84; S. KUKOČ, 2009: 37-44; S. KUKOČ, 2011: 202

¹² For general information on the site and excavation results, see Z. BRUSIĆ, 1976: 116-117; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 11; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 28-29; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000; GLOGOVIĆ, 2014.

¹³ M. Menđušić was a curator of the Šibenik City Museum between 1982 and 2005.

¹⁴ The two major papers on Dragišić necropolis, cataloging and describing individual graves from all burial phases are: Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000 i GLOGOVIĆ, 2014.

helenističko razdoblje. Vanjska markacija starijih željeznodobnih grobova, s iznimkom groba 4, sastojala se od elipsasto posložena vijenca neobrađenih kamena na površini. Grobovi su nalaženi u njegovu središtu s pačtvorinastom, pravokutnom ili elipsoidnom grobnom rakom unutar priklesane litice. Osim nekoliko iznimaka, svi su ukopi bili višestruki, no zbog loše očuvana osteološkog materijala ne može se utvrditi točan broj pokojnika u svakom od njih. Najmlađi grobovi – 10 i 19 – na osnovi fibula tipa *protocertosa* i *Baška*, datirani su u 7., a grob 14, na osnovi fibule *a due bottoni* u 7./6. stoljeće prije Krista.¹⁵ Trinaest grobova pripisuje se Batovićevoj „V A“ fazi, deset ih se smješta u „V B“ fazu, dok ih više od deset ima kontinuitet ukopa od zadnje faze liburnskoga željeznog doba do ranog principata.¹⁶ Grobnom konstrukcijom stariji željeznodobni grobovi s nekropole Dragišića ne razlikuju se od onih mrdakovičkih. Pokojnici su u njima u ispruženu položaju kao i u svih pet mrdakovičkih grobova, a podudardna im je i orijentacija, što je odavno primijećeno i definirano kao posebnost južnoliburnskoga kulturnoga kruga. Posebnost dragišićkoga groba 4 otvara neka nova pitanja. Ovdje se radi o trima grobovima koji su smješteni jedan poviše drugog.¹⁷ U prvom je grobu ukopan jedini zgrčeni pokojnik ove nekropole. Grobni sanduk u tipičnoj sjevernoliburnskoj maniri izrađen je od četiri kamene ploče, od kojih su dvije bile vidljive i izdizale se nad površinom i prije početka istraživanja. Pod tim grobom pronađen je drugi grob – paljevinski, a pod potonjim – treći grob s ostacima jednoga pokojnika ili više pokojnika u pruženu položaju. Brusić je na osnovi materijala (četiri fibule tipa *Baška*, pojasna kopča...) prvi grob datirao u 5. stoljeće pr. Krista. Drugi je grob na osnovi keramičkog skifosa atičkog tipa, brončane pojasne kopče u obliku palmete, pet fibula tipa *Baška* itd. datiran u kraj 4. stoljeća pr. Krista, dok je za treći grob, u kojemu je bilo i osam „fibula istog

others belong to various phases of Iron Age, including the Hellenistic period. On the outside, the older Iron Age graves (except Grave 4) were marked with ovals of rough stones around on the surface. A grave would lie in the center of such an oval, with a parallelogram-shaped, rectangular or oval pit in the dressed bedrock. With but a few exceptions, all the burials included multiple interments; however, the poor condition of the osteological material prevents establishing the exact number of the deceased in each of them. The latest graves – Graves 10 and 19 – were dated to the 7th century BC owing to fibulae of *protocertosa* and *Baška* types and Grave 14 was dated to the 7th/6th centuries BC owing to a fibula of *a due bottoni* type.¹⁵ Thirteen graves were associated with Batović's V A Phase, ten graves to V B Phase and more than ten of them exhibit a continuity of burials from the final phase of the Liburnian Iron Age to the Early Principate.¹⁶ The structure of the Early Iron Age graves at Dragišić necropolis is not different from the ones of Mrdakovica graves. The individuals in them are extended, as in all five of the Mrdakovica graves. They are also oriented in the same way, which was long established and defined as a distinguishing feature of the southern Liburnian cultural circle. The special characteristics of Grave 4 in Dragišić raises some new questions. These are three graves, stacked atop each other.¹⁷ The first one contains the only flexed individual at this necropolis. Typical for northern Liburnia, the grave cist was made of four stone slabs, two of which were visible and above the surface even before the excavations. A second, incineration grave was found under this grave, and yet another one, containing the remains of one or more individuals, was found under the second grave. Based on the material found (four *Baška* type fibulae, a belt buckle...), Brusić dated the first grave to the 5th century BC. The second grave was dated to

¹⁵ M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 55; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 9, T. X.

¹⁶ Točan broj grobova s kontinuitetom do carskog doba ne znamo. Naime, u GLOGOVIĆ, 2014. obrađena su i katalogizirana 24 od 34 groba s nekropole Dragišića istražena tijekom arheoloških kampanja 2001. – 2003. godine. U zaključku knjige nije razvidno odnosi li se navedeni broj spomenutih grobova samo na one katalogizirane, ili pak na sve istražene grobove.

¹⁷ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 6-9; S. KUKOČ, 2009: 43-44.

¹⁵ M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 55; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 9, T. X.

¹⁶ The exact number of graves with a continuity of burials stretching to the Imperial period is unknown. GLOGOVIĆ 2014 analyzes and catalogues 24 out of the 34 graves from Dragišić necropolis researched during the archaeological campaigns of 2001 – 2003. It is not clear from the book whether the said number refers only to the catalogued graves or all the researched graves.

¹⁷ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 6-9; S. KUKOČ, 2009: 43-44.

oblika kao i u prethodnim grobovima“, zaključio da se „dogodio relativno brzo nakon prva dva“. Primjećujemo odmah kako datiranje ovih grobova nema smisla, jer svakako grob 4a – na površini – nije najstariji, niti je grob 4c – položen na dno grobne rake – najmlađi. Situacija je upravo dijametralno suprotna. Zajednički su element svih triju grobova fibule duge uporabe – tipa *Baška*. Ni one, kao ni drugi zatečeni, teško databilni materijal, ne mogu odrediti starost ovih grobova preciznije od 5./4. stoljeća prije Krista. Ono što je zanimljivo je zastupljenost triju različitih načina ukopa unutar kratkog vremena u jednome grobu/grobnici. Sve ostalo je pretpostavka. Pretpostavljamo da je svaka grobnica namijenjena ukopu članova iste obitelji.¹⁸ Postavlja se pitanje je li onodobna tradicija dopuštala čuvanje drugačijih običaja ukoliko su članovi tê obitelji pripadnici različitih kulturnih ili etničkih krugova i radi li se ovdje upravo o tome. Svakako je najintragantniji u ovoj grobnici paljevinski grob 4b. Incineracija u tom vremenu nije svojstvena Liburnima, ali održavala se od kraja brončanog i tijekom željeznog doba u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj i na japodskom području,¹⁹ a najnovije spoznaje ukazuju na njezino pojavljivanje i unutar liburnskoga kruga.²⁰ Možda je upravo područje Japoda, čiji je utjecaj na nekropolama Dragišića i Velike Mrdakovice očit, „krivo“ za ovaj paljevinski grob. Naime, na najstarijem dijelu mrdakovičke nekropole jedan se grob razlikuje od drugih. Grob 113 se, osim drugačijom orijentacijom (istok – zapad), ističe i po bogatstvu dijelova nošnje i nakita koji tipološki i po načinu kombiniranja sugeriraju da bi ovdje mogla biti pokopana jedna ili više osoba japodske kulturne pripadnosti.²¹ U tom kontekstu ne možemo izuzeti vjerojatnost o istoj etničkoj pripadnosti ili bar snažnom utjecaju kod dragišićkoga groba 4b. Naime, ovakvi „uslojeni“ pojedinačni grobovi do sada su evidentirani još samo na japodskom prostoru. Pet ih je istraženo južno od gradine Veliki Vital kod Prozora u Lici i nešto su stariji od dragišićkih (Ha C2 – Ha D1).²²

the late 4th century BC based on an Attic ceramic skyphos, bronze palmette-shaped belt buckle, five *Baška* type fibulae... As for the third grave, which contained eight “fibulae of the same shape as in the first two graves”, Brusić concluded that “it took place relatively soon after the first two”. We can notice here that there is no point dating these graves because Grave 4a (on the surface) is certainly not the earliest one, nor is Grave 4c (on the bottom of the pit) the newest one – on the contrary. The common element found in all three graves are the long-living fibulae of the *Baška* type. Neither they nor any other material found can help us date these graves more accurately than to the 5th/4th centuries BC. Interestingly, three different types of burial took place in a single grave/tomb here within a short period. Everything else is but a hypothesis. We believe that each tomb was intended for burials of the members of the same family.¹⁸ The question arises whether the contemporary tradition allowed maintaining different customs if the members of this family belonged to different cultural or ethnic circles and is this the case here. Certainly the most intriguing grave in this tomb is the incineration grave 4b. Incineration was not typical of the Liburnians of those days, but it had been practiced in northern Croatia and in Iapodian territories in Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.¹⁹ Recent studies established its presence in the Liburnian circle, too.²⁰ Perhaps the vicinity of the Iapodian territory, whose influence on the Dragišić and Velika Mrdakovica necropolises can clearly be seen, is to “blame” for this incineration grave. In the earliest part of the Mrdakovica necropolis there is a grave different from others. In addition to a different orientation (east – west), Grave 113 also stands out by the numerous parts of attire and jewels that it contains, which, typologically and by the way they are combined, suggest that one or more individuals belonging to the Iapodean culture could be buried here.²¹ In this context, we cannot rule out the likely assumption of the same ethnic background or, at least, of a strong influence in the case of the Dragišić Grave 4b. Such “layered” individual graves have been recorded only in the Iapodian territory so far. Five

¹⁸ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2002: 218; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 479, 576.

¹⁹ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 9.

²⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2009: 42-43; S. KUKOČ, 2010a.

²¹ M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG: 2014, 87.

²² M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG: 2014, 87.

¹⁸ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2002: 218; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 479, 576.

¹⁹ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 9.

²⁰ S. KUKOČ, 2009: 42-43; S. KUKOČ, 2010a.

²¹ M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG: 2014, 87.

