

Ukopi životinja u eneolitičkim naseljima kontinentalne Hrvatske

Animal burials in Eneolithic settlements of continental Croatia

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Prisutnost životinja u pogrebnom ritusu jednako kao i prikazi životinja u umjetničkom izrazu pojedinih prapovijesnih populacija mogu pružiti različite informacije o duhovnom životu zajednica, njihovom gospodarskom i društvenom uređenju te odnosu ljudi i životinja. Ponekad je u pogrebnim praksama životinjama pripisana ključna uloga te putem njih ne doznajemo isključivo o ljudskim zajednicama i mjestu životinja u njihovom svjetonazoru, nego detaljno sagledavanje arheološkog konteksta pruža saznanja i o životinjama samima, odnosno o njihovim biografijama kako ih naziva Morris¹ (2011; 2018).

Protetkih desetljeća uslijed velikih zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na području kontinentalne Hrvatske došlo je do otkrića niza životinjskih ukopa koji kronološki pripadaju razdoblju eneolitika, tj. lasinjskoj, badenskoj, kostolačkoj i vučedolskoj kulturi. Ti nalazi, zajedno s nekolicinom u arheološkoj literaturi od ranije poznatih ukopa, pozivaju na ponovno razmatranje teme. Eneolitičke ukope životinja možemo podijeliti na ukope koji sadrže cjelovite ili gotovo cjelovite kosture jedne ili više životinja, ukope koji sadrže djelomično sačuvane kosture jedne ili više životinja i mješovite ukope koji sadrže cjelovite i djelomično sačuvane kosture više individua i/ili vrsta životinja, a također bilježimo i zajedničke ukope životinja i ljudi (Pasarić 2012). Većina eneolitičkih ukopa životinja

The presence of animals in burials, as well as the depictions of animals in the artistic expression of certain prehistoric communities, can provide different information on the spiritual lives of the communities and their economic and social organization, as well as the relation between man and animals. Animals are sometimes ascribed the key role in burial practices, which not only can provide information about human communities and the place that the animals held in their world-view, but a detailed studies of an archaeological context can also provide insight into the animals themselves or their biographies, as described by Morris (2011; 2018).¹

Due to the extensive rescue archaeological excavations in continental Croatia over the last decades, a series of animal burials was discovered and ascribed to the Eneolithic Lasinja, Baden, Kostolac and Vučedol cultures. These finds, along with a few previously published burials, call for a review of the topic. Eneolithic animal burials can be divided into burials that contain complete or almost complete skeletons of one or several animals, burials that contain partial skeletons of one or more animals, mixed burials with several specimens and/or kinds of animals, as well as combined burials of animals and humans (Pasarić 2012). Most Eneolithic animal burials in continental Croatia were discovered in pits within settlements. The settlement is the area where the intensive interaction between man and

¹ Prema Jamesu Morrisu (2011; 2018) biografski pristup podrazumijeva detaljno sagledavanje tafonomskih podataka te razmatranje cjelokupnoga životnoga ciklusa pojedinog ukopa, tj. različitih trenutaka u životu i smrti pojedine životinje.

¹ According to James Morris (2011; 2018), the biographical approach includes a detailed study of all taphonomic data and taking the entire life cycle of a specific burial into consideration, i.e. the different moments in the life and death of a specific animal.

na tlu kontinentalne Hrvatske pronađena je u jamama unutar naselja. Naselje je prostor u kojem se odvijala interakcija čovjeka sa životinjama te su se stvarale i mijenjale dinamike njihova odnosa. Dijeljenje svakodnevnoga života u naseljima utječe i na stvaranje zajedničkih životnih ritmova ljudi i životinja te razvoj međusobnoga odnosa povjerenja, kako je to na primjeru jedne južnoskandinavske stočarske brončanodobne populacije istaknula Armstrong Oma (2010). Životinje su, neminovno, bile i hrana, a njihovi ostaci upotrebjeni kao sirovina za izradu različitih predmeta ili pak odbačeni. Kako pokazuju ukopi životinja, pojedine životinje mogle su biti i dijelom ritualnih aktivnosti, možda i ritualno ubijene ili žrtvovane, te u konačnici pokopane.

Ritualni kod

Ritual, jednako kao i religija, tema je koja je tijekom povijesti antropološku i arheološku struku poticala na mnogobrojne rasprave, često i zastupanje oprečnih stavova pa čak i na sugestije za potpunim odbacivanjem ovoga pojma (Bell 1992; Brück 1999; Groot 2008; Morris 2011). Do danas ne postoji suglasnost oko jedinstvene definicije rituala, nego su one znatno uvjetovane različitim prostornim i vremenskim odrednicama. Kako to ističu Livarda i Madgwick (2018), bez obzira na definiciju rituala, ritualne aktivnosti možemo sagledati kao prakse putem kojih neka zajednica izražava sve ono što joj je važno – vjerovanja, bihevioralne i moralne stavove. Opširan, te do danas relevantan antropološki doprinos istraživanjima rituala donosi Bell (1992). Strukturirano ponašanje prema pravilima kao što su formalnost, repetitivnost, performativnost i sakralni simbolizam (tj. odnos prema nadnaravnom ili nekoj “naddruštvenoj” vrijednosti) neke su od prepoznatljivih karakteristika ritualnih aktivnosti (Bell 1992). U praktičnom smislu rituali se izvode kako bi uredili, popravili ili transformirali određenu situaciju (Bell 1992).

