

PREFORMED AND PERFORMED

On the Pedestalled Bowls with Perforated Bottoms in the Lengyel Culture

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*'The sons pass by this writing,
but you, my distant grandchild, will read it...'* (C. K. Norwid)
to Mr. Maciej Rajewski

This short essay concerns a very curious type of artefact of the Lengyel culture which is a pedestalled bowl with a perforation drilled centrally in the bottom of the vessel. Such a ceramic form occurs in a quite narrow chronological horizon at the very beginning of the Eneolithic in the western Pannonian region and neighbouring regions, hence appearing as a phenomenon limited both in time and space. We made an effort to set this intriguing ceramic utensil in a broader prehistoric socio-economic context. In our pursuit to an answer to the question on the genesis of these phenomena, we came to a bold hypothesis that connects the presence of such vessels in the early Eneolithic of Transdanubia and culturally related areas with a stimulus diffusion of a ritualistic idea of 'bottomless' pedestalled bowls from the western Black Sea coastal area. It is argued that the expedient form of the ritual bowl is an expression of thrifty pottery production *habitus* of women encultured within the *milieu* of the late Lengyel culture.

Keywords: Central Europe, Eneolithic, Lengyel culture, pedestalled bowls with perforated bottoms, thrifty production practices.

INTRODUCTION

While the interest in prehistory arose from contemplation of poorly organised relics of bygone times collected in cabinets of curiosities, morphological and functional classifications of prehistoric movable artefacts became one of hallmarks of the professionalisation of archaeology as an academic discipline in the 19th and the first half of 20th c. Nevertheless, even when studying archaeological collections nowadays, it happens to reach some corner of the primary unclassified *Wunderkammer* and find items that do not easily fit into the already established conceptual schemes. This short essay addresses one of such increasingly rare curious types of artefacts.

In the course of the assessment of prehistoric materials discovered in 2016–2022 at the Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88 site (Chmielewski 2023), several similar fragments of rather unique vessels were found in a large collection of Lengyel culture potteries. These were hollow pedestals of bowls with single holes drilled in the bottoms of the already broken-off containers (Fig. 1). Although the author of the cited report knew of some analogous

finds, he was also aware that these had never been described and studied comprehensively before. Since the general prehistoric knowledge and intuition made him suppose that the prehistoric phenomenon related to these finds was of an inter-regional scale, covering not only western Lesser Poland and a large part of the Carpathian Basin but possibly also eastern and central parts of the Balkan Peninsula, he decided to discuss the question with other archaeologists. These consultations have led to cooperation with two colleagues – one (Judit P. Barna) specialised in research on the Lengyel culture in the Pannonian Basin, and another (Adela Kovacs) involved into studies on Neolithic and Eneolithic of the area to the east and south-east of the Carpathian arch. Later on, the little intellectual venture was joined by two scholars specialised in the prehistory of the central and northern part of the Balkan Peninsula (Jovan Koledin and Dragan Milanović). The team effort allowed us to define the phenomenon in terms of typo-, choro- and chronology. As a result, we can present a bold hypothesis on the genesis and social context of the phenomenon that is to trigger a wide discussion on the issue.

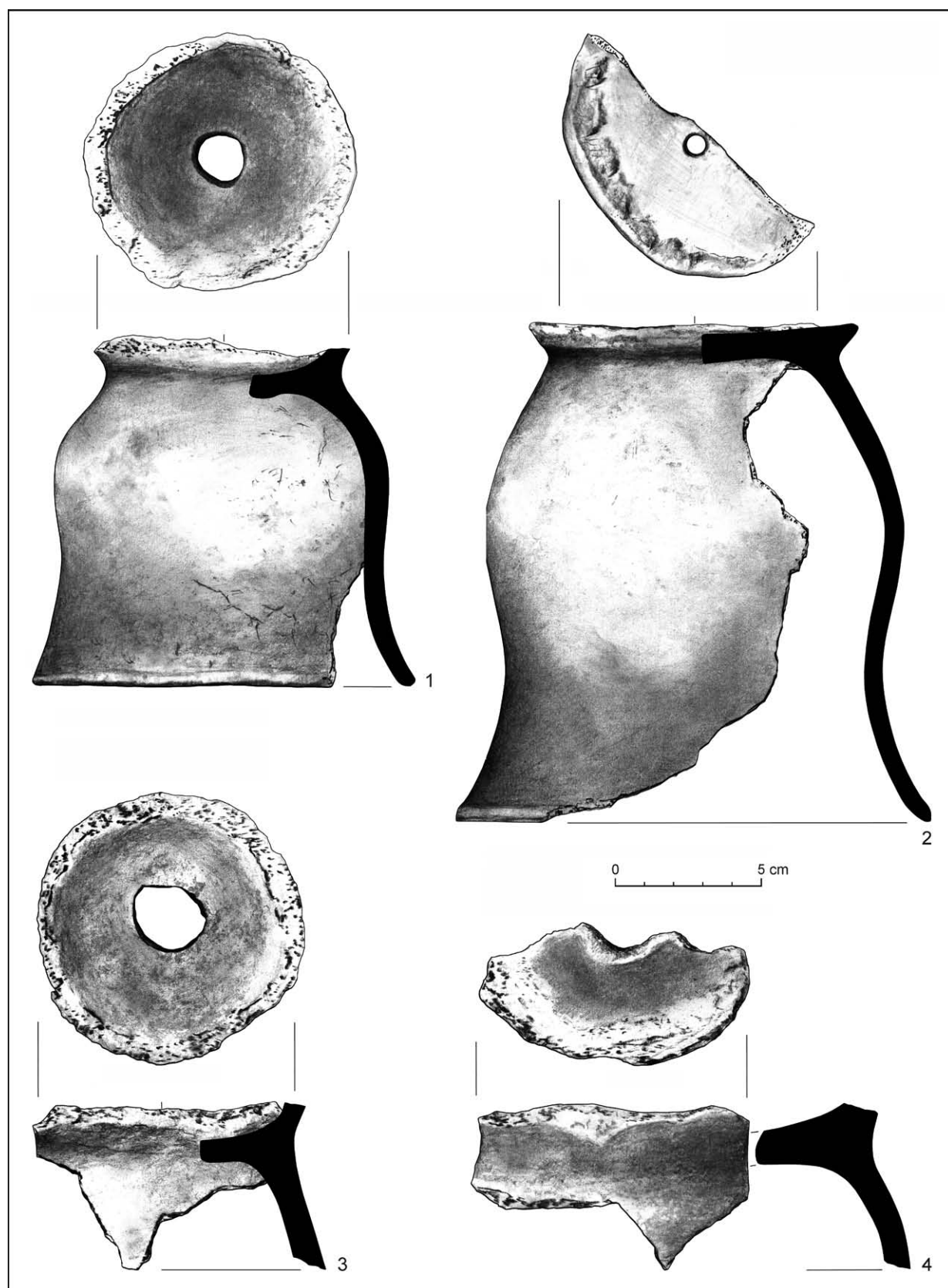


Fig. 1. Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88. Lengyel culture pedestals of bowls with perforated bottoms. Drawing N. Lenkow.

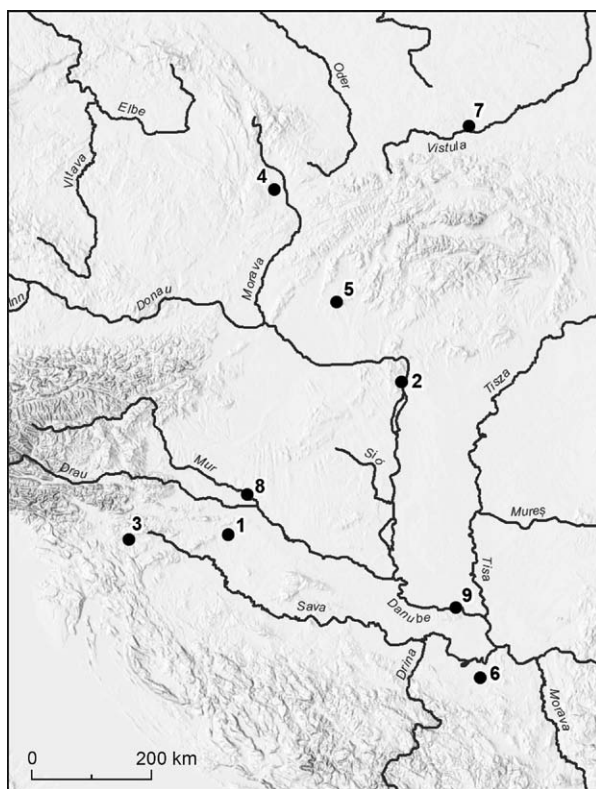


Fig. 2. Lengyel culture sites that yielded finds of pedestalled vessels with perforated bottoms. The sites are numbered and ordered alphabetically. For details see Tab. 1. Graphics M. Zawadzki.

CHRONO- AND CHOROLOGICAL DEFINITION

The contexts in which the pedestaled vessels with perforated bottoms occur in the Lengyel culture clearly indicate the existence of a spatially and temporally limited phenomenon.

Referring to the phasing of the Lengyel culture developed by J. Pavúk (cf., e.g., Čížmář *et al.* 2004; Pavúk 2000), all these finds – except for the slightly older pedestal of a bowl found in Čatež-Sredno polje – can be firmly dated to its IV phase, viz to the first stage of the Eneolithic in the Western Pannonian region and related areas.

