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Nadin (*Nedinum*): prostorna koncepcija nekropole kod Liburna

Nadin (*Nedinum*): spatial concept of the Liburnian necropolis

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Sažetak

Sustavnim arheološkim iskopavanjem velike nekropole podno *Nedinuma*, liburnsko-rimskog naselja na Gradini u današnjem Nadinu u blizini Zadra, dobiveni su novi, kvalitativno važni podaci za analizu prostornosti liburnske nekropole. Otkriven je dio planirane rimske nekropole "uz prometnicu" i dio starije liburnske nekropole "na ravnome". Kako je rimska

Abstract

Systematic archaeological excavations at the large necropolis at the foot of Nedinum, the Liburnian-Roman settlement at Gradina in today's Nadin, near Zadar, have yielded new data important in terms of quality for the analysis of the spatiality of the Liburnian necropolis. Part of the planned Roman "roadside" necropolis and part of the older Liburnian "flat"

nekropola bila podignuta nad liburnskom, prati se njihov prostorni (kulturni) odnos. Dokumentiran je postupak liburnske artikulacije prostora oko groba i ustanovljena, prvi put kod Liburna, složenost dodira i razgraničenja između grobnih polja s masivnim volumenima (ogradama). Od samog početka, tijekom 7. st. pr. Kr., te nadalje prostornost liburnske nekropole temeljila se na "mrežastoj" strukturi četvrtastih grobnih parcela i težila pravilnosti i uređenosti cjeline i detalja (groba, skupine grobova). U radu se sažeto donose osnovne prostorne mijene obiju nekropola, no ponajprije one liburnske.

Ključne riječi: Nadin, nekropola na ravnome, Liburni, željezno doba, antika, planimetrija, grobna arhitektura

necropolis have been unearthed. Since the Roman necropolis was set up above the Liburnian one, their spatial (cultural) interaction can be observed. The procedure of Liburnian articulation of space around graves has been documented, and for the first time the complexity of the contact and demarcation between grave plots and massive volumes (enclosure walls) has been ascertained among the Liburnians. From the very beginning, during the 7th century BC, and onward, the space of the Liburnian necropolis was rooted in the "grid" structure of rectangular grave plots and it aspired to regularity and order in the whole and parts thereof (graves, sets of graves). This paper compendiously covers the spatial changes in both necropolises, but primarily the Liburnian one.

Key words: Nadin, flat necropolis, Liburnians, Iron Age, Antiquity, planimetry, grave architecture

U sadašnjem arheološkom trenutku ne postoji iscrpna interpretacija kategorije prostornosti neke liburnske nekropole, jer ona podrazumijeva sustavnu analizu pojedinačnih arhitektonskih formi (grob), zatim složenih arhitektonskih cjelina - skupina grobova i komunikacija te organizaciju njezina cjelovitog prostora u kulturnom i prirodnom okruženju. Na istraženim nekropolama Liburna, na prostoru između rijeka Raše i Krke, međutim, može se iščitati uglavnom ono pojedinačno: grob, manja skupina grobova i poneka komunikacija (sl. 1). Ni jedna nekropola osnovnih liburnskih tipova, "na ravnome" (Zadar - *Iader*, Podgrađe kod Benkovca - *Asseria*, Bribir - *Varvaria*, Gradina u Dragišiću, Velika Mrdakovica, Kastav i druge) ili pak "pod humcima",[1] nije bila u potpunosti istražena, nego je to učinjeno samo djelomično. Uz to, liburnske su nekropole često i nedostatno objavljene, uključujući i Nin (*Aenona*),[2] ključno nalazište liburnske kulture. Taj dosadašnji, sadržajno siromašan liburnski arheološki izvor podataka kvalitativno su obogatila nova istraživanja liburnsko-rimske nekropole na ravnome u Nadinu (*Nedinum*), najprije liburnskom naselju (današnja Gradina), a zatim i rimskom municipiju *Nedita* (sl. 2).[3]

Nekropola je sustavno iskopavana u nekoliko navrata (2005., 2009., 2013., 2015. godine),[4] tijekom kojih je istraženo oko 850 metara četvornih.[5] Iako je riječ o znatnoj površini, posebno u usporedbi s

Currently archaeological science offers no exhaustive interpretation of the category of the spatial concept of any Liburnian necropolis, because it implies the systematic analysis of an individual architectural form (grave/tomb), and then complex architectural forms – sets of graves and communication routes as well as the organization of its overall space in the cultural and natural environment. However, in the excavated necropolises of the Liburnians, in the territory between the Raša and Krka Rivers, generally the individual could be interpreted: a grave/tomb, small sets of graves and occasional communication routes (Fig. 1). Not a single necropolis of basic Liburnian types, "flat" (Zadar/Iader, Podgrađe at Benkovac/Asseria, Bribir/Varvaria, Gradina in Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica, Kastav and others) or "mound,"[1] has been entirely examined, rather this was only done partially. Additionally, Liburnian necropolises are often insufficiently published, including the one in Nin (Aenona),[2] a key site for Liburnian culture. This previous, substantially meagre Liburnian archaeological source of data has been qualitatively enriched by new research into the Liburnian-Roman flat necropolis in Nadin (Nedinum), first a Liburnian settlement (today's Gradina), and then the Roman municipium of Nedites (Fig. 2).[3]

The necropolis was systematically excavated on several occasions (2005, 2009, 2013, 2015),[4] during which approximately 850 square meters were excavated.[5] Even though this is a considerable surface,

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1 Usp. temeljnu literaturu kod: Kukoč 2011.
2 Batović 1959; Batović 1969; Batović 1970, str. 40-44, sl. 48. 49-55, T. VII-XII; Brusić 2002, str. 213-214.
3 Za podatke o naselju, uključujući temeljnu bibliografiju, kod: Batović, Chapman 1987a; Batović, Chapman 1987b; Chapman *et al.* 1996, str. 116-126; Čelhar, Zaro (u tisku).
4 Istraživanja je vodila S. Kukoč, s Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru, sredstvima osiguranim od strane Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta RH (Kukoč 2006; Kukoč 2009; Kukoč, Batović 2006; Kukoč, Čelhar, 2010). Iskopavanja 2013. i 2015. godine odvijala su se u sklopu terenske nastave studenata Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru pod vodstvom prof. dr. sc. Brunislava Marijanovića i doc. dr. sc. Darija Vujevića.
5 Istraživanja nekropole nastavljena su i tijekom 2018. i 2019. godine u sklopu istraživačkog projekta Hrvatske zaklade za znanost (IP-2016-06-5832) *Ravni Kotari: urbanizacija i promjene krajolika u sjevernoj Dalmaciji*, voditeljice Martine Čelhar. Istraženo je nekoliko manjih sondi s ciljem točnijeg utvrđivanja opsega rasprostiranja liburnske i rimske nekropole. Također, u sklopu projekta provedena je osteološka analiza cjelokupnoga koštanog materijala s nekropole, analize stabilnih izotopa te radiokarbonsko datiranje pojedinih grobnih cjelina.
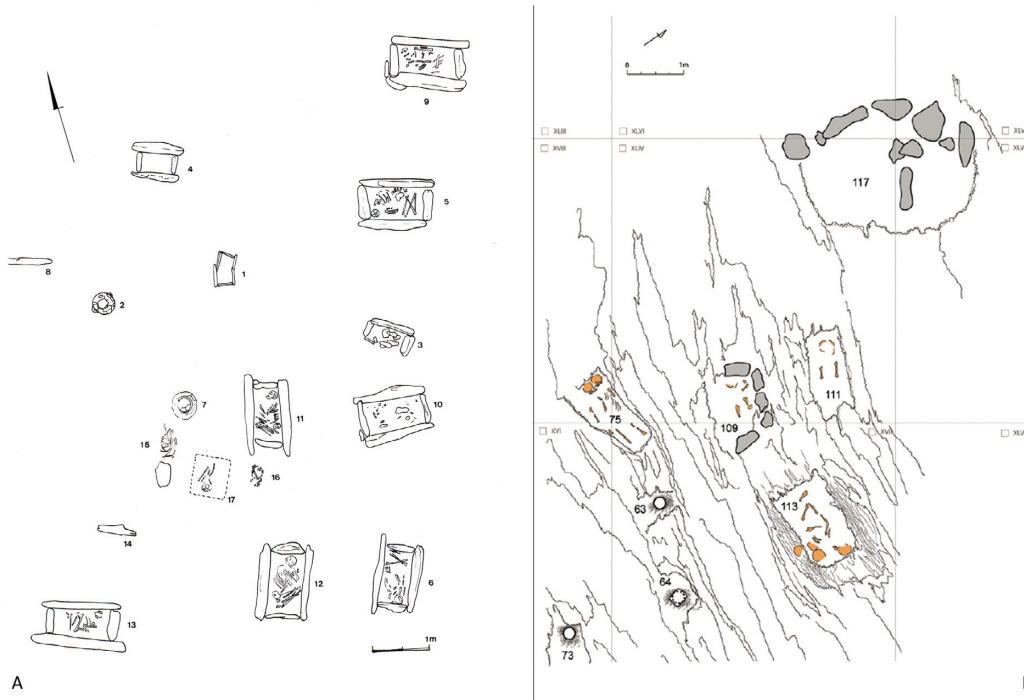
1 Cf. the basic sources in: Kukoč 2011.
2 Batović 1959; Batović 1969; Batović 1970, pp. 40-44, Fig. 48. 49-55, Pl. VII-XII; Brusić 2002, pp. 213-214.
3 For data on the settlement, including the basic bibliography, see: Batović, Chapman 1987a; Batović, Chapman 1987b; Chapman *et al.* 1996, pp. 116-126; Čelhar, Zaro (forthcoming).
4 Excavations were led by S. Kukoč from the Archaeology Department of the University of Zadar funded by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia (Kukoč 2006; Kukoč 2009; Kukoč, Batović 2006; Kukoč, Čelhar, 2010). Excavations in 2013 and 2015, proceeded as part of the field work of students at the University of Zadar Archaeology Department under the leadership of Brunislav Marijanović, Ph.D., and Dario Vujević, Ph.D.
5 Excavations of the necropolis continued during 2018 and 2019 as part of a research project of the Croatian Science Foundation (IP-2016-06-5832) entitled "Ravni Kotari: urbanization and change in the landscape of northern Dalmatia," led by Martina Čelhar. Several small test trenches were excavated with the aim of determining more accurately the extent of the Liburnian and Roman necropolis. Furthermore, osteological analysis of the complete bone materials from the
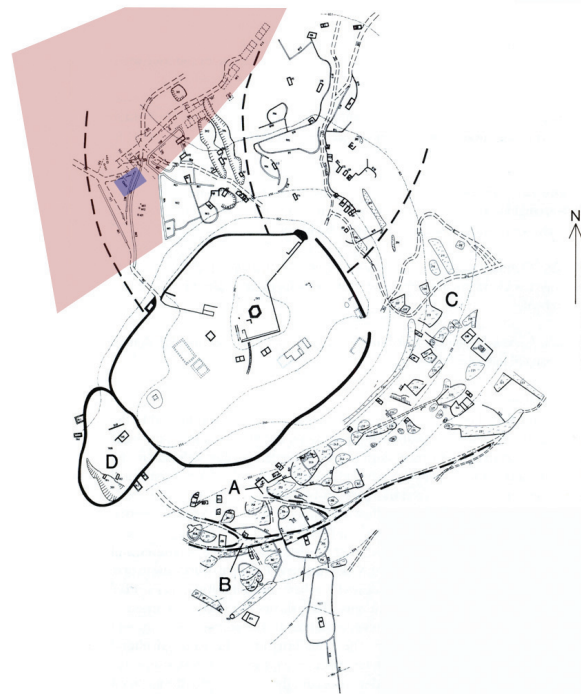
Sl. 1. Tlocrt liburnskih nekropola na ravnom, A: Nin - Ždrijac (prema: Batović 1970, sl. 49); B: Velika Mrdakovica (prema: Blečić Kavur, Podrug 2014, str. 36, sl. 4)
Fig. 1. Ground plan of the Liburnian flat necropolises, A: Nin-Ždrijac (after: Batović 1970, Fig. 49); B: Velika Mrdakovica (after: Blečić Kavur, Podrug 2014, p. 36, Fig. 4)

