

# MONUMENTALNI TUMULI U VREMENU I PROSTORU – PITANJE KONTINUITETA KULTNOG MJESTA

## (II DIO – ISTORIJSKI PERIOD)

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### Apstrakt

Početak historijskog razdoblja koje na zapadnom Balkanu obilježava nastup Rimske okupacije i uvođenje „pax romana“, na ovom prostoru dolazi do prekida autohtone tradicije, pa tako prestaje i izgradnja grobnih tumula u tradicionalnom maniru. U antičkom i kasnoantičkom dobu dosta rijetko je i sekundarno sahranjivanje na prahistorijskim tumulima. No, od ranog srednjeg vijeka ta situacija se u značajnoj mjeri mijenja, tako da sve češće susrijećemo sekundarnu upotrebu ovih starih grobnih humki. Istraživanja u Dalmaciji pokazuju da markantna reutilizacija prahistorijskih tumula otpočinje neposredno poslije dolaska paganskih Slovena na Balkan, te da sekundarni ukopi iz ranog srednjeg vijeka i kasnijeg doba, uglavnom pripadaju njihovim zajednicama. Vremenom se običaj sahranjivanja u starim tumulima sve više praktikuje, da bi, kako pokazuju i ovdje prezentirani nalazi iz Crne Gore, kulminirao u vrijeme razvijenog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka. U to doba na tumulima se nalaze čitave nekropole ravnih grobova i stećaka, a početkom novog vijeka oko monumentalnih

# MONUMENTAL TUMULI IN TIME AND SPACE – THE QUESTION OF THE CONTINUITY OF THE CULT PLACE

## (PART II - HISTORICAL PERIOD)

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### Abstrakt

At the beginning of the historical period marked by the Roman occupation and the introduction of the “pax romana” in the Western Balkans, the autochthonous tradition was interrupted in this area, and thus the construction of burial tumuli in the traditional manner ceased. In antique and late antiquity, secondary burials on prehistoric tumuli are quite rare. However, since the early Middle Ages, the situation has changed to a significant extent, so that we increasingly encounter the secondary use of these old burial tumuli. Research in Dalmatia shows that the marked re-use of prehistoric burial tumuli began immediately after the arrival of the pagan Slavs in the Balkans, and that secondary burials from the early Middle Ages and later periods mostly belonged to their communities. Over time, the custom of burial in old tumuli became more and more practiced, and, as shown by the findings from Montenegro presented here, it culminated in the developed and late Middle Ages. At that time, entire necropolises of flat graves and stećak monuments were located on the tumuli, and at the beginning of the new century, Muslim cemeteries also de-

tumula razvijaju se i muslimanska groblja. Sve to su jasni pokazatelji kontinuiranog poštovanja tumula kao kultnog mjesta koje je iskonski predodređeno za sahranjivanje. Tokom novog vijeka praksa naknadnog ukopavanja, a time i tradicija poštovanja tumula sve više opada. Mada se sahranjivanje u praistorijskim humkama obavlja i danas, to su pojedinačni slučajevi koji se ne mogu uporediti sa onima iz predhodnog razdoblja.

*Ključne riječi:* Tumulus, kultno mjesto, sekundarno sahranjivanje, tradicija, kontinuitet

veloped around the monumental tumuli. All of these are clear indicators of continued respect for the tumulus as a cult place that was originally predestined for burial. During the new century, the practice of subsequent burial, and thus the tradition of respecting the tumulus, declined more and more. Although burials in prehistoric mounds are still carried out today, these are individual cases that cannot be compared with those from the previous period.

*Keywords:* Tumulus, cult place, secondary burial, tradition, continuity

## 1. Uvod

Kako je već u prvom dijelu teksta posvećenog razvoju i značaju grobnih tumula na području Crne Gore i na širem prostoru starog svijeta rečeno, masovna upotreba ovih grobnih spomenika uglavnom je vezana za praistorijsko razdoblje i za kulture koje se zasnivaju na toj tradiciji. U antičkom dobu, odnosno na područjima koja su zahvaćena grčko-rimskom civilizacijom, dalja izgradnja i dogradnja tumula u tradicionalnom maniru u potpunosti prestaje. Takođe, ako se izuzmu pojedinačni ukopi iz 1. i prve polovine 2. vijeka, prestaje i njihova naknadna upotreba.<sup>1</sup> Istina, u nekim rimskim provincijama, kao što su Norik, Panonija, ili Makedonija, u vrijeme ranog carstva grade se tzv. rimski grobni tumuli, no i njihova upotreba uglavnom prestaje krajem 3. vijeka n.e.<sup>2</sup>

Zamiranje ove stare tradicije dobrim dijelom je prouzrokovano širenjem Hrišćanstva koje je, kao monoteistička religija, nastojalo da prekine sve veze sa paganskom prošlošću. To religijski uslovljeno suzbijanje upotrebe ovih paganskih spomenika trajće nekoliko stotina godina, mada se već u kasnoj antici na praistorijskim humkama ponovno susrijeću pojedinačni sekundarni ukopi.<sup>3</sup> To pokazuje da poštovanje praistorijskih tumula kao kulturnih mjesta i mjesta iskonski određenih za sahranjivanje, ni u jednom momentu nije u potpunosti prestalo. Naprotiv, sa izmakom antičke civilizacije njihova sekundarna upotreba postaje sve češća, da bi tokom srednjeg vijeka sahranjivanje na površini praistorijskih humki ponovno doseglo masovne razmjere. Indikativno je da se u tu svrhu najčešće koriste monumentalni tumuli iz bronzanog doba koji su, kako smo u prvom dijelu ove rasprave naglasili, uvijek podizani iznad groba jednog visoko rangiranog pokojnika.<sup>4</sup>

Gradnja monumentalnih tumula otpočinje već oko 3800 BC, odnosno u vrijeme pojave arsen bronzne i početaka ranog bronzanog doba na

1 Šućur 2017, 118.

2 Јованов 2004, 11 ff.; Leleković 2012, 324 ff.; Nacev, Sekulov 2016, 85 ff. Po

3 Naprimjer, na području današnje Dalmacije i istočne Bosne, vidi Šućur 2017, 118 ff; Džino 2018, 102.

4 Up. Govedarica 2021, 7 ff.

## 1. Introduction

As already mentioned in the first part of the text dedicated to the development and importance of burial tumuli in the area of Montenegro and the wider area of the ancient world, the mass use of these burial monuments is mainly related to the prehistoric period and to cultures based on that tradition. In the antique age, that is, in the areas affected by the Greco-Roman civilization, the further construction and extension of tumuli in the traditional manner completely stopped. Also, if individual burials from the 1st and first half of the 2nd century are excluded, their subsequent use also ceases.<sup>1</sup> True, in some Roman provinces, such as Noricum, Pannonia, or Macedonia during the early empire, so-called Roman burial tumuli are built, but their use mostly ends at the end of the 3rd century AD.<sup>2</sup>

The dying out of the old traditions was largely caused by the spread of Christianity, which, as a monotheistic religion, sought to sever all ties with the pagan past. The religious suppression of the use of these pagan monuments will last for several hundred years, although individual secondary burials are found again in late antiquity on prehistoric tumuli.<sup>3</sup> This shows that respect for prehistoric tumuli as cult places and places originally designated for burial did not completely stop at any moment. On the contrary, with the end of the antique civilization, their secondary use became more and more common, so that during the Middle Ages, burials on the surface of prehistoric tumuli again reached mass proportions. It is indicative that monumental tumuli from the Bronze Age are most often used for this purpose, which, as we emphasized in the first part of this discussion, were always erected over the grave of a high-ranking deceased.<sup>4</sup>

The construction of monumental tumuli began around 3800 BC, i.e. at the time of the appear-

1 Šućur 2017, 118.

2 Јованов 2004, 11 ff.; Leleković 2012, 324 ff.; Nacev, Sekulov 2016, 85 ff.

3 For example, in the area of present-day Dalmatia and eastern Bosnia, see Šućur 2017, 118 ff; Džino 2018, 102.

4 Cf. Govedarica 2021, 7 ff.



Sl. 1 Otkriće kraljevskog groba u tumulu Hinzberg u Seddinu 1899. godine.

Fig. 1 The discovery of the royal grave in the Hinzberg tumulus in Seddin in 1899.

sjevernom Kavkazu.<sup>5</sup> Tada je došlo do prve obuhvatne hijerarhizacije ljudskih zajednica i izdvajanja najstarije ratničke aristokratije.<sup>6</sup> Takvi reprezentativni tumuli zastupljeni su i u nekim prosperitetnim i hijerarhijski izdiferenciranim zajednicama iz kasnijih praistorijskih razdoblja, a uspomena na pokojnike, u čiju čast su ovi spomenici podizani, čuvana je u sjećanju mnogih generacija iz praistorijskog i istorijskog doba. Rijetke legende koje su opstale do naših dana govore o slavi i bogatstvu tih velikaša, pokazujući pri tom zapanjujuću dozu istinitosti, odnosno frapantnu dugovječnost i vjerodostojnost usmenog predanja. Ovo je veoma bitna činjenica za temu koju ovdje razmatramo, pa ćemo istraživanje statusa praistorijskih grobnih humki u istorijskom dobu otpočeti prezentacijom tumula Hinzberg iz Seddina u sjevernoj Njemačkoj. Naime, tradicija koja se na ovom području usmenim putem prenosi već punih tri hiljade godina, kazuje da je ovaj po mnogo čemu jedinstveni tumulus,

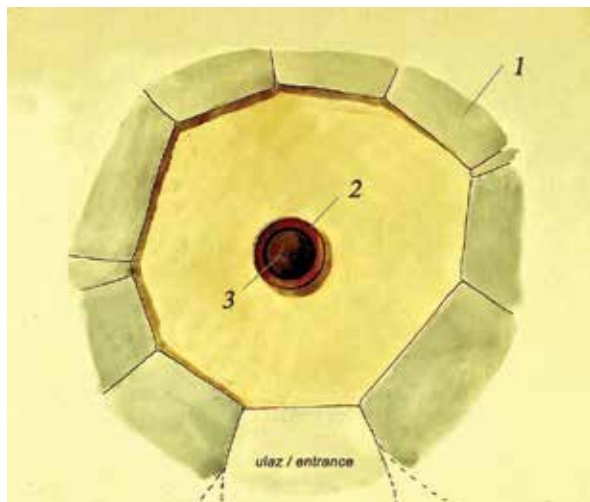
<sup>5</sup> Govedarica 2002, 781 ff.; 2012, 37 ff; Korenevskij 2012, 7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Govedarica, Manzura 2011, 51 ff.; Hansen 2017, 139 ff.

ance of arsenic bronze and the beginnings of the Early Bronze Age in the North Caucasus.<sup>5</sup> It was then that the first comprehensive hierarchization of human communities took place and the oldest warrior aristocracy was singled out.<sup>6</sup> Such representative tumuli are also represented in some prosperous and hierarchically differentiated communities from later prehistoric periods, and the memory of the deceased, in whose honor these monuments were erected, was kept in the memory of many generations from prehistoric and historical times. The rare legends that have survived to our days speak of the glory and wealth of those great men, showing an astonishing dose of truth, that is, the astonishing longevity and credibility of oral tradition. This is a very important fact for the topic we are considering here, so we will start the research on the status of prehistoric burial tumuli in the historical era with the presentation of the Hinzberg tumulus from Seddin in northern Germany. Namely, the tradition that

<sup>5</sup> Govedarica 2002, 781 ff.; 2012, 37 ff; Korenevskij 2012, 7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Govedarica, Manzura 2011, 51 ff.; Hansen 2017, 139 ff.



Sl. 2 Skica kraljevskog groba iz Seddina sa položajem tri "sarkofaga": 1 prvi "sarkofag"; 2 drugi "sarkofag"; 3 treći "sarkofag".

