

POGREBNE FORME I OBIČAJI RANOG ŽELJEZNOG DOBA U MAKEDONIJI

FUNERARY PRACTICES IN THE EARLY IRON AGE IN MACEDONIA

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Apstrakt: Sahranjivanje u ranom željeznom dobu predstavlja nestabilnu i produženu refleksiju kasnog bronzanog doba, koje će od X vijeka prije n.e. da se razvije u lokalnu željeznodobsku kulturu. Porijeklo i pojava nekropola iz Povardarsko-Ulanci grupe, ukazuju na uticaje sa juga, za razliku od nekropola sa sjevera koje su organizovane u polja urni. Ritual sahranjivanja u Povardarskim nekropolama je zgrčena inhumacija. Prelazni period je bio praćen sa krupnim socijalnim, ekonomskim i kulturnim problemima koji su se u sahranjivanju manifestovali sa dva osnovna pogrebna rituala, spaljivanje i inhumiranje. Istovremeno praktikovanje ova dva rituala govori o nestabilnosti u sferi sahranjivanja, tj. o miješanju različitih kulturnih i etničkih elemenata. Sahranjivanje u ranom željeznom dobu podrazumijeva praktikovanje ispružene inhumacije. Nekropole se generalno razlikuju u organizaciji, postoje: ravne i tumularne nekropole. Tumularne nekropole predstavljaju najkarakterističniju pojavu koja treba da se razmatra kao kulturno – socijalna kategorija, preko koje se sagledavaju društvene i socijalno – ekonomske promjene u jednoj zajednici. Izdvajaju se dva tipa tumula: „Klanovski“ (karakteristični za rano željezno doba) i „Familijski“ tumuli (karakteristični za kasno željezno doba). Oni predstavljaju sahranjivanje stočarsko – pastoralnih populacija vezanih za konzervativnije regione. Grobovi njihovih predaka imaju najveće značenje, preko kojih identifikuju sebe kao dio zajednice – plemena. Ovaj način sahranjivanja u potpunosti je bio prevaziđen krajem VI vijeka prije n.e. sa raspadanjem rodovsko – plmenskog sistema.

Ključne riječi: zgrčena inhumacija, pružena inhumacija, kremacija, dvojni tumuli, „Klanovski“ tumuli, „Familijski“ tumuli, pogrebni običaji, ritual, urne.

Abstract: The burial in the early Iron Age represents an unstable and extended reflection of the late Bronze Age, which will, starting from the tenth century BC, develop into a local Iron Age culture. The origin and occurrence of the necropolis from Povardarje-Ulanci group, indicate on the influences from the south, unlike the necropolis from the north that were organized in the fields of urns. The ritual of burials in the cemeteries of Povardarje is shriveled inhumation. The transition period was followed with major social, economic and cultural problems that manifested in two basic funeral rituals, burning and inhumation. At the same time, practicing these two rituals are about instability in the sphere of burial, i.e. the mixture of different cultural and ethnic elements. The burials in the early Iron Age imply the practice of extended inhumation. Necropolis generally differ in the organization, there are: straight and tumuli necropolis. Tumuli necropolises represent the most typical phenomenon that should be considered as a cultural - social category, which are viewed through the social and socio - economic changes in one community. There are two main types of tumuli: “clan” (typical early Iron Age) and “family” tumuli (typical late Iron Age). They represent the burial of cattle - pastoral populations related to the conservative regions. The graves of their ancestors have the most significant meaning, over which they identify themselves as part of a community - tribe. This method of burial was completely overcome by the late sixth century BC with decomposition of clan system.

Key words: shriveled inhumation, extended inhumation, cremation, double tumuli, “clan” tumuli, “family” tumuli, burial customs, ritual, urns.

Sahranjivanje i pogrebni običaji predstavljaju značajan element koji na najeksplicitniji način predstavlja tradicionalna, kulturna, ekonomska, socijalna i religiozna shvatanja jedne zajednice. Načinom sahranjivanja i pogrebnim običajima, svaka zajednica uspostavlja najznačajnije elemente svoje materijalne i prije svega duhovne kulture. U tom kontekstu kult mrtvih je imao dominantno mesto u ukupnoj duhovnoj kulturi željeznodobskih zajednica.

Željezno doba u Makedoniji, predstavlja epohu u kojoj se uspostavljaju novi društveni, ekonomski i kulturni odnosi. Na početku željeznog doba ti su odnosi još uvijek nestabilni i predstavljaju produženu refleksiju kasnog bronzanog doba, sa nedovoljno jasno izdiferenciranim i razvijenim lokalnim vrijednostima. Ali, od X vijeka p.n.e. već će biti u cjelosti prevaziđeni bronzanodobski kriterijumi i započeće razvoj lokalne željeznodobne kulture.

Generalno, istraženost nekropola sa početka željeznog doba u R. Makedoniji je na niskom nivou, jer je mali broj grobova koje sa sigurnošću možemo da datiramo u prva dva vijeka prvog milenijuma prije n.e. Istraženo je oko trideset nekropola, od kojih većina samo djelimično, ali se nerijetko sretaju i pojedinačni grobovi. Ova brojka je djelimično uvećana istraživanjima u poslednjoj deceniji ali još uvijek nije na zadovoljavajućem nivou. Ovako slaba istraženost ne može da da podatke za sveobuhvatnu analizu ili generalno za sliku o nekropolama i njihovom obimu i karakteru. S druge strane, dobra istraženost i dokumentovanje kasnog bronzanog doba u R. Makedoniji, posebno u regionu Povardarja, veoma dobro dopunjava sliku o formiranju željeznodobskih pogrebnih formi i običaja.

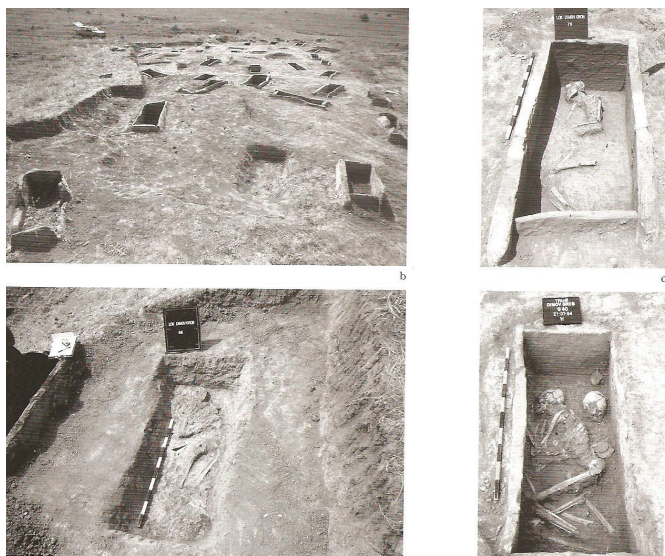
Nekropole Povardarske ili Ulanci grupe, iz kasnog bronzanog doba na najbolji način prezentuju prelaz iz bronzanog u željezno doba.

