

# Osvrt na spaljivanje pokojnika u liburnskom kulturnom kontekstu

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# Osvrt na spaljivanje pokojnika u liburnskom kulturnom kontekstu

## *A review of the cremation rite in the liburnian cultural context*

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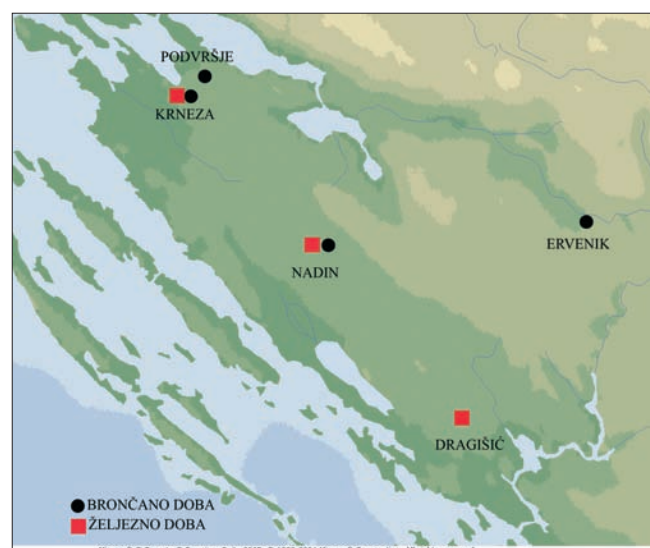
*Autor nastoji formulirati novi problem – pojavu i značenje incineracije kod Liburna – uočen 2004. i 2007. godine, otkrićem prvih spaljenih pokopa u liburnskim funerarnim kontekstima iz starijeg željeznog doba, u humku 13 iz Nadina kod Benkovca, s tri grobne žare, te u humku Jokina glavica-Krneza s 4 žarna groba (10./9. st. pr. Kr.), još nepublicirana. Problem se može rješavati u okviru kulturne dinamike na Jadranu i širem zaleđu (s urnenfelder svijetom) krajem brončanog i početkom željeznog doba. Uključeni su najnoviji rezultati <sup>14</sup>C analize kostiju spaljenih pokojnika iz humka 13 iz Nadina i humka Jokina glavica-Krneza.*

*Ključne riječi: spaljivanje pokojnika, sjeverna Dalmacija, Liburni, brončano doba, radiokarbonska analiza*

*The author attempts to formulate a new problem—the appearance and significance of incineration in the Liburnian society—observed in 2004 and 2007, when the first cremation burials in the Early Iron Age funerary contexts of the Liburnians were discovered: in mound 13 in Nadin near Benkovac, with three burial urns, and in the Jokina Glavica-Krneza mound with four as yet unpublished urn burials (10<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC). The problem can be approached in the frame of cultural dynamics in the Adriatic and its wider hinterland (including the Urnfield world) at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. The latest <sup>14</sup>C results of the bones of the cremated persons from mound 13 in Nadin and from the Jokina Glavica-Krneza mound are considered.*

*Key words: cremation of the dead, northern Dalmatia, the Liburnians, Bronze Age, radiocarbon analysis*

U prapovijesti sjeverne Dalmacije spaljivanje pokojnika (sl. 1) prakticiralo se u rano brončano doba u cetinskoj kultu-



Sl. 1 Nalazišta sa spaljenim pokojnicima iz brončanog i željeznog doba u sjevernoj Dalmaciji

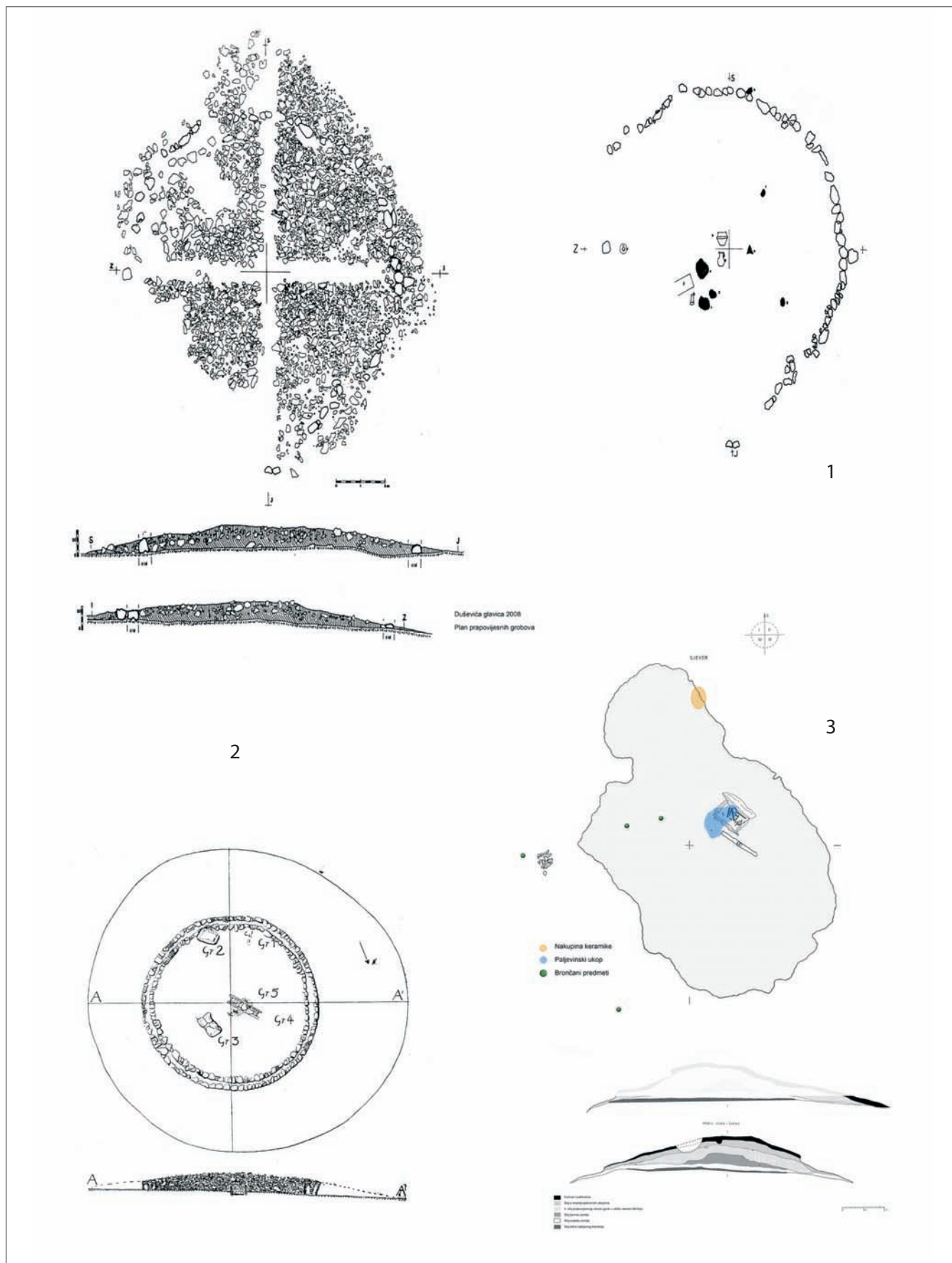
Fig. 1 Sites with cremation burials from the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern Dalmatia

In the prehistory of northern Dalmatia cremation burials were practised in the Early Bronze Age in the Cetina culture – Ervenik (Buttler 1932: 355), Podvršje-Matakov Brig (Batović, Kukoč 1988: 5–64), Nadin (Batović, Čondić 2005: 86–87), Krneza-Duševića Glavica<sup>1</sup> (Gusar, Vujević 2010; 2010a) (Fig. 2–3), then occasionally in the Hellenistic period (Dragišić, grave 4: A-C) (Brusić 2000: 8) and, for the first time with greater intensity, during the Romanization of the Liburnians. However, recent discoveries (Nadin, mound 13: Fig. 5-6; Krneza-Jokina Glavica<sup>2</sup>: Fig. 10) indicate that crema-

1 This earthen mound (with mediaeval burials) was perhaps built already in the Early Bronze Age. Small remains of cremated human bones were placed directly on the ground in the centre of the mound, accompanied by a single fragment of a ceramic vessel similar to the Cetina forms. The attribution of this cremation burial to the Cetina culture is possible, but it has not been confirmed beyond doubt by the discovered archaeological assemblage.

The second prehistoric burial in this mound, positioned above the mentioned cremated remains, was an inhumation burial in a stone cist (120 x 96 x 80 cm), which lacked any *in situ* grave goods. The human remains from the grave were radiocarbon dated to the Middle Bronze Age (1630-1450 BC).

2 Four urn burials (with grave goods: two-part serpentine fibula and other items) from Jokina Glavica-Krneza were dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC by radiocarbon analysis only. Their detailed archaeological interpretation is in progress. Marijanović 2010 (manuscript).



Sl. 2 Humci s obredom spaljivanja iz brončanog doba: 1) Matakov brig-Podvršje (prema Batović, Kukoč 1988); 2) Ervenik (prema Buttler 1932); 3) Duševića glavica-Krneza (prema Gusar, Vujević 2010)

Fig. 2 Mounds with cremation burials from the Bronze Age: 1) Matakov Brig-Podvršje (after Batović, Kukoč 1988); 2) Ervenik (after Buttler 1932); 3) Duševića Glavica-Krneza (after Gusar, Vujević 2010)



Sl. 3 Duševića glavica-Krneza: humak (prema Gusar, Vujević 2010)

Fig. 3 Duševića Glavica-Krneza: the mound (after Gusar, Vujević 2010)

ri – Ervenik (Buttler 1932: 355), Podvršje-Matakov brig (Bato-  
vić, Kukoč 1988: 5-64), Nadin (Batović, Čondić 2005: 86-87),  
Krneza-Duševića glavica<sup>1</sup> (Gusar, Vujević 2010; 2010a) (sl.  
2-3), povremeno u helenizmu (Dragišić, grob 4: A-C) (Brusić  
2000: 8) i, prvi put intenzivno, tijekom romanizacije Liburna.  
No, nova otkrića (Nadin, humak 13: sl. 5-6; Krneza-Jokina  
glavica<sup>2</sup>: sl. 10) ukazuju na stanovitu zastupljenost obre-  
da incineracije na ovom prostoru i tijekom 1. tis. pr. Kr., u  
liburnskoj kulturi (Kukoč 2004; 2009: 42-44; Kukoč, Batović  
2005).

