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EVIDENCE OF CONTACTS BETWEEN THE LENGYEL AND TISZA-HERPÁLY CULTURES AT THE LATE NEOLITHIC SITE OF POLGÁR-CSŐSZHALOM

*(Relationships between Central European and Balkan ritual practice
and sacral thought in the Upper Tisza Region)*

Following the first test excavations in 1957, comprehensive archaeological research at the settlement of Polgár-Csőszhalom began in 1989. This project reached a qualitatively new phase in 1995, when rescue excavations preceding the construction of the M3 Motorway allowed large surfaces to be uncovered. As a result of this extensive field work, as well as the use of interdisciplinary methods, it became clear that the well-known central mound, considered a tell site in the literature, had been surrounded by a 28 hectares large, single-layer, horizontal settlement.

Aerial photographs and magnetometric surveys meanwhile clearly outlined a system of concentric circular structures that measured 180 m in diameter. It comprised five circular ditches and a triple palisade. These surrounded the tell and practically isolated it from the external settlement. On the basis of observations made during the excavation, it could be unambiguously concluded that the two settlement phenomena (i. e. tell and the horizontal settlement) formed a composite structure that functioned synchronously. Moreover, a number of archaeological data have suggested that it is not the tell and the pertinent concentric ditch system that should be considered a typical settlement, but the external, horizontal part of the occupation. According to this topographic interpretation, the tell itself is an area of distinguished function, isolated from the spheres of everyday activity. The concentric layout of settlement features within, the central building(s), special finds, and the unusually great number of decorated ceramic sherds of non-mundane function as well as the unusual spatial distribution of masses of animal bone confirm the communal/sacral character of the unit surrounded by concentric ditches.¹

Beyond the aforementioned results, the duality of the tell and concentric ditches seems to reflect a symbiosis between the Tisza-Herpály type tell settlements known from the Great Hungarian Plain and Lengyel ditch systems of Central European character, usually found in Transdanubia, in Western Hungary. These structural phenomena may also represent an

ideological fusion between the underlying thought processes.² The macro-level analysis of topographic phenomena at the site of Polgár-Csőszhalom has, thus, revealed the coexistence of Lengyel as well as Tisza-Herpály cultural i. e. stylistic units at this settlement. It is also of great importance that the 28 hectares area of the Late Neolithic horizontal site at Polgár is characterized by settlement features of the Lengyel Culture, a unique occurrence in the Great Hungarian Plain during this period. This fact, in and of itself, allows conclusions to be drawn concerning the decisive role the Lengyel Culture played in the Late Neolithic of the Tisza Region. Similar cultural connections were already outlined in a previous study by István Ecsedy. Although he did not carry out detailed research on this topic, he indicated the instrumental role strong Lengyel Culture antecedents and their influence played in the emergence of the Copper Age in the region of the Tisza River.³ More recently, G. Lazarovici has listed a number of points which support the existence of a closer cultural contact between the Lengyel Culture in Transdanubia (Western Hungary) and the Iclod Culture in Transylvania (Romania).⁴ Marked but sporadic occurrences of the Transdanubian Lengyel Culture in the northern section of the Great Hungarian Plain may, in principle, be explained by the outstanding strategic and trade importance of this region in the northeastern corner of the Carpathian Basin. This significance is further accentuated by the geographical proximity of natural obsidian mines in the nearby Tökaj Hills. Evidently, it must have been these same features that played a fundamental role in the infiltration of the Lengyel Culture from the direction of Little Poland.⁵ Strong tendencies reflecting the delineated system of contacts may be clearly recognized in the geographical distribution of stone tool raw materials recovered from Polgár-Csőszhalom and their own connection network.⁶

² RACZKY 1995; RACZKY-MEIER-ARENDETT ET AL. 2002. 833-838, 840-849.

³ ECSÉDY 1982. 76, 91.

⁴ LAZAROVICI-DRAȘOVEAN-MAXIM 2002. 11-12.

⁵ KACZANOWSKA-KOZŁOWSKY 2001. 13-14.

¹ RACZKY ET AL. 1994; 1997.

The aforementioned research results show the eminent archaeological significance of the Polgár-Csőszhalom settlement, since these large surface excavations not only expose a reliable profile in a narrowly defined area during the Late Neolithic. In addition, they facilitate the drafting of broader cultural connections in eastern Central Europe.

This overall picture, previously supported by archaeological topography, can be better founded and further elaborated on using the new data to be published in this paper. Consequently, the present article is a review of archaeological phenomena and monuments from Polgár-Csőszhalom that either played a role in ancient ritual activity or represent differences and similarities between the sacral activities of the Lengyel and Tisza-Herpály Cultures.

Burials represent a noteworthy manifestation of how space was internally sub-divided at Polgár-Csőszhalom. They also help in distinguishing between the prehistoric significance of various areas. The horizontal settlement covers 4.5 hectares outside the tell. This surface revealed the remains of 62 houses and 116 graves. The latter formed small clusters of one, two or three. Meanwhile, a population of 300–400 souls may be estimated on the basis of the houses. Thus, the rest of the population must have been buried somewhere else. Moreover, children's graves occur but rarely in the single-layer, horizontal settlements among the houses. They occur very frequently, however, within the tell, surrounded by the circular ditch system. Already Ida Bognár-Kutzián noticed during her first survey excavations in 1957, that the trench opened on the Polgár-Csőszhalom tell contained two graves of children, four of adult men and a symbolic burial (with grave goods considered male attributes). Women's graves, on the other hand, were missing.⁷ In addition, the analysis of animal bones from these early excavations was suggested the consumption of tremendous amounts of meat. These impressive data encouraged population estimates based on meat consumption that are hard to consider realistic.⁸

Subsequent statistical analyses of the animal remains brought to light during the course of recent excavations showed a dominance of wild animal remains within the circular ditch system, while food refuse around the houses in the external, horizontal settlement were characterized by a majority of domestic animal remains.⁹

This chain of interrelated evidence not only shows that various parts of the settlement played different roles in the life of the prehistoric community. This also

implies at least two levels of sacral activity, characterized by different degrees of organization. It may be hypothesized that certain activities were related to house units, that is, to the family as a social entity. In addition, however, special activities were isolated from the mundane, household environment, within the concentric ditches, possibly requiring a different type of communal organization.

