

Tihomila Težak Gregl

Odsjek za arheologiju
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Department of Archaeology,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
of the University of Zagreb
ttgregl@ffzg.hr

DOI: 10.17234/9789531758185-01

Periodizacija, odnosno dioba prapovijesti na razdoblja, etape, odsjeke, stupnjeve ili faze pomoćno je sredstvo koje omogućuje pregledan uvid u razvoj čovjeka i njegova društva. No, kako je svaki pojam nešto što raste i mijenja se s novim istraživanjima, tako se i podjela prapovijesti tijekom njezine primjene mijenjala i dopunjavala novim sadržajima. U tom su smislu i pojmovi bakrenoga i brončanoga doba u razna vremena različito određivani. U prvoj općeprihvaćenoj trodobnoj podjeli prapovijesti Christiana Jürgensena Thomsena koja je polazila od konkretnih materijalnih nalaza bez povijesnoteorijske pozadine nije bilo bakrenoga doba već on „oružja i oštra oruđa izrađena od bakra ili bronce“ smješta u brončano doba. Njegova trodobna podjela na kameno, brončano i željezno doba temeljila se isključivo na pojavi nove sirovine i tehnologije njezine obrade. Vjerojatno je Thomsen već tada bio svjestan da su uz tehnološka postignuća vezane i druge pojave u materijalnoj kulturi, ali nije uočio da s time moraju biti povezane i neke promjene u društvu. Ipak s vremenom tako Thomsenovi pojmovi kamenoga, brončanoga i željeznoga doba počinju dobivati i drugi sadržaj. Počelo se ispitivati što je još novoga bilo povezano s pojavom novih sirovina, jesu li se i drugi aspekti života mijenjali. I dok je za Thomse- na dostatna bila pojava nove sirovine, Gordon Childe je tražio promjene u društvenoj strukturi. S obzirom na činjenicu da je Thomsenova podjela uključivala samo tri glavna doba, ubrzo se pokazalo da je nužna preciznija dioba, najprije kamenoga doba na starije i mlađe, potom i srednje, a zatim se uvidjelo da nije moguće jednostavno povući crtu između kamenih i metalnih doba. Niz novih

The periodization, i.e. the division of prehistory into periods, epochs, stages, degrees or phases, is an auxiliary agent that allows for the creation of a comprehensive overview of the development of man and society. However, as every term is a thing that grows and changes with new research, the division of prehistory also changed and was added to through its application. In that sense, the terms of the Copper and the Bronze Age were differently defined at different times. In the first generally accepted division of prehistory into three periods, made by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen based on actual material remains without a historical and theoretical background, there was no mention of the Copper Age. The author placed “weapons and sharp tools made of copper or bronze” into the Bronze Age. His tripartite division into the Stone, Bronze and Iron Age was based exclusively on the appearance of a new raw material and the technology used to process it. Thomsen was probably already aware that technological achievements were accompanied by other occurrences in the material culture, but he did not realize that social changes had to be connected to them as well. With time, Thomsen’s concepts of the Stone, Bronze and Iron Age began to acquire new content. The questions arose on what else was connected to the appearance of new raw materials, and whether other aspects of life had changed. While the emergence of a new raw material was enough for Thomsen, Gordon Childe looked for changes in the social structure. Considering the fact that Thomsen’s division included only three main periods, it soon became apparent that a more precise division was necessary, at first of the Stone Age into Early and Late, and then the Middle.



pojava i zajednica nije se po svojoj gospodarskoj i društvenoj strukturi, ali ni po materijalnoj i duhovnoj ostavštini u potpunosti uklapao u neolitik, ali ni u brončano doba. Postalo je jasno da između ovih dvaju razdoblja postoji i neko prijelazno vrijeme koje će tek utrti put razvijenim metalnim razdobljima. Ono što je bilo na prvi pogled najvidljivije obilježje toga prijelaznog razdoblja jest sve češća pojava metalnih predmeta, u prvom redu bakrenih, ali i zlatnih te srebrnih, kao posljedica razvoja primarne metalurgije. Stoga je novo razdoblje prozvano bakrenim, a osamdesetih je godina 19. st. utvrđeno da ga kronološki valja smjestiti prije brončanoga jer se plosnate bakrene sjekire i drugi bakreni predmeti redovito nalaze udruženi s kamenim oruđem, stoga predstavljaju neki stupanj između pravoga neolitika i pravoga brončanog doba. Danas se za označivanje toga razdoblja najčešće služimo terminom eneolitik, latinsko-grčkom složenicom koja upućuje na kontinuirani razvoj mlađega kamenog doba u bakreno doba, tj. da je u novostvorenim kulturnim pojavama osim novih elemenata, još uvijek vrlo prepoznatljiva tradicija mlađega kamenog doba, i to u svim sferama života. Isto značenje imaju i termini kuprolitik i halkolitik. Potonji se obično rabi u kontekstu egejskoga i maloazijskoga svijeta u značenju završnog neolitika tijekom kojega je metal već ušao u širu uporabu. Neki prapovjesničari još uvijek rado rabe i opisni naziv prijelazno doba, ali on suviše naglašava vremensku kratkotrajnost razdoblja koje traje cijelo četvrto i treće tisućljeće pr. Kr., a početci su mu još u petom tisućljeću.

