

ARCHAEOLOGIA adriatica

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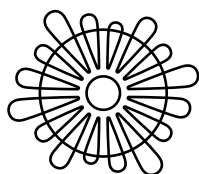
Odjel za arheologiju / Department of Archaeology / UDK 902/904

ISSN 1846-4807 / Archaeol. Adriat. / Vol. 18 / Zadar, 2024.



ARCHAEOLOGIA

adriatica



Sveučilište u Zadru
Universitas Studiorum
Jadertina | 1396 | 2002 |

SVEUČILIŠTE U ZADRU / UNIVERSITAS STUDIORUM JADERTINA / UNIVERSITY OF ZADAR
ODJEL ZA ARHEOLOGIJU / DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

UDK 902/904

ARCHAEOL. ADRIAT.

ISSN 1846-4807

ARCHAEOLOGIA adriatica

IZDAVAČ / *Publisher*
Sveučilište u Zadru / *University of Zadar*
Mihovila Pavlinovića 1, 23000 Zadar, Hrvatska

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ARCHAEOLOGICA ADRIATICA REFERIRA SE U / *Archaeologia Adriatica is abstracted and indexed in*
DOAJ: Directory of Open Access Journals
- Ulrich's international periodicals directory
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Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
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DOSTUPNO NA / *Available at*
Morepress (morepress.unizd.hr)
Hrčak. Portal znanstvenih časopisa Republike Hrvatske (hrcak.srce.hr)

ČASOPIS IZLAZI JEDNOM GODIŠNJE / *Published annually*
ISSN 1846-4807 (Tisak)
ISSN 1848-9281 (Online)
DOI 10.15291/archeo
UDK Gorica Lovrić, Sveučilišna knjižnica u Zadru

NASLOVNICA / *Cover Page*
Foto / *Photo*: L. Bogdanić

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B. Marijanović

Osamnaesti svezak časopisa *Archaeologia Adriatica* posvećen je profesoru emeritusu Brunislavu Marijanoviću u znak zahvalnosti za sve što je učinio za Odjel za arheologiju, Sveučilište u Zadru i arheologiju općenito.

The eighteenth volume of the journal *Archaeologia Adriatica* is dedicated to professor emeritus Brunislav Marijanović, as an expression of gratitude for everything he has done for the Department of Archaeology, University of Zadar and archaeology in general.

KAKVE VEZE IMAJU BREZOV LJANI S BUTMIROM?

WHAT DOES BREZOV LJANI HAVE TO DO WITH BUTMIR?

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UDK: "903.23(497.525.1Brezovljani)"634"

DOI: 10.15291/archo.4680

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / PRELIMINARY REPORT

Primljeno / Received: 2024-5-24

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 2024-9-1

KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

Brezovljani, hori-
zont lendelske kulture
Brezovljani-Lužianky-
Sé, butmirska kultura,
neolitik, keramika

KEY WORDS:

Brezovljani, Lengyel
cultural horizon of Bre-
zovljani-Lužianky-Sé,
Butmir culture, Neolith-
ic, pottery

Otkriće nekoliko ulomaka keramičkih posuda s karakterističnim stilskim obilježjima butmirske kulture na lokalitetu Brezovljani, nedaleko od Križevaca, koji se kulturno pripisuje protolendelskom horizontu, potaknulo je ponovna promišljanja o odnosima dviju pojava: lendelske i butmirske. Tim prije jer je i na lokalitetu Becsehely u južnom dijelu mađarske Transdanubije, koji uglavnom pripada lendelskomu kulturnom krugu, uočena slična situacija prisutnosti butmirske keramike.

The unearthing of several fragments of ceramic vessels, with stylistic features characteristic of the Butmir culture, at the Brezovljani site (near Križevci), which has been attributed to the proto-Lengyel horizon, prompted a rethinking of the relations between two cultural phenomena: Lengyel and Butmir. This was reinforced by the fact that at Becsehely site, in the southern part of Hungarian Transdanubia, which pertains mainly to the Lengyel cultural circle, a similar situation – the presence of Butmir pottery – was also observed.

Kada se 1971. godine pri kopanju usjeka za proširenje ceste u selu Gornjim Brezovljanima kod Sv. Ivana Žabna u profilu pojavio niz jamskih objekata ispunjenih keramičkim i kamenim nalazima, nastavnik tamošnje škole o tome je obavijestio nadležni Gradski muzej u Križevcima koji je pokupio i dokumentirao nalaze. Oni su potom stavljeni na raspolaganje prof. Stojanu Dimitrijeviću koji je zaključio da je riječ o jednoj arhaičnijoj fizionomiji sopotske kulture. Smatrajući da je takav jedan oblik sopotske kulture nužno jasnije i potpunije definirati, osobito stoga što je bila riječ o krajnjoj zapadnoj granici rasprostiranja spomenute pojave, proveo je 1973. godine arheološko iskopavanje na površini od 193 m². Tako je otkrio dio jednoslojnoga neolitičkog naselja koje se rasprostiralo u širinu, na principu horizontalne stratigrafije.¹ Svjestan, dakle, da pronađena keramička građa sliči sopotskoj, a opet se dobrim dijelom i razlikuje od nje, odredio ju je kao regionalni, brezovljanski tip sopotske kulture u kojemu je uočio snažne utjecaje lendelskoga kulturnog kruga, konkretno kulture Lužianky. No, i drugi su autori, mahom mađarski i slovački, ubrzo počeli povezivati Brezovljane s kulturom Lužianky u Slovačkoj i Sé u Mađarskoj pa se danas te pojave definiraju uglavnom kao protolendelski horizont Lužianky-Sé-Brezovljani, odnosno formativna faza lendelskoga kulturnog kompleksa.² Sustavna arheološka istraživanja u Brezovljanima koja su provedena od 2002. do 2016. (a povremeno se i dalje nastavljaju) sa svakim su novim nalazom potvrđivala prvotne pretpostavke o mjestu i ulozi brezovljanskog tipa i otkrivala sve više lendelskih elemenata u njemu. No, s druge strane, pojavila se i keramika kakva nije uočena u prvim Dimitrijevićevim iskopavanjima, a koja svojim obilježjima usmjerava pogled i prema jugu. Zasad je pronađeno dvadesetak ulomaka keramike koji svojim oblikom i oso-

