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VINČA RITUAL VESSELS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT AND POSSIBLE MEANING

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Abstract: The Hyde-vase and anthropomorphic vessel found at Vinča within two sets of pottery vessels are vessels of cult the meaning of which has never been examined. The authors highlight the significance of their archaeological contexts and positions in the settlement, reconstructed based on the preserved documents. The cult character of both pottery sets is confirmed and they are thought to have been used for a ritual important to the whole Vinča community. Considering that they come from the horizon associated with the beginning of the Gradac phase of the Vinča culture, the performed ritual may be seen as a possible reaction of the Vinča inhabitants to dynamic changes triggered by emergence of metallurgy in the region and the whole of South East Europe.

Key words: Vinča, Hyde vase, anthropomorphic vessel, archaeological context, cult set, the Gradac phase.

he Neolithic settlement at Vinča is famous for its extraordinary wealth of cult objects, with various figurines making the major part. Two vessels of a unique shape stand out in the group of cult objects. Until today, those vessels have remained the synonym for superb achievements in art and craftsmanship exhibited by the Late Neolithic community in Europe. Although both ornitomorphic vessel, known as Hyde-vase, and anthropomorphic vessel have secured their place in many prehistoric art reviews, the literature provides nothing more than their description and analysis of aesthetic values. The unique look of those vessels has always been highlighted and their ritual and symbolic character taken for granted.

However, no meticulous research has ever been made into the conditions surrounding the finds and the related archaeological context, which could contribute to interpretation and reconstruction of the ritual activities in which they were used.

Group with Hyde-Vase

In November 1930, the readers of London *Illustrated News* were informed on the latest results of the investigation at Vinča.¹ The report pointed to an ornitomorphic vase, named the Hyde-Vase (Fig. 1), as one of the most important finds of the excavation taking

1 Vasić 1930b.

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Fig. 1. The ornitomorphic vessel (Hyde-vase) Сл. 1. Орнишоморфна *ūосуда (Хајд ваза)*

place at Vinča for many years. Given the significance of Charles Hyde's donation for excavations at Vinča, it seems clear that Miloje Vasić could have named only a find of extraordinary value after him. The vessel is modelled into a bird with folded wings and a human head (36 cm in length and 20.8 cm in height). The quintangular face has a plastically modelled nose and almond-shaped eyes. Ears are also present on the head of this, probably fantastic, creature. There are two large, almost globular protrusions on the vertex. The vessel is burnished and decorated with extremely fine flutings. The wings, back and a tail hole are emphasized by bands painted in thick black colour. The same colour is used for emphasis of the face details. Undoubtedly, this is a complex representation, whose meaning still remains unexplained. Although the hole is positioned on the tail, the function of the vessel is commonly associated with pouring of liquid offering.²

The Hyde-vase is among a few cult objects which are seemingly accompanied by precise data on the conditions of the find. However, the analysis of Vasić's documentation and published materials have revealed some ambiguities with respect to the appearance and position of the structure where the Hyde-vase was found. It was discovered in 1930 on the surface where Vasić had been excavating from 1911 to 1931. The excavation journal informs that it was found in a shallow depression together with ten whole vessels within base C "whose ruins begin at $\nabla 6.5$ m". Base

C is not described nor its exact position in relation to the examined space is specified. There are no data on the relation of the base floor to the pit with the vessels, or on the depth where the base floor and the rim of the pit were lying either. The journal does not provide any information on the content of the base, so that one may assume that either there was none or it consisted of pottery fragments only. Although they are rarely mentioned in the journal, such finds always bear a label designating the structure which they came from. However, except the group with the Hyde-vase, no other fragment with a "base C" label can be found in the Archaeological Collection of the Faculty of Philosophy. Nevertheless, the journal connects several objects with the registered relative depth (stone amulets and a perforated fragment of a wild boar's tooth from $\nabla 6.90$ m, and an anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurine from ∇6.7 m) to base C.4 Taking into consideration that, for small finds detected on the floors of houses, Vasić did not provide ground levels but only the label of the base, we have to assume that the objects came from the debris layer.5

- Николић и Вуковић 2008.
- Васић 1930а, 190.
- Васић 1930а, 190, 200.
- The publications do not establish any connection between these finds and base C, but provide only the relative depth at which they were found (Васић 1936a, 103, fig. 194; 1936b, 135,142, fig. 586, 610).



Fig. 2. The 1930 *excavation* – *the group* with the Hyde-vase Сл. 2. Искойавања 1930. їодине - їруйа са Xајд вазом

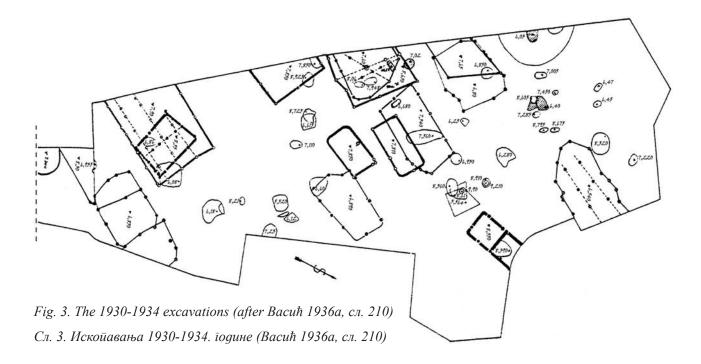
The journal registers a oven in base C with three layers of renovation and the latest floor base at $\nabla 6.6 \text{ m.}^6$ When the base was being cleared a group of three vessels were spotted near the oven at $\nabla 6.65$ m. Vasić assumed, even prior to cleansing of the whole group, that one of them was "askos or rython in the shape of a bird". After cleansing, it was noted that there were eleven vessels in total "in the depression" at $\nabla 7.05$ m. Apart from a detailed description of the ornitomorphic vessel, which was named the Hydevase on the very same day, and a summarized list of other vessels ("one pithos with two rows of handles, a bowl and pots with a profiled shoulder and neck"),⁷ no other reference to base C is made in the journal.

The Hyde-vase was published in the first volume of Prehistoric Vinča (Preistoriska Vinča), in the chapter dealing with cosmetics ware.8 Although the vessel is described in detail, base C and the pit in it are not mentioned. The only information about the context of the find is a photograph which is said to represent "a pile of 11 earthen vessels" found together with the Hyde-vase (Fig. 2).9 Two vessels from this group were published in the second volume of Prehistoric Vinča. They are said to have come from $\nabla 7.05$ m, and the amphora with four handles (in the shape of a pear) is marked as having been found in the group together with the Hyde-vase. 10 The other vessels of that group were published in the last volume of Prehistoric Vinča focusing on pottery, and were described as "a pile of

11 pieces of vases". 11 The only information about the context is the sentence that "the group of vases was found in the rectangular base of a building, in a hole lower than the building floor". 12 Although base C is not mentioned there, Vasić's label "base C ∇7.05" can be clearly seen in the published pictures, 13 which leads us to the safe conclusion that the rectangular base mentioned in the text was actually base C mentioned in the journal.

