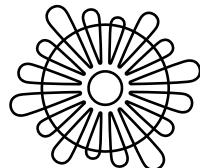


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ISTRAŽIVANJA TUMULA U DOBROPOLJCIMA 1960. GODINE U SVJETLU NOVIJIH SPOZNAJA*

TUMULI RESEARCH IN DOBROPOLJCI IN 1960 IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES*

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Dobropoljci, Jaruv, tumuli, prapovijest, antika, kontinuitet korištenja

Godine 1960. Arheološki muzej u Zadru, pod vodstvom Šime Batovića, proveo je u Dobropoljcima arheološka istraživanja gradine Jaruv i osam tumula. S obzirom na to da su istraživanja poznata samo kroz kratki izvještaj, autori ovom prigodom objavljaju preostalu dokumentaciju koja se o tim istraživanjima čuva u muzeju, te na osnovi nje ispravljaju pojedine interpretacije, dok na osnovi novijih spoznaja o ukapanju daju širi kontekst tih nalaza.

KEY WORDS:

Dobropoljci, Jaruv, tumuli, prehistory, antiquity, continuity of use

In 1960, the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, led by Šime Batović, conducted archaeological excavations of the Jaruv hill fort and eight tumuli in Dobropoljci. Since the research is known only through a short report, the authors on this occasion publish the remaining research documentation, which is kept in the museum, and, on the basis of this research, correct certain interpretations, at the same time giving the broader context of these findings based on recent discoveries about burials.

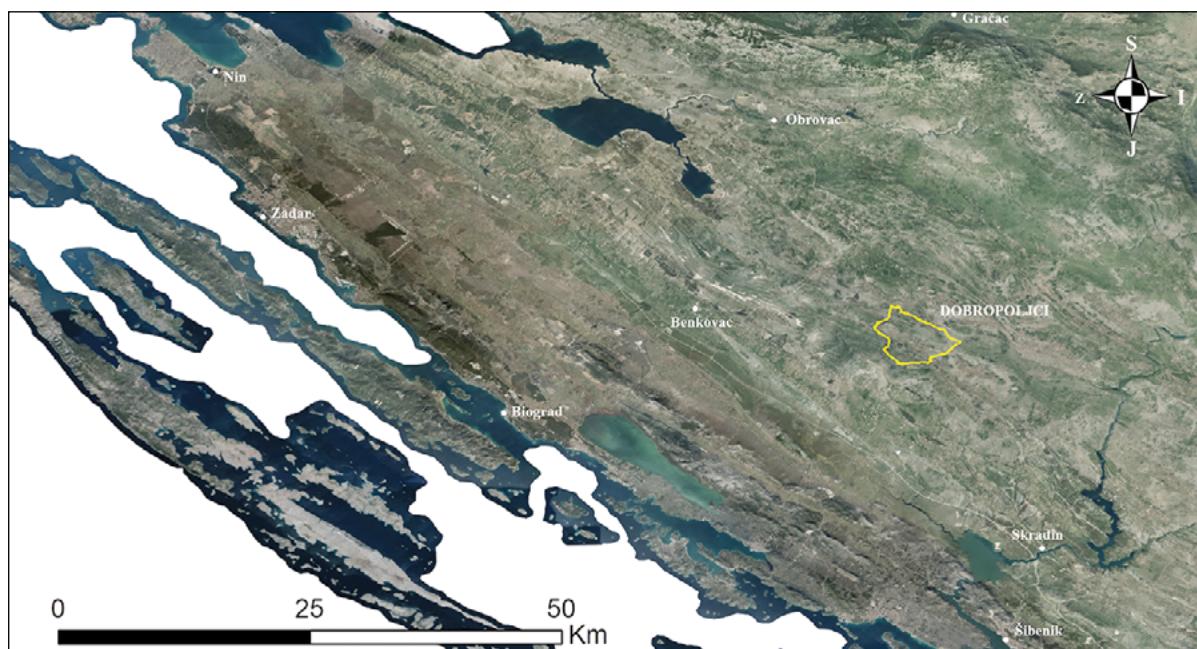
- Posvećujemo ovaj rad prof. dr. sc. Sinevi Kukoč, koja se tijekom svoje dosadašnje znanstvene i nastavne karijere intenzivno bavila istraživanjem tumula na području Liburnije te je svojim akribičnim pristupom problematici iznimno pridonijela boljem razumevanju prapovijesti i protopovijesti na navedenom teritoriju.
- We dedicate this work to professor Sineva Kukoč, PhD, who during her previous scientific and teaching career has intensively researched tumuli in the area of Liburnia, and with her meticulous approach to the issue has greatly contributed to a better understanding of prehistory and protohistory in this area.

UVOD

U ljeto 1960. godine Šime Batović, kustos prapovijesnog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru (u daljem tekstu AMZD), proveo je arheološka istraživanja u selu Dobropoljci (T. I),¹ koje se nalazi u jugozapadnom dijelu Bukovice, oko 15 km istočno od Benkovca (Sl. 1). Istraživanje je obuhvatilo dvije sonde na gradini Jaruv (2,5 x 2 m i 3 x 2 m), te osam tumula na različitim položajima u selu (T. II).²

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1960, Šime Batović, curator of the prehistoric department of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (AMZD), conducted archaeological research in the village of Dobropoljci (T. I),¹ located in the southwestern part of Bukovica, about 15 km east of Benkovac (Fig. 1). The investigations included two probes at the Jaruv hillfort (2.5 x 2 m and 3 x 2 m), and eight tumuli located at different positions



SLIKA 1. Položaj Dobropoljaca (podloga: DOF2014/16, Geoportal.dgu.hr)
FIGURE 1 Position of Dobropoljci (background: DOF2014/16, Geoportal.dgu.hr)

Batović je istraživanja označio epitetom probni, te je o njima najdetaljnije izvijestio u radu u *Arheološkom pregledu za 1960. godinu*.³ Na ova se istraživanja kratko referirao i u više radova, bez iznošenja novih podataka,⁴ a jedino se u članku *Benkovački kraj u prapovijesti* ponovno iscrpnije dotaknuo navedenih istraživa-

in the village (T. II).² Batović designated the excavations as trials, and wrote the most detailed report about the excavations in the *Archaeological Survey of 1960*.³ He briefly referred to them in several papers, without publishing new data,⁴ and only in the article *Benkovac area in Prehisto-*

¹ Imena osoba na fotografijama navodimo prema tumačenju kazivača, uz određenu ogragu jer su naši kazivači u to doba bili djeca ili se nisu ni rodili.

² Uz navedene lokalitete, sudeći po jednoj od fotografija iz dokumentacije, istražen je i mali „bazen“ datiran u rimske doba. Fototeka AMZD, br. 1226 3433. V. fusnotu 24.

³ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 79–85.

⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1965, 286; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, 97; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, 342, 344, 356.

¹ The names of the persons in the photographs are given according to the narrators' interpretation, with some reservation, due to the fact that our narrators were children at the time or had not even been born.

² In addition to the mentioned sites, judging by one of the photographs from the documentation, a small “pool” dating back to Roman times was also explored. AMZD Photo archive, no. 1226 3433. See footnote 24.

³ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 79–85.

⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1965, 286; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1973, 97; Š. BATOVIĆ, 1987, 342, 344, 356.

nja, donoseći i šest novih fotografija.⁵

U Arheološkom muzeju iz tih istraživanja očuvana je dokumentacija u vidu 56 fotografija i 24 crteža (14 na milimetarskom papiru veličine A3 i 10 precrtanih na paus-papir). Svaki tumul dokumentiran je jednim tlocrtom i dvama presjecima u mjerilu 1 : 50, dok su grobovi nacrtani u mjerilu 1 : 20.⁶ Također, u depou muzeja ustanovljena je samo jedna manja kutija koja se može sa sigurnošću pripisati lokalitetu Dobropoljci, a sadržava uglavnom manje ulomke grube, prapovijesne keramike.⁷ Uz objavu potpunije dokumentacije, na osnovi nje moguće je ispraviti pojedine detalje iz objavljenih radova, a na temelju novijih istraživanja tumula na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije dati i širi kontekst navedenih ukopa.

GRADINA JARUV

Tumuli Djakova gomila i Greblje najблиže su povezani s gradinom koja je smještena na brdu Jaruv,⁸ dok je i ostatak tumula vrlo vjerojatno pripadao zajednici koja je obitavala na toj lokaciji. Nažalost, navedena gradina nije sustavno istraživana, već je provedeno samo kratkotrajno sondiranje i to tijekom 1960. godine, paralelno s istraživanjem samih tumula. Gradina se

⁵ Š. BATOVIC, 1990.

⁶ Dio fotografija ima određene nedostatke, od čega je kod šest primjera u pitanju dvostruka ekspozicija, zbog čega nisu upotrebljive pri analizi i ilustraciji istraživanja. Pri obradi ovde priloženih fotografija suzdržali smo se od bitnih izmjena te su samo uklonjeni očiti artefakti i ponegdje je obrezivanjem promijenjen opseg. Priloženi crteži načinjeni su precrtavanjem originalnih Batovićevih crteža s milimetarskog papira, uz minimalne izmjene i preuzimanje svih relevantnih podataka (izostavljeni su samo izračuni na rubovima).

⁷ Kutija nije označena posebnim brojem i keramika nije signirana. Na signaturi unutar same kutije vrlo nečitkim rukopisom navodi se da je materijal prikupljen 1960. godine i to na položaju „iza lokve (Bregovi)“ i uz to se navodi ime „Dobrić Milivoj (oko lokve)“ dok je ostatak signature nečitak. Prema ovoj signaturi dalo bi se zaključiti da je navedene ulomke vjerojatno prikupio navedeni Dobrić Milivoj, koji ih je predao Batoviću uz podatke o lokaciji nalaza. Ovom prigodom se zahvaljujemo kustosici Morani Vuković koja je i pronašla navedenu kutijicu u depou.

⁸ Na starijim kartama brdo se naziva Jarug.

ry did he again mention these researches in more detail, introducing six new photographs.⁵

The Archaeological Museum has preserved documentation from these researches in the form of 56 photographs and 24 drawings (14 on A3 graph paper and 10 drawn on tracing paper). Each tumulus is documented with a floor plan and two cross-sections at a scale of 1:50, while the graves are drawn at a scale of 1:20.⁶ In addition, only one small box that can be safely attributed to the Dobropoljci site is located in the museum depository, and it contains mostly smaller fragments of rough, prehistoric pottery.⁷ On the basis of the now published, more extensive documentation it is possible to correct certain details from the published works, and to give a broader context of these burials, in the light of recent research of tumuli in northern Dalmatia.

JARUV HILL FORT

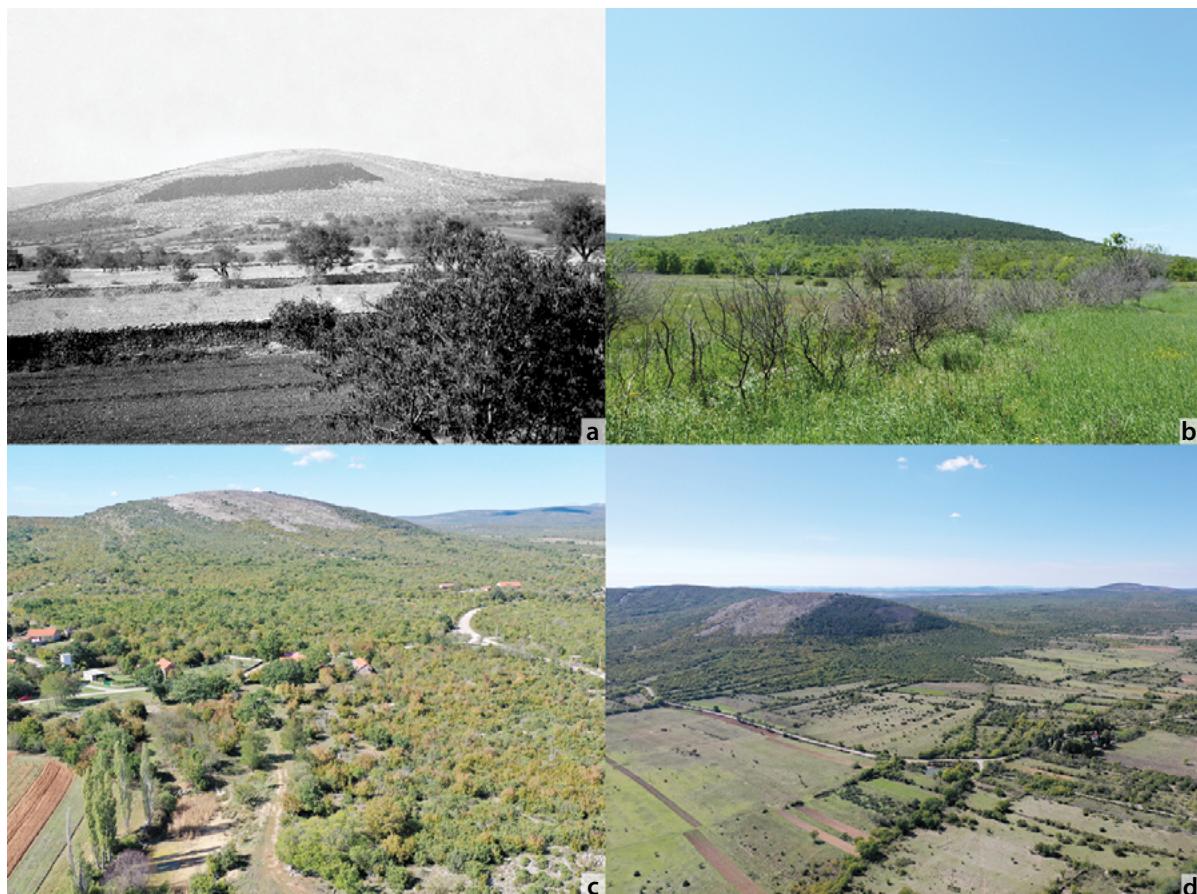
The tumuli Djakova gomila and Greblje are most closely connected to the fort located on the Jaruv hill,⁸ while the rest of the tumuli also most likely belonged to the community that lived in that location. Unfortunately, this hill fort was not

⁵ Š. BATOVIC, 1990.

⁶ Some of the photographs have certain shortcomings: six are double exposures, which makes them unusable for the analysis and illustration of the excavations. When processing the photos included here, we refrained from significant changes, only obvious artefacts were removed and in some places the size was changed by cropping. The inserted drawings were made by tracing Batović's original, graph paper drawings, introducing minimal changes and retaining all relevant data (with the omission only of calculations at the margins).

⁷ The box has not been labelled with a specific number and the ceramics have not been marked. The label inside the box indicates (in very poor handwriting) that the material was collected in 1960 at the site “behind the pond (Bregovi)” and the name “Dobrić Milivoj (around the pond)” is written; the rest is illegible. On the evidence of this label, it could be concluded that the fragments were probably collected by the said Dobrić Milivoj, who handed them over to Batović along with the information about the location of the finds. We would like to take this opportunity to thank the curator Morana Vuković, who found this small box in the depository.

⁸ The hill is called Jarug in older maps.



SLIKA 2. Gradina Jaruv; a) sa sjeveroistoka 1960. (Fototeka AMZD br. 5132 15505); b) sa sjeveroistoka 2014. (foto: Z. Serventi); c) s jugoistoka 2020. (foto: J. Šućur); d) s istoka 2020. (foto: J. Šućur)

FIGURE 2 Jaruv hill fort; a) from the northeast, 1960 (Photo Archive AMZD No. 5132 15505); b) from the northeast, 2014 (photo: Z. Serventi); c) from the southeast, 2020 (photo: J. Šućur); e) from the east, 2020 (photo: J. Šućur)

nalazi na najvišem brežuljku u široj okolini sela (Sl. 2), na rubu seoskog područja, te je po procjeni Š. Batovića obuhvaćala plato 200 x 150 metara, pri čemu ju je on datirao u brončano i željezno doba.⁹ Na sjevernom rubu platoa iskopane su dvije sonde s plitkim kulturnim slojem i materijalom koji je pripisan mlađem brončanom dobu te starijem željeznom dobu.¹⁰ Uza samu gradinu Jaruv, Batović spominje i Belića jaru u Dobropoljcima, naselje veličine oko 25 x 70 m, koje je bilo pravokutnog oblika i smješteno u nizini, jugoistočno od same

systematically researched: only brief trial trenching was carried out during 1960, at the time the tumuli themselves were being researched. The fort is located on the highest hill in the wider vicinity of the village (Fig. 2), on the edge of its rural area. According to Batović, it covered a plateau of 200 x 150 metres, and he dated it to the Bronze and Iron Ages.⁹ At the northern edge of the plateau, two trial trenches were excavated with a shallow cultural layer and material attributed to the late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age.¹⁰ In addition to the Jaruv hill fort, Batović

⁹ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 80 (samo željezno doba); Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 73 i d. (brončano i željezno doba).

¹⁰ Batović u jednom radu navodi da je samo riječ o ulomcima neukrašene keramike bikonične profilacije, s ravnim dnom i vrpčastim i polumjesečastim ručicama koji pripadaju starijem željeznom dobu. Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 80. U drugom se radu odlučuje za dataciju i u mlađe brončano i u željezno doba. Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 84 i d.

⁹ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 80 (Iron Age only); Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 73 ff. (Bronze and Iron Age).

¹⁰ In one paper, Batović wrote that these are only fragments of undecorated pottery of biconical profile, with a flat bottom and banded and semi-crescent handles, originating from the Early Iron Age. Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 80. In the second paper, he decided to date the finds both to the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 84 ff.

gradine.¹¹

Kako bi se provjerili podatci koje Š. Batović navodi o samoj gradini, ali i o tumulima, provedena su kratkotrajna rekognosciranja na prostoru Dobropoljaca, pri kojima su ustanovljene lokacije većine tumula koje je Batović istraživao (T. II), ali su i bolje definirane karakteristike same gradine (T. III). Naime, na gradini je ustanovljen ne jedan nego dva, a možda i tri tumula koji su bili na različitim stranama platoa, vrlo vjerojatno uza same bedeme (T. IV, a). Bedemi gradine u iznimno su lošem stanju, na nekoliko lokacija na platou ih uopće nije bilo moguće pratiti, a na drugim lokacijama oni su bili vidljivi u samo jedan do dva reda malo masivnijeg kamenja. Na središnjem dijelu platoa po površini je vidljiv arheološki materijal, uglavnom gruba, fragmentirana i neukrašena keramika za koju je jako teško definirati iz kojeg perioda potječe, odnosno je li riječ o brončanom ili željeznom dobu. Tijekom pregleda gradine nisu bile vidljive konstrukcije koje bi upućivale na nastavak života u rimskom periodu, ali definitivan zaključak nije moguće donijeti bez novih, revizijskih istraživanja lokaliteta. Svakako je u kontekstu pretpostavljenje važnosti same gradine problematično to što su bedemi u tako lošem stanju, odnosno da su sačuvani u minimalnom opsegu, čak i na lokacijama koje su bile pristupačnije. Razlog za to se možda može tražiti i u slabije konstruiranim bedemima i/ili ranijem napuštanju gradine, a što bi onda upućivalo i na slabiju zajednicu koja je tamo prebivala, ali i u devastaciji koja je nastala pri intenzivnom pošumljavanju samog lokaliteta.¹²

Batović je na osnovi zaključaka starijih istra-

also mentions Belića jara in Dobropoljci, a settlement measuring about 25 x 70 m, which was rectangular in shape and located in the low-lying land to the southeast of the hill fort.¹¹

In order to verify the data that Batović provided about the hill fort itself and about the tumuli, brief prospecting has been carried out in the area of Dobropoljci, during which not only have the locations of most of the tumuli that Batović researched been established (T. II), but also the characteristics of the hill fort have been better defined (T. III). Namely, not one but two, perhaps even three tumuli found at the hill fort were located on different sides of the plateau, most likely along the fortification walls themselves (T. IV, a). The fortification walls of the hill fort are in extremely poor condition: it was not even possible to trace them at all at several locations on the plateau, and at others they were visible only as one or two rows of slightly more massive stone. There is visible archaeological material on the surface of the central part of the plateau, mostly coarse, fragmented and undecorated pottery, which is very difficult to date as originating from either the Bronze or the Iron Age. During the survey of the hill fort, no structures were observed that would indicate the continuation of life in the Roman era, but a definite conclusion cannot be reached without new, revised research of the site. In the light of the assumed importance of the hill fort itself, it is certainly problematic that the fortification walls are in such a bad condition, that is, that they have been preserved to a minimal extent, even in locations that were more accessible. The reason for this may lie in the poorly constructed fortification walls and/or the earlier abandonment of the hill fort (which would in turn indicate the weaker community that lived there), but also in the devastation that occurred during the intensive afforestation of the site.¹²

¹¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1990, 75. Ipak, M. Čelhar u svojoj disertaciji navodi da se taj lokalitet danas jednostavno ne može ubicirati na terenu. M. ČELHAR, 2014, 334.

¹² Rekognosciranja gradine provedena su 30. rujna 2020. godine, a sudjelovali su autori ovog rada i Šime Vrkić. Uspom na gradinu bio je dijelom olakšan jer je taj prostor nedavno opožaren, a probijeni su i protupožarni putovi koji vode oko same gradine. Istražene lokalitete u Dobropoljcima rekognoscirali smo i 5. lipnja 2014., te 10. listopada 2020. godine.

¹¹ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1990, 75; However, M. Čelhar writes in her dissertation that this locality simply cannot be located in today's landscape. M. ČELHAR, 2014, 334.