When in 1971 a number of pit-like structures filled with pottery and stone finds appeared in the dig profile of a cutting for a road extension in the village of Gornji Brezovljani near Sveti Ivan Žabno, a local schoolteacher informed the nearby Town Museum of Križevci, which collected and documented the finds. They were then passed on to Professor Stojan Dimitrijević, who interpreted them as a rather archaic feature of the Sopot culture. Convinced that such a form of Sopot culture needed to be more clearly and completely defined, particularly given that it occurred at the westernmost edge of the distribution of Sopot culture, in 1973 he conducted an archaeological campaign over a surface area of 193 m². He thereby discovered part of a single-layered Neolithic settlement that spread in width, based on horizontal stratigraphy.¹ Recognising that the unearthed pottery material resembled Sopot culture, yet significantly differed from it, he consequently defined it as a regional, Brezovljani variant of Sopot culture. In it, he noticed significant influences of the Lengyel cultural circle, specifically of Lužianky culture. Thereafter, other authors, mostly Hungarian and Slovak, also began to associate Brezovljani with Lužianky culture (in present-day Slovakia) and Sé culture (in present-day Hungary), with the result that nowadays such occurrences are defined mainly as the proto-Lengyel Lužianky-Sé-Brezovljani horizon, or the formative stage of the Lengyel cultural complex.² With each and every new find unearthed in the course of systematic archaeological excavations in Brezovljani (conducted from 2002 to 2016, with occasional campaigns still taking place), the Brezovljani-type location and role originally assumed were confirmed, and more Lengyel elements in it discovered. On the other hand, pottery not identified in Dimitrijević's first excavations also came to light, whose features shifted the perspective further south. To date, some twen-

¹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978.

² BARNA 2017: 26-27.

¹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978.

² BARNA 2017: 26-27.

bito ukrasom podsjećaju na butmirski keramički stil.³ Riječ je uglavnom o vrlo finoj keramici tankih stijenki, sive do tamnosive boje uglačane površine. Tek tri primjerka pokazuju nešto grublju fakturu s krupnijim primjesama i svjetliju smečkastosivu boju površine. Ulomci su ukrašeni urezanim (T. I/4; II/1–2, 4, 6) ili udubljenim spiralnim motivima (T. I/2–3, 5–6; II/3, 5, 7–8; III/2–3) ponegdje s tragovima crvene boje. Za istovrsnu keramiku poznatu s lokaliteta Obre II – Gornje polje A. Benac navodi kako se čini da su se ti ukrasi na nekim posudama izvodili nakon pečenja pa su rubovi ornamenta „izgrecani“, a zavoji nedovoljno pravilni.⁴ Brezovljanski su ulomci vjerojatno bili dijelovi kuglastih posuda s malo naglašenim ili potpuno ravnim dnom, uvučenog i nenaglašenog otvora što je razvidno na nekoliko komada (T. II/3, 5–6, 8; III/1, 3). Takvi su oblici tipični i u butmirskoj keramografiji.⁵

Spomenuti ulomci pronalazeni su u Brezovljanima tijekom istraživačkih kampanja 2005., 2008. i 2012. godine, a jedan je ulomak naknadno uočen među površinskim nalazima prikupljenima tijekom prvih istraživanja. Najveći broj ulomaka bio je u ukopanom objektu radno označenom kao SJ 209, poslije određenom kao zemunica, potom u zemunici SJ 266, radnoj jami SJ 376 te u kulturnom sloju ispod sloja oranja, dakle u različitim kontekstima. Veći dio dosad istraženog dijela naselja u Brezovljanima premrežen je različitim ukopanim, odnosno jamskim objektima, a tek su u jednom slučaju utvrđeni ostatci podnice nekoga nadzemnog objekta.⁶ Spomenuta zemunica SJ 209, smještena u sjevernom dijelu naselja, relativno je prostrani

ty potsherds have been found, whose shape and particularly decoration resemble the Butmir pottery style.³ Mostly they are parts of very fine thin-walled ceramics of grey to dark grey colour with a smoothed surface. Only three specimens display a rather coarse fabric with rather large temper material and a lighter brownish-grey surface colour. The sherds are decorated with incised (Pl. I/4; II/1–2, 4, 6) or recessed spiral motifs (Pl. I/2–3, 5–6; II/3, 5, 7–8; III/2–3) with traces of red colour in places. Of identical pottery known from the Obre II – Gornje Polje site, A. Benac states that on some vessels the decorations seem to have been applied after firing, making the ornament edge margins appear “scratched”, and the curves somewhat irregular.⁴ The Brezovljani sherds were probably parts of spherical vessels with slightly accentuated or completely flat bottoms, and recessed and unaccentuated mouths, as is evident on several pieces (Pl. II/3, 5–6, 8; III/1, 3). Such forms are also typical of Butmir ceramics.⁵

The sherds were found in Brezovljani in the excavation campaigns of 2005, 2008 and 2012, while a fragment was spotted subsequently among surface finds collected during the first excavations. The largest number of sherds were found in a buried structure marked as SU 209 and subsequently identified as a pit dwelling, followed by pit dwelling SU 266, the work pit SU 376 and in the cultural stratum below the ploughed layer – thus, in different contexts. A major part of the excavated settlement in Brezovljani has a network of various sunken structures or pit dwellings; there has only been one isolated find of the base remains of an above-ground structure.⁶ The pit dwelling SU 209, located in the northern part of the settlement,

³ MARKOVIĆ, OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2017. Uvid u materijal i dokumentaciju omogućila mi je mr. sc. Lana Okroša Rožić, muzejska savjetnica Gradskog muzeja u Križevcima na čemu joj najsrdačnije zahvaljujem. Također joj zahvaljujem na svim dodatnim podacima kao i fotografijama.

