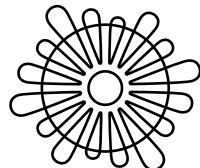


# ARCHAEOLOGIA

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# SADRŽAJ / CONTENTS

KRISTINA HORVAT OŠTRIĆ

Projekt sustavnog terenskog pregleda neolitičkog

nalazišta Graduša – Lokve (Prethodno priopćenje)

*The Systematic field survey of the Neolithic Site*

*of Graduša – Lokve Project (Preliminary communication)*

7

HELENA TOMAS, MIROSLAV VUKOVIĆ

Dvije kamene gomile kod sela Grab – Krivodol kraj Trilja (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Two Stone Cairns by the Village Grab – Krivodol near Trilj (Original scientific paper)*

31

PIO DOMINES PETER

Arheologija otoka Ista: Otočni krajolik i dinamika naseljenosti u svjetlu

preliminarnih rezultata terenskog pregleda (Prethodno priopćenje)

*Archaeology of the Island of Ist: Landscape and population Dynamics in the Light*

*of the Field survey Preliminary Results (Preliminary communication)*

55

MARINA ČELHAR, GREGORY ZARO

Nadin – Gradina: Razvoj grada (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Nadin – Gradina: The Evolution of the City (Original scientific paper)*

103

MARINA UGARKOVIĆ, ANA KONESTRA, PIO DOMINES PETER

Od esencije ljepote do zagonetke smrti: rimski paljevinski grob

na predjelu Goveja u gradu Visu (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*From the Essence of Beauty to a Riddle of Death: a Roman Incineration*

*Grave in the Goveja Quarter of the Town of Vis (Original scientific paper)*

135

ŽELJANA BAŠIĆ

Indeks tjelesne mase populacija istočne obale Jadrana od antike

do novog vijeka (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Body mass index in the populations of the eastern Adriatic Coast*

*from antiquity to the Modern Period (Original scientific paper)*

163

IVANA KRUŽIĆ

Subadultni stres u kumulativnom uzorku srednjovjekovne

i novovjekovne Dalmacije (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Subadult Stress in a Cumulative Sample of Medieval and*

*Modern-era Dalmatia (Original scientific paper)*

181

LUAN GASHI, QAZIM NAMANI

On The Possibility of Locating the Grave of Pjetër Bogdani

Historical Context and the Mystery of the Tomb of Pjetër Bogdani

(ca. 1630 - 1689) (Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*O mogućnosti lociranja groba Pjetëra Bogdanija*

*Povijesni kontekst i zagonetka grobnice Pjetëra Bogdanija*

*(cca 1630. – 1689.) (Original scientific paper)*

201



# DVIJE KAMENE GOMILE KOD SELA GRAB – KRIVODOL KRAJ TRILJA

## TWO STONE CAIRNS BY THE VILLAGE GRAB – KRIVODOL NEAR TRILJ

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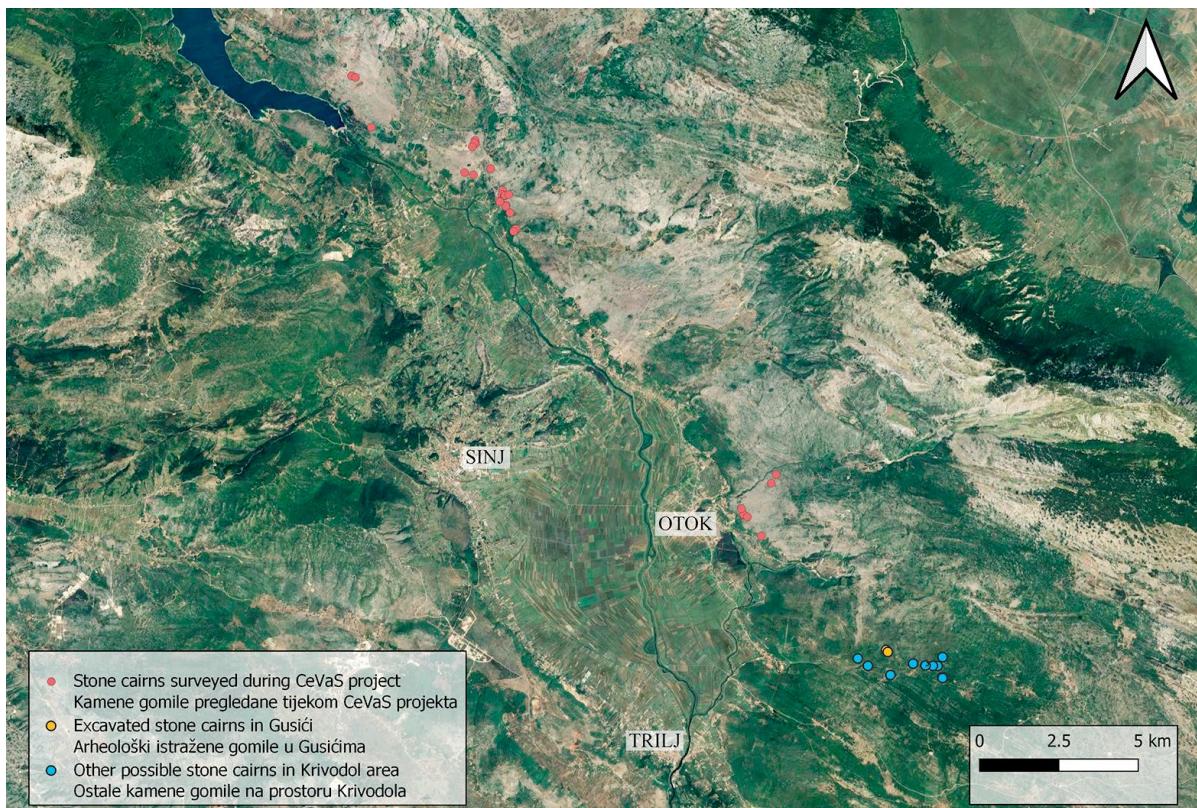
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**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:**  
kamene gomile, grobne ciste, Trilj, dolina Cetine, skeletni ostaci

Članak predstavlja rezultate preliminarnog istraživanja dviju gomila otkrivenih u području Krivodola kraj Trilja. Na obje su primijećeni tragovi ilegalnoga istraživanja i otvaranja grobnica. Usprkos tome otkrivene su i neke netaknute grobnice građene u obliku grobnih cista. Ukop u njima bili su skeletni, pa članak donosi i rezultate preliminarnih analiza skeletnih ostataka. Zahvaljujući njima jednu smo grobnicu metodom  $C^{14}$  uspjeli datirati u 2. tisućljeće pr. n. e.

**KEY WORDS:**  
stone cairns, cist graves,  
Trilj, Cetina valley,  
skeletal remains

The paper presents results of a trial excavation of two stone-cairns located in the area of Krivodol near Trilj in the Cetina valley. Both cairns showed traces of prior illegitimate excavation, and looting of the graves. Despite that during our excavation we discovered some intact cist graves with skeletal remains in them. Preliminary analysis of those skeletal remains are also given in the paper. Well preserved samples enabled us to conduct  $C^{14}$  dating, which placed the graves into the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B. C. E.



**KARTA 1.** Karta područja oko Krivodola kraj Trilja s naznačenim položajima dviju gomila kraj zaseoka Gusića nedaleko od Graba (izradio: M. Vuković)

**MAP 1** Map of the Krivodol area with marked locations of stone cairns discussed in this paper (made by: M. Vuković)

U okviru projekta rekognosciranja doline rijeke Cetine provedeno je kartiranje dijela kamennih gomila.<sup>1</sup> Kamene gomile kao krški fenomen mogu nastati kao posljedica raščićavanja poljoprivrednih parcela, ali u arheološkom kontekstu često predstavljaju grobne spomenike, dijelove fortifikacijskog sustava utvrđenih naselja, ritualne prostore ili granične oznake.<sup>2</sup> Što se tiče generalnog njihova kronološkog određivanja pojavljuju se u kasnom eneolitiku

During the archaeological survey of the Cetina river valley, in the scope of the CeVaS<sup>1</sup> project, we undertook a survey and mapping campaign focused on the numerous stone cairns dotted across the valley. Stone cairns, as a karst phenomenon, can form as a final product of field clearing, but in archaeological contexts they usually functioned as burial mounds, as integral parts of the fortification systems of hillforts, places of ritual,

<sup>1</sup> Riječ je o projektu CeVaS koji autorica H. Tomas vodi od 2016. zahvaljujući potpori Hrvatske zaklade za znanost (HRZZ). Autor M. Vuković bio je suradnik na tom projektu. Američki kolege Becky Seifried i Wayne Lee su već na samome početku projekta posjetili područje rekognosciranja, proveli obuku studenata, osmislili formulare za rekognosciranje i kreirali GIS bazu, na čemu im zahvaljujemo. Tijekom pripreme rekognosciranja dragocjenu pomoć i savjete pružili su Bill Parkinson, Mike Galaty, Joanne Murphy, Lorenc Bejko, Dimitris Nakassis, Alex Knodell, Michael Boyd, Cyprian Broodbank, John Bennet i Jack Davis. Dodatnu finansijsku pomoć je tijekom nekoliko sezona projekta pružila američka fundacija INSTAP (Institute for Aegean Prehistory) sa sjedištem u Philadelphiji.