Burials and funerary practices are powerful cultural features, as they most explicitly represent the culture, traditions, economy, as well as social and religious practices of a particular community. In the funerary practices of the Iron Age communities we find the most significant characteristics of their material and spiritual culture to be the key elements for the burial rites itself. The relations with the dead were apparently very important for the living, as were their beliefs in the afterlife, too. It is very interesting to observe the special place and role of the dead, and their influence in the daily life of the community. It could be concluded that the cult of the dead had a dominant role in the spiritual culture of the Iron Age communities.

Since there are no written sources for this period, the cemeteries remain the key source for better understanding of the cultural and even ethnical problems relating the Iron Age communities. The graves provide precise chronological determination, thus creating accurate chronological systems. At same time, the features of the archaeological finds give important data for the different cultural influences, allowing appropriate valorization of each culture.

The Iron Age in Macedonia is a period of new social, economic and cultural relations. In its very beginnings the cultural features of the Iron Age are still not stabilized and they represent reflections of the late Bronze Age culture, without clearly developed local values. Yet, since the 10th cent. BC., these Bronze Age criteria will evaluate and the development of the Iron Age will begin.

In general, not many researches of the Early Iron Age cemeteries in Macedonia were done, and there are only few graves which can be dated with certainty in the first centuries of the first millennia BC. We speak of about thirty cemeteries, out of which the majority has been investigated only partially, and also of frequent finds of isolated graves. The number of graves increased with the excavations in the last decades, yet not as much as we would desire. This relatively low level of research cannot provide sufficient information for more detailed analysis of the cemeteries, their size and character. Nevertheless, the existing results from the excavations in Macedonia clearly point to the significance of the Iron Age cemeteries, while the understanding of the Iron Age burial rites and customs is completed with our knowledge on the Late Bronze Age in the Republic of Macedonia, especially from the sites along the Vardar river valley. These cemeteries belong to the so-called Ulanci group, named by the site Dimov Grob, near Ulanci, Gradsko, where 125 graves have been excavated so far (Fig 1).¹



Sl. 1 - Fig. 1

¹ Mitrevski 2003, 48.

Obično su locirane u neposrednoj blizini naselja, dobro su organizovane, sa jedinstvenim i u potpunosti izgrađenim pogrebnim formama i običajima. Iz ove kulturne grupe za sada je najbolje istražena nekropola, po kojoj je grupa i dobila ime, Dimov grob pored sela Ulanci kod Gradskog, sa ukupno 125 istraženih grobova (sl.1).¹ U ovu grupu spadaju i sahranjivanja iz nekropole Vodovratski Pat kod sela Vodovrati sa 24 istražena groba, lokalitet Vardarski Rid sa oko stotinu istraženih grobova, Mali Dol kod sela Tremnik (sl.2). U ostalim nekropolama Strnovac kod Kumanova,² Košur – Dolno Sonje kod Skoplja, Beli kod Kočana, Demir Kapija, Dragoevo – Štip, Stobi, ili Govrlevo otkrivena su pojedinačna sahranjivanja ili samo grobni nalazi iz rasturenih grobova.³ Među grobnim inventarom značajnu ulogu imaju elementi ili importi iz egejskog bronzanog doba. Najznačajnije takve manifestacije su: prisustvo karakteristične mat slikane keramike i lokalnih kopija mikenskih formi sudova, kao i pojedine bronzane forme (labrisi i noževi – brijači).

Najbolje su dokumentovane nekropole u Ulanima ili na Vardarskom Ridu, koje odslikavaju stabilan i miran razvoj sve do poslednjih, najmlađih sahranjivanja.⁴ Istraženi grobovi na nekropoli Vodovratski pat ukazuju na sistem organizacije u redovima orijentisanim zapad – istok i poređanim paralelno jedan uz drugi, održavajući liniju sjever – jug.⁵ Ista karakteristična organizacija nekropole je potvrđena i na nekropolama Dimov grob, Ulanci i Mali Dol. Kod grobova iz nekropole Dimov Grob zabilježena je tendencija horizontalne stratigrafije koja je uslovljena prirodnom limitiranošću terena. Konstatovano je da je najstarije sahranjivanje ukopano u najisturenijem dijelu padine, a kako se ide prema unutrašnjosti brda nekropola se širila i nailazimo na mlađa sahranjivanja.⁶ Generalno, ovo može da se potvrdi i na nekropolama iz Vardarskog Rida – Đevđelija, Mali Dol – Negotino kao i na grobovima iz Dolno Sonje – Skoplje. Porijeklo i pojava ovog tipa nekropola u Makedoniji, u odnosu na grobne priloge ukazuje na uticaje koji dolaze sa juga, ako uzmemo u obzir da su u to vrijeme na sjeveru nekropole organizovane kao polja urni, sa savim različitim ritualom sahranjivanja.⁷

Upotreba grobnih formi na spomenutim nekropolama prethodno je jasno opredijeljena. Dominira grobna forma – cista, napravljena od kamenih ploča u nekoliko varijanti (sa položavanjem dna ili bez njega). U upotrebi su bile i pravougaone jame, a mnogo ređe su veliki sudovi

They are always located near the settlement, they are well organized and with unique and fully defined burial customs and criteria. To this group also belong the 24 excavated graves of the cemetery at the site Vodovratski Pat, near the village Vodovrati, than the cemetery at Vardarski Rid with 100 excavated graves, and finally the one at the site Mali Dol, in the village Tremnik near Negotino (Fig.2). Other cemeteries, such as the one at village Strnovac near Kumanovo², than at Kosur, Dolno Sonje, Beli near Kocani, Demir Kapija, Dragoevo – Štip, Stobi and Govrlevo revealed either single graves, or only grave finds from disturbed graves.³



Sl. 2 - Fig. 2

Most significant features for the Ulanci group are those inherited from the Aegean Bronze Age. They could be recognized in the burials with inhumation and those with crouched position of the body buried in cist graves, as well as by the presence of mat painted pottery and local copies of Mycenaean vessels in the graves.