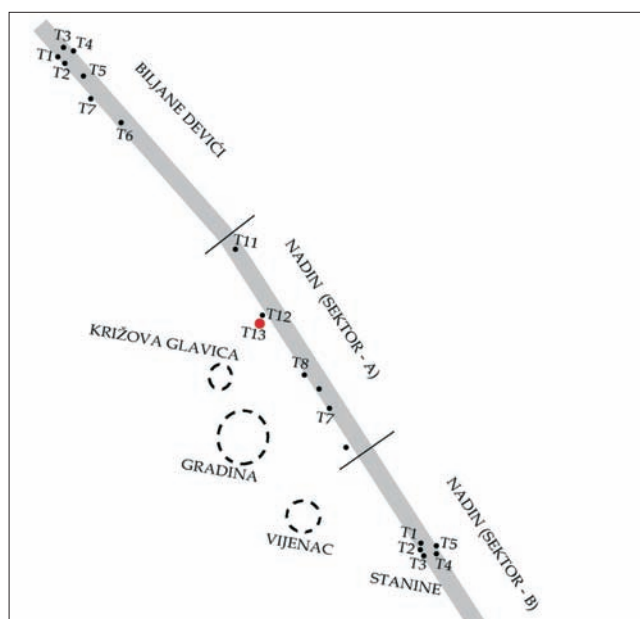
Humak 13 iz Nadina, uz određene nove, do sada ne-  
poznate kulturne elemente (Kukoč 2009: 49-50) uključujući  
i samo spaljivanje mrtvih (grobovi 4 i 13), tipičan je li-  
burnski oblik s dominacijom inhumiranih pokopa iz 9. – 6.  
st. pr. Kr. (sl. 4, 6). U njemu, s najvećim brojem sahranjenih  
pokojnika u prapovijesnim grobnim humcima sjeverne  
Dalmacije, s ostacima obreda – tragovima vatre na zemlji  
i na životinjskim kostima (funerarna gozba?), s brojnim  
ostacima keramičkih posuda (libacija?), prvi put su unutar  
uobičajenog liburnskog kružnog obzida, dakle, u uskom  
prostornom dodiru, položeni zgrčeni, ispruženi i spaljeni  
mrtvi (sl. 6).

Grob 4 u humku 13 (sl. 7-8) sastojao se od dviju zemljanih

1 Ovaj zemljani humak (sa srednjovjekovnim ukopima), možda je bio podignut već u ranoj bronci. U središtu je imao sitne ostatke spaljenih ljudskih kostiju, postavljene izravno na zemlju, te samo jedan ulomak keramičke posude bliske cetinskim oblicima. Pripadnost spaljenog pokopa upravo cetinskoj kulturi ovdje je moguća, no nadenom arheološkom građom, dakle, nije nedvojbeno potvrđena.

Drugi pak prapovijesni grob u ovom humku, postavljen povrh spomenutih spaljenih ostataka umrloga, s kamenom škrinjom (120 x 96 x 80 cm) i inhumiranim pokojnikom, no bez priloga *in situ*, datiran je radiokarbon-  
skom analizom ljudskih ostataka u srednje brončano doba (1630.-1450. g. pr. Kr.).

2 Četiri žarna pokopa (s priložima: dvodijelna zmijolika fibula i dr.) iz Jokine glavice-Krneza, za sada su tek metodom radioaktivnog ugljika određeni u 9. – 8. st. pr. Kr. Slijedi njihova detaljna arheološka interpretacija. Marijanović 2010 (u rukopisu).



Sl. 4 Položaj gradina i istraženih humaka iz brončanog i željeznog doba na potezu Biljane-Nadin-Rašević (prema Batović, Čondić 2005)

Fig. 4 Position of hill-forts and investigated mounds from the Bronze and Iron Ages on the stretch Biljane-Nadin-Rašević (after Batović, Čondić 2005)

tion was practised to a certain extent in this area even during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, in the Liburnian culture (Kukoč 2004; 2009: 42-44; Kukoč, Batović 2005).

Mound 13 from Nadin, in addition to new and hitherto unknown cultural elements (Kukoč 2009: 49-50), including the very practice of cremating the dead (graves 4 and 13), is a typical Liburnian form with prevailing inhumation burials from the 9<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 4, 6). It not only contained the largest number of inhumed individuals of all prehistoric burial mounds in northern Dalmatia, with visible remains of a





Sl. 5 Liburnska gradina Nadin (Nedinum) snimljena iz zraka  
Fig. 5 Aerial view of the Liburnian hill-fort of Nadin (Nedinum)

posuda s ostacima spaljenih pokojnika. Nalazio se posred jugoistočnog kvadranta. Žarama su oštećeni i poremećeni gornji dijelovi, dok je njihova donja polovica (od vrata do dna) nađena *in situ*. Žare su položene jedna uz drugu, u pravcu I–Z. Nije poznato jesu li imale poklopac (zdjelu, kamenu ploču i sl.). Rekonstrukcijom posuda nije ustanovljena poklopna keramička zdjela. U žari 1 (sl. 8a) bilo je humusa s malo sitnog kamenja te jedan veći kamen. U humusu su bili ulomci spaljenih kostiju, oko 150 komada. Posebnih nalaza ili priloga u posudi nije nađeno. Analiza pak osteoloških ostataka pokojnika iz žare 1 (sl. 8a), metodom radioaktivnog ugljika nije uspjela zbog kontaminiranosti materijala<sup>3</sup>. Druga žara (br. 2) u grobu 4 bila je ispunjena humusom i sitnim kamenčićima (sl. 8b). U njoj je bilo znatno manje kostiju nego u žari 1: pedesetak vrlo sitnih ulomaka spaljenih i nekoliko kostiju koje možda nisu gorjele<sup>4</sup>. Veći broj kostiju bio je pri dnu posude, u debljini oko 2 cm. Na dnu posude nađena je brončana ukrasna igla s glavicom u obliku ušice (sl. 14b).

Drugi spaljeni pokop (grob 13: sl. 9a-c), u jugozapadnom kvadrantu humka 13 u Nadinu, sastojao se od žare sa stotinjak ulomaka spaljenih ljudskih kostiju. Žara je položena u zaobljenu udubinu promjera oko 50 cm, ograđenu tek s nekoliko manjih zakošenih pločastih kamenja. Ono je moglo služiti kao grobna arhitektura, ali nije pravilno složeno i nije sačuvano sa svih strana posude. Nađeno je oko 200 ulomaka žare, samo neki u prvotnom položaju.

3 Analize kostiju pokojnika su provedene u Beta Analytic Inc., Miami, Florida.

4 Kostiju iz žare 2 nisu analizirane metodom radioaktivnog ugljika zbog nedostatka financijskih sredstava.

ritual—traces of fire on the ground and on animal bones (a funerary feast), with numerous remains of ceramic vessels (libation)—but also represents the first example where the inhumed dead in contracted and extended position, as well as cremated individuals, were placed within a usual Liburnian circular enclosure wall, i.e. in close spatial contact (Fig. 6).

Grave 4 in mound 13 (Fig. 7–8) contained two clay vessels with the remains of cremated persons. It occupied the middle of the southeastern square. The upper parts of the urns were damaged and disturbed, while their lower halves (from the neck to the base) were found *in situ*. The urns were placed one next to the other in the E-W direction. It is not known whether they had lids (a bowl, stone slab etc.). Reconstruction of the vessels failed to produce a single ceramic bowl that could have served as a lid. Some small stones and a single larger stone were found with humus in urn 1 (Fig. 8a). The humus contained the fragments of cremated bones in around 150 pieces. There were no special finds or grave goods in the vessel. A radiocarbon analysis of the osteological remains of the dead person from urn 1 (Fig. 8a) did not succeed due to the contamination of the sample<sup>3</sup>. The second urn (no. 2) in grave 4 was filled with humus and small stones (Fig. 8b). It contained far fewer bones than urn 1: fifty or so very tiny fragments of burnt bones as well as several bones that may not have burned. Most bones lay within a 2 cm thick layer near the bottom of the vessel<sup>4</sup>. A

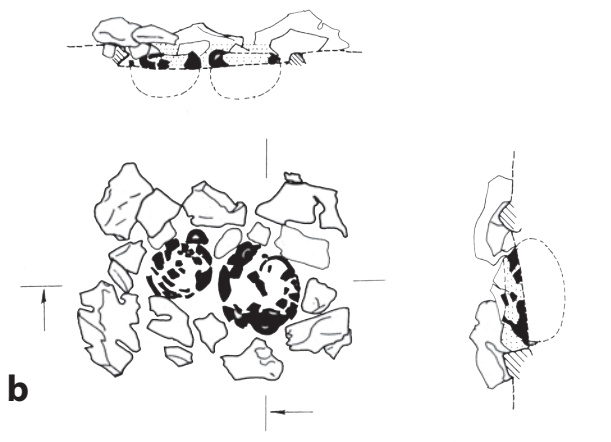
3 The radiocarbon analyses of the cremated bones were carried out at Beta Analytic Inc., Miami, Florida.