¹² The prospecting of the hill fort was carried out on September 30, 2020, and the authors of this paper and Šime Vrkić

živača pretpostavio da je na lokaciji gradine Jaruv, odnosno vjerojatnije negdje u nizinskom prostoru samih Dobropoljaca, možda bila smještena antička *Alveria*,¹³ iako bi središte te zajednice moglo biti i na Jarebinjaku u Brgudu (ali i na drugim, udaljenijim uzvišenjima).¹⁴ Inače, položaj Alverije, jednog od važnijih liburnskih i rimskodobnih naselja, još uvijek nije jasno ubiciran, unatoč pronađenim međašima koji su određivali granicu između zajednice Alverita i Aserijata (od kojih je jedan pronađen upravo u Dobropoljcima),¹⁵ iako je gradina Jarebinjak za sada naizgledniji pretendent.¹⁶ Ipak, problem smještanja ovog naselja na položaj gradine Jarebinjak iako više nalaza potječe s tog lokaliteta, uključujući i onih iz kasnijih razdoblja,¹⁷ jest upravo blizina vrlo snažne i ekspanzivne zajednice Aserijata, te je moguće da su Alveriti tražili bolje zaštićenu lokaciju, dalje od svojih konkurenata.¹⁸ Gradina Jaruv, pak, dominira samim poljem Dobropoljaca, a uz nju su ustanovljeni i tragovi spurila i antičkih komunikacija koji se povezuju s trasom koja je išla preko Aserije i Dobropoljaca prema teritoriju Burnuma, pri čemu se na području Dobropoljaca svakako može tražiti i putna postaja koja je bila označena na Tabuli Peutingeriani.¹⁹ Dapače, tijekom navedenih rekognosciranja, na prostoru Kužeta i Ivkovića, uočili smo tragove mogućih spurila, usječenih bočnih strana i rubnjaka trase koja bi se mogla pripisati starijem, čak i antičkom

On the basis of the conclusions of earlier researchers, Batović assumed the ancient *Alveria*¹³ may have been situated at the location of the Jaruv hill fort, or more likely somewhere in the lowlands of Dobropoljci, although the centre of that community might have also been on the Jarebinjak hill fort in Brgud or also on other, more distant elevations.¹⁴ The position of Alveria, one of the most important Liburnian and Roman settlements, is still not clearly determined, despite the unearthed boundary stones that delineated the boundary between the Alverite and Aseriat communities (one of which was found in Dobropoljci).¹⁵ Still, the Jarebinjak hillfort is the most likely contender for the time being.¹⁶ However, although more finds originate from this locality, including those from later periods,¹⁷ the problem of declaring this settlement to have been on the site of the Jarebinjak hillfort is the proximity of the very strong and expansive Aseriat community, which opens the possibility that the Alverites would have sought a location that was better protected from their rivals.¹⁸ The Jaruv hill fort, on the other hand, dominates the field of Dobropoljci itself, and traces of spurila and ancient communications have been identified there as well, which are connected with the route that went through Aseria and Dobropolj-

¹³ Š. BATOVIC, 1977, 214; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 9.

¹⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 77; S. ČAČE, 1993, 10 i d.; S. ČAČE, 2006, 70 i d.

¹⁵ Međaši su pronađeni na zapadnom kraju Dobropoljaca, kod lokve Smrdeljice (CIL 9938), u selu Brgudu, zaselak Čalići te na Bribiru. Za više o samim natpisima, mjestu nalaza i publikacijama u kojima se oni obrađuju v. S. ČAČE, 2003, 22–24.

¹⁶ Za više o problematici smještaja Alverije i mogućim ubikacijama v. J. J. WILKES, 1969, 214 i d.; M. SUIĆ, 1981, 247; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 9 i d.; S. ČAČE, 1990, 204; S. ČAČE, 2003, 22 i d.; S. ČAČE, 2007, 53 i d.

¹⁷ Na položaju Jarebinjak u Brgudu kod Benkovca pronađena je lučna fibula koja se može datirati u sam kraj 5. ili u početak 6. stoljeća. A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2009.

¹⁸ S. ČAČE, 2003, 27; Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 197.

¹⁹ Ž. MILETIĆ, 2004, 14; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2020, 26 i d.

were the participants. The ascent to the hill fort was partly facilitated by the fact that the area had recently been damaged by fire, and fire-fighting roads leading around the hill fort itself were cleared. The excavated sites in Dobropoljci were also prospected on June 5, 2014, and on October 10, 2020.

¹³ Š. BATOVIC, 1977, 214; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 9.

¹⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 77; S. ČAČE, 1993, 10 ff; S. ČAČE, 2006, 70 ff.

¹⁵ Boundary stones were found at the western end of Dobropoljci, near the Smrdeljica pond (CIL 9938), in the village of Brgud, the hamlet of Čalići, and at Bribir. For more information on the inscriptions themselves, the locations of the finds and the publications in which they are mentioned, see S. ČAČE, 2003, 22-24.

¹⁶ For more information on Alveria and possible locations, see J. J. WILKES, 1969, 214 ff; M. SUIĆ, 1981, 247; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 9 ff; S. ČAČE, 1990, 204; S. ČAČE, 2003, 22 ff; S. ČAČE, 2007, 53 ff.

¹⁷ A bow fibula has been found at the Jarebinjak site in Brgud near Benkovac, which can be dated to the very end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century. A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2009.

¹⁸ S. ČAČE, 2003, 27; Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 197.



SLIKA 3. Pretpostavljena rimska komunikacija; a) pogled sa sjeveroistoka prema gradini Jaruv; b) rubnjak ceste; c) dio usječen u matičnu stijenu (foto: J. Šućur)

FIGURE 3 Presumed Roman communication; a) view from the northeast towards the Jaruv hill fort; b) road kerb; c) part cut into the bedrock (photo: J. Šućur)

periodu (Sl. 3).

Sama zajednica Alverita vjerojatno je populacijski i teritorijalno bila manja od svojih susjeda, što indicira i broj međaša koji ih spominju na natpisima, odnosno potreba rimske uprave da jasno definira njihove granice koje su jamačno bile pod pritiskom jačih susjednih zajednica, osobito Aserijata.²⁰ Osim toga, a u svjetlu nalaza samih međaša, jasno je da je zajednica uspješno preživjela prva razdoblja romanizacije i rimske uprave. Naime, međaši se mogu datirati u 1. stoljeće, u vrijeme Vespazijanove vladavine, pri čemu je prvotno razgraničenje među zajednicama jamačno provedeno već za Dolabeline uprave.²¹ Dapače, promišljalo se i o tome da je zajednica Alverita prije rimske dominacije bila podređena nekoj jačoj općini, a da je s rimskim osvajanjem i reorganizacijom teritorija sama zajednica ostva-

ci towards the territory of Burnum. It is possible that a rest stop marked on the Tabula Peutingeriana¹⁹ might also be found in the Dobropoljci area. In fact, during the prospecting in the area of Kužet and Ivković mentioned above, we noticed traces of possible spuriae, truncated sides and kerbs of the route, which could be attributed to an older, even ancient period (Fig. 3).

The Alverite community itself was probably smaller in population and territory than its neighbours, as indicated by the number of boundary stone inscriptions mentioning them, indicating the need for the Roman administration to clearly define their borders, which must have been under pressure from stronger neighbouring communities, especially the Asseriats.²⁰ In addition, and especially in light of the discovery of the boundary stones, it is clear that the community successfully survived the first periods of Romanisation and Roman admin-

²⁰ Za međaše v. bilj. 15.

²¹ S. ČAČE, 2003, 26.

¹⁹ Ž. MILETIĆ, 2004, 14; Ž. MILETIĆ, 2020, 26 ff.

²⁰ For boundary stones see note 15.

rila određenu „emancipaciju“.²² Isto tako, na širem području Dobropoljaca pronađeno je i nešto zavjetnih natpisa koji se datiraju u rani principat,²³ Š. Batović navodi istraživanje rim-skodobnog „bazena“ u podnožju gradine Jaruv (Sl. 4),²⁴ a M. Suić spominje i ostatke rimske ruralne arhitekture bez navođenja precizne mikrolokacije.²⁵ Ipak, smještanje samog središta Alverita na prostor gradine Jaruv ima svojih nedostataka, odnosno argumenti koji čine Jarebinjak problematičnom lokacijom mogu se u istoj mjeri primijeniti i na Jaruv. Naime, granica s Aserijatima i ovdje je vjerojatno bila iznimno blizu, nalaza iz rimskog perioda ima iznimno malo, a i samo trenutačno stanje gradine upućivalo bi na manju zajednicu koja je tamo živjela, pri čemu na samoj gradini i njezinoj okolici za sada nisu uočeni ostaci kasne predrimskog i/ili rimske arhitekture, kao ni ukopa iz mlađeg željeznog doba i principata. U skladu s tim, u ovom tenu nema izrazitijih pokazatelja da je središte ove liburnske civitas bilo na gradini Jaruv te će za jasnije ubiciranje središta zajednice biti potrebno pričekati detaljnija istraživanja ovoga kraja. Dakako, to ne umanjuje činjenicu da je ova gradina ipak bila u sklopu samog alveritskog teritorija, a jasno je i da je ovo područje u prapovijesti i antici imalo važnu tranzitnu ulogu, da je zajednica Alverita preživjela prvotni šok rimske ekspanzije i romanizacije te se stoga ipak može raspravljati o dugotrajnjem kontinuitetu života, uključujući i kasnu antiku, ali možda i rani srednji

istration. Namely, the boundary stones can be dated to the 1st century, during the reign of Vespasian, whereas the initial clear demarcation between the communities had certainly already been made during Dolabella's consulship.²¹ Indeed, it has been considered that before Roman domination the Alverite community was subordinate to a stronger neighbour, and that with the Roman conquest and reorganisation of the territory, the community itself achieved a certain “emancipation”.²² Also, in the wider area of Dobropoljci, some votive inscriptions dating to the early Principate period were found,²³ Batović mentions the research of the Roman-period “pool” at the foot of the Jaruv hill fort (Fig. 4),²⁴ and M. Suić also mentions the remains of Roman rural architecture without stating the micro-location.²⁵ However, locating the centre of the Alverites in the area of the Jaruv hill fort has its drawbacks, as the arguments that make Jarebinjak a problematic location can be applied to Jaruv to the same extent. Namely, the boundary with the Aseriats was probably extremely close here as well, there are very few finds from the Roman period, and the current condition of the hill fort itself would indicate a smaller community living there, since no remains of late pre-Roman and/or Roman architecture or burials from the Late Iron Age and the Principate have been identified so far. Accordingly, there are no clear indications at the moment that the centre of this Liburnian civitas was at the Jaruv

²² B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, M. ŠEGVIĆ, 1988, 58; S. ČAČE, 2003, 28.

²³ Jedan natpis pronađen je između Dobropoljaca i Nunića (CIL III 9902; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, kat. br. 2371; HD061479; EDCS-30301402), a drugi, posvećen Dijani, pronađen je na prostoru Dobropoljaca (CIL III 13993; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, kat. br. 2481; lupa 22939; HD058062; EDCS-31900020). Za više v. A. KURILIĆ, V. ZOVIĆ, 2015, 442, kat. br. 153 i 157.

²⁴ Bazen je istražen u podnožju gradine Jaruv, nedaleko od crkve sv. Georgija. Batovićeva bilješka uz fotografiju glasi „rimski bazen na cesti zapadno od crkve - Pločarište“. Fototeka AMZD, br. 1226 3433. Prostor jugozapadno od crkve do podnožja gradine na suvremenim kartama je označen toponimom Pločalište.

²⁵ M. SUIĆ, 1960, 205.

²¹ S. ČAČE, 2003, 26.

²² B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, M. ŠEGVIĆ, 1988, 58; S. ČAČE, 2003, 28.

²³ One inscription was found between Dobropoljci and Nunići (CIL III 9902; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Cat. No. 2371; HD061479; EDCS-30301402), and another, dedicated to Diana, was found in the area of Dobropoljci (CIL III 13993; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Cat. No. 2481; lupa 22939; HD058062; EDCS-31900020). For more, see A. KURILIĆ, V. ZOVIĆ, 2015, 442, Cat. No. 153 and 157.

²⁴ The pool was explored at the foot of the Jaruv hill fort, not far from the church of St. George. Batović's note next to the photograph reads “Roman bath on the road west of the church - Pločarište”. AMZD photo archive, no. 1226 3433. The area southwest of the church to the foot of the hill fort is marked on modern maps with the toponym Pločalište.

²⁵ M. SUIĆ, 1960, 205.



SLIKA 4. „Bazen“ na položaju Pločalište (Fototeka AMZD br. 1226 3433)

FIGURE 4 “Pool“ at the Pločalište site (Photo archive AMZD No. 1226 3433)

vijek.²⁶ Ovdje je potrebno napomenuti da je problematika kontinuiteta života na prostoru Dobropoljaca bitna i za samu raspravu o istraženim tumulima, jer je dio grobova netipičan za prapovijesni period te se postavlja pitanje njihove datacije.

ISTRAŽENI TUMULI

U izvještaju s istraživanja Batović govori o istraživanju „8. grobnih humki na raznim položajima“,²⁷ dok u kasnijim radovima spominje sedam tumula.²⁸ Pretpostavljamo da je tumul Djakova gromila, koji je istražen uz samu gradinu Jaruv, Batović poslije reinterpretirao i pripisao obrambenim gomilama smještenim uza sam bedem gradine.²⁹ Zbog navedenog nećemo govoriti o grobnim humcima, iako je Batović to činio pod pretpostavkom da su i oni bez grobova podignuti kao kenotafi u

hill fort, and further, more detailed research of this area must be conducted in order to precisely locate the centre of the community. This, of course, does not diminish the fact that this hill fort was nevertheless part of the Alverite territory, and it is also clear that this area played an important transit role in prehistory and antiquity, and that the Alverite community survived the initial shock of Roman expansion and Romanisation. Therefore it could be assumed that there was a longer continuity of its life, extending to late antiquity, and perhaps even the early Middle Ages.²⁶ It should be noted here that the issue of continuity of life in the area of Dobropoljci is important for the discussion of the excavated tumuli, because some of the graves are atypical for the prehistoric period and this raises the question of their dating.

EXCAVATED TUMULI

In his report about the research, Batović wrote about the excavations of “8 grave mounds in various positions”,²⁷ while in later works he mentions seven tumuli.²⁸ We assume that the Djakova gromila tumulus, which was explored next to the Jaruv hill fort, was later reinterpreted by Batović and attributed to the defensive mounds located next to the fortification wall of the hill fort.²⁹ Due to this, we will not discuss grave mounds, although Batović did so under the assumption that even those without graves were erected as cenotaphs in honour of the deceased and members of the community buried elsewhere. Given that the documentation contains the floor plans and cross-sections of eight tumuli, we will describe each one of them, in the

²⁶ Pretpostavke su da je *Arberia* u tekstu Geografa iz Ravene (IV, 16) inačica imena zajednice Alverita. B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, M. ŠEGVIĆ, 1988, 57; S. ČAĆE, 1990, 204, bilj. 27.

²⁷ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 79–80.

²⁸ Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 342: „sedam grobnih humaka“; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 16: „pored gradine, istraženo 7 humaka na četiri položaja“.

²⁹ Za više o tome v. npr. Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 79.

²⁶ It is assumed that the *Arberia* mentioned in the text of the Ravenna Cosmographer (IV, 16) is a variant of the name of the Alverite community. B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, M. ŠEGVIĆ, 1988, 57; S. ČAĆE, 1990, 204, note 27.

²⁷ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 79-80.

²⁸ Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 342: “seven grave mounds”; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 16: “next to the hillfort, 7 mounds at four positions were excavated”.

²⁹ For more on this see e.g. Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 79.

čast umrlim i drugdje sahranjenim članovima zajednice. S obzirom na to da se u dokumentaciji nalaze tlocrti i presjeci osam tumula pristupit ćešmo opisu svakog od njih, onim redom kojim su navedeni u *Arheološkom pregledu*.³⁰

Položaj tumula (T. II) označen je prije svega na osnovi zračne snimke iz 1968. godine s portala Državne geodetske uprave te fotografija ako je na njima bilo elemenata koji su i danas prepoznatljivi u krajoliku. Ako to nije bilo moguće s pomoću ovih kriterija, položaj je označen na osnovi opisa.

Djakova gromila

Djakova gromila, promjera 9 – 9,5 m i visine 50 – 100 cm (T. IV, b), prema Batoviću se nalazila na sjevernom rubu platoa brda Jaruva (Sl. 5).³¹ Materijal koji je pronađen u njoj, a što je u skladu s oskudnim nalazima i u drugim tumulima, sastojao se od ulomaka životinjskih kostiju i prapovijesne keramike datirane u starije željezno doba. U samom tumulu nisu ustanovljeni ostatci pokojnika niti grobne konstrukcije.³² Kao što je već navedeno, pri rekognosciranju same gradine uočeno je više tumula koji bi mogli biti ostatci ove gomile. Jedan od njih smješten je na zapadu gradine te je masivnijih proporcija, izgrađen od većeg neobrađenog kamenja te se čini da nije bio istraživan. U skladu s tim, izgledniji pretendent ipak je tumul smješten na sjeveru, koji je jače oštećen, a i sama se lokacija može bolje usporediti s fotografijama originalnih istraživanja (v. T. IV, a). Batović je poslije taj tumul reinterpretirao i definirao kao ritualni ili obrambeni tumul kojeg je komparirao s

³⁰ U dokumentaciji su pojedini tumuli označeni i brojkom, ali kako nisu na taj način označeni svi, a redoslijed se razlikuje od redoslijeda objave, te ćešmo nazive, kada postoje, samo navesti kod podnaslova.

³¹ Oznake strana svijeta u dokumentaciji ovih istraživanja treba uzeti s rezervom. Tako na primjer za ovdje priloženu sliku tumula (Sl. 5) Batović navodi kako je riječ o pogledu na tumul sa sjeverozapada, no s obzirom na Velebit i bliža brda u pozadini, najvjerojatnije je riječ o pogledu s juga ili jugoistoka.

³² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 80.

order in which they are listed in the *Archaeological Survey*.³⁰

The position of the tumuli (T. II) has been primarily marked on the basis of aerial imagery of 1968 from the portal of the State Land Surveying Administration and photographs, if there were elements in them that are still recognisable in the landscape. If it was not possible with the help of these criteria, the position is marked on the basis of the description.

Djakova gromila

According to Batović, Djakova gromila, 9-9.5 m in diameter and 50-100 cm high (T. IV, b), was located on the northern edge of the Jaruv hill plateau (Fig. 5).³¹ The material found in it, consistent with scarce finds in other tumuli, consisted of fragments of animal bones and prehistoric pottery dating to the Early Iron Age. No remains of deceased persons or grave structures were found in the tumulus itself.³² As already mentioned, during the prospecting of the hill fort itself, several tumuli that could be the remains of this mound were noticed. One of them is located to the west of the hill fort and is of more massive proportions, built of larger unworked stones and does not appear to have been explored. Accordingly, a more likely contender is the tumulus located to the north, which is more severely damaged, and whose location can be better compared to photographs of the original excavations (see T. IV, a). Batović later reinterpreted this tumulus and defined it as a ritual or defensive tumulus, comparing it to those found at other

³⁰ In the documentation, individual tumuli are also marked with a number, but as not all of them are marked in this way, and the order differs from the order of publication, we will only list the names, if they exist, in the subheading.

³¹ Labels for cardinal points in the documentation of this research should be treated with caution. For example, for the photo of the tumulus given here (Fig. 5), Batović wrote that it is a view of the tumulus from the northwest but taking into consideration Velebit mountain and the nearby hills in the background, it is most likely a view from the south or southeast.

³² Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 80.



SLIKA 5. *Djakova gromila* (Fototeka AMZD br. 1348 3926)

FIGURE 5 *Djakova gromila* (Photo archive AMZD No. 1348 3926)

onima pronađenim na drugim lokalitetima u Liburniji.³³ Naime, takvi tumuli smješteni u blizini samih bedema ustanovljeni su ne samo na teritoriju Liburna već i na prostoru Delmata, Japoda i Daorsa, te ponekad flankiraju ulaz u gradinu, nekad su inkorporirani u bedeme, a nekad su samostojeci objekti. Osim navedenih, mogli su imati i funkciju promatračnice, jer su se često gradili na najistaknutijem dijelu terena.³⁴ Dakako, jedna funkcija ne isključuje nužno drugu, pa je ona ritualna mogla biti inkorporirana u obrambenu funkciju, na jedan način dodatno potvrđujući i osnažujući zaštitu samog naselja, pogotovo kad se uzme u obzir da su u sklopu takvih tumula često pronalažeći i ulomci keramike.

Greblje

Tumul na lokaciji Greblje, promjera 6,5 – 7 m i visine 50 cm (T. V, a, b), nalazio se sa sjeveroistočne strane gradine Jaruv, uz jugozapadni rub obližnjeg polja (T. V, c), a prema navodima Š. Batovića na toj lokaciji nalazila se i rimskodobna nekropola.³⁵ Nanos tumula

³³ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 79; usp. M. ČELHAR, 2014, 62.

³⁴ M. ČELHAR, 2014, 62 i d.

³⁵ Tumul se nalazi na zapadnom dijelu prostora koji se naziva Pločalište, što može upućivati na karakteristike kamena na

sites in Liburnia.³³ Namely, tumuli located near fortification walls in this way have been identified not only in the territory of Liburnia, but also in the area of Delmats, Iapodes and Daorsi, and they sometimes flank the entrance to the fort, sometimes are incorporated into the fortification walls, and sometimes constitute separate structures. In addition to the above mentioned functions, they could also have had the function of a watchtower, as they were often built on the most prominent part of the landscape.³⁴ Of course, one function does not necessarily exclude another, so the ritual could have been incorporated into the defensive function, in a way further confirming and strengthening the protection of the settlement itself, especially when one considers that fragments of pottery have often been found within such tumuli.

Greblje

The tumulus at the Greblje site, 6.5-7 m in diameter and 50 cm high (T. V, a, b), was located on the northeastern side of the Jaruv hill fort, along the southwestern edge of the nearby field (T. V, c), and according to Batović, there was also a Roman necropolis at that location.³⁵ The tumulus layers consist of stone and soil, and in the middle two graves with stone slab architecture were identified. Both were embedded into sterile soil, below the level of the tumulus (T. V, d), and the mutual spatial relationship testifies to the chronological one, because the construction of grave 2 significantly damaged grave 1 (T. VI). It should be noted here that in the publication of the finds Batović stated that the deceased in grave 1 due to the size "of the grave

³³ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 79; cf. M. ČELHAR, 2014, 62.

³⁴ M. ČELHAR, 2014, 62 ff.

³⁵ The tumulus is located in the western part of the area called Pločalište, which may indicate the characteristics of the stone in that area, but also the grave architecture, which, in addition to the toponym Greblje, would further confirm the burial purpose of the area. It is through this area that the communication runs from the hill fort to the east, along the village pond, turns to the northeast in the hamlets of Kužete and Ivkovići and goes towards Nunić across the Krš plateau (Fig. 3).

sastavljen je od kamena i zemlje, a u sredini su ustanovljena dva groba s arhitekturom od kamenih ploča. Oba su bila ukopana u zdravici, ispod razine tumula (T. V, d), a međusobni prostorni odnos svjedoči o onom kronološkom, jer je gradnjom groba 2 bitno oštećen grob 1 (T. VI). Ovdje svakako treba napomenuti da je u publikaciji nalaza Š. Batović naveo da je pokojnik u grobu 1 zbog veličine „grobнog prostora morao imati zgrčeni položaj“, dok je za grob 2 jasno da je riječ o ispruženom pokojniku.³⁶ Takva je interpretacija problematična jer ne uzima u obzir spomenuti stratigrafski odnos. Iz dokumentacije je jasno da je grob 2 uništio grob 1, zbog čega se ne može na osnovi očuvane arhitekture zaključivati ništa o položaju pokojnika u grobu 1. Štoviše, sudeći po *in situ* sačuvanim dijelovima pokojnika iz groba 1 (torzo i glava pokojnika) najvjerojatnije je i on postavljen u ispruženom položaju na leđima, te je riječ o očuvanoj polovici groba. Druga polovica uništena je prilikom gradnje groba 2, pri čemu su kosti nogu pokojnika iz primarnog groba položene s vanjske strane sekundarnoga groba (T. VI, c, e).³⁷

Takvo sekundarno polaganje ostataka pokojnika, uz takvu pažnju pa čak i brigu o anatomsкоj korektnosti samog položaja kostiju, dakako uz uvjet da taj položaj nije pri iskopavanju mijenjan, upućuje na puno poštovanje prema ostacima navedenog pokojnika. Obje konstrukcije rađene su od kamenih ploča, no konstrukcija groba 1 napravljena je od grubih, neobrađenih i poprilično nepravilnih ploča, dok su one korištene za grob 2 pravilnije, gotovo pravokutne te je vidljiv dijelom oklesan rub. Za precizniju dataciju samih grobova,

tom prostoru, ali i na grobnu arhitekturu, čime bi uz toponim Greblje dodatno potvrdio grobni karakter prostora. Upravo tim prostorom prolazi komunikacija koja od gradića vodi prema istoku, uz seosku lokvu, te u zaseocima Kužetima i Ivkovićima skreće prema sjeveroistoku te preko zaravnii Krša ide ka Nuniću (Sl. 3).