Sl. 2. Karta sjeverne Dalmacije s položajem Nadina
Fig. 2. Map of northern Dalmatia with the position of Nadin indicated

Sl. 3. Geodetski plan lokaliteta Nadin - Gradina s označenim položajem nekropole (crveno) i njezinog istraženog dijela (plavo) (nadopunjeno prema Chapman et al. 1996, str. 117, sl. 84)
Fig. 3. Geodesic map of the Nadin-Gradina site with the marked locations of the necropolis (red) and the sites of excavations (blue) (supplemented after: Chapman et al. 1996, p. 117, Fig. 84)

većinom iskopavanih liburnskih nekropola, otkriven je tek manji dio ove velike nekropole. Njezin opseg, naime, približno je utvrđen višekratnim arheološkim površinskim pregledima[6] te povremenim recentnim devastacijama, širenjem današnjeg sela na prostor *Nedinuma*. Time je uočeno da se nekropola pružala u dužini od oko 350 metara (sl. 3), od prvih kuća u zaseoku Marići prema sjeveroistoku, odnosno uz sjeverozapadnu padinu Gradine. Nekropola nedvojbeno zauzima barem jedan dio susjednog brežuljka, Križove glavice, točnije, njegove južne padine, gdje je 2016. godine očišćena grobna arhitektura dvaju recentno opljačkanih grobova (sl. 4).[7]

Tijekom romanizacije rimska je nekropola izgrađena nad liburnskom nekropolom iz željeznog doba i sačuvala je neke važne elemente znatno starije prostornosti. Već na osnovi iskopanog segmenta (sl. 5) može se, dakle, raspravljati - dakako, s neizbježnim pretpostavkama - ne samo o prostornoj strukturi obiju nekropola nego i o njihovim arhitektonskim (kulturnim) dodirima.

Obje nekropole prostorno su dotjerane, osmišljene sukladno svojem vremenu. Prva je osebujan lokalni oblik tipičnih rimskih planiranih nekropola "uz prometnice", kakve su poznate u susjednom Zadru (*Iader*) i Starigradu (*Argyruntum*), ali i na znatno širem prostoru.[8] Sastavljena je od mreže pravokutnih grobnih parcela (sl. 6). Mrežasti raster s više nizova parcela teče s obje strane prometnice koja je prolazila nekropolom i spajala se s glavnom prometnicom prema ulazu u naselje (sl. 3, 7). Premda ih je nekoliko arheološki istraženo, samo dvije su arhitektonski, ponajprije tlocrtno, potpuno definirane: parcela 1 (dimenzija 12,3 x 5,5 m) i parcela 2 (8,9 x 6 m) (sl. 5, 6). Kod ostalih nisu ustanovljena sva četiri ogradna

particularly in comparison to the majority of excavated Liburnian necropolises, only a smaller portion of this large necropolis was uncovered. Its extent was approximately ascertained by multiple archaeological field surveys[6] and occasional recent devastations resulting from the expansion of the current village into the area of Nedinum. It was thereby noted that the necropolis extended over a length of approximately 350 meters (Fig. 3), from the first houses in the hamlet of Marići toward the north-east, i.e., along the northwestern slope of Gradina. The necropolis undoubtedly occupied a part of the neighbouring hillock, Križova glavica, to be precise its southern slope, where the grave architecture of two recently looted graves was cleaned in 2016 (Fig. 4).[7]

During the course of Romanization, the Roman necropolis was built over the Liburnian necropolis from the Iron Age and it preserved certain important elements of the considerably older spatial concept. On the basis of the excavated segment alone (Fig. 5), one may thus discuss – acknowledging inevitable assumptions – not only the spatial structure of both necropolises but also their architectural (cultural) contacts.

Both necropolises were spatially ordered and conceived in compliance with their time. The first was a specific local form of typical Roman planned "roadside" necropolises as known in neighbouring Zadar (Iader) and Starigrad (Argyruntum), but also in a considerably wider area.[8] It consisted of a grid of rectangular grave plots (Fig. 6). The grid layout with several rows of plots flowed from both sides of the road which passed through the necropolis and merged with

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6   Batović, Batović 2013, str. 10; Chapman *et al.* 1996, str. 123-124. Sustavno rekognosciranje okolice nadinske Gradine provedeno je i u sklopu projekta Hrvatske zaklade za znanost (IP-2016-06-5832) tijekom 2017., 2018. i 2019. godine.

7   Njihova arhitektura s kamenom grobnom škrinjom ograđenom masivnim lomljenim kamenjem potpuno odgovara uobičajenim liburnskim grobovima i njihovim ogradama iz starijega i mlađeg željeznog doba, otkrivenim i tijekom sustavnih istraživanja nadinske nekropole. Na ovom prostoru, po Križovoj glavici, A. Batović i Š. Batović pretpostavili su pravilnije helenističke grobnice, poput onih istraženih 1968. godine (Batović, Batović 2013, str. 15). Za sada terenski to nije ustanovljeno.

8   Abramić, Colnago 2009, str. 165 i d.; Fadić 2007a, str. 166-168; Fadić 2007b, str. 350; Fadić 2007c, str. 353; Gluščević 2005, str. 272 i d.; Perović, Fadić 2009, str. 49-56, 126-127; Maurin, Paraman 2014. Usp. i: Serventi 2014, str. 545 i d.

necropolis, analysis of stable isotopes and radiocarbon dating of individual grave units were conducted as part of the project.
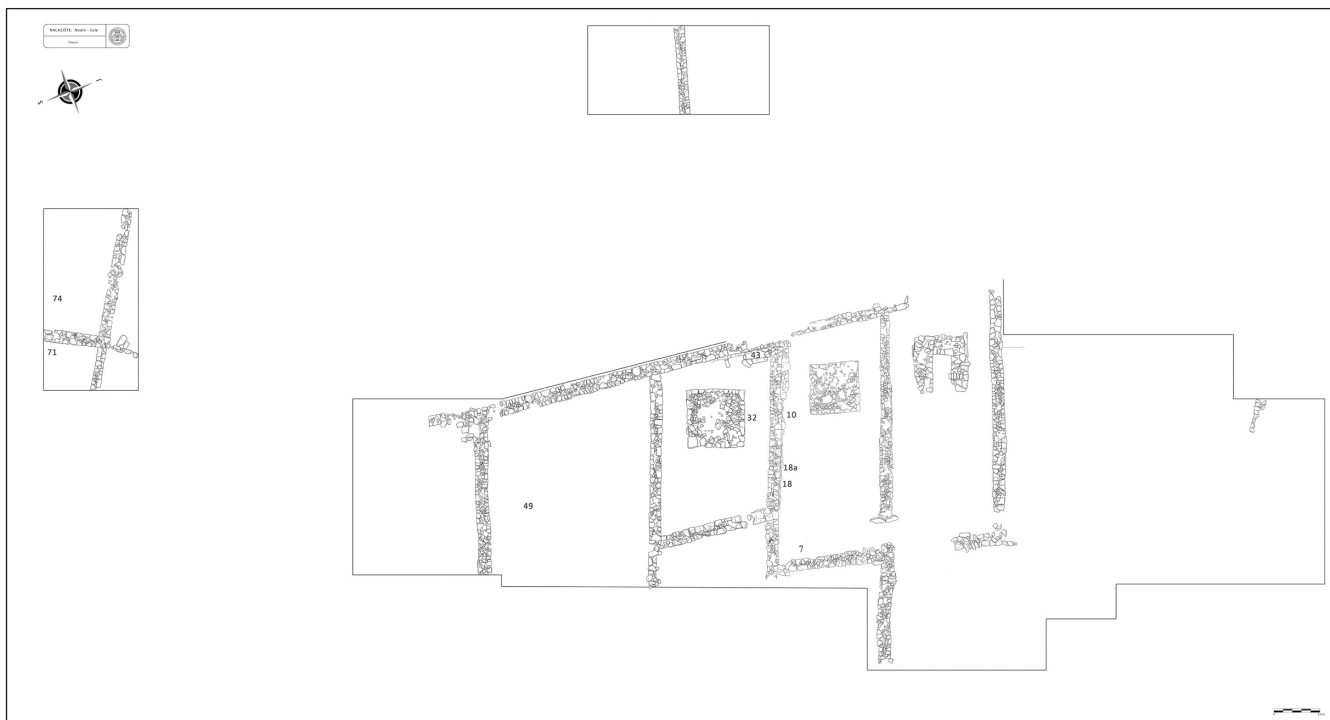
6   Batović, Batović 2013, p. 10; Chapman *et al.* 1996, pp. 123-124. Systematic archaeological reconnaissance of the vicinity of Gradina in Nadin was also conducted within the Croatian Science Foundation project (IP-2016-06-5832) during 2017, 2018 and 2019.