All the Lengyel culture finds we have gathered (Fig. 2) concentrate in the Middle Danube catchment area and neighbouring basins of Upper Morava and Upper Vistula. At least at the moment, similar finds are not known from the western peripheries of the Lengyel complex, i.e., from the Austria, Bavaria,

Bohemia or Silesia. Thus, their occurrence clearly corresponds with the spread area of the Balaton-Lasinja and the Ludanice group, as well as regions under their strong influence, such as the Modlnica group in the south-western part of Lesser Poland (Tab. 1).

MORPHO-STYLISTIC AND FUNCTIONAL DEFINITION

Almost all the discussed ceramic finds of the late Lengyel culture were discovered as intact or distinctive fragments of vessels on bell-shaped pedestals, which belong to *fossiles directeurs* of the above mentioned Eneolithic groups of the late Lengyel culture in the Pannonian and peri-Pannonian area (cf., e.g., Dimitrijević 1979, 154, pl. XX: 3; XXI: 1; Horváth/Simon 2003, 111, 112, fig. 22: 16; Kalicz 1991, fig. 8; 17; 18; 1995a, fig. 3: 12; Pavúk 2000, 10, fig. 4: 19; 2023, 122, fig. 63: 8, 14; 65: 1b, 2) as well as the south-western part of Lesser Poland (cf., e.g., Kamińska/Kozłowski 1990, 53, pl. 25: 1, 3, 7). The only exception is the slightly older low conical pedestal from Čatež.¹

Regrettably, only two of the discussed vessels have their containers preserved. One comes from remains of the Ludanice group settlement discovered at the Dobogókő street in Budapest (Fig. 3).² Leaving aside the perforation, certain metrical and morphological attributes make this pot uncommon. Firstly, if compared with other pedestalled bowls from the time, the discussed vessel turns out to be very small. Secondly, the container has been shaped into ‘a crown’ with four symmetrically placed projections rising above the rim. Although similar bowls infrequently occur on contemporaneous sites of the Ludanice group and have even been found at other sites in Budapest (cf. Horváth 2003, fig. 2: 1), they do not match the pottery canon of the Ludanice culture. The other completely preserved vessel of the kind was found at the site Kalenić-Livade in Serbia (Fig. 4) together with pottery typical for the Krivodol-Sălcuța-Bubanj and Balaton-Lasinja cultures. Also in this case, the pot is rather small, and its container was shaped in a peculiar way. Very shallow and wide-opened subconical bowls as such occur rather rarely in the Balaton-Lasinja group (e.g., Horváth/Simon 2004, fig. 15; 17). On the contrary, *differentia specifica* of bowls of the mentioned cultural formation – represented also in the

¹ We excluded from our comparative analyses pedestalled vessels, bottoms of which had numerous smaller perforations, as these are closer to strainers (cf., e.g., Barna 2001, pl. III: 1; Regénye 2011, 9, pl. 7).

² The fact that the bottom of container is perforated was noted by the first author during his study trip to BTM Aquincumi Múzeum in the springtime 2010. The unique vessel was displayed on the exhibition entitled ‘Van új a föld alatt...’ and presented in the accompanying catalogue.

Tab. 1. Intact and fragmented pedestalled bowls with perforated bottoms found within the spread area of the Lengyel culture (see Fig. 2).

No.	Archaeological site	Administrative location	Feature	Context	Chronology	Description	Bibliography
1.	Beketinec-Imbralovec/Topolje	Koprivnica-Križevci County, HR	not specified	not specified	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Čataj 2020, slika 86, 113
2.	Budapest-Dobogókő street 5	Municipality of Budapest, HU	SE 23	settlement pit	Lengyel IV	pedestalled bowl with a single perforation	Tóth et al. 2023, 124, fig. 4: 3
3.	Čatež-Sredno polje	Municipality of Brežice, SL	PO 96	settlement pit	Lengyel III	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Tomaž 2022, 48, 49, 434, fig. 25
4.	Držovice	Olomouc Region, CZ	not specified	not specified	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Čížmář 2008, 271, photographs on the bottom of the page
5.	Jelšovce	Nitra Region, SK	316/84	settlement pit	Lengyel IV	single perforation	Pavúk/Bátora 1995, 43, 53, fig. 35: 1
6.	Kalenić-Livade	Kolubara District, RS	house (not specified)	remains of a house	Lengyel IV Sălcuța III	pedestalled bowl with a single perforation	Blagojević 2005, 60, fig. 22
7.1.	Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88	Municipality of Kraków, PL	B227	settlement pit	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Chmielewski 2023, fig. 74: 1
7.2.	Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88	Municipality of Kraków, PL	C139	settlement pit	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Chmielewski 2023, fig. 77: 1
7.3.	Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88	Municipality of Kraków, PL	X654	settlement pit	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Chmielewski 2023, fig. 81: 1
7.4.	Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88	Municipality of Kraków, PL	A317	redeposited into a younger settlement pit	Lengyel IV(?)	fragment of a bottom of a pedestalled vessel; single perforation	Chmielewski 2023, fig. 90: 6
8.	Letenye-Szentkeresztődomb	Zala County, HU	14	settlement pit	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	Kalicz 1995b, 72, fig. 23: 3
9.	Novi Sad-Sajjlovo	South Bačka District, RS	38	settlement pit(?) within the Bodrogkeresztúr culture cemetery	Lengyel IV	pedestal of a vessel with a single perforation in the bottom	unpublished; finds presently assessed by J. Koledin

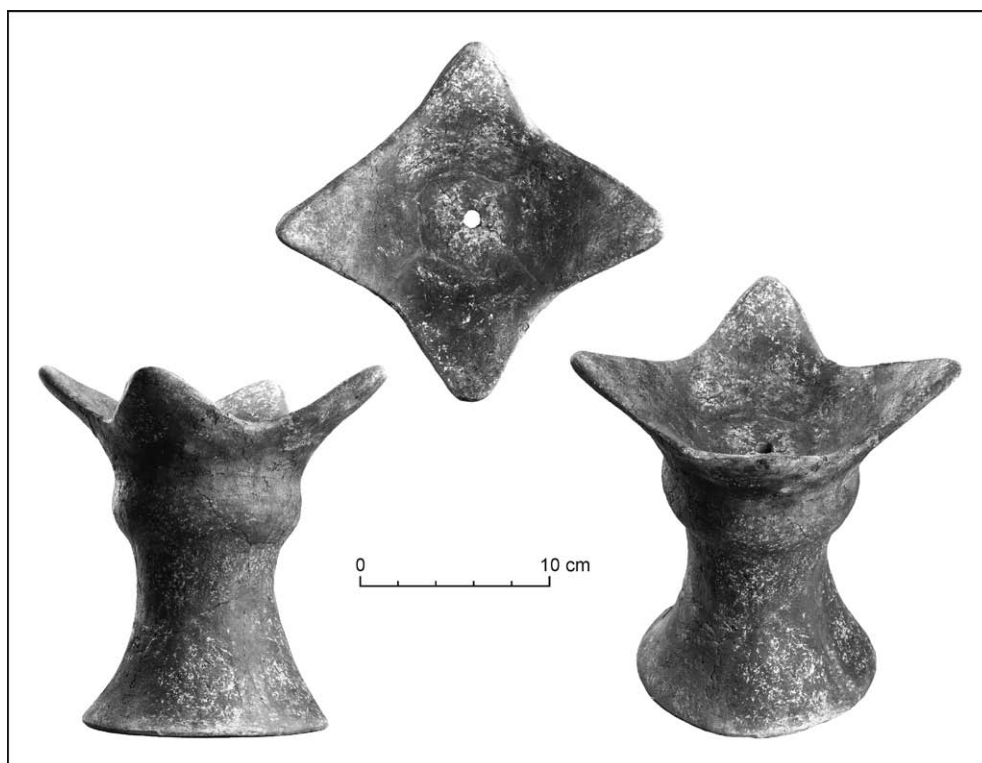


Fig. 3. Budapest, Dobogókő street. Lengyel culture pedestalled bowl with perforated bottom (Budapest History Museum, Inv. n. GY/2849/23/1). Photo N. Szilágyi.

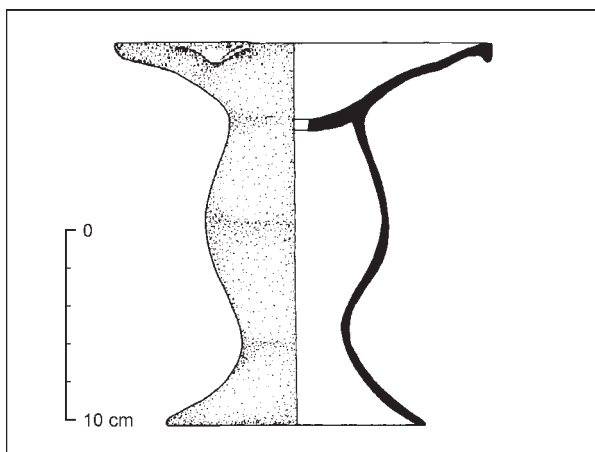


Fig. 4. Kalenicz-Livade. Lengyel culture pedestalled bowl with perforated bottom (after Blagojević 2005).

rich Lengyel-style ceramic assemblage discovered at the same site – is that they are deeper and have inverted rims (Blagojević 2005, fig. 23; cf. Horváth/Simon 2003, 111, 112, fig. 22: 9, 10; 23: 1; 24: 1, 2, 4, 7; 25: 2, 3; Kalicz 1991, fig. 6; 7).