Fig.2 Drawing of the royal tomb from Seddin with the position of three "sarcophagi": 1 first "sarcophagus"; 2 second "sarcophagus"; 3 third "sarcophagus".

bio vječni dom jednog lokalnog kralja s kraja bronzanog doba. Pri tom je zapamćeno ime tog kralja, kao i detalji pogrebnog rituala koji su i arheološki potvrđeni.

## 2. Kraljevski tumul Hinzberg u Seddin-u na sjeveru Njemačke

Legenda kaže da je u davno doba u današnjoj oblasti Prignitz (sjeverozapadni dio pokrajine Brandenburg) vladao kralj koji se zvao Hinz.<sup>7</sup> Taj kralj je bio dobar i prema svakom pravedan, zbog čega su ga njegovi podanici poštovali više nego bilo kog vladara prije njega. Kad je umro sahranjen je u luksuznom trostrukom sarkofagu od zlata, srebra i bakra. Zahvalni podanici su nad tim kraljevskim grobom podigli grandiozni tumul koji je svojom veličinom čuvao vječni mir kralja Hinza i učinio da uspomena na njega ostane vidljiva i živa za sva vremena.<sup>8</sup> Tako je prema legendi nastao kraljevski tumul Hinzberg koji se nalazi u blizini današnjeg sela Seddin i koji, prema svojim dimenzijama (prvobitna visina: 9 m; prečnik: 62 m) predstavlja najveći spomenik ovog tipa

7 Seier 1999, 9; Kiekebusch 1928 36 ff.

8 Seier 1999, 9-10.

has been transmitted orally in this area for three thousand years says that this tumuli, unique in many ways, was the eternal home of a local king from the end of the Bronze Age. In doing so, the name of that king was remembered, as well as the details of the funeral ritual, which have also been confirmed archaeologically.

## 2. Royal tumuli Hinzberg in Seddin in the north of Germany

Legend has it that in ancient times, in today's area of Prignitz (the northwestern part of the Brandenburg province), a king named Hinz ruled.<sup>7</sup> That king was good and righteous to everyone, which is why his subjects respected him more than any ruler before him. When he died, he was buried in a luxurious triple sarcophagus made of gold, silver and copper. Grateful subjects built a grandiose tumulus over that royal grave, which with its size preserved the eternal peace of King Hinz and made his memory remain visible and alive forever.<sup>8</sup> According to legend, this is how the Hinzberg royal tumulus was created, which is located near the present day village of Seddin and which, according to its dimensions (original height: 9 m; diameter: 62 m), represents the largest monument of this type in the area of northern Germany.<sup>9</sup>

Along with the saga of King Hinz, which has been passed down from generation to generation for thousands of years, came the veneration of his royal mound, which remained intact until modern times. It is remembered that it was only in the 19th century that the owner of the land on which Hinzberg is located tried to find the royal grave and get his fortune. He spent many days digging in the mighty barrow, but found only earth and stones. In that preoccupation with digging, he neglected all his other obligations, and soon he was left with nothing and ended up as a miserable pauper. It was interpreted by the people as the king's punishment for his greed.<sup>10</sup> However, after that, the tumulus was dug up more and more often,

7 Seier 1999, 9; Kiekebusch 1928 36 ff.

8 Seier 1999, 9-10.

9 Kiekebusch 1928, 17 ff.; 36 ff.; May, Hauptmann 2012, 77 ff.; May 2015, 44 ff.; May 2019.

10 Seier 1999, 9-10.



Sl. 3 Dio nalaza iz kraljevskog groba iz Seddina: 1 - keramička urna (sarkofag 2); 2 - bronzana urna (sarkofag 3); 3 - prva urna sa spaljenim ženskim kostima; 4 - druga urna sa spaljenim ženskim kostima.  
 Fig. 3 Part of the finds from the royal tomb from Seddin: 1 - ceramic urn (sarcophagus 2); 2 - bronze urn (sarcophagus 3); 3 - the first urn with burnt female bones; 4 - second urn with burnt female bones.

na području sjeverne Njemačke.<sup>9</sup> Zajedno sa sagom o kralju Hinzu, koja je hiljadama godina prenošena s generacije na generaciju, išlo je i poštovanje njegove kraljevske humke koja je ostala neoštećena sve do novijeg doba. Zapamćeno je da je tek u 19. vijeku tadašnji vlasnik zemljišta na kome se Hinzberg nalazi, pokušao da pronađe kraljevski grob i da dođe do njegovog bogatstva. Potrošio je mnogo dana kopajući u moćnom nasipu tumula, ali je nalazio samo zemlju i kamenje. U toj obuzetosti kopanjem zapostavio je sve druge obaveze, pa je ubrzo ostao bez ičega i završio kao ubogi siromah. U narodu je to protumačeno kao kraljeva kazna za njegovu gramzivost.<sup>10</sup> No, nakon toga je tumul sve češće prekopavan, pa su 1899. godine dva radnika vadeći kamen za gradnju puta, slučajno otkrila bogato opremljenu kraljevsku grobnicu i o tome obavijestili javnost i arheologe (Sl. 1). Iste godine je istražen centralni dio Hinzberga u čijoj

so in 1899, two workers, taking out stone for the construction of a road, accidentally discovered a richly equipped royal tomb and informed the public and archaeologists about it (Fig. 1). In the same year, the central part of Hinzberg was excavated, at the base of which lay the royal tomb.<sup>11</sup> However, before the arrival of the archaeologists, part of the findings were dislocated, so the layout of the items in the grave was partially determined based on the testimony of those workers. The grave consisted of a 2.3 m polygonal chamber built of well-hewn and precisely fitted granite blocks, with an access dromos made of collected stones (Fig. 2). The chamber narrows in the upper part in the form of an unfinished false vault, reaching a height of about 1.5 m in the central part. The inner wall of the chamber was lined with a layer of fine red colored clay. After the burial of the "King of Seddin" who was accompanied into

9 Kiekebusch 1928, 17 ff.; 36 ff.; May, Hauptmann 2012, 77 ff.; May 2015, 44 ff.; May 2019.

10 Seier 1999, 9-10.

11 Kiekebusch 1928, 13-16.

osnovi je ležao kraljevski grob.<sup>11</sup> Međutim, prije dolaska arheologa dio nalaza je bio dislociran, tako da je raspored priloga u grobu jednim dijelom utvrđen na osnovu iskaza tih radnika. Grob se sastojao od komore poligonalnog oblika, dimenzija 2,3 m, koja je građena od dobro isklesanih i međusobno precizno uklopljenih granitnih blokova, sa pristupnim dromosom od prikupljenog kamenja (Sl. 2). Komora se u gornjem dijelu sužava u vidu nedovršenog lažnog svoda dostižući u centralnom dijelu visinu od oko 1,5 m. Unutrašnji zid komore bio je obložen slojem fine gline obojene crvenom bojom. Poslije ukopa „kralja od Seddina“ koga su u grob pratile dvije mlade žene, svod komore je zatvoren masivnom kamenom pločom.<sup>12</sup>

U grobu je nađeno mnoštvo priloga, uglavnom ratničke opreme, oruđa, nakita i predmeta iz domena kulta, koji pripadaju završetku 9. v. pr. Hr. i upućuju na ratničku, privrednu i religijsku moć vladara jedne od lokalnih zajednica s kraja nordijskog bronzanog doba.<sup>13</sup> Muški pokojnik i obje mlade žene su bili kremirani i sahranjeni u urnama, kako je bilo uobičajeno u kasnom bronzanom dobu (Sl. 3). Pod od nabijene gline, na kome su bile urne sa pokojnicima i drugi grobni nalazi, bio je na nivou osnove tumula. Naknadnim istraživanjima koja su, u periodu od 2000. do 2016. godine, u više navrata obavljena na tumulu i oko njega, otkriveni su razni elementi konstrukcije tumula i dodatnih kulturnih rituala.<sup>14</sup> Međutim, osim preciznih mjerenja konzerviranih zidova grobne kamere, ta nova istraživanja nisu mogla doprinijeti dopuni slike centralnog groba, budući da je on već u prvom mahu bio u potpunosti istražen.

Za nas je ovdje posebno interesantno da su spaljene kosti muškarca bile u ukrašenoj bronzanoj amfori poklopljenoj falerom od bronzanog lima i smještenoj u velikoj keramičkoj posudi, na kojoj je također bio poklopac. Ovako koncipirana dupla urna nalazila se u sredini groba, što odgovara legendi o trostrukom sarkofagu.<sup>15</sup> Pri tome bi zid groba predstavljao

the grave by two young women, the vault of the chamber was closed with a massive stone slab.<sup>12</sup>

In the grave, a lot of items were found, mainly military equipment, tools, jewelry and items from the domain of the cult, which belong to the end of the 9th century BC and point to the warrior, economic and religious power of the ruler of one of the local communities at the end of the Nordic Bronze Age.<sup>13</sup> The male deceased and both young women were cremated and buried in urns, as was common in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 3). The compacted clay floor, on which were the urns with the deceased and other grave finds, was at the level of the base of the tumulus. Subsequent excavations, which was carried out on several occasions between 2000 and 2016 on and around the tumulus, revealed various elements of the tumulus construction and additional cult rituals.<sup>14</sup> However, apart from the precise measurements of the preserved walls of the burial chamber, these new excavations could not contribute to the completion of the picture of the central grave, since it had already been fully excavated in the first instance.

What is particularly interesting for us here is that the burnt bones of a man were in a decorated bronze amphora covered with a phalera made of bronze sheet and placed in a large ceramic vessel, which also had a lid. The double urn conceived in this way was located in the middle of the grave, which corresponds to the legend of the triple sarcophagus.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the wall of the grave would represent an external sarcophagus, in the center of which lay a ceramic urn and a bronze vessel with the remains of the deceased, that is, the second and third sarcophagus (Fig. 2,1-3; Fig.3, 1.2). It is noticeable that the material from which the "sarcophagi" were made does not correspond to the narrative of the legend. None of them were made of the material mentioned in the story, although there should be no doubt

11 Kikebusch 1928, 13-16.

12 Ibid.

13 May 2019.

14 Ibid.

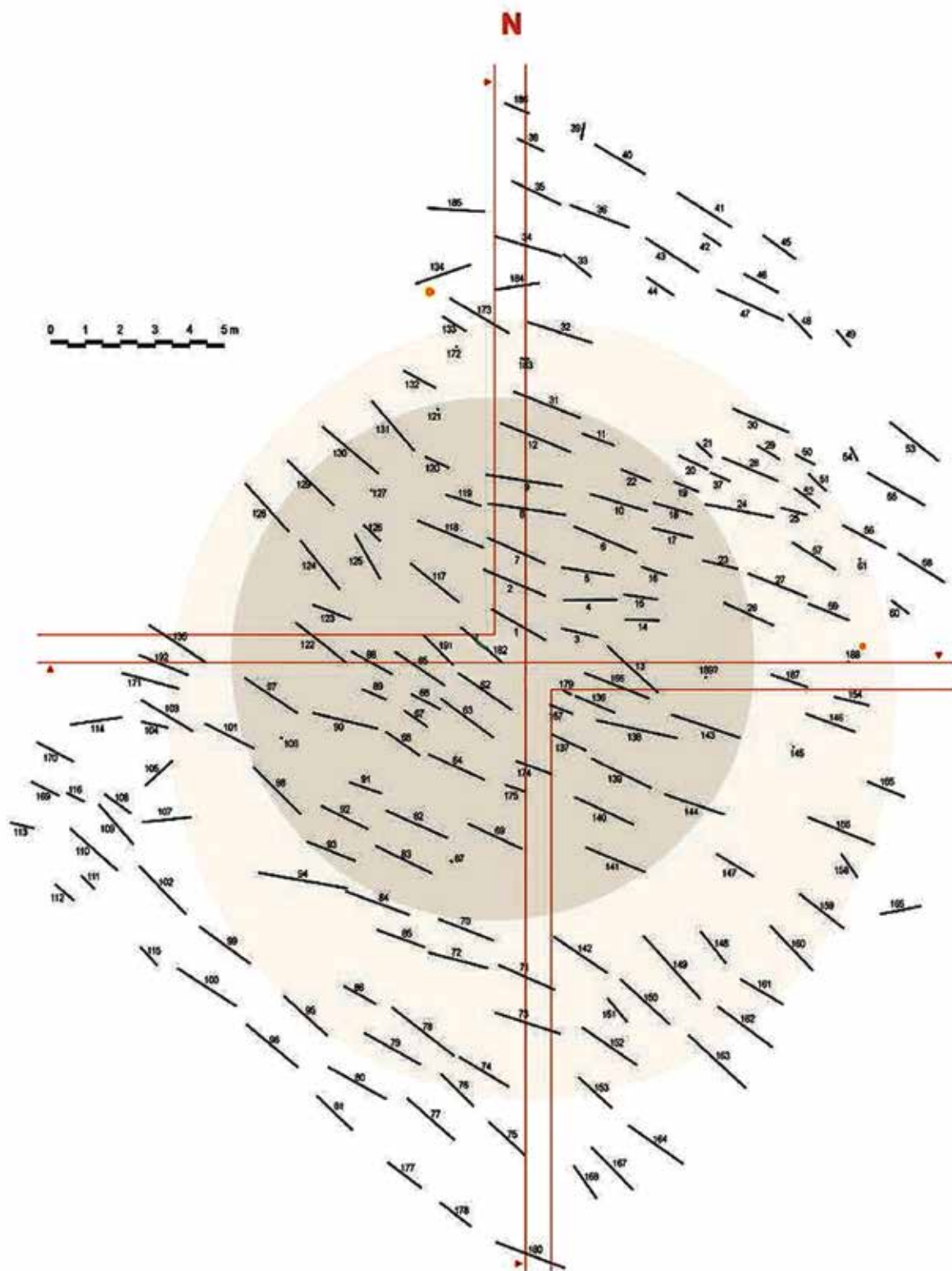
15 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 May 2019.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.



