

Izbor iz liburnskog nakita

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A selection of liburnian jewellery

Prethodno priopćenje
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Nakon kratkog osvrtu o Liburniji, gradinskim naseljima, njihovoj funkciji, liburnskom importu i uklapanju Liburna u grčko-helenistički svijet nastavlja se s ilustrativnim materijalom pojedinih istaknutih i importiranih predmeta materijalne kulture Liburna.

Ključne riječi: Liburni, gradine, fibule

The short overview of Liburnia, its hill-fort settlements, their function, Liburnian imports and the ways in which Liburnian people fit into the Greek-Hellenistic world continues with the illustrations of selected remarkable and imported items of Liburnian material culture.

Key words: Liburnians, hill-forts, fibulae

Pojedina mjesta na istaknutim uzvišenjima – gradine, čine osnovni tip naselja naroda koji su tijekom željeznog doba obitali na istočnojadranskoj obali, njenim otocima i zaleđu. Na temelju rekognosciranja, istraživanja i toponomastičkih podataka samo kod naroda Liburna koji su živjeli na prostoru između rijeka Raše u Istri i Krke utvrđeno je više od 350 ovakvih naselja na uzvišenjima karakterističnim po suhozidnim konstrukcijama od lomljenog kamena što su ih okruživale (Batović 2004: 605–609). Gustoća gradinskih naselja na pojedinim užim prostorima poput otoka Lošinja, biogradsko-stankovačkog prostora i nekih drugih mjesta, gdje međusobne udaljenosti ovih naselja često ne prelaze dvije tisuće metara, nameće razmišljanje o njihovoj namjeni odnosno svrsi suhozidom ograđenih prostora smještenih na uzvisini s dobrim pregledom prostora koji ovakva gradinska naselja okružuje. Temeljem rezultata rekognosciranja nekih od gradinskih naselja uočljivo je da količina gradinske keramike, koja je uz ostatke suhozidnih gradnji najvažniji indikator postojanja naselja, ne odgovara obimnosti površine koju zatvara kameni nasip, a čest je i potpuni nedostatak keramičkih ulomaka unutar ovih suhozidnih konstrukcija. Možemo pretpostaviti, temeljem navedenih podataka i spoznaje da je liburnsko gospodarstvo kao i ono kod ostalih željeznodobnih zajednica duž dinarida počivalo na stočarstvu i to pretežno ovidima, da su primarno ove kamene suhozidne konstrukcije najčešće kružnog odnosno elipsoidnog oblika, koje nazivamo gradinama, uz naseobinski dio koji obično zauzima manji dio ovog prostora služile kao obori za stoku a neke od njih mogle su biti i isključivo obori za stoku.

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Certain settlements located on prominent elevations, known as hill-forts, constitute a basic type of settlement built by Iron Age peoples inhabiting the Eastern Adriatic coast, its islands and hinterland. Field surveys, research and toponomastic data have established more than 350 such elevated settlements on Liburnian territory alone, which covered the area between the River Raša in Istria and the River Krka; these settlements were characterised by dry-stone encirclements made of crushed stone (Batović 2004: 605–609). The density of hill-fort settlements in certain smaller areas, such as the Island of Lošinj, the Biograd-Stankovci area and some other locations, where distances between such settlements never exceed 2,000 metres, causes us to consider the purpose served by such areas, encircled by dry-stone walls and located on an elevation providing a commanding view of the surrounding area. Based on the field surveys conducted at certain hill-fort settlements, we can observe that the quantities of hill-fort ceramics – which, along with the remains of dry-stone constructions, serve as the strongest indicator of the existence of a former settlement – do not correspond to the volume of the areas enclosed by the stone enclosure and that, very often, no ceramic fragments at all are found in these areas encircled by dry-stone constructions. Based on the above data and the facts that Liburnian economy, like the economies of other Iron Age communities inhabiting the area along the Dinarides, relied on the farming of, mostly, sheep, we can presume that the dry-stone constructions we refer to as hill-top forts, which were most frequently of circular or ellipsoidal shape and included a living quarters usually occupying a smaller part of the area, served primarily as cattle pens; some of them could have, indeed, served exclusively as

Naime teško je pretpostaviti neke veće međusobne sukobe susjednih gradinskih naselja da bi se trebali ograđivati masivnim nasipima ali je svakako bilo neophodno da se stoka tijekom noći i u zimi zbrine i osigura od dvije vrse grabežljivaca vuka i čaglja koji su i danas, vuk u većoj mjeri, glavna opasnost za stada ovida, posebno na karakter lova ovih dviju zvijeri.¹ Vjerujemo da je jedina zaštita stada od vukova i čagljeva, kojih je tada sigurno bilo u znatno većem broju, bila ta da se zatvore u manji prostor i čuvaju.