³⁶ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 81.

³⁷ Čini nam se da je skeptu prema Batovićevu tumačenju položaja pokojnika iz groba 1 već upitnikom izrazila S. Kukoč. S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 38, bilj. 62.

had to be in a contracted position”, while the deceased in grave 2 was clearly in a supine position.³⁶ Such an interpretation is questionable because it does not take into account the mentioned stratigraphic relationship. It is clear from the documentation that grave 2 destroyed grave 1, and that makes it impossible to draw any conclusions about the position of the deceased in grave 1 based on the preserved architecture. Moreover, judging by the *in situ* preserved parts of the deceased from grave 1 (torso and head), it is most likely that this deceased was also placed in a supine position, and that only half of the grave has been preserved. The other half was destroyed during the construction of grave 2, with the bones of the legs of the deceased from the primary grave having been laid on the outside of the secondary grave (T. VI, c, e).³⁷

Such secondary burying of the remains of the deceased, considering the care and attention given to the anatomical correctness of the bone position (provided, of course, that this position was not changed during excavation), indicates deep respect for the remains of the deceased. Both constructions were made of stone slabs; however, the construction of grave 1 was made with rough, unworked and rather irregular slabs, while those used for grave 2 are more regular and almost rectangular in shape, with a partially carved edge visible. A more precise dating of the graves themselves is not possible since, unfortunately, no enclosures have been found, but only fragments of prehistoric pottery within the tumulus.³⁸ In the drawings of the tumulus, it is indicated that both graves were embedded into sterile soil, but on the evidence of the cross-section and notes on the drawing it is clear that the original stratigraphy of the tumulus was disturbed during the grave 2 burial (T. V, d). Taking into account all the facts mentioned above, it can be concluded that grave

³⁶ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 81.

³⁷ S. Kukoč seemed to already have expressed scepticism about Batović's interpretation of the position of the deceased from grave 1, marking it with a question mark. S. KUKOČ, 2009, 38, fn 62.

³⁸ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 81.

nažalost, nedostaju prilozi, odnosno u sklopu tumula pronađeni su samo ulomci prapovijesne keramike.³⁸ Na crtežima tumula označeno je da su oba groba bila ukopana u zdravicu, ali je prema presjeku i napomenama na crtežu vidljivo da je tijekom ukopa groba 2 poremećena prvotna stratigrafija tumula (T. V, d). U skladu sa svim navedenim može se zaključiti da je grob 1 bio originalan, vjerojatno prapovijesni ukop (unatoč tomu što je vrlo vjerojatno riječ o ispruženom pokojniku), dok je grob 2 svakako naknadno ukopan, bilo u prapovijesti, ali moguće i u kasnoj antici, kako pretpostavlja Š. Batović,³⁹ ali, dakako i u srednjem vijeku, pa čak i poslije.

Glavica više kuće popove

Kameni tumul promjera 8 – 8,5 m i visine 70 cm najsjeverozapadniji je u nizu od pet tumula koji se nalaze na krškoj kosi iznad zaselaka Kužeta i Ivkovića (Sl. 6). Istraživanjem nisu uočeni grobni ni osteološki ostaci, već samo nekoliko ulomaka keramike, a u konstruktivnom smislu ostaci obzida (T. VII, a).⁴⁰

Glavica više Zidina (Humak 2)

Od „popove kuće“ prema zaseoku Kužetima rubom polja ide makadamski put s čije se sjeveristočne strane na blagim padinama krške kose nalazi ograda s nizom suhozida zbog kojih ih je Batović označio nazivom „Glavica više zidina“.⁴¹ Glavica prati smjer pružanja krške kose i čini njezin najniži i polju najbliži dio (Sl. 6). Na tom je dijelu sjeverno od sjevernog ruba ograde istražio dva tumula sličnih dimen-

³⁸ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 81.

³⁹ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84.

⁴⁰ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 81. Pri fotografiranju ovog tumula došlo je do dvostrukе ekspozicije pa fotografija nije reprezentativna, ali uočava se kako se tumul nalazi neposredno iznad „popove kuće“ i kako je građen od neobradenog masivnog kamena (Fototeka AMZD 1344 3917b).

⁴¹ Iako Batović svugdje položaje piše malim početnim slovom, smatramo da je riječ o nazivima koje je za te položaje doznao od stanovnika Dobropoljaca i da bi se trebali pisati velikim početnim slovom.

1 was the original, presumably prehistoric burial (despite the fact that the deceased was most likely in a supine position), while grave 2 was certainly embedded later, either in prehistory, or possibly in late antiquity, as Batović presumed,³⁹ but it could also have been in the Middle Ages or even later.

Glavica više kuće popove

The stone tumulus, 8–8.5 m in diameter and 70 cm high, is the most northwestern in a series of five tumuli located on the karst slope above the hamlets of Kužete and Ivkovići (Fig. 6). The excavations did not reveal grave or osteological finds, but only a few fragments of pottery, and, from the constructive point of view, the remains of the wall cladding (T. VII, a).⁴⁰

Glavica više Zidina (Mound 2)

A macadam road runs along the edge of the field, from the “priest’s house” towards the hamlet of Kužeti, on the northeastern side of which there is an enclosure with a series of dry stone walls on the gentle karst slopes, which inspired Batović to call them “Glavica više zidina” (“above the walls”).⁴¹ Glavica follows the direction of the karst slope and represents its lowest part and also the part closest to the field. In that area north of the northern edge of the enclosure, he explored two tumuli of similar dimensions (T. VII, b, d).

The first tumulus, marked on the drawings as “Mound 2”, was located about 100 m southeast of the previous one and about 50 m north of the dry-stone wall.⁴² Its diameter was 6 m and

³⁹ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84.

⁴⁰ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 81. The photograph of this tumulus was a double exposure, and therefore it is not entirely suitable for analysis, but it can be seen that the tumulus is located directly above a “priest’s house” (popova kuća) and that it was built of unworked solid stone (AMZD photo archive 1344 3917b).

⁴¹ Although Batović wrote locations with a small initial letter, we believe that he learned about the names of these from the inhabitants of Dobropoljci and that they should be written with a capital letter.

⁴² An aerial image from 1968 clearly shows the remains of



SLIKA 6. Krška kosa iznad zaselaka Kužeta i Ivkovića (foto: J. Šućur)

FIGURE 6 Karst slope above the hamlets of Kužeti and Ivkovići (photo: J. Šućur)

zija (T. VII, b, d).

Prvi se tumul, označen na crtežima i kao „Humak 2“, nalazio oko 100 m jugoistočno od prethodnog i oko 50 m sjeverno od suhazidne ograde.⁴² Promjer mu je bio 6 m, a visina do 30 cm (T. VII, b–c). Za konstrukciju je korišteno veće pločasto kamenje, a od nalaza se spominju samo nalazi „ilirske keramike“.⁴³

Glavica više zidina (Humak 3)

Sljedeći istraženi tumul na Kužetovoј glavici iznad zidina nije jasno vidljiv na zračnim snimkama, a Batović mu položaj u izvještaju određuje na oko 50 m istočno od prethodnog, a u dokumentaciji na oko 100 m iznad zidina. Ovaj je tumul na crtežu označen i kao „Hum-

its height up to 30 cm (T. VII, b–c). Larger slab stones were used for the construction, and only “Illyrian pottery” was mentioned among the finds.⁴³

Glavica više zidina (Mound 3)

The next excavated tumulus on Kužetova glavica above the walls is not clearly visible in aerial imagery, and Batović determined its position in the report to be at about 50 m east of the previous one, and in the documentation about 100 m above the walls. This tumulus is also marked on the drawing as “Mound 3”.

The diameter of 6 m corresponds to the previous one, but this was somewhat higher – up to 50 cm (T. VII, d–e), and again only fragments of

⁴² Na zračnoj snimci iz 1968. jasno su vidljivi ostaci ovog i prethodnog tumula čija je međusobna udaljenost 107 m.

⁴³ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 81. Ilirska keramika stavljena je pod navodnike jer se Batović koristi tim terminom, a riječ je o zastarjelu izrazu koji se koristio prilikom opisa prapovijesne, željeznodobne keramike. Novija znanstvena istraživanja jasno su dokazala da Liburni po svojim jezičnim, ali i kulturnim karakteristikama nisu bili Iliri. Za više v. A. KURILIĆ, 2008, 11 i d., i ondje citiranu literaturu.

this and the previous tumulus, the distance between the two of them being 107 m.

⁴³ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 81. The Illyrian pottery is placed in quotation marks because Batović used this term, but it is an outdated term which was used to describe prehistoric, Iron Age pottery. Recent scientific research has clearly proved that the Liburnians did not belong to the Illyrians either by their linguistic or by cultural characteristics. For more see A. KURILIĆ, 2008, 11 ff., and the literature cited there.

ka 3“.

Promjer od 6 m odgovara prethodnom, a bio je nešto viši – do 50 cm (T. VII, d–e), dok se od nalaza također spominju samo ulomci prapovijesne keramike.⁴⁴

Gromila više Greda (Humak 5)

Oko 300 m jugoistočno od prethodnih tumula, na sjeverozapadnom rubu zaseoka Kužeti, u blizini najsjevernijeg objekta u zaseoku, istražen je kameni tumul s ostacima groba (T. VIII, b). Grob nije očuvan u cijelosti, kao ni kameni nanos tumula, jer su seljaci godinu prije iskoristili kamen za gradnju okolnog suhozida i formiranje ograde na rubu sela. Batović bilježi dimenzije tumula: promjer od 6 m i visinu 35 cm, te crta ostatke groba u vidu triju okomito postavljenih ploča u jugozapadnom kvadrantu tumula (T. VIII, a). Kako bilježi visinu dna i visinu ploče (razlika je 28 cm), pretpostavljamo da je bio očuvan i dio pokrova groba. Smatra da je vjerojatno u grobu bio pokojnik u zgrčenom položaju, a iako spominje očuvane ostatke kostura, nemamo dalnjih podataka o njima.⁴⁵ Navodi kako nije bilo grobnih priloga, kao ni nalaza keramike u nanosu tumula.⁴⁶

Gromila više Đardina (Gromila više djordina, Lovačka glavica, Kužetova glavica, Gromila više đordina, Humak br. 6)⁴⁷

Gromila više Đardina bila je smještena na istoj kosi kao i prethodni tumuli, sjeverno od zaseoka Kužeta.⁴⁸ Dimenzijama je bila veća od

prehistoric pottery were mentioned among the finds.⁴⁴

Gromila više Greda (Mound 5)

About 300 m southeast of the previous tumuli, on the northwestern edge of the hamlet of Kužeti, near the northernmost building in the hamlet, a stone tumulus with grave remains was excavated (T. VIII, b). Neither the grave nor the stone layers of the tumulus have been preserved in its entirety, because the villagers had used the stone a year before to build the surrounding dry stone wall and an enclosure on the edge of the village. Batović recorded the dimensions of the tumulus: 6 m in diameter and 35 cm in height, and drew the remains of the grave in the form of three vertically placed slabs in the southwestern quadrant of the tumulus (T. VIII, a). Since he recorded the height of the bottom and the height of the slab (the difference is 28 cm), we assume that part of the grave cover was also preserved. He believed that the deceased was probably in a contracted position in the grave, and although he mentioned the preserved remains of the skeleton, we have no further information about it.⁴⁵ He mentioned that there were no grave goods, as well as no pottery finds in the layers of the tumulus.⁴⁶

Gromila više Đardina (Gromila više djordina, Lovačka glavica, Kužetova glavica, Gromila više đordina, Mound 6)⁴⁷

Gromila više Đardina was located on the same slope as the previous tumuli, north of the ham-

⁴⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82.

⁴⁵ Ipak, sam je crtež groba u kontradikciji sa zaključkom da je riječ o zgrčencu, jer je grob rekonstruiran kao pravokutnik, a ne kao kvadrat, što je oblik koji bi se očekivao kod pokojnika u zgrčenom položaju (T. VIII, a).

⁴⁶ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82.

⁴⁷ Nazivi navedeni u zagradama javljaju se na više mjesta u Batovićevu izvještaju i dokumentaciji, no kako mještani dio uz sjeverni rub zaseoka Kužeta nazivaju Đardini i mi smo u tekstu preuzeeli taj naziv.

⁴⁸ Batović navodi kako se ova gomila nalazila jugoistočno od zaseoka Kužeta. Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82. Dakle, na prostoru

⁴⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82.

⁴⁵ However, the drawing of the tomb itself contradicts the conclusion that the deceased was in a contracted position, because the tomb was reconstructed as a rectangle and not as a square, which is the shape that would be expected when the deceased was buried in a contracted position (T. VIII, a).

⁴⁶ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82.

⁴⁷ The names mentioned in brackets appear in several places in Batović's report and documentation, but since the local name for the area along the northern edge of the hamlet of Kužeti is Đardini, we have adopted that name in the text.

prije opisanih tumula, odnosno promjer joj je bio 11 – 12,5 m, a visina 85 centimetara te je bila izrađena dominantno od kamena (Sl. 7; T. VIII, c).⁴⁹

I na ovom tumulu pronađeni su ulomci prapovijesne keramike, ali i ulomak rimske tegule, koji je vjerojatno bio sekundarno nanesen u nanos tumula. U ovom tumulu ustanovljena su i dva groba (T. IX), pri čemu je jedan grob bez posebne grobne arhitekture bio smješten jugoistočno od sredine tumula (Grob 1), a u jugozapadnom kvadrantu, ali bliže sredini tumula, nalazio se drugi grob izrađen od kamenih ploča (Grob 2). Pokojnik u grobu 1 bio je položen u zgrčenom položaju na sloju oblutaka, a uz njega je i pronađen jedini pravi grobni prilog, brončana ukrašena pinceta datirana u željezno doba.⁵⁰ Ono što je zanimljivo kod ovog groba, osim jedinog priloga koji pomaže u dataciji samog ukopa, jest i njegova pozicija, odnosno nalazi se u nanosu samog tumula, što bi upućivalo na to da je ukopan nakon formiranja samog tumula. Grob 2 ukopan je na samom dnu tumula, bliže njegovoj sredini, a kamene ploče koje su činile grobnu konstrukciju nisu bile obrađene. Pokojnik je bio pokopan u ispruženom položaju, što je odstupanje od groba 1 i uopće od standarda ukapanja za prapovijesni period. Dakako, u recenntnim objavama dokazano je da takve devijacije nisu bile nepoznate i da su se u tumulima i u prapovijesnom periodu pokapali ne samo

između zaselaka Kužeta i Ivkovića. No s obzirom na reljef, položaj objekata i razgovore s mještanima to je teško prihvatljivo. Dodatno zbujuje određenje prethodnog tumula kao „Gromila više greda“ jer mještani Gajića gredom zovu niz okomitih litica koje se nalaze jugoistočno od Kužeta. Sigurnije razrješenje mogao bi ponuditi podatak o međusobnom odnosu dvaju tumula koji se očito nalaze u relativnoj blizini, no on, nažalost nije donesen. S obzirom na to da se na fotografijama obaju tumula nalazi vidljiv jedan objekt, kao i suhozidi, obje se gomile nalaze na prostoru oko kuće Špika Kužeta, jedan na sjeverozapadu, a ovaj na jugoistoku, na međusobnoj udaljenosti oko 120 m.

⁴⁹ Masivnost samog tumula dokazuje i činjenica da je i danas vidljiv u prostoru te smo ga tijekom rekognosciranja uspješno identificirali. Na lokaciji su još uvijek vidljivi po-veći nanosi manjeg kamenja te veće pločasto kamenje.

⁵⁰ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82.

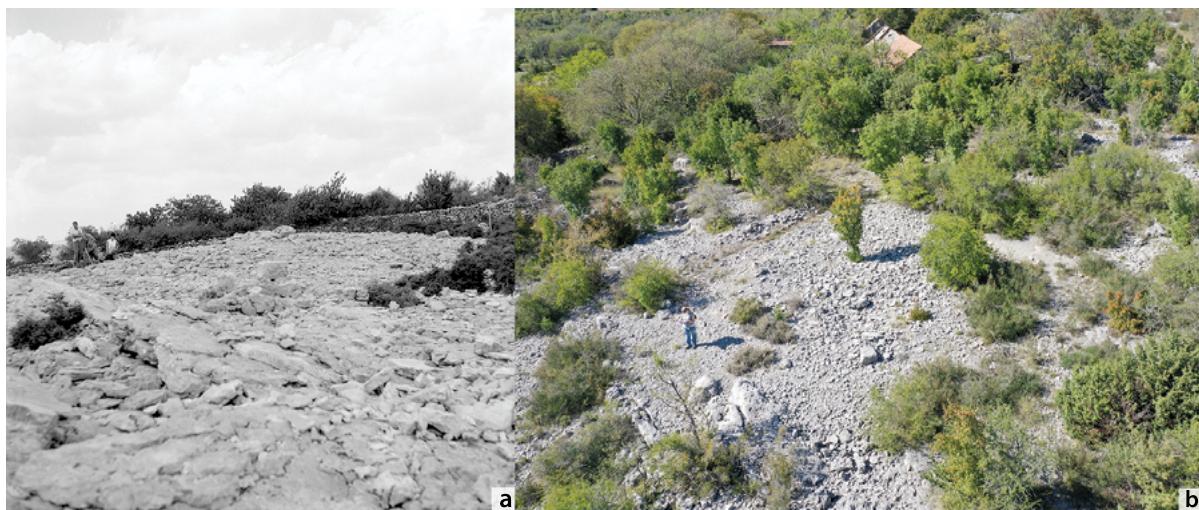
let of Kužeti.⁴⁸ It was larger than the previously described tumuli, its diameter being 11-12.5 m, its height was 85 centimetres, and it was made predominantly of stone (Fig. 7; T. VIII, c).⁴⁹

Fragments of prehistoric pottery were found on this tumulus as well, but also a fragment of a Roman tegula, which was probably secondarily deposited in the tumulus layers. Two graves were identified in this tumulus (T. IX), with one grave without specific grave architecture located southeast of the middle of the tumulus (Grave 1), and in the southwest quadrant, but closer to the middle of the tumulus, there was another grave made of stone slabs (Grave 2). The deceased in grave 1 was laid in a contracted position on a layer of pebbles, and next to the deceased the only real grave good, bronze decorated tweezers dated to the Iron Age, was found.⁵⁰ What is interesting about this grave, besides the only good found (which helps in the dating of the burial itself), is its position, being located in the layers of the tumulus itself, which would indicate that it was embedded after the formation of the tumulus. Grave 2 was embedded at the very bottom of the tumulus, closer to its centre, and the stone slabs that made up the grave structure were unworked. The deceased was buried in a supine position, which is a deviation from grave 1 and from the burial standards of the prehis-

⁴⁸ Batović stated that this site was located southeast of the hamlet of Kužeti. Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82. Consequently, its location was in the area between the hamlets of Kužeti and Ivkovići. But taking into consideration the terrain, the location of the objects and conversations with the locals, this is hardly acceptable. Contributing to this confusion is the definition of the previous tumulus as "Gromila više greda" because the inhabitants of Gajići used the word "greda" for a series of vertical cliffs located southeast of Kužet. This confusion could have been cleared up if the spatial relations between the two tumuli, which are obviously in close proximity, had been mentioned, but unfortunately this was not the case. Since the photographs of both tumuli show one object, as well as dry stone walls, both mounds are located in the area around the house of Špiko Kužet, one in the northwest, and this one in the southeast, the distance between the two being 120 m.

⁴⁹ The massiveness of the tumulus itself is proved by the fact that it is still visible today, and we were able to successfully identify it during the prospecting. Larger layers of smaller stones as well as larger slab stones are still visible on the site.

Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 82.



SLIKA 7. Gromila više Đardina; a) 1960. godine (Fototeka AMZD br. 1345 3920); b) ostaci tumula 2020. godine (foto: J. Šućur)

FIGURE 7 Gromila više Đardina; a) 1960 (Photo archive AMZD No. 1345 3920); b) remains of tumulus in 2020 (photo: J. Šućur)

ispruženi pokojnici već i oni spaljeni.⁵¹ Na više mjestu u tumulu ustanovljene su i pojedinačne ljudske kosti iako je teško definirati kojem su grobu one pripadale. Naime, prema fotografijama s istraživanja vidljivo je da kosturi obaju pokojnika nisu u idealnom stanju, iako je konstrukcija groba 2 bila netaknuta. Dakle, velika vjerojatnost je da su same kosti s vremenom dislocirane djelovanjem atmosferilija i životinja. Dapače, zbog takvog stanja očuvanosti osteoloških ostataka problematično je i zaključivati o položaju tijela samih pokojnika. Naime, iako Š. Batović navodi da je u grobu 1 bio zgrčeni, a u grobu 2 ispruženi pokojnik, prema fotografijama se čini kao da su kosti pokojnika u grobu 1 nabacane na jednu hrpu, dok su kosti u grobu 2 bile poprilično dislocirane (iako bi sama grobna struktura upućivala na to da je pokojnik doista bio ispružen). Na crtežu koji je napravljen tijekom istraživanja ovog tumula rasuti kosti definirani su kao ulomci lubanje te ulomci „cjevanice“, a pokojnici su iscrtani onako kako je opisano i u originalnoj publikaciji, kao zgrčenac i ispruženi pokojnik. Osim toga, u članku *Benkovački kraj u prapovijesti* Batović navodi da je u „humku na drugom položaju u Dobropoljcima, osim jednoga

toric period in general. Still, recent publications have certainly proved that such deviations were not unknown and that in prehistoric tumuli not only were the dead buried in a supine position, but also following incineration.⁵¹ Individual human bones have been identified in several places in the tumulus; however, it is difficult to define which grave they belonged to. Namely, according to the photographs from the research, it is evident that the skeletons of both deceased were poorly preserved, although the construction of grave 2 was intact. Thus, it is highly likely that the bones themselves were moved over time due to weathering factors and animal activity. Therefore, due to such poor condition of the osteological remains, any conclusion about the position of the bodies of the deceased is debatable. Although Batović stated that the deceased in grave 1 was in a contracted position and the deceased in grave 2 in a supine position, the photographs show the bones of the deceased in grave 1 put in a pile, and the bones in grave 2 scattered about (although the grave structure itself indicated that the deceased had indeed been in a supine position). In the drawing made during the excavation of this tumulus, the scattered bones were defined as skull and shin fragments,

⁵¹ S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 37 i d.; S. KUKOČ, 2009b, 51 i d.