In the sphere of Lengyel cultural influence, between Transdanubia and the Upper Danube region, areas distinguished by circular ditches tend to demarcate sacral spaces. This observation is further corroborated by the example of Sé, a settlement where the fragments of 130 anthropomorphic figurines were found within the concentric ditch system, while they tend to occur but sporadically at coeval sites.¹⁰ A similar observation was published from the settlement of Tešetice in Moravia, where anthropomorphic figurines occurred 3.5 times more frequently from within the circular ditch system than in the pertinent horizontal settlement.¹¹ These examples indicate the clear connection between a particular archaeological feature (circular ditch system) and a special group of artifacts (anthropomorphic figurines).

In contrast to the aforementioned cases, figurines whose sacral meaning may well be hypothesized were equally likely to come to light from the inner tell area and the external, horizontal settlement at Polgár-Csőszhalom. It may be said, in general, that there is no evident concentration in the spatial distribution of figurines within this settlement. This observation seems to suggest that at Polgár-Csőszhalom both territorial units served as areas of non-mundane activity.

An assemblage of miniature figurines were found in one of the burnt houses within the tell area surrounded by the ditch system.¹² The best spiritual and formal parallel to this find was found in a cultic assemblage from Čičarovce.¹³ These phenomena represent Tisza-Herpály Culture traditions where similar sacral behavior may be observed at the sites in question.

From the viewpoint of the present investigations, an essentially new type of find came to light from the central place within the circular ditch system at the tell settlement of Polgár-Csőszhalom, a fragmented, anthropomorphic vessel (Fig. 1. 1a-c, 1. 2a-c). Fortunately, the original shape of this vessel can be reliably reconstructed: its body follows the form of a human torso, decorated with two legs bent at the knee. Meanwhile two small arm-shaped clay columns originate on the broken profile line of this biconical vessel (Fig. 1. 2a-c). Unfortunately, the rim that must once

⁶ BÁCSKAY-T. BIRÓ 2002. 851; KACZANOWSKA-KOZŁOWSKY 1997. 225.

⁷ BOGNÁR-KUTZIÁN 1963. 383, 414.

⁸ VÖRÖS 1987. 27–29; MAKKAY 1991. 323; RACZKY 1998. 482–486.

⁹ SCHWARTZ 2002. 853–856.

¹⁰ KALICZ 1998. 65–66.

¹¹ PODBORSKÝ 1985. 210.

¹² RACZKY ET AL. 1996.

¹³ VÍZDAL 1980. Fig. 9, 14, 144–145.

have had the head or face on it, is entirely missing. However, the large diameter of the surviving neck indicates this vessel had a smoothed mouth. This makes it unlikely that the vessel is of the variety which ended in a „proper“ head, that is, a bulging, cup-like top segment. The design of this special anthropomorphic vessel is similar to a find published from Grave 2/71 at the Lengyel Culture settlement of Svodín in Slovakia.¹⁴ However, the arms were not depicted in this latter figure. It seems that at Svodín and other Lengyel Culture sites anthropomorphic vessels with full female shapes with upright arms occur more commonly. This variety also has a head. The representation of legs, bent into a sitting position, however, is always missing.¹⁵ This latter type of anthropomorphic vessel is well known and is also represented by several specimens in Lengyel Culture archaeological assemblages from Hungary.¹⁶ Their comprehensive analysis has recently been carried out by Zalai-Gaal,¹⁷ who considered the examples reviewed a characteristic of the cultural sphere defined as the Lengyel Culture.

The anthropomorphic vessel that came to light at Polgár-Csőszhalom is similar to the aforementioned examples and embodies a special combination of the standing figure from Svodín and of sitting varieties (a group portrait of these vessels was published in 1981 by Juraj Pavúk¹⁸), since this sitting, presumably female figure, also has upright arms (Fig. 1. 3). A similar, mixed composition may be seen in the reconstruction of a fragmented anthropomorphic vessel from the site of Buštěhrad in Bohemia,¹⁹ where legs, upright arms and even a bulging head were modeled the artist. Therefore, it is not surprising to see a similarly complex design in the Late Neolithic of the Carpathian Basin.

The special function of the Svodín vessels is obvious from the fact that they were recovered from burials.²⁰ Find circumstances of the Buštěhrad specimen also reflect a sacral context.²¹ Certainly, the vessel from Polgár also played a special role in the life of that prehistoric population, as is confirmed by the fact that it came to light in the middle of the area surrounded by the concentric ditch system and its decoration is comprised of paste-like whitish-yellow painting on a red basis. (Unfortunately, the original pattern of the whitish-yellow paint can no longer be reconstructed owing to heavy erosion on the vessel's surface).

All these things suggest that the anthropomorphic vessel from Polgár-Csőszhalom presented here, is a

cultic representation traditional to the Lengyel Culture, but recovered from the late neolithic settlement of Polgár from within a circular ditch system. It is also important that since the time of tell formation, other characteristic (predominantly painted) sherds of the Lengyel Culture (Type Lengyel I) have also been found at this site.

