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Boban TRIPKOVIĆ

# KONTINUITETI KUĆA I DOMAĆINSTAVA NA SREDIŠNJEMU BALKANU OD 5300. DO 4600. G. PR. N. E.

## HOUSE(HOLD) CONTINUITIES IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS, 5300-4600 BC

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

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*Izgradnja i napuštanje kuće predstavljaju dva kraja istoga procesa i dešifriranje pojedinačnih epizoda tijekom upotrebe građevine može predstavljati dobru osnovu za razumijevanje promjena u veličini i organizaciji domaćinstva. Obnova kuće ili dogradnja nove prostorije, obnova poda ili izgradnja nove peći i nov malterni premaz na zidovima kuće samo su neke od arheološki prepoznatljivih promjena tijekom upotrebe građevine. Dakle može se očekivati da se promjene u veličini domaćinstva mogu sagledati uspostavljanjem zakonomjernoga odnosa između faza socijalne reprodukcije domaćinstva i strukturnih promjena na građevini u kojoj ono živi. U nastavku teksta ta je ideja detaljnije obrazložena na primjeru kasnoga neolitika/ranoga eneolitika na središnjemu Balkanu (vinčanska kultura) predstavljajući vrijeme od oko 5300. do 4600. g. pr. n. e.*

*Ključne riječi: vinčanska kultura, kuća, domaćinstvo, kućna grupa, socijalna reprodukcija, kontinuitet*

*The construction and abandonment of houses are two terminal points in the same process, and decoding individual episodes during the use of a structure may constitute a sound basis for understanding changes in the size and organization of households. The renovation of houses or the additional construction of new rooms, the renovation of floors or construction of a new oven and new plaster on the walls are only some of the archeologically recognizable changes during the use of a structure. Therefore, one may expect that changes in the size of a household may be reflected in the establishment of a standardized relationship between phases of social reproduction of a household and structural change in the building in which it resides. In the text, this idea is explained in greater detail using the example of the Late Neolithic/Early Eneolithic in the Central Balkans (Vinča culture), covering the time span from 5300 to 4600 BC.*

*Key words: Vinča culture, house, household, domestic group, social reproduction, continuity*

### UVOD

Domaćinstvo je najmanja međukulturno prepoznata društvena grupa. Pripadnici domaćinstva (najčešće)

### INTRODUCTION

A household is the smallest interculturally recognized social group. The members of a household

dijele isti stambeni prostor, (najčešće) su povezani srodstvom i po pravilu su usmjereni ostvarenju zajedničkih ciljeva (Yanagisako 1979; Hammel 1984). Međutim oni ne moraju biti sustanari ili srodnici i domaćinstvo se u značenjskome smislu nikako ne smije poistovjetiti s obitelji. Primarna je uloga domaćinstva funkcija bilo ono obitelj ili ne, za razliku od obitelji čija je primarna funkcija reprodukcija (Yanagisako 1979; Netting, Wilk & Arnould 1984). Među njima se često ne može uspostaviti distinkcija, što se naročito očituje u društvima u kojima se prakticira život u nuklearnim obiteljima. U tradicionalnim sredinama, gdje je život u većim domaćinstvima uobičajena pojava, veza domaćinstva i srodstva također je neizbježna. Na primjer u etnografiji i antropologiji klasifikacija domaćinstava uvijek je utemeljena na strukturi srodničkih odnosa tako da se kao uobičajeni tipovi, osim "nuklearne" obitelji, najčešće navode "proširena", "velika" i "kompleksna" obitelj te "višeobiteljsko domaćinstvo" (Blanton 1994). Uzimajući to u obzir, postaje jasno da svaka uopćena komparativna studija domaćinstava u prošlosti zanemaruje njihove unutrašnje razlike koje nisu male. Osim toga pri izučavanju domaćinstava postoji zasad nerješiv problem njihove jasne fizičke identifikacije. Domaćinstvo se tradicionalno poistovjećuje s kućom, iako su iznesena brojna zapažanja da u jednoj građevini može biti nastanjeno više obitelji isto kao što jedno domaćinstvo ili obitelj mogu zauzimati više građevina (Kramer 1982: 665; Hayden & Canon 1982: 145–147; Wilk 1983: 100; Carter 1984: 53–54; Hammel 1984: 36; Brown 1987: 11; Kent 1990; Allison 1999: 5).

Proučavanje veličine domaćinstva u prapovijesnim naseljima utemeljeno je na rudimentarnome Narrollovu istraživanju. On je na osnovi etnografskoga uzorka od osamnaest društava došao do zaključka da je prosječna veličina populacije jedan stanovnik na svakih 10 m<sup>2</sup> "površine pod krovom" (Narroll 1962). Taj korespondentan odnos između veličine građevine i veličine kućne grupe, poznat kao Narrollova konstanta, imao je mnoge implikacije na kasnija demografska istraživanja (Soudsky 1962; Milisauskas 1972), ali nije prošao bez kritike. Najveće zamjerke odnosile su se na nemogućnost primjene iste formule na različite sociokulturne kontekste i naročito na ograničenu mogućnost upotrebe u prapovijesnome kontekstu u kojemu su kao uzorak najčešće dostupni naselje, dijelovi naselja ili čak pojedinačne građevine (LeBlanc 1971; Casselberry 1974; Wiessner 1974; Wilk 1983; Colb 1985). Ostale kritike odnosile su se na način obračunavanja površine kućnoga poda, pri čemu se ukazivalo na to da površina pod krovom uključuje i nestambene prostorije u kući ili čak pomoćne objekte

(most often) share the same residential space, are (most often) bonded by kinship and are, as a rule, oriented toward the achievement of common ends (Yanagisako 1979; Hammel 1984). However, they need not be cohabitants nor blood relatives, and a household, in terms of definition, should not be equated with the family. The primary role of a household is to function, whether a family or not, as opposed to a family in which the primary function is reproduction (Yanagisako 1979; Netting, Wilk & Arnould 1984). Often a distinction cannot be drawn between them, which is particularly apparent in societies in which life proceeds in nuclear families. In traditional communities, where life in larger households is a normal phenomenon, the tie between families and kinship is also inevitable. Based on the example of ethnography and anthropology, the classification of households is always grounded in the structure of kinship ties, so that the customary types, besides the "nuclear" family, are most often the "extended", "large" and "complex" families, and the "multi-family household" (Blanton 1994). Taking this into consideration, it becomes clear that each generalized comparative study of households in the past overlooks their internal differences, which were not minor. Additionally, in the study of households there is the thus far insoluble problem of their unambiguous physical identification. A household is traditionally equated with the house, even though numerous observations have been made to the effect that several families may dwell in the same building or a single family may occupy several buildings (Kramer 1982: 665; Hayden & Canon 1982: 145–147; Wilk 1983: 100; Carter 1984: 53–54; Hammel 1984: 36; Brown 1987: 11; Kent 1990; Allison 1999: 5).

Study of the size of households in prehistoric settlements is based on Narroll's rudimentary research. On the basis of ethnographic samples from eighteen societies, he came to the conclusion that the average size of a population is one inhabitant per every 10 m<sup>2</sup> "of roofed space" (Narroll 1962). This corresponding relationship between the size of a building and the size of a household group, known as Narroll's constant, had many implications for subsequent demographic research (Soudsky 1962; Milisauskas 1972), but it did not evade criticism. The most significant criticisms pertained to the impossibility of applying the same formula to different socio-cultural contexts and particularly to the limited possibility of its use in the prehistoric context, in which the most commonly available samples are settlements, portions thereof or even individual buildings (LeBlanc 1971; Casselberry 1974; Wiessner 1974; Wilk 1983; Colb 1985). Other criticisms concerned the method for computing the

i javne građevine, što mora imati određen utjecaj na veličinu populacije (Brown 1987). Tako su razvijene druge formule (Wiessner 1974; Colb 1985; Brown 1987), ali bitne promjene u metodi nije bilo jer se prosječna veličina domaćinstva, odnosno zajednice, i dalje svodila na vrijednost koja ovisi o veličini stambenoga prostora, čime se negira važnost drukčijega kulturnog konteksta.

Međutim prikupljanjem etnografskih podataka uočena su dva fenomena koja uz nužnu teorijsku ogradu mogu biti polazište svakoga budućeg rada. Ona se svode na zapažanje da u kućama do 60 m<sup>2</sup> stanuju mala domaćinstva, odnosno nuklearne obitelji, dok su kuće iznad 100 m<sup>2</sup> uglavnom nastanjene višeobiteljskim domaćinstvima (Brown 1987). Već se na prvi pogled slična korelacija može uspostaviti između monumentalnih građevina u srednjoeuropske neolitiku i istodobnih i znatno manjih kuća u jugoistočnoj Europi, što upućuje na regionalne kulturne standarde u veličini i organizaciji domaćinstava (Whittle 1996; Borić 2008). Ipak, u kontekstu prapovijesnih građevina neophodna je pažljiva primjena navedenih vrijednosti, i to zbog više razloga. Prvo, u arheološkoj evidenciji mnoge građevine ili neki njihovi dijelovi uopće ne moraju imati stambeni karakter, nego služe kao radionice, skladišni prostor ili neki drugi pomoćni objekt, a često i za smještaj stoke. Drugo, domaćinstva, odnosno obitelji, nalaze se u različitim fazama razvoja (osnivanje domaćinstva, dobivanje djece, život više generacija u istoj kući, zajednički život više domaćinstava ili obitelji), pa povezivanje tako kompleksnoga socijalnog procesa s dimenzijama jedne ili građevine ili nekoliko njih pokazuje ozbiljne nedosljednosti.

Ako se promatra arheološka evidencija, tada se veličina domaćinstva zasad najbolje može sagledati na osnovi poznatoga modela kuće s lokaliteta Platia Magoula Zarkou u kojemu se nalazilo osam figurica od pečene gline predstavljajući, kako se pretpostavlja, jednu obitelj, odnosno domaćinstvo (Gallis 1985). Kako razumjeti strukturu toga domaćinstva? Jesu li predstavljene dvije ili tri generacije ukućana? I smije li se uopće tvrditi da su pripadnici toga domaćinstva bili u srodstvu? Dok se takvom interpretacijom može riješiti problem fizičke nevidljivosti domaćinstva, i dalje se ne mogu sagledati važne promjene tijekom ciklusa biološke i socijalne reprodukcije. Je li na primjer broj stanovnika nakon izgradnje kuće bio jednak broju stanovnika u vrijeme destrukcije i napuštanja kuće?