Vasić's plans and sketches from 1930 have not been preserved. Luckily, the published summary plan contains the bases investigated from 1930 to 1934 at the depth of six to nine metres.14 The bases mentioned in the journals are marked in different ways and difficult to identify in the plan. The labels for bases are not marked in the plan, while the stated ground levels represent the mean value of the floor depths. Another difficulty arises from the fact that Vasić often labelled houses by the depths at which the remains of the debris layer were noted, not by the depth of their floors. 15 For

- Васић 1930а, 219.
- Васић 1930а, 198.
- Васић 1932, 60.
- Васић 1932, sl. 110.
- 10 Васић 1936а, 123, 138.
- 11 Васић 1936с, 36.
- 12 Васић 1936с, 38.
- 13 Васић 1936c, fig. 45a, c, d, i.
- 14 Васић 1936а, fig. 210.
- 15 Васић 1930а, 189.



example, "base B at $\nabla 6.5$ m" of the summary plan has not been identified yet16 because it was labelled $\nabla 6.950$ m. Thus, the position of base C was difficult to locate for, judging from published photographs of the pottery vessels of the group with the Hyde-vase, it seems to be designated as the base at $\nabla 7.05$ m, although the remains of the debris were noted at $\nabla 6.5$ m. Base C was identified by virtue of the preserved photographs of two ovens (with relative depths of $\nabla 6.615$ and $\nabla 6.60$, written by hand) which were mentioned and described in the journal, and then drawn in the summary plan. Unlike the dwelling structures defined by a number of ground levels in the preserved sketches and often in the journal, although the plan shows their mean value only, the ovans are defined by only one level which was also retained in plans. Based on this, the conclusion is drawn that the summary plan and photographs corroborate journal records that the oven at $\nabla 6.615$ m was lying near the stove at $\nabla 6.600$, which, according to Vasić's observation during excavation in 1930, belonged to base C. Thus, the base marked $\nabla 6.890$ m in the plan, has been identified as base C in the journal (Fig. 3).

Base C is irregular in shape, with the dimension six by three metres and orientation northeast-southwest (Fig. 3). It is defined by ten postholes, none of which is located at the base angles. Therefore, rounded angles are drawn at the northeast side of the base, while the southwest wall is represented by a broken line. Knowing that base C was not described in the

1930 excavation, we should allow of the possibility that its shape in the summary plan was arbitrarily defined. This seems even more likely if we consider the fact that the oven at $\nabla 6.6$ m, which is said to be integral part of the house, is drawn at the southern corner of the house, with its larger section, completely unexpected, outside the base. This could mean that the oven $\nabla 6.6$ m was located in open, and consequently that the dimensions of base C were smaller than those drawn in the summary plan. Besides, the posts drawn in the plan cannot be seen in any photographs with the ovens and pit in which the group with the Hyde-vase was found (Fig. 4). Furthermore, they are not mentioned in the journal. The remains of floor base cannot be seen in the photographs either. Therefore a question arises as to whether base C represented the remains of the house with the stated dimensions and shapes, and whether the pit with 11 vessels was inside a house at all. The manner chosen by Vasić to publish the group with the Hyde-vase, while avoiding to name the unit where it was found a house base, raises doubts about the existence of base C in the shape shown in the summary plan.

We do not know the measurements or level from which the pit where the group with the Hyde-vase was found had been dug. The floor of base C is not mentioned in the journal, but the published text informs that 11 vessels were found on a rectangular base, in a

16 Korošec 1953, 25; Сталио 1984, 38.

pit lower than the floor, whose mean value in the summary plan is marked $\nabla 6.890$ m. Although Vasić stated that the debris of base C had started at $\nabla 6.5$ m it is not possible to claim that the group with the Hyde-vase lay under the debris layer. There are no data which can confirm that the whole surface of base C (the dimensions of which remain unknown) was covered with the layer of debris, no there is any claim that the pit with vessels was closed with daub. Such a claim, in any case, would be completely illogical because it would imply, provided that the pit was really located within a house, an impossible relation between an open pit and the floor of a house lying at a considerably lower level.

The vessels on the top of the pit ($\nabla 6.65$ m) surely must have lain at least slightly under the level of the floor and were adequately protected. The Hyde-vase, which is certainly the most fragile vessel in the pit, also lay on the top of the pit, so that the pit should have been completely closed. But it was not the case, which

leads us to the conclusion that the pit with the vessels was not located inside the house, and that the level from which it had been dug must have been above $\nabla 6.65$ m. Thus, the possibility that the dig belonged to base C or any other above-ground structure with the floor below $\nabla 6.40$ -6.50 m has to be excluded. The analysis of the preserved documentation and published plan indicates that the pit was in the open space, while the information that the bottom of the pit was at $\nabla 7.05$ m points out that the depth of the dig was not less than 0.50 m. Given the state of preservation of all vessels, the pit must have been closed immediately after they had been laid.

The pottery group with the Hyde-vase consists of the following vessels:

- 1. Hyde-vase
- 2. Conical bowl with oblique flutings along the rim (Fig. 5.1)
- 3. Conical bowl without decoration (Fig. 5.3)

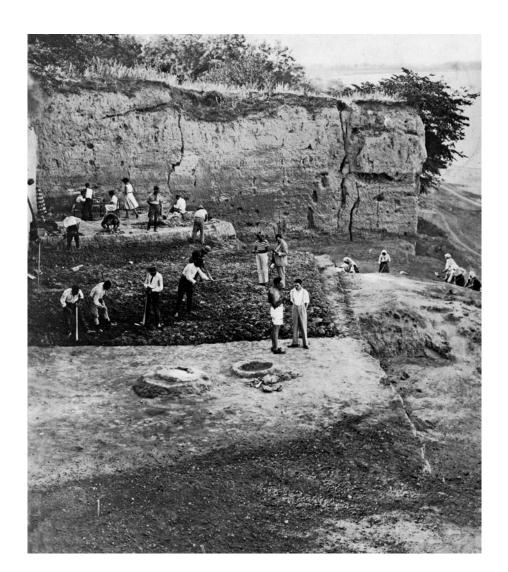


Fig. 4. The 1930 excavation – the oven at $\nabla 6.6$ m and the pit after removing the group with the Hyde-vase

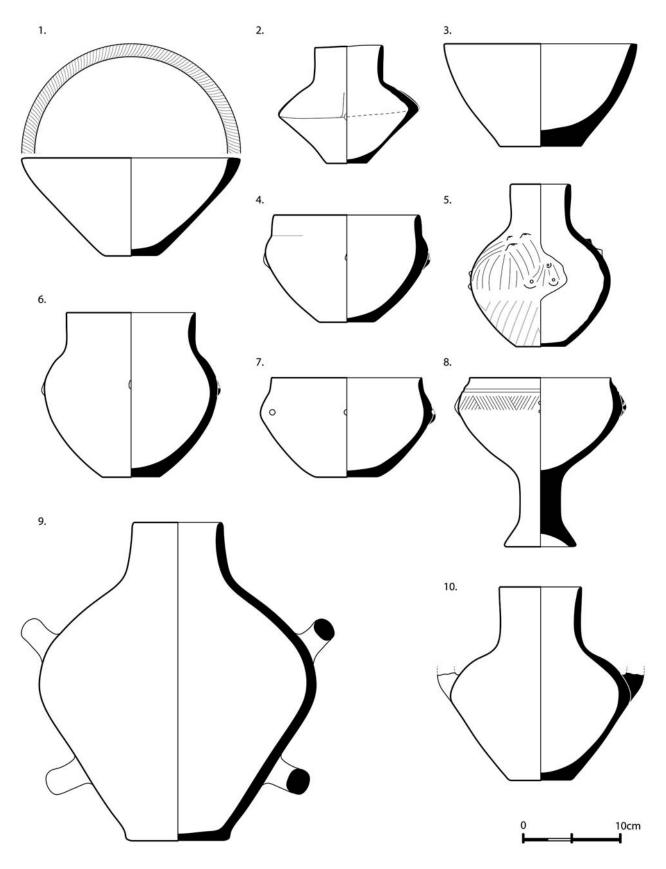


Fig. 5. The vessels of the group with the Hyde-vase Сл. 5. Посуде из труче са Хајд вазом