In addition to the aforementioned archeological artifacts of typical Lengyel Culture character, fragments of another type of anthropomorphic vessel came to light (Fig. 2. 3a-d), accompanied by sherds decorated with Tisza Culture type incised decoration as well as broad-banded black painting. This variety of anthropomorphic vessel is well known in the southern section of the Great Hungarian Plain and may be termed the „Kökénydomb type“.²² It may be considered another canonized Late Neolithic form in the eastern section of the Carpathian Basin. This female figure with a cylindrical body shape sits on a stool. Her arms rest by the side of her body, bent at the elbow, while her hands are positioned below her breast. Several specimens found recently at the settlement of Öcsöd-Kováshalom demonstrate this type of representation has a general distribution within the Tisza Culture. In addition, they show that occasionally, the face was also sketched-in below the rim of these anthropomorphic vessels.²³ Reconstruction attempts that hypothesize an additional, triangular head raised above the vessel's rim are therefore not realistic.²⁴ The anthropomorphic vessel from Polgár-Csőszhalom has a horizontal rim with no excess broadening. It therefore undoubtedly represents the aforementioned Kökénydomb type of the Tisza Culture. It is important to emphasize this detail, since another anthropomorphic vessel is known from the Protolengyel Period site of Sé in Transdanubia (Western Hungary),²⁵ whose cylindrical neck broadens upwards in a cup-like fashion with the thus distinguished top section of the vessel symbolizes the figure's head. To date, five of the six anthropomorphic vessels found within the Lengyel Culture I context in Svodín in Slovakia have heads which are similarly indicated.²⁶ The arms are always upright however, on these figures. These, as well as several other fragments, together form a special type from the established Lengyel Culture in the Carpathian Basin.²⁷ In the case of the Sé find, the arms rest by the side of the body, bent at the elbow below the breast. It is this stylistic trait that is characteristic of Late Neolithic anthropomorphic vessels from the

¹⁴ NĚMEJCOVÁ-PAVÚKOVÁ 1986. Abb. 8.

¹⁵ For a summary see NĚMEJCOVÁ-PAVÚKOVÁ 1986. 146 and Abb. 9.

¹⁶ KALICZ 1985. 47, 101, Abb. 74. 1-2; KALICZ 1998. 105, Abb. 58, 2, 4.

¹⁷ ZALAI-GAÁL 2000. 10-22, 31, Abb. 1-2.

¹⁸ LIČKA-BAREŠ 1979. 137, Abb. XXII. 1.18 PAVÚK 1981, Abb. 24.

²⁰ NĚMEJCOVÁ-PAVÚKOVÁ 1986. 146.

²¹ LIČKA-BAREŠ 1979. 138.

²² BANNER 1942. Taf. I. 1-4, Taf. II. 1-4; BANNER 1959. Taf. 5-7, Taf. 9; GIMBUTAS 1974. Fig. 105-107, Fig. 210-211.

²³ RACZKY 1987. Fig. 32, 34, 35.

²⁴ CSALOG 1955. 27-34, Taf. III. 3-4.

²⁵ KALICZ 1983-84. Taf. 5, 1; KALICZ 1998. Abb. 38. 1-2.

²⁶ NĚMEJCOVÁ-PAVÚKOVÁ 1986. 146; ZALAI-GAÁL 2000. 10-11.

²⁷ KALICZ 1998. 105.; ZALAI-GAÁL 2000. 10-13.

Tisza Region. Meanwhile finds from Törökbálint bear witness to the fact that a similar type of vessel is also known in the Middle Neolithic tradition of Transdanubia. This type of anthropomorphic vessels show a sitting figure with cylindrical body and broadening head. Its bent arms are placed below the breast.²⁸ It is likely, therefore, that the Sé specimen represents a transitional type between the Middle and Late Neolithic in the western section of the Carpathian Basin. This may be regarded as an additional piece of evidence concerning roles the local, Transdanubian (so-called *Notenkopf* and Zseliz) cultures played in the emergence of the Lengyel Culture. On the other hand, the incised "M" pattern seen on the face of the anthropomorphic vessel from Törökbálint indicates a mental background shared with local, Middle Neolithic, face-decorated vessels, and confirms the previously recognized Szakálhát-Zseliz cultural connection.²⁹ This, in and of itself presumes some sort of a connection between the southern section of the Great Hungarian Plain and Transdanubia within the complex system of relationships that existed during the Middle Neolithic in the Carpathian Basin.³⁰

The brief survey presented here should make it clear that the fragments of two types of anthropomorphic vessels found within the circular ditch system of the Polgár-Csőszhalom, represent two different "canons" i. e. stylistic standards. The use to which such vessels were put probably lay within the broader spheres of the Lengyel and Tisza Cultures in a special spatial unit of the settlement. It may be hypothesized that communal and sacral activities here necessitated the joint presence of the Lengyel and Tisza Cultures.

Both Lengyel type activity and Tisza Culture presence occur in the proximity of Lengyel Culture type circular ditches at Polgár-Csőszhalom. Recognizing this co-occurrence is of particular importance, since this way it becomes clear that the general "symbiosis" of the Lengyel with Tisza Cultures observed all over the settlement of Polgár-Csőszhalom is also valid within the area surrounded by the circular ditch system. This means that the territorial manifestation of communal/sacral dichotomy was not simply a reflection of "cultural" differences represented by ceramic styles. The special tell area enclosed by the concentric ditch system did not define a purely Lengyel Culture activity area.

Finally, it is worth considering the external, horizontal settlement of Polgár-Csőszhalom, that is, the scene of everyday life as is shown by the immediate environment of the 86 houses excavated to date. The breast fragment of a Kőkenydomb type anthropo-

morphic vessel was found within the context of a refuse pit associated with one of the houses here³¹ (Fig. 2. 2a-c). On this fragment of a cylindrical body, the breasts and the hands resting below them are clearly visible. In the upper section, the once arched former rim line may be followed starting from the shoulder. This form is very similar to the rim shape observed on the so-called Kőkenydomb Venus I. Consequently, this representation is closer to the vessel-like, headless form.³² This find unambiguously shows that within the context of the Late Neolithic settlement of Polgár-Csőszhalom the aforementioned Tisza Culture anthropomorphic vessel type also occurred. Meanwhile, all sorts of activities associated with this type of artifact may also be hypothesized at this site.