Sva ova brojna naselja na liburnskom prostoru nisu sigurno egzistirala u isto vrijeme tako su neka od njih, ako je suditi prema nađenim keramičkim ulomcima domaće, odnosno odsustvu ili prisustvu importirane keramike trajala kraće što je posebno uočljivo u mlađem razdoblju od sredine prvog tisućljeća prije Krista. Naime u posljednjih nekoliko stoljeća prije Krista neka od ovih naselja postat će gospodarska, upravna i kulturna središta manjih regija tako da će se njihov broj svesti na pedesetak teritorijalnih središta što se primiče broju od 30–35 općinskih središta (*civitates*) koji će dočekati rimsku okupaciju, a koliko ih navodi Plinije.

Za ovaj preobražaj liburnskog društva započet oko sredine prvog milenija prije Krista sigurno su zaslužni liburnski rani kontakti s grčkim i helenističkim svijetom koji se ogledaju u prilivu raznih dobara ali i prihvaćanju novina što ih je taj svijet nudio. Te se novine ogledaju u načinu pokopa, prilivu novca i drugih predmeta posebno većem importu keramičkog posuđa, organizaciji naselja te boljoj obradi kamenih konstrukcija bedema naselja na kojima se već od trećeg stoljeća primjenjuje tehnika gradnje i obrada kamena "megalitskom tehnikom" kao i na grčkim prostorima. (T. 1: 1) Približavanje grčkog svijeta izgradnjom kolonija na srednjem Jadranu kojima su se Liburni u početku izgleda žestoko opirali, sudeći po Jadestinina (stanovnicima liburnskog Jadera) koji su s ostalim liburnima organizirali oružani otpor ovom prodoru, ubrzo je splasnuo te već u drugom i prvom stoljeću prije Krista Liburni trgujući s ovim prostorima uvelike nabavljaju razne proizvode helenističkog svijeta ali i neke proizvode poput vina, kojeg sami, iako su poznavali vinovu lozu nisu mogli proizvesti u potrebnim količinama. Veliki broj antičkih brodoloma na istočnoj obali Jadrana s karakterističnim tipovima vinskih amfora iz drugog i prvog stoljeća prije Krista te ulomci ovakvih amfora na gradinskim naseljima dobro ilustriraju ovu trgovinu. Isto tako brojno keramičko posuđe koje se koristilo pri posluživanju vina a izrađivano je u radionicama grčkih naselja na Jadranu ispunjava sada grobnice rađene po helenističkom uzoru na liburnskim naseljima Arauzoni, Gradini kod Dragišića, Aseriji, Nadinu i dr.

Vjerojatno je ova rana "helenizacija" da je tako nazovemo, bila posljedica brojnih kontakata Liburna s helenističkim i rimskim svijetom, pa je možda imala za posljedicu što Liburni nisu doživjeli onu zlu sudbinu kakvu su prošli njihovi susjedi Histri, Japodi a posebno Delmati, te rimska okupacija liburnskog prostora nije izvršena snagom mača već tihom diplomacijom kako bi danas kazali.

Mnogostruke veze Liburna s grčkim i helenističkim svijetom ali i s ostalim susjedima i onima na susjednoj obali Jadrana osim po keramičkim izrađevinama ogledaju se najbolje u drugim primjerima materijale kulture posebno u nakitu a on je kako znamo bio glavna preokupacija znanstvenog

cattle pens. It is difficult to assume that such massive enclosures were built because of some large-scale conflict between neighbouring hill-fort settlements; on the other hand, at night and in winter-time, cattle certainly had to be sheltered and protected from two predators: the wolf and the jackal. Even today, the hunting patterns of these predators, wolves in particular, pose a most serious threat to herds of sheep.¹ We believe that the only way to protect a herd against wolves and jackals, which were certainly more numerous at the time, was for the cattle to be penned and guarded.

All these numerous settlements on Liburnian territory did not exist simultaneously; some of them, judging by the ceramic fragments of local provenance that were found, or rather, by the presence or absence of imported ceramics, lasted shorter than others; this is particularly obvious in the later period, in the second half of the 1st millennium BC. In the final centuries BC some of these settlements became economic, administrative and cultural centres of minor regions, and their number was reduced to approximately 50 territorial centres; this approaches the figure of 30–35 quoted by Pliny when writing of municipal centres (*civitates*) active at the time of the Roman occupation.