Pojedinačne bakrene predmete, uglavnom ukrasne, poznavale su i neke neolitičke zajednice. Predmeti izrađeni od samorodnog bakra ili bakrenih minerala kao što su malahit, azurit i kuprit, kakvi se pojavljuju već na nekim nalazištima pretkera-mičkoga razdoblja na Bliskome istoku, a potom i u nekim europskim neolitičkim zajednicama, nisu pokazatelj postojanja metalurgije. Riječ je o predmetima ukrasne namjene, najčešće zrnima za ogrlice i narukvice, koji su izrađeni primjenom jednakih tehničkih postupaka kojima se obrađivao i bilo koji drugi kamen. Ako su tijekom takvih obrada i otkrivene prve mogućnosti hladnoga kovanja, a potom i termičke obrade, sama prisutnost i uporaba metalnih predmeta nije dovoljan razlog za izdvajanje novoga prapovijesnog razdoblja ako to ne dovodi do promjena u načinu života. Metalurgija sama po sebi sasvim sigurno nije bila neko iznenadno otkriće, nego je rezultat dugotrajnog stjecanja znanja o

It then became clear that it was not possible to draw a straight line between the Stone and Metal Ages. A series of new occurrences and communities did not completely fit into the Neolithic or the Bronze Age based on their economic and social structures, or their material and cultural heritage. It became clear that there was a time of transition between these two periods that would pave the way for the developed Metal Ages. At first glance, the most visible characteristic of this transitional period was an increase in the number of metal objects, at first copper ones, but also those made of gold and silver, resulting from the development of primary metalurgy. The period was, therefore, named the Copper Age. In the 1880s, it was established that it should be the chronological antecedent of the Bronze Age, because flat copper axes and other copper finds were frequently found in combination with stone tools and, as such, represented a phase between the true Neolithic and the true Copper Age. Today, the period is most often described by the term Eneolithic, a Latin-Greek compound that points to the continued development from the Late Stone into the Copper Age, i.e. that the traditions of the Late Stone Age are still recognizable in the newly-created cultural occurrences despite new elements, and in all spheres of life. The terms Cuprolithic and Chalcolithic denote the same period. The latter is usually used in the context of the Aegean and Asia Minor, and denotes the final Neolithic, a period when metal was already widely used. Some prehistorians still like to use the descriptive term 'transitional period', but it puts too much emphasis on the short temporal span of the period that lasted throughout the entire fourth and third millennia BC, and appeared already during the fifth millennium.

Individual copper finds, mostly decorative, were used by some Neolithic communities. Objects made of native copper or copper minerals, such as malachite, azurite and cuprite, and which appeared at some sites dated to the pre-pottery period in the Middle East, as well as in some European Neolithic communities, are not indicators of metallurgy. These objects had a decorative function, most often beads for necklaces and bracelets, and were made by applying the same technological procedures that were used to process any other stone. If the possibility of cold forging and, later, thermal processing, was discovered during such processes, the mere presence and use of metal objects is not a good enough reason to establish a new period in prehistory, unless it introduced changes in the way

