

**MICHAELA LOCHNER,
FLORIAN RUPPENSTEIN
(HRSG.)**

**BRANDBESTATTUNGEN
VON DER MITTLEREN
DONAU BIS ZUR ÄGÄIS
ZWISCHEN 1300 UND
750 V. CHR.**

Akten des internationalen
Symposiums an der Österreichischen
Akademie der Wissenschaften
in Wien, 11.–12. Februar 2010

**CREMATION BURIALS
IN THE REGION
BETWEEN THE MIDDLE
DANUBE AND THE
AEGEAN, 1300–750 BC**

Proceedings of the international
symposium held at the Austrian
Academy of Sciences at Vienna,
February 11th–12th, 2010

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OAW



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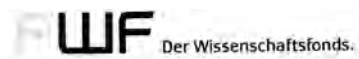


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Inhaltsverzeichnis/Table of content

Vorwort/Preface – 7

Michaela Lochner

Bestattungssitten auf Gräberfeldern der
mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur – 11

Andreas Lippert

Brandbestattungen der Urnenfelderzeit in der
Steiermark – 33

Gabor Vaczi

Cultural connections and interactions in the Late
Bronze Age cemetery of Budapest-Békásmegyer,
Hungary – 45

Carol Kacsó

Spätbronzezeitliche Brandbestattungen im
Norden Siebenbürgens – 63

Matija Črešnar, Jayne-Leigh Thomas

New data on cremation burials from North-Eastern
Slovenia – 79

Daria Ložnjak Dizdar

Cremation burials in Northern Croatia
1300–750 BC – 99

Snježana Karavanić

The Velika Gorica cemetery and related sites in
Continental Croatia – 119

Zdenko Žeravica †

Brandbestattungssitten auf dem westlichen
Balkan zwischen 1300 und 750 v. Chr. – 135

Mario Gavranović

Spätbronze- und früheisenzeitliche Brandbe-
stattungen südlich der Save. Naturräume und
Tradition – 143

Predrag Medović

Brandbestattungen in Urnen im serbischen
Donaugebiet von 1300 bis 750 v. Chr. – 159

Rastko Vasić

Cremation burials in the Morava valley between
1300 and 750 BC – 173

Florian Ruppenstein

Cremation burials in Greece from the
Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age:
continuity or change? – 185

**Anna Lagia, Anastasia Papathanasiou,
Zoi Malakasioti, Foteini Tsiouka**

Cremations of the Early Iron Age from Mound 36
at Voulokalyva (ancient Halos) in Thessaly:
a bioarchaeological appraisal – 197

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy

Cremation burials in the Mycenaean cemetery of
Elateia-Alonaki in Central Greece – 221

Magdalini Valla, Sevasti Triantaphyllou,

Paul Halstead, Valasia Isaakidou

Handling of death at the end of the Late Bronze

Age: the case of Faia Petra, 13th c. BC, Eastern
Macedonia, Greece – 231

Heleni Palaiologou

Late Helladic IIIC cremation burials at Chania
of Mycenae – 249

Abkürzungen/Abbreviations – 281

Vorwort

Brandbestattungen waren in der Zeit von ca. 1300 bis 750 v. Chr. nicht nur im Bereich der nach ihnen benannten mitteleuropäischen Urnenfelderkultur verbreitet. Brandbestattungen lassen sich in diesem Zeitraum auch auf der gesamten Balkanhalbinsel und bis nach Griechenland nachweisen. Es ist eine alte Forschungsfrage, ob Brandbestattungen in den verschiedenen Kulturen Mittel- und Südosteuropas in einer inneren Beziehung zueinander standen. Insbesondere kam schon früh die Frage auf, ob ausgehend von der mitteleuropäischen Urnenfelderkultur Einflüsse nach Süden gewirkt haben.

Es erschien uns daher sinnvoll, Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler, die sich in verschiedenen Regionen mit dem genannten Themenbereich beschäftigen, zu einem Kongress einzuladen, um Ihnen die Möglichkeit zum Gedankenaustausch zu bieten. Es hat uns sehr gefreut, dass viele Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus verschiedenen Ländern unserer Einladung gefolgt sind. Wir sehen das als Beleg für das große Interesse am Thema. Es war uns dabei wichtig, nicht nur Archäologen, sondern auch Anthropologen zu Wort kommen zu lassen, um zu einem besseren Verständnis der technischen Aspekte und der praktischen Durchführung der Brandbestattungen zu gelangen. Es sind nicht nur Artefakte, sondern auch die Art und Weise der Verbrennung und der anschließende Bestattungsritus, die Rückschlüsse auf Kontakte zwischen verschiedenen Kulturgruppen zu lassen.

Natürlich war es uns nicht möglich, das Thema in seiner vollen geografischen und inhaltlichen Breite abzudecken. Das Fehlen von Beiträgen zu Brandbestattungen in Albanien, der ehemaligen jugoslawischen Republik Makedonien sowie in Bulgarien ist uns schmerzlich bewusst. Auch anthropologische Forschungsergebnisse sind in viel geringerer Zahl vertreten, als von uns angestrebt wurde. Dennoch hoffen wir, dass der vorliegende Band als Basis für weitergehende Untersuchungen von Nutzen sein wird.

Um einer Lösung der eingangs skizzierten Fragen näher zu kommen, sind sowohl weitere detaillierte Untersuchungen einzelner Fundorte als auch zusammenfassende Darstellungen größerer geografischer Räume vonnöten. In die-

sem Tagungsband finden sich sowohl Beiträge der einen als auch der anderen Art. Wir sehen es nicht als unsere Aufgabe als Herausgeber an, ein zusammenfassendes Resümee der Ergebnisse zu bieten. Dies liegt nicht nur daran, weil – wie bei den meisten wissenschaftlichen Kongressen – viel mehr neue Fragen aufgeworfen wurden, als Antworten gegeben werden konnten. Ausschlaggebend ist vielmehr unsere Auffassung, dass der Leser eine Bewertungshilfe in Form eines Resümees nicht benötigt. Der wissenschaftliche Wert, der von uns vorgelegten Kongressakten, kann und wird von ihm allein beurteilt werden.

Interdisziplinarität ist ein vielgebrauchtes und manchmal auch missbrauchtes Schlagwort der Forschungsdiskussion der letzten Jahrzehnte. Tatsächlich trifft man in der Forschung unter diesem Titel häufig nur auf ein wissenschaftliches Nebeneinander, selten auf ein echtes Miteinander. Dies liegt nicht zuletzt daran, dass wirkliche Interdisziplinarität ohne einen erhöhten Arbeitsaufwand nicht zu bewerkstelligen ist; man muss sich der Mühe unterziehen, die Arbeiten der in benachbarten Bereichen tätigen Kollegen zu rezipieren. Wir hoffen, dass unser Tagungsband eine Hilfe zu wirklichem interdisziplinären und internationalen Arbeiten sein wird, nicht zuletzt, weil die Publikationssprachen Englisch und Deutsch den Zugang zur Forschungstätigkeit in manchen südosteuropäischen Regionen erleichtern könnten. Ohne umfassende Kooperationen werden die hier interessierenden Forschungsfragen jedenfalls nicht zu lösen sein.

Es war nicht allen Teilnehmern, die das Symposium mit einem Referat bereichert haben, möglich, eine schriftliche Fassung zum Druck einzureichen. Der Vortrag von Carola Metzner-Nebelsick mit dem Titel „Brandbestattungen der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur in Nordwestungarn am Beispiel des Gräberfeldes von Sopron-Krautacker“ und der Beitrag von Lorenc Bejko zum Thema „Cremation burials in Albania between 1300 and 750 BC“ konnten leider nicht in den Band aufgenommen werden.

Es bleibt noch die angenehme Pflicht des Danksagens. Unser Dank gilt insbesondere den beiden Forschungsinsti-

tutionen, denen wir angehören: der Mykenischen Kommission und der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, Leiterin der Mykenischen Kommission, und Herwig Friesinger, Leiter der Prähistorischen Kommission, haben unser Vorhaben nicht nur gebilligt, sondern auch nach Kräften unterstützt und mit großem Interesse begleitet. Für die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung bedanken wir uns bei der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Ein besonderer Dank gilt auch unseren Kolleginnen Eva Alram-Stern, die den Kongress mit uns zusammen vorbereitet und organisiert hat und Silvia Hack, die die Betreuung der Tagung vor Ort

durchführte. Für die Erstellung des Tagungsposters und des Programmhefts danken wir Marion Frauenglas. Die sprachliche Korrektur der englischsprachigen Beiträge wurde freundlicherweise von Nicola Nightingale durchgeführt. Für die sprachliche Überarbeitung der deutschsprachigen Texte bedanken wir uns bei Sigrid Strohschneider-Laue.

Während der redaktionellen Bearbeitung der Beiträge ereilte uns die Nachricht vom Tode unseres Kollegen Zdenko Žeravica. Seinem Andenken ist dieser Band gewidmet.

Michaela Lochner, Florian Ruppenstein
Wien, den 30.6.2011

Preface

From about 1300 to 750 BC, cremation burials were widespread not only in central Europe, where they gave the name to the so-called Urnfield culture, but also on the whole Balkan Peninsula as far as Greece. It is an old research question, if the cremation burials of the various archaeological cultures in central and south-east Europe were related to each other. Early on the question was raised whether the central European Urnfield culture influenced the developments in the south.

Therefore, it appeared sensible to invite scholars to a symposium who investigate these topics in diverse regions to provide a possibility for an exchange of ideas. We were very pleased that so many colleagues from different countries accepted our invitation. We consider this fact as proof of the great interest in the topic. It was important for us to invite not only archaeologists but also physical anthropologists to improve our understanding of the technical aspects and of the practical implementation of cremations. Not only artefacts reveal information about relationships between cultural groups but also the way in which cremations and burial rituals were performed.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to cover all areas and questions related to the topic. We are aware of the absence of contributions on cremation burials in Albania, the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia and in Bulgaria. Results of anthropological research are also less represented than originally intended. However, we hope that these proceedings may be used as a basis for further research.

Detailed analyses of individual sites as well as syntheses of larger geographical areas are necessary to answer the questions that were posed above. Both types of approaches are represented in this volume. We do not see it as our task as editors to provide a summarizing synthesis. This is not only because more new questions than answers appeared, as is the case with most scientific conferences. More decisive is our opinion that the reader does not need an assessment tool in the form of a synthesis. He is able alone to assess the scientific value of our conference proceedings and certainly will do so.

Multidisciplinarity is a much used – and sometimes also abused – keyword of scientific research of recent decades. Nevertheless, under this heading we often find just a juxtaposition of research and only seldom real scientific cooperation.

This is due not least to the fact that actual interdisciplinarity cannot be practiced without an additional workload. It is necessary to receive the work of colleagues that are engaged in adjacent research areas. We hope that our conference proceedings will strengthen real interdisciplinarity as well as international cooperation, not least because the articles are published in English and German, which will hopefully contribute to a broader dissemination of research results of some south-east European regions. Surely, the research questions that are addressed here cannot be answered without extensive collaboration.

Unfortunately, not all participants who gave a talk at the symposium were able to submit a version for publication. The presentations by Carola Metzner-Nebelsick on ‘Cremation burials of the central Danubian Urnfield culture in North-west-Hungary and the case study of the Sopron-Krautacker cemetery’ and by Lorenc Bejko titled ‘Cremation burials in Albania between 1300 and 750 BC’ could not be added to this volume. Finally, we want to acknowledge and thank all those who contributed to this project. We want to particularly thank the two research institutions to which we belong: the Mycenaean Commission and the Prehistoric Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, Head of the Mycenaean Commission and Herwig Friesinger, Head of the Prehistoric Commission supported this project and showed great interest in its gestation. For financial support we want to thank the philosophical-historical section of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Our special thanks go to our colleagues Eva Alram-Stern, who helped to plan and organize the conference and to Silvia Hack, who oversaw the running of the conference. The conference program and the conference poster were kindly produced by Marion Frauenglas. Thanks are extended to Nicola Nightingale who proofread the English-language contributions and to Sigrid Strohschneider-Laue who corrected the German-language ones. The sad news about the passing away of our colleague Zdenko Žeravica reached us during the editorial process. This volume is dedicated to his memory.

Michaela Lochner, Florian Ruppenstein
Vienna, 30.6.2011

Bestattungssitten auf Gräberfeldern der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur

Michaela Lochner

Abstract

BURIAL CUSTOMS IN CEMETERIES OF THE MIDDLE DANUBIAN URNFIELD CULTURE. Archaeologically well recorded burial grounds in East Austria are investigated in terms of their traceable burial rites. Important parameters are the type of grave construction, the use of urns, the grave furniture as well as finds, which provide information for reconstructing activities at the grave. At the current state of research several chronological developments and chorological anomalies have become apparent, which are described in table 1 and 2. By means of a selection of burials of the older and younger Middle Danubian Urnfield culture it is attempted to interpret the archaeological evidence in view of concept, course of burial as well as activities at the grave.

Zusammenfassung

Gut befundete Gräberfelder in Ostösterreich werden hinsichtlich ihrer nachvollziehbaren Bestattungsriten untersucht. Wichtige Parameter sind die Art des Grabbaus, die Verwendung einer Urne, die Beigabenausstattung sowie Befunde, die verschiedene Handlungen am Grab nachvollziehen lassen. Beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand zeichnen sich einige chronologische Entwicklungen und chorologischen Besonderheiten ab, die in Tabelle 1 und 2 wiedergegeben sind. Anhand einer Auswahl von Bestattungen der älteren und jüngeren mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur wird versucht, den archäologischen Befund in Hinblick auf Konzeption, Ablauf der Grablegung sowie Handlungen am Grab zu interpretieren.

1. Einleitung

Die mitteldonauländische Urnenfelderkultur umfasst die Regionen Niederösterreich, Südmähren, die Südwestslowakei, Teile Westungarns, des Burgenlands sowie der Steiermark. Sie ist eine kulturelle Einheit, die um 1300 v. Chr. auf der Basis regionaler Hügelgräberkulturen und im Zuge eines gegenseitigen Assimilationsprozesses mit den Nachbarregionen entstand und 800/750 v. Chr. von der Hallstattkultur abgelöst wurde.

Die von Jíří Říhovský 1958 vorgenommene grundsätzliche Zweiteilung in eine ältere (Velatitzer-)Phase und eine jüngere (Podoler-)Phase wurde seither immer wieder verfeinert und ausgebaut. Grundsätzlich entsprechen die in Mitteleuropa gängigen Stufen Bz D und Ha A1–A2 der älteren Phase, mit einer Übergangsphase Ha A2/B1 um ca. 1050 v. Chr., und die Stufen Ha B2–B3 der jüngeren Phase, wobei Ha B3/C1 den fließenden Übergang zur Hallstattkultur repräsentiert.¹

Anhand ausgewählter Grabbefunde aus Ostösterreich werden im Folgenden die Transformationen der Bestattungs- und Beigabensitten in dieser Zeitperiode auszugswise präsentiert. Ein Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf der Darstellung möglicher Riten in Zusammenhang mit der Grablegung.

1. Es wird in dieser Übersichtsarbeit die von MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, Abb. 64 vorgeschlagene Stufengliederung verwendet und auf die ebenfalls gängigen Bezeichnungen frühe, ältere, mittlere, jüngere und späte Urnenfelderzeit (MÜLLER-KARPE 1974, 7 ff.) verzichtet. Vgl. dazu die Synchronisation der Stufenbezeichnungen bei ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1979, 5, Abb. 1.

2. Die ältere Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur

Die Bestattungs- und Beigabensitten dieser, auch als ältere Urnenfelderkultur bezeichneten Periode basieren zu einem großen Teil auf den mittelbronzezeitlichen Traditionen der vorangegangenen mitteldonauländischen Hügelgräberkultur.² Die rechteckige Grabform, ihre Ost-West-Orientierung, die urnenlose Brandbestattung und die fallweise auftretenden mannslangen Steinpackungen stellen solche mittelbronzezeitliche Traditionen dar.

Zu Beginn der Urnenfelderkultur setzte eine Modifizierung der Bestattungssitte ein, die etwa mit Ende der Stufe Ha A1 abgeschlossen war. Es entstand eine große Vielfalt an Bestattungsformen, wobei das unterschiedliche Brauchtum kleinräumig verteilt erscheint.

Seit Beginn des 13. Jh. v. Chr. war in unserer Region nahezu ausschließlich die Brandbestattung üblich. Körpergräber auf regulären Bestattungsplätzen begegnen uns in Mitteleuropa erst wieder in der Hallstattkultur. Die anfangs vorherrschende urnenlose Brandbestattung war vor allem in der frühen Urnenfelderzeit der Stufe Bz D noch verbreitet. Im Laufe der älteren Urnenfelderzeit (Ha A1, 12. Jh. v. Chr.) wurde dieser Ritus von der *Urnenbestattung* abgelöst, wobei der zeitliche Ansatz regional unterschiedlich ist. Ab der Stufe Ha A2 (11. Jh. v. Chr.) ist die Urnenbestattung vorherrschend.

	BzC2/D1	BzD2	HaA1	HaA2	HaA2/B1	HaB1	HaB2	HaB3	HaC1
Grabbau – Hügel/Flach	H	F	(H) F	F	(H) F	F	F	F	H
Grabform – Lang/Rund/Quadrat	L	L	L/R	R	R	R	R	R/Q	L/R/Q
Urne	Nein	Nein	Ja/Nein	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja/Nein	Ja/Nein
Waffen/Prunk	Ja	Ja	(Ja) Nein	Nein	(Ja) Nein	Nein	Nein	Ja/Nein	Ja
Geschirrsätze T=Trinksitte	Nein	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja T	Ja T
Handlungen*	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja
	Getzersdorf								
		Hollabrunn							
			Inzersdorf ob der Traisen		Franzhausen-Kokoron				
						St. Andrä			
							Stillfried		

* mitverbrannte und/oder zerscherbte Gefäße als Teil einer Vielzahl an Handlungen

Tabelle 1. Überblick über die Bestattungssitten der älteren Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur (graue Felder).

Beim *Grabbau* vollzog sich der Wandel von den großen Grabhügeln der mittleren Bronzezeit zu kleinen Grabhügeln bzw. Flachgräbern. Diese Grabform wurde ab der Stufe Bz D2 im Wesentlichen bis ans Ende der Urnenfelderkultur beibehalten. Regionale Ausnahmen finden sich im Nordburgenland und in der Südwestslowakei, wo Grabhügel, aber auch Steinkistengräber und Waffenbeigaben verstärkt bis in die Stufe Ha A1 nachgewiesen sind und in Zusammenhang mit der Čaka-Kulturgruppe gestellt werden.

Auch bei der *Grabform* wurden teilweise noch bis in die Stufe Ha A1 langrechteckige und rechteckige Grundrisse mit diversen Steineinbauten bzw. Steinkisten beibehalten. Ab der Stufe Ha A2 hatte sich der runde Grabgrubengrundriss durchgesetzt.

Gräber mit reicheren Ausstattungen – z. B. Kombinationen von zahlreichen Keramikgefäßen, besonderen Bronzebeigaben sowie Waffen – sind auf die Stufe Bz D beschränkt³ und treten später nur mehr in Ausnahmefällen auf. Zu nennen wäre hier Grab 1 von Velatice⁴ sowie das Hügelgrab von Očkov⁵ in der SW-Slowakei. Sogenannte Prunkgräber fehlen in unserer Region, zumindest in befundeten Grabzusammenhängen.

Die Grabkeramik war in der mittleren Bronzezeit und der frühesten Urnenfelderzeit in erster Linie *Bestandteil einer Vielzahl von Handlungen*, die während und nach der eigentlichen Bestattung durchgeführt wurden. Der mit der

3. Z. B. im Gräberfeld von Baierdorf: LOCHNER 1986. – Zuletzt LOCHNER 2012, 42.

4. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1958.

5. PAULÍK 1962.

2. Dazu: LOCHNER 2012, 38–40.

Grabkeramik verbundene Ritus ändert sich im Laufe der frühen Urnenfelderzeit (ab der Stufe Bz D2) deutlich.

Nach wie vor wurden einzelne Schalen oder Töpfe, die direkt bei dem Verstorbenen auf dem Scheiterhaufen standen, mitgegeben. Ebenso können größere Scherbenkonvolute als Reste von Zeremonien am Grab beobachtet werden. Gleichzeitig begann in dieser Stufe die Bedeutung von Keramikbeigefäßen in Form von *Geschirrsätzen*, als Behälter für die Aufbewahrung von Speisen und Getränken stark zuzunehmen, sie wurden teilweise in großer Anzahl und in wechselnden Zusammenstellungen dem Toten mitgegeben.

2.1 Quellenlage – ältere Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur

Die hier vorgestellten Gräberfelder sind – bezogen auf die vorgegebene Thematik – Bestattungsorte, die durch ihre Grabbefunde Aussagen erlauben, die über chronologische und typologische Einzelaspekte hinausgehen.⁶ Die Befunde erlauben Schlussfolgerungen zu Ritusabläufen der Grablegung und tragen durch diese zur Interpretation gesellschaftlicher Phänomene, wie etwa der Sozialstruktur, bei.

Nur manche der angeführten Gräberfelder sind vollständig, wenige nur in Ausschnitten und die meisten nur in Vorberichten veröffentlicht.

Im nördlichen Niederösterreich, am Ostrand des Waldviertels, befinden sich die bereits publizierten Gräberfelder von Baierdorf und Horn sowie das nur aus Vorberichten bekannte Gräberfeld vom Straß im Straßertal. Ein Bestattungsort, der möglicherweise durchgehend während der gesamten Urnenfelderzeit belegt war. Im Weinviertel ist das Gräberfeld von Hollabrunn zu nennen, von dem bislang nur zwei Kinderbestattungen veröffentlicht wurden.

Südlich der Donau sind vor allem die Region des Unteren Traisental mit den wichtigen Gräberfeldern von Franzhausen, Getzersdorf, Inzersdorf und Unterradlberg und das östlich anschließende Gebiet mit der bedeutenden Fundstelle Gemeinlebarn sowie das südliche Tullernfeld (Michelndorf) als größte Fundkonzentration von Bestattungsplätzen in Niederösterreich zu nennen.

Weiter östlich sind das neu ergrabene Gräberfeld von Schwechat-Rannersdorf mit charakteristischem Grabinventar der Stufe Ha A2, die wichtige Anlage von Sommerin, das jüngst publizierte Gräberfeld von Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge und der große, noch unpublizierte Bestattungsort von Leithaprodersdorf hervorzuheben.

Zur Čaka-Kulturgruppe auf dem Gebiet des Burgenlandes gehören die publizierten Grabhügelbestattungen von Zurndorf und Neusiedl-Hutweide, die teilweise vorgelegten Hügel von Siegendorf-Schuschenwald sowie das unpublizierte Gräberfeld von St. Margarethen.

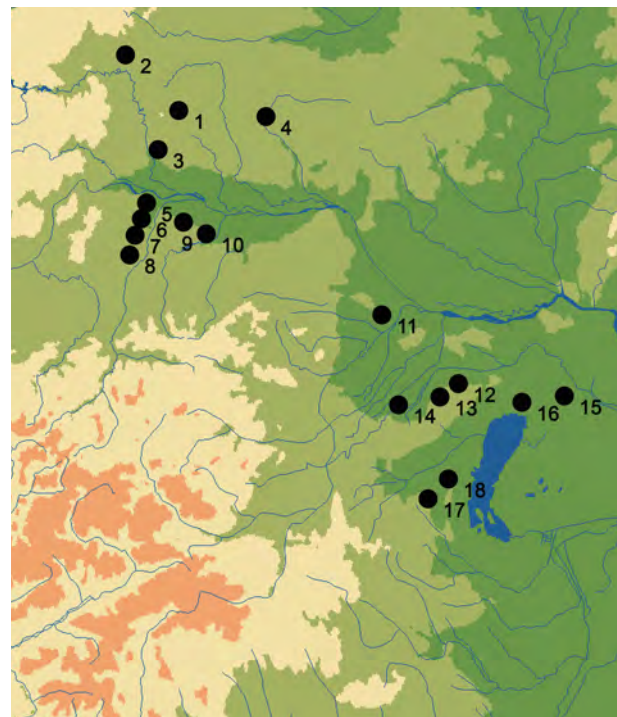


Abb. 1. Gräberfelder der Stufen Bz D–Ha A2 in Ostösterreich mit aussagekräftigen Grabbefunden.

Baierdorf-Velatic-Kulturgruppe:⁷

- 1 – Baierdorf
LOCHNER 1986, 263–294.
- 2 – Horn
LOCHNER 1991b, 137–220.
- 3 – Straß im Straßertal
WEWERKA 1994, 216–219. (Vorbericht)
- 4 – Hollabrunn
LAUERMANN, HASENHÜNDL 1997, 309–318. (Vorbericht)
- 5 – Franzhausen
BLES, GATTRINGER 2007, 15 f. (Vorbericht)
- 6 – Getzersdorf
KAUS K. 1971, 68–112. – MAURER 1971, 115–122. – GROISS 1976, 99–126.

6. Aus forschungsgeschichtlichen Gründen möchte ich mich im gesamten Artikel auf Ostösterreich, d. h. im Wesentlichen auf die Bundesländer Niederösterreich und Burgenland, beziehen.

7. Die Baierdorf-Velatic-Kulturgruppe (Bz D–Ha A) war in Südmähren, Ostösterreich und dem anschließenden westungarischen und westslowakischen Gebiet verbreitet; dazu ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1963, 61 ff.

- 7 – Inzersdorf ob der Traisen
NEUGEBAUER 1993, 86 – LOCHNER 1994, 204 f.
(Vorbericht)
- 8 – Unterradlberg
BLES, NEUGEBAUER, PREINFALK 2002, 31 f. –
BLES, KRUMPEL 2003, 31 f. (Vorberichte)
- 9 – Gemeinlebarn
SZOMBATHY 1929. – NEUGEBAUER, BLES,
GATTRINGER et al. 1997, 455. (Vorbericht)
- 10 – Michelndorf
ADAMETZ 2005, 211–222.
- 11 – Schwechat-Rannersdorf
GRUBER 2006, 32–45. (Vorbericht)
- 12 – Sommerein
KAUS M. 1991, 27–30. (Vorbericht)
- 13 – Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge
POMBERGER 2009, 1–156.
- 14 – Leithaprodersdorf -Edelseeäcker
KAUS M. 2003, 37. (unpubl.)
- Čaka-Kulturgruppe:⁸
- 15 – Zurndorf
HELGERT 1995, 197–237.
- 16 – Neusiedl-Hutweide
KAUS M. 1993/94, 89–104.
- 17 – Siegendorf-Schuschenwald
KAUS K. 1975, 42–51. – Zuletzt: KAUS M. 1985/86,
237 f. (Vorberichte)
- 18 – St. Margarethen
KAUS M. 2003, 37. (unpubl.)

Ein Artikel der Verfasserin über den Bestattungsritus der älteren Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur ist erst kürzlich erschienen.⁹ Die Beispiele eines Grabes aus der Spätphase von Pitten, das den Übergang von der jüngeren Hügelgräberzeit zur frühen Urnenfelderzeit darstellt, einer reichen Frauen- und einer Männerbestattung mit Waffenbeigaben der Stufe Bz D aus dem Gräberfeld von Baierdorf, eines Grabes aus dem Ha A1-zeitlichen Gräberfeld von Horn mit einer frühen Form der Urnenbestattung sowie eines Steinkistengrabes aus Sommerein am Leithagebirge, das Einflüsse der östlich angrenzenden Čaka-Kultur aufweist, sind als Ergänzung zu den nun vorgestellten Befunden zu sehen.

8. Die Čaka-Kulturgruppe war in Westungarn (Transdanubien) und der Südwestslowakei verbreitet. Ihr Einflussbereich erstreckte sich bis ins nördliche Burgenland. Sie geht in der Stufe Ha A1 in der Velatice-Kultur auf. Siehe dazu PAULÍK 1963.

9. LOCHNER 2012.

2.1.1 Getzersdorf

Im Gemeindegebiet von Getzersdorf (OG Getzersdorf – Inzersdorf, VB St. Pölten), südlich der Donau im Unteren Traisental gelegen, wird bereits seit den 1950er Jahren auf den hier von der Traisen gebildeten eiszeitlichen Niederterrassen Schotterabbau betrieben. Dabei stieß man u. a. auf urnenfelderzeitliche Brandgräber, die in mehreren Rettungsgrabungen dokumentiert und geborgen wurden.¹⁰ Teilweise waren die Gräber durch die Abbautätigkeit bereits gestört. Den am besten erhaltenen Fundverband stellt Grab 1 aus dem Jahr 1968 dar.¹¹ Für die Datierung des Grabes möglicherweise noch in die Stufe Bz D1 spricht das Gefäß mit Standfuß, Kubben auf der Schulter und kanneliertem Gefäßkörper, das, ebenso wie der Bronzedolch, ein tradiertes Element aus der Endphase der mittleren Bronzezeit darstellt.

Die West-Ost orientierte Grabgrube hatte an der Schotteroberkante eine Länge von 240 cm und eine Breite von 115 cm; sie verengte sich allmählich bis 50 cm Tiefe. Im Westteil zwischen 20 und 45 cm Tiefe lagen zahlreiche Bruchstücke mehrerer Gefäße, deren Formen nicht mehr eruiert werden konnten. Östlich davon, auf der Grabsohle, waren – ursprünglich ganze – Gefäße platziert, darunter ein Zylinderhalsgefäß mit Standfuß (1), zwei Henkeltassen (2, 3) und ein weiteres Zylinderhalsgefäß (4). Weiters befanden sich hier ein Zylinderhalsgefäß mit gerade abgeschnittenem Rand und gegenständigen Henkeln (5) sowie eine facettierte Schale (6). Beide zeigen sekundäre Feuereinwirkung, besonders stark die verformte und rissige Schale. Im Ostteil der Grabgrube lag der flächig verstreute Leichenbrand, darin unverbrannte Tierknochen – Radius und Ulna von einem Hasen –, die Fragmente eines verbrannten Bronzegefäßes (7) – einer Tasse vom Typ Fuchsstadt –, mehrere dünne Bronzeblechstreifen (8), ein kleiner Bronzedolch (9) und einzelne Scherben. Der Ausgräber hat zudem an der Südost- und Südwest-Ecke zwei bis in 60 cm Tiefe reichende Pfostengruben dokumentiert.

Interpretation

Wir erkennen in der Grablegung tradierte Elemente – die langrechteckige Grabgrube, die O-W-Orientierung und die urnenlose Brandbestattung – aus der mittleren Bronzezeit.

Die beiden Pfostengruben aus dem Grabbodenbereich stammen möglicherweise von Pfählen als Teilen der Grabarchitektur oder Grabkennzeichnung.

Der Leichenbrand scheint gemeinsam mit dem Brand-

10. KAUS K. 1971. – MAURER 1971. – GROISS 1976.

11. GROISS 1976, 100–102 und Abb. 4; Tafel 1–3.

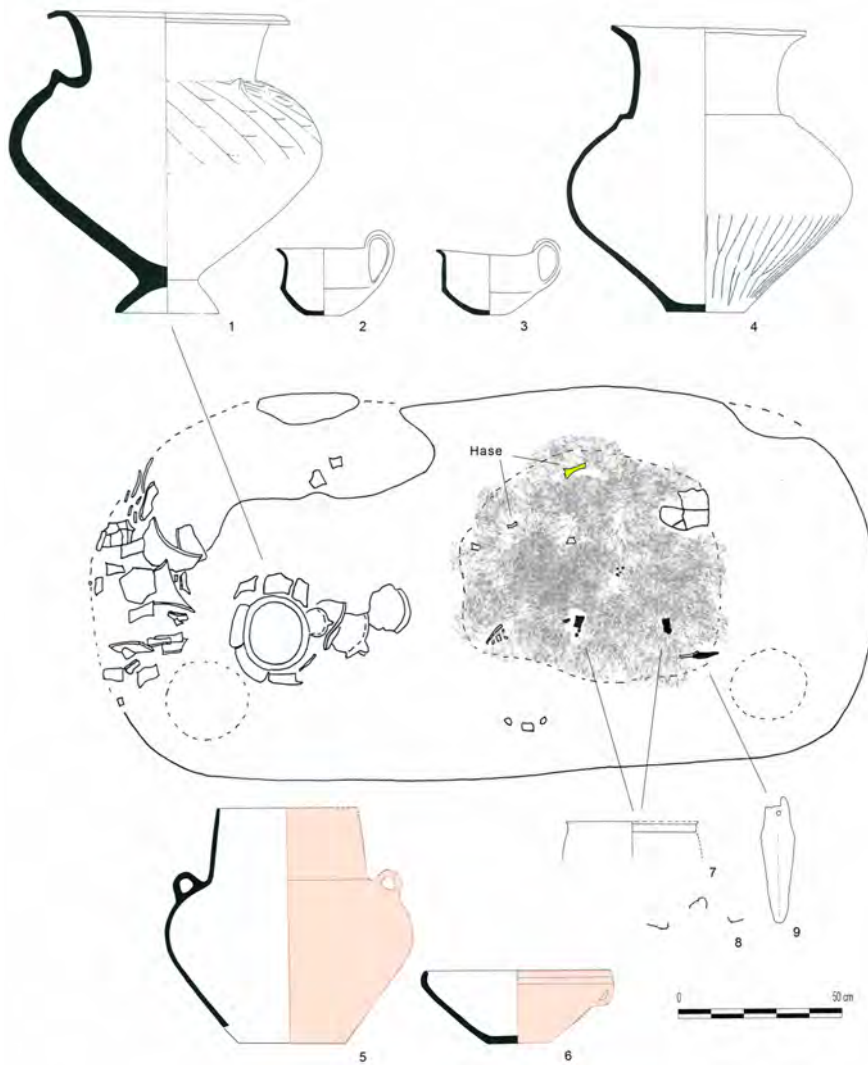


Abb. 2. Getzersdorf, Grab 1/1968, Umzeichnung des Originalbefundes mit den zugeordneten rekonstruierten Funden und ihren Positionen im Grab (Grafik M. Lochner nach GROISS 1976, Abb. 4).

schutt in der Osthälfte des Grabes flächig ausgestreut worden zu sein. Darin befanden sich die auf dem Scheiterhaufen mitverbrannten Bronzen. Die Blechstreifen waren eventuell Beschläge eines organischen Behälters. Der Dolch, ebenfalls ein Element aus der mittleren Bronzezeit, stellt ein typisches Attribut für einen Mann dar. Ungewöhnlich sind die im Leichenbrand liegenden unverbrannten Hasenknochen, die in ihrer Isoliertheit einen Amulettcharakter nahelegen.

Typische neue, also spätbronzezeitliche Elemente, sind die im Grabraum aufgestellten, unverbrannten Gefäße, die tatsächlich Beigaben für den Verstorbenen darstellten. Die Beigefäße sind fast immer zentral entlang der Längsachse im Grab angeordnet. Es sind größere Hoch- und Breitformen, die nahelegen, dass sie als (Vorrats-)Behälter für flüssige und feste Nahrung gedient haben.

Im Gegensatz dazu zeigt das Scherbenkonvolut an der Schmalseite des Grabes, quasi wie hineingeschüttet, eine Handlung der Lebenden direkt am Grab an. Es könnte sich um Riten in Zusammenhang mit einer Totenfeier handeln, bei der Gefäße nach dem Gebrauch absichtlich zerschlagen und in den Grabraum eingebracht wurden. Die Vorstellungen, die dieses Verhalten bedingten, könnten mit dem Ekphora-Gebot in Zusammenhang stehen, das alle Gegenstände, die bei Vorbereitung und feierlichem Vollzug des rituellen Mahles verwendet wurden, als „sakralen Abfall“ bestimmte, der anschließend am Ort des Festes zu verbleiben hatte.¹²

12. WINGHART 1998, 356 ff.

2.1.2 Inzersdorf ob der Traisen

Das Gräberfeld von Inzersdorf ob der Traisen (Schottergrube Handl, OG Inzersdorf-Getzersdorf, VB St. Pölten), einige Kilometer südlich von Getzersdorf gelegen, ist ein ausgedehntes Brandgräberfeld mit zeitlichem Schwerpunkt in der Stufe Ha A, das aber vermutlich bis zum Beginn der Stufe Ha B belegt wurde.¹³ Es wurde in den Jahren 1981 bis 1983 und 1987 unter der Leitung von Johannes-Wolfgang Neugebauer freigelegt. Insgesamt konnten 273 Gräber festgestellt werden, dazu elf kreisrunde und ein quadratisches Fundamentgräbchen um ein zentral gelegenes Grab, vermutlich Einfriedungen oder Hügelbegrenzungen. Das exakte Ausmaß des Gräberfeldes ist aufgrund der widrigen Bedingungen während der Rettungsgrabungen im Bereich einer Schottergrube nicht mehr eruierbar.¹⁴

Neben den großteils runden Grabgruben gab es auch einige rechteckige Grundrisse, zum Teil mit Steinpackungen. Vor allem unter Letzteren konnten auch umfangreicher ausgestattete Gräber, wie z. B. Grab 39, dokumentiert werden.¹⁵ Die Beigabe eines Griffzungenmessers vom Typ Dašice und einer Bronzetasche vom Typ Friedrichruhe spricht für einen Datierungsansatz der Bestattung in die Stufe Ha A1.

Nach der Analyse des Leichenbrandes handelt es sich um die Bestattung einer Frau zwischen 19 und 40 Jahren.¹⁶

Die langrechteckige Grabverfärbung hatte an der Schotteroberkante eine Dimension von 270 cm × 140 cm und verkleinerte sich bis zu Grubensohle in ca. 38 cm Tiefe auf 240 cm × 110 cm.

Auf der Grabsohle im Zentrum des Grabes befand sich der Leichenbrand auf einer Fläche von ca. 50 cm × 30 cm verteilt, darin der durch sekundären Brand deformierte Griffteil eines Griffzungenmessers von Typ Dašice (10). Daneben, in einer Linie aufgereiht, weitmündige große Tassen (13, 14, 15, 16) großteils des gleichen Typs, westlich davon ein großes Zylinderhalsgefäß (11) mit mehreren kleineren Tassen und Henkeltassen (10, 12, 18), darunter auch eine Bronzetasche vom Typ Friedrichruhe (8). Deren bandförmiger Henkel fehlt allerdings, außerdem weist das Stück einen alten Riss mit Flickspuren auf. Genau über der Bronzetasche lag ein großer Stein in der Grabverfüllung. An der östlichen Schmalseite der Grabgrube im Bereich der Grabsohle

war ein völlig zerscherbter großer Doppelkonus (6) – zu ca. 50 % erhalten – niedergelegt.

In der Südwest-Ecke der Grabsohle lagen stark sekundär verbrannte Fragmente eines grob gearbeiteten Gefäßes (17) und außerdem der fehlende Teil des erwähnten Messergriffes aus dem zentralen Leichenbranddepot. Einzelne Leichenbrandstücke sowie eine unverbrannte Plattenkopfnadel (3) sind in diesem Bereich bis in eine Höhe von 20 cm über der Grabsohle entlang des Grabgrubenrandes verstreut erkennbar. Auch am Nordostrand der Grabgrube sind auf höherem Niveau, ca. 10–20 cm über der Grabsohle, stark verbrannte einzelne Scherben erkennbar (5). Ebenfalls etwas höher, über dem Niveau der eigentlichen Grablegung, neben dem großen Stein, im Westteil des Grabes war ein ganz erhaltenes, flaschenförmiges Gefäß (4) niedergelegt.

Interpretation

Da die Positionen der einzelnen Gabelemente zueinander, trotz vier dokumentierter Plana, nicht immer klar ersichtlich sind, kann es sich derzeit nur um eine vorläufige Interpretation handeln, die möglicherweise durch ähnlich Befundsituationen noch verifiziert werden kann. Tatsache ist, dass es sich nicht, wie ursprünglich angenommen, um ein beraubtes Männergrab handelt,¹⁷ sondern um ein unbebrautes Frauengrab.

Es können wieder unterschiedliche Vorgänge im Bestattungsritual beobachtet werden. Zum einen die Beigabe eines Satzes von vollständigen Gefäßen unterschiedlicher Größe und Funktion, zum anderen die Überreste eines Zeremoniells außerhalb des Grabes, das von den Trauergästen durchgeführt wurde.

Die Vervielfachung von Gefäßen des gleichen Typs in einem Grab, wie wir es hier bei den großen Tassen (13, 14, 15, 16) sehen, ist ein typisches Element der beginnenden und frühen Urnenfelderzeit und etwa auch noch im Gräberfeld von Baierdorf erkennbar.¹⁸ Es handelt sich hier vermutlich um Prestigebeigaben, die nicht mit der später üblichen Beigabe von Gefäßen als Behältnisse für Nahrung konform gehen. Dazu kommt das große Zylinderhalsgefäß, das als eine Art Trankbehälter mit beigestellten Trinkgefäßen gedeutet werden kann. Beides stellen Elemente dar, die im Verlauf der Stufen Bz D/Ha A1 verschwinden und erst wieder in der spätesten Urnenfelderzeit und frühen Hallstattzeit in ähnlicher Form auftreten. D. h., der Bestattungsritus in Bezug auf die Gefäßbeigaben hebt in diesen Fällen sehr stark die besondere soziale, ranghohe, Stellung der Verstorbenen hervor und dient nicht ausschließlich der leiblichen Versor-

13. Das Gräberfeld von Inzersdorf ob der Traisen wird derzeit an der Prähistorischen Kommission für eine Auswertung vorbereitet.

14. Zur Situation des Großbauvorhabens im Unteren Traisental zu Beginn der 1980er-Jahre: NEUGEBAUER, GATTRINGER 1981, 157–119. – Zuletzt ein Überblick in: NEUGEBAUER, BLESL 1998.

15. NEUGEBAUER, GATTRINGER 1981, 164.

16. Die anthropologische Bestimmung der Leichenbrände wurde von Dr. Silvia Renhart durchgeführt.

17. NEUGEBAUER 1993, 86. – LOCHNER 1994, 204 f.

18. LOCHNER 1986, Grab 5, Tafel 5–6.

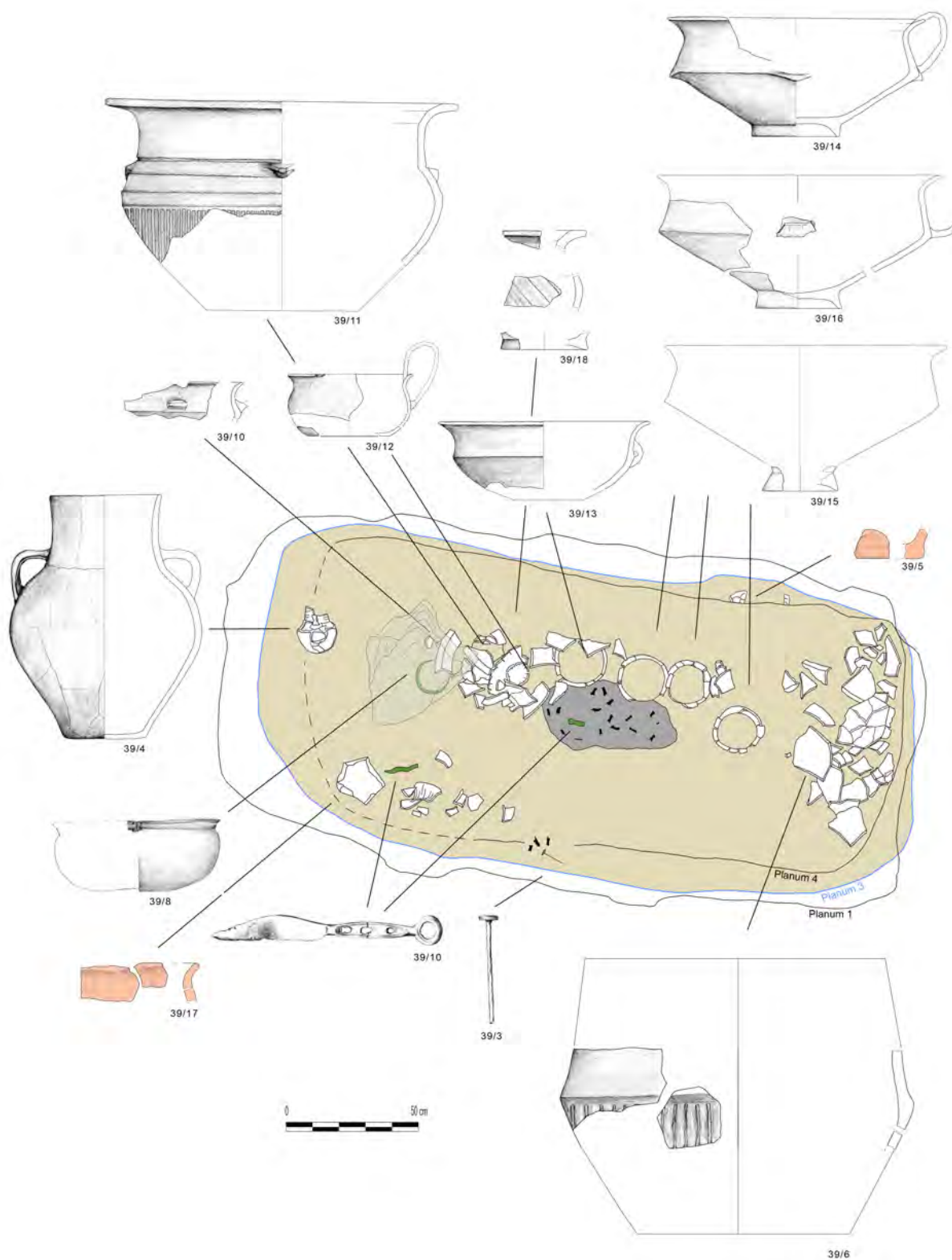


Abb. 3. Inzersdorf ob der Traisen, Grab 39, Umzeichnung des Originalbefundes mit den zugeordneten rekonstruierten Funden und ihren Positionen im Grab (Grafik M. Lochner, Grundlage R. Thomas).

gung der Toten im Jenseits, wie sonst im größten Teil der Urnenfelderzeit üblich.

Der Ablauf der Deponierungen im Grab könnte sich folgendermaßen abgespielt haben: Direkt auf dem Niveau der Grabsohle wurde im Zentrum des Grabes der Leichenbrand samt Brandschutt deponiert, ein organischer Behälter ist nicht erkennbar. Parallel dazu in der Längsachse der Grabgrube wurden Gefäße aufgestellt, weitmündige große Tassen (13, 14, 15, 16) und als Abschluss ein großes Zylinderhalsgefäß (11), um oder in diesem mehrere kleine Tassen und Henkeltassen (10, 12, 18), darunter eine Bronzetasche (8). Die genauen Positionen dieser kleineren Tassen können nicht mehr eruiert werden, da in diesem Bereich die Gefäße durch einen darüber liegenden großen Stein vermutlich zerdrückt wurden. Die Platzierung des Steins genau über der Bronzetasche impliziert eine besondere Sicherung des Bronzegefäßes bzw. dieses Bereiches. Gleichzeitig mit der Deponierung des Steins wurde die gesamte Grabgrube vermutlich soweit verfüllt, dass die darin abgestellten Gefäße nicht mehr sichtbar waren. Zuvor wurde noch an einer Schmalseite ein großer Doppelkonus (6) als Scherbenkonvolut deponiert.

Auf dem nun teilweise verfüllten Grab wurden Handlungen getätigt, in deren Verlauf, v. a. an den Rändern der Grabgrube, weitere Mengen des Brandschutts, darunter sekundär gebrannte Scherben und der fehlende Teil des Bronzemessers (aus dem Leichenbrand von der Grabsohle), zu liegen kamen, darin auch eine isolierte unverbrannte Nadel.¹⁹

Zuletzt, vor der vollständigen Verfüllung des Grabes, wurde an der westlichen Schmalseite ein flaschenförmiges, ganzes Gefäß nachgereicht, das ursprünglich senkrecht positioniert war.

Einen ähnlichen Befund kennen wir aus Michelndorf (MG Michelhausen, VB Tulln), der 2003 im Zuge einer Rettungsgrabung dokumentiert wurde.²⁰ Verfüllung 844²¹ war eine West-Ost orientierte Grabgrube, in der wahrscheinlich eine Frau (30–50 Jahre) mit charakteristischem Bronze- und Keramikinventar der Stufen Bz D/Ha A1 bestattet war.

Das Typische ist, dass die Gefäße wieder hintereinander in der Längsachse der Grube auf der Grabsohle angeordnet waren und dass, wie in Inzersdorf das flaschenförmige Gefäß, in einer Ecke abgesondert, ein intakter Trankbehälter – hier ein Zylinderhalsgefäß ohne Henkel – niedergelegt war.

2.1.3 Hollabrunn

Dass in der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur auch kleinräumig verschiedene Bräuche nebeneinander existierten, zeigt ein Bz D/Ha A1-zeitliches Brandgrab aus Hollabrunn.

Am Nordrand dieser Bezirkshauptstadt wurden ab 1993 großflächige Ausgrabungen durchgeführt. In einem Vorbericht werden u. a. 20 Urnen- und Brandschüttungsgräber, ein zugehöriger Verbrennungsplatz und ein Gefäßdepot aus der Urnenfelderzeit angeführt.²²

Die Grabgrube des hier vorgestellten Grabes V 82²³ war kaum größer als die Urne. Direkt unter der Urne war Brandschutt mit einigen Gefäßbruchstücken deponiert. In der Urne (1) lag auf dem Gefäßboden eine Schale mit der Mündung nach unten (2). Darüber fand sich der sauber ausgesuchte Leichenbrand eines 7–14-jährigen Kindes. Auf und in diesem lagen Schmuck- und Trachtbestandteile aus Bronze, darunter eine zweiteilige Blattbügelfibel vom Typ Gemeinlebern (3), ein verzierter Blechtutulus, zahlreiche Spirälrollchen, ein Noppenring, zwei Armreifen und ein tordiertes Fragment, weiters eine Nähnadel und ein Gerät mit Meißelschneide (4–11). An Gefäßbeigaben waren drei sog. Baierdorf-Velatitz-Tassen (12–14), ein eiförmiger Henkeltopf (15) und eine kannelurenverzierte kleine Tasse (16) in der Urne im Kreis um den Leichenbrand deponiert. Sämtliche in der Urne niedergelegten Bronzen sowie die Beigefäße waren nicht dem Feuer ausgesetzt worden.

Interpretation

Die besondere Bedeutung der Urne liegt hier in dem offensichtlichen Ersatz für den menschlichen Körper bzw. die Körperhülle; der Brandschutt unter der Urne könnte den Scheiterhaufen symbolisieren. Schmuck und Trachtbestandteile der Kleidung waren wohl für das Kind bestimmt, wurden aber noch nicht von diesem getragen und lagen daher auch nicht auf dem Scheiterhaufen, sondern wurden als Beitrag oder Eigentum des Kindes für sein Erwachsenenalter nachgereicht.

Leider gibt es keinen Hinweis darauf, was sich unter der umgestülpten Schale am Boden der Urne befand. In dieser Zeitperiode ist das sorgsame Aussortieren des Leichenbrandes aus dem Brandschutt noch ungewöhnlich. Die Gefäße, die um den Leichenbrand deponiert wurden, belegen in diesem Fall eindeutig die Versorgung des verstorbenen Kindes mit Nahrung.

19. Dazu WIESNER 2009, 71.

20. ADAMETZ 2005.

21. ADAMETZ 2005, 212–216, Abb. 4 und Tafel 1–3.

22. LAUERMANN, HASENHÜNDL 1996.

23. LAUERMANN, HASENHÜNDL 1996, 310–312, Abb. 3, 4 und Tafel 2–4.



Abb. 4. Hollabrunn, Grab V 82, Umzeichnung des Originalbefundes mit den zugeordneten rekonstruierten Funden und ihren Positionen im Grab (Grafik M. Lochner nach LAUERMANN, HASENHÜNDL 1996, Abb. 3).

3. Die jüngere Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur

Ab der Stufe Ha A2 findet generell eine Nivellierung im Bestattungsbrauch statt, die sich in unserer Region zumindest bis ans Ende der Stufe Ha B2 fortsetzt. Dieser Vorgang kann auch als Anzeichen einer gewissen Gleichstellung der damaligen Menschen angesehen werden; zumindest lassen sich über weite Strecken keine ausgeprägten Herrschaftsstrukturen oder größere soziale Unterschiede in der Gesellschaft aus der Grabausstattung herauslesen. Bei genauerer Betrachtung gut befundeter Gräber können jedoch unterschiedliche Ausstattungsmuster erkannt werden, deren wesentliche Kriterien die Art der Urne sowie Anzahl und Art der Beigefäße und der sonstigen Beigaben darstellen. Diese Ausstattungsmuster stehen in direktem Bezug zu den ver-

schiedenen Altersstufen und dem Geschlecht der Bestatteten und somit zur sozialen Identität der Verstorbenen.

Einfache runde Grabgruben mit Urnen, Beigefäßen und der, großteils verbrannten, Kleidungs- und Schmuckausstattung der Verstorbenen sind nun sozusagen Standard. In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu erwähnen, dass – zumindest dort wo vollständige Grabbefunde vorliegen – nicht von einem Abnehmen der Anzahl und Vielfalt von Metallbeigaben ab der mittleren Phase der Urnenfelderzeit gesprochen werden kann, nur Prunkobjekte fehlen und auch Waffen wurden nach wie vor selten beigegeben. Zu beobachten ist Letzteres v.a. in der Phase zwischen der älteren und jüngeren Urnenfelderkultur, während derer in einem relativ kurzen Zeitraum große Grabhügel mit reichen Grabausstattungen angelegt wurden. Ein aktueller Hinweis darauf

ist ein 2003 während einer Notgrabung in Unterradlberg im Unteren Traisental entdecktes Ha A2/B1-zeitliches „Schwertgrab“, das von einem Kreisgraben, der als Rest einer Hügelaufschüttung interpretiert werden kann, umgeben war. Bei dem Schwert handelt sich um die Teile eines Schalenknaufschwertes vom Typ Wörschach, das in einem durch Beraubung gestörten Grab glücklicherweise erhalten geblieben ist.²⁴ Das Grab stammt aus dem Bereich des bereits erwähnten Ha A-zeitlichen Gräberfeldes in der Flur Kreuzfeld, das in mehrere Gräbergruppen unterteilt ist und offensichtlich durchgehend von der Stufe Ha A bis in die jüngere Urnenfelderzeit der Stufe Ha B belegt war. U. a. kommen hier große Grabanlagen vor, die von Kreisgräben (Grabgärten oder Umfassungsgräben von Grabhügeln) umgeben waren, deren Durchmesser bis zu 25 m betrugen.²⁵

Bezüglich des *Grabbaus* ist eine Annäherung der späten Urnenfelderzeit, also der Stufe Ha B3, an den Grabbau der Ha C-Periode mit Hügelgräbern in unserer Region nicht zu beobachten.

dass, wie etwa in Stillfried, der Leichenbrand nicht mehr in einer Urne, sondern im Grab ausgestreut, deponiert wurde.

Auch finden wir in dieser Phase wieder verstärkt Gräber mit *Waffen* und *Zaumzeug* sowie *Prunkausstattungen*, was *Schmuck* und sonstige *Beigaben* betrifft.

Während der gesamten jüngeren Urnenfelderzeit treten nach wie vor umfangreiche Gefäßbeigaben in regelmäßiger Zusammensetzung auf, die die Sitte der angeordneten *Geschirrsätze* der Hallstattkultur bereits vorwegnehmen.

Flüssigkeitsbehälter im beigegebenen Geschirrsatz beim Toten sind bereits klar ab der Stufe Ha B1/B2 erkennbar. Eine Differenzierung in Richtung der spezifischen Tranksitte der Hallstattkultur ist dann im Verlauf der spätesten Urnenfelderzeit (Ha B3) erkennbar. Das größte Gefäß im Grab, das früher generell die Urne war, wird nun zum Trankbehälter mit Becher darin.

Darüber hinaus treten auch Beigaben aus Eisen ab der Stufe Ha B vermehrt auf und nehmen, ab Ha B3, tendenziell stark zu.

	BzC2/D1	BzD2	HaA1	HaA2	HaA2/B1	HaB1	HaB2	HaB3	HaC1
Grabbau – Hügel/Flach	H	F	(H) F	F	(H) F	F	F	F	H
Grabform – Lang/Rund/Quadrat	L	L	L/R	R	R	R	R	R/Q	L/R/Q
Urne	Nein	Nein	Ja/Nein	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja/Nein	Ja/Nein
Waffen/Prunk	Ja	Ja	(Ja) Nein	Nein	(Ja) Nein	Nein	Nein	Ja/Nein	Ja
Geschirrsätze T=Trinksitte	Nein	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja T	Ja T
Handlungen*	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja	Ja
	Getzersdorf								
		Hollabrunn							
			Inzersdorf ob der Traisen		Franzhausen-Kokoron				
						St. Andrä v. d. Hgt.			
							Stillfried		

* mitverbrannte und/oder zerscherbte Gefäße als Teil einer Vielzahl an Handlungen.

Tabelle 2. Überblick über die Bestattungssitten der jüngeren Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur (graues Feld).

Dagegen ist wahrscheinlich bereits ab der Stufe Ha B2, sicher aber ab Ha B3, vereinzelt bereits der quadratische *Grundriss für Grabgruben* belegt, wie er dann für die Hallstattkultur typisch wurde.

Wahrscheinlich erst gegen Ende der Stufe Ha B3 ist – nicht generell, aber bei einzelnen Gräbern – eine Änderung in Grabsitte und Ausstattung zu bemerken. Dazu gehört,

3.1 Quellenlage – jüngere Phase der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur

Für die jüngere Urnenfelderkultur sind in Ostösterreich die Bestattungsorte von Hadersdorf am Kamp, St. Andrä vor dem Hagenthale, Stillfried an der March und nicht zuletzt Franzhausen-Kokoron kennzeichnend.

Zu dem altbekannten Gräberfeld von Hadersdorf, das Ende des 19. Jh. untersucht wurde, sind nach Rettungsgrabungen in den 1990er-Jahren, noch ca. 90 Gräber hinzugekommen. Im Zentralraum von Niederösterreich nördlich der Donau sind noch weitere, kleinere Aufschlüsse aus

24. BLESL, MÖDLINGER, NTAFLÖS et al. 2009, 47–56.

25. BLESL, NEUGEBAUER (+), PREINFALK 2002, 32.

Haindorf, Straß im Straßertal und Fels am Wagram²⁶ zu nennen.

Südlich der Donau schließt ein 2002 entdecktes Gräberfeld aus Furth bei Göttweig an. Anschließend im Unteren Traisental liegen, wie schon in der älteren Urnenfelderzeit, auf den Niederterrassen der Traisen große Bestattungsplätze, oft mit dazugehörigen Siedlungen in unmittelbarer Nähe. Das Bekannteste und Größte ist das 403 Bestattungen zählende Gräberfeld von Franzhausen-Kokoron. Dazu kommen noch die derzeit noch unbearbeiteten Gräberfelder von Inzersdorf ob der Traisen und Unterradlberg, beide bereits ab der älteren Urnenfelderzeit belegt.

Weiter östlich sind die bekannten Gräberfelder von St. Andrä v. d. Hagenthale und Stillfried an der March sowie ein größtenteils zerstörtes Gräberfeld am Leopoldsberg oberhalb von Wien zu nennen.

Im südlichen Niederösterreich sind, in Zusammenhang mit den hier in den Ausläufern der Ostalpen vorhandenen Kupferabbau- und Verhüttungsplätzen, das noch unpublizierte Gräberfeld von Pitten-Schloßberg und ein kleines Gräberfeld in Oberpiesting²⁷ zu nennen, ebenso die nicht weit davon entfernte, bereits in Ungarn liegende Nekropole von Sopron-Krautacker, wo im Bereich des hallstattzeitlichen

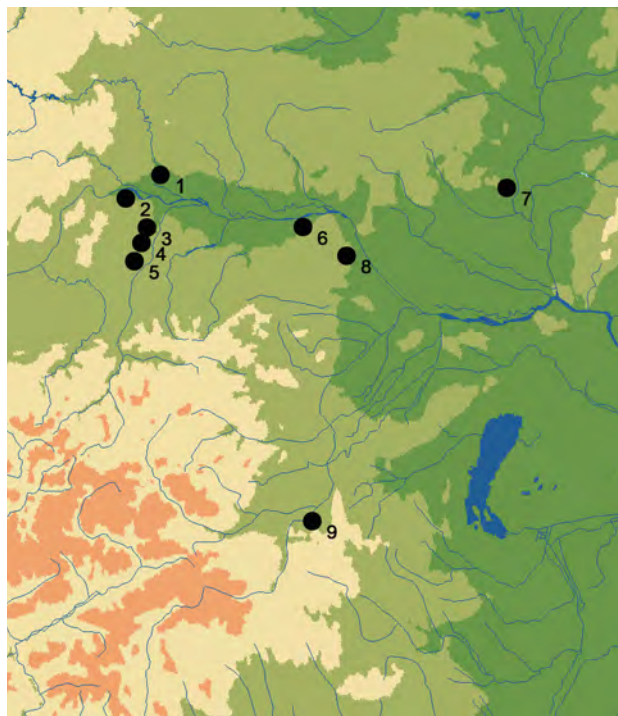


Abb. 5. Gräberfelder der Stufen Ha A2/B1 bis Ha B3 in Österreich mit aussagekräftigen Grabbefunden.

Gräberfeldes neben einigen älteren urnenfelderzeitlichen Bestattungen auch zahlreiche jungurnenfelderzeitliche Gräber geborgen wurden.²⁸

Stillfried-Podoler Kulturgruppe:²⁹

1 – Hadersdorf am Kamp

SCHEIBENREITER 1954, 1–62. – WEWERKA 1998, 267–279. (Vorbericht)

2 – Furth bei Göttweig

PIELER, HELLERSCHMID 2004, 742–751. (Vorbericht)

3 – Franzhausen-Kokoron

WWW-LOCHNER, HELLERSCHMID 2010.

4 – Inzersdorf ob der Traisen

NEUGEBAUER, GATTRINGER 1985/86, 74 f. (Vorbericht)

5 – Unterradlberg

BLESL, MÖDLINGER, NTAFLS et al. 2009, 47–56. (Vorbericht)

6 – St. Andrä v. d. Hagenthale

EIBNER 1974, 1–273.

7 – Stillfried an der March

KAUS M. 1984, 1–208.

8 – Wien-Leopoldsberg

KERCHLER 1962, 49–73.

9 – Pitten-Schloßberg (unpubl.)

3.1.1 Hadersdorf am Kamp

Im Jahre 1888 stießen Arbeiter beim Bau der Kamptalbahn im Bereich von Hadersdorf auf Brandbestattungen in Tongefäßen. Der Abt von Stift Göttweig, Pater Adalbert Dungal, schickte einige Fundstücke an das k.k. Hofmuseum in Wien, worauf im April 1889 unter der Leitung von Josef Szombathy durch Ignaz Spöttl und dem Pfarrer Gustav Schacherl eine Ausgrabung im Bereich des heutigen Bahnhofs durchgeführt wurde. Die 130 Brandgräber mit ca. 600 Gefäßen wurden als Materialpublikation vorgelegt.³⁰

In seiner Gesamtheit stellte das Gräberfeld von Hadersdorf seit den 1950er-Jahren eine der wichtigsten Quellen für den Ha B-Horizont in Niederösterreich dar, der von Richard Pittioni seinerzeit als Typus Stillfried bezeichnet wurde.³¹ Heute ist es nur mehr forschungsgeschichtlich von Bedeutung. Leider sind die Aufzeichnungen und Fundberichte sehr spärlich und damit das Fundmaterial quellenkritisch für Betrachtungen zur Bestattungssitte, aber auch für

28. JEREM, METZNER-NEBELSICK, 2002.

29. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1966.

30. SCHEIBENREITER 1954.

31. PITTIONI 1954, 484 ff.

26. LOCHNER 1991a, 73–81. – WEWERKA 1994. – ENGELHARDT 1973.

27. KAUS M. 2003, 37.

eine relativchronologische Diskussion aus heutiger Sicht nicht mehr zulässig.³²

Zuletzt wurde 1997 und 1998 auf einer größeren Fläche im Bereich des Bahnhofs von Hadersdorf eine Notgrabung durchgeführt. Neben zahlreichen Befunden anderer Zeitstellung wurden auch wieder Gräber der Urnenfelderkultur – ca. 90 Brandbestattungen – geborgen, die allerdings durch Ackertätigkeit teilweise stark gestört waren.³³ Die Bestattungen waren in Gruppen angeordnet, in denen die einzelnen Gräber ca. 1–2 m auseinander lagen. Die Schächte hatten einen runden Grundriss von ca. 0,5 m Durchmesser und waren durchschnittlich 0,8 m tief. Drei reicher ausgestattete Gräber wiesen eine Steinumrandung auf. In jedem Grab befand sich zumindest ein Tongefäß, zumeist ein Kegelhalsgefäß oder eine große Schüssel, in der die Asche des Verstorbenen und eventuell auch die Reste von mitverbrannten Trachtbestandteilen – z. B. Armreife und Fibeln aus Bronze – deponiert wurden. In der Regel standen ein bis fünf Beigefäße um die Urne herum, Tassen, Schalen und kleine Kegelhalsgefäße, die vermutlich Speisebeigaben enthielten. Erhalten haben sich diese in Form von Knochen-/Fleischstücken, zumeist von Schaf oder Ziege; sie lagen oft zusammen mit einem großen Bronzemesser auf oder zumindest im Bereich einer flachen Schale.

3.1.2 St. Andrä vor dem Hagenthale

Das Urnengräberfeld von St. Andrä vor dem Hagenthale wurde in den Jahren 1965–66 von Clemens Eibner teilweise erforscht und 45 Gräber geborgen. Die Belegung begann in der Stufe Ha B1, der chronologische Schwerpunkt lag in den Stufen Ha B2 und Ha B3.³⁴

Im Zuge der Auswertung des Gräberfeldes konnte C. Eibner einige den Grabritus betreffende Beobachtungen herausarbeiten.³⁵ U. a. versuchte er eine spezifische, mit dem Geschlecht des Toten übereinstimmende Ausrichtung der Beigaben nachzuweisen. Die Idee war, dass jedes Grab bei der Beisetzung eine „Schauseite“ gehabt haben müsse.

Im Gräberfeld von Franzhausen-Kokoron wurde diese Annahme anhand gut befundeter Gräber mit anthropologischen Daten überprüft. Es konnten keine derartigen Beobachtungen gemacht werden, wohl aber gibt es Hinweise, dass in den Gräbern von Kindern und Jugendlichen einer-

seits und Erwachsenen andererseits die Beigaben unterscheidbaren Depositionsregeln unterlagen.³⁶

Weiters konnte C. Eibner als einer der Ersten nachweisen, dass einzelne Gefäße in höheren Positionen niedergelegt und/oder während der Verfüllung hineingegeben worden waren und von diesen immer nur Gefäßteile gefunden wurden. Diese Nachgaben interpretiert er als Teil von Handlungen in Zusammenhang mit Totenfeiern, wobei die entsprechenden Gefäße teils in die Grabverfüllung gelangten, teils auf einem eigenen Ritualplatz, dem sog. „Scherbenpflaster“ unmittelbar neben dem Gräberfeld, verblieben.³⁷ Auch jährlich wiederkehrende Handlungen oder solche in einem größeren Zeitabstand wären laut C. Eibner denkbar, da Teile von Gefäßen nach seinen Beobachtungen mit Sicherheit auf verschiedene Gräber verteilt waren. Solche Befunde können ein Hinweis auf sogenannte Gedächtnisopfer sein, die noch Jahre nach der Beerdigung erfolgten.

Als Beispiel dazu kann hier Grab 26 angeführt werden. Es handelt sich um eine Bestattung aus der frühesten Belegungsphase, der Stufe Ha B1.

Die Grabgrube war in den Humus eingetieft und in ihren Konturen daher nicht erkennbar.³⁸ In einem Kegelhalsgefäß (1) befanden sich der Leichenbrand, eine „Zargenkopfnadel“³⁹, ein kleiner Bronzering, Drahtbruchstücke, vier kleine scheibchenförmige Stein- und Glasperlen, Teile eines Radanhängers sowie ein Hüttenlehmbröckchen (2–8). Auf der Schulter des Gefäßes lag ein weiterer, im Feuer deformierter, Radanhänger (9) sowie ein kleines Kegelhalsgefäß (10) und eine Henkelschale (11). Südlich davon, auf der Höhe des Gefäßbodens der Henkelschale (11), Bruchstücke eines bauchigen Gefäßes (12), die auch ca. 70 cm entfernt zusammen mit weiteren Scherben eines topfförmigen Gefäßes (13) lagen. Tierknochen (Humerus Schaf/Ziege) sowie weiter Scherben von Gefäßen (14, 15) befanden sich ca. 80 cm abgesetzt von der Urne im Nordosten des Grabes (nicht abgebildet).

Interpretation

Das Grab könnte Bestattungsriten in Form von mehreren Deponierungsphasen anzeigen, deren zeitlichen Dimensionen allerdings heute nicht mehr klärbar sind.

Die eigentlichen Beigaben für die Bestattung in der

32. Chronologische Überlegungen zum Gräberfeld von Hadersdorf zuletzt bei STEGMANN-RAJTÁR 1992, 57–60.

33. WEWERKA 1998.

34. Zu chronologischen Fragestellungen zuletzt STEGMANN-RAJTÁR 1992, 50–57. – EIBNER 2000, 95–96.

35. EIBNER 1974. – Dazu WIESNER 2009, bes. 66 ff.

36. LOCHNER, HELLERSCHMID in Vorbereitung 1.

37. Zuletzt EIBNER 2000, 99–104. – WIESNER 2009, 68–71.

38. EIBNER 1974, 229–233.

39. Nach Form und Verzierungsmuster dürfte es sich um den kugeligen Körper einer jüngeren Vasenkopfnadel mit großem Vasenkopf handeln, deren oberer Teil fehlt, eventuell auch um eine junge Spindelkopf- bzw. Zwiebelkopfnadel.

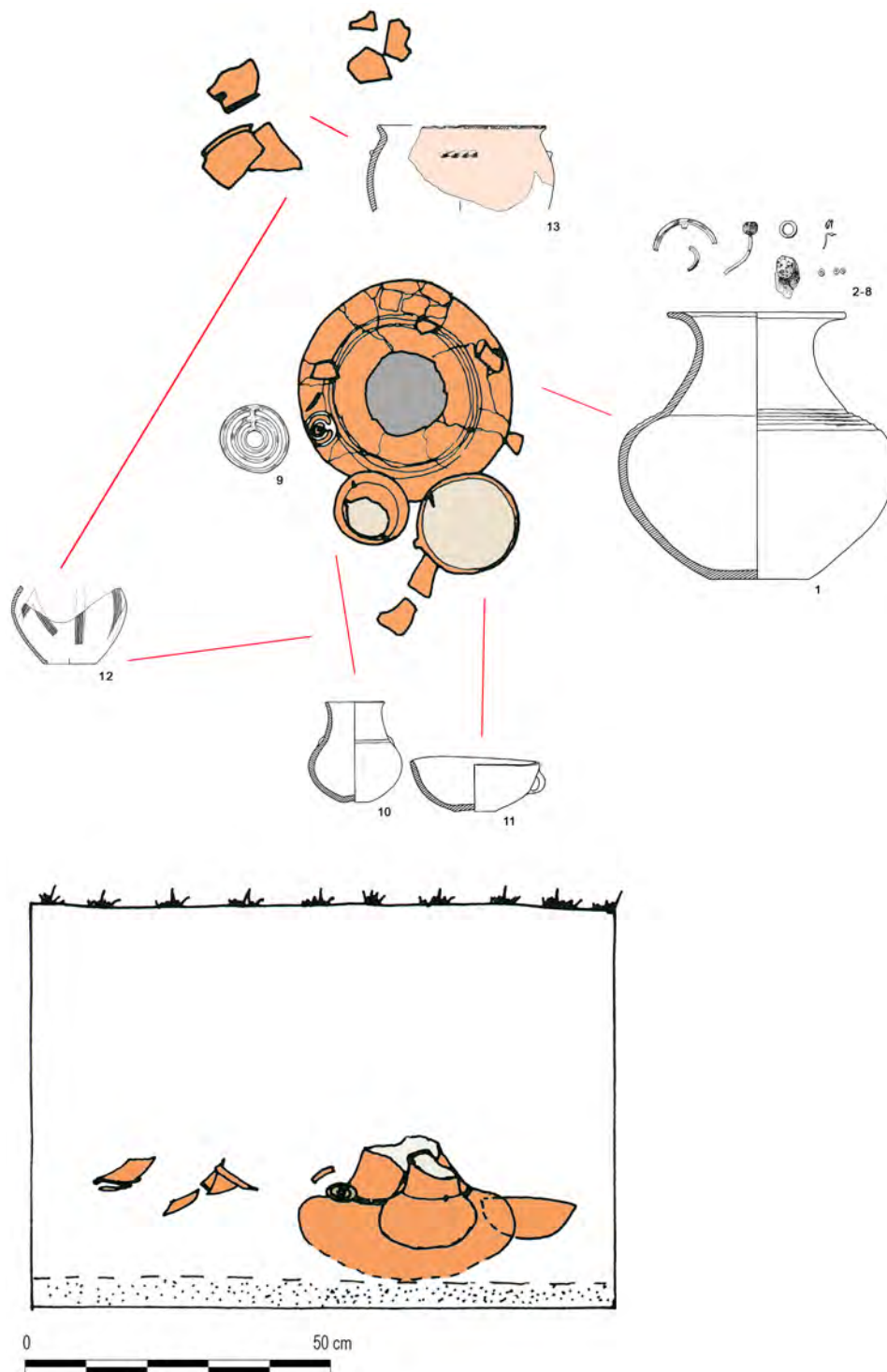


Abb. 6. St. Andrä v. d. Hagenthale, Grab 26, Umzeichnung des Originalbefundes mit den zugeordneten rekonstruierten Funden und ihren Positionen im Grab (Grafik M. Lochner nach EIBNER 1974, 221/Abb. 20).

Urne (1) waren in einem flaschenförmigen Gefäß (10) und einer flachkonischen Schale (11) deponiert. Diese wurden nicht, wie zumeist üblich, neben der Urne auf den Grabboden platziert, sondern auf der Urnenschulter und auf der schon bis zu dieser Höhe eingebrachten Grabverfüllung. Auch einer der beiden Radanhänger (9) lag auf der Urnenschulter. Er war offensichtlich als intakter Ersatz für das zusammen mit dem Leichnam verbrannte Stück niedergelegt worden.

Gefäßbruchstücke (12), darunter ein Topf (13), der offensichtlich sekundärem Brand ausgesetzt war, und Fleisch-/Knochenteile scheinen Nachgaben im Zuge von Handlungen am offenen Grab zu sein. Ebenso als Nachgaben gedeutet werden von C. Eibner einzelne Gefäßscherben (14, 15), die von ihm als Bruchstücke von Gefäßen aus einem ca. 5 m entfernten Grab identifiziert wurden.

3.1.3 Franzhausen-Kokoron

Das Gräberfeld von Franzhausen-Kokoron (MG Nußdorf ob der Traisen, VB St. Pölten) wird an der Prähistorischen Kommission wissenschaftlich bearbeitet.⁴⁰

Die ersten Brandgräber wurden im Jahre 1981 während des Baues der Kremser Schnellstraße S 33 angeschnitten. Durch sofort eingeleitete Rettungsgrabungen der Abteilung für Bodendenkmale des Bundesdenkmalamtes unter der Leitung von Johannes-Wolfgang Neugebauer konnten in den Jahren 1981–1984 und 1991 auf einer ca. 12.000 m² großen Fläche 403 Gräber der jüngeren Urnenfelderkultur geborgen werden. Die Bestattungen sind wegen der intensiven landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung des Geländes teilweise stark gestört. Es gibt jedoch 111 ungestörte Gräber, die die Basis für unsere weiteren Auswertungen darstellen. Berücksichtigt man die Verluste durch Bauarbeiten und insbesondere durch das Pflügen, kann man einen ursprünglich ca. 500 Bestattungen zählenden Friedhof annehmen.

Diese lassen sich in eine ältere Ostgruppe und eine dichter belegte, jüngere Westgruppe gliedern, wobei die Belegung in der Stufe Ha A2/B1 (ca. 1050 v. Chr.) beginnt und im Verlauf von Ha B3 (ca. 800 v. Chr.) endet.

An einer Stelle inmitten des jüngeren Friedhofteils wurde unter dem Humus auf einer unregelmäßig ovalen Fläche von 3,0 m × 2,5 m eine aschige, holzkohlehaltige Schicht angeschnitten. Es handelt sich vermutlich um die Reste eines zentralen Verbrennungsplatzes.

Bei den insgesamt 403 Gräbern sind – je nach Erhaltungszustand – Urnengräber (268), davon 24 Doppelbestattungen und Gräber mit nicht erkennbarer Bestattungs-

art (135) unterscheidbar; Brandschüttungsgräber sind nicht nachweisbar.

Es handelt sich in der Mehrzahl um rund-ovale, seltener um quadratische Grubengrundrisse von 0,4–1,0 m Durchmesser bzw. Kantenlänge.

Abgesehen von vier Grabgräbchen und zwei zu einem Grab gehörigen Pfostengruben zeigen die Befunde keine auffälligen Elemente der Grabarchitektur. Urne und Beigaben, soweit erkennbar zumeist auf der Grabsohle abgestellt, füllten in der Regel die Grabgrube voll aus.

Im Bereich der älteren Gräber wurden außerdem zehn Gruben mit ausgeglühten Steinen ohne Leichenbrand dokumentiert.

Insgesamt konnten 529 Metallobjekte aufgenommen werden. Die Bronzeobjekte sind intakt oder feuerdeformiert und es gibt eine große Anzahl an Schmucknadeln (vor allem Vasenkopfnadeln und Zwiebelkopfnadeln), Fibeln (einteilige Drahtbügelfibeln, Brillenfibeln, Harfenfibeln), Arm- und Halsreifen, diverse Ringe (u. a. ein goldener Lockenring) und Zierknöpfchen, als Besonderheit Gürtelschnallen und Ohrgehänge mit blauen Glasperlen, weiters zahlreiche kleine Scheiben- und Ringperlen aus Knochen, Mollusken- und Steinmaterial gefertigt sowie Molluskenschmuck aus Märzenschnellen.

An Werkzeug und Geräten sind besonders die zahlreichen Messer zu nennen (vor allem große Griffdornmesser mit geradem Rücken, Vollgriffmesser und Griffangelmesser, vereinzelt auch Eisenmesser), weiters Rasiermesser (halbmöndförmige Rasiermesser mit Ringgriff, Typ Herrenbaumgarten und Urice), zahlreiche Nähadeln, zwei Ahlen und als Einzelfunde ein kleiner Spinnwirtel aus Bein, ein Angelhaken und eine Pfeilspitze – von dieser abgesehen fehlen Waffen gänzlich.

Speziell herauszustreichen sind eine Bronzetasche vom Typ Jenišovice aus Grab 722, eine kalottenförmige Bronzeschale mit fein eingeritzten, hängenden Dreiecken unterhalb des Randes (Grab 31) und bronzene Randbeschläge von organischen Gefäßen.

Hervorzuheben sind auch etliche Gräber mit sogenannten Astragalsätzen, wobei durchaus verschiedene Tierarten simultan vertreten sein können.

Unter der Grabkeramik, insgesamt 1427 Objekte, kann ein breites Spektrum unterschiedlicher Gefäßtypen und Varianten mit verschiedenen Verzierungsmotiven differenziert werden. Ihre funktionelle Ansprache wird wie folgt definiert: Urne (Leichenbrandbehälter mit meist mitverbranntem Schmuck, vorwiegend das größte Gefäß im

40. Siehe Katalog- und Abbildungsteil unter [www-LOCHNER, HELLERSCHMID](http://www-lochner-hellerschmid.at) 2010.

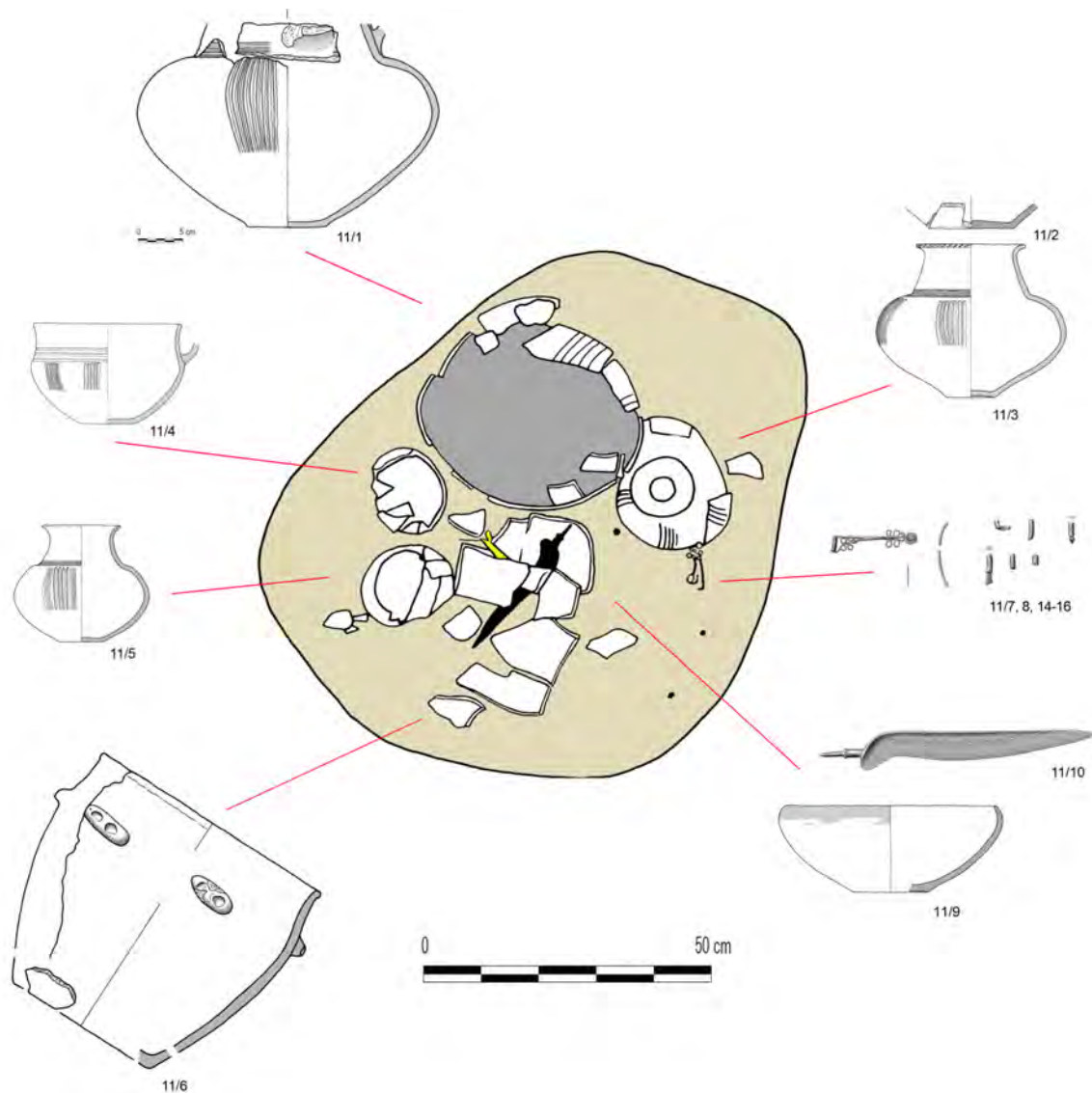


Abb. 7. Franzhausen-Kokoron, Grab 11, Umzeichnung des Originalbefundes mit den zugeordneten rekonstruierten Funden und ihren Positionen im Grab (Grafik M. Lochner, Grundlage F. Siegmeth).

Grab), Beigefäß, Abdeckung, Streuscherbe und sekundär gebranntes Gefäß-/Fragment.⁴¹

Speisebeigaben sind in Form von unverbrannten, in seltenen Fällen von verbrannten Tierknochen erhalten. Vielfach lagen sie auf einer Schale und waren mit einem Messer kombiniert. Ca. 100 Gräber enthielten einen oder mehrere entsprechende Fundposten von insgesamt 134 Tieren. Den zahlenmäßig bedeutendsten Anteil nehmen zusammengehörige Skelettelemente vom Hausschwein und Hausschaf ein, so waren in über 40 Gräbern Schulterknochen als Überreste von zugerichteten Fleischportionen beigegeben.

Grab 11, ein Urnengrab einer 20–30-jährigen Frau, kann anhand der Funde als ein typischer Vertreter der Stufen Ha B1/B2 bezeichnet werden.

Auf der Grabsohle befand sich eine Urne (1), daneben vier Beigefäße: ein Kegelhalsgefäß (3) mit einer Bodenscherbe als Abdeckung (2)⁴², eine Tasse (4), eine kleinere Flasche (5) sowie eine Schale (9) mit einem großen Griffdornmesser (10) und Tierknochen, der rechter Vorderlauf eines Schafes. Über diesem Ensemble war ein zerscherbter, unvollständiger Topf (6) platziert.

41. LOCHNER, HELLERSCHMID in Vorbereitung 2.

42. Insgesamt sind im Gräberfeld nur elf keramische Abdeckungen belegt.

Die weiteren Metallbeigaben, eine unverbrannte einteilige Drahtbügelfibel mit je zwei Achterschleifen (7), ein oder zwei stark verbrannte Armreiffragmente (14, 15), ein Nadelschaftfragment (8) und eine Nähnadel (16) lagen neben der Urne und den Beigefäßen auf der Grabsohle.

Interpretation

Die Urne stand am Rand der Grabgrube, die Beigefäße waren auf der Höhe der Grabsohle um die Urne gruppiert, darunter die oft belegte Kombination von flachkonischer Schale, Fleischportion und großem Bronzemesser. Das Messer diente in diesen Fällen offensichtlich in erster Linie zum Zerteilen des Fleisches. Es ist zwar sicher eine Besonderheit, stellt aber kein hierarchisch belegtes Rangsymbol dar. Es kommt auch in gleicher Weise sowohl in Frauen- als auch Männergräbern vor.

Über diesem Ensemble war ein zerscherbter, unvollständiger Topf (6), quasi nachgegeben, platziert.

Metallbeigaben, eine unverbrannte einteilige Drahtbügelfibel (7), ein oder zwei stark verbrannte Armreiffragmente (14, 15), ein Nadelschaftfragment (8) und eine Nähnadel (16) lagen neben Urne und Beigefäßen auf der Grabsohle. Sie waren ursprünglich wohl gemeinsam in einem organischen Behältnis verwahrt.

3.1.4 Stillfried an der March

Etwas außerhalb der Wehranlage von Stillfried liegt das seit 1879 bekannte, zugehörige Gräberfeld „In der Gans“.⁴³ Aus dem undokumentiert geborgenen Altmaterial ist vor allem die bekannte Bronzetasche vom Typ Stillfried zu erwähnen sowie sogenannte thrako-kimmerische Zaumzeugbestandteile, darunter vier bronzene Seitenstangen mit Pferdekopfen.

In den Jahren 1975–77 konnten 51 Gräber dieses ursprünglich wohl viel größeren Bestattungsplatzes regulär erforscht werden.⁴⁴ Die Belegung des Gräberfeldes dürfte die gesamte Stufe Ha B – aufgrund von Altfunden vermutlich auch die Stufe Ha C – umfasst haben.

Die Beisetzungen im Gräberfeld von Stillfried erfolgten in runden und quadratischen Grabgruben. Anfangs wurden die verbrannten Überreste in einer Urne bestattet, später herrschte Leichenbrand- und Scherbenschüttung vor. Art und Anzahl der Beigaben in den Gräbern waren sehr unterschiedlich, wobei betont werden muss, dass nur zwölf Gräber als einigermaßen geschlossene Fundkomplexe zu betrachten sind. Sie erlauben besonders für die Spätphase der Urnenfelderkultur Beobachtungen zum Bestattungsritus.

Die in die Gräber geschütteten, teilweise sekundär verbrannten Gefäßscherben belegen rituelle Handlungen – einen Leichenschmaus oder eine Totenfeier – vor und während der Grablegung, in deren Verlauf Gefäße zerbrochen wurden.

Deutlich über der Grabsohle abgestellte Gefäße zeigen etwas über den Begräbnisablauf an. So wurde manchmal zu einem Zeitpunkt, als die Grabgrube schon bis Bauch- oder Schulterniveau der darin abgestellten Gefäße zugeschüttet war, noch eine Schale mit unbekanntem Inhalt, oft kombiniert mit Tierknochen, beigegeben.

Vor allem in den spätesturnenfelderzeitlichen Gräbern von Stillfried (6, 14, 43) zeichnet sich eine Art Trinksitte mit großem Trankbehälter und Schöpf- und Trinkgefäßen ab. Das Kegelhalsgefäß wurde im Grabbrauch nicht mehr als Urne, sondern als Trankbehälter, vermutlich für gemischten Wein, verwendet, ein Wandel im Totenbrauchtum, der später in den typischen Trinkservicegarnituren der Hallstattkultur mündete. Regelrechte Services, wie sie für die Hallstattkultur typisch sind, die nicht mehr als Behälter für Speisen dienten, sondern in erster Linie als Teile der Prestigeobjekte ins Grab gelangten, sind in Stillfried noch nicht zu beobachten.

Abgesehen davon wird der besondere Rang einer Person in der Grabausstattung wieder dargestellt, ein Phänomen, das in der mitteldonauländischen Urnenfelderkultur selten auftritt und uns vor allen aus der frühen Phase der Urnenfelderzeit bekannt ist. So z. B. auch in den Grabausstattungen einer Frau aus Grab 26 (spätes Ha B3),⁴⁵ mit zwei Harfenfibeln, einer Kette aus vielen kleinen Bronzeringen, einem Bronzedrahtreif und weiteren Ringen, die vermutlich Brustschmuck oder Gürtelzubehör waren oder in Grab 6, einer Männerbestattung (Ha B3), die durch die Beigabe von Pferdezaumzeug – von östlichen Kulturkontakten beeinflusst – eine Interpretation als „Reiterkrieger“ oder „Fürst“ erlaubt.

Das Gräberfeld bestätigt mit seinen Fremdformen und Fremdeinflüssen generell die Bedeutung der Wallanlage als Zentralort mit reger Handelstätigkeit in der späten Urnenfelderzeit. Die von östlichen Sitten beeinflusste Wandlung des besser gestellten Mannes zum Reiterkrieger deutet ebenso wie das Aufkommen von Trinkgefäßgarnituren auf die beginnende Hallstattkultur hin.⁴⁶

Der Grubengrundriss von Grab 6⁴⁷ war annähernd quadratisch mit ca. 1,6 m Seitenlänge. Das östlich anschließende tiefer liegende Grab 31 dürfte bei der Anlage von Grab 6

43. STROHSCHNEIDER 1976.

44. KAUS M. 1984.

45. KAUS M. 1984, 46.

46. KAUS M. 1988, 118 f.

47. KAUS M. 1984, 76–83 und Tafel 7–10.

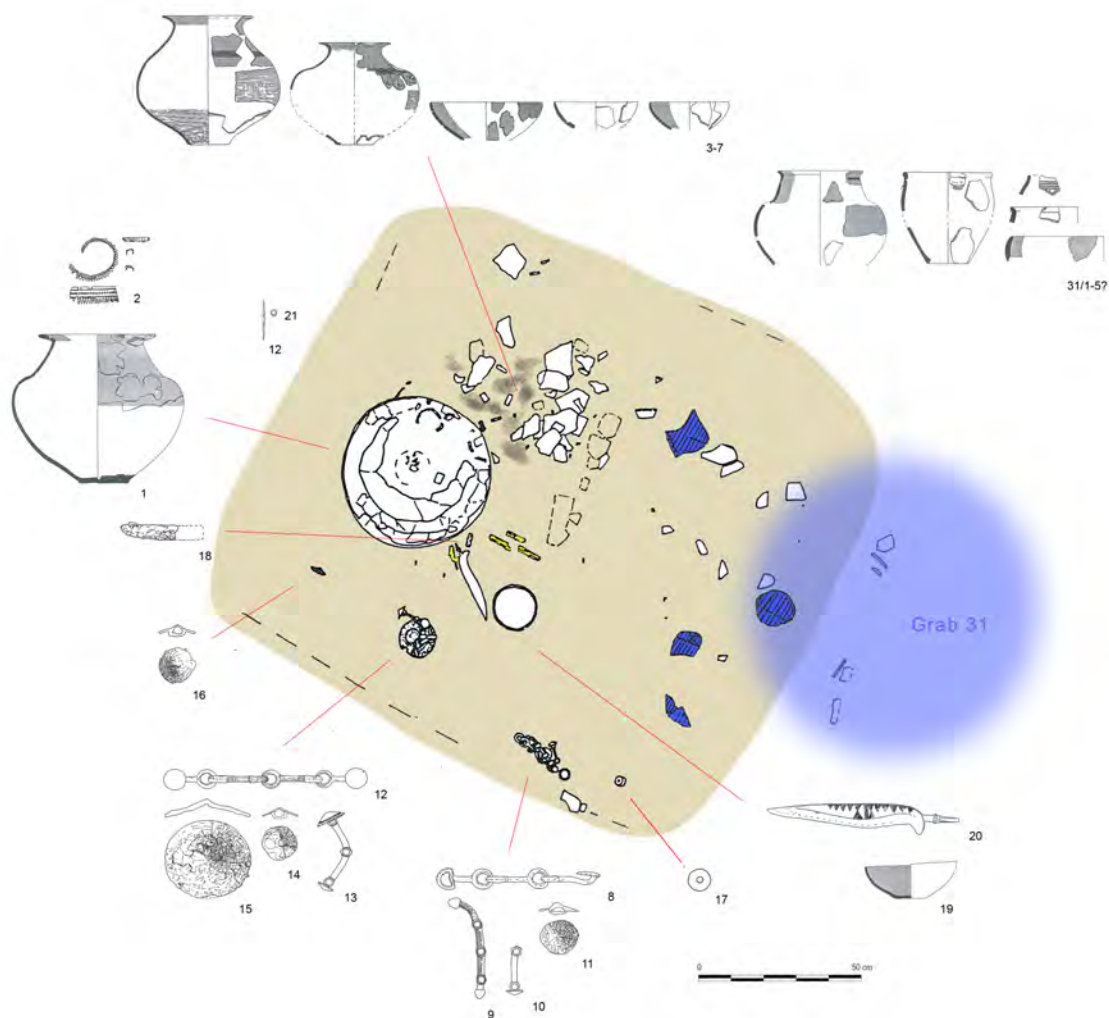


Abb. 8. Stillfried an der March, Grab 6, Umzeichnung des Originalbefundes mit den zugeordneten rekonstruierten Funden und ihren Positionen im Grab (Grafik M. Lochner nach KAUS M. 1984, Tafel 7).

teilweise zerstört worden sein. Vermutlich wurde Grab 6, vor allem im Ostteil, mit Erdmaterial samt Beigabenresten aus diesem zerstörten Grab zugeschüttet (31/1–5). Die oberen Schichten weisen eine mittelalterlich/frühneuzeitliche Störung auf.

Im Grabraum befanden sich ein großes Kegelhalsgefäß (1), darauf bzw. darin bronzene Randbeschläge, Zierbleche und Drahtklammern eines Gefäßes aus organischer Substanz (2).

Ein Leichenbrandbehälter ist nicht nachzuweisen. Nordöstlich des Kegelhalsgefäßes (1) lag ein Teil des Leichenbrandes eines Mannes zusammen mit zerscherten, aber unverbrannten Gefäßteilen, darunter zwei Kegelhalsgefäße und drei Schalen (3–7), gleichsam wie hineingeschüt-

tet. Solche Scherbenlagen werden von der Bearbeiterin Margarete Kaus als „Keramikschüttung“ bezeichnet und treten auch in weiteren Gräbern, etwa dem ähnlich reich ausgestatteten Männergrab 38 auf.

Besondere Funde aus diesem Grab sind auch zwei unvollständige Zaumzeuggarnituren pontisch-kaukasischer Prägung.⁴⁸ Es handelt sich um Trensens mit Zügelhaken (8, 12); sie sind teilweise repariert bzw. mit Altstücken ergänzt, und gebogene (9) und geknickte Seitenstangen (10, 13). Vom Zaumdekor sind eine große (15) und drei kleine Eisenscheiben (11, 14, 16) sowie eine massive Bronzescheibe (17) erhalten. Auch eine Messerklinge aus Eisen (18) liegt vor.

48. METZNER-NEBELSICK 1998, 409.

Eine Schale (19), ein – mit einer Länge von 25 cm besonders großes – Griffdornmesser vom Typ Baumgarten (20) sowie Tierknochen von Schaf/Ziege, lagen etwas erhöht auf dem Niveau der Schulter von Gefäß (1).

Ein kleiner Ring (21) und eine zweispitzige Nadel (22) – vermutlich eine Tätowiernadel⁴⁹ – dürften über den westlichen Grabrand hinaus verschleppt worden sein.

Interpretation

Es ist offensichtlich, dass am Ende der Urnenfelderzeit einzelne Männer wieder mit ihrer Krieger- bzw. Reitausrüstung begraben wurden. Die einzige echte Waffe ist in Grab 38 von Stillfried ein Tüllenbeil. Die Schirrungsgarnituren für zwei Pferde weisen entweder auf einen Reiter mit Handpferd oder einen zweispännigen Wagen hin.⁵⁰

Das große Kegelhalsgefäß (1) ist vermutlich als Trankbehälter anzusprechen. Darin befand sich das dazugehörige Trinkgefäß aus organischer Substanz, erhalten haben sich davon die Bronzebeschläge (2).

Die Schale (19), ein Speisegeräß, war wie so oft mit Fleisch-/Knochenanteilen (von Schaf/Ziege) und einem Messer (20) kombiniert. Sie lagen etwas erhöht auf dem Niveau der Schulter von Gefäß (1). Möglicherweise wurden sie erst beim Zuschütten des Grabes beigegeben oder sie waren auf einem Sockel bzw. Tisch z. B. im Sinne eines miniaturisierten letzten Wohnraumes platziert.

Die Keramikschüttung, in diesem Fall von nicht sekundär verbrannten Gefäßen, kann als Teil einer wie oben beschriebenen rituellen Handlung gedeutet werden. Der Leichenbrand, zumeist nur ein Bruchteil der angefallenen Menge, wurde anscheinend, wie auch in anderen Gräbern in Stillfried zu beobachten, zusammen mit dieser zerbrochenen Keramik in das Grab geschüttet.⁵¹

4. Ausblick

Grabniederlegungen werden in besonderem Maße von religiös motivierten rituellen Handlungen bestimmt und sind dazu eine der wenigen archäologischen Quellen um diese Handlungen zumindest errahnen zu lassen.

Gleichzeitig sind Bestattungssitten und Grabausstattung Ausdruck der kulturellen Identität⁵² und eine wichtige Quelle zum Verständnis der Sozialstruktur einer Gesellschaft, wobei man sich die Frage stellen muss, inwieweit die

Grabausstattung direkte Rückschlüsse auf die Welt der Lebenden zulässt. Solche Fragen können bei dieser punktuellen Darstellung einzelner Gräber natürlich nicht analysiert werden, vielmehr geht es hier darum, wichtige Grabformen in Zusammenhang mit ihren Riten in ihrer zeitlichen Dimension darzustellen.

Ziel der Arbeit ist es, mögliche Ritusabläufe im Rahmen der Grablegung sichtbar zu machen. Die in Tabelle 1 und 2 dargestellten Einzelelemente zeigen einen groben Überblick in ihrer zeitlichen Dimension. Betrachtet man dazu einzelne gut befundete Gräber, erkennt man schnell eine Vielzahl an Möglichkeiten und Abläufen, die ihre Ursachen im Wesentlichen in der sozialen Stellung und dem religiösen Hintergrund haben.

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50. KAUS M. 1988, 118 f.

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Brandbestattungen der Urnenfelderzeit in der Steiermark

Andreas Lippert

Abstract

URNFIELD CULTURE CREMATION BURIALS IN STYRIA. In Styria there are only a few burials from the Early and Older Urnfield periods (Bronze D and Hallstatt A) due to the lack of systematic investigations but probably also due to a smaller population in the Alpine regions compared with the Younger Urnfield period. Inurned cremations are characteristic for this period. A burial with the cremation spread outright on the site of the ustrinum and covered by a mound in Loibenberg (*Brandflächengrab*) is exceptional. Smaller mounds and stone cists were, however, not unusual in the Older Urnfield period (Hallstatt A). Urn burials continued until the Late Urnfield period (Hallstatt B3). Stone cists were occasionally used. Pit graves as well as flat graves with cremated remains (*Brandgrubengräber* and *Brandflächengräber*) occur during the Younger and Late Urnfield periods. The combination of an urn and one or two bowls or cups was substituted by more complex pottery sets at the end of the Urnfield period. These large pottery sets – seldom supplemented by metal offerings – became the standard from the Early Hallstatt period onwards.

Zusammenfassung

Für die frühe und ältere Urnenfelderzeit (Bz D und Ha A) liegen aus der Steiermark nur wenige Grabfunde vor. Dies ist einerseits auf den Forschungsstand, andererseits auf kleinere Siedlungs- und Grabeinheiten in diesem Zeitabschnitt zurückzuführen. Es sind vor allem Urnengräber kennzeichnend. Eine Ausnahme scheint das Brandflächengrab (Schutt vom Ustrinum gleichmäßig auf eine größere ebene Grabfläche verstreut) unter einem Tumulus in Loibenberg in der Weststeiermark darzustellen. Steinkisten und zumindest kleine Hügelaufschüttungen sind in der älteren Urnenfelderzeit jedoch nicht ungewöhnlich. Urnenbestat-

tungen setzen sich in der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit fort, manchmal auch innerhalb von Steinkisten. Es treten auch Brandgruben- und Brandflächengräber auf. Am Ende der Urnenfelderzeit wird die einfache Geschirrkombination aus Urne und einer oder zwei Schalen bzw. Henkeltassen zu einem umfangreichen Geschirrsatz erweitert. Die großzügigen Geschirrbeigaben, die nur gelegentlich durch Metallbeigaben ergänzt werden, bilden dann seit der frühen Hallstattzeit die Regel.

Die Steiermark umfasst einen östlichen Randbereich der Alpen. Sie liegt somit westlich der pannonischen Tiefebene. Der Hauptteil des Landes ist gebirgig und wird von zwei großen Flüssen durchzogen: der Enns im Norden und der Mur im Süden. Zwischen Enns und Mur zieht der Alpenhauptkamm in westöstlicher Richtung. Südlich und westlich der Mur erhebt sich das steirische Randgebirge, das das benachbarte Mittel- und Unterkärnten umgibt. Der Südosten des Landes östlich der Mur ist durch ein sanftes Hügelland gekennzeichnet.

Entlang der Täler der Hauptflüsse verliefen die frühen Handelsverbindungen und Kontaktzonen: Die Enns entwässert nach Norden in die Donau, die Mur hingegen fließt nach Süden in die Drau, die ihrerseits in Ostslawonien die Donau erreicht.

Der Forschungsstand für die späte Bronze- bzw. Urnenfelderzeit in der Steiermark lässt zu wünschen übrig. Wegen der gebirgigen und hügeligen Formation des Landes ist eine frühe Besiedlung in der Regel am ehesten an den trockenen Talrändern zu erwarten, aber auch mitunter auf Hügeln oder Vorbergen. Nun sind Siedlungsreste in den erstgenannten Bereichen meist durch Hangschutt verdeckt, während auf den Anhöhen durch Erosion oder Bewaldung Fundstellen schwer aufspürbar sind. Diese Fundumstände

wirken sich auf die Vollständigkeit einmal entdeckter Fundstellen aus: Selten ist eine Siedlung komplett bekannt oder konnte ein Gräberfeld zur Gänze erschlossen werden. Viele Fundplätze sind nur einer besonders aufmerksamen Beobachtung während verschiedener Bodeneingriffe, also vor allem Bautätigkeiten, zu verdanken. Planmäßige Forschungen, wie etwa die systematischen Begehungen der Abteilung für Bodendenkmalpflege am Bundesdenkmalamt Steiermark entlang einer alten Verkehrsrouten im obersteirischen Koppental, zeigen eindrucksvoll, welche Entdeckungspotenziale möglich sind.¹ Das Fundbild zur Urnenfelderzeit ist in der Steiermark jedenfalls zurzeit noch recht lückenhaft. Im Gebiet des Grazer Beckens, aber auch entlang der Mur in der Mittelsteiermark ist die Fundsituation naturgemäß noch am günstigsten, da hier durch Straßen- und Gebäudebau seit jeher viele Bodeneingriffe erfolgt sind, die zur Auffindung neuer Fundstellen geführt haben. Insgesamt ist zurzeit aber jede Verbreitungskarte nicht repräsentativ. Dennoch soll hier eine Übersicht von wichtigen Grabfunden der späten Bronzezeit versucht werden.

Bei der Beschreibung der Brandbestattungen der Urnenfelderzeit im Arbeitsgebiet wird von der Einteilung von Claus Dobiát ausgegangen, der sich mit den Sulmtalnekropolen in der Weststeiermark beschäftigt hat. Diese setzen zwar erst in der späten Urnenfelderzeit ein, weisen aber noch jene Grab- und Bestattungsformen auf, die auch sonst in der Urnenfelderkultur der Steiermark typisch sind. Demnach sind Urnengräber in Gruben, Brandschüttungsgräber (Urnen in Gruben mit darüber geschütteten Resten des Ustrinums), Brandgrubengräber (Gruben mit dem Schutt des Ustrinums) und Brandflächengräber (Schutt vom Ustrinum gleichmäßig auf eine größere ebene Grabfläche verstreut) zu unterscheiden. Bei den angegebenen Grab- und Bestattungsformen sind auch Zwischenstufen und Übergänge möglich (Abb. 1).² In der Hallstattzeit sind Bestattungen mit diesen Grabformen meist von einem Hügel überdeckt. In der Urnenfelderzeit sind Tumuli aber nicht unbedingt kennzeichnend.

Was zeigt nun das bisherige Fundbild für die gesamte Urnenfelderzeit, wenn man von den verschiedenen Fundkategorien, wie Höhle, Depot, Einzelfund, Siedlung und Grab, ausgeht? Zu erkennen ist vor allem eine Besiedlung entlang der großen Flusstäler, also der Mur, der Mürz und der Enns, obwohl es hier, wie schon betont, noch starke Fundlücken gibt (Abb. 2). Es sind dies Talrandsiedlungen, aber auch Höhsiedlungen. Eine größere Funddichte ab der älteren Urnenfelderzeit könnte auf eine starke Aufsiedlung hindeuten.

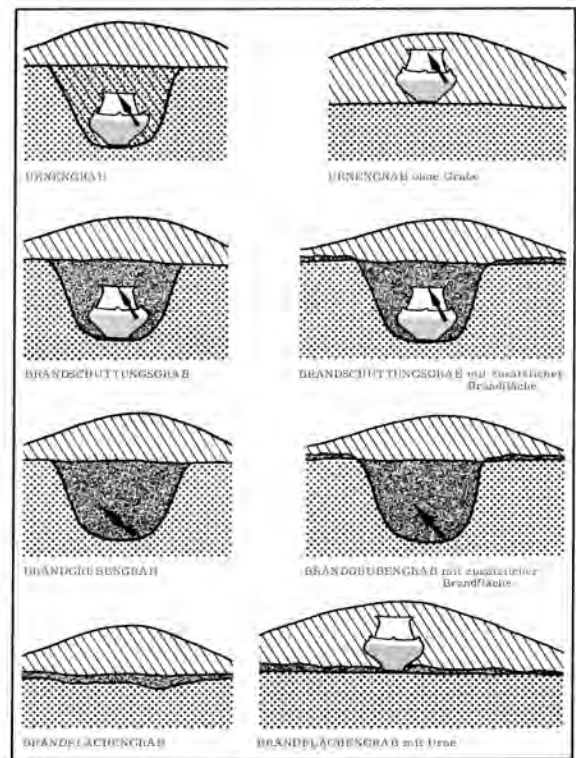


Abb. 1. Links Grundformen der Brandbestattung, rechts Zwischenstufen in den Sulmtalnekropolen (nach DOBIÁT 1980).

Für die frühe Urnenfelderzeit (Bz D) kennen wir zurzeit nur einen einzigen Fundplatz mit möglichen Gräbern, nämlich in Lödersdorf im oststeirischen Raabtal. Hier wurde im Jahr 2002 im Zuge eines Bauvorhabens unter fachlicher Beobachtung die Oberfläche abgezogen, was zur Aufdeckung von fünf seichten, runden Gruben führte. Der Inhalt bestand jeweils aus den Resten schon stark zerstörter Gefäße, die sich aus Großgefäßen und S-förmig profilierten Schüsseln der Virovitica-Kultur zusammensetzten. Radiokarbondaten von Holzkohle aus den Gruben weisen auf einen Zeitraum zwischen 1460 und 1260 v. Chr., also auf Bz C2 und Bz D. Möglicherweise handelt es sich bei den Funden in den Gruben um Urnengräber.³

Es fällt übrigens auf, dass es am Beginn und im älteren Abschnitt der Urnenfelderzeit, also in Bz D und Ha A, verhältnismäßig viele Bronzede pots in der Steiermark gibt. Vielleicht ersetzten sie gut ausgestattete Gräber.

Nach Ha A1 datieren innerhalb des bisherigen Fundbestandes bereits mehrere Gräber. Zunächst ist ein Urnengrab in Oberzeiring an einer alten Verkehrsverbindung zwischen oberem Murtal und Paltental zu nennen. In einer Steinkiste aus Kalkplatten befand sich die Urne, ein bauchiges Kegel-

1. WINDHOLZ-KONRAD 2003, besonders Zusammenfassung 93 ff.

2. DOBIÁT 1980, 47–52 und Abb. 4 (Kapitel „Bestattungsform“).

3. JILG 2007.

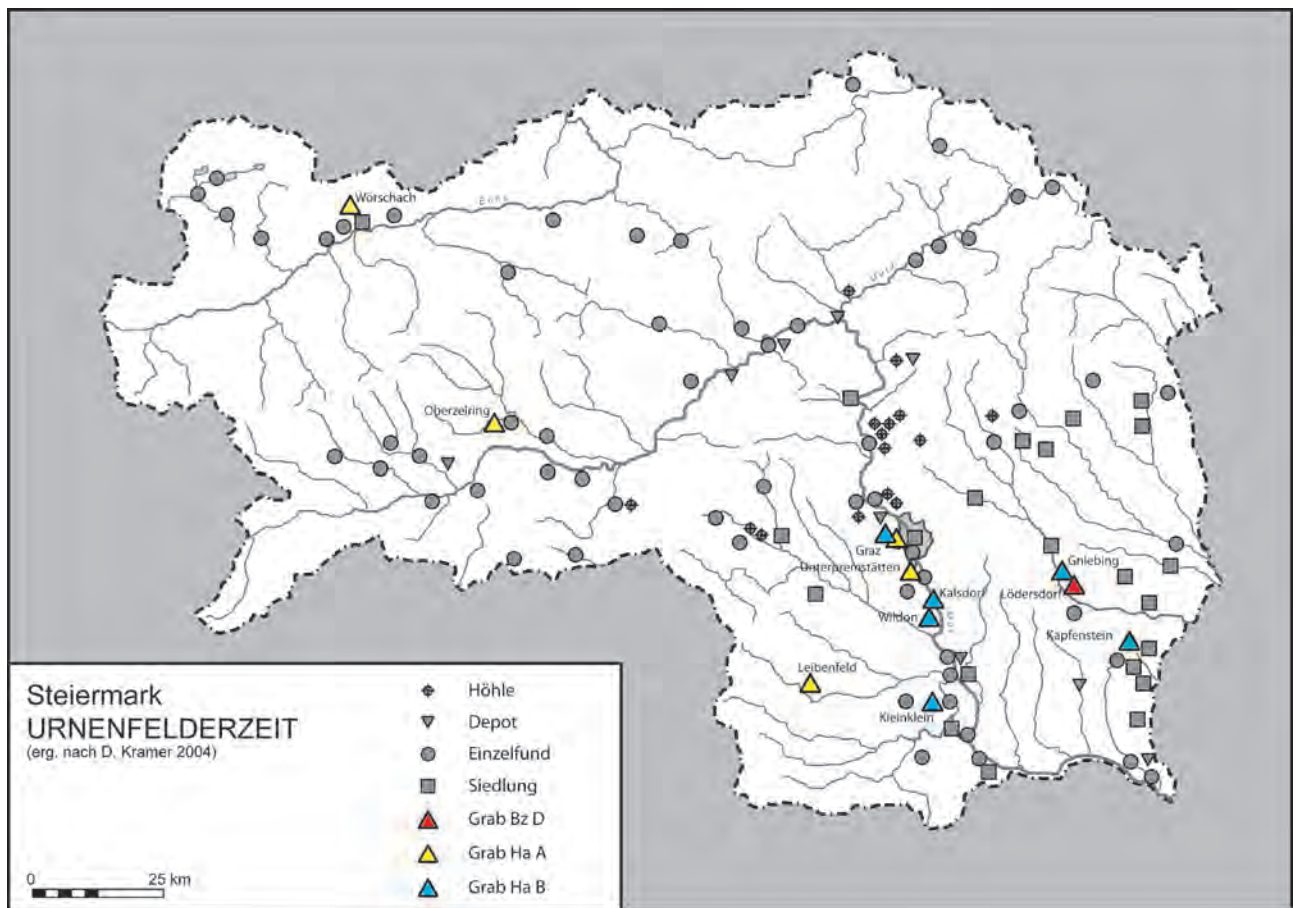


Abb. 2. Fundstellen der Urnenfelderzeit in der Steiermark (ergänzt nach KRAMER 2004).

halsgefäß mit gegenständigen Henkeln, die vom Rand zur Schulter führen. Der Rand zeigt eine scharfe Innenkantung. Im Grab lagen außerdem zwei Kugelkopfnadeln aus Bronze.⁴

In den letzten Jahren wurde am Karmeliterplatz in Graz ein großes urnenfelderzeitliches Gräberfeld freigelegt. Darunter war auch ein unversehrtes Ha A1-zeitliches Grab mit Urne. In einer tiefen, zylindrischen Grube mit einem Durchmesser von ca. 50 cm war eine Steinkiste eingebracht. Ein 17 cm hoher Doppelkonus bildete die Urne. Aus dem Grab stammen außerdem die Fragmente einer Henkeltasse, Goldfäden, die Bruchstücke eines bronzenen (Arm-)Reifs und ringförmige Knochenscheiben.⁵

Ebenfalls eine Neuentdeckung stellt ein Gräberfeld in Unterpremstätten am Westrand des Grazer Beckens im unteren Murtal dar. Hier wurde eine römische Tumuli-Gruppe untersucht. Bei vier Grabhügeln war eine Übersichtung von älteren urnenfelderzeitlichen Urnenbestattungen erkennbar. Es sind dies jeweils mehrere Gräber

dieser Zeitstellung unter einem Tumulus. Interessant war ein Bereich im Grabhügel 7, wo über fünf Bestattungen der älteren Urnenfelderzeit eine zugehörige Aufschüttung, also ein Grabhügel, beobachtet wurde (Abb. 3). Die Gräber enthalten Doppelkoni und scharf profilierte Henkeltassen. Leider sind die Grabinventare zurzeit noch nicht veröffentlicht. Immerhin weisen ¹⁴C-Datierungen in einen Zeitraum vom 13.–11. Jh. v. Chr. und damit im Wesentlichen in die ältere Urnenfelderzeit.⁶

An den Übergang von Bz D zu Ha A oder bereits in die Stufe Ha A1 datiert ein Grabhügel in Leibenberg bei Deutschlandsberg. Der Tumulus wurde 2004 und 2005 erforscht. Er liegt völlig isoliert und war zum Zeitpunkt der Untersuchungen noch 1,25 m hoch und hatte einen Durchmesser von 23 m.⁷ Es handelt sich um ein Brandflächengrab unmittelbar auf dem rot verzierten Verbrennungsplatz, also auf der ursprünglichen Oberfläche, und kann daher auch als Bustum-Grab angesprochen werden. Zu den Bei-

4. MODRIJAN 1960, Abb. 2–4.

5. HEYMANS 1998, Abb. 361. – KRAMER 2004, Abb. 8.

6. BERNHARD 2007, Abb. 29.

7. BERNHARD 2005, Abb. 107–111.

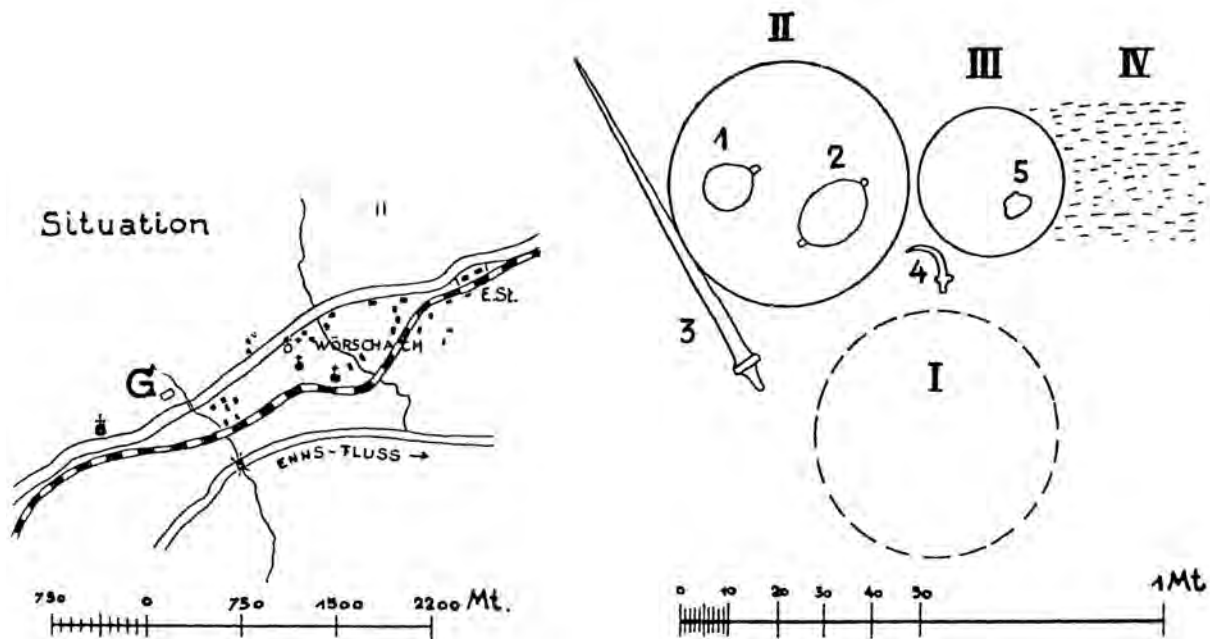


Abb. 4. Lageskizze und Befund der Gräber in Wörschach, Ennstal, Obersteiermark (nach MODRIJAN 1953).

linderhalsgefäß mit Knubben am Bauchumbruch. Die Bestimmung der Leichenbrandreste weist auf einen spätadulten Mann. Die Formgebung und die Verzierung der Urne datieren die Bestattung nach Ha B1.¹⁰

Ein großes Gräberfeld aus der jüngeren Urnenfelderzeit ist in Kalsdorf im südlichen Grazer Becken bekannt. Eines der wenigen älteren Gräber in diesem Zeitabschnitt ist das Grab 2/79. In einer durch Bautätigkeit gestörten ovalen Grube befanden sich die Reste eines Kegelhalsgefäßes mit gegenständigen Knubben auf der Schulter und einer Linienbandverzierung auf Schulter und Bauch. Weiters liegt eine gut rekonstruierbare Omphaloschale mit leicht eingezogener Mündung vor. Außerdem sind Fragmente von weiteren Kegelhalsgefäßen, Töpfen und Schalen anzuführen. Bei dieser Bestattung kann man wahrscheinlich von einem Brandgrubengrab ausgehen.¹¹

Es gibt aber noch ein weiteres Grab der Phase Ha B1 in Kalsdorf. Es ist dies das Grab 2/96. Es besteht aus einer Steinkiste mit einem Kegelhalsgefäß als Urne. Außerdem enthielt das Grab eine Turbanrandschale und eine kleine weitmündige Schale. Hier liegt eine anthropologische Bestimmung des Leichenbrandes vor. Sie ergab eine mögliche weibliche Bestattung mit einem Lebensalter zwischen 31 und 50 Jahren.¹²

Ebenfalls Ha B1-zeitlich ist das Flachgrab 11 im Gräberfeld Masser-Kreuzbauer im Bereich der Sulmtaler Nekropole (Kleinklein). Es ist dies eine seichte Grube von 70 cm Durchmesser mit einer Urne in Form eines Zylinderhalsgefäßes. Als Beigefäß diente eine Einzugsrandschale.¹³

Schon der Phase Ha B3, also der späten Urnenfelderzeit, gehört das Flachgrab 17 im selben Gräberfeld an (Abb. 5).