Tijekom zadnjih dvaju stoljeća stare ere očit je utjecaj grčke kulture u južnoj Liburniji s Nadinom kao njezinom sjevernom granicom. Za razliku od sjevernoliburnskog teritorija ovdje je (Nadin, Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica) prihvaćen način ukopa unutar zidanih helenističkih grobnica s pokojnicima u ispruženu položaju.²³ To je vrijeme radikalne promjene grobnih priloga u odnosu osobne nošnje prema keramičkim utilitarnim izrađevinama, tj. popudbini. U svakoj od mrdakovičkih grobnica pronađeno je obilje svakovrsnog materijala, među kojim se učestalošću i količinom ističu reljefno ukrašeni pehari i krateri. Ovo fino stolno posuđe ustanovljeno je u osam od jedanaest grobnica²⁴ i datira se u 2. – 1. stoljeće prije Krista te uglavnom prethodi pojavi aretinske i sjevernojadranske sigilate te najranijih posuda tipa *Sarius* koje se javljaju zadnjih desetljeća stare ere.²⁵ Spomenuti su proizvodi, osim u helenističkim grobnicama, nađeni i u trima rimskodobnim paljevinskim grobovima (6, 20, 84).²⁶ Na isti su način i keramički reljefni pehari aretinske sigilate osim u incineracijskim grobovima utvrđeni i u helenističkim grobnicama Velike Mrdakovice.²⁷ Svi navedeni oblici keramičkih posuda – krateri, pehari, kaleži, *Sarius* posude – bilo da su helenističkog ili ranocarskoga rimskog porijekla, namijenjeni su istoj svrsi – točenju i ispijanju vina, a mrdakovička nekropola ističe se kao jedno od vodećih mjesta Liburnije u količini otkrivenih primjeraka.²⁸ Upravo taj broj i stanje u kojemu su nalažene reljefno dekorirane posude, dali su povoda prvom istraživaču Velike Mrdakovice, Zdenku Brusiću, da ih okarakterizira kao servise za obredne ceremonije.²⁹ Naime, velik ih je broj zatečen fragmentiranih, ponegdje

of them south of Veliki Vital hill-fort near Prozor in Lika were researched and it turned out they were somewhat older than the ones at Dragišić (Ha C2 – Ha D1).²²

In the two final centuries BC, a Greek cultural influence was obvious in southern Liburnia, with Nadin as its northern border. Unlike in the northern Liburnian territory, burials in walled Hellenistic tombs with the deceased in extended position were adopted here (Nadin, Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica).²³ This was a period when grave goods saw radical changes in the proportion between attire and ceramic utensils used as a provision for the last journey. Plenty of grave goods were found in all of the Mrdakovica tombs, with relief cups and kraters accounting for most of them. This fine tableware was found in eight out of eleven tombs²⁴ and was dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC. It is the precursor of the Arretine and Northern Adriatic *terra sigillata* and of the earliest *Sarius* vessels that appear in the final decades BC.²⁵ Besides in the Hellenistic tombs, the said products were found in three Roman-period incineration graves (6, 20, 84).²⁶ Also, besides in the incineration graves, the relief ceramic cups made of Arretine *terra sigillata* were also found in the Hellenistic graves of Velika Mrdakovica.²⁷ Regardless of their origin (Hellenistic or Early Imperial), all these types of pottery – kraters, cups, calices, *Sarius* vessels – had the same purpose: They were used for pouring and drinking wine. And the Mrdakovica necropolis stands out as one of the leading sites in Liburnia in terms of their quantity.²⁸ It was the number and condition of these relief vessels that made Zdenko Brusić, the first researcher of Velika Mrdakovica, interpret them as belonging to sets for ritual ceremonies.²⁹ The fact

²³ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 623-624.

²⁴ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 22-24; BRUSIĆ, 1988: 29-30, 34, T I-VIII, T X-XIV, T XVI, T XVIII, T XX, T XXIV, T XXVI; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9, 16, 61-66, Figs. 1-3, 6-10, 58, 81-83, 85; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 16-17.

²⁵ Z. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET, 2004: 188-189.

²⁶ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9.

²⁷ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 20-21.

²⁸ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 28-29; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9, 20, 23-28; S. KUKOČ, 2011: 203.

²⁹ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1985: 143-146; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 29; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 9-11, 20.

²² M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG: 2014, 87.

²³ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 623-624.

²⁴ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 22-24; BRUSIĆ, 1988: 29-30, 34, T I-VIII, T X-XIV, T XVI, T XVIII, T XX, T XXIV, T XXVI; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9, 16, 61-66, Figs. 1-3, 6-10, 58, 81-83, 85; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000a: 16-17.

²⁵ Z. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET, 2004: 188-189.

²⁶ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9.

²⁷ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 20-21.

²⁸ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 28-29; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1999: 9, 20, 23-28; S. KUKOČ, 2011: 203.

²⁹ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1985: 143-146; Z. BRUSIĆ, 1988: 29; Z. BRUSIĆ 2000a: 9-11, 20.

s tragovima gara, što je interpretirano kao obredno razbijanje nad lomačom tijekom rituala ukopa i naknadno polaganje već usitnjenih komada keramike u grob.³⁰ Upitnost ove tvrdnje najbolje ilustrira primjer posude iz helenističkoga groba C, na temelju koje je donesen zaključak za čitav helenistički sloj. Spomenuta posuda svakako je bila razbijena i s očitim promjenama u boji uzrokovanim vatrom, no to se moglo dogoditi u čitavu nizu „scenarija“ profanijih no što je ovaj odabrani. Tomu u prilog svjedoči i činjenica kako su helenističke grobnice s nekropola Velike Mrdakovice i Dragišića te sav materijal unutar njih pronađeni devastirani, što ne začuđuje, budući da su vremenom ostale bez poklopnica, a smještene su na terenu koji se stoljećima intenzivno obrađivao. Naime, ni helenistička reljefna keramika ni ostalo, kasnije rimsko reljefno posuđe, iako evidentirano u velikom broju, nisu standardan i uvijek prisutan element grobnih cjelina. S druge strane, njihova učestalost sugerira da su osim uz statusne simbole vjerojatno usko vezani uz ritual ukopa i simboliku vina.

Ogromna količina ulomaka amfora³¹ istraženih unutar naselja svjedoči o intenzivnoj trgovini stanovnika Velike Mrdakovice uglavnom vinskim proizvodima, a posredno ukazuje na kulturu uživanja vina i na njegov značaj unutar domicilnog društva. Simbolika vina je dvostruka: svojom bojom i teksturom podsjeća na krv – esenciju života,³² dok kao Dionizovo piće pruža uzvišenje bića i sreću izazvanu opojnim djelovanjem nektara. Isti taj nektar, kako se vjerovalo, konzumiraju sretnici dospjeli na Elizejska polja, ležeći na odru od cvijeća i svježih trave, okruženi plesom i pjesmom. Ova slika predočena je na rimskim reljefnim spomenicima gdje

that many of them were found fragmented and with traces of soot was explained as ritual shattering over the pyre during a burial ceremony and subsequent laying of the fragmented pottery in the grave.³⁰ The controversiality of this claim is best illustrated with the example of a vessel from the Hellenistic grave C, based on which a conclusion was made for the entire Hellenistic layer. The said vessel had certainly been shattered and it contained visible changes caused by fire, but it could have happened in a number of different “scenarios”, more profane than this one. Supporting it is the fact that the Hellenistic tombs at Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić necropolises, including all the grave goods in them, were found devastated. This is no surprise because they had lost their cover slabs over time and are located on a terrain that has been cultivated intensely for centuries. Although recorded in large numbers, neither the Hellenistic relief pottery nor the later Roman relief pottery constitute standard, always present elements of the graves. On the other hand, their frequency suggests that they were used not only as status symbols, but also as symbols of wine and burial-ritual vessels.

The huge quantities of amphora fragments³¹ explored within the settlement can be seen as evidence of the intensive trade carried out by the people of Velika Mrdakovica – mostly in wine. Indirectly, they indicate a wine-drinking culture and the importance of wine for the domicile population. Wine has a dual symbolism: While its color and texture remind of blood – the essence of life,³² its status of a Dionysus’ drink offers a sublime feeling and happiness caused by its intoxicating effect. This nectar was believed to be consumed by the blessed ones who had made it to Elysian Fields while lying on flower- and grass-strewn couches, surrounded

³⁰ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1985: 143; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 20.

³¹ Do sad su utvrđene amfore grčko-italskog, te Dressel 1, Dressel 2-4 italske, Dressel 6a i Lamboglia 2 tipa, kao i onih galske proizvodnje. O značaju rijeke Krke kao plovnog puta v. bilješku 3. Nadalje, šibenski kanal, tj. kanal sv. Ante i sv. Josipa nikad nisu bili detaljno rekonstruirani pa je do otkrića određenih podvodnih lokaliteta došlo sasvim slučajno. Osim za one navedene u bilješci 3 zna se za još nekoliko, a za neke se sumnja. Pravo stanje stvari pokazat će tek izrada detaljne karte brodoloma i pristaništa pod rijekom Krkom, a koja bi trebala početi tijekom 2019. godine.

³² F. CUMONT, 1922: 51-53.

³⁰ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1985: 143; Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 20.

³¹ Of the amphorae found there, those of Greek-Italic type, Dressel 1, Dressel 2-4 Italic, Dressel 6a and Lamboglia 2 type have been found, as well as Gaulish ones. For the importance of the River Krka as a waterway, see note 3. Also, as Šibenik Channel (Sv. Ante Channel and Sv. Josip Channel) had never been surveyed, some underwater sites in them were discovered accidentally. In addition to those listed in note 3, there are a few other ones and a few more are suspected. The detailed map of the shipwrecks and landing-place underneath the River Krka, planned to be made in 2019, will give us a better insight into the real situation.

