

MONUMENTALNI TUMULI S PODRUČJA CRNE GORE I PITANJE KONTINUITETA KULTNOG MJESTA

(I dio – Primjer praistorijskih kneževskih grobova)

Prof. Dr. Blagoje Govedarica
Institut für Prähistorische Archäologie der
FU Berlin
c/o Eurasien-Abteilung des Deutschen
Archäologischen Instituts
Im Dol 2-6
14195 Berlin
blagoje.govedarica@dainst.de

MONUMENTAL TUMULI FROM THE AREA OF MONTENEGRO AND THE ISSUE OF THE CONTINUITY OF THE CULT PLACE

(Part I - Example of Prehistoric Princely Tombs)

UDK 903.5(497.16)

Abstrakt

Rad predstavlja prvi dio rasprave koja je posvećena percepciji tumula kao grobnog i kultnog mjesta u praistorijskim i istorijskim razdobljima. Pri tom se polazi od postavke da su ovi markantni grobni spomenici, između ostalog, projektovani u cilju ostvarivanja duhovnog uticaja na socijalnu okolinu, kako na onu iz vremena izgradnje tumula, tako i na onu iz budućih vremena. U ovom prvom dijelu rada se na primjerima monumentalnih tumula sa kneževskim grobovima s područja Crne Gore (Mala i Velika Gruda, Gruda Boljevića), razmatra pitanje odnosa praistorijskih zajednica prema ovim spomenicima. Kao posebno karakterističan primjer izdvajaju se tumuli Mala i Velika Gruda s područja Tivatskog polja u Boki Kotorskoj koji su podignuti oko 3000 BC. Rekonstrukcija stratigrafije i dimenzija pokazala je da je tumul Mala Gruda, u kome je bio sahranjen lokalni vladar, od početka građen kao monumentalni spomenik visine oko 7-8 m i prečnika ca. 20 m. Cilj graditelja je bio da se naglašenom monumentalnošću pokaže značaj pokojnika i

Abstract

The paper presents the first part of a discussion dedicated to the perception of the tumuli as a grave and cult site in prehistoric and historical periods. It is based on assumptions that these striking tombstones are, among other things, designed to achieve a spiritual impact on the social environment, both to the environment from the period of the construction of the tumulus, and to that from the period yet to come. In the first part of the paper, the question of the attitude of prehistoric communities towards these monuments is studied on the examples of monumental tumuli with princely graves from the area of Montenegro (Mala and Velika Gruda, Gruda Boljevića). As a particularly characteristic example, the tumuli Mala and Velika Gruda from the area of the Tivat Field in the Bay of Kotor stand out, which were built around 3000 BC. Reconstruction of the stratigraphy and dimensions showed that tumulus Mala Gruda, where the local ruler was buried, from the beginning it was built as a monumental memorial about 6-7 m high and a diameter of

snaga zajednice kojoj je pripadao, što je trebalo da rezultira poštovanjem kulturnog mjesta i očuvanjem monolitnosti spomenika. U tome se u potpunosti uspjelo, jer je ovaj spomenik ostao nedodirnut sve do najnovijeg vremena.

Sasvim drugačija situacija je sa susjednom humkom Velika Gruda koja je, osim primarnog tumula, imala i dvije kasnije dogradnje u kojima su obavljena nova sahranjivanja. U primarnom tumulu, koji je bio visok oko 3 m, sahranjena je osoba vrlo bliska onoj iz Male Grude, moguće njegov sin. Tumul je sve do početka srednjeg bronzanog doba ostao intaktan, a nakon toga je došlo do naknadnog sahranjivanja kome je prethodilo dosipanje novog nasipa. Praistorijski običaj da se pokojnici ne ukopavaju direktno u sedimente postojećeg tumula, već da se prije toga dosipa sekundarna humka, ima jasan duhovni i socijalni smisao. Ovim činom prekrivanja prvobitni tumul gubi značaj personalizovanog grobnog spomenika koji zahtijeva posebno poštovanje i pijetet. Ujedno, to kulturno mjesto biva iznova personalizovano, a od tada još veća i monumentalnija humka u cjelini postaje duhovni posjed nove zajednice. Isti postupak je ponovljen prilikom nasipanja kamenog nasipa krajem srednjeg bronzanog doba. Tako je jednom građeni i dva puta obnavljani tumul Velika Gruda, tri puta mijenjao identitet i vlasnika.

Cljučne riječi:

Monumentalni tumuli, kneževski grobovi, kontinuitet kulturnog mjesta, rano bronzano doba.

approx. 20 m. The goal of the builders was to show the importance of the deceased and the strength of the community to which he belonged, which was supposed to result in respect for the cult place, and preserving the monolithic nature of the memorial. It was a complete success, as this monument remained intact until recent times.

The situation is completely different with the neighboring mound Velika Gruda, which, in addition to the primary tumulus, also had two later upgrade in which new burials were performed. A person very close to the one from Mala Gruda, possibly his son, was buried in the primary tumulus, which was about 3 m high. The tumulus remained intact until the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, and after that there was a subsequent burial, which was preceded by the addition of a new embankment. The prehistoric custom where the deceased are not buried directly in the sediments of the existing tumulus, but that the secondary mound is filled up before that, has a clear spiritual and social meaning. With this act of covering, the original tumulus loses the significance of a personalized tombstone that requires special respect and reverence. At the same time, this cult place was re-personalized, and ever since then, an even larger and more monumental mound became the spiritual property of the new community. The same procedure was repeated during the covering of the stone embankment at the end of the Middle Bronze Age. Thus, once built and twice developed tumulus Velika Gruda, three times changed its identity and owner.

Keywords:

Monumental tumuli, princely tombs, continuity of cult site, early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age.

Uvod

Praistorijske grobne humke - tumuli (lat. tumulus – brdo, hrpa zemlje, humka), spadaju u red najbrojnijih kulturnoistorijskih spomenika na području starog svijeta. Ovi markantni svjedoci prošlih vremena i nestalih kultura mogu se sresti na svim geografskim prostorima: u polju i na vrhu brda, u pustinji i na zelenoj livadi, na obali rijeke i uz more. U arheološkom kontekstu tumul je prvenstveno nalazište iz domena kulta mrtvih, karakterističan grobni spomenik, odnosno mjesto pojedinačnog ili grupnog sahranjivanja. Za one koji su ga gradili on je ujedno bio i simbol moći sahranjenog i čitave zajednice, veza sa precima i poruka narednim pokoljenjima, važan marker u vremenu i prostoru, kao i kulturno mjesto za obavljanje različitih rituala. Sve su to karakteristike tumula koje su u nauci višestruko citirane i potvrđene.¹ Tim osobenostima treba dodati još jednu koja je na prvi pogled skrivena i možda zbog toga zapostavljena, a koja je neobično važna za razumijevanje kulturne istorije čovječanstva. Grobni tumul naime, predstavlja prvu monumentalnu građevinu za koju se sa sigurnošću može reći da nije posvećena bogu već čovjeku. Pojava tih masivnih grobnih spomenika je prema tome veoma odvažan duhovni iskorak kojim se čovjek usudio približiti bogu i otvoreno pokazati svoje pretenzije za visokom sferom nebeske vječnosti koja je, prema dotadašnjim poimanjima, mogla biti dostupna samo mitskim i božanskim stvorenjima.

Takve pretenzije koje su ujedno odraz narasle samosvijesti čovjeka, sadržane su u osnovnoj ideji tumula, tj. u njegovoj funkciji mjesta sahrane visokorangiranih ličnosti i simbola "svjetskog brda" u kome se simbolično susreće smrtni svijet zemlje i vječno carstvo neba.² Ta osnovna funkcija tumula kao posebno poštovanog centralnog mjesta koje povezuje žive sa njihovim precima i sjedinjuje čovjekovo bitisanje na zemlji sa božanskim svijetom neba, provlači se kao crvena nit kroz sve faze dugog razvoja ovog specifičnog grobnog spomenika, bez obzira na različite kulturne tendencije, dogradnje i naknadne upotrebe. U

1 Мерперт 1974, 131 ff.; Rolle 1979, 39 ff.; Rader 2003, 29 ff.

2 Ростунов 2007, 14.

Introduction

Prehistoric burial mounds - tumuli (lat. tumulus - hill, pile of earth, mound), are among the most numerous cultural and historical monuments in the Old World. These striking witnesses of past times and missing cultures can be found in all geographical areas: in the field and on the top of the hill, in the desert and on the green meadow, on the river bank and by the sea. In the archaeological context, the tumulus is primarily a site from the domain of the cult of the dead, a characteristic tombstone, i.e. a place of individual or group burial. For those who built it, it was also a symbol of the power of the buried and the entire community, a connection with ancestors and messages to future generations, an important marker in time and space, as well as a cult place for performing various rituals. These are all characteristics of tumuli that have been quoted and confirmed many times in science.¹ Another one should be added to these peculiarities, which is at first sight hidden and perhaps therefore neglected, and which is extraordinarily important for understanding the cultural history of mankind. Namely, the tumulus is the first monumental object that can be said with certainty that it is not dedicated to God but to man. The appearance of these massive tombstones is therefore a very courageous spiritual step by which man dared to approach God and openly show his pretensions to the high sphere of heavenly eternity which, according to previous notions, could only be accessible to mythical and divine creatures.

Such pretensions, which are also a reflection of the increased self-awareness of man, and are contained in the basic idea of the tumulus, i.e. in its function of the burial place of high-ranking personalities and the symbol of the "world hill" in which the mortal world of the earth and the eternal kingdom of heaven symbolically meet.² This basic function of the tumulus as a particularly honored central place that connects the living with their ancestors and unites man's existence on earth with the

1 Мерперт 1974, 131 ff.; Rolle 1979, 39 ff.; Rader 2003, 29 ff.

2 Ростунов 2007, 14.

tom smislu grobni tumuli predstavljaju pandan, a vjerovatno i prauzor egipatskim piramidama, mediteranskim kupolastim grobovima i mikenskim tolosima.³

Najstariji grobni tumuli javljaju se u 5. mil. BC i njihova masovna upotreba traje sve do prestanka praistorijskog perioda. U antičkom dobu, a posebno od vremena širenja hrišćanstva, ova vrsta grobnih spomenika u znatnoj mjeri gubi raniji značaj, ali njihova upotreba ne prestaje u potpunosti.⁴ No, na područjima koja je obuhvatala antička civilizacija, što se uglavnom odnosi na oblasti koje su bile u sastavu Rimskog carstva, rijetko su podizani novi, ili dograđivani stari tumuli, a ukoliko su korišteni u svrhu sahranjivanja, onda je to bilo sekundarno ukopavanje u postojeće praistorijske humke. Jedini izuzetak su tzv. rimski tumuli koji u stvari predstavljaju kombinaciju praistorijskih humki, kupolastih grobova i tolosa (npr. tumuli iz nekropole Via Appia).⁵ Praksa ukopavanja u postojeće tumule naročito je česta u srednjem vijeku, a u nekim djelovima starog svijeta prisutna je i danas. Pri tom se najčešće koriste monumentalni tumuli koji se nameću već svojom veličinom i koje će kasnije generacije uvijek iznova prepoznavati kao mjesta vrijedna posebnog poštovanja. Takvi tumuli često postaju jezgra novih nekropola, a ponekad se pored njih, ili na njima, grade crkve i drugi objekti duhovnog značaja.

No, nisu svi veliki tumuli od početka imali monumentalne dimenzije. Neki su postali takvi tek sukcesivnim razvojem, odnosno nakon naknadnih sahrana koje su polagane u nove nasipe. Kako smo već naglasili, takav aktivan odnos koji podrazumijeva dogradnju humki, praktikovan je samo u praistorijskom razdoblju. O tome da li će jedan tumul već prilikom primarne gradnje imati dimenzije kakve danas poznajemo, ili će ih dobiti naknadnom dogradnjom, najviše je zavisilo od društvenog statusa pokojnika i od snage društvene zajednice kojoj su ti pokojnici pripadali. Ali, bilo da se radi o aktivnom učešću u gradnji i dogradnji tumula tokom praistorijskog doba, ili je u pitanju njihova sekundarna upotreba u narednim istorijskim razdobljima, činjenica je

divine world of heaven. It runs like a red thread through all phases of the long development of this specific tombstone, regardless of different cultural tendencies, additions and subsequent uses. In this sense, tumuli are a counterpart, and probably a prototype, of the Egyptian pyramids, Mediterranean domed tombs, and Mycenaean tholos.³

The oldest tumuli appear in the 5th millennium BC and their frequent use lasts until the end of the prehistoric period. In ancient times, and especially since the spread of Christianity, this type of tombstones significantly lost its earlier significance, but their use does not stop completely.⁴ However, in areas encompassed by ancient civilization, which mainly refers to the areas that were part of the Roman Empire, new ones or further developed old tumuli were rarely built. Additionally, if they were used for burial purposes, then it was a secondary burial in the existing ones, the prehistoric mounds. The only exceptions are the so-called Roman tumuli which are in fact a combination of prehistoric mounds, domed tombs and tholoi (e.g. tumuli from the Via Apia necropolis).⁵ The practice of burying in existing tumuli was especially common in the Middle Ages, and in some parts of the old world it is still practiced to the present day. In doing so, the monumental tumuli are most often used, which are already imposed by their size and which later generations will always recognize as places worthy of special respect. Such tumuli often become the nucleus of new necropolises, and sometimes churches and other buildings of spiritual significance are built next to them or on them.