Die Bestattungsfläche besteht aus einer seichten, etwa rechteckigen Grube mit den Ausmaßen von 1,65 m × 1 m. Der Brandschutt aus Holzkohle und Leichenbrand wurde auf die gesamte Grubensohle geschüttet. Auf diesem Schutt wurde die Urne, ein Kegelhalsgefäß, gestellt. Es handelt sich somit nicht um ein Brandschüttungs-, sondern um ein Brandflächengrab. Daneben gibt es ein zweites Kegelhalsgefäß, einen Spinnwirtel aus Ton, ein Eisenmesser und ein stabförmiges Eisenfragment, das von einer Nadel oder von einem Armreif stammen könnte.¹⁴

Eine interessante Grabstruktur zeigt ein möglicherweise innerhalb der Phase Ha B3 eher spätes Grab in Kalsdorf. Grab 6/79 besaß eine große, rechteckige Bestattungsgrube mit den Maßen 1,2 m × 1 m. Sie war mit großen Schottersteinen eingefasst (Abb. 6).

Die keramischen Beigaben sind in zwei Gruppen angeordnet. Im Süden befanden sich drei Kegelhalsgefäße und eine Henkelschale mit Omphalos. Im Norden eine Ein-

10. PENZ 2001, 272, Tafel 1/1.

11. TIEFENGABER 2005, 45 ff., 127 und Tafel 9/1–6.

12. TIEFENGABER 2005, 74, 127 und Tafel 23/5–7.

13. BERNHARD 2003, 109 ff., Tafel 13/1–2 und Tafel 14/3–9.

14. BERNHARD 2003, 83 f., 114 ff., Tafel 20/1 und Tafel 21/2; Tafel 22/3–6.

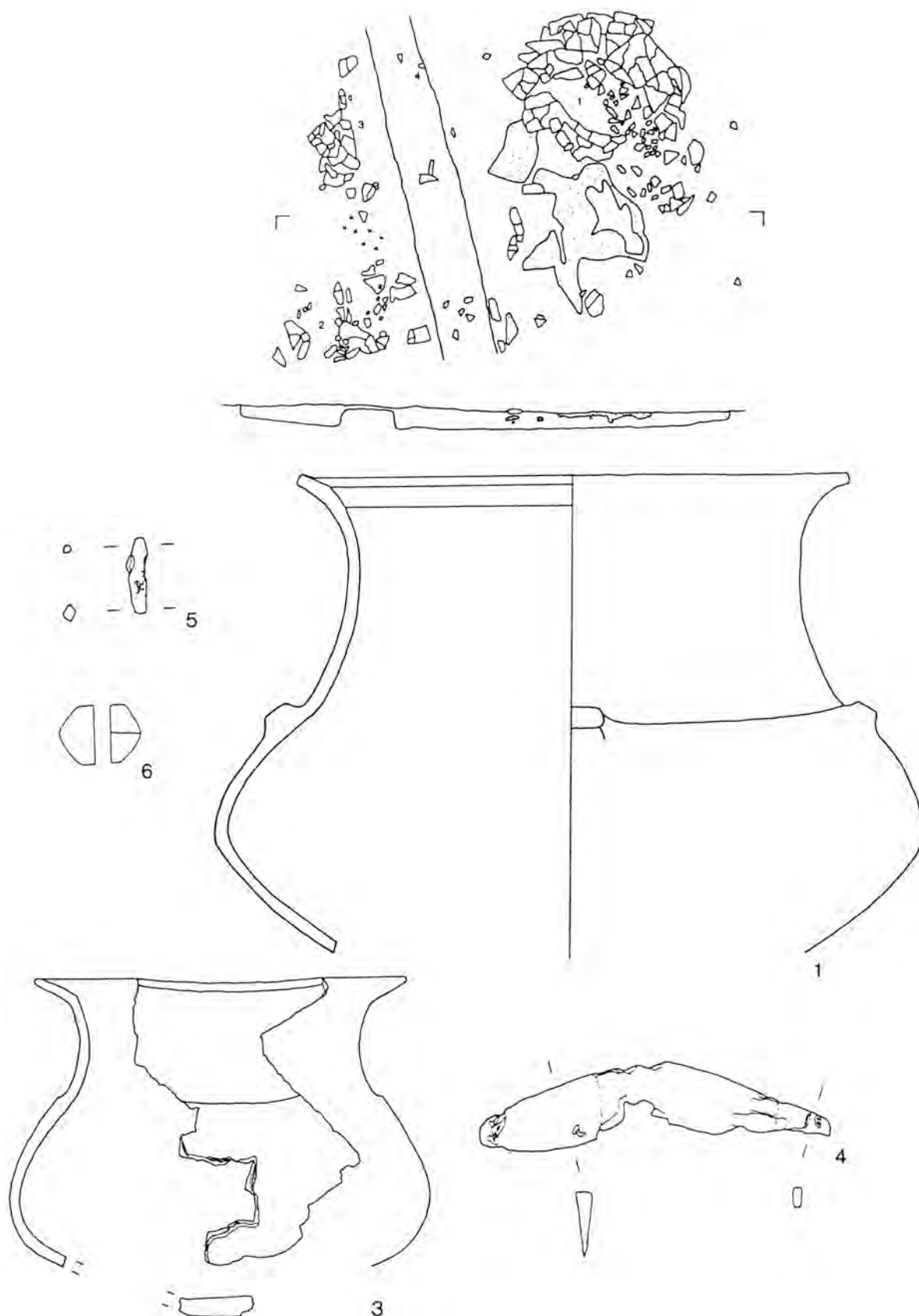


Abb. 5. Nekropole Masser-Kreuzbauer, Grab 17, Sulmtalnekropolen, Weststeiermark. Befund (M 1:20) und Inventar (1, 3 im M 1:4 und 4–6 im M 1:2) (nach BERNHARD 2003).

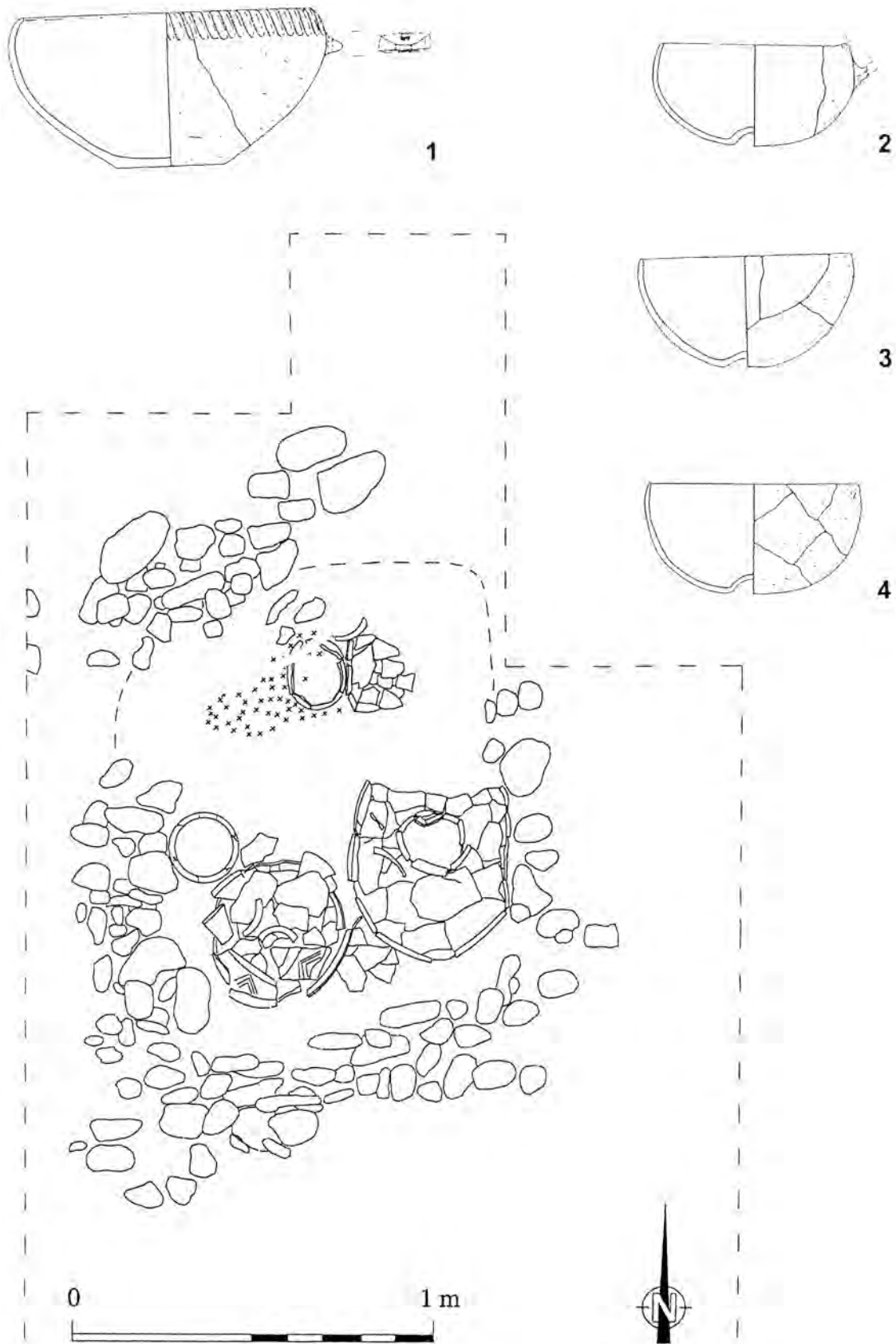


Abb. 6. Kalsdorf, Grab 6/79, Grazer Becken. Befund (unregelmäßiger Maßstab) und Inventar (M 1:3) (nach TIEFENGRABER 2005).

zugsrandschale, die den Leichenbrandbehälter bzw. Urne bildete und zwei Omphalosschalen.¹⁵

Die jünger- und späturnenfelderzeitlichen Grabinventare in Kalsdorf gehören zu einer Variante der drauländischen Gräberfelder vom Typ Ruse-Maria Rast. Die Bestattungen und ihre Beigabenformen weisen in der Phase Kalsdorf 1 (Ha B1–3) doch einige Unterschiede zu den drauländischen Gräbern auf: Es ist dies zunächst die deutliche Metallarmut, die ja auch sonst für die Gräber dieser Zeit in der Steiermark charakteristisch ist. Weiters sind nördliche Einflüsse in Form von Gefäßen der Lausitzer und Kalenderberg-Kultur spürbar. Die beinahe regelhafte Geschirr-Kombination aus Kegelhalsgefäß mit Schöpfschale im Innern sowie einer Schüssel ist in Kalsdorf außerdem kennzeichnend. Dazu kommt, dass der Leichenbrand im Grab unterschiedlich deponiert sein kann. Zwar überwiegen Urnen, doch kommen auch einige Brandschüttungsgräber vor. Auffällig ist schließlich, dass das Kalsdorfer Gräberfeld über Ha B3 hinaus bis in die frühe Hallstattzeit belegt wurde. Im Draugebiet endet die Belegung aber schon mit der späten Urnenfelderzeit.¹⁶

Ebenfalls an das Ende der späten Bronzezeit ist das Brandschüttungsgrab im Tumulus 24 in der Höchschusterwaldgruppe zu stellen. Die Bestattungsgrube war in den gewachsenen Boden eingetieft, lag also unter der Sohle der Hügelaufschüttung. Die Urne war mit einer Steinplatte abgedeckt. Es handelt sich dabei um ein Kegelhalsgefäß mit zylindrischem Hals ohne abgesetzten Mundsäum und mit winkelförmigen Riefen auf der Schulter. Am Schulteransatz sind kreuzständig vier Knubben angeordnet. Zur zeitlichen Einordnung tragen ein geschwungenes eisernes Griffangelmesser und eine zweihenkelige Amphore vom Typ Ruse II bei. Außerdem liegen aus dem Grab Fragmente von zwei Schalen und einem Töpfchen vor. Nach dem Bearbeiter C. Dobiat spiegelt dieses Grab noch den geringen „materiell-kulturellen Inhalt der Urnenfelderzeit wieder“¹⁷ und gehört an den Beginn seiner Phase 1 der Sulmtaler Nekropole.¹⁸ Dies entspricht somit auch dem Belegungsbeginn der Nekropole.

Auch Grab 3 in dem vorwiegend hallstattzeitlichen Gräberfeld von Wildon-Unterhaus am Fuß des unter anderem urnenfelderzeitlich besiedelten Schloßberges im unteren Murtal enthielt eine ähnliche Amphore vom Typ Ruse II. Es handelt sich um ein Flachgrab mit Steinkiste, in der die Amphore als Urne diente. Weitere Beigaben sind eine Ein-

zugsrandschale und eine Rollenkopfnadel mit gebogenem Schaft aus Eisen.¹⁹

Im Jahr 2004 wurde ein weiteres größeres Flachgräberfeld in Wildon zum Teil freigelegt. Diese Nekropole in Wildon-Kainach wurde von der jüngeren Urnenfelderzeit bis in die frühe Hallstattzeit (Ha B1–Ha C1) durchgehend belegt. Wegen der seichten Lage der Gräber waren sie oft durch Pflugtätigkeit teilweise bereits abgetragen und gestört. Meist sind es einfache Grabgruben, die eine Urne enthielten, nur in zwei Fällen wurden Brandschüttungen (Urnen mit darüber geleertem Brandschutt) beobachtet. Steinsetzungen oder Steinkisten gehören zur Seltenheit. Als Urne diente ein Topf, ein Kegelhalsgefäß oder – nur wenige Male – auch ein Behälter aus organischem Material. Die Beigabenkeramik bestand aus Einzugsrandschalen, Henkeltassen und Töpfen. Selten sind Schmuck oder Gerätschaften, wie etwa ein tordierter Golddrahtring, Rasierrmesser, Ziernadeln oder eine verzierte Henkeltasse aus Bronze. In Grab 65 kam eine Laugen B-zeitliche Schneppenkanne mit eingerissener Tannenzweigverzierung, also ein Import aus dem mittleren Südalpengebiet, zum Vorschein.²⁰

Wir erkennen also sowohl in der Sulmtaler Nekropole als auch in Wildon eine Kontinuität von der späten Urnenfelderzeit bis in die Hallstattzeit. Gleiches lässt sich auch von Gräbern im Bereich der Leechkirche sagen, die sich am Nordrand der Grazer Innenstadt befindet. Systematische archäologische Untersuchungen im Zusammenhang mit einer Kirchenrestaurierung haben gezeigt, dass das Gotteshaus an der Stelle eines großen frühhallstattzeitlichen Tumulus errichtet wurde. Dieser wiederum wurde genau auf dem Platz einer späturnenfelderzeitlichen Nekropole angelegt. Bei der Einebnung des Geländes zur Anlage des hallstattzeitlichen Grabhügels sind allerdings die meisten älteren Urnengräber zerstört worden. Doch konnte ein unversehrtes Urnengrab zumindest zur Hälfte dokumentiert und geborgen werden.²¹ Es ist dies eine Steinkiste aus senkrecht gestellten Seitenplatten mit den Ausmaßen 1,2 m × 1 m (Abb. 7). Bestattet war hier eine spätadulte Frau, wie die Analyse des Leichenbrandes in der Urne, einem Kegelhalsgefäß, zeigte. Zu den Beigaben gehörte eine Einzugsrandschale, deren Mundsäum und Rand mit Ringabrollungen verziert sind. Zylindrische Knochenobjekte mit Drechselung könnten von einem Nadelspitzenschutz stammen (Abb. 8). Das Grab ist wohl schon an den Übergang zur frühen Hallstattzeit zu stellen.

15. TIEFENGABER 2005, 50 ff., 126, Tafel 12/2 und Tafel 13/1–4.

16. TIEFENGABER 2005, 135 ff.

17. DOBIAT 1980, 166, 206 (Katalog) und Tafel 7/1–3.

18. DOBIAT 1980, 168.

19. KRAMER 1996, 215 und Abb. 5/1–3.

20. FARKA 2004, 56 f. und Abb. 57.

21. LEHNER 1996, 28 ff., Abb. 6–7 und Tafel 3.

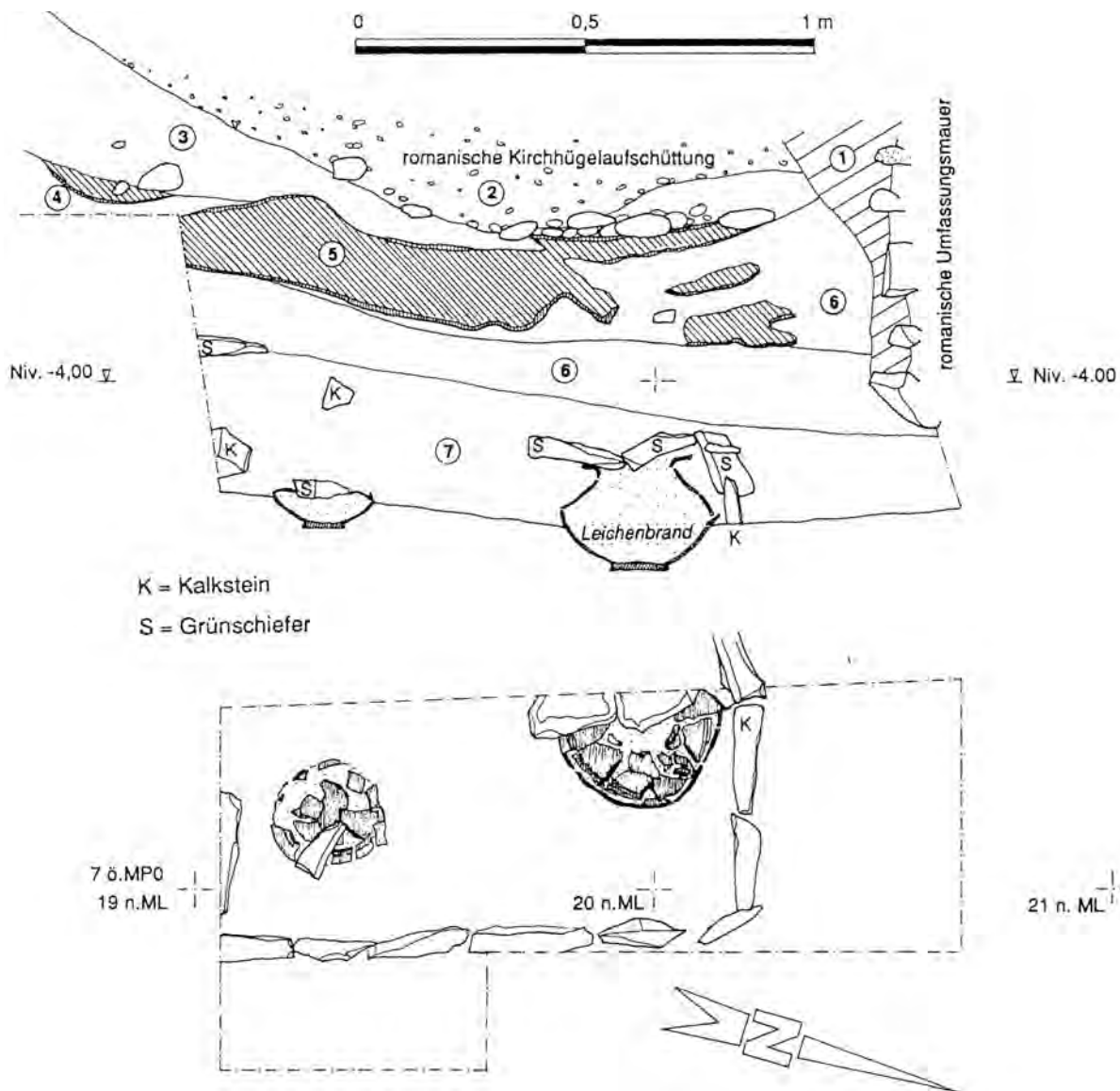


Abb. 7. Leechkirche, Graz-Geidorf, Steinkistengrab. Profil und Draufsicht (nach LEHNER 1996).

Abschließend soll noch das Beispiel einer frühhallstattzeitlichen Bestattung präsentiert werden, die deutlich den entscheidenden Wandel im Grabbau und in der Ausstattung ab der frühen Eisenzeit zeigt. Diesen führt der vollständig untersuchte Grabhügel M innerhalb eines kleinen hallstattzeitlichen Tumulusfeldes in Gniebing im mittleren Raabtal (Oststeiermark) anschaulich vor Augen.

Das Zentralgrab 1 bestand aus einer großen Grabgrube mit Ausmaßen von 4 m × 4 m und war vielleicht mit einem hölzernen Einbau verschalt. Auffällig ist ein großes Ensemble an Speise- und Trinkgeschirr aus Ton, das aus mehreren Kegelhalbsgefäßen, großen und kleinen Henkelschalen sowie Einzugsrandschalen besteht. Der Leichenbrand von wahrscheinlich einer Frau war in einem organischen Be-

hälter in der Südostecke deponiert worden. Außerdem lag Leichenbrand in zwei Kegelhalbsgefäßen, und zwar von zwei Männern und einem Kind, zusammen mit Eisenarmringen und Golddrahtresten. Auf der Westseite der Grabgrube lagen die eingeschütteten Reste des Scheiterhaufens und verbrannter Tongefäße (Abb. 9).²²

Am Nordwestrand des Grabhügels war außerdem eine Nachbestattung (Grab 2) eingetieft.²³ Es ist dies eine Urne in Form eines Kegelhalbsgefäßes. Neben der Urne lagen Reste einer Brandschüttung. Zu dem einfach ausgestatteten Grab gehört auch eine Bronzenadel mit doppelkonischem

22. KRAMER 1996, 209 f. und Abb. 2/1–2.

23. KRAMER 1996, Abb. 1/1.

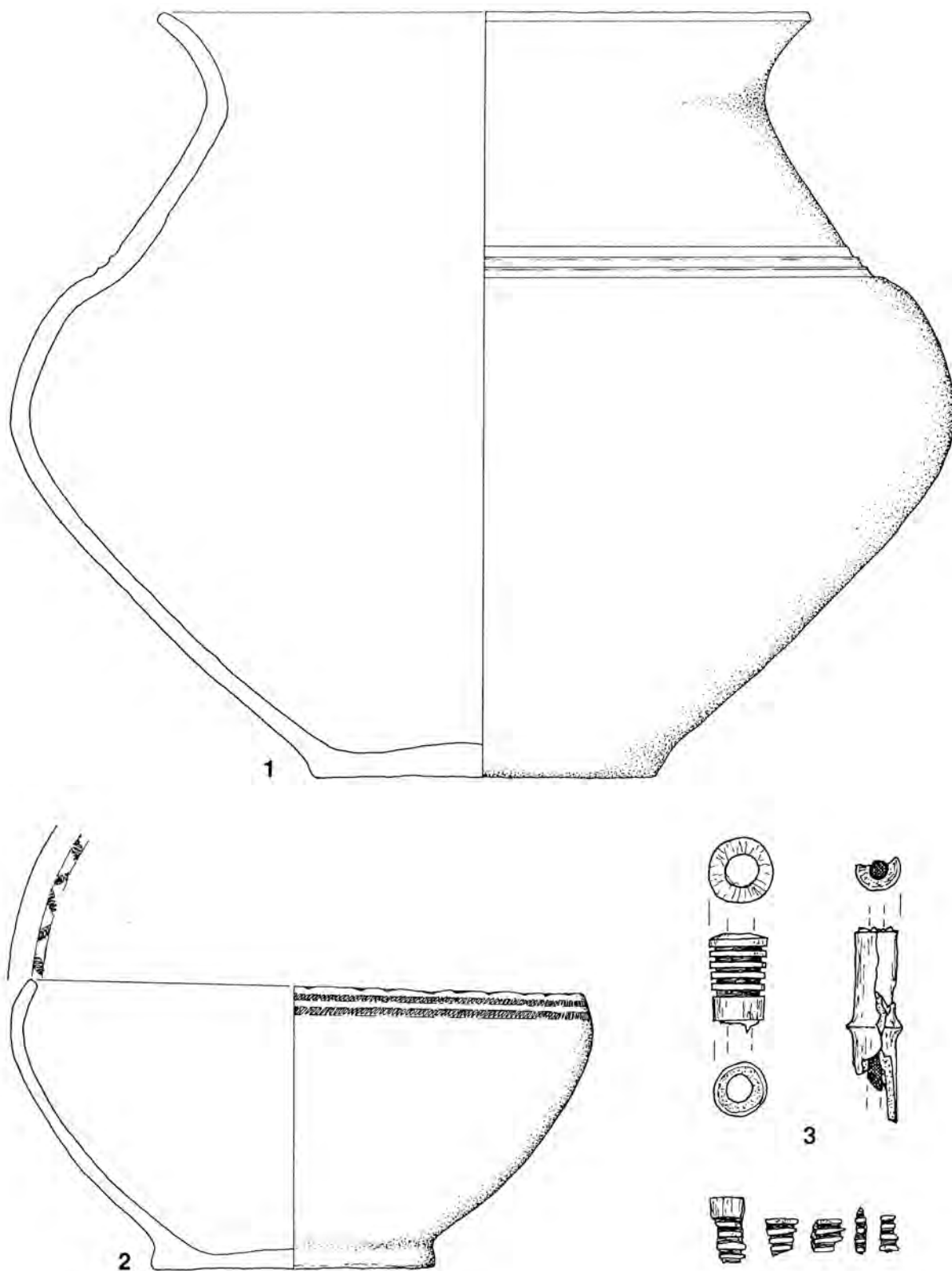
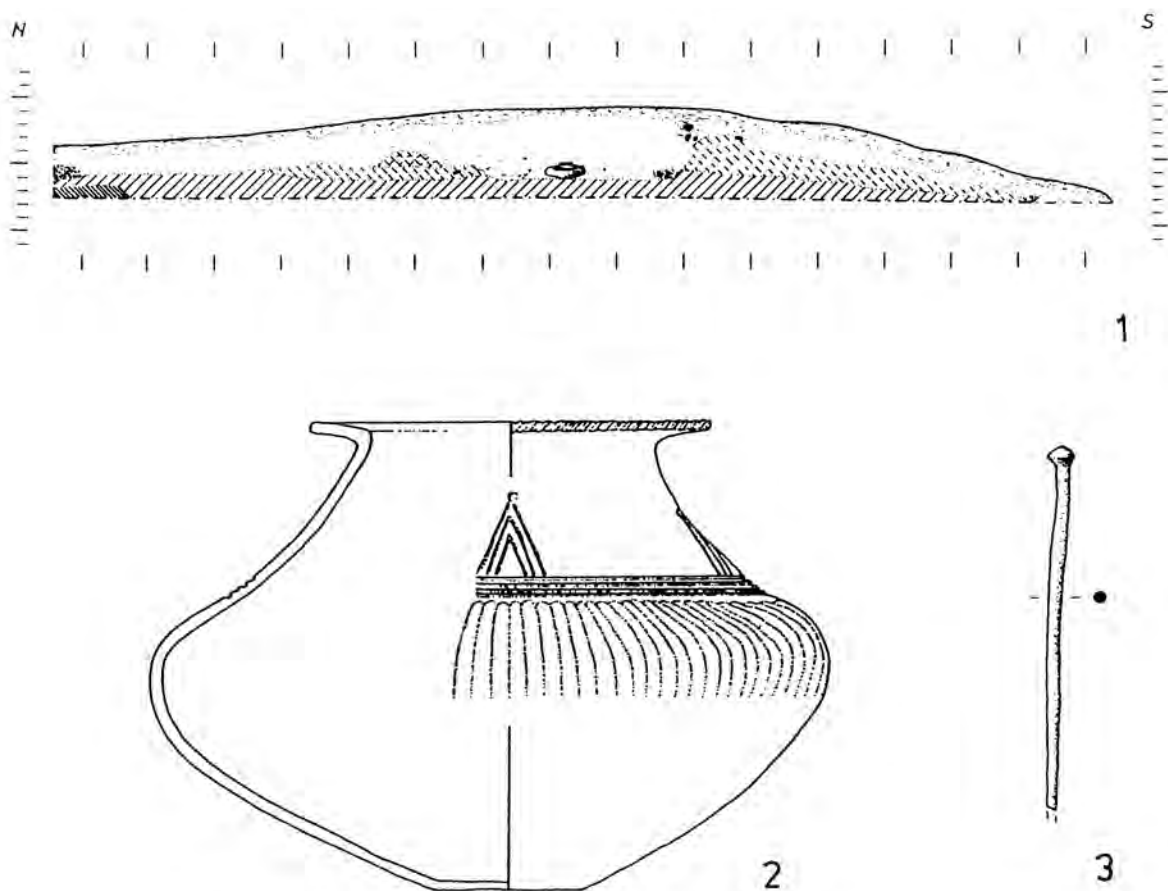
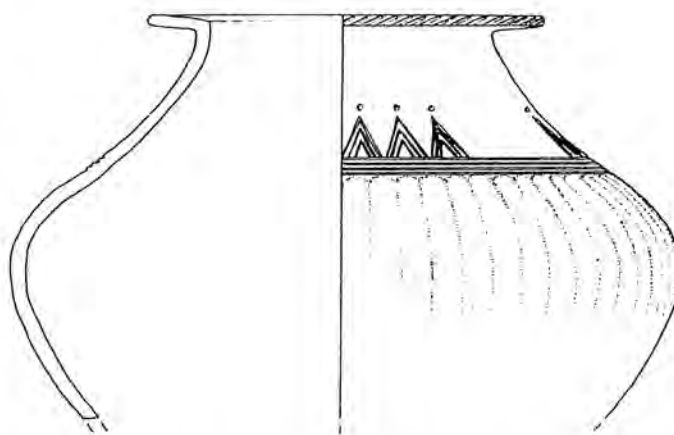
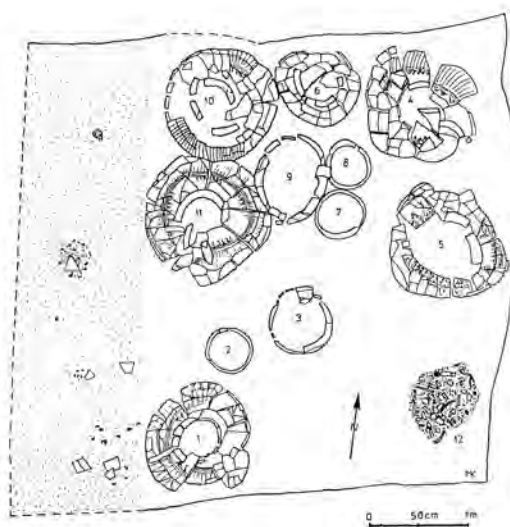


Abb. 8. Leechkirche, Graz-Geidorf, Steinkistengrab. Inventar: Keramik (M 1:2), Beinobjekt (M 1:1) (nach LEHNER 1996).



Gniebing. 1. Schnitt durch Hügel M; 2., 3. Hügel M Grab 2 (3 Bronze).



Gniebing Hügel M Zentralgrab.

Abb. 9. Grabhügel M, Gniebing, Oststeiermark. Schnitt Nord-Süd, Befund des Zentralgrabes 1, Keramik aus Grab 1 und 2 (M 1:4), Bronzenadel aus Grab 2 (M 1:2) (nach KRAMER 1996).

Kopf. Die Leichenbrandreste waren nicht mehr bestimmbar. Das Kegelhalsgefäß hat nahezu die gleiche Form und Verzierung wie jenes aus der Zentralbestattung.²⁴ Magret Kramer spricht von einer älteren, nicht in den Hügel eingesetzten, sondern als Flachgrab angelegten Bestattung, die aufgrund der Nadelform späturnenfelderzeitlich wäre. Erst mit der Aufschüttung des hallstattzeitlichen Grabes sei die Bestattung vom Hügel bedeckt worden. Demgegenüber ist die Dokumentation im Vorbericht von Dieter Kramer aber überzeugender, wonach sich diese Bestattung innerhalb und nicht unterhalb der Hügelaufschüttung befand.²⁵

Das Hügelgrab mit Urnenbestattung und zahlreichen keramischen Beigaben ist nun für die frühe und ältere Hallstattzeit kennzeichnend. Sicher gibt es auch bescheidene Flachgräber mit wenig Keramik, doch sind für die Oberschicht der frühen Eisenzeit monumentale Größe und repräsentative Geschirrsätze die neue Form der Selbstdarstellung.

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24. KRAMER 1996, Abb. 1/2 und 2/3.

25. KRAMER 1984, 54.

Cultural connections and interactions in the Late Bronze Age cemetery of Budapest-Békásmegyer, Hungary

Gabor Vaczi

Zusammenfassung

KULTURELLE BEZIEHUNGEN UND INTERAKTIONEN IM SPÄTBRONZEZEITLICHEN FRIEDHOF VON BUDAPEST-BÉKÁSMEGYER, UNGARN. Mit seinen 324 Brandbestattungen ist der Urnenfeldekultur-Friedhof von Budapest-Békásmegyer einer der Größten in der Region. Er wurde von Beginn der Phase Ha A2 bis zum Ende von Ha B3 belegt. Zwei Drittel der Gräber enthielten Urnen, während die übrigen Brandschüttungsgräber waren. In Bezug auf die kulturelle Einordnung dieses Friedhofs konnten folgende Beobachtungen gemacht werden: Während der Periode Ha A2, in welche die ersten Gräber datieren, lassen sich Kontakte hauptsächlich mit Gruppen der Urnenfeldekultur in Bayern, Mähren und in der westlichen Slowakei nachweisen. Beginnend mit Ha B1 wurde dieses System von Kontakten (Kontakt Netzwerk) restrukturiert. Die Funde des Gräberfeldes dokumentieren nun wachsende Einflüsse auf die Bevölkerung der Urnenfeldekultur in der Region am Donauknie aus den ostalpinen Gebieten, dem nördlichen ungarischen Mittelgebirge und von den Kulturen der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene. Die geografische Lage der Nekropole begünstigte intensive kulturelle Auswirkungen der auswärtigen Kontakte. Die Kombinationen von Formen und Motiven fremden Ursprungs führten im Gräberfeld von Békásmegyer zu einer lokalen Entwicklung mit besonderen Charakteristika.

Abstract

With its 324 cremation burials, the Urnfield culture cemetery of Budapest-Békásmegyer is one of the largest in the region. It was in use from the beginning of the Ha A2

to the end of the Ha B3 period. Two thirds of the graves contained urns (as part of the rite), while the rest were scattered-ash burials. When the cultural position of this cemetery is studied, the following observations can be made: during the Ha A2 phase, to which the first graves were dated, Urnfield culture populations in northeastern Transdanubia maintained contacts chiefly with groups in Bavaria, Moravia and western Slovakia. Beginning with the Ha B1 period, this system of contacts, i.e. network of communication, was restructured. On the basis of material recovered from this cemetery, increasing influences on the Urnfield culture populations of the Danube Bend Gorge region may be observed from the Eastern Alpine region, the Northern Hills in Hungary and by cultures that occupied the Great Hungarian Plain. Given the geographical position of this area, intense cultural effects may be reckoned with. In addition, new combinations of shapes and motifs originating elsewhere resulted in the local development of some special features in the Békásmegyer cemetery.

Introduction

The Békásmegyer Cemetery is located on the right bank of the Danube River at the northern fringes of modern Budapest. The geographically defined area surrounding the cemetery can be considered an intensively settled region during the Late Bronze Age. The Danube River Valley was attractive to settlement, and both the waterway and overland travel were equally important in establishing the region as a link between the western Slovakian Plain and the Great Hungarian Plain. The Békásmegyer site is located in this

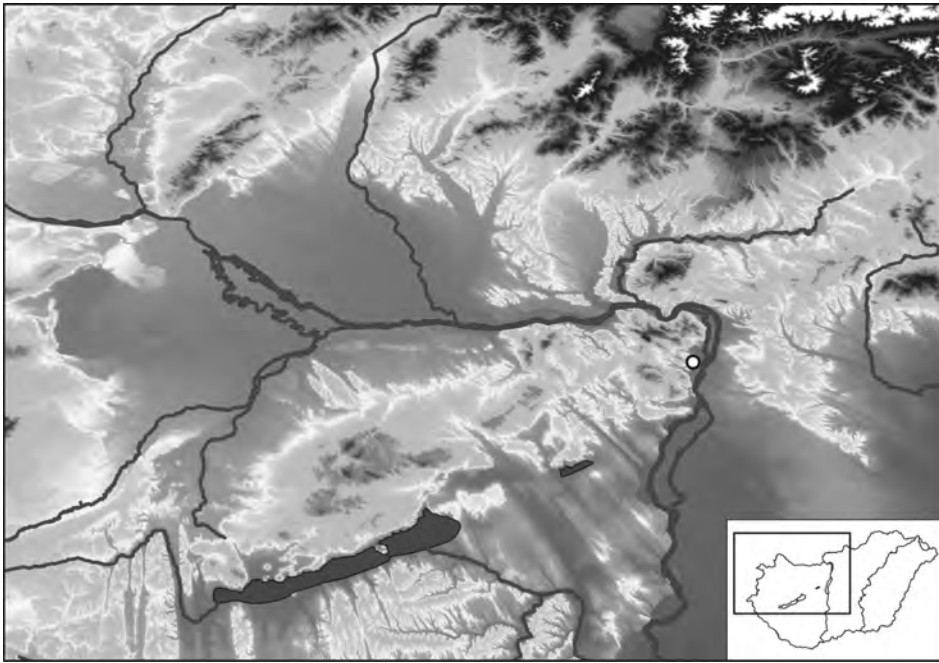


Fig. 1. Location of Budapest-Békásmegyer in the North Transdanubian region.

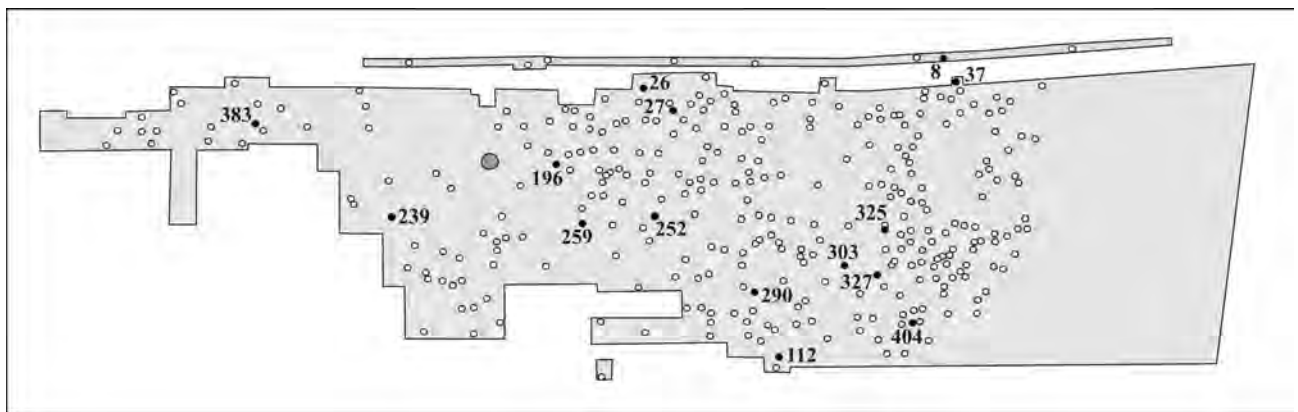


Fig. 2. Distribution of the graves discussed in the item.

region at the convergence of these natural travel corridors (Fig. 1).

Researchers have known about the Békásmegyer Cemetery since the 1960s. Excavations began in 1967 under the direction of Rózsa Kalicz-Schreiber and continued with further campaigns until 1983. Of the 477 graves scattered across the 7.500 m² excavated area, 324 graves can be assigned to the Urnfield Culture (Fig. 2). The Late Bronze Age cemetery contains an estimated 500 individuals. After the initial excavation reports, R. Kalicz-Schreiber published a preliminary report in 1991¹ followed by a paper in which

burials containing knives and razors were examined². A later paper discussed graves containing boot-shaped vessels³ and most recently, in 2002, a report on the stone packed graves of the cemetery was published⁴. The comprehensive evaluation of the cemetery was published in 2010.⁵

The main sources in the research into the cultural interactions of the community that used the cemetery are ceramic and metal artifacts deposited in the graves. The number of ceramic vessels recovered from graves ranged from a low

1. KALICZ-SCHREIBER 1991.

2. KALICZ-SCHREIBER, KALICZ 1996.

3. KALICZ-SCHREIBER, KALICZ 1997.

4. KALICZ-SCHREIBER, KALICZ 2002.

5. KALICZ-SCHREIBER 2010.

count of 3–5 vessels to a high count of 6–14 vessels. Graves with fewer potteries usually contain a bigger vessel, functioning as an urn, and 1–2 accompanying vessels. Graves with more grave goods characteristically contain – in addition to the vessel used as an urn – a set of smaller dishes, mainly consisting of bowls and cups.

Examination of the shapes and motifs of the vessels shows that 5–6 % of them differ from the finds of the Transdanubian Urnfield culture. According to the cultural conditions of the Late Bronze Age the origin of foreign forms and motifs can be found in the Eastern Alpine Region, in the northwestern area of the Carpathians or in the Great Hungarian Plain. In the case of some vessels the foreign origin of their form or ornamentation is obvious, compared to the characteristic forms and motifs of the Urnfield culture. In other cases a mixture of the elements used by the ceramic production of the Urnfield culture and the forms or decorations spread in neighbouring areas can be observed.

As is typical for the period, the most common metal artifacts were forms of pins and fibulae that are complemented by burial groups outfitted with knives and razors in the Békásmegyer cemetery. In the case of pins and fibulae found in the cemetery it is hard to specify the center or centers of production, since some of those items were widely used for a long time. It makes the interpretation of the Transdanubian findings difficult that only the stray finds of Velem⁶ and the pins of the depot from Románd⁷ can be dated to the Ha B period. As for knives and razors, the research of long-distance connections can only be based on the presence of non-characteristic forms in the Transdanubian region.

Eastern Alpine Region

The cultural influences originating in the Alpine Region and reflecting on the local material culture are not easy to demonstrate. Numerous overlaps between the ceramic finds associated with the Urnfield culture can be observed in the Eastern Alpine region and the northern part of Transdanubia, western Hungary. Among the ceramic finds only a cup with a conical bottom from Grave 259 (Tab. 5/2) shows that the communication network based in the Danube River Valley reached west as far as the northeastern area of the Alps. This type of cup was spread in the northern Alps, where it was often placed in graves in high numbers during the Ha B1 period.⁸

6. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1983.

7. NÉMETH, TORMA 1965.

8. ECKES 1996, Taf. 15/11, 14; Taf. 19/2a and Taf. 21/1h. – PFAUTH 1998, Taf. 64/6 and Taf. 71/5.

In addition to new characteristics of form, decorative elements previously unknown in Transdanubia also occur during the time of the Urnfield Culture. Examples of these decorations are the geometric patterns made of impressed dots (Tab. 4/4–5). This kind of ornamentation appears during the latest period of the Late Bronze Age and provides evidence of the cultural/stylistic relations maintained with the Eastern Alpine Region.⁹

The razor handle found in Grave 303 of the Békásmegyer cemetery can be defined as a secondary item used as a pendant, since only a proportionately-shaped and polished stub remained of its blade (Tab. 6/9). The rhombic-shaped, ring-ended razor handle carved into an X-shape is unknown in the Transdanubian Urnfield culture. The territory of its distribution is the northern Alpine region and northern Bohemia.¹⁰ The closest parallel to the form of the handle found in Békásmegyer is the Heilbronn-type.¹¹ Based on burials in the Munich region their use can be dated to the Ha A1 period.¹² The dating of this type also verifies the assumption that the razor handle in question only had a secondary function when deposited in Grave 303 of the Békásmegyer cemetery.

Western Carpathian Region

As the northern neighbour of the Urnfield culture of the middle Danube region,¹³ it is natural that elements of the ceramic production of the Lausathian culture appear in the Békásmegyer cemetery.

The jar from Grave 290 shows a great difference from the pottery manufactured during the Late Bronze Age in northern Transdanubia because of its biconical body, sharply rounded shoulder and cylindric neck (Tab. 4/9). The form of the jar, with impressed decoration running around the neck and the shoulder, is similar to products of the Lausathian culture, and their parallels can be found in the cemeteries of Beluša¹⁴, Partizánske¹⁵ and in the settlement of Pobedim¹⁶. However, this stylistic variant of jugs is absent in assemblages of the Urnfield culture of western Slovakia.¹⁷

Further proof of the existence of the northern connection is the amphora from Grave 196 (Tab. 3/9) which has a number of analogies that spread across the western region of

9. HETZER, WILLVONSIEDER 1952, 63, Abb. 10/1. – LOCHNER 1991, 299.

10. SCHAUER 1995, 123, Abb. 2a.

11. JOCKENHÖVEL 1971, 105–138, Taf. 44B and Taf. 45A–B.

12. MÜLLER-KARPE 1957, 10, Abb. 2.

13. FURMÁNEK, VELIAČIK, VLADÁR 1999, 81, Abb. 35.

14. FURMÁNEK 1970, 438, Obr. 6/8.

15. VELIAČIK 1983, Taf. 22, 9/13.

16. STUDENÍKOVÁ, PAULÍK 1983, Tab. 57/4.

17. VELIAČIK 1983, 129–130.

the Lausathian culture.¹⁸ A pot from Grave 259 with a conical neck, compressed globular body and with a decorative disc on the belly (Tab. 5/7) also shows the strong northern connections.¹⁹

Hungarian Northern Mountain Hills

The pottery fragment revealed in Grave 239 and decorated with a herring bone motif could belong to an amphora or to a vessel with a conical neck (Tab. 4/1). The closest parallel of its decoration – the combination of horizontal channeling and rows of impressed dots – is known from the cemetery of Chotín.²⁰ This analogy helps the restoration of the vessel of Békásmegyer, since the herring bone pattern is a frequent form of decoration both on the finds of the Lausathian and Kyjatice cultures.²¹ The sherd from Békásmegyer and the vessel from Chotín can be connected to the Kyjatice culture based on the evidence of morphological features.²²

A deep bowl from Grave 37, with a biconical body and rounded shoulder (Tab. 3/1) and a similar, ring-footed variant from Grave 26 (Tab. 1/4) proves the presence of pottery traditions arriving from the direction of the Hungarian Northern Mountain Hills. The basic form of these vessels can be derived from the Kyjatice culture,²³ although the faceted rim and the slanted fluted decoration covering the shoulder of the bowl found in Grave 26 probably belong to the stylistic repertoire of local ceramic production.

Both the slanted channeled decoration and the motif of 5–7 dots arranged in lines usually appear together with a faceted rim, which most often can be found on vessels with conical necks and bowls with everted rims (Tab. 1/1, 3). The dotted decoration is indicative of the relationship maintained with the neighbouring Kyjatice culture and its pot production, which uses dotted lines for the separation of the channeling on conical-necked vessels.²⁴

The small, cylindrical-necked vessel from Grave 259 (Tab. 5/4) cannot be assigned to the group of the local, basic vessel forms because of its straight rim, round-walled and cylindrical neck, highly rounded, compressed shoulder and compressed, strongly narrowing bottom. Its direct formal analogies can be found among the pottery types of

the Kyjatice culture.²⁵ The shaping of the shoulder and bottom of the vessel from Grave 259 is also characteristic of the double-bodied vessels of the Gáva culture, therefore it is possible that it was made as a miniature copy of those. The big storage vessels originating from the east are also known from the find places of the Gáva culture, e.g. from Biharkeresztes-Láncos-major, Kaba-Bitózug, Polgár 1, Bódogkeresztúr, Gyoma 133, Nyírbogár, Taktabáj.²⁶ On the basis of the analogies listed the miniature vessel of Békásmegyer can be associated with the pottery making tradition of both the Kyjatice and the Gáva cultures.

Great Hungarian Plain

Among the urns with everted and faceted rims, cylindrical necks, curved shoulders, and wide bellies found in the Békásmegyer cemetery, the vessel of Grave 404 is decorated with channelled, upright knobs (Tab. 8/3). The decoration of its shoulder has the characteristics of the ceramic production of the Upper Tisza Region during the Ha B1 period.²⁷ The slanted fluting of its rim (Tab. 8/2–3) offers evidence that it could have been produced during the transition of the Ha B1 and Ha B and Ha C periods.²⁸ The combination of these ornamentations can also be found in the pottery manufacturing tradition of the Gáva culture; the two forms of decoration appear together on a bowl from Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa-Cukortanya.²⁹

Although the low-based shape and the high, conical, decorated necks of the pots found in Graves 8 and 27 (Tab. 1/3, 6) are indicators of eastern stylistic connections, the burnished impressed decoration on their shoulders shows local traditions. The pottery of the Piliny and the Kyjatice cultures,³⁰ or possibly the traditions of the Belegiš II culture³¹ may have affected their development. As the form appears in greater numbers in assemblages of the Gáva culture³² the vessels found in the Békásmegyer cemetery seem to primarily show the connections maintained with the Gáva culture during the Ha B1 period.

The analogy of the pot from Grave 196, with everted rim, biconical body and rounded lower part (Tab. 3/8) is

18. HRALOVÁ 1962, Taf. 7/2, 9; Taf. 15/10 and Taf. 25/10. – DOHNAL 1974, 111, Taf. 15/12. – DOHNAL 1977, 134, Čis. 463, 152 and Čis. 778. – VELIAČIK 1983, 223 and Taf. 16/3 – VOKOLEK 2003, 13–14.

19. HRUBEC, KUJOVSKÝ 1994, 24–25.

20. DUŠEK 1957, Tab. 33/4.

21. DOHNAL 1974, 101 and Taf. 5/C3. – VOKOLEK 2002, Taf. 59/3. – VOKOLEK 2003.

22. FURMÁNEK, VELIAČIK, VLADÁR 1999, 96, Abb. 45/25, 27, 29, 31.

23. KEMENCZEI 1984, Taf. 79/6, 10 and Taf. 87/14.

24. KEMENCZEI 1984, 46–47. – MATUZ 1994, 23.

25. FURMÁNEK, VELIAČIK, VLADÁR 1999, 95 and Abb. 44/5; 96 and Abb. 45/1.

26. SZABÓ 2002, 45; 24. ábra/II.

27. KEMENCZEI 1984, Taf. 130/1, 2.

28. PENZ 2001, 273.

29. SZABÓ 1996, 23. kép/13.

30. KEMENCZEI 1984, Taf. 84/6, 11, 19. – FURMÁNEK, VELIAČIK, VLADÁR 1999, 106.

31. PRZYBYŁA 2005, 227. – PRZYBYŁA 2009, 92–95.

32. KEMENCZEI 1984, Taf. 160/1. – LÁSZLÓ 1986, Taf. 5/6. – FURMÁNEK, VELIAČIK, VLADÁR 1999, 97 and Abb. 46/13.

known among the settlement finds of Lengyeltóti, which are dated to the Ha A2 and Ha B periods.³³ Based on the shape, E. Patek connects this type of pots to the ceramic production of the Br D–Ha A1 period.³⁴ The type of pot in question is most likely to originate from vessels of the Great Hungarian Plain during the Proto-Gáva phase (Br D–Ha A1 period). These vessels have biconical bodies, shoulders decorated by knobs, and necks with channeled decoration. They are known from the sites of Szőreg C, Szőreg D and Polgár 29.³⁵ A variant with brushed surface shows up in the eastern region of the Carpathians during the time of the Ha A2 period.³⁶ This type of pots can also be found during the early phase of the Iron Age among the Prescythian finds of the Carpathian Basin, nevertheless the neck of these vessels is rounded and their surface is rough.³⁷ Although through its form the vessel found in Békásmegyer could be dated to the turn of the Ha A1 and Ha A2 periods, the pin revealed in the grave suggests a typochronological dating to the Ha B2/3 period.

The pot from Grave 325, decorated with a bundle of vertical wavy lines on the (Tab. 6/11) belly, occurs most often in the assemblages of the Gáva culture in the Tisza Region.³⁸ In most cases this kind of decoration was used on smaller pots and bowls with wavy rims and cylindrical necks. These artifacts found on the sites of the Lausathian culture are identified as evidence of the relations maintained with the Kyjatice and Gáva cultures.³⁹

The vessel from Grave 383 with a cylindrical neck, rounded shoulder and wavy channeled decoration (Tab. 7/7) belongs to the Late Bronze Age pottery style of the Great Hungarian Plain. This form and decoration can be observed on the finds of the Gáva and Belegiš II culture,⁴⁰ their appearance can be dated to the Ha B1 phase.⁴¹

South Pannonia

The jars placed in Graves 112 and 327 have conical necks, greatly faceted shoulders and compressed bodies (Tab. 2/2; 7/1), stylistic characteristics frequent in the area of South Pannonia. At the same time, in the Danube Bend Gorge

region, a variant with an elongated shape and unfaceted shoulder is the basic type.⁴² The two jars of the Békásmegyer cemetery belong to the variants of South Pannonia. The sites associated with these two types unambiguously show the communication corridor running along the Danube river.

Summary

Among the aforementioned grave goods the secondarily used razor handle (Tab. 6/9) belongs to the oldest finds (Ha A2 period) of the cemetery. The ceramic forms and decorations listed definitely appeared during the younger phase (Ha B1–Ha B2/3 period) of the cemetery. Using the evidence of the artefacts showing the connections of the population of the Urnfield culture living in Transdanubia during the Ha A1 and Ha A2 periods, cultural impacts from the Eastern Alpine and western Slovakian region can be observed.⁴³ That means the dominance of the general northwestern-southeastern polarity in the communication network.⁴⁴ At the same time the high number of characteristics in shape and motifs typical of the Kyjatice and Gáva cultures indicates that the population living in the Danube River Bend Gorge region during the Ha B period maintained intensive relations principally with communities inhabiting the Hungarian Northern Mountain Hills and the Great Hungarian Plain.⁴⁵

The material evidence of cultural interactions shows that the intensity of communication increases during the Ha B1 period at such a rate that it becomes visible in the deposition of goods in burials.⁴⁶ The warrior elite evolving on the Great Hungarian Plain had an intense impact on the material culture of the neighbouring areas, which can be observed not only in funerals but also in the composition of the hoards of the Hajdúböszörmény horizon and its customs of deposition.⁴⁷ The influence of the warrior elite living in the Great Hungarian Plain increases in the regions along the Danube in Transdanubia during the Ha B3 and Ha C periods.⁴⁸

33. PATEK 1968, 91, 1.

34. PATEK 1961, 68.

35. PATEK 1961, 67–68. – SZABÓ 1996, Abb. 51/1, 2 and Abb. 52/3. – SZABÓ 2002, 69, kép/2.

36. PRZYBYŁA 2005, 232.

37. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 114–118.

38. KEMENCZEI 1984, 67. – SZABÓ 2002, 54, 30, ábra.

39. ŠALKOVSKÝ 2001, 47.

40. PRZYBYŁA 2009, 132–133.

41. KEMENCZEI 1984, 71. – GENITO, KEMENCZEI 1990, 121. – SZABÓ 1996, 37. – SZABÓ 2004, 110 and Abb. 10/2, 4.

42. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 120–122 and Abb. 45.

43. PRZYBYŁA 2009, 381, Fig. 106 and 385–386, Fig. 107.

44. WIESNER 2009, 558.

45. PRZYBYŁA 2009, 396–397 and Fig. 109.

46. ZU ERBACH 1995, 310–312. – NOVOTNÁ 1995, 380. – A similar phenomenon can be observed among the Lausathian burials of the Kietrz Urnfield cemetery, in which, during the younger phase (period Ha A2–B1), numerous ceramic forms associated with the Urnfield culture appear in one group (PRZYBYŁA 2009, 342–343). However, in the cemetery of Békásmegyer there is no regularity in the location of the graves containing foreign stylistic elements (Fig. 2).

47. KEMENCZEI 1996, 269–270. – BORGNA 1999, 172. – PYDYN 1999, 18–19.

48. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 490–491.

Relations between neighbouring regions can be studied through artefacts which act as means of the process of exchange⁴⁹ and giving presents⁵⁰ or are recognized as proof of imitation. One of their final ways of use is representation and the fact that they were wasted during the funeral.⁵¹ The nature of cultural interactions – maintained either between communities or within a society, horizontally or vertically⁵² is hard to understand in the cemeteries of the Urnfield culture in Transdanubia because they show signs of egalitarian funeral practices.⁵³

In the case of Graves 196 and 259 many foreign forms are combined among the groups of ceramic grave goods (Tab. 3/4–10; 5/1–8). Accumulating imported or imitated items⁵⁴ can be a way of expressing social status. The primary manifestation of this is the outstanding value of the funerary equipment because of its material or way of production. The distance of the source of production and the difficulty of obtaining an artefact can also determine its prestige value. Behind both symbolic events stands the system of exchanging prestige goods or the maintainance of the exchange network. They can demonstrate the stage of social and technological efforts and development.⁵⁵

On the vessels from Graves 8 and 27, a combination between forms of eastern origins and local design elements can be observed (Tab. 1/1–3, 5–7). It cannot be decided whether a mixture of ethnic or cultural elements stands behind the production of the foreign forms decorated with local features.

49. The exchange and donation (not the trade) of prestige goods has an effect on the contacting communities, the social positions within them, which means that it is impossible that a form of exchange or giving a gift would not involve social or political meaning (PYDYN 1999, 7–8).

50. HARDING 1993, 157–158. – PYDYN 1999, 8–9.

51. KRISTIANSEN 1994, 21.

52. FRANKENSTEIN, ROWLANDS 1978, 75–81. – KRISTIANSEN, LARSSON 2005, 36 and Fig. 9.

53. The lack of swords in the Transdanubian cemeteries (STOCKHAMMER 2004, 91–93 and Karte 43.) supports the assumption that the community using the cemetery applied the burial practice that had appeared at the end of the Late Bronze Age, showing less vertical social difference than the order of burials during the previous period (FOKKENS 1997, 370).

54. Without ceramic analysis the separation of imported or imitated goods is impossible (HARBOTTLE 1982, 16–17.), therefore it can not be decided whether an artefact deposited in a grave arrived from a primary, outer source or it was prepared locally, utilizing imported technological and intellectual skills (PYDYN 1999, 11. – KRISTIANSEN, LARSSON 2005, 13–14 and 55–56. – KREITER 2007, 38–39. – CHOYKE 2008, 5–6).

55. PYDYN 2000, 229–230. – KÜMMEL 2001, 74–75. – PRZYBYŁA 2009, 23.

The movement of the items made of common material, the production of which does not require special technological skills, indicates the channels of communication evolving in addition to the trade of prestige goods. The 'secondary circulation' within communication networks is kept up by the circulation of prestige goods reflecting on the mental sphere that took effect on social life (e.g. burial practices) and forms of social organisations. In some cases, however, it could develop irrespective of material culture.⁵⁶ The information and ideologies arriving through the network of communication greatly affected, shaped and unified the self-perception of Late Bronze Age communities and the resulting image was manifested in formalities. This self-concept is confirmed by characteristics which are equally noticeable on the weapons, in burial practices and social forms across Central Europe and the Alpine region.⁵⁷

The controllers, primary receivers and distributors of the non-material, intangible goods of the cognitive exchange network, (e.g. information, technical skills and environmental knowledge), were probably individuals belonging to the higher stratum of society, as shareable knowledge and skills had a great value of prestige.⁵⁸ On the basis of the geographical position of the cemetery, imports and primary resources from neighbouring areas should appear in the assemblage.⁵⁹ On the contrary, the mixture of motifs and forms is evidence that the community of the Békásmegyer cemetery had more complex ideas from different origins.⁶⁰

Examining the cultural attributes of the cemetery the following may be established: The earliest graves reflect the material culture of the northeastern Transdanubian Urnfield population with traditions and connections that suggest strong links primarily with Bavaria, Moravia, and western Slovakia. The extent and orientation of the Ha A2 period interaction network conform to the network of the Br D and Ha A1 periods. At the beginning of the Ha B1 period this interaction and communication network was reorganized. Based on the assemblage from this cemetery it can be established that cultural practices of the eastern Alpine region, the Hungarian Northern Mountain Range, and of the Great Hungarian Plain had the greatest impact on

56. SCHORTMAN, URBAN 1987, 70.

57. HARRISON 2004, 170–176. – HARDING 2007, 141–144. – VANDKILDE 2007, 79–82.

58. NEEDHAM 1993, 167. – PYDYN 1999, 69.

59. KRISTIANSEN, LARSSON 2005, 13–14.

60. The exchange of ethnic and cultural elements may also take place through marriage that is not necessarily reflected in prestige goods (BOUZEK 1997. – PRZYBYŁA 2009, 29–31). Still, because of the lack of physical anthropological examinations, inter-regional marital exchange can only be mentioned as an assumption.

the Urnfield culture population living in the Danube Bend Gorge region. The maintenance of communication with these regions can be effectively demonstrated through their material culture.

Based on the assemblage presented here, the population of Békásmegyer must have played an important role in mediating between the communities of the Great Hungarian Plain and the western Carpathians. It is typical of the gateway communities, that their outstanding role originates from unique geographical facilities and that they are located between economically and culturally productive regions, however, their own economic and cultural potency tends not to be very strong.⁶¹ This system can be traced in the burial customs of the cemetery of Békásmegyer, as no particularly rich burials can be found there, none that would prove the significance of the local elite distinguishing the cemetery from those of other communities of the region. At the same time graves accumulating foreign forms and motifs testify that the maintenance of the communication network must have been an important tool of demonstrating social position.

Naturally, it is impossible to conclusively determine whether the strong mixing of cultural motifs and design elements of the Kyjatice and Gáva cultures with the Transdanubian and eastern Alpine Urnfield cultures at the Békásmegyer cemetery resulted from broader intercultural interactions or reflects an integrated society comprised of individuals from the various cultures.

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Gábor Vácz

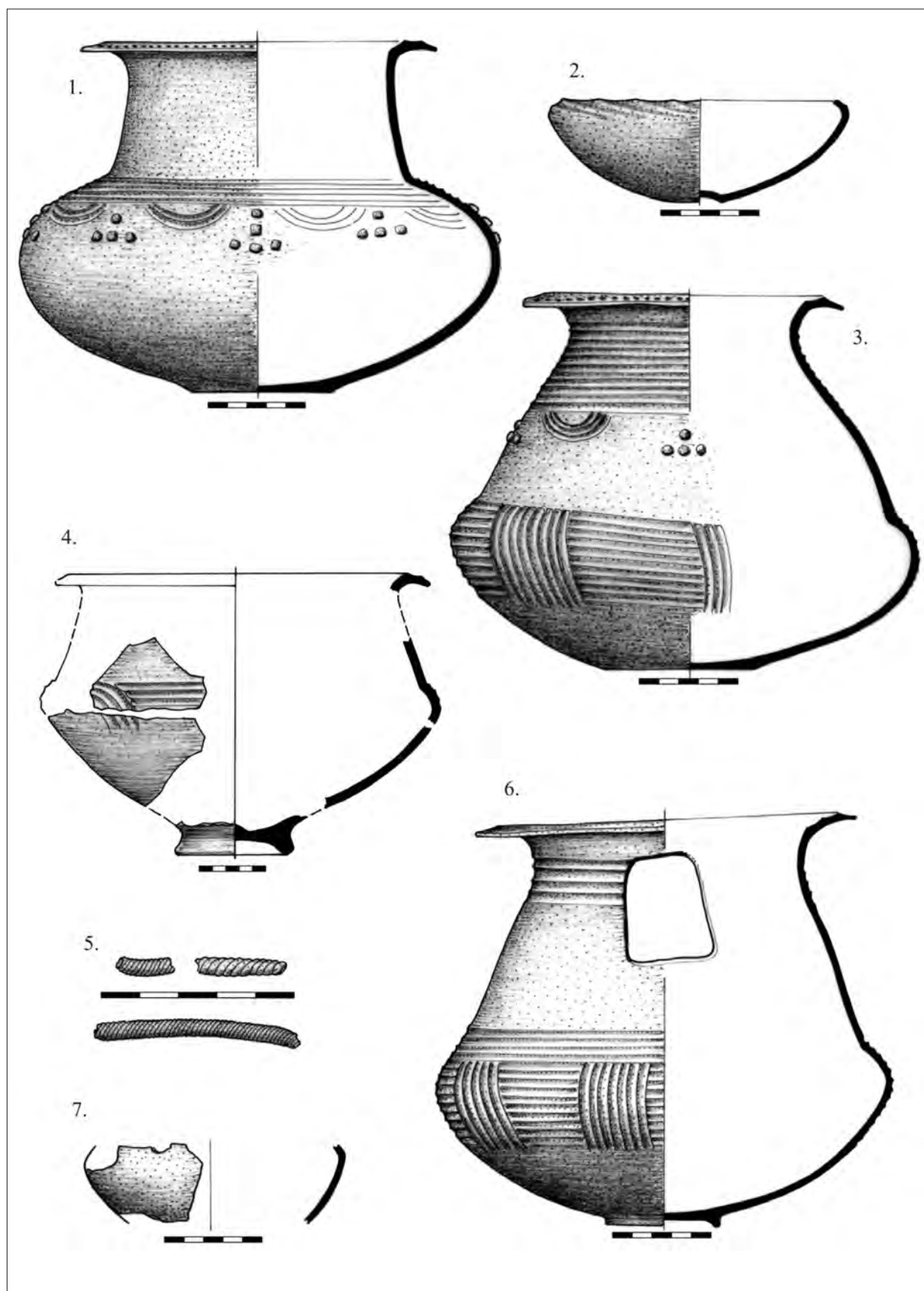
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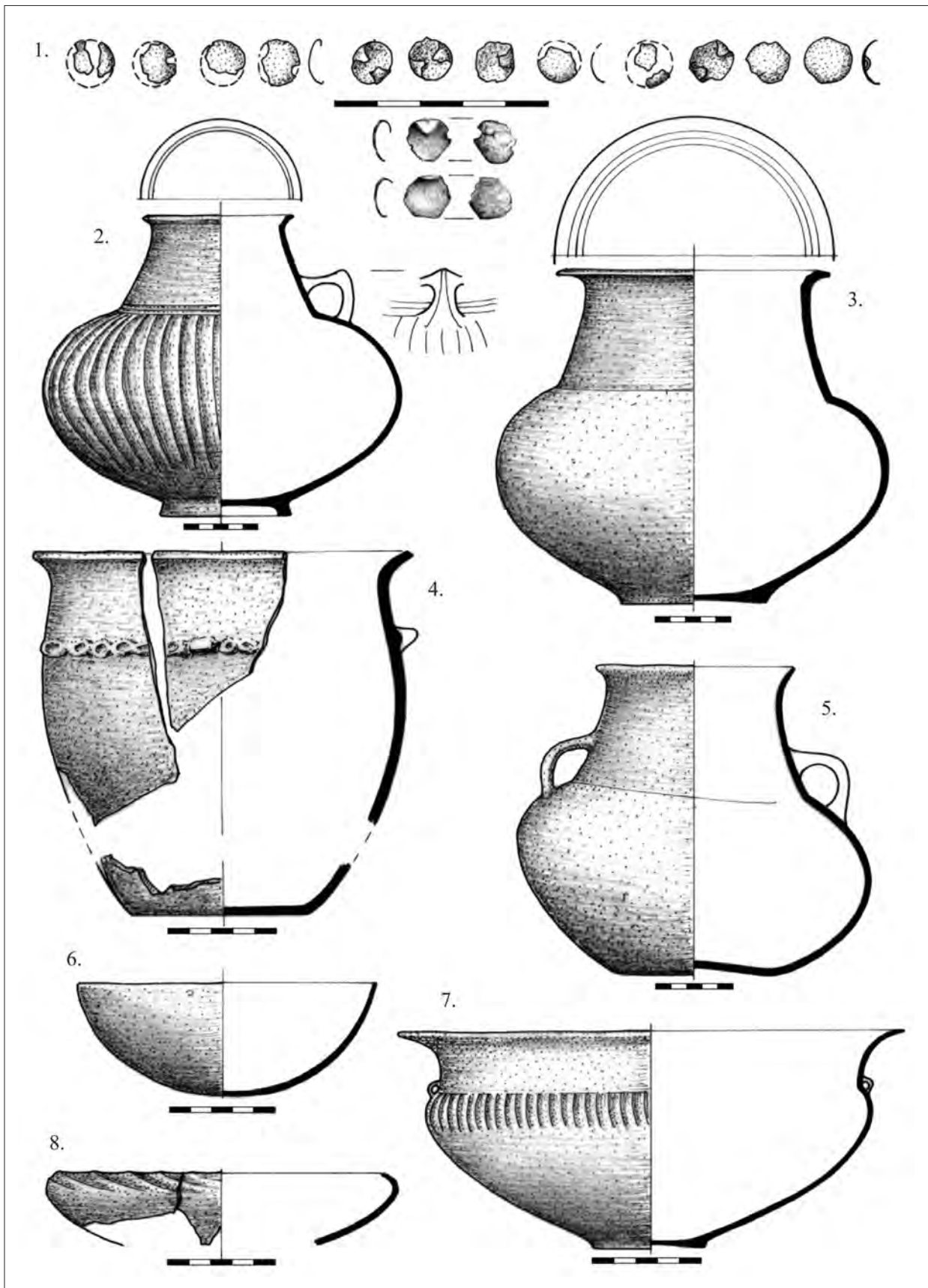
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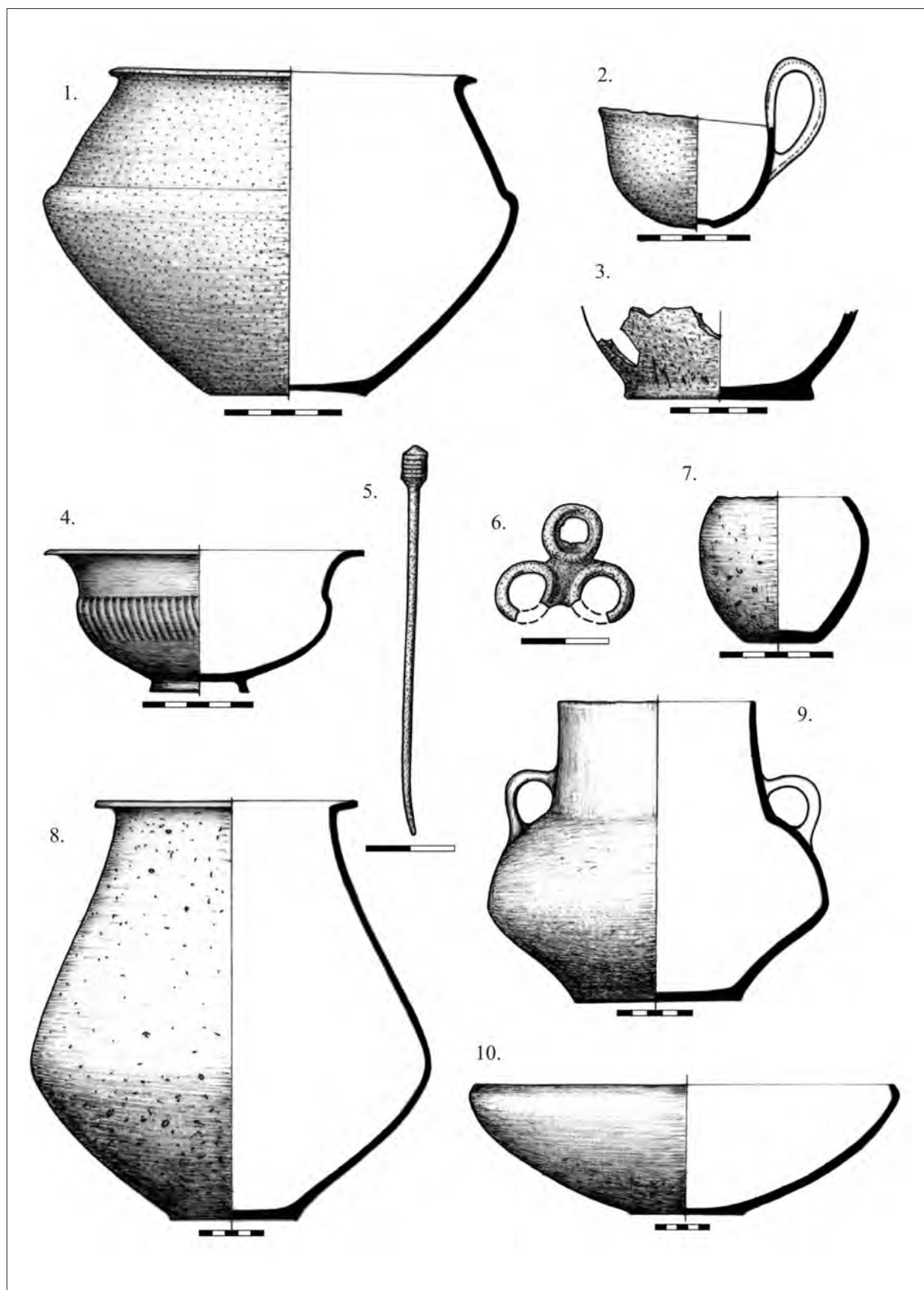
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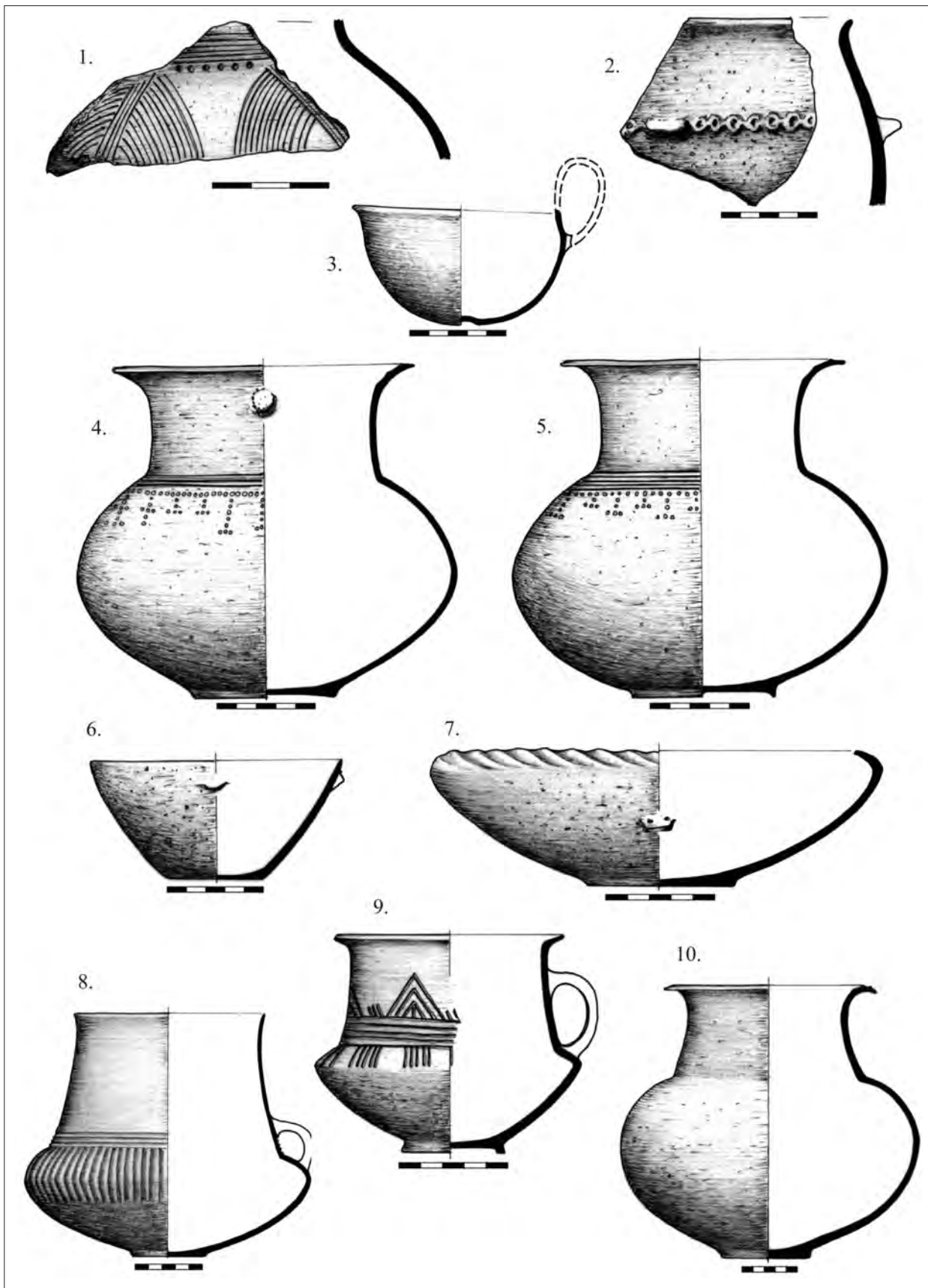
Tab. 1. 1–3: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 8. – 4: Grave 26. – 5–7: Grave 27.



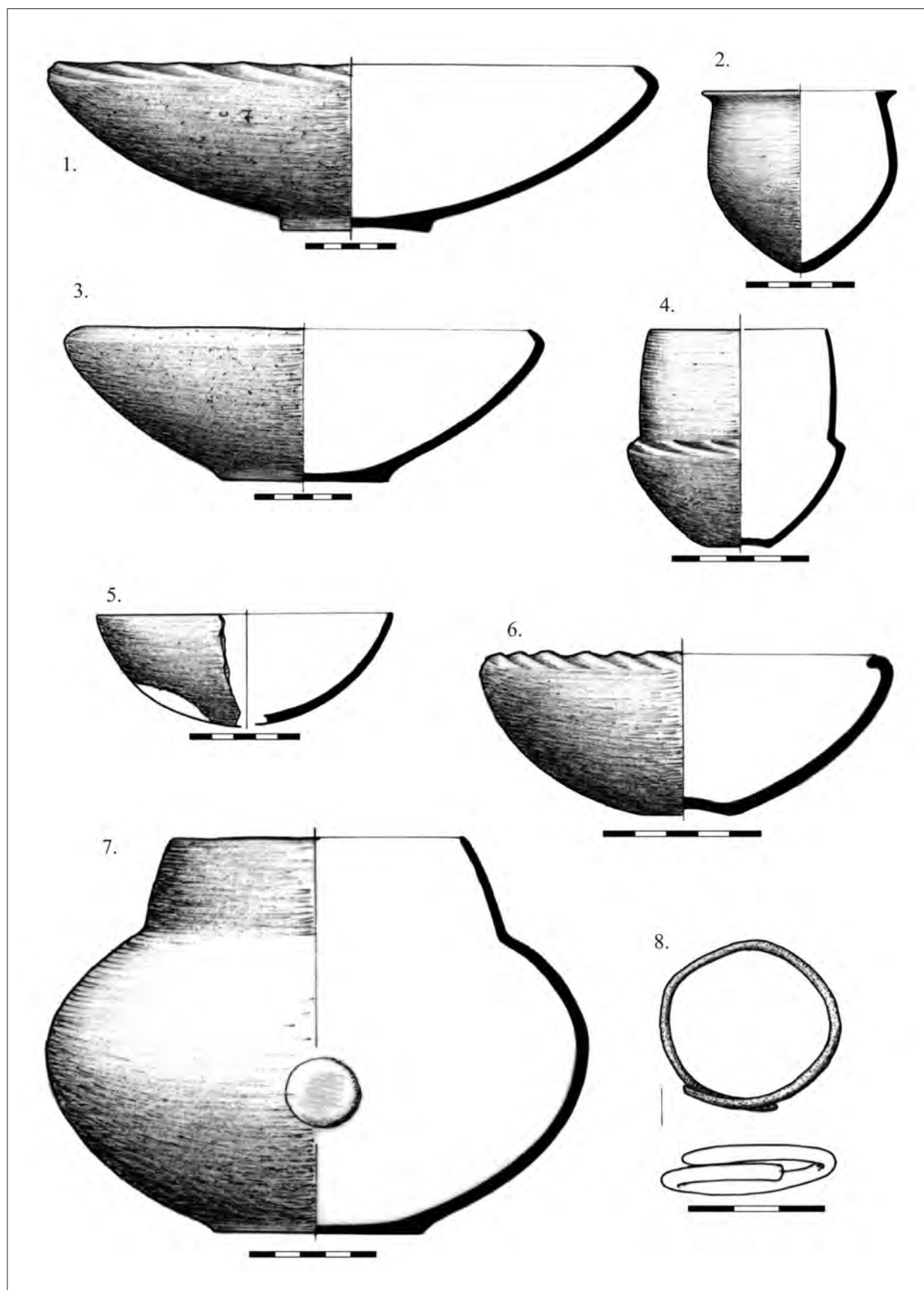
Tab. 2. 1–7: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 112.



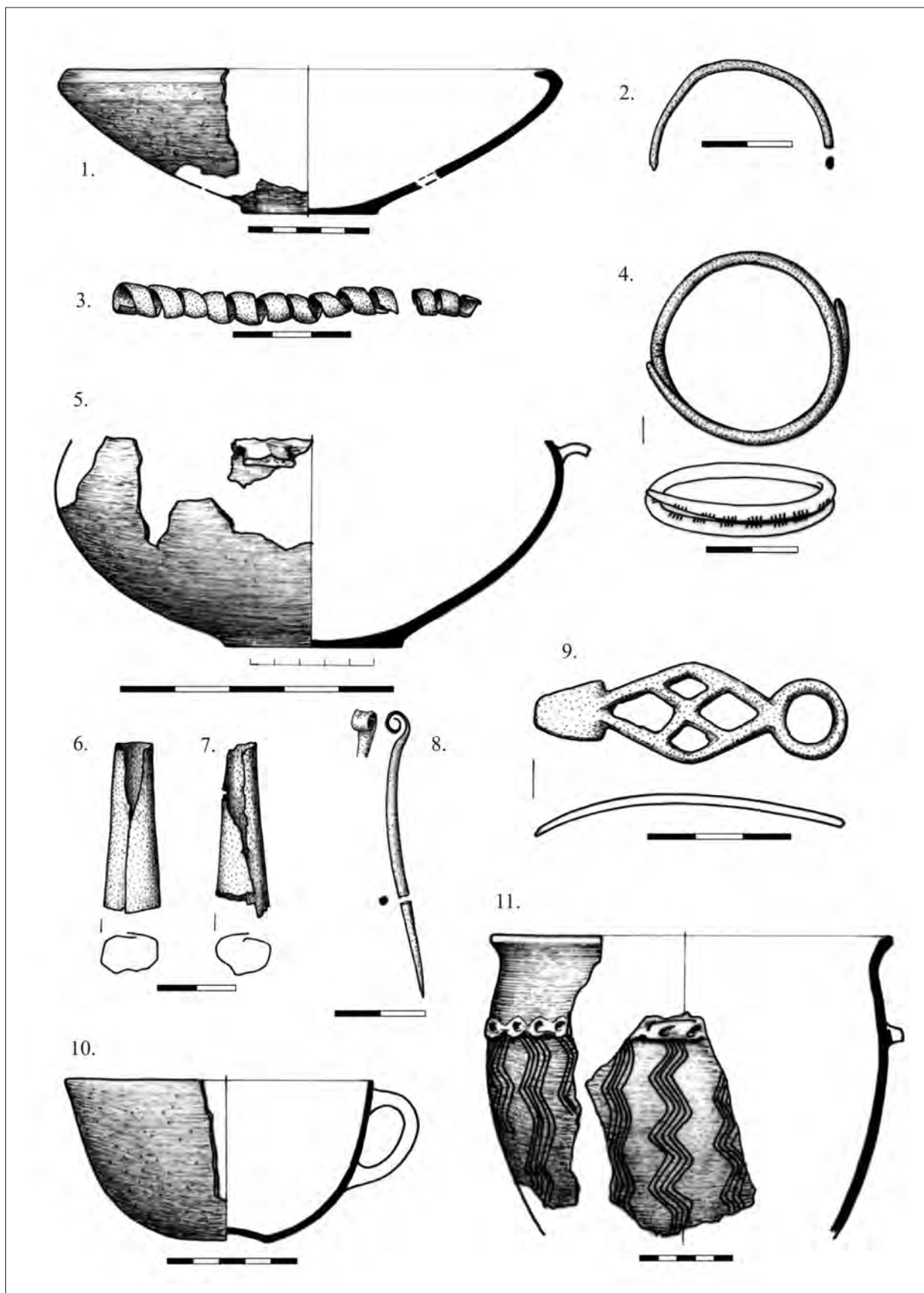
Tab. 3. 1–3: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 37. – 4–10: Grave 196.



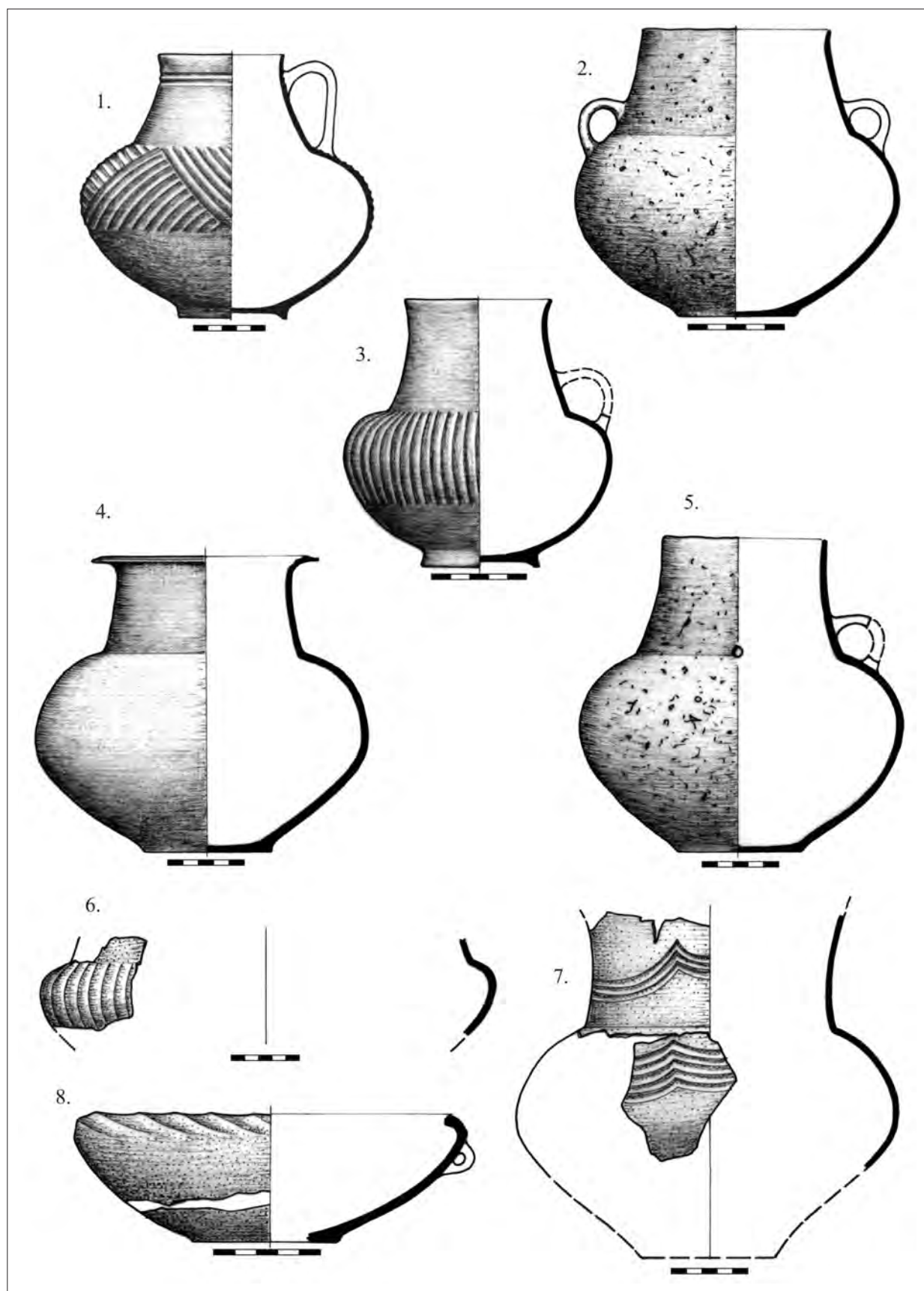
Tab. 4. 1–3: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 239. – 4–6: Grave 252. – 7–10: Grave 290.



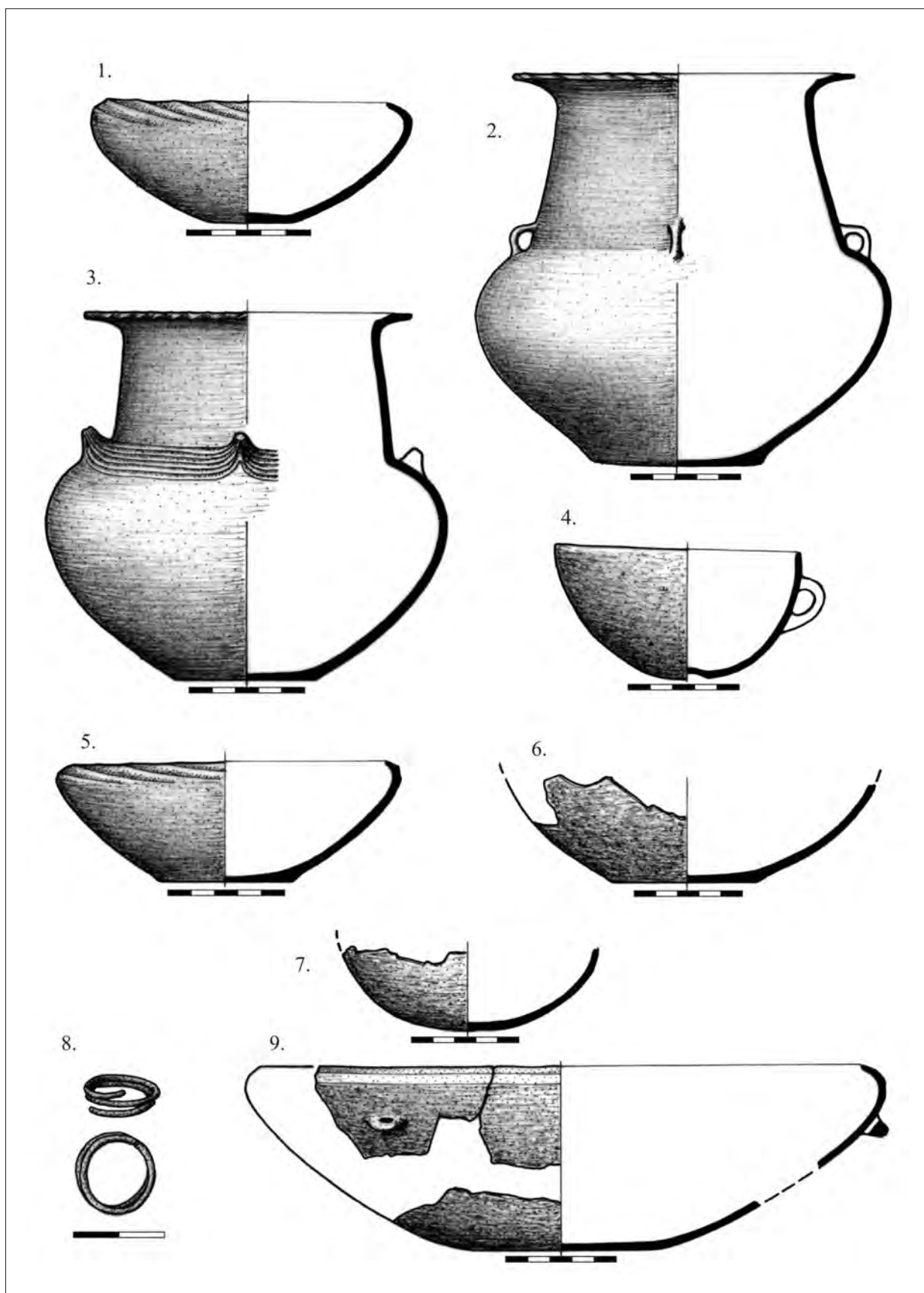
Tab. 5. 1–8: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 259.



Tab. 6. 1–10: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 303. – 11: Grave 325.



Tab. 7. 1–5: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 327. – 6–8: Grave 383.



Tab. 8. 1–9: Budapest-Békásmegyer Grave 404.

Spätbronzezeitliche Brandbestattungen im Norden Siebenbürgens

Carol Kacsó

Abstract

LATE BRONZE AGE CREMATION BURIALS IN NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA. The first exploration of Late Bronze Age graves began at the end of the 19th century in the Lăpuș area. The recent excavations, in the course of which several mound burials were investigated, are conducted since 1995. They constitute the starting point for a Romanian-German research project, which covers survey, topographical survey, inventory and research excavations. Cremation is the only burial practice in Transylvania during the Late Bronze Age. The small number of burials in relation to settlements is remarkable. The burial mounds of Lăpuș, Suci de Sus-Troian and Bicaz are burial places of elites, which emerged thanks to the rich ore deposits of the region.

Zusammenfassung

Die ersten Untersuchungen spätbronzezeitlicher Gräber setzten Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts im Lăpuș-Gebiet ein. Die neueren Grabungen, im Zuge derer mehrere Hügelgräber untersucht wurden, werden seit 1995 durchgeführt. Sie bilden die Ausgangsbasis für ein rumänisch-deutsches Forschungsprojekt, das Survey, Vermessung, Bestandaufnahme und Forschungsgrabungen umfasst. Brandbestattungen sind im Norden Siebenbürgens während der Spätbronzezeit die einzige Bestattungsform. Bemerkenswert ist die geringe Zahl der Bestattungen im Vergleich zu den bekannten Siedlungen. Die Hügelgräber von Lăpuș, Suci de Sus-Troian und Bicaz sind die Bestattungsorte von Eliten, deren Machtzentren sich um regionale Erzvorkommen entwickelten.

Die ersten nordsiebenbürgischen bronzezeitlichen Gräberfelder wurden noch am Ende des 19. Jh. in der Lăpuș-

Niederung, einer relativ gut begrenzten geografischen Region, die vom Lăpuș durchflossen wird, in den Ortschaften Suci de Sus und Lăpuș entdeckt.

In Suci de Sus wurden in verschiedenen Etappen zwischen 1887 und 1913 von J. Szendrei, D. Teleki und M. Roska ein Flachgräberfeld auf der Terrasse Poduri pe coastă und ein Hügelgräberfeld auf der Terrasse Troian erforscht. Leider liegen Angaben über diese Forschungen nur in knappen Berichten vor.¹ Das geborgene Material ist teils verloren gegangen, teils mit anderen Funden durchmischt worden.²

Die Gräber von Suci de Sus-Poduri pe coastă bestanden regelhaft aus einer Urne mit verbrannten menschlichen Knochen, die mit einer Tasse bedeckt waren. Als Deckel der Urne diente eine Schüssel. In den Grabgruben wurden manchmal in Ost-West-Richtung auch andere Gefäße abgestellt. In einem der Gräber lag neben der Urne ein flacher Kupfermeißel. In einigen Fällen waren die Urnen von Sandsteinen umgeben. Im Bereich des Gräberfeldes wurden auch zwei Verbrennungsplätze entdeckt, die sich in nächster Nähe der Gräber befanden und aus Flussteinen auf einer rechteckigen Fläche errichtet wurden.

Das Flachgräberfeld von Suci de Sus stellt die namengebende Fundstelle der bekannten bronzezeitlichen Suci de Sus-Kultur dar, die sich über ein großes Territorium in Nord-,

1. SZENDREI 1887, 378. – SZENDREI 1888, 87. – HAMPEL 1888, 175 f. – HAMPEL 1892, 41. – OROSZ 1900, 26, Nr. 37. – OROSZ 1915, 4 ff. – TAGÁNYI, RÉTHY, POKOLY 1901, 116. – KÁDÁR 1903, 501, Anm. 4. – KÁDÁR 1905, 171 und Abb. – MARTIAN 1909, 329, Nr. 193. – MARTIAN 1920, 87, Nr. 644. – ROSKA 1914, 143 f. – ROSKA 1940, 6 f., 22. – ROSKA 1942, 90, Nr. 78 und Abb. 110–113. Auf der Terrasse Poduri pe coastă hat auch M. Rusu 1961, im Laufe einer Feldbegehung, ein zerstörtes Grab entdeckt; s. RUSU 1969a, 1400.

2. Vgl. BADER 1976.

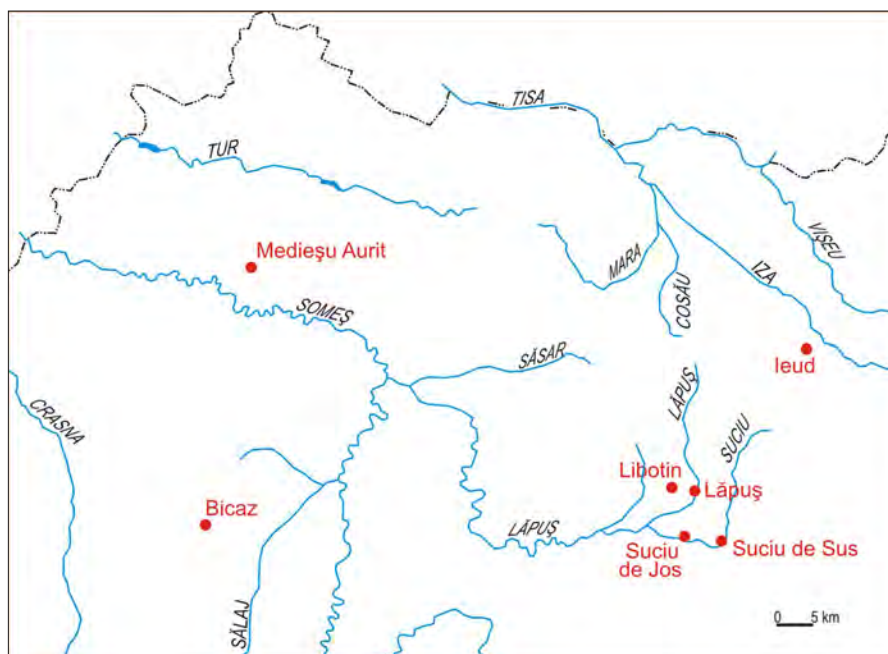


Abb. 1. Karte der erwähnten Fundorte im Norden Siebenbürgens.

Nordwestsiebenbürgen, Nordostungarn, Karpatoukraine und der Ostslowakei erstreckt. Die hier entdeckte Keramik wurde von mehreren Autoren, besonders im Zusammenhang mit den vermutlichen bronzezeitlichen Verbindungen zwischen Siebenbürgen und Griechenland, erörtert.³

Die Urnengräber von Suciul de Sus gehören zur zweiten Phase der Kultur. Diese Phase hatte eine lange Entwicklung, deren Anfänge mit der mittelbronzezeitlichen Wietenberg III-Phase gleichzeitig sind. Es scheint aber angesichts der zurzeit vorhandenen Daten, dass die Suciul de Sus-Gemeinschaften erst am Beginn der Spätbronzezeit in die Lăpuș-Niederung eingedrungen sind. Das bedeutet, dass das Flachgräberfeld von Suciul de Sus der Phase 1 der Spätbronzezeit zugeschrieben werden muss.

Wahrscheinlich sind in dieselbe Zeitspanne auch zwei Brandgräber der Suciul de Sus-Kultur einzuordnen, die in Medieșu Aurit-La Șesu, einige hundert Meter entfernt von einer zeitgleichen Siedlung, freigelegt wurden.⁴ Aus einem der Gräber konnte der untere Teil der Urne mit verbrannten Knochen und einem Bronzearmring geborgen werden.

In Medieșu Aurit, an der Fundstelle *Togul lui Schweizer*, wurde auch ein Hügelbrandgrab entdeckt.⁵ Der Scheiterhaufen von einer annähernd rechteckigen Form (6,50 m × 8,60 m) wurde direkt auf der ehemaligen Oberfläche errichtet und nach der Einäscherung der eigentliche Grabhügel darüber aufgeschüttet. Auf der Brandplatzfläche wurden sehr viele verbrannte Knochen und Gefäßscherben gefunden. Am Rande des Scheiterhaufens lagen neue, ganze Gefäße, darunter sieben Schalen. Um diese wurden Holzkohle, verbrannte Knochen und zwei vollkommen oxidierte Bronzeröhrchen niedergelegt. Ebenfalls am Boden des Hügelgrabes befand sich eine Anhäufung von Holzkohle, gebranntem Lehm, einige Tonscherben, ein bruchstückhaftes Gefäß, eine Schale und ein verkohlter Balken. Es scheint ziemlich wahrscheinlich, dass diese Niederlegung infolge der Reinigung des Scheiterhaufens entstanden ist. Das Hügelgrab von Medieșu Aurit gehört der Anfangsphase der Suciul de Sus-Kultur an, die in die mittlere Bronzezeit datiert wird. Vergleichbare frühe Hügelbestattungen sind im ganzen Verbreitungsgebiet der Kultur nicht bekannt.

Erst in einem entwickelten Abschnitt der Spätbronzezeit, d.h. Spätbronzezeit 2, wurden im Norden Siebenbürgens, als Denkmäler der Lăpuș-Gruppe, die eigentlichen Hügelgräberfelder angelegt.

Heutzutage gibt es keine im Gelände sichtbaren Spuren des Hügelgräberfeldes von Suciul de Sus-Troian mehr.

3. HOERNES 1911, 12 und Abb. 15. – KOSSINA 1912, 178 f. und Abb. 7. – HOERNES, MENGHIN 1925, 414 ff. – PÂRVAN 1926, 420 f., 427 f. und Abb. 277–278. – CHILDE 1929, 380 und Abb. 215. – REINECKE 1942, 102 f. – HOREDT 1960, 37 ff., Anm. 5 und Abb. 2/1; Abb. 4. – VULPE 1975, 72 und Abb. 1, 2. – BOUZEK 1985, 49 und Abb. 19/5. – BADER 1990, 191.

4. BADER 1978, 68. – BADER 1979, 13. – KACSÓ 2004b, 331.

5. BADER 1978, 68 f. – BADER 1979, 14 ff. – KACSÓ 2004b, 331.



Abb. 2. Lăpuș. Die Terrasse Podanc.



Abb. 3. Lăpuș. Grabhügel auf der Terrasse Podanc.



Abb. 4. Lăpuș. Die Terrasse Podul Hotarului.



Abb. 5. Lăpuș. Grabhügel auf der Terrasse Podul Hotarului.



Abb. 6. Lăpuș. Grabhügel auf der Terrasse Podancul Mare.



Abb. 7. Lăpuș. Grabhügel am Abhang Gura Tinoasei.



Abb. 8. Lăpuș. Die Anhöhe Mlaca.



Abb. 9. Lăpuș. Grabhügel auf der Anhöhe Mlaca.

Es wird aber berichtet, dass die Tumuli annähernd an dem südlichen Ende der Terrasse in Randlage situiert waren. Das Gräberfeld umfasste etwa 15–20 Hügel unterschiedlicher Größe. Der Begräbnisritus war die Brandbestattung und die verbrannten Knochen wurden anscheinend in Urnen niedergelegt, die mit großen Steinen eingefasst waren. Es wird berichtet, dass Inventar und Struktur der Grabhügel in Suciu de Sus identisch mit denen von Lăpuș waren. Von dem Material, das D. Teleki in Suciu de Sus entdeckte, stammen sehr wahrscheinlich aus den Hügelgräbern von Troian die Tonscherben seiner Sammlung, von denen behauptet wird, dass sie die Markierung mit dieser Bezeichnung getragen hätten. Sie werden heute im Museum in Târgu Mureș aufbewahrt.⁶ Manche Scherben sind mit spiral-geometrischen Motiven verziert, die in Ritz- und Kerbschnitttechnik ausgeführt sind. Dem Gräberfeld von Suciu de Sus-Troian gehörte auch der Grabhügel 4 an, der früheisenzeitliche Keramik enthalten haben soll.⁷

Wesentlich vollständigere Informationen gibt es zum Hügelgräberfeld von Lăpuș.⁸ Die Tumuli, die in mehrere Gruppen gegliedert sind, befinden sich am südwestlichen Rand der Ortschaft und verteilen sich über eine große Fläche auf der vierten, hoch gelegenen und gut erhaltenen Terrasse am linken Ufer des Lăpuș, an den Fundstellen Podanc, Podancul Mare und Podul Hotarului (Abb. 2–6), am Hang einer Anhöhe, in der Flur Gura Tinoasei (Abb. 7) sowie auf der Anhöhe Mlaca (Abb. 8–9).

Der erste Ausgräber der Hügelnekropole war J. Szendrei vom Nationalmuseum in Budapest. Er hat mehrere kleinere Hügel erforscht, die auf der Terrasse Podul Hotarului lagen. Über die Ergebnisse wurde nur ein knapper Vorbericht publiziert.⁹ Es wird berichtet, dass die Hügelgruppe aus einem größeren und 13 kleineren Hügeln bestand. Der größte Hügel wurde durch Suchgräben von den Dorfbewohnern fast völlig vernichtet, während die kleineren infolge der landwirtschaftlichen Arbeiten stark applaniert waren. J. Szendrei hat unter der Humusschicht eine dichte Ansammlung von Flusssteinen gefunden. Nach der Entfernung der Steinlage wurden zerstörte Urnen entdeckt,

darunter einige schwarz-rot gefärbte sowie kerbschnittverzierte. In den Urnen wurden verkohlte menschliche Knochen, aber auch Holzkohlenreste von den Scheiterhaufen niedergelegt. Angeblich wurde im größten Hügel auch eine verzierte Bronzetasche entdeckt.

Das Schicksal des von J. Szendrei in Lăpuș geborgenen Materials ist unbekannt. Der Ausgräber hat dem Nationalmuseum eine einzige Scherbe übergeben. Es handelt sich um ein Fragment eines hohen, bauchigen, außen schwarzen und innen roten mit Kanneluren verzierten Gefäßes, das noch heute in der Sammlung des Museums in Budapest aufbewahrt wird.¹⁰

Zu einem nicht präzisierbaren Zeitpunkt, aber wahrscheinlich ebenfalls in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts, hat auch D. Teleki in Lăpuș Grabungen durchgeführt. Die wenigen Informationen hinsichtlich dieser Grabungen lieferte M. Roska.¹¹ Er schrieb, dass D. Teleki mehrere Hügel auf der Terrasse Podanc ausgegraben hat, in denen er Brandgräber mit Suciu de Sus-Keramik und eine Bronzeaxt fand.

Die von D. Teleki in Lăpuș entdeckte Keramik wurde später mit der ebenfalls von D. Teleki in Suciu de Sus ausgegrabenen Keramik vermischt, sodass heute ihre genaue Identifizierung unmöglich ist. T. Bader versuchte, die in die Sammlung D. Teleki gelangten und heute im Museum von Târgu Mureș aufbewahrten keramischen Funde aus den beiden Ortschaften zu trennen,¹² aber er erzielte nur Teilsergebnisse.

Die archäologische Tätigkeit in Lăpuș wurde im Jahre 1961 unter der Leitung von M. Rusu wieder aufgenommen. Aufgrund der Grabung in drei Hügeln (A–C), in denen zweifarbige, außen schwarze, innen rote, mit Kanneluren verzierte Keramik, aber auch Scherben mit Leisten in Ritz- und Kerbschnitttechnik und spiral-geometrischen Motiven vorkamen, zählte M. Rusu die Hügelnekropole von Lăpuș zu den frühhallstattzeitlichen Denkmälern bzw. ordnete sie der Sântana-Lăpuș-Pecica-Kultur zu.¹³ Dieser Begriff sollte die rumänische Entsprechung des kurz zuvor in die Literatur eingeführten Terminus „Gáva-Kultur“ sein.

Die von dem Klausenburger Archäologen vorgenommene Einteilung wurde von mehreren rumänischen und internationalen Forschern übernommen und eines, der in

6. BADER 1976, 37 ff.

7. ROSKA 1940, 22.

8. KACSÓ 1975. – KACSÓ 1981. – KACSÓ 2000/2001, 35 ff. – KACSÓ 2001. – KACSÓ 2004a, 39 ff. und Tafel 50–65. – KACSÓ 2004b, 331 ff. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK, NEBELSICK 2009. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK, NEBELSICK 2010. – METZNER-NEBELSICK, KACSÓ, NEBELSICK 2010b.

9. SZENDREI 1890.

10. Inv.-Nr. 102. 1890. 7.

11. ROSKA 1940, 11. – ROSKA 1942, 209, Nr. 23.

12. BADER 1976.

13. RUSU 1963, 189. – RUSU 1969b, 677 f.

dem Hügel A entdeckten Gefäße, wurde in verschiedenen Beiträgen über die Gáva-Kultur veröffentlicht.¹⁴

Die Erforschung der Nekropole wurde zwischen 1967 und 1974 von mir fortgesetzt. Im Zuge dieser Untersuchungen wurden noch 20 weitere Hügel ausgegraben (1–20).¹⁵ Die Ausgrabungen förderten eine große Menge von Artefakten zutage, vor allem Keramik, aber auch Gegenstände aus Metall (Bronze, Gold, Eisen), Knochen, Stein und Ton, und ermöglichten die Dokumentation von zahlreichen Befunden zum Begräbnisritus und -ritual. Die neuen Ausgrabungen boten Gelegenheit, die chronologisch-kulturelle Eingliederung der Funde von Lăpuș zu überprüfen. Die Ergebnisse unterscheiden sich deutlich von denen, die nach den ersten modernen Grabungen in den Hügeln vertreten wurden.

In diesem Gräberfeld treten ziemlich deutlich zwei besondere Aspekte mit ihren spezifischen Zügen hervor. Jeder charakterisiert eine gewisse Anzahl von Hügeln, für die angenommen werden kann, dass sie auch aus chronologischer Sicht konvergent sind. Die beiden Aspekte gehören zu unterschiedlichen, aufeinanderfolgenden Zeitphasen, die jeweils eine gesonderte Entwicklung darstellen. Da zwischen diesen Phasen keine Zeitlücke besteht, finden sich manche Merkmale der ersten Phase noch in der zweiten.

Die bedeutendsten Stücke des keramischen Fundguts der Hügel von Lăpuș sind die hohen, bauchigen, mit nach oben gerichteten Buckeln versehenen Gefäße, die sogenannten „Urnen“ vom Typ Frühvillanova, Protovillanova, Pseudoprotovillanova oder Pseudovillanova.

Diese Gefäße, die der ersten Phase¹⁶ angehören, sind braun oder graubraun, besitzen einen recht schmalen Rand, einen zylindrischen oder kegelstumpfförmigen Hals und einen kegelstumpfförmigen Körper. Die Buckel sind entweder massiv als Tiermotive bzw. mit verschiedenen Darstellungen gestaltet oder aber innen hohl. Die Gefäße sind reich mit Mustern in Ritz- und Kerbschnitttechnik verziert. Auf mehreren Gefäßen wird die Sonne in der Form eines Kreises mit Strahlen dargestellt. Auf einem Stück erscheint diese Verzierung über einer Zone aus Zeichen, die einer Berg- oder Hügelkette ähneln, auf zwei anderen wechselt

das Sonnenmotiv mit eingeritzten Tierdarstellungen. Die Ziermotive werden manchmal von symbolischen, schwer zu enträtselnden Darstellungen begleitet. Diese Zierweise ist im kulturellen Gefüge der Spätbronzezeit Europas (14.–12. Jh. v. Chr.) einzigartig.

Die Keramik besticht durch ihre elegante Formgebung und die reichen, sorgfältig gearbeiteten und besonders raffiniert organisierten Verzierungsensembles, die gewiss auch Träger verschlüsselter Botschaften waren. Andererseits ist sie aufgrund der schlechten Tonqualität und des schwachen Brandes äußerst empfindlich. Möglicherweise waren die Gefäße nicht für langfristigen Gebrauch, sondern nur für die Begräbniszeremonie bestimmt, in deren Rahmen sie zer schlagen wurden.

Mit spiral-geometrischen Ritz- und Kerbschnittmustern wurden auch einige Schüsseln verziert.¹⁷ In allen Hügelgräbern der ersten Phase sind diese Schüsseln, wie auch die hohen bauchigen Gefäße mindestens einmal vertreten.

Zusätzlich erscheinen auch verschiedene Formen von Töpfen, Vorratsgefäßen, Schüsseln, tragbaren Herden, Tassen, Krügen u. a.¹⁸ Die meisten von ihnen weisen Besenstrichverzierungen auf.

In der zweiten Phase der Nekropole fanden beträchtliche Änderungen im Keramikbestand statt. Die meisten hohen bauchigen Gefäße¹⁹ sind zweifarbig, außen schwarz und innen rot, gelb oder grau, und sind mit breiten Kanneluren verziert. Sie haben einen breiten Rand und einen kugelförmigen Körper. Fast alle sind mit Buckeln, deren Anzahl von vier bis sechs variiert, versehen. Lediglich manche der hohen bauchigen Gefäße und der Schüsseln²⁰ sind mit Leisten in der Ritz- und Kerbschnitttechnik und mit spiral-geometrischen Motiven verziert. Auch in dieser Phase sind Tier- und Sonnenmotive gebräuchlich.

Die Metallgegenstände, die am besten zur Datierung der ersten Phase beitragen, wurden auf den Scheiterhaufen der Hügel 2 und 4 gefunden, darunter die zwei Nackenscheibenäxte vom Typus B₃, bei denen es sich um die beiden wichtigsten Funde handelt.²¹ Diese Äxte, die der von Alexandru Vulpe²² definierten Variante Lăpuș angehören, aber auch die anderen Bronze- und Goldbeigaben, die mit

14. ZAHARIA 1965, 103. – ZAHARIA, MORINTZ 1965, 454. – HOREDT 1966, 18. – HOREDT. 1967a, 48, Anm. 22 und Abb. 3 (Verbreitungskarte der Gáva-Kultur). – HOREDT 1967b, 151. – BERCIU 1966a, 229. – BERCIU. 1966b, 43, 45 und Tafel 14/1. – BERCIU 1967, 112. – FOLTINY 1968, 340, Abb. 3, 6. – PAULÍK 1968, Abb. 1 (Verbreitungskarte der Gáva-Kultur). – LÁSZLÓ 1973, 586 und Abb. 2, 4.

15. An den Grabungen in den Jahren 1967 und 1968, aber auch schon 1961, nahm I. Ordentlich teil.

16. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 4–10. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 51–52.

17. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 22–23. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 56; Tafel 57/1; Tafel 58.

18. KACSÓ 1975, Abb. 9–13/1–2; Abb. 14–16. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 55/1–2; Tafeln 59–62/1–2.

19. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 12–21. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafeln 53–55/3.

20. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 11; Abb. 24–25. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 52; Tafel 57/2.

21. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 26, H2/1, H4/1. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 64/2 links und rechts unten.

22. VULPE 1970, 79 f.

kerbschnittverzierter Keramik vergesellschaftet sind, werden in die Stufe SB 2 oder Reinecke Bz D eingeordnet, d. h. absolutchronologisch etwa in das 13. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

In den Hügeln der zweiten Phase traten wenige Metallbeigaben auf. Die Stücke, denen chronologische Aussagekraft zukommt, wie z. B. der geschlitzte Bronzeknebel mit Endscheiben aus Hügel 6,²³ weisen auf eine Datierung in die Stufe SB 3 oder Hallstatt A hin und gehören somit etwa in das 12.–11. Jh. v. Chr.

In den Hügeln von Lăpuș wurden auch verschiedene Ton- und Steinartefakte, Gussformen sowie ein eisernes Tüllenbeil, das zu den ältesten Eisenfunden Europas zählt, entdeckt.²⁴

Die im Rahmen der Nekropole stattgefundenen Entwicklung kann nicht nur im Inventar der Hügel festgestellt werden, sondern auch in ihrer Bauart. Die Tumuli der Phase Lăpuș I sind durch Scheiterhaufen charakterisiert, die an dem Orte angelegt wurden, wo später die Grabhügel aufgeschüttet wurden. Nach der Einäscherung wurden Kohle und Asche des Scheiterhaufens an die Ränder geschoben oder daneben abgelegt, während die verbrannten Knochen in der Mitte angehäuft wurden. Auf den Scheiterhaufenresten wurden, ohne erkennbare Regeln, die Beigaben – Keramik, manchmal auch Metallgegenstände – niedergelegt. Der Hügelmantel überschreitet die Fläche des Scheiterhaufens beträchtlich. In dem gleich darüber liegenden Bereich der meisten Hügel wurden Keramikfragmente oder Tassen mit intentionell zerbrochenen Henkeln deponiert. In der Erdschüttung von mehreren Hügeln waren in einer relativ kompakten Schicht zahlreiche Flussteste vorhanden, die den Bereich des Scheiterhaufens abdeckten.

In manchen Hügeln der zweiten Phase der Nekropole wurden die verbrannten Knochen in einer Urne gesammelt. In diesen Hügeln wurden auch Brandreste deponiert, die von einem Feuer stammen, das außerhalb der Fläche des später aufgeschütteten Hügels entzündet wurde.

Der Phase Lăpuș II gehören auch die Hügel an, die mit einer einzigen Ausnahme keine menschlichen Knochen enthalten. In diesen Hügeln wurden große Mengen von Brandresten und Keramikscherben, manchmal Lehmbewurfstücke, Steine, Felsstücke sowie auch verbrannte Tierknochen gefunden.

Ähnliche Befunde, aber ohne Hügelmantel, wurden in der Nähe des Gräberfeldes auf der Gruicul Târgului²⁵ ge-

nannten Fundstelle sowie in Libotin-Dealul Crucii²⁶ entdeckt. Tumuli ohne menschliche Knochen wurden auch in Susani²⁷, Vârtop²⁸, Meri²⁹, Volovăț³⁰ und anderen Fundorten freigelegt.

Die neuen Grabungen in Lăpuș begannen im Jahre 1995. Zwischen 1995 und 2004 fand die vollständige Ausgrabung des Grabhügels 21 statt. Dieser Hügel, einer der größten der Nekropole, besaß in der Mitte einen beeindruckenden Bau aus Geröll, Steinen und Sandsteinplatten, der von einem Steinring umgeben war. Auf bzw. zwischen den Steinen wurden an verschiedenen Stellen Brandreste und Keramikscherben sowie diverse Gegenstände wie z. B. ein Szepterfragment deponiert. Unter dem Ring, zum südlichen Rand des Hügels hin, befand sich ein Scheiterhaufen, auf dem eine sehr große Menge verbrannter Tierknochen lag. Hier wurden auch zwei kerbschnittverzierte Geweihtrensenfragmente entdeckt. Der zentrale Bau bedeckte einen anderen Scheiterhaufen, der über einem kleinen Hügel aus lehmartiger Erde angelegen worden war. Hier wurden eine relativ große Menge von verbrannten, wahrscheinlich menschlichen Knochen sowie zahlreiche Keramikscherben gefunden. Der Hügel 21 gehört zur zweiten Phase der Nekropole. Neben der kannelierten Keramik³¹ waren hier auch in geringerer Menge ritz- und kerbschnittverzierte Gefäße³² vorhanden.

In den Jahren 2004–2006 wurden drei kleine Hügel (H. 22, 23, 24) ausgegraben, die zu einer neu entdeckten Hügelgruppe gehören, die sich auf dem Abhang einer Anhöhe befinden und relativ weit von den anderen Hügelgruppen der Nekropole entfernt ist.

Im Hügel 22 kamen auch Gefäße vor, die jünger als die Lăpuș II-Keramik sind. Das bedeutet, dass die Nekropole auch eine dritte Entwicklungsphase hatte.

Der Hügel 23 ist fast völlig durch landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeit zerstört. Am Rand des Hügels wurde ein Topf mit verbrannten Knochen gefunden, wahrscheinlich ein sekundäres Grab. In der Mitte des Hügels 24 befand sich eine hufeisenförmige Steinkonstruktion, die eine Deponierung von mehreren Gefäßen einschloss. Eines der Gefäße diente als Urne. Diese Hügel gehören der ersten Phase der Nekropole an.

2007 begann im Rahmen eines rumänisch-deutschen,

23. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 27, H6/3. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 64/2 Mitte.

24. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 26, H1; Abb. 27, H11/3, H13; Abb. 28, H16/1–3. – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 63/2–64, 1.