Best documented are the graves at Ulanci and Vardarski Rid, which represent a stable and peaceful evolution to the very latest i.e. the youngest burials.⁴ The graves from Vodovrati show a system of organization of the graves in rows, parallel to each other and oriented west – east.⁵ The same system was confirmed at the sites Dimov Grob, near Ulanci and Mali Dol, in Tremnik. At these cemeteries we noticed tendency for horizontal stratigraphy, which was dictated by the natural configuration of the terrain. In that manner, the oldest graves were put on the highest part of the hill, while the younger ones are found expanding towards the inner sides of the cemetery.⁶ In

1 Mitrevski 2003, 48.

2 Станковски 2008, 138 – 139, T.I.9.

3 Митревски 1997, 279 – 319.

4 Митревски 1997, 35-41

5 Митревски 1997, 43; Mitrevski 2003, 48.

6 Митревски 1997, 43.

7 Митревски 1997, 67; Luci 2007, 347 – 348.

2 Станковски 2008, 138 – 139, T.I.9.

3 Митревски 1997, 279 – 319.

4 Митревски 1997, 35-41

5 Митревски 1997, 43; Mitrevski 2003, 48.

6 Митревски 1997, 43.

– pitosi korišteni kao grobna konstrukcija i to najčešće za sahranjivanje djece. Pojava kamenih cisti ili pravougaonih jama ne predstavlja novinu u sahranjivanju u bronzano doba. U mikenskoj civilizaciji ove grobne forme su karakteristične za srednje heladsko doba i predstavljaju dominantne grobne forme iz submikenskog doba, sa kontinuiranom upotrebom kroz cijeli II milenijum p.n.e.⁸

Prilikom sahranjivanja na svim nekropolama bez izuzetka, pogrebni ritual je ujednačen, a to je inhumacija zgrčeno položenog tijela, a zavisno od pola pokojnik je polagan na lijevu ili desnu stranu, tako što su muškarci okrenuti na desnu, a žene na lijevu stranu.⁹ Pokojnici su polagani u grobove zajedno sa svojim ličnim predmetima, a oko njih su postavljani grobni prilozima. Bez razlike dali se radi o grobovima jamama ili grobovima cistama od kamenih ploča, uvijek su grobne komore formirane u zavisnosti od samog pokojnika pri čemu je zapadna strana kod glave bila nešto šira od strane kod nogu. Kod pojedinih sahranjivanja kod ovih nekropola zabilježeno je da su grobovi bili markirani sa nasipom od kamenja.¹⁰

Na teritoriji R. Makedonije, dominacija nekropola sa inhumacijom je neosporna u toku kasnog bronzanog doba, a kroz željezno vrijeme će se uspostaviti kao osoben pogrebni ritual svih zajednica u R. Makedoniji.

Krupni socijalni, ekonomski, kulturni i etnički problemi karakteristični za sve prelazne periode, pratili su i kraj bronzanog i početak željeznog doba. Oni su se neminovno manifestovali i u načinu sahranjivanja, pri čemu se kao posledica prelaznog perioda javlja upotreba dva osnovna rituala sahranjivanja: spaljivanje i inhumiranje.

Istovremeno praktikovanje ova dva rituala, govori o nestabilnosti u sferi sahranjivanja, tačnije o miješanju, različitih kultura i etničkih elemenata, što je sasvim logično ako se imaju u vidu istorijske okolnosti u ovom dijelu Balkana u ovo vrijeme. Prvi utisak u vezi sa pogrebnim formama i običajima je da na cijeloj teritoriji R. Makedonije postoji visok stepen jednoličnosti u okviru osnovnih pogrebnih rituala. Tako slične pojave, povezuju nekropole sa spaljenim pokojnikom, ali istovremeno identične zakonitosti važe za sve grobove sa inhumiranim pokojnicima.¹¹

Kremirani pokojnici su najprije spaljivani na zgarištu, na jakoj vatri zajedno sa grobnim prilozima. Za ovaj podatak nam svjedoče sitni ostaci od kremiranja kao i čisti pepeo i garež na nekropoli Klučka, Hipodrom kod Skoplja datirana u XII-XI vijek prije n.e.(sl.3)

general, the same organization was confirmed at the cemetery Vardarski Rid-Gevgelija, at Mali Dol – Negotino and Dolno Sonje – Skopje. The origin and the appearance of these cemeteries in Macedonia, according to the grave finds, point on southern influences. On the other hand the communities in the north organized their cemeteries in urn fields, with completely different burial ritual.⁷

The use of the specific grave forms in the above mentioned cemeteries was previously and clearly determined. Most dominant is the cist grave, made from stone slabs in several variants (with or without paved floor). Rectangular pits were also in use, while rarely they used large vessels – the pithoi, yet only as grave constructions for child burials. The appearance of cist graves or rectangular pits is nothing new in the Bronze Age burials. In the Mycenaean world this grave forms are typical for the Middle Helladic and they are dominant grave forms from the sub Mycenaean times, with continuous use during the whole II millennium BC.⁸

At every cemetery, without exception, the burial ritual is unified and the bodies are placed in crouched position. The males lay on their right side while the females on their left side.⁹ The dead are buried together with their personal belongings, while the grave offerings are placed around them. Regardless of the grave type, pits or cist graves of stone slabs were always made according the deceased, and the west side of the grave near the head was slightly wider than the eastern one - near the legs. Only few of the graves at these cemeteries are marked with a pile of stones.¹⁰

During the Bronze Age, cemeteries on the territory of the R.Macedonia had inhumation as predominant burial rite. At the end of the Bronze Age and during the Iron Age the inhumation will become major burial ritual.

Transitional periods are usually followed by large social, economic, cultural and even ethnical problems and such changes were obviously happening during the transition from the Late Bronze to the beginning of the Iron Age, as well. These changes could be seen in the burial rites too and, as continuity from the previous period the inhumation in the transitional period was used together with the cremation. The use of both rites points to instability in the burial practice, and more precisely, it shows interferences of different cultural and ethnic elements. If we take into consideration the historical circumstances in the Balkans during that period, this burial instability becomes understandable.

8 Mylonos 1966, 790-792; Митревски 1997, 67.

9 Митревски 1997, 37; Видески 2006, 63.

10 Митревски 1997, 39.

11 Митревски 1997, 27.

7 Митревски 1997, 67; Lusi 2007, 347 – 348.

8 Mylonos 1966, 790-792; Митревски 1997, 67.

9 Митревски 1997, 37; Видески 2006, 63.

10 Митревски 1997, 39.



