

Bodies, identities and social relations in Bronze and Iron Age Central Europe

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Universität Wien

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Mag. Dr. phil. Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

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1. Introduction

'Bodies, identities and social relations in Bronze and Iron Age Central Europe' presents the results of more than a decade of applied body-centred research. The 'archaeology of the body' (e.g. Borić and Robb 2008, Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002, Rebay-Salisbury 2016a, Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010, Robb and Harris 2013, Sofaer 2006) takes the physical human body as a lens to better understand how past people have experienced their world. It aims to analyse 'the production and experience of lived bodies in the past through the juxtaposition of traces of body practices, idealised representations, and evidence of the effects of habitual gestures, postures, and consumption practices on the corporal body' (Joyce 2005: 139). This perspective is both individual and collective; it aims to capture the individual, unique experience of past persons and wider, cultural ways of relating to the world through cultured bodies.

The human body, the physiological foundation of the person and a product of nature as well as of culture, has traditionally been a subject of physical anthropology or osteology, whereas observations about grave contexts and associated material culture have been studied by archaeologists. With the integration of new and sophisticated analytical techniques ranging from DNA to strontium isotope analyses, and from soil micromorphology to pollen analysis, the division between subjects blurs. This has refined our understanding about individual life histories and the conditions of human life more generally, but also led to a renewed interest in the way the human body was understood and interpreted culturally in the past.

Identities are negotiated through the human body, wherein the body acts as a medium. Aspects of identity include age, sex and gender, wealth and status, religious and occupational groups, as well as ethnicity. Most variables of identity are interconnected and not fixed and permanent, but malleable and always in a state of flux; the importance of individual components of identity may vary throughout life and/or across cultures. The human body holds a crucial position in identity creation, maintenance and alteration; it is also the medium through which identity is perceived and ascribed by others. Body techniques such as the way people dress, adorn themselves or use gestures and postures signal identity, and some of them leave archaeological traces.

Through its role as the medium of identity negotiation, the human body provides the framework for social relations. The first and most profound connection between two people is that of mother and child. Separated at birth, most children are and were cared for by their biological mother, with help from relatives, friends and the wider social circle. Kinship and

family are the building blocks of the Bronze and Iron Ages societies. New data on biological relatedness, kinship and marriage patterns as well as mobility between groups is generated by DNA and strontium isotope analyses. Beyond the biological laws of descent, however, social relations are cultural, and include friends, dependants and economic partners as well as the family. Analysing the contexts in which bodies are found contributes to a better understanding of how communities were organised and worked together.

The selected sixteen articles for this Habilitationsschrift aim to demonstrate how an applied archaeology of the body is advancing knowledge on bodies, identities and social relations in Bronze and Iron Age Central Europe. Articles are organised in four chapters, reflecting both the key points of an archaeology of the body and how my engagement with it developed over the last decade. Burials provide the first and most obvious starting point for the archaeology of the body. The physical human body is directly encountered in the grave, where bio-anthropological information can be brought together with archaeological material.

Interpreting the handling of the dead body and funerary rituals can teach us about how dead bodies were related to personal identities and worldviews. Papers on the contemporaneous practice of inhumation and cremation in a range of different cultural settings form the first part of this collection (Chapter 2).

Images of humans represent ideas and ideals of bodies. Not all prehistoric periods offer a sufficient amount of figurative art to study, but the Early Iron Age material is both rich and diverse. Human images give us interesting insights into what was important enough to be permanently captured and why, but the complex relations to Mediterranean image cultures makes it essential to study human images in the context of Early Iron Age social networks (Chapter 3). The archaeology of the body also includes approaches to embodiment that focus on the body as the site of knowledge and experience. It aims to account for subjective experiences of past people through their unique bodies, characterised by age, sex and gender, and their diverse abilities. Whilst it will never be possible to replicate how it was to be a Bronze or Iron Age person, this change of perspective may bring new insights into various aspects of prehistory, for example the use of landscapes and resources, or the transmission of embodied knowledge (Chapter 4). Finally, it has become apparent that there is a need to bridge the gap between the individual, unique life history of every single past person and their identity, and the coarse generalised models of male and female lifecycles. Reconstructing the variability of gendered lifecycles and searching for common and unusual social roles in the Bronze and Iron Ages (Chapter 5) will be leading topics of future research.

Ch.	Title	published	pp
2.1	Cremations: Fragmented Bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages	in K. Rebay, M.L.S. Sørensen, and J. Hughes (eds) <i>Body Parts and Bodies Whole</i> . 64-71. Oxford: Oxbow, 2010.	8
2.2	Inhumation and Cremation: how burial practices are linked to beliefs	in M.L.S. Sørensen and K. Rebay-Salisbury (eds) <i>Embodied Knowledge</i> . 15-26. Oxford: Oxbow, 2012.	12
2.3	Neither fish nor fowl: burial practices between inhumation and cremation	in Z.L. Devlin and E.-J. Graham (eds) <i>Death Embodied: Archaeological Approaches to the Treatment of the Corpse</i> . Oxford: Oxbow: 18-40, 2015 (peer-reviewed).	23
2.4	Interpreting the body: burial practices at the Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Pitten	with M. L. S. Sørensen (50%), <i>Archaeologia Austriaca</i> 89 (2005): 153-175, 2008 (peer-reviewed).	23
2.5	Landscapes of the body: burials of the Middle Bronze Age in Hungary	with M. L. S. Sørensen (50%), <i>European Journal of Archaeology</i> 11, 1: 49-74, 2008 (peer-reviewed).	26
2.6	Rediscovering the body: cremation and inhumation in Early Iron Age Central Europe	in J.I. Cerezo-Román, A. Wessman, and H. Williams (eds) <i>Cremation in European Archaeology</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press: 52-71, 2017 (peer-reviewed).	20
3.1	The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe	London/New York: Routledge, 2016 (peer-reviewed).	348
3.2	It's all fun and games until somebody gets hurt: images of sport in Early Iron Age art of Central Europe	<i>World Archaeology</i> 44, 2: 189-201, 2011 (peer-reviewed).	13
3.3	Materials make people: how technologies shape figurines in Early Iron Age Central Europe	in K. Rebay-Salisbury, A. Brysbaert, and L. Foxhall (eds) <i>Knowledge Networks and Craft Traditions in the Ancient World</i> . London: Routledge: 160-181, 2014 (peer-reviewed).	22
4.1	Zur Archäologie des Körpers. Körper und Geschlecht in der Hallstattzeit des Nordostalpenraumes	in S. Wefers et al. (eds) <i>Bilder – Räume – Rollen</i> . 81-92. Langenweissbach: Beier und Beran, 2013 (peer-reviewed).	11
4.2	Phänomenologie und Landschaft: der menschliche Körper in Bewegung	in R. Karl and J. Leskovar (eds) <i>Interpretierte Eisenzeiten 5, Studien zur Kulturgeschichte von Oberösterreich</i> 37: 61-70. Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, 2013.	10
5.1	Male, female and sexless figures of the Hallstatt Culture: indicators of social order and reproductive control?	<i>Expression</i> 11: 58-63, 2016.	5
5.2	Comments on Paul Treherne's 'The Warrior's beauty: the masculine Body and self-identity in Bronze Age Europe'.	<i>European Journal of Archaeology</i> 20(1), 2017: 5-9 (peer-reviewed).	5
5.3	Bronze Age beginnings: the conceptualisation of motherhood in prehistoric Europe	in D. Cooper and C. Phelan (eds) <i>Motherhood in Antiquity</i> . New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 169-196, 2017.	19
5.4	Big Mamas? Mutterschaft und sozialer Status im eisenzeitlichen Mitteleuropa	in K. Winger and C. Keller (eds) "Big Men or Women? Neue interdisziplinäre Ansätze der Frauenforschung für die Eisenzeit, Bonn: Habelt: 57-73, 2017.	16
5.5	Tod während Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der Eisenzeit	in S. Wefers et al. (eds) <i>Übergangswelten – Todesriten</i> . Langenweissbach: Beier und Beran, in press.	28

Table 1: Titles of selected publications, place of publication and number of pages.

Chapter 2, '**Cremation and inhumation**', encompasses six articles on funerary treatment of the body after death. Why some people were cremated and some people were inhumed in the same cemetery is a question that I have been interested in since working on the Early Iron Age cemetery of Statzendorf, Austria, for my PhD thesis (Rebay 2006). Statzendorf encompassed 338 cremation burials and 38 inhumations, and although some inhumations could be associated with inhumation traditions farther west along the Danube and most likely represent imported funerary traditions, they included rich and poor burials distributed over the entire cemetery space. Ultimately, it was clear that no single and simple explanation existed for why some bodies were buried intact whilst the majority of the population was cremated.

I was fortunate to be able to pursue my interest in the differences in funerary practices at Cambridge, where I worked on the wide-spread introduction of cremation in the European Middle to Late Bronze Age with Marie Louise Stig Sørensen. This research was embedded in a larger research framework 'Changing Beliefs of the Human Body', in which a large, interdisciplinary team led by John Robb worked together to gain a better understanding of the historical development of how the human body has been understood in Europe from the Palaeolithic to the present day (Robb and Harris 2013).

2.1 '**Cremations: Fragmented Bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages**' (Rebay-Salisbury 2010) is part of the edited volume 'Body Parts and Bodies Whole', which diachronically deals with how people understood the body as an integral whole and the body in its parts. It follows ways how bodies were deliberately disarticulated, through dissection, dismemberment and burial practices, and describes how the resulting body parts were imbued with meaning and integrated in various social practices. Cremation is a process through which the body of flesh, bones and blood bounded by skin is transformed into an entirely different matter; the body of an individual becomes a loose collection of hard and dry pieces – it becomes fragmented. This altered materiality includes a dramatic change in size and weight, but opens up new possibilities for handling the body. Moreover, its presence in pieces means that it can be gathered and understood as an entity, mixed with other kinds of matter, or divided and dispersed over the landscape. This article starts with a forensic description of what is to be expected of a human body after cremation. It uses Bronze and Iron Age examples from Central Europe to illustrate how the individual, fragmented through fire, is in some way still understood as a person: by combining it with personal objects, gathering it in urns, and keeping it together in the grave. In cross-cultural comparison, Bronze and Iron Age cremation burials are unusual precisely because they are burials. The cremated remains are often taken

care of after burial rather than abandoned or thrown into a river. Although they look like simple affairs upon excavation, urn burials are in fact the result of a complex chain of actions (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in preparation) that include preparing the corpse and the pyre, the actual cremation, gathering and treating the fragmented remains, providing a container, preparing a grave and burying the remains. An emphasis on ‘keeping the body together’ is an interesting counter-practice to the process of fragmenting the body through cremation.

2.2 ‘Inhumation and Cremation: how burial practices are linked to beliefs’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a) aims to better understand the choice between inhumation and cremation within societies that used both. It utilises three case studies: the re-introduction of cremation after the Enlightenment in Vienna, the Classical Greek and Roman funerary rites, and burial practices in Bronze to Iron Age Central Europe argue that the choice of burial practice may be used to transport a specific political agenda or world-view, but does not have a meaning in itself. This cautions against using ethnographic parallels to interpret the meaning of burial practices; rather, these parallels may give us insights into practical aspects of the ritual or how the funerary practices were embedded in the societies we study. It was interesting to see, for example, that the architecture and aesthetics of crematoria built at the beginning of the 20th century referenced progressive ideas. Greek and Roman funerary practices, in contrast, were most concerned with respectful treatment of the dead, based on ideas about descent and traditions, but also about purity and pollution. Nothing has been written by people practicing Bronze and Iron Age funerary customs, so their meaning is perhaps most difficult to get at. Nevertheless, the strikingly similar treatments of inhumed and cremated bodies suggest that both, despite their radically different materiality, were aimed at dealing with persons, not matter. With 7324 views and 1748 downloads (as of March 6, 2017), this is my most successful paper uploaded on the online research platform Academia.edu.

2.3 ‘Neither fish nor fowl: burial practices between inhumation and cremation’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2015) is a survey of burial practices that do not easily fit into the clear categories of inhumation or cremation. This encompasses incomplete cremations of the whole body, separation of body parts and subsequent differential treatment, the use of fire in connection with inhumation burials, partial cremation of bodies as part of secondary burial practices, and ‘borrowing’ between inhumation and cremation practices. Examples are taken from European prehistory from the Mesolithic to the late Iron Age and the Classical World. A recurring motive is the application of fire as a cleaning agent. Again, it is useful to understand funerary practices as complex, multi-staged events, which provide several points in time in which the

use of fire may be deliberately applied. The reconstruction of the time line of the chaîne opératoire serves as a starting point to understand how and for what purpose fire was applied. Practices overlapping inhumation and cremation are often found at points of change; where one practice is not yet quite given up in favour of the other, perhaps because associated beliefs and traditions fade out of fashion rather than being abruptly abandoned. And yet, practices between inhumation and cremation reveal a sense of experimentation with the insurance of the known.

2.4 'Interpreting the body: burial practices at the Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Pitten' (Sørensen and Rebay 2008) was the first in a series of case studies conducted with Marie Louise Stig Sørensen at Cambridge. The cemetery of Pitten in Lower Austria, in use from the early Middle to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, covers the whole period of transition to cremation. Its excellent level of preservation, detailed stratigraphic observations and anthropological analyses make it one of the best data sources in the region. In addition, Pitten is unique in that it encompasses many pyre sites on which a body was burnt, but then left in situ. Many different treatments of the dead body were further noticed, including scattered cremations, deposition of cremated remains in pits and urn burials. Grave structures included flat graves, burial mounds and 'cylinder graves', built stone structures with architectural elements. A definite chronological trend can be followed, as cremations become more common during the Middle Bronze Age and the only option in the last cemetery phase. A mapping of the horizontal stratigraphy detailed the how structures such as large burial mounds and stone platforms became landmarks around which graves were arranged. At Pitten, the first cremations are bodies that are placed on pyres in a similar way to inhumations, and left in place after burning. Multiple practices such as placing grave goods around the body and building stone structures around the location serve to confirm the physical dimensions of the bodily remains. The real change in burial practices at Pitten occurred when the cremated remains were gathered and relocated from the pyre. The great variability in the details of how this was done demonstrates that cremation challenged the community's ideas of appropriate ways of dealing with the dead.

2.5 'Landscapes of the body: burials of the Middle Bronze Age in Hungary' (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008) compares burial practices of three different, roughly contemporary cultural groups in terms of body-related practices. In the Encrusted Ware Culture in western Hungary, people cremated their dead and scattered the ashes in graves; the elaborately decorated and varied vessels played an important role as grave goods. The Vatyá

Culture people, primarily settled in central Hungary along the Danube and the Danube-Tisza interfluvium, buried their cremated dead in very large storage vessels set in pits, whereas the primary mode of deposition for the Füzesabony people in north-eastern Hungary was crouched inhumation. The groups not only differ in their funerary rites, but also in the landscapes they inhabit, their substance practices, settlement structures and every-day life. It was interesting to see how burial practices draw on the lived experience; for instance, the use of large storage vessels with lids in pits was customary at the tell settlements of the Vátya Culture and the burial customs use the same principle for depositing the dead. This may suggest that the themes of enclosing, protecting and storing applied to both food and the dead. The paper stresses the importance of looking at the entire cultural context for clues about what specific funerary treatments may have meant to the people who practice them.

2.6 'Rediscovering the body: cremation and inhumation in Early Iron Age Central Europe' (Rebay-Salisbury 2017e) moves the investigation of funerary practices into the Iron Age. After cremation had been the dominant way of dealing with dead bodies for the entire Late Bronze Age, inhumation was gradually introduced and, for some centuries, practiced alongside cremation; the best example is perhaps the eponymous site of the Early Iron Age, Hallstatt itself. Some trends in how this process unfolded were identified; there were notable differences in the western and eastern Hallstatt area. Inhumation was at first a marker of (male) exclusivity in the West, and the deposition of high status objects such as swords and wagons were spatially choreographed around the dead body, which was no longer transformed through fire, but put on display. In the East, in contrast, the elite were prone to continuing their cremation tradition, but some bodies were inhumed, especially women and children. Accompanying grave goods suggest that this practice can be traced to influences from the western Hallstatt area on the one hand, but also to contacts with eastern neighbours (the Carniola group with its family burial mounds of inhumations remains a special case). The choice between inhumation and cremation becomes entangled with the social discourse about power and status. Funerary practices are often particularly resistant to change, as tradition often provides a framework to re-establish emotional and social order after the crisis of death and may serve the legitimisation of established power. In a new social order, in contrast, innovative funerary practices may be utilised as expressions and drivers of social change.

Chapter 3, '**Human images of Early Iron Age Central Europe**' includes a monograph and two articles on representations of the human body in art. 3.1 '**The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe**' (Rebay-Salisbury 2016a) is published as a monograph with

Routledge with an Anglophone audience in mind. This necessitates an outline of the theoretical framework as well as extensive review of the archaeological background. The book synthesises the outcomes of a study on Hallstatt human representations in the framework of the Tracing Networks research programme at Leicester (2009-13). To approach identity from a new and different angle, this study takes the human body as the focal point of investigation. 'The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe' investigates how prehistoric people constructed and negotiated personal identities and how societies constructed difference between themselves and others. The study is set in the Central Europe 'Hallstatt Culture', spread over parts of Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia between c. 800 and 400 BC.

The two primary sources used for this study are burial remains and human representations. The human body is most directly encountered in the grave, where human remains themselves provide information on biological parameters of life, such as sex, biological age and health status. Objects associated with the body give clues as to what might have been important to the person and to the people burying their dead. Mortuary practices, the way bodies were treated after death and equipped for the grave, can provide further insights on how people of the Early Iron Age understood life and death, themselves and their place in the world.

The second line of evidence in this book, human representations, directly addresses prehistoric ideas and ideals of identity. Humans are depicted on objects ranging from figurines to sketches on pottery and from bronze buckets to rock art; some simply represent the human form, whilst others are part of stories of Iron Age mythology or ideology. Rather than focussing on the narrative content of these images and scenes, human images are here taken as visualizing and mediating identity. Depicting the different ways people are dressed (or not), the jewellery and objects they wore on the body or the actions and practices they engage in may not have been the primary concern of the artist, yet they inform us about how identities were constructed through bodily practices.

A 'network approach' guides the exploration of how Early Iron Age images were linked to one another. Hallstatt societies were integrated into a network of contacts across Europe and the Mediterranean, and these contacts took a variety of forms, including dependency relations between unequal partners. Knowledge exchange contributed extensively to social change at the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age and thereafter, via the integration and local adaption of Mediterranean ideas. These ideas can be traced through a network analysis, taking the structure and dynamics of networks into account. This is

particularly important for the study of human images in the Hallstatt world, because many of them are not independent, indigenous creations, but owe their existence to Mediterranean templates. Many motifs are passed along in the Hallstatt world like Chinese whispers, changing small aspects as they travel over time and territory. Human images can thus be both utilized as a source of information about identity and as a testimony of network connections.

3.2 ‘It’s all fun and games until somebody gets hurt: images of sport in Early Iron Age art of central Europe’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b) is a journal article that takes one specific activity in which humans are depicted – sports – and discusses them in their Mediterranean and Central European contexts. Sport is not only based on physical athleticism, but a ‘competitive activity involving at least two competitors, requiring physical skill, following formal rules, and occurring within a formal organizational framework’ (LeUnes 2008: 5). Whilst there is a close relationship of the ‘barbarian’ images to the much more familiar representations on early Greek vase paintings, differences remain; these concern the materials and technologies employed, as well as the ways in which the bodies’ gestures, postures and associated objects are depicted. The ‘frame’ of the boxing competition, for instance, begins to include shields, swords or daggers; the trophy, usually depicted in the centre, vanishes. Images of athletes and warriors merge and underline the notion that what is understood as ‘sport’ in Mediterranean cultures takes up divergent connotations in other cultural contexts.

3.3 ‘Materials make people: how technologies shape figurines in Early Iron Age Central Europe’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2014) elaborates the point that human representations, made in a wide range of materials applying varied technologies of production, are significantly shaped by the materials in question. Specific materials, e.g. clay, bronze or lead, lead to specific body shapes that are difficult, if not impossible, to achieve in different media. The shape of the figurines follows the conventions of depicting a particular kind of person on the one hand, but is also strongly influenced by the technologies applied in their making. Furthermore, the contexts in which they are found can be paralleled with the quality of artisanship involved. This chapter argues that the affordances of the materials involved in making the human shape have a considerable impact on the outcome, and thus on the way figurines are viewed, handled, and in turn shape understandings of the human body in the Early Iron Age.

Chapter 4, ‘**The body as perspective**’, presents two chapters that more closely engage with embodiment. The body has, in past and present, been privileged as a site of knowledge and experience. A body-centred approach to the past takes this perspective seriously and aims to understand past interactions between bodies and their environments, accounting for the

diversity of experiences that may arise from different bodies. Both papers in this section are conference proceedings written with a German audience in mind; the first emerged from the joint meeting of the AG Eisenzeit und AG Geschlechterforschung at the 7. Deutschen Archäologenkongresses in Bremen 2011, the second was first presented at the 5th Interpreted Iron Ages conference in Linz in 2012. Between the two conferences, the birth of my fist-born son contributed to my own perspective on the body, its affordances and capabilities.

4.1 ‘Zur Archäologie des Körpers. Körper und Geschlecht in der Hallstattzeit des Nordostalpenraumes’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2013b) summarises the key approaches of a body-centred archaeology. It takes the Early Iron Age Kalenderberg group in the north-east alpine region (Lower Austria, Burgenland, parts of Moravia, Slovakia and Hungary) as a case study to exemplify how we may get new and better insights into gender using this framework. The article focuses on the treatment of the dead body in graves, on depictions of human bodies, and on understanding how bodies may have moved through the landscape. Gender research has been hindered by problems of sexing cremated remains and by the assumption that each grave contains a single cremated person; this article emphasises that conversely, some funerary structures, particularly larger ones with grave chambers, were built to bury several persons. The unclear depiction of gender in human images of the case study area has given rise to much speculation about which actions and activities women were part of. This article argues for taking the depictions seriously, but not for automatically interpreting them within a binary gender system. The environment is experienced through the senses and the gendered body enables movement through landscapes. Focussing on the human body as the centre of human experience, this article suggest that landscape should be studied accounting for pregnant, disabled, children’s or elderly people’s bodies, too.

4.2 ‘Phänomenologie und Landschaft: der menschliche Körper in Bewegung’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2013a) develops the thoughts of the previous paper. The paper aims to evaluate how useful an explicit body-centred, first-person perspective is as a tool for generating scientific, third-person insights into the Iron Age. Advocates of a phenomenological approach in archaeology (Gosden 1994, Thomas 1996, Tilley 1994) have claimed that in order to understand the past, one needs to account for the fact that people experienced the world in a body, and sum of their embodied experiences was indeed the past. Phenomenological approaches have been particularly influential in post-modern British archaeology, but have not had much impact in German archaeology. The notion of affordances (Gillings 2012), for example, may give us a better understanding of how resources were exploited. Considering

emotions, beliefs and myths as important factors in how a landscape is used may go beyond the typical utilitarian understanding of landscape. It may also elucidate why *exotica* – objects ‘imported’ from foreign lands – have such power and appeal in the Early Iron Age.

Chapter 5, ‘**The diversity of gendered lives**’ reaches beyond age, sex, gender and status as firmly established categories of investigation in the archaeology of personal identities. In recent years, archaeology has moved on from purely analysing sex and gender and their dissonances to an investigation of how femininity and masculinity were constructed in the past. It has been recognised that research based primarily on graves, where bodies of male and female sex are quickly taken to indicate a binary gender system (Ghisleni, Jordan and Fiocoprile 2016), may not provide a full and balanced picture of how people understood gendered lifecycles. Gendered identities may have been similarly ‘nested’ as ethnic identities (e.g. Fernández-Götz 2013, Hakenbeck 2007); many daily activities and practices were certainly gender-neutral – in other words, gender might not have mattered in all contexts.

Beyond the recognition that not all women and men led identical lives, there has been little effort to unravel the diversity of gendered lives. In a workshop organised by Katharina Rebay-Salisbury and Peter Ramsel (Rebay-Salisbury and Ramsel 2016), we tried to reconstruct the variability of gendered lifecycles and brainstorm for common as well as unusual social roles in prehistory. Women’s lives may have differed significantly according to their reproductive status – whether they were infertile, had few or many surviving children. Craft specialists of both genders may have led lives that took them away from their communities and brought them into contact with different ways of living. Similarly, medical or ritual specialists of both genders may be integral to many societies.

Further, gender always plays a role in the distribution of power. As such, it is vital to investigate how gender intersects with other categories that play into inequality such as age and status (Arnold 2016). For the individual, lived and embodied experience of a past person, one cannot pre-assume which of the many components of personal identity were the most important; but it is a legitimate research question to try to find out.

5.1 ‘Male, female and sexless figures of the Hallstatt Culture: indicators of social order and reproductive control?’ (Rebay-Salisbury 2016b, Rebay-Salisbury 2017d) argues in the concise format of a short journal contribution that a concern with differentiating people according to their reproductive roles in society may be behind the Early Iron Age variability in showing people with and without sexual characteristics.

Human representations in art may provide access to past understandings of gender concepts: how the ideological differentiation of sexed and sexless people played out in the real world, however, remains unclear. It is possible that people excluded from reproduction did indeed exist, for examples castrated males or men and women whose status did not allow them to have legitimate offspring. Alternatively, the emphasis is situational and refers to a specific moment in time, where the reproductive capability of one couple is emphasised against the background of other people. It appears that Early Iron Age imagery points to the importance of creating legitimate offspring, which, in a patrilineal society, can only be achieved by controlling women's sexuality.

Masculinity is, in comparison to femininity, an under researched field (cf. Gutmann 1998, Knapp 1998). The mechanisms by which men turned into warriors, for example, are still little understood – was being a warrior part of every man's lifecycle, was this particular identity restricted to a certain age group or class, or were other selection mechanisms at play? Was the warrior identity permanent or transient? Were there different kinds of men bearing weapons, akin to men defending their farmsteads, robbers, raiders and soldiers? Few articles have aimed to explain what makes a warrior in prehistoric Europe; Paul Treherne's 'Warrior's beauty' (Treherne 1995) is a notable exception. Its continued popularity as one of the most downloaded articles of the *European Journal of Archaeology* has prompted the editors of the journal to invite Bronze Age scholars with an interest in past age identities to comment on this seminal article.

5.2 'Comments on Paul Treherne's 'The Warrior's beauty: the masculine Body and self-identity in Bronze Age Europe' (Rebay-Salisbury 2017c) is an invitation to re-think the stereotypical Bronze Age warrior in terms of what his role in society encompassed, and how it intersected with status. Today, there is a wide difference today between the officer in command and the soldier receiving orders to go into battle or operating a drone. In the Bronze and Iron Ages, the idealised high status male was often cast as a single hero-warrior, whereas we know of groups of men fighting together from the Late Bronze Age onwards. Fifty men were buried at the cemetery of Neckarsulm, Germany (Knöpke and Wahl 2009), for example, and the remarkable burial of eight horsemen with their horses near the oppidum of Gondole, France (Cabezuelo, Caillat and Meniel 2007), suggest the sacrifice of the last unit of warriors arriving at the assembly point before a battle. Bearing and using weapons may have been done in many different contexts, in turn, giving raise to many different kinds of warrior identities. Again, this diversity has to be better understood in the future.

The diversity of women's lifeways is interconnected, at least in part, with reproductive history. My current projects on prehistoric motherhood investigate the relationship between women's social and reproductive status. Motherhood is both a biological and a social phenomenon; child bearing and childcare, broadly circumscribed by the term 'motherhood' varies widely cross-culturally. How motherhood is understood in the societies we study, if all women were expected to become mothers or if there alternative lifeways existed and how women were valued as mothers or non-mothers are questions that are central to understanding past gender relations and family structures. The project 'The social status of motherhood in Bronze Age Europe,' funded by the Austrian Research fund from 2015–17 (P26820-G19), develops a methodology to address the physical implications of motherhood by investigating 'parity features' – stress related changes in the female skeleton that may be linked to pregnancy and parturition. This pilot study focuses on well-researched and published early Bronze Age cemeteries in Lower Austria.

5.3 'Bronze Age beginnings: the conceptualisation of motherhood in prehistoric Europe' (Rebay-Salisbury 2017b) synthesises the state of knowledge about Bronze Age motherhood at the beginning of my projects. Although we know very little about family relations, the way people were buried together gives a glimpse into the past. For instance, it is not clear if a (serial) monogamous marriage system existed, or if people were able to have legitimate offspring with more than one partner of the opposite sex. Combinations of older men with younger women were, however, fairly common in Bronze Age societies. Female ornaments and isotope analyses point to patrilocal residential patterns, in which women went to live in communities unfamiliar to the mother, lacking the help of the maternal grandmother. Women who died in pregnancy and childbirth range from teenagers to mature women - the full reproductive period. Babies were normally breastfed for around two to three years, which most likely ensured sibling spacing of a few years.

The project 'VAMOS: The value of mothers to society: responses to motherhood and child rearing practices in prehistoric Europe' (ERC Starting Grant 2015, Nr. 676828) examines motherhood holistically and traces the diachronic development of the concept of motherhood in prehistory over the last three millennia BC. Analysing the link between reproduction and women's social status, the project explores social responses to pregnancy, birth and childrearing from the late Neolithic to the late Iron Age (c.3000-15 BC) through case studies in Central Europe. Motherhood and childrearing, often seen as natural, mundane and inevitable parts of women's lives, are also cultural as well as historically contingent practices

that build the foundations of societies. Exploring the value of mothers to society aids in understanding important long-term developments such as social stratification, increasing population density and the entrenching of gender roles during the three millennia under investigation. Bringing together the latest developments in archaeological science, including palaeo-pathology, ancient DNA and isotope analyses, with innovative interpretative approaches, this project explores whether or not all women were expected to become mothers, highlights alternative lifeways, evaluates risks and consequences of becoming a mother and analyses the social value of reproductive success.

5.4 ‘**Big Mamas? Mutterschaft und sozialer Status im eisenzeitlichen Mitteleuropa**’

(Rebay-Salisbury 2017a) emerged from the context of the symposium ‘Big Men or Women? New interdisciplinary approaches to gender research for the Central European Iron Age’, in which I introduced the concept of the motherhood project to a German audience in Berlin in May 2016. It presents the research questions and methodology of the ERC project, after which it moves on to Iron Age specifics. Human images in art and archaeological findings point to the importance of producing legitimate offspring to Iron Age societies. The variability in the reproductive potential of Iron Age women must have led to a significant variability in women’s lives, exemplified here by examples from Mitterkirchen, Austria (Kiesslich et al. 2005, Leskovar 1998, Pertlwieser 1987), and Vix, France (Arnold 2012, Knüsel 2002, Rolley 2003). Although there is evidence from royal history that especially the birth of sons in patriarchal societies enhanced the mothers’ social standing, it is unclear if this also applied to the Iron Age. Palaeopathological and genetic methods are increasingly employed to distinguish between mothers and non-mothers, and to evaluate the role of mothers in society. The assumption that that women gain status and prestige by becoming mothers can now be systematically tested. By taking motherhood as a distinct component of identity, which can be isolated and investigated in its own right, we are better able to address variability in women’s lives.

5.5 ‘**Tod während Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der Eisenzeit**’ (Rebay-Salisbury in press) addresses death during pregnancy and childbirth in Iron Age societies. When nothing medically effective is done to avert death, it is estimated that 1.5% of all births today result in the death of the mother (Van Lerberghe and De Brouwere 2001). It can thus be assumed that over a (reproductive) woman’s timespan, the risk of dying during or of pregnancy and childbirth is about 15%. Female skeletons with foetus *in situ*, however, are incredibly rare in the archaeological record. Granting that preservation of foetuses and inadequate recovery

methods account for some of the missing prospective mothers, an alternative explanation is the removal of the foetus from the woman's body after she had died, but before she had been buried. This, indeed, is the root of the modern caesarean section and was a wide-spread practice in antiquity. Graves of pregnant women in cemeteries are often high status women, for instance Grabhügel 32 from Rottenburg-Lindele, Germany (Reim 1988), and contain a variety of materials and unusual objects such as amulets, healing and cutting devices. Settlement burials and depositions, e.g. Stehelčevce, Czech Republic (Knor 1965) or Basel-Gasfabrik, Switzerland (Hecht and Niederhäuser 2011: 99), are rather rare. A survey of graves of pregnant women or women buried with new-borns also revealed that in contrast to the Bronze Age, when mothers were often juvenile, the Iron Age saw a higher age for first-time mothers at the onset of adulthood, around 20 years of age.

2. Cremation and inhumation

2.1 Cremations: fragmented Bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages

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7. Cremations: fragmented bodies in the Bronze and Iron Ages

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Introduction

A book about body parts and wholes that primarily addresses the actual, physical partibility of the body would be incomplete without a chapter on cremation. Cremation replaced inhumation as the preferred burial practice during the Bronze Age and this change impacted the way bodies were encountered: bodies became fragmented through the process of cremation. Cremation is one of the most powerful techniques of transforming the body after death and breaking it into parts; however, it does not fully destroy the body. The cremated bones, which are left after the corpse has been exposed to the funerary pyre, are as real as the physical body had been during life. The evidence of Bronze and Iron Age funerary practices reveals that the cremated remains were a matter of importance; their treatment, culturally varied as it was, points at a recognised connection between the physical remains and the cremated person. That some idea of personhood was retained is evident in how the burnt remains are treated, for instance with graves being constructed and re-visited throughout later European Prehistory (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming). The enduring 'presence' of the person even after death had bodily qualities and properties. The survival of the idea of a body, however, does not have to mean that the complete recovery of all burnt bones after the cremation was important or desired. The archaeological evidence proves quite the reverse, as in many cases only a part of the body ended up in urns or burial pits; usually only a non-representative amount of bones is found in the graves. In these cases, poor preservation, site formation processes or problems with bone recovery do not suffice as satisfactory explanations. In this chapter I will explore three aspects of 'breaking up the body' through cremation. First, the material changes to the body on the pyre; second, the relationship between the body and associated objects; and third, urns and their associated meanings. The treatment of

the burnt remains after cremation often serves to reconstitute the body as a kind of whole, creating a corporeal image that is conceivable as a person. Cremation graves are an arena where the tension between body parts and wholes can be tangibly negotiated and expressed.

Cremation as transformation

After death, the body undergoes a number of transformations, making it a different matter and the passive subject of practices performed by others. Some changes are natural and occur almost inevitably: the corpse decays, decomposes, and breaks. A number of cultural responses have been developed to deal with this and simultaneously provide comfort for the loss of a member of society; in later European Prehistory the most common response was burial underground. As a consequence, the transformation of the corpse does not have to be witnessed and can take place in disguise. The high frequency of re-opening graves that has been noted in some areas suggests that after this transformation in the grave bodies were revisited, handled, stripped of grave goods, and thus encountered in their fragmented nature as skeletal bodies. The practice of cremation accelerates the transformation of the corpse and has probably been deliberately employed to transform the body in a planned and quick manner. The cremating community could play an active role in the transformation of the dead body and control its result in a reliable and predictable way, as well as controlling the time span between death and fragmentation. Moreover, cremation does not fully destroy the body, but leaves behind fragments of bones that can be subject to further treatment.

Most of our interpretations of cremation burials in prehistory are overshadowed by analogies with classical antiquity (*e.g.* Patroclus' funeral) as well as cremation in modern India

(Kaliff 2005, Parry 1994), but valuable osteological data may help us to gain a more nuanced understanding of cremation burials. Studies in modern crematoria and experimental cremations (Becker *et al.* 2005, Holck 1987, Leineweber 2002, Mäder 2002, McKinley 1989, McKinley 1993, Schmidt and Symes 2008, Wahl 1982) can give us data on the physical transformation of bones in relation to temperature, the amount and weight of bones to expect from one individual after cremation, and the grade of fragmentation of the bones. Comparison between osteological data from modern cremations and prehistoric graves raises a number of questions about completeness and representation.

What is left of a person after cremation is more than just dust. The cremated remains have physical qualities that are important to consider: they are chemically transformed, shrunken, broken and deformed bones. In the cemetery of Pitten, for example, where many of the cremations were left in situ, whole body parts remained articulated (Teschler-Nicola 1985). As exceptional as this may be (bones were usually recovered and placed in a different place to where the cremation had taken place), it shows that some bone fragments, like pieces of the skull, the vertebral column, the teeth and the long bones, were still easily identifiable after the cremation. Studies in modern crematoria have shown that a total, complete cremation always results in a considerable amount of burnt bones. It is impossible for bones to disappear without a trace, and specific bones like the *axis* or the *pars petrosa* almost always remain intact. The weight of bones is dependent on sex, age and health status, but at least between 1227 and 3001g can be expected for adult individuals (McKinley 1993). Most bone reports from excavated graves, however, cite assemblages with a much smaller weight. Part of this loss can be explained by the recovering techniques on excavations and washing in bone labs, but even considering these factors, the expected bone weight is rarely met. We have to look for alternative explanations for the missing bones.

Fire is in this context the most important force of transforming the body into pieces, but other cultural practices can also have an impact on the degree of fragmentation. Extinguishing the pyre with water or wine, for example, can cause further breakage of the hot and brittle bones (McKinley 1989). The possibility that bones were deliberately crushed and ground in order to decrease their size and fragment the bodies further has also been raised as a possibility (Evans 1997, White 1982), but there seems to be little reliable evidence to support this theory (McKinley 1993). Moreover, deliberate breakage can easily be overwritten by taphonomic processes such as frost, soil pressure and growing roots, as well as careless post-excavation handling.

When excavating cremated remains it is important to note the representation of body parts and confirm the presence of each anatomical region or determine whether or not certain body parts had been selected. The arrangement of bones is also important. In the cemetery of Cottbus-Alvensleben,

Germany, for instance, patterns of ordering the bones within urns were documented: some long bones were put in parallel order, some vertebrae in anatomical order and pieces of the skull were often placed on top of other bones (Großkopf 2004: 148–149). Small bone fragments on the bottom of the urn and big pieces on top, however, may hint at long transport ways prior to the burial of the urn, as unintentional shaking can result in this sorting of the fragments.

It is essential to look at all these different parameters to appreciate how a dead person was understood after cremation: reassembling the body in anatomical order, for instance, hints at a specific understanding of the cremated remains as a reconstituted person rather than a random gathering. The corporeal component of the person can remain present even as a transformed bodily entity. In particular, the practice of putting the remains in urns may reinforce the sense of integrity of the body (see below). In other contexts, however, it seems that the idea of the continuity of the body did not necessitate the complete recovery of all cremated bones; this may be the case if only a partial amount of burnt bones is found in the graves. It seems that the internment of a few body parts, as a token or *pars pro toto*, sufficed for the funerary rites in such cases. What happened to the other parts is not clear. Traditionally, the weight of a cremation had been associated with the degree of care with which the burnt bone was collected from the pyre, but alternative scenarios can be envisioned, such as the scattering of bones in the landscape or the distribution of bones among several mourners as a physical means of remembrance (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). The practice of fragmenting and dispersing a body might indicate that the body was thought of as consisting of many parts rather than being an undividable entity, and might indicate a relational concept of personhood or one similar to the 'dividual' person (as discussed by Busby 1997, LiPuma 1998, Strathern 1988).

In contrast to most of mainland Europe, where individual and – much less common – group burials in pits within the boundaries of a cemetery are the norm throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, cremation burials on the British Islands and in some parts of Scandinavia can take more peculiar forms. The majority of people on the British Isles during the Middle and Late Bronze Age were treated in a way that is hard to trace. The exposure of bodies might have resulted in fragmented and disarticulated pieces of human bone that are found in 'liminal' areas of settlement sites, wet places and caves. Joanna Brück (1995) followed Bloch and Parry (1982) in arguing that during this time fragmentation, transformation and regeneration of the human body were central cultural metaphors through which people conceptualised the passage of time. Broken artefacts and fragmented dead bodies were probably seen as a source of fertility and new life during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and used in associated rituals.

By applying analogies with the ancient Indian Vedic tradition, Anders Kaliff has similarly tried to re-interpret

the diverse range of archaeological features found on burial grounds in Scandinavia (2005). He argues that inhumations and the deposition of cremated bones in pits might be a form of burial reserved for certain special individuals, whereas the majority of people would have been cremated and abandoned; stone structures and the open landscape might have served as final resting places. An investigation of the spatial distribution of particularly durable parts of the skull, the *pars petrosa*, in Swedish Late Bronze Age burial sites has in fact demonstrated that features formerly interpreted as 'bone layers or shallow grave pits' must have been sites where the actual cremation had taken place. Parts of the body had been left, while others were gathered together and buried elsewhere. A fragmentation of the body had taken place by separating the cremation site from the site of the final deposition of the remains (Arcini 2005). In Iron Age Estonia and Finland, bones and artefacts are scattered on fields that are in use over centuries. Although these 'cemeteries under level ground' have a collective character, the burials of single persons are sometimes discernible, especially male weapon graves. The visible, physical destruction of a person through cremation may be a crucial element in the transformation into an ancestor (Wickholm and Raninen 2006).