This transformation of the Liburnian society, which began around the middle of the 1st millennium BC, was definitely the result of early contacts established between the Liburnians and the Greek and Hellenistic world; they were reflected in the influx of various goods from this world and the adoption of the innovations it offered. These innovations included burial practices, the influx of money and other items, in particular an increased import of ceramic dishes, the organisation of settlements and an improvement in stone dressing techniques: already in the 3rd century, the "megalithic technique" from Greece was applied to the construction and dressing of stone enclosures (Pl. 1: 1). At first, the Liburnians seem to have fiercely opposed the approaching Greek world that was expanding through its colonies in the Central Adriatic: the Iadestini (inhabitants of the Liburnian lader) and other Liburnians organised an armed resistance against the invasion. However, armed resistance soon dwindled and in 2nd and 1st centuries BC, the Liburnians were trading with those territories, buying considerable amounts of various Hellenistic products, including wine, which they were unable to produce in sufficient quantities even though they were familiar with grapevine. This trade is well documented by numerous Antique shipwrecks on the Eastern Adriatic coast containing characteristic wine amphorae from 2nd and 1st century BC and by fragments of such amphorae found at hill-fort settlements. Also, numerous ceramic dishes used for serving wine, crafted in the workshops of the Greek settlements on the Adriatic, fill the graves constructed after the Hellenistic model in the Liburnian settlements of Arauzona, Gradina near Dragišić, Aserija, Nadin, etc.

This early Hellenization was the result of numerous contacts between the Liburnians and the Hellenic and Roman worlds. This may be the reason why the Liburnians never shared the ill fate of their neighbours, the Histri, the Iapydes and, in particular, the Delmatae, and why the Romans did not occupy the Liburnian territory by the sword but through, as we say these days, quiet diplomacy.

In addition to ceramic products, the manifold links the Liburnians maintained not only with the Greek and Hellenistic world but also with other neighbours and the peoples living on the opposite side of the Adriatic are best reflected in other items of material culture, in particular jewellery which, as we

¹ Vuk i čagalj, koji je u priobalju endemska životinja, često napadaju u skupinama i ubijaju veliki broj jedinki, tako ponekad strada stado od više desetina ovaca.

¹ Wolves and jackals, which are endemic to the coastal region, frequently attack in packs, killing large numbers of animals; a flock of several dozen sheep may be killed at a time.

istraživanja kolegice Dunje Glogović kojoj je posvećen ovaj broj *Priloga* a ja se pridružujem ovim prilogom koji svakako ne pretendira da obradi sve bogatstvo liburnskog nakita već nastojim da kroz nekoliko primjeraka već poznatog nakita i drugih predmeta iz liburnske ostavštine osvjetlim narod Liburna čiji korijeni sežu u duboku Sredozemnu prošlost (Brusić 2008: 92–93).

Od dvadesetak vrsta i veliki broj varijanti liburnskog nakita svakako najduže je bila u upotrebi spiralnonaočarasta fibula s brojnim varijantama i privjescima te iako prvotno nije svojina liburnskog prostora ova vrsta nakita masovno se izrađivala u Liburniji (T. 1: 2). Druga vrsta fibula koja se dugo zadržala kod Liburna je lučna fibula s unatrag zavrnutom nožicom koja se pojavljuje u različitim veličinama a izrađivana je najprije u bronci a kasnije kada dobiva veće dimenzije i u srebru. U mlađoj fazi liburnske kulture posebno treba naglasiti razne varijante pločastih fibula nastalih pod helenističkim utjecajem ali s posebnom liburnskom osebnjuošću. Donosim stoga više varijanti ovih srebrnih fibula od kojih neke imaju i pozlatu a pojavljuju se u posljeditva dva stoljeća prije Krista (T. 4: 1–4, T. 5: 2).