<sup>2</sup> PERKIĆ 2018: 21.

<sup>1</sup> The project has an acronym CeVaS (Cetina Valley Survey). It has been directed by Helena Tomas. Miroslav Vuković was a collaborator on the project. Since 2016 the project has been financially supported by the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ). We would like to thank Becky Seifried and Wayne Lee for visiting the survey area at the outset of the project in 2015, for training the survey team, for helping us to establish the survey methodology and for creating survey forms and the GIS data base. Precious guidance while preparing the survey was provided by Bill Parkinson, Mike Galaty, Joanne Murphy, Lorenc Bejko, Dimitris Nakassis, Alex Knodell, Michael Boyd, Cyprian Broodbank, John Bennet and Jack Davis. Additional funding for this project was for several survey seasons provided by INSTAP (Institute for Aegean Prehistory) based in Philadelphia.

i traju sve do željeznog doba.<sup>3</sup> Najvažniji pregleđ ove vrste lokaliteta za područje gornjeg i donjeg toka rijeke Cetine nalazimo u knjizi *Arheološka topografija Cetine*.<sup>4</sup> U toj publikaciji kamene gomile su opisane, te je zabilježen njihov prostorni položaj i eventualni nalazi koji su najčešće bili rezultat pljačkanja gomila. Autor na kraju publikacije donosi i tablični prikaz svih lokaliteta razdijeljenih prema tipu i dataciji, od kojih je jedan od tipova kamenog gomila.<sup>5</sup> Ukupno je naveden 81 lokalitet koji se klasificira na taj način, premda količinski gledano postoji problem jer se nekada radi o pojedinoj gomili, a u nekim slučajevima o grupi gomila. Usprkos tomu, od 81 lokaliteta njih 16 je datirano u brončano doba, dok je još dodatnih sedam datirano šire u brončano doba i/ili eneolitik. Neke od kamenih gomila istraživa je sredinom 20. stoljeća Ivan Marović i ustanovio da pripadaju cetinskoj kulturi.<sup>6</sup> Velik je broj neistraženih devastiranih kamenih gomila kao što je, primjerice, slučaj lokaliteta Bugarinova i Bošnjakova gomila. Riječ je o dvjema većim gomilama, promjera 30 metara i nekoliko manjih, promjera 12 metara koje se nalaze sjeverno od Graba uz put koji vodi prema Podima na području oko Krivodola.<sup>7</sup> Sve gomile devastirane su tijekom proširenja puta za Pode, a prema pričanju mještana, uništeni su i grobovi koji su bili u središtu gomila.<sup>8</sup>

Tijekom rekognosciranja u sklopu projekta CeVaS naišli smo na brojne gomile koje su bez dozvole nadležnih tijela raskopavane,

or boundary markers.<sup>2</sup> As for their chronological determination, they first appear during the late Eneolithic period and the latest in the Iron Age.<sup>3</sup> The most thorough overview of the archaeological sites in the Cetina valley can be found in the book *Arheološka topografija Cetine*.<sup>4</sup> Here the stone cairns are described, their locations given and grave goods mentioned (in most cases these grave goods came from looted cairns.) In the table at the end of the book, the author lists all sites classified according to type and dating, including 81 cairns (although some of them represent accumulations of grouped cairns, not individual cairns), 16 of which he dated to the Bronze Age, and seven cairns were broadly dated to the Bronze Age and/or Eneolithic.<sup>5</sup> A number of the Cetina valley stone cairns were excavated in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century by Ivan Marović, who dated them to the period of the Cetina culture.<sup>6</sup> There are still a large number of destroyed and uninvestigated cairns, for example at the Bugarinova and Bošnjakova gomila sites. These are two fairly large cairns (30 m in diameter), and several smaller ones (12 m in diameter). They are located to the north of the village of Grab along the road leading to the village of Podi in the area of Krivodol.<sup>7</sup> All mentioned cairns were destroyed during the process of widening the road to Podi. According to the locals, some of these cairns contained central graves that were destroyed during the same road construction project.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> PERKIĆ 2018: 21.

<sup>3</sup> PERKIĆ 2018: 22. The inappropriateness of using these chronological terms in the context of stone cairns is discussed in: FORENBAHER 2023: 17.

<sup>4</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998.

<sup>5</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 325–343.

<sup>6</sup> MAROVIĆ 1963; 1991; MAROVIĆ, ČOVIĆ 1983; za razumijevanje gomila dragocjena je tek objavljena analiza u FORENBAHER 2023, tu na stranicama 20 – 22 on donosi i dragocjen pregled povijesti istraživanja gomila u jadranskoj regiji; od novijih istraživanja gomila cetinske kulture izdvajamo: BATOVIC, ČONDIĆ 2005; još neka novija istraživanja gomila nabrojana su u FORENBAHER 2023: 23.

<sup>7</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 237.

<sup>8</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 237.

<sup>3</sup> PERKIĆ 2018: 22. Nezgrapnost primjene termina za ova kronološka razdoblja, uključujući i njihovo korištenje u kontekstu gomila, raspravlja se u: FORENBAHER 2023: 17.

<sup>4</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998.

<sup>5</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 325–343.

<sup>6</sup> MAROVIĆ 1963; 1991; MAROVIĆ, ČOVIĆ 1983. A recent detailed study of stone cairns, including those from the Cetina valley, is in: FORENBAHER 2023; on pages 20 – 22 he provides a valuable overview of the history of cairn research in the Adriatic region. Regarding more recent excavations of the Cetina culture cairns, we would like to mention BATOVIC, ČONDIĆ 2005; some other recent excavations are listed in: FORENBAHER 2023: 23.

<sup>7</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 237.

<sup>8</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 237.



**SLIKA 1.** Primjer razrušene kamene gomile kraj sela Bitelić u središnjoj dolini Cetine; vide se odvaljene kamene ploče opljačkane grobne ciste (snimila: H. Tomas)

**FIGURE 1** An example of a destroyed stone cairn by the village Bitelić in the central Cetina valley area. Stone slabs of looted grave cists are visible (photo by: H. Tomas)



**SLIKA 2.** Još jedan primjer devastirane i opljačkane gomile u predjelu srednjeg toka rijeke Cetine (iz sela: Gilići u Krivodolu); sudionik rekognosciranja stoji u rupi u kojoj je nekoć bio grob gomile (snimila: H. Tomas)

**FIGURE 2** Another example of a looted cairn in the central Cetina valley (near the village of Bajagić); A project participant is standing inside a pit that once was a grave of this cairn (photo by: H. Tomas)

a kamene grobne ciste<sup>9</sup> unutar njih otvorene su i njihov sadržaj odstranjen (sl. 1–2).<sup>10</sup> Lokalni stanovnici uputili su nas na dvije takve

<sup>9</sup> U ovome radu usvajamo Forenbaherovu definiciju grobne ciste: „Cista je grobna konstrukcija napravljena od kamenih ploča koja može biti ukopana u tlo, postavljena na razini podlage ili izdignuta nad njom unutar plašta gomile. U pravilu cista se sastoji od pet grubo priklesanih ploča: dvije duže uzdužne, dvije kraće poprečne te jedne poklopne, a tek ponekad popločano je i dno. Prostor unutar ciste je razmjerno tjesan i ne dozvoljava polaganje odraslog pokojnika u ispruženom položaju.“ (FORENBAHER 2023: 26, bilj. 3). U dvije ovdje opisane gomile u Gusićima, sveukupno smo otkrili šest cista. Sve su bile izdignite nad podlogom u plaštu gomile. Nijedna nije imala popločano dno, ali su sve imale ostale kamene ploče koje je nabroao Forenbaher u citiranoj definiciji. Dno grobnih cista u Gusićima sastojalo se od zemlje i manjega kamenja. Svih šest grobnih cista u dvjema gomilama iz Gusića bilo je pravokutna oblike dužine oko 1 m, širine 50 – 60 cm. Sve su sadržavale inhumirane ostatke, no ni u jednoj pokojniku nismo našli u položaju u kojima su izvorno bili položeni, već su kosti bile ispremješane.