⁴ BENAC 1971: 126.

⁵ BENAC 1979: 126; HOFMANN 2013: 171–179, 181, Abb 86.

⁶ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2002: 9, sl. 3; 2015: 400.

³ MARKOVIĆ, OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2017. Most cordial thanks to the museum adviser of the Križevci Town Museum Lana Okroša Rožić, MSc, for providing me access to material and documentation, as well as for all additional information, and for the photos.

⁴ BENAC 1971: 126.

⁵ BENAC 1979: 126; HOFMANN 2013: 171–179, 181, Abb. 86.

⁶ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2002: 9, Fig. 3; 2015: 400.

ukopani objekt (5,40 x 5,10 m) koji čine dva kružna prostora, jedan promjera 1,90 m, a drugi 1,80 m, dubine između 1,48 i 1,80 m, odvojena pregradnim zidom. Uz zapadni dio objekta nalazi se manji, pliće ukopani prostor, dok se u sjeveroistočnom dijelu ističe povišeni plato.⁷ Osim veličinom, tlorisom i unutarnjom organizacijom prostora, ovaj je naseobinski objekt bio izniman i po svojem sadržaju te je očito zauzimao osobito mjesto u naselju. Kao većina ostalih ukopanih objekata nije imao nikakvih tragova gornje konstrukcije, tj. tragova stupova, ali profilacija njegovih rubova možda je omogućavala i drukčiji tip gornje konstrukcije.⁸ Naime, već kod prvih istraživanja S. Dimitrijević pokušao je riješiti rekonstrukciju gornjih dijelova ukopanih objekata na dva moguća načina oslanjanjem drvenih greda ili stupova o stepenasto profilirane rubove jama (ili kako ih je on nazvao „bankove“).⁹

Među građom otkrivenom u objektu posebnu je pozornost privukla osebujno stilizirana figurica koja ima malu, čepasto oblikovanu glavu, plosnato, gotovo četverokutno poprsje s plastično naznačenim grudima i izdignutim širokim ramenima.¹⁰ Plastično naglašeno vodoravno rebro ispod grudi možda prikazuje ruke. U sačuvanom donjem dijelu figure uočava se pravilno probušena rupa. Prema tome, kao i prema načinu kako je oblikovan stražnji donji dio figure, moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je ona bila dio ručke neke posebne posude. Površina figurice nejednolike je boje, dijelom oker, dijelom gotovo crne, a naziru se i tragovi crvene boje. Osim ove figurice, u navedenom je objektu bilo i fino obrađeno sječivo od crvenosmeđeg rožnjaka duljine 11,5 cm, glačani kalupasti klin duljine 10 cm, crna, dobro ugljučana minijatura trape-

was a relatively spacious sunken structure (5.40 x 5.10 m) consisting of two circular rooms with diameters of 1.90 m and 1.80 m respectively, between 1.48 and 1.80 m deep, and separated by a partition wall. Adjoining the western part of the structure is a smaller, shallower buried room, while in the north-eastern part there is an elevated platform.⁷ The structure was exceptional not only in terms of its size, ground-plan and interior spatial plan, but also of its content, as it clearly occupied a special place in the settlement. As is the case with most other sunken structures, there were no traces of any upper construction (that is, traces of piles), but the profile of its margins possibly allowed also a different type of upper construction.⁸ Even during the first excavation campaigns, S. Dimitrijević addressed the reconstruction of the upper parts of the sunken structures in two possible ways: with wooden beams or with piles resting on stepped profiles of the pit margins (which he called “banks”).⁹

Among the material unearthed in the structure, particularly interesting is a peculiarly stylised figurine with a small, cork-shaped head, a flat, almost square bust with an outlined plastic chest and raised wide shoulders.¹⁰ The accentuated plastic horizontal rib under the chest might represent arms. The preserved lower part of the figurine has a regularly pierced hole. This, in addition to the way the back lower part of the figurine was formed, suggests part of a handle of a special vessel. The figurine surface colour is uneven, partly ochre, partly almost black, with traces of red colour also visible. In addition to this figurine, also found in the structure were a finely worked 11.5-cm-long blade made of red-brown chert; a 10-cm-long iron shoe-last celt; a black, well-smoothed miniature trape-

⁷ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2006: 109.

⁸ Ipak valja naglasiti da je 2002. otkriven poveći jamski objekt u kojemu je bilo moguće uočiti tragove većeg broja ukopanih stupova koji su mogli nositi nadzemnu konstrukciju (MARKOVIĆ, OKROŠA 2003: 31, sl. 1).

⁹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978: 82–83, sl. 8–9.

¹⁰ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2006: 110.

⁷ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2006: 109.

⁸ However, it should be noted that in 2002 a comparatively large pit structure was uncovered in which traces of a large number of buried piles were identified that might have carried the above-ground construction (MARKOVIĆ, OKROŠA 2003: 31, Fig. 1).

⁹ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978: 82–83, Figs. 8–9.

¹⁰ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2006: 110.

zasta sjekirica, keramička šaka s pet urezanih prstiju, vjerojatno također dio ručke neke posude, fragmentirana figurica tipa Sé, ulomak antropomorfne posude kakve su također poznate s lokaliteta Sé, zoomorfno oblikovane ručke posuda, te više ulomaka fine, crveno-žuto oslikane keramike.¹¹ Navedeni keramički predmeti savršeno se uklapaju u stilska obilježja protolendelske keramike i najviše paralela imaju upravo u naselju Sé, nedaleko od Sombathelya u zapadnoj Mađarskoj.¹²

Slična situacija poznata je i na lokalitetu Becsehely u Transdanubiji pripisanom transdanubijskoj linearnotrakastoj keramici u ranijoj fazi te sopotskoj kulturi u kasnijoj.¹³ No, tamošnja sopotska keramika znatno je bliža brezovljanskom tipu negoli klasičnoj sopotskoj. Među tom keramikom uočeno je i nekoliko ulomaka ukrašenih udubljenim spiralnim motivima s tragovima boje sasvim u butmirskom stilu, te ulomak jedne, očito piriformne posude, u gornjem dijelu također ukrašene urezanim spiralnim motivima.¹⁴ Za spomenute ulomke autori pretpostavljaju butmirsko ili danilsko podrijetlo, navodeći neke paralele s lokaliteta Obre II i Danilo.¹⁵

Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako Dimitrijevića u njegovoj prvoj objavi brezovljanske građe jedan oblik posude, tzv. kupa na niskoj prstenastoj nozi, podsjeća na kakanjske kupe na nozi, ali zaključuje „da s kakanjskom kulturom brezovljanski tip u vremenskom smislu ni u kojem slučaju neće moći korespondirati“.¹⁶ Ipak, u bilješci koja slijedi ustanovljuje da se taj oblik nastavlja i u ranoj fazi butmirske kulture.¹⁷ To je bio prvi spomen nekakve veze brezovljanskog tipa sopotske kulture s prostorom srednje Bosne iako Dimitrijević u svojim detaljnim analizama

zoidal axe; a ceramic fist with five carved fingers, probably another part of a vessel handle; a fragmented Sé-type figurine; a fragment of an anthropomorphic vessel of the type also known from the Sé site; zoomorphic vessel handles; and several sherds of fine painted red-yellow pottery.¹¹ The ceramic artefacts perfectly fit into the stylistic features of proto-Lengyel pottery and have most analogies in the settlement of Sé in the vicinity of Szombathely in western Hungary.¹²

A similar situation is attested to at the Becsehely site in Transdanubia, attributed to the earlier phase of Transdanubian Linear Band Ware and later phase of Sopot culture.¹³ However, the local Sopot pottery is much closer to that of Brezovljani than to the classical Sopot type. Also identified among the pottery were several sherds decorated with deep spiral motifs with traces of colour, completely in Butmir style, and a sherd of a clearly pear-shaped vessel, its upper part also decorated with incised spiral motifs.¹⁴ The authors assume that the sherds are of Butmir or Danilo origin, quoting some analogies from the Obre II and Danilo sites.¹⁵

It is interesting to note that, in his first publication of the Brezovljani material, Dimitrijević found a particular vessel form – a drinking cup on a low ring-shaped foot – reminiscent of Kakanj drinking cups, but concluded that *the Brezovljani type by no means corresponds with Kakanj culture in terms of chronology*.¹⁶ However, in a subsequent note, he stated that this form continued also in the early stage of Butmir culture.¹⁷ This was the first mention of any links between the Brezovljani type of Sopot culture and the area of Central Bosnia, although, in his detailed analysis of the stylistic characteristics of Brezovljani pottery, while seeking analogies

¹¹ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2013: kat. jedinice 52, 43, 45, 32; OKROŠA ROŽIĆ, MARKOVIĆ 2017: 6–7, Sl. 4, 7–15.

¹² KAROLYI 2011.

¹³ KALICZ, KREITER, TOKAI 2007: 33–40.

¹⁴ KALICZ, KREITER, TOKAI 2007: Abb. 5/14, 16–17.

¹⁵ KALICZ, KREITER, TOKAI 2007: 36.

¹⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978: 88.

¹⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978: bilj. 23.

¹¹ OKROŠA ROŽIĆ 2013: cat. units 52, 43, 45, 32; OKROŠA ROŽIĆ, MARKOVIĆ 2017: 6–7, Figs. 4, 7–15.

¹² KAROLYI 2011.

¹³ KALICZ, KREITER, TOKAI 2007: 33–40.

¹⁴ KALICZ, KREITER, TOKAI 2007: Abb. 5/14, 16–17.

¹⁵ KALICZ, KREITER, TOKAI 2007: 36.

¹⁶ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978: 88.

¹⁷ DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978: n. 23.

stilskih karakteristika brezovljanske keramike, tražeći analogije i sličnosti u suvremenim kulturnim pojavama, nigdje više ne spominje butmirsku kulturu.

Arheološki nalazi koji povezuju lendelski i butmirski kulturni krug zapravo nisu ništa neobično. Određene veze između Butmira i Lengyela odavno su uočene. Podsjetimo samo na to da je Alojz Benac 1967. godine sudjelovao na simpoziju o lendelskoj kulturi u Nitri. Svoje je izlaganje, naslovljeno *Entwicklungsphase der Butmir-Kultur*, poslije objavljeno u časopisu *Študijske zvesti*, započeo konstatacijom da se područje rasprostiranja butmirske kulture nalazilo daleko od Dunava gdje je ishodišno područje lendelskih kultura.¹⁸ Smatrao je da bi se, stoga, moglo postaviti pitanje opravdanosti teme o butmirskoj kulturi na simpoziju o lendelskim kulturama. No, odmah potom zaključuje da je to samo prvi dojam, a sudjelovanje na spomenutom skupu bilo je opravdano iz dvaju razloga: prvo, jer su već tada mnogi autori raspravljali o odnosima dviju kultura, i drugo, jer su doista u objema kulturama prisutni neki kulturni elementi koji se moraju uzeti u obzir kad se razmatra neolitički svijet Podunavlja i Balkana. Ishodište za raspravu pružili su mu u prvom redu lokaliteti Obre II – Gornje polje u dolini rijeke Trstionice i Okolište u dolini Bosne. Važno je naglasiti kako najvažniji lokaliteti butmirske kulture leže upravo u dolini rijeke Bosne, njezina gornjeg i srednjeg toka te njezinih pritoka.

U svojoj opsežnoj objavi rezultata istraživanja i arheoloških nalaza s lokaliteta Obre II – Gornje polje, Benac se ponovno dotaknuo utjecaja panonsko-lendelskih kultura na butmirsku.¹⁹ Analizirajući keramičke nalaze iz I. faze, tj. faze nastanka samog naselja, u kategoriji fine keramike uočava kakanjske keramičke elemente, danilske, lendelsko-panon-

and similarities in contemporary cultural phenomena, Dimitrijević made no more mentions of Butmir culture.