⁵¹ S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 37 ff; S. KUKOČ, 2009b, 51 ff.

kostura u zgrčenom položaju, otkriven grob s ispruženim dječjim kosturom,...”⁵² S obzirom na to da je ovaj tumul jedini koji bi odgovarao tim karakteristikama, a i na fotografijama je grob s ispruženim pokojnikom manjih proporcija, mogla bi doista biti riječ o ukopu djeteta. Batović u nastavku teksta zaključuje da je to iznimna pojava u Liburna, iako izražava nesigurnost što se tiče same datacije u prapovijest. S obzirom na to da je grob 2 prema svojoj poziciji mogao biti i originalan, prvotni ukop u sam tumul (pri čemu bi onda željeznodobni grob 2 bio sekundarni ukop u plašt samog tumula), ali i naknadni ukop u samo dno tumula, datacija groba 2 mogla bi se protegnuti doista od prapovijesti pa do srednjeg vijeka, pogotovo ako se uzme u obzir da pokapanje djece na ovaj način u tumule nije bilo standardna praksa u željeznom dobu na ovom teritoriju.

Gromila više Ivkovića ograde (Ivkovića gromila, Nunička gromila, Gromila u gaju nuničkom)

Gromila više Ivkovića ograde bila je najveća od svih istraženih „gromila“ na prostoru Dobropoljaca te se nalazila na tromedi sela Dobropoljaca, Nunića i Bjeline. Izrađena od kamena, imala je promjer 19 – 21 m i visinu od 1,5 metara (T. X, a–c). Ovaj se tumul i danas jasno uočava ne samo u prostoru (T. X, e), kojim dominira svojom masivnošću i istaknutom lokacijom, već je i vrlo jasan reper na samim kartama. U ovom tumulu ustanovljena su dva groba, oba s pokojnicima u ispruženom položaju, pri čemu ni jedan od pokojnika nije imao grobne priloge, a nije nađena niti prapovijesna keramika u nanosu tumula.⁵³ Grob 1, koji je sadržavao ukop ispruženog pokojnika u jednostavnu jamu bez grobne konstrukcije, bio je smješten u jugozapadnom kvadrantu tumula, bliže njegovu središtu nego rubu i to na dubini

and the deceased were drawn as described in the original publication: one in a contracted position and the other in a supine position. In addition, in his article *Benkovac area in Prehistory* Batović mentioned that “beside the skeleton in a contracted position, a grave with a child's skeleton in a supine position was discovered in a mound at another location in Dobropoljci, ...”⁵² Given that this tumulus is the only one that could correspond to these characteristics, it could really be a child burial, since the photographs also show a grave with a deceased of smaller proportions in a supine position. Later in the text, Batović concluded that this was an exceptional phenomenon in Liburnia, although he expressed uncertainty regarding the dating to prehistory. The position of grave 2 implies that it could either represent the original burial in the tumulus itself (with the Iron Age grave 2 being a secondary burial in the outer layer of the tumulus), or a subsequent burial in the very bottom of the tumulus, allowing the dating of grave 2 to extend from prehistory to the Middle Ages, especially when taking into consideration that burying children in tumuli in this way was not a standard practice during the Iron Age in this area.

Gromila više Ivkovića ograde (Ivkovića gromila, Nunička gromila, Gromila u gaju nuničkom)

Gromila više Ivkovića ograde was the largest of all the excavated mounds (“gromila”) in the area of Dobropoljci and was located at the boundary between the villages of Dobropoljci, Nunić and Bjelina. Made of stone, it had a diameter of 19–21 m and a height of 1.5 m (T. X, a–c). This tumulus is still clearly visible not only in the area (T. X, e), predominant there by its size and prominent location, but also as a very clear landmark on maps. Two graves were identified in this tumulus, both with the deceased in a supine position, and with no grave goods or prehistoric

⁵² Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁵³ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 83.

⁵² Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

od 1 metra. Ostatci pokojnika bili su poprilično fragmentirani, ali je na fotografiji vidljivo da grob nije bio ukopan do temeljne razine samog tumula (T. XI, a-b). S druge strane, prema dostupnoj dokumentaciji vidljivo je da je grob 2 bio smješten gotovo u samom središtu tumula te je imao jasno definiranu grobnu konstrukciju od neobrađenog pločastog kamenja koja je bila ukopana u temeljni dio samog tumula. Sve bi to upućivalo na to da je grob 2 možda bio stariji ukop u samom tumulu, ali ga se zbog nedostatka priloga i specifične konstrukcije ne može jednoznačno pripisati određenom periodu. Osteološki ostaci u grobu 2 isto su tako loše očuvani i čini se da su tijekom vremena dislocirani iz originalnog položaja te su, vjerojatno djelovanjem atmosferilija i zbog pada samog terena, grupirani u sjevernom dijelu groba.

Na crtežu samog tumula vidljiva je i dodatna napomena da se grob 2 nalazio u sloju „crne zemlje sa kamenjem kao paljevinu“, koji se protezao od južnog ruba tumula preko središnjeg dijela prema sjevernom dijelu tumula (na crtežu nije nacrtana druga polovica tumula, ali taj se sloj očito nastavlja, no nije nam poznato gdje završava). Interpretacija te opaske je problematična. Naime, Batović u jednom članku kaže: „U jednom velikom humku na kršu između Dobropoljaca, Nunića i Bjeline, zvan Ivkovića ili Nunićka gromila, nađena su dva groba s ispruženim kosturom, ali bez priloga, a pokraj njih samo ostaci paljevine od posmrtnih obreda, pa, zbog nedostatka drugih kulturnih ostataka, nije moguće odrediti vrijeme njihova postanka.“⁵⁴ Na fotografijama se, nažalost, takva promjena u boji i strukturi zemlje ne može jasno definirati, pa je teško prosuditi je li riječ o tragovima rituala pri podizanju tumula. Također, iznenađujuće je što je u dokumentaciji dostupan samo crtež jedne polovice tumula. Dakako, moguće je da u drugoj polovici nisu nađeni grobovi ni nalazi pa je onda odlučeno da to nije potrebno crtati, ali

pottery found.⁵³ Grave 1, which contained the burial of the deceased in a simple pit without a grave structure, was located in the southwestern quadrant of the tumulus, closer to the centre than the edge, at a depth of one metre. The remains of the deceased were quite fragmented, but the photograph shows that the grave was not embedded into the foundation level of the tumulus itself (T. XI, a-b). On the other hand, the available documentation shows that grave 2 was located almost in the very centre of the tumulus and had a clearly defined grave structure made of unworked slab stones, which was embedded in the foundation of the tumulus itself. All this would indicate that grave 2 may have been an older burial in the actual tumulus, but due to the lack of enclosures and specific construction, it cannot be unambiguously attributed to a specific period. The osteological remains in grave 2 were also poorly preserved and appeared to have been moved from their original position over time. They were grouped in the northern part of the grave, probably due to weathering factors and the sinking of the terrain itself.

The drawing of the tumulus itself contains an additional note that grave 2 was located in a layer of “black soil with stones as incineration remains”, which stretched from the southern edge of the tumulus over its central part and northern part (the drawing does not contain the other half of the tumulus, but this layer obviously continues; however, it is not known where it ends). The interpretation of this remark is in question. Namely, in one article Batović wrote: “In a large mound in the karst area between Dobropolci, Nunić and Bjelina, called Ivković or Nunić gromila, two graves with skeletons in a supine position were found; however, no grave goods but only incineration remains from burial rites were found, therefore, it is not possible to determine the time of their origin due to the lack of other cultural finds”.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, such a change in the colour and structure of the

⁵⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁵³ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 83.

⁵⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

također je moguće, pogotovo uzimajući u obzir masivnost samog tumula, da taj dio nije u potpunosti istražen. Na fotografijama je vidljivo otvaranje samo jedne polovice tumula, što, dakako, može samo značiti da nije fotografirana finalna faza čišćenja, ali je ipak indikativno to što „paljevinski“ sloj nije ucrtan do kraja. Dodatno zbunjuje što je na crtežima nacrtana južna polovina tumula, dok je na fotografijama vidljivo istraživanje sjeveroistočne strane (T. X, a–c). Tijekom rekognosciranja obišli smo ostatke tumula. Južna polovica nanosa je kompaktnija te se na njoj nalazi samo devastacija u vidu nabacane hrpe kamena, dok je većina denivelacija na sjevernoj polovini (T. X, e), iz čega bi se moglo zaključiti kako je istražena sjeverna polovina, dok je južna intaktna. Sagledavajući dostupne podatke, ne može se sa sigurnošću utvrditi je li tumul istražen u cijelosti.

ANTROPOLOŠKA ANALIZA

Š. Batović navodi da je provedena antropološka analiza kostura iz Dobropoljaca te da je ustanovljeno „da su u njima bili ukopani djeca od 2 g., muškarci od 53 do preko 60 g. i žena od 20 do 30 g.“.⁵⁵ Nažalost, ovaj podatak nije dovoljno precizan kako bi se podaci mogli povezati s konkretnim ukopima. Batović se poziva na članak „Edynak, G., The Contribution of Iron Age Population from Nin to the Understanding of Ethnogenesis in Yugoslavia (u tisku)“ do kojeg usprkos višestrukim pokušajima nismo uspjeli doći.⁵⁶ U doktorskoj disertaciji u sklopu predslaven-

soil cannot be clearly identified in photographs, and it is, therefore, difficult to determine whether these are the traces of rituals during the erection of the tumuli. Also, it is surprising that only a drawing of one half of the tumulus is available in the documentation. It is certainly possible that no graves or finds were found in the second half, and it was therefore decided that such a drawing was not necessary, but it is also possible, especially considering the massiveness of the tumulus, that this part was not fully excavated. The photographs show the opening of only one half of the tumulus, which, of course, could just mean that the final phase of cleaning was not photographed, but it is still indicative that the “incineration” layer has not been fully represented in the drawings. It is further confusing that the southern half of the tumulus is represented in the drawings, while the photographs show excavation of the northeastern side (T. X, a–c). During the prospecting, we toured the remains of the tumulus. The southern half of the deposits is more compact and there is only devastation in the form of a pile of stones, while most of the differences in level are in the northern half (T. X, e), which could lead to the conclusion that the northern half was excavated, while the southern half has been left intact. Taking into consideration the available data, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the tumulus was completely excavated.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Š. Batović wrote that an anthropological analysis of the skeletons from Dobropoljci was carried out and that it was established that “children aged 2 years, men aged 53 to over 60 and a woman aged 20 to 30 had been buried there.”⁵⁵ Unfortunately, this information is not precise enough to link the data to specific burials. Batović referred to the article “y’Edynak, G., The Contribution of Iron Age Population

⁵⁵ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1990, 115.

⁵⁶ Čini se da do objave tog članka na kraju nije došlo jer njegov trag nije moguće naći u bibliografskim bazama, kao i u podatcima o Gloriji y’Edynak. U članku *A Test of a Migration Hypothesis: Slavic Movements into the Karst Region of Yugoslavia* autorica objašnjava kako je došlo do rada na materijalu s prostora Jugoslavije, te navodi kako je njezina neobjavljena disertacija dostupna u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu, pa smo i preko nje pokušali doznati antropološke karakteristike pojedinih pokojnika. G. Y’EDYNAK, 1976, 427.

⁵⁵ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1990, 115.

skog uzorka autorica samo kratko spominje lubanje iz Dobropoljaca, koje je uočila slobodno izložene u prostoriji gdje je obavljala analizu kostura iz Nina. Prema podacima koje joj je pružio J. Medini, one su potjecale iz željeznodobnih grobova 1 i 2 iz tumula Lovačke glavice (Humak 6), no y'Edynak ne navodi daljnje podatke.⁵⁷ Kako se u antropološkoj analizi osteoloških ostataka s više nalazišta s područja Zadarske županije koja je obavljena u laboratoriju Antropološkog centra Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu navode i dva groba označena signaturama *Dobropoljci Grob 1* i *Dobropoljci Grob 2* (*Humak 6*), pretpostavljamo kako je riječ upravo o grobovima koje y'Edynak spominje u disertaciji. Od ostataka iz groba 1 očuvala se lubanja i fragment lakatne kosti muškarca doživljene starosti između 30 i 45 godina, a od muškarca doživljene starosti između 40 i 60 godina očuvana je donja čeljust, više kostiju trupa, te pojedine kosti udova.⁵⁸

Antropološki su podatci koje možemo iščitati iz crteža i fotografija naravno ograničeni, a dodatno produbljuju ovu problematiku. U obama su grobovima s lokaliteta Greblje pokopani odrasli muškarci. Pokojnik iz groba 1 doživio je minimalno 40, a onaj iz groba 2 minimalno 45 godina. Pokojnik iz groba 1 s lokaliteta Gromila više Ivkovića ograde također je muškarac, doživljene starosti između 20 i 45 godina, dok se za ostatke iz groba 2 može reći samo kako pripadaju odrasloj osobi, a čini se kako je riječ o najmanje dvjema osobama jer se lisne kosti pojavljuju dva puta. Što se tiče grobova iz tumula Gromile više Đardina, u grobu 1 sahranjena je odrasla osoba, zbog robusnosti kostiju vjerojatnije muškarac, a u grobu 2 dјete doživljene starosti između 1 i 3 godine. O tim grobovima imamo najviše podataka, ali su oni očito proturječni, a uzimajući u obzir i sumarne Batovićeve podatke, očito je došlo do

⁵⁷ Ovdje smo ispravili pojedine očito pogrešno zapisane nazive („Dr. Medina“, „Lovačka Glavitca“). G. Y'EDYNAK, 1974, 153.

⁵⁸ M. ŠLAUS, Ž. BEDIĆ, V. VYROUBAL, 2017, 150–151.

from Nin to the Understanding of Ethnogenesis in Yugoslavia (in press)" which, despite multiple attempts, we were unable to obtain.⁵⁶ In her doctoral dissertation, in the section covering pre-Slavic patterns, she only briefly mentioned skulls from Dobropoljci, which she noticed freely exhibited in the room where she analysed the skeletons from Nin. According to the information provided to her by J. Medina, they originated from Iron Age graves 1 and 2 of the Lovačka glavica tumulus (Mound 6), but y'Edynak did not provide further data.⁵⁷ Since anthropological analysis of osteological remains from several sites in Zadar County that was performed in the laboratory of the Anthropological Centre of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb mentioned two graves marked *Dobropoljci Grave 1* and *Dobropoljci Grave 2* (*Mound 6*), we assume that those are precisely the graves mentioned by y'Edynak in her dissertation. The preserved remains from grave 1 include the skull and a fragment of the ulna of a man aged between 30 and 45, and the jawbone, several bones of the trunk and individual limb bones from a man aged between 40 and 60.⁵⁸

The anthropological data that we can read from the drawings and photographs are of course limited, and they further complicate this issue. Adult men were buried in both graves from the Greblje site. The deceased from grave 1 lived for at least 40 years, and the one from grave 2 for at least 45 years. The deceased from grave 1 of the Gromila više Ivkovića ograde site is also a man, aged between 20 and 45, while the remains

⁵⁶ It seems that this article was not published in the end because it cannot be found in bibliographic databases, nor in the data on Gloria y'Edynak. In the article *A Test of a Migration Hypothesis: Slavic Movements into the Karst Region of Yugoslavia* the author explained how the work on the material from Yugoslavia came about, and stated that her unpublished dissertation is available at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo, and that was another possibility for us in order to try to find out the anthropological characteristics of the deceased. G. Y'EDYNAK, 1976, 427.

⁵⁷ Here we have corrected some obviously misspelled names ("Dr. Medina", "Lovačka Glavitca"). G. Y'EDYNAK, 1974, 153.

⁵⁸ M. ŠLAUS, Ž. BEDIĆ, V. VYROUBAL, 2017, 150-151.

zbrke u oznakama, a možda i miješanja osteoloških podataka s drugih lokaliteta.⁵⁹

ISTRAŽIVANJA U DOBROPOLJ-CIMA U KONTEKSTU NOVIJIH ISTRAŽIVANJA U SJEVERNOJ DALMACIJI

Na osnovi prethodno iznesenih podataka razvidno je da postoje brojne varijacije u konstrukciji grobova, tipu ukopa, strukturi, pa čak i funkciji tumula. Naime, polovica tumula koji su istraženi uopće nisu ni sadržavali grobove niti ikakve ljudske ostatke (Djakova gromila, Glavica više kuće popove i dva tumula na lokaciji Glavica više zidina), iako bi na njihovu dataciju u prapovijesni period upućivali ulomci keramike koji su pronađeni rasuti u samoj strukturi nasipa tumula. Ti tumuli svakako bi mogli obavljati funkciju kenotafa, što i Š. Batović prepostavlja,⁶⁰ ali su u isto vrijeme mogli služiti i u druge ritualne svrhe, ili čak imati funkciju nepovezanu sa sepulkralnim značenjem (markacija prostora, obrambena funkcija ili čak obična gromača). S obzirom na to da su tri takva tumula bila grupirana na užem prostoru i to na istaknutoj lokaciji na krškoj kosi, mogućnost da su služili kao oznaka određenog teritorija zajednice svakako se treba uzeti u obzir, pogotovo u svjetlu već navedene problematike opsega teritorija zajednice Alverita, a u istom kontekstu treba spomenuti i Gromilu više Ivkovića ograde koja zahvaljujući svojem istaknutom položaju i danas čini tromeđu triju katastarskih općina. Isto tako, već je prije navedeno da je Djakova gomila vjerojatno služila kao obrambeni tumul same gradine Jaruv. Ipak, tumul na lokaciji Glavica više kuće popove imao je ogradni zid, što bi upućivalo

from grave 2 can only be identified as belonging to an adult, and it seems that there were at least two individuals buried there because two fibulae were found. As for the graves from the Gromila više Đardina tumulus, in grave 1 an adult was buried, on the evidence of the robustness of the bones more likely a man, and in grave 2 a child of between 1 and 3 years of age. These are the graves for which there is the most data, but it is clearly contradictory, and taking into account Batović's summary data, there was obviously confusion in labelling, and perhaps a mix-up with the osteological data from other sites.⁵⁹

RESEARCH IN DOBROPOLJCI IN THE CONTEXT OF RECENT RESEARCH IN NORTHERN DALMATIA

On the basis of the previously presented data, it is evident that there are numerous variations in the grave construction, the type of burial, the structure and even the function of the tumuli. Namely, half of the tumuli that have been excavated did not contain graves or any human remains at all (Djakova gromila, Glavica više kuće popove and two tumuli at the Glavica više zidina site), although their dating to prehistoric times would be indicated by the fragments of pottery found scattered in the actual structure of the tumulus layers. These tumuli could certainly have been cenotaphs, as Batović assumed,⁶⁰ but at the same time they could have served other ritual purposes or even have a function unrelated to a sepulchral significance (spatial delimitation, defensive function or even a type of dry wall). Given that three such tumuli were grouped in a narrower area at a prominent location on the

⁵⁹ Na primjer, Batović govori o djeci (mnogočina), dok je u dokumentaciji zabilježen samo jedan dječji grob. Isto tako, spominju se ostaci odraslih muškaraca iz humka 6, ali u dokumentaciji je kao humak 6 označena Gromila više Đardina koja ima ukop djeteta. Antropološki podatci prema priopćenju Ž. Bedić.

⁶⁰ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁵⁹ For example, Batović talked about children (plural), while only one child grave was recorded in the documentation. Also, the remains of adult men from Mound 6 were mentioned, but in the documentation, Mound 6 was marked as the Gromila više Đardina tumulus, which contained the burial of a child. Anthropological data according to the statement of Ž. Bedić.

⁶⁰ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

na veću pozornost posvećenu izgradnji samog tumula i time indiciralo njegovo ritualno/sepulkralno značenje. Naime, pojava takvih ogradnih zidova odavno je poznata u prapovijesnim tumulima Liburnije i o njihovoj se funkciji već naširoko raspravljalio, a velika je vjerojatnost da je ona bila i ritualna i praktična.⁶¹ Obzid bi tako razdvajao svijet mrtvih od svijeta živih, ali je isto tako sprječavao osipanje kamena i omogućavao da se tumul može brže nasuti. Dapače, ustanovljene su i situacije kad su tumuli imali i više takvih obzida,⁶² a u Ninu, Nadinu, Dragišiću i na Drvišići kraj Karlobaga ustanovljeni su liburnski grobovi na ravnom koji su imali takav kameni krug.⁶³

Ostala četiri tumula (Greblje, Gromila više Greda, Gromila više Đardina, Gromila više Ivkovića ograda) sveukupno su sadržavala sedam grobova, po dva groba u tri tumula i jedan tumul sa samo jednim ukopom. Grobovi su imali različitu orijentaciju, konstrukcija groba postojala je kod pet grobova (kamene škrinje od uglavnog neobrađenih ili blago obrađenih kamenih ploča), a dva ukopa nisu imala nikakvu grobnu konstrukciju. Za većinu pokojnika može se s određenom sigurnosti zaključiti da su pokopani u ispruženom položaju, a samo za jedan se ukop može reći da je pokopan u zgrčenom položaju i upravo je taj ukop imao i jedini prilog koji je ustanovljen u svih osam tumula. Upravo je taj podatak o samo jednom „zgrčencu“ u ovom kontekstu zanimljiv. Naime, po tvrdnjama Š. Batovića, ali i brojnih kasnijih prapovjesničara, Liburni su u željeznom dobu pokapali isključivo zgrčene pokojnike, a običaj pokapanja ispruženih pokojnika preuzeli su u kasnom razdoblju i pojavitom Rimskog

karst slope, the possibility that they served as the marking of a particular territory of the community should certainly be considered, especially in light of the already mentioned issues of the territory covered by Alverite community, and in the same context, we should mention Gromila više Ivkovića ograda, which, thanks to its prominent position, still represents the boundary between the three cadastral municipalities. It has also already been mentioned that Djakova gomila probably served as a defensive tumulus of the Jaruv hill fort itself. Nevertheless, the tumulus at the Glavica više kuće popove site had a boundary wall, which would indicate greater attention paid to the construction of the tumulus itself and thus indicate its ritual/sepulchral significance. Namely, the presence of such walls has long been known in the prehistoric tumuli of Liburnia and their function has already been widely discussed, and it is very likely that it was both ritual and practical.⁶¹ The wall would thus separate the world of the dead from the world of the living, but it also prevented the dispersal of stones and allowed the tumulus to be built more quickly. There were even situations when tumuli had several such walls established,⁶² and in Nin, Nadin, Dragišić and Drvišića near Karlobag, Liburnian graves were identified on flat ground that had such stone circles around them.⁶³

The other four tumuli (Greblje, Gromila više Greda, Gromila više Đardina, Gromila više Ivkovića ograda) contained a total of seven graves, two graves in three tumuli and one tumulus with only one burial. The graves had different orientations, grave structure existed in five graves (stone chests of mostly unworked or slightly worked stone slabs), and two burials did not have any grave structure. For most of the

⁶¹ Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 30–35. V. i tamo citiranu literaturu.