When assessed from the technological point of view, all vessels in question appear rather as a common everyday use ware of the Lengyel culture at the late stages of its development. These are typical shards of medium thickness made of grog (cham-

otte) tempered clay and fired in rather low fireplace temperature. The surfaces of the pedestalled vessels are rather smooth. Their colours are not homogeneous and range from dark greyish brown to reddish/orange brown or buff, sometimes with firing clouds. Excluding the pedestal found in Novi Sad, which bears very delicate traits of white painted lines, they were unornamented.

Whatever they were originally intended to contain, the primary function of the vessels has been negated by acts of perforating their bottoms clearly performed to make them leak. What is worth noting, is the presence of a specific white crust on inner surfaces of the pedestals found in Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88. No such coating has been observed on the outer walls or on the upper surfaces of the original bottoms of other vessels of the kind. Also, it must be stressed that such residues are not observed on any other bowls' pedestals frequently occurring in the large Lengyel culture ceramic assemblage from the site. The presence of such coating indicates that some liquid rich in calcium carbonate has flowed down the inner walls of the pedestals. Unfortunately, analyses of residual lipids from the walls of these vessels, except for one case, gave negative results.³ Right now then, we can only speculate on the character of liquids leaking down the pedestals of the vessels under discussion.

Although very little can be inferred about function(s) of the discussed ceramic forms from their archaeological contexts, two finds appear very meaningful. The first of them is the above-mentioned vessel from Novi Sad. The broken-off pedestal comes from a feature (although not a grave pit!) located within the area of a burial ground of the Bodrogkeresztúr culture (with some pottery grave goods indicating apparent Lengyel influences). The other context that has been described as a possible ritual pit was the one found on the outskirts of Budapest. As described by F. M. Tóth and co-authors ‘... on the southeastern side of Péter-Hill, on a higher, steeply sloping terrain, features different from those usually occurring in settlements were unearthed; stratified, repeatedly renewed firing and burning surfaces, as well as pits containing intact vessels [...] that were also different from the usual ones.’⁴ It seems quite likely then, that pedestalled bowls under discussion were used as ritual paraphernalia.

GENETICAL ANALYSIS

Since the occurrence of pedestalled vessels with secondarily perforated bottoms seems to be unprecedented in the western Carpathian Basin and circum-Pannonian *milieu* of the Lengyel culture and correlates with the beginning of the Eneolithic, the phenomenon seems to be associated with epochal socio-technological changes taking place in early agrarian communities inhabiting this part of Central Europe. It is therefore worthwhile to look for analogous finds in neighbouring areas where the development of the Danubian complex was stimulated by similar socio-technological factors.

In our view, special attention must be drawn to a very peculiar group of finds coming from the very cradle of the European Chalcolithic, i.e., in the lower Danube area. No later than at the stage of the Late Neolithic, in the Vădastra culture, in the region there appeared ‘baroque’-ornamented hollow pedestalled bowls with holes purposefully formed in their bottoms before firing. A strong evidence connects them with a cult of ancestors (Fig. 5). Shortly later, similar ceramic forms – hollow-pedestalled table-like stands with holes preformed



Fig. 5. Hotărani-Fărcașele. Vădastra culture hollow-pedestalled bowl (after Dragoman 2019). A human skull deposited within the vessel is a clear evidence of its connection with the cult of dead or ancestors (cf. Dragoman 2009, 101, fig. 4; Nica 1971, 18, 20, fig. 6: 6; 7: 1). Without scale.

in their tops – became commonly used as grave goods (buried exclusively with men of high status) in the coastal area of nowadays Romania and Bulgaria. Their common occurrence in funeral contexts

³ All fragments of pedestalled bowls with perforated bottoms from Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88 were sampled for lipid residue analyses. The sampling was performed personally by I. Wiltshire and the analyses by M. Roffet-Salque from the Organic Geochemistry Unit of the University of Bristol. Only in one case the result was positive (animal fats). However, as commented by Mrs. Wiltshire, who communicated us the output of analyses, detected remains could be connected with the primary function of the investigated vessel.

⁴ “A Péter-hegy délkeleti oldalában, magasabban fekvő, erőteljesen lejtő térszínen megtalált lelőhelyen, a településeken megszokottaktól eltérő jelenségek; egymásra rétegződő, többször megújított tüzelő- és sütőfelületek, valamint a szokványostól szintén különböző, ép edényeket tartalmazó (rituális rendeltetésű?) gödrök kerültek felszínre [...]” (Tóth et al. 2023, 124).

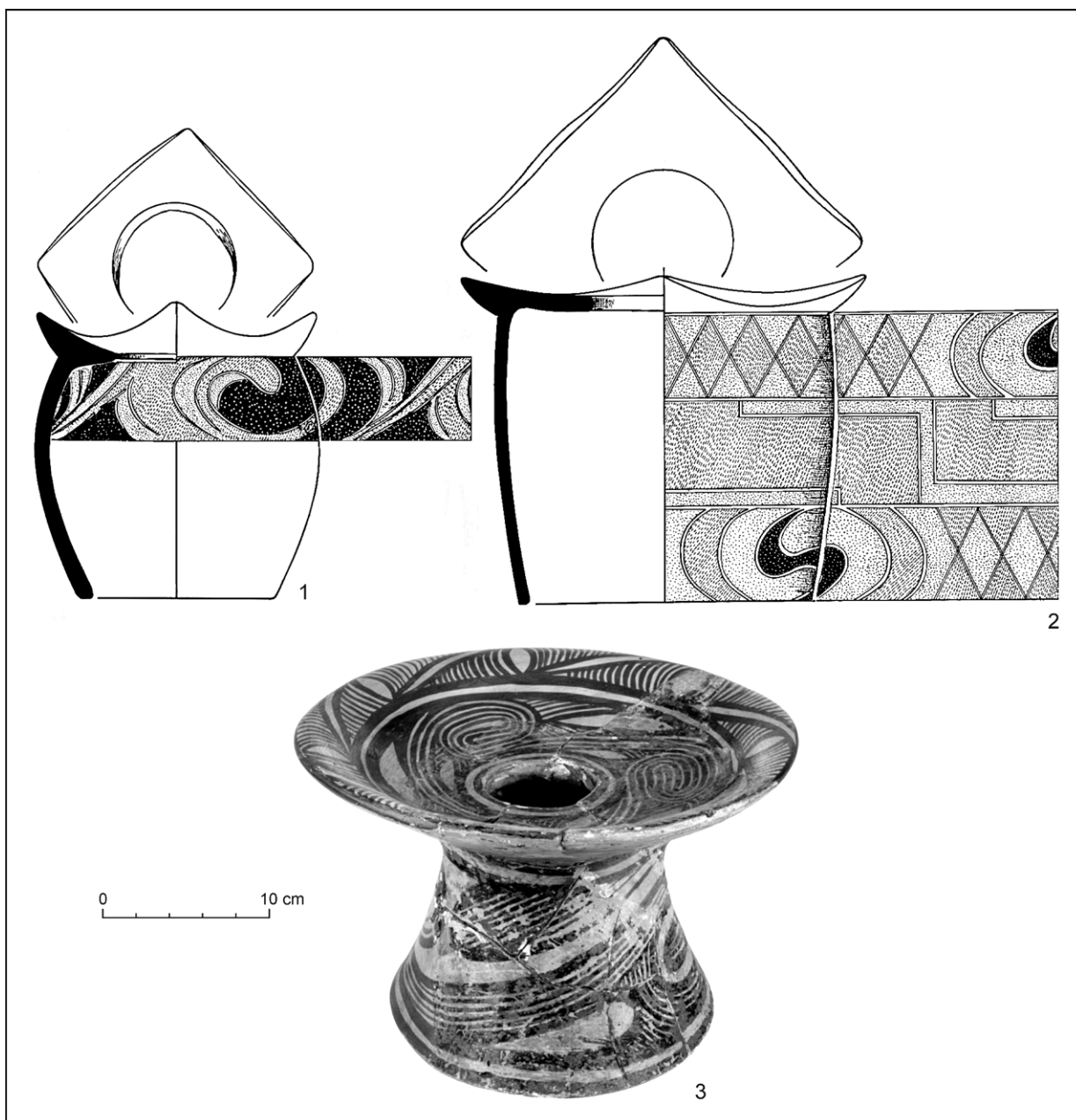


Fig. 6. Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI (1, 2) and Cucuteni culture (3) 'stands' with holes preformed in their tops. 1, 2 – Durankulak-Golemija ostrov (after Todorova et al. 2002); 3 – Traian-Dealul Fântânilor (after Preoteasa 2023).

began at the end of phase III and reached its peak in phase IV of the Hamangia culture and phase I of the Varna culture (Fig. 6: 1, 2). At the same time, these were very seldom deposited in settlement contexts (Todorova 2002, 86, 87, fig. 113; Voinea 2005, 41). Most probably under the influence of the Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI complex, such pottery forms appear in hybrid complexes of the Bolgrad-Aldeni type (Dragomir 1983, 66, fig. 28: 9), which constitute the *Kulturbrücke* between the mentioned West Pontic cultural area and the Cucuteni-Trypillia circle to the north. Although less frequently, vessels

of the kind occur also in contexts associated with the latter cultural complex (Fig. 6: 3).