³² F. CUMONT, 1922: 51-53.

pokojnik s ritonom u ruci uživa u stečenom blagostanju.³³ Stakleni pužoliki riton iz druge polovine 1. stoljeća pronađen je u grobu NG 5 s Velike Mrdakovice, unutar keramičke urne lokalne proizvodnje, s još pet drugih predmeta. Osim keramičke lucerne trokutasto završenog nosa s volutama i cjevastog staklenog balzamarija, većina ih je pripadala setu za piće – posuda tankih stijenki, keramička čaša i posuda tipa *Sarius*, dok se uz urnu nalazio i keramički vrč.³⁴ Uza sami grob, na dubini pokrovne ploče nađeni su ulomci velike enohoje zajedno s recentnim željeznim predmetom, pa ni fragmente ove posude ne možemo odrediti kao dio obreda. Naime, razbijenih posuda unutar rimskodobnih grobova na mrdakovičkoj nekropoli svakako ima. Postavlja se pitanje može li se to pripisati ritualu. Na temelju četrnaest novoistraženih incineracijskih ukopa razvidno je da je materijal intaktan. Većina posuda uništena je glavnim i kapilarnim korijenjem površinske vegetacije, ali i dalje je ostala na prvotnome mjestu polaganja. Za ostale jako fragmentirane i široko razbacane dijelove pojedinih posuda, nađene na površinskom sloju i izvan grobnih cjelina, možemo pretpostaviti kako se radi o posljedici višestoljetne obrade vinograda i maslinika koji su se ovdje nalazili. Tomu u prilog govori i pronalazanje ulomaka iste posude na različitim dubinama. Ako tome pridodamo i dubinu grobova od 15 do 35 centimetara, što je dubina obuhvata ručnog pluga ili krampa, gotovo je nemoguće ustvrditi je li riječ o ritualnom razbijanju ili pak o nenamjernoj devastaciji sekundarnim korištenjem zemljišta. Ekstenzivna obrada tla u mnogim je slučajevima spriječila intaktnost jednoga zanimljivog fenomena detektiranog prilikom istraživanja provedenih 2011. – 2013. godine. Naime, kod pet od četrnaest grobova u neposrednoj blizini, ali izvan grobnih cjelina, pronađene su priložene posude tankih stijenki – šalice (Sl. 9). U njima nisu utvrđeni tragovi ljudskih ostataka što isključuje funkciju urne. Jedino prestalo objašnjenje je kulturna uloga. Budući da nisu smještene unutar grobnog mjesta, ne možemo ih smatrati grobnim prilogom, no zasigurno su u vezi s pojedinim grobovima jer se nalaze uz njih.

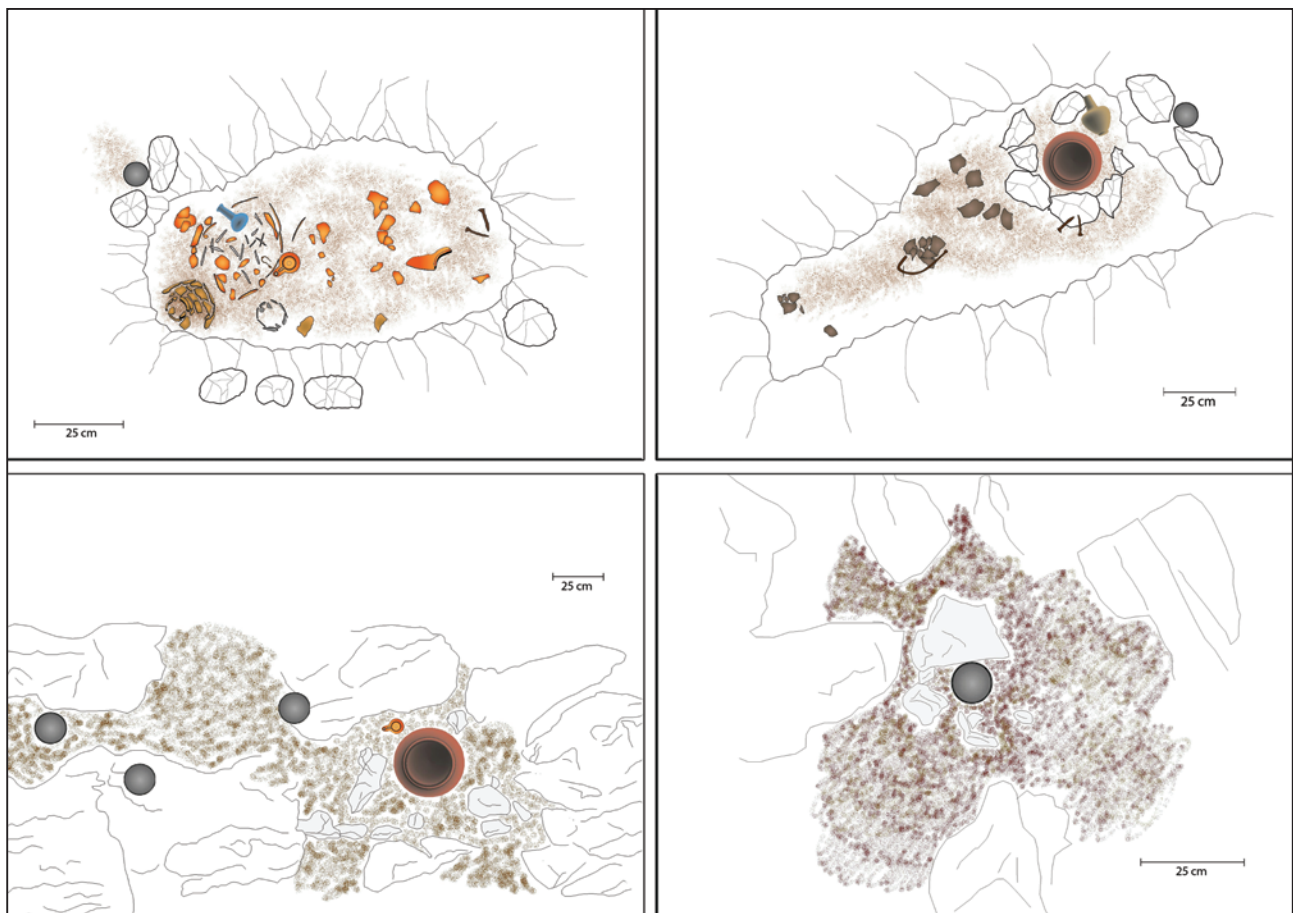
with dancers and singers. Such an image can be found on Roman relief monuments, where a deceased person with a rhyton in his hand enjoys the blessings he has deserved.³³ A snail-shaped rhyton from the second half of the 1st century AD was found in Grave NG 5 at Velika Mrdakovica, inside a locally-produced ceramic urn, together with five other objects. With the exception of an oil lamp with a triangular nose with volutes and a tube-shaped glass balsamarium, most of them belonged to a drinking set – a thin-walled vessel, ceramic cup and *Sarius* vessel. A ceramic jug was also found next to the urn.³⁴ Right next to the grave, on the level of the cover slab, fragments of a large oinochoe were found. However, as they were found together with a recent iron object, this fragmented vessel cannot be interpreted as a ritual vessel either. True, the Roman-period graves at Mrdakovica necropolis do contain a number of shattered vessels. The question is, however, can we interpret them as ritual vessels? Based on the 14 newly-explored incineration burials, it is clear that the grave goods are intact. Most of the vessels were destroyed by the main and capillary roots of the surface vegetation, but they are still on the original places where they were laid. As for the fact that a number of vessels were found very fragmented and widely scattered on the surface layer and outside graves, we can assume it is a consequence of the centuries of winegrowing and olive-growing activities in this area. Fragments of the same vessel found on different levels can be seen as evidence of it. If we add to it that the graves are between 15 and 35cm deep – the average depth of a plow or pick – it is almost impossible to establish if the shattering was of a ritual nature or unintentional, during the secondary use of the land. In many cases, the extensive land cultivation prevented an interesting phenomenon – detected during the 2011 – 2013 excavations – from remaining intact: In five out of 14 graves, in the immediate vicinity yet outside the graves, thin-walled cups were found (Fig. 9). No traces of human remains were found in them, so their purpose as urns can be ruled out. The only remaining explanation is a cult-related function. As they were not in the graves, they cannot be considered grave goods. But they certainly had something to do with individual graves as they were found next to them. Thus,

³³ F. CUMONT, 1922: 201.

³⁴ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 17-20; T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014a: 357-356.

³³ F. CUMONT, 1922: 201.

³⁴ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 17-20; T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014a: 357-356.



SLIKA 9. Gornji red (s lijeva na desno): grob 1, grob 5; donji red (s lijeva na desno): grob 6, grob 14 (izradio: T. Brajković).
FIGURE 9. Top section (from left): Grave 1, Grave 5; bottom section (from left): Grave 6, Grave 14 (created by T. Brajković).

Tako su kod grobova NG 1, NG 5 i NG 6 položene na sami rub litice koja tvori jednu od stranica groba, ali izvan njega. U slučaju groba NG 6, osim već spomenute posude na rubu matične stijene, pronađene su još dvije udaljene do jednog metra od groba, također uza samu površinu tla. Za njih ne znamo jesu li bile namijenjene istom ili možda nekom drugom devastiranom grobu. Kod groba NG 15 posuda je bila u procijepu litice, na sedamdesetak centimetara od grobne cjelina, dok se na primjeru groba NG 14 nalazila poviše njega. Kod tri od navedenih pet grobova, i unutar grobnih cjelina, u svojstvu grobnih priloga nalazimo posude tankih stijenki. One su svakako namijenjene pokojniku, dok su druge, ostavljane uz sami grob, nakon njegovog zatvaranja vjerojatno služile za polijevanje libacijske žrtve ili za prinošenje vina, neizostavan čin tijekom obrednih gozbi na grobu pokojnika.³⁵ Pretpostavljamo da

in Graves NG 1, NG 5 and NG 6, they were found lain on the very edge of the bedrock that constitutes one side of each of these graves; still, they were outside the graves. In the case of NG 6, in addition to the above mentioned vessel on the bedrock's edge, two more were found, up to 1 meter away from the grave, also immediately below the surface. We cannot say if they were intended for the same grave, or maybe for some other, now devastated grave. In the case of NG 15, the vessel was in a recess in the bedrock, some 70cm away from the grave. As for NG 14, it was above it. In three out of the above five graves, within them, thin-walled vessels were found as part of grave goods. It is certain they were intended for the deceased, while the others, left by the grave, probably served for pouring libation or offering wine after the grave had been closed, as obligatory elements of the ritual feasts at the grave of the deceased.³⁵ We believe that many of these thin-walled

³⁵ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 591-592.

