

Megaliths of the World

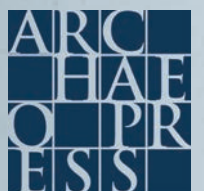
Volume I



edited by

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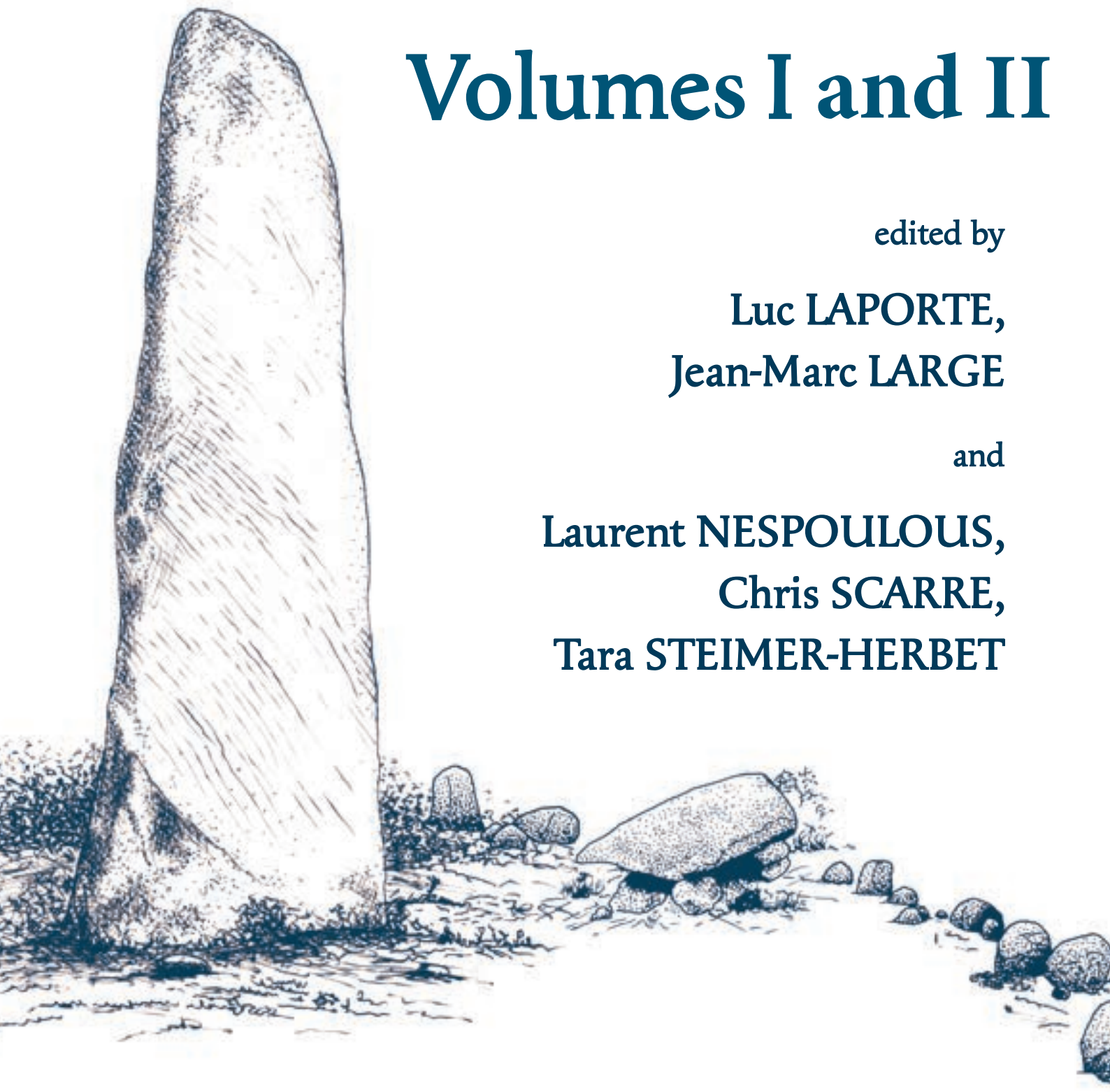
Volumes I and II

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During the preparation of this publication we learned of the death of Alain Gallay, Emeritus Professor at the University of Geneva, who has made such a major contribution to the discipline. His participation in the international conference on The Megaliths of the World, and his membership of the Steering Committee, was a great honour for us. The whole of the editorial team pay tribute to him.

53

Dušan BORIC

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

Abstract: With the title of the first publication about Lepenski Vir in English – *Europe's first monumental sculpture: new discoveries at Lepenski Vir* (Srejović 1972) – the excavator of the site, Dragoslav Srejović, hinted at the importance of the site as the earliest place on European soil where artworks made from durable material (sandstone) might have achieved monumental significance and connotations. By revisiting the evidence, this paper looks at the ecology of relationships between humans and 'other-than-humans' at Lepenski Vir and broadly contemporaneous Mesolithic and Mesolithic-Neolithic transitional sites in the Danube Gorges area along the River Danube. Development and elaboration of relationships between the specific landscape and other-than-human beings in this setting might have given rise to the tradition of sculpted boulders. It is argued that, apart from the likely mimetic, animatory and commemorative roles of sandstone boulders, the whole landscape, along with its many inhabitants, might have been understood in monumental terms underlined by their consubstantial modes of relating to each other.

Keywords: *Lepenski Vir, Danube Gorges, boulder artworks, landscape, Mesolithic*

1. Introduction

When I received the invitation to participate at a conference on megaliths around the world, I was slightly puzzled. My immediate thought was that someone might have made a mistake. Why was I invited to speak at a megalithic conference and what did Lepenski Vir have to do with megaliths? But, after this initial thought, I recalled the English edition of the first book about Lepenski Vir by Dragoslav Srejović, the excavator of the site – *Europe's first monumental sculpture: new discoveries at Lepenski Vir*, published by Thames and Hudson (Srejović

1972). The English translation of the book differs from both the Serbian (Srejović 1969) and German (Srejović 1975) versions of the same book, and hints at the importance of Lepenski Vir as the earliest place on European soil where artworks made from durable material (sandstone) might have achieved monumental significance and connotations. Surprisingly, the idea of the monumental character of the stone imagery of Lepenski Vir has neither been elaborated further by the excavator nor others who have written about the site and its most recognizable features. So, I take this opportunity to work through some of the evidence from Lepenski Vir and other

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths

sites in the Mesolithic Danube Gorges to see what themes, in a very broad sense, can perhaps be linked productively to the evidence of megalithism and monumentalization (Hinz *et al.* 2019; Laporte & Bocoum 2019). Lepenski Vir certainly has nothing like the typical Neolithic megaliths or monuments found across much of western Europe during later prehistory, nor can it easily be compared with early examples of monuments seen, for instance, in Upper Mesopotamia, notably at the site of Göbekli Tepe and elsewhere. Yet, certain features of the main architectural phase at Lepenski Vir and its landscape setting could be seen from the perspective of monumentalization. Three aspects of evidence come to mind: (1) expression of territoriality linked to the placement of burials and importance of the principle of verticality in connection to some early burials; (2) links between the monumentality of the landscape and built environment; and (3) the significance

of different types of material, probably intentionally chosen to be durable, i.e., non-perishable material in the commemoration of burials and/or their covering, as well as in the prolific manufacture of dressed sandstone boulders and their contextual positioning in relation to architectural features.

