



## Zadubravljje – kulturni predmeti u naselju starčevačke kulture

### *Zadubravljje – Cult Objects in the Starčevo Culture Settlement*

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*Posebni glineni predmeti otkriveni u inventaru zemunica i otvorenih prostora naselja iz rane faze razvitka starčevačke kulture u Zadubravljju svjedoče o bogatoj duhovnosti najstarijih zemljoradničkih populacija južnopanonskih prostora, koji su ostvarivali svoj mitski svijet i štovanje svojih božanstava najočitije u figuralnoj umjetnosti. Među 25 kulturnih predmeta otkriveni su: žrtvenici-kadionice, žrtvene posude, ritoni, te antropomorfna i zoomorfna plastika. Iako je ova vrsta arheološke građe raznovrsna, njezina interpretacija je u mnogočemu još uvijek nedorečena. Svako novo otkriće kulturnih predmeta u ranoneolitičkim naseljima dragocjen su doprinos novim spoznajama o prvim vjerovanjima čovjeka da prirodne pojave mogu biti pod njegovom kontrolom u okvirima granica vlastite moći nad prirodom koje nije mogao do kraja spoznati. Zamišljajući bića koja nadziru prirodu, molitvom i žrtvom, nastojao je protumačiti svijet u kojem je živio i održati svoj opstanak.*

*Ključne riječi: neolitik, rana starčevačka kultura, Linear A, žrtvenici, kadionice, idoli, Zadubravljje, Posavina, Hrvatska*

*Certain clay objects discovered in the inventory of the pit houses and open areas of the early Starčevo Culture settlement in Zadubravljje testify to the rich spirituality of the oldest agrarian populations of the southern Pannonian zone, who best personified their mythic world and reverence of their deities in figural art. The 25 remaining cult objects include: altars/censers, sacrificial vessels, rhytons and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures. Although this type of archaeological material is abundant, its interpretation is in many ways still ambiguous. Each new discovery of cult objects in early Neolithic settlements constitutes a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the first beliefs of humans that natural phenomena could be placed under their control within the limits of their own power, even though nature could not be completely comprehended. By imagining beings that control nature, and by prayer and sacrifice, man attempted to interpret the world in which he lived and to survive.*

*Key words: Neolithic, early Starčevo Culture, Linear A, altars, censers, idols, Zadubravljje, Sava river valley, Croatia*

Prvi zemljoradnici izražavali su svoju ovisnost i povezanost s prirodom raznovrsnim vjerovanjima. U nastojanjima da ju što bolje razumiju, obavljali su nama još uvijek nepoznate obrede, služeći se glinenim kulturnim predmetima koji su jedini preostali materijalni dokazi putem kojih možemo spoznati tek mali dio njihova bogatog duhovnog života. Iako je ova vrsta arheološke građe raznovrsna, njezina interpretacija je u mnogočemu nedorečena. Stoga svako novo otkriće kulturnih posuda, žrtvenika, kadionica, antropomorfnih i zoomorfnih figurica, bilo cijelih ili polomljenih u prostorima stambenih i radnih zemunica, u otvorenim ograđenim prostorima ili ostavljene kao dar uz pokojnike koji su ukapani unutar naselja,

The first farmers expressed their dependence and ties to nature through various beliefs. In their attempts to understand nature, they performed many rites that remain unknown to us, using clay cult objects that are the only remaining material evidence whereby we can learn just a little about their rich spiritual life. Although this type of archaeological material is abundant, its interpretation in many ways remains ambiguous. Therefore, each new discovery of cult vessels, altars, censers, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures – either whole or fragmented, in residential or workplace pit houses, in outdoor fenced areas or those left as an offering by the deceased buried within a settlement – contributes to our knowledge of the spiritual life of Neolithic populations.



Sl. 1 Zadubravljje: središnji dio naselja – stambene zemunice 6 i 10 s ograđenim dvorištima i radna zemunica 9 s lončarskim i krušnim pećima (rekonstrukcija K. Minichreiter, crtež M. Gregl)

Fig. 1 Zadubravljje: central part of the settlement – residential pit houses 6 and 10 with fenced yards and workplace pit house 9 with pottery and bread ovens (reconstruction by K. Minichreiter, drawing by M. Gregl)

pridonosi novim spoznajama o duhovnom životu neolitičkih populacija.

U arheološkim istraživanjima ranoneolitičkog naselja u Zadubravljju<sup>1</sup> pronađeno je 25 posebnih glinenih predmeta, među kojima je po završetku radova radi nedostatka komparativne građe samo 5 bilo moguće znanstveno interpretirati (Minichreiter 1992b, 7-22). Objava preostalih predmeta koju donosimo u ovom radu omogućena je usporedbom s brojnim kulturnim predmetima otkrivenim nakon Zadubravljja na Galovu u Slavanskom Brodu (Minichreiter 2002, 11-24; Minichreiter 2004, 5-18) kao i objava kulturnih predmeta iz Donje Branjevine (Karmanski 2000) i ranoneolitičkih nalazišta središnjega balkanskog područja (Stanković 1992).

Istraženi dio naselja u Zadubravljju<sup>2</sup> sastojao se po svojoj namjeni od tri dijela. U zapadnom su bili svi objekti potrebni u procesu izrade glinenog posuđa, u istočnom radionica za izradu kamenog oruđa i oružja, a u središnjem dijelu dvije stambene zemunice s ograđenim dvorištima. Između zemunica bio je kružni ograđeni prostor (dvostruko veće površine nego dvorišta zemunica) neodređene namjene koji je mogao biti

During archaeological excavations at the early Neolithic settlement in Zadubravljje<sup>1</sup>, 25 particular clay objects were found. Upon completion of excavations, only 5 could be scientifically interpreted due to a lack of comparative material (Minichreiter 1992b, 7-22). The publication of the remaining objects presented in this paper was made possible by their comparison with numerous cult objects discovered afterwards at Galovo in Slavonski Brod (Minichreiter 2002, 11-24; Minichreiter 2004, 5-18) and the publication of cult objects from Donja Branjevina (Karmanski 2000) and early Neolithic sites in the central Balkans (Stanković 1992).

The examined portion of the settlement in Zadubravljje<sup>2</sup> consisted of three sections, each intended for a different purpose. All structures needed for the production of clay vessels were situated in the western section, a workshop for stone tools and weapons production was in the eastern section, while two residential pit houses with fenced yards were found in the central section. Between the pit houses there was a circular fenced area (covering twice the surface of the pit houses yards) of unspecified purpose – it may have been used as an assembly area (perhaps for rituals) for the settlement's resi-

1 Prije izgradnje južne trase autoceste Slavonski Brod – Županja, obavljena su tijekom 1989. i 1990. g. pod vodstvom autorice ovog rada zaštitna arheološka istraživanja kod Zadubravljja.

2 Istražen je samo južni dio naselja na površini od 6200 m<sup>2</sup>, koji je bio ugrožen izgradnjom autoceste. Istraživanja su pokazala da se objekti nastavljaju dalje prema sjeveru pod postojeću trasu autoceste, čijom su izgradnjom bili uništeni. Cjelokupna veličina naselja nije se mogla utvrditi, ali pretpostavljamo da je zauzimalo mnogo veću površinu od istraženih. U prilog tome ide i otkriće samo dvije male stambene zemunice uz radionice u istraženom dijelu naselja.

1 Archaeological rescue excavations at Zadubravljje were conducted prior to construction of the southern section of the Slavonski Brod-Županja highway during 1989 and 1990, led by this author.

2 Only the southern section of the settlement over a surface of 6,200 m<sup>2</sup> was examined; this section was threatened by highway construction. Research indicated that the settlement spread further toward the north under the existing highway, and was destroyed by its construction. The overall size of the settlement could not be ascertained, but we assume that it occupied a much larger area than that examined. This is confirmed by the discovery of only two small residential pit houses with workshops in the examined portion of the settlement.

okupljalište (možda u obredne svrhe) stanovnika naselja. U središnjem dijelu naselja otkrivena su 23 kulturna predmeta, a dva u perifernim objektima. U sjevernoj stambenoj zemunici 6 otkriveni su postolje i žrtvena posuda, a u zemunici 9 s lončarskim i krušnim pećima nađeni su: antropomorfni idol, četiri dijela žrtvenika i dno žrtvene posude. Uz ogradu koja štiti središnji dio naselja nađeni su dijelovi dva žrtvenika, a u ograđenom dvorištu zemunice 10, gdje su bili žrvnjevi za drobljenje plodova i okomiti tkalački stan, otkriven je žrtvenik na četiri životinjske noge i drugi sa životinjskim protomama na uglovima. Najveći broj kulturnih predmeta otkriven je u južnoj (većoj) stambenoj zemunici 10 (dimenzija 9,5 x 11 m), koja je u unutrašnjosti bila podijeljena na četiri prostorije (Minichreiter 2001, sl. 1-5). Na jugozapadnoj strani zemunice bio je sporedni prolaz u ograđeno dvorište i u ovoj sporednoj prostoriji otkrivena je šuplja noga statuete ili žrtvenika (PN 14).<sup>3</sup> Na istočnoj strani zemunice glavni ulaz vodio je u najveću – istočnu prostoriju u kojoj je otkriveno 9 kulturnih predmeta: dijelovi dva žrtvenika s protomama, četiri žrtvene posude, noga ritona, glava psa i šapa monumentalne životinjske figure. Istaknutom položaju ove zemunice 10 među objektima u naselju, uz najveći broj kulturnih predmeta, pridonosi i otkriće obrednog ukopa životinjskih kosti - govedeg roga u zapadnoj prostoriji ispod skupine glinenog posuđa, što je bio poznati neolitički običaj pri izgradnji važnijih objekata u naselju.

Kulturni predmeti otkriveni u Zadubravljju obrađeni su u ovom radu po skupinama prema objavljenoj klasifikaciji kulturnih predmeta<sup>4</sup> iz naselja starčevačke kulture u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj (Minichreiter 2002, 11-24; Minichreiter 2004, 5-18).

## 1. ŽRTVENIK NA ČETIRI NOGE S POSUDICOM NA SREDINI ČETVEROKUTNOG POSTOLJA – tip 2.

### 1.1. ŽRTVENIK NA ČETIRI NOGE S POSUDICOM NA SREDINI ČETVEROKUTNOG POSTOLJA (sl. 2,1a i 1b)

Poseban nalaz br. 22 u otpadnoj jami br. 24, u središnjem dijelu naselja južno od stambene zemunice 10, otkriven 30. 10. 1990.

Kvadrant: G/16-d, dubina<sup>5</sup> 1,75–1,92 m.

Dimenzije: dužina (razmak nogu) 6,2 x 5,8 cm. Visina (rekonst.) 8 cm. Promjer žrtvene posudice (rekonstr.) 6,4 cm.

Donji dio potpuno očuvan (dio posudice nedostaje). Žrtvenik je glatke površine, izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: žrtvenik srednje veličine – postolje kvadratičnog oblika s nenaglašenim prijelazom od lučnih čepastih nožica prema vratu, gdje se na sredini uzdiže mala polukuglasta

dents. 23 cult objects were discovered in the central section, while two were found in peripheral structures. A base and a sacrificial vessel were discovered in northern residential pit house 6, while in pit house 9, beside pottery kilns and bread ovens, there were also an anthropomorphic idol, four pieces of an altar and the base of a sacrificial vessel. Pieces of two altars were found next to the fence that protects the central section of the settlement, while an altar with four zoomorphic legs and another one with animal protomes at the corners were found in the fenced yard of pit house 10. In the same yard there were also grindstones and a vertical weaving loom. The largest number of cult objects were discovered in the southern (larger) residential pit house 10 (9.5 x 11 m in size). Its interior was divided into four rooms (Minichreiter 2001, Fig. 1-5). In the south-western side of the pit house there was an auxiliary exit into the fenced yard, and in this auxiliary room a hollow leg of a statuette or altar was found (SF 14).<sup>3</sup> The main entrance on the eastern side of the pit house led to the largest, eastern room in which 9 cult objects were found: fragments of two altars with protomes, four sacrificial vessels, a leg of a rhyton, a dog's head and a paw of a monumental animal figure. Besides the largest number of cult objects discovered in it, the particular position of pit house 10 in comparison to other structures in the settlement is further demonstrated by the discovery of the ritual burial of animal bones: a bull's horn in the western room under several clay vessels. This was a well-known Neolithic custom when constructing important structures in settlements.

The cult objects discovered in Zadubravljje are here analysed by groups based on the published classification of cult objects<sup>4</sup> from Starčevo Culture settlements in northern Croatia (Minichreiter 2002, 11-24; Minichreiter 2004, 5-18).

## 1. ALTAR ON FOUR LEGS WITH SMALL VESSEL IN THE MIDDLE OF RECTANGULAR BASE – type 2

### 1.1. ALTAR ON FOUR LEGS WITH SMALL VESSEL IN THE MIDDLE OF RECTANGULAR BASE (Fig. 2,1a and 1b)

Special find no. 22 in refuse pit no. 24, in the central section of the settlement, south of residential pit house 10, discovered on 30 October 1990.