⁶² Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 30. U sklopu tumula Matakove glavice pronađena je i cijelokupna kameni platforma za grob na koju je onda nanesena zemlja. K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2009, 344 i d.

⁶³ Za Nin v. Z. BRUSIĆ, 2002, 217 i d., za Nadin v. S. KUKOČ, 2011, 202, za Dragišić v. Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, 6 i d., a za Drvišiću v. V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 451–452.

⁶¹ Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 30–35. See also literature cited there.

⁶² Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 30. As part of the Matakova Glavica tumulus, an entire stone platform for the grave was found, on which soil was then deposited. K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2009, 344 ff.

⁶³ For Nin see Z. BRUSIĆ, 2002, 217 ff., for Nadin see S. KUKOČ, 2011, 202, for Dragišić see Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, 6 ff., and for Drvišića see V. GLAVAŠ, 2015, 451–452.

Carstva.⁶⁴ U skladu s takvim navodima većina ovih ukopa ne bi se mogla pripisati liburnskoj populaciji. Ipak, recentna istraživanja dokazala su da, iako je ukop u zgrčenom položaju doista bio najčešći, ispruženi pokojnici nisu bili nemogući, već su se povremeno javljali i nisu nužno morali biti povezani s mlađim željeznim dobom.⁶⁵ Jedan od najboljih dokaza za to jesu tumuli istraženi u blizini Nadina, u kojima su ustanovljeni brojni ukopi, neki sa zgrčenim pokojnicima, neki s ispruženim, a povremeno čak i sa spaljenim pokojnicima. U tumulu 13 dio takvih ukopa s ispruženim pokojnicima pripada samom početku željeznog doba, a zanimljivo je i da su bili smješteni uz rub humka u svojevrsnoj koncentričnoj shemi.⁶⁶ Poneki od takvih ispruženih ukopa mogu se pronaći i u helenističkim grobnicama za koje se smatra da su nastale pod grčkim utjecajem (Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica), u sklopu cele u Nadinu, kao i u ukopima u sjevernom dijelu Liburnije (Kastav, Grobnik).⁶⁷ Ipak, većina grobova u kojima se javljaju ovakvi ukopi ima različite grobne strukture i priloge (ovisno o lokalitetu na kojem su pronađeni), tako da je zaključivanje o samim analogijama itekako otežano. Osim toga, Liburni su pojavom Rima prvo preuzeli običaj spaljivanja, a inhumacija u ispruženom položaju jest običaj koji je stekao popularnost tek u kasnijim razdobljima, osobito nakon 3. stoljeća.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84; Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 355 i d.; N. ČONDIĆ, M. VUKOVIĆ, 2019, 22; S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 38: „Pokapanje pokojnika u ispruženom položaju uglavnom se smještalo u mlađa razdoblja liburnske kulture (4. – 1. st. pr. Kr.), i kasnije, u doba poodmakle romanizacije...“; v. također i tamo navedenu literaturu.

⁶⁵ S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 42; S. KUKOĆ, 2011, 202.

⁶⁶ S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 37–42. Dapaće, u humku 13 ustanovljeno je 11 zgrčenih, 6 ispruženih i 2 spaljena pokojnika koji se datiraju u starije željezno doba. S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 42. V. još i S. KUKOĆ, 2009b, 58 i d.

⁶⁷ Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356 i d.; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 81 i d.; Za Veliku Mrdakovicu v. M. BLEČIĆ-KAVUR, E. PODRUG, 2014, 84 i d.; T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2018, 36 i d., za Dragišić v. Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, 8 i d., za Nadin v. S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 62; S. KUKOĆ, M. ČELHAR, 2019, 23, a za Grobnik i Kastav v. M. BLEČIĆ, 2002, 65 i d.; M. BLEČIĆ, 2004, 82 i tamo navedenu literaturu.

⁶⁸ Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 622 i d. V. i tamo navedenu literaturu.

deceased it could be concluded with some certainty that they were buried in a supine position, and only one can be said to have been buried in a contracted position, and this burial had the only grave good found in all eight tumuli. The fact that only one deceased was buried in a contracted position is very interesting in this context. Namely, Š. Batović and also many later prehistorians claimed that the Liburnians had been burying their dead exclusively in a contracted position during the Iron Age, and the custom of burying the dead in a supine position was adopted in the later period and with the advent of the Roman Empire.⁶⁴ Consequently, most of these burials could not be attributed to the Liburnian population. Nevertheless, recent excavations have shown that, although burial of the deceased in a contracted position was indeed the most common, burials of a deceased in a supine position were not impossible, did occur occasionally and do not necessarily have to be associated with the Late Iron Age.⁶⁵ One of the best proofs for this are the tumuli excavated near Nadin, in which numerous burials have been identified, some of them with the deceased in a contracted position, some in a supine position, and some of them even having been incinerated. In tumulus 13, some such burials (with the deceased in a supine position) belong to the very beginning of the Iron Age, and it is interesting that they were located along the edge of a mound in a kind of concentric scheme.⁶⁶ Some of these supine burials can also be found in Hellenistic tombs, which are believed to have been made under Greek influence (Dragišić, Velika Mrdakovica), within a cella in Nadin, as well as in burials in the northern part of Liburnia (Kastav,

⁶⁴ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84; Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 355 ff.; N. ČONDIĆ, M. VUKOVIĆ, 2019, 22; S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 38: “The burial of the deceased in a supine position was mainly identified in the later periods of the Liburnian culture (4th – 1st century BC), and later, in the period of advanced Romanisation...”; see also the literature cited therein.

⁶⁵ S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 42; S. KUKOĆ, 2011, 202.

⁶⁶ S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 37–42. In fact, 11 deceased in a contracted position, 6 in a supine position and 2 incinerated deceased dated to the Early Iron Age were found in mound 13. S. KUKOĆ, 2009a, 42. See also S. KUKOĆ, 2009b, 58 ff.

Ovi tumuli bili su primarno sastavljeni od većeg i manjeg kamenja te time nisu odstupali od brončanodobnog i željeznodobnog standarda, osim tumula na lokaciji Greblje koji je bio napravljen od zemlje i kamenja, što se rjede javljalo na liburnskom teritoriju. Postupak izgradnje također se uklapao u uobičajenu praksu, koja se sastojala od poravnavanja tereina, polaganja ili ukapanja pokojnika u zdravcu i nanošenja materijala koji je onda tvorio humak.⁶⁹

Od rituala koji su se primjenjivali na ovim tumulima najčešće se javlja ritualno razbijanje keramičkih posuda iznad samih tumula, što je i jedan od najpoznatijih sepulkralnih rituала na liburnskom teritoriju, a koji bi se možda mogao povezati s pogrebnim gozbama ili libacijama tijekom samog pokopa, ali i nakon njega. Keramika koja je pronađena u sklopu tumula u Dobropoljcima bila je gruba i neobrađena, što je praksa koja se primjenjuje diljem Liburnije, pri čemu je prilaganje keramičkih posuda u same grobove, bar do mlađeg željeznog doba, bilo iznimno rijetko.⁷⁰ Ovdje treba istaknuti i pojavu spaljene zemlje koja je ustanovljena u tumulu Gromili više Ivkovića ograde, a koja bi se možda mogla pripisati prapovijesnom periodu, iako Batović u ovom pogledu izražava sumnju oko datacije samih ukopa i rituala, upravo jer su pokojnici bili u ispruženom položaju.⁷¹ Naime, pojava ritualne paljevine ustanovljena je u nekoliko tumula u Liburniji, ponekad u cijelom sloju, a ponekad uz kameni krug, odnosno obzid ili grob, a najčešće se ona pripisuje funerarnim gozbama, te time nije bila neobična za liburnski kulturni krug.⁷²

⁶⁹ Za više o tipičnim liburnskim tumulima v. Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 25 i d. kao i tamo navedenu literaturu.

⁷⁰ Za više o ritualu v. Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 358; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 34 i d.; D. VUJEVIĆ, 2011, 20. Za tipičnu keramiku iz grobova v. npr. Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, 9 i d.; S. KUKOČ, 2011, 203 i d.; S. KUKOČ, M. ČELHAR, 2019, 18 i d. i tamo navedenu literaturu.

⁷¹ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁷² S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 27, 33 i d.; S. KUKOČ, 2009b, 59 i d.; S. KUKOČ, 2010, 97 i d.; Primjeri su ustanovljeni u Ninu i

Grobnik).⁶⁷ However, most graves with such burials have different grave structures and enclosures (depending on the site where they were found), and this makes it very difficult to draw conclusions about the analogies. Besides, with the advent of Rome, the Liburnians first adopted the custom of incineration, and inhumation in a supine position became widespread only in later periods, especially after the 3rd century.⁶⁸

These tumuli were primarily composed of larger and smaller stones and thus did not deviate from Bronze and Iron Age norms, except for the tumulus at the Greblje site which was made of soil and stones, which occurred less frequently in the Liburnian territory. The construction process also corresponded with usual practice, which consisted of levelling the terrain, laying or burying the deceased into sterile soil, and depositing the material which then formed the mound.⁶⁹

Of the rituals used at these tumuli, the most common was the ritual of breaking ceramic vessels above the tumuli themselves, which is one of the most famous sepulchral rituals in the Liburnian territory, and which may be associated with funeral feasts or libations during and after the burial. The pottery found in the tumuli in Dobropolci was coarse and unprocessed, a practice used throughout Liburnia, while the placement of ceramic vessels in the graves themselves, at least until the Late Iron Age, was extremely rare.⁷⁰ Here we should also point out the appear-

⁶⁷ Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356 ff.; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 81 ff.; for Velika Mrdakovica see M. BLEČIĆ-KAVUR, E. PODRUG, 2014, 84 ff.; T. BRAJKOVIĆ, 2018, 36 ff., for Dragišić see Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, 8 ff., for Nadin see S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 62; S. KUKOČ, M. ČELHAR, 2019, 23, and for Grobnik and Kastav see M. BLEČIĆ, 2002, 65 ff.; M. BLEČIĆ, 2004, 82, and the literature cited therein.

⁶⁸ Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 622 ff. See also the literature cited therein.

⁶⁹ For more information on typical Liburnian tumuli see Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 356; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 25 ff. as well as the literature cited therein.

⁷⁰ For more on the ritual see Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 358; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83; S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 34 ff.; D. VUJEVIĆ, 2011, 20. For typical pottery from graves see, e.g., Z. BRUSIĆ, 2000, 9 ff.; S. KUKOČ, 2011, 203 ff.; S. KUKOČ, M. ČELHAR, 2019, 18 ff. and the literature cited therein.

Prema tome, datiranje samih tumula i grobova iznimno je problematično, iako Š. Batović u članku *Benkovački kraj u prapovijesti* poprilično samouvjereno zaključuje da su gotovo svi bili iz željeznog doba.⁷³ Naime, po većini tumula bila je rasuta prapovijesna keramika, ali ako je suditi prema navodima samog Š. Batovića, ta je keramika bila fragmentirana i gruba te se tek nekoliko formi moglo raspozнати i opisati, ali ne i uže datirati. U skladu s tim, sami su tumuli mogli biti napravljeni i u brončanom i u željeznom dobu, iako se nekako inercijom oni češće pripisuju liburnskoj populaciji. Osim toga, tumuli su na području Liburnije poznati i intenzivno korišteni i tijekom brončanog i željeznog doba, a nekoliko ih je datirano i u eneolitski period.⁷⁴ Ipak, s obzirom na to da u okolini tumula zasad nisu pronađeni drugi tragovi prapovijesnih aktivnosti, može se promišljati o tome da je fragmentiranje prapovijesne keramike bilo smisleni čin, a ne samo posljedica krčenja terena. Dakako, nalaz pinčete iz groba 1 u Gromili više Đardina datiran je u starije željezno doba i može poslužiti kao sigurna datacija groba u kojem je pronađen i možda samog tumula, ali ne i za sve tumule i grobove koji su ustanovljeni u Dobropoljcima. Indikacija da je riječ o željeznodobnom ukopu bilo bi i postojanje sloja oblutaka na koje je pokojnik položen, a što se ponekad javljalo u liburnskim grobovima, kao i pokojnikov zgrčen položaj.⁷⁵ Uz ovog pokojnika u zgrčenom položaju još bi se možda i za ispružene ukope koji su bili smješteni u središtu samih tumula i koji su bili ukopani ili položeni na zdravnicu moglo promišljati da pripadaju prapovijesnom

Nadinu. U sklopu tumula 13 iz Nadina ustanovljeni su tragovi tamne zemlje/paljevine ispod obzida i pojedinih grobova, a u tumulu 8, također iz Nadina, pronađena je takva zemlja ispod samog obzida, pri čemu je to kombinirano i s drugim ritualima poput razbijanja keramike. S. KUKOČ, 2009b, 59 i d.

⁷³ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 81, 109 i d.

⁷⁴ Za više o tome v. S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 18 i d. i tamo citiranu literaturu.

⁷⁵ Za više o korištenju oblutaka u liburnskim grobovima v. Š. BATOVIC, 1970, 42; Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 355; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83; M. PLOHL, 2018, 77.

ance of burnt soil found in the Gromila više Ivkovića ograda tumulus, which could perhaps be attributed to the prehistoric period, although Batović expressed his doubts regarding the dating of burials and rituals, precisely because the deceased were in a supine position.⁷¹ Namely, the occurrence of ritual incineration has been identified in several tumuli in Liburnia, sometimes in the whole layer, and sometimes along the stone circle, the wall or the grave, and most often it was attributed to funerary feasts, and thus would not be unusual for the Liburnian cultural sphere.⁷²

Therefore, the dating of the tumuli and graves themselves is extremely difficult, although in his article *Benkovac Area in Prehistory* Batović quite confidently concluded that almost all of them were from the Iron Age.⁷³ Namely, prehistoric pottery was scattered over most of the tumuli, but according to Batović's own account, this pottery was fragmented and rough, and only a few forms could be recognised and described, but were not possible to date. Accordingly, the tumuli themselves could have been made either during the Bronze or the Iron Age, although as a matter of course they are more often attributed to the Liburnian population. In addition, tumuli in the area of Liburnia were known and intensively used during the Bronze and Iron Age, and several of them have even been dated to the Eneolithic period.⁷⁴ Furthermore, given that no other traces of prehistoric activity have been found in the vicinity of the tumuli so far, it could be considered that the fragmentation of prehistoric pottery was a meaningful act, and not just a consequence of clearing the terrain. The finds of tweezers from grave 1 in Gromila više Dar-

⁷¹ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁷² S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 27, 33 ff.; S. KUKOČ, 2009b, 59 ff.; S. KUKOČ, 2010, 97 ff.; examples have been found in Nin and Nadin. Traces of dark soil/burn marks were found under the walls and some graves in tumulus 13 from Nadin, and in tumulus 8, also from Nadin, such soil was found under the walls, combined with other rituals such as the breaking of pottery. S. KUKOČ, 2009b, 59 ff.

⁷³ Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 81, 109 ff.

⁷⁴ For more information about this see S. KUKOČ, 2009a, 18 ff. and the literature cited there.

razdoblju, ali se za ostale ukope to ne može sa sigurnošću tvrditi.⁷⁶ Tako bi, na primjer, vjerojatni ukop djeteta u tumulu Gromili više Đardina mogao pripadati u kasnije ukope. Naime, u sklopu liburnskih nekropola, koliko je za sad poznato i publicirano, nisu pronađeni brojni ukopi djece, bilo u nekropole bilo tumule, odnosno takvih je nalaza iznimno malo i često se pripisuju mlađem željeznom dobu. Takvi su, na primjer, ukopi djece u parceli 1 na Nadinu (čak 22 djece), a ustanovljeni su i pojedinačni ukopi u velike keramičke posude u Ninu ili su djeca bila položena u zgrčenom položaju u manje škrinje od kamenih ploča (iako postoje i druge varijacije grobnih konstrukcija).⁷⁷ U ovom tumulu u Dobropoljcima dijete je, pak, bilo pokopano samo, u grobu od kamenih ploča, i to u ispruženom položaju, a određene sličnosti mogle bi se uočiti i u recentnom nalazu na lokalitetu Velim – Kosa, gdje je u sklopu tumula 1 pronađen dječji grob unutar površinskog kamenog plašta tumula (a koji je datiran u mlađe razdoblje).⁷⁸

Dakle, nepovezano s vremenom nastanka samih tumula, grobovi u njima nisu nužno morali biti napravljeni u isto vrijeme. U kontekstu toga ističe se i grob 2 iz tumula na Greblju, a već je i sam Batović uočio njegovu specifičnu strukturu i položaj. Naime, pokojnik je pokopan u ispruženom položaju, njegovi su ostatci najbolje anatomske sačuvani od svih pokojnika iz ovdje istraženih tumula, a konstrukcija groba bila je izrađena od bolje obrađenih kamenih ploča, te je ona devastirala već postojeći (prapovijesni?) ukop. Batović za

⁷⁶ Batović čak zaključuje da su ukopi pokojnika u zdravici ispod razine tumula, a koji se javljaju u Dobropoljcima, iznimka za sjevernu Dalmaciju. Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁷⁷ Za ukope djece kod Liburna v. Š. BATOVIC, 1956, 206 i d.; Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 355; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83; N. ČONDIĆ, M. VUKOVIĆ, 2019, 22. Nekoliko recentnijih nalaza ukopa djece u manje kamene škrinje ustanovljeno je i na Nadinu, za više v. S. KUKOČ, M. ČELHAR, 2019, 23; I. ANTERIĆ et al., 2011, 145 i d. Svakako u tom kontekstu treba razmatrati i činjenicu da su dječji ostatci podložniji propadanju i često se ne prepoznaju, pogotovo ako je riječ o grobnicama s višestrukim ukopima.

⁷⁸ N. ČONDIĆ, 2015, 514.

dina was dated to the Early Iron Age and could serve as a reliable dating of the grave and also possibly of the tumulus in which it was found, though not for all tumuli and graves identified in Dobropoljci. The layer of pebbles on which the deceased was laid, along with the deceased's contracted position, could also indicate that this was an Iron Age burial, due to the fact that this occasionally occurred in Liburnian graves.⁷⁵ The deceased found in a contracted position as well as the ones in a supine position found in the centre of the tumuli, who were buried or laid into sterile soil, might possibly be considered to belong to the prehistoric period, but this could not be said with certainty for the other burials.⁷⁶ Thus, for example, the probable burial of a child in the Gromila više Đardina tumulus could belong to later burials. Namely, in Liburnian necropolises, as far as is known and published, not many burials of children have been found, either in necropolises or tumuli: such findings are extremely rare and are frequently attributed to the Late Iron Age. Such are, for example, the burials of children in plot 1 on Nadin (as many as 22 children), and also individual burials in large ceramic vessels were identified in Nin or the children were laid in contracted positions in smaller chests made of stone slabs (although there are other variations of grave structures).⁷⁷ In this tumulus in Dobropoljci, the child was buried alone, in a grave made of stone slabs, in a supine position, and certain similarities could be

⁷⁵ For more information on the use of pebbles in the Liburnian graves see Š. BATOVIC, 1970, 42; Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 355; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83; M. PLOHL, 2018, 77.

⁷⁶ Batović even concluded that the burials of the deceased into sterile soil below the level of the tumulus, which occur in Dobropoljci, were an exception in northern Dalmatia. Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83.

⁷⁷ For the burial of Liburnian children see Š. BATOVIC, 1956, 206 ff.; Š. BATOVIC, 1987, 355; Š. BATOVIC, 1990, 83; N. ČONDIĆ, M. VUKOVIĆ, 2019, 22. There are several recent discoveries of children having been buried in smaller stone chests on Nadin also, for more see S. KUKOČ, M. ČELHAR, 2019, 23; I. ANTERIĆ et al., 2011, 145 ff. Certainly, in this context, it should be taken into consideration that children's remains are more susceptible to decay and are often not recognised as such, especially in the case of graves with multiple burials.

ovaj grob zaključuje da se može datirati u kasnu antiku i navodi da su u okolini pronađeni i drugi grobovi sličnog tipa, ali na nekropoli na ravnom, koja se isto tako može pripisati antici.⁷⁹ Takva okolnost, odnosno prisutnost veće kasnoantičke nekropole, mogla bi objasniti ovaj ukop u tumulu, ali nažalost, tijekom rekognosciranja koje smo proveli 2014. godine nismo uspjeli jasno identificirati lokaciju takve nekropole.⁸⁰ Nadalje, zbog nedostatka ikakvih priloga, a u svjetlu novijih istraživanja srednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih sekundarnih ukopa u prapovijesne tumule,⁸¹ ne može se sa sigurnošću zaključiti da je kasna antika najkasnija moguća datacija ovih grobova, iako analogije za ovakve kasnoantičke ukope postoje. Naime, sigurno dokazani kasnoantički grobovi ukopani u tumule pronađeni su na trima lokalitetima na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije, a to su Kašić – Glavčurak, Privlaka – Škornica i Podvršje – Matakova glavica, dok se analogije mogu pronaći i na širem teritoriju, uključujući i današnju Bosnu i Hercegovinu.⁸²

Nekropola na lokalitetu Glavčurak u Kašiću većim je dijelom uništena prije arheoloških istraživanja, a njima je istraženo deset grobova datiranih u 6. stoljeće na osnovi grobnih nalaza. Jedan od tih grobova nalazio se na rubu pješčanog tumula na južnom dijelu lokaliteta. Pokojnici su ukopani u grobne rake, te nisu zabilježeni tragovi kamene grobne arhitekture.⁸³

Na tumulu Škornici sekundarni grobovi datirani su u 5. i 1. polovicu 6. stoljeća na osnovi srebrenе fibule u obliku ptice iz groba 1 i željezne predice s ravno odsječenom bazom

seen in the recent discovery at the Velim–Kosa site, where within tumulus 1 a child grave was found within the surface of the tumulus stone outer layer (which is dated to a later period).⁷⁸

Thus, regardless of the time of the formation of the tumuli themselves, the graves in them did not necessarily have to be made at the same time. In this context, grave 2 from the tumulus on Greblje stands out, and Batović himself had already noticed its specific structure and position. Namely, the deceased was buried in a supine position, and his remains are the best anatomically preserved of all the deceased from the tumuli investigated here, with the construction of the grave being made of worked stone slabs, which devastated the existing (prehistoric?) burial. Batović concluded that this tomb could be dated to late antiquity and mentioned that other graves of a similar type had been found in the vicinity, but on a flat necropolis, which can also be attributed to antiquity.⁷⁹ Such a circumstance (the presence of a larger late antique necropolis), could explain this burial in the tumulus, but unfortunately, during the prospecting we conducted in 2014, we were unable to clearly identify the location of such a necropolis.⁸⁰ Furthermore, due to the lack of any enclosures, and in light of recent research on medieval and modern era secondary burials in prehistoric tumuli,⁸¹ it cannot be concluded with certainty that late antiquity is the latest possible dating of these grave, although analogies for such late antique burials exist. Namely, graves embedded in tumuli, which were with certainty dated to late antiquity, were found at three sites in northern Dalmatia, Kašić–Glavčurak, Privlaka–Škornica and Podvršje–Matakova glavica, while analogies

⁷⁹ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84.