However, not all large tumuli had monumental dimensions from the beginning. Some became such only with successive development, i.e. after subsequent burials which were laid in new embankments. As we have already pointed out, such active relation, which implies the further upgrade of mounds, was practiced only in the prehistoric period. Whether a tumulus will have the dimensions we know

3 Ibid.

4 O opštem razvoju tumula Govedarica 2010, 5 ff.; 2011, 33 ff.

5 Montanari 2009, 11 ff.

3 Ibid.

4 On the General Development of the Tumulus, Govedarica 2010, 5 ff.; 2011, 33 ff.

5 Montanari 2009, v 11 ff.

da u zadnjih 5-6 hiljada godina stalno dolazi do obnavljanja sahranjivanja na istom mjestu. Pošto u sahranjivanju u jednom tumulu ima prekida koji mogu trajati i više stotina godina, jasno je da ovdje ne može biti riječi o kontinuiranoj upotrebi. Međutim, stalno obnavljanje upotrebe u istu svrhu, govori o tradiranju predanja, odnosno o svojevrsnom kontinuitetu poznavanja i poštovanja starog kulturnog mjesta. Primjeri iz raznih djelova Evrope potvrđuju da se znanje, ili legende o prvobitnoj namjeni nekih monumentalnih tumula, prenose iz generacije u generaciju tokom više hiljada godina, pa i u slučaju promjene duhovnih nazora, ili čak izmjene cjelokupnog stanovništva.⁶

Na području Crne Gore do sada je otkriveno i najvećim dijelom istraženo osam velikih tumula koji potiču iz najranije faze upotrebe ovih grobnih spomenika na jadranskom području i u njegovom neposrednom zaleđu. Prva takva humka konstatovana je u Rubežama kod Nikšića davne 1952. godine.⁷ Godine 1976. obavljena su iskopavanja tumula Mala Gruda u Tivatskom Polju, a otkriće brojnih grobova u obližnjem tumulu Velika Gruda uslijedilo je 1988. godine.⁸ Godine 1989. obavljeno je zaštitno istraživanje tumula Rakića Kuće u Ćemovskom polju,⁹ dok je 2001. istražen tumul Gruda Boljevića u Tološima (Podgorica).¹⁰ Godine 2011. iskopana je velika humka Mogila na Rake u Sutormu i konačno 2014. su istražena dva velika tumula u Kujavi kod Danilovgrada.¹¹ Primarni grobovi iz svih ovih tumula pripadaju istoj kulturnoj grupi s početka jadranskog bronzanog doba koja je najviše pod utiskom karakteristične keramike okarakterisana kao „Južnojadranski tip Ljubljanske kulture”.¹² Imajući u vidu bogate nalaze iz nekih grobova postoji tendencija da se većina ovih tumula izdvoji kao posebni tip ranih kneževskih grobova.¹³ Međutim, samo tri od njih

6 Npr. legenda o grobu kralja Hinca iz kasnog bronzanog doba u tumulu iz Sedina u zapadnom Brandeburgu (Njemačka) koja je potvrđena arheološkim iskopavanjima. Up. Hansen 2018, 54 ff.

7 Nažalost, humka iz Rubeža je bila najvećim dijelom razrušena prije arheološke intervencije. Benac 1955, 86, Tab. 1, 6.

8 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, 129 ff.; Primas 1996, 11 ff. 75 ff.; Della Casa 1996, 15 ff.

9 Velimirović-Žižić 1995, 21 ff.; Govedarica 2016, 12 ff.

10 Baković / Govedarica 2009, 5 ff.

11 Zagarčanin 2016, 7 ff.; Lutovac 2017, 55 ff.

12 Govedarica 1989, 178 ff.; 2016, 22.

13 U vezi sa tim Zagarčanin 2016, 7 ff. Kritički o tome Lutovac 2017, 62.

today during the primary construction, or will gain them with subsequent development, mostly depended on the social status of the deceased and on the strength of the social community to which those deceased belonged. Nonetheless, whether it is about active participation in the construction and further developed of tumuli during prehistoric times, or their secondary use in the following historical periods, the fact is that in the last 5-6 thousand years, burials in the same place have been constantly renewed. Since there are interruptions in the burial in one tumulus that can last for hundreds of years, there can be no question of continuous use here. However, the constant renewal of its use for the same purpose speaks of the tradition of saga, that is, a kind of continuity of knowledge and respect for the old cult place. Examples from various parts in Europe confirm that knowledge, or legends about the original purpose of some monumental tumuli, are passed down from generation to generation over thousands of years, even in the case of a change in spiritual views, or even a change in the entire population.⁶

In the area of Montenegro, eight large tumuli have been discovered and mostly excavated so far, originating from the earliest phase of the use of these grave monuments in the Adriatic area and in its immediate hinterland. The first mound of such type was found in Rubeža near Nikšić back in 1952.⁷ In 1976, excavations of the Mala Gruda tumulus were carried out in Tivatsko Polje, and the discovery of numerous graves in the nearby Velika Gruda tumulus followed in 1988.⁸ In 1989, a rescue excavations of the tumulus of the Rakića Kuće in Ćemovsko polje was carried out,⁹ while in 2001 the tumulus of Gruda Boljevića in Tološi (Podgorica) was excavated.¹⁰ In 2011, a large mound Mogila na Rake in Sutomore was excavated, and finally in 2014, two large tumuli were excavated in Kujava

6 E.g. a legend about the tomb of King Hinz from the late Bronze Age in a tumulus from Sedin in western Brandenburg (Germany) which has been confirmed by archaeological excavations. See, Hansen 2018 ff.

7 Unfortunately, the mound from Rubeža was mostly destroyed before the archeological intervention. Benac, 1955, 86, T. 1, 6.

8 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, 129 ff.; Primas 1996, 11 ff. 75 ff.; Della Casa 1996, 15 ff.

9 Velimirović-Žižić 1995, 21 ff.; Govedarica 2016, 12 ff.

10 Baković / Govedarica 2009, 5 ff.

posjeduju sve karakteristike koje ih svrstavaju u tu „vladarsku“ kategoriju. To su Mala i Velika Gruda i Gruda Boljevića.

Zanimljivo je da od svih istraženih tumula iz ovog perioda jedino ta tri „kneževska“ nose naziv „grude“. U narodu su tako nazvani vjerovatno zato što se nalaze u ravnici, gdje se izdaleka ističu kao neka velika grudvasta ispupčenja. No, ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost da ovakav položaj i veličina, iz kojih i proističe oblik grude, upućuju na neka dobra vremena kad se moglo mirno živjeti u blagodeti plodnih ravnica i kad su lokalne zajednice bile dovoljno organizovane i snažne da svojim umrlim prvacima podižu tako moćne i dugovjeke spomenike. U svakom slučaju, osim bogatih grobova, ove tri grude posjeduju i druge bitne ritualne i graditeljske karakteristike, što sve pruža dobre mogućnosti za razmatranje kulturnog statusa tumula u praistorijskom periodu koje će biti glavna tema ovog teksta.¹⁴

Slučaj 1: Mala i Velika Gruda (Tivatsko polje)

Ove dvije monumentalne humke koje su ležale u središnjem dijelu Tivatskog polja na međusobnoj udaljenosti od oko 200 m, istražene su u drugoj polovini 20. vijeka.¹⁵ Mada nijedna od njih iz objektivnih razloga nije u cjelini iskopana (up. Sl. 2-4),¹⁶ dobijeni profili i stratigrafska slika pouzdano su potvrdili da se ovdje radi o najznačajnijim do sada poznatim tumulima na području Crne Gore. Kako pokazuju njihovi bogato opremljeni centralni grobovi, obje humke su formirane oko 3000 BC i obje pripadaju istoj kulturnoj grupi, s početka bronzanog doba na južnom Jadranu.

¹⁴ Pitanja kontinuiteta ove vrste kulturnog mjesta i sekundarne upotrebe praistorijskih tumula u istorijskom dobu biće obrađena u drugom dijelu ovog rada, u narednoj svesci „Nove antičke Duklje“.

¹⁵ Humke su se nalazile u središnjem dijelu polja, oko 1,5 km jugoistočno od piste današnjeg aerodroma. Istraživanja Male Grude obavili su Maja Parović-Pešikan i Vojislav Trbuhović 1970. i 1971. godine, dok je tumul Velika Gruda istražen u vremenu 1988-1991. godine od strane stručnog tima Univerziteta iz Ciriha pod rukovodstvom Margarite Primas. Oba istraživanja su izvedena u saradnji sa Pomorskim muzejom iz Kotora.

¹⁶ U slučaju Male Grude iskopavanja su zbog nedovoljnih sredstava bila ograničena uglavnom na neoštećene istočne djelove tumula (Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, 129-130). Kod Velike Grude pošteđen je dio oko stabla velikog hrasta (Primas 1996,19). Opisi ovih tumula i grobova, kao i odgovarajuće ilustracije koje dajemo u ovom tekstu zasnivaju se na izvještajima sa navedenih iskopavanja.

near Danilovgrad.¹¹ The primary graves from all these tumuli belong to the same cultural group from the beginning of the Bronze Age on the Adriatic, which is mostly under the impression of characteristic ceramics characterized as “South Adriatic type of Ljubljana culture”.¹² Having in mind the rich finds from some tombs, there is a tendency for most of these tumuli to stand out as one special type of early princely tombs.¹³ However, only three of them have all the characteristics that place them in this “ruling” category. These are Mala and Velika Gruda and Gruda Boljevića.

It is interesting that of all the excavated tumuli from this period, only these three named ‘princely’ are called “grude”. People named them as such, probably because they are located in the plain, where they stand out from afar like some big lumpy bulges - “grude”. However, we must not neglect the possibility that this position and size, from which the shape of the lump derives, points to some good times when it was possible to live peacefully in the bounty of fertile plains and when local communities were sufficiently organized and strong to build such powerful and long-standing monuments to their deceased heroes. In any case, in addition to rich graves, these three “grude” contain other essential ritual and architectural characteristics. All three provides good opportunities for considering the cult status of tumuli in the prehistoric period, which will be the main topic of this paper.¹⁴

Case 1: Mala and Velika Gruda (Tivat Field)

These two monumental mounds, which lay in the central part of the Tivat Field at a distance of about 200m, were excavated in the second half of the 20th century.¹⁵ Although none of them

¹¹ Zagarčanin 2016, 7 ff.; Lutovac 2017, 55 ff.

¹² Govedarica 1989, 178 ff.; 2016, 22.

¹³ In this regard, Zagarčanin 2016, 7 ff. Critically about it Lutovac 2017, 62.

¹⁴ The issues of continuity of this type of cult place and secondary use of prehistoric tumuli in the historical period will be discussed in the second part of this paper, in the next volume of “New Antique Doclea”.

¹⁵ The mounds were located in the central part of the field, about 1.5 km southeast of the runway of today’s airport. The excavations of Mala Gruda were carried out by Maja Parović-Pešikan and Vojislav Trbuhović in 1970 and 1971, while the tumulus of Velika Gruda was excavated in the period 1988-1991. by the expert team of the University of Zurich under the

Spoljni izgled ove dvije humke se u vrijeme prije iskopavanja dosta razlikovao, jer je Mala Gruda sa sjeverne strane bila znatno oštećena tokom Prvog svjetskog rata. Njena sačuvana visina iznosila je 4m, a prečnik oko 18 m (sl. 1a; 2a). Za razliku od toga Velika Gruda je imala samo neznatna oštećenja na vrhu. Njena očuvana visina iznosila je oko 6 m, a prečnik oko 23 m (sl. 1b; 4).

has been completely excavated for objective reasons (cf. Figs. 2-4),¹⁶ the obtained profiles and stratigraphic image have reliably confirmed that these are the most significant tumuli known so far in the area of Montenegro. As their richly equipped central tombs show, both mounds were formed around 3000 BC, and both belong to the same cultural group, from the beginning of the Bronze Age in the southern Adriatic.