Kada je riječ o ukopima životinja u arheološkoj literaturi se najčešće susreće pretpostavka da ukopani osteološki ostaci svjedoče o žrtvovanim životinjama (Durman 1988; Jurišić 1990; Hoti 1993; Horváth 2012; Morris 2011). Žrtvovanje prepoznajemo kao posebnu vrstu rituala u kojem životinje ili ljudi budu ubijeni, predmeti i hrana uništeni, a njihovo tijelo ili suština ponuđeni bogovima (Groot 2008). Dok razlozi za žrtvovanje mogu biti brojni, konkretan kontekst žrtvovanja ne mora uvijek biti očit u arheološkom materijalu (Russell & Düring

animal took place, and the place where the meanings ascribed to animals emerged and transformed. Sharing everyday life in settlements also affected the development of mutual life rhythms of people and animals, and the development of a mutual trust, as shown by Armstrong Oma (2010) on an example from one southern Scandinavian farming Bronze Age population. Animals could have been eaten, and their remains either used as raw material for the production of different objects, or simply discarded. As shown by animal burials, they could also have had a significant ritualistic role, and could have been ritually slaughtered, sacrificed, and buried.

Ritual code

Ritual, just like religion, is a topic that have sparked many discussions throughout the history of anthropology and archaeology, often leading to opposing attitudes and even suggesting that the term be completely renounced (Bell 1992; Brück 1999; Groot 2008; Morris 2011). Up to this day there is still no consensus about a single definition of ritual, and the definitions are significantly influenced by different spatial and temporal determinants. As pointed out by Livarda and Madgwick (2018), regardless of the definition of ritual, ritualistic activities can be seen as practices that were used by a certain community to express what it felt was important – beliefs, behavioral and moral attitudes. An extensive, and still relevant, anthropological contribution to the research of rituals was made by Bell (1992). Structured behavior in accordance with rules such as formality, repetitiveness, performance and sacral symbolism /i.e. the relation with a higher or “above-societal” value) are some of the recognizable characteristics of ritualistic activities (Bell 1992). In a practical sense, rituals are performed in order to establish, repair or transform a certain situation (Bell 1992).

When it comes to animal burials, archaeological publications most often suggest that the buried osteological remains attest to sacrificed animals (Durman 1988; Jurišić 1990; Hoti 1993; Morris 2011; Horváth 2012). Sacrificing is a special kind of ritual wherein animals or people are killed, objects and food destroyed, and their bodies or essence is offered to the gods (Groot 2008). While the reasons for sacrificing can be numerous, the context of a sacrifice must not always be evident in the archaeo-

2006) budući da on svjedoči isključivo o materijalnim ostacima ljudskog djelovanja. O žrtvovanju govore povijesni, etnografski i antropološki izvori bilježeni diljem svijeta te je ta praksa sastavni dio gotovo svake religije. Na primjer, žrtvene aktivnosti grčke i rimske religije dobro su poznate, a srodne prakse prepoznat ćemo i u judeo-kršćanskoj i muslimanskoj tradiciji (Burkert 1983; Hoti 1993; Jančićević 1986). Neki autori postupke žrtvovanja prepoznaju već kod paleolitičkih lovaca dok ih drugi povezuju isključivo s usmrćivanjem domaćih životinja u agrarnim ili stočarskim društvima (Burkert 1983; Smith 1987). Velika ovisnost stočara o svojim stadima stvara potrebu za održavanjem ravnoteže u reciprocitetu uzimanja i davanja životne sile te je i upravljanje stadima moglo biti bazirano na njenom recipročnom tijeku i ideji da ispravno žrtvovanje stvara više životinja (Mlekuž 2007). Ta nas pretpostavka navodi nas da određene rituale shvatimo i kao ekonomski vrlo važne (Groot 2008). Odnosno, na žrtvovanje životinje koja kasnije nije korištena za hranu možemo gledati manje kao gubitak mesa za zajednicu, a više kao način kojim će se osigurati plodnost životinja te blagostanje zajednice.

U predmodernim društvima u kojima je religija sastavni dio svakodnevnog života malo je vjerojatno da je ljudsko ponašanje uvjetovano strogo razdvojenim ekonomskim i simboličnim impulsima stoga je i materijalne ostatke ritualnih aktivnosti moguće pronaći u naseljima gdje su rituali usko povezani s tamošnjim svakodnevnim životom. Bradley (2003) napominje da je u prapovijesti ponekad teško razdvojiti praktične i ritualne aktivnosti što postaje razvidno i kod eneolitičkih ukopa životinja iz kontinentalne Hrvatske. Na primjer, ostaci životinja kao i predmeti mogu biti položeni u zemlju na strukturiran, formalan i repetitivan način, ali ostaju sastavnim dijelom svakodnevnog života u naselju time što su položeni u jame koje su se nekada koristile za spremišta ili se pak životinje nalaze u jamama koje kasnije služe za odlaganje otpada. Prema nekim mišljenjima upravo je usmjerenost na strukturiranost i "pravila" koja mogu biti vidljiva u arheološkom materijalu prvenstveno važna kod razmatranja ritualnih aktivnosti u arheologiji (Groot 2008). Dok kod eneolitičkih ukopa životinja možemo zamijetiti određene repetitivne obrasce i "pravila" poput lokacije ukopa, položaja tijela životinje i drugih, interpretacije ukopa odnosno razumijevanje aktivnosti ili razloga koji dovode do njihove pojave za sada ostaju na razini pretpostavki.

logical material (Russell & Düring 2006), seeing as it testifies exclusively about the material remains of human activities. Sacrificing is discussed in historical, ethnographical and anthropological sources from all over the world, and this practice is an integral part of almost every religion. For example, the sacrificial activities of Greek and Roman religions are well known, and similar practices can also be seen throughout the history of the Judeo-Christian and Muslim traditions (Burkert 1983; Jančićević 1986; Hoti 1993). Some authors recognize sacrificial behavior in the context of Paleolithic hunters, while others connect them exclusively with the slaughtering of domesticated animals in agrarian or pastoral societies (Burkert 1983; Smith 1987). The great dependency of cattle-breeders on their herds creates a need for preserving balance in the reciprocity of taking and giving life force. Managing herds could have been based on the reciprocal flow of the life force, and the idea that righteous sacrifices created more animals (Mlekuž 2007). The latter suggests that certain rituals should be seen as economically important (Groot 2008), meaning that the sacrificing of animals that were then not used for food can be seen as less of a loss of meat for the community, and more as a means to ensure animal fertility and the community's well-being.