Sl. 4. Šematski prikaz položaja srednjovjekovnih grobova otkriveni h u površinskom sloju tumula Gruda Boljevića  
Fig. 4. Schematic representation of the position of the medieval graves discovered in the surface layer of the Gruda Boljevića tumulus.



spoljni sarkofag u čijem centru je ležala keramička urna i u njoj bronzana posuda sa ostacima pokojnika, odnosno drugi i treći sarkofag (Sl. 2,1-3; Sl.3, 1.2). Pada u oči da materijal od koga su rađeni „sarkofazi“ ne odgovara narativu legende. Nijedan od njih nije bio od materijala koji se spominje u priči, mada ne treba sumnjati da je ukrašena i uglancana bronzana posuda u kojoj su ležale spaljene kraljeve kosti u vrijeme sahrane sijala kao zlato.

Ovdje se opet radi o nekim „zakonitostima“ vezanim za legende o kraljevskim grobovima koje u očima podanika i narednih generacija ne bi bile prihvatljive ni uvjerljive ako se ne dovedu u direktnu vezu sa srebrom i zlatom, jer u tradiciji evropskih naroda ti plemeniti metali predstavljaju primarne simbole moći i bogatstva.<sup>16</sup> Pa tako, ni u ovom slučaju pretvaranje kamena i keramike u srebro i bakar, a bronzu u zlato, ne treba shvatiti kao puko pretjerivanje, već kao neophodan preduslov za održavanje interesa za ovu legendu. Dobrim dijelom zahvaljujući tom „pretjerivanju“ ova priča je opstala kroz sve protekle vijekove. To ne umanjuje suštinsku vrijednost informacije i vjerodostojnost legende o kralju Hinzu, njegovom bogatom grobu i trostrukom sarkofagu sakrivenom na dnu moćnog tumula koji je na kraju i dokumentovan arheološkim iskopavanjima.

### 3. Odnos lokalne tradicije prema praiorijskim tumulima na području Crne Gore

Na prostoru današnje Crne Gore, kao i na širem području Balkana, nijesu sačuvane legende koje dosežu do vremena nastanka tumula, a koje bismo arheološkim iskopavanjima mogli potvrditi, ili opovrgnuti. Ako ima nekog konkretnijeg spomena u narodnoj priči, to je uglavnom vezano za sekundarnu upotrebu tumula u novijem dobu, što pokazuju toponimi: Crkvina, Odžina glavica, Gruda Boljevića i sl. Ali, navedena saga o kralju Hinzu je siguran, mada indirektan, pokazatelj da su legende vezane za primarnog pokojnika, morale i ovdje postojati. To

that the decorated and polished bronze vessel in which the burnt bones of the king lay shone like gold at the time of the burial. Here again, we are dealing with some “legalities” related to legends about royal graves, which in the eyes of subjects and future generations would not be receptive or convincing if they were not brought into direct connection with silver and gold, because in the tradition of European nations, these precious metals represent the primary symbols of power and wealth.<sup>16</sup> Even in this case, the transformation of stone and ceramics into silver and copper, and bronze into gold, should not be understood as mere exaggeration, but as a necessary prerequisite for maintaining interest in this legend. Thanks in large part to this “exaggeration”, this story has survived through all the past centuries. This does not diminish the essential value of the information and the credibility of the legend about King Hinz, his rich grave and triple sarcophagus hidden at the bottom of the mighty tumulus, which was finally documented by archaeological excavations.

### 3. The relation of local tradition to prehistoric tumuli in the territory of Montenegro

On the territory of today's Montenegro, as well as in the wider area of the Balkans, no legends have been preserved that date back to the time of the creation of the tumuli, which we could confirm or refute with archaeological excavations. If there is a more specific mention in the folk tale, it is mostly related to the secondary use of the tumulus in the recent era, as shown by the toponyms: Crkvina, Odžina glavica, Gruda Boljevića, etc. But the mentioned saga about King Hinz is a sure, albeit indirect indication that the legends related to the primary deceased must have existed here as well. This can be assumed with a lot of probability for the princely tumulus of Mala Gruda, which we talked about extensively in the first part of this discussion.<sup>17</sup> As in the tumulus from Sed-

<sup>16</sup> Npr. u legendi o grobu hunskog kralja Atila takođe se spominje veliki tumul sa trostrukim sarkofagom od zlata, srebra i željeza. Up. Jordanes 2012, 252-258

<sup>16</sup> E.g. the legend about the grave of the Hun king Attila also mentions a large tumulus with a triple sarcophagus made of gold, silver and iron. Cf. Jordanes 2012, 252-258.

<sup>17</sup> Govedarica 2021, 15 ff.



Sl. 5. Groblje u Broćancu Viluškom.

Fig. 5. Cemetery in Broćanac Viluški.

se sa dosta vjerovatnoće može pretpostaviti za kneževski tumul Mala Gruda, o kome smo opširno govorili u prvom dijelu ove rasprave.<sup>17</sup> Kao i u tumulu iz Seddina, ni ovdje nije bilo nikakvih naknadnih sahrana, niti dogradnje. Taj tumul je donedavno bio u cjelini očuvan, što je jasan znak sjećanja na visoko rangiranog pokojnika i poštovanje njegovog groba koje se s generacije na generaciju, vjerovatno uz odgovarajuću legendu, prenosilo tokom praistorijskog i istorijskog doba. Nažalost, zbog turbulentne istorije ovog dijela Balkana i čestih religijskih i antičkih promjena, došlo je do prekida u prenosu te tradicije, tako da nikakvo sjećanje na toga, ni na druge svojevremeno moćne vladare, nije dospjelo do nas. Vjerovatno je tome doprinijela i velika starost crnogorskih kneževskih tumula. Naime, činjenica je da su grob iz Male Grude i drugi do sada poznati kneževski grobovi s ovog područja (Velika Gruda, Gruda Boljevića) više od dvije hiljade godina stariji od onoga iz Seddina.

din, there were no subsequent burials or additions here either. That tumulus was completely preserved until recently, which is a clear sign of the memory of the high-ranking deceased and the respect for his grave, which was passed down from generation to generation, probably with the corresponding legend, during prehistoric and historical times. Unfortunately, due to the turbulent history of this part of the Balkans and frequent religious and ethnic changes, there was an interruption in the transmission of that tradition, so that no memory of it, nor of other once powerful rulers, has reached us. The great age of the Montenegrin princely burial tumuli probably contributed to this. Namely, the fact is that the grave from Mala Gruda and the other princely graves known so far from this area (Velika Gruda, Gruda Boljevića) are more than two thousand years older than the one from Seddin. On the other hand, we should not ignore the fact that the area of northern Germany, as well as the whole of central and eastern Europe, where mainly Slavic

17 Govedarica 2021, 15 ff.



Sl. 6 Stećci na tumulu u Broćancu Viluškom.

Fig. 6 Stećak monuments on the tumulus in Broćanac Viluški.

Sa druge strane ne treba zanemariti činjenicu da je područje sjeverne Njemačke, kao i čitava srednja i istočna Evropa, gdje su uglavnom živjela slovenska i germanska plemena, ostalo izvan okvira antičke civilizacije i agresivnog uticaja ranog hrišćanstva. To je omogućilo znatno produženje neometanog autohtonog razvoja i očuvanje praistorijske tradicije, pa i dalju gradnju tumula,<sup>18</sup> kao i kontinuirano prenošenje usmenih predanja, poput legende o kralju Hinzu. Kulturni razvoj na balkanskom prostoru, pa time i na području današnje Crne Gore, odvijao se na drugačiji način, jer je nastupanje antičke civilizacije u vidu „pax romana“ nalagalo prekid sa svim starim običajima. To se u punoj mjeri odnosilo i na praistorijske tumule na kojima, izuzev pojedinačnih naknadnih ukopa iz prvih vjekova rimskog carstva,<sup>19</sup> nema nikakvih intervencija, pa se može reći da su oni tokom čitavog tog razdoblja uglavnom figurirali kao

and Germanic tribes lived, remained outside the framework of antique civilization and the aggressive influence of early Christianity. This made it possible to significantly extend the undisturbed autochthonous development and preserve the prehistoric tradition, and even the further construction of tumuli,<sup>18</sup> as well as the continuous transmission of oral traditions, such as the legend of King Hinz. Cultural development in the Balkan area, and thus in the area of today's Montenegro, took place in a different way, because the performance of antique civilization in the form of the “pax romana” required a break with all old customs. This fully applied to the prehistoric tumuli, on which, with the exception of individual subsequent burials from the first centuries of the Roman Empire,<sup>19</sup> there are no interventions, so it can be said that during the entire period, they mostly figured as silent witnesses of some long past times. As

18 Up. Šučur 2017, 118-119.

19 Ibid. 118.

18 Cf. Šučur 2017, 118-119.

19 Ibid. 118.



Sl. 7 Visoki stojeći stećci sa arhitektonskim ornamentima u Broćancu Viluškom.

Fig. 7 High standing stećak monuments with architectural ornaments in Broćanac Viluški

nijemi svjedoci nekih davno prošlih vremena. Kako ćemo vidjeti iz narednih primjera, do znatnijeg oživljavanja interesa za praistorijske tumule na prostoru Crne Gore dolazi tek u razvijenom srednjem vijeku.

### 3.1. Srednjovjekovno groblje na tumulu Gruda Boljevića u Podgorici

Gruda Boljevića predstavlja jedan od tri do sada poznata tumula sa područja Crne Gore koji imaju sve karakteristike kneževskih humki iz ranog bronzanog doba. U tu grupu spadaju još Mala i Velika Gruda koje su bile podignute u Tivatskom polju. Mada, u ritualu sahranjivanja pokojnika iz Grude Boljevića ima nekih odstupanja od uobičajene prakse i grob pokazuje nešto stariji datum (3090-3044 BC) od onih iz Velike i Male Grude (oko 3000 BC), nema nikakve sumnje da sva tri pokojnika iz ovih tumula pripadaju istoj kulturnoj grupi s početka ranog bronzanog doba Istočnog Jadrana.<sup>20</sup> Prema priloženim atributima moći, pokojnik iz Grude Boljevića može se smatrati jednim od plemenskog prvaka koji su u to vrijeme vladali na području Zetske ravnice.<sup>21</sup>

U ovom tumulu nije bilo nikavih naknadnih sahrana u praistorijskom dobu, a do prve

we will see from the following examples, a significant revival of interest in prehistoric tumuli in the territory of Montenegro only occurred in the developed Middle Ages.

