DISSERTATIONES ARCHAEOLOGICAE

ex Instituto Archaeologico
Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae

DissArch

Ser. 3. No. 10. | 2022

Dissertationes Archaeologicae
ex Instituto Archaeologico
Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae

Ser. 3. No. 10.

Aviable online at http://ojs.elte.hu/dissarch
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ISSN 2064-4574 (online)

Publisher
László Borhy

Budapest 2023

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Special Ceramic Figurines from the Late Bronze Age Settlement of Baks-Temetőpart

Polett Kósa
Szent István Király Museum, Székesfehérvár, Hungary
Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary
kosa.polett@gmail.com

Received 10 November 2022 | Accepted 3 February 2023 | Published 31 March 2023

Abstract: A planned excavation was conducted at the Late Bronze Age settlement of Baks-Temetőpart (Csongrád–Csanád County, Hungary) in 2007 by Gábor V. Szabó with archaeologists and students of the Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Archaeological Sciences (Budapest). A previously known but unexcavated, rather large, and intensive settlement was researched during the short campaign. More than 4,000 ceramic objects were discovered in different pits, with 71 special ceramic objects among them. This article evaluates these anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, wagon- and wheel models, sun discs, and miniature vessels that can give us some insight into the beliefs and ways of artistic expression of the classical Gáva pottery style community of Baks-Temetőpart.

Keywords: Late Bronze Age (Ha A2–Ha B1), Carpathian Basin, Gáva culture, special ceramic figurines

Introduction

Baks-Temetőpart (Fig. 1) is one of the largest Late Bronze Age sites of the classical Gáva period (Ha A2–B1). It is also known as a mega-settlement because of its extent and the abundance of the find material.[1] The site is alone on the right bank of the River Tisza, as all Gáva settlements are on the left side. The location was perhaps chosen for strategic reasons, as from this plateau, the residents could have better control of any routes on or next to the river.[2]

After several field walking seasons and previous research,[3] a short planned excavation was carried out on the site in 2007, yielding 82 features, 8 postholes, 3,851 pottery fragments of various sizes,[4] 3 hoards, and 1,664 bronze items.[5]

The fieldwalking and metal detector survey also brought to light a total of 65 special ceramic objects or figurines in 18 different pits and six more as stray finds. Most pits only contained a single fragmentary piece except for two that comprised a small figurine assemblage (3–5 pcs) and four that included 9–18 objects, considered a large amount (Fig. 2).

1 Kósa 2020.
2 V. Szabó 2011, 91; V. Szabó 2017, 250; Kósa 2020, 6, 40.
3 Farkas 1995; V. Szabó 1996.
4 Kósa 2020, 14.
5 V. Szabó 2011, 97.

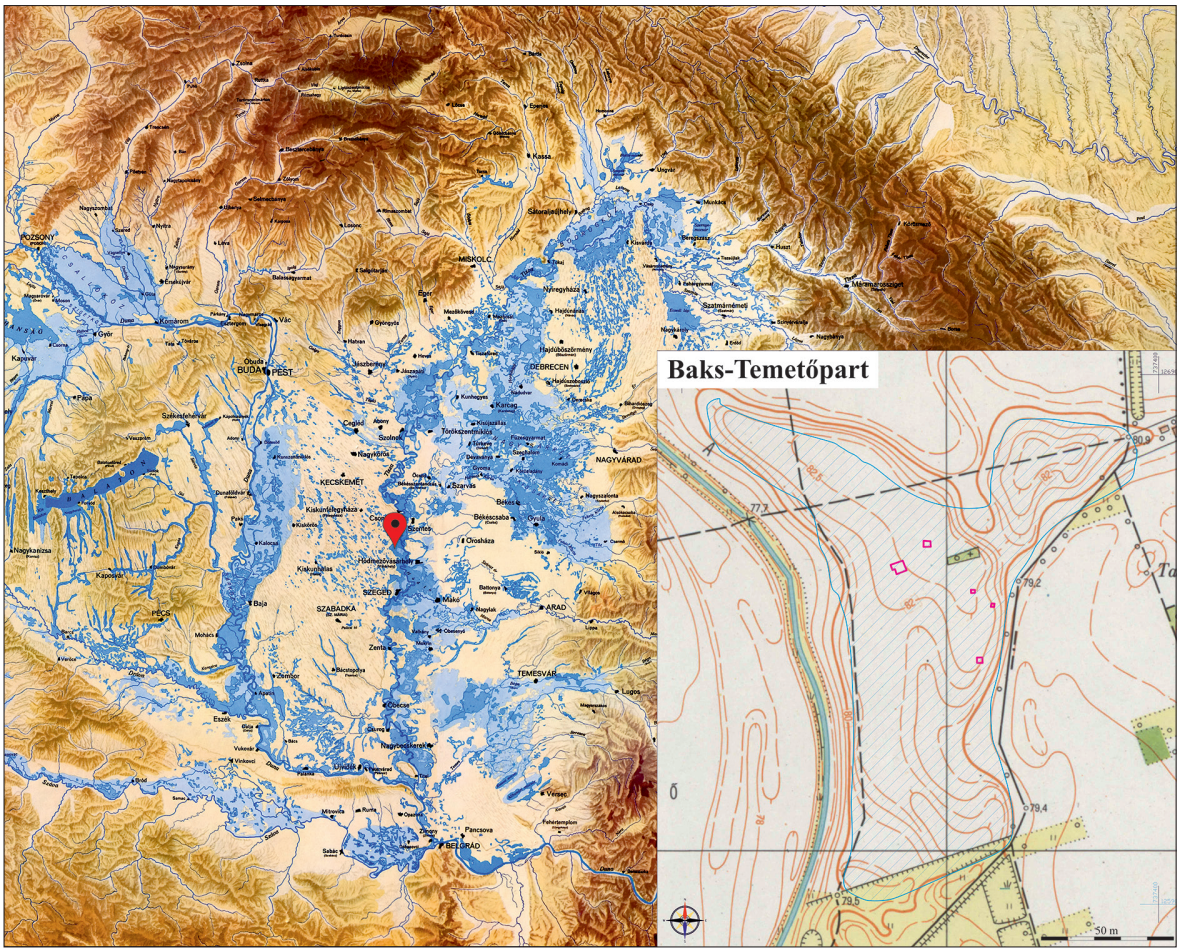


Fig. 1. Baks-Temetőpart in the Carpathian Basin and the extent of the site

The types and forms of the figurines and models are rather diverse. Most special ceramic objects (almost 50 pieces) are zoomorphic figurines (Figs 18–21); their number is exceptionally high in the record. The second largest group contains wheel models (Fig. 23.1–4), with eight objects representing this group. Altogether four miniature vessels were found in pits (Fig. 21.3–5), while other object types have only one or two examples in the record of the site. Two anthropomorphic figurines (Fig. 22.4–5), two sun discs (Fig. 21.1–2), two ceramic spoons (Fig. 22.2–3), a ceramic hand figurine (Fig. 21.8), and a fragmented carriage model (Fig. 22.6) were recovered from the pits, while another ceramic spoon (Fig. 22.1), a miniature vessel (Fig. 21.6), a wheel model (Fig. 23.5) and three animal figurines (Fig. 20.1414,1418) were found during fieldwalking.

The technological characteristics of the small ceramic artefacts described above are also diverse. It is hard to identify the hand of any potter, but the objects feature diverse characteristics and different levels of workmanship. Details of fingerprints are also visible on some of them, but these are relatively small and way too blurred for any reconstruction or to draw any conclusions.[6]

At the end of this paper, an attempt to reconstruct the community's beliefs or ways of artistic expression was made; however, these are only assumptions. Whether adults or children made these objects is currently debated. Without written sources, it is also impossible to say what people of the time could think about these models; were they even important, carrying a symbolic meaning in their eyes, or simply toys?

6 Cseplák 2005.

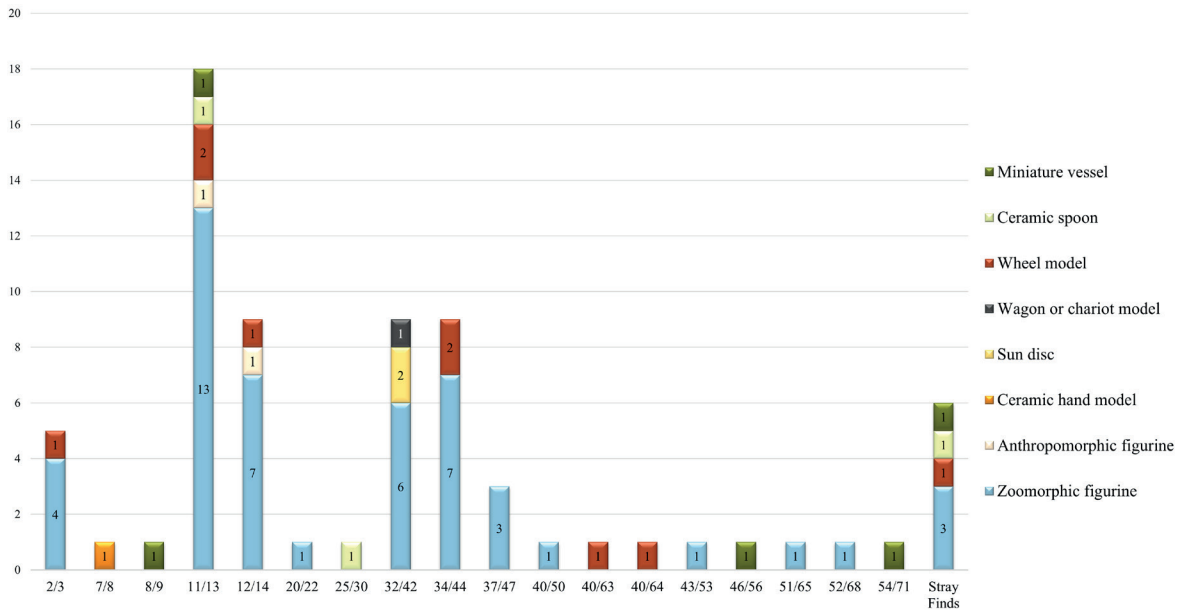


Fig. 2. Distribution of special ceramic figurine and model types

Pits

As previously mentioned, most pits contained only a single, fragmentary ceramic model or figurine (Fig. 2). Five features contained fragments of zoomorphic figurines (canine: O20/S22 – Fig. 19.1371; pig: O40/S50; horses: O43/S53 – Fig. 20.1405, O51/S65 – Fig. 20.1408, and O52/S68 – Fig. 20.1410). Two of them contained a wheel model each (O40/S63; O40/S64 – Fig. 23.4), while the fragments of some miniature vessels were found in three pits (O8/S9 – Fig. 21.7; O46/S56 – Fig. 21.5; O54/S71 – Fig. 21.3). Pit O7/S8 included the only hand figurine (Fig. 21.8), and pit O25/S30 a single but complete spouted spoon (Fig. 22.3).

Two pits, O2/S3 and O37/S47, contained somewhat more objects. The former feature, in Trench 2, comprised four zoomorphic figurines (Fig. 18.1331–1332) and a wheel model (Fig. 23.1), while the latter, in Trench 3, had three animal figurines in its infill (Fig. 19.1298–1400). Pit O2/S3 was beehive-shaped, with two thick infill layers in its upper part and a thin charcoal layer spreasd on the bottom. We do not know which layer exactly contained the figurines, but as the layers are convex, the pit must have been filled up intentionally.[7]

The context of pit O37/S47 is much more complex. Based on its infill layers, it is closely similar to pits O37/S69, O31/S40, O31/S41, and O32/S42. They share a feature, a quite thick daub layer on top of their infill, which perhaps means that all of them were somehow connected to the burning down of a house or part of a building.[8] Except for pit O32/S42, these pits did not contain any special ceramic object, which is not surprising as all of them are relatively shallow.

Based on the large number of ceramic figurines it contained, pit O32/S42 can also be assigned to the special pit cluster outlined above, including pits O11/S13 and O12/S14 in Trench 1 and pit O34/S44 in Trench 3. These pits form a unit; they lay quite close to each other within the trenches, their mouth is round, and they are all beehive-shaped, with only three or, in one case, four infill layers

7 Aerts 2016, 25–26.

8 Kósa 2020, 13.

(O11/S13: 75 cm; O12/S14: 80 cm; O32/S42: 150 cm; O34/S44: 120 cm). Three pits have convex layers, perhaps indicating intentional fill-up. Three contained nine special ceramic objects, while pit O11/S13 contained eighteen pieces. It must be noted that pit O32/S42 was intersected by a modern pipeline and thus could not be fully excavated; therefore, it may have contained even more figurines.

Special pits

As described above, most pits contained only one or just a few special ceramic objects, while four can be highlighted as ones with possibly some special or ritual meaning in the site, not simply because of their content but also due to their relative position.

Pits O11/S13 and O12/S14 in Trench 1 lay just a few centimetres apart; in fact, their beehive-shaped bellies almost intersected (Fig. 3). Besides, a deep posthole (O48/S58A) can also be classified into this particular feature group: it was much deeper than any other posthole on the site and contained an almost complete burnished cup with incised star-shaped decoration (type D14[9]) and the claw of a bird of prey.[10] The triangle of the three features most likely had some emphasized meaning in the settlement, while the posthole could have been a *ritual posthole deposition*.[11] Assuming that this offering belonged to a house (either as a founding or a final offering), the two pits could also have some connection with the same post-framed building.