2. The archaeological context of Lepenski Vir

At this point, let us turn to the case study and give some background to its research history. The site of Lepenski Vir, situated in the Danube Gorges region of the central Balkans (Fig. 1), on the border between Romania and Serbia, was discovered in the early 1960s during surveys in the area ahead of a rescue project. This project was, at the time, conducted on both sides of the River Danube, prompted by a joint venture between the socialist governments

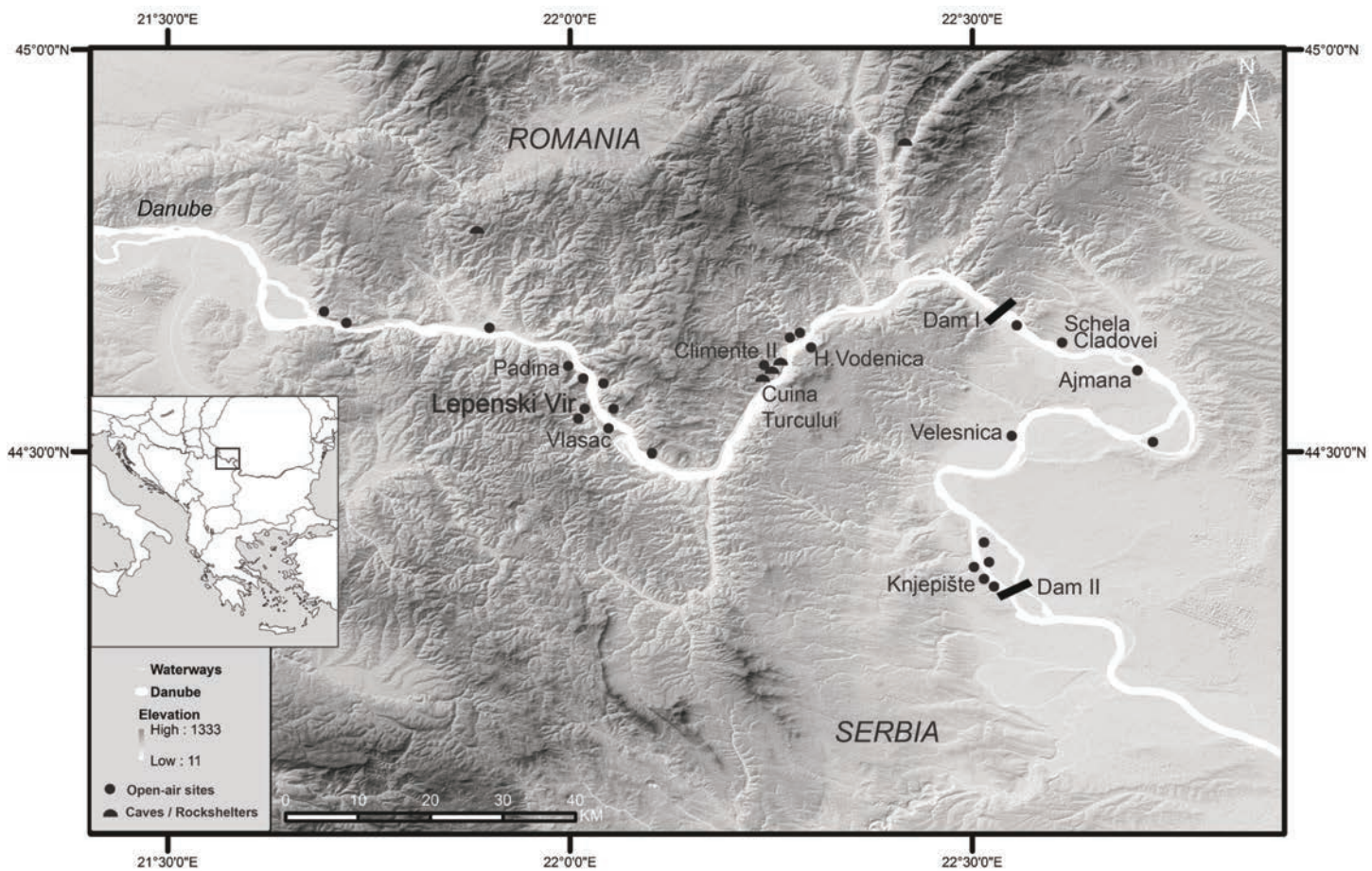


Fig. 1 – Map of the Danube Gorges area showing Lepenski Vir and other Mesolithic and Neolithic sites along the Danube [Base map elevation data source: ASTER GDEM (‘ASTER GDEM is a product of METI and NASA’) courtesy NASA/JPL-Caltech; Base map: K. Wehr].

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

of Romania and Yugoslavia to construct a hydro-electrical power plant, Đerdap 1. When the construction of the dam was completed in 1971, the water levels behind the dam rose some 15 m, flooding the lowermost riverbanks (**Fig. 2**). Excavations at Lepenski Vir started in 1965 and, for the first two seasons, it was thought to be yet another typical (and relatively well-known) Early Neolithic Starčevo

culture settlement (Srejović 1966). By the end of 1966 and with the start of the excavation season in 1967, it became clear that what was being uncovered at Lepenski Vir was an entirely new and hitherto unknown archaeological culture (Srejović 1969, 1973; Radovanović 1996; Bonsall 2008; Borić 2011, 2016, 2019). Two particular types of evidence made the site exceptional: first, trapezoid-shaped, reddish/



Fig. 2 – Lepenski Vir during excavations in the 1960s and the landscape of the Lady's Whirlpool gorge downstream from Lepenski Vir, facing southeast.

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths

pinkish limestone floors with central, rectangular stone-lined constructions (Fig. 3), which were themselves sometimes surrounded by triangle-shaped supports made of stone slabs; and second, more than 100 sculpted sandstone boulders, either decorated with curvilinear geometric motifs or turned into figural depictions of human-fish hybrid faces with down-curved mouths. These dressed stones, as well as various non-dressed boulders of the same material, were largely associated with the trapezoidal building floors (Borić 2005; Srejšović & Babović 1983).

Soon after the first monograph about Lepenski Vir was published, the question emerged of how to adequately understand this new phenomenon, both culturally and chronologically. During the same rescue project along the Danube in the zone that was destined to be flooded, some 135 km along the river, a dozen sites dating to the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic were identified, both on the Serbian and Romanian sides of the river. Moreover, at least two sites had the trapezoidal features found at Lepenski Vir. At the neighbouring site of Vlasac (Fig. 1), constructions that appeared to be early prototypes for the elaborate trapezoidal buildings later seen at

Lepenski Vir were found in a Late Mesolithic context (Borić 2007; Borić *et al.* 2014; Srejšović & Letica 1978). No sculpted sandstone boulders were found at Vlasac but occasional ‘aniconic’ (underdecorated) sandstone boulders were used in various locations. At another neighbouring site, Padina, some 5 km upstream from Lepenski Vir (Fig. 1), the excavator, Jovanović (1987), identified Early Neolithic ceramics in association with buildings similar to those found at Lepenski Vir, but within a smaller settlement and with earthen rather than limestone floors. At Padina, only a few dressed sandstone boulders were found, covered in geometric motifs but never turned into figural imagery. It should be noted that apart from Late Mesolithic and Mesolithic-Neolithic transition levels, Padina also provided an important sequence of Early Mesolithic features, including burials associated with a stone construction (Borić & Miracle 2004; Borić 2011 and references therein).

Despite a series of early radiocarbon dates made on charcoal from various building structures at Lepenski Vir, and his own remarks about the finds of ceramics on or between overlapping floors of the trapezoidal buildings, Srejšović (1972) believed that