25. KACSÓ 1994.

26. KACSÓ 1990.

27. STRATAN, VULPE 1977. – VULPE 1995.

28. ZULETZT LAZĂR 2005, 112 ff.

29. MOSCALU 1976.

30. IGNAT 1976, 99 ff.

31. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 14.

32. KACSÓ 2001, Abb. 25 – KACSÓ 2004a, Tafel 57/2.

größtenteils von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft finanzierten Forschungsprojektes eine neue Forschungskampagne zum Gräberfeld von Lăpuș.³³ Die Ziele der neuen Kampagne lassen sich wie folgt formulieren³⁴:

1. Survey des Territoriums der Nekropole und Erstellung eines aktuellen Vermessungsplans sowie die Lokalisierung weiterer Hügel, um eine moderne Erfassung der Nekropole von Lăpuș auch vor dem Hintergrund zunehmender Zerstörungen zu sichern.

2. Teilgrabung eines durch Wegebau und Beackerung von Zerstörung bedrohten Hügels mithilfe moderner Datenerfassung, um dadurch Befunde und eventuell Funde zu gewinnen und zu dokumentieren. Mittels naturwissenschaftlicher Analyseverfahren der zu erwartenden Befunde wurde eine präzise zeitliche Bestimmung zumindest eines Hügels angestrebt. Dies wurde als wichtig erachtet, da bislang keinerlei derartige Daten vorliegen. Dabei wurde bewusst ein größerer Hügel ausgewählt, da hier die Möglichkeit der längeren Errichtungs- bzw. Nutzungszeit gegeben schien. Angesichts unterschiedlicher Zierstile im keramischen Material der bislang ausgegrabenen bzw. publizierten Hügelinventare von Lăpuș wurde erhofft, durch eine genaue Beobachtung der Fundkontexte neue Erkenntnisse über das zeitliche Verhältnis der einzelnen Zierstile bzw. deren mögliche kontextuelle Bindung zu erlangen.

Zunächst wurde im Randbereich des Hügels 13, in einer Hügel 25 genannte Erhebung, ein dreiteiliger Sondageschnitt angelegt.

Es wurden drei 4 m x 4 m, d. h. jeweils 16 m² bzw. insgesamt 48 m² große Schnitte in Sektor D angelegt und bis zu einer Tiefe von 0,50–0,90 m unterhalb der heutigen Oberfläche abgetieft. Immerhin konnten im untersten Niveau einige linear angeordnete Gruben, die mit Holzkohle und Keramikfragmenten der Phase Lăpuș II verfüllt waren, erfasst werden. Sie waren in den gewachsenen weißgrauen bis gelblichen Lehm eingetieft worden. Der Hügel 25 erweckte bereits vor der Ausgrabung den Anschein einer fortschrittenen Zerstörung. Dieser Eindruck bestätigte sich im Lauf der Grabung. Der untersuchte Bereich weist leider starke moderne Störungen auf, sodass eine Fortsetzung der Grabung an dieser Stelle nicht sinnvoll erschien.

Hügel 26 ist heute nur noch schwach im Gelände als Erhebung erkennbar. Er hat eine ovale Form und einen größten Durchmesser von ca. 35–40 m. Sein westlicher Rand

befindet sich im Bereich eines Feldwegs und ist dadurch in diesem Teil bereits zerstört. Reste einer Steineinfassung sind jedoch im Graben neben dem Weg im Profil erkennbar.

Die Grabungsmethode lässt sich analog zu einer Siedlungsgrabung in einem Tell beschreiben. Im weiteren Verlauf wurde der Hügel in Schichten ergraben. Die Profilstege sollten detaillierte Aufschlüsse über die Hügelkonstruktion erbringen.

Die in den drei Grabungskampagnen in Lăpuș (2007–2009) gewonnenen Erkenntnisse wurden schon in mehreren Berichten vorgelegt.³⁵ In einer jüngst erschienenen Publikation³⁶ wird die Hügelkonstruktion kurz folgendermaßen beschrieben: „[...] handelt es sich um eine mindestens dreiphasige Anlage, wovon sich zwei Phasen durch monumentale Architektur mit je einem in direkter Flucht übereinander errichteten Großgebäude auszeichnen. [...] Das jüngere längsrechteckige Gebäude, das große Teile des Hügels einnimmt, ist 22 m lang und 11 m breit. Es wurde in Schwellbalkentechnik mit unterstützenden Wandpfosten und einer mächtigen Firstbalkenkonstruktion errichtet. Deutlich zeichnete sich im Norden ein Vorraum mit zwei seitlichen Fortsätzen (sog. Anten) ab. Das Innere des abgebrannten Gebäudes war weitgehend fundleer. In seinem Zentrum befand sich eine mehrfach erneuerte Herdstelle sowie eine ebenfalls zentrale schachtartige Grube, in die dicht gepackt Scherben großer, teils sekundär gebrannter Gefäße eingebracht worden waren. Außerhalb der Gebäudelängsseiten wurden zerstörte Gefäße und verbrannter Gebäudeputz in Form von dichten Keramikpackungen niedergelegt. Am bislang markantesten ist ein mehrlagiges Scherbenpflaster aus verschiedenen, bereits in zerstörtem Zustand deponierten Gefäßen, die sich dem Kannelurstil der jüngeren Lăpuș-Keramik (Phase II) zuordnen lassen.“

Die aus dem Hügel 26 gewonnenen ¹⁴C-Daten³⁷ deuten darauf hin, dass die kannelierte Keramik vor dem 12. Jh. v. Chr. bereits im späten 14. und 13. Jh. v. Chr. vorkam.³⁸ Neben den Daten von Lăpuș gestatten auch andere publizierte und unpublizierte Daten beiderseits der Karpaten³⁹ die Schlussfolgerung, dass zumindest im Karpatenumkreis

33. In Kooperation mit Louis Nebelsick, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego Warschau, sind die Leiter des Projektes Carola Metzner-Nebelsick, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München und Carol Kacsó, Museum Baia Mare.

34. METZNER-NEBELSICK, KACSÓ 2009, 9 f.

35. KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK 2007. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK et al. 2008. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK et al. 2009. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK, NEBELSICK 2009. – METZNER-NEBELSICK, KACSÓ 2009. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK, NEBELSICK 2010. – KACSÓ, METZNER-NEBELSICK et al. 2010.

36. METZNER-NEBELSICK, KACSÓ, NEBELSICK 2010a.

37. Analyse Dr. Tomasz Goslar, Adam-Mickiewicz Universität, Poznań.

38. METZNER-NEBELSICK, KACSÓ, NEBELSICK 2010b.

39. FIGLER 1996, 11 f. – ILON 1996, 153, 208. – ILON 2005, 137. – SZABÓ 2005, 158. – GÖRSDORF 2006, 390. – LÁSZLÓ 2008, 103.

mit der Genese der kannelierten Keramik bereits ganz zu Beginn der Spätbronzezeit nach mitteleuropäischem Verständnis gerechnet werden muss.

Für die Grabungskampagnen 2008–2009 wurde auch ein neues Forschungsziel formuliert. Ein botanischer Survey im weiteren Umfeld der Ausgrabungsstelle soll eine Rekonstruktion der klimatischen Verhältnisse der Bronzezeit sowie der nacheiszeitlichen Klimageschichte der Region ermöglichen.

Zur pollenanalytischen Auswertung wurden 2008⁴⁰ in der Gebirgsregion unmittelbar nördlich des Lăpuș-Beckens zwei ca. 6 m lange Torfprofile geborgen (Tăul Negru und Tăul Chendroaii).

Vom Profil Tăul Negru wurden 120 Proben (Abstand jeweils 5 cm) analysiert und bereits über 100 Proben bearbeitet. Auch liegen fünf Radiokarbondatierungen vor, welche vermuten lassen, dass sich der bronzezeitliche Horizont zwischen 2 m und 3 m Tiefe befindet.

Vom Profil Tăul Chendroaii wurden nur 20 Proben untersucht (Referenzprofil). Trotzdem sind grobe biostratigraphische Abläufe gut erkennbar und im Vergleich mit dem Profil Tăul Negru ist auch der bronzezeitliche Horizont abschätzbar.⁴¹

Die Erforschung des Hügels 26 dauert derzeit noch an.

In der Nähe der Nekropole wurden zwei Bronzedepots sowie mehrere bronzene Einzelstücke entdeckt.⁴² Das Depot Lăpuș I datiert in die Stufe SB 2, das Depot Lăpuș II in die Stufe SB 4. Die Einzelstücke gehören in denselben Zeitraum.

Ebenfalls nicht weit von der Nekropole, aber schon auf dem Gebiet der benachbarten Ortschaft Suci de Jos, auf der Anhöhe Vârful carpănului, kam auch ein Lăpuș-zeitliches isoliertes, zerstörtes Brandgrab zutage.⁴³ Es wurden zahlreiche Gefäßfragmente, ein nicht bestimmbares Bronzefragment, eine Silexklinge sowie kalzinierte Knochen gefunden. Es scheint, dass das Grab von Sandsteinplatten umgeben war.

Im Norden Siebenbürgens befindet sich auch das spätbronzezeitliche Hügelgräberfeld von Bicaz. Die Tumuli erstrecken sich auf einer leichten länglichen Anhöhe in ost-westlicher Richtung sowie auch in die benachbarte, teils bewaldete, teils als Weidegrund genutzte Zone, an der Fundstelle Togul Nemților (Abb. 10–12). Es wurden 31 Tumuli registriert, manche von beeindruckenden Dimensionen, die

über 8 m hoch sind und einen Durchmesser von über 40 m haben. Die Anzahl der Hügelgräber ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich größer als bisher angenommen.

Ich habe 1978 in einem der Hügel von Bicaz eine Kontrollgrabung durchgeführt. Auch wenn die erhaltenen Ergebnisse nicht völlig eindeutig sind, wurden trotzdem manche Konstruktionselemente des Denkmals geklärt. Der Tumulus wurde in zwei Etappen errichtet. In der ersten Etappe wurde ein kleiner Hügel mit 1 m Höhe errichtet. In der Mitte dieses Hügels wurde eine riesige Grube eingetieft, deren genaue Tiefe nicht festgestellt werden konnte, obwohl bis zu einer Tiefe von 5,30 m gegraben wurde. In der Grube wurden nur wenige Scherben entdeckt. Solche Funde fehlen aber aus dem erforschten Teil des kleinen Hügels. An seinem südlichen Rand befand sich ein Brandplatz mit einer großen Menge kalzinierten, tierischer Knochen. Hier wurden auch verzierte Geweihtrensenfragmente, ähnlich jenen von Lăpuș, entdeckt. In der zweiten Aufbauphase des Tumulus wurden der kleine Hügel und der Brandplatz mit einem Lehm mantel bedeckt. In diesem Mantel kamen noch sporadisch Keramikfragmente vor. Menschliche Knochen konnten nicht nachgewiesen werden, es ist aber möglich, dass sie in den noch nicht ausgegraben Teilen des Tumulus vorhanden sind. Die entdeckten schwarz-roten Keramikfragmente, die mit Kanneluren oder Kerbschnittmotiven verziert sind, weisen auf eine chronologische Einordnung des Tumulus in einen mit der zweiten Phase der Nekropole von Lăpuș synchronen Abschnitt.

In der Nähe der Hügel von Bicaz wurden zwei Bronzedepots gefunden.⁴⁴ Sie sind die Größten, die bis jetzt im Norden und Nordwesten Siebenbürgens entdeckt worden sind. Sie wiegen zusammen fast 1.000 kg.

Die Hügelnekropolen von Suci de Sus, Lăpuș und Bicaz waren bis zum Ende der Phase Spätbronzezeit 3 (Hallstatt A) in Benutzung. Belege für die Existenz von Bevölkerungsgruppen im Norden Siebenbürgens auch in der nachfolgenden chronologischen Phase, Spätbronzezeit 4 (Hallstatt B₁), sind die zahlreichen Bronzefunde (Depots und Einzelstücke)⁴⁵ sowie evtl. ein zerstörtes Brandgrab, das in Ieud-Podul de la gura Gârbovei gefunden wurde.

Es können, nach der Übersicht über die spätbronzezeitlichen Bestattungen im Norden Siebenbürgens einige Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden:

1. In diesem Territorium wurde während der Spätbronzezeit ausschließlich Brandbestattung praktiziert.
2. Die Anzahl der Bestattungen ist im Vergleich zur An-

40. Dr. Michael Peters, Ludwig-Maximilian Universität, München.

41. Bericht von Michael Peters in METZNER-NEBELSICK, KACSÓ 2009, 32 ff.

42. KACSÓ 2002, 8 f. – KACSÓ 2009.

43. KACSÓ 2003, 118 und Tafel 37.

44. KACSÓ 2004a, 56 ff und Tafel 75–78.

45. KACSÓ 2009.



Abb. 10. Bicz. Grabhügel auf der Anhöhe Togul Nemților.



Abb. 11. Bicz. Grabhügel auf der Anhöhe Togul Nemților.



Abb. 12. Bicz. Grabhügel auf der Anhöhe Togul Nemților.

zahl der Siedlungen sehr klein, was bedeutet, dass die Deponierung der menschlichen Überreste in der Erde nicht die Regel, sondern die Ausnahme war.

3. Die Hügel von Lăpuș, Suci de Sus-Troian und Bicz, deren Bau großen Einsatz von den zugehörigen Gemeinschaften verlangte, waren Bestattungsorte für die gesellschaftliche Elite einiger Machtzentren, deren Entstehung den wichtigen Erzvorkommen der Region zu verdanken war. Zumindest in Lăpuș wurden neben den eigentlichen Gräbern auch besondere Monumente mit komplizierten Strukturen errichtet, die keine menschlichen Knochen enthalten. Bezüglich der Deutung dieser Hügel wurden verschiedene Meinungen ausgesprochen.⁴⁶ Es scheint aber evident, dass diese ebenfalls in Zusammenhang mit dem Totenkult errichtet wurden.

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New data on cremation burials from North-Eastern Slovenia

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Zusammenfassung

NEUE DATEN ZU BRANDBESTATTUNGEN AUS DEM NORD-ÖSTLICHEN SLOWENIEN. Die Untersuchung zahlreicher archäologischer Fragen ist ein endloser Prozess, der stets evaluiert werden muss, wenn neue Daten einlangen. In diesem Fall waren die Resultate der osteologischen Analyse des Knochenmaterials aus urnenfelderzeitlichen Gräbern aus dem nordöstlichen Slowenien ein bedeutender neuer Beitrag für die Forschung. Bei der Korrelation mit den archäologischen Befunden konnte ein weiterer Schritt zum besseren Verständnis der untersuchten Population(en) gemacht werden. Ob die Interpretationen korrekt sind oder nicht, ist in jedem Fall zu diskutieren. Aber es ist eine Tatsache, dass die untersuchten Populationen von Pobrežje, Miklavž, Ormož und anderen Friedhöfen im nordöstlichen Slowenien stratifiziert waren und manche Konturen ihres Lebens nachgezeichnet werden können, was vor einiger Zeit noch unmöglich erschien.

Abstract

The research on numerous archaeological topics is a never-ending process which must be re-evaluated whenever new data arrive. In this case, the results of the osteological analysis of the bone material from the Urnfield period graves from north-eastern Slovenia were a major new contribution to our research. By their correlation with the archaeological data we have made a step further towards a better understanding of the population(s) studied. Whether our interpretations are correct or not is in any case arguable, but we cannot overlook the fact that the populations researched from Pobrežje, Miklavž, Ormož and other cemeteries in north-eastern Slovenia were stratified and that we are tracing some of the contours of their life which seemed to be out of our reach some time ago.

1. Introduction

Due to numerous and extensive construction projects being carried out in Slovenia the last two decades have brought to light a great number of new archaeological sites, many of which lay in the area of our focus, i.e. north-eastern Slovenia.¹ But although we can count the new settlements preliminarily dated to the Late Bronze Age in tens, the number of contemporary cemeteries is only five (Fig. 1), with four of them not exceeding the number of ten graves.² However, since the excavation techniques have developed greatly over the past decades, the recently excavated graves have also shed some new light on the burial rites of the Ruše group of the late Urnfield period. Furthermore, additional information has been gained from some recent projects which, on the one hand, enabled the osteological analysis of burned human and animal bone material retrieved from the graves,³ and on the other hand the radiocarbon dating of

1. An overview of all the excavations can be found in PREŠEREN 2004, while entire publications of individual sites can be found online: <http://www.zvkds.si/en/kulturna-dediscina-slovenije/publikacije/kategorije/4/>, letzter Zugriff 26.6.2011.

2. Nova Tabla (TIEFENGABER 2001, 82. – GUŠTIN, TIEFENGABER 2001, 110) – one grave (or ritual pit), Spodnja Hajdina – six damaged graves (LUBŠINA-TUŠEK 2001), Gotice pri Turnišču (PLESTENJAK 2010) – four graves, Miklavž na Dravskem polju (unpublished) – ten graves, Zavrt (unpublished) – 57 graves.

3. The human bone material was analysed by J.-L. Thomas from the Department of Archaeology at the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, whereas the animal bones were analysed by B. Toškan from the Institut za Arheologijo Znanstveno raziskovalnega centra Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (Institute of Archaeology at the Scientific-Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts).

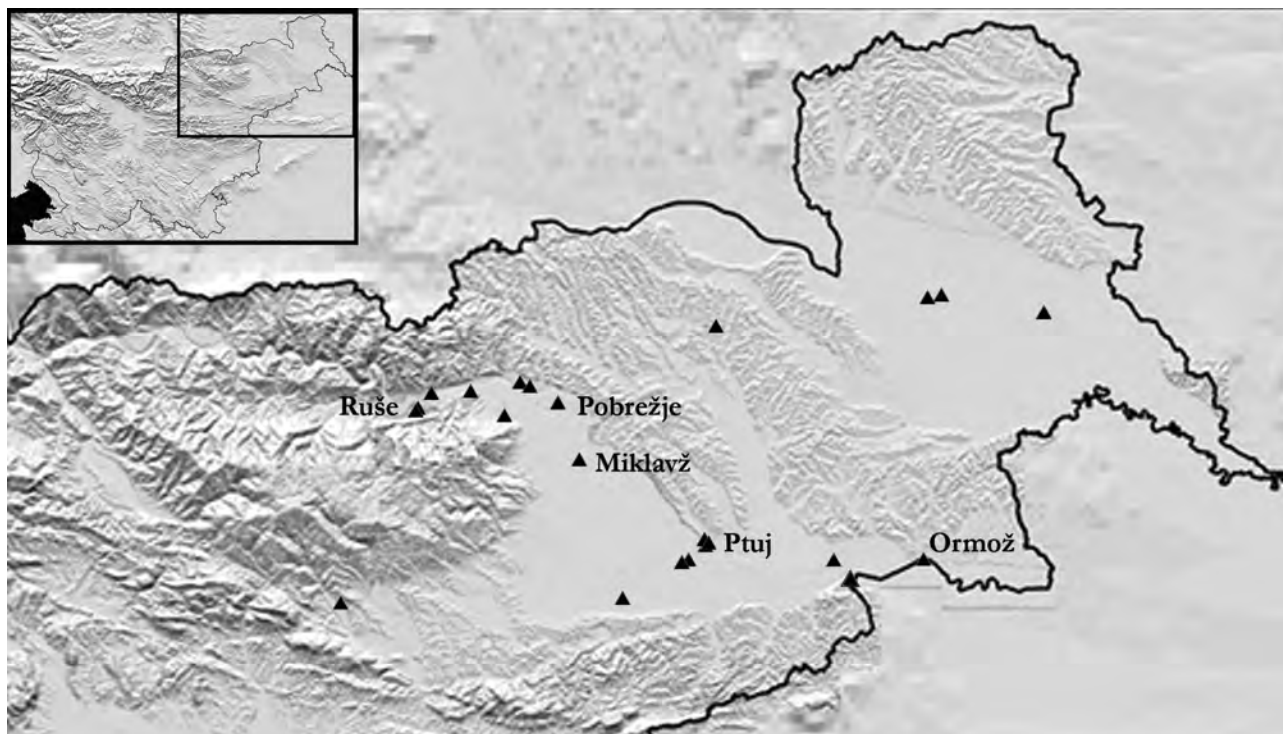


Fig. 1. Map of Urnfield period cemeteries in north-eastern Slovenia.

the burned bone material, which can be counted among the latest and most interesting developments in the field.⁴

The cremation burial rite in the area researched was re-introduced in the late Middle Bronze Age/Initial Urnfield period transition, i.e. Br C/Br D,⁵ but it is in fact from the phases Ha A/beginning of Ha B when the cremation burials are encountered in large numbers in extensive cemeteries on the main plains especially Drava and Mura (Fig. 1). Many of them were, however, excavated with very little documentation being left behind;⁶ nevertheless sufficient grave-con-

texts have been published to ensure that the broader picture and some specific aspects of the Urnfield period in this region can be discussed.⁷

The new excavated material, bringing in turn new information, encouraged us to take a step back, to re-evaluate the work carried out and to plan the future steps for an up-to-date study of the Urnfield period in NE Slovenia. In addition to publishing the new excavations we are trying to republish some of the older material, which for one reason or another has not yet reached that stage. As we want to address more questions regarding the division of the society and the ritual practices expressed in the graves, we have interlinked with other sciences to retrieve as much specific information as possible.

This article is not the presentation of the final results of our research; it is much more an intermediary review of our project.

2. Tracing the burying ritual and the social connotations

Despite intensive work on the comprehension of the social structure and the rituals of the Urnfield period in NE Slovenia, we always encountered the lack of the osteological analyses of bones from the graves as one of the major draw-

4. The results of the radiocarbon dating are still being analysed and to date are not yet ready for publication.

5. JEVREMOV 1989.

6. On the one hand we have Ruše I, excavated in 1879 by A. Müllner and G. Wurmbrand, where every detail of the graves was observed and documented, although detailed plans are not available (WURMBRAND 1879. – MÜLLER-KARPE 1959), and some others like Pobrežje (PAHIČ 1972. – PAHIČ 1991), Brinjeva gora (PAHIČ 1989), Ruše II (PAHIČ 1957. – ČREŠNAR 2006) and Ormož (TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1989.), which were also properly excavated although not all of them have been published in full. On the other hand we have Maribor (MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 115–116 and Tafel 118–121. – PAHIČ 1968, 23–24 and footnotes 74–75), with around 320 graves the largest excavated cemetery of the Ruše group, Zgornja Hajdina (STARE 1950. – MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, Tafel 116–117) and others, where besides the finds, very little or only dubious information is left behind.

7. TERŽAN 1985. – TERŽAN 1987. – TERŽAN 1995. – TERŽAN 1999. – ČREŠNAR 2006.

backs for our research. The situation has changed thanks to our collaboration with the University of Edinburgh, as in 2006 Jayne-Leigh Thomas, at that time a PhD student, came to study the cremated bone remains from NE Slovenia. The results, which we have incorporated in our archaeological research⁸ are very interesting and shed new light on some aspects of our research.

The osteological analysis was carried out on bones from a total of 178 cremations from five different cemeteries in north-eastern Slovenia dated to the Urnfield period: Pobrežje near Maribor (77 cremations), Gračič below Brinjeva gora (66 cremations), Ruše II (26 cremations), Miklavž (8 cremations) and Ptuj – Potrčeva ulica (1 cremation).⁹

Each bone sample, with its cremation features, has provided useful data about the way of cremation, i.e. the intensiveness and duration of fire, whereas other information was not always obtained. Whilst the broader age determination was possible for 128 individuals (72 %), the sex of the individual could only be determined in 8 cases (4.5 %). There were also 9 individuals (5 %) with determined pathologies. Besides human remains 33 graves (18.5 %) also included remains of charred animal bones; but bare statistics do not reveal all the facets of the rituals, which can only be extracted by individual observation and evaluation of the results in combination with different analyses.

3. The Initial Urnfield period

As already noted, the vast majority of the cemeteries in NE Slovenia can be dated to the Late Urnfield period (Ha B), with their beginnings in the Ha A/Ha B transition. Only one of them, at Potrčeva cesta in Ptuj, where only three graves were excavated, can be dated to the very beginning of the Urnfield period in the region, which is contemporary with phase I of the Virovitica group in North-

ern Croatia, i.e. Bz C/D, in the central-European sense.¹⁰ Moreover, it is important because it lies in the vicinity of one of the most important settlements in the region for that period of time, at Rabelčja vas near Ptuj.¹¹

On the basis of only three graves we are unable to trace the rituals and the social structure, but some observations still have to be noted. The graves all contain urns, for which a pot or a jug was used, and at least one additional ceramic vessel, but no metal objects. Moreover, graves 2 and 3 contain pottery fragments, with which the urn in grave 3 is also covered. Moreover, the same two graves contain one vessel which was turned upside down. It did not cover another vessel, but possibly some other grave-goods, which at the time of excavation no longer existed, e.g. parts of “the mortuary feast” or “the final ration”.¹²

Only remains from grave 1 were available for osteological analysis. The 40 g of burned bone yielded very little information, but it could be established that the deceased was exposed to constant low temperatures from 200°C–300°C. It would appear that the bones were burned just long enough to remove the flesh, and then the remains were removed from the direct heat.

Another contemporary cemetery was recently excavated at Podsmreka in Dolenjsko (SE Slovenia), but the site organization that we can observe is completely different.¹³ The five graves, excavated inside the settlement, were badly damaged, but four of them were still well enough preserved to provide interesting information. In all of them the human remains were found collected in an urn, which, on two occasions, was covered with a dish. All the graves contained numerous fragments of pottery; some of them even burned. This may lead us to the assumption that some of the pots were placed on or near the pyre, where the deceased was cremated.

If we also examine the distribution of the graves, we can observe three groups with two pairs of graves and one single grave. It becomes even more interesting if we compare the urns in the first pair, graves 1 and 2, where they were matching in shape and ornament, i.e. nipples bounded by a groove on the broadest parts of the vessel. Both of the deceased were children at an approximate age of 2–4 years. Grave 4, which together with grave 3 formed the

8. THOMAS 2009.

9. We are using the word cremation/-s not as a determinative for one grave or even one burned individual: it is actually the number of samples. If one grave contained several urns which contained bones we kept them separated, although we could not say whether these are of multiple individuals or of a single individual. Of all the cremations analysed by date in eastern Slovenia, only grave 10 from Miklavž clearly contained the remains of two individuals. One of the individuals is a perinate and the other individual was aged 14–21 years.

Data by graveyard: Pobrežje near Maribor (77 cremations from 71 graves), Gračič below Brinjeva gora (66 cremations from 58 graves), Ruše II (26 cremations from 20 graves), Miklavž (eight cremations from eight graves, while one cremation contained two individuals) and Ptuj – Potrčeva ulica (one cremation from one grave).

10. JEVREMOV 1989. We are aware of the possible beginning of the Virovitica culture group already in the Late Bz B (TERŽAN 1995, 324–327. – TERŽAN 1999, 133).

11. STRMČNIK-GULIČ 1989.

12. JEVREMOV 1989.

13. MURGELJ 2008.

second group, was badly damaged. But as we can conclude from the remains, a connection with the grave-goods, as observed in the first group, is missing here. Nevertheless, the analysis of bone remains revealed that the deceased in grave 3 was also a child aged between 4–6 years, whereas the only sign, which could give us an indication about the deceased in grave 4 is a spindle-whorl. The individual in the single grave 5 was osteologically determined as a young individual aged 15–17 or a woman of 15–30 years, although a double burial could also have been possible.¹⁴ However, graves in a settlement are a novelty in the region and present a phenomenon in this period which will have to be investigated further.

4. The Late Urnfield period

All the remaining Urnfield period cemeteries in the region, from where the osteologically studied cremation samples also come, are dated to its later stage, i.e. Ha B, with just their modest beginnings in the late Ha A.¹⁵

As a basis for the presentation of our work, we shall briefly pass over the hitherto known results about the burial rite study of the Late Urnfield period in eastern Slovenia. In any case we can say that, following some general rules, it was more or less recognizable in the archaeological record.

As already often explicitly stated, in the studied region the deceased were also cremated in their dresses, wearing the majority of their jewellery/attire.¹⁶ Besides that, some of the pots were also placed near or onto the fire, since they undoubtedly bear signs of secondary fire exposure.¹⁷ As we can conclude from the presence of charred animal bones, meat also found its place on the pyre.

The majority of the research on the Urnfield period cemeteries in the region has been dedicated to their dating and their installation in a broader cultural context.¹⁸ However, the study of the social relations was also not neglected. The most recent attempt was first introduced 25 years ago and it divided the graves/individuals into a tripartite division between graves with metal objects,

graves with pottery and graves without any grave goods. Furthermore, the graves with gender characteristic finds, jewellery and tools, were the basis for a social classification of the communities studied, in which the individuals were divided into 5 groups, one male and four female. As shown on the basis of the comparison of the three largest cemeteries Ruše I, Pobrežje and Dobova,¹⁹ the tendency for the social structure was quite similar, although regional differences occurred.²⁰ However, if we observe the relations between the different cemeteries of the Ruše group, we come across major differences (Fig. 2). It is interesting that the smaller cemeteries, on the one hand, tend towards a lower presence of metal finds, as in the cases of Rabelčja vas and Ruše II – which is the neighbouring cemetery of Ruše I and apparently belongs to the same settlement lying in-between – and, on the other hand, express an almost incomparable wealth, as witnessed in Miklavž and Ormož.²¹

Besides, it has to be mentioned that Ruše I and II, Pobrežje and Rabelčja vas are dated to a broader period within Ha B, while Miklavž, Ptuj and Ormož belong to its end and mark the transition from the Urnfield period to the Early Iron Age.²² However, because Ruše – and according to the most recent analysis, also Pobrežje – were in use till the end of Ha B, the comparison is more than relevant and it is interesting to observe the difference and similarities between them. Not going into detail, and marking only the most striking differences, we shall firstly mention the regular occurrence of iron, which initially was used only for female neck rings, arm rings (Ormož, Miklavž),²³ but also for male weaponry (Ptuj), which was, however, still predominantly made of bronze (Ptuj, Ormož and Zavrč). The appearance of male weaponry in graves is the second profound change to the ritual, as weapons were a respected

19. All the cemeteries consist of more than 170 graves.

20. TERŽAN 1985. – TERŽAN 1987. – TERŽAN 1995, Abb. 11–15. – TERŽAN 1999, Fig. 9–13.

21. Two graves of a similar type were found in Ptuj (Viktorina Ptujjskega Street) (LUBŠINA-TUŠEK 2001b, 292–298).

22. At this point, the radiocarbon date of the cremated bone from Miklavž grave 5 should be mentioned. It is referred to in the article on several occasions (fig. 6). The result of the analysis KIA39671 is 2735 ± 25 BP, which means 901–841 cal BC (68.2 %, 1σ) and 928–816 (95.4 %, 2σ). But, as mentioned earlier, the dates received have not yet been properly studied and some crucial samples are still in analysis, so no real conclusions can be drawn.

23. There are also some graves from Ruše I (graves 21, 31, 70) which contain iron (cf. TERŽAN 1990), but its occurrence is not so frequent as in the cemeteries mentioned.

14. The analysis of the bones from Podsmreka was carried out by P. Leben and is known by date only from MURGEJ 2008, 163–166.

15. Not included is due to the publication after the finishing of the submitted version of this article the cemetery of Gorice near Turnišče (PLESTENJAK 2010).

16. TERŽAN 1995, 340 ss. As an exception to the rule, on several occasions some of the pieces of jewellery were excluded from the cremation.

17. ČREŠNAR 2006, 147–148. – Also observed by H. HENNIG 1993, 24.

18. MÜLLER-KARPE 1959. – PAHIČ 1957. – PAHIČ 1972.

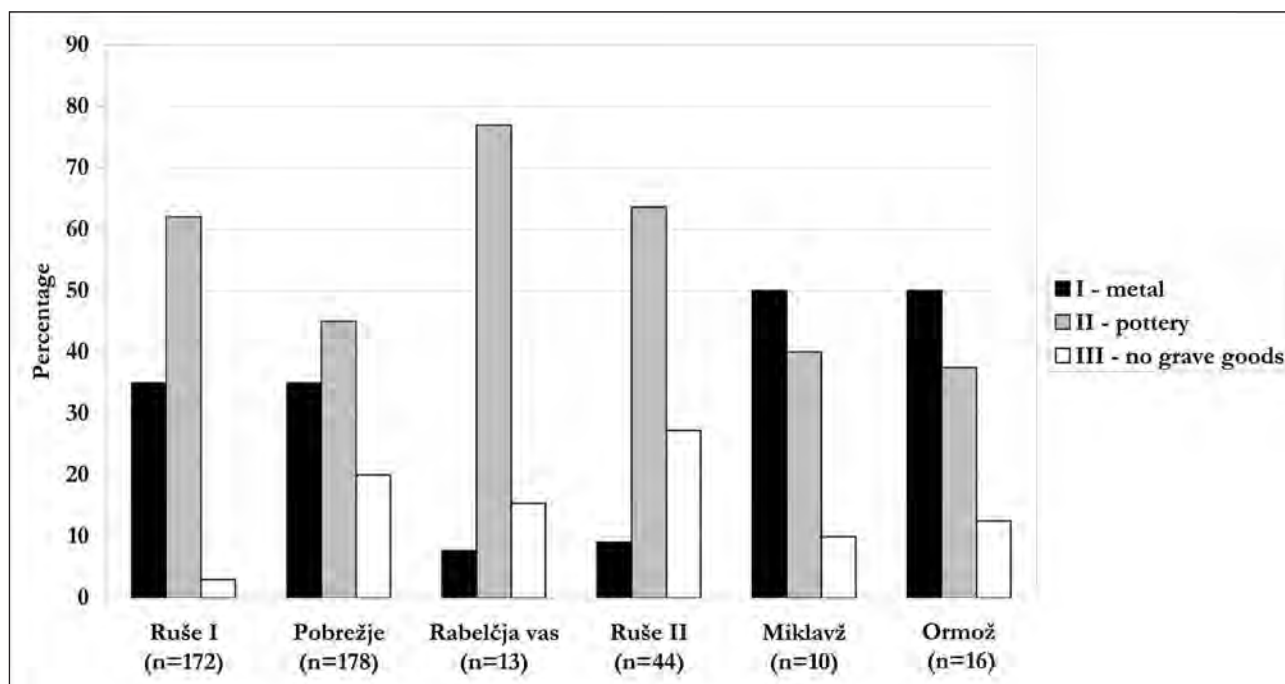


Fig. 2. Comparison between the cemeteries of the Ruše group of the late Urnfield period in terms of the composition of grave goods.

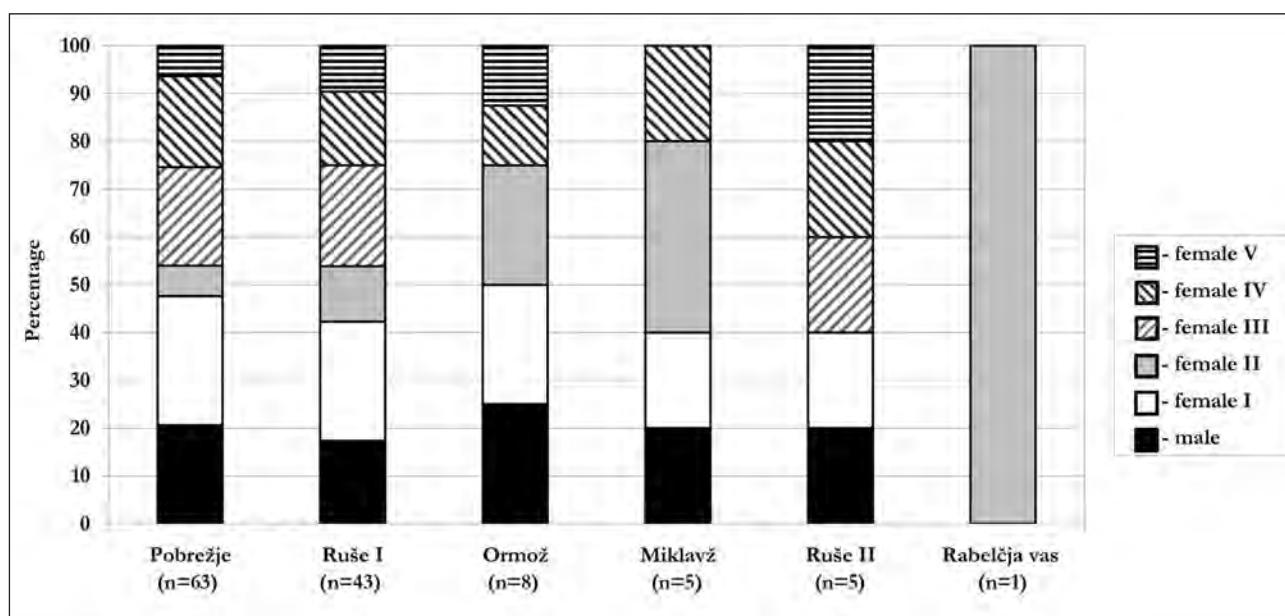


Fig. 3. Comparison between the cemeteries of the Ruše group of the late Urnfield period in terms of the division based on attire groups.

taboo during the previous periods of the UFC in this region.²⁴

With the intention of gaining a deeper insight into the structure of at least one segment of the society, we have slightly remodelled the division of the graves with sexually determinative grave goods from Pobrežje, which we already knew about.²⁵ Without going into detail at this point our division was made as follows: Men, who form one group, are characterized mainly by pins. By contrast we can divide women into five groups with different marking elements of attire: female I – neckring, female II – bracelet, female III – fibula, female IV – ring (massive ring, wire ring, spiral ring, sheet ring) and female V – spindle whorl, needle. After completing the division, it is interesting to observe a quite proportionally ordered social structure in the majority of cemeteries, where on the other hand we observed profound structural differences (Fig. 3).

The “furnishing” of the graves, focusing more on pottery, was examined at the cemetery of Ruše II, where the vast majority of the graves did not contain any metal objects,²⁶ and at the cemetery of Miklavž na Dravskem polju, which was excavated with the most recent techniques used for archaeological excavation.

In the cemetery of Ruše II there were 44 graves with altogether only four fragments of bronze jewellery and a piece of slag²⁷ while 12 graves were without grave goods (Fig. 4). But as our analyses have shown, some of them also held information about their arrangement as they were covered with stones and/or contained fragments

of pottery, the latter probably being the remains of the ritual breaking of the pots, comparable for instance with Niederkaina (Saxony, Germany).²⁸ In this connection, two fragments of the same vessel, which were found in different graves, should be mentioned. Although the upper parts of the graves were destroyed and the cuts barely visible, we can link that to the similar situation observed in St. Andrä (Lower Austria), where pieces of the same pots were found in different graves. Following the hypothesis of C. Eibner, the pot was broken at the death of a chosen member of the family and a part of it also found its way into this person's grave, whereas the other part later accompanied some other member of that family in his grave.²⁹

Besides the “empty” graves, we distinguished between the graves with urns and the graves without them. The combination of vessels adjacently placed into the grave consisted most frequently of a taller vessel, such as a jug or amphora, and a shorter vessel, such as a dish. Interestingly, the pottery assemblages occurring in graves with or without urns were, to some extent exclusive, while some combinations occurred in both types of graves. Additionally, we have questioned the relations between the vessels/their assemblages and the existence of other parameters observed, i.e. the covering of the graves/vessels, pottery fragments, etc. Summing up, it became obvious that their characteristics seem to be connected and probably appear with defined types of pottery, i.e. pots, pairs of dishes and jugs, the latter almost completely excluding each other with amphorae, whereas graves with amphorae and one dish rarely include those remains of the ritual.

A (pre)treatment of some vessels in the graves is also worth mentioning. It was documented that their necks were cut off,³⁰ as for instance with some pots and amphorae from Ruše II, Pobrežje, Miklavž and Rabelčja vas.³¹ Holes in vessels, which could have been made when the pot was formed, or could have been cut into the pots after burning, were also observed. The first appear on the upper parts of the vessels and, above all, are characteristic for the Dobova/Velika

24. TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1989, Tabla 8/4; Tabla 13/1–3; Tabla 18/4 and Tabla 19/1. – LUBŠINA-TUŠEK 2001b, Tabla 1. – Zavrč (unpublished) pers. com. with the excavator M. Lubšina Tušek. (The situation which we can observe there is alien to everything we knew till now. The partly excavated cemetery consists of 57 graves and, as it appears, it has several phases. One dated to the very beginning of the Urnfield period, which is contemporary with the graves from Ptuj (Potrčeva ulica), and the others which have clear Ha B analogies. Furthermore, the arrangement of the grave itself is unique. Its specific feature is the elevated earthen centre of the grave, where in many cases the grave goods, pottery or metal material, were deposited. The charcoal and the burned human remains were deposited in the trench surrounding the “island”. In some cases charred parts of attire remained in the charcoal-bone layer, instead of being placed onto the central part.

25. TERŽAN 1999, Fig. 10–13.

26. ČREŠNAR 2006, 147–152.

27. The piece of slag is still unpublished, as it was found amongst the cremated bone remains after the publication of the 1993 excavation campaign results (ČREŠNAR 2006).

28. COBLENZ, NEBELSICK 1994, 19 ss.

29. EIBNER 1974, 86.

30. Similar (pre)treatment of vessels was also observed in Niederkaina (HEYD 2002, 15 ss.).

31. These are the graves 1, 5, 8, 13, 24 from Ruše II (PAHIČ 1957), graves 41, 111 and 137 from Pobrežje (PAHIČ 1972, Tabla 10/4; Tabla 22/4 and Tabla 26/9), grave 2 from Rabelčja vas (STRMČNIK-GULIČ 1980, Tabla 1/2) and grave 9 from Miklavž (unpublished). The vessel from Miklavž has additionally a hole made into its bottom.

Grave	Urn	Jug	Amphora	Dish	Bowl	Pot	Metal	Pottery fragments	Coverage	
									Stone	Pottery
9										
15										
35										
2/1993										
3/1993										
4/1993										
7/1993								x	x	
20								x	x	
23								x	x	
25								x		
30								x	x	
31								x		
27	Bowl									
17	Amphora									
26	Amphora									
1/1993	Amphora							x		
28	Pot							x		
34	Pot							x	x	
9/1993	Pot							x	x	x
32	Pot							x		x
3		x					fibula	x	x	
12		x							x	
V		x						x		
8/1993		x		2x					x	
8		x	x		2x					
4				x						
6				x						
10				x						
21		x		x						
18	Amphora	x		x						
1			x	x						
2			x	x						
24	Pot		x	x						
16	Pot		x							
33	Jug		x		x				x	
22	Pot	x	x	x				x		
6/1993	Pot			2x		x	pin	x		

Fig. 4. Division of individual graves from Ruše II according to grave goods and the remains of burial rituals.

Gorica group of the Urnfield period, whereas the latter also occur on the bottoms of vessels.³²

As some would be seeking for verification of these results at other cemeteries, it has to be said that the same patterns are

32. A hole made into the vessel from grave 9 from Miklavž was already mentioned in the previous footnote. There are also holes documented on one of the jugs from grave 5 from Miklavž (Fig. 7), on the pot from grave 34 from Ruše II (PAHIČ 1957, Tabla 12/2), on the pot from Pobrežje grave 87 (PAHIČ 1972, Tabla 18/9). For Dobova and Velika Gorica see STARE 1975, for example Tabla 58/4, 6, 8 and KARAVANIČ 2009, Plate 64/1, 3.

not expected everywhere, although comparative research is being carried out. However, if we observe the cemeteries published, some of the profound differences instantly appear. In Ormož and Rabelčja vas, for instance, the graves were covered neither with stone slabs nor with larger pebble stones. On the other hand, in Pobrežje, many of the graves were also covered with a small mound of pebble stones, which was also just partly observed in Ruše II and Miklavž. Also the larger urns, which often hold all the grave goods, are interestingly not an ubiquitously present phenomenon, since they do not appear in Ruše II and Rabelčja vas, but on the other hand they do mark the cemetery of Pobrežje.

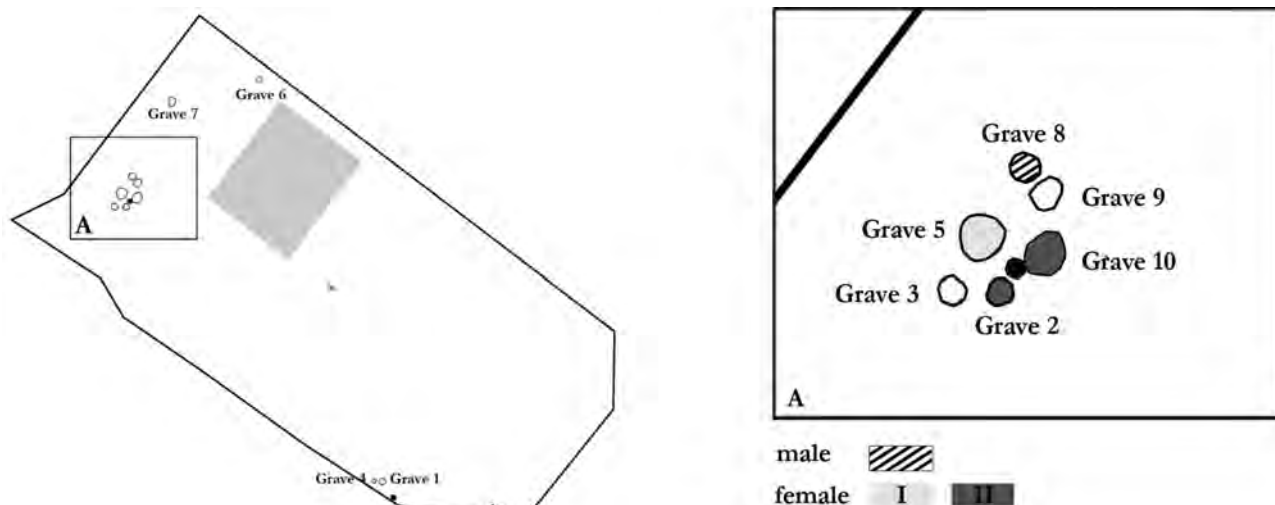


Fig. 5. Plan of the cemetery of Miklavž na Dravskem polju (drawing by: PJP d.o.o.).

The newly excavated cemetery at Miklavž is interesting as it comprises a small number of graves (Fig. 5), which however – like the graves from Ormož (Fig. 6) – demonstrate unity. But before we analyse the structure of the cemeteries we shall firstly describe the composition of grave 5 as was observed during the excavation (Fig. 7A–B). The first vessel put into the grave-pit was the biconical vessel used as an urn, which was firstly filled with the remains of the cremation pyre mixed with bones and the majority of the jewellery. On top of this layer an unburned iron necklace wrapped in textile was placed.³³ The second filling was earth, on top of which there were two small vessels; one of them, a jug (Fig. 7C: 10), decorated with tin, also had a hole in its lower body part. The lower part of the grave pit was first filled with approx. 0.20m of soil, onto which a knife on the NW and a bowl on the NE side of the urn were placed (Fig. 7A, 7C: 14). Repeated filling with soil was followed by the arrangement of 9 vessels, partly in two layers (Fig. 7B, 7C: 11–13, 15–16, 20–23). After some more soil was filled into at least the western part of the grave, a cup and a bowl, put one into another (Fig. 7B, 7C: 18–19), were placed just above the rim of the urn. Then the grave was covered with earth and pebble stones – a natural component of the geological ground.

Although striking new data has been documented in Miklavž, it is only grave 5 which was preserved to such an

extent, that it offered a detailed insight into the arrangement of a grave.³⁴

Another matter repeatedly studied in Urnfield period cemetery research is the organization of the cemeteries.³⁵ No general key, however, has been recognized for the transcription of the plans used. The recently excavated graves at Miklavž have given us, along with the cemetery of Ormož, a chance to research the inner structure of a smaller community.

We shall firstly examine Miklavž, where the central part of the cemetery is marked by six graves, five of them being arranged in a semi-circle around grave 5 (Fig. 5). Interestingly the group, with most probably one male individual (grave 8),³⁶ contains mostly graves of women with different attire; they consecutively belong to different attire groups: A woman with a necklace (grave 5) and two women with a bracelet (grave 2 and grave 10).³⁷

A very similar situation can be observed at the cemetery in Ormož (Fig. 6), which is located just outside Ormož, a Late Bronze/Early Iron Age proto-urban settlement of central character.³⁸ Following the same division as previously,

33. A similar observation was made for the neck ring from Ormož and probably also the assemblage of male armoury from Ptuj (Viktorina Ptujškega Street).

34. The excavation was a rescue mission of a previously unknown cemetery which was found during ongoing construction works and it was executed by PJP d.o.o.

35. MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 116. – TERŽAN 1990, 22. – PAHIČ 1991, 115 ss. – ČREŠNAR 2006, 152.

36. As the bronze fragment found in the grave could also be interpreted as a part of a needle or a fibula, the interpretation of this grave is not without doubt.

37. From the other graves, only grave 6 included pieces of attire, i.e. wire rings (female IV).

38. TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1989. – DULAR 2010.

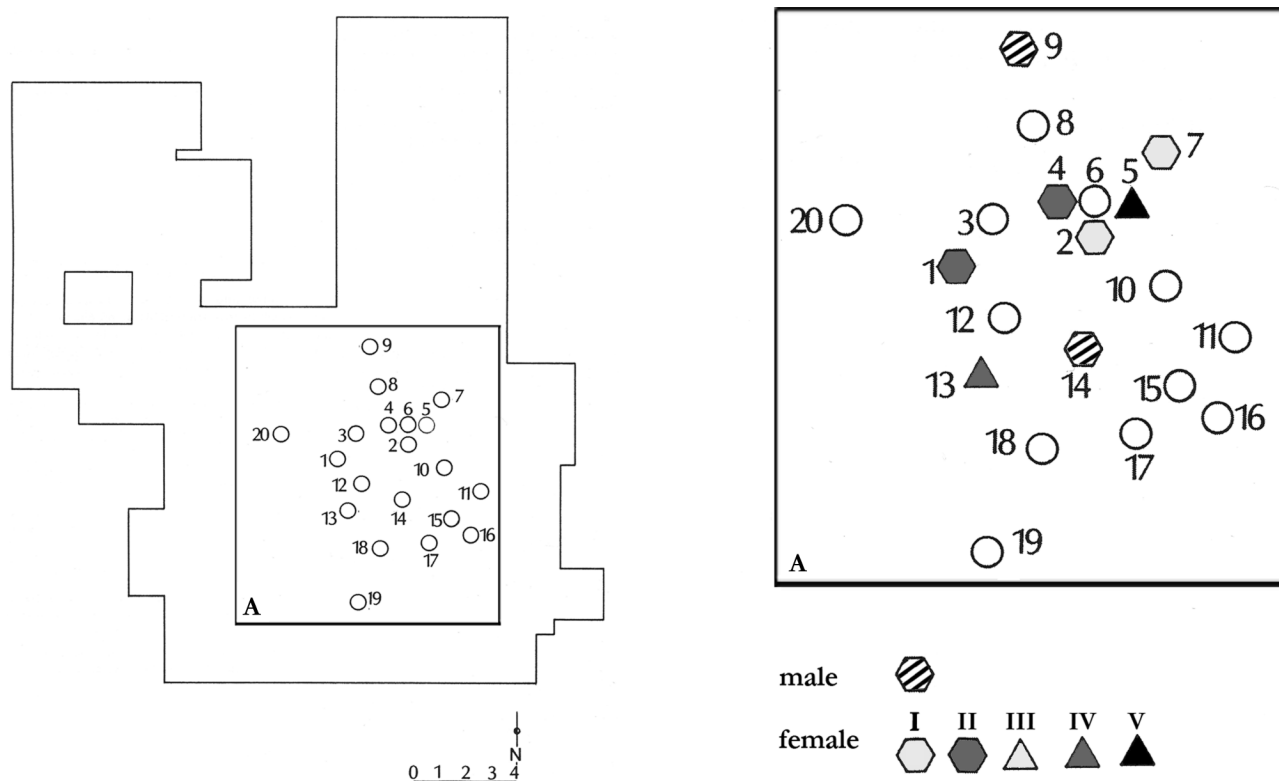


Fig. 6. Plan of the cemetery of Ormož (after TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1989, t. 1).

we encounter members belonging to different attire groups, yet the proportional relations between them are similar. Interestingly, the proportions seem to be roughly comparable, even if we observe the graves with significant finds on the level of the whole Ruše group (Fig. 3). That is more than an indication that the social differentiation followed a rule, the outline of which was traced by our grouping. Observing the cemeteries of Miklavž and Ormož it seems that the groups buried there were bonded by a close relationship. This is not only shown by the proximity of the graves but also by the similarity of grave goods, their form and unique ornamentation (Fig. 8). Can we assume that these graves represent family cemeteries, where the relationships and status of individual family members are mirrored by the grave goods found in their graves? Can we further presume that, according to the similar proportions between the individuals with different attire groups, this was a frequent family structure?

If, without accomplishing a complex analysis, we take a look at Pobrežje – one of the cemeteries which were in use for over two centuries – we can observe that the members of different attire groups are set out throughout the cemetery (Fig. 9). If, furthermore, we observe the NW part of the cemetery, where most of the graves with attire are located, we can find evidence for a considerable chronological division, which we could not follow at Miklavž and Ormož.

Taking a look at the male graves 36, with a club-headed pin, and grave 43, with a small vase-headed pin,³⁹ as well as all the female graves of this group, some with spectacle fibulae with a coiled figure-of-eight and others with bracelets with ornaments consisting of sheaves of incised lines,⁴⁰ we have to speak about several generations of individuals, which might – if we follow our interpretations gained at Miklavž and Ormož – have belonged to one family.⁴¹

5. Application of the information gained from osteological analysis

5.1 Human bone material

The cremation features documented make it clear that the deceased from Ruše II and Pobrežje were left on the

39. PAHČ 1972, Tabla 8/17–18 and Tabla 10/5–9.

40. PAHČ 1972, Tabla 6/5–17; Tabla 7/12–17; Tabla 8/5–13 and Tabla 9/1–10.

41. However, since the cemetery was in use for such a long time it is, on the one hand, not easy to separate the groups from each other since there are no visible traces of any space division, i.e. grave parcels; on the other hand the forms of vessels used at the burial also changed to some extent with time. That makes it a much more demanding job to trace the similarities on the basis of pottery, as we tried on the examples of Miklavž and Ormož.

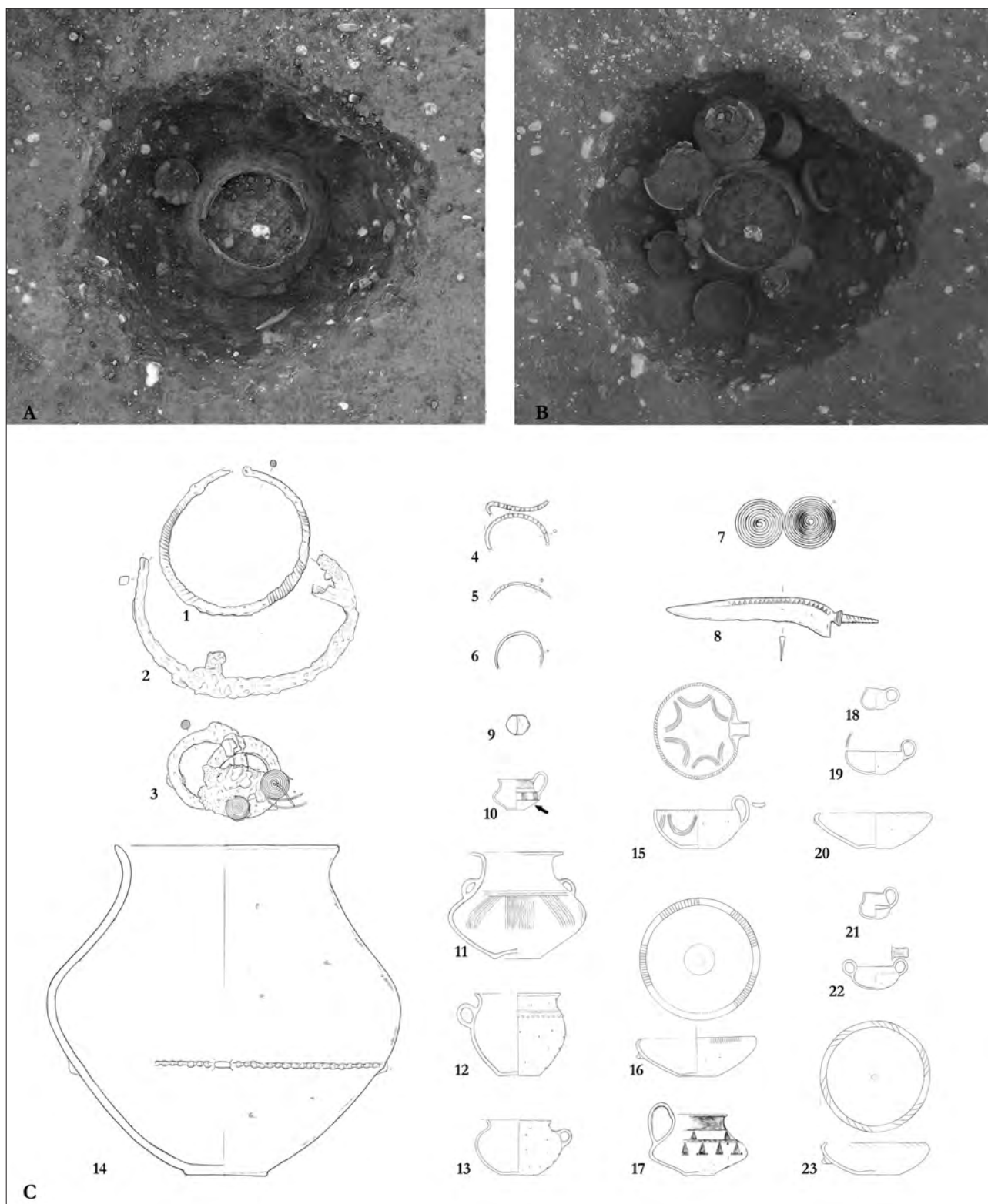


Fig. 7. Grave 5 from Miklavž na Dravskem polju: A, B – phases of its excavation, C – a selection of finds. Scale: 1:6 (1–9), 1:12 (10–23).

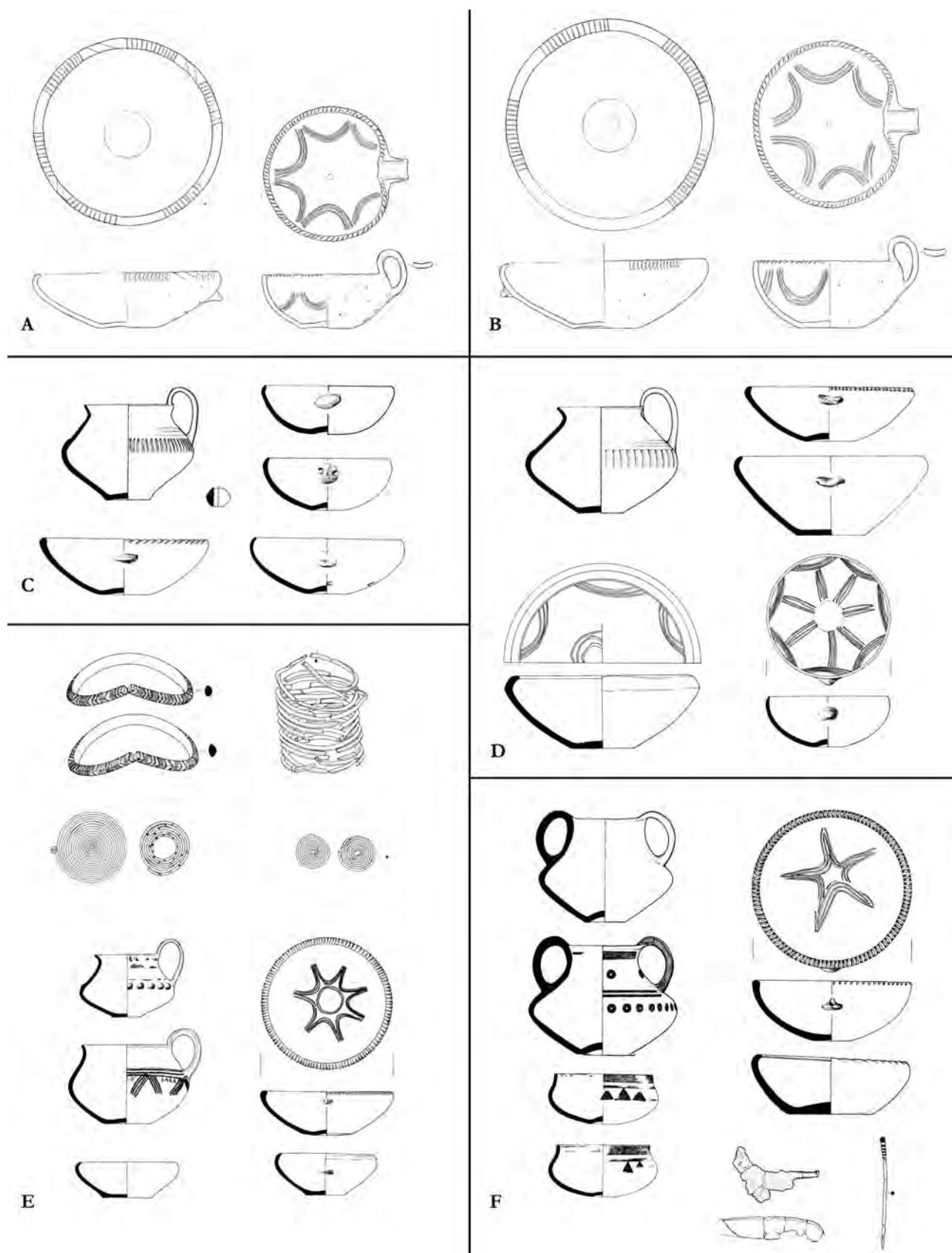


Fig. 8. Selections of the grave goods from Miklavž: A – grave 2, B – grave 5. Ormož: C – grave 5, D – grave 10, E – grave 1, F – grave 14 (after TOMANIČ-JEVREMOV 1989, t. 6–7, 11, 19–21, 22–24).

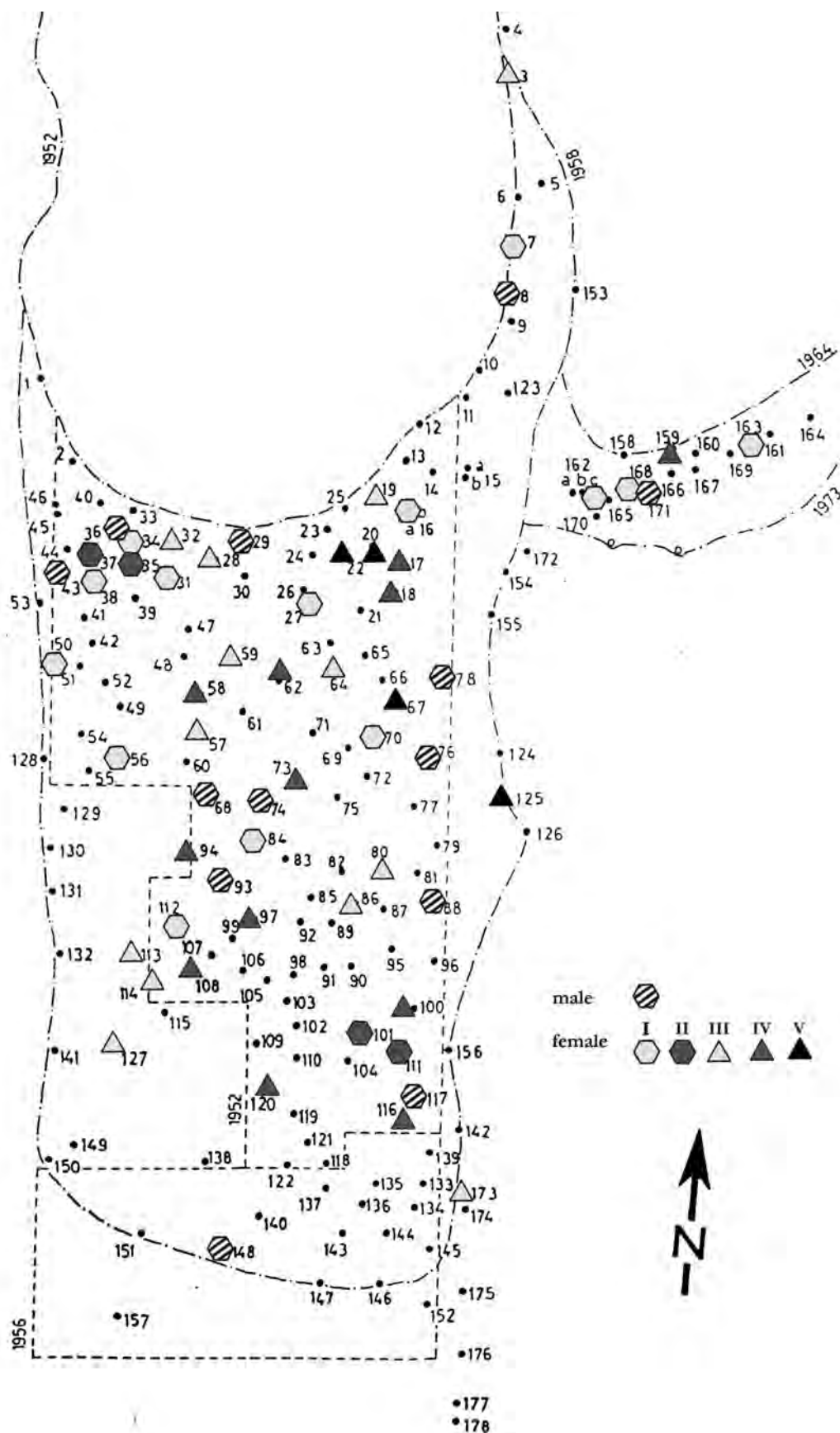


Fig. 9. The cemetery of Pobřežje with the mapped members of individual attire groups (after PAHIĆ, S. 1991, 18).

pyre for short periods of time at low temperatures (200°C–300°C) as testified by the light colouring of the bones. The bones from Miklavž show very similar features, but with various areas indicating the influence of temperatures reaching above 300°C and up to and over 645°C. Although the majority of the bones are predominantly tan or brown, even indicating burning at a constant temperature, the variation in colour of several of the cremated remains may indicate partially uneven burning of the individuals. On the other hand, the deceased from Gračič near Brinjeva gora were generally left on the pyre for a longer period of time at higher temperatures (over 500°C), as is shown by the blackened coloration and higher degree of burning.

Another interesting aspect when dealing with burned bone remains is their amount. In perfect conditions a human body burns up to an amount of 1000 to 2400 g of bone remains,⁴² of which only a small percentage was generally put into the graves of the researched cemeteries. The average amount of bones per cremation is approximately 102 g, ranging from 122 g per cremation (132 g per grave) at Pobrežje to 55 g per cremation (72 g per grave) at Ruše II.⁴³ Moreover, an interesting situation occurs at Miklavž, where the average amount of 175 g per cremation is lowered to 50 g, if we exclude the outstanding grave 5, which contained 1049.6 g of bone remains. The number is even more impressive if we note that the next largest bone collection was found in grave 135 from Pobrežje and weighed 573.7 g.

As grave 5 from Miklavž is one of the richest female graves in the region (Fig. 7), we have assumed that the wealth of the grave goods, i.e. status of the deceased,⁴⁴ corresponds to the amount of bone remains gathered, which would also mean a greater effort and consequently a higher degree of respect for the deceased. But in our analysis on the samples from Pobrežje no connection between the grave-goods related status and the amount of bones collected for the funeral could be recognized (Fig. 11). On the other hand the amount of bone remains was also compared with the

different grave organizations and other remains of ritual as proposed for the Ruše II cemetery.⁴⁵ Again no clear correlation could be established. This leads us to the preliminary conclusion that the amount of the bones put into the grave did not have a particular meaning for the ritual and that the amount of 1049.6 g at Miklavž's richest grave had the same meaning as the 39.4 g in grave 98, the richest female grave from Pobrežje, and the 60 g in grave 289, the richest grave from Dobova.⁴⁶

It was also noticed that large numbers of skull and long bone fragments were recovered from all the sites. However these are, on the one hand, the bones that survive the cremation better than other areas of the body,⁴⁷ on the other hand, we could also find remains of other bones in graves with more extensive bone collections.⁴⁸ Following the different assemblages of bones in the collections analysed we can assume that also the assemblage of the bones did not follow a strict rule regarding what to pick and what to leave at the location of the cremation.

However, the most valuable information sets, which gain their full significance when combined with other archaeological data, are the broader age estimation and the sex determination. The basis of our study was the revised subdivision of the population of Pobrežje, already presented, which was chosen because all the excavated material from the 178 excavated graves had already been published;⁴⁹ the basic archaeological studies on the population structure were also executed and in addition a representative number of 77 bone remains samples were available for osteological analysis.

The male part of the population was very equally equipped, with a pin, but in only two cases with other metal objects, a twisted bracelet and a chisel.⁵⁰ In addition we also encounter razors and some other artefacts in cemeteries as

42. MCKINLEY 1993, 284.

43. There are some major differences between the graves in Ruše II excavated in 1952, where the average amount is 32 g per cremation (44 g per grave) and the excavations of 1993, where the amount is 234 g per cremation/grave. That could be the difference between the excavation techniques which changed in that half of the century, or also between two parts of the cemetery, which on the contrary was not observed elsewhere. However, the three cemeteries of Pobrežje, Brinjeva gora and the first part of Ruše II cemetery were excavated by the same excavator, S. Pahič, so the data can be correlated.

44. Although the causal-consecutive relationship between the finds and the interpretation of the deceased in the grave is by no means that simple, we do use this simplified formula.

45. ČREŠNAR 2006, 147–152 and Abb. 38.

46. It might be that one of the changes introduced at the end of the late Urnfield period is also the changed ritual concerning the collection of the human remains. However, since so far access was gained only the cremated material from Miklavž, and from none of the others which are dated to this period, this can be only an idea, which will have to be reconsidered in the future.

47. THOMAS 2009, 58.

48. For example: grave 5 from Miklavž included a skull, long bone, ribs, scapula, pelvis, vertebrae, hands/feet, whereas grave 6 from Miklavž included, in addition, a piece of sternum, etc. Furthermore, we have to add the approximately 40 % of bones which are, on average, not identifiable.

49. PAHIČ 1972. – PAHIČ 1991.

50. PAHIČ 1972, t.7/11, t. 18/10.

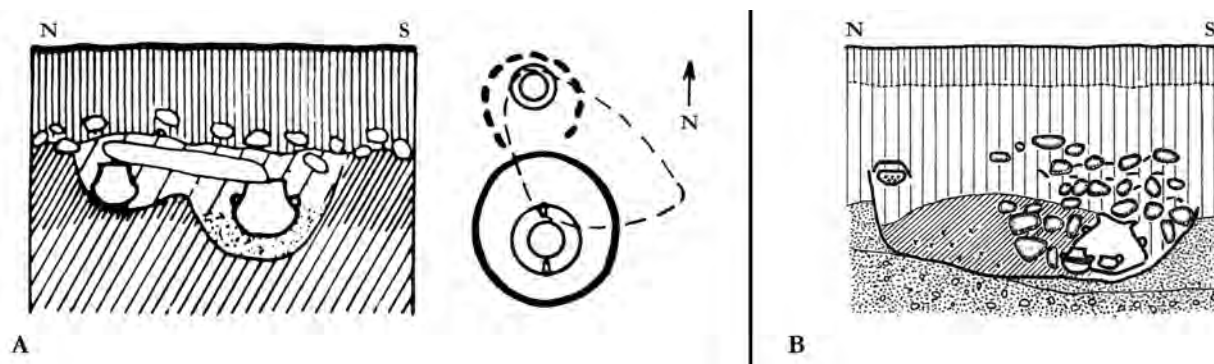


Fig. 10. Double graves with a male individual and an infant: A – Ruše II, grave 11, B – Pobrežje, grave 76.

for instance Ruše I and Brinjeva gora, but the picture of a relative unity of the male part of the society remains.⁵¹

At least the anthropological analysis gave information about the age of the deceased from 6 of the 13 graves from Pobrežje, which, due to the presence of a pin, we determined as male. However, prior to gaining a deeper insight into the results, mention has to be made of grave 36 from Pobrežje, the grave with the oldest pin of the cemetery, a club-headed pin. The deceased was identified as an adult male, which once again supports one of the basic conclusions used for the sexual division of individuals. Four others from the male attire group were identified as adults, while one may have been an infant. But the situation in grave 76 with the infant is far from clear. The relatively large grave was on the floor, partly filled with a layer of charcoal and some bone fragments. It also contained the bronze pin. On the south side there were three vessels, two amphorae and a cup within a larger one. They were covered with 0.25m of pebbles and pottery shards. The tiny bones, as already recognized by the excavator in the initial publication, were kept separately in a dish on the north side of the grave (Fig. 10B).⁵² On the basis of these facts we can ask: Was that a grave of a male infant, or was that a double grave of a male individual and an infant? A similar situation was observed in grave 117 at Pobrežje and its immediate neighbour, grave 117a. There was a pin retrieved from grave 117, whereas grave 117a held only one vessel, an amphora, which bore the remains of an infant.⁵³ A similar situation was also documented in grave 11 (Fig. 10A) at the cemetery of Ruše II. The grave is, as in the case of Pobrežje 76, oriented N-S, and in the north part we repeatedly came across a small urn with bone remains of an infant. In this case in the southern part there was another

urn, but sadly the bones revealed no detailed information.⁵⁴ Additionally, it also has to be mentioned that the bone remains from graves with male attire at Dobova in the lower Slovenian Sava valley, were always – provided determination was possible – identified as adults.

Following the results of this research we can make the ascertainment that the pin in the groups researched was only worn by adult males and was therefore probably a *signum* for having reached and crossed a threshold in their life. What the age or occasion was when they became, as is our guess, “*fully integrated members of the male society*” is not clear; the only additional piece of information we have is that the “youngest” individual with a pin has a minimum age of 20 years.⁵⁵

As already stated, based on different compositions of the jewellery or attire, the female population could be further subdivided (Fig. 11). Furthermore, our division of the female society was combined with the results of the osteological analysis.

As with the male part of the society, there was only one sexually determined individual. This is grave 27, where a woman with a necklace was buried. It could also be established that she was aged between 21 and 30 years when she died. Other parts of her attire were two bracelets, a pin and two spindle-whorls. The women with a necklace as the designating element, who were – if we conclude not only from the other accompanying metal goods but also from the pottery – the wealthiest females, are not like the men with pins – who were adults only. At Pobrežje one of them was

51. PAHIČ 1989, Tabla 1/2, 8. – MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, Tafel 109/K2; Tafel 113/D2.

52. PAHIČ 1972, 52, 90 and Tabla 15/10–15.

53. PAHIČ 1972, 66–67, 93 and Tabla 23/4, 8–9.

54. PAHIČ 1957, Priloga 8 and Tabla 5/1–2. However, for all the mentioned graves it is almost impossible to say whether it was a double grave made with two individuals being buried at the same time, or whether it was a subsequent burial of an infant next to an already buried male individual.

55. This is just the minimum age, which means that he could have been older.

Grave	Urn	Other pottery	Spindle-whorl	Needle	Knife	Button	Saltstone	Fibula	Sheet ring	Massive ring	Wire ring	Spiral ring (big)	Spiral ring (small)	Bracelet	Necklace	Pendant	Others	Anthropological analysis	Weight of bone remains (g)
162c	x	1										1	1		2				
98	x	3	1	1				2	1					4	1	2		Adult	39,4
7	x	6	1		1		1	2						2	1		13 clay rings		
49	x	2						2						2	1				
31	x	7		1										4	1				
50	x	4												2	1				
38	x	6	1											2	1				
27	x	4	2	1										2	1		Small stone, animal bone	Adult female, 21-30 years	130,7
112	x	3							1		2		1	2	1		Pincers (?)		156,1
16b	x	3	1			3									1			Adult	
70	x										1				1		Animal bone	Infant	35,3
84	x							1		1		1?			1		Animal bone	16+ years	248,6
56	x							1							1		Animal bone	Adult	37
34	x	5													1				
168	x	4													1				
163	x	2													1				
99		2													1				
35	x	2		1				1		2				2					
111	x		1						1					1				13+ years	91,9
37	x	1												1					
101	x													1			Red deer		232,7
32	x	1						2		1		1						14+ years	144,6
86	x	2	1					2		1		1					Animal bone	20+ years	228,9
113	x							1				1					Sheet tube	16+ years	148,5
173	x							1				1							112,5
19	x							1					1						146,1
3		2			1			1					2					Adult	32,3
57	x	3	1					1					1				Red deer, pig	Adult	302,3
64	x	2	1					1					1						
114a	x	3	1					1				1?							
127	x					2		1								4			
28	(x)							1											
59	x	3						1										15+ years	95,9
80	x			1				1											20
17	x	5								1									
94	x										1(?)							Adult	467
116	x	3	1								1						Animal bone		15,7
159	x	2										1							
18	x	2											1						
97	x	3											1					Adult	41,9
100	x	3											1						13
108	x	1											1					Adult	76,6
120		1											1					Adult?	13,7
62	x	3	2	1(?)								1(?)							
73	x			1		1			1								Animal bone	14+ years	152,1
58				1					1										
67	x	4	1	1															
22	x	3	1														Bronze sheet		
20	x	1	1																
125	x			1															

Fig. 11. Female attire groups I-V at Pobrežje.

a woman of at least 16 years of age, and one was an infant. The latter was buried in grave 70, which contained only an amphora used as an urn, holding all the bone remains with all the parts of the attire. Furthermore, it was covered by a stone plate, which emphasizes its credibility as a closed context. Besides that an infant member of this attire group was also identified in grave 305 at Dobova.⁵⁶ Also adding the data from Miklavž, the woman from grave 5, with two iron necklaces, was between 15 and 18 years old, whereas the woman from grave 29 from Ruše II was an adult. The bone remains of women wearing bracelets revealed data for our research in three cases. Grave 111 from Pobrežje belonged to a female of at least 13 years of age, whereas grave 2 from Miklavž belonged to an individual between 14 and 21 years, and grave 10 from Miklavž to someone younger than 23 years. Additionally grave 10 included the remains of a perinatal infant. A possibly daring interpretation would be that of a mother with a child, both dying during childbirth, but for confirmation of such a hypothesis DNA tests would be necessary. The women with bracelets are statistically younger than the women with necklaces. As many of the women with necklaces also possessed bracelets, the latter is maybe a sign of a lower social status (age), which could be upgraded by reaching a milestone in their life. It is, by contrast, interesting that all the non adults possessing necklaces at Pobrežje never had bracelets. If we consider once again the two infants with necklaces, one at Pobrežje and one at Dobova, we can postulate an assumption that the status of a necklace holder could have been reached in two ways, by inheritance or by a gradual rise in the society. Fibulae were worn by women of different ages, with the youngest holder being 14 years old. But the most interesting elements concerning age in the female population are the spiral rings. The big (wide) ones, ranging between 3.1 and 4.5 cm in diameter, which commonly appear together with fibulae, were never found with undoubtedly adult women. By contrast the small (narrow) ones, ranging from 1.3 to 2.4 cm in diameter, were only possessed by adult women. It is quite interesting that these women were mostly buried with no other metal grave goods. It is very tempting to interpret the big and the small spiral rings as hair-rings and explain them as expedient for different hairstyles. And if we reach back into our not so distant past we can find very convenient descriptions about appropriate hairstyles for younger and elder women or married and unmarried women, which were in a

way codified.⁵⁷ But the difference expressed here could also mean something completely different.

Given all the above information about the structure of the society, we shall return to our observation, that the rich part of the populations, the ones who had the status to be accompanied by metal objects into their graves, at the majority of cemeteries, with the exception of Rabelčja vas, show similar proportions of attire groups (Fig. 3). The number of males can be roughly paralleled with the number of women with necklaces, which makes up 40–50 % of the samples studied. Concluding from the study of the smaller cemeteries of Miklavž and Ormož, we cannot neglect the total concordance of those groups and therefore we shall once again bring to light the idea already expressed, in which the woman with a necklace was interpreted as a “married woman”, “first woman” or even “*mater familias*”.⁵⁸ For the other three groups of women it is easy to compare Pobrežje and Ruše I, which are in almost total accordance, whereas the other three all lack one or, in the case of Miklavž, two groups. A detail, which also caught our eye, is the appearance of bracelets, which corresponds with the general wealth of the cemetery (Fig. 2, 3). The question is, can we recognize the “second wife” whom a man could “afford” for himself, or the daughter, who wore adornments to the abilities of the family in this group of women?

Finally, if we examine the age of the individuals at Pobrežje we can see that the average age is very high. Amongst all of the 77 human osteological samples analysed there are four infants (5.2 %), followed by one individual with the age of death being estimated at least 11 years, all others being older. Mention should also be made of the analysis at Dobova, where 60 individuals were analysed and 5 (8.3 %) of them were infants. That leads us to the question why that is so. That is just slightly above the level of the contemporary *mortality rate of under-5-year-olds* in European countries.⁵⁹

Where are the other children and juveniles (buried)? And what was special about those buried in the cemetery? One of them from grave 70 has female attire of the highest rank, i.e. with a necklace, and two are associated with men with pins, i.e. grave 76 and grave 117a. But there is also one,

56. TERŽAN 1999, Fig. 11. However, all the other women with necklaces from Dobova, where the age could be determined, seem to be adults.

57. JEDDING-GESTERLING, BRUTSCHER 1988, 30–33, 64 and 77–79.

58. TERŽAN 1999, 119.

59. The list of countries by infant mortality rate made by the United Nations Population Division (http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/worldmortality/WMR2009_wallchart.pdf). By contrast, 47 of the 91 graves studied from the Early Medieval period in Slovenia belong to children (ŽORŽ 2007, 19).

Site	Grave	Animal	Bone description
Gračič/Brinjeva gora	34	Sheep/ goat (<i>Ovis s. Capra</i>)	Ribs
Gračič/Brinjeva gora	37	Cattle (<i>Bos taurus</i>)	Patella
Pobrežje	1	Pig (<i>Sus domestica</i>)	Maxilla
Pobrežje	57	Red deer (<i>Cervus elaphus</i>); Pig (<i>Sus domestica</i>)	Distal epiphysis of femur; mandible
Pobrežje	85	Pig (<i>Sus domestica</i>)	Occipital bone
Pobrežje	93	Wild boar (<i>Sus scrofa</i>)?	Tusks
Pobrežje	101	Red deer (<i>Cervus elaphus</i>)	Distal epiphysis of femur
Pobrežje	122	Sheep/ goat (<i>Ovis s. Capra</i>)	Left maxilla (molar region); atlas
Pobrežje	137	Marten (<i>Martes sp.</i>)	Mandibular ramus
Miklavž	5	Cattle (<i>Bos taurus</i>)	Skull

Fig. 12. Table of the animal bones found in graves of the cemeteries studied, which could be ascribed to certain animals.

buried in grave 138, which contains only an urn with some fragments of pottery as signs of the burial ritual.⁶⁰

5.2 Animal bone material

As already stated, 33 of all the osteologically analysed graves also included animal bones, which generally show the same cremation patterns as the human bones, which suggests that the bones were placed on the pyre together with the deceased. Ten of the assemblages contained remains, which could have been ascribed to a certain type of animal (Fig. 12). The majority belongs to domestic animals (pig, sheep/goat, cow), but there are also three graves containing the remains of wild animals (red deer, wild boar and stone/ pine martin [*Martes foina*/ *Martes martes*]), while one grave contained both.⁶¹

Whilst researching the presence of animal remains found in graves, we came to interesting results. Observing all of the graves with animal bones, i.e. 33, 14 were graves of women, two graves of men, two could have been double graves, whereas the rest can not be ascribed to anyone specific. At Pobrežje the females with animal bones belong to all the established attire groups and all the recorded age groups from infants to adults. The only male from Pobrežje, who was buried in grave 93 with animal remains,⁶² also holds a chisel besides a pin, the only such artefact found in graves at this very cemetery.⁶³ The only other male with animal re-

mains was documented in grave 53 from Brinjeva gora, who besides a pin also possessed one of the rare razors.

However, in two of the graves from Brinjeva gora some bone fragments were also unburned. And again the graves belonged to women with different attire. One possessed a fibula as the designating element and besides that two spiral rings, while the other one had a necklace, but also other pieces of attire. She was buried in a double grave with a male who was laid to rest with three pins and a razor.

6. Conclusion

Although the article presents intermediate results of an ongoing project, we can be quite satisfied with these first outcomes, which are shading new light on some aspects of cremation burials from North-Eastern Slovenia.

In our project we are trying to make use of a variety of modern scientific analyses, which can be also carried out on material excavated decades ago. With their incorporation in already known results, we are on the one side verifying results of former research and giving them an added value, deriving from scientific analyses.

The osteological studies of the bone material and the radiocarbon analysis of cremated bone samples are just two of the many possibilities of gaining new information in the wider scope of our research and other techniques and methods are more and more entering the field. Looking from this point of view a lot of information is still out there.

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60. PAHČ 1972, Tabela 14/14–15; Tabela 15/10–15; Tabela 23/4, 8–9 and Tabela 26/5.

61. That is grave 57 from Pobrežje, which contains remains of a red deer and a pig.

62. The tusks probably belonging to a wild boar are depicted in the primal publication. They are described as different and belonging to two animals (PAHČ 1972, Tabela 18/7). However, they were not amongst the finds from the grave so the information could not be reevaluated.

63. There was one found without a grave context (PAHČ 1972, Tabela 40/7).

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Cremation burials in Northern Croatia 1300–750 BC

Daria Ložnjak Dizdar

Zusammenfassung

BRANDBESTATTUNGEN IM NÖRDLICHEN KROATIEN 1300–750 v. CHR. Aktuelle Untersuchungen an mehreren Orten im nördlichen Kroatien führten zu der Entdeckung von Gräberfeldern mit Brandbestattungen in Urnen (Belišće, Sotin), in Gräbern ohne Urnen (Sotin) und unter Tumuli (Dolina), welche in die jüngere Phase der Urnenfelderkultur datiert werden können. Ihr Erscheinungsbild ist tief in der Bestattungsmethode verschiedener Gruppen der Urnenfelderkultur verwurzelt, die für die späte Bronzezeit im Gebiet des nördlichen Kroatien bestimmend war. Ihre Tradition wurde mit geringen Modifizierungen bis in die frühe Eisenzeit fortgeführt. Die Bestattungspraxis (Brandbestattung in einer Urne, Grab unter einem Tumulus), die Auswahl der Grabbeigaben (Zahl der Gefäße in Gräbern, Kleidung) und Spuren des Bestattungsritus (Zerbrechen von Gefäßen) bezeugen die zahlreichen auf dieses Durchzugsgebiet ausgeübten Einflüsse. Die ausgewählten Grabbeispiele verdeutlichen die vielen praktizierten Bräuche der Gemeinschaften, die entlang der Hauptflüsse im Raum zwischen Donau, Drava und Save siedelten. Die fruchtbaren Ebenen entlang dieser Flüsse waren gleichzeitig wichtige Durchgangsgebiete, welche die südöstlichen Alpen mit der Niederdonauregion sowie dem Balkan und dem Mitteldonaugebiet verbanden.

Abstract

Recent investigations at several sites in northern Croatia have led to a discovery of cemeteries with cremation burials in urns (Belišće, Sotin), in graves without urns (Sotin) and under tumuli (Dolina), which can be dated to the younger phase of the Urnfield culture. Their appearance is deeply rooted in the method of burial of various communities of the Urnfield culture that characterized the Late Bronze

Age in the territory of northern Croatia, and the same tradition persisted, with minor modifications, into the Early Iron Age. The method of burial of the deceased (cremation burial in an urn, grave or under a tumulus), the selection of grave goods (number of vessels in graves, attire) and traces of funeral rites (breaking of vessels) bear testimony to various influences exerted on this transit territory. The selected examples of graves point to various customs practiced by communities settled along the main rivers in the area between the Danube, Drava and the Sava rivers. The fertile plains of these rivers were, at the same time, important thoroughfares that connected the southeastern Alpine area with the Lower Danube area, as well as the Balkans and Middle Danube area.

The cremation rite is deeply rooted in the Late Bronze Age of northern Croatia (Urnfield culture) with roots that most likely date from the Middle Bronze Age.¹ The early phase of the Urnfield culture is characterized by two distinct groups which differ from one another primarily in the way of burial and in the costume: the Virovitica group and the Barice-Gredani group.² In the Virovitica group, which inhabited the Podravina region, the cremated remains of the deceased were placed in a ceramic vessel – an urn, which was covered by a bowl. Fragments of other ceramic vessels could sometimes also have been placed in the graves.³ In certain documented cases the cremated remains of the deceased were placed at the bottom of the grave and then covered

1. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 32.

2. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 551–566. – MINICHREITER 1983. – DULAR, ŠAVEL, TECCO HVALA 2002.

3. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 37.



Fig. 1. Burial rites during the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia. (Drawing by K. Rončević).

1. Vlatkovac – 2. Moravče grave 1 (SOKOL 1996) – 3. Moravče grave 7 (SOKOL 1996) – 4. Gredani, grave 26 (MINICHREITER 1983) – 5. Voćin grave 1 – 6. Zagreb grave 2 (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 7. Dalj (ŠIMIĆ 1988) – 8. Slatina grave 13 – 9. Belišće grave 24 – 10. Krupače (BRUNŠMID 1898) – 11. Ozalj grave 6 (BALEN LETUNIĆ 1981) – 12. Ozalj grave 8 (BALEN LETUNIĆ 1981).

with a bowl (Jakopovec,⁴ Vlatkovac⁵). These graves, based on the typological features and analogies in the neighboring regions (Transdanubia, Styria),⁶ probably ought to be dated to an earlier period, possibly the end of the Middle Bronze Age. This way of burial, with cremated bones placed in the grave and covered with a bowl, is characteristic for the Barice-Gredani group in the Posavina region (the Sava river basin), whose beginnings date to the Middle Bronze Age. The excavated graves in Brusnice can be dated to the Br C period.⁷ In the older phase of the Urnfield culture (Br D, Ha A1), the graves contain, in addition to the bones of the deceased, pieces of bronze objects belonging to the costume of the deceased, which were cremated together with them (these were most often pins).⁸ Graves with more affluent costume accessories, like grave 24 from Popernjak near Županja, which according to the results of the anthropolog-

ical analysis contained the remains of a young girl, are rare.⁹ There were also graves with a third vessel, most often a footed bowl (Voćin, grave 1 [Fig. 1/5]).¹⁰ In this same period the territory of eastern Croatia was populated by the Belegiš II culture, presently known only through settlements.¹¹ However, the data obtained from the cemeteries investigated in eastern Syrmia reveal that the cremated remains of the dead, together with costume accessories, were likewise placed in an urn, which was sometimes covered by a bowl.¹²

The Ha A1 phase in northern Croatia witnessed the appearance of graves with cremated remains of the deceased placed in urns covered with a bowl, without any other ceramic vessel sherds.¹³ Recent salvage investigations in Slatina (November 2009) have shed light on the burial ritual in the Podravina region following the end of the Virovitica group. The graves contain cremation burials and the bones were placed in a pot or a jug, in most cases covered by a

4. BEKIĆ 2006, 108 and pl. 9/2.

5. LOŽNJAK DIZDAR 2011, 41 and fig. 2.

6. JANKOVITS 1992, 15, 59. – KISS 2007, 22. – TIEFENGABER 2007, 106–107.

7. ČOVIĆ 1988, 60.

8. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 42. – MINICHREITER 1983 – ČOVIĆ 1988, 61.

9. MARIJAN 2010, 103 and t. 58/3, 4; t. 67/3, 4; t. 71.

10. LOŽNJAK 2003, pl. 2/1, 2.

11. FORENBAHER 1991.

12. TODORVIĆ 1977. – TASIĆ 1974.

13. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1988, 12 and t. I/1, 4; t. VI.

bowl. In northwestern Croatia we also know of burials in stone-lined graves (Zagreb-Vrapče grave 2 [Fig 1, 6]).¹⁴ A change in the material culture occurred during the 12th century BC in northern Croatia, recognizable above all in the new types and way of decoration of ceramic vessels. This is also the time of formation (by the end of the 12th century or the beginning of the 11th century BC at the latest, or from the beginning of the Ha A2 phase in relative chronological terms) of cultural groups of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia. Within this period one can recognize the formation of several cultural groups, distinguished between themselves not only in pottery and costume, but also in variations in the burial rite. So far the Velika Gorica group and the Dalj group¹⁵ are known from the literature, but recent investigations indicate that several other regional groups of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture could be distinguished.¹⁶

Relatively little is known about the cremation burial rite at the eponymous cemeteries of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia (Dalj, Velika Gorica). Due to the excavation methodology at the beginning of the 20th century and the unfortunate set of circumstances concerning the care of the museum material during the wars, the data have only been partially preserved.

Trial excavations in the Podravina, Posavina and Podunavlje regions (the basins of the Drava, Sava and Danube rivers respectively) were conducted in 2008 and 2009 in the frame of the scientific project “Development and mobility of protohistoric communities in continental Croatia”. Among other things, these excavations have yielded a new understanding about burial rites in the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia.

Velika Gorica Group

Modifications in the burial rites and grave goods can be recognized on the example of the eponymous Velika Gorica cemetery. In his 1908 excavation V. Hoffiller established and described that the earth surrounding the urns was black and mixed with charcoal. Ceramic vessels were used as urns, and they were only rarely covered by another smaller vessel. The cremated bones were sometimes scattered around the urn, while the grave goods were deposited adjacent to or above the vessels.¹⁷

In the literature the cemetery in Velika Gorica has been associated with the cemetery in Dobova¹⁸ on many occasions and it is obvious that the Velika Gorica-Dobova group was spread in the Posavina region around Zagreb and in the Krško Polje plain. Its distinguishing traits were the characteristic costume and burial rite, whereas investigations at the settlements of this group were of a limited scope.¹⁹

The settlements hitherto known in the territory of the Velika Gorica-Dobova group are mostly of the hillfort settlement type, while the lowland settlements are known from Staro Čiče and Križevci. This group used the cremation rite, generally in an urn containing pieces of costume worn by the deceased. Hoards are very rare (Ivanec Bistranski, Miljana) in this area, and both can be dated to phase IV after K. Vinski-Gasparini, that is, Ha B1 and partly Ha B2²⁰, which is synchronous with the cemeteries in Velika Gorica and Dobova, which serve as the basis for a definition of the costume of this group. The finds allow a definition of a varied female costume,²¹ while the male costume is mostly known through the finds of pins. Male graves also contain razors, which are known from Velika Gorica, and in Dobova razors were found in graves 171 and 301.²² On account of their large number, graves from Dobova are the primary element for a definition of the costume of the Velika Gorica-Dobova group. The dominant objects of the male costume are pins, in addition to knives, razors and spearheads, which appear in a small number of male graves.²³

While goods found in male graves are rather “modest”, as already pointed out by B. Teržan, as many as four costume groups could be distinguished in the case of women. Female costume is, to the greatest degree, defined by ring-shaped jewellery, so one can distinguish between: a group with necklaces, a group with bracelets and a group with hair jewellery, in most cases an ornament of bronze wire put twisted into figure-of-eights.²⁴ Women’s graves often contain fibulae, which vary greatly in these two cemeteries, so fibulae with a twisted bow, spectacle-fibulae, bow fibulae

14. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 68 and t. 23/9.

15. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 155–1164 and t. 102–105, t. 114–125. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 599–667. – METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002.

16. ŠKOBERNE 2004, 131–171.

17. HOFFILLER 1909, 121–122.

18. STARÈ 1975, 14. – DULAR 1978, 38–39. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983. – TERŽAN 1999, 111.

19. HOMEN 1982. – BALEN-LETUNIĆ, BAKARIĆ 1984. – VRDOLJAK 1996. – MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1994. – TEŽAK-GREGL, VOJVODA 1986, 46. – FILIPEC 2002, 14–19.

20. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 165 and t. 112–113.

21. TERŽAN 1995, 339–341 and Abb. 13.

22. STARÈ 1975, 31 and t. 24/3.

23. TERŽAN 1995, Abb. 12.

24. TERŽAN 1995, 340, Abb. 13.

with a smooth bow, saddle-shaped and harp-fibulae can be recognized.²⁵

Based on the ceramic finds and the earliest graves in Dobova, the beginning of the Velika Gorica-Dobova group should be dated to the transition from the Ha A1 to the Ha A2 phase, that is the beginning of the 11th century BC.²⁶ At present it is impossible to ascertain the end of the group as the graves in Velika Gorica cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the 9th century BC,²⁷ while there are only a few graves in Dobova which are datable to the 8th century BC.²⁸ Much more light will certainly be shed on that question once the cemetery at Obrežje, near Bregana, has been published. 364 graves were investigated there between 2001 and 2003 belonging to a community²⁹ that was indubitably connected with the populations buried in Dobova and Velika Gorica.

Several richly furnished male and female graves can be singled out in the Velika Gorica-Dobova group. In addition to the rich female grave 289 from Dobova, dated by Dular as early as the Ha A1 phase,³⁰ the male grave 1/1911 and female grave 3/1916 from Velika Gorica, which belong to prominent members of that community, are worth mentioning. When discussing the equipment of the male grave from Velika Gorica we have to consider the presence of weaponry, otherwise uncommon in graves of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture. Weaponry, if present at all, appears in a combination of a spearhead and/or axe. In the case of knives we should rather talk of tools in everyday use than of weapons. The weapons from 1/1911 are exceptional for this area both in their selection and in workmanship. The closest parallels are the contemporary grave 63 of the Podolí group from Klentnice, likewise with a decorated sword, knife and a crescent-shaped razor as well as a set of ceramic vessels.³¹ Another conceptual parallel for the male grave equipped with a sword, battle knife, razor, whetstone and even tweezers, is found in grave 227 in

Fratta Polesine.³² It is only on rare occasions that one finds deceased persons buried with a sword, spear, battle knife, knife and razor in the wider south Pannonian area, where, at that time, swords were mostly deposited in hoards. The finds from Grave 1/1911 at Velika Gorica have numerous typological parallels in the Románd hoard in Hungary: in pins of the lake-dwelling type, antenna-sword, decorated spearhead, razors,³³ a Vadena-type battle knife and axes of the Passau type.³⁴ This hoard gave the name to the entire horizon synchronous with the Ha B2 phase after H. Müller-Karpe. They are widely distributed in northwestern Transdanubia, few were found between the Danube and the Tisza, while they are very rare in northeastern Hungary.³⁵ As already proven by F. Starè and K. Vinski-Gasparini, grave 1/1911 is to be dated to early Ha B1.³⁶ This has also been confirmed by recent chronological studies by M. Trachsel, who dates these pins in absolute terms to the first half of the 10th century B.C., which matches Trachsel's Ha B2 phase,³⁷ or Pare's Ha B1 phase.³⁸ As regards the exceptional grave 1/1911, described as a double grave in the literature,³⁹ its inventory certainly leads to the conclusion that it belonged to a prominent person within the community, who was buried during the first half of the 10th century BC in his full gear, which, judging by the ornaments on the sword, spearhead, spear butt and battle knife, makes a stylistic whole and points to an extraordinary custom in south Pannonia at that time.

The female grave 3/1916 marks, on the other hand, a prominent member of the community, equipped with a harp-fibula and spectacle-fibulae, a hair ornament with pseudo-figure-of-eights and four torques, a sheet-bronze anklet and several spindle-whorls. The hair ornament with figure-of-eights and the spectacle-fibula with a figure-of-eight were found in grave 194 in Dobova, which also included a bowl and a pot. J. Dular dates that grave to the Ha B2 period that corresponds to phase IV of that cemetery.⁴⁰ The grave which is most similar to the rich female grave from Velika Gorica in terms of contents is grave 98 from Pobrežje, with a twisted torcs, saddle-shaped fibulae,

25. STARÈ 1975, pl. 1/4; pl. 18/2; pl. 41/1. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, pl. 104/3, 9–11, 14. – KARAVANIĆ 2009, pl. 50/10; pl. 52/5, 6; pl. 53/7; 9; pl. 57/1–5; pl. 67/8–10; pl. 71/3–7, 9.

26. I agree with B. Teržan's opinion (TERŽAN 1995, 339, fn. 48) about the later beginning of the Dobova cemetery.

27. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 157.

28. TERŽAN 1995, 339 and fn. 48.

29. MASON 2003, 68.

30. DULAR 1978, 37. – In B. Teržan's opinion the grave contained a very poorly preserved bow fibula with a twisted bow, the duration of which, in addition to the pendants, spans a longer period, thus shifting the date of this grave to Ha A2 phase (TERŽAN 1995, 339 and fn. 47).

31. PODBORSKÝ 1970, 69 and t. 25.

32. SALZANI 1989, 16–17 and fig. 16/3; fig. 17/14, 15, 18.

33. Which differ from the one from Velika Gorica by the position of the hump and belong to the Herrnbaumgarten type.

34. MOZSOLICS 2000, t. 84/1, 3, 19; t. 86/1, 7, 39; t. 87/6, 7, 9.

35. SCHALK 2000, 25–26 and Abb. 2.

36. STARÈ 1957, 204. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 155–156.

37. TRACHSEL 2004, 35 and Abb. 14.

38. PARE 1998, 405 and Tab. 5.

39. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 155.

40. STARÈ 1975, t. 27/8–12. – DULAR 1978, combination table 1.

that is fibulae with a bow of a rhomboidal cross-section, fragments of sheet-bronze anklets (?)⁴¹ and a spindle-whorl.

One can also compare grave II/1910⁴² from Velika Gorica with grave 7 in Podbrežje, as both contain a spectacle-fibula and a saddle-shaped fibula, as well as a Hadersdorf-type knife.⁴³ Even though there are similarities regarding grave goods and costume (saddle-shaped and harp-fibulae), these graves also reveal differences, recognized in the rich ceramic set in grave 7 in Podbrežje, which is missing in the case of the graves in Velika Gorica. A curiosity of grave 3/1916 are four torques that might indicate, on the one hand, that several persons were buried in the grave, and on the other hand, could indicate the fashion of that time, which can be corroborated with several examples, for instance with an older grave of a rich woman from Dobova – grave 289 – containing several smooth torques decorated with ring-shaped pendants⁴⁴ or a somewhat younger rich female inhumation grave from Ostrožac, furnished with 5 twisted torques of various size;⁴⁵ further, with graves from Jezerine⁴⁶ and Kompolje.⁴⁷ The dates for the small spectacle-fibula and the harp-fibula suggest that the rich woman from Velika Gorica was probably buried during the 9th century BC, with regard to the parallels in the graves from Ljubljana, which are dated to the Ib phase.⁴⁸ The differences in the structure of the graves in Dobova and Velika Gorica⁴⁹ should be regarded – if one considers the unequal sample and circumstances of investigation of the Velika Gorica cemetery – as local particularities of the two communities, where one has to consider their way of life, economy and the identity of the community, which was developed according to the affiliation but also to the wish for a distinction and showing of status and power even in the world of the dead. Taking into consideration the small number of preserved grave assemblages from Velika Gorica, those might be burials of prominent individuals; if these two communities had been similar one would expect to find even more of them at the large cemetery in Dobova.

41. Judging by the cross-section these were most likely anklets, as the metal sheets were quite deformed by fire.

42. As this grave also yielded a crescent-shaped razor and a fragment of a pin without a head, this might also have been a double grave, in which case we set apart the spectacle-fibula and saddle-shaped fibula as belonging to the female costume.

43. PAHIČ 1972, t. 2.

44. STARÈ 1975, t. 41/4, 5, 10.

45. RAUNIG 1982, t. I/2.

46. LJUBIĆ 1889, 111 and t. XVII/38.

47. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1961, 75, 89 and t. III/fig. 5; t. XXI, grave 43, fig. 2.

48. GABROVEC 1975, 343, combination table.

49. KARAVANIĆ 2009, 66.

Such examples of differentiated communities in the case of cemeteries of a single cultural group are discernible in the contemporary Dalj group. Within the pottery of the Velika Gorica-Dobova group, which, in addition to the burial rite and costume, is one of the most important criteria for defining the group, among shapes characteristic for the wider south Pannonian circle one can also distinguish shapes specific for this area. These are amphorae of the Dobova type, upon which attention has been drawn in the literature on several occasions,⁵⁰ which are undoubtedly a local shape, as well as the frequent use of a *Seelenloch* on pots and bowls at the cemeteries.⁵¹

The Kupa Group

The analysis of the investigated cemeteries around Ozalj and the published assemblages at Budinjak have led to the conclusion that the burial rite and material culture of this area are different from those in the Posavina region, where the Velika Gorica-Dobova cultural group was distinguished. At present it is impossible to draw a border between these two groups and it is quite likely that it would not be precise, i.e. there would be an area of fusion where finds, characteristic for both groups, would be found, many of which being common. A smaller investigated cemetery in Ozalj (9 graves) exhibited several different ways of burial of cremated remains: in a vessel-urn covered by a bowl, or in a stone-lined grave pit into which the cremated bones with grave goods, or the urn with bones, were placed. A third method was also observed, where the ashes, bones and grave goods were placed directly into a pit dug into the rock.⁵²

The burial rites in the Pokuplje region (the Kupa basin) (grave goods and cremated bones placed into a large storage pot that probably served as a box) (Fig 1/10, 12) as well as pottery (amphorae, large oval urns) known from graves speak in favour of the connections of those communities with the Bela Krajina region (Metlika, Črnomelj) as well as Lower Carniola (Novo Mesto) in the period of the 9th and 8th centuries BC, inhabited at the time by the Ljubljana group⁵³. This area, together with flat cremation graves and

50. STARÈ 1975, T1/A1 passim. – GRAHEK 2004, 137.

51. STARÈ 1975, pl. 7/2, 6, passim. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 102/18; t. 104/7; t. 105/10; t. 106/2.

52. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1981, 15.

53. In J. Dular's opinion (DULAR 2003, 102), the Ljubljana group covered the area of central Slovenia and a good part of Lower Carniola and Bela Krajina, reaching the border territory of Croatia through the Kupa valley. B. Teržan thinks that the community that inhabited Bela Krajina was associated with the Ljubljana group with a double rite at the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (TERŽAN 1999, 112).

graves under tumuli at Budinjak, is probably a peripheral phenomenon of a strong Late Bronze Age community, that is, the Ljubljana group, distinguished by Ž. Škoberne as the Budinjak group⁵⁴, also including the Iron Age finds. Precisely the settlement at Budinjak shows a continuity in the life of a community at the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. In addition to the settlement at Budinjak, this community also inhabited settlements at Dubovac, Gradac in Karlovac and the Belaj and Kiringrad hillforts.⁵⁵ In relation to the state of research, little is known about the costume of this group. Grave assemblages are known from Ozalj, where grave 7 with a pin and two bronze rings belongs to the earlier graves with costume of that group.⁵⁶ The pin has a semi-globular head and a thickened neck decorated with horizontal incisions. This type of pin can be followed to the Posavina region, as is shown by the parallels in Donja Dolina.⁵⁷ R. Vasić recognized them as a shape known in the west Balkans and he dated these pins from the end of the 8th till the end of the 7th century BC.⁵⁸ A link with the Posavina region and the question of the eastern border of the Kupa group can also be sought through a pin with a biconical knob and flat head from Krupače, which can be connected with the grave from Ostrožac,⁵⁹ the inventory of which, on the other hand, shows many parallels with the Matijević hoard, situated near the Una river, as well as with

the Gajina Pečina hoard from Lika.⁶⁰ These finds mark the border dividing the Iapodian community, which lived in the Lika region and the valley of the Una river, from the populations residing in the Pokuplje and Posavina regions⁶¹. Grave 7 from Ozalj would thus be the earliest known grave assemblage of the Kupa group, followed by the grave from Krupače with the pin with a biconical knob,⁶² which, considering the grave from Ostrožac, can be dated to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century BC. Then follow the cremation graves of a man and woman from tumulus 51A at Budinjak, dated to Podzemelj phase 1⁶³ by the burial under a tumulus as much as by the presence of male costume with a pin with a biconical head and the female costume with a double-loop fibula, which, based on an individual, nicely illustrate which changes were occurring in the everyday life of ordinary people.

Although it is difficult to define the costume in view of the small number of graves, we should perhaps single out the pin with a biconical knob on the neck as a regional form, typical for the western Balkans. Amphorae from Treščerovac (Fig. 2/21) are another regional form, and they are also known from cemeteries in Bela Krajina and in Novo Mesto.⁶⁴ Costume pieces indicative of the affiliation to the Ljubljana group are hollow anklets of sheet bronze, like the one found at Krupače, and a bronze-wire bracelet from Treščerovac. Upper armlets known from Matijević and from the Ostrožac grave should also be added to this costume, while a similar bracelet was also found in a destroyed tumulus in Ozalj. The continuity of this community from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age has been proven by investigations at Budinjak and by the finds from Ozalj. One of the changes that occurred at the beginning of the new period was the change in the burial rite, which gradually shifted from cremation to inhumation and therefore, considering the sites in Ozalj and Budinjak as well as the cemeteries in the neighboring areas (Križna gora,⁶⁵ Mekota⁶⁶), we should perhaps reckon with a parallel use of both rites. Burials under tumuli also appear, and the continuity of population is also noticeable in costume (e.g. hollow anklets, which were subsequently characteristic for

54. ŠKOBERNE 2004, 131–171. – We find the introduction of the term Budinjak group justified, as that name primarily describes a community of people that continuously inhabited a settlement next to which they buried their dead in the way that depended on the fashion of the period, but with piety toward the ancestors, as shown by the fact that various phases of burial were documented under a single tumulus (e.g. tumulus 7) (ŠKOBERNE 2005), from a flat urn grave through tumuli constructed at a later date through cremation graves to skeletal graves in a single tumulus, which bears testimony to blood relation of the buried family members. The burial rite and material culture in the Late Bronze Age of the Budinjak site bear closest resemblance to Bela Krajina and the eastern part of Lower Carniola, showing that it is not inappropriate to refer to this group as the Budinjak group. It is another question how to solve the relative-chronology issues, considering the nomenclature of the groups marking the Early Iron Age. An excellent solution in that respect was provided by S. Gabrovec for Lower Carniola with phases Ljubljana IIb and Podzemelj 1 (GABROVEC 1975), which are synchronous and mark different traditions and fashions in a period when changes in costume, burial rite and new settlements are evident.

55. ČUČKOVIĆ 2004, 188. – MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1986, 29–33. – BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1987.

56. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1981, 14 and pl. 2/10.

57. MARIĆ 1964, t. III/7.

58. VASIĆ 2003, 97 and t. 37/714; t. 64.

59. RAUNIG 1982.

60. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 168 and t. 128.

61. Considering the finds from Gajina Pečina and the Ostrožac grave they are attributed to the costume and territory of the Iapodes (RAUNIG 1982, 10).

62. BRUNŠMID 1898.

63. ŽELLE 2002.

64. GRAHEK 2004, 134 and fig. 28.

65. URLEB 1974.

66. MULABIĆ 1986.

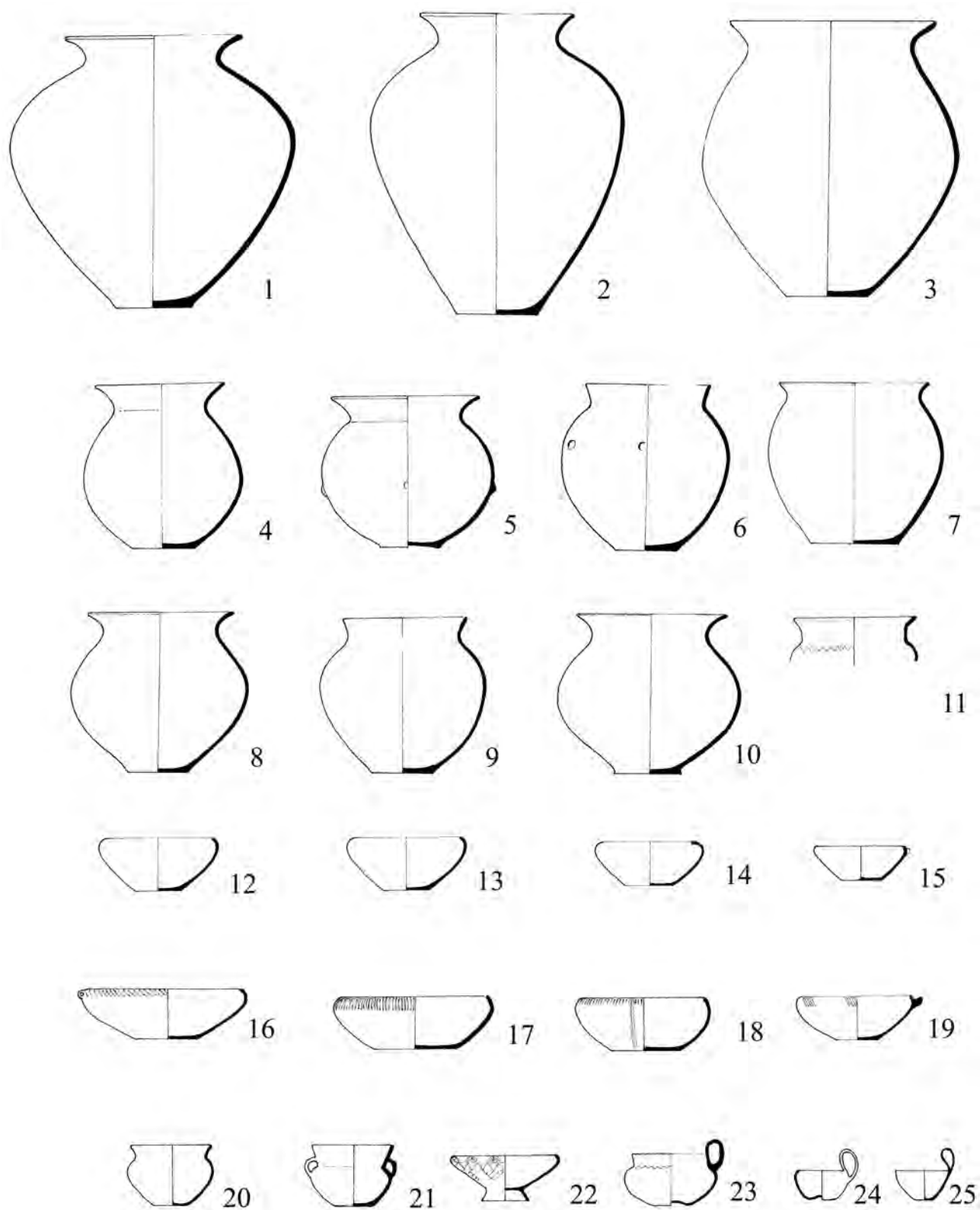


Fig. 2. Local forms of ceramics in graves of the Kupa group. (Drawing by M. Galić)



Fig. 3. Reconstruction of grave 1 from Sotin. (Drawing by K. Rončević)

the Hallstatt culture of Lower Carniola), even though they were open to innovations. The questions that remain open certainly concern with the strategic significance of this area as a corridor to the Adriatic and the link between Pannonia and Caput Adriae, which is discernible in numerous influences entering to this area from the Balkans (inhumation burial rite, pins with a biconical knob, double-loop fibulae), Caput Adriae (pins with a conical head, single-loop fibulae), Lower Carniola (anklets, bracelets), Pannonia (horse harness) and Central Europe (Mörigen type sword). The second question that ought to be made clearer is the relationship of this Late Bronze Age community with the presumed Iron Age community of the Colapiani, which inhabited the Kupa river valley. The answer to this question will only be provided once the large-scale investigations of Late Bronze Age cemeteries are undertaken, which in turn will presumably shed more light on the borders dividing the communities during the Early Iron Age. The third question, partly overlapping the first, is the definition of the border with the Iapodes, demarcated for the beginning of the Iron Age by the graves found at Duga Gora and Ostrožac, with the Duga Gora cemetery – judging by the finds of costume (multi-headed pin, fibulae with knobs on the bow) – belonging to the same community of the Kupa group,⁶⁷ while the grave

from Ostrožac has already been attributed to the community of the Iapodes.⁶⁸

Dalj Group

The Dalj group is one of the most readily recognizable cultural groups of the younger phase of the Late Bronze Age in the territory of eastern Croatia, the eponymous cemetery of which was investigated as early as the beginning of the 20th century. We know of the reports on the finds of cremation burials with or without urns,⁶⁹ from Dalj as well as the reports on the finds of inhumation burials, like those also mentioned in Batina.⁷⁰ In view of the fact that no grave assemblages have been preserved in the case of these large and long-lasting cemeteries along the Danube, it is impossible to offer a comprehensive reconstruction of the way of burial and possible modifications during the Late Bronze Age.

Trial archaeological investigations at the cemetery in Sotin were carried out in 2008 and 2009 and yielded 13 cremation burials of the Dalj group, as well as many graves from the Roman period. In addition to burials in urns (pots are the most common, as in grave 1, while in one case – grave 4 – an amphora was used), burials directly in the grave were also

68. RAUNIG 1982, 10.

69. HOFFILLER 1938, 2.

70. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 198.

67. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1986, 55.

observed (grave 10, 6). Grave 1 is interesting due to its excellent preservation and numerous ceramic finds (Fig. 3). Besides the burnt bones, a large pot that served as the urn also contained fragments of broken cups and another complete pot. Three more pots and two bowls/plates were deposited in the grave. A cup and a kantharos were found in two pots, indicating that these pots probably contained liquids. One of the bowls contained animal bones.

In grave 4 burnt bones with the ashes were placed partly in an amphora and partly in the burial pit. A bronze hair-ring found above the burial pit was probably used to fasten some kind of organic material that enwrapped the bones of the dead person. Judging by the quantity of the bones discovered, this was probably the grave of a child.

Grave 24 is a typical representative of the Urnfield culture with a pot serving as the urn. Bronze rings with overlapping ends were found among the burnt bones.

An exceptional and perhaps multiple burial was found in grave 10 in Sotin. This was a large rectangular grave into which two heaps of burnt bones were deposited: one with plenty of charcoal and pieces of partly burnt bronze objects, and the other with bones without charcoal. Animal bones, an iron ring and ceramic vessels were found on the other side of the grave.

Preliminary analyses of the ceramic vessels indicate that the graves can be dated to ceramic horizons II and IIIa-b after C. Metzner-Nebelsick.⁷¹ The dating of grave 1 to horizon IIIb (perhaps even earlier in the 8th century BC), that is to the Ha C1b phase, is made easier by the find of a bronze fibula with two loops of type 6a after S. Gabrovec, of the kind typical for Styria.⁷² Grave 10 from Sotin, by virtue of its form and number of ceramic vessels (the same as grave 23), points to the burial customs of the eastern Hallstatt circle.⁷³

Two graves of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture were discovered in the 2008 excavations in Belišće in the lower Podravina region during the investigation of an Early Slavic cremation cemetery, while the remaining part of the cemetery was destroyed by sand quarrying. The burnt remains of the deceased were mixed with fragments of pottery (probably broken on the pyre) and placed in an urn, which was then covered with a bowl and deposited in the burial pit. Pottery fragments found above the urn are an indication that ritual breaking of pottery vessels took place above the grave. The ceramic goods in grave 24 (bowl fragments above the urn in particular [Tab. 1/3]) date it to the Ha B phase, that

is, ceramic horizon II after C. Metzner-Nebelsick.⁷⁴ The deceased person in grave 27 was buried in the same way, except for the fact that no ceramic vessels were broken above the grave. The analogies for the ceramic vessels (Tab. 2), with the closest one from tumulus 81 from Sopron,⁷⁵ date the grave to the very end of the Ha B phase, perhaps even the beginning of the Ha C1a phase. None of the cremation graves yielded any metal pieces from their costume, which would render the dating of the graves far easier.

Graves from Belišće, considering the urn forms and analogies with Doroslovo and Dalj, should be considered as part of the Dalj group, even though a combination of an urn and lid from grave 27 as well as the similarity with the finds of the grave from tumulus 81 in Sopron points to a link with Transdanubia.

The area of Baranja, eastern Slavonia, western Syrmia and western Bačka was marked in the younger phase of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age by the Dalj group. This most fertile part of the south Pannonian plain was inhabited by a community with settlements which, in most cases, were erected on barely accessible positions on the elevated loess plateau overlooking the Danube (Batina, Dalj, Sotin), although lowland riverine settlements are also known (Vinkovci, Osijek). The material legacy of this group has been well defined by the finds from graves, the earliest of which are the grave from Dalj-Studenac and the investigated graves from Doroslovo,⁷⁶ attributable to the beginning of the 11th century BC. The population then started burying their dead in Vukovar-Lijeva Bara and Sotin. Several challenges face the task of defining the costume in the territory of the Dalj group, such as: uncertainties regarding grave assemblages in spite of objects that can be taken as exceptionally important chronological and cultural markers precisely for the beginning of the Iron Age; apparent strong influences from various directions, recognizable above all in costume and already pointed to in the literature,⁷⁷ but which time and time again raise new questions and thoughts about the people who happened to be in this area in the first centuries of the last millennium BC. A challenge equally great has been set by the knowledge of the large number of investigated cemeteries (Batina, Dalj,

71. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 167–175.