To date, small clay figurines seated on stools have been unearthed only from the proximity of mundane houses at the neolithic settlement at Polgár-Csőszhalom (Fig. 2. 1a-d; 3. 1a-d).³³ Within those contexts, they represent the typical stylistic inventory of the Tisza Culture and the cognitive background these stylistic characteristics stood for.³⁴

From the viewpoint of the arguments listed here, a biconical object made of rough clay with chaff temper may also be of interest. A vertical hole was drilled in the lower, slender neck part of this artifact (Fig. 4. 1a-d, 4. 4a-d). In our interpretation, this piece of plastic art was attached to some sort of a lower component with the help of a small stick that fit into the hole. Following this logic, one may speculate whether this object was some sort of a head which once may have belonged to a large size anthropomorphic statue. This interpretation may look rather peculiar at first sight. However, examples of this solution are known from the artifactual inventory of the Lengyel Culture in Hungary. Among other finds, a specimen very similar to the Polgár-Csőszhalom find was published by Nándor Kalicz from the settlement of Aszód-Papiföldek³⁵ at the northern edge of the Great Hungarian Plain (Fig. 4. 2). Another specimen from the same site has not yet been published (Fig. 4. 3). The fact that schematic head representations are a characteristic stylistic feature of anthropomorphic figurines in the Lengyel Culture is most convincingly illustrated by a specimen published from Bakonyszűcs.³⁶ One of the specific features of anthropomorphic figurines from the Moravian Painted Pottery Culture, closely associated with Lengyel Culture, is the spherical or biconical

³¹ RACZKY ET AL. 1997. Fig. 35.

³² BANNER 1959. Taf. 6-7; GIMBUTAS 1974. Fig. 210.

³³ RACZKY ET AL. 1997. Catalogue IV/ 39.

³⁴ KALICZ-RACZKY 1987. 22.

³⁵ KALICZ 1985. Fig. 71/9.

³⁶ KALICZ 1998. Abb. 39, 1)

²⁸ VIRÁG 1998, Abb. 2-4; VIRÁG 2000. Fig. 2, 1-2.29 KALICZ-MAKKAY 1972.

³⁰ VIRÁG 1998. 70-74; VIRÁG 2000. 390-391.

shape of the head and the lack of facial features and hair. Such figurines have been recovered in great numbers and should, therefore, be regarded as statistically representative.³⁷ Moreover, numerous clay heads were recovered within the same cultural context which, similarly to the specimens from Polgár under discussion here, had been perforated in a vertical direction.³⁸

Such heads were often connected to the torso of the clay figurine with a little stick, as is unambiguously shown by longitudinal holes that occur in a variety of shapes in the chest and neck of these figurines.³⁹ The aforementioned examples show that within the cultural region outlined above, the fragile neck of these anthropomorphic figurines was often reinforced by using little wooden sticks. This type of connection, however, made the conscious replacement of figure heads possible as well. This phenomenon does not simply represent a peculiar technical solution, a way of shaping the object. It must also have to do with the symbolic content of the objects. The similarities thus emerging in material culture seem to outline a broader, Polgár-Aszód-Moravia connection. Nevertheless, a special type of idol had already been recognized in the early phase of Neolithic research in Southeastern Europe. This stylistic category was then labeled as the "Thessalian type"⁴⁰ or "*balkanische kopflose Idole*".⁴¹ Recently, the assemblage of large clay figurines brought to light from neolithic buildings excavated at Parpa (Parác) contained a number of "busts". Vertical holes on the top of these body-shaped objects served as an attachment for some sort of a head, usually taking the form of animal skulls.⁴²

This list of examples, although far from complete, shows that a special anthropo- or perhaps zoomorphic type of representation existed during the Neolithic in Europe. In the case of these representations, having a mobile head had a special significance. In other words, the duality of the bodily states symbolized in this way was equally important in the events related to these figurines. This may also mean that such figurines had more than a single, static meaning. They may well have symbolized two states of existence that were separated in time as well. Figurines appearing in two distinct — headed and headless — forms delineated a certain time interval. Thus,

it may also be hypothesized that the series of activities related to this time interval were repeated according to a certain scenario.

On the other hand, the stylized form of both figurine heads from Polgár-Csőszhalom can be interpreted within the sphere of the Central European Lengyel Culture. Their significance within the external/internal contexts of the Polgár-Csőszhalom tell and its horizontal settlement may be best interpreted along these lines. In a symbolic sense, this phenomenon may be indicative of similar connections in the Upper Tisza Region, to those hypothesized by J. Petrasch between Künzing-Unternberg in Southeastern Bavaria and Moravia respectively⁴³, raising the possibility of "*Ideenimport*" directed towards the first of these two areas. In the case of Polgár-Csőszhalom, aside from the system of concentric ring fortifications and *de facto* Lengyel Culture pottery, the presence of Lengyel type stylistic features may be recognized among the anthropomorphic figurines as well. It may be stated, therefore, that the Lengyel Culture complex is also represented in an "ideological" sense at this settlement.

According to the detailed information reviewed in this paper, communal, sacral activities took place over the entire neolithic settlement of Polgár. That is, they were carried out on the tell, located within the concentric ditch system and in the proximity of houses in the adjacent external settlement alike. Lengyel and Tisza Culture type anthropomorphic figurines came to light side by side in all parts of the area divided by the circular ditches, as well as other traces of non-mundane activity. This means that the ditch was not simply an expression of territorial and cultural separation, since evidence of cultural symbiosis is abundant everywhere.