Quadrant: G/16-d, depth<sup>5</sup> 1.75–1.92 m.

Dimensions: length (distance between legs) 6.2 x 5.8 cm. Height (reconst.) 8 cm. Diameter of sacrificial vessel (reconst.) 6.4 cm.

The lower portion has been completely preserved (part of the recipient is missing). The altar has a smooth surface, made of impure clay mixed with tiny grains of sand, with a bichrome cross-section.

3 PN je kratica za poseban nalaz

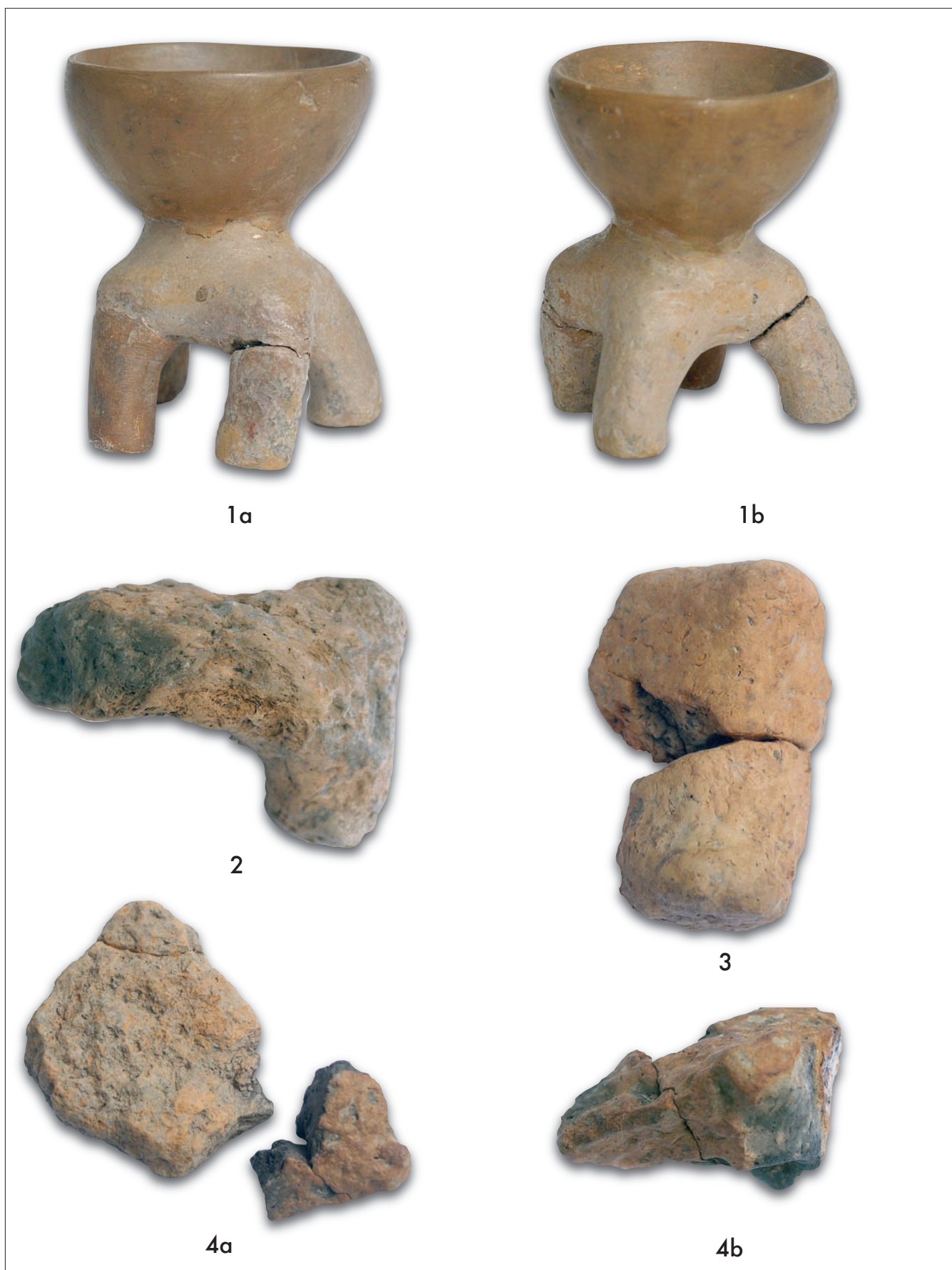
4 Na problem nazivlja žrtvenici ili kadionice za istu vrstu kulturnih predmeta ukazao je S. Karmanski koji je u nekim posudicama žrtvenika naišao na tragove gorenja. S obzirom da među dijelovima kulturnih predmeta otkrivenih u Zadubravljju nisu bile očuvane posudice, sve nalaze ove vrste uvrstili smo u žrtvenike u koje se mogu po svojoj funkciji ubrojiti i kadionice.

5 Dubine nalaza mjerene su od relativne – terenske "0" tj. od razine autoceste.

3 SF is an abbreviation for special find.

4 S. Karmanski pointed out the problem of the terms 'altar' and 'censer' used to describe the same type of cult objects, when he found traces of burning in some small altar vessels. Since there were no preserved small vessels among the items discovered in Zadubravljje, all finds of this type were categorised as altars, and censers according to their function can be included in the same category.

5 Depths of the finds have been measured from the relative "0" point, i.e. from the highway level.



Sl. 2 Zadubravljje, žrtvenici tipa 2 (1a i 1b), žrtvenici tipa 3 (2,3,4a i 4b) (snimio: M. Gregl)

Fig. 2 Zadubravljje, altar type 2 (1a and 1b), altar type 3 (2,3,4a and 4b) (photograph: M. Gregl)

žrtvena posudica. Noge žrtvenika nisu simetrično postavljene – prednje su više stisnute, dok su stražnje niže i raširenije (Minichreiter 1992a, sl. 20,25, T. 21,10; Minichreiter 1992b, 10, T. 1,5; Minichreiter 2000, sl. 13,25). Identično oblikovan žrtvenik nađen je u Slavanskom Brodu (Minichreiter 2002, 15, T. 1,6). Ovako oblikovani žrtvenici pripadaju osnovnom tipu starčevačkih žrtvenika i najbrojniji su u naseljima. Oni predstavljaju prijelazni oblik od žrtvenika s postoljem i čašicom na njemu prema žrtvenicima koji nemaju posebno oblikovano postolje i kojima noge izravno izlaze iz vrata posude - Tip G po Stankoviću i pripadaju ranim fazama starčevačke kulture (Stanković 1992, 213, 221, T. 8,F). Slični primjerci (po dataciji nešto mlađi) nađeni su u Donjoj Branjevini – stratum I' b koji je istovremen po S. Dimitrijeviću fazi Linear B u Slavoniji (Karmanski 1968, T. VII,2; Karmanski 1975, T. XI,4; Karmanski 1979, T. XXXVIII,1; Stanković 1992, T. LXIII,4) i u naselju Körös kulture u Tiszaug-Tópart i Kopáncs-Zsoldos-tanya (Kutzián 1944, T. VI,1, T. XXXIV,15).

### 1.2. NOGA ŽRTVENIKA UKRAŠENA UREZANIM VODORAVNIM LINIJAMA

Poseban nalaz br. 23 u stambenoj zemunici 10 – u sjeveroistočnom prostoru kod glavnog ulaza u objektu, otkriven 16. 10. 1990.

Kvadrant: D/15-c, dubina 1,44–1,47 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 3,2 cm. Promjer 2 cm.

Noga je glatke površine, izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: noga žrtvenika (Minichreiter 1992b, T. 1,3) ukrašena s dvjema vodoravnim paralelnim linijama izvedenim tehnikom urezivanja tip URO1 po Stankoviću (Stanković 1992, 226, 228, T. 10). Ukrašavanje žrtvenika najčešće je izvedeno tehnikom urezivanja. Motivi su raznoliki, od snopova urezanih linija, cik-cak, lučnih ili motiva mreže. U Slavanskom Brodu otkrivene su dva žrtvenika ukrašena ovom tehnikom. Žrtvenik s naglašenim rubom i uglovima postolja s rupama za vješanje bio je po cijeloj površini ukrašen urezanim linijama (Minichreiter 2002, 16, sl. 4, T. 2,2), dok je na drugom primjerku noge žrtvenika iz istog nalazišta urezan motiv mreže koji vjerojatno predstavlja kultne obrede ili simbole (Minichreiter 2002, 18, 19, T. 4,4). Daljnje analogije mogu se naći na urezanim ornamentima žrtvenika - kadionica iz Donje Branjevine stratum III' – istovremen s Linear A fazom u Slavoniji (Karmanski 1979, T. XXXIV; Stanković 1992, T. LVIII) i noge ritona iz III. faze (protokakanjske) Obra I – za koju A. Benac naglašava da su starčevačke žrtvenike zamijenili ritoni, koji se i dalje nastavljaju ukrašavati u starčevačkoj tradiciji (Benac 1973, 59-60, T. XXXII,14).

### 1.3. DVIJE NOGE ŽRTVENIKA

Poseban nalaz br. 20 u sjeverozapadnom prostoru radne zemunice 12 s lončarskim pećima, otkriven 1. 11. 1989.

Kvadrant: A/XXI-c, dubina 1,54–1,74 m.

Dimenzije: visina 3,5 i 1,8 cm (očuvani dio), a promjer 1,8 cm. Jedna noga je potpuno očuvana, a od druge je sačuvan samo srednji dio.

Description: medium-size altar – rectangular base with unpronounced transition from arched cork-shaped legs toward the neck, on which a small semi-circular sacrificial vessel is placed. The legs of the altar are not set symmetrically – the forelegs are closer together, while the back legs are lower and wider apart (Minichreiter 1992a, Fig. 20,25, Pl. 21,10; Minichreiter 1992b, 10, Pl. 1,5; Minichreiter 2000, Fig. 13,25). An altar of identical shape was found in Slavonski Brod (Minichreiter 2002, 15, Pl. 1,6). This form of altars belongs to the basic type of Starčevo Culture altars and they are the most numerous in settlements. They represent a transitional form between altars with a base and a cup on them, and altars with no specifically formed base and legs that come directly out of the vessel's neck – Type G according to Stanković – which belong to early phases of the Starčevo Culture (Stanković 1992, 213, 221, Pl. 8,F). Similar examples (dated in a later period) were found in Donja Branjevina – stratum I' b, which, according to S. Dimitrijević, is concurrent with Linear B phase in Slavonia (Karmanski 1968, Pl. VII,2; Karmanski 1975, Pl. XI,4; Karmanski 1979, Pl. XXXVIII,1; Stanković 1992, Pl. LXIII,4) and the Körös Culture settlement in Tiszaug-Tópart and Kopáncs-Zsoldos-tanya (Kutzián 1944, Pl. VI,1, Pl. XXXIV,15).

### 1.2. ALTAR LEG DECORATED WITH INCISED HORIZONTAL LINES

Special find no. 23 in residential pit house 10 – in the north-eastern room near the main entrance to the structure, discovered on 16 October 1990

Quadrant: D/15-c, depth 1.44–1.47 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 3.2 cm. Diameter 2 cm.

The surface of the leg is smooth; it is made of impure clay mixed with tiny particles of sand, with a bichrome cross-section.

Description: the leg of an altar (Minichreiter 1992b, Pl. 1,3) is decorated with two horizontal, parallel lines made by incision technique type URO1 according to Stanković (Stanković 1992, 226, 228, Pl. 10). Altars most often had incised decorations. The motifs were diverse; from groups of incised lines and zigzags to arches and nets. Two altars decorated in this fashion were found in Slavonski Brod. The entire surface of one of them was decorated with incised lines. It had a pronounced rim and holes in the base corners so that it could be hanged (Minichreiter 2002, 16, Fig. 4, Pl. 2,2). In another example, the legs of an altar from the same site were decorated with incised net motif, which probably represented cult rites or symbols (Minichreiter 2002, 18–19, Pl. 4,4). Further analogies can be found in the incised decorations on the altars/censers from Donja Branjevina stratum III' – contemporary with the Linear A phase in Slavonia (Karmanski 1979, Pl. XXXIV; Stanković 1992, Pl. LVIII), and the rhyton legs from phase III (protokakanj) of Obra I. A. Benac stresses that the Starčevo altars were replaced by rhytons, which continued to be decorated in the Starčevo tradition (Benac 1973, 59-60, Pl. XXXII,14).

### 1.3. TWO ALTAR LEGS

Special find no. 20 in the north-western room of workplace pit house 12 containing pottery ovens, discovered on 1 November 1989.

Quadrant: A/XXI-c, depth 1.54–1.74 m.