Based on their capacity, the pits can be classified as medium-sized storage facilities compared to the other pits on the site (Fig. 4). Their mouth is relatively wide, and the beehive-shaped body is shallower than the other two pits'. Both have three infill layers of more or less equal thickness but different in shape. In pit O11/S13 (Fig. 5), the bottom layer is concave, perhaps indicating natural filling up, while the other, relatively convex infill layers are probably the result of intentional actions. The best example is the bottom layer of pit O12/S14 (Fig. 5). The thickness of the three layers in both pits seems similar. More thin layers would indicate regular maintenance (such as seasonal cleaning events),[12] while complete vessels in the layers could indicate some ritual cleaning activity.[13] Since these layers differ, three major cleaning or landscaping activities could have occurred around the house.

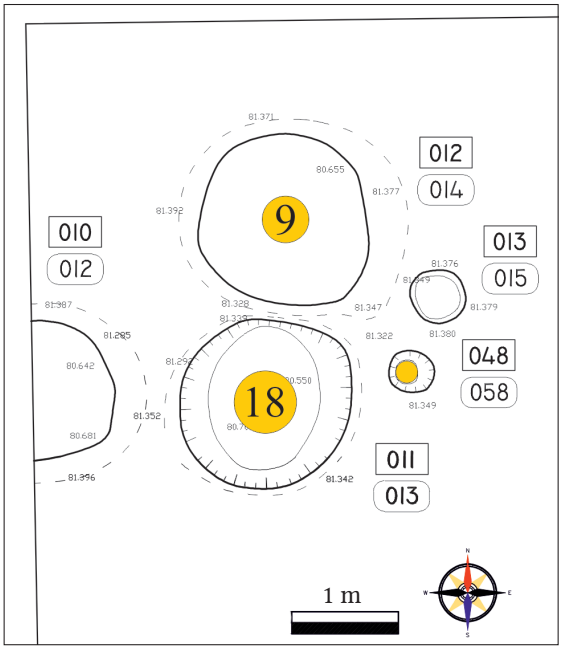


Fig. 3. Special pits O11/S13 and O12/S14 next to posthole O48/S58A in Trench 1

Not only the pits but the find assemblages found in them are similar, comprising mostly zoomorphic figurines. Interestingly, these two pits also contained the two anthropomorphic figurines from the site, together with some ceramic wheel models. Furthermore, pit O11/S13 also yielded a

9 Kósa 2020, 27, Fig. 43,13.

10 Biller 2018, 3: the claw of a white-tailed eagle *(Haliaeetus albicilla)*.

11 Trebsche 2008, 67–69, Abb. 2; Trebsche 2014; Trebsche 2017, 181–182; Váczi 2016, 190.

12 Schiffer 1996, 65–66.

13 Schiffer 1996, 65.

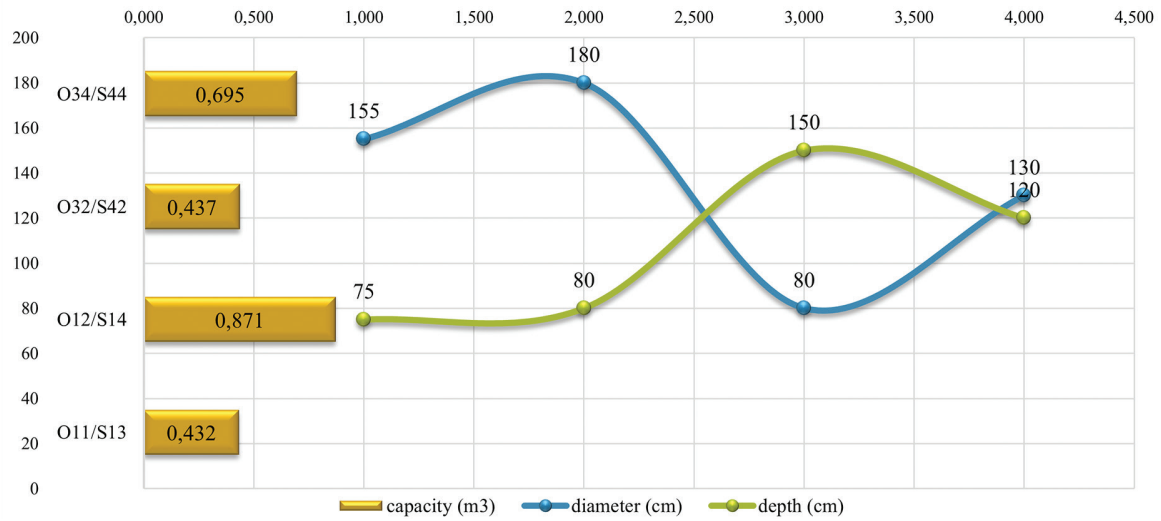


Fig. 4. Diameter (blue line), depth (green line) and capacity (yellow columns) of the special pits

ceramic spoon and a miniature vessel. As for the other finds (Fig. 6), these pits did not comprise much pottery (less than fifty pieces each) or animal bones, and only pit O12/S14 had a single bone tool in its infill. Loom weights and spindle whorls are completely missing from them, indicating that these pits were not primarily intended for storing everyday waste.

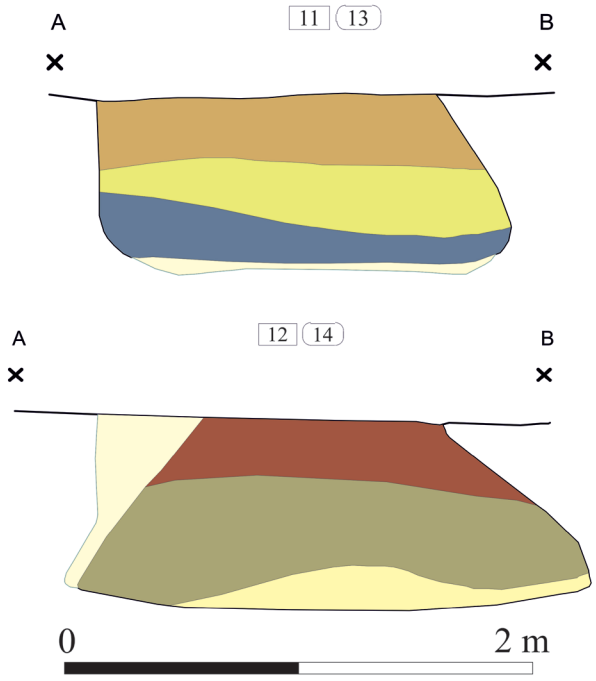
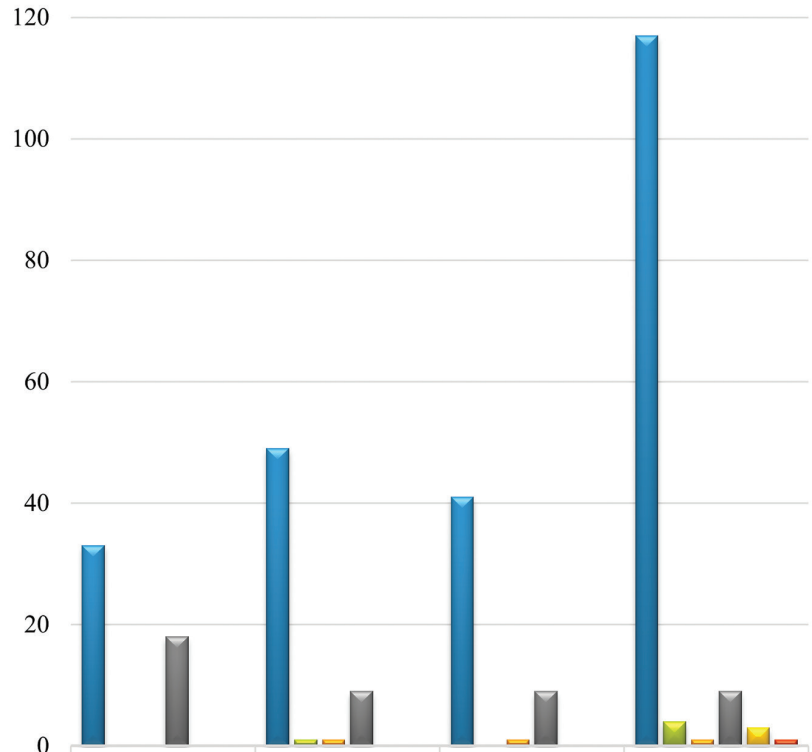


Fig. 5. Convex and concave infill layers of pit O11/S13 and O12/S14

Pits O32/S42 and O34/S44 were discovered in the middle of Trench 3 (Fig. 7). They were also quite close to each other but not as close as the previous ones. These pits are isolated from similar features as the neighbouring pits, and the two smaller ones between them did not include any special ceramic objects; only pit complexes further away contained a piece occasionally. Unfortunately, it was not possible to unearth pit O32/S42 entirely as a modern gas pipeline intersected it.

Like the previous pair, both pits were of medium capacity (Fig. 4); however, unlike them, pit O32/S42 was deeper, with a narrower mouth (Fig. 8). They were beehive-shaped, and pit O34/S44 also had three infill layers, while pit O32/S42 had a fourth one, full of daub, on the top. It is difficult to interpret the layers of this pit, but they seem to be rather concave. In contrast, pit O34/S44 had well-definable convex layers (Fig. 8), which indicates deliberate filling up. All layers were relatively thick, perhaps reflecting major maintenance or landscaping events instead of regular or seasonal cleaning.

Both pits contained nine special ceramic objects. Most were zoomorphic figurines, but pit O32/S42 also comprised two ceramic sun discs and the only carriage model found on the site. Pit O34/S44 contained two more ceramic wheel models. The rest of the finds from the pits are very different



	O11/S13	O12/S14	O32/S42	O34/S44
ceramic pieces	33	49	41	117
partial or complete animal skeletons	0	1	0	4
bone tools	0	1	1	1
special clay objects	18	9	9	9
loom weights	0	0	0	3
spindle whorls	0	0	0	1

Fig. 6. Other finds in the special pits

(Fig. 6): while pit O32/S42 contained few pottery fragments, pit O34/S44 had more than twice that amount. They also contained bone tools and pit O34/S44, three loom weights, a spindle whorl, and a rather large amount of animal bones, including the partial skeleton of a cattle and three almost complete fish skeletons. Based on these finds, pit O34/S44 seems to have been used in everyday context rather than being established exclusively for ritual purposes.

Special ceramic objects

Zoomorphic figurines

A total of 48 complete or fragmented zoomorphic figurines were collected during the excavation and the field surveys (Figs 18–21). In most cases, the different animal species could be identified based on body shape or other details like mane, bristle, or breasts. Altogether 24 horse representations, 10 pigs or wild boars, a sheep, and a dog or other canine appear amongst the small artefacts, while in 12 cases only the torsos persisted, indicating that the figurines depict animals (Fig. 9). Sometimes even the sex of the animal could be determined (Fig. 10), based on the emphasized male genitals or pinched breasts on the belly. Nine figurines (seven horses and two pigs) depict males, and three females (all pigs).

As for the technical details of their production, several pieces were made of well-processed clay tempered with fine grog and sand, while the tempering of some is quite coarse, made with small grain pieces that made the inner structure uneven and resulted in breakage.

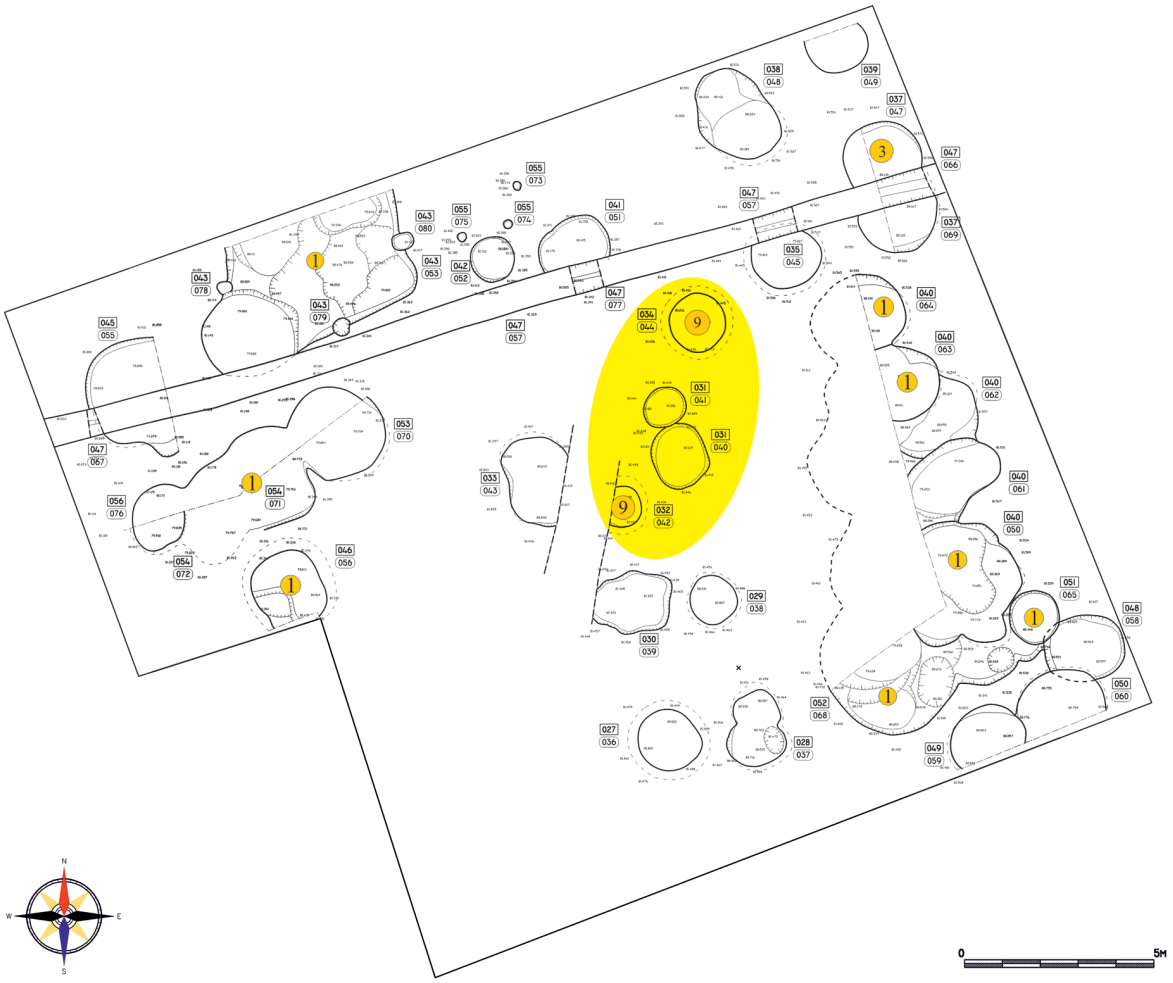


Fig. 7. Pits O32/S42 and O34/S44 in the centre of Trench 3

Due to their different firing, the artefacts feature several colours. Most of them were light or darker grey, while some were black or light brown. In some cases, marks of secondary burning can also be detected; these include soot patches and surfaces that are fully or in flecks brick red or lighter than the original.