It is argued here that the two territorial units represent the domestic/wild — *domus/agrios* dichotomies as discussed by I. Hodder,⁴⁴ and seems to be manifested in the spatial distribution of animal remains.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the unit formed by houses in the external settlement, seems to define a social grouping in and of itself, possibly a set of families, within whose framework communal-sacral activities were organized. Meanwhile, the central area surrounded by the concentric set of circular ditches may have been a scene of events representing a higher level of integrity. Nevertheless, this area defined by the concentric ditch system cannot only be considered a large ritual space — sanctuary or sanctuary district — devoted exclusively to sacral activity, although this possibility has been raised Eszter Bánffy with regard to a broader European context.⁴⁶

³⁷ PODBORSKÝ 1983. 92 and Fig. 1, 1-3, 5-6; PODBORSKÝ 1985. Pl. 6, 2a-e Pl. 12, 1-7, Pl. 14, 13-14, Pl. 16, 1 etc.

³⁸ PODBORSKÝ 1985. Pl. 12, 4b, 5c, Pl. 15, 11b, Pl. 56, 3c, Pl. 58, 4b, Pl. 59, 8b, Pl. 66, 4c, Pl. 67, 3b, 5a.

³⁹ PODBORSKÝ 1985. Pl. 64, 1b, Pl. 103, 2a-d, Pl. 111, 1a-d, 3a-d, 4a-d, Pl. 112, 2a-d.

⁴⁰ WACE-THOMPSON 1912. 41, Fig. 25a-d, Fig. 28, g; DUMITRESCU 1941; 1960.

⁴¹ MAKKAY 1962.

⁴² LAZAROVICI 1998. 11-12, Kat. 3-5.

⁴³ PETRASCH 1994. 210-213.

⁴⁴ HODDER 1990. 94-99.

⁴⁵ SCHWARTZ 2002. 856. Fig. 12.

⁴⁶ BÁNFFY 1997. 71.

On the basis of these observations, it may be stated that the population of the Neolithic settlement at Polgár showed a certain degree of social stratification. Traces of a similar type of differentiation have also been observed by Zalai-Gaál during the socio-archaeological analysis of Lengyel Culture burials. He argued that this archaeological culture represented a segmented society.⁴⁷

It is possible that the area surrounded by the concentric ditches was not only a meeting point for the local inhabitants: it may also have been a place where the population of the wider region occasionally convened. Similar sites of regional significance have already been pinpointed by several authors⁴⁸ within

the context of the Lengyel Culture, with special regard to the possible function of the areas surrounded by circular ditches.

The joint occurrence of Lengyel and Tisza-Herpály type anthropomorphic figurines distributed over the entire area of the Polgár-Csőszhalom settlement also means that the ideological contents of these artifacts are culturally syncretic as well. This phenomenon lends support to the possibility that beyond the symbiosis of these two communities, already demonstrated on the level of material culture, more profound social and religious connections may also have been embodied by the neolithic population of this settlement.

⁴⁷ ZALAI-GAÁL 2002. 44, 53-55.

⁴⁸ PETRASCH 1990. 498-501, 506-516, 518.; TRINKA 1991.; KALICZ 1998. 60-61.

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A LENGYELI ÉS A TISZAI-HERPÁLYI KULTURÁLIS ÉRINTKEZÉS RÉGÉSZETI EMLÉKEI
POLGÁR-CSŐSZHALOM KÉSŐ NEOLITIKUS LELŐHELYÉN

(A rituális gyakorlat és a szakrális gondolkodás közép-európai, illetve balkáni eredetű elemeinek összefüggései a Felső-Tisza-vidéken)

Polgár-Csőszhalom lelőhelyén az 1957-es első próba-ásatás után, 1989-ben kezdődtek el azok a komplex régészeti kutatások, amelyeknek minőségileg új szakaszát jelentik az 1995 óta folyó, M3-as autópálya leletmentések keretében megvalósult nagy volumenű feltárások. Mindezek eredményeként, illetve a különböző interdiszciplináris vizsgálatok nyomán világossá vált, hogy a szakirodalomban régóta jól ismert, telltelepülésnek tartott részt egy közel 28 ha nagyságú egyrétegű település vesz körül, melyek közösen alkotnak egy egységes és egyidőben létező struktúrát.

Ezt az átfogó és korábban már általános régészeti-topográfiai érvekkel alátámasztott képet szeretnénk még árnyaltabbá tenni és újabb adatok közzétételével még jobban megalapozni. Ettől az elhatározástól vezényelve jelen közlésünkben azokat a régészeti jelenségeket, illetve emlékeket - főleg antropomorf ábrázolások töredékeit (1. kép: tell település - Svodín-i típusú antropomorf edény töredékei; 2. kép 1: horizontális település - tiszai típusú antropomorf ábrázolás; 2. kép 2: horizontális település - kökénydombi típusú antropomorf edény töredékei; 2. kép 3: tell település - kökénydombi típusú antropomorf edény töredékei; 3. kép: antropomorf ábrázolások töredékei - 1, 3-4: horizontális település; 3. kép 2, 5-7: tell település; 4. kép: antropomorf ábrázolások fejtöredékei - 1: tell település, 2-3: Aszód, 4: horizontális település) - tekintjük át Polgár-Csőszhalomról, amelyek egyrészt az egykori rituális cselekményekben játszottak szerepet, másrészt a Lengyel, illetve Tisza-Herpály eltérő típusú szakrális megjelenésformáit, illetve azok összefüggéseit reprezentálják.

Polgár-Csőszhalom lelőhelyen, a körárkokon belüli részen és a külső telepen egyaránt előkerültek olyan figurális emlékek, amelyek szakrális jelentősége feltételezhető. A figurális plasztikák eloszlásában lényeges különbség, vagy bizonyos tendenciózus koncentráció jelenleg nem mutatható ki a település egészén belül, azaz a két területi egység egyaránt színtere volt a nem hétköznapi tevékenységeknek.