⁸⁰ Damira Punoša, jednog od vlasnika terena u podnožju gradine na kojima smo proveli rekognosciranje, pukom slučajnošću srelj smo kraj lokalne crkve sv. Georgija pa nas je on sam odveo na pretpostavljenu lokaciju tumula. U razgovoru je napomenuo da je na svojoj njivi davno našao jedan grob s inhumiranim pokojnikom, ali više od toga nije mogao precizirati.

⁸¹ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a.

⁸² Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 527; A KURILIĆ, Z. SERVENTI, 2018, 452 i d. V. i tamo navedenu literaturu.

⁸³ J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1968, 223–241.

⁷⁸ N. ČONDIĆ, 2015, 514.

⁷⁹ Š. BATOVIC, 1960, 84;

⁸⁰ We met Damir Punoš, one of the owners of the plot at the foot of the hill fort where the prospecting was being conducted, by chance near the local church of St. George, and he personally took us to the presumed location of the tumulus. During our conversation, he mentioned that he had found a grave with a buried deceased person in his field a long time ago, but he could not be more specific about that discovery.

⁸¹ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a.

trna iz groba 3.⁸⁴ Najveći dio grobova ima kamenu grobnu arhitekturu koja se uglavnom sastoji od okomito postavljenih neobrađenih kamenih ploča različite debljine, dopunjenih različitim manjim kamenom, dok je manji dio djelomično okružen kamenom što može biti i posljedica lošije očuvanosti. Naime, navedeni grobovi nalaze se u površinskom sloju zemljanih tumula s kamenom jezgrom, i to na jugozapadnoj četvrtini, ili pored samog tumula, te su bili izloženi devastiranju tijekom poljoprivrednih i drugih aktivnosti. Stoga se o pokrovu grobova može suditi samo na osnovi nekoliko slučajeva gdje su se djelomično očuvale neobrađene kamene ploče.⁸⁵ Sudeći po bolje očuvanim grobovima, mogli bismo govoriti o relativnoj uniformnosti grobne arhitekture.

S druge strane, na tumulu Matakovoj glavici, u Podvršju u vrijeme kasne antike datirana su četiri groba koja pokazuju potpunu raznolikost u oblikovanju grobne arhitekture. Arhitekturu groba 2 čine tanke kamene ploče oblikovane poput korita, a gornji dio groba nije se očuvao zbog ranosrednjovjekovnog ukopa na istom mjestu. Grob 3 bio je prekriven neobrađenim kamenim pločama, dok su bočne strane zidane od manjeg kamenja i tegula povezanih žbukom. Grob 4 je ovalna jama uz koju su pronađena četiri neobrađena kamena, a u zapuni ulomci tegula te željezni nož i alka. Grob 5, koji se nalazio neposredno uz grob 3, bio je prekriven dvjema kamenim pločama, što je jedini trag kamene arhitekture, dok je u zapuni bilo nekoliko neobrađenih komada kamena, trag željeznog predmeta te fragmenti tegula. Matakova glavica je zemljani tumul, a kasnoantički grobovi datirani u 4. i 5. stoljeće nalazili su se po sredini nanosa.⁸⁶

Kasnoantički grobovi u takvim tumulima uglavnom su rađeni od kamenih ploča koje se upotrebljavaju i u Dobropoljcima, ali na lokitetu u Podvršju javljaju se i zidani grobovi s

can be found in the wider area, including present day Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸²

The necropolis at the Glavčurak site in Kašić was largely destroyed even before the archaeological excavations, during which ten graves were excavated that were dated to the 6th century based on the grave finds. One of these graves was located on the edge of a sand tumulus in the southern part of the site. The deceased were buried in grave pits, and no traces of stone grave architecture have been found.⁸³

On the Škornica tumulus, the secondary graves were dated to the 5th and first half of the 6th century on the basis of a silver fibula in the shape of a bird found in grave 1 and an iron belt buckle with a straight cut tongue base found in grave 3.⁸⁴ Most of the graves have stone grave architecture, which mainly consists of vertically placed unworked stone slabs of different thickness, with various smaller stones added, and only a smaller part is partially surrounded by stone, which may be a consequence of poor preservation. These graves were located in the surface layer of a soil tumulus with a stone centre, in the southwestern quarter, or next to the tumulus itself, and were subject to destruction during agricultural and other activities. Therefore, the grave covers can only be assessed on the basis of a few cases where untreated stone slabs have been partially preserved.⁸⁵ Judging by the better-preserved graves, we could speak of the relative uniformity of the grave architecture.

On the other hand, there are four graves found on the Matakova glavica tumulus in Podvršje and dated to late antiquity, which show complete diversity in the design of grave architecture. The architecture of grave 2 consists of thin stone slabs shaped like troughs, but the upper part of the grave has not been preserved due to an early mediaeval burial in the same spot. Grave 3 was covered with unworked stone slabs, while

⁸² Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 527; A KURILIĆ, Z. SERVENTI, 2018, 452 ff. See also the literature cited therein.

⁸³ J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1968, 223-241.

⁸⁴ T. FABIJANIĆ, 2008, 269; J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 68.

⁸⁵ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015b, 6-20.

⁸⁴ T. FABIJANIĆ, 2008, 269; J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 68.

⁸⁵ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015b, 6-20.

⁸⁶ K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012b, 157-170.

kamenim pločama kao poklopnicama te ukop u jamu dijelom okruženu kamenjem. Na obama ovim lokalitetima grobovi su bili koncentrirani u nasipu tumula, te su za oba postojali navodi lokalnog stanovništva da su na obližnjim parcelama postojali grobovi, čime bi ti ukopi zapravo organski pripadali nekoj većoj nekropoli. Osim toga, ovi su se tumuli svojom monumentalnošću jamačno isticali u prostoru te su time bili i svojevrsni reperi kojima se lokalno stanovništvo kontinuirano koristilo i s kojima su se povezivale legende i priče.⁸⁷ Za raspravu o korištenju i razlozima sekundarnih kasnoantičkih ukopa bitan je i podatak o ranokršćanskom svetištu koje je ustanovljeno na Podvršju.⁸⁸ Naime, za period 5. i 6. stoljeća jedan od preduvjeta za nastanak nekropole bilo je postojanje crkve pa bi se takva situacija mogla očekivati i na drugim lokalitetima na kojima su ustanovljeni sekundarni kasnoantički ukopi.⁸⁹

Ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi povezani s tumulima sjeverne Dalmacije zabilježeni su na pet lokaliteta: Nin – Materiza, Duševića i Jokina glavica u Krnezi, te već spomenuti Podvršje – Matakova glavica i Kašić – Glavčurak.

J. Belošević objavio je istraživanja zemljjanog humka Materize kod Nina, te je 25 grobova datirao u 8. stoljeće. Riječ je o grobovima u običnim zemljanim rakama ili s uporabom neobrađenog kamena, u većoj ili manjoj mjeri, no svi se ti grobovi nalaze uza sam tumul, a ne na njemu. Na samom tumulu nalaze se tri ukopa bez tragova grobne arhitekture, za koje je smatrao kako „najvjerojatnije potječu iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka, a nije isključeno da su čak recentni“.⁹⁰

Na već spomenutom lokalitetu Glavčurak, uz grobove iz vremena seobe naroda, istraženo je i 15 rano-srednjovjekovnih grobova. Dva groba u zemljanim rakama bez tragova kamene

the sides were built of smaller stones and tegulae held together by mortar. Grave 4 is an oval pit next to which four unworked stones were found, and in the contents of the grave were fragments of tegulae and an iron knife and ring. Grave 5, located directly next to grave 3, was covered with two stone slabs, which represent the only stone architecture found, while inside the grave there were several unworked pieces of stone, a trace of an iron object and fragments of tegulae. Matakova glavica is a soil tumulus, and late antique graves dated to the 4th and 5th centuries were found in the middle of the deposit.⁸⁶

Late antique graves in such tumuli were mostly made of the kind of stone slabs that were also used in Dobropoljci, but at the site in Podvršje there are also masonry graves with stone slabs as covers and a burial in a pit partly surrounded by stones. At both of these sites, the graves were concentrated in the layers of the tumulus, and there were claims by the local population concerning both sites that there were graves on nearby plots, which would actually make these burials, organically, belong to a larger necropolis. In addition, these tumuli certainly stood out in the area by their scale, and thus represented a kind of landmark that the local population used continuously and with which legends and stories were associated.⁸⁷ The information about the early Christian sanctuary that was established in Podvršje is also important for the discussion on the use and reasons for secondary late antique burials.⁸⁸ Namely, in the 5th and 6th century, one of the preconditions for the creation of a necropolis was the existence of a church, therefore such a situation could be expected in other localities where secondary late antique burials were identified.⁸⁹

Early mediaeval graves related to tumuli of northern Dalmatia have been recorded at five sites: Nin – Materiza, Duševića and Jokina glav-

⁸⁷ J. ŠUĆUR, 2017, 117.

⁸⁸ A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2004.

⁸⁹ Za više o kasnoantičkim nekropolama na prostoru Liburnije v. Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 513 i d.

⁹⁰ J. BELOŠEVĆ, 1973.

⁸⁶ K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012b, 157-170.

⁸⁷ J. ŠUĆUR, 2017, 117.

⁸⁸ A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2004.

⁸⁹ For more on the late antique necropolises in Liburnia, see Z. SERVENTI, 2014, 513 ff.

grobne arhitekture predstavljaju ukope starijeg ranosrednjovjekovnog horizonta. Preostalih 13 grobova nađeni su u višem sloju, a grobna im se arhitektura sastoji od vertikalno postavljenih kamenih ploča oko pokojnika, a kod pojedinih i horizontalno postavljenih ploča pokrova i/ili dna groba, te pripadaju mlađem ranosrednjovjekovnom horizontu. Horizonti se razlikuju i po nalazima, te je J. Belošević stariji horizont datirao u drugu polovicu 8. i prvu polovicu 9. stoljeća, a mlađi od 9. do 11. stoljeća.⁹¹

Dva horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova istražena su i na tumulu Jokinoj glavici, gdje je stariji horizont datiran u 8. i prvu polovicu 9. stoljeća, a mlađi u 9. stoljeće. I ovdje se horizonti razlikuju stratigrafskim položajem (mlađi su viši), načinom gradnje (mlađi imaju kamenu grobnu arhitekturu, a stariji su ukopi u rakama, lijesu ili s djelomičnom uporabom kamena), kao i nalazima. Dodatna je potvrda radiokarbonska analiza osteoloških ostataka iz groba 13 koja ukop datira između 770. i 900. godine.⁹² U obama slučajevima ranosrednjovjekovni su grobovi ukopani u gornje dijelove zemljanog nanosa tumula, ali su jasno stratigrafski odijeljeni.⁹³

Na humku Duševića glavici istraženo je devet ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova datiranih na kraj 7. i u 8. stoljeće na osnovi nalaza i radiokarbonske analize osteoloških ostataka iz groba 9. Od devet grobova, četiri su jako uništена, a preostali su djelomično ili potpuno ogradieni neobrađenim kamenom. Svi su se nalazili u gornjim slojevima zemljanog tumula.⁹⁴

Na Matakovoj glavici ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi nalazili su se u površinskom sloju te su

ica in Krneza, and the already mentioned Podvršje – Matakova glavica and Kašić – Glavčurak.

J. Belošević has published research about the soil mound Materiza near Nin, and dated 25 graves to the 8th century. These graves were, more or less, ordinary soil pits or were built with unworked stone, but all the graves were located next to the tumulus, and not on it. There are three burials on the tumulus itself without traces of grave architecture, which he considered to "most likely date from the late Middle Ages, and it cannot be excluded that they are even more recent".⁹⁰

At the already mentioned Glavčurak site, in addition to graves from the migration period, 15 early mediaeval graves were excavated. Two graves in soil pits without traces of stone grave architecture represent burials of an older early mediaeval horizon. The remaining 13 graves were found in a higher layer, and their grave architecture consisted of vertically placed stone slabs around the deceased, and in some also of horizontally placed slabs representing the cover and/or bottom of the grave, and belong to the later early mediaeval horizon. The horizons also differ in their finds, and J. Belošević dated the older to the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century, and the later one between the 9th and the 11th century.⁹¹

Two horizons of early mediaeval graves were also excavated on the Jokina glavica tumulus, where the older was dated to the 8th and the first half of the 9th century, and the later to the 9th century. Here, too, the horizons differ in stratigraphic position (later ones are higher), manner of construction (later ones had stone grave architecture, and older ones were burials in pits and coffins, or were partially made of stone), as well as finds. An additional confirmation is the radiocarbon analysis of osteological remains from grave 13, which dated the burial between 770 and 900.⁹² In both cases, the early

⁹¹ J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1968, 224–239.

⁹² K. GUSAR, 2012, 49–64.

⁹³ Dva ranosrednjovjekovna horizonta zabilježena su i u tumulu 2 u Kozici kod Vrgorca, a razlikuju se načinom gradnje. M. BILIĆ, A. IVIŠIĆ, Š. VULIĆ, 2011, 81–85. Nešto drugačiji pogled na dataciju: J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 113–114. U istom je kontekstu zanimljiv i tumul na lokalitetu Konjsko polje – Livade: M. PETRINEC, 2005; J. ŠUĆUR, 2017, 122. U oba slučaja radi se u ukopima na bazi tumula.

⁹⁴ K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012a, 107–123.

⁹⁰ J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1973.

⁹¹ J. BELOŠEVIĆ, 1968, 224–239.

⁹² K. GUSAR, 2012, 49–64.

većim dijelom uništeni, a očuvan je samo dio arhitekture groba 1 koja se sastoji od neobrađenog kamena i kamenih ploča.⁹⁵

Grobovi u tumulima iz vremena razvijenog srednjeg vijeka su rijetki – u Dalmaciji su zabilježeni na četirima lokalitetima. Na dvama su datirani od 9. do 12. stoljeća, a na dvama u 12. i 13. stoljeće, sve zahvaljujući radiokarbonkoj analizi. Kod svih je zabilježen neki oblik kamene grobne arhitekture, a njihov je položaj raznolik – od površinskog sloja nanosa tumula, do ukopa među dijelovima matične stijene.⁹⁶

Najčešći sekundarni ukopi u tumulima Dalmacije potječu iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka,⁹⁷ ali sigurno datirani ukopi iz tog vremena na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije zabilježeni su samo na lokalitetu Nin – Sv. Grgur. Svi su zabilježeni u površinskom sloju tumula, no oni na tjemenu su povezani sa srednjovjekovnom crkvom i imaju kamenu grobnu arhitekturu, jedan je na padini u površinskom sloju, bez tragova grobne arhitekture (grob 1), a jedan pored tumula s arhitekturom u vidu neobrađenog kamena (grob 2). Ovaj posljednji grob datiran je radiokarbonkom analizom osteoloških ostataka u 14. i početak 15. stoljeća.⁹⁸ Ovom vremenskom horizontu valja pribrojiti i tri već spomenuta ukopa s humka Materize koji su, sudeći po tlocrtu, imali ruke prekrivene na grudima.

Također, istom horizontu vjerojatno pripadaju i grobovi s tumula (Matijevića) Greblje iz sela Smrdelja kod Kistanja. Z. Gunjača istražio je pet grobova s arhitekturom od neobrađenih „izrazito nepravilnih“ kamenih ploča u površinskom sloju tumula, te ih je na osnovi nalaza puceta u trima grobovima oprezno datirao u kasni srednji vijek. Ovdje vrijedi ponoviti njegove riječi: „Arhitektura grobova nije nam mogla poslužiti kao osnova za njihovu dataciju, jer su grobovi na sličan način oblikovani u dugom vremenskom razdoblju, od antike do

⁹⁵ K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012b, 161–165.

⁹⁶ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 184–186.

⁹⁷ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 158–160.

⁹⁸ J. ŠUĆUR, 2020, 433.

mediaeval graves were embedded in the upper parts of the soil layers of the tumulus, but were clearly stratigraphically separated.⁹³

Nine early mediaeval graves, excavated on the Duševića glavica mound, were dated to the end of the 7th and to the 8th century on the basis of finds and radiocarbon analysis of osteological remains from grave 9. Of the nine graves, four have been heavily damaged, and the remainder were partially or completely enclosed by unworked stone. They were all located in the upper layers of the soil tumulus.⁹⁴

The early mediaeval graves in the Matakova glavica tumulus were in a surface layer and were for the most part destroyed, with only a part of the architecture of grave 1, which consisted of unworked stone and stone slabs, having been preserved.⁹⁵

Graves from the time of the High Middle Ages in tumuli are rare – in Dalmatia they have been recorded at four sites. At two sites they were radiocarbon dated from the 9th to the 12th century, and at the others to the 12th and 13th century. All of them showed certain forms of stone grave architecture, and their positions are varied – from the tumulus surface layers to burial between parts of the bedrock.⁹⁶

The most common secondary burials in the tumuli of Dalmatia date from the late Middle Ages,⁹⁷ but the only burials in northern Dalmatia that could with certainty be dated to that period were identified at the Nin – Sv. Grgur site. All of them were found in the surface layer of the tumulus, but those at the crown were related to a mediaeval church and have a stone grave architecture, one was on a slope in the surface

⁹³ Two early mediaeval horizons were also recorded in tumulus 2 in Kozica near Vrgorac, and they differ in the way they were built. M. BILIĆ, A. IVIŠIĆ, Š. VULIĆ, 2011, 81–85. A slightly different view of dating: J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 113–114. In the same context, the tumulus at the Konjsko polje – Livade site is also interesting: M. PETRINEC, 2005; J. ŠUĆUR, 2017, 122. In both cases, burials were performed on the tumulus.

⁹⁴ K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012a, 107–123.

⁹⁵ K. GUSAR, D. VUJEVIĆ, 2012b, 161–165.

⁹⁶ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 184–186.

⁹⁷ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 158–160.

kasnog srednjeg, pa i novog vijeka⁹⁹. Također s oprezom, kasnom srednjem vijeku može se pripisati i dječji ukop s lokaliteta Velim – Kosa – Tumul 1. S grobom se može povezati dvo-petljasta kopča s ušicom, koja je pronađena u bitno dubljem sloju, no to s obzirom na karakter kamenog nanosa nije odlučujuće.¹⁰⁰

Gledajući sliku ukopa na tumulima u kasnom srednjem vijeku na prostoru Dalmacije, većina grobova ima kamenu grobnu arhitekturu, najčešće kombinaciju kamena iz nanosa tumula i kamenih ploča,¹⁰¹ no upravo navedeni primjeri iz sjeverne Dalmacije svjedoče kako to ne mora uvijek biti slučaj.

Nalazima i radiokarbonskim analizama pojedini grobovi u tumulima datirani su i u rani i kasni novi vijek, no oni nisu zabilježeni u sjevernoj Dalmaciji. Grobna arhitektura uglavnom im se sastoji od različita kamena i kamenih ploča, pokrivenih kamenim pločama, dok im je dno nanos tumula, matična stijena ili popločanje od kamenih ploča.¹⁰²

Pregled grobne arhitekture i položaja grobova unutar tumula bio je potreban kako bi se uputilo na različitost tih karakteristika unutar istog razdoblja i sličnost unutar različitih perioda (Sl. 8), zbog čega ti elementi nisu pogodni za dataciju grobova, već je to bilo moguće isključivo na osnovi databilnih nalaza i radiokarbonske analize.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Gotovo s potpunom sigurnošću možemo zaključiti kako su ovdje obrađeni tumuli podignuti u prapovijesti, bez obzira na to jesu li u njima pronađeni grobovi ili nisu. O tome svjedoče u prvom redu nalazi prapovijesne keramike u njihovu nanosu, njihov položaj, ali i dosadašnja istraživanja tumula u Dalmaciji. No isto to ne možemo s tolikom sigurnošću

layer, without traces of grave architecture (grave 1), and one next to the tumulus with an unworked stone structure (grave 2). This last grave was dated by radiocarbon analysis of osteological remains to the 14th and early 15th century.⁹⁸ The three already mentioned burials from the Materiza mound should be included in this time horizon, and, judging by the floor plan, the deceased had their arms crossed on their chests.

The graves from the tumulus (Matijević) Greblje from the village of Smrdelje near Kistanje probably also belong to the same horizon. Z. Gunjača excavated five graves with architecture made of unworked, “extremely irregular” stone slabs in the surface layer of the tumulus, and based on the buttons found in three graves carefully dated them to the late Middle Ages. Here it is worth repeating his words: “The architecture of the graves could not serve as a basis for their dating, because graves have been shaped in a similar way over a long period of time, from antiquity to the late Middle Ages and even into the modern era.”⁹⁹ A child’s burial from the locality Velim Kosa –Tumulus 1 could also with caution be dated to the late Middle Ages. A double-looped buckle with an eyelet could be connected with the grave. It was found in a much deeper layer, but this is not relevant given the characteristics of the stone layers.¹⁰⁰

Looking at the picture of burials on tumuli in the late Middle Ages in Dalmatia, most graves have stone grave architecture, most often a combination of stone from tumulus layers and stone slabs,¹⁰¹ but these examples from northern Dalmatia show that this was not always the case.

Using finds and radiocarbon analyses individual graves in tumuli have been dated to both the early and late modern era, but such graves have not been identified in northern Dalmatia. Their grave architecture mainly consisted of various stones and stone slabs, covered with more stone slabs, while their bottom is a layer of tumulus,

⁹⁹ Z. GUNJAČA, 1989, 393–395.

¹⁰⁰ N. ČONDIĆ, 2015, 514; J. ŠUĆUR, 2015b, 82–83.

¹⁰¹ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 200–201.

¹⁰² J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 225–245.

⁹⁸ J. ŠUĆUR, 2020, 433.

⁹⁹ Z. GUNJAČA, 1989, 393–395.

¹⁰⁰ N. ČONDIĆ, 2015, 514; J. ŠUĆUR, 2015b, 82–83.

¹⁰¹ J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 200–201.



tvrditi za većinu grobova.