Sl. 1 - a) Tumul Mala Gruda, pogled sa sjevera; b) Tumul Velika Gruda, pogled s juga (stanje prije iskopavanja: a – prema Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974; b – prema Guštin 2006)*

Fig. 1 - a) Tumulus Mala Gruda, view from the north; b) Tumulus Velika Gruda, view from the south (condition before excavation: a - according to Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974; b - according to Guštin 2006)*

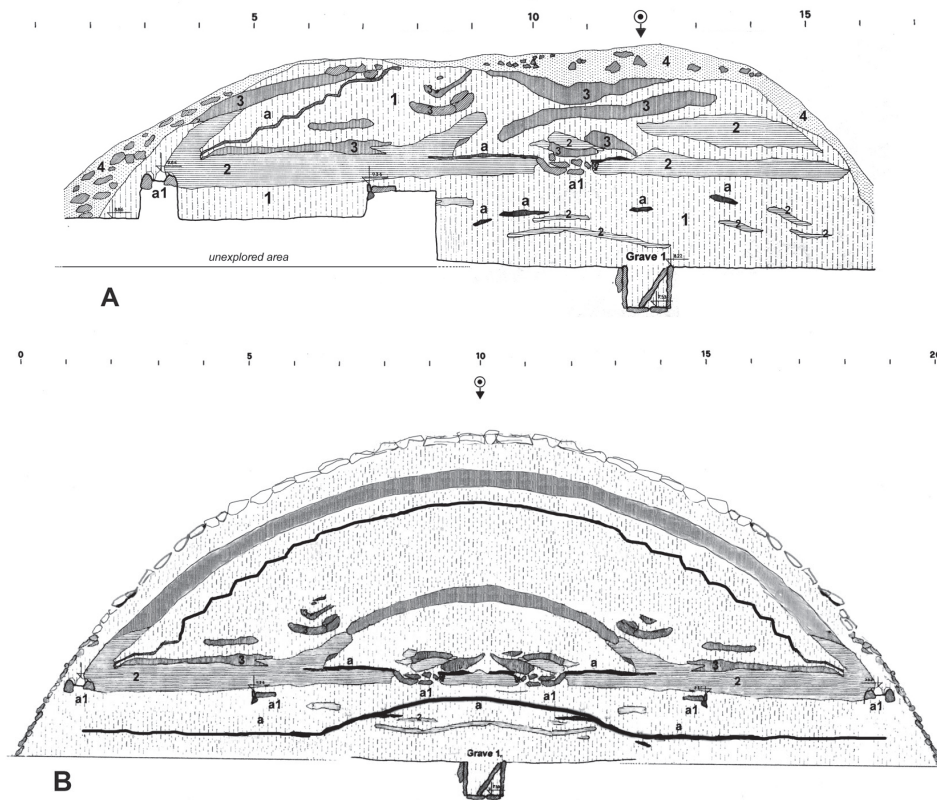
Tako se Mala Gruda pokazala manjom od Velike Grude, što u potpunosti opravdava nazive kojima je te dvije susjedne humke obilježilo lokalno stanovništvo. Ali, to ne odgovara primarnoj slici ovih grobnih spomenika. Naime, kako su istraživanja pokazala, situacija u vrijeme polaganja centralnih grobova bila je upravo obrnuta - Mala Gruda je prvobitno bila mnogo viša od Velike Grude. Detaljnije proučavanje i poređenje strukture i stratigrafije ovih humki daje veoma zanimljive podatke o razvoju i načinu izgradnje tumula, o statusu pokojnika, kao i o odnosu kasnijih generacija prema starim spomenicima, odnosno o značaju i kontinuitetu kulturnog mjesta u mlađim fazama praistorijskog perioda.

The external appearance of these two mounds was quite different in the time before the excavation, because Mala Gruda on the north side was significantly damaged during the First World War. Its preserved height was 4 m, and its diameter was about 18 m (Fig. 1a; 2a). In contrast, Velika Gruda had only minor damage at the top. Its preserved height was about 6 m, and its diameter was about 23 m (Fig. 1b; 4).

leadership of Margarita Primas. Both researches were carried out in cooperation with the Pomorskim Muzejem from Kotor. 16 In the case of Mala Gruda, due to insufficient funds, excavations were limited mainly to the undamaged eastern parts of the tumulus (Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, 129-130). At Velika Gruda, the part around the large oak tree was spared (Primas 1996, 19). The descriptions of these tumuli and graves, as well as the corresponding illustrations given in this text, are based on reports from already mentioned excavations.

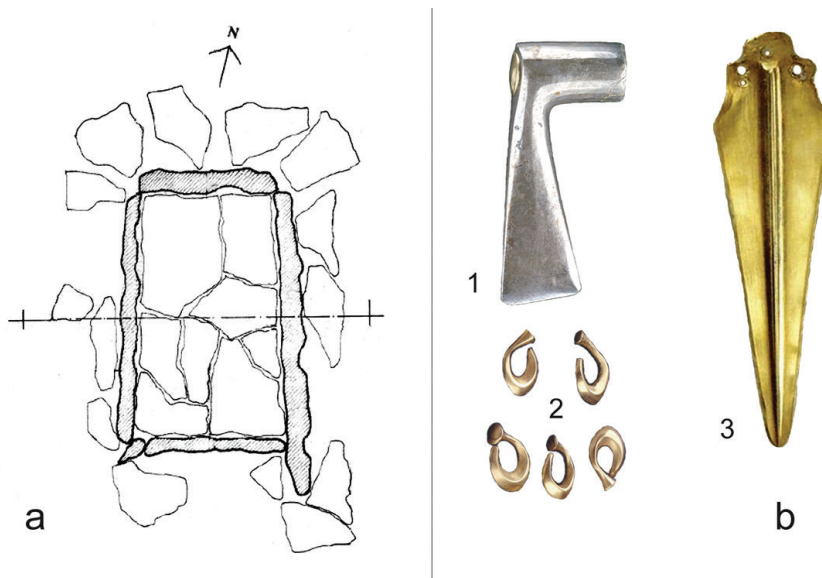
* Guštin 2006, 90; pogrešno navedeno kao Mala Gruda.

* Guštin 2006, 90; wrongly referred as Mala Gruda.



Sl. 2 – Tumulus Mala Gruda: A) sjeverni profil (prema Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974); B) могућа реконструкција величине i stratigrafije tumula, prema sjevernom profilu

Fig. 2 – Tumulus Mala Gruda: A) northern profile (according to Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974); B) possible reconstruction of the size and stratigraphy of the tumulus, according to the northern profile



Sl. 3 Tumul Mala Gruda, Grob 1 – a) kameni sanduk; b) priloženi nakit i oružje (a - prema Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974; b - prema Guštin 2006)

Fig. 3 Tumulus Mala Gruda, Grave 1 - a) stone coffin; b) enclosed jewelry and weapons (a - according to Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974; b - according to Guštin 2006)

1.1. Mala Gruda – jednokratno građeni monumentalni tumul

Odmah treba istaći da je tumul Mala Gruda od samog početka bio koncipiran kao grobna humka grandioznih dimenzija. Ta konstatacija jasno proizilazi iz činjenice da nakon polaganja primarnog groba oko početka trećeg milenija BC, ovdje nije bilo naknadnog sahranjivanja tokom čitavog bronzanog i željeznog doba, odnosno sve do kraja praistorijskog perioda. Kako ćemo vidjeti, to u potpunosti potvrđuje stratigrafija tumula i tragovi kulturni radnji obavljenih tokom nasipanja humke. U središnjem dijelu, oko 3,5 m istočno od pretpostavljenog centra tumula, odnosno od mjesta presjeka arheoloških profila, otkriven je sanduk groba u kome je bio sahranjen pokojnik starije životne dobi. Sanduk je sačinjen od četiri dobro obrađene ploče od kamena krečnjaka, dimenzija 1,27 m x 0,7-0,76 m, sa popločanim dnom i pokrovom od jedne isto takve kamene ploče (sl. 3a). Tako oblikovani sanduk je bio ukopan u prirodnu zdravicu, s tim što je samo poklopac ostao u ravni prvobitne površine (sl. 2; 3a). Grobni prilozi čine jedinstveni luksuzni set oružja i nakita koji sadrži pet zlatnih alki tipa Mala Gruda, sjekiru od elektruma sa ukrašenim zlatnim poklopcem otvora za držalje i zlatni bodež sa naglašenim središnjim rebrom (sl. 3b). Uz to su u grobu bile priložene i dvije posude - ukrašeni bokal i tacna koje su vjerovatno imale ritualnu funkciju.¹⁷ Tu su takođe bila i dva dosta korodirana komada bakarnog lima.¹⁸

U izvještaju sa iskopavanja navedeno je da su kosti pokojnika dosta slabo očuvane, te je to vjerovatno razlog što nije prezentiran plan groba sa položajem skeleta i priloga. U tom izvještaju, kao i u naknadnoj reviziji M. Primas, kaže se da je ipak bilo moguće utvrditi da je skelet bio u zgrčenom položaju, s glavom na sjeveru i licem ka istoku.¹⁹ Mada to tamo nije rečeno, iz svega proizilazi da je pokojnik morao ležati na lijevom boku. Zlatne alke su nađene u predjelu glave, a u njihovoj blizini, u sjeverozapadnom

So as, Mala Gruda (Small Lump) proved to be smaller than Velika Gruda (Great Lump), which fully justifies the names by which these two neighboring mounds were marked by the local population. However, that does not correspond to the primary picture of these tombstones. Namely, as research has shown, the situation at the time of burying the central graves was exactly the opposite - Mala Gruda was originally much higher than Velika Gruda. A more detailed study and comparison of the structure and stratigraphy of these mounds gives very interesting data on the development and construction of tumuli, on the status of the deceased, as well as on the attitude of later generations towards old monuments, i.e. on the significance and continuity of the cult place in the later phases of the prehistoric period.

1.1. Mala Gruda—at once built monumental tumulus

It should be immediately pointed out that the tumulus of Mala Gruda was conceived from the very beginning as a grave mound of grandiose dimensions. This statement clearly resulted from the fact that after the burying of the primary tomb around the beginning of the third millennium BC, there was no subsequent burial here during the entire Bronze and Iron Ages, that is, until the end of the prehistoric period. As we shall see, this is fully confirmed by the stratigraphy of the tumulus and the traces of cultic deeds performed during the filling of the mound. In the central part, about 3.5 m east of the assumed center of the tumulus, that is, from the place of cross-section of archaeological profiles, a funeral coffin was discovered in which the deceased of old age was buried. The coffin consists of four well processed slabs of limestone, measuring 1.27 m x 0.7-0.76 m, with a paved bottom and a cover of one slab of the same stone (Fig. 3a). The mentioned coffin was buried in a natural soil, with only the cover remaining in the plane of the original surface (Fig. 2; 3a). The grave goods represent a unique luxury set of weapons and jewelry that contains five gold hoops of the Mala Gruda type, an ax made from electrum with a decorated gold cover

17 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић, Таб. 3,7-8; 4, 9; Primas 1996, Abb. 5,5.

18 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић, 131. Nalazi nisu analizirani, pa nije isključeno da je u pitanju bronzani lim.

19 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић, 131. Up. revizionu analizu M. Primas (Primas 1996, 17-18).

uglu sanduka, ležali su i fragmenti bakarnog lima. Sjekira i bodež su bili smješteni u predjelu pojasa, a posude su bile priložene pored nogu pokojnika, u jugoistočnom uglu sanduka.²⁰ Ovi podaci su od velikog značaja, jer je položaj priloga i njihov odnos prema skeletu, veoma bitan za određenje simbolične i realne funkcije priloženih predmeta, a samim tim i za utvrđivanje značaja i društvenog statusa pokojnika, o čemu ćemo kasnije još govoriti.

Na osnovu istraženog dijela tumula moguće je rekonstruisati i cjelovitu stratigrafiju, kao i rituale i način formiranja moćnog nasipa ovog monumentalnog grobnog spomenika. Prije svega treba reći da dimenzije humke, kao i ekscentrična pocizija groba koje su prikazane na slici 2A odslikavaju stanje u vrijeme iskopavanja. Međutim, to ne odgovara autentičnoj situaciji ovog spomenika, već predstavlja posljedicu poremećaja nastalih spomenutim velikim oštećenjem iz novijeg doba. Polazeći od toga da je grob bio u sredini tumula koja se preme situaciji iskopavanja nalazi na 12. metru od ivice zapadnog, dobro očuvanog dijela (sl. 2A), može se pretpostaviti da je prečnik tumula prije oštećenja iznosio oko 24 m. To bi bila veličina tumula prije velikog oštećenja. Ali time još nismo došli do prvobitnih dimenzije, jer se ovdje moraju uračunati i efekti slijeganja nasipa tumula i erozije bočnih strana, do čega je došlo tokom proteklih 5.000 godina. Naime, sasvim je sigurno da je visina tumula u vrijeme završetka njegove gradnje znatno prevazilazila sačuvanih 4 m i mogla je iznositi 6-7 m. Za razliku od toga prečnik je morao biti manji i vjerovatno je iznosio oko 20 m (sl. 2B).

Tokom postavljanja kamenog sanduka i sahrane pokojnika, kao i u toku nasipanja zemljane mase tumula (kompaktna žuta zemlja: sl. 2A,1) obavljani su različiti rituali spaljivanja i žrtvovanja (vatrišta: sl. 2A-B, a1; paljevina: sl. 2A-B,a). Uz to su na više nivoa na čitavom prostoru tumulu polagani slojevi kompaktne gline, što je između ostalog, služilo da dodatno zaštiti (zaključa) centralni grob (sl. 2A, 2.3). Veoma je indikativan proslojak paljevine koji se stepenasto uzdiže ka gornjem dijelu nasipa u zapadnom profilu (sl. 2A, a; 2B). To je očigledno ostatak nekog rituala u kome

of the handle openings and a gold dagger with an accentuated central rib (Fig. 3b). In addition, two vessels, a decorated jug and a plate, which probably had a ritual function, were added to the tomb.¹⁷ There were also two rather corroded pieces of copper tin.¹⁸

The report from the excavation states that the bones of the deceased were quite poorly preserved, which is probably the reason why the plan of the grave with the position of the skeleton and grave goods was not presented. In that report, as well as in the subsequent revision of M. Primas, it is said that it was nevertheless possible to establish that the skeleton was in a fetal position, with its head to the north and facing east.¹⁹ Although it is not mentioned in the reports, it stems from all that the deceased had to lie on his left side. Gold hoops were found in the area of the head, and in their vicinity, in the northwest corner of the coffin, lay fragments of copper tin. The ax and dagger were placed in the area of the waist, and the vessels were laid to the feet of the deceased, in the southeast corner of the coffin.²⁰ These data are of great importance, because the position of the grave goods and their relation to the deceased is a very important element for determining the symbolic and real function of the grave goods, and therefore to determine the importance and social status of the deceased himself, which we will discuss later.