Despite the temporal and historical concurrence, the perforated pedestals of the Lengyel culture and the Eneolithic stands from the Black Sea coastal area are connected only by a distant similarity of forms. Therefore, some may simply conclude that these phenomena were convergent. Considering the opposite hypothesis, we should rather wonder what imponderables could have caused the phenomenon to manifest itself so differently in both areas under discussion – as ritual paraphernalia carefully made

to be used in lavish funerary ceremonies of the Varna culture communities, on the one hand, and expediently reused (perforated) shallow pedestalled bowls of the Lengyel culture, on the other.

SOCIO-HISTORIC ANALYSIS

When looking for factors that could have caused the (assumably) same phenomenon to take such contrasting forms in the Pontic area and in the Western part of the Carpathian basin, one should delve deep into Eneolithic technical practices located between binary production strategies, which will be referred to as 'lavish' and 'thrifty' ones. As observed in the course of numerous studies conducted among living cultures, the perception of certain economic practices through the prism of these categories reveals the contradictory nature of human behaviour. Thriftiness in social life is always defined concerning the binary relationship between wastefulness and lavishness. The relationship depends on available economic resources, technological means (including time, skills and knowledge) and socially defined end-goals (cf., e.g., *Alexander/Sosna 2022*). It is in these categories that we will attempt to explain the differences between Eneolithic 'ceramic economies' in Central and South-Eastern Europe in general, and the occurrence of different forms of 'made-to-leak' pedestalled vessels in particular.

The scale of the use of 'lavish strategies' observed in the already mentioned Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI cultural complex, and especially on the Dobrogea coast of the Black Sea, in the Varna culture, is unprecedented in the whole prehistoric Europe. Making use of their rapid technological development and focal position in the network of interregional connections, the communities inhabiting the West Pontic zone not only became producers of a wide range of prestigious items but also gained access to various luxurious goods from the entire eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula and beyond. The ability of the Eneolithic communities living at the time in the Black Sea coastal area to stimulate the primary demand for symbols of prestige and use it to build their social position by applying lavish strategies is perfectly mirrored in funeral rituals. In burials discovered at large cemeteries such as those in Varna (*Ivanov/Avramova 2000*) or Durankulak (*Todorova Hrsg. 2002*), there were numerous grave goods made of gold and copper, unique stone and flint tools, ornaments made from *Spondylus* shells, and finally – richly decorated (sometimes even gold-plated!) ceramic vessels. The luxurious items, or at least raw materials necessary to make them, often came from several hundred kilometres away. Their

acquisition and production required a lot of effort, knowledge and skills. Therefore, the readiness to sacrifice them as a 'due share' given posthumously to individual members of the community must be considered a costly manifestation of the socio-economic position of families and relatives of the deceased.

Relatedly and soon afterwards, similar social transformations took place in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin in the so-called Polgár cultural circle. Also there, in the 45th c. BC, large cemeteries, such as Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (*Bognár-Kutzián 1963*) or Veľké Raškovce (*Vizdal 1977*), started to play the role of crucial places of analogical social performance. Consequently, many burials were furnished with numerous and diverse prestigious gifts, sometimes of very distant provenance (cf., e.g., *Kadrow 2008; Lichter 2001, 269–293, 311–359; Nevizánsky 1984*).

Contrary to the course of the development of the Eneolithic in the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula and in the Tisza Basin, among Lengyel communities in the western part of the Carpathian Basin and neighbouring culturally related regions, social interactions became much more atomized and concentrated in separate households. At this stage, the occurrence of large cemeteries wherein some individuals were buried with numerous and varied prestigious grave goods that appeared at the end of the Late Neolithic (cf. *Lichter 2001, 233–257; Regenye et al. 2016; Zalai-Gaál 2012; Zalai-Gaál et al. 2012*) is no longer observed (cf. *Lichter 2001, 360–372; Nevizánsky 1985; Pažinová/Bistáková 2013; Virág 2023, 144–149*). Bigger community burial grounds or smaller family cemeteries with richly equipped graves are recorded only on the distant north-western peripheries of the Lengyel community – in the area of the Polish Lowland (see, e.g., *Grygiel 2008; Mozgala-Swacha/Murzyński 2017*).

In the case of the Chalcolithic communities of the Lengyel culture, the choice of socio-economic strategies aimed at achieving social fitness resulted from their restricted productivity, which was largely determined by the insular occurrence of raw materials that were of strategic importance for the early Eneolithic economy. The deficient supply of copper or the lack of high-quality knappable siliceous rocks significantly hampered the transfer of prestigious technologies, *ipso facto* limiting the access of many Lengyel communities to the luxury goods' market.

However, the fact that most village groups of the Lengyel culture could not participate very intensively in 'lavish strategies' at the level of production does not mean that social interactions in these Eneolithic communities were in no way based on the use of prestigious items. Although somewhat later, in the spread area of the Lengyel culture

there appeared similar luxury goods of local manufacture, what is best manifested in the regional metallurgical production (see, e.g., *Matuschik* 1996, 2–11, fig. 10; 1998, 215–219, 230–232, fig. 230; *Peška/Ondrkál* 2023, 203–228; *Siklósi et al.* 2022, 25–34; *Virág* 2010; 2019; *Virág et al.* 2025). Significantly though, at the earliest stage of the Eneolithic in the western part of the Carpathian Basin and in neighbouring areas of Lower Austria and Moravia lavish socio-economic manifestations of metal items' consumption took the form of hoarding rather than the 'funeral potlatch' typical of the early Eneolithic communities of the West Pontic zone or the Great Hungarian Plain (e.g., Csáford-Zalaszengrót: *Korek* 1960; Kotouč-Štramberk: *Jisl* 1967; Šikulová/Zápotocký 2010; Magyaregres: *Hornok/Kiss* 2017; Stollhof-Lange Wand: *von Angeli* 1967). Of course, the hoarding of precious golden, silver and copper goods must have belonged to the lavish strategies of the leaders of the Lengyel culture communities and as such they could have constituted, for example, votive deposits (cf. *Kovárník* 2020; *Lichardus-Itten* 1991), yet at least with some prospect of recovering them without disturbing the peace of their dead relatives.

The outlined differences were generated by bottom-up geo-economical and socio-ideological mechanisms that also determined emic concepts of rational thriftiness and lavishness/wastefulness. To understand this better, one must first realise that thrift practices in traditional societies do not belong permanently to the sphere of a community; it is only in modern times that thriftiness has become a public issue. Regarding some Chalcolithic agrarian communities one can even think that community-level wastefulness (unprecedented consumption of prestigious goods) completely displaced thriftiness from the public discourse. In our view, however, in the Pannonian and Circum-Pannonian area of the Lengyel culture the entanglement of thrifty and lavish economic behaviours evolved differently, allowing these societies to achieve individual and group social fitness in quite another way than in the Varna or Polgár cultures. The ceramic production of the Lengyel culture in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin and related neighbouring areas seem to reflect this unique relationship between public wastefulness and household-level thriftiness very well. We believe that vessels under discussion took their peculiar expedient form as a material expression of this regionally and temporally specific understanding of thriftiness.

Starting from the phase Lengyel III, the traditional high quality richly ornamented thin-walled ultra-fine ware of the Lengyel culture was gradually going out of circulation. The pottery dated to the Lengyel IV phase is characterized by a noticeable

stylistic and technological minimalism, particularly visible among the communities of the Balaton (sub-) group and the Ludanice group. Even though they started to use a wider range of vessel forms than in previous periods, the clear division into fine and coarse earthenware disappears altogether, and the pottery undergoes a technological and aesthetic simplification (cf. *Horváth/Simon* 2003, 111–115, fig. 21–27; *Pavúk* 2023, 122, 123, fig. 63–65). The latter manifests itself, among others, in the poverty of ornamentation, which persists mainly in some western peripheral areas of the Lengyel circle, such as the southeastern sub-Alpine region (Lasinja sub-/group; cf. *Kramberger* 2020, 66–76, fig. 5; 7; 8; ftn. 2), the northern sub-Alpine area (Münschofen group; cf. *Süß* 1976, 6–39; see also *Meixner* 2017), or the Circum-Sudeten region (Jordanów Śląski group; cf. *Kamieńska/Kozłowski* 1990, 76, 77, pl. 44; 45; *Košťuřík* 1997, 90–92, fig. 1–9; *Zápotocký* 2016, 19, fig. 3–9).

It has long been noticed that the changes in the Early and Middle Eneolithic ceramic production of the western part of the Carpathian Basin and related areas resulted from the contact of the Lengyel culture communities with pottery-making patterns originating from the central Balkans (cf., e.g., *Bánffy* 1995; 2002; *Kalicz* 1982, 6, 7; 1991, 355; 1995a, 38–40; *Kramberger* 2014, 247–257; 2020, 76). Although in this context more attention has been paid to stylistic and formal similarities of vessels, one cannot forget about the adaptation of a number of technological solutions, which include a common use of thrifty ceramic production practices (re-use of pottery) deeply rooted in the tradition of the Vinča culture (see, e.g., *Vuković* 2015; 2017, 63–67). These were, among others, common adding crushed ceramics (grog) as a temper in pottery matrix (cf., e.g., *Kreiter et al.* 2017; *Spataro* 2017, 64–69; see also the current overview in *Opriş* 2025), making spindle whorls from shards (cf. *Chmielewski* 2009, 82–86), or using massive handles of storage vessels as ceramic fishing net weights/pottery smoothing tools (cf. *Janák* 1997). We are inclined to add to the list also the discussed adaptation of the pedestalled bowls for some ritual purposes by drilling holes in their bottoms.