72. TERŽAN 1990, 98 and map 10.

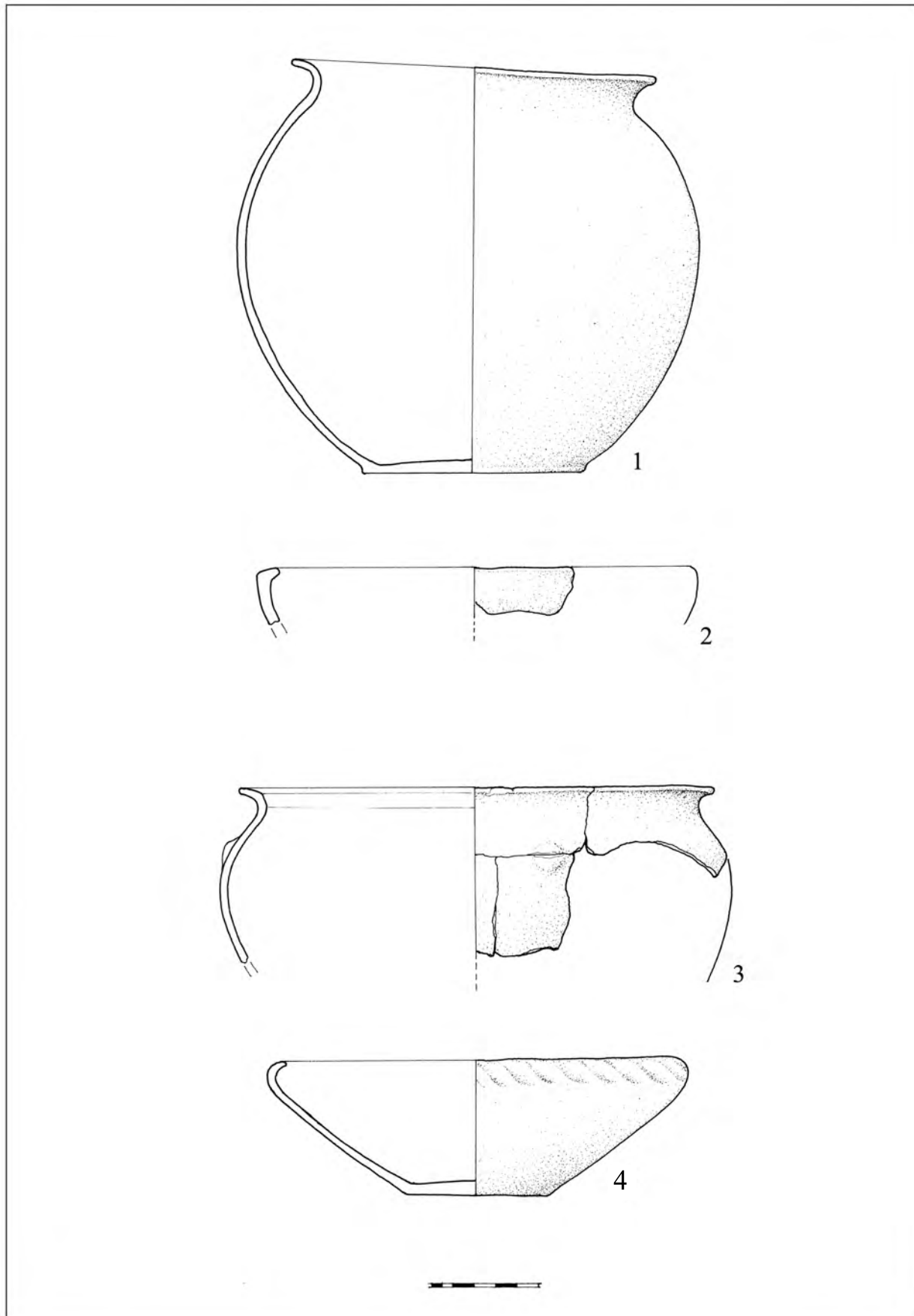
73. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 179–180 and Abb. 79–80.

74. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 169 and Abb. 73.

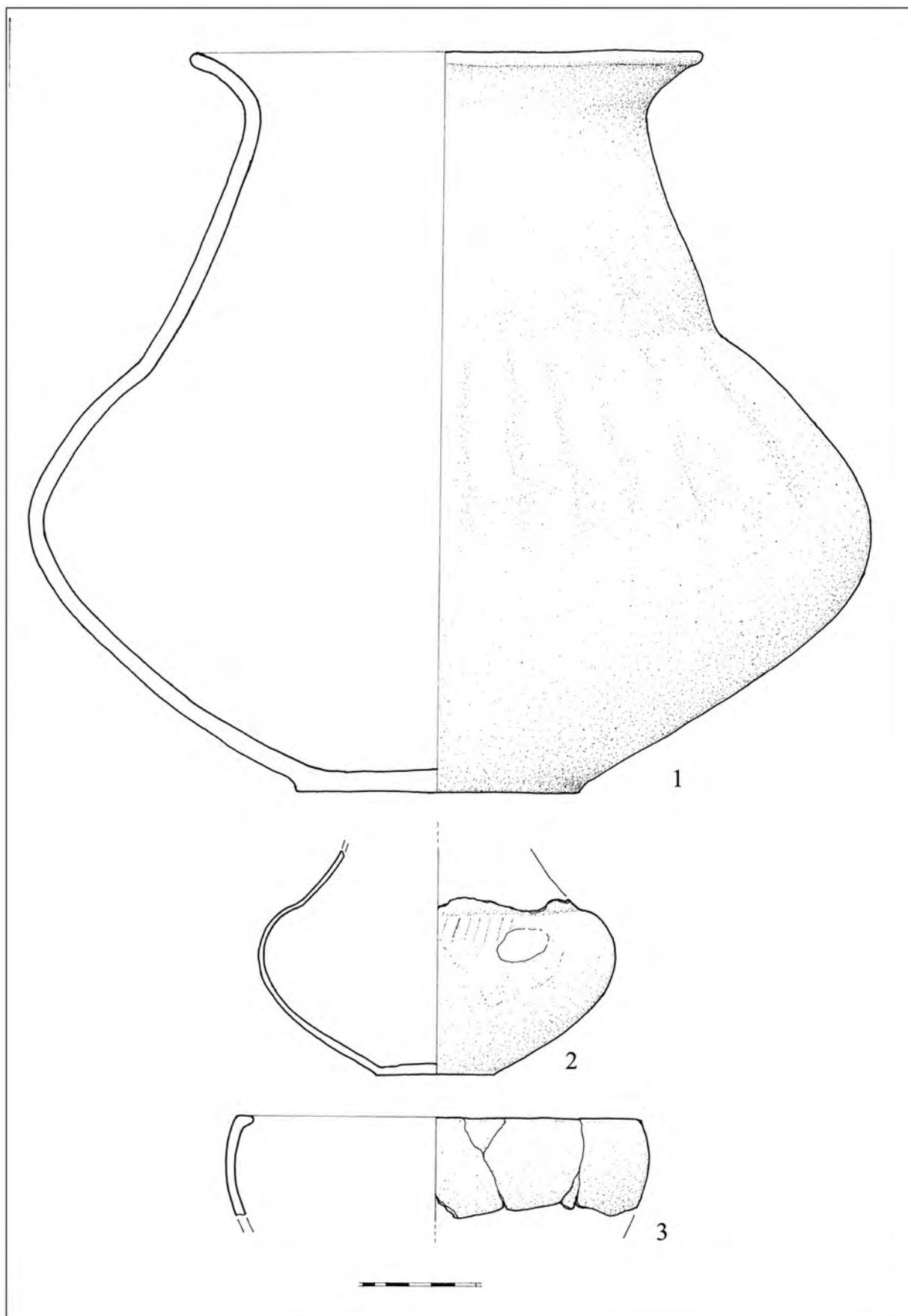
75. PATEK 1982, 16 and fig. 9/5. – PATEK 1993, 51 and Abb. 36.

76. ŠIMIĆ 1988. – TRAJKOVIĆ 2008, *passim*. – Based on the finds from the destroyed graves in Batina (METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, pl. 3, 1; pl. 16, 1; pl. 25, 4) and Dalj (HOFFILLER 1938, pl. 10/6; pl. 13/6; pl. 14/9, *passim*) it can be concluded that people were also already buried in these cemeteries in the 11th century BC.

77. VINSKI, VINSKI-GASPARINI 1962. – METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002.



Tab. 1. Belišće, grave 24. (Drawing by M. Galić)



Tab. 2. Belišće, grave 27. (Drawing by M. Galić)

Doroslovo, Vukovar, Sotin, Šarengrad), the material legacy of which not only reveals diverse cultural influences, but also various local communities that buried their members in these cemeteries, as in the case of Velika Gorica and Dobova. There is not much information for defining the male costume, as the pins known from the cemeteries in Dalj and Batina mostly belong to the Early Iron Age (multi-headed pins and pins with a ribbed neck). The Dalj cemetery yielded a large number of whetstones, which presumably belonged to male graves. A burned decorated tanged sword from Dalj is an exceptional find that may have reached this area from northeastern Hungary or northern Europe. A close parallel to a similar custom of sword deposition is found in the aforementioned grave 63 at Klentnice in Moravia. The female costume can be defined to a greater degree, as was the case in other contemporary groups. During the Late Bronze Age women wore spectacle-fibulae (Šarengrad, Vukovar), but these were not documented among the finds from Batina. Ring-shaped hair ornaments are frequent and appear in several forms: a simple circle of coiled bronze wire, a coil of bronze wire with a pseudo-twisted decoration, cast bronze rings with overlapping ends and cylindrical ornaments of sheet bronze with incised decoration. Interestingly, cylindrical ornaments of sheet bronze appear in an area stretching from Gomolava to Dalj,⁷⁸ while they are absent from Batina. The situation is different with cast bronze ring-ornaments; these appear in Batina and Dalj, but not south of that area. A pseudo-twisted hair ornament of bronze wire was found at the cemetery in Doroslovo. The Dalj group is also characterized by bracelets with overlapping ends of a D-shaped cross-section decorated with incised clusters of vertical and V-lines. Bronze-wire earrings with arrayed shell beads stand out from the finds from Dalj, to which we could add a chance find from Sotin. A bracelet of that type was found in Dalj. Forms of fibulae suggest that the female costume in the territory of the Dalj group became increasingly varied towards the beginning of the 8th century BC; in addition to bow fibulae with a flat-beaten foot, which already appear in this area in the 9th century B.C., local forms with a campaniform foot now appear, as well as a type with biconical knobs on the bow – a local form worn by prominent female members of the society. Diadems played a similar role in marking the status (grave 202 from Vukovar-Lijeva Bara, the Šarengrad hoard). Among other fibulae, those with knobs on the bow of the Danubian variant, as well as fibulae with a ribbed bow, which are characteristic for the lower Danubian basin, are worthy of distinction. The female costume also included saddle-shaped anklets (Bijelo Brdo, Sotin, Šarengrad), the

conceptual form of which should be sought in the central Danubian basin and upper Drava basin. The forms of fibulae worn in this area became even more varied during the 7th century BC. Another bronze item frequently found in female costume are small decorative cones of sheet bronze, found in particularly large numbers in Dalj. Regionalisms are also noticeable in the ceramic assemblage (certain forms – jugs, bowls with a foot, kantharoi – and the characteristic decoration in the form of vertical fluting). The Dalj group is the only group that accepted the technology of the new Iron Age without changes in the burial rite. The presence of inhumation graves in Vukovar and Šarengrad, judging by the costume and proportion with the cremation burials, can be connected with the neighboring Bosut population that inhabited Syrmium, southern Bačka and Banat, and who had a settlement in Ilok throughout the duration of the group. The border, that is the zone of “mixture” between these two cultural groups, should be looked for in the area between Ilok and Vukovar. Dalj also yielded inhumation graves, but their precise number is unknown due to the circumstances of the investigation. In addition to the influence from the lower Danube basin, perceptible in the burial rite and costume, influences from the Balkans (double-loop fibulae with a twisted bow and triangular foot) and the northeast (Tisza basin) are visible in ceramic forms (pots with a biconical body), costume (decorative cones, cast ring-shaped hair ornaments, sheet-bronze hair ornaments⁷⁹, whetstones) and zoomorphic small sculpture. A particularity of the Dalj area and Syrmia are hoards containing horse harnesses of Thraco-Cimmerian type (Šarengrad, Batina), which also points to the eastern Carpathian impulses. These numerous influences reaching this area from the lower Danube basin, eastern Carpathians and from even further afield like the Black Sea, as well as from the central Danube basin, southeast Alps and the Balkans, are not surprising given the strategic significance of the confluence of the Drava and the Danube and of the confluence of the Sava and the Danube, along which the routes of the time passed. The openness of the Dalj community towards innovations is also underlined by its easternmost position in the eastern circle of the Urn-field culture, later in the Hallstatt circle, if one considers the costume and burial rites that were inherited from the central European cultural area. The burial rite in the Croatian Danubian area remained the same at the beginning of

78. TASIĆ 1979, 14, t. III. – METZNER-NEBELSICK 2004.

79. This form has its roots in the area of Pontus and northern Caucasus, from where it reached Syrmia through northeast Hungary and the Tisza basin, and developed a local form characterized by larger size and incised decoration (METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, 439–441 and Abb. 196. – METZNER-NEBELSICK 2004).

the Iron Age – cremation in urns – but the number of grave goods changed, and prominent members of the community were buried in a richer costume with larger ceramic sets.

Sava Group

No graves from the younger phase of the Urnfield culture have hitherto been found in the Croatian part of the Posavina region. Apart from the large cemeteries and numerous hoards from the older phase of the Urnfield culture belonging to the Barice-Gredani group, the understanding of the burial rite during the first centuries of the last millennium BC in the Posavina region were only known from the Donja Dolina site. A trial investigation at the position of the cemetery in Dolina na Savi, near the famous Donja Dolina site, took place in June 2009. In addition to a very damaged flat cremation burial in an urn (?), the excavation focused on tumulus 8 with two cremation burials without urns. The cremated bones of the person buried in grave 2 were mixed with ash, charcoal and fragments of a cup broken above the pyre, and were placed on the soil wrapped in organic material such as cloth or leather, fastened with a pin (Fig. 4). The tumulus then started to be layered above this wrapping. The excavation of the northeastern quarter yielded fragments of another two vessels. The burnt bones mixed with charcoal, one part within the ceramic cup and the other outside, together with pieces of bronze objects burned on the pyre with the dead woman (?) were placed on the first deposited layer of the tumulus, immediately above grave 2. A bronze rivet and possibly the remains of a fibula, the closest parallel of which was found in the Bokavić hoard, was dated to phase 4 after P. König.⁸⁰ The second layer of the tumulus was then laid above grave 1.

Based on the pin with a vase-shaped head above the bones in grave 2, which belongs to the Ha B3 period, as well as the fragments of pottery analogous to the Central Bosnian group after B. Čović,⁸¹ this grave should be dated to the end of the 9th/beginning of the 8th century BC. Grave 1 yielded a fibula burnt with the dead woman, while the cup that contained part of the cremated bones can be connected with the Dalj group. This grave should be dated to the first half of the 8th century BC at the latest. Anthropological analyses of the graves have not yet been completed, so the sex of the deceased can, at present, only be assessed by the grave goods.

Goods from graves in tumulus 8 in Dolina bear witness to the Pannonian and Balkan influences that were reaching

the Posavina region. The pin with a small vase-shaped head of the kind distributed from Transdanubia to southern Pannonia⁸² and the cup with a prominent fluted belly like those spread in northern Bosnia in the younger phase of the Urnfield culture are obviously influenced from the Danubian basin, where such a form and decoration are characteristic for the Dalj group.⁸³ On the other hand, the ceramics from grave 2, characteristic for the Central Bosnian group and the fibula from grave 1, point to southern, already Balkan, influences.

The finds from Dolina, incorporated into the already existing body of knowledge on the Late Bronze Age in the Croatian and Bosnian part of the Sava basin (the Posavina region), are a clear indication of the specific character of the area inhabited by the community known from settlements and minor cemeteries of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture and are distinct from contemporary neighboring communities.

In spite of distinct local and regional traits of specific groups of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture, these were communities that communicated with one another and among which news spread rapidly, whether of a technological, material or spiritual character. This is why a uniformity in the use of cremation burials is discernible during the Late Bronze Age, mostly in an urn, with widely distributed ceramic forms (pots with a conical neck, bowls with an inverted obliquely fluted rim), but also certain particularities pertaining to the wider or narrower community.

The cremation burial rite used throughout the life of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia also remained deeply rooted during the Hallstattization process, which started towards the end of the 9th century BC.

Social differentiation that certainly began in the Late Bronze Age society (graves with swords, weapons, richly furnished women) can be seen through the process of "Hallstattization"⁸⁴ itself, in which this term comprises, above all else, the acceptance of cultural novelties introduced by a society that encountered, learned and applied the new technology, manifested in burials under tumuli (primarily of prominent members of the community), while the fashion in the costume (e.g. fibulae with knobs on the bow) were increasingly becoming widespread.

The results of the recent investigations in Sotin reveal that the cremation burial rite endured deep into the Early Iron Age, with noticeable modifications in the form of the

80. KÖNIG 2004, 171 and t. 43/126.

81. ČOVIĆ 1965, 37–39 and t. I/3; t. II, 1/7. – GAVRANOVIĆ 2007, 54–56 and Abb. 15/3, 5.

82. MOZSOLICS 2000, 9, 34 and t. 2/7. – MARIĆ 1964, 27 and t. III/10.

83. HOFFILLER 1938. – METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002, Abb. 75/18, 19.

84. This term was inaugurated in the literature by L. D. NEBELSICK 1994 and S. STEGMANN-RAJTAJ 1992.



Fig. 4. Grave 2 in tumulus 8 in Dolina. (Photo by M. Dizdar)

grave and the number of grave goods: cremation burials without urns in rectangular grave pits, cremation burials in urns in rectangular grave pits. At this point it is impossible to discuss the ratios and relationships due to the insufficient number of samples. There were also inhumation burials documented at the beginning of the Iron Age, e.g. in Vukovar-Lijeva Bara and in Šarengrad, attributed to the members of the neighboring Bosut community. Another novelty is the burial under tumuli in Batina, which have not been investigated yet.

Modifications in the burial rite at the end of the Urn-field culture are most readily observable in the southern parts of Pannonia, that is the areas adjacent to the Balkans (e.g. Budinjak, Dolina), where the inhumation rite became increasingly more common, while in central Croatia and in the Podravina region the cremation rite still continued, but now under tumuli and increasingly rarer in urns. Part of the population presumably continued to be buried in flat cremation graves also in the Hallstatt period, as corroborated by the latest discovery of the graves from Slatina-Berezina. The examples from the surrounding areas (e.g. Doroslovo⁸⁵, Wildon⁸⁶) lend plausibility to this assumption.

The documented changes in the burial rite took place gradually and with the dynamics distinct from the changes in costume at the beginning of the Iron Age, as can be observed on several examples (e.g. Budinjak tumulus 51A,⁸⁷ Dolina tumulus 8, Vukovar grave 320⁸⁸). This process affected northern Croatia towards the end of the 9th century and lasted during the 8th century BC, i.e. corresponding to the Ha C1a phase after Ch. Pare.⁸⁹

In lieu of a conclusion

In the period between 1300 and 750 BC the dominant burial rite in northern Croatia was cremation, with exceptional cases of inhumation rite that can be dated around 800 BC and earlier, which are the result of influences from the neighboring communities to the south and the east.

Several variations regarding the placement of cremated remains of the deceased into graves can be distinguished: directly in a grave pit; in an urn; covered with a bowl in the incipient and older phases of the Urnfield culture (the end of the 14th, 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries BC); an urn covered with a bowl without other ceramic

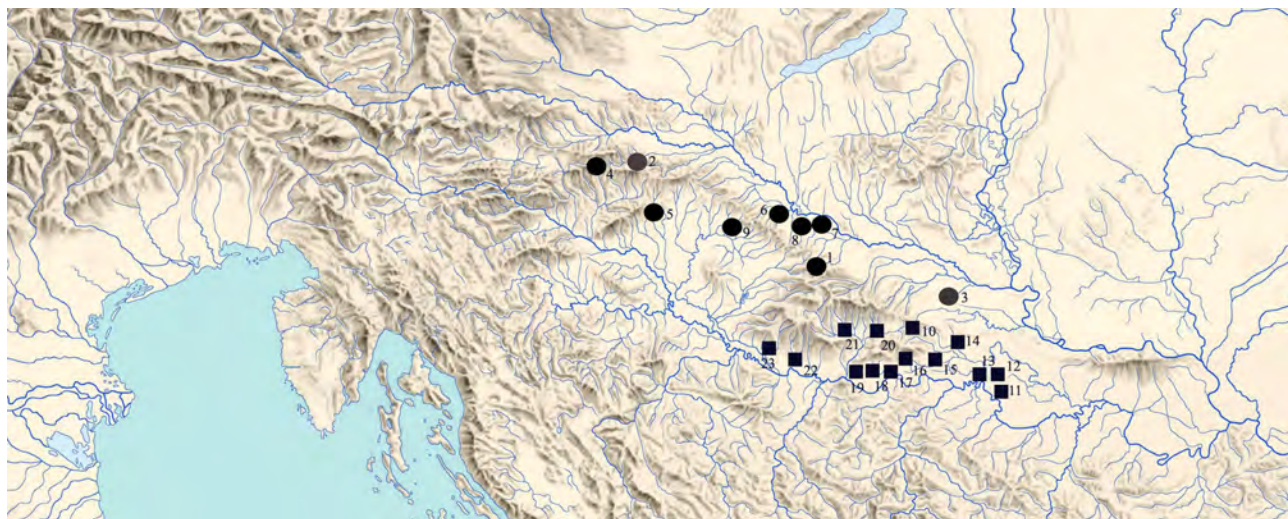
⁸⁷ ŽELLE 2002.

⁸⁸ VINSKI, VINSKI-GASPARINI 1962, 271 and t. III/fig. 48–53.

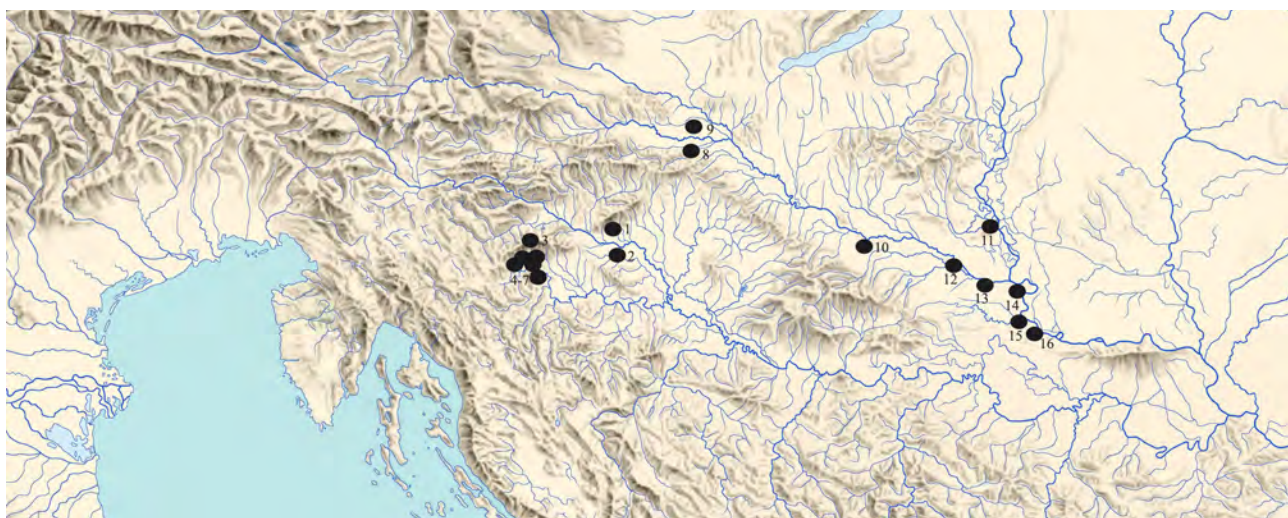
⁸⁹ PARE 1998, Tab. 5.

⁸⁵ TRAJKOVIĆ 2008, grave 1, 1–8; grave 6, 1–20; grave 7, 1–15; grave 17, 1–10.

⁸⁶ GUTJAHR 2008.



Map 1. Burial rite in the older phase of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia. Virovitica group: 1. Voćin – 2. Jakopovec – 3. Čepinski Martinčići – 4. Lepoglava – 5. Moravče – 6. Sirova Katalena – 7. Gačište – 8. Virovitica – 9. Drljanovac – Barice-Gredani group: 10. Vlatkovac – 11. Zapadna Kusara – 12. Popernjak – 13. Dubovo – 14. Strossmayerovac – 15. Perkovci – 16. Vranovci – 17. Brod – 18. Brodski Stupnik – 19. Oriovac – 20. Grabarje – 21. Požega – 22. Mačkovac – 23. Gredani.

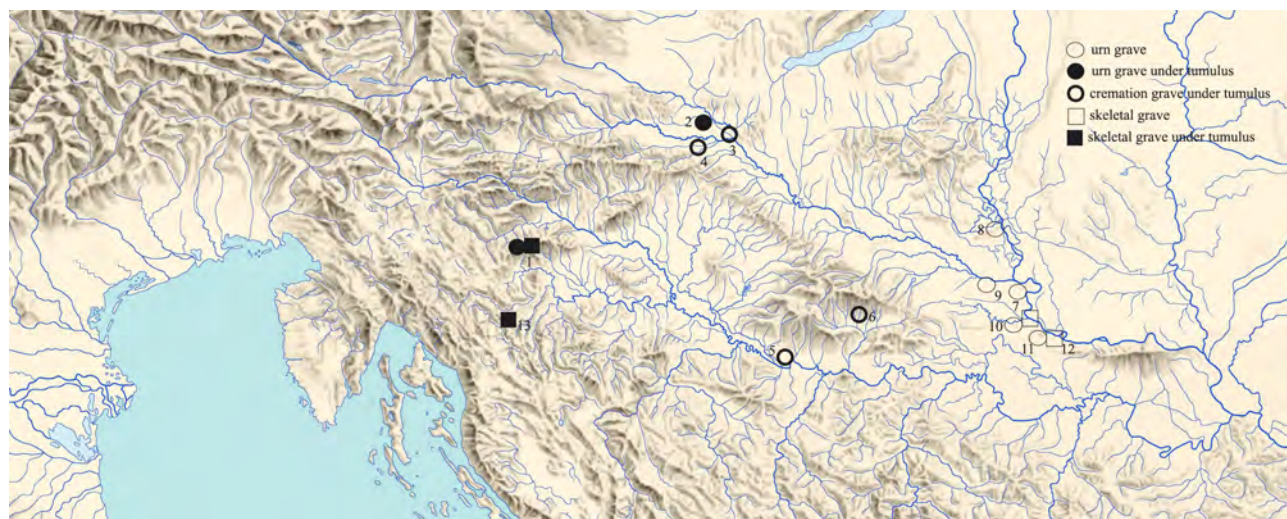


Map 2. Burial rite in the younger phase of the Urnfield culture in northern Croatia. 1. Zagreb – 2. Velika Gorica – 3. Budinjak – 4. Ozalj – 5. Krupače – 6. Žamarija – 7. Treščerovac – 8. Martijanec – 9. Nedelišće – 10. Slatina – 11. Batina – 12. Belišće – 13. Osijek – 14. Dalj – 15. Vukovar – 16. Sotin.

vessels. In grave architecture stone lining appears (12th, 11th and 10th centuries BC) (Zagreb-Vrapče), and in the 9th and 8th centuries BC a wreath of stones sometimes lines the grave (Budinjak, Ozalj). In rare cases graves contain burnt remains of costume in the older phase of the Urnfield culture.

During the younger phase the graves increasingly contain larger number of ceramic vessels and bronze costume pieces (9th, 8th centuries BC). The graves from Belišće, the pottery of which indicates the western border of the Dalj

group, as well as the graves from Dolina do not allow us to associate the burial rite with characteristic costume of the deceased of distinct groups, in contrast to the skeletal graves from Vukovar (inhumation graves from Vukovar-Lijeva Bara are the examples of burials of the members of the neighboring Bosut community, judging by the costume of graves 269, 202. Grave 320 is an exception, with goods pointing to the Urnfield culture). All the examples have to be taken with caution as they come from a small number of individual graves, not large investigated cem-



Map 3. Burial rite at the beginning of the Hallstatt culture in northern Croatia. 1. Budinjak – 2. Dvorišće – 3. Goričan – 4. Martijanec – 5. Dolina – 6. Kaptol – 7. Dalj – 8. Batina – 9. Osijek – 10. Vukovar – 11. Sotin – 12. Šaregrad – 13. Duga Gora.

eteries. The Hallstattization process, in the way of burial in these areas, begins at the end of the 9th century BC, and it is observable in the structure of grave goods (number of ceramic vessels – the feasting set from Budinjak, Sotin), the inhumation burial rite (Budinjak), the appearance of tumuli (Budinjak, Kaptol, Dolina) and in changes in the costume.

Novelties are selectively accepted in connection with the social status of the individual, as noticeable in graves of prominent persons, and the tradition of the Urnfield culture was preserved in the burial rite (cremation and occasional burial in an urn) deep into the Hallstatt period in southern Pannonia.⁹⁰

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The Velika Gorica cemetery and related sites in Continental Croatia

Snježana Karavanić

Zusammenfassung

DER VELIKA GORICA-FRIEDHOF UND VERGLEICHBARE FUNDORTE IM BINNENLÄNDISCHEN KROATIEN. Der vorliegende Artikel behandelt Grabkontexte aus Velika Gorica (Zagreb). Der Fundort wurde durch Zufall beim Kiesabbau auf dem Grundstück (Kataster-Nr. 380/2) des Geschäftsmanns Nikola Hribar in der Nähe des örtlichen Spitals entdeckt. Es wurden Brandbestattungen sowie mittelalterliche Körpergräber gefunden. Der erste Befund wurde von V. Hoffiller 1909 publiziert. Derselbe Autor analysierte 1924 die Keramikfunde. Die Funde von Velika Gorica lieferten die Definitionsbasis für die jüngere Phase der Urnenfelderkultur in Nordkroatien. Später wurde die Bezeichnung Velika Gorica-Gruppe von Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini eingeführt. Alle erhaltenen Gräber wurden 2009 von Snježana Karavanić publiziert.

Abstract

The article deals with the grave assemblages from the Velika Gorica (Zagreb) site. The site was discovered by chance during pebble quarrying on the cadastral plot no. 380/2, owned by a businessman named Nikola Hribar, and is located near the local hospital. On that occasion, finds from cremation burials, as well as from later, medieval inhumations, were found. The first report was published by V. Hoffiller in 1909. The same author analysed ceramic finds in 1924. The finds from Velika Gorica provided the basis for the definition of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture in North Croatia. Later the term Velika Gorica group was introduced by Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini. All preserved graves were published by Snježana Karavanić in 2009.

1. Introduction

The Urnfield culture in Croatia is represented by grave finds from the entire time span of this culture (fig. 1). Unfortunately, most of the cemeteries were not systematically excavated and they lack closed grave finds and find circumstances. From the early Urnfield culture we have cemeteries at Virovitica and Sirova Katalena, which were excavated in the 60ies by Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini.¹ They formed a basis for the definition of the so-called 1st phase of the Urnfield culture in Croatia and later the Virovitica group. We can also attribute the cemeteries of Moravče², Drljanovac³ and Voćin⁴ to this group. Furthermore, we can mention cemeteries of the Gredani group, excavated by K. Minichreiter in the 80ies,⁵ in a separate group. Some new sites at Mačkovac-Crišnjevi⁶ and Popernjak⁷ can also be attributed to this group, locally called the Barice-Gredani group. The Zagreb-Vrapče⁸ cemetery also belongs to the early Urnfield culture and its phase II.

We attributed cemeteries from Zagreb-Horvati, Velika Gorica, Krupače, Treščerovac⁹ and Ozalj¹⁰ to the late phase of the Urnfield culture. The cemeteries of the Dalj group¹¹ form a separate group.

1. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

2. SOKOL 1990. – SOKOL 1996.

3. MAJNARIĆ PANDŽIĆ 1988. – MAJNARIĆ PANDŽIĆ 1994.

4. LOŽNJAK 2003.

5. MINICHREITER 1983.

6. MIHALJEVIĆ, KALAFATIĆ 2004.

7. MARIJAN 2005.

8. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

9. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

10. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1981.

11. METZNER-NEBELSICK 2002.

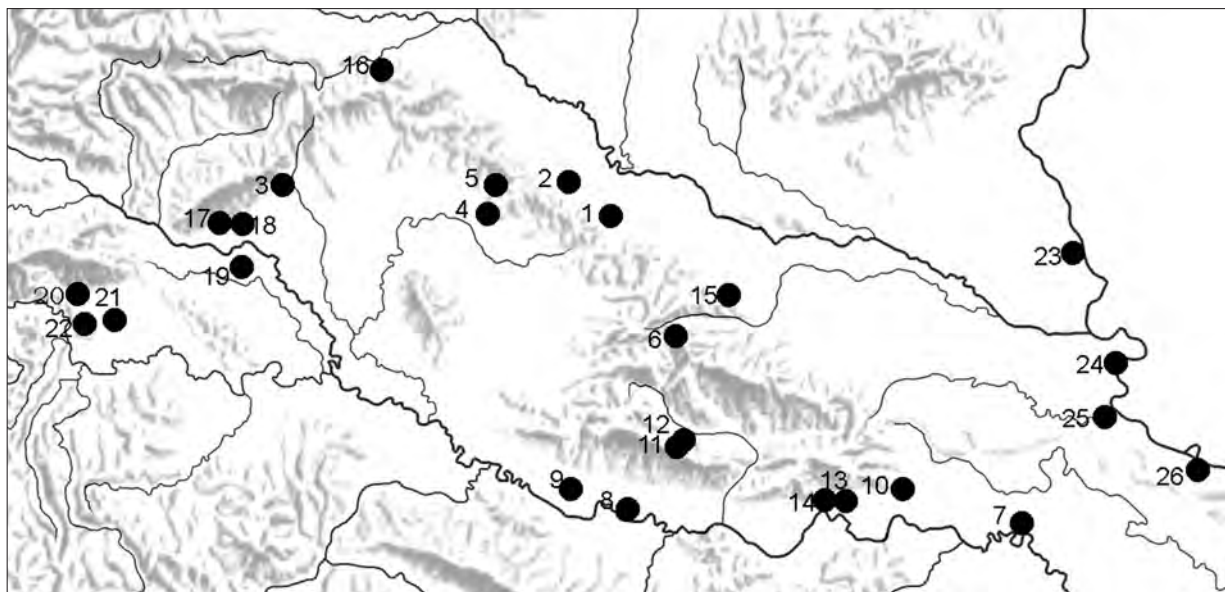


Fig. 1. Map of the Urnfield culture cemetery sites in continental Croatia. 1. Virovitica – 2. Sirova Katalena – 3. Moravče – 4. Drljanovac – 5. Mala Pupelica – 6. Voćin – 7. Popernjak – 8. Mačkovac-Crišnjevi – 9. Gredani – 10. Perkovci-Dobrevo – 11. Slavonska Požega-Bajer – 12. Grabarje (Slavonska Požega) – 13. Vranovci (Slavonski Brod) – 14. Oriovac (Slavonski Brod) – 15. Nova Bukovica (Podravska Slatina) – 16. Ludbreg – 17. Zagreb-Vrapče – 18. Zagreb-Horvati – 19. Velika Gorica – 20. Krupače – 21. Treščerovac – 22. Ozalj – 23. Batina – 24. Dalj – 25. Vukovar-Lijeva Bara – 26. Šarengrad.

2. Location of the site

The area investigated covers today's administrative units of Zagreb and Karlovac county. The site (fig. 2) is located right in the middle of the present day town of Velika Gorica, which was formerly a suburb of Zagreb. It is 10 km away from Zagreb and lies on the territory south of the river Sava. In prehistory it was exposed to different cultural influences, both from the Balkans as well as Pannonia and the Eastern Alpine region. Velika Gorica and Dobova lie on the natural pass from the lower to the upper Sava valley. Dobova is only 37 km linear distance from Velika Gorica. This territory is located between the mountains Medvednica, Žumberak and Samoborsko gorje and we have evidence for several hill-fort sites from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age on their slopes like Susedgrad, Sv. Križ Brdovečki and Bregana-Kosovac.¹²

3. History of the research on the Velika Gorica cemetery

The first report was written by V. Hoffiller,¹³ who described and analysed the finds of 20 graves (15 cremation graves in urns and 5 inhumations) that were discovered in 1908.

The site was discovered during the pebble quarrying on the cadastral plot no. 380/2, owned by a businessman named

Nikola Hribar, and located near the local hospital.¹⁴ On that occasion, finds from cremation burials, as well as from later, medieval inhumations, were found. It is mentioned that urn graves were also found on the cadastral plot no. 543.¹⁵

The information from the museum's archives¹⁶ informs us that during 1909, and under the direction of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, 16 graves were found, and a further 14 were discovered the following year. In 1910 T. Kalčić found 7 graves, and in 1916 an additional 6. During 1910, 1911, 1914, and 1924 the Museum received additional finds from the Velika Gorica cemetery as a gift from the owner of the land. A total of 67 graves, most of them cremation burials of prehistoric age, were excavated. However, there were some from the Roman period, as well as 6 inhumations from the medieval period.

In 1924 V. Hoffiller published a paper on the prehistoric urns from the site in the *Frane Bulić Festschrift* (Serta Buliciana).¹⁷

The finds from Velika Gorica were also published by him in the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* series.¹⁸

14. HOFFILLER 1909, 120.

15. HOFFILLER 1909, fig. 17.

16. V. Vejvoda, Prehistorijsko nalazište Velika Gorica (archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb).

17. HOFFILLER 1924.

18. HOFFILLER 1938.

12. VRDOLJAK 1996.

13. HOFFILLER 1909.



Fig. 2. Map with the location of the Velika Gorica and Dobova sites.

They also appear in the list of the Archaeological map of Yugoslavia under the name of Velika Gorica, *Blatt Zagreb*.¹⁹

The first catalogue of chosen grave assemblages from the Velika Gorica cemetery was published by F. Staré²⁰ and was analysed by him the same year in his paper on semilunar razors from Yugoslavia.²¹

K. Vinski-Gasparini²² included the finds in her synthesis, but chose not to do a detailed analysis of the finds from the late period of the Urnfield culture, as they had already been previously published. K. Vinski-Gasparini²³ published 5 graves: 7/1908, 1/1910, 2/1910, 1/1911 and 3/1916.

In our work, we have chosen to do a detailed analysis of the complete inventory from the site that is housed in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Graves were analysed according to their description in the inventory books, and an attempt was made to reconstruct the previously unreconstructed grave associations. Our analysis also added new items to the grave contents published by V. Hoffiller²⁴ and

K. Vinski-Gasparini²⁵ (1973). All of the preserved graves at Velika Gorica were published by the author of this article in 2009.²⁶

4. The reconstructed number of the graves

We divided the graves into those known only from descriptions in the literature (fig. 3), those with the known material that is housed in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and those graves that we assume might have also been excavated (blue colour). From our work on the material from Velika Gorica it is assumed that a total of 53 urn graves from the prehistoric age could be registered, but only 22 could be reconstructed as closed grave finds, 19 are known from the literature and the remaining 12 graves are only assumed to have been excavated.

5. Burial rites

The only data about the type of cremation burials at Velika Gorica come from V. Hoffiller's report²⁷ about the excavation of 9 urn graves at the aforementioned cadastral plot 380/2 owned by Nikola Hribar. All of these graves were found at a depth of 40–50 cm, except grave 1 which

19. KLEMENC 1938.

20. STARÉ 1957a.

21. STARÉ 1957b.

22. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

23. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

24. HOFFILLER 1909.

25. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

26. KARAVANIĆ 2009.

27. HOFFILLER 1909.

1908	1910	1911	1914	1916
1. 1/1908	15. 1/1910	36. 1/1911	47. 1/1914	48. 1/1916
2. 2/1908	16. 2/1910	37. 2/1911	46. 2/1914	49. 2/1916
3. 3/1908	17. 3/1910	38. 3/1911	47. 3/1914	50. 3/1916
4. 4/1908	18. 4/1910	39. 4/1911		51. 4/1916
5. 5/1908	19. 5/1910	40. 5/1911		52. 5/1916
6. 6/1908	20. 6/1910	41. 6/1911		53. 6/1916
7. 7/1908	21. 7/1910	42. 7/1911		
8. 8/1908	22. 8/1910	43. 8/1911		
9. 9/1908	23. 9/1910	44. 9/1911		
10. 10/1908	24. 10/1910	45. 10/1911		
11. 11/1908	25. 11/1910	46. 11/1911		
12. 12/1908	26. 12/1910			
13. 13/1908	27. 13/1910			
14. 14/1908	28. 14/1910			
	29. A/1910			
	30. B/1910			
	31. C/1910			
	32. D/1910			
	33. E/1910			
	34. F/1910			
	35. G/1910			

□ graves known from literature

□ graves with known material

□ supposed graves

Fig. 3. Table with the preserved and non-preserved grave finds at Velika Gorica.

was found at a depth of 80 cm. They were all buried in the pebble soil. V. Hoffiller mentions that all the 9 graves were at the same place, at a distance of 3 m from each other. The soil around each grave, about 1 m², was very dark and black and mixed with charcoal. I assume that this was probably the traces of burial pits. The statement that the urns were very small vessels, rarely covered with another small vessel, is very important information from this report. The burnt bones were mostly found around the vessels, but it is possible that there were examples with bones inside the urns. Items made of metal were also located near the urn.²⁸ As in the case of the finds from Krupače and Treščerovac, it was not possible to preserve all the urns, due to the poor quality of the pottery, as well as the humidity of the soil. It is also worth mentioning that the vessels that we called urns did not always serve as a container for cremated bones. They actually have very small dimensions and have usually a hole on the vessel walls.

We can take the results of the excavation of the Dobova cemetery, just across the border in Slovenia, as a parallel to the Velika Gorica cremation burials. The graves are dug into the same alluvial Sava pebble soil. F. Staré²⁹ distinguished three groups of graves there:

1. The first group are the graves with the bones inside

the urn, which was placed into the grave pit. Grave goods are very rare in this group and are mostly placed in the urn.

2. The second group are the graves with a vessel-urn. But the bones are placed on the bottom of the pit together with charcoal. Grave goods are most frequent in this group and were placed in the urn as well as beneath it on the bottom of the grave pit.

3. The third group are the graves without urns and only with bones inside the grave pit with charcoal. The grave goods were mostly some pieces of pottery.

We have evidence of the existence of large vessels or urns inside which small vessels were placed together with cremated bones and grave goods from the cemetery of Krupače.³⁰ The urns were found at a depth of 40 cm beneath the surface. Some were covered with a small bowl, and inside the urns, on the layer of ashes, a small pot also covered with a bowl was found. Inside this small pot there were cremated bones and a rare piece of metal. J. Brunšmid also mentions an example of a small urn, with cremated bones inside it and metal grave goods beside it, beneath the layer of burnt soil.

For the Treščerovac³¹ cemetery we also have some data from the Šime Ljubić report from 1885, where it is stated that 46 urns were found in an area with a length of 21 m and a width of 11.5 m. Some urns were placed 50 cm beneath the surface, some 1 m and some right beneath the surface. Four

28. HOFFILLER 1909, 122.

29. STARÉ 1952. – STARÉ 1975.

30. BRUNŠMID 1898.

31. LJUBIĆ 1885.

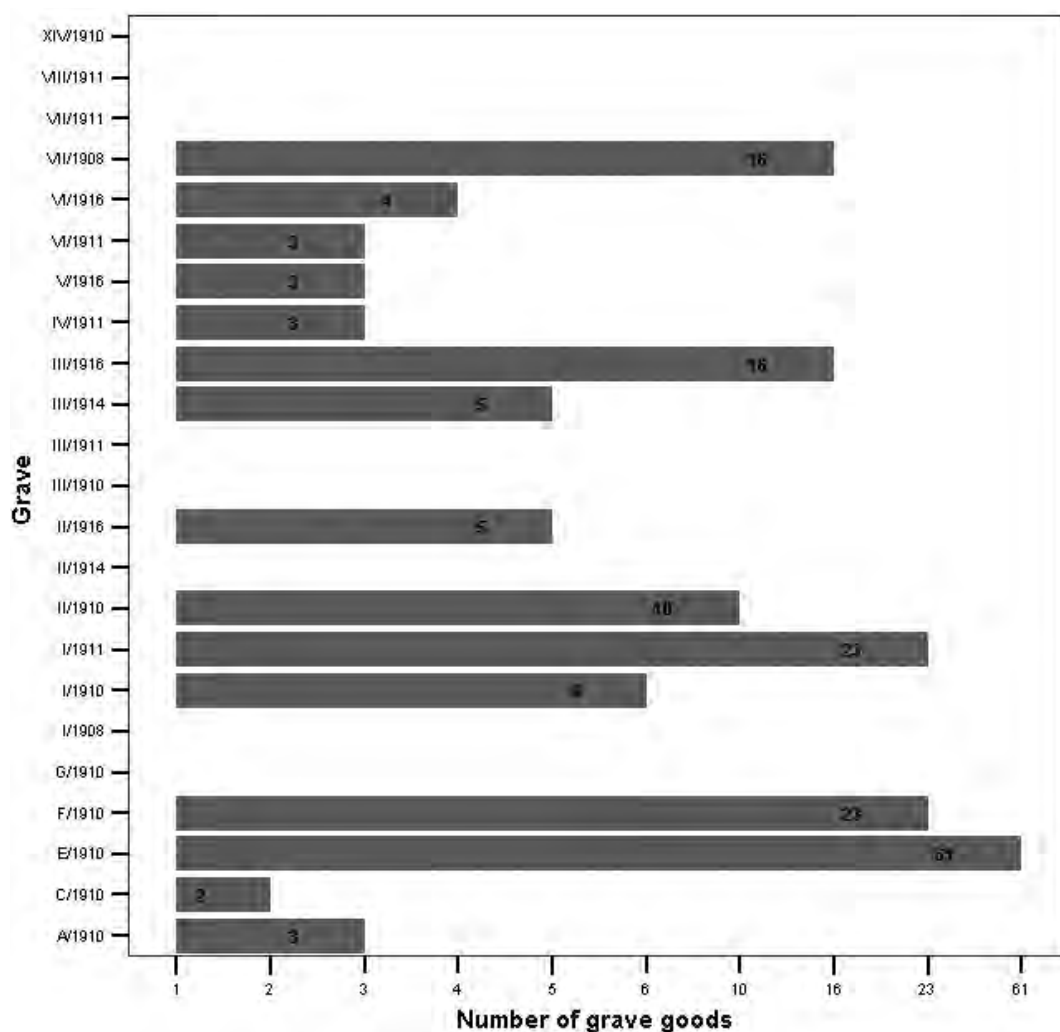


Fig. 4. The number of finds in the Velika Gorica graves.

urns had a stone slab cover, one had a double stone slab and the others had a bowl as a lid. The same applied at Krupače, a small urn and cup could be found inside the big vessel. Only in one case was this small urn outside but near the big vessel. Š. Ljubić assumed that a total of 130 vessels were found. Š. Ljubić also stated that it is possible that these urn graves were used for burying two or three persons because cremated bones fill half of one big urn and were also found in some small vessels. Unfortunately we do not have any anthropological data from these graves. It is also interesting that Š. Ljubić reports about the existence of places where the cremation might have taken place. These places were near the urns, about 50 cm away from them and that was the evidence for a cremation ceremony performed on the same cemetery.

At Ozalj Balen-Letunić³² distinguished several types of graves:

1. A grave pit with the urn covered with a bowl or other vessel. The ashes and cremated bones are placed into the urn.
2. A grave pit dug into the bedrock with stone covering and with the same type of urn. The cremated bones are inside or outside of the urn.
3. A grave pit with traces of cremated bones and ashes and a ceramic bowl as a grave good.

6. The number and structure of grave goods from Velika Gorica

6.1 The number of grave goods per grave

The richest of the Velika Gorica graves is grave E/1910 (fig. 4) containing over 30 finds. However, we include vari-

32. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1981.

ous fragments that could not be reconstructed accurately (except in rare cases) in this number, making it larger than it actually is.

A similar situation is seen in the case of grave F/1910 with over 20 finds. A somewhat more realistic situation is observed in graves 7/1908, 1/1911, and 3/1916 as those contain a smaller number of fragments. Therefore, these three latter graves should be considered the richest of the Velika Gorica graves. In them, the grave goods are mostly bronze tools and weapons, and some decorative items. With fewer goods, but still quite rich in goods (between 5 and 10) are graves 3/1914, 1/1910, A/1910, 5/1908, and 2/1910, while in other graves fewer than 5 objects were found.

6.2 The number of grave goods at Velika Gorica

A total of 296 items or grave goods is present in the Velika Gorica assemblage. It can be compared with the Dobova cemetery where we counted a number of 732 grave goods (fig. 5). It has to be noted that in this analysis all of the items were included, not just the ones for which the grave affiliation is known. This can present a methodological problem and further enlarges the item list.

We have defined 20 variables that represent different types of items at the Velika Gorica cemetery. These are:

- 1 pin
- 2 necklace
- 3 bracelet
- 4 bronze ring
- 5 hair ring
- 6 spectacle fibula
- 7 fibula
- 8 fibula of passementerie style (*Posamentierfibel*)
- 9 bead
- 10 decorative plate
- 11 razor
- 12 sword
- 13 spear
- 14 knife
- 15 socketed axe
- 16 weight
- 17 spindle whorl
- 18 ceramic bowl
- 19 rivets
- 20 whetstone

The most abundant grave good type in Velika Gorica is bracelets (fig. 6) (a total of 96 bracelets were found in closed grave associations). The second most abundant type is ce-

ramic vessels (type 18), and necklaces (type 2). Both items are represented by 32 finds.

It has to be noted that some graves contained a single vessel, broken into pieces, and could represent an urn containing the remains of a cremation. The other possibility is that it represents a vessel that was put into the grave as a grave good and not as an urn. Cups and bowls are the most common type of grave goods, while pots, especially those with a hole, were used as urns. After these, the most abundant finds are spectacle fibulae (type 6), of which 20 were found, albeit mostly in fragments. Of other common types 18 spindle whorls (type 17) were found at the cemetery, 16 hair rings with an interwoven design (type 5), and 14 weights (type 16). 12 bronze rings (type 4) and 10 knives were also found. Other finds vary in their abundance from 1 to 8 pieces.

6.3 Comparison with Dobova

At Dobova,³³ the most abundant items are ceramic vessels (fig. 7), of which about 500 were found, followed by a hair ring with an interwoven design, pins, and bracelets.

Compared to these, the rest of the item types appear in small quantities, about 10 per item. The two sites are most similar according to the number of bracelets found, while some types that are found at Velika Gorica, such as passementerie fibulae and razors, are not found at Dobova at all.³⁴ Comparing the cumulative curves of the items found at Dobova and Velika Gorica, there are clearly differences in the percentages of the various types of items. A significant rise is seen in Velika Gorica in necklaces, while the next rise appears for the bracelets and again for the spectacle fibulae.³⁵

The cumulative curve (fig. 8) for the Dobova material³⁶ is moderately rising to the spindle whorls except for the hair decorations that are somewhat more abundant in comparison to the other finds.

Ceramic vessels are the most abundant as can be seen in a drastic rise of the values on the curve. This also shows the differences between the sites. At Velika Gorica necklaces, bracelets and spectacle fibulae are most abundant. Biba Teržan³⁷ published a graphic comparison of the cemeteries from Slovenia: Dobova, Ruše and Podbrežje according to metal objects, graves containing ceramic items, and graves without grave goods. It can be seen that at Podbrežje and Ruše a similar number of graves containing metal ob-

33. KARAVANIĆ 2000, fig. 4.

34. KARAVANIĆ 2000, 42.

35. KARAVANIĆ 2000, 43.

36. KARAVANIĆ 2000, fig. 6.

37. TERŽAN 1999, fig. 9 a, b.

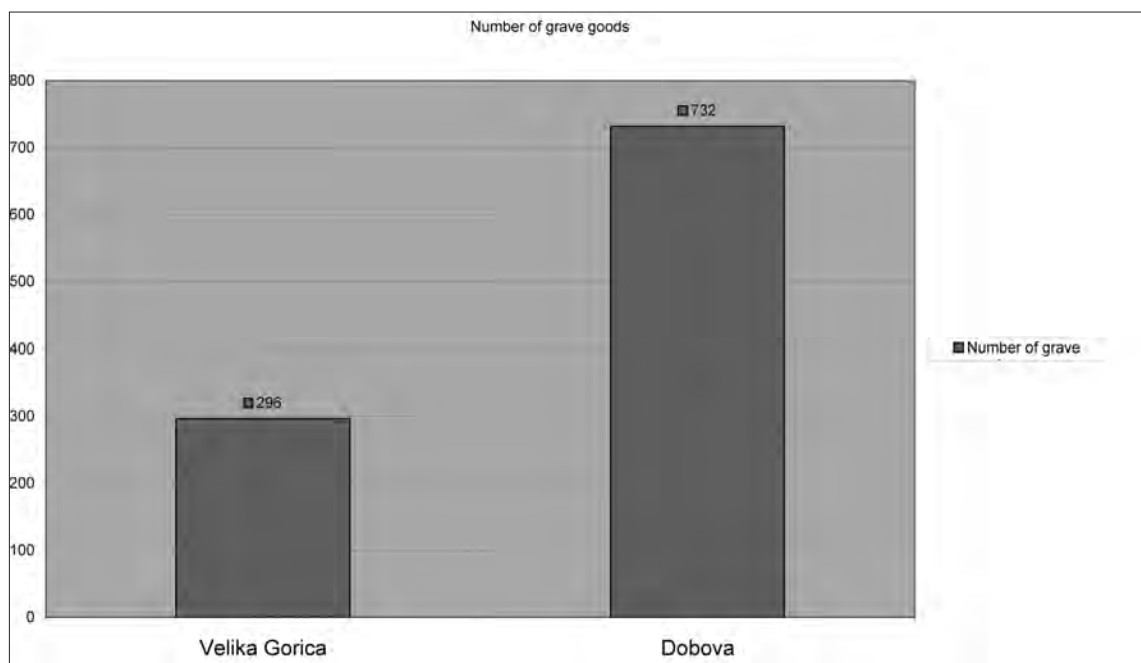


Fig. 5. Comparison of number of finds at Velika Gorica and Dobova.

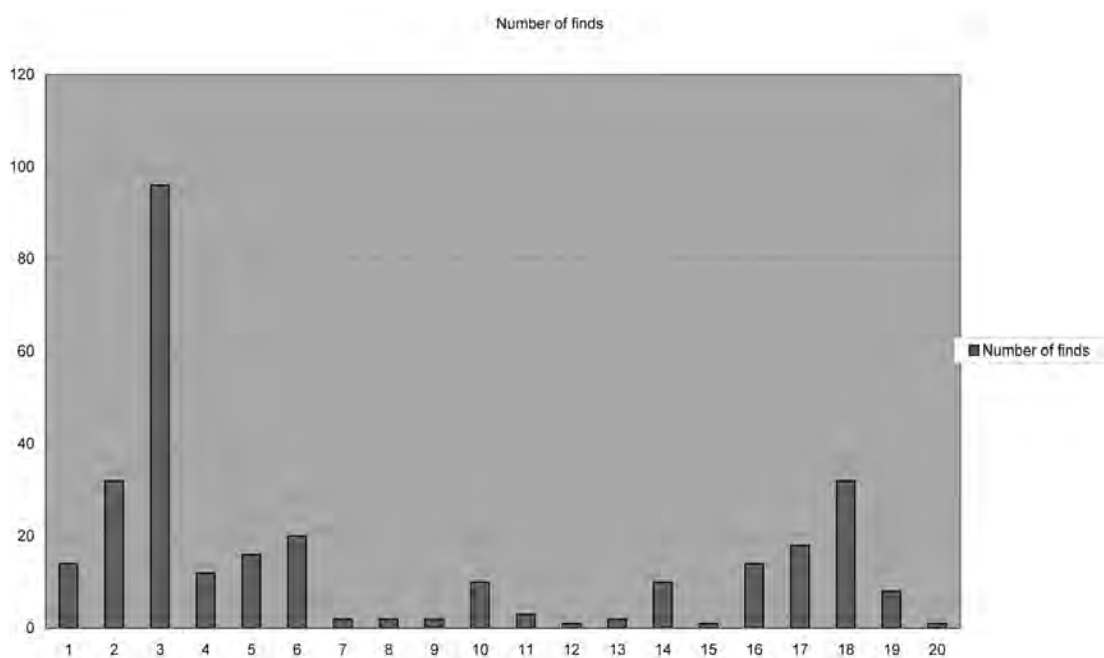


Fig. 6. The number of different types at Velika Gorica.

jects were discovered, while Dobova has fewer graves with metal objects. Graves with ceramics are most common at Podbrežje, Dobova comes second, while at Ruše these are less frequent. Dobova has the most graves that contain no grave goods, and that makes it different from Velika Gorica, which has lots of grave goods.

7. Pottery types

The most characteristic finds of the Velika Gorica cemetery are the urns themselves. These appear in several forms. They mostly have the form of a vessel with a single hole in its middle part. This is, except for the cemetery at Dobova and a few finds from Tolmin, a unique characteristic of this site compared to other sites in the southern Alpine region. This type of urn is found in graves 2/1910, 3/1910, G/1910,

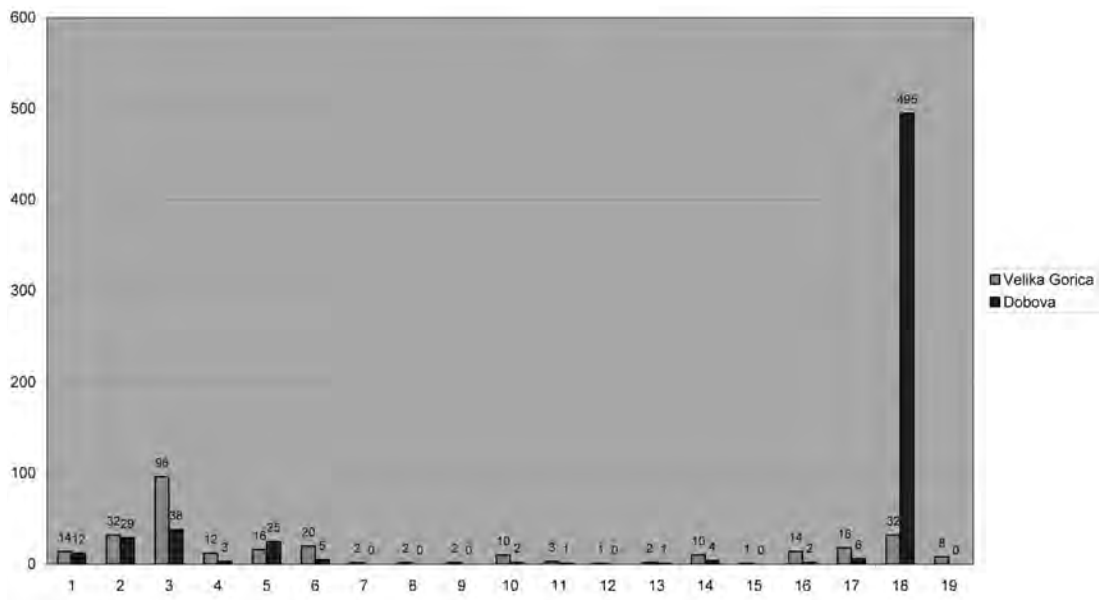


Fig. 7. The comparison of number of types between Velika Gorica and Dobova.

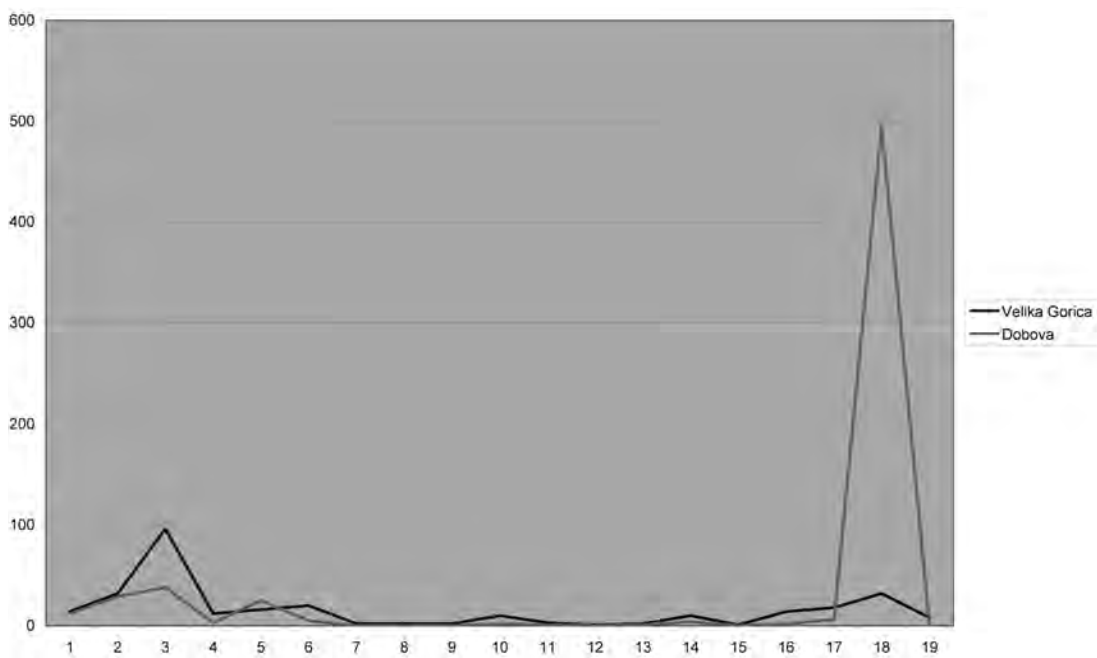


Fig. 8. Curve graph with a comparison between Velika Gorica and Dobova.

4/1911, and 7/1911. K. Vinski-Gasparini³⁸ points to analogies with younger forms seen in the Baierdorf-Velatice culture and some of the Dobova urns, and at the same time points to the find of a rounded bowl from Zagreb Vrapče grave 4, in which she sees the origins of the Velika Gorica

type of urns.³⁹ She also points to a link with the finds from the Virovitica site.⁴⁰

These urns with a hole were previously discussed by V. Hoffiller,⁴¹ who at first argued that the holes had a practical purpose. This is unlikely as the vessels would fall apart

38. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 155.

39. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 25/1.

40. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 9/9; t. 14/5.

41. HOFFILLER 1924, 3.

if hung. He has published all of the 14 vessels with holes as well as two additional ones that were too damaged to tell whether they had holes or not.⁴² As V. Hoffiller⁴³ states, the most abundant form of these urns is a rounded or globular vessel with a straight base. This basic form has several varieties, some vessels being flatter, others narrower and taller, while those that are widest at the rim are also found. One urn, in particular, is important as far as its dimensions and form⁴⁴ are concerned, as it has a slightly biconical part in the middle. The form is reminiscent of the younger period of the Velatice culture. One urn has a reconstructed rim. Urns are quite diverse regarding size, ranging from a height of 8.2 cm to 19 cm. The wall thickness varies from 0.5 to 1 cm – which is quite thick. Holes are mostly round, in some cases slightly oval in form, with a diameter of 1.8 to 2.8 cm. Holes are located from about 2 cm below the rim, and in some urns they are situated lower, as in the case of the largest one in which the hole is located about 9 cm below the rim.⁴⁵

V. Hoffiller⁴⁶ compares the urns from Velika Gorica to the urns in the shape of a house (*Hausurnen*), a form that makes its appearance in the Late Bronze Age and can be found at early Iron Age sites in Italy and Germany. He calls them “*shrunk urns in the shape of a house*” that, according to him, were used to bury poor people. This is an oversimplistic view and is in contrast to the situation found at Velika Gorica, where numerous quite rich graves have been discovered. Analogies with this type of urn can be seen at Dobova, for example in grave no. 13 from that site.⁴⁷ In grave no. 16 at Dobova a variant of this type appears which has a half-opening at the rim of the vessel.⁴⁸ Likewise, in grave no. 29, a variant of a bowl with a straight rim and a hole in the middle was found.⁴⁹ In Dobova grave no. 77⁵⁰ is dated to Ha B1, on the basis of a pin of the Pile dwelling type, as is the urn with a hole in the middle. An interesting find comes from grave no. 90 from Dobova⁵¹ where a pin of the Velemszentvid type was found. This type is also found at the Kalnik-Igrišće I site⁵² and can be dated to the earlier phase of the Urnfield culture. Although Dular⁵³ dates this grave to

the earlier phase of the Velika Gorica group, based on the find of a bowl with an inverted rim with facettes on it,⁵⁴ a somewhat earlier date might be appropriate. This could also mean that the urns with holes are somewhat older. Another find of urns with holes comes from the cemetery of Tolmin, grave 13⁵⁵, grave 43⁵⁶ and grave 215⁵⁷. D. Svoljšak and A. Pogačnik⁵⁸ find parallels at the cemetery of Dobova and cite F. Staré’s opinion that these holes had cultic significance. The holes were meant to be a kind of recipient for the soul of the buried deceased, a so-called *Seelenloch*.

Vessels with two handles (*amphorae*) are also found at Velika Gorica.⁵⁹ This type of vessel is found in almost all of the groups of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture. It is also found in several graves at Dobova: grave no. 5⁶⁰, grave no. 7⁶¹, grave no. 119⁶² etc.

We also find a deep bowl with an S-profile, decorated with fluting on the belly. It has analogies in the finds from Zagreb-Horvati,⁶³ once more confirming the dating of this site to the late phase of the Urnfield culture.

At Velika Gorica, a vessel decorated with the so-called *Pseudoschnur* ornament is also found. Analogies can be seen at Ruše and among the finds from grave 35 from Podbrežje.⁶⁴ A similar decorative motif is seen on the bowl from destroyed grave assemblages with direct analogies to the vessel found in grave no. 8/1993 from the Ruše II site,⁶⁵ dated to the Ha B3 phase. This type of decoration would confirm that the Velika Gorica group lasted into the Ha B3 period and provides the link between the region of the upper Sava river and the region near the Drava river. K. Vinski-Gasparini⁶⁶ argued that this vessel should be dated to the Ha B1 period and the earliest phase of the Ruša group.

Two cups have been found at the Velika Gorica cemetery. The first one has a slightly biconical body form and a high handle, while the other has a rounded body and a strap handle that exceeds the rim of the vessel. Analogies are found at the Dobova cemetery: grave no. 11⁶⁷, grave no. 77 in

42. HOFFILLER 1924, t. 1.

43. HOFFILLER 1924, 4.

44. HOFFILLER 1909, t. 1/10.

45. HOFFILLER 1909, t. 1/10.

46. HOFFILLER 1909, 7.

47. STARÉ 1975, t. 7/2.

48. STARÉ 1975, t. 8/5.

49. STARÉ 1975, t. 9/18.

50. STARÉ 1975, t. 15/10–12.

51. STARÉ 1975, t. 16/11–14.

52. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1992, t. 2b/12.

53. DULAR 1978.

54. STARÉ 1975, t. 16, 12.

55. SVOLJŠAK, POGAČNIK 2001, t. 2/7.

56. SVOLJŠAK, POGAČNIK 2001, t. 9/8.

57. SVOLJŠAK, POGAČNIK 2001, t. 38/9.

58. SVOLJŠAK, POGAČNIK 2002, 82.

59. KARAVANIĆ 2000, t. 21/1; t. 29 and 1, t. 30/3.

60. STARÉ 1975, t. 5/13.

61. STARÉ 1975, t. 7/11.

62. STARÉ 1975, t. 20/4.

63. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 93/2.

64. PAHIČ 1972, t. 8/5.

65. ČREŠNAR 2006, t. 2B/1, 146.

66. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 155.

67. STARÉ 1975, t. 6/13.

which a pin of the pile dwelling type was found,⁶⁸ allowing its dating to the Ha B1 period.

8. Metal items

In spite of the unclear circumstances of the discovery, the numerous metal objects from Velika Gorica cemetery are important.

Hair decorations and hair rings with an interwoven design are considered very important inventories of female burials of the Ha B period of the Urnfield culture in Slovenia.⁶⁹ Listing the finds from Ruše, Pobrežje, Zgornja Hajdina, Radvanje, Duplice i Mokronog, F. Staré also emphasizes the similarity of the finds from Velika Gorica to those from Dobova. F. Staré distinguishes between two types, based on the form of the interwoven design. One type has a proper interwoven design⁷⁰, while the wire of the other type is folded into U-knots.⁷¹ F. Staré ascribed the finds from Velika Gorica to the second type. In grave no. C/1910 a hair decoration of the second type was found, while in grave no. 2/1914 one belonging to the first type is present. In grave no. 3/1916 a hair decoration of the second type was found, while that from 6/1916 cannot be assigned to a particular type due to the poor state of preservation. A second type was also found outside grave assemblages. F. Staré⁷² links these hair decorations, especially the ones of the second type, to the so-called *passementerie* style or *Posamentier-Stil* and, based on the finds known at that time, concludes that the river Sava in Slovenia was the westernmost boundary of this decorative style. However, this type of hair decoration is found in some of the hoard finds, for example in the Bingula-Divoš hoard⁷³. These decorations are also found in the Brodski Varoš hoard,⁷⁴ and Mačkovac or Mačkovac I hoard⁷⁵. Such items are characteristic of female burials (in a sense of grave good items, not in the anthropological character of graves) like those at Velika Gorica, for which a large number of necklaces, bracelets, fragments of fibulae, as well as numerous spindle whorls, clay and pyramidal weights that are put in female graves alongside cremated remains, are characteristic grave goods, examples are grave E/1910, grave F/1910, and grave 3/1916. In grave E/1910 all the metal items were preserved in a fragmented state. 61 fragments belonging to

different items were found. Fragments of hair decoration were also found but it is unclear to which type they belong.

The dominant type of fibula is the *spectacle fibula* that appears in graves 2/1914, 1/1910, 2/1910, E/1910, 3/1916, as well as in the inventory of destroyed graves. The type is represented as small spectacle fibula with a figure of eight loop. According to F. Staré's analysis of grave 108 from Dobova they were introduced at the beginning of the Ha B1 period and continued to appear in other periods of the late Urnfield culture. This is the Haslau-Regelsbrunn type. In graves 4/1911 (fig. 9) and E/1910 we have documented parts of possible similar variants of *Posamentierfibeln*, that could be connected with the fibula at Pobrežje in Slovenia, grave 127.⁷⁶

Another type of fibula is the so-called *saddle like fibula* from grave 2/1910, which has parallels to graves 78 and 110 from Ruše, dated to the Ha B2 period. The same fibula is known from the Kalakača settlement in Serbia, published by Professor Medović.⁷⁷ In grave 3/1916 a part of a *harp fibula* was found, probably of the Hadersdorf type, but in grave E/1910 we also have part of spiral folded wire that could be connected to this type of fibula but we are not sure because of the small fragments. One fragment of a fibula probably comes from a saddle-like type, also from destroyed graves. Other examples are probably part of a *bow* or *arc fibula*.

Pins are quite a common type of attire in the Velika Gorica graves, both male and female. We have so-called Pile dwelling type pins dated to period Ha B1 and also pins with bulb head sometimes with a thickened and twisted neck like the ones from grave 3/1910 and a similar one from grave G/1910. The one from grave 3/1910 has parallels from grave 6 at Dobova.

Twisted torcs were found in numerous fragments. It can be deduced that this item was one of the most common grave goods at the Velika Gorica cemetery. This type of necklace appears in hoards of period II of the Urnfield culture, such as the Otok-Privlaka, Poljanci I, Brodski Varoš, Pričac, and Mačkovac hoards. A fragment is also found in the Ivanec Bistranski hoard, while two fragments come from the Kamena Gorica hoard. A complete one was found in the Matijevići hoard. Twisted necklaces are abundant at the Dobova and Pobrežje cemeteries. They also appear, but less frequently, at the sites of Ruše and Hajdina.⁷⁸ They are associated sometimes with spectacle fibulae as seen on the female attire reconstruction (fig. 10).

Hair decoration of an undeterminable type was found

68. STARÉ 1975, t. 15/11.

69. STARÉ 1960, 85.

70. STARÉ 1960, fig. 8/5.

71. STARÉ 1960, fig. 9/4.

72. STARÉ 1960, 87.

73. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 86/18, 19.

74. VINSKI-GAPARINI 1973, t. 57/55, 56.

75. VINSKI-GAPARINI 1973, t. 73/27.

76. PAHIČ 1972.

77. MEDOVIĆ 1988.

78. MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, t. 108–116.

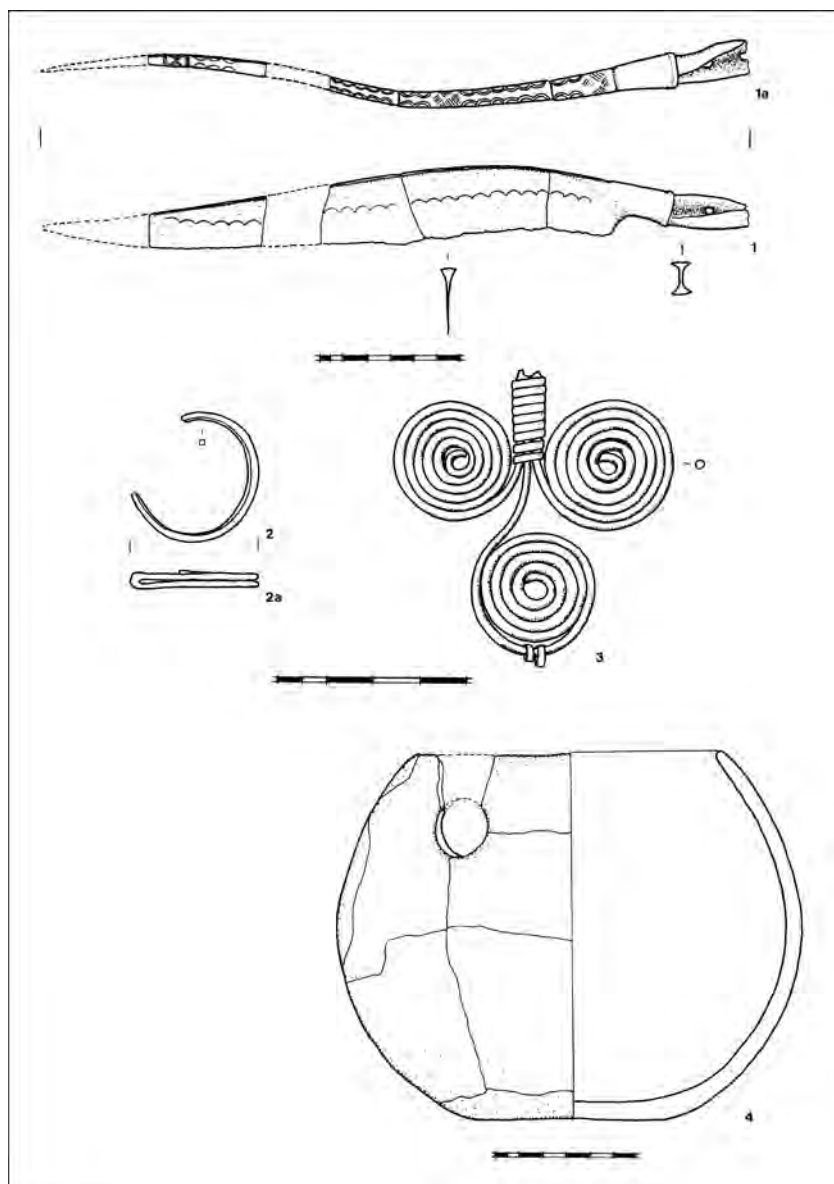


Fig. 9. Grave 4/1911 from Velika Gorica.

in grave F/1910, as well as an undecorated necklace with spiral endings, and a bracelet decorated with engraved lines divided into metopae. These are quite common in the graves at Velika Gorica, but are absent altogether at Dobova cemetery. At Podbrežje they are present but either undecorated, or their decoration is somewhat different in motifs than at Velika Gorica.⁷⁹ This type of decoration is found among the finds from destroyed graves, again pointing to a link between Velika Gorica and Podbrežje. This type of bracelet could be considered as specific of the Velika Gorica cemetery, as they have been found in great numbers, even in the destroyed graves.

79. PAHIČ 1972, t. 9/5, 6.

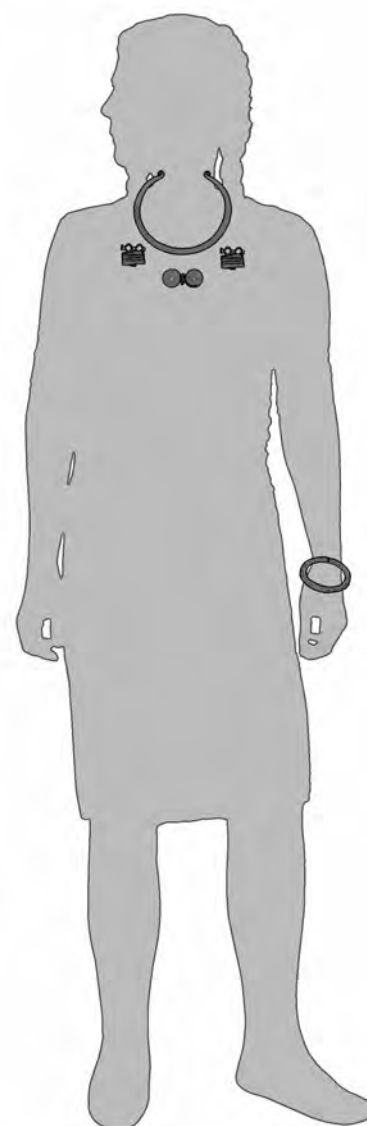


Fig. 10. Female attire reconstruction at Velika Gorica (by Miljenko Gregl).

In grave F/1910 two bronze sheet plaques, that could have been fixed on clothes, were found. In the grave spindle whorls were found, of which the two smaller ones could have belonged to the attire of the female buried in the grave. Spindle whorls were also found in grave 3/1914, alongside a small weight, again pointing to a female burial. Judging by the finds from destroyed graves, spindle whorls were also quite common at Velika Gorica. A decorated weight of pyramidal form was discovered among items from destroyed graves. 2007 Margarita Primas⁸⁰ analyzed spindle whorls from graves. In the inhumation grave 1 from Wiesbaden-

80. PRIMAS 2007.

Erbenheim (period Ha A2)⁸¹ a spindle whorl was found alongside a sword, a knife and a razor. It was found near the left foot of the skeleton. There are no indications that it was a double-burial. There are numerous similarities in the structure of grave goods from this burial and those from grave 1/1911 at Velika Gorica. There, a sword, spear, axe, numerous clay rings, and a spindle whorl were found, suggesting a double-burial. There is not sufficient data on the circumstances of the find, nor on the sex of the deceased (it is a cremation grave), but based on the sword, it was a warrior's grave. M. Primas⁸² states that spindle whorls are more common grave finds after the Ha A2 period. She also presents a map of the distribution of graves with spindle whorls. To these we should add graves from Velika Gorica. M. Primas⁸³ discusses spindle whorls as female grave goods, citing analogies from Italy, where numerous spindle whorls and spools were found in young women's graves (the so-called "weaver sets") at the site of Osteria dell' Osa. In graves of older women, spindles and spindle whorls were often found near the skulls of the deceased. In some areas, spindle whorls are found together with metal jewellery, such as with two pins, suggesting female sex. It can be concluded that most of the spindle whorls come from female graves.

Velika Gorica also has toiletries, in the form of razors, that are found in male graves 1/1911 and 7/1908 and 2/1910. F. Staré⁸⁴ recognizes two types of such razors: one type with a characteristic hunch on the back that is found at sites in Slovenia, and the second type without a hunch found at the sites in Bosnia and Dalmatia. In the same paper F. Staré⁸⁵ gives a first detailed analysis of grave no. 1/1911 from Velika Gorica. F. Staré⁸⁶ dates this grave to the Ha B period and argues for the need of a detailed analysis of the finds from the younger phase of the Urnfield culture. He based his chronology and dating of these razors on the finds from the Grapska hoard from Bosnia, in which a semilunar razor without hunch was found, as well as on the finds from grave I from Tešanj, and the find of a mould for the casting of semilunar razors and socketed axes from Donja Dolina, dated to the Ha B period.⁸⁷ Based on this evidence, F. Staré argues that the earliest appearance of the semilunar razor on the soil of former Yugoslavia (as seen in the finds from grave 1/1911 and the Grapska hoard), dates in the begin-

ning phase of the younger period of the Urnfield culture, in which elements of Ha A can still be observed. Therefore, he dates them to the Ha B1 period. He also argues that this type of razor has its origin within the southwestern Pannonian basin, from where it spread north, to the middle Danube region and southwards, into Italy. 1996 C. Weber⁸⁸ discussed the razors from southeastern Europe, and calls them the Oblekovice type, thus arguing for the Danubian region as the place where they first appear.

A total of three razors were found as grave goods in this rather small sample of Velika Gorica cemetery, most likely from male graves. In the so-called double burial no. 1/1911, 11 weights in the form of clay rings and a spindle whorl were found, which could lead to the conclusion that a woman, possibly a weaver, was also buried there.

The main difference from the site at Dobova is seen in the appearance of the mentioned "grave of the warrior" no. 1/1911 which contained a sword, a spear, two knives, a razor, four pins, 11 clay rings and a spindle whorl. The antenna terminal sword of the Klentnice type is the most important find of these. This type is found in grave no. 63 at Klentnice⁸⁹. Recently, A. Harding⁹⁰ dated this type of sword to the developed phase of the Ha B period, based on a brief analysis of the items associated with it. In her first synthetic work K. Vinski-Gasparini⁹¹ assigns the sword to the Lipovka type of the flange-hilted swords⁹² and dates it to the Ha B1 period, thus making it one of the oldest finds of the antenna terminal sword.

Besides a razor and a sword, a spear was also found in the grave no. 1/1911. On the lower part of the socket there was an ornament consisting of horizontal and wavy lines. Somewhat similar, both chronologically and in style, is the spear from the fortified settlement⁹³ at Klentnice ascribed to the so called "*zweiflügelige Tüllenspitze mit glattem Blatt und glatter Tülle – Grundform B*" group. Jiří Říhovský⁹⁴ does not make any claims on the dating of this find. It is certain that these spears belong to the younger phase of the Urnfield culture, as the decorative motif is quite similar to the one found on the sword of the Klentnice type. It can be assumed that both the sword and the spear from Velika Gorica were made in the same workshop. A richly decorated metal ending for the wooden spear belongs to the

81. PRIMAS 2007, 303 and Abb. 1.

82. PRIMAS 2007, 303–304 and Abb. 2.

83. PRIMAS 2007, 306–307.

84. STARÉ 1957, 205.

85. STARÉ 1957.

86. STARÉ 1957, 207–209.

87. STARÉ 1957, 213–214.

88. WEBER 1996.

89. ŘIHOVSKÝ 1965, t. 18/a, d, f, g.

90. HARDING 1995.

91. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973.

92. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 156.

93. ŘIHOVSKÝ 1996, t. 20/222.

94. ŘIHOVSKÝ 1996, 91.

same workshop. Velika Gorica spears are similar (both in form and decoration) to the ones found at Napajedl⁹⁵ where the decoration is linked to the motif found on the so-called Pile dwelling type pins that can be dated to the beginning of the younger phase of the Urnfield culture.⁹⁶ This would fit nicely to the overall date for grave no. 1/1911 to the Ha B1 period. Similar spears, although without decoration, are found in the Miljana hoard.⁹⁷ But the most similar type of spear has been found on the territory of Makarska (Adriatic coast) and that is the find from Podace.⁹⁸ The author rightly connected this find with the find from grave 1/1911 at Velika Gorica, the find from the settlement at Donja Dolina and an accidental find from Prozor (Lika).⁹⁹

An antenna terminal knife, decorated with a wave pattern, was also found in grave no. 1/1911. It was part of the warrior equipment buried in the grave and is directly connected, both chronologically and stylistically, with the sword and spear. It has a parallel in a knife from Maribor cemetery.

A flange-hilted knife,¹⁰⁰ similar to those of the Oblesovice type, was also found in the grave,¹⁰¹ although the latter was tang hilted (*Griffangelmesser*). A similar knife was found in the Beravci hoard¹⁰² dated to phase IV of the Urnfield culture of northern Croatia.

In this burial, a socketed axe was also found. It is of the pseudowinged axe type with a wide trapezoid blade form, a type that is also found in the Beravci hoard.¹⁰³ An axe, decorated in a similar manner as the one from Velika Gorica, was discovered in the Vinički II hoard in Slovakia,¹⁰⁴ dated to the Rohod period.

A similar axe was found in grave no. 7/1908, in which a knife with an annular ending and part of a razor were also detected, thus making it likely that the grave was also of a warrior. The knife is of the Seeboden type,¹⁰⁵ dated on the basis of the Seeboden find, which contains the bronze bucket and psalia, to the end of the younger period of the Urnfield culture.¹⁰⁶ This date does not fit to the findings from Velika Gorica that is dated to the Ha B1 period on the basis

of the finds of the pin of the pile dwelling type. At Dobova, this type of knife is found in grave no. 171 that also contains an urn with a hole in the middle.¹⁰⁷

The inventory of grave no. 1/1910, most likely of a male warrior, consists of a single spear heavily damaged by fire, a whetstone, two pins (one of the pile dwelling type) and a fragment of a spectacle fibula. The male burial from grave no. 2/1910 with a razor of Oblesovice type and fragments of three knives is similar to this grave. The knives are quite fragmented but one of them can be recognized as a flange-hilted knife, with parallels in the knife from grave no. 1/1911 (T. 12, 2), for which we have argued similarities to the knives from the Beravci hoard. An additional two such knives were found outside closed grave contexts, making a clear connection between finds from graves and hoards. It could also be an additional argument in favour of production of flange-hilted knives in local workshops.

The male grave no. 4/1911 (fig. 9) is of particular interest. It contained a bronze knife, part of a hair decoration, and a fibula. The knife was maybe similar to the Hadersdorf type,¹⁰⁸ decorated with a wave-like motif, dated to the beginning of the Podoli phase, based on the finds from Klentnice.¹⁰⁹

9. Conclusion

The significance of the Velika Gorica cemetery lies in the find of a warrior's grave (fig. 11), which also makes it unique compared to the graves found at Dobova, Ruše, and Ljubljana, where such graves were not discovered.¹¹⁰

Finds such as jewellery and toiletries, are the most abundant. B. Teržan¹¹¹ recognizes this change and states that instead of rich hoards, urn grave sites such as Ruše and Ljubljana appear in Slovenia. She connects this change to an alteration in religious views, which means that in the time of the transition from Ha A to Ha B (according to Hermann Müller-Karpe) important changes in cult and religion of the Urnfield culture can be observed in Slovenia. A similar situation is seen in continental Croatia where, during the Ha B period, a small number of hoards appear, but also those of the so-called Balkan-type are found (e.g. Gajina pećina and Matijeveći). The situation is the reverse in the Balkan region, where a great number of hoards appear. It is clear that the workshops are moving southwards of the Sava and

95. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1996, t. 8/64.

96. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1996, 54.

97. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 112/3, 4.

98. TOMASOVIĆ 2003, fig. 1.

99. TOMASOVIĆ 2003, 167, fig. 2.

100. KARAVANIĆ 2009, pl. 61/2, 2a.

101. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1972, t. 20/227; t. 21/228–230.

102. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 108/22–23, 25.

103. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, t. 108/10–12.

104. NOVOTNÁ 1970, 91.

105. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1972, 44 and t. 14/144–146.

106. MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 130, 169.

107. STARÉ 1975, t. 24/13.

108. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1972, t. 22.

109. ŘÍHOVSKÝ 1972, t. 21/238.

110. TERŽAN 1995, fig. 12–15.

111. TERŽAN 1995, 337.

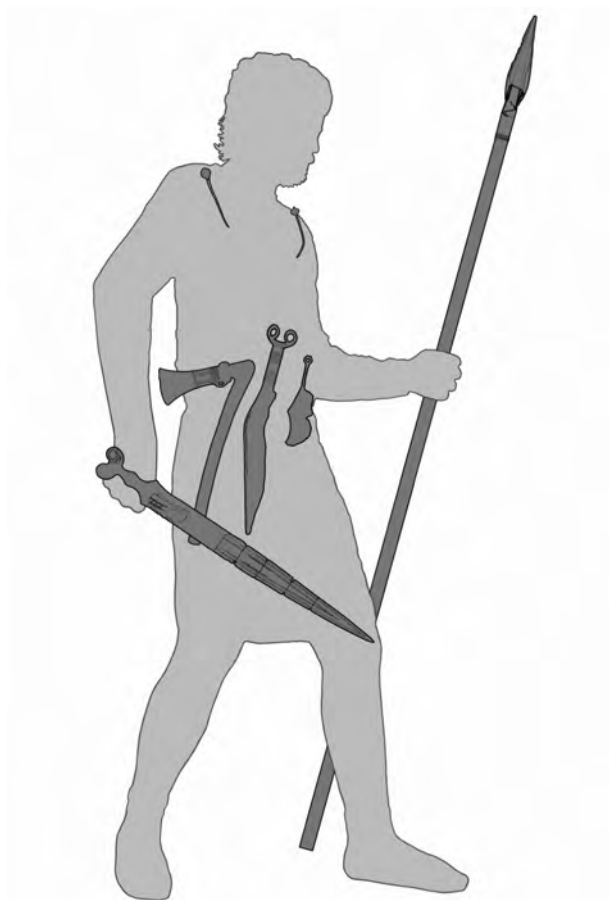


Fig. 11. The reconstruction of warrior grave 1/1911 at Velika Gorica (by Miljenko Gregl).

Kupa rivers. K. Kristiansen¹¹² sees the appearance of prestigious items in graves as the formation of new elites whose members are to be buried in larger burial mounds. The grave of the warrior 1/1911 from Velika Gorica and grave no. 63 from Klentnice are the forerunners of the new socio-economic relationships that are going to reach their peak during the Ha C period.

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¹¹² KRISTIANSEN 1998, 75.

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Brandbestattungssitten auf dem westlichen Balkan zwischen 1300 und 750 v. Chr.

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Abstract

CREMATION BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE WESTERN BALKANS BETWEEN 1300 AND 750 BC. Material culture and burial customs show that the whole northern border area of the Western Balkans (Istria, Lika, North Bosnia and West Serbia) as well as the eastern border area were not only surrounded by the Urnfield culture but were also settled by their representatives. Some elements of the burial rites provide evidence of the intensity of the process of settlement formation. In Lika, West Serbia and presumably in the geographic range of the group Donja Brnjica – Gornja Stražava the autochthonous population merged with those of the Urnfield culture.

Zusammenfassung

Materielle Kultur und Bestattungssitte zeigen, dass der gesamte nördliche Grenzraum des Westbalkans (Istrien, Lika, Nordbosnien und Westserbien), aber auch der östliche Grenzraum nicht nur von der Urnenfelderkultur umgeben, sondern auch von ihren Trägern besiedelt waren. Einige Elemente des Bestattungsrituals liefern Hinweise zur Intensität dieser Besiedlung. In der Lika, Westserbien und wahrscheinlich im Verbreitungsgebiet der Gruppe Donja Brnjica – Gornja Stražava verschmolz die autochthone Bevölkerung mit jener der Urnenfelderkultur.

In dieser Arbeit wird das Gebiet des westlichen Balkans behandelt, das sich im Osten bis zur westserbischen Morawa erstreckt und den Flusslauf von Ibar (Sandžak-Gebiet) sowie den Kosovo umfasst. Die nördliche Grenze bildet die Save mit dem südpannonischen Raum in Bosnien. Im Westen erstreckt sich dieses Gebiet von der Lika bis Istrien, während die südliche Grenze die ostadriatische Küste mit ihrem Hinterland (Nord-, Zentral- und Südadria, Herzegowina und südliche Gebiete Montenegros) ist. Den zentralen

Bereich dieses geografischen Raumes bildet Bosnien mit dem kennzeichnenden protoillyrischen Glasinac-Gebiet.

Die bislang durchgeführten Untersuchungen zur Spätbronzezeit zeigen, dass im Gebiet von Lika Körperbestattungen ab der mittleren Bronzezeit weiterhin üblich waren. Hügelgräber sind selten und weisen birituelle Belegungen mit Brand- und Körperbestattungen auf. Ab der Spätbronzezeit sind Flachgräberfelder und Bestattungen in Höhlen bekannt.

Ein Beispiel dafür ist der Tumulus Orlov Kamen in Vrebac, in dem Leichenbrandreste in einer Urne bestatten waren (Abb. 1/1). Dies entspricht nach der Typologie der Bestattungsrituale dem Typ III-A/3.¹ Es wird angenommen, dass Hügelbestattungen in Orlov Kamen während der Phase Ha A2 erstmals auftraten und bis Ha D andauerten.²

Aus dem benachbarten Tumulus in Lečićte wird von dem Fund einer Urne berichtet – Typ III/3 Bestattungsritual –, die auf eine Brandbestattung bei sonst vorwiegenden Körperbestattungen hinweist.³

Beide Tumuli liegen in der unmittelbaren Nähe einer prähistorischen befestigten Siedlung. Unweit der Ansiedlung wurden zwei Flachgräber mit Brandbestattungen in Urnen gefunden.

Im Gebiet von Lika überwiegen während der Spätbronzezeit Körperbestattungen deutlich. Bei Brandbestattungen in Tumuli handelt es sich meistens um Urnengräber. Zeitgleich finden sich Brand- und Körperbestattungen in Flachgräberfeldern, so dass man auch hier von biritueller

1. ŽERAVICA 1990, I–XVIII.

2. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1958, 38 ff. und Tafeln IV–V. – DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1983, 384. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 473.

3. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1958, 37 und Tafeln I–II. – DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1983, 381. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1971, 3. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 473.

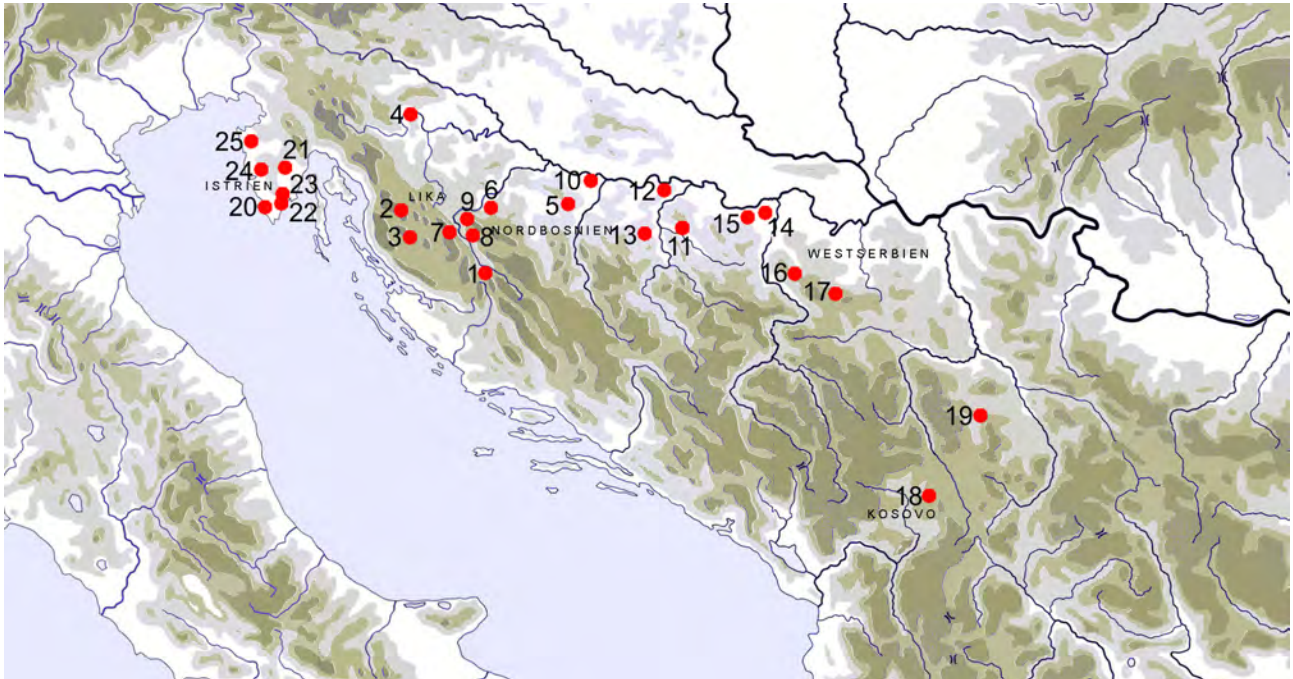


Abb. 1. Karte der erwähnten Fundorte auf dem westlichen Balkan. 1. Vrebac – 2. Kompolje – 3. Prozor – 4. Ozalj – 5. Petkovo Brdo – 6. Ripač – 7. Golubić – 8. Jezerine – 9. Ribić – 10. Donja Dolina – 11. Kulaši – 12. Krčevina – 13. Barice – 14. Silajet – 15. Crkvine – 16. Aluge – 17. Stapani – 18. Donja Brnjica – 19. Gornja Stražaca – 20. Pula – 21. Beram – 22. Preznik – 23. Nezakcij – 24. Picugi – 25. Kaštel.

Bestattungsweise sprechen kann. Diese treten während der gesamten Spätbronzezeit und der Eisenzeit auf. Die Nekropolen befinden sich im Einzugsgebiet zeitgleicher, befestigter Siedlungen (Gradina).

Die besten Daten stammen von der Nekropole Kompolje, Stratum I., in der Körperbestattungen in deutlich größerer Anzahl auftreten (Abb. 1/2). Dort wurden nur vier Urnen entdeckt, die Elemente der Urnenfelderkultur aufweisen. Sie werden aufgrund der Grabbeigaben in die Phase Ha B datiert bzw. an das Ende der Urnenfelderkultur. Die Urnen wurden in Gruben deponiert. Dies entspricht dem Bestattungsritual vom Typ III-A/1. Zwei waren mit einer Schale, eine mit einer Steinplatte abgedeckt und eine weitere hatte keine Abdeckung. In dieser Urne fand sich eine Bronzefibel, welche das Grab in die Phase Ha B2–Ha C1 datiert.⁴

Eine ähnliche Situation liegt in zwei Nekropolen mit Flachgräbern bei Prozor vor (Abb. 1/3). Dort wurden unter den überwiegenden Körperbestattungen auch fünf Urnengräber entdeckt (Typ III-A/1), von denen zwei an das Ende der Stufe Ha B und eines in Ha C2 oder Ha D1 datieren. Sie sind ein Beleg für Brandbestattungen noch in dieser Zeit. In

nur einem Grab lagen neben der Urne Beigaben; es handelt sich um einen hölzernen Messergriff mit Bronzeschneide und ein großes, gekrümmtes Eisenmesser.⁵

Im nördlichen Grenzbereich dieses Gebiets, in Ozalj, wurde eine Nekropole mit Flachgräbern mit Merkmalen der Urnenfelderkultur entdeckt (Abb. 1/4). Es wurden ausschließlich Brandbestattungen nachgewiesen. Es waren Urnengräber vom Typ III-A/1, die mit Schüsseln abgedeckt waren. Die Urnen enthielten Leichenbrand- und Scheiterhaufenreste. In Grab 8 fanden sich in der Urne neben Leichenbrandresten noch eine Bronzefibel und eine Messerscheide aus Tierknochen mit zwei bronzenen Niete. Von insgesamt acht Gräbern waren sechs beigabenlos. Diese Gräber sind mit Funden aus der jüngeren Phase der Urnenfelderkultur (Ha B) in Nordkroatien und weiter entfernt mit jenen aus Unterkrain und der Steiermark vergleichbar.⁶

Am Übergang von der mittleren zur späten Bronzezeit war der Großteil von Lika dem Einfluss der Urnenfelderkultur aus Westpannonien ausgesetzt. In der unmittelbar darauf folgenden Phase zeichnet sich in diesem Gebiet die Verwendung der Brandbestattungssitte ab, was mit dem

4. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1961, Tafel XXVI/1, 2; Tafel XXVII/1, 2. – DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1973, 1–54. – DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1983, 381 ff. Die Nekropole gehört in die Gruppe Velika Gorica. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1971, 5. – BAKARIĆ 1989, 5–18. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 474.

5. DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1973, Tafel XXXIV/2i, 3. – DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1983, 375.

6. BALEN-LETUNIĆ 1981, 11–24 und Tafeln 1–4. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 550. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 411.

Eindringen der Urnenfelderkultur am Anfang des ersten Jahrtausends in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Die Weiterverwendung der Körperbestattungen in denselben Nekropolen deutet auf ein Verschmelzen von neuen mit autochthonen Elementen.

Aus dem Gebiet am linken Ufer des Flusses Una sind vier große Nekropolen der Japoden bekannt: Ripač, Golubić, Jezerine und Ribić (Abb. 1/6, 7, 8, 9). Diese wurden in einem langen Zeitraum vom 8. bis zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. belegt. Es handelt sich um birituelle Nekropolen, in denen Körperbestattungen überwiegen. Aus der ersten Phase (800–650 v. Chr.) stammen dreißig Gräber, von denen die meisten Körperbestattungen enthielten. In nur neun Fällen treten Urnengräber mit Brandbestattungen vom Typ III-A/1 auf. Ein Grab vom Typ III-B/1 enthielt eine Brandbestattung ohne Urne. Beigaben wurden nur in zwei Urnengräbern und in einem Brandgrab ohne Urne entdeckt. Es handelt sich um Schmuckgegenstände aus Bronze, die durch das Feuer des Scheiterhaufens beschädigt wurden.⁷

Bestimmte Beigabenformen und Elemente der materiellen Kultur weisen deutlich kennzeichnende Merkmale der Urnenfelderkultur auf. Besonders bedeutend ist der Umstand, dass unter den ältesten Gräbern – nämlich aus der Stufe Ha B – neben Körperbestattungen auch zahlreiche Urnengräber nachgewiesen wurden. Im Zusammenhang mit diesen Nekropolen muss betont werden, dass in ihnen birituelle Bestattungen bis zu ihrem Ausklingen vorkamen.

Eine ähnliche Situation konnte auch auf dem Fundplatz Donja Dolina in Nordbosnien aus dergleichen Zeit festgestellt werden (Abb. 1/10). Alle hauptsächlichen Elemente in Donja Dolina sind mit der Urnenfelderkultur verbunden.⁸ In der Nekropole der Stufe Ha B überwiegen Brandgräber mit Urnen, aber es wurden auch Körperbestattungen festgestellt.⁹

Im übrigen Raum Nordbosniens treten ausschließlich Brandbestattungen in Nekropolen mit Flachgräbern auf (außerhalb Ripač, Jezerine, Ribić, Golubić – der kulturellen Entwicklung gemäß zu Lika gehörig – und Donja Dolina). Das stellt ein kennzeichnendes Merkmal der in den benachbarten südpannonischen Gebieten (Slawonien, Nordwestkroatien) vertretenen Urnenfelderkultur dar und bestätigt zugleich die gemeinsame kulturelle Zugehörigkeit der Bevölkerung. Diese Nekropolen mit Brandbestattungen datieren in das 13. und 12. Jh. v. Chr. Erst in der Stufe Ha B3

sind in den Südbereichen dieses Gebietes Nekropolen mit Körperbestattungen zu beobachten (Tešanj und Jablanica bei Tuzla), was mit einem Einfluss aus Zentralbosnien in Verbindung gebracht wird.¹⁰ Aber tatsächlich handelt es sich um das Grenzgebiet zwischen Pannoniern und Illyrern.¹¹

Der Westen Nordbosniens stand unter dem Einfluss der sogenannten westlichen Gruppe der Urnenfelderkultur. Hier wurde nur die Nekropole Petkovo brdo-Radosavska erforscht (Abb. 1/5). Diese aus zehn Gräbern bestehende Nekropole liegt in der Nähe einer zeitgleichen befestigten Siedlung. Die Gräber enthielten in Grabgruben Urnen mit Leichenbrandresten vom Typ III-A/1 des Begräbnisrituals. Die Urnen waren in der Regel mit Tongefäßen abgedeckt. Sie enthielten Kombinationen aus Tongefäßen und Bronzeschmuck. Keine der Beigaben weist Brandspuren auf. Daraus kann man schließen, dass diese nicht auf dem Scheiterhaufen mit dem Toten verbrannt wurden. Drei Gräber waren beigabenlos. Die Gräber gehören einem späteren Zeitabschnitt der Urnenfelderkultur, Ende Ha B, an. Anhand der Bestattungsweise und des keramischen Materials werden sie mit der westpannonischen Urnenfelderkultur in Verbindung gebracht, während die Metallfunde auf ihren möglichen Ursprung in Zentralbosnien hindeuten.¹²

In diesem Gebiet, in Richtung der Flüsse Una und Japra, ist eine Nekropole mit Urnengräbern in Kekića Glavica bekannt. Sie befindet sich an einem Abhang in der Nähe einer befestigten Siedlung der ausgehenden Stufe Ha B. Die Nekropole datiert in denselben Zeitrahmen.¹³

Im östlichen Teil Nordbosniens kommt die sogenannte östliche Gruppe der Urnenfelderkultur vor. Dort wurden Nekropolen des Typs Barice nachgewiesen. Sie liefern lediglich Angaben zur älteren Urnenfelderkultur.

Am bedeutendsten ist die gleichnamige Nekropole Barice mit 38 untersuchten Gräbern (Abb. 1/13). Dort wurden Urnen mit der Mündung nach unten – Typ III-B/1 – und nur einmal in aufrechter Lage angetroffen – Typ III-A/1. Unter den Urnen lagen Leichenbrandreste und Beigaben; darunter verschiedene Kombinationen von Tongefäßen und Bronzeschmuck. Vierzehn von insgesamt 34 intakten Gräbern enthielten Beigaben. Die Verbrennungen fanden in der Nekropole statt. Metallgegenstände wurden zusammen mit den Verstorbenen verbrannt mit Ausnahme zweier Goldbeigaben. Kleinere Tongefäße wurden nachträglich beigegeben. Ein Artefakt aus Tierknochen war am Scheiterhaufen

7. MARIĆ 1968, 5–80. – RAUNIG 1968, 81–98. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 617 ff. – DRECHSLER-BIŽIĆ 1987, 391 ff.

8. MARIĆ 1964a, 23 ff. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 622 ff.

9. BIŽIĆ-DRECHSLER 1952, 224–228. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 626. – GAVRANOVIĆ 2007, 412 ff.

10. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 620. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 427.

11. MARIĆ 1964b, 177–214.

12. ČOVIĆ 1967, 161–168 und Tafeln I–II. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 621. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 426.

13. ČOVIĆ 1962, 55. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 621.

mitverbrannt worden, während die restlichen Beigaben vor der Urnenbeisetzung zerbrochen worden waren. Die Nekropole wird an den Anfang der Periode Ha A datiert.¹⁴

Nördlich davon befindet sich die Nekropole Krčevina mit Flachgräbern (Abb. 1/12). Sie liegt auf einer kleinen Anhöhe über der Quelle des Flusses. Dort wurden nur zehn Urnengräber ausgegraben. Es wird angenommen, dass die Gräber in Reihen angeordnet waren. Eines davon enthielt eine Beigabe – eine Bronzefibel von derselben Form wie der Fund in Barice¹⁵. Die Beigabe ist zusammen mit dem Verstorbenen auf dem Scheiterhaufen verbrannt worden. In allen Gräbern waren die Urnen genau wie in Barice mit der Mündung nach unten aufgestellt, was Typ III-B/1 entspricht. Die Leichenbrandreste sind vermutlich vom Scheiterhaufen in Urnen gesammelt und zu den Grabgruben gebracht worden, wo die Urnen mit der Mündung nach unten auf der Grabsohle aufgestellt worden sind. Die Tongefäßformen gehören der Urnenfelderkultur an. In der lokalen Umgebung finden sich direkte Analogien dazu in der Nekropole Barice sowie in der Nekropole Dvorovi bei Bijeljina, sodass diese Funde in denselben Zeitraum datiert werden.¹⁶

Eine Nekropole des gleichen Typs, Mala gradina in Kulaši, enthielt nur sieben Urnengräber (Abb. 1/11). Alle Urnen waren mit der Mündung nach unten auf die Erde gestellt und überdeckten die Leichenbrandreste. Diese Urnen weisen eine ähnliche Form wie die entsprechenden Funde in Krčevine auf, sodass auch diese Nekropole in die Stufe Ha A datiert wird.¹⁷

Weiter östlich davon, südlich und nahe der Save, liegt die Nekropole Silajet-Dvorovi (Abb. 1/14). Hier befindet sich eine größere Nekropole mit Flachgräbern und Urnen, von denen nur dreizehn untersucht wurden. Die Leichenbrandreste wurden auf die Grubensohle gelegt und mit einer als Urne dienenden Schüssel abgedeckt (Typ III-B/1). Vier Gräber enthielten Metallbeigaben (Schmuck und Waffe – ein Teil einer Schwertscheide), während die restlichen Gräber beigabenlos waren. Analogien zum Material und der Bestattungsweise finden sich in der Nekropole Barice, sodass diese Nekropole in denselben Zeitraum datiert wird.¹⁸

In diesem Gebiet liegt noch die sehr ähnliche Nekropole Crkvine-Batković, in der zwölf Gräber untersucht wurden

(Abb. 1/15). Sie entsprechen jenen in der zuvor genannten Nekropole.¹⁹

All das sind Hinweise für die Weiterentwicklung der Brandbestattungssitte in diesen Gebieten, die anlässlich des Eindringens der Träger der Urnenfelderkultur in die Gebiete der Japoden und in Nordbosnien eingeführt wurde. Dies kommt auch in den Urnentypen und in anderen Keramikformen zum Ausdruck, die mit den jüngeren Phasen der Urnenfelderkultur verknüpft sind.

Zurzeit ist noch unklar, ob diese beiden Gruppen in Nordbosnien auch kulturelle Unterschiede aufweisen. Hinsichtlich der Verwendung der Brandbestattungssitte sind sie jedoch einheitlich.²⁰ Der einzige Unterschied besteht darin, dass die östliche Gruppe durch eine aufrechte Position der Urnen mit der Mündung nach oben gekennzeichnet ist. Hier treten bereits keramische Elemente der Phase Bz D auf. Die Bronzefibeln können in die Stufe Bz D datiert werden, während andere Metallfunde vorwiegend der Stufe Ha A1 zugeordnet werden können. Ob diese Nekropolen noch während der Phase Ha A2 genutzt wurden, bleibt unklar.²¹

Aus der westlichen Gruppe sind, wie schon erwähnt, Nekropolen aus der jüngeren und der Endphase der Urnenfelderkultur bekannt. Sie bestätigen die Existenz der Brandbestattungssitte in diesem Gebiet auch in diesem Zeitraum. Einige von ihnen stellen Belege für diese Sitte auch in den jüngeren Phasen der Eisenzeit dar. In diesem Zeitraum bekommt das nordbosnische Gebiet bereits regionale Züge und ein eigenes Gepräge, wobei sich die Verknüpfungen mit der Gruppe Dalj der Urnenfelderkultur in Slawonien deutlich abzeichnen. Das trifft besonders für die Siedlung Donja Dolina, aber auch für andere befestigte Siedlungen in diesem Gebiet zu, in deren Fundspektren eine Weiterentwicklung der Urnenfelderkultur während der älteren Eisenzeit ohne abrupte kulturelle und ethnische Veränderungen verfolgt werden kann.²²

Weiter ostwärts, im Flussgebiet der Drina in Westserbien bis zur Morawa, lässt sich eine besondere kulturhistorische Periode am Übergang von der Bronzezeit zur Eisenzeit erkennen (Eisenzeit I nach der Chronologie von M. Garašanin und D. Garašanin), die als Periode der Urnenfelder bezeichnet wird.

14. ČOVIĆ 1958, 77–96. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 621. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 421.

15. BELIĆ 1964, sl. 2, Grab 6.

16. BELIĆ 1964, 19–35. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 620.

17. BELIĆ 1964, 27 ff, T. I/4, sl. 3–4. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 620. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 425.

18. KOSORIĆ 1965, 83–90. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 620. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 422.

19. KOSORIĆ 1967, 29 ff. – VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 620. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 423.

20. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1971, 83–90, spricht von Einflüssen der Urnenfelderkultur Nordwestkroatiens und Slawoniens auf ganz Nordbosnien.

21. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 622.

22. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1983, 636.

Die Funde von Aluge belegen die Durchführung von Brandbestattungen, jedoch unter Hügeln (Abb. 1/16). Im Hügelfeldzentrum wurden zwei seichte Gruben nachgewiesen, die in die ursprüngliche Oberfläche eingetieft waren. Die Gruben waren mit Resten des außerhalb des Bestattungsortes liegenden Scheiterhaufens verfüllt. Auf die Oberfläche dieser Schicht wurde je eine tönernen Urne aufgestellt, die ebenfalls mit Leichenbrand- und Scheiterhaufenresten verfüllt war (Typ III-A/3). Im Anschluss an die Bestattungen wurde der Erdhügel aufgeschüttet. Die Urnen werden in die Stufe Ha B datiert und mit den Formen der Urnenfelderkultur verknüpft (besonders mit Funden aus Nordslovenien: Ruše-Maria Rast, Hajdina, Drvanja-St. Benedikt und Pobrezje-Drauweiler). Entsprechend sind auch die Funde aus den Tumuli in Konjuša zu erklären, die ebenfalls urnenfelderzeitliche Elemente aufweisen. Sie werden mit der lokalen Besiedlung durch die Träger der Urnenfelderkultur und ihrem Zusammengehen mit der autochthonen Bevölkerung in Verbindung gebracht. Hier muss bemerkt werden, dass unter diesen Hügeln zeitgleich auch Körperbestattungen erfolgten. Es sind jedoch noch keine Tumuli mit birituellen Bestattungen bekannt.²³

Obwohl die Sitte Tumuli über dem Verbrennungsplatz zu errichten im umrissenen westserbischen Gebiet bereits seit der mittleren Bronzezeit bekannt war, kann man anhand der Beigaben der zwei in die Stufe Ha B datierenden Gräber in den Hügeln von Aluge auf ein Zusammengehen der Träger der Urnenfelderkultur mit den altansässigen Trägern der westserbischen Vatina-Gruppe schließen. Hier soll noch betont werden, dass die Brandbestattungssitte in Westserbien seit der Spätkupferzeit, über die Früh- und Mittelbronzezeit bis in die Spätbronzezeit kontinuierlich ausgeübt wurde. Dieses ist eigentlich das einzige Gebiet innerhalb des gesamten Westbalkans, das eine derartig lang andauernde und kontinuierliche Verwendung der Brandbestattungssitte unter Hügeln aufweist. In der Spätbronzezeit ist die Situation ähnlich. Birituelle Bestattungen unter Tumuli mit urnenfelderzeitlichen Elementen sind aus Lika bekannt.

Im Gebiet von Westserbien ist noch die Nekropole mit Flachgräbern in Stapani bekannt, die birituelle Bestattungen enthält (Abb. 1/17). Sie liegt auf einem Berghang unterhalb einer prähistorischen Siedlung. Neben zwei Körpergräbern wurde auch ein Urnengrab mit Beigaben entdeckt (Typ III-A). Dieses Grab wurde in die Zeit von Ha A1 bis Ha A2, beziehungsweise nach M. Garašanin in die Eisenzeit 1 datiert.²⁴ Dieser Fund bestätigt in diesem Gebiet die Existenz

von Nekropolen mit birituellen Flachgräbern in Siedlungsnähe, was wiederum der Situation in der Lika sehr ähnlich ist.

Südlich von diesem Gebiet war die Kultur (Kulturgruppe) Donja Brnjica – Gornja Stražava seit einer späteren Phase der Urnenfelderkultur (Ha B) verbreitet (Abb. 1/18 – D. Brnjica; Abb. 1/19 – G. Stražava). Diese Gruppe umfasste die südlichen Morawa-Gebiete, Kosovo und Sandžak. Sie ist durch Brandbestattungen, vorwiegend in Urnen, gekennzeichnet – Typ III-A/1, aber auch ohne Urne – Typ III-B/1.²⁵ Obwohl ihre Bestattungsweise große Ähnlichkeiten mit der Urnenfelderkultur aufweist, wird sie in ihrem Bestattungsritual mit der benachbarten mittelbronzezeitlichen Paraćin-Gruppe verglichen. Dieser Umstand führt zum Schluss, dass die Gruppe Donja Brnjica – Gornja Stražava die Endphase einer langen Entwicklung darstellt, die auf dem Zentralbalkan in der Bronzezeit verfolgt werden kann. Dieser Prozess ist mit dem Balkan-Donauraum-Komplex und den als dakisch-mysisch bezeichneten Elementen eng verknüpft. Es wurde aber auch eine deutliche Verknüpfung mit der Urnenfelderkultur festgestellt. So werden die Funde dieser Gruppe als die nicht-illyrische Komponente in der Entwicklung der Dardanier verstanden. Nach dieser Auffassung sind illyrische Elemente in der prähistorischen Kultur Kosovos erst seit der entwickelten Eisenzeit eindeutig vorhanden.²⁶ Diese Frage soll aber offen gelassen werden, umso mehr, als die genannten Gebiete seit der Frühbronzezeit und in der Mittelbronzezeit, besonders im Bezug auf die Bestattungsrituale, den eigentlichen Bestandteil des urillyrischen Raums auf dem westlichen Balkan darstellen.²⁷

Wir kommen nun zum westlichsten Bereich des untersuchten Gebietes, und zwar nach Istrien. Die Hügelverwendung war hier nur bis zum Ende der Mittelbronzezeit üblich. Ab der Spätbronzezeit fehlen Hügelbestattungen. In der ausgehenden Stufe Ha B überwiegt die Beisetzung in Urnen auf Flachgräberfeldern. Die Urnengräber liegen häufig innerhalb der Siedlungsbefestigung, auf dem Siedlungsplateau oder in seiner unmittelbaren Nähe wie in Pula, Beram, Nezakcij, Preznik bei Puntera, Picugi und Kaštel bei Buje²⁸ (Abb. 1/20–25). Die Verbrennungen er-

23. GARAŠANIN 1983a, 781. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 379.

24. ZOTOVIĆ 1985, 65 ff. und Tafel XVI/8–11. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 382.

25. SREJOVIĆ 1960, 83–135. – KRSTIĆ 1962, 231–248. – GARAŠANIN 1983b, 773 ff. – STOJČIĆ 2001, 5, spricht auch über einige Inhumationsgräber und bringt dies in Verbindung mit der mykenischen Tradition dieser Kultur. Siehe dazu auch STOJČIĆ 2000, 9–59. – STOJČIĆ 2006, 73–84. – LJUCIĆ 1984, 25–34. – LJUCIĆ 1998, 165–176. – TASIĆ 2001, 7–16. – JOVANOVIĆ 1999, 67–73. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 353–379.

26. GARAŠANIN 1983b, 773–785.

27. ŽERAVICA 1990, 501 ff.

28. GABROVEC, MIHOVIĆ 1987, 320–322. – MIHOVIĆ 2001, 173–179. – ŽERAVICA 1990, 466–471.

folgten innerhalb der Nekropolen. Die Leichenbrandreste wurden mit Beigaben – vorwiegend Schmuck, der häufig verformt oder zerbrochen war – in eine Urne gelegt (Typ III-A/1). Es kommen aber auch, allerdings seltener, Brandschüttungen auf der Grabsohle vor (Typ III-B/1). In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich das Gebiet Istriens von dem benachbarten adriatischen und westbalkanischen Raum. Früher wurde dieser Umstand mit dem Überwiegen der Südostalpen-Urnenfelderkultur und der Urnenfelderkultur des pannonischen Donaauraums gedeutet. Später wurde auf eine unbestreitbare Verknüpfung mit der italischen Protovillanova-Kultur hingewiesen, die eine ganze Reihe von ägäischen (mykenischen und submykenischen) Elementen zeigt. Daraus wird geschlossen, dass in Istrien nicht nur Elemente des Donaauraums, sondern auch ägäischer Einfluss erkennbar ist.²⁹

Trotzdem fand wahrscheinlich ein kräftiger und bedeutender Vorstoß der Träger der Urnenfelderkultur nach Istrien statt. Dort kam es zu einem Zusammengehen mit der autochthonen Kultur, die Elemente der Protovillanova-Kultur aufwies.