In pre-modern societies, when religion was a constituent part of everyday life, it is unlikely that human behavior was governed by strictly divided economic and symbolic aspects, making it possible to detect material traces of ritualistic activities within settlements where the rituals were closely connected to everyday life. Bradley (2003) points out that, when studying prehistory, it is sometimes difficult to separate practical and ritualistic activities, as is also clear when dealing with Eneolithic animal burials in continental Croatia. For example, animal remains and items can be buried in a structured, formalized and repetitive manner, but they remain a constituent of everyday life in a settlement by being laid into pits that had previously been used for storage, or animals could have been placed into pits that were later used for depositing waste. According to some opinions, precisely the focus on structure, and "rules" that can be seen in the archaeological material, are of the utmost importance when studying ritualistic activities in archaeology (Groot 2008). While Eneolithic animal burials display certain repetitive patterns and "rules", such as burial location, body position and others, the interpretations of burials, i.e. understanding the activities or reasons that lead to their creation are, so far, still only speculative.

Ukopi životinja kao prostorne i vremenske odrednice života u naselju

Lokacije ukopa životinja u eneolitičkim naseljima kontinentalne Hrvatske upućuju na njihovu povezanost s određenim stambenim prostorima i nasebinskim objektima. Premda ni jedan od ukopa životinja nije pronađen u temeljima ili rovovima kuća nije isključena mogućnost da nisu bili povezani s njihovim životnim ciklusima. Prema podjeli koju za žrtvene prinose kućama donosi Gerritsen (2003) prvoj kategoriji pripadaju oni prinosi do kojih je došlo tijekom ili neposredno nakon gradnje kuće. Takozvane žrtve temeljice, nalaze se najčešće u bazama stupova, u rovovima zidova ili blizu ulaza u kuću. Drugu kategoriju čine prinosi dani tijekom života u kući ili za njenog napuštanja (Gerritsen 2003). Prema etnografskim izvorima prinošenje životinjskih žrtvi za vrijeme gradnje kuće ili nakon njezina završetka imalo je višestruku apotropijsku funkciju. Njima se željelo zaštititi buduće stanare, kući osigurati čvrstoću i stabilnost te umiriti duhove prirode uznemirene za vrijeme gradnje (Schneeweis 2005). Takve vrste prinosa bilježene su u etnografskim izvorima sa naših prostora sve do prve polovice 20. stoljeća.

Istraživanja na Vučedolu provedena 80-ih godina prošlog stoljeća zabilježila su ostatke psa u podu kuće vučedolske kulture (Jurišić 1990). Premda nisu poznate sve okolnosti tog nalaza, riječ je o lokaciji koja bi eventualno mogla sugerirati gradbenu žrtvu. Primjer žrtvovanja psa prilikom gradnje kuće ili naselja možda je najočitiji na nalazištu Berettyóújfalu-Herpály u susjednoj Mađarskoj (Herpály kultura) gdje je osam pasa bilo poredano na dnu jame uz zid kuće (Zalai-Gaál 1994) ili na nalazištu Vedrovice-Za dvorem u Češkoj (lengyelska kultura) gdje je kompletan kostur psa bio pokopan u rupi od stupa (Humplová & Ondruš 1999). U blizini nasebinskog objekta, odnosno uz dio kuće s podnicom, pronađena je i jama sa cjelovitim kosturom goveda, SJ 15/16 na nalazištu Aljmaš-Podunavlje (Šimić 2007).

Parcijalan ukop divljeg goveda (*Bos primigenius*) iz Koprivničke Rijeke-Rudine zabilježen je u jami koja se osim po brojnim ulomcima keramičkih posuda isticala svojim centralnim položajem u naselju (Marković 1981). Štoviše, jama se nalazila uz jedini nadzemni objekt na nalazištu za koji se pretpostavlja da pripada rodovskom starješini (Marković 1981). Slična je i lokacija poznatog ukopa jelena s vučedolskog Gradca povezanog s

Animal burials as spatial and temporal determinants of life in a settlement

The locations of animal burials in Eneolithic settlements of continental Croatia suggest that they were connected with certain living areas and settlement structures. Although none of the burials were found within the foundations or trenches of houses, it is still possible that they were connected to their life cycles. According to Gerritsen's (2003) division of sacrificial offerings for houses, the first category includes those that occurred during or right after the house was built. The, so called, "foundation sacrifice", is most often found at the bases of post holes, in wall ditches or near the house entrance. Another category includes sacrifices made during the occupancy of the house, or at the time the house was abandoned (Gerritsen 2003). Based on ethnographic sources, making sacrifices during house construction, or its finalization, had a multifold apotropaic function. They were aimed at protecting the future inhabitants, ensure the house would be firm and stable, and to appease the spirits of nature that were disturbed during construction works (Schneeweis 2005). Such sacrifices were recorded in ethnographic sources from our territory until the first half of the 20th century.

The excavations conducted during the 1980s at Vučedol yielded the remains of a dog under the floor of a house ascribed to the Vučedol culture (Jurišić 1990). Even though not all of the circumstances of the find are known, the location is interesting, and could suggest a sacrifice related to construction. Examples of sacrificing dogs during house or settlement construction is perhaps most obvious at the site of Berettyóújfalu-Herpály in the neighboring Hungary (the Herpály culture), where eight dogs were lined up at the bottom of a pit next to a house wall (Zalai-Gaál 1994), or at the site of Vedrovice-Za dvorem in the Czech Republic (the Lengyel culture), where a complete dog skeleton was discovered in a post hole (Humplová and Ondruš 1999). The site of Aljmaš-Podunavlje yielded a pit with the complete skeleton of a bovid, SU 15716, near a residential structure, i.e. along a house with a floor (Šimić 2007).