Sl. 3 - Fig. 3

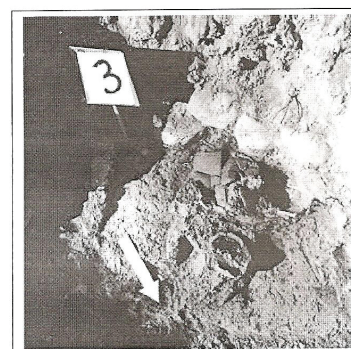
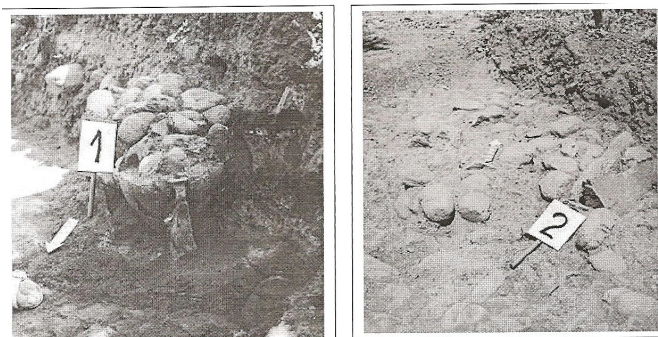
Na osnovu slabe deformacije kostiju, antropolozi su zaključili da su bile prirodno ohlađene, odnosno da su bile ostavljene na zgarištu sve dok se nisu potpuno ohladile. Pritom su sakupljani najbolje očuvani skeletni ostaci koji su pažljivo oprani. Tako očišćeni od pepela, stavljeni su zajedno sa ličnim predmetima i priložima, bez ikakvog reda, u keramičke sudove amforoidne forme koje su služile kao urne.¹² Kao poklopci za urne korištene su duboke zdjele. Po pravilu urne su poredane u jame, ukopane u zdravicu ili u kulturni sloj (njihov nivo življenja) najčešće bez ikakvog obilježja tj. konstrukcije, ponekad pokrivena pločastim kamenom ili je sud samo položen u jamu, kao što je čest slučaj na nekropolama Hipodrom i Mali Dol - Tremnik (sl.2). Ali nerijetko, na nekropoli Hipodrom, kao i kod groba 2 na nekropoli Orešani, srećemo grobove gdje je oko urne bila formirana specijalna zaštitna konstrukcija od toloidno

12 Митревски 1995, 61-63.

The first impression regarding the grave shapes and burial rites is that in the whole territory of R. Macedonia there is consistency in the basic burial rites. Similar appearances connect the burials with cremated individuals, but at the same time there are rules that are unique and implying to the graves with inhumations, too.¹¹

The deceased individuals were cremated at a pyre together with the grave offerings. This conclusion was derived from the cremation remains and ashes found at Klucka Hipodrom near Skopje, dated in the 12-11th c. B.C. (Fig.3). The slight deformation of the bones brought the anthropologists to conclusion that the bones were left on the pyre until they were cooled down completely. Afterwards, the best preserved bone remains were collected, carefully washed and placed together with the personal objects and the grave offerings into the amphora shaped ceramic vessels - urns.¹² Deep bowls were used as lids for the urns.

The urns were buried in pits carved in the bedrock or in the ground. Most often they have no grave marks or construction, yet sometimes the urns can be covered with stone slab as is the case in the cemetery at Hipodrom in Skopje and Mali Dol, near Tremnik (Fig.2). Quite often at Hipodrom, or at grave 2 in Orešani we find graves with special protective constructions around the urn (Fig.4).



Sl. 4 - Fig. 4

11 Митревски 1997, 27.

12 Митревски 1995, 61-63.

ređanog kamenja (sl.4) poređanog prstenasto, najčešće u tri reda. Pored navedene grobne forme, poznato je i polaganje urne sa pokojnikom, bez poklopca, u jamu bez konstrukcije (sl.3 i sl.5). Postavljanje ovakvih konstrukcija ili samo kamenih ploča iznad same urne, predstavlja markere koji su postavljeni sa ciljem da obilježe njenu poziciju.¹³ U Klučki - Hipodrom iznad konstrukcije urne, pronađeni su fragmenti keramike, ostaci koski od ptica i školjke, što se povezuje sa pogrebnim ritualima.¹⁴

Ovakav tip nekropola sa kremacijom na teritoriji Kosova i Južne Morave, zabilježen je još iz kasnog bronzanog doba, gdje je evidentirana kulturna grupa Donja Brnjica, i to na nekropolama: Donja Brnjica, Graštica, Kekola, Ulpiana i Iglarevo.¹⁵ Isto tako u Bugarskoj u gradu Sandanski je otkrivena nekropola iz kasnog bronzanog doba datirana u XII-XI vijek p.n.e. u kojoj urne imaju paralele sa onim sa Hipodroma i sa nekropolama sa Kosova.¹⁶

U tom smislu, sahranjivanje sa kremacijom u urnama se javlja kao rezultat širenja južnomoravskih elemenata na okolinu Skoplja i duž Povardarja u XI vijeku prije n.e. Ipak to nije ostavilo značajnije posledice na materijalnu i duhovnu kulturu željeznodobskih zajednica u Makedoniji, pri čemu će već u sledećoj etapi ranog željeznog doba taj ritual biti prevaziđen.

O spaljivanju kao pogrebnom ritualu, D. Srejović misli, da sve kulture koje ga poznaju, po svom karakteru predstavljaju kulture prelaznog perioda. Ovaj se ritual redovno pojavljuje u periodu velikih kriza, odnosno kada jedna kultura prelazi iz jednog kvaliteta u drugi, u vrijeme značajnih promjena u ekonomskoj strukturi i prodiranju novih sredstava za proizvodnju, kao i značajnih etničkih pomeranja. Svuda gdje je došlo do nekih naglih promjena ili nekog vida kulturne evolucije pojavljuje se spaljivanje kao novi ritual sahranjivanja. Njegovo pojavljivanje on predstavlja kao rezultat velike unutrašnje uznemirenosti čovjeka pred pojavama spoljnog svijeta i straha od dešavanja koja ga okružuju.¹⁷

Različiti su razlozi za pojavu ovog pogrebnog rituala u Makedoniji, gdje u dolini Vardara predstavlja manifestaciju prodora migracionog talasa koji se kretao sa sjevera, od doline Morave pa sve do Peloponeza.¹⁸ Nosioci ove kulturne manifestacije se povezuju sa rušenjem kasnobronzanodobne kulture u Makedoniji. Veoma je interesantna pojava dva rituala sahranjivanja na nekropoli Mali Dol u selu Tremnik kod Negotino

The construction is toloid shaped - it is a stone wall which in most cases has three rows. The urn can also be placed in a pit with no construction above it, and without a lid (Fig.3 and Fig.5). These constructions, or simply putting stone slabs on the urn, mark the position of the grave.¹³ At Klucka – Hipodrom, fragments of broken pottery vessels, remains of bird skeletons and shells were found in the constructions of the urns, as they are connected with the rituals after the burial.¹⁴

On the territory of Kosovo, cremations from the Late Bronze Age, all belonging to the Donja Brnjica cultural group, are present at the following cemeteries: Donja Brnjica, Graštica, Kekola, Ulpiana and Iglarevo.¹⁵ Another Late Bronze Age cemetery dating in the 12-11th c. B.C. was found near Sandanski, in Bulgaria. There, the urns share similarities to the ones from the cemetery at Hipodrom as well as with the ones from Kosovo.¹⁶

The cremation as burial rite appeared during the 11th cent. BC., as a result of the spreading and influence of the south Morava cultural elements in Skopje and the river Vardar region. Yet, it did not have stronger influence on the material and spiritual culture of the Iron Age communities in Macedonia and these burial rites were abandoned entirely during the following Iron Age period.