Similar small ceramic figurines being also known from previous periods of the Bronze Age, such finds are not exclusive to the Gáva culture. They were already quite common during the Piliny culture in the Br C period.[14] They are common finds in the settlements of both the Piliny and Kyjatice cultures. Hardly any example has been published from the Br D–Ha A1 period of the southern part of the Great Hungarian Plain[15] but several pieces are known from classical Gáva sites in the area[16] as well as the neighbouring

14 E.g., Makkay 1959, 21. t. 1,7,9,13,16–20,22–24 (Piliny); Furmánek 1977, Taf. 25,17,20 (Oždany); Kemenczei 1984, Taf. 38,3–6 (Piliny), etc.

15 E.g., Köröm-Kápolna-domb (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County): B. Hellebrandt 2016, 57. kép 1–6.

16 E.g., Poroszló-Aponhát (Patay 1976, Abb. 3,7–9; Kemenczei 1984, Taf. 127,12); Doboz-Faluhely (V. Szabó 2002, 151. kép 10, 158. kép 7); Lechinţa de Mureş (Horedt 1963, Abb. 2,1–11, Abb. 6,1–6); Reci (Székely 1966, Pl. 7,6); Teleac (Vasiliev et al. 1991, Fig. 27,1–18, Fig. 28,2–8); Grăniceşti (László 1994, 266–269, Fig. 46–49); Sotin (Ilkić 2006, T. 1,1–6, T. 2,1–8, T. 3,1–10, T. 4,1–2, T. 5,1–5, 7–8); Mociar (Rezi – Nagy 2009, Fig. 22,138–140); Burkovák u Nemějic (Chytráček et al. 2009, Obr. 5,1–5 [Ha C–Ha D]); Nagygalambfalva-Várfele (Nagy – Körösfői 2009, 1. tábla 2; Nagy – Körösfői 2010, Fig. 1,2); Stupini and Visuia (Marinescu 2012, Pl. 1,2–3).

lands in the east and south.[17] Their distribution area mainly covers the Carpathian Basin and the lands up to the forest-steppe zone in the east; such figurines were popular throughout the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.[18] Similarly to Baks, horse and pig figurines were the most widespread; besides cattle,[19] goat and sheep representations can also be found in the related record.[20]

Despite the abundance of theories about why these figurines were created, currently, there is no unanimously accepted hypothesis. The low-quality workmanship of some artefacts raised the possibility that children or inexperienced potters made them as practice pieces or toys. Their being distributed over a large area raised another theory, namely that these pieces may be linked to the symbolic or ritual world[21] and were used to improve the yield of the land or the fertility of animals, or perhaps as amulets.[22]

Several researchers tried to classify them based on shape or decoration. Based on the evaluation of a comprehensive collection of related findings, Dániel Gróh differentiated between an eastern Gáva type and a western Urnfield or Hallstatt type, determining the Danube as the separating line between the two.[23] The finds from Baks, however, seem to contradict his division, as some fragments are quite similar to pieces of the "western" type.[24]

Anthropomorphic figurines

Two objects that can be interpreted as anthropomorphic figures were found during the excavation. The one from pit O11/S13 (Fig. 22.5) was relatively easy to identify, although only his torso remained intact. Its material was tempered with crushed pottery and sand; its entire surface is uneven, indicating moderate quality workmanship. As the whole torso is grey, the possibility of secondary burning can be ruled out. Male genitals are clearly marked on the front side of the body, while a pair of elongated vertical pinched ribs on the back perhaps depicts the bottom. It was broken at the most fragile points, the shoulders, and the thigh line; thus, its fractures may be taphonomic.

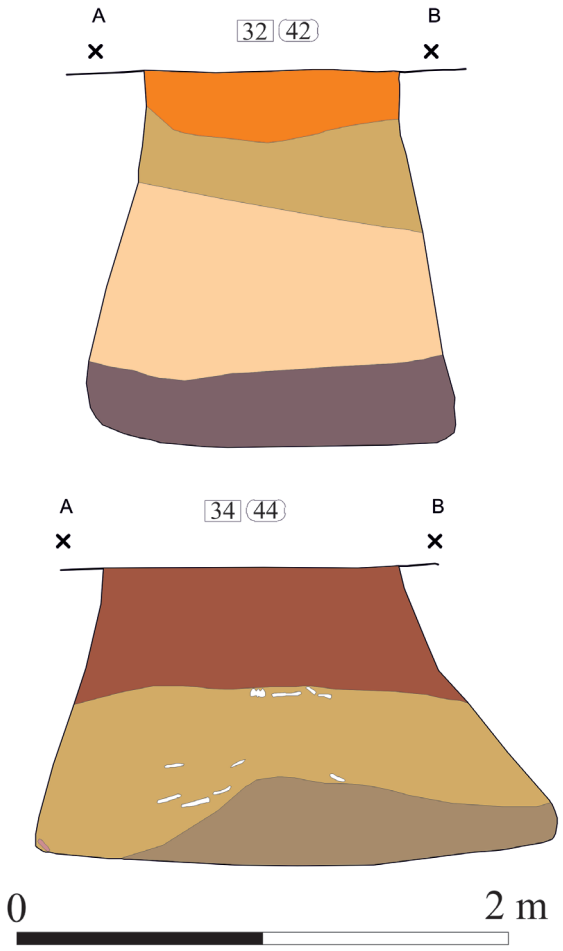


Fig. 8. Convex and concave infill layers of pit O32/S42 and O34/S44

17 Examples from the southern area: Remetea Mare (Gumă 1993, Pl. 35,3).

18 Metzner-Nebelsick 1998, 397, Abb. 27.

19 Bull figurine from Şimleu Silvaniei-Observator (Sana – Bejinariu 2011, Pl. 1,1).

20 For sheep figurines, see, e.g., Koós 2011, 1. kép 2–3.

21 Bell 1997; Verhoeven 2011, 116–121.

22 Berecki 2013, 317.

23 Gróh 2009, 30.

24 Koós 2011, 158; V. Szabó 2011, 11. kép 1–2.

The other figurine is much more schematic (Fig. 22.4). It is smaller and has a cylindrical body with three bulges. The uppermost protrusion obviously symbolises the head, the one in the middle represents the hips, and the lower one the legs. Apart from the three thick zones, it was not provided with any human features or gender marks. It was made of clay tempered mainly with sand, and its surface is much more even than that of the previous piece. It was certainly smoothened and may have also been burnished, although that had completely worn off by now. It is black with no traces of secondary burning. It was found in pit O12/S14, immediately next to the pit of the previous figurine. Also, the figurine's bottom part was pierced through, probably to fasten it to some other object using a thin stick or a tool.

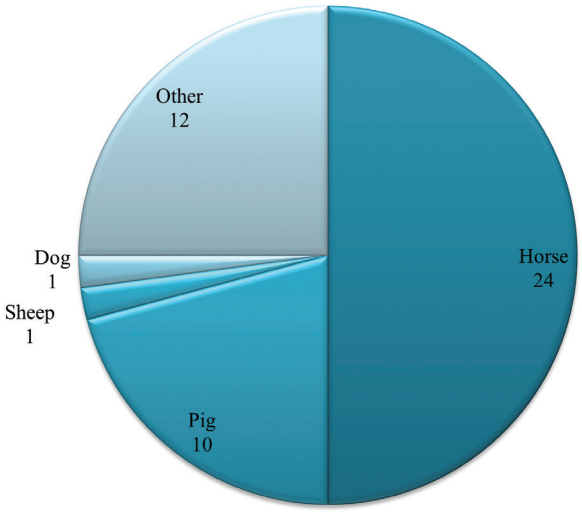


Fig. 9. Quantitative distribution of depicted animal species

Ceramic anthropomorphic figurines have been created since the earliest Neolithic; however, human depictions were less typical in the Bronze Age, whereas zoomorphic figurines were much more common. The two examples found in Baks differ from the few known—mainly cylindrical or flat—Late Bronze Age anthropomorphic figurines, the most well-known variant being the flat "violin-shaped" idols.[25] The piece from pit O12/S14 may be classified as a cylindrical type, although its protrusions are unique. No similar specimens are known either from coeval or earlier sites. Since this object's tempering, firing, and finish (burnishing) are akin to the vessels from the site, it may be contemporaneous with them.

The other figurine fragment is rather different from the local ceramic spectrum, made of similar material but being less elaborate. The workmanship quality resembles the figurines of the Babadag culture[26] the statuettes of which usually do not feature body parts or gender marks. Currently, this figurine from Baks has no coeval or earlier analogies; consequently, it is likely a random or unique piece.

Oliver Dietrich studied the reason behind producing these figurines in his research on Middle Bronze Age idols. He proposed two possibilities: the figurines could have been either toy for children or objects with some cultic function.[27] Based on their workmanship quality, the more elaborate but also more schematic black figurine was perhaps a cult object, while the less finely crafted may have been a toy. But why would an object designed for children include such a conspicuous gender mark?[28] Was it made for educational purposes? Their exact functions may never be determined;

25 Idols with a similar shape appear in most Br D–Ha A1 and Ha A2–Ha B1 sites: Biharkeresztes-Láncos-major (V. Szabó 2002, 142. kép 9); Teleac (Vasiliev et al. 1991, Fig. 28,12–14,17; Boroffka 1994, Abb. 1,1); Grăniceşti (László 1994, Fig. 13,2); Alba Iulia (Lascu 2006, Fig. 2,1–5); Târgu Mureş (Berecki 2013, Fig. 1); Şimleu Silvaniei-Observator (Sana – Bejinariu 2011, Pl. 2,1–4).

26 Younger types usually come with a rather simple design, also a characteristic of the piece from Baks. However, the time difference between the two findings renders any direct connection unlikely. Moreover, it is difficult to compare them as the finding from Baks is only a torso fragment, not suitable for an accurate reconstruction (Jugănaru 2003, Fig. 5,1–2).

27 Dietrich 2011, Abb. 7.

28 On the other hand, prehistoric societies probably had a completely different understanding of sexuality. Depicting genitals may come quite naturally to them.

it is certain, however, that both anthropomorphic figurines were discovered in the pits that contained the largest number of special ceramic objects (9 and 18, respectively). Yet, it must be noted, that if an object serves some ritual purpose, its look, colour, workmanship quality, and, in the case of figurines, sex or gender matter a lot.[29] Ritual figurines could have been selected in two ways: from an existing inventory based on pre-set criteria or produced particularly for the ritual.[30]

Ceramic hand model

A single, fragmentary but reconstructable piece found in pit O7/S8 represents a hand (Fig. 21.8). Four fingers can be observed on one side, while both ends of its longitudinal part broke off. It was made of clay tempered with fine grog (much finer than that of the sun discs) and had a nicely smoothened surface. Its entire surface was intended to be grey, but the yellow marks on the top of the fingers perhaps suggest secondary burning[31] or simply that it was poorly fired.

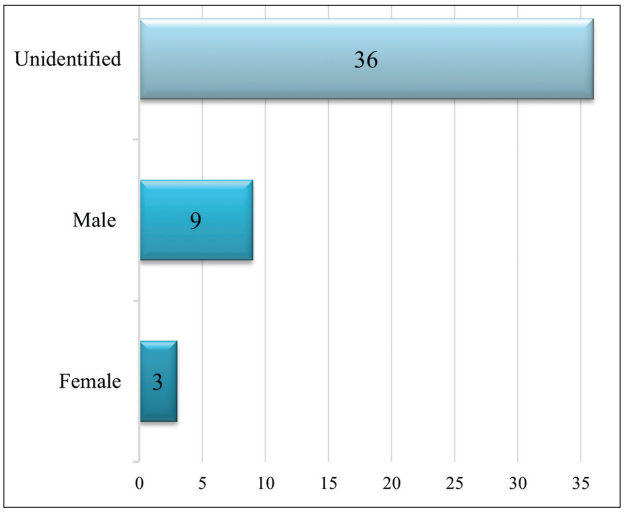


Fig. 10. Biological sex of animals depicted on zoomorphic figurines

The interpretation of such ceramic objects is rather difficult. Gábor V. Szabó described them as "whisk symbols,"[32] while George G. Marinescu and Gábor Ilon referred to them as little hands or feet.[33] Similar objects were found in Poroszló,[34] Prügy,[35] Teleac,[36] and Stupini.[37] Their design varies between almost realistic and highly simplified. Sometimes the five fingers are more emphasized and separate, while in other cases, only a single boss protrudes from the middle of a long ceramic object. Carola Metzner-Nebelsick conducted a thorough analysis of small votive objects and determined the spatial and chronological distribution of the type.[38] In her opinion, such hand representations could have been amulets in burials and objects marking cultic areas in settlements.[39]

We also know of life-size hand representations: two fragmented ceramic pieces were found in Vlaha-Pad (Cluj County, Romania). These are pretty unique, not just because of their size and rarity but

29 Levy 1982, 19. It also holds for animal sacrifices. The look, age, special features, and sex of the animal were all considered when selecting an animal for being offered (Ekroth 2014, 330–337).