A partial skeleton of a wild bovid (*Bos primigenius*) from Koprivnička Rijeka-Rudina was found in a pit that stood out due to the numerous fragments of pottery vessels, and its central position within the settlement (Marković 1981). Furthermore, the pit was placed next to the only above-ground structure discovered at the site that is thought to have

Slika / Figure 1. Cjelovit kostur goveda s nogama podvučenim pod tijelo, Aljmaš-Podunavlje pod tijelo, Aljmaš-Podunavlje. Limbs of the animal were contracted towards the body (prema / after: Šimić 2007).



istaknutim nadzemnim objektom vučedolske kulture poznatog kao megaron I ili „megaron ljevača bakra“ (Schmidt 1945). U posljednja dva primjera riječ je o nalazima vučedolske kulture gdje ukope snažnih, rogatih divljih životinja zbog njihovih lokacija možemo povezati s prostorima ekonomske, religijske i/ili političke moći na nalazištima.

Osim uz nastambe, ukope životinja nalazimo i u graničnim objektima na naselju tj. u perifernom arealu jama, možda s namjerom da označe granice naselja kao sigurnog i poznatog prostora. Takav je slučaj na nalazištu Josipovac-Gravinjak,² gdje je jama s ostacima goveda bila smještena na rubu naselja, tj. na krajnjem istočnom dijelu (Mihelić 2008); jama s kosturom svinje pronađena je na rubu naselja Koprivnička Rijeka-Rudina (Marković 1981) ali i na Vučedolu gdje su svi ukopi životinja otkriveni tijekom arheoloških iskapanja od 1984. do 1989. godine pronađeni na krajnjoj periferiji naselja za razliku od ljudskih grobova koji se javljaju na cijeloj istraživanoj površini (Jurišić 1990). U nekim slučajevima možemo uočiti i grupaciju ukopa na pojedinim mjestima unutar naselja koja su mogla biti smatrana povoljnijim lokacijama od nekih drugih za izvođenje ritualnih aktivnosti ili ritualna ukapanja životinja. Takva situacija je zabilježena na nalazištu lasinjske kulture Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica. Cjeloviti kosturi dva psa pronađeni su u jami lasinjske kulture SJ 78/79, a ispod njih nalazi-

² Analizu životinjskih koštanih ostataka s nalazišta Josipovac-Gravinjak, Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica, Đakovo-Franjevac, Osijek-Retfala i Aljmaš-Podunavlje proveli su Tajana Trbojević Vukičević, Zdravka Hincak, Damir Mihelić i Kazimir Miculinić.

belonged to the clan elder (Marković 1981). A similar location was noted for a deer burial at the Gradac position at Vučedol that is connected with the notable above-ground structure known as megaron, or the “Copper Smelter’s Megaron” (Schmidt 1945). The last two examples are ascribed to the Vučedol culture, and their positions make it possible to connect the burials of strong, horned wild animals with areas of economic, religious and /or political power recorded at the sites.

Apart from next to dwellings, animal burials are also found at the edges of settlements or the peripheral area of pits, perhaps with the intent to serve as border markers of a settlement that was a safe and known space. Such a case was recorded at Josipovac-Gravinjak,² where a pit with bovine remains was located at the edge of the settlement, i.e. at the easternmost edge (Mihelić 2008). A pit containing a skeleton of a pig was discovered at the edge of the Koprivnička Rijeka-Rudina site (Marković 1981), but also at Vučedol where all animal burials discovered in the campaigns conducted between 1984 and 1989 were located at the periphery of the settlement, unlike human burials that were recorded all over the excavated area (Jurišić 1990). In some cases, it is possible to discern a group of burials at certain locations within a settlement that could have been seen as more suitable for ritual-related activities or the ritual burial of animals than other places. Such

² The analyses of animal bone remains from the sites of Josipovac-Gravinjak, Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica, Đakovo-Franjevac, Osijek-Retfala and Aljmaš-Podunavlje were conducted by Tajana Trbojević Vukičević, Zdravka Hincak, Damir Mihelić and Kazimir Miculinić.



Slika / Figure 2. Jama s ostacima većeg broja životinja, Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica / Pit containing remains of a large number of animals, Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica (prema / after: Balen 2007a).

li su se ostatci većeg broja životinja SJ 158 (Balen 2007a.). Riječ je o ostacima šest pasa i dva mala preživača: ovce/koze i ovce/koze/srne. Premda nije točno određeno radi li se o ovci, kozi ili srni temeljem dentalnih ostataka dob tog malog preživača procijenjena je na do tri mjeseca starosti (Pasarić 2012). Bilo da je riječ o ovci/kozi ili srni ove se životinje uglavnom rađaju krajem zime, početkom proljeća. Podatak da je riječ o mladoj životinji staroj svega tri mjeseca upućuje na vjerojatnost da je ukop nastao u proljetnom razdoblju, a s obzirom na fragmentiranost pojedinih životinjskih ostaka možda je riječ i o ostacima tada provedenih gozbi (Pasarić 2012).

Pojedini ukopi povezani su i sa životnima etapama stanovnika naselja. Zajedničkim ukopima ljudi i životinja pogrebnim je ritusom obilježen obostran kraj životnih ciklusa. Ostaci životinja ukopanih sa čovjekom najčešće se tumače kao grobni prilozil pokojnika kojima se želi ukazati na njegov društveni status ili zanimanje tijekom života, a ovisno o vrsti životinje i predodžbama o njenim ktonskim karakteristikama cijelim se životinjama pripisivala i uloga psihopompa. Tijekom Schmidtovih istraživanja na vučedolskom Gradcu 1938. godine otkriven je dvostruki grob vučedolske kulture u kojem su bili sahranjeni žena i muškarac zajedno s bogatim i raznovrsnim priložima (Schmidt 1945). Iz navoda istraživača zaključuje se kako su se u grobu nalazili ostaci različitih životinja, većina njih najvjerojatnije u svojstvu priloga u hrani: „Sve su te posude nekada bile pune hrane, a osim toga dobili su pokojnici u grob za hranu još i čitavo janje.

a case was recorded at Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica, a site of the Lasinja culture. Complete skeletons of two dogs were discovered in a pit of the Lasinja culture, with the remains of a large number of animals underneath them SU 158 (Balen 2007a). The finds included the remains of six dogs and two small ruminants: sheep/goat and sheep/goat/doe. Although it was, based on dental remains, impossible to definitively determine if the animal was a sheep, goat or doe, the animal was up to three months old (Pasarić 2012). Whether it was a sheep/goat or doe, these animals are usually born at the end of winter or the beginning of spring. The fact that the animal was only three months old points to the probability that the burial was made during the spring season. Additionally, considering the fragmentation of certain animal remains, it is possible that these are the remains of a feast (Pasarić 2012).