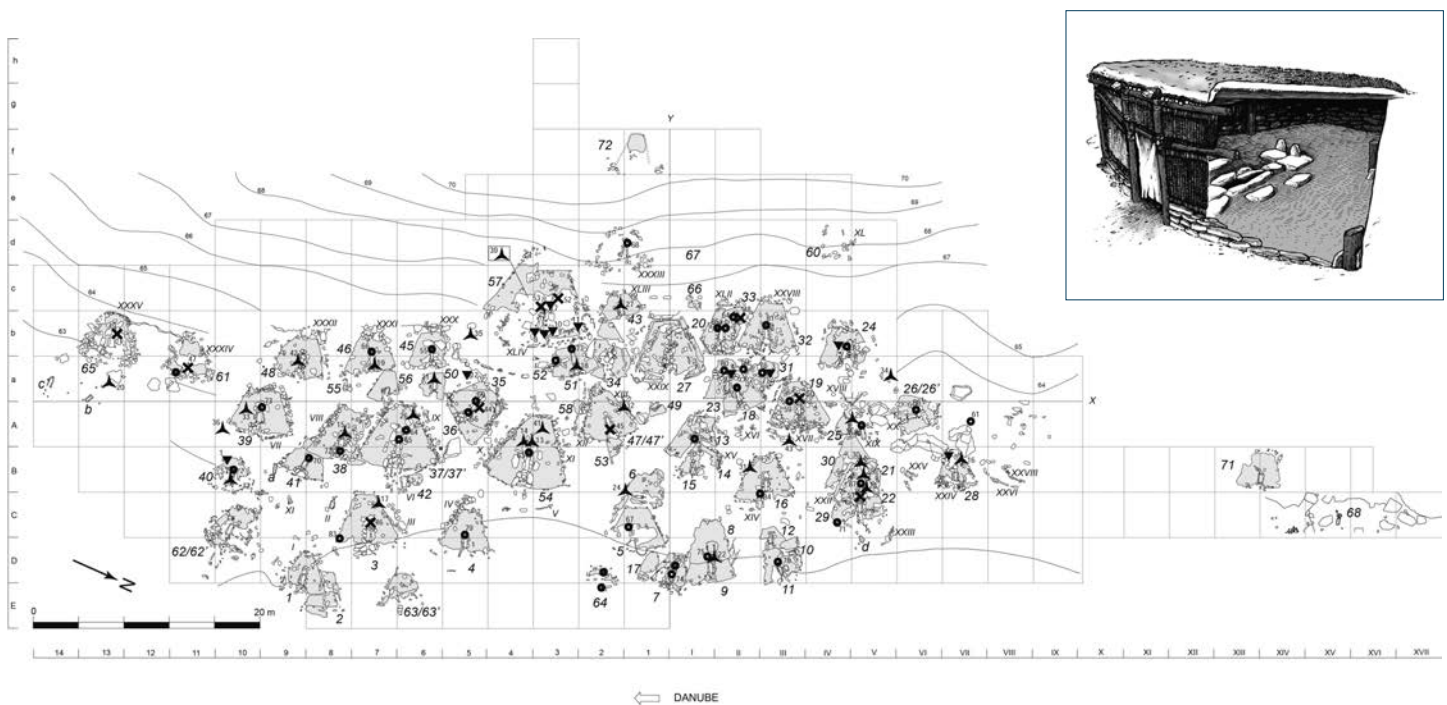


Fig. 3 – Plan of Lepenski Vir with phase I-II trapezoidal building features and distribution of sandstone boulders with a reconstruction of the upper construction of a typical Lepenski Vir building (After Borić 2016). Key: triangles - depiction of hybrid human-fish faces; stars - geometric patterns over boulder surfaces; x - non-dressed boulders; circles - ornamented and unornamented mortars.

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

these architectural features belonged to a Mesolithic culture, and predated the Early Neolithic sites then known. For some time now, I have argued along with other colleagues for the need to replace Srejović's original chronological placement of Lepenski Vir and to reinterpret the site's stratigraphy. The key stratigraphic and contextual issue is the way in which the trapezoidal buildings were built within the dug-outs made in the sloping terraces of the site (where such features appear), and the fact that the semi-subterranean space below each building may have been subject to different formation processes during infilling. The method by which archaeological features at Lepenski Vir were exposed during the original excavations, by horizontally cutting across and into the sloping terrace instead of emptying the fills of the semi-subterranean features stratigraphically, created a misleading representation of how the site might have looked. This issue also affected earlier building reconstructions (e.g., Borić 2002, 2016, 2019) (see **Fig. 3**).

Today, we have a much better understanding of the chronology of the site. Bayesian modelling of a large set of radiocarbon dates and a redefined stratigraphy suggest three main phases (Borić 2016; Borić *et al.* 2018). The early phase of 'Proto-Lepenski Vir' extends through the Early and Middle Mesolithic from the start of the Holocene to the last centuries of the 8th millennium BC. This phase was possibly punctuated by various discontinuities in use. The Proto-Lepenski Vir phase is followed by a hiatus in the occupation of the site for most of the 7th millennium BC, i.e., during the regional Late Mesolithic, when other sites, such as nearby Vlasac and Padina, were intensively occupied, along with a number of other sites along this stretch of the Danube (**Fig. 1**). A significant new presence at the site started again, according to the formal Bayesian modelling, only in 6160-6080 cal BC (95% probability), creating what is now the best-represented architectural phase with the trapezoidal buildings, many associated with the sculpted boulders, and with a large number of human burials beneath or above the floors, or in other contextual units outside building spaces. This phase, 'Lepenski Vir I-II', lasted only 120-210 years (95% probability) and ended in 5980-5940 cal BC (95% probability) (Borić 2019: 29; cf. Borić *et al.* 2018). After this time, from

ca. 5950 cal BC, most (if not all) the trapezoidal buildings were abandoned and many were back-filled. During this final phase, 'Lepenski Vir III', the site was occupied as a typical Early Neolithic Starčevo village with almost no trace of its earlier Mesolithic tradition.

A sound chronological reconstruction of Lepenski Vir going beyond earlier controversial aspects is key to understanding the exceptional features that make this site so unique – not only in the wider context of European and world prehistory, but also among other broadly contemporaneous sites in the Danube Gorges region.

Two other strands of recent data have made a significant impact on the interpretation of the evidence from the site: strontium isotope analysis and aDNA data. Results of strontium isotope analysis on a large sample of Mesolithic and Early Neolithic individuals from different sites in the Danube Gorges area suggest that, while the population had been largely stationary for most of the Early, Middle, and Late Mesolithic, the pattern changed dramatically during the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition (phases I-II) and Early Neolithic (phase III) at Lepenski Vir. During these two latter phases, non-local strontium signals are seen in several exclusively female individuals (Borić 2016; Borić & Price 2012). This pattern of an increased number of non-local individuals at the site during and after the main architectural phase (with trapezoidal buildings, starting in ca. 6150 cal BC), has been confirmed by newly obtained genome-wide aDNA data on about 40 individuals from various Mesolithic-Neolithic sites in the Danube Gorges area (Mathieson *et al.* 2018). These data suggest that, apart from a distinct mix of Eurasian eastern and western hunter-gatherer ancestry, which is characteristic of indigenous population in this area during the Mesolithic, at the sites of Lepenski Vir and Padina there is an additional presence of first-generation immigrants with a distinct northwestern Anatolian genetic ancestry and examples of several individuals with the pattern of admixture (approximately 50:50 ratio) between the two. This evidence makes the sites in this region, and Lepenski Vir in particular, striking examples of clear cases of admixing between indigenous foragers and incoming farmers in Europe at the time of their initial contacts and exchanges.

3. Territoriality, principle of verticality, and human burials

One aspect of mortuary archaeology, formally elaborated since the 1970s and heavily used in the early days of processual archaeology, relates to the so-called ‘hypothesis 8’ from the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Arthur Saxe (1970). Saxe hypothesized that, in traditional societies, the creation of formal disposal areas for the dead was directly linked to the expression of claims by corporate groups regarding their use and/or control of certain restricted resources in the territory where that group buried their dead. A later amendment to this hypothesis suggested that, apart from formal disposal areas, other forms of ritualized actions and behaviour might also often have been mobilized to claim the right of a group to a certain territory (and its resources) by emphasizing direct descent from ancestors linked to that land (Goldstein 1981). While it remains difficult to reduce the past social realities of mortuary practices to ambitious law-like generalizations (cf. Hodder 1979), a generic link between formal burial grounds and certain forms of territorial claims by human groups in various times and places worldwide would be hard to dispute (e.g., Bloch & Perry 1982; Morris 1991); the proliferation of classic megalithic monuments has also often been seen as a way of claiming a group’s right to a territory, among other social functions.

In the Danube Gorges area, direct radiocarbon dates on various human remains from several sites indicate that many of these locales started being used for interment of human burials from at least the beginning of the Holocene (Borić 2011). Admittedly, only a small number of individuals from the assumed biological populations were inhumed in these monuments, and the male gender is dominant (Borić 2016). For instance, at the site of Padina, sector III, 19 burials could be attributed to the Early and Middle Mesolithic periods, of which six (burials 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, and 21) have been AMS dated to between *ca.* 9600 and 8000 cal BC (Borić 2011; Borić & Miracle 2004; Mathieson *et al.* 2018). A number of burials dated to the Middle Mesolithic were found in relation to a linear stone construction found in the upslope, southern area of sector III at Padina. The construction consisted of four layers of piled stones with layers of soil between them (Borić

2011; Jovanović 2008: Fig. 17-19). Within the stone construction, burials were surrounded and covered by piles of stone placed next to naturally protruding and erratic colluvial rocks.

During the Middle Mesolithic, around the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th millennium BC, a specific aspect of the burial evidence was the placement of bodies in seated positions, often with crossed lower limbs splayed outwards. The practice is also found in other Mesolithic contexts in Europe (Grünberg 2000; Orschiedt 2018). This principle of verticality might not be accidental and might have played an important role in various forms of expression, something I will develop further below. But a general hypothesis, admittedly speculative, could be put forth that this concern for placing the deceased in a vertical position might have related to beliefs that the body of the deceased represented – or was a medium between – tiered cosmological realms, possibly between the powers ‘above’ and ‘below’, i.e., celestial and chthonic realms (cf. Borić 2016), a basic and common means of mythological ordering of the world in many traditional societies worldwide (e.g., Lévi-Strauss 1988; cf. Fowles 2013: 152).