Ergebnisse

Abschließend kann festgehalten werden, dass der gesamte nördliche Grenzraum des Westbalkans (Istrien, Lika, Nordbosnien und Westserbien) ebenso wie seine östliche Grenzregion (Gebiet Donja Brnjica-Gornja Stražava) von den Trägern der Urnenfelderkultur umgeben und weitgehend besiedelt wurde, was durch die materielle Kultur und durch die charakteristische urnenfelderzeitliche Bestattungssitte besonders deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt. Einige Elemente des Bestattungsrituals liefern Hinweise zur Intensität der Besiedlungstätigkeit. So kann nur in Istrien und Nordbosnien von einer dominierenden Anwesenheit der Träger der Urnenfelderkultur gesprochen werden, während in Lika, Westserbien und wahrscheinlich im Verbreitungsgebiet der Gruppe Donja Brnjica – Gornja Stražava ein Verschmelzen mit der autochthonen Bevölkerung angenommen werden kann.

Die vorliegende Arbeit bietet einen Überblick über den Verbreitungsraum der Brandbestattungssitte im Untersuchungsgebiet und ihren Ursprung. Durch die Bestimmung dieses Verbreitungsraums wurden Elemente herausgearbeitet, die eine Gliederung der einheitlichen Populationsmerkmale im angesprochenen Zeitraum erlauben.

So wurde festgestellt, dass die Träger dieser Sitte, besonders in Nordbosnien, die als Pannonier bezeichneten Stäm-

me waren. Als Teil der Bevölkerung der Urnenfelderkultur praktizierten sie ausschließlich Brandbestattung.

Die Träger der Brandbestattungssitte in den Gebieten östlich der Morawa – also hauptsächlich in Zentral- und Südserbien sowie im Kosovo – waren jene Bevölkerungsgruppen, die bereits als die Grundlage für die Entwicklung der Dako-Mysier gelten.

In Lika, dem urillyrischen Raum mit der autochthonen Sitte der Körperbestattung, treten in der Spätbronzezeit auch Brandbestattungen, sogar innerhalb einer Nekropole oder eines Tumulus auf. Dies wurde als ein Hinweis auf den Vorstoß der Träger der Urnenfelderkultur in diese Gebiete und ihr Zusammengehen mit der lokalen Bevölkerung gedeutet.

Eine relativ ähnliche Situation liegt in Westserbien vor. Seine nördlichen Gebiete entlang der Save können mit derselben Kultur in den Save-Gebieten verknüpft werden, die sich in der Spätbronzezeit in den nordbosnischen Save-Gebieten entwickelte.

In dem gesamten übrigen, kontinentalen und adriatischen Balkangebiet (Bosnien, Herzegowina, Dalmatien, Montenegro) werden Körperbestattungen, meist unter Hügeln, aber auch in Flachgräbern, verwendet. Sie sind für das Bestattungsritual in diesem als frühillyrisch bezeichneten Raum kennzeichnend. Brandbestattungen sind hier nach der Frühbronzezeit nicht mehr nachzuweisen. Das führt zum Schluss, dass frühillyrische Gemeinschaften in diesem Bereich eine andere, sich von den benachbarten, nördlichen Gebieten unterscheidende, kulturelle Entwicklung genommen haben.

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29. GABROVEC, MIHOVILIĆ 1987, 320–338.

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Spätbronze- und früheisenzeitliche Brandbestattungen südlich der Save. Naturräume und Tradition

Mario Gavranović

Abstract

LATE BRONZE AGE AND EARLY IRON AGE CREMATION BURIALS SOUTH OF THE SAVA. NATURAL REGIONS AND TRADITIONS. The Sava is the cultural-historical boundary between the cremation burials in the plain North and the inhumation graves in the West Balkan highland. Both burial traditions originate in the Early Bronze Age. In the Early and Older Urnfield culture cremation burials of the Barice-Gredani group prevailed. Near the end of the Barice-Gredani group hoards become more prevalent, which might indicate a change in religious rites. In the Younger and Late Urnfield culture the range of shapes remains the same in the whole area, whereas cremation burials in the West (Petkovo Brdo, Bajinci and Donja Dolina) and inhumation graves in the East (Jablanica, Gornja Tuzla and Tešanj) predominate.

Zusammenfassung

Die Save ist die kulturhistorische Grenze zwischen den Brandbestattungen im flachen Norden und den Körpergräbern im westbalkanischen Bergland. Beide Grabtraditionen wurzeln in der frühesten Bronzezeit. In der frühen und älteren Urnenfelderzeit dominierten Brandbestattungen der Gruppe Barice-Gredani. Gegen Ende der Gruppe Barice-Gredani werden Depotfunde häufiger, was eine Änderung religiöser Riten anzeigen könnte. In der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit bleibt das Formenspektrum im gesamten Gebiet gleich, wobei Brandbestattungen im Westen (Petkovo Brdo, Bajinci und Donja Dolina) und Körperbe-

stattungen im Osten (Jablanica, Gornja Tuzla und Tešanj) vorherrschen.

Lage und Einleitung

Der in den slowenischen Alpen entspringende¹ und in Belgrad in die Donau mündende Fluss Save stellt im südöstlichen Teil unseres Kontinents in vielerlei Hinsicht eine bedeutende und markante naturräumliche und kulturhistorische Grenze dar. Dieser 940 km lange Fluss wird nach den meisten gängigen geografischen Definitionen als Nordgrenze der Balkanhalbinsel bezeichnet. Was man jedoch im deutschen Sprachgebrauch allgemein unter dem Begriff „Balkan“ versteht, findet sich freilich auch über die Save hinaus und lässt sich keinesfalls durch eine strikte geografische Barriere abgrenzen.

Großregional betrachtet, markiert die Save die südliche Flanke der Pannonischen Ebene bzw. des Karpatenbeckens. Südlich davon erstreckt sich die westbalkanische Gebirgszone mit zahlreichen in NO-SW Richtung verlaufenden Bergketten (Zentralbosnisches Erzgebirge, Westserbisch-Ostbosnisches Gebirge, Dinara etc.), welche durch verhältnismäßig schmale Flusstäler und -becken der Una, Vrbas, Bosna, Drina oder Neretva gegliedert werden. Die dritte geografische Region in diesem Raum ist der schmale, mediterrane Küstenstreifen entlang der Adria.

1. Hydromorphologisch entsteht die Save aus mehreren kleineren Gewässern. Velika Savica und Mala Savica fließen in Sava Bohinjka zusammen, die sich dann bei Radovljica mit Sava Dolinka vereinigt und zur Save wird.

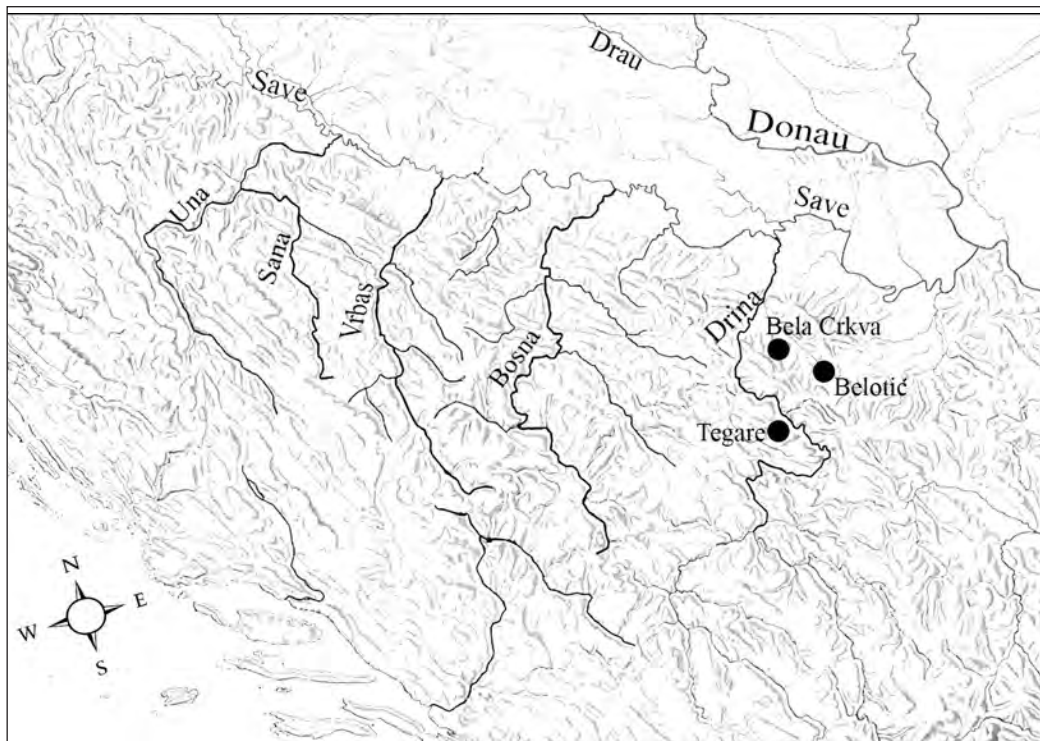


Abb. 1. Der westbalkanische Raum mit früh- und mittelbronzezeitlichen Nekropolen im Einzugsraum des Flusses Drina.

Im Bezug auf die Bestattungsriten der hier untersuchten Zeitspanne zwischen 1300 und 750 v. Chr., ja sogar für die gesamte bronzezeitliche Periode, spielte die in etwa entlang der Save verlaufende Grenze zwischen dem slawonisch-syrmischen Flachland und dem montanen Gebiet des Westbalkans eine bedeutende Rolle. Gewissermaßen trennte dieser Fluss die Welt der Brandbestattungen im flachen Norden von den Körpergräbern im westbalkanischen Bergland. Dabei lassen sich die unterschiedlichen Praktiken der Körperbehandlung nach dem Tod in diesen zwei Regionen bis in die früheste Bronzezeit zurückverfolgen. Als prägnante Beispiele aus dieser frühesten Zeit sind die Brandbestattungen aus Batajnica bei Belgrad² und die Körpergräber aus Mala Gruda in der montenegrinischen Küstenzone³ zu nennen. Obwohl es sich in beiden Fällen um ähnliche Grabbauten (Hügelgräber) mit herausragenden Beigaben handelt, die auf eine entsprechend hohe soziale Stellung der Verstorbenen hinweisen, spiegeln sich hier offenbar zwei grundsätzlich unterschiedliche Jenseitskonzepte der bestattenden Gemeinden wider. Wie die Funde aus dem Verbreitungsraum der frühbronzezeitlichen Cetina-Gruppe im dalmati-

nischen Hinterland⁴ oder aus dem ostbosnischen Glasinac⁵ zeigen, bleiben die Körperbestattungen unter Tumuli in der westbalkanisch-adriatischen Zone während der gesamten Bronzezeit die dominante Grabform. Im Gebiet nördlich der Save praktizierte man hingegen weiterhin ausschließlich Brandbestattung.⁶ Bereits ab der mittleren Bronzezeit setzten sich im südpannonischen Flachland die Urnenfelderfriedhöfe durch, die für den Grabritus der nächsten Jahrhunderte bestimmend blieben.⁷

Ausgehend von diesen zwei fundamental unterschiedlichen und mehr oder weniger durch die Save getrennten Bestattungssitten, ist es von besonderem Interesse zu beobachten, wie sich die funerals Praktiken in der Kontaktzone zwischen dem Pannonischen Tiefland und dem westbalkanischen Gebirge gestalteten. Dieser Berührungsraum umfasst die hügelige Landschaft an den Unterläufen der Flüsse Una, Vrbas, Bosna und Drina sowie ihre Mündungsniederungen zur Save hin (Abb. 1). Die wechselseitigen Beeinflussungen lassen sich hier bereits ab der Frühen Bronzezeit beobachten. Sehr eindrucksvoll zeigen dies die Grabfunde vom unteren Drinalauf bzw. aus dem Raum der Gruppe

2. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1982, 24.

3. DELLA CASA 1996, 11.

4. GOVEDARICA 1989, 129–123.

5. ČOVIĆ 1983, 419–421.

6. DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1982, 24.

7. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 21.

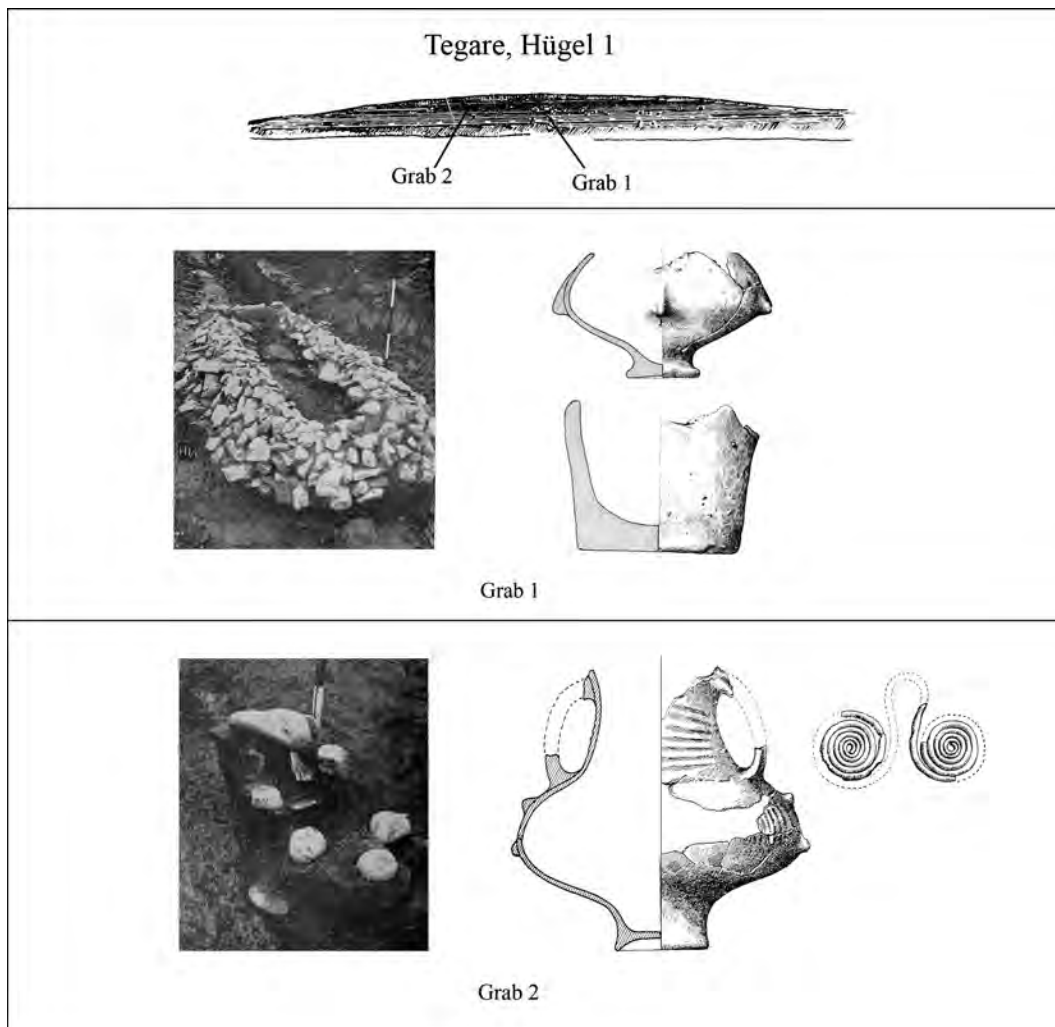


Abb. 2. Tegare. Hügelgrab mit einer Körperbestattung (Grab 1) und einem Urnengrab (Grab 2) (KOSORIĆ 1975, Taf. I–III.). Ohne Maßstab.

Belotić – Bela Crkva⁸ und einige Nekropolen auf der bosnischen Drinaseite wie Tegare bei Bratunac⁹ (Abb. 1).

Es handelt sich hier um Hügelgräber, in denen sowohl Brandbestattungen als auch Körpergräber vertreten sind. Der unterschiedliche Umgang mit dem Verstorbenen zog sich dabei offenbar bis in die engeren Familienstrukturen hinein, wenn man die einzelnen Hügel als Bestattungsplätze einer engeren Verwandtschaft interpretieren will. So findet man beispielsweise in Tegare im gleichen, ca. 14 m x 14 m großen und bis einer Höhe von 90 cm erhaltenen, Erdtumulus ein Körpergrab in einer Steinkonstruktion und unmittelbar daneben eine durch Steine umfasste Urnenbestattung¹⁰ (Abb. 2).

8. GARAŠANIN, GARAŠANIN 1958, 17 ff. – GARAŠANIN 1979, 55–59.

9. KOSORIĆ 1975, 5–9. – KOSORIĆ 1976, 19–23.

10. KOSORIĆ 1975, Tafel I–II.

Die Ähnlichkeit des Beigabengefäßes aus dem Körpergrab und der Urne machen eine allzu große zeitliche Entfernung beider Bestattungen wenig wahrscheinlich. Beide sind in die Zeit der mitteleuropäischen Stufen Bz B bis Bz C zu datieren.¹¹

Frühe bis ältere Urnenfelderzeit – Nekropolen vom Typ Barice-Gredani

Westlich der gerade erwähnten Nekropolen bzw. im nordbosnischen Raum sind vergleichbare Bestattungen aus der frühen und mittleren Bronzezeit bisher nicht bekannt. Ab der ausgehenden Mittelbronzezeit (Bz C) lassen sich hier Brandgräbernekropolen mit einem spezifischen Ritus feststellen: Man legte den Leichenbrand in eine zwischen 30 cm und 90 cm tiefe Grube unregelmäßiger Form und deckte

11. KOSORIĆ 1976, 42–44.

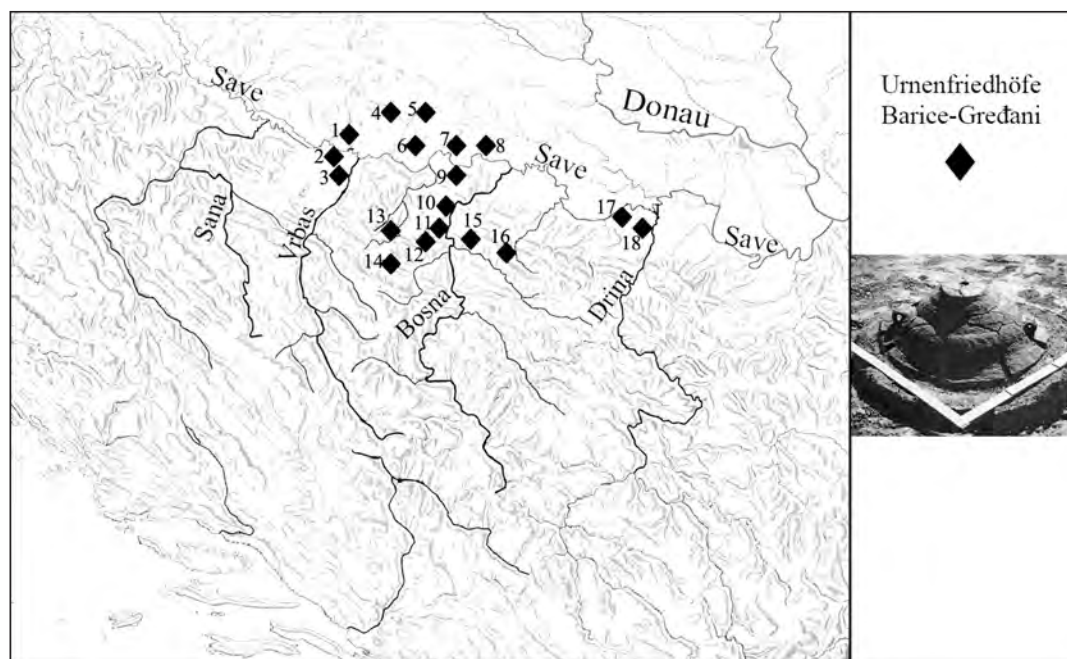


Abb. 3. Verbreitung der Urnenfriedhöfe der Gruppe Barice-Gredani. 1. Gredani (MINICHREITER 1984) – 2. Dubrave – 3. Laminci (ĐURĐEVIĆ 1986) – 4. Slavonska Požega (MINICHREITER 1984) – 5. Grabarje (MINICHREITER 1984) – 6. Oriovac (MINICHREITER 1984) – 7. Vranovci (MINICHREITER 1984) – 8. Perkovci (MINICHREITER 1984) – 9. Mala Brusnica (BELIĆ 1964a) – 10. Greda (BELIĆ 1966a) – 11. Grabovica (BELIĆ 1966b) – 12. Paležnica (BELIĆ 1988) – 13. Kulaši (BELIĆ 1964a) – 14. Bare-Liplje (BELIĆ 1964b) – 15. Božinci (BELIĆ 1988) – 16. Barice (ČOVIĆ 1958) – 17. Batković (KOSORIĆ 1967) – 18. Dvorovi (KOSORIĆ 1965).

ihn mit einem Gefäß ab. Anschließend wurde die Grube mit dem ausgehobenen Erdreich verfüllt. Diese Friedhöfe werden in der Forschung zur Gruppe Barice-Gredani zusammengefasst.¹² Ihr Verbreitungsraum umfasst das Gebiet Zentralslawoniens nördlich der Save sowie die nordbosnische Niederung und die direkt daran anschließende hügelige Landschaft am Mittellauf des Flusses Bosna (Abb. 3). Die Nekropolen gruppieren sich dabei entweder in sanften Anhöhen im flachen Gelände oder liegen an natürlichen Senken und Terrassen, vornehmlich in Gewässernähe.

Bei den Abdeckgefäßen sind lediglich zwei Grundformen zu unterscheiden: weitmündige Schüsseln mit abgesetzter Randzone (Abb. 4, Gräber 11, 18, 19, 24, 27, 28) und einfache Schüsseln mit einziehendem Rand (Abb. 4, Gräber 12, 23, 26). Nur selten fand man weitere Beigaben wie S-förmig profilierte kleinere Schüsseln (Abb. 4, Grab 28) oder stark verbrannte Metallobjekte (Abb. 4, Gräber 12, 24, 26).

Aufgrund des uniformen Keramikrepertoires, welches in allen Fundplätzen und während der gesamten Nutzungszeit vorkommt, ist es schwer bzw. unmöglich mit konventionellen Methoden eine gesicherte zeitliche Belegungsabfolge auszuarbeiten.¹³ So wird man auch die mehrmals geäußerte These, dass die Friedhöfe in flachem Gelände eine ältere, in die Bz C bis Bz D datierende, und die Nekropolen an den Terrassen eine jüngere, Ha A1-zeitliche Phase, darstellen, nicht mit letzter Gewissheit bestätigen können.¹⁴

Die zeitliche Einordnung einzelner Bestattungen ist in erster Linie mit Hilfe von Beigaben möglich. So belegen die Grabfunde aus Batković bei Bijeljina (Nordostbosnien) mit großen Mohnkopfnadeln¹⁵ und Grabovica an der Bosna mit einem durch Kreisbuckelzier verzierten Beigabengefäß¹⁶, dass die Anfänge der Gruppe Barice-Gredani in jedem Fall bis zur mittleren Bronzezeit (Bz C) zurückreichen. Ein Fortbestehen während der Stufen Bz D und Ha A1 zeigen Bronzebeigaben wie Keulenkopfnadeln, Nadeln mit abgeflachtem Kopf und Nadeln mit doppelkonischem Kopf aus

12. ČOVIĆ 1958, 60. – MINICHREITER 1984, 91. – TERŽAN 1995, 326. Es handelt sich um die zwei am besten untersuchten Nekropolen in Bosnien (Barice, siehe ČOVIĆ 1958) und Slawonien (Gredani, siehe MINICHREITER 1984).

13. DELLA CASA 1996, 166.

14. ČOVIĆ 1988, 60.

15. KOSORIĆ 1967, 24.

16. BELIĆ 1966b, 33.

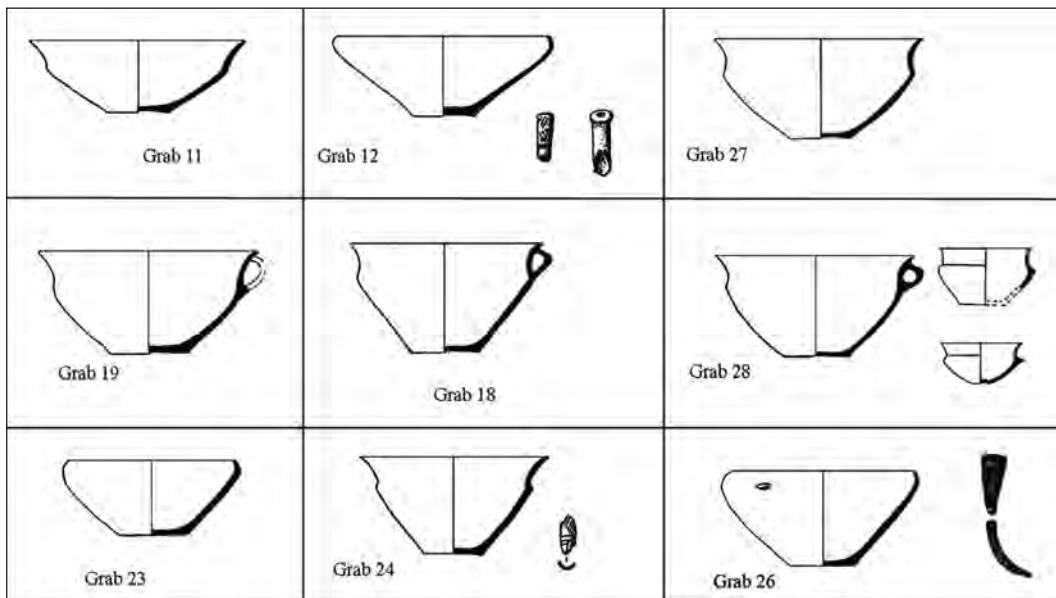


Abb. 4. Auswahl der Gräber aus der Nekropole Barice (Čović 1958); ohne Maßstab.

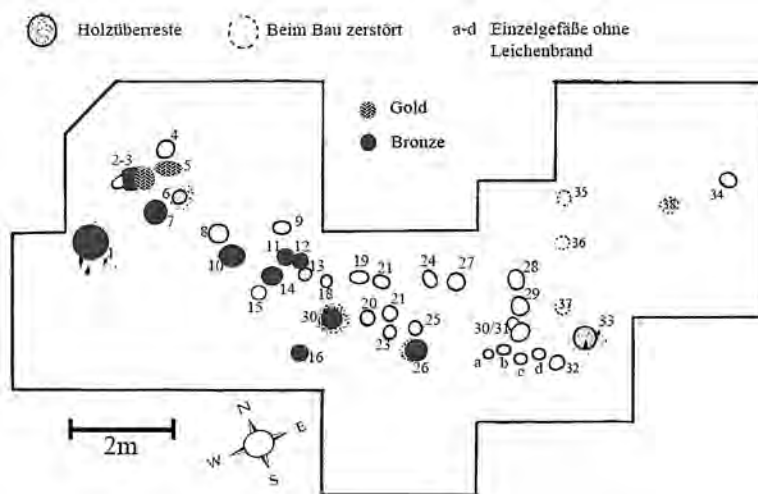


Abb. 5. Barice. Plan der Nekropole mit Metallbeigaben (überarbeitet nach Čović 1958).

Barice selbst und aus den benachbarten Nekropolen Nordbosniens.¹⁷ Die besten Entsprechungen für die genannten Schmuckobjekte stammen aus den bosnischen Depotfunden der älteren Urnenfelderzeit Kučišta und Boljanić.¹⁸

Da die meisten bislang bekannten Nekropolen der Gruppe Barice-Gredani entweder zu klein sind oder nur partiell gegraben wurden, fällt es schwer, gesicherte Schlussfolgerungen über die mögliche soziale Differenzierung der hier bestattenden Gemeinschaft zu ziehen. Hinzu kommen noch die bereits erwähnte Uniformität der Grabausstattung

und ein sehr unzureichender Forschungsstand in den zugehörigen Siedlungen. Allein die namensgebende Nekropole Barice mit ca. 40 dokumentierten Bestattungen, ermöglicht einen besseren Einblick in die soziale Struktur und verrät etwas über die komplexen Grabzeremonien. Neben den Gräbern in einer kreisförmigen oder ovalen Grube mit Erdverfüllung wurden an diesem Fundplatz auch fünf Grabgruben mit einer Verfüllung aus Erde und stark verbrannten Holzüberresten beobachtet (Abb. 5).

Dieser Umstand ist vermutlich auf eine besondere Behandlung der verbrannten Überreste zurückzuführen. Des Weiteren fanden sich in Barice vier aneinandergereihte Gruben, in denen einzelne Gefäße in senkrechter Lage

17. Čović 1958, Gräber 3, 7, 12, 36. – Belić 1964a, Grab 6.

18. König 2004, Tafel 3/54–55; Tafel 18/59–63.

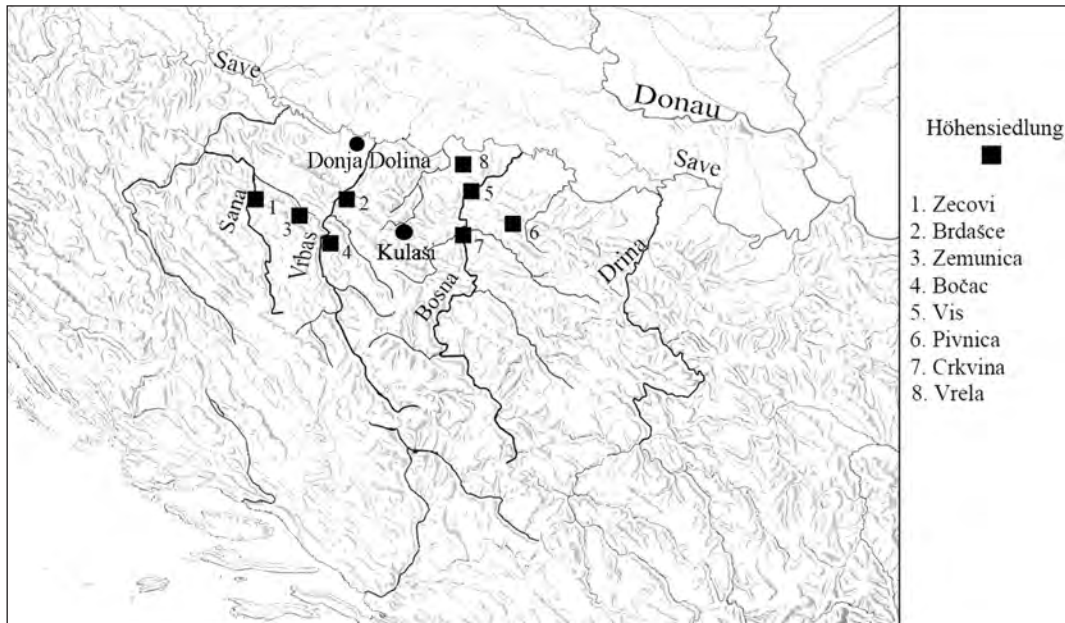


Abb. 6. Höhensiedlungen der älteren Urnenfelderzeit in Nordbosnien.

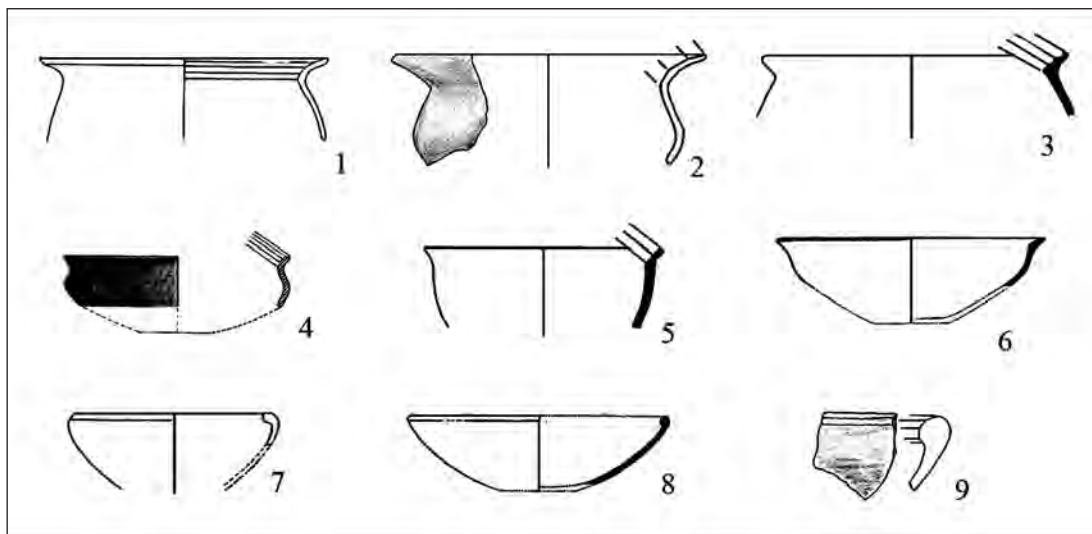


Abb. 7. Auswahl der Keramikformen aus alturnenfelderzeitlichen Siedlungen Nordbosniens. 1., 7. Donja Dolina (MARIĆ 1964) – 2. Zemunica (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011) – 3., 5., 6., 8. Vis (MARIĆ 1961) – 4. Zecovi (ČOVIĆ 1965) – 9. Bočac (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011); ohne Maßstab.

ohne Spuren von Leichenbrand niedergelegt worden sind. Es handelt sich dabei um S-förmig profilierte Schüsseln, die man aus anderen Gräbern vor allem als Gefäßbeigabe kennt (vgl. Abb. 4, Grab 28). Deutlich zu erkennen ist auch eine Zweiteilung des Bestattungsplatzes in Hinblick auf die Metallbeigaben (Abb. 5). So konzentrieren sich die mit Bronzeschmuck und in zwei Fällen sogar mit Golddrahtstücken ausgestatteten Gräber ausschließlich auf der nordwestlichen Seite. Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass sich in dieser „metallreichen“ Gruppe vier von fünf Grabgruben mit Holzüber-

resten befinden, welche in drei Fällen mit Bronzebeigaben versehen waren (Abb. 5, Gräber 1, 26, 30).

Es liegt demnach nahe, die Gräber auf der nordwestlichen Nekropolenseite als Bestattungsplatz einer durch den sozialen Status und/oder Verwandtschaft in sich geschlossenen Gruppe zu interpretieren, die sich durch vermehrte Beigabe von kostbarem und seltenem Metall sowie durch einen spezifischen Grabritus bestimmter Mitglieder (Verbrennung vor Ort) von der restlichen Gemeinschaft absetzt.

Mit der älteren Urnenfelderzeit bzw. mit der Zeit der

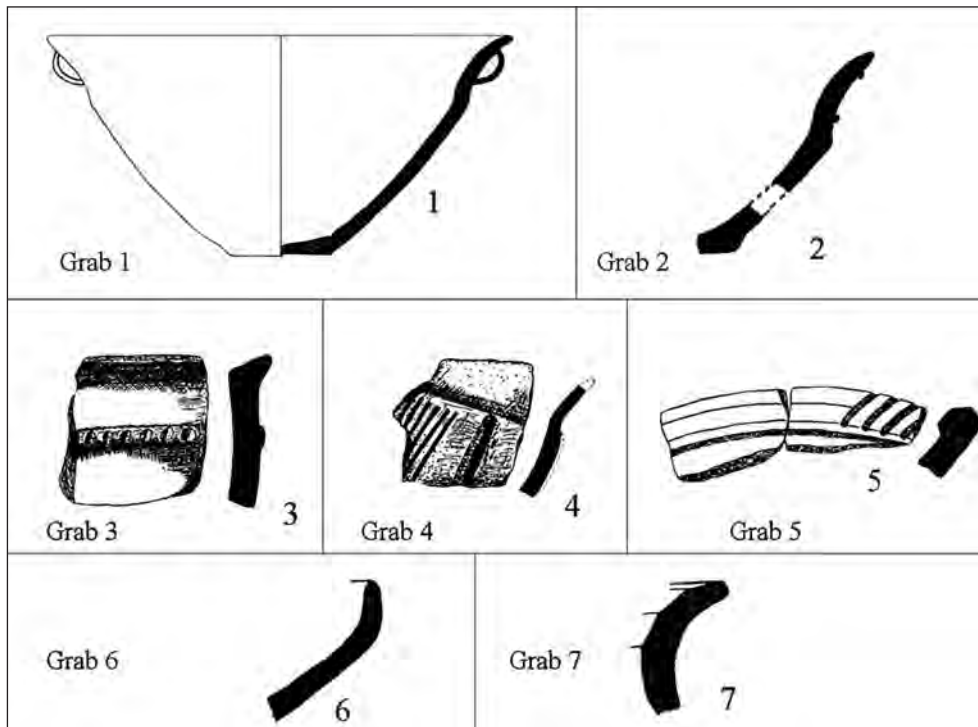


Abb. 8. Nekropole Kulaši (BELIĆ 1963). Ohne Maßstab.

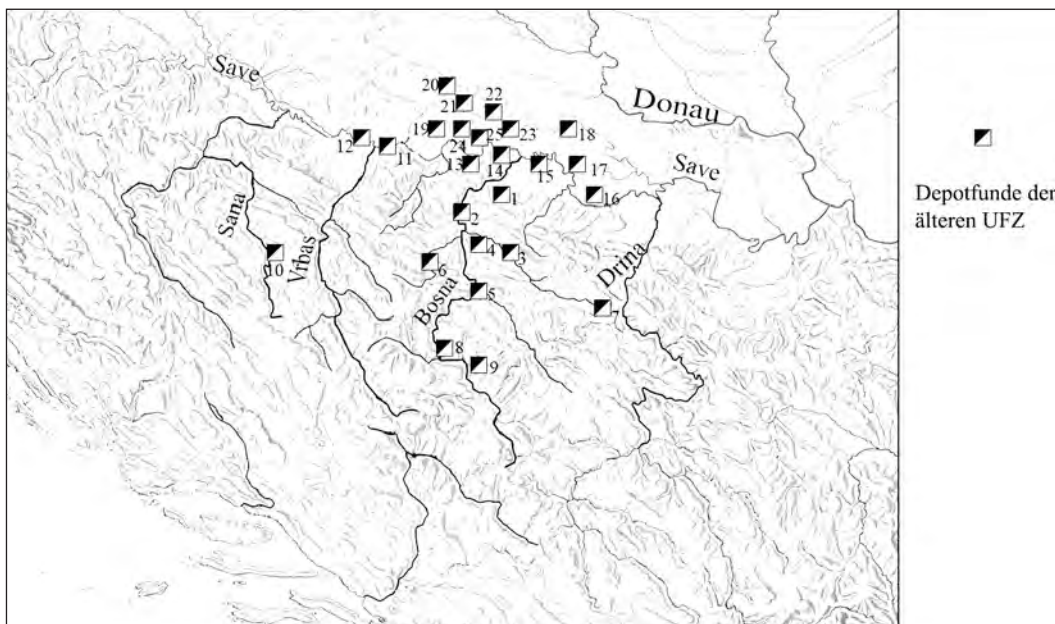


Abb. 9. Depotfunde der älteren Urnenfelderzeit. 1. Srpska Varoš 2 (KÖNIG 2004) – 2. Grapska (KÖNIG 2004) – 3. Jadrina (KÖNIG 2004) – 4. Boljanić (KÖNIG 2004) – 5. Majdan Ridžali (KÖNIG 2004) – 6. Blatnica (KÖNIG 2004) – 7. Perin Grad (KÖNIG 2004) – 8. Lašva (KÖNIG 2004) – 9. Motke (KÖNIG 2004) – 10. Kijevo (KÖNIG 2004) – 11. Pričac (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 12. Mačkovac (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 13. Kućišta (KÖNIG 2004) – 14. Novi Grad (KÖNIG 2004) – 15. Vidovce (KÖNIG 2004) – 16. Račinovci (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 17. Bošnjaci (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 18. Otok (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 19. Gornji Slatnik (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 20. Londica (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 21. Brodski Varoš (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 22–23. Poljanci I und II (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 24. Podcrkavlje (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 25. Gornja Vrba (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973).

Stufe Ha A1 kamen die Nekropolen der Gruppe Barice-Gredani außer Benutzung. Etwa im gleichen Zeitraum kommt es in ihrem Verbreitungsgebiet zur Besiedlung mehrerer exponierter Stellen in der Landschaft, vorzugsweise über einem gut überblickbaren Flusstalabschnitt. Diese neuen Siedlungsplätze wie Vis, Zemunica oder Zecovi zeichnen sich alle durch eine vergleichbare Lage und ein sehr ähnliches Fundrepertoire aus (Abb. 6 und 7).

Inwiefern die Gründung dieser Höhensiedlungen mit dem Ende der Gruppe Barice-Gredani einhergeht, lässt sich beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand nicht eindeutig klären. Vergleicht man die Keramikformen, ist eine Verknüpfung der Höhensiedlungen mit den Urnenfriedhöfen nur bedingt möglich. Hinzuweisen ist vor allem auf die innen facettierten Trichterhalsgefäße und Schalen mit verdicktem, facettiertem Rand, die in Vis und Zemunica zu den Standardformen gehören (Abb. 7).¹⁹ Vergleichbare Formen sind in den Brandbestattungen der Gruppe Barice-Gredani eher unüblich, doch in der kleinen Nekropole Kulaši im Tal des Flusses Ukrina (Nordbosnien) offenbar bekannt (Abb. 8, 7).²⁰ Ebenso findet man z. B. in Vis weitmündige Schüsseln, eine charakteristische Form der Gruppe Barice-Gredani, wieder (Abb. 7/6).

Ein Weiterleben der Gruppe Barice-Gredani über die Zeit der Stufe Ha A1 hinaus, ist jedenfalls nicht zu belegen. Aus dem Zeitraum der älteren und mittleren Urnenfelderzeit liegen derzeit aus dem ganzen nordbosnischen Raum keine Grabfunde vor, die Hinweise über die Bestattungsriten im Umfeld der neuen Höhensiedlungen liefern können. Stattdessen treten ab der älteren Urnenfelderzeit vermehrt Depotfunde in den Vordergrund, deren Niederlegung möglicherweise einen grundlegenden Wandel der Jenseitsvorstellungen widerspiegelt. Hierfür würde auch die Verbreitung der alturnenfelderzeitlichen Depotfunde in Nordbosnien und Slawonien sprechen, die sich zum größten Teil mit dem ehemaligen Verbreitungsareal der Gruppe Barice-Gredani deckt.²¹ Sehr auffällig im Raum südlich der Save ist die Bindung der Depots an den Fluss Bosna und insbesondere an seinen mittleren Abschnitt, d. h. dort, wo sich auch die meisten Brandnekropolen befanden (Abb. 9, vgl. 3). Ein ähnliches Verhältnis zwischen sich chronologisch ausschließenden und verbreitungsdeckenden Grabfunden und Depots wurde schon im Raum Sloweniens beobachtet.²²

Jüngere bis späte Urnenfelderzeit

Die Stratigrafie der erwähnten Höhensiedlungen (Abb. 6) weist eindeutig auf eine kontinuierliche Besiedlung Nordbosniens in der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit hin (11.–9. Jh. v. Chr.). Das Bild der Bestattungssitten während dieser Zeit ist dennoch sehr lückenhaft. Die zur Siedlung gehörenden Nekropolen wurden nur in einigen wenigen Fällen entdeckt. Ebenfalls unbekannt ist der Friedhof der urnenfelderzeitlichen Ufersiedlung von Donja Dolina an der Save²³ (Abb. 15). Die zahlreichen Bronzen aus diesem Fundort umfassen eine sehr lange Zeitspanne von der frühen bis zur ausgehenden Urnenfelderzeit. Auch wenn sie durchaus Grabkontexten entstammen könnten, sind bei keinem Objekt die Fundumstände dokumentiert worden. Sie können daher nur als Einzelfunde gewertet werden.

Die ersten intakten Grabfunde sind in Nordbosnien ab dem 10. Jh. v. Chr. zu verzeichnen. Im Gegensatz zur frühen und älteren Urnenfelderzeit lassen sich ab der Zeit der Stufe Ha B1 in Bezug auf den Grabbau und auf den Ritus viele lokale Prägungen erkennen. Ein einheitliches Bild, wie z. B. im südlich angrenzenden Glasinac-Gebiet, wo Körperbestattungen unter Hügeln auch zu dieser Zeit vorherrschen und offenbar an die älteren Traditionen nahtlos anknüpfen,²⁴ ist in der entlang der Save verlaufenden Kontaktzone zwischen dem südlichen Karpatenbecken und dem Westbalkan keineswegs festzustellen.

Im östlichen Teil Nordbosniens bzw. am Unterlauf des Flusses Bosna mit seinen Nebenflüssen Spreča und Usora ist es offenkundig zu einem Bruch mit den alturnenfelderzeitlichen Traditionen der Brandbestattungen gekommen. Hier im ehemaligen Verbreitungsraum der Urnenfriedhöfe der Gruppe Barice-Gredani erscheinen ab der jüngeren Urnenfelderzeit ausschließlich Körperbestattungen. Ein anschauliches Beispiel ist die nordostbosnische Nekropole Jablanica mit flachen, aus Steinmaterial bzw. Steinplatten gebauten Grabkonstruktionen²⁵ (Abb. 10).

Dabei sind die einzelnen Grabaufbauten sehr unterschiedlich: durch Steinplatten eingefasste Gräber, Steinpodeste, gepflasterte Anlagen, lose abgegrenzte Doppel- und Einzelbestattungen sowie mit Steinplatten gepflasterte, übereinander liegende Gräber mehrerer Generationen (Abb. 11).

Ein Hügelbau, wie im benachbarten Glasinac, konnte jedoch nicht beobachtet werden. Ähnliche Grabanlagen wie in Jablanica findet man in den benachbarten Fundor-

19. ČOVIĆ 1965, 39–42.

20. BELIĆ 1964a, 24.

21. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, Tafel 133. – KÖNIG 2004, Tafel 79.

22. TERŽAN 1995, 337.

23. MARIĆ 1964, 7–9.

24. ČOVIĆ 1963, 50 ff. – ČOVIĆ 1987a, 638.

25. MILIĆ 1985, 62.

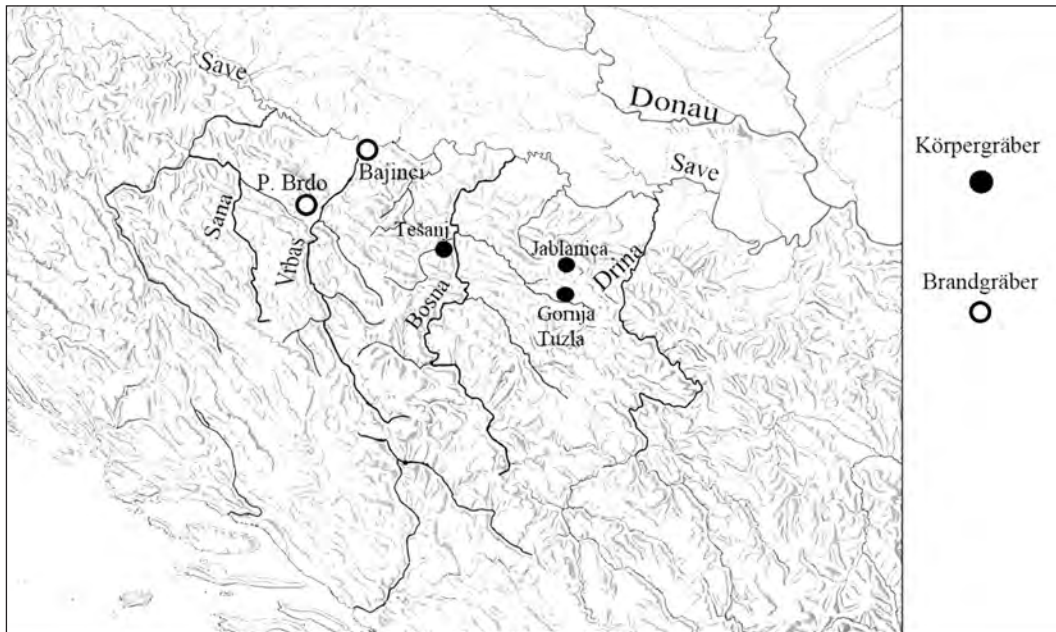


Abb. 10. Bestattungen der späten Urnenfelderzeit in Nordbosnien.



Abb. 11. Jablanica. Grabkonstruktionen der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011).

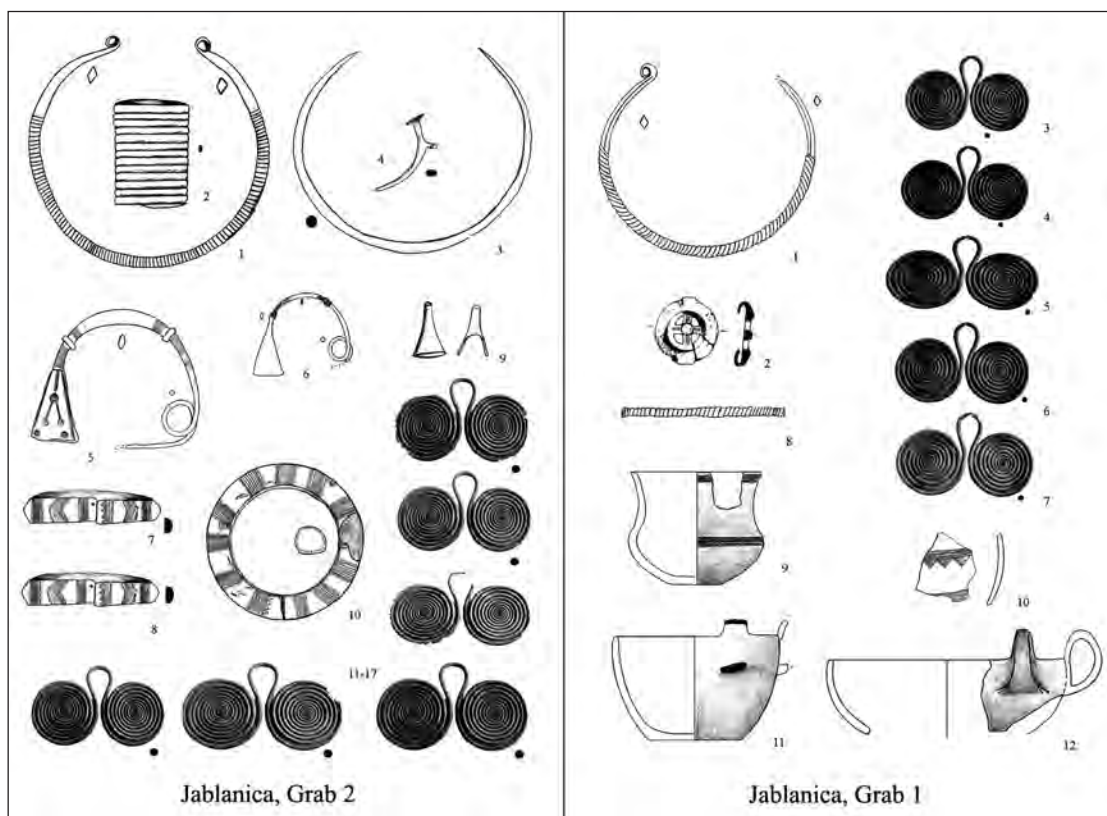


Abb. 12. Jablanica. Grab 2 (Doppelbestattung einer Frau und eines Kindes) und Grab 1. (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011); ohne Maßstab.

ten Gornja Tuzla²⁶ und Tešanj²⁷. Auch hier handelte es sich, den ursprünglichen Berichten zufolge, um Körperbestattungen in durch Steinplatten oder Steinpodeste verkleideten Flachgräbern. Nicht zu übersehen sind auch gewisse Ähnlichkeiten in der Beigabenstruktur zwischen Jablanica, Gornja Tuzla und Tešanj, welche auf eine, wie auch immer geartete, Verbundenheit der bestattenden Gemeinschaften hindeuten. Vergleicht man beispielsweise die späturnenfelderzeitlichen Gräber aus diesen drei Fundorten, wird man feststellen, dass sich die Beigabe von Brillenanhängern in Sets, verzierten, kalottenförmigen bzw. durchbrochenen Gürtelschließen, Ösenhalsringen und verzierter Keramik immer wieder findet (Abb. 12–13).

Die Mitgabe der wertvollen Tracht- und Schmuckteile war hier offenbar ein fester Bestandteil des Grabritus und diente wahrscheinlich dazu, den gesellschaftlichen Status der Lebenden auch ins Jenseits zu übertragen. Das gleiche Muster dürfte auch für das durch männlich-kriegerische Attribute geprägte Schwertgrab aus Tešanj zutreffen (Abb. 13).

Die Beispiele aus Jablanica, Gornja Tuzla und Tešanj zeigen deutlich, dass die Sitte der Brandbestattungen in

Nordostbosnien bzw. am unteren Bosnalauf und im Einzugsraum dieses Flusses in der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit nicht mehr existent war. Die Frage, warum die altturnenfelderzeitliche Tradition der Urnenfriedhöfe in diesem Raum gänzlich verschwunden ist, muss unbeantwortet bleiben. Verlockend klingen die Hypothesen von einer Migration oder einem tiefen religiösen Wandel, doch mehr als Spekulationen sind solche Behauptungen nicht.

Eine andere Entwicklung als in Nordostbosnien zeigen die Funde aus dem Einzugsgebiet der Flüsse Vrbas und Sana bzw. aus dem westlichen Teil der bereits angesprochenen Kontaktzone entlang der Saveniederung. Auch wenn der Forschungsstand ebenfalls alles andere als optimal ist, deuten die Grabfunde der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit aus Petkovo Brdo²⁸ und Bajinci²⁹ darauf hin, dass die Verbrennung der Toten weiterhin praktiziert wurde und sich womöglich aus älteren Traditionen ableiten lässt. In Petkovo Brdo konnten zehn Urnengräber geborgen werden, während der Rest der Nekropole durch Landarbeiten abgetragen bzw. zerstört wurde.³⁰ Die zehn dokumentierten

26. ČOVIĆ 1957, 252.

27. TRUHELKA 1907, 57–75.

28. ČOVIĆ 1966, 161–167.

29. ČOVIĆ 1987b, 238.

30. ČOVIĆ 1966, 161.

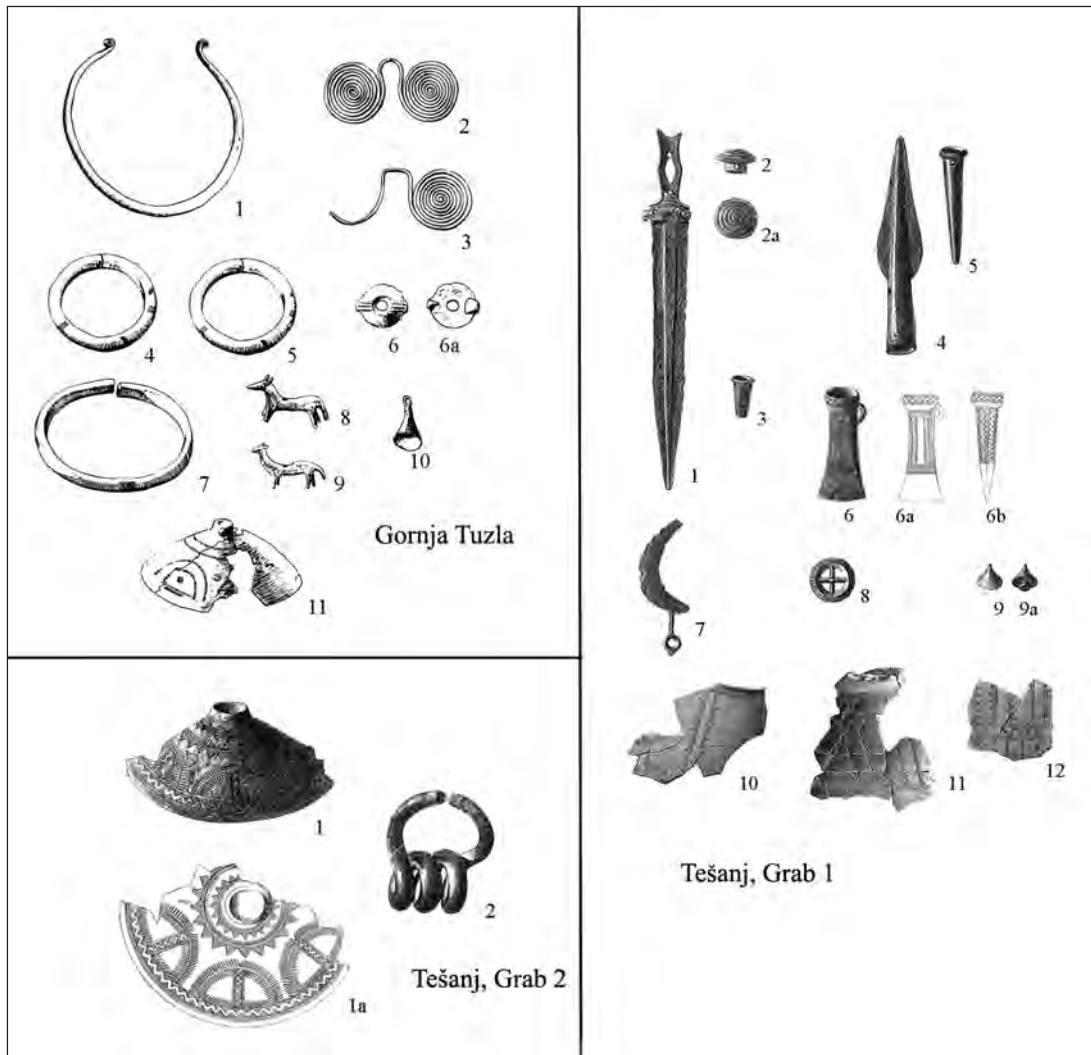


Abb. 13. Späturnenfelderzeitliche Grabfunde aus Gornja Tuzla (Čović 1957.) und Tešanj (Truhelka 1907); ohne Maßstab.

Bestattungen weisen einen einheitlichen Ritus mit Leichenbrandresten in einer großen doppelkonischen Urne auf, die mit einer Schüssel bedeckt wurde (Abb. 14).

Zusammen mit dem Leichenbrand fand man auch unverbrannte Gegenstände wie verzierte Gürtelschließen aus Bronze und kleine mit Ritzlinien verzierte Amphoren (Abb. 14), die demnach wahrscheinlich als tatsächliche Beigaben für das Jenseits und nicht als persönliches Eigentum, welches mit dem Körper zusammen verbrannt wurde, zu interpretieren sind. Exakte Gegenstücke zu den kleinen, verzierten Amphoren liegen unter dem Fundmaterial aus der direkt an die Nekropole angrenzenden Siedlung Zemunica vor (Abb. 14). Bei Zemunica handelt es sich um eine der schon erwähnten Höhsiedlungen Nordbosniens, deren Beginn in die ältere Urnenfelderzeit fällt (Abb. 3). Die kleinen Amphoren stammen aus der sog. „mittleren Phase“

der jüngsten Besiedlung,³¹ welche hauptsächlich die späte Urnenfelderzeit umfasst.³² Demnach darf Petkovo Brdo zweifelsohne als Friedhof der späturnenfelderzeitlichen Siedlung von Zemunica bezeichnet werden.

Über das Brandgrab aus Bajinci, direkt an der Vrbasmündung, ist wenig bekannt. Die Urne war, Berichten zufolge, mit einer Steinplatte bedeckt, auf der man ein Eisenmesser, einen Eisenring und eine Schälchenkopfnadel aus

31. In Zemunica wurden auch Spuren einer kupfer- und frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung entdeckt. Siehe dazu Čović 1965, 69 und Anm. 87. Eine kontinuierliche Besiedlung bis zur älteren Urnenfelderzeit ist jedoch in jedem Fall auszuschließen.

32. Das Siedlungsmaterial aus Zemunica ist bislang unveröffentlicht. Ein Teil der Funde erscheint in der Arbeit über die Spätbronze- und frühe Eisenzeit in Bosnien (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011).

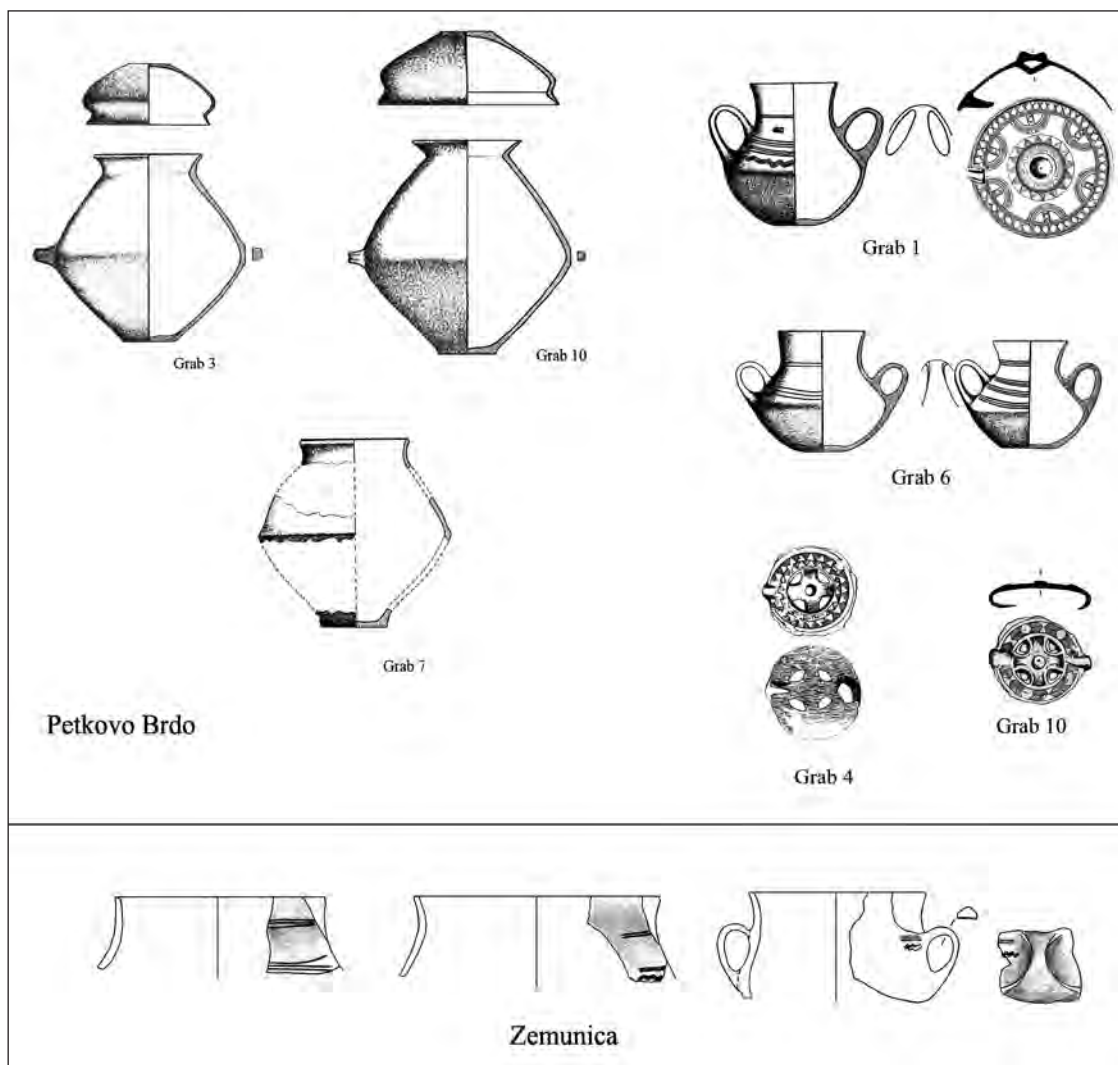


Abb. 14. Brandbestattungen aus Petkovo Brdo (Čović 1966) und Funde aus der angrenzenden Siedlung Zemunica (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011); ohne Maßstab.

Bronze fand.³³ Sowohl die Schälchenkopfnadel als auch die Grabform mit auf der Urne liegender Steinplatte haben gute Entsprechungen in den norditalischen Brandgräberfeldern des 8. Jh. v. Chr. bzw. der Stufe Bologna II.³⁴ Eine intensivere Kommunikation mit dem norditalischen Raum während dieser Zeitspanne lässt sich auch in dem nur wenige Kilometer von Bajinici entfernten Fundplatz Donja Dolina feststellen. Darauf verweisen vor allem mehrere Nadeln mit kegelförmigem Kopf vom Typ Vadena und vom Typ Constanzo, die man im Bereich der Ufersiedlung fand.³⁵ Nicht

auszuschließen ist, dass zumindest einige dieser Nadeln aus einem zerstörten Grabkontext stammen. Die urnenfelderzeitliche Ufersiedlung wurde nämlich zu Beginn des 8. Jh. v. Chr., also in der Zeit der Nadeln mit kegelförmigem Kopf, aufgegeben und in ein Friedhofsareal umgewandelt, während sich die Siedlung etwas weiter östlich, auf den erhöhten Bereich des Hügels Gradina, verlagerte (Abb. 15).

Bezeichnend ist die Tatsache, dass alle Gräber, die an den Beginn der Nekropole von Donja Dolina datieren, Brandbestattungen in einer Urne sind.³⁶ Die urnenfelderzeitliche Tradition der Brandbestattungen setzt sich also in diesem Teil Nordbosniens ununterbrochen bis in die frühe Eisenzeit fort. Im Falle von Donja Dolina nehmen die Körperbe-

33. Čović 1987b, 238.

34. MÜLLER-KARPE 1959, 84, 59 und L2; 65 und G11. – PARE 1998, 310 ff.

35. MARIĆ 1964, 5ff. – KIMMIG 1949/1950, 292. Für die norditalischen Vergleichsfunde siehe CARANCINI 1975, 61–63.

36. Čović 1987b, 241.

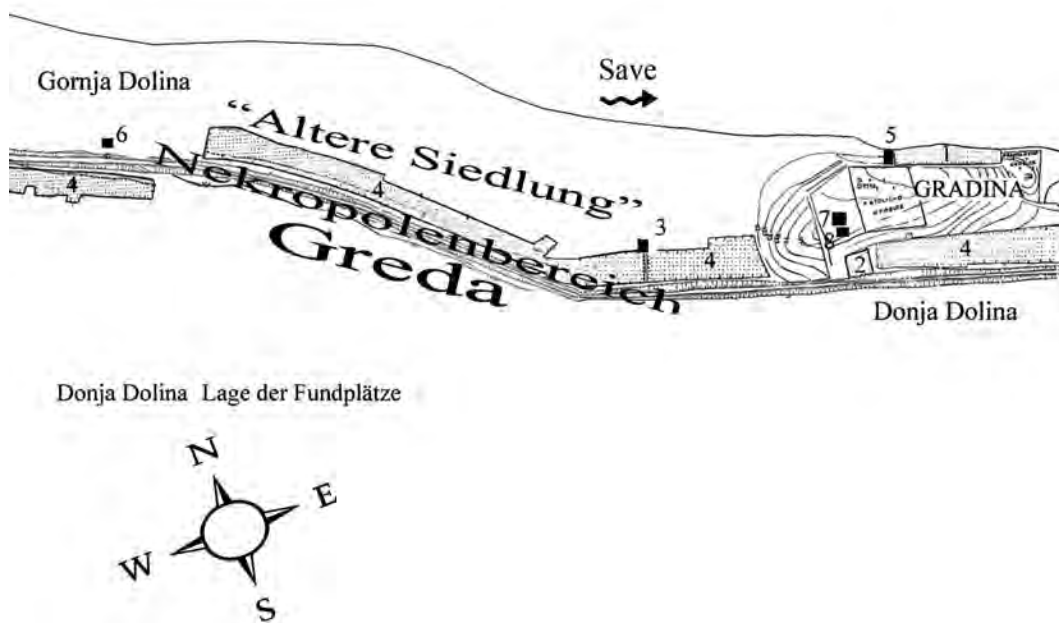


Abb. 15. Donja Dolina. Lage der urnenfelderzeitlichen Siedlung („Ältere Siedlung“) und der eisenzeitlichen Pfahlbausiedlung (Gradina) sowie der dazugehörigen Nekropole (überarbeitet nach NIKOLIĆ-MUTAVDŽIĆ 1964).

stattungen erst im Laufe des 7. Jh. v. Chr. deutlich zu, obwohl dieses Gräberfeld bis zum Belegungsende birituell bleibt.³⁷

Die genannten Beispiele zeigen deutlich, dass im Raum Nordbosniens während der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit eine Zweiteilung in Bezug auf den Grabritus existierte. Im östlichen Teil dieses Gebietes bzw. um den Fluss Bosna sind ausschließlich Körperbestattungen zu verzeichnen (Jablanica, Gornja Tuzla, Tešanj), während im westlichen Teil bzw. im Einzugsraum der Flüsse Sana und Vrbas die alturnenfelderzeitliche Tradition der Brandbestattungen offenbar bis in die Früheisenzeit weiterlebte (Petkovo Brdo, Bajinci, Donja Dolina). Doch trotz eines andersartigen Umgangs mit dem Körper der Verstorbenen, den man auf eine grundlegend unterschiedliche Jenseitsvorstellung zurückführen kann, scheinen die beiden Regionen, zumindest was den Bronzeschmuck betrifft, einem gleichen Formenkreis anzugehören. So zeigt die Verbreitung der kalottenförmigen, verzierten Gürtelschließen sowie der durchbrochenen Gürtelschließen, dass sie gleichermaßen im Osten und im Westen beliebt waren (Abb. 16).

Ein ähnliches Bild liefern auch die jüngsten Fibeln vom Typ Golinjevo, deren Verbreitungsraum ebenfalls den gesamten nordbosnischen Raum, von Jablanica im Osten bis zum Fluss Una im Westen, umfasst (Abb. 17). Würde man also lediglich die materiellen Hinterlassenschaften und ihre

Verbreitung berücksichtigen, käme man zum Schluss, dass in Nordbosnien von einem „Kulturraum“ auszugehen ist. Die mannigfaltigen Ausprägungen des Grabkultes weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass der lokale Charakter einer Gemeinschaft ein weitaus entscheidender Identifikationsfaktor als die bloße Objektverbreitung ist.

Abschließend bleibt festzuhalten, dass während der frühen und älteren Urnenfelderzeit im untersuchten Gebiet Brandbestattungen der Gruppe Barice-Gredani vorherrschen. Somit schließt sich dieser Raum dem großen Urnenfelderkreis Mitteleuropas an. Auffällig ist, dass mit dem Ende der Gruppe Barice-Gredani ein Anstieg der Hortfunde in ihrem Verbreitungsgebiet beobachtet werden kann, worin sich wahrscheinlich eine nicht weiter erklärbare Änderung der religiösen Praktiken zeigt. In der jüngeren und späten Urnenfelderzeit ist bezüglich der Bestattungssitten eine deutliche Zweiteilung des betrachteten Raumes festzustellen mit Brandbestattungen im Westen (Petkovo Brdo, Bajinci und Donja Dolina) und Körperbestattungen im Osten (Jablanica, Gornja Tuzla und Tešanj). Bezeichnenderweise teilen die beiden Gebiete zwar ein spezifisches Formenspektrum, unterscheiden sich jedoch gravierend in der Behandlung ihrer Toten voneinander.

37. ČOVIĆ 1987b, 241–245. – GAVRANOVIĆ 2007, 405–419.

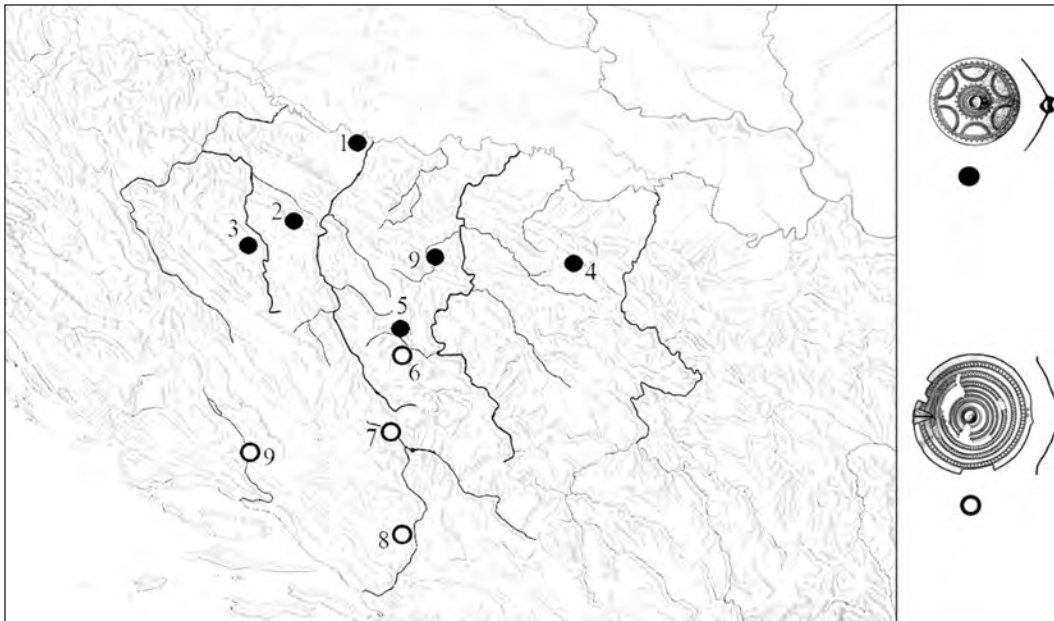


Abb. 16. Verbreitung der kalottenförmigen Gürtelschließen (volle Symbole) und großen, prunkvollen Gürtelschließen vom Typ Krehin Gradac (leere Symbole). 1. Donja Dolina (MARIĆ 1964) – 2. Petkovo Brdo (ČOVIĆ 1966) – 3. Sanski Most (FIALA 1899) – 4. Gornja Tuzla (ČOVIĆ 1957) – 5. Bila (NIKOLIĆ 1962) – 6. Veliki Mošunj (zuletzt KÖNIG 2004) – 7. Ometala (KÖNIG 2004) – 8. Krehin Gradac (KÖNIG 2004) – 9. Mali Drnić (MILOŠEVIĆ 1999).

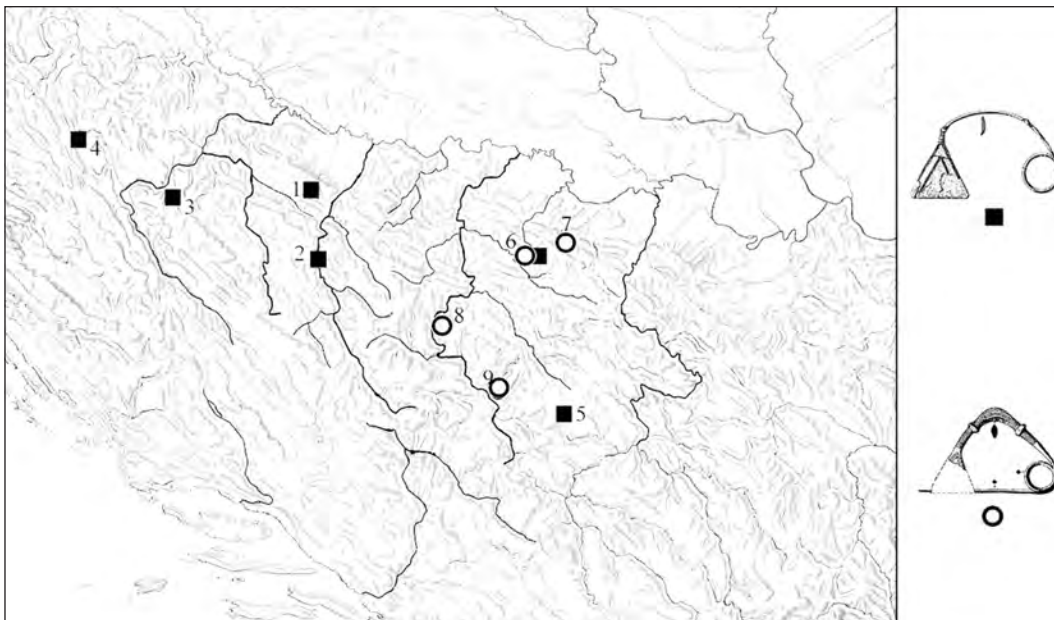


Abb. 17. Verbreitung der jüngsten Fibeln vom Typ Golinjevo (viereckige Symbole) und Fibeln vom Typ Golinjevo mit ovalem Bügelquerschnitt. 1. Ivanjska (ČOVIĆ 1975) – 2. Tijesno Vrbasa (ČOVIĆ 1975) – 3. Osredak (KÖNIG 2004) – 4. Gajina Pečina (VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973) – 5. Gradac-Sokolac, Tum. III (ČOVIĆ 1987) – 6. Jablanica, Grab 2 (GAVRANOVIĆ 2011) – 7. Drenov Do (KÖNIG 2004) – 8. Brist-Zenica (ČOVIĆ 1975) – 9. Brgule (KÖNIG 2004).

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Brandbestattungen in Urnen im serbischen Donaugebiet von 1300 bis 750 v. Chr.

Predrag Medović

Abstract

CREMATION BURIALS IN URNS IN THE SERBIAN PART OF THE DANUBE AREA FROM 1300 TO 750 BC. The Western Backa area is the eastern boundary of the Urnfield culture in Serbia. The focus of the contribution lies on the grave field Đepfeld near Doroslovo with 178 interments, which were under the influence of the Urnfield culture. The same is true for the Urnfield burial grounds of Batina, Dalj and Vukovar-Lijeva Bara. The Late Bronze Age graves in the Đepfeld cemetery are differentiated only by few grave goods in and outside of the urns. The lack of grave goods is probably caused by economic and not by ritual factors. The economic situation became stabilized when iron was widely used. The influence of the Gava-Belegiš II cultural group was predominant in the Serbian Danube area during the Late Bronze Age. Vojlovica II is the most thoroughly investigated cemetery of the three grave fields that were established in the Late Bronze Age (Vojlovica II near Pančevo, Vinogradi near Kovačica and Silos in Opovo). Furthermore, the existing Middle Bronze Age burial grounds remained continuously in use. Chronologically relevant are the typological changes of the urns. The archaeological record of cremation sites, the handling of cremated bones and undisturbed consecutive series of occupancy provide new insights into the burial customs.

Zusammenfassung

In Serbien ist die südöstliche Grenze der Urnenfelderkultur das Gebiet der Westlichen Bačka. Der Fokus des Beitrages liegt auf der Nekropole Đepfeld bei Doroslovo mit 178 Bestattungen, die ebenso wie die Urnengräberfelder von Batina, Dalj und Vukovar-Lijeva Bara, unter dem Einfluss der Urnenfelderkultur stand. Die spätbronzezeitlichen Gräber in der Nekropole Đepfeld zeichnen sich durch

wenige Beigaben in und außerhalb der Urnen aus. Die Beigabenarmut beruht wahrscheinlich auf wirtschaftlichen und nicht auf rituellen Faktoren. Zusammen mit der vermehrten Eisenverwendung kam es zu einer wirtschaftlichen Stabilisierung. Während der Spätbronzezeit war der Einfluss des Gava-Belegiš II-Komplexes im serbischen Donaugebiet dominierend. Von den drei in der Spätbronzezeit neu angelegten Nekropolen (Vojlovica II bei Pančevo, Vinogradi bei Kovačica und Silos in Opovo) wurde Vojlovica II am vollständigsten untersucht. Parallel dazu wurden bestehenden mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräberfelder kontinuierlich weiterbelegt. Chronologisch relevant sind die typologischen Veränderungen der Urnen. Die Befundung von Brandplätzen, der Umgang mit dem Leichenbrand und ungestörte Belegungsabfolgen gewähren neue Erkenntnisse zum Bestattungsritual.

Einleitung

Urnfelderzeitliche Nekropolen im serbischen Teil des Donaugebiets sind spezifisch, da sie unterschiedliche kulturelle Wurzeln haben. Nur das Gebiet der westlichen Bačka gehört dem Komplex der Urnenfelderkultur an und stellt zugleich ihre südöstliche Grenze dar. Alle anderen spätbronzezeitlichen Nekropolen mit Urnengräbern im serbischen Teil des Donaugebiets werden der Kulturtradition der Belegiš- und Dubovac-Gruppe bzw. der ältereisenzeitlichen Bosut-Gruppe zugeordnet. Brandbestattungen in Urnen lassen sich in unserem Gebiet nur bis in das 10. Jh. v. Chr. nachweisen. Mit der Verwendung von Eisen kommt es zu tiefgreifenden Veränderungen, sowohl im Bestattungsritual als auch in der Bestattungsweise. Im ganzen serbischen Teil des Donau- und Morava-Gebietes beginnt eine langan-

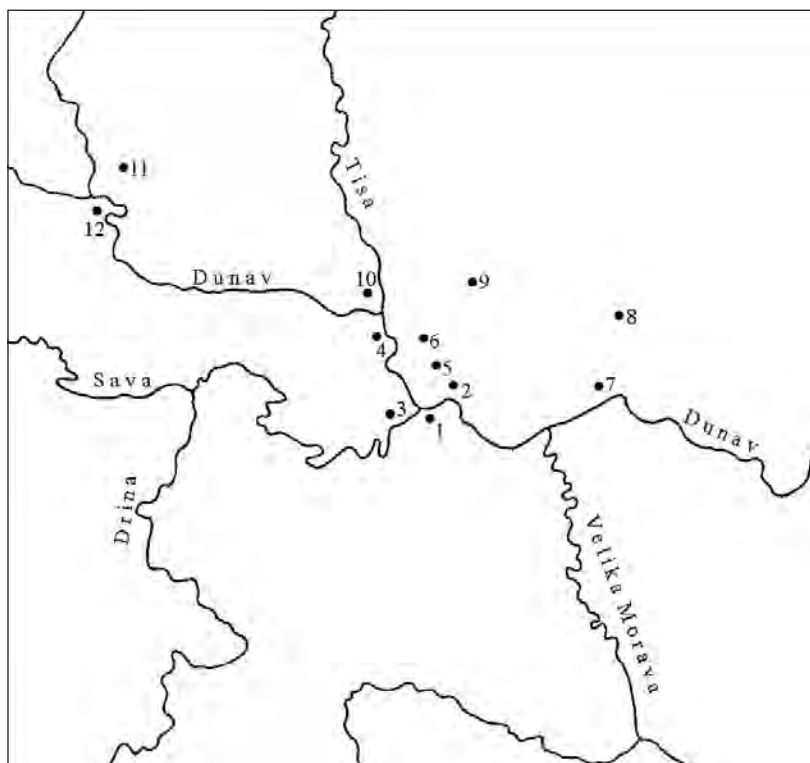


Abb. 1. Bedeutende Nekropolen der Spätbronzezeit im serbischen Donaugebiet. 1. Beograd, Karaburma. – 2. Pančevo, Vojlovica. – 3. Jakovo, Kaluderske livade. – 4. Belegiš, Stojića gumno. – 5. Kovačica, Vinogradi. – 6. Opovo, Beli breg-Silos. – 7. Dubovac, Kudelište. – 8. Vršac. – 9. Ilandža, Stojkova zagrada. – 10. Mošorin, Stubarlija. – 11. Doroslovo, Đepfeld. – 12. Dalj.

haltende Periode mit Körperbestattungen im Rahmen der Bosut-Gruppe,¹ die bis zur Ankunft der Kelten andauert.

In den engeren kulturellen und territorialen Rahmen der Urnenfelderkultur haben wir nur die westliche Bačka eingeordnet. Hier wurden einige vereinzelte Funde, aber auch eine ganze Nekropole in Doroslovo bei Sombor entdeckt (Abb. 1/11). Deshalb werden wir uns auf die vor kurzem veröffentlichten Forschungsergebnisse dieser Nekropole mit 178 Urnengräbern stützen.² Sie war vom Ende der Phase Ha A bis zur Ankunft der Kelten in Benutzung. Die Nekropole Đepfeld bei Doroslovo, zusammen mit den Nekropolen in Batina, Dalj und Vukovar-Lijeva Bara, stellt eine spezifische Kulturerscheinung im einheitlichen Komplex der Urnenfelderkultur dar. Sie alle standen unter großem Einfluss der Kulturerscheinungen in Mitteleuropa, insbesondere der Val-Gruppe im Norden. Am Ende der Bronzezeit wird im Osten der Einfluss der benachbarten Belegiš II-Gava-Gruppe und in der frühen Phase der älteren Eisenzeit auch der Bosut-Gruppe spürbar.

Bestattungsritual in der Nekropole Đepfeld

Rastko Vasić hat anhand der Urnenform und der Metallfunde 14 Gräber³ in die älteste Phase der Nekropole Đepfeld eingeordnet. Er datiert sie in die Zeit von Ha A2 bis Ha B2.⁴ Wahrscheinlich gab es noch mehr Gräber dieser frühen Phase, aber es mangelt an verlässlichen Beweisen. Die Mehrzahl der Gräber hat eine deutlich andere Urnenform und andere Beigaben. Sie werden in die ältere Eisenzeit datiert (Ha B3–Ha C). Anstelle von Bronzeobjekten wurden jetzt regelmäßig Eisengegenstände beigegeben und außerdem stieg die Anzahl der Beigaben.

Die spätbronzezeitlichen Urnen sind in dieser Nekropole uneinheitlich. Sie sind in Form und Größe verschieden (Abb. 3 und 4). Urnen wurden an der nordöstlichen Seite der Nekropole entdeckt (Abb. 2). Sie wurden 40 cm bis 60 cm, meistens in das Ausgangssubstrat des Bodens und selten in die Humusschicht, eingetieft und mit Schüsseln abgedeckt. Die schüsselförmige Urne aus Grab 28 war mit einer weiteren Schüssel abgedeckt (Abb. 3).

1. MEDOVIĆ 2003, 101–107.

2. TRAJKOVIĆ 2008.

3. Gräber 23, 24, 27, 28, 49, 56, 63, 66, 75, 78, 80, 96, 99 und 107.

4. VASIĆ 2008.

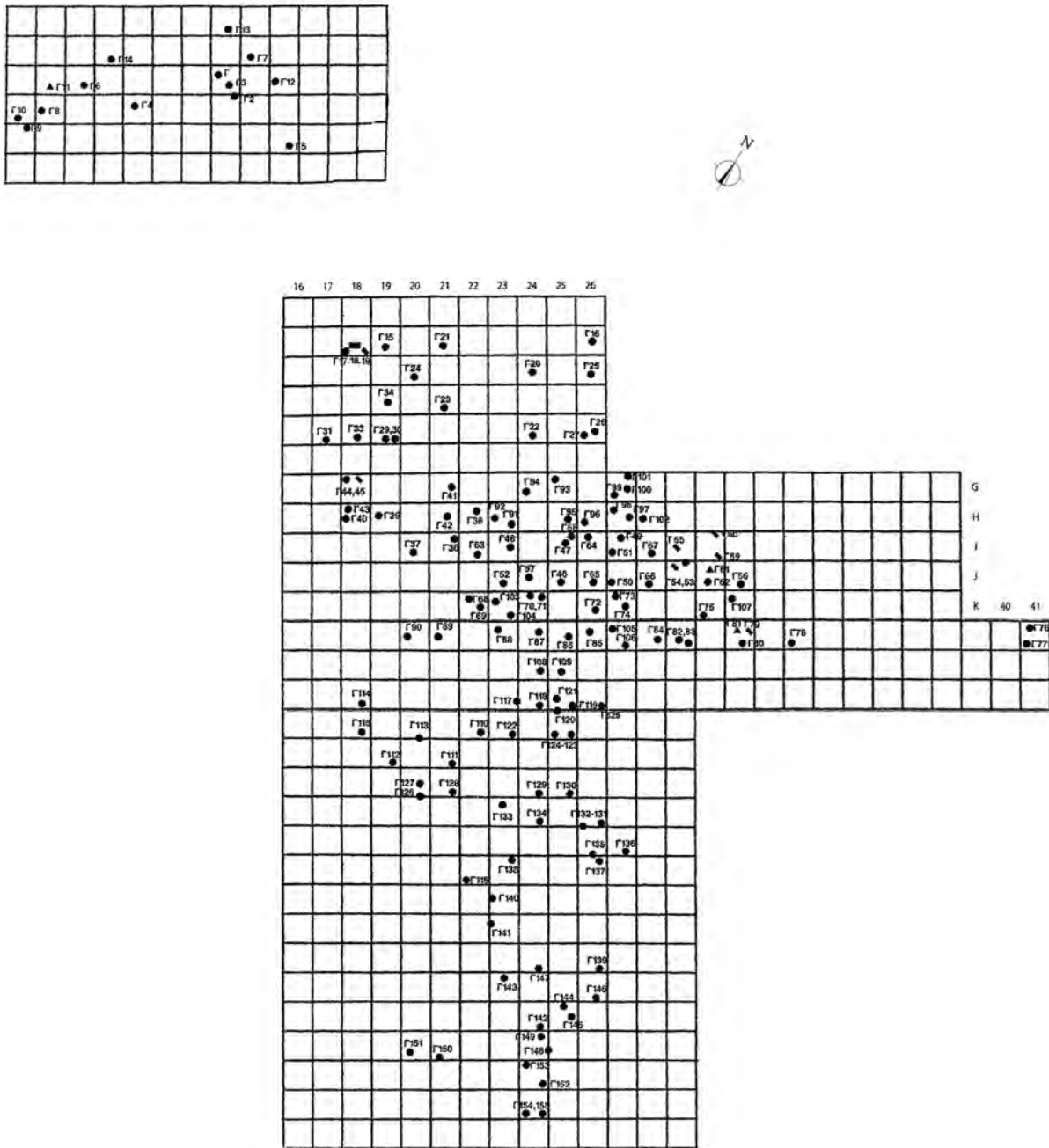


Abb. 2. Nekropole Đepfeld bei Doroslovo.

In der Nekropole Đepfeld fand man keinen Spuren eines Brandplatzes. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass die Leichenverbrennungen an einem anderen Ort in der Nähe oder in der Siedlung selbst, stattgefunden haben. Nach der Aussage von Anthropologen wurden die Skelettreste zuerst mit Wasser gekühlt und danach zerbrochen. Zusammen mit den Skelettresten fand man auch Trachtteile der Verstorbenen, die sie als Körper- oder Kleidungsschmuck getragen hatten. In seltenen Fällen fand man auch andere Artefakte. Zu den Körperschmuckfunden aus Bronze zählen drei

Armreife, drei Fingerringe aus Draht, drei Nadeln und ein weiterer Ring. Außerdem wurden eine Knochennadel und eine Steinperle (beide aus Grab 99) geborgen. Außer Körper- und Kleidungsschmuck fanden sich auch Gegenstände aus Kreide (Grab 23), eine Silexklinge (Grab 63) und ein Kieselstein (Grab 66).

In den Urnen, im Leichenbrand liegend, fand man kleinere Keramikobjekte: eine kleinere Schüssel (Grab 80), eine Schale (Grabs 96), eine Schale und ein Spinnwirtel (beide aus Grab 99) (Abb. 3). Unterhalb der Urne im Grab 63 wurden

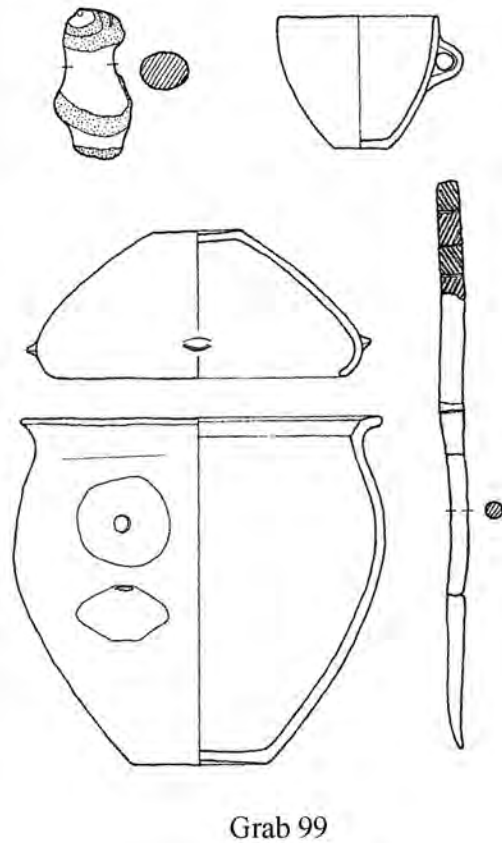
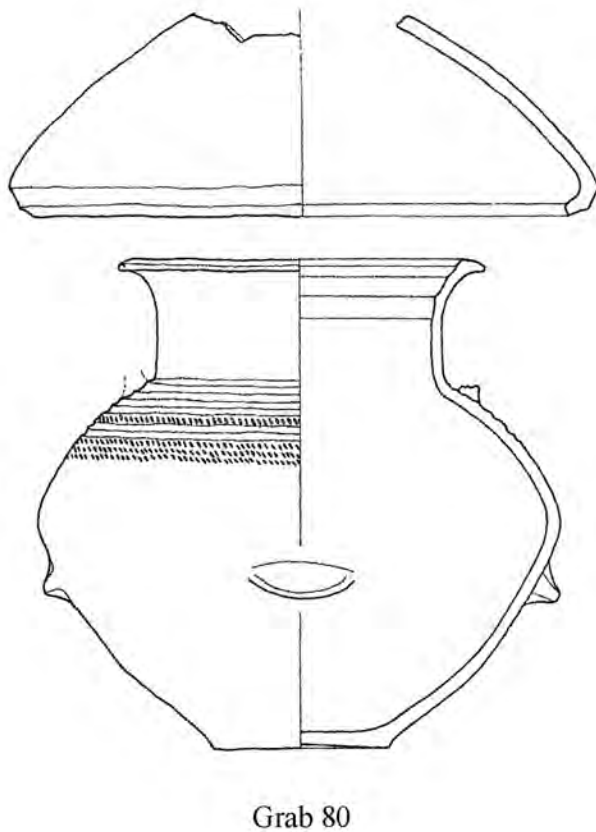
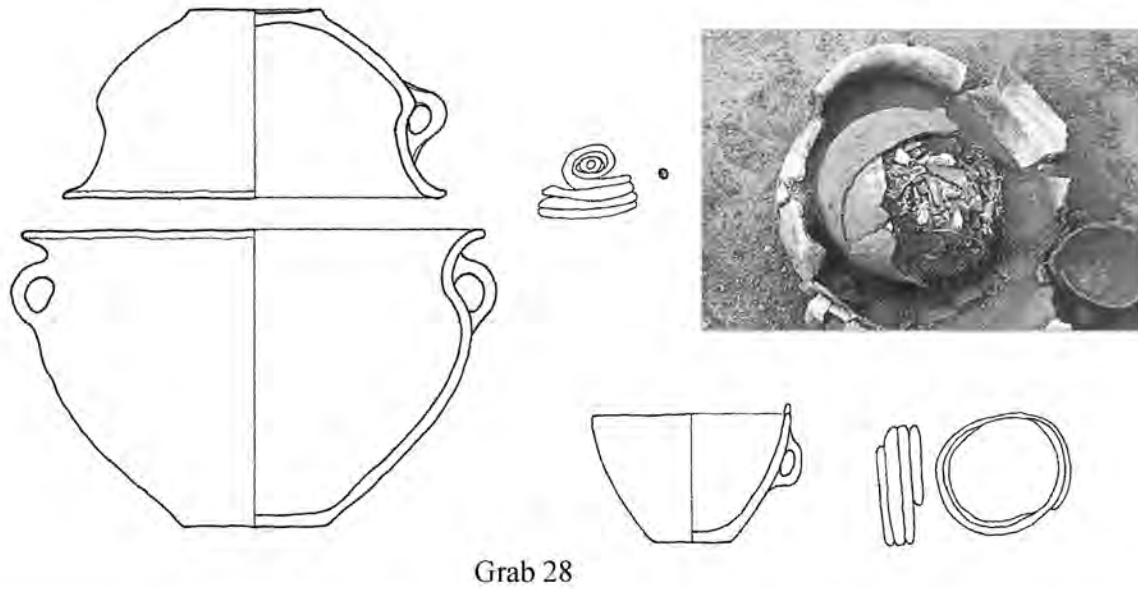


Abb. 3. Nekropole Đepfeld, Gräber 28, 80, 99.

zerstampte Reste eines Bechers entdeckt. Dies ist ein einzigartiger Befund in den spätbronzezeitlichen Gräbern der Nekropole.

Der Zustand der Skelettreste ermöglichte nur bei fünf Bestattungen eine anthropologische Untersuchung. Die

Analysen zeigen, dass die Toten als *maturus* gestorben sind. Unserer Meinung nach könnte das Grab 24 anhand der Beigaben als Kindergrab gedeutet werden. In allen anderen Gräbern ist die Situation unklar.

Außerhalb von Urnen lagen nur Tierknochen, die als

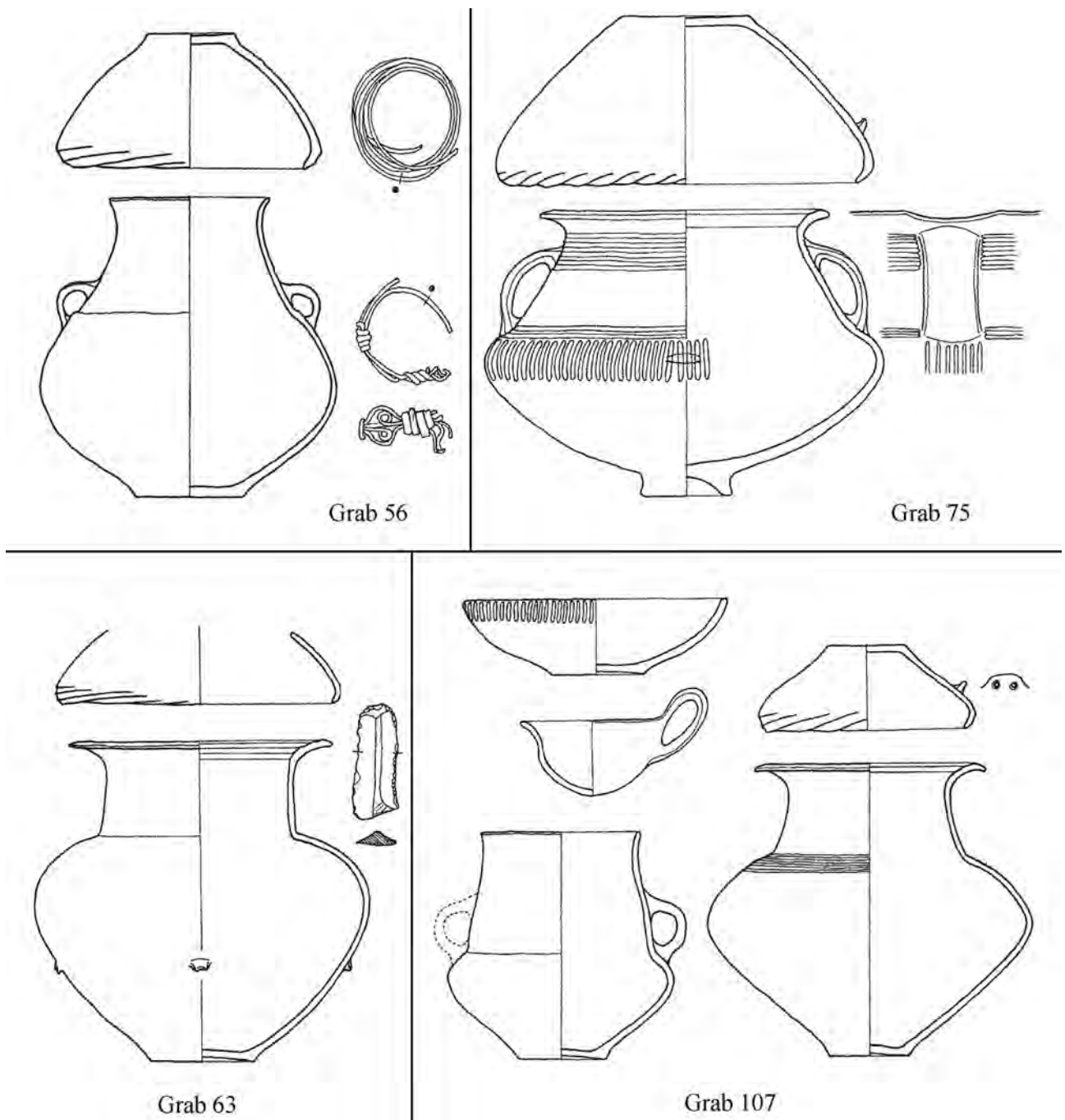


Abb. 4. Nekropole Đepfeld, Gräber 56, 75, 63, 107.

Nahrungsbeigaben gedeutet werden. Tierknochen wurden in den Gräbern 23, 56, 63, 66 und 75 festgestellt. In Grab 23 fand man den Humerus (Oberarmknochen) eines Pferdes, den Metatarsus (Mittelfußknochen) eines Rindes und den Humerus eines Schweines. In Grab 56 befand sich unter vielen anderen Tierknochen ein Pferdekiefer. Für die Gräber 63, 66 und 75 werden Tierknochen erwähnt. Leider haben die Archäozoologen in ihrem Bericht keine Endtabelle mit allen Einzelfunden für die ganze Nekropole angefügt.

Festzuhalten ist, dass die spätbronzezeitlichen Gräber in der Nekropole Đepfeld wenige Beigaben in den Urnen oder außerhalb der Urnen aufwiesen. Außerhalb der Urnen wurden in der Regel nur wenige Tierknochen und in den Urnen wenige Artefakte vorgefunden. Unserer Meinung nach ist dies kein Ausdruck des Glaubens oder eines unentwickelten Bestattungskults. Vielmehr sind dies Anzeichen einer schlechten wirtschaftlichen Lage am Ende der Bronzezeit und nicht einer Geringschätzung der Verstorbenen. Mit der

vermehrten Eisenverwendung kam es zu einer wirtschaftlichen Stabilisierung. Diese ist an den reicheren Beigaben in den jüngeren Gräbern der Nekropole Đepfeld feststellbar.

Die Urnenformen zeugen allgemein von stilistischer und kultureller Mannigfaltigkeit. Der dominierende Einfluss des Westens auf die Dalj-Gruppe wird durch den Urnentyp des Grabs 56 am besten veranschaulicht (Abb. 4). In der Nekropole Neszmély ist dies der vorherrschende Urnentyp. Erzsébet Patek ist der Meinung, dass die Val-Gruppe für die Entstehung der Dalj-Gruppe verantwortlich sei.⁵ Einen fast identischen Urnentyp finden wir im Brandgrab 4 in der Nekropole Stubarlija in der Bačka vor.⁶ In etwas veränderter Form finden wir diesen Urnentyp auch im südöstlichen Banat.⁷ Andererseits gibt es auch östliche Einflüsse auf die Dalj-Gruppe, wie die Gräber 63, 107 (Abb. 4) und insbesondere Grab 80 (Abb. 3) verdeutlichen. Das Urnengrab 80 ist ein typischer Pithos aus der frühen Phase der Bosut-Gruppe der älteren Eisenzeit.⁸ Die Nekropole Đepfeld befand sich vom Ende der Phase Ha A bis Ha B2 zwischen drei großen kulturellen und sozialen Systemen. So kam es dazu, dass Doroslovo einerseits an der äußersten südöstlichen Einflussgrenze der spätbronzezeitlichen Urnenfelderkultur lag und sich andererseits im Einflussgebiet des Gava-Belegiš II-Komplexes im Südosten, mit sehr ähnlichen Bräuchen bei den Brandbestattungen in Urnen, befand. Im Gegensatz dazu war während der Endphase der spätbronzezeitlichen Urnenfelderkultur der Einfluss der im Osten benachbarten, neuentstandenen materiellen und geistigen Kultur der frühen Phase der älteren Ei-

senzeit, mit dem Siedlungstyp Kalakača, maßgeblich. In dieser frühen Phase der Bosut-Gruppe sind Körperbestattungen üblich. Diese datiert in etwa in die zweite Hälfte des 10. Jh. v. Chr. bzw. ist mit dem (Schwinden) Niedergang der Nekropolen mit Urnen des Gava-Belegiš II-Komplexes und dem Entstehen der Siedlungen von Kalakača-Typ gleichzeitig. Parallel mit den Endphasen der Urnenfelderkultur im Westen verläuft die frühe Phase der älteren Eisenzeit im Osten.

Spätbronzezeitliche Bestattungen in Nekropolen im Gebiet des Gava-Belegiš II-Komplexes

In der Spätbronzezeit gerät der serbische Teil des Donaugebiets unter den starken Einfluss des expandierenden Gava-Komplexes. Dieser Prozess verläuft kontinuierlich in den Nekropolen der Mittelbronzezeit der Dubovac- und der Belegiš-Gruppe. Dabei gehen die früher charakteristischen Urnenformen verloren und auch die Verzierungen ändern sich. Sowohl die für die Dubovac-Gruppe kennzeichnenden ornamentalen Motive, die aus Stempelmustern, Riefen und Einkerbungen bestehen, als auch die Einkerbungen und unechten Schnurmuster der Belegiš-Gruppe gehen verloren. Kannelierte und feinpolierte schwarze Keramik, die für den Gava-Komplex typisch ist, wird häufig. Zu diesen Neuerungen gesellen sich zahlreiche Bronzehorte.

Neben den Nekropolen der Mittelbronzezeit, in denen die Brandbestattungssitte in Urnen auch in der Spätbronzezeit ihre Fortsetzung fand, wurden im serbischen Teil des Donaugebiets nur drei neugegründete Nekropolen ent-

Nekropolen	Gräber Insgesamt	Mittel- bronzezeit	Spät- bronzezeit	Unbestimmte Gräber	Bemerkungen
Ilandža, Stojkova Zagrada	18	8	5	5	
Kovačica, Vinogradi	15	–	15	–	
Opovo, Beli breg-Silos	21	–	21	–	Teil der Nekropole zerstört
Pančevo, Vojlovica II	183	–	183	–	5 Feuerstellen
Mošorin, Stubarlija	36	16	9	11	Oberfläche der Nekropole beschädigt
Belegiš, Stojića gumno	179	144	29	6	
Jakovo, Kaluderske livade	88	51	13	24	Beschädigt durch Bauarbeiten
Korbovo, Glamija	58	50	–	8	
Beograd, Karaburma	310	247	36	27	

Tab. 1. Überblick über die Nekropolen mit Urnen der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit.

5. PATEK 1961, Abb. 19.

6. MEDOVIĆ 2007, Abb. 15.

7. BUKVIĆ 2000, Tafel 43/6.

8. MEDOVIĆ 1988, Tafel VII/1–6.

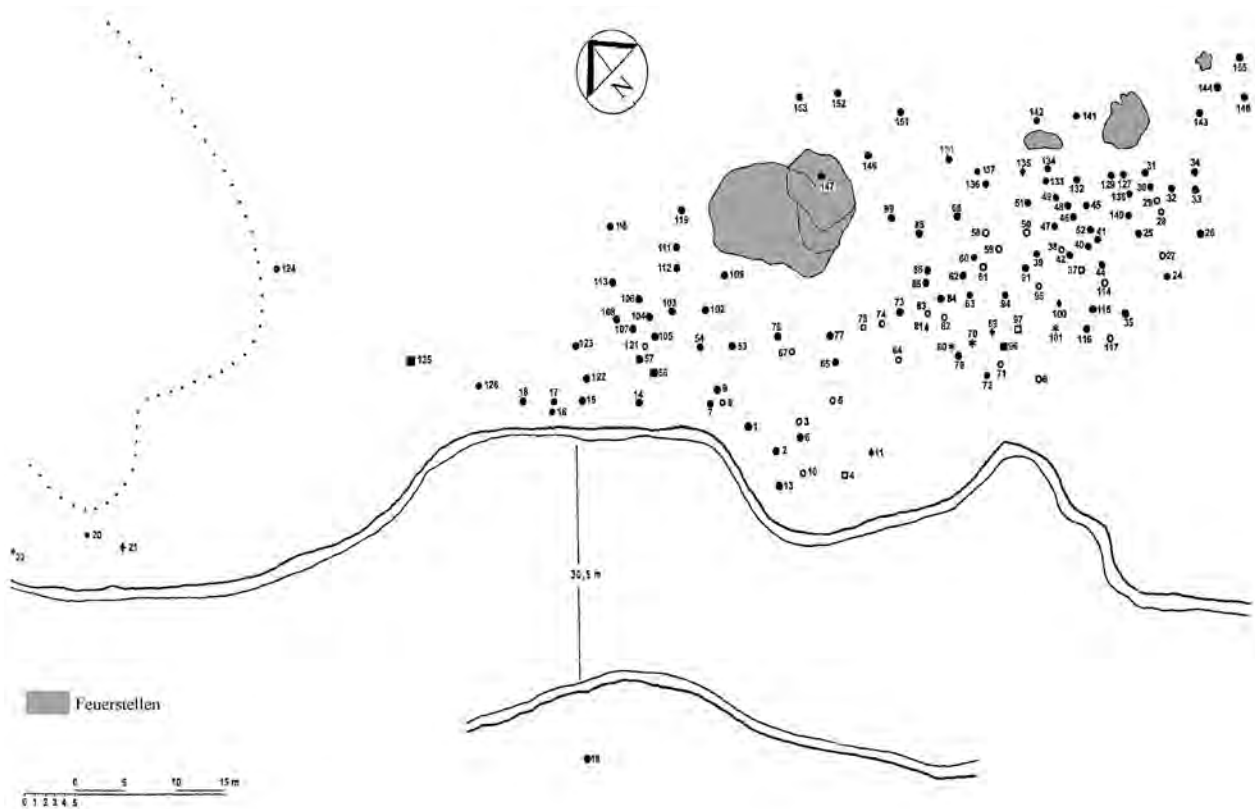


Abb. 5. Nekropole der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit Stojica gumno in Belegiš.

deckt: Vojlovica II bei Pančevo, Vinogradi bei Kovačica und Silos in Opovo, die sich alle in einem eng begrenzten Gebiet im südlichen Banat befinden. Leider ist nur die Nekropole Vojlovica II gänzlich untersucht worden; die beiden anderen nur teilweise. Deshalb werden wir uns insbesondere den Forschungsergebnissen in der erstgenannten Nekropole widmen.⁹ Auf der Karte sind die bedeutendsten und am besten untersuchten Nekropolen der Urnenfelderzeit im serbischen Teil des Donaugebiets eingezeichnet (Abb. 1). Diese Nekropolen wurden in jüngster Zeit untersucht. Damit verfügen wir über allerneueste Forschungsergebnisse. Bedeutende Nekropolen, die Ende des 19. und zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts untersucht worden sind (Dubovac, Vršac, Vatin, Surčin und andere weniger bekannte Nekropolen), haben für unser Thema keine Relevanz. Außerdem wurden sie nie vollständig veröffentlicht. Dies trifft vor allem auf die Nekropole in Dubovac zu, die namensgebend für eine ganze Kultur-Gruppe ist.

Aus Tabelle 1 wird ersichtlich, dass die Brandgräber der Spätbronzezeit vorwiegend in den älteren Nekropolen der Mittelbronzezeit (Dubovac- und Belegiš-Gruppe) angelegt worden sind. Die einzige Ausnahme stellt die Nekropole

Glamija in Korbovo dar. Hier wurde kein einziges Grab der Spätbronzezeit gefunden. Deshalb werden wir im Folgenden die Žuto brdo-Dubovac-Gruppe als Dubovac-Gruppe bezeichnen. Die Žuto brdo-Variante stand unter größerem Einfluss der Nekropolen in Oltenien im benachbarten Rumänien.

Die drei neu gegründeten Nekropolen (Vojlovica II, Kovačica und Opovo) sind ebenfalls Ausnahmen; denn sie haben keine mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräber. Dies bringt uns zu der Schlussfolgerung, dass in wenigen Fällen und aus noch unbekannten Gründen zu Anfang der Spätbronzezeit neue Nekropolen in der Nähe von älteren gegründet wurden. Die Nekropole Vojlovica I befindet sich weniger als 500 m entfernt von der neu gegründeten Nekropole Vojlovica II. Alle anderen untersuchten Nekropolen wurden kontinuierlich vom Beginn der Mittelbronzezeit bis zum Ende der Spätbronzezeit verwendet, wobei ältere Gräber nur selten durch neuere gestört wurden. Die jüngeren Gräber sind über die ganze Nekropole verbreitet. Man findet sie sowohl in zentralen Bereichen als auch am Rande von Nekropolen. Ein gutes Beispiel dieser Praxis bietet die untersuchte Nekropole Stojica gumno in Belegiš (Abb. 5).¹⁰

9. BUKVIĆ 2000.

10. VRANIĆ 2002, 68–69.

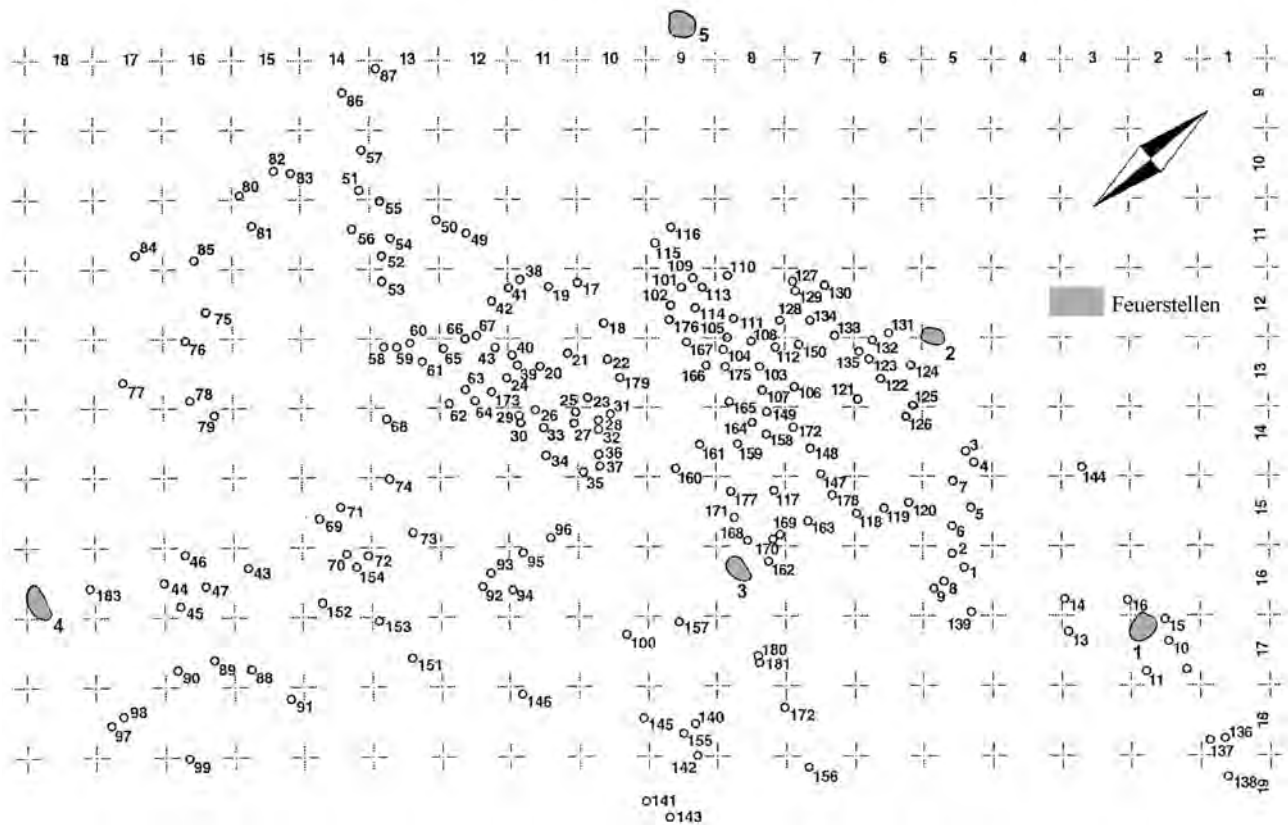


Abb. 6. Nekropole der Spätbronzezeit Vojlovica II bei Pančevo.

In der Übergangszeit von der Mittel- zur Spätbronzezeit geht die prunkvolle Verzierung der Urnen mit Einkerbungen und Stempelmustern, die in wenigen Fällen eine weiße Inkrustierung aufweist, verloren. Am Ende der mittelbronzezeitlichen Entwicklung wird nur noch der noch immer zylindrische Urnenhals mit Riefen verziert, während am Gefäßumbruch bereits engere Kanneluren angebracht werden. Diese Erscheinung illustriert am besten die Urne aus Grab 21 in Stubarlija.¹¹ In derselben Nekropole weist die Urne des Grabs 36 keine Riefen am Hals mehr auf. Dafür sind die senkrechten Kanneluren breiter und gleichmäßiger profiliert (Abb. 8). An dieser Urne kann man bereits den konischen Hals und die typische Urnenform der späten Bronzezeit erahnen.

Während des größten Teils der Spätbronzezeit waren Urnen mit engerer Öffnung, konischem Hals mit senkrechten Kanneluren sowie waagerechten oder schräg verlaufenden Kanneluren am Gefäßumbruch kennzeichnend (Abb. 7 und 8).

Charakteristisch für die Urnen am Ende der Spätbronzezeit sind der ausgeprägte Bauch, die breite Öffnung und

oft eingekerbte Girlanden am Hals. Äußerst selten findet man sorgfältig verzierte Etagen-Urnen (Abb. 7, Grab 1).

Bezeichnend für alle Urnen der Spätbronzezeit ist die rötliche Keramikfarbe im Inneren und die graue oder bräunliche Farbe der Urnenaußenseite. Inwieweit die rote Farbe mit dem Glauben an ein Leben im Jenseits verbunden war oder es sich um eine rein technische Frage handelt, kann hier nicht beantwortet werden.

Spätbronzezeitliche Urnen werden von verschiedenen Deckeln und anderen – oft luxuriösen – Keramik- und Metallbeigaben begleitet. Es fällt auf, dass Idole mit glockenförmigem Unterteil, die eine häufige Erscheinung in Urnen der Mittelbronzezeit im kroatischen und serbischen Teil des Donaubeiets darstellen, jetzt gänzlich fehlen.

Alle Erforscher von Nekropolen mit Urnen in unserem Gebiet haben sich auf die Untersuchung der Nekropolen im Allgemeinen konzentriert, zumindest wenn es sich um Fragen der Leichenverbrennungs- und Bestattungsweise handelt. Wir sind der Meinung, dass es in dieser Hinsicht keinen großen Unterschied im älteren und jüngeren Gräber-Horizont gibt. Die Aufmerksamkeit wurde daher mehr den Stil- und Dekorationsmerkmalen der Urnen und ihrem Entwicklungsverlauf geschenkt. Diese Untersuchungen widmen sich eher der typologischen und chronologischen

¹¹ MEDOVIĆ 2007.

Auswertung als der Analyse des Rituals. Trotzdem sind wir in der Lage, über dieses Thema mit sehr vielen Argumenten diskutieren zu können, vor allem dank der Nekropole Vojlovica II (Abb. 6), die in der Spätbronzezeit angelegt wurde.

Die Nekropolen in Belegiš, Karaburma, Vojlovica II und Kaluderske livade sind am besten untersucht und dokumentiert worden. Außerdem wurden sie vollständig ausgegraben. Alle anderen Nekropolen dieser Periode im Gebiet der Dubovac- und Belegiš-Gruppe passen gut in dieses Bild hinein. Die Nekropole in Belegiš, über welche wir ausführlicher berichten werden, verschafft uns ein Bild über die Gräber der Mittel- und der Spätbronzezeit, während die Nekropole in Vojlovica eine repräsentative Vorstellung von Nekropolen der Spätbronzezeit vermittelt.