Ideja ovoga rada utemeljena je na stavu da određivanje veličine prapovijesnoga domaćinstva ne bi smjelo predstavljati istraživački kompromis između domaćinstva koje je kuću nastanilo i onoga koje je kuću napustilo. Izgradnja i napuštanje kuće

surface of house floors, wherein it was noted that the roofed spaces encompassed non-residential rooms in the house or even auxiliary structures and public buildings, which had to have some impact on size of a population (Brown 1987). Other formulas were therefore developed (Wiessner 1974; Colb 1985; Brown 1987), but no essential changes to the method were made, for the average size of a household, or community, remained restricted to a value which depends on the size of the residential space, thereby negating the importance of any different cultural context.

However, during collection of ethnographic data, two phenomena were observed which—with the requisite theoretical limits—may serve as a point of departure for any future work. These come down to the observation that small households (nuclear families) reside in houses with a maximum space of 60 m<sup>2</sup>, while houses exceeding 100 m<sup>2</sup> are generally occupied by multi-family households (Brown 1987). Already at first glance a similar correlation may be drawn between the monumental buildings of the Central European Neolithic and the coterminous and considerably smaller houses in South-east Europe, which points to regional cultural standards in the size and organization of households (Whittle 1996; Borić 2008). Nonetheless, in the context of prehistoric buildings, careful application of these values is essential for several reasons. First, many buildings or parts thereof in the archaeological evidence need not have a residential character at all, rather they served as workshops, storage space or some other auxiliary function, and often even for the accommodation of livestock. Second, households, or families, undergo different developmental phases (establishment of household, birth of children, several generations living in same house, shared living among several households or families), so the linkage of such a complex social process with dimensions of one or several buildings indicates serious inconsistencies.

If the archaeological evidence is examined, then the size of households can best be perceived on the basis of known models of houses from the Platia Magoula Zarkou site, in which there were eight figurines made of baked clay which represented—as it is assumed—a single family, or household (Gallis 1985). How to understand the structure of this household? Are two or three generations of its residents represented? And is it appropriate to even assert that the members of this household were related? While such an interpretation may resolve the problem of the physical invisibility of the household, it is still impossible to observe vital changes during the cycle of biological and social reproduction. For example,

predstavljaju dva kraja istoga procesa i dešifriranje pojedinačnih epizoda tijekom upotrebe građevine može predstavljati dobru osnovu za razumijevanje promjena u veličini i organizaciji domaćinstva (Tringham 2000: 340; Tripković 2009). Obnova kuće ili dogradnja nove prostorije, obnova poda ili izgradnja nove peći i nov malterni premaz na zidovima kuće samo su neki od arheološki prepoznatljivih promjena tijekom upotrebe građevine. Dakle može se očekivati da se promjene u veličini domaćinstva mogu sagledati uspostavljanjem zakonomjernoga odnosa između faza socijalne reprodukcije domaćinstva i strukturnih promjena na građevini u kojoj ono živi. U daljnjemu tekstu ta je ideja detaljnije obrazložena na primjeru kasnoga neolitika/ranoga eneolitika na središnjemu Balkanu (vinčanska kultura) predstavljajući vrijeme od oko 5300. do 4600. g. pr. n. e. (sl. 1).

was the number of inhabitants after construction of the house the same as their number upon its destruction or abandonment?

The idea underlying this work is rooted in the view that determination of the size of prehistoric households should not be a research compromise between the household which occupied a house and the household which abandoned a house. The construction and abandonment of houses are two terminal points in the same process, and decoding individual episodes during the use of a structure may constitute a sound basis for understanding changes in the size and organization of households (Tringham 2000: 340; Tripković 2009). The renovation of houses or the additional construction of new rooms, the renovation of floors or construction of a new oven and new plaster on the walls are only some of the archeologically recognizable changes



Slika 1. Naselja vinčanske kulture spomenuta u tekstu.  
Figure 1. The Vinča culture settlement mentioned in the text.

## SREDIŠNJI BALKAN: KONTINUITETI KUĆA I DOMAĆINSTAVA

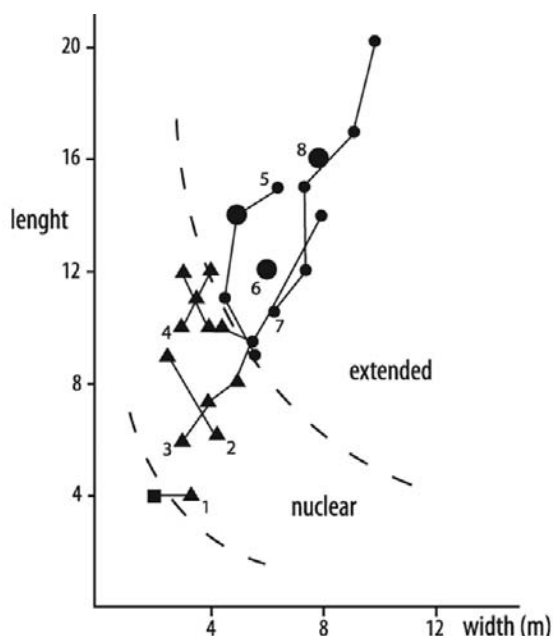
Početak šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća Todorović i Cermanović (1961) smatrali su da su najveće građevine u naselju na Banjici (Beograd) bile nastanjene višeobiteljskim domaćinstvima po uzoru na kuće iz tripoljske kulture. Shodno tomu u kontinuiranoj su se promjeni veličine građevina tijekom pet stratigrafskih faza naselja mogle nazreti i promjene u veličini domaćinstava. Nezaobilazan su problem tada predstavljale istraživačke pretenzije tradicionalne arheologije koje nisu ohrabrivale znanstvenu "potragu" za malim društvenim grupama. Čak i kasnije, kad su uslijedila prva teorijska razmatranja veličine neolitičkih domaćinstava (Глишић 1968), iznesena zapažanja nisu mogla biti testirana u punome opsegu na ograničenome broju kućnih cjelina koje su u to vrijeme bile dostupne. Tek je osamdesetih go-

during the use of a structure. Therefore, one may expect that changes in the size of a household may be reflected in the establishment of a standardized relationship between phases of social reproduction of households and structural change in the building in which it resides. In the text, this idea is explained in greater detail using the example of the Late Neolithic/Early Eneolithic in the Central Balkans (Vinča culture), covering the time span from 5300 to 4600 BC (Fig. 1).

## THE CENTRAL BALKANS: CONTINUITY OF HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS

At the beginning of the 1960s, Todorović and Cermanović (1961) believed that the largest buildings at Banjica (Belgrade) were inhabited by multi-family households modelled after the houses of the Tripolje culture. In this vein, the changes in the size of households could be discerned in the continual changes in the size of buildings over the course of five stratigraphic phases of the settlement. An inescapable problem at the time was the research pretensions of traditional archaeology, which did not encourage the scientific "search" for smaller social groups. Even later, when the first theoretical considerations of the size of Neolithic households followed (Глишић 1968), these observations could not be tested to their fullest extent in the limited number of housing units accessible at the time. It was only in the 1980s, after making use of the experiences of anthropologists in the study of relationships between the size of a social group and the surface area of residential floor-space, that Chapman (1981) established that 50 m<sup>2</sup> was the boundary between the core and extended family. Using a sample of eight sites, he assumed a change from a nuclear family in the early Vinča culture to an extended family in the late phase (Fig. 2). The sample consisted of most houses in a multi-layer settlement, which directly facilitated trends in gradual social change in the Central Balkans.

To understand social reproduction of households in the Central Balkans, it is worthwhile stressing that houses in the stratigraphy of long-term Vinča settlements were often located above older buildings. This has been observed in Vinča (Басић 1932), Selevac (Tringham & Stevanović 1990), Fafos I (Jovanović 1961), Divostin (McPherron & Srejović 1988), Opovo (Tringham 2000: 340) and Banjica (Тодоровић & Цермановић 1961; Трипковић 2007). A similar practice has been as-



Size Range of Vinča houses

squares - ancillary structures  
triangles - houses of nuclear family size  
circles - houses of extended family size

1. Vinča – Belo brdo (level A)
2. Predionica
3. Matejski Brod (Tisa – Late Vinča levels)
4. Fafos I
5. Divostin
6. Anza IV

Slika 2. Veličine domaćinstava u vinčanskoj kulturi na temelju dimenzija kuća (prema Chapman 1981).

Figure 2. Sizes of households in the Vinča culture based on the dimensions of houses (according to Chapman 1981).

dina, koristeći iskustva antropologa na proučavanju odnosa između veličine društvene grupe i površine kućnoga poda, Chapman (1981) ustanovio da je 50 m<sup>2</sup> granica između osnovne i proširene obitelji. Na uzorku od osam lokaliteta pretpostavio je promjenu od nuklearne obitelji u ranoj vinčanskoj kulturi do proširene obitelji u kasnoj fazi (sl. 2). Uzorak su činile većinom kuće iz višeslojnih naselja, što je izravno omogućilo praćenje trendova postupne socijalne promjene na središnjemu Balkanu.

Za razumijevanje socijalne reprodukcije domaćinstva na središnjemu Balkanu važno je naglasiti da su kuće u stratigrafiji dugotrajnih vinčanskih naselja često locirane iznad starije građevine. To je uočeno u Vinči (Васић 1932), Selevcu (Tringham & Stevanović 1990), Fafosu I (Jovanović 1961), Divostinu (McPherron & Srejić 1988), Oпову (Tringham 2000: 340) i na Banjici (Тодоровић & Цермановић 1961; Трипковић 2007). Slična praksa ustanovljena je na klasičnim telovima Bliskoga Istoka i jugoistočne Europe od 7. do 5. tisućljeća pr. n. e. i obično se tumači kao potreba neolitičkih i eneolitičkih domaćinstava da uspostave simbolički kontinuitet u odnosu na neko domaćinstvo iz prošlosti (Banning & Byrd 1987; Bailey 1990; 1996; Whittle 1996; Hodder 1998; Tringham 2000a; Souvatzi 2008: 75). Spomenuta naselja na središnjemu Balkanu, osim možda Vinče, ne mogu se protumačiti kao telovi, ali svakako se može nazreti simbolička dimenzija arhitektonskoga procesa. Tako je uočeno sljedeće: da se na keramičkim posudama iz kuća na Banjici, čije su osnove smještene jedna iznad druge, nalaze iste urezane oznake (Chapman 1998: 126), da je iz kuće 5 u Selevcu izvađen stup i vjerojatno upotrijebljen u izgradnji druge kuće (Tringham & Stevanović 1990), kao i da je tijekom izgradnje nekih kuća u Divostinu (Bogdanović 1988; Chapman 1999) i Crkvinama kod Stubline (Crnobrnja 2009) inkorporiran materijal iz prethodnih građevinskih faza. Iako većina tih aktivnosti može imati praktično značenje, neizbježno je da se one isto tako mogu odnositi na kontekst u kojemu su kontinuirano nje govani identiteti kućnih grupa preko identifikacije s određenim domaćinstvom iz prošlosti.