Noge su izrađene od nepročišćene gline sa sitnim primjesama pijeska, grube površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: dijelovi dvije čepaste noge koje najvjerojatnije pripadaju žrtveniku četverokutnog postolja s posudicom na sredini. Blago su lučno savijene slično oblikovane kao noge žrtvenika s posudicom na sredini postolja PN br. 22, otkrivenoj u otpadnoj jami 24 u južnom dijelu naselja.

## 2. ŽRTVENICI NA ČETIRI NOGE VODORAVNOGA ČETVEROKUTNOG POSTOLJA SA ŽIVOTINJSKIM PROTOMAMA NA UGLOVIMA – tip 3.

### 2.1. UGLOVNI DIO ŽRTVENIKA S ČEPASTOM NOGOM I STILIZIRANOM ŽIVOTINJSKOM PROTOMOM NA UGLU POSTOLJA (sl. 2,2)

Poseban nalaz br. 13 u stambenoj zemunici 10 – u sjeveroistočnom prostoru kod glavnog ulaza u objektu, otkriven 19. 10. 1990.

Kvadrant: E/15-b, dubina 1,40–1,50 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 3,8 cm, a dužina (očuvana) 5,1 cm. Visina noge 2,2 cm, a promjer 1,8 cm.

Žrtvenik je izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnih čestica pijeska, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: uglovni dio žrtvenika četverokutnoga vodoravnog postolja s niskom čepastom nogom. Na uglu postolja iznad noge oblikovana je stilizirana životinjska protoma. Analogno oblikovani žrtvenici otkriveni su na Galovu u Slavanskom Brodu – tip 3 (Minichreiter 2002, 17-18, T. 2 i 3; Minichreiter 2004, sl. 6,2-3). Daljnje analogije nalazimo na nešto mlađim lokalitetima Kőrös kulture u Mađarskoj: Kopáncs-Zsoldos-tanya, Óbessenyő i Kotacpart-Vasa-tanya (Kutzián 1944, T. XXXV,1-8), gdje su na uglovima kadionica životinjske protome raznoliko oblikovane.

### 2.2. UGLOVNI DIO ŽRTVENIKA SA ZOOMORFNOM NOGOM I STILIZIRANOM ŽIVOTINJSKOM PROTOMOM NA UGLU POSTOLJA (sl. 2,3)

Poseban nalaz br. 16 uz sjevernu drvenu ogradu u sjeveroistočnom dijelu dvorišta stambene zemunice 10, otkriven je 10. 10. 1990.

Kvadrant: E/17-a, dubina 1,00–1,27 m.

Dimenzije: visina uglovnog dijela 5,2 cm. Visina noge 2,5 cm i promjer noge 2,5 cm. Žrtvenik je izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: uglovni dio žrtvenika sa zoomorfnom kratkom nogom iznad koje je na uglu vodoravnog četverokutnog postolja jedva naglašena – malo istaknuta stilizirana životinjska protoma. Ovakva izvedba protome najbližnja je žrtveniku PN 1363 iz Slavanskog Broda (Minichreiter 2002, 17, T. 3,1a i 1b)

### 2.3. UGLOVNI DIO ŽRTVENIKA SA STILIZIRANOM ŽIVOTINJSKOM PROTOMOM NA UGLU POSTOLJA (sl. 2,4a i 4b)

Poseban nalaz br. 18, pronađen 7. 9. 1989. uz nogu statuete ili žrtvenika s istočne (unutrašnje) strane drvene ograde koja

Dimensions: height 3.5 and 1.8 cm (preserved part), and diameter 1.8 cm. One leg has been preserved entirely, while only the mid-section of the other one has survived.

The legs are made of impure clay with tiny particles of sand. Their surface is rough and their cross-section bichrome.

Description: fragments of two cork-shaped legs which most likely belonged to an altar with a rectangular base and a vessel in the middle. They are gently arched, similar to the legs of the altar with vessel in the middle of the base, SF no. 22, discovered in refuse pit 24 in the southern part of the settlement.

## 2. ALTARS WITH FOUR LEGS AND RECTANGULAR BASE WITH ANIMAL PROTOMES AT THE CORNERS – type 3

### 2.1. CORNER SECTION OF AN ALTAR WITH A CORK-SHAPED LEG AND STYLISED ANIMAL PROTOME AT BASE CORNER (Fig. 2,2)

Special find no. 13 in residential pit house 10 – in the north-eastern room near the main entrance to the structure, discovered on 19 October 1990.

Quadrant: E/15-b, depth 1.40–1.50 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 3.8 cm, and length (preserved) 5.1 cm. Height of legs 2.2 cm, and diameter 1.8 cm.

The altar is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with bichrome cross-section.

Description: corner section of an altar with rectangular base and a low, cork-shaped leg. A stylised animal protome is formed at the corner of the base above the leg. Similarly shaped altars were discovered at Galovo in Slavonski Brod – type 3 (Minichreiter 2002, 17-18, Pl. 2 and 3; Minichreiter 2004, Fig. 6,2-3). Further analogies can be found at somewhat later sites of the Kőrös culture in Hungary: Kopáncs-Zsoldos-tanya, Óbessenyő and Kotacpart-Vasa-tanya (Kutzián 1944, Pl. XXXV,1-8), where the animal protomes at the corners of the censers are formed in various ways.

### 2.2. CORNER SECTION OF AN ALTAR WITH A ZOOMORPHIC LEG AND STYLISED ANIMAL PROTOME AT BASE CORNER (Fig. 2,3)

Special find no. 16 found by the northern wooden fence in the north-eastern part of the yard of residential pit house 10, discovered on 10 October 1990.

Quadrant: E/17-a, depth 1.00–1.27 m.

Dimensions: height of the corner section 5.2 cm. Height of legs 2.5 cm and diameter of legs 2.5 cm. The altar is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, of bichrome cross-section.

Description: corner section of the altar with zoomorphic short leg, above which at the corner of the horizontal base there is a scarcely notable – slightly extended stylised animal protome. Such a rendering of the protome is most similar to altar SF 1363 from Slavonski Brod (Minichreiter 2002, 17, Pl. 3,1a and 1b).

### 2.3. CORNER SECTION OF ALTAR WITH STYLISED ANIMAL PROTOME AT BASE CORNER (Fig. 2,4a and 4b)

Special find no. 18, found on 7 September 1989 together with leg of statuette or altar from the eastern (internal) side

je spajala radnu zemunicu 9 s krušnim i lončarskim pećima i dvorište stambene zemunice 10 te na taj način štitila središnji prostor ovog dijela naselja.

Kvadrant: C/18-a, dubina 1,22–1,45 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 2,4 cm, dužina (očuvana) 4,5 x 4,2 cm. Žrtvenik je izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: uglovni dio žrtvenika vodoravnoga četverokutnog postolja s naglašenim rubovima (vodoravno izvučenim), oblikovanim na isti način kao žrtvenik PN 1245 iz Slavanskog Broda (Minichreiter 2002, 16, sl. 4, T. 2,2). Stilizirana životinjska protoma na uglu je u svojem donjem dijelu oštećena, no na njezinom gornjem istaknutom zaravnjenom dijelu vidljiva su dva udubljenja koja možda prikazuju njušku svinje. Protoma je oblikovana kao njuška svinje i vidljivo se razlikuje od oblikovanja stiliziranih životinjskih glava na kojima su oči (udubljenja) uvijek naznačene sa strane glave. Na sličan način oblikovana je njuška svinje otkrivena u starčevačkom naselju Anzabegovo u Makedoniji (Gimbutas 1976, 234, fig. 196-197). Najljepšim primjercima skulpture svinje do sada otkrivene u neolitičkim nalazištima svakako pripada protoma realistički oblikovane glave i vrata svinje na kadionici iz Slavanskog Broda PN 1703 (Minichreiter 2004, sl. 7,1a i 1b). Štovanje kulta svinje kao simbola plodnosti bilo je rašireno po cijeloj Europi, na što ukazuju njezini brojni prikazi kao i proces njezine domestikacije uz ovcu i kozu u ranim razdobljima neolitika.

#### 2.4. NOGA ŽRTVENIKA TROKUTASTOG PRESJEKA S TRAGOM PROTOME NA GORNJEM DIJELU

Poseban nalaz br. 4, pronađen 18. 10. 1989. u sjeverozapadnom prostoru radne zemunice 9, zajedno s antropomorfnim idolom i malom žrtvenom posudicom na suprotnoj strani krušnih i lončarskim peći.

Kvadrant: A/18-a, dubina 1,26 – 1,46 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 2,8 cm i promjer noge 1,8 cm.

Noga je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: gornji dio noge trokutastog presjeka na kojoj je na vrhu bila oblikovana protoma. Noge trokutastog presjeka s protomama na uglovima postolja pripadaju tipu 3 žrtvenika iz Slavanskog Broda i najbližnja je dvama žrtvenicima PN 793 i PN 1544 i jednoj nozi PN 1724 otkrivenim u tom naselju (Minichreiter 2002, 18, T. 3,3-4; Minichreiter 2004, sl. 6,2-3). Na brojnim nalazištima starčevačke kulture izvan Slavonije – Lepenski Vir, Donja Branjevina, Kremenište, Blagotin, Obre i dr., noge trokutastog presjeka javljaju se na onim tipovima žrtvenika koje na postolju imaju široku i plitku žrtvenu posudu (Stanković 1992, T. LXVIII,1,5, T. XLIX,1, T. L,5-8, T. LI,1,2; Benac 1979, T. LIV,3, T. LV,8), dok su na žrtvenicima s naznačenim životinjskim protomama na uglovima u pravilu noge kružnog presjeka.

S obzirom da su žrtvenici s vodoravnim postoljem na četiri noge trokutastog presjeka s protomama na uglovima otkriveni samo na slavanskim nalazištima, može se (pri sadašnjem

of the wooden fence that connected workplace pit house 9 with the bread and pottery ovens and the yard of residential pit house 10, thereby enclosing the central area of this section of the settlement.

Quadrant: C/18-a, depth 1.22–1.45 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 2.4 cm, length (preserved) 4.5 x 4.2 cm. The altar is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with bichrome cross-section.

Description: corner section of an altar with horizontal rectangular base with pronounced edges (horizontally protruding), formed in the same manner as altar SF 1245 from Slavanski Brod (Minichreiter 2002, 16, Fig. 4, Pl. 2,2). The lower portion of the stylised animal protome at its corner is damaged, although on its upper, extended part there are two grooves that may portray a pig's snout. The protome is formed like a pig's snout and visibly different from stylised animal heads on which the eyes (depressions) are always marked on the sides of the head. The pig's snout discovered in the Starčevo settlement of Anzabegovo in Macedonia is formed in a similar manner (Gimbutas 1976, 234, Fig. 196-197). One of the finest examples of pig sculptures so far discovered in Neolithic sites is certainly the protome of a realistically formed pig head and neck on the censer from Slavanski Brod, SF 1703 (Minichreiter 2004, Fig. 7,1a and 1b). Reverence for the pig as a fertility symbol was widespread throughout Europe, as indicated by numerous portrayals and the process of its domestication together with sheep and goats in the early phases of the Neolithic.

#### 2.4. LEG OF AN ALTAR WITH TRIANGULAR CROSS-SECTION AND TRACE OF A PROTOME IN THE UPPER PORTION

Special find no. 4, found on 18 October 1989 in the north-eastern room of workplace pit house 9, together with an anthropomorphic idol and a small sacrificial vessel on the opposite side of the bread and pottery ovens.

Quadrant: A/18-a, depth 1.26 – 1.46 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 2.8 cm and diameter of legs 1.8 cm.

The leg is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: upper portion of a leg with triangular cross-section which used to have a protome on the top. The legs with triangular cross-section with protomes at the base corners belong to type 3 of the altars from Slavanski Brod. It is most similar to two altars, SF 793 and SF 1544, and one leg, SF 1724, discovered in this settlement (Minichreiter 2002, 18, Pl. 3,3-4; Minichreiter 2004, Fig. 6,2-3). At numerous Starčevo Culture sites outside of Slavonia – in Lepenski Vir, Donja Branjevina, Kremenište, Blagotin, Obre and others – legs with triangular cross-section appear on those types of altars that have wide and shallow sacrificial vessels placed on the base (Stanković 1992, Pl. LXVIII,1,5, Pl. XLIX,1, Pl. L,5-8, Pl. LI,1,2; Benac 1979, Pl. LIV,3, Pl. LV,8), while altars with pronounced animal protomes at the corners generally have legs with round cross-sections.

Since the altars with horizontal bases on four protome legs of triangular cross-section were only discovered at sites



Sl. 3 Zadubravlje, žrtvenik tipa 3 (1), žrtvene posude (2-6) (snimio: M. Gregl)

Fig. 3 Zadubravlje, altar type 3 (1), sacrificial vessels (2-6) (photograph: M. Gregl)



stanju istraživanja) ovako oblikovane žrtvenike izdvojiti kao slavonski tip.