7   Their architecture with a stone tomb chamber enclosed by massive broken stones completely corresponds to the standard Liburnian graves and their enclosure walls from the Early and Late Iron Age, also discovered during systematic excavations of the Nadin necropolis. In this area at Križova glavica, A. Batović and Š. Batović assumed the existence of more orderly Hellenistic tombs, such as those excavated in 1968 (Batović, Batović 2013, p. 15). Thus far excavations have not corroborated this assumption.
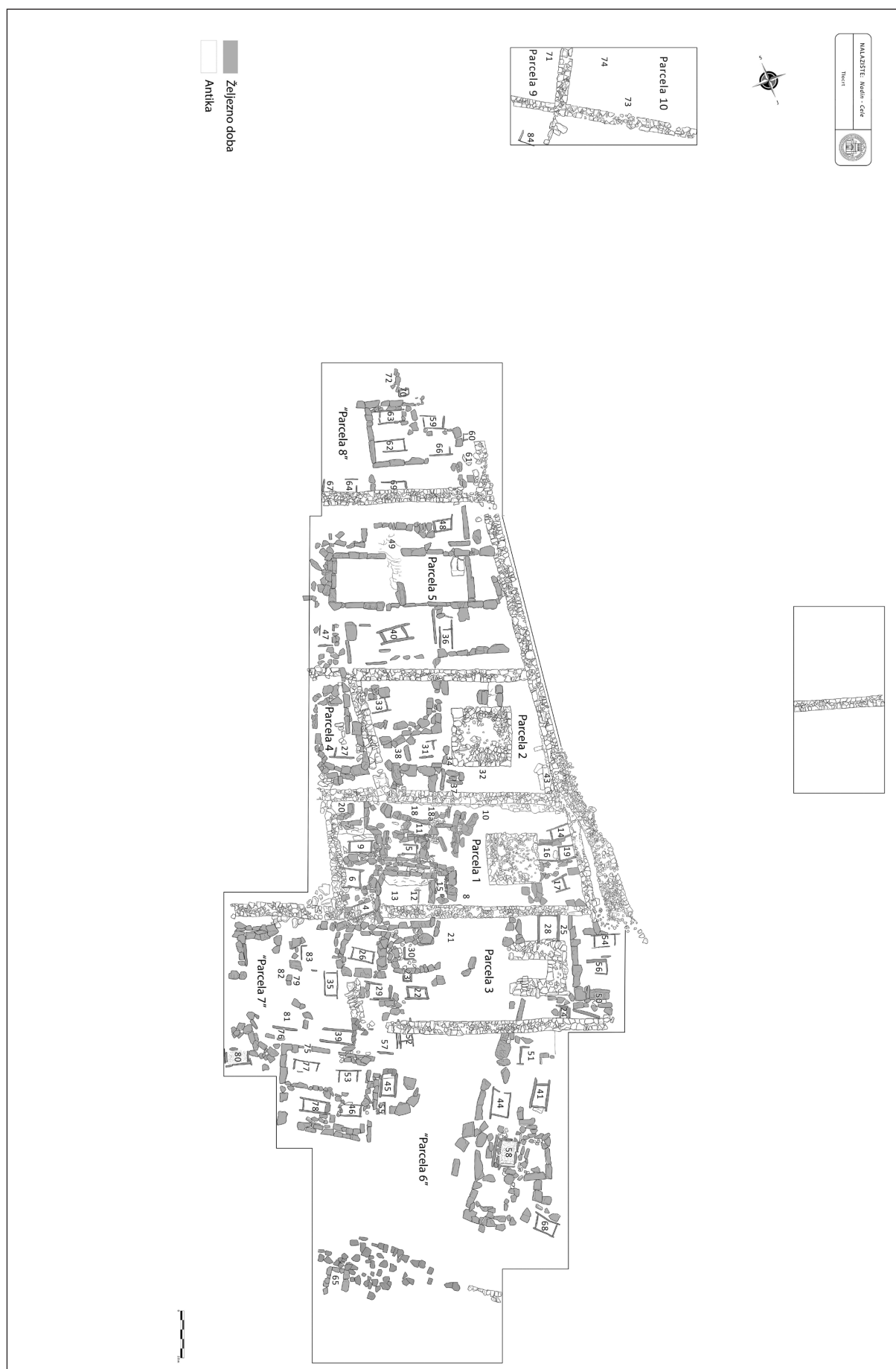
8   Abramić, Colnago 2009, p. 165 ff.; Fadić 2007a, pp. 166-168; Fadić 2007b, p. 350; Fadić 2007c, p. 353; Gluščević 2005, p. 272 ff.; Perović, Fadić 2009, pp. 49-56, 126-127; Maurin, Paraman 2014. Cf. also: Serventi 2014, p. 545 ff.

Sl. 4. Nadin, Križova glavica, recentno uništen liburnski grob (foto: P. Iglić)
Fig. 4. Nadin, Križova glavica, recently destroyed Liburnian grave (photo: P. Iglić)

Sl. 6. Nadin, tlocrt arhitekture rimske nekropole u Nadinu (izradio: D. Vujević)
Fig. 6. Nadin, ground plan of the architecture of the Roman necropolis in Nadin (made by: D. Vujević)

Sl. 5. Nadin, plan istraženog dijela liburnsko-rimske nekropole
Fig. 5. Nadin, map of excavated section of the Liburnian-Roman necropolis

zida,[9] nego samo dva ili tri, pa se njihova točna povr-šina dijelom pretpostavlja. Ipak, već na osnovi njiho-vih širina jasno je da su se razlikovale veličinom. Iako su parcele prosječno široke 5,5 do 6 metara, parcela 5 doseže širinu od 9 metara. Veće varijacije, čini se, prisutne su kod njihovih dužina. Parcela 1, s površi-nom od 73,15 m^2, pripada pak redu najvećih antičkih grobnih parcela u Liburniji (sl. 5, 6).[10]

Prostor parcela bio je ograničen zidovima s dva lica od slabo obrađenog kamena povezanog žbukom. Njegovim istočnim dijelom u dvjema parcelama (1-2) dominira puna monumentalna kvadratna struktura (dim. oko 3 x 3 m; vis. 1 - 1,5 m), građena istom rim-skom tehnikom kao i ogradni zidovi svih istraženih parcela (sl. 8a). Monumentalna struktura u parceli 3, građena u obliku uglatog slova *U*, imala je i unutarnji uređeni prostor (1 x 1 m).

Tri kvadratne strukture postamenti su nesačuvanih, ali sigurno monumentalnih volumena. Sudeći prema masivnim kamenim arhitektonskim komadima (sl. 8. b-d) razbacanim uokolo, dijelovima greda, polustupo-va, baza i kapitela, postamenti su izvorno nosili nad-grobni spomenik s edikulom ili manji mauzolej (?). Slični ili istovjetni postamenti nađeni su i na obližnjoj nekropoli antičkog Jadera,[11] vjerojatno i u Senju (*Se-nia*) i Skradinu (*Scardona*).[12]

U parcelama nije otkriven veći broj rimskih poko-pa. Unutar parcele 1 sačuvana su tek tri paljevinska pokopa u keramičkim urnama (grobovi 7, 10 i 18a) (sl. 9) te jedan paljevinski u amfori (gr. 71), u parceli 9. Rimskom razdoblju vjerojatno se može pripisati i određeni broj inhumiranih pokojnika u ispruženom položaju. Njih odlikuje izostanak grobnih nalaza.[13] To su: grob 18 u rimskoj parceli 1, grobovi 32 i 43 u parceli 2, grob 49 u parceli 5 i grob 74 u parceli 10. No kostur pokojnika u grobu 18 datiran je radiokar-bonskom metodom u razdoblje od kraja 1. st. po. Kr. do prvih desetljeća 3. st. po. Kr.[14] Nesumnjivo je dio

the main road leading to the entrance to the settlement (Figs. 3, 7). Although several grave plots have been archeologically examined, only two have been en-tirely defined in terms of their architecture, primarily their ground plan: plot 1 (dimensions 12.3 x 5.5 m) and plot 2 (8.9 x 6 m) (Figs. 5, 6). All four enclosure walls were not ascertained at the others,[9] rather only two or three, so their precise surface area was partially assumed. Nonetheless, based solely on their width it is clear that their sizes differed. Even though the plots were 5.5 to 6 meters wide on average, plot 5 was 9 meters wide. It seems that greater variation was pres-ent in their lengths. Plot 1, with a surface area of od 73.15 m^2, belonged among the largest ancient grave plots in Liburnia (Figs. 5, 6).[10]

The area of the plots was delimited by walls with two faces made of poorly dressed stone bound with mortar. Its eastern part on two plots (1-2) is dominated by a monumental quadratic structure (dim. ca. 3 x 3 m; ht. 1-1.5 m), built in the same Roman technique as the enclosure walls of all examined plots (Fig. 8a). The monumental structure in plot 3, built like an an-gular letter *U*, also had an internally ordered space (1 x 1 m).

Three quadratic pedestal structures were not pre-served, but they certainly had a monumental volume. Judging by the massive stone architectural pieces (Fig. 8. b-d) scattered around, pieces of beams, semi-col-umns, bases and capitals, the pedestals originally sup-ported a tombstone with an aedicule or a small mau-soleum (?). Similar or identical pedestals were found in the nearby necropolis of ancient Iader,[11] and prob-ably also in Senj (Senia) and Skradin (Scardona).[12]

There were few Roman burials in the plots. Only three cremation burials in ceramic urns (graves 7, 10 and 18a) (Fig. 9) were found in plot 1 and one cre-mation burial in an amphora (grave 71) in plot 9. A certain number of burials in the extended position can probably also be ascribed to the Roman period. They were characterized by the absence of grave goods.[13]

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9 Tijekom istraživanja rimske grobne parcele sukcesivno su numerirane. Međutim, kako u prostoru "parcele 8", kao i "parcela 6 i 7" nisu otkriveni ostali ogradni zido-vi, pitanje je jesu li ovi prostori izvorno bili arhitekton-ski definirani poput ostalih parcela.

10 Serventi 2014, str. 565-569, T. 1, grafikon 1.

11 Gluščević 2005, str. 282-283; Fadić 2007c, str. 353; Perović, Fadić 2009, str. 50-52. sl. 8-11; Nedved 1980, str. 345 i d.; Maurin, Paraman 2014.

12 Usp: Serventi 2014, str. 568, T. 2.

13 Uzrok tome sigurno je i slaba očuvanost ovih grobo-va. Većinu ih odlikuje i izostanak grobne arhitekture. Iznimke su grob 43 te grob 18, koji iskorištava stariju, liburnsku grobnu parcelu.

14 Radiokarobonsko datiranje provedeno je tijekom 2019. godine u laboratoriju *Beta Analytic* na Floridi. Uzorak

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9 During excavations, the Roman grave plots were suc-cessively numbered. However, since the remains of fence walls were discovered in area of "plot 8", as well as "plots 6 and 7", there is some question as to whether these were architecturally defined like the remaining plots.