### 3.1. Medieval necropolis on the tumulus of Gruda Boljevića in Podgorica

Gruda Boljevića is one of the three tumuli known so far from the area of Montenegro that have all the characteristics of princely tumuli from the early Bronze Age. This group also includes Mala and Velika Gruda, which were erected in the Tivat field. Although there are some deviations from the usual practice in the burial ritual of the deceased from Gruda Boljevića and the grave shows a slightly older date (3090-3044 BC) than those from Velika and Mala Gruda (around 3000 BC), there is no doubt that all three deceased from these tumuli belong to the same cultural group from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age of the Eastern Adriatic.<sup>20</sup> According to the attached attributes of power, the deceased from Gruda Boljevića can be considered one of the tribal leader who ruled the area of the Zeta Plain at that time.<sup>21</sup>

There were no subsequent burials in this tumulus in the prehistoric age, and the first secondary use for the purpose of burial occurred at the beginning of the 12th century, that is, a full four thousand years after its construction and the laying of the primary grave. In the tumulus layer, to a depth of about 60 cm, 192 medieval graves were buried in densely strung rows oriented NW/W - SE/E (Fig. 4).<sup>22</sup> The usual burial structure consisted of a burial pit that was fenced with stone slabs and covered with slabs placed in the form of a double-pitch roof (161 graves). Less often, the grave cover consisted of horizontally arranged slabs (23 graves), and eight graves did not have any grave structure. On the surface of the tumulus above each grave, there were rectangular rows of stones that also represented tombstones. The deceased were lying in an extended position with their heads to the west, and they were rarely accompanied

20 Govedarica 2021, 24.

21 Ibid. 30.

20 Govedarica 2021, 24.

21 Ibid. 30.

22 Saveljić-Bulatović 2015, 48-50, 52.

sekundarne upotrebe u svrhu sahranjivanja došlo je početkom 12. vijeka, odnosno čitavih četiri hiljade godina nakon njegove izgradnje i polaganja primarnog groba. U sloj tumula, do dubine od oko 60 cm, bila su ukopana 192 srednjovjekovna groba u gusto nanizanim redovima sa orijentacijom SZ/Z – JI/I (Sl. 4).<sup>22</sup> Uobičajenu grobnu konstrukciju činila je grobna jama koja je bila ograđena kamenim pločama i pokrivena pločama postavljenim u obliku krova na dvije vode (161 grob). Rjeđe su pokrov groba činile horizontalno poređane ploče (23 groba), a osam grobova nije imalo nikakvu grobnu konstrukciju. Na površini tumula iznad svakog groba su bili pravougaono poređani nizovi kamenja, koji su ujedno predstavljali nadgrobna obilježja. Pokojnici su ležali u ispruženom položaju sa glavom na zapadu, a uz njih su rijetko nalaženi prilozi, uglavnom nakit i nekoliko željeznih noževa. Svi ovi elementi, počev od konstrukcije groba i položaja skeleta, do tipologije priloga karakteristični su za grobne običaje hristijaniziranog slovenskog stanovništva iz vremena 12. i početka 13. vijeka.<sup>23</sup>

Treba reći da su ovdje otkriveni samo grobovi koji su bili ukopani na otkrivenoj površini tumula, odnosno na prostoru od 650 m<sup>2</sup> koji je bio određen za istraživanje tumula. No, srednjovjekovni grobovi se protežu i izvan ove površine, pa se stiče utisak da je ovdje istražen samo centralni dio jedne veće nekropole. Slična situacija je konstatovana u površinskom dijelu velikog bronzanodobskog tumula Borovice kod Pljevalja, gdje je na prostoru tumula otkriveno 150 istovjetnih grobova.<sup>24</sup> U neposrednoj blizini Boljevića Grude nalazi se i ravna nekropola u Momišićima koja ima grobove istog tipa, ali kasnijeg datuma (15 -16. vijek).<sup>25</sup> Uz to, istraživači Grude Boljevića navode brojne hronološki i kulturno bliske analogije među ravnim nekropolama i onima položenim na praistorijske tumule na prostoru Makedonije.<sup>26</sup>



Sl. 8 Stećak sa recentnim grobnim natpisom u Broćancu Viluškom.

Fig. 8 Stećak monument with a recent grave inscription in Broćanac Viliški.

by grave goods, mostly jewelry and a few iron knives. All these elements, starting from the structure of the grave and the position of the deceased, to the typology of the grave goods, are characteristic of the burial customs of the Christianized Slovenian population from the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century.<sup>23</sup>

It should be said that only graves that were buried on the exposed surface of the tumulus were discovered here, that is, on the area of 650 square meters that was designated for tumulus excavations. However, the medieval graves extend beyond this area, so the impression is gained that only the central part of a larger necropolis was explored here. A similar situation was noted in the surface part of the large Bronze Age tumulus Borovica near Pljevalja, where 150 identical graves were discovered on the tumulus area.<sup>24</sup> In the immediate vicinity of Boljevića Gruda, there is also a flat necropolis in Momišići, which has graves of the same type, but of a later date (15th-16th century).<sup>25</sup> In addition, explorers of Gruda Boljevića cite numerous chronologically and culturally close analogies between flat necropolises and those placed on prehistoric tumuli in Macedonia.<sup>26</sup>

22 Saveljić-Bulatović 2015, 48-50, 52.

23 Ibid. 53-60.

24 Ibid.

25 Ivanović, Baković 2001, 13 ff.

26 Saveljić-Bulatović 2015, 51.

23 Ibid. 53-60.

24 Ibid.

25 Ivanović, Baković 2001, 13 ff.

26 Saveljić-Bulatović 2015, 51.



Sl. 9 Pogled sa istoka na Staro tuško groblje sa velikim tumulom (A), bočnim nasipom (B) i muslimanskim nišanima.

Fig. 9 View from the east of the Old Tuzi cemetery with a large tumulus (A), a side embankment (B) and Muslim nišan monuments.

### 3.2. Nekropola stećaka na velikom tumulu u Broćancu Viluškom

U selu Broćanac Viluški, neposredno uz raskršće seoske ceste i magistralnog asfaltnog puta koji iz Petrovića vodi za Nikšić, nalazi se malo seosko groblje ograđeno betonskim zidom u kome je inkorporiran jedan veliki praistorijski tumul. Na ovom mjestu do sada nije bilo arheoloških istraživanja, a zbog specifičnog položaja tumula, u okviru još uvijek aktivnog groblja, najvjerovatnije ih neće ni biti u dogledno vrijeme. No, već primarni uvid u stanje ovog objekta dopušta indikativne kulturno-istorijske zaključke koje ćemo iznijeti u narednom tekstu.

Glavni ulaz u groblje nalazi se uz jugoistočni ugao ograde, a neposredno do njega, sa spoljne strane ograde, smještena je mala crkva koja je izgrađena 1926. godine kao grobljanska kapela (Sl. 5). Crkva ima svoju ogradu sa posebnim

### 3. 2. Stećak Necropolis on a large tumulus in Broćanac Viluški

In the village of Broćanac Viluški, right next to the intersection of the village road and the main asphalt road that leads from Petrovići to Nikšić, there is a small village cemetery surrounded by a concrete wall in which a large prehistoric tumulus is incorporated. There have been no archaeological excavations at this place until now, and due to the specific position of the tumulus within the still active cemetery, there most likely won't be any in the foreseeable future. However, even a primary insight into the condition of this area allows indicative cultural-historical conclusions, which we will present in the following text.

The main entrance to the cemetery is located next to the southeast corner of the fence, and right next to it, on the outside of the fence, is



Sl. 10 Pogled sa juga na Staro tuško groblje sa velikim tumulom (A), bočnim nasipom (B) i muslimanskim nišanima.

Fig. 10 View from the south of the Old Tuzi cemetery with a large tumulus (A), a side embankment (B) and Muslim nišan monuments.

ulazom koji vodi kroz ogradu groblja. Na ovako omeđenom prostoru ukupne veličine od oko 1500 m<sup>2</sup>, nalaze se dvije vrste grobnih spomenika. Brojniju vrstu čini 50-ak recentnih grobova koji zauzimaju čitav središnji i istočni dio groblja. Druga cjelina se nalazi u suženom, zapadnom dijelu ograđenog prostora i nju sačinjava praistorijski tumulus prečnika oko 20 m i visine 1,5 m. Na površini tumula smještena je nekropola od 22 gusto nanizana stećka (Sl. 6). Od toga su 20 lijepo isklesane masivne ploče, većinom ukrašene u rubnom dijelu urezanim linijama i floralnim ornamentima. U tom okviru dominiraju dva stećka u obliku visokih vertikalnih ploča sa arhitektonskim i figuralnim ukrasima (Sl. 7).

Nema nikakve sumnje da jezgro ovog groblja predstavlja praistorijski tumul koji je vjerovatno izgrađen u bronzanom dobu. Tumul je u vremenu između 12. i 16. vijeka ponovo iskorišten za

a small church, which was built in 1926 as a cemetery chapel (Fig. 5). The church has its own fence with a separate entrance that leads through the fence of the cemetery. There are two types of grave monuments in this limited area of a total size of about 1500 square meters. The more numerous type consists of about 50 recent graves that occupy the entire central and eastern part of the cemetery. The second unit is located in the narrowed, western part of the fenced area and it consists of a prehistoric tumulus with a diameter of about 20 m and a height of 1.5 m. On the surface of the tumulus is a necropolis of 22 densely strung stećak monument (Fig. 6). Of these, 20 are beautifully carved massive plates, most of them decorated in the edge part with incised lines and floral ornaments. In this frame, two stećak monuments in the form of high vertical plates with architectural and figural decorations dominate (Fig. 7).



Sl. 11 Muslimanski nišani, veliki tumul (A) i bočni nasip (B) u Starom tuškom groblju, pogled sa zapada.

Fig. 11 Muslim nišan monuments, large tumulus (A) and side embankment (B) in the Old Tuzi cemetery, view from the west.

polaganje grobova pod stećcima. Sekundarna upotreba praistorijskih tumula za postavljanje stećaka je vrlo raširena pojava na prostoru zapadnog Balkana. Međutim, primjer iz Broćanca Viluškog zaslužuje posebnu pažnju zbog kvalitetnih i dobro očuvanih stećaka, kao i zbog trajnosti kulnog mjesta. Naime, rijetko su potvrđene situacije da se jedan tumul i prostor oko njega koristi u praistoriji, u srednjem vijeku i u recentnom dobu, kao što je to slučaj u ovom groblju. O kontinuitetu poštovanja ovog kulnog mjesta posebno svjedoči činjenica da lokalni stanovnici stećke sa ovog tumula i danas koriste kao nadgrobnne spomenike „in situ“ (Sl. 8).

### 2.3. Veliki tumul u Starom tuškom groblju

Staro tuško groblje nalazi se na jednoj livadi u južnom dijelu užeg područja Tuzi, ca. 300 m vazdušne linije zapadno od Željezničke stanice i neposredno preko puta Novog tuškog

There is no doubt that the core of this cemetery is a prehistoric tumulus that was probably built in the Bronze Age. Between the 12th and 16th centuries, the tumulus was used again for laying graves under stećak monuments. The secondary use of prehistoric tumuli for placing stećak monuments is a very widespread phenomenon in the area of the Western Balkans. However, the example from Broćanac Viluški deserves special attention due to the quality and well-preserved stećak monument, as well as the durability of the cult place. Namely, there are rarely confirmed situations where one tumulus and the area around it were used in prehistoric times, in the Middle Ages and in recent times, as is the case in this cemetery. The continuity of respect for this cult place is especially evidenced by the fact that local residents still use stećak monuments from this tumulus as tombstones “in situ” (Fig. 8).