Based on the excavated part of the tumulus, it is possible to reconstruct the entire stratigraphy, as well as the rituals and the way of forming the mighty embankment of this monumental tombstone. First of all, it should be said that the dimensions of the mound, as well as the unconventional position of the tomb shown in Fig. 2a reflect the condition at the time of excavation. This certainly does not correspond to the authentic situation of this monument, but is a consequence of disturbances caused by the mentioned great damage from recent times.

17 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, Т. 3,7-8; 4, 9; Pri-mas 1996, Abb. 5,5.

18 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, 131. The findings were not analyzed, so it is not excluded that it is a bronze tin.

19 Паровић-Пешикан / Трбуховић 1974, 131. Cf. revision analysis by M. Primas (Primas 1996, 17-18).

20 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

je paljevina razasuta tokom gradnje, odnosno pri kraju gradnje tumula. Sretna okolnost je da je taj prosljak sačuvan, jer se time pokazuje način gradnje tumula. Naime, nasip tumula nije jednostavno nasipan, već zidan od blokova busenja, čiji su tragovi ovdje zbog paljevine očuvani. Izgleda da je to bio uobičajen način gradnje zemljanih tumula, ali se tragovi blokova busenja uglavnom nestali. Oni se mogu očuvati samo u specijalnim okolnostima, kao u slučaju automumifikacije u tumulima iz ranog bronzanog doba Dokanova Glavica i Pustopolje u Kupreškom polju u Bosni,²¹ ili u velikom skitskom tumulu Barsučij Log iz Sibira u Rusiji, gdje su zahvaljujući klimatskim uslovima blokovi busenja sačuvani u čitavom profilu tumula.²² Tragovi ovakve konstrukcije djelimično su bili sačuvani i u skitskom tumulu Čertomlyk u Ukrajini.²³

Sav taj kompleksni ritual, počev od ukopavanja kamenog sanduka u prirodno tle i polaganja umrloga zajedno sa luksuznim priložima u taj čvrsti sanduk, do „hermetičkog“ zatvaranja groba u okvire moćnog i višestruko ojačanog tumula, jasno odražava veliko poštovanje pokojnika od strane njegove zajednice i težnju da njegov pogrebni mir bude vječno sačuvan i pošteđen od svih spoljnih uticaja. U tome se i uspelo, jer očigledno nije bilo pokušaja pljačkanja ni u antičkom, niti u novijem dobu, a nema ni tragova bilo kakvih spoljnih intervencija u nasipu tumula, izuzev spomenutog oštećenja iz novijeg doba. Grob i pokojnik, kao i ostaci kulturnih radnji u nasipu, ostali su intaktni sve do momenta arheoloških iskopavanja. Jedino je došlo do slijeganja nasipa koje se, zavisno od kvaliteta zemlje, različito manifestovalo (up. sl. 2A i 2B). Pokrov kamenog sanduka takođe je popustio pod pritiskom mase zemljanog nasipa i upao u unutrašnjost groba (sl. 2), te je došlo do prirodno uslovljenog oštećenja skeleta pokojnika.

1.2. Velika Gruda - primarni tumul sa dvije dogradnje

Sasvim drugačiju stratgrafsku sliku pruža tumul Velika Gruda koji je sadržavao više sukcesivnih nasipa sa ukupno 38 grobova.

Starting from the fact that the tomb was in the middle of the tumulus, which according to the excavation situation is located at 12 meters from the edge of the western well-preserved part (Fig. 2A), it can be assumed that the diameter of the tumulus before damage was about 24 m. That would be the size of the tumulus before the great damage, but we have not yet reached the original dimensions. This is because the effects of tumulus embankment settlement and lateral erosion, which have occurred over the past 5000 years, must also be considered. Namely, it is quite certain that the height of the tumulus at the time of the completion of its construction significantly exceeded the preserved 4 m and could have been 6-7 m. On the contrary, the diameter had to be smaller and was probably about 20 m (Fig. 2B).

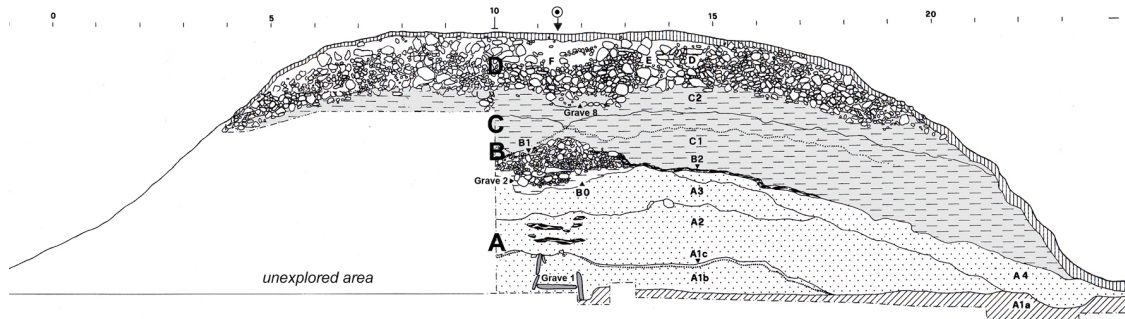
During the positioning of the stone coffin and the burial, as well as the embankment of the earth mass of the tumulus (compact yellow earth: Figs. 2A, 1; 2B,1), various rituals of burning and sacrifice were performed; (hearth: Fig. 2A: B, 1; arson: Fig.2A-B, a). On several levels, layers of compact clay were laid over the entire area of the tumulus, which, among other things, served to additionally protect (lock) the central tomb (Fig. 2A-B,2.3). A layer of charcoal that rises stepwise towards the upper part of the embankment in western profile is very indicative (Figs. 2A-B, 2). It is obviously the remain of a ritual in which the arson is scattered during the building, that is, at the end of the construction of the tumulus. The lucky circumstance is that this layer has been preserved, because it represents the way of building the tumulus. Namely, the embankment of the tumulus was not simply made, but built of turf blocks, whose traces have been preserved thanks to the arson. It seems to have been a common way of building earthen tumuli, but the traces of turf blocks have largely disappeared. They can be preserved only in special circumstances, as in the case of the so-called automumification in tumuli from the Early Bronze Age Dokanova Glavica and Pustopolje in Kupres Field in Bosnia.²¹ Or in the large Scythian tumulus Barsuchiy Log from Siberia in Russia, where, thanks to climatic conditions,

21 Govedarica 1993, 87 ff.

22 Parzinger et al. 2010, 178-186.

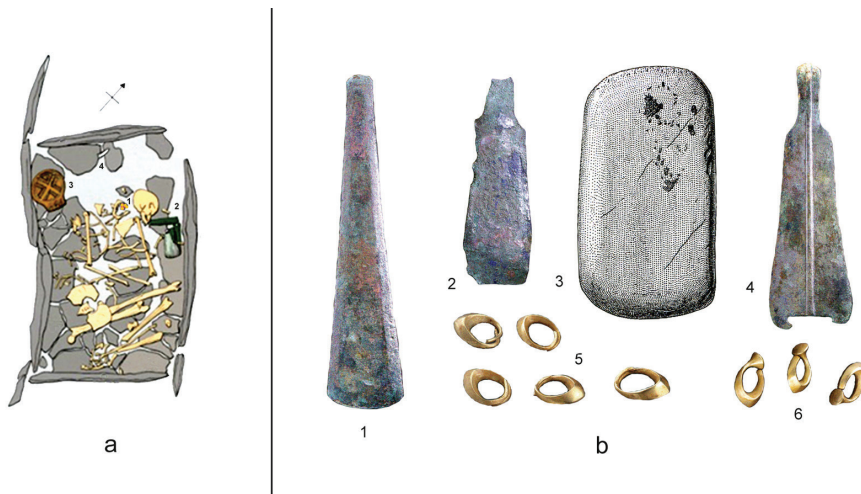
23 Rolle / Murzin 1991, 172-175.

21 Govedarica 1993, 87 ff.



Sl. 4 - Sjeverni profil tumula Velika Gruda (prema Primas 1996)

Fig. 4 - Northern profile of the tumulus Velika Gruda (according to Primas 1996)



Sl. 5 Tumul Velika Gruda, Grob 1 (primarni grob) – a) kameni sanduk sa skeletom i grobnim nalazima; b) priložene alatke i zlatni nakit; (a; b3 – prema Primas 1996; b1-2.4-6 – prema Guštin 2006)

Fig. 5 Tumulus Velika Gruda, Grave 1 (primary grave) - a) a stone coffin with a deceased and grave goods; b) enclosed tools and gold jewelry; (a; b3 - according to Primas 1996; b1-2.4-6 - according to Guštin 2006)

Zahvaljujući preciznim i dobro dokumentovanim iskopavanjima, kao i dodatnim biohemijskim analizama koja su tokom istraživanja obavljene,²⁴ u mogućnosti smo da dosta detaljno rekonstruišemo stratigrafiju i strukturu ovog kompleksnog tumula. Ovdje je poslije polaganja centralnog groba nasut primarni tumul visine oko 2,9 m (tumul A; sl. 4). Kako ćemo vidjeti taj prvobitni tumul će dugo vremena egzistirati u navedenoj formi, a visina od 6 m koja je zatečena na početku iskopavanja dostignuta je u kasnijim dobima, nasipanjem

turf blocks are preserved in the entire profile of the tumulus.²² Traces of such a construction have been partially preserved in the Scythian tumulus Čertomlyk in Ukraine.²³

All this complex ritual, starting with burying the stone coffin in the natural soil and placing the deceased together with the luxury findings into that solid crate, to the "hermetic" seal of the tomb within a powerful and multi-reinforced tumulus, clearly reflects the great

24 Primas 1996, 39 ff.

22 Parzinger et al. 2010, 178-186.

23 Rolle /Murzin 1991,172-173.

dodatnih nasipa B, C, i D u kojima su ukopavani novi grobovi.

1.2.1 Primarni tumul (sloj A)

Pokojnik iz primarnog tumula sahranjen je u kamenom sanduku istog tipa i skoro istih dimenzija kao i onaj iz Mala Grude (1,3m x 0,75-0,85m), s tim što je izuzev istočne bočne ploče koja je bila ukopana do 30 cm u prirodnu flišnu podlogu, sanduk ovoga puta bio postavljen na prvobitnoj površini tla (sl. 4). Skelet je ovdje bolje očuvan, pa se moglo utvrditi da je pokojnik sahranjen u zgrčenom položaju na lijevom boku, s glavom na sjeveru i pogledom na istok (sl. 5a).²⁵ U predjelu zatioka nađeno je osam zlatnih alki, od kojih je pet tipa Leukas i tri tipa Mala Gruda (sl. 5a, 2; 5b, 1-4),²⁶ a ispred glave i grudi ležala su dva bronzana noža na jednom kamenom brusu i poprijeko iznad njih još jedna klinasta bronzana sjekira (Sl. 5a2; 5b1-4). Uz gornji lijevi ugao sanduka nalazila se ukrašena posuda u obliku tacne sa ispustom za držanje (kadionica?), dok su se uz samu ploču na sjeverozapadnom rubu sanduka nalazila dva zuba od vepra (sl. 5a, 3.4). U kompaktnom nasipu primarnog tumula, neposredno iznad groba dokumentovani su tragovi kulturnog žrtvovanja, u vidu dvije plitke jame sa tragovima gorenja (sl. 4). Drugih antropogenih intervencija u okviru sloja A nije bilo, a nekoliko tankih sedimenata željeznog oksida, od kojih je donji najviše izražen (sl. 4, A1c), nastali su kao posljedica prirodnog taloženja iz gornjih slojeva.²⁷

1.2.2 Sekundarni tumul (sloj B-C)

Tumul Velika Gruda je ponovno upotrijebljen tek oko 1400-1500 godina nakon primarne sahrane, kada je u njegovom centralnom dijelu plitko ukopan grob 2 u kome je bilo sahranjeno šest individua. Ovaj grob je bio pokriven malom kamenom humkom prečnika oko 3,5 m i visine do 1m (sloj B; sl. 4, B), a uz jedan skelet nađeno je nekoliko komada bronzanog nakita koji pripada srednjem bronzanom dobu.²⁸ Botanička analiza

respect of the deceased by his community and the aspiration that his funeral peace be eternally preserved and spared from all external influences. It succeeded, because there were obviously no attempted robberies in ancient or modern times, and there are no traces of any external interventions in the embankment of the tumulus, except for the mentioned recent damage. The tomb and the deceased, as well as the remains of the cult ritual in the embankment, remained intact until the moment of the archeological excavations. Only the settlement of the embankment occurred, which, depending on the quality of the soil, manifested itself differently (cf. Figs. 2A and 2B). The cover of the stone perished under the pressure of the upper layers and fell into the interior of the grave (Fig. 2). That cause a natural damage to the skeleton.

1.2. Velika Gruda - twice rebuilt primary tumulus

A completely different stratigraphic picture is provided by the tumulus of Velika Gruda, which contained several successive embankments with a total of 38 graves. Thanks to precise and well documented excavations, as well as additional biochemical analyzes performed during the research,²⁴ we are able to reconstruct in detail the stratigraphy and structure of this complex burial mound. On this place, after the laying of the central grave, a primary tumulus about 2.9 m high was filled in (tumulus A; Fig. 4). As we will see, this original tumulus will exist for a long time in the stated form, and the height of 6 m found at the beginning of the excavation was reached in a later period, by filling of additional embankments B, C, and D in which new graves were buried.