³⁵ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 591-592.

je veći broj tih namjerno ostavljenih posuda tankih stijenki uz grobne cjeline, a namijenjenih njima, širom nekropole uništen i dislociran, kako zbog svoje fragilnosti i smještaja plitko ispod površine tijekom obrađivanja tla, tako i zbog neuočavanja toga fenomena tijekom ranijih istraživanja, te ih je stoga mali broj sačuvan *in situ*.³⁶

S obzirom na uzorak teško je ustanoviti je li ovaj ritual i u kojoj mjeri povezan s dobi, spolom i društvenim statusom pojedinca. Rimskodobni ukopi su individualizirani te na osnovi grobnih priloga i veličini spaljenih kostiju možemo saznati osnovne informacije o pokojniku. Kod pet se spomenutih grobova radi o odraslim osobama, vjerojatno muškarcima, no pretpostavljamo da se i kod žena provodio isti ritual. Ali što je bilo s djecom? Može li se na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice iščitati drugačiji odnos prema njima? U cijelome rimskom svijetu, pa tako i u Liburniji, za njihov su ukop učestalo korištene amfore.³⁷ Ovdje se neovisno o tada prevladavajućem ritusu ukopa uvijek radi o inhumaciji. Međutim, sva tri mrdakovička groba³⁸ u amforama su paljevinska. Nadalje, ne može se ni tvrditi da su dječji jer su dokumentacija i kontekst nalaza nejasni. Jedini grob u kojem su ustanovljeni ostaci kostiju djeteta je grob 115. Smješten je u procjepu litice, bez tragova gara, tek s brončanom karičicom kao grobnim prilogom te staklenom pliticom koja se nalazila uz grobnu raku. Položaj skeleta nije nam poznat. Dijete je po svemu sudeći bilo umotano tek u tkaninu i položeno u grob tipičan za paljevinske ukope. Inhumacija nam govori o dosljednosti općeprihvaćenih običaja, no ima li staklena plitica namjenu libacijske posude, što je protivno rimskim shvaćanjima – ne znamo.³⁹

³⁶ Na temelju grobnih zapisnika i inventiranog materijala iz arheoloških istraživanja Velike Mrdakovice provedenih 1969. – 1974. godine uočavamo velik broj posuda tankih stijenki. One su više-manje bile u svakom grobu. Ponekad primjećujemo napomenu „pokraj groba“, no kako točna evidencija o njihovom smještaju nije vođena i kako možemo pretpostaviti da ih je određeni broj nenamjerno uništen ili nije doveden u kontekst grobne cjeline, ovdje ih brojem nećemo navoditi.

³⁷ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 505, 588-590, 608-609, 612, 617.

³⁸ Grobovi 40, 44 i 98.

³⁹ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 610.

vessels throughout the necropolis, intentionally left by the graves and intended for them, have been destroyed or dislocated. This happened due to their fragility and the fact that they were left immediately below the surface and were, as such, exposed to land cultivation. It also happened because this phenomenon had not been noticed during earlier excavations. As a result, a small number of them have remained *in situ*.³⁶

Given the sample, it is hard to establish whether this ritual was connected – and to what extent – with age, sex and social status of individuals. As Roman-period burials were very individualized, the grave goods and size of incinerated bones can provide basic information about the deceased. The individuals in the five graves were adults, probably males, although we believe the same ritual was applied for females, too. And what about children? Is there any evidence at Velika Mrdakovica necropolis suggesting that they had a different treatment? Throughout the Roman world, including Liburnia, amphorae were often used for their burials.³⁷ Regardless of the predominant burial rites in that period, the burial type used here is always inhumation. However, all three Mrdakovica amphora graves³⁸ are incineration graves. Also, we cannot claim these are children's graves because the documents and context of the finds are inconclusive. The only grave with positively established child bones is Grave 115. Located in a bedrock recess, it contains no traces of soot, only a small bronze ring as a grave find, and a glass plate found beside the grave. The position of the skeleton is not known. To all appearances, the child must have been wrapped only in cloth and then lain in a grave typical of incineration burials. While inhumation indicates the consistency of the universally accepted customs, could it be that the glass plate was used as a libation vessel – and thus contrary to Roman views – we cannot say.³⁹

³⁶ The grave protocols and inventory of the grave finds from the 1969-1974 archaeological excavations at Velika Mrdakovica reveal a large number of thin-walled vessels. They were found in almost every grave. Sometimes there is a note “beside the grave” in the protocol. As their exact locations are not specified and as it can be supposed that a number of them were unintentionally destroyed or were not perceived as parts of graves, we do not mention their designation numbers here

³⁷ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 505, 588-590, 608-609, 612, 617.

³⁸ Graves 40, 44, 98.

³⁹ Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 610.

Nerazjašnjen je način obilježavanja grobnog mjesta. Stanovnik obližnjeg sela Zatona Mate Ivanda rekao mi je kako se jasno sjeća, a to su navodno znali i svi vlasnici tamošnjih vinograda i maslinika posađenih na mjestu nekropole, da su grobovi na površini bili označeni četirima okomito postavljenim kamenim pločama – lomljencima, u formi četverokuta. Ako je tomu tako, onda taj oblik recipienta ukazuje na to da je on mogao služiti za trajno postavljanje ili povremeno prilaganje predmeta s namjenom memorabilije ili za oznaku ukopnog mjesta ili kao prostor za prinošenje žrtve ili dara pokojniku. U okolici naselja i uz istraženi dio nekropole primijetili smo više manjih kamenih kubusa izrađenih u tehnici suhozida. Njihova koncentracija u pojedinim slučajevima na manjem prostoru isključuje terminacijsku namjenu. Buduća istraživanja pokazat će nisu li možda i oni oznaka grobnog mjesta, možda starijih, prapovijesnih grobova (Sl. 10).

Zanimljiva i nedovoljno razmatrana situacija javlja se na cijelom prostoru pružanja rimskodobnih paljevinskih grobova, a tiče se ukopnih mjesta ograđenih zidom kvadratne ili pravokutne osnove rađenih u suhozidnoj tehnici ili povezanih žbukom.⁴⁰ Tu dolazimo do nedoumice na koji način definirati te pravilne konstrukcije koje su prethodno u tekstu definirane kao grobovi tipa 1. Naime, takvih kvadratnih i pravokutnih oblika nalazimo šesnaest i generalno ih nazivamo grobovima. Oni su paljevinski, s materijalom istovrsnim ostalim rimskodobnim grobovima na nekropoli. Ovdje posebno izdvajamo grob 8 koji je sadržavao iznimno bogat inventar s čak 33 predmeta – četiri lucerne, najmanje četiri posude tankih stijenki, tri posude tipa *Sarius*, četiri balzamarija, najmanje tri tanjura, zlatnu naušnicu, srebrnu fibulu tipa *Aucissa* itd. Dimenzije groba su nam nažalost nepoznate, kao i pojedinosti o pokojniku/pokojnicima, tj. o stanju i smještaju spaljenog osteološkog materijala. U inventarnoj je knjizi navedena fragmentirana urna, međutim nameće se pitanje nije li ovdje možda riječ o grobnici i nisu li i neke druge posude imale ulogu urne.⁴¹ Ako

It has not been explained how the graves were marked. Mate Ivanda, a local from the nearby village of Zaton, told me that he clearly remembered – and that all the owners of the vineyards and olive-groves at the necropolis also knew it – that the graves were marked with four vertical roughly cut stone slabs forming a rectangle. If that was so, the shape of the receptacle suggests that it could have served for permanent or occasional placement as memorabilia or as a grave sign, or to designate a burial plot or a place for offerings and gifts for the deceased. Around the site and in the explored part of the necropolis we noticed a number of small square stone blocks made using the drywall technique. Their occasional larger concentrations in smaller areas rule out the possibility that they were used as boundary stones. Future research will show if they too could have been used as grave markers, perhaps for the older, prehistoric graves (Fig. 10).

The interesting graves with square or rectangular drywalls or plastered walls around them, present throughout the area where Roman-period incineration graves can be found, have not been analyzed yet.⁴⁰ A dilemma arises here as regards defining these symmetrical structures, designated earlier as Type 1 graves. There are sixteen of these square and rectangular shapes and we generally call them graves. These are incineration graves, and the grave finds in them are identical as those in other Roman-period graves at the necropolis. Particularly interesting here is Grave 8 with as many as 33 objects in it – four oil lamps, at least four thin-walled vessels, three *Sarius* vessels, four balsamaria, at least three plates, a golden earring, a silver fibula of *Aucissa* type etc. Unfortunately, the grave's dimensions and details about the individual/individuals in it are not known, and the same goes for the condition and position of the incinerated osteological material. The inventory book mentions a fragmented urn, but the question arises here whether this might be a tomb and whether some other vessels also had the role of an urn.⁴¹ If this is an individual grave, then it certainly differs from the usual graves

⁴⁰ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1974: 60-61, T. XXVI, 2.

⁴¹ Brusić ovaj tip konstrukcija naziva grobnicama i kaže da je vjerojatno u njima bilo položeno više urni s pokojnicima. Vidjeti Z. BRUSIĆ, 1978: 32.

⁴⁰ Z. BRUSIĆ, 1974: 60-61, T. XXVI, 2.

⁴¹ In Brusić's opinion, this type of structures are tombs. He believes that several urns with the dead were probably lain in them. See: Z. BRUSIĆ, 1978: 32.