According to D. Srejovic, all communities that practice the ritual of cremation have a character of cultures from the transitional period. As already mentioned, these rituals appeared during the periods of huge crises, when one culture changes from one quality to another, in periods of important economic structures, penetration of new sources of production, or some significant ethnical movements. Almost everywhere where there were changes or some kind of cultural evolution, the cremation appeared as a new burial rite. Srejovic explains its appearance as a result of a huge internal anxiety of people confronting the appearances of the outer world and the fear of things and events that surround them.¹⁷

There are many different reasons for the occurrence of this burial rite. The emergence of this rite along the Vardar valley represents migration waves from the north, along the Morava River and continuing towards the south to the Peloponnesus Island.¹⁸ The carriers of these cultural manifestations are related with the destruction of the Mycenaean world and the end of the Late Bronze Age culture in Macedonia. Especially

13 Митревски 1995, 71-73.

14 Митревски 1997, 34.

15 Luci 2007, 353.

16 Alexandrov et.all. 2007, 379.

17 Srejović 1959-1960, 109.

18 Mitrevski 2007,448.

13 Митревски 1995, 71-73.

14 Митревски 1997, 34.

15 Luci 2007, 353.

16 Alexandrov et.all. 2007, 379.

17 Srejović 1959-1960, 109.

18 Mitrevski 2007,448.

i nekropoli Tetovo (sl.5), gdje se ovaj ritual pojavljuje zajedno sa inhumiranjem. Ovakvo prisustvo oba rituala sahranjivanja ukazuje na činjenicu da su se ovi došljci inkorporirali u život lokalnog stanovništva, čak su upotrebljavali njihove nekropole za sahranjivanje što ukazuje na činjenicu da su izvjesno vrijeme produžili zajednički život.

Kult mrtvih je oduvijek bio konzervativan tako da se i najmanja promjena lako uočava. Pogrebni običaji, navike i shvatanja povezani sa smrću, u jednoj kulturi su jedne od najinertnijih ali u isto vrijeme i najsvetijih karakteristika, koje su decenijama pa i vjekovima najmanje podložne promjenama. Funkcija pogrebnog rituala kao svečanog čina kraja života, je pokušaj da se preko sasvim nove forme produži život.¹⁹ Kada je ovaj ritual bio izgrađen, osmišljen i tako koncipiran prihvaćen od zajednice sa svim duhovnim komponentama, nije se dozvoljavalo da tek tako bude mijenjan. Ipak kao tuđ običaj spaljivanje je u Makedoniji brzo bilo napušteno.

Sahrnjivanje u ranom željeznom dobu podrazumijeva praktikovanje skeletnog načina sahranjivanja, tj. inhumacije pokojnika samo u pruženom položaju, kao produžetak stare bronzanodobne tradicije. Tako je ritual sahranjivanja kroz cijeli period željeznog doba u Makedoniji, jedinstven. Postoje određene, jedinstvene varijacije u položaju ruku pokojnika. Pritom ruke mogu da budu pružene pored tijela pokojnika (grob 1, Tumul I „Pržali“, Varvara), ili jedna ruka da bude savijena u ramenu ili iznad karlice, što ipak nema neko suštinsko značenje.

Nekropole iz ranog željeznog doba se razlikuju po više elemenata, koji se generalno mogu uočiti u organizaciji. Na osnovu toga možemo da ih podijelimo u dva tipa nekropola i to: ravne nekropole i tumularne nekropole.

Grobne forme nemaju nove tipove, one predstavljaju produžetak pojava iz prethodnog perioda. Tako, dok je ritual sahranjivanja kroz željezno doba jedinstven – inhumacija, kod grobnih konstrukcija vidno se pojavljuju razlike. U osnovi to su dva načina gradnje grobnih komora u okviru zajedničkog prostora određenog za sahranjivanje na nekropoli.

U ranoj fazi željeznog doba, najčešće se koristi jednostavna forma jame, kod koje se može primijetiti nekoliko varijanti: jama bez grobne konstrukcije sa pokrivnom pločom (grob 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 tumul I „Pržali“ kod Varvare), i jama sa popločavanjem sitnim kamenom oblutkom. Sa druge strane, nerijetko se kao grobna forma

interesting is the presence of both burial rites in the cemeteries Mali Dol, near Tremnik and in Tetovo (fig.5). That presence of both rituals means that the newcomers incorporated in the life of the local communities and even used their cemeteries, which is a proof that they continued living together.



Sl. 5 - Fig. 5

The cult of the dead has always been very conservative, and even a very small change in the rite could be noticed easily. Funerary practices and habits, as well as the understanding of death are the most inert components in a culture, but at the same time they are the most sacred ones and least liable to changes for decades and even centuries. The function of the burial, as a sacred ritual at the end of the life is more an attempt to continue the life in a completely new form.¹⁹ When this burial rite was established, conceived and accepted by the community, with all of its spiritual components and concepts, further changes were not allowed to happen easily. However, being a foreign custom, the cremation in Macedonia was abandoned very quickly.

Burials in the early Iron Age confirm the continuity of the old Bronze Age practice – the inhumation of the deceased in prostrated position. During the whole Iron Age in Macedonia this is the only/sole burial practice. There are some variations of it, yet only in the way of placing the hands of the individual. The hands lie along the body (grave 1, Tumulus I Pržali, Varvara) or one hand can be bent in the shoulder or laid above the pelvis, which is not of a crucial importance.

The Iron Age cemeteries differ in many ways, but mostly in their organization. According to that we can

¹⁹ Ovo sretamo takoreći kod svih drevnih naroda kod kojih imamo pisane dokumente o kraju života i prelazu u novi zagrobni život. Sretamo ga kod Egipćana, Asiraca, Graka, Rimljana pa sve do danas do Tibetana pa čak i u hrišćanskom svijetu.