In most of Europe, however, persons as separate, bounded entities (individuals, not individualists) seem to be more emphasised in the burial evidence, for example through using separate funerary pyres and exclusive grave constructions. During the transition between inhumation and cremations in the Middle to Late Bronze Age, the idea of a full-length body in anatomical order was only slowly given up. Cremated bodies were treated, dressed and buried like a non-cremated body and great effort was made to reconstitute the bodily entity through various practices. It seems that the sense of bodily fragmentation becomes overwritten by post-cremation practices aimed at reassembling the body, at making it whole again. In Hvidegård, Denmark, for example, cremated bones were found wrapped in textile and equipped with weapons and tools (Sørensen and Rebay 2008b). Similarly, in grave 189 from the cemetery of Pitten, Austria, the body size and shape were confirmed through the stone grave architecture, while grave goods and ornaments were arranged exactly as they would be for an inhumation, with pins on both sides of the shoulders and pottery towards the head and the feet of the body (Sørensen and Rebay 2008a).

Partial cremation, although well documented ethnographically (Wahl and Wahl 1983, Wahl and Wahl 1984), does not seem to be an issue in the Bronze and Iron Age of Central Europe. Whereas it is not always clear what exactly happened when only one part of the body is present, there is no clear evidence of the deposition of cremated parts of the body next to parts of the corpses without any traces of burning. Despite the fact that old cemetery publications speak of partial cremation as a third mode of burial aside from inhumation and cremation in Hallstatt (Morton 1995: 46), more recent

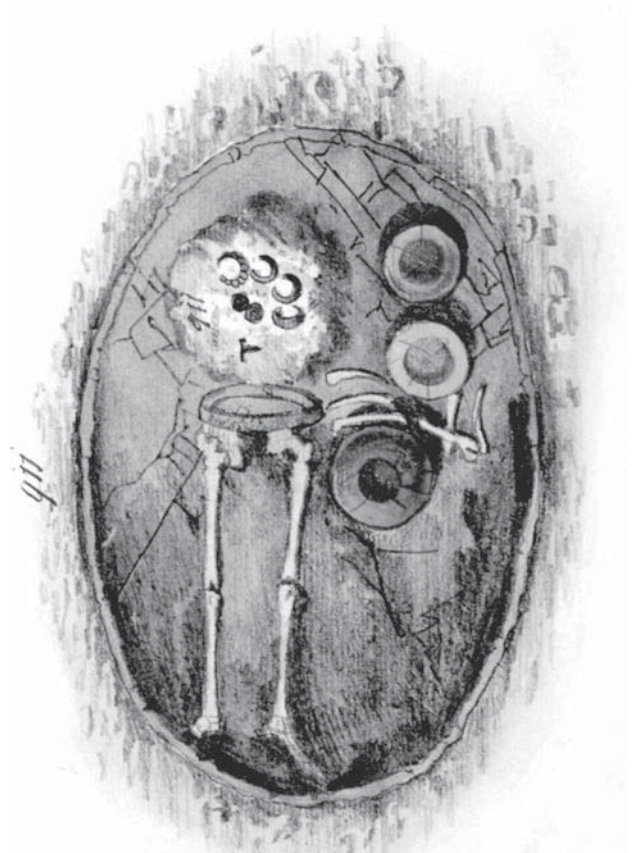


Fig. 7.1: Water colour drawing of a 'partial cremation' grave from Hallstatt by Isidor Engel (after Johann Georg Ramsauer's manuscript)

excavations could demonstrate that the use of little space for a high number of burials led to several graves intercutting. These complicated findings appeared as partial cremation to the 19th-century pioneers of cemetery archaeology in Hallstatt (Fig. 7.1). I would argue that partial cremation was probably not practised because it does not fit the temporal choreography of a 'proper funeral': the cremation of the whole body was necessary to transform the body.

Cremated bodies and objects

In addition to the fragmentation of the body itself, the ties between bodies and objects can also become affected by fragmentation through the fire of cremation. Objects that were important for constructing and signifying identity in life, to the extent that they were inseparable elements of the body (see also Sørensen, this volume) can be treated in a variety of ways during a cremation burial. Close relationships between bodies and objects can be dissolved or maintained and deliberately emphasised through the intervention of the mourning community; body parts can be singled out to be

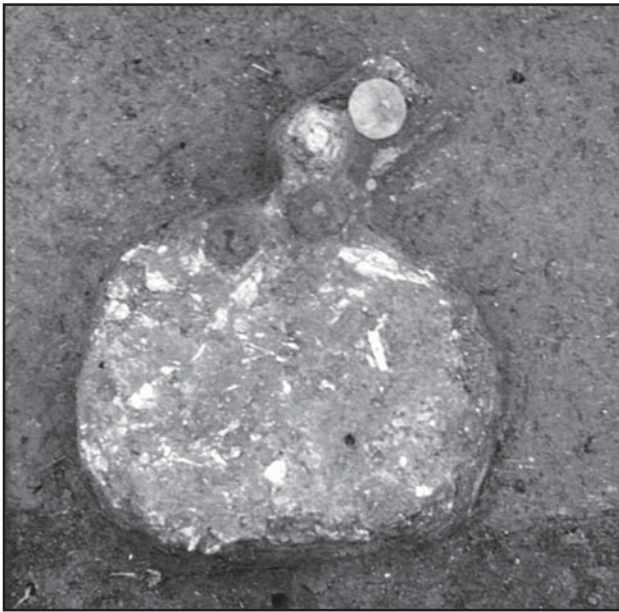


Fig. 7.2: Cremated bones with four spindle whorls from the burial mound of Zagersdorf, Austria (photograph by K. Kaus, Rebay 2002: Tafel 33)

given additional significance by placing objects with them. The connection between some objects, the body, and a person's identity can sometimes be so close that tools, ornaments and dress seem to have become parts of the body and its appearance. Objects found with cremated bones are often not only cremated with the body, but also gathered together with the cremated remains to be deposited with them, thus maintaining the link between bodies and objects. This practice can include elements of the dress as well as tools.

Before cremation, bodies were usually dressed, adorned and laid out on the pyre in stretched extended position. The fire of cremation has a destructive effect on many of the bronze, glass and amber dress elements; depending on the position in the fire and the heat developed on the particular location, amber may burn, and glass and bronze can be damaged or melted completely to the extent that the original forms of objects can no longer be discerned. After this filter, it is difficult to reconstruct the original components of the cremation burial by the traces documented archaeologically, and impossible to determine how complete the burial is represented. We can only work with the positive evidence of presence of these kinds of grave goods, not with their absence. Examples of parallel cremation of bodies and bronze dress elements are legion, and a similar treatment of these and other objects to bodies suggests that in these contexts, they had to go through the same process of transformation as the body, and were perceived as its part. The four spindle whorls found in a Hallstatt cremation grave in Zagersdorf, for instance, have probably become a part of the woman during lifetime (Fig. 7.2) (Rebay 2002). They demonstrate spinning as an important,

embodied action that was habitually performed by women. The fact that relationships between bodies and objects are maintained through death and the transformation of the body by cremation underlines the importance of material culture in the construction of identities.

There is, however, also evidence for a deliberate rupture of the connection between bodies and objects. Although it is often difficult to reconstruct an earlier presence of grave goods in cremation graves, and hard to tell if bones have been recovered in their 'original' position after having been deposited in the grave, the discolouring of bones through exposition to decaying metal, or traces of melted glass or metal on the bones, may be taken as a proof that ornaments and dress fittings were directly associated with the body and its clothing. The separation of burnt bones and metal can probably be compared to the recurrent practice usually known as 'grave robbing' in the Bronze Age (Rittershofer 1987, Sprenger 1999). After a certain amount of time (which usually seems to include the time of transformation of the body, but may still be within living memory of the deceased), it seems to have been acceptable for the survivors to reopen graves, to disrupt or change the anatomical order of the bones, and to take goods of material value back into their possession.

A reverse practice is the routine addition of objects to the cremated body before it was deposited. The famous razors of the Nordic Bronze Age are a good example (Bradley 2006, Kaul 1998). Many of them were decorated with incised scenes that depict part of the journey of the sun, a crucial element of Nordic Bronze Age cosmology; they were highly symbolic objects, but, as evidence of use-ware and re-sharpening suggests, razors were also routinely used and many of them show traces of an intensive use life before they were deposited in graves. They are usually considered to be personal objects, but may also have been used to prepare the corpse for the funeral. Interestingly, despite their importance as a symbol of beauty and male identity they were not usually cremated with the body on the funerary pyre (Kaul 1998), but re-united with the cremated remains after they had been collected. Razors did not have a designated place on the 'coordinates' of the body, but were probably still considered to belong to the person; furthermore, the depiction of the travelling sun through day and night may well have been paralleled with life and death of the buried person.

Urns make bodies whole

Some aspects of the treatment of the remains after cremation let us investigate whether the body was perceived of in its parts or as a whole, and if fragments, parts of the body, or the body as a complete entity was emphasised. Cremated bodies are often associated with urns, and although it may well be that they are also personal possessions or household items of the deceased, the majority of urns are simple storage or cooking



Fig. 7.3: House urn from Dreidorf, Germany (photograph by Andreas Praefcke, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Gesichtsurne_Dreidorf.jpg)

vessels, some of which have probably been made specifically for funerary purposes. Urn burials represent many additional practices that were completed after cremation: rather than just abandoning the body, burnt bones had to be gathered together, handled, placed in a container and buried. The simple urn grave is in fact the result of a series of actions in which the body becomes transformed, fragmented, relocated, reconstituted and eventually disposed of.

Using urns as the container for the bodily remains provides a new form of corporeality for the cremated body, while simultaneously providing a stage for metaphorical connections. The bones, having been exposed through cremation, are set back into their 'proper' place, into the body of the vessel. The shape, form and decoration of urns can hint at how urns were understood: the motives of storage places, dwellings, or bodies of persons are omnipresent. The following examples express this quite explicitly: Funerary vessels known as house-urns (Fig. 7.3) are found in two clusters of distribution in later European Prehistory, an Italian cluster dating from the 10th to 8th centuries, and a northern European cluster (Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Poland) dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BC. Although architectural details can vary, a common theme is using the entrance of the house as the re-sealable or just symbolical opening of the urn. The meaning is clear: not only



Fig. 7.4: Face urn from Neu Königsau, Germany (photograph by Andreas Praefcke, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hausurne_Neu_K%C3%B6nigsau.jpg)

has the cremated body been contained, it has been given a home. Whereas the Italian house urns seem to reflect buildings where people lived, the northern European house urns seem to be modelled on storehouses and granaries (Bradley 2002, Sabatini 2007). These kinds of house-urns might emphasise the vessel's function as a storage place for cremated bones and furthermore underline Bloch and Parry's idea that mortuary rituals are often associated with notions of fertility (1982).

The connotation of urns with bodies is most directly and strikingly articulated in the case of face urns (Fig. 7.4). They have a wide spatial and chronological distribution ranging from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and are particularly common in northern Poland between the 7th and 2nd centuries BC (Kneisel in press, La Baume 1963). The ordinary shape of the vessels is only slightly altered to match bodily proportions. The nose and eyes make a face identifiable; the mouth is not usually represented. Some vessels are adorned almost like a body with real bronze earrings or necklaces, but also with incised decorations that may hint at gender or social status. Although some interpretations suggest that faces are merely added as a symbol to guard against evil, the most popular reading of face urns is that they actually resemble individuals and embody them through giving them a new skin in clay.

An alternative way to making the whole vessel a body is the addition of small humanising features like hands and feet that hint at the corporeality the urn resembles. Examples



Fig. 7.5: Vessel on feet from Statzendorf (Rebay 2006: 92)

like the vessels from Dunaújváros, Hungary (Kovács 1992: 80), with an arm and dagger, and Százhalombatta, Hungary (Poroszlai 1992: 155), with two breasts and two arms, or a vessel literally standing on feet from Statzendorf, Austria (Fig. 7.5) (Rebay 2006: 92), underline the analogy between vessels and the human body.

Not only the form and fabrication of the funerary vessels are of relevance. Urns can take the place of a human body in the way they are handled and cared for. At least some of the urns were wrapped, clothed and even dressed with pins quite like a dead human person. This is documented, for example, by the rust stain left by an iron pin on the body of an urn from Niederkaina, Germany (Fig. 7.6) (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 77): the pin had been used to hold the 'shroud' together and was placed according to the 'correct' parts of the body the urn resembles.

Urns as bounded, enclosed spaces are, in fact, an inversion of fragmentation and dispersion. A recurrent pattern is the covering of urns with stones, bowls, or sometimes even both – urns are spaces that had to be enclosed and the total enclosure of the bones was significant and required special attention. It is interesting, however, that the total closure is in many areas ruptured by subsequent artificial openings. Holes in the bowls covering an urn or in the urn themselves have been long since noticed and interpreted in many ways (Tackenberg 1976). One of the ideas is that the hole could be used as a pathway for the soul to escape from the bones or for temporary visits to the bones. Another interpretation suggests that the



Fig. 7.6: Urn with rust stain from an iron pin (after Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 77)

holes represent ritual killings of the pottery, to withdraw the pottery from the use of the living and dedicate it to the dead. Again, there may have been a concern with making the condition of the artefacts and the bodies similar. This may be an explanation for a rather unusual practice observed at the cemetery of Vollmarshausen, Germany, where 80% of all urns were found with an artificial opening on their side. A hole was punched into the body of the urns to enable offerings of fluids and food directly onto the cremated bones (Bergmann 1982). The offerings could have been made much more easily from above, but the process of breaking the bounded entity of the urn must have added another meaning. If we interpret cremation as the fragmentation of a body, we can probably identify the repetition and variation of the same theme in the breaking of the urns. The urn, used to reconstitute the unity of the body, is shattered a second time.

Conclusion

Cremation burials in the Bronze Age provide a fascinating insight into the constant interplay of the body as whole and body parts. In this chapter I have argued that approaching cremation from the angle of fragmentation instead of destruction of the body opens up new avenues of interpretation. The burnt remains do maintain their significance through cremation, albeit transformed into another substance, and their high degree of fragmentation through the fire is a starting point for a range of cultural practices, of which there is plenty of variation in different contexts. Objects such as dress elements, tools and

urns are also entwined in this process, and may be treated analogously or in a contrasting way to the body. Fragments of cremated bodies can stand metonymically for whole bodies and can be used for dispersal and enchainment, but, on the other hand, practices can aim at 'keeping the body together', at reconstituting and emphasising its wholeness.

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2.2 Inhumation and Cremation: how burial practices are linked to beliefs

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3. Inhumation and cremation: how burial practices are linked to beliefs

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Choosing whether to inhumate or cremate a body after death is a situation people are rarely confronted with; burial practices are normally tied into long standing traditions and non-discursive practices, whose original meanings might not be even apparent to the participants of the burial rituals themselves. Things are done in a particular way, because they are remembered to have always been done so, and this is what makes them the right thing to do. This is the moral of tradition – actions are justified by past practices. Burial practices do change, however, and this is a point where deviant practices have to be justified, explained, discussed, and negotiated. This chapter explores changes from inhumation to cremation and how they might be linked to beliefs. With beliefs, I do not necessarily mean religion in a formalised sense; I mean beliefs about the body, death, and the afterlife. Beliefs are constructed in communication and enacted by society, relating to how people think about the world and how they make it understandable in their own terms, striving for order and reason about aspects of life which are beyond their control. Beliefs do not have to be coherent and consistent, and it is possible to hold conflicting beliefs – with the circumstances determining which beliefs are given priority at any given time.

Understanding the nature of bodies and their status after death is one of the challenges for societies, and it is encountered every time one of their members dies. Both cremation and inhumation are practical responses to the reality a dead body represents, but they are radically different approaches; the dichotomy between inhumation and cremations represents an intrinsic conflict between the urge to preserve the body for as long as possible and the desire for transformation. Sørensen and Bille, for example see a clue to why many societies use cremation as a means to dispose of the dead in the very tactile as well as metaphorical way fire is understood as a transformer (Sørensen and Bille 2008: 256).

Burial rituals are amongst the few archaeological visible forms of practice that may hint at beliefs; in fact, they are often interpreted as synonymous for beliefs about an afterlife (Ucko 1969: 264), although this relationship may not be quite so simple. Many communities provide for the needs of the dead (Ucko 1969), while others visibly express a part of the person's social personality, or put objects in the ground that had particular emotional connotations. The ways people are buried depend on a variety of factors and a number of people, including the mourning community and the deceased, and also on his or her will. It has also recently been argued that the burning corpse on the pyre may have been perceived as having some sort of agency (Williams 2004). Burial practices reflect, as Hertz put it, the relationships between three kinds of personae: the corpse of the deceased, the soul of the deceased, and the remaining society of mourners (Hertz 1907: 176).

Amongst archaeologists, Childe, Piggott and Clark have opposed the view that the change from inhumation to cremation can be equated with a change in religious beliefs (Childe 1944: 85–88, Clark 1960: 232, Piggott 1965), but a cross cultural study of 31 non-state societies using the Human Relations Area Files (Carr 1995) found that mortuary practices clearly take philosophical-religious factors – beliefs – into account (ibid. 188). The practices are determined by a complex mix of factors, which includes social, political, physical and circumstantial ones. In the examples that were collated, a wide range of variables, such as body position and treatment, grave location and characteristics, cemetery organisation, circumstances of death and the social position of the deceased was related to philosophical-religious beliefs (defined as beliefs about sickness and death, physical health and safety, the afterlife, the journey to the afterlife, the nature of the soul, the soul's existence, maturation, waning during life, beliefs about reincarnation, beliefs and myths about universal



Fig. 3.1: The Cambridge City Crematorium (photo: K. Rebay-Salisbury).

orders and their symbols, the symbolic classification of a person upon death, origin myths, beliefs about third-party souls and spirits, beliefs about responsibilities to or punishments of the soul of the deceased, beliefs about the status and change of status of the person at/after their death and their effect on the living).

The study revealed a number of very interesting associations between burial practices and beliefs (encouraging for archaeologists, who are very often confronted with sceptical views about the feasibility of interpreting burial data). It was found that beliefs were documented to determine variation in mortuary practices more often than any other factors in all types of societies (ibid. 168, 189). Most commonly, these were beliefs about universal orders, beliefs in a soul, afterlife, and journey to afterlife, causes of sickness and death and responsibilities and punishment of souls. The preparation and treatment of the body, its orientation and position as well as the spatial arrangement of grave goods were found most useful for reconstructing philosophical-religious beliefs (ibid. 157), whereas aspects of personal identity like age, gender, and horizontal or vertical social position were reflected less frequently and primarily through grave goods and grave location (ibid. 165). Cremation as a form of body treatment is not separately addressed in this article.

The treatment of a dead body, the building of a grave structure, and the performance of funerary rituals are actions that build on beliefs about the body as well as embodied knowledge. They draw on a range of familiar social practices and techniques used in everyday lives of communities and are loaded with connotations, meanings and metaphors. It is not difficult to see how the transforming power of fire is transferred from the pyrotechnical realm to the social realm and applied to transforming the body through cremation. The way cremation is carried out is, of course, embedded in the technological circumstances of the time. The most common use of pyrotechnological methods include lighting an open-air fire or maintaining a fire in pits, hearth and ovens; but fire has also been used in more complex settings. During prehistory and the Classical period technological knowledge of pyrotechnics was utilised in firing ceramics, preparing food, smelting metals and a range of other production techniques. Pyre building and open-air or pit cremation could draw on this knowledge. In the Industrial Age the utilisation of the transforming power of fire took new shapes and triggered the building of crematoriums inspired by and borrowing from the aesthetics of the industrial architecture of the time. This often included brick architecture and high chimneys, as seen, for instance, in the Cambridge City Crematorium (Fig. 3.1).

In this article, I will utilise and discuss three case studies as examples of how a variety of different beliefs feed into the elaboration of burial practices and how practical and embodied knowledge plays a role in shaping these beliefs. The three case studies all have one thing in common: they characterise a period of change from inhumation to cremation or the parallel existence of both rites. The re-introduction of cremation after the Enlightenment in Vienna, Classical Greek and Roman burials, and Bronze Age Central Europe represent a diverse range of settings in which body politics are played out through a very simple variable – whether to inhumate or cremate the dead.

Case study 1: the re-introduction of cremation after the Enlightenment in Vienna

The re-introduction of cremation in Central Europe during the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century is a well documented example of how burials are linked to beliefs. It is also a good example of how small scale, regional dynamics can be part of wider trends, at the same time as they maintain their own trajectories and characteristics. The change in burial rites was based on rational reasoning, but the association of cremation with the liberal movement caused the church to oppose cremation in Catholic countries. A person's private decision about the form of their burial soon became a political statement.

Ever since Charlemagne prohibited cremation as a pagan practice in 789 AD (Mims 1998: 178), cremation was seen as a disbelief in the resurrection, a crucial dogma of Christian belief (ironically, the punishment for disobeying this law was being burnt alive – cremation was apparently only illegal when applied to dead bodies). Cremation had not been practised as a burial rite for about a millennium when it was slowly re-introduced in the course of the Enlightenment. Beliefs about God and the afterlife had slowly changed and given way to scientific reasoning; hygiene and the lack of space in cemeteries were put forward as rational reasons to favour cremation, but a range of other motifs, such as horror of putrefaction, equally played a role. In Western Europe, cremation was spearheaded by individuals like Percy Shelley, who was cremated in Italy in 1822, or Sir Henry Thompson, who founded the Cremation Society in 1874 (Mims 1998: 179), resulting in the legalisation of cremation in 1884 in Britain (Tarlow 1992: 130). Discussions on the 'right and wrong' of cremation as a burial practice in the 19th century (Jupp 1990, Parsons 2005, Prothero 2001, Sørensen and Bille 2008, Thalmann 1978) were intrinsically linked to visions of the afterlife and quite specific theological discourses of the different strands of Christianity; at the same time, not believing in any form of afterlife became an increasingly accepted option. Protestant churches accepted cremation earlier than the Roman Catholic Church, which only lifted the ban on cremation in 1963. The

Eastern Orthodox Church still does not allow cremation, and only in 2008 did the Nation's highest court in Greece approve a government petition to legalise cremation (The Associated Press 2008). Within Europe alone, the percentage of cremation varies widely (Davies and Mates 2005). The highest rates of cremation are found in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries (almost 70%), while countries with a strong Catholic heritage have very low cremation rates and former communist country rates fall somewhere in between the two extremes. These huge differences cannot simply be explained by one simple cause – for instance if one believes in physical resurrection or not – but have to be understood as one part of the wider history of body politics in any given region.

In the early modern period before the re-introduction of cremation, attitudes towards corporal remains in Central Europe were different than those in Western Europe. In Central Europe it was, for instance, customary that bodies remained in the ground for only a short time; graves would be leased for a few decades before the bodies were exhumed and kept in charnel houses underneath or next to local churches, as space in cemeteries was often limited. The bones unearthed while digging new graves were often dismembered from their anatomical context, and consequently not treated as belonging to an individual, but as part of 'dead matter'. Individual bones of skeletal bodies were often rearranged in patterns, with collections of skulls, femurs, or other body parts arranged together. Examples of this practice can be seen all over central Europe (Westerhoff 1989, Zilkens 1983), notably in the catacombs underneath St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna (Gruber and Bouchal 2005). This practice created a new 'community of the dead', dissolving every notion of the individual. Furthermore, these ossuaries functioned as a kind of *memento mori*, constantly reminding the living of their own mortality. In the Sedlec Ossuary in the Czech Republic, for example, about 70,000 human bones have been artistically arranged by František Rint in 1870 to form decorations and furnishings for the chapel, namely bells in the four corners of the chapel, a chandelier in the centre of the nave, two monstrances and the coat-of arms of the Schwarzenberg family (Koubsky 2010). In the famous ossuary of Hallstatt in Austria (Lehr 1979), in contrast, about 2000 skulls were exhumed and painted with ornaments by the families of the deceased. Flowers, leaves and serpents were popular motifs, and the name of the individual and the year of death were often mentioned as well, thus preserving some notion of individuality on the person's bones. From these examples we can infer relaxed attitudes towards the handling of body parts, in which fragmentation of skeletons did not cause major moral concerns.

The emphasis of funerary rituals in Central Europe was not about the body and its integrity; it was about the elaboration of the funeral itself. Particularly in Vienna, funerals were certain to attract a large number of spectators, and for Beethoven's funeral (Davies 2001), for example, a reported

20,000 mourners attended. Post-mortem activities were much more wide spread and accepted in Central Europe than in contemporary Western Europe (Buklijas 2007). Obtaining bodies for medical training did not cause the same public uproar as, for instance, in England (Cherryson 2010); as long as the person was given a 'proper funeral' afterwards, it did not matter if the body was dissected or not. Beethoven even insisted on a post-mortem to establish the cause of his deafness, and interest in the cause of his illness and death led to two exhumations, during which body parts were removed and replaced by body parts of strangers (Meredith 2005). In the period before the re-introduction of cremation in Central Europe, bodily integrity was much less of a concern, and not linked to the idea of resurrection in the same way as in Protestant countries, even though the official doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church was still favouring inhumation.

In Austria, the re-introduction of cremation after the Enlightenment was pioneered by doctors, scientists and philosophers, who started to campaign for cremation in opposition to the horrendous costs for funerals and the maintenance of graves, but also grounded in concerns about

hygiene. Whereas the first crematoria were built in Woking, England, in 1878 and Gotha, Germany, in 1878, several attempts to get permission to build a crematory were not successful in Austria. Cremation societies were founded in Austria, which organised cremation abroad and campaigned for acceptance of this burial form (Hauf 1996). At first these societies started out as politically neutral, but since the Catholic conservative leadership of the monarchy did not permit cremation, the emerging socialist movement adopted cremation as part of their platform and cremation became a means to express anticlerical attitudes. The slogan of the Austrian Worker's Funeral Association was 'A proletarian life, a proletarian death, and cremated in accordance with the progress of culture' (Morris 1992: 34). Only after the First World War and the end of the monarchy was the first crematorium built. The Crematorium of the Central Cemetery in Vienna was planned by Clemens Holzmeister and built in 1922 in the fashionable and modern 'expressionist' style (Bauer 2004), designed to communicate the notion of progress and social change (Fig. 3.2). The building was opened by the socialist mayor of Vienna the following year. To be inhumed



Fig. 3.2: Crematorium Simmering, Vienna (photo: K. Rebay-Salisbury 2011).

or cremated became a matter of political opinion and a public statement in a politically divided country. In the 1920s and 1930s, the battle between conservatives and socialists was fought in all areas of life and included the choice of how one wanted to have one's body treated after death (Ebner 1989).

The choice of body treatment and burial form was therefore clearly linked to beliefs, but the dispute was not actually about religious beliefs or visions of the afterlife: it was entangled within a wider political debate about the significance of and emancipation from religion in everyday life. New scientific understandings of the body played only a minor role in this debate. The choice between inhumation and cremation became utilised to express political opinions and standpoints. Through time and with increasing practice the general acceptance of cremation grew, and particularly since the Roman Catholic Church gave its consent, cremation has become a matter of personal taste and preference. In retrospect, the subtlety of this dispute would be hard to understand if only its archaeological record was available, although non-verbal ways of expressing opinions such as the use of architecture and aesthetic styles would still be a clue to how cremation was understood at the time. But can we compare this situation to Classical Greek, Roman or prehistoric funerary rites?

Case study 2: Classical Greek and Roman funerary rites

The Greek and Roman worlds went through cycles of centuries when cremation or inhumation was the dominant funerary rite, and at times inhumation and cremation were practiced simultaneously. So far, no convincing, simple and clear-cut explanation for this phenomenon has been found. Homer

mentions cremation exclusively as a burial rite in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the funerals of Patroclus (Il. 23, 161), Hector (Il. 24, 778.), Elpenor (Od. 12, 11–15) and Achilles (Od. 24, 65) are described in detail. Illustrations of cremation can be viewed on Greek vases from the Geometric Period onwards (Boardman 1998). These classic texts and images played a major role in shaping the way cremation was understood in later periods, for instance when it was re-discovered in the course of the Enlightenment (Fig. 3.3). The Homeric poems suggest that when the body is cremated, the soul is free to enter Hades, and Richardson holds it possible that the ancient Greeks believed the soul was released from this world more rapidly and effectively through cremation (Richardson 1985: 50). Nevertheless, the soul was also believed to leave the body at the time of death, and to give it peace, employing proper burial rites was crucial – a body left unburied aroused the anger of the dead and brought divine punishment. In addition to this, dead bodies were seen as polluting (Hope and Marshall 2000). The proper and correct burials rites mattered, but whether these involved cremation or inhumation was less important (Richardson 1985: 51).

The afterlife – Hades – was not entirely envisioned as a pleasant place, rather as a gloomy empire where the dead suffered a sad existence, although this view changed in later Greek philosophy to include a system in which mortals were either rewarded or condemned. Alternative beliefs to Hades existed: some individuals could become immortals, heroes, and ancestors – all of which were believed to have the power to influence the fate of the living. Another alternative view was the belief in re-incarnation, that a single person lives out multiple lives, which was already mentioned by Herodotus and probably circulated in Greece by the sixth century BC (Richardson 1985: 61). The nature and character of the soul



Fig. 3.3: Jacques Louis David's painting of 'The Funeral of Patroclus', 1778 (reproduced with permission from the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin).

was a topic of much discussion in all aspects of Greek art and philosophy, which had, by Plato, developed into a view that the soul was divine, immortal, and contained the real and enduring personality (ibid. 65). Again, there is no absolutely coherent belief system to be found: ideas about what happens after death were many and diverse. A patchwork of myths and stories created the framework in which a range of practices were played out.

It is interesting that in the Classical Greek world the emphasis is on the right, respectful funerary practice rather than a 'correct' ideological justification or logical underpinning. Ancient Greeks practiced both inhumation and cremation with the dominant practice depending on place and time and both practices could often be found side by side. In Athens, cremation declined in popularity around 400 BC, and in the absence of convincing connections to changes in religion and beliefs, scholars have turned to social and economic explanations. It has been debated whether cremation or inhumation presented the 'cheaper option', and how much grave goods played a role in display, conspicuous consumption, and politics (Fagerstöm 1993, McKinley 2006, Morris 1987). Analyses have shown that it is difficult to estimate whether one rite is associated with 'richer' grave goods than the other. Athenian fifth and fourth century cremations tend to have more pottery, but less metal than inhumations (Morris 1992: 116). Overall, cycles of elite fashion, imitation by commoners, and reactions to these by further differentiation (including noble understatement) seem to dictate inclusion of grave goods and the preferred burial rite.

On the Italian peninsula the Villanovans practiced cremation like other contemporary late Bronze and early Iron Age societies. By the end of the eighth century BC, however, cremation and inhumation were practised simultaneously, despite chronological or spatial preferences for one or the other form of burial. The choice of burial rite seemed to depend on family tradition and individual preference (Toynbee 1971: 15). Cremated bones were placed in an urn, which was then placed in a tomb. Etruscan tombs were often decorated with funerary scenes or lively scenes of feasting, athletic exercise, dancing and music, which can be interpreted as scenes from an afterlife imagined as fairly paradisiacal, and, or alternatively, as the reality of banquets and games held by the living for the honour of the deceased. By the fourth century BC gruesome scenes of death and horror as well as demons appeared and might hint at a change in how the afterlife was imagined – less enjoyable and more threatening, dangerous, and full of grief (ibid. 17).

Like the Greek, Roman ideas about what happens after death were many and diverse, although a belief in an immortal soul – material or immaterial – seems to dominate (ibid. 34). Funerary rights and rituals were closely linked to the belief that spirits of the dead lived on, dwelled in or close to the graves, and might occasionally interfere with the living. Practices of remembering, soothing and satisfying the dead included

the lighting of lamps and the offering of small gifts such as flowers and meals at the cemetery site on several occasions throughout the year. Part of the food was then left at the tomb as an offering. Food and drink could also be poured directly onto the bones in the grave through holes and pipes (ibid. 51). The boundary between life and death was envisioned to be permeable to a certain extent, and communication between the living and dead was perceived to be possible. The spirits could step over this permeable boundary to help or harm their descendants, and the living could act to ensure the loyalty of the deceased ancestors.

Inhumation was believed to be the older burial rite in Rome (after Cicero and Pliny, Toynbee 1971: 39), although archaeological evidence exists from the eighth century BC for both rites (Momigliano 1963: 101). In the Republic the main practice was cremation. It seemed that some families clung on to the inhumation rite for longer, such as the statesman Sulla's family, of which he was the first to be cremated. The choice seemed to depend on family tradition and individual preference; certainly the status and wealth of individual families played a role in building and maintaining these traditions. Some slaves and the very poor without family or friends were buried in mass graves. Death was thought of as polluting and demanded acts of purification in the Roman world; this is probably one of the reasons why all bodies, cremated or not, had to be buried outside the cities. To leave the body unburied was, similar to the Greek understanding, a major offence and had unpleasant repercussions for the fate of the departed soul as well as for the living (Toynbee 1971: 43). The covering with soil was a crucial requirement, which ensured that the deceased had a respectful resting place. A resting place could even be constructed if there was no body available for burial or as an honorary grave for a person buried elsewhere; such cenotaphs were designed to give the soul a place in which to dwell.

A very interesting interface between cremation and inhumation is the rite of *os resectum* (literally cut bone, mentioned by Cicero, Festus and Varro), in which a small part of the corpse, usually a joint from a finger, was severed from the body and retained from cremation to be buried separately (Graham 2011). Archaeological evidence for this rite exists in the form of 300 small inscribed vessels containing bone fragments from San Cesareo on the Via Appia (Graham 2009: 55–57) and the recent discovery of a vessel underneath the altar dedicated to M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum, which very likely contains his phalanx (Graham 2009: 57–67, Pappalardo 1997). The purpose of this practice is little understood (Hope 2007: 108, Toynbee 1971: 49). It might reflect a residual of the earlier custom of inhumation, and it helped to legitimise cremation by providing an interment in earth, which was at times believed to be necessary to create a proper resting place for the soul. This brings up the question of the ontological status of cremated bones as they may not have been conceptualised in the same way as unburnt bones. Furthermore, the practice

of *os resectum* has recently been re-interpreted as a significant part of the funerary ritual of purification and remembrance to ensure spiritual well-being of both the community of the dead and that of the living. In the process of these rituals, the *os resectum* might have been subject to a subsequent, second cremation, albeit on a smaller fire employed to purify the household of the deceased (Graham 2009).

Cremation was, however, not practiced everywhere in the Roman Empire; in fact only the western part of the Empire primarily cremated their dead (Morris 1992: 68), while the eastern part of the Empire primarily buried their dead, which caused the writer Petronius to call inhumation a 'Greek Custom' in the first century AD (Morris 1992: 52). A seminal change in burial customs occurred in the second century AD, when inhumation again became the dominant burial rite throughout the Roman Empire. The speed in which this change took place mirrors some class-specific dynamics as well as core-periphery effects in the provinces of the Empire. Rich families seemed to spearhead the new fashion, gradually affecting imperial styles first, then through to the lower classes and out into the remote areas of the empire (Morris 1992: 54). Jewish, Christian or influences from Eastern mystery religions may have contributed to this change, although in the mid-second century AD these influences were probably not very strong and the idea of a bodily resurrection had not yet fallen on fertile ground. According to Toynbee, inhumation was felt to be gentler and more respectful as the belief in a blissful, individual afterlife became stronger (1971: 41). The change, however, might not have been more than a change of 'fashion' (Morris 1992: 33, Nock 1932: 331) as it cannot be clearly connected to a fundamental shift of ideas. As most of the other funerary procedures and rituals to which much attention was paid remained the same, the difference between inhumation and cremation was simply not considered to be of much significance to the Romans.

Case study 3: burial practices in Bronze Age Central Europe

The third and final case study in this chapter is set at the transition from inhumation to cremation practices in Central Europe during the course of the Middle to Late Bronze Age. In the absence of written sources, the relationship between burial practices and beliefs are difficult to tackle and need to be inferred through traces of ritual practices (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury forthcoming).¹ As we have seen, no simple and single cause tends to trigger changes in burial practices in the historically well-documented situations; likewise, we should not expect this in prehistory. All we can observe is how the essential changes unfold and, through this, attempt to engage with how people – through action, interpretations, negotiation, and discursive experimentations with forms and reasons – make changes rather than being merely subjected

to change. In this, we might be able to highlight some trends regarding how attitudes to and perceptions of dead bodies changed over time.

In the course of the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition cremations gradually replaced inhumation graves over most of Europe, and this change resulted in urn burials becoming the dominant burial form. This change was associated with other developments: the rise of large cemeteries with hundreds, if not thousands of individuals, and an increasing reluctance to bury objects with the remains of the cremated body. It is interesting to explore people's actions and practices when confronted with having to choose between inhumation and cremation: the range of variations and similarities in this case studies speaks to the formulation of local responses to mega-trends and how overarching tendencies and structural changes are worked through at individual sites and on a regional level.²

This deliberate transformation of bodies into other substances at death indicates a radical shift in beliefs about what constituted the body and how its parts 'belong' together after death (Sørensen and Rebay 2008c). Earlier research has often neglected the question of how this transformation happens in detail and what people actually did in practice and instead primarily focused on associating the spread of cremation with movements of peoples (Böhm 1937, Childe 1950, Kraft 1926) or saw cremation as the expression of new religious beliefs, for instance as a result of the development of various kinds of soul beliefs. Since the 19th century it has been argued that cremation took place to facilitate liberation of the soul from the prison of the physical body, allowing the continued existence of one aspect of a person beyond death, albeit in a different realm (Hertz 1907, Müller 1897). Whereas these views might not be wrong, such ideas can be associated with inhumation practices as well, as we have just seen in the previous case study above.

Despite the fact that a robust concept of the Urnfield culture is used in the literature to demarcate a cultural phase marked by the introduction of cremation (Sørensen and Rebay 2008a: 57), it is clear that there is no fixed point in time when cremation is introduced. We can identify a period of transition when burial practices undergo gradual but seminal changes, during which inhumations and cremations are often treated very similarly in a number of aspects. This is, for instance, exemplified by the graves from Streda nad Bodrogom in Slovakia (Polla 1960: 353, Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008: 56–57). Cremation grave 24 and inhumation grave 35 were both placed in a rectangular pit of similar size and orientation, and a very similar set of pottery was placed at the feet of the inhumation or at the end of the space the scattered cremation occupied (Fig. 3.4). Both bodies have been treated in the same manner, with the same care, regardless of whether they were inhumed or cremated. Building from this and other examples, our wider analyses suggest that it usually takes a couple of generations before the burial practices within regions were fully changed from an inhumation ritual, focussed on the wholeness



Fig. 3.4: Cremation and inhumation at Sreda nad Bodrogom, Slovakia (after Polla 1960: 353).

of the body, to a treatment of the body that deals with it as fragmented and contained in an urn. The transition period, therefore, takes different forms in different regions, and does not happen simultaneously over the whole continent. Close neighbours often change different aspects of their practices or develop different innovative elements or variations.

The range of activities and types of manipulation that take place after the cremation show clearly that the cremation – the burning of the body itself – is not the final stage of this ritual and the handling of the dead body. Rather, this stage is followed by a number of actions that involve manipulating the remains. The choice of one or the other way of doing things may pre-determine some of the outcomes of further decisions along the way, enabling us to think of this process in terms of a *chaîne opératoire*. Despite the fact that Hindu cremations (Parry 1994) are a much beloved analogy often used in archaeology (Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008, Kaliff and Oestigaard 2004, Oestigaard 2000), Bronze Age cremations during the transitional period probably had a very different internal logic and rationale. In particular, in Bronze Age cremations there is a pronounced and continuous focus on the remains of the physical body, and even if this weakened

over time, the cremated bones never cease to be a matter of importance to which attention has to be given. In addition, the wide range of variation and ‘experimentation’ suggests that the beliefs or ontologies affecting the change in burial practices are not fixed, but in the process of becoming formulated. Only at the end of the transitional period can we argue that a normative understanding of cremation burials has emerged.

During the transitional period, much attention is given to making the body whole again: the cremated bones are treated in a manner that creates a likeness to the skeletal or fleshed body. The physicality of the cremated bones is explored in various ways as the link to the re-imagined body, which then becomes the starting point for the reconstitution of the body as a kind of whole. The cremated bones are typically reassembled or annotated so as to regain similarities or similar properties to the lived body. Through these practices and concerns, the body as a materiality is remade after its cremation. The bones themselves are used and re-organised to shape a new kind of spatial presence, either as long and slender and in a realistic proportion, or three-dimensional within an urn; in some cases emphasis is added to particular body parts such as the head. It is also common to see objects used, in particular elements of



Fig. 3.5: Cut through a Vatya Culture storage vessel used as an urn (photo: K. Rebay-Salisbury).

dress, to annotate the body, for instance when pins are placed where the chest would be, or armrings are placed at the side (for examples from the cemetery of Pitten see Sørensen and Rebay 2008b: 168). Objects, in particular pottery, may also be used to outline the space of the body or even to indicate its extreme points, such as the head and feet (for examples from Hungary see Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008: 56, 66). These and other characteristics suggest that the concern during the transitional period is the wholeness of the body, despite the fragmentation introduced by cremation (Rebay-Salisbury 2010).