### 2.5. DONJI DIO NOGE ŽRTVENIKA

Poseban nalaz br. 7, otkriven 19. 10. 1989. u jugozapadnom prostoru radne zemunice 9, na suprotnoj strani krušnih i lončarskim peći.

Kvadrant: A/18-c, dubina 1,56–1,76 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 3 cm i promjer 1,8 cm.

Noga je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: donji dio noge žrtvenika, čepastog oblika na dnu malo proširene stope. Ovako oblikovane noge mogu pripadati dvjema vrstama žrtvenika: četverokutnog postolja s posudicom na sredini ili vodoravnog postolja sa životinjskim protomama na uglovima. Mali dio noge je sačuvan, pa se ne može točno odrediti kojem tipu žrtvenika pripada.

## 3. ŽRTVENICI NA ČETIRI NOGE KOJE DRŽE OBREDNU POSUDU IZVANA ČETVEROKUTNOGA, A U UNUTRAŠNJOSTI KRUŽNOG OBLIKA S PROTOMAMA NA UGLOVIMA – tip 4

### 3.1 UGLOVNI DIO ŽRTVENIKA S PROTOMOM NA UGLU OBREDNE POSUDE

Poseban nalaz br. 6, otkriven 7. 10. 1989. u sjeveroistočnom prostoru radne zemunice 9, u blizini krušnih peći.

Kvadrant: A/18-b, dubina 1,34–1,54 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 2,9 cm i dužine (očuvane) 3,6 x 3,8 cm. Žrtvenik je izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: uglovni dio žrtvenika koja je imao žrtvenu posudu izvana četverokutnoga, a u unutrašnjosti kružnog oblika s protomama na uglovima. Protoma je jako stilizirana i oblikovana tako da je glina na uglovima žrtvenika malo izvučena iz glavne rubne mase obredne posude. Po obliku pripada žrtvenicima tip 4 iz Slavenskog Broda, a najsličniji je žrtveniku PN 3737 koji ima kružnu protomu na uglovima (Minichreiter 2002, 19, T. 4,3).

## 4. ŽRTVENIK NA ČETIRI ZOOMORFNE NOGE, PRAVOKUTNE OBREDNE POSUDE S NISKIM BOČNIM STRANICAMA

### 4.1. DIJELOVI ŽRTVENIKA NA ČETIRI ZOOMORFNE NOGE, PRAVOKUTNE OBREDNE POSUDE S NISKIM BOČNIM STRANICAMA (sl. 3,1)

Poseban nalaz br. 17, otkriven 10. 10. 1990., uz drvenu ogradu zapadnog dijela dvorišta stambene zemunice 10.

Kvadrant: E/19-d, dubina 1,64 m.

Dimenzije: visina 5,2 cm. Dužina (rekonstruirana) 11,2 cm i širina 9,2 cm.

Žrtvenik je izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

in Slavonia, one can (at the current state of research) discern altars so formed as the Slavonian type.

### 2.5. LOWER PORTION OF AN ALTAR LEG

Special find no. 7, discovered on 19 October 1989 in the south-western room of workplace pit house 9, on the opposite side of the bread and pottery ovens.

Quadrant: A/18-c, depth 1.56–1.76 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 3 cm and diameter 1.8 cm.

The leg is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: lower part of an altar leg, cork-shaped at bottom with a slightly wider base. Legs formed in this fashion may belong to two types of altars: those with a rectangular base and recipient in the middle or with horizontal base and animal protomes at the corners. A small fragment of the leg has been preserved, so the type of altar cannot be accurately determined.

## 3. ALTARS ON FOUR LEGS WITH RITUAL VESSEL THAT IS RECTANGULAR FROM THE OUTSIDE AND CIRCULAR FROM THE INSIDE, WITH PROTOMES AT CORNERS – type 4

### 3.1 CORNER SECTION OF AN ALTAR WITH A PROTOME AT THE CORNER OF THE RITUAL VESSEL

Special find no. 6, discovered on 7 October 1989 in the north-eastern room of workplace pit house 9, near the bread ovens.

Quadrant: A/18-b, depth 1.34–1.54 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 2.9 cm and length (preserved) 3.6 x 3.8 cm. The altar is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: corner section of an altar that had a recipient with a rectangular exterior and circular interior and protomes at the corners. The protome is very stylised and formed so that the clay at the corners of the altar is slightly stretched from the edge mass of the ritual vessel. In terms of form it belongs to the type 4 altars from Slavonski Brod, and it is most similar to altar SF 3737 which has a circular protome at the corners (Minichreiter 2002, 19, Pl. 4,3).

## 4. ALTAR WITH FOUR ZOOMORPHIC LEGS AND RECTANGULAR RITUAL VESSEL WITH LOW LATERAL SIDES

### 4.1. FRAGMENTS OF AN ALTAR ON FOUR ZOOMORPHIC LEGS AND RECTANGULAR RITUAL VESSEL WITH LOW LATERAL SIDES (Fig. 3,1)

Special find no. 17, discovered on 10 October 1990, next to the wooden fence of the western part of the yard to residential pit house 10.

Quadrant: E/19-d, depth 1.64 m.

Opis: žrtvenik jednostavnoga pravokutnog oblika na četiri niske zoomorfne noge sa stopalima okrenutim prema unutrašnjosti. Na širokom vodoravnom postolju oblikovane su niske stranice visine 1 cm, na kojima su uglovni rubovi malo uzdignuti što najvjerojatnije simbolički predstavlja protomu. Ovako oblikovani žrtvenici nisu za sada nađeni u Slavanskom Brodu, iako nalazimo brojne analogne primjerke u nalazištima starčevačke kulture u svim njezinim fazama razvitka. S. Stanković ovaj tip žrtvenika uvrštava u klasične oblike - tip A (Stanković 1992, 213, T. 8,A), jer je među žrtvenicima i kadionicama najjednostavnije oblikovan. Na većini žrtvenika koji imaju dublje stranice s vanjske strane su po cijeloj površini ukrašeni. Ovaj tip žrtvenika rijetko se nalazi u središnjim područjima rasprostranjenosti starčevačke kulture, a jedan lijepo ukrašen primjerak otkriven je na Đerdapu – lokalitet Knjepište (Stanković 1992, T. XLVII,1). Najveći broj žrtvenika ovog tipa otkriven je u južnim dijelovima rasprostiranja starčevačke kulture na Kosmetu – lokaliteti Rudnik (Stanković 1992, T. XLV,1, T. XLVI,1, T. XLVIII,2) kao i na području rasprostranjenosti kulture Anzabegovo - Vršnik na lokalitetima: Vršnik (Garašanin, Sanev, Simoska, Kitanoski 1971, 42, sl. 56; Sanev, Simoska, Kitanoski, Saržoski 1976, 38, sl. 96) Čuka Topolčani (Kitanovski 1977, 10, T. 1,6; Stanković 1992, T. LIX,3-4), Mogila Bitola (Simoska, Sanev 1976, 37, sl. 105; Sanev, Simoska, Kitanoski, Saržoski 1976, 45, sl. 272; Simoska, Kitanoski, Todorović 1979, 17, sl. 51; Stanković 1992, T. LIX,5, T. LXIX,4), Veluška tumba u Velušini (Simoska, Sanev 1974, 20-23, T. IV,2) i Dolno Trnovo (Kuzman, Simoska, Kitanoski 1989, 38, sl. 2; Stanković 1992, T. LXXIV,5). Sličan oblik žrtvenika nađen je i na Obrima I – starčevačko impresso I. faza (Benac 1973, T. XV,1; Benac 1979, T. LIII,6).

Svi navedeni lokaliteti datirani su u rani neolitik u vrijeme Starčevo I-IIa (prema M. Garašaninu) i Protostarčevo II (prema D. Srejoviću), što je istodobno sa stupnjem Linear A (prema S. Dimitrijeviću). Ovaj oblik žrtvenika javlja se u svim fazama razvitka starčevačke kulture i dalje nešto modificiran u ranim stupnjevima vinčanske kulture (Stanković 1992, 216-217). U lokalitetima Körös kulture u Mađarskoj žrtvenik sličnog tipa nađen je samo u Zserbkeresztur (Kutzián 1944, 3-4, T. XXXVI,4), dok su žrtvenici i kadionice drugih oblika brojni među kućnim inventarom.

## 5. ŽRTVENE POSUDE

### 5.1. DIJELOVI MALE ŽRTVENE POSUDICE NA NISKOJ NOZI (sl. 3,2)

Poseban nalaz br. 2, otkriven 25. 9. 1989. u jugozapadnom prostoru stambene zemunice 6, u blizini «žrtvenog objekta».

Kvadrant: A/15-c, dubina 1,10–1,30 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 5 cm, a pretpostavljena 6,2 cm. Promjer noge 3 cm, a trbuha posudice 7 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: dijelovi male žrtvene posudice na niskoj nozi (visina 1 cm), tankih stijenki (Minichreiter 2001, T. 3,7). U Zadubravljju je nađeno pet sličnih posudica, dok su u

Dimensions: height 5.2 cm. Length (reconstructed) 11.2 cm and width 9.2 cm.

The altar is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: the altar has a simple rectangular form mounted on four short zoomorphic legs with feet turned inwards. There are low 1 cm-high sides on the wide horizontal base on which the corner edges are slightly raised, which is probably a symbolic representation of a protome. Altars fashioned in this manner have not yet been found in Slavonski Brod, even though numerous analogous examples have been found at Starčevo Culture sites from all of its developmental phases. S. Stanković classifies this type of altar as the classic form of type A (Stanković 1992, 213, Pl. 8,A), since it has the most simple form of all altars and censers. Most altars that have higher sides on the exterior, are decorated over the entire surface. This type of altar is rarely found in the central area of distribution of the Starčevo Culture. A nicely formed example was discovered at Đerdap – Knjepište site (Stanković 1992, Pl. XLVII,1). Most altars of this type were discovered in the southern distribution area of the Starčevo culture in Kosmet – Rudnik sites (Stanković 1992, Pl. XLV,1, Pl. XLVI,1, Pl. XLVIII,2) and in the distribution area of the Anzabegovo-Vršnik culture at the following sites: Vršnik (Garašanin, Sanev, Simoska, Kitanoski 1971, 42, Fig. 56; Sanev, Simoska, Kitanoski, Saržoski 1976, 38, Fig. 96), Čuka Topolčani (Kitanovski 1977, 10, Pl. 1,6; Stanković 1992, Pl. LIX,3-4), Mogila Bitola (Simoska, Sanev 1976, 37, Fig. 105; Sanev, Simoska, Kitanoski, Saržoski 1976, 45, Fig. 272; Simoska, Kitanoski, Todorović 1979, 17, Fig. 51; Stanković 1992, Pl. LIX,5, Pl. LXIX,4), Veluška tumba in Velušina (Simoska, Sanev 1974, 20-23, Pl. IV,2) and Dolno Trnovo (Kuzman, Simoska, Kitanoski 1989, 38, Fig. 2; Stanković 1992, Pl. LXXIV,5). A similar form of altar was found at Obre I – Starčevo Impresso Culture, phase I (Benac 1973, Pl. XV,1; Benac 1979, Pl. LIII,6).

All aforementioned sites were dated in the early Neolithic, in the Starčevo I-IIa (according to M. Garašanin) and Proto-Starčevo II (according D. Srejović) phases, which concurs with the Linear A phase (according S. Dimitrijević). This form of altar appears in all developmental phases of the Starčevo culture and further albeit somewhat modified in the early phases of the Vinča culture (Stanković 1992, 216-217). A similar type of altar at Körös Culture sites in Hungary was found only in Zserbkeresztur (Kutzián 1944, 3-4, Pl. XXXVI,4), while altars and censers of other forms are numerous in household inventories.

## 5. SACRIFICIAL VESSELS

### 5.1. FRAGMENTS OF A SMALL SACRIFICIAL ALTAR ON SHORT LEGS (Fig. 3,2)

Special find no. 2, discovered on 25 September 1989 in the south-western room of residential pit house 6, near a “sacri-ficial facility”.

Quadrant: A/15-c, depth 1.10–1.30 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 5 cm, assumed 6.2 cm. Diameter of legs 3 cm, and body of recipient 7 cm. The re-

Slavonskom Brodu otkrivena tri primjerka (Minichreiter 2002, 19-20, T. 4,7; Minichreiter 2004, sl. 8,1). Ovakav oblik posuda S. Stanković izdvaja u posebnu skupinu – oltare (Stanković 1992, 185-207). Primjerci iz Slavonskog Broda i Zadubravljja najbliži su tipu F po Stankoviću (Stanković 1992, 193), dok ostali tipovi imaju raznoliko oblikovane probušene noge. S. Stanković ističe da je ovaj tip žrtvene posude vrlo rijedak i da je do sada otkriveno samo nekoliko primjeraka: u horizontu IIIa na Lepenskom Viru (Srejić 1971, T. 12,6; Dimitrijević 1974, T. 2,19; Stanković, 1992, T. LXXXVI,14) i na lokalitetu Padina u stratumu B-3, koji S. Dimitrijević opredjeljuje u I. monokromni stupanj starčevačke kulture (Dimitrijević 1974, T. 1,17).