¹⁹ We found this almost every ancient people where there are written documents, for the end of life and to the crossing in the new afterlife world in Egyptians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans and even Tibetans, and in Christians worlds.

pojavljuje cista koja će postati dominantna grobna forma u toku zrelog i kasnog željeznog doba. Često su grobovi – ciste bili pokriveni sa kamenom konstrukcijom formiranom od amornog kamenja, nalik na manju mogilu (kao što su grobovi iz nekropole u Orešanima).

Jednu od najkarakterističnijih pojava za rano željezno doba u Makedoniji predstavlja, svakako pojava tumularnih nekropola, koje se pojavljuju kao novi fenomen. U različitim regionima sama pojava i razvoj tumula imaju različite vrijednosti, zavisno od stepena socijalnog i ekonomskog razvoja zajednice. Zbog toga, pojava sahranjivanja pod tumulima treba da se posmatra kao kulturno – socijalna kategorija. Tako preko tumula možemo jasno da sagledamo i pratimo društvene i socijalno-ekonomske promjene u razvoju lokalnih željeznodobskih zajednica. Sve ovo je moguće jer za vrijeme njihove upotrebe tumuli pokazuju jasan unutrašnji razvoj uslovljen promjenama socijalno – ekonomskih odnosa.²⁰ U tom smislu, u Makedoniji se izdvajaju dva osnovna tipa tumula. Stariji ili tzv. „Klanovski“ ili „Rodovski“ tumuli koji su uglavnom karakteristični za rano željezno doba i mlađi ili tzv. „Familijski“ tumuli, karakteristični za zrelo željezno doba. Njihova pojava predstavlja novinu u rano željezno doba u Makedoniji iako se ovaj pogrebni ritus na balkanskom prostoru sreće još od ranog bronzanog doba (BrA 1 prema Rajneke za Srednju Evropu). Smatra se da potiče istočno od Kavkaza i Pontiskih stepa.²¹

Karakteristično za klanovsko – rodovske tumule je više sahranjivanja pod jednim zajedničkim zemljanim nasipom, koji je zagrađen kružnim zidom od kamenja. Pritom, grobovi se organizuju oko najstarijeg sahranjivanja – centralnog groba, strogo uslovljeni i okrenuti glavom prema njemu. Postoji vjerovanje da je to osnivač plemena – otac. Ovom tipu pripadaju tumuli Visoi – Beranci, Orlovi Čuki – Star Karaorman, Kunovo Čuki – Orizari, ali i novootkriveni tumuli Čanište i Kruševica u Mariovo, kao i tumul II u Strnovcu kod Kumanova.²²

Tumuli ranog željeznog doba generalno imaju isti konstruktivni koncept, a to je ograđivanje centralnog prostora sa vijencem od krupnijeg kamenja, koji često može da bude i popločan, i u kojem se kao unutrašnje jezgro nalazi centralno sahranjivanje u formi grobne ciste, pokriveno posebnim nasipom koji može biti od zemlje ili sitnog rečnog kamena. Centralno sahranjivanje u kojem pokojnik može da bude položen u zgrčenoj inhumaciji je hronološki najstarije (kao što je slučaj u tumulu u Strnovcu). Za najstarije do sada istraženo sahranjivanje

distinguish two types of cemeteries: plane, and tumular ones.

There are no new types of graves, as they are only a continuation of the burial rite from the previous period. While the inhumation as burial ritual is unique, obvious differences appear in the grave construction.

Basically, there are two types of grave constructions in the area determined for burials.

In the early phase of the Iron Age most often the simple pit is used as a grave construction. Yet, there are some variations of the type, such as the pit without a grave construction, only covered with a stone slab, (grave 1,2,3,4,5 Tumulus I, Przali near Varvara) and a pit with pavement of pebbles. On the other hand, the cist as grave form is not rare, and during the developed Iron Age this will become a dominant burial type. Quite often, some of the cist graves are covered with a stone construction, resembling a small mound (some of the graves in Oresani have such a mound).

One of the most characteristic events of the Early Iron Age in Macedonia is the new phenomenon of cemeteries under tumuli. In different regions their occurrence and development have different values, depending on the socio-economic stage of the community. These burials should be observed as both cultural and social categories, and in that way we can clearly understand and follow the socio-economic changes in the development of the Iron Age communities. All this can happen, because during their use, the tumuli represent very clear inner development, influenced by from the changes in the social and economical relations.²⁰

Two basic types of tumuli can be distinguished in Macedonia. The older ones, or so called “clan” or “tribal” tumuli are typical for the Early Iron Age, while the younger ones, so called “family” tumuli are typical for the developed Iron Age. Their appearance/emergence is novelty in the Early Iron Age in Macedonia, although this burial rite in the Balkans existed since the Early Bronze Age (BrA 1 according to Reineke for Central Europe). Probably, its origin is from the east of Kavkaz and the Pontian steps.²¹

Clan tumuli are typical for having more burials under one mound of earth, surrounded by a circular wall of stones. The burials are organized around the oldest one – the central grave, with strict conditionality and with the heads of all the other individuals turned towards the central grave. There is a theory that it is the grave of the father i.e. the founder of the tribe. To this type belong the tumuli from Visoi - Beranci, Orlovi Cuki - Star Karaorman, Kunovo Cuki – Orizari, and the newly excavated tumuli in

²⁰ Mitrevski 1997, 102-131.

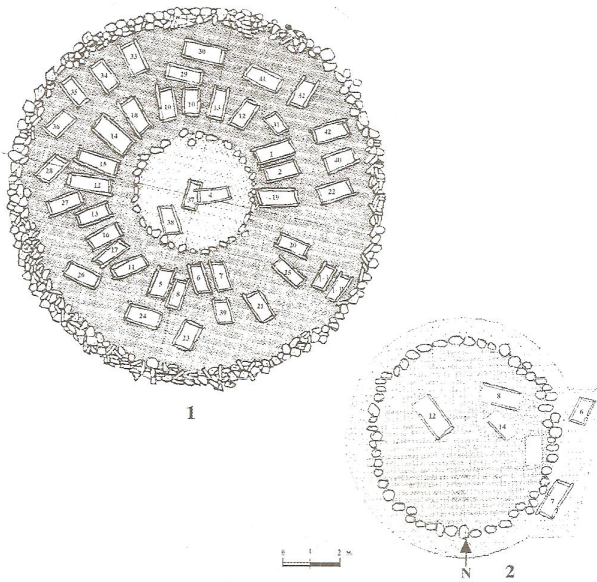
²¹ Гарашанин 1973, 264-266.

²² Mitrevski 1997, 88-110; Mitkoski 2010; Stankovski 2006, 93-114.