1.2.1 Primary tumulus (layer A)

The deceased from the primary tumulus was buried in a stone coffin of the same type and almost the same dimensions as the one from Mala Gruda (1.3 m x 0.75-0.85 m). Except that the eastern side slab, which was buried up to 30 cm into the natural soil and the coffin this time was placed on the original ground surface

25 Prema antropološkoj analizi, u procesu raspadanja organskog tkiva došlo je do izvjesnog pomjeranja skeleta u predjelu karlice. Primas 1996,28-32.

26 Po tipologiji M. Primas (Primas 1996, 77-80).

27 Slična situacija potvrđena je u praistorijskim tumulima sa Kupreškog polja. Govedarica 1993, 87 ff.

28 Della Casa 1996, 28-30.

24 Primas 1996, 39 ff.

je pokazala da tanki tamni proslojak na vrhu primarnog tumula, odnosno na površini sloja A, sadrži organske sedimente humusa (sloj Ba2) koji su nastali tokom dugotrajne samostalne egzistencije prvobitne humke. U istom sedimentu su konstatovani i tragovi gareži koji se protežu i na konstrukciju groba 2,²⁹ što je vjerovatno posljedica rituala koji je bio obavljen prilikom polaganja tog groba.

Preko konstrukcije groba 2 (sloj B) na čitavom prostoru primarnog tumula nasut je novi zemljani nasip (sloj C) koga u donjem dijelu sačinjava sivosmeđa ilovača (sloj C1), dok je gornji dio (sloj C2) žuto sive boje. U sloj C2 i u površinski dio sloja C1 ukopana je kamena konstrukcija sa grobom 3 u kome su bile dvije individue, dok su četiri posude koje su označene kao dječji grobovi broj 4 do 7, ukopane u sloj C2.³⁰ Mada ovi grobovi nemaju priloga, tipološke osobine keramike odgovaraju srednjem bronzanom dobu, što bi govorilo da su hronološki bliske grobu 2. Prosječna visina sloja B-C iznosi 2 m, te bi se moglo reći da je ukupna visina tumula Velika Gruda poslije prve dogradnje u srednjem bronzanom dobu, iznosila oko 5m.



Sl. 6 Gruda Boljevića, tumul prije iskopavanja (prema Baković / Govedarica 2009)

Sl. 6 Gruda Boljevića, tumulus before excavation (according to Baković / Govedarica 2009)

1.2.3 Tercijarni tumul (sloj D)

Završnu fazu gradnje ovog tumula, predstavlja sloj D. To je nasip od lomljenog kamena i kamenih blokova koji se nadovezuje

²⁹ Ibid. 22-23.

³⁰ Ibid. 30-32.

(Fig. 4). The skeleton is better preserved here, so it could be established that the individual was buried in a fetal position on the left side, with his head to the north and facing east (Fig. 5a).²⁵ Eight gold hoops were found in the occipital region, of which five were Leukas and three were Mala Gruda type (Figs. 5a1; 5b, 5.6).²⁶ In front of the head and chest, there are two bronze knives on grindstone and transversely above them another nail-shaped bronze ax (Fig. 5a, 2; 5b, 1-4). Along the upper left corner of the coffin was a decorated vessel in the shape of a plate with a drain for holding (censer?), while next to the slab itself on the north-western edge of the coffin were two boar teeth (Fig. 5a, 3.4). In the compact embankment of the primary tumulus, just above the grave, traces of ritual sacrifice have been documented, in the form of two shallow pits with traces of arsons (Fig. 4). There were no other anthropogenic interventions within layer A. Several thin sediments of iron oxide. The lower, of which is the most pronounced (Fig. 4, A1c), were formed as a consequence of natural deposition from the upper layers.²⁷

1.2.2 Secondary tumulus (layer B-C)

The tumulus Velika Gruda was secondary used only about 1400-1500 years after the primary burial, when grave 2 was shallowly buried in its central part, in which six individuals were found. This tomb was covered with a small stone mound about 3.5 m in diameter and up to 1 m high (layer B; Fig. 4, B). Next to one skeleton, several pieces of bronze jewelry belonging to the Middle Bronze Age were located.²⁸

Botanical analysis showed a thin dark layer at the top of the primary tumulus, that is, on the surface of layer A. It contains organic humus sediments (layer Ba2) which were formed during the long-term independent existence of the original mound. In the same sediment, traces of charcoals were found, which extend to the

²⁵ According to anthropological analysis, in the process of decomposition of organic tissue, there was a certain movement of the skeleton in the pelvic region. Primas, 1966, 28-32.

²⁶ According to the typology of M. Primas (Primas, 1966, 77-80).

²⁷ A similar situation was confirmed in prehistoric tumuli from the Kupres Field. Govedarica 1993, 87 ff.

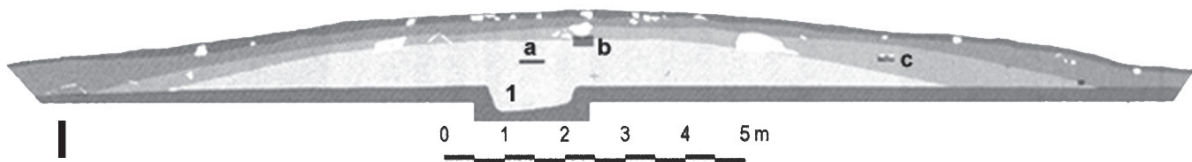
²⁸ Della Casa 1996, 28-30.

na sloj C i koji se prostire u središnjem dijelu tumula, u prečniku od 16 m, sa najvišom visinom od oko 1,1m.

U njemu je bio najveći broj grobova – ukupno 28 (grobovi 8-35), a po stratigrafskom položaju primarni grob ove faze bi morao biti grob 8 (sl. 4).

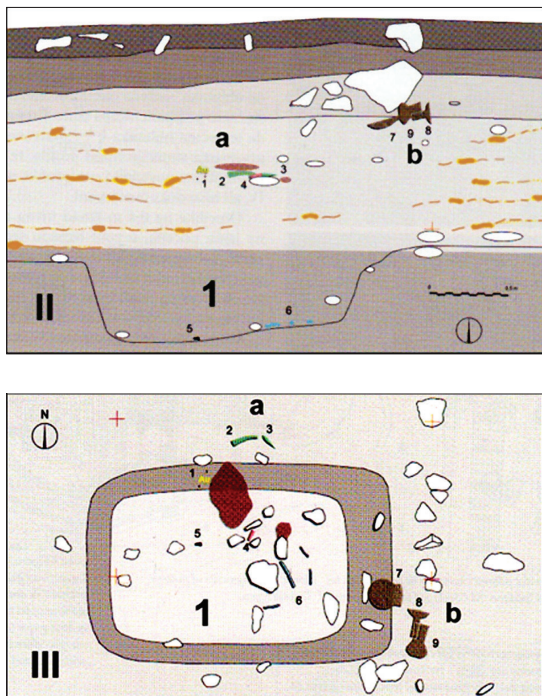
pedestal of the construction of grave 2.²⁹ That is probably a consequence of the ritual that was performed during the burial of that grave.

A new earthen embankment (layer C) is poured over the construction of grave 2 (layer B) in the entire area of the primary tumulus, when it consists of gray-brown clay (layer C1), while the upper part (layer C2) is yellow-gray.



Sl. 7 Gruda Boljevića: I. sjeverni profil tumula sa jamom centralnog groba i položajem nalaza a-c; (prema Guštin /Preložnik 2015)

Fig. 7 Gruda Boljevića: I. northern profile of the tumulus with the pit of the central grave and the position of small finds a-c (acc. to Guštin / Preložnik 2015)



Sl. 8 Gruda Boljevića: II-III. Profil i plan centralnog groba (prema Guštin / Preložnik 2015)

Fig. 8 Gruda Boljevića: II-III. Profile and situation of the central grave (according to Guštin / Preložnik 2015)

A stone structure with grave 3 containing two individuals was buried in layer C2 and in the surface part of layer C1, while four vessels marked as children's graves number 4 to 7 were buried in layer C2.³⁰ Although these graves have no small finds, the typological features of the pottery correspond to the Middle Bronze Age, which would indicate that they are chronologically close to grave 2. The average height of layer B-C is 2 m, and it could be said that the total height of the tumulus Velika Gruda, after the first development in the Middle Bronze Age, was about 5 m.

1.2.3 Tertiary tumulus (layer D)

The final phase of the construction of this burial mound is layer D. It is an embankment of crushed stone and stone blocks which are connected to layer C and extends in the central part of the tumulus, in a diameter of 16 m, with a maximum height of about 1.1 m. It contains the most graves- a total of 28 (graves 8-35), and according to the stratigraphic position, the

²⁹ Ibid. 22-23.

³⁰ Ibid. 30-32.



Sl. 9 Gruda Boljevića: a) prva grupa nalaza; b) druga grupa nalaza; c) treći nalaz (a,b - prema Baković / Govedarica 2009; c - prema Guštin / Preložnik 2015)

Fig. 9 Gruda Boljevića: a) the first group of findings; b) second group of findings; c) third find (a,b - according to Baković/Govedarica 2009; c - according to Guštin / Preložnik 2015)

Metalni i keramički nalazi iz grobova ove etape hronološki su vrlo bliski onima iz sloja B i C, pa se može reći da se nadovezuju na njih i da pripadaju završnom periodu srednjeg bronzanog doba.³¹

Na blisku vezu na ovoj relaciji upućuju i radiokarbon probe iz grobova druge i treće faze koji u cjelini daju raspon od 1600-1300 BC. Mada su 14C-probe dale nekoliko datuma koje, iz za sada nejasnih razloga nisu u saglasnosti sa stratigrafskim pozicijama pojedinih grobova,³² na osnovu arheološke tipologije se može reći da između druge i treće faze sahranjivanja u tumulu Velika Gruda (slojevi B-C i sloj D) nema značajnijeg diskontinuiteta, te da obje pripadaju srednjem bronzanom dobu po srednjoevropskoj hronologiji.

31 Ibid. 32-63.

32 Up. Ibid. 25.

primary grave of this phase should be grave 8 (Fig. 4). The metal and ceramic finds from the graves of this stage are chronologically very close to those from layers B and C, so it can be said that they follow them and belong to the final period of the Middle Bronze Age.³¹ Radiocarbon samples from the graves of the second and third phases, which generally give a range of 1600-1300 BC, also point to a close connection on this route. Although the 14C analysis gave several dates which, for unknown reasons, do not agree with the stratigraphic positions of individual graves.³² Based on the archaeological typology, it can be said that there is no significant discontinuity between the second and third phases of burial in the Velika Gruda tumulus (layers B-C and layer D), and that both belong to the Middle Bronze Age according to Central European chronology.

Only with this third embankment, the Velika Gruda tumulus reached its total height of 6 m, and after that there were no further developments. Grave 36 and the group of small finds marked with number 37 from the Early Iron Age, as well as the medieval grave 38 represent separate individual burials that were buried in the existing stone tumulus, without the addition of new embankments.³³

Case 2: Gruda Boljevića

The tumulus of Gruda Boljevića, which was located below Velje Brdo on the northern edge of the Zeta plain, (today's Tološi, a suburb of Podgorica), was excavated in 2001. The mound in the shape of an irregular cup with a diameter of 24 m and a preserved height of 1.8 m (Fig. 6; 7, I) was filled with finely pure earth, without the addition of stones.³⁴

During the construction of the mound, several layers of compact clay of uneven intensity and 1-3 cm thickness were applied in its central part. Around the center of the tumulus, in a diameter of 6 to 8 m, six such layers have been documented. They are successively

31 Ibid. 32-63

32 See, Ibid. 25

33 Ibid. 63-66.

34 Ovdje izneseni podaci i ilustracije nalaza iz Grude Boljevića dati su na osnovu publikacije M. Bakovića i B. Govedarica iz 2009.

Tek sa ovim trećim nasipom tumul Velika Gruda je dostigao svoju ukupnu visinu od 6 m, a nakon toga nije bilo novih dogradnji. Grob 36 i grupa nalaza koja je obilježena brojem 37 iz starijeg željeznog doba, kao i srednjovjekovni grob 38, predstavljaju izdvojene pojedinačne sahrane koje su ukopane u postojeći kameni tumul, bez dogradnje novih nasipa.³³

Slučaj 2: Gruda Boljevića

Tumul Gruda Boljevića koji se nalazio ispod Veljeg Brda na sjevernom rubu Zetske ravnice, (danas predgrađe Podgorice Tološi) istražen je 2001. godine. Humka oblika nepravilne kupe sa prečnikom 24 m i očuvanom visinom od 1,8 m (sl. 6; 7,1) bila je nasuta od fino prečišćene zemlje, bez primjesa kamenja.³⁴

Tokom gradnje humke nanoseno je u njenom središnjem dijelu nekoliko prosljaka kompaktne gline neujednačenog intenziteta i debljine od 1-3 cm. Oko centra tumula, u prečniku od 6 do 8 m, dokumentovano je šest takvih prosljaka koji su, od nivoa prvobitne površine tla do visine od ca. 1 m, sukcesivno nanošeni u pravilnim razmacima od oko 20 cm (sl. 8, II). Ova praksa umnogome podsjeća na situaciju u Maloj Grudi i na ojačavanje tumula u cilju dodatne fizičke i ritualne zaštite njegovog sadržaja.