A körárkokkal elválasztott két területi egység mind egyik részén egymás mellett, egymással keveredve kerültek elő a Lengyel és Tisza típusú antropomorf ábrázolások, illetve az illető nem hétköznapi tevékenységekre utaló nyomok. Másrészt a külső település házainak egysége önmagában határoz meg egy-egy szociális csoportot, azaz a családot, amelynek keretében a közösségi-szakrális cselekmények szerveződtek, ezzel szemben a körárkokkal határolt terület egy magasabb integrációs szinten megvalósult események színtere volt. Talán a körárkokkal körülvett tell részén nem is csupán a helyi település nagyobb közössége találkozott, de a szélesebb régió népességének is gyülekezőhelyül szolgálhatott.

A Lengyel, illetve a Tisza-Herpály típusú antropomorf plasztikák együttes előfordulása Polgár-Csőszhalom teljes területén azt is jelenti, hogy az általuk hordozott ideológiai tartalom összefonódása szintén feltételezhető. Mindez az anyagi kultúra szintjén bizonyított „szimbiózist” meghaladva, mélyebb szociális, vallástörténeti összefonódást támaszt alá a lelőhelyen egykor élt újkőkori népességgel kapcsolatban.

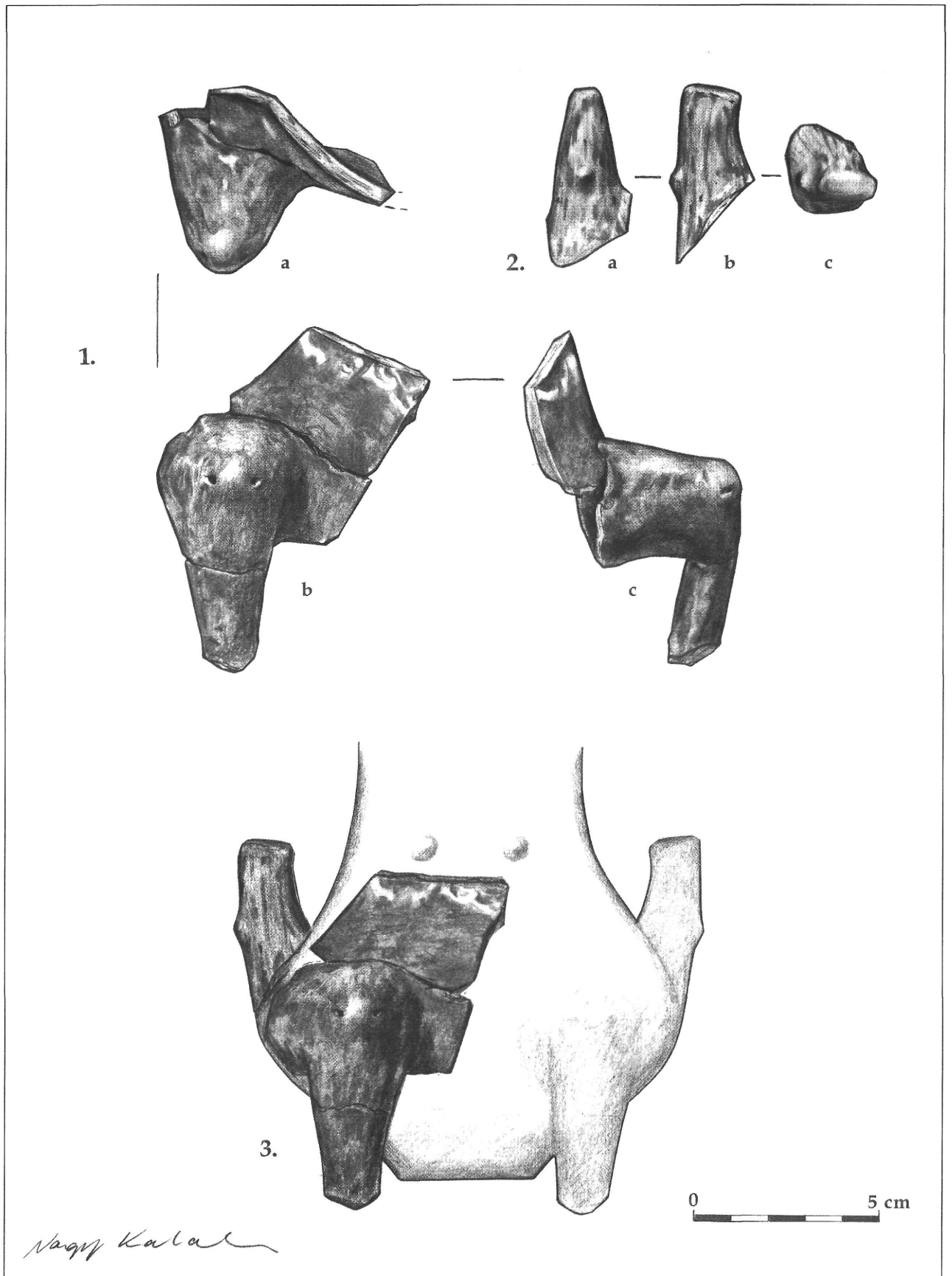


Fig. 1. 1a-c, 2a-c, 3: The Polgár-Csőszhalom tell site, anthropomorphic vessel fragments (Feature 888).