The place of burial is also part of the discursive engagement about how burials should look and what they are about. The various forms of coffins or chamber constructions that had been in use for inhumation burials continued to be used almost unchanged when cremation was first introduced, despite the apparent differences in the physical realities of decomposing and cremated bodies, and only gradually changed and transformed. Their traditional form was useful for insisting on the wholeness of the body, both in terms of the graves'

traditional connotations and through the ability to literally mark out the body shape. In the gradual reshaping of the graves, which usually first affected the size and dimensions, we see enormous local variation and the use of familiar local materials and construction techniques. These materials and familiar ways of doing things may have brought associations to mind and gave meanings to particular forms of practices, for instance when storage pits and vessels are utilised in burial practices to evoke notions of closure and secure containment (Fig. 3.5, Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008: 65). The reflection on the shape and form of graves became a central and dynamic discursive structure through which new ways of treating and thinking about the dead body were being forged.

During the change from inhumation to cremation the roles of pottery and the manner of its use within the grave changed in a number of ways, and they are useful in terms of tracking changes in the meanings surrounding the buried body. During the Early Bronze Age, pottery became a standard

element of inhumation graves in most areas. Whereas pottery also remained in use as part of the furnishing in cremation graves for a while, new roles and understandings of pottery were added, culminating in the development of the use of pots as burial urns. In some areas pottery was employed as a kind of construction material used to line and define the grave, while in others special pottery sets may have been used to annotate the body (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008). Most importantly, the vessels also began to replace the coffin or grave chamber as the container for the bones. Initially, urns were often placed within various stone constructions, but with time the urns themselves became the grave (the cemetery of Vollmarshausen provides a nice example of this development, see Bergmann 1975). At that stage, the burial practices substantially changed and the body was treated in a radically different manner than in the earlier cremation burials. In some rare cases, urns not only contained the body, but literally took on properties of the body by adding on body parts of clay or using body proportions (Kneisel 2006, Kovács 1992, La Baume 1963, Poroszlai 1992).

Continuous engagement with the cremated and buried body even after the funeral can often be observed in Bronze Age burials. Again there seems to be a common, inter-regional theme, but post-funerary engagement was particularly varied in its local implementation and translation. Bronze Age funerary rituals were not complete after the interment and ongoing engagement with the grave and the bodily remains was very common. This engagement can be broken down in two phases: the phase in which the dead body seemed to still be perceived of as a kind of living body, with needs that had to be catered for; and a second phase in which the physical body became irrelevant and can be deprived of grave goods, robbed and disturbed. Creating and maintaining physical access to the body can be one objective. In the example from Pitten, access was facilitated through the grave architecture, as a doorway was built in the grave construction (Hampel, Kerchler, and Benkovsky-Pivovarová 1981, Sørensen and Rebay 2008b). Furthermore, providing for the needs of the person can be an ongoing concern rather than a one-off event at the funeral and requires close physical contact with the remains. Graves from Királyszentistván (Bóna 1975), for example, contained animal bones on serving platters and cups placed upside down directly on the cremation, suggesting that liquids were poured out onto the cremated bones. In another case from Vollmarshausen, holes were punched into the sides of urns repeatedly after the funeral to offer food and drink directly onto the cremation (Bergmann 1982).

What all the practices described above suggest is that the transformation of the body through cremation was not a complete destruction of the person, nor was there – at least at first – a radical change in what was viewed as being necessary practices. Physical needs were catered for through the creation of space, shelter, food and even community, as if the person was believed to still be living in some way. But even when

urn burials became relatively simple affairs towards the end of the Bronze Age, the bodies never became totally irrelevant or meaningless – evidenced by the respectful treatment afforded to the physical remains of the dead.

Discussion and conclusion

In all three examples in this chapter, the practices of cremation and inhumation are entangled in a diverse range of practices that are associated with beliefs, with inhumation and cremation becoming part of a discourse about what is the moral thing to do. The treatment of a dead body and the performance of rituals are actions that build on customary practices informed by conscious and unconscious beliefs about the body. Practical, embodied knowledge and techniques contribute to the material expressions of funerary rituals, from the building of associated structures such as crematoria to the creation of resting places in the form of graves, and furthermore, to ideas about which goods are needed during and after burial.

Cremation, as the deliberate transformation, fragmentation and destruction of the body, might seem like the most radical way to deal with the body after death, but remains only one of the multiple variables that make up burial traditions. As such, the view of cremation as a radical deviation from what is considered ‘normal’ depends on the broader context. In the example of the re-introduction of cremation after the Enlightenment in Central Europe, cremation is utilised to make a political statement of progress and modernity, while simultaneously expressing disbelief in the traditional doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. In the Ancient Greek and Roman world burial rites were mainly family affairs, but also subject to changing fashion. A range of beliefs existed about the proper and respectful way to pay respect to the deceased, but these views could be applied to the practices of both inhumation and cremation. In Bronze Age Central Europe, where only archaeological data is available to shed light on issues of knowledge and belief, the idea of a material body with physical needs survived cremation, and initially the remains of a cremation were treated in a very similar way to inhumations. Gradual, small adjustments to existing practices were made to accommodate the changed properties of a cremated body; these small changes then accumulated to become a significant change with a new and different understanding of the body after death.

Burial traditions consist of discursive as well as non-discursive traits, and whereas parts of the burial ritual can be used as a showground for social negotiation, other practices continue despite lost meanings and are justified purely by referencing tradition. Multilayered motives and conflicting beliefs may feed into the way burial practices are carried out. There is, however, no single and straightforward explanation of what cremation means in itself; transferring analogies about associated beliefs from one context to the other is therefore very

problematic. Cremation does not have a meaning in itself but can become part of what is perceived to be the right thing to do. It is worthwhile to look at the specific practices associated with cremation burial rites; it is these practices around the body that give us further indications of what was believed about people and their bodies in life and death.

Notes

- 1 This research was carried out together with Marie Louise Stig Sørensen between 2005 and 2009 at the University of Cambridge, as part of the Leverhulme Trust funded 'Changing Beliefs of the Human body' project. I would like to thank her and all other members of this project for a fruitful cooperation and many stimulating discussions.
- 2 As case studies, we first looked at the cemetery of Pitten (Hampel, Kerchler, and Benkovsky-Pivovarová 1981) and Vollmarshausen (Bergmann 1982), as the transition can be best observed during the course of occupation in these cemeteries. We then moved on to some regional studies: Hungary (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008) because it has often been suspected that the origin of cremation can be found there, the Lüneburg area and Denmark for their marginal position, the Marburg Area (Dobiat 1994) because of the clear continuity to barrow groups, and lastly, we selected two southern German urn fields (Schütz 2007, Ullrich 2004) as representatives of the core of the Central European Urnfield Culture.

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NEITHER FISH NOR FOWL: BURIAL PRACTICES BETWEEN INHUMATION AND CREMATION

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Introduction

Partial cremation is a topic that sits uneasily between the ontological categories within which burials are usually discussed, and yet a wide range of practices can be described as overlapping inhumation and cremation. Two of the main reasons why such difficulties in conceptualizing partial cremation exist are the ambiguous material status of the body itself, and the more complicated temporal staging of the funerary process. The materiality of the body itself is key to understanding mortuary practices in the wider sense, as such practices are responses to the perceived need to deal with the dead body and to simultaneously address a wide range of personal and societal issues. These include mourning and grieving, expressing and negotiating identity and status and reconsidering beliefs and religious practices. The material properties of non-cremated and cremated bodies are very different, and this materiality impacts upon the way in which bodies are responded to during the funerary rituals. A funeral that includes cremation is already a complex, multi-staged ritual process (*e.g.* Williams 2008, 241). In this chapter, it is helpful to think through the stages of this process and differentiate between body treatment, deposition and post-depositional practices. As fire can be involved in each of these stages and affect the body to varying degrees, a number of quite distinct phenomena are termed ‘partial cremation’ in archaeological literature. This chapter will first address partial cremation as it concerns the physical body itself, and secondly, as it concerns practices in response to and around the body. This includes grave construction, grave goods and practices of remembrance. Examples are taken from later European prehistory and the classical periods. As is inevitable with such a time-span, the chosen examples are by necessity anecdotal in nature, and can neither provide an exhaustive overview of the topic, nor set the examples in their total social, cultural and historical context. However, in exploring some of the practices in the ‘grey zone’ between inhumation and cremation and addressing them systematically, the aim

of this chapter is to raise awareness of the variability that exists at the interface between inhumation and cremation and to highlight some of the associated interpretative challenges.¹

Inhumation and cremation

Funerary archaeology is distorted towards over-emphasising practices that leave bodies underground, principally due to preservation issues; for these burials, cremation and inhumation are often presented as a choice of one of a pair of binary oppositions. This ‘assumed duality’ (which Sprague 2005, 57–58 has notably critiqued) may hold true when we excavate human remains and find them either burned or not, but in re-constructing the sequence of actions that led to their deposition it becomes clear that they are indeed very variable.

Inhumation refers to a depositional practice, the act of placing an un-cremated body in the ground. In its simplest form, inhumation is the result of a single action, although some time might have passed between death and the interment, in which the body may be stored, displayed or otherwise prepared. Practices such as mummification aim at preserving the body at that stage (*e.g.* Aufderheide 2003, 43). Until the burial, the body generally remains in an unaltered state, with the most visible aspects of decay occurring in the ground. The funerary rites may be completed by putting the body into the ground, but alternatively, the grave can be a temporary place for the body before the bones are recovered for secondary treatment (*e.g.* Kuijt 1996; Larsson 2003). Even the simplest forms of cremation burials, however, require the burning of the body as a prior treatment before the deposition. This includes a number of additional actions, such as the construction of the pyre and the cremation itself, and in many cases a subsequent recovery of the remains and the moving, storing and final burial in a designated container or in the ground. Substantial amounts of time can pass between these individual steps.

The temporal choreography of the two forms of burial is hard to parallelise, but may involve elaboration of particular stages in the sequence of actions taken by the community to bury the bodies. When reconstructing this sequence, it is crucial to take into consideration what happens to the material bodies themselves. The transformation of the body in the case of an inhumation takes place in the ground, hidden from the eyes of viewers, and takes time – from a few months to several years (Sprenger 1999). The transformation of the body in the case of cremation, in contrast, may be amongst the most crucial elements of the funeral. It is a relatively quick and public process (Sørensen and Bille 2008) and certainly involves all of the senses (Williams 2004). Furthermore, cremation lets the mourning community take an active role in the transformation of the body. In both cases, further treatment of the remains may follow.

1 My chronological focus on prehistory and the classical world reflects my research experience and excludes later examples to make the material manageable. This does not mean, however, that such examples did not exist. In drawing attention to the wide range of variability I hope that the archaeological record of later periods will similarly be scrutinised for practices between inhumation and cremation.

The dead body poses conceptual problems – it is no more a person, but it is also not a thing (cf. Kristeva 1982). Similarly, the time of social death rarely coincides with biological death, which is in itself hard to define (Appel 2005; Wijdicks 2002). In response to the loss of a community member, mortuary rituals and funerary practices are a formal way to grieve and work through these uncertainties, gradually restoring the normal social order. As such, they are dominated by two elements: the embodied practice of customs and traditions, and the associated beliefs, which, without having to be too formalised,² provide a rationale to explain those customs and traditions. The beliefs associated with inhumations or cremations vary widely and there is no ‘one fits all’ explanation for choosing either rite (Rebay-Salisbury 2012). The rationale that underpins inhumation and cremation may be contradictory, but may equally be complementary. Partial cremations are fascinating, because they are a bit of both; interpretations need to bridge the temporal dissonance as well as contradictory associated beliefs.

What is a partial cremation?

Partial cremation of the body means a part of the body remains un-burnt while another part becomes cremated. As obvious as this definition sounds, partial cremation is the common end result of a variety of different practices at different stages during the funeral. Related to the treatment of the body are (1) the incomplete cremation of the whole individual, and (2) the separation of body parts and their differential treatment. Furthermore, (3) fire may be used in a variety of ways during the deposition of an un-burnt body and (4) may be used to cremate parts of de-fleshed skeletal bodies in connection with secondary mortuary rites. I will describe each case in more detail before moving on to discuss the mutual ‘borrowing’ of single components between inhumation and cremation.

Incomplete cremation of the whole body

In forensic science, partial cremation is defined in terms of the degree of thermal alteration by amounts of surviving tissue – partial cremation is ‘where soft tissues remain’ (Symes *et al.* 2008, 25). Today, partial cremation occurs in connection with accidents such as house fires or as an attempt to cover up crimes (Schmidt and Symes 2008). Certainly such cases existed in prehistoric and historical periods as well, and may be evidenced by findings in settlement contexts. Charred human remains from late Neolithic earthworks in southern Germany, for instance, testify to catastrophes and war-like events (Wahl 1999; Wahl 2008, 146). In the context of regular mortuary practice, however, partially burnt bodies require further interpretation.

Among the over 1600 inhumations of the early Bronze Age cemetery of Franzhausen II, Austria, for instance, five partially cremated individuals were found (Reiter 2008). They

2 To paraphrase Hertz, whose original statement was: ‘Ideas relating to the fate of the soul are in their very nature vague and indefinite; we should not try to make them too clear-cut’ (Hertz 1960 [1908], 34).

were all placed in a crouched position on their left side in north-south oriented grave pits, which would be typical for male inhumations in this period of rigid gender marking through body position (cf. Primas 2008, 48–56). There was nothing extraordinary about the associated grave goods, which included pottery and occasional dress elements such as bone pins and bronze rings, but interestingly, the careful anthropological analysis has identified three skeletons as female and only one as male (Reiter 2008, 201). The bodies were exposed to low temperatures (300–550°C)³ compared with those that could be reached by prehistoric pyres, and the traces of fire were primarily documented on the right side of the body, which would be the top side if it was lying on the left, and on body parts covered by little flesh, such as the cranium and the extremities. It could not be clarified whether the bodies were exposed to fire on a pyre and subsequently moved, or if they were burnt in situ; obvious traces of fire were, however, absent from the grave pits. These burials do not fall into one of the obvious transition periods from inhumation to cremation or *vice versa*, but the unusual way in which they are socially categorised might be an explanation for the unusual treatment of their bodies.

Although cremation was practiced to some extent in most prehistoric periods, it only became the norm in most of Europe during the middle/late Bronze Age transition (Harris *et al.* 2013; Sørensen and Rebay 2008a, b; Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in prep.). At that point, cremation was carried out with astonishing technological perfection and efficiency, which suggests that the technology of cremation was transmitted in tandem with the trend towards this burial rite. Nevertheless, cremation on a pyre is a highly unpredictable process. If an individual was burnt on a funerary pyre, various degrees of oxidation may be observed on one body. It seems that pre-Roman Iron Age cremations in Germany were more often incompletely burnt than those of the Imperial Roman period (Wahl 2008, 153), but varying degrees of oxidation have also been observed in Romano-British burials. McKinley explains these findings by varying body mass of the cremated individuals, or insulation through objects placed around the body such as cushions or boots (2008, 176–178). The Romano-British cemeteries of the town of Baldock, Hertfordshire, have revealed two partial cremations: here, the axial skeletons of an adult male and an adult female have remained largely un-burnt, whereas skeletal elements with little soft tissue coverage were burnt white. The bodies were subsequently buried (McKinley 2008, 180). McKinley explains these variations in terms of unfavourable cremation conditions, such as sudden wind and rain, which interrupted the ceremony and changed its usual course of actions, or insufficient supply of wood (*ibid.*, 180–181).

Another explanation is that the body was not fixed strongly enough on the pyre to prevent the body moving and sliding off. In various cases, limbs like one arm or one leg stuck out of the pyre and became only partially burnt. This happened, for instance, at the middle Bronze Age cemetery of Pitten, Austria. The right *humerus* and *ulna* of the individual found in Grave 155 were only partially burnt and showed no sign of shrinkage associated with high temperatures (Teschler-Nicola 1985, 235). Similarly, amongst the urn burials from

3 Temperatures of around 800° C are routinely reached for prehistoric cremations. Different systems are used to classify the degree of burning based on discolouration and change of texture of the bones (see *e.g.* Wahl 2008, 149; Schmidt and Symes 2008, 2).

Cottbus Alvensleben-Kaserne, Germany (Gramsch 2007), were two cremations, where parts of the body did not reach the usual temperatures in relation to other cremations at the same site; this affected the lower extremities of skeletons W130 and 50a (Großkopf 2004, 156). Despite these abnormalities, the cremated remains of the individuals were not treated any differently and were buried in the usual manner. Even in some cemeteries of the Imperial Roman period in Germany (e.g. Loitsche and Zethlingen) the analysis of bones has shown that organic matter has probably survived on the bones, because the cremation temperatures were too low or the duration of exposure to fire was not long enough. Nevertheless, these only partially cremated bones were collected along with the fully cremated ones (Becker *et al.* 2005, 138, 141). Pliny the Elder reports a number of instances in which a person who was laid out for burial came to life again (Pliny, *The Natural History* 7.53); particularly dramatic was the case of the ex-consul Aviola, who could not be saved because the flames were too violent and he was therefore burnt alive (Bostock and Riley 1855). Caligula's funeral was carried out in such a haste after he was murdered that he was 'half-burnt on an emergency pyre' (Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, Caligula 59, after Noy 2000, 189); he was, however, exhumed, cremated and buried again later. Tales such as this illustrate that alive or not, bodies did move during the cremation and occasionally slid off the funerary pyre – the course of a funerary fire is not always entirely predictable. Muscle contraction in extreme heat is forensically well documented (e.g. Schmidt and Symes 2008). The social response to these incidents, based on the examples noted above, seems to be to gloss over and proceed as normal or to find pragmatic solutions to the disposal of the remains.

Partial burning of bodies may also occur in the context of burying the remains of individuals who suffered a deviant death, for instance by sacrifice or execution. Several such individuals were recently excavated in Leonding, Austria (Marschler *et al.* in press; Pertwieser 2000/2001), in what most likely represents an Iron Age sacrifice shaft containing a minimum of 11 individuals (Figure 2.1). The individuals were not buried in the usual way, although males, females and children were amongst them. The bones of one individual in particular, Individual G, showed traces of burning above the right eye, whereas another individual was slightly affected by fire at the lower arm. Both body regions are covered with little tissue and the greyish-white to blackish-brown discolouration of the bones might be connected to their taphonomic location; they were found amongst charred wood. The excavator suggested that the individuals might have been fixed to a stake and set on fire in the course of repeated sacrifices to the Celtic god Taranis (Pertwieser 2000/2001, 366). Although this particular interpretation has been challenged as too narrow (Leskovar and Traxler 2008; Marschler *et al.* in press), human sacrifice remains a recurrent phenomenon in prehistoric periods (Green 2001; Rind 1996).

Partially cremated bones may be evidence of cooking, roasting, smoking, boiling or steaming of the corpse in the course of body treatment after death (Weiss-Krejci 2005, 71). Interpreting prehistoric funerals from Scandinavia as human sacrifices to the deities, Oestigaard (2000) suggests differentiating the ways in which the body may be prepared. He believes that during funerary rituals, bodies are prepared for the gods in specific ways 'to become edible meals for the deities' (*ibid.*, 41), and as such they may be sacrificed raw,

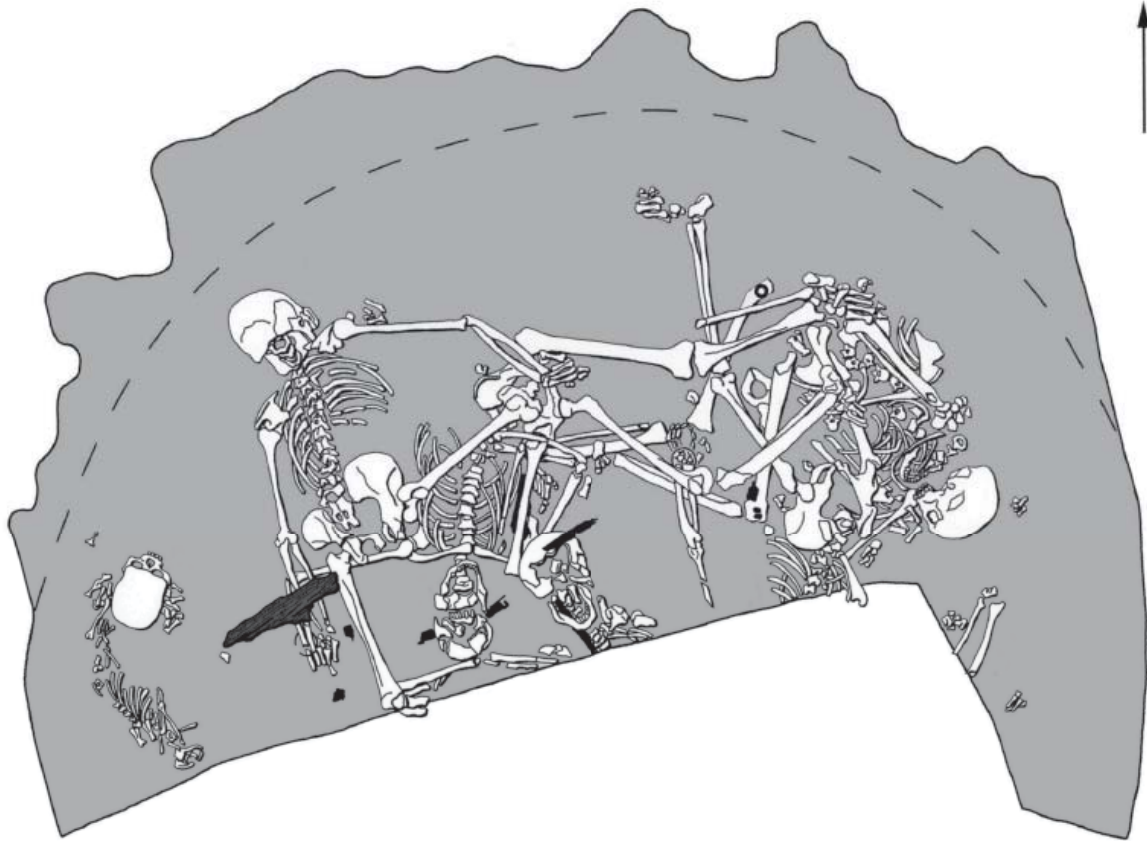


Figure 2.1. Partially cremated individuals in an Iron Age sacrifice shaft from Leonding, Austria (Leskovar and Traxler 2008, 151; reproduced by kind permission from Jutta Leskovar, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum).

cooked or burnt. His evidence takes the form of traces of bones burned at low temperatures as well as the fact that there is often more than one urn in graves – he interprets those as containing the intentionally removed flesh or as cooking pots for the flesh. In this reading, the consumption of bodies or body parts is not attributed to human agents, but cannibalism can also be part of funerary practices, and has been reported from Australia, North and South America as well as India. According to the substantial body of literature that discusses endocannibalism (*e.g.* Arens 1979; Binford 1963; Conklin 2001; Goldman 1999; Hertz 1960 [1907], 44; Parry 1982), its motives vary widely according to circumstances and social beliefs. Conklin, for instance, argues that cannibalism amongst the Amazonian Wari' is an act of socially expressed compassion, and aimed to help family and friends to come to terms with their loss more easily and more quickly by causing the body of the deceased 'to disappear' through consumption (2001, 433). Endocannibalistic practices may be confined to the human flesh, but also may extend to consuming cremated bones. Amongst the Amazonian Yanomami, who cremate their dead, bones are carefully picked up after cremation, ground and pounded into small fragments. They are packed in containers and distributed in the wider community. In a final funerary feast, often held quite some time

after death, the ashes are eaten by members of the community the deceased belonged to, but also by the communities the deceased had relations with (Woznicki 1998).

Funerary cannibalism, as a somewhat alien concept to most Europeans, has not been picked up widely as an interpretative framework in later European prehistory; notable exceptions, albeit without the suggestion of partial cremation, are the Neolithic sites of Fontbrégoua, France (Villa *et al.* 1986), and Herxheim, Germany (Boulestin *et al.* 2009). That cannibalism was a way of dealing with dead bodies in both Neanderthal and modern human societies in the Palaeolithic seems easier to come to terms with (*e.g.* Fernandez-Jalvo *et al.* 1996; Taylor 2002, 56–84). The main problem lies in the difficulty of recognising and demonstrating cannibalism (*e.g.* White 2003): the primary evidence is human bone modifications related to butchery processes and their similarity to the patterns observed on animal bones (which would be remarkably hard to detect for cremated bones). Distinguishing cannibalism from defleshing in the course of specific funerary practices is not possible through osteological observations.

Separation of body parts and their differential treatment

The partition of the body in the fleshed state for differential treatment is a concept that aroused interest quite early in the anthropological literature. ‘Partial burning’ can be found along with cremation as a category to classify North American burial customs as early as 1881 (Yarrow 1881, 92–93). The Pit River Indians ‘placed the body in the ground in a standing position with the shoulders nearly level with the ground, and cut off the head. After covering up the decapitated body, a bundle of faggots was then laid on the grave on which the head was rested. The pile was fired and the head consumed to ashes’ (James 1928, 222; Yarrow 1881, 151). This type of partial cremation is in fact characteristic of the mortuary practices in many societies, and is attested in North America, Panama, Melanesia and Australia. Cremation of particular body parts often centres on the head, for which a differential treatment is carried out (Wahl and Wahl 1983, 518), but may also tackle different body parts for various reasons. On Samoa, for instance, only the ‘sick’ body part was severed from the body and burnt, the rest was buried (Mackensen 1923; Wahl and Wahl 1984, 446). Financial concerns may lie at the heart of the matter if a token cremation is carried out instead of an expensive cremation for the whole body (Wahl and Wahl 1984, 446); here, a body part can symbolically represent a whole body.

If cremation of parts of the body is so often attested in the anthropological literature, why is it so difficult to find in archaeological contexts? Early antiquarians certainly thought about this possibility in a very graphic way, as a drawing from 1695 illustrates (Figure 2.2). One of the obvious reasons is that un-burnt and cremated body parts do not have to be deposited together. Sufficient preservation provided, missing body parts may be quite easily identified in inhumation graves, but cremation graves rarely contain all the bones of an individual. Cremated remains are often deposited in locations other than where they are burnt; it is possible that parts of the body remain in the context of the funerary pyre



Figure 2.2. A graphic illustration of cremation, dating to 1698 (D. S. Büttner 1698, *Beschreibung des Leichenbrandes*, after Stemmermann 1934, plate 16, fig. 22).

(Arcini 2005; Kaliff 2005) or become deposited in distinct archaeological features (Bowman 1991). The deposition of significant parts of the body is often enough for a burial and does not raise further suspicions (Brück 2009; Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 65). It is notoriously difficult to identify missing body parts in assemblages of cremated bones or even establish a reliable minimum number of individuals (Appleby pers. comm.). So even if body parts are missing from an inhumation or cremation burial, partial cremation is hardly more than a speculative conclusion (Grünberg 2000, 44–46).

The Mesolithic (*c.* 7700 BC) Große Ofnet cave burials near Holheim, Germany (Probst 1991, 184, 187; Schmidt 1913), can be considered one of those rare cases where cremated and un-burnt body parts were deposited next to each other. Thirty-three skulls have been found arranged in ochre-lined pits and adorned with jewellery made of animal teeth and snail shells. The original reports identified 4 men, 9 women and 20 children, although recent analysis may suggest different figures (Jochim 2008, 218). Many of them had bludgeon wounds with no traces of healing (Frayer 1997; Orschiedt 2002). Cutmarks on the vertebrae show that they were cut off the fleshed body, but of course it is not certain if this was the cause of death or part of a funerary treatment. Some evidence points to the skulls having been added in a series of instances rather than in a single, catastrophic event (Meyer-Orlac 1982, 162). This is not the only instance of skull depositions of this period in southern Germany and western France, but it is the only one with evidence of the cremation of the rest of the bodies. Between the two features that contained the skulls a third pit was discovered, which contained charcoal and charred bone fragments, ‘which may

represent the postcranial skeletons' (Jochim 2008, 217–218). Unfortunately it cannot be proven beyond doubt that the cremated bones and skulls belonged to the same individuals.

Another one of the rare cases for which partial cremation has been suspected is Grave 3 from Henfenfeld near Nürnberg, Germany. The skeletons of two inhumed individuals dating to the late Bronze Age were found on top of each other; the hands and feet were missing. In addition, the skulls of both individuals were split, with one half of each absent. Cremated remains were found around the knees of the individuals, but in the absence of osteological data it is unclear if the cremated remains belong to a third individual or are the cremated missing bones (Hörmann 1926; Wiesner 2009, 469, fig. 205). The same cemetery contained a collection of disarticulated (adult) human bones in a grave pit too small for a full inhumation. Grave 11 was interpreted in 1926 as a 'bone package' that resulted from a multiphase burial, in which bodies were first left to decompose and then either cremated or deposited (Hörmann 1926, after Wiesner 2009, 469–470).

Rather surprising places to find the type of partial cremation where bodies are severed are Latin texts. Cicero, Festus and Varro mention the rite of *os resectum* (cut bone), in which a small part of the corpse was cut off from the body to be treated separately (Graham 2009; 2011). The purpose of this practice is not very clear (Hope 2007, 108; Toynbee 1971, 49), and interpretations range from it being a remainder of an earlier custom of inhumation, helping to legitimise cremation by providing an interment in earth, which was believed to be necessary to create a proper resting place for the soul, to being a part of the funerary ritual of purification and remembrance to ensure the spiritual well-being of both the community of the dead and that of the living (Graham 2009). Perhaps just a joint from a finger, the *os resectum* is not particularly conspicuous in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, the finds of 300 small inscribed vessels containing bone fragments from San Cesareo on the Via Appia (Graham 2009, 55–57) and the recent discovery of a vessel underneath the altar dedicated to M. Nonius Balbus at Herculaneum, which very likely contains a phalanx from one of his fingers (Graham 2009, 57–67; Pappalardo 1997), make it clear that assuming that Roman funerary rites were much like our own might make us miss important evidence.

The use of fire in connection with inhumation burials

Use of fire in connection with inhumation burials has long been suspected as one of the roots of cremation, and indeed, traces of fire can often be observed within burial grounds even when cremation is not practiced as such. The use of fire may not leave any traces on the human bones; if it does, it is sometimes also referred to as 'skeletal charring' (Weitzel and McKenzie 2008). Early instances of the use of fire in connection with inhumation burials are easy to find in the enormous variability of Mesolithic burials. The two cemeteries of Skateholm, Sweden, famous for their human and dog burials and dating to c. 5250–4900 cal. BC, had three cremation burials amongst nearly 90 inhumations (Larsson 1990). During the process of filling the graves, a number of activities took place, such as feasting

and disposal of leftovers; tools and ornaments were also thrown into the grave. Larsson observed that the 'ritual involved fire, without this being an actual cremation' (*ibid.*, 158). The grave of an old woman could be shown to have been covered by a wooden structure that had been burnt down prior to the refilling of the grave (Larsson 1984, 126; Larsson 1993, 47). Other examples attest that a fire was lit after filling the grave pit. A charcoal layer over the Mesolithic grave of a two- to three-year-old child who was buried in a sitting position under a rock shelter from Elsbethen, Austria, suggests such a practice (Svoboda 2008, 235).

Fire in connection to mortuary practices, but without the aim of total cremation of the body, has been demonstrated from the hunter-gatherer-fisher cemetery of Khuzhir-Nuge XIV in Siberia, dating to approximately 2700 to 2000 BC. 79 graves were excavated recently, of which 54 showed traces of burning; both the grave constructions (pits and stone cairns) and 20 of the bodies were affected (Weitzel and McKenzie 2008, 186). Fire was used differentially and not on all individuals, but neither gender nor age patterns could be detected. It was clear that fire exposure affected the upper parts of the bodies more than the lower, with the skull and right side being more often exposed to fire than the rest of the body (*ibid.*, 194). Charred bones were found in articulation rather than disarticulated (*ibid.*, 195). In this cemetery, exposure of bodies in the graves and grave constructions to fire was part of the mortuary or remembrance ritual for a significant proportion of the people. The bodies were not completely transformed through fire, nor were they moved from the places of inhumation. Other hunters and fishers in northern Eurasia, western Siberia and southern Ural used fires at mortuary ceremonies as well as partial and total cremations (Häusler 1962, 1151).

In situ burning of inhumed individuals is also attested from later periods, for instance the Early Iron Age tumuli in Albania, which usually contained a large number of inhumation burials and a few cremations. In the tumulus of Kamenica, for example, three cremations had taken place on the spot, leaving traces of baked clay, while others were cremated elsewhere and brought to the tumulus after cremation (Bejko *et al.* 2010). At Lofkënd, Albania, two burials of children and a juvenile seem to have been interred in the graves before a fire was lit on top. The individuals were only partially cremated, but interestingly, patches of fire-affected clay over their bones indicate that clay was thrown onto the burning material (Papadopoulos, Bejko, and Morris 2007, 125–126), perhaps to extinguish the fire.

Wooden constructions and houses built over graves that were burnt down in the course of funerary ceremonies are not uncommon in prehistory, but the funerary houses of the Bronze Age in the northern German Lüneburg area are probably among the most elaborate examples. The twelve houses that have been found so far differ significantly from regular dwellings and are rectangular, usually east-west oriented, open buildings of considerably size (4.5–6.5 m by 3–5.2 m). They were probably designed to be burnt down with the enclosed bodies and be subsequently covered with a mound. The house from Baven, Germany, for instance, contained the inhumation of a male with a short sword, a dagger and a pin as well as a number of flints in the centre of the structure under thick layers of ashes (Piesker 1934). At Grünhof-Tesperhude, Germany, the bodies of a female and a child were placed

in tree coffins well integrated into the stone plastering of the house and cremated whilst the house was burnt down (Busch 1996; Laux 1971). These houses, intercutting funerary and domestic spheres, raise interesting questions about the relationship of the dead and the living as well as residence and resting place. It is probably no coincidence that most of these structures date to a time when cremation was introduced to the Lüneburg area and associated ideologies were in the process of being formulated.

Partial cremation of bodies as secondary burial practices

Hertz was one of the first to extensively discuss cremation as part of secondary burial practices (Hertz 1960 [1907], 29–53). He focussed on analysing and interpreting the intermediate period between biological death and a final ceremony that concludes all funeral rituals. In this intermediate period, the body may be treated in a variety of ways for preservation or to control and monitor decomposition. Simple storage, exposure, temporary inhumation, mummification or excarnation are a few of the possibilities one might think of (Wahl and Wahl 1984; Williams 2008). The intermediate period is ended by a final ceremony, which aims at giving burial to the deceased, ensuring peace for the soul and freeing the living from obligations of mourning (Hertz 1960 [1907], 53). In Bali, such a secondary cremation is organised only for rich people, while others receive a simple burial. As such, the cremation includes multiple individuals, because ‘the graves of commoners are dug up and earth is raked for pieces of bone’ (Metcalf and Huntington 1991, 101–102). These bones are roughly collected in the correct relationship to each other, packed in bundles and cremated before they are thrown into the sea. Metcalf and Huntington remark upon the fact that recovering complete bodies was not required, and a few bones may suffice – another instance of partial cremation.

This final ceremony may include the deliberate cremation of the whole or parts of bodies, but a range of practices can eventually result in fire-affected bones, if the secondary burial involves fire. Fire could have, for instance, been applied in order to clean bones of remaining soft tissue (Weiss-Krejci 2005, 52) or might occur accidentally whilst corpses were dehydrated by fire for mummification (*ibid.*, 47, 51, citing Leisner and Leisner 1943, 546–547; Lethbridge 1950, 36; Sempowski 1994, 142–144). To be able to address the question of whether burnt bones are the result of a primary or secondary cremation, it is vital to ascertain whether bones were burnt in-flesh, de-fleshed (‘green’) or dry. Fracture patterns on the bones can provide the clues: experimental studies have shown that deep cracks, fissures, longitudinal splitting, curved fractures and warping are characteristically observed when whole bodies are burnt in flesh, while cracking, checking, fissures and splits are shallower and curved fractures and warping are absent when cremating dry bones (Whyte 2001, 439). The burning of fresh, but de-fleshed bone is more difficult to identify as the fracture patterns lie somewhere in between (Thurman and Willmore 1981). Bones do not even have to be totally exposed to be affected by post-depositional fires. Experimental studies (Bennett 1999) have demonstrated that shallowly buried bones (*i.e.* 2 to 10 cm underneath

the surface) can be altered through the heat of a surface fire alone. They carbonise and calcinate according to the temperatures reached, and change their colour characteristically evenly across all surfaces. Fracturing and warping of the bones are negligible. Variability may be the result of different depth and characteristics of the sediments the bones are embedded in, as well as intensity and duration of the source of heat.

Cremation of de-fleshed bones and skeletal bodies after decomposition can also occur unrelated to a final ceremony in Hertz's terms, that is when 'old' bones are encountered in the burial space when digging new graves. Secondary burning of defleshed human bones has recently been well documented from late Mesolithic–early Neolithic (*c.* 7500 to 5900 cal. BC) communities of the Danube Gorges, Serbia (Borić, Raičević and Stefanović 2009). The burial site of Vlasac at the Danube shore was revisited continuously over a long time span, and bodies were usually interred as extended inhumations, although sometimes in semi-flexed and seated positions (*ibid.*, 250). Frequent intercutting of graves, deliberate or not, resulted in encountering old human bones. These were cremated in situ before new bodies were added. That bones were burnt in a dry state could be demonstrated by the characteristic patterns of longitudinal cracks and fractures. In total, 56 contexts with burnt human remains were documented from recent excavations at Vlasac (*ibid.*, 252). The burning of skeletal remains targeted the head and torso more often than the lower limbs, and this resulted in partial cremations. In some cases, burnt and un-burnt parts of bones could even be fitted together again (Figure 2.3). Sex, age or other characteristics did not seem to be a factor in choosing which individuals to treat by this secondary mortuary practice. Of course issues of memory and maintenance of traditions can play into the re-use of burial space, but it seems more likely, as the authors suggest, that the practice is

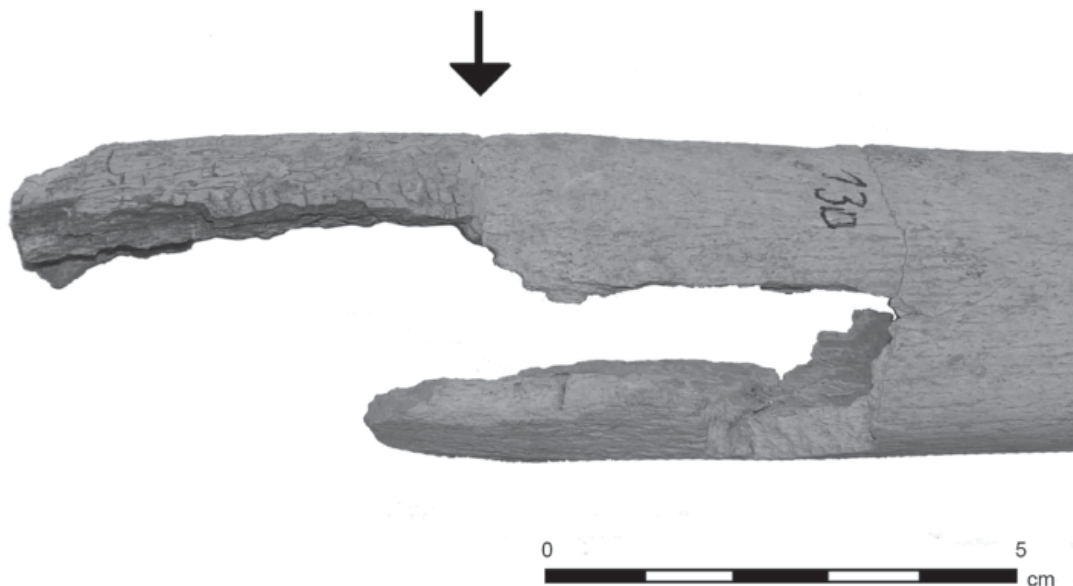


Figure 2.3. Unburnt and burnt fragments of the same tibia, refitted from burial 130 and 115 at Vlasac, Serbia (Borić, Raičević and Stefanović 2009, 251, photo reproduced by kind permission from Dušan Borić, Cardiff University).

connected to the placing of new bodies in old burial grounds, which had to be purified and cleansed through fire before a new body was added. The cremated bones, however, were left in situ and not removed from the freshly cut graves. A deliberate continuation of mortuary traditions may be connected to the old bones, but they still might have been seen as powerful and dangerous. To solve this tension, disarticulation and burning of old bones may be targeted at restricting the remaining powers of the defleshed (*ibid.*, 273).

Partial burning of human bodies and bones was also practiced widely in Neolithic and Copper Age contexts on the Iberian Peninsula between the late fifth and second millennium BC (Weiss-Krejci 2005). While some evidence points to the cremation of fresh bodies soon after death, the majority of cases can be connected to secondary burial rites such as the burning of decomposing bodies or dry bones (*ibid.*, 44). Partially cremated human bones have been found in natural caves and rock shelters, dolmen graves and *tholoi*, and often the surrounding structures in addition to the bones show traces of fire. In many of these funerary contexts more than one individual had been deposited. The traces of fire on the bones are far from uniform and seem to have affected bones at all stages of decomposition and disarticulation. This can be explained by the observation that complex sequences of depositions were often closed through a ritual that involved fire. Cueva Maturra, for instance, a cave that contained at least four articulated individuals was sealed after a fire was set (*ibid.*, 43). The practice of secondary cremation, or cremation of bodies after decomposition, seems atypical for the large cremation cemeteries of the Bronze and Iron Ages of central Europe (Rebay-Salisbury 2010), despite the fact that a wide range of post-depositional practices are attested (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in prep.).