Simbolika kućnoga kontinuiteta na središnjemu Balkanu posredno je generirala izgled naselja postupno vodeći nastanku telova i ravnih naselja kao dvaju ekstrema istoga procesa. S jedne strane većina vinčanskih naselja pokazuje debele stratigrafske sekvencije. To je uglavnom prouzrokovano fizičkom restrikcijom prostora za gradnju kuća, upotrebom velikih količina lijepa i kontinuiranim naseljavanjem na istoj lokaciji (Chapman 1989). S druge strane zbog slabe istraženosti nedostaju kvalitetna zapažanja o pomicanju građevina (i domaćinstava) kroz

certained in the classic tells of the Near East and South-east Europe from the seventh to fifth millennia BC and it is normally interpreted by the need of Neolithic and Eneolithic households to establish symbolic continuity in relation to some household of the past (Banning & Byrd 1987; Bailey 1990; 1996; Whittle 1996; Hodder 1998; Tringham 2000a; Souvatzi 2008: 75). These settlements in the Central Balkans, with the possible exception of Vinča, cannot be interpreted as tells, but the symbolic dimension of the architectural process can certainly be perceived. Thus, the following has been observed: that the ceramic vessels from the houses in Banjica, whose foundations are situated one above the other, bear the same engraved designations (Chapman 1998: 126), that a pillar was removed from house 5 in Selevac and probably used in the construction of another house (Tringham & Stevanović 1990), and that during construction of some houses in Divostin (Bogdanović 1988; Chapman 1999) and Crkvine at Stubline (Crnobrnja 2009), materials from previous construction phases were incorporated. Even though most of these activities may have a practical significance, it is inevitable that they may, by the same token, pertain to the context in which the identities of household groups were nurtured through identification with a specific household from the past.

The symbolism of the household continuity in the Central Balkans indirectly generated the appearance of settlements, gradually guiding the emergence of tells and flat settlements as two extremes of the same process. On the one hand, Vinča settlements exhibit thick stratigraphic sequences. This was generally due to the physically limited space for building houses, the use of large quantities of daub and continual residence at the same location (Sherratt 1983; Chapman 1989). On the other hand, due to meagre research there is an absence of quality observations on the movement of buildings (and households) through a settlement in a recognizable horizontal order. The problem can best be seen at sites with larger surfaces, such as the settlements in Selevac (60 ha), Pločnik (110 ha), Belovode (60 ha) or Divostin (15 ha). This is further backed by the fact that geoprospection in Grivac has shown the regularity of the spatial layout of Vinča settlements, which led Chapman (1989: 38) to the conclusion that houses were strategically added at the end of a row to maintain existing regularity.

If the previous evidence is summarized, then it can be seen that the multi-layered Vinča settlement constitutes a hybrid between a tell and a flat settlement, assuming an expressive stratigraphic sequence from the first and the physical non-infringement of the

naselje u prepoznatljivome horizontalnom poretku. Problem se najbolje može vidjeti na lokalitetima veće površine kakva su naselja u Selevcu (60 ha), Pločniku (110 ha), Belovodama (60 ha) ili Divostinu (15 ha). Kao prilog tomu valja spomenuti da je geoprospekcija u Grivcu pokazala regularnost prostornoga plana vinčanskoga naselja, što je Chapmana (1989: 38) navelo na zaključak da su kuće strateški dodavane na kraju niza tako da održe postojeću pravilnost.

Ako se sumira sadašnja evidencija, tada se vidi da višeslojna vinčanska naselja predstavljaju hibrid telova i ravnih naselja preuzimajući od prvih izražajnu stratigrafsku sekvenciju, a od drugih fizičku nenarušenost pejzaža. Štoviše, upravo su u takvim naseljima primijećene kombinacije različitih socijalnih praksi. U naseljima koja su ekstenzivno istražena, poput Gomolave i Divostina, građevine se često nalaze u grupama od dviju kuća (Divostin) do nekoliko njih (Gomolava) i taj koncept susjedstva može lako imati vezu s važnim aspektima socijalne reprodukcije. To su primjerice postupno povećanje domaćinstva, sklapanje braka mladih pripadnika domaćinstva i fisija na dvije nuklearne obitelji ili više njih (Tripković 2009). Sličan princip može se utvrditi na nivou pojedinačnih građevina. Na primjer kuća 6 iz rane faze naselja u Selevcu obnavljana je dvaput, o čemu svjedoče superponirani podovi. Nakon toga je "strategija kontinuiteta", izgleda, promijenjena te su kuće u kasnijim fazama naselja građene isključivo u horizontalnome poretku (Tringham & Stevanović 1990). Ta upečatljiva promjena u arhitektonskome vokabularu vinčanskih domaćinstava može se također odnositi na različite oblike socijalne reprodukcije (ostanak u roditeljskome domu ili osnivanje novoga domaćinstva), kao i na fizički nestanak nasljedne linije domaćinstva.

Na ovim jednostavnim primjerima vidi se da je za razumijevanje zakonitosti u procesima socijalne reprodukcije domaćinstva nužno prije svega proučavanje individualnih kućnih povijesti. Još je ranije Tringham (1984; 2000) ultimativno inzistirala na istraživanju arhitektonskoga procesa kao relevantne domene za proučavanje povijesti kućnih grupa. Ti su se zahtjevi uglavnom sveli na proučavanje konstrukcije i destrukcije kuća kao dvaju krajeva arhitektonskoga procesa (Stevanović 1985; 1997; Stevanović & Tringham 1997). Tringham je dogradnju kuće smatrala uobičajenim postupkom u vrijeme porasta veličine domaćinstva, ali to nije izravno povezano ni s jednom građevinom na središnjemu Balkanu. Ista je hipoteza kasnije testirana na naselju na Banjici (Tripković 2007) i pokazalo se, barem u slučaju kuće 7 iz horizonta III toga naselja, da se dogradnja nove prostorije na kući zaista može odnositi na promjene u veličini domaćinstva. To je tada do-

landscape from the second. Furthermore, it is precisely in such settlements that the combination of different social practices can be observed. In those settlements which have been rather intensively studied, such as Gomolava and Divostan, the buildings are often in groups of two (Divostin) to several (Gomolava) houses, and this concept of neighbourhoods may easily be linked to vital aspects of social reproduction. These are, for example, the gradual enlargement of households, the marriage of younger members of households and fission into two or three nuclear families (Tripković 2009). A similar principle may be established at the level of individual buildings. For example, house 6 from the early phase of the settlement in Selevac was renovated twice, to which the superimposed floors testify. After this, the "continuity strategy", it would appear, was altered and the houses in the later phases of the settlement were built exclusively in a horizontal order (Tringham & Stevanović 1990). This striking change in the architectural vocabulary of the Vinča households may also pertain to various forms of social reproduction (staying in the parental home or establishing a new household), as well as the physical disappearance of a household's inheritance line.

These simple examples show that understanding the laws in household social reproduction processes above all requires the study of individual household histories. Even earlier, Tringham (1984; 2000) provocatively insisted on research into architectural processes as the relevant domain to study the history of household groups. These requirements were generally restricted to studying construction and destruction of houses as the two extremities of the architectural process (Stevanović 1985; 1997; Stevanović & Tringham 1997). Tringham considered the expansion of houses a customary procedure at a time of growth of a household, but this has not been linked to any building in the Central Balkans. The same hypothesis was later tested in the settlement at Banjica (Tripković 2007) and it was shown, at least in the case of house 7 from that settlement's horizon III, that additional building of new rooms truly may be associated with changes in the size of a household. Further evidence for this were the monumental dimensions of the building and the high number of diverse containers for long-term storage.

The lone example of house 7 from the Banjica settlement shows that important research questions were neglected in the vague generalizations of the social and cultural process. Moreover, it has become apparent that higher quality evidence in the future may establish a correlation between the length of use of buildings and the form of social reproduction of households. The objective of this work is

datno posvjedočeno monumentalnim dimenzijama građevine i većim brojem raznovrsnih kontejnera za dugoročno skladištenje.

Usamljen primjer kuće 7 iz banjičkoga naselja pokazuje da su važna istraživačka pitanja bila zanemarena u uopćenim generalizacijama socijalnoga i kulturnoga procesa. Nadalje pokazuje se da bi se kvalitetnijom evidencijom u budućnosti mogla uspostaviti korelacija između vremena upotrebe građevine i oblika socijalne reprodukcije domaćinstva. Upravo je cilj ovoga rada ponuditi temelj za kreiranje takva modela. To će se postići prezentiranjem dijela evidencije iz naselja Divostin kod Kragujevca (Srbija) odakle potječu do danas najbolje očuvane građevine iz vremena vinčanske kulture. Za neke od tih građevina istraživači su eksplicitno naveli da su bile dograđene (Bogdanović 1988), što je prvi korak u razumijevanju kućnih povijesti i kompleksne relacije arhitektonsko-ga i socijalnoga procesa u tome naselju.