4 The bones from urn 2 were not submitted for radiocarbon analysis due to lack of finances.



Sl. 6 Nadin, tlocrt humka 13 s označenim žarnim grobovima 4 i 13 (crtež: I. Čondić 2004)

Fig. 6 Nadin, ground plan of mound 13 with marked cremation graves 4 and 13 (drawing: I. Čondić 2004)



Sl. 7 a) Nadin, humak 13, grob 4 (fotografija: M. Parica 2004); b) Nadin, humak 13, grob 4 (crtež: A. Žderić 2004)

Fig. 7 a) Nadin, mound 13, grave 4 (photo: M. Parica 2004); b) Nadin, mound 13, grave 4 (drawing: A. Žderić 2004)

Očito je grob 13 bio oštećen i dijelom poremećen, bio je bez priloga, osim sitnoga ulomka brončanog lima (promjera 0, 5 cm) od nepoznatog predmeta. Žara nije rekonstruirana (sl. 9c), ali njezina faktura i oblik uglavnom su srodni dvjema rekonstruiranim posudama iz groba 4 (sl. 8a-b). Metodom radioaktivnog ugljika, međutim, utvrđeno je da kosti pokojnika u ovom žarnom grobu (sl. 9a-c) ne pripadaju željeznom već srednjem brončanom dobu (1630.–1450. g. pr. Kr.).

Inhumiranje pokojnika glavni je, odnosno, jedini funerni obred u 1. tis. pr. Kr. u mnogim zajednicama zapadnog Jadrana, osobito njegovog srednjeg i južnog dijela; konkretno, osim venetske kulture na sjevernom Jadranu (i Golasecca svijeta u venetskom zaleđu), te *villanova* zajednica (Bologna, Verucchio) u Emiliji i Romagni, spaljivanje pokojnika, najčešće samo u prvim stoljećima željeznog

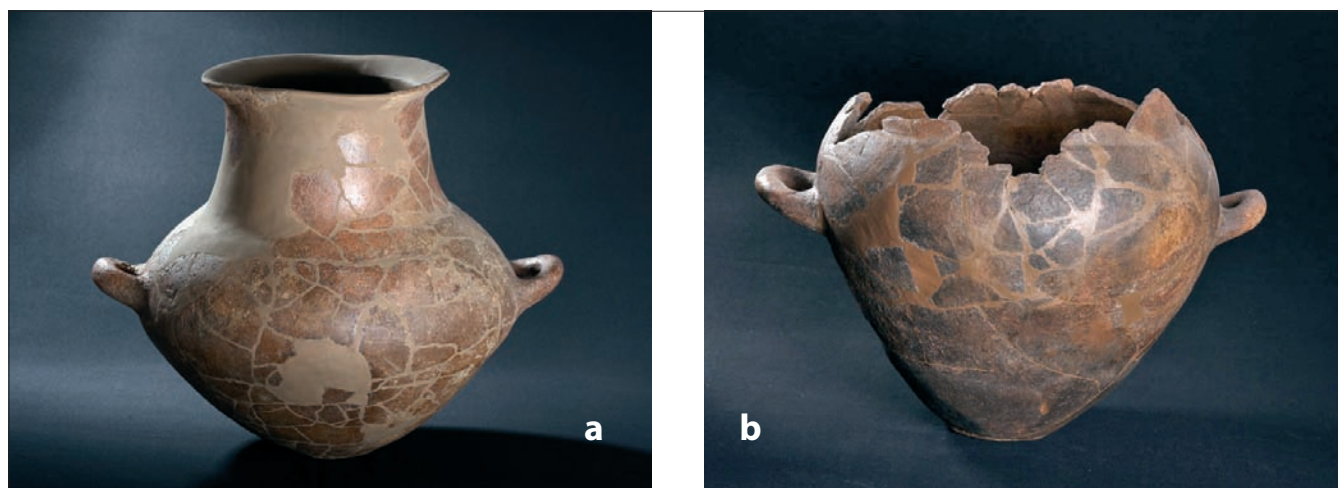
decorative bronze loop-headed pin was found on the bottom of the vessel (Fig. 14b).

The second cremation burial (grave 13: Fig. 9a-c), in the southwestern square of mound 13 in Nadin, consisted of an urn with a hundred or so fragments of cremated human bones. The urn was placed into a round depression around 50 cm in diameter, lined with only a few small stone slabs placed at a slant. They may have served as grave architecture, but they were not arranged neatly and were not preserved on all sides of the vessel. Around 200 fragments of the urn were found, only few in a primary position. Grave 13 was obviously partly disturbed; it lacked grave goods, except for a tiny fragment of sheet bronze (0.5 cm in diameter) from an unknown object. The urn was not reconstructed (Fig. 9c), but its texture and shape are, in the main, similar to the two reconstructed vessels from grave 4 (Fig. 8a-b). Radiocarbon method, however, ascertained that the human bones in this urn burial (Fig. 9a-c) did not belong to the Iron Age, but to the Middle Bronze Age (1630-1450 BC).

Inhumation is the main, or in fact, the only funerary rite in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC in many communities of the western Adriatic, particularly in its central and southern parts; to be precise, except in the Veneto culture in the northern Adriatic (and the Golasecca world in the hinterland of Veneto), and among the *Villanovan* societies (Bologna, Verucchio)

in Emilia and Romagna, the cremation of the dead—mostly only in the first centuries of the Iron Age—was practised only in a few small zones of the central Adriatic (Picenum) and the southern parts of the western Adriatic (semi-cremation in Daunia), as well as in a few areas in southern Italy (Campania: Cumae, Pontecagnano). Cremation is almost absent in the eastern Adriatic, except in the territory of the Histri. In the south of the eastern Adriatic world—together with eastern Herzegovina—which is connected with Glasinac in many respects, there is no cremation either, except for a single uncertain find (the mound in Grudine in the Ljubimirsko Polje plain) (Marijan 2002: 23, 154). At Glasinac itself, with “cremation” episodes in the Bronze Age (Čović 1979: 169; Benac 1984: 139–140), cremation had been on the rise already starting with the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. In Albania too, althou-



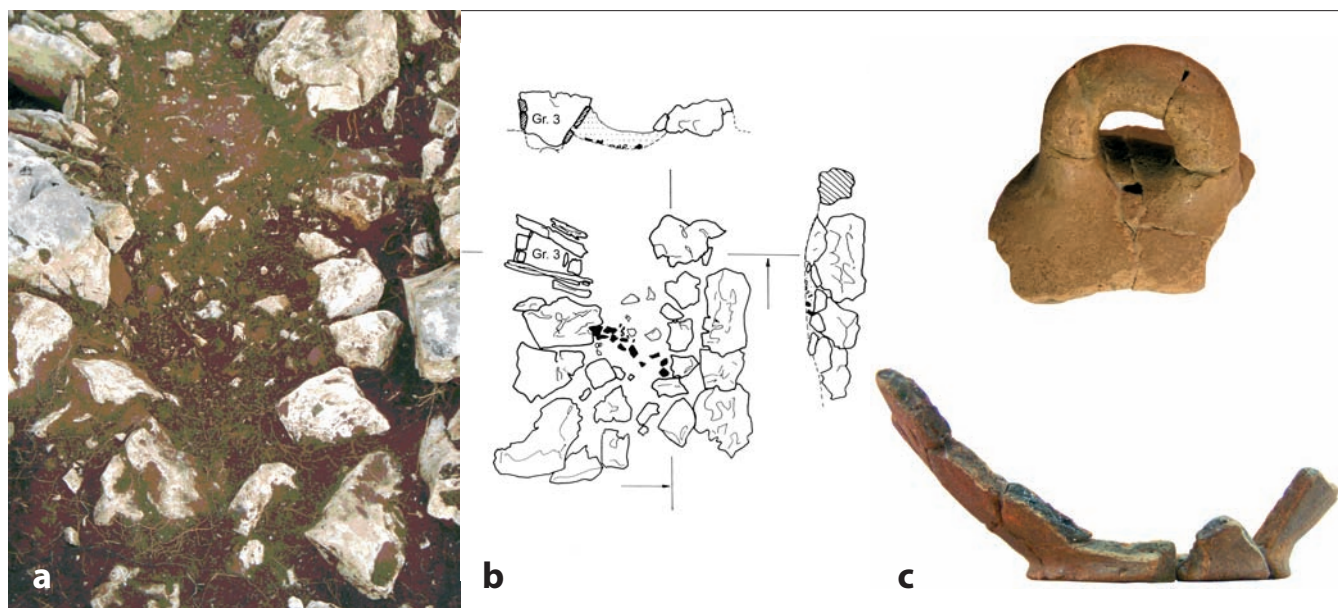


Sl. 8 a) Nadin, humak 13, grob 4: rekonstruirana žara 1 (snimio: S. Govorčin 2009); b) Nadin, humak 13, grob 4: rekonstruirana žara 2 (fotografija: S. Govorčin 2009)

Fig. 8 a) Nadin, mound 13, grave 4: reconstructed urn 1 (photo: S. Govorčin 2009); b) Nadin, mound 13, grave 4: reconstructed urn 2 (photo: S. Govorčin 2009)

doba, obavlja se tek u malim i rijetkim zonama srednjeg (Picenum) i južnog dijela zapadnog Jadrana (poluspaljivanje u Dauniji), kao i rijetkim područjima južne Italije (Campania: Cumae, Pontecagnano). Na istočnom Jadranu, osim histarskog prostora, spaljivanje se gotovo ne pojavljuje. U južnom istočnojadranskom svijetu, s istočnom Hercegovinom, koji je višestruko vezan za Glasinac, nema incineracije, samo jedan dvojbeni nalaz (humak u Grudinama u Ljubomirskom polju) (Marijan 2002: 23, 154). Na samom Glasincu, s brončanodobnim "incineratorskim" epizodama, (Čović 1979: 169; Benac 1984: 139–140) spaljivanje je u znatnom porastu već od 6. st. pr. Kr. I u Albaniji, gdje dominira inhumacija, u 1. tis. pr. Kr. postoji biritualnost, osobito na sjeveru (Glasinac-Mati), zatim na jugu, u kulturi Devoll (Jubani 1972: 203–215; Mirdita 1979: 124, 133). U zaleđu istočnog Jadrana

gh inhumation was the dominant rite, both rites existed in parallel during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, especially in the north (Glasinac-Mati), but also in the south, in the Devoll culture (Jubani 1972: 203–215; Mirdita 1979: 124, 133). In the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic the two rites were used concurrently in the Iapodian society (Fig. 12a-d), primarily in the necropolises in the Una basin (the Pounje region) (Fig. 12d) (Marić 1968: 5–79); likewise, cremation is known from the flat necropolises in the Donja Dolina-Sanski Most cultural group (Čović 1987: 270–273), among the Colapiani (Čučković 2004: 174–209), as well as deep in the interior in the graves of the Kaptol-Martijanec and also Budinjak groups (Šimek 2004: 80–129; Škoberne 1999: 20–39; 2004: 132–171), and finally, in most of the eastern Alpine world (Styria etc.) and in Transdanubia (Teržan 1990: 56, 152–181), where cremation–