‘Borrowing’ between inhumation and cremation

In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the transferral of specific elements of inhumation to cremation practices. This does not address alterations of the physical body (discussed above), but structures built and objects placed around the body. In a sense, these elements of funerary practice can also be interpreted as responses to the material body, relating to its size and shape and attending to its perceived needs. The transferral of elements from inhumation to cremation graves at the middle to late Bronze Age transition in Europe has recently been investigated in detail by Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and the author of this chapter.

A shared burial space in which both inhumations and cremations take place is an obvious venue for overlapping practices. In middle Bronze Age Europe, many such cemeteries existed, for which the term ‘bi-ritual’ has been coined (*e.g.* Blischke 2002; Bukowski 1997; Dušek 1969; Hampel, Kerchler and Benkovsky-Pivovarová 1981; Polla 1960). The cemeteries suggest a chronological development from inhumation to cremation, but while this is true overall, individual graves might not fit the general trajectory. Both inhumation and cremation may have been used side by side for a considerable time, and choices were probably made on the basis of individual characteristics, taking age, gender

and status into consideration. The deposition of un-cremated and cremated individuals in one grave, however, is a much rarer phenomenon than shared cemetery space. In many cases, inhumations and cremations were buried in chronological succession rather than deposited in a single event. An exception might be the Egtved Girl from Denmark, dating to c. 1390–1370 BC and famous for wearing a short string skirt (Broholm and Hald 1940). She was buried in an oak coffin underneath a burial mound; at her feet, the cremated remains of a five- to six-year-old child were found. Similarly, amongst the individuals buried in barrow 17 of Deutsch-Evern, Germany, was a burial with a rich set of female ornaments. A cremated child was buried at shoulder height, wrapped in a cloth that was probably part of the woman's upper dress and was fastened with a fibula (Körner 1959; Laux 1971, 213). The deposition of cremated children together with inhumed adults, almost as a grave good, occurs occasionally in early Bronze Age Únětice contexts (Wahl 1982, 39). To bury an un-cremated infant or child with a cremated adult seems to be much more common in the late Bronze Age of southern central Europe (Wiesner 2009, 464–469, 485–488). Still, burials of un-cremated and cremated bodies together remain rare events. Wiesner (2009) cites only 19 graves for which this could be suggested (of 11,713 known burials of the late Bronze Age in this region; *ibid.*, 28). The deposition of a burnt and an un-burnt body in a single event may suggest that one body was cremated earlier and kept until both were interred, and while it is tempting to suggest an emotional or kinship tie between the buried individuals, it might be a matter of simplicity to organise only one grave for two persons.

Despite the fact that through cremation the body loses certain elements of its material qualities and is transformed to a very different substance (Sørensen and Rebay 2008a), graves of the middle to late Bronze Age transition may still be built for the same space an inhumed body would need. The extent of the body remains imagined when depositing the cremated remains. This phenomenon is widespread and has been documented in the Nordic Bronze Age (Aner and Kersten 1981), where full sized oak coffins remained in use for cremations, and in central Europe, where stone linings and grave pits define the extent of the space for a body; the cremated remains are scattered in this designated space (Kimmig 1940; Wagner 1943). A large number of such graves have recently been excavated at the cemetery of Zuchering, Germany, dating to the thirteenth to eighth century BC (Schütz 2007; see Figure 2.4). Of the 529 excavated graves, 102 were scattered cremations, most of which had a clearly distinguishable, rectangular, body-sized centre in which the cremation and grave goods were placed. This centre must have been confined by a wooden coffin or box. Pyre debris was deposited within the grave cut, but primarily outside this central structure. The space of the grave was initially measured against the space a living body would need, and only gradually readjusted to fit the material properties of cremated remains.

In the early Iron Age, when the focus shifted once again towards display around the body, and inhumation was re-introduced in many areas of central Europe, cremation graves underwent a reverse modification. Individuals of especially high status were often deposited in wooden chambers with ostentatious grave goods and furnishings. These graves, for instance the well-known grave from Verucchio, Italy (Gentili 2003), or Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1981; Biel 1985), were once again adjusted to the size of the fleshed body.

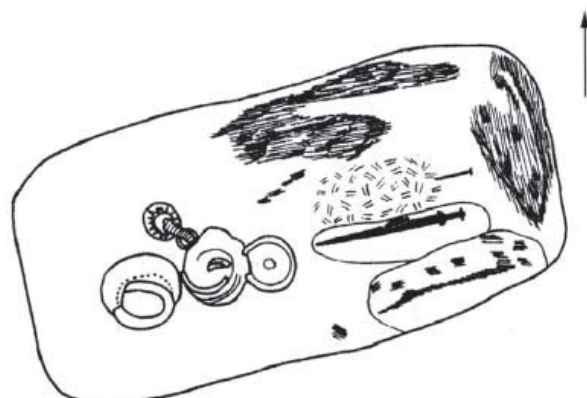


Figure 2.4. Cremation treated similarly to an un-cremated body in Grave 352 from Zuchering, Germany (photo reproduced by kind permission from Cornelia Schütz, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Ingoldstadt, plan after Schütz 2007, fig. 46.2).

Regardless of whether the actual body was inhumed or cremated, the construction of space around the burial became radically different: these graves mimic domestic spaces and include furniture as well as food, drink and other useful things. As grave space was reinterpreted and modified, this development had repercussions for the less well-off.

The 're-imagined body' after cremation has further needs than just space. Amongst these are wrapping and clothing as well as food and drink. Evidence for clothing the body comes from a Bronze Age grave from Hvidegård, Denmark (Herbst 1848), where a scattered cremation was laid out like an inhumation and dressed in textiles; a sword was even placed next to the body. Bronze dress elements were placed to match the correct body parts in the scattered cremations of Pitten, Austria (Sørensen and Rebay 2008b, 168), or Zuchering, Germany (Schütz 2007). Even urns are occasionally clothed like persons; they were wrapped in textiles, which were sometimes fastened with a pin at the 'shoulder' (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007, 77). This phenomenon is also known from Etruria (Tuck 1994, 627). 'Face-urns' from the northern European late Bronze and Iron Ages (Kneisel 2012; La Baume 1950) and Etruscan 'canopic' urns, which were named after, but are unrelated to Egyptian jars for the mummified viscera of the deceased, embody the same idea of creating a new frame for a body whose boundaries have been broken by cremation. The urns from Chiusi, Italy, in particular, mimic anthropomorphic appearance in great detail, to the extent that they were given detailed facial features, movable arms or were placed on terracotta seats (Astier 2005; Gempeler 1974). They seem to be, however, no portrait in the sense that they capture personal traits of individuals. This is important if we consider Sørensen and Bille's (2008, 263–264) notion of the presence of absence, the desire to presence what is actually absent through a range of practices. It raises the question of what it is that is remembered and longed for, perhaps not the 'sensuous immediacy and a connection with the dead' (*ibid.*, 264) but a more abstract idea of the deceased's role in society.

Food and drink, or animal bones and ceramic vessels respectively, are ubiquitous in

inhumation as well as cremation graves of the Bronze and Iron Ages. Again, the specific placing of the objects may provide clues in how far the cremated body was likened to and understood in a similar way as the fleshed body. In the cemetery of Streda nad Bodrogom, Czech Republic (Polla 1960), for instance, inhumation grave 35 and cremation grave 24 were deposited with identical sets of pottery, consisting of a jug placed inside the bowl and a small cup. Both sets of pottery were placed at the 'feet' (*ibid.*, 311, 314, 353; Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008, 56). These examples are just a few to illustrate that a range of funerary practices can be carried out interchangeably for inhumations and cremations. They are all, in one way or another, responses to the materiality of the body, but this materiality may refer to the past body rather than the state of the human remains at the time of burial.

Interpretation and conclusion

'Partial cremation' covers a huge variety of practices and is therefore hard to interpret as a specific phenomenon. If we assume that the practice of inhuming and cremating bodies is a means to an end and connected to particular ideas and beliefs, then partial cremation and burial practices between cremation and inhumation are problematic. As burial rites, both cremation and inhumation are concerned with transitions from one state to another (van Gennep 1960 [1909]) and the transformation of the body itself plays a key role as a metaphor of transition. In many of the examples above it became apparent that fire was not only considered a powerful agent of transformation, but had been attributed meaning and power beyond that (Gheorghiu and Nash 2007). It can transform bodies, places, and people, it can purify and heal. Fire is 'both destructive yet also constructive of a potent element in remembrance' (Sørensen and Bille 2008, 265).

People respond to the material body in various ways during funeral rites, but it may be the body as it is remembered whilst alive and not the new physical reality after cremation that is focussed on whilst handling the remains. The temporality and timing of cremation and inhumation differs significantly, and whilst this dissonance can be problematic, partial cremation may be a way to bridge different ideas such as provisional and final, or 'primary' and 'secondary', burial rites (Hertz 1960 [1907]). It is not surprising that we find practices overlapping cremation and inhumation at points in the past when burial rites changed; this may suggest that beliefs and ideas about the body and what happens after death were in transformation and in the process of becoming formulated. Doing a bit of both, incorporating new ideas in old practices, may be a way to ensure things are done 'properly' in any case. On the other hand, we have seen examples in which partial cremation is not a sign of careful and respectful treatment, but indicative of no further concern with the material body: this may be to emphasise the immaterial aspects of a person that are often imagined to live on beyond death, or, alternatively, to add a further element of destruction. In any case, however, funerary practices address the person in a variety of ways through the medium of the material body.

Interpretations of the partitioning of bodies must include ideas of fragmentation (e.g. Brück 2006; Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007; Fowler 2008; Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010). In a sense, the body becomes multiplied through fragmentation, and the differential treatment of body parts increases the funerary possibilities – all of which may be filled with specific meanings and carry certain purposes. Body parts can stand metonymically for whole bodies, for instance, when a token deposit is sufficient to represent the whole body in a funeral, or when a body part is enough to make the person identifiable. Fragmentation has been shown to contribute to the building of relationships between people, objects and places; they become enchainned in social relationships by sharing parts of fragmented objects and people. Fragmentation plays a role in partial cremation in a variety of ways, by fragmenting the body before cremation, through fire as the active agent of fragmentation, or conceptually through differential treatment of body parts. The treatment of dead bodies, and in particular the ways in which bodies are grouped or fragmented, have increasingly impacted the way in which we think about personhood in later European prehistory (e.g. Fowler 2004; Knapp and van Dommelen 2008).

It is, as so often in archaeology, the social context of partial cremation that will give us clues to its interpretation. By giving practices between inhumation and cremation more specific attention, we may avoid the trap of prejudging the evidence in the light of a superficial binary classification. What appears as a cremation or inhumation burial may, under scrutiny, reveal much more variation in the way burial practices are conducted, and as such reveal the process of burying as a very personal act.

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2.4 Interpreting the body: burial practices at the Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Pitten

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INTERPRETING THE BODY. BURIAL PRACTICES AT THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE CEMETERY AT PITTEN, AUSTRIA

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, Katharina Christina Rebay, Cambridge

1. Introduction and Background

The relatively rapid introduction of cremation into large parts of Europe during the Middle Bronze Age and the subsequent development of the so-called Urnfield culture remains a seminal question for archaeologists. This phenomenon challenges us to consider cultural forces that take place at large geographical scales, yet at the same time reflecting immediate human concerns such as death. It reminds us that change takes place at different scales and is expressed and in turn affected by its emerging material manifestations. It is also clearly a sequence of such complex events, emulations, transmissions, and transformations that archaeologists must continue to explore the multifaceted nature of this change and develop methods for interrogating the data in ever more complex manners. The aim of this paper is to show how the data from one site may help to explore these events. Our basic assumption is that funerals, as formal social response to death, were closely linked to beliefs about the body, the self, and the immaterial world, such as ideas about what happens after death. This means that changes in burial practices, as changes in how relatively routine activities were performed, provide a significant basis for the analysis of changing motivations and emerging ideals.

The rich evidence of funerary activities at the cemetery of Pitten provides important insights into the changing burial rites during the relevant period. The cemetery was in use from the early Middle Bronze Age to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (mid 16th to mid 13th century BC) thus covering the transition from inhumation to cremation¹. It is

one of the largest known cemeteries from Central Europe and its excavation included not only the individual burial mounds but also the areas in between them, thus providing a detailed data set that can be explored for indicators of change in burial practices. The characteristics of the graves suggest that the transition was neither rapid nor consistent; one is rather left with the impression of a time of experimentation and fusing of different ideas with regard to the formal disposal of the dead.

The cemetery of Pitten is situated in Lower Austria, south of the Danube, in a hilly, fertile landscape. The cemetery is located at the bottom of the Pitten valley between the Pitten stream and the low ranges of hills running along its western edge. From the cemetery visibility is restricted to the valley itself, while from the surrounding hilltops the view opens up towards the Alps in the west and the Steinfeld region and further valleys and plains towards the east and north. This setting suggests simultaneously a well defined local area and the obvious potential for long distance contact and influences. The local area appears to have been less densely occupied than the region to the north of the Danube, but some contemporary finds from settlements, hoards and other cemeteries are known², and Bronze Age finds have occasionally been found in the area, hinting at the existence of contemporary sites nearby³.

The first Bronze Age graves of this cemetery were discovered in 1932 during building works. Since the middle part of the cemetery was destroyed in 1967, graves from this area were not fully documented, although some of the

¹ There is also an early medieval cemetery occupying the same area which partly overlaps with the Bronze Age cemetery: H. FRIESINGER, Das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld von Pitten-Kreuzacker-gasse, Studien zur Archäologie der Slawen II, Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. 17/18, 1977, 49 ff.

² H. WINDL, Fürsten der Bronzezeit in Pitten, Katalog des Nieder-österreichischen Landesmuseums, Neue Folge 135, 1983, 7 ff.

³ F. HAMPL, H. KERCHLER, Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973 mit Beiträgen über Funde aus anderen Perioden, Band 1: Fundbericht und Tafeln, Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss. 19/20, 1978–1981, 8 f.

Grave constructions			
Flat graves (<i>Flachgrab</i>) 96	Burial mounds (<i>Hügelgrab</i>) 131 burials in 92 mounds	Cylinder graves (<i>Zylindergrab</i>) 6	
Burial practices			
Inhumations 75		Cremations 154	
Types of cremation burials			
Cremation graves on ground surface (<i>Brandfläche</i>) 136	Cremation pits (<i>Brandgrube</i>) 7	Cremations scattered in and around urns (<i>Brandschüttung</i>) 2	Urn burials (<i>Urne</i>) 8
Locations of cremation burials			
<i>In situ</i> cremation graves (<i>Bustum</i>) 130		Relocated cremation graves (<i>Ustrina</i>) 23	
Grave constructions in relation to the Bronze Age surface			
under ground 43	on ground surface 138	above ground 46	

Table 1. Burial forms and grave constructions.

bronze objects were rescued. Professional rescue work began around that time and resulted in the systematic excavation of the southern part of the cemetery. Over time, a number of archaeologists were involved, including F. Hampl and H. Friesinger as site directors⁴. Excavations continued intermittently until 1973. The southern and western edges of the cemetery extend into the inhabited areas of the modern town of Pitten and therefore remain undefined. Trial trenches have established that the cemetery continues some distance to the north. Towards the east, however, the limits of the cemetery appear to have been reached, as a contemporary ditch and a stone layer suggest a barrier against high water⁵ or a deliberate delineation of the cemetery⁶.

Thus, while the total extension of the cemetery is unknown, it is clear that it was a substantial and, at least in parts, a well-defined site. The excavations have recovered a large part of the original cemetery (221 graves), and the superb preservation conditions (especially in the southern part where floods have left protective layers of silt up to two meters deep) mean that many details are available for analysis.

Much of the data about Pitten is published in the *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* (edited by H. Friesinger) and is therefore accessible for further study. Various specialist analyses, for instance on the geology⁷, the animal bones⁸, the chronology of the bronze finds⁹ and the

⁴ For details see HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. fn. 3, 9 ff. and H. FRIESINGER, F. HAMPL, Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen des NÖ Landesmuseums in Pitten in den Jahren 1967-1970, *ArchA* 50, 1971, 279 ff.

⁵ P. SCHLUSCHE, Geologischer Bericht über die Ausgrabung in Pitten 1973, in: F. HAMPL, H. KERCHLER, Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973 mit Beiträgen über Funde aus anderen Perioden, Band 2: Auswertung, *Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 21/22, 1982-1985, 5 ff.

⁶ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. fn. 3, 9 ff., 120.

⁷ SCHLUSCHE, s. fn. 5.

⁸ K. BAUER, P. WOLFF, Faunistische Untersuchungen am ausgegrabenen Knochenmaterial von Pitten, Niederösterreich, in: F. HAMPL,

H. KERCHLER, Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973 mit Beiträgen über Funde aus anderen Perioden, Band 2: Auswertung, *Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 21/22, 1982-1985, 13 ff.

⁹ Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das Bronzeinventar des mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Pitten, Niederösterreich, in: F. HAMPL, H. KERCHLER, Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973 mit Beiträgen über Funde aus anderen Perioden, Band 2: Auswertung, *Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 21/22, 1982-1985, 23 ff.

skeletal remains¹⁰, have been published, while a number of general studies have used the data from Pitten to explore aspects of Bronze Age society¹¹. Since the excavation data has been thoroughly published, a brief summary of the main characteristics of relevance to our research will suffice.

The chronology of the cemetery is complex and various versions exist. Blischke's four phase chronological system (MD I–III, SD I) will be used in this study, as it is based on stratigraphic observations in combination with bronze typology¹². In this scheme the chronological framework for Pitten covers the whole Middle Bronze Age. The earliest graves date to Bronze Age B1¹³ or MD I¹⁴ and the Koszider-respectively the Lochham-horizon¹⁵, which corresponds with an absolute date of around 1600 BC. The latest graves belong to Bronze Age C2¹⁶ or SD I¹⁷ and can be dated to the transition to the early Urnfield period, from the mid 14th to the mid 13th century BC¹⁸. The cemetery would have been in use for some 250 years, and it has been estimated that it represented a living community of approximately 31 persons living at any one time¹⁹.

The main publication of the cemetery has given substantial attention to the classification of the different burial forms and grave constructions found. The publication proposes the following principal differentiation based on construction form and burial practice²⁰ (Table 1).

In the documented part of the cemetery, there were 235 burials in 195 Bronze Age grave structures, plus four platforms. As shown in Table 1, the burials appear in a number of forms, some common within the cemetery and others rare. In terms of our research questions these differences can in principle be seen to represent three different approaches to the construction of a grave: i) A pit is excavated to hold the grave and associated constructions, as exemplified by shaft graves and some of the urn graves, ii) the surface is used for the funeral as exemplified by cremation pyres *in*

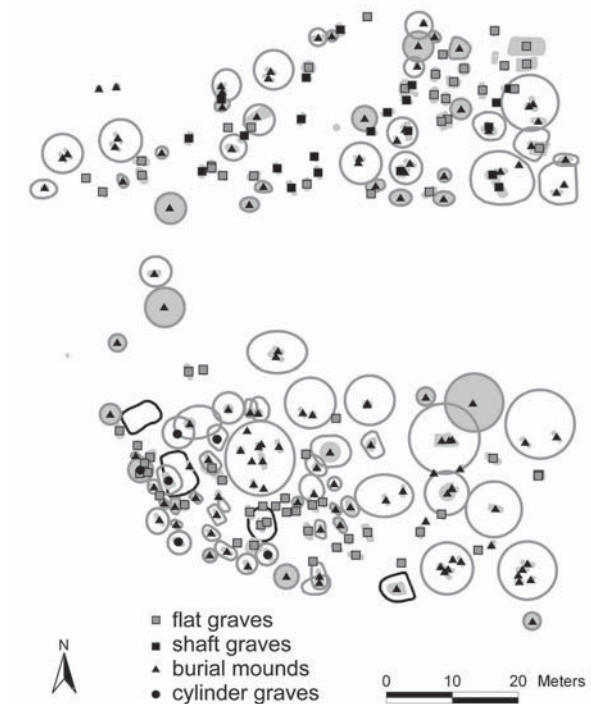


Fig. 1. Grave forms in Pitten.

situ, or iii) a construction is made above ground either of soil (e.g. burial mounds) or stone and soil (e.g. cremation platforms) and various grave constructions are placed within or on top of them.

While variation and mixture characterise each of these approaches, there is particular variation amongst the constructions built out of soil and stone (Figure 1). For instance, while most burial mounds are very small, usually less than a meter diameter, and contain only one burial, larger burial mounds containing more than one burial and with a diameter of up to 10 m also occur. This variation has been paid

¹⁰ M. TESCHLER-NICOLA, Die Körper- und Brandbestattungen des mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Pitten, Niederösterreich. Demographische und anthropologische Analyse, in: F. HAMPL, H. KERCHLER, Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973 mit Beiträgen über Funde aus anderen Perioden, Band 2, Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. 21/22, 1982–1985, 127 ff.

¹¹ E.g. B. WIEGEL, Trachtkreise im südlichen Hügelgräberbereich. Studien zur Beigabensitte der Mittelbronzezeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung forschungsgeschichtlicher Aspekte, Internat. Arch. 5, 1992; J. BLISCHKE, Gräberfelder als Spiegel der historischen Entwicklung während der mittleren Bronzezeit im mittleren Donaugebiet, Universitätsforsch. Prähist. Arch. 80, 2002; K. NÖNNIG, Hinweise archäologischer Quellen auf Gender Rollen in der Mittelbronzezeit, Wien 2002 (unpubl. Diplomarbeit, Univ. Wien).

¹² BLISCHKE, s. ftn. 11.

¹³ P. REINECKE, Mainzer Aufsätze zur Chronologie der Bronze- und Eisenzeit, Bonn 1965.

¹⁴ B. HÄNSEL, Beiträge zur Chronologie der mittleren Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken. Beitr. z. ur- und frühgesch. Arch. d. Mittelmeer-Kulturraumes 7, 1968.

¹⁵ M. NOVOTNÁ, Die Nadeln in der Slowakei, Prähist. Bronzefunde XIII/6, 1980.

¹⁶ REINECKE, s. ftn. 12.

¹⁷ HÄNSEL, s. ftn. 13.

¹⁸ O. URBAN, Der lange Weg zur Geschichte. Die Urgeschichte Österreichs, Wien 2000, 180–182.

¹⁹ TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. ftn. 10, 219.

²⁰ In this text, 'cremation' will be used to refer to both, the event of cremation as a funerary rite, and to cremation as a burial form. The total number may vary between different analyses depending upon the quality of the data set. Since total numbers are usually relatively small, the percentage given is primarily used to outline trends.

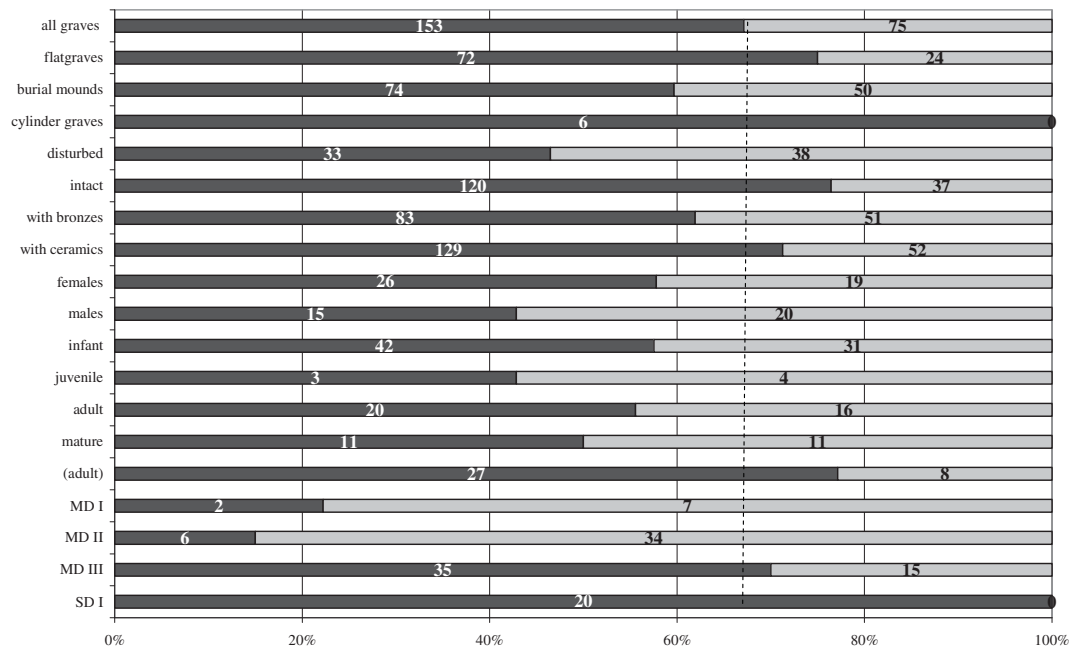


Table 2. The proportion of cremations to inhumations in relation to grave forms, disturbance, grave goods, gender, age and cemetery phases (black: cremations, grey: inhumations).

little attention in the published report²¹. There is, however, clearly a significant difference in terms of the monumentality of single constructions and the role of the single monument within the overall cemetery, as will be discussed later. Similarly, while many of the stone constructions follow familiar grave designs, such as stone packing, cairns, and stone linings, there are some forms that are more unusual and suggestive of the development of specific rituals and distinct attitudes to the body as well as desired architectural form. These are the cylinder graves, graves with door openings, and the so-called cremation platforms. These constructions are associated with the south-western part of the cemetery and seem to belong to the later phases of constructions; they will therefore be further considered in the discussion of the spatial and temporal layout.

In addition to these variations it is important to note that many of the grave constructions show signs of change in use or extensions, and 21% of the burial mounds (19 out of 92) have more than one interment. It is also important to stress that the cemetery shows considerable variation in the treatment of the body itself (Figure 2). This includes bodies being placed on top of constructions, being encircled by such constructions, being placed secondarily in multi-layered burial mounds, and early incidences of cremation. There is also considerable variation in the form of the cremation

burials, and although cremation becomes more dominant in the later phases of the cemetery, inhumation does not disappear until phase four (Table 2).

One of the interesting differences in the construction of the cremation burials is how the cremated bones are treated. At Pitten it seems that in more than 80% of the graves the place of cremation and the final location of the burnt bones are identical, i.e. the cremated remains are left *in situ* (although the bones might be scraped together or piled up) and become the *loci* for the grave construction. The cremated bones, together with other remains of the funerary ritual such as charcoal, burnt soil, and possibly elements of the dress, are at the same time treated in a number of different ways to be discussed later.

Due to the specific aims of this paper, the artefacts found in the cemetery will only be discussed in terms of their connection with the burials and their inclusion in the funerary rituals and bodily practices. A brief outline of the finds therefore suffices. The grave goods in general consist of personal ornaments (common types, such as pins, and exceptional ones like the diadems and the cruciform decorative plates), some weapons and a few tools. Benkovsky-Pivovarová has published the typology and chronology of the bronze artefacts²². The pottery has been catalogued²³, but the distribution of various types within the cemetery has not

²¹ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. fn. 3, 16.

²² BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. fn. 9, 23 ff.

²³ Z. BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, Das mittelbronzezeitliche Gräberfeld von Pitten in Niederösterreich. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des

Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums in den Jahren 1967 bis 1973, Band 3: Ergänzungskatalog, Mitt. Prähist. Komm. Österr. Akad. D. Wiss. D. Wiss. 24, 1991.



Fig. 2. Different forms of burial mounds in Pitten (HAMPL, Kerchler, Benkovsky-Pivovarová s. fn. 3, Taf. 158)

yet been published. The pottery forms include jars, bowls, cups and storage vessels. Both fine and coarseware were used, and there are many pots with simple plastic or incised geometric decoration.

The variations in burial practices can be used to investigate the introduction of cremation as a regular burial rite within this cemetery. In doing this we will focus on different scales of praxis, which are directly linked to the burial of an individual and thus reveal attitudes towards the status of bodies as individual substances. One scale is the spatial layout of the cemetery and in particular the relationship between inhumation and cremation burials within the context of decisions made about where to place graves and whether explicit associations were sought between different kinds of constructions. This will include attention towards the range of physical constructions used within the cemetery. Though this, the analysis aims to explore the relationships between or departures from different funerary rituals in terms of the physical form of the construction with which it is associated. At another, more individual scale, we shall investigate how the body is placed within these structures and what associations are made between bodies, their parts and objects. In addition, subsidiary activities such as feasting or the deposition of offerings will also be discussed as they provide important supplementary insight into the range of

further activities through which beliefs may have been given attention and manifestation. Clearly, the site shows complex intermingling between two different approaches to the treatment of the death during burial. It is through this merging of ideas and in the fusing of different objectives and practices that we can begin to investigate how a local community came to develop its understanding of what a cremation burial might be – not detached and in isolation from influences beyond the local area but practiced and understood in resonance with established ‘burial technologies’. Furthermore, in this development of new agreements and understandings of how people were buried, the earlier inhumation practices were not merely replaced and rejected but were also in themselves rethought, with social prestige and positions probably being invested in these changes. It is these entangled processes that we shall explore in the following.

2. Space, age, gender, and status: the social layout of the cemetery

It is reasonable to propose that we would see some clear differences in the use of the cemetery if the introduction of cremation was due to an external agent, such as migration or other changes in the population, or if it were the result of radical ideological changes. For instance, migrations would most likely result in new cemeteries being established

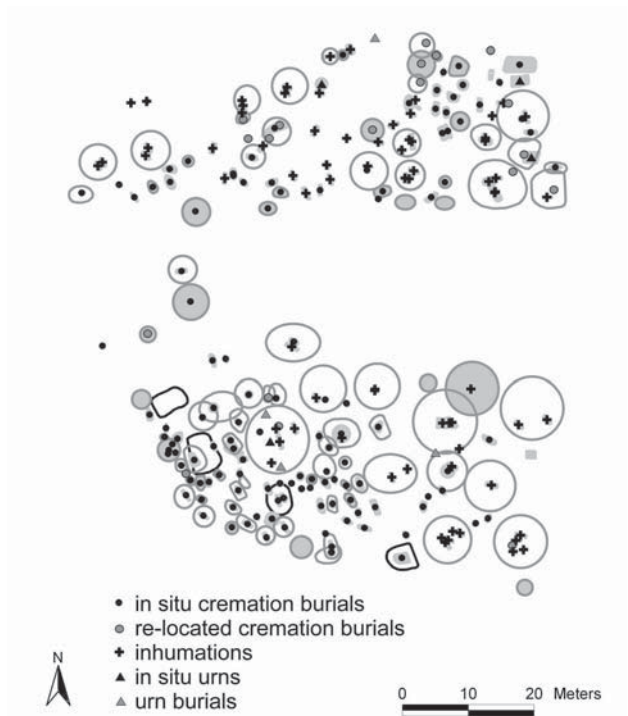


Fig. 3. Burial forms in Pitten.

rather than in the continuation of existing ones²⁴, while one may expect radical ideological rupture to be expressed in distinct changes and segregations.

It is therefore important to investigate whether and how inhumation and cremation burials at Pitten are separated from each other. Inhumation graves occur more frequently in the northern and eastern parts of the cemetery and cremation graves are more densely distributed in the south-western part (see Figure 3), but this differentiation is not sufficient to suggest a distinct separation between the two, as cremations are found scattered throughout the cemetery. The first point to notice is therefore that the spatial layout of the cemetery does not separate the two burial forms from each other in a rigid manner.

Another set of variables through which segregation could be performed is the social characteristics of the deceased, in particular age, gender and status. In short, was cremation in Pitten used for certain social groups, as is sometimes suggested to be the case at the transition to cremation in other parts of Bronze Age Europe²⁵?

Palaeodemographic analysis shows that the cemetery population consisted of roughly equal numbers of males and females, with 47% infants and juveniles, 33% adults and 20% mature and older individuals²⁶. This means that the use of inhumation versus cremation amongst males and females and amongst adults and children should roughly correspond with these numbers; decisions about burial practices were otherwise informed by these variables.

The age groups are almost evenly represented in the different grave forms and burial practices²⁷. The ratio between inhumation and cremation is 44% : 56% for sub-adults, 39% : 61% for adults, and 50% : 50% for mature individuals (see also table 2). It is interesting to note that the age group that differs most from the average is Infans II where only 32% are cremations. The small number of graves in question (25) and the problems associated with the aging of cremated bones mean that this pattern should be treated with some caution; but it is interesting that this age range may represent the time of transition from childhood to adulthood and thus may represent a group where special attention is given to mark their social status. Inhumation would provide a more traditional as well as less ambiguous way of presenting the body. The spatial distribution of the various age groups shows that each is present throughout the cemetery. It is worth noting, however, that while the ratio of the age groups within the different grave forms (flat graves versus burial mounds and cylinder graves) does not reveal any pattern, the distribution map shows that infants in the northern part of the cemetery were most commonly buried in small clusters around, but not inside, the bigger burial mounds. In contrast, in the southern part a substantial number of infant burials were placed in clusters within the large burial mounds and around mound 163.

Overall, these are minor differences and they may be due to a variety of factors, only some of which directly relate to the introduction of cremation. It seems, for instance, that while age was a significant factor during the early phases of the cemetery, with mature individuals given a privileged position, in the later phase age does not seem to determine who receives formal burial, and children become a more distinct group within the cemetery population. Thus, even if the differentiation of the age group Infans II is real, the data as such does not support the proposition that the distinction between inhumation and cremation is a result of

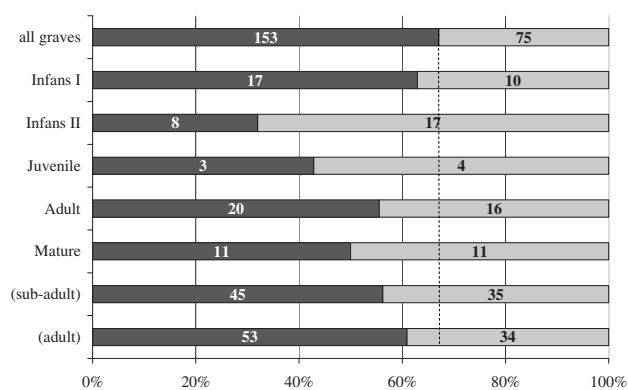
²⁴ A. HARDING, *European societies in the Bronze Age*, Cambridge 2000, 112.

²⁵ Discussed by, for instance, E. LOHOF, *Tradition and change. Burial practices in the Late Neolithic and Bronze Age in the north-eastern Netherlands*, *Archaeological Dialogues* 1/2, 1994, 98 ff.

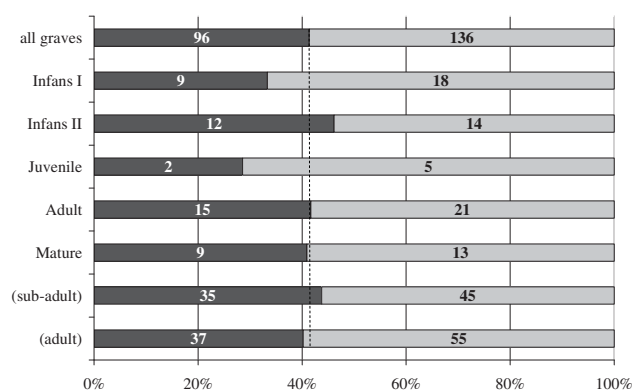
²⁶ Age groups according to TESCHLER-NICOLA, s.ftn.10, 205: Infans I (0–7 years), Infans II (8–14), Juvenis (15–20), Adultus (21–40),

Maturus (41–60), Senilis (60–x), Adultus in the wider sense (21–x). TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. ftn. 10, 263.

²⁷ 26 cremations, but only four inhumations could be classified as adult, which leads to a distorted account for mature age group when comparing against burial form.



Cremations : Inhumations



Flat graves : Burial mounds

Table 3. The proportion of cremations to inhumations and flat graves to burial mounds in relation to the age groups in the cemetery.

different age groups responding differently to new ideas (Table 3).

It is common for Middle Bronze Age cemeteries from central Europe to show gender differentiation, and Nönnig analysed clearly gender differentiation within the cemetery of Pitten²⁸. Weapons are exclusively found in male graves, as are toiletries such as razors and tweezers. Male individuals can have a single pin or even a dagger from the age of around four with additional weapons and toiletries added during the juvenile–adult transition²⁹. Females are marked by a pair of pins from the age of around twelve and jewellery for the head, chest and legs are exclusive to females³⁰. Nönnig also suggests that there were additional subdivisions based on age, as the juvenile–adult age transition between 12 and 20 years of age shows a clear break for both males and females in the equipment associated with the deceased.

It is therefore relevant to investigate whether this explicit differentiation between male and female was a significant variable in the introduction of cremation, i.e. was cremation associated with a particular gender or were similar numbers of males and females cremated? Although the relevant data is limited, it suggests that gender was not crucial for determining who was inhumated and who cremated, and we can propose that on this site gender differentiation was not maintained through the use of explicitly segregating burial rituals³¹. There were, nonetheless, some reflections of gender differentiation in the use of the different burial rites.

For instance, while the bodies in general are not strongly aligned in any particular direction, there is an interesting difference in terms of gender. According to Teschler-Nicola 73.7% of male inhumation graves were orientated SE–NW and 60% of female inhumation graves were orientated NW–SE, i.e. there is a tendency for male and female graves to be orientated in opposite directions. In comparison, the cremation graves (the alignment could be assessed for 80 out of 154 cremations) show greater similarity with 90% orientated N–S³². There was also a stronger tendency for males to be buried in burialmounds/cylinder graves (57%) while women dominate in flat graves (64%), and the ratio of females to males increases in the later phases when cremations become more popular. These differences are, nonetheless, less explicit than the engendered use of objects. On this basis we suggest that the funerary ritual itself was not used as a prime gender marker. Rather, the enactment of gender differentiation within the mortuary sphere took place primarily during the preparation of the corpse prior to the burial, as it was at this stage that links between gender-specific objects and an individual were confirmed. The choice of burial form was clearly informed by several variables, but gender on its own was not a dominant factor.

The finds from Pitten have been used by Nönnig in a detailed study of social stratification³³. She calculated social indices based on a range of variables including finds and grave constructions, and on this basis the social stratification and wealth expressed within the cemetery was analyzed³⁴.

²⁸ NÖNNIG, s. ftn. 11, 190.

²⁹ NÖNNIG, s. ftn. 11, 78.

³⁰ NÖNNIG, s. ftn. 11, 191.

³¹ Amongst the securely sexed bodies five females and four males were cremated. Including 'probable' males and females the ratio becomes 26:15.

³² TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. ftn. 10, 129.

³³ NÖNNIG, s. ftn. 11.

³⁴ NÖNNIG, s. ftn. 11, 146 ff.

	[n]		Female [n]	Male [n]
MD I	1	7.75	?	?
MD II	29	12.98	14.96 [9]	11.53 [16]
MD III	24	26.3	47.68 [11]	7.77 [4]
SD I	1	26.3	26.3 [1]	

Table 4. Calculation of social indices over the cemetery phases (after Nönnig s. fn. 11).

She proposed that there is no obvious norm dictating who was buried in the burial mounds in terms of sex, age and status and suggested that the most likely scenario was that the cemetery was composed of groups of individuals based on descent or family links who were buried close to each other³⁵. However, she did not explicitly discuss social status with regard to the choice of cremation versus inhumation, and it therefore remains to be clarified how social status and choice of burial form interacted at this cemetery.

It is to be expected that cremation graves will appear poorer than inhumation graves, since the body and its equipment and ornamentation are transformed and often destroyed during the cremation. Similarly, social indices based on grave form including the amount of resources and time taken, most often assign inhumation graves higher ‘values’

than cremation graves – an obvious difference that at times has led scholars to assume that cremations were for poorer individuals and that their introduction represents a democratising period or a time of increased social equality. In contrast, some scholars assign cremation burials a higher ‘value’ because of the additional effort of gathering wood³⁶. If, however, inhumation and cremation represent different sets of norms and beliefs, including possibly different reasons for the inclusion of objects in the funeral, then the burial forms cannot be compared in such a direct way.

In response to the question of whether the people being cremated represent a different social group from those receiving inhumation we have to consider social indices based on finds alone, and even that must be done carefully.

Nönnig calculated find index counts for the objects from the graves³⁷. Her analysis shows that the average find index is significantly higher for females than for males (23,17 versus 10,22). The small numbers make any pattern inconclusive, but it is nonetheless interesting to follow this differentiation over the life of the cemetery as the average value increases through time, due to the remarkable increase in the value for females (see Table 5). Her analysis also suggested that the social index increases with the age of the individual until adulthood, whereafter it begins to decrease (Table 4).