Archaeological finds linking the Lengyel and Butmir cultural circles are, in fact, not unusual, specific links between the two having long been observed. It should be recalled that Alojz Benac participated in a Lengyel culture symposium in Nitra in 1967. His presentation, entitled *Entwicklungsphase der Butmir-Kultur*, later published in the journal *Študijske zvesti*, began with the observation that the Butmir-culture distribution area was far from the Danube, where the Lengyel cultures originated.¹⁸ This, he thought, might raise the question of the validity of Butmir culture being discussed at a Lengyel culture symposium. However, he immediately pointed out that this was merely a preliminary impression, and participating in the symposium was justified for two reasons: firstly, many authors had already discussed the relations between the two cultures, and secondly, present in both cultures were some cultural elements that certainly had to be taken into account in a consideration of the Neolithic world of the Danube Region and the Balkans. As a starting point for the discussion, he chose in the first place the sites of Obre II – Gornje Polje in the Trstionica river valley, and Okolište in the Bosna valley. It is important to emphasise that the most important Butmir culture sites are situated precisely in the valley of the River Bosna – its upper and middle course, and its tributaries.

In an extensive publication of excavation results and archaeological finds from Obre II – Gornje Polje, Benac again touched upon the influence of Pannonian-Lengyel cultures on Butmir culture.¹⁹ Analysing pottery finds from stage I (in which the settlement was established), in the fine-ware category he identified elements of Kakanj, Danilo, Lengyel-Panno-

¹⁸ BENAC 1969: 19.

¹⁹ BENAC 1971: 113–114.

¹⁸ BENAC 1969: 19.

¹⁹ BENAC 1971: 113–114.

ske, crnoglačane i butmiroidne.²⁰ Danilskim keramičkim elementima prije svega smatra slikanu keramiku koja je prema njemu rađena tehnikom potpuno stranom keramičkim izradevinama u Kaknju, pa stoga ne može činiti autohtonu bazu.²¹ Drugi važan danilski element jesu udubljeni spiralni ornamenti koji se po njemu kompozicijom približavaju pravim butmirskim ornamentima. Lendelsko-panonskom smatra crveno-žuto bojenu keramiku, crnu i tamnosivu keramiku s crvenim trakastim ornamentima i tamnosivu, dobro uglačanu keramiku ukrašenu posebnim trakastim ukrasom.²² U kategoriju koju je nazvao butmiroidnim keramičkim elementima uvrstio je pojavu zatvorenih kuglastih oblika posuda, prve piriformne posude te udubljene spiralne i spiraloidne motive koji se pojavljuju samostalno ili u kombinaciji s nekim drugim ukrasima. U II. fazi naselja, međutim, ne uočava više tako izražene pojedine strane elemente u keramici, nego su oni uključeni u prepoznatljivi butmirski spiralno-trakasti stil: „U ovoj keramičkoj vrsti (spiralno-trakasta keramika) sublimirana je prava suština umjetničkog izraza butmirske kulture.“²³ Prema Bencu dodiri između butmirske i lendelske keramike ponajprije se očituju u oblicima. U oba slučaja prevladavaju kuglasti i piriformni oblici, a prisutne su i kuglaste posude s visokim cilindričnim vratom. Zajednički im je i spiralni ornament koji je, međutim, u lendelskim kulturama uglavnom slikan, a u butmirskoj urezan ili udubljen. I, konačno, povezuje ih i postupak oslikavanja posuda nakon pečenja crvenom i žutom bojom. Benac vidi kronološku vezu butmirske s posljednjom fazom Želiezovce (Zseliz) grupe i ranom fazom lendelske (Lengyel I).²⁴ Nekim oblicima bikoničnih crnoglačanih zdjela paralele vidi i u materijalu s lokaliteta Bicske.

nian, black smoothed and Butmir-like wares.²⁰ According to Benac, characteristic Danilo ware was, in the first place, painted ware, in his opinion manufactured using a technique completely foreign to pottery artefacts from Kakanj and not capable of forming an autochthonous base.²¹ Another important characteristic of Danilo culture was recessed spiral ornaments whose composition, in his view, came closer to authentic Butmir ornaments. Lengyel-Pannonian was red-yellow coloured ware, black and dark grey ware with red banded ornaments, and dark grey, well-smoothed ware decorated with a special banded ornament.²² He categorised the forms of closed spherical vessel and of the first pear-shaped vessels, as well as the recessed spiral and spiraloid motifs (which appear independently or in combination with other ornaments) as Butmir-like pottery elements. However, in the settlement's stage II he identified no more obvious individual foreign elements in the ceramics; on the contrary, they were rather part of the recognisable Butmir spiral-banded style: *This pottery type (spiral-banded ware) sublimates the essence of Butmir-culture artistic expression.*²³ According to Benac, the common features of Butmir and Lengyel wares are primarily manifested in their forms. In both cases, spherical and pear-shaped forms prevail, while also represented are spherical vessels with a high cylindrical neck. Another common characteristic is a spiral ornament; however, in Lengyel cultures this is mostly painted, while in Butmir culture it is incised or recessed. Lastly, both applied the same process of painting the vessels red and yellow after firing. Benac identified a chronological link of Butmir culture with the last phase of Želiezovce (Zseliz) and the early phase of Lengyel (Lengyel I) groups.²⁴ He compared some forms of biconical black smoothed bowls with their analogies

²⁰ BENAC 1971: 108.

²¹ BENAC 1971: 109.

²² BENAC 1971: T. XXXVI 13–14.

²³ BENAC 1971: 126.

²⁴ BENAC 1971: 154.

²⁰ BENAC 1971: 108.

²¹ BENAC 1971: 109.

²² BENAC 1971: Pl. XXXVI 13–14.

²³ BENAC 1971: 126.

²⁴ BENAC 1971: 154.