SLIKA 10. Kameni kubusi u okolici nekropole i naselja (foto: T. Brajković)

FIGURE 10. Stone cubes in the vicinity of both necropolis and settlement (photos: T. Brajković).

je riječ o individualnom grobu, tada on svakako ne spada u uobičajene okvire mrdakovičke nekropole, no ako je riječ o grobnici više članova jedne obitelji, pokopanih unutar kraćeg perioda kako i grobni prilozima sugeriraju, tada je ovaj grob, možda i ograđena grobna parcela, eklatantan primjer prijelazne faze iz helenističkog ritusa u onaj rimskodobni. U sedam slučajeva unutar spomenutih pravokutnih i kvadratnih konstrukcija nije nađeno ništa, dok su u dva slučaja grobovi bili uz njih. Mogli bismo to pripisati naknadnoj devastaciji, možda i trajnom uništenju takvih markacija groba ili parcela kojima su, opet možda, bili ograđeni i drugi rimskodobni paljevinski grobovi. Ne smijemo odbaciti i mogućnost da su neke od tih konstrukcija bile i dijelovi bustuma

at Mrdakovica necropolis. However, if this is a family tomb, the members of which were buried in it over a short period (as grave goods suggest), then this grave – perhaps an enclosed burial plot – is a striking example of the transition from Hellenistic rites to Roman-period rites. In seven cases, nothing was found in the above mentioned rectangular and square structures and in two cases graves were located next to them. It could have been attributed to subsequent devastation, perhaps even permanent destruction of such grave or plot markers, used – perhaps, again – for enclosing other Roman-period incineration graves. We cannot discard the possibility that some of these structures were parts of a bustum or even small hearths intended for sepulchral rituals such as those in Zadar, Senj and Nadin.⁴²

⁴² Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 593.

ili čak manja ognjišta namijenjena sepulkralnom ritualu poput onih u Zadru, Senju i Nadinu.⁴²

Iako tijekom najnovijih istraživanja (2011. – 2013.) nismo utvrdili izlaganje keramičkog materijala otvorenom plamenu, unutar više grobova primijećeni su tragovi gara, a unutar sonde 2 i kalcificirani ostaci kamenja koje je gorjelo na temperaturi od oko 1000 °C.⁴³ To je mogla izazvati samo dugotrajnija uzdržavana vatra kakva se koristi pri sagorijevanju lomače s pokojnikom.

Činjenica da na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice nije pronađen niti jedan rimski nadgrobni spomenik indikativna je tim više što grobni prilozima kao i istovjetan materijal utvrđen u perimetru naselja ukazuju na trgovinsku povezanost tamošnje zajednice sa svim dijelovima Rimskog Carstva. Optjecaj odnosno dotok robe iz raznih krajeva nesumnjivo je povezan i s dotokom ideja. Mrdakovički Liburni zasigurno su bili upoznati s rimskim nadgrobnim spomenicima, tim više što su oni kao način obilježavanja groba široko rasprostranjeni i na širem liburnskom prostoru, posebice u urbaniziranim centrima. Materijal s Velike Mrdakovice zorno ukazuje na kontinuirano praćenje modnih trendova i frekventnu komunikaciju naselja s mediteranskim proizvodnim centrima. Moguće objašnjenje neupotrebe „rimskog“ načina markiranja grobova nalazi se u upornom čuvanju tradicije religijske prakse koja se u ovom manjem naselju, „neopterećenom“ došljacima, mogla nesmetano održati.

Čuvanje tradicije vidljivo je i iz grobnih priloga koji pripadaju istovjetnom materijalu (vinskim setovima) kod inhumacijskih i paljevinskih ukopa, kao i u nalaženju helenističkih izrađevina (ne samo keramičkih) unutar rimskodobnih grobova te obratno. Tako su brončane pojasne kopče, ustanovljene u grobovima 30 i 57 s tipičnim ranocarskim inventarom, identične onima s viških nekropola Vlaške njive i Martvila, iz Prozora u Lici te Gostilja

Although no traces of exposure to open fire were found on pottery during the 2011-2013 excavations, traces of soot were found in a number of graves and calcified remains of stones that had burnt at a temperature of approx. 1000 °C were found in Trench 2.⁴³ It could have only been a long-lasting, maintained fire used when deceased are burnt on pyre.

Particularly interesting is the fact that no Roman tombstone has been found at Velika Mrdakovica necropolis, especially when we know that the grave finds and identical objects found within the perimeter of the settlement indicate that the local community traded with all parts of the Roman Empire. There is no doubt that the circulation and inflow of goods from various lands was linked with the inflow of ideas. The Mrdakovica Liburni must have been familiar with Roman tombstones, given the fact that they were widely distributed in Liburnian territories, especially in urban centers. The grave goods from Velika Mrdakovica clearly indicate a continuity in following fashion trends and frequent communication with Mediterranean manufacturing centers. One possible explanation for not using the “Roman” style of marking the graves could be persistent adherence to the traditional religious practice that had persisted here, in this small community with no newcomers.

Adherence to the tradition is also reflected in the fact that the same grave goods – wine-serving sets – can be seen in both inhumation and incineration burials and that Hellenistic artefacts, not just ceramic ones, are found in the Roman-period graves and vice versa. For example, the bronze belt buckles, identical to those from the Vis necropolises Vlaška Njiva and Martvilo, Prozor in Lika, Gostilj and Ošanići⁴⁴ (late 2nd century – 1st century BC), were found in Graves 30 and 57 with typical Early Imperial grave goods. Roman glass kitchenware was found in the Hellenistic tomb H together with a *Picugi*-type fibula of the Mid-La Tene type and

⁴² Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 593.

⁴³ Tijekom zadnjih sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja (2011. – 2013.), osim kalcificiranih ostataka kamena u sondi 2, primijećeni su ostaci gara u grobovima NG 6 i NG 15. U ranijim istraživanjima (1969. – 1973.) pod vodstvom Zdenka Brusića, kada je i istražen najveći dio nekropole, navodi se da su ostaci gara uočeni kod mnogo grobova.

⁴³ In addition to the calcified remains of stones in Trench 2, traces of soot were also noticed in graves NG 6 and NG 15 during the last systematic archaeological excavations (2011 – 2013). During earlier excavations (1969 – 1973), led by Zdenko Brusić, when most of the necropolis was explored, traces of soot were noticed in many graves.

⁴⁴ M. UGARKOVIĆ, 2015: 616-618.

i Ošanića (kraj 2. – 1. stoljeće).⁴⁴ Rimsko stakleno posuđe nalazi se zajedno s fibulom srednjolatske sheme tipa *Picugi* u helenističkoj grobnici *H*, dok se fibula iste vrste javlja i u incineracijskom grobu 20, kao i različite staklene i jantarne perle i privjesci kod grobova obaju ritusa.

Unutar pojedinih grobnih cjelina na Velikoj Mrdakovici nalažene su kućice različitih vrsta školjaka koje su tamo mogle dospjeti samo namjernim prilaganjem, što indicira njihovu zasad nepoznatu ritualnu namjenu. Nažalost, prisutnost ovakvog materijala nije uvijek bila evidentirana, stoga možemo navesti tek sigurne primjere nađene unutar rimskodobnih paljevinskih grobova numeriranih brojevima: 17 – volak (*Hexaplex trunculus*), 28 – obična vretenjača (*Theridium vulgatum*), 106 – prugasta kapica (*Acanthocardia tuberculata*) iz porodice *Cardidae*, 37 – ogrc (*Viviparus viviparus*) te iz helenističke grobnice *E* – morski puž. Dva posljednja – ogrc i morski puž – bila su probušena i služila su vjerojatno kao dio nakita. Istu su svrhu mogla imati i tri kralješka manje ribe iz groba 37.

Na sjeveroistočnom rubu nekropole otkrili smo u kampanji 2012. poveću količinu ostataka životinjskih kostiju, volaka, dagnji i morskih puževa iz porodice *Cerithiidae* – *Theridium vulgatum* te pretpostavili kako je to mjesto zasigurno u vezi s ritualom ukopa.⁴⁵ Ljušture školjke konjskoga kopita (*Spondylus gaederopus*) nisu dosad evidentirane unutar grobova, no nemali ih je broj utvrđen na naselju Velike Mrdakovice. Njihov izostanak ne mora se nužno pripisati neprilaganju u grob, već možda previdu istraživača.

Iste su namirnice, kao hrana, u znatnim količinama pronalazene na naselju Velike Mrdakovice, Danila i Murtera, no u kontekstu pogrebnog ritusa nalazimo ih zabilježene na mrdakovičkoj nekropoli, Starigradu, Visu, Porto Recantiju kod Ankone te unutar zadarskih nekropola gdje se u 24 od stotinjak grobova s nalazima školjaka javljaju volci, ponekad čak i dva-tri primjerka odjednom.⁴⁶

the same fibula was found in the incineration grave 20, together with various glass and amber beads and pendants in graves of both types of rites.

Various types of seashells were found in graves at Velika Mrdakovica. The only way for them to get there was by being lain there intentionally, indicating the still unknown ritual purposes. Unfortunately, this type of grave goods was not always documented, so only reliable examples can be quoted here. The following seashells were found in the following Roman-period incineration graves: Grave 17 – dye-murex (*Hexaplex trunculus*), 28 – common cerith (*Theridium vulgatum*), 106 – rough cockle (*Acanthocardia tuberculata*) from *Cardidae* family, 37 – freshwater snail (*Viviparus viviparus*). In the Hellenistic Grave *E* – sea snail was found. The two last ones – freshwater snail and sea snail – were perforated and were probably used as jewelry. Three vertebrae of some small fish, found in Grave 37, could have had the same purpose.

The 2012 campaign, carried out at the necropolis's northeastern edge, yielded a large quantity of animal bones, dye-murexes, mussels and sea snails from *Cerithiidae* – *Theridium vulgatum* family. This made us assume that the place must have been used for burial rituals.⁴⁵ The shells of spiny oyster (*Spondylus gaederopus*) had never before been recorded in any grave, but many of them were now found in Velika Mrdakovica settlement. Their absence does not necessarily mean that they were not lain in graves, but merely that researchers failed to notice them.

Substantial quantities of identical foodstuffs, intended for food, were found in Velika Mrdakovica, Danilo and Murter settlements. However, in the context of burial ritual, their presence was documented at Mrdakovica necropolis, Starigrad, Vis, Porto Recanati near Ancona and at Zadar necropolises (at the latter ones, in 24 out of approx. 100 graves with seashells, dye-murexes can be found, sometimes even two or three specimens).⁴⁶

Seashells and sea snails in general, and cowrie snail (*Cypraea moneta*) and *Cardium* and *Spondylus* shells in particular, had had an important role in

⁴⁴ M. UGARKOVIĆ, 2015: 616-618.

⁴⁵ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 25-26.

⁴⁶ S. GLUŠČEVIĆ, 2005: 368; M. UGARKOVIĆ, 2015: 584-591.

⁴⁵ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 25-26.

⁴⁶ S. GLUŠČEVIĆ, 2005: 368; M. UGARKOVIĆ, 2015: 584-591.