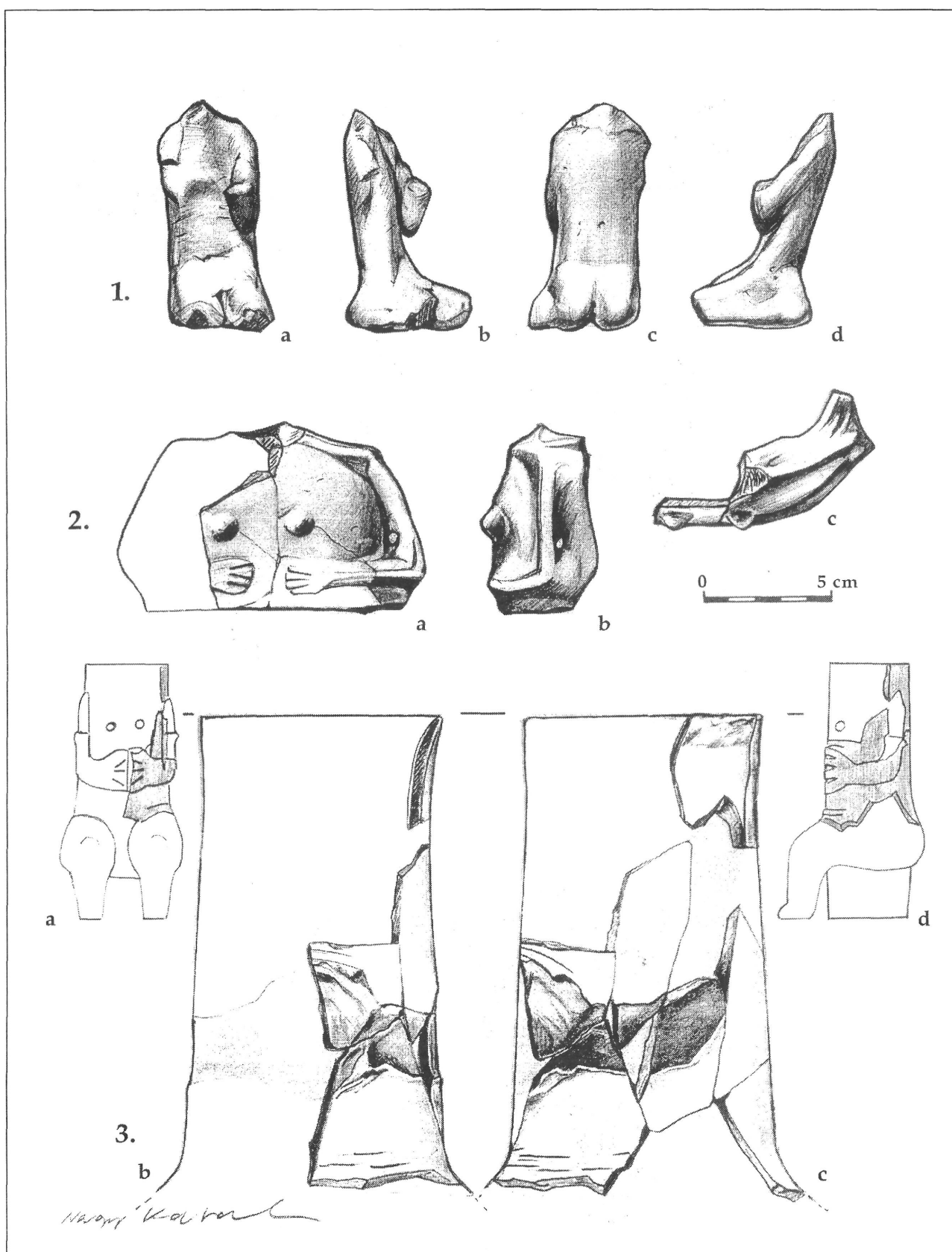


Fig. 2. 1a-d: The Polgár-Csőszhalom horizontal settlement, anthropomorphic figurine fragment (Feature 271).
 2a-c: The Polgár-Csőszhalom horizontal settlement, anthropomorphic vessel fragment (Feature 302).
 3a-d: The Polgár-Csőszhalom tell site, anthropomorphic vessel fragments (Feature 931).