### 5.2 DIJELOVI MALE ŽRTVENE POSUDICE NA NISKOJ NOZI

Poseban nalaz br. 3, otkriven 18. 10. 1989. u sjeverozapadnom prostoru radne zemunice 9, uz kadionice i antropomorfni idol, na suprotnoj strani od krušnih i lončarskih peći.

Kvadrant: A/18-a, dubina 1,26 – 1,46 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 2,2 cm, a noge 1,3 cm. Promjer noge 8 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: donji dijelovi male žrtvene posudice na niskoj nozi oblikom i načinom izrade analogni su PN 2, 12, 15, 24 iz Zadubravljja. Kao i ostali primjerci pripada u skupinu rijetko otkrivenih žrtvenih posuda tip F po Stankoviću (Stanković 1992, 193).

### 5.3. DIJELOVI MALE ŽRTVENE POSUDICE NA NISKOJ NOZI (sl. 3,3)

Poseban nalaz br. 12, otkriven 19. 10. 1990. u sjeveroistočnom prostoru stambene zemunice 10, kod glavnog ulaza, zajedno sa skupinom kulturnih predmeta – još jednom posudicom, dijelovima kadionica i zoomorfnom figurom.

Kvadrant: D/15-c, dubina 1,47 – 1,57 m.

Dimenzije: visina (rekonstruirana) 5,6 cm. Promjer noge 3,6 cm, trbuha 7,5 cm i oboda 7,1 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: donji dijelovi male žrtvene posudice na niskoj nozi oblikom i načinom izrade analogni su posudicama iz istog naselja PN 2, 3, 15, 24 (Minichreiter 2001, T. 3,3,4,6,7). Prema S. Stankoviću, pripada skupini F žrtvenih posuda brojčano najmanje zastupljenih na starčevačkim nalazištima u njezinom središnjem dijelu rasprostiranja (Stanković, 1992, 193).

### 5.4. DIJELOVI MALE ŽRTVENE POSUDICE NA NISKOJ NOZI

Poseban nalaz br. 15, otkriven 7. 11. 1990. u zapadnom prostoru (označen kao 10c) stambene zemunice 10.

Kvadrant: E/17-b, dubina 1,32 – 1,67 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 1,7 cm, a visina noge 0,8 cm.

cipient is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: fragments of a small sacrificial vessel on short legs (height 1 cm), with thin walls (Minichreiter 2001, Pl. 3,7). Five similar vessels were found in Zadubravljje, while three examples were discovered in Slavonski Brod (Minichreiter 2002, 19-20, Pl. 4,7; Minichreiter 2004, Fig. 8,1). S. Stanković distinguishes this type of vessel from others and categorises it as altar (Stanković 1992, 185-207). The examples from Slavonski Brod and Zadubravljje are most similar to type F according to Stanković (Stanković 1992, 193), while the remaining types have differently formed, pierced legs. S. Stanković stresses that this type of sacrificial vessel is very rare and that thus far only a few examples have been found: in horizon IIIa at Lepenski Vir (Srejić 1971, Pl. 12,6; Dimitrijević 1974, Pl. 2,19; Stanković, 1992, Pl. LXXXVI,14) and at the Padina site in stratum B-3, which S. Dimitrijević includes into the I monochrome phase of the Starčevo culture (Dimitrijević 1974, Pl. 1,17).

### 5.2 FRAGMENTS OF A SMALL SACRIFICIAL VESSEL ON SHORT LEG

Special find no. 3, discovered on 18 October 1989 in the north-western room of workplace pit house 9, besides censers and an anthropomorphic idol, on the opposite side of the bread and pottery ovens.

Quadrant: A/18-a, depth 1.26 – 1.46 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 2.2 cm, and leg 1.3 cm. Diameter of leg 8 cm. The vessel is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: the lower parts of a small sacrificial vessel on a short leg are, in terms of its form and production, analogous to SF 2, 12, 15, 24 from Zadubravljje. Like the other examples, it belongs to the group of rarely discovered vessels of type F according to Stanković (Stanković 1992, 193).

### 5.3. FRAGMENTS OF A SMALL SACRIFICIAL VESSEL ON SHORT LEG (Fig. 3,3)

Special find no. 12, discovered on 19 October 1990 in the north-eastern room of residential pit house 10, near the main entrance, together with a group of cult items (another vessel, fragments of censers and a zoomorphic figure).

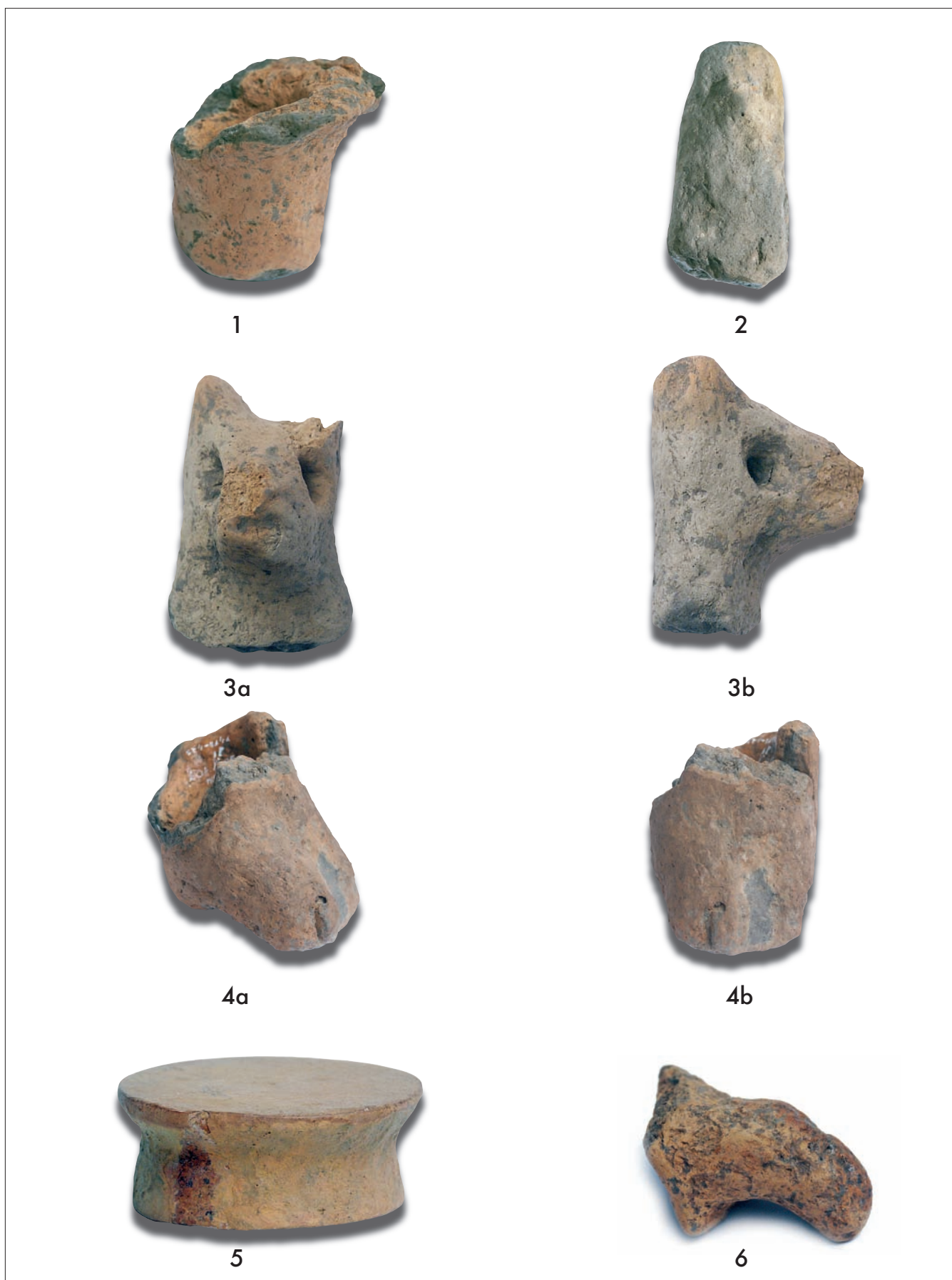
Quadrant: D/15-c, depth 1.47 – 1.57 m.

Dimensions: height (reconstructed) 5.6 cm. Diameter of leg 3.6 cm, body 7.5 cm and rim 7.1 cm. The vessel is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: the lower parts of a small sacrificial vessel on a short leg, are, in terms of its form and production, analogous to SF 2, 3, 15, 24 found in the same settlement (Minichreiter 2001, Pl. 3,3,4,6,7). According to S. Stanković, it belongs to group F of sacrificial vessels, the least frequent sacrificial vessels at sites of the central distribution area of the Starčevo Culture (Stanković, 1992, 193).

### 5.4. FRAGMENTS OF A SMALL SACRIFICIAL VESSEL ON SHORT LEG

Special find no. 15, discovered on 7 November 1990 in the western room (designated as 10c) of residential pit house 10.



Sl. 4 Zadubravljje, rityon (1), stupasto-zvonoliki idol (2), glava psa (3a i b), životinjska šapa (4a i b), postolje (5), dio figure ili posude (6) (snimio: M. Gregl)

Fig. 4 Zadubravljje, rhyton (1), pillar-like bell-shaped idol (2), dog's head (3a and b), animal paw (4a and b), base (5), fragment of figure or vessel (6) (photograph: M. Gregl)

Promjer noge je 5 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: donji dijelovi male žrtvene posudice na niskoj nozi oblikom i načinom izrade analogni su posudicama iz istog naselja PN 2, 3, 12, 24 (Minichreiter 2001, T. 3,3). Prema S. Stankoviću, pripada rijetkom tipu žrtvenih posuda tip F (Stanković 1992, 193).

#### 5.5. DIJELOVI MALE ŽRTVENE (?) POSUDICE

(sl. 3,4)

Poseban nalaz br. 24, otkriven 16. 10. 1990. u jugoistočnom prostoru uz glavni ulaz u stambenu zemunicu 10.

Kvadrant: E/15-c, dubina 1,20 – 1,45 m.

Dimenzije: visina 6,9 cm. Promjer dna 5,8 cm, trbuha 11,7 cm i oboda 10,2 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: dijelovi male posudice (dno, trbuh i obod) od koje se mogla rekonstruirati u cijelosti (Minichreiter 2001, T. 3,4). Oblikom zdjelica s dnom izvedenim kao mala stopa. Vrlo je slična žrtvenim posudicama, a mogla je imati dvojaku namjenu: za svakodnevnu upotrebu kao obično kućno posuđe ili kao žrtvena posudica. Prema obliku, analogna je posudicama PN 2, 3 i 12 iz Zadubravljja.

#### 5.6. MALA ŽRTVENA (?) POSUDICA UKRAŠENA S ČETIRI BRADAVICE (sl. 3,5)

Poseban nalaz br. 25, otkriven 16. 10. 1990. u sjeveroistočnom prostoru stambene zemunice 10 kod glavnog ulaza, zajedno sa skupinom kulturnih predmeta – još jednom posudicom, dijelovima žrtvenika i zoomorfnom figurom.

Kvadrant: D/15-c, dubina 1,00 – 1,27 m.

Dimenzije: visina 8,2 cm. Promjer dna 4,8 cm, trbuha 11 cm, oboda 7,6 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, fino zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: mala posudica (cjelovita) polukuglasta s uvučenim obodom i povišenim dnom naglašenim kao na stopu (Minichreiter 2001, T. 3,2). Na najširem dijelu trbuha su nalijepljene četiri velike bradavice. Posuda je prema obliku na granici između zdjele i lonca. Fine izrade, glatke površine vjerojatno je služila u kultne svrhe, pa ju uvjetno pribrajamo u žrtvene posudice.

#### 5.7. MALA ŽRTVENA (?) ZDJELICA UKRAŠENA OTISCIMA PRSTA (sl. 3,6)

Poseban nalaz br. 21, otkriven 4. 10. 1990. u sjeveroistočnom prostoru radne zemunice 19 – radionice za izradu kamenih alatki.

Kvadrant: D/11-d, dubina 0,88 – 1,01 m.

Dimenzije: visina 4,1 cm, promjer dna 6,6 cm, a oboda 10,6 cm. Posudica je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, fino zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Quadrant: E/17-b, depth 1.32 – 1.67 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 1.7 cm, and height of leg 0.8 cm. Diameter of leg is 5 cm. The vessel is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: the lower parts of a small sacrificial vessel on a short leg, are, in terms of its form and crafting, analogous to SF 2, 3, 12, 24 found in the same settlement (Minichreiter 2001, Pl. 3,3). According to S. Stanković, it belongs to the rare type F of sacrificial vessels (Stanković 1992, 193).