Školjke i morski puževi općenito, a posebno pužić kauri (*Cypraea moneta*), te školjke *Cardium* i *Spondylus* od paleolitika naovamo zauzimaju važno mjesto unutar kulta mrtvih, bilo da tvore nakit s kojim se umrli pokapao, bilo da nadomještaju oči preminuloga na onome svijetu.⁴⁷ Njihova malobrojnost u starijim liburnskim ukopima vjerojatno je rezultat selektivnog evidentiranja materijala, a činjenica da se javljaju i unutar ranocarskoga incineracijskog ritusa sugerira nam da su svakako zadržali barem dio svoje magijske uloge u kultu mrtvih.

4. ZAKLJUČAK

Najstariji ukopi na Velikoj Mrdakovici istovjetni su onima na dragišićkoj nekropoli, s kojima čine južnoliburnsku grupu s osobitostima pokopa u pruženu položaju. Odnos pojedinačnog – dvojnog – višekratnog ukapanja za sada potvrđuje Batovićeva zapažanja i tezu o užim obiteljskim grobovima,⁴⁸ iako će tek buduća istraživanja, temeljena na većem uzorku, pokazati uklapa li se tradicija šibenske regije u širi liburnski prostor starijega željeznog doba. Na isti bismo način mogli upotpuniti saznanja o odnosu domicilnog stanovništva i Liburna kao cjeline s Japodima. Međusobni utjecaj izgrađen trgovinskim vezama i prostornom povezanošću je očit, a osim materijalnih dobara u oba smjera cirkulirale su i ideje o zagrobnom životu koje, pretpostavljamo, nisu bile poznate samo društvenim elitama. Njihove prežitke u vidu motivâ šesterolatične kružnice koji se na nesumnjivo nadgrobni spomenicima javljaju kod Japoda⁴⁹ i Delmata⁵⁰, ali i širom europskoga kontinenta barem od 7./6. stoljeća prije Krista u kontekstu metempsihoze i vjerovanja o izvorištu kojemu se duša nakon smrti vraća, obradio je niz autora.⁵¹ I

the cult of the dead ever since Paleolithic, either as jewelry with which the deceased would be buried or as substitutes for his/her eyes in the afterlife.⁴⁷ Their scarcity in older Liburnian burials is probably due to selective recording of the grave goods found. The fact that they are also found as part of the Early Imperial incineration rites suggests that they had certainly maintained at least part of their magic-related function in the cult of the dead.

4. CONCLUSION

The earliest burials at Velika Mrdakovica are identical to those at Dragišić necropolis. Together they belong to the south Liburnian group of extended burials. So far, the ratio of individual, dual and multiple burials has confirmed Batović's observations and his thesis that those were graves of nuclear families,⁴⁸ although it remains a task of future research, based on a larger sample, to show if the Šibenik region's tradition can fit in the greater Liburnian territory in the Iron Age. The future research could also increase our knowledge on the relations between the local population (and the Liburni as a whole) with the Iapodes.

Their mutual impact based on trade and geography is obvious. Besides commodities, the ideas about the afterlife also circulated between them in both directions. We can assume these ideas were not known to social elite only. A number of authors analyzed their survivals in the form of a six-petalled circle, found beyond doubt on Iapodean⁴⁹ and Delmatian⁵⁰ tombstones, but also across European continent as far back as the 7th-6th centuries BC, in the context of metempsychosis and the belief in a source to where the soul returns after death.⁵¹ This

⁴⁷ M. ELIADE, 2006: 24-25; S. GLUŠČEVIĆ, 2005: 368-370; vidjeti S. KUKOČ, 2010; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 586-588.

⁴⁸ M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 85-86.

⁴⁹ I. ČREMOŠNIK, 1957: 222-224; I. ČREMOŠNIK 1957a: 163 (Tab. 1, fig. 1), 169-170 (Tab. 3, fig. 1; Tab. 3, fig. 5); B. RAUNIG, 1975: 49, 51-52; B. RAUNIG, 2004: 202, 248, T. XLVIII, fig. 1; D. SERGEJEVSKI, 1950: 57-63, T. 7, fig. 2, T. 10, fig. 1, T. 11, fig. 1, T. 12, fig. 1.

⁵⁰ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 326-327, fig. 19; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1987: 34-44.

⁵¹ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 324-326; M. ELIADE, 2006: 52; A. STIPČEVIĆ, 1981: 16-18.

⁴⁷ M. ELIADE, 2006: 24-25; S. GLUŠČEVIĆ, 2005: 368-370; See S. KUKOČ, 2010; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 586-588.

⁴⁸ M. BLEČIĆ KAVUR & E. PODRUG, 2014: 85-86.

⁴⁹ I. ČREMOŠNIK, 1957: 222-224; I. ČREMOŠNIK 1957a: 163 (Tab. 1, fig. 1), 169-170 (Tab. 3, fig. 1; Tab. 3, fig. 5); B. RAUNIG, 1975: 49, 51-52; B. RAUNIG, 2004: 202, 248, T. XLVIII, fig. 1; D. SERGEJEVSKI, 1950: 57-63, T. 7, fig. 2, T. 10, fig. 1, T. 11, fig. 1, T. 12, fig. 1.

⁵⁰ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 326-327, fig. 19; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1987: 34-44.

⁵¹ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 324-326; M. ELIADE, 2006: 52; A. STIPČEVIĆ, 1981: 16-18.

na liburnskom području isti motiv nalazimo na dva spomenika – s Bribirske glavice⁵² i iz Skradina.⁵³ Na mrdakovičkoj nekropoli ni u kasnije rimsko doba nadgrobni spomenici nisu ustanovljeni, što dovodimo u vezu s brižnim čuvanjem tradicije. Stoga primjer navedenog motiva donosimo u kontekstu kontinuiteta jedne ideje – od starijega željeznog doba do rimskog vremena, pa i nakon toga – na širem europskom prostoru kao i u neposrednoj blizini Liburna. Teško je zamisliti da Liburni s tom idejom nisu bili upoznati iako su njome „okruženi“ – od Japoda s kojima intenzivno trguju, kao i od Delmata s kojima Mrdakovičani graniče.

S vremenom su se interakcije među narodima mijenjale, kao i međusobni interesi, a s time u vezi i utjecaji iz različitih kulturnih sfera. Kod najstarijega ukopnog horizonta vidljiva je povezanost Velike Mrdakovice sa zaleđem, ali i s istočnoalpskim te sjevernojadranskim područjem. Sitni inventar uglavnom je nadregionalnih karakteristika i dio je nošnje i nakita, što za razliku od položaja pokojnika ne odstupa od liburnskih običaja. Taj trend mijenja se intenziviranjem trgovine s grčkim svijetom od 3. do 1. stoljeća prije Krista.⁵⁴ Promet robom i potrepštinama u ovo se doba, kao i ranije, u najvećoj mjeri obavljao rijekom Krkom. Njome nadire nova moda i nov način ukapanja u južnoj Liburniji. Javljaju se helenističke obiteljske grobnice.

U tom vremenu i tijekom ranog principata tereti s vinskim amforama preplavljaju mrdakovičko tržište, što kolidira s grobnim nalazima iz helenističkih i kasnijih rimskodobnih paljevinskih grobova u kojima se učestalo javljaju posude definirane kao setovi za ispijanje vina. Važnost vina u svakodnevnom životu domicilnog stanovništva iz priloženog je neosporna, a dugotrajno prilaganje s njime vezanih artikala

motif can be seen on two monuments in the Liburnian area – one from Bribirska glavica⁵² and the other from Skradin.⁵³ At Mrdakovica necropolis, Roman tombstones were not introduced even in the later Roman period, which is explained as caring adherence to the tradition. This is why the example of the above mentioned motif is given here in the context of the continuity of an idea – from Early Iron Age to the Roman period, and even later, in much of Europe and in the immediate vicinity of the Liburni. It is hard to believe that the Liburni were not familiar with this idea when they were “surrounded” by it – both by the Iapodes, their trading partners, and the Delmatae, the immediate neighbors of the Mrdakovica community.

In time, interactions between the peoples changed, and so did their mutual interests, triggering influences in various cultural spheres. The earliest burial horizon reflects the connection between Velika Mrdakovica and its hinterland and also with the Eastern Alpine and Northern Adriatic regions. The small grave finds mostly have supra-regional characteristics and include segments of attire and jewelry – unlike the position of the deceased, this is not different from the Liburnian customs. This trend changed as trade with the Greek world intensified in the period from the 3rd-1st centuries BC.⁵⁴ As in the earlier periods, the River Krka was mostly used for the trade in goods and supplies. This brought a new fashion and a new way of burials in Liburnia. First Hellenistic family tombs are built.

In that period and during the Early Principate, cargoes of wine amphorae flooded the Mrdakovica market. This coincides with the finds from Hellenistic and subsequent, Roman-period incineration graves, where vessels identified as wine-drinking

⁵² T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 326; B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, 1998: 243-249.

⁵³ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 325-326, fig. 18.

⁵⁴ Utjecaj grčke kulture, posebno odnosi s Visom, u novije se vrijeme sve više očituju. Osim već spomenutih pojasnih kopčica koje su istovjetne onima s nekropola Vlaška njiva i Martvilo, a koje se definiraju dijelom istočnojadranskoga autohtonoga kulturnoga kruga, moramo spomenuti i nalaz vrha brončane trobridne strelice, vjerojatno skitske provenijencije, otkrivene na nekropoli Dragišića. Takve su strelice u većem broju nalazene na Visu. Z. BRUSIĆ, 2010: 243.

⁵² T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 326; B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, 1998: 243-249.

⁵³ T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2017: 325-326, fig. 18.

⁵⁴ Growing evidence of the influence of Greek culture, particularly through relations with Issa (Vis), has been found recently. In addition to the above mentioned belt buckles (considered parts of the autochthonous cultural circle of Eastern Adriatic), identical to those from Vlaška Njiva and Martvilo necropolises on Vis, we should mention here the bronze three-edged arrowheads (probably Scythian) found at Dragišić necropolis. Such arrowheads were found on Vis in large numbers. Z. BRUSIĆ, 2010: 243.

upućuje na njegovu značajnu ulogu i u duhovnoj sferi. Znakovito je i nalaženje posuda iste namjene – helenističkih pehara i kratera u kasnijim paljevinskim grobovima te pehara aretinske sigilate u ranijim inhumacijskim grobovima. Ova ujednačenost materijala i izbor grobnih priloga ukazuju na činjenicu da se osim ritusa ukopa ništa drugo nije suštinski promijenilo, pa ni sama vjerovanja i nama nepoznati rituali. Taj se kontinuitet očituje i u prijelaznoj fazi ograđenih paljevinskih grobova koji svojom izradbom uvelike podsjećaju na ranije helenističke grobnice.