Certain burials are connected to the life stages of the inhabitants of settlements. In combined human and animal burials, the burial rites were used to mark the mutual end of their life cycles. The remains of animals burned alongside humans are most often interpreted as grave goods that portrayed the deceased social status or profession, as well as, depending on the kind of animal and ideas about their chthonic characteristics, entire animals were also seen as having the role of psychopomps. During Schmidt's 1938 excavations of Gradac at Vučedol, a double burial of the Vučedol culture was discovered with the remains of a woman and a man with numerous luxurious grave goods (Schmidt 1945). The excavator's notes suggest that the grave



Slika / Figure 3. Zajednički ukop čovjeka i svinje, Đakovo-Franjevac / Human buried together with a pig, Đakovo-Franjevac (prema / after: Balen 2007b).

A nalazimo ovdje još i ostatke goveda, jelena, svinje. Svog gospodara slijedio je u grob i njegov pas“ (Schmidt 1945: 178). Zanimljiva je činjenica da je glava pokojnice bila prekrivena tipičnom vučedolskom terinom dok je muškarac rukama prekrivio lice (Schmidt 1945). Prema navodima Schmidta i pas je bio prekriven velikim fragmentima keramike. Premda točni podaci o položaju psa u grobu danas nažalost nisu poznati ovo posljednje upućuje nas na mogućnost da je pas u pogrebnom ritusu tretiran na isti način kao i ljudski pokojnici.

Iako su mogući različiti religijski razlozi zbog kojih se nakon smrti čovjeka u nekim zajednicama smatra prigodnim žrtvovati određenu životinju, npr. psa ili svinju (van Gennepe 1977), jednako tako je moguće da je pokopana životinja čovjeku bila važna i kao ljubimac i/ili da su čovjek i životinja i tijekom života ostvarivali blizak odnos koji se nije temeljio isključivo na materijalno-upotrebim i/ili simboličkim vrijednostima. O tome možda svjedoči i zajednički ukop svinja sa čovjekom na nalazištu kostolačke kulture Đakovo-Franjevac (Balen 2007b) gdje je jedna životinja bila položena točno iznad glave čovjeka. Zanimljiva je činjenica da se druga svinja nalazila uz suprotan rub jame u sasvim drugačijem položaju. Svi ekstremiteti ove životinje bili su pažljivo privučeni zajedno ispred tijela, možda na taj način zavezani i prije njene smrti.

contained the remains of different animals, most of which were probably placed in the grave as food: “All of the vessels were once full of food, and the deceased also received an entire lamb to eat. There were also the remains of bovids, deer, and pigs, and the master was also accompanied to the grave by his dog” (Schmidt 1945, 178). It is interesting to note that the head of the deceased woman was covered by a terina-type vessel typical of the Vučedol culture, while the man’s head was covered by his own hands (Schmidt 1945). According to Schmidt, the dog was covered by large pottery fragments. Although the exact data on the position of the dog within the grave are, unfortunately, unknown, the latter comment suggests that the dog was treated in the same way as the humans in the burial ritual.

Although there are different religious reasons for sacrificing an animal when a human dies, e.g. a dog or a pig, in certain communities (van Gennepe 1977), it is also possible that the buried animal was important to the human as a pet and/or that the human and the animal had developed a close relationship during their lives that was not only based on the material/necessity and/or symbolic values. This is possibly attested to by the find of a burial with two pigs and man from Đakovo-Franjevac, a site of the Kostolac culture (Balen 2007b), where an animal was placed directly above the man’s head. It is interesting to note that the other animal was placed along the opposite edge of the pit in a completely different position. All of the animal’s extremities were carefully pulled together in front of the body and were possibly even tied in that position before the animal died.

Tri krave, dva psa i svinja

Pojedini ukopi poput ovog iz Đakova pružaju nam više podataka o okolnostima nalaza te važne informacije o životinjama samima, ali i o ljudskim postupcima tijekom života životinja ili nakon njihove smrti. Položaj tijela, bioarheološki i paleopatološki podaci, odnos s drugim nalazima, stupanj sačuvanosti i cjelovitosti koštanih ostataka neki su od ključnih elemenata u razmatranju svakog pojedinačnog ukopa. Govedo je najzastupljenija životinjska vrsta u eneolitičkim ukopima na području kontinentalne Hrvatske te nalaze njihovih cjelovitih ili djelomično sačuvanih kostura pripisujemo badenskoj, kostolačkoj i vučedolskoj kulturi (Pasarić 2012). Zanimljive podatke pružaju ukopi goveda na nalazištima badenske kulture Aljmaš-Podunavlje i Osijek-Retfala. Ukop goveda u badenskoj jami SJ 15/16 na nalazištu Aljmaš-Podunavlje izdvaja se po iznimno dobroj sačuvanosti koštanih ostataka i položaju tijela u kojem se životinja nalazila - prednje i stražnje noge bile su sakupljene zajedno i podvučene pod tijelo (Šimić 2007). Vidljiv je i neobičan položaj vratne kralježnice i glave koja je bila naslonjena na prsište jedinke. Na istom nalazištu i badenska jama SJ 59/60 sadržavala je cjelovit i dobro sačuvan kostur goveda (Šimić 2001). Životinja je ležala na desnom boku s vratnom kralježnicom, odnosno glavom savijenom prema dolje uz rub jame. Prednje noge bile su savijene prema tijelu dok su stražnje bile u opruženom položaju. Unutar jame, na njenoj sjevernoj strani, nalazila se i svojevrsna niša u kojoj je pronađena glava goveda s rogovima, položena okomito, oslanjala se na gornju čeljust. U istoj jami pronađen je i cjelovit kostur malog mesojeda, najvjerojatnije psa, starog do dva mjeseca (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). Stražnje noge životinje bile su savinute i postavljene jedna preko druge, dok su prednje noge bile privučene na prsa; ispod donje čeljusti bio je položen oblatak nešto veći od glave životinje (Šimić 2001). Cjelovit i dobro očuvan kostur goveda otkriven je i u badenskoj jami na nalazištu Osijek-Retfala (Šimić 2005). Ovdje je životinja ležala na desnom boku s glavom na jugu i leđima na zapadu; stražnje noge bile su potpuno opružene, a prednje tek lagano savijene i primaknute bliže tijelu. Glava goveda bila je također okrenuta prema tijelu.