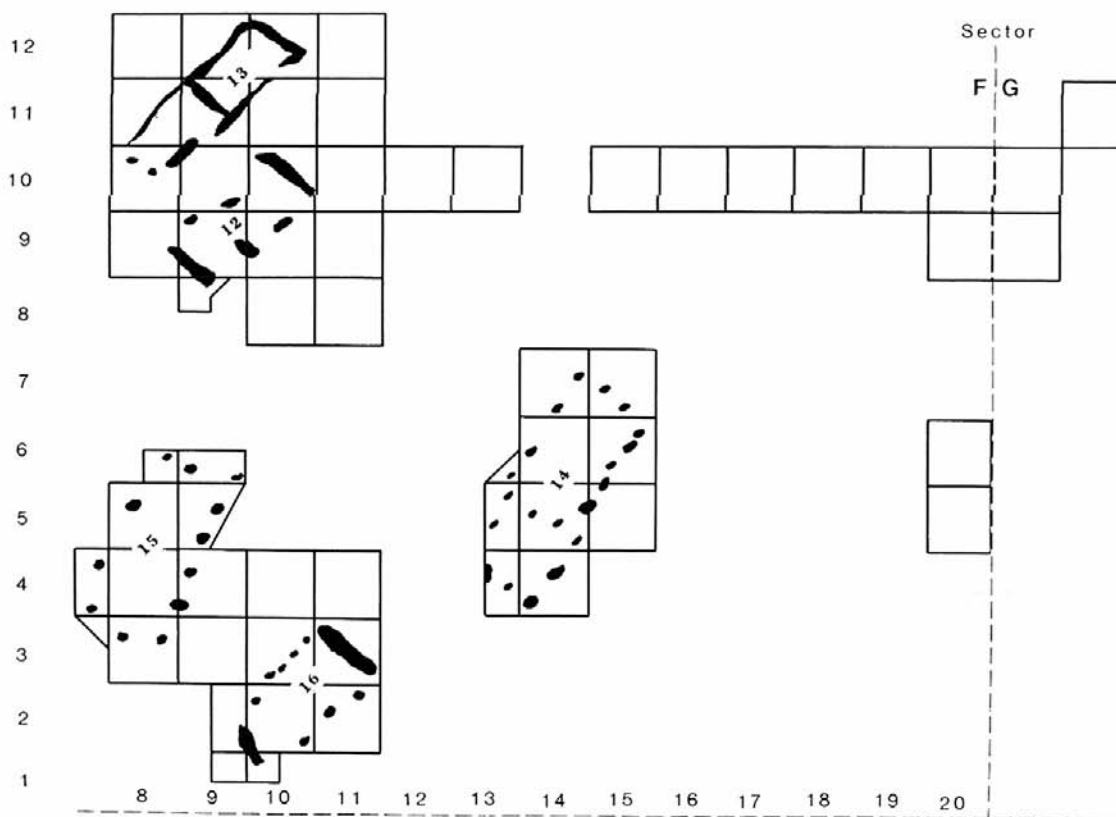
## KUĆNE POVIJESTI U DIVOSTINU

Vinčansko naselje u Divostinu osnovano je na ostacima ranoneolitičkoga naselja oko 4900. g. pr. n. e. i trajalo je do oko 4600. g. pr. n. e. (Borić 2009).

in fact to propose a foundation for the creation of such a model. This shall be achieved by presenting some of the evidence from the Divostin settlement near Kragujevac (Serbia), which has what are today the best preserved buildings from the time of the Vinča culture. Researchers have explicitly stated that some of these buildings were expanded (Bogdanović 1988), which is the first step in understanding the household history and the complex relations between architectural and social processes in this settlement.

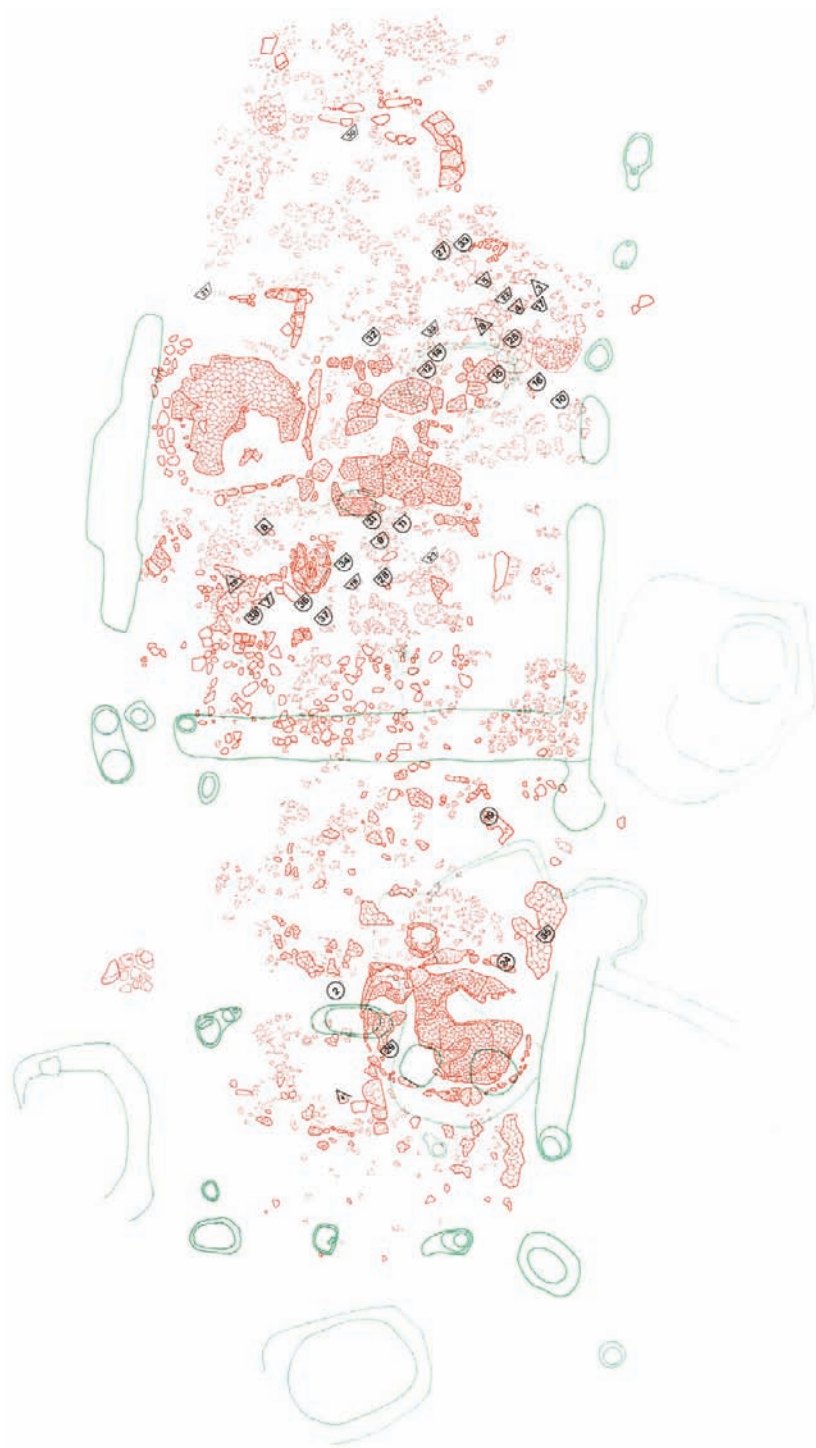
## HOUSEHOLD HISTORIES IN DIVOSTIN

The Vinča settlement in Divostin was established over remains of the Early Neolithic settlement at around 4900 BC and it endured until roughly 4600 BC (Borić 2009). The remains of seventeen houses were discovered, oriented north-east to south-west, which have been classified into two residential phases based on a stratigraphic intersection (Bogdanović 1988). The houses numbered 7-11 were classified in the older phase (IIa), while houses 12-23 were attributed to the younger phase. Judging by the best



Slika 3. Kuće u sektoru F vinčanskoga naselja u Divostinu (modificirano prema McPherron & Gunn 1988).

Figure 3. Houses in sector F of the Vinča settlement in Divostin (modified according to McPherron & Gunn 1988).



Slika 4. Kuća 13 u Divostinu (prema McPherron & Srejović 1988). Zeleno – jame stupova i temeljni rovovi; crveno – pod, ognjišta i drugi objekti od lijepe; crno – distribucija i funkcija posuda.

Legenda: krug – posude za skladištenje suhih namirnica; trokut – posude za skladištenje tekućina; trapez – posude za pripremu namirnica; polukrug – posude za objedovanje; kvadrat – recipijenti neodređene upotrebe (za dalju determinaciju posuda usp. Madas 1988).

Figure 4. House 13 in Divostin (according to McPherron & Srejović 1988). Green – postholes and foundation trenches; red – floor, hearths and other daub structures; black – distribution and function of vessels.

Legend: circle – vessels for dry goods storage; triangle – vessels to store liquids; trapezium – vessels for preparing food; semi-circle – consumption vessels; square – recipients of undetermined use (for further determination of vessels, cf. Madas 1988).

preserved buildings, the houses consisted of two to four rooms, covering a surface of roughly 40-100 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 3). They were equipped with the customary Late Neolithic/Early Eneolithic furnishings: heating structures and clay containers fixed to the floor, low clay tables, ceramic vessels, grindstones and stone tools, while anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures, other cult items and jewellery were found sporadically (McPherron & Srejović 1988). The importance of perceiving the resolution of the architectural process in Divostin is reflected in the essential and thus far neglected observations made by researchers that houses 13, 14 and 15 were expanded (Bogdanović 1988). While this may constitute a normal process during the use of a house, at this moment it is unclear how the expansion of a house may be equated with a social process. Thus, it is precisely these three houses which shall serve as illustrative examples to underscore the importance of viewing the architectural process when attempting to understand the social circumstances in which a household's social reproduction proceeds.

House 13 consists of two rooms (Figure 4). Radiometric dating has confirmed its age; it dates to the first half of the forty-seventh century BC on the basis of three samples from a sheep's skull that was discovered in the house's floor (Borić 2009). The house initially consisted of one room with an oven, with its floor renovated after a certain time. The oven was fenced off with a low, probably rectangular, wall which had on one side a fixed construction with a grindstone. The front of this low wall, which formed a component of the oven, was decorated with horizontal and diagonal grooves

Otkriveni su ostaci 17 kuća orijentiranih u smjeru sjeveroistok – jugozapad koje su na osnovi stratigrafske intersekcije svrstane u dvije naseobinske faze (Bogdanović 1988). U stariju fazu (IIa) svrstane su kuće 7–11, dok su mlađoj fazi pripisane kuće 12–23. Sudeći prema najbolje očuvanim građevinama, kuće su se sastojale od dviju do četiriju prostorija zauzimajući površinu od oko 40–100 m<sup>2</sup> (sl. 3). Bile su opremljene uobičajenim kasnoneolitičkim/ranoeneolitičkim inventarom: termalnim strukturama i glinenim kontejnerima fiksiranim za pod, niskim stolovima od gline, keramičkim posudama, žrvnjevima i kamenim alatima, a sporadično su pronalazene antropomorfne i zoomorfne figurice, drugi predmeti kulta i nakit (McPherron & Srejšević 1988). Važnost sagledavanja rezolucije arhitektonskoga procesa u Divostinu ogleda se u bitnome i dosad zanemarenome zapažanju istraživača da su kuće 13, 14 i 15 dograđene (Bogdanović 1988). Dok to može predstavljati normalan proces tijekom upotrebe kuće, u ovome je trenutku nejasno kako se dogradnja kuće može poistovjetiti sa socijalnim procesom. Stoga će upravo te tri kuće poslužiti kao ilustrativan primjer za isticanje važnosti sagledavanja arhitektonskoga procesa pri razumijevanju društvenih okolnosti u kojima se odigrava socijalna reprodukcija domaćinstva.