Sl. 12 Muslimanski nišani kod Velikog tumula u Konstandovu kod Velingrada u jugozapadnoj Bugarskoj.

Fig. 12 Muslim nišan monuments at the Great Tumult in Konstandovo near Velingrad in southwestern Bulgaria.

groblja (Sl. 9). Ova lokacija zauzima površinu oblika nepravilnog romba sa najvećom dužinom 270 m, pravcem S-J i 205 m, pravcem I-Z. Groblje je najvećim dijelom ograđeno niskim betonskim zidom, a u njemu se već duže vremena više ne obavljaju sahrane (Sl. 10).

U kulturno-istorijskom smislu najznačajniji objekat u ovom okviru je praistorijski tumul koji se nalazi na istočnom kraju groblja. Tumul je kružnog oblika sa prečnikom od oko 50 m i procijenjenom visinom od najmanje 4 m (Sl. 9,A; 10,A; 11,A). Te dimenzije ga svrstavaju u kategoriju monumentalnih humki. Obrastao je travom i šikarom, naročito u središnjem dijelu, gdje su djelimično vidljivi nizovi kamenja koji bi mogli biti nadgrobno obilježje srednjovjekovnih grobova, poput onih sa tumula Gruda Boljevića. Prema primarnom uvidu može se takođe zaključiti da tumul do sada nije istraživan, niti je vidnije oštećen naknadnim intervencijama. Sudeći po navedenim spoljnim karakteristikama,

### 2.3 Large tumulus in the Old Tuz cemetery

The Old Tuzi cemetery is located on a meadow in the southern part of the narrow area of Tuzi, ca. 300 m as the crow flies west of the train station and directly across the street from the New Tuzi Cemetery (Fig. 9). This location occupies the surface of an irregular rhombus with the longest length of 270 m in the N-S direction and 205 m in the E-W direction. The cemetery is mostly surrounded by a low concrete wall, and there have been no burials in it for a long time (Fig. 10).

In the cultural and historical sense, the most important object in this framework is the prehistoric tumulus located at the eastern end of the cemetery. The tumulus is circular in shape with a diameter of about 50 m and an estimated height of at least 4 m (Fig. 9,A; 10,A; 11,A). Those dimensions place it in the category of

ovdje je vjerovatno u pitanju kneževska humka koja je, prema analogijama sa kneževskim tumulima, mogla biti podignuta u vremenu oko 3000 g. pr. n. e., a zatim je ponovo upotrijebljena za sahranjivanje u 12-13. vijeku. Od tumula se pravcem JI-SZ, u dužini od oko 150 m, sve do prvih savremenih kuća na SZ, proteže dosta široki nasip koji prati korito rijeke Rujele i na taj način omeđuje groblje sa ove strane (Sl. 10, B; 11, B). Nije isključeno da se ovdje radi o zaštitnom zidu koji datira još iz praistorijskog doba.

Uz sami tumul i na čitavoj površini groblja zapadno od tumula, nalaze se brojni muslimanski nišani od krečnjaka (Sl. 11). Najveći broj nišana je jednostavnog, stubastog, nepravilno stubastog, ili amorfnog oblika, bez tragova posebne obrade. Manjim dijelom su to lijepo obrađeni stubovi sa predstavom turbana i fesa, ponekad i sa reljefno izvedenim arapskim natpisom. U nekoliko primjeraka zastupljeni su pločasti i masivniji nišani u obliku izdužene petougaoe stele. Jednostavni nišani koji podsjećaju na menhire i koji su ovdje najbrojniji, predstavljaju dosta neuobičajenu pojavu. Prema lokalnoj tradiciji tuški nišani ovog oblika obilježavaju vojničke grobove, a na osnovu arhaične i jednostavne forme većine tih vojničkih nišana, smatra se da sahranjivanje na ovom groblju otpočinje već u najstarijem dobu turske vladavine, odnosno krajem 15. i u 16. vijeku.<sup>27</sup> No, ovdje treba naglasiti da je, izuzev obližnjeg mezarja kod Vojničke džamije u Tuzima, ovakva vrsta nadgrobnog obilježja manje poznata na muslimanskim grobljima s ovog područja i da inače nije karakteristična u islamskom svijetu. Jedino područje gdje se nišani u obliku rudimentarnih menhira susrijeću u dosta velikom broju je turska Trakija i južna Bugarska.<sup>28</sup> Primjer muslimanskog groblja smještenog oko praistorijskog tumula, koji je skoro identičan situaciji u Starom tuškom groblju, nalazi se u selu Konstandovo kod Velingrada u jugozapadnoj Bugarskoj (Sl. 12).<sup>29</sup>

27 Po iskazu folkloriste Vaida Turuskovića iz Tuzi. Up. Bejtović 1953, 285; Klinčević 2021, 68.

28 Цонев 2016, 30 ff.; 2016a 3.

29 Ibid. 49.

monumental tumuli. It is overgrown with grass and underbrush, especially in the central part, where rows of stones are partially visible that could be gravestones of medieval graves, such as those from Gruda Boljevića tumulus. According to the primary insight, it can also be concluded that the tumulus has not been excavated so far, nor has it been visibly damaged by subsequent interventions. Judging by the mentioned external characteristics, this is probably a princely mound which, according to analogies with princely tumuli, could have been built around 3000 BC., and then it was used again for burials in the 12th-13th centuries. From the tumulus in a SE-NW direction, in a length of about 150 m, up to the first modern houses in the NW, a fairly wide embankment stretches along the bed of the Rujela river and thus limits the cemetery on this side (Fig. 10, B; 11, B). It is possible that this is a protective wall that dates back to prehistoric times.

Next to the tumulus itself and on the entire surface of the cemetery to the west of the tumulus, there are numerous Muslim nišan monuments made of limestone (Fig. 11). The largest number of nišan monuments are simple, columnar, irregularly columnar, or amorphous in shape, without traces of special processing. To a lesser extent, these are beautifully crafted pillars with representations of turbans and fez, sometimes with an Arabic inscription in relief. In several examples there are plate and more massive nišan monuments in the shape of an elongated pentagonal stele. Simple nišan monument that resemble menhirs and which are the most numerous here, represent a rather unusual phenomenon. According to the local tradition, nišan monuments from the Tuzi of this shape mark the graves of soldiers, and based on the archaic and simple form of most of these soldier nišan monuments, it is believed that burials in this cemetery began already in the oldest era of Turkish rule, that is, at the end of the 15th and 16th centuries.<sup>27</sup> However, it should be emphasized here that, with the exception of the nearby cemetery near the Sol-

27 According to the statement of folklorist Vaida Turusković from Tuzi. Cf. Bejtović 1953, 285; Klinčević 2021, 68.

Indikativno je da se pojava menhira u funkciji islamskih nišana u Bugarskoj dovodi u vezu sa tradicijom praistorijskih menhira i megalita sa ovog područja.<sup>30</sup>

Mada se cjeloviti pregled situacije na Starom Tuškom groblju može uspostaviti tek nakon sistematskog iskopavanja koje bi na ovom području svakako trebalo obaviti, već sada se može reći da je ovdje u pitanju kultno mjesto čiji je nastanak vezan za izgradnju velikog tumula, najvjerovatnije u vremenu oko 5000 godina od danas. Naredni evidentni momenat kulturne upotrebe ovog mjesta je postavljanje muslimanskog groblja krajem 15. vijeka.

Ako se potvrde indicije o postojanju grobova iz 12-13. vijeka na samom tumulu, onda bi to još snažnije potvrdilo situaciju koja se pokazuje i na drugim tumulima sa područja Crne Gore, a to je da reutilizacija praistorijskih tumula na ovom području u većem obimu, otpočinje u doba razvijenog srednjeg vijeka. Od tada, pa do početka novog vijeka i dolaska osmanske vlasti, na tumulima i oko njih razvijaju se nekropole ravnih grobova, nekropole sa stećcima i islamska groblja. Kako smo vidjeli na primjeru groblja iz Broćanca Viluškog, upotreba kulturnih mjesta, čije jezgro čine praistorijski tumuli, traje i do naših dana.

### 2.3.1 Problem figuralnih stela iz Starog tuškog groblja

U kontekstu proučavanja monumentalnih tumula kao kulturnog mjesta i njihove upotrebe u istorijskom razdoblju neophodno je još razmotriti pitanje figuralnih stela iz Starog tuškog groblja. U stvari, radi se o tri nadgrobna spomenika koji su ovdje funkcionisali kao nišani, a koji veoma podsjećaju na praistorijske kultne stele sa ženskim atributima. Dvije takve stelenišani nalaze se u sjeverozapadnom i jedna u jugozapadnom dijelu groblja (Sl. 9. 1-3; 10, 1-3).

-Stela 1 je locirana ca.8 m od JZ i 34,5 m od SZ zida betonske ograde (Sl. 9,1; 10,1). Njene dimenzije su: vidljiva visina 1,33 m, širina 0,39 m u podnožju i 0,50 m u gornjem najširem dijelu,

dier's Mosque in Tuzi, this type of tombstone is less known in Muslim cemeteries from this area and is otherwise not characteristic in the Islamic world.

The only area where nišan monuments in the form of rudimentary menhirs are found in quite large numbers is Turkish Thrace and southern Bulgaria.<sup>28</sup> An example of a Muslim cemetery located around a prehistoric tumulus that is almost identical to the situation in the Old Tuzi cemetery is found in the village of Konstantovo near Velingrad in southwestern Bulgaria (Fig. 12).<sup>29</sup> It is indicative that the appearance of menhirs in the function of Islamic nišan monuments in Bulgaria is connected with the tradition of prehistoric menhirs and megaliths from this area.<sup>30</sup>

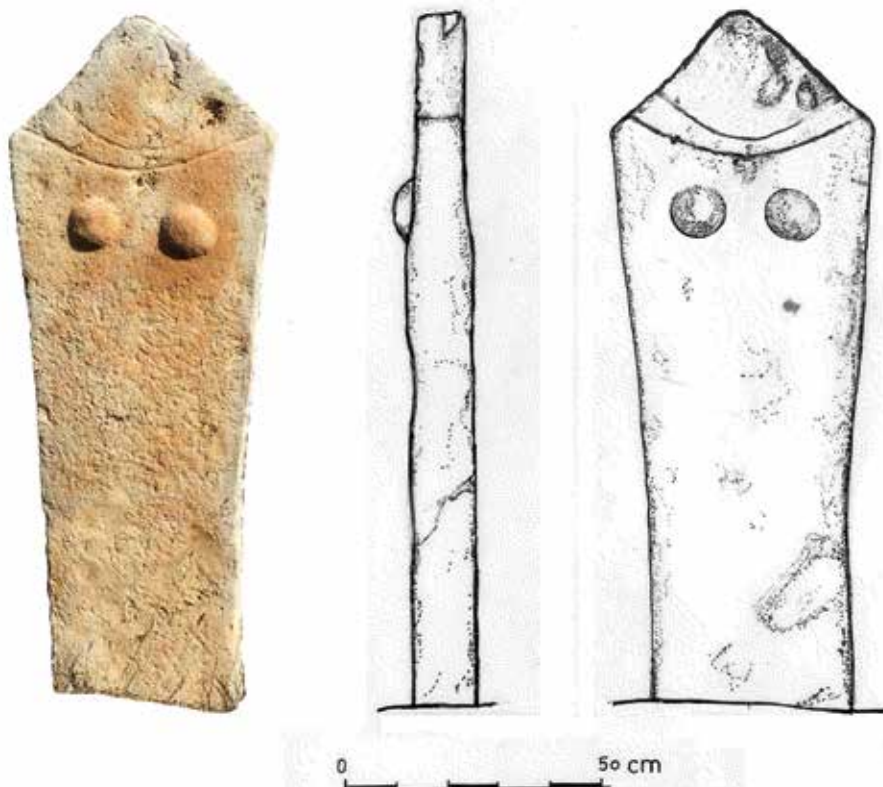
Although a complete overview of the situation at the Old Tuzi cemetery can only be established after a systematic excavation, which should definitely be carried out in this area. It can already be said that this is a cult place, the origin of which is related to the construction of a large tumulus, most likely around 5000 years from today. The next evident moment of cult use of this place is the establishment of a Muslim cemetery at the end of the 15th century. If the indications of the existence of graves from the 12th-13th centuries on the tumulus itself are confirmed, then it would even more strongly confirm the situation that is shown on other tumuli from the area of Montenegro, which is that the reuse of prehistoric tumuli in this area on a larger scale, begins in the developed Middle Ages. Since then, until the beginning of the new century and the arrival of Ottoman rule, necropolises with flat graves, necropolises with stećak monuments and Islamic cemeteries developed on and around the tumuli. As we saw in the example of the cemetery from Broćanac Viluški, the use of cult places, whose core consists of prehistoric tumuli, continues to this day.