U sva tri slučaja riječ je o jedinkama domaćeg goveda ženskoga spola koje su doživjele otprilike dvije godine starosti (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). Na njihovim osteološkim ostacima nisu uočene patološke promjene koje bi se mogle pove-

Three cows, two dogs, and a pig

Certain burials, like the one from Đakovo, provide additional data on the circumstances of the finds and on the animals themselves, as well as on the way humans treated the animals before and after they died. The position of the body, bioarchaeological and paleopathological data, relations to other finds, the degree of preservation and the completeness of osteological remains are some of the key elements for the study of each individual burial. Bovids are the most common animal species in Eneolithic burials of continental Croatia, and their complete or partial skeletons were found in the context of the Baden, Kostolac and Vučedol cultures (Pasarić 2012). Interesting data was obtained from bovid burials of the Baden culture from the sites of Aljmaš-Podunavlje and Osijek-Retfala. The burial found in a pit of the Baden culture, SU 15/16, at Aljmaš-Podunavlje stands out due to the excellent preservation of bones and the position of the bovid body - the front and hind legs of the animal were huddled together and pulled under the body (Šimić 2007). The unusual position of the animal's cervical spine and its head, which was leaning on its body, was also visible. A pit of the Baden culture, SU 59/60, from the same site yielded a complete and well-preserved bovid skeleton (Šimić 2001). The animal was placed on its right side with the cervical spine, i.e. the head, bent downwards, facing the edge of the pit. The front legs were bent towards the body, while the hind legs were stretched out. The northern side of the pit had a sort of a niche that yielded the remains of a bovid head with horns, placed vertically, leaning on the upper jaw. The same pit also contained a complete skeleton of a small carnivore, most likely a dog, up to two months old (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). The animal's hind legs were bent and crossed one over the other, while the front legs were pulled towards the chest; a pebble, somewhat bigger than the animal's head, was placed under the lower jaw (Šimić 2001). A complete and well-preserved bovid skeleton was also discovered in a pit of the Baden culture at Osijek-Retfala (Šimić 2005). In this case, the animal was placed on its right side with its head facing south, and its back west; the hind legs were fully relaxed, and the front were only slightly bent and moved closer to the body. The head of the bovid was also turned towards the body.

In all three cases, the domesticated bovids were female and were about two years of age (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). Their osteological remains did not reveal pathological changes that



Slika / Figure 4. Cjelovit kostur goveda, Osijek-Retfala / Complete bovine skeleton, Osijek-Retfala (prema / after: Šimić 2005).

zati s traumama ili bolestima te možemo zaključiti da su životinje za svoga života bile zdrave, a vrlo vjerojatno i dobro zbrinute. Cjelovitost i sačuvanost njihovih koštanih ostataka te položaji u kojima su se nalazile ukazuju na činjenicu da su ove jedinke bile namjerno položene, a ne odbačene u jamu te da su bile ukopane odmah nakon smrti. Ističe se položaj životinje iz Aljmaša, jama SJ 15/16 gdje su njeni ekstremiteti bili pažljivo sakupljeni zajedno i podvučeni pod tijelo što ukazuje na namjerno izazvan položaj. Sakupljeni ekstremiteti mogu upućivati i na rezanje ligamenata nakon smrti kako bi životinja stala u jamu, međutim lezije uzrokovane rezanjem ligamenata nakon što je nastupio *rigor mortis* (vidi: Cencetti et al. 2006) na koštanom materijalu nedostaju (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016.), što sugerira da su ekstremiteti životinje mogli biti zavezani zajedno prije smrti kako je to već pretpostavila i Šimić (2007). Ta bi nas činjenica dalje bi nas upućivala i na pretpostavku da je životinja bila zavezana prije nego je namjerno usmrćena.

Štoviše, u sva tri razmatrana slučaja osteološkom analizom ustanovljena je rotacija prva dva vratna kralješka suprotno od njihovoga uobičajenog položaja što može svjedočiti o namjernoj manipulaciji glavom i vratnom kralježnicom nakon smrti životinje, a možda i o načinu njenog usmrćivanja (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). Međutim, u potpunosti se ne mogu isključiti ni drugi tafonomski procesi, odnosno vanjski čimbenici nakon polaganja životinje u jamu. No, pretpostavka da su

could be connected to traumas or illnesses, so it can be concluded that the animals were healthy and, most likely, well taken care of. The completeness and preservation of their bones, as well as the positions of their bodies, point to the fact that they had been intentionally placed and buried, and not discarded in the pit right after their deaths. The position of the body of the animal from Aljmaš, pit SU 15/16, stands out, because the extremities were carefully clumped together and pulled under the body, indicating an intentionally induced position. The connected extremities could also point to the cutting of ligaments after death in order to make the animal fit into the pit, but there are no visible lesions caused by the cutting of ligaments after the onset of *rigor mortis* (see Cencetti et al. 2006) on the osseous finds (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016), suggesting that the animal's extremities might have been tied together before death, as was already suggested by Šimić (2007). This fact would lead to the assumption that the animal had been tied prior to being intentionally killed.