- 4. Biconical bowl with a cylindrical neck and a low upper cone. At the joint of the cones there are four pellets with circular shallow imprints above them (Fig. 5.4)
- 5. Biconical bowl with a cylindrical neck and a low upper cone. At the joint of the cones there are seven pellets with circular shallow imprints. The belly is decorated with burnished bands (Fig. 5.7)
- 6. Pedestaled biconical bowl. There is a series of oblique flutings on the low shoulder, and four pellets at the joint between the cones. The foot is covered with red-burnished slip. (Fig. 5.8)
- 7. Amphora with thin walls, a narrow high cylindrical neck and a sharply profiled surface which connects the shoulder and the belly. There are four short vertical depressions at the joint between the cones. (Fig. 5.2)
- 8. Amphora with thin walls, a narrow high cylindrical neck and a globular container. There are knoblike plastic decorations and bundles of oblique flutings. The belly is decorated with bundles of burnished lines. (Fig. 5.5)
- 9. Amphora with a wide cylindrical neck. On the rounded shoulder there are four pellets with circular shallow imprints. (Fig. 5.6)
- 10. Amphora with a narrow high neck and a rounded shoulder with two opposite vertical handles and two oval bulges between them. (Fig. 5.10)
- 11. Pear-shaped amphora with smoothened surface and coarse fabric having two horizontal strap handles. (Fig. 5.9)

The vessels from the pit with the Hyde-vase exhibit a wide range of typological varieties. Conical and biconical bowls are not different in any aspects from vessels for every-day use. However, no damage or usewear traces has been noted on any example. This leads to the conclusion that they were either used in a very short period or only occasionally used over a longer period. Therefore, the activity in which they were used must have been very important. However, the shapes and dimensions of the amphorae are distinctive and rather incongruous with the common repertoire of vessels. The forms with a narrow, high neck indicate the storage and/or liquid pouring function. Their dimensions (the height of 11-19 cm) exclude the possibility that they were used for storing liquids over a longer period and pinpoint possibility of pouring function given to these amphorae. The example with a wide neck could have been used for drinking of liquid. The amphora's containers are also varied in forms from globular to sharply profiled. Sharply profiled amphorae

are not a typical form of Vinča vessels. Sharp profiles are the most vulnerable spots on the vessel, where it can easily break in the course of firing as well as in the course of use, so that they require craftsman's extraordinary ability and skills. The presence of those forms in the pit could possibly point out to the significance of the whole pottery group. Another form of amphora with somewhat less emphasized profile and two vertical handles, giving an anthropomorphic character to the whole vessel, is fairly rare. An example similar in typology was found on so called base A at $\nabla 6.5 \text{ m.}^{17}$ Although different in forms, amphorae seem to have been found in the group with the Hyde-vase because of their similarity in dimensions and volume. The shape of the container does not have any practical implication except for demonstrating skilfulness in craftsmanship.

Pear shaped amphorae, which are larger vessels with two pairs of horizontal strap handles, are often associated with the earlier phases of the Vinča culture. In addition to the vessel which comes from the group with the Hyde-vase, another three examples of such vessels were found at Vinča at ∇8.4 m, ∇8.135 m and $\nabla 6.4$ m.¹⁸ The example from base C has the whole inner surface covered with white colour deposits, probably left by the content of the vessel. It may be assumed that the pear-shaped amphora, being the largest vessel in the group with the Hyde-vase, was originally used to keep liquid which was later poured into smaller amphorae.

The photographs make it clear that neither Hydevase nor any other vessels were carefully laid on the pit bottom. Seven vessels and the Hyde-vase are visible in the photographs, which prompts the conclusion that the other three vessels were lying on the bottom of the pit. Consequently, we may assume that the pit bottom was much smaller than the rim in diameter. The Hyde -vase and five larger vessels were laid on their side, while two vessels were laid bottom up. The position of the Hyde-vase is not distinctive in any way, which perhaps indicates that it was as important as other vessels. Moreover, all vessels seem to have been laid carelessly in no particular order, with the only attention to get them all packed in a small, limited space.

At the first glance, this group of pottery, with the exception of the Hyde-vase, contains vessels for every-day use. However, the fact that they were laid into the pit, a lack of use-wear traces and an obvious connection with an unusual, ornitomorphic vessel indicate

¹⁷ Васић 1936с, fig. 56е.

¹⁸ Bacић 1936c, fig. 27, 28, 59.

that all of them had been used for the same activity, and then probably put aside. The activity which they were used for was not an ordinary, every-day activity because the whole vessels were deposited in the pit. The explanation could be found in a ritual that may have taken place and after which they became unsuitable for further use. Considering their in situ position, it is reasonable to assume that they were laid empty in the pit after their content had been poured out or consumed. The purpose of depositing the vessels in the pit may have been the same as of breaking the objects used in the ritual. With vessels deposited and then closed inside the pit, the possibility of their reuse was excluded. The location for the pit outside the dwelling structures, in the open space, but almost in the centre of the settlement, was not chosen at random. This position undoubtedly shows that the ritual was not performed within a single household or a family. The central position suggests that the performed ritual activity, regardless of the number of participants, must have been of great significance, most likely, for the whole community.

Group with the anthropomorphic vessel

The only anthropomorphic vase from Vinča was modelled in the shape of a female figure, 23 cm tall, with small breasts and emphasized lower section of the belly, glutei and knees (Fig. 6). The arms are in the shape of short perforated stumps. The quintangular face is modelled into a mask with eyes, nose and mouth. The ears on the head are placed behind the mask. The whole vessel, including the face is decorated with fine flutings. On the vertex there is an opening of the container. The vessel is red in colour, as the result of subsequent burning.