Sl. 9 a) Nadin, humak 13, grob 13 s keramičkom žarom (fotografija: M. Parica 2004); b) Nadin, humak 13, grob 13 s keramičkom žarom (crtež: A. Žderić 2004); c) Nadin, humak 13, grob 13, ulomci keramičke žare

Fig. 9 a) Nadin, mound 13, grave 13 with the ceramic urn (photo: M. Parica 2004); b) Nadin, mound 13, grave 13 with the ceramic urn (drawing: A. Žderić 2004); c) Nadin, mound 13, grave 13, fragments of the ceramic urn



Sl.10 Krneza, Jokina glavica: zemljani humak (prema Gusar 2009)  
Fig.10 Krneza, Jokina Glavica: the earthen mound (after Gusar 2009)

poznata je biritualnost kod Japoda (sl. 12a-d), primarno u nekropolama Pounja (sl. 12d) (Marić 1968: 5–79); također, spaljivanje u nekropolama na ravnome u kulturnoj skupini Donja Dolina–Sanski Most (Čović 1987: 270–273), zatim kod

as a direct remnant of the Urnfield culture, in addition to flat cemeteries—is often combined with mounds. Incineration appears—though not frequently—in Lika (Vrebac, Orlov Kamen, mound IV; Kompolje, grave 2: Fig. 12a; Gospić-Lipe, urn grave 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: Fig. 12b) already during the Late Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age (Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 70, 88, T. XXVI: 1; 1983: 381, 386; T. LVI: 6–7); there the urns were obviously inspired by the typology of the Urnfield culture vessels from northern Croatia.

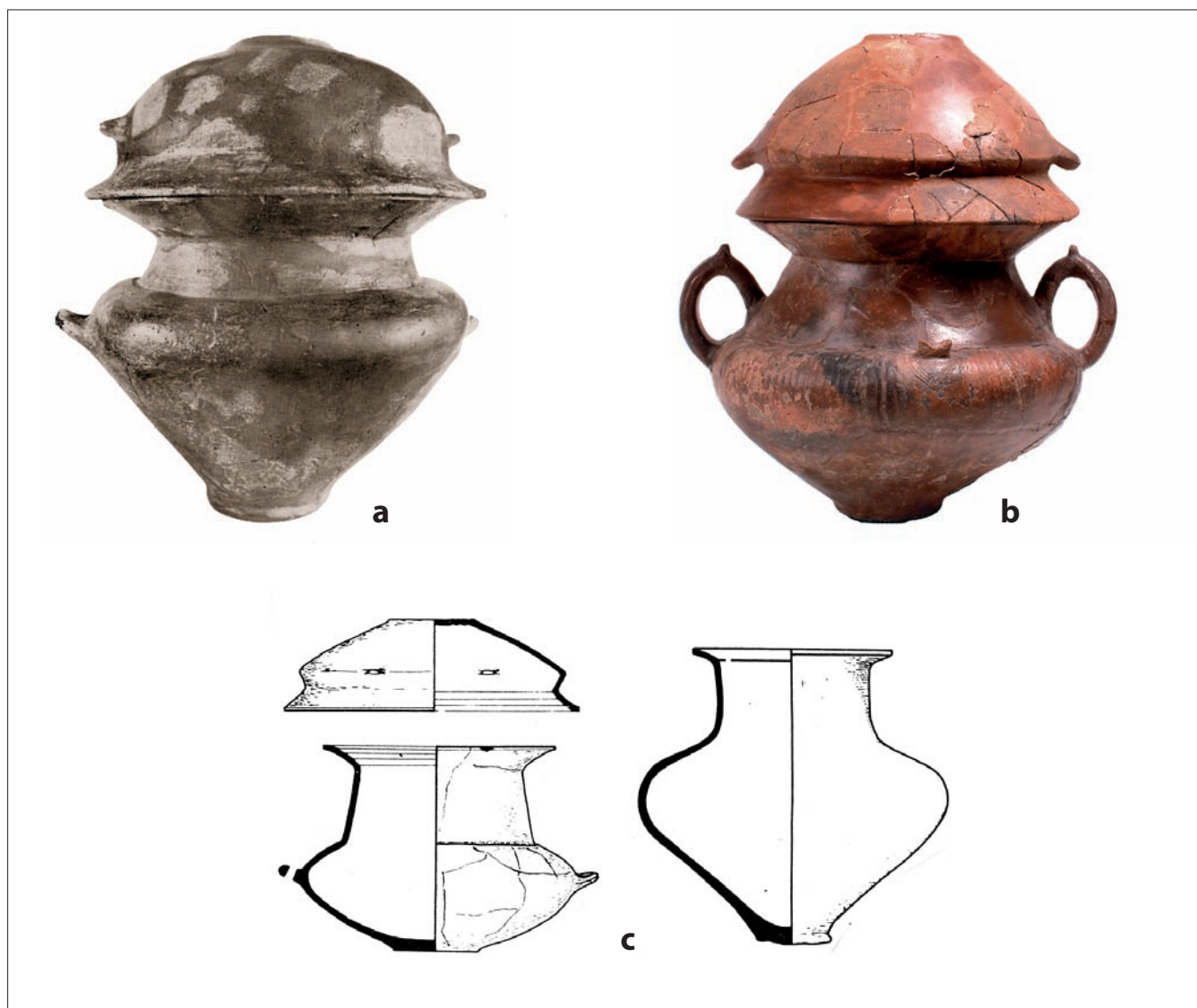
The urns from Nadin are large vessels (one as much as 43.5 cm high: Fig. 8a), of coarse texture, undecorated, with a globular belly with two horizontal ring-handles. The neck is pronounced in various ways, e.g. it is particularly prominent (conical) on one of the vessels (Fig. 8a). In the case of urn 2 (Fig. 8b, 14) from grave 4 it is in fact unclear to what extent was the neck originally pronounced and how close is the urn typologically to an otherwise frequent type of large vessels (pots) without a neck and with a flaring rim (Fig. 16a-c), which were used by the Liburnians and the Daunians for children burials (Fig. 16b) (Batović, 1987: T. XXXV: 3), and also as urns among the Histri, Iapodes and the Picentes: Numana (Fig. 15d). This type of vessel-pot without a neck in



Sl.11 Ljubač, Matakova glavica: humak: a) pogled iz zraka; b) tlocrt s položajem posude; c) rekonstrukcija posude (prema Gusar, Vujević 2010 a); d) idealna rekonstrukcija posude (prema Gusar, Vujević 2010 a)

Fig.11 Ljubač, Matakova Glavica: the mound: a) aerial view; b) ground plan with the position of the vessel; c) reconstruction of the vessel (after Gusar, Vujević 2010 a); d) ideal reconstruction of the vessel (after Gusar, Vujević 2010 a)





Sl. 12 a) Kompolje, žarni grob 2 (prema Drechsler-Bižić 1961); b) Gospić-Lipe, žarni grob, 8. st. pr. Kr. (prema Balen-Letunić 2004); c) Jezerine, žara iz groba 12, 8. – 7. st. pr. Kr. (prema Marić 1968); Ribić, velika posuda (prema Marić 1968)

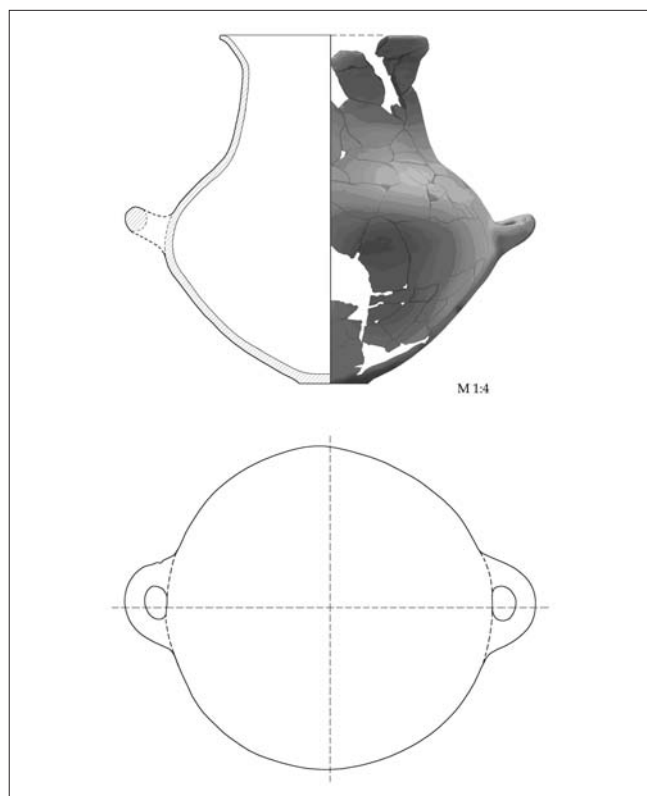
Fig. 12 a) Kompolje, urn grave 2 (after Drechsler-Bižić 1961); b) Gospić-Lipe, urn grave, 8th cent. BC (after Balen-Letunić 2004); c) Jezerine, urn from grave 12, 8th-7thcent. BC (after Marić 1968); Ribić, large vessel (after Marić 1968)

Kolapijana (Čučković 2004: 174–209), te duboko u kontinentu u grobovima Kaptol-Martijanica i Budinjaka (Šimek 2004: 80–129; Škoberne 1999: 20–39; 2004: 132–171) i, napokon, u znatnom dijelu istočnoalpskog svijeta (Štajerska i dr.) i u Transdanubiji (Teržan 1990: 56, 152–181), gdje je incineracija, kao izravni ostatak kulture polja sa žarama, uz groblja na ravnome, često kombinirana s humcima. Mada nije osobito prakticirana, incineracija se pojavljuje u Lici (Vrebac, Orlov kamen, humak IV; Kompolje, grob 2: sl. 12a; Gospić-Lipe, žarni grob 8. st. pr. Kr.: sl. 12b) već kroz kasno brončano i početkom željeznog doba (Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 70, 88, T. XXVI: 1; 1983: 381, 386, T. LVI: 6–7); žare su tu očito inspirirane tipologijom posuda kulture polja sa žarama iz sjeverne Hrvatske.