<sup>10</sup> Lokalno stanovništvo prenijelo nam je općenito vjerovanje da grobnice u gomilama sadržavaju zlato, pa otud povod za njihovo pljačkanje. Marović pri svojim istraživanjima cetinskih gomila nije spominjao zlatne nalaze, no postoje slučajevi pronađaska zlata u gomilama u unutrašnjosti, npr. u Drinovcima (v. TOMAS 2023).

During the survey of the Cetina valley the participants of the CeVaS project came across many stone cairns that were excavated without legal permission; cist graves<sup>9</sup> within them were broken up (Fig. 1–2) and their contents loot-

<sup>9</sup> In this paper we accept Forenbaher's definition of a cist grave as : „a grave constructed of stone slabs that may be dug into the ground, built at ground level, or elevated above the ground inside the mantle, a cist consists of five roughly shaped stone slabs: two long ones placed lengthwise, two short ones placed transversally, and a fifth slab serving as a cover; occasionally another slab serves as a base. The rather tight space within the cist does not allow for the deposition of the deceased in a supine position.“ (FORENBAHER 2023: 26, note 3). In the two cairns that we excavated and described in this paper (cairns Gusići I and II) we discovered a total of 6 cist graves. They were all built elevated above the ground inside the mantle. They all had stone slabs as described by Forenbaher, except for the base slab. The base of the Gusići cist graves consisted of soil and small stones. All 6 cist graves in Gusići were of rectangular shape, about 1 m long and 50 – 60 cm wide. They all contained inhumations, but in none we found remains of the deceased in the position in which they were originally buried. Instead their bones were mixed in all graves.

gomile u blizini sela Gusići – Grab / Krivodol kraj Trilja. Nazvali smo ih Gomila Gusići I i Gusići II. Ove su dvije gomile jedna od druge udaljene oko 100 m. Tijekom prvog obilaska vidjeli smo da je središnja gomila Gusići već bila narušena, tj. vodoravna kamena ploča koja ju je pokrivala bila je uklonjena no kamene ploče koje su je omeđivale s njezinih bočnih strana još su bile *in situ* (sl. 3). Cista se bila činila ispraznjrenom, no odlučili smo je svejedno detaljno istražiti u nadi da je nešto ostataka možda ipak ostalo u toj cisti. U rujnu 2016. organizirana je prva dvotjedna faza sustavnih arheoloških iskopavanja te prve, sjevernije kamene gomile (koju smo nazvali Gusići – gomila I). S obzirom na ranija istraživanja u tom području koje je uključivalo spomenuto rekonosciranje prostora uz samu rijeku Cetinu, a čiji je cilj bio ustanoviti prostorne obrasce naseljavanja u dolini, ta dvotjedna sezona iskopavanja relativno male kamene gomile kod sela Gusića bila je namijenjena ostvarivanju triju ciljeva: 1. boljem razumijevanju grobnih struktura prapovijesnih stanovnika ove regije, što onda uključuje i podatke u vezi s načinom pokapanja, vrstom gradnje ovih prapovijesnih grobnica, proučavanjem priloženog arheološkog materijala itd., 2. stvoriti potpuniju, prostornu sliku odnosa između gomila i prapovijesnih naselja, 3. Ustanoviti obrasce topografskog smještaja gomila u odnosu na tok rijeke Cetine.

Selo Gusići nalazi se istočno od Trilja, na području Krivodola (karta 1). Zračnim snimkama te terenskim pregledom uz samo selo Gusiće zabilježene su dvije kamene gomile u Gusićima promjera od oko 20 m te visine od oko 2 – 3 m. Te su dvije gomile međusobno udaljene oko 100 m. Gotovo su identične visinom i promjerom. Od prestanka intenzivnih stočarskih i poljoprivrednih aktivnosti u tom području krajem 20. stoljeća vegetacija je izrazito nabujala, što se odlično vidi usporedbom današnjih snimaka te ortofotosnimke iz 1968. godine,

ed.<sup>10</sup> Local inhabitants showed us two partly looted cairns by the village of Gusići – Grab / Krivodol area near Trilj. We named them Gusići I and II. They are 100 m apart. Upon the very first visit we noticed that the central cist grave of Gusići I was disturbed as the horizontal stone slab that once covered it was moved to the side; however, the stone slabs that formed the sides of the cist grave were still *in situ* (Fig. 3). In the hope that some remains could still be unearthed from this cist grave which seemed emptied, we decided to conduct a thorough excavation of this cairn (Gusići I). In September 2016, the first two-week phase of the systematic archaeological excavations of the first, northern stone cairn (which we called Gusići - cairn I) was organized. With regard to earlier research in the area, which included the aforementioned survey of the area along the Cetina river, with the aim of establishing spatial patterns of settlement in the valley, that two-week excavation season of a relatively small stone cairn near the village of Gusići was intended to achieve three goals: 1) a better understanding of burial structures of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cetina valley (architecture of cairns, burial practices, types of grave goods); 2) an understanding of topographical patterns of the location of stone cairns, especially in relation to already known, or yet to be discovered prehistoric settlements of the Cetina valley; 3) the establishment of possible topographical patterns in the location of cairns in relation to the course of the Cetina river.

The village of Gusići is located in the wider area called Krivodol to the east of the town of Trilj (Map 1). Aerial photos, project survey and information from the locals led us to the two above-mentioned cairns, Gusići I

<sup>10</sup> Local inhabitants of the area told us that there is a general belief that graves in cairns contained gold. Hence the motivation for their looting. Marović never mentioned discoveries of gold during his excavations of Cetina valley cairns. However, further inland there are examples of cairns with gold, for example at Drinovci (see TOMAS 2023).



**SLIKA 3.** Zračna snimka gomile Gusići I prije početka iskopavanja 2016. g. Opljačkana grobna cista (grob 1) vidljiva je unutar plave kružnice (izradio: M. Vuković)

**FIGURE 3** Aerial image of the cairn Gusići I before the beginning of the excavation in 2016. The central looted grave is visible in the blue circle (made by: M. Vuković)

pa je zbog toga pristup ovakvima lokacijama prilično otežan (sl. 14, 17, 19), a bilo kakva istraživanja zahtijevaju prethodno krčenje i čišćenje vegetacije što je i ovdje bio slučaj.

Prva arheološka istraživanja provođena su na sjevernjoj gomili, koja je shodno imenu sela nazvana „Gusići gomila I“. Odmah napominjemo da zbog raznih razloga iskopavanje ove gomile nije u potpunosti završeno, već su potrebna finalna iskopavanja da bismo se spustili na razinu žive stijene.

Zatečena situacija na gomili jasno je pokazivala da je središnji grob (grob 1) gotovo u potpunosti opljačkan, što se vidi na slikama 3 i 5, tako da je u samoj sredini gomile bila prokopana jama promjera od oko 1,5 m koja je na sreću nelegitimih „istraživača“ pogodila ravno u samo mjesto ukopa (ne-mamo pouzdanih podataka o tome jesu li

and II, separated from each other by some 100 m of dense vegetation. The two cairns are of roughly identical dimensions: 20 m in diameter and 2 – 3 m high. Aerial photography of the region from 1968 has shown that the vegetation is much more dense nowadays – an outcome of reduction in agricultural activities since early and middle 20<sup>th</sup> century. Access to cairns is thus obstructed by heavy vegetation (Fig. 14, 17, 19). As a consequence, our investigation in 2016 required demanding work in clearing the area around the cairns and creation of clear spaces for depositing stone as it was being excavated and removed from the cairns.