#### 5.5. FRAGMENTS OF A SMALL SACRIFICIAL (?) VESSEL (Fig. 3,4)

Special find no. 24, discovered on 16 October 1990 in the south-eastern room next to the main entrance of residential pit house 10.

Quadrant: E/15-c, depth 1.20 – 1.45 m.

Dimensions: height 6.9 cm. Diameter of the bottom 5.8 cm, body 11.7 cm and rim 10.2 cm. The vessel is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: parts of a small vessel (bottom, body and rim) which could be completely reconstructed (Minichreiter 2001, Pl. 3,4). The bottom of the bowl is rendered as a small foot. It is very similar to sacrificial vessels, and it could have had a dual purpose: for everyday use as a piece of regular household pottery or as a sacrificial vessel. Based on its shape, it is analogous to vessels SF 2, 3 and 12 from Zadubravljje.

#### 5.6. SMALL SACRIFICIAL (?) VESSEL DECORATED WITH FOUR KNOBS (Fig. 3,5)

Special find no. 25, discovered on 16 October 1990 in the north-eastern room of residential pit house 10 near the main entrance, together with a group of cult items (another vessel, fragments of an altar and a zoomorphic figure).

Quadrant: D/15-c, depth 1.00 – 1.27 m.

Dimensions: height 8.2 cm. Diameter of bottom 4.8 cm, body 11 cm, rim 7.6 cm. The vessel is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with finely smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: a small semi-spherical vessel (whole) with inward rim and raised bottom, marked as on foot (Minichreiter 2001, Pl. 3,2). Four large knobs are stuck to the broadest part of the body. The vessel bordering between a bowl and a pot. Finely crafted, with smooth surface, it was probably used for ritual purposes, so it has been conditionally categorised as a sacrificial vessel.

#### 5.7. SMALL SACRIFICIAL (?) BOWL DECORATED WITH FINGER PRINTS (Fig. 3,6)

Special find no. 21, discovered on 4 October 1990 in the north-eastern room of work pit house 19 – workshop for manufacturing of stone tools.

Quadrant: D/11-d, depth 0.88 – 1.01 m.

Dimensions: height 4.1 cm, diameter of the bottom 6.6 cm, and rim 10.6 cm. The vessel is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with finely smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Opis: mala plitka konična zdjelica, ravnog dna. S vanjske strane trbuha pri dnu ukrašena je vodoravnim nizom 12 udubljenja koja su izvedena utiscima prsta. Ovaj oblik je vrlo rijedak i u Zadubravlju je pronađena samo jedna zdjela sličnih oblika. To je konična zdjela, samo s naglašenim dnom iz stambene zemunice 10 (Minichreiter 2001, T. 2,3). Među lokalitetima Körös-Starčevo kulture u Mađarskoj pronađena je posuda sličnog oblika na nalazištu Bodzáspart (Kutzián 1944, T. XXXI,6) i Endröd (Makkay 1990, Pl. 1,14, Pl. 2,1). Ukraš pri dnu posude izveden je tehnikom utiskivanja jagodice prsta u vodoravnom nizu – tehnika UTO 1 prema Stankoviću (Stanković 1992, 229-230). Ovom tehnikom ukrašen je dio žrtvenika iz Pepelane (Minichreiter 1992a, T. 7,4; Minichreiter 1992b, T. 3,1,4.) i postolje jednog žrtvenika iz Starčeva (Garašanin 1979, T. XVIII,6; Stanković 1992, T. XLVIII,4). Ovaj ukras je dosta rijedak na posudama starčevačke kulture, premda se javlja u svim njezinim fazama.

#### *NOGA OBREDNE POSUDE – RITONA* (sl. 4,1)

Poseban nalaz br. 10, otkriven 16. 10. 1990. u sjeveroistočnom prostoru stambene zemunice 10 kod glavnog ulaza, zajedno sa skupinom kulturnih predmeta – još dvije žrtvene posude, dijelovima kadionica i zoomorfnom plastikom.

Kvadrant: D/15-c, dubina 1,29–1,35 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 5,8 cm, a promjer noge 4,6 cm. Noga je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: široka niska šuplja noga s očuvanim gornjim dijelom, gdje se spaja s posudom. Noga je mogla biti dio obredne posude – žrtvenika analogna primjerku otkrivenom u Knjepištu i Crkvini-Belom Brdu kod Čačka (Stanković 1992, 222, 378, sl. 23, T. LXXIII,4) koji imaju stilizirani zoomorfnu oblik. S. Karmanski ovaj oblik nogu povezuje s obrednim posudama – ritonima, čije je dijelove otkrio u Donjoj Branjevini (Karmanski 2000, 377, T. LXVI,1-3).

Otkrićem primjeraka iz Donje Branjevine i Zadubravlja, S. Karmanski je ukazao na pojave ovih oblika posuda već u ranim faza starčevačke kulture, što upućuje na kulturne i kronološke paralele s kulturama neolitika jadranske obale.

#### *DONJI DIO NOGE OBREDNE POSUDE*

Poseban nalaz br. 19, otkriven 5. 10. 1989., uz malu žrtvenu posudu s istočne (unutarnje) strane drvene ograde koja je spajala radnu zemunicu 9 s krušnim i lončarskim pećima i dvorište stambene zemunice 10 i na taj način štitila središnji prostor ovog dijela naselja.

Kvadrant: C/18-a, dubina 1,45–1,65 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 2,4 cm, a promjer noge 4,3 cm. Noga je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska, dvobojnog presjeka, oštećene površine s tragovima grubog glačanja.

Opis: donji dio pune noge statuete, zoomorfnog žrtvenika ili obredne posude – ritona. Premda je očuvan mali dio, može se usporediti po obliku i dimenzijama s nalazom noge PN 10.

Description: a small shallow conical bowl with flat bottom. A horizontal row of 12 impressions made by fingerprints decorates the body's exterior near the bottom. This form is very rare, and only one similarly-shaped bowl was found in Zadubravlje. This is a conical bowl, with a pronounced bottom, from residential pit house 10 (Minichreiter 2001, Pl. 2,3). As regards the Körös-Starčevo Culture sites in Hungary, a similar bowl was found at the Bodzáspart (Kutzián 1944, Pl. XXXI,6) and Endröd sites (Makkay 1990, Pl. 1,14, Pl. 2,1). The decoration near the bottom of the vessel was made finger cushions impressions set in a horizontal row – technique UTO 1 according to Stanković (Stanković 1992, 229-230). The same technique was used to decorate part of the altar from Pepelane (Minichreiter 1992a, Pl. 7,4; Minichreiter 1992b, Pl. 3,1,4.) and the base of an altar from Starčevo (Garašanin 1979, Pl. XVIII,6; Stanković 1992, Pl. XLVIII,4). This type of decoration is truly rare on Starčevo Culture pottery, although it appears in all of its phases.

#### *LEG OF A RITUAL VESSEL – RHYTON* (Fig. 4,1)

Special find no. 10, discovered on 16 October 1990 in the north-eastern room of residential pit house 10 near the main entrance, together with a group of cult items (another two sacrificial vessels, fragments of censers and zoomorphic sculptures).

Quadrant: D/15-c, depth 1.29–1.35 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 5.8 cm, and diameter of the leg 4.6 cm. The leg is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: a wide, low hollow leg with preserved upper portion, where it was attached to the vessel. The leg may have been part of a ritual vessel/altar, with analogous example discovered in Knjepište and Crkvina-Belo Brdo near Čačak (Stanković 1992, 222, 378, Fig. 23, Pl. LXXIII,4). The latter have stylised zoomorphic forms. S. Karmanski associates this form of leg with ritual vessels – rhytons. He found fragments of such rhytons in Donja Branjevina (Karmanski 2000, 377, Pl. LXVI,1-3).

The discovery of these items in Donja Branjevina and Zadubravlje led S. Karmanski to conclude that these forms of vessels appeared already in the early phase of the Starčevo Culture, which indicates that there were cultural and chronological parallels with Neolithic cultures of the Adriatic coast.

#### *LOWER PART OF A RITUAL VESSEL LEG*

Special find no. 19, discovered on 5 October 1989, together with a small ritual vessel, by the eastern (internal) side of the wooden fence which connected workplace pit house 9 with the bread and pottery ovens and yard of residential pit house 10 and thereby protected the central area of the settlement.

Quadrant: C/18-a, depth 1.45–1.65 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 2.4 cm, and diameter of the leg 4.3 cm. The leg is made of impure clay mixed with tiny sand particles, with bichrome cross-section. Its surface is damaged by rough polishing.

Description: lower part of a full leg of a statuette, zoomorphic altar or ritual vessel/rhyton. Although only a small frag-

Vrlo sličan oblik noge nalazi se na kultnoj posudi - žrtveniku iz Knjepišta i Crkvine-Belog Brda kod Čačka, koje S. Stanković opredjeljuje u rane faze starčevačke kulture (Stanković 1992, 222, 378, sl. 23, T. LXXIII,4).

## 6. ANTROPOMORFNA PLASTIKA – STUPASTO ZVONOLIKI IDOLI

### 6.1. STUPASTO-ZVONOLIKI IDOL (sl. 4,2)

Poseban nalaz br. 8, otkriven 19. 10. 1989. u sjeverozapadnom prostoru radne zemunice 9, uz žrtvenu posudicu i kadionice, na suprotnoj strani od krušnih i lončarskih peći.

Kvadrant: A/18-a, dubina 1,56 – 1,76 m.

Dimenzije: visina 4,8 cm, a promjer baze 2,5 cm. Idol je izrađen od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska. Zaglađena površina je oštećena.

Opis: mali idol, stupasto zvonolikog oblika s nosom oblikovanim iz osnovne mase. Zbog oštećene površine samo se na desnoj strani lica uz nos nazire oko – malo okruglo udubljenje. Prema podjeli S. Stankovića, glavu blago zaobljenog vrha bez istaknute frizure ili kape uvrštava u tip Co, oblik lica – nos i oči opredjeljuje u tip 4, a okrugle oči u tip Aa (Stanković 1992, 107, 110-112, 11, T. 2,3,5) Pri dnu idola s prednje i stražnje strane naziru se dva mala okrugla ispupčenja – možda simbolično naznačeni udovi.

Ovakav oblik idola Stanković uvrštava i u tip Fco – stupasto zvonolike - konzervativnu skupinu koja prikazuje ljudski lik jako stiliziran i koji prevladava u vremenskim fazama IIa i IIb (Linear A i B) starčevačke kulture (Stanković 1992, 91-92). Slično oblikovanih pet stupasto zvonolikih idola otkriveno je u Slavonskom Brodu, međutim, svi primjerci imaju drukčije oblikovane glave (Minichreiter 2002, T. 6; Minichreiter 2004, sl. 8,2-4). Idoli oblikovani na isti način otkriveni su u Donjoj Branjevini (Karmanski 2000, 241, T. VI,2) i u Körös-Starčevo naselju Dévaványa-Atyaszeg u Mađarskoj (Makkay 1990, pl. 3,7), u kojem arheološka građa ima osobine Linear A stupnja.

## 7. ZOOMORFNA PLASTIKA

### 7.1. ŽIVOTINJSKA GLAVA (sl. 4,3a i 3b)

Poseban nalaz br. 11, otkriven 16. 10. 1990. u sjeveroistočnom prostoru stambene zemunice 10, kod glavnog ulaza, zajedno sa skupinom kulturnih predmeta – još dvije žrtvene posudice, dijelovima žrtvenika i nogom kultne posude (ritona?).

Kvadrant: D/15-c, dubina 1,44–1,47 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 4,8 cm, a promjer baze 3,3 x 2 cm. Životinjska glava izrađena je od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: životinjska glava (najsličnija psu), realistički prikazana s istaknutim ušima, njuškom i očima u obliku dubokih okruglih jamica. Pri objavi ovog nalaza 1992. g. (Minichreiter 1992a, T. 21,6; Minichreiter 1992b, 9, T. 1,2) bila je poznata još samo jedna slična zoomorfna plastika otkrivena

ment has been preserved, it's form and dimensions can be compared with the leg find SF 10. A very similar form of leg is found in the cult vessel/altar from Knjepište and Crkvina-Belo Brdo near Čačak, which S. Stanković placed in the early phase of the Starčevo culture (Stanković 1992, 222, 378, Fig. 23, Pl. LXXIII,4).

## 6. ANTHROPOMORPHIC SCULPTURE – PILLAR-LIKE BELL-SHAPED IDOLS

### 6.1. PILLAR-LIKE BELL-SHAPED IDOL (Fig. 4,2)

Special find no. 8, discovered on 19 October 1989 in the north-western room of workplace pit house 9, next to a sacrificial vessel and censers, on the opposite side of the bread and pottery ovens.

Quadrant: A/18-a, depth 1.56 – 1.76 m.

Dimensions: height 4.8 cm, and the base diameter 2.5 cm. The idol is made of impure clay mixed with tiny sand particles. The smoothed surface is damaged.