Furthermore, in all three cases, the analysis of osteological remains revealed a rotation in the first two cervical vertebrae that is opposite to their natural position, a fact that suggest an intentional manipulation of the head and the cervical spine after the animal's death, or, possibly, indicating the manner it was killed (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). However, other taphonomical processes, i.e. outside factors after the animal was placed into the pit, cannot be fully excluded. Nonetheless, the assump-



Slika / Figure 5. Ukop dva psa, Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica / Two dog burial, Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica (foto / photo: I. Drnić).

krave iz Aljmaša i Osijeka bile namjereno usmrćene ne bi bila neobična s obzirom na to da dokaze o usmrćivanju goveda nalazimo na lokalitetima badenske kulture sa susjednih područja. Na primjer, usmrćivanje goveda lomljenjem kralježnice zabilježeno je na mađarskom nalazištu Budimpešta-Káposztásmegyer/Farkaserdő, a poznati su i drugi načini na koje su goveda mogla biti ubijena (Horváth 2012). O tome izravno svjedoče i kameni šiljci pronađeni na prsima goveda u Parchatki i Złoti, poljskim nalazištima kulture kuglastih amfora (Gabałówna 1958). Na tragu takvih dokaza možda možemo smatrati i da je oblutak položen ispod čeljusti vrlo mladog psa pronađenog ispod krave u Aljmašu, SJ 59/60 povezan s uzrokom smrti životinje. Naime, jedini dio vrlo fragilnog, ali ipak dobro sačuvanog kostura te životinje koji ukazuje na fragmentaciju je lijevi dio čeone kosti. Nažalost, stupanj fragmentiranosti ovoga dijela lubanje onemogućuje uočavanje potencijalnih fraktura (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). Ipak, kamen pronađen ispod glave toga psa vrlo vjerojatno nije slučajnost.

Nakon ukopa goveda tijekom eneolitika na prostoru kontinentalne Hrvatske najbrojniji su ukopi pasa. (Pasarić 2012). Prema zooarheološkim istraživanjima tijekom eneolitika u srednjoj Europi prevladavala je gracilnija pasmina slična špicu (*Canis familiaris palustris*), a to je također i pasmina koja se najčešće javlja u prapovijesnim ukopima

tion that the cows from Aljmaš and Osijek were intentionally killed is not unusual, considering that evidence of killing cattle can be found on sites of the Baden culture from neighboring territories. For example, the killing of cattle by breaking their spine was recorded on the Hungarian site of Budapest-Káposztásmegyer/Farkaserdő. Other ways of killing cattle are also known (Horváth 2012), as directly indicated by stone points discovered on the bodies of cattle at Parchatka and Złota, Polish sites of the globular amphora culture (Gabałówna 1958). Due to these kinds of evidence, it can be assumed that the pebble, found under the jaw of the very young dog found under the cow at Aljmaš, SU 59/60, is connected to the cause of the animal's death. Namely, the only part of the very fragile, but still well-preserved, skeleton of this animal that shows fragmentation is the left part of its forehead bone. Unfortunately, the degree of fragmentation of this part of the skull disables the definition of potential fractures (Pasarić & Trbojević-Vukičević 2016). However, the rock discovered under the dog's head is probably not a coincidence.

Following bovids, the dog is the second most common animal species found in Eneolithic burials in continental Croatia (Pasarić 2012). Based on zooarchaeological analyses, a more gracile breed (*Canis familiaris palustris*), similar to a spitz, was the most common during the Eneolithic in central Europe, and it is also the most common breed that appears

(Horváth 2010). Ostaci dva psa pronađeni su u jami lasinjske kulture SJ 78/79 na nalazištu Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica (Balen 2007a). Nalazi cjelovitih ili gotovo cjelovitih kostura mogu upućivati na životinje koje su umrle prirodnom smrću, zbog bolesti ili nesretnim događajem te su jednostavno bile odbačene. U ovom slučaju vidljivo je da su psi bili pažljivo položeni u jamu točno jedan ispod drugoga čime je očuvan integritet tijela obje pokopane životinje, njihovi se ostaci dodiruju ali se međusobno ne prekrivaju. U oba slučaja riječ je mladim psima. Premda je moguće da su dva psa podjednake dobi uginula u isto vrijeme i zatim pokopana, ne možemo isključiti ni mogućnost da njihova istovremena smrt nije slučajnost.

Tijekom eneolitika na području kontinentalne Hrvatske nalazimo i ukope svinja. Ukopi svinja zabilježeni su u badenskoj, kostolačkoj i vučedolskoj kulturi (Pasarić 2012). U jami kostolačke kulture SJ 43/44 na nalazištu Đakovo-Franjevac pronađen je cjelovit kostur svinje (Balen 2007b). Osim po cjelovitosti kostura, nalaz se izdvaja i po namjerno izazvanom položaju tijela životinje. Prednji i stražnji ekstremiteti životinje bili su u potpunosti podvučeni pod tijelo dok je glava životinje usmjerena od tijela. U istoj jami jugoistočno od cjelovitog kostura svinje nalazilo se nekoliko dijelova tijela malog preživača. Moguće je da je riječ o hrani za gozbu ili zagrobni život koja je također položena u jamu uz žrtvovanu životinju, što je već zabilježeno i na drugim eneolitičkim nalazištima, npr. Balatonőszöd u Mađarskoj (Horváth 2010), ili je riječ o grobnom prilogu namjenjenom upravo ovoj, pažljivo ukopanoj, životinji.