The first archaeological research was carried out on the northern cairn, which was called “Gusići I cairn” after the name of the village. It is worth mentioning that due to various rea-

tada u grobu bili nađeni kakvi prilozi). Bilo je govora da su u toj opljačkanoj cisti nađeni brončani predmeti, no ako ih je i bilo, nama oni nikad nisu predočeni. Pokušaji dalnjih nelegitimnih kopanja primijećeni su i na drugim dvama mjestima na gomili, no te druge dvije iskopane jame evidentno nisu pogodile mjesto ukopa pa smo tijekom 2016. g. tako u gomili Gusići i otkrili dvije netaknute grobne ciste (grobovi 2 i 3; sl. 6, 9). Valja napomenuti da su na velikoj većini rekognosciranih kamenih gomila na cetinskom području zabilježeni neuspjeli pokušaji uklanjanja eventualnih dragocjenih grobnih priloga, što se jasno vidi po iskopanim jamama na samim gomilama, koje su najčešće bile u središtu gomile (sl. 1–2). Ravne kamene ploče koje su činile pokrovnu konstrukciju samoga groba (grobne ciste) bile su u velikom broju slučajeva odvaljene u stranu, a u zapuni groba nije bilo ostataka kostiju niti bilo kakvih drugih arheoloških nalaza. Što se tiče zabilježenih slojeva izgradnje kamene gomile, u Gusićima smo zabilježili gornji (površinski) sloj sastavljen od većeg neobrađenog kamenja dužine 20 – 50 cm, čime ova gomila nalikuje gomili u Drinovcima.<sup>11</sup> Ispod njega slijedio je sloj koji se sastao od zemlje i sitnijeg kamenja, u kojem su se nalazili grobovi (kamene ciste).

Nakon uklanjanja prvog, gornjeg, sloja gomile Gusići I i sanacije ostataka narušenog centralnog groba (groba 1), uz pokrovni kamen groba 1 koji je bio opljačkan pronađene su životinjske kosti. Sav iskopani osteološki materijal poslije je predan na analizu u laboratorij Antropološkog centra HAZU-a iz čijeg izvještaja donosimo sve podatke u vezi s osteološkim materijalom.<sup>12</sup> Uz grob 1 iza odvaljene pokrovne kamene ploče nađena su 33 konjska zuba i oba petrozna dijela

sons the excavation of this pile is not completely finished, but final excavations are needed to reach the level of the bedrock.

The excavation revealed that the central grave (grave 1) was almost completely robbed, which can be seen in figures 3 and 5, so that a pit with a diameter of about 1.5 m was dug in the very middle of the cairn. The looters were lucky to dig into the part of the cairn where the central cist grave was situated. We do not have any trustworthy report that the grave contained any grave goods; there was a rumour that bronze daggers were found in it, but they were never shown to us. Since no other cist graves in the two Gusići cairns that we excavated contained any metal (a total of 6 cist graves, three in each cairn) we suspect that the rumour about bronze daggers is unfounded. We noticed attempts at further illegal excavations at another two locations in Gusići I, but in those two cases the looters had no luck in finding graves – in other words, they missed them. That was fortunate for our team, and during the 2016 season we unearthed two intact cist graves (graves 2 and 3; Fig. 6, 9). It is worth mentioning that on the vast majority of surveyed stone cairns in the Cetina region, unsuccessful attempts to remove possible precious grave goods were recorded, which can be clearly seen from the excavated pits on the cairns, most often in the center of the cairn (Fig. 1–2). The flat stone slabs that constituted the covering structure of the grave itself (grave cists) were in many cases rolled aside, and there were no remains of bones or any other archaeological finds in the filling of the grave. In Gusići cairn we detected two stratigraphical layers: the topmost layer was made up of large irregular stones, 20 – 50 cm long. In this aspect it resembles the above mentioned cairn from Drinovci.<sup>11</sup> Below this was a layer of smaller stones and earth; this was the layer in which cist graves were embedded.

<sup>11</sup> V. opis u: TOMAS 2017: 11.

<sup>12</sup> Zahvaljujemo prof. dr. sc. Mariju Šlausu što je zajedno sa svojim suradnicima obradio ovdje opisani koštani materijal i dopustio nam da rezultate njihove obrade objavimo u ovom članku.

<sup>11</sup> See description in: TOMAS 2017: 11.



**SLIKA 4.** Pokrovna kamera ploča groba 2 gomile Gusići I (snimio: J. Triplat)

**FIGURE 4** Cover stone of grave 2 at Gusići I (photo by: J. Triplat)

sljepoočne kosti konja.<sup>13</sup> U zapuni groba 1 nije pronađen osteološki materijal, no u samoj blizini tog opljačkanog groba u drugom sloju (sloj zemlje i sitnijeg kamenja) nađene su dislocirane kosti mandibule i zubi koji su mogli pripadati pokojniku iz centralnog opljačkanog groba, a čija je starost određena na 30 i više godina, dok se spol nije mogao odrediti. Uz navedeno, bilo je prisutno i nekoliko životinjskih kostiju.

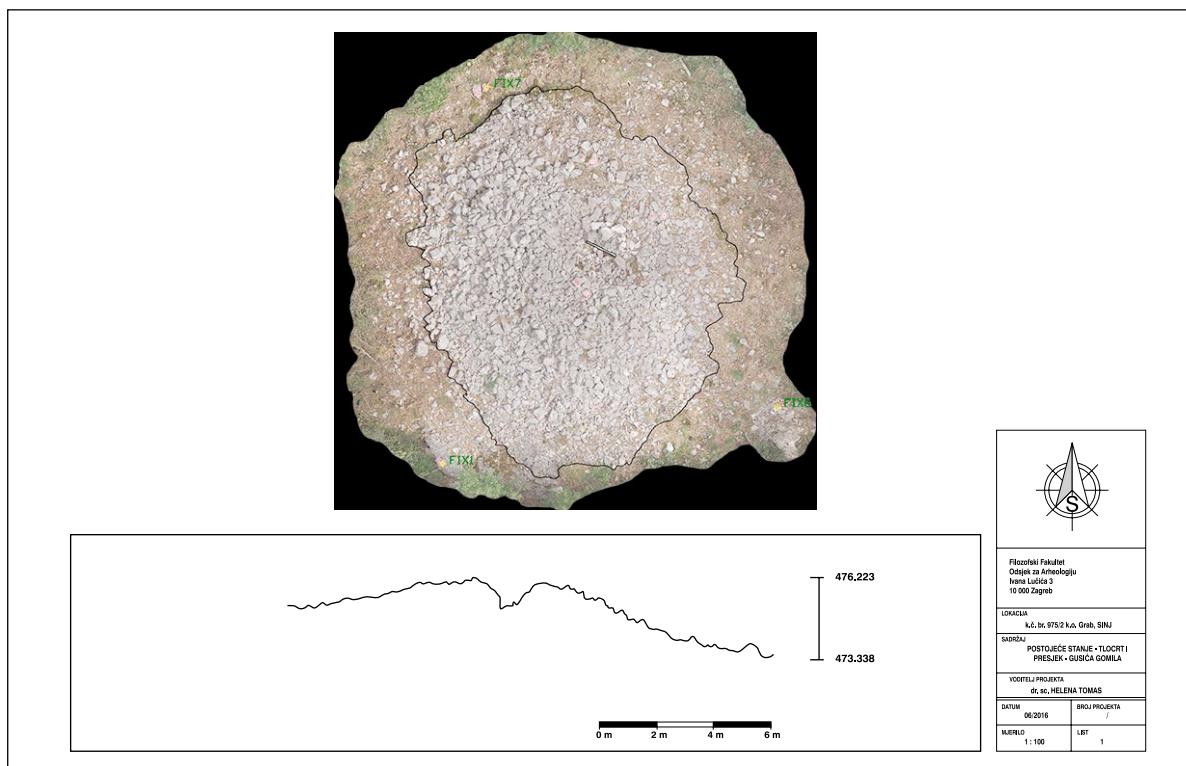
Nekoliko metara sjeverozapadno od groba 1 našli smo netaknutu grobnu cistu (grob 2) koja je također bila sagrađena od plonsnatih kamenih ploča te pokrivena većom amorfnom kamenom pločom (sl. 4–6). Na poslijetku je svega metar južno od groba 1 otkriven i treći grob s cistom građenom na istovjetan način. Zapune svih otkrivenih

<sup>13</sup> FORENBAHER (2023: 45) spominje da životinjske kosti nađene u nekim drugim gomilama, npr. u Pazhoku možda odražavaju ostatke životinja koje su činile dio obrednog rituala. Moguće je da su spomenuti zubi i kosti konja iz Gusića I također odraz sličnog rituala.