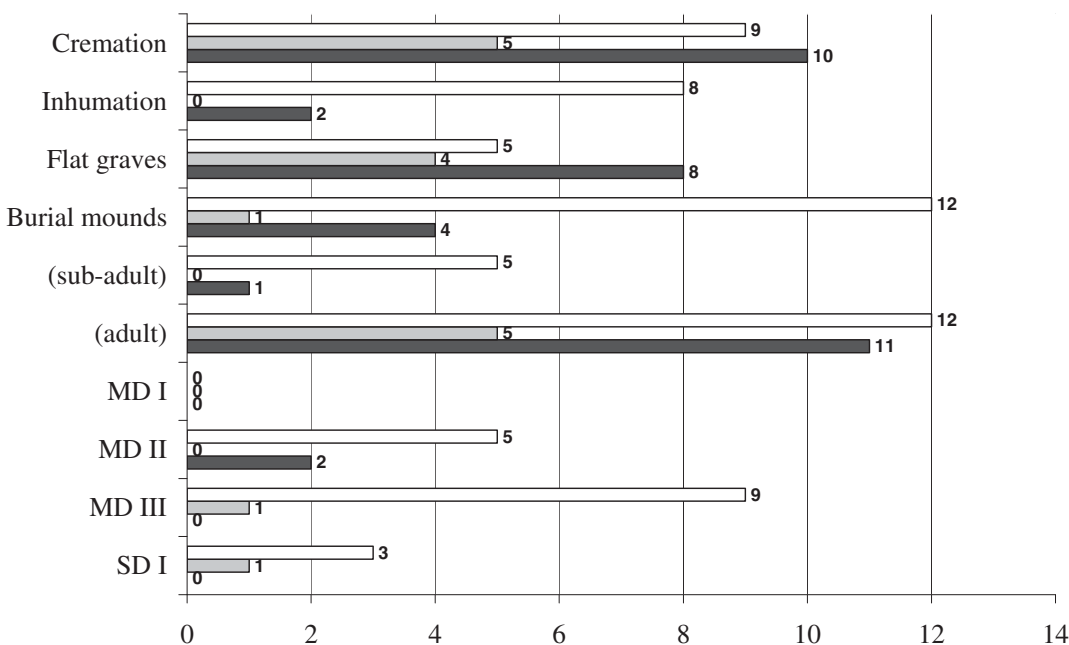


Table 5. Number of undisturbed female graves with no pin (black), 1pin (grey) and 2 pins (white).

³⁵ NÖNNIG, s. fn. 11, 64.

³⁶ NÖNNIG, s. fn. 11, 153.

³⁷ This is based on the number of objects plus the number of types

divided by the number of objects, and this number is divided by two and expressed as a value from 0 to 100 (NÖNNIG, s. fn. 11, 152).

Grave Nr.	Intact	Sex	Age	Dating	Grave form	Burial form	pins	bracelets	rings	bronze spiral tubes	bronze discs	diadems	konische Blechhülse
121	Intact	?	infans I	SD I	mound	cremation	2	1					
050	Intact	Female	juvenil	MD III	flatgrave	cremation	2	2	5	2			
017	Intact	(female)	juvenil	MD III	mound	cremation	2		1				
157	Intact	?	adult	MD III	mound	cremation	2			1			
110	Intact	(female)	adult	SD I	mound	cremation	2		1				
192	Intact	(female)	(adult)	SD I	mound	cremation	2	1					
057	Intact	Female	infans II	MD III	mound	inhumation	2			10	10		6
024	Intact	Female	juvenil	MD II	flatgrave	inhumation	2				1		
098	Intact	Female	juvenil	MD III	mound	inhumation	2		2		7		3
002	Intact	(female)	adult	MD III	mound	inhumation	2		8	7	12		
026a	Intact	Female	adult	MD III	mound	inhumation	2			16		1	
111a	Intact	Female	adult-matur	MD II	mound	inhumation	3		2			1	
029a	disturbed	Female	(adult)	MD III	mound	inhumation	2		2				

Table 6. Female graves with two and more pins and additional jewellery (ordered by burial rite and age of individual).

Contrasting burial mounds and flat graves, it is striking how similar the graves appear in terms of their finds (14.47 as opposed to 15.00). Surprisingly, the analysis shows cremation burials to be slightly better equipped than inhumations: 16.29 for cremations (65 graves) and 12.83 for inhumations (56 graves). Interestingly, the average of the six urn burials included in the data set is very high (23.76), and although the urn automatically contributes to the value, it is clear that the objects placed in the urns were at least equivalent to those in the other cremation graves.

Some of the objects associated with bodies can be interpreted as symbols, in particular status symbols, and as specific markers of differentiation along gender and age. The presence of such objects within the two burial forms can therefore be used to add to the investigation of whether cremation was used equally by all social groups. Generally, a pair of pins seems to have acted as a common female 'marker' used for women on the threshold of adulthood (from around 14 years of age) and older, while single pins are less gender and age specific and are found in graves of younger female individuals as well as in male graves. 29 of the 45 sexed female individuals were found with a pin. Of

these, 16 women had a pair of pins, five were found with only one pin and one had three pins. A few adult females had two pins together with additional dress elements that emphasise the head³⁸, and pins in general seem to accompany graves that are richly equipped (Table 5).

The proportion of burials with two pins as opposed to one increases from phase MD II to III. As there is no change in the demographic composition of the cemetery, Blischke interprets this as a higher proportion of younger females gaining access to the particular status marked by two pins. Blischke concludes that an important social change took place between these two phases³⁹. However, overall the data summarised in table 5 suggests that the choice of cremation versus inhumation was not influenced by a woman's dress and therefore, presumably, neither by her status (Table 6).

There are less male-specific objects to investigate. Status seemed to be expressed through differences in the association with weapons (including the use of daggers from an early age), tools, and toiletries. Again, the question is whether such differences relate to the kind of burial practice that was used. About half of all the graves that could be

³⁸ NÖNNIG, s. ftn. 11, 77.³⁹ BLISCHKE, s. ftn. 11, 240.

Grave Nr.	Intact	Sex	Age	Dating	Grave form	Burial form	pin	dagger	lance head	arrow head	tweezers	axe	fish hook
163a	Intact	?	infans		Mound	cremation	1	1					
151	Intact	(male)	adult-matur		Mound	cremation		1					
106	Intact	Male	matur	SD I	Mound	cremation	1		1				
155	Intact	Male	matur	MD II	Mound	cremation	1			8			
029b	disturbed	(male)	?	MD III	Mound	cremation	1	1					
115b	disturbed	Male	?	MD III	Mound	cremation		1			1		
154b	Intact	Male	infans I	MD II	Mound	inhumation	1	1					
026b	Intact	Male	infans II	MD II/III	Mound	inhumation		1					
055	Intact	(male)	infans II	MD II	Flatgrave	inhumation		1					
153c	Intact	Male	infans II	MD III	Mound	inhumation	1	1					
163b	Intact	?	infans II	MD III	Mound	inhumation	1	1					
163h	Intact	male	infans II	MD II	Mound	inhumation	1	1					
007	disturbed	male	adult	MD III	Mound	inhumation	1						1
041	Intact	male	adult	MD II	Flatgrave	inhumation	1	1				1	
015a	Intact	male	matur	MD II	Mound	inhumation		1					
037	disturbed	(male)	(adult)	MD II	Flatgrave	inhumation				1			
111b	disturbed	(male)	(adult)	MD II	Mound	inhumation	1	1					
085a	disturbed	male	?	MD III	Mound	inhumation	1	1					

Table 7. Male graves with tools and weapons (ordered by burial rite and age of individual).

classified were equipped with one pin, with a smaller number having a dagger. Other types occur each in a single case (see Table 7). Single pins are found in both cremation and inhumation graves, as is the case with daggers, although daggers show stronger association with inhumation graves. The graves with combinations of objects tend to be inhumations, only a few are cremations. Overall, male status as expressed through the association with bronze objects seemed to be of limited importance in the choice of burial practice (Table 7).

It is clear from the above analyses that the introduction of cremation in various ways intersects with other social concerns as expressed in the differentiation of people based on age, gender and status. It is, however, equally clear that the social discourses through which such differences were articulated were not in themselves the vehicle for the introduction of cremation. The new way of treating the deceased was not 'hijacked' as a means of making simple statements about differences within the community; the reasons why some people were inhumed and others cremated were not based on simple principles of segregation and differentiation. Understanding why and how cremation gradually became

the dominant practice in this cemetery therefore needs a more detailed study of how burial practices shifted and were transformed.

3. Phasing: the cemetery's biography

In order to appreciate the actual temporal topography and physical constructions within which changes took place, it is necessary to look beyond the two dimensional plan of the cemetery and obvious social groupings. This means turning to the stratigraphy and chronology of the cemetery as a reflection of how activities and changing concerns affected each other through time. It is when we begin to investigate the 'biography' of the cemetery that the construction details reveal a far more complex series of building phases, responses, re-uses and adaptations than the focus upon inhumation or cremation alone would suggest. It also shows that distinct constructions such as the so-called cremation platforms often only share characteristics at a simple formal level rather than in how they were used and what their construction was responding to. With the example of the platforms in mind, it is significant to recognise that rigid classification may not be suitable for what is happening at

Pitten. It seems that Pitten, in contrast to nearby Early Bronze Age cemeteries, was a cemetery in which prescriptive normative understandings of how a burial should be constructed were being abandoned. On the basis of the four stage phasing proposed by Blischke⁴⁰, the gradual changes in how and where different constructions were placed and what may have affected their location and form can be outlined.

The number of graves that can be allocated to the first phase (MD I) is limited (nine graves). Most of these are inhumations in addition to one urn grave and one cremation-pyre, and there is a clear division between the northern and southern parts of the cemetery, with relatively shallow shaft-graves placed in the former and burial mounds erected in the latter (see Figure 4). The limited number of graves means that further comparisons must be considered inconclusive, but it is interesting that while the shaft-graves by definition are inhumations and are used for adults or mature men as well as women, the burial mounds suggest a wider age range and possibly a dominance of women/girls. The only male grave (grave 163 f) in the southern part of the cemetery is an urn burial placed centrally under the largest mound. This is an unusually early occurrence of this burial form, and it may indicate that in this case the introduction of cremation was associated with a rift from an alternative contemporary practice of using shaft-graves. It should be noted, therefore, that the difference between the shaft-graves and burial mounds is not just a matter of degree, as these methods of burial represent substantially different ideas about the relationship between the body and the earth and soil. One may describe it as a difference between 'being in' and 'being under', with all the different implications this may have for the idea of a resting place.

During the next phase (MD II), we see a substantial expansion in both the northern and the southern area (a total of 38 graves have been allocated to this phase). The majority of these graves are inhumations; in addition there are three cremation pyres, one cremation pit, and one urn grave. Interestingly, during this phase the difference between the two parts declines to some degree and the importance of the southern part seems to become stressed. In the northern part this is expressed through two burial mounds being erected over earlier shaft-graves, and through the expansion of the cemetery towards the west with the addition of new burial mounds there. It is, however, noteworthy that in the area between these parts, shaft-graves were still being constructed and located in loose linear arrangements or in pairs (Figure 4). The cremation pyres were placed in the same central area. In the southern part we see reuse of all the

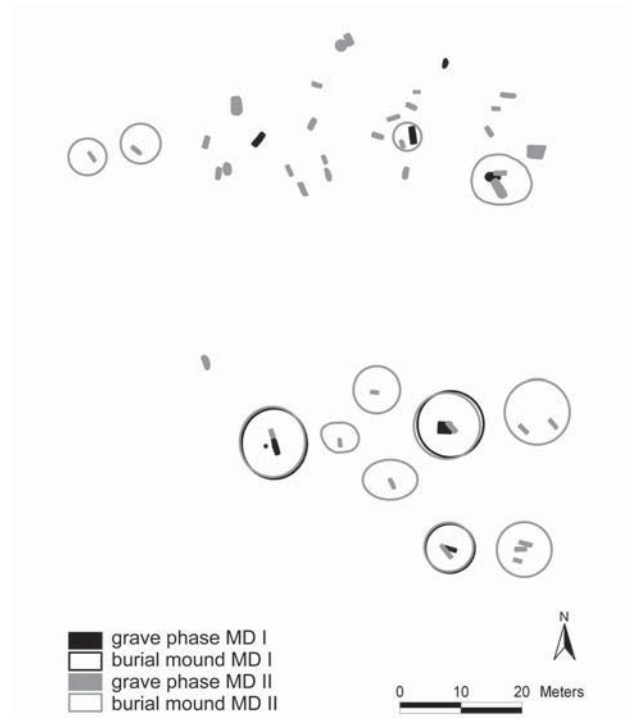


Fig. 4. Burial forms in Pitten. Phase MD I and II.

existing burial mounds together with the construction of new and slightly smaller mounds (these are still generally larger than the ones in the northern part)⁴¹. These mounds are placed in-between the existing ones with two larger mounds erected towards the east (see Figure 5). During this phase we begin to see the use of the mounds for multiple interments as well as clear indications of bodies being aligned with each other in a manner that suggests that they were responding to one another. In burial mound 20, for example, two adult females were buried parallel to one another, half a metre apart, while in grave 15, a mature male and a 12–14 year old child of unknown sex were found three metres apart but with the same orientation. There are also, however, cases where the orientation of the skeletons is opposite. In burial mound 26, for instance, two skeletons were found in almost parallel stone grave-chambers. One of these, an adult female, was orientated N–W, whilst the other, a juvenile male, was orientated S–E. Whether the bodies are emphasised as similar or opposite, it is clear that the burials found within one mound were often buried in a manner that stressed a comparison with the other interment. This practice of alignment of bodies continues in the next phase.

⁴⁰ BLISCHKE, s. fn. 11, 204 ff.

⁴¹ The average size of the burial mounds changes through time, in phase one it is 4 m, phase two 4.5 m, phase three 4.7 m, and phase

four 4.7 m; the biggest mound 16 with 10 m, and it was in use through all the phases.

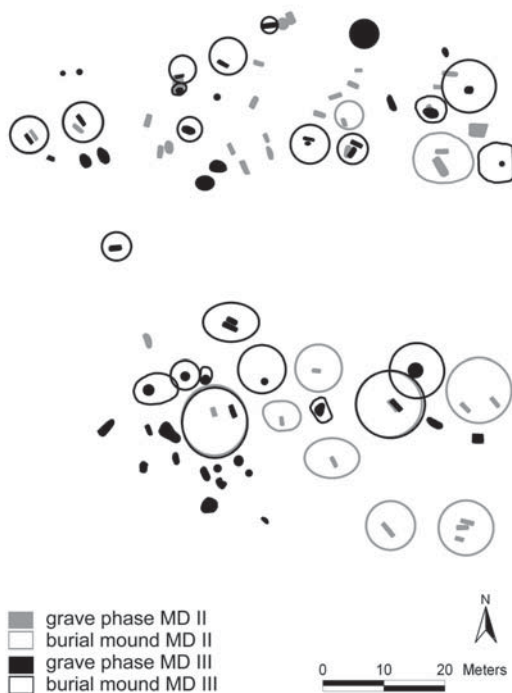


Fig. 5. Burial forms in Pitten. Phase MD II and III.

It seems that a kind of dynamic interaction or tension existed between the shaft-graves and burial mounds at this time and, whilst the former are still made, one gets the impression that burial mounds gained greater significance throughout the cemetery during this phase. This predominance of the burial mounds continues during subsequent phases.

In phase three (MD III) a number of extremely interesting developments can be observed (see Figure 6). 50 graves are associated with this phase, of which 35 are cremations. Shaft-graves are not used any more and inhumations are now found only in mounds. In the northern part of the cemetery most of the burial mounds from the previous phase continue in use and new ones are added in the area which was previously used for shaft-graves. In addition, cremation pyres continue to be found and may be placed in pairs (e.g. graves 17 and 21 and graves 4 and 30). In the southern part, two of the three burial mounds from phase two are still in use, but we see a shift in distribution, with new mounds erected to the west of the existing distribution and north of burial mound 163, and the most easterly part of the cemetery going out of use. At the same time, cremation pyres become common with a substantial cluster around mound 163. It is interesting to note the high frequency of children in this cluster (six out of eight identified bodies). During this phase cremation graves become common in both parts of the cemetery, although slightly different internal patterning is suggested by the clustering of cremation graves around the



Fig. 6. Burial forms in Pitten. Phases MD II and III plus platforms.

old mound 163 in the southern part and the more widespread location of cremations in the northern part.

The construction of the so-called 'cremation platforms' seems to take place between phase three and four. There are four cremation platforms (see Figure 7), and they introduce an innovative and different architectural form to the repertoire of the site. The special role of these constructions is indicated by their location within the cemetery – they are found in the south-western part skirting the boundary of the cemetery, and emphasising the continuous central role of mound 163. It is worth describing these platforms in some details in order to gain a clearer idea of their role within the cemetery and their potential contribution towards changing practices and understandings of the dead body.

The platforms have both significant similarities to and differences from the other constructions in terms of their building technique and appearance. These constructions were neither built around a body nor designed to receive and contain one, as they were solid stone constructions with a flat plastered top. Furthermore, although they have been labelled 'cremation platforms', the evidence of burning is ambiguous, and it is not entirely clear whether they were all used for cremation or whether some were used for other ritual purposes and display.

The variations between the individual platforms are interesting, and although the publication does not focus upon such details it is nonetheless clear that considerable care was invested in their construction. The variation in size is small,

ranging from 3.5 x 3.8 m to 3 x 5.5 m, but in plan they differ from almost round (platform 3), to rectangular (platform 1 and 2), to vaguely D-shaped (platform 4). Their interior was made of a mixture of small stones and soil, while the stones used for the wall and the top show differences in colours, type and textures that seemed to have been chosen deliberately and carefully used in a manner that would have resulted in distinct visual effects. The outside walls of the platforms were built to a height of 50 to 80 cm, and were made of carefully placed stones. For platform 1 light limestone was used for the outer wall to create a white and yellowish impression, while the top surface was plastered with green slate, creating a contrast in colour and texture. The top surface of platform 2 was covered evenly in small flat stones, while platform 3 was built of blocks of various kinds of stones, among them limestone, slate and erratic. The walls of platform 4 were built of stones of various colours, and their shades of yellow, red, grey, brown and green must have created a colourful pattern while its top was covered evenly with small and medium sized stones of every variety.

The careful construction aiming at creating a striking appearance suggests that the platforms had a particular importance. They were not graves in the traditional sense of structures containing bodies. At the same time, the lack of cremation remains together with the limited amount of debris makes the interpretation of these structures as cremation platforms problematic. The top surface of platform 1 had a slight depression, but there are no traces of fire. Platform 3 was covered by a 10–15 cm thick layer of soil, but it was only the top 3 cm that were coloured by fire⁴², this seems to suggest that the platform itself was not used for cremation. Only platform 4 shows clear evidence of the burning on the platform itself: a 10 cm thick layer of soil with intensive evidence of fire (even the stones have been coloured red) suggesting exposure to fire several times or once for a long duration. It seems likely, therefore, that the platforms were built for some kind of display or ritual that did not necessarily involve the cremation itself. It is therefore significant that the stratigraphic sequence shows these were short-lived constructions suggesting may be a short period of experimenting with ritual practices.

During phase four (SD I), to which 20 cremation pyres have been allocated, a number of grave constructions were in use, and variations were now expressed in the grave construction rather than in different treatments of the body. In the northern part of the cemetery, four cremations were placed within available space, while in the southern part a

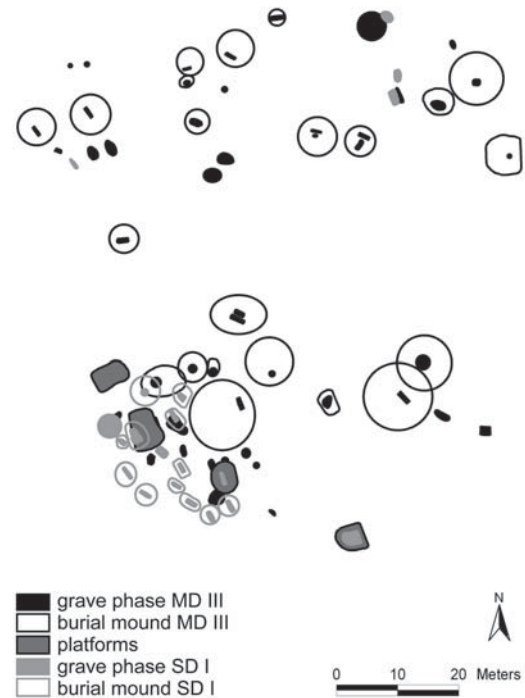


Fig. 7. Burial forms in Pitten. Phase MD III and SD I plus platforms.

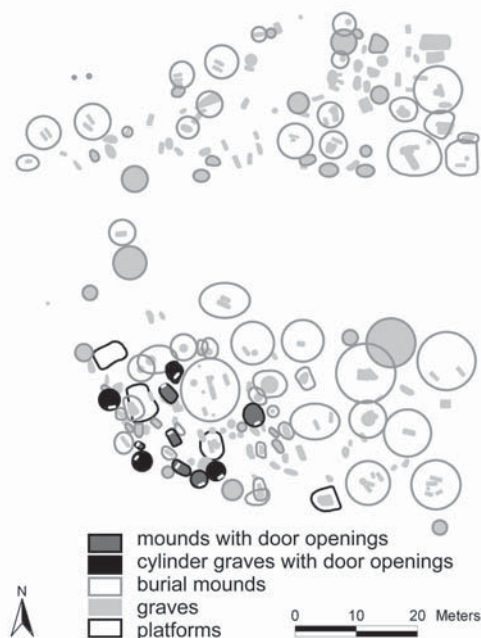


Fig. 8. Burial forms in Pitten. Mounds and cylinder graves with door openings.

⁴² HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 82.

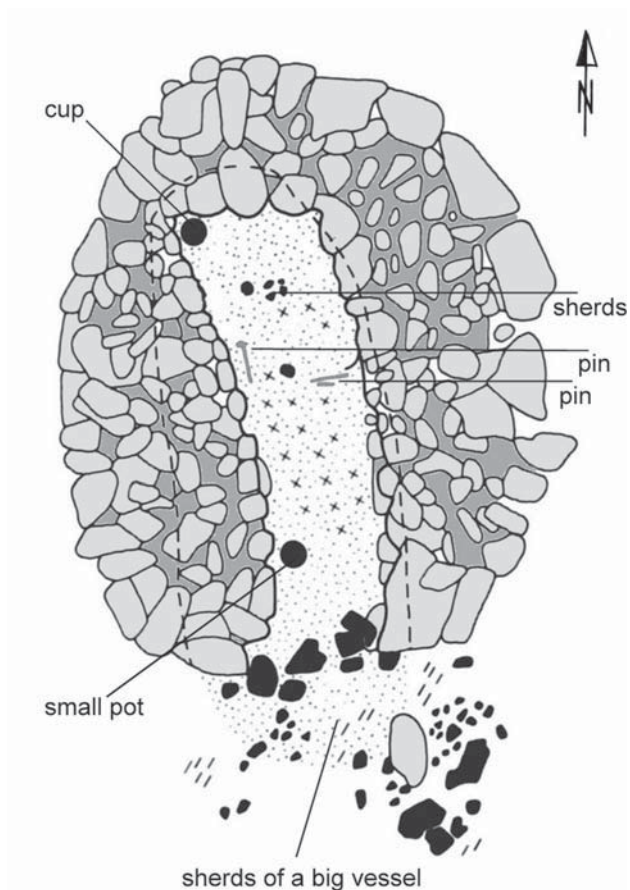


Fig. 9. Pitten. Grave 189 with 'door-opening' (after Hampl, Kerchler, Benkovsy-Pivovarová, s. ftn 3, Taf. 96).

substantial cluster of cremation pyres were placed in a manner that continued to respect the location of mound 163 but covered many of the graves of phase three as well as platforms 2 and 3⁴³. Amongst the new grave forms appearing in the south-western cluster are 'cylinder graves' and other graves with 'door-openings' (see Figure 8). This further stresses that innovation during this phase happens through experimentation with architectural forms rather than in the treatment of the body.

The introduction of cylinder graves alongside and partly overlapping the platforms suggests they took over their prominent role in the development of the cemetery. The six cylinder graves differ from the other graves due to the character of their stone settings. Rather than being a random stone cairn or stone packing as found in other graves, they

have a carefully constructed wall that encircles the place of the cremation. The inner chambers are almost rectangular, usually about 2 m long and between 0.6 and 1.3 m wide, with round inner corners. They can be well lined and clearly defined, as is the case of grave 189 (see Figure 8). The tops of the cylinder graves are flat and even, and their shape is round to oval. Their flat roof must have been supported by some other structure and there is evidence for an inner construction (probably a wooden chamber) and stone structures erected around and over it⁴⁴. In four cases an entrance or door opening was included in the design of the grave. The cylinder graves were built of various kinds of limestone, gravel and slate. The outer layer was in most cases constructed of large stones up to approximately 60 cm in diameter. These graves are thus constructed in a way that creates a body-sized space around the cremation. Unfortunately, comparisons between the extent of the cremation pyre and the size of the chambers have generally not been provided in the publication. It is nevertheless clear that the cremation pyre in most cases was larger than the space built for it. The best example is grave 189, where red burnt soil was recorded extending more than half a meter from the door opening to the grave. This raises interesting questions about how a part of the pyre became reconstituted to re-house the remains within a grave.

The constructions with entrances or door openings, including lintels and 'door posts', also reflect the invention of a more elaborate form of grave architecture. They raise intriguing questions about access to the deceased while continuing the emphasis upon visually striking constructions that was first seen in the building of the platforms. Ten constructions have some kind of opening, and they all have a number of distinct similarities. They are all graves for adults⁴⁵, and they are all orientated N-S (although their actual entrances may be in opposite directions). In addition, there is usually a cluster of sherds in front of the door opening (see Figure 9). A chamber was built around the site of the cremation, presumably of wood and further reinforced by various stone constructions including the laying of a roof, sometimes using large limestone slabs. Particular care was shown in the construction of the doors and this often involved the use of especially large stone slabs (up to 90 cm long in the case of grave 121) as lintels or posts.

The stone chambers with the doors all 'housed' *in situ* cremations, and they seem to have been built around the

⁴³ It is worth mentioning that layers of silt seem to have covered many of the less distinct constructions from phase three by the time the graves of phase four were built. While the duration of this silting episode is not known, it may explain the concentration of graves on the slightly higher ground to the west.

⁴⁴ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 114.

⁴⁵ In grave 121 an adult and an infant were found together (HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 74).

cremation, framing and defining it. The profile of grave 147, for example, strongly suggests that the cremation took place before the stone construction was built. In some cases, such as grave 121, the layer of burnt soil continued outside the built structure⁴⁶. The doors suggest that, at least for a while, some kind of relationship may have been maintained with the deceased. These constructions have interesting implications about variation in the definition of what constituted the body.

It is further worth noting how during phase four the development of new grave forms in various ways drew upon some of the characteristics of the platforms, for example in their careful use of stones. It is also striking to observe that the location of burial mound 163 (the mound erected already in phase one and containing the first urn burial) continued to be respected. Throughout the duration of the cemetery, burial mound 163 clearly played a significant central role, and this seems to have become even stronger in the latest phases where it is clearly used as a reference point so that the graves, and especially innovative elements, become organised around it.

4. The treatment of the cremated body

An additional layer of insight can now be gained through looking at the treatment of the body itself. The variability in how the different elements of the single cremation, such as the cremated bones, the charcoal, the burnt earth and the artefacts, were treated after the cremation itself is of central importance to the analysis of how beliefs were linked to the change in burial practice. Two elements are of particular interest: firstly the status of the bones themselves and secondly the role that objects and constructions had in the final treatment and transformation of the body.

The size, colouring and hardness of the bones suggest a minimum cremation temperature of 800 to 900°C, a proposition supported by the fact that in some cases bronze objects have melted onto the bones⁴⁷. Detailed data, such as cracks on the bones, also provides hints about the placing of the body on the funeral pyre. It seems that the bones were still fleshed when cremated, and that some parts of the body, especially the long bones, were sometimes exposed to slightly lower temperatures. It has been suggested that the bodies were placed on their backs on the funerary pyre, because parts of the spinal column, the pelvis and the scapula are best preserved, whereas the ventral parts of the skeleton are less well preserved. Teschler-Nicola, who investigated the bones, suggests that the evidence shows thorough knowledge of and experience with cremation tech-

niques⁴⁸. The presence of burnt metal suggests that in many cases the body was dressed before being cremated and it may even have been accompanied by pottery – in these cases the lay-out of the cremation may have followed similar schemata to those used in the preparation of traditional inhumations. In other cases, the evidence suggests that the body would have been literally reassembled after cremation, either at the pyre or in another location, and that during this process items of dress and pottery may have been linked to the cremated remains, thus apparently confirming their substantiality.

What happens to the physical remains after the cremation is revealing in terms of what kind of substance they are seen to represent. A range of practices can be discerned, suggesting that varied and mixed understandings are involved. The cremated remains have been chemically transformed, shrunken, broken and deformed. However, fragments of bone, for example pieces of the skull, the vertebral column, the teeth and the long-bones were probably still identifiable to the Bronze Age community, and it is therefore important to investigate how these remains were treated.

There are essentially two responses through which the cremated remains become re-established or relocated as a body that has to be buried. One is by defining and treating the in-situ remains as a body and making them the focus for the burial⁴⁹, the other is through the moving of the remains to another, final destination.

Of the 154 cremation burials, a large proportion (123 graves) was *in situ*, meaning that the pyre itself became the grave. Here the soil underneath the human remains shows clear traces of fire. The length of the pyres varies from 0.8 to 5 meters, with an average of 2 m, and the width ranges from 0.25 to 3.90 meters with an average of 1.25 m (based on 109 graves). The shape varies, with the smallest cremation pyres often being round and of irregular shape, and most of the larger ones being rectangular. While the largest pyre is 17.55 m², the average size is 2.96 m², and 39 pyres covered an area of less than 1.5 m². The *in situ* remains were either left without any further elaboration, or else various constructions, often similar to those used for inhumations, were built around and over them. Through this, a particular part of the cremation pyre is usually confined or reconstituted as the place of the body.

The relocation of the remains after cremation only takes place in a minority of cases, and these clearly do not constitute a coherent alternative practice but rather a somewhat diffuse merging of different understandings of the body. There are five examples of cremations being placed in pits.

⁴⁶ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 75.

⁴⁷ TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. ftn. 10, 130, 137.

⁴⁸ TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. ftn. 10, 236.

The need to choose what constitutes the body is explicit in such cases, where parts have to be selected from the pyre. It is therefore interesting that the weight of the bones for some of these graves is surprisingly low (as low as 12 g in contrast to the average from the cremation burials in Pitten in general, which is 308 g). This may suggest that only some of the remains were needed to represent the body, the completeness of the burnt remains no longer seems crucial for the funerary rite. It is therefore also interesting that there is no evidence of particular body parts being selected for these graves⁵⁰. The moving and subsequent burial of remains away from the cremation pyre suggests a fundamentally different understanding of the cremated remains; the body becomes represented by some parts rather than treated and confined as an integral 'whole'. In this selection and separation of parts of the body from its cremation pyre we see similarities with the new practice of urn burials, which also involves a separation between the cremation and the burial.

These examples of relocation suggest the development of an additional stage in the burial ritual which included the selection of elements to represent the body and their burial. It is usually taken for granted that the stages between the cremation of the body, the gathering of the bones and the placing of the bones in other contexts, such as pits or urns, were continuous and took place one after the other as a coherent flow of actions. There is, however, no evidence about the time involved or the rhythm of these events. It is likely that some time should be allowed for the funerary pyre to cool down before the ashes, charcoal and bones could be handled and it is possible that the gathering of the bones took place at a later stage. The green bronze discolouring of some bones in graves where no bronze objects were present adds an intriguing stage to this scenario as it suggests that bronze objects were removed after some time from the remains as they lay in the pyre and that some of the bones were later collected and buried elsewhere, or the final burial place was later reopened and the bronzes removed.

There is much evidence to suggest that cremation did not challenge the idea of there still being a body present that needed to be defined or confined. This is achieved in various ways. It seems that the body must have been displayed on the funerary pyre, dressed and accompanied with grave goods, similar to the display of an inhumation. In the plan of grave 110, for example, the placing of the two pins at the

shoulder region, a finger ring in the middle body region, and pottery towards the head and the side of the body can still be observed after the cremation⁵¹. It may be that in such cases the dress elements were somewhat rearranged after the cremation, before the cremation was covered. However, this only confirms that the remains of the body are re-constituted in the form it had prior to the cremation: dress elements might be readjusted or placed to match their position on the displayed body.

Another way of re-forming the body is seen in the frequent practice of pushing and sweeping the burnt bones together and even shaping parts of the remains; through such action fragmented and disjointed remains are reconnected and the body regains a resemblance of corporality. An excellent example of the attempt to regain body shape is grave 166⁵². The cremation site itself appeared as an almost rectangular area of 2.5 by 1 m, but the human bones with fragments of a broken pin and charcoal were placed between two neatly aligned parallel rows of stones along the centre. A vessel with traces of secondary firing was found among the human remains, while broken pottery from various vessels was found outside the stone rows, suggesting that ancillary activities took place around the grave. In grave 192 the attempt to reform the body goes a step further: at the far end of the burial chamber of this cylinder grave, opposite the entrance, was a vessel filled with cremated bones next to a small cup⁵³. Further cremated bones, mixed with soil and charcoal, were spread over the floor of the chamber but concentrated in a linear arrangement of three heaps: one in the centre, one next to the entrance, and one at the far end. In this case, the vessel was used to contain cremated bones, but not all of the bones were placed in it; on the contrary, the cremated bones were also used to suggest the presence of a body on the floor of the chamber. As there is no evidence to suggest that more than one individual was buried in this grave, it seems that two different ideas about how the body should be presented and contained were being expressed here.

The body size and shape can also be re-defined by building grave structures on top of the site of the cremation. These constructions similarly reveal that the body is thought of as explicit, coherent, and corporeal even if not all its constitutive parts are collected. Primarily, what characterises these constructions is that instead of simply covering the

⁴⁹ The excavators refer to those primary cremation burials as *Brandflächenbestattung*. If the cremation took place on a spatially separated cremation place, i.e. when secondary cremations or cremation deposits are concerned, they are called *Ustrinumbestattung* or *Brandflächenbestattung nach Verbrennung auf Ustrina* (HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 16).

⁵⁰ TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. ftn. 10, 150, 152, 175.

⁵¹ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 67, Taf. 48.

⁵² HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 101.

⁵³ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 115 f.

cremations over with earth and soil, we see different kinds of body-sized and body-shaped containers and chambers built over a part of the pyre. Since the extension of the cremation pyre is usually larger than the construction built over it this clearly suggests that the size and proportions of the construction are adjusted to what would have been needed for a body (like in an inhumation) rather than simply covering up the remains of a funerary pyre. The chambers were constructed to reconstitute the bodies after cremation, to shape them and define them, and to give them a new “house”. Doors, lintels and other characteristic architectural features might be used to underline the close connection to the architecture of the living and express new ideas about the dead in a familiar, readable form.

Gathering bones together and placing them in pits cut into the remains of the cremation pyre are additional ways of redefining the body. This practice combines close ties to the actual location of the cremation with emerging ideas about further treatment of the body that requires the selection, collection and reassembling of the bones. It is the creation of a specific place designated for the deposition of the bones that signals a change in the understanding of what cremation is about – an understanding in which the cremated remains must be separated from the pyre in order to be redefined, enclosed, and buried. Some graves in Pitten show this transitional practice. Grave 155, for example, is an unusually large cremation site (3 by 2 m) with well preserved traces of the funerary pyre. A small, round pit (40 cm diameter and 20 cm deep) containing the cremated bones was dug into the middle of the pyre. One pin and three arrowheads were found in the pit together with the bones of a mature male individual, while a cup and five additional arrowheads were placed outside the pit⁵⁴. In such transitional cases, the actual burial space is less than body-sized, suggesting that the grave structures were adjusted to the actual remains of the cremation, rather than to the idea of the full body.

Overall these variations in the treatment of the bones suggest that in most cases the cremated body was still perceived and treated as a whole corpse but also that new understandings were emerging. In some cremation burials there was clearly a well understood idea about how far the burnt bones represented particular body parts and how grave goods and dress fittings should relate to them. In such graves, objects, including bronzes as well as pots, were used to confirm the body and its parts; such arrangements were made both during the preparation of the cremation and in the reassembling of the body afterwards. The definition and limits of the body were further reaffirmed through the

building of body-sized constructions. In other cases, it seemed significant to separate the pyre from the burial and some bones were selected or simply gathered up to be placed in a separate context. In these cases, the confirmation or marking of the different constituent parts of the body cease to be a concern and the substance buried must have been seen to represent the body rather than being a reconstituted version of it.

Urns become the extreme example of this practice of separation between the cremation and the body through the relocation of the latter. A consistent pattern is that the mouth of the urn is covered, usually with one or more stones, sometimes with an upside down bowl or sometimes with both. This suggests that the enclosure and containment of the bones was important; in urn burials the body is held within this container. These graves combine the ideas of shaping, confining, and enclosing the body in a very rigid manner; metaphorically, the urn constitutes the body's new skin.

5. The use of pottery

The use of pottery within the cemetery has interesting characteristics and hints at a wide range of ancillary activities that may be of importance for understanding the change in burial practice. At Pitten, in contrast to Early Bronze Age cemeteries, where pottery appears regularly and is placed close to the body, the pottery is rarely directly associated with the body but more often appears to be offerings or left over from visits or feasting. It seems that pottery rather than just being part of the grave setting is included in a range of further activities taking place within the cemetery. This is an important observation as it may herald a change towards funerals including activities that are only loosely linked to the actual burial of the deceased. In Pitten there is plenty of evidence that social engagement and communication with the dead did not end with the interment.

Pottery can be directly associated with the body, and this association appears in both inhumation and cremation graves, although it is much more common in the latter. This link between cremation and pottery is furthermore expressed in the use of pottery as urns. The pottery found inside inhumation graves, mainly small fine ware cups, is most commonly placed next to the feet or the lower part of the body. Pottery is also found in cremations, and it appears it had a similar role there as the sherds are not spread throughout the remains of the pyre but form discrete clusters that seem to represent the position of single pots. The gender and age pattern is interesting: individuals under 20 are less likely to be associated with ceramics (36% instead of the

⁵⁴ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 92 f., Taf. 73 f.

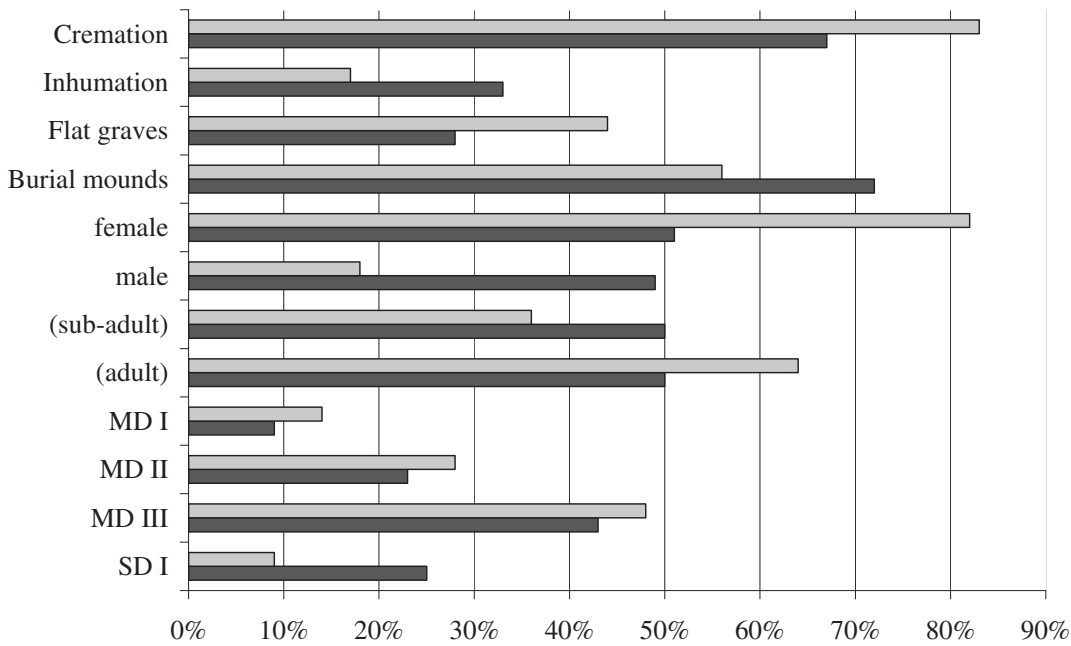


Table 8. Relationships of ceramics to the grave structures (grey: percentage of individuals with ceramics accompanying the body, black: individuals with ceramics outside the grave).

expected 46% of graves) and females are more often accompanied with pottery than men (82% : 18% instead of the expected 50 : 50%, see Table 8).

In the use of pottery outside the graves a number of distinct practices can be identified. Again, the proportion of

cremation graves with pottery clusters outweighs the proportion of inhumation graves with pottery clusters. Flat graves are less likely to be associated with pottery than burial mounds and cylinder graves. There seems to be no preference in terms of age and gender, and clusters of sherds are more common in graves from the latest phase. It is common for such pottery to be found close to the openings or entrances of structures (see Figure 10), although there are also examples of clusters of sherds found in the area between the graves. As the sherds are found in different layers it is likely that they reflect repeated visits to the graves (Table 8).