vlastitom okolišu i ovladavanja pirotehnologijom u proizvodnji keramičkih predmeta. Stoga mnogi stručnjaci smatraju da bakreno doba počinje s trenutkom otkrića i primjene postupka lijevanja bakra, odnosno kada neka zajednica raspolaže većom količinom bakrenih predmeta što pretpostavlja i vlastitu proizvodnju. Drugi u potpunosti odbacuju pojam bakrenoga doba i radije govore o produženome ili završnome neolitiku kada se pojedine skupine služe metalnim predmetima, čak ih i proizvode, ali to nema bitnog utjecaja na njihovu društveno-gospodarsku strukturu, nego je tek usputna djelatnost. Stoga možemo zaključiti da su uz tehnološke promjene i napredak što ih donosi razvoj metalurgije, upravo promjene u gospodarskoj i osobito društvenoj strukturi presudne za izdvajanje novoga doba – eneolitika/bakrenoga doba. U gospodarstvu se uočava prevlast stočarstva nad poljodjelstvom, a kao znatno akumulativnija grana privrede ono brže stvara viškove, omogućuje intenzivniju razmjenu i trgovinu, a time i stvaranje znatnijih materijalnih bogatstava. Osim toga iskorištavanje životinja nije usmjereno samo na dobivanje mesa, odnosno isključivo korištenje primarnih životinjskih proizvoda, nego poprima i drugu gospodarsku dimenziju višestrukog korištenja životinje: proizvodnju mlijeka i mliječnih prerađevina, vune, iskorištavanje životinjske snage za vuču u prijevozu i obradi zemlje. Ove je promjene u odnosu čovjeka i životinja Andrew Sherratt 1981. godine u radu „Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution“ definirao kao revoluciju sekundarnih proizvoda smatrajući pritom, slijedeći difuzionističku teoriju, da ove inovacije svoje korijene imaju u određenim područjima odakle se šire i tako pridonose preoblikovanju gospodarstva i društva starih neolitičkih zajednica u Europi. Zahvaljujući takvim sekundarnim proizvodima omogućeno je i nekim, dotad marginalnim područjima da se uključe u gospodarsko-društvene tokove novoga razdoblja. Ipak, valja naglasiti da nije riječ o paketu koji se prenosi kao zatvorena cjelina, već je riječ o više pojava koje se javljaju neovisno jedna o drugoj i u različitim vremenima. Činjenica da životinje prestaju biti isključivo izvor mesa i da njihovo korištenje dobiva višestruku dimenziju svjedoči i o promjeni svijesti čovjeka i razumijevanju svijeta oko sebe te pronalaženju idealnog omjera između uloženog i dobivenog. Zanimljivo je istaknuti da se Sherratt u svome prvotnom radu uopće nije koristio analizom ostataka faune, već se oslanjao na proučavanje simbola i ikonografije uočene uglavnom na keramičkim po-

of life. In itself, metallurgy was definitely not a sudden discovery, but a result of a long process of learning about the environment and managing pyrotechnology through the production of ceramic objects. Therefore, many experts think that the Copper Age begins with the discovery and application of copper casting, i.e. when a certain community used a large amount of copper finds that indicate independent production. Others completely reject the term ‘Copper Age’ and prefer to speak of a prolonged, or final, Neolithic, when certain groups used metal objects, even produced them, but without it having strong effects on their social and economic structure, and using it as a casual activity. It can, therefore, be said that, along with technological changes and advances brought on by the development of metallurgy, precisely changes in the economic and, especially, social structure were crucial for defining a new period – the Eneolithic/Copper Age. Animal husbandry became more important for the economy than agriculture, and it, as a significantly more cumulative economic branch, created surpluses, allowed for more intensive trade and exchange, and, through that, enabled the creation of more significant material riches. Additionally, the breeding of animals was not only limited to the procurement of meat, i.e. the exclusive use of primary animal products, but it also obtained a new economic dimension through the use of animals in multiple ways: the production of milk and dairy products, wool, using animal power to haul wagons, and in agriculture. In his 1981 paper “Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution”, Andrew Sherratt, defined these changes in relations between man and animals as a revolution of secondary products, thereby thinking, in accordance with the diffusion theory, that these innovations stemmed from certain areas and then spread out, and contributed to the reshaping of the economy and the societies of old Neolithic communities in Europe. These secondary products made it possible for some, previously marginalized, areas to enter the new economic and social streams of the new period. However, it should be noted that this was not a package that was transferred as a closed unit, but rather, an entire set of occurrences that appeared independently and at different times. The fact that animals were no longer used only as a source of meat, but in a multitude of ways, attests to the changes in human consciousness and understanding of the world, as well as finding the perfect balance between investment and gain. It is interesting to note that, in his original paper, Sherratt did not rely on an analysis of faunal remains,