Further confirmation of the importance of verticality in the placement of early phase Mesolithic burials comes from two Middle Mesolithic burials from Lepenski Vir, both now dated with overlapping ranges in the first centuries of the 8th millennium BC. One of these, burial 69, is among the best-known from the site. An adult male individual was placed with lower limbs flexed at the knees and splayed outwards, resembling a seated position, while the torso was placed in a supine position (Fig. 4). Importantly, the vertical position of the skull indicates the deliberate placing of the head in this position. Proving that this is not a haphazard instance of such a burial mode, a second burial from Lepenski Vir, child burial 97, found beneath the floor of building 31, is now directly AMS dated to the same chronological interval (unpublished; contra Borić 2016); it shows the same vertical position of the skull while the lower limbs were similarly flexed and splayed outwards.

The rarity of such burials in the region could relate to their ‘exceptional’ character, linked perhaps to the circumstances of death of the buried individuals and

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

prompting their burial in particularly prescribed ways at locations that were used as important fishing grounds (Bartosiewicz *et al.* 2008). The locations of many sites directly correspond with features of the landscape, such as whirlpools, rapids, narrows, and protruding rocks, which all most likely facilitated successful fishing activities, especially those targeting large species of fish, such as anadromous sturgeon (beluga, starlet), catfish, but also species of the carp family. Based on recorded ethnographies of fishing, this landscape was used in similar ways in later, historical times (Borić 2003). Lepenski Vir in translation from Serbian means ‘Lepenski whirlpool’ and in the past there was a strong whirlpool in front of the site that was utilized for fishing. There is a possible case to be made here that the marking of the landscape was initiated at the start of the Mesolithic through the interment of selected individuals. These early phase burials might have, to some extent, played the role of territorial markers for the various forager groups claiming their right to use certain stretches of the river linked to everyday and/or seasonal practices of fishing. Some elements

of this territorial behaviour might have given rise to the social and cultural complexity of these Early Holocene foragers in the Danube Gorges area as expressed in later phases of the regional Mesolithic sequence.

During the Late Mesolithic, from *ca.* 7200-6200 cal BC, except for Lepenski Vir there is a continuing recognition of the same locales for fishing and a range of other everyday activities, but the sites also continued to be filled with the dead. It seems that there was no clear-cut separation between the realms of the dead and the living in these inhabited spaces of human activity. During this period, many burials were oriented to be parallel with the Danube, with their heads pointing downstream. It has been suggested that this burial norm might have originated in a belief about the link between the deceased and anadromous fish. The annual upstream arrival in the spring of beluga and other species of the sturgeon family (following their downstream migration in the previous fall), might have been perceived as the annual return of the souls of the

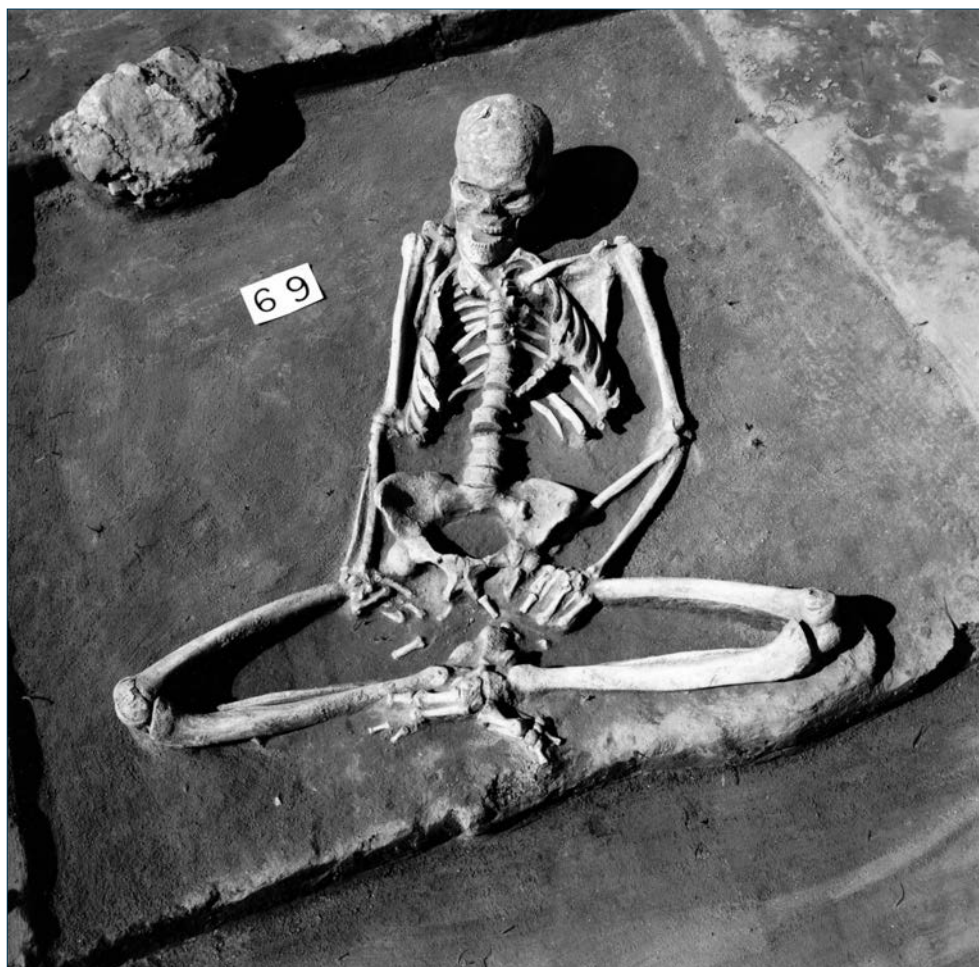


Fig. 4 – Middle Mesolithic burial 69 (OxA-25215: 7940-7590 cal BC at 95 per cent confidence) from Lepenski Vir.

dead (Radovanović 1997; cf. Borić 2005). This type of burial tradition is possibly one of the earliest indications in the realm of symbolic expression and ritual behaviour of strong (animist?) links to different species of fish, with possible beliefs in corporeal metamorphosis into fish upon death, or descent from and/or affinity with these other-than-human entities.

Further support for the thesis that certain species of fish might have been perceived as important in the realm of exchanges with humans is the discovery of a large number of personal ornaments fashioned from the pharyngeal ‘teeth’ of *Rutilus* sp., most likely Black Sea roach or pearl fish, *Rutilus frisii* (Nordmann 1840), in Late Mesolithic burials at the sites of Vlasac and Schela Cladovei (Borić 2003; Borić & Cristiani 2019; Borić *et al.* 2014; Cristiani & Borić 2012; Živaljević *et al.* 2017). In some burials there were several hundred such beads used as garment embellishments, probably on some sort of cloaks that adorned the bodies of the deceased.

These deep roots of special connections that Mesolithic humans had with various species of fish provide a key contextualization for the appearance of the sandstone boulder artworks at Lepenski Vir, but also at some other sites in the region (Padina, Hajdučka Vodenica, Cuina Turlucui) at the end of the Late Mesolithic, i.e., during the period of Mesolithic-Neolithic contacts that saw the build-up of Lepenski Vir during phase I-II. There were human/fish hybrid depictions on some of the figural boulders, and geometric motifs that resemble X-ray images of fish skeletons and flesh even on those boulders without the features of a face. The appearance of these objects seems to further underline the importance of these non-humans in the beliefs and ecology of relationships established by the indigenous forager populations, which at this time came into contact with and absorbed some of the first groups of Neolithic immigrants of Anatolian origin to the region. But before I dedicate some space to this particular set of objects, their contextual associations, and possible monumental significance, let me first examine the links between the landscape of Lady’s Whirlpool gorge and the built environment that was created at Lepenski Vir over a short span of a century or so, starting ca. 6150 cal BC.

4. Monumentality of the landscape and built environments

The geology and geomorphology of the Danube Gorges is complex (Banu 1972); the river cut a path through the southern arm of the Carpathian Mountains, in places creating narrow and sometimes very deep gorges along its steep course. Rapids and cataracts were also formed, as well as whirlpools where softer geological deposits were encountered. In places, the current carved out large cauldrons in the riverbed, while elsewhere rocks that were more resistant to erosion remained projecting from the river bottom, making travel by boat challenging in later periods. These irregularities in the riverbed and in the flow of the river through the region presented an excellent opportunity for prehistoric (and more recent) fishermen, who used various naturally created traps to capture large species of fish, as highlighted earlier.