Despite the ubiquity of ceramics, real urn burials are scarce, and it is hard to find any consistent pattern amongst them. The urns themselves are generally large ceramic vessels and are not distinctive in any way. They contain cremated bones and bronzes damaged by fire, and ancillary vessels can be found either next to the urn or in it. The integration of the urns within the cemetery is different in the northern and southern parts. The four northern urns (56, 60, 94 and 116), which were all in flat graves, seem to be placed along the northern and eastern edge of the cemetery. In this part the urns were separate, individual structures. Grave 94 is unusual in so far as the urn shows strong traces of fire, possibly suggesting that it was placed next to or on the funerary pyre during the cremation, thus being already marked out for its future function as an urn. In contrast, all the urn graves of the southern part were found in burial mounds and distributed in the central part of the cemetery.

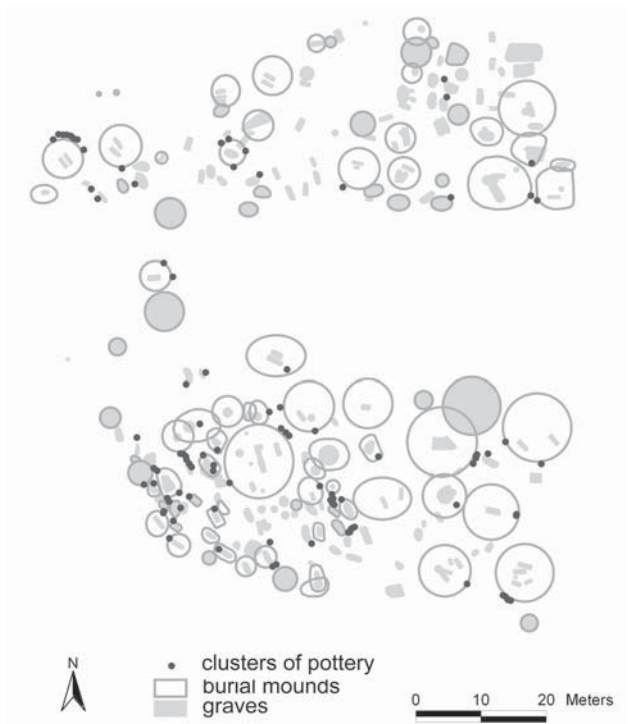


Fig. 10. Pitten. Location of pottery outside the graves.

The physical relationship to the mound may, however, differ.

The introduction of pottery as cremation urns in addition to their traditional role as gravegoods is very difficult to trace, but one of the so-called 'mortuary houses' may give a glimpse of an intermediate stage. The 'mortuary houses' refer to two constructions, graves 116 and 167⁵⁵. These are well defined U-shaped ditches enclosing the site of the cremation, forming a rectangle approximately 2.5 by 2 m. One side was left open, facing south-east, away from the cemetery. In grave 116 an urn was placed in the south-western corner of the structure, inside a shallow pit. It was covered with a flat stone and contained the burnt bones of an adult female, two broken pins and four ceramic vessels (dated to phase MD II). In contrast, in grave 167 burnt bones were scattered widely inside the 'house' and at least two individuals were present: a juvenile of unknown sex and a mature individual, presumably female. A shallow pit in the centre held a small barrel-shaped pot with a small quantity of burnt bones. The pottery is presumably an ancillary vessel rather than an urn as it is of a different type to the other urns. In this case the ancillary vessel seems to have simultaneously functioned as a kind of urn and a gift.

Clearly, pottery plays a number of roles within the cemetery. We can discern both references to traditional associations and the merging of new practices and meanings. Pottery is used to a limited extent in its traditional role of grave goods placed next to the body, regardless of whether it was being inhumed or cremated; but it also took on new meanings and was used for new activities within the cemetery. In particular, a number of activities took place that were not directly or solely focused upon the interment of the deceased but which took the form of feasting and the reuse of locations within the cemetery. This possibly involved the deliberate smashing ('killing') of the pottery. Furthermore, pots began to be used as the storage place for the deceased. Through this practice the earlier relationship of pottery accompanying the body within the grave is reverted to one in which the body is contained within the urn. In a certain sense, in these cases the urn comes to embody the deceased.

Another form of post-funerary engagement with the dead is witnessed via the phenomenon of 'grave robbing'. Systematic grave robbery is widespread in some areas during the Early Bronze Age, known from cemeteries such as Gemeinlebarn or Franzhausen⁵⁶ and has been extensively discussed⁵⁷. The predominant explanation has been materialistic: bronze is considered to be such a valuable material that the sacrilege of disturbing a grave would not be sufficient to protect it. Other interpretations include simple treasure-hunting and grave plundering in connection with changes of population or as a means of marking changes in the control of territory⁵⁸. It has also been argued that grave plundering may be carried out in the wake of political and social changes⁵⁹.

The phenomenon of reopening graves and removing objects is too widespread to be random. The deliberate reopening of graves and reuse of the objects should therefore be understood as a repeated and accepted social practice⁶⁰. In terms of our objectives, it is important to recognize that whatever additional reasons there might be, such practices give some insights into the contemporary attitudes to death and the deceased. One possibility is that the role of the objects in the graves are thought of as temporally limited, i.e. grave goods are interpreted as given to the dead only for a limited time, and after a certain period, which is probably associated with the process of bodily decomposition, objects could be transferred back into the possession of the living⁶¹. Alternatively, the frequent robbing may suggest a change in the perception of the purpose or the sanctity of the grave and the role objects were assigned in the further 'life' of the deceased.

Interference with the grave has been well documented for the early phases of Pitten, when inhumation was predominant⁶². Disordered and missing human bones as well as green discolouring of bones⁶³ despite the absence of bronze finds in the graves suggest that up to 60% of the graves were reopened. Reopening of the graves is more difficult to trace for cremations. However, as cremation destroys the bone tissue it exposes the chemically transformed burnt bones to diffusion of copper salts from decaying bronze artefacts. This process has not yet been investigated in detail, and the time involved for discoloration to develop has not been estab-

⁵⁵ HAMPL, KERCHLER, BENKOVSKY-PIVOVAROVÁ, s. ftn. 3, 72.

⁵⁶ J.-W. NEUGEBAUER, Die Nekropole F von Gemeinlebarn, Niederösterreich. Untersuchungen zu den Bestattungssitten und zum Grabraub in der ausgehenden Frühbronzezeit in Niederösterreich südlich der Donau zwischen Enns und Wienerwald, Röm.-Germ. Forsch. 49, 1991.

⁵⁷ For a summary see S. SPRENGER, Zur Bedeutung des Grabraubes für sozioarchäologische Gräberfeldanalysen. Eine Untersuchung am frühbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeld Franzhausen I, Niederösterreich, Fundber. Österr., Materialh. A 7, 1999, 18.

⁵⁸ NEUGEBAUER, s. ftn. 55, 128.

⁵⁹ K. KRISTIANSEN, T. LARSSON, The rise of Bronze Age society. Travels, transmissions and transformations, Cambridge 2005, 247 ff.

⁶⁰ K.-F. RITTERSHOFER, Grabraub in der Bronzezeit, Ber. Röm.-Germ. Komm. 68, 1987, 5 ff.

⁶¹ E.g. SPRENGER, s. ftn. 56, 19.

⁶² BLISCHKE, s. ftn. 11, 215 f.

⁶³ Green stains on burnt bones can be explained by bronze objects that lay next to the bones for sufficient time to decay and allow copper minerals to diffuse into the bones (SPRENGER, s. ftn. 56).

lished, but it is worth noting that more than half of the cremated bones that were not associated with bronze artefacts in the graves show discolouring⁶⁴. This suggests that the reopening of graves seen in the inhumation graves was also practiced for cremation graves, which again makes the difference between cremation and inhumation appear smaller.

6. Conclusion

Pitten is an especially interesting cemetery due to its variability, development and experimentation with new burial practices as well as grave forms. Amongst the rich details, our analysis has revealed a number of patterns and trends that can be outlined through the intertwined themes of first the biography of a local cemetery and secondly how a community changes the beliefs and practices it holds about death and the deceased body. The first of these themes emerges through the reconstruction of the phasing of the cemetery and the specific tension and differentiation that existed between its northern and southern parts. We can trace how the southern part became increasingly dominant and how its grave forms gradually became used throughout the cemetery. The sense of this part taking a leading role is furthermore supported by the innovative forms found there, such as the cremation platforms, whose short-lived use indicates fluctuation in practices as well as form. Burial mound 163, one of the oldest and the largest in the cemetery, plays a particularly interesting role in this development, as it stays in use throughout the cemetery's life and becomes a 'landmark' for the other constructions within the cemetery. One can interpret that this as a burial mound became an ancestral reference point for the local community. It is important to stress that the central grave of this burial mound, and thus presumably its first interment, is an urn burial. There are no concrete data to suggest that this cremation represents an intrusive and foreign element, but the treatment of the body is strikingly different from that seen in the contemporary graves as well as the practices developed later. This leads us to suggest that the urn burial in mound 163 may be the instance that triggered the introduction of cremation.

The second theme, the change of beliefs and practices, emerges from modifications of and transformations in how the body is treated, and in particular the gradual and explorative manners in which people cope with the differences between inhumation and cremation burial practices. We can trace this in the treatment of the physical remains of the cremation pyre as well as the treatment of the body

itself. Clearly, the use of cremation practices did not immediately and automatically introduce a new understanding of the body as a reduced substance that could be removed and contained in an urn at another location. Rather, during the first phases of cremation, when this practice becomes increasingly common, we see a wide range of responses to the remains, which in various ways aimed to confirm the continued presence of a corporeal and substantive body. We see these understandings of the bodily remains as an emphasis upon their redefinition and location after the cremation, an emphasis which in a few cases went to the point of physically reshaping the remains in the form of the unburned body. Objects used to adorn the dress are subsumed into these practices and their position on the cremated remains is frequently used to make associations with the dressed and living body.

Traditional grave constructions are similarly used in an explicit and effective manner to redefine the remains as a body, being made to 'house' and simultaneously confine the body. In contrast, while urn burials also confine the body, they do not acknowledge the body's size but accept its reduction to another kind of matter. Various intermediate stages between the *in situ*-cremation, which is 'dressed' and housed within the grave, and the urn cremation with its reduced body can be seen within the cemetery. They seem to point to a major pivotal change: the removal of the remains of the body and placing the body within a container, whether this be a pit or an urn. The substantial change indicated by these practices is from a body that rests at the location of its cremation, merely needing to be 'taken care of', to a practice where remains are selected and moved, and where the bones become token representations of the body rather than the actual body. On this basis, we propose, that the community at Pitten was able to adopt the cremation rite without this resulting in an all-embracing disruption of their beliefs about the body as long as the cremated remains could be treated in a manner that echoed the care shown to the body in inhumation graves. Thus, while the local community were absorbing new ideas about appropriate ways of treating the dead, these ideas were manifest in a manner which for some time continued to present the dead in ways that drew upon traditional norms and practices. Surprisingly, it seems that the cremation of the deceased could be accommodated within existing understandings of the body, while the separation between the remains and the place of representation may have been a far bigger challenge to the local community's beliefs about the dead body.

⁶⁴ Discolouration is sometimes hard to see on cremated bones, but it has been recorded thoroughly by M. Teschler-Nicola (TESCHLER-NICOLA, s. fn. 10, 137.)

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8. Zusammenfassung

Die Interpretation des Körpers. Bestattungssitten im mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeld von Pitten, Österreich

Die Einführung der Brandbestattung in weiten Teilen Europas während der Mittel- und Spätbronzezeit kann als eine der bedeutendsten Veränderungen in der europäischen Urgeschichte betrachtet werden. Die Analyse dieses Wandels muss verschiedene Maßstäbe, nämlich europäische Trends genauso wie ihre regionale Umsetzung innerhalb einzelner prähistorischer Gesellschaften, berücksichtigen. Der Umgang mit dem Tod informiert uns in unmittelbarer Weise über menschliche Verhaltensweisen, die sich materiell manifestieren und so sichtbar und interpretierbar werden. Der Wandel ist vielfältig, komplex und von zahlreichen sozialen Variablen abhängig. Ziel dieses Artikels ist herauszufinden, wie die Daten eines einzigen Gräberfeldes helfen können, diese Vorgänge zu begreifen. Unsere Grundannahme lautet, dass Begräbnisrituale als soziale Reaktion auf den Tod eng mit Vorstellungen über den menschlichen Körper, das Selbst und die immaterielle Welt verbunden sind, wie zum Beispiel mit der Vorstellung über ein Leben nach dem Tod. Das bedeutet, dass Bestattungssitten als relativ regelmäßige soziale Handlungen dazu benutzt werden können, die Entstehung von Ideen und Idealen zu verfolgen. Mit Hilfe reichlich vorhandener Details hat unsere Analyse mehrere miteinander verflochtene Muster und Tendenzen offen gelegt, die für einen Wandel sprechen, der weder schnell noch kontinuierlich vor sich ging, sondern Raum für das Verschmelzen verschiedener Ideen betreffend den formellen Umgang mit den Toten lässt.

Aufgrund seines Variantenreichtums, seiner Entwicklung und des Experimentierens mit neuen Bestattungs- und Grabformen ist Pitten eines der interessantesten Gräberfelder, das den Übergang von Körper- zur Brandbestattung zeigt. Das Gräberfeld liegt in Niederösterreich südlich der Donau und wurde während der Mittelbronzezeit von der Mitte des 16. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jh.s belegt. Erste Gräber

sind seit den 1930er Jahren bekannt, systematische Ausgrabungen folgten in den 60er und 70er Jahren, veröffentlicht in mehreren Publikationen der Mitteilungen der prähistorischen Kommission. Die Grabungen ergaben über 200 Bestattungen in Flachgräbern und Grabhügeln mit zum Teil beachtlichen Unterschieden bezüglich Größe und Architektur. Körperbestattungen und Brandbestattungen kommen vor, Mehrfach- und Nachbestattungen sind keine Seltenheit. Die meisten Brandbestattungen sind *in situ*-Befunde von niedergebrannten Scheiterhaufen, doch ebenso kommen Brandbestattungen in Gruben und Urnen vor. Weitere interessante Strukturen im Gräberfeldareal sind Steinplattformen sowie eine Begrenzung des Areals in Form eines Steinwalles.

Die vielfachen Variationen von Bestattungspraktiken innerhalb eines einzigen Gräberfeldes können dazu benutzt werden, die zunehmende Bedeutung der Leichenverbrennung innerhalb des Gräberfeldes von Pitten im Speziellen und innerhalb der europäischen Urgeschichte im Allgemeinen zu verstehen. Wir versuchen zu verfolgen, wie eine lokale Gemeinde ihr Verständnis für Brandbestattung entwickelte, nicht unbeeinflusst von überregionalen Trends, aber doch verwurzelt in gewohnten Praktiken. Alte Bestattungsformen wurden nicht einfach unreflektiert und abrupt durch neue ersetzt, sondern man entwickelte schrittweise ein neues Verständnis und neue Vereinbarungen, wie Menschen zu bestatten sind.

Das Vorkommen von Brand- und Körperbestattungen auf einem durchgehend belegten Friedhof führte zunächst dazu, sämtliche Variablen und soziale Charakteristiken der Toten selbst, wie etwa Alter, Geschlecht und Status, und Zusammenhänge mit den Bestattungsformen zu untersuchen. Die Paläodemographie spricht dafür, dass sämtliche Mitglieder einer prähistorischen Gesellschaft, die etwa 30 Personen umfasste, im Gräberfeld von Pitten bestattet wurden. Die Einführung der Brandbestattung erweitert das Repertoire sozialer Differenzierung und Charakterisierung um eine weitere Variable, ist aber nicht eindeutig mit anderen Variablen korreliert und kann daher nicht durch sie erklärt werden. Das Verhältnis von Brand- und Körperbestattungen in Bezug zum Alter der Verstorbenen verhält sich annähernd erwartungsgemäß, nur die Gruppe der 7–14jährigen (*infans II*) ist durch besonders wenige Brandbestattungen charakterisiert. Das ist besonders interessant, zumal dieses Alter mit einer Phase des Lebenszyklus zusammenfällt, die wichtig für die (Eigen-) Definition als Person ist. Zahlreiche subadulte Individuen gruppieren sich um den Grabhügel 163. Das Geschlecht der Toten dürfte ebenfalls eine eingeschränkte Rolle bei der Wahl des Bestattungsmodus gespielt haben. Zwar wurden Frauen häufiger in einfachen Flachgräbern bestattet, doch die Entscheidung über Verbrennung oder Körperbestattung beruhte nicht auf

dem Geschlecht der Toten. Die Tradition geschlechtsspezifischer Orientierung wurde in modifizierter Form weitergeführt, doch Objekte hatten weitaus größere Bedeutung für die Kennzeichnung von Frauen und Männern. Bronzeobjekte werden als sichtbare Zeichen in erster Linie zur Konstruktion des Geschlechtes benutzt und erst in zweiter Linie zur Manifestation von Status.

Bei der Betrachtung der zeitlichen Entwicklung nach Gräberfeldphasen kann aufgezeigt werden, wie der südliche Teil im Verhältnis zum nördlichen an Bedeutung gewann. Dies wird durch das Auftreten innovativer Strukturen wie der Plattformen unterstrichen, deren kurzlebiger Gebrauch die Fluktuation von Vorgehensweisen und Formen zeigt. Der Grabhügel 163, einer der ältesten und größten des Gräberfeldes, nimmt eine besondere Rolle in der Entwicklung des Gräberfeldes ein, da er während der gesamten Belegungsdauer in Verwendung bleibt und zum „Markstein“ für andere Konstruktionen wird. Er kann als angestammter Bezugspunkt für die lokale Gemeinschaft interpretiert werden. In Zusammenhang mit der Einführung der Brandbestattung ist wichtig zu betonen, dass das Haupt- und vermutlich auch erste Grab des Grabhügels eine Urnenbestattung ist. Da es keine Hinweise dafür gibt, dass die Leichenverbrennung als fremdes Element zu verstehen ist, die Behandlung des Körpers aber so auffallend verschieden ist, könnte die Urnenbestattung im Grabhügel 163 als Präzedenzfall gelten, der Vorbild war und Nachahmung anregte.

Die Behandlung der verbrannten Überreste, zu denen der Leichenbrand, Holzkohle, verbrannte Erde und Artefakte zählen, ist von zentraler Bedeutung, um zu verstehen, wie Wahrnehmungen und Vorstellungen mit Bestattungspraktiken verbunden sind. Es ist besonders interessant zu verfolgen, wie vorsichtig und sondierend bei der schrittweisen Einführung der Brandbestattung vorgegangen wurde, um mit den fundamentalen Unterschieden zwischen Körper- und Brandbestattung fertig zu werden. Die Einführung der Brandbestattung führte nicht sofort zu einem neuen Verständnis des verbrannten Körpers als reduzierte Substanz, die beliebig vom Ort der Verbrennung entfernt, verlagert und in einer Urne eingefasst werden kann. Die Verbrennung dient nicht der völligen Auslöschung des Körpers, die Überreste bleiben bedeutsam und die Idee eines Körpers geht nicht verloren. Doch die Verbrennung verwandelt den Toten, worauf mit zwei unterschiedlichen Vorgehensweisen reagiert wird: Eine Möglichkeit ist, den Scheiterhaufen mit den verbrannten Knochen *in situ* in traditioneller Weise ähnlich einer Körperbestattung zu verstehen und zu behandeln und damit seine Körperlichkeit zu betonen, die andere ist, Knochenreste als transformierte Substanz zu betrachten, zu selektieren, zu bewegen, um sie schließlich anders wieder zu definieren und an eine andere letzte Ruhestätte zu brin-

gen. Auf den Zeitrahmen, der die einzelnen Handlungen einer solchen Bestattung überspannt, gibt es kaum Hinweise.

Während die Leichenverbrennung immer üblicher wird, können wir eine Vielzahl von Reaktionen feststellen, die zum Ziel haben, die fortdauernde Anwesenheit eines substanzialen, materiell fassbaren Körpers zu bestätigen. Die Körpergröße und -form kann nach der Verbrennung durch den Bau von Grabstrukturen über dem Verbrennungsplatz wieder hergestellt werden, was besonders in den Gräbern mit Steinkammern unter Zylindergräbern und Grabhügeln zum Ausdruck kommt. Wir verstehen die Behandlung der körperlichen Überreste als eine Betonung ihrer Neudefinition nach der Einäscherung, die in manchen Fällen so weit gehen kann, dass die verbrannten Knochen physisch wieder in die Form eines unverbrannten Körpers gebracht werden. Objekte wie Trachtbestandteile und Grabbeigaben werden durch ihre Positionierung in Bezug zu den verbrannten Überresten verwendet, um Assoziationen zum bekleideten und geschmückten, lebenden Körper hervorzurufen.

Traditionelle Grabkonstruktionen werden in expliziter und effektiver Weise dazu benutzt, die Überreste als Körper zu bestätigen, indem sie gleichzeitig den Körper „beherbergen“ und begrenzen. Im Gegensatz dazu begrenzen Urnenbestattungen den Körper zwar, sie berücksichtigen jedoch nicht die Körpergröße und akzeptieren vollständig die Reduzierung des Körpers zu einer anderen Art von Substanz. Verschiedene Stufen zwischen *in situ*-Verbrennung, die wie eine Körperbestattung behandelt wird, und der Urnenbestattung mit ihrem reduzierten Körper, können innerhalb des Gräberfeldes beobachtet werden. Eines der zentralen Elemente des Wandels scheint das Entfernen der Überreste vom Verbrennungsplatz und die Verlegung an einen anderen Ort zu sein, egal, ob es sich dabei um eine Grube oder Urne handelt. Bei dieser Vorgangsweise reicht die übliche Totenbehandlung nicht aus, die Überreste müssen selektiert und bewegt werden, was schließlich dazu führt, dass Teile des Körpers im Sinne eines *pars pro toto* ausreichen, um den Körper zu repräsentieren.

Die Verwendung von Keramik innerhalb des Gräberfeldes trägt interessante Züge und gibt Hinweise auf vielfältige Aktivitäten innerhalb des Gräberfeldareals, die wichtig für das generelle Verständnis von Totenritualen sind. Keramik ist in Pitten seltener direkt mit dem Körper assoziiert, erscheint aber häufig in Zusammenhang mit Überresten von Besuchen und Festen am Grab, wobei die Keramik vorwiegend an den Eingängen zu Grabstrukturen gefunden wird. Die Fragmentierung dieser Gefäße könnte ein Hinweis auf bewusstes Zerstören und „Töten“ der Keramik sein. Keramik ist nicht bloß Grabbeigabe, sondern Bestandteil vieler Handlungen, die nach der eigentlichen Bestattung vor sich gehen. In Pitten gibt es zahlreiche Hinweise darauf, dass

soziale Verpflichtungen gegenüber dem Toten sowie Kommunikation mit dem Toten nicht mit dem eigentlichen Begräbnis aufhören. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Keramik und Brandbestattung wird außerdem durch die Verwendung von Gefäßen als Urnen ausgedrückt. Der fundamentale Funktions- und Bedeutungswandel der Keramik geht ebenfalls nicht abrupt vor sich. Urnenbestattungen selbst bleiben Sonderfälle in Pitten und sind in die unterschiedlichsten Kontexte eingebettet. Zunehmend bedeutsam wird der völlige Verschluss der Urnen durch Steine oder Schalen. Die Gefäße, die zunächst Begleiter des Körpers sind, werden zu seinem Behältnis und verkörpern auf diese Weise den Toten selbst, indem sie metaphorisch die Haut der Toten wieder herstellen.

Zusammenfassend gehen wir davon aus, dass die Gemeinschaft von Pitten die Brandbestattung einzuführen vermochte, ohne dass dies zunächst mit fundamentalen Brüchen ihrer Praktiken und der Zerschlagung ihrer traditionellen Vorstel-

lungen über den Körper verbunden war. Bedeutsam war, dass die verbrannten Überreste in einer Art behandelt werden konnten, wie sie von der sorgfältigen Behandlung der Körperbestattungen bekannt und üblich war. Während die Bestattungsgemeinschaft neue Ideen zur Totenbehandlung aufnahm, wurden einige Bausteine des Bestattungsrituals, die auf traditionellen Normen und Vorgehensweisen beruhten weiter ausgeübt. Das Weiterführen einiger Elemente traditioneller Totenbehandlung, während andere aufgegeben und neue schrittweise eingeführt werden, führt zu einem breit gefächerten Bild archäologischer Evidenz, wie wir es in Pitten vorfinden. Überraschenderweise konnte scheinbar die Verbrennung der Verstorbenen in das vorhandene Körperverständnis einfach integriert werden. Die Trennung des Verbrennungsortes vom Ort der endgültigen Bestattung, also des Repräsentationsortes des Toten, forderte die lokale Gemeinschaft schließlich heraus, ihre Vorstellungen der über den toten Körper zu revidieren.

2.5 Landscapes of the body: burials of the Middle Bronze Age in Hungary

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LANDSCAPES OF THE BODY: BURIALS OF THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE IN HUNGARY

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen

University of Cambridge, UK

Katharina Rebay–Salisbury

University of Cambridge, UK

Abstract: Middle Bronze Age Hungary provides an opportunity to investigate prehistoric 'landscapes of the body', as perceptions and attitudes to the body affect burial practices and other body practices, including the wearing of dress and the use of pottery. This article explores the cultural diversity expressed by the roughly contemporary and neighbouring groups of the Encrusted Ware, Vatya, and Füzesabony Cultures. Amongst others, differences between the three groups are articulated through their burials (scattered cremations, urn burials as well as crouched inhumations) and the diverse use of material culture. At the same time, despite formal differences in the burials, the analysis shows that cremations and inhumations in this area share a number of characteristics, and it is the other practices through which the dead body is manipulated that are the primary means of expressing regional differences. Simultaneously, whilst being a means of formulating understandings of the deceased body, burial practices are also tied into subtle differences in lifestyles, daily routines and regional subsistence strategies, as the landscapes of the living provide metaphors, know-how and practical understanding.

Keywords: body, Bronze Age, burials, cremation, Encrusted Ware, Füzesabony, Hungary, inhumation, Vatya

INTRODUCTION

Differences in burial practices provide critical opportunities for investigating prehistoric perceptions and attitudes to the body, aspects that would otherwise be extremely difficult to ascertain, but which are at the same time central to the workings of these societies. Within the larger project of investigating the changing attitudes to the body expressed in the widespread use and adoption of cremation during the Middle and Late Bronze Age,¹ the cultural diversity within central Hungary constitutes an important case study.² Central Europe, and in particular the Carpathian Basin, has often been claimed as the origin of the Urnfield Culture with its practice of cremation (Gedl 1991; Pfannenschmidt 2000), but the diversity of burial traditions within this area brings into doubt the idea that cremation, as a

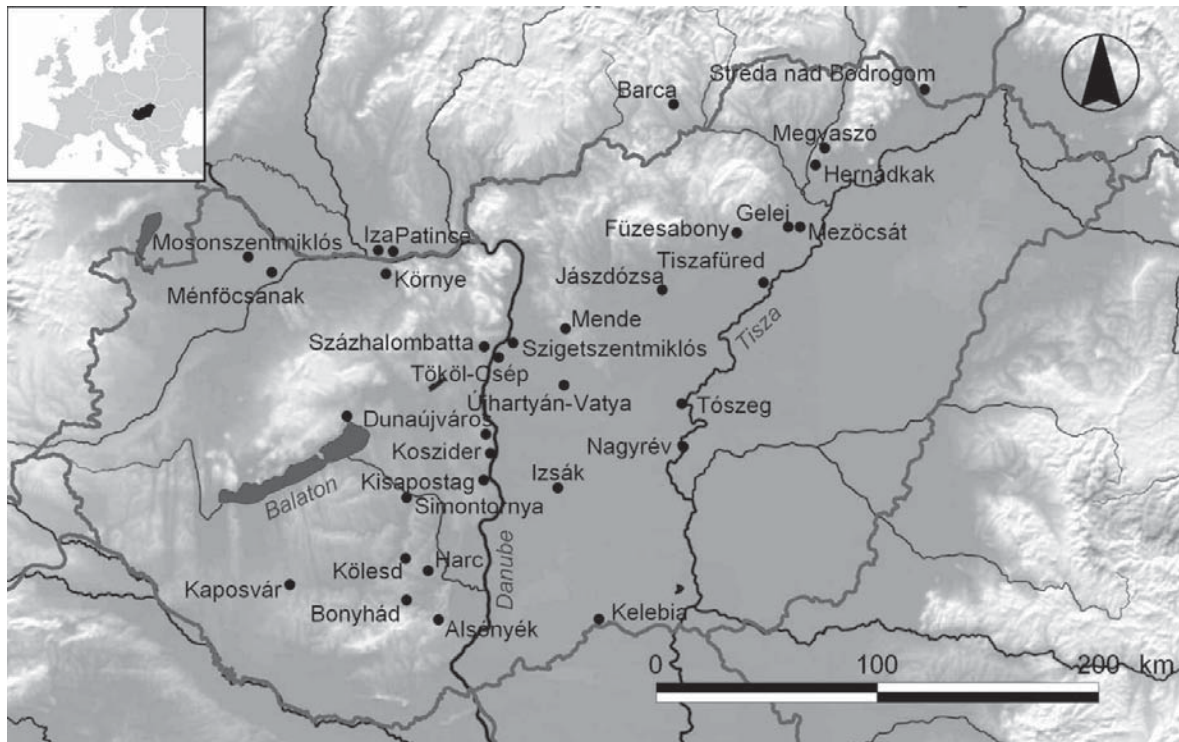


Figure 1. Middle Bronze Age sites mentioned in the text.

new practice, has a single and simple point of origin. Furthermore, the variability of burial practices also undermines the expectation that the transition from inhumation to cremation will be linear and follow a certain prescribed trajectory; the variations are too many to be summarized in terms of simple shared developments. The aim of this case study is, therefore, to investigate the contemporaneous existence of groups practising different forms of burial rites in this particular part of central Europe, and to analyse how these are linked to differences in lifestyles as well as attitudes to the body.

SETTING: THE WORLD OF THE LIVING

The archaeological landscape of Bronze Age Hungary (Fig. 1) can be described as fragmented – composed of groups that differ not only in their material culture (particularly their pottery), but also in settlement and subsistence patterns. The differences between groups have long been recognized and perhaps at times slightly over-interpreted in terms of the movement of peoples. In response to the complex setting suggested by existing work, this article uses a different approach. By taking the human body as the reference point for investigation it aims to understand the diverse practices that gave rise to these groupings. We will contrast three major contemporary Middle Bronze Age cultures:³ Encrusted Ware,⁴ Vatya,⁵ and Füzesabony.⁶ The groups have been chosen for their close geographical proximities to each other and their distinct characteristics regarding burial rituals: in the Encrusted Ware Culture scattered cremations predominate; in the Vatya Culture

urn burials are used; and in Füzesabony inhumation is the most common grave form. The spatial proximity of the groups as well as a presumed dense population make it very likely that people of these different groups knew of each other and routinely interacted. This means that the differences in burial practices should not be taken for granted, but rather seen as deliberately maintained and probably involved in the construction and maintenance of distinct identities.

The geographical setting of all three cultures is the Carpathian Basin of central Europe, with its important river valleys of the Danube and the Tisza (Fig. 2). The Encrusted Ware Culture is found in the hilly regions of the western part of Hungary – Transdanubia – an area divided into a northern and southern part by Lake Balaton. Its distribution, primarily defined by its elaborate pottery tradition, stretches from the Danube all the way to the Drava, around the Balaton and the Sió. The Great Hungarian Plain, a terrain ranging from flat to rolling plains, is the main setting for the Vátya Culture, which is situated on both sides of the Danube in a densely settled and therefore well-researched area. The origins of the Vátya Culture are thought to be connected to the late Kisapostag settlements in north-east Transdanubia (Bóna 1975:32), from where it quickly spread southwards and across the Danube, until it covered an area reaching from the Danube bend to the Mohács island and from the low plain of the Fejérmegye to the middle of the Danube-Tisza interfluves (Bóna 1975:28). In the later phase, the distribution of Vátya finds reached the Tisza and the interfluves south of the Danube-Tisza. This area provided excellent grazing land and the banks of the Danube were the preferred settlement locations. The landscape of the north-eastern part of Hungary and south-east Slovakia, the setting for the Füzesabony Culture, is again quite different. The highest mountains of Hungary are found here in the foothills of the Carpathians along the Slovakian border. In the early stages of the Füzesabony Culture, the valley of the river Hernád, north of the Tisza-Bodrog confluence, seems to be an important centre. Later, the Füzesabony Culture expanded south along the Tisza to the Körös, remaining mainly on the left bank of the Tisza. In Middle Bronze Age II, the Füzesabony Culture almost reached the Danube near Budapest and became a neighbour of the Vátya Culture (Bóna 1975:146). To summarize, the distribution of each of the three cultures changes through time. They expand to different degrees and their areas shift. Sites that saw continuous use through the Middle Bronze Age may therefore show changes in their repertoire of cultural practices, raising questions about the reasons for these changes – were they due to new cultural influences, to movements of people, or to gradual cultural changes? The important point to note here is that whereas there is a strong suggestion of shifts and movements of boundaries, there is also maintenance of difference, expressed through distinct attitudes to the body.

Each of the three cultures developed from pre-existing Early Bronze Age groups through consolidation and expansion into new territories. There is therefore a strong sense of continuity between the Early and the Middle Bronze Age cultures in this area. Encrusted Ware was preceded by Gáta (Wieselburg) and Kisapostag, Vátya is seen as the more or less direct successor of Nagyrév (Bándi 1966: 21–25,

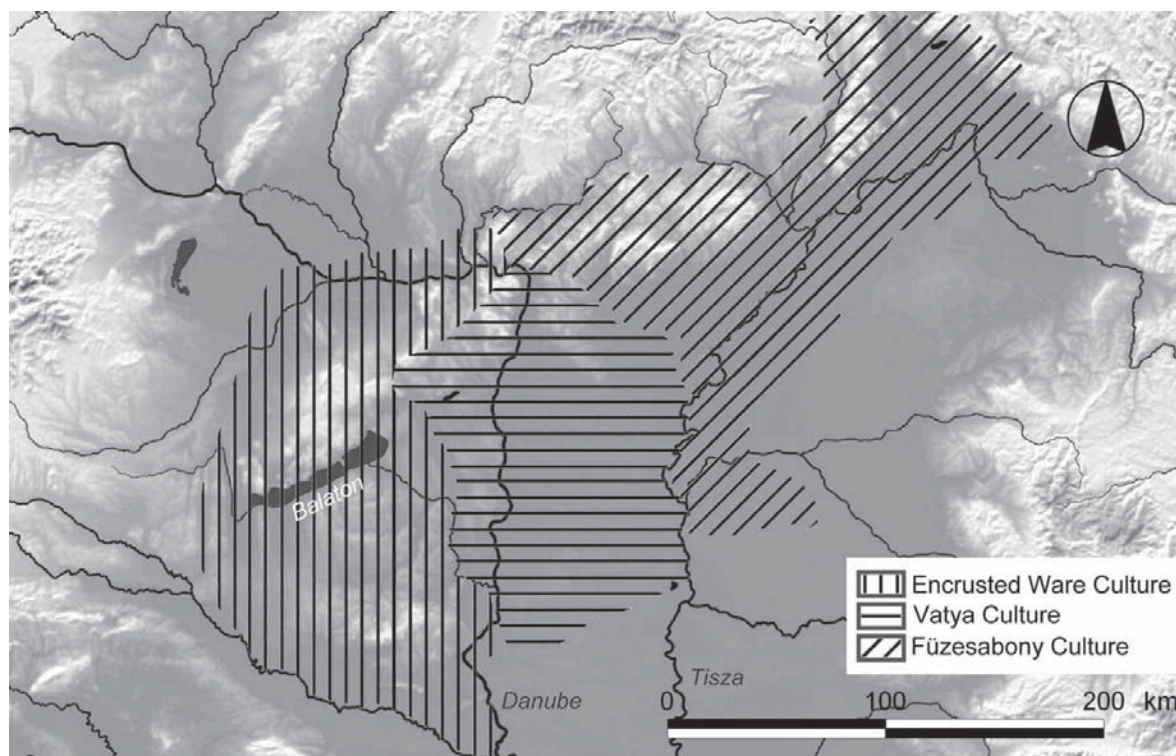


Figure 2. Distribution of the Encrusted Ware, Vatya and Füzesabony Cultures.

Kovács 1984: 218) with possible Kisapostag influences (dramatized by Bóna as an invasion and fusion story; Bóna 1975:31–32). Füzesabony probably developed as a successor to the Koštany Culture with influences from Hatvan and Otomani. Recently the dates of the Bronze Age have generally been moved back, due to the implementation of calibrated ^{14}C dates and dendrochronology in central Europe. Cultural-historical approaches using typological comparisons suggested a timeframe between 1670 and 1350 BC including the later phases (Bóna 1992:40–41), but the new Bronze Age chronologies set a timeframe between 1900 and 1600 BC for the Middle Bronze Age (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005:118). There are still rather few ^{14}C dates available from the sites we discuss or contemporary ones, but the majority of ^{14}C dates range between about 2000 and 1500 BC (Forenbaher 1993:236), with calibrated ^{14}C dates suggesting 2450 to 2050 BC for Nagyrév, and 1959 to 1650 BC for Vatya, excluding the latest phase (Kalicz-Schreiber 1995:83; after Raczky et al. 1992:42–47). Early graves from Megyaszó, a cemetery of the Füzesabony Culture, are thought to date around 2100 cal BC (Schalk 1994:169). The total duration of the Middle Bronze Age, the period focused on here, differs regionally and is still somewhat unclear, but it probably lasted for around 300 years from 1950 cal BC. The end of the Middle Bronze Age seems to be characterized by more dramatic changes and greater rupture than the beginning. These changes are associated with the fusion between local and various foreign elements, including disruptive influences from the central European Tumulus Culture, a period labelled archaeologically as the ‘Koszider Horizon’.

Encrusted Ware

Before proceeding to our main focus of interest, it is important to appreciate the differences in settlement patterns as well as in associated subsistence and economic strategies between the three cultures. The daily-life contexts, in which people formulate their understanding of the body and death, were different and have to be brought into an analysis of burial practices. For the Encrusted Ware Culture, the majority of sites suggest impermanent and transient settlements, which has led to the interpretation that it was a nomadic society (Bóna 1992:24). The most common settlement form is the single layer site, consisting of rectangular houses. In addition, small, fortified hilltop settlements (for example *Harc-Várhegy* or *Simontornya-Mozsihegy*) are known in the southern part of the area (Bóna 1975:198); these have been interpreted as places of refuge (Bóna 1992:24). Recent excavations do, however, seem to challenge this picture. In *Kaposvár-Toponár* for example, a 400 m-long village with structures such as storage pits and wells was revealed (Kiss 2003:150), architecturally similar to tells. Some settlements show evidence for local bronze casting (e.g. *Kölesd-Csonthegy* or *Alsónyék-Szőlőskert*; Bóna 1975:197, 222), but pottery production might have been one of the most important craft activities. It is not only present in the domestic context, but also used in funerary rituals and even used as a building material in the construction of graves. The decorated pottery is indeed very elaborate, evenly fired and of high quality; incised patterns are highlighted in white paste and cover most of the surface of jugs, cups and urns (Kiss 2003:150). The presence of a series of similar pottery hints at production in workshops (Bóna 1975:222), and Encrusted Ware is exported to areas to the east and west, where small cups and bowls are found in most major sites including tells. Pottery exported from the Encrusted Ware Culture can also be found in graves, for example at the cemetery of *Dunaújváros-Dunadűlő*, where 26 burials out of 611 graves of the *Vatya* Culture included Encrusted Ware pottery in the grave assemblage (Vicze 2001:37, 215).

The evidence for the subsistence practices of the Encrusted Ware Culture is particularly important for characterizing the nature of society and daily life. Although some of the subsistence practice was probably based on agriculture, most of the inhabited land is not ideal for growing crops and the settlements might have had to be abandoned when the fertility of the fields declined (Kiss 2003:148). The high numbers of animal bones and antlers shows that herding as well as hunting made important contributions to the diet. Cattle were common and their bones are found in graves. Horses, in contrast to what one might expect for a nomadic society, do not seem to have been much used (Bóna 1975:222). The new settlement evidence, together with the faunal evidence and the great quantity and quality of the pottery, and the emphasis placed upon it, suggests that the interpretation of the Encrusted Ware Culture as a mobile, nomadic society needs to be rethought. Whether or not the Encrusted Ware Culture had some of the characteristics of a nomadic society, pottery production, and possibly cattle rearing may also have had special importance and may therefore be an influence for the construction of burials.