10 Serventi 2014, pp. 565-569, Pl. 1, chart 1.

11 Gluščević 2005, pp. 282-283; Fadić 2007c, p. 353; Perović, Fadić 2009, pp. 50-52, Fig. 8-11; Nedved 1980, p. 345 ff.; Maurin, Paraman 2014.

12 Cf: Serventi 2014, p. 568, Pl. 2.

13 The reason for this was also the poor state of preser-vation of the graves. Most of these graves were also characterized by an absence of grave architecture. The

Sl. 7. Zračna fotografija Gradine u Nadinu s vidljivim istraženim dijelom nekropole i označenim glavnim promet-nicama i ulazima u naselje (označenim žuto) (foto: Maja Grgurić, obrada: M. Čelhar)
Fig. 7. Aerial photograph of Gradina in Nadin with visible excavated section of the necropolis and main roads (marked in red) and entrances to the settlement (marked in yellow) (photo: Maja Grgurić, edited by: M. Čelhar)

Sl. 8. A: Rimski postament u grobnoj parceli 1 (foto: M. Čelhar); B-D: Rimski arhitektonski ulomci (foto: D. Vujević)
Fig. 8. A: Roman pedestal in grave plot 1 (photo: M. Čelhar); B-D: Roman architectural fragments (photo: D. Vujević)

rimskih grobova bio oštećen ili uništen tijekom vremena, na što upućuje veći broj ulomaka kamenih i keramičkih urni i drugih rimskih ostataka na površini.

Graditeljski zahvati u rimsko doba donekle su poštivali prostornost groblja iz željeznog doba. Iako je, naime, u većem broju liburnskih grobova kulturna i osteološka građa bila djelomično uništena, njihova arhitektura ostala je prilično dobro sačuvana i inkorporirana u novi, rimski prostor. Zbilo se to iz različitih razloga, društvenih i religijskih, no i onih čisto praktičnih, graditeljski funkcionalnih.

Zbog rimskih i kasnijih intervencija od svih otkrivenih liburnskih grobova ipak je samo mali broj ostao intaktan. Stoga se u mnogima nalaze samo ulomci kostura i artefakata. Većina kulturnih pokretnih ostataka zapravo je pronađena oko liburnskih pokopa, gdje su bili pomiješani s ljudskim i životinjskim kostima. Među nalazima prevladava helenistička keramika. Najbrojniji su ulomci reljefne keramike, zatim crnopremazane i *Gnathia* keramike. Ostale vrste (obična siva, smeđepremazana, crvenopremazana, crvenofiguralna) slabije su zastupljene. Riječ je o bogatom izboru posuđa koje je imalo važnu ulogu u pogrebnom obredu stanovnika liburnskog Nadina: ponajprije kod posluživanja, miješanja i ispijanja pića (vina) te kod konzumiranja hrane, što je pak slabije dokumentirano.[15] Zastupljena je i rimska keramika te, u manjim količinama, tipična liburnska. Ova potonja rijetko je element grobnih cjelina. Uokolo i unutar liburnskih grobova pronađeni su brojni elementi liburnskog nakita i nošnje.[16]

Prostorna struktura liburnske nekropole također se temeljila na svojevrsnoj parcelaciji zemljišta. Svodila se na "mrežu" grobnih polja - parcela (sl. 10).[17] Mrežasti raster može se rekonstruirati, naravno, s

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iz groba 18 (BETA No. 521599) dao je kronološki okvir od 80. do 230. g. po. Kr. s vjerojatnošću od 95,4 %.

15 Matković 2015. U radu je analizirana helenistička keramika s arheoloških iskopavanja 2005., 2009. i 2013. godine. Preliminarna pak obrada keramike helenističke vrste iskopane 2015. godine ne pokazuje odstupanja u odnosu na spomenutu analiziranu.

16 Usp. i: Čelhar, Kukoč 2014.

17 Dimenzije liburnskih grobnih parcela variraju. Primjerice, dimenzije parcele groba 5, ispod rimske parcele 1, iznose tek 1,8 x 1 m, a nalaze se čak i manje. Ali zato parcela s liburnskim grobovima 12 i 13, također u rimskoj parceli 1, ima dimenzije 2,54 x 2,17 m. Upravo u njoj sačuvano je izvorno okomito nadslojavanje liburnskih sahrana, što je zasad rijetka pojava na ovoj nekropoli. Naime, grob 12 bio je podignut iznad poklopnice groba 13. Veće dimenzije ove liburnske parcele nisu, dakle, posljedica ograđivanja više grobova na istoj horizontalnoj ravni.

These are: grave 18 in Roman plot 1, graves 32 and 43 in plot 2, grave 49 in plot 5 and 74 in plot 10. However, the skeleton in grave 18 was radiocarbon dated to the period from the end of the 1st to the first decades of the 3rd century AD.[14] A portion of the Roman graves was either damaged or destroyed over time, which is indicated by the high number of fragments of stone and ceramic urns and other Roman remains on the surface.

Construction works in the Roman era respected the spatial layout of the Iron Age cemetery to some extent. For even though the cultural and osteological materials in a high number of the Liburnian graves had been partially destroyed, their architecture remained rather well preserved and was incorporated into the new, Roman space. This occurred for a variety of reasons, social and religious, but also those purely practical and functional.

Due to Roman and later interventions, only a small number of all discovered Liburnian graves remained intact. Thus, only fragments of skeletons and artefacts were found in many of them. Most of the movable cultural remains were actually found around the Liburnian burials, where they were mixed with human and animal bones. Hellenistic pottery predominated among the finds. The most numerous were potsherds of relief ware, followed by Black-glazed and Gnathian ware. The remaining types (ordinary Grey, Brown-glazed, Red-glazed and Red-figure ware) were less common. This is a rich selection that played an important role in the funerary rites of Nadin's Liburnian inhabitants: primarily for the serving, mixing and consuming beverages (wine) and the consumption of food, which has been less documented to a lesser extent.[15] Roman and, in smaller quantities, Liburnian ware were also present. The latter was rarely an element in grave units. Many elements of Liburnian jewellery and attire were found around and inside Liburnian graves.[16]
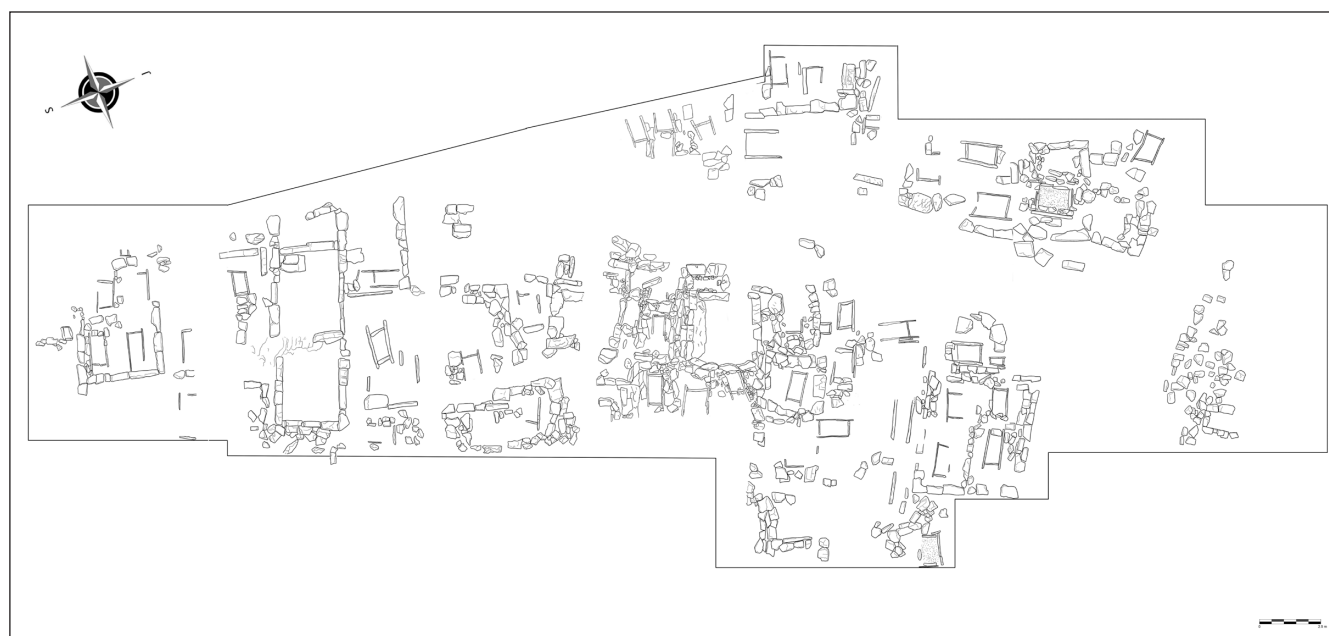
The spatial structure of the Liburnian necropolis was also based on a certain parcelling of the land. It came down to a "grid" of grave plots – parcels

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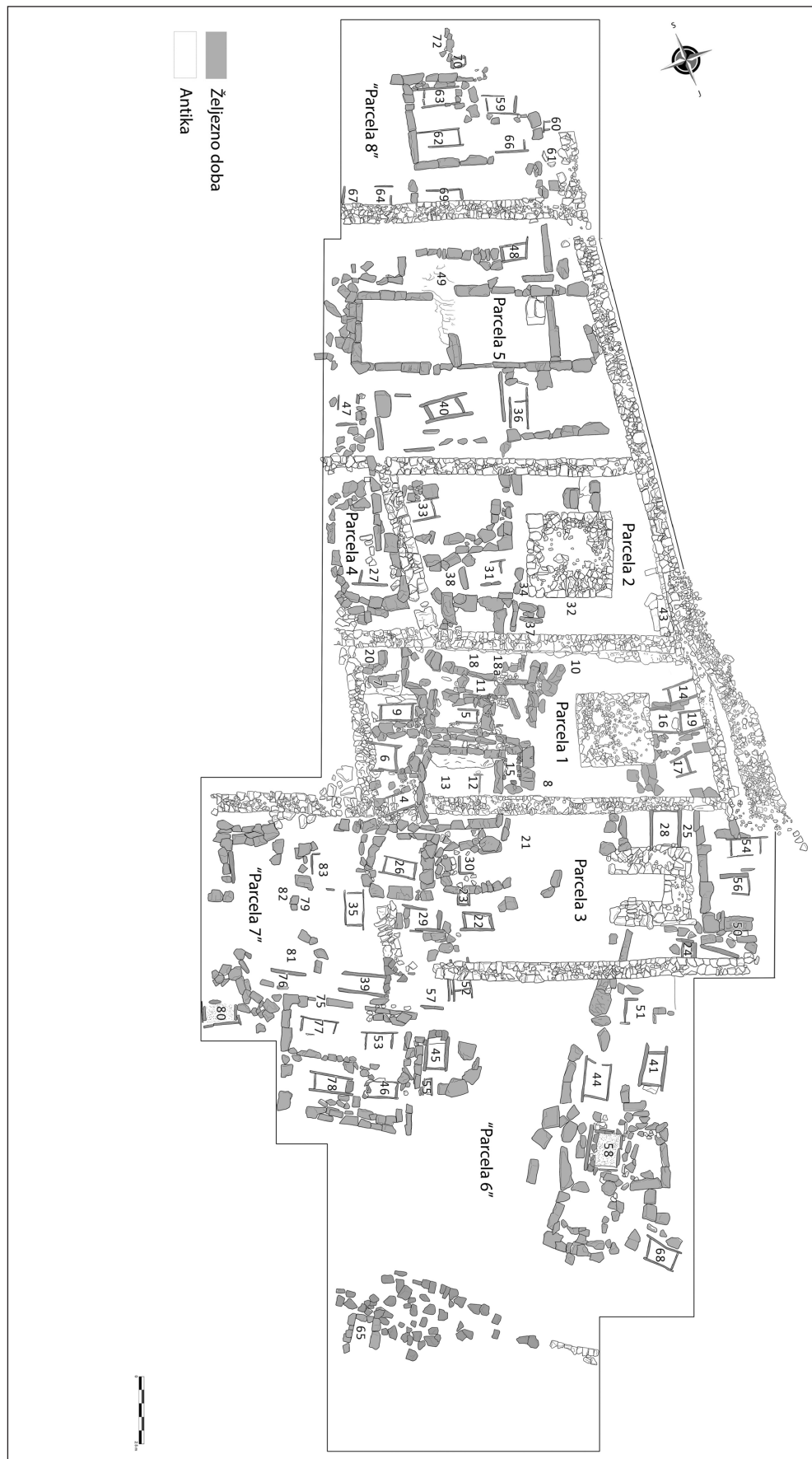exceptions are graves 43 and 18, which made use of the older Liburnian grave plot.