30 Цонев 2016a 1 ff.

28 Цонев 2016, 30 ff.; 2016a 3

29 Ibid. 49.

30 Цонев 2016a 1 ff.



Sl. 13 Stela 1 u Starom tuškom groblju.  
Fig. 13 Stela 1 in the Old Tuzi cemetery.

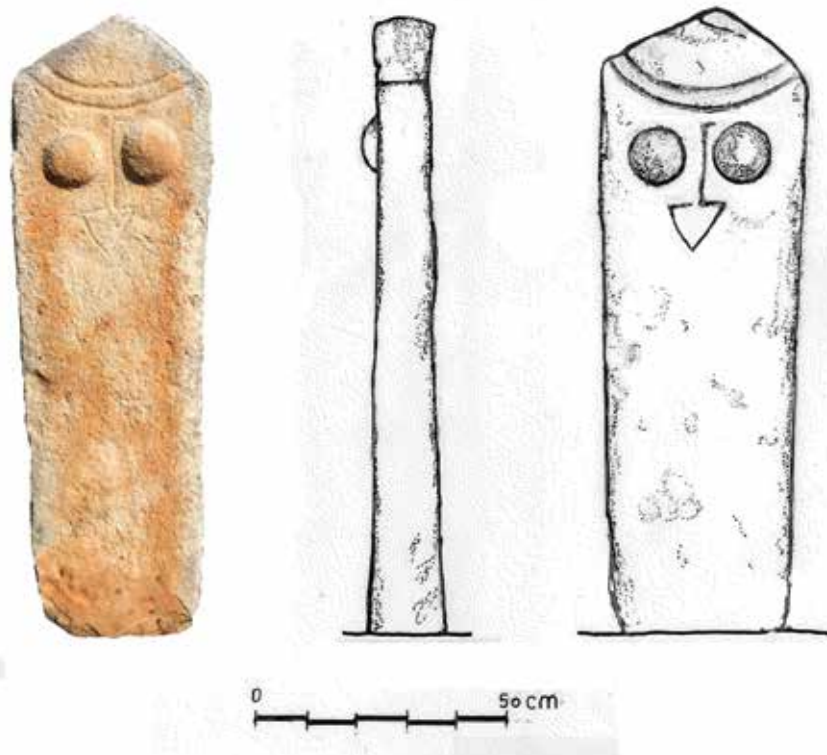
a debljina je 0,10-0,12 m. Ispod najšireg dijela su dva poluloptasta plastična ispupčenja, dok su na prelazu ka trougaonom završetku urezane dvije paralelne lučne linije (Sl.13). Stela po svom obliku, kao i urezanim motivima, upućuje na stilizovano žensko tijelo sa sekundarnim polnim karakteristikama u vidu plastično predstavljenih grudi. Urezane lučne linije imaju dvojnju funkciju: kao predstava ukrasne ogrlice i kao elemenat koji odvaja trouglasto stilizovanu glavu od stubastog tijela.

-Stela 2 se nalazi ca. 17 m od JZ i 26 m od SZ zida betonske ograde (Sl. 14). Širina krečnjačke ploče je ovdje ravnomjernija od stele 1 i iznosi 0,34 m u podnožju i 0,35 m na najširem dijelu. Vidljiva visina iznosi 1,28 m, a debljina 0,10-0,15 m. Kao i kod stele 1 i ovdje su ispod prelaza u truglasti dio plastično naznačene ženske grudi, sa ogrlicom u vidu urezanih lučnih linija na prelazu ka trouglasto stilizovanoj glavi. Osim

### 2.3.1 The problem of figural stelae from the Old Tuzi cemetery

In the context of the study of monumental tumuli as cult places and their use in the historical period, it is also necessary to consider the issue of figural stelae from the Old Tuzi cemetery. In fact, it is about three tombstones that functioned here as nišan monuments, and which are very reminiscent of prehistoric cult stelae with female attributes. Two such stela-nišan monuments are located in the north-western and one in the southwestern part of the cemetery (Fig. 9. 1-3; 10, 1-3).

-Stela 1 is located ca. 8 m from the SW and 34.5 m from the NW wall of the concrete fence (Fig. 9.1; 10.1). Its dimensions are: visible height 1.33 m, width 0.39 m at the base and 0.50 m at the widest part, and thickness is 0.10-0.12 m. Below the widest part, there are two hemispherical plastic protrusions, while at



Sl. 14 Stela 2 u Starom tuškom groblju.

Fig. 14 Stela 2 in the Old Tuzi cemetery.

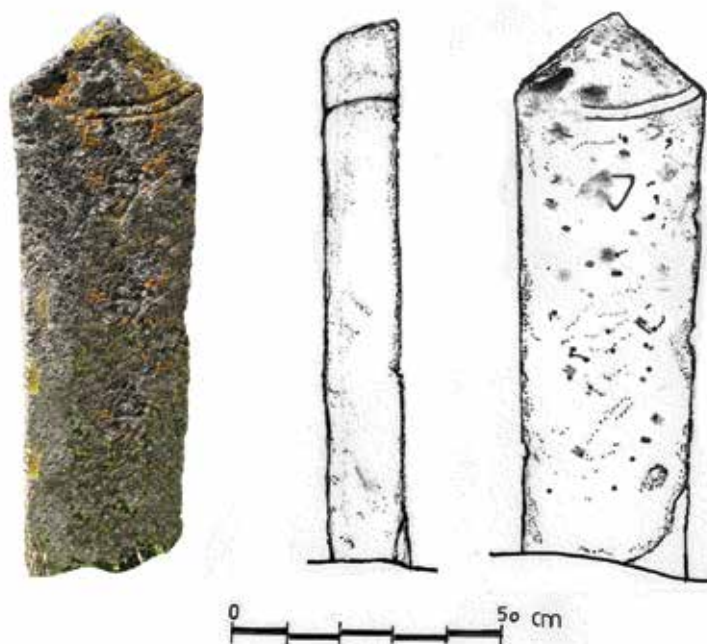
toga, ovdje je između grudi urezana vertikalna linija koja u donjem dijelu završava trouglom, čime se prema opštoj ikonografiji, označava primarna ženska polna karakteristika (Sl. 14).

-Stela 3 nalazi se ca. 15 m od JZ i 20 m od J zida betonske ograde. Vidljiva visina je 1,02 m; širina u podnožju 0,30 m, na najširem dijelu 0,36 m, a debljina 0,15 m. Kao i prethodne dvije i ova stela ima duboke dvojne lučne linije na prelazu iz tijela u trouglastu glavu. Međutim, na tijelu nema plastičnih ispupčenja, već samo urezani trougao koji bi, prema adekvatnom ornamentu sa stela 2, predstavljao primarnu žensku karakteristiku (Sl. 15).

Prve dvije stele su s prednje strane svijetle boje sa oker primjesama, dok su sa leđa patinirane, što jasno upućuje da su dugo vremena ležale na zemlji. Time je površina koja je bila uz zemlju ostala očuvana u svom prvobitnom izgledu, dok su strane i leđa bili izloženi spoljnim uticajima

the transition to the triangular end, two parallel arc lines are carved (Fig. 13). The shape of the stela, as well as the incised motifs, suggest a stylized female body with secondary gender characteristics in the form of plastically represented breasts. Incised arc lines have a dual function: as a representation of a decorative necklace and as an element that separates the triangular stylized head from the columnar body.

- Stela 2 is located ca. 17 m from the SW and 26 m from the NW wall of the concrete fence (Fig. 14). The width of the limestone slab here is more uniform than stela 1 and is 0.34 m at the base and 0.35 m at the widest part. The visible height is 1.28 m, and the thickness is 0.10-0.15 m. As with stela 1, below the transition to the triangular part, there are plastically indicated female breasts, with a necklace in the form of incised arc lines at the transition to the triangular stylized head. In addition, there is a vertical



Sl. 15 Stela 3 u Starom tuškom groblju.

Fig. 15 Stela 3 in the Old Tuzi cemetery.

i dobile tipičnu sivu boju patiniranog krečnjaka. Zatečena situacija jasno pokazuje da su te dvije stele tek nedavno postavljene kao nišani na mjesto na kome se sada nalaze. To upućuje da sadašnja pozicija ne mora predstavljati njihovu primarnu lokaciju. Kod treće stele su sve strane patinirane, što znači da ona, poput ostalih nišana sa ovog groblja, već dugo vremena stoji u uspravnom položaju.

Kamene stele, kao što su ove iz Starog tuškog groblja, svojim oblikom izduženog petougla u osnovi predstavljaju krajnje pojednostavljenu i stilizovanu antropomorfnu formu, odnosno neku vrstu reinkarnacije pokojnika čiji grob obilježavaju. Takve stele, bilo da se radi o primjercima sa uglastim, ili zaobljenim stranicama, su i najčešći oblik ovog nadgrobno spomenika koji je zastupljen u različitim kulturama od praistorije do danas. Nijesu rijetke ni u muslimanskim mezarjima u Bosni i Crnoj Gori, a i nekoliko malih nišana iz Starog tuškog

line carved between the breasts that ends in a triangle in the lower part, which, according to general iconography, indicates the primary female sexual characteristic (Fig. 14).

-Stela 3 is located ca. 15 m from the SW and 20 m from the S wall of the concrete fence. Visible height is 1.02 m; width at the base 0.30 m, at the widest part 0.36 m, and thickness 0.15 m. Like the previous two, this stele has deep double arc lines at the transition from the body to the triangular head. However, there are no plastic protrusions on the body, but only an incised triangle which, according to the adequate ornament from stela 2, would represent a primary female characteristic (Fig. 15).

The first two stelae are light in color with ocher admixtures on the front, while they are patinated on the back, which clearly indicates that they have been lying on the ground for a long time. Thus, the surface that was next to the ground remained preserved in its original

groblja ima oblik zaobljenog petougla.