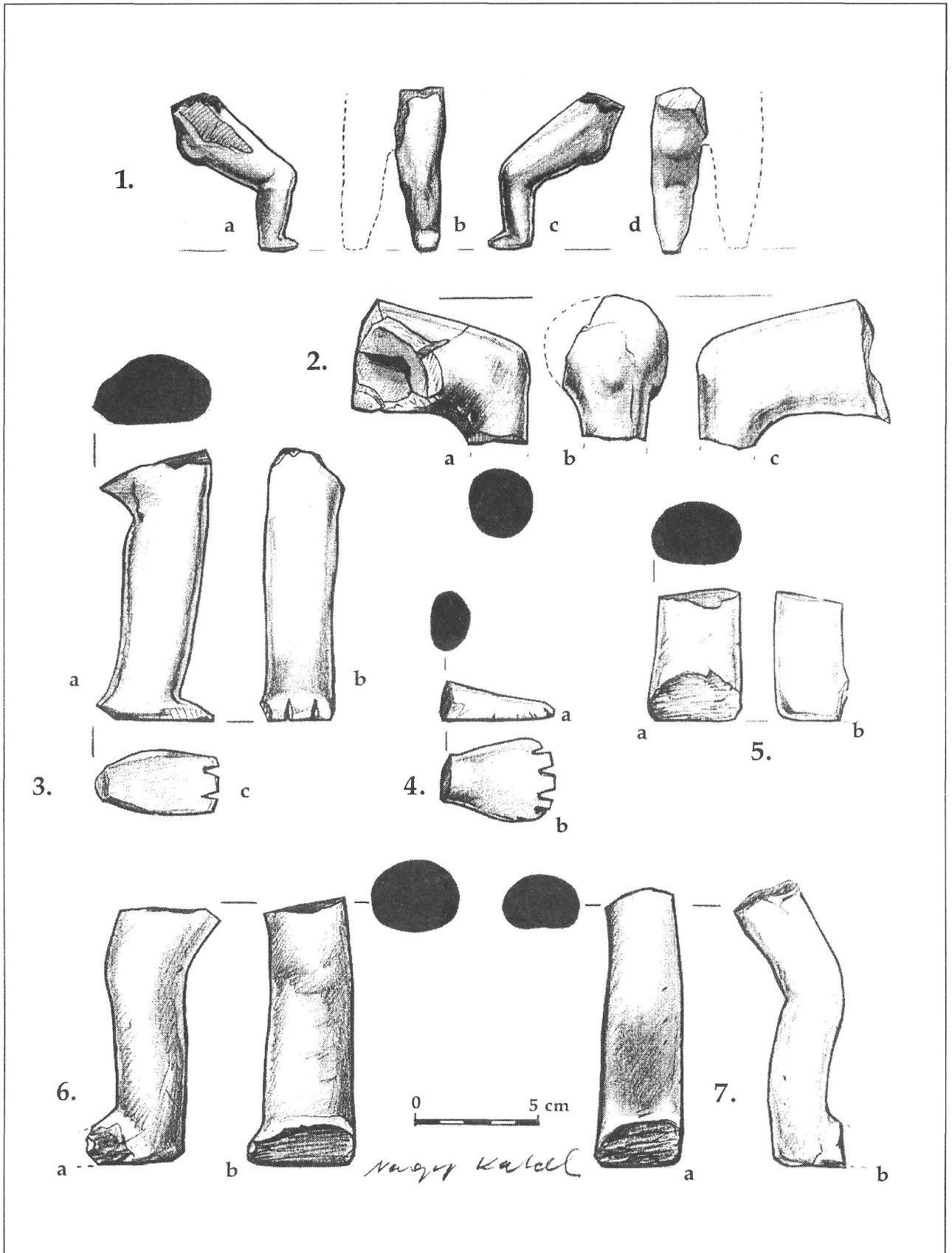


Fig. 3. 1a-c, 3a-c, 4a-b: The Polgár horizontal settlement, fragments of anthropomorphic representations (Features 242, 751).
2a-c, 5a-b, 6a-b, 7a-b: The Polgár-Csőszhalom tell site, fragments of anthropomorphic representations (Feature 271).

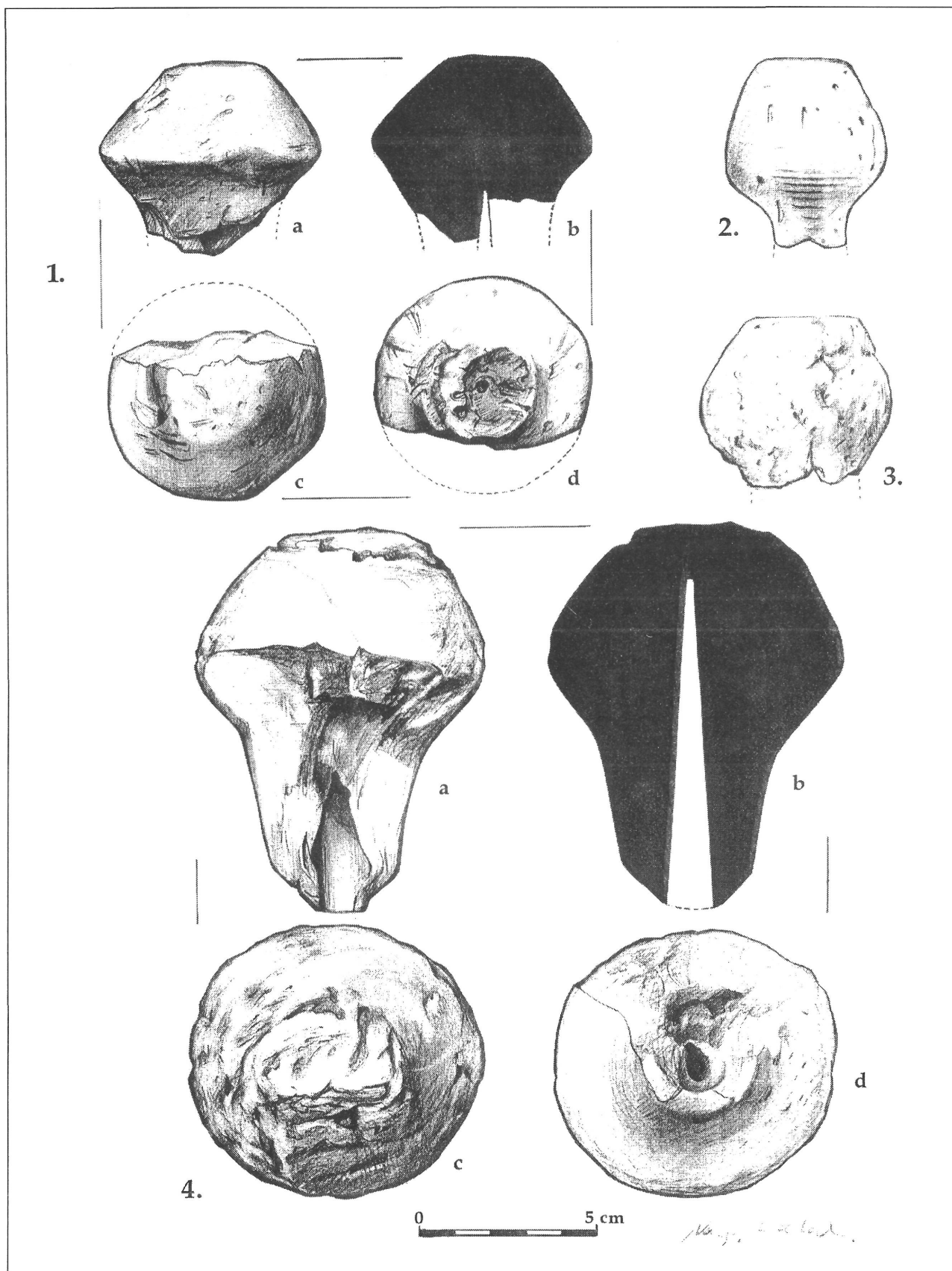


Fig. 4. Anthropomorphic figurine head fragments, 1a-d: Polgár-Csőszhalom tell site (Feature 247), 2-3: Aszód (after Kalicz 1985 and unpublished), 4a-d: Polgár horizontal settlement, (Feature 705).