14 Radiocarbon dating was conducted during 2019 in the Beta Analytic laboratory in Florida. The sample from grave 18 (BETA No. 521599) yielded a chronological framework of 80 to 230 AD with a 95.4% probability.

15 Matković 2015. Hellenistic pottery from archaeological excavations in 2005, 2009 and 2013 were analysed in the paper. Preliminary consideration of the Hellenistic-type pottery excavated in 2015 did not show any deviation in comparison to what had previously been analysed.

16 Cf. also: Čelhar, Kukoč 2014.

Sl. 9. Rimski grob 10 (foto: M. Čelhar)
Fig. 9. Roman grave 10 (photo: M. Čelhar)

Sl. 10. Nadin, tlocrt dijela istraženog prostora liburnske nekropole (izradio: D. Vujević)
Fig. 10. Nadin, ground plan of part of the excavated area of the Liburnian necropolis (drafted by: D. Vujević)

Sl. 11. Nadin, segment tlocrta liburnsko-rimske nekropole (rimske grobne parcele 1-8) (izradio: D. Vujević)
Fig. 11. Nadin, segment of the ground plan of the Liburnian-Roman necropolis (Roman grave plots 1-8) (drafted by: D. Vujević)

pretpostavkama. Iako su s vremenom izgubljeni njegovi mnogobrojni elementi, ipak su se sačuvali oni koji su relevantni za rekonstrukciju. Raster nije posve pravilan, grobna su polja različitih dimenzija. Polja su se međusobno dodirivala; uglavnom su četverokutna, sa stranicama koje nisu uvijek pod pravim kutom. Ipak, raster teži prostornom redu, što se vidi u cjelini iskopa. Relativnoj pravilnosti strukture liburnske nekropole pridonosi ista osnovna orijentacija većine grobova,[18] inače dosta gusto koncentriranih u nekim njezinim dijelovima. Činjenica je i da nije bilo značajnijega liburnskog preslojavanja grobova, bar na dosad istraženom dijelu nekropole.

Tijekom stoljeća grobne parcele nastajale su istim osnovnim građevinskim postupkom: ograđivanjem mjesta sahrane pokojnika. No mijenjala se tehnika podizanja ograda i uređenje unutarnjeg prostora parcela. Ograde su najčešće oblikovane od masivnih neobrađenih lomljenih kamenih blokova, obično okomito postavljenih. Površina pak zemljišta neposredno uz grobove katkad je i horizontalno uređivana slaganjem pločastog kamenja (sl. 12). Masivno kamenje oko grobova izvorno je, bar djelomično, bilo površinski uočljivo te je moglo imati namjenu stanovitog nadgrobnog spomenika. Na vjerojatno postojanje kiparski posebno oblikovanih nadgrobnih liburnskih spomenika ukazuje kamenje ukrašeno motivima grančice i koncentričnih (polu)krugova (valovnice?), koje je nađeno kao spolij u ogradnom zidu rimske parcele 2 (sl. 13).

Mreža grobova i ogradnih zidova najzbijenija je i najuočljivija u (zapadnom) dijelu, koji su zaposjele rimske parcele 1 - 3 (sl. 11). Ondje se jasno razabiru dva, ponegdje čak tri horizontalna reda liburnskih parcela. One najčešće sadrže samo jedan grob, iznimno dva, s jednim ili više pokojnika, od kojih su bar neki sigurno bili rodbinski povezani. U ovom segmentu, ali i drugdje na nekropoli, nisu svi liburnski grobovi imali istu arhitektonsku konstrukciju. Najčešći tip grobne arhitekture je kamena škrinja u koju se polagao pokojnik u zgrčenom položaju. Postoje i pokopi bez škrinje, izravno u zemlju; to su jednostavne grobne rake, na različite načine zaštićene kamenjem. I u njih su se pokojnici polagali u zgrčenom položaju.

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18 Većina grobnih škrinja (i ograda) orijentirana je u pravcu JZ-SI ili JI-SZ, s manjim kutom odstupanja od smjera I-Z. No postoje i grobovi potpuno suprotne orijentacije. Nisu jasni razlozi te pojave. Nema dokaza koji bi upućivali na eventualnu kronološku razliku između navedenih skupina grobova. U nekim slučajevima, primjerice kod groba 15, u grobnoj parceli 1, moguće je da je suprotna orijentacija posljedica oblikovanja prostora, tj. uklapanja u raster susjednih grobnih polja koja često dijele zajedničku stranicu.

(Fig. 10).[17] The grid layout can be reconstructed, naturally with some well-reasoned conjecture. Even though many of its elements were lost with time, those that are relevant to its reconstruction have been preserved. The grid was not entirely regular, the grave plots have differing dimensions. The plots were adjoining, they were generally rectangular, with sides that were not always at right angles. Even so, the grid aspired to spatial order, which may be seen in the entirety of the burials. The same basic orientation of most graves,[18] otherwise rather heavily concentrated in certain parts, contributed to the relative regularity of the Liburnian necropolis. There was no significant Liburnian overlaying of graves, at least in the section of the necropolis thus far excavated.

Over the centuries, grave plots were made by means of the same basic construction technique: by fencing in the space for interment of the deceased. But the technique for erecting the enclosure wall and arranging the internal space of the plot changed. Fences were most often made from massive undressed broken stone blocks, normally set vertically. The surface of the ground immediately adjacent to the graves was sometimes also horizontally landscaped with the placement of stone plates (Fig. 12). The massive stones around the graves were originally, at least partially, visible on the surface and may have served a purpose as a sort grave marker. Stones decorated with motifs of small branches and concentric (semi-)circles (wave patterns?) found as spolia in the enclosure walls of Roman plot 2 (Fig. 13).

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17 The dimensions of the Liburnian grave plots varied. For example, the dimensions of the plot of grave 5 below Roman plot 1, was only 1.8 x 1 m, and there are even smaller ones. But the plots from Liburnian graves 12 and 13, also in Roman plot 1, have dimensions of 2.54 x 2.17 m. It was precisely there that the original vertical overlaying of Liburnian interments was preserved, which is thus far a rare phenomenon in this necropolis. Namely, grave 12 was built above the lid of grave 13. The larger dimensions of this Liburnian plot were not, therefore, the result of the fencing of several graves on the same horizontal plain.

18 Most of the cists (and enclosure walls) had a southwest/north-east or south-east/north-west orientation, with a minor deviation angle in the east-west direction. There are also graves with entirely opposite orientations. The reasons for this phenomenon are not clear. There is no evidence that would suggest possible chronological difference between these sets of graves. In some cases, for example at grave 15, in grave plot 1, it is possible that the opposite orientation was the result of organization of the space and incorporation into the grid of the neighbouring grave parcels which often shared a common side.

Sl. 12. Liburnske grobne parcele, A: grobovi 12 i 13; B: grobovi 11 i 5 (foto: M. Čelhar)
Fig. 12. Liburnian grave plots, A: graves 12 and 13; B: graves 11 and 5 (photo: M. Čelhar)

Sl. 13. Ogradni zid rimske grobne parcele 2 sa spoli-
jima (foto: M. Čelhar)
Fig. 13. Enclosure wall around Roman grave plot 2
with spolia (photo: M. Čelhar)

Sl. 14. Grob 8 (foto: M. Čelhar)
Fig. 14. Grave 8 (photo: M. Čelhar)

Sl. 15. Liburnska parcela s grobovima 59, 62, 63 i 66
(foto: B. Marijanović)
Fig. 15. Liburnian plots with graves 59, 62, 63 and 66
(photo: B. Marijanović)

Iznimka je grob 8 (sl. 14), s ispruženim pokojnikom i prilozima iz helenističkog doba.

Nasuprot zbijenosti liburnskoga grobnog rastera ispod većeg dijela rimskih parcela 1-3, na susjednom prostoru, idući prema sjeveru, primjetne su arhitektonske promjene, odnosno težnja prema geometrijskoj pravilnosti pri podizanju ograda pojedinih parcela, a time i izrazitija uređenost liburnskog rastera u cjelini. Primjerice, u rimskoj parceli 8 nađena je ograđena četvrtasta grobna cjelina dim. 2,9 x 4,3 metra. Površinu pravilno dijele četiri groba (59, 62, 63, 66) s kamenom škrinjom približno iste veličine i orijentacije (sl. 11, 15). Prema preliminarnoj antropološkoj analizi u njima su pokopani odrasli pokojnici. Izvan prostora ove liburnske cjeline, u neposrednoj blizini njezine ograde, odnosno uz samu ogradu, bila su sahranjena djeca (sl. 11) u malim kamenim škrinjama (grobovi 60, 61 i 70).