No, ono po čemu se ove dvije stele izdvajaju u odnosu na uobičajene muslimanske nišane nije toliko njihov oblik, koliko plastični i urezani ukrasi, odnosno atributi koji su na njima prikazani. Predstava ženskog tijela sa primarnim i sekundarnim polnim karakteristikama strana je muslimanskoj tradiciji, te se ove stele teško mogu dovesti u vezu sa islamskom grobnom ikonografijom. Istina, karakteristične plastične polulopte koje se ovdje pojavljuju u paru kao ženske grudi, nijesu nepoznate na muslimanskim nišanima, ali ne na ovakvom mjestu i pogotovo ne u kombinaciji sa drugim ženskim atributima. Istoričari umjetnosti i osmanisti takva ispućenja najčešće nazivaju „jabučicama“, ili „polujabukama“ koje se nalaze na bočnim stranama, ili kao tri do pet ispućenja na prednjoj, ili zadnjoj strani „muških“ nišana.<sup>31</sup> Takođe se navodi narodno vjerovanje da su tu u pitanju „kvrge“ koje na nišanima označavaju rane od kojih su tu sahranjeni vojnici podlegli.<sup>32</sup>

U literaturi je najviše zastupljeno mišljenje da su ove „jabučice“ jedan od elemenata preuzetih od stećaka, sa kojima najstariji nišani imaju i drugih zajedničkih karakteristika.<sup>33</sup> No, u cjelini gledajući, pitanje porijekla ovakve ornamentike na stećcima i na nišanima nije dovoljno istraženo.<sup>34</sup> Pri tome se ne može prenebrežiti činjenica da karakteristična ikonografija stela iz Starog tuškog groblja upućuju na veoma arhaičnu tradiciju koja na prostoru starog svijeta otpočinje već krajem 5. milenijuma pr.n.e. Stele sa ženskim atributima često se susrijeću kao nadgrobna i votivna obilježja na mediteranskom prostoru i na području oko Crnog mora u 5. i 4. milenijumu. Antropomorfne stele se nešto kasnije javljaju i u srednjoj i zapadnoj Evropi, a slična kamena obilježja krasila su vrhove kurgana skitskih kraljeva iz vremena 6-3. vijeka pr. n.e.<sup>35</sup> Najbliže analogije stelama iz Tuzi i u geografskom i u tipološkom smislu susrijeću se u Italiji (Daunia i Apulia - Bovino, Castelluccio dei

appearance, while the sides and back were exposed to external influences and acquired the typical gray color of patinated limestone. The current situation clearly shows that those two stelae were only recently placed as targets in the place where they are now. This suggests that the current position may not represent their primary location. All sides of the third stela are patinated, which means that it, like other nišan monuments from this cemetery, has been standing upright for a long time.

Stone stelae, such as those from the Old Tuzi cemetery, with their elongated pentagonal shape basically represent an extremely simplified and stylized anthropomorphic form, that is, a kind of reincarnation of the deceased whose grave they mark. Such stelae, whether they are examples with angular or rounded sides, are the most common form of this tombstone, which is represented in different cultures from prehistoric times to the present day. They are not rare even in Muslim cemeteries in Bosnia and Montenegro, and several small nišan monuments from the Old Tuzi cemetery have the shape of a rounded pentagon. However, what sets these two stelae apart from the usual Muslim nišan monuments is not so much their shape, but the plastic and carved decorations, i.e. the attributes shown on them. The representation of the female body with primary and secondary sexual characteristics is foreign to the Muslim tradition, so these stelae can hardly be connected with Islamic grave iconography. True, the characteristic plastic hemispheres that appear here in pairs as female breasts are not unknown on Muslim nišan monuments, but not in a place like this and especially not in combination with other female attributes. Art historians and Ottomanists most often call such protrusions “apples”, or “half-apples” located on the sides, or as three to five protrusions on the front or back of “men’s” nišan monuments.<sup>31</sup> There is also a popular belief that there are “bumps” on the nišan monuments that mark the wounds from which the soldiers buried there succumbed.<sup>32</sup> In the literature, the

31 Bešlagić 1978, 59; Klinčević 2021, 64.

32 Ibid.

33 Bešlagić 1978, 60.

34 Klinčević 2021, 64.

35 Studium generale 2019, passim; Цонев 2016, 28 ff.

31 Bešlagić 1978, 59; Klinčević 2021, 64.

32 Ibid.

Sauri), Arco (Riva del Garda) i u oblasti Trentino. Na tom prostoru su poznate antropomorfne stele sa predstavama ženskih grudi i ogrlica koje su datirane u 4. i 3. milenijum pr. n. e.<sup>36</sup> Takođe, treba navesti i antropomorfne stele iz 3. milenijuma pr. n. e. koje su nađene u jamnim grobovima u Sjevernoj Makedoniji (Ulanci) i Bugarskoj (Kališće, Plačidol, Belogardec) koje imaju sličnu formu, ali uglavnom predstavljaju muškarce ratnike.<sup>37</sup>

Ovdje se opet moramo vratiti pitanju kontinuiteta Starog tuškog groblja i moguće veze navedenih „nišana-stela“ sa monumentalnim tumulom koji označava prapočetak tog groblja i upućuje na rano bronzano doba, odnosno na vrijeme crnogorskih kneževskih tumula. Analogno italijanskim primjerima može se pretpostaviti da su i ovdje postojale takve skulpture koje su bile obilježja nekih važnih ženskih grobova, ili pak predstave ženskih božanstava, zaštitnica ovdje sahranjenih pokojnika. Mada, mjesto nalaza i položaj stela iz Tuzi upućuje da su one funkcionisale kao nišani u najmlađem periodu upotrebe ovog kultnog mjesta, ne može se sa sigurnošću reći da je to bila njihova primarna i autentična funkcija. Stilska i ideološka srodnost tuških stela sa praistorijskim antropomorfnim stelama je previše indikativna, da bi se one okarakterisale kao isključivi proizvod islamske ikonografije i odbacila svaka mogućnost određenog transfera umjetničkog i duhovnog izraza od praistorije do početka novog vijeka. U prilog ovome govori i navedena mogućnost povezivanja pojave nišana-menhira na starom tuškom groblju sa istovjetnim nišanima i megalitskom tradicijom u Bugarskoj i Trakiji.<sup>38</sup> Ipak, u nedostatku konkretnih hronoloških poveznica „in situ“, to sve za sada mora ostati na nivou indicije. Iskopavanje velikog tumula u Tuzima bez sumnje bi doprinijelo razjašnjenju i ovog pitanja.

### 3. Zaključna razmatranja

Sumirajući pitanje odnosa domaće tradicije prema kneževskim i drugim monumentalnim

most prevalent opinion is that these “apples” are one of the elements taken from stećak monument, with which the oldest nišan monuments have other characteristics in common.<sup>33</sup> However, looking at it as a whole, the question of the origin of this kind of ornamentation on the stećak monuments and on the nišan monuments has not been sufficiently researched.<sup>34</sup> At the same time, the fact that the characteristic iconography of the stelae from the Old Tuzi cemetery points to a very archaic tradition that began in the area of the ancient world already at the end of the 5th millennium BC can not be overlooked. Stelae with female attributes are often encountered as tombstones and votive marks in the Mediterranean area and in the area around the Black Sea in the 5th and 4th millennia. Anthropomorphic stelae appear a little later in Central and Western Europe, and similar stone features adorned the tops of the kurgans of the Scythian kings from the period 6-3. century BC.<sup>35</sup> The closest analogies to the stelae from Tuzi, both geographically and typologically, are found in Italy (Daunia and Apulia - Bovino, Castelluccio dei Sauri), Arco (Riva del Garda) and in the Trentino area. In that area, anthropomorphic stelae with representations of female breasts and necklaces are known, dated to the 4th and 3rd millennium BC.<sup>36</sup> We should also mention the anthropomorphic stelae from the 3rd millennium BC that were found in pit graves in North Macedonia (Ulanka) and Bulgaria (Kališće, Plačidol, Belogardec), which have a similar form, but mostly represent male warriors.<sup>37</sup>

Here we have to return to the question of the continuity of the Old Tuzi cemetery and the possible connection of the mentioned “nišan monument-stele” with the monumental tumulus that marks the very beginning of the cemetery and points to the early Bronze Age, that is, to the time of Montenegrin princely tumuli. Analogously to the Italian examples, it can be assumed that there were such sculptures here

<sup>36</sup> Pedrotti 1995, 269-270, Fig. 9; 10; Tunzi Sisto 1999, 74-75.

<sup>37</sup> Цонев 2016, 65-66.

<sup>38</sup> Цонев 2016a 1 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Bešlagić 1978, 60.

<sup>34</sup> Klinčević 2021, 64

<sup>35</sup> Studium generale 2019, passim; Цонев 2016, 28 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Pedrotti 1995, 269-270, Fig. 9; 10; Tunzi Sisto 1999, 74-75.

<sup>37</sup> Цонев 2016, 65-66.



tumulima na prostoru Crne Gore, moramo imati u vidu činjenicu da ovi spomenici nijesu nikakva marginalna manifestacija, već u fundamentalnom kulturno-istorijskom smislu predstavljaju jednu veoma važnu i višestruko indikativnu pojavu. Tu se, prije svega, izdvajaju tumuli sa kneževskim grobovima koji su jedinstveni po svojim dimenzijama i po bogatstvu grobnih priloga. Posebno je značajna činjenica da oni predstavljaju najstarije spomenike toga tipa na području čitavog Balkana. Sa njima se jedino mogu mjeriti hronološki bliski „kraljevski grobovi“ iz Leuke u Grčkoj, koji isto tako sadrže simbole vlasti, iako u znatno manjoj mjeri.<sup>39</sup> Takođe su im slični pojedini grobovi iz tumula Rakića Kuće u Zeti, kao i iz Shtoja, Pazhoka, Dukata i Apolonije u Albaniji, mada su u njima, kako pokazuje karakter priloga, sahranjene ličnosti koje su više funkcionisale u domenu religije.<sup>40</sup> Veoma je bitna činjenica da se u svim tim slučajevima radi o elitarnim, kulturno i geografski povezanim manifestacijama.

Sudeći po tome, čini se da smo ovdje na tragu jedne veoma prosperitetne zajednice koja je na početku trećeg milenijuma prije naše ere egzistirala na jadransko-jonskom području, odnosno na priobalnom dijelu današnje Crne Gore, Albanije i zapadne Grčke. Najbogatiji grobovi i najmonumentalniji tumuli iz ovog kruga nalaze se na području plodne Zetske ravnice i uz istočno priobalje Boke Kotorske, pa se može pretpostaviti da je na tom prostoru bilo i glavno središte ove relativno velike zajednice. Na ovom mjestu ne možemo ulaziti u pitanja kulturno-istorijskog karaktera te zajednice, jer je za to neophodno istražiti i druge vrste nalazišta (naselja, komunikacije i dr.).<sup>41</sup> No, sama činjenica da takvi grobovi postoje upućuje na veliku snagu i visoke domete zajednice koja ih je gradila. S obzirom da su arheološka istraživanja na ovom području daleko od zadovoljavajućeg, treba očekivati da će u narednim radovima, između ostalog, biti potvrđeno postojanje još ovakvih tumula. Jedan od tih bi svakako mogao biti i Veliki tumul u Starom tuškom groblju, kao i tumul iz Broćanca Viluškog, o kojima smo prethodno govorili.

39 Baković, *Govedarica* 2009, 18.

40 *Govedarica* 2016, 6 ff.

41 O ovim pitanjima vidi *Govedarica* 2016, 21-25.

as well, which were features of some important female graves, or else representations of female deities, protectors of the deceased buried here. Although the place of discovery and the position of the stelae from Tuzi indicate that they functioned as nišan monuments in the latest period of use of this cult site, it can not be said with certainty that this was their primary and authentic function. The stylistic and ideological kinship of stelae from Tuzi with prehistoric anthropomorphic stelae is too indicative to characterize them as an exclusive product of Islamic iconography and reject the possibility of a certain transfer of artistic and spiritual expression from prehistory to the beginning of the modern period. This is supported by the mentioned possibility of connecting the appearance of nišan-menhirs in the old Tuzi cemetery with identical nišan monuments and the megalithic tradition in Bulgaria and Thrace.<sup>38</sup> However, in the absence of concrete chronological links “in situ”, all this must remain at the level of evidence for now. Undoubtedly, the excavation of a large tumulus in Tuzi would contribute to clarifying this issue as well

### 3. Concluding considerations

Summarizing the question of the relationship of the local tradition to princely and other monumental tumuli in the territory of Montenegro, we must bear in mind the fact that these monuments are not a marginal manifestation, but in a fundamental cultural-historical sense represent a very important and multiple indicative phenomenon. Above all, the tumuli with princely graves stand out here, which are unique in terms of their dimensions and the richness of the grave goods. The fact that they represent the oldest monuments of this type in the entire Balkans is particularly significant. They can only be compared to the chronologically close “royal graves” from Leuka in Greece, which also contain symbols of power, although to a much smaller extent.<sup>39</sup> Some graves from the tumulus of the Kuće Rakićain Zeta, as well as from Shtoj, Pazhok, Dukat and Apollonia in Albania are also similar to them, although, as

38 Цонев 2016a 1 ff.