No, dok Makkay za te nalaze smatra da su nastali pod utjecajem vinčanske keramike, Benac drži da je to dio istog procesa odnosno tzv. metalizirajućeg šoka koji je takve oblike donio i u butmirsku keramografiju.²⁵ Na kraju postavlja pitanje odakle proizlaze takve formalne veze: iz određene genetske podudarnosti ili međusobnih kulturnih dodira? Odgovor je dao u sljedećem zaključku: „... lengyelski elementi uopće nisu brojni i kreću se u okviru vrlo umjerenih kulturnih dodira i međusobnih utjecaja između centralne Bosne i Panonije“, dakle lendelske keramičke elemente iz I. faze Obra II treba promatrati u svjetlu povremenih odnosa.²⁶

No, može se postaviti još jedno pitanje. Je li keramika s lendelskim obilježjima doista importirana iz panonskog područja ili tek stilom ukrasa oponaša takvu keramiku? Kako navodi Benac, dio crveno-žuto slikane keramike oblikom i ukrasom bliži je panonskom prostoru, ali faktumom je sličan ili identičan lokalnoj keramici pa ne bi moglo biti govora o uvozu gotovih proizvoda. Osim toga, pastozno slikanje koje se lako otire ne bi bilo prikladno za dulji transport. No, s druge strane, pojedini primjerci i tehnički, odnosno faktumom odudaraju od domaće robe.²⁷ U kontekstu ovakvih razmišljanja mogli bismo Brezovljane vidjeti kao posrednika ili svojevrsnu postaju između lendelskoga i butmirskoga neolitičkog svijeta.

Slična pitanja možemo ponoviti u vezi s nalazima keramike s butmirskim stilskim obilježjima u Brezovljanima. Naravno, i ovdje bi trebalo prvo točno utvrditi je li riječ o stvarnom importu pristiglom odnekud iz središnje Bosne ili samo o imitacijama stranoga keramičkog stila proizvedenima lokalno. Za to bi trebalo provesti detaljne analize lončarske sirovine (gline i primjesa) od koje su posude izrađene, ali i glinovitih sedime-

from the Bicske site. However, while Makkay believed that these finds were created under the influence of Vinča pottery, Benac believed that they were part of the same process, the so-called metallising shock that brought such forms also into Butmir ware.²⁵ Eventually, the question arises as to the origin of common formal features: were they a result of a certain genetic interaction, or rather of cultural interrelations? He offered an answer to this question in the following conclusion: *There are not many Lengyel elements, and they range within very moderate cultural touches and mutual influences between central Bosnia and Pannonia*; it follows that Lengyel ware elements from Obra II phase I are to be considered a result of occasional relations.²⁶

Nevertheless, one more question arises: is the pottery with Lengyel characteristics really an import from the Pannonian area, or is it just an imitation of the latter's decorative style? According to Benac, the forms and decorations of a part of the red-yellow painted ware come closer to that of the Pannonian region; however, given that the ware fabric is similar or identical to local ware, it was definitely not imported finished ware. What is more, a paste painting that can easily be wiped off would not be suitable for long-distance transportation. On the other hand, individual specimens stand out in terms of technology and fabric compared to local ware.²⁷ In this context, we might interpret Brezovljani as being a sort of halfway house between the Lengyel and Butmir Neolithic worlds.

Similar questions re-emerge regarding finds of pottery with Butmir stylistic features in Brezovljani. Of course, here, too, it should first be determined whether they were an actual import from central Bosnia, or rather locally produced imitations of foreign pottery. This would require detailed analyses of raw material (clay and

²⁵ BENAC 1971: 154.

²⁶ BENAC 1971: 165.

²⁷ BENAC 1971: 156.

²⁵ BENAC 1971: 154.

²⁶ BENAC 1971: 165.

²⁷ BENAC 1971: 156.

nata s potencijalnih izvorišta u okolini samih lokaliteta te proučiti tehnike oblikovanja i procese pečenja. No, bilo da je riječ o stvarnom importu ili tek imitacijama, ono što je nedvojbeno jest činjenica da promatrani nalazi upućuju na povezanost između neolitičkih zajednica na daleko širem prostoru nego što to često predmnijevamo, u konkretnom slučaju između prostora središnje Hrvatske i srednje Bosne. Trgovina i razmjena i u pradávnim su vremenima uvijek pronalazile putove komunikacije, svladavajući teritorijalne, ali i vremenske prepreke. Kad je riječ o neolitiku, onda prvo mislimo na trgovinu određenim sirovinama, poglavito kamenim. I u tom nam se smislu veze južnih panonskih prostora, koji ne obiluju kvalitetnim kamenim sirovinama, s područjem sjeverne i srednje Bosne nameću same od sebe. Uostalom, one su već i jasno potvrđene, primjerice analizama kamenih izrađevina pronađenih na slavonskim lokalitetima starčevačke kulture koje su pokazale da je glavna sirovina dolazila iz primarnih ležišta južno od Save, a tek su se u manjoj mjeri rabili oblutci iz korita rijeke Save ili s ušća njezinih bosanskih pritoka.²⁸ U Brezovljanima je pronađena znatna količina lomljene, pa i glačane litike. Nažalost, detaljnije mineraloško-petrografske analize tih artefakata još nisu provedene pa zasad ne možemo ništa određenije reći o izvorištu sirovina od kojih su izrađeni. Kvalitetni crvenkastosmeđi rožnjak od kojega je bilo načinjeno sječivo iz zemuničkog objekta SJ 209 sasvim sigurno ne potječe iz bliže okolice naselja, ni od riječnih oblutaka, a vjerojatno ni kamen od kojega je izrađeno glačano dlijeto. Stoga mi se čini mogućim izvorišta spomenutih kamenih sirovina tražiti upravo na području sjeverne ili srednje Bosne, iako se strategija nabave sirovina u kasnom neolitiku, tj. u okvirima sopotske kulture mijenja u odnosu na onu povezanu sa starčevačkom kulturom pa se sve više rabe oblutci radiolarita prona-