The anthropomorphic vessel was detected in 1911 in the base with the floor at the depth of $\nabla 5.60$ – 6.83 m, according to the data recorded in the excavation journal. At the first glance, it is a clearly defined closed unit. However, this base was not described in detail, which raises doubts about its position, look, dimensions and contents. According to the journal, that structure was not examined at one time, but on two occasions in mid-August and early September 1911. The smaller section of the structure seems to have been examined in the first trench, closest to the Danube. The journal does not give any information on the dimensions of that part of the base or the depth of the floor base. Five vessels (three amphorae $\nabla 5.80$ m, a pan and a pot at $\nabla 6.0$ m) were found in the debris layer.¹⁹ No finds below the debris layer are mentioned, so



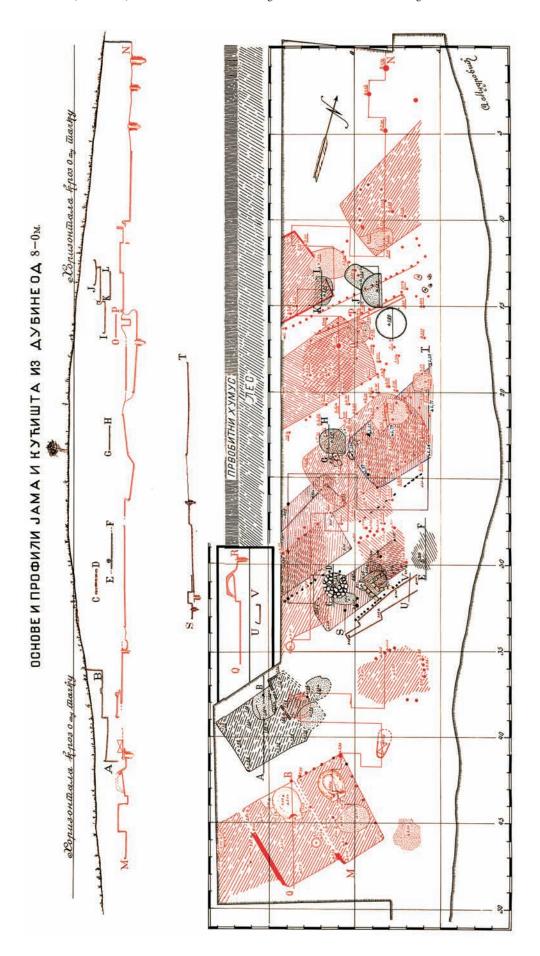
Fig. 6. The antropomorphic vessel Сл. 6. Аншройоморфна йосуда

that the conclusion can be drawn that there was no any inventory on the floor of that section of the structure.²⁰ The remaining section of the structure was examined within the trench which was the extension of the first one. It was described as a house base with "obtuse corners" and northeast-southwest orientation.21 Most certainly, the base did not have the shape of a regular quadrilateral, because it was noted that it was narrower at the southwest side. The debris layer was 50 cm thick above the second section of the structure and it covered the floor of compacted earth with overlaying soot. The hearth was not found. However, Vasić opened the possibility that he may have overlooked a hearth or oven in the previously investigated part of the structure. Knowing how meticulously he recorded

¹⁹ Васић 1911, 68-71.

²⁰ Pottery fragments found on the floors of houses usually were not noted in the journal.

²¹ Васић 1911, 126.



all remains of oven and hearths, it is not very likely that he may have failed to notice such important elements of the dwelling structure. It seems more likely that the base contained no oven or hearth.

The base with the anthropomorphic vessel, which was labelled the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m in the publication, has been identified in the 1911 summary plan based on the marked ground levels for the posts and floor (Fig. 7). Besides, this is the only base at that depth which is clearly cut by the first examined trench (parallel to the Danube) so that only its southwest section was drawn in the plan. The part of above-ground structures investigated in 1911 in the trench closest to the Danube, if drawn during excavation, were not entered in that plan. Consequently, the look and dimensions of the basis at $\nabla 6.6$ m cannot be fully reconstructed. Most certainly, it was 3m wide and at least 6 m long. None of the three posts in the drawing is in line with the walls, so that a question arises as to whether the post holes ($\nabla 6.83$ m, $\nabla 6.79$ m, $\nabla 6.71$ m) within the base with the anthropomorphic vessel belong to that structure at all.

The journal does not provide any information on small finds in the debris layer in the second section of the base. However, numerous finds from the floor of the structure are drawn and described in detail.²² It is also said that most vessels "were found laid in different manners, sometimes upside down, as was the case of the anthropomorphic vase - statuette". 23 Judging from this remark, although the position of each object is not precisely defined, we may conclude that the finds were grouped, not dispersed all over the surface of the house base. The content of the group, according to the excavation journal, was made up of the following:

- 1. Anthropomorphic vessel
- 2. Amphora with two representations of human face placed opposite each other on the neck of the vessel (24 cm high)
- 3. Four smaller amphorae (12.1 to 17.3 cm high)
- 4. Fragmented large amphora with incised bands filled with stabbing
- 5. Three conical bowls (7.0 to 7.8 cm high)
- 6. Four biconical bowls with a cylindrical neck and low upper cone (11.9 to 12.5 cm high)
- 7. Pot of small dimensions (17.5 cm high)
- 8. Pedestaled biconical bowl
- 9. Fourteen miniature vessels (2.3 to 7.2 cm high)
- 10. Two prosopomorphic lids, each with two perforations on the nape
- 11. Fragment of sacrifice altar
- 12. Ceramic plate
- 13. Ground stone axe²⁴

Like the Hyde-vase, the anthropomorphic vessel was published in the first volume of Prehistoric Vinča, in the chapter dealing with cosmetic ware, because it was assumed that it had been used for storing cosmetic preparations, with human figure "being probably representation of an anthropomorphic deity" used as a motif for production of cosmetic anthropomorphic vessels.25 The vessel was described in detail and it was explained that it had been found in 1911 at $\nabla 6.6$ m "at the same level and in the same base where other interesting earthenware was found then".26 Another two vessels from the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m were published in the same chapter. They were an amphora with a representation of two human faces applied on the neck, which was said to have been used for storing cosmetic products too, and a smaller amphora decorated with incised meanders – due to the assumption that it could resolve the issue of chronological attribution of the doublefaced amphora.²⁷ Although both vessels are noted to have been found in 1911, in the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m, it is only said that the smaller amphora was found in the "same house in which the anthropomorphic vessel was found",28 which opens the possibility that they did not come from the same base.

The information on the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m provided in the journal was repeated in the fourth volume of Prehistoric Vinča, with a remark that "whole vases and fragments together with a perforated earthen plate with holes and fragmented moulded stone tools were found along its western longer side". 29 The finds from this base were labelled "group with plastic vase in the shape of human figure from $\nabla 6.6$ °, but the published content of the group is different from the content entered into the excavation journal. It is specified that in addition to a ground stone axe, earthen plate with holes, and pottery fragments, 22 vessels were also uncovered.³⁰ Four vessels from the layer with ruins (a pan and three amphorae) and a smaller amphorae not mentioned in the journal³¹ are assigned to the group

- 22 Васић 1911, 127-132.
- 23 Васић 1911, 126.
- 24 The material preserved from the 1911 excavation is stored at the National Museum in Belgrade and is not currently available, so that the conclusions on the vessels of this unit have been made based on the published material and Vasic's documentation.
- 25 Васић 1932, 60.
- 26 Васић 1932, 42, fig. 89, 90.
- 27 Васић 1932, 52-54, fig. 105, 106.
- 28 Васић 1932, 52.
- 29 Васић 1936с, 38.
- 30 Васић 1936с, 38-42.
- 31 Васић 1936c, fig. 46, 52, 54, 55, 51.

with the anthropomorphic vessel, but at the same time a considerable number of objects, minutely recorded in the journal, are omitted (13 vessels, two prosopomorphic lids and a fragment of sacrifice altar). The vessels found in the debris layer are likely to have belonged to the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m, but it is absolutely certain that they did not lie in the room with the anthropomorphic vessel, especially in the view of the fact that three amphorae were subsequently burned, and two of them were found in fragments. Considering their position within the house daub, they may have lain in the attic, or on an above-ground storey of the structure.