sudama i drugim predmetima, a tek je u kasnijim radovima nadopunjavao svoju teoriju analizom faune. Iako bi se iz rečenoga mogao steći dojam da je većina, barem onih vodećih eneolitičkih zajednica bila isključivo stočarska, to nije točno. Prevladavalo je mješovito gospodarstvo, stočarstvo i poljodjelstvo, a različit je bio tek odnos između tih dviju grana. U jugoistočnoj i srednjoj Europi nalaze se tragovi kultivirane pšenice (jednozrne i dvozrne), raži, ječma, ali sada i zobi te prosa. Pri žetvi reže se samo klas, bez stabljike, a oprema je istovjetna onoj neolitičkoj: srpovi s kremenim ili opsidijanskim umetcima, žetveni noževi, štapovi za mlaćenje, kameni žrvnjevi i rastirači za mljevenje. Rijetki ostatci hrane pokazuju da su žitarice uglavnom konzumirane u obliku raznih kaša ili pogača (potonje dokazuju i brojni nalazi plosnatih keramičkih tanjura). U egejskom prostoru dokazan je i uzgoj vinove loze i maslina, a u srednjoeuropskom jabuka i krušaka. U stočarstvu naglasak je na uzgoju goveda, a potom ovaca, koza i svinja, ali i kao novost – konja.

Razvoj i napredak gospodarstva zahtijevao je i sve uže specijalizacije unutar pojedinih gospodarskih grana, kako unutar pojedinih naselja tako i između različitih naselja pa i cijelih regija. Dio populacije morao se cjelodnevno posvetiti metalurškoj proizvodnji, a s tim u vezi razvijala su se različita zanimanja koja sudjeluju u tom procesu od onih koji traže rudaču, preko rudara, ali i drvosječa i tesara koji moraju opremiti rudnike, do radnika u neposrednoj obradi metala, ljevača i kovača, te trgovaca koji će dobavljati sirovinu i prodavati gotove proizvode. Kako bi se iz proizvodnje mogli namiriti svi ovi sudionici, ali i da bi preostalo za razmjenu za hranu, ona mora nadilaziti osnovne potrebe određene zajednice. Daljnje posljedice sociološke su prirode - da bi sve to funkcioniralo društvo mora biti čvršće ustrojeno u bolje povezanim i organiziranim patrijarhalnim rodovskim i plemenskim zajednicama - poglavarstvima koje su zahvaljujući takvom ustroju nadmoćnije neolitičkim populacijama. Potreba za sirovinom s jedne strane potiče trgovinu, ali s druge i teritorijalna presezanja što neminovno dovodi do sukoba među različitim zajednicama. Iako je već kod kasnoneolitičkih zajednica bilo moguće na temelju arheološke evidencije nazrijeti nejednakost i početke društvenog raslojavanja među njihovim pripadnicima, u eneolitiku će takvi pokazatelji biti sve prisutniji i izrazitiji pa često upravo ovo razdoblje smatramo vremenom prve ozbiljne društvene diferencijacije i obliko-

but on the study of symbols and iconography seen on ceramic vessels and other finds. Only in his later works did he expand his theory by adding analyses of fauna. Although it could, from everything stated above, seem that most, or at least leading Eneolithic communities relied exclusively on animal husbandry, it is not true. A mixed economy, based on animal husbandry and agriculture, was prevalent, and the differences appeared only in the ration between these two branches. Southeastern and central Europe yielded traces of cultivated wheat (einkorn and emmer), rye, barley, but also oats and millet. During the harvest, only the corn was cut, not the stem, and the equipment resembled that used in the Neolithic: sickles with inserts made of flint or obsidian, harvest knives, thrashing sticks, and stone grindstones and handstones for grinding. The occasional remains of food indicate that grains were mostly consumed in the form of different porridge or cakes (the latter are also attested to by numerous finds of flat ceramic plates). As evidence indicates, vines and grapes were grown in the Aegean, and apples and pears in central Europe. Animal husbandry was dominated by the breeding of cattle, followed by sheep, goats and pigs, as well as a new animal – the horse.

Economic developments and advancements also required narrower specializations within different economic branches, both within individual settlements and between different ones, even between entire regions. A part of the population had to be engaged in metallurgical activities on an everyday basis, which caused the emergence of different vocations that took part in the process, including those who looked for raw materials, miners, but also lumberjacks and carpenters who had to supply the miners, as well as workers who directly processed metal - casters, blacksmiths, and traders who procured raw materials and sold finished products. In order to satisfy the needs of all listed participants, but also to create enough for food exchange, the production had to go above the basic needs of a given community. The consequences were social in nature – in order for everything to function, society had to be more firmly structured into better-connected and organized patriarchal familial and tribal alliances – chiefdoms that were superior to Neolithic populations precisely because of their structure. On the one hand, the need for raw materials encouraged trade and, on the other, it also caused territorial overlaps, which inevitably lead to conflicts among different communities. Although

vanja hijerarhijski organiziranih društava. To možemo iščitati iz obrasca naseljavanja, unutarnje strukture naselja, opremljenosti i veličine naseobinskih objekata, različitih pogrebnih običaja pri kojima se pojedinci razlikuju po izgledu i opremi grobova te grobnim priložima.