Prostorna artikulacija liburnske kvadratne parcele s četiri groba (46, 53, 77, 78) ponavlja se prema jugu na rimskoj parceli 6, u blizini recentnog puta (sl. 11). Između grobova ostala je sačuvana i unutarnja kamena ograda, što vizualno pridonosi njihovu razgraničenju. Ograda parcele bila je izvedena kombinacijom okomito postavljenog kamenja i onog manjeg, gotovo pločastog, horizontalno slaganog u više redova.

Ostaci još jednog slično ograđenog, izvorno vjerojatno i slično prostorno artikuliranoga liburnskoga grobnog polja, naziru se ispod rimske parcele 2. Uzrok loše sačuvanosti njegove unutrašnjosti, samo s jednom grobnom škrinjom (grob 33), vjerojatno je upravo gradnja rimske parcele (sl. 11).[19]

Najveće pak graditeljske novine, s još istaknutijom namjerom prostornog planiranja, vide se kod liburnskih parcela ispod rimske parcele 5 (sl. 11, 16). Uz mijene u konstrukciji ograda to je naglašena geometrijska pravilnost njihovih, uglavnom pravokutnih tlocrta. Pritom dvije susjedne parcele dijele istu stranicu ograde. Parcele su mahom većih dimenzija (oko 3,5 x 2,5 m), sačuvane do 1,5 m visine.[20] Ograđene su pravilnim četvrtastim blokovima koji su u redove složeni bez žbuke te su općenito bolje obrađeni nego u ostalim liburnskim grobnim prostorima. To je po svemu najpravilniji prostorni isječak dosadašnjeg iskopa liburnske nekropole, nažalost, bez intaktnih pokopa.

Tehnika podizanja ograda sama po sebi nije kronološki osjetljiva, no u ovom isječku bliska je duhu

The network of graves and fencing walls is the most compact and notable in the (western) part that was covered by Roman plots 1 - 3 (Fig. 11). Two and at places even three horizontal rows of Liburnian plots may be clearly discerned there. They most often contain only a single grave, exceptionally two, containing one or more deceased persons, of which at least some had kinship ties. In this segment, but also elsewhere in the necropolis, not all Liburnian graves had the same architectural structure. The most common type of grave architecture is the stone cist, in which the deceased was laid in contracted position. There were also burials without cists, directly into the soil; these were simple grave pits, protected by stones in various ways. The deceased were also laid in them in contracted position. The exception is grave 8 (Fig. 14), with an extended body and grave goods from the Hellenistic era.
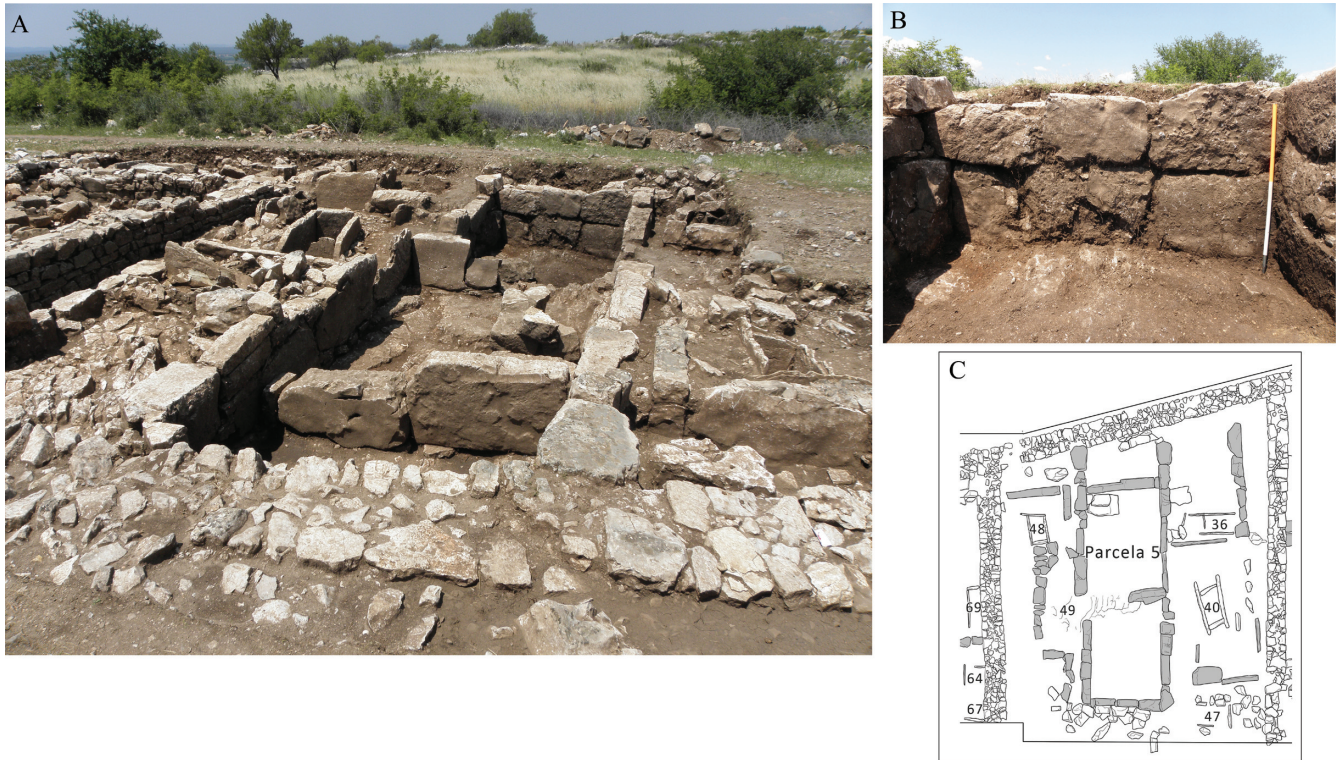
In contrast to the dense concentration of the Liburnian grave grid under most of Roman plots 1-3, in the neighbouring section, moving northward, architectural changes are notable, i.e., the aspiration to geometric order in the raising of fences on individual plots, and thereby also the more notable orderliness of the Liburnian grid as a whole. For example, in Roman plot 8 a fenced rectangular grave unit with dimensions of 2.9 x 4.3 meters was found. The surface was divided into four graves (59, 62, 63, 66) with a stone cist of roughly the same size and orientation (Figs. 11, 15). Based on the preliminary anthropological analysis, adults were buried in them. Outside of the area of the Liburnian unit, in the immediate vicinity of its fence or against the fence itself, children were buried (Fig. 11) in small stone cists (graves 60, 61 and 70).

The spatial articulation of the Liburnian quadratic plots with four graves (46, 53, 77, 78) was repeated southward on Roman plot 6, near the more recent path (Fig. 11). An internal stone fence was preserved between the graves, visually contributing to their demarcation. The plot's fence was made by a combination of vertically set stones and smaller, almost plate-shaped, horizontally arranged stones in several rows.
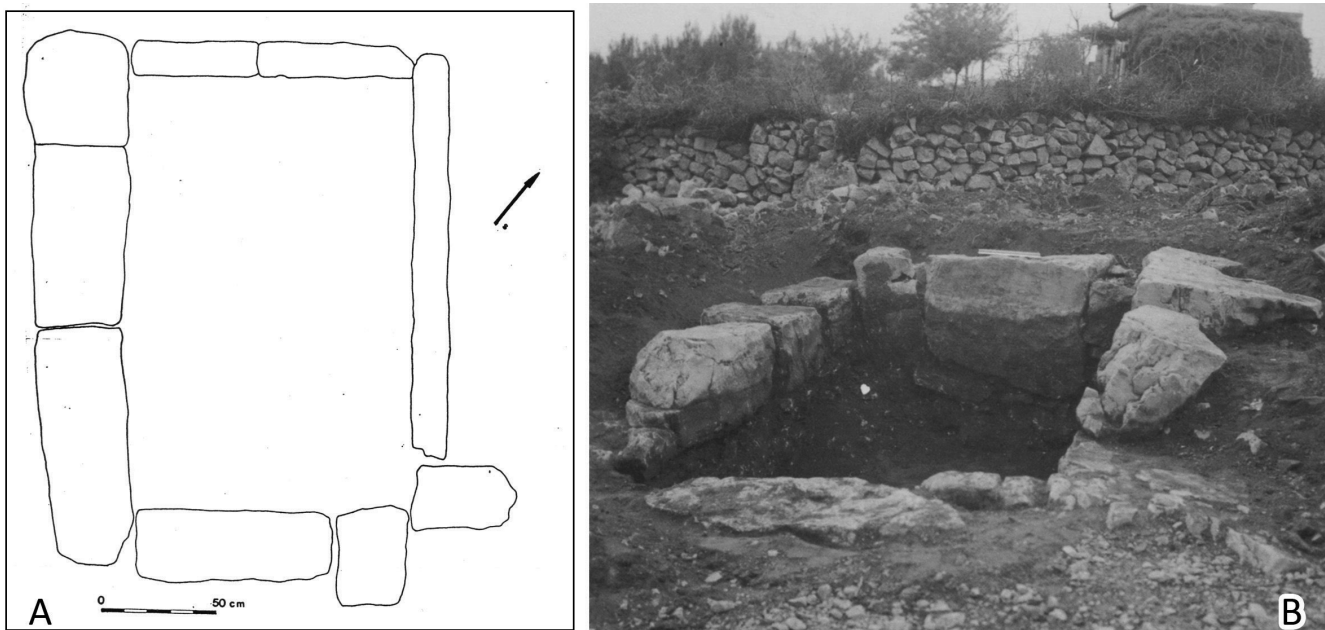
The remains of yet another similarly enclosed, originally probably also spatially articulated Liburnian grave plot can be discerned beneath Roman plot 2. The cause of the poor state of preservation of its interior, with only a single grave cist (grave 33), was

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19 Slično ograđen grobni prostor može se pretpostaviti i na istočnom dijelu rimske parcele 3, s grobovima 54 i 56, no kako se nalazi na rubu iskopnog polja, nije u cijelosti istražen (sl. 11).

20 Ove grobne parcele dimenzijama uvelike nadmašuju helenističke nadinske grobnice 1 i 2. Batović, Batović 2013, str. 16, 32.