U centru tumula otkrivena je četvorougona grobna jama dimenzija 1,1 m x 0,85 m, sa zaobljenim uglovima i orijentacijom pravcem istok-zapad. Jama je bila ukopana do 0,5-0,6 m u kamenito prirodno tle tako da je njeno dno bilo na dubini od 2,30-2,40 m u odnosu na najvišu tačku tumula (Sl. 7, I; 8, II-III). Pri tom je dno jame na zapadnoj strani bilo oko 10 cm dublje nego u istočnoj polovini. Ostaci skeleta su bili očuvani samo u tragovima. U nižem dijelu jame nađene su dvije loše očuvane kosti nogu odrasle individue, dok je u istočnoj polovini ležalo nekoliko komada dugih kostiju od ruke (sl. 8, II-III, 6). Prema veličini grobne jame i po položaju nađenih kostiju nogu, može se pretpostaviti da je pokojnik ležao zgrčen na boku, s orijentacijom istok-zapad (glava na istoku). U tumulu nije bilo drugih praiistorijskih

applied at regular intervals of about 20 cm, from the level of the original soil surface to a height of approx. 1 m (Fig. 8, II). This practice is very reminiscent of the situation in Mala Gruda and the development of the tumulus in order to further establish physical and ritual protection of its contents.

In the center of the tumulus, a rectangular grave pit measuring 1.1 m x 0.85 m was discovered, with rounded corners and an east-west orientation. The pit was dug up to 0.5-0.6 m into the stony natural soil so that its bottom was at a depth of 2.30-2.40 m in relation to the highest point of the tumulus (Fig. 7, I; 8, II-III). The bottom of the pit on the west side was about 10 cm deeper than in the eastern half. The remains of the skeleton were preserved only in traces. In the lower part of the pit, two poorly preserved leg bones of an adult individual were found, while in the eastern half lay several pieces of long hand bones (Fig. 8, II-III, 6). According to the size of the grave pit and the position of the found leg bones, it can be assumed that the deceased was lying in fetal position, with an east-west orientation (head to the east). There were no other prehistoric graves in the tumulus, so it can be considered that this tumulus, like Mala Gruda and the primary tumulus in Velika Gruda, was built as a grave monument of the deceased from the central grave.

There were no grave gifts in the burial pit, except for one piece of flint. It is not certain whether it was intentionally left, or that it reached there accidentally during the backfilling of the grave (Fig. 8, II-III, 5). The grave goods were concentrated in two groups, the first of which lay about 0.8 m above the burial pit and contained representative specimens of weapons and jewelry: an ax made of finely polished greenish granite with a gold cover for the holder, a bronze dagger, a symbolic grinder made of polished porphyry (which could have been also a massive pendant), as well as two gold hoops of the Mala Gruda type (Fig. 7, I; 8, II-III; 9a, 1-4). The second group is a set of three decorated ceramic vessels: a beaker, a funnel and a plate which, like the first group, were found above the primary tomb, but this time closer to

33 Ibid. 63-66.

34 Ovdje izneseni podaci i ilustracije nalaza iz Grude Boljevića dati su na osnovu publikacije M. Bakovića i B. Govedarica iz 2009.

grobova, te se može smatrati da je ovaj tumul, poput Male Grude i primarnog tumula u Velikoj Grudi, bio izgrađen kao grobni spomenik pokojnika iz centralnog groba.

U grobnoj jami nije bilo nikakvih nalaza, osim jednog komada kremena, za koga nije sigurno je li namjerno ostavljen, ili je tu dospio slučajno tokom zasipanja groba (sl. 8, II-III,5). Grobni prilozi su bili koncentrisani u dvije grupe, od kojih je prva ležala oko 0,8 m iznad grobne jame i sadržavala reprezentativne primjerke oružja i nakita: sjekira od fino poliranog zelenkastog granita sa zlatnim poklopcem otvora za držalo, bronzani bodež, simbolični brus od ugljačanog porfirita koji je mogao biti i masivni privjesak, kao i dvije zlatne alke-karičice tipa Mala Gruda (sl. 7, I; 8, II-III; 9a, 1-4). Drugu grupu predstavlja set od tri ukrašene keramičke posude: pehar, lijevak i tacna koji su, kao i prva grupa nađeni iznad primarnog groba, ali ovoga puta bliže površini tumula (sl. 7, I; 8, II-III; 9b, 7-9). Posude iz ove grupe su očigledno bile u upotrebi u ritualu koji je obavljen nakon čina sahrane u centralnom grobu i tokom formiranja nasipa tumula. One predstavljaju najreprezentativniji set ritualnih posuda koji je do sada nađen u grobovima ranog bronzanog doba čitavog jadranskog područja. Bokal i lijevak čine komplet za izlivanje tečne žrtve (libacija), a plitka šolja na nozi je služila kao kadionica.³⁵ Treću, posebno izdvojenu grupu činili su fragmenti jedne kuglaste posude koja je bila postavljena u nasip tumula oko 6 m istočno od centralnog groba (sl. 7, Ic, 9c, 10). Svi ovi nalazi tipološki skoro u potpunosti odgovaraju priložima iz centralnih grobova tumula iz Male i Velike Grude, te se sa sigurnošću mogu pripisati istoj kulturnoj grupi s početka bronzanog doba. To sasvim dobro potvrđuje i 14C proba iz centralnog groba koja je dala datum 3090-3044 cal BC.

U površinski i humusni sloj Grude Boljevića bio je ukopan veliki broj srednjovjekovnih grobova koji su datirani u vrijeme 11-13. vijeka. No, time zalazimo u pitanje kontinuiteta tumula u istorijskom dobu, što je kako je već naglašeno, tematika koja će biti obrađena u drugom dijelu ovog rada i prezentirana u narednom broju ovog časopisa.

the surface of the tumulus (Fig. 7, I; 8, II-III; 9b, 7-9). Vessels from this group were apparently in use in a ritual performed after the act of burial in the central tomb and during the formation of the tumulus embankment. They represent the most representative set of ritual vessels found so far in the tombs of the Early Bronze Age of the entire Adriatic area. The jug and funnel form a set for pouring liquid sacrifice (libation), and the shallow cup with foot served as a censer.³⁵ The third, specially separated group consisted of fragments of globular vessel which was placed in the embankment of the tumulus about 6 m east of the central tomb (Fig. 7, Ic, 9c, 10). All these small findings typologically almost completely correspond to the contributions from the central tombs of tumuli from Mala and Velika Gruda, and can certainly be attributed to the same cultural group from the beginning of the Bronze Age. This is quite well confirmed by the 14C analysis from the central tomb which gave the date 3090-3044 BC.

A large number of medieval graves dating from 11-13th century were buried in the surface and humus layer of the mound Gruda Boljevića. However, this brings us to the question of the continuity of tumuli in the historical age, which, as already highlighted, is a topic that will be discussed in the second part of this paper and presented in the next issue of this journal.

Concluding observations

The three previously presented tumuli belong to the classic type of this monument, those who are not built as a family or tribal necropolis, but like a testimonial in honor of one person who was of great importance to his community during his lifetime and whose significance should live on after his physical disappearance.³⁶ Each of these tumuli has been extensively studied in the archaeological literature, though mainly from a narrow chronological aspect strictly tied to the moment of burial, the grave ritual and the cultural affiliation of the finds. However, there is no doubt that these striking monuments were designed from the beginning for the purpose of achieving a spiritual impact on the social

35 Baković / Govedarica 2009, 15.

35 Baković / Govedarica 2009, 15

36 On different types of grave tumuli, see Govedarica 2010, 5-9.

Zaključna razmatranja

Tri prethodno predstavljena tumula pripadaju klasičnom tipu ovog spomenika, onima koji se podižu ne kao porodična ili plemenska nekropola, već u slavu jedne osobe koja je za života bila od velike važnosti za svoju zajednicu i čiji značaj treba da živi i nakon njenog fizičkog nestanka.³⁶ Svaki od ovih tumula je u arheološkoj literaturi dosta obrađivan, ali uglavnom sa uskog hronološkog aspekta striktno vezanog za sam momenat sahranjivanja, grobni ritual i kulturnu pripadnost nalaza. Međutim, nema nikakve sumnje da su ovi markantni grobni spomenici od početka projektovani i u svrhu ostvarivanja duhovnog uticaja na socijalnu okolinu, kako na onu iz vremena izgradnje tumula, tako i na onu iz budućih vremena. Naš cilj u ovom tekstu bio je da, naravno polazeći od tih osnovnih aspekata, skrenemo pažnju na sudbinu tih spomenika u dijahronom praistorijskom rasteru i da upotrebimo na način percepcije koju je prema njima imala lokalna sredina u različitim kulturnoistorijskim razdobljima. Pri tom se postavlja pitanje šta znači povremeno obnavljanje upotrebe jednog tumula u praistoriji, a šta u kasnijim periodima. Kakve relacije označava sekundarna upotreba tumula? Je li to odraz poštovanja i ako jeste, u kojoj mjeri prema primarnom pokojniku, a u kojoj prema samom spomeniku, ili novom pokojniku. Je li dodavanje novih nasipa na postojeći tumul i sekundarno sahranjivanje u njima znak poštovanja, ili poništavanja prethodnog identiteta? Kakvu duhovnu vezu može označavati obnavljanje sahranjivanja nakon više od hiljadu godina? Mijenja li se odnos prema tumulima u uslovima promjene religije? Kako se prenosi znanje o funkciji tumula u uslovima obuhvatne promjene stanovništva?

Naravno, odnos direktnih potomaka i narednih bližih i daljih generacija prema sahranjenima i njihovim grobnim spomenicima uslovljen je mnoštvom faktora socijalnog i istorijskog karaktera koje je na osnovu arheološke dokumentacije samo u izvjesnoj mjeri moguće dokučiti. No, činjenica je da uzajamno djelovanje na ovoj relaciji traje sve do naših dana, te to mora u maksimalno mogućoj mjeri biti predmet i arheoloških razmatranja.

environment, both on the one from the time of the construction of the tumulus, and on the one from future times. Our goal in this paper was, of course, starting with these basic aspects, to point out the fate of these monuments in the diachronic prehistoric grid and to point out the way of perception that the local environment had towards them in different cultural and historical periods. This raises the question of what it means to occasionally renew the use of a tumulus in prehistory, and in later periods. What are the relations of secondary use of tumuli? Whether it is the embodiment of respect, and if so, to what extent according to the primary deceased, and to what extent it refers to the monument itself and the newly buried. Is the addition of new embankments to the existing tumulus and the secondary burial in them a sign of respect, or annulment of the previous identity? What spiritual connection can the burial renewal after more than a thousand years signify? Does the attitude towards tumuli change in the conditions of a change of religion? How is the knowledge behind the function of tumuli transmitted in the conditions of comprehensive population change?

Of course, the relation of direct descendants and subsequent near and far generations to the buried and their tombstones is conditioned by many factors of social and historical character. Which, on the basis of archaeological documentation, can only be comprehended to a certain extent. However, the fact is that the interaction on this route lasts until our days, and this must be the subject of archaeological analysis as much as possible. Each of the three presented tumuli contains important information that refers to the attitude of the local community towards the deceased and towards the tumulus itself as a eternal monument. Considering these aspects, the necessary and only correct starting point are the primary tumuli whose features we have presented in the previous text. There is no doubt that these three mounds were built at approximately the same time and belong to the same cultural group, so it is understandable that they are similar in many ways. But each of them has its own specifics in terms of the relations

³⁶ O različitim tipovima grobnih tumula vidi Govedarica 2010, 5-9.



Sl. 10 – Primjeri kraljevskih dijadema: a) 1. Varna I, Grob 3; 2. grob iz Majkopa; 3. grob iz Vörsa; 4. Ur, kraljica Schubad; 5. Ur, kraljevski grob PG 1618; 6. Kraljevski grob Arslantepe, skelet H 224 (1.2.5: zlato; 4: lapis lasuli i zlato; 3,6: bakar) b) glava amorićanskiog kralja Yarim-Lima I sa dijademom ukrašenom zlatnim alkama (Alepo, Sirija)

Fig. 10 - Examples of royal diadems: a) 1. Varna I, Tomb 3; 2. tomb from Maikop; 3. grave from Vörs; 4. Ur, Queen Schubad; 5. Ur, royal tomb PG 1618; 6. Royal tomb of Arslantepe, skeleton H 224 (1.2.5: gold; 4: lapis lasuli and gold; 3,6: copper) b) head of the Amorite king Yarim-Lim I with a diadem decorated with gold hoops (Aleppo, Syria)

Svaki od tri prezentirana tumula sadrži bitne informacije koje govore o odnosu lokalne zajednice prema pokojniku i prema samom tumulu kao trajnom spomeniku. U razmatranju tih aspekata neophodno i jedino ispravno polazište su primarni tumuli čije smo osobine predstavili u prethodnom tekstu. Nema nikakve sumnje da su ove tri humke podignute u približno isto vrijeme i da pripadaju istoj kulturnoj grupi, pa je razumljivo da su u mnogo čemu slični. Ali svaka od njih ima svoje osobenosti u pogledu odnosa prema pokojniku, sprovedenih rituala, načina gradnje i željenog uticaja na socijalni ambijent i okolinu. Ovdje se pod pojmom primarni tumuli mogu podrazumijevati kompletni tumuli Mala Gruda i Gruda Boljevića, kao i tumul A (sloj A) iz Velike Grude.

to the deceased, performed rituals, construction methods and the desired impact on the social environment and the environment. Here, the term primary tumuli can refer to entire tumuli of Mala Gruda and Gruda Boljevića, as well as tumulus A (layer A) from Velika Gruda.