Description: a small idol with a pillar-bell shape and a nose moulded from the main mass. Due to the damaged surface, an eye – a small, round socket – can only be discerned on the right side of the face. According to S. Stanković's classification, the head with rounded top without marked hairstyle or hat belongs to type Co, the form of the face, nose and eyes places it in type 4, while the round eyes in type Aa (Stanković 1992, 107, 110-112, 11, Pl. 2,3,5). At the bottom of the idol, two small round protrusions can be discerned.

Stanković also classifies type Fco – pillar-like and bell-shaped – to this type of idols, a conservative group that portrays the human figure in very stylised fashion and which prevails in phases IIa and IIb (Linear A and B) of the Starčevo Culture (Stanković 1992, 91-92). Five similarly formed pillar-like bell-shaped idols were discovered in Slavonski Brod; however, all of them have differently formed heads (Minichreiter 2002, Pl. 6; Minichreiter 2004, Fig. 8,2-4). Idols formed in the same fashion were discovered in Donja Branjevina (Karmanski 2000, 241, Pl. VI,2) and in the Körös-Starčevo settlement Dévaványa-Atyaszeg in Hungary (Makkay 1990, Pl. 3,7). The archaeological material discovered there exhibits characteristics of the Linear A phase.

## 7. ZOOMORPHIC SCULPTURE

### 7.1. ANIMAL HEAD (Fig. 4,3a and 3b)

Special find no. 11, discovered on 16 October 1990 in the north-eastern room of residential pit house 10, next to the main entrance, together with a group of cult items: other two vessels, fragments of an altar and the leg of a cult vessel (rhyton?).

Quadrant: D/15-c, depth 1.44–1.47 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 4.8 cm, and the base diameter 3.3 x 2 cm. The animal head is made of impure clay mixed with tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: an animal head (mostly resembling a dog), with realistically portrayed ears, snout and eyes shaped as deep round holes. When this find was published in 1992 (Minichreiter 1992a, Pl. 21,6; Minichreiter 1992b, 9, Pl. 1,2), only one

u Kaniškoj Ivi (Težak-Gregl 1991, 9, T. 6,1). Treći primjerak slično oblikovane životinjske glave na uglovnom dijelu žrtvenika otkriven je 2000-2001. g. kao površinski nalaz u naselju starčevačke kulture u Cerničkoj Šagovini (Težak-Gregl 2003, 43-46, sl. 1). Životinjska glava je nešto grublje izrade nego primjerak iz Zadubravlja, ali je oblikovana na isti način s očima u obliku dubokih jamica. Usporedbom s nalazima iz Kaniške Ive i Cerničke Šagovine, gdje su životinjske glave nađene s uglovnim dijelovima žrtvenika, možemo s većom sigurnošću pretpostaviti da je i primjerak iz Zadubravlja mogao biti postavljen kao protoma na jednom od uglova žrtvenika.

#### 7.2. DIO ŽIVOTINJSKE FIGURE – ŠAPA (sl. 4,4a i 4b)

Poseban nalaz br. 9, otkriven 16. 10. 1990. u jugoistočnom prostoru uz glavni ulaz u stambenu zemunicu 10, zajedno sa žrtvenom posudicom.

Kvadrant: E/15-a, dubina 1,13–1,23 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 8 cm i promjer 5,2 cm. Šapa je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom pljeve i sitnim česticama pijeska, zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: donji dio životinjske šape koja ima na prednjoj strani dubokim urezima naznačene prste. Šapa je na donjoj strani oblikovana pod pravim kutom tako da je figura bila sa stražnjim dijelom šape naslonjena na nekakvu postolju, dok je prednji dio šape visio preko ruba postolja. Prema dimenzijama može se pretpostaviti da je šapa bila dio monumentalne figure, a njezin oblik ukazuje na vrstu divlje životinje – mesojeda. Životinjske figure većih dimenzija nisu bile rijetkost u ranoneolitičkim nalazištima. Slično oblikovana životinjska šapa otkrivena je u nalazištu Ušće Kameničkog Potoka kod Novog Mihajlovca na Đerdapu (Stanković 1992, 153, 343, T. XXXIII,10). Tijekom neolitika i u vinčanskoj kulturi postoji monumentalna životinjska plastika na pr. nalaz šuplje noge iz Vitkovačkog polja kod Aleksandrovca u Srbiji (Srejić 1988, 106).

### NEODREĐENI PREDMETI

#### POSTOLJE (sl. 4,5)

Poseban nalaz br. 1, otkriven 23. 9. 1989. u jugoistočnom prostoru stambene zemunice 6.

Kvadrant: B/14-a, dubina 0,82–1,10 m.

Dimenzije: visina 4,2 cm, a promjer (rekonstruiran) 14 cm. Postolje je izrađeno od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska, grubo zaglađene površine, dvobojnog presjeka.

Opis: dio postolja (koje se moglo rekonstruirati) kružne osnove koje je na donjoj strani oblikovano kao viša noga, dok je na gornjoj strani ravna površina. Ovaj unikatni glineni predmet najvjerojatnije je služio kao postolje obrednim predmetima. Predmet iste namjene, samo oblikovan poput valjka, otkriven je u Donjoj Branjevini i prema ocjeni S. Karmanskog služio je kao postolje glinenoj statueti (Karmanski 2000, 256, sl. 154, T. XIV,2a i 2b).

#### DIO FIGURE ILI DIO POSUDE (sl. 4,6)

Poseban nalaz br. 5, otkriven 13. 10. 1989., u sjeverozapadnom prostoru radne zemunice 9, uz žrtvenu

similar zoomorphic sculpture had been discovered in Kaniška Iva (Težak-Gregl 1991, 9, Pl. 6,1). The third example of a similarly formed animal head on the corner section of an altar was discovered in 2000-2001 as a surface find in the Starčevo Culture settlement in Cernička Šagovina (Težak-Gregl 2003, 43-46, Fig. 1). This animal head is crafted somewhat more crudely than the example from Zadubravlje, but it is formed similarly with eyes shaped as deep holes. If compared with the finds from Kaniška Iva and Cernička Šagovina, where animal heads were found on the corner sections of altars, it can be asserted with considerable certainty that the example from Zadubravlje could be a protome on one of the corners of an altar.

#### 7.2. FRAGMENT OF AN ANIMAL FIGURE – PAW (Fig. 4,4a and 4b)

Special find no. 9, discovered on 16 October 1990 in the southeastern room next to the main entrance in residential pit house 10, together with a small sacrificial vessel.

Quadrant: E/15-a, depth 1.13–1.23 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 8 cm and diameter 5.2 cm. The paw is made of impure clay mixed with chaff and tiny sand particles, with smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: the lower portion of an animal's paw with deep grooves in the front delineating toes. The lower side of the paw is formed at a right angle so it can be assumed that it was leaning against a pedestal, while the front part of the paw hung over the edge of the pedestal. Based on its dimensions, the conclusion can be drawn that the paw was part of a monumental figure, and its form indicates the type of wild animal – a carnivore. Animal figures of larger dimensions were not rare in early Neolithic sites. A similarly formed animal paw was discovered at the Ušće Kameničkog Potoka site near Novi Mihajlovac at Đerdap (Stanković 1992, 153, 343, Pl. XXXIII,10). During the Neolithic and in the Vinča Culture monumental animal sculptures were made, such as the find of a hollow leg from Vitkovačko polje near Aleksandrovac in Serbia (Srejić 1988, 106).

### INDETERMINATE ITEMS

#### BASE (Fig. 4,5)

Special find no. 1, discovered on 23 September 1989 in the south-eastern room of residential pit house 6.

Quadrant: B/14-a, depth 0.82–1.10 m.

Dimensions: height 4.2 cm, and diameter (reconstructed) 14 cm. The base is made of impure clay mixed tiny sand particles, with roughly smoothed surface and bichrome cross-section.

Description: a fragment of a base (which could be reconstructed) with a circular lower part, shaped to resemble a long leg, and as a flat surface on the upper side. This unique clay item most likely served as a mount for ritual items. A cylindrical object, presumably intended for the same use, was discovered in Donja Branjevina, and according to S. Karmanski's assessment it served as a base to a clay statuette (Karmanski 2000, 256, Fig. 154, Pl. XIV,2a and 2b).

#### FRAGMENT OF FIGURE OR FRAGMENT OF VESSEL (Fig. 4,6)

Special find no. 5, discovered on 13 October 1989, in the north-western room of workplace pit house 9 next to a sacri-



posudicu, stupasto-zvonoliki idol i dijelove kadionice, na suprotnoj strani od krušnih i lončarskih peći.

Kvadrant: A/18-c, dubina 1,26–1,46 m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 3,9 cm i širina (očuvana) 4,2 cm.

Opis: istaknuti dio polukružno oblikovan poput jezička ili stiliziranog dijela tijela. Možda je ovaj primjerak dio stilizirane muške figure slične onoj nađenoj u mađarskom neolitičkom naselju Óbessenyő (Kutzián 1944, T. XLIV,4a i 4b).

#### ŠUPLJA NOGA STATUETE ILI ŽRTVENIKA

Poseban nalaz br. 14, otkriven 18. 10. 1990. u južnom prostoru stambene zemunice 10, u prostoriji 10a.

Kvadrant: E/16-d, dubina 1,53–1,73m.

Dimenzije: visina (očuvana) 4,5 cm, a promjer 3,6 cm. Noga je izrađena od nepročišćene gline s primjesom sitnih čestica pijeska, fino zaglađene površine, jednobojnog presjeka.

Opis: oštećeni donji dio noge većih dimenzija. Očuvana je samo polovica. Na unutrašnjoj strani, gdje je bila šuplja, vide se otisci snopa drvenih štapića. Noga je možda dio žrtvenika ili vjerojatnije statuete, čiji su brojni primjerci nađeni u Donjoj Branjevini (Karmanski 2000, 254-261, T. XIII-XVI) kao i na ostalim ranoneolitičkim nalaziština Vojvodine i Srbije (Stanković 1992, T. XVIII-XXII).

Posebni glineni predmeti otkriveni u inventaru zemunica i otvorenih prostora naselja u Zadubravlju svjedoče o bogatoj duhovnosti najstarijih zemljoradničkih populacija koje su ostvarivale svoj mitski svijet i štovanje svojih božanstava najočitije u figuralnoj umjetnosti. Čovjek je već od prvih početaka putem simbola, slika i mitova prikazivao i nastojao razumjeti svoje postojanje. U oblikovanju predstave o božanstvu čovjek je stvorio vjerovanje o cikličkom povratku i produženju života. Najveće značenje imala su božanstva koja su mogla obaviti pretvorbu smrti u život i u čijem tijelu započinje novi život. Središnji događaj mita o obnavljanju života je rođenje djeteta, koje je nada opstanka. Velika Božica Majka prikazivana je u brojnim glinenim figuricama trudnih žena ili kao reljefna aplikacija na posudama s naglašenim spolnim atributima, ponekad i u pozi rađanja. Promjena godišnjih doba o kojima je također ovisio opstanak plemena morao je biti predstavljen oblikovanjem idola, žrtvenika, žrtvenih posuda – svaka s drugom namjenom i s određenim prizivanjem prirodnih sila u prikladnim ritualnim ceremonijama. Mnoge figure izražavale su riječi molitve Velikoj Majci, a božanstvima Prirode bile su posvećene figure ptica, zmija, svinja, goveda, ovaca i srna. Među antropomorfnim figuricama starijeg neolitika najbrojnije su vrlo stilizirane, izrađene bez posebnih detalja – jednostavan trup i glava u jednom komadu s malo istaknutim nosom, a ponekad i naznačenim očima. Ovakve su figurice mogli upotrebljavati u najrazličitijim ritualima vjerovanja kako bi se udobrovoljile raznovrsne prirodne sile jer se vjerovalo da one dobivaju ljudski lik i da se na njih može djelovati magijskim postupcima. Neolitička božanstva sadržavala su duhovne misli prethodnih razdoblja paleolitika s naglaskom na izražen fenomen Zemlje za koju su bile

fičial vessel, a pillar-like bell-shaped idol and fragments of a censer, on the opposite side of bread and pottery ovens.

Quadrant: A/18-c, depth 1.26–1.46 m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 3.9 cm and width (preserved) 4.2 cm.

Description: a semi-circular fragment shaped like a reed or stylised body part. This find may have been a part of a stylised male figure similar to that found in the Hungarian Neolithic settlement Óbessenyő (Kutzián 1944, Pl. XLIV,4a and 4b).

#### HOLLOW LEG OF A STATUETTE OR ALTAR

Special find no. 14, discovered on 18 October 1990 in the southern room of residential pit house 10, in room 10a.

Quadrant: E/16-d, depth 1.53–1.73m.

Dimensions: height (preserved) 4.5 cm, and diameter 3.6 cm. The leg is made of impure clay mixed with tiny sand particles, with finely smoothed surface and monochrome cross-section.