Sumirajući ovdje izneseno možemo reći kako grobna arhitektura, kao i stratigrafski položaj, sami po sebi ne mogu biti databilni elementi. Isto možemo reći i za ispruženi položaj pokojnika u grobu s obzirom na nove spoznaje o liburnskim ukopima. U dataciji se možemo osloniti na radiokarbonsku analizu te na databilne nalaze neposredno povezane s grobovima. Naime, kada je riječ o kamenim tumulima, čak i ako se pronađu databilni pokretni nalazi oni ne mogu pomoći u dataciji grobova ako se ne mogu direktno povezati s

bedrock or stone paving.¹⁰²

An overview of the grave architecture and the location of the graves within the tumuli was necessary to demonstrate the diversity of these characteristics within the same period and the similarity within different periods (Fig. 8), which is why these elements were not suitable for dating the graves but this needed to be done based exclusively on datable finds and radiocarbon analysis.

¹⁰² J. ŠUĆUR, 2015a, 225-245.

pojedinim grobom. U kamenom nanosu oni lako mijenjaju stratigrafsku poziciju, a da je to moguće i kod zemljanih slojeva svjedoče sjenke vinove loze iz tumula Male glavice u Podvršju, za koje se držalo da potječu iz intaktnog sloja ranog brončanog doba, dok su novije analize pokazale kako su iz šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća.¹⁰³ Zbog toga nam nije prihvatljiva Batovićeva datacija naknadnih ukopa u antičko doba, na osnovi rimskog novca 4. stoljeća pronađenog u tumulu u Dobropoljcima koji je uništen pri gradnji ceste, kao i nalazu rimskog novca u tumulu na otoku Sestrnu, što je prvotno povezao s lokalitetom Greblje, a onda na osnovi „identične“ grobne arhitekture proširio na sve tumule.¹⁰⁴

Uzimajući u obzir navedene primjere, držimo da se grobovi istraženi u Dobropoljcima uglavnom ne mogu uže datirati. Iznimka je grob 1 s lokaliteta Gromila više Đardina koji najvjerojatnije pripada prapovijesnom vremenu na osnovi položaja pokojnika i brončane pincete. Vrlo su vjerojatno grobovi s lokaliteta Greblje iz antičkog vremena, na osnovi položaja u podnožju gradine te zabilježenih podataka o ostacima iz rimskog vremena u blizini, što bi valjalo potvrditi arheološkim istraživanjima. Za sve preostale grobove, bez grobnih nalaza i radiokarbonskih analiza, a na osnovi položaja tumula, mesta ukopa pokojnika unutar tumula, grude groba ili položaja pokojnika unutar groba, nije moguće pružiti znanstveno utemeljenu dataciju.

ZAHVALE

Pri rekognosciranju 2014. i 2020. godine svoje spoznaje s nama su podijelili Damir Punoš, Živko Kužet i Ivan Ivković Mile, te još nekoliko njihovih sumještana. Andrijana Pravidur pružila nam je informacije iz doktorata Glorie y'Edynak. Željka Bedić imala je strpljenja od-

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We can conclude with almost complete certainty that the tumuli analysed here were erected in prehistory, regardless of whether graves have been found in them or not. This is evidenced primarily by the prehistoric pottery finds in their layers and their positions, but also by the previous excavations of tumuli in Dalmatia. But the same cannot be said with so much certainty for most of the graves.

Summarising what has been mentioned here, we can conclude that grave architecture, as well as stratigraphic position alone could not serve as datable elements. Taking into consideration new insights into Liburnian burials, the same could be said for the supine position of the deceased in the grave. In dating, we can rely on radiocarbon analysis and datable findings directly related to graves. Namely, when it comes to stone tumuli, even when datable movable finds were found, they cannot help with dating graves if they could not be directly linked to a particular grave. In stone layers they easily change their stratigraphic position, and grape seeds from the Mala glavica tumulus in Podvršje (which were thought to originate from the intact layer of the Early Bronze Age), testify to the fact that this is also possible in soil layers, since recent analyses have shown that they originate from the 1960s.¹⁰³ Therefore, Batović's dating of subsequent burials to antiquity is not acceptable, because he based the dating on the 4th century Roman coinage found in the tumulus in Dobropoljci that was destroyed during the construction of the road, and on Roman coinage found in a tumulus on the island of Sestrunj, which he originally associated with the Greblje site and then extended to all tumuli on the basis of "identical" grave architecture.¹⁰⁴

Taking into account the above examples, we believe that the graves excavated in Dobropoljci

¹⁰³ M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN, R. ŠOŠTARIĆ, 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 84.

¹⁰³ M. DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN, R. ŠOŠTARIĆ, 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Š. BATOVIĆ, 1960, 84.

govoriti na brojna pitanja u vezi s osteološkom analizom, Konstanta Bukovac arheološke, a Nina Lončar na ona geološke tematike. Šime Vrkić uvijek je dobar suputnik pri rekognosciranjima, a posebno na prostoru Bukovice. Ovaj je članak omogućilo dopuštenje uvida u građu koja se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru, te se zahvaljujemo ravnatelju Jakovu Vučiću, kustosicama prapovijesnog odjela Morani Vuković i Nataliji Čondić, a posebno dokumentaristima Robertu Maršiću i Ivanu Čondiću. Svima još jednom veliko hvala!

could not be dated more precisely. The exception is grave 1 from the Gromila više Đardina site, which most probably belongs to prehistoric times, on the evidence of the position of the deceased and the bronze tweezers. The graves from the Greblje site originated most probably from antiquity, on the basis of their location at the foot of the hill fort and recorded data on remains from Roman times in the vicinity, which should be confirmed by archaeological research. It is not possible to provide scientifically based dating for any of the remaining graves based solely on the location of the tumulus, the burial place of the deceased within the tumulus, the structure of the grave or the position of the deceased in the grave, and without grave finds and radiocarbon analyses.

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TABLA I. Arheološka istraživanja u Dobropoljcima 1960. godine; a) dio radnika: Milica Kužet (Karanova), Dobrić Slavko, Punoš Sako, Šaponja Veljko, Dobrić Pešo, Punoš Gojko, Kužet Đuro i Miodrag Ljubo (slijeva nadesno, gornji pa donji red), br. 5132 15504; b) predah, Mićo i Miloško Kužet, br. 1349 3929; c) Greblje, početak istraživanja, br. 1350 3932; d) Greblje, profil i poklopnice grobova, br. 1350 3931; e) Jaruv, kamena kućica, br. 1345 3918; f) Gromila više djardina, početak istraživanja, br. 1345 3919 (Fototeka AMZD)

TABLE I Archaeological excavations in Dobropoljci in 1960. a) some of the workers: Milica Kužet (Karanova), Dobrić Slavko, Punoš Sako, Šaponja Veljko, Dobrić Pešo, Punoš Gojko, Kužet Đuro and Miodrag Ljubo (from left to right, upper and lower row), no. 5132 15504; b) respite, Mićo and Miloško Kužet, no. 1349 3929; c) Greblje, beginning of excavations, no. 1350 3932; d) Greblje, profile and grave covers, no. 1350 3931; e) Jaruv, stone house, no. 1345 3918; f) Gromila više djardina, beginning of excavations, no. 1345 3919 (Photo archive AMZD)



TABLA II. Položaji istraženih tumula (crveno – sigurno utvrđeni, žuto – vjerojatni položaj) (izrada: J. Šućur, podloga DOF)

TABLE II Positions of the excavated tumuli (red – identified with certainty, yellow – probable position) (made by: J. Šućur, background DOF)

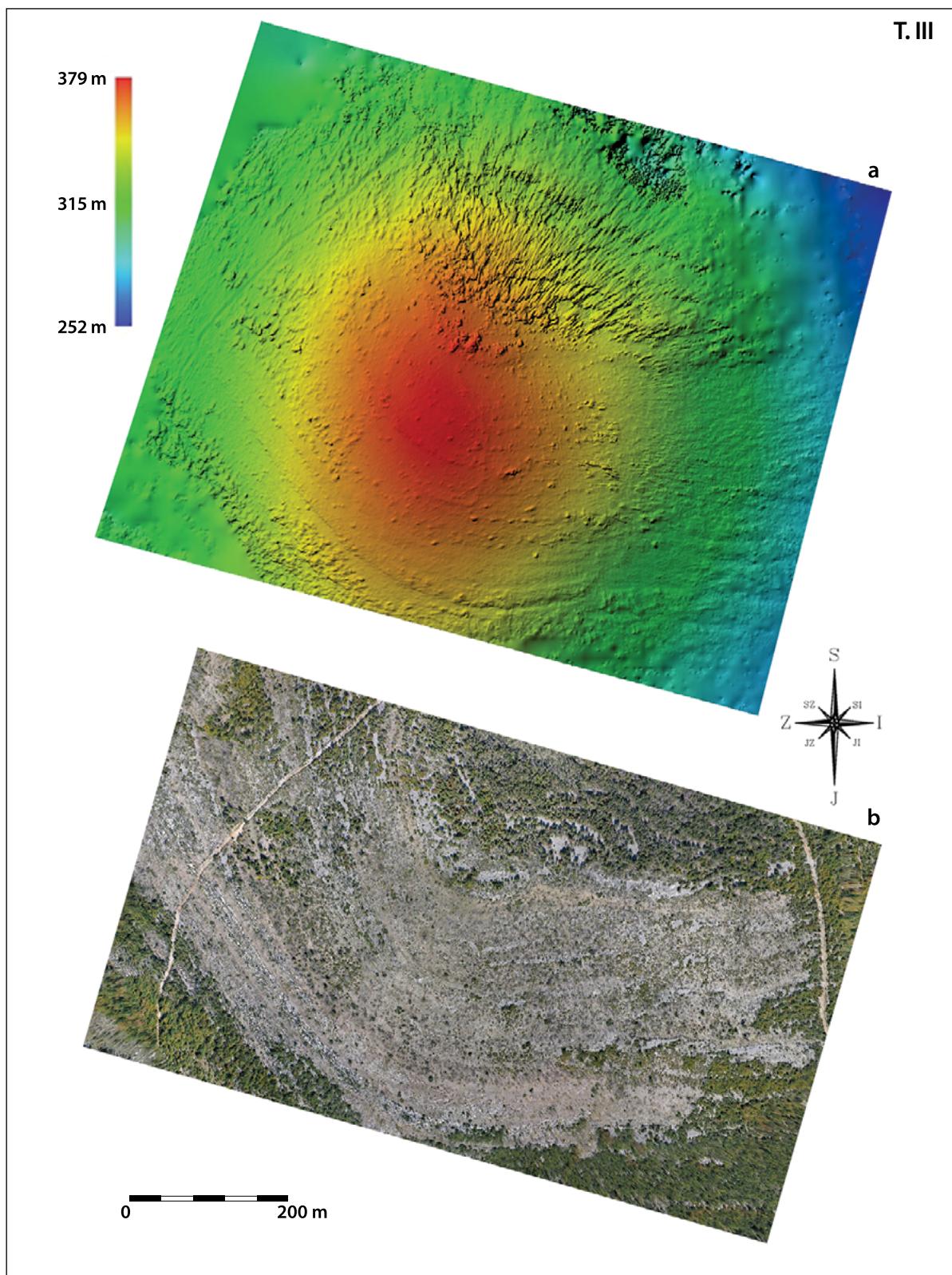


TABLA III. Gradina Jaruv; a) digitalni model površine (Digital Surface Model) gradine; b) ortofoto gradine (izrada: J. Šućur; Agisoft Metashape)

TABLE III Jaruv hill fort; a) digital surface model of the hill fort; b) orthophoto of the hill fort (made by: J. Šućur; Agisoft Metashape)

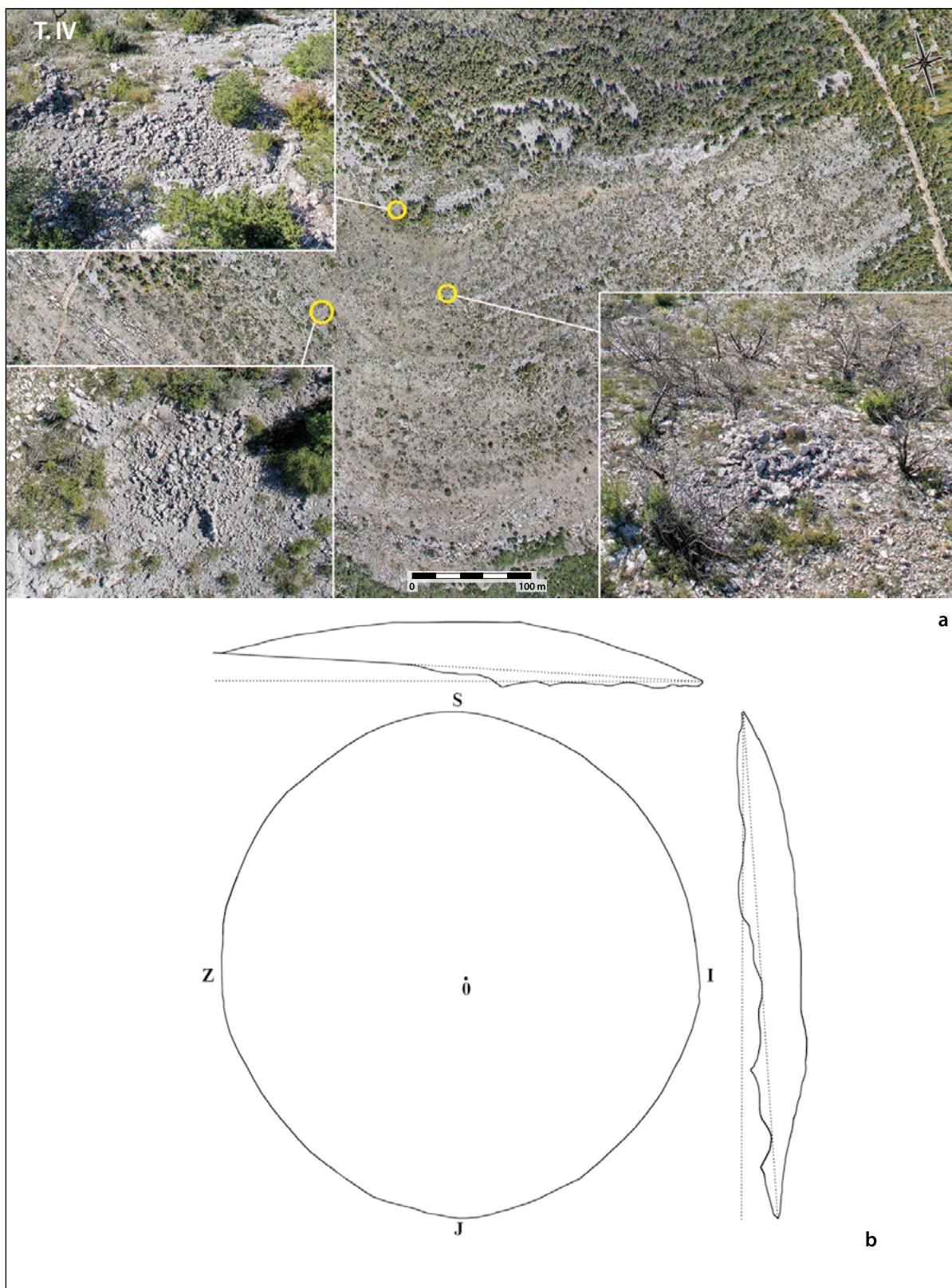


TABLA IV. Gradina Jaruv; a) mogući položaji tumula Djakove gromile (foto: J. Šućur); b) tlocrt i presjeci tumula Djakove gromile (crtež: Š. Batović)

TABLE IV Jaruv hill fort; a) possible locations of the Djakova gromila tumulus (photo: J. Šućur); b) floor plan and cross-sections of the Djakova gromila (drawing: Š. Batović)

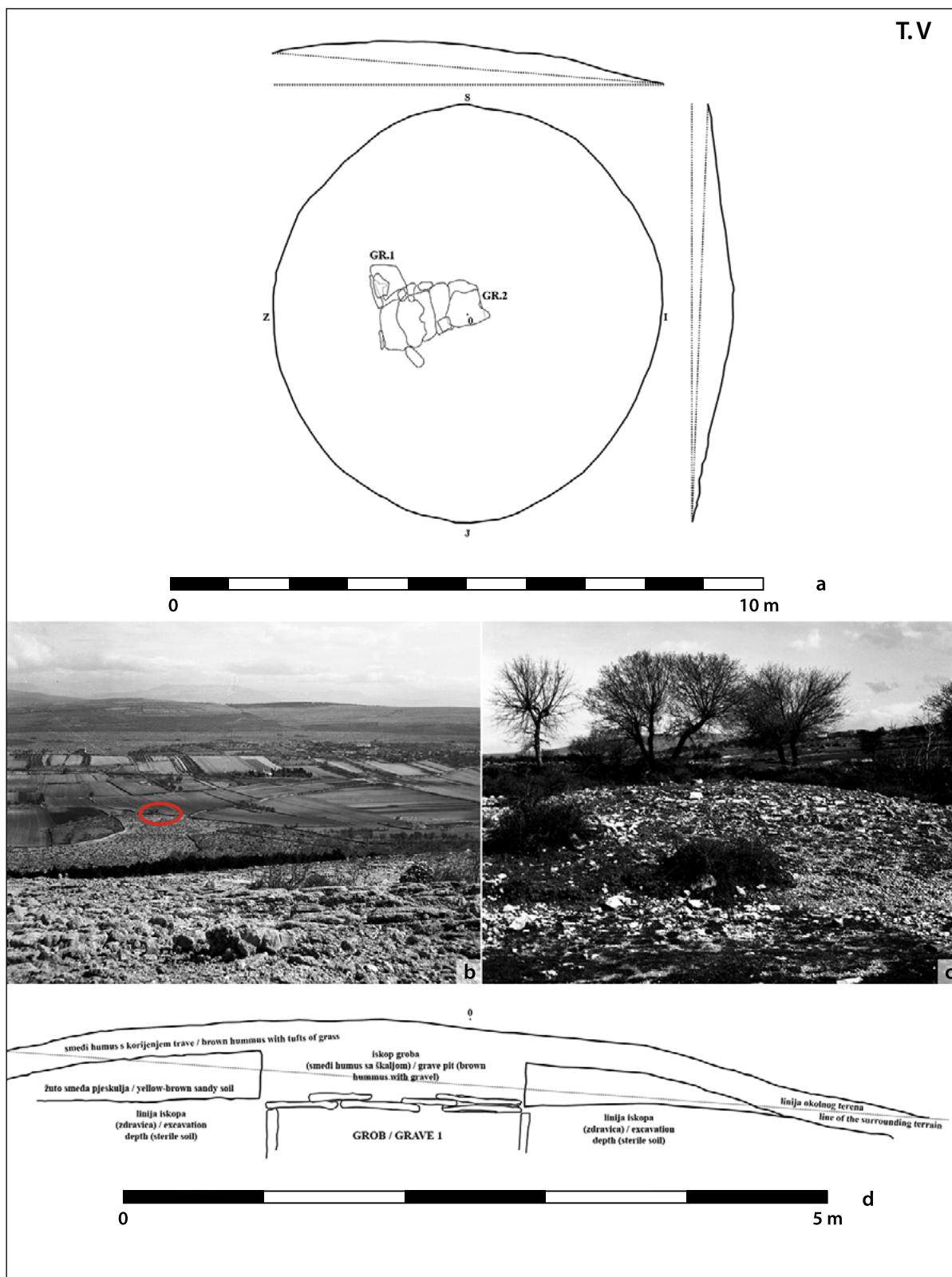


TABLA V. Greblje; a) tlocrt i presjeci tumula (crtež: Š. Batović); b) pogled s gradine na položaj tumula Greblja (Fototeka AMZD br. 1224 3427); c) tumul prije početka istraživanja (Fototeka AMZD br. 1225 3430); d) presjek: slojevi i položaj groba (crtež: Š. Batović)

TABLE V Greblje; a) floor plan and cross-sections of the tumulus (drawing: Š. Batović); b) view from the hill fort on the position of the Greblje tumulus (Photo archive AMZD no. 1224 3427); c) the tumulus before the start of the excavations (Photo archive AMZD No. 1225 3430); d) cross-section: layers and position of the grave (drawing: Š. Batović)

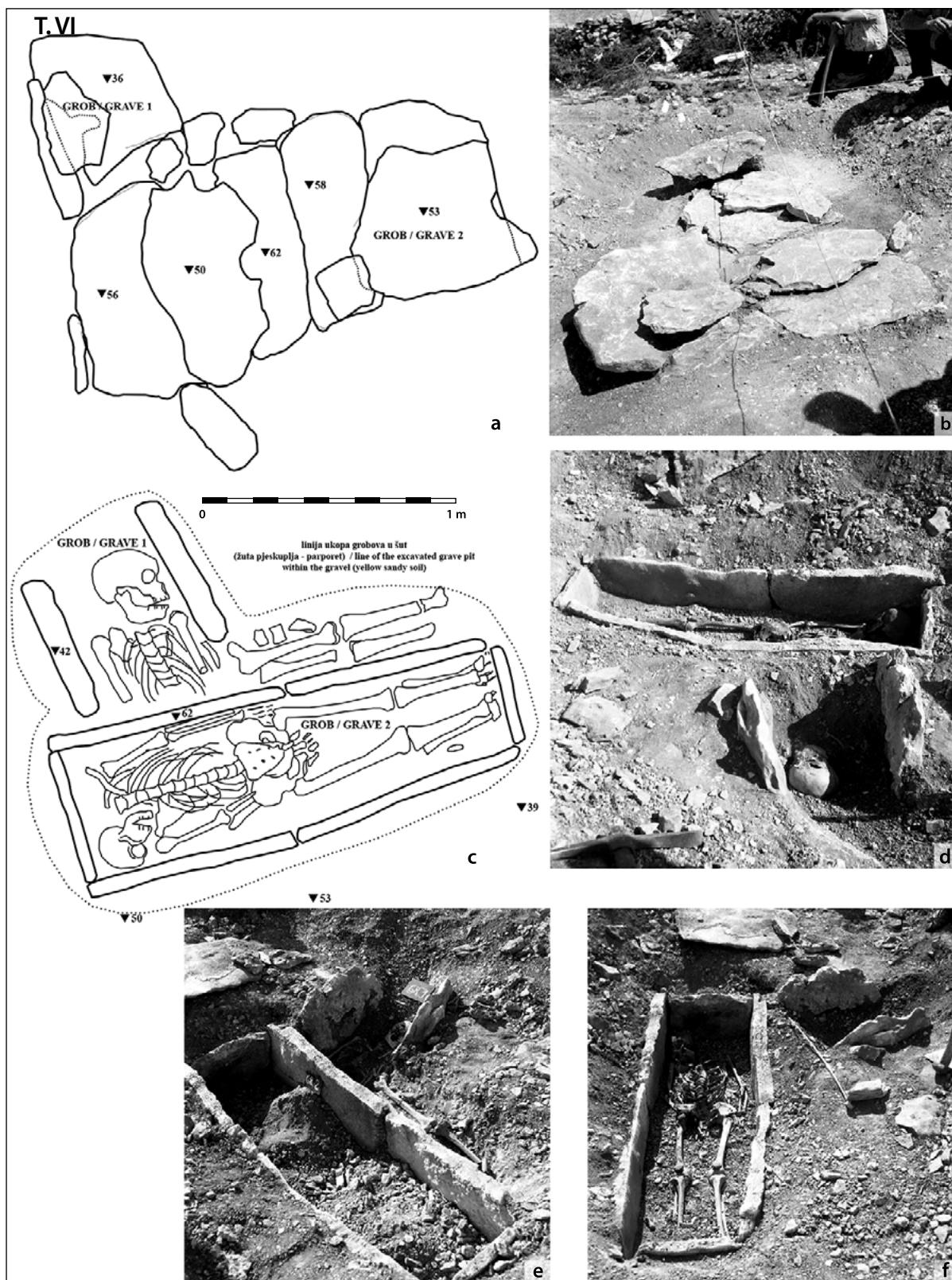


TABLA VI. Greblje; a-b) pokrov grobova (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1351 3934); c-d) osteološki ostaci (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1342 3911); e) grob 1 – in situ i dislocirani ostaci (Fototeka AMZD br. 1343 3914); f) grob 2 – pokojnik (Fototeka AMZD br. 1342 3912)