Na temelju stratigrafije, grobnih priloga, stanja njihove očuvanosti te smještaja unutar groba i oko njega, pokušao sam metodom dedukcije rekonstruirati proces odnosno ritual incineracijskih ukopa, vodeći se uglavnom rezultatima najnovijih arheoloških istraživanja mrdakovičke nekropole (2011. – 2013.), a koji su istovjetni rezultatima starijih kampanja (1969. – 1974.), uzevši u obzir razlike u metodologiji istraživanja. Iako ne možemo sa sigurnošću zaključiti kako su stanovnici Velike Mrdakovice tijekom ranog principata posve preuzeli rimske pogrebne običaje, razvidno je da se u većini elemenata kojima možemo ući u trag oni preklapaju, tj. da su istovjetni rimskim – spaljivanje pokojnika, prilaganje istovrsnih predmeta.⁵⁵

Treba pretpostaviti da se pokojnik ukapao u blizini najbliže rodbine, što nam sugeriraju grob 8 te klaster grobova NG 10, NG 12 i NG 13 (Sl. 11), kao i spomenuti kontinuitet istovrsnih grobnih priloga te s njime vezanih ideja. Preminuli se iz svoje kuće iznosio na drvenoj nosiljci ili u sanduku, na što upućuju mnogobrojni čavli i zakovice različitih oblika upotrebljavani za zakivanje raznovrsnih dijelova drvene konstrukcije. Mjesto posljednjeg ispraćaja bila je lomača u koju su ponekad bacani stakleni balzamariji s mirisima.⁵⁶ Utišala vatra i lug

sets are often found. This clearly indicates the importance of wine in the everyday life of the domicile population. The long tradition of leaving wine-related objects in graves indicates that wine also had a relevant role in the spiritual sphere. Also interesting is the fact that vessels of the same purpose were found – Hellenistic cups and kraters in the later incineration graves and cups made of Arretine *terra sigillata* in the earlier inhumation graves. This uniformity of grave goods and the selection of grave finds suggest that nothing else but the burial rites had truly changed – even the beliefs and still unidentified rituals. This continuity can also be seen in the transition phase characterized by enclosed incineration graves the appearance of which largely reminds of earlier, Hellenistic tombs.

By using deductive method and the stratigraphy, grave finds, their condition and position inside and around graves, I tried to reconstruct the process, or ritual of incineration burials, mostly relying on the results of the latest excavations carried out at the Mrdakovica necropolis (2011 – 2013), identical to the results obtained during earlier excavations (1969 – 1974) (while keeping in mind the different methodologies used). Although we cannot be certain that the people of Velika Mrdakovica entirely adopted the Roman burial customs in the early Principate, it is clear that most of the traceable elements of their customs are identical with the Roman ones – incineration of the deceased, leaving identical objects in graves.⁵⁵

It is logical to assume that the deceased person would be buried next to his/her immediate family, as indicated by Grave 8 and the cluster of Graves NG 10, NG 12 and NG 13, as well as by the above mentioned continuity of identical grave goods and the related ideas (Fig. 11). The deceased would be carried out of his house on a wooden stretcher or in a coffin, as can be concluded from the numerous nails and various rivets used for riveting parts of the wooden structure. The funeral party would

⁵⁵ Nađeno je i nekoliko primjeraka novca. Srebrni Vespazijanov *as* pronađen je u devastiranom grobu NG 11 (T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 27-28) tijekom kampanje 2013. godine. Za još jedan novac pouzdano se zna da je nađen 1971. godine u površinskom sloju nekropole, unutar kvadranta 17, dok se za treći ne može utvrditi je li nađen na nekropoli ili unutar naselja (Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 12).

⁵⁶ Na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice, kao i brojnim drugim nekropolama s paljevinskim ritusom ukapanja, nalaženi su balzamariji deformirani djelovanjem vatre. Vidjeti Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 584-585.

⁵⁵ Several coins were found, too. Vespasian's silver *as* was found in the devastated Grave NG 11 (T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2014: 27-28) during the 2013 campaign. One coin was positively found in the necropolis's surface layer, in Quadrant 17, in 1971. As for the third one, it is not certain whether it was found at the necropolis or in the settlement (Z. BRUSIĆ, 1980: 12).



SLIKA 11. Grobovi NG 10, NG 12 i NG 13 (foto: T. Brajković).

FIGURE 11. Graves NG 10, NG 12 i NG 13 (photos: T. Brajković).

morali su se nečim ugasiti jer bi zbog količine korištenog drva postupno hlađenje predugo trajalo – najvjerojatnije se koristila voda i vino već spomenute simbolike kojim bi se izgorjele kosti tek poškopile.⁵⁷ Zatim bi se brižno prikupili ostaci pokojnika i nosiljke te se položili u urnu unutar grobne rake.⁵⁸ Na brižno prikupljanje svih spaljenih ostataka s lomače (možda u tkaninu) ukazuju čavli nalaženi unutar i izvan urne, no svakako u grobnoj cjelini. U urnu i oko nje smješteni su grobni prilozci. Oni su bili većinom standardizirani, a razlikovali su se, ovisno o društvenom

approach a funeral pyre into which glass balsamaria with fragrances would sometimes be thrown.⁵⁶ The dying fire and lye had to be put out because gradual cooling would last too long due to the quantity of firewood. Probably water and wine – the latter one with the earlier mentioned symbolism – were used to sprinkle the freshly burnt bones.⁵⁷ The remains of both the deceased and litter would then carefully be collected and laid in an urn in the grave.⁵⁸ The

⁵⁷ J. M. C. TOYNBEE, 1971: 50, 63; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 575.

⁵⁸ Neizostavan je dio svakoga paljevinskog groba recipijent za pohranu zemnih ostataka preminulog. Uglavnom je to veća keramička ili kamena posuda u svojstvu urne ili pak amfora. Na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice pronađeno je 76 keramičkih i dvije kamene urne te tri amfore u svojstvu urne.

⁵⁶ Balsamaria deformed by fire were found in Velika Mrdakovica necropolis and at numerous other necropolises where incineration burials had taken place. See: Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 584-585.

⁵⁷ J. M. C. TOYNBEE, 1971: 50, 63; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 575.

⁵⁸ A receptacle for storing the earthly remains of the deceased was part of every incineration grave. Usually it was a large ceramic or stone vessel used as an urn, or it was an amphora. So far, 76 ceramic urns, 2 stone urns and 3 amphorae used as urns were found in the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis.

statusu i bogatstvu pojedinca, samo količinom i vrijednošću. Lucerna je jamčila svijetlo,⁵⁹ setovi za piće i tanjuri omogućavali su upotrebu jela i pića, dok su fibule⁶⁰, ukosnice, prstenje, pojasne kopče, ogledala itd. osiguravali nastavak postojanja u načinu i navikama kakve su bile za ovozemaljskog života. Urna se zatim poklapala⁶¹, a prostor grobnog mjesta, ukoliko nije bio unutar prirodno omeđene litice, označavao se vijencem od kamena. To nije bila vanjska markacija groba jer se nalazi u istoj niveleti s grobom, već magijsko definiranje ukopom posvećenog mjesta. Grob bi se potom prekrpio zemljom i zasigurno nekako označio, a u neposrednoj blizini odlagala se posuda tankih stijenki iz koje se, po svemu sudeći, ispijao posljednji gutljaj i škropilo tlo nad vječnom kućom pokojnika.⁶²

Tezu o ritualnom razbijanju keramičkih posuda nad lomačom odbacujemo,⁶³ no moguće je da se taj obred izvodio nad samim grobom i na nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice, što bi bilo u suglasju s istovjetnom tradicijom ne samo kod Liburna već na puno širem prostoru od brončanog sve do rimskog doba.⁶⁴ Naravno, na pitanje magijskih formula izrečenih u ritualnim obredima i o obredu samom ne možemo odgovoriti, no materijalni ostaci i tragovi ukazuju na njihovu sličnost, što implicira i podudarnu ideju o zagrobnom životu. Uz truplo koje počiva u svojoj vječnoj kući – *domus aeterna*, vezana je vitalna energija pokojnika – neodređeno nešto, s istim potrebama kao i

nails found inside and outside the urn, but definitely inside the grave, can be seen as evidence of this caring removal of the incinerated remains from the pyre (perhaps, placing them into a cloth). Grave goods were then placed in the urn and around it. They were mostly standardized. Depending on the social status and wealth of an individual, they differed only in terms of quantity and value. An oil lamp was here to provide light,⁵⁹ drinking sets and plates were here for food and drink, while the fibulae⁶⁰, hairpins, rings, belt buckles, mirrors etc. ensured that the ways and habits from this life continue in the afterlife. The urn would then be covered⁶¹ and the grave – unless cut in the bedrock – would be marked with a circle of stones. These were not the external marks of the grave, because they were on the same level with it. It was a magic used to define the place consecrated by the burial. The grave would then be covered with earth and certainly marked in some way. In the immediate vicinity, a thin-walled vessel would be placed; most likely, it was used for the final mouthful and for sprinkling the soil above the eternal home of the deceased.⁶²

Although we have discarded the hypothesis that ceramic vessels were shattered over the pyre,⁶³ it is still possible that the ritual was performed above the grave at the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis as well. It would be in line not only with the identical tradition of the Liburni, but also with the tradition nurtured in the much wider area from Bronze Age

⁵⁹ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 33; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 586-587.

⁶⁰ U grobovima su fibule jako česte, no nisu uvijek sastavni dio pokojnikove odjeće na lomači, već su u grobnu raku polagane naknadno. Na to ukazuje i fibula iz groba NG 12 koja je, iako je bila većim djelom mehanički oštećena i nefunkcionalna, postala dio grobnog priloga.

⁶¹ Urna se poklapala neobrađenom kamenom pločom, keramičkim poklopcem, tegulom ili preokrenutim tanjurom.