Nastanak eneolitika na području jugoistočne Europe najčešće se objašnjava kroz dva suprotstavljena modela koja ovise o dosegnutoj razini neolitika: prvi podrazumijeva oštar prijelom u cijelome kulturnom habitusu neke zajednice na određenom području, dok drugi ističe tekući, postupan prijelaz između neolitika i eneolitika. Ponekad su ipak razlike u određenim segmentima materijalne i duhovne kulture između neolitičkih i eneolitičkih zajednica tako velike da ih se ne može objasniti tek pukom promjenom stila i mode, nego u objašnjenje treba uključiti novi populacijski element, odnosno migraciju stanovništva potaknutu u prvome redu klimatskim i okolišnim čimbenicima koji su utjecali na kretanje kako pojedinaca, tako i većih skupina pa i čitavih zajednica. Danas prilično sigurno, zahvaljujući peludnim dijagramima, možemo tvrditi da je smjena tople i vlažne atlantske klime toplom i suhom subborealnom i s time povezanom promjenom okoliša imala važnu ulogu u formiranju društava s novim tipom privrede i novom duhovnom kulturom proizišlom iz gospodarskih temelja u trenutku kada je poljodjelska proizvodnja smanjena.

Iako se općenito početak eneolitika u Europi smješta oko sredine 5. tisućljeća, u mnogim se područjima, osobito onima koja nisu neposredno uz ležišta bakrene rude, ništa bitno nije promijenilo te su neolitičke zajednice nastavile svoj tradicionalni način života s tek ponegdje vidljivim novim utjecajima. Također treba imati na umu da je eneolitik kao razdoblje različito definiran u pojedinim dijelovima Euroazije, u prvome redu zbog jedinstvenih okolišnih čimbenika koji su u nekim područjima potaknuli vrlo rani početak procesa koje u arheološkom smislu određujemo kao eneolitičke, dok su ih u drugim krajevima znatno odgodili. Dakle, razlike u eneolitičkom razdoblju unutar Europe odnose se ne samo na različit stupanj usvajanja tehnoloških i društvenih stečevina, već i na različitu brzinu kojom su se ti procesi odvijali. Stoga možemo zaključiti da eneolitik, ako uzmemo u obzir i početni eneolitik u stepama i njegovu najkasniju pojavu na tlu Europe, traje otprilike između 5000. i 1700. godine pr. Kr. Potonji datum odnosi se na sjevernu Europu za koju i inače vrijedi zasebna

it is, based on archaeological evidence, possible to see traces of inequality and the beginnings of social stratification among the members of Late Neolithic communities, during the Eneolithic, such indicators became more common and pronounced, so this period is often seen as the time when the first serious social differentiation and the formation of hierarchical societies appeared. This is visible from settlement patterns, the inner structure of settlements, the size and inventory of residential structures, and different burial rites wherein individuals differ based on the layout and equipment of graves, as well as grave goods.

The emergence of the Eneolithic in southeastern Europe is most often described through two opposing models that depend on the levels reached during the Neolithic: the first includes a sharp transition in the entire cultural habitus of a given community in a certain area, while the other points out a flexible, gradual transition between the Neolithic and the Eneolithic. However, the differences between certain segments of the material and spiritual cultures of Neolithic and Eneolithic communities are so great that they cannot be explained by a pure change in style and fashion, but through a new population-related element, i.e. population migrations sparked primarily by the climate and factors from the landscape that influenced the movement of individuals, larger groups, and even entire communities. With the help of pollen diagrams, it can now be said that the change from a warm and damp Atlantic to a warm and dry Subboreal one, as well as the consequential changes in the environment, had an important role in the formation of societies that practiced a new type of economy and a new spiritual culture, both of which derived from the economy once agricultural production was reduced.