²⁰ Mitrevski 1997, 102-131.

²¹ Гарашанин 1973, 264-266.

pod tumulom u Makedoniji smatra se centralni grob – cista sa zgrčenim pokojnikom na lokalitetu Visoi, selo Beranci kod Bitolja, koji se, prema grobnim priložima datira u submikenski period (sl.6).



Sl. 6 - Fig. 6

Ovo su tumuli tzv. tipa „dvojni tumuli“ gdje je najprije bila formirana mogila okolo najstarijeg – inicijalnog sahranivanja, koje ima svoj poseban nasip ograđen prstenom,²³ a oko njega radijalno su izvedena ostala sahranivanja i svi su zajedno pokriveni zajedničkim nasipom od zemlje i kamenja.²⁴ Tumul u Berancima kao i tumul Vojnik kod Kumanova i Orlova Čuka kod Štipa, imaju paralele sa „Protogeometrijskim“ i Geometrijskim“ tumulima u Pateli na Ohridskom jezeru i Vergina kod Verje,²⁵ gdje se sahranivanja kontinuirano pojavljuju od XI vijeka p.n.e.²⁶ Pojava dvojnih tumula u Makedoniji najvjerovatnije se duguje prodoru kulturnih a možda i etničkih elemenata iz jugoistočne Albanije, gdje su takvi tumuli bili u upotrebi još u toku bronzanog doba.²⁷

Interesantna je pojava Tumula I iz Strnovca²⁸ sa centralnim sahranivanjem koje je izvedeno sa posebnim nasipom sa prstenom od kamenja,²⁹ i sa ritualom sahranivanja – zgrčena inhumacija, koji je karakterističan za povardarske nekropole iz kasnog bronzanog doba, a kao grobni prilog se javlja kantaros sa mat slikanom dekoracijom tzv. Ulanci tipa. Predstavlja najstarije

Caniste and Krusevica – Mariovo, as well as tumulus II in Strnovac, near Kumanovo.²²

In general, the tumuli of the Early Iron Age have the same construction concept - a central space encircled with wall made of larger stone blocks. Often, the central space is paved, with a central cist grave covered with a mound of earth or pebbles. The central burial is the oldest one, and the deceased can be laid in crouched position (as is in the tumulus in Strnovac). 1). The grave from Visoi – Beranci, with the deceased laid in crouched position is the oldest central grave, as far as we know, in the R. Macedonia. According to the finds we date it in the Sub-Mycenaean period (Fig.6). This tumulus is of the so-called “double tumuli” type. The oldest burial was covered first and with separate mound, which has its own construction encircling the central grave.²³ All of the following burials were placed radially around the central grave i.e. the mound and then another mound of earth and stones covered them all.²⁴

The tumulus in Beranci, like the tumuli in Vojnik-Kumanovo, Orlova Cuka – Stip, have parallels with the tumuli from the Protogeometric and the Geometric periods found in Pateli, Ostrovo Lake and Vergina near Veria²⁵. There, these burials were appearing continuously from the XI-th cent.BC.²⁶ The occurrence of the double tumuli in Macedonia happened probably with the penetration of the cultural and probably ethnical elements from south-east Albania, where this kind of tumuli were in use during the Bronze Age.²⁷

Equally interesting is the burial under Tumulus I from Strnovac²⁸ where the central grave with crouched inhumation was separated with a mound encircled by a stone wall.²⁹ This is typical for the cemeteries of the Late Bronze Age in the lower Vardar River valley, where there is a grave offering with a cantharos of the so-called Ulanci type, with mat painted decoration. This burial also belongs to the group of the primary burials under the double tumulus, that together with Visoi – Beranci, Orlova Cuka –Karaorman, Vergina represent the beginning of burials under tumuli in Macedonia in the period between XII-XI cent. BC.

Quitesimilarburialwasfoundduringtheexcavations of the tumuli in Barata-Caniste (Fig.7) and Stragata-

23 Hammond 1967, 77-105; Hammond 1982,625 and 644.

24 Митревски 1997, 103. Миткоски 1999, 29-61.

25 Andronikos 1969, 280-286.

26 Radt 1974, 144.

27 Hammond 1967, 77-105; Prendi 1978; Prendi 1975,113.

28 Станковски 2008, 142-147.

29 Станковски 2008, Crt.1, 136.

22 Mitrevski 1997, 88-110; Mitkoski 2010; Stankovski 2006, 93-114.

23 Hammond 1967, 77-105; Hammond 1982,625 and 644.

24 Митревски 1997, 103. Миткоски 1999, 29-61.

25 Andronikos 1969, 280-286.

26 Radt 1974, 144.

27 Hammond 1967, 77-105; Prendi 1978; Prendi 1975,113.

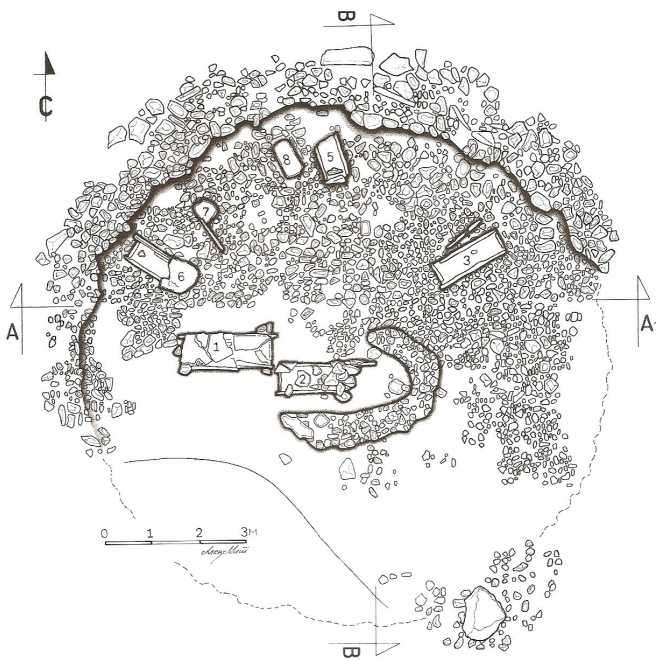
28 Станковски 2008, 142-147.

29 Станковски 2008, Crt.1, 136.

primarno tumularno sahranjivanje tzv. tipa dvojnih tumula, karakteristično za makedonsku teritoriju i zajedno sa Visoi, Beranci, Orlova Čuka, Karaorman i Vergina predstavljaju uvod u tumularni način sahranjivanja u Makedoniji u periodu XII – XI vijek prije n.e.