tempering) used in vessel production, but also of clay sediments from potential sources in the vicinity of the sites, as well as a study of modelling techniques and firing processes. Anyway, the observed finds – whether actual imports or merely imitations – undoubtedly suggest connections between Neolithic communities over a far wider land area than generally assumed, specifically between central Croatia and central Bosnia. Trade and exchange have always found routes of communication, even in ancient times, overcoming both territorial and weather barriers. When it comes to the Neolithic, we first think of the trade of certain raw materials, especially stone. This, too, presupposes that there must have existed links between southern Pannonian areas (that do not abound in quality stone raw materials), with northern and central Bosnia areas. In fact, this has already been clearly confirmed: for example, by the analysis of stone artefacts found at Slavonian Starčevo culture sites, which demonstrated that the main raw material came from primary deposits south of the River Sava, while pebbles from the riverbed of the Sava or from the mouths of its Bosnian tributaries were used only to a lesser extent.²⁸ In Brezovljani, a considerable amount of cut and even smoothed lithic material was unearthed. Unfortunately, no detailed mineralogical and petrographic analyses of the artefacts have been carried out, and thus far we cannot state anything more specific about the source of the raw materials from which they were made. The high-quality reddish-brown chert used to make the blade found in pit dwelling SU 209 certainly does not originate from the settlement's closer surroundings or a riverbed nearby, and probably neither does the stone from which the burnished chisel was made. Therefore, possible sources of stone raw materials should probably be sought precisely in present-day northern or central Bosnia (although in the Late Neolithic, in Sopot culture, the strategy of sourcing raw materials changed

²⁸ ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ 2010: 200.

²⁸ ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ 2010: 200.

laženi u koritu Save.²⁹ No, čini se da su se stare tradicije korištenja i nabave crvenih stijena ponegdje ipak još zadržale što je izvjesno na nekim kasnostarčevačkim lokalitetima u Podravini i Transdanubiji, ali i ranim lendelskim kulturama u Transdanubiji.³⁰

Povezanost među prapovijesnim zajednicama nije uvijek morala imati gospodarska obilježja, odnosno biti rezultat trgovine. Ona je mogla biti posljedica složenog sustava razmjena među populacijama, bilo pozitivnih u vidu darivanja, bratimljenja, „ženidbenih veza“, prijenosa ideja, znanja i tehnologija, pa i vjerovanja, bilo negativnih poput krađa i pljački. U tom bih smislu skrenula pozornost na još jednu važnu činjenicu, a to su okolnosti nalaza butmirske keramike u Brezovljanima. Najviše ih je pronađeno u jednoj jami, bolje rečeno, ukopanom objektu, sudeći i po veličini i po nalazima u njemu, od posebnog značenja za tadašnju brezovljansku zajednicu. I figurice i nestandardne posude u njoj govore da nije riječ o predmetima kojima su se koristili svakodnevno u različite praktične svrhe. Je li riječ o nekome svetom/ritualnom prostoru – objektu? I kakvo bi onda značenje imali „strani“ predmeti u njemu? No, tu već ulazimo u sferu složenih razmatranja o tzv. obrednim predmetima, njihovu određenju, obilježjima, značenjima, ali i o ljudima, odnosno članovima prapovijesne zajednice koji su sudjelovali u svetim ritualima.

Kad je riječ o mogućim vezama i odnosima pojedinih neolitičkih zajednica, vrijedi istaknuti kako je Z. Marković, govoreći o Brezovljanima, naglasio da „ove prostore stalno moramo promatrati ne samo smjerom istok-zapad, nego i smjerom sjever-jug te obrnuto (često realnije smjerom sjeverozapad-jugoistok).“³¹ Ovomu bih samo dodala da taj jug, odnosno jugoistok valja povući prema sjevernoj i srednjoj Bosni. Kojim su se putem

compared to that of Starčevo culture, with an increased use of radiolarite pebbles from the Sava riverbed).²⁹ Nevertheless, in some places, old traditions of using and sourcing red rocks seem to have been retained, which has been confirmed at some late Starčevo sites in Podravina and Transdanubia, as well as early Lengyel cultures in Transdanubia.³⁰

Connections between prehistoric communities did not necessarily have a mercantile and economic character. They could be the result of complex systems of exchange between populations, whether positive (in the form of giving, fraternities, “marriage bonds”, transfer of ideas, knowledge and technologies, even of beliefs), or negative (such as theft and robbery). In this regard, another important fact is the find circumstances of Butmir pottery in Brezovljani. Most finds were unearthed in one single pit, or rather sunken structure, its size and finds suggesting its exceptional significance for the Brezovljani community of the time. Both the figurines and the non-standard vessels unearthed in it would appear not to be artefacts used daily for various practical purposes. The question of whether it was a sacred/ritual space or structure arises and, if so, how the “foreign” artefacts found therein should be interpreted. However, this opens complex considerations, not only about ritual objects, their determination, characteristics and meanings, but also about the people who were members of the prehistoric community participating in sacred rituals.

When it comes to possible connections and relations between individual Neolithic communities, it is worth pointing out to what Z. Marković wrote about Brezovljani: *we must constantly observe this region not only in the orientation of east-west, but also in that of north-south and vice versa (often in the more realistic orientation of northwest-southeast)*.³¹ It should be added that this south, or southeast, should extend

²⁹ ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ 2010: 201.

³⁰ ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ 2010: 201; BIRO, BARNA 2017: 381–383.

³¹ MARKOVIĆ 1994: 79.

²⁹ ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ 2010: 201.

³⁰ ŠOŠIĆ KLINDŽIĆ 2010: 201; BIRO, BARNA 2017: 381–383.

³¹ MARKOVIĆ 1994: 79.

te veze odvijale? Vrlo vjerojatno dolinom rijeke Bosne prema nizini uz rijeku Savu, odakle su se mogle širiti lijevim pritokama Save dalje prema sjeveru i panonskom prostoru. Zasad je teško preciznije odrediti te putove jer je još uvijek premalo poznatih i istraženih lokaliteta iz vremena srednjeg/kasnog neolitika u prostorima koji spajaju srednju Bosnu i križevačko područje u središnjoj Hrvatskoj. Brezovljani kod Križevaca na karti kasneolitičkih lokaliteta sjeverne Hrvatske stoje prilično po strani, no dobro se mogu povezati s lokalitetima oko Virovitice, a preko njih s lendlanskim nalazištima u Transdanubiji.³² S druge strane, pojava određenih protolendelskih, tj. brezovljanskih elemenata na lokalitetima u Požeškoj kotlini, na Slavči u Novoj Gradiški, trasira nam i put prema sjevernoj i srednjoj Bosni.³³ U prilog tomu ide i činjenica reciprociteta, tj. da na lokalitetu Obre II nalazimo keramiku protolendelskih obilježja.