Nadinske žare velike su posude (jedna je visine 43, 5 cm: sl. 8a); grube su fature, neukrašene, loptasto naglašenog trbuha s dvije horizontalne prstenaste ručke, s različito (?) istaknutim vratom, koji je posebno izražen (stožast) kod jedne posude (sl. 8a). Za žaru 2 (sl. 8b, 14) iz groba 4, zapravo

urn grave 3 at Kompolje (Fig. 16c) is dated by a bow fibula (Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 70, 88, T. XXVII: 1–2).

The bellied form of the Nadin urn with a pronounced conical neck (Fig. 8a, 13) finds analogies in the Liburnian ceramics also in the large funerary vessels with a bowl serving as a lid (Nin: Fig. 15a), which were used for burying newborn children (Batović 1973: 399, 402–403; 1987: T. XXXV: 1–2). The same type of burial *ad encytrismos* was practiced in Daunia (Tinè Bertocchi 1975: T. 67: 2; De Juliis 1988: 595, sl. 58), and elsewhere, in a vessel (Fig. 15b) sometimes almost identical to the urn from Nadin (Fig. 8a, 13). The bellied shape of the Nadin urns (Fig. 8a, 13) with a pronounced neck finds certain analogies in the ceramic vessels found in several instances in burials under mounds (Fig. 11a-d) in northern Dalmatia from the Iron Age or the (Late) Bronze Age, but which unfortunately often do not lend themselves well to precise dating. Namely, the remains of a globular vessel with a neck (Fig. 11c-d) from the Late Bronze or Iron Age earthen mound Matakova Glavica in Podvršje were found

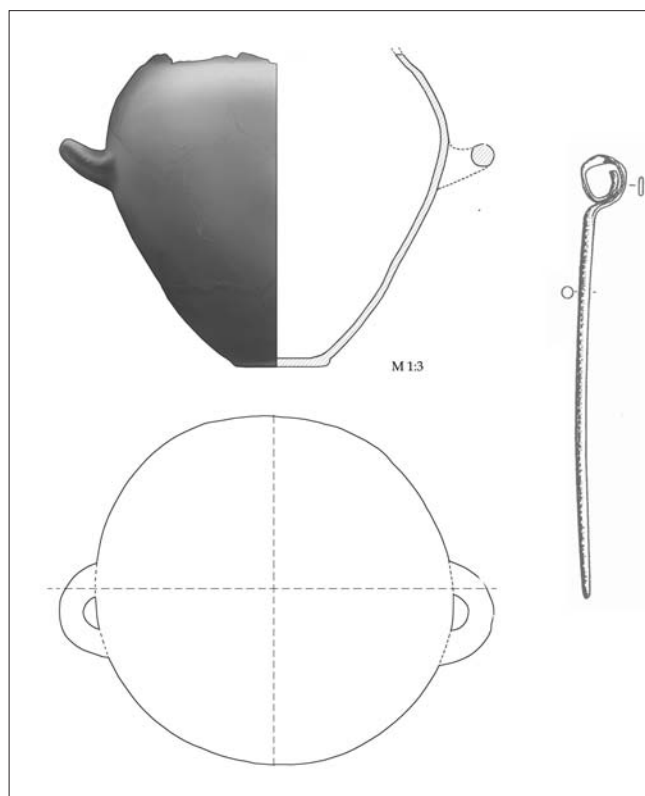


Sl. 13 Nadin, humak 13, grob 4: rekonstruirana žara 1 (crtež: I. Čondić 2008)

Fig. 13 Nadin, mound 13, grave 4: reconstructed urn 1 (drawing: I. Čondić 2008)

nije sigurno koliko je vrat izvorno bio naglašen i koliko je stoga žara tipološki bliska jednom, inače čestom tipu velikih posuda (loncima) bez vrata, s razvraćenim obodom (sl. 16a-c), koje su služile za pokop djece kod Liburna (sl. 16b) (Batović, 1987: T. XXXV: 3), kod Dauna (sl. 16a), ali i kao urne kod Histra, Japoda (sl. 16c) i Picena: Numana (sl. 15d). Taj tip posude-lonca bez vrata u žarnom grobu 3 iz Kompolja (sl. 16c) datiran je lučnom fibulom (Drechsler-Bižić 1961: 70, 88, T. XXVII: 1-2).

Trbušasti pak oblik nadinske žare s istaknutim stožastim vratom (sl. 8a, 13) ima analogije u liburnskoj keramici, također u velikim grobnim posudama s poklopnom zdjelom (Nin: sl. 15a) za sahranu novorođenčadi (Batović 1973: 399, 402-403; 1987: T. XXXV: 1-2). Isti način pokopa *ad encytrismos* obavljao se u Dauniji (Tinè Bertocchi 1975: T. 67: 2; De Juliis 1988: 595, sl. 58), i drugdje, u posudi (sl. 15b) koja je ponekad gotovo identična žari iz Nadina (sl. 8a, 13). Trbušasti oblik nadinskih žara (sl. 8a, 13) s istaknutim vratom ima određenu analogiju i u keramičkim posudama, nađenim u nekoliko slučajeva, u pokopu pod humcima (sl. 11a-d) iz sjeverne Dalmacije iz željeznog, odnosno, (kasnog) brončanog doba koje se, međutim, često opiru preciznom datiranju. Konkretno, u zemljanom humku Matakova glavića u Podvršju iz kasnog brončanog ili pak željeznog doba, ostaci loptaste posude s vratom (sl. 11c-d) nađeni su nad prstenastom kamenom konstrukcijom, unutrašnjim obzidom (sl. 11a-b). Funkcija posude nije poznata, jer je nepoznat obred sahranjivanja: nisu nađeni ostaci pokojnika (Gusar,



Sl. 14 Nadin, humak 13, grob 4: rekonstruirana žara 2 i brončana igla (crtež: I. Čondić 2008)

Fig. 14 Nadin, mound 13, grave 4: reconstructed urn 2 and a bronze pin (drawing: I. Čondić 2008)

above a ring-shaped stone structure – the interior enclosure wall (Fig. a-b). The function of the vessel is unidentified, because the burial rite is not known: no remains of a deceased person were found (Gusar, Vujević 2010a)<sup>5</sup>.

Analogies for the Nadin urns—especially urn 1 in grave 4 (Fig. 8a, 13)—are clearly perceptible in a significantly wider area through the 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC in various cultural circles and in diverse burial contexts: in “incineration” as well as in inhumation burials. We refer to the ceramic forms of the Ruše type (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 108: H; T. 112: D6; Gabrovec 1983: 59, sl. 6, 27), V. Gorica, Dalj/Vukovar (Vinski-Gasparini 1983: T. LXXXIX: 14; T. XCI: 1, 2, 10, 15-16), Terni II (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 43: A; T. 45: A, B), Este II (Müller-Karpe 1959: 94 C), Bologna I-II (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 62: S; T. 71: E, gr. 361; T. 78: O; T. 81: D15), Roma II (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 24: A9, B8, C7; *Civiltà del Lazio primitivo* 1976: T. V: A2, 5; T. XXXIX: A8), Cumae I (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 16: A8; T. 18: A), Pontecagnano IA (D’Agostino, Gastaldi 1988: 101-103, Fig. I: 1, 22), i.e. the forms distributed from the Danubian Basin – the Alps – the Balkans<sup>6</sup> – the Apennine peninsula at the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. These forms are unornamented or ornamented (meander, spiral, zigzag bands), often with white incrustation, with variously placed

<sup>5</sup> The paper is in press; I therefore thank my colleagues for allowing me to inspect the documentation.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, in the Donja Brnjica-Gornja Stražava cultural group (Pomoravlje, Kosovo), the urns with a conical neck and small handles with or without a button. (Garašanin 1983: 774-776, T. CVII: 4-6).



Vujević 2010a)<sup>5</sup>.

Analogija nadinskim žarama, posebno žari 1 u grobu 4 (sl. 8a, 13), jasno je uočljiva i na znatno širem prostoru kroz 10. – 8. st. pr. Kr., u različitim kulturnim krugovima i u različitim grobnim kontekstima: "incineratorskima" i onima s inhumacijom. Radi se o keramičkim oblicima tipa Ruše (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 108: H; T. 112: D6; Gabrovec 1983: 59, sl. 6, 27), V. Gorica, Dalj/Vukovar (Vinski-Gasparini 1983: T. LXXXIX: 14; T. XCI: 1, 2, 10, 15–16), Terni II (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 43: A; T. 45: A, B), Este II (Müller-Karpe 1959: 94 C), Bologna I-II (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 62: S; T. 71: E, gr. 361, T. 78: O; T. 81: D15), Rim II (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 24: A9, B8, C7; Civiltà del Lazio primitivo 1976: T. V: A2, 5; T. XXXIX: A8), Cumae I (Müller-Karpe 1959: T. 16: A8; T. 18: A), Pontecagnano IA (D'Agostino, Gastaldi 1988: 101–103, sl. I: 1, 22), tj. oblicima rasprostranjenim od Podunavlja – Alpa – Balkana<sup>6</sup> – Apeninskog poluotoka na prijelazu kasnog brončanog u željezno doba, koji su neukrašeni ili pak ukrašeni (meandar, spirala, cik-cak vrpce), često s bijelom inkrustacijom, s različito položenim i oblikovanim ručkama, te različito istaknutim vratom i trbuhom. Slične keramičke profilacije u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj zapravo postoje već u starijoj kulturi polja sa žarama<sup>7</sup>, odnosno, na Apeninskom poluotoku od *protovillanova* vremena (Peroni 1989: 87, sl. 25: 1, 9).