30 Levy 1982, 23.

31 Gucsi – Szabó 2018, 229.

32 V. Szabó 2002, 51. Based on Metzner-Nebelsick 1997: *Quirlsymbole.*

33 Marinescu 2012, 24; Ilon 2016, 169.

34 Poroszló-Aponhát: Patay 1976, Abb. 4,8–9; Kemenczei 1984, Taf. 128,7; V. Szabó 2002, 213. kép 10–11.

35 Kemenczei 1984, Taf. 157,20.

36 Vasiliev et al. 1991, Fig. 25,5–7.

37 Marinescu 2012, Pl. 2,1–3, Pl. 3,2.

38 According to her, these symbols were equally known in the western and eastern halves of the Carpathian Basin. While they occur in burials and settlements in Transdanubia, east of it, such findings are only known from settlement context on sites from the Ha A to the Ha C period (Metzner-Nebelsick 1997, 586–588, Abb. 6).

39 Metzner-Nebelsick 1997, 596–597; V. Szabó 2002, 51; Ilon 2016, 169.

also because they were found in a pair, along with a bronze dagger blade and a piece of bronze wire.[40] Another unique life-size hand representation, but in bronze, was found in a burial in Prêles (Switzerland).[41] It was covered with a decorated gold plate around the wrist, perhaps accentuating the ritual meaning. These exceptional objects can definitely be connected to social representation or the ritual sphere,[42] with the miniature object of the type, perhaps representing a version available to people other than the most affluent.

Sun discs

Only a complete (Fig. 21.1) and a fragmentary (Fig. 21.2) sun disc were found in Baks. The intact one features two holes in the middle, perhaps for fastening it to some fabric or leather,[43] while medium coarse ground pottery and sand are visible in the profile of the other. The surfaces of the two discs are somewhat uneven and not smoothened. They were originally dark grey or almost black but, probably as a result of secondary burning,[44] their surfaces are flecked with yellowish-red spots. The rays of the two pieces are similarly dense: originally, the almost intact piece had 15, and a similar amount can be estimated for the other. The two were found in the same pit (O32/S42), while no fragments that can be interpreted as sun discs are known from other pits on the site.

Only a few analogies to these finds are known from the Gáva culture,[45] but the type is much more widespread in the Urnfield culture,[46] although in a somewhat different form, thus only representing a loose analogy to the pieces from Baks. Unlike the flat discs from Baks, Urnfield-culture sun discs are concave in the middle[47] and, therefore, can be interpreted as a different symbol. In some cases, a ceramic extension is also attached to the disc, also suggesting a different function. These objects can most likely be interpreted as amulets[48] with a presumed connection to the sun or stars. In the HaA2–B1 period, sun representations were quite common but mostly appeared on bronze objects, such as the surface of *situlae* and the pommels of metal-hilted swords. Since these are prestige items, the sun motif can be interpreted as an emphasized ritual or perhaps a mythological element. Conclusively, the small ceramic sun discs could have been the "cheaper" versions of the prestige goods. Sun disc models remained in use throughout the period and were produced even in the Ha C2–D2 period.

Wagon or chariot model

Only a single, heavily fragmented piece could be identified as a wagon or chariot model (Fig. 22.6). Since there is no indication of whether it originally had two or four wheels, it is not possible to tell

40 Savu – Gogâltan 2015, 171, Hand 1 (Fig. 1) and Hand 2 (Fig. 2). These ceramic hands, however, can be dated to the Br D–HaA1 period.

41 Schaer et al. 2019, Abb. 2–3. That piece is dated to the Middle Bronze Age (15th–14th century BC).

42 It was also suggested that hands are universal symbols, protectors against *the evil eye* (Goldhahn 2010, 97).

43 It could be sewn on clothing or hung around the neck; it cannot be decided, as no use-wear marks can be observed around or in the holes.

44 Probably superficially burnt pieces (Gucsi – Szabó 2018, 229).

45 E.g., Doboz-Faluhely (V. Szabó 2002, 158. kép 8).

46 E.g., the cemetery at Budapest-Békásmegyer (Kalicz-Schreiber et al. 2010, Taf. 10,2 – extended version [Grave 14]; Nagy 1979, 45. ábra l–j kép).

47 E.g., Kalicz-Schreiber et al. 2010, Taf. 9,1–3,5–7.

48 Metzner-Nebelsick 1997, 595–597; V. Szabó 2002, 51.

if it was a chariot (Fig. 11) or—which is more likely—a wagon (Fig. 12). The small fragment is 5.8×5 cm, not entirely flat but slightly bent in the middle. Two of its remaining edges were curved upward. An impressed line runs on its bottom along the main axis, and its middle is pierced through perpendicular to that. The hole may be that of the axle connecting the wheels to the model on the two sides, while the groove is perhaps the remnant of another hole that held a stick, a symbolic wagon shaft, or a pole running between the two animals that pulled the chariot or wagon. Crumbs of crushed pottery and sand from the temper are visible on the damaged surfaces. The surface of the artefact is smoothened but uneven in spots. It is dark grey, without marks of secondary burning. It was discovered in O32/S42, the pit of the two sun disc models.

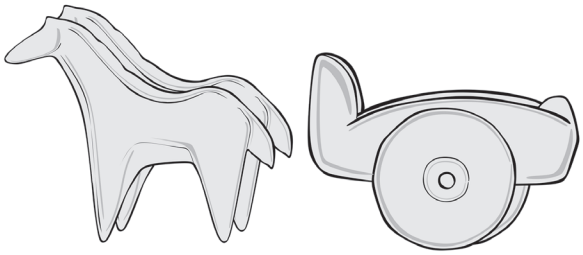


Fig. 11. Recontruction of a two-wheeled chariot (illustration by J. G. Tarbay)

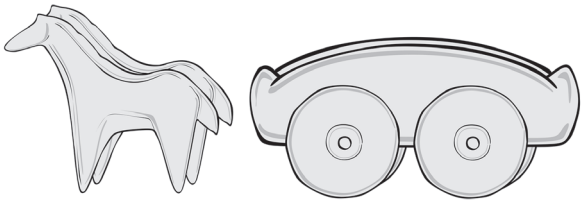


Fig. 12. Recontruction of a four-wheeled wagon (illustration by J. G. Tarbay)

Similar wagon or chariot models are not published from any coeval site. Only a single flat ceramic piece with a bulging rim is known from Tiszasüly.[49] Unlike the find from Baks, that piece has edges on both sides of the "bottom", while one cannot tell from the illustrations whether it was pierced through. Three other examples were found in Nemějic, near Burkovák, in the territory of today's Czech Republic.[50] All three are flat, with curved-up edges, and pierced through in different ways. However, the site being dated to the Ha C–D period excludes the possibility of a direct connection. Similar pieces are also known from the Italian Iron Age.[51] As the applied technology and highly stylised design seem quite ageless, these finds may be mentioned as loose analogies even though they are dated to the 8–6 centuries BC.[52] At present, there are no closer analogies in the available literature.[53]

Many bronze parts of real wagons or chariots are known from all over Europe.[54] Most were found, rather fragmented and often intentionally broken, in hoards or burials,[55] several from the territory of today's Hungary.[56] These fragments are usually associated with a ritual context or high status[57] as they are very finely crafted objects decorated with patterns similar to other prestige objects such as swords, *situlae*, and other bronze vessel types or defensive weapons. The small imitations formed of clay could also have some special meaning for its owners or a part of the community.

49 V. Szabó 2002, 223. kép 8.

50 Chytráček et al. 2009, Obr. 9,1–3. (1, 3, with some examples with five parallel holes).

51 Woytowitsch 1978, Taf. 36,159, Taf. 37,161.

52 Woytowitsch 1978, Taf. 36,159: 8–7th century BC, Taf. 37,161: 6th century BC.

53 Some Early Iron Age metal objects (Ha B2–B3) were found at Baks-Temetőpart, too (V. Szabó 2011, 100–102; Tab. 1), indicating that the site also has a later phase. However, the pottery recovered from the pits dates the excavated site part to the Ha A2–B1 period.

54 Pankau 2020, Fig. 2.

55 E.g., Pankau 2018, Abb. 4–6, Abb. 16–22; Pankau 2020, Fig. 1.

56 E.g., Nádudvar-Halomzug II (Mozsolics 2020, Taf. 61,15); Szentgyörgyvár-Felsőmánd, Site B (Tarbay – Havasi 2019, Figs 4–6).

57 Even four-wheeled wagons were very finely decorated (Pankau 2018, Abb. 15).

Wheel models

A total of eight wheel models were found in the pits and one during field walking, distributed throughout the three larger excavation trenches (Fig. 23.1–5). Their sizes were different but the material similar, tempered with crushed pottery and sand. The surfaces were nicely smoothened, usually grey or black. Their definition of wagon wheel models may not be correct as they could have also been spindle whorls with a slightly different form. Their edges are, in many cases, heavily worn, featuring clear signs of use, which may indicate that they were some kind of wheel models.

Similar artefacts appear (even in larger quantities) on sites of the Br D–Ha A1 period[58] and the classical Gáva ceramic style (Ha A2–Ha B1).[59] These objects were already present in the area in earlier periods[60] as well as in the Urnfield culture in the western parts of the Carpathian Basin.[61] Since these are more common in the find material than other votive objects, their proportion coming near various spindle whorl variants, it is more likely that the objects were used in everyday context rather than being part of the ritual sphere. Their function might be decided through experimental archaeological investigations that allow one to track the development of use-wear marks—observed on the edges and by the middle of these objects—and link them with specific activities. Until such experiments are available, both interpretations (as wheel models and as simple spindle whorls) must be considered a possibility.

Ceramic spoons

Three spoons have been found on the site, but only one of them, the piece from pit O25/S30, is complete (Fig. 22.3). It is relatively large and made of clay tempered with crushed pottery and sand. The surface is smoothened but a bit uneven at the rim. The entire surface is light yellow-brown without any mark of secondary burning. Its handle was pierced, the stub forming a socket for a handle made from organic material; the head, asymmetrical, with a spout created by impressing a finger into the rim. The other spoon (Fig. 22.2) is rather fragmentary; only its handle has remained intact. Its material and colour are identical to the previous one, and the handle shaft was also formed similarly. As for the last piece (Fig. 22.1), it is a question of whether it was a spoon or not. Only its handle has remained intact, and the fragment only comprises a very small part of the neck or back. Since it is a bit concave, it may be reconstructed as a spoon. Two incised parallel lines run from the handle down its side. Unfortunately, it is a stray find.

Ceramic spoons already appeared in previous periods; their exact function in prehistoric context is unknown. Such finds are exceptionally rare in settlements. Ceramic spoons also appear in the record of other sites of the Gáva ceramic style[62] and the Urnfield culture in the west.[63] Based on the

58 Petea-Csengersima (Marta 2009, Pl. 30,10, Pl. 42,17); Köröm-Kápolna-domb (B. Hellebrandt 2016, 56. kép 2,5,9–11).

59 Biharkeresztes-Láncos-major (V. Szabó 2002, 141. kép 11); Doboz-Faluhely (V. Szabó 2002, 158. kép 2,3); Prügy (Kemenczei 1984, Taf. 157,5,22); Reci (Székely 1966, Pl. 7,5); Teleac (Vasiliev et al. 1991, Fig. 25,13–15); Grăniceşti (László 1994, Fig. 12,3–8); Gura Câmpului (Pankau 2004, Taf. 42,5[602]); Vlaha-Pad (Nagy – Gogâltan 2012, Taf. 17,15 [Ha B2–B3]); Şimleu Silvaniei-Observator (Sana – Bejinariu 2011, Pl. 3,1).

60 E.g., Kyjatice culture: Szilvásvárad-Töröksánc and Kelemenszéke (D. Matuz – Nováki 2002, 184, Abb. 110,18–19); Sajószentpéter-Vízmű (Kemenczei 1984, Taf. 97,23).

61 E.g., Adony (Patek 1968, Taf. 132,12–13); Visegrád-Lepence (Gróh 1989, 8. kép 9).

62 Poroszló-Aponhát (Patay 1976, Abb. 4,1); Doboz-Faluhely (V. Szabó 2002, 158. kép 10); Grăniceşti (László 1994, Fig. 13,1); Teleac (Vasiliev et al. 1991, Fig. 40,12–13); Petea-Csengersima (Marta 2009, Pl. 6,3, Pl. 49,9).

63 Sághegy (Patek 1968, Taf. 36,1–10).

observed burn marks, Liviu Marta has linked some ceramic spoons to metal casting.[64] Attila László called such objects from Grăniceşti "pouring spoons".[65] However, Attila Kreiter's analyses have revealed that these spoons' clay composition makes them unsuitable for casting as they would melt upon contact with hot metal.[66] They were more likely tools of everyday life, part of the equipment of food consumption. While the ceramic pieces with holes probably had handles made from organic material, most spoons were presumably made entirely from wood and did not persist.