The published data on the state of preservation and colour of the vessel further confirm the assumption that they were grouped on the floor and in a way protected. The number of red subsequently burnt vessels is remarkably small. Two of them (the amphora with two faces and the large amphora decorated with incised bands) were detected in a fragmented condition, while the anthropomorphic vessel and the smaller amphora with incised meanders were undamaged. All other vessels are said to have been whole, greyish black or brown, which could possibly indicate that they were not directly exposed to flame. They may have been grouped on a small surface, like the group with the Hyde-vase, so that most of them were covered and protected by the vessels on top of the pile. This may provide the explanation for the remark in the journal on their different positions, leading to the assumption that those vessels which fragmented and turned red after the wall had collapsed and fire had broken out were the vessels found at the top. At the same time, it would mean that, as is the case of the group with the Hyde-vase, the vessels with undoubted cult character were on the top.

Viewed as a whole, the pottery group with the anthropomorphic vessel immediately stands out as being different from the common inventory of a dwelling structure. Like in the group with the Hyde-vase, there is also a vessel of a unique shape and superb craftsmanship in this group. The resemblance between the two groups is exhibited in variations of forms, giving an impression that all functional classes of vessels are present. Both groups contain pedestal biconical bowls and small-sized amphorae with a narrow cylindrical neck. However, sharply profiled amphorae are not present in the group with the anthropomorphic vessel. The amphorae have a rounded, almost globular container. In spite of this difference, amphorae of both group display obvious similarity in size and volume.

On the other hand, 14 miniature vessels were found on the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m. They repeat characteristic forms of Vinča vessels (conical and biconical bowls, amphorae and pan) and, according to the journal, were of a rough make. Such concentration of miniature vessels has not been confirmed in any other unit at Vinča. Single vessels were mostly found within a layer or a house, without any perceivable connection with some other types or groups of finds. Apart from an overview of typology, the literature hardly provides any detailed analyses or interpretation of this type of finds.³² They are often associated with cult or production of cosmetic preparations.³³ The assumptions that they were toys or that they were made by children, mostly held due to their dimensions and rough make, are not supported by a detailed analysis or explanation. Furthermore, the fact that among the miniature vessels there are also examples of a meticulous make, with burnished surfaces and decorated in various techniques are often overlooked. In the case of the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m, where their archaeological context is known, it is possible to assume that the function of the miniature vessels was clearly defined. Their obvious connection with the cult vessels excludes interpretations that the miniature vessels from the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m were toys. The content of the whole group, whose cult function is clearly pointed by the anthropomorphic vessel, indicates that the similar function has also to be ascribed to the miniature vessels of that group.

Two prosopomorphic lids were found in the group with the anthropomorphic vessel. Their apotropaic function has not been disputed although there is little information on the archaeological context of that type of finds.³⁴ Prosopomorphic lids, like the miniature vessels, were mostly found in the layer, which may prompt the conclusion that they were neither used in everyday activities nor they were a part of the common inventory of a dwelling structure. Besides the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m, the bases at $\nabla 6.73$ m and $\nabla 7.445$ m with Myres pithos are the only structures said to have held lids.³⁵ The assumption that the prosopomorphic lids were used to close the amphorae with a narrow cylindrical neck, decorated with incised bands filled with stabbing, is supported by the presence of the matching

³² Летица 1967.

³³ Гарашанин 1968.

³⁴ Stanković 1986.

³⁵ Васић 1936а, 65,45.

finds in the group with the anthropomorphic vessel (Fig. 8.12).³⁶ Perforations on the vertex and nape show that the lid was tied with strings to the amphora's neck. This further points to the conclusion that the amphora was not opened very often, its content being used from time to time, most probably on special occasions.³⁷ Whether it was a valuable and rare liquid in itself or it became valuable thanks to having been stored in the amphora with the lid or because of the occasion when it was used – we will probably never know.

An extraordinary find for Vinča is a sharply profiled amphora with the neck with two applied faces in the shape of quintangular masks placed opposite each other. It is described as a "hermaphrodite vessel for cosmetics" with a remark that two faces represent the deity's dual character.³⁸ The vessel is unique because of the representation of two identical masks, modelled as masks of some contemporary anthropomorphic figurines. However, in addition to the eyes and nose, the mouth and ears are also present on the representations applied on the amphora's neck, although they are rarely present on the figurines.³⁹ Perhaps intentional similarity, almost sameness, of the representations applied on the amphora's neck to the mask on the anthropomorphic vessel is conspicuous. When interpreting this in the Vinča culture unusual representation of all parts of head, the fact that they were executed on the vessels of completely different character should be taken into consideration. The anthropomorphic vessel is modelled in such a way that the represented body details undoubtedly suggest that the container is in the shape of a female figure. On the other hand, the vessel with applied masks, modeled in the recognizable Vinča style, matches the Szakálhát, i.e. Zseliz group in ornaments and shape. The meaning of combining elements of two cultures on that amphora has not been examined yet, perhaps due to the cult character of the vessel which displays the characteristics questioning the assumptions on conservatism of all aspects of cults and rituals.

The meaning of the amphora with applied faces cannot be explained by the fact that some other vessels of the Szakálhát and Zseliz group, without the Vinča elements, were present in the set with the anthropomorphic vessel (Fig. 8.10, 13) and in the debris layer of the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m.⁴⁰ We may assume that they got to the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m at the same time, as containers for the goods traded from northern Pannonia.41 The amphora with applied faces, however, may not have been imported because the representations on its neck exclude any possibility of its origin beyond the limits of the Vinča culture. It could have been made at Vinča in the workshop of probably the same craftsman who produced the anthropomorphic vessel. The character of the group with the anthropomorphic vessel poses a number of questions about the character of interregional connections of the Vinča inhabitants, but also about doubtless local rituals which involved use of some noticeably non-local products and objects combining the elements of different cultures.

Based on what we have presented so far, we may say that the group of pottery with the anthropomorphic vessel is not a common inventory of dwelling structures. According to the only published summary plan and preserved documentation (journals and unpublished plans), at least 15 houses, most of which are contemporary with base $\nabla 6.6$ m, were investigated in the layer at the depth between six and seven metres at Vinča. The contents of those houses, except for base A, 42 are mostly unknown. Considering the fact that "everything that was worth the attention" was described in the journals, the inventory of other houses must have been modest and ordinary. All the more so, the group with the anthropomorphic vessel stands out as a unique set of vessels. Like in the group with the Hyde-vase, among the vessels of this group there are examples which do not differ in shape from the vessel for everyday use, but also those which are doubtless connected with cult. In addition to the anthropomorphic vessel, the cult function can also be ascribed to the amphora with two faces and the amphora with prosopomorphic lid. The remarkable number of the miniature vessels suggests that in this context they must have had the same purpose. The structures where bigger concentrations of cult objects were found are usually interpreted as shrines or places of cult. The fact that no oven was found in this house may support this interpretation. On the other hand, the structures with

- 37 Николић и Вуковић 2008.
- 38 Васић 1932, 56.
- 39 Bacић 1936b, fig. 139, 203, 204.
- 40 Bacић 1936c, fig. 54, 55.
- 41 The assumption that they were not imported but locally produced under the influence of cultural groups from north Pannonia seems less likely (Pavuk 1990; Титов 1980b, 314).
- 42 Васић 1936с. 45-47.