Kuća 13 sastoji se od dviju prostorija (sl. 4). Radiometrijskim datiranjem utvrđena je njezina starost; datirana je u prvu polovinu 47. stoljeća pr. n. e. na osnovi triju uzoraka iz lubanje ovce koja je otkrivena na podu kuće (Borić 2009). Kuća se prvobitno sastojala od jedne prostorije s peći čija je podnica nakon izvjesnoga vremena obnovljena (Bogdanović 1988). Peć je bila ograđena niskim, najvjerojatnije četverokutnim, zidom na kojemu je na jednoj strani bila fiksirana konstrukcija sa žrvnjem. Prednji dio toga niskog zida, koji je činio sastavni dio peći, bio je ukrašen horizontalnim i kosim žljebovima izvedenima prstima. Prostorija je sadržavala 31 keramičku posudu, nekoliko stolova od gline, najmanje devet utega za tkalački stan i druge artefakte. U manjoj, naknadno dograđenoj, prostoriji također se nalazila peć i fiksiran kontejner kružne osnove pored nje. Sudeći prema ostacima podnica, peć pokazuje ostatke još dviju-triju obnova. Prednja strana i bočne strane banka na kojemu se nalazila peć bile su reljefno ukrašene polukružnim glinenim trakama formirajući ukrasne volute, odnosno polumjesčaste ornamente (Bogdanović 1988). U prostoriji se nalazilo šest posuda, stol od gline, nekoliko utega za tkalački stan i drugi artefakti.

Kuću 14 činile su tri prostorije s čak četirima termalnim strukturama (sl. 5). Stariji dio kuće sastojao se od dviju prostorija s dvjema pećima i ognjištem. Peć

made by fingers. The room contained 31 ceramic vessels, several clay tables, a minimum of nine loom weights and other artefacts. In the smaller, subsequently expanded, room, there was also an oven and a fixed container with a circular base next to it. Judging by the remains of the floor, the oven exhibits remains of an additional two to three renovations. The front and sides of the bank on which the oven was situated have relief decorations consisting of semi-circular clay bands forming decorative volutes, and crescent-moon ornaments (Bogdanović 1988). The room contained six vessels, a clay table, several loom weight and other artefacts.

The house 14 consisted of three rooms with as many as four fireplaces (Figure 5). The older part of the house consisted of two rooms with three heating structures. The oven (3) and hearth (4) occupied approximately 50% of the room, which together with the presence of a high number of vessels for preparing and consuming food made it unsuitable to engage in any other activity not associated with these structures. This room probably had some specialized purpose. Oven 2 was in the neighbouring room, and its construction has been dated to about 4700 BC. The other finds in this room consist of five vessels, two figurines, an altar, four loom weights, a copper bracelet and four copper and malachite beads. After expansion of the room on the southern end, house 14 assumed three sections. Another oven was built into it, as well as a fixed circular container which was built opposite to the oven. The oven was decorated with sculpted clay ornaments shaped like crescent moons (Bogdanović 1988: 84). There was a minimum of 21 vessels in the room, and a clay table and altar. During reconstruction, researchers assumed that there was a door between the newly-constructed and older rooms (Bogdanović 1988). However, the concentration of ceramics in this part of the building cast doubt on the existence of direct communication between the two rooms, implying that the newly-built room of house 14 may have had a separate entrance.

House 15 consisted of four rooms (Figure 6). It is assumed that the older part of the house had only two rooms, of which each had one oven. Below one part of the floor of the northern room, there was a wood substructure which served as additional insulation, and this part was probably a sleeping chamber. There were 16 ceramic vessels in the older part of the house, while the other items in the house consisted of a grindstone, a clay table, three ceramic loom weights and three knapped stone artefacts. In the house's late phase, two additional rooms were built, with the third room continuing directly from the southern wall of the older house, while the

(3) i ognjište (4) zauzimali su oko 50% prostorije, što ju je uz prisutnost velikoga broja posuda za pripremu i konzumaciju namirnica činilo nepogodnom za obavljanje aktivnosti koje nisu u vezi s tim strukturama. Ta je prostorija vjerojatno imala neku specijaliziranu namjenu. U susjednoj prostoriji nalazila se peć 2, čija je konstrukcija datirana oko 4700. g. pr. n. e. Druge nalaze u toj prostoriji činilo je pet posuda, dvije figurice, žrtvenik, četiri utega za tkalački stan, narukvica od bakra i četiri perle od bakra i malahita. Događivanjem prostorije na južnome kraju kuća 14 postala je trodijelna. U njoj je izgrađena još jedna peć, kao i fiksiran kružni kontejner koji je izgrađen nasuprot peći. Peć je bila ukrašena plastičnim ornamentima od gline u obliku četvrtine mjeseca (Bogdanović 1988: 84). U prostoriji se nalazila najmanje 21 posuda, kao i glineni stol i žrtvenik. Prilikom rekonstrukcije kuće istraživači su pretpostavili postojanje vrata između dograđene i starije prostorije (Bogdanović 1988). Međutim koncentracija keramičkih posuda u tome dijelu građevine dovodi u sumnju postojanje izravne komunikacije između dviju prostorija implicirajući da je dograđena prostorija kuće 14 možda imala zaseban ulaz.

Kuća 15 sastojala se od četiriju prostorija (sl. 6). Pretpostavlja se da su stariji dio kuće činile samo dvije prostorije od kojih svaka sadrži jednu peć. Ispod jednoga dijela poda sjeverne prostorije nalazila se supstrukcija od drveta koja je služila kao dodatna izolacija, a vjerojatno se u tome dijelu prostorije nalazio prostor za spavanje. U starijem dijelu kuće nalazilo se 16 keramičkih posuda, dok su druge objekte u kući činili žrvanj, stol od gline, tri keramička utega za tkalački stan i tri cijepana kamena artefakta. U kasnijoj fazi kuće dograđene su još dvije prostorije, i to treća koja se nastavlja izravno na južni zid starije kuće, dok je četvrta prostorija izgrađena lateralno od nje. Ispod jednoga dijela glinenoga podnog naboja u dograđenoj prostoriji također je postavljena drvena supstrukcija koja ponavlja obrazac izgradnje poda u starijem dijelu kuće. U istoj prostoriji nalazila se peć na kojoj se ne vide tragovi obnove podnice. U tome dograđenom dijelu kuće nalazilo se 13 keramičkih posuda, stol od gline, nekoliko utega za tkalački stan, žrvanj, pet kamenih alatki i privjesak.

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Opisane kuće najveće su u divostinskome naselju. One se prvobitno nisu razlikovale od drugih kuća u naselju i njihove dimenzije posljedica su naknadne dogradnje jedne do dviju prostorija. Ako se divostinska domaćinstva mogu identifi-

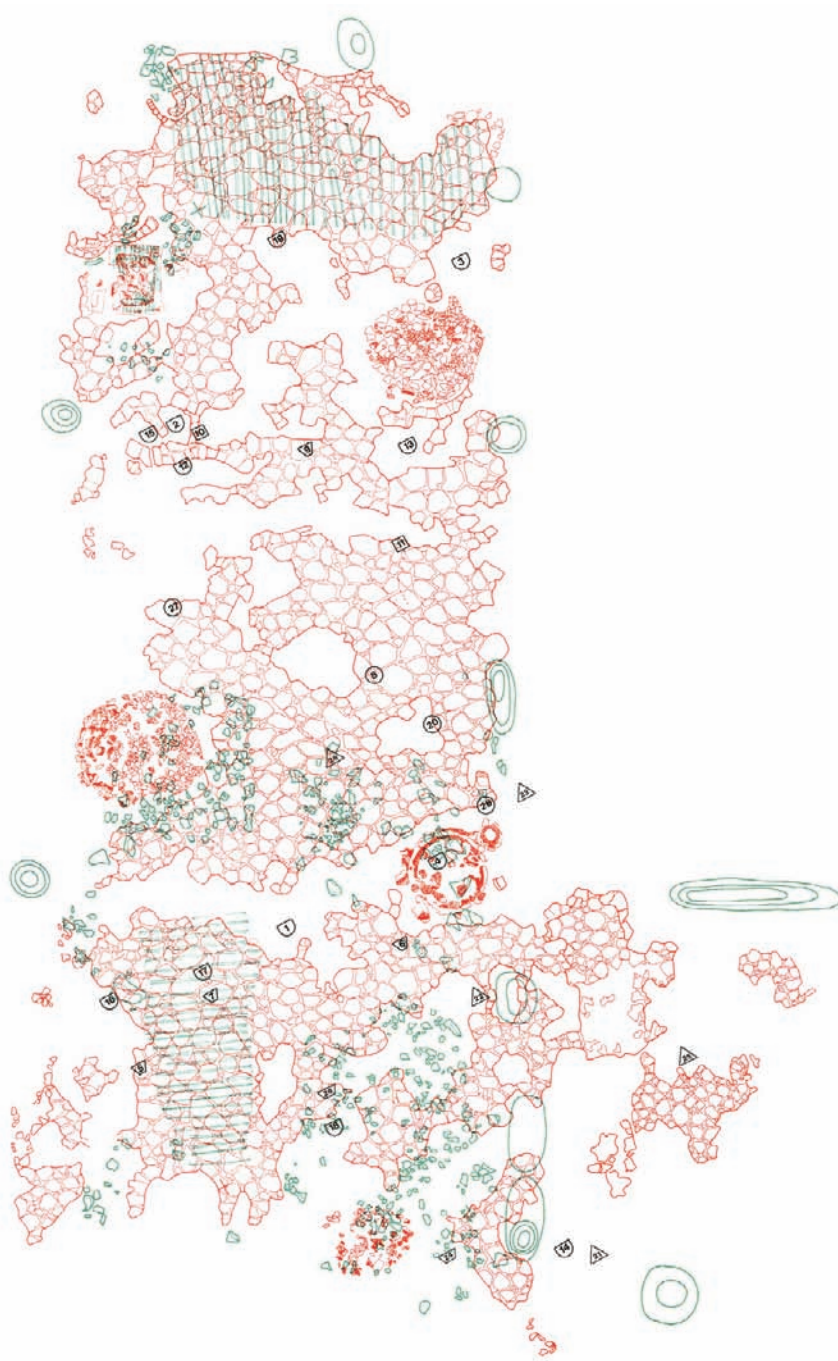


Slika 5. Kuća 14 u Divostinu (prema McPherron & Srećević 1988). Zeleno – jame stupova; crveno – pod, ognjišta i drugi objekti od lijepa; crno – distribucija i funkcija posuda.