Miniature vessels

Four different miniature vessel types were discovered in the excavated pits, along with one more, a stray find. All have their life-size versions in the ceramic record of the site. The tempering of the small versions is akin to the 'big' ones, consisting of finely crushed pottery and sand. Their surface is nicely smoothened but not burnished. Because of their size, they are less elaborate than their large counterparts. An only 3.8 cm high piece (from pit O11/S13) imitates C.1-type jars or deep bowls;[67] even the garland bundles and handles are portrayed on its shoulder (Fig. 21.4). The other piece (from pit O46/S56) has a straight rim and neck, a bulging belly, and a conical lower body. It looks like a poorly executed deep bowl with some black marks on its brown surface, indicating secondary burning (Fig. 21.5). The third vessel was found in pit O54/S71; it resembles A.5-type large storage vessels; its surface is well-smoothened, and has a four-line garland bundle around the shoulder (Fig. 21.3). A simple piece with a straight conical body was found in pit O8/S9 (Fig. 21.7). The stray find miniature vessel has a biconical body, a bulging belly, and two broken handles. The light red marks on its brown body suggest secondary burning (Fig. 21.6).

To produce tiny, only a few centimetre-high versions of regular vessels is typical of the Gáva ceramic style. Similar pieces have been recovered from several sites[68] although the vessel type to be miniaturised seems to vary. Antecedents to this custom appear already in the previous Br D–HaA1 period.[69] In some cases, miniature vessels were also made of bronze.[70] In addition, similar pieces can also be found on sites of the Urnfield culture.[71] These miniature vessels were most likely toys for children or tools for learning how to work clay, something even children could have been able to make.[72] At present, it cannot be decided whether they were created by the hands of a child or an adult, but by examining the fingerprints on them, an answer may be found in the future.[73] A cultic

64 Marta 2009, 45–46. He assigned the spoon to the Suciu de sus culture.

65 László 1994, 212 – *Gießlöffel*.

66 Personal communication of Attila Kreiter.

67 Kósa 2020, 21, Fig. 37,1–8,11–12.

68 E.g., Muhi-Nagyhomok dűlő (Kemenczei 1971, 2. t. 6); Tiszakeszi-Szódadomb (Kemenczei 1971, 7. t. 7,11); Poroszló-Aponhát (Patay 1976, Abb. 3,2–6; V. Szabó 2002, 213. kép 2–8); Teleac (Vasiliev et al. 1991, Fig. 42,14–20, Fig. 43,1–34); Grăniceşti (László 1994, Fig. 45,1–9); Porimbenii Mari (Székely 1966, Pl. 6,11,17,21).

69 E.g., Petea-Csengersima (Marta 2009, Pl. 12,7, Pl. 36,2); Köröm-Kápolna-domb (B. Hellebrandt 2016, 50. kép 12–14).

70 Soroceanu 2008, Taf 55,155–160.

71 E.g., Visegrád-Lepence (Gróh 1989, 8. kép 8,11).

72 Banner 1958, 251; Fülöp 2016, 124–125.

73 Fingerprints can be observed on several pieces from the Tumulus culture cremation burial ground of Jobbágyi-Hosszú-dűlő (Fülöp 2016, 124; Cseplák 2005).

function should not be excluded either, as they could have been part of a "home altar" or the equipment of a feast or libation ritual.[74]

Technological observations

The elaboration of the objects mentioned above is rather diverse. Due to a relatively high case number, zoomorphic figurines are the best for a detailed technological classification. These may be divided into four technological groups (Fig. 13), representing perhaps four different craftsmen or simply four individuals with different levels of knowledge.

The first group contains most of the figurines (28 pcs). They are small or medium-sized, grey, tempered with sand, and crushed ceramic. They rarely contain grains or husks that make them extremely fragile. Not any of them features marks of secondary burning. Their elaboration is fairly good: the bodies are slim but rather schematic. The discovered pieces are highly fragmentary.

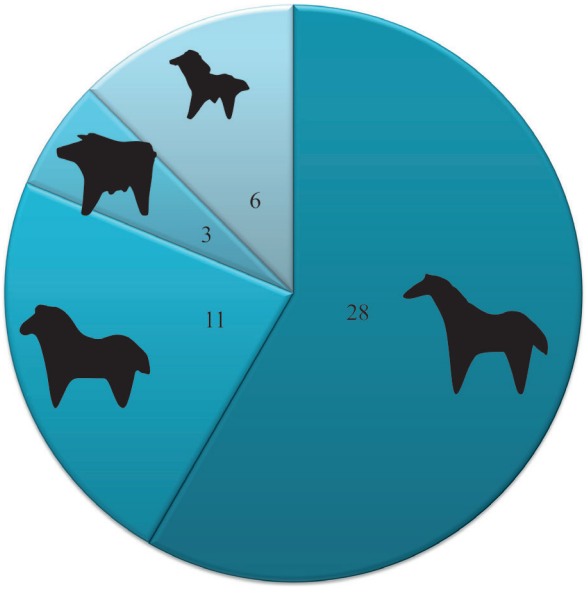


Fig. 13. Sub-groups of zoomorphic figurines based on technological observations

The second group (11 pcs) is somewhat similar to the first, but the animals have a much thicker or more massive body structure. Since their material, colour, and surface treatment are the same, it can be assumed that they are from the same period or even from the same workshop. As their execution and body structure differ, they were probably made by two different individuals.

The appearance of the third group (3 pcs) is completely different. They are rather large, black, with a roughly shaped massive body and occasional finishing (smoothening) of the surface. But only three pieces were classified into this group, all depicting some porcine; one with emphasized breasts. Since the three specimens are so alike, they could have been made by a third craftsman. It must also be noted that all three figurines display marks of secondary burning (red colour, black marks) or were fired with a completely different method. Unfortunately, all were stray finds. As they cannot be linked to any special pits, it cannot be decided whether they were burnt deliberately or by accident.

The fourth group (6 pcs) contains the most finely crafted pieces. They are black, sand-tempered, small, with a well-burnished surface and lean body. As their fine craftsmanship and shining surfaces resemble tableware, it can be assumed that a very skilled potter made them with a high level of knowledge. Based on material and finish, other objects may also be classified into this group, for example, the schematic anthropomorphic figurine and the wagon model, along with most of the wheel models.

74 While this practice is more common in the Neolithic (e.g., Tomaz 2005), it should also be considered an option in the Bronze Age. As only one miniature vessel came from the pit containing the largest number of special finds (O11/S13), it could have also had some special meaning or function.

Discussion

Based on their finds, three of the four pits described above can be more closely connected to the ritual sphere, while one (O34/S44) stands somewhat out of line. However, before drawing any conclusions, some other points of view must also be considered.

It is still quite a key question, who produced these figurines and models? There are several possibilities, but instead of highlighting one, the above-described technological groups may suggest that a combination of all holds the truth. The nicely executed pieces indicate an experienced maker, most likely a specialised adult, whose duties probably included producing any ritual object for the smaller or more extensive community. The existence of potters has already been proved archaeologically, but it is unknown whether they worked full- or only part-time.[75] It is also difficult to tell whether men or women produced most of the ceramic material in the Late Bronze Age.[76]

Another option could be that the adults who made the figurines were not specialized but domestic producers who crafted pottery and household equipment, including domestic cult objects and toys, for themselves. In some societies, women made most of the domestic pottery for daily life, and men produced the special vessels and items;[77] but it is problematic to project this arrangement on the Late Bronze Age community.

And last but not least, children and beginner potters (who were usually children themselves) should also be mentioned. What could be more fun for a child to practice clay forming than shaping some animals? Some simple figurines or miniature vessels can be interpreted as such practice pieces. For example, Sinauga children in North Arizona start to practice with small animals and vessels at a very young age, between 2 and 4 years,[78] just like Huron children, who master all production skills before adulthood because they will need them when they become adult members of the household and will have no time then to practice.[79] The steps of learning can be traced in the find assemblage of a child's burial from Jobbágyi-Hosszú-dűlő.[80] Based on the different execution levels of the objects, five "maturity phases" could be separated between the simplest pieces and nicely finished decorated ones.[81] The more the practice, the nicer the objects became. It cannot be stated that children made the less elaborate pieces in Baks; however, many fingerprints persisted on the small figurines, a future examination of which may reveal some information about the makers.

The issue of fragmentation must also be further discussed since fragmentation is not always simply the result of taphonomic processes but can also be deliberate, the result of ritual action. Some researchers, however, believe that ritual fragmentation should be handled with care since figurines

75 P. Fischl et al. 2013, 15.

76 Some graves of men, women, and girls of the Middle Bronze Age Maros culture contain pebbles and bone tools; however, we do not have sufficient information on potters' burials (P. Fischl et al. 2013, 12; O'Shea 1996, 229).

77 Large vessels, those with a significant role in representation or those that required more skills, were in some communities made by men. Besides, there could be other—unknown—reasons, including religious or ideological, behind a gender-based specialisation (Kramer 1985, 79–80).

78 Kamp 2001, 427.

79 Smith 2006, 68.

80 Fülöp 2016, 121.

81 Fülöp 2016, 5. kép. Four phases could be distinguished in the funerary set. The interred child was only about two years old at death, which means that only two development phases can be linked to him/her, and the rest of the finds were probably made by older children.

usually break along the weakest lines (Fig. 14) or at the most vulnerable junctures.[82] Still, it may be worth considering ritual context as an option. Deliberate fragmentation is a well-known phenomenon, present in the archaeological record, since the appearance of the first farming communities.[83] John Chapman has outlined five probable reasons for fragments in the find material.[84] Three reasons suggest that fragmentation has something to do with intentionality,[85] either from the aspect of the object or the people. The object can be ritually destroyed and thus removed from everyday life, but a much more important role is that objects can create, maintain, and deepen the connections between people or communities, or even people and places or beliefs. No traces of ritual fragmentation have been observed in Late Bronze Age (Ha A2–Ha B1) pottery, but the ritual destruction of bronze artefacts has been recorded in the same period.[86] Ritual fragmentation, a known phenomenon in the context of bronze items, might have been practiced on ceramic ones as well.

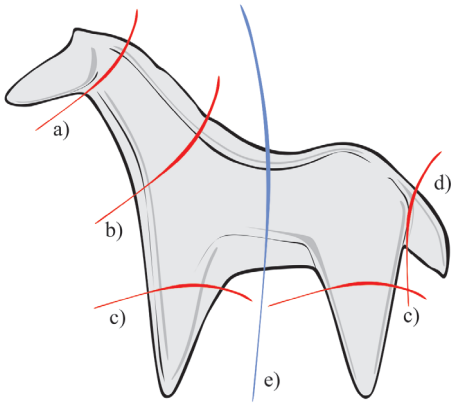


Fig. 14. The most common fracture types on figurines (a – head, b – neckline, c – one or more legs, d – tail part, e – broken by the belly line)

The relatively large number of specimens makes zoomorphic figurines the most suitable group for examining fragmentation. The fragments collected from the site could be classified into four groups based on fragment size and shape (Fig. 15). The first group includes the smallest pieces representing less than half of a small animal. These pieces can hardly be reconstructed, only the remaining attaching surfaces of the legs or tails indicate that they were once figurines. Their surfaces are usually heavily eroded. The second group incorporates torsos and complete heads with necks, representing almost or somewhat more than half of an animal, sometimes with a small stub of a leg or more of the neck. These pieces are already suitable for reconstructing the animal. The third group contains almost complete and easy-to-reconstruct pieces, which usually have some legs or only the head missing but feature additional details like mane, bristles, breasts, or male genitals. The last group, complete figurines, consists only of two slightly eroded specimens (flanked legs)—one must overlook minor defects to classify anything into this category, as all pieces have been somewhat damaged, either by taphonomic processes or excavation.

As for fragmentary figurines, two hypothetical explanations arise for their incompleteness: they were either broken in this settlement and the missing fragments were taken away, or they were broken elsewhere and only a single piece was carried to this site.[87]

82 Chapman – Gaydarska 2006, 6.

83 Chapman 2000, 4–8.

84 Chapman 2000, 23: These are 1) objects broken accidentally mostly during use; 2) objects buried because they are broken; 3) objects ritually 'killed' and deposited in complete or in pieces; 4) objects broken to disperse fertility within the settlement and beyond; 5) objects deliberately broken, used for enchainment, and later buried.

85 If a pattern could have been observed in the fractures, that would possibly be connected to ritual activity; but taphonomic fractures can also create a pattern (e.g., the legs break off easily). Some body parts are pretty difficult to break (e.g., to break the figurine in half at the belly line) and sometimes tool marks can be detected near the breaking surface. More than one piece of the same figurine found in the same pit may also indicate ritual activity; see Knight 2021.

86 But the meaning in that context may differ; see Tarbay 2022 on fragmentation in Ha B1 hoards from Transdanubia.

87 Chapman – Gaydarska 2006, 9.

It is conspicuous that the figurines in the special pits (Fig. 15, light blue) can mainly be classified into the first two fragmentation groups (highly/moderately fragmented), while only four pieces of the 33 are almost complete, and none of them intact. By adding the remaining 15 pieces found in other pits or as stray finds, the picture slightly changes (Fig. 15, dark blue) as these pieces shift the balance towards the third and fourth groups, meaning they are more complete. Although there is a difference in the number of figurines from special pits and the other, 'non-special', pits in general, comprised more complete or better-preserved ones. This observation may also support the idea of ritual fragmentation; however, it is almost impossible to identify any trace of deliberate fragmentation as the breaking surfaces are highly eroded. The fractures are usually located in the weakest zones (Fig. 14), for example, where the neck, legs, and tail meet the torso. The most fragmented figurines also have a fracture surface in the belly line. The cross sections of this part are diverse; some horses have a rather thin belly, while some porcine and other species (some of the horses, too) are thick. Thin bellies may also be prone to breaking, but thick ones may need some intentional assistance. In summary, the observed fragmentation patterns indicate intentionality and, thus, a ritual background in context with the 'special pits.'