The very items of our interest, expediently obtained from rather coarse everyday use vessels of no particular aesthetic, symbolic or technological value, certainly allowed to save some resources and time (for the production of ceramic utilities) as well as energy (including energy carriers in the form of firewood) in the future. Still, the economic gain cannot be considered substantial. As *A. Podkalicka* and *J. Potts* (2014, 235) aptly put it, "... [t]hrift is an utterly normal behaviour of material and skilful rationality when observed under conditions of resource scarcity or competition. That is exactly where thrift resides for most

of human history, making its way into ethical templates. Thrift behaviour has thus traditionally been identical to necessary behaviour in the face of poverty and as a morally rightful – ‘waste not/want not’ – type of behaviour through the escape from such poverty. The puzzle, then, is why thrift behaviour persists, both maintained and even sometimes re-expressed when wealth [...] rises, and furthermore why it takes the particular forms it does.” So, why it occurred when it did and in the way it did?

It must be noticed that despite significant differences in the pace and direction of Eneolithic socio-economic changes, the basic polarisation of male and female social roles and its symbolic expressions among communities of the Lengyel culture and those remaining under its dominant influence, closely reminds early Chalcolithic phenomena observed in the West Pontic or East Carpathian areas (cf., e.g., Kadrow 2008; 2011). However, the new social model must have been adopted to quite a different economic reality of the western Pannonian and peri-Pannonian area. This must have had a natural effect on the differences in the ways the two sexes built their social capital and engendered their roles.

As already stressed, the Lengyel culture community quickly adopted Eneolithic lavish behaviours based on the production and consumption of various prestige goods to their spectrum of social strategies. However, in the western part of the Carpathian Basin the transfer of Eneolithic prestigious technologies into such male-dominated spheres of production as metallurgy or chipped stone industry was limited by difficulties of obtaining raw materials. Therefore, in this cultural area, ‘luxury’ products of the woman-dominated sphere of production, that was not seriously affected by resource shortages (cf. Chmielewski 2014, 53, fn. 4), might have been valued higher than in neighbouring regions. At the beginning of the Eneolithic, such goods probably included linen woven textiles (cf., e.g., Chmielewski 2009, 244–246). Of course, in light of the previous arguments, the production of ceramic utensils – undoubtedly also belonging to the feminine domain (cf., e.g., Vuković 2013) – was no longer as prized symbolically and economically as it used to have been in earlier times. Still, women, who not only could produce prestige goods, but also were able or at least skilfully manifested ability to economize on what at the time was less exposed in socio-economic interactions, must have been valued exceptionally. In this context, creative reuse of pottery can be seen as a performative (ritual?) manifestation of the ethos of a thrifty woman, who by her skilful household husbandry could contribute to a community-oriented (and more wasteful) social activity of man.

The rising desire for artisans bearing the knowledge and skills necessary to produce certain innova-

tive prestigious goods, as well as the growing ethos of a thrifty guardian of hearth and home, who could save resources allowing for acquiring prestigious goods that could not be made locally, must have increased matrimonial mobility of women. In the archaeological record it is reflected by the maximum expansion of Lengyel culture ceramic patterns (cf. Pavúk 2007, 19, 20, fig. 6; 2023, 104, 105), including the wide spread of different pottery recycling and reuse techniques. The idea of expediently made ritual pots (hollow pedestalled bowls with perforated bottoms) quickly diffused over and beyond the Carpathian Basin as a part of this Eneolithic package of thrifty pottery practices.

Interestingly, this wide distribution of the early Chalcolithic Lengyel-style ceramics in Central Europe contrasts sharply with the much more limited reception of early Copper Age pottery-making patterns developed earlier in the Tisza basin (the Tiszapolgár culture and the early phase of Bodrogkeresztúr culture). It cannot be a coincidence that the Chalcolithic ‘Polgár model’ reached its greatest impact on neighbouring regions only when these communities abandoned excessively luxurious production and consumption practices at the stage of the late Bodrogkeresztúr culture and the Lažňany-Hunyadihalom-Vajska complex. Apparently, the development of male-dominated ‘lavish strategies’ based on the use of prestige technologies and raw materials of limited accessibility were in and on themselves exclusivist and led to technological and social isolationism, while ‘thrifty strategies’ and related practices were inherently egalitarian and therefore more diffusible. These opposing patterns of cultural patterns’ mobility correspond with matrimonial mobility as reflected by different ranges and directions of genetic flows within and between the early Eneolithic populations of the Lengyel and the Polgár culture (see Szécsényi-Nagy *et al.* 2025, 10–13, fig. 4).

Seen from such a diffusionist-processual perspective (see Rajewski 2017 for an exhaustive discussion on the question), the transmission of the idea of ‘stands’ with a preformed holes from the West Pontic area into the *milieu* of the Lengyel culture would represent a cultural process which A. Kroeber named ‘stimulus diffusion’ and defined as follows: ‘... [d]iffused culture material often contains concrete or specific elements by which the fact of diffusion can be subsequently recognized even in the absence of a record of the event. In some cases [...] the diffusion is definitely piecemeal [...]. In this event, the fragments or isolated items may be put into an entirely new context in the culture which they enter. Such partial bits may diffuse more widely than patterns or systems or complexes of which they form a part [...]. [This] type of diffusion [i.e., stimulus diffusion – T. J. Ch.]

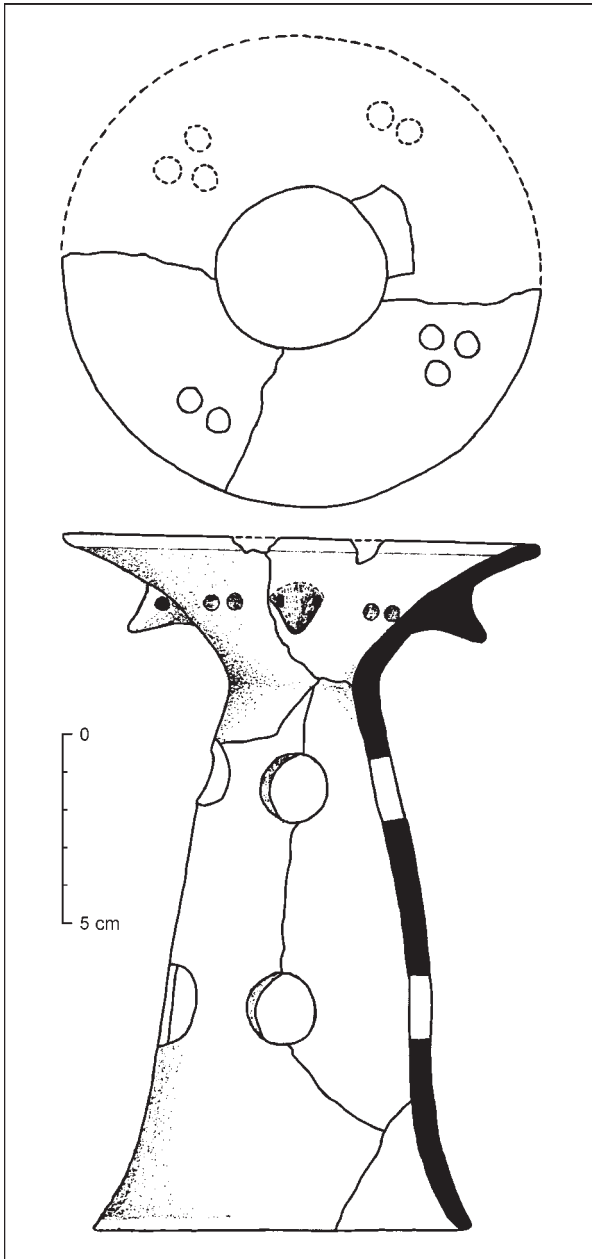


Fig. 7. Şumal-Dealul lui Kun. Tiszapolgár culture hollow-pedestalled bowl without bottom (after Iercoşan 2002). Similar bottomless pedestalled bowls were found in the grave 68 of the Tiszapolgár-Basatanya cemetery (Bognár-Kutzián 1963, pl. LXXVIII: 5; CXXVII: 3a) and at the site Tiszavalk-Kenderföld (Patay 1978, 51, pl. VIII: 1).

is in some ways of an opposite kind. It occurs in situations where a system or pattern as such encounters no resistance to its spread, but there are difficulties in regard to the transmission of the concrete content of the system. In this case it is the idea of the complex or system which is accepted, but it remains for the receiving culture to develop a new content...' (Kroeber 1940, 1).