Nadinske neukrašene žare oblikom su srodne i histarskoj grobnoj keramici od 9. do 8. st. pr. Kr., s meandro-spiralnim motivima u bijeloj inkrustaciji, s razvrćenim obodom, ali uglavnom s niskim koničnim vratom. I histarski oblik žare dio je spomenute široko rasprostranjene tipologije posuda od kasnog (10. – 8. st. pr. Kr.) *urnenfelder* svijeta Podunavlja (Dalj, Vukovar), preko Balkana do srednje i južne Italije (Sala Consilina) tijekom 9. i 8. st. pr. Kr., te istovremenog zapadnojadorskog kruga (Gabrovec, Mihovilić 1987: 304). U Liburnima po mnogočemu bliskoj Dauniji, spaljivanje je marginalno<sup>8</sup>. Njegova prva pojava u Apuliji (Torre Castelluccia), nakon dugotrajne tradicije inhumiranja, pada u vrijeme kulturno-etničkih promjena krajem 12. i početkom 11. st. pr. Kr., kada ovdje definitivno nestaje subapeninska kultura, pojavljuju se *protovillanova* elementi i kada propadaju stara naselja i počinju nova, u pozadini čega stoje i određene transjadranske (ilirske, balkanske) migracije (De Juliis 1988: 594–595).

Unatoč daunsko-liburnskim srodnostima u kultu

- 5 Rad je u tisku; stoga zahvaljujem kolegama na uvidu u dokumentaciju.
- 6 Npr. u grupi Donja Brnjica-Gornja Stražava (Pomoravlje, Kosovo) urne s koničnim vratom i ručicama s ili bez dugmeta (Garašanin 1983: 774–776, T. CVII: 4–6).
- 7 Npr. u grupi Zagreb, tip trbušaste žare blago stožastog vrata (Vinski-Gasparini 1983: 581, T. LXXXVIII: 2, 7).
- 8 U Dauniji, gdje se umrli isključivo inhumiraju u zgrčenom položaju, s grobnim priložima često identičnim onim liburnskima iz starijeg željeznog doba, tek se izuzetno u to vrijeme prakticira i spaljivanje, točnije poluspaljivanje (grob iz Ordona iz 8. st. pr. Kr.) s ostacima triju pokojnika i bogatim brončanim priložima) i tek u prvoj polovini 4. st. pr. Kr. zbiva se određeni prodor incineracije. Radi se o "neobičnim" pojavama poluspaljivanja, isključivo u monumentalnim helenističkim grobnicama tipa *a grotticella*, *a camera* (hipogeji iz Canose, Lavella), s pokojnicima u ispruženo-zgrčenom položaju, položenima u grobu uz lomaču koja je djelomično uništavala tijelo. Obred spaljivanja završavao je sakupljanjem izgorelih ljudskih ostataka i njihovim prilaganjem u metalnu posudu zajedno s priložima koji nisu gorjeli (De Juliis 1988: 608, 620).

and shaped handles, and necks and bellies pronounced in various ways. Similar ceramic profilations in northern Croatia had existed in fact already in the older Urnfield culture<sup>7</sup>, as well as from the *proto-Villanovan* period in the Apennine peninsula (Peroni 1989: 87, sl. 25: 1, 9).

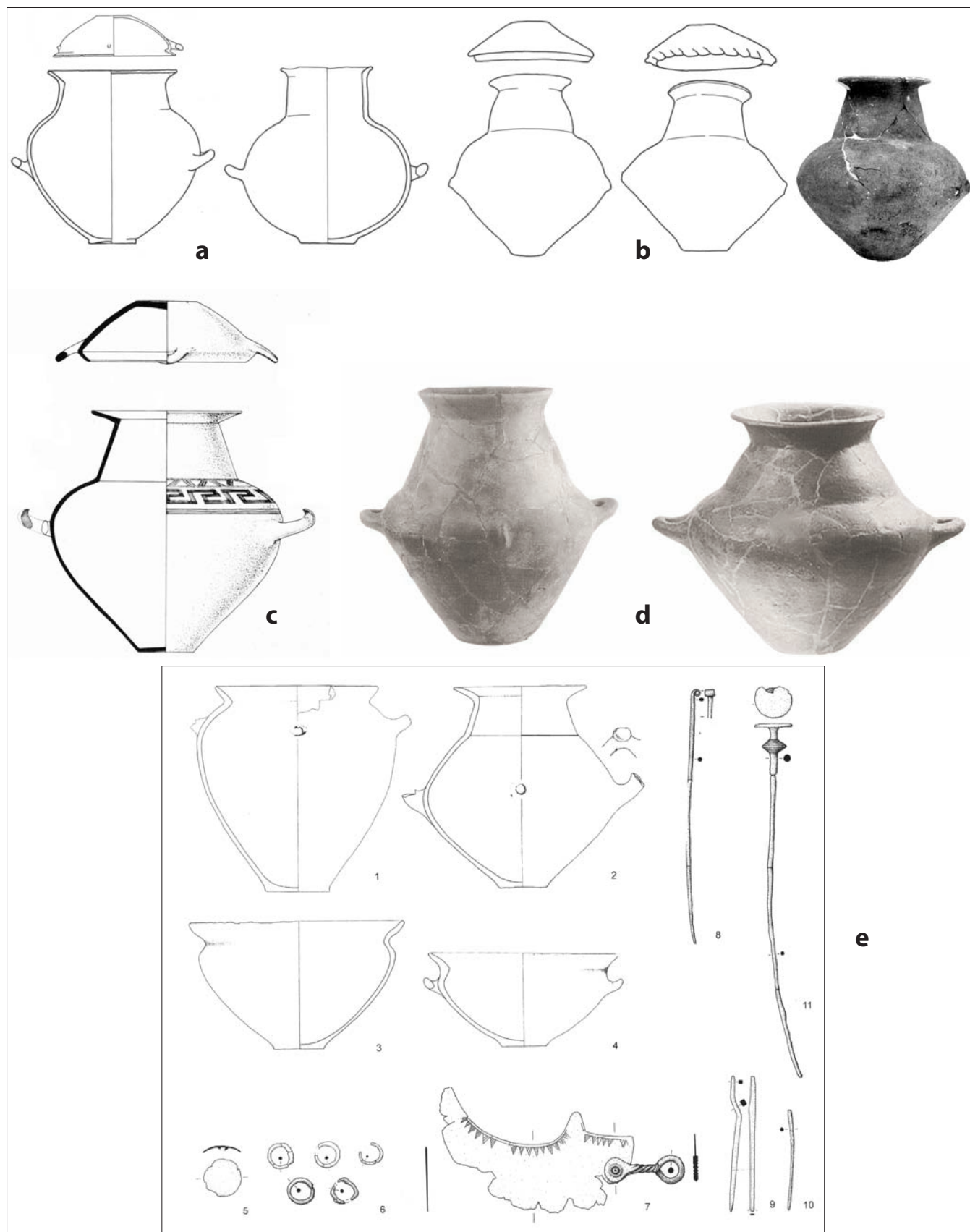
The shapes of the undecorated urns from Nadin are similar to the Histrian funerary ware from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, with meander and spiral motifs in white incrustation, with flaring rims and generally short conical necks. The Histrian variant of the urn also belongs to the mentioned widely distributed typology of vessels from the Late (10<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) Urnfield world of the Danubian Basin (Dalj, Vukovar), across the Balkans to central and southern Italy (Sala Consilina) during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, and the contemporaneous western Adriatic circle (Gabrovec, Mihovilić 1987: 304). Cremation is only marginally present in Daunia, a region otherwise closely related with Liburnia in many respects<sup>8</sup>. Incineration first appears in Apulia (Torre Castelluccia), after a long and established tradition of inhumation, in the time of cultural and ethnic changes towards the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, when the Subapennine culture definitely disappears from here and new *proto-Villanovan* elements appear, and when old settlements collapse and new are created, all processes for which a backdrop of sorts is found in certain Transadriatic (Illyrian, Balkan) migrations (De Juliis 1988: 594–595).

In spite of the similarities between the Daunians and the Liburnians in the cult of the dead, the Picentes stand closest to the Liburnians in the Adriatic world regarding the intensity and the time when cremation was used. In both milieus the "incineration" element was a transitory event; among the Picentes, however, in addition to sporadic cremation burials, e.g. Ancona, Numana (Lollini 1976: 122–123; Lucentini 2009: 98–102); Novilara: two graves – Servizi, 29, 39, Piceno II-III, from the 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Lollini 1976; Beinhauer 1985: 93–99; Lucentini 2000: 58–60; 2007: 102), there is also the Fermo necropolis (9<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) (Lollini 1976: 125, 130; Drago Troccoli 2003: 33–84).