The status of the deceased and the perception of tumuli

With all the considerations presented here is the fact that the deceased from all three primary tumuli during life had a high status in their social community. This is indicated by the entire burial ritual, starting from the grave goods to the size of the grave monument. In the first place, the gold hoops found in each of these

O statusu pokojnika i percepciji tumula

U osnovi svih ovdje iznesenih razmatranja stoji činjenica da su pokojnici iz sva tri primarna tumula za života imali visoki status u svojoj društvenoj zajednici. Na to ukazuje cjelokupni ritual sahranjivanja, počev od saržaja grobnih priloga do veličine grobnog spomenika. Na prvom mjestu se ističu zlatne alke koje su nađene u svakom od ovih grobova. Istraživači se uglavnom slažu da te alke predstavljaju ukrase dijadema koju su pokojnici imali na glavi, a to potvrđuju i brojne analogije s područja starog svijeta.³⁷ Dijademe od zlata, ili bakra sa ukrasima ili bez njih, poznate su već od 5. milenija BC kao oznaka najvišeg društvenog statusa, odnosno primarna karakteristika vladarske moći. Najstarije su zlatne dijademe u obliku obrnutog slova „T“ i kompozitne dijademe koje su nađene u bogatim grobovima iz tzv. jezgra nekropole Varna I (sl. 10a,1).³⁸ Tokom četvrtog milenija ovaj običaj se već dosta proširio, pa zlatne ili bronzane dijademe susrijećemo u kneževskim grobovima iz okvira kultura Majkop, Baden i dr. (sl. 10a, 2-6).³⁹

U trećem i drugom mileniju BC zlatne dijademe različitog oblika su kraljevsko obilježje u urbanim kulturama istočne Anadolije i Mesopotamije, u Egiptu i Mikenima.⁴⁰ Hronološki najbliže crnogorskim nalazima su primjerci iz kraljevskog groba u Arslantepe, kao i oni iz kraljevske nekropole u Uru.⁴¹ Po formi najbliža, mada vremenski nešto kasnija, je dijadema sa ukrasnim karičicama koja je predstavljena na skulpturi glave kralja Yarim-Lima I koji je vladao u kraljevini Jamchad (Aleppo, Sirija), tokom 18. vijeka BC (sl. 10b).⁴²

Dakle, već je prisustvo dijadema sa zlatnim alkama dovoljna indikacija pripadnosti primarnih

graves stand out. Scientists generally agree that these hoops represent the ornaments of the diadem that the deceased wore on their heads, and this is confirmed by numerous analogies from the area of the old world.³⁷ Diadems made of gold, or copper with or without ornaments, have been known since the 5th millennium BC, as a sign of the highest social status, i.e. the primary characteristic of ruling power. The earliest are gold diadems in the shape of the inverted letter “T” and composite diadem that were found in rich tombs from the so-called the core of the Varna I necropolis (Fig. 10a, 1).³⁸ During the 4th millennium, this custom has already spread a lot, so gold or bronze diadems are found in princely tombs from the cultures of Majkop, Baden and others (Fig. 10a, 2-6).³⁹

In the third and second millennium BC, golden diadems of various shapes were a royal feature in the urban cultures of eastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia, in Egypt, and Mycenae.⁴⁰ Chronologically, the closest to the Montenegrin small finds are specimens from the Royal tomb in Arslantepe, as well as those from the royal necropolis in Ur.⁴¹ The closest in form, although somewhat later in time, is the diadem with decorative links, which is represented on the sculpture of the head of King Yarim-Lim I, who ruled in the kingdom of Jamchad (Aleppo, Syria), during the 18th century BC (Fig. 10b).⁴²

Therefore, the presence of a diadem with gold hoops is already a sufficient indication that the primary graves from Mala and Velika Gruda, as well as the one from Gruda Boljevića, belong to the closest ruling circle in their social communities. However, further circumstances point to their different positions in the hierarchy

37 Vidi Primas 1996, 76.

38 Dijademe u obliku obrnutog slova „T“ nađene su u tzv. simboličnim grobovima broj 2, 3 i 36, dok je kompozitna dijadema od organskog materijala koja je bila ukrašena kružnim zlatnim pločicama nađena u grobu broj 43. Svi ti grobovi pripadaju tzv. jezgru nekropole u kome su bili najbogatiji grobovi. Up. Todorova / Vajsov 2001, 43-44, Taf. 53.

39 Kneževski grob iz Majkopskog kurgana (Фармаковский 1914, 15 ff.; Govedarica 2002, 781 ff.); Nekropola Vörs Badenske kulture (Banner 1956, 111. Taf. LXXXVII).

40 Woolley 1934; Frangipane et al. 2001; Zavadil 2009; James 2000, 96.

41 Frangipane et al. 2001, 105 ff. Woolley 1934, 37, 173-174.

42 Veenhof 2001.

37 Up. Primas 1996, 76.

38 Diadems in the shape of the inverted letter “T” were found in the so-called symbolic graves number 2, 3 and 36, while a composite diadem made of organic material that was decorated with circular gold tiles was found in grave number 43. All these graves belong to the so-called the core of a field where the richest graves were. See, Todorova / Vajsov 2001, 43-44, Taf. 53.

39 Prince's tomb from Majkopski kurgan (Фармаковский 1914, 15 ff.; Govedarica 2002, 781 ff.; Vörs necropolis of the Baden culture (Banner 1956, 111. Taf. LXXXVII).

40 Woolley 1934; Frangipane et al. 2001; Zavadil 2009; James 2000, 96.

41 Frangipane et al. 2001, 105 ff. Woolley 1934, 37, 173-174.

42 Veenhof 2001.

grobova iz Male i Velike Grude, kao i onog iz Grude Boljevića, najužem vladarskom krugu u svojim društvenim zajednicama. Međutim, dalje okolnosti upućuju na njihove različite pozicije u hijerarhiji vlasti. Pri tome su naročito indikativne razlike između grobova iz Tivatskog polja čiji pokojnici su po svemu sudeći pripadali ne samo istoj društvenoj zajednici, nego i istoj vladarskoj lozi, ako ne i porodici. Uz pojas pokojnika iz Male Grude bilo je priloženo oružje – bodež i sjekira - što je siguran znak pripadnosti ratničkom staležu iz koga se u hijerarhizovanim zajednicama bronzanog doba regrutovao vladalački sloj. Činjenica da je to oružje izrađeno od plemenitih metala, što znači ne u upotrebnoj, već u luksuznoj varijanti, daje mu još jedan viši nivo značenja - funkciju žezla. U kombinaciji sa dijademom to bi bila oznaka vrhunske vlasti. Dvije posude, ukrašeni bokal i tacna koje, kako je prethodno konstatovano, predstavljaju ritualni set za libaciju i kađenje, uključuju i elementi sveštene funkcije koja je u ličnosti sahranjenog mogla biti udružena sa svetovnom vlašću.

Prilozi pokojnika iz primarnog groba u Velikoj Grudi nisu tako jednoznačni kao kod prethodnog. Istina, zlatne alke koje su ovdje nađene u najvećem broju, takođe upućuju na pripadnost najvišem društvenom sloju. Ali, uz to vladarsko obilježje nema oružja, kako bi se očekivalo s obzirom na ratničke običaje, već su priložene samo alatke od bronzine i kamena, odnosno upotrebno oruđe, što nikako ne može biti vladarska insignija. Uz ovog pokojnika bila je samo jedna posuda iz ritualnog seta karakterističnog za ove grobove, plitka tacna – kadionica. Prema sastavu i kompoziciji grobnih priloga, moglo bi se pomisliti da je ovdje sahranjena ženska osoba iz okvira vladarske porodice. Međutim, antropološka analiza je pokazala da se radi o muškarcu mlađe dobi (ca. 25 godina). Dakle, u pitanju je mladić, vjerovatno pripadnik kneževske porodice koji još nije dospio do insignija vlasti, već je do smrti ostao u sjenci vladara. Nadajmo se da još postoji mogućnost za genetsku analizu koja bi mogla dati egzaktne podatke o stepenu srodnosti ova dva pokojnika. Arheološki podaci koji su jedini na koje se za sada možemo osloniti, govore u prilog prvom stepenu srodstva. Naime, izuzev dijela statusnih simbola kod ovih grobova

of power. The differences between the graves from the Tivat field, whose deceased appear to belong not only to the same social community, but also to the same ruling line, if not to the family, are particularly indicative. Weapons were placed to the waist area of the deceased from Mala Gruda - dagger and ax- which is a sure sign of belonging to the warrior class from when the ruling class was recruited in hierarchical communities of the Bronze Age. The fact that this weapon is made of precious metals, which means not in use, but in luxury, gives it another higher level of meaning - the function of a scepter. Combined with a diadem, that would be a sign of supreme power. Two vessels, a decorated jug and a plate which, as previously stated, represent a ritual set for libation and incense, they also include elements of the priestly function which in the personality of the deceased could be associated with secular authority.

The small finds from the primary grave in Velika Gruda are not as exact as in the previous one. True, the gold hoops that are found here in the largest number, also indicate belonging to the highest social class. But, in addition to that ruler's feature, there are no weapons, as would be expected considering the warrior's customs, but only tools made of bronze and stone. That is, usable tools, which can't be a ruler's insignia. Along with deceased, there was only one vessel from the ritual set characteristic for these graves, a shallow plate - an censer. According to the composition of the grave goods, one might think that a female person from the ruling family was buried here. However, an anthropological analysis showed that he was a male of younger age (ca. 25). So, it is a young man, probably a member of the prince's family, who has not yet reached the insignia of power, but has remained in the shadow of the ruler until his death. There should be hope that there is still a possibility for genetic analysis that could give exact data on the degree of relatedness of these two deceased. Archaeological data, which are the only ones we can rely on for now, speak in favor of the first degree of kinship. Namely, except for some of the status symbols in these graves, everything is so similar, that it can be

je sve toliko slično, da se može pretpostaviti da se ovdje radi o predstavnicima dvije generacije jedne vladarske porodice, odnosno o ocu i sinu koji su umrli u kratkom razmaku, u vremenu oko 3000 BC. Sve ukazuje da je prvi umro sin i da je njegova sahrana obavljena uz kontrolu oca vladara i uz poštovanje svih hijerarhijskih pravila. Sin je dobio monumentalni grobni spomenik, dok su njegovom, nešto kasnije preminulom ocu pripale sve vladarske počasti, uključujući i daleko veći spomenik u obliku tumula grandioznih dimenzija.

Oba ova tumula su dugo vremena ostala intaktna u prvobitnoj formi. Na njima nije bilo nikakvih naknadnih intervencija tokom čitavog ranog bronzanog doba. To znači da je dugo živjela uspomena na pokojnike kojima su bili posvećeni ovi spomenici, te se ovdje može govoriti o kontinuitetu poštovanja pokojnika i njihovih grobova. Tek sa početkom srednjeg bronzanog doba, oko 1600 BC dolazi do prve dogradnje tumula Velika Gruda i do ponovnog sahranjivanja u ovom tumulu. Praistorijski običaj da se pokojnici ne ukopavaju u postojeći tumul, već da se prije toga nasipa sekundarna humka ima jasan duhovni i socijalni smisao. Ne možemo tvrditi da je sjećanje na princa iz primarnog groba trajalo sve do srednjeg bronzanog doba, niti da su novi korisnici znali da je čitav tumul podignut njemu u čast, mada se to, s obzirom na snagu epske tradicije, ne može isključiti. No, činom prekrivanja prvobitni tumul je izgubio značaj personalizovanog grobnog spomenika koji zahtijeva posebno poštovanje i pijetet. Nasipanjem novog nasipa to mjesto je iznova personalizovano, a sada još veća i monumentalnija humka je u cjelini postala duhovni posjed nove zajednice. Isti postupak je ponovljen prilikom nasipanja kamenog nasipa sloja D. Tako je jednom građeni i dva puta obnavljani tumul Velika Gruda, tri puta mijenjao vlasnika.

Za razliku od toga grandiozni tumul Mala Gruda je svo to vrijeme ostao nedodirnut. Moguće je da su već naglašena monumentalnost ove humke i time izazvano strahopoštovanje, ili pak tehničke poteškoće koje nosi postavljanje novog nasipa na tu visinu, spriječili novo stanovništvo da dograđuje Malu Grudu. A možda je snažna želja graditelja da očuvaju pogrebni mir svoga prvaka, oličena u „hermetičkom“ zatvaranju groba

assumed that these are representatives of two generations of one ruling family. That is, about a father and son who died one after the other, at a time of about 3000 BC. Everything indicates that the son died first and that his funeral was performed under the control of his father - the ruler, and with respect for all hierarchical rules. The son received a monumental tombstone while his, later deceased, father received all the royal honors, including a larger monument in the shape of a tumulus of grand dimensions.