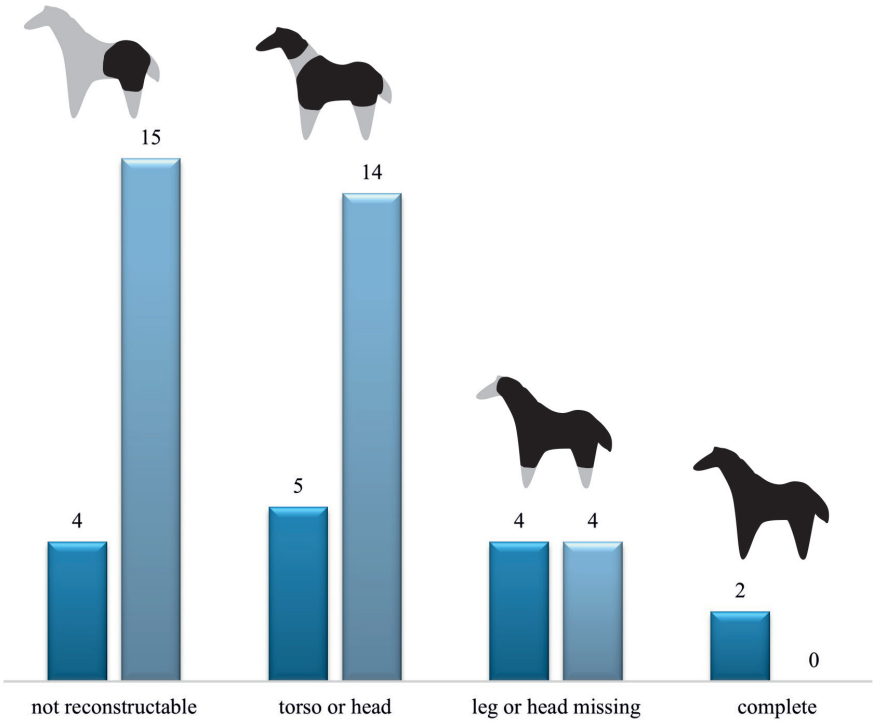


Fig. 15. The extent of fragmentation on zoomorphic figurines ('special pits' – light blue, other pits – dark blue)

When evaluating zoomorphic figurines, it is also important to look into the related archaeozoological results—in this case, of Baks-Temetőpart[88] and Berettyóújfalu-Somota-dűlő[89] (Fig. 16). While there is a significant difference between the two sites in the amount of the find material, the proportions of the two assemblages are almost identical (Fig. 17). Most bones (44%) belong to bovine species, followed by ovines, caprines, and porcine. Only 6% of the material was identified as equine bones, which contrasts sharply with the high number of horse figurines. Since the small figurines do not reflect the actual distribution of farm animals, it seems pretty apparent that horses had some additional or different significance for the members of these communities, which is not only re-

88 The more than 5,500 animal bone pieces were analysed by Anna Zsófia Biller in 2018.

89 The 1,574 animal bone pieces were analysed by Márta Daróczi-Szabó in 2022.

flected by the figurines but also by bronze findings,[90] like the high number of horse harness pieces,[91] and other cult objects, such as the famous sun chariot from Trundholm.[92] The earliest depictions of horses and chariots in the Carpathian Basin are from the cemetery of Vel'ke Raškovce (Slovakia), dated to the 14th century BC. Horse representations became increasingly widespread in the Late Bronze Age and remained popular throughout the Iron Age. These depictions appear not only on everyday objects and prestige items but, in rare cases, even in the landscape.[93] Therefore, in this case, the small horse figurines follow a trend in the period and do not reflect the number and distribution of actual household animals.

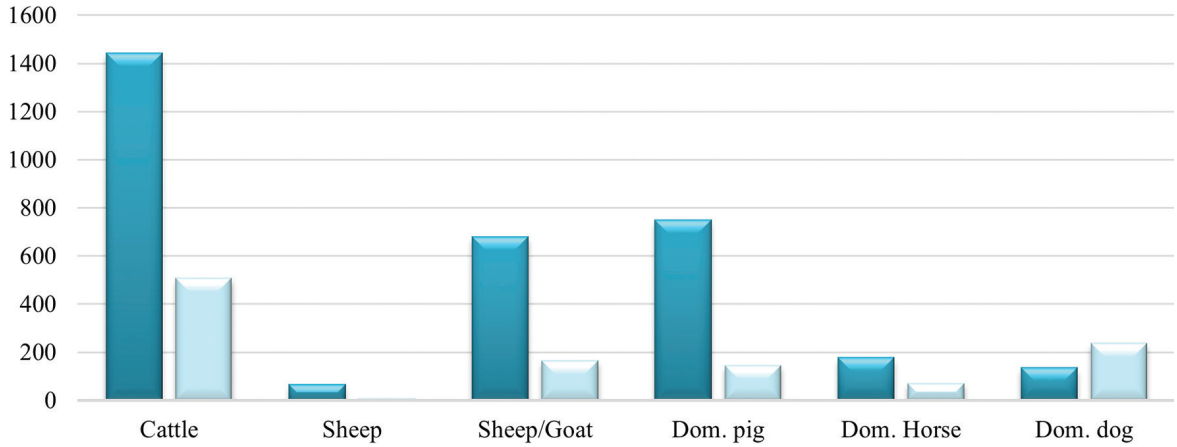


Fig. 16. Distribution of animal bones in Baks-Temetőpart (dark blue) and Berettyóújfalu-Somota-dűlő (light blue)

Conclusions

A total of 71 special ceramic objects were found in Baks-Temetőpart; 65 in closed context, and six as stray finds. Almost two-thirds of them were recovered from only four pits, which, therefore, can be regarded as special. Their size and form are not different from the rest of the pits on the site, but their position, infill layers, and content separate them.

Most ceramic objects are zoomorphic figurines but anthropomorphic, and hand representations, sun discs, a wagon, wheel models, spoons, and miniature vessels can also be found amongst them. Some types have a long history as their origin can be traced back even to early phases of the Bronze Age (like zoomorphic figurines, spoons, and miniature vessels), while others will only be more widespread in the Early Iron Age, such as the horse, the wagon, and anthropomorphic figurines.

The abundance of zoomorphic figurines made it possible to examine them from various aspects. Based on their material, firing, surface treatment and design, and some technological observations, the pieces could be assigned to four different makers or potters. Most figurines belonged to two

90 Several razors, swords, and bronze vessels decorated with symbolic horses are known from the northern area (Metzner-Nebelsick 2003, Abb. 3,5–6).

91 Metzner-Nebelsick 2003, Abb. 13; Metzner-Nebelsick 2021, Fig. 4b–5.

92 Metzner-Nebelsick 2003, Abb. 1; Kristoffersen – Armstrong Oma 2008, 40.

93 Recently, an animal figure was discovered on a LiDAR image of Szilvásvárad-Kelemenszéke, which was examined by a control excavation that revealed a stone structure (V. Szabó 2019, 222–224, 190. kép). The other, better-known example is the "White Horse" in Uffington, Southern England (Pollard 2017, 407, Fig. 1).

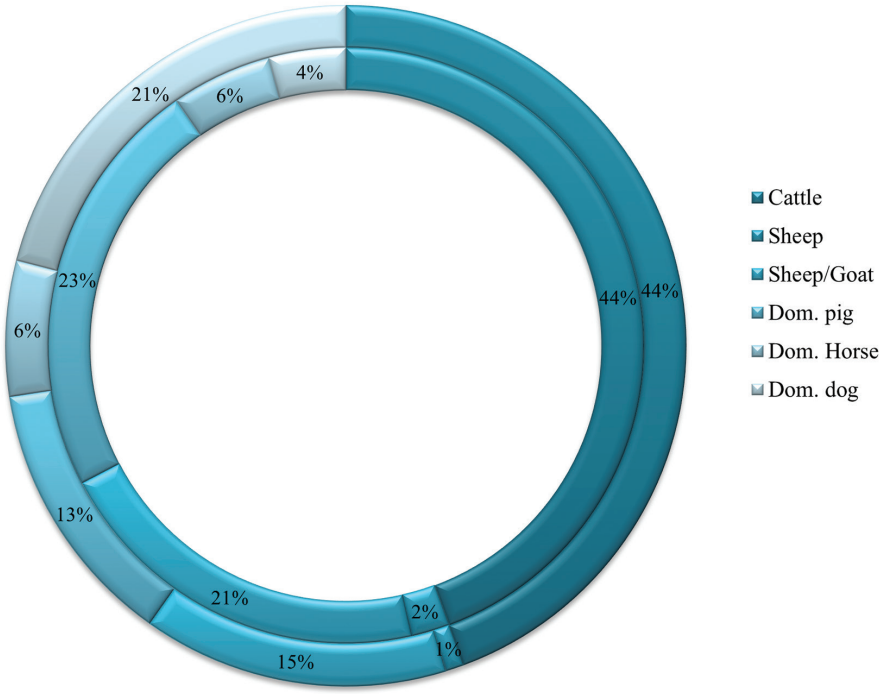


Fig. 17. Proportion of animal species in Baks-Temetőpart (inner circle) and Berettyóújfalu-Somota-dűlő (outer circle)

groups (technological groups 1 and 2), which suggests that they were probably made in the same house or workshop. However, some had outstanding quality, nicely designed bodies, and a burnished surface, indicating that a highly skilled potter made them.

The finds could also be classified according to the degree of fragmentation. Most of them were hardly identifiable, or only their torso or head remained intact, while ten pieces were almost or entirely complete. Fragmentation was further discussed from a ritual context's point of view. As a result, no exact traces could be identified as unequivocally ritual, but the possibility of ritual breaking should not be excluded.

Without written sources, it will always be impossible to determine what purposes these little figurines might have served. They could have played an important ideological part in connection with good fortune, prestige, and fertility or could be offerings to a higher entity. But they could also be pieces of art or some even toys for children. The reasons behind their creation and existence cannot be decided at this point, but more analyses and future evaluations might provide us with a deeper understanding of the mindset of Late Bronze Age communities.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Gábor V. Szabó, my supervisor, who entrusted me with the find material of this exceptional site. I am also grateful to Anna Zsófia Biller and Márta Daróczi-Szabó for the evaluation of the animal bone material from Baks-Temetőpart and Berettyóújfalu-Somota-dűlő. I also want to thank Gábor J. Tarbay for his help with the reconstruction drawings and Attila Kreiter for his valuable comments.

Catalogue[94]

1. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1331; Fig. 18.1331). The lower part of the legs and the tail, along with its left ear, broke off. It has a small head with an emphasized ear and an elongated neck with a long mane. The belly is rather thin compared to the body. The male genitals are slightly visible. Made of clay finely tempered with sand. It was fired to grey but turned red due to superficial secondary burning. From pit O2/S3. H.: 6.9 cm; L.: 10.3 cm; W.: 3 cm.
2. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1332; Fig. 18.1332). Highly fragmentary torso of a horse. Its head, legs, and tail broke off, and the right side is also missing a part. It may represent a horse based on its neck and the probable mane. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O2/S3. Mh.: 2.4 cm; L.: 3.2 cm.
3. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1333). Highly fragmented half torso of a horse, identified as such based on the long neck and the remains of the mane. The front legs and the head broke off. With a secondary break, split in two because of a quite large plant remain inside the material. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O2/S3. Md.: 3×3.2 cm.
4. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1334). Highly fragmented half torso of an animal: bottom part, with two missing legs and a barely marked tail. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O2/S3. Md.: 2.4×2.6 cm.
5. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1344). Non-reconstructable torso of an animal, one cannot even tell which half of the figurine persisted, with the attaching surfaces of two missing legs. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 3.8×3.2 cm.
6. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1345). Elongated neck part of a horse figurine with a minimal marking of a mane. Based on the curved, long neck shape, it could have belonged to a horse. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 4.8×3.7 cm.
7. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1346; Fig. 18.1346). Based on the elongated body shape, it is a rather fragmented torso of a horse. Only some unevenness in the surface indicates the position of the legs and head. The tail is visible but broken. With minimal markings of male genitalia under the belly. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 6.5×3.2 cm.
8. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1347; Fig. 18.1347). Front part of a figurine. Based on the elongated, high neck, it may have been a horse. The head is small, with a tiny lump of clay on the right side, perhaps marking an ear or an eye. Some short mane is also visible on the top of the neck. The front legs broke off. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 3.5×3 cm.
9. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1348; Fig. 18.1348). Half of an animal's torso. The front part broke off at the belly line, and a part of the bottom and the legs are also missing. The tail is visible but also broken. This animal is unidentifiable. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 3.1×2.1 cm.
10. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1349; Fig. 18.1349). Highly fragmented half torso of an animal. Only its long neck, the mane, and the foreleg stubs have persisted. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 4×3 cm.
11. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1350). Small fragment of a four-legged animal, broken in two at the belly line. The front legs and the neck are missing. Non-reconstructable. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 2.4×2 cm.
12. Boar figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1351; Fig. 18.1351). The figurine may represent a boar based on its thick body and the remains of the hair or bristle. Only the upper part of its torso, the head, neck, hair, and leg stubs have persisted. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 3.1×3.3 cm.

94 Abbreviations: MFM: Móra Ferenc Museum, Szeged; D.: diameter; L.: length; W.: width; H.: height; Mh.: measurable height; Ml.: measurable length; Md.: measurable dimensions.