Legenda: krug – posude za skladištenje suhih namirnica; trokut – posude za skladištenje tekućina; trapez – posude za pripremu namirnica; polukrug – posude za objedovanje; kvadrat – recipijenti neodređene upotrebe (za dalju determinaciju posuda usp. Madas 1988).

Figure 5. House 14 in Divostin (according to McPherron & Srećević 1988). Green – postholes; red – floor; hearths and other daub structures; black – distribution and function of vessels.

Legend: circle – vessels for dry goods storage; triangle – vessels to store liquids; trapezium – vessels for preparing food; semi-circle – consumption vessels; square – recipients of undetermined use (for further determination of vessels, cf. Madas 1988).



Slika 6. Kuća 15 u Divostinu (prema McPherron & Srejšević 1988). Zeleno – jame stupova i supstrukcija poda; crveno – pod, ognjišta i drugi objekti od lijepe; crno – distribucija i funkcija posuda.  
 Legenda: krug – posude za skladištenje suhih namirnica; trokut – posude za skladištenje tekućina; trapez – posude za pripremu namirnica; polukrug – posude za objedovanje; kvadrat – recipijenti neodređene upotrebe (za dalju determinaciju posuda usp. Madas 1988).

Figure 6. House 15 in Divostin (according to McPherron & Srejšević 1988). Green – postholes and floor substructure; red – floor, hearths and other daub structures; black – distribution and function of vessels.

Legend: circle – vessels for dry goods storage; triangle – vessels to store liquids; trapezium – vessels for preparing food; semi-circle – consumption vessels; square – recipients of undetermined use (for further determination of vessels, cf. Madas 1988).

fourth room was built laterally from it. Below one part of the packed clay floor in the added room there is also a wooden substructure which follows the model of floor construction in the older part of the house. There was an oven in this same room on which there are no traces of renovation of the floor. There were 13 ceramic vessels, a clay table, several loom weights, a grindstone, five stone tools and a pendant in this addition to the house.

\* \* \*

The houses described are the largest in the Divostin settlement. They initially did not differ from the other houses in the settlement, and their dimensions resulted from subsequent additions of one to two rooms. If the Divostin households may be defined by their houses, then most of them lived in houses of 60 m<sup>2</sup>, which corresponds to the standards of a nuclear family (Chapman 1981; Brown 1987). Did changes in the size of households in this case lead to the extension of some houses? If one carefully examines the distribution of animal remains and knapped stone industry in the Divostin settlement, then

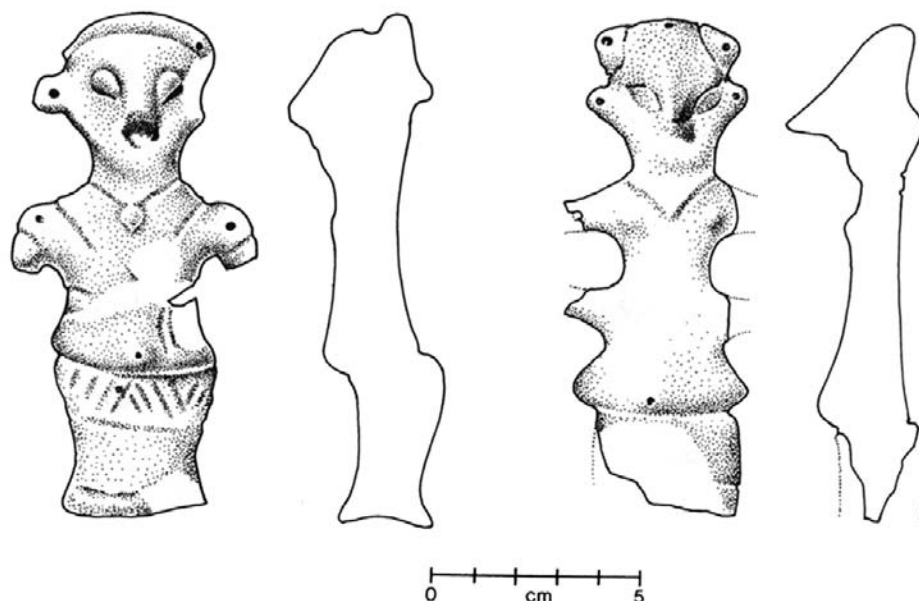
it is apparent that the activity zone around houses 13, 14 and especially 15 are much richer in materials in relation to the surroundings of the houses not extended (McPherron & Gunn 1988: 363–374, figs. 13.3–13.13). This implies that the households in the expanded houses had a higher level of production, that the houses endured longer and that they probably had more residents (Tripković 2009). In the same fashion, if one carefully examines the organization and structure of the added rooms in all houses, one may notice that they unequivocally indicate a series of activities practiced in the older part of the building. All added rooms contain an oven, fixed container, grindstone, low clay table and a diverse set of pottery for preparing and consuming food. All of

cirati s kućom, tada je većina njih živjela u kućama do 60 m<sup>2</sup>, što odgovara standardima života nuklearne obitelji (Chapman 1981; Brown 1987). Jesu li u tome slučaju promjene u veličini domaćinstava uvjetovale dogradnju nekih kuća? Ako se pažljivo pogleda distribucija faunističkih ostataka i cijepane kamene industrije u divostinskome naselju, vidi se da su zone aktivnosti oko kuća 13, 14 i naročito 15 bogatije materijalom u odnosu na okruženje kuća koje nisu dograđene (McPherron & Gunn 1988: 363–374, sl. 13.3–13.13). To implicira da su domaćinstva iz dograđenih kuća imala višu razinu produkcije, da su te kuće duže trajale i da su vjerojatno imale veći broj stanovnika (Tripković 2009). Isto tako ako se pažljivo pogledaju organizacija i struktura dograđenih prostorija u svim kućama, primjećuje se da one nedvosmisleno upućuju na niz aktivnosti koje su se prakticirale u starijem dijelu građevina. Sve dograđene prostorije sadrže peć, fiksirani kontejner, žrvanj, nizak stol od gline i raznovrstan set keramičkih posuda, uključujući i posude za pripremu i konzumaciju namirnica. Sve su te prostorije mogle, zapravo, funkcionirati kao nezavisne stambene jedinice. Shodno tomu kuće s dograđenim prostorijama i potreba da se napravi nov prostorni aranžman mogli su biti proizvod korezidentne grupe čiji je sastav bio veći od nuklearne obitelji. Može li se u tome slučaju u dograđenim prostorijama kuća 13, 14 i 15 vidjeti postmaritalno prebivalište mladih pripadnika domaćinstva?

Tumačenje strukture srodničkih relacija u divostinskim kućama svakako je spekulativne prirode, i to zbog nemogućnosti da se u artefaktima prepozna srodstvo, pa međusobni odnosi ukućana ostaju jedna od mnogih nepoznanica života u prapovijesti. Stoga je važno naglasiti da prostorna organizacija i inventari divostinskih kuća nude svoj doprinos daljnjemu razumijevanju naravi interpersonalnih odnosa u vinčanskim domaćinstvima. Taj se doprinos nazire u opservaciji da su prostorni, tehnički i dekorativni aranžmani u dograđenim prostorijama drukčiji u odnosu na starije dijelove građevine. Razlike se vide u sljedećim obilježjima: a) peći, ognjišta i drugi fiksirani objekti nikada ne ponavljaju lokaciju istih struktura u starijem dijelu građevina, b) fiksirani kontejneri uvijek su drukčijega oblika od kontejnera u starijem dijelu građevine i c) peći u dograđenim i starijim prostorijama dekorirane su različitim tehnikama i motivima. Dok struktura i izgled kućnoga prostora i dekoracija objekata mogu imati praktičan i estetski karakter, druge kuće u naselju koje nisu dograđene pokazuju simetriju u rasporedu fiksiranih struktura i nedostatak sličnih estetskih detalja (Bogdanović 1988). Isto tako kasni neolitik/rani eneolitik središnjega Balkana prepuni su indicija za

these rooms may have actually functioned as independent housing units. In this vein, the houses with added rooms may have encountered the need for a new spatial arrangement as a result of a co-resident group whose composition was larger than a nuclear family. Can the case of the added rooms in houses 13, 14 and 15 be seen as the post-marital residence of younger members of these households?

Interpretation of the structure of kinship ties in the Divostin houses is certainly a speculative endeavour, due to the impossibility of discerning kinship in the artefacts, so the mutual relations among the cohabitants remains one of the many unknowns of life in prehistory. It is therefore vital to stress that the spatial organization and inventory of the Divostin houses offer their contribution to the further understanding of the nature of interpersonal relations in Vinča households. This contribution takes form in the observation that the spatial, technical and decorative arrangements in the added rooms are different in relation to the older parts of the building. The differences can be seen in the following features: a) ovens, hearths and other fixed inventory never repeat the layout of the structures in the older part of the building, b) the fixed containers are always a different shape than the containers in the older part of the building, and c) the ovens in the added and older rooms are decorated by different techniques and motifs. While the structure and appearance of the housing space and the decoration of items may have a practical and aesthetic character, the other houses in the settlement which were not extended exhibit a symmetry in the layout of fixed structures and a lack of similar aesthetic details (Bogdanović 1988). Similarly, the Late Neolithic/Early Eneolithic in the Central Balkans are full of indications of the metaphorical use of ovens, which can thus far be best seen in the identical location of ovens in the houses from horizon II at Banjica (Тодоровић & Цермановић 1961). The ovens and storage pits in this settlement were always located in the central part of large buildings, which in the context of the settlement's long history is interpreted in either of two ways: a) as an effect of homogenization and harmonization of relations in, most likely, multi-family households, and b) as the establishment of a cultural norm as a vital "disciplinary practice" whereby social tensions in the settlement were regulated (Tripković 2003; Трипковић 2007). Symbolic use may be discerned in the case of the ovens from Vinča which were decorated by broad fluting (Васић 193 2: 12, fig. 13; Сталио 1968: pl. VI), and also on the basis of the ceramic models from Medvednjak (Сталио 1977: 226, fig. 160), Šanac at Pločnik, Progar (Petrović 2001) and Valač (Tasić 1960: pl. 1, fig. 1). In all of these cas-



Slika 7. Figurice iz kuće 14 u Divostinu (prema Letica 1988).