Sl. 16. Liburnske grobne parcele u prostoru rimske grobne parcele 5, A: Pogled; B: Detalj ogradnog zida; C: Tlocrt (foto: D. Vujević)
Fig. 16. Liburnian grave plots in the area of Roman grave plot 5, A: View; B: Detail of enclosure wall; C: Ground plan (photo: D. Vujević)

Sl. 17. Helenistički grobovi iz Nadina istraženi 1968, A: grob 1 (prema: Batović, Batović 2013, str. 79, T. X); B: grob 2 (prema: Batović, Batović 2013, str. 153, T. LXXXIV)
Fig. 17. Hellenistic graves from Nadin excavated in 1968, A: grave 1 (after: Batović, Batović 2013, p. 79, Pl. X); B: grave 2 (after: Batović, Batović 2013, p. 153, Pl. LXXXIV)

helenističke gradnje u Liburniji. Štoviše, ovdje grobovi sveukupnom konstrukcijom odgovaraju helenističkoj grobnoj arhitekturi, primjerice: grobnicama 1 i 2 iz Nadina, s višestrukim pokopima i bogatim nalazima iz zadnje faze liburnske kulture (4. - 1. st. pr. Kr.).[21] Samom pak tehnikom građenja najbliži su strukturi zidova nadinske grobnice 2 (sl. 17). Bliski su i zidovima grobnica iz Dragišića i Velike Mrdakovice iz 2. - 1. st. pr. Kr. No njihovi zidovi su ipak finije rađeni, s manjim i bolje obrađenim kamenjem, tesanim i poslaganim u redove, u suho ili s glinastim vezivom.[22]

Točnijem vremenskom određenju analiziranih liburnskih parcela ispod rimske parcele 5 (sl. 11, 16) pridonose, međutim, pokretni kulturni ostaci. Kao i u sveukupnom prostoru rimske parcele 5, i ovdje prevladava keramika: helenistička i rimska. Dok je ispod rimskih parcela 1 i 3 veća koncentracija starije helenističke keramike, ovdje je uglavnom nađena ona mlađa, pretežito reljefna.[23]

Unatoč navedenim graditeljskim mijenama novi tip pravilnih liburnskih parcela zadržao je istu osnovnu orijentaciju i donekle ponovio stariju liburnsku mrežastu raspodjelu grobnog prostora. To je još jedan od pokazatelja tradicionalnosti liburnske kulture tijekom njezine zadnje faze.

Liburnske putove po nekropoli za sada je teško utvrditi. Njihovi glavni pravci sigurno su nekad bili usklađeni s rasterom grobnih polja. O tome se može raspravljati ponajprije na osnovi stanja u rimskoj parceli 6. Raster je ovdje skromno sačuvan, no jasno je uočljiva koncentracija grobova oko središnjega praznog prostora, s njegove istočne i zapadne strane. Iako je u sloju koji je ispunjavao ovaj "čisti" prostor pronađeno dosta kulturne građe, nisu otkriveni ostaci grobova ni grobnih ograda. Njegovo dno je, međutim, matična stijena koja je na više mjesta bila otučena i zaravnjena.[24] Najvjerojatnije se radi o izvornoj komunikaciji, a ne o devastaciji terena tijekom stoljeća. Gradnjom rimskih parcela 1-3 prapovijesna komunikacija je, bar dijelom, morala biti negirana. Rimski postamenti vjerojatno su bili podignuti upravo nad njom ili u njezinoj neposrednoj blizini (sl. 18), no

very likely due to the construction of the Roman plot (Fig. 11).[19]

The greatest architectural novelty, with even more striking intentional spatial planning, can be seen at the Liburnian plots beneath Roman plot 5 (Fig. 11, 16). Besides changes in the construction of the enclosure walls, this includes the notable geometric regularity of their generally rectangular ground plans. Therein, two neighbouring plots shared the same side of the enclosure walls. The plots had mostly large dimensions (ca. 3.5 x 2.5 m), preserved to a height of 1.5 m.[20] They were bounded by standard rectangular blocks arranged in rows without mortar, and they were generally better dressed than in the remaining Liburnian grave areas. This is in all ways the most orderly section in spatial terms of the excavated segment of the Liburnian necropolis up to now, unfortunately, without intact burials.

The technique of building enclosure walls is not chronologically sensitive in itself, but in this section it is close to the spirit of Hellenistic construction in Liburnia. Moreover, in terms of their overall construction, the graves here correspond to Hellenistic grave architecture, for example, tombs 1 and 2 from Nadin, with multiple burials and rich finds from the final phase of Liburnian culture (4th-1st c. BC).[21] The actual construction technique is closest in terms of structure to the walls of Nadin tomb 2 (Fig. 17). They are also close to the walls of the tombs from Dragišić and Velika Mrdakovica from the 2nd-1st centuries BC. But their walls were nonetheless more finely made, with smaller and better dressed stones, cut and arranged in rows, with dry or clay-like binding.[22]

However, the movable cultural remains contribute to a more precise chronological determination of the analysed Liburnian plots below Roman plot 5 (Fig. 11, 16). As in the overall space of Roman plot 5, pottery also predominates here as well: Hellenistic and Roman. While there was a higher concentration of older Hellenistic pottery under Roman plots 1 and 3, here generally younger, mostly relief ware was found.[23]

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21 Batović, Batović 2013.
22 Brusić 1980, str. 11-13, T. III, VII-VIII, X; Brusić 2000, str. 11-13, T. XVIII, XX, XXII. 2, XXIII, XXIV. 2-3.
23 Matković 2015, str. 249.
24 Već tijekom istraživanja rimskih parcela 1-3 očita je bila "praznina", tj. neravnomjerna očuvanost starije, liburnske grobne arhitekture oko različitih stranica postamenata. Praznine nisu morale nastati samo čišćenjem terena pri gradnji postamenata. Vjerojatno je riječ o prostoru koji ni ranije, u željezno doba, nije bio iskorišten za sahranu.
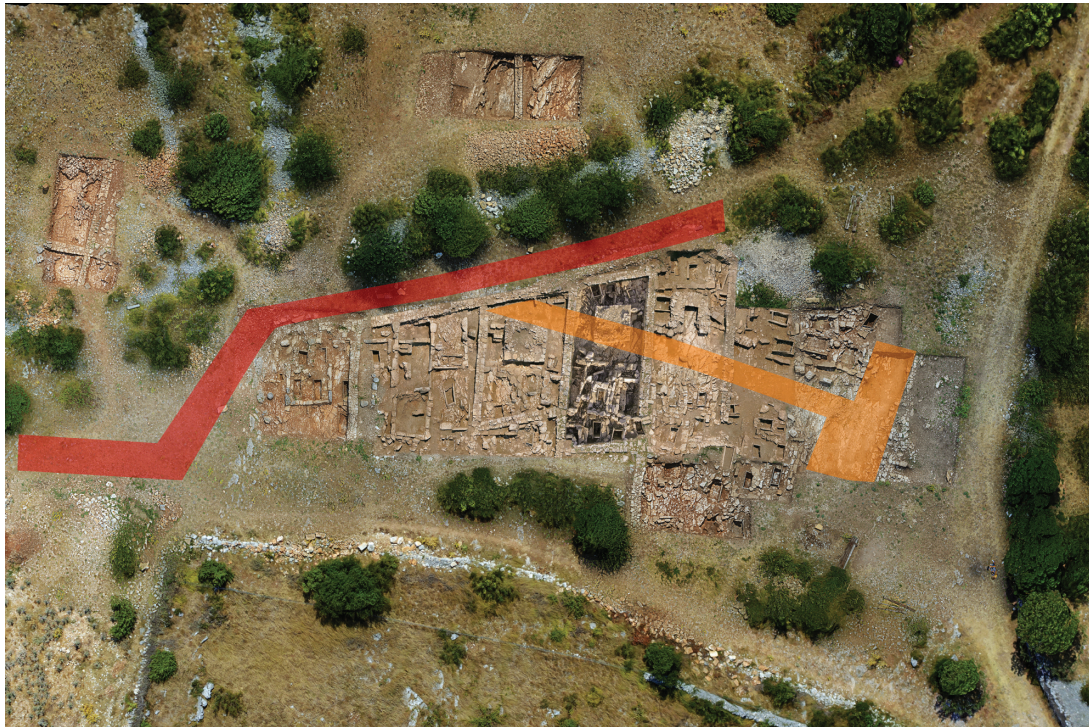
19 A similarly enclosed grave space may be assumed to have existed in the eastern section of Roman plot 3, with graves 54 and 56, but since they are at the edge of the excavation field, it has not been entirely excavated (Fig. 11).
20 The dimensions of these grave plots largely surpass the Hellenistic Nadin tombs 1 and 2. Batović, Batović 2013, pp. 16, 32.
21 Batović, Batović 2013.
22 Brusić 1980, pp. 11-13, Pl. III, VII-VIII, X; Brusić 2000, pp. 11-13, Pl. XVIII, XX, XXII. 2, XXIII, XXIV. 2-3.
23 Matković 2015, p. 249.

Sl. 18. Zračna fotografija istraženog prostora liburnsko-rimske nekropole s pretpostavljenom prapovijesnom (žuto) i rimskom (crveno) komunikacijom (foto: Aeropixel, d.o.o; uredio: D. Vujević)
Fig. 18. Aerial photograph of excavated area of the Liburnian-Roman necropolis with assumed prehistoric (yellow) and Roman (red) communication route (photo: Aeropixel, d.o.o.; prepared by: D. Vujević)

Sl. 19. Izbor liburnskih nalaza iz nekropole Nadina (foto: M. Parica)
Fig. 19. Selection of Liburnian finds from the Nadin necropolis (photo: M. Parica)

svakako uz antičku komunikaciju. Ova se pak pružala neposredno uz istočne zidove rimskih parcela i s nje su monumentalni rimski spomenici bili dobro vidljivi. Pravci prapovijesnih putova kroz nadinsku nekropolu, dakle, nisu se u cijelosti podudarali s onima iz rimskog doba.

Kronološki relevantni podaci (dijelovi nošnje i drugi pokretni nalazi, posebno importirana keramika), nađeni u grobu ili izvan njega (sl. 19) pokazuju da se na istraženom dijelu liburnske nekropole Nadina najintenzivnije sahranjivalo u 5./4. st. pr. Kr. te tijekom helenizma i nadalje. Od pokojnikove nošnje najčešći su oblici fibule tipa *Baška*, inačice fibule tipa *Certosa* te fibule latenskih shema, koje su od svih najbrojnije. No na nadinskoj nekropoli dokumentirana je i uvjerljiva količina građe, autohtone i uvezene, iz 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr. Uglavnom su to kod Liburna već poznati tipovi: lučna fibula, pijavičasta fibula (*a sanguisuga*), fibula s niskim lukom i dugom nogom, različite inačice fibula s tri dugmeta na luku (*a tre bottoni*), zmijolike fibule s krilcima i rozetama, fibule sa zrnom jantara na luku, različite inačice fibula *protocertosa*, koje su ovdje očekivano dosta česte, i drugi elementi (višeglave igle, igle s kuglastom glavicom, spiralno-trakaste narukvice). Dakle, u skladu s dosad otkrivenom pokretnom arheološkom građom, kronološki osjetljivom, točnije onim detaljima nošnje koji se kod Liburna nisu dugotrajno koristili, može se zaključiti da je sahranjivanje na nekropoli Nadina počelo tijekom 7. st. pr. Kr.