Both of these tumuli remained intact in their original form for a long time. There were no subsequent interventions on them throughout the Early Bronze Age. This means that the memory of the deceased to whom these monuments were dedicated has lived for a long time, and here we can talk about the continuity of respect for the deceased and their graves. Only with the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, around 1600 BC, the first upgrade of the tumulus Velika Gruda took place as well as reburial in it. The prehistoric custom that the dead are not buried in the existing tumulus, but that the secondary mound is filled before that, has a clear spiritual and social meaning. We cannot claim that the memory of the prince from the primary tomb lasted until the Middle Bronze Age, and that the new users knew that the whole tumulus had been built in his honor, though this, given the power of the epic tradition, cannot be ruled out. However, with the act of covering, the original tumulus lost the significance of a personalized tombstone that requires special respect and reverence. With the addition of a new embankment, the place was re-personalized, and now an even larger and more monumental mound has become the spiritual property of the whole new community. The same procedure was repeated with filling the stone embankment of layer D. Thus, once built and twice developed, the tumulus of Velika Gruda changed the owner three times.

On the contrary, the grandiose tumulus of Mala Gruda remained intact all this time. It is possible that the monumentality of this mound has already been emphasized and that awe has been evoked, or the technical difficulties

u moćnom tumulu, urodila predanjem o knezu koje je nadživjelo stoljeća i milenije. Šta god da je bilo, bilo je djelotvorno, jer je tumul ostao nedirnut sve do najnovijeg vremena i do naših dana.

Pokojnik iz Grude Boljevića je isto kao i onaj iz Male Grude imao sva obilježja vladara uljučujući zlatne alke tipa Mala Gruda koje su, kako smo vidjeli, nađene u sva tri ova groba. Sudeći po tome ovaj tip alki ima veći simbolički značaj od onih tipa Leukas koje su nađene samo u grobu princa iz Velike Grude. Priloženo oružje - bodež i sjekira - nisu od plemenitih metala, ali su luksuzno opremljeni. Pri tom je kombinacija bodeža sa simboličnim brusom sasvim sigurno tipičan atribut ratnika, u ovom slučaju lokalnog vladara.⁴³ Set ritualnih posuda iz ovog tumula je najpotpuniji i najreprezentativniji od svih koji su bili priloženi u ova tri kneževska tumula. Prema tome, pokojnik iz Grude Boljevića bi se mogao okarakterisati kao knez-poglavar koji je u Zetskoj ravnici imao funkciju sličnu onoj koju je imao knez iz Male Grude u Tivatskom polju i širem prostoru Boke Kotorske. Činjenica da ovaj tumul nije dograđivan i ponovo upotrebljavan u praistorijskom periodu, govori u prilog dugog trajanja tradicije vezane za ovog pokojnika.

Način pokapanja i izgradnje tumula je takođe istovjetan sa prethodno predstavljanim grudama, uključujući i proslojke gline, poput onih iz Male Grude. Pa ni to što jama kod ovog groba nema kamene konstrukcije, ne mora imati bitnije značenje, jer je moguće da je sanduk ovdje bio od drveta. Jedino što je neobično je činjenica da su grobni priloz, uključujući i kneževske attribute bili položeni izvan groba. To je svakako jedinstven slučaj u čitavom kulturnom okruženju i teško ga je razumjeti i objasniti. Pokušaji da se to obrazloži postojanjem još jednog pokojnika koji je bio položen iznad primarnog groba i kome su pripadali kneževski atributi iz grupe nalaza A, moraju biti odbačeni, jer za to nema nikakvih materijalnih dokaza.⁴⁴ Preostaje zaključak da za sada nema mogućnosti za sagledavanja razloga zbog kojih su ti personalni predmeti priloženi izvan groba, odvojeno od pokojnika. Možda će nam

involved in setting up a new embankment at that height prevented the new population from building on Mala Gruda. Perhaps it is the strong desire of the builders to preserve the funeral peace of their hero, reflected in the "hermetic" sealing of the tomb in a mighty tumulus, it yielded a legend about a prince that survived for centuries and millennia. Whatever it was, it was effective, because the tumulus remained intact until recent times and to this day.

The deceased from Gruda Boljevića, just like the one from Mala Gruda, had all the characteristics of a ruler, including gold hoops of the Mala Gruda type, which, as we have seen, were found in all three of these graves. Judging by that, this type of hoops has a greater symbolic significance than those of the Leukas type, which were found only in the tomb of the prince from Velika Gruda. The weapons - dagger and ax - are not made of precious metals, but are luxuriously equipped. The combination of a dagger with a symbolic grindstone is certainly a typical attribute of a warrior, in this case - a local ruler.⁴³ The set of ritual vessels from this tumulus is the most complete and representative of all that were attached to these three princely tumuli. Therefore, the deceased from Grude Boljevića could be characterized as a prince-chief who had a function in the Zeta plain similar to that of the prince from Mala Gruda in the Tivat Field and the wider area of the Bay of Kotor. The fact that this tumulus was not developed and reused in the prehistoric period, speaks in favor of the long duration of the tradition related to this deceased.

The method of burial and construction of tumuli is also identical to the previously presented tumuli, including layers of clay, such as those from Mala Gruda. Even the fact that the grave pit does not have a stone construction does not have to have a significant meaning, because it is possible that the coffin here was made of wood. The only thing that is unusual is the fact that the grave goods, including the prince's attributes, were placed beside the grave. It is certainly a unique case in the whole cultural environment and it is difficult to understand

43 Up. Govedarica 2017, 137 ff.

44 Up. Guštin / Preložnik 2015, 23-25.

43 See, Govedarica 2017, 137 ff.

tu mogućnost pružiti neki od novih nalaza kojih će na području Crne Gore bez sumnje još biti. No, prema podacima kojima sada raspoložemo, čini se da je ovaj neobični gest bio sastavni dio pogrebnog rituala koji je u ovoj humci obavljen.

and explain. Attempts to explain this by the existence of another deceased who was buried over the primary grave and to whom the princely attributes from group of findings A belonged, must be rejected, because there is no material evidence for that.⁴⁴ The conclusion remains that for now there is no possibility to see the reasons why these personal items were placed outside the grave, separately from the deceased.

Perhaps this opportunity will be provided by some of the new findings that will undoubtedly be discovered in Montenegro. However, according to the data we have now, it seems that this unusual gesture was an integral part of the funeral ritual performed in this mound.

44 See, Guštin / Preložnik 2015, 23-25.

- Baković, Govedarica 2009** - M. Baković, B. Govedarica, Nalazi iz kneževskog tumula Gruda Boljevića u Podgorici, Crna Gora. Godišnjak/Jahrbuch 36/XXXVIII, Sarajevo 2009, 5-21.
- Banner 1956 - J. Banner**, Die Pécelér Kultur. Archaeologia Hungarica 35. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956.
- Benac 1955 - A. Benac**, Nekoliko prahistorijskih nalaza sa područja Nikšića u Crnoj Gori. GZM, N. S. 10, Sarajevo 1955, 85-90.
- Della Casa 1996** - Ph. Della Casa, Velika Gruda II, Die bronzezeitliche Nekropole Velika Gruda (Opš. Kotor, Montenegro), UPA 33, Bonn 1996.
- Frangipane et al. 2001** - A. M. Frangipane, G. M. Di Nocera, A. Hauptmann, P. Morbidelli, A. Palmieri, L. Sadori, M. Schultz, T. Schmidt-Schultz, New Symbols of a New Power in a „Royal“ Tomb from 3000 B.C. Arslantepe, Malatya (Turkey). In: Paléorient, vol. 27/2, 2001, 105-139.
- Фармаковский 1914** - Б. В. Фармаковский, Архаический период в России. МАР 34, Санкт-Петербург 1914, 15-78.
- Govedarica 1989** - B. Govedarica, Rano bronzano doba na području istočnog Jadrana. Sarajevo 1989.
- Govedarica 1993** - B. Govedarica, Vorgeschichtliche Grabhügel vom Kupresfeld. Mitt. Berliner Ges. Anthr. 12, Berlin 1991, 87-92.
- Govedarica 2002** - B. Govedarica, Die Majkop-Kultur zwischen Europa und Asien: Zur Entstehung einer Hochkultur im Nordkaukasus während des 4. Jts.v.Chr. In: Mauerschau 2. Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann. Hrsg. R. Aslan, S. Blum, G. Kastl, F. Schweizer, D. Thumm. Remshalden-Grunbach 2002, 781-799.
- Govedarica 2010** - B. Govedarica, Ideološki značaj grobnih tumula i sakralna simbolika kruga. Godišnjak/Jahrbuch 39, Sarajevo 2010, 5-22.
- Govedarica 2011** - B. Govedarica, Die sakrale Symbolik des Kreises: Gedanken zum verborgenen Sinnbild der Hügelbestattungen. In: E. Borgna & S. Müller Celka, Eds. Ancestral Landscapes. Burial mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe - Balkans - Adriatic - Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium B.C. Lyon 2011, 33-46.
- Govedarica 2016** - B. Govedarica, The stratigraphy of Tumulus 6 in Shtoj and the appearance of violin idols in the south Adriatic region. Godišnjak/Jahrbuch 45, Sarajevo 2016, 5-34.
- Govedarica 2017** - B. Govedarica, Problem interpretacije ukrašenih brusova s Glasinačkog područja. The problem of interpretation of the decorated whetstones from the Glasinac area. Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku 110(1), 137-165. Arheološki muzej Split 2017.
- Guštin 2006** - M. Guštin, The First Rulers Between the Aegean and Adriatic Seas, In: Symbol of God and King, The First European Rulers, Catalogue of the Exhibition. Ed. J. Poklečki Stošić, Zagreb 2006, 87-99.

Hansen 2018 - S. Hansen, Seddin: ein „homerisches Begräbnis“. In: Der Grabhügel von Seddin im norddeutschen und südsandinavischen Kontext, Hrsg. S. Hansen, F. Schopper). Arbeitsberichte zur Bodendenkmalpflege in Brandenburg 33, Wünsdorf 2018, 65-73.

James 2000 – T. G. H. James, Tutanchamun. Der ewige Glanz des jungen Pharaos. Köln 2000.

Lutovac 2017 - P. Lutovac, Nalazi iz tumula u selu Kujava kod Danilovgrada / Finds from the Tumuli in the Village Kujava near Danilovgrad. Godišnjak/Jahrbuch 46, Sarajevo 2017, 55-75.

Мерперт 1974 - Н. Я. Мерперт, Древнейшие скотоводы Волжско-Уральского междуречья, Москва 1974.

Montanari 2009 - P. Montanari, Sepolcri circolari di Roma e suburbio: Elementi architettonici dell'elevato. Workshop di archeologia classica. Quaderni 2. Pisa-Roma 2009.

Паровић/Пешикан, Трбуховић 1974 – М. Паровић-Пешикан, В. Трбуховић, Ископавања тумула раног бронзаног доба у Тиватском пољу. Старинар Н. С. 22 (1971), Београд 1974, 129-141.

Parzinger et al. 2010 - H. Parzinger, A. Nagler, A. Gotlib, Der tagerezeitliche Kurganen von Barsučij Log in Chakasien. Ergebnisse der deutsch-russischen Ausgrabungen 2004-2006. Eurasia Antiqua 16, Berlin 2010, 169-281.

Primas 1996 - M. Primas, Velika Gruda I. Hügelgräber des frühen 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Im Adriagebiet – Velika Gruda, Mala Gruda und ihr Kontext, UPA 32, Bonn 1996.

Rader 2003 - O. B. Rader, Grab und Herrschaft. Politischer Totenkult von Alexander dem Großen bis Lenin. München 2003.

Rolle, Merzin 1991 – R. Rolle, V. J. Merzin, „Pyramiden“ der Steppe und Viehweiden für die Ewigkeit. In: Gold der Steppe: Achäologie der Ukraine (Hrsg. Rolle u.a.). Kiel 1991, 171-176.

Ростунов 2007 - В. Л. Ростунов, Эпоха энеолита – средней бронзы центрального Кавказа, Том III. Опыт реконструкции сакрального пространства ранних курганов Европы и северного Кавказа. Владикавказ 2007.

Todorova, Vajsov 2001 - H. Todorova, I. Vajsov, Der kupferzeitliche Schmuck Bulgariens. PBF XX, 6. Stuttgart 2001.

Veenhof 2001 - K. R. Veenhof, Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexanders des Großen - Grundrisse zum Alten Testament. Verlag Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2001.

Velimirović-Žižić 1995 - O. Velimirović-Žižić, Violinski idoli: Tumuli iz Zetske ravnice, Glasnik Odjeljenja umjetnosti Crnogorske akademije nauka i umjetnosti 14, Titograd 1995, 21– 41.

Woolley 1934 - C. L. Woolley, Ur Excavations, Volume II. The Royal Cemetery. A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves excavated between 1926 and 1931. Publications of the Joint Expedition of the

British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. London and Philadelphia, British Museum and University of Pennsylvania.

Zagarčanin 2016 - M. Zagarčanin, Mogila na Rake - Kneževski tumul iz ranog bronzanog doba: Nova antička Duklja VII. Podgorica 2016, 7-20.

Zavadil 2009 - M. Zavadil, Diademe und Siegel, Tassen und Perlen: Gold in der mykenischen Welt, in: S. Jalkotzy-Deger – N. Schindel (Hrsg.), Gold. Tagung anlässlich der Gründung des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften an der ÖAW 2007. Schriften des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften 1, Wien 2009, 99–112.