The Nadin urns, especially the one with a conical neck, thus find an almost identical analogy as regards the shape in an urn with meander decoration from the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC male grave 52 from Numana (Fig. 15c). This grave, with ceramic decoration close to that of the Histri, with a Sirolo-Numana type pin, a razor, a knife and a whetstone (Kukoč, Čelhar 2009: 91) is usually mentioned as an indicator of Transadriatic contacts—between Picenum and Liburnia (Balkans) (Lolli-

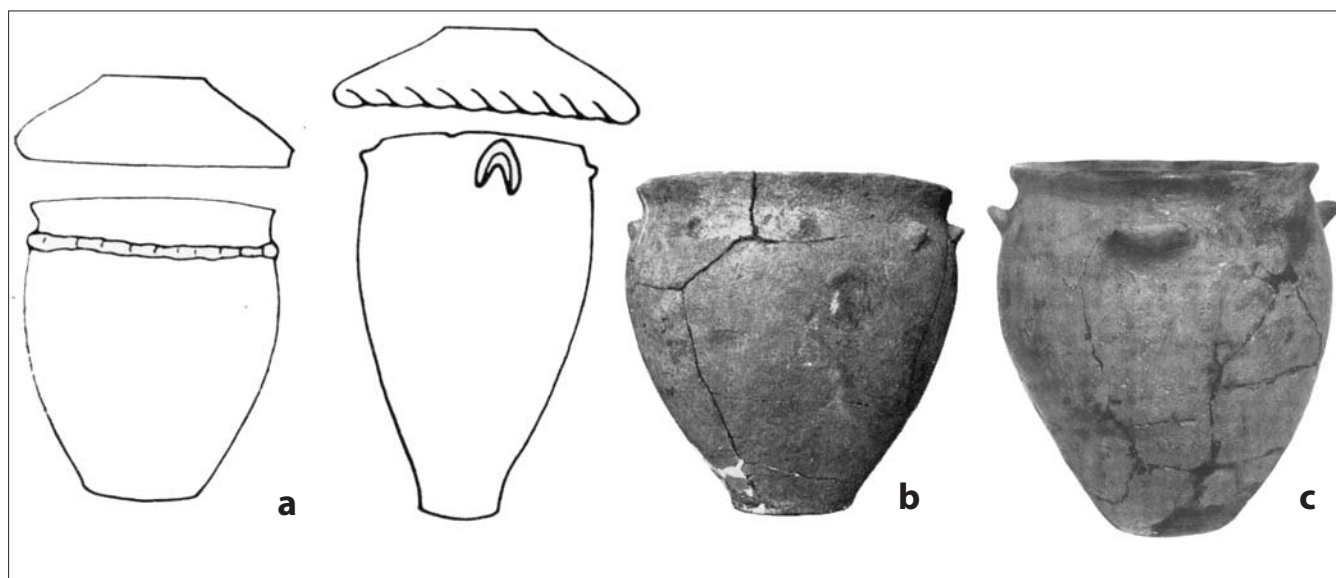
7 For instance in the Zagreb group, the type of a bellied urn with a slightly conical neck (Vinski-Gasparini 1983: 581, T. LXXXVIII: 2, 7).

8 In Daunia, where the inhumation of the dead in a contracted position is exclusively used, with grave goods often identical to those of the Liburnians in the Early Iron Age, cremation—or semi-cremation, to be more precise—is used only exceptionally (an 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC grave from Ordona, with the remains of three dead persons and rich grave goods), and the first substantial presence of the incineration rite occurs only in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. We are dealing with "unusual" phenomena of semi-cremation, exclusively in monumental Hellenistic tombs of the *a grotticella* and *a camera* types (hypogea from Canosa, Lavella), with the dead placed into graves in extended-contracted position next to the pyre that partly destroyed the body. The ritual of cremation ended by collecting the burnt human remains and placing them into a metal vessel together with the goods that did not burn (De Juliis 1988: 608, 620).



Sl. 15 a) Nin: keramičke posude sa sahranjenom novorođenčadi (prema Batović 1973; 1987); b) Salapija: keramičke posude sa sahranjenom novorođenčadi (prema Tinè Bertocchi 1975), c) Numana, grob 52, Quagliotti: ukrašena žara (prema Lollini 1976); d) Numana, grob 495, Davanzali (prema Lucentini 2007); e) Matelica, grob Villa Clara, grobni priloz: keramičke posude (prema Stopponi 2003: T. I: a, b)  
 Fig. 15 a) Nin: ceramic vessels with burials of newborn children (after Batović 1973; 1987); b) Salapia: ceramic vessels with burials of newborn children (after Tinè Bertocchi 1975), c) Numana, grob 52, Quagliotti: decorated urn (after Lollini 1976); d) Numana, grave 495, Davanzali (after Lucentini 2007); e) Matelica, Villa Clara grave, grave goods: ceramic vessels (after Stopponi 2003: T. I: a, b)





Sl. 16 a) Salapija: keramički lonci sa sahranjenom novorođenčadi (prema Tinè Bertocchi 1975); b) Liburnski lonac sa sahranjenim novorođenčcem (prema Batović 1973); c) Kompolje, žarni grob 3 (prema Drechsler-Bižić 1961)

Fig. 16 a) *Salapia*: ceramic pots with burials of newborn children (after Tinè Bertocchi 1975); b) *Liburnian pot* with the burial of a newborn child (after Batović 1973); c) *Kompolje, urn grave 3* (after Drechsler-Bižić 1961)

mrtvih, intenzitetom i vremenom spaljivanja pokojnika u jadranskom svijetu Liburnima su ipak najbliži Piceni. U obje sredine "incineratorska" komponenta bila je prolazni događaj; ali, kod Picena, uz sporadične spaljene pokope, npr. Ancona, Numana (Lollini 1976: 122–123; Lucentini 2007: 98–102); Novilara: dva groba – Servici, 29, 39, Piceno II–III, iz 8./7. st. pr. Kr. (Lollini 1976; Beinbauer 1985: 93–99; Lucentini 2000: 58–60; 2007: 102), postoji nekropola Fermo (9. – 7. st. pr. Kr.) (Lollini 1976: 125, 130; Drago Troccoli 2003: 33–84).

Nadinskim žarama, osobito onoj sa stožastim vratom, tako je formom gotovo jednaka meandrom ukrašena žara u muškom gobu 52 iz Numane iz 9. st. pr. Kr. (sl. 15c). Ovaj grob, s keramičkim ukrasom bliskim histarskom, s iglom tipa Sirolo-Numana, britvom, nožem i kamenim brusom (Kukoč, Čelhar 2009: 91) obično se navodi kao znak transjadranskih, picensko-liburnskih (balkanskih) (Lollini 1976: 122–123, 158), odnosno, picensko-histarskih (Lucentini 2007: 102) dodira tijekom starijeg željeznog doba, kada je liburnsko-picenska interakcija bila najizraženija. Ista nadinska žara (sl. 8a, 13) oblikom potpuno odgovara žari s čepolikim dodatkom na ručici u grobu iz Numane, 495, Davanzali, s kraja 9. st. pr. Kr. (sl. 15d)<sup>9</sup>. Uočljiva je općenita podudarnost između strukture priloga u ovom picenskom grobu (s dvije žare, ušičastom iglom i iglom s diskastom glavom) i liburnskih priloga iz groba 4 iz humka 13, djelomično i iz groba 9 s višestrukim ukopima iz istog humka iz Nadina (Kukoč, Čelhar 2009: 91). Također, dva tipa žara u grobu 495, Davanzali podsjećaju na kombinaciju **oblika dvaju žara iz nadinskog groba 4, pogotovo ako se pretpostavi da nadinska žara br. 2 (sl. 8b, 14) izvorno nije imala istaknuti vrat (sl. 14) i da je, dakle, profilacijom bila poput prve žare iz groba Davanzali 495 (sl. 15d: 1) (Lucentini 2007: sl. 3: 1). Srodan oblik bikoničnih posuda pojavljuje se približno u isto vrijeme i kao grobni prilog u**

ni 1976: 122–123, 158), that is, between Picenum and Histria (Lucentini 2007: 102)–during the Early Iron Age, when the Liburnian-Picene interaction was most pronounced. The shape of the same urn from Nadin (Fig. 8a, 13) corresponds to the urn with a cork-shaped application on the small handle in the grave from Numana, 495, Davanzali, from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Fig. 15d)<sup>9</sup>. There is a marked general correlation between the structure of goods in this Picene grave (with two urns, a loop-headed pin and a pin with a discoid head) and the Liburnian goods from grave 4 from mound 13, and partly also from grave 9 with multiple burials from the same mound in Nadin (Kukoč, Čelhar 2009: 91). Also, two types of urns in grave 495, Davanzali, are reminiscent of a combination of forms of two urns from Nadin grave 4, especially if we presume that urn no. 2 from Nadin (Fig. 8b, 14) originally lacked a pronounced neck (Fig. 14), and therefore its profilation was like that of the first urn from grave Davanzali 495 (Fig. 15d: 1) (Lucentini 2007: Fig. 3/1). A similar form of biconical vessels appears at approximately the same time as a grave good in inhumation burials in Picenum, e.g. in the Villa Clara-Matelica grave (Stoppioni 2003: 394) (Fig. 15e).

Both incinerations–in the Liburnian and the Picene cults of the dead–are convergent phenomena, explicable in the context of the dynamic end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the new age, in the area from the Danubian Basin, the Alps, to the Apennine peninsula, probably aided by minor migrations at the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC. The direction from which incineration arrived in the Picene culture from as early as the final Bronze Age–from the Apennine *proto-Villanovan* north or from central Italy–is an open question; the connection of Picenum with the

<sup>9</sup> U grobu se, između ostalog, nalazi i ušičasta igla, poput kronološki neosjetljive igle iz nadinske žare (Lucentini 2007: 100, sl. 3: 2).

<sup>9</sup> The grave contained–among other goods–a loop-headed pin like the chronologically unsusceptible pin from the Nadin urn (Lucentini 2007: 100, Fig. 3: 2).

picenskim pokopima s inhumacijom, npr. u grobu Villa Clara-Matelica (Stopponi 2003: 394) (sl. 15e).

Obje incineracije, u liburnskom i picenskom kultu mrtvih, konvergentne su pojave, objašnjive u kontekstu dinamičnog završetka brončanog doba i početka nove epohe od Podunavlja, Alpa, do Apeninskog poluotoka, vjerojatno potpomognute i manjim migracijama na prijelazu s 2. na 1. tis. pr. Kr. Pitanje je odakle je sve incineracija stizala u picensku kulturu još od vremena finalnog brončanog doba (iz apeninskog *proto-villanova* sjevera) ili iz srednje Italije; picenska veza s *villanova* krugom srednje Italije (Lollini 1976: 159; Baldelli 2000: 55–56; Drago Troccoli 2003: 77–80), možda i određeno naslijeđe *protovillanova* svijeta – Pianello di Genga (Bianco Peroni, Peroni 2000: 47–51), ali i veze s istočnim Jadranom, bez sumnje, oslikavaju pozadinu spaljivanja kod Picena. U zatvorenom krugu kulturno-etničkih dodira tijekom 10. – 8. st. pr. Kr. od Podunavlja, jugoistočnoalpskog prostora do Apeninskog poluotoka, upravo kulturna interakcija Liburna – Histra – Picena (i Japoda: sl. 12a-c, 16c) i, dakako, njihovog zaleđa, dobar je početan kontekst za iscrpniju analizu liburnskog spaljivanja u starije željezno doba, odnosno, na samom početku te epohe, na prijelazu s 10. na 9. st. pr. Kr.