Innerhalb der Nekropole Vojlovica II entdeckte man insgesamt fünf Brandplätze (Abb. 6). Sie sind über die ganze Nekropole verstreut. Da sie auch an den Rändern gefunden wurden, nehmen wir an, dass sie die Entwicklung und Ausbreitung der Nekropole belegen.¹² Eine ähnliche Befundlage finden wir in einer anderen Nekropole der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit, und zwar in Belegiš. Dort wurden vier runde und ovale Brandplätze entdeckt (Abb. 5).¹³ Die beiden Nekropolen befinden sich am Rande der hohen Donauterrassen. Dies bedeutet, dass man für die Nekropolen attraktive und dominante Lagen gesucht hat. Anhand der Untersuchungsergebnisse beider Nekropolen zieht man den Schluss, dass die Leichen in den Nekropolen bzw. am Rande älterer Gräber verbrannt wurden. Sobald die Nekropole sich ausbreitete, wurden die Brandplätze verlagert. Da sehr oft, wenn auch nicht immer, die jüngeren und älteren Gräber nebeneinander liegen, kann man annehmen, dass alle Brandplätze während der ganzen Belegungszeit in Gebrauch waren. Außerdem lässt sich eine Konzentration der Gräber in Gruppen erahnen. Dies wird in der Nekropole Vojlovica II und insbesondere in der Nekropole Kaluderske livade am linken Ufer der Save deutlich (Abb. 1). Hier ließen sich die Gräber in fünf Gruppen unterteilen.¹⁴ Die größte ist die Gruppe 1 mit 47 Gräbern. Darunter waren auch zehn spätbronzezeitliche Gräber, die an verschiedenen Stellen gefunden wurden. Es ist interessant, dass sich in der Gruppe 3 nur ein Grab der Spätbronzezeit unter insgesamt elf Gräbern befindet. In allen anderen Gruppen fand man kein einziges jüngeres Grab. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob die Fundsituation in der Nekropole Kaluderske livade als Hinweis darauf gewertet werden kann, dass andere Gräber-Gruppen

zu Beginn der Spätbronzezeit aufgegeben wurden. Falls es sich nicht um reinen Zufall handelt, müsste sich eine Erklärung für die Gräber-Gruppierung in dieser oder auch in anderen untersuchten Nekropolen finden lassen. Wahrscheinlich wurden die Gräber nach dem Verwandtschaftsprinzip oder nach einer anderen Sozialstruktur gruppiert. Für diese Theorie spricht, dass sich jüngere Gräber auch in zentralen Bereichen der Nekropole befinden, wo die Mehrzahl der älteren Gräber angelegt wurde. Dies wirft die Frage nach der oberirdischen Grabgestaltung oder -kennzeichnung auf, die ungeklärt ist. Wahrscheinlich wurden die Gräber zumindest mit einem Erdhaufen aus der Urnengrube kenntlich gemacht. Dass die Gräber erkennbar waren, beweist die Tatsache, dass in Belegiš nur in drei Fällen ältere Gräber durch jüngere gestört wurden. Einen ähnlichen Eindruck vermitteln auch andere Nekropolen. Um welche Kennzeichnung es sich handelte, ist schwer festzustellen, da nichts erhalten geblieben ist. Dies kann nur darauf hindeuten, dass es sich entweder um einen Erdhaufen oder eine Holzkennzeichnung handelte. Sicherlich handelte es sich um ein vergängliches Material.

Bereits erwähnt wurde, dass die Brandplätze Bestandteil der Nekropolen waren und deren Entwicklung begleiteten. Es wird angegeben, dass die Brandplätze in der Nekropole Vojlovica II rund oder oval sind und einen Durchmesser von 1 m–1,60 m haben. Sie enthielten Asche und Reste angebrannter menschlicher Skeletteile. Der Brandplatz ist fest gebrannt. Er befindet sich auf dem Niveau der oberen Urnenenteile.¹⁵ Dies ist ein weiterer Beweis dafür, dass diese Brandplätze für Leichenverbrennungen genutzt wurden bzw., dass die Einäscherung in der Nekropole stattfand. Experten schätzen die Temperatur, die auf den Brandplätzen von Belegiš erreicht wurde, zwischen 300°C und 350°C. Die Funde aus den Urnen weisen darauf hin, dass die Toten auf dem Scheiterhaufen mit persönlichen Gegenständen und Körper- und Kleidungsschmuck aufgebahrt wurden. Meistens handelt es sich dabei um Gegenstände aus Bronze, seltener aus Knochen. Belege dafür sind deformierte Metall- und angebrannte Knochenartefakte.

Statistisch können die Funde in der Nekropole Vojlovica II so dargestellt werden: Metallgegenstände wurden in 27 von insgesamt 183 Gräbern dieser Nekropole gefunden, was einem Anteil von 14,7 % entspricht. Eine ähnliche Situation findet man in anderen Nekropolen der Spätbronzezeit im serbischen Teil des Donaugebiets. Es ist bezeichnend, dass die meisten Funde Schmuckobjekte sind, aber nur eine Waffe gefunden wurde (Abb. 8, G 5). Zum Körperschmuck gehören Fingerringe, Armbänder, Haarringe,

¹² BUKVIĆ 2000, 55.

¹³ VRANIĆ 2002, 15–16.

¹⁴ PETROVIĆ 2006, Abb. 6.

¹⁵ BUKVIĆ 2000, 56.

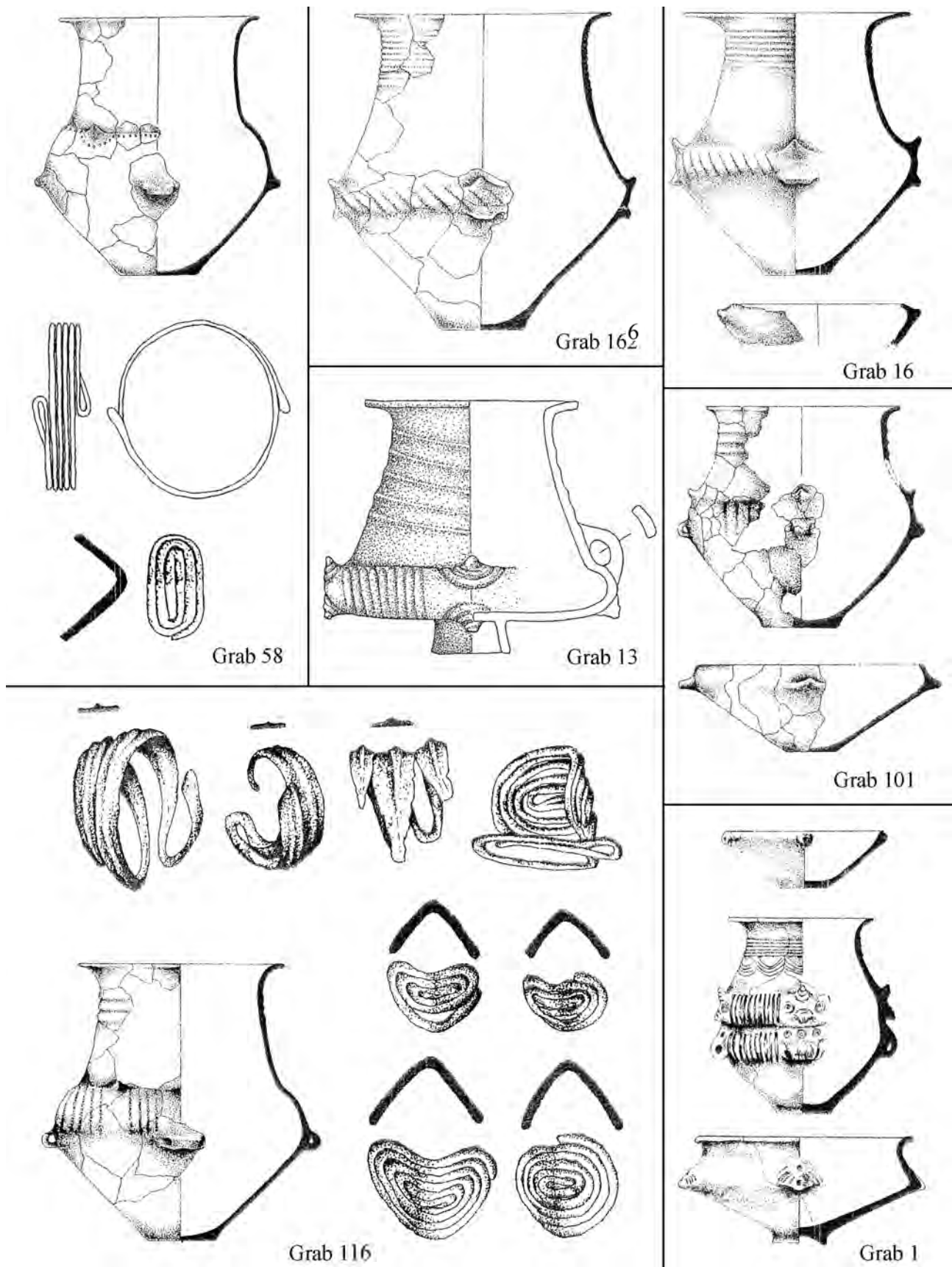


Abb. 7. Vojlovica II: Gräber 16, 58, 101, 116, 166. – Stubarlija bei Mošorin: Grab 13. – Ilandža, Stojkova zagrada: Grab 1.

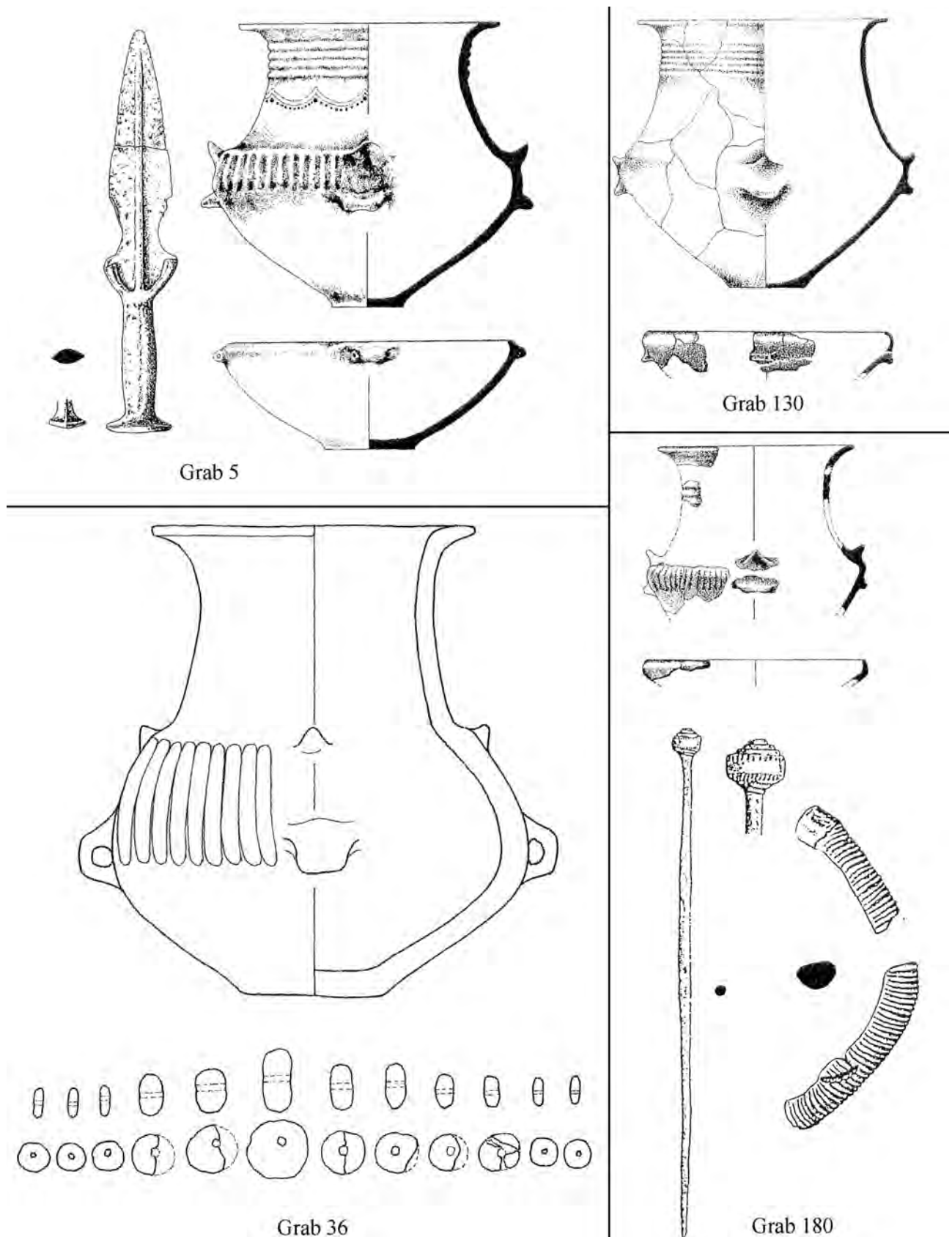


Abb. 8. Kovačica, Vinogradi: Grab 5. – Vojlovica II: Gräber 130, 180. – Stubarlija bei Mošorin: Grab 36.

Torques-Halsreife und Anhänger. Als Kleidungsschmuck fanden Nadeln, Kalotten-Plättchen und Phaleren Verwendung. Dabei handelt es sich fast ausschließlich um Trachtbestandteile.

Waffen und Alltagsgegenstände fehlen fast immer. Es ist offensichtlich, dass das Leichenverbrennungs- und Bestattungsritual in einem rationellen Verhältnis zu Leben und Existenz der Gemeinschaft stand. Dies bedeutet, dass man auf wertvolle Gegenstände, die die Existenzgrundlage gewährleisteten, besonders geachtet hat. Der Körper- und Kleidungsschmuck hatte individuellen Charakter. Alle anderen wertvollen Gebrauchsgegenstände hingegen stellten wertvolles Gemeinschaftseigentum der Erben dar. Obwohl in dieser Zeit Bronzegegenstände reichlich vorhanden waren, waren Arbeitsgeräte und Waffen kein Bestandteil von religiösen und Bestattungsritualen. Sie hatten strategische Bedeutung. In dieser Zeit erreichte die Herstellung von Bronzeobjekten ihren Höhepunkt. Darauf weisen 34 entdeckte Bronzehorte im Banat, d. h., in der unmittelbaren Umgebung der Nekropole Vojlovica II.

Für alle in jüngerer Zeit anthropologisch untersuchten Nekropolen wird berichtet, dass die heißen Knochen mit Wasser abgekühlt und danach zerbrochen wurden. Angaben über die Abfolge von Ablegung der Skelettreste in Urnen liegen aber nicht vor. Es ist nur sicher, dass der Leichenbrand und persönliche Gegenstände der Verstorbenen sorgfältig gesammelt und in die Urne gelegt wurden. Nur wenige Urnen der Spätbronzezeit besaßen einen Deckel. Als Deckel benutzte man meistens kleinere und größere Schüsseln. Größere Schüsseln wurden umgekehrt und kleinere richtig herum auf den Urnen platziert. Wir nehmen an, dass alle Urnen entweder mit Keramik, oder einem organischen Material, das später mikrobiologisch abgebaut wurde, bedeckt waren. Schwierigkeiten bereiten in diesem Zusammenhang die vielen zerstörten Urnenoberteile. In einigen Fällen hat die Bodenerosion und in anderen landwirtschaftliche Bodenbearbeitung zur Beschädigung beigetragen, aber die meisten Urnenoberteile wurden durch schwere Maschinen bei Bauarbeiten zerstört. Dies trifft insbesondere auf die Nekropolen Vojlovica und Kaluđerske livade zu, die bei Bauarbeiten entdeckt wurden. In der Nekropole Vojlovica II waren alle Urnen in die Humusschicht eingegraben. Deshalb konnte man die Umrisse der Gräber, die 30–50 cm eingetieft wurden, nicht deutlich ausmachen. Alle Grabbeigaben befanden sich in der Urne. Keramikbeigaben wurden in 22 Urnen gefunden (kleinere Schüsseln, Schalen sowie kleinere Töpfe). In der Regel waren die Keramikbeigaben im Vergleich zu den schlecht gebrannten Urnen, die nur für diesen Zweck gefertigt wurden, hochwertig. Nur in zwei Fällen benutzte man grob geformte Gefäße aus dem

Hausinventar als Urnen. Ältere Gräber wurden durch jüngere in keinem Fall gestört. In der Regel findet man keine Tierknochen in oder außerhalb von Urnen.

Alle typischen Urnen der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit haben vier Bandhenkel. Dank *in situ* gut erhaltener Urnen in der Nekropole Kaluđerske livade konnte in 33 Gräbern die Orientierung der Urnen festgestellt werden. Darunter befanden sich auch drei spätbronzezeitliche Urnen (Gräber 22, 41 und 72). Untersuchungsergebnisse weisen darauf hin, dass die Bandhenkel nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen ausgerichtet wurden.¹⁶ Die Orientierung wich, je nach Sonnenstand zu bestimmten Jahreszeiten, manchmal etwas ab. Laut dieser Ergebnisse fanden die meisten Bestattungen während des Herbstes und im Frühling statt. Die Ergebnisse beziehen sich auf den älteren und den jüngeren Teil der Nekropole. Sie sind plausibel und zugleich indikativ. Das Ritual beim Einbringen des Leichenbrands in die Urnen wurde auch in diesem Fall nicht weiter untersucht. Das Ritual muss eine gewisse Beziehung zur Position der Urne gehabt haben. Unpublizierte Ergebnisse aus einer gleichzeitigen Nekropole in Belgrad geben erste Hinweise in diese Richtung. Da aber die Urnenzahl dort zu gering ist, kann man Regeln nicht belegen. Dieses Thema verdient jedenfalls zukünftig besondere Aufmerksamkeit.

Anthropologische Untersuchungen in der Nekropole Vojlovica II konnten nur an 52 Gräbern durchgeführt werden. In 47 Fällen befand sich im Grab ein Individuum, während in fünf Gräbern zwei Individuen gefunden wurden. In zwei Gräbern fand man Frauen mit Kindern. Es steht fest, dass im Grab 49 eine Frau mit ihrem Kind beerdigt wurde. In der ganzen Nekropole Vojlovica II wurden neun Doppelgräber („Zwillingsgräber“) festgestellt, d. h., in derselben Grube wurden zwei Urnen nebeneinander abgestellt. In einem solchen Grab befanden sich ein adulter Mann (40–60 Jahre) und ein Kind (0–6 Jahre). Ähnliches können wir auch in den Gräbern 29 und 30 beobachten. Diese Erscheinung wurde als Familienbestattung bezeichnet.¹⁷

In den Nekropolen der Spätbronzezeit wurden in der Regel keine Keramikbeigaben neben Urnen gefunden (Abb. 7 u. 8).

Beim Vergleich der Nekropole Đepfeld, die der Urnenfelderkultur angehört, mit den Nekropolen des Gava-Belegiš II-Komplexes sind sowohl Ähnlichkeiten als auch Unterschiede feststellbar. In der Nekropole Đepfeld, aber auch in den Nekropolen im Osten, befinden sich unter den Leichenbrandresten auch persönliche Gegenstände der

16. PETROVIĆ 2006, Abb. 25, 26.

17. BUKVIĆ 2000, 56–57.

Verstorbenen. Sehr selten findet man Keramik und andere Beigaben in den Urnen. Für beide Kulturgruppen kann man sagen, dass die Bestattungen bescheiden sind. Außer Hinweisen auf die Leichenverbrennung und die Bestattung in Urnen wurden keine weiteren Spuren entdeckt, die über das Begräbnisritual Auskunft geben könnten. Grabbeigaben sind sehr bescheiden und selten. Dies deutet auf einen ähnlichen Umgang mit den Verstorbenen in beiden Kulturgruppen hin. Außerdem scheint sich hierin eine schlechte Wirtschaftslage widerzuspiegeln. Im Gegensatz zur Nekropole Đepfeld findet man in anderen Teilen des serbischen Donaugebiets keine Tierknochen außerhalb von Urnen. In der Nekropole Đepfeld wurden keine Brandplätze entdeckt, obwohl die Nekropole großflächig untersucht wurde (Abb. 2).

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Cremation burials in the Morava valley between 1300 and 750 BC

Rastko Vasić

Zusammenfassung

BRANDBESTATTUNGEN IM MORAVA-BECKEN ZWISCHEN 1300 UND 750 V. CHR. Am Ende der frühen Bronzezeit und während des größten Teils der Mittelbronzezeit war die Vatin-Kultur ein dominantes kulturelles Phänomen des Zentralbalkans. Gegen Ende der Mittelbronzezeit traten verschiedene Gruppen in diesem Gebiet auf, die teilweise an die Vatin-Tradition anknüpften, aber auch neue Elemente enthielten. Die Belegiš-Gruppe in der Süd-Vojvodina und Nordserbien, die Paraćin-Gruppe im mittleren Morava-Becken und die Brnjica-Gruppe im Süden. Alle diese Kulturgruppen praktizierten Kremation als bevorzugtes Bestattungsritual. Das Ende der Bronzezeit markiert das Ende der Entwicklung dieser Kulturen und den Beginn des Kalakača-Horizonts, in dem Körperbestattung vorherrschte. In manchen Teilen dieses Gebiets war die Leichenverbrennung jedoch weiterhin gebräuchlich.

Abstract

At the end of the Early Bronze Age and for the greater part of the Middle Bronze Age the Vatin culture was a dominant cultural phenomenon in the Central Balkans. Towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age various groups emerged in this area, partly bound to the Vatin tradition, but containing new elements, too: The Belegiš group in South Vojvodina and North Serbia, the Paraćin group in the middle Middle Morava valley and the Brnjica group in the South. All these groups practised cremation as the main burial ritual. The end of the Bronze Age marks the end of the development of these cultures, the appearance of the Kalakača horizon and the prevalence of inhumation. In some parts of this area, however, cremation remained in use.

We shall begin with the Vatin culture or the Vatin group, one of the main components in the development of the Bronze Age in Serbia.¹ The culture was named after the site Vatin near Vršac, at the Rumanian border, which was excavated at the beginning of the 20th century and provided much Bronze Age material which unfortunately was not precisely recorded.² In the beginning all the material was ascribed to the Vatin culture, but later it became clear that it included finds from other periods and that not all the material found could be connected with this culture. The Vatin culture was recorded at many sites throughout Serbia – apart from Vatin the most important are Židovar³, Vršac⁴ and Omoljica⁵ in Banat, Gomolava⁶ and Gradina on the Bosut river⁷ in Srem, Vinča⁸, Ljuljaci⁹, Dobrača¹⁰ and Mojsinje¹¹ in West Serbia. Its chronology has been interpreted in various ways. According to M. Garašanin¹² there are three main phases: Vatin-Omoljica, with domination of “S” and “C” motifs on pottery, Vatin-Vršac, where various combinations of pottery forms and ornaments were known, and Vatin-Belegiš, which together embrace the time span from

1. GRBIĆ 1958. – GARAŠANIN 1983. – GARAŠANIN 1983b. – TASIĆ 1984. – STOJIC 1998.

2. MILLEKER 1905.

3. LAZIC 1997, 23–35.

4. MILLEKER 1940, 26 and Taf. 18.

5. GARAŠANIN 1983, 505.

6. TASIĆ 1965, 196–198.

7. POPOVIĆ, RADOJČIĆ 1996.

8. TASIĆ 1984a.

9. BOGDANOVIĆ 1996.

10. GARAŠANIN, GARAŠANIN 1958.

11. NIKITOVIC, STOJIC, VASIC 2002, 108–112.

12. GARAŠANIN 1983, 506–510.

the Early Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age. N. Tasić¹³ is of the opinion that the Vatin culture belongs in its entirety to the Early Bronze Age. He placed the phases Vatin-Omoljica and Vatin-Vršac in the Early Bronze Age, while he completely separated the third phase, Vatin-Belegiš, from the Vatin culture. Although, many archaeologists are inclined to support Garašanin's conclusions and consider the continuation of the Vatin culture development through the Middle Bronze Age as correct, the opinion prevails that the Belegiš group contains certain Vatin elements, but is in fact a later independent culture group.¹⁴



Fig. 1. Vatin goblet from Mojsinje (photo M. Stojić).

Generally, it is considered that cremation was in use in the Vatin culture, but in fact we do not know much about Vatin necropolises. Some 25 years ago N. Tasić listed that what was believed to belong to the Vatin cemeteries, and came to the conclusion that just a few graves can really be considered as Vatin.¹⁵ The situation has not improved in the meantime. There are many graves which contain Vatin pottery, particularly characteristic goblets with two handles (Fig. 1), but none of them can be marked as Vatin in the strict sense of the word. All of them contain other features which are not Vatin and which, in many cases, differ among them (Fig. 2). Thus, one gets the impression that Vatin pottery, spread everywhere in that period, became part of the material culture of various

groups, which did not belong to the same cultural entity.¹⁶ In other words, the term Vatin should only designate a pottery phenomenon, which was present at a certain time over a large territory, embracing several different groups.



Fig. 2. Skeleton grave from Vatin (after PJZ IV, Tabla 76).

Be that as it may, new groups appearing on this territory, contained Vatin elements and cremation was more or less characteristic for all of them (Fig. 3).¹⁷

First, there is the Belegiš group, widespread in Srem, south Banat and North Serbia, but up to now better known from the sites in East Srem and the surrounding area of Belgrade.¹⁸ These are Belegiš, after which the group was named¹⁹, Surčin²⁰, Kaludjerske Livade near Surčin²¹ and a Belgrade suburb called Karaburma.²² The settlements of the Belegiš

13. TASIĆ 1984, 73–74.

14. HÄNSEL, MEDOVIĆ 1990.

15. TASIĆ 1984, 82.

16. VASIĆ 2006.

17. STOJIC 1996.

18. TASIĆ 2002.

19. TRBUHOVIĆ 1960 – VRANIĆ 2002.

20. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1973, 25–29 and Table 2–5.

21. PETROVIĆ 2006.

22. TODOROVIĆ 1977.

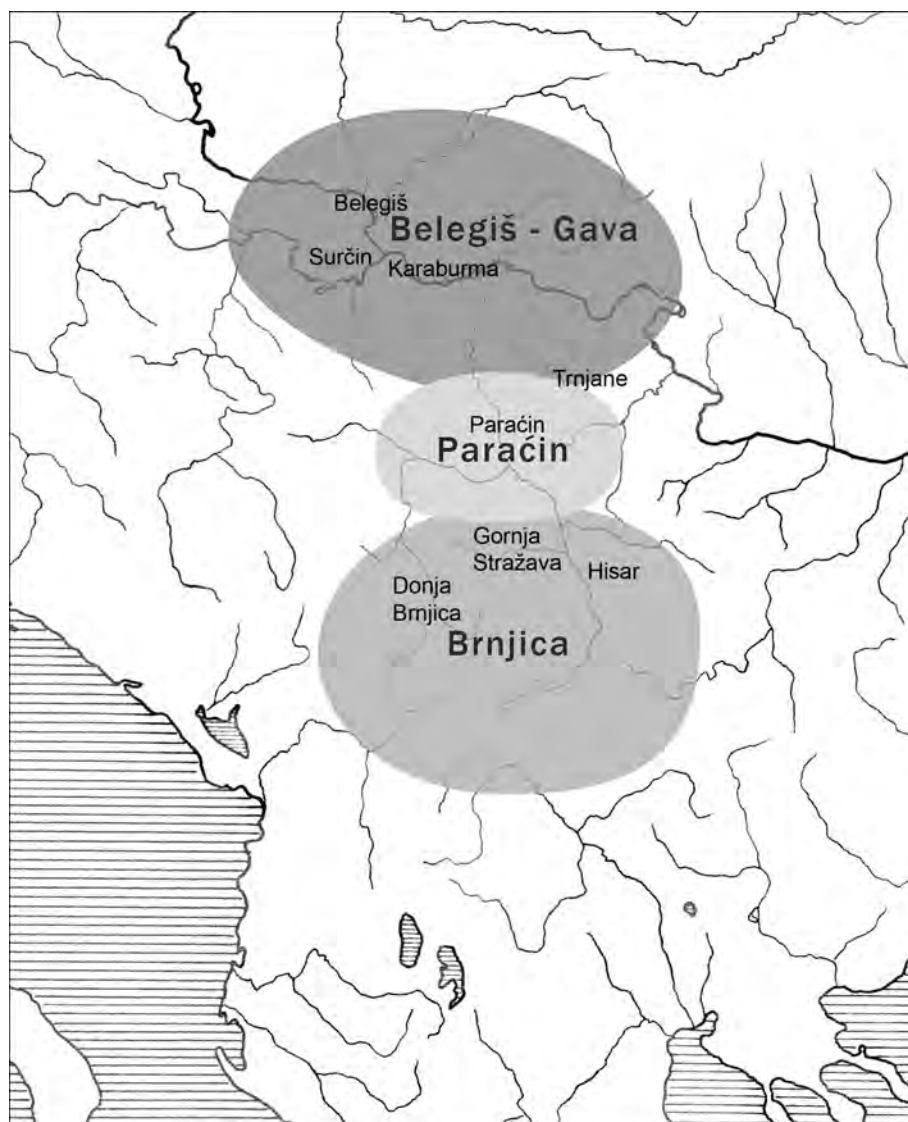


Fig. 3. Spreading of the Belegiš, Paraćin and Brnjica cultures.

group were not studied in detail but the necropolises, on the other hand, are well known. The dead were cremated on pyres outside the cemeteries and their ashes were disposed in urns. In most cases the urns were double conic amphorae with cylindrical neck, but sometimes other vessel types also served for this purpose. Grave goods contained other smaller vessels, placed in the urn or beside it (Fig. 4). There was no grave construction in the earth, sometimes ashes and goods were placed directly in the ground without an urn. Sometimes graves were organised in groups, sometimes in rows.

Chronologically the Belegiš group contains two clearly distinguished phases on the basis of the pottery decoration: the earlier phase is characterised by horizontal and vertical incised lines and false corded ornamentation, combined in various ways on the neck and belly of the vessels; black

polished pottery with horizontal channels on the neck and slanted or vertical channels and corned decorations on the belly dominate in the later phase. Phase I, also named Belegiš – Cruceni, because of parallels in Rumanian Banat, is dated to the later part of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, and Phase II, named Belegiš – Gava, after the channelled Gava pottery spread over a large territory, is dated to the advanced Late Bronze Age.²³ Metal objects were also found in the graves: mainly pins, finger rings and pendants. It is interesting that metal appears in graves in phase I, but is rare in graves of phase II. Moreover, the inventory of well known Late Bronze Age hoards, connected with the Gava horizon in Srem, rarely figures in

²³ TASIĆ 2002, 183–184.

the Belegiš-Gava graves from this territory. In South Banat some Keulenkopfnadeln and Nadeln mit doppelkonischem Kopf (pins with biconical heads) appear in the Gava graves in Vojlovica near Pančevo, but the number of these graves with pins is relatively insignificant in comparison with the graves without metal finds.²⁴

The Paraćin group is another group which partly based its origin on the Vatin elements.²⁵ The group was mainly spread in the middle stretch of the Great Morava valley, but also in East Serbia, around Bor and Zaječar. It is named after the necropolis Gloždak in Paraćin, where several cremation graves were uncovered in the fifties of the 20th century.²⁶ Graves in Paraćin as well as those in the neighbouring cemeteries, Maćija by Ražanj²⁷, Rutevac²⁸, etc., were dug in the earth without a particular construction, the ashes from the pyre were placed in a vessel of pear-like form, with short neck, a plastic horizontal rib and small vertical handles around the belly as decoration – the basic pottery feature of the Paraćin group (Fig. 5). The number of graves in these necropolises is small and nothing can be said about grave groups or rows. It seems that graves without stone construction prevailed in the Morava Valley, but there are signs that in some cases stone and pebbles appeared as the grave construction. On the other hand, excavations in East Serbia, in Trnjane by Brestovačka banja²⁹, Magura in Gamzigrad³⁰, etc., uncovered many graves with stone construction. Urns of the same form as those in the Morava valley, were placed in a circular area, built of broken stone and gravel, and protected also with a layer of stone and gravel. Cemeteries are divided into zones, probably marking family circles.

The Chronology of the Paraćin group is based on pottery, where, apart from pear-like urns, cups with one handle and bowls with decorated rim, there is also a goblet with two handles surpassing the rim and an “M” incrustated decoration on the belly, which appears somewhat strange and unique among other pottery decoration (Fig. 5).³¹ There are also metal objects, which are not numerous but clearly date this group to the later part of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.³² A single grave, found

in the Paraćin necropolis in 1962, containing channelled pottery, similar to the forms of phase Belegiš II (Fig. 6), as well as some other finds in settlements, allow us to suppose the existence of a later “Gava phase” of the Paraćin group.³³ Thus we have phase Paraćin I, as already mentioned, and Paraćin II, parallel to an advanced stage of the Late Bronze Age.

The Brnjica group, which to some opinions also contains a Vatin component, was spread mainly in South Serbia and Kosovo. The main sites are the necropolises Donja Brnjica³⁴, which gave the name to the group, and Graštica³⁵ near Priština, Donja Toponica³⁶ and Gornja Stražava³⁷ near Prokuplje, Vrapce near Leskovac³⁸, as well as the settlement Hisar in Leskovac with an earth profile of many meters and several clearly distinguished cultural layers.³⁹ The necropolises mainly contained cremation graves. The ashes of the deceased were put into biconical urns and covered with bowls (Fig. 7). Urns were protected by stone slabs and placed in tholos constructions of stone slabs. In some cases urn groups were encircled by stones, suggesting family graves. In this manner they show similarities to the Paraćin graves with stone constructions. Double conic vessels – urns with everted rim and two or four vertical handles, sometimes decorated with conic tops, and deep bowls with horizontal or vertical handles also remind one of Paraćin pottery. Metal finds in graves as pins, buttons and arrowheads are not numerous.

The chronology of the Brnjica group is somewhat complicated. At the beginning, on the basis of parallels with West Balkan material, it was dated to the 8th century BC⁴⁰ but as time passed by it was realized that it should be placed earlier, parallel with phase I of the Paraćin group, i.e. to the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.⁴¹ Skeletal graves within Brnjica necropolises, particularly those from Iglarevo, which contained a Mycenaean rapier, daggers, knives, pins, bracelets, even a Randleistenbeil, all Bronze Age material, contribute to some extent to the dating.⁴² The Gava horizon, with channelled pottery, dated to a developed Late Bronze Age, was not documented in graves of the Brnjica group, but it certainly

24. BUKVIĆ 2000, Tabla 15/6, 7; Tabla 19/6; Tabla 28/5; Tabla 35/7 and Tabla 41/3.

25. GARAŠANIN 1983a.

26. GARAŠANIN 1983a, 727.

27. TASIĆ 1963.

28. TODOROVIĆ, SIMOVIĆ 1959.

29. JOVANOVIĆ 1997. – JOVANOVIĆ, JANKOVIĆ 1997.

30. SREJOVIĆ, LAZIĆ 1997.

31. STOJIC 1997.

32. GARAŠANIN 1983a, 728.

33. GARAŠANIN 1983a, 727–728.

34. SREJOVIĆ 1960. – GARAŠANIN 1983c.

35. MEHMETAJ 1993.

36. TRBUHOVIĆ, TRBUHOVIĆ 1970, 13–42.

37. KRSTIĆ 1992.

38. STOJIC 2000, 12–16.

39. STOJIC 2000, 17.

40. SREJOVIĆ 1960, 118–122. – GARAŠANIN 1983c, 773 f.

41. GARAŠANIN 1996. – STOJIC 2000, 26–29.

42. LUCI 1997.

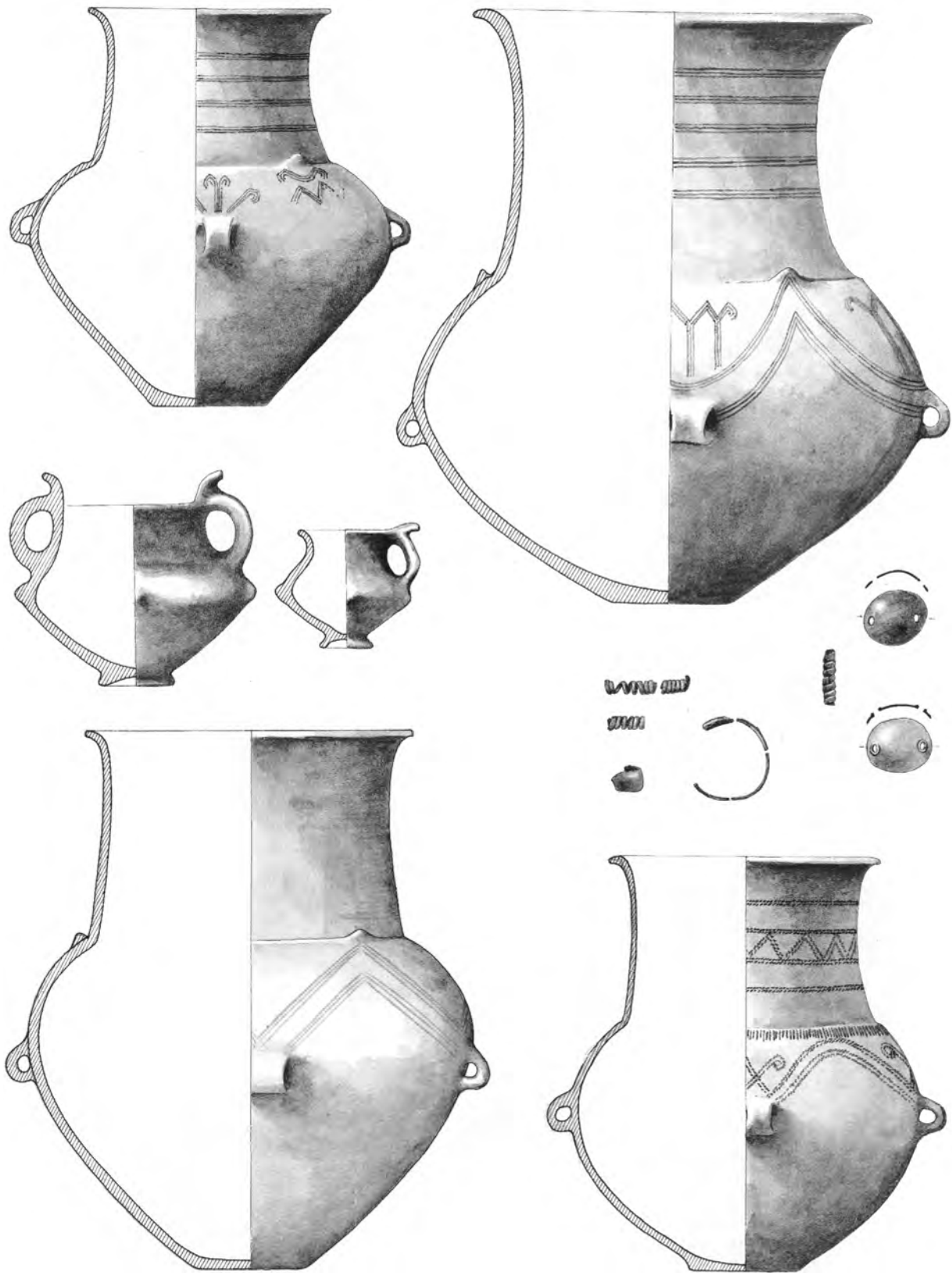


Fig. 4. Pottery and metal objects from Karaburma, phase Belegiš I (after PJZ IV, Tabla 80).

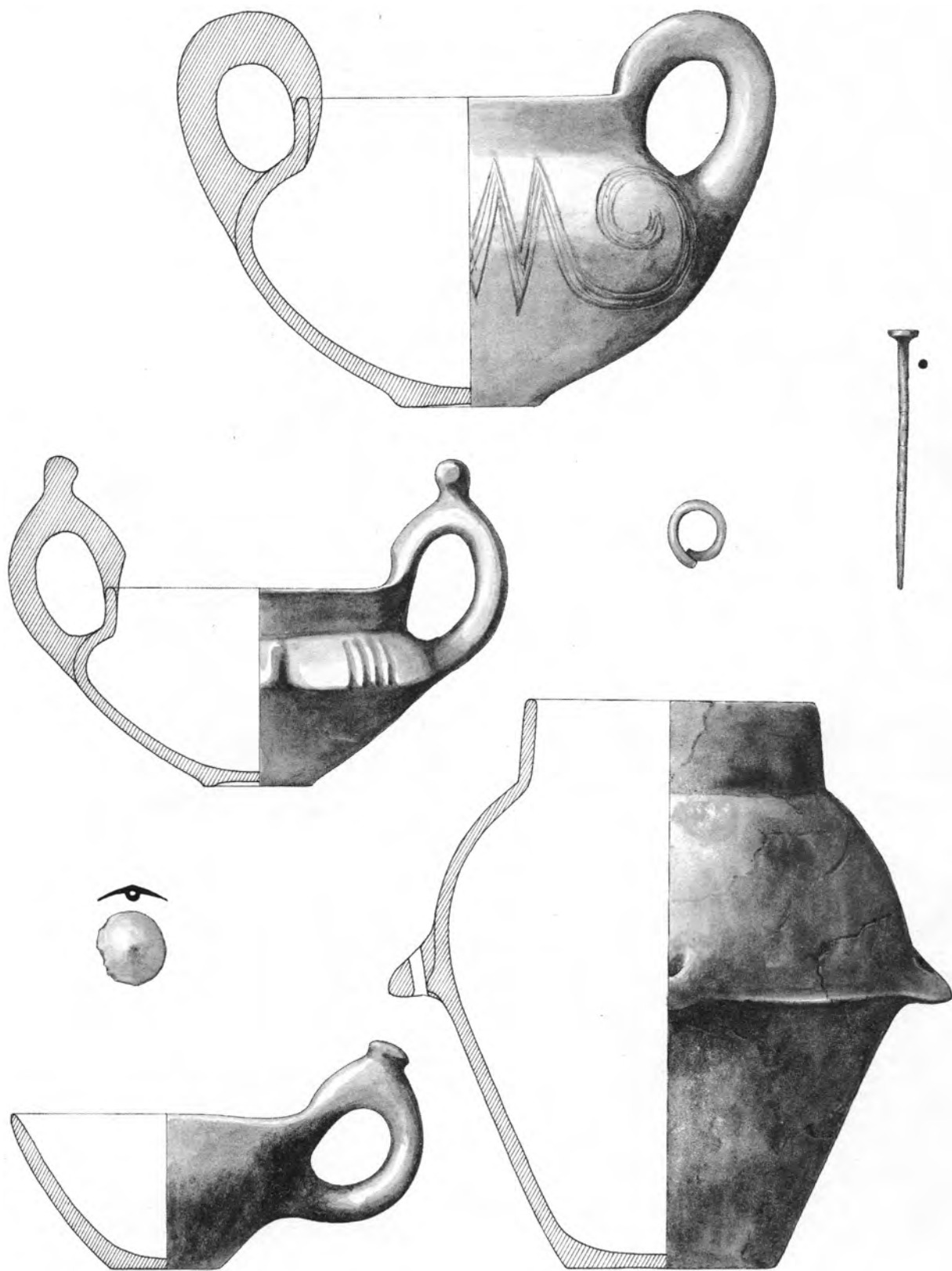


Fig. 5. Pottery and metal objects from Paraćin, phase Paraćin I (after PjZ IV, Tabla 100).

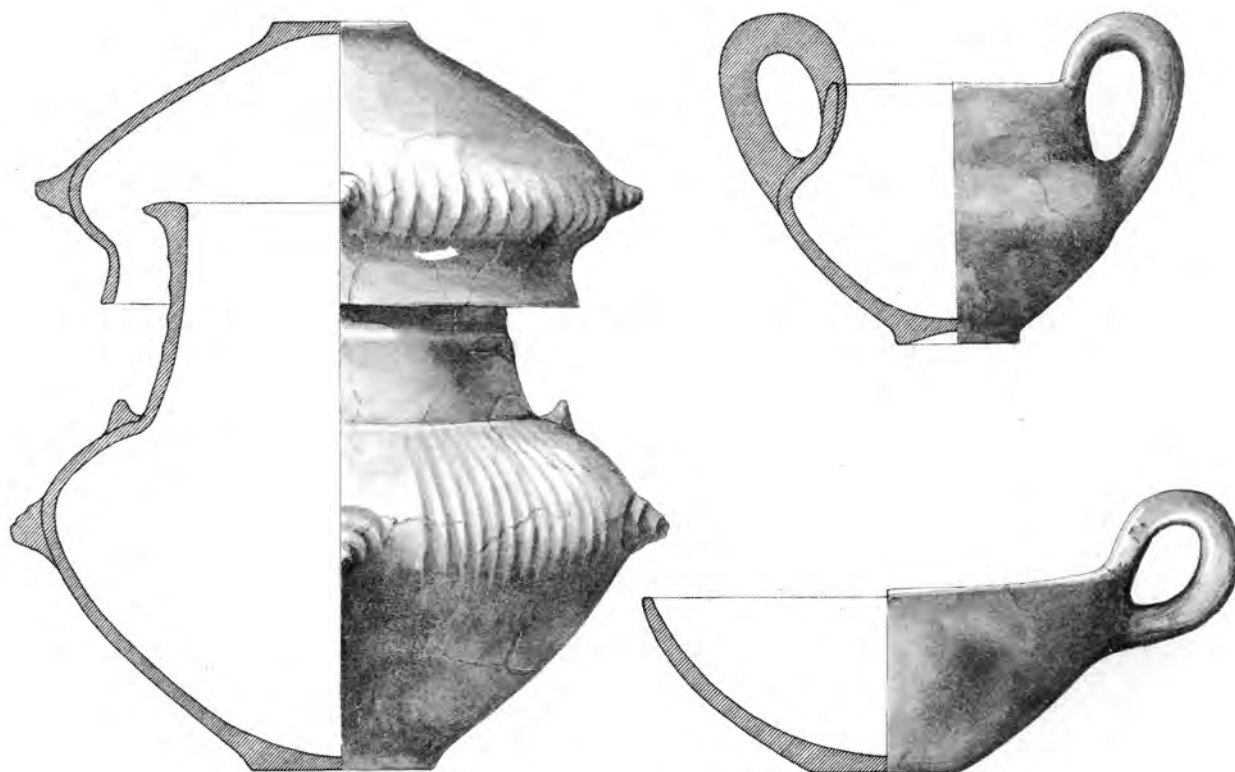


Fig. 6. Pottery from Paraćin, phase Paraćin II (after PJZ IV, Tabla 101).

existed, as channeled pottery and typical bronzes from the Late Bronze Age, socketed axes, tweezers, pins etc., from the Hisar settlement testify.⁴³

What comes next is the Early Iron Age with the Kalakača horizon: its characteristic pottery is not only connected with the Bosut group in Vojvodina⁴⁴, but also with groups further south, and with the appearance of skeletal graves in great number on this territory. The striking examples are two communal graves at Gomolava with several dozens of skeletons⁴⁵, but there are other occasional finds in Vojvodina.⁴⁶ Further south skeletal graves appear in Kalakača cemeteries in West Serbia (Mojsinje)⁴⁷ as well as in East Serbia (Čitluk by Sokobanja, Šarbanovac)⁴⁸. The Kalakača horizon dates to the 9/8th century BC, i.e. to Ha B2/B3, but new investigations show that slight changes of absolute dates are possible.

The beginning of the advanced Iron Age, which embraces the 8th and 7th centuries BC is characterized by the appearance of clearly formed cultural groups – the Basarabi

horizon of the Bosut group in the north⁴⁹, the Glasinac cultural complex in the west⁵⁰, the Lapotince-Vlaštice group in the south.⁵¹ The predominance of graves with skeletons is generally visible, but in the group mentioned last (Lapotince-Vlaštice), cremation was often used. The urn of Lapotince (Fig. 8) most probably contained the ashes of a cremated deceased,⁵² while in the mound necropolis in Široko near Suva Reka in Kosovo, there was a stone circle around the mound, the pyre was placed in the center and all the graves were cremations. Some ashes were put in an urn, some without any construction, and some with stone construction. Similar constructions were uncovered in the necropolis Vlaštice near Gnjilane. There are opinions that this group represents newcomers from the east, who had nothing in common with the previous inhabitants of this area,⁵³ but it seems more probable that this group was a combination of various ethnic elements, among others the descendents of the Brnjica group who, to a certain extent, retained ancient burial tradition.

43. STOJIC 2009.

44. VASIC 1987.

45. TASIC 1972.

46. MEDOVIC 2003.

47. NIKITOVIC, STOJIC, VASIC 2002, 51–55.

48. STOJIC, VASIC 2005.

49. VASIC 1987.

50. Covic 1987.

51. VASIC 1987a.

52. VASIC 1977.

53. LAZIC 2008.

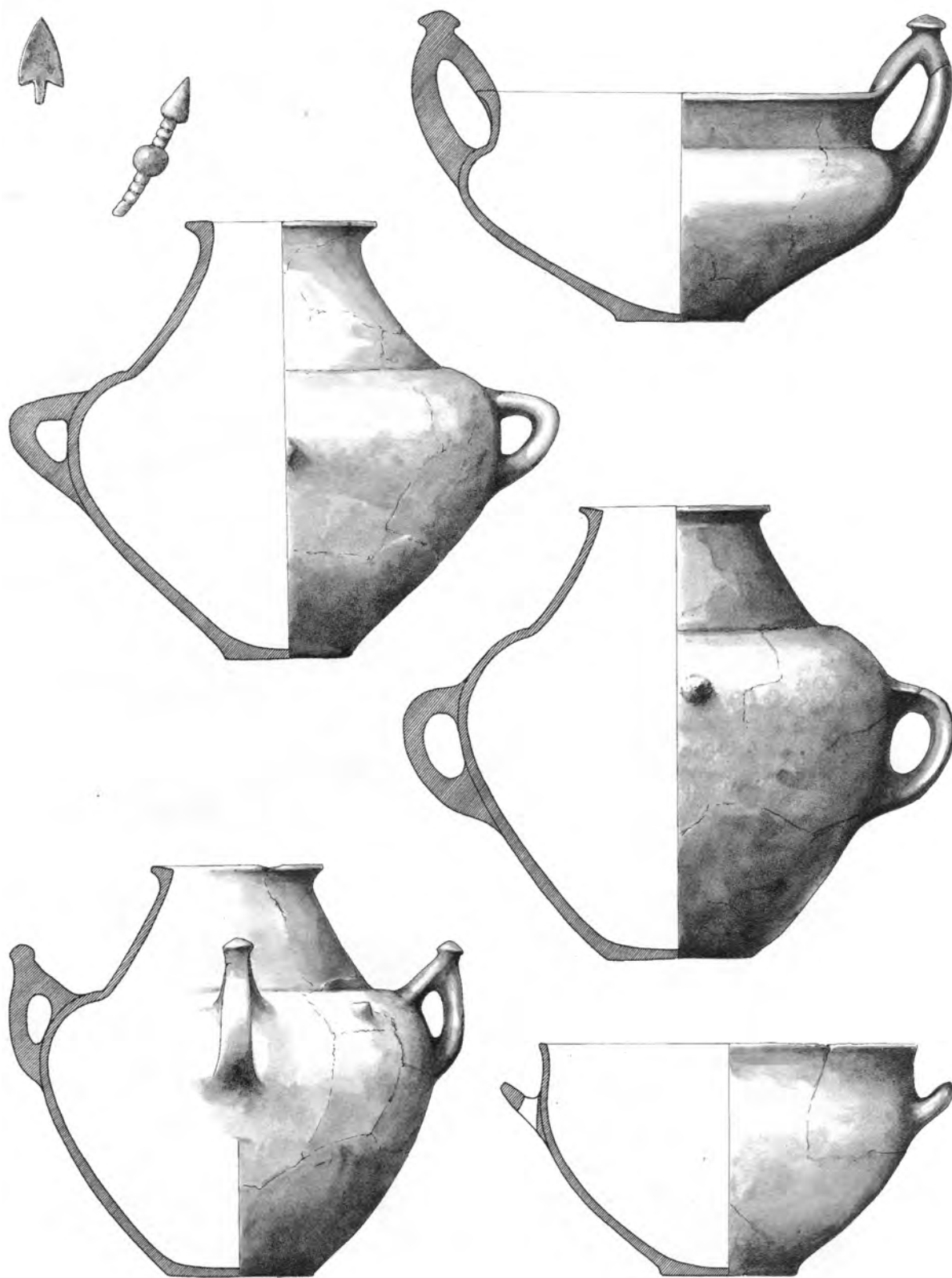


Fig. 7. Pottery from Donja Brnjica (after PJZ IV, Tabla 107).



Fig. 8. Urn from Lapotince (photo A. Bulatović).

To sum up, when speaking of burial rituals in the period from 1350 to 750 BC in our region, one can say that, after a period of mixed burial practice in the Middle Bronze Age, cremation prevails from the Middle Bronze Age to the beginning of the Iron Age. In the beginning of the Early Iron Age inhumation began to dominate, but in some areas cremation also continued to be practiced through this period.

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Cremation burials in Greece from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age: continuity or change?

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Zusammenfassung

BRANDBESTATTUNGEN IN GRIECHENLAND VON DER SPÄTEN BRONZEZEIT BIS ZUR FRÜHEN EISENZEIT: KONTINUITÄT ODER WANDEL? Die Belege für Brandbestattungen der Phase SH/SM IIIC werden zusammengestellt und einer vergleichenden Untersuchung unterzogen. Es zeigt sich, dass die häufig vertretene Ableitung der ägäischen Brandbestattungen aus Kleinasien nicht zutreffend ist. Um die Brandbestattungen des 12. Jhs. v. Chr. im ägäischen Raum kulturell einzuordnen, ist es nötig, zwischen Brandbestattungen als Minderheitenritus in traditionellen Kammergrabnekropolen und Brandbestattungen als vorherrschender Bestattungsform in Tumuli zu unterscheiden. Die Brandbestattungen in Kammergrabnekropolen lassen sich wahrscheinlich auf italische Einflüsse zurückführen. Dagegen ist für die Tumuli mit Brandbestattungen in der Argolis eine Beziehung zum westlichen Balkan sehr wahrscheinlich. Es gab keine direkte und kontinuierliche Entwicklung, die von den wenigen verstreuten Brandbestattungen der Phase SH IIIC zur Brandbestattung als fast ausschließlich praktizierter Beisetzungsform in Attika und Euböa während der frühen Eisenzeit führte. Brandbestattungen der SH IIIC-Phase und der frühen Eisenzeit sind zwei verschiedene Phänomene, die einen unterschiedlichen kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Hintergrund hatten.

Abstract

The evidence for cremation burials in the LH/LM IIIC period is re-evaluated. It can be concluded that the widely held view, according to which the custom of cremation was introduced to the Aegean from Asia Minor, no longer applies. It is necessary to differentiate between cremation as

a minority rite in ordinary chamber tomb cemeteries and cremation as a majority rite in tumuli in order to understand the cultural affiliation of the custom. Cremation as a minority rite in chamber tomb cemeteries probably derives from Italian influence. The tumuli with inurned cremations in the Argolid seem to be connected to the Western Balkans. There was no direct or continuous development that led directly from the occasional LH IIIC cremation burials to cremation as the almost exclusively practiced type of burial in Attica and Euboea during the Early Iron Age. Cremations during the LH IIIC period and during the Early Iron Age are two separate phenomena, each having a different cultural and social background.

Cremation was a very rare burial practice throughout the entire Aegean Bronze Age. Generally, this also applies to the 12th century BC, the time after the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces that was accompanied by the complete dissolution of the palatial political and economic system. This period is referred to as LH (Late Helladic) IIIC on the Greek mainland and LM (Late Minoan) IIIC on the island of Crete.

However, some considerable changes occurred in the 12th century BC with regards to cremation burials. There were far more cemeteries with a few cremation burials in this period than in the preceding palatial era of the Mycenaean culture (LH IIIA–LH IIIB: ca. 1400–1200 BC).

It is far from certain that cremation was practiced at all during the palatial period in the area of the Mycenaean



Fig. 1. LH IIIC, LM IIIC and Subminoan cemeteries with cremation burials in the Aegean region. – 1. Elateia – 2. Perati – 3. Mycenae-Chania – 4. Argos – 5. Palaioikastro – 6. Agrapidochori – 7. Spaliareika – 8. Kallithea-Spentzes – 9. Achaia Klauss – 10. Cos, Langada – 11. Rhodes, Ialysos – For Crete see fig. 2 (F. Ruppenstein, prepared by M. Frauenglas).

an culture.¹ Claims of cremation burials in chamber tomb cemeteries by archaeologists without any anthropological evidence or without cremation urns should be treated with extreme caution. This is because of the widespread, though still not generally noticed, practice of cleaning chamber tombs by purification fires,² which could have resulted in the partial burning or smoking of bones from inhumation burials. These partly burned bones could easily be mistaken for genuine cremation burials by the non-specialist. There is not a single Mycenaean cremation burial of the palatial

period that is confirmed by anthropological analysis. Only two cases of LH IIIA–LH IIIB cremation urns have been asserted so far. One was found in Brauron in East Attica,³ the other in the Mycenaean type chamber tomb cemetery at Müskebi near Bodrum on the southwestern coast of Asia Minor.⁴ The possible cremation remains from chamber tomb A in the cemetery at Brauron were deposited in a small alabastron that was found next to a fireplace. According to the excavator's convincing interpretation this fireplace is the remains of a purification fire. This gives reason to speculate that the bones in the alabastron were burnt by the purification fire. Moreover, the greenish discoloration of the bones from their contact with bronze objects is more fitting for the inhumed than for cremated bones. Thus, the possible inurned cremation in Müskebi is the only reported case of a LH IIIA–LH IIIB cremation burial that can be accepted with some degree of confidence. However, even in this instance, the limited amount of information does not make it certain.

1. One cemetery with a predominance of cremation burials was in use during the LM IIIA2–LM IIIB period on Crete: Olous in the eastern part of the island: KANTA 2001. The cremations were deposited mainly in pithoi. This unusual custom indicates that the cemetery at Olous represents an isolated phenomenon, which cannot be connected to the spread of cremation burials during the LM IIIC period. Other LM IIIA–LM IIIB cremations are unknown.

2. MORRICONE 1967, 31. – CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, 112–113 and n. 83–84. The custom was much more widespread than Cavanagh and Mee believe. – GALLOU 2005, 120–123. – JUNG 2007, 216 and n. 8; 229 and n. 89. Jung as well as Cavanagh and Mee surmise that the fires had a ritual background. – PASCHALIDIS, McGEORGE 2009, 104.

3. LAZARIDIS 1968, 99.

4. BOYSAL 1967, 79.

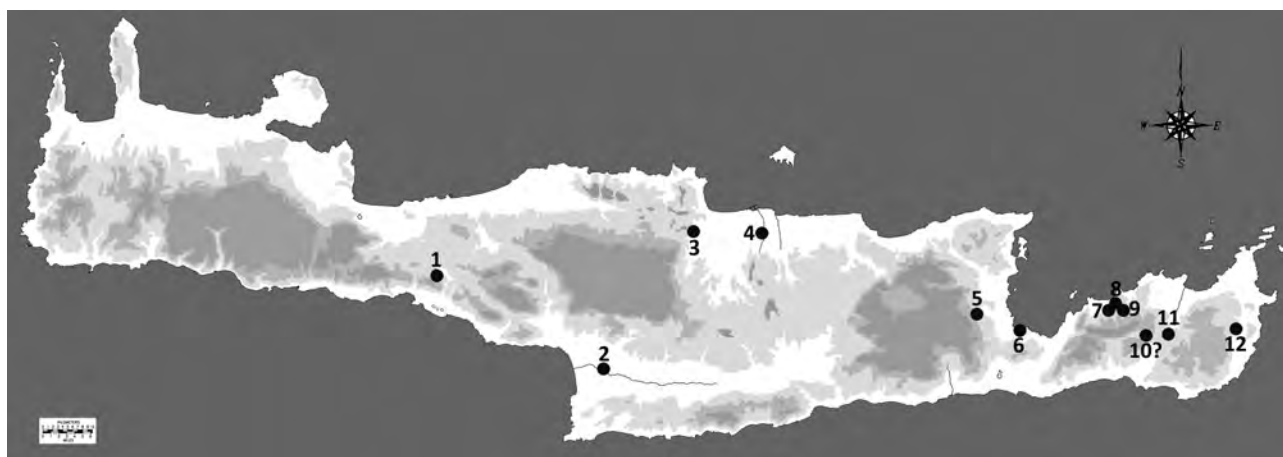


Fig. 2. LM IIIC and Subminoan cemeteries with cremation burials on Crete. – 1. Atsipades-Pezoulos – 2. Phaistos-Liliana – 3. Tylissos – 4. Knossos, North Cemetery – 5. Kritsa – 6. Vrokastro – 7. Turloti – 8. Myrsini – 9. Mesa Mouliana – 10. Krya – 11. Praisos-Photoula – 12. Epáno Zakros-Palaimylos (F. Ruppenstein, prepared by M. Frauenglas).

Besides the few cremations in cemeteries with inhumation as a majority rite a small number of cemeteries, in which cremation was the prevailing burial practice, made their first appearance in the 12th century BC.

A more distinctive change in the Greek burial customs happened at the very beginning of the Early Iron Age in the late 11th century BC. In some regions, notably in Attica and Euboea, cremation became the dominant, nearly exclusively practiced burial custom.

These alterations in the burial customs and the reasons behind them have attracted scholarly interest for a long time and are still continuing to do so. In the following I will try to add some new thoughts to this ongoing discussion. Emphasis will be placed on the origins of the new burial rite in the 12th century BC and to the relationship between LH IIIC and Early Iron Age cremations.

On the origins of the cremation burial rite in the 12th century Aegean

When discussing the origins of cremation as a burial custom in the Aegean region it is not advisable to treat all LH/LMIIIC cremations as a unity (cf. figs. 1–2). The cremation burials of this period can be divided into two groups according to the structure of the cemeteries to which they belong. The first group consists of the cremation burials in traditional Mycenaean chamber tomb cemeteries in which inhumations clearly dominated. The small number of cremations was placed in the same tombs as the numerous inhumations. Apparently, the people who practiced cremation in this way were fully integrated members of the respective local Mycenaean communities.

Cemeteries with a predominance of cremation burials belong to the second group. Only three such cemeteries are known: at Argos⁵ and Mycenae-Chania⁶ on the Greek mainland and at Atsipades⁷ on Crete. The cremation burial cemeteries at Argos and Mycenae-Chania were established in other places to the usual chamber tomb cemeteries of the same settlements. Moreover, they differ from the customary Mycenaean cemeteries because the cremations were deposited in tumuli and not in chamber tombs. Thus, the communities who cremated their deceased members and buried them in tumuli clearly set themselves apart from the majority of the population. Therefore, it can be inferred that these communities were distinct groups, which were not fully integrated into the Mycenaean society.

Firstly, the origin of cremation burials in chamber tombs will be investigated.

Cremation burial as a minority rite in chamber tomb cemeteries

It is still almost generally accepted that the custom of cremation was introduced to the Aegean from Asia Minor. This hypothesis was supported most forcefully by Spyros Iakovidis.⁸ However, Reinhard Jung and Oliver Dickinson have since argued that at least the cremation burials in Achaea could have been inspired by contacts with Italy⁹. Nevertheless, neither R. Jung nor O. Dickinson doubts the

5. PITEROS 2001.

6. PALAIOLOGOU, this volume.

7. AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001.

8. IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 56–57.

9. JUNG 2007, 229. – DICKINSON 2006, 73.

importance of Anatolia as the place of origin for the custom of cremation in the Mycenaean culture. Yet there are significant reasons why it can be believed that the LH/LM IIIC cremations in the Aegean are not at all connected to Asia Minor:

1. If Asia Minor was indeed the source of inspiration for the introduction of cremation to the Aegean, one would have expected cremations of an early date and in comparatively large numbers in the regions of the Mycenaean cultural sphere next to Anatolia, especially on the Dodecanese. However, this is not the case. Just one possible cremation burial of the palatial period has been reported for Ialysos on Rhodes but it is far more likely that this is just a case of an inhumation that was smoked by a purification fire.¹⁰ The one possible inurned cremation in Müskebi can hardly be the reason for the spread of this custom to the Aegean.

In LH IIIC cremation burials are well represented in the chamber tomb cemetery at Ialysos. According to Mario Benzi eight secure instances were found.¹¹ A further example is known from the island of Kos.¹² However, these numbers are not exceptionally high when compared to sites on the Greek mainland. In the cemetery of Perati in East Attica 18 cremated individuals were found.¹³

2. Regions with an extraordinarily high concentration of cemeteries with cremations show no particular connection to Asia Minor. This is particularly obvious in the case of the northwestern Peloponnese due to its geographical position. Yet even East Crete, that is much closer to Anatolia than the northwestern Peloponnese, exhibits no characteristics in its material culture, which reveal a close relationship with the indigenous cultures of Western Asia Minor.

3. Hitherto it has hardly been noticed that swords of Naue II type and cremation burials are concentrated in the same regions during the LH/LM IIIC period (cf. tab. 1).¹⁴ This observation is significant because R. Jung and Matthias Mehofer have plausibly substantiated that the Aegean Naue II swords depend on Italian prototypes. A Naue II sword from a hoard that was found by Tsountas in 1890 in Mycenae is probably even an import from Italy.¹⁵

The Northwest Peloponnese and East Crete are the regions with the highest concentration of cemeteries with cre-

mation burials and Naue II swords in the Aegean region.¹⁶ This means that the same communities who had particular interest in or had access to a new weapon type of foreign ancestry were also particularly receptive to the introduction of a new burial rite of foreign ancestry. Cremation was a widespread burial custom in Italy during the 12th century B.C.¹⁷ It is therefore a plausible assumption that the introduction of cremation to the Aegean was inspired by contacts to Italy. This hypothesis holds as well for the Dodecanese because even this archipelago was in contact with Italy as is attested by weapons and implements. An inhumation burial in tomb 21 of the cemetery at Langada on Kos was equipped not only with a Naue II sword but also with an Italian type spearhead as has recently been demonstrated by R. Jung.¹⁸ A flange-hilted knife with a ring-end was found in tomb 15 of the cemetery at Ialysos on Rhodes.¹⁹ The type can be associated with the Urnfield koine of weapons and implements. Parallels exist in Italy, east central Europe and the Northern Balkans. Therefore, the knife from Ialysos indicates a connection to the Adriatic region, which cannot be specified.

Both cremation burials and Naue II swords were found in five LH/LM IIIC cemeteries, but not in the same tombs. In two cemeteries Naue II swords as well as cremation burials were detected in the same tomb, but the swords did not belong, at least not with certainty, to the cremation burials. A Naue II sword is part of the grave goods of a cremation burial in tomb 201 at Knossos North Cemetery.²⁰ It is hardly

16. With 13 published specimens Achaea exhibits the highest concentration of Naue II swords in the entire eastern Mediterranean. Even more swords have been found but they are still awaiting publication: GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 168. For a recent discussion on the Achaean warrior burials see GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 202–252. – See also DEGER-JALKOTZY 2006, 157–161. Nine Naue II swords are known from Crete: GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 176–177. – For a list of Aegean Naue II swords see EDER, JUNG 2005, 494–495 and pls. 107–108.

17. JUNG 2007, 227 with references.

18. JUNG 2009, 73–74, 89 and fig. 1.

19. HARDING 1984, 132–134 and fig. 35/5. Harding refers to the Urnfield parallels as “...instructive and, indeed, close...” (p. 133) but, in spite of this, remains skeptical because Mycenaean knives may also have had ring-ends. This reasoning is unconvincing because greater importance is attached to pure speculation than to verifiable facts. – BOUZEK 1985, 146–147 and fig. 72/14. – BENZI 1992, 177 and pl. 179 h.

20. Details are given in table 1 and the attached list of LH/LM IIIC cremation burials. The Subminoan burials are considered as well because there is a greater degree of continuity from the LM IIIC Late to the Subminoan period than on the Greek mainland from LH IIIC Late to Submycenaean. The discussion on separating LM IIIC from Subminoan is still ongoing. See most recently D’AGATA 2007. – HALLAGER 2010. Hallager holds the view that LM IIIC Late is identical to Subminoan.

10. MEE 1982, 8–9. – BENZI 1992, 231.

11. BENZI 1992, 230.

12. MORRICONE 1967, 30–31, 202–203 no. 2 and fig. 214.

13. IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 32.

14. GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 229 was the first to recognize a possible connection between cremations, warrior burials and Naue II swords.

15. JUNG, MEHOFER 2009, 124–127, 134.

surprising that there are also cemeteries with cremations but without Naue II swords. Elateia in Central Greece and Perati in East Attica are especially worth mentioning in this respect. Interestingly enough, both cemeteries are situated in regions without any evidence for bronze Naue II swords²¹ and with no further evidence for cremation. Therefore, the cases of Elateia and Perati do not weaken the general validity of the observation that Naue II swords and cremation burials are both concentrated in the same regions of the Aegean. The Naue II swords and other bronze objects of Italian, or more generally Adriatic, inspiration strongly indicate that the new burial custom of cremation was introduced to the traditional Aegean chamber tomb cemeteries from Italy and not from Asia Minor.

Same Burial	Same Tomb	Same Cemetery
Knossos, North Cemetery, tomb 201		
	Spaliareika, tomb 2	
	Moulia, tomb A	
		Kallithea-Spentzes
		Achaea Klauss
		Palaiokastro
		Kos, Langada
		Myrsini

Tab. 1. Correlation between cremation burials and bronze Naue II swords in LHIIIC, LM IIIC and Subminoan cemeteries.

Cremation burial as a majority rite in tumulus cemeteries²²

As mentioned above the communities that used tumuli for the deposition of inurned cremations at Argos and at Mycenae-Chania clearly detached themselves from the majority of the population. They achieved this by predominantly practicing cremation, using tumuli and not chamber tombs and by establishing separate burial plots. Thus, they were apparently not fully integrated members of the Mycenaean society. This impression is enhanced through the inhumations in the tumulus at Argos as the deceased were

laid to rest in stone cist graves.²³ This is an entirely uncommon grave type in the palatial and postpalatial periods of the Mycenaean culture. In fact, the cist graves in the tumulus at Argos are the only examples of their type in the core regions of the Mycenaean culture that can be securely dated to the LH IIIB–LH IIIC period.²⁴ For all these reasons, it can be deduced that the burial communities, who used the tumuli at Mycenae-Chania and Argos were groups of foreigners or were of foreign descent. It is almost impossible for a population group of foreign origin to leave more obvious marks in the archaeological record. A first indication of the region of their origin is provided by some grave goods from the tumulus at Argos: a twisted arched fibula,²⁵ two large arched fibulae with two discs,²⁶ a bronze ring with spiral terminals²⁷ and some handmade pottery.²⁸ All of these objects have no Aegean pedigree and can be connected to the Adriatic region. The large cast arched fibulae with two discs are of particular interest because they have good parallels on Sicily²⁹ as well as on the Croatian coast.³⁰ Therefore, these fibulae clearly demonstrate the close interaction between both sides of the Adriatic and the Aegean during the 12th century B.C.

Klaus Kilian suggested that the tumulus at Mycenae-Chania was erected by Dorians from the mountainous regions of Northwestern Greece.³¹ However, tumuli are indeed very common in Epirus but in connection with inhumation and not with cremation. Therefore, Epirus can hardly be the place of origin of the people who built the tumuli at Argos and Mycenae-Chania.³² On the other hand, Birgitta Eder and R. Jung proposed that the Argive tumuli could have depended on Italian prototypes.³³ Yet the same problem here emerges as with Kilian's theory, just the other way round: there are many cremation burials in Italy but

21. There is one iron Naue II sword reported from Elateia. It can probably be dated to the Submycenaean/Protogeometric transitional phase.

22. The cemetery in Atsipades on Crete will not be discussed in this section because the evidence available is insufficient to be able to provide clear indications of the cultural belongings of the burial community.

23. PTEROS 2001, 100–103, 115. 16 inhumation burials corresponding to 30.7 % of all of the graves were found in the tumulus.

24. For stone cist graves that became popular in parts of Greece from the Submycenaean period onwards see: RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 248–250.

25. PTEROS 2001, 112 n. 59. – JUNG 2006, 192.

26. PTEROS 2001, 107, 111. – For this fibula type see: JUNG 2006, 192–194. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 220–221. A detailed study on this fibula type is scheduled.

27. PTEROS 2001, 105 n. 21. – For rings with spiral terminals see: RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 213–216. – GIANNPOULOS 2009, 122–125.

28. PTEROS 2001, 115. – For handmade burnished ware see: JUNG 2006, 21–47. – KILIAN 2007.

29. LO SCHIAVO 2010, 94–96 nos. 31–38, 98 nos. 43–49.

30. GLOGOVIĆ 2003, 8–11 nos. 7–29.

31. KILIAN 1987/1988, 154.

32. Kilian's suggestion was already criticized by JUNG 2007, 228.

33. EDER, JUNG 2005, 492–493. – JUNG 2007, 228–229.

hardly any in tumuli.³⁴ When searching for a possible place of origin, an area where cremations in tumuli were a common burial custom has to be looked for. In fact, it is possible to locate this region: it is the Western Balkans, the territory of former Yugoslavia. The cemeteries of the Paraćin and Donja Brnjica cultural groups compare especially well with the tumuli in the Argolid. These two cultural groups flourished in Southern Serbia and Kosovo mainly during the 13th century BC (Br D, LH IIIB).³⁵ The usual form of interment was cremation burial, often in tumuli. The cremated remains of the deceased were placed in urns, which were closed with bowls. This practice can be paralleled to the inurned cremations in the Argive tumuli.³⁶ The Argive custom of placing the small open vessel upside down on the urn finds its correspondence in a grave in the cemetery of Paraćin.³⁷ This grave is dated to phase Paraćin II by Rastko Vasić that can be equated to Br D2–Ha A1 and LH IIIB Late–LH IIIC respectively.³⁸ It is therefore roughly contemporary with the tumuli at Argos and Mycenae-Chania.

A tumulus on the plateau of Pešter (Latinsko Groblje), south of Sjenica, in Southwestern Serbia is particularly interesting because it contained inurned cremations as well as inhumations in cist graves. This coexistence of inhumation and cremation burials corresponds well to the situation in the tumulus at Argos. Tumuli probably also existed in the cremation cemeteries at Trnjane near Brestovac, Gornja Stražava and Donja Toponica in Southern Serbia. However, it was no longer be possible to clearly identify the tumuli.

Cremation burials in tumuli have a long tradition in the Western Balkans and this can be traced back to at least the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age of the region. The inurned cremation burials of the first phase in the tumulus cemetery at Mojsinje (Lugovi-Bent) can be dated roughly to

this period (Br B–C that corresponds to LH II–IIIA).³⁹ The site is situated in the Čačak region in Central Serbia.

Cremation burials in tumuli are also characteristic for the cemeteries of the Barice-Gredani group in the northern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cemeteries of this type were in use from Br C until Ha A1. However, the cremated remains of the deceased were deposited directly in pits and not in urns in this cultural group.⁴⁰

There is no other region in Southeast Europe where the combination between tumuli and cremation burials was so widespread and lasted for such a long period of time as the Western Balkans. Therefore, the tumuli at Argos and Mycenae-Chania are best related to this area.

The contact between the Western Balkans and Greece, that led to the construction of the Argive tumuli, was probably conducted via the Adriatic because there are no tumuli with cremations of a 12th century date in Northern Greece. The finds of Naue II swords of the early standard type in Donja Brnjica and Tekija near Paraćin clearly show that the Donja Brnjica and Paraćin cultures were not isolated but in contact with the innovative centers of the period.⁴¹

Deposition practice for cremations in the LH/LM IIIC period

It is a hitherto barely noted fact that the deposition practice for cremations differs remarkably between the LH/LM IIIC period and the Early Iron Age. Whereas in the Early Iron Age amphorae were the nearly exclusively used type of urn, they did not reach this position during the LH/LM IIIC period. Amphorae and amphoriskoi were the most common type of urn only in the tumuli at Mycenae-Chania and Argos.⁴² Belly-handled amphorae as well as rim-handled amphorae were utilized. This preference for amphorae in the tumuli at Argos and Mycenae-Chania may be the result of the Western Balkan descent of the respective burial communities because the Donja Brnjica and Paraćin cultures used amphoroid urns as well. Nevertheless, the two tumuli in the Argolid can hardly be the reason behind the widespread use of amphorae as urns in the Early Iron Age.

The LH/LM IIIC urns were not normally closed with

34. JUNG 2007, 228 cites two tumuli at Frattesina in the Veneto. However, these tumuli can barely prove an Italian ancestry of the two Argive tumuli because it is methodologically problematic to base a proposal for foreign inspiration on a completely exceptional case in the assumed area of origin.

35. The evidence is summarized by DELLA CASA 1996, 162–167. – See also VASIĆ, this volume. For references see both of these publications.

36. PITEROS 2001, 104 and n. 19 and figs. 9–10. Piteros believes that originally all urns were closed with a small open vessel. However, in 16 disturbed burials no small open vessels were found. It cannot be excluded, therefore, that not all urns were closed with a small vessel. – PALAIOLOGOU, this volume.

37. VASIĆ, this volume fig. 6.

38. Vasić dates the grave because of the similarity of the urn with pottery of the Belegiš II cultural group. Belegiš II is equated by Della Casa to Bz D2–Ha A1. See VASIĆ, this volume. – DELLA CASA 1996, 167–174, 188 and tab. 24.

39. NIKITOVIĆ, STOJČIĆ, VASIĆ 2002, 71, 108–112.

40. The evidence is summarized by GAVRANOVIĆ, this volume.

41. HARDING 1995, 35–36 and no. 76; no. 82. This type of Naue II sword is called Nenzingen or Reutlingen in Central Europe, Cetona in Italy and, according to Kilian-Dirlmeier, group A in Greece. See HARDING 1995, 35 and 37. – KILIAN-DIRLMEIER 1993, 95–96.

42. PALAIOLOGOU, this volume. – PITEROS 2001, 106–107, 113.

small open vessels.⁴³ This is another point in which the deposition practice in the Argive tumuli differs from cremation burials in contemporary chamber tomb cemeteries.

The second most popular type of urn in the tumulus at Argos is the jug.⁴⁴ This connects Argos to chamber tomb cemeteries with cremations. Jugs are the solely used type of cremation urn in Ialysos on Rhodes.⁴⁵ The only cremation in the Langada cemetery on Kos was also deposited in a jug.⁴⁶ Four out of six urns are jugs in the cemetery at Perati.⁴⁷ Two more jugs were found in the tumulus of Mycenae-Chania.⁴⁸ Jugs were obviously very popular urns in different parts of the Mycenaean culture.⁴⁹ Two oinochoai from the tumulus at Argos⁵⁰ and one from the cemetery at Elateia⁵¹ can be added as urns of a similar type (FT 137). Jugs were no longer used as urns in the Early Iron Age. There is only one jug that served as a cremation urn from the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens.⁵² This jug belongs to one of the oldest graves of the cemetery, one of the very few that date to the LH IIIC Late period.

Another common custom in the LH IIIC period was to loosely deposit the cremated remains on the floor of chamber tombs or in pits dug into the floors. Instances are known from Perati⁵³, Kallithea-Spentzes⁵⁴, Achaea Klauss⁵⁵ and Ialysos.⁵⁶ At Elateia the vast majority of cremations were

deposited in this way.⁵⁷ The deposition of cremations in pits without urns was not entirely unknown in the Early Iron Age but rather uncommon.

The use of large open vessels as cremation urns is without parallel in the Early Iron Age. This practice has been detected in Spaliareika⁵⁸ in Achaea and in Tylissos⁵⁹ and Moulia⁶⁰ on Crete. A bronze lekanis served as an urn in Spaliareika, a hemispherical bronze bowl in Tylissos and a clay crater with pictorial decoration in Moulia. This way of depositing cremated human remains was apparently restricted to elite burials because all three of the graves concerned are richly equipped with grave goods. Naue II swords were found in the same tombs in Moulia and Spaliareika, though not or not with certainty belonging to the cremation burials. The cremation burial at Tylissos was equipped with a spearhead. Therefore, a connection between cremation in prestigious open vessels and the LH/LM IIIC warrior elite can be assumed. Furthermore, this common practice is a further indication that the elites in the northwestern Peloponnese and on Crete had a close relationship during the LH/LM IIIC period.

The use of cylindrical pyxides as cremation urns is a local custom restricted to Eastern Crete.⁶¹ The rejection of jugs – vessels that were so common on the mainland and on the islands of the Dodecanese – as cremation urns is another Cretan peculiarity. The cremation urn that was found in a chamber tomb at Tourloti in Eastern Crete is a curious case. The cremation was placed in the lower part of a broken amphoriskos that consequently had become an open vessel.⁶² The usage of a broken vessel as an urn does not signify an especially rich burial. The modest grave goods provide the

43. In Spaliareika a four-handled amphora, which was probably used as an urn, was closed with the foot of a kylix. See GIANNPOULOS 2008, 223 and pl. 21; pl. 79. Two belly-handled amphorae from a chamber tomb at Agrapidochori in Elis were closed with a foot of a kylix. See PARLAMA 1971, 56 nos. 2, 4 and pl. AB/β, γ, ε. Cremations are not reported for the two amphorae with a kylix foot but for a four-handled amphora without a lid: PARLAMA 1971, 54 and pl. AB/α. Were the belly-handled amphorae with a kylix foot perhaps originally also used as cremation urns? Regrettably, the evidence available does not allow any firm conclusions.

44. PITEROS 2001, 111–112.

45. MEE 1982, 27–28. – BENZI 1992, 231.

46. MORRICONE 1967, 30, 202–203 no. 2 and fig. 214.

47. IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 40 and vol. 3, pl. 174.

48. PALAIOLOGOU, this volume.

49. The jugs belong to the Furumark Type (FT) 106–109.

50. PITEROS 2001, 113 and figs. 37–38.

51. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 140, 143 and fig. 4.

52. RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 24–25 grave 138 no. 1 and fig. 3; fig. 12 and pl. 14; pl. 31.

53. IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 40.

54. PAPADOPOULOS, TH. 1982, 108–109.

55. PAPADOPOULOS, TH. 1995, 57: tomb N, pit I, burial Θ. – PASCHALIDIS, McGEORGE 2009, 84 and n. 16.

56. BENZI 1992, 230.

57. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002. – DEGER-JALKOTZY, this volume.

58. GIANNPOULOS 2008, 116 no. Sp. G2–19, 168, 224 and pl. 23/19; pl. 39/19.

59. MARINATOS 1931, 112–113 and fig. 1. The cremation burial at Tylissos has been dated by some scholars to the Protogeometric Period; see DAVARAS 1973, 166 for a summary of the discussion. Yet a fragmented arched fibula with two discs can be dated with some confidence to an advanced stage of LM IIIC and certainly not later than the Subminoan period; see MARINATOS 1931, 114 no. 4 and fig. 2/4; fig. 3/4. This assessment is in accordance with B. Hallager's recent dating of the stirrup jar from the same burial to the LM IIIC Late phase: HALLAGER 2010, 143 and n. 44. – Cf. MARINATOS 1931, 114–115, 117 and fig. 4. A dating to the end of the LM IIIC phase is also in compliance with the appraisal of the excavator.

60. DAVARAS 1973, 163 with references. – D'AGATA 2007, 113 and fig. 13/1. – PAPADOPOULOS, A. 2009, 74 and fig. 9/8–9.

61. DAVARAS 1973, 158–160. – PASCHALIDIS 2009, 16 and n. 106.

62. PASCHALIDIS 2009, 15–17.

same impression. Therefore, it can be deduced that cremation burials during the LH/LM IIIC period were not restricted to the highest social elites.

Cremation burials at the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age

The burial customs of the LH IIIC⁶³ period and the beginning of the Early Iron Age can only be compared in a well-founded manner in a few regions of Greece. This is because there is good evidence for all the chronological phases from LH IIIC to the Early Protogeometric period only from a few regions. The comparison between LH IIIC burial customs in one area and Early Iron Age burial practices in another can only lead to limited results because the Greek burial customs of the Early Iron Age vary from region to region. The regions with the best available evidence are the Argolid and Attica.

Inhumation, especially in cist graves, is by far the most dominating burial practice during the entire Early Iron Age in the Argolid.⁶⁴ There are only very few instances of cremation burials.⁶⁵ Accordingly the tumuli in Mycenae-Chania and in Argos did not establish a long lasting tradition. In the case of the Argolid it is obvious that there is no continuation from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in regard to cremation.

At a first glance, the situation in Attica is not as clear as in the Argolid because there are some LH IIIC cremations in Perati and from the Submycenaean/Protogeometric transitional phase⁶⁶ onwards cremation became first the prevailing and then the nearly exclusively practiced mode of burial. The intermediate Submycenaean period provides the answer to the question whether the LH IIIC cremations in the chamber tomb cemetery at Perati can be interpreted as the forerunners of a custom that reached its peak in the Early Iron Age. The Kerameikos cemetery in Athens has the most extensive evidence for the Submycenaean period. 6 out of 133 Submycenaean graves in the Kerameikos are cremations.⁶⁷ This corresponds to a ratio of 4.5 % to 95.5 % (cf. tab. 2–3). During the Submycenaean phase no growth of the proportion of cremation burials is noticeable. Three

cremations are dated to Submycenaean I,⁶⁸ two to Submycenaean III and one cremation allows only a general dating to Submycenaean I–III. The percentage of cremations in the chamber tomb cemetery at Perati was even lower.⁶⁹ The use of a jug as an urn in one of the oldest Kerameikos graves⁷⁰ indicates some continuity from the LH IIIC cemetery at Perati to the Submycenaean cemetery in the Athenian Kerameikos with regards to deposition practice.

A marked change in the preference for cremations occurred during the Submycenaean/Protogeometric transitional phase. 16 out of 28 burials in the Kerameikos are cremations in this phase (see tab. 3).⁷¹ This corresponds to a ratio of 57.1 % and a growth rate of more than 50 % compared to the Submycenaean period. This striking change can hardly be interpreted as a gradual development from one phase to the next. This is even more evident when considering the fact that there was no increase in the number of cremations during the course of the Submycenaean period. The sharp increase in the number of cremations during the transitional phase from Submycenaean to Protogeometric was apparently a sudden occurrence and therefore cannot be explained with a culmination of a development that started in the LH IIIC period. The reasons for the sudden shift to cremation as the preferred burial custom in the Submycenaean/Protogeometric transitional phase are not obvious. External stimuli are not recognizable and therefore intra-societal developments may be assumed. It seems that the Athenian society of the time was ready for a change and innovations in various fields. It is also the time of the introduction of iron weapons and thus corresponds to the beginning of the Iron Age.⁷²

68. Including cremation burial 138 that dates to LH IIIC Late. See RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 24–25 and fig. 3; fig 12 and pl. 14; pl. 31.

69. S. Iakovidis estimates that more than 600 people were buried in Perati. 18 cremations of 600 burials correspond to a ratio of 3.0 %. See IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 28–29, 32, 42. However, the inhumations in the cemetery at Perati were not analyzed by an anthropologist. An anthropological analysis usually leads to a higher number of individuals than an archaeologist's estimation.

70. Grave 138. See n. 52 above.

71. For the database see RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 243 and tab. 40a. – RUPPENSTEIN 2009, 343 and tab. 1. Note that the graves 114 and PG A contained two burials respectively. Furthermore, note that the disturbed cremation burial 145* is included: RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 30.

72. See RUPPENSTEIN 2009, 329.

63. The situation on Crete is too different to be discussed in this paper.

64. The evidence was collected and discussed by HÄGG 1974.

65. PITEROS 2001, 117–118 and figs. 40–41. The discovery of two inurned cremations in Ancient Epidauros was recently reported. According to the excavator one urn dates to LH IIIC Late the other to the Submycenaean/Protogeometric transitional period. See PITEROS 2009, 187–188 and fig. 30.

66. For the definition of this phase see RUPPENSTEIN 2009.

67. For the database see RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 243 and tab. 40a; 261 and tab. 46.

Submycenaean Phase I	Submycenaean Phase II	Submycenaean Phase III	Submycenaean Phases I–III
Graves 67, 127, 138		Graves 75, 126	Grave 56

Tab. 2. Submycenaean cremation burials in the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens.

	Submycenaean	Transitional Submycenaean/Protogeometric
Inhumations	n=127 95.5 %	n=12 42.9 %
Cremations	n=6 4.5 %	n=16 57.1 %

Tab. 3. The ratio between inhumations and cremations in the Kerameikos cemetery during the Submycenaean period and the Submycenaean/Protogeometric transitional phase.

It can be concluded that the cremations of the LH IIIC period and the Early Iron Age are two discrete phenomena that are not connected to each other in a straightforward manner. Cremation as the predominant burial rite in Attica and Euboea during the Early Iron Age is not the logical culmination of a development that started with a small number of cremation burials in the LH IIIC period in diverse parts of the Aegean. Cremations in the LH IIIC period and in the Early Iron Age had a different cultural and societal background.

Appendix: LH IIIC, LM IIIC and Subminoan cremation burials⁷³

Greek mainland

- Elateia
DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002. – DEGER-JALKOTZY, this volume.
- Perati
IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 31–43.
- Agrapidochori
PARLAMA 1971, 54; 59–60.
- Spaliareika
GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 221–230.

- Kallithea-Spentzes
PAPADOPOULOS, Th. 1982, 108–109.
- Achaea Klauss
PAPADOPOULOS, Th. 1995, 57. – PASCHALIDIS, McGEORGE 2009, 84 and n. 16.
- Mycenae-Chania
PALAIOLOGOU, this volume.
- Argos
PITEROS 2001.
- Palaiokastros
PITEROS 2001, 116 and n. 83.

Dodecanese

- Cos, Langada
MORRICONE 1967, 30, 202–203 no. 2.
- Rhodes, Ialysos
MEE 1982, 27–28. – BENZI 1992, 230–231.

Crete

- Atsipades-Pezoulos
AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001.
- Phaistos-Liliana
DAVARAS 1973, 162–163 no. 5.
- Tylissos
MARINATOS 1931.
- Knossos, North Cemetery
COLDSTREAM, CATLING 1996, 192; 645–646. – MUSGRAVE 1996, 692 Tomb 201.
- Kritsa
DAVARAS 1973, 162 no. 4. – TSIPOPOULOU, LITTLE 2001.
- Vrokastro
DAVARAS 1973, 164 no. 8.

73. The evidence for Crete was collected by DAVARAS 1973 and McGEORGE 2009, 41 tab.1. Davaras gives full bibliographic references. – LH/LM IIIC cremation burials on the mainland, the Dodecanese and Crete were compiled by JUNG 2007, 230, 232 and pl. 57. – GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 221–230 provides a recent survey of cremations in the Aegean region. – Here a revised update is presented. Some highly dubious cases mentioned in the literature have been omitted. – Cf. figs. 1–2. I wish to thank Marion Frauenglas for preparing these maps.

- Tourloti
PASCHALIDIS 2009, 15–17. – McGEORGE 2009.
- Myrsini
DAVARAS 1973, 162 no. 3.
- Mesa Mouliana
DAVARAS 1973, 163 no. 6.
- Krya?⁷⁴
KANTA, DAVARAS 2004, 150.
- Praisos-Photoula
DAVARAS 1973, 162 no. 2.
- Epano Zakros-Palaimylos
DAVARAS 1973, 158–159.

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⁷⁴ The cemetery was in use from LM IIIC to the Geometric period. The dating of the cremation burials is yet to be reported.

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Cremations of the Early Iron Age from Mound 36 at Voulokalyva (ancient Halos) in Thessaly: a bioarchaeological appraisal

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Zusammenfassung

BRANDBESTATTUNGEN DER FRÜHEN EISENZEIT IM HÜGEL 36 VON VOULOKALYVA (ANTIKES HALOS) IN THESSALIEN: EINE BIOARCHÄOLOGISCHE AUSWERTUNG. Im Zusammenhang mit der Untersuchung des früheisenzeitlichen Hügels 36 von Voulokalyva in Thessalien werden die Probleme dargestellt, die mit der Fundinterpretation verbrannter Knochen verbunden sind. Die Knochen können entweder aus primären Brandplätzen stammen oder sekundär deponiert worden sein. Ein Vergleich mit gleichzeitigen griechischen Fundorten wird durchgeführt, um durch eine Gegenüberstellung von kontextuellen Parametern und Merkmalen verbrannter Knochen Informationen zur Bestattungspraxis zu erhalten. Die dabei erzielten Ergebnisse werden mit den Funden vom Hügel 36 verglichen. Es kann gezeigt werden, dass der Hügel vielfältig genutzt wurde und über einen langen Zeitraum höchstwahrscheinlich dem Ahnenkult diente. Es können Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Voulokalyva und Lefkandi festgestellt werden, für das ebenfalls komplexe Bestattungsriten vermutet werden. Im Hügel 36 konnten Erd- und Brandbestattungen sowohl für Erwachsene als auch für Säuglinge nachgewiesen werden. Allerdings wur-

den nur vereinzelte Säuglingsbrandgräber zwischen älteren Individuen gefunden.

Abstract

Through the analysis of the EIA Mound 36 at Voulokalyva in Thessaly we lay out the complexities involved in interpreting a context with cremated bones either as a primary cremation area or as a secondary deposition. We first provide comparative evidence from sites of this period from Greece to allow for correlations between contextual parameters and osseous characteristics to emerge and inform about the burial practice. We then contrast this evidence to finds from Mound 36 to demonstrate that its use was multifaceted and lasted for an extended period of time, most likely serving as a place of reverence and ancestral cult. Attention is drawn to similarities between Voulokalyva and Lefkandi, for which a complex burial program has also been suggested. The mound comprises inhumations and cremations of adults and infants, although cremated infant remains were found only sporadically among the cremated remains of more mature individuals.

1. Introduction

The Early Iron Age (EIA) mounds of ancient Halos have for a long time preoccupied researchers in terms of their meaning.¹ The dominant presence of cremations in more than 40 mounds surveyed in the area, following a period characterized by inhumations, has led to the formation of many hypotheses concerning their occurrence.² In this paper we try to fill a void in the assessment of the significance of the mounds by analyzing the diverse contexts of the precincts (περίβολοι) of a single mound from this area, Mound nr 36 at Voulokalyva, in relation to the presence of human skeletal remains. Curation of the majority of the human skeletal remains from this mound during a recent excavation by the IG Inspectorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Volos has made this appraisal possible.

A search for the meaning that mortuary rites and rituals may have had for the living, their possible symbolism, and their relation with social, political, economic and cosmological phenomena has deep roots in anthropology.³ It has for a time become apparent that to fully appreciate the significance of a mortuary context, the integration of all of the parameters involved is important, including a comparison of the osteological evidence with feature content and structure.⁴

Our analysis begins with the premise that the remains of a deceased, who was cremated, are either left at the place of the cremation, which therefore also served as the place of burial, or, are transferred elsewhere to be buried as part of a secondary burial rite, or receive no burial being scattered over land or water.⁵ In the latter cases, the identification of the cremation area or the pyre, as well as the differentiation of the remains of pyres from secondary burials and depos-

its with pyre debris can be a problem.⁶ This difficulty has been addressed archaeologically for the EIA in Greece by Stambolides,⁷ however integrated anthropological and archaeological investigations are pending.

In the following overview it becomes apparent that the quantity of cremated bone may vary according to context; a correlation, nevertheless, of bone weight with the occurrence of primary or secondary burial contexts is not straightforward. Experiments as well as the evidence from modern crematoria suggest that, depending on the sex, age and state of health of the deceased, an adult skeleton that is completely cremated weighs on average 2400 grams.⁸ However, at the mound of Voulokalyva, as in other EIA cemeteries discussed below, the mean quantity of bone per context often weighs considerably less, i.e. frequently less than an average of 50 grams.

Furthermore, inhumations and cremations may coexist at one site, as is the case for Mound 36, where inhumations of infants and adults are found *in situ* among or underneath pits containing sparse fragments from cremations. The latter are often encountered scattered among well-preserved logs of charred wood, which generally preserves less than cremated bone.⁹ Contextual evidence therefore suggests that taphonomic agents do not suffice to explain the scarcity of cremated bone in the mound. Instead, questions relating to the formation of the assemblage and the diversity of rites performed on the mound need to be addressed.

Before we proceed with the analysis of Mound 36, comparative evidence from Late Helladic (LH) IIIC and EIA cremations in Greece that have also been analyzed anthropologically, will be presented. Our aim is to let correlations between mortuary and osseous characteristics to emerge, thus providing information on the mortuary practices. We then contrast these results with our evidence from Voulokalyva.

2. Overview of EIA cremations in Greece

Recent studies concerned with the reconstruction of funerary rituals from different periods and regions in Europe stress the difficulty – and often the lack of appropriate terminology – of distinguishing among the different structures found in funerary contexts.¹⁰ An overview of the sites in Greece, where cremations of the LH IIIC and EIA have been analyzed anthropologically, shows that human skeletal remains that have undergone thermal alteration are found in the following contexts (Tab. 1):

1. WACE, THOMPSON 1912, 1–29. – EFSTATHIOU, MALAKASIOTI, REINDERS 1990, 31. – MALAKASIOTI, MOUSSIONI 2004. – STISSI, KWAK, DE WINTER 2004, 94–98. – MALAKASIOTI, TSIUKA 2011.

2. GEORGANAS 2002, for example attempts to refute earlier theories that attribute the erection of the mounds to settlers from the Northern Balkans by linking the new mortuary differentiation to a desire by the local society to create a new social identity by detaching itself from past traditions. Morgan (MORGAN 2003, 192–195. – 2006, 246–247), on the other hand, employs the funerary variability observed in the tumulus cemeteries of Halos and in Thessaly overall, to support a more complex than conventionally view of the notion of *ethnos* in early Greece.

3. RAKITA, BUIKSTRA, BECK et al. 2005. – MORRIS 1992.

4. BECK 2005, 152.

5. Rakita and Buikstra (RAKITA, BUIKSTRA 2005, 104) draw attention to the possibility that the total absence of human bone from the ashes of a pyre may reflect an attempt to completely remove the corpse from the world of the living rather than merely to transform it.

6. MCKINLEY 2006.

7. STAMPOLIDES 2001a.

8. UBELAKER 2009.

9. MARQUER, LEBRETON, OTTO et al. 2012.

10. POLFER 2000. – MCKINLEY 2000a.

Site	Context of cremated remains (sample size)	Average Weight (grams)	Range of weights	Mean maximum fragment size (mm)	Researcher
Mound 36, Voulokalyva, Thessaly	Unurned (74)	73.2	3–591	47.2 (range: 3.6–84)	This study
Perati, Attica	Urns undisturbed (3)	968	410–1741	78.3	PAIDOUSSIS, SVAROUNIS 1975
	Unurned, perhaps from disturbed urns (9)	342.2	1–1112	84	
Lefkandi, Euboea	Pyres (42)	39.6	1–234	49.8	MUSGRAVE 1980
	Urns (3)	1661.7	1168–2152	93.1	
Lower Gypsades, Knossos	Urns (11)	552.7	280–950	73.2	CALLAGHAN, COLDSTREAM, MUSGRAVE 1981
Knossos North Cemetery	Urns (74)	650	1–2324	71.4	MUSGRAVE 1996
Kavousi, Crete	Primary cremation burials (14)	1600.4	1121–2134		LISTON 1993
	Disturbed cremations (34)	529.1	18–1102		
	Urns (3)	14	9–19		LISTON 2007
Pézoulos Atsipadhes, Crete	Urns (3)	660	0–1780		AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001
Agora, Athens	Urn (1)	1345			LISTON, PAPA-DOPOULOS 2004
Torone, Chalkidike	Urns (60)	301	9–1522	53	MUSGRAVE 2005
Kerameikos, Athens	Urns (4)	595	260–1000		LAGIA 2007

Tab. 1. Average weights, range and maximum fragment size of cremated human bone from diverse EIA contexts in Greece.

2.1 Pyres and Cremation areas that also served as the place of burial, or Cremation Burials

Anthropological analyses of undisturbed cremation areas that also served as the burial are only known from the Late Geometric (LG) (second half of the 8th c. BC and Early Orientalising) site of Kavousi in Eastern Crete.¹¹ At this site, *in situ* cremations were found in cist graves that intruded in the settlement area of an earlier deposit of the Late Minoan (LM) IIIC and Subminoan period (12th–11th c. BC). They were identified as such *in situ* cremations due to the presence in the cists “of anatomically ordered but completely calcined skeletons”.¹² Remarkably, many joints of the skeletons were found flexed,¹³ because of contraction of the tendons during the exposure of the body to high temperatures. This effect is known from experimental pyres, modern crematoria, as well as victims of modern and ancient

thermal catastrophes.¹⁴ The retention of anatomical order is confirmed by experimental studies which demonstrate that after the collapse of a pyre, provided that the remains were not manipulated during cremation, “the skeletal remains will retain anatomical order which will be clearly visible in the final stages”.¹⁵

The stone-lined cists had a rectangular form, 1.80–2 m × 1 m in area, and were superficial above ground, which enabled the flow of adequate oxygen to the pyre.¹⁶ The experimental simulation of the pyres suggested that the walls of the cists sufficed “to retain the falling logs, and to provide additional support and structure to the pyre during its final and least stable phases”.¹⁷ Pieces of charcoal were found in addition to the burned soil, bedrock and stones on the sides and floors of the cists. The analysis of the skeletal remains

11. GESELL, DAY, COULSON 1995.

12. LISTON 1993, 125–126.

13. LISTON 1993, 122 and figs. 6/2–5.

14. HEGLAR 1984. – CAPASSO 2000, 1345.

15. MCKINLEY 2000b, 407.

16. For this reason no ventilation channels were found as has been reported for deeper pyres, LISTON 1993, 45.

17. LISTON 1993, 118.

demonstrated that most areas of the skeleton were present, while the average weight was 1600 g, ranging between 1121 to 2134 grams.¹⁸ The preserved weight of the cremation burials was found to be significantly different from the disturbed primary cremations at the site. The latter term describes cases where the bones remained in the original place of the cremation, i.e. the cist grave, but were deliberately moved to the side when the grave was reused, or were disturbed after their deposition. On average these weighed 529 g (ranging between 18 to 1102 grams) and comprised 65.4 % of cist burials at Vrondas, a further 27 % of the graves were undisturbed cremation burials.¹⁹

2.2 Pyres or Cremation areas that did not serve as the place of burial

Such contexts can either be individual or collective and are known as *ustrina* in Roman archaeology.²⁰ They are often accompanied by postholes, beneath or in their immediate surroundings, for posts which, according to ethnographic evidence, may have served to stabilize individual pyres.²¹

Pyres are frequently situated in the vicinity of the secondarily deposited remains, with little or no associated architecture; the dimensions of a pyre are equivalent to a human body or larger (i.e. 2 × 1 m), they are rectangular or oval in shape, and oval in cross section, with a depth of 70–80 cm, and there is a distinct dark coloration all around it due to the burned soil.²² They usually contain logs of charred wood, a layer of pebbles or stones around it and under the deposit, which may have helped with ventilation, a layer of ash, 10–40 cm thick,²³ as well as minimal amounts – no more than 50 grams – of small fragments of cremated human and animal bone in addition to sherds dispersed in a relatively thick layer of black soil. Only two such pyre sites were identified at Kavousi and were distinguished from ash dumps by the presence of “little or no associated architecture, minimal amounts of cremated human bone, and burned soil and stone around and under the deposits of ash”.²⁴

Cremation areas that were consecutively or collectively used by a community may have occupied an area of 50–100 m² with a varying area and depth.²⁵ Such an area

has been identified at Palaio Gynaikokastro in Macedonia, where a mound of similar structure to Voulokalyva but of an earlier date (LH IIIC to the 9th c. BC) is located. The mound comprises twelve precincts with 542 cinerary urns. On its northwestern borders the excavator identified an area of approximately 50 m², characterized by a 30–50 cm thick layer of ash and ample evidence of scattered bone suggesting it was an area where consecutive cremations took place for an extended period of time.²⁶

Single pyres that did not serve as the place of burial comprise one of the most challenging contexts given the lack of specialists in the *anthropologie de terrain*²⁷ and the proclivity to attribute the sparse presence of bone to post-depositional disturbance. A most intriguing example in this category comes from the site at Lefkandi in Euboea where pyres and inhumations coexist. The paucity of skeletal remains from the majority of these has been attributed, among other, to postmortem destruction due to the aggressiveness of the soil. Soil analyses, however, do not confirm this.²⁸ In stark contrast to the meager bone in the pyres, large quantities of cremated bone (1662 g on average) were found in three urns buried in shaft graves of the “trench and hole” type known from Athens.²⁹

It is interesting that certain pyres from Lefkandi have the characteristic irregular shape, depth, size and features of cremation areas.³⁰ “On the floor of some of the pyre cuttings were found large boulders, blackened and calcined by fire, possibly placed there to produce a good draught and a higher temperature”.³¹ Broken pottery and personal offerings burned with the body were also present. The intriguing absence of burned bone from 33 out of the 71 excavated pyres and the occurrence of a few bone fragments in only 38 pyres, all of which contained a fill of black ash, raised “the question as to whether the bones were normally collected after cremation”.³² Based on the combination of archaeological and anthropological parameters the occurrence of a complex funerary ritual has been suggested for Lefkandi: while certain pyres served as the cremation area, others were also the site of burial. Moreover, urn burials in cist or shaft graves were practiced while secondary depositions of to-

18. LISTON 1993, tab. 6/1.

19. LISTON 1993, tab. 6/1.

20. POLFER 2000, 30.

21. WAHL, WAHL 1983.

22. KEILING 1962.

23. STAMBOLIDES 2001b, 192.

24. LITTLE 1993, 45.

25. POLFER 2000.

26. SAVVOPOULOU 2001, 171.

27. DUDAY 2006.

28. THEMELIS 1980, 210.

29. SACKETT 1980, 200.

30. For example Pyre 8 at Toumba cemetery (POPHAM, SACKETT, THEMELIS 1980, Plate 166); Pyres 2 and 3 at Skoubris cemetery (Plate 90).

31. SACKETT 1980, 201.

32. THEMELIS 1980, 210–212.

ken cremated bones with offerings also seem to have been present.³³

Concerning the pyre areas at the Protogeometric (PG) Kerameikos where urns and ash pits (Aschengruben) have been found, Kraiker and Kübler suggest that the pyres took place close to the area where the urns were buried, in non-permanent cremation structures.³⁴ The ashes, including earth from beneath the pyre and even the sherds that were burned with the dead, the remains of the jewelry and weaponry, were gathered and placed in the hole of the grave. According to Kraiker and Kübler, this was done rather carelessly, which explains why many sherds that were burned with the dead are often missing. Remarkably, McKinley has suggested that “the inclusion of pyre debris in many grave structures suggests not only the proximity of the pyre site, but that burial occurred shortly after cremation,” as bone for burial, unlike pyre debris, may be more easily curated and transported.³⁵

A similar account has been offered to explain the formation of at least some of the cremation tombs at the EIA coastal site of Torone on the Chalkidike peninsula. At Torone, tomb pits are generally circular or elliptical and their diameters never exceed 0.70–0.80 m. No characteristic features of cremation areas have been observed. The pits contained the remains of the pyre (such as charred wood), a small quantity of cremated human bone, along with sherds which were altered by fire. Therefore the excavator believes that for at least some of the graves “the place of cremation was located near enough for these remains to be collected and transferred to or swept into the tomb pit.” In order to explain the general lack of such remains in other tombs it is suggested that the pyre may have been at some distance from the cemetery, for example on the beach.³⁶ The ample evidence of beach material (seashell and smooth leach pebbles) found in the ash suggests that at least some cremations took place on the shore.

2.3 Urned and unurned secondary depositions of cremated remains

These comprise burials in urns or open spaces in which some, or rarely all of the cremated bone was deposited after removal from the cremation site. Such contexts are often wrongly referred to as “secondary cremations” although they are merely secondary depositions of primary crema-

tions.³⁷ It has been noted that unurned burials are extremely difficult to identify and to differentiate from the pyre debris which remained behind when pyre sites were not completely cleared, or from debris redeposited elsewhere. They are sometimes identified by “the discrete concentration of bones within the grave fill” and are believed to have been contained in an organic container made of textile, skin or basketry that did not survive.³⁸

Unurned cremated remains have been found in chamber tombs from the LHIIIC period at Perati in Attica, Elateia in Central Greece, and from the Geometric period at Kavousi and the Knossos North Cemetery in Crete. At the Perati chamber tombs, cremations were an exception comprising 18 out of the 159 inhumations.³⁹ The cremations from the 12 contexts analysed ranged 1–1741 g with an average weight of 499 g;⁴⁰ two of the largest quantities were associated with undisturbed urns, while the lowest came from heavily disturbed contexts. At Elateia cremations form a small minority among the numerous inhumations in the chamber tombs and were found deposited on the floors and in pits of the chambers while three were contained in urns.⁴¹ Unurned cremations apparently form the majority of the deposits at Knossos North Cemetery although the anthropological analysis concentrated on 74 out of the 363 contexts that “definitely came from numbered urns”.⁴² These yielded one of the largest quantities of urned cremated bone from this period, ranging from 1–2324 g with an average of 650 grams.⁴³ At Kavousi unurned secondary deposits of cremated bone were placed on the floor surfaces, in corners or doorways, of the abandoned buildings, often together with burned sherds, vessels and ashes.⁴⁴

Urn cremation is a well-known practice in the EIA in Greece though it appears to have been the exception rather than the rule at Perati, Lefkandi (see above), Kavousi and Voulokalyva (see the analysis below). At Kavousi, a context which in many respects is rather unusual in comparison to what is so far known from the mainland, three amphorae were found in two cist graves among primary and dis-

33. SACKETT 1980, 202. – THEMELIS 1980, 214–215.

34. KRAIKER, KÜBLER 1939, 181.

35. MCKINLEY 2006, 86.

36. PAPADOPOULOS 2005, 383.

37. On the inapt use of the term “secondary cremation” as seen from an archaeological point of view see STAMBOLIDES 2001b, 198. In a rather different context PIGA et al. 2010, 449 note that the term “secondary cremation” is used to describe the occurrence of cremation after the intentional stripping of the flesh.

38. MCKINLEY 2000a. – MCKINLEY 2008, 171.

39. IAKOVIDIS 1969/1970, 32.

40. PAIDOUSSIS, SVAROUNIS 1975.

41. DEGER-JALKOTZY this volume.

42. MUSGRAVE 1996, 678.

43. MUSGRAVE 1996, 686 and tab. 26.

44. LISTON 1993, 46.

turbed cremated remains, containing no more than 20 grams of bone. Liston proposes that these tiny amounts of bone “must represent the deliberate choice of the anatomical area to be buried not merely careless collection, of the cremated remains”.⁴⁵

One of the best known examples of urn cemeteries in Greece is the Kerameikos in Athens where cremated remains of the PG period were found mostly in amphorae, in relatively large quantities with well-preserved bone. Furthermore, cremated bone at the Kerameikos was also found in “Aschengruben” or “Brandlöcher”⁴⁶ (ash pits) along with pyre debris and sherds. Because these pits include large quantities of burned human bone together with grave goods and pyre debris they comprise unurned secondary deposits rather than ash dumps, with which they share a number of characteristics. A recent analysis of the contents of an Aschengrube from the Kerameikos, which was excavated in the 1930s, showed that it contained, besides charcoal and sherds, 440 g of cremated bone, including large identifiable fragments from the axial and appendicular skeleton.⁴⁷ The presence of large diagnosable human bone fragments found among the pyre contents of Brandlöcher is also described in earlier studies.⁴⁸

While no bone weight is reported by E. Breiting, his description of the inventory of the bones suggests the preservation of a substantial quantity and quality of bone from single cremations. Segments of the cranium with diagnostic parts, large parts of the mandible, long bone diaphyses, and large parts of short bones such as the patellae, talus and calcaneus are included. It is also noteworthy that short bones of the hands and feet such as phalanges, metacarpals and metatarsals, in addition to rib fragments are reported. Considering that such bones are frequently missing, even from well preserved inhumations, the collection of the cremated remains from the pyres from the PG Kerameikos comprise one of the largest quantities of well-preserved cremated bone from this period. All human remains were white, unlike the animal remains found with them, which were blue-black, suggesting that they were exposed to fire for a lesser period of time. According to E. Breiting perhaps they were thrown onto the pyre towards the end of the cremation process.⁴⁹ A later analysis of five previously unstudied

cremations from the same cemetery showed a similar, rather good state of preservation of completely cremated remains, the weight of which averaged approximately 600 g (range 240 to 1000 g).⁵⁰ Similarly, the cremated human skeletal remains found in urns of the Geometric period at Lower Gypsades in Knossos weigh an average of 553 g and never less than 280 g.⁵¹

The preservation of a substantial quantity of cremated bone in urns is also known from the EBA mound of Kriaritsi in Chalkidike,⁵² which bears morphological similarities to the mound of Voulokalyva, comprising 30 precincts surrounding shafts (θήκες) with urns. Anthropological analysis of the undisturbed urns in and above the precincts showed that the preservation of human skeletal remains in these contexts averaged 800 grams, ranging from 21.5 g (in juveniles), or 294 g (in adults) to 2013 grams.

A smaller quantity of cremated bone was included in the pots at Torone. Anthropological analysis points to an average weight of 301 grams with a range between 2–1522 g.⁵³ Only three of the 58 analyzed tombs occupy the highest end of this range and two of these are attributed to two individuals. While it is obvious that at least some of the smallest quantities stem from heavily disturbed urns or tombs, a number of urns contain well over 200 grams of bone. The fragmentation size at Torone is also one of the lowest in Greece (53 mm on average), although a bimodal distribution in mean maximum fragment size is noted which seems to reflect disturbance.⁵⁴ The absence of very small pieces of bone and the lower weight scores in Torone, as at Lefkandi, according to Musgrave, indicates a disinterest of the mourners in the skeletal remains once the funerary rituals relating to the transformation of the body were completed.⁵⁵

Exceptional cases where most of the cremated remains were carefully collected and placed in an amphora are known from this as well as from other periods in Greece. In the Athenian Agora a richly furnished cinerary urn from the Early Geometric contained large pieces of completely calcined (white) bones that allowed the identification of large anatomical areas such as the skull.⁵⁶ The bones weighed 1345 grams and contained the remains of a 30–35 year old female

45. LISTON 2007, 63.

46. KRAIKER, KÜBLER 1939, 181. – KÜBLER 1943, 2–3.

47. LAGIA 2007, 277. – RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 30.

48. For example in Aschengrube 42 there were apparently enough diagnosable fragments to allow Breiting to conclude that they belonged to a man, KÜBLER 1943, 3.

49. BREITINGER 1939, 260.

50. LAGIA 2007.

51. Eleven out of the 35 urns in a chamber tomb of moderate wealth were analyzed anthropologically: CALLAGHAN, COLDSTREAM, MUSGRAVE 1981.

52. ASOUIDOU 2004. – TRIANTAPHYLLOU 2004b.

53. MUSGRAVE 2005, tab. A/1, graph A/1.

54. MUSGRAVE 2005, graph A/4.

55. MUSGRAVE 2005, 248. – MUSGRAVE 1980, 444.

56. LISTON, PAPADOPOULOS 2004.

and a fetus/newborn (8 to 9 lunar months). Such exceptional preservation of urned remains is also known from prominent burials of later periods⁵⁷ and points to a differential handling of the cremated remains during all stages of the funerary process.

2.4 Deposits (pits) filled with discarded pyre remains (debris), or ash dumps

These are deposits of apparently discarded ashes with minimal amounts of bone and no signs of burning of the soil or the walls of the enclosure. They differ from graves in that they contain what is left behind, rather than the bone that is selected for burial elsewhere. "Sweepings from a cremation event should include a mixture of very small fragments of bone, ash, and other debris".⁵⁸ Ash dumps at Vronda comprise deposits containing large quantities of ash and burned soil, small amounts of human bone and burned pottery. There is a lack of architecture and of evidence of *in situ* firing on the underlying soil.⁵⁹ It is interesting that in this site joins were found between bone and pottery fragments from the dumps with likes from adjacent graves confirming the observation that "the inclusion of pyre debris in many grave structures suggests the proximity of the pyre site".⁶⁰ As explained above, although the ash pits, which are known as "Aschengruben" and "Brandlöcher" from the Kerameikos in Athens, bear many features of ash dumps (i.e. they describe a hole with ashes, charcoal and earth from the pyre), in fact they comprise unurned secondary deposits because of their inclusion of large quantities of cremated bone and burned grave goods.

2.5 "Smoked" bone

Inhumed bone that underwent incomplete combustion after decomposition of the corpse forms a special category of skeletal remains bearing evidence of thermal alteration. Experimental evidence has shown that such color patterning cannot be the result of cremation of bones with flesh on them.⁶¹ Smoked bones have been identified in a number of

prehistoric contexts in Greece⁶² and are most likely related to cathartic rituals within the burial environment.⁶³

From this overview it becomes apparent that besides the contextual features in which bones are found, the quantity and quality of the cremated remains is of paramount importance in the interpretation of a funerary context, i.e. one of a cremation burial, a pyre or cremation area that did not serve as the site of burial, or a secondary deposition reflecting secondary burial rites and/or pyre debris. Much larger quantities of cremated bone are found *on average* in cremation burials (either disturbed or undisturbed) and urns compared to that found scattered in pyres that were not further used for burial and in pyre debris. In light of these finds we proceed with the analysis of the mound of Voulokalyva at ancient Halos.



Fig. 1a. Mound 36 at Voulokalyva (ancient Halos) in Thessaly.

3. Mound 36 at Voulokalyva (ancient Halos) in Thessaly

The site of Voulokalyva, situated 1km north of Hellenistic Halos at the Almyros plain in Thessaly, comprises a cemetery of approximately 40 mounds extending in an area of 2.5 km².⁶⁴ The site was excavated for the first time in 1912 by Wace and Thompson⁶⁵ and much later by the IG Inspectorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Volos. In 1999 Mound 36 was intensively excavated by the IG Inspectorate (Fig. 1a). A mantle of stone covered a mound with the dimensions 30.6 × 30.2m and a height of 1m. The mound comprised rectangular, elliptical or irregular precincts that

57. For example at Vergina, Derveni, Nea Michaniona (MUSGRAVE 1990. – MUSGRAVE 1996) and Athens (CHARLIER, POUPON, GOURBARD et al. 2009).

58. BECK 2005, 152.

59. LISTON 1993, 48.

60. MCKINLEY 2006, 86.

61. BUIKSTRA, SWEGLE 1989, 252.

62. DUDAY 1981. – HERRMANN 1992, 193, 745. – TRIANTAPHYLLOU 2004a. – PAPATHANASIOU 2009.

63. CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, 112.

64. EFSTATHIOU, MALAKASIOTI, REINDERS 1990, 31. – STISSI, KWAK, DE WINTER 2004, 94–98. – MALAKASIOTI, MOUSIONI 2004.

65. WACE, THOMPSON 1912, 1–29.

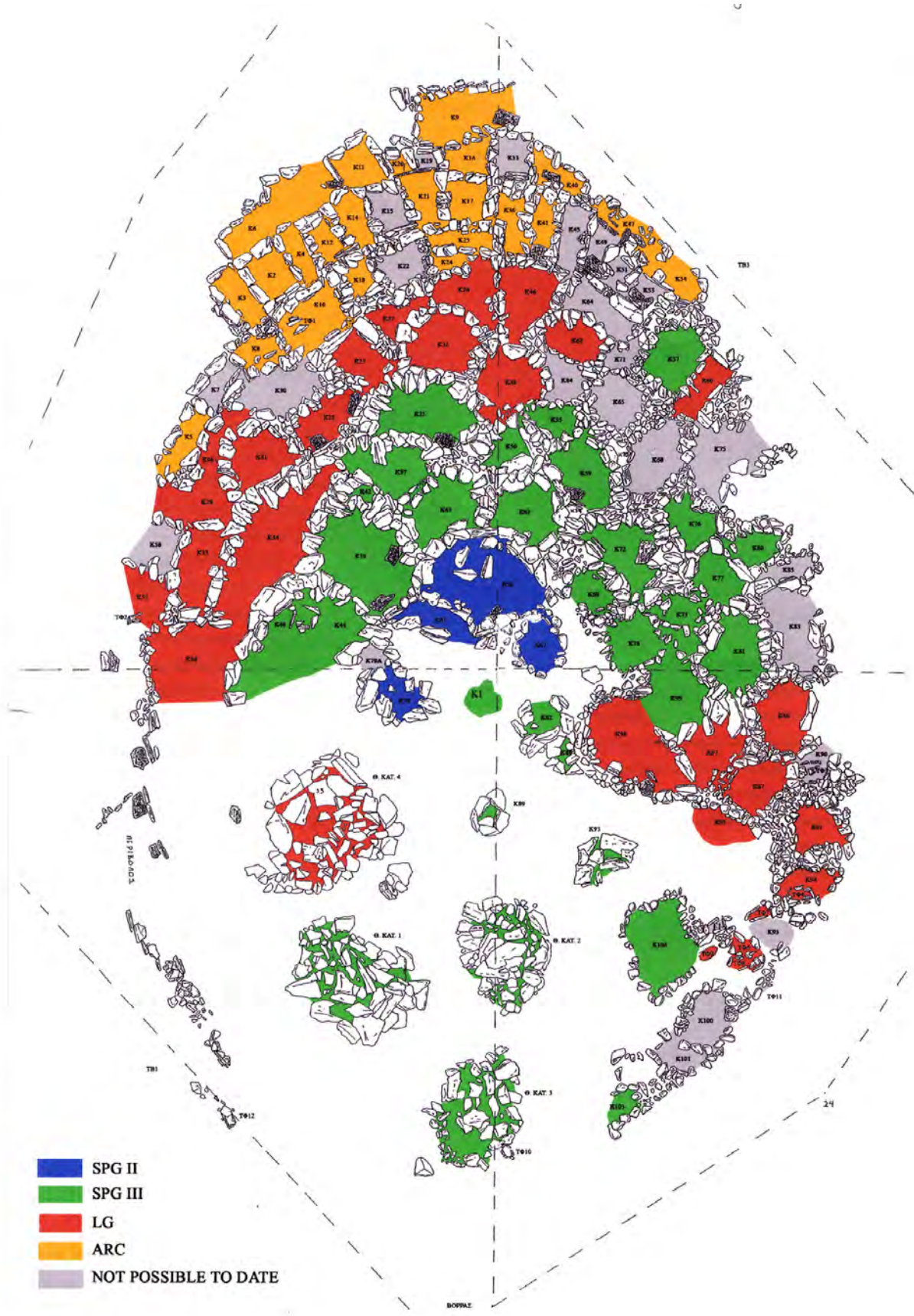


Fig. 1b. Diagram of Mound 36 illustrating its chronological development.