⁶² Čin libacijske žrtve poznat je Liburnima od najstarijih vremena. Vidjeti S. KUKOČ, 2011: 205.

⁶³ Što se rimskodobnih grobova na Velikoj Mrdakovici tiče, moguće promjene u boji keramike (ili keramičkih ulomaka) mogle su biti izazvane i čestim požarima. Naime, vegetacija je gotovo u pravilu „nasjedala“ nad grobove, provlačeći korijenje kroz posude i rušeći ih. Primjetili smo da se korijenje pojedinih stabala nakon velikog požara 2011. godine karboniziralo i do 40 cm dubine.

⁶⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987: 356-358; S. KUKOČ, 2009: 33-35; A. STIPČEVIĆ, 1991: 178-180, 186; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 595-596.

⁵⁹ Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000: 33; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 586-587.

⁶⁰ Fibulae are very common in graves. However, they were not always part of the clothes of the deceased on the funeral pyre. They would be placed into the grave later, as was the case with the fibula from Grave NG 12 which, although already mechanically damaged and broken, became part of the grave goods.

⁶¹ An urn would be covered with a rough stone slab, ceramic lid, tegula, or inverted plate.

⁶² The Liburni had been familiar with libation since the days of yore. See: S. KUKOČ, 2011: 205.

⁶³ As for the Roman-period graves at Velika Mrdakovica, possible change in the color of pottery (or pottery fragments) could have been caused by frequent forest fires, too. The vegetation would almost always cover the graves and its roots would penetrate the vessels and tip them. We noticed that the roots of some trees were carbonized as deep as 40cm in the ground after the 2011 fire.

za života. „To“ traži hranu i nadasve piće – inače umorno, oslabljeno i nezadovoljno kažnjava i muči one koji mu to pravo uskraćuju. Stoga rodbina mora u određene dane upriličiti bankete te uz jelo i pilo u veselu ozračju i prisutnost pokojnikova duha i Mana predaka udovoljiti njegovim prohtjevima.⁶⁵ Svrha pravovaljanog obilježavanja mjesta ukopa i njegovo redovno posjećivanje, čašćenje i održavanje, osim poštivanja umrlog za cilj imaju i zaštitu od njegova mogućeg gnjeva.⁶⁶ U tom kontekstu čuvanje memorije o precima, na poseban način istaknuto kod rimske aristokracije, ali i običnog puka, usmjereno je k osobnoj identifikaciji zajednice i srž je rimskog društva.⁶⁷ Moguće ostatke takvih banketa na mrdakovičkoj nekropoli opazili smo na njezinu sjeveroistočnom rubu.

Na temelju iznesenih činjenica možemo zaključiti kako je naselje na Velikoj Mrdakovici zbog povoljnog položaja u prostoru prosperiralo od samih početaka u 8./7. stoljeću prije Krista pa do kraja, negdje u 2. stoljeću poslije Krista. Isti taj položaj (neposredna blizina rijeke Krke i relativna udaljenost od većih središta) izložio ga je neposrednom utjecaju različitih kultura, ali mu dao i mogućnost „sebičnog“ čuvanja tradicije. To se najbolje vidi unutar tzv. južnoga liburnskoga kruga. Naime, na nekropolama Velike Mrdakovice i Dragišića, manjih naselja, uočavamo veću dosljednost unutar ritusa ukopa te prihvaćanje hellenističkih običaja u mjeri u kojoj im to odgovara – uz brižno držanje starih običaja obilježavanja posljednjih počivališta. U većem centru, Nadinu, primjećuje se manja uniformnost ukopa i liberalnije uklapanje tuđih tradicija u svoju.⁶⁸ Nadinska je nekropola nadalje negirala ranije liburnske ukope s rimskima,⁶⁹ ali naselje *Nedinum* isto je tako preživjelo ono kritično razdoblje u kojemu su nestale brojne liburnske zajednice. Mrdakovička nekropola, uz onu na Dragišiću, ukazuje na

to Roman times.⁶⁴ Of course, we are not familiar with the magical formulas used in the rituals or with the details of the rituals as such, but the material remains and traces indicate their similarity, thus implying similar notions of the afterlife. A vital energy – something undefined, with the same needs as in this life – is connected with the body of the deceased, now that they are resting in their eternal homes, *domus aeterna*. This “something” wants food and – above all – drink; otherwise, if allowed to become tired, weak and unhappy, it will punish and torture those who have deprived it of its right. Hence the family’s obligation to organize banquets on certain days, offering food and drinks to the deceased and meeting their other requests in the presence of their spirits and the Manes of the ancestors.⁶⁵ The purpose of the correct marking of the burial plot is to enable regular visits to the grave, its maintenance and feasts around it, thus paying respects to the deceased and also preventing his wrath.⁶⁶ In this context, remembering one’s ancestors, something very important not only for the Roman aristocracy but also for the plebs, was an important part of a community’s identity and the essence of the Roman society.⁶⁷ We spotted possible traces of such banquets on the northeastern edge of the Mrdakovica necropolis.

Based on the above facts, we can conclude that a favorable geographical position helped the settlement at Velika Mrdakovica to prosper from its inception in the 8th-7th centuries BC to its end in approx. 2nd century BC. This position – the immediate vicinity of the River Krka and its relative distance from major urban centers – exposed it to a direct influence of various cultures, while allowing it to “selfishly” guard its tradition. This is best seen within the so-called southern Liburnian circle: the necropolises of the smaller settlements in Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić manifest a larger consistency of burial rites, and acceptance of Hellenistic

⁶⁵ F. CUMONT, 1922: 53-56, 200; E. J. GRAHAM, 2011: 101; Z. SERVENTI, 2012: 197-198.

⁶⁶ E. J. GRAHAM, 2011: 93-94; Z. SERVENTI & M. JURJEVIĆ, 2012: 197.

⁶⁷ E. J. GRAHAM, 2011: 91-92; J. POLLINI, 2008: 240-241.

⁶⁸ Vidjeti GABRIČEVIĆ, 1980.

⁶⁹ S. KUKOČ, 2009: 54, 56, 59-60; S. KUKOČ, 2011: 199; Z. SERVENTI, 2012: 205.

⁶⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987: 356-358; S. KUKOČ, 2009: 33-35; A. STIPČEVIĆ, 1991: 178-180, 186; Z. SERVENTI, 2014: 595-596.

⁶⁵ F. CUMONT, 1922: 53-56, 200; E. J. GRAHAM, 2011: 101; Z. SERVENTI, 2012: 197-198.

⁶⁶ E. J. GRAHAM, 2011: 93-94; Z. SERVENTI & M. JURJEVIĆ, 2012: 197.

⁶⁷ E. J. GRAHAM, 2011: 91-92; J. POLLINI, 2008: 240-241.

poštivanje (nediranje) željeznodobnih grobova u rimsko vrijeme, kada se u cijeloj Liburniji gotovo odmah prihvaća novi ritus – spaljivanje.⁷⁰ Otegotna okolnost u potpunom shvaćanju razvoja ideje o smrti i zagrobnom životu jest praznina u nekropoli Velike Mrdakovice.⁷¹ Naime, najstariji dio nekropole tek je periferno obuhvaćen s pet grobova iz 8./7. stoljeća prije Krista, a sljedeći su evidentirani ukopi u kronološkom nizu iz 2. stoljeća prije Krista. Kada se taj „vremenski procijep“ upotpuni nekim narednim istraživanjima, moći ćemo s više dostupnih podataka i vjerodostojnije govoriti o kultu i pogrebnim običajima južne Liburnije.

customs only to an extent – as they please – while caringly retaining the old custom of marking the final resting places. In Nadin as a larger center, burials were clearly less uniform and alien traditions were integrated into the local ones more liberally.⁶⁸ Also, the necropolis of Nadin neutralized the function of the earlier Liburnian burials, replacing them with Roman ones.⁶⁹ However, *Nedinum* managed to survive the critical period in which numerous Liburnian communities disappeared. The necropolises at Velika Mrdakovica and Dragišić manifested a respect for the Iron Age graves in the Roman times, when the new rite – incineration – was adopted almost immediately in the entire Liburnia.⁷⁰ The chronological gap in the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis is the only thing that makes it difficult to grasp fully the development of the idea of life and afterlife.⁷¹ The earliest graves, those five graves from the 8th/7th centuries BC, can be found on the very periphery of the necropolis. The subsequent burials that took place were the ones from the 2nd century BC. When some future excavations manage to fill the “time gap” and provide more information, we will be able to say more about the cult and burial customs of southern Liburnia.

⁷⁰ Z. SERVENTI, 2012: 198.

⁷¹ Brojnim su autorima pitanja života nakon smrti, sustavi vjerovanja i njihove mijene u načinu poimanja onostranog kroz različite kulture i epohe bili inspiracija za pisanje djela. Ovdje ističemo F. CUMONT, 1922; M. ELIADE, 2006; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1987; N. LANERI, 2008; D. A. MACKENZIE, 1998; J. M. C. TOYNBEE, 1971.

⁶⁸ See: GABRIČEVIĆ, 1980.

⁶⁹ S. KUKOČ, 2009: 54, 56, 59-60; S. KUKOČ, 2011: 199; Z. SERVENTI, 2012: 205.

⁷⁰ Z. SERVENTI, 2012: 198.

⁷¹ Life after death, systems of beliefs and how they perceived the afterlife in different cultures and epochs – all these questions have inspired many authors to write their books. We will mention but a few here: F. CUMONT, 1922; M. ELIADE, 2006; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, 1987; N. LANERI, 2008; D. A. MACKENZIE, 1998; J. M. C. TOYNBEE, 1971.

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 CBI – Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Sarajevo
 Djela ANUBiH – Djela Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Sarajevo
 GZM – *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu*. *Arheologija*, Sarajevo
 HA – *Histria antiqua*, Pula – Medulin
 Izdanja HAD-a – Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva, Zagreb
 Materijali – *Materijali Saveza arheoloških društava Jugoslavije*, Beograd
 OA – *Opuscula archaeologica*, Zagreb
 PJZ – *Prahistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja*, Sarajevo
 Posebna izdanja ANUBiH – *Posebna izdanja Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo
 Prilozi *Inst. arh.* – *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, Zagreb
 RFFZd – *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, Zadar
 VAHD – *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split
 VAPD – *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, Split
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