Even though the beginning of the Eneolithic in Europe is generally dated to around the middle of the 5th millennium, in many areas, especially those that were not in the immediate vicinity of copper deposits, there were no important changes, and the Neolithic communities continued their traditional way of life, with only occasional traces of new influences. It should also be noted that the Eneolithic is, as a period, differently defined in some areas of Eurasia, primarily due to unique climate factors that, in some areas, sparked the very early beginning of the process, which is archaeologically seen as belonging to the Eneolithic, while, in other areas, they drastically delayed it. Therefore, the differences in the European Eneolithic do not only include

periodizaciju prapovijesti, protopovijesti i rane povijesti u odnosu na središnju i jugoistočnu Europu gdje eneolitik okvirno završava sredinom 3. tisućljeća pr. Kr.

Razdoblje eneolitika tradicionalno se dijeli na rani, srednji i kasni, ali granice među njima nisu čvrsto definirane pa će neki radije govoriti o početnom ili protoeneolitu kada se uočavaju početci organiziranog rudarstva i prerade metala, potom klasičnom eneolitu koji je povezan s pojavom masivnih bakrenih izrađevina te konačno o prijelaznoj etapi koju obilježuju veliki kulturni kompleksi poput badenskoga na početku i vučedolskoga na samom završetku eneolitika. S navedenim kulturama već počinje i najranija metalurgija bronce pa bi tome vremenu možda bolje odgovarao naziv protobrončano doba. Rani eneolitik određuju zajednice koje su još čvrsto utemeljene u neolitu i koje prenose tipična neolitička obilježja, osobito u pogledu materijalne i duhovne ostavštine, a često im se ni gospodarska osnova ne razlikuje bitno od neolitičke. Srednji i kasni eneolitik predstavljaju udaljavanje od neolitičkih tradicija, s vrlo jakim naglaskom na razvoju metalurgije, ali i sa značaj-

the different degrees of accepting technological and social legacy, but also the different speeds at which these processes developed. Hence, it can be concluded that the Eneolithic, including the initial Eneolithic in steppes and its latest appearance on European soil, lasted from about 5000 and 1700 BC. The latter date refers to northern Europe that generally has a separate periodization of prehistory, protohistory and early history in comparison to central and southeastern Europe where the Eneolithic ended around the middle of the 3rd millennium BC.

The Eneolithic is traditionally divided into the Early, Middle and Late, but the borders between them are not firmly defined, so some authors prefer to speak of an initial, or proto-, Eneolithic, when the beginnings of organized mining and metal processing appeared, followed by the classical Eneolithic, connected to the emergence of mass copper tools, and, finally, the transitional phase, marked by large cultural complexes, such as the Baden at the beginning, and the Vučedol at the very end of the Eneolithic. The earliest bronze metallurgy appeared within the scope of the listed cultures, so the period might be better defined as the proto-Bronze Age.



nim društvenim promjenama i raslojavanjima koja će krajem eneolitika dovesti do formiranja prvih plemenskih i rodovskih aristokracija.

Kao i u vrijeme neolitika, niz inovacija pristiže bilo kulturnom bilo demičkom difuzijom iz anadolskog i egejskog prostora, no u ovome se trenutku pojavljuje i jedno novo ishodište migracija, otvara se novi povijesni put koji će veliku ulogu imati u svim kasnijim razdobljima europske povijesti. To je područje Ponta, Zakavkazja i južnoruskih stepa, a put vodi preko Šumovitih i Erdeljskih Karpata uz donji tok Dunava. Iz tih su krajeva u potrazi za novim prostranstvima za ispašu pristizali brzi, pokretljivi stočari koji su u potpunosti ovladali metalurgijom, udomačili su i zauzdali konja, načinili kola na četiri kotača. Svojom su se pokretljivošću i prodornošću nametnuli starim neolitičkim zajednicama i postupno ih transformirali u nova, eneolitička društva. Mnogi arheolozi, slijedeći lingvističke ideje, ove stepске populacije koje sredinom 5. tisućljeća pr. Kr. započinju selidbene valove prema zapadu, smatraju prvim indoeuropskim zajednicama pa

The Early Eneolithic is defined by communities that are still firmly grounded in the Neolithic, and which transferred typical Neolithic features, especially in the sense of material and spiritual heritage. Additionally, their economic principles seldom differ from the Neolithic ones. The Middle and Late Eneolithic is marked by a deviation from Neolithic traditions, with a lot of emphasis on the development of metallurgy, but also by significant social changes and stratification that would, by the end of the Eneolithic, lead to the formation of the first tribal and familial aristocracies.