Zaključak

Većina do danas poznatih eneolitičkih ukopa životinja na tlu kontinentalne Hrvatske pronađena je u naseljima. Smješteni su u blizini naseobinskih objekata ili u perifernom arealu jama te upravo te prostorne odrednice ukazuju na njihovu povezanost sa životnim ciklusima pojedinih domaćinstava i/ili ritualnim aktivnostima koje su bile od značaja za cijelo naselje. Na primjer, lokacijom pojedinog ukopa mogao se označiti granični prostor naselja, njegov središnji dio ili mjesto pogodno za ritualne aktivnosti, a u pojedinim slučajevima detaljni zooarheološki podaci ukazuju nam i na moguća razdoblja u godini kada je do njih i došlo. U većini ukopa prisutne su domaće životinje, a zanimljivo

in prehistoric burials (Horváth 2010). Remains of two dogs were discovered in a pit of the Lasinja culture, SU 78/79, at Selci Đakovački-Pajtenica (Balen 2007a). Finds of complete or almost complete skeletons can indicate that the animals died of natural causes, due to illness or accidents, and that they were simply discarded. In this case, it is visible that the dogs were carefully placed within the pit, one under the other, thereby preserving the integrity of the bodies of both buried animals, with their remains touching, but not overlapping. In both cases, the dogs were young. Although it is possible that two dogs of about the same age died at the same time and were then buried, the possibility that their parallel deaths were not an accident cannot be excluded.

Eneolithic pig burials have been recorded as well and attributed to the Baden, Kostolac, Vučedol cultures (Pasarić 2012). A pit of the Kostolac culture, SU 43/44 at Đakovo-Franjevac yielded a complete pig skeleton (Balen 2007b). Other than its completeness, it stands out due to the intentionally induced position of the animal's body. The front and hind limbs of the animal were placed completely under the body, and the head was facing away from the body. Several body parts of a juvenile small ruminant were discovered in the same pit, southeast of the complete pig skeleton. It is possible that this was food for a feast or the afterlife, which was placed in the pit alongside the sacrificed animal, as was recorded at other Eneolithic sites, e.g. Balatonőszöd in Hungary (Horváth 2010) or that this was a grave good intended precisely for this, carefully buried, animal.

Conclusion

Most of the known Eneolithic animal burials from continental Croatia have been discovered in settlements. They are situated in the vicinity of dwellings, or at the peripheral parts of pits, and these spatial determinants suggest that they were connected to the life cycles of specific households and/or the ritualistic activities that were important for the entire settlement. For example, the location of a certain burial could have marked the borders of the settlement, its central part or a place that was suitable for ritualistic activities. In certain examples, detailed zooarchaeological data indicate the possible season of the year when the burial happened. Most burials include the remains of domestic ani-

je da su u dva slučaja divlje životinje poput jelena i divljeg goveda pronađene uz istaknute naseobinske objekte u naselju. No, na životinje ne moramo gledati isključivo kao na identifikacijsku oznaku pojedinog prostora, određene društvene skupine ili statusa pokojnika kako je to dosada uglavnom bilo uvriježeno. Zajednički ukopi životinja sa čovjekom mogu ukazivati i na emotivne razloge toga čina, odnosno na blizak odnos životinje i čovjeka tijekom njihova života što se u pojedinim slučajevima može manifestirati u načinu na koji su oboje bili položeni u zemlju i/ili tretirani u pogrebnom ritusu. U ovome radu nešto detaljnije sagledala se tek nekolicina poznatih eneolitičkih ukopa životinja s prostora kontinentalne Hrvatske. Ukopi krava, pasa i svinje iz Aljmaša, Osijeka, Đakova i Selca Đakovačkih upućuju na dobro očuvane, cjelovite koštane ostatke namjerno ukopanih životinja nedugo nakon njihove smrti te na manipulaciju dijelovima njihova tijela, odnosno glavama i ekstremitetima. Važno je istaknuti kako kod razmatranih životinja nisu uočene nikakve patološke promjene te je riječ životinjama koje su tijekom života bile zdrave i zbrinute. U pojedinim slučajevima vidljivo je i da su vrlo pažljivo i brižno bile položene u jame. Premda ni u jednom od razmatranih slučajeva nemamo neosporive dokaze da je riječ o namjerno usmrćenim životinjama, za to postoje određene indicije te bi tada trebali pretpostaviti da su bile žrtvovane ili na neki drugi način ritualno ubijene. Ako pretpostavimo da su ove životinje tijekom svog života dijelile prostore istih naselja s ljudima, u tome slučaju naselja evidentno prepoznajemo kao mjesta interakcija čovjeka sa životinjama te smjenu u dinamikama njihova odnosa.

mals, but it is interesting to note that the two cases of wild species burials, deer and wild bovid, were recorded next to pronounced structures in the settlement. However, animals must not be seen exclusively as an identity mark of a certain space, a certain social group or status of the deceased as has been customary so far. The combined burials of animals and humans can also indicate emotional behavior, i.e. the close relationship between the animal and the human during their life, which can sometimes be manifested through the way both were laid into the ground and/or treated in the burial rites. This paper takes a closer look only at several known Eneolithic animal burials from continental Croatia. The burials of cows, dogs and a pig from Aljmaš, Osijek, Đakovo and Selci Đakovački have revealed well-preserved, complete skeletal remains which suggest that the animals were intentionally buried very soon after death, as well as that their bodies, i.e. heads and extremities, were manipulated. It is important to note that the studied animals did not reveal any pathological changes and that these animals were healthy and well off during their lives. In some cases it is possible to see that they were laid into the pits with a lot of care and effort. Although none of the studied examples revealed undeniable evidence that the animals were intentionally killed, there are some indications that make it possible to assume that they had been sacrificed or ritualistically murdered in some other way. If it is assumed that these animals shared their living area with humans, then settlements can clearly be seen as places where man interacted with animals and where the dynamics of their interrelations changed.

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