39 Baković, *Govedarica* 2009, 18.

Zanimljivo je da do masovnog sekundarnog ukopavanja u monumentalnim praistorijskim tumulima na području Crne Gore dolazi početkom 12. vijeka. U to vrijeme se u tumulima sahranjuje već potpuno hristijanizirana slovenska populacija. Kako pokazuju ravni grobovi iz Grude Boljevića i tumula Borovice, kao i njihove analogije u Makedoniji, tu se konkretno radi o pravoslavnom stanovništvu. Paralelno sa ovom vrstom grobova i većim dijelom u kasnom srednjem vijeku, slijedi pojava stećaka na tumulima koju veoma lijepo ilustruje navedeni primjer iz Broćanca Viluškog. Ovaj primjer nije nikakav izuzetak, jer je poznato da se stećci često nalaze na tumulima i u Hercegovini, Dalmaciji, Bosni i drugim područjima gdje postoji ova vrsta grobova.<sup>42</sup> Međutim, među stećcima koji se pojavljuju na tumulima oni iz Broćanca Viluškog se ističu kvalitetom izrade i kompaktnim slijedom na čitavom prostoru tumula. Vežanost današnje lokalne populacije za nekropolu stećaka sa ovog tumula i stalno obnavljanje sahranjivanja oko toga mjesta, upućuje na mogućnost postojanja legende koja je sve to povezivala, a koja nije sačuvana do današnjih dana. Analogno sagi o kraljevskom grobu iz Seddina, moguće je da je i ovaj tumul pratila priča o primarnom grobu koja je graditeljima stećaka možda bila poznata. Stanovništvo Broćanca Viluškog, koje te stećke i danas koristi kao svoje porodične grobove, svjesno, ili nesvjesno, nastavlja ovu dugu tradiciju.

Krajem 15. i početkom 16. vijeka, odnosno na pragu novog vijeka, oko markantnih praistorijskih tumula grade se muslimanska groblja sa nišanima u formi rudimentarnih menhira. To je takođe izvanredan pokazatelj poštovanja starog kulturnog mjesta. No, za razliku od stećaka, izgleda da je to na ovom području mnogo rjeđa pojava koja vjerovatno vuče porijeklo iz Trakije i južne Bugarske.<sup>43</sup> Na vezu sa evropskom praistorijskom tradicijom upućuju i stilske karakteristike figuralnih nišana-stela iz Starog tuškog groblja.

42 Napr. tumuli Dokanova Glavica i Pustopolje u Kupreškom polju, Velika Crljenica i Mišja Draga u Dalmaciji. Benac 1986, 95 ff.; Šućur 2017, 119, 124.

43 Ур. Цонев 2016, 30 ff; 2016a 1 ff.

the character of the grave goods shows, personalities who functioned more in the domain of religion were buried in them.<sup>40</sup> It is a very important fact that in all these cases it is about elite, culturally and geographically connected manifestations.

Judging by this, it seems that we are here on the trail of a very prosperous community that existed at the beginning of the third millennium BC in the Adriatic-Ionian area, that is, on the coastal part of today's Montenegro, Albania and western Greece. The richest graves and the most monumental tumuli from this circle are located in the area of the fertile Zeta plain and along the eastern shore of Boka Kotorska, so it can be assumed that this area was the main center of this relatively large community. At this point, we cannot go into the issues of the cultural-historical character of the community, because for that it is necessary to investigate other types of sites (settlements, communications, etc.).<sup>41</sup> However, the very fact that such graves exist points to the great strength and high reach of the community that built them. Given that the archaeological excavations in this area is far from satisfactory, it should be expected that in the following works, among other things, the existence of more such tumuli will be confirmed. One of those could certainly be the Great burial tumulis in the Old Tuzi cemetery, as well as the burial tumulus from Broćanac Viluški, which we talked about previously.

It is interesting that massive secondary burials in monumental prehistoric tumuli in the territory of Montenegro took place at the beginning of the 12th century. At that time, the already completely Christianized Slavic population was buried in the tumuli. As the flat graves from Gruda Boljević and the Borovica tumulus, as well as their analogies in Macedonia, show, this specifically refers to the Orthodox population. Parallel to this type of graves and for the most part in the late Middle Ages, the appearance of stećak monuments on tumuli follows,

40 Govedarica 2016, 6 ff.

41 On these issues, see Govedarica 2016, 21-25.

Sličan odnos lokalne tradicije prema praistorijskim tumulima je i na širem području jadranskog zaleđa, s tim što masovna upotreba ovih spomenika u nekim djelovima tog prostora otpočinje veću ranom srednjem vijeku.<sup>44</sup> U ovom smislu naročito je indikativna situacija na području današnje Dalmacije, gdje su tumuli relativno dobro istraženi. Naime, pokazuje se da poslije zamiranja upotrebe praistorijskih himki u antičkom dobu, do ponovnog masovnijeg korišćenja tih spomenika u ovom dijelu Balkana dolazi već početkom srednjeg vijeka, odnosno u 7. i 8. vijeku. Dobro datirani sekundarni grobovi iz 32 tumula sa prostora između Zrmanje i Neretve, pokazuju da je pojava naknadnih ukopa najizraženija u kasnom (13 tumula, odnosno 41%) i u ranom srednjem vijeku (7 tumula, odnosno 28%). Za razliku od toga, u vremenu kasne antike, u razvijenom srednjem vijeku i u ranom novom vijeku bilo je upotrijebljeno samo 1-2 tumula, odnosno 3% do 6%. Sličan odnos pokazuje i broj grobova. Najbrojniji su kasnosrednjovjekovni (106 grobova, odnosno 39%) i oni iz ranog srednjeg vijeka (86 grobova, odnosno 31%). Dalje slijede grobovi iz kasne antike i ranog novog vijeka (7%), grobovi iz razvijenog srednjeg i ranog novog vijeka, kao i oni iz kasne antike (po 5%).<sup>45</sup>

Istraživanja u Dalmaciji dalje pokazuju da masovna reutilizacija praistorijskih tumula otpočinje neposredno poslije dolaska paganskih Slovena na Balkan, te da sekundarni ukopi iz ranog srednjeg vijeka pripadaju njihovim zajednicama.<sup>46</sup> To je dosta razumljivo, jer su novopridošlim paganima od svih zatečenih pojava i manifestacija antičke civilizacije grobni tumuli bili najbliskija i najrazumljivija pojava, budući da su im bili poznati iz stare domovine.<sup>47</sup> Sloveni su u početku posebno poštovali tumule na uzvisinama, kao mjesta boravka božanstava njihovog panteona. Vremenom se stari tumuli sve više koriste za sahranjivanje, da bi taj običaj kako pokazuju i ovdje navedeni nalazi iz Crne Gore, kulminirao u vrijeme razvijenog i

which is very nicely illustrated by the example from Broćanc Viluški. This example is no exception, because it is known that stećak monuments are often found on tumuli in Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Bosnia and other areas where this type of graves exist.<sup>42</sup> However, among the stećak monuments that appear on the tumuli, those from Broćanc Viluški stand out due to the quality of their workmanship and their compact sequence over the entire area of the tumulus. Analogously to the saga of the royal tomb from Seddin, it is possible that this tumulus was also accompanied by the story of the primary tomb, which might have been known to the builders of the stećak monument. The population of Broćanc Viluški, who still use these stećak monuments as their family graves, knowingly or unknowingly, continues this long tradition.

At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, that is, on the doorstep of the modern period, Muslim cemeteries with nšan monuments in the form of rudimentary menhirs were built around striking prehistoric tumuli. It is also an outstanding indicator of respect for an old cult place. However, unlike the stećak monument, it seems to be a much rare occurrence in this area, which probably originates from Thrace and southern Bulgaria.<sup>43</sup> The stylistic features of the figural nišan-stele from the Old Tuzi cemetery point to a connection with the European prehistoric tradition.

A similar relation of local tradition to prehistoric tumuli is also found in the wider area of the Adriatic hinterland, with the fact that the mass use of these monuments in some parts of that area began already in the early Middle Ages.<sup>44</sup> In this sense, the situation in the area of present-day Dalmatia, where tumuli have been relatively well explored, is particularly indicative. Namely, it is shown that after the use of prehistoric mounds died out in the ancient era, the massive use of these monuments in this part

44 Hrvatska, Bosna, up. Šučur 2017, 117 ff.; Miletić 1959, 217-219.

45 Statistika prema Šučur 2017, 120.

46 Up. Džino 102.

47 Niederle 1954, 65-94.

42 E.g. tumuli Dokanova Glavica and Pusto polje in Kupreško polje, Velika Crljenica and Mišja Draga in Dalmatia. Benac 1986, 95 ff.; Šučur 2017, 119, 124.

43 Cf. Цонев 2016, 30 ff.; 2016a 1 ff.

44 Hrvatska, Bosna, Cf. Šučur 2017, 117 ff.; Miletić 1959, 217-219.

kasnog srednjeg vijeka. Od novog vijeka praksa naknadnog ukopavanja, a samim tim i tradicija poštovanja ovih kulturnih mjesta sve više opada. Mada se sahranjivanje u praistorijskim tumulima obavlja i danas, to su pojedinačni slučajevi koji se ne mogu uporediti sa onima iz prethodnog razdoblja.

of the Balkans occurred already at the beginning of the Middle Ages, that is, in the 7th and 8th centuries. Well-dated secondary graves from 32 tumuli from the area between Zrmanja and Neretva show that the occurrence of subsequent burials is most pronounced in the late (13 tumuli, i.e. 41%) and early Middle Ages (7 tumuli, i.e. 28%). In contrast, only 1-2 tumuli, or 3% to 6%, were used in late antiquity, in the developed Middle Ages and in the early modern period. A similar relations is shown by the number of graves. The most numerous are the late medieval ones (106 graves, or 39%) and those from the early middle ages (86 graves, or 31%). Next are graves from the late antiquity of the early modern century (7%), graves from the developed middle and early modern centuries, as well as those from late antique (5% each).<sup>45</sup>

Research in Dalmatia further shows that the mass reuse of prehistoric burial tumulus began immediately after the arrival of the pagan Slavs in the Balkans, and that secondary burials from the early Middle Ages belong to their communities.<sup>46</sup> This is quite understandable, because for newly arrived pagans, of all the phenomena and manifestations of ancient civilization, burial tumuli were the closest and most understandable phenomenon, since they were familiar to them from their old homeland.<sup>47</sup> In the beginning, the Slavs especially respected the tumuli on the heights, as places of residence of the deities of their pantheon. Over time, the old tumuli were increasingly used for burial, so that this custom, as shown by the findings from Montenegro mentioned here, culminated in the developed and late Middle Ages. Since the new century, the practice of subsequent burial, and therefore the tradition of respecting these cult places, has been declining more and more. Although burials in prehistoric tumuli are still carried out today, these are individual cases that can not be compared with those from the previous period.

45 Statistics according to Šučur 2017, 120.

46 Cf. Džino 102.

47 Niederle 1954, 65-94.

**Izvori za ilustracije**

Sl. 1: H. Graephe, Perleberg 1899 (public domain);

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Sl. 3 May 2019;

Sl. 4: Saveljić-Bulatović 2015;

Sl. 5-7, 9-10: foto D. Miljanić, V. Ilić;

Sl. 8: foto B. Govedarica;

Sl. 11: foto B. Govedarica;

Sl. 12: Цонев 2016;

Sl. 13-15: foto B. Govedarica; crtež T. Mijović.

**Sources for illustrations**

Fig. 1: H. Graephe, Perleberg 1899 (public domain);

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Fig. 8: foto B. Govedarica;

Fig. 11: foto B. Govedarica;

Fig. 12: Цонев 2016;

Fig. 13-15: foto B. Govedarica; drawing T. Mijović.

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