Approaching the problem of borrowings in such a way we can nuance the hypothesised furtherance

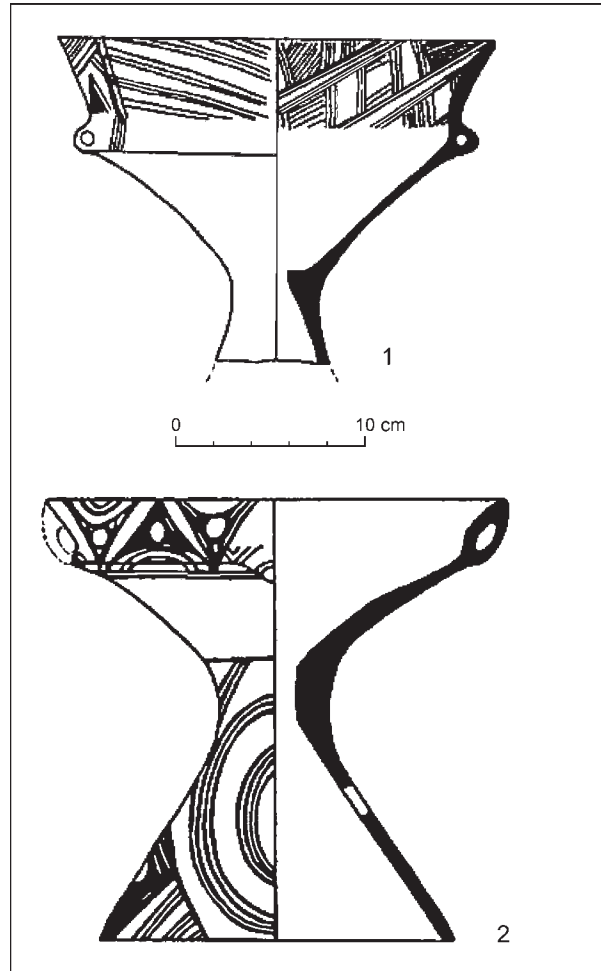


Fig. 8. Slatino 5-6. Sălcuţa-Krivodol-Bubanj culture hollow-pedestalled bowl with a hole preformed in its bottom (1) and without bottom (2; after Georgieva 2012). As noticed by P. Georgieva (2012, 124), the 'stands' belong to ceramic forms that represent the highest quality craftsmanship of the Sălcuţa-Krivodol-Bubanj culture's potters.

of the discussed idea of ritual pot from the Black Sea coast to the western part of the Pannonian Basin and beyond. Otherwise, the expediently performed pedestals with perforated bottoms found in the Lengyel culture could be at best considered to represent strongly degraded forms of stylistically refined ritual vessels of the Varna culture (the Kodžadermen-Gumelniţa-Karanovo VI complex). Also, when accepting the explanation in terms of stimulus diffusion, we allow for yet other possible regional manifestations of the supposedly same wide Eneolithic phenomenon, i.e., hollow-pedestalled bowls without bottoms (Fig. 7). What bridges the idea of an Eneolithic preformed (holed/bottomless) and performed (secondarily perforated) 'made-to-leak' pedestalled bowls in space and time, is their co-occurrence in the transitory *milieu* of the Sălcuţa-Krivodol-Bubanj culture in Central Balkans (Fig. 8)

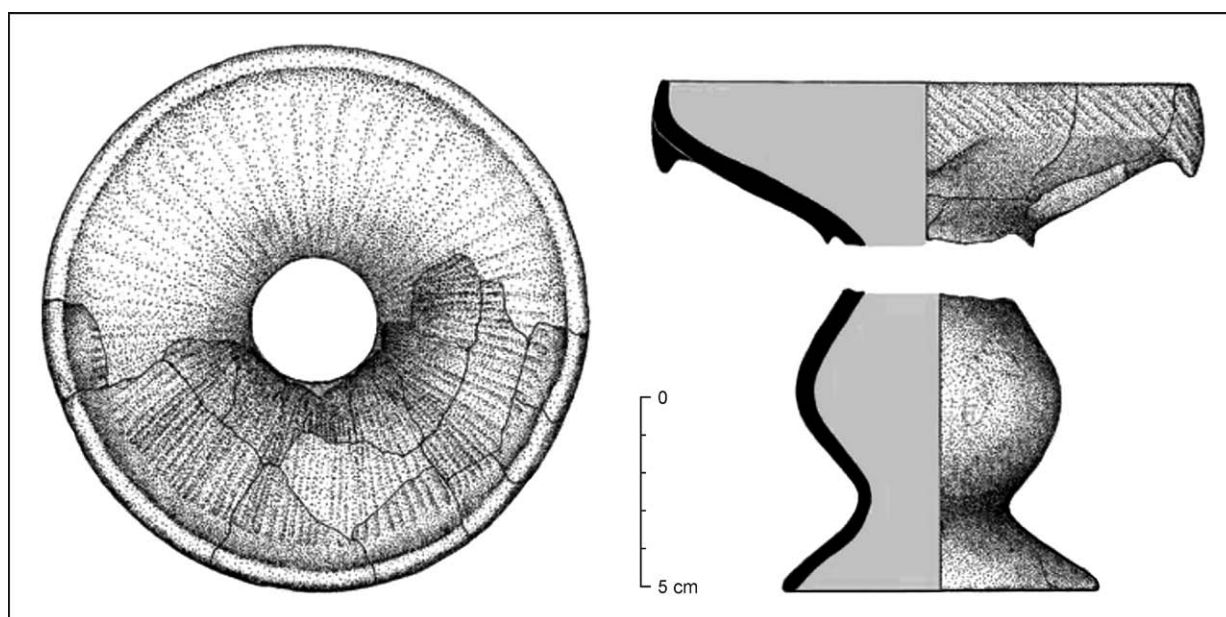


Fig. 9. Sormás-Mántai-dűlő. Lengyel culture hollow-pedestalled bowl without bottom (after Straub 2006).

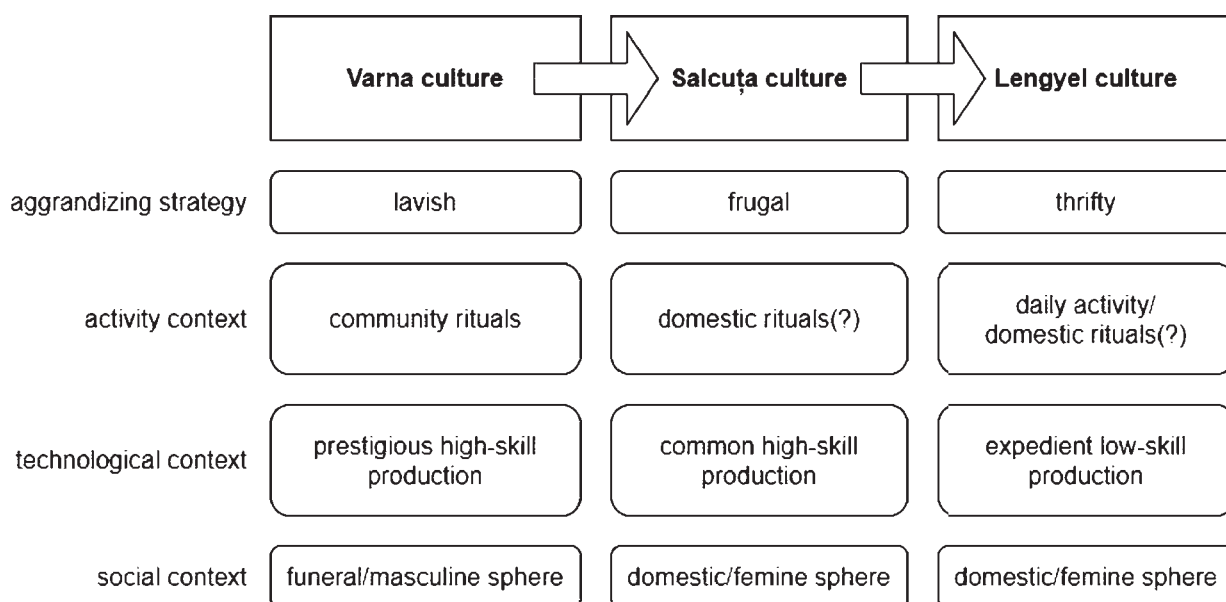


Fig. 10. Diagram illustrating transformations occurring in the course of the hypothesised stimulus diffusion of Eneolithic ‘made-to-leak’ pedestalled vessels from the western Pontic coast (Varna culture), via central Balkan area (Salcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj culture), into the Carpathian region (Lengyel culture). Conception and graphics T. J. Chmielewski.

and – as attested by an unique vessel from Sormás (Fig. 9) – also in Transdanubia.

CONCLUSIONS

Pedestalled bowls with perforated bottoms that have been presented and discussed in this study represent a very peculiar ceramic form occurring

exclusively in contexts of the late Lengyel culture in the western part of the Carpathian Basin and culturally related neighbouring regions. Their range – as we know it today – corresponds to the spread area of different cultural patterns from Transdanubia to the north (southern part of the Lesser Poland Upland), as well as to the south and south-east (north-western Serbia). So far, their presence has not been documented in the north-western peripheral spread area

of the Lengyel culture (Bohemia, Lower Silesia). For these reasons they should be seen as spatially and temporally limited phenomenon correlated with the beginning of the Eneolithic in this area.

Based on numerous analogies, we formulated quite a bold diffusionist-processual hypothesis explaining their Western Pontic origins. We suppose that pedestalled bowls with perforations performed in their bottoms occurring in the Lengyel culture can be genetically connected with hollow pedestalled stands with holes preformed in bottoms of shallow containers commonly occurring in man's graves of late phases of the Hamangia and Varna culture. It is apparent that the indicated prototypes were of great ceremonial and prestigious significance in funeral rituals and it is very likely that the vessels of the Lengyel culture were also used for

ritual purposes. In our view, the idea of carefully preformed ritual made-to-leak pedestalled vessels could have found its way to the western part of the Carpathian Basin through the area of Central Balkans (the Sălcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj complex). We suppose that when it reached the Pannonian and Circum-Pannonian *milieu* of the Lengyel culture, local communities adapted the concept into a specific woman-dominated household 'economy of pots' as expediently made bowls with perforated bottoms. Taking into account the contextually inferred ritual function of the vessels under discussion, one could venture an opinion that within the Lengyel community the expedient way of turning everyday ceramic objects into cultic paraphernalia could be perceived as a form of ritualized (though rather not ceremonial) thrift (Fig. 10).