Fig. 2. Precinct 92: Adult inhumation in anatomical order *in situ*, in extended position, along with cremated remains; preservation is very poor.



Fig. 3. Cist grave of an infant.

date from the Sub-Protogeometric II (SPG II) to the Late Geometric and the Archaic periods (9th to 7th c. BC).⁶⁶

The most startling characteristic of the mound is its concentric/beehive-like structure, in which the earliest precincts served as a nucleus around which the later structures developed concentrically, mostly towards its southern axis (Fig. 1b). During the Archaic period rectangular stone cists of smaller dimensions were added to the southern edge of the mound. Although the scarcity of precincts on the northeastern area of the mound can be partially explained by the intensive use of the land for cultivation, the four earliest vaulted structures are conspicuously situated on the northern part of the mound, set apart from one another and from the tightly built-up precincts on the southern area. It is noteworthy that the majority of infant inhumations were situated on the periphery of the northern part of the mound.

In total, 98 precincts, 4 vaulted structures and 3 urns were excavated, as well as 16 infant and 4 adult inhumations. The precincts primarily comprise the remains of cremations including among other burned human bone. The condition of preservation of the latter differs drastically from that of the inhumations. Offering tables and grave markers (*sema-ta*) were recovered from a number of precincts while pottery and metal objects were abundant. Weapons, exclusively made of iron, appear in the SPG II and increase toward the Archaic period while the amount of pottery decreases.⁶⁷ High status items, probably imported, were found in three precincts in addition to three cases of “killing of weapons”.

3.1 The Inhumations

The human skeletal remains from four adults, one 10 year old child and ten infants were analyzed anthropologically. The adult inhumed skeletal remains were found in a poor state of preservation in anatomical order *in situ*, in extended position (k. 61, 92) (Fig. 2), or commingled and fragmented among cremated remains (k. 81, k. 93–88). The bones were rather brittle and disintegrated upon lifting and laboratory analysis. In contrast, the skeleton of the ten year old child was in excellent preservation despite its young age, often contended to be responsible for the poor preservation of juvenile bones. Likewise the skeletal remains of most of the infants fared better than those of the adults. This is most likely due to the well-protected microenvironment provided by the large slabs delineating their graves (Fig. 3). Nevertheless, the skeletons of several infants were also fragmented.

The sex and age-at-death of the adults could be determined in only a few cases with some degree of accuracy due to the poor state of preservation of the axial skeleton. Based on metric characteristics of the long bones it appears that at least one adult was male (k. 81). Moreover, the relatively advanced stage of dental wear and cranial suture closure (k. 92), plus the signs of degeneration in the form of osteophytosis on the lower thoracic and lumbar areas of the spines of two adults (k. 81 and ex. 93–88) indicate that they were probably not young at the time of death.

The well-preserved skeleton, including the dentition, of the ten-year-old child was found in precinct 104. Based on the stage of development of the permanent dentition and of secondary centers of ossification the age-at-death could be determined with accuracy. The child shows clear signs of stress episodes during growth in the form of linear enamel hypoplasia, bilateral *cribra orbitalia* and porosity on the

66. MALAKASIOTI, TSIΟΥKA 2011, 613–615.

67. MALAKASIOTI, TSIΟΥKA 2011, 616.



Fig. 4. Precinct 81 (SPG III): The layer of ash is limited within the confines of a fragmented vessel – 212 grams of burned human bone were included.

cranial vault. These are often linked to (although do not cause) premature death due to a weakened state of health.⁶⁸ The stress episodes that lead to the formation of the growth arrest lines on the dentition were formed in the ages of 2–3.5 years of age as indicated by the double lines present on the maxillary and mandibular canines.⁶⁹ Interestingly, evidence of stress episodes during growth was also observed on the cranial vault of one adult (ex. 93–88) in the form of “healed” porosity.

Finally, the ages-at-death of infants ranged from newborn to 9 months of age based on the stage of crown formation, and the stage of development of the external acoustic meatus, the occipital bone, the neural arches of the vertebrae, and the petrous bone.⁷⁰ A number of cranial and long bones show signs of periosteal reaction suggesting the presence of infections at the time of death.

3.2 The Cremated Human Skeletal Remains

Context and Condition of the Burned Human Bone

Cremated human bone in Mound 36 was recovered from 74 precincts in very small quantities (73 grams on average but see below for a finer analysis), fragmented and dispersed in a 10–60 cm layer of ash (mostly at the lower end), often among charred logs of wood, carbonized plant and animal remains, as well as pottery, metal objects and surrounding rocks bearing evidence of exposure to fire.⁷¹ The mound, however, also included a number of precincts with clear evidence of an *in situ* pyre (as inferred by the presence



Fig. 5. Precinct 42 (SPG III): Urn with ash in its surrounding containing 6.9 g of cremated animal fragments.

of carbon fill, charred wood, and burned material) but no indication of burned human bone. Furthermore, cremated human bone was found in precincts that did not contain any significant evidence of an *in situ* pyre, but instead, were contained, along with ash, within a limited area inside the precincts, sometimes defined by the boundaries of a fragmented vessel (Fig. 4). Finally, there is limited evidence of burned bone contained in urns deposited in precincts (Fig. 5), and of multiple modes of disposal within the same precinct. For example, an ash dump and an urn appear to coexist with the remains of a pyre in a two-tiered precinct (Fig. 6a).

The areas designated as pyres comprise mostly rectangular, elliptical or irregular precincts with dimensions 1.6×1 m on average, although the external dimensions and form of the precincts do not always correspond to the underlying pyre. Even though for some precincts there is evidence of burning on the surrounding stone delineating the precinct, for others no such evidence exists, while the ash layer extends beyond the limits of the overlying boulders, suggesting that these were laid after the pyre (Fig. 6b). What's more, the dimensions of the precincts, which range from 0.40–4.20 m in length and 0.32–2.20 m in breadth, imply that only a number of precincts could have accommodated an adult human body during a pyre. Information from *ustrine*⁷² and cremation burials⁷³ indicate that the size of cremation areas accommodating one or more individuals is generally 2–3 m in length and 1–1.5 m in breadth (Tab. 2). Interestingly, a clear temporal decrease in the size of the precincts is noted, with the smallest dimensions reached during the Archaic period.⁷⁴

68. DEWITTE, WOODS, 2008.

69. REID, DEAN 2000.

70. SCHEUER AND BLACK 2000.

71. MALAKASIOTI, TSIIOUKA 2011, 613.

72. KEILING 1962.

73. LISTON 1993.

74. MALAKASIOTI, TSIIOUKA 2011, Fig. 9.



Fig. 6a. Precinct 79 (SPG II): An "Aschengrube" with an urn?



Fig. 6b. Precinct 79: A two-tiered cremation, the lower layer of which extends well beyond the limits of the precinct.



Fig. 6c. Precinct 79: A complete fully calcined (white) pelvic bone on the uppermost layer of a double-tiered cremation precinct.

Site (number of cases)	Length (m)	Breadth (m)	Depth (m)	Weight (grams)	Max. Fragment Size (mm)	MNI
Mound 36, Voulokalyva (74)	1.61 (0.40–4.20)	1.06 (0.32–2.20)	0.92 (0.10–1.52)	73.2 (3–591)	47 (3.6–84)	1
Lefkandi, Skoubris Pyres (19) ¹	1.35 (0.60–1.75)	0.65 (0.40–1.00)	55.5 (0.20–1.00)	56.9 (1–126)	55.1 (14–84)	1
Lefkandi, Palia Perivolia Pyres (50) ¹	1.36 (1.00–1.82)	0.67 (0.49–0.90)	35.9 (0.10–0.80)	37.1 (1–234)	48 (25–87.4)	1
Lefkandi, Toumba Pyres (11) ¹	1.61 (1.45–1.80)	0.74 (0.60–1.00)	68.1 (0.25–1.60)	20.2 (3–36)	47 (28.6–65)	1
Lanz, Ludwigslust Ustrine ²	2.96 (1.80–4.20)	1.57 (1.0–2.60)	0.54 (0.30–1.00)		64 (50–80)	1?
Kavousi cremation burials ³	2.00	1.00				2
	1.80	1.50				8

¹POPHAM, SACKETT, THEMELIS 1980. – ²KEILING 1962. – ³GESELL, DAY, COULSON 1995.

Tab. 2. The dimensions of the precincts at Voulokalyva in comparison to pyres, ustrine and cremation burials (average and ranges provided).



Fig. 7a. Precinct 93 (SPG III): The segment of a partially cremated (black) spine in articulation *in situ* among large logs of burned wood.



Fig. 7b. The charred vertebrae from precinct 93 found among fully calcined (white) bones.

Although Mound 36 was found in a cultivated field, only its northeastern part and the uppermost layers of the precincts appear to have been affected by cultivation. The architectural elements of the precincts were seldom found disturbed while the innermost portions of the precincts were found intact. The excavation was rather systematic and took place over a period of two years (1999–2001), being halted on occasion by rainfall that flooded the precincts. Due to weather adversities and time constraints the human skeletal remains were not exhaustively excavated and collected, nor was sieving applied during the dig. Nevertheless, the general impression during the excavation concerning the quantity of burned bone was that of a handful of bone per precinct. Laboratory analysis confirmed this observation for the majority of the precincts.

Furthermore, unlike the adult and infant inhumations on the mound, which were found in anatomical order *in situ*, there was scarcely any indication of burned bones found in anatomical order *in situ* at Voulokalyva, as has for example been found at the pyre burials at Kavousi. However, at least one single exception of cremated bones *in situ* appears to have existed: in one of the earliest precincts (93) a segment of a partially cremated (black) spine seems to have been found articulated *in situ* among large logs of charcoal (Figs. 7a–b). Given the excellent preservation of the typically brittle logs of wood in the vicinity of these bones it is hard to explain the absence of the remaining parts of the skeleton in terms of diagenesis.⁷⁵

A complete fully calcined (white) pelvic bone on the uppermost layer of a double-tiered cremation precinct of

the SPG II (Fig. 6c), encountered at least once during the excavation, is relevant to this observation. Although the pelvic bone fragmented during recovery, large pieces were preserved during the laboratory analysis. Its excellent preservation in a layer close to the surface is noteworthy, given that studies on skeletal preservation have shown that the quality of preservation decreases in burials located closer to the ground surface.⁷⁶ Moreover, experimental archaeology has revealed that the largest part of fragmentation of bones that underwent firing takes place soon after the cremation process rather than cumulatively with time.⁷⁷

Therefore, the excellent preservation of cremated bone, either *in situ* amidst charred logs of wood or mixed in a superficial layer, in at least two precincts at Mound 36 suggests that the preservation pattern of the skeletal remains at Voulokalyva cannot be fully attributed to freezing, trampling, or other diagenetic/taphonomic factors that may have destroyed the majority of the bone from each pyre. Instead factors related to the cremation process and ritual need to be called upon in order to explain their void.

Weight of the Cremations

At Voulokalyva the average weight of cremated bone per precinct is 73 grams (Fig. 8), a quantity that is much lower than that “expected” from known archaeological *in situ* pyres that also served as burials, or from modern crematoria in which the weight is approximately 2000 grams or more⁷⁸ and varies between 1000–3000 grams per skeleton. The weight is still low compared to incompletely recovered (as a result of disturbance) *in situ* pyre burials for

75. Overall, 140 grams of burned bone were recovered from this precinct ranging in color from the fully calcined (white) cranial, cervical and long bone fragments to the black vertebrae.

76. STOJANOWSKI et al. 2002.

77. STINER, KUHN, WEINER et al. 1995.

78. WAHL 2008, 149.

which 529 grams is reported, or to urn cremations where the mean weight ranges between 300–1600 g (Tab. 1 and overview above). Instead, the mean quantity of burned bone at Voulokalyva corresponds to the lowest values known from archaeological contexts of the EIA in Greece, resembling the pyres from Lefkandi.

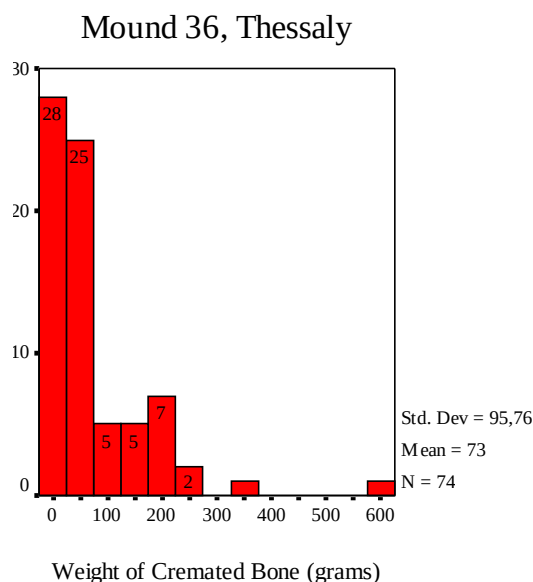


Fig. 8. Distribution of the weight of cremated bone (number of cases) in the precincts.

Remarkably, the quantity of burned bone from most, but not all of the pyres from Voulokalyva, corresponds to what is attested for cremation areas (ustrine) from Central Europe, which bear all the evidence of *in situ* pyres but contain tiny fragments of burned bone.⁷⁹ This similarity becomes apparent upon closer examination of the pattern of distribution of the weight, which demonstrates that the majority of precincts (55/74 or 74 %) contain less than 100 grams of bone (29 grams on average), while one fourth of the precincts (19/74 or 26 %) contain 201 grams on average. It is noteworthy that the latter originate from precincts with dimensions of a pyre “typical” for an adult, or from precincts in which the cremated bone and ash appear to be constrained within an area delimited by a broken vessel, while indications of *in situ* cremation appear to be absent. It is striking that a similar distribution of weights has been noted for Lefkandi but not for Torone where only 31.7 % of the urns weighed less than 100 grams.⁸⁰

Furthermore, a clear correlation between the weight of

burned bone and the length of the precincts is apparent (Tab. 3, Fig. 9). Given the temporal decrease in size of the precincts, it is probably not surprising that the average weight per precinct also follows a temporal trend, although not as unequivocal (Tab. 4, Fig. 10).

Weight of Cremated Bone

Length of precinct (m)	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
0.1–1.00	46.9	10	64.6
1.01–2.00	63.8	49	97.4
2.01–3.00	121.3	12	105.1
3.01–5.00	185.0	1	
Total	73.2	74	95.8

Tab. 3. Correlation between the length of the precinct and the weight of cremated bone.

Weight of Cremated Bone

Chronology	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
SPG II	114.2	2	87.1
SPG III	81.7	23	75.3
LG	133.0	18	149.3
Archaic	26.4	16	31.5
Total	83.5	59	103.8

Tab. 4. Correlation between the chronological period and the mean weight of cremated bone.

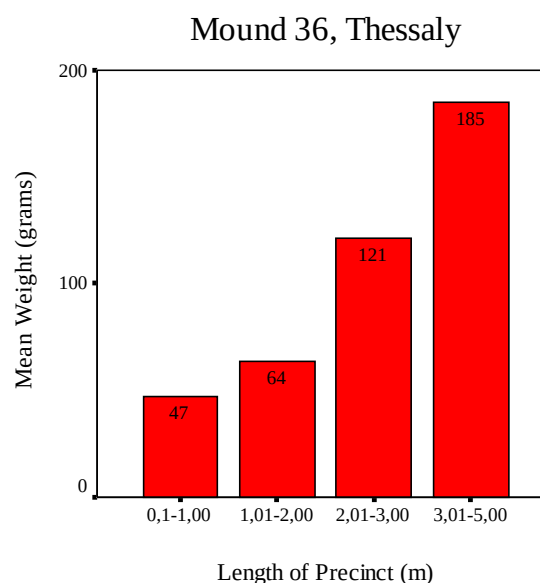


Fig. 9. Mean weight per precinct in relation to the length of precinct.

⁷⁹ KEILING 1962.

⁸⁰ Musgrave (MUSGRAVE 1980, 443) notes that 77 % of the Lefkandi cremations weighed less than 50 g. – For Torone: MUSGRAVE 2005, 246.

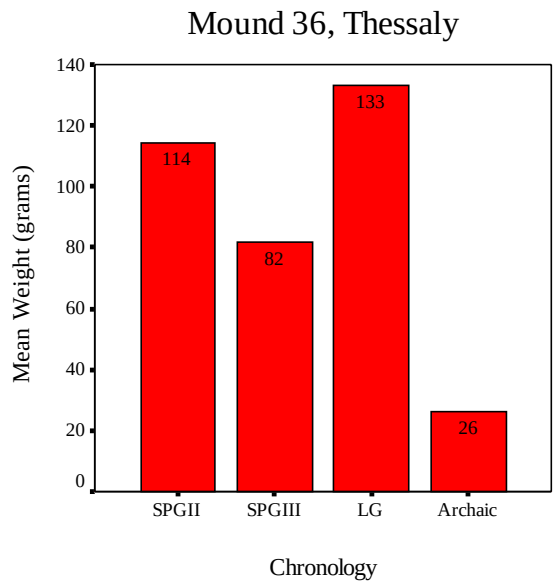


Fig. 10. Mean weight per precinct in relation to chronology.

Maximum Fragment Size

The average maximum fragment size (MFS) at Voulokalyva is 47 mm with a range of 3.6–84 mm (Fig. 11). Following the pattern of weight, the fragment size is larger in the larger precincts (Tab. 5, Fig. 12) while it decreases temporally (Tab. 6, Fig. 13). This latter fact is a remarkable observation given that it is the reverse to what would be expected if fragmentation was the result of weathering, including trampling due to herding and cultivation. As noted above, experimental archaeology has shown that fragmen-

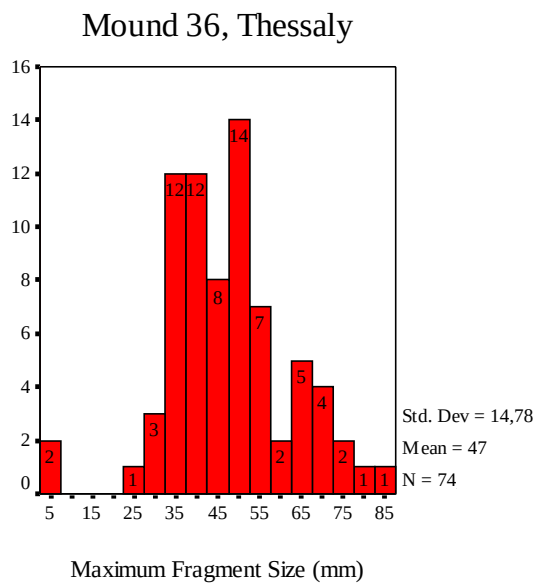


Fig. 11. Distribution of the maximum fragment size per precinct (nr of cases).

tation due to firing, unlike that due to weathering and fossilization, takes place immediately after burning, “within the same time frame as human activities at a site”.⁸¹ The pattern of fragmentation at Voulokalyva, therefore, reflects activities on the mound during the immediate period of its use, or/and rituals related to the formation of the burned bone assemblages in the precincts.

It is rather interesting that in this parameter as well, the cremated bones from Voulokalyva resemble the pyres from Lefkandi, in which the mean maximum fragment is 49.8 mm.⁸² In both sites the MFS is much smaller than that of urned bone from diverse sites, which ranges between 70–90 mm on average.⁸³ Initially, the small size of the cremated bones from the pyres of Lekandi was attributed to “deliberate pounding by the mourners to reduce all the bones to a uniform and convenient size” as in modern crematoria⁸⁴ – although these bones were found in pyres rather than urns. In contrast, the bones from the exceptional three intact urns from Lefkandi were much larger than those from the pyres, averaging 93 mm. In later publications this view was revised and the effects of disturbance were considered.⁸⁵ Of note, the practice of pounding in modern crematoria produces tiny fragments of bone in the scale of 10–20 mm,⁸⁶ a size that is considerably smaller than that recorded from diverse archaeological contexts in Greece.

Maximum Fragment Size

Length of precinct (m)	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
0.1–1.00	45.6	10	16.7
1.01–2.00	45.0	49	12.3
2.01–3.00	55.4	12	20.8
3.01–5.00	66.0	1	.
Total	47.2	74	14.8

Tab. 5. Correlation between the length of precincts and the maximum fragment size.

81. STINER, KUHN, WEINER et al. 1995, 230.

82. MUSGRAVE 1980.

83. The average MFS for the 60 urns from Torone is deceiving. As noted by MUSGRAVE 2005, 248 and graph A/4, the undisturbed fragments at Torone were on average much larger than those from disturbed urns.

84. MUSGRAVE 1980, 443.

85. MUSGRAVE 2005, 248.

86. BONTRAGER, NAWROCKI 2008, tab. 13/3.

Maximum Fragment Size

Chronology	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
SPG II	77.0	2	9.9
SPG III	50.5	23	16.1
LG	49.8	18	17.0
Archaic	42.6	16	9.8
Total	49.0	59	15.8

Tab. 6. Correlation between the chronological period and the maximum fragment size.

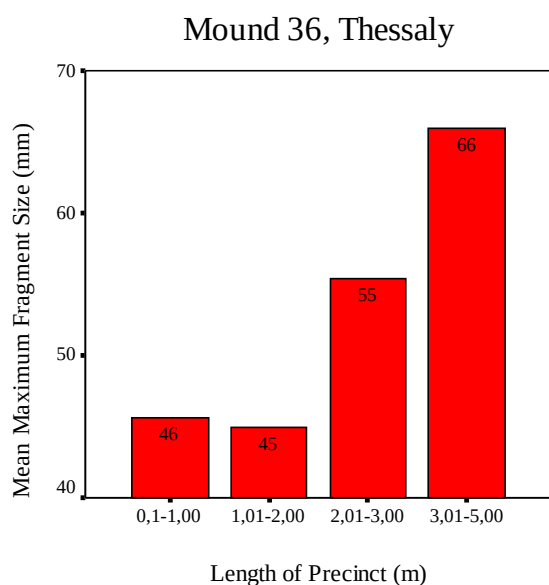


Fig. 12. Mean maximum fragment size in relation to length of precinct.

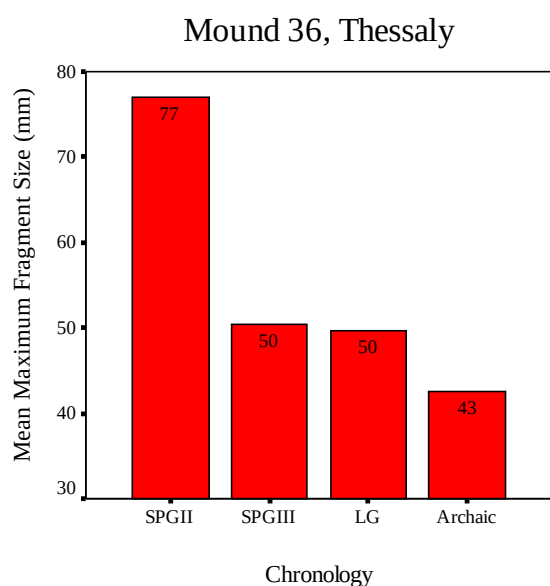


Fig. 13. Mean maximum fragment size in relation to chronology.

Color (grades of combustion)

The majority of cremated bone at Voulokalyva is fully calcined (white) at least on the outer surface but frequently also on the inner surface, suggesting that many bones reached temperatures above 700°C⁸⁷ (Fig. 14).

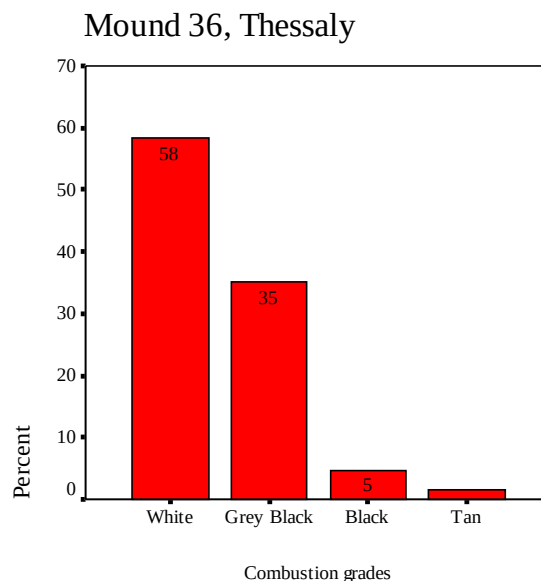


Fig. 14. Representation of the different grades of combustion among the burned skeletal fragments.

Nonetheless, the co-occurrence of different colors within the same bone,⁸⁸ known as the “sandwich effect”,⁸⁹ is also the case at Voulokalyva (Figs. 15 a–b), as is the coexistence of different combustion grades within the same precinct reflecting the dynamic nature of the burning of a body.⁹⁰ The pattern of bone color at Voulokalyva accords with the cremation of fleshed bodies rather than of “dry” bone.⁹¹ In a few cases stark differences in color occurred among the bones from a single precinct. One such case with a rather well-preserved fully carbonised (black) vertebrae found *in*

⁸⁷ WAHL 2008, 150 and tab. 9/1.

⁸⁸ The colors that usually co-occur are grey-blue on the outer cortex and black on the diploe/spongy part and the inner tables.

⁸⁹ An effect that is due to the inward direction of bone oxidation, MCKINLEY 2008, 165.

⁹⁰ Many recent studies have demonstrated how the burning of a body is not a homogeneous process but instead is shaped by intrinsic factors related to the “tissue shielding the bone” (SYMES, RAINWATER, CHAPMAN et al. 2008, 32–35) and the thickness of the bone itself, as well as by factors linked to the form of the pyre, the quality and quantity of wood, the sufficiency of oxygen supply and time for the body to oxidize, the weather conditions including wind and rain, and the presence of biers and wrapping material (MCKINLEY 2008, 165–167).

⁹¹ BUIKSTRA, SWEGLE 1989, 252.

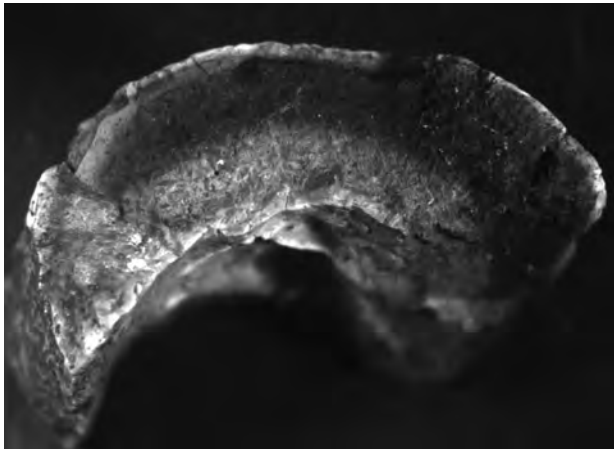


Fig. 15a and b. The co-occurrence of different colors within the same bone (the “sandwich effect”).



Fig. 16. The characteristic “checked” appearance on the surface of bones burned “fresh”.

situ among fully calcined cranial and long bone fragments was noted above and is corroborated by the presence in other precincts of incompletely cremated bones of the back of the cranium. Given that the back of the body is among the areas that are slower to burn,⁹² it is rather likely that the bodies were laid supine during the pyre.

Surface Changes (fracture pattern)

The surface of the bones bears the characteristic “checked” appearance of cracks that are perpendicular and parallel to the main axis of the bone (Fig. 16). These are produced when bones that bear a significant component of organic material, i.e. that are fresh, “green”, or fleshed, are

burned.⁹³ The warping and longitudinal cracking present on many diaphyseal fragments is also characteristic of bones that have been burned “fresh”.

Skeletal representation

The skeletal elements that are most frequent among the cremated bone from Voulokalyva principally comprise fragments of the long bones (74 %). Cranial fragments form only 17 % of the recognizable elements, while bones from the rest of the axial skeleton are minimally represented (Fig. 17) and stem mostly from the precincts with a sizeable quantity of skeletal preservation, i.e. the larger and earlier precincts. Studies on skeletal preservation in a variety of contexts have demonstrated that long bone fragments are, due to their resilience, the second most commonly preserved skeletal category after the cranial remains.⁹⁴ Moreover, surveys of secondary burial contexts have shown that the skull is the most frequently preferred element for secondary deposition.⁹⁵ In cremation contexts McKinley notes an apparent random selection of skeletal elements in deposits, with a predominance of skull fragments, whereas in burials fragments from each of the four skeletal areas are represented.⁹⁶ Liston reports that most areas of the skeleton were represented in the cremation burials at Kavousi, while both skeletal representation and weight differed significantly in the disturbed cremation contexts.⁹⁷

92. SYMES, RAINWATER, CHAPMAN et al. 2008, Fig. 2/8. – FAIRGRIEVE 2008, 47.

93. BUIKSTRA, UBELAKER 1994, 97.

94. STOJANOWSKI 2002. The larger anatomical areas such as the skull, pelvis and spine also produce many fragments due to their substantial surface area, SYMES, RAINWATER, CHAPMAN 2008, 218.

95. BELLO, ANDREWS 2006, 9.

96. MCKINLEY 2000b, 415. – MCKINLEY 2008, 173.

97. LISTON 1993, 127.

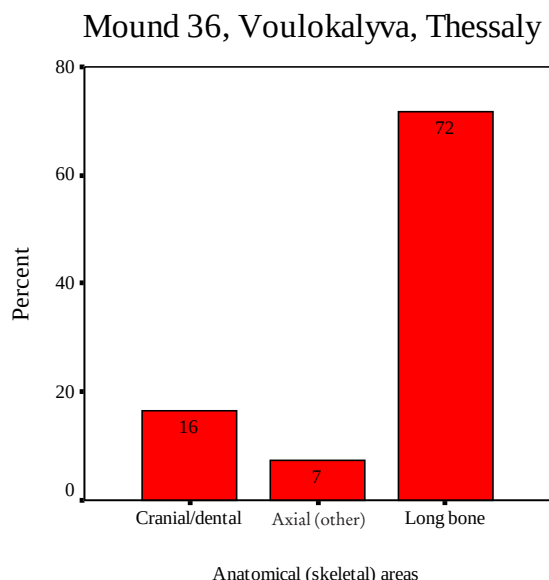


Fig. 17. The distribution of skeletal areas represented among the identifiable burned human fragments.

Furthermore, at Voulokalyva, tooth roots, commonly found in cremations, were only present in four cases, while small bones such as the carpals and tarsals, or the petrous of the temporal bone which tend to be preserved complete⁹⁸ are conspicuously absent. On the other hand, fragments of the cranium, the clavicles, ribs, spine and the pelvis were more regularly preserved in comparison to the meager preservation of phalanges (in two cases) and tooth roots. Although this could be the result of incomplete collection during the excavation it is noteworthy that phalanges and tooth roots were recovered from a single pyre from Lefkandi, occasionally from Torone, and Lower Gypsades, and more frequently from the urns at Knossos and the Kerameikos.⁹⁹

Age-at-death

The majority of the cremated skeletal remains from Mound 36 appear to belong to adults, although a few bones from infants and children were recovered from six precincts among the remains of adolescents/young adults. In total 2 infants, 4 children, 3 adolescents/young adults, 17 probable young adults (based on the presence of completely open sutural fragments), 2 possible middle adults (based on the more advanced suture closure and the occurrence of degenerative changes to the spine), and 52 adults were identified in the 74 precincts with cremated bones, assuming that each

precinct reflects a distinct non-overlapping context. The sex of the adults could only be speculated upon in a few cases based on the overall robusticity of bone fragments, which suggests the presence of both sexes in the assemblage. A preponderance of young adult females among the cremated remains has been noted for the LH IIIC at Elateia and the PG at Kerameikos, while in the latter, three out of the four males identified were mature adults.¹⁰⁰

The juvenile remains

Fully calcined burned infant bone fragments were identified with certainty in one of the largest central vaulted structures (ΘK2) of the SPG II and include scapular, rib and cranial fragments (Fig. 18). Based on the approximated size of the scapula these appear to belong to an infant/young child (1 to 2 years of age).¹⁰¹ The infant remains were found among the fully calcined bones of an adolescent/young adult who bears striking in terms of preservation and expression, traces of anemic episodes during growth in the form of *cribra orbitalia* (Fig. 19). Single fragments of infant bones appear to have been present in two further precincts (27, 86). Moreover, fully cremated remains of older children and early adolescents (approximately 10–15 years of age) were found in three precincts (86, 96 and 97a) as indicated by the occurrence of pelvic (iliac) fragments with completely open or incompletely fused iliac crests.¹⁰²



Fig. 18. Vaulted Structure 2 (SPG II): Cremated infant remains.

⁹⁸ WAHL 2008, 148. – MCKINLEY 2000b, 405, 412.

⁹⁹ MUSGRAVE 2005, 248. – MUSGRAVE 1996, 687. – CALLAGHAN, COLDSTREAM, MUSGRAVE 1981, 162. – BREITINGER 1939, 258. – LAGIA 2007, 276.

¹⁰⁰ BREITINGER 1939, 260.

¹⁰¹ SCHEUER BLACK 2000, 271 and tab. 8/6.

¹⁰² SCHEUER AND BLACK 2000, 365.

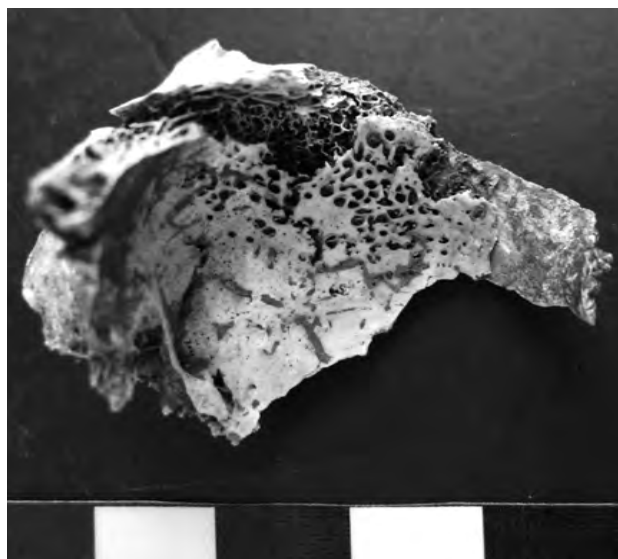


Fig. 19. Vaulted Structure 2: *Cribra orbital* on the fully calcined orbit of an adolescent (?).

The meager presence, or complete absence, of juveniles among the cremations analyzed so far in Greece appears to be the norm. Infants and children have been reported in small numbers for LM IIIC at Kritsa Mirabelou in Eastern Crete,¹⁰³ and the EIA at Lefkandi, Torone, and Lower Gypsades.¹⁰⁴ They were completely absent from the 74 urns from Knossos North Cemetery and the Kerameikos PG amphorae despite the application of sieving of the urn contents in the latter site and the exceptional preservation of small bones and teeth in both sites.¹⁰⁵ The impressive inclusion of 10 fetal and 14 infant (0–2 years) remains in addition to 14 children aged between 3–11 years which were reported for the Kavousi cremations, forming 27.8 % of juveniles out of the 144 individuals analyzed, was partially attributed to the employment of water sieving during excavation.¹⁰⁶

Double Cremations or “displaced” bones

No sound evidence exists for the presence of more than one adult in a precinct as no duplication of mature skeletal elements was observed. The occurrence of a two-tiered cremation in precinct 79 (see discussion on context above) suggests, however, that at least once a precinct was used for two

consecutive cremations. Nonetheless, juvenile remains were found sporadically only among more mature remains. The presence of an adolescent in precinct 104, besides a mature adult (based on the presence of degenerative vertebral lesions), is surmised from the find of a single skeletal element (a rib sternal end). Similarly, the recovery of a few bones of infants and children among the more abundant remains of more mature individuals either in adolescence or young adulthood, often in a similar degree of combustion, points to their simultaneous cremation in a single pyre. This situation is known from a number of sites in Europe, while in Greece the preservation of fetal or infant remains with the “mother” is known from the LH IIIC at Elateia, the PG Agora, Torone, and Lower Gypsades, as well as from later periods.¹⁰⁷

Pathology

The most recurring lesion in seven precincts was the presence of porosity on cranial fragments of adolescents and adults and one impressive case of *cribra orbitalia* as already mentioned. In a similar number of cases there were signs of periosteal reactions noted on adult long bone fragments. All these lesions are generally associated with the occurrence of episodes of under-nutrition, infection, or of other forms of stress during development, or before death, and can be used to reflect the state of health of a population.¹⁰⁸ Finally, degenerative changes were found on the cervical and thoracic vertebrae of a mature adult (104). Although the development of osteophytosis in the spine is an age-progressive phenomenon and is typically found in individuals over the age of 30 years, it can also be the result of cumulative and repetitive motions and can thus mirror the lifestyle and working habits in a population.¹⁰⁹

4. Discussion

The analysis of the cremations from the EIA Mound 36 from Voulokalyva in Thessaly has demonstrated the complexities involved in the understanding of multifaceted funerary contexts with significant chronological components. We have presented comparative evidence from several LH IIIC and EIA cremation sites in Greece for which anthropological information is available, allowing for correlations between mortuary and osseous characteristics to emerge and indications concerning the mortuary practice

¹⁰³ TSIPOPOULOU, LITTLE 2001, 87–90.

¹⁰⁴ Lefkandi: 7 out of the 71 individuals, MUSGRAVE 1980, 439. – Lower Gypsades: 1 from the 11 urns, CALLAGHAN, COLDSTREAM, MUSGRAVE 1981, 162. – Torone: 5 out of 107 urns. – MUSGRAVE 2005, 251.

¹⁰⁵ MUSGRAVE 1996, 680. – BREITINGER 1939 – LAGIA 2007.

¹⁰⁶ LISTON 1993, 99–104 and tab. 5/5.

¹⁰⁷ MCKINLEY 2006, 85. – DEGER-JALKOTZY this volume. – LISTON, PAPADOPOULOS 2004. – MUSGRAVE 2005, 250. – MUSGRAVE 1990. – CALLAGHAN, COLDSTREAM, MUSGRAVE 1981, 162.

¹⁰⁸ DEWITTE, WOODS 2008, 1439.

¹⁰⁹ GOODMAN, MARTIN 2002, 41–44.

to transpire. It has been shown how primary cremation areas, which also served as burials, bear distinct characteristics from pyres and secondary depositions, such as urned and unurned contexts, or ash dumps. These were compared to respective evidence from Voulokalyva.

Attention was drawn to the small quantity and quality of burned human bone on average in Mound 36 in comparison to archaeological and forensic contexts in which intact or incompletely recovered cremation burials and urns were found. A finer assessment of the characteristics of the burned bones (weight distribution and maximum fragment size) in relation to contextual evidence concerning the length and temporal arrangement of the precincts, in addition to the presence of *in situ* firing, suggests the occurrence of diverse funerary contexts in the mound. The impressive temporal trend, according to which the larger bone fragments were found in the earlier precincts rather than in the later ones, accords well with micromorphological studies which demonstrate that the fragmentation pattern of cremated bone takes place immediately after the cremation event and reflects activities at a site that followed the cremation process rather than accumulated with time, as is the case in weathering and fossilization.¹¹⁰ Even so the effects of weathering, including trampling and cultivation may exacerbate fragmentation. This evidence clearly suggests that taphonomic factors, including incomplete collection during excavation, do not suffice to account for the small quantity of burned human bone on the mound. Instead, factors related to the cremation process and rituals leading to the formation of the bone assemblages and the diverse contexts on the mound need to be called upon to explain their void.

The majority of the precincts (74 %) contained minimal amounts of burned bone, 29 g on average, a quantity that is known from pyres that did not serve as the place of burial, from ash-dumps and from urns at the lower end of the spectrum in urn cemeteries. This quantity of bone along with ash was principally, although not exclusively, found in pits with smaller dimensions and in urns within the precincts. The inconsistent evidence for *in situ* firing in the precincts and the occurrence of small quantities of burned bone and ash, not only in urns or ash dumps within the precincts but also in limited areas within the precincts, perhaps corresponding to the delineation of broken vessels, strongly points to the occurrence of different contexts with cremated bone on the mound.

Furthermore, 26 % of the precincts contained larger quantities of burned human bone which averaged 201 g (ranging between 100–591 g). These were mainly found in

precincts with dimensions that could have accommodated a human body but also in precincts in which the ash and burned bone appear to be limited within the area of a broken vessel, while evidence of *in situ* cremation is lacking. Given that a clear temporal trend in the size of precincts on the mound has been noted, the correlation between chronology, size and quantity of burned bone is probably not surprising but points to a differentiation in the use of the mound through time. The occurrence in an earlier precinct of at least a single case, of well-preserved burned bones of the spine in anatomical order *in situ* among large logs of charred wood, clearly indicates the occurrence of *in situ* cremations in the mound. In addition, the find of at least a single case of intact calcined pelvic bones from the superficial layer of a well-preserved precinct with a rather complex use suggests that in certain cases the precincts also served as the site of burial.

Viewed from the broader perspective of cemeteries of the EIA in Greece in which cremation was practiced, it was noted that the mean fragment size and the quantity of burned bone at Voulokalyva, in addition to features relating to the occurrence of *in situ* firing, are impressively similar to certain pyres from Lefkandi. Although the scarcity of bone at Lefkandi was initially attributed to the aggressiveness of the soil, later chemical analyses did not support this interpretation. Instead, a complex mortuary ritual was suggested which encompassed diverse modes of disposal of the cremated remains. In both sites, albeit in vastly different numbers, inhumations coexist with the cremations.

At Voulokalyva, as opposed to the occurrence of 14 single cist graves with the well-preserved inhumations of infants and one older child, there are only a few instances of cremated infant and juvenile bones among those of more mature individuals. Adults were found both inhumed and cremated although the state of preservation of the latter allowed only a few observations to be made concerning their demography and health. Episodes of stress during development and degeneration due to ageing and perhaps lifestyle were noted both among the cremated as well as among the inhumed remains.

5. Conclusions¹¹¹

The uninterrupted use of Mound 36 for more than two centuries and the great variation of its contexts raise

¹¹⁰ STINER, KUHN, WEINER et al. 1995.

¹¹¹ Acknowledgements: We would like to thank Dr. T. Karkanis for sharing his expertise on the taphonomic behavior of burned bone, and Dr. S. Fox, director of the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for permitting the use of micro-photographic equipment during analysis.

the question of whether the mound played a role that extended beyond mortuary practices. For a number of years anthropologists have reflected on the meaning of mortuary rituals, their political, economic, metaphysical dimensions, and the occurrence of beliefs concerning the presence of a soul and ancestral cult.¹¹² The evidence from the mound of Voulokalyva suggests that the relationship with the dead was much more complex than originally believed and was clearly not completed with the transformation of the body either through cremation or inhumation. Why would the living practice elaborate rituals with grave goods and offering tables if they did not believe that in some way their ancestors “exist” and “participate”?¹¹³ The occurrence on the mound of rituals that encompass the cremation of human and animal remains, removal and secondary disposal of the remains, offering tables, funerary feasts, as well as the firing of metal and ceramic objects without further removal, reveal the presence of complex mortuary practices and extended rituals that went beyond the cremation and inhumation of the dead. The diachronic use of the mound suggests that the ancestral cult and its many aspects endured for an extended time within a period characterized by great sociopolitical changes.

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Cremation burials in the Mycenaean cemetery of Elateia-Alonaki in Central Greece

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy

Zusammenfassung

BRANDBESTATTUNGEN IN DER MYKENISCHEN NEKROPOLIS VON ELATEIA-ALONAKI IN MITTELGRIECHENLAND. In der Kammergrabnekropole von Elateia-Alonaki wurden etwa 2000 Erdbestattungen, aber nur 23 Brandbestattungen nachgewiesen, was einem Anteil von weniger als 2 % entspricht. Die Nekropole war von der Phase SH IIIA 1 bis in frühprotogeometrische Zeit in Benutzung (ca. 1400 bis zum frühen 10. Jh. v. Chr.). Brandbestattung wurde nur am Übergang von der Spätbronzezeit zur Frühen Eisenzeit praktiziert. Die ältesten Brandbestattungen datieren in die Phase SH IIIC Spät, die jüngsten in die frühprotogeometrische Zeit. Nur drei Brandbestattungen waren in Urnen deponiert, die übrigen befanden sich auf dem Boden der Grabkammern. Verbrannt wurden Frauen, Männer, Jugendliche und Kinder, wobei deutlich mehr Frauen als Männer anthropologisch nachgewiesen werden konnten. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen drei Doppelbestattungen von Frauen mit Kleinkindern. Die Sitte der Brandbestattung wurde vielleicht von einer neuen Bevölkerungsgruppe in Elateia eingeführt.

Abstract

In the Mycenaean chamber tomb cemetery of Elateia-Alonaki ca. 2000 inhumations and only 23 cremation burials were found. This corresponds to a ratio of less than 2 % for the cremations. The cemetery was in use from LH IIIA 1 to the Early Protogeometric period (ca. 1400 to the early 10th century BC). The practice of cremation was confined to the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The earliest cremation burials date to LH IIIC Late, the latest to the Early Protogeometric period.

Only three cremations were contained in ash-urns. Otherwise cremation burials were deposited on the floors of the chamber tombs. The cremations were of women, men, juveniles and children. The anthropological analysis was able to show that much more women than men were cremated. Three double cremations each consisting of a woman and a small child are especially remarkable. The introduction of cremation as burial practice in Elateia is possibly connected to the arrival of a new population group.

The village of Elateia is situated in a plain along the upper valley of the Boeotian River Kephissos in the modern province of Phthiotis (Fig. 1). Approximately 6 kms north of the village the foothills of the Kallidromos Mountains slope down to the plain. A Mycenaean cemetery was discovered in 1986 on a slope called Alonaki. Salvage excavations by the 14th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Lamia under the direction of Phanouria Dakoronia conducted until 1987 brought 22 Mycenaean chamber-tombs to light. Subsequently a further 61 of these tombs and eight Roman graves were excavated between 1988 and 1991 under a joint project of the Ephorate at Lamia and the Institute of Ancient History at the University of Salzburg. The Austrian excavation team included the physical anthropologists Egon Reuer and Susanne Fabrizii-Reuer, to whom all anthropological data are owed. Moreover, S. Fabrizii-Reuer provided the details of the cremation technique referred to in this article.¹

1. The present article is an English summary – augmented by some further evidence – of DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002.

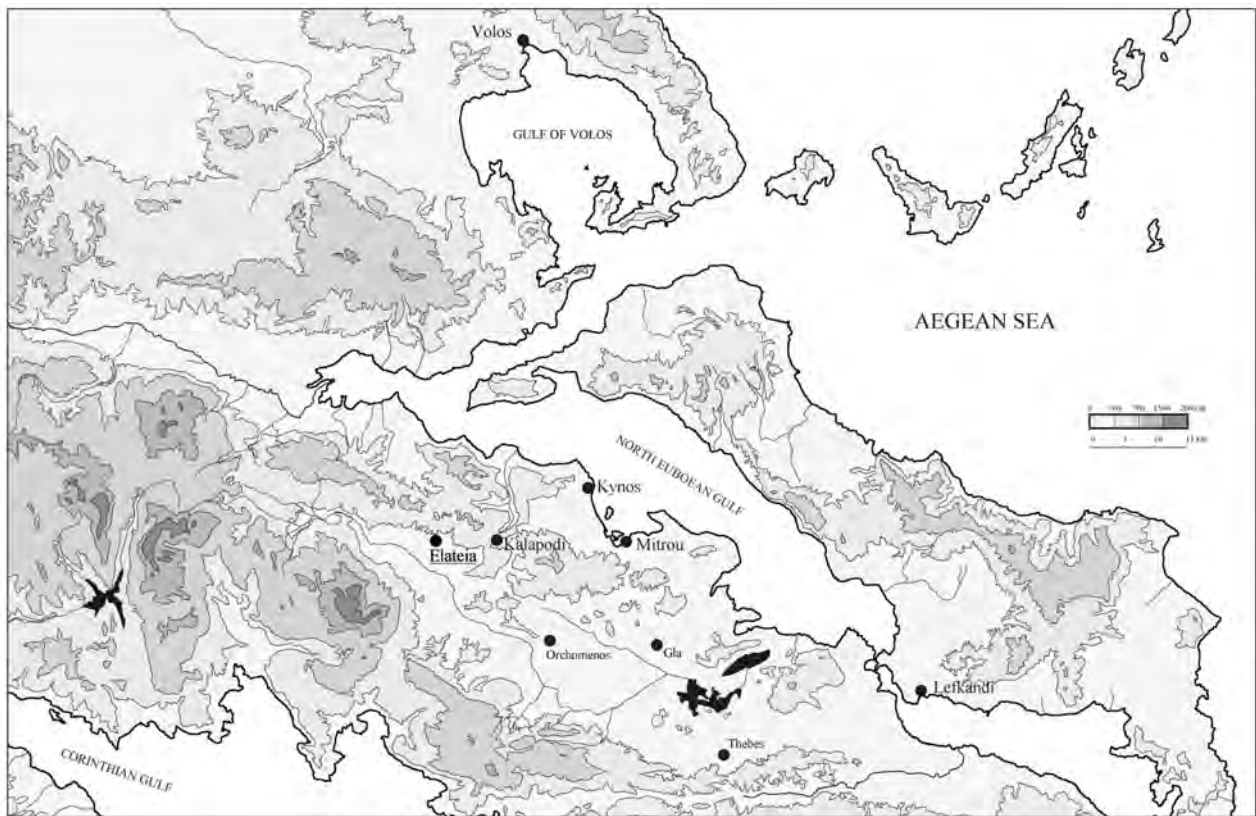


Fig. 1. The general area of Elateia and adjacent regions. (After Lis 2009, Fig. 1).

Of the 61 Mycenaean chamber-tombs excavated by the Greek-Austrian project 12 had been already destroyed in antiquity. The remaining 49 tombs contained the skeletal remains of 2.000 individuals, 23 of which were cremated.

2000 inhumations as opposed to 23 cremations, or a ratio of far less than 2 %, clearly suggest that cremation was not the usual form of burial in Elateia. This can also be concluded from the observation that the combustion temperature was mainly between 600 and 800 degrees centigrade, which is comparatively low. In order to cremate the corpse of an adult person at least three cubic metres of wood, dried for two years and then held in stock for another three years, was required.² Apparently such material was not used in Elateia although sufficient wood would have been available from the Kallidromos Mountains. This suggests that this procedure was not practised in Elateia.

The chronology of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery ranges from ca. 1400 BC to the end of the late 11th and the early 10th centuries BC (Late Helladic IIIA 1 to Early Protoegeometric). Some chamber-tombs were even used as late as the 9th century. Most of the tombs were used throughout many

generations.³ The dead bodies were deposited on the floors of the chambers. When no space was left for new interments, the remains of earlier burials, including the burial gifts, were pushed aside to the walls and corners of the chambers, or deposited in pits dug into the floors of the chambers and dromoi.⁴

In contrast to the long-lasting use of the cemetery, the practice of cremation was confined to the transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in Greece, i.e. to the 11th and perhaps the early 10th centuries BC (Fig. 2). It seems to have begun in LH IIIC Late, its height being reached during the Submycenaean period. A few cremations can be dated to Early Protoegeometric.⁵ Cremations were only deposited in the chambers, both on the floor and in pits. No cremation was found in a dromos pit. Only three cremations were contained in ash-urns. They were of an Early Protoegeometric date. Otherwise crema-

2. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 147. – After GRUPE, HERRMANN 1983.

3. On the chronology of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery see e.g. DEGER-JALKOTZY 2007, 143–145.

4. DEGER-JALKOTZY, 2007.

5. The chronology of the cremation burials has been treated in depth in DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002. – See also DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, 84, 96 f.

Elateia - Alonaki: Chronology of Cremation Burials
(After Dakoronia – Deger-Jalkotzy – Fabrizio-Reuer 2002)

Tomb nr.	LH IIIC Late	Submycen.	Early PG
T. XCI	X		
T. XXXII	X	X	
T. XXXIII		X	
T. LXII		X	
T. LXIV		X	
T. XXXVIII			X
T. XLIV		X	X

Fig. 2. Elateia-Alonaki: Chronology of burial cremations. (after DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002).

tions were not placed in any container but were simply deposited on the floors or in the pits of a chamber.

I would now like to concentrate on three tombs where cremation burials were discovered (T. XXXVIII/88, T. XLIV/89 and T. LXII/90). The roof of T. LXII had collapsed, the other two were found intact.

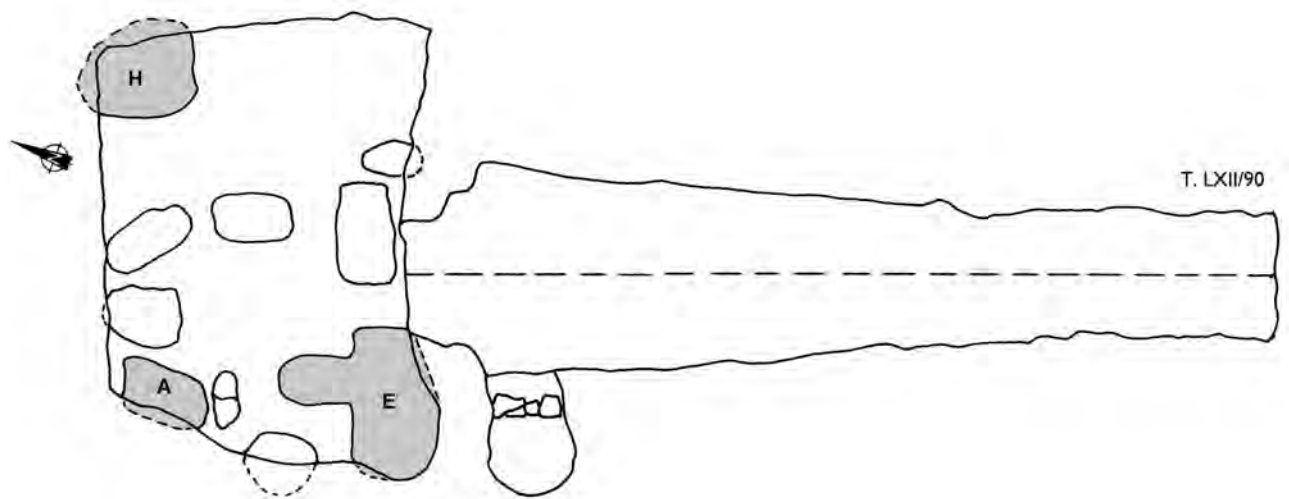


Fig. 3. T. LXII/90: Plan with floor pits (Courtesy Ph. Dakoronia and team. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

Tomb LXII/90 (Fig. 3)

This is one of the largest and richest tombs excavated at Elateia.⁶ It was used for more than 300 years, i.e. from LH IIIA1 to Submycenaean, and contained the remains

of 134 individuals. As already mentioned, the roof of the chamber had collapsed. In the debris above the chamber floor a considerable amount of Hellenistic/Roman material was found. Thus it is not surprising that the LBA burials on the floor had not remained undisturbed.

However, in the north-western part of the chamber one burial group was found *in situ*, and this group pertains to the present discussion. Three skeletons in an extremely contracted position were piled on top of one another (Fig. 4). Two cremations of a woman aged between 20 and 25 years and of a child of 2.5 years at the most were found among them. According to the typology of the burial vases and the finger-rings connected with this group, the five individuals had all been deposited at the beginning of the Submycenaean period.⁷

Further cremations were found in three of the 10 floor pits which were situated near the walls of the chamber. Pit Alpha was discovered in the NW corner directly beneath the aforementioned burial group, Pit Epsilon was found in the SW corner and Pit Eta in the NE corner (Fig. 3). In other tombs, too, pits with cremations were situated near the chamber walls. Thus it may be imagined that the deposit of cremations followed a certain pattern. At this point it has to be pointed out that in T. LXII not a single fragment of

cremated bones, deposited in a pit, was found on the floor. The same is true of all the other tombs where cremations have so far been found. Thus, in contrast to the habit of transferring skeletal remains of inhumations to secondary

6. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 141–145. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, 79–81, 83 f.

7. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 141. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, 79 f.

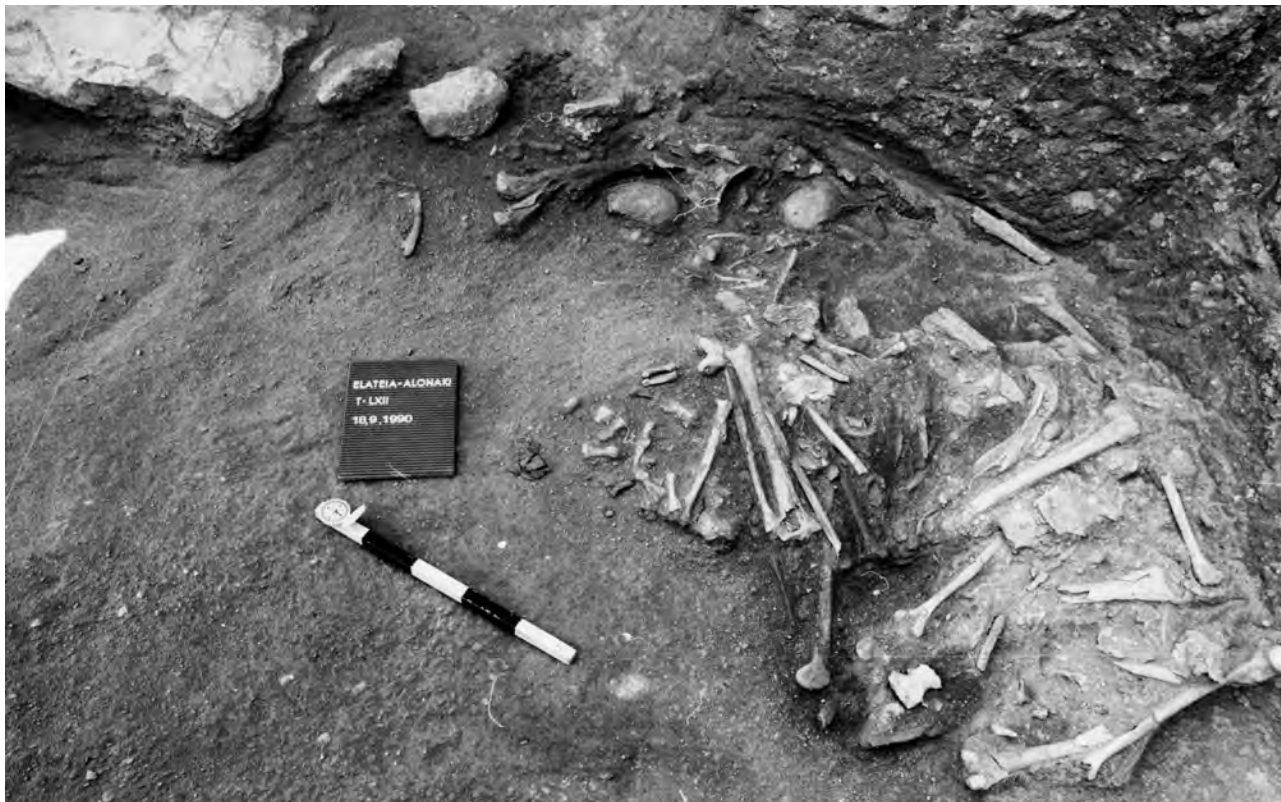


Fig. 4. T. LXII/90: Burial group in NW corner of the chamber (Photo: E. Alram-Stern. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

positions (see above) there is no evidence that cremations were first deposited on the floor and later transferred to a pit. Therefore cremations found in pits may be viewed as primary burials, even if the skeletal remains deposited in the same pit had been transferred from some other location in the tomb. It may have been for this reason that the pits situated near the walls of the chamber were favoured for the deposit of cremations.

Pit A which was situated in the north-western corner of T. LXII contained the skeletal remains of seven individuals and two cremations. As in the case of the burial group on top of this pit (see above), the cremations were those of a woman aged between 20 and 25 years and of an approximately 12 month old baby. The only vase found in Pit A can be dated to LH IIIC Late while the finger-rings were of Submycenaean type. Otherwise, the burial gifts can be dated to the 13th and 12th centuries BC.⁸ We have argued further above that the cremations deposited in pits should be regarded as primary burials. Under these premises the cremations of Pit A in T. LXII should be synchronized with the latest burial gifts found in the pit dated to LH IIIC Late/Submycenaean.

Moreover, based on the evidence from the pottery and bronze objects the cremations in Pit A and the cremations connected with the burial group on the floor above the pit appear to have been deposited at about the same time or at least soon after one another: the burial vases connected with both groups can be dated to LH IIIC Late / Submycenaean or, in other words, to an early phase of the Submycenaean period.⁹

The contents of Pit H in the NE corner of the tomb are very similar to those of Pit A. Apart from the skeletal remains of 19 individuals there were the cremated bones of a woman aged between 20 and 25 years. The pottery is mainly LH IIIC Middle and Late, but two vases exhibit the stylistic features of Submycenaean and as in Pit A there were finger-rings of Submycenaean types. As in the case of Pit A, it may be suggested that the cremation burial was one of the latest deposits of Pit H dating to the Submycenaean.¹⁰

The large Pit E contained the skeletal remains of 40 individuals and the cremated remains of a woman aged 20. The chronology of the burial gifts ranges from LH IIIA1

8. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 141. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, 83.

9. DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, 83.

10. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 141. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, 83 f.

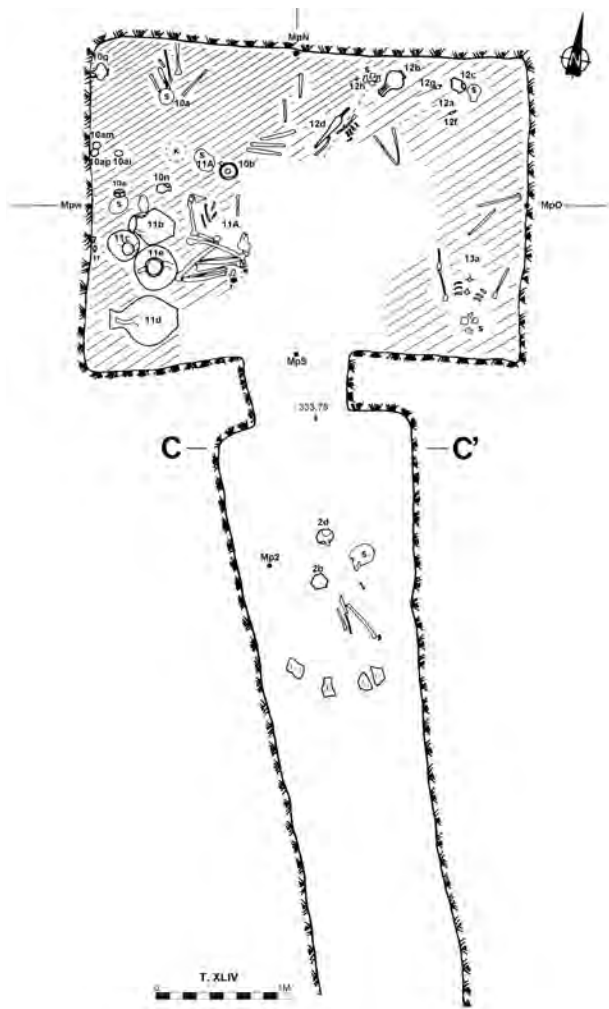


Fig. 5. T. XLIV/89: Plan and finds (Drawings: E. Alram-Stern and team, E. Held. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

(14th century BC) to Submycenaean. Assuming that the cremation burial was found *in situ* it may be suggested again that the cremation was deposited about the same time when the latest secondary burials of skeletal remains took place in Pit E. Under these premises the date was Submycenaean again.¹¹

Summing up T. LXII contained the remains of 134 individuals. Among them there were 6 cremations, 4 of which were of adult women and two of infants. A double cremation (woman and child) deposited on the floor of the tomb was mixed with the remains of three extremely contracted skeletons piled on top of one another. All of them can be dated to the earlier part of the Submycenaean period. The same chronology may be assigned to the cremated remains (two women and another woman-and-child double burial) found in three floor pits.

11. DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 141.

Tomb XLIV/89 (Fig. 5)

This tomb was larger than the average tombs in Elateia-Alonaki but still smaller than T. LXII.¹² The chamber was of a neat rectangular shape, the angle between the dromos and the entrance of the tomb was slightly oblique. The tomb had no pits.

The earliest finds can be dated to LH IIIC Middle/Advanced. Since there were no pits in the floor it is likely that the tomb was cut at that time.

A post-Mycenaean burial was found in the dromos. It may have been surrounded by a stone enclosure. The skeleton of a woman was accompanied by two Geometric cups dating the burial to the later part of the 9th century BC.¹³

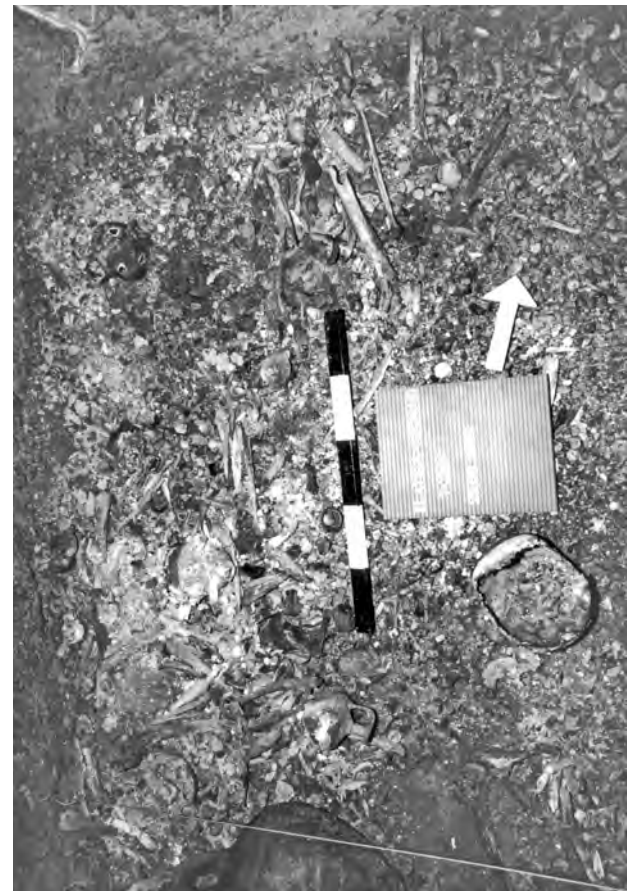


Fig. 6. T. XLIV/89: Burial group in NW corner of the chamber (Photo: E. Alram-Stern. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

12. On T. XLIV/89 see also DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 197 f. – DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 146.

13. DEGER-JALKOTZY in press.

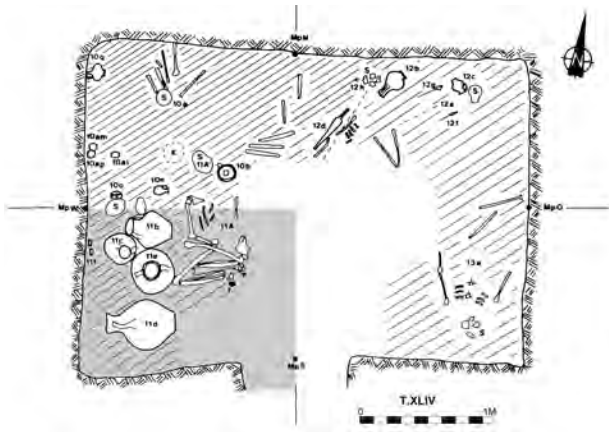


Fig. 7. T. XLIV/89: Burial group in SW corner of the chamber (Drawings: E. Alram-Stern and team, E. Held. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

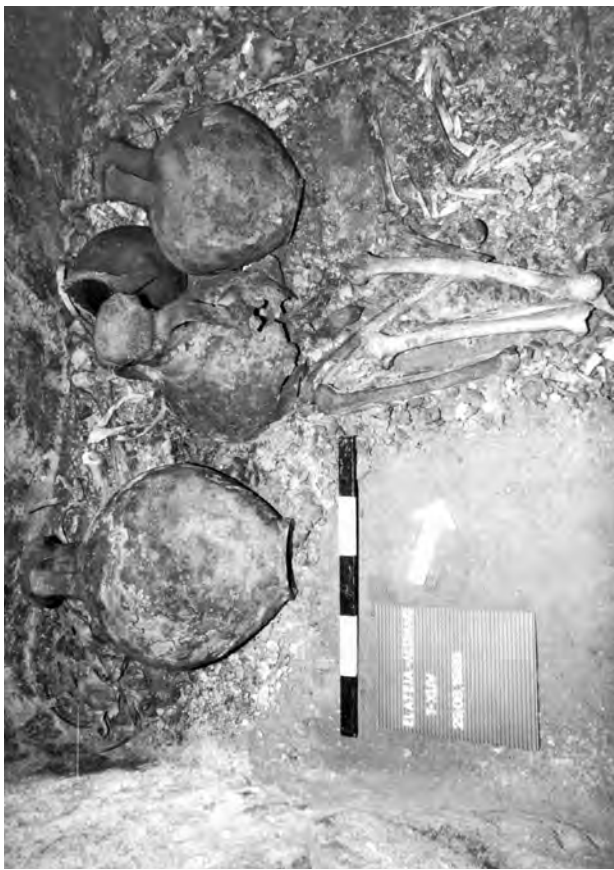


Fig. 8. T. XLIV/89: Burial group in SW corner of the chamber (Photo: E. Alram-Stern. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

The floor of the chamber was densely covered with the remains of 21 individuals, 15 of those had been buried in the north-western part of the chamber. Many corpses had been deposited one above another in an extremely contracted position (Fig. 6). Among the skeletal remains there were the

burnt bones of an approximately one year old child. The cremation had simply been deposited on the floor without any container. The combination of cremation and heavily contracted interments resembles that of the assemblage in the NW corner of T. LXII (see above). The date of the pottery found in the NW part of the chamber ranges from LH IIIC Middle to Submycenaean. The majority of the pottery connected with the human remains found in the north-western part of the chamber can be assigned to LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean, and this may well have been the date of the cremation too.

In the north-eastern corner of the tomb the skeletons of a man and a woman were found deposited next to each other. They had been buried at the beginning of the Early Protogeometric period. Although the evidence from these burials is very interesting it does not pertain to the present context.¹⁴ A further skeleton found in situ in the south-eastern corner cannot be dated due to the lack of burial gifts.

The final burials of T. XLIV had been deposited in the south-western part of the chamber (Fig. 7). Next to the entrance there was the skeleton of a tall, strong man with contracted legs turned to the right. Three vessels were piled up in front of him (Fig. 8): first there was a handmade amphora, followed by a large handmade jug which served as an ash-urn.¹⁵ It contained the cremated remains of a small child (approx. one year old). The upper part of a wheel-made amphora which had been heavily damaged by fire and probably by some acid was leant against the urn. The bottom part of the vessel was missing, and there was a mark on the floor beneath it. It may be assumed that the vase had been used in connection with the cremating ceremony. The group was completed by a fourth vessel, a large wheel-made amphora, situated a little further to the south (Fig. 6). The chronology of the four vases can be established as Protogeometric.

In the vicinity of this group there was an Early Geometric cup which cannot be assigned to a particular burial. However, it was the object of the latest date found in the chamber and it may be dated slightly earlier than the two cups from the dromos burial (see above).¹⁶

14. Nevertheless, it may be mentioned that the man was equipped with a rather dingy weapon composed of two broken iron swords. The woman wore two long dress-pins, one of bronze, the other one made of iron with a globular bronze head. The burial vases consisted of a small jug for the woman and an oinochoe for the man. Cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 199.

15. For an illustration of this vessel see DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009, fig. 15/8 (right).

16. DEGER-JALKOTZY in press.

Tomb XXXVIII/88

The evidence of this tomb has already been described elsewhere.¹⁷ The tomb was found intact, the entrance blocked by a slab. The shape of the chamber was roughly circular with a convexity in the northern part of the wall. A large oblong pit, partly covered by a slab, was situated in the centre of the chamber. It contained the remains of four individuals and burial vases dated to LH IIIC Middle/Advanced. No undisturbed inhumation was found on the floor of the chamber. The remains of eight individuals were mainly scattered around the eastern part of the tomb. The pottery chronology of the vases found in this part was LH IIIC Late through Protogeometric.

The evidence of T. XXXVIII pertaining to the present topic was found immediately behind the slab which closed the stomion (entrance). There were two large vessels, an amphora and a large jug which contained what must have been the final burial deposits of the tomb (Fig. 9).

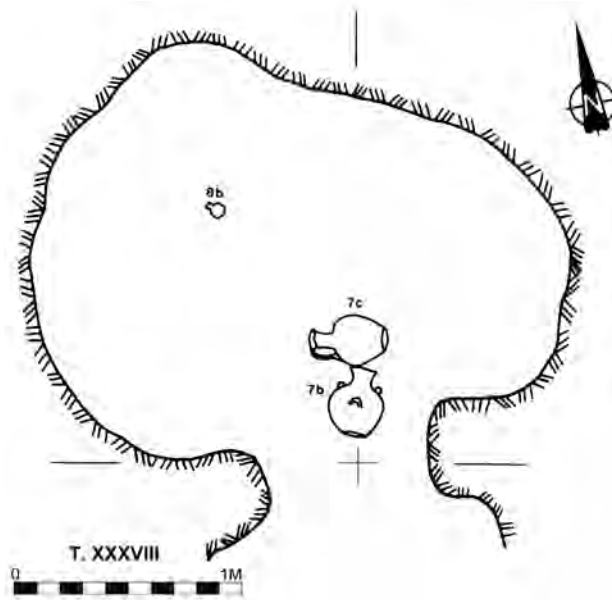


Fig. 9. T. XXXVIII/88: Uppermost burial layer in chamber (Drawings: E. Alram-Stern and team, E. Held. Digitalization: M. Frauenglas).

The amphora contained the cremated remains of a man; in the large jug were those of a woman. Based on the internal evidence of the finds from the tomb the two urns appear to have been deposited during the Protogeometric period. However, the stylistic elements of the amphora suggest that

this vessel may well have been of an earlier date.¹⁸ If this is the case then it was re-used as an ash-urn and deposited in the late 10th or in the early 9th century BC.

Summary and Discussion

As has been already stated, the percentage of cremations at Elateia was very small. There were 23 cremations as opposed to 2000 inhumations, i.e. less than 2 %.

Despite the indeterminable gender of some juveniles and children E. Reuer and S. Fabrizio-Reuer were able to prove statistically that more women were cremated than men, as well as more young individuals than old people.

The majority of the cremations were of 11 women (48 %), followed by three juveniles and seven children (43 %) and two men (9 %).

The age of the cremated individuals ranges from 7 months to 70 years. A very interesting detail is presented by three double cremations consisting each of a woman and of a small child.¹⁹ As S. Fabrizio-Reuer pointed out, the burnt remains were tightly mixed which suggests that the respective women and children were cremated together. The same is suggested by the identical colouring of the bone remains, as well as by the synchronisms of the deposits. It is very likely that we are dealing with the burials of mothers and children who had either died together or shortly after one another.²⁰ One double cremation can be dated to LH IIIC Late, the other two to the early Submycenaean period.

As has been already mentioned the cremations of LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean date were deposited without any container either on the floor or in the pits of the chambers. In contrast, the three ash-urns found in the Elateia-Alonaki tombs were deposited in the Protogeometric period: in T. XXXVIII an amphora was used for the cremated remains of a man and a large jug for those of a woman, whereas in T. XLIV a hand-made jar contained the ashes of a child. Since these are the only urns which have been found at Elateia, it is impossible to tell whether or not there was a relation between vase types and gender or age of the cremated individuals.

Within the area which has been excavated so far there has been no evidence of pyres. It may be concluded that cremations took place at the edge of the cemetery or even outside of it. Whatever burial rites may have taken place they certainly involved the cremation of the corpse on the pyre,

¹⁸ See DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 197.

¹⁹ For T. LXII/90 see above. The third instance was discovered in T. LXIII/90, see DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 146 ff.

²⁰ DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 148.

¹⁷ DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 197. – DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 138–140.

the collection of the burnt remains, their transfer to the cemetery and the deposition in the tomb. The deposition of cremations in ash-urns was a ritual which did not take place until the Early Iron Age. According to the evidence from T. XLIV it may be assumed that burial gifts such as large amphorae may have been used in the cremation ceremony.

As we have already stated, the burial rite of cremation was introduced at Elateia during the last part of the Mycenaean period and it was practised during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 1). However, many other questions arise. Why was cremation only practised during that period of time? Why were cremations so rare? Why were more women cremated than men and why more young people than old people? It is clear that most questions can only invite speculations.

However, it is remarkable that during the same span of time another deviation from the traditional burial custom at Elateia took place, namely the burial of corpses in a tightly contracted position one upon another, like parcels. Moreover, the numbers of burials in the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery then reached its height. Even pits in the chamber floors were used for primary burials. Furthermore, Submycenaean vases were deposited both on the floor and in the pits of tombs such as T. LXII. Finally, a new type of very small chamber-tombs was introduced. Therefore the conclusion itself suggests that a rise in population took place at Elateia.²¹

Is it conceivable that cremation was applied as a last resort, in cases when tombs could not be re-opened because of recent burials so that the cremated bones were kept until they could be buried in the tomb?

Another explanation for the introduction of new burial practices at the end of LH IIIC and during the Submycenaean period may be sought in the presence of a new population group. Initially, 23 cremation burials cannot be regarded as being accidental as it takes certain techniques and a certain experience to cremate a human being. Even if the number of cremations is marginal, it cannot be excluded that during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age a new population group arrived who was responsible for practising this burial rite. After all, Elateia is situated at the major crossroads in Greece from the north to the south and from the east to the west. Moreover, several new elements among the burial gifts, which made their first appearance during that same time span, such as long dress pins, special types of finger-rings, weapons and handmade vases with incised decoration, were found. They may have originated in regions where cremation, too, was an element of the spiritual culture.

However, it should be underlined again that cremation at Elateia was a short-lived and transitory phenomenon. The final cremations in the Mycenaean chamber-tombs were deposited during the Protogeometric period. Moreover, during the Early Protogeometric period the number of burials in the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery generally declined, and only a limited number of tombs were used beyond the 10th century BC. The Geometric burial in the dromos of T. XLIV is a case in point. Interestingly enough those final burials at Elateia-Alonaki were inhumations. In contrast, in other regions in Greece, such as Attica and Euboea, cremation burials rose and became the dominant burial practice during the Early Iron Age. Therefore, if the increase in burials during the Submycenaean period at Elateia was, indeed, caused by immigrants, these people did not stay for good – or, at least, not all of them stayed. Some may have moved elsewhere in the vicinity²², others certainly moved further afield. Thus the evidence from Elateia appears to represent a contribution to the discussion of population movements during the time of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Greece – not least to the movements of the famous “Dorians”.

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21. See DEGER-JALKOTZY 2009.

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Handling of death at the end of the Late Bronze Age: the case of Faia Petra, 13th c. BC, Eastern Macedonia, Greece¹

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Zusammenfassung

DER UMGANG MIT DEM TOD AM ENDE DER SPÄTBRONZEZEIT: DAS BEISPIEL VON FAIA PETRA, 13. JH. V. CHR., OSTMAKEDONIEN, GRIECHENLAND. Der Beitrag stellt das Gräberfeld von Faia Petra vor, welches zur Präfektur von Serres, Ostmakedonien, gehört und 15 km südlich der griechisch-bulgarischen Grenze liegt. Das Gräberfeld datiert an das Ende der Spätbronzezeit (1300–1200 v. Chr.) und ist hinsichtlich der Beisetzung der Verstorbenen und der Nachbegräbnisfeierlichkeiten von besonderem Interesse. Fünf mit Steineinfassungen umgebene Gruppen von Einzel- und Mehrfachbestattungen, von denen drei nahezu intakt waren, und ein Einzelgrab wurden ausgegraben. Körperbestattung war die bevorzugte Beisetzungsform für beide Geschlechter

und alle Altersklassen. Es gibt nur eine einzige Brandbestattung. Der mit dieser Bestattungsform verbundene hohe Aufwand deutet auf eine herausgehobene soziale Stellung der Verstorbenen hin. Leichenbankette, inklusive Fleischkonsum, waren Teil des Begräbnisrituals und implizieren, dass ein über die Angehörigen der Verstorbenen hinausgehender Sozialverband an den Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten beteiligt war.

Abstract

This paper presents the cemetery of Faia Petra, which is located in the prefecture of Serres, Eastern Macedonia, 15 kilometers south of the Greco-Bulgarian border. The cemetery is dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age (1300–1200 BC) and has particular importance in regard to the mode of disposal of the deceased and post-funerary activities. Five enclosed groups of single and multiple burials, of which three were almost intact, and a single grave were excavated. Inhumation was the prevalent mode of disposal for both sex groups and all age categories. A single cremation, requiring high expenditure of energy and specialized knowledge, may have been associated with special treatment of a significant member of the community perhaps of specific sex and age. Funerary meals involving consumption of meat constituted part of the primary burial ritual and arguably imply active

¹ The authors thank the organisers, Dr. Michael Lochner and Dr. Florian Ruppenstein, for the invitation to participate in the Conference and for the warm hospitality to ST in Vienna. We also thank Dr. Maria Ntinou, University of Valencia, who identified the charcoal associated with the cremation and lightly burnt bones; Dr. Yiannis Maniatis, who dated the human bone samples; and the Greek Ministry of Culture and Tourism and in particular the IHEphorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Kavala for their support in practical matters. Professor Stelios Andreou kindly clarified issues regarding LBA chronology in Macedonia. Funding for all recent radiocarbon dates was provided by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory.

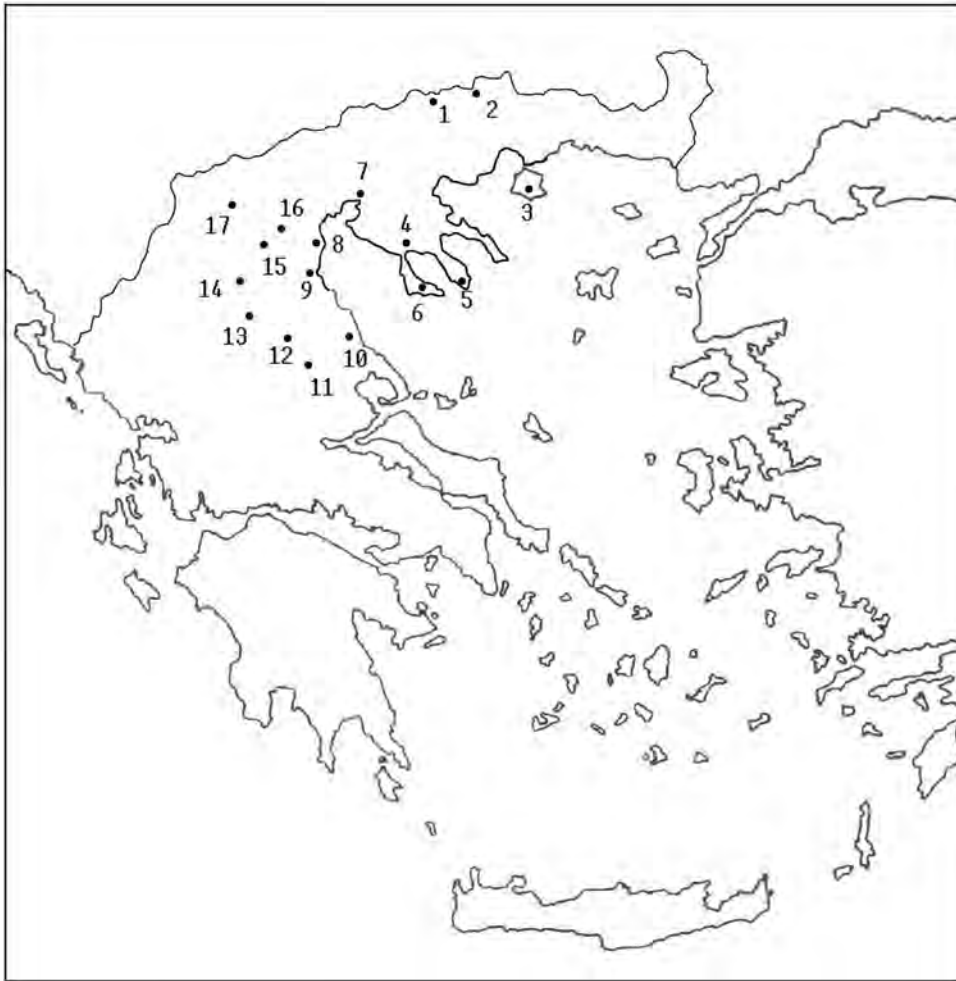


Fig. 1. Map of Greece: burial sites mentioned in the text. Key: 1. Faia Petra – 2. Exochi-Potamoi – 3. Thasos – 4. Ayios Mamas – 5. Kriaritsi – 6. Nea Skioni – 7. Toumba Thessalonikis – 8. Makriyalos – 9. Korinos – 10. Pigi Athinas – 11. Spathes – 12. Treis Elies – 13. Goules – 14. Aiani – 15. Xeropigado Koiladas – 16. Toumba Kremastis Koiladas – 17. Avgi.

participation therein of a larger social group than the close kin of the deceased.

Extramural cemeteries, mainly including inhumations, are the rule in Greek Macedonia throughout the Bronze Age, while cremations appear more frequently during the Early Iron Age. The latter practice started to appear in the Neolithic, however, either as cremations placed in clay pots *within* the settlement (as at Makriyalos in Pieria² or Goules³ and Avgi⁴ in Western Macedonia) or *outside* the settlement in the form of organized extramural cemeteries (e.g. Toumba Kremastis-Koiladas in Western Macedonia⁵) (Fig. 1). In the Early Bronze Age, both inhumation and cremation oc-

cur, but inhumation is clearly predominant in the cemeteries of Agios Mamas⁶ and Nea Skioni⁷ on Chalkidiki and in the cemeteries of Xeropigado Koiladas⁸ and Goules⁹ near Kozani. On the other hand, at Kriaritsi on the Chalkidiki peninsula, the rule is cremation in urns that were located in well organized tumuli, giving a clear emphasis on family links.¹⁰

Inhumations and cremations continue to co-occur in the Late Bronze Age at Aeani¹¹ and on the island of Thasos,¹² while

2. BESIOS, PAPPÀ 1994. – TRIANTAPHYLLOU 1996.

3. ZIOTA, HONDROYIANNI-METOKI, 1993, 36. – ZIOTA 2007.

4. STRATOULI, TRIANTAPHYLLOU, BEKIARIS et al. 2010.

5. HONDROYIANNI-METOKI 2001. – HONDROYIANNI-METOKI 2009.

6. PAPPÀ 1992.

7. TSIGARIDA, MANTAZI 2003.

8. ZIOTA 1995, 92. – ZIOTA 1998. – ZIOTA 2008.

9. ZIOTA, HONDROYIANNI-METOKI 1993. – HONDROYIANNI-METOKI 1998. – ZIOTA 2007.

10. ASOUCIDOU, MANTAZI, TSOLAKIS 1998. – ASOUCIDOU 2001.

11. KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1989. – KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1990. – KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 2000.

12. KOUKOULI 1992, 641.



Fig. 2. Part of the terrace where the LBA cemetery of Faia Petra is located, interrupted on the east by a steep gorge.

cremation predominates in the tumulus cemeteries of Exochi and Potamoi near Drama¹³ in Eastern Macedonia.¹⁴ During the Late Bronze Age, however, extramural cemeteries with inhumations appear to be the most common areas of disposal of the deceased.¹⁵ A standard funerary programme in grave type, additional furnishing equipment, burial type, position and orientation, and associated artefacts is cross-cut by the variable deposition of wealth within the cemeteries including carved seal stones, jewellery, pots and bronze weapons – often of Mycenaean type – together with artefacts of exotic material. While single burial is the rule in earlier phases of the Bronze Age in Greek Macedonia, in the Late Bronze Age, there is a growing interest in multiple and secondary burials, that in-

volved re-opening of the grave, as at Spathes, a few cases at Treis Elies on Mount Olympus, and in cemeteries on Thasos.¹⁶

This paper presents the cemetery of Faia Petra, which is dated to the end of the Late Bronze Age (1300–1200 BC)¹⁷

13. GRAMMENOS 1979.

14. For a thorough survey of LBA cremation burials in Southeastern Europe: JUNG 2007.

15. Late Bronze Age *extramural* cemeteries with inhumations are known from the broader area of Mount Olympus and Pieria in central Macedonia, such as at Spathes (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 1987a. – POULAKI-PANTERMALI 1987b), Treis Elies (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 1988), Pigi Athinas (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 2003), Makriyalos (BESIOS, KRAHTOPOULOU 1994), Korinos (BESIOS 1993) and from Western Macedonia, such as at Aeani (note 10), Ano Komi (KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1998) and Kriovrisi Kranidion (HONDROYIANNI-METOKI 1997). More recently, a group of seventeen *intramural* burials from LBA Toumba Thessalonikis was excavated and preliminary results were presented at the Annual Meeting of Thessaloniki (AEMTh) (ANDREOU, EFKLEIDOU, TRIANTAPHYLLOU in press).

16. See above n. 11 and 14. For a discussion on mortuary practices in LBA Greek Macedonia, based on associated skeletal remains, see TRIANTAPHYLLOU 2001, 25 f., 55–57 and figs. 5/12–14 while a more recent and fruitful discussion of LBA mortuary practices in their social context is provided in ANDREOU 2010, 651.

17. The absolute chronology of the cemetery is based on radiocarbon dates from five human bone samples. One bone sample was analysed with the conventional ¹⁴C dating method (Gas Proportional Counting) by the Laboratory of Archaeometry of NCSR Demokritos in Athens while AMS analysis was applied to another four bone samples by the Curt-Engelhorn Centre of Archaeometry at Mannheim. Radiocarbon dates from charcoal samples also analysed at NCSR Demokritos at an earlier stage of the study gave a range of 1600–1400 BC (calibrated date, probability 95,4 %). The dates from human bone samples give a range of 1400–1200 BC, where the highest probabilities of all five samples accumulate. A statistical analysis model applied to the five bone dates gives the earliest modeled dated event (First) in 1410–1309 BC and the latest (Last) in 1375–1264 BC, both with 95,4 % probability. These dates confirm the short duration of use of the cemetery but they are earlier than the relative chronology, based on the associated Mycenaean type pottery (LH IIIB), which dates the burial assemblage in the 13th century BC. Recent discussion on issues of absolute chronology of the late Bronze Age in northern Greece: JUNG 2007. – JUNG, WENNINGER 2004. – WARDLE, NEWTON, KUNIHOLM 2007. – JUNG, ANDREOU, WENNINGER 2009.

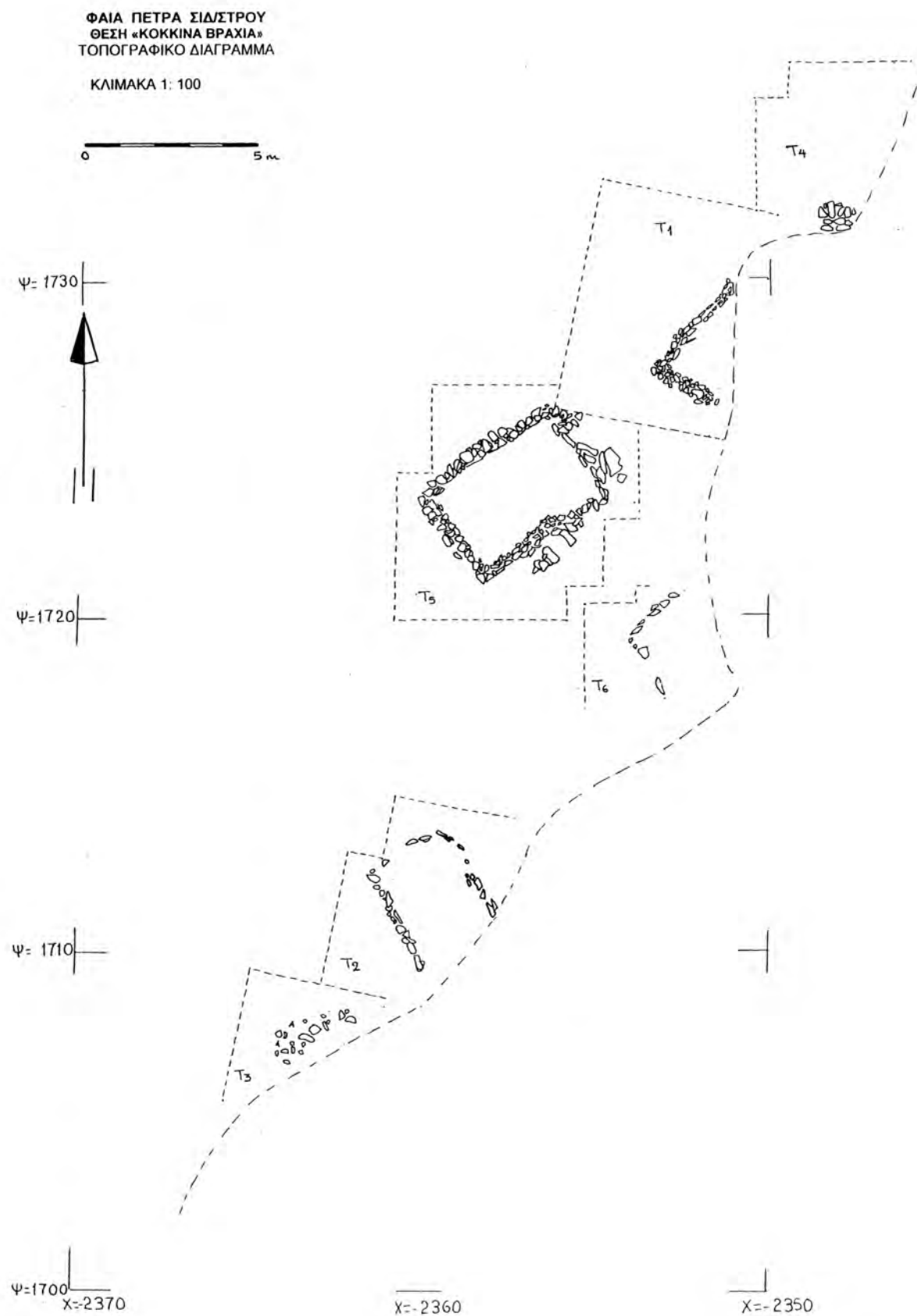


Fig. 3. Plan of the cemetery with the rectangular Burial Enclosures.



Fig. 4. Burial Enclosure 5.

and has particular interest with regard to the mode of disposal of the deceased and post-funerary activities. The cemetery is located in the prefecture of Serres, Eastern Macedonia, 15 kilometers south of the Greco-Bulgarian border. It lies on a terrace in a semi-mountainous area and is abruptly interrupted by a deep and steep gorge (Fig. 2). The location of the cemetery at high elevation on a terrace with very distinctive red clay soil may have been critical to the selection of the site as a burial ground clearly visible from the area of the settlement below.¹⁸

Five groups of single and multiple burials, of which three (nos. 2, 5 and 6) were almost intact, and a single grave¹⁹ were excavated. Each of the five groups of burials was bounded by a rectangular surround, comprised mainly of upright stones (Fig. 3). The construction of enclosure 5 deviated slightly from the rule, being surrounded by compact stone side walls

with inner façades and two entrances (Fig. 4). The floor area of the enclosures varied between six and nine square metres. Each enclosure was covered by stone piles packed with earth which, although not forming a clear tumulus, were probably visible on the ground (Fig. 5). The regular spacing between and similar orientation of the enclosures suggest a well organized cemetery (Fig. 3). The layout of the Faia Petra cemetery does not have close parallels in Greek Macedonia except for the occurrence of a similar type of LBA tombs in the Kentria cemetery on Thasos.²⁰ The rectangular shape of the enclosures is usually associated with domestic architecture and, in a mortuary context, is better known in EBA southern Greece, in the Cyclades and in the 'house tombs' of the north coast of Minoan Crete.²¹

18. Ethnographic, as well as archaeological, examples suggest that the choice of "places of the dead" often conceals an underlying meaning and reason (PARKER-PEARSON 1999, 125–141), as has been argued in the case of tombs in the Cretan Mesara (BRANIGAN 1998) or in the Peloponnese (BOYD 2002).

19. The grave was found on the edge of the gorge and was originally interpreted as part of an enclosure similar to the others, VALLA 2002. – VALLA 2007.

20. The enclosures built with stone side walls are similar to those of tombs K1 and K2 in the Kentria cemetery, KOUKOULI-CHRYSTHAKI 1992, 37–50, 371 f. and fig. 71.

21. SOLES 1992. – Although the ground plan of stone enclosures in Faia Petra is not consistent with a closed building but rather with a hastily constructed boundary to the disposal area, thus recalling the Late Neolithic tombs at Kephala, on the island of Kea, or Middle Bronze Age tumulus F at Nidri on the island of Leukas (SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD 1999, 31. – DÖRPFELD 1927, pl. 15).



Fig. 5. Burial Enclosure 6 during excavation with covering stone piles.

Burial Enclosure	Male	Female	Adult	Subadult	Total
1	1				1
2	2			1: 10-11 yrs	3
3			1		1
4				1: 0-12 mos	1
5	1	1		1 (1-6 yrs)	3
6		1		2: a) 4-5 yrs, b) 10 yrs	3

Fig. 6. List of the individuals accommodated in the burial enclosures. Key: yrs = years, mos = months.

Analysis of the human skeletal remains provided the minimum number of twelve individuals of both sex groups – with a slight over-representation of men over women – and all age categories (Fig. 6). It is worth noting the presence of subadults, including one neonate recognized only from deciduous tooth crowns. The distribution of the deceased within the enclosures does not reveal any clear pattern with regard to sex or age. The best preserved enclosures, that is 2,

5 and 6, provided three individuals each. More particularly, Enclosure 5, the most complete and elaborate structure, appears to have accommodated a couple with a 4 year old infant. The overall sample of the cemetery population, however, is too small to provide any secure clues to the composition of the population unit – whether it represents a nuclear family or a group defined by sex and/or age.

Two more issues of particular interest in the Faia Petra cemetery concern the disposal of the deceased and the occurrence of a variety of post-funerary actions suggesting manipulation of the deceased.

Starting with the mode of disposal, although inhumation is the prevalent practice in the cemetery, there is also one clear case of cremation. Inhumations vary with regard to the degree of articulation of the human skeletal remains as a result of later manipulation of the deceased. The position of the deceased,²² therefore, can be inferred in only three cases:

22. Both contracted and extended positions are common in LBA cemeteries from this region: e.g. *contracted* at Makriyalos (BESIOS, KRAHTOPOULOU 1994), Korinos (BESIOS 1993), Pigi Athinas (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 2003) in Pieria and Ano Komi (KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1998); and *extended* at Spathes (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 1987a. – POULAKI-PANTERMALI 1987b) and Treis Elies (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 1988) on Mount Olympus, while both positions are attested at Aeani in Western Macedonia (KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1989. – KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1990. – KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 2000).



Fig. 7. The child of burial Enclosure 6 in contracted position.

1) in Enclosure 6, a 10 year old child laid in contracted position on the right side (Fig. 7),

2) in Enclosure 5, a young adult man laid in extended position, and

3) in Enclosure 2, a 10 year old child of which the legs are in extended position but the rest of the skeleton was intentionally disturbed during secondary manipulation activities.

Primary inhumations are frequently associated with funerary meals, at least sometimes involving the consumption of meat.²³ In particular, Enclosures 1, 5 and 6 each contain disarticulated and unburnt remains of probably a single animal: a young calf (Fig. 8), a young yearling sheep (Fig. 9) and an older yearling sheep (Fig. 10) respectively. All three animals had been butchered, dismembered and stripped of

meat, presumably *after* skinning – of which no trace has survived – with a small knife. The calf in Enclosure 1 bears traces of dismembering on the left humerus and left pelvis, and of filleting on the left humerus, right radius and right pelvis. The younger yearling sheep in Enclosure 5 has traces of filleting on the left humerus. The older yearling sheep in Enclosure 6 has traces of dismembering on the left humerus. The animals had thus apparently been butchered for consumption, presumably (given the archaeological context and the indications [below] of rapid deposition) at some form of funerary meal. The animals consumed were not large but probably provided enough meat potentially to cater for a gathering of at least an extended kin group. In contrast to normal settlement refuse, the bones in the Faia Petra enclosures had not been broken to extract marrow and had been collected up for rapid burial (i.e. without gnawing by scavengers), underlining the significance of these episodes of consumption.²⁴ Such deposits, in which the remains of

23. Special structures or piles of stones in LBA cemeteries from this region may be related to feasts or other funerary rites. Archaeological evidence for such activities comes from Aeani, in Western Macedonia, where a large pyre with animal bones and broken vessels has come to light (KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI 1990), Pigi Athinas, in southern Pieria, where broken vessels were found dispersed among the stones that covered the main burial (POULAKI-PANTERMALI 2003) and the island of Thasos, where rituals involving consumption of meat seem to have been performed in the anteroom or outside the tombs (KOUKOULI-CHRYSAANTHAKI 1992, 644 f.).

24. Cf. ISAAKIDOU, HALSTEAD, DAVIS et al. 2002. With regard to the social aspects of feasting in Mycenaean society and in burial rites: KILLEN 1994. – HAMILAKIS 1998. – HAMILAKIS 2008. – WRIGHT 2004. – BENDALL 2004. – BORGNA 2004. But also CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, 111 f. – GALLOU 2005, 91–105, 124.

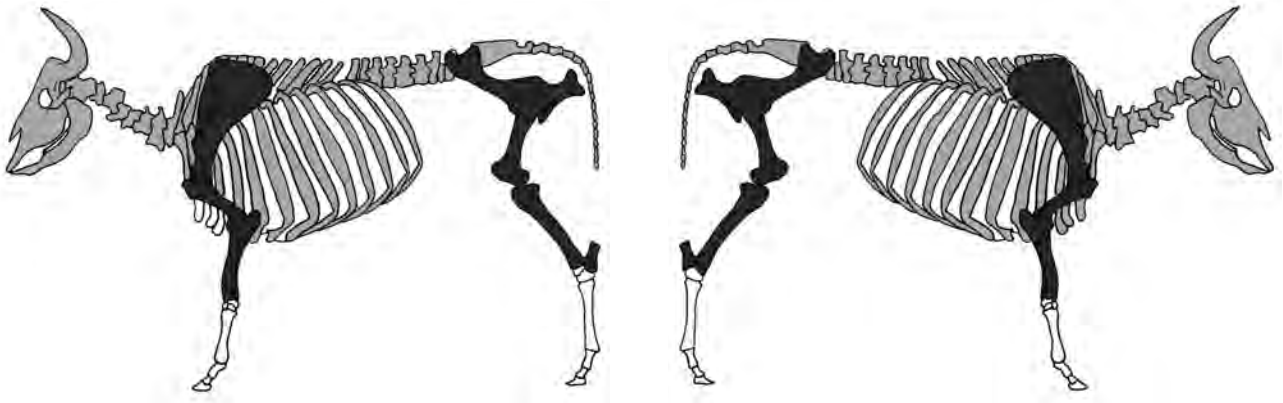


Fig. 8. Anatomical representation of young calf in Enclosure 1. Key: black = present, white = absent, grey = partly present but difficult to quantify or to identify with precision, left side and right side.

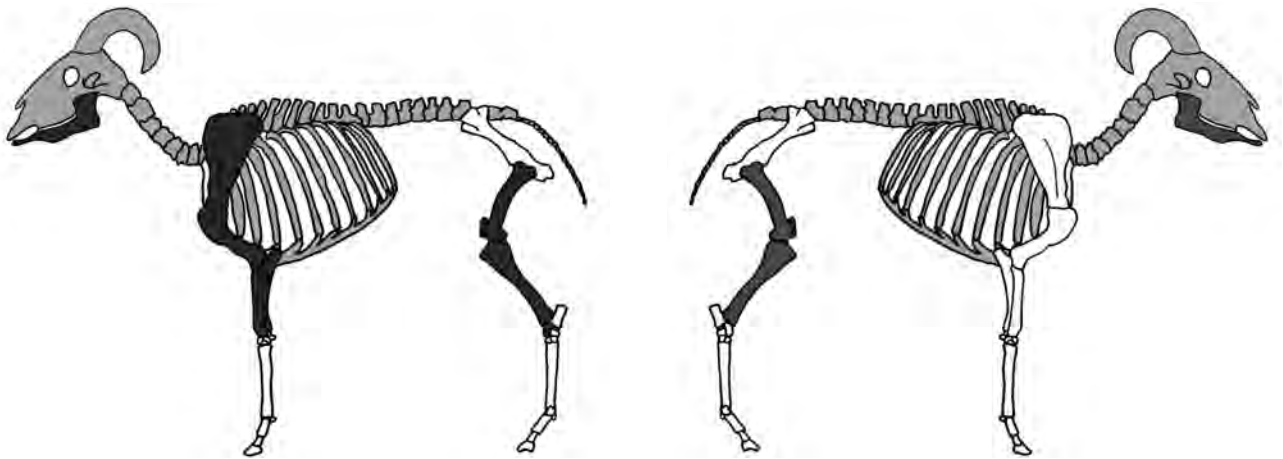


Fig. 9. Anatomical representation of young yearling sheep in Enclosure 5. Key as for Fig. 8.

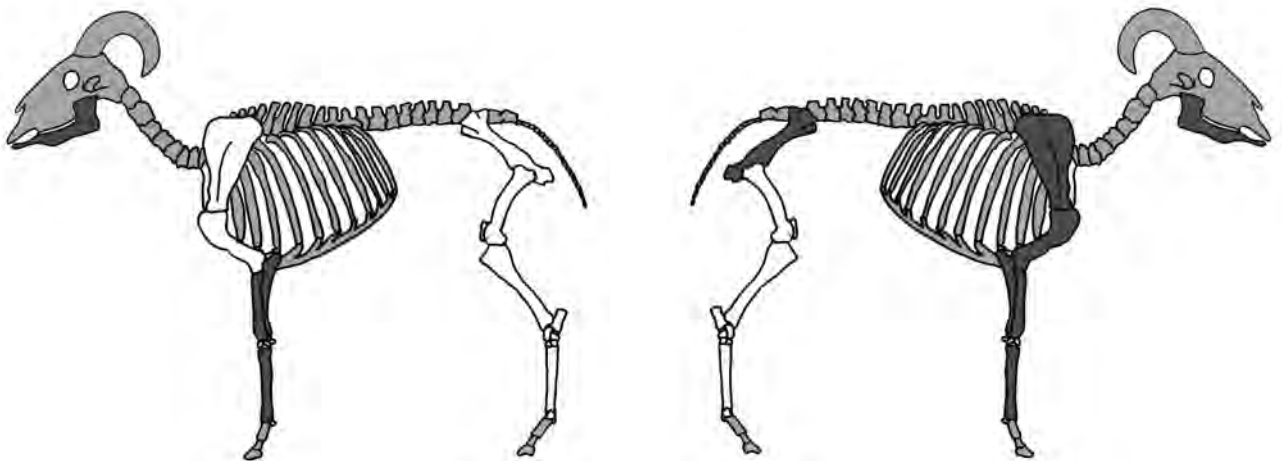


Fig. 10. Anatomical representation of older yearling sheep in Enclosure 6. Key as for Fig. 8.



Fig. 11. A four handled bowl with incised decoration filled with white paste.

single consumption events were rapidly and separately buried, are quite common in the Bronze Age, but scarce in the Neolithic of Greece. As well as adding formality to the funerary meal, careful discard adds a further stage to the *chaîne opératoire* of slaughter-cooking-consumption.²⁵ *Inter alia*, segregation of the funerary ceremonies into discrete stages created multiple opportunities for differential participation and thus for creation or reinforcement of social distinctions. No other food remains were traced although water flotation was applied to the soil contents of all vessels.

In contrast with the elaborate and time-consuming construction of the burial enclosures, the type and amount of associated grave goods are rather modest, involving mainly plain clay pots. A total of 28 vessels were recovered, of which 22 belong to the incised ware decorated with bands of irregular incisions filled with white paste (Fig. 11), which is typical of Northern Greece at this time.²⁶ In addition, two Mycenaean-type stirrup jars were recovered, as well as several bronze items (e.g. knives, a spearhead, arrowheads, a bracelet, hair spirals (Fig. 12), part of a clothing accessory), clay spindle whorls, amber beads and two gold discs. Significantly, the burial enclosures always included large clay vessels, particularly of two standard shapes: the four-handled amphora with a flat base and the four-handled skyphos with

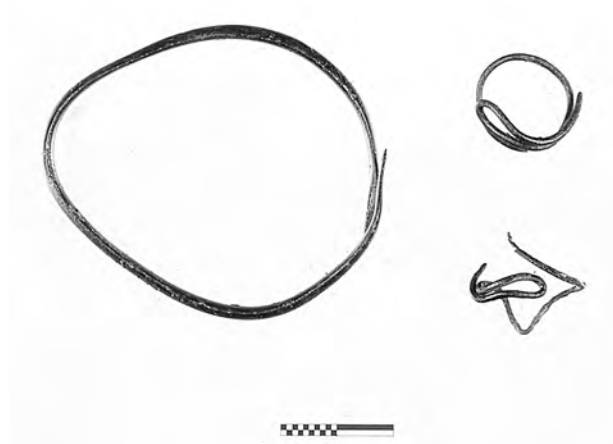


Fig. 12. Bronze bracelet and hair spirals.

a tall, conical foot. No shape was strictly associated with any particular sex or age group except for spindle whorls and weaponry, which accompanied female and male burials, respectively.

Although inhumation was the normal mode of disposal in LBA Faia Petra, cremated human remains were found in a four-handled amphora, placed in an upright position and wedged with stones against the wall of Enclosure 5. The urn was covered with a bowl with wishbone handles (Fig. 13). The cremated remains were of a woman in her thirties – one of two women (and the only adult woman) recognised in the study population.

Examination of these remains provides interesting insights into the process of cremation. Changes in bone colour, shape and texture, combined with patterns of fragmentation and skeletal representation, offer valuable information on both conditions of burning and the collection and disposal of the remains of the deceased.²⁷ White colouring of the bone surface, frequently associated with alterations to bone texture due to firing (e.g., cracking, severe warping),²⁸ is consistent with lengthy exposure of the corpse in fresh condition (i.e. shortly after death) to an intense and well controlled fire which reached up to 800–900° C. High fragmentation of the human remains suggests continuous stirring of the cremated material during firing to ensure flow of oxygen.²⁹ The presence within the pyre debris of large pieces of charcoal, presumably belonging to the fuel, along with a few burnt animal bones, possibly derived from a fu-

25. HALSTEAD, ISAAKIDOU 2011.

26. Incised ware decorated with bands of irregular incisions filled in with white paste is quite common in settlements of eastern and central Macedonia in LH IIIB and IIIC, in particular at Angista Railway station (KOUKOULI-CHRYSTANTHAKI 1980, 54–85), Kastanas (HOCHSTETTER 1984, 64), Assiros (WARDLE 1980, 244–248. – WARDLE 1989, 455–463) and Toumba Thessalonikis (ANDREOU, PSARAKI 2007). More information concerning especially the pottery of Faia Petra can be found in VALLA 2007, 368 f.

27. For a general bibliography on cremation in archaeological populations as well as on forensic contexts see MCKINLEY 2000. – SCHMIDT, SYMES 2008. – UBELAKER, RIFE 2007, 11–16. – UBELAKER 2008.

28. BUIKSTRA, SWEGLE 1989. – CORREIA 1997.

29. MCKINLEY 1993. – MCKINLEY 1994.



Fig. 13. The urn during excavation: a four-handled amphora.



Fig. 14. Grave goods associated with the urn.

nerary meal, suggests that cremated remains were collected by scooping up rather than careful manual selection of human remains only. Skeletal representation (including all anatomical units, even small hand and foot bones) and the total weight of cremated bone (916 grams) together reinforce the scenario of thorough scooping up of the pyre debris. It is worth noting the associated *unburnt* grave goods, a small bronze knife and a clay spindle whorl (Fig. 14), which had

been placed inside the urn after collection of the cremated remnants.

The single cremation recovered in the Faia Petra cemetery was the outcome of a lengthy process involving the collection of fuel, the building of a pyre suitable for complete cremation of the human corpse, and the collection of the cremated remnants and their placement in the urn. Arguably, therefore, cremation was not a 'cheap' solution to the disposal of the deceased, but a mortuary practice that required a high level of labour investment and considerable knowledge of pyrotechnology. Although the sample is very small, it is tempting to suggest that the cremated woman – given the as yet unique nature of her burial at Faia Petra – may have held special status in the living community.

Burning seems to have held broad symbolic significance in the Faia Petra cemetery, since all the enclosures have yielded traces of fires that occurred, possibly at the time of the primary disposal of the deceased, directly on the ground or in clay vessels (Fig. 15). Although some of these fires might have been associated with the preparation of funerary meals, similar traces of fire in cemeteries on Thasos have been interpreted as part of a purification ritual,³⁰ while

30. KOUKOULI-CHRYSTANTHAKI 1992, 647.



Fig. 15. Burial Enclosure 5: traces of fire in the area of the burial and an associated vessel.



Fig. 16. Burial Enclosure 6: relocation of bones in a bowl.

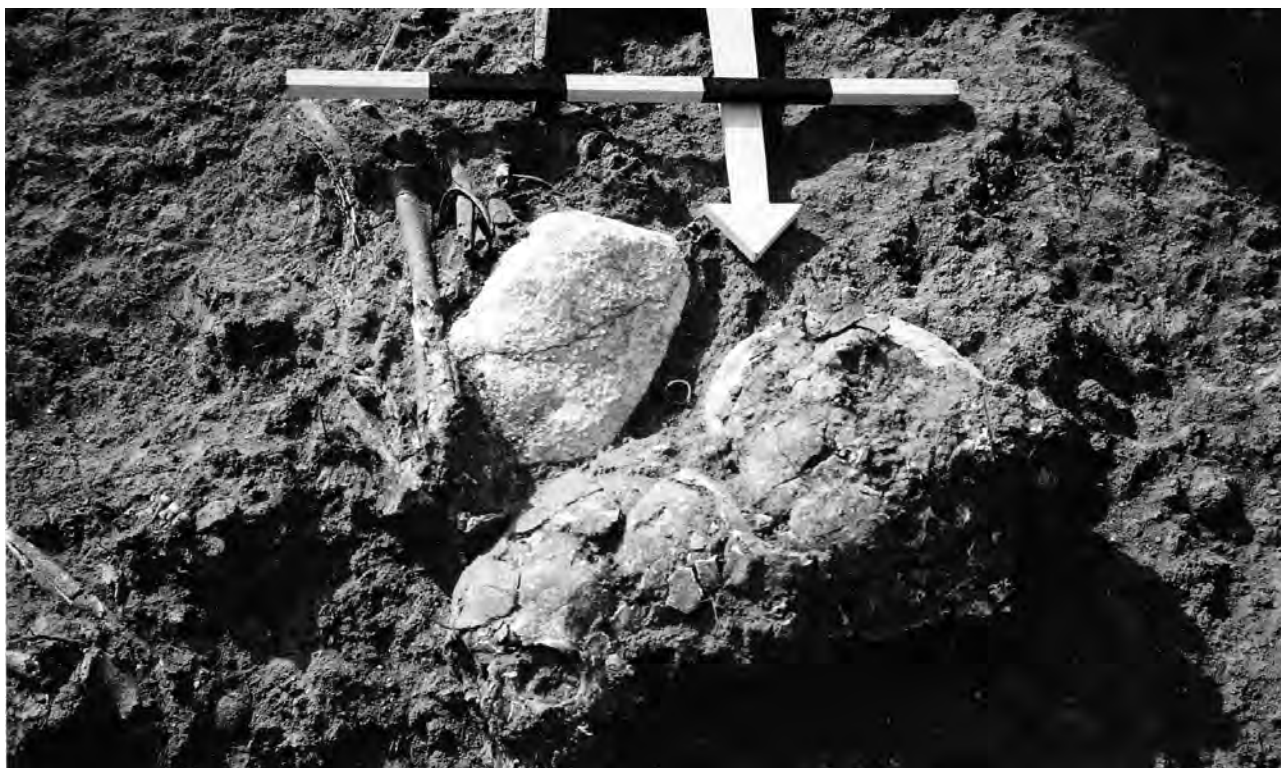


Fig. 17. Burial Enclosure 2: gathering of skulls.

burning episodes – fumigations – are well known in several Bronze Age burial assemblages in southern Greece such as the pre-palatial tombs of Crete³¹ and the Mycenaean tholos and chamber tombs of the Greek mainland.³² Faia Petra has yielded considerable evidence for manipulation of the deceased after the complete or partial decomposition of the body, a phenomenon discussed to date mainly with regard to collective burial assemblages from southern Greece and in particular, clearance episodes in LBA chamber tombs on the Greek mainland and pre-palatial tombs on Crete.³³ Hu-

man remains appear to have been systematically rearranged and relocated at Faia Petra, since skeletal material in most enclosures (Enclosures 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) was found extremely disturbed – to the degree that only a few primary burials could be recognized. In certain cases human bones had been removed from the articulated skeleton and placed in clay vessels (Fig. 16), while some bones had been rearranged while only partly decomposed.

Skulls were usually gathered in the centre of the burial enclosure (Fig. 17), indicating that these post-funerary activities paid particular attention to certain anatomical units. Moreover, in addition to the relocation of human bones, in some cases artefacts were also (re)deposited during manipulation of the deceased. In Enclosure 6, for example, there is evidence that one clay vessel and a piece of clothing decorated with small bronze studs were carefully deposited next to a gathering of skulls during the post-funerary activities.

Finally, in four individuals (two adult men, one adult of indeterminate sex and a 4 year old infant) out of the estimated total of twelve, a secondary mortuary treatment was identified that involved burning after complete decomposition of the skeleton.³⁴ Burning affected primarily the skull and partly the upper skeleton. Colouring of the bone, which

31. BRANIGAN 1987, 45.

32. A thorough survey of LBA tombs from the Greek mainland with evidence of burning can be found in CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, while the phenomenon is discussed in detail as a feature of Mycenaean identity and the cult of the dead in GALLOU 2005, 120–122.

33. Deliberate displacement and smoking of the bones were recognized as rituals associated with post-funerary activities in two tombs in the Tsiganadika cemetery on Thasos (KOUKOULI-CHRYSAETHAKI 1992, 647), and are the only examples known to date in Northern Greece. For LBA tombs: CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, 76, 116. – GALLOU 2005, 117–120. Also the practice of lightly burnt bones was recorded in the recently recovered Mycenaean tholos tomb at Kazanaki in Volos, Thessaly (PAPATHANASIOU 2009). For pre-palatial Crete: SOLES 1988, 58. – SOLES 1992, 247. – MURPHY 1998, 27–40. – BRANIGAN 1987, 43–51.

34. TRIANTAPHYLOU 2002.



Fig. 18. Burial Enclosure 5: the skeleton of the young adult man with the skull and upper skeleton burned and the lower part completely unaffected by fire.