Apart from its utility for fishing, which possibly sustained complex forager communities throughout the Early Holocene, something about the dramatic nature of this landscape also attracted later travellers, especially in the 19th century, who either described its features in detail or, more often, provided visual renderings of the natural beauty (e.g., **Fig. 5**).

The revival of Lepenski Vir with a phase of constructing trapezoidal buildings, and the choice of this particular location is very likely to have been related to its position, directly across the Danube from a large trapezoidal rock, known as Treskavac (meaning a place that attracts thunders!) (**Fig. 6**). This rock is a remnant of volcanic activity during a distant geological era in the region dominated by Cretaceous and Jurassic limestones (Rabrenović & Vasić 1997). The association between the durability of the rock and that of the buildings might have been underlined by ‘rock-hard’ limestone floors at Lepenski Vir, which are different from the contemporaneous and similar building structures at the neighbouring site of Padina. We can only speculate about the importance of this natural landmark for the forager communities at this particular historical juncture around the mid 62nd century BC. We may suppose it was considered ‘sacred’ or of special importance, whatever specific connotation we want to assign to these terms (see below for more discussion on this topic). It might have held central importance given

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

the reflection of its shape in building constructions. It also might have become a focal point at the time when these forager groups came into contact with genetically and culturally foreign populations.

The previously cited formal Bayesian modelling of the start of phase I-II at Lepenski Vir seems to indicate that, after its abandonment for a millennium or so, the re-occupation of Lepenski Vir coincided with the end of the period of global chill known as the 8.2 ka cal BP event (Borić *et al.* 2018). This period might have affected the productivity of the River Danube for fishing (Bonsall *et al.* 2015), although we currently lack both the chronological and environmental evidence to evaluate the impact of this period of climatic instability on human settlement along the river. While evidence of correlation should not be taken as evidence of causation, there is a chance that these two dated events might

be more than coincidental. Some of the motivation to resettle an old locale with a whirlpool in front of it and a monumental trapezoidal mountain directly across the river, might have stemmed from a recasting and reinvention of aspects of forager social and cultural identity and practice. We may speculate that this new branding of the site of Lepenski Vir at this particular time as a central place for increasingly small forager populations in the region as a whole might also have been what drew in the Neolithic immigrants with their novel genetic and cultural heritage. While that heritage soon completely eclipsed the local forager cultural tradition, for a short period, over 4 to 6 generations, it seems that the newcomers adapted to local practices, as we find examples of genetically admixed individuals or individuals with 100% northwestern Anatolian genetic ancestry buried according to Mesolithic rites of extended supine positions in

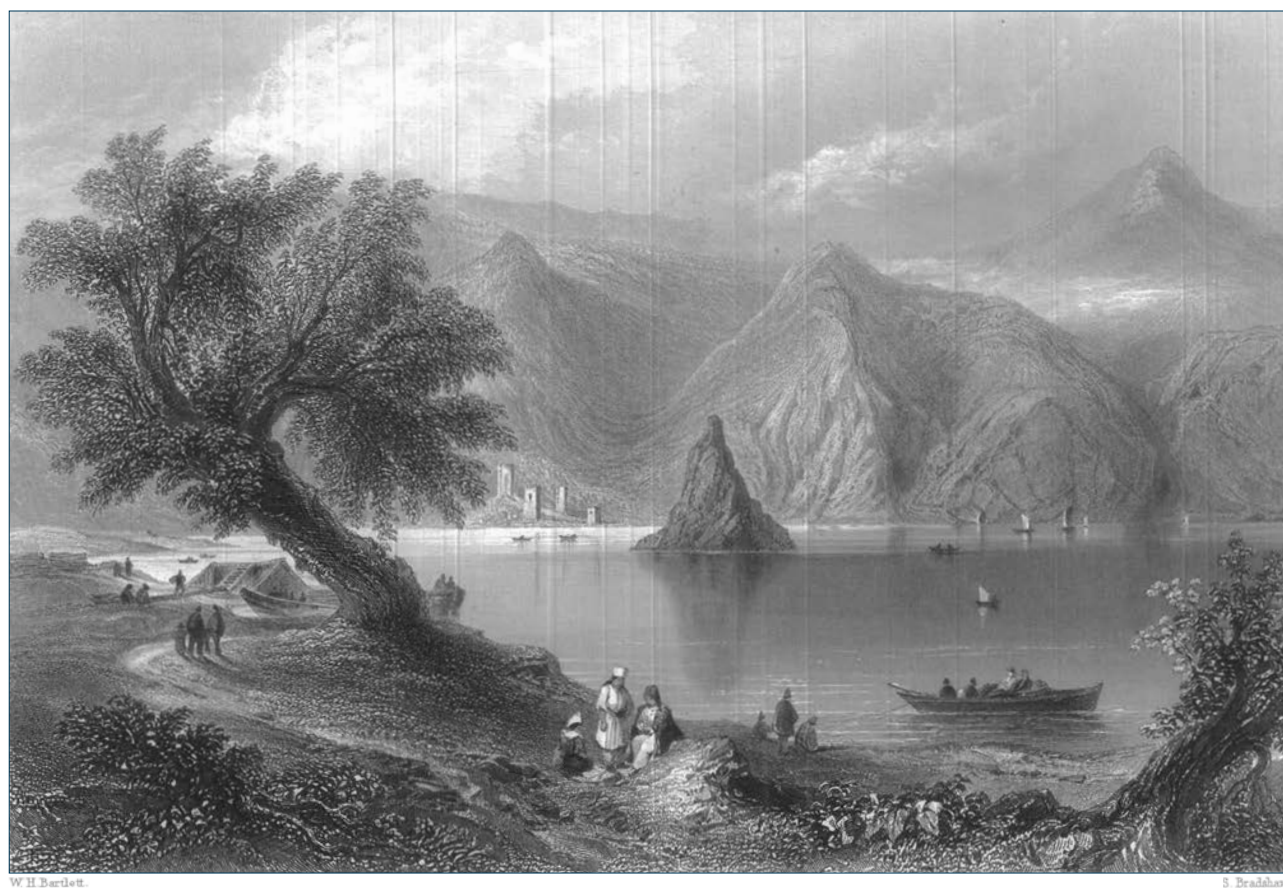
*Babacai.*

Fig. 5 – Illustration of the protruding ‘Babacai’ rock at the entrance to the Golubac Gorge of the Danube. Engraved by J.C. Armytage; drawn by W. H. Bartlett, from *The Danube: its history, scenery, and topography* by William Beattie, M.D., splendidly illustrated from sketches taken on the spot, by Abresch and drawn by W.H. Bartlett, Esq. Published by James & Virtue, London (1840).

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths



Fig. 6 – Trapezoid-shaped rock Treskavac across the river from the location of the Lepenski Vir settlement.

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

the spaces of trapezoidal buildings (Borić 2019; Mathieson *et al.* 2018).

From the perspective of the discussions on monumentalization in this volume, the landscape of the Danube Gorges and the trapezoidal rock of monumental dimensions, which might have been perceived as built rather than neutrally ‘natural’, became mirrored in the construction of the built environment at Lepenski Vir, and thus internalized (cf. Borić 2008a: 118). In this way, the buildings at this and other sites in this gorge of the Danube might have taken on certain monumental properties. This suggestion finds further support in the aspects of furnishing, use, and life cycle of many of the building spaces, to which I will turn in the following section. We have reasons to believe, based on associations of material culture with architectural features at the site, that domestic aspects were well represented, hence these buildings should not be seen as purely sacred sanctuaries that excluded other aspects of life (contra Babović 2006). In fact, it has been argued that ‘...domestic structures often represent the back-ground and link of symbolic and ritual components associated with monumentality’ (Hinz *et al.* 2019: 22).

Finally, I note that some rather unscientific attempts were made in the past to interpret the site as a place dedicated to the worship of sun, with buildings seen as shrines inhabited by priests (Babović 2006; for a critique see Borić 2008b). While this kind of interpretation is highly problematic and entirely decontextualizes the evidence, for the moment we should also resist excluding the possibility that the positioning of Lepenski Vir and its evident elaboration might have been related to possible alignments of the sunrise behind the trapezoidal Treskavac rock at certain times of the year (e.g., summer solstice). Future dedicated archaeo-astronomical analysis would be welcomed as a further way to better understand the unprecedented investment of resources and activity seen at the site.

In conclusion, early attempts to monumentalize either landscapes or places might have related to some of the profound changes that the society was undergoing (Hinz *et al.* 2019: 22); it is easy to imagine that mobilizing monumental aspects of the landscape and built environment at Lepenski Vir might have been directly linked to key changes in the fabric of this forager society.