Privjesci su također brojni i raznoliki te kao i aplikacije, osim ukrasne namjene imaju i simbolično i magijsko značenje. (T. 5: 1). Ovdje posebno treba spomenuti antropomorfne privjeske iz Nina i Zaton (T. 2: 3) te privjesak iz Jagodnje Gornje s ukomponiranim staklenim gemama (T. 2: 2). Ističem posebno velike kopče s ljudskim protomama iz Nina te veliku pojasnu kopču iz Aserije, koje uz upotrebnu namjenu imaju i simbolično značenje (T. 3: 1, 2). Od naušnica posebno treba spomenuti one mlađe nastale pod helenističkim utjecajem. Tako iz devastiranog groba iz Ljubačke Kose potječe donji dio već poznate srebrne naušnice nađen zajedno s dvije srebrne monete². Od ogrlica posebno treba istaknuti srebrnu ogrlicu iz ostave na Čosinoj gradini kod Jagodnje Gornje čija četiri privjeska imitiraju novac Metaponta iz šestog stoljeća prije Krista (T. 2: 1). Veliki prsni nakit – pektoralni čine posebnu vrstu liburnskog nakita a najviše su u upotrebi u starijem razdoblju. Jantarni proizvodi su također brojni i oni obilježavaju liburnsku kulturu tijekom čitavog trajanja. Brojni primjerci novca pronađenog u ostavama, grobovima i slučajnim nalazima ukazuju na njegovu upotrebu, bilo u međusobnoj razmjeni ali i u razmjeni Liburna s antičkim svijetom. Ovdje donosim jedino primjerak keltskog srebrnog novca pronađenog na Gradini kod Dragišića (T.V: 5), gdje je također pronađen i vršak brončane trobride strelice vjerojatno skitske provinijencije.³ (T. 5: 4). Ovo kratko i ilustrativno nabranje liburnskih nalaza završiti ću s brončanom figurom ratnika koji je vjerojatno trgovačkom razmjenom preko južne Italije dospio do Ljubačke Kose. Motiv ratnika u razne druge prikaze često se pojavljuje kod sardskih brončanih figurica lijevanih u tehnici tzv. "izgubljenog modela" izrađivanih sredinom prvog milenija prije Krista na Sardiniji (T. 5: 3).

2 Nažalost spomenute monete i ostali materijal iz Ljubačke Kose kojeg ovdje donosim je izgubljen Brusić 2002: 224–240.

3 Veći broj ovakvih skitskih strelica nađen je na Visu.

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Brusić, Z. 2008, *Pokrovnik, naselje iz neolitika*, Šibenik.

know, was the main topic of research conducted by our colleague Dunja Glogović to whom this issue of *Prilozi* is dedicated. My contribution does not presume to analyse the entire wealth of Liburnian jewellery but simply attempt, through several pieces of known jewellery and some other items from the Liburnian heritage, to shed light on the Liburnian people whose roots reach deeply into the Mediterranean past (Brusić 2008: 92–93).

Out of the twenty or so types of Liburnian jewellery and their numerous variants, the spectacle fibula with its many variants and pendants was in use for the longest period of time; even though it did not originate in Liburnia, this type of jewellery was mass-produced on its territory (Pl. 1: 2). The other type of fibula which remained in use in Liburnia for a long time was the bow fibula with the foot bent backward: it came in various sizes and was first crafted in bronze and later on, when its size increased, in silver. In the late phase of the Liburnian culture we must single out the many different variants of the plate fibula crafted under Hellenistic influence but displaying distinctive Liburnian traits. I have, therefore, included several variants of these silver fibulae from the last two centuries BC, some of them gold-plated (Pl. 4: 1–4, Pl. 5: 2).

Pendants are also numerous and varied. Like appliqués, they served not only as mere decorations but had additional symbolic and magical meaning. (Pl. 5: 1). Here, we must single out the anthropomorphic pendants from Nin and Zaton (PL. II: 3) and a pendant from Jagodnja Gornja with inserted glass gems (Pl. 2: 2). I would particularly like to point out the large buckles with human protomes from Nin and a large belt buckle from Aserija, which, albeit intended for use, also had a symbolic meaning (Pl. 3: 1, 2). Among the earrings, we must single out the more recent ones, made under Hellenistic influence. The lower part of the already known silver earring was thus found in the despoiled grave in Ljubačka Kosa together with two silver coins². Among the necklaces, we must point out the silver necklace from the Čosina gradina hoard near Jagodnja Gornja, which has four pendants imitating the Metapontum coin from the 6th century BC (Pl. 2: 1). Large chest jewellery, pectorals, constitute a separate group among the Liburnian jewellery and were mostly used in the earlier phase. Items made of amber are also numerous and characteristic of Liburnian culture throughout its duration. Numerous coins found in hoards and graves, or by accident, indicate that money was in use, either in exchanges conducted among the Liburnians themselves or in those conducted between the Liburnians and the Antique world. I have included only a sample of Celtic silver coin found at Gradina near Dragišić (Pl.V: 5), where the tip of a bronze three-blade arrowhead, probably of Scythian origin, was found as well.³ (Pl. 5: 4). I will conclude this brief and illustrative enumeration of Liburnian findings with a bronze warrior figure which probably came to Ljubačka Kosa via trade routes from South Italy. Along with other representations, the warrior motive frequently appears in the Sardinian bronze figurines cast in the so-called "lost-wax" technique, crafted in the middle of the 1st millennium BC in Sardinia (Pl. 5: 3).

2 Unfortunately, the coins have been lost along with the other material from Ljubačka Kosa presented here Brusić 2002: 224–240.