³⁶ The amphora with bands with incised meanders is described in the iournal as a "large anthropomorphic vase with a cylindrical neck" (Васић 1911, 131), so it is obvious that when the finds of the group with the antropomorphic vessel were published an unadequate scale was placed next to the drawing of the amphorae (Васић 1936с, fig. 48), thus giving an impression of a small-sized vessel. Because the correct dimensions are not provided, fig. 8.12 also shows it in a wrong scale

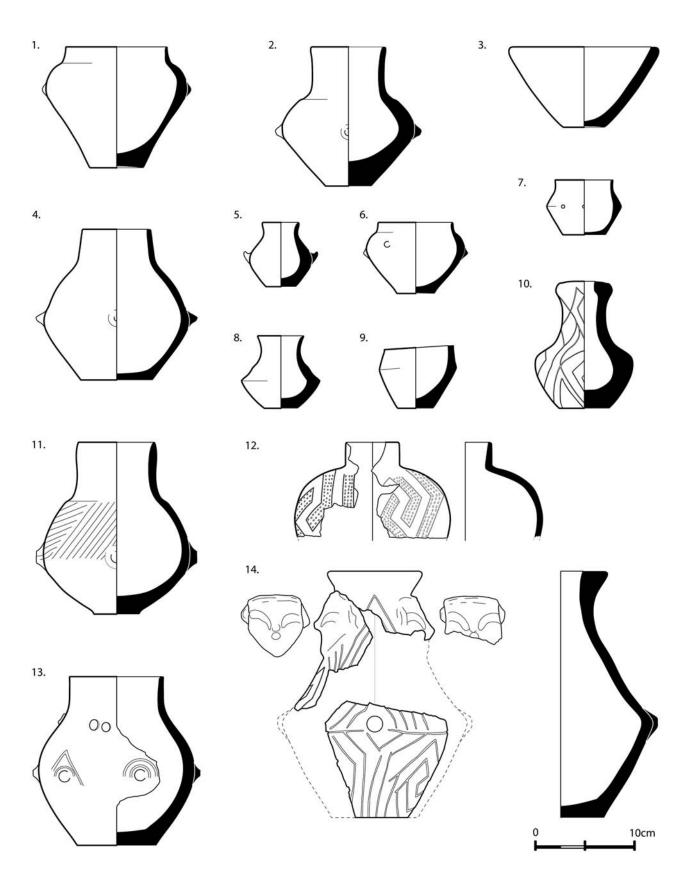


Fig. 8. The vessel of the group with the antropomorphic vessel Сл. 8. Посуде из труйе са аншройоморфном йосудом

a big number of cult objects can be explained as having been the places of residence of the community's most eminent members who conducted rituals in cults of general importance for the whole community.⁴³ Unfortunately, there are no enough data for the final interpretation of this structure. Other interpretations are also possible when we know that the house burnt up. One of them is that the house was deliberately set on fire and the objects of cult left as goods for the house that had ended its life-cycle.⁴⁴ However, knowing that most houses at Vinča were destroyed in fire, it may be very difficult to prove that the house was deliberately set on fire. The possibility that fire broke out accidentally seems more likely. If we reject the possibility of deliberately set fire and accept the possibility that vessels were discarded or destroyed after the ritual, we may assume that the vessels found in the house had been prepared for the ritual, which due to the fire, was not performed.

Conclusion

Discussions on the Neolithic cult and religion usually do not go further than admitting a multitude of cult objects, most frequently figurines, and inability to determine their function and meaning. On the other hand, the assumptions on the character of various sets found within closed units are presented with more certainty. Structures where sets of figurines were found are interpreted as shrines; groups of figurines as representations of different deities or participants in the cult;45 sets which, apart from figurines, also comprise miniature objects and vessels as scenes of cult;46 or as offerings or gifts in deliberately burnt houses.⁴⁷ However, groups of pottery from dwelling structures cannot be easily associated with cult activities, because it is difficult to determine as to whether they can be seen as a structured disposition for the purpose of cult or just a common household inventory. In the case of deliberately burnt houses, set of vessels are regarded as stores with exclusive cult purposes.⁴⁸

Two pottery sets from Vinča are connected with a number of the same characteristics. First of all, it is the presence of a unique vessel of outstanding workmanship. Although executed in the same style, they are completely different in shape. The anthropomorphic vessel displays parts of body and secondary sex characteristics which show a representation of a woman. On the other hand, the Hyde-vase is much more complex. While the container is modelled in a realistic manner in the shape of the body of a bird, the head is shaped in an extraordinary manner. Based on the analogies to anthropomorphic figurines, the

conclusion may be drawn that it represents a human head. However, two protuberances on the vertex are confusing. They may be seen as representing a special coiffure. But, no other figurine with a similar coiffure has ever been found in the whole of the Vinča culture area. Therefore, it seems more likely that the protuberances did not represent hair, but they must have had a specific symbolic meaning, closely connected to the whole representation of a fantastic creature. Although the Hyde-vase is a unique representation on the whole territory of the Vinča culture, it nevertheless confirms that fantastic creatures were part of the religious system in the Late Neolithic.

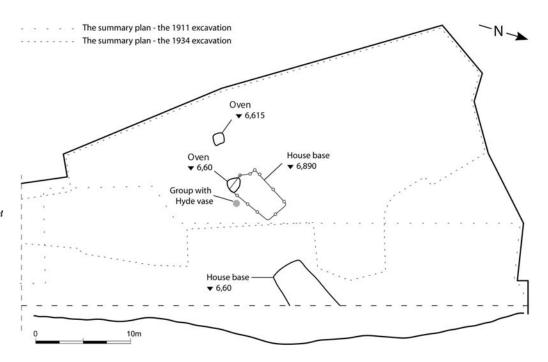
On the other hand, the presence of the vessels for everyday use within the cult sets reveals that they were also used for ritual purposes. The repertoire of vessels repeats all those characteristic forms of the utilitarian pottery, while their special function in the ritual context is indicated by small, even miniature dimensions and, at least in the case of the group with the Hyde-vase, absence of any traces of long use. Much larger vessels are present in both sets though (a pear-shaped amphora in the group with the Hyde-vase and two amphorae in the group with the anthropomorphic vessel), so that it could be hypothesized that their content was poured into smaller vessels during the ritual performance.

At the end, an analysis of the existing documentation has proved that both sets lay in the central section of the settlement in the same dwelling horizon, although in the structures of different character (Fig. 9). 49 The group with the Hyde-vase was in the pit, which obviously shows that the vessels could not have been used for everyday, usual activities. The other group was in the structure which could be regarded as a dwelling structure, but the content of the set, as well as the fact that some vessels were placed bottom up, exclude the possibility to consider the set as a common house inventory.