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Authors' contributions

Tomasz J. Chmielewski – conceptualization (lead), data curation (lead), analysis (equal), funding acquisition (lead), investigation (equal), methodology (lead), supervision (lead), writing of original draft (lead), review and editing (supporting), visualisation and graphics (lead); *Judit P. Barna* – data curation (supporting), analysis (equal), investigation (equal), writing of original draft (supporting), review and editing (lead), visualisation and graphics (supporting); *Jovan Koledin* – data curation (supporting), investigation (equal); *Adela Kovacs* – data curation (supporting), analysis (equal), investigation (equal), writing of original draft (supporting), review and editing (supporting), visualisation and graphics (supporting); *Dragan Milanović* – data curation (supporting), analysis (equal), investigation (equal), review and editing (supporting).

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Vyformované a perforované

O misách na nôžke s otvorom v dne v lengyelskej kultúre

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SÚHRN

Počas spracovania nálezov z archeologických výskumov v rokoch 2016–2022 na lokalite Krakov-Nowa Huta-Zesławice, poloha 88 (Chmielewski 2023), bolo v keramickom súbore lengyelskej kultúry objavených viacero fragmentov špecifických typov nádob. Ide o duté nôžky mís (pohárov) so sekundárne prevrtanými dnami (obr. 1; 3; 4). Analogické keramické tvary sú v okruhu lengyelskej kultúry J. Pavúkom datované do jej III. a IV. fázy (pozri Čížmář *et al.* 2004; Pavúk 2000). Koncentrujú sa v povodí stredného Dunaja, na priľahlých územiach Moravy a v západnej časti Malopoľska (obr. 2).

Keďže sa tento fenomén objavuje až na začiatku eneolitu, domnievame sa, že výskyt prevrtaných dien na misách s dutou nôžkou môže mať súvis s prebiehajúcimi spoločenskými zmenami. V tomto kontexte sú zaujímavé nálezy priamo z „kolísky“ stredoeurópskeho eneolitu, teda z oblasti Pričiernomoria (západopontské pobrežie), kde sa objavujú plytké misy na dutých nôžkach najmä v III. fáze kultúry Hamangia (najčastejšie v hrobách) a počas fázy Varna I (obr. 6: 1, 2). Tieto typy nádob sa vyskytujú v hrobách mužov, ktorým sa pripisuje vysoký spoločenský status. Nateraz ich neeviduujeme na sídliskách (Todorova 2002, 86, 87, obr. 113; Voinea 2005, 41).

Okrem chronologických súvislostí sa diskutované formy nádob v okruhu lengyelskej kultúry v mnohom líšia od hrovej keramiky z pričiernomorskej oblasti – plytkých mís („tácok“) na nôžkach. Na základe uvedeného by teda mohlo ísť o konvergentný charakter tohto javu. Ak však vezmeme do úvahy opačnú hypotézu, teda pričiernomorskú genézu myšlienky objavujúcej sa vo včasnoeneolitickej lengyelskej kultúre, je potrebné zvážiť aké okolnosti spôsobili, že sa tá istá myšlienka prejavila v rovnakom čase úplne odlišným spôsobom v predmetných oblastiach. Na jednej strane išlo o kvalitne a špeciálne vyhotovené príslušenstvo pre potreby luxusných pohrebných obradov, na strane druhej o keramické formy pravdepodobne vyrobené a opakovane používané na každodenné aktivity v podobe mís na dutých nôžkach. Usudzujeme, že tieto rozdiely môžu poukazovať na polarizované sociálne praktiky, ktoré možno spájať s odlišnými hospodárskymi stratégiami: okázalé (založené na bohatstve) a úsporné.

V kontexte európskeho praveku je dobre rozoznateľná stratégia založená na okázalosti a bohatstve (luxuse) v kultúrnom komplexe Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI, ale obzvlášť v kultúre Varna. Schopnosť vytvárať dopyt po prestížnom tovare a zároveň ho využiť na budovanie a upevňovanie si spoločenského postavenia, ktoré

sa dobre odzrkadľuje v pohrebnom ríte, je charakteristickou črtou eneolitickej spoločnosti v oblasti Dobružde. V hrobách z rozsiahlych pohrebísk vo Varne (Ivanov/Avramova 2000) alebo v Durankulaku (Todorova *et al.* 2002) sa nachádzajú početné hrobové prídavky vyrobené zo zlata a medi, unikátne nástroje vyhotovené z kamenných surovín, šperky z mušlí *Spondylus*, ako aj bohato zdobené keramické nádoby, v niektorých prípadoch aj zlatom. Výroba a zadováženie si týchto luxusných predmetov nepochybne vyžadovalo veľa úsilia, vedomostí a zručností. Zámer použiť tieto predmety ako hrobové prídavky pre zosnulých členov komunity treba interpretovať ako prejav vysokého postavenia pozostalých.

Zrejme v súvislosti s týmito udalosťami došlo onedlho na to k analogickým transformáciám spoločnosti aj v potiskej oblasti, v tzv. polgárskom kultúrnom okruhu. V tom čase (cca 45. stor. pred Kr.) sa v danej oblasti objavujú rozsiahle pohrebiská, napríklad Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (Bognár-Kutzián 1963) alebo Veľké Raškovce (Vizdal 1977), ktoré reflektujú spoločenské interakcie – vyskytujú sa tu hroby s bohatou rôznorodou hrobovou výbavou, vrátane predmetov cudzej proveniencie (napríklad Kadrow 2008; Lichter 2001, 269–293, 311–359; Nevizánsky 1984).

V kontraste k rozvoju eneolitu vo východnej časti Balkánskeho polostrova a Potisí sa v kultúrnom okruhu lengyelskej kultúry a kultúrne priľahlých územiach prejavuje určitá atomizácia sociálnych interakcií do menších domácností. V tejto fáze absentujú prestížne predmety v mužských hrobách situovaných na rozsiahlych pohrebiskách (porovnaj Lichter 2001, 233–257, 360–372; Nevizánsky 1985; Pažinová/Bistáková 2013; Virág 2023, 144–149; Zalai-Gaál 2012; Zalai-Gaál *et al.* 2012).

Predpokladáme, že v prípade eneolitických spoločností lengyelskej kultúry výber socio-ekonomických stratégií zameraných na zvýšenie sociálnej zdatnosti vyplýval z produkčných obmedzení, ktoré boli do značnej miery determinované ostrovným výskytom surovín strategických pre „eneolitickú ekonomiku“. Nedostatočný prísun medi a kvalitných kamenných surovín potrebných pre výrobu štiepanej industrie výrazne obmedzili možnosť transferu prestížnych technológií, čím sa *ipso facto* mnohé komunity lengyelskej kultúry vylúčili z trhu s luxusným tovarom. Predpokladáme, že vzhľadom na priestorovú odľahlosť väčšiny sídlisk od zdrojov kamenných surovín, medi a ďalších kovov, ktoré karpatská oblasť poskytuje (zlato, striebro), neparticipovala väčšina vidieckej spoločnosti na tzv. okázalých hospodárskych stratégiách. Využívanie miestnych zdrojov a lokálna metalurgia je

pri súčasnom stave poznatkov nespochybniteľná najmä v období starého eneolitu (porovnaj napríklad *Matuschik* 1996, 2–11, obr. 10; 1998, 215–219, 230–232, obr. 230; *Peška/Ondrkál* 2023, 203–228; *Siklósi et al.* 2022, 25–34; *Virág* 2010; 2019; *Virág et al.* 2025). Je pravdepodobné, že v najstaršom úseku doby medenej v západnej časti Karpatskej kotliny malo socio-ekonomické správanie, manifestované pomocou prestížnych predmetov, podobu ukladania depotov, resp. votívnych darov (pozri *Kovárník* 2020; *Lichardus-Ippen* 1991), čo je zásadne odlišné oproti pohrebom v oblasti Pričernomorja a Veľkej dunajskej nížine.

Načrtnuté kultúrne rozdiely boli výsledkom rovnakých sociálnych a ekonomických mechanizmov, ktoré determinovali aj samotnú diferenciáciu konceptov racionálneho šetrenia a okázalosti. Pre lepšie porozumenie je potrebné pripomenúť, že šetrné hospodárne postupy nepatria v tradičných spoločenstvách do verejnej oblasti. Až v modernej dobe sa stalo šetrenie prostriedkov verejnou záležitosťou. Domnievame sa, že existoval zjavný vzťah medzi okázalými/luxusnými a šetrnými ekonomickými stratégiami, pretože verejný luxus/prestíž a súbežne šetrenie na úrovni domácností umožnili týmto komunitám dosiahnuť vyššiu sociálnu zdatnosť na individuálnej, ako aj skupinovej úrovni.