3 A large number of such Scythian arrows was found in Vis.

Brusić, Z. 2002, *Nekropole liburnskih naselja Nina i Kose kod Ljupča, Histria Antiqua*, 8, 213–241.

T. 1



1



2

T. 1 1 – detalj bedema iz Lergove gradine kod Slivnice, 2 – spiralnonaočaraste fibule iz Nina
Pl. 1 1 – detail of an enclosure from Lergova gradina near Slivnica, 2 –spectacle fibulae from Nin

T. 2



1



2



3

T. 2 1 – srebrna ogrlica iz Čosine gradine u Jagodnji Gornjoj s četiri privjeska koji imitiraju metapontski novac iz VI st pr. Krista (u gornjem uglu prikaz originalne monete), 2 – srebrni privjesak iz Čosine gradine sa staklenim gemama (prikaz u gornjem uglu), 3 – antropomorfni privjesci iz Zaton i Nina

Pl. 2 1 – silver necklace from Čosina gradina in Jagodnja Gornja with four pendants which imitate Metapontum coin from the 6th century BC (image of an original coin shown in the upper corner), 2 – silver pendant from Čosina gradina with glass gems (shown in upper corner), 3 – anthropomorphic pendants from Zaton and Nin

T. 3



1



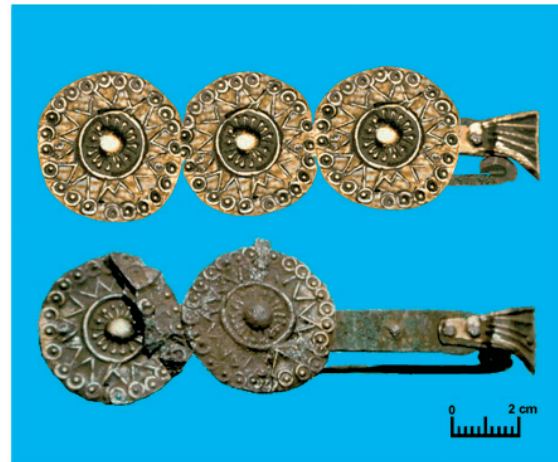
2

T. 3 1 – kopče iz Nina, 2 – detalj središnjeg dijela pojasne kopče iz Aserije
Pl. 3 1 – buckles from Nin, 2 – detail of the central part of the belt buckle from Aserija

T. 4



1



2



3



4

T. 4 1 – pločaste kopče iz Nadina i Nina, 2 – kopča iz Kose kod Ljubča i njena rekonstrukcija, 3 – kopče iz Kose kod Ljubča i Čosine gradine kod Jagodnje Gornje, 4 – kopče iz Aserije, Nina i Kose kod Ljubča

Pl. 4 1 – plate fibulae from Nadin and Nin, 2 – fibula from Kosa near Ljubač and its reconstruction, 3 – kopče from Kosa near Ljubač and Čosina gradina near Jagodnja Gornja, 4 – kopče from Aserija, Nin and Kosa near Ljubač

T.5



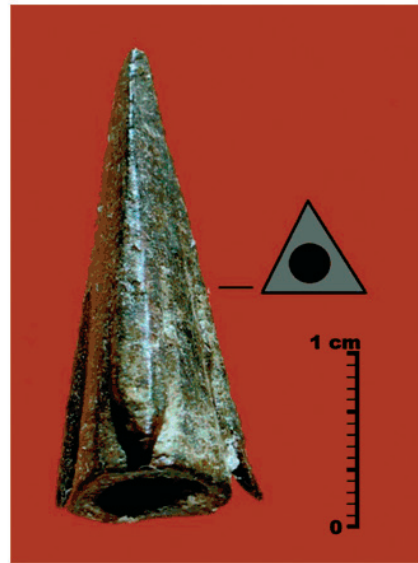
1



2



3



4



5

T. 5 1 – applike iz Aserije i Kose kod Ljubča, 2 – mele kopče iz Kose kod Ljubča i Čosine gradine u Jagodnji Gornjoj, 3 – prednja i stražnja strana brončane figurice- strelca iz Kose kod Ljubča, 4 – vrh brončane skitske strelice iz Gradine kod Dragišića, 5 – Keltski novac iz Gradine kod Dragišića

Pl. 5 1 – appliqués from Aserija and Kosa near Ljubač, 2 – small fibulae from Kosa near Ljubač and Čosina gradina in Jagodnja Gornja, 3 – front and back of the bronze archer figurine from Kosa near Ljubač, 4 – tip of a bronze Scythian arrow from Gradina near Dragišić, 5 – Celtic coin from Gradina near Dragišić