Fig. 19. Burial Enclosure 5: the left and the right forearm in dry and burned condition, respectively.

ranges from brown to black, and the lack of alterations to the bone surface and texture suggest that burning was of short duration and at low temperature and took place after complete decomposition of the body. The best preserved example is provided by the extended primary burial of a young adult man in Enclosure 5 (Fig. 18): the skull is lightly burnt, as are parts of the upper limbs (compare the left and right forearm in dry and burned condition, respectively – Fig. 19) and vertebrae, while the lower body is completely unaffected. In two of the four cases with evidence of burning after decomposition of the human remains, this appears to have taken place *in situ*, after the re-opening of the enclosure. Charcoal from the area of post-funerary activities and from the single cremation, examined by Dr Maria Ntinou of the University of Valencia, indicates use of vine and wood of Cornelian cherry as fuel for the light burning of skeletal remains, while pine was used for the more substantial task of cremating the corpse.

In sum, at Faia Petra:

- 1) *inhumation* was the prevalent mode of disposal for both sex groups and all age categories,
- 2) a single *cremation*, requiring high expenditure of energy and specialized knowledge, may have been associated with special treatment of a significant member of the community perhaps of specific sex and age,

3) *funerary meals* involving consumption of meat constituted part of the primary burial ritual and arguably imply active participation therein of a larger social group than the close kin of the deceased,

4) *post-funerary activities*, often involving burning, were associated with intense manipulation of the deceased.

In contrast to the modest character of most of the associated grave goods, the manipulation of the deceased in primary or secondary burial rites demonstrates a high degree of complexity at Faia Petra. A common feature of all mortuary performances at Faia Petra is the participation of a large group of people, possibly an extended kin group, in elaborate practices that took place at different moments in the funerary programme and that, together – to a lesser degree – with the display of specialized items, sought to create and express prestige and power.³⁵ Moreover, by visiting and re-visiting the cemetery, the participants in these social gatherings re-asserted continuity and unity with the community of the deceased/ancestors and their strong links to the past as a reference area.³⁶ The use of precious local artefacts and limited access to Mycenaean-type pottery, together with post-funerary activities that strongly recall Mycenaean secondary burial practices, all contributed to the rising social status of certain groups of people at the end of the Late Bronze Age in Macedonia.³⁷

This picture is consistent with the evidence of settlement patterns from Central Macedonia and, in particular, with that from the settlements of Kastanas, Assiros and Toumba Thessalonikis. During the Late Bronze Age, at sites with a central role such as Assiros and Toumba Thessalonikis, emerging social hierarchy is reflected in the ground plan of the settlements with the appearance of buildings of central character, of rooms with large storage facilities and of constructions which demand the mobilization of large amounts of labour.³⁸ Moreover, during this period, special ceramic ware, luxury vessels not accessible to all members of the community, emerged and seems to have been used on ceremonial occasions.³⁹ Faia Petra, despite the small scale and fragmentary nature of the evidence, contributes significantly to this picture of certain groups of people striving for social differentiation and competing with each other through the adoption of more complex rituals in the mortuary arena.

35. VOUTSAKI 1998, 44–48.

36. CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, 116. – PARKER-PEARSON 1999, 52. – CAVANAGH 2008, 339 f.

37. ANDREOU 2010, 651.

38. ANDREOU, KOTSAKIS 1986. – WARDLE 1997, 524 f. – ANDREOU, KOTSAKIS 1999. – ANDREOU 2001. – ANDREOU 2003.

39. KIRIATZI, ANDREOU, DIMITRIADIS et al. 1997. – JUNG 2002. – JUNG 2003. – ANDREOU 2003. – ANDREOU, PSARAKI 2007.

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Late Helladic IIIC cremation burials at Chania of Mycenae¹

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Zusammenfassung

SPÄTHELLADISCH IIIC-BRANDBESTATTUNGEN IN CHANIA BEI MYKENE. Es werden die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung eines Tumulus bei Chania, ungefähr 3 km südwestlich von Mykene, präsentiert. Der Tumulus enthielt ausschließlich Brandbestattungen, die in das spätere 12. Jh. v. Chr. datieren (SH IIIC Mitte/Fortgeschritten bis zum frühen SH IIIC Spät). Alle neun Brandbestattungen waren in Urnen, hauptsächlich Amphoren, deponiert. Die Urnen waren mit umgedrehten, kleinen offenen Gefäßen verschlossen. Der Tumulus bei Chania wird als ein multikulturelles Phänomen aufgefasst. Die Sitte der Brandbestattung war in der Argolis fremd und geht möglicherweise auf Anregungen aus Italien zurück. Die Verwendung ausschließlich mykenischer Keramik zeigt jedoch, dass die Nutzer des Tumulus in erster Linie eine mykenische kulturelle Identität hatten. Die kurze Nutzungsphase des Tumulus steht wahrschein-

lich mit den unbeständigen Lebensverhältnissen während des 12. Jhs. v. Chr. in Zusammenhang.

Abstract

The results of the excavation of a burial mound at Chania, about 3 km southwest of Mycenae, are presented. The mound contained only cremation burials dating to the latter 12th century BC (LH IIIC Middle Advanced to early LH IIIC Late). All nine cremations were deposited in urns, mostly amphorae. The urns were closed with small open vessels that were placed upside-down. The tumulus at Chania is interpreted as a multicultural phenomenon. The custom of cremation was foreign to the Argolid and has possibly an Italian derivation. However, the cultural identity of the burial group was basically Mycenaean, as is attested by the exclusive use of Mycenaean pottery. The short period of use of the tumulus is probably connected to the unsteady living conditions of the 12th century BC.

1. I would like to express my gratitude to the organizers for inviting me to the congress and their encouragement for this work. I also wish to thank the following for the fruitful discussion: my late Professor N. Coldstream, Prof. A. Vlahopoulos and Dr. Alcestis Papadimitriou, who also facilitated my final work. The drawings are owed to the skillful hands of our unforgettable Maria Nioti and V. Stavropoulou, who completed and inked a number of them and did her best to draw the octopus stirrup jar. The field photographs were taken by the author, the general view photographs from an eight meter high photographic tower offered by the late Professor Kilian and those of the finds by Y. Patrikianos. The bronze finds were cleaned by G. Kapsali and the pottery was mended and restored by A. Kousoulas, V. Kontos, K. Piteros and V. Galanis, permanent staff members of the Conservation Department of the Ephoreia. Furthermore this work could not have been completed without the generous help of my colleagues Dimitrios Kousoulas, Nikos Katsareos.

The site Chania is situated in a fertile plain about 3 km southwest of the acropolis of Mycenae. In contrast to the palace on the top of the acropolis, which is 246 m above sea level, it is only 73m above sea level. It was first identified as an archaeological site by Bernhard Steffen² who mentioned it Chani, as it was named by the villagers, because of the ruins of a Chani, i.e. a hostel that existed there. The Chani (i.e. a resting place for travellers with horses and other animals during the late Ottoman occupation) was mentioned by William Martin Leake³ and other travellers. It was situ-

2. STEFFEN 1884, 12.

3. LEAKE 1830.

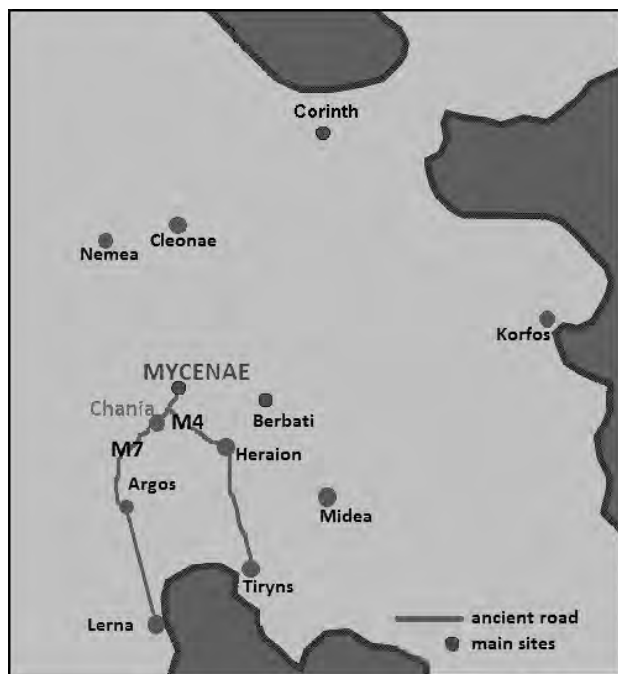


Fig. 1. Map of NW Peloponnese.

ated on the road from Argos to Corinth⁴ and evidently on the course of the Mycenaean road from the acropolis of Mycenae to Argos (fig. 1). Nowadays the wider area is called Chania which is the plural form of Chani⁵ – a common occurrence among Greek place names.

B. Steffen described and depicted walls at the site which are no longer preserved. The closest excavated archaeological site are Mycenaean chamber tombs of a LH III A–B date at a distance of approximately 1.2 km to the southeast,⁶ at the nearby village of Monastiraki, formerly Priftiani⁷, and situated 92 m above sea level.

At a distance of 300 m to the west of Chania the river Dervenaki-Kephisos flows from the north to the south and,

4. The Mycenaean road towards Argos is marked by the number M7 by J. Lavery (LAVERY 1995) and in the Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae (IAKOVIDIS 2003, 31). B. Steffen's map (map 3) presents the "ancient road-alte Straße" that was then in use, passing "Chani" and going to Cleonae and Argos (STEFFEN 1884, 11–12).

5. There is a diachronic grammatical principle called "elliptical plural" (NAGY 2004, ch. 9) which is described in detail for the Homeric texts. It is witnessed at Mycenae, the place of a nymph called Mycene, in the sense of the wider area of her surroundings and of the population living there. If we were allowed to apply it in Modern Greek, Chania would include the properties around a Chani, which in turn is then transformed into a place name.

6. PHILADELPHUS 1919, 35–38. – CHARITONIDIS 1952, 19–29.

7. Charitonidis gave an historical account of the village from antiquity to his time in the above article.

a short distance to the east of Chania, the probable ancient junction of the ravines of Chavos-Gouvvia and Vathyrema is to be found. In summary, the site is situated on a main road, in a plain between two sources of water, with a wide view of and to the acropolis of Mycenae. The excavation that further revealed the finds described took place in 1983–4 because the proprietor wanted to cultivate the field by deep ploughing. The survey of the site showed a concentration of sherds together with a great quantity of stones at a certain part of the site. The subsequent excavation, which was rather a clearing of surface earth down to 0,10–20 m, revealed the periphery (fig. 2) of a strong wall with a diameter of 20 m, full of various sized stones. The general appearance of the structure looked like a tumulus, although its surface layer was not more than 10 cm higher at its centre than on the periphery, and the height of the construction is circa 1 m from the floor (Fig. 4d).



Fig. 2. A view to Mycenae from Chania.

Gradually this periphery proved to belong to a circular wall, 1–1.20 m thick with a well-constructed outer face of large, rough, unworked blocks and orthostats of limestone and conglomerate stone (figs. 3a–b). The inner face is not as well-constructed and does not have any orthostats. However, its surface appears to be even. A filling of rubble, stones and earth was placed between the two faces. The entire tumulus-circle was filled with stones of various size and shape. Some of them were small river stones and others were large irregular blocks. There were only a few worked blocks that were probably taken from a destroyed building. The filling material varied from hard limestone to conglomerate and poros blocks. On the upper surface of this structure, with the appearance of a tumulus, a quantity of unbaked red clay was found in several places, indicating that it once covered the entire construction as a means to protect it from the pen-



Fig. 3a The tumulus – general view of the surface.

etration of rainwater. The tumulus was concealed by a thin surface layer, 10–20 cm deep. The upper layer of the remains was later disturbed by cultivation. In fact, the scarce sherds collected among the stones and the small amount of soil are in a very poor condition. The date of some of the sherds ranges from Byzantine, Hellenistic and Archaic to Late Geometric periods but most of them date to the LH IIIC period.

However, the chronology and the function of the construction of the monumental tumulus is proven by a number of human cremations buried in urns of various sizes and in various depths. Some of them are close to the modern surface in a depth of about 10 cm and they are partially destroyed by cultivation. Others are deposited between the rubble stones in pits at a depth of about 45 cm. These vessels were found partly destroyed because of their proximity to the rubble stones.

The primary burial of the tumulus (figs. 3c–d) and one of the ones found last at the excavation was put in a circular pit on the floor of the construction before stones were piled on top of it. The circular pit was covered with a rectangular poros block, beneath which the cremation urn was revealed, which in turn had been covered with an upside down bowl. The burial pit was the only one dug in the ground with the dimensions: depth 70 cm, diameter 37 cm; while all the oth-

ers were dug between the stones of the filling in a sufficient size to contain the cremation covered by an open shaped vessel, cup or bowl, but without clear evidence of the dimensions of the pit.

The very first burial was also deposited before the construction of the tumulus, since it is covered with the poros block which was laid before the application of a 10–12 cm thick layer of reddish clay on the floor of the entire circle.

The stones were heaped upon this layer and since they were mainly potato-shaped river stones their weight was supported by rough retaining walls. In the northwestern quarter, in particular, a well-constructed wall (radial from the centre to the periphery) functions as a solid retaining wall for the stone filling and relieves the wall of the periphery from the pressure of the weight (figs. 4a–c).

The excavations revealed that there were only few cremations in comparison to the size of the monument. They were deposited close to each other around the centre with the exception of the first cremation in the pit of the floor which was situated in the northeastern quarter near the enclosure. It seems that firstly the floor level was formed and then the circular enclosure was constructed without foundations leaving an opening at some points. The constructors carried the heavy filling through this opening, pebbles from the nearby rivers and a few worked blocks from nearby

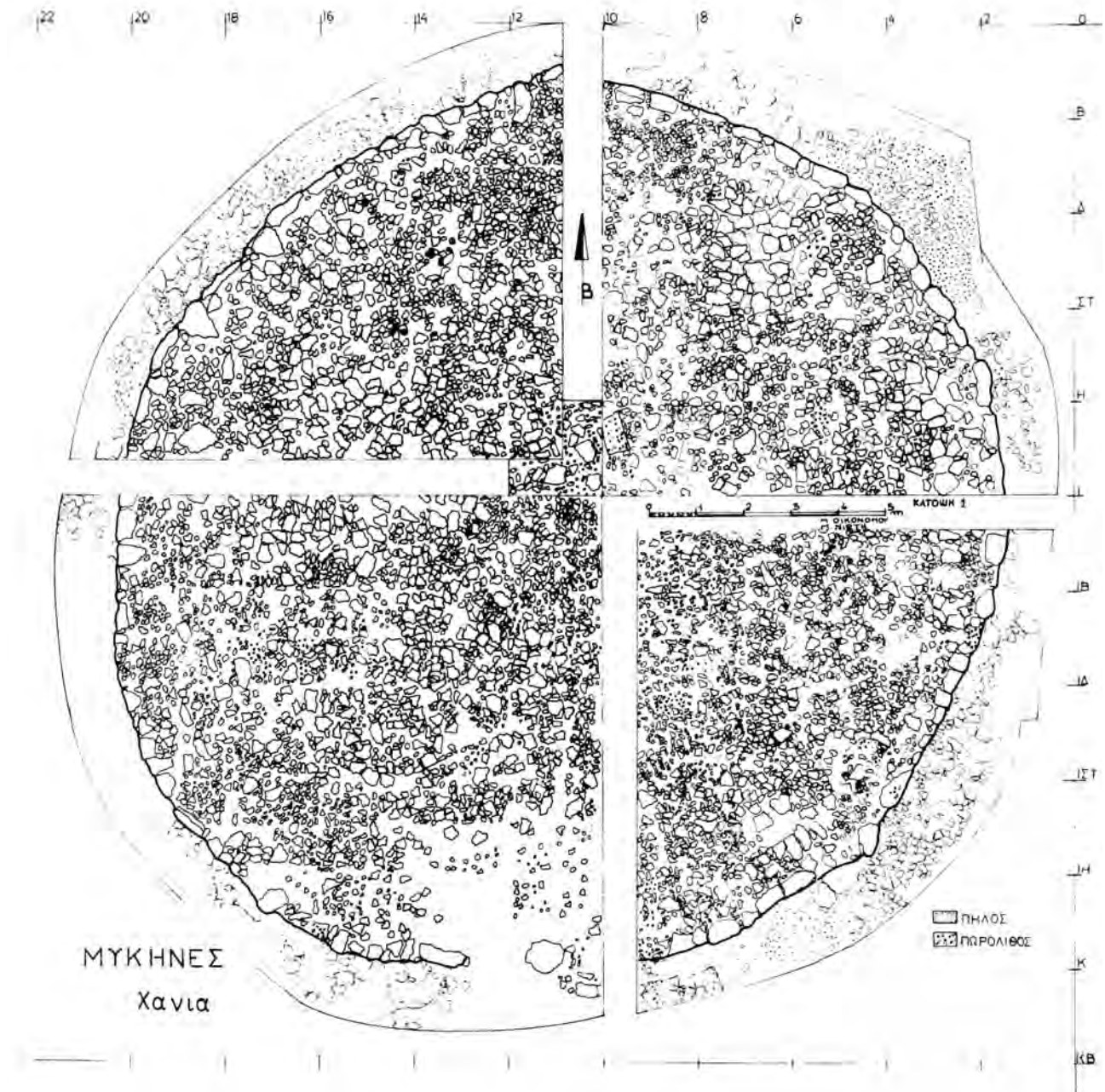


Fig. 3b. Plan of the tumulus surface.

buildings which had previously been destroyed. When the work had nearly been completed, the entrance was built up and the work was completed at the top of the mound. A possible entrance is still discernible on the south side and was probably used since it is close to of the cremations. The assumption that this was an entrance looks quite likely, although this point was disturbed in the Hellenistic period.

The great quantity of clay pieces on the upper level and fewer on the second level constitute a constructional characteristic of the tumulus. If they had been re-used mud bricks

from the nearby ruined buildings they would have formed part of the lower levels of the mound, as they were the first accessible material provided after the roof tiles. The way the clay was used indicates that it was to serve as protection for the contents of the tumulus from the rainwater and to achieve a nice and homogeneous appearance of the tumulus. The distribution of preserved clay pieces, although uncertain because they are on the surface, indicates that the whole area was covered and not merely a central core. The use of clay on funeral tumuli is a common constructional feature

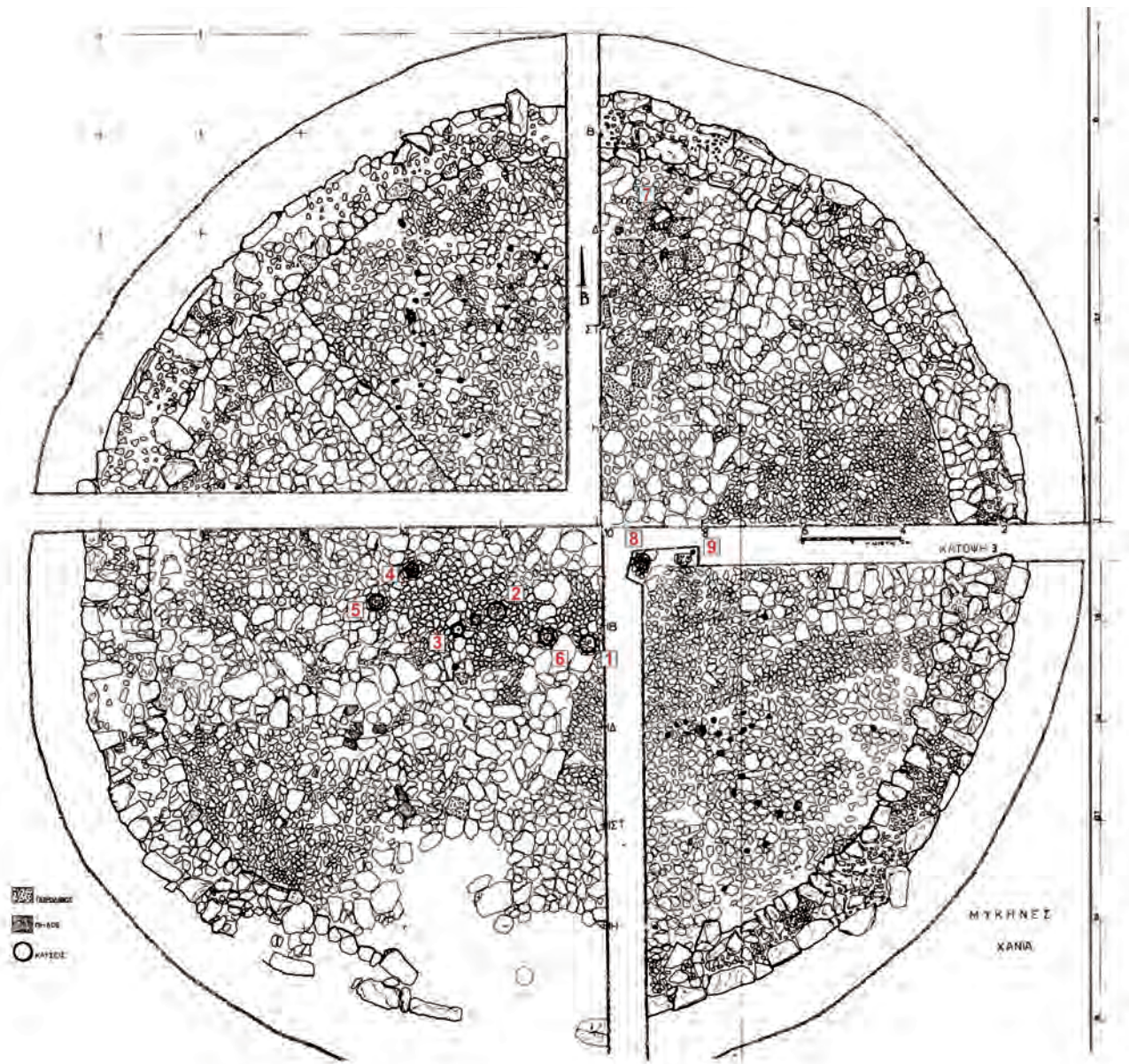


Fig. 3c. Distribution of cremation burials (ΠΩΡΟΙΘΟΣ = soros stones, ΠΗΛΟΣ = clay, ΚΑΥΣΕΙΣ = cremation burials).

in distant areas and ages, from Northeastern Italy and the Balkans to Greece, and from the late third to the early second millennium.⁸

Among the stones used for the surfaces there is a poros block and some stones are worked as if they had been designated to function as markers for the cremation burials. However, no marker was found in situ and, if they had existed, they would probably have been moved due to the effect of cultivation. The cremation ceremony took place outside of the circle, at a place unknown to us. The remains

of the buried cremations consisted of ash and some pieces of bones which were always placed in an urn. In most cases the urns were covered by bowls or cups which were placed upside down. It seems rather possible that all of the vases were covered in the same way, if we consider the sherds of angular bowls collected around them. In one case, cremation 6, a stone slab, that had covered the pit of the burial, was found.

8. BORGNA, CÀSSOLA GUIDA 2007, 198.

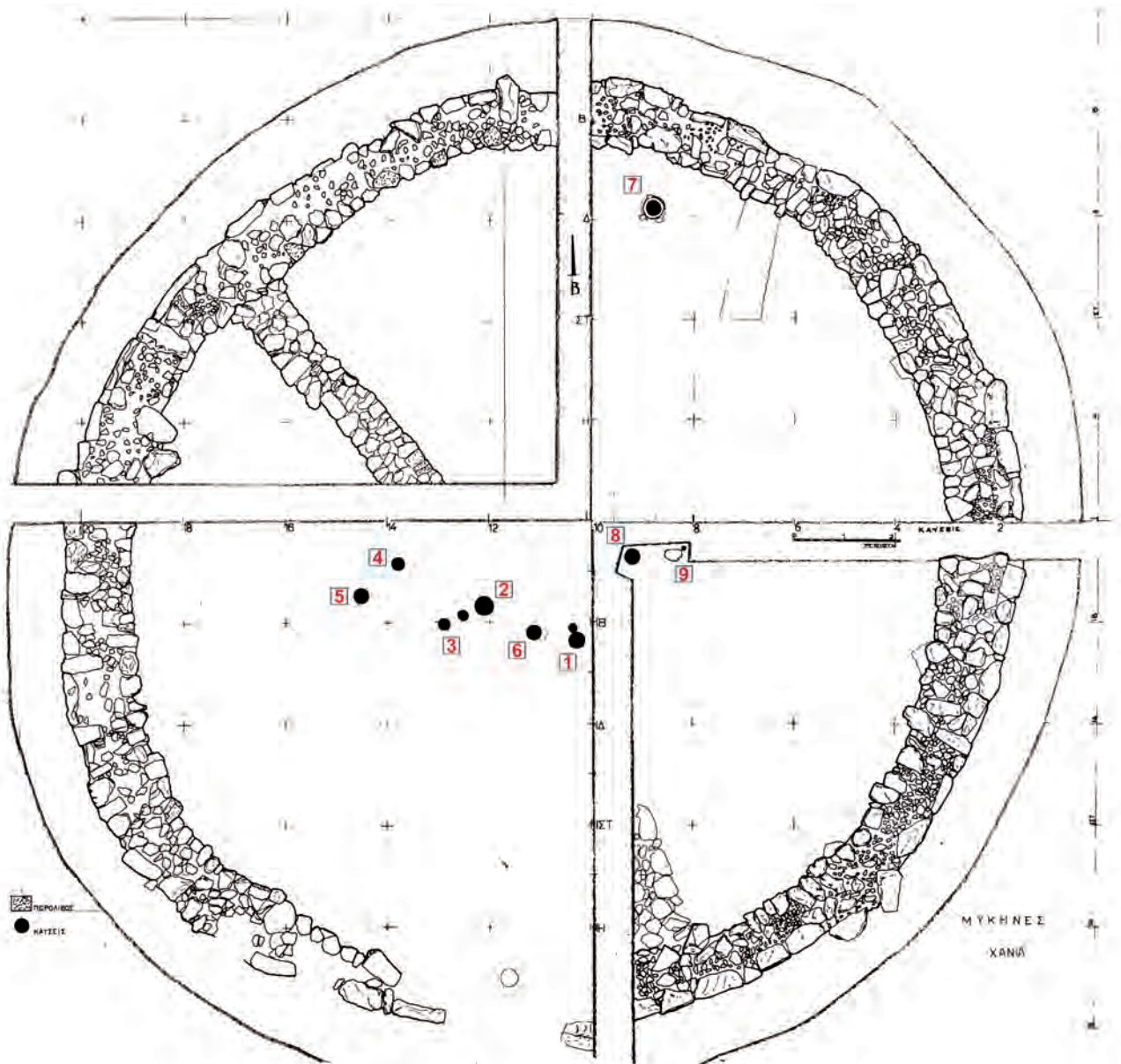


Fig. 3d. The end of the excavation.

Catalogue of the cremation burials according to when they were excavated

Cremation 1

The urn (figs. 5a–b)⁹ is a biconical jug with a tall narrow neck, pronounced rim, raised flat base, a strap handle, slant-

ing inwards from the rim to the shoulder. The linear decoration consists of one band inside the rim, another one on it, a band at the base of the neck and three bands on the shoulder.

A crossed loop on the handle is divided by a horizontal band at the centre. It is comparable to the Argive examples from Argos,¹⁰ Tiryns¹¹ and Asine¹² without additional mo-

9. The study of the anthropological remains was carried out by Professor Theodoros Pitsios who supplied the following results which have been incorporated into the text. Cremation 1: weight 320 gr., mainly long bones, thickness 0.003 m – 0.008 m, some pieces of a skull, thickness 0.004 m – 0.006 m, colour grey to whitish, medium deformation. Possible age: a young adult.

10. PITEROS 2001, 111, fig. 28.

11. PODZUWEIT 2007, 134, pl. 66/11.

12. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 162–163, no. 332, fig. 43. – THOMATOS 2006, 56–58, fig. 1, 165–168.

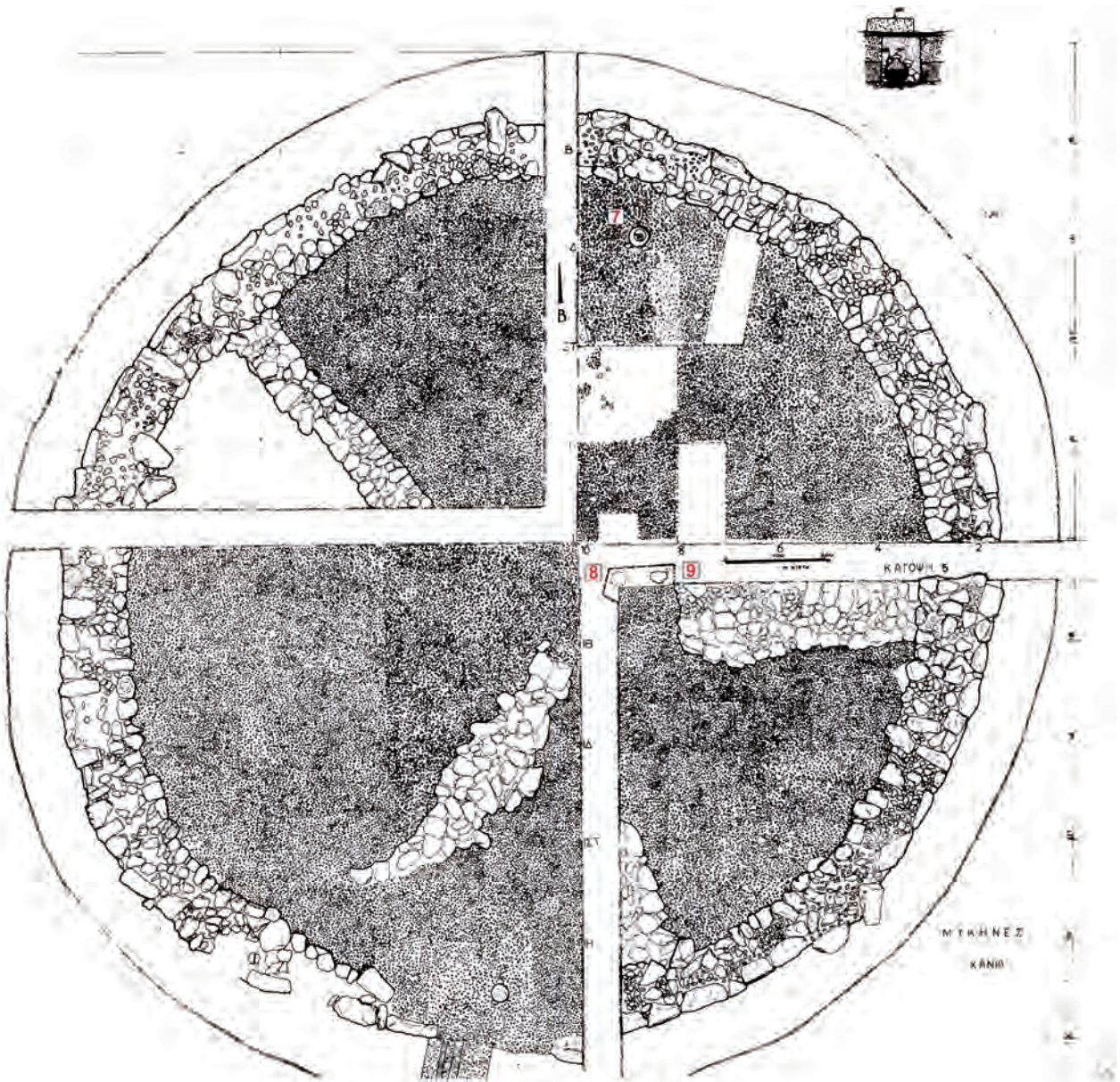


Fig. 4a. The enclosure wall – general view.



Fig. 4b. The enclosure wall – outside view.



Fig. 4c. The enclosure wall – inside view.

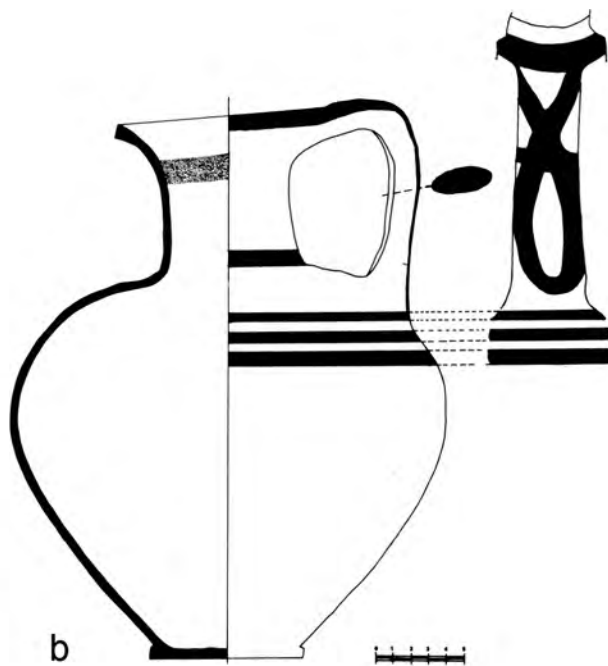


Fig. 5 a, b. Cremation 1, the urn, a jug.

tifs on most of them, but with the Argolic standard decoration of the triple banding.¹³

BE (entry book Mycenae Museum) 27326, FS 106; H. 0.306 m, D. of the rim 0.117 m; D. of the base 0.088 m; D. max. 0.237 m

A female head of a figurine (BE 27374) was collected between the cremated bones of Late Psi type B.¹⁴

Cremation 2

The urn¹⁵ (figs. 6a–b, BE 27329) is an ovoid, wide-mouthed amphora, well-fabricated with a raised, slightly concave base, a spreading rim and vertical flat handles from the neck to the shoulders. It is decorated with two bands inside the lip, painted on the outside, with a lower reserved band, a thin parallel line from which, at both faces, a four-foiled tassel is hanging at the centre, a group of three lines around the belly and the oblique parallel bands on the handles. The colour of the clay is pinkish 5YR, 6/6, FS 69, FM 72, h. 0.417 m, d. of the base 0.112 m, d. of the mouth 0.194 m, d. of the belly 0.275 m. The vertical handles from the neck to the shoulder and the oblique parallel lines on the handles date the vase to LH IIIC Late.

13. THOMATOS 2006, 56.

14. FRENCH 1971, 135; preserved h. 0.024 m; d. of the polos 0.016–9 m.

15. Cremation 2: weight 65 gr., small whitish pieces.

The cover (figs. 6c–d, BE 27292) is a rounded basin with a flat rim and horizontal strap handles just below the rim. It is painted monochrome inside, on the outside there is a horizontal wavy band from one handle to the other. The transition between the unpainted upper part and the painted lower part of the body is marked by two horizontal lines.

BE 27292, FS 294, FM 53; H. 0.097 m; D. of the rim 0.18 m; D. of the base 0.053 m

As a shape it is closely comparable to the basin from the LH IIIC Middle¹⁶ Athens Fountain house and to the fragmentary examples from Tiryns,¹⁷ but the arrangement of the decoration, the high ring base, the motif of the thick wavy line and the connection to the amphora, date it to LH IIIC Late.

The basin is an uncommon shape derived from the earlier rounded cup.¹⁸ These were developed closely to each other. Basins are not usually found in funerary but mainly in domestic contexts.¹⁹

16. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 602, no. 500, fig. 224. – THOMATOS 2006, 131, fig. 1447.

17. THOMATOS 2006, 131, fig. 1448. – PODZUWEIT 2007, 73–74, pl. 40/8; with monochrome interior 41/1–3.

18. FRENCH 2007, fig. 1.

19. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 1230.

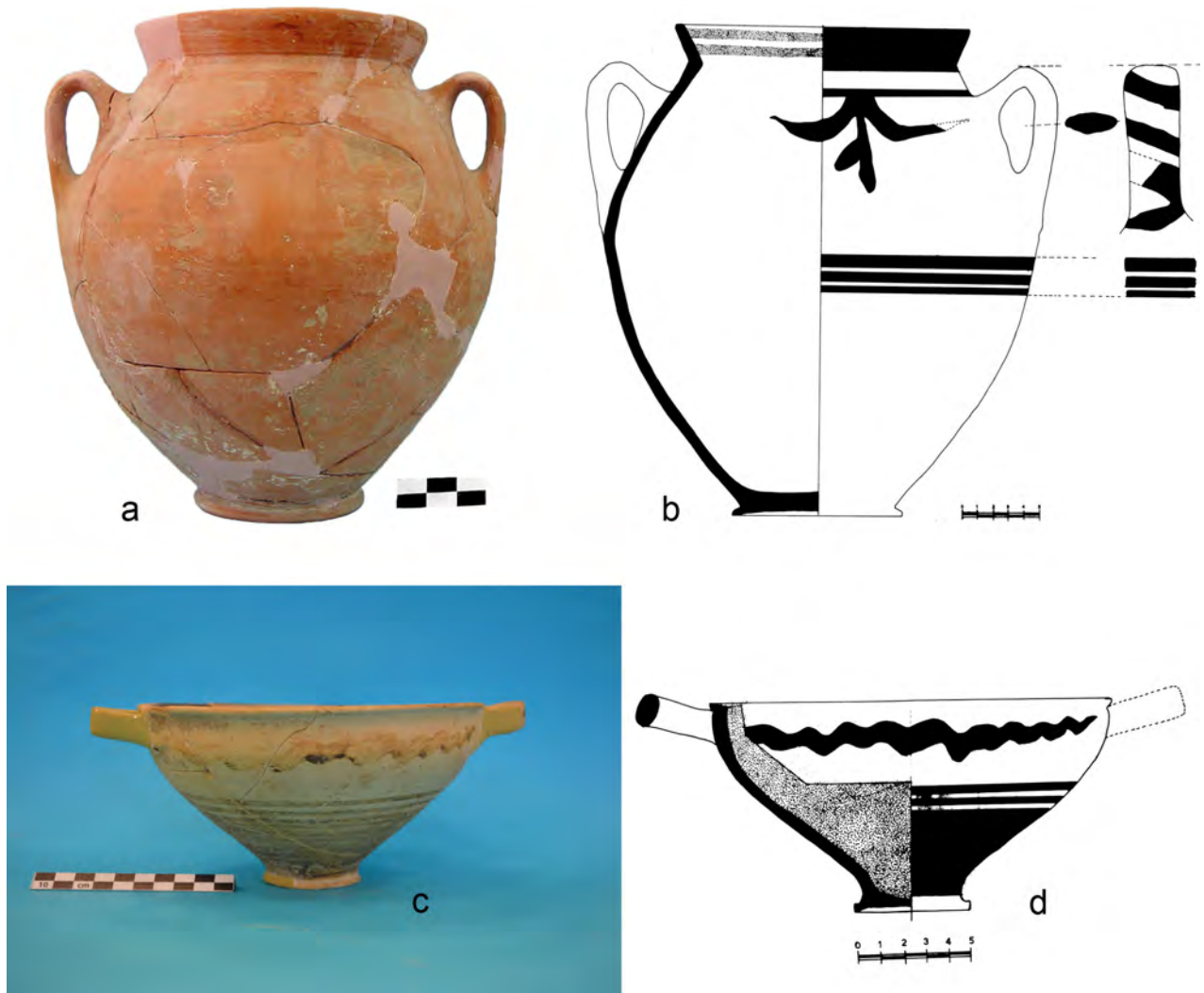


Fig. 6. Cremation 2; a, b. the urn, an amphora; c, d. a basin, which covered the urn.

Cremation 3

Another ovoid, wide-mouthed amphora (figs. 7a–b)²⁰ is badly preserved and was fabricated in poor and gritty clay, and although it was wheel-made, it looks like it was hand-made. The amphora has a high everted rim, vertical handles from the rim to the shoulder and a raised flat base and it is decorated with a painted band inside the rim, another one outside at the lower part of the rim, followed by the relief line at the joint of the rim to the body, a broad band around the belly and one band which was a little narrower on the lower body. The clay is reddish-yellow.

BE 27327, 10YR 7/6 FS 66; H. 0.269 m; D. of the base 0.11 m; D. of the mouth 0.165 m; D. of the belly 0.24 m.

It was covered by a deep semi-globular cup with a ring base and a vertical strap handle (figs. 7c–d). On the inside it was decorated with two pairs of painted bands at the bottom and in the middle it had a painted lip and on the outside there was a band below the rim and a hook under the handle.

It was commonly found during LH IIIC, both in settlement and funerary use²¹ and is comparable to many examples with linear decoration on the inside and outside from LH IIIC Middle. The hook under the handle is a common feature on the mainland throughout the LH IIIC period.²²

The amphora–urn, that is similar to the urn of Cremation 2, although of a LH IIIC Middle date, represents a common ovoid shape, that was known in earlier periods as

20. Cremation 3: weight 206 gr., mainly from long bones, some pieces from a skull, a whitish colour, medium deformation.

21. THOMATOS 2006, 113, Chart 1, 2.

22. MOUNTJOY 2007, 224.

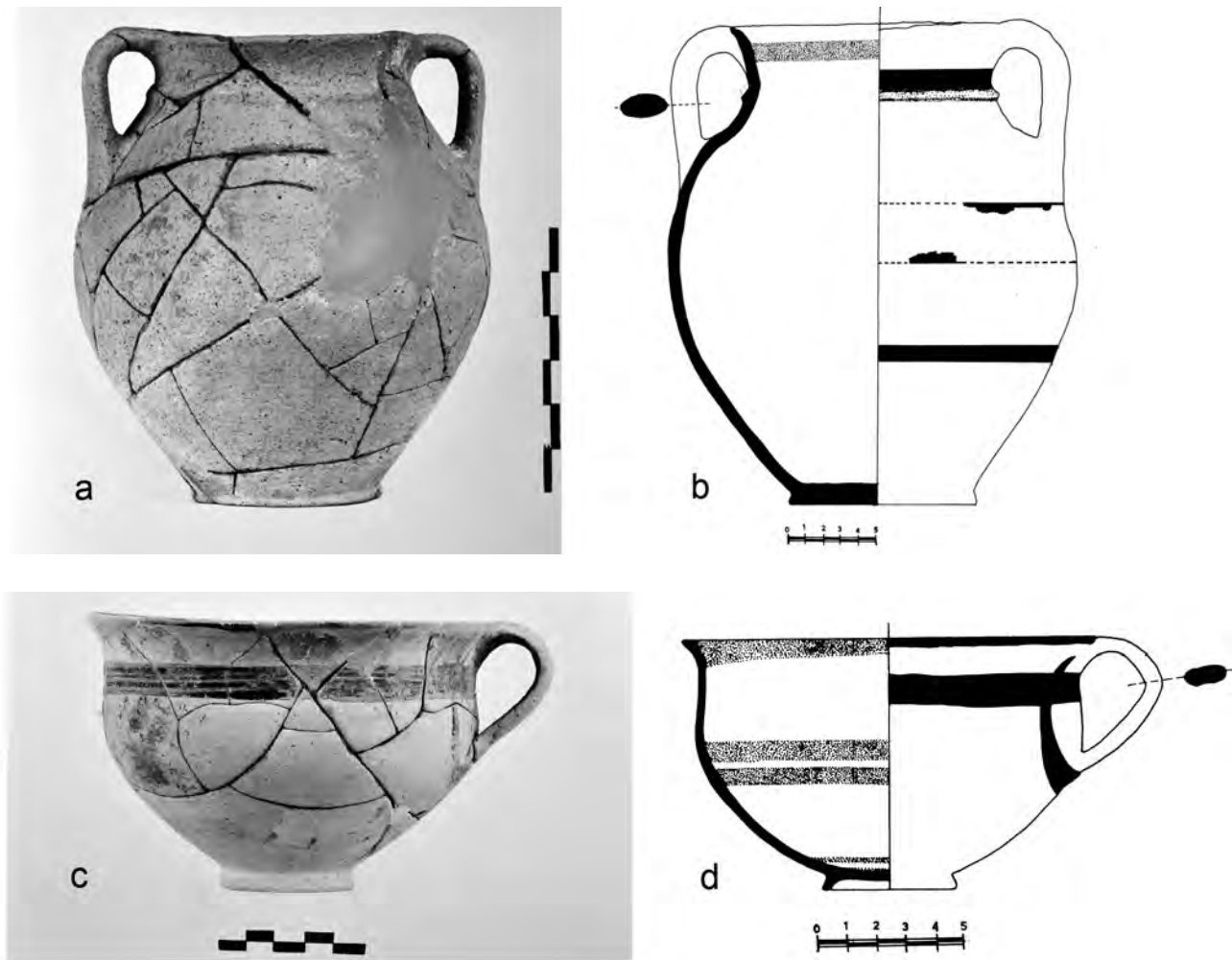


Fig. 7. Cremation 3; a, b. the urn, an amphora; c, d. the cup which covered the urn.

storage or cooking vessel of Helladic origin.²³ The shape can be compared to an example from Tiryns,²⁴ an earlier vessel from Kommos²⁵ and a later one from Enkomi on Cyprus.²⁶ It resembles more the wide-mouthed jars of handmade burnished pottery with foreign northern characteristics. This is despite the tendency of the time to imitate and adapt this northern pottery to the Mycenaean style and quality. It might have been made by foreigners influenced by Mycenaean pottery or by Mycenaeans, who had integrated foreign elements after a long period of co-existence.²⁷

Cremation 4

The fourth cremation burial (fig. 8e) was deposited in an amphoriskos²⁸ with a globular body, concave neck and raised ring base and horizontal round handles pointing upwards from the shoulders (figs. 8a–b). The entire neck is painted with a reserved line under the rim and another one at the joint to the shoulder; a broader painted band runs around the belly.

It is close to the monochrome type that is common in the Argolid,²⁹ Attica³⁰ and Naxos and Rhodes.³¹

23. FURUMARK 1941, 38, FS 66.

24. STOCKHAMMER forthcoming, pl. 47/1186.

25. LM IIIB. – WATROUS 1992, pl. 32/1345.

26. MOUNTJOY 2005, 189 and fig. 31.

27. RUTTER 1977, 5.

28. Cremation 4: weight 179 gr., pieces of long bones and seven to eight pieces of a skull, whitish colour, partly cracked. Outside the urn, 19 gr., 20–30 thin bone fragments were collected. They possibly belong to a baby, length of the arm bone: 0.0065 m, cracked.

29. Tiryns: PODZUWEIT 2007, 142, pl. 72/3. – Asine: MOUNTJOY 1999a, 160–161, no. 328, fig. 42. – FRÖDIN, PERSSON 1938, 415 and fig. 270/3.

30. Perati: IAKOVIDIS 1970, 885, pl. 565.

31. THOMATOS 2006, fig. 46–52.

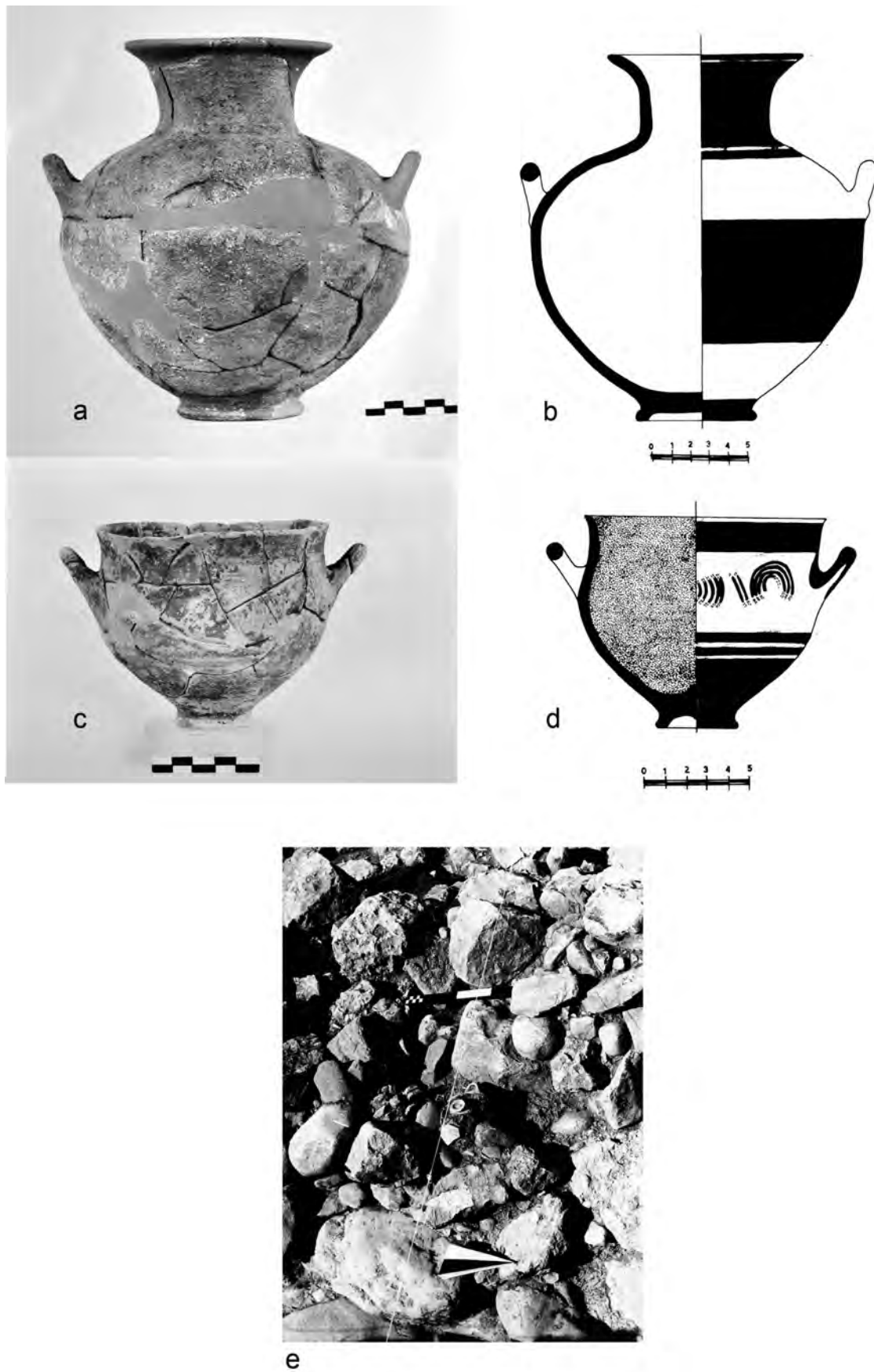


Fig. 8. Cremation 4; a, b. the urn, an amphoriskos; c, d. deep bowl, which covered the urn; e. situation.

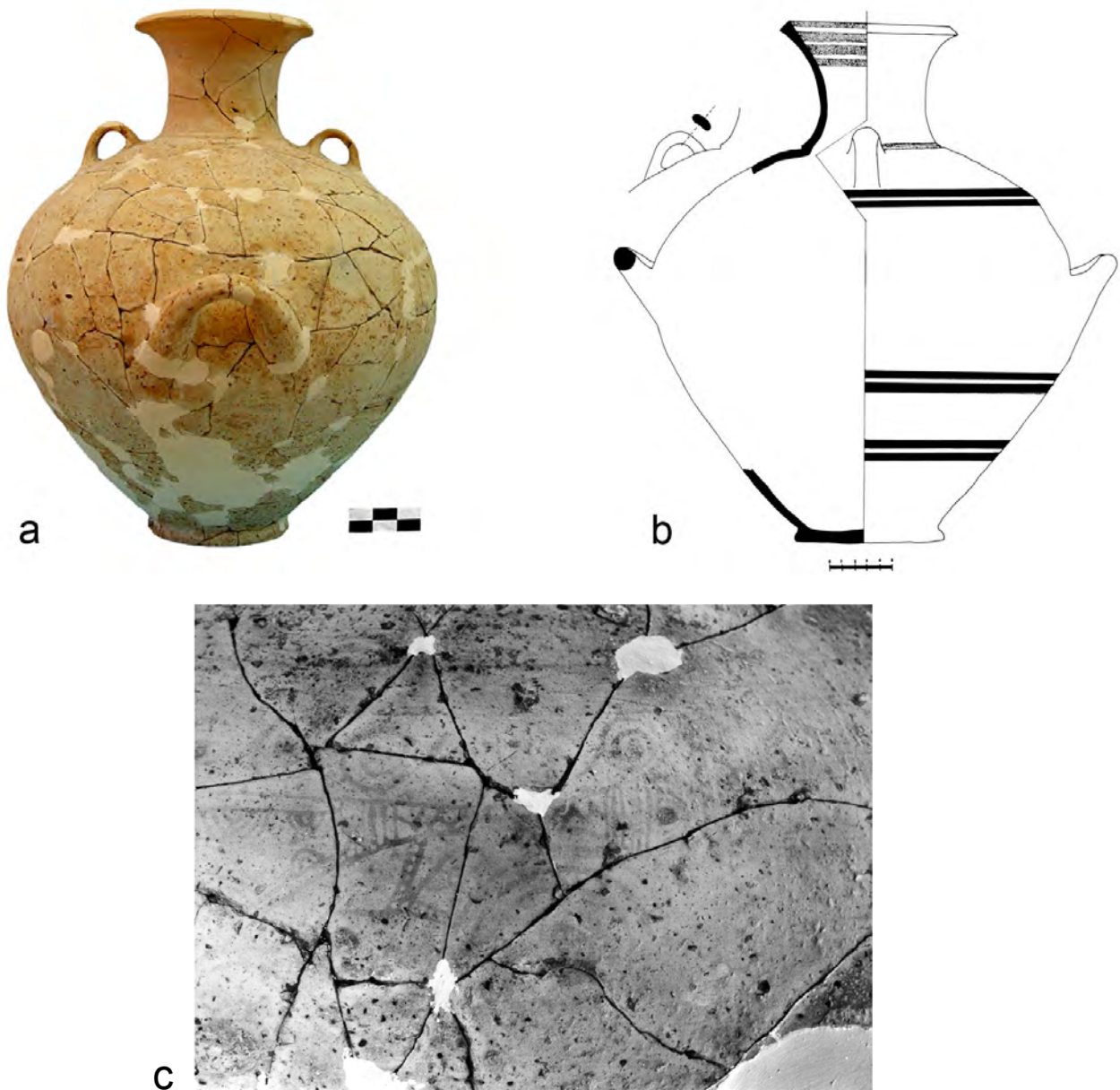


Fig. 9. Cremation 5; a, b, the urn, a four-handled amphora; c, a detail of the amphora.

BE 27291, 5YR 6/6; H. 0.19, FS 59, FM 559; D. of the base 0.063 m; D. of the mouth 0.10 m; D. of the belly 0.166 m

It is covered by a semi-globular deep bowl with a badly preserved decoration of running spirals in a reserved band between the horizontal round handles with a monochrome stippled interior (figs. 8c–d). If there had originally been an open centre of the spirals, then it would have been characteristic of the advanced phase of LH IIIC Middle.³²

BE 27294, FS 285, FM 46, 10 YR 8/4; H. 0.092m; D. of the base 0.038 m; D. of the mouth 0.15 m

A head of a human figurine (BE 27373) wearing a polos, similar to the figurine from Cremation 1 was found near the cremation urn.

Cremation 5

The urn (figs. 9a–c)³³ is a four-handled amphora with two horizontal round handles on the belly and two vertical strap handles on the shoulder opposite to each other. The body is biconical with a narrow, flat, discoid base. The badly

³² MOUNTJOY 1999a, 172.

³³ Cremation 5: weight 29 gr., one fragment of a skull and 15 fragments of long bones.



Fig. 10. Cremation 6; a, b. the urn, a hydria; c, d. deep bowl, which covered the urn.

preserved decoration consists of two pairs of bands on the lower body, a pair on the shoulder, a band at the joint between the tall concave neck and the body and four bands inside the splaying neck. Traces of elaborate decoration with antithetic spiral patterns in the so-called Pleonastic style³⁴ are discernible on the belly.

The shape is rare in the northeast Peloponnese, whereas it is common at Achaea and Elis.³⁵ It is always nicely or even elaborately decorated, but the best and most unique example is the four-handled amphora from the Granary at Mycenae, with an Octopus Style decoration on the belly and a Close Style decoration on the shoulder, with birds and rosettes. This kind of decoration is exceptional for such a large vase, as these decoration systems are only suitable for miniature vases, bowls or stirrup jars.^{36,37}

BE 27332, 10YR, 7/3, FS 58; R. 0.41 m; D. of the belly 0.365 m; D. of the base 0.117 m; D. of the mouth 0.13 m

On belly-handled amphorae (FS 58) the handles on the shoulder are sometimes replaced by nipples. Both these types of amphora are quite similar and, seen geographically, similarly distributed. It is seldom found in the Argolid and Corinthia but is more frequently found in the west Peloponnese.

The same provenance is indicated by the choice of elaborate motifs on both urns. It is similar to the decoration from the west Peloponnese. However, the base of the Chania vase is smaller and regular.³⁸

The reason as to why no cover was found is possibly that it had been broken during the use of the land. Fragments of stirrup jars with Close Style decoration and pieces of an

angular bowl found close to this cremation possibly served as offerings and a cover.

Cremation 6

The sixth cremation³⁹ was buried in the middle of the filling in a pit (d. 0.32 m) covered by a flat stone. It is a large hydria with a globular body, an oval shaped vertical handle and two horizontal round handles on the belly (figs. 10a–b). The vase was badly preserved both in shape and decoration. It was decorated with antithetic loops on the belly, a scroll on the front shoulder, a vertical scroll on the handle and three bands on the lower body. As a shape of this size it is derived from the undecorated domestic equipment of the LH IIIB period originating from the mainland tradition. The smaller, richly decorated version is a ritual vase originating in the Argolid. Since LH IIIA2 it is usually found in tombs, is frequently pierced at the base, so that it could have served as a rhyton for libations. A small hydria found in a chamber tomb at Mycenae⁴⁰ is decorated in Close Style, evidently of a LH IIIC Middle date, as is the date of the cremation urn. The ritual character associated with water is also attested by the funerary use of the shape here at Chania and also at Argos.⁴¹ Its decoration can also be compared to specimens from Tiryns.⁴² The restored shape is globular and the vertical handle is oval. Thus it differs to the usual shape in the Argolid which was more ovoid and it is similar to the Attic profile.⁴³

BE 27331, FS 128, FM 48 (scroll), FM 50 (antithetic loops); H. 0.345 m; D. of the mouth 0.09 m; D. of the belly 0.305 m; D. of the base 0.122 m

It was covered by a semi-globular deep bowl (figs. 10c–d), another version of the well-known complete bowl from Korakou with antithetic birds around a central triglyph and triangular patches in Close Style decoration. Fragments of similar deep bowls were found at the acropolis of Mycenae,⁴⁴ at Korakou and Perachora.⁴⁵ All of these are considered to be Argive products, attributed to a Mycenaean workshop, active with a group of painters in LH IIIC Middle, painting on miniature vessels of high quality.⁴⁶ Another equally elaborate bowl comes from the Granary at Mycenae, where the birds are depicted in a frieze with fine and excellent rendering.

34. The term, first used by F. Schachermeyr, was brought back by P. Mountjoy (MOUNTJOY 1999a, 513) especially for Crete and further for all the local workshops, in order to differentiate this style of decoration from the similar miniature Close Style. A collar neck amphora, a cremation urn from Argos, displays elaborate decoration of the Pleonastic style with a mixture of linear motifs. It appears as if it had been realized that the large size of the vase did not suit the imitation of the miniature form of the Close Style (PITEROS 2001, 113, fig. 36).

35. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 159, 424–425, 430.

36. Firstly J. Benson attributed seven vases from Mycenae and Korakou to the “rosette painter” (BENSON 1961, 337–347), including the Granary four-handled amphora. Güntner considers that the “rosette painter” belongs to a larger workshop that produced a great number of vases (GÜNTNER 2000, 120, pl. 56.4a–b). A. Vlahopoulos agrees and attributes more vases to the production of this workshop from the excavations at Tiryns and an Octopus Style stirrup jar from the J. P. Getty Museum. He also presents all the opinions and bibliography regarding the “rosette painter” (VLAHOPOULOS 2006a, 179–192).

37. FRENCH 2004, fig. 5. – VERMEULE, KARAGEORGHIS 1982, pl. xi.19.

38. THOMATOS 2006, 21–22. – MOUNTJOY 1999a, 425–426, nos. 85–86, fig. 149.

39. Cremation 6: very few unidentified fragments of bones.

40. VERDELIS 1962, 77–78 and pl. 84a; 85a; Alepotrypa tomb Γ.

41. PITEROS 2001, 112, fig. 32, 34.

42. PODZUWEIT 2007, 148–151, pl. 77.

43. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 119, 136, 163. – THOMATOS 2006, 14–6.

44. SAKELLARAKIS 1992, 89–93, nos. 185–194.

45. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 238–239, nos. 211–214, fig. 79.

46. BENSON 1961, 337 pl. 101/9. – VERMEULE, KARAGEORGHIS 1982, 166–167.

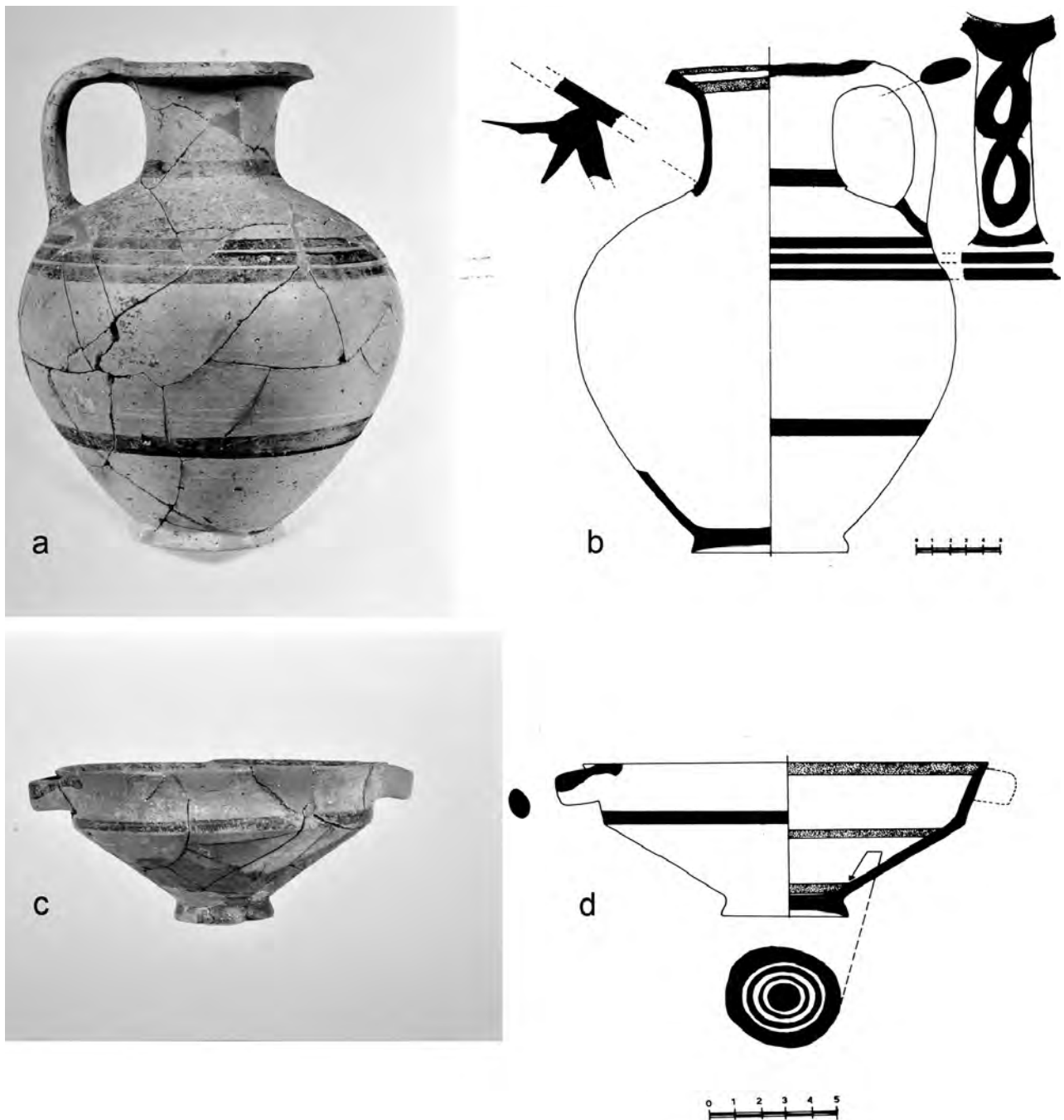


Fig. 11. Cremation 7; a, b. the urn, a jug; c, d. the shallow angular bowl, which covered the urn;

The Chania deep bowl represents a slightly later edition of the Mycenaean workshop since the Korakou and the Granary bowls are more finely drawn with a thinner brush. The birds are completely hatched on the granary piece and on the Korakou bowl they have a silhouette neck. On the Chania bowl the birds are mainly drawn in hatched outline and only partially as silhouettes. They have no common details and their calligraphic figures cover the panel without leaving much space for the hanging triangles. Nevertheless,

another pictorial vase of fine quality is added to the highly decorated pottery of LH IIIC Middle and a representative example of a Close Style workshop from Mycenae. The interior is monochrome with three reserved lines below the rim like the bowl from the granary. This decoration is in contrast to the single reserved line on the Korakou other deep bowls. A reserved band is also on the exterior under the rim and on the monochrome lower body there are three reserved bands.

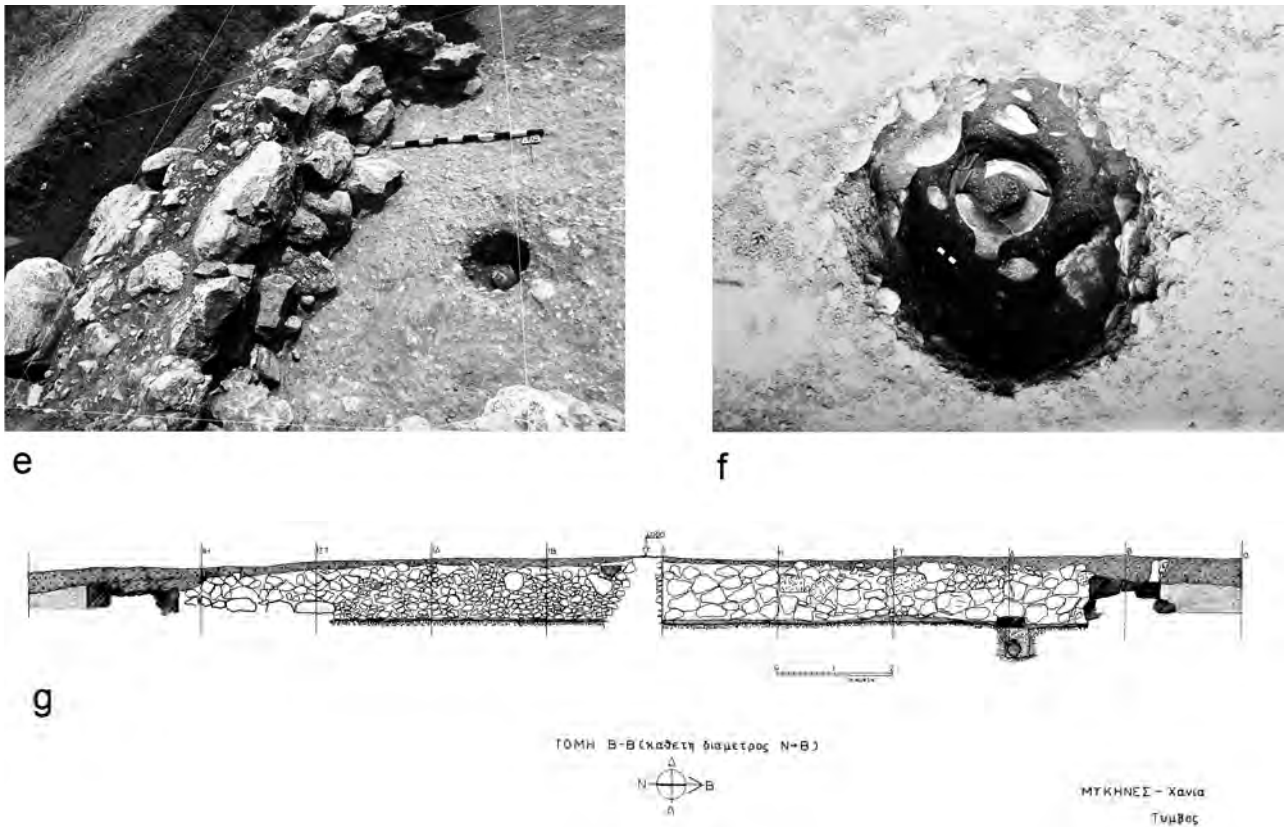


Fig. 11. Cremation 7; e. primary burial under the floor; f. the urn without shallow angular bowl; g. North-south-profile of the tumulus with cremation 7.

BE 27290, 5Y, 7/2, FS 285, FM 7, FM75, FM42; H. 0.096 m; D. of the mouth 0.11 m; D. of the base 0.04 m

A head of an anthropomorphic figurine (BE 27372) with pellet eyes and a polos, quite similar to the one from cremation 1, was collected next to the bowl which had been placed upside down. It is a part of a late Psi type B figurine.⁴⁷

Cremation 7 (figs. 11e–g)

Cremation 7 was the primary burial on the floor of the tumulus described above. The urn,⁴⁸ in the shape of a bi-conical jug (figs. 11a–b), had a hollow rim and a flat handle from the rim to the shoulder. The body is slanting inwards to the raised base. The jug was decorated with a single band around the rim and another a bit deeper on the inside, a band at the joint between the neck and the shoulder and a group of three lines framing the shoulder zone, with a tassel hanging opposite the handle. The handle is decorated with

a band around the base and a figure of eight shaped loop. This decoration can be compared to a vase from Tiryns,⁴⁹ vessels from the tombs at Asine⁵⁰ and a cremation urn from Argos.⁵¹

BE 27325, 10YR 7/3, FS 106, FM 48; H. 0.29 m; D. of the rim 0.117 m; D. of the base 0.092 m; D. max. 0.229 m

It was covered by a shallow angular bowl with horizontal flat handles (figs. 11c–d). The linear decoration consists of one band at the carination, one at the inside on the rim, another one at the carination and a faded spiral or concentric circles on the bottom. The type of vase (FS 295) is at home in the Argolid in the LH IIIC Advanced phase, Mycenae,⁵² Tiryns and also functions as a cover of an urn at Argos.⁵³

BE 27295, 7.5R, 5/6, FS 295; H. 0.071 m; D. of the base 0.047 m; D. of the rim 0.158 m

47. FRENCH 1971, 135–136.

48. Cremation 7: total weight of the double cremation 465 gr., fragments of long bones and skulls, medium deformation.

49. PODZUWEIT 2007, 134, pl. 66/11; pl. 67/1–6.

50. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 162–163, nos. 332–333, fig. 43.

51. PITEROS 2001, 111, fig. 28.

52. FRENCH 2004, 178, fig. 181; fig. 185/6.

53. PITEROS 2001, 111, fig. 29.

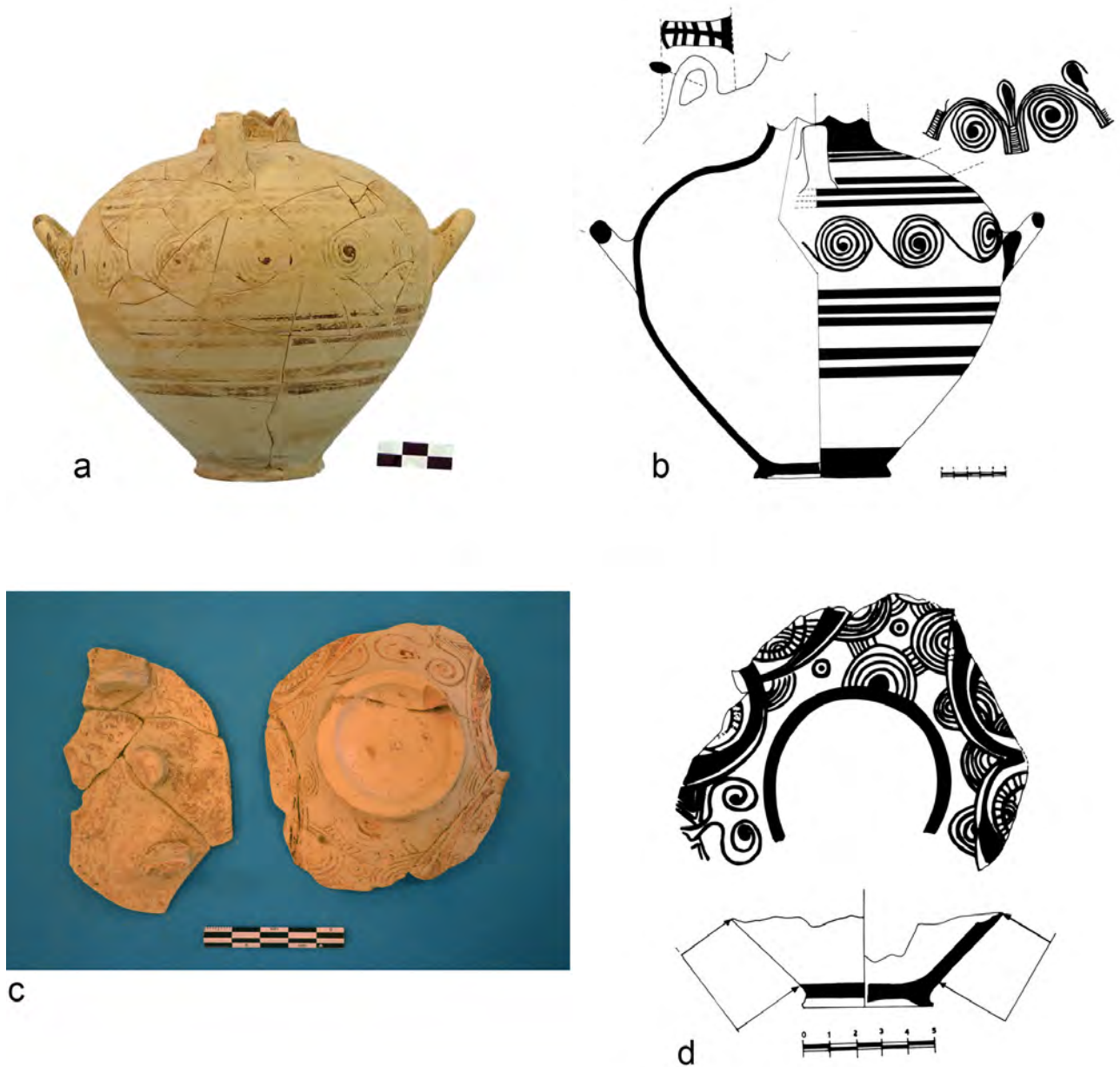


Fig. 12. Cremation 8; a, b. the urn, a four-handled amphora; c, d. Octopus Style stirrup jar.

The group is dated to LH IIIC Middle Advanced which is an important fact since as it belongs to the primary burial it dates the construction of the tumulus. The other interesting point is that the anthropological study of the remains of the bones has identified two cremated skeletons, one of a strongly built male adult and another one of a child of about 1 to 4 years. The simultaneous burial of two deceased persons is not uncommon but it cannot always be easily identi-

fied unless both skeletons are undisturbed. In this case it is certain that an adult and a child were buried together, even if their death happened at slightly different times. The child enjoyed the protection of the adult, be it male or female, in the afterlife, as is supposed for multiple inhumations in MH cist graves.⁵⁴

After the burial the circular pit was covered by a poros block. Sometime later the construction of the tumulus took place in a procedure described above.

⁵⁴ NORDQUIST 1990, 39, n. 21.



e



f

g

Fig. 12. Cremation 8; e. situation; f. the urn with the bronze ring; g. the bronze ring.

Cremation 8

This cremation (figs. 12e–f)⁵⁵ was buried in a four-handled amphora in the surface layer with a depth of only 10 cm. The rim of the vase was broken and only the lower part of the neck is preserved. No cover was found, but sherds of an unpainted angular bowl. This bowl was probably used as

lid of the amphora. Furthermore, a fragment of a stirrup jar, decorated in the Octopus Style, was found.

The four-handled amphora (figs. 12a–b), similar in shape to the urn of Cremation 5, is decorated with painted bands in groups of three and two and a zone of running spirals on the belly between the horizontal round handles and stemmed spirals on the shoulder between the vertical strap handles. These are decorated by parallel horizontal lines crossed by a central bar. The preserved lower part of

⁵⁵ Cremation 8: weight 152 gr., fragments of long bones and two to three fragments from a skull or a pelvis.

the neck is monochrome, indicating the same for the entire neck.

The belly-handled amphora, a simpler version of the four-handled amphora (identical in shape), is a vase used consistently as a cremation urn from LH IIIC Middle onwards to the Submycenaean (Kerameikos) and the Geometric period. The shape is popular in the northwest Peloponnese and Perati where it is used as a cremation urn inside chamber tombs. It preserves a MH derivation of storage vessels encountered at Grave Circle B.⁵⁶ Belly-handled amphorae were used during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods in Attica. The amphorae were refined then in decoration and shape, sometimes with double horizontal handles, and were used as cremation urns for female burials.⁵⁷

BE 27330, 10YR, 7/4, FS 58, FM 46, FM 51, H. 0.298 m; D. of the base 0.104 m; D. of the rim 0.077 m; D. of the belly 0.27 m

Some sherds of an Octopus Style stirrup jar were collected (figs. 12c–d). It evidently served as an offering or a ritual vessel of the burial. The sherds were mixed with the fragments of the neck of the urn. The painted decoration is mostly faded but four outlined tentacles can be discerned, the empty space being filled with groups of parallel lines, linear concentric semicircles and circles with a central dot. The tentacles form linear spirals at their end and they cover the preserved lower part of the vase down to the base without any further painted band. The whole appearance with motifs used for Close Style decoration and the complete covering of the lower part of the body indicate a local origin as is the case with the Asine amphoriskos⁵⁸ and the Tiryns stirrup jar.⁵⁹

BE 29912, 10YR, 8/3, FS 175, FM 21 (octopus) 43 semicircles (44 arcs)

The Octopus Style stirrup jar is seldom found in the Argolid in LH IIIC Middle although such vases are found in great numbers at Perati⁶⁰ and Naxos. Its derivation is Cretan but during this period it was locally made at different places.⁶¹ From Mycenae only two Octopus Style vases have been found: a four-handled amphora from the Granary (see above) with exceptional Close Style decoration and a deep conical kylix from Schliemann's excavation.⁶² Both present

an uncommon combination of shape and decoration. The fragmentary Octopus Style stirrup jar from Chania is the first usual vessel type for this decoration found at Mycenae and manufactured at the active pottery workshops there.⁶³

A flat bronze ring of a hammered band found inside the vase is the only metal item from a burial at the cemetery and the only jewel that differentiates the social status of the deceased (figs. 12f–g; 14a).

BE 27385; Weight 1 gr; D. 0.0215 m; Thickness 0.001 m

A conical conulus of grey steatite was found in the context of this cremation.

BE 27365; H. 0.018 m; D. 0.02 m

The function of the small items inside the cremation, the bronze ring and the conulus is questionable because the study of the skeletal remains has possibly identified a child (of 1 to 3 years of age). These finds do not fit to the age of the deceased, particularly the ring has a large diameter and the conulus could certainly not have been used as a spindle-whorl but possibly as a button. Both items were offerings to the dead by the relatives, irrespective of the age at death and their original functions. They seem to represent the alive rather than the deceased.

Cremation 9

Close to Cremation 8 some fragments and a base of a vase, remains of another cremation urn, which is not completely preserved due to the depth that it was in (10cm), were found. A small quantity of bones collected there indicates the use of the vase.

BE 27311, 7.5R, 7/6; D. of the base 0.075 m

Another partially preserved vase, without ash and bones, might also be a cremation urn. Both fragmentary vases come from belly or four-handled amphorae. The latter is decorated with three horizontal parallel bands below the horizontal round handles.

BE27322, 5YR, 7/6 to 10YR, 8/3; H. (preserved) 0.122 m; D. of the base 0.07 m; D. max. 0.198 m

Finds without grave context

Close to and inside the burials the pieces of offerings that were collected indicate an association to the funeral

56. MYLONAS 1973, pls. 95, 103, 116.

57. COLDSTREAM 1977, 55.

58. MOUNTJOY 1999a, 160–161, no. 324, fig. 42.

59. GÜNTNER 2000, 120, pl. 56.4a–b; VLAHOPOULOS 2000, 179–192.

60. IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 2, 181–188.

61. VLAHOPOULOS 2006, 150–209.

62. DEMAPOPOULOU 1990, n. 295.

63. CROUWEL 2007, 74. – A. Vlahopoulos proposed that the workshop of the “rosette painter”, who created the twin, almost identical, octopus stirrup jars, one from Tiryns and the other of unknown provenance from the J. P. Getty Museum, was located at Tiryns and not at Mycenae (VLAHOPOULOS 2006a), as was considered by Benson (BENSON 1961). It might be accepted, if we take the prosperity of Tiryns in LH IIIC Middle into consideration, but masterpieces of the pictorial and Close Style pottery both came equally from Mycenae and Tiryns.

rites since the rest of the tumulus was intact without any sherds, from the surface to the floor, especially in the NW quarter of the tumulus. Besides the finds described above some other pieces of vases and other items in close relation to the burials were collected. Apart from the remarkable offering of the Octopus Style stirrup jar, a small fine vase of exceptional decoration and other fragments of stirrup jars in Close Style were dispersed among the filling. The stirrup jar is an offering usually found in great numbers in chamber tombs of the same period, as well as being found at the cremation and inhumation burials in the tumulus of Argos.⁶⁴

Other sherds come from cups, deep bowls, closed vessels, and kalathoi. Moreover, a piece of a lid was found. A lot of the ceramic material was disturbed by the cultivation of the surface field, that was the unique later use of the land. Only the surface of the monument was disturbed by cultivation, deeper layers remained completely undisturbed. Thus a ceremonial smashing of the offerings or the equipment used for the burials appears to be probable. The custom of ritual smashing of the vessels used for a funeral ceremony at the grave has a long history. In the dromoi of Mycenaean chamber tombs drinking vessels and jugs were dispersed in front of the entrance.⁶⁵ It is also a traditional custom which has its roots in Early Helladic tumuli of Lefkas and which is shared by people of Balkan origin⁶⁶ during the Early and Middle Bronze Age.

The most common but also most intriguing finds are sharply cut fragments of legs of clay vessels in a long rectangular shape, corner pieces, decorated with motifs of LH IIIC Middle: quirks, spirals, semicircles, lozenges and other motifs (figs. 13a–b). They bear horizontal incisions at the joint of the leg to the main body, apparently imitating metallic prototypes. It is suggested that the metallic prototype vessel is the Cypriot fenestrated stand, which for the moment has not yet been found on the Greek Mainland either in bronze or in a clay copy,⁶⁷ till the Protogeometric clay stands at the Kerameikos,⁶⁸ with rectangular openings.⁶⁹ LH IIB to LH IIIB types of stands, although rare, have been recognized and fenestrated stands have been found on Minoan Crete.⁷⁰ A clay copy with rectangular and cut out openings in Herakleion from LM IIIC Late Karphi is the stand most comparable to the Cypriot ones. There was

a long tradition of imitating metallic Cypriot stands in Crete from LM IIIA1 onwards but it is in IIIC Late that this type of stand firstly appeared.⁷¹



Fig. 13a. Clay Stands.

The numerous Chania fragments come from the point over the cremation burials indicating a funeral ritual use. The stands themselves attributed a special importance and religious symbolism to the vases that they supported. Their small size, their diameter is estimated to be 10–16 cm, also indicates the small proportions of the pots supported, rather bowls, cups, or stirrup jars and not craters as is usually to

64. PITEROS 2006, 108.

65. CANAVAGH, MEE 1998, 112.

66. BORGNA, CÀSSOLA GUIDA 2007, 192–196.

67. PAPASAVVAS 2001.

68. MATTHÄUS 1986, 288.

69. KÜBLER 1943, pl. 25, inv. 2028–2029.

70. KOUNTOURI 2005.

71. KANTA, KARETSOU 1997, 162–163.

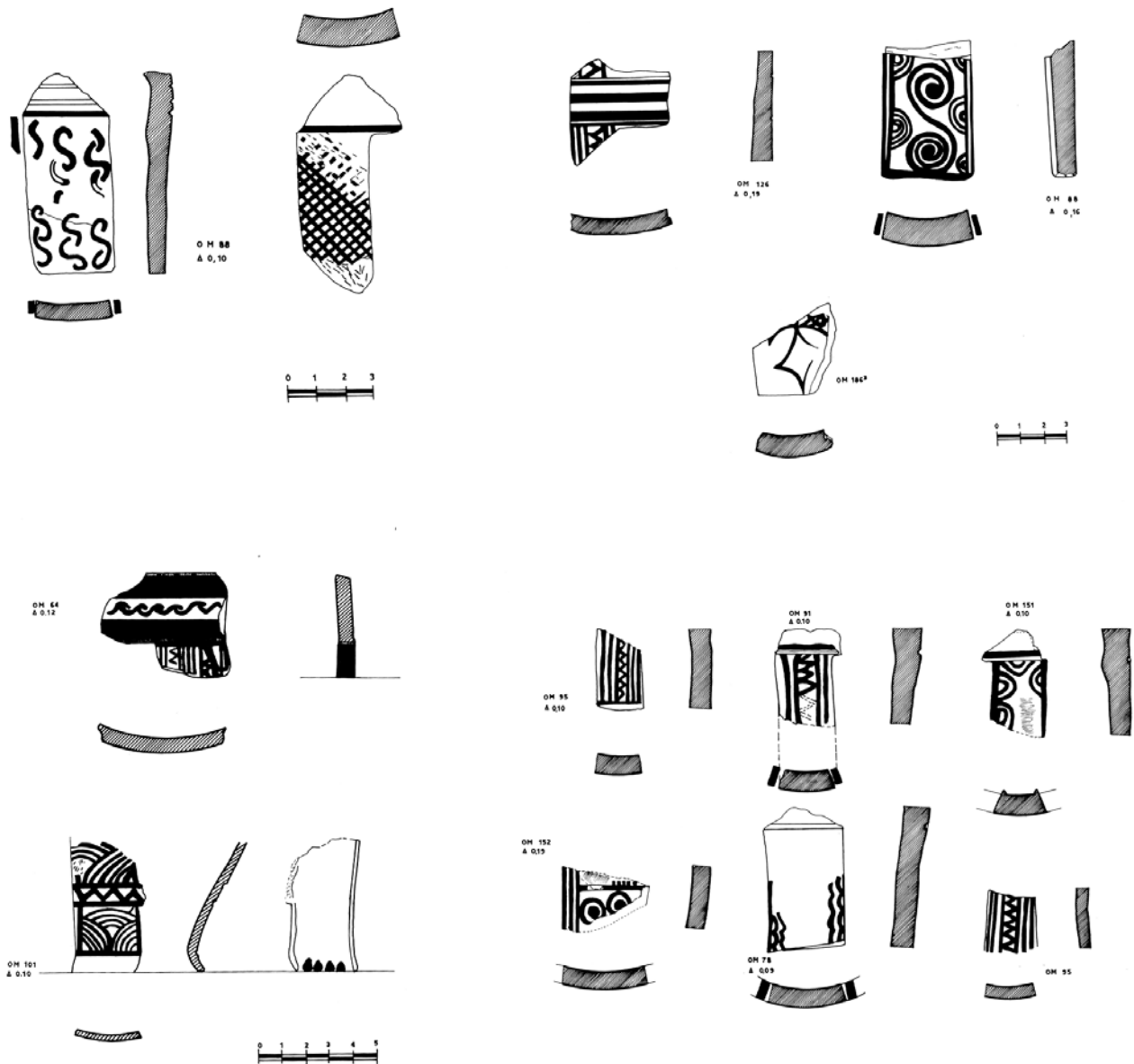


Fig. 13b. Clay stands drawings.

be expected.⁷² Their decoration follows the principles of the LH IIIC Middle local pottery. They are evidently local products directly imitating Cypriot bronze fenestrated stands or clay copies of the bronze Mycenaean imitations.

Some other pottery fragments look like they are a clay copy of another Cypriot bronze and ivory vessel (fig. 13c), the incense burner found in association with tombs and sanctuaries on Cyprus and Crete.⁷³

Close to them some other small handmade clay plaques were found. They bear incisions and have an even and well

worked surface on one side and an unworked surface on the other side (fig. 13d). They mostly resemble a handmade chest of LH IIIC from Kephallonia⁷⁴ and imitate metallic prototypes. Analogous chests are found in PG Kerameikos and Lefkandi.

All of these vessels replace metallic objects which are lacking in this period. Such objects played an important role in the funerary rites of the cremation burials.

On the whole, metal appears unexpectedly on the floor of the tumulus in the form of two small items and a thick piece of a vessel. They are really small but their presence in

72. KOUNTOURI 2005, 292.

73. KARAGEORGHIS 2006, 669. – GEORGIU 2006.

74. BRODBECK-JUCKER 1986, 133, no. 45, fig. 13.

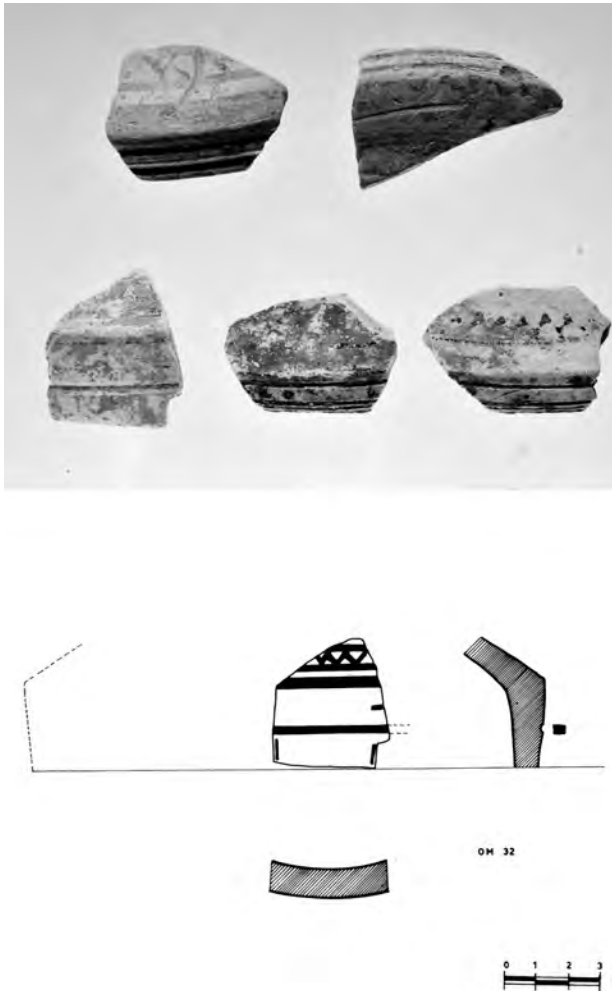


Fig. 13c. Clay incense burner.

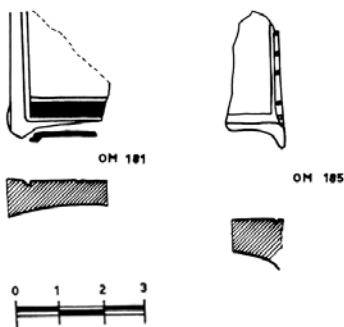


Fig. 13d. Clay pieces of chest.

an artificial level made of clay with rare sherds really makes sense. However, we should not forget the bronze ring from Cremation 8 (fig. 14a) but this is clearly associated with a burial while the three bronze items were an offering to the whole funeral construction. Their material function and date of manufacture may give an indication of their role in the funeral tumulus.

The first one is an instrument with a length of 5.80 cm and a weight of 3.5 gr., one end is pointed whilst the other end is broad and flat like a chisel (fig. 14b).

It is comparable to the bone styli from Mycenaean sites as Mycenae, Tiryns and Thebes. Louis Godart successfully tried writing with such a stylus on clay tablets.⁷⁵ The bone styli are usually long enough, those from Tiryns are both around 6.50–11.85 cm.⁷⁶

The bronze one from Chania is shorter and not found in a context of tablets but it is found in a nonfunctional burial context of a period considered to be illiterate. Nevertheless, it is identified as a stylus because of its general appearance and resemblance to the possible stylus in bronze from Tiryns.⁷⁷ Both are comparable to the bronze styli of historical times in Greece, the bronze styli of the Near East and the ones most recently identified on Cyprus. Giorgos Papasavvas⁷⁸ proposed that they were mostly used for writing, more precisely to incise wax that had been applied to a wooden case, i.e. a writing tablet.

Such wax-filled wooden tablets consisted of two or more pieces tied together to make a diptych, triptych, or polyptych. Bellerephon carried such a tablet from Proitos to Iobates⁷⁹, according to the epic narration.

This perishable material of wax and wood is not preserved in the excavations but a writing tablet of this type was preserved and identified from the Ulu-Burun shipwreck, dated to the end of the 14th century BC. The bronze hinges that connected the wooden tablets indicate that hinges from Pylos and Knossos might also belong to analogous written documents.⁸⁰ The production and use of the bronze stylus from Chania is more likely dated to the palatial period as the one from the acropolis of Tiryns, coming from a LH IIIA1 context.⁸¹ Our stylus is found in a LH IIIC context in a secondary use. It is not related to writing since the tablet fragments of the LH IIIC context in House O at Tiryns⁸² and elsewhere are considered to be accidental finds, but it was deposited intentionally on the floor of the tumulus. The same is true for the two other bronze items.

The second bronze find (fig. 14c) is a pyramidal four-

75. GODART 1994, 245–250.

76. RAHMSTORF 2008, 210–211.

77. GODART 1988.

78. PAPASAVVAS 2003.

79. Iliad, 6, 168–9.

80. MYLONAS-SHEAR 1998. – Papasavvas considers this uncertain as fringes might also have been part of wooden boxes (PAPASAVVAS 2003, 88). But since we find bronze stylus, proper for wax tablets, it gets more probable.

81. KILIAN 1988, 250–251.

82. GERCKE, GERCKE, HIESEL 1975, 195, 11, 16 no. 25 and pl. 41/4.

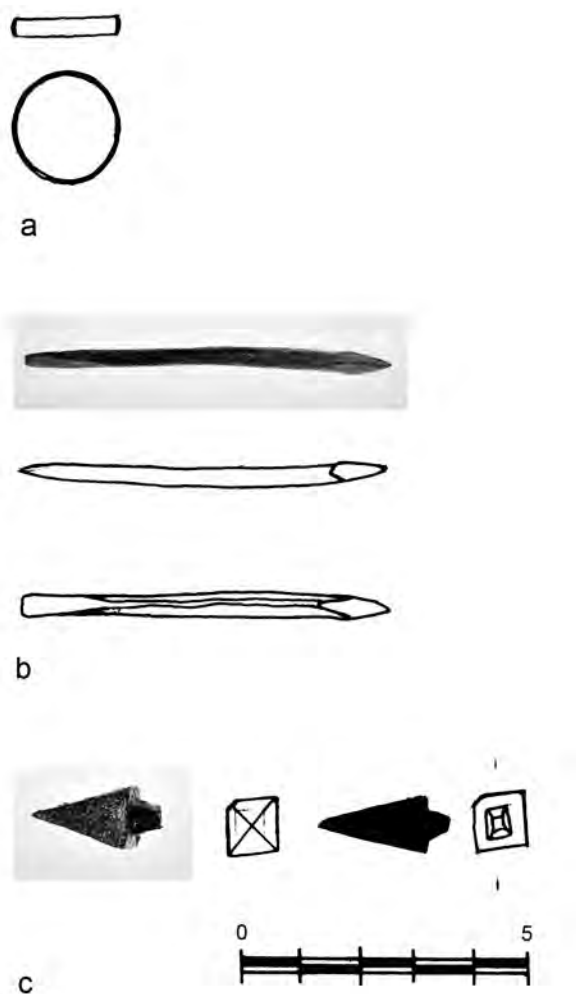


Fig. 14. The bronzes; a. ring (cremation 8); b. stylus; c. arrowhead.

sided arrowhead defined as type IX by Buchholz.⁸³ It is well preserved, appearing not to have been used. Its other functions as a tool or a pin were examined but the function as an arrowhead sounds the most plausible. Arrowheads of this type have been found in a LH IIIB context at Zygouries,⁸⁴ Menidi⁸⁵ and elsewhere.

BE 27,382; l. pyram. 1.81 cm; total 1.2 cm; w. of base 1–1.1 cm; weight 6 gr.

The third object is just a small piece of a bronze vessel on the floor. It looks like it was placed in the tumulus because of the material value of the bronze and not because of its shape which cannot be identified.

BE 27,383; l. 2–3.5 cm; thickness 0.61 cm; weight 10.5 gr

We propose that the three bronze items were the material of the inauguration ceremony of the tumulus at the time

of its initial construction after the first cremation burial. The association of tumuli with metal trade routes was often expressed by bronze offerings.⁸⁶ This association has a long tradition coming from the beginning of the second millennium. During this particular period of LH IIIC Middle there was a decrease in bronze and the family or clan who used the tumulus had no access to metal. This did not prevent the group members from inaugurating the burial ground with the proper material with symbolic items coming from the past with no further practical use on their own. The stylus seems useless, the arrowhead does not preserve its tang to insert it in the wooden shaft and the piece of bronze vessel has no shape. Besides the flat ring from cremation 8 these are the only metal finds from the tumulus while warrior graves, richly furnished in metal, have been found in chamber tombs in Achaea, northwest Peloponnese.⁸⁷

On the other hand, hoards of metal items, vessels, ingots and weapons provide evidence for the insecurity of the population at this time. These unsafe conditions are a reason for not placing offerings in the tombs or it is because of a changed attitude towards the funerals. With respect to the social situation offerings to the dead decreased intensively during the LH IIIB2 period. In contrast, the LH IIIC warrior graves of an elite class are richly furnished with weapons and many of them have been excavated in the West Peloponnese. However, at present no certain LH IIIC Middle warrior tomb has been excavated in the Argolid. The only tomb with numerous exclusively metal offerings from Mycenae is the Tripods tomb,⁸⁸ where the offerings are 20 unused bronze axes, one tool and two bronze tripods. The 30 year old deceased does not look like a warrior but rather a treasurer or *qa-si-re-u*, *ka-ke-u*, basileus-chalkeus,⁸⁹ otherwise his family would not have been able to afford to offer him such a treasure⁹⁰.

The foundation offerings on the floor were completed by the deposition of a figurine torso (fig. 15a), which is the fragment of a type B Psi late figurine with pellets representing breasts. It can be observed that no complete figurine was offered at the burials, where only heads of three Psi type figurines were offered (fig. 15b). This situation suggests a probable secondary use of the figurines. These were deposited during the funeral rites, after they had been used for a period of time for another religious function or they had

83. BUCHHOLZ 1962, 27.

84. BLEGEN 1928, 202.

85. BUCHHOLZ 1962, fig. 7/15, no.104.

86. BORGNA, CÀSSOLA GUIDA 2007, 196. – MÜLLER 1989, 35.

87. DEGER-JALKOTZY 2006.

88. ONASSOGLU 1995, 25–49.

89. MAZARAKIS AINIAN 2006, 199. – KOUROU 1994, 214.

90. In the future we will come back to the identity of the dead from the Tripod tomb with more arguments.

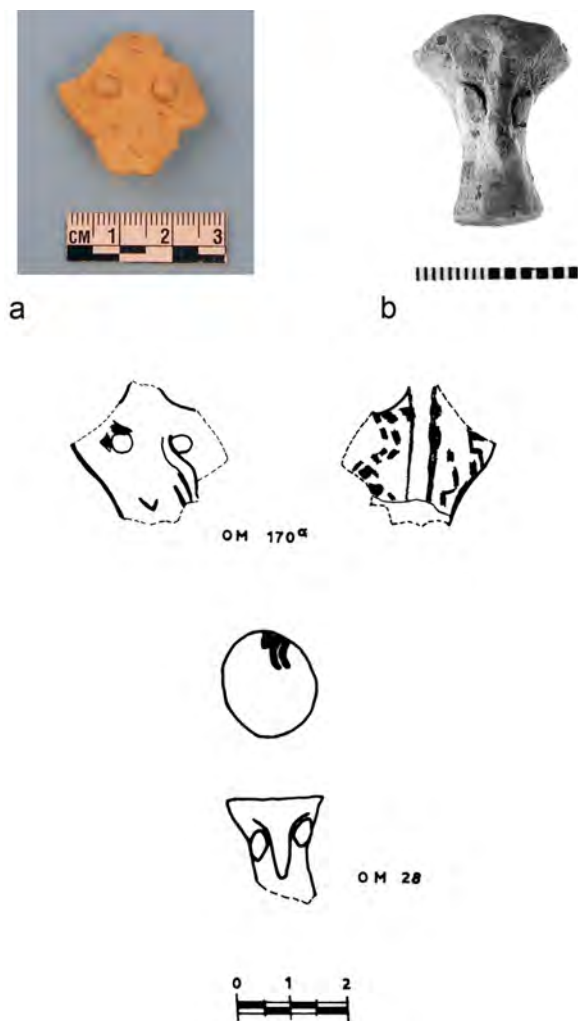


Fig. 15a. Body Fragment and heads of Psi figurines.

been damaged or intentionally broken during the funeral ceremony, depositing the head and keeping the rest of the figurine. Both suppositions take for granted that the sanctity of a figurine is preserved, even if it is damaged. This procedure is attested in chamber tombs in LH III burials, where fragmentary figurines are found, although skepticism exists about what happened when the tomb was reopened. It is proven that it occurred later at Lefkandi in the Protogeometric (PG) period.⁹¹ This was the case with the famous centaur figure. The head of the centaur was found in one tomb and the body in another one some years later than the first, a certain act of a chthonian rite.⁹²

91. LEBESSI 1996, 149–150.

92. Based on the finds and skeletons A. Lebesse suggested a special relationship between the persons buried in the two tombs, possibly a teacher and a young student. – LEBESSI 1996, 149–150. – DESBOROUGH, NICHOLLS, POPHAM 1970, 21–30.

All the fragments of figurines, the torso on the floor, the polos heads from Cremation 1 and Cremation 6 and in addition another polos head close to Cremation 4, bear characteristics of the group B or late Psi type according to French.⁹³ The painted decoration is faded and not discernible.

Besides the conulus found in Cremation 8, three other conuli were found independently of each other among the sherds which were concentrated near the cremation burials 8 and 9. They appear to be the same conical shape, in different sizes and in a variety of grey steatite. One of them (BE 17366) is slightly different in shape, having a convex base. This (BE 27366) is classified as type B according to Spyros Iakovidis⁹⁴ and type 1d according to the typology for the Tiryns material.⁹⁵ In this context their function remains problematic. Only the one (BE 27365) from Cremation 8 was found inside the cremation urn, the conulus BE 27364 was found near Cremation 9, which had been disturbed, and the remaining two at the burial place south of Cremations 8 and 9 at a distance of 1m. Conuli are found in settlements, cult places and tombs and they may have had various functions. Initially clay conuli were used as spindle-whorls and from the end of the fifteenth century onwards they were made of steatite as well and were also used as buttons or dress and curtain weights.⁹⁶

The small group of only four conuli from the tumulus, dispersed at the surface (BE 27366, 27368, 27364), allows us to suggest a possible use as buttons on a shroud or a funeral dress. Their grey colour might be the result of the effect the high temperature had on the black steatite.

Discussion

Cremation burials at Mycenae in LH IIIC Middle Advanced and early LH IIIC Late are an exceptional new burial custom and constitute a change after a period with inhumation burials. Such burials were deposited in numerous chamber tomb cemeteries from the early Mycenaean period onwards and although a use of fire has been attested, it was not only a fast burial procedure but also a means to clean the tomb and to make it ready for a new burial. The re-use of earlier chamber tombs is a common practice in LH IIIC and cremation burials were also placed in some new cut tombs. In most of the tombs the fire appears to have had a purifying role after the decay of the deceased and after putting aside their bones and offerings. In the Argolid fire did not play a part in the funeral.

93. FRENCH 1971, 135.

94. IAKOVIDIS 1977.

95. RAHMSTORF 2008, 126–129.

96. IAKOVIDIS 1977, 113–119.

On the contrary, at Chania a spectacular ceremony took place before the burial, in the form of a cremation of the deceased on a big pile of wood. A large quantity of material was necessary in order to achieve the high temperature needed for the burning of the human body. Wood is a valuable material for the region of the Peloponnese, largely used for cooking, heating, manufacturing pottery and metals and as building material. It is not abundant as in Northern Europe. At the same time, a monumental funeral construction of a stone tumulus with a circular cyclopean enclosure forms the cemetery of the cremation burials. A great deal of labour is also required to build and fill it with stones, a material which is not readily found in the plain. It is the first monumental construction after the great palatial public works of the LH IIIB period and the first great funeral building after the construction of the tholos tombs in the late 14th century BC. The lack of luxury is replaced by the monumentality, since the diameter of the circle (20 m) is very close to the dimensions of the Grave Circles A and B of early Mycenae.⁹⁷

All the other tumuli are smaller. The largest example is the tumulus of Exalophos in Thessaly, which has a diameter of 20 m and is dated to LH IIIC too. The tumulus with cremation burials of LH IIIC Middle and Late periods at nearby Argos is also large and includes 52 burials, 16 inhumations in cist graves and 36 cremations. Its surface is estimated by the excavator to be more than 67 m² but it has been largely disturbed and its boundary is therefore unclear.⁹⁸

The stone filling of the Chania tumulus is also exceptional for the Argolid where, from the Middle Helladic (MH) period to LH III, the tumuli were covered with earth and gravel, or clay and gravel as in MH Argos. Parallels to this constructional characteristic are found in Albania,⁹⁹ Epirus and in LH IIIC Late in East Macedonia, at Nevrokopi.

With regards to these two features of the cemetery, i.e. the monumental funeral tumulus and the expensive burial, we have reached the conclusion that, at Chania, the deceased had a high status in the social hierarchy and they belonged to a ruling class. On the other hand, we pose the question as to why they preferred to cremate their dead, while inhumation used to be the common custom at this time and the period immediately before it. The ordinary chamber tomb cemeteries either continued to use re-used or newly cut tombs to accept inhumation burials at Mycenae and everywhere else in the Aegean. At Argos cist graves and cremation burials are located side by side in the same tumulus and plot at the

cemetery of Tripolis street.¹⁰⁰ On and close to the acropolis of Mycenae single graves and pits were built in the ruins for inhumations with new types of grave markers like the Warrior krater of LH IIIC Middle, the Bird krater of LH IIIC Late and Tripods.¹⁰¹ Depopulation occurred in the cemeteries and the settlements at Mycenae, so there would have been enough space for burials. One answer might be that they cremated their dead because they did not have to follow the rules and regulations of the previous strong palatial system. The people who had been depressed by the authority were free and independent, as was the case in the developing periphery. They learned new ideas through travelling and from travellers and then made their choice. At the same time new settlers were not prevented from exercising their traditional customs.

The burials of the preceding LH IIIB2 period present an austere character with a lack of non-perishable offerings. This might be attributed to the power of the central authority of the palatial system that had more interest in secular great works, such as walls, gates, water systems, roads rather than in monumental funeral buildings. As a result, the death and the afterlife took on a more spiritual character, thus preparing the way for the acceptance of cremation, even in its isolated appearance.

Certainly identified cremation burials appear sporadically in the Aegean during the palatial period (14th–13th BC) at the Dodecanese and the coast of Asia Minor.¹⁰² In LH IIIC Early the first cremation burial is found in a bronze kalathos¹⁰³ accompanied by LH IIIC Middle cremations in pottery urns¹⁰⁴ in the chamber tomb at Spaliareika in Achaea. The cemetery of Perati presents a continuous case of cremations in chamber tombs during the entire LH IIIC period. At Mycenae cremation appears in LH III Middle, which was a period of prosperity, and a revival of the site with regards to artistic and building activities inside and outside of the acropolis. The Granary, an important building between Grave Circle A and the wall, was in use almost as long as the tumulus.¹⁰⁵ Only one burial postdates the destruction of this building caused by some indeterminable events of this period of turmoil. After a relatively short time the tumulus of Chania was no longer used, while at nearby

97. Circle A: diam. 26 m. Circle B: diam. 27 m. – PELON 1976, 115–136.

98. PITEROS 2001, 103, 114.

99. HAMMOND 1973, 189–197. – BEJKO 2007, 215. – GRAMMENOS 1981.

100. PITEROS 2001, 103. – KANTA 1975, 259.

101. FRENCH 2009, 152, fig. 1. – ONASSOGLOU 1995, 27, 145–146.

102. JUNG 2007, 215–216.

103. PETROPOULOS 2000.

104. The earlier (LH IIIC Early) material like the stirrup jars offered there might not be closely associated with the burials that could be dated to LH IIIC Middle like the other cremations.

105. FRENCH 2002, 78–79.

Argos the number of burials of LH IIIC Late is equal to LH IIIC Middle (16 for each period) and the burial plot is heavily used.

To sum up: the cremation burials at Chania are a complete change in the burial customs of the 12th century. At Mycenae cremation was performed for the first time on the mainland both extensively and exclusively in a cemetery, while at Argos cremation occurred simultaneously with inhumation. Despite the laborious construction of the cemetery, the cremation burials themselves present an austere character without weapons, jewellery and valuable offerings, in comparison to the prominent warrior graves of the same period. Cremations were rare in LH IIIC Early everywhere in the Aegean area. A few cremation burials of this period are known from Perati and Achaia. Around the Mediterranean world they occur sporadically both in place and time, in periods earlier than LH IIIC, in the East, in Asia Minor, Syria, the Dodecanese, in the far North, in the Balkans, in Northeastern Italy and the hinterland of the Adriatic route. After their first appearance in the Argolid and in a few sites in Achaia cremations find a wider distribution in LH IIIC Late in the Western Peloponnese and Eastern Macedonia, Attica and Eastern Crete.

The chronological synchronism from the Argolid points to the Adriatic route for this funerary rite as it also functioned centuries ago at the end of the Early Helladic period. North Italy seems to have been the place of origin of cremation, since the custom was practiced there in the same way and the close relations of Italy to the Aegean have been indicated in many fields.¹⁰⁶ The Balkan origin is not proposed because there is no continuous evidence for cremations in Macedonia, situated between the Balkans and Southern Greece, before LH IIIC Late.¹⁰⁷ In the upcoming Iron Age every place dealt with the custom in a different way and its future practice developed independently. In the Argolid, it was no longer practiced except for sporadic use in the PG and Archaic periods.¹⁰⁸ On the contrary it was practiced in Ionian Attica from the Early Iron Age to 750 BC, but in the Doric Argolid inhumation was the common rule.

We cannot avoid considering the oral tradition of the epic poems which entertained the members of communal symposia of these times.¹⁰⁹

The description of the pyre and funeral of Patroklos, a narration probably coming from Asia Minor and the Mycenaean palatial period might have influenced the burial

procedures of the time and facilitated the adoption of cremation.

Focusing on the urns, it can be observed that they were mostly liquid containers, shapes like jugs, amphorae and hydriai that were used for a long period as storage vessels in the domestic sphere. However, this custom of covering the mouth of the urn with a bowl or cup in upside down position is common, especially for the cremation burials in the Argolid. In the chamber tombs of Perati the urns were not covered, except for one with a piece of a coarse vessel as a lid.¹¹⁰ In LH IIIC Late Elis and Achaia¹¹¹ the urns were covered by bases of kylikes.¹¹² All of these cremations were deposited in chamber tombs, where they were sheltered, while our cremation urns were buried individually in a collective mound. Although the lid as a shape existed then, it was not used for covering urns. Drinking vessels were preferred for this purpose. They are an indication of libations or rituals associated with water and its purifying power. In earlier periods cups and bowls in upside down position covered the urns in northwest Italy, which looks like it was the place of origin of this custom, which was also practiced during the LH IIIC Late period in Eastern Macedonia, Skopje and Palio Gynaikokastro.

It is most probable that the same popular beliefs were shared with relation to chthonian fertility rites, which were vitally important during a period of climatic change with long periods of drought.¹¹³ Some offerings, in particular fragmented vessels, used for the ceremony of the funeral, are found outside of the urns. These ceremonies follow a traditional Mycenaean practice. There are no bronze vessels but there are fragments of locally made pottery imitating bronze fenestrated stands and incense burners of Cypriot origin. This is an indirect first appearance of Cypriot industrial products of prestigious character although the clay copies might have imitated local products. Besides a bronze ring inside an urn, no other bronze items that would attribute a high status to the dead were found. The symbolism of the metal presented by the deposition of three small precious heirlooms inside the tumulus indicates an attempt to claim the origin and the heritage of the glorious palatial past of Mycenae.

The burials at Chania have to be examined in association with the geographical position of the monumental con-

¹⁰⁶ EDER, JUNG 2005.

¹⁰⁷ JUNG 2007, 221–226. – HOREJS 2007, 293–306.

¹⁰⁸ PITEROS 2001, 117–118.

¹⁰⁹ DEGER-JALKOTZY 1994, 20.

¹¹⁰ IAKOVIDIS 1970, vol. 3, pl. 174 no. 1252.

¹¹¹ MOUNTJOY 1999, 392–393, nos. 79–80, fig. 137. – PARLAMA 1971, 58. – PETROPOULOS, 2000, 75.

¹¹² Bases of kylikes had a second use as lids on vessels in domestic pottery.

¹¹³ MOODY 2005.

struction in which they were deposited. The monument is situated in the middle of the plain, on the way to Argos, close to an earlier (LH IIIB2) destroyed settlement, close to water sources and enjoying good visibility – classical features of tumuli over centuries.¹¹⁴ It served as a landmark for the control of the commercial route to Argos and Lerna and the cultivated area simultaneously. The function as a landmark has been assigned to the cemeteries of chamber tombs of the palatial period. This function continued even after the end of the use for burials in the form of the heroic cult. The ruins of the houses of the LH IIIB period (13th century), at a distance of 8 m, were a respected place and an acceptable neighbour of such a monument for over a millennium, when tumuli were raised over or close to destroyed settlements. This respect is transferred to the tumulus, which preserves its visibility and is venerated during the subsequent millennium as some Late Geometric, Archaic and Hellenistic finds¹¹⁵ indicate.¹¹⁶

The act of venerating antiquities and of specifically establishing a cemetery at a place of a formerly prosperous settlement suggests that it is a claim of property over an abandoned plot or even proof that this area is an inheritance from ancestors¹¹⁷. The choice of the location of the Chania tumulus indicates a knowledge and continuous adaption of the traditional Mycenaean way of claiming the property of the land by clans and the long established habit of people building tumuli to construct their funeral monuments at a strategic position, by a road leading to an important resource, close to a river and over or close to a destroyed settlement. This practice is observed and is repeated extensively over the ruins inside and outside of the acropolis at Mycenae in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age.¹¹⁸ It is likely that the proprietors of the Chania tumulus took all the advantages of its strategic position. Due to the revived commercial activities the road was much used. The fertile land was cultivated and we suppose that it produced wealth

as in the previous LH IIIB period. Despite all of these good developments, the tumulus was given up suddenly, without having been fully used in LH IIIC Late (early 11th BC). This certainly happened not without reason. A thick level of mud covered the plain completely, evidently the result of a flood. This reddish level is visible outside of the tumulus and over the nearby ruins from the earlier period. The great flood at Chania is one phenomenon of the climatic changes of this period. The same or similar events have left traces around the acropolis of Mycenae and at Argos where, after a flood in LH IIIC, draught animals and human beings of various age were thrown into a well.¹¹⁹ The land turned unsuitable for cultivation and its prosperous proprietors had to move to another place. Obviously the tumulus was left behind, accessible, visible and undisturbed. At the end of the 8th century BC farmers came back, they cultivated the land and began to dedicate offerings to the monument. Whenever agriculture prospered in the area, the people became interested in claiming property rights and, therefore, offered dedications at the tumulus. In the 2nd century A.D. Pausanias mentions, in his description of Mycenae, the tomb of Thyestes on the way to Argos¹²⁰. It is possible that he meant this tumulus, although the sculpture of a ram mentioned has not been found.

It can be concluded that the stone tumulus of the cremation burials at Chania, represents a multicultural phenomenon of the troubled LH IIIC period, created after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system, when its construction, use and subsequent abandonment took place. Its identity is basically Mycenaean, as is attested by the exclusive use of Mycenaean pottery, locally manufactured following the fashions of the time and place, with parallels inside the acropolis of Mycenae. If there were new settlers from North Italy, they were integrated into the local population, they had adopted the Mycenaean lifestyle, and they were prosperous and participated in the ruling class. The introduction and the soon following abandonment of cremation as burial practice in the Argolid are characteristic signs for the unsteady living conditions during the 12th century. The whole picture at Chania cemetery mirrors the economic and sociopolitical situation at the end of the Bronze Age, the interaction of people moving through different regions in a troubled environment, without the general plan of a strong hegemonic power and a display of individual choice. Chania both looked back on a much appreciated past and, at the same time, forward to the upcoming Iron Age.

114. MÜLLER 1989, 33.

115. The small amount of pottery collected is characteristic of the type used for heroic cult at Agamamnoneion and elsewhere at Mycenae. The quantity of figurines and graffiti is evidence for an archaic heroic cult at the nearby Mycenaean ruins. Three Hellenistic bronze coins offered to the tumulus are the subject of a forthcoming paper in ΣΤ Επιστημονική Συνάντηση, *Το νόμισμα στην Πελοπόννησο*, Άργος 2011.

116. ANTONACCIO 1995. – ALCOCK 1991, 447–467.

117. In EH II (late 3rd millennium) a tumulus was erected over the ruins of the House of Tiles, while in the Early Mycenaean period two shaft graves were built into this tumulus. At Thebes, a tumulus conceals a destroyed building and a group of burials of the same EH II period (ARAVANTINOS 2004).

118. FRENCH 2009, 156 and fig. 1. – ONASSOGLOU 1995.

119. KRITZAS 1978, 173–180.

120. PAUSANIAS, II, 18.1.

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Abkürzungen/Abbreviations

Zeitschriften/Periodicals

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger	BRGK	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν	BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
ActaArchHung	Acta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae	BudReg	Budapest régiségei
ADelt	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον	ČGT	Članci i građa za kulturnu istoriju istočne Bosne (Tuzla)
AeA	Aegean Archaeology	EurAnt	Eurasia antiqua
AEphem	Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς	FIST	Forschungen in Stillfried
AErgoMak	Το Αρχαιολογικό Ἔργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη	FÖ	Fundberichte aus Österreich
AiD	Archäologie in Deutschland	GlasSarajevo	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovie u Sarajevu. Arheologija
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	HAD	Izdanja Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva
AKorrBl	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt	Hesperia	Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung	JASc	Journal of Archaeological Science
AÖ	Archäologie Österreich	JbAltertums-	Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde
APregl	Arheološki pregled. Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije	JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz
ARadRaspr	Arheološki radovi i rasprave	JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
ArchA	Archaeologia Austriaca	JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő	LeskovacZbor	Leskovački zbornik
ArchUstav	Studie Arch Ústavu Česko Akad v Brně	Levant	Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History
ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente	MAG	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien
AVes	Arheološki vestnik (Ljubljana)	MUAG	Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte
BALond	Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London	OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensia
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	OxfJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
Belleten	Belleten. Türk Tarih Kurumu	PamA	Památky archeologické
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London	PápaMúzÉrt	Pápai Múzeumi Értesítő
BjelovarZbor	Bjelovarski zbornik		

Prakt	Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Αθῆναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας	PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Süd-osteuropa
PriloziZagreb	Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu	PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift	PJZ	Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus	RGF	Römisch-Germanische Forschungen
SchildStei	Schild von Steier. Beiträge zur Steirischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte und Münzkunde	SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SCIV	Studii si Cercetari de Istorie Veche (bis 1973)	Tiryns	Tiryns. Forschungen und Berichte
SlovA	Slovenská archeológia	UnivFpA	Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie
StA MFMÉ	Studia archaeologica Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve	VUAG	Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte
VjesAMuz Zagreb	Vjesnik Arheoloskog muzeja u Zagrebu		
VMMK	Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei		
WPZ	Wiener Prähistorische Zeitschrift		
ZborMuz Luka	Zbornik krajiških muzeja Banja Luka		
BanjaLuka			
Reihen/Series			
Aegaeum	Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège		
AHung	Archaeologia Hungarica		
BARIntSer	British Archaeological Reports, International Series		
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome		
BeitrpA Regensburg	Regensburger Beiträge zur Prähistorischen Archäologie		
BiblMarmatia	Bibliotheca Marmatia		
BoreasUpps	Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilization		
FontAPrag	Fontes Archaeologici Pragenses		
IntArch	Internationale Archäologie		
Kerameikos	Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen		
MatBzBayern	Materialien zur Bronzezeit in Bayern		
MatVgBayern	Materialhefte zur bayerischen Vorgeschichte		
MonoRGZM	Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums		
MPK	Mitteilungen Prähistorische Kommission		

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