Description: damaged lower portion of a leg of large dimensions. Only one half of it has been preserved. On the inside, where it is hollow, the impressions of a bundle of wooden sticks can be discerned. The leg may have been part of an altar or probably a statuette. Examples of such statuettes were found in Donja Branjevina (Karmanski 2000, 254-261, Pl. XIII-XVI) and at other early Neolithic sites in Vojvodina and Serbia (Stanković 1992, Pl. XVIII-XXII).

Special clay items discovered in the inventory of pit houses and outdoor spaces in Zadubravlje testify to the rich spirituality of the oldest agrarian populations who personified their mythic world and reverence for their deities most notably in figural art. From the very beginning, humans have portrayed and attempted to comprehend their existence through symbols, images and myths. In formulating representations of deities, man created beliefs in the cyclical reincarnation and extension of life. The most significant were deities which could transform death into life and in whose bodies new life began. The central theme in reincarnation myths is the birth of a child, which represents hope for survival. The great Mother Goddess is portrayed in many clay figures as a pregnant woman or as a relief application on vessels with exaggerated sexual attributes, sometimes even giving birth. The change of seasons, upon which survival of a tribe also depended, had to be represented in the forms of idols, altars, sacrificial vessels – each with a different purpose and with a specific invocation of natural forces in appropriate rites. Many figures expressed words of prayer to the Great Mother, while representations of birds, snakes, pigs, cattle, sheep and deer were dedicated to the deities of Nature. Among the anthropomorphic figurines of the early Neolithic, the most numerous are very stylised statuettes, made without any specific details: a simple body and head in one piece with a slightly discernible nose, and sometimes with eyes. Such figurines could have been used in the most diverse religious rituals to win the favour of various natural forces, because it was believed that they assumed human form and that they could be affected by magical spells. Neolithic deities encapsulated the spiritual ideas of the preceding Palaeolithic era, with emphasis on the phenomenon of Soil, to which all human activity was tied, so that the deity of vegetation was revered the most as the symbol of sacred Na-

vezane sve ljudske aktivnosti, pa se najviše štovalo božanstvo vegetacije kao simbol svete Prirode. Zemlja je bila višeznačni simbol – u nju se bacalo sjeme koje je donosilo plodove, ukapali su se pokojnici da bi dalje živjeli i opet se rodili, od nje se izrađivalo posuđe i oblikovali raznovrsni predmeti, u nju su se ukopavale zemunice, izrađivale peći i za nju je bila vezana ispaša, drvo i kamen. U svim ljudskim zajednicama od samih početaka ognjišta su se posebno poštovala. Vatra je imala važnu životnu i obrednu ulogu bilo da se čuvala na kućnom ognjištu unutar kuće ili na otvorenom prostoru kao u Zadubravljju, gdje je u istočnom dijelu naselja, izdvojeno od zemunica (radi zaštite od požara), bilo zajedničko ognjište za cijelu plemensku zajednicu.

Premda su kulturni predmeti u odnosu na cjelokupan pokretni inventar u naselju malobrojni, oni predstavljaju jedini materijalni dokaz duhovnog života neolitičkih populacija. U Zadubravljju je otkriveno nekoliko vrsta kulturnih predmeta: žrtvenici – kadionice, žrtvene posude, ritoni, te antropomorfna i zoomorfna plastika.

Žrtvenici-kadionice malih dimenzija predstavljaju umanjen oblik velikih žrtvenika ili kulturnih površina u kojima se držala simbolična žrtva donesena iz središnjih obrednih svečanosti. Dugotrajni oblici žrtvenika govore o konzervativnosti religije, ustaljenim obredima i istoj funkciji koju su imali tijekom duljeg razdoblja trajanja starčevačke kulture. Osnovni oblik je kružna obredna posuda postavljena na četveronožno postolje. Među njima se razlikuju, prema podjeli S. Stankovića, dva osnovna tipa: klasičnih i zoomornih oblika (Stanković 1992, 213-214, T. 8). Klasični oblici žrtvenika, koje je S. Stanković podijelio u 7 skupina, najbrojniji su i mogu biti izvedeni u raznolikim varijantama te su ukrašeni. Među malobrojnim zoomornim žrtvenicima mogu se uočiti, prema S. Stankoviću, četiri tipa u kojima se često može prepoznati lik određene životinje. U skupini klasičnih oblika žrtvenika neki imaju zoomorfne noge pa bi se mogli uvrstiti u zoomorfne žrtvenike. Temeljem otkrića oko 190 ulomaka žrtvenika u Donjoj Branjevini S. Karmanski je zaključio da su neki primjerci služili kao kadionice (Karmanski 2000, 126-127). Na primjercima iz Zadubravljja to je teško utvrditi, no ne isključujemo mogućnost da su otkriveni žrtvenici mogli služiti kao kadionice ili za žrtve paljenice.

Žrtvene posude jednostavnih oblika, uglavnom bez ukrasa, imale su naglašenu ulogu čuvanja žrtve. Vrlo je vjerojatno da su u kultne obrede bile uključene i bojane posude kao i one fine fature s ukrašenim oslikanim uzorcima.

U stambenoj zemunici 10 u Zadubravljju u skupini kulturnih predmeta otkrivena je i noga za koju pretpostavljamo da bi mogla pripadati ritonu (sl. 4,1). Otkrićem dijelova kultne posude – ritona u Donjoj Branjevini S. Karmanski je ukazao na njihovo pojavljivanje i u starčevačkoj kulturi (Karmanski 2000, 131), što potvrđuje i nalaz iz Zadubravljja, a za očekivati je njihovo otkriće i na drugim ranoneolitičkim naseljima. Brojni ritoni otkriveni u danilskoj kulturi simbolizirali su život, plodnost i sunčanu snagu. Ritoni, kao vrlo popularne kultne posude, otkriveni su na nalazištima istočnog Jadrana, središnjoj Bosni i dijelu Grčke.

Soil contained multiple symbolism: seeds that bore fruit were placed in it, the deceased were buried in it so that they could live on and be reborn, pottery and different other items were crafted from it, pit houses were dug into it, ovens were made from it, and it was associated with pastures, wood and stone. Hearths were particularly revered in all human communities from the very beginning. Fire played a vital role in life and in rituals, whether maintained in the household hearth or outdoors as in Zadubravljje, where a common hearth for the entire tribal community was located in the eastern section of the settlement, set apart from the pit houses (that were safeguarded against fires).

Although cult items are few in number in comparison to the entire movable inventory of the settlement, they constitute the only material evidence of the spiritual life of Neolithic populations. Several types of cult items were discovered in Zadubravljje: altars/censers, sacrificial vessels, rhytons, and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures.

Altar/censers of small dimensions are miniature forms of large altars or cult surfaces on which symbolic sacrifices were made during central ritual ceremonies. Long-lasting forms of altars speak of the conservativeness of religion, long-standing rites and the same functions they had during the considerable duration of the Starčevo Culture. The basic form is the circular ritual vessel set on a four-legged base. Among them two types can be distinguished, according to S. Stanković: classical and zoomorphic forms (Stanković 1992, 213-214, Pl. 8). The classical forms of altars, which S. Stanković separated into 7 groups, are the most numerous and can be rendered in different variants and with decorations. Among the scarce zoomorphic altars four types can be discerned, according to S. Stanković, in which the image of a particular animal can be recognised. Some altars in the classical group have zoomorphic legs, so they can also be classified as zoomorphic. Based on discoveries of approximately 190 fragments of altars in Donja Branjevina, S. Karmanski concluded that some examples served as censers (Karmanski 2000, 126-127). This is difficult to ascertain in the examples from Zadubravljje, but the possibility cannot be excluded that the discovered altars could have served as censers or for incineration sacrifices.

Sacrificial vessels, simple forms that are generally undecorated, played a significant role in preserving sacrifices. It is very likely that cult rituals included painted vessels and those exhibiting fine workmanship with decorated, painted patterns.

A leg was discovered in residential pit house 10 in Zadubravljje, in a group of cult items, that may have belonged to a rhyton (Fig. 4,1). The discovery of fragments of cult vessels/rhytons in Donja Branjevina led S. Karmanski to point out their appearance in the Starčevo Culture as well (Karmanski 2000, 131), which is further confirmed by the find from Zadubravljje. It can be expected that more such vessels/rhytons will be discovered in other early Neolithic settlements. The numerous rhytons discovered at Danilo Culture sites symbolised life, fertility and the sun's power. Rhytons, as very popular cult vessels, have been discovered at sites on the eastern Adriatic coast, in central Bosnia and part of Greece.

Zoomorphic sculptures/figures have been found in numerous Starčevo Culture settlements. They were equally formed

Zoomorfna plastika – figure nađene su u brojnim naseljima starčevačke kulture. One su podjednako oblikovane tijekom svih stupnjeva starčevačke kulture i nemaju svoje tipološke odlike kao vremenske odrednice. U starijim neolitičkim naseljima često se nalaze dijelovi zoomorfnih figura većih dimenzija. U Zadubravljju su nađeni dijelovi nekoliko nogu, među kojima sa sigurnošću možemo odrediti pripadnost monumentalnoj figuri samo nalaz dijela šape divlje životinje (sl. 4,4a i b). Figura psa, koja je vjerojatno bila ukras na žrtveniku (sl. 4,3a i b) otkrivenom u zemunici 10 u Zadubravljju, često se javlja u neolitičkim naseljima, jer je pas bio najvjerojatnije prva pripitomljena životinja. Na to ukazuju nalazi iz Lepenskog Vira, gdje su uz divlje životinje otkrivene kosti psa kao jedine domaće vrste (Bökony 1969, 225). Na Lepenskom Viru uz pokojnika bio je pokopan i pas, a otkriven je i u kućnim svetištima, gdje je bio žrtvovan kao sveta životinja, što nije neobično jer je pas u gotovo svim religijama bio povezan uz mrtve i podzemlje (Srejović 1969, 144-146). Nakon psa pa ovcе i koze, tijekom neolitika otpočelo je i pripitomljavanje svinje. Uočeno je da se svinja brzo deblja, te je zbog brojne mladunčadi postala simbolom plodnosti i obilja. Prikaz glave svinje kao protoma na uglovima žrtvenika u Zadubravljju (sl. 2,4a i b), Slavonskom Brodu (Minichreiter 2004, sl. 7,1a i 1b) kao i u obliku žrtvene posude u Donjoj Branjevini (Karmanski 2000, 316-317, T. XXXIX) i brojnim nalazištima Makedonije i Grčke (Gimbutas 1982, fig. 213-218) govore o popularnosti kulta svinje već od ranog neolitika.

Svako novo otkriće kulturnih predmeta u ranoneolitičkim naseljima dragocjen su doprinos novim spoznajama o prvim vjerovanjima čovjeka da prirodne pojave mogu biti pod njegovom kontrolom u okvirima granica vlastite moći nad prirodom koje nije mogao do kraja spoznati. Zamišljajući bića koja nadziru prirodu, molitvom i žrtvom zajednica je nastojala protumačiti svijet u kojem je živjela i održati svoj opstanak.

during all phases of the Starčevo Culture and do not contain any typological features that would mark them chronologically. Zoomorphic figures of larger dimensions are often found in early Neolithic settlements. The fragments of several legs were found in Zadubravljje, but only one of them, the part of a wild animal's paw, can be classified with certainty as belonging to a monumental figure (Fig. 4,4a and b). The figure of a dog, which was probably an ornament on an altar (Fig. 4,3a and b), discovered in pit house 10 in Zadubravljje, often appears in Neolithic settlements, because the dog was probably the first domesticated animal. This is indicated by the finds from Lepenski Vir, where besides wild animal bones, the bones of a dog were also discovered as the sole domesticated species (Bökony 1969, 225). At Lepenski Vir, a dog was buried with a deceased person, and dogs were also found in household shrines, where they were sacrificed as holy animals. In almost all religions the dog was associated with the dead and the underworld (Srejović 1969, 144-146). Following dogs, and then sheep and goats, the domestication of pigs also began in the Neolithic. It was observed that the pig could be quickly fattened, and because of its numerous offspring, it became a symbol of fertility and abundance. The portrayal of a pig's head as corner protome on altars in Zadubravljje (Fig. 2,4a and b), Slavonski Brod (Minichreiter 2004, Fig. 7,1a and 1b) and in the form of a sacrificial vessel in Donja Branjevina (Karmanski 2000, 316-317, Pl. XXXIX) and numerous sites in Macedonia and Greece (Gimbutas 1982, Fig. 213-218), testify to the popularity of the pig cult since the early Neolithic age.

Each new discovery of cult objects in early Neolithic settlements is an invaluable contribution to new knowledge on the first beliefs of humans that natural phenomena could be placed under their control, within the limits of their own power, even though nature could not be completely comprehended. By imagining beings that oversee nature, and by prayer and sacrifice, these early communities attempted to interpret the world in which they lived and struggled to survive.

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