While clearing the area of the central, looted, grave of Gusići I we found remains of animal bones. All the excavated osteological material was later submitted for analysis to the laboratory of the Anthropological Center of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, from whose report we present all the data related to the osteological material.<sup>12</sup> Behind the broken-off cover slab removed from grave 1, 33 horse teeth and both petrous parts of the horse's temporal bone were found.<sup>13</sup> No osteological material was detected in the grave filling. However, near the looted grave, in the second layer (the layer of earth and smaller stones), dislocated human mandible bones and teeth were found that could have belonged

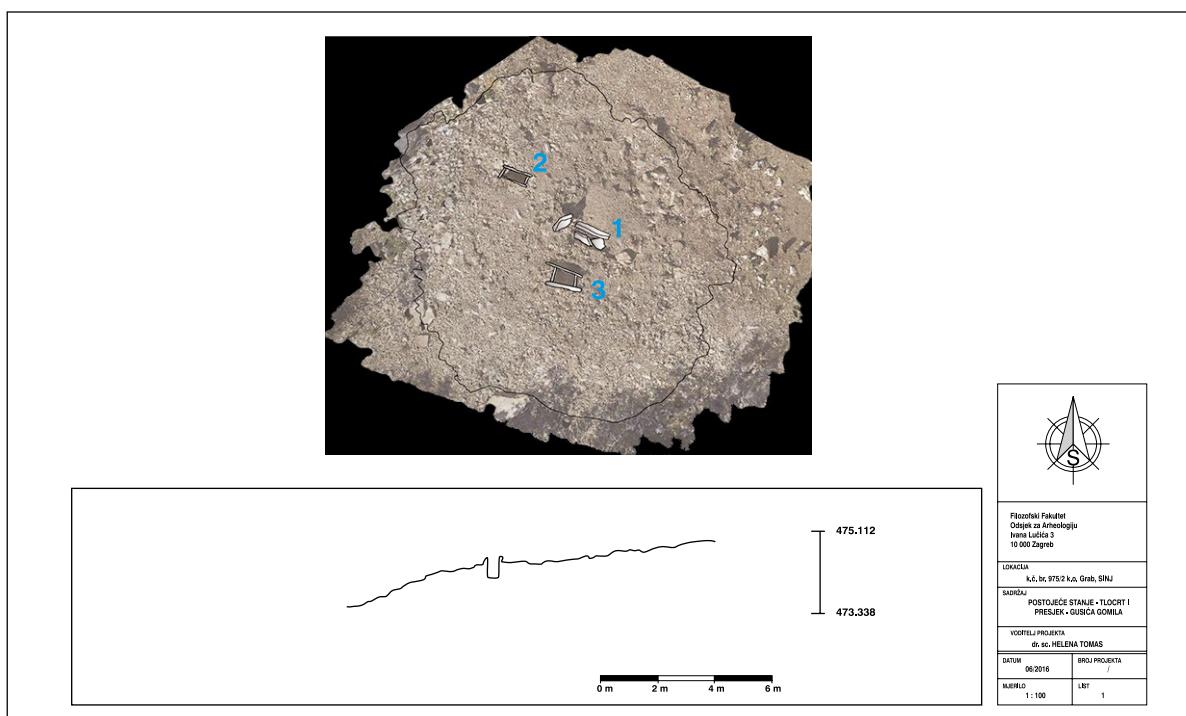
<sup>12</sup> We would like to thank prof. Mario Šlaus for the analysis of the mentioned osteological material and for allowing us to publish the data of that analysis in this paper.

<sup>13</sup> FORENBAHER (2023: 45) mentions animal bones discovered at some other cairns (e.g. at Pazhok) perhaps they are remains of some funerary ritual. It is possible that the animal remains from Gusići I reflect a similar practice of funerary ritual.



**SLIKA 5.** Tlocrt i presjek gomile Gusići I prije početka istraživanja 2016.g.; udubina vidljiva u presjeku je opljačkan grob 1 (izradio: M. Vuković)

**FIGURE 5** Plan and cross section of Gusići I before the trial excavation in 2016 – the depression visible in cross section is a looted grave 1 (made by: M. Vuković)



**SLIKA 6.** Plan i presjek gomile Gusići I po završetku iskopavanja 2016. g. (grobne ciste 1, 2, i 3 označene su brojevima u plavoj boji), pravokutna udubina vidljiva u presjeku je grobna cista (izradio: M. Vuković)

**FIGURE 6** Plan and cross section of Gusići I cairn upon at the completion of the 2016 excavation season (cist graves 1, 2 and 3 are marked by numbers in blue colour); the rectangular depression visible in cross section is the cist grave 2 (made by M. Vuković)

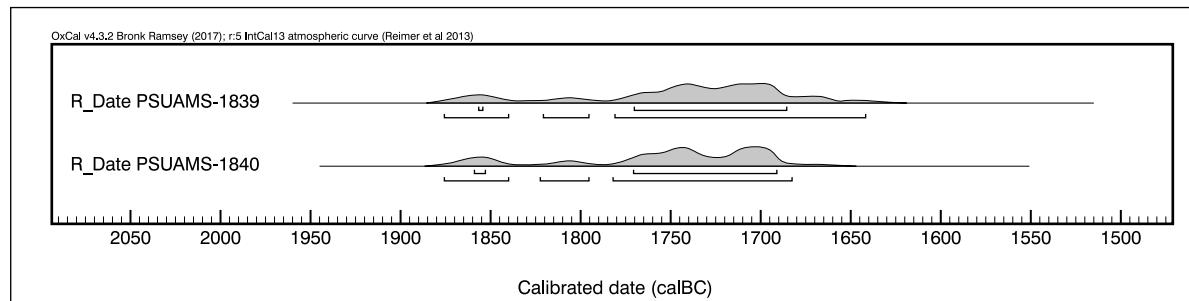


**SLIKA 7.** Sadržaj grobne ciste 3 gomile Gusići I nakon uklanjanja pokrovne ploče (snimila: H. Tomas)  
**FIGURE 7** Contents of grave 3 at Gusići I upon the removal of cover slab (photo by: H. Tomas)

grobova u pravilu su vrlo plitke, do 10 cm od dna. U grobu 2 pronađeni su relativno dobro uščuvani osteološki ostaci (kosti ruku te zubi gornje i donje čeljusti) najmanje troje djece te malih životinja. Riječ je o djeci starosti 9 – 10 godina, 6 – 7 godina, te novorođenčetu starom manje od 1 godine. U grobu 3 pronađeno je najviše osteološkog

to the deceased from the central looted grave: whose age was determined to be 30 years, while the gender could not be determined. In addition to these, several animal bones were found at this point.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> We would like to thank prof. Mario Šlaus once more for providing us with these data.



**SLIKA 8.** Rezultati C14 analiza kostiju groba 2 gomile Gusići I (izradio: Penn State laboratory)

**FIGURE 8** Results of the C<sup>14</sup> analysis of the material from cist grave 2 in the Gusići I cairn (calibrated dates) (made by: Penn State laboratory)

materijala (sl. 7): duge kosti udova, kosti lopatice, kosti rebara te zubi gornje čeljusti) za koje je utvrđeno da pripadaju ženi starosti 20 – 30 godina.

Nalazi keramike i metala u gomilama cetske doline vrlo su rijetki. Uломци manjih nedijagnostičkih fragmenata keramike u gomili Gusići I nađeni su većinom u plasti najvišeg njezina sloja (veće neobrađeno kamenje), a nađen je i recentniji metalni ulomak oštice. Keramički materijal, nažlost, nije bilo moguće pobliže datirati zbog nedostatka dijagnostičkih obilježja. No C<sup>14</sup> analiza kostiju grobnice 2 iz gomile Gusići I grobnicu datiraju u prvu polovicu 2. tisućljeća pr. Kr., točnije između 1950 i 1650. g. pr. n. e. (sl. 8).