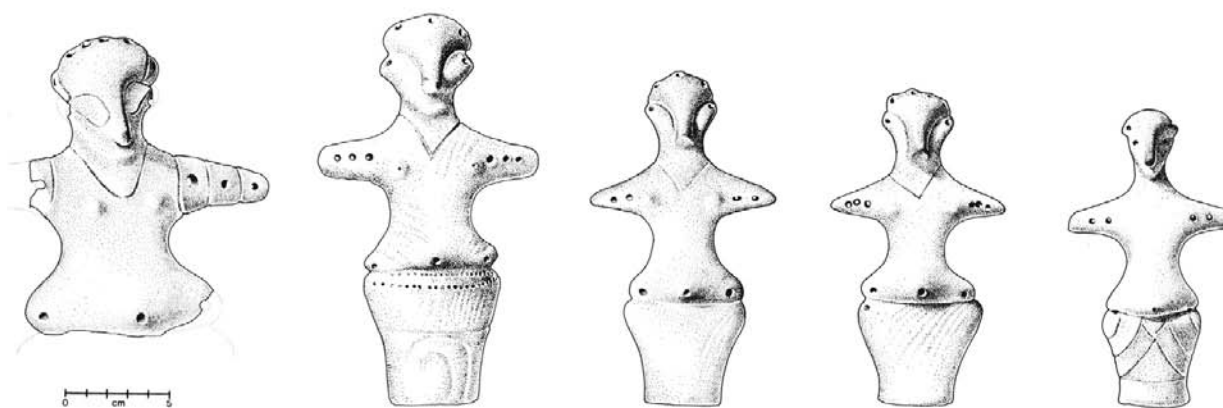
Figure 7. Figurines from house 14 in Divostin (according to Letica 1988).

metaforičku upotrebu peći, što se zasad najbolje vidi u istovjetnoj lokaciji peći u kućama iz horizonta II na Banjici (Тодоровић & Цермановић 1961). Peći i skladišne jame u tome su naselju uvijek bile smještene u središnjemu dijelu velikih građevina, što je u kontekstu duge povijesti naselja interpretirano dvojako: a) kao efekt homogenizacije i harmonizacije odnosa u, najvjerojatnije, višeobiteljskim domaćinstvima i b) kao uspostavljanje kulturnoga normativa kao važne “disciplinarne prakse” kojom su regulirane socijalne tenzije u naselju (Tripković 2003; Трипковић 2007). Simbolička upotreba može se nazreti i u slučaju peći iz Vinče koja je ukrašena širokim kanelurama (Васић 1932: 12, sl. 13; Сталио 1968: T. VI), kao i na osnovi keramičkih modela iz Medvednjaka (Сталио 1977: 226, sl. 160), Šanca kod Pločnika, Progara (Петровић 2001) i Valača (Tasić 1960: T. 1, sl. 1). U svim tim slučajevima daljnje su interpretacije otežane zbog nedostatka kvalitetnih kontekstualnih podataka. Međutim ako lokacija i dekoracija peći predstavljaju neke aspekte socijalne reprodukcije domaćinstva, tada je zanimljivo primijetiti da su peći u dograđenim prostorijama kuća 13 i 14 u Divostinu ukrašene istom tehnikom, s istim prikazanim motivima (Bogdanović 1988: 51, 53, 84). S druge strane koliko god se u dograđenim prostorijama očituje težnja funkcionalnoj samostalnosti, u kućama se jasno prepoznaje izvjesna hijerarhizacija prostora. Ona se može uočiti u važnim aspektima ekonomske, ritualne i simboličke prakse. Tako su pitosi za dugo-ročno skladištenje uočeni uglavnom u starijim prostorijama. Izuzetak je kuća 13 u kojoj se pitosi nalaze u objema prostorijama. U starijem dijelu građevina,

further interpretation has been rendered difficult by the absence of sound contextual data. However, if the location and decoration of ovens represent some aspects of social reproduction of households, then it is interesting to notice that the ovens in the added rooms in houses 13 and 14 in Divostin were decorated in the same technique, depicting the same motifs (Bogdanović 1988: 51, 53, 84).

On the other hand, however much the aspiration to functional independence manifested itself in the added rooms, a certain hierarchy of space is clearly recognizable in the houses. It can be observed in the major aspects of economic, ritual and symbolic practice. Thus, the pithoi for long-term storage were generally seen in the older rooms. The exception is house 13, in which pithoi were found in both rooms. Most of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, altars and jewellery were found in the older part of the building. Thus, if two nuclear families truly lived in houses 13, 14 and 15, then the structure and symbolism of their inventory unambiguously confirm that the older buildings and their residents had authority over the members of the households in the added-on rooms. This authority was reflected in control of the stored goods, the handling of important material narratives such as figurines and altars and, perhaps, in the emphasis on personal importance through the possession and wearing of certain types of jewellery.

In traditional rural societies, authority is normally vested in the head of the household, but there are not much data on this in Divostin. The two figurines from the central (main) room of house 14 may per-



Slika 8. Dio figurica iz nepotpuno istražene kuće 23 u Divostinu (prema Letica 1988).

Figure 8. Part of figurines from the incompletely examined house 23 in Divostin (according to Letica 1988).

na nalazi se i većina antropomorfnih i zoomorfnih figurica, žrtvenika i nakita. Stoga ako su u kućama 13, 14 i 15 zaista živjele dvije nuklearne obitelji, tada struktura i simbolika inventara nedvosmisleno potvrđuju da starija građevina, odnosno njezini stanovnici, imaju autoritet nad pripadnicima domaćinstva u dograđenim prostorijama. Taj se autoritet očituje u kontroli uskladištenih resursa, u manipulaciji važnim materijalnim narativima kakvi su figurice i žrtvenici i, možda, u isticanju personalne važnosti kroz posjedovanje i nošenje određenih vrsta nakita.

U tradicionalnim seoskim društvima autoritet obično predstavlja glava domaćinstva, ali o tome u Divostinu nema previše podataka. Dvije figurice iz središnje (glavne) prostorije kuće 14 možda mogu biti daljnje usmjerenje u potrazi za tim autoritetom (sl. 7). Figurice su istih dimenzija; jedna, djelomično oštećena, prikazuje ženske spolne karakteristike, dok je druga bez jasne oznake spola i vjerojatno predstavlja muškarca. Pitanje je dakle mogu li se te dvije figurice protumačiti kao personalizacija starije i dominantne generacije ukućana. Njihova lokacija pored peći u središnjoj prostoriji, zajedno sa žrtvenikom, i dominantan karakter te prostorije zaista ukazuju na to da bi odgovor mogao biti potvrđan. Dok se uglavnom fragmentirane figurice nalaze i u drugim divostinskim kućama (Letica 1988), jasan primjer ordinacije i subordinacije vidi se jedino u nedovoljno poznatoj kući 23. U toj se kući nalazila zanimljiva skupina od sedam figurica, od kojih je čak šest izgledom vrlo sličnih, a postoje određene razlike u dimenzijama (sl. 8). Sedma figurica ima neznatno naglašene grudi i nedostaje joj donji dio; moguće je da je namjerno odstranjen. Ta je figurica bila znatno veća i u fizičkome smislu potpuno različita od drugih figurica u kući. I dok nije nemoguće da će metričke analize, kako je sugerirano (Porčić 2010), pokazati mogućnost daljnje diferencijacije

haps be a further guide in the search for this authority (Fig. 7). The figurines have the same dimensions; one, partially damaged, exhibits female sexual characteristics, while the other has no clear indication of sex and probably signifies a male. The question is therefore whether these two figurines may be interpreted as the personalization of the older and dominant household residents. Their location next to the oven in the central room, together with an altar, and the dominant character of this room actually indicate that the answer may be affirmative. While generally fragmentary figurines were found in the other Divostin houses as well (Letica 1988), a clear example of ordination and subordination can only be found in the insufficiently examined house 23. This house contained an intriguing group of seven figurines, of which six are quite similar in appearance, while there are some differences in the dimensions (Figure 8). The seventh figurine has negligibly emphasized breasts and the lower part is missing; it is possible that it was intentionally removed. This figurine was considerably larger and in the physical sense it is entirely different from the other figurines in the house. And while one should not discount the possibility that metric analysis, as suggested previously (Porčić 2010), may show further differentiation with reference to the meaning of these figurines, thus far it would appear that the separation of larger figurines, with different personal expressions, may represent the idea of the “head of the household”, i.e. the managing concept which is unambiguously discernible in the extended Divostin houses (Tripković 2009).

Research into Neolithic figurines in the Central Balkans does not have a long tradition. After the important observations made by D. Srejović (1968) that fragmentary figurines were placed outside of houses, while whole figurines on the floors of houses, without emphasis on personal characteristics,



Slika 9. Dio figurica s lokaliteta Crkvine u Stublinama (prema Crnobrnja 2009).

Figure 9. Part of figurine from Crkvine site in Stubline (according to Crnobrnja 2009).

u vezi sa značenjem tih figurica, zasad se čini da izdvajanje velike figurice, drukčijega personalnog izraza, može predstavljati ideju “glave domaćinstva”, odnosno upravljački koncept kakav se nedvosmisleno nazire u dograđenim divostinskim kućama (Tripković 2009).

Istraživanje neolitičkih figurica na središnjemu Balkanu nema dugu tradiciju. Nakon važnoga zapazanja D. Srejića (1968) da su fragmentirane figurice nalažene izvan kuće, a cijele figurice na podovima kuća, bez isticanja personalnih karakteristika, polako se nagoviješta i njihova uloga u domaćinstvu. Ona se svakako može kretati u duhu postojećega keramičkog modela s lokaliteta Platia Magoula Zarkou, kako je sugerirano u uvodnome dijelu, i predstavljati bar neke pripadnike domaćinstva. Naime u vinčanskoj su kulturi mnogobrojne figurice pronađene u kućnome kontekstu, na primjer u Medvednjaku (Chapman 1981: 65, sl. 25), Selevcu (Tringham & Stevanović 1990), Stublinama (Crnobrnja 2009) i drugim naseljima. Štoviše, naročito je upečatljiva, kako je ranije sugerirano (Tripković 2007), istovjetnost figurica na podu i ispod poda kuće 1 u Selevcu. Stoga bi cijela figurica s naglašenim ženskim spolnim karakteristikama pronađena ispod poda kuće 15 u Divostinu (Letica 1988) i figurica pronađena ispod poda kuće na lokalitetu Varoš-Koraje (Benac 1958) također mogle nositi sličnu simboliku.