U vrlo slojevito i dobro sačuvanom nadinskom naseobinsko-cemeterijalnom kompleksu, koji uključuje i grobne humke, neizbježno se reflektiraju brojni temeljni problemi liburnske kulture, pa i onaj o religijsko-društvenom, kao i samom vremenskom odnosu dvaju različitih načina pokapanja kod Liburna: na nekropolama na ravnome i pod humcima (sl. 20).

Prostornost liburnske nekropole na ravnome u Nadinu, s relativno pravilnim rasterom, koji se tijekom stoljeća postupno oblikovao od četvrtastih grobnih prostora - parcela, s uređenim mjestom sahranjivanja, izlazi iz autohtonih religijsko-društvenih shvaćanja, ali i graditeljske tradicije.[25] Ona je ovdje uvelike bila geomorfološki određena prirodnim krajolikom. No prostorna koncepcija nekropole *Nedinuma* bila je potaknuta i usponom liburnske kulture, u kontekstu novih sredozemnih pojava urbanizacije, koja je
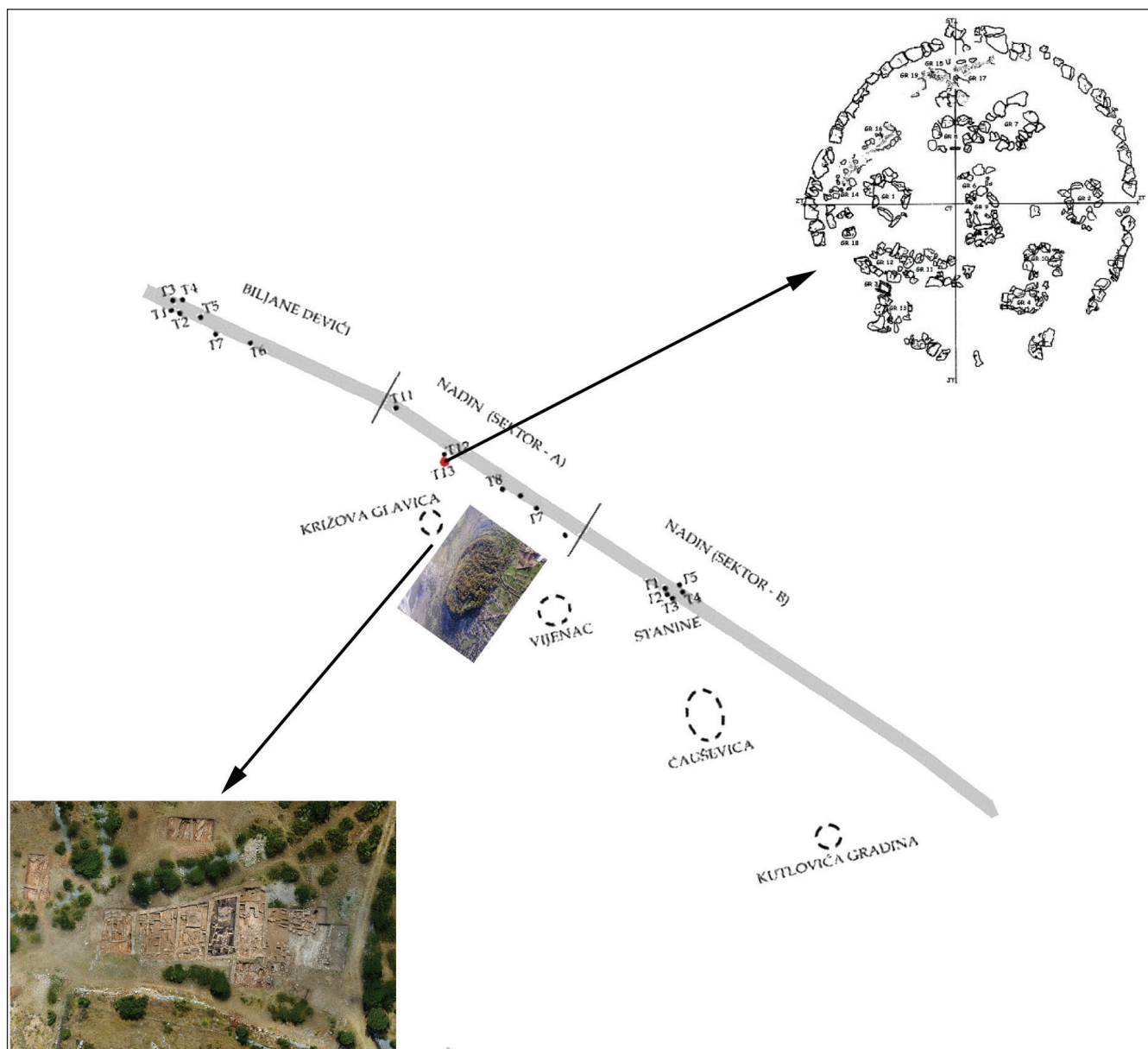
Despite the aforementioned architectural changes, the new type of regular Liburnian plots retained the same basic orientation and to some extent repeated the older Liburnian grid arrangement of the grave space. This is another indicator of the traditionalism of Liburnian culture during its final phases.

The Liburnian paths through the necropolis are thus far difficult to ascertain. Their main routes were at one time certainly aligned with the grid of the grave fields. This may be discussed primarily on the basis of the condition of Roman plot 6. The grid has been modestly preserved here, but a concentration of graves around the central empty space, to its eastern and western sides, is clearly visible. Even though considerable cultural materials were found in the layer that filled in this "clean" space, no remains of graves nor grave enclosure walls were found. Its bottom was, however, bedrock, which was battered and flattened at several places.[24] This was probably the original communication route, rather than devastation of the terrain over the centuries. After the construction of Roman plots 1-3, the prehistoric communication routes had to be, at least partially, negated. The Roman pedestals were probably raised precisely on top of it or in the immediate vicinity (Fig. 18), but certainly along the ancient communication route. The latter extended directly along the eastern walls of the Roman plots, and the monumental Roman structures were clearly visible from it. The directions of the prehistoric paths through the Nadin necropolis did not therefore entirely correspond to those from the Roman era.

The chronologically relevant data (components of attire and other movable finds, particularly imported pottery) found inside and outside of the grave (Fig. 19) show that in the excavated section of the Liburnian necropolis of Nadin the most intensive burials were conducted in the $5^{th}/4^{th}$ century BC and during Hellenism and afterward. As for the attire of the deceased, the most common forms were Baška-type fibulae, followed by variants of Certosa fibulae and fibulae with La Tène schemes, the most numerous of all. A significant quantity of materials, indigenous and imported, from the 7th and 6th centuries BC, has been documented at the Nadin necropolis. Generally these are types already known among the Liburnians: bow fibulae, leech fibulae (*a sanguisuga*), fibulae with a

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25 Stoga je liburnsko uređenje prostora za mrtve, po mnogo čemu, na istočnom Jadranu najbliže onom histarskom prije i nakon uvođenja obreda spaljivanja pokojnika, od Vrčina do Limske gradine i Nezakcija. Buršić-Matijašić 1989, str. 478-480, sl. 3; Buršić-Matijašić 2007, str. 125-126; Mihovilić 1972, str. 7; Mihovilić 2013, str. 66, 82.

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24 A "void" was already apparent during excavation of Roman plots 1-3, i.e., the non-uniform preservation of the older, Liburnian grave architecture around different sides of the pedestal. The empty spaces were not necessarily created solely by cleaning of the terrain when the pedestal was being constructed. This was probably a space that was not used for burials even earlier, in the Iron Age.

Sl. 20. Naseobinski i cemeterijalni kompleks u Nadinu: prostorni odnos naselja, nekropole na ravnom i nekropole pod humcima (nadopunjeno prema: Batović, Čondić 2005, str. 76, sl. 2; Kukoč 2009, sl. 4, 11).
Fig. 20. Residential and cemeterial complex in Nadin: spatial relation of the settlement, the flat necropolis and the mound necropolis (supplemented after: Batović, Čondić 2005, p.76, Fig. 2; Kukoč 2009, Fig. 4, 11).

donijela nove načine uređenja groblja s monumental-
nim arhitektonskim naglascima u grčkim i helenizi-
ranim središtima, na osebujan način i u autohtonim
jadranskima, osobito od 5./4. st. pr. Kr. nadalje.[26]

low bow and long foot, different variants of fibula with
three buttons on the bow (*a tre bottoni*), serpentine
fibulae with barbs and rosettes, fibulae with an amber
bead on the bow, various proto-Certosa fibulae, which
were quite frequent here as expected, and other ele-
ments (multi-headed pins, pins with spherical heads,
spiral-ribbon bracelets). Thus, in line with previously
discovered movable, chronologically sensitive, ar-
chaeological materials, specifically those details of
attire which the Liburnians did not use for very long,
one may conclude that burials at the Nadin necropolis
began during the 7th century BC.

In the very layered and well-preserved Nadin res-
idential-cemeterial complex, which includes grave
mounds, many fundamental problems of Liburnian
culture are reflected, including the religious-social, as
well as those concerning the chronological relation-
ship between the two different Liburnian burial meth-
ods: at flat and mound necropolises (Fig. 20).

The spatiality of the Liburnian necropolis in Na-
din, with its relatively orderly grid that was gradu-
ally formed over the centuries from rectangular
grave spaces/parcels, with arranged spaces for buri-
als, emerged from indigenous religious-social under-
standings, but also architectural traditions.[25] Here it
was largely geomorphologically dictated by the nat-
ural landscape. However, the spatial concept of the
necropolis of Nedinum was prompted by the ascent
of the Liburnian culture, in the context of the new
Mediterranean phenomenon of urbanization, which
brought new methods for the organization of cemeter-
ies with monumental architectural accents in Greek
and Hellenistic centres, as well as in indigenous Adri-
atic locales in a specific manner, particularly from the
5th/4th century BC onward.[26]

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26 Primjerice recentno otkriće osebujno strukturirane ne-
kropole gradinskog naselja na Kopili (Korčula). Radić,
Borzić 2017, str. 49-60.

25 Thus, on the eastern Adriatic coast, the Liburnian or-
ganization of spaces for the dead was in many ways
the most similar to the Histrian before and after the in-
troduction of the practice of cremating the deceased,
from Vrčin to Limska gradina and Nesactium. Buršić-
Matijašić 1989, pp. 478-480, Fig. 3; Buršić-Matijašić
2007, pp. 125-126; Mihovilić 1972, p. 7; Mihovilić
2013, pp. 66, 82.
26 For example, the recently discovered peculiarly struc-
tured necropolis of the hillfort settlement at Kopila
(Korčula). Radić, Borzić 2017, pp. 49-60.

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