5. Dressed and non-dressed sandstone boulders

Despite the claim in the title of the English translation of Srejović’s (1972) main publication on Lepenski Vir, most of the boulders from Lepenski Vir are not monumental, at least not in the way other authors in this book define the term. Their weight ranges from 1 to 55 kg (Borić *et al.* 2018: SI Table 3). Many trapezoidal structures had larger or smaller dressed or non-dressed (also referred to by the excavator as ‘aniconic’) sandstone boulders (over 100 pieces) placed in commanding positions around hearths in the central parts of buildings or as architectural components – for example as the side of a hearth in the case of building 43 or in the dry-stone walls that surrounded the excavated sides of these semi-subterranean structures (Borić 2005). The raw material for these objects can still be found in the upper reaches of the Boljetinska River, a small tributary of the Danube in the vicinity of Lepenski Vir (Fig. 7). Some of the dressed boulders were also clearly used as mortars for grinding and pounding based on central hollows found on them, and some were inserted into the building floors, often behind rectangular stone-lined hearths in the centre of a structure (Srejović & Babović 1983).

In the Danube Gorges area, the sandstone boulder material was used from the Late Mesolithic in the manufacture of ground stone tools, likely utilized for various everyday tasks (e.g., Borić *et al.* 2014). It is hard to date the occurrence of the first dressed boulders. Most of the objects found at Lepenski Vir were in contexts associated with trapezoidal buildings and in association with building structures that are dated to the end of the 7th millennium BC. We could therefore assume that the tradition of carving sandstone boulders very likely dates to the same period or slightly precedes it (Borić *et al.* 2018). A small number of geometrically decorated stone boulders have also been found at other sites, such as Padina (Jovanović 1969), Hajdučka Vodenica and Cuina Turcului (Srejović & Babović 1983: 56–57). We are left to wonder whether, even before such artworks were created in stone, this carving tradition with its specific style of depiction already existed on other, perishable material media such as wood, leather, or in the form of body painting. Engraved motifs of zig-zag lines, cross-hatching,

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths

chevrons, and combinations of these are known in the area of the Danube Gorges from the Epipalaeolithic period at the site of Cuina Turcului (Borić & Cristiani 2016 and references therein), and the same range of motifs continued to be applied to the surfaces of bone, antler, and stone implements throughout the Mesolithic in the region (e.g., Cristiani & Borić 2021), and in other areas of Europe.

Yet, some of the motifs can also be seen as parts of very complex curvilinear continuous lines that cover the bodies of sculpted sandstone boulders, and it appears that this whole oeuvre is very specific and perhaps also an integral part of the way of decorating the chosen spherical surfaces of the boulders (Fig. 8); the tradition of dressing sandstone boulders appears to be something quite different from earlier ways of engraving. Given the associations and symbolism highlighting the affinity between the anadromous behaviour of certain species of fish and the normative burial posture of extended supine

burials parallel with the Danube with heads pointing down-stream, along with the presence of *Rutilus* sp. ornaments in burials in the the preceding Late Mesolithic phase (see above), it appears that the choice of sandstone boulders as a medium of depiction was anything but haphazard. Hence, (a) boulders were intentionally chosen as an obvious canvas when depicting fish, in a deliberate elaboration of existing sets of mental images, and (b) there might have been some importance in choosing rock as a durable medium for depicting, representing, and/or standing for the dead. I have previously shown how several boulders seem to have directly commemorated four different individuals (burials 7/I, 47, 92, and 61) from Lepenski Vir (Borić 2005, 2016). Even aniconic, i.e., non-dressed boulders might have been imbued with such connotations. For instance, in building 65/XXXV which, after a probable period of domestic use, was turned into a multiple burial place, two large non-dressed boulders flank the



Fig. 7 – Upper reaches of the Boljetinska River today: the source of the sandstone boulders (Photo: D. Borić).

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

entrance, while another non-dressed boulder was vertically inserted next to the large stone slabs of the floor level, next to the remains of the dead (Fig. 9). In many other instances, despite the lack of direct links, boulders might have stood for the dead or been linked with the realm of the dead and ancestors. In a similar vein, it has been argued that specific triangle-shaped supports made of worked stone plaques – with one example of a human mandible placed in the same way – found around rectangular hearths in many buildings, might have been a synecdoche of absent ancestral figures (Borić 2005, 2016, 2019).

Many of the depictions on sculpted boulders fall within the genre of the so-called ‘X-ray’ images

of human or animal bodies, a specific mode of depiction used by some traditional societies, such as indigenous Australian peoples. For example, in some cases chevrons seem to have been related to the patterns seen in the flesh of fish, while complex meandering curvilinear patterns and sculpted circles placed in multiple rows seem to depict fish roe and/or intestines. This association with the body of fish cannot be accidental and on one of the most striking figural boulders there is an unambiguously carved vertebral column (Fig. 8). Both dressed and non-dressed boulders sometimes have differently coloured zones on their surfaces with black or red hues dominating. These often result from a natural differential colouring of the raw material but also seem to have been produced intentionally using

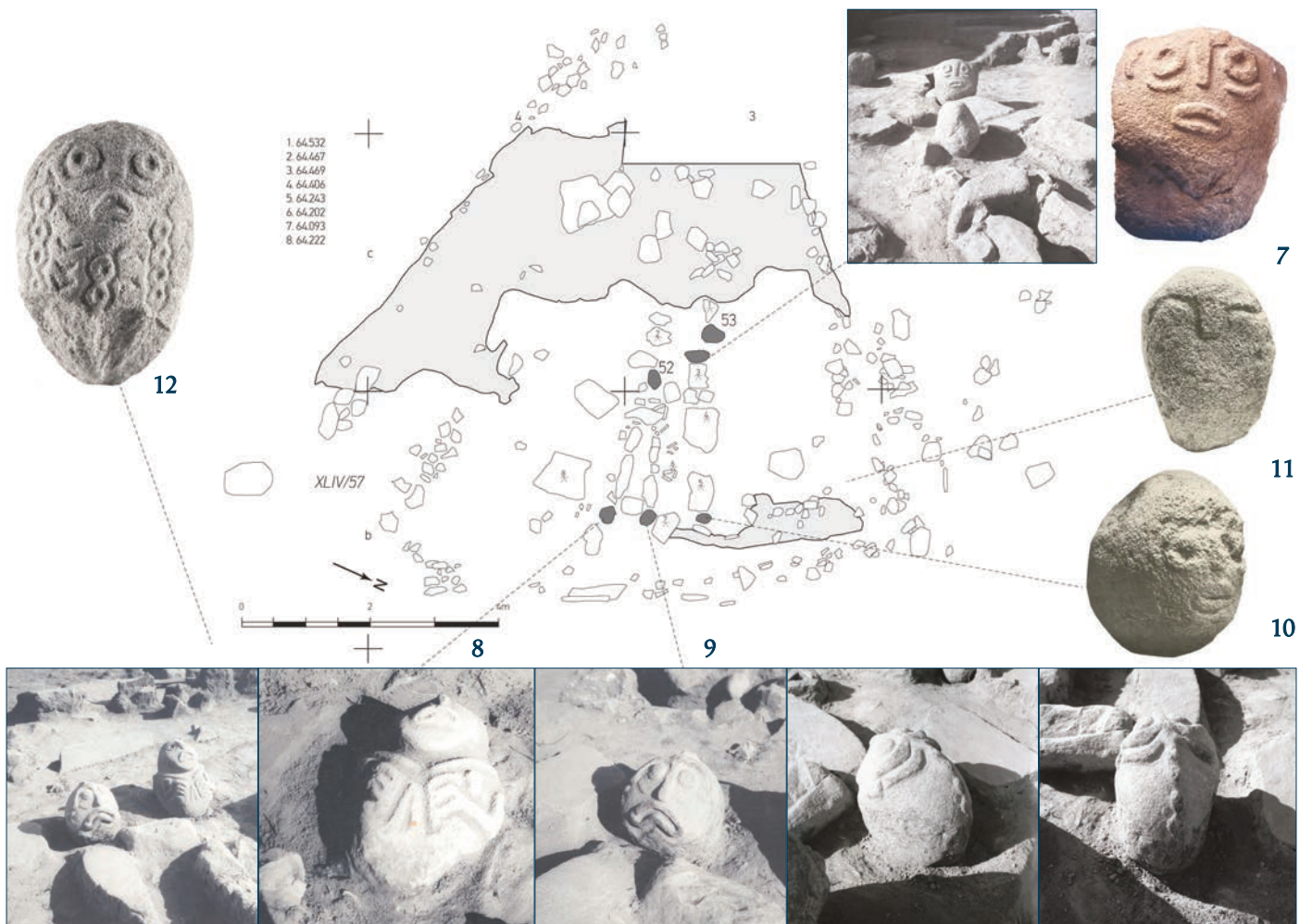


Fig. 8 – Plan of building 57/XLIV at Lepenski Vir and positions of sculpted boulders around the building’s hearth (photographs not to scale). The following numbers marking boulder objects relate to the catalogue in Borić *et al.* (2018: SI Table 3). 7: 33 x 32 x 52 cm, 55 kg; 8: 39 x 27 x 51 cm, 38 kg; 9: 33 x 25 x 51 cm, 53 kg; 10: 26 x 17 x 36 cm, 21.25 kg; 11: 18 x 18 x 26 cm, 10.5 kg; 12: 26 x 19 x 38 cm, 23.1 kg.