Pronađene kosti ne pokazuju nikakve patološke promjene, a zubi ne upućuju na prisutnost karijesa ili drugih defekata, pa prema tome možemo reći da je prehrana ovih pokojnika bila zadovoljavajuća.<sup>14</sup> Ipak, s obzirom na njihovu malu starost u vrijeme smrti i priličnom broju djece pokopane u opisanim grobovima, pretpostavljamo da je kvaliteta života bila slaba, vjerojatno su bile prisutne bolesti, koje nisu ostavile traga na nabrojenim pronadjenim kostima. Detaljnije analize osteološkog materijala iz ove gomile bile bi veoma korisne, recimo DNK analiza koja bi nam mogla reći jesu li kosti mlade žene iz groba 3 moguće ostaci majke djece

A couple of metres to the south-west of grave 1 we found an intact grave 2, constructed as typical cist grave, with flat stone slabs walling the grave and another slab covering it (Fig. 4, 6). Finally, only a meter to the south of grave 1 we found an intact cist grave 3. The fillings of the two intact graves were shallow, only about 10 cm from the bottom. Relatively well-preserved osteological remains (hand bones, maxillary and mandibular teeth) of at least three children and small animals were found in grave 2. These children were aged 9–10, 6–7, and there was a newborn less than one year old. The osteological remains in grave 3 (Fig. 7) consisted of long bones of arms and legs, scapular bones, rib bones and maxillary teeth, determined to belong to a female aged 20–30 years.

Pottery and metal objects are rarely found in cairns of the Cetina valley. Small and undiagnostic pottery fragments were found in the mantle of the topmost layer of Gusići I. There we also found a fragment of a metal blade, but it was a modern piece. The mentioned pottery fragments could not be determined chronologically, since they had no diagnostic features. However, bones from the grave 2 were well enough preserved for C<sup>14</sup> analysis, which placed the grave in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. more precisely between 1950 and 1650 B.C.E. (Fig. 8).

The bones found do not show any pathological changes, and the teeth do not indicate the presence of caries or other defects, so we can say that the nutrition of these deceased

<sup>14</sup> Iskoristili bi još jednom priliku i zahvalili prof. dr. sc. Mariju Šlausu na ovim podatcima.



SLIKA 9. Izgled gomile Gusići I po završetku iskopavanja 2016. godine (snimila: H. Tomas)

FIGURE 9 Cairn Gusići I upon the completion of the excavation in 2016. (photo by: H. Tomas)



SLIKA 10. Gomila Gusići II prije početka iskopavanja 2016. (snimila: H. Tomas)

FIGURE 10 Gusići II cairn prior to the beginning of excavation in 2016 (photo by: H. Tomas)

pokopane u grobu 2.<sup>15</sup>

Kao što je navedeno prije, potpuno iskopavanje gomile nije još dovršeno. Preostaje rastaviti otkrivene kamene ciste (sl. 9) i spustiti se do žive stijene. Kao što je ustanovio Ivan Marović, pripadnici cetinske kulture katkad su svoje gomile znali graditi na sloju fragmenata cetinske keramike.<sup>16</sup> U gomili Gusići I nije nađen ni jedan fragment keramike koji bi se dao povezati s cetinskom kulturom. No, po rastavljanju grobnih cista možda bismo ispod njih imali sreće naći takve cetinske ulomke. Na temelju topografske karte bilo je zanimljivo primjetiti da je većina gomila u dolini Cetine bila smještena na brežuljcima s kojih se pruža dobar pogled na rijeku. Ako prihvatimo mogućnost da bi naselja bila smještena uz rijeku, možda se iz položaja gomila koje, kao da „nadgledaju“ dolinu može iščitati eventualna simbolična slika pokojnika koji nadziru svoje potomke u eventualnim naseljima uz rijeku.

U selu Gusićima istražili smo još jednu gomilu (Gusići gomila II) (sl. 10) koja je svega stotinjak metara udaljena od gomile Gusići I. U njoj smo otkrili tri netaknute kamene ciste s dobro uščuvanim kostima (sl. 11–12).<sup>17</sup> Ni u ovoj gomili nije bilo grobnih priloga. Središnja kamena cista gomile bila je veoma impozantna. Njezinu pokrovnu ploču (sl. 13) uspjeli smo ukloniti tek nakon višednevnog i mukotrpnog truda velike skupine sudionika istraživanja. Takva impozan-

was satisfactory. However, considering their young age at the time of death and the considerable number of children buried in the described graves, we assume that the quality of life was poor; diseases were probably present, which did not leave a mark on the listed bones found. A more detailed study of the osteological material from this site would be very useful, for example a DNA analysis of bones from graves 2 and 3, which could reveal if the bones of a young woman from grave 3 were remains of the mother of one or more children whose bones were discovered in grave 2.<sup>15</sup>

For various reasons the excavation of Gusići I has not been completed. The remaining tasks include dismantling of cist graves (Fig. 9) and excavation of the remaining layers of the cairn down to the bedrock or virgin soil. Ivan Marović established that the Cetina culture cairns were in some cases built on top of a layer/stratum of fragmentary Cetina culture pottery.<sup>16</sup> As mentioned above, so far excavation of the Gusići cairns has not brought to light a single pottery fragment that relates to Cetina culture. But on the basis of earlier excavations in Cetina valley by I. Marović, there is hope that the dismantling of cist graves and continued excavation of the two cairns discussed in this paper may change that picture. It was interesting to observe on the topographic map that most cairns in the Cetina valley were positioned on hill tops or hill ridges with an excellent view of the river. If we accept that the settlements would have been located along the river, this positioning of cairns could have a symbolic meaning, e.

<sup>15</sup> Za potrebe takve analize sav osteološki materijal predan je prof. Philippu Stockhameru na Sveučilištu u Münchenu.

<sup>16</sup> Forenbaher nam spominje da su se dodatni ukopi znali naći u jamama nad kojima su bile podignute gomile. On navodi primjer gomile kod Rakića Kuća, pod kojom su u jami nađeni ulomci kostura djeteta uz koji su bile odložene antropomorfne figurine (FORENBAHER 2023: 28, 41). Primjeri poput ovoga govore nam da je pod dosad otkopanim slojevima dviju gomila u Gusićima moguće naći i daljnje ukope.

<sup>17</sup> Taj osteološki materijal obrađuje dr. sc. Anna Osterholtz sa Sveučilišta u Mississipiju i njezine rezultate još iščekujemo. Preliminarna obrada kostiju provodena tijekom njihovog vađenja iz cista govori da je gomila Gusići II sadržavala inhumacije oko 10 različitih individua. Njihove su kosti u cistama bile izmiješane.

<sup>15</sup> For the purposes of such an analysis, all osteological material was sent to prof. Philipp Stockhammer at the University of Munich.

<sup>16</sup> Forenbaher claims that in some case additional burials were found in crevices in rocks on top of which cairns were built. As an example he mentions cairns at the site of Rakića Kuća. There, in a crevice below the cairn, bones of a child were deposited together with anthropomorphic figurines (FORENBAHER 2023: 28, 41). Such examples indicate that the final excavations of the two cairns in Gusići might reveal further discoveries, such as additional burials.



**SLIKA 11.** Prof. Anna Osterholtz tijekom vađenja kostiju iz grobnica gomile Gusići II (snimila: H. Tomas)  
**FIGURE 11** Prof. Anna Osterholtz during the process of pulling out the bones from cist graves at Gusići II (photo by: H. Tomas)



**SLIKA 12.** Sadržaj grobnice 2 gomile Gusići II (snimila: H. Tomas)

**FIGURE 12** Contents of grave 2 at Gusići II (photo by: H. Tomas)



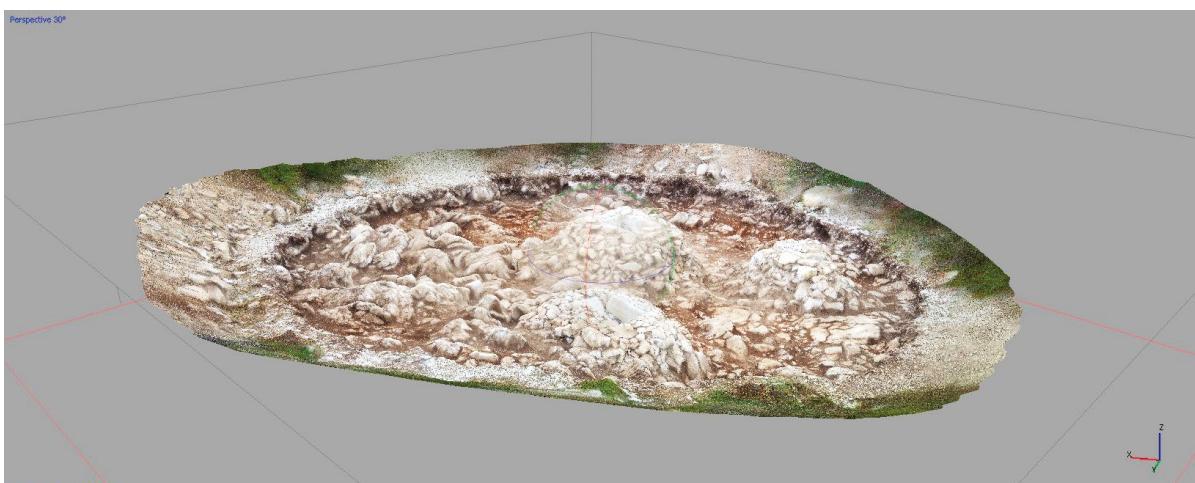
**SLIKA 13.** Sudionici iskopavanja na uklonjenoj pokrovnoj kamenoj ploči središnjeg groba gomile Gusići II (snimio: J. Triplat)