However, the reconstruction of the archaeological context of the two extraordinary finds from Vinča – the Hyde-vase and the anthropomorphic vessel – is

- 43 Hegedus and Makkay 1987, 103
- 44 Chapman 2000, 111.
- 45 Bailey 2005, 12
- 46 Тодорова 1976.
- 47 Chapman 2000, 111.
- 48 Chapman 2000, 105.
- 49 Guided by the ground levels used by Vasić to name the bases, without taking into consideration the mean value of the floors of houses or their content in the first place, M. Garašanin (1997, 19) and W. Schier (1996, 146) connected bases A and C and the house with the antropomorphic vessel with different dwelling horizons and phases of the Viča culture.

Fig. 9. The position of the group with the Hyde-vase and the group with the antropomorphic vessel



only a precondition for their interpretation. Determination of their position in relation to other finds raises a number of questions which, at present, are too difficult to answer. What were the rituals in question? Does the different context indicate different places of cult performance? Who participated in the rituals – individuals or the whole community? Do the two different contexts and different forms of cult vessels necessarily point to the existence of different cults? Were those local cults or were they important for the wider region? May the composition of the cult sets indicate different manifestation of the same cult? Why were the traces of that cult performance found only in Vinča? Can uniqueness of the Hyde-vase and the anthropomorphic vessel indicate that the ritual was performed only once? If so, what was the reason? Do the locations in the settlement where the groups holding vessels with figurative decoration were found represent the actual places where the ritual was performed?

Given the archaeological context, the last question seems to be the easiest to answer. The vessels of the group with the Hyde-vase were most likely laid empty in the pit. This situation doubtless shows that the cult performance had taken place somewhere else, perhaps in the close vicinity of the pit. Consequently, we may conclude that after the ritual had been performed, the used vessels must have been stored. It is more difficult to define the context with the anthropomorphic vessel though. The fact that this group lay in a house may

lead us to the conclusion that it was used in a home ritual. However, the uniqueness of the anthropomorphic vessel excludes this possibility, unless it was the residence of a distinguished community member who played the key role in ritual performance. Even assuming that, and bearing in mind the character of the find indicating a ritual important for the wider, probably whole, community, it is hard to imagine that such an activity could have been performed in a small enclosed space. Whatever the purpose of the structure may have been, it seems that the set prepared for the ritual which was going to be performed somewhere else got there through a conjunction of certain circumstances.

Many of the questions have to remain unanswered for the time being, especially those concerning the meaning of the cult and forms of ritual performance. Although the main characteristic of the two cult sets is the uniqueness of the vessels with figural decorations, we should not overlook the fact that, among numerous examples of mostly fragmented anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels presented in summary, the examples of the cult sets were the only ones that were wholly preserved and found within the original context. Similar sets and vessels with figural decorations are unknown at the other settlements of the Vinča culture, which perhaps may be attributed to the low level of exploration. Nevertheless, at this moment there are many reasons to believe that the longlived settlement at Vinča was, in the true meaning of

the word, a metropolis of the Late Neolithic in the Balkans. 50 Consequently, thousands of cult objects would provide evidence that Vinča was the centre of the cult for the wider region.⁵¹ Therefore, we can justly assume that the cult objects of particular importance were not produced in bigger quantities anywhere else, so they were concentrated at Vinča only.

In spite of different interpretations of the meaning and symbolism of the objects themselves and their function in the cult, most authors agree that the sets of cult objects are the traces of activities that were important to the whole community or its specific part.⁵² Diverse objects that those sets were made up of, lying in houses that are thought to have been intentionally burnt, reflect the values cherished by individuals, households or the whole community. It is widely held that such types of sets appear at critical moments in the life of a community, which leads to the conclusion that seldom can more than one such set be found in one dwelling horizon.53

Two groups of pottery – with the Hyde-vase and with the anthropomorphic vessel – certainly represent two cult sets that appeared in an extraordinary moment in the life of the Vinča community, which is corroborated by their position in the centre of the settlement at the distance of 15 m from each other. If we accept the assumption that the cult sets reflect a turning point in the life of the community, the question about the time when it was necessary for the whole community at Vinča to get symbolically integrated through a joint ritual inevitably arises. Besides, having in mind that the two sets were found in the same dwelling horizon, it is necessary to answer the question about the reasons why those two sets were deposited almost simultaneously. The different contexts may provide the answer to the second question. The group with the Hyde-vase was buried from the higher level in relation to the level of the floor of base C, which allows of the views that the set was deposited after the fire which had devastated not only base C but also the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m, and probably the other houses of that dwelling horizon. Typological uniformity of the contents of both groups of pottery and stylistic unity of the cult vessels lead to the conclusion that not much time elapsed from the outbreak of fire to depositing of the group with the Hyde-vase. We can further speculate that these two sets were not created independently from each other and that there was a causal connection between their content and the position inside the settlement. The objects prepared for the ritual but trapped on the base at $\nabla 6.6$ m by fire could not have been used. Could we assume that this was the reason why another set, although with somewhat different content, was used for the planned ritual soon after the fire?

Both groups of pottery were found in the horizon associated with the beginning of the Gradac phase.⁵⁴ That phase is characterized by the emergence of metallurgy in the Balkans, because of which the Serbian archaeological literature often equates it with the beginning of the Eneolithic.⁵⁵ That turning point, marked by introduction of new technology, must have resulted not only in changes in material culture, but also in social organization, set of values, and probably in religious convictions. The emergence of metallurgy triggered dynamic changes across the Balkans and the whole of South East Europe. At the first glance, those changes appear not to have had an impact on the settlement at Vinča since it continued to develop, while the elements that characterized the Gradac phase were almost completely lacking there.⁵⁶

Appearance of new communities in the region, who had different social and economic structure and set of values, must have shaken the prolonged stability of the Vinča Neolithic inhabitants. In response to the new situation and in an attempt at opposing inevitable changes, the community at Vinča perhaps tried to express its homogeneity and stability through a ritual that could confirm that at the local and probably regional level. The two sets with cult vessels may represent the traces of that ritual. However, in spite of the community's efforts, the decline of the Vinča culture started at that very moment. Long resistance to changes and endeavours to persist in living in the Neolithic tradition can be traced as late as in the Late Eneolithic, when eventually the last Vinča settlement ceased to exist in the Balkans.

- 50 Тасић 2008.
- 51 Chapman 1981, 74.
- 52 Bailey 2005, 91.
- 53 Chapman 2000, 111.
- 54 Jovanović 1994.
- 55 Garašanin 1991.
- 56 Garašanin 1995.

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ВИНЧАНСКЕ РИТУАЛНЕ ПОСУДЕ: АРЕОЛОШКИ КОНТЕКСТ И МОГУЋЕ ЗНАЧЕЊЕ

Кључне речи: Винча, Хајд ваза, антропоморфна посуда, археолошки контекст, култни сет, градачка фаза.