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths



Fig. 9 – Building 65/XXXV and burials 54a-e with the visible retaining walls surrounding the structure and two large non-dressed boulders flanking the entrance-way to this structure.

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

pigment or scorching with fire, as was the case with the two dressed boulders from building 54, the lower parts of which were inserted into the floor, and left unaffected by scorching (Fig. 10).

Some of the most impressive specimens, with figurative depictions of human/fish hybrid bodies, were found around the hearth of one of the largest excavated structures at Lepenski Vir, building 57/XLIV, which is located at a central location and higher up the sloping river terrace than other structures (Fig. 3). Here, two figurative boulders were found in front of the hearth, facing the inner part of the building (Fig. 8). Both were massive (weighing 38 and 53 kg respectively) and had human faces depicted with down-curved mouths resembling fish. One of the two, seemingly emerging from the ground upwards, had the fish spine described above, and possibly also scales, while the other, which had a carved dent at the back, might have been propped up by an object made of organic/perishable material (wood?) and had stylized, atrophic arms and fingers that seem to have held open a womb. On the other side of the hearth was a large (55 kg) carved boulder with the depiction of a human face, facing the first two boulders. Several other carved boulders were found in this building structure or nearby. The nature of these items, their high concentration in this building and their structured arrangement may indicate that this building had a very special role in the settlement. The impression we have formed, based on the way the boulders were positioned and arranged here, but also in other contexts, is that these objects might have been understood as animate bodies. There is an almost theatrical element to the arrangements, similar to the way some animal figures were arranged in the enclosures of Göbekli Tepe (cf. Borić 2013).

6. Between multi-species ontologies and secularist agendas: some concluding remarks

“One of the problems with calling the kiva a ‘religious structure’ (or a ‘specialized ritual structure’, which in the archaeological discourse amounts to the same thing) is that this leads us to draw an acceptable boundary between it and other, nonreligious structures, cordoning off the kiva in the same way that so

many Western theorists of religion have premised their arguments on the conceptual chasm between sacred and the profane. This firewall approach to categorization and analysis is precisely the modernist brand of purification that we must struggle against if we are to understand nonmodern societies on something closer to indigenous terms.” (Fowles 2013: 149-150).

Based on the evidence of documented and elaborated links between people and other-than-human entities (animals, landscape features, dressed and non-dressed sandstone boulders), could the social context at Lepenski Vir be linked to animist or totemist ontological schemes of practice? Was it the exchange of vital force or consubstantial modes of sharing the same essence that defined relationships between humans and other-than-humans? The terms used here refer to the concepts of animist and totemic ontological universes and their materialization in images provided by Tim Ingold (2000) and Philippe Descola (2010, 2013). Descola (2013) suggests that schemes of practice in different socio-cultural contexts determine different relationships between humans and non-humans along axes of physicality (the body) and interiority (the mind) and can form sets of relationships different from those that structure the dominant western ontology. Such different combinations affect the way images are produced in each context depending on different ways of seeing, understanding, and being in the world, or what he also refers to as ‘worldings’. Ontology, here, means something different than a worldview or culture (Descola 2014).

Totemism sees the continuity between humans and non-humans both in terms of their bodies and their souls and is primarily found among indigenous Australian peoples. In the totemic world, animals and humans share the same ancestral land. All living beings descend from the era of the ‘Dreaming’ when the ancestral figures shaped the features of the land through their movements. The relationship that all living beings have with the land can be described as essential – that is, these beings are consubstantial (of the same essence). In the indigenous art of Australia, one can often find images of kangaroos depicted in the X-ray style of painting, which shows the internal layout of organs and lines along which the body parts are partitioned during butchering. The body

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths



Fig. 10 – Building 54 and detail of two boulders inserted into the floor behind the building's hearth. Boulder dimensions: 27 x 19 x 36 cm, approx. 50 kg (a); 27 x 19 x 36 cm, approx. 20 kg (b).

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

of the depicted kangaroo can be seen as the ancestral, immobile landscape in its totality.

Animism sees humans and non-humans as having the same ‘culture’ or underlying humanity, rather than animality; their differences stem from their respective bodies which determine the different perspectives of different beings. Animism, as an ontological scheme of practice, is characteristic of many traditional societies around the world, perhaps best documented among Amerindian groups of the circumpolar North and in the lowlands of South America. In this type of ontological regime, a vital force exists in human exchanges with the animal world. Here, hunting can enable the flow of vital force between human and non-human beings; there is a limited pool of souls and predatory modes of relationships between different human and other-than-human collectives (*sensu* Latour).

According to Descola, a subcategory of animism is perspectivism, identified among Amazonian groups by the Brazilian anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2004). This refers to the idea of having different perspectives on the question of one’s humanity. The perspectival difference is grounded in the body. Viveiros de Castro (2009) finds Descola’s taxonomic ordering reductive (*cf.* Ingold 2016) and argues that perspectivism evades taxonomic classifications and is an indigenous philosophy, a ‘cannibal metaphysics,’ or a ‘bomb’ to our naturalist mode of thinking rather than a subspecies of a neatly ordered taxonomy of ontologies (*cf.* Latour 2009).

In an animistic universe, modes of depictions narrate the transformation between different classes of beings and can encompass metamorphosed or even hybrid forms, such as therianthrope images. Often, hunting scenes can be depicted that are anything but routine exchanges between different classes of beings that inhabit different planes of existence due to the different bodies they occupy. An exchange of perspectives for a human hunter can be deadly when encountering a powerful spirit animal. Here, the importance of ritual practitioners, or shamans, can be paramount in negotiating these different perspectives and they are the only beings who can cross from one to another without getting lost. Masks that are found in the rich cultural tradition of the groups inhabiting the North West Pacific coast are another example of the type of

artworks characteristic of this ontology. The purpose of masks is not to cover up, but rather to reveal the true being lurking beneath the surface of the body form. The activity of carving is seen as linked to the process of releasing this being, as the shape and the properties of the raw material determine the final shape of the carved object (Ingold 2000).

I have previously suggested that, in the case of the imagery and archaeological context seen at Göbekli Tepe, which had often been referred to as ‘totemic’ by the ad hoc use of older ethnographies, we may be more likely within a predatory and animist universe than in what is often defined as totemist in current anthropological discussions (Borić 2013). Of course, using this conceptual characterization is a heuristic device to describe sets of complex and changing meanings embodied in these objects rather than something ‘fixed’, and mine was not an attempt to dig up an ontology! Andrew Jones sees these kinds of attempts to work through archaeological evidence using categories derived from social anthropology as mistaken, arguing that “archaeologists should not be aiming to simply confirm preconceived anthropological concepts” (Jones 2017: 169). Jones further argues that the use of Viveiros de Castro’s concepts of perspectivism is a more fruitful way to think critically through archaeological evidence and generate fresh concepts. I remain puzzled by this critique as it rather misrepresents the nuances of my argument that works through diverse anthropological theoretical constructs with archaeological evidence always centre stage. However, what might be lurking behind this rather unnecessary criticism, which knocks on an open door, is less to do with the way archaeologists appropriate concepts from other disciplines, but rather something – not well articulated in Jones’ piece – that refers to an ongoing debate in social anthropology between Descola’s proposal on the taxonomy of ontologies seen as ideal types and Viveiros de Castro’s approach that attempts to introduce the ‘cannibal metaphysics’ in our conceptual categories by destabilizing the very grounds on which our ontological universe operates. It would take us astray if I were to further engage in this debate here. It suffices to say that I find both authors’ approaches of great interest and heuristic value. Here, I am primarily keen to explore Descola’s approach of wide lateral comparison that he inherited as a valued *modus operandi* from his

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths

intellectual forebear, Claude Lévi-Strauss. Hence the question remains: knowing what we know about the ways other premodern people in the world depict images, could we see foragers in the Danube Gorges area with their culture and stone boulder imagery as closer to animist or totemist modes of relating between humans and other-than-human entities?