**FIGURE 13** Participants of the excavation on the removed cover stone slab of the central grave at Gusići II (photo by: J. Triplat)



**SLIKA 14.** Položaj gomile Gusići II u krajoliku (snimio: M. Vuković)

**FIGURE 14** The position of the Gusići II cairn in the surrounding landscape (photo by: M. Vuković)



**SLIKA 15.** 3-D model gomile Gusići II po završetku iskopavanja (izradio: M. Vuković)

**FIGURE 15** A 3-D model of Gusići II upon the completion of excavation in 2016 (made by: M. Vuković)

tnost grobne strukture sugerira da je u njoj mogao biti ukopan pokojnik višeg staleža, možda čelnik zajednice. Grobni prilozi veće vrijednosti išli bi u prilog takvoj interpretaciji, ali, nažalost, kao što je već navedeno, grobnih priloga nije bilo uopće. Bez obzira na nedostatak priloga, impresivni su trud i resursi koje je zahtijevala gradnja takve grobnice (pod resursima misli se na gotovo megalitske<sup>18</sup> kamene ploče grobnih cista,

g. that the deceased ancestors were placed/buried in positions from which they could metaphorically observe and protect their offspring in the supposed settlements by the river.

In the village of Gusići we investigated another cairn (Gusići II cairn) (Fig. 10) which is only about a hundred meters away from Gusići I cairn. Gusići II cairn has revealed three cist graves, built in the same manner. All three were intact. These also contained no grave goods, but osteological remains were numerous and

<sup>18</sup> Stašo Forenbaher gomile opisuje kao najstarije poznate



**SLIKA 16.** Zračna snimka gomile Gusići II po završetku probnih iskopavanja (snimio: M. Vuković)

**FIGURE 16** An aerial image of Gusići II once all cist graves were uncovered and emptied (photo by: M. Vuković)

pogotovo one horizontalne koje su ih pokrivali) (sl. 14–16). Zasad nam je nemoguće ustvrditi njihovu provenijenciju, ali očito je da je napor za njihovu dopremu i postavljanje bio golem, što govori o gospodarskoj i radnoj moći zajednice (engleski termin je *energy expenditure*) koja je gomilu konstruirala. Ni u jednom sloju plašta dviju gomila u Gusićima nismo primijetili tragove rasutih spaljenih ostataka pokojnika, što je jedna od karakteristika ukopa u gomilama istočnoga Jadrana,<sup>19</sup> a ponekad su i sami fragmenti keramike bili razasuti kroz plašt;<sup>20</sup> ni ova druga pojava nije primijećena u gomilama u Gusićima. Također, u Gusićima nismo primijetili ukope naknadno dodane u gomilu. Naime, u dolini Cetine gomile su se znale rabiti tijekom dužeg vremenskog razdoblja, tako su

well preserved (Fig. 11–12).<sup>17</sup> Neither this cairn yielded grave goods. The central cist grave was indeed impressive. Its covering stone slab was large, and so heavy that it took us days of hard work by a large group of the excavation team and several workmen to move it off the grave (Fig. 13). Such a magnificent cover obviously suggests that it was the grave of a highly positioned member of the community, perhaps of a chieftain. The effort that must have been invested in obtaining and positioning this nearly megalithic<sup>18</sup> cover slab gave us hope of uncovering a grave richly furnished with goods. But to our huge disappointment we found it empty, except for remains of a male burial. This central grave had not been looted; we found it intact, so obviously the person was buried

monumentalne građevine na Jadranu (FORENBAHER 2023: 17).

<sup>19</sup> Incineracija je karakteristična za neke gomile cetinske kulture (FORENBAHER 2023: 49); za obred spaljivanja pokojnika v. KUKOČ 2009.

<sup>20</sup> FORENBAHER 2023: 22, 28, 34.

<sup>17</sup> They are being studied and analysed by prof. Anna Osterholtz, Mississippi State University. Her preliminary observations suggest that perhaps 10 different individuals were buried in Gusići II cairn. Their bones were mixed up in cist graves.

<sup>18</sup> Stašo Forenbaher takes stone cairns as the earliest monumental buildings of the Adriatic area (FORENBAHER 2023: 17).



**SLIKA 17.** 3-D model Kukine gomile (izradio: M. Vuković)  
**FIGURE 17** 3-D model of the Kuko cairn (made by: M. Vuković)



**SLIKA 18.** Presjek Kukine gomile (izradio: M. Vuković)  
**FIGURE 18** A cross section of the Kuko cairn (made by: M Vuković)

se u plašt znali dodati kasniji ukopi koji nisu morali biti povezani s inicijalnim ukopima u grobnim cistama gomile.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> FORENBAHER 2023: 10, 19, 22, 23, 25, 29.

without any grave goods. Despite the lack of grave goods, the resources expended in obtaining the nearly megalithic stone slabs that walled and covered the cist graves and in constructing the two cairns described in this paper are truly



**SLIKA 19.** Pogled na vegetacijom obrisalu Kukinu gomilu slikano s bedema moguće gradine nad selom Gilići u Krivodolu (snimila: H. Tomas)

**FIGURE 19** Kuko cairn visible from the drystone fortification wall of the hillfort above the hamlet of Gilići in Krivodol (photo by: H. Tomas)



**SLIKA 20.** Kukina gomila – na njenom vrhu stoji vlasnik okolnoga zemljišta, Damir Gilić (snimila: H. Tomas)

**FIGURE 20** Kuko cairn (with the owner of the surrounding land, Damir Gilić standing on top of it) (photo by: H. Tomas)

## ZAKLJUČAK

Gomile u Gusićima nisu zasebna pojava, proučavajući dostupne zračne i satelitske snimke, otkrili smo čitav niz kamenih gomila koje se nalaze na području Krivodola. Za sada smo ih evidentirali desetak, a njihov detaljniji pregled i opis nam tek slijedi. Uz same gomile, važno je spomenuti i ostatke suhozidnog bedema između zaselaka Gilića i Kuka (Prilog 1), koji bi mogli biti sastavni dio prapovijesnog naselja. Neposredno uz bedeme nalaze se barem dvije kamene gomile.

Važno je također spomenuti da se na prostoru Krivodola nalaze još i dvije arheološki zanimljive pozicije koje bi također mogle označavati lokaciju prapovijesnog naselja, Gradina i Glavica. Arheološki krajolik Krivodola kojim dominiraju prapovijesne strukture sastavni je dio šireg krajolika jugoistočnog dijela doline rijeke Cetine. Riječ je o tranzitnom području s prirodnim komunikacijskim rutama koje povezuje područje današnje Hercegovine s cetinskim krajem. Komunikacijske rute na tom području danas, a čini se i u antičkom periodu, prolaze kraj naselja Velića<sup>22</sup> i pokraj utvrde Čačvina, prema Vrpolju i granici prema Bosni i Hercegovini. Moguće je da je u prapovijesti postojala i druga ruta koja se pružala od Graba, preko Krivodola, Ljuta i Voštana prema prostoru današnje Hercegovine. Ovoj teoriji, za čije je potvrđivanje potrebno još mnogo istraživanja, ide u prilog i činjenica da se na toj ruti nalazi još nekoliko važnijih prapovijesnih lokaliteta: gradina iznad Graba,<sup>23</sup> gradina u Ljutu,<sup>24</sup> gradina Jelinak.<sup>25</sup> Nedavna daljinska i zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u obližnjim Vedrinama pokazala su impozantnu razinu očuvanosti prapovijesnih struktura u istim geomorfološkim uvjetima kakve nala-

impressive (Fig. 14–16). We could not determine where the stone slabs were quarried and brought from, but the work force needed must have been enormous. Transportation of the stone needed for building the cairn must have been even more laborious and time consuming. In neither of the two cairns at Gusići did we notice incinerated remains scattered in the cairn mantles (a feature present in some cairns of the Cetina culture),<sup>19</sup> occasionally the pottery fragments were also scattered in the mantle;<sup>20</sup> the latter feature was not present in Gusići either. In some cases additional burials were inserted into the mantle of some cairns, that could be much later and unrelated to the burials in cist graves<sup>21</sup> That feature was not detected in the case of the Gusići cairns.