Od fázy Lengyel III dochádza k postupnému ústupu v používaní tradičnej vysokokvalitnej, bohato zdobenej a veľmi jemnej tenkostennej keramiky. Nádoby datované do fázy Lengyel IV sú charakteristické výrazným štýlovým a technologickým minimalizmom, obzvlášť zreteľným v spoločenstvách (sub-) skupiny Balaton a Ludanickej skupiny. Hoci sa začala používať širšia škála tvarov nádob než v predchádzajúcich obdobiach, jasné rozdelenie na jemnú a hrubú keramiku úplne zaniká a keramika prechádza technologickým a estetickým zjednodušením (pozri *Horváth/Simon* 2003, 111–115, obr. 21–27; *Pavúk* 2023, 122, 123, obr. 63–65). To sa prejavuje okrem iného úbytkom výzdobných motívov, ktoré pretrvávajú najmä v západných periférnych oblastiach sféry lengyelskej kultúry (pozri *Kamieńska/Kozłowski* 1990, 76, 77, tab. 44; 45; *Košťušik* 1997, 90–92, obr. 1–9; *Kramberger* 2020, 66–76, obr. 5; 7; 8; príloha 2; *Sűjő* 1976, 6–39; *Zápotocký* 2016, 19, obr. 3–9).

Je známe, že zmeny v keramickej produkcii počas starého a stredného eneolitu v západnej časti Karpatskej kotliny a priľahlých oblastiach boli výsledkom kontaktu komunit nositeľov lengyelskej kultúry s výzdobnými prvkami pochádzajúcimi z centrálneho Balkánu (pozri napr. *Bánffy* 1995; 2002; *Kalicz* 1982, 6, 7; 1991, 355; 1995a, 38–40; *Kramberger* 2014, 247–257; 2020, 76). Hoci sa v tomto kontexte venovala väčšia pozornosť bádateľov štýlovým a formálnym podobnostiam nádob, nemôžeme opomenúť adaptáciu mnohých technologických riešení, medzi ktoré patria bežne používané šetrné postupy pri výrobe keramiky (opakované použitie keramiky), ktoré sú hlboko zakorenené v tradícii kultúry Vinča (pozri napríklad *Vuković* 2015; 2017, 63–67). Príkladom je okrem iného pridávanie rozdrvenej keramiky (grog) do keramickej hmoty (pozri napríklad *Kreiter et al.* 2017; *Spataro* 2017, 64–69; pozri tiež aktuálny prehľad *Oprš* 2025), výroba tkáčskych závaží z úlomkov (pozri *Chmielewski* 2009, 82–86), alebo použitie masívnych rukovätí zásobných nádob v podobe keramických závaží na rybárske siete, či ich používanie na vyhladenie povrchu keramiky pri

jej výrobe (pozri *Janák* 1997). Do pomyselného zoznamu je potrebné pridať aj diskutovanú adaptáciu mís na dutej nôžke a ich využitie na rituálne účely, spočívajúce v sekundárnom prevrácaní ich dien.

Skúmané nálezy, ktoré sú účelne vybrané z pomerne hrubých nádob pre každodenné použitie, bez osobitnej estetickej, symbolickej alebo technologickej hodnoty, nepochybne umožnili šetriť určité zdroje a čas (potrebný na výrobu keramiky), vrátane energetických zdrojov (drevo potrebné na kúrenie). Napriek tomu hospodársky prínos nemožno považovať za významný. Ako výstižne poznamenali *A. Podkalicka* a *J. Potts* (2014, 235): „... šetrnosť je úplne bežným prejavom materiálnej a remeselnej racionality, keď ju sledujeme v podmienkach nedostatku zdrojov alebo konkurencie [...] otázkou však ostáva, prečo správanie založené na úspornosti pretrváva, je udržiavané a niekedy dokonca znovu prejavované aj v čase keď bohatstvo [...] rastie a navyše, má také podoby aké má.“ A teda, prečo sa to dialo práve v tom čase a takým spôsobom?

Je potrebné vziať v úvahu, že napriek socio-ekonomickým rozdielom medzi západopontskou a východokarpatskou oblasťou, sledujeme na oboch územiach výraznú polarizáciu v rodovom rozdelení spoločnosti – v mužských a ženských aktivitách (pozri *Kadow* 2008; 2011). Prirodzene to vyplývalo z rozdielnych spôsobov, akými pohlavia budovali spoločný kapitál. V prostredí nositeľov lengyelskej kultúry bola „stratégia okázalosti“ zrejme záležitosťou mužov a ich verejných aktivít, pričom aktivity žien súviseli skôr s chodom domácností. V tejto súvislosti mohla byť úspornosť pri výrobe keramiky fyzickým vyjadrením étosu hospodárnej strážkyne domáceho ohniska, ktorá mohla vďaka svojim šetrným postupom podporovať spoločensky orientované (a viac „plytvajúce“) sociálne aktivity muža.

Z tohto pohľadu by transmisia myšlienky v podobe tákoc/mís na dutých nôžkach zo západopontskej oblasti do priestoru rozšírenia lengyelskej kultúry odpovedala v terminológii *A. Kroebera* „stimulujúcej difúzii“, ktorá „... sa vyskytuje v situáciách, kedy systém alebo vzor ako taký nenarádza na odpor voči svojmu šíreniu, avšak objavujú sa ťažkosti pri prenose jeho konkrétneho obsahu. V takomto prípade je prijatá samotná myšlienka komplexu alebo systému, no prijímajúcej kultúre prislúcha rozvinúť nový obsah...“ (*Kroeber* 1940, 1). Tento prístup k problematike „výpožičiek“ nám umožňuje bližšie pochopiť proces kultúrnej transmisie diskutovanej keramickej formy v lengyelskom kultúrnom okruhu. V opačnom prípade by sme mohli tieto nádoby v porovnaní s prostredím varnskej kultúry (komplex Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI) považovať prinajlepšom za značne degradované formy, ktoré boli súčasťou technologicky veľmi vyspelej keramickej produkcie. Ak však prijmeme interpretáciu v zmysle stimulačnej difúzie (obr. 10), môžeme počítať s ďalšími regionálnymi prejavmi tohto eneolitického fenoménu, napríklad v podobe mís s dutými nôžkami bez dien (obr. 7). To, čo spája myšlienku eneolitických vopred vyrobených (s otvorom/bez dna) a dodatočne perforovaných (s dierou v dne) mís na dutej nôžke v čase a priestore, je ich spoločný výskyt v prechodnom období kultúry Sálcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj na území stredného Balkánu (obr. 8) a – dôkazom čoho je aj jedinečná nádoba z lokality Sormás (obr. 9) – rovnako aj v Zadunajsku.

- Obr. 1. Kraków-Nowa Huta-Zesławice 88. Lengyelská kultúra. Misy na nôžke s perforovanými dnami. Kresba N. Lenkow.
- Obr. 2. Lokality lengyelskej kultúry s nálezmi nádob na nôžke s perforovanými dnami. Lokality sú očíslované a zoradené abecedne. Podrobnosti pozri v tabele 1. Grafika M. Zawadzki.
- Obr. 3. Budapešť, ulica Dobogókő. Lengyelská kultúra. Misa na nôžke s perforovaným dnom (Historické múzeum Budapešť, inv. č. GY/2849/23/1). Foto N. Szilágyi.
- Obr. 4. Kalenić-Livade. Lengyelská kultúra. Misa na nôžke s perforovaným dnom (podľa *Blagojević* 2005).
- Obr. 5. Hotărani-Fărcașele. Kultúra Vădastra. Misa na dutej nôžke (podľa *Dragoman* 2019). Ľudská lebka uložená vo vnútri nádoby je jasným dôkazom jej spojenia s kultom mŕtvych (porovnaj *Dragoman* 2009, 101, obr. 4; *Nica* 1971, 18, 20, obr. 6; 7: 1). Bez mierky.
- Obr. 6. „Stojany“ kultúr Kodžadermen-Gumelnița-Karanovo VI (1, 2) a Cucuteni (3) s vyformovanými otvormi v ich horných častiach. 1, 2 – Durankulak-Golemija ostrov (podľa *Todorova et al.* 2002); 3 – Traian-Dealul Fântânilor (podľa *Preoteasa* 2023).
- Obr. 7. Șumal-Dealul lui Kun. Kultúra Tiszapolgár. Misa na dutej nôžke bez dna (podľa *Iercoșan* 2002). Podobné misy na nôžke bez dna boli nájdené v hrobe 68 na pohrebisku Tiszapolgár-Basatanya (*Bognár-Kutzián* 1963, tab. LXXVIII: 5; CXXVII: 3a) a na lokalite Tiszavalk-Kenderföld (*Patay* 1978, 51, tab. VIII: 1).
- Obr. 8. Slatino 5-6. Kultúra Sălcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj. Misa na dutej nôžke s vyformovaným otvorom v jej dne (1) a bez dna (2; podľa *Georgieva* 2012). Ako uviedla *P. Georgieva* (2012, 124), „stojany“ patria ku keramickým formám, ktoré predstavujú najvyššiu kvalitu remeselnej práce hrnčiarov kultúry Sălcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj.
- Obr. 9. Sormás-Mántai-dűlő. Lengyelská kultúra. Dutá misa na nôžke bez dna (podľa *Straub* 2006).
- Obr. 10. Diagram ilustrujúci transformácie prebiehajúce v priebehu hypotetickej difúzie stimulov v podobe eneolitických nádob na nôžke s otvorom v dne zo západného pobrežia Pontu (kultúra Varna), cez stredobalkánsku oblasť (kultúra Sălcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj), do karpat-ského regiónu (kultúra Lengyel). Koncepcia a grafika T. J. Chmielewski.
- Tabela 1. Celé a fragmentárne zachované misy na nôžke s perforovanými dnami nájdené v oblasti rozšírenia lengyelskej kultúry (pozri obr. 2).

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