A short answer would be that the evidence seems to present neither purely animist nor totemist mode of relationships (*sensu* Descola). While therianthrope images of fish/human hybrids and the very act of carving materials to release images from the boulders are features of a dominantly animist ontology, X-ray images and strong links to certain landscape features, as seen at Lepenski Vir through a mimetic relationship with the trapezoid-shaped mountain, could be seen as elements of a totemist ontology. Further, given the current evidence, modes of predation, which are dominant in an animist ontology, are rather absent at Lepenski Vir. Yet, choosing between one or the other ontology would probably be a mistake. Looking at diachronic changes that affected these groups of foragers could suggest changing modes of relating and different emphasis given in different situations – perhaps with more animist elements during earlier times and a development of totemist modes of relating in later parts of the sequence, still mixed with animist modes of being. Importantly for our discussion here is that aspects of monumentalizing in relation to the landscape and built environment most likely relate to the totemist ‘worlding’ of the Danube Gorges foragers.

To conclude, I would like to provide a couple of critical remarks regarding the way we talk about the ‘function’ of monuments and megaliths or monumentalizing aspects of evidence, to which I alluded earlier when discussing the case study of Lepenski Vir. In archaeology, when writing about monuments, their social significance and links to religion, beliefs, and the sacred, we often remain oblivious to discussions among socio-cultural anthropologists in a post-Geertzian world. The key problem is that archaeological discussions of religion and belief are often taken either in integrationist terms through functionalist, rationalist or Neo-Darwinian perspectives, or in legitimizing terms through Marxian narratives of the control of power by

mobilizing the idea that ideology is a way for a group of cynical men to control a society at large (cf. Fowles 2013: 66). By talking about religion, belief, and the sacred in integrationist or legitimizing terms, we are doing two things. First, we underline secularist agendas of our own making, be it to explain the role of the religious and the sacred in politics or to explain what might have kept certain groups together. Second, we violently separate and purify conceptual categories, pulling apart what we consider religious from political, economic, and all other aspects of life. The separation between ‘natural’ and ‘supernatural’ may similarly be of our own making, not necessarily corresponding to anything in the way that human groups perceived their social totality. In this process we might miss taking past social and cultural practices on their own terms.

In the work that examines the notion of the existence of Pueblo religion and aspects of the Greater Chaco Canyon world of the American Southwest, Severin Fowles (2013), probes vernacular terminology of various Native American groups that have inhabited this area. Based on both archaeological and ethnohistorical sources, Fowles suggests that the relationship of these groups to the sacred, which is part of the everyday existence, is best captured by reference to the various practices of ritual and religion as ‘doings’. ‘Doings’ permeate every aspect of life and the focus on them reveals a world populated by various connections, constant heightened attentiveness to relationships between different entities, be they human or other-than-human, and blurs boundaries between practices that are considered ritual from those that are considered solely utilitarian.

For many archaeologists, religious and ritual practices would appear as fundamental to competition over power and resources, or as Fowles (2013: 120) puts it, ‘...strip away all the talk of snake women, lightning arrows, and magic medicine, and one will eventually arrive at a hardened core of individual competition, optimization, and biological strategy – where individuals talk religiously as a way of competing politically, as a way of acting economically, as a way of (in the end) reproducing biologically.’ This kind of reductionism is not satisfying. To paraphrase an article that takes on

Larger than life: monumentality of the landscape and other-than-human imagery at Lepenski Vir (Serbia)

Jared Diamond's publication *Guns, germs, and steel*, it is like academic porn: '...the costumes change, the props change, but in the end it's the same repeated theme' (Antrosio 2011). The question lingers: can we do better and differently, taking other people's ontologies and understandings seriously, rather than necessarily reducing them to secularist agendas?

Taking this secularist critique into account, how could we best understand the explosion of unprecedented and quite exceptional aspects of monumentalizing seen at Lepenski Vir in one specific, rather short moment, without resorting to functionalist secularist agendas? One concept that could perhaps be usefully appropriated in this context is mobilized by Fowles (2013: 145-150) in his discussion of the creation of large collective Pueblo villages. It is the old notion of effervescence, proposed by Émile Durkheim (1965), a pioneering figure in the anthropology of religion. According to Durkheim, religious effervescence arises when a large group meets in one place, creating the social excitement of different people coming together. For Durkheim, among ethnographic examples of such effervescent instances are the seasonal and ceremonial aggregations of indigenous Australian peoples. Admitting that Durkheim's notion of religious effervescence could easily be criticized as overly imprecise, or that we could be tempted to envisage participants in such gatherings as blind followers of the assembly, stripped of their individual or subgroup idiosyncrasies, Fowles insists on a more nuanced understanding of the notion of effervescence. He stresses that the key spark in such gatherings might have been the underlying differences among those participating, which led to the forging of new identities

I would suggest that we might be encountering precisely such a process in the context of Lepenski Vir at this particular juncture, and that the notion of religious effervescence could perhaps be explored productively in many other megalithic contexts. As discussed earlier in this paper, during the short-lived phase I-II at Lepenski Vir in the last century of the 7th millennium BC, when the site was being resettled with a buzz of activity, there is now clear evidence that it acted as a hub for the meeting of two genetically and culturally different groups – the indigenous foragers and the migrant farmers of Anatolian origin. Evidence of admixtures between

these different groups of people have also been established in the burial record of this and at least one other contemporaneous neighbouring site. Elaborate buildings constructed at Lepenski Vir at this time and associated burial rites draw strongly on forager cultural traditions, but have a renewed vigour and new means and media of expression (e.g., the use of sandstone boulders for carving). At the same time, portable material culture (e.g., ornaments, osseous tools, flint raw materials, ground stone tools) in many instances embody technical gestures characteristic of Neolithic cultural assemblages (cf. Borić *et al.* 2018). Further, a large number of neonate burials beneath trapezoidal building floors and the introduction of aurochs remains in the burial arena (Borić 2016) could also be seen as elements of Neolithic cultural traditions and repertoires of expression. Earlier, I hinted at a possibility that there might be a correlation between the end of 8.2 ka cal BP cold event and the start of these activities at Lepenski Vir, with this location almost certainly deliberately chosen as the site for unprecedented building and dwelling activities based on its proximity to the trapezoid-shaped Treskavac rock of monumental dimensions found across the Danube.

The meeting of these diverse groups of people, with their profound differences, at this unique location at this specific time might have generated the social excitement, heightened awareness, and reflection required to forge new types of experiences. These experiences and practices (perhaps similar to 'doings' in the sense of the term used by Fowles in the Pueblo archaeological context) could perhaps have approached the idea of religious effervescence previously described – the bubbling of new and exciting ways of reshaping both individual and group identities in the face of radical alterity and potential adversary, while at the same time drawing on past potencies (cf. Borić 2003). The trapezoidal buildings of Lepenski Vir might have played a special role in this, hence their extraordinary elaboration at the site at this time. Here springs to mind the insightful one-liner by Maurice Bloch who, when asked to talk about religion at Çatalhöyük, famously proclaimed that there was no religion at Çatalhöyük, just houses (Bloch 2010). I am tempted to say that at Lepenski Vir religion did not exist separately from the flux of existence within and around the buildings

Megaliths of the World - Part VIII: European Megaliths

that might have played a pivotal role in the shaping of idiosyncratic understandings of that existence. Rather than functionally understood just as places of either everyday activities or of ritual, they were most likely places *par excellence* of social encounter, reflection, and negotiation. Their large centrally-positioned hearths with flat stone slabs around them, embedded in the limestone floors in an almost ergonomic way, seem to have invited social proximity and storytelling, while at the same time the building of these structures repetitively – and almost obsessively – drew on an elaborate ecology of multiple links with an array of other-than-human

entities. This intersection of emotions, politics, power relations, spectacles, and probings into new ways of being at this place must have created the extraordinary material record, holding things together for only a short while before similar nexuses of effervescent ecologies of relationships were created elsewhere.

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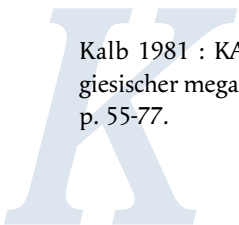
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