## CONCLUSION

The two Gusići cairns are not an isolated feature. The aerial survey and satellite imagery of the Krivodol area has revealed at least another 10 cairns. In addition to cairns, it is important to mention the remains of a dry stone rampart between the hamlets of Gilići and Kuko (Appendix 1), which could be an integral part of the prehistoric settlement. At least two stone cairns are located next to the ramparts.

In addition to the numerous cairns in the area of Krivodol, there is another interesting feature, a dry stone fortification wall between the hamlets of Gilići and Kuko (see Appendix 1). This wall may have been part of a prehistoric settlement. There are at least two cairns in the immediate vicinity of the wall. In the area of Krivodol there are two additional locations of archaeological interest; these are called Gradina and Glavica and perhaps they are also remnants of the prehistoric habitation of the area. The archaeolog-

<sup>22</sup> TONČINIĆ 2020.

<sup>23</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 251.

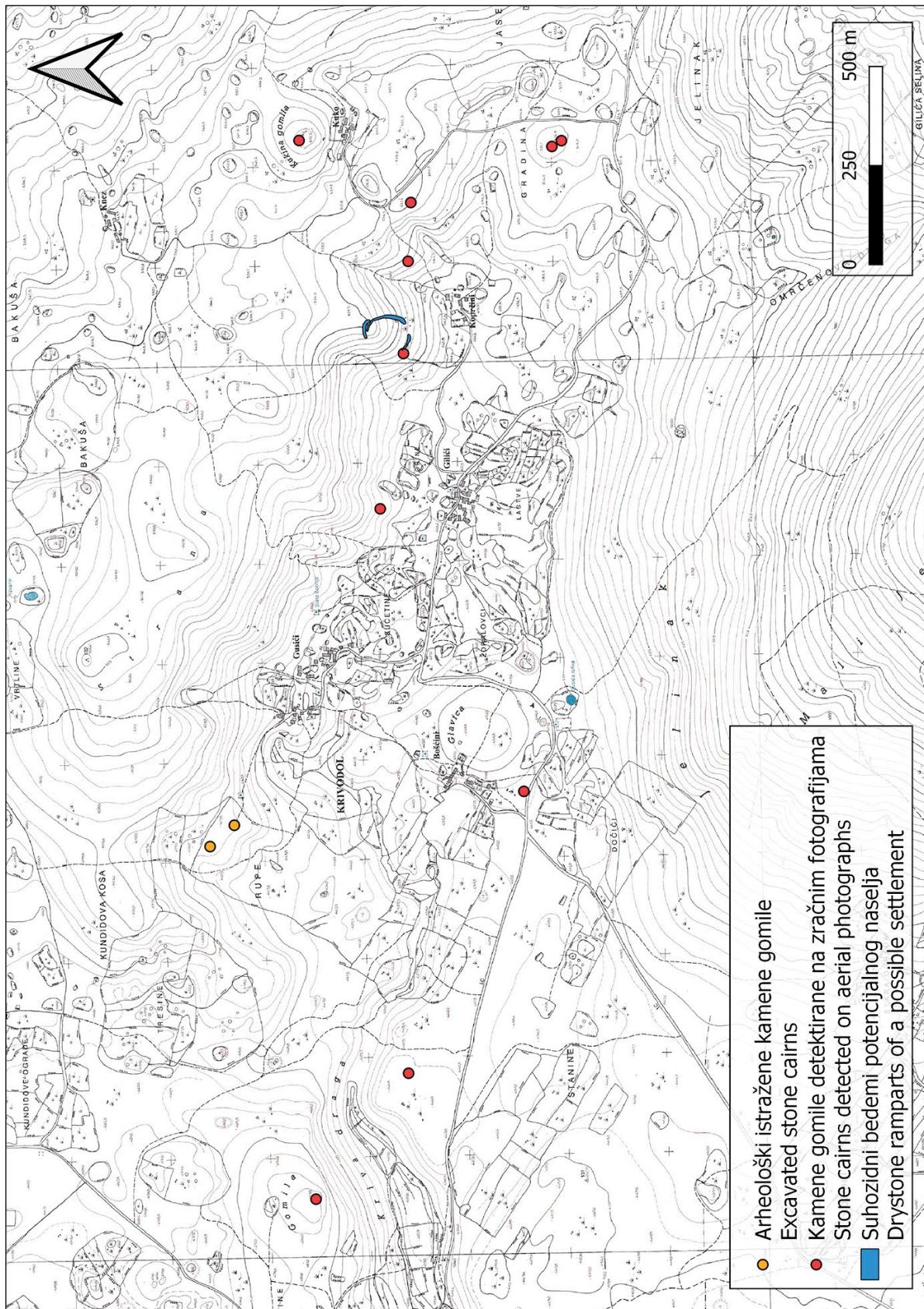
<sup>24</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 252.

<sup>25</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 258.

<sup>19</sup> Cremation is characteristic of some cairns of the Cetina culture (FORENBAHER 2023: 49); for the practice of cremation in the Adriatic area see KUKOĆ 2009.

<sup>20</sup> FORENBAHER 2023: 22, 28, 34.

<sup>21</sup> FORENBAHER 2023: 10, 19, 22, 23, 25, 29.



PRILOG 1. Topografija područja Krivodola kraj Trilja (izradio: M. Vuković)  
APPENDIX 1 Topographic map of the Krivodol area near Trilj (made by: M. Vuković)

zimo na prostoru Krivodola i demonstrirala učinkovitost primjene daljinskih istraživanja i pristupa prostoru koji počiva na načelima arheologije krajolika.<sup>26</sup> Smatramo da je prostor Krivodola jedan od ključnih elemenata u arheološkoj interpretaciji južnog dijela doline rijeke Cetine, te da će daljnja arheološka istraživanja potvrditi naše teorije o širem funkciranju krajolika u prapovijesti. Napomenimo na samom kraju da je u blizini zaseoka Gilići – Kuko, također u Krivodolu, zabilježena dosad najveća gomila uočena tijekom rekognosciranja Projekta CeVas (tzv. Kukina gomila). Promjer joj je između 15 i 20 m, a visina oko 4 – 5 m (sl. 17–20).

ical landscape of Krivodol, which is obviously marked by prehistoric structures, belongs to a wider landscape of the south-eastern part of the Cetina valley, which is a transit area with natural communication routes connecting the valley with the region of Herzegovina. In the antiquity those routes passed by the settlement of Velić<sup>22</sup> and by the fort of Čačvina, towards Vrpolje and the present day state border of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is quite possible that in prehistoric times there was an alternative route leading from Grab, across Krivodol, Ljut and Voštane, towards Herzegovina. To confirm the theory of this alternative route further archaeological investigation is needed. Yet already it is supported by the presence of several hillforts that lie along this proposed route: a hillfort above Grab,<sup>23</sup> a hillfort at Ljut<sup>24</sup> and a hillfort at Jelinak.<sup>25</sup> Recent remote and rescue archaeological investigation in the nearby area of Vedrine has revealed a significant stage of preservation of prehistoric structures in geomorphological conditions that strikingly resemble the conditions of the Krivodol area. They have also demonstrated the efficiency of remote sensing investigation in the field of landscape archaeology.<sup>26</sup> We believe that the area of Krivodol represents one of the crucial elements for the archaeological interpretation of the role of the southern part of the Cetina valley, and that further related archaeological investigation of the area will confirm our idea that Krivodol played a crucial role in the prehistoric landscape of this part of the Cetina valley. Finally, let us mention that by the hamlet of Gilići-Kuko, also in Krivodol, the largest cairn (Kukina gomila) has been registered during the CeVaS project; it has a diameter of ca. 30 m, and is about 3–4 m high (Fig. 17–20).

*Translation: Helena Tomas*

<sup>22</sup> TONČINIĆ 2020.

<sup>23</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 251.

<sup>24</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 252.

<sup>25</sup> MILOŠEVIĆ 1998: 258

<sup>26</sup> VUKOVIĆ et al. 2023

<sup>26</sup> VUKOVIĆ et. al. 2023.

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