Slična je i situacija otkrivena prilikom istraživanja na tumulima Barata – Čanište (sl.7) i Stragata – Kruševica (sl.8).³⁰ U Kruševici je centralni grob jasno izdvojen, dok je u Čaništima sahranjivanje u posebnoj grobnoj konstrukciji sa nasipom od kamenja. Grobni prilozi u njima se datiraju ne kasnije od XII vijeka p.n.e. ili na sami početak željeznog doba u X vijek p.n.e.

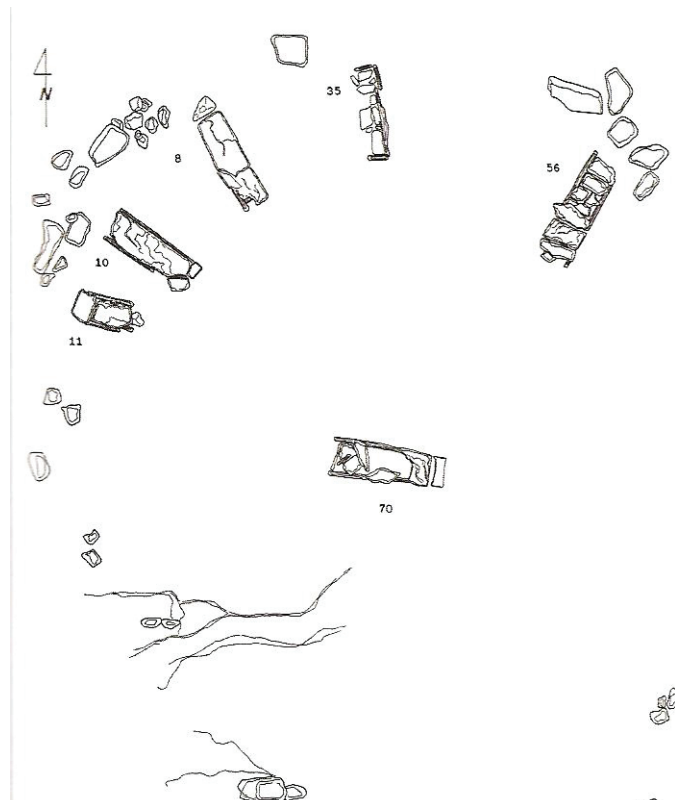
Razvoj tumularnog sahranjivanja produžava i kroz cijelo željezno doba, prateći socijalne i ekonomske promjene koje se jasno oslikavaju na tumularnoj arhitekturi i strukturi.



Sl. 7 - Sl. 7

Sa nominalnim rastom zajednica, napušta se sahranjivanje u starim klanovsko – rodovskim tumulima. Oni imaju privilegiju da budu osnivači plemena, postavljeni na posebnu poziciju kao njegovi čuvari. Novi, mlađi tumuli se organizuju u blizini, obično na nižoj padini, gdje se šire formirajući nove prostrane tumularne nekropole sa više stotina tumula. Formiranje novih nekropola je svakako bilo rezultat novo uspostavljenih društvenih odnosa koji su nastupili sa sveukupnom stabilizacijom u toku punog željeznog doba ali i uvećanom populacijom stanovništva. Oni u osnovi imaju iste konstruktivne karakteristike kao i stariji - klanovski tumuli, ali sa manjim dimenzijama i sa manjim brojem sahranjivanja. Ogradni prsten nije zid

30 Mitkovski 2010, 60-62.



Sl. 8 - Fig. 8

Kruševica (Fig.8).³⁰ The central grave in Kruševica is also clearly separated, while in Canista this burial has a special grave construction with separate mound of stones. The grave finds date not later than the XI cent. BC., or from the very beginnings of the X cent. BC.

The development of tumular burials continued during the whole Iron Age, following the social and economic changes which clearly reflected in the tumuli architecture and structure.

With the growth of the communities, the old tradition of the so called clan tumuli starts to be abandoned. They, as founders of the communities and as their guardians were privileged with a very special position. The new tumuli were organized in the vicinity, usually on the lower slopes, where they were expanding thus forming new spacious tumular cemeteries with more than hundred graves. Their appearance was undoubtedly a result of the newly established social relations which came along with the overall stabilization during the developed Iron Age in Macedonia, but also with the growth of the population. Basically, the new tumuli had the same construction elements as the older ones, but they were smaller and had less burials. The circular barrier was not anymore a wall of stone slabs, but just one row of stones put in a circle. The burials were organized depending on the available space, without a central grave and radial

30 Mitkovski 2010, 60-62.

od kamenja već obični krug od naređanog kamenja u jednom redu. U njima su sahranjivanja organizovana u zavisnosti od slobodnog prostora, bez centralnog groba i radijalnog rasporeda oko njega. Tako oni više nemaju rodovsko – klanovski već familijarni karakter. Pokojnici, najvjerojatnije iz jedne biološke porodice, najčešće su polagani u istom pravcu, ispunjavajući cijelu unutrašnjost tumula. Najbolji primjer za ovaj tip tzv familijarnog tumula je nekropola Dabici – Sopot kod Velesa koja je bila u kontinuiranoj upotrebi niz cijeli VII i VI vijek p.n.e.³¹

Generalno, tumuli predstavljaju sahranjivanje stočarsko – pastoralne populacije, vezane uglavnom za pokonzervativne regione. Za njih grobovi njihovih predaka imaju najveće značenje za identifikovanje pojedinca kao dijela zajednice – grupe, odnosno plemena. U ovim regionima se temeljno i jako dugo praktikovao običaj sahranjivanja pod tumulima. Običaj je bio prevaziđen u različito vrijeme na različitoj teritoriji, ali svakako na isteku VI vijeka p.n.e. sa raspadom rodovsko-plemenskog sistema i sa sve više izraženom socijalnom diferencijacijom tumuli u Makedoniji izlaze iz upotrebe.

arrangement of graves around it. The tumuli lost their clan character transforming into family ones. The deceased most probably belonged to the same biological family and most often they were laid in the same direction. Best example of this type of so-called family tumulus is the one at Dabici – Sopot, near Veles, which was in continuous use through the whole VII and the VI cent. BC.³¹

Generally speaking, the tumuli burials are characteristic for the farming and herding communities, and are related to the conservative and pastoral regions. For those communities the graves of the ancestors were of utmost importance for their identification as members of the group, i.e. the clan. The burials under tumuli in these regions were practiced eagerly and for a longer period of time. This rite was abandoned in diverse territories in different periods, but certainly, by the end of the VI cent. B.C., with the collapse of the tribal clan and tribal system and with the appearance of strong social differentiation, the tumuli came out of use.

31 Mitrevski 1997, 93-96.

31 Mitrevski 1997, 93-96.

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