Vatya

Vatya is a so-called 'tell-culture', which means that much of the population lived in densely occupied, confined and long-lived settlements. This suggests that people living on these sites might have had a different sense of history and belonging to a place, which would have been significant for how individuals identified with their immediate surroundings, and may therefore also be important for the construction of different aspects of identity. Generally favoured locations for the tells were on hilltops and river-banks that were well chosen and naturally safe (Bóna 1975:52). There was no break in the settlement tradition with the beginning of the Vatya Culture; early settlements (for example Dunaújváros-Kosziderpadlás or Százhalombatta) were already occupied during the Nagyrév phase, but became larger and gradually fortified in the latest Vatya phase. Dunaújváros-Kosziderpadlás, for example, a centre of the Vatya Culture, is situated on a loess bank on the right bank of the Danube and covers an oval area of 300 by 200 m, surrounded by creeks running into the Danube. The entrance is fortified by a rampart and streets are still visible in the landscape, and, in the centre, an 'acropolis' was found (Bóna 1975:58). The tells preserved details in evidence of domestic arrangements, showing how the dense settlement structures were maintained by rebuilding, repair, and other types of maintenance (Sørensen and Vicze forthcoming). Inside each house were one or more hearths, built of the same clay as the pottery (Sofaer pers. comm.). Large numbers of pits inside the houses are a feature peculiar to the Vatya Culture; they seem to have been open and in constant use during the 'life' of the house. The excavation at Százhalombatta has revealed examples of the lining of pits with straw, which confirms that they were storage pits, probably for food. The pits were a distinct architectural feature, uncommon in settlements of the other groups discussed here, and they would have affected people's practical understanding of how to share, care and store within the bounds of the house. The architectural feature of pits might, therefore, be an obvious metaphor to draw upon in the construction of graves as a 'storage place for the dead'.

The subsistence practices of the Vatya Culture were based on highly specialized farming and probably included some sites involved in the processing of secondary products such as wool. Recent research has shown a dramatic subsistence/economic change from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age, as a focus on sheep replaced the breeding of cattle for meat (Vretemark forthcoming). Hunting as well as fishing and shellfish collecting supplemented the diet. Environmental analyses conducted as part of the research on the Benta Valley, neighbouring the Százhalombatta tell, support the interpretation that pastoralism was highly important in the Middle Bronze Age, as large-scale agriculture had not taken place (French forthcoming). The location of the Vatya Culture along the Danube has been used to argue a role for trade, although there is scant evidence for the export of local bronze or pottery (Bóna 1975:73–75). Recent suggestions of the importance of wool production might therefore be an explanation for the position of these sites on obvious trade routes.

Füzesabony

Most of the settlement data for the Füzesabony Culture also comes from tell settlements (for example Jászdózsa-Kápolnahalom, Tószeg-Laposhalom or Füzesabony-

Öregdomb). In this respect, Füzesabony does not differ much from Vátya. The Füzesabony tells are usually found on slight elevations, along the loess banks of the river Tisza and its tributaries. Many Füzesabony tells had already been used for centuries by Early Bronze Age groups, such as the Hatvan Culture. The houses, as seen for example at the eponymous site of Füzesabony-Öregdomb, were rectangular buildings averaging 4–6 m wide and 5–12 m long, arranged in a regular pattern, with pathways between the houses and open areas. Hearths were built into the clay house-floors (Szathmári 1992:134–145), but larger ovens are usually placed outside the buildings (Kovács 1984:236). Some tells were defended by elaborate ditches and ramparts as in Barca or Spišský Štvrtok, or by more complex structures such as stone walls (Vladár 1973). Bóna suggests that the settlement sites consisted of two parts; a densely structured core site and a more scattered village outside the fortification (Bóna 1975:146). Agriculture in the fertile river valleys in combination with the breeding of animals was the basis of subsistence and this is demonstrated by the presence of quern stones, grains, faunal remains and storage pits on tells. Bronze industry flourished and is well documented by finds of moulds from sites such as Tiszafüred, Tószeg and Füzesabony, including several moulds for heart-shaped pendants and pins (Meier-Arendt 1992:198–199). In this region, a large quantity of decorative bronzes has been found as hoards and in graves; these bronzes include objects to decorate the person, such as pendants, small plates, and arm and leg spirals. The spiral dominates the shape of the objects themselves and they can be highly decorative, at the same time the surfaces of objects such as weapons are richly engraved with the same spiral motifs. This motif is mirrored in the pottery, which is of a high quality, well burnished and of elaborate shape. Some of the products were probably produced primarily as decorative elements for the households, for example bowls with elaborate plastic decorations on the outside and on the base that could be hung on the walls (Sofaer 2006:140). The role of the pottery in the graves will be discussed later.

Although the three groups were roughly contemporary, in close proximity and interacting with each other, there were subtle as well as more obvious differences between them in terms of the organization of subsistence and settlements, involving practices that had direct impact on people's everyday lives and the ways they made (Fig. 3) and understood their material surroundings; these differences are the things traditions are made of. In the following we will explore the differences in burial practices, and consider whether and how associations are drawn between the different spheres of life and death in each of these areas and what this may imply in terms of understanding the body.

LANDSCAPES OF THE DEAD

In contrast to many other parts of Europe, cremation is already found regularly in the Carpathian Basin by the time of the Makó and Bell Beaker groups (*c.* 2700 to 2400 cal BC; Visy 2003:486). Although cremation was clearly part of established burial practices, it is common to place the transition from inhumation to cremation later, and thus to focus on the change in preference rather than merely presence. During the Early Bronze Age, both inhumation and cremation were practised, but

	Encrusted Ware	Vatya	Füzesabony
Landscape	hilly landscape	flat, plain landscape	hilly landscape, some parts prone to flooding
Settlements	single-occupation sites	tells, large pits	tells
Subsistence	nomadic traits?	sedentary	sedentary
Memory and history	transcendent	permanent, long term settlements	permanent, long term settlements
Preferred animals	cattle?	sheep?	pig?
Material emphasis	pottery with bone paste decoration	textiles?	metal, pottery with spiral decoration
Decorative elements	lines, triangles, dots	simpler decorations, motifs from Encrusted Ware and Füzesabony	circles, spirals, running spirals, channels and knobs

Figure 3. *Characteristics of the Encrusted Ware, Vatya and Füzesabony Cultures.*

rather than merging together to an overall dominance of one, both were transformed during the period, leading to new regional traditions. Although these traditions are well known, little attention has been given to the themes they have in common and in particular to whether there were shared ways of understanding the body despite the apparent distinction between inhumation and cremation.

Cremation and inhumation burials share a number of common characteristics. Addressing them merely as an opposing set of concepts therefore misses potentially important similarities in the wide range of practices involving the body. For example, the placing, orientation, and composition of objects as well as the body in graves 24 and 35 from Streda nad Bodrogom (Füzesabony Culture) are almost identical (Fig. 4). Grave 35 is an inhumation with the body placed on the left side with the head to the west. The rectangular pit of grave 24 is oriented the same way, but it contained a cremation, which was similarly placed to the west of the pottery. In both cases the pottery was placed at the 'feet'. In addition, the set of pottery was organized similarly in both graves, with a jug placed inside the bowl and a small cup, completing the set, placed with the body (Polla 1960:311, 314, 353). The two graves illustrate clearly how the treatment of the cremated body can be interchangeable with the non-cremated one; it is being displayed and cared for in the same manner and the bodies, despite their material differences, are the centre of attention in similar ways. The dividing line in this article is therefore not whether the body is cremated or not, but how the treatment of, and practices associated with, the dead body were carried out and result in radical different understandings of 'proper burials'.

Cemetery size and structure

In terms of cemetery size and structure, the groups share several common characteristics. The cemeteries are usually separate from, but in the close vicinity of, the settlements, from a few hundred metres to a few kilometres away (Bóna 1975:59, 148, 199;



Figure 4. *Cremation grave 24 (left) and inhumation grave 35 (right) from Streda nad Bodrogom, Slovakia (Polla 1960:353).*

Csányi 2003:157, Vicze 2001:11). The size of the individual cemeteries usually ranges from 20 up to 200 graves, leaving the impression of small family units. In terms of size variability, however, Encrusted Ware Culture cemeteries with over 100 graves are rare (e.g. Ménfőcsanak, Mosonszentmiklós; Kiss 2003:151), but some cemeteries of the Vátya Culture (such as Dunaújváros-Dunadűlő) and the Füzesabony Culture (such as Tiszafüred) can be substantially bigger, with burials numbering into the thousands. The cemeteries are all flat cemeteries, with individual graves respecting each other despite a lack of obvious surface markers. None of the cultures has very clear spatial arrangements shared by all cemeteries, but in some Encrusted Ware Culture sites graves seemed to be aligned in rows, and in the early Vátya Culture 9–20 graves may be found in oval groups (Vicze 1992:92). Whenever such patterns are observed, they are interpreted as families or descent groups. In addition, the orientation of the rectangular grave pits of both the Encrusted Ware Culture and Füzesabony Culture is standardized; there is, however, no obvious element of orientation within Vátya cemeteries. In tune with the longevity of the tells, the cemeteries of the Vátya and Füzesabony Cultures often seem to have been in use for a long time, from the Early to the end of the Middle Bronze Age. The duration of cemetery use for the Encrusted Ware Culture is less certain. Although special constructions, such as cult houses, funerary platforms or death houses are known from some Bronze Age burial traditions (e.g. Lüneburg: Busch 1996; Pitten: Sørensen and Rebay 2005), very

little trace of such structures has been found in any of the three cultures compared here. It has, however, been suggested that remains of the funerary pyres have been found in some Vanya cemeteries (such as Izsák and Tököl-Csép; Bóna 1975:52). Thus, whereas there are some differences between the three cultures in the formal characteristics of cemeteries, these seem to be the result of the length of time the cemeteries were in use and the extent to which family structures were reflected in the layout. There is nothing in the layout of the cemeteries that is directly affected by whether the body was cremated or inhumed.

Attitudes to the body: Encrusted Ware

To investigate potential differences in the attitudes to the body, we therefore have to look at other details in order to trace where the differences begin. In the Encrusted Ware Culture, cremation is practised throughout the whole area, although small children could apparently be exempt, since their bodies were sometimes discovered in vessels, such as at Patince or Királyszentistván (Bóna 1975:199). Usually, the body was cremated together with its dress fittings and ornaments, which are sometimes discovered among the pyre remains. In the 17 Encrusted Ware Culture cremations from the cemetery of Környe-Fácánkert the bones are large fragments, with an average of 240–250 pieces per individual. The average weight of the bones per cremation is 307 grams (*c.* 660g for males, *c.* 300g for females, and 70–80g for children; Bándi and Nemeskéri 1971:23). From observation of uneven burning of different anatomical parts, Bándi and Nemeskéri (1971:26) suggest that the body was placed on the pyre in a crouched position. This means the body was placed in the same way as it would be in the contemporary inhumation traditions. The remains are subsequently buried in oval to rectangular grave pits that are slightly smaller than body-size, but still larger than those needed for the interment of the cremation itself (on average 0.7 by 1.2 m and 0.6–0.7 m deep; Bóna 1975:199). In most cases, the remains are scattered over part of the surface of the pits and pottery is often used to outline or cover the body, as if it is defining its space. This covering of the body can be done extremely carefully; for instance, grave 82 from Vörs-Papkert (Kiss 2003:150) shows a careful arrangement of densely packed pots next to each other, and upside down. In some cases, such as the cemetery of Iža, human remains are placed in pits in anatomical order or show other arrangements such as heaps with the larger bones on the bottom and the smaller ones on top (Dušek 1969:35–49). The great care taken in protecting the bones and keeping a sense of integrity after they have been moved from the pyre, shown in the scattering over the pit base or ordering of the bones, and in the desire to cover and almost ‘shield’ the cremated bones from the soil that would fill the grave, suggest the remains of the body were seen both as meaningful entities and as vulnerable.

Scattered cremations are the exclusive burial form of the south Transdanubian group (Bándi 1984:270), but in the north of the Encrusted Ware Culture, contemporary urn burials are found (Bándi and Nemeskéri 1971:28). For example, at Mosonszentmiklós 38 of the 75 published graves were urn burials, 22 were scattered cremations, and in the rest no ‘ashes’ were found (Uzsoki 1963:86). In this

area it is common that not only the cremation, but also accessory vessels are found in the urns, as if the whole pottery assemblage is essential to constitute the essence of the grave – ‘in-urning’ the entire grave and not just the body. The Encrusted Ware Culture urns are the same types as the accompanying vessels in the scattered cremations, which led Bóna (1975:199) to conclude that the practice of urn burials must have developed in this area. The variation within the Encrusted Ware Culture suggests a local refinement in the understanding of how to respond to the ‘the needs’ of the cremated body, as the remains become even more protected through the use of urns.

Attitudes to the body: Vatya

The typical Vatya grave consists of hardly more than a round pit, between 0.6 and 1.2 m deep, and just wide enough for burying the Vatya urn. The deceased were cremated dressed and, since cremation places have not been found, it is assumed that individual pyres were used. Variable amounts of human bones were placed in the urns, leading Bóna (1975:41) to suggest that in some cases little care was taken while gathering the bones, or that gathering them all was not needed or desired. In some cemeteries, however, such as Dunaújváros-Dunadűlő (Vicze 2001), the bones were carefully gathered and arranged anatomically within the urn with the skull pieces on top. The anthropological analysis of Vatya urn burials from Szigetszentmiklós-Felsőtag (Zoffmann 1995:173–175) confirms that only one individual was present per urn. The bodies were probably cremated at a temperature of about 800°C, which was estimated from the chalk-white colour of the bones with occasional brown and grey discolouring, as well as from the average size of the fragments. All anatomical regions of the body were cremated evenly, so that no conclusions could be drawn as to how the body was placed on the pyre. The average weight per cremation is 272 grams, with adults reaching an average of 343 grams. Although these numbers cannot verify whether all the human remains were gathered from the pyre, the weight is not unusual for cremations recovered on archaeological excavations (McKinley 2000). Not all the Vatya urns, however, actually contained cremations; in six out of 21 urns from the cemetery of Százhalombatta-Alsó Szőlők⁷ no bones were found (Poroszlai 1990:214). Urns were usually firmly closed with up to three bowls, and stone slabs were occasionally used as an additional cover (Bóna 1975:52; Poroszlai 1990:213). Vicze (1992:92) suggests that the urns might only have been half-buried, with the top of the neck and the stone cover standing out as grave markers. Inhumations are very rare, although the practice of cremation becomes interrupted more regularly towards the end of the Vatya Culture, when crouched inhumations appear more often among the urn burials (Kovács 1984:220). The emphasis of the Vatya burial practices is the secure closure of the urn. Rather than scattering and dispersing the remains, a motive we repeatedly encounter in the Encrusted Ware Culture cremations, the cremated bodies are contained and stored in a large vessel – a vessel that may refer to a storage vessel on a settlement. The grave pit itself may reference the storage pit, a structure typical of Vatya tells. We might conclude that this reference hints at a motive of storing the

dead as a means of remembrance, and that this was expressed through routine actions involving familiar materials.

Attitudes to the body: Füzesabony

The Füzesabony graves are an example of an inhumation tradition. The graves are usually rectangular or oval pits, the size of which varies with the size of the bodies. They are usually between 0.8 and 1.6 m long, although a few extraordinarily large graves (up to 3 m long) have been observed. Grave depths can vary substantially, and there seems to be a correlation between gender and grave depth as well as the amount of grave goods. Men are usually buried in the deepest graves, women in the next deepest, and children are buried in the shallowest graves (Bóna 1975:149). Most of the bodies are placed in a loosely crouched position facing east or south; the arms are usually bent, with the hands in front of the face. It is commonly proposed that the placing of the body on the left or right side was based on gender, although there is little anthropological analysis to support this interpretation for this period. This scheme, which was rigidly adhered to in the Copper Age (Chapman 1997:138) seems to become more flexible in the course of the Bronze Age, and cemeteries may vary considerably. For example, at the Early to Middle Bronze Age cemetery of Hernádkak only 10 per cent of the bodies were placed on their right sides (Schalk 1992:36–37), whereas in the Middle Bronze Age cemetery of Megyaszó 52 per cent were on their left and 48 per cent on their right sides (Bóna 1975:150). In the Late Bronze Age cemetery of Mezőcsát gender-based differences in the orientation of bodies seem to have disappeared (Hänsel and Kalicz 1986).

The Füzesabony cemeteries suggest a certain degree of interference with the grave that is commonly labelled as 'grave robbing'. This is in contrast to the lack of evidence for post-funeral activities in Encrusted Ware and Vatya cemeteries. It has been argued that the reopening of the graves happened some three generations after the funeral (Pástor 1969:82–83), which suggests that it is not part of the burial rite itself, but may still be within the time affected by collective memory about the deceased. It seems that up to half of the graves were disturbed on many cemeteries, such as Gelej (Kemenczei 1979:28) and Hernádkak (Schalk 1992:84). At the same time, there is clearly some emphasis on individual characteristics of the body being buried in terms of gender and probably kinship. These are expressed through different aspects of the design of the burial, such as the depth and size of the pit and the orientation of the body. These are similar to practices found in many other Bronze Age communities (e.g. Franzhausen and Gemeinlebarn, Austria: Neugebauer 1991; Sprenger 1999). In the inhumation graves, no additional activities are carried out to confirm the corporeality of the body and to stress its boundaries.

Although inhumation graves predominate, a few cremations are found in most of the Füzesabony cemeteries. These are generally scattered cremations, urn graves are more uncommon. The highest proportion of cremation burials was found at the cemetery of Streda nad Bodrogom (Polla 1960), which had 34 cremations, 24 inhumations, and 9 'symbolic graves'. In the Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom cemetery, the size and shape of the pits used for cremation is at first based on the size of the body, as in

inhumation graves, but through time the pits become smaller and more irregular in shape (Kovács 1984:239, 1992a:96). A remarkable feature of the Füzesabony cemeteries is the presence of so-called 'symbolic graves' (e.g. Streda nad Bodrogom: 9; Gelej: 16). They are usually grave pits similar in size and orientation to the rest of the graves, and they frequently contain pottery sets, but there are no traces of a body. It is interesting here to recall the empty urns of the Vatya Culture mentioned earlier. The term 'symbolic grave' used for such features implies that they are interpreted as graves without bodies. Alternatively, these may be structures used during the funeral or for post-funerary rituals.

Comparison of attitudes to the body

Comparison of these three contemporary, but very different responses to the deceased body, shows both overlapping concerns and individual motivations. The main focus of the Encrusted Ware Culture burials seems to be the reconstitution of the remains as a corporeal body. This is accomplished through the scattering of the cremated bones over the base of the pit and the confirmation of this space through the layout of the pottery. There is also an idea of the 'vulnerable body', which has to be protected by covering it with pottery. This idea of protection is shared by the Vatya Culture burials, but in this case it is carried out in a different way. Protecting the body is a matter of total enclosure; the cremation is contained in an urn and closed by one or more bowls. The urn is used in a manner that gives the body new boundaries, almost reconstituting the dead person's skin through the walls of the pottery. It is debated whether the Vatya urns might in some cases express the embodiment of individuals, but gender and age as basic elements of society are not obviously expressed through the burial rites in either the Vatya or the Encrusted Ware Cultures. In the Füzesabony Culture, however, we do see some of these dimensions of identity expressed. The corporeality of the body is not questioned in the inhumation graves, and its boundary does not have to be confirmed, nor are special treatments required to protect it. In the Füzesabony Culture the body might be seen as sleeping but also transitional, deliberately put into the ground for transformation. The practice of reopening of the grave might mark the end of this transitional period.

THE DRESSED BODY

The use of ornaments both on the living body and in the grave can provide further indications of how the body is understood, as dress elements provide an important means of articulating various qualities of the body, such as gender or regional belonging. In the Encrusted Ware Culture, metalwork is mainly known from hoards and rarely appears in graves. For example, only 10 per cent of the graves in the cemetery of Mosonszentmiklós contain bronze objects. These are usually small items attached to clothing and the body itself, such as spiral-tubes, small rings, and pins (Primas 1977:18), and it seems questionable whether they form a deliberate part of the burial ritual rather than being incidentally included due to their close relationship with the body.

In the Vatyá Culture, bronze objects are found in a slightly higher proportion of graves (c. 15–20%; Vicze 1992:93), although the percentage varies through time; gold is rare. Small dress fittings and pieces of jewellery, such as beads, are usually cremated with the body, whereas other objects, such as pins, bracelets, pendants and torques, are not included in the pyre but are deposited separately in the grave. Daggers are very rare, and other weapons and tools are almost nonexistent. The bronze objects are found both inside the urn as part of the cremation itself or as an added component, and outside the urn (Bóna 1975:44).

In the Füzesabony Culture, it is most common for graves to have only a few dress fittings and personal items. The percentage of graves with bronze objects and other small finds seems to decrease over time. In the early cemetery of Hernádkak more than 30 per cent of graves contain grave goods other than pottery. In the later cemeteries of Streda nad Bodrogrom and Gelej the percentage of bronze finds has decreased to 11 and 12 per cent respectively (Kemenczei 1979; Polla 1960; Schalk 1992). Some graves show clear differences between male and female assemblages. The male graves are equipped with bronze weapons such as spears, daggers and axeheads (e.g. Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom, grave B/54; Kovács 1992a:97); they are also frequently found with whetstones, and ornaments such as simple pins and necklaces of bronze spirals-tubes can complete the assemblage. In women's graves more elaborate pins are found, and the necklaces often contain amber or glass beads as well as bronze spiral-tubes and pendants; arm and leg spirals complete the dress together with ornaments for the hair (Bóna 1975:150). A special type of needle-eyed pin is sometimes recovered from in front of the face. It has been proposed that it was used to sew a shroud together rather than being an element of the dress (Kovács 1992a:97). This pin is commonly found on its own, but may be added to a pair of pins (Schalk 1994:157). After the Middle Bronze Age, as exemplified by the cemetery of Mezőcsát (Hänsel and Kalicz 1986), there is an obvious increase in the inclusion of bronze ornaments in the graves; 26 of 40 graves contain bronze goods, and there is also a greater variation in those objects present, with both items designed for specific parts of the body (such as leg rings) and new types of dress attachments. At the same time, pottery decreases in quality and particularly in its ornamentation. Obviously, the appearance of the person was a major concern that continued in death; it seems that the surface for display of decoration and ornamentation shifts through time from the pottery to the body itself.

In comparison, a basic element of all three cultures is that some bronze objects are intimately linked to the body and are therefore predictably present in the graves regardless of whether the body was inhumed or cremated. In addition, there are also some distinct characteristics in the use of bronzes in the Vatyá and the Füzesabony Cultures. In the former, there seems to be a distinction between objects that were cremated as part of the body, and other items that were added as regular grave gifts to the burial. In the latter, bronze objects are used in a way that suggests that males and females were associated with gendered material culture. The suggestion of shrouds in the Füzesabony Culture may be interpreted in different ways, but hints at a concern with the body itself that is otherwise not clearly expressed within this burial tradition.

THE ROLE OF POTTERY IN THE GRAVES

Encrusted Ware

Pottery shows a number of very pronounced differences in appearance as well as use in the three cultures. In the Encrusted Ware Culture most of the graves contain a large vessel with a double conical body and a large number of small vessels (on average between 60 and 120 mm high). The average number of pots per grave is 15 to 25, but occasionally up to 36 vessels, and rarely fewer than six. In addition, there is a great variety of types and most types come in different sizes. Graves may include duplications and multiplications of cups, goblets, bowls, jugs, large bi-conical vessels, unusual forms such as flat serving dishes on four feet, as well as cooking pots and storage vessels. The latter are often represented through large fragments rather than whole vessels. Amongst the vessels other ceramic objects may be found, such as bird statuettes, rattles and small bird-shaped vessels (Bóna 1975:213), as well as miniature vessels, which are sometimes associated with children's graves (e.g. Mosonszentmiklós; Uzsoki 1963:88).

It seems that the whole available range of pottery is represented in the graves. Importantly, rather than appearing solely as grave goods, the pottery is used to outline the space of the grave. This is partly done by packing and stacking pots densely together over part of the surface and partly by lining pots along the side of the grave as exemplified by grave 36 from Királyszentistván (Fig. 5). The effect of this is that the pottery extends and gives shape to the burial, resulting in it appearing body-sized. This suggests that the pottery in the grave is not primarily aimed at fulfilling particular needs of the deceased in terms of a standard supply of drinks and food, nor is pottery used as a simple symbol linked to a particular identity. Rather it seems likely that the pottery is used to represent the household of the deceased or gifts from the mourning community in a broader sense, while it simultaneously confirms the presence of a body.

The importance of the pottery as part of the ritual performance of the burial is also suggested by evidence of the deliberate placing of pots (such as cups placed upside down directly upon the cremated bones in the Bonyhád cemetery; Csalog 1942:126) and pots being smashed and the fragments arranged over parts of the body (Veliačik 1972:218). It seems that some of the pottery may have been involved with the presentation of food or related to feasting or eating at the grave; this is supported by the presence of animal bones, in particular sheep and cattle (Uzsoki 1963:88), among the pottery. In the case of grave 22 in the cemetery of Királyszentistván, the bones were even found placed on a flat serving dish (Bóna 1975:Taf. 211).

Vatya

The use of pottery in Vatya burials is very different, with pots used both as containers for the cremation and as accessory vessels. The focus of the grave is the single large vessel containing the cremation; the form of the cremation vessels is the same as the ones found in domestic contexts. Analysis showed that at times these vessels were produced directly to be used as funerary urns; at other times they were reused domestic vessels (Budden 2007:260; Kreiter et al. 2004).



Figure 5. *Grave 36 from Királyszentistván (Encrusted Ware Culture; Bóna 1975:Taf. 213).*

Large urns (340–400 mm; Vicze 2001:127) become more common in the course of the Middle Bronze Age, with some vessels measuring up to 0.9 m in height. The form of these vessels changes through time. In particular, they change from a soft, globular form to urns with a clear three-part division and a well-separated funnel neck; the widest place shifts from the lower third to the upper third of the body and the base becomes proportionally smaller. In addition, in the late phase the most common decoration changes from rough brushing and horizontal bands around the widest part of the body to more elaborate decoration, including grooves and encrusted patterns. Minor variation in the form and decoration on the urns may reflect individual preferences and access to the products of different potters (Budden 2007; Vicze 2001:227). These changes suggest an increased emphasis on the top of the urn, the part which would be visible after the urn is put into the burial pit. Furthermore the increased articulation of the different parts of the pot creates more obvious references to the divisions of the human body. This point is further emphasized by depictions of body parts and/or bronze objects on the top half of a few vessels (Fig. 6). For example, a vessel with an arm with a dagger from the cemetery of Dunaújváros, a vessel with two breasts and two arms with arm rings from the settlement of Százhalombatta, and a vessel with two eyes at the rim and two bent arms and a dagger below the elbow from the settlement at Mende-Leányvár (Kovács 1973:9, 1992b:80; Poroszlai 1992:155). These examples underline the analogy between large vessels and the human body made during this period in various contexts (Szeverényi 2007). These links are important because the urn itself literally embodies the fragmented body and the association between bodies and pots seems to be expressed on many levels.



Figure 6. *Vatya* urns from Dunaújváros-Dunadűlő (left) and Százhalombatta (right) and their modern gendered counterparts (after Kovács 1992b:80 and Poroszlai 1992:155).

Most of the urns were covered by bowls placed over the mouth of the urn; in the later phases additional bowls are added, creating layers of cover (Bóna 1975:59). Further closure may be created through an added stone-packing over the bowls. One or two additional small vessels, such as cups and jugs, as well as any other grave goods, are frequently found inside the urn on top of the ashes, and more rarely outside on the side of the urn. It has been suggested that the top of the urn with its cover would have stood about the ground level, making each individual grave visible (Vicze 1992:94). In addition, the increased elaboration of the procedure through which the urns were closed suggests that the practice of closing the urn became more important and central to the burial ritual throughout time. As the urn is placed so tightly in a pit, with only the top half visible, the wide funnel-shaped mouth would form the entrance to the grave. The pot itself merges with the pit as the container for the body.

Füzesabony

The pottery is the most recurrent component of the inhumation graves of the Füzesabony Culture, and it often appears in sets of three, composed of a cup, a jug and bowl (other types are rare). There are variations in whether the whole set or only particular types are present. Sets as well as individual types may also appear in duplicates, and some graves contain as many as nine or ten vessels (Gelej and Streda nad Bodrogom; Kemenczei 1979; Polla 1960). Sets of pottery are found on most cemeteries, but their specific composition may vary slightly. In the cemetery of Megyaszó, for example, Schalk (1994:156–157) found that large jugs are the standard item of the set; they may be found in combination with just one cup, or one or more cups and a bowl. In the cemetery of Streda nad Bodrogom the most important part of the pottery set was clearly the bowl. Only nine graves were found without one, jugs were missing in 19 graves and cups in 23 graves. The opposite is true for the cemetery of Gelej, where 55 graves contained no cups, but 79 graves were found without a jug and 88 graves without a bowl (Fig. 7).

Streda nad Bodrogom (total number of graves 63, average number of vessels per grave 2.6)

1 grave with	4 bowls			1 grave with	4 cups
1 grave with	3 bowls	1 grave with	3 jugs	2 graves with	3 cups
3 graves with	2 bowls	4 graves with	2 jugs	5 graves with	2 cups
49 graves with	1 bowl	39 graves with	1 jug	32 graves with	1 cup
9 graves with	no bowls	19 graves with	no jug	23 graves with	no cup

Gelej (total number of graves 147, average number of vessels per grave 2.0)

		1 grave with	4 jugs	1 grave with	4 cups
1 grave with	3 bowls	1 grave with	3 jugs	3 graves with	3 cups
4 graves with	2 bowls	15 graves with	2 jugs	23 graves with	2 cups
54 graves with	1 bowl	51 graves with	1 jug	65 graves with	1 cup
88 graves with	no bowls	79 graves with	no jug	55 graves with	no cup

Figure 7. *The number of particular vessel types per grave in the cemeteries of Streda nad Bodrogom and Gelej.*

The ceramics are placed around the head, in front of the hip or next to the legs. At first glance, this does not seem to be very surprising, since these are the available spaces when placing a crouched inhumation into a rectangular or oval pit; however, there are small variations between cemeteries, not only in the composition of the pottery, but also in its placing. In Tiszafüred-Majoroshalom, a cemetery including 635 Füzesabony graves, cups and jugs were most often found beside the head and hips, and larger bowls were placed at the feet (Csányi 2003:157). In Megyaszó, pottery is more often associated with the lower and front part of the body than the head or the back; bronze finds, ornaments and weapons tend to be placed around the head and upper body (Schalk 1994:156). In the cemetery of Gelej, pottery is also found next to the feet, but is also associated with the arms and hands. In a number of graves the body is arranged so that the cups or jugs are found directly at the mouth, as if the deceased was drinking (Fig. 8).⁸ This pattern has been confirmed by the recent excavation of the cemetery of Mezőzombor (Koós 2006:80), where in four out of ten sufficiently preserved graves small cups were found in front of the face, apparently placed in the hands of the deceased. There is a strong suggestion of 'feeding the dead', which makes it interesting that bowls are not found in front of the face; most are found at the feet, and if not there, at the waist or behind the buttocks. Animal bones were discovered amongst the pottery in some graves (Kovács 1992a:97), which underlines the importance of the pots as containers for food and drink. This may suggest that individual vessel types in the sets were associated with distinct functions and that this was expressed by their placing in relationship to the body in the grave.

Certain associations with pottery were probably shared by all three cultures (for instance pottery as containers for food and drink), but each culture has a distinct way in which these associations are played out in the mortuary arena. In the Encrusted Ware Culture the large quantity of pottery might reflect a whole household repertoire, or pottery from households of the wider community. It is used to

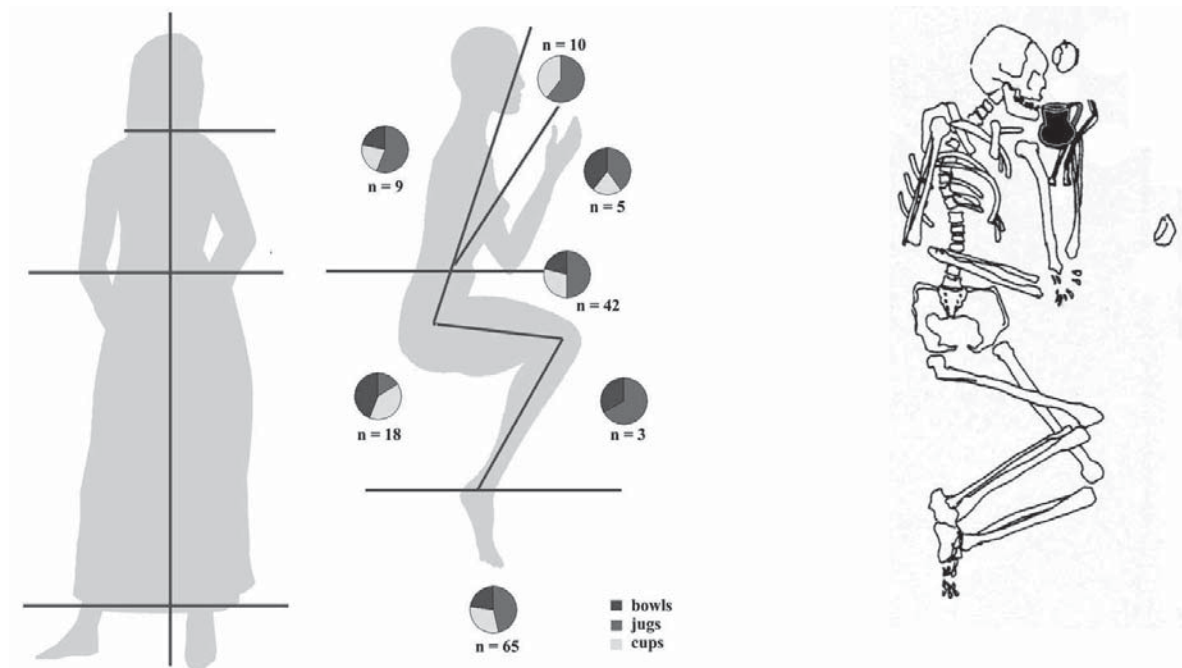


Figure 8. *Left: the association of different pottery types (bowls, jugs, cups) with zones of the body (face, hands, waist, legs, feet, buttocks, and back) in the cemetery of Gelej. Right: an example of the 'feeding of the dead' with one hand holding the cup close to the mouth from the same cemetery (grave 26; Kemenczei 1979:fig. 5).*

define and line the body as well as shield it. Arguably, the vessels used as urns in the Vanya Culture in some ways equate with people and may represent individuals. The tight closure meets the need to give the body new boundaries and a contained space in response to the uncertainty over what substance the cremated bones represent. In the Füzesabony Culture, a comparatively standardized set of vessels is required to accompany the body in death. The different types (bowls, jugs and cups) might be designed to function in different ways and seem to be associated with different regions of the body. These differences are striking, as they seem to articulate distinctly different links between the body and the pottery (Figs 9 and 10).

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing analysis we have utilized the 'snapshot' that a part of the Middle Bronze Age provides to interpret differences in burial practices. These developed from previous burial traditions and are part of a trajectory of transformation, but the larger picture of change in burial practices over the longer term has not been our concern here. Rather, zooming in on a particular 'moment' during the Bronze Age, we have been able to trace differences between groups that lived in close proximity and engaged with each other regularly.

On one level, it becomes clear that the differences between cremation and inhumation did not cause the different communities to alter their basic attitudes to the need to bury the dead in a formal manner. For instance, they all use extra-mural

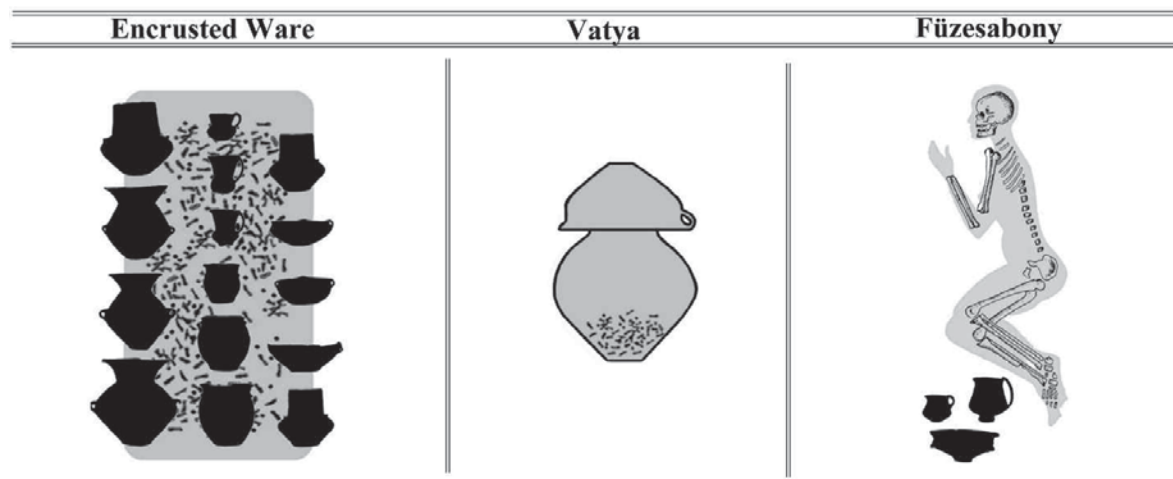


Figure 9. *The relationship between pottery and the material body in Middle Bronze Age graves: Encrusted Ware: scattered bones, large amount of pottery over the grave, body-sized; Vatya: enclosed bones, pottery as container, urns in pits; and Füzesabony: inhumation, sets of pottery annotating parts of the body, body-sized grave pits.*

cemeteries close to the settlements, and they continue to use individual graves. There is no evidence to suggest that either inhumation or cremation was used preferentially for a particular fraction of society.

On another level, there are also discrete variations and regionally specific practices. The inhumation graves of the Füzesabony Culture are similar to many other contemporary Bronze Age traditions in the construction of the graves and the treatment of the body; we can express this by saying that there is not an entirely new 'language' developed, even if there may be a distinct 'dialect'. The reflection on the body during the Füzesabony funerals focuses on its social identity, whereas its corporeal existence is not disputed or altered. The emphasis on social identity does not appear as an explicit central point of the burials of the Encrusted Ware Culture or the Vatya Culture, and the existence of the body appears to be a very real concern. Cremation transforms the body into a substance that requires further attention and assistance. Through burning, the body becomes 'vulnerable', and its transformed form calls for discursive engagement to reach an understanding of the new substance. In the two examples of a cremation tradition we see very different responses to these challenges, but, interestingly, both communities seem to draw upon analogies with their domestic environment and routine practices. These differences may be characterized by seeing the Encrusted Ware Culture as reconstituting the body as a 'two-dimensional' spatial entity that is laid down and spread out. Hence, despite its fragmentation, the cremated body still echoes the familiar form of the presentation of the fleshed body, as exemplified by the Füzesabony Culture. In contrast, the Vatya urn defines new bodily boundaries within a three-dimensional space. This space can be seen as analogous to the domestic pits with their connotation of storing and preserving, returning us to the notion of the 'vulnerable' body.

The way in which bronze ornaments and pottery are differently included in the graves of the three cultures reveals aspects of their relations to the body. Bronze

	Encrusted Ware	Vatya	Füzesabony
Cemetery location	separated from, but in close vicinity to settlements	large and small cemeteries in close vicinity to tells	on elevations next to settlements, separated by small waterways
Cemetery size	20–50, rarely over 100 graves	large cemeteries, some over 1000 graves	large cemeteries, hundreds of graves
Spatial arrangement	none or aligned in loose rows	groups of 9–20 graves or 100–200 graves, in oval arrangements and rows	groups of 15–20, irregular shapes, small ovals, rows
Grave pits	oval and rectangular pits, body size and smaller	round, very snug pits, urn size	oval and rectangular pits, body size
Primary burial practice	scattered cremations	urns	inhumations
Other burial practices	urn burials also common, particularly in northern region	few inhumations	few cremations, number increases with time
Bronzes	metal rare (10% of graves), cremated with the body	metal in 5–20% of graves, both cremated with the body and as grave goods, found in and out of urns	metal frequently present, bodies dressed with ornaments, some other individual bronze goods
Pottery use in graves	large number of vessels (15–25 typical), arranged at the side or on top of cremation, use of fragmented pottery	large vessel used as urn, cover crucial, few additional vessels	sets of bowls, jugs and cups, occasionally other vessels

Figure 10. Summary table of the funerary characteristics of the Encrusted Ware, Vatya, and Füzesabony Cultures.

dress elements might have been closely linked to the body itself and thus unintentionally included in the burial, or alternatively they can be added deliberately to the composition to confirm certain elements of social order, such as gender. Pottery may be selected from the domestic assemblages and added to the grave in response to the ‘needs’ of the deceased, and it may simultaneously form part of the construction of the graves themselves, as in the Encrusted Ware and Vatya Cultures.

Whether the body is cremated or inhumed cannot be explained through reference to the everyday practices of each group; but other aspects, such as the use of materials and the forms of the graves do suggest that meaning and metaphors were interchangeable between the spheres of the living and the dead. It is through these links that regional traditions are formed, continued and, most probably, utilized deliberately to articulate and maintain ‘otherness’. The differences become more diffuse in the course of time, and regional distinction in the tradition of burial rites becomes less pronounced, suggesting, perhaps, the fusing of different ideas about the body.