Na kraju se možemo zapitati zašto ove ulomke iz Brezovljana, ukrašene udubljenim spiralnim motivima, povezivati s butmirskom kulturom, a ne s danilskom? Naime, neki su autori vidjeli upravo jadranske, danilske elemente kao jedan od čimbenika formiranja lendlanskoga keramičkoga stila.³⁴ Uostalom, i Benac podrijetlo butmirskoga spiralnog stila vidi u jadranskom prostoru, odnosno u danilskoj keramici.³⁵ Osim maloprije navedenih mogućih veza između područja butmirske kulture i promatranog prostora središnje Hrvatske, valja podsjetiti i na još jedno zapažanje B. Čovića, u vezi sa spiralnom ornamentikom. Iako i on drži da taj ukrasni stil svoje podrijetlo ima na jadranskom područ-

to northern and central Bosnia. Which routes were used? Very probably they went along the River Bosna valley toward the valley of the Sava and thereafter possibly along the left tributaries of the Sava further north, and into the Pannonian area. For the time being, it is difficult to determine these routes more precisely given the small number of known and excavated sites from the period of the Middle/Late Neolithic in the areas connecting Central Bosnia and Križevci region in Central Croatia. Brezovljani near Križevci occupies a relatively marginal position on the map of late Neolithic sites of northern Croatia, but it can be associated with the sites around Virovitica, and through them also with Lengyel sites in Transdanubia.³² On the other hand, the occurrence of specific proto-Lengyel (Brezovljani) elements at the sites in Požega Basin, at Slavča in Nova Gradiška, also traces the route to northern and central Bosnia.³³ In favour of this is also the fact of reciprocity: at the Obre II site we find wares with proto-Lengyel characteristics.

A final question that arises is why the sherds from Brezovljani, decorated with recessed spiral motifs, should be associated with the Butmir, and not Danilo culture? The fact is that some authors interpreted precisely the Adriatic, Danilo elements as one of the factors contributing to the formation of the Lengyel pottery style.³⁴ After all, Benac also saw the origin of the Butmir spiral style in the Adriatic area: that is, in Danilo pottery.³⁵ In addition to the possible aforementioned links between the distribution area of Butmir culture and the observed area of central Croatia, it is worth recalling B. Čović's observation about spiral ornamenta-

³² BOTIĆ 2023: 121, Fig. 1. Katarina Botić Međurječje Save-Drave i Dunava u arheološkom pogledu dijeli na tri zone; zapadnu (Moslavina-Bilogora), središnju (Požeška kotlina) i istočnu (istočna Slavonija) pri čemu kasneolitičku kronologiju sagledava kroz klasičnu sopotsku kulturu u istočnoj zoni, Ražište-stil u središnjoj i istočnoj, te Ražište i brezovljanski stil u zapadnoj zoni (BOTIĆ 2023: 120).

³³ MIHALJEVIĆ 2013; BOTIĆ 2023.

³⁴ BREGANT 1974; KOROŠEC 1975; KAROLY 2020.

³⁵ BENAC 1971: 162–163.

³² BOTIĆ 2023: 121, Fig. 1. Katarina Botić divided the Sava, Drava and Danube rivers interfluvial area into three archaeological zones: western (Moslavina-Bilogora), central (Požega Basin) and eastern (eastern Slavonia), at the same time associating classical Sopot culture in the eastern zone, Ražište style in the central and eastern zones, and Ražište and Brezovljani-style in the western zone with the Late Neolithic (BOTIĆ 2023: 120).

³³ MIHALJEVIĆ 2013; BOTIĆ 2023.

³⁴ BREGANT 1974; KOROŠEC 1975; KAROLY 2020.

³⁵ BENAC 1971: 162–163.

ju, smatra da je on u butmirskoj keramografiji razvijen na drukčiji način te da je odbacivanjem ispunjavanja međuprostora šrafitiranjem postao profinjeniji i samostalniji.³⁶ Primjerci iz Brezovljana upravo su takvi, s iznimkom jednog ulomka (T. III/1), ukrašeni su isključivo spiralnim motivima, bez ispunjavanja međuprostora.

Za lokalitet Brezovljani zasad raspoložemo samo dvama radiokarbonskim datumima, ali oni, nažalost, ne potječu iz konteksta s keramikom butmirskoga stilskog obilježja te nam mogu poslužiti samo u smislu okvirnog datiranja lokaliteta između 4945. i 4550. g. pr. Kr. što se okvirno uklapa u apsolutnu kronologiju ranih lendeških i butmirskih lokaliteta.³⁷

Although he also believed that this decoration style originated from the Adriatic region, he considered that this was not the case with Butmir ware, which – by abandoning the technique of filling the interspace by hatching – had become more refined and independent.³⁶ That is what the specimens from Brezovljani are like: with the exception of a single sherd (Pl. III/1), they are decorated solely with spiral motifs, without filling of the interspace.

We only have two radiocarbon dates for the Brezovljani site, but they do not, unfortunately, originate from Butmir-style pottery contexts, and can only be used to approximately date the site: to between 4945 and 4550 BC, which roughly overlaps with the absolute dating of early Lengyel and Butmir sites.³⁷

*Translation and proof-reading:
ETNOtrend d. o. o.*

³⁶ ČOVIĆ 1976: 44–47.

³⁷ BOTIĆ 2017: 230–231; BARNA 2017: 355–365; HOFMANN 2013: 429–433.

³⁶ ČOVIĆ 1976: 44–47.

³⁷ BOTIĆ 2017: 230–231; BARNA 2017: 355–365; HOFMANN 2013: 429–433.

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T. 2