Unatoč neuspjeloj radiokarbonskoj analizi žarnog pokopa (sl. 13) u urni 1 iz groba 4 u nadinskom humaku 13, taj pokop, dakle, vremenski određuje na početak željenog doba cjelokupni tipično liburnski kontekst humka 13, zatim komparativni keramički materijal na širem prostoru Jadrana (Picenum i dr.) i šireg zaleđa (od Podunavlja do jugoistočnoalpskog svijeta) na prijelazu brončanog (*urnenfelder*) u željezno doba i, napokon, najnoviji žarni pokopi (s prilozi: dvodijelna zmijolika fibila i dr.) s liburnskog prostora, iz Jokine glavice-Krneza, kod kojih su analizom radioaktivnog ugljika kosti spaljenih pokojnika datirane od 9. do 8. st. pr. Kr. (Gusar, Vujević 2010).

Spaljeni liburnski pokop starijeg željeznog doba jest određen utjecaj kasnog *urnenfelder* kruga, koji se na različite načine odrazio u počecima liburnske, picenske, histarske kulture i drugdje. Na kraju, ostaje problem groba 13 u humku 13 u Nadinu (sl. 9b-c), metodom radioaktivnog ugljika datiranog u srednje brončano doba (1630.–1450. g. pr. Kr.), sa žarom (nerekonstruiranom) koja je, međutim, fakturom i tipologijom ipak srodna ostalim žarama u nadinskom humku 13 (sl. 8a-b, 13, 14). Uvažavajući radiokarbonsku analizu osteoloških ostataka iz urne u grobu 13, trebalo bi zaključiti da je na ovom nadinskom kulturnom mjestu pokapanje započelo već u srednje brončano doba, za što osim navedenih radiokarbonskih datuma nema drugih, izravnih arheoloških dokaza.

Ipak, do sada istraženi humci oko Nadina (sl. 4) potječu iz brončanog i željeznog doba: u nekima su se spaljivali pokojnici već u ranoj bronci (cetinska kultura), također, u nekima postoji kontinuitet sahranjivanja kroz (kasno) brončano i željezno doba (Batović, Čondić 2005: 74–91). Stoga se postavlja pitanje o utemeljenosti, ovdje samo naznačene, hipoteze o stanovitoj (cetinskoj?) tradiciji spaljivanja kroz (neistraženo) srednje brončano i proto-liburnsko doba u sjevernoj Dalmaciji.

*Villanovan* circle of central Italy (Lollini 1976: 159; Baldelli 2000: 55–56; Drago Troccoli 2003: 77–80), and perhaps also certain legacy of the *proto-Villanovan* world – Pianello di Genga (Bianco Peroni, Peroni 2000: 47–51), but also the connections with the eastern Adriatic, undoubtedly reflect the background of the cremation rite in the Picenian society. Within the closed circle of cultural-ethnic contacts during the 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC from the Danubian Basin, the southeastern Alpine area to the Apennine peninsula, precisely the cultural interaction between the Liburnians, the Histri and the Picentes (as well as the Iapodes: Fig. 12a-c, 16c) and, naturally, their hinterland, is a good starting context for a more thorough analysis of the Liburnian cremation in the Early Iron Age, that is, at the very beginning of that period, at the transition from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.

In spite of the failed radiocarbon analysis of the cremation burial in urn 1 from grave 4 in mound 13 in Nadin, this burial has been chronologically determined to the beginning of the Iron Age by the entire typically Liburnian context of mound 13, by ceramic comparanda in the wider area of the Adriatic (Picenum etc.) and the wider hinterland (from the Danubian Basin to the southeastern Alpine world) at the transition from the Bronze (Urnfield) to the Iron Age, and finally, by the latest urn burials (with grave goods: two-part serpentine fibula etc.) from the Liburnian territory, from Jokina Glavica-Krneza, which yielded cremated human bones radiocarbon dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (Gusar, Vujević 2010).

The Liburnian cremation burial of the Early Iron Age owes something to the influence from the Late Urnfield circle, which was reflected in various ways in the beginnings of the Liburnian, Picenian and Histrian cultures, as well as elsewhere. There is finally the problem of grave 13 in mound 13 in Nadin (Fig. 9b-c), radiocarbon dated to the Middle Bronze Age (1630-1450 BC), with an (unreconstructed) urn whose texture and typology, however, are similar to the remaining urns in mound 13 in Nadin (Fig. 8a-b, 13, 14). Acknowledging the radiocarbon analysis of the osteological remains from the urn in grave 13, we should conclude that the burials at this cult place in Nadin started already in the Middle Bronze Age, although there is no other direct archaeological evidence for this except for the mentioned radiocarbon dates.

However, the hitherto investigated mounds around Nadin (Fig. 4) belong to the Bronze and Iron Ages: some contained cremations from as early as the Early Bronze Age (the Cetina culture), and some even exhibit continuity in burials through the (Late) Bronze and Iron Ages (Batović, Čondić 2005: 74–91). It is therefore appropriate to question the validity of the—here only tentatively introduced—hypothesis about a tradition of cremation of sorts (in the Cetina culture) through the (uninvestigated) Middle Bronze Age and the proto Liburnian period in northern Dalmatia.

Incineration in the Liburnian culture of the 1<sup>st</sup> mil. BC cannot be explained in a linear fashion as a continuity from the Early Bronze Age: there are missing links—particularly in the poorly investigated Middle Bronze Age—in the knowledge on the cultural dynamics of the 2<sup>nd</sup> mil. BC in northern



Incineracija u liburnskoj kulturi iz 1. tis. pr. Kr. ne može se pravocrtno objašnjavati kao kontinuitet ranog brončanog doba: nedostaju međukarike, osobito one iz slabo istraženog srednjeg brončanog doba, u poznavanju kulturne dinamike 2. tis. pr. Kr. na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije. Ali, tipični liburnski pokop "nasljeđuje" određene formalne i simbolične elemente (kamena grobna škrinja, humak, obzid, libacija, itd.) iz brončanog doba, a poneke vjerojatno i iz eneolitika. Određeni morfološki elementi keramičkih posuda-žara kod Liburna načelno su mogli biti stanovit nastavak oblika iz starijih faza brončanog doba. (Tipologija velikih liburnskih keramičkih lonaca-pitosa za pokop djece: sl. 15a, 16b, kao i sam obred *ad encytrismos*, potječe iz starije, brončanodobne, sredozemne tradicije.) Tako je u zemljanom humku Duševića glavica-Krneza (sl. 2: 3, 3) grob poput liburnskih, sa zgrčenim pokojnikom u kamenoj škrinji, datiran metodom radioaktivnog ugljika u srednje brončano doba (Gusar, Vujević 2010). Ovaj podatak, kao i onaj o datiranju spaljenog žarnog groba 13 iz humka 13 u Nadinu (sl. 9a-c), jedini su "egzaktni" podaci o srednjem brončanom dobu sjeverne Dalmacije.

**I dok je humak 13 iz Nadina (sl. 6) jedini primjer biritualnosti pod liburnskim humcima, u Duševića glavici-Krneza (sl. 2: 3, 3) prvi put je uočena biritualnost u humku iz brončanog doba u sjevernoj Dalmaciji: ispod spomenutog groba (sl. 3: 2) s inhumacijom u škrinji iz srednjeg brončanog doba bili su ostaci spaljenog (cetinskog) pokopa (Gusar, Vujević, 2010)<sup>10</sup>.**

Ovdje naznačena radna hipoteza o stanovitom kontinuitetu pojedinih elemenata kulta mrtvih i samog spaljivanja u sjevernoj Dalmaciji od starijeg brončanog do željeznog doba može se provjeravati samo novim arheološkim otkrićima koja bi objasnila bitne aspekte funerarnih obreda i vjerovanja u kulturnoj dinamici ovog prostora kroz dugo vremensko razdoblje 2. i 1. tis. pr. Kr.

Dalmatia. Nevertheless, the typical Liburnian burial "inherited" certain formal and symbolic elements (stone grave cist, mound, enclosure wall, libation etc.) from the Bronze Age, and some in fact even from the Eneolithic. Certain morphological elements of the Liburnian ceramic vessels-urns could in principle be considered a continuation of sorts of the forms from the older phases of the Bronze Age. (The typology of large Liburnian ceramic pots-pithoi for burials of children: Fig. 15a, 16b, as well as the *ad encytrismos* ritual itself, derive from an older-Bronze Age-Mediterranean tradition). For instance, a grave from the earthen mound in Duševića Glavica-Krneza (Fig. 2: 3, 3), similar to Liburnian burials, with a constricted inhumation burial in a stone cist, was radiocarbon dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Gusar, Vujević 2010). This information, in addition to the date of the cremation urn burial 13 from mound 13 in Nadin (Fig. 9a-c), are the only "exact" data from the Middle Bronze Age of northern Dalmatia.

While mound 13 in Nadin (Fig. 6) is the only Liburnian mound where both rites are present together, Duševića Glavica-Krneza (Fig. 2: 3, 3) provided the first example of a Bronze Age mound that contained both cremation and inhumation burials: beneath the mentioned inhumation grave (Fig. 3: 2) in a cist there lay the remains of a cremation burial (of the Cetina culture) (Gusar, Vujević, 2010)<sup>10</sup>.

The here outlined working hypothesis about a certain continuity of specific elements of the cult of the dead and the rite of cremation itself in northern Dalmatia from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age, can be tested only with new archaeological discoveries that would explain crucial aspects of the funerary rituals and beliefs in the cultural dynamics of this area through a long chronological period spanning the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BC.

<sup>10</sup> Usp. bilj. 1

<sup>10</sup> Comp. note 1

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