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NOTES

1. As a part of the Leverhulme project 'Changing beliefs of the Human Body' based at the University of Cambridge.

2. The data used in this article have been collected through scrutiny of sites published in major Hungarian monographs, monograph series and journals, as well as a few unpublished Vatyá cemeteries. Through this, a representative and qualitative insight into cemetery characteristics has been gained.

3. We use the term 'culture' in order to connect with the existing research tradition and literature. We do not use the term to imply cultures in the sense of people, we simply use it to refer to groupings of material assemblages and practices that were used by local communities.

4. Other names of the culture include Pannonian Ceramic or Transdanubian Ceramic. In German it is referred to as 'Kultur der inkrustierten Keramik' and classified as Early Bronze Age.

5. Childe's name for the culture was 'Lovasberény-Vatyá-group' (Childe 1929:278–284), Lovasberény Culture and Vatyá Culture were both common names (Bóna 1975:31), but, as early as 1938, Patay stated that he preferred the name Vatyá, since the cemetery of Lovasberény is too unhomogeneous to clearly describe a group or archaeological culture (Patay 1938).

6. Although in the Slovakian and Romanian research traditions Füzesabony is called Otoman or Ottomány Culture, and encompasses slightly different areas and timeframes, we use the term as it is commonly used within the Hungarian tradition, concentrating mainly on Hungary and southern Slovakia and excluding what Bóna describes as Gyulavarsánd in eastern Hungary and Romania (Bóna 1975:120; Kalicz 1968:181).

7. The cemetery was excavated in 1985.

8. For example, graves 26, 68, 116, 122, 136, 227 (Kemenczei 1979).

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Cambridge. She is an expert on the European Bronze Age with particular interest in the role of material culture in the formation of identity and the use of burial practices in central and Northern Europe. She has published extensively on these topics including the volume *Gender Archaeology* (2000). She is a partner on the Leverhulme sponsored project 'Changing beliefs of the Human Body', being the coordinator of the sub-project on 'Changing Social Practices of Death in Bronze Age Europe'. She is also a partner on the project 'The Emergence of European Societies'.

Address: Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3DZ, UK. [email: mlss@cam.ac.uk]

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury received her PhD from the University of Vienna, Austria, and presently works as archaeologist and researcher in the Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, within the Leverhulme Trust-funded project 'Changing Beliefs of the Human Body: A Comparative Social Perspective'. Her current research focuses on mortuary archaeology, social relations, changing burial rites and images of the human body during the Bronze and Early Iron Age in Europe.

Address: Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3DZ, UK. [email: kr302@cam.ac.uk]

ABSTRACTS

Paysages du corps: sépultures de l'âge du bronze moyen en Hongrie

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen et Katharina Rebay

L'âge du bronze moyen hongrois nous fournit une occasion d'examiner les « paysages du corps » préhistoriques, puisque la perception et l'attitude envers le corps influencent les pratiques funéraires et autres coutumes relatives au corps comme le port de vêtements et l'utilisation de poterie. Nous examinons dans cet article la diversité culturelle représentée par des groupes avoisinants et à peu près contemporains, à savoir les cultures à Céramique Incrustée, de Vatyá et de Füzesabony. Les différences entre ces trois groupes s'expriment entre autres à travers leurs sépultures (crémations éparpillées, sépultures à urne de même que sépultures en position accroupie) et l'usage divers de la culture matérielle. En même temps, et malgré des différences formelles entre les sépultures, l'analyse montre que les crémations ainsi que les inhumations dans cette région ont un nombre de caractéristiques en commun, et que les pratiques de manipulation des corps des défunts sont le moyen primaire d'exprimer les particularités régionales. Simultanément, les pratiques funéraires comme moyen de formuler les conceptions du corps mort, sont également liées à des différences subtiles du mode de vie, des routines journalières et des stratégies de subsistance régionales, puisque les paysages du vivant fournissent métaphores, savoir-faire et compréhension pratique.

Mots clés: corps, âge du bronze, sépultures, crémation, poterie incrustée, Füzesabony, Hongrie, inhumation, Vatyá

Körperlandschaften: Mittelbronzezeitliche Bestattungen in Ungarn

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen und Katharina Rebay

Das mittelbronzezeitliche Ungarn bietet die Möglichkeit, prähistorische "Körperlandschaften" zu untersuchen, da Auffassungen von und Einstellungen zum Körper die Bestattungspraktiken sowie andere Körperpraktiken beeinflussen, etwa das Tragen von Kleidung oder den Gebrauch von Keramik. Dieser Artikel erforscht kulturelle Verschiedenartigkeit, die in den etwa gleichzeitigen und benachbarten Gruppen der Inkrustierten Keramik, Vatyá und Füzesabony Kulturen ausgedrückt wird. Unter anderem wird Verschiedenartigkeit zwischen den Gruppen durch ihre unterschiedlichen Begräbnisriten (Leichenbrandstreuung, Urnenbestattung, Hockerbestattung) artikuliert, sowie durch den unterschiedlichen Gebrauch materieller Kultur. Trotz dieser formalen Unterschiede zeigt die Analyse, dass Brand- und Körperbestattungen eine Reihe von Eigenschaften teilen, und es sind weitere Praktiken, durch die der Körper manipuliert wird, die in erster Linie regionale Unterschiede auszudrücken. Während sie dazu verwendet werden, den toten Körper zu verstehen, sind Bestattungspraktiken gleichzeitig eng in subtile Unterschiede in Lebensstil, täglicher Routine und regionaler Subsistenzwirtschaft eingebunden, da die Landschaften der Lebenden Metaphern, Know-how und praktisches Verständnis bereitstellen.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Bestattung, Brandbestattung, Bronzezeit, Füzesabony, Inkrustierte Keramik, Körper, Körperbestattung, Ungarn, Vatyá

2.6 Rediscovering the body: cremation and inhumation in Early Iron Age Central Europe

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3

Rediscovering the Body

Cremation and Inhumation in Early Iron Age Central Europe

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

INTRODUCTION

The Late Bronze Age Urnfield Period in Central Europe (BA D, Ha A/B, c.1300 to 800 BC) is characterized by the dominance of cremation as a burial rite. The simple appearance of urn burials give an impression of simplicity, but they are the endpoint of a chain of actions and practices that constitute the funerary ritual, many of which may not be simple at all, but include a large number of people and resources. The washing, dressing, and furnishing of the body as it is laid out prior to cremation leave no traces. The funerary pyre, as spectacular as it may have looked, smelled, and felt during the cremation, preserves only under exceptional circumstances. The rituals and feasts associated with selecting the cremated remains from the funerary pyre and placing them in a suitable organic container or a ceramic urn prior to their deposition do not leave much evidence. The large-scale spread of cremation during the Late Bronze Age has traditionally been explained by the movements of peoples (e.g. Kraft 1926; Childe 1950), or a change in religious beliefs (e.g. Alexander 1979). More recently, a change in how the human body is ontologically understood and how it has to be transformed after death is seen as the more likely underlying cause (Harris et al. 2013; Robb and Harris 2013; Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in prep.), although a simple and single reason is rarely the driver of such pan-European developments.

This chapter will be concerned with another transition, the change from cremation back to inhumation, several hundred years later during the early Iron Age, and investigates its background and causes. In Central Europe, cremation is given up as the solitary funerary rite, and a range of different

options, including inhumations in burial mounds, bi-ritual cemeteries, and new forms of cremation graves emerge. This change happens at a different pace in the various areas of the Hallstatt Culture and adjacent areas, which will be surveyed here. Despite doubts about the validity of the term 'Hallstatt Culture' as a cultural entity (e.g. Müller-Scheeßel 2000), it remains a convenient shorthand to the early Iron Age in Central Europe, c.800–450 BC, in eastern France, southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, and parts of northern Italy. The area is characterized by ostentatious funerary display and, through this, visible social stratification. The Hallstatt phenomenon is also defined by the introduction of Mediterranean ideas, ideologies, and technologies which become eagerly adopted and transformed.

A common theme in the Hallstatt area is the rediscovery of the human body as the medium of the message in the grave. Instead of cremating the dead, people began to structure funerary rituals around the body laid out in the grave. Grave architecture and grave goods referenced this corporeal body, and adjusted to its properties, needs and desires. Rather than focusing on the body's transformation, the burial ritual centres on display on the human body. Status expression, visible both in quantity and quality of grave goods and the effort expended in building funerary monuments, becomes increasingly important at the same time. Whether a change of treatment of the body follows a change of beliefs, or, in turn, changing practices of handling a dead body change how the body is understood, remains open to debate.

Changes in contemporaneous iconography accompany the changes in the mortuary domain. The specific and restrictive iconography of the Late Bronze Age, in which the sun took centre-stages and speaks of a widely shared cosmology and perhaps religious ideology, gives way to an iconography that incorporates human images.

Elements of the funerary rituals, such as the body lying on its side prior to cremation, processions of people and chariots to the cemetery, and emotional responses from the mourners began to be captured in some detail on Greek vases of the Geometric Period (c.900–700 BC) (Boardman 1998). In Central Europe, human images are increasingly included in the decorative repertoire at about the same time as inhumations reappear in the early Iron Age. Both factors together might indicate a change in beliefs and conceptualization of humans and gods, with an increase in the importance of the human form and its materiality.

For several centuries, however, inhumation and cremation are practised side by side. Situla art (Kromer 1962; Kastelic 1964; Frey 2005) frequently depicts processions, feasts, and sport competitions related to funerary events. The situla from Bologna-Certosa, dated early in the fifth century BC (Fig. 3.1), shows three women carrying a pile of wood, a basket, and a bronze bucket (cist) on their heads (Kastelic 1964: pl. 12): equipment for cremating the body, selecting and depositing the cremated bones. Cremation at that time may be

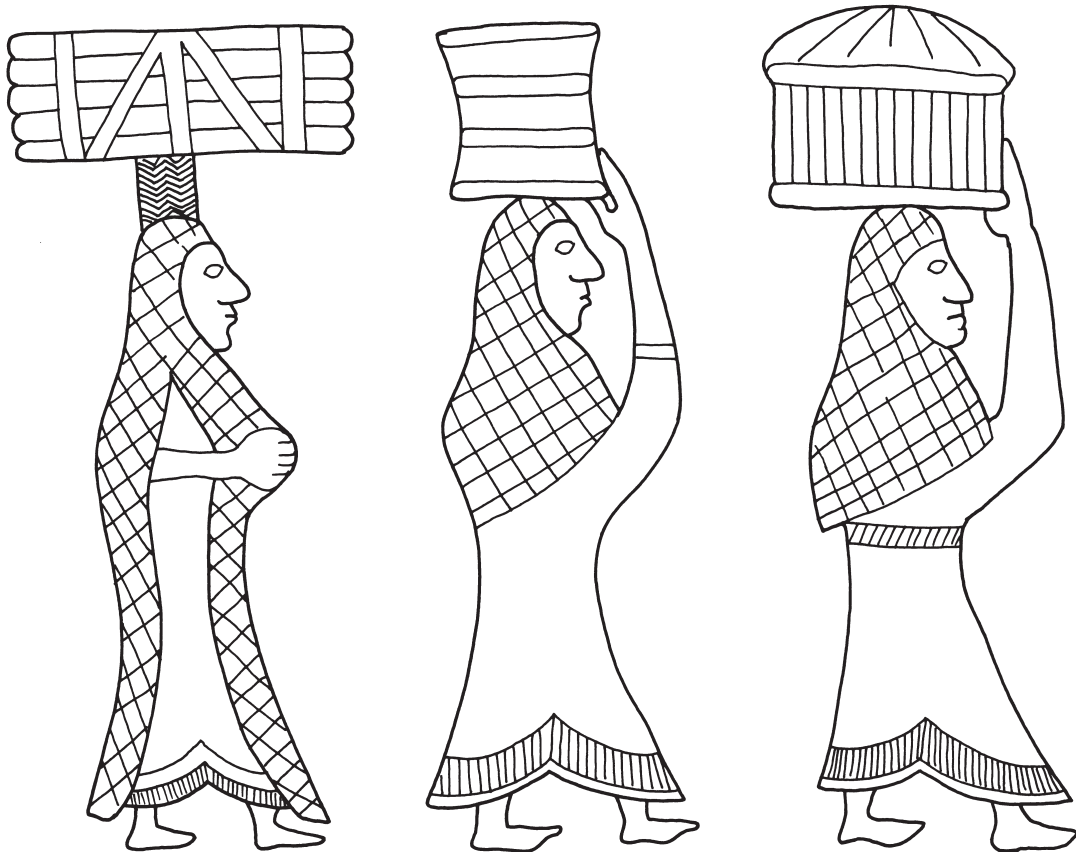


Fig. 3.1 Cremation necessities on the Situla Bologna-Certosa (drawn by Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, after Kastelic (1964: Pl. 12))

seen as the more ancient rite, valued for its traditional connotation in northern Italy and may therefore be selected for depiction. But what are the reasons for selecting inhumation or cremation in practice? Are there significant correlations with age, gender, status, and over time?

THE CEMETERY OF HALLSTATT

To answer this question, we need to turn to communities that both bury and cremate their dead in the same place. The cemetery of Hallstatt, Austria, was one of the first 'bi-ritual' Iron Age cemeteries to become widely known, not only because the finds were plentiful and rich, but also because the documentation of the excavations was exceptional and publication was fast (e.g. Gaisberger 1848; von Sacken 1868). It became the type-site for the early Iron Age in Central Europe following the 1874 congress in Stockholm (Weiss 1999: 9). The excavator Johann Georg Ramsauer kept a detailed protocol of the excavations using a clear and consistent terminology. Already

from 1846, he differentiated between inhumations and cremations ('Skelette, Leichenbraende' [*sic*]) in his list of 'opened graves'. Human and animal remains were not treated as finds in the antiquarian excavations and therefore not normally recovered. The Ramsauer graves, numbering about 900, were published in 1959 (Kromer 1959) and statistically analyzed in the 1980s (Hodson 1990). The record included illustrations of about a third of the graves, particularly the very large and rich cremations and inhumations in peculiar positions (Hodson 1990: 5; Kern et al. 2008: 117). The illustrations include partial cremations, in which part of the body seems inhumed and another part cremated, but they constitute intercutting graves with separate grave goods (which were numbered accordingly at the time of excavation). Further antiquarian excavations followed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, often with less detailed documentation. The Natural History Museum in Vienna resumed excavations in 1993, and over a hundred burials have been opened since, bringing the count of graves to about 1500. Many observations confirmed patterns of earlier excavations, but some details differ: pottery, for instance, is much more plentiful than previously thought and Ramsauer's 'clay coffins' have yet to be confirmed.

Inhumations and cremations are represented almost equally in Hallstatt (53 per cent inhumation, 47 per cent cremation) (Hodson 1990: 76; Kern et al. 2008: 136). Bodies are usually inhumed on their backs, with the head in the west looking towards the east (or, topographically speaking, from the high valley to the lake). Cremations are normally deposited in a small heap, with dress elements placed on top of the cremated body and other grave goods arranged around the cremation; they come in different sizes and levels of equipment. Very few individuals were deposited in urns, in which case the graves are inconspicuous and consist only of the urn and body (Kern et al.: 129–30).

What is behind the different ritual practices at Hallstatt? Why are some people inhumed, whilst others are cremated? Early explanations linked to ethnicity. Eduard von Sacken proposed a mixed population of Etruscans and Celts to account for the difference between cremations and inhumations (von Sacken 1868: 146), but the associated finds cannot be linked to ethnic groups and thus do not support this theory. Another aspect of identity—gender—may lie at the heart of the matter. According to the data published in Hodson's analysis (1990: 76, table 12; 78, fig. 18), male graves are more likely to be cremations: the ratio of cremations to inhumation is 56:44 for male graves, and 45:55 for female graves. However, of the 926 graves, 478 graves could be classified as females, but only 294 as males, an imbalance which could easily account for the difference.

Paul Reinecke (1900: 44) understood the difference in terms of a transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age, a transition from cremation to inhumation, with the community of Hallstatt reflecting an intermediate position. Both inhumations and cremation graves, however, are chronologically

spread over the whole duration of the cemetery. From Hodson's data, a link to chronology is hard to establish. Some 290 graves belong to the early cemetery phase (Ha C, 800–600 BC), 170 to the later phase (Ha D, 600 to 475/450 BC), with 466 that could only be dated to the Hallstatt period more generally. In Ha C, 166 cremations can be juxtaposed with 124 inhumations, in Ha D 96 cremations with 74 inhumations. This means that the ratio of cremation to inhumation of the datable graves remains almost unchanged (57:43 and 56:44) as the Iron Age progressed over the postulated 300–350 years of the cemetery's use.

A further explanation links wealth and status to the cremation rite: 70 per cent of metal vessels, for instance, stem from cremation graves (Urban 2000: 238). Whether burning a body really is an elite rite that requires more effort than inhumating the body (as Kern et al. 2008: 129 suggest) remains doubtful. Estimating the 'cost' of a mortuary rite needs to take both the material value of materials used and the time and effort expended into account (McKinley 2006). The value of wood depends on availability and ease of access. Wood was clearly intensively managed in Hallstatt, as it was a major requirement for the salt mining industry; however, the actual value of wood remains difficult to assess. How much wood was used per cremation varies widely according to the type of pyre. Ethnographic studies from nineteenth-century Japan have shown that with the right pyre construction technique, as little as 45–75 kg wood may be sufficient (Wahl and Wahl 1983: 518). Much more wood was required to build burial chambers, which were used for both cremations and inhumations in Hallstatt.

Nevertheless, a link to social status differences is the most credible. In Hodson's analysis, over half of all male inhumations are buried with only one functional artefact class, whilst the majority of cremation graves have two or more; females tend to be associated with slightly more artefact classes in general due to their more elaborate dress, but the pattern is repeated. If we take the number of functional artefact classes as a status indicator, cremations are indeed linked to higher status in Hallstatt. The effect may even be amplified if we take into account that artefacts directly associated with the body and placed on the pyre may have been destroyed during cremation, and would not be accounted for in the analysis.

The cemetery of Hallstatt is, of course, not representative of the average Hallstatt community. Located in a high valley that is difficult to access, it is intrinsically linked to salt mining activities, for which a seasonal rhythm is presumed (Kern et al. 2008: 59). The climate in the mines is more stable in winter, whereas subsistence and craft activities requiring daylight would be optimally carried out in the summer. If we assume that people die on a fairly regular basis independent of the seasons,¹ perhaps we can link cremations and

¹ The link between demographic events—births and deaths—and seasons depends on a wide range of factors including environmental conditions and the yearly cultural cycle. Food shortages, for example, hit hardest when stocks are running out in late winter and early spring. Cold

inhumations to seasonality. This link could work on a practical as well as ideological level, but at present, there is no pollen data available from the graves to establish a firm link to seasonality. In Alpine areas in winter, the frozen ground makes digging graves difficult, which is why in historical times the dead were often stored on wooden biers in a shed until the spring (Hartinger 1982). Cremated individuals are easier to store and transport. The light and warmth of the funerary pyre may be employed in the burial ritual to counteract the effects of the dark and cold season.

THE WESTERN HALLSTATT PROVINCES

In the western Hallstatt provinces (southern Germany: Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria, adjacent parts of north-eastern France, Switzerland, the western parts of the Czech Republic, and Austria), the transition from cremation to inhumation has traditionally been seen as a marker for the transition from the early to the late Hallstatt period (Ha C to D, c.620 BC), or even in terms of a 'Celtic revolution' (Zürn 1987: 25–7). Of course it is not as simple as that, and on closer examination, regional, chronological, and patterns related to status emerge. Overall, depositing the body in burial mounds that cluster in groups of about ten to forty and rarely over a hundred can be seen as the norm (Spindler 1983: 92). Although frequently more than one grave is built into a mound, there have been suspicions that such an elaborate burial ritual cannot possibly encompass all segments of Hallstatt society and represent the entire population. Recent calculations of population density in southern Germany (Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg), however, in combination with assessing the vast numbers of burial mounds in the region, have shown that, at least numerically, it is possible that everybody was buried in a formal way (Müller-Scheeßel 2007). In the western Hallstatt provinces, there are more graves dating to Ha D than C, and in the early period, women and children seem to be underrepresented (*ibid.*: 8). This deficit might be accounted for by 'small cremation graves', inauspicious, small pits with scattered cremations or urns, but few if any grave goods. They are difficult to date, most can only be assigned to the Hallstatt period in general, but there are examples of graves dating to both Ha C and Ha D. In antiquarian excavations small cremation graves have often been overlooked, as they are

air temperatures allow bacteria to survive longer, weakening defences against respiratory infections. Viral infections may be more prevalent in certain seasons: influenza, for instance, strikes between October and May, peaking in February; malaria finds best conditions in mid-summer heat and humidity. Mortality in childbirth often follows marriage (with the first birth generally the most dangerous to women), which in many cultures is a seasonal feast. In the absence of concrete models of seasonal variations of mortality for the Hallstatt culture, I assume an even distribution of deaths throughout the year.

frequently located in the vicinity of and between burial mounds (Fries 2007). In some areas, anthropological investigations of the cremated remains have demonstrated a high count of sub-adults, but these tendencies cannot be extrapolated over the whole of the area (*ibid.*: 25).

Early Hallstatt bodies are typically cremated in their dress, and metal dress elements are picked out along with the cremated bones and deposited in a ceramic urn, an organic container, or scattered in the grave pit. The pyre remains are often also placed in the grave along with large sets of unburned vessels. In this, cremation graves continue Urnfield traditions with new pottery types (Kurz 1997: 122–3; Spindler 1983: 187). Hallstatt cremation graves tend to include few metal grave goods; the Hallstatt long sword, however, is an exception. Whilst Late Bronze Age swords (Ha B3) are often deposited in rivers and bogs, they become included in some graves from the early Hallstatt period (Kurz 1997: 129). The graves of sword-bearers, unquestionably a kind of elite, but possibly a distinct social group, lead the transition from cremation to inhumation, which becomes increasingly common in the course of the Hallstatt period. Particularly the elite takes up the new rite quickly, whilst for some time yet, cremation remains the norm for average graves before everybody ‘converts’ to inhumation (Spindler 1983: 186). Late Hallstatt burials are typically inhumations under large burial mounds, with few or no ceramic vessels, but ample metal grave goods, which include dress fittings and jewellery as well as daggers and spearheads (Stöllner 2012: 551).

The earliest instances of a transition to inhumation can be observed west of the Rhine, in eastern France, and on the western Swiss plateau, where inhumation had been practiced since the Late Bronze Age (Wamser 1975). In fact, inhumation is not the only one of the factors contributing to a ‘Hallstattization’ from the west; several elements such as the use of iron and wagons in graves are also first traceable in the western parts of the west Hallstatt zone (Trachsel 2004: 328).² Early inhumations in Germany cluster in the upper Rhine valley around Breisach and Colmar, in the Hegau and in the Middle Alb (Stöllner 2012: 558, fig. 4), but early inhumations are also known from Großebstadt and the Bylany area in the Czech Republic (Müller-Scheeßel 2013: 186). Other areas like Bavaria (Kossack 1959), Bavarian Swabia (Dietrich 1998), the upper Rhine (Aufdermauer 1963) and the upper Neckar valley (Reim 1990) do not show a consistent transition. Siegfried Kurz concludes that the burial rite is not useful for dating at all (Kurz 1997: 119).

Inhumations in the western regions are associated with separate burial mounds, disconnecting the sword-bearers from the rest of the community

² There are, of course, influences from the east that contribute to the cultural change at the transition to the Iron Age, notably contacts with nomadic tribes of the steppes (e.g. Kromer 1986).

and underlining their striving for exclusivity. Secondary burials are uncommon or a later phenomenon in the Swiss plateau, northern Wurttemberg and Burgundy (Stöllner 2012: 559), in contrast to most of the western Hallstatt provinces where they are common both in Ha C and D. In the context of large burial mounds with multiple secondary burials like Magdaleneberg near Villingen (Spindler 1976a) or Kappel (Dehn et al. 2005), this has been interpreted as a change in social organization from family units to tribes (Stöllner 2012: 559). The short temporal span in which secondary burials are normally interred at least points to a larger burying community, perhaps in the low hundreds.

The Magdalenenberg (Spindler 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976b, 1977, and 1980) is one of the largest and best known Hallstatt burial mounds in Germany. The central wooden chamber, dendrochronologically dated at 616 BC, early in Ha D (Trachsel 2004: 149) had been robbed, so research focussed on the excavation, analysis and interpretation of the 128 secondary burials. The secondary burials can be dated between 616 and 575 BC (Trachsel 2004: 150), a quite narrow chronological margin covering two, perhaps three generations; the burials have further been divided both chronologically (Parzinger 1986) and socially (Teržan 1992). The burial mound can be understood as a bi-ritual cemetery, as it includes both cremations and inhumations, although the latter are much more common. The graves 14, 22, 28, and 40 were single cremation graves covered by stone packing. The remains were deposited in a grave-pit in what must have been an organic container with few grave goods (one grave contained an iron belt buckle and ring with traces of the funerary fire, one grave contained a miniature vessel, one a large vessel with conical neck, and another grave fragments of a large vessel). Anthropological analysis confirmed one male individual and suggests two further male individuals; one did not have any diagnostic criteria preserved. All were adults between 20 and 60 years of age (Kühl 1977). According to Johannes Müller's status categorization (1994), the cremations fall in status groups 3 and 4, the lowest social ranks, although in this analysis, taphonomic processes such as artefact destruction and loss during cremation have not been taken into account.

Other cremations were discovered in the context of inhumation graves. The bi-ritual grave 56 (Fig. 3.2) contained a female inhumation with an elaborate set of jewellery and dress elements of amber, bone, lignite and bronze, including pins for a veil, arm and leg rings; on the left side of her body, between the forearm and the hip, a cremation was placed in a birch bark container with a bronze pin, a small bronze ring and bronze belt fittings (Spindler 1973: 19). The individual was a child around 14 years of age (Kühl 1977: 126) and unknown sex. The fact that the inhumed woman was between 20 and 40 years old at death makes it just about possible that she was buried with her own child. The way the cremated remains were placed, on the left side of the upper body next to the arm and hip, shows an intimate, perhaps

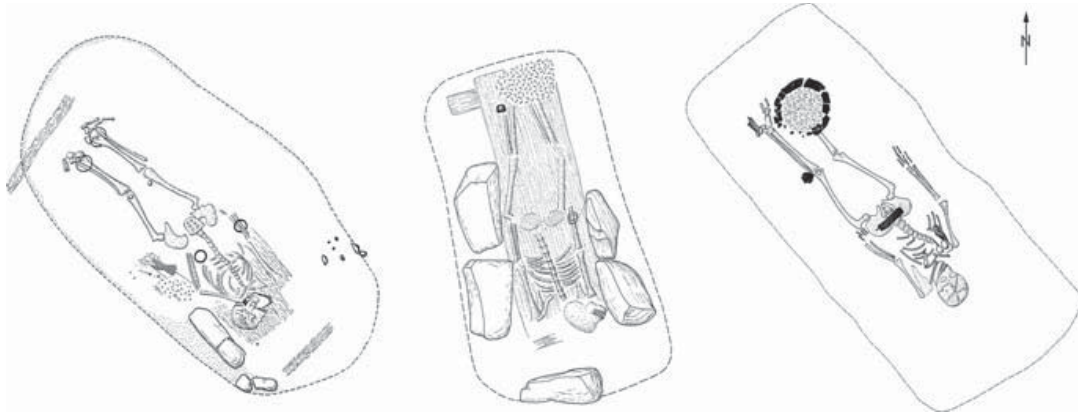


Fig. 3.2 Bi-ritual graves 56, 75, and 106 from Magdalenenberg near Villingen, expressing different relationships between the inhumed and cremated body (the location of the cremated remains is indicated by hatching, after Spindler (1973: Pl. 2 and Pl. 37, 1976a: Pl. 42))

protective relationship. This is different in the other bi-ritual graves, in which cremations were placed near the feet of the inhumed persons. Grave 75 (Fig. 3.2), the inhumation of a male individual, was buried with a miniature vessel and an organic, rectangular container at his feet that contained the remains of two cremated individuals, a woman of about 30 years of age and a 10- to 11-year-old child (Kühl 1977: 126–31). Grave 106 (Fig. 3.2), another male inhumation, had the urn of a child less than 7 years at his feet. In both these cases, the difference in grave equipment and the placing of the cremation suggests the expression of a subordinate role of the cremated individuals in the grave.

The bi-ritual graves are clearly double burials with both bodies deposited at the same time. Bi-ritual double or multiple burials are rare in the context of the western Hallstatt provinces, and, although not all of them can be dated reliably, they certainly mark a transitional period. Over time, they seem to increase in frequency (Müller-Scheeßel 2013). Claus Oeftiger compiled 17 in total for the area: four date to the later phase of the early Hallstatt period (Ha C2), nine to the early phase of the late (Ha D1), but none to the very late Hallstatt period (Ha D2 or 3, Oeftiger 1984: 72–73). Hermann Parzinger suggests dating graves 56 and 106 late in the sequence of burials at the Magdalenenberg (Ha D1/D2, Parzinger 1986: 400, supplement 4).

The way the inhumation graves of the Magdalenenberg are furnished and equipped is largely bound to age and sex of the buried individuals, except perhaps for the lowest status group (Müller 1994: 210–13). Overall, there is a reduced importance of ceramic vessels that is generally typical for the later Hallstatt period. Male burials tend to show a greater effort put into the grave construction, and grave goods gradually increase with the age-at-death of the interred individual. Weapons are included in graves of men that reached adult

age, but daggers tend to be reserved for mature males, which constitute the wealthiest group of graves at the Magdalenenberg. Women, in contrast, receive large number of dress elements and jewellery at the onset of adulthood, possible in relation to marriage or becoming a mother (cf. Burmeister 2000: for a full analysis of gender and age related patterns of objects in west Hallstatt graves).

The placing of the inhumation graves within the Magdalenenberg is perpendicular to the radius of the mound, and most inhumations are oriented with their head towards east-south-east (Jung 2003). The buried community is naturally divided in two parts, by timber alignments roughly dividing the mound at a north-west/south-east axis (Meyer-Orlac 1983: 13, fig. 1). An overall survey of skeletal orientation in southern Germany (Müller-Scheeßel 2005b) has revealed that inhumations are generally oriented roughly towards the south, but with many variations, which may be correlated to the changing stellar constellations during the course of the Hallstatt period. South of the Danube in Austria, however, the general orientation changes towards west-east axis (Müller-Scheeßel 2013: 180). More important than cosmic factors for the orientation of the bodies is, however, consistency within a cemetery and thus retaining established traditions.

Excavations of the central chamber of the spectacular Hochdorf mound (e.g. Biel 1981, 1985; Eggert 1999; Krauß 1999), protected from grave robbing by a double timber-built burial chamber with stone packing, allows insights into how grave goods were spatially and temporally layered on and around the physical human body (Olivier 1999: 113–14). The taller-than-average male individual of about 40 years of age was placed on a bronze couch on a badger fur, on a pillow stuffed with herbs. Personal possessions worn directly on the body include a cloth garment, a gold torque and an amber necklace, a gold belt, two gold fibulae, a sheet-gold bracelet on the right arm, a gold belt and dagger, which had been covered with sheet gold for the funeral (Biel 1985: 51; Hansen 2010). Shoes with sheet-gold decoration were placed on the feet, albeit in the wrong way: the left shoe was on the right foot and vice versa (Veit 1988). The deceased also wore a birch hat. Further items in contact with the body include a bag of toilet items with nail clipper, a small knife, three fish hooks, and some fishing-line, which was placed on the chest of the dead body; a razor and comb lay near the birch hat. Grave goods associated with the body on the couch are a quiver with arrows placed the wrong way (the feather-ends were within the quiver) a large iron drinking horn hung behind the head of the deceased, and perhaps the small sheet gold drinking cup placed at the feet, on the bronze cauldron (Krauß 1996; Olivier 1999: 114; Bieg 2002).

A complex sequence of actions that had taken place after the death of the ‘prince’ included many elements of transformation, including the gold covering of several objects, the prepping of the body and the wrapping in textiles (Banck-Burgess 1999). These transformations might be likened to the transformation of the body through cremation, and might have replaced this

element of the funerary ritual as inhumation became more prevalent again. Inhuming the body, however, enabled the manipulation and display of a range of objects, which gained and confirmed their meaning through the choreographing presence of the dead body.

It is easy to forget that the Hochdorf burial mound included secondary graves in the mantle of the burial mound, some of which were built during the construction of the mound and built into its structure, whilst others were added after the mound was sealed. Grave 4 was a bi-ritual burial, included a male inhumation with two snake fibulae, a bronze belt and an iron knife. The cremation was placed at the head end of the inhumation grave. It appears that it was placed in the corner of the burial chamber rather than next to the head of the inhumation (Biel 1985: 40, Fig. 30), suggesting a secondary deposition within the grave. Many more graves were probably placed as secondary depositions in the mantle of the burial mound and were destroyed due to agricultural activities.

Further east, the cemetery of Schirndorf in Bavaria (Stroh 1979, 1988, 2000a, 2000b; Hughes 1999, 2001) is another one of the few almost fully excavated cemeteries of the Hallstatt period in southern Germany that include both inhumations and cremations. It spans the whole duration of the Hallstatt period and includes over a hundred burial mounds and about 300 individuals (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). The burial mounds include wooden chambers of up to 9 m square in dimension, stone covers and stone linings. The graves are densely packed and the sequence of burials is very complex, much less straight-forward than at the Magdalensberg. Multiple secondary burials and extensions make a reconstruction of the burial sequence challenging.

The oldest burials are often male cremations with large sets of ceramic vessels, but inhumations soon become equally common; cremation and inhumation are practiced side by side (*ibid.*: 346). 'Small cremation graves' occur at the periphery of the mounds; they are often women and children with few if any grave goods (*ibid.*: 342, 345). Secondary burials are both cremations and inhumations. The wooden chamber of mound 33, for instance, includes an inhumation along the west wall and clusters of cremated remains in the north and east of the chamber; cremated remains of two individuals were found over the hand of the inhumed individual (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: fig. 5). The primary inhumation was almost certainly an adult male, but bones of a juvenile individual were found in the chamber as well. The cremated individuals could be anthropologically classified as an adult, perhaps female, and a juvenile; it remained unclear, however, if the deposition of the cremated bones of two individuals were one or two separate events (Hughes 1999: 395–7).

Secondary burials may be interred into the same chambers, if they were still intact, older individuals may be pushed aside and older grave goods smashed in the process. Other secondary burials are new constructions on top of older monuments. Nils Müller-Scheeßel (2005a) observed a trend during the course of the Hallstatt period, towards less effort in grave construction and equipping

buried individuals with objects, but at the same time, a trend towards greater equality: more people of all age groups and genders are included in the community the cemetery represents.

In summary, inhumation in the west Hallstatt provinces was first chosen as a marker of exclusivity. The materiality and dimension of the dead body are suitable to choreograph the deposition of objects or such as swords, wagon parts, and other high status objects spatially (cf. Stegmaier 2008). Rather than ending the display with the spectacle of the funerary pyre, the body's presence is continued in the grave, where personal objects remain directly related. The transformation of the body into another substance gives way to the continued display of status arranged around the body, but the transformative element of the funerary ritual might be shifted to other practices such as wrapping. Funerary vessels, which were traditionally added after the cremation, lost their importance. This transition, geographically traceable from west to east, is led by weapon-bearing male individuals and soon emulated by all segments of society. Expressing status in early Iron Age societies seems to have been done by the elite through innovation, by generating new semantic codes for social communication, of which inhumation seems to have been one (Burmeister 1999: 254). We might be able to observe cycles of elite fashion, imitation by commoners, and reactions to these by further differentiation, including via noble understatement; such cyclical change in display ostentation has been observed in many cultures (Cannon 1989), including Athenian elite burials of the fifth and fourth century BC (Morris 1987). At the end of this development, in the late Hallstatt period (Ha D3), the elite includes more women, and the male elite are no longer buried with weapons but choose different ways to mark exclusivity (Dehn et al. 2005: 235, fig. 152, fig. 53).

THE EASTERN HALLSTATT PROVINCES

The eastern Hallstatt provinces are a cluster of groups that differ in many aspects, including subsistence base, use of material culture and burial practices (Müller-Scheeßel 2000). The north-eastern Kalenderberg Group (spread over parts of eastern Austria, Slovakia and western Hungary) is a group of small scale farmers with little access to raw materials; in comparison to other areas it appears poor and culturally conservative. The burial practices are deeply rooted in Urnfield Culture, and cremation is predominant throughout the early Iron Age. The area is not, however, cut off from the broader Hallstatt trends: grave structures become more and more elaborate until about 600 BC, when monumental burial mounds are built. Grave goods become more personalized and plentiful, including very large sets of ceramics, although metal grave goods remain rare. The rate of inhumations remains at a very low level

but increases during the early Iron Age, until, at the transition to the late Iron Age around 450 BC it becomes dominant.

Inhumations are generally more common in the western part of the Kalenderberg Group, where influences from and contacts with the western Hallstatt provinces are plentiful. At the cemetery of Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006), for example, of the 373 graves in total were 38 inhumations, roughly 10 per cent. There is little consistency in the way they were buried; fourteen were oriented east–west (unlike in the western provinces, where south–north is most common), but orientations in all other cardinal directions do also occur. Most lay on their backs, but some on their sides. There is little anthropological data available to investigate gender or age-led trends, but a comparison of the social index value to the burial type showed that both amongst the burials without any grave goods and amongst the burials with high status values are a higher percentage of inhumations than expected. The rich graves are almost exclusively females with elaborate stone grave structures and sets of pottery as well as dress elements that suggest a connection to the west. It is possible that these were women from further up the Danube that were integrated in the community at Statzendorf; after death, they ended up treated according to their native customs.

At first, inhumations seem generally more common for women and children (Kaus 1973: 335; Nebelsick 1997: 33), evidenced in the cemeteries of Grafenwörth and Inzersdorf a.d. Traisen, both Austria. Infants and children are commonly deposited as secondary burials on top of a cremation. At Süttő, Hungary, for example, excavations of a monumental mound revealed a very complex burial sequence built on top of a pyre site with the remains of multiple cremated people. A stone chamber with *dromos* was covered by a roof construction, and on top of the roof, the body of a child was deposited in north–west–south–east orientation. Along with the skeleton of the child, parts of cattle, pig, sheep and dog were found, along with three pairs of horse bits (Patek 1993: 124–7; Vadász 1983). The context has led researchers to believe that the child might have been sacrificed (e.g. Egg 1996: 65), but it might as well have been a secondary burial. Male inhumations, on the other hand, are almost always dated to the Hallstatt/La Tène transition, such as at the cemetery of Sopron-Krautacker, Hungary (Jerem 1987).

Interestingly, inhumations are not only a result from influences in the west, but also from the east. Grave 2 from Retz, Austria (Teržan 1998: 515), for example, is a south–east/north–west oriented inhumation found crouched on the right side. Of the finds associated with the skeleton, horse gear, and axe are of Scythian types, whilst the pottery points to the Lusatian area in the north. The grave dates to Ha C2 (c.660 to 620 BC), the advanced early Iron Age. Looking over the boundaries of the eastern Hallstatt provinces towards the east, we find several groups inhabiting the landscapes of the Hungarian Plain with its swamps and steppes and connected mountainous and wooded areas

further north and east. This area affords different subsistence practices such as herding and animal breeding, and supports a nomadic or transient lifestyle with an emphasis on horse breeding and fighting on horseback (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 483–93). The Upper Tisza group, the Alföld group and the Transylvanian group (Kromer 1986; Teržan 1998) differ in terms of their burial rite and the primary equipment of the male graves. The Upper Tisza group cremated their dead. A typical set of weapons includes an axe plus one or two spearheads, sometimes a dagger and a bow and arrow as well as horse gear. The Alföld group used both cremation and inhumation in their burial rites, and included bow and arrows, sometimes an axe and one or two lances. The cemetery of Chotín, Slovakia, includes 121 cremations and 247 inhumations, one grave that includes both an inhumation and a cremation, one inhumation with a horse, and eight individual horse burials. M. Dušek mentions that five inhumations had traces of fire above the skeleton and one in the pit, which caused the skeleton to char (138A; Dušek 1966: 10). This might suggest a merging of cremation and inhumation on a practical as well as conceptual level. The bi-ritual nature of the cemeteries of the Alföld group is most often explained through ethnic considerations. Cremations are considered to be the local, older rite, whilst inhumation is seen as the rite of the Scythian immigrants (e.g. Kemenczei 2003: 180).

A definitely eastern concept is the common occurrence of individual horse burials (not to be confused with wagon burials and burials with horse gear).³ The cemetery of Szentez-Vekerzug, Hungary, includes 14 horse burials amongst the 151 graves (Párducz 1953: fig. 1; Kemenczei 2003). Many are located in a separate section at the southern fringe of the cemetery, perhaps suggesting that they have been assigned some sort of personhood, but are not quite categorized the same way as people. Horses play an important role in the elaborate Kurgan burials of the core of the Scythian