Just like during the Neolithic, a series of innovations appeared, either through cultural or demic diffusion, from Anatolia and the Aegean. However, a new source of migrations and a new historical road appeared that would play a huge part in all subsequent periods of European history - the territory of Pontus, Caucasus and south-Russian steppes. The road went over the Wooded and the Transylvanian Carpathians, and along the lower flow of the Danube. Fast and mobile cattlemen, who had complete-



tako i početak eneolitika povezuju s postupnom indoeuropeizacijom širih europskih prostora. Njemački filolog i povjesničar Gustav Kossinna, inače zagovornik ideje o germanskoj pradomovini Indoeuroppljana i njihovu kontinuiranom lokalnom razvoju od paleolitika, što je stvorilo temelje za kasniju nacionalsocijalističku teoriju o "arijevskoj rasi", prvi je na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće povezo Indoeuroppljane u lingvističkom smislu s Indoeuroppljanima u arheološkom smislu. Vjerujući u izjednačavanje arheoloških kultura s povijesnim i filološkim podacima, vidio je Indoeuroppljane kao samostalan etnik, a kontinuitet u smislu materijalne kulture izjednačavao je s etničkim kontinuitetom. No, brojni će drugi autori pojmu *etnički* pristupati s izrazitim oprezom pa je najbolje zaključiti da promjene koje povezujemo s eneolitičkim zajednicama, a vidimo ih kao indoeuropske, predstavljaju početak oblikovanja društava koja će se tek u svojem kasnijem razvoju profilirati kao povijesno poznate etničke zajednice Europe. U tom smislu treba naglasiti da pojam Indoeuroppljani ne određuje nikakav narod već je lingvistička odrednica za govornike indoeuropskoga prajezika, odnosno za populacije koje su naseljavale prostor gdje nalazimo arheološke kulture čiju materijalnu ostavštinu određujemo kao indoeuropsku. O smještaju pradomovine indoeuropskih populacija postoje brojne teorije, no čini se da danas ipak najviše pristaša ima tzv. kurganska teorija Marije Gimbutas, nadopunjena i osvježena zahvaljujući razvoju znanstvenih metoda, ponajprije genetičkih. M. Gimbutas je kroz arheološku evidenciju stepskih područja pontsko-kaspijske regije uočila da su ta prostranstva nastanjivale stočarske zajednice koje su se koristile konjima i kolima na četiri kotača, pokojnike pokapale pod grobnim humcima – kurganima, a koje se u arheološkom smislu određuju kao kultura grobova u jami te uzimaju kao najizraženija točka iz koje je krenula indoeuropska ekspanzija. Domestikacija i uporaba konja kao sredstva kretanja jedan je od ključnih elemenata korištenih pri definiranju indoeuropskih populacija koji se odražava i u postojanju zajedničke riječi za konja u svim indoeuropskim jezicima te njegovoj ulozi u indoeuropskim mitovima i ritualima. Od alternativnih teorija treba spomenuti onu Colina Renfrewa koji je bio najglasniji protivnik kurganske teorije. On pradomovinu Indoeuroppljana smješta u istočnu Anadoliju negdje oko 6500. g. pr. Kr. te Indoeuroppljane izjednačuje s nositeljima neolitizacije pa širenje indoeuropskih jezika povezuje sa širenjem tzv. neolitičkog paketa, zanemarujući

ly mastered metallurgy, domesticated and tamed the horse, and created wagons on four wheels, arrived from these areas searching for new pasture grounds. Due to their mobility and aggression, they imposed themselves on the old Neolithic communities and gradually transformed them into new, Eneolithic societies. Following linguistic ideas, many archaeologists consider these steppe populations, who began to migrate westwards at the middle of the 5th millennium BC, to be the first Indo-European communities and connect the beginning of the Eneolithic with the gradual Indo-Europeanisation of the wider European territory. Gustav Kossinna, a German philologist and historian and a supporter of the idea about an ancient Germanic ancient Indo-European homeland and their continual local development from the Paleolithic – that later created the foundations for the national-socialist theory about the "Arian race", was the first to connect the linguistic Indo-Europeans with the archaeological Indo-Europeans at the transition from the 19th to the 20th century. Believing that archaeological cultures should be equalized with historical and philological data, he saw Indo-Europeans as a separate ethnic, and equalized the continuity in their material culture with their ethnic continuity. However, numerous authors approach the term *ethnic* with a lot of care, so it is best to conclude that the changes connected to Eneolithic communities, and are seen as Indo-European, marked the beginning of the formation of societies that would only later develop into the known European ethnic communities. In that sense, it should be said that the term Indo-European does not denote a people, but is a linguistic determinant for the speakers of an ancient Indo-European language, i.e. the populations that inhabited the area where it is possible to find the material culture defined as Indo-European. The ancient homeland of the Indo-Europeans is discussed in many theories, but it seems that, today, the most supported one is the, so called, Kurgan hypothesis, proposed by Marija Gimbutas, but widened and refreshed with the help of new scientific methods, primarily genetic ones. Based on the archaeological record of the populations who inhabited the steppes of Pontus and Caucasus, M. Gimbutas noticed that these vast areas were inhabited by populations who used horses and four-wheeled wagons, buried their dead under burial mounds – kurgans, and that are archaeologically defined as the pit grave culture and the most prominent point of origin of the Indo-European expansion. The domestication and the use of horses as a means of getting around is one of the key ele-