Fig. 18. Zoomorphic figurines from pit O2/S3, O11/S13 and O12/S14

Fig. 19. Zoomorphic figurines from pit O12/S14, O20/S22, O32/S42 and O37/S47

13. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1352). Fragment of a four-legged animal. Only a small part (probably the bottom) of the body with leg stubs have persisted. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 3.1×3.3 cm.
14. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1353; Fig. 18.1353). Highly fragmented torso of an animal. Only half of its belly and the bottom part with two leg stubs and a tail persisted. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 2.7×3 cm.
15. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1354). Highly fragmented animal torso. Nothing but the shape of the back can be reconstructed. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 4×3 cm.
16. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1355). Highly fragmented torso of an animal. The bottom part was broken at the belly; the hind legs and the tail are missing. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 2.7×2.5 cm.
17. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1356). Highly fragmentary half torso, probably the bottom part of an unidentified animal. Some imprints of seeds and other plant parts are visible on its surface. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 3×3.3 cm.
18. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1360; Fig. 19.1360). Fragmented stallion figurine. The head, the lower parts of the legs, and the tail are missing. It has an elongated neck with markings of mane; male genitalia is also marked on the slim belly. Made of sand-tempered clay, black. From pit O12/S14. H.: 6.1 cm; L.: 5.2 cm; W.: 3 cm.
19. Sheep figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1361; Fig. 19.1361). An almost complete figurine; only the lower part of the legs and the tail have broken off. The head or face is hard to reconstruct, but its width and the low-placed ears suggest that it was most likely a sheep. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey. From pit O12/S14. Mh.: 2.8; L.: 4.5 cm; W.: 1.9 cm.
20. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1362; Fig. 18.1362). Fragmentary torso of probably a horse. Only the body, neck, and upper part of the legs persisted. Its elongated neck and slim body suggest it was a horse, without markings of a mane. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O12/S14. Md.: 4×3 cm.
21. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1363; Fig. 18.1363). Fragmentary torso of an animal. The elongated, slim body and the base of the neck suggest that it was a horse. The marking of the male genitals seems to have broken off. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O12/S14. Md.: 4.1×2.5 cm.
22. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1364). A quite fragmentary torso of a horse, with an elongated neck. The head, legs, and bottom part are missing. It was probably a horse based on its long, curved neck and thin body structure. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O12/S14. Md.: 3.6×2.6 cm.
23. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1365; Fig. 18.1365). Head and partial neck fragment. The long neck, with marking of mane, broke in two at its middle. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O12/S14. Md.: 2.7×2.2 cm.
24. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1367). Highly fragmentary figurine; only the torso persisted. The animal cannot be identified. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O12/S14. Md.: 3.7×2.4 cm.
25. Canine figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1371; Fig. 19.1371). Almost complete figurine; only the top of the ears, the legs, and the tail are chipped. With a pointy nose and big ears, it most likely resembles a dog. Small fingerprints are visible on its ears. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey-black. From pit O20/S22. H.: 4.2 cm; L.: 5.9 cm; W.: 2.9 cm.
26. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1378; Fig. 19.1378). Head and neck fragment with body stub. Based on the thick body, short neck, and bristle, it is most likely a pig or boar. The mouth is chipped, but the ears are intact. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O32/S42. Md.: 5.1×4.6 cm.

Fig. 20. Zoomorphic figurines from pit O34/S44, O43/S53, O51/S65 and O52/S68 and stray finds

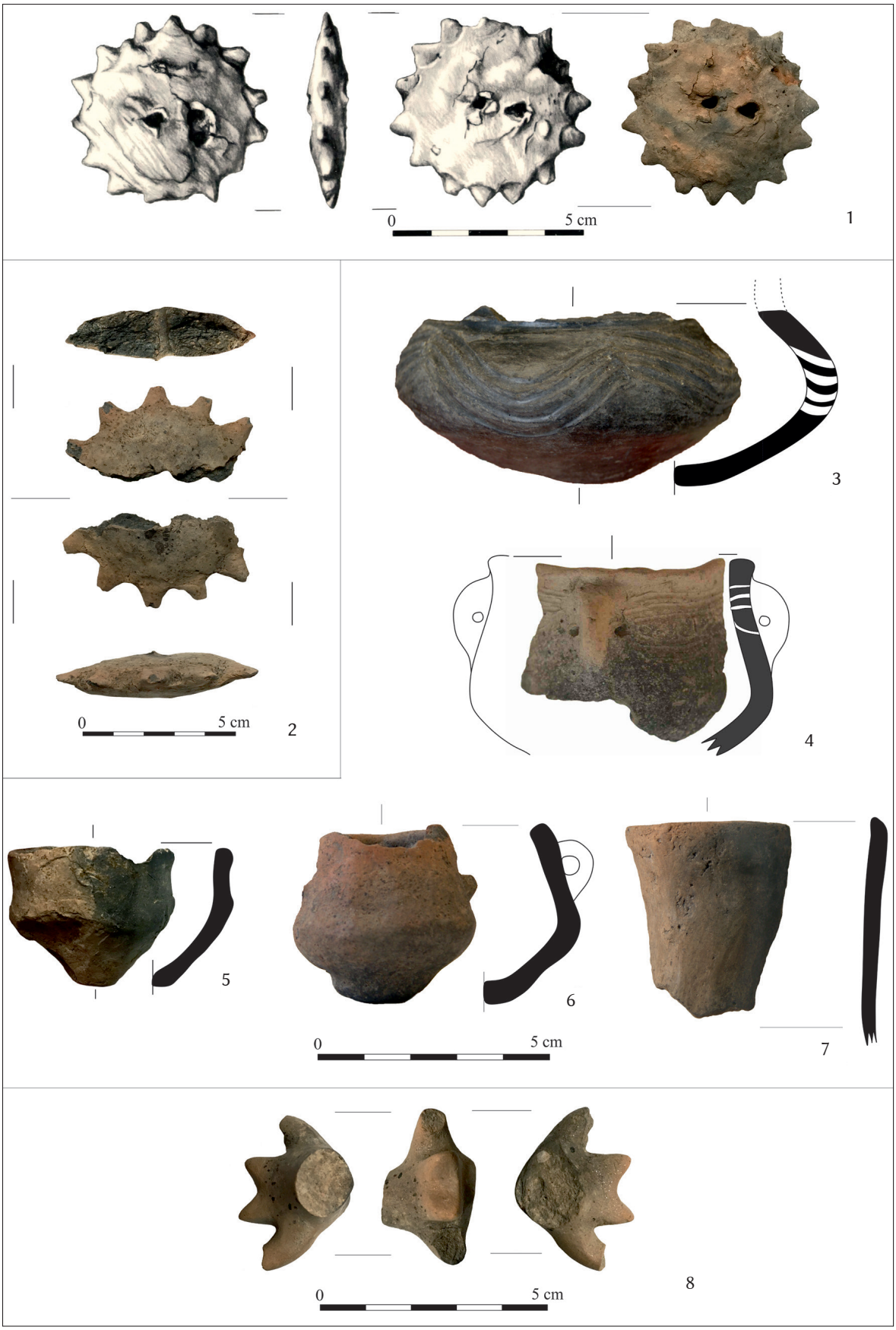


Fig. 21. 1–2 – sun disc models (drawing by Katalin Sebők; V. Szabó 2011, 11. kép 3.), 3–7 – miniature vessels, 8 – clay hand figurine

27. Pig or boar figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1379; Fig. 19.1379). An almost complete porcine with a pointy nose, thick body, and marked male genitalia. It cannot certainly be decided whether it is a boar or a pig. The head and the bottom of the legs are fragmented. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O32/S42. H.: 3.6 cm; L.: 5.3 cm; W.: 2 cm.
28. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1380). A broken torso of a non-reconstructable animal. Based on its thick body, it was more likely a pig or something similar but certainly not a horse. The head, neck, legs, and tail are all missing. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O32/S42. Md.: 4.4×2.8 cm.
29. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1381; Fig. 19.1381). Highly fragmented animal torso. Based on its elongated body, it could have been a horse. The persisting bottom part incorporates half of the belly, leg stubs, and a lightly marked tail. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O32/S42. Md.: 3.2×2.3 cm.
30. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1382). Highly fragmented animal torso. The head, half of its body, and all the legs are missing. Based on its elongated body and the angle of the neck, it could have been a horse. Some large crushed ceramic pieces are visible in the tempering along the sand. Made of clay tempered with coarsely ground pottery and sand, light grey. From pit O32/S42. Md.: 3.5×3 cm.
31. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1383). Half torso of an animal. The hind legs are missing, the tail is positioned quite high on top of the bottom. It is not identifiable. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O32/S42. Md.: 3.3×2.9 cm.
32. Pig figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1387; Fig. 20.1387). Fragmented sow figurine. The head, legs, and a small part of the tail are missing. The bristle on top of the body and the breasts on the bottom are very well marked. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey, with red marks of secondary burning on the belly. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 4.1×2.8 cm.
33. Pig figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1388; Fig. 20.1388). Rather fragmented but identifiable sow figurine. Part of its head, a small piece on top of its body, and its legs are missing, but most of the body, the tail, and an ear have remained intact. The bristle on top of the body and the breasts on the bottom are well marked. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 5.1×3.6 cm.
34. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1389; Fig. 20.1389). Front part of a horse with a small part of the neck, and the body with parts of the mane. Based on an identical piece and the mane, it was probably a horse. Some fingerprints are visible on the surface. Made of sand-tempered clay, black. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 4.7×3.3 cm.
35. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1390; Fig. 20.1390). Fragmentary torso of a horse; the head, legs, and a small part of the tail are missing. A tiny part of the mane and the marked male genitals are still visible. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 4.8×2.8 cm.
36. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1391). Highly fragmentary torso, broken lengthwise, with only two small stubs of the front legs and a small part of the neck. It could have been a horse based on its elongated body, but it is just an assumption. Made of sand-tempered clay, light grey. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 5×2.8 cm.
37. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1392). Highly fragmented torso with only a small part of one leg and possibly bristle or hair on top of the body. Based on that and the thick body, it was possibly a pig. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 4.1×3 cm.
38. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1393). Half torso of a horse figurine; the bottom part was broken off at the belly line. The head and the front legs are missing, but based on the angle of the neck and the presumed mane, it was most likely a horse. The impressed dots on the right side of the torso can be either deliberate or taphonomic in origin. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark brown. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 2.8×3 cm.
39. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1398; Fig. 19.1398). Fragmented torso of a horse, comprising only the front part of the body with a neck, mane, and upper body. It could have

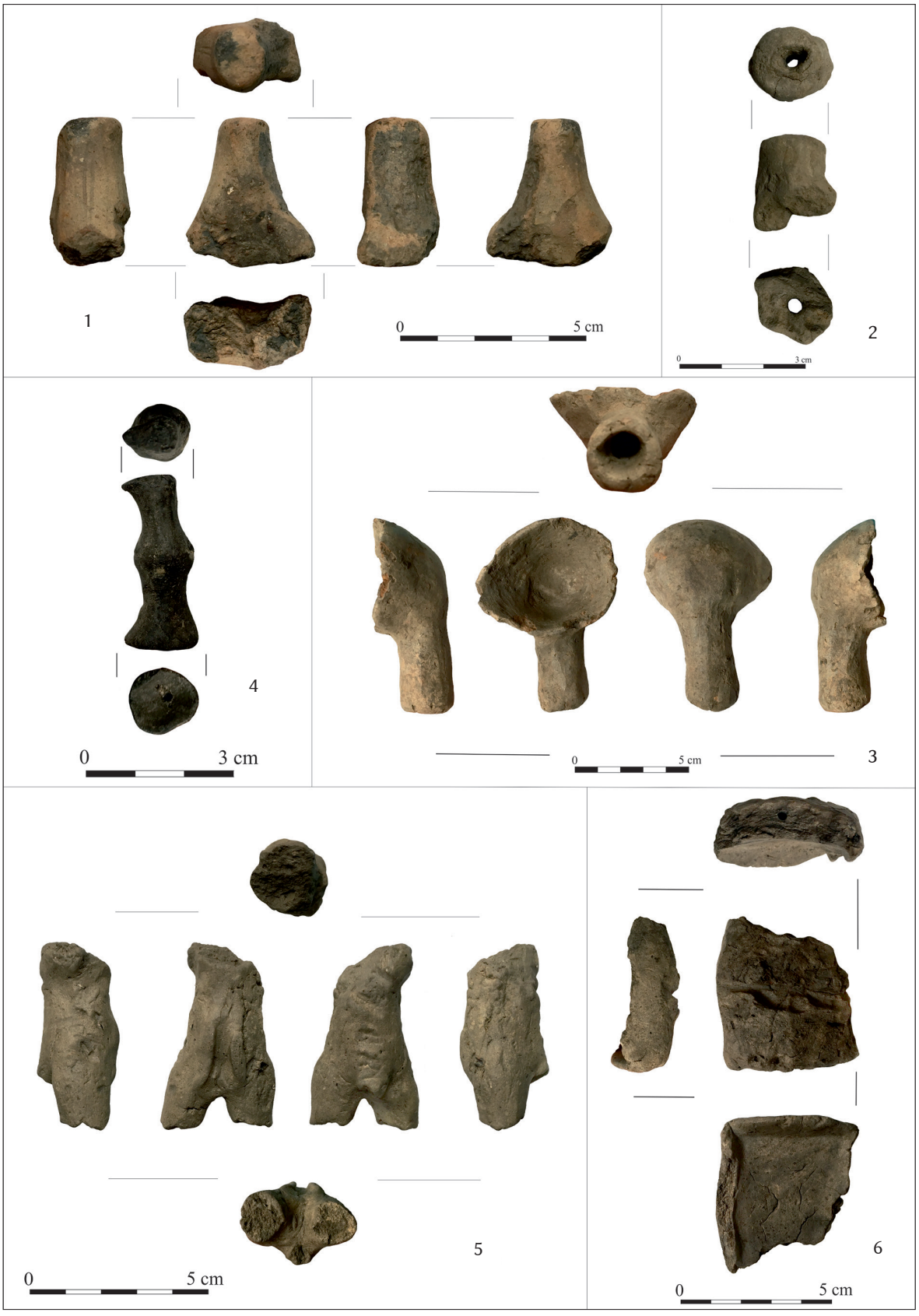


Fig. 22. 1–3 – clay spoons, 4–5 – anthropomorphic figurines, 6 – clay wagon or chariot model

been a horse based on the mane and the high-held, long neck. It is identical to another horse (2008.5.1400). Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O37/S47. Md.: 4.6×3.9 cm.

40. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1399; Fig. 19.1399). Half body fragment of possibly a horse, with the head and back half of the body missing. Its forelegs are pierced through from below, so it may have been attached to another object. Based on its thin body and long neck, it was most likely a horse. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O37/S47. Md.: 4.3×3.7 cm.

41. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1400; Fig. 19.1400). Fragmented torso of a horse. Only its neck, mane, and upper body persisted. Based on the angle of its neck and the mane, it was most likely a horse. It is identical to another horse (2008.5.1398). The right front leg was pierced through. Some fingerprints are still visible on its surface. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O37/S47. Md.: 5.3×5 cm.

42. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1402). A highly fragmented torso. The head, neck, and legs are all missing, with markings of male genitals on the belly but none of any bristle or hair. Based on its thick body, it could have been a pig or a boar. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O40/S50. Md.: 4.8×3.2 cm.

43. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1405; Fig. 20.1405). Fragmented torso of an animal, most likely a horse. The head, three legs, and part of the tail are missing, but a small part of the mane persisted. Based on its marked male genitals, it was probably a bull or a stallion. Made of sand-tempered clay, black. From pit O43/S53. Mh.: 5.8×4.7 cm; W.: 3.5 cm.

44. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1408; Fig. 20.1408). An almost complete horse figurine. Only the head and a leg are missing, and the left side is flanked. The mane and tail are clearly marked. With incised lines on the top of the back, indicating that it might pull a wagon. Made of sand-tempered clay, brown-grey. From pit O51/S65. Mh.: 6.7 cm; Ml.: 8 cm; W.: 2.9 cm.

45. Horse figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1410; Fig. 20.1410). An almost complete stallion figurine. The bottom part is fragmented, along with the tail and legs. A front leg and the right ear are also broken. The mane on top of the head and the male genitals are intact. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey, almost black. From pit O52/S68. H.: 4.7 cm; L.: 5.5 cm; W.: 2.7 cm.

46. Anthropomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1368; Fig. 22.4). Highly stylised complete figurine of a man with a bird's beak-like object on their head. The uppermost bulge could be the head, the central one, the arms, and the lowermost one, the legs. The legs were pierced through from below, suggesting that the small figurine was standing on something, probably a wagon. Made of sand-tempered clay, black. From pit O12/S14. H.: 3.6 cm; W.: 1.5 cm.

47. Anthropomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1343; Fig. 22.5). Quite fragmented torso of an anthropomorphic figurine. The head, shoulders, arms, and most of the legs are missing. With the probable marking of male genitals on the front and two vertical ribs on the back. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 5.2×3.2 cm.

48. Hand figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1339; Fig. 21.8). Middle part of a hand model. The top and bottom parts are missing, along with the two "fingers" on the sides. Only the two middle "fingers" are intact. Made of clay tempered with crushed pottery and sand. One side is brown, the other black, with probable superficial secondary burning marks. From pit O7/S8. Md.: 3.3×2.1 cm.

49. Sun disc (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1376; Fig. 21.1). An almost complete sun disc with a pair of holes in the middle and fifteen rays (three missing). Made of sand-tempered clay, brown with grey flecks due probably to secondary burning. From pit O32/S42. D.: 5×5 cm.

50. Sun disc (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1377; Fig. 21.2): Less than half of a sun disc; only five of its rays remained intact. It was broken in the line where it was pierced through. Made of sand-tempered clay, brown with dark grey core, due probably to secondary burning or poor firing method. From pit O32/S42. Md.: 6×3.2 cm.

51. Carriage or wagon model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1384; Fig. 22.6). Quite fragmented; two sides can be reconstructed, the other two are missing. It cannot be decided whether it was two- or four-wheeled. With a hole for the axle and a long groove along the midline of the bottom, as if something was pressed into the clay from below during production. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey. From pit O32/S42. Mh.: 1.3 cm; Md.: 5.1×4.7 cm.
52. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1335; Fig. 23.1). An almost complete clay wheel model. Two small parts are missing from the disc, and the top of its hub is eroded on both sides. One of the largest clay wheels. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey. From pit O2/S3. D.: 5.8 cm.
53. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1358). Highly fragmented wheel model. The disc is almost completely missing, only the hub persisted. Made of sand-tempered clay, brown. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 2.6×2.8 cm; Ml.: 3.6 cm.
54. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1357). Highly fragmented wheel model. The disc is almost completely missing, only the hub persisted. Made of sand-tempered clay, brown. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 2.9×2.5 cm; Ml.: 2.2 cm.
55. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1366). Fragmented wheel model. One side of the hub can be reconstructed, the other and the disc are completely missing. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. From pit O12/S14. Md.: 2.9×2.4 cm; Ml.: 2.7 cm.
56. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1385; Fig. 23.3). Almost complete, small wheel model. One side is completely eroded, the other, flaked. The hub only persisted on one side. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark grey. From pit O34/S44. D.: 3.6 cm.
57. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1386; Fig. 23.2). Wheel model fragment, with one-third of the disc missing. The hub is intact on one side and broke off on the other. With some use-wear marks on the disc. Made of sand-tempered clay, black. From pit O34/S44. Md.: 5.1×4.8 cm.
58. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1403). Small disc fragment of a wheel model; it has no hub but only a hole in the middle. With an oval cross-section and no use-wear marks. Made of sand-tempered clay; grey, the other side, brown-black. From pit O40/S63. Md.: 4.7×4 cm; Ml.: 2 cm.
59. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1404; Fig. 23.4). Fragmented, slightly oval. Made of sand-tempered clay, dark brown. From pit O40/S64. Md.: 4×4.5 cm.
60. Spoon (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1359; Fig. 22.2). Small, pierced handle fragment of a possible spoon. Made of sand-tempered clay, light brown. From pit O11/S13. Md.: 2.2 cm; D (handle).: 1.8 cm.
61. Spoon (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1374; Fig. 22.3). Complete spoon with a spout on its left side. With a shaft for a wooden handle. Made of sand-tempered clay, light brown. From pit O25/S30. L.: 8.3 cm; W.: 6 cm; D (handle).: 3.2 cm.
62. Miniature vessel (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.110; Fig. 21.7). Rim and body fragment of a miniature vessel with a straight rim and conical body. Made of sand-tempered clay, light brown, with black marks indicating secondary burning. From pit O8/S9. Md.: 4×3.4 cm.
63. Miniature vessel (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.155; Fig. 21.4). Miniature deep bowl or jar with lightly everted curved rim, straight neck, compressed globular body, and a small handle; the bottom is broken off. It resembles classical C.1-type jars. With horizontal and garland bundle patterns. Made of sand-tempered clay, the upper part is light brow, the lower, grey. From pit O11/S13. Mh.: 3.8×4.4 cm.
64. Miniature vessel (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1221; Fig. 21.3). Body fragment of a miniature "large storage vessel"; the rim and neck are completely missing. With a compressed globular body and conical bottom that partially broke off and channelled garland bundle pattern. It was tempered with sand and burnt to grey. Made of sand-tempered clay, grey. Well-burnished, just like the original vessels. From pit O54/S71. Md.: 7.5×3.6 cm.
65. Miniature vessel (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1407; Fig. 21.5). Intact miniature deep bowl with a straight rim and neck, sharp belly line, and a conical lower part. Made of sand-tempered clay. Black; the other side, light brown due probably to firing. From pit O46/S56. H.: 3 cm; D (rim).: 3.5 cm; D (bottom).: 1.1 cm.

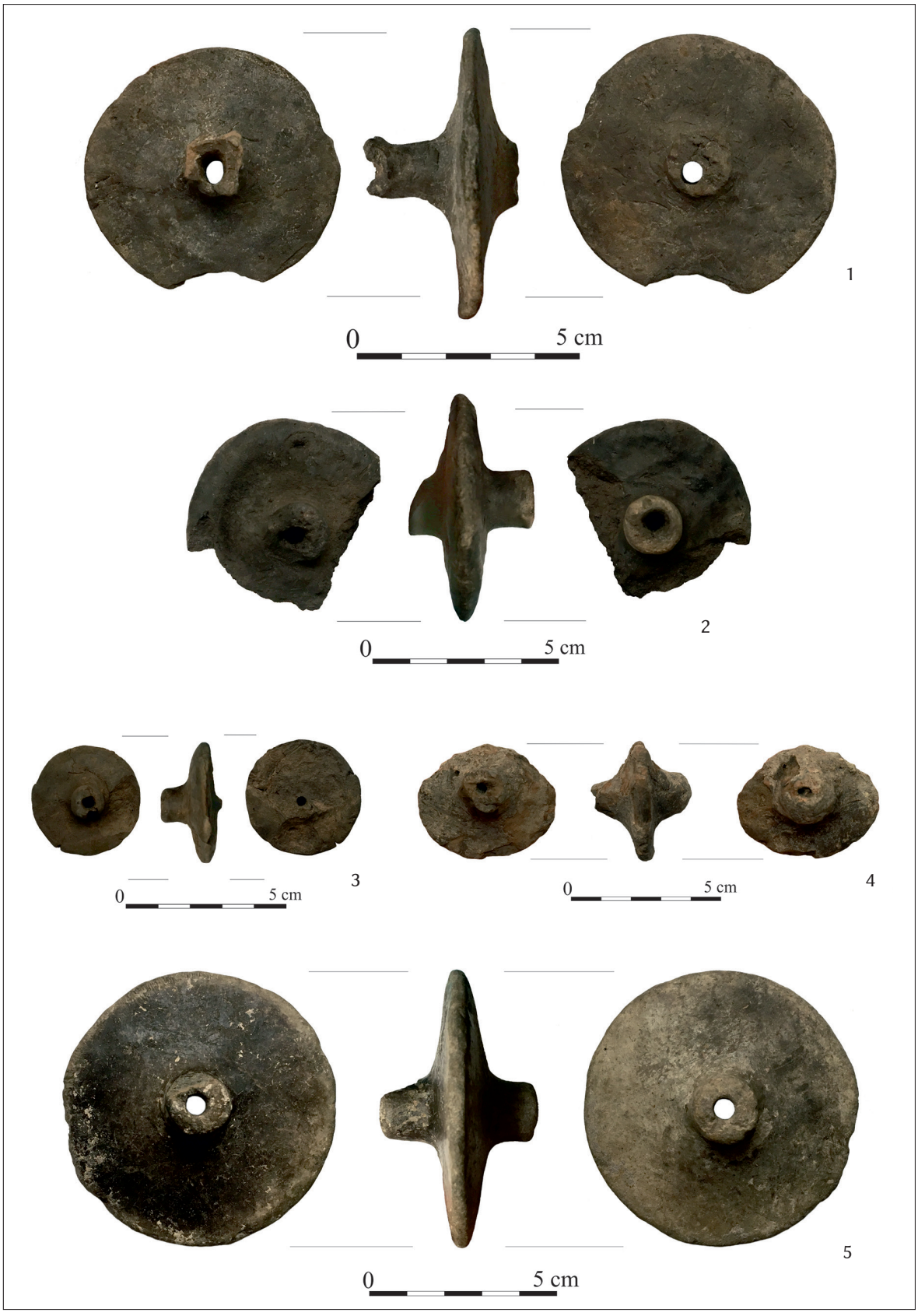


Fig. 23. Clay wheel models

Stray finds

66. Miniature vessel (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1277; Fig. 21.6). An almost complete miniature vessel with a straight rim, conical neck, bulging belly, and conical lower part. The two handles on its sides broke off, along with a small part of its rim. It was made of sand-tempered clay; dark grey, with some reddish marks of probably secondary burning. It was found 15 m from metal objects found at E736711, N125705. H.: 3.5 cm; D(rim).: 2.5 cm.

67. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1414; Fig. 20.1414). Half torso of an animal. The upper part and a hind leg are missing, the tail and the other leg are fragmented. Its colour and massive body are quite similar to pig figurine 2008.5.1418; however, this piece has no bristle, breasts, or details to reveal if it was a pig. Made of sand-tempered clay; with a red surface and black core due to secondary burning. Md.: 3.2×2.7 cm.

68. Spoon (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1415; Fig. 22.1). Small fragment of a spoon, based on the deepening inner part. The handle was not pierced, and neither does it feature a spout. With two incised parallel lines along its side. Made of sand-tempered clay; with a lighter surface and black core due probably to secondary burning or poor firing method. Md.: 4.1×3.4 cm.

69. Zoomorphic figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1417). Bottom fragment of an animal figurine, with the stubs of the hind legs and the tail. Made of sand-tempered clay; with red and brown colour due to secondary burning. Md.: 2.5×2.1 cm.

70. Pig figurine (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1418; Fig. 20.1418). Fragmented sow figurine. Parts of the head and legs are missing, and the ears are chipped. With markings of a short bristle on top of the body, breasts, and tail. Made of sand-tempered clay; red, with a large black spot on one side due probably to secondary burning. Ml.: 5.7 cm; Mh.: 5.4 cm; W.: 3.7 cm.

71. Wheel model (Inv. no. MFM 2008.5.1423; Fig. 23.5). Large intact wheel model with a rather worn edge and hub. Made of sand-tempered clay; one side is grey, the other almost black. D.: 7.3 cm.

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