У групи култних предмета из Винче издвајају се две посуде јединственог облика, које су до данас остале синоним за врхунске уметничке и занатске домете носилаца касног неолита Европе. Орнитоморфна посуда, позната као Хајд ваза, и антропоморфна посуда нашле су своје место у многим прегледима праисторијске уметности, али се у литератури није одмакло даље од њихових описа и анализе естетских вредности. Никада се, међутим, нису детаљно разматрали услови налаза и археолошки контекст, који би могли допринети њиховом тумачењу и реконструкцији ритуалне радње у којој су коришћене.

Хајд ваза један је од ретких предмета за који, наизглед, постоје прецизни подаци о условима налаза. Анализом Васићеве документације и публиковане грађе, међутим, показало се да постоје многе нејасноће у погледу изгледа и положаја објекта у оквиру којег је Хајд ваза пронађена. Откривена је 1930. године, у плитком удубљењу са 10 целих посуда, у оквиру основе Ц. Основа Ц, међутим, није описана у журналу, нити је наведен њен тачан положај у оквиру истраживаног простора. Анализа публиковане грађе и документације отвара питање да ли основа Ц представља остатке куће и да ли се удубљење са групом од 11 посуда налазило у оквиру куће. Начин на који је Васић публиковао групу са Хајд вазом, избегавајући да целину из које потиче назове кућиштем, само још више доводи у сумњу постојање основе Ц у облику у коме је приказана на збирном плану. Закључак да је ниво са кога је удубљење са Хајд вазом укопано морао бити изнад коте ∇6.65 м искључује могућност да је укоп припадао основи Ц или било ком другом стамбеном објекту на тој дубини.

На први поглед, ова група керамике, са изузетком Хајд вазе, садржи посуде за свакодневну употребу. Међутим, њихово полагање у јаму, одсуство трагова употребе и очигледна веза са неуобичајеном, орнитоморфном посудом показују да су све оне биле употребљене у истој активности, а потом вероватно одложене. Одлагање целих посуда у јаму указује на то да оне нису употребљене у свакодневној, уобичајеној радњи. Објашњење би се могло наћи у претходно обављеном ритуалу, после којег оне више нису биле погодне за употребу. Имајући у виду њихов положај in situ, оправдано је претпоставити да су посуде у јаму положене празне, а да је њихов садржај претходно изливен или конзумиран. Смисао оваквог полагања могао би да буде исти као и код разбијања предмета искоришћених у ритуалу. Наиме, смештањем у јаму искључена је могућност њиховог поновног коришћења. Избор места за укопавање јаме, ван стамбених објеката, на отвореном простору, али готово у центру насеља, сигурно није случајан. Такав положај недвосмислено показује да ритуал није обављен у оквиру једног домаћинства или породице. Централно место сугерише да је обављена ритуална радња имала много шири значај, вероватно за целу заједницу.

Антропоморфна посуда откривена је 1911. године, у основи чији се под, према подацима у дневнику, налазио на дубини 6.6-6.83 м. Ту групу посуда, без антропоморфне, чинило је 11 посуда, 2 просопоморфна поклопца, 16 минијатурних посуда и амфора на чијем су врату две наспрамно постављене пластичне представе људских лица са маском.

Садржај керамичке групе са антропоморфном посудом сасвим сигурно не представља уобичајени инвентар стамбених објеката. Међу посудама се, као и у случају групе са Хајд вазом, налазе примерци који се обликом не разликују од посуда за свакодневну употребу, али и они који се несумњиво доводе у везу са култом. Осим антропоморфне посуде, култна функција се може приписати амфори са два лица и амфори са просопоморфним поклопцем, а упадљиво велики број минијатурних посуда сугерише да су у овом контексту и оне морале имати исту улогу. Објекти у којима је нађен већи број култних предмета обично се тумаче као светилишта или култна места. Чињеница да у овој кући није нађена пећ, која се мора налазити у стамбеним објектима, могла би ићи у прилог оваквом тумачењу. С друге стране, објекти са великим бројем култних предмета могли би се објаснити као пребивалишта истакнутих чланова заједнице, који обављају ритуале везане за култове од општег значаја за целу заједницу. Нажалост, нема довољно података који би помогли у коначној интерпретацији овог објекта. Чињеница да је кућа изгорела у пожару отвара могућност и других тумачења. Уколико одбацимо могућност да је кућа намерно запаљена и прихватимо да се посуде после употребе у ритуалу одбацују или уништавају, можемо претпоставити да су посуде пронађене у кући биле припремљене за ритуал који се, због пожара, никада није одиграо.

Две керамичке групе, са Хајд вазом и антропоморфном посудом, сасвим сигурно представљају два култна сета настала у изузетном тренутку за заједницу у Винчи, што потврђује и чињеница да су се налазиле у центру насеља, на међусобном растојању од 15 м. Ако прихватимо

претпоставку да култни сетови одражавају неки преломни догађај у животу заједнице, нужно се поставља питање у ком тренутку је у Винчи било неопходно да се цела заједница симболички интегрише кроз заједнички ритуал. Осим тога, с обзиром на то да су два сета пронађена у истом стамбеном хоризонту, неопходно је одговорити на питање зашто су у истом тренутку депонована два сета. Одговор на друго питање можда пружају њихови различити контексти. Група са Хајд вазом укопана је са вишег нивоа у односу на ниво пода куће са антропоморфном посудом, па је тако могуће тврдити да је сет депонован после пожара у коме је та кућа страдала. Типолошка уједначеност садржаја обе керамичке групе и стилско јединство култних посуда наводе на закључак да од пожара до депоновања групе са Хајд вазом није прошло много времена. Даље би се могло помишљати да та два сета нису настала независно један од другог, већ да су њихов садржај и положај у оквиру насеља у узрочно- последичној вези. Предмете припремљене за ритуал, који су пожаром заробљени у кући, није било могуће употребити. Сме ли се претпоставити да је, због тога, у планираном ритуалу употребљен други сет?

Обе керамичке групе нађене су у хоризонту који се повезује са почетком градачке фазе. Ту фазу карактерише појава металургије на Балкану и стога се она у српској

археолошкој литератури обично изједначава са почетком енеолита. Тај преломни тренутак, пре свега увођење нове технологије, сигурно је за последицу имао не само промене у материјалној култури, већ и у социјалној организацији, систему вредности, а вероватно и у религиозним схватањима. Појава металургије изазвала је динамичне промене на територији Балкана и читаве југоисточне Европе. На први поглед се чини да на насеље у Винчи те промене нису много утицале, јер се оно се развијало у континуитету, а сви елементи који карактеришу градачку фазу овде готово у потпуности недостају. Појава нових заједница у окружењу, међутим, сасвим сигурно је пољуљала дуготрајну стабилност становника неолитске Винче. Као реакција на новонасталу ситуацију и покушај одупирања неизбежним променама, заједница у Винчи имала је потребу да своју хомогеност и стабилност искаже кроз ритуал који то потврђује на локалном, а можда и регионалном нивоу. Могуће је да два сета са култним посудама представљају траг тог ритуала. Без обзира на напоре заједнице, од тог тренутка, међутим, почиње опадање винчанске културе. Дуготрајно одупирање променама и покушај да се задржи живот на неолитским традицијама, могу се пратити до касног енеолита, када коначно нестаје и последње винчанско насеље на Балкану.