pritom lingvističke dokaze. On, naime, smatra da je proces neolitizacije jedina sveobuhvatna gospodarska i kulturna promjena u europskoj prapovijesti koja bi mogla objasniti širenje indoeuropskih jezika. No, njegova ideja ostavlja otvorenim pitanje jesu li ti jezici doista bili indoeuropski ili možda neki koji su zauvijek izgubljeni. Svoju izvornu teoriju Renfrew je višekratno revidirao ne bi li pokušao odgovoriti na niz utemeljenih prigovora, zadržavajući pritom osnovnu ideju o indoeuropskoj neolitizaciji koja iz Anadolije kreće prema Egeju i Balkanu te se Podunavljem širi u središnju Europu kao kompleks kultura linearno-trakaste keramike. Ipak, nedavno, tj. 2017. g. sâm je priznao poraz i neodrživost svoje teorije pozivajući se na najnovija genetička istraživanja te tako potvrdio doprinos Marije Gimbutas istraživanju navedene problematike.

ments used to define Indo-European populations that is also reflected in the fact that a common word is used for horses in all Indo-European languages, and their role in Indo-European myths and rituals. Other alternative theories include, e.g. that of Colin Renfrew, the loudest adversary of the Kurgan theory. He thought the original Indo-European homeland was in eastern Anatolia about 6500 BC, and equalized the Indo-Europeans with the people who spread the Neolithic, so he connected the spread of Indo-European languages with the spread of the, so called, Neolithic package, thereby ignoring linguistic evidence. Namely, he thought that the process of Neolithization was a single, all-encompassing economic and cultural change in European prehistory that could explain the spread of Indo-European languages. However, his idea does not answer the question of whether these languages were truly Indo-European or perhaps some that are forever lost. Renfrew revised his theory on several occasions in order to answer a series of justified objections, but holding on to the idea about Indo-European Neolithization that spread from Anatolia towards the Aegean and the Balkans, and then entered central

Na prostoru sjeverne Hrvatske u ranome eneolitu i dalje svojim tradicionalnim životom žive zajednice u arheološkom smislu poznate kao kasni razvojni ili regionalni stupnjevi sopotske kulture – Sopot IV i tip Seče pa se početak eneolitika izjednačuje s produljenim neolitikom. Do znatnijih promjena dolazi sa srednjim eneolitikom i pojavom lasinjske i retzgajarske kulture, a obilježja kasnoga eneolitika ocrtavaju se kroz badensku kulturu koja se smatra jednom od prvih indoeuropskih zajednica na našem prostoru te potom kostolačku i na kraju vučedolsku kulturu koja već jasno navješćuje sljedeće, brončano doba. O svim navedenim kulturama opširnije se govori u narednim poglavljima, ali bit će riječi i o različitim aspektima života eneolitičkih zajednica u širem i općem smislu koji upućuju na promjene u odnosu na prethodno razdoblje neolitika.

Europe through the Danube region as the complex of Linear Pottery Culture. However, recently, i.e. in 2017, he accepted defeat and admitted his theory was unsustainable, as indicated by the latest genetic research, thereby also confirming the contribution of Marija Gimbutas to the study of the issue.

During the Early Eneolithic, northern Croatia was still populated by communities that practiced a traditional way of life, and who are archaeologically known as the late or regional phases of the Sopot culture – Sopot IV and the Seče type, so the beginning of Eneolithic is equated with the extended Neolithic. More significant changes occurred during the Middle Eneolithic, when the Lasinja and Retz-Gajary cultures appeared. Late Eneolithic features were reflected through the Baden culture, considered to be one of the first Indo-European communities in our territory, the Kostolac and, finally, the Vučedol culture that clearly introduced the next period – the Bronze Age. The following chapters focus on all of these cultures in more detail, but also on different aspects of life of Eneolithic communities in a wider and more generalized sense that point to the changes in relation to the previous, Neolithic period.