Za istraživanje uloge i važnosti figurica na središnjemu Balkanu zasad nedostaju kvalitetna kontekstualna istraživanja, što je uglavnom uzrokovano lošom istraživačkom metodologijom u prethodnim desetljećima. Za razliku od mnogobrojnih interpretacija u kojima su se vinčanskim figuricama pripisivale uglavnom ritualne konotacije u posljednje je vrijeme na osnovi otisaka dječjih prstiju na jednoj od zoomorfnih figurica s Gomolave pokazano

their role in households is slowly coming to light. It may certainly move in the spirit of the existing ceramic model from the Platia Magoula Zarkou site, as suggested in the introductory section, and represent some members of the household. Namely, in the Vinča culture many figurines were found in the household context, for example in Medvednjak (Chapman 1981: 65, fig. 25), Selevac (Tringham & Stevanović 1990), Stubline (Crnobrnja 2009) and other settlements. Moreover, the identical nature of the figurines on the floor and below the floor of house 1 in Selevac is particularly striking, as suggested previously (Tripković 2007). Thus, the entire figurine with marked female sexual characteristics found beneath the floor of house 15 in Divostin (Letica 1988) and the figurine found below the hose in Varoš-Koraje (Benac 1958) may also bear similar symbolism.

For now, quality contextual research to study the role and importance of figurine in the Central Balkans is lacking, which is generally due to a poor research methodology in the preceding decades. As opposed to many interpretations in which generally ritual connotations were ascribed to the Vinča figurines, in more recent years it has been shown that at least some of the Vinča figurines, based on children's fingerprints on a zoomorphic figurine from Gomolava, were made by children, so it is assumed that they were toys (Balj 2008). The group of 46 stylized figurines from the Vinča house in Crkvine, at Stubline, discovered during recent excavations (Crnobrnja 2009; Crnobrnja, Simić & Janković: in press), will certainly be useful and interesting as an extremely important find for the interpretation of the Vinča figurines in the future. The figurines were distributed in smaller groups (from 3 to 10) in front of a large oven in the northern room of what was probably a house with three sections. Found with them were 11 miniature tools or weapons (Fig. 9). Among the figurines, only one stands out in terms of dimensions, as in the original context it had the central position in relation to the other figurines. The initial interpretation that the figurines were the subject of a cult and that they represented a symbolic procession of warriors or simply served as a game certainly demands further confirmation or refutation (Crnobrnja 2009). And while the meaning of this set of figurines from the house in Crkvine must await a more thorough analysis, it is clear that the mental formula exhibited corresponds to the group of figurines from house 23 in Divostin. The largest figurine represents unquestioned authority in relation to the other members of the group and indicates the existence of the role of *pater familias* or the “good shepherd” as its undoubted predecessor.

da su barem neke od vinčanskih figurica napravila djeca, pa se pretpostavlja da su mogle služiti kao igračke (Balj 2008). Kao ekstremno važan nalaz za interpretaciju vinčanskih figurica u budućnosti će svakako biti korisna i zanimljiva grupa od 46 stiliziranih figurica iz vinčanske kuće u Crkvinama kod Stublina otkrivena za nedavnih iskopavanja (Crnobrnja 2009; Crnobrnja, Simić & Janković: u tisku). Figurice su bile raspoređene u manjim grupama (od 3 do 10) ispred velike peći u sjevernoj prostoriji najvjerojatnije trodijelne kuće. S njima je pronađeno i 11 komada minijaturnih alatki ili oružja (sl. 9). Među figuricama po dimenzijama se ističe samo jedna koja je u originalnome kontekstu zauzimala središnju poziciju u odnosu na druge figurice. Početne interpretacije da su figurice bile predmeti kulta i da su predstavljale simboličku povorku ratnika ili jednostavno služile za igru svakako zahtijevaju daljnju potvrdu ili opovrgavanje (Crnobrnja 2009). I dok značenje toga seta figurica iz kuće na Crkvinama mora pričekati detaljnu analizu, jasno je da se prikazani mentalni obrazac podudara sa skupinom figurica iz kuće 23 u Divostinu. Najveća figurica predstavlja nesumnjiv autoritet u odnosu na druge pripadnike grupe i nagoviješta postojanje uloge *pater familias* ili "dobroga pastira" kao njezina nesumnjivoga predvodnika.

## UMJESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Ideja ovoga rada bila je utemeljena na pretpostavci da arhitektonski proces reflektira neke aspekte socijalnoga procesa, prije svega one koji se odnose na promjene u organizaciji i veličini domaćinstva. Na središnjemu je Balkanu ta veza prepoznata u vinčanskome naselju u Divostinu gdje se dogradnja nove prostorije na kući najvjerojatnije odnosila na postmaritalni ostanak mlade obitelji u roditeljskome domu. Identiteti mladih obitelji uobličeni su kreiranjem zasebnih prostornih aranžmana i simbolikom koja prikazuje proturječnosti u odnosu na starije dijelove građevina. Prema Blantonu (1994) te proturječnosti reflektiraju postojanje izvjesnih socijalnih tenzija, a u slučaju divostinskih kuća lako se mogu protumačiti kao potreba za potpunom samostalnošću mlade obitelji u odnosu na domaćinstvo iz kojega su potekli. S druge strane čini se da je autoritet starijih pripadnika domaćinstva bio zasnovan na kontroli skladištenja (i distribucije?) dobara i na nekim oblicima ritualne prakse, ali stvarna narav toga autoriteta ostavlja neke nedoumice. Sudeći prema izgledu i kontekstu vinčanskih figurica u tome naselju i u drugim naseljima, autoritet se može odno-

## IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

The idea behind this work was based on the assumption that the architectural process reflects some aspects of the social process, above all those pertaining to changes in the organization and size of households. In the Central Balkans this link was recognized in the Vinča settlement in Divostin, where the addition of new rooms to a house probably resulted from the post-marital continuance of a young family in the parental home. The identities of younger families were formed by the creation of separate spatial arrangements and symbolism which exhibited contradictions in relation to the older parts of the building. According to Blanton (1994) these contradictions reflect the existence of certain social tensions, and in the case of the Divostin houses they may be easily interpreted by the need for full independence of the young families in relation to the household from which they came. On the other hand, it would appear that the authority of the older members of the household was based on the control of storage (and distribution?) of goods and some forms of ritual practice, but the actual nature of this authority still entails some uncertainties. Judging by the appearance and context of the Vinča figurines in this settlement and in other settlements, authority may also pertain to the old(est) generation of inhabitants and to the "head" of the household (female or male). Therefore, in the future a detailed contextual analysis of the figurines may actually be an important indicator of the nature of interpersonal relations in the Divostin and other Vinča households.

Monitoring and mutual correlation of the developmental histories of houses and households in Divostin had a crucial significance to the understanding of the conditions in which the social reproduction of the Vinča households proceeded. A fact which should not be neglected in the future is that the construction of new houses at the same or some other location constituted a continuation of the same architectural process and that in a certain degree it may correlate with changes in the size and organization of households. Thus, the burning of a house, perhaps after the death of the head of a family (Stevanović 1985; 1997; Tringham 1991; Stevanović & Tringham 1997), and the "freezing" of the household inventory should have represented the commencement of further searches for continuities of Vinča households, both symbolic and actual. For example, the destruction and cessation of use of a house in which a household resided need not signify the end of the active symbolic message which a mound of daub may convey.

siti i na (naj)stariju generaciju ukućana i na “glavu” domaćinstva (ženskoga ili muškoga spola). Stoga bi u budućnosti upravo detaljna kontekstualna analiza figurica mogla biti važan indikator naravi interpersonalnih relacija u divostinskim i drugim vinčanskim domaćinstvima.

Praćenje i međusobna korelacija razvojnih povijesti kuća i domaćinstava u Divostinu imali su ključno značenje pri razumijevanju uvjeta u kojima se odvija socijalna reprodukcija vinčanskih domaćinstava. U budućnosti se ne bi smjela zanemariti činjenica da izgradnja nove kuće na istoj ili nekoj drugoj lokaciji predstavlja nastavak istoga arhitektonskog procesa i da on u određenoj mjeri također može korelirati s promjenama u veličini i organizaciji domaćinstva. Stoga bi paljenje kuće, možda nakon smrti glave obitelji (Stevanović 1985; 1997; Tringham 1991; Stevanović & Tringham 1997), i “zamrzavanje” kućnoga inventara trebali predstavljati početak daljnje potrage za kontinuitetima vinčanskih domaćinstava, i to i simboličkim i stvarnim. Na primjer destrukcija i prestanak upotrebe kuće u kojoj je neko domaćinstvo živjelo ne moraju označavati kraj aktivne simboličke poruke koju gomila lijepa može prenijeti. “Bacanje” izgorjeloga kućnog lijepa u otpadne jame, što je čest slučaj na lokalitetima u Opovu (Tringham 2000), Fafosu I (Jovanović 1961), Jakovu (Jovanović & Glišić 1961), Crkvinama – Mali Borak (Tripković 2010), može se tumačiti kao aktivnost raščišćavanja prostora, ali i kao pogrebni ritual za “mrtvu kuću” (Tringham 2000: 346). Slijedi li se ista interpretacijska linija, može se zaključiti da skladišna jama na Crkvinama – Mali Borak u koju su ubačeni ostaci kuće (Живановић & Спасић 2008: 191–192) i skladišna jama u Selevcu u koju je ubačena ljudska figurica (Tringham & Stevanović 1990) također svjedoče o nekoj vrsti kontinuiteta i potrebi da se “uskladište” kuća i njezini stanovnici kako bi se produžilo njihovo trajanje. U svim spomenutim slučajevima veza arhitektonskoga i socijalnoga procesa i njihovo dugo trajanje i međusobna korelacija imaju ključnu važnost pri razumijevanju oblika socijalne reprodukcije u prošlosti.

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The “dumping” of burned household daub into a waste pit, which was common in the sites in Opovo (Tringham 2000), Fafos I (Jovanović 1961), Jakovo (Jovanović & Glišić 1961), and Crkvine/Mali Borak (Tripković 2010), may be interpreted as an activity to clear a given space, but also as a funeral rite for the “dead house” (Tringham 2000: 346). If the same line of interpretation is followed, one may conclude that the storage pit in Crkvine/Mali Borak into which the remains of a house were thrown (Живановић & Спасић 2008: 191–192) and storage pits in Selevac in which a human figurine was discarded (Tringham & Stevanović 1990) also testify to some type of continuity and the need to “store” a house and its residents to extend their duration. In all of the aforementioned cases, the bond between the architectural and social process and their long duration and mutual correlation have a crucial importance to an understanding of the form of social reproduction in the past.

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