TABLE VI Greblje; a-b) cover of graves (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1351 3934); c-d) osteological remains (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD No. 1342 3911); e) grave 1 - in situ and dislocated remains (Photo archive AMZD no. 1343 3914); f) grave 2 - deceased (Photo archive AMZD no. 1342 3912)

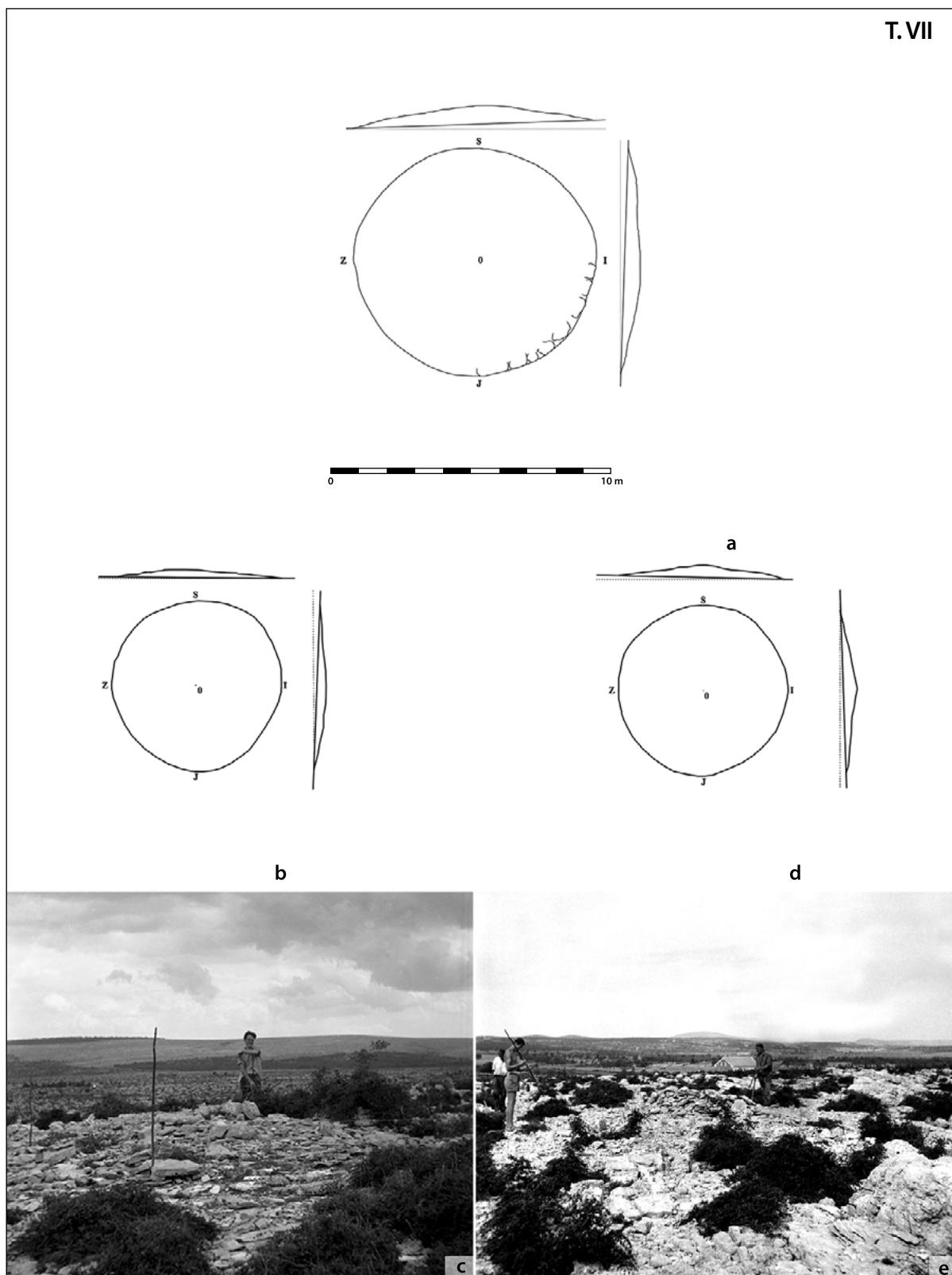


TABLA VII. *Tumuli na kosi; a) više kuće popove (crtež: Š. Batović); b–c) više zidina (Humak 2; crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1344 3916); d–e) više zidina (Humak 3; crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1344 3917)*
TABLE VII *Tumuli on the slope; a) više kuće popove (drawing: Š. Batović); b–c) više zidina (Mound 2; drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1344 3916); d–e) više zidina (Mound 3; drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1344 3917)*

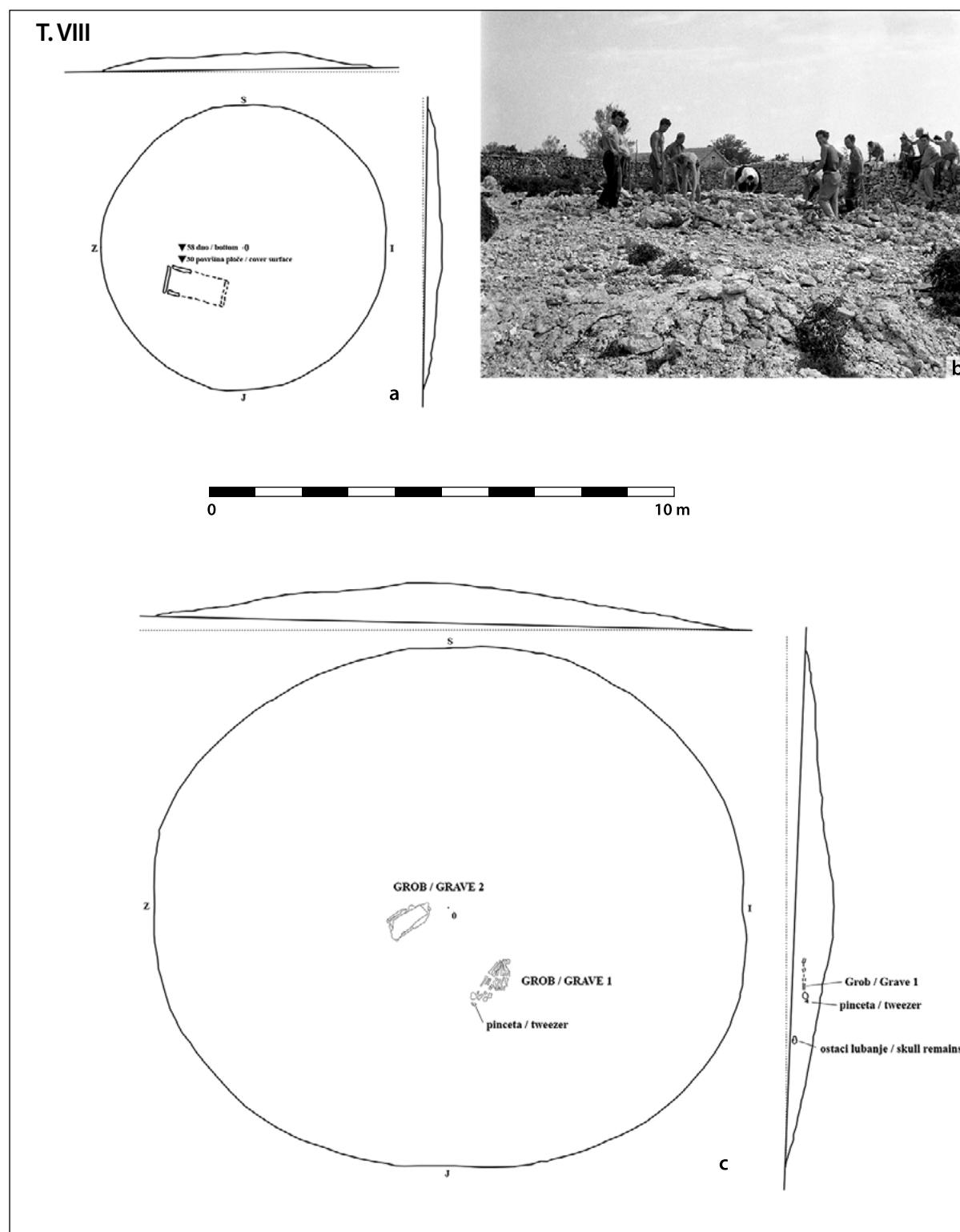


TABLA VIII. a-b) *Gromila više greda* (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1351 3936); c) *Gromila više Đardina, tlocrt i presjeci* (crtež: Š. Batović)

TABLE VIII a-b) *Gromila više greda* (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1351 3936); c) *Gromila više Đardina, floor plan and cross-sections* (drawing: Š. Batović)

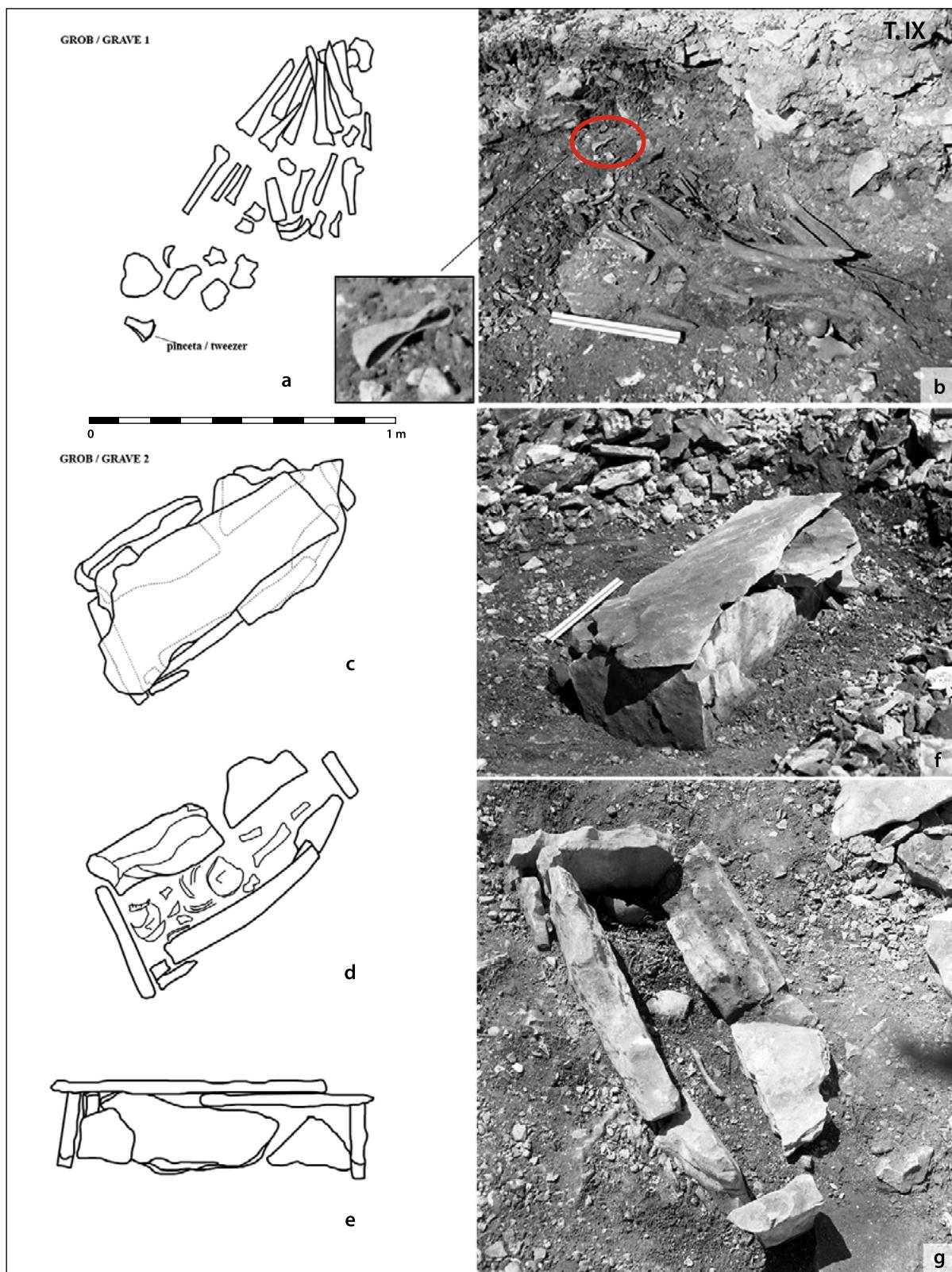


TABLA IX. Gromila više Đardina; a-b) grob 1, označen i izdvojen nalaz pinceete (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1346 3922); c-g) grob 2 (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1347 3924; br. 1352 3937)

TABLE IX Gromila više Đardina; a-b) grave 1, marked and singled out tweezers find (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1346 3922); c-d) grave 2 (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1347 3924; no. 1352 3937)

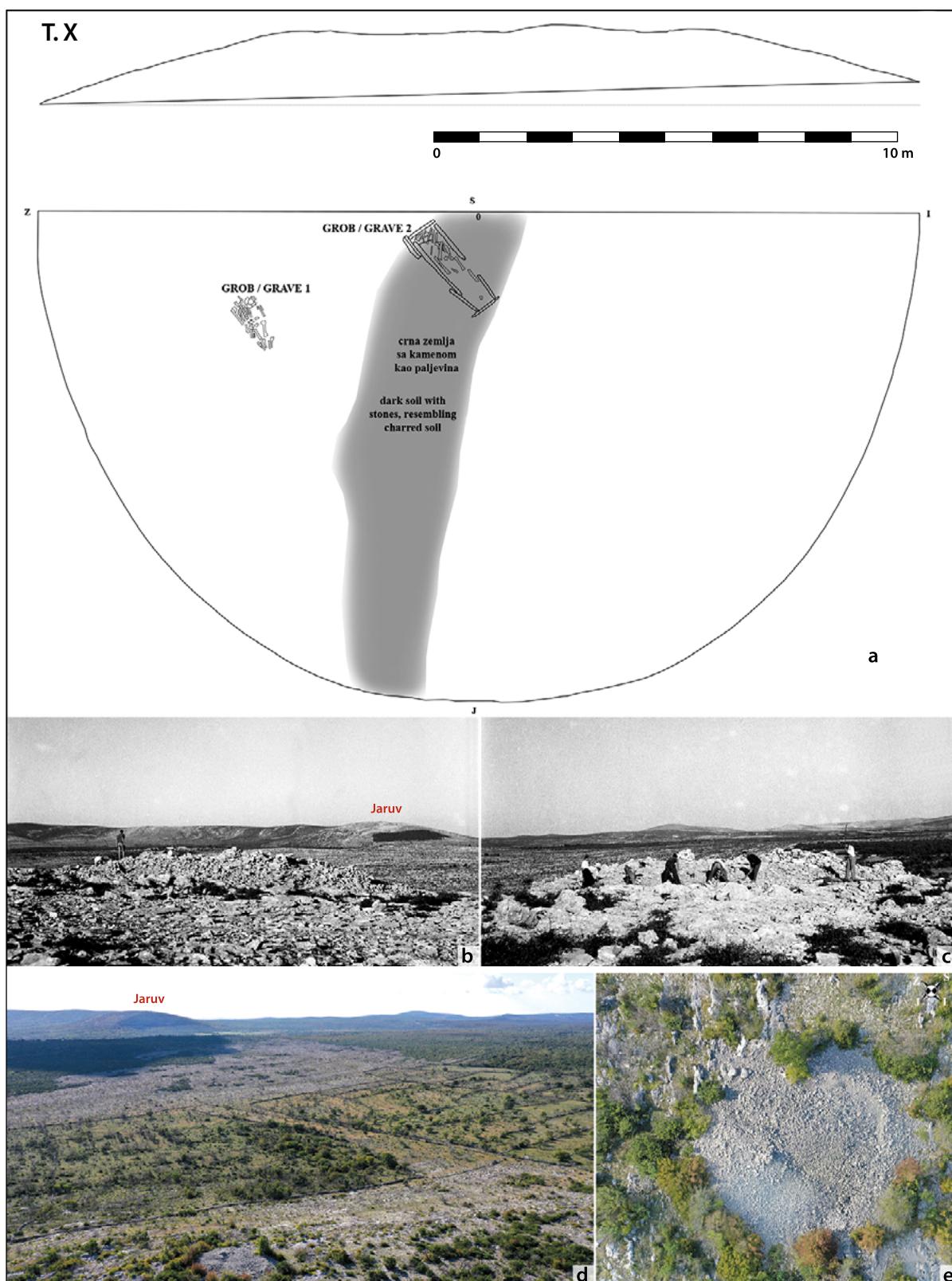


TABELA X. Gromila više Ivkovića ograde; a) tlocrt i presjek tumula (crtež: Š. Batović); b–c) tumul tijekom istraživanja (Fototeka AMZD br. 1354 3942; br. 1353 3940); d) ostaci tumula 2020. god. (foto: J. Šućur); e) ortofoto tumula (izrada: J. Šućur; Agisoft Metashape)

TABLE X Gromila više Ivkovića ograde; a) floor plan and cross-section of the tumulus (drawing: Š. Batović); b–c) tumulus during excavations (Photo archive AMZD No. 1354 3942; No. 1353 3940); e) remains of the tumulus in 2020 (photo: J. Šućur); e) orthophoto of the tumulus (made by: J. Šućur; Agisoft Metashape)

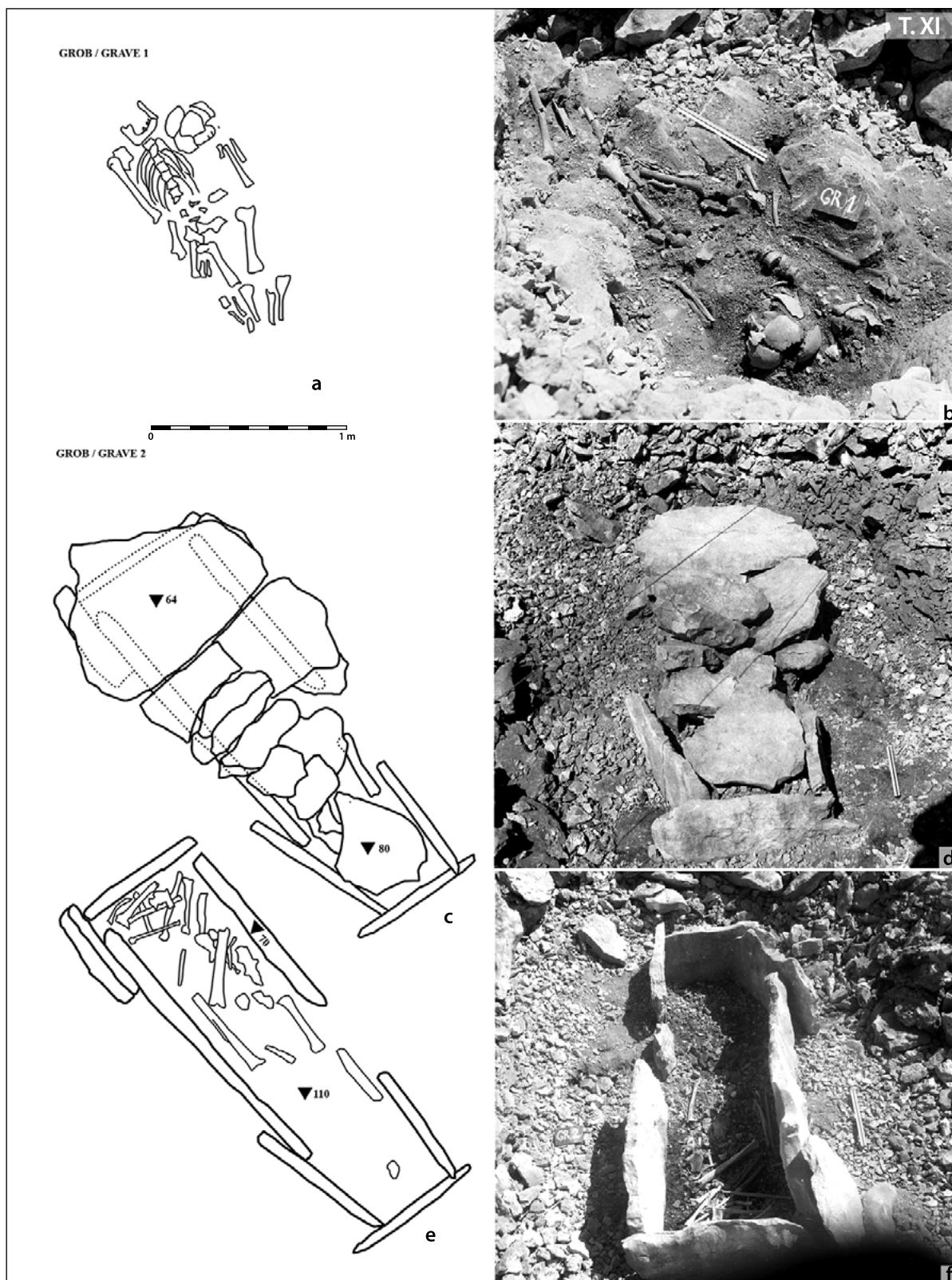


TABLA XI. Gromila više Ivkovića ograde, grobovi; a-b) grob 1 (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1353 3941); c-f) grob 2 (crtež: Š. Batović; Fototeka AMZD br. 1355 3944; br. 5133 15508)

TABLE XI Gromila više Ivkovića ograde, graves; a-b) grave 1 (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1353 3941); c-f) grave 2 (drawing: Š. Batović; Photo archive AMZD no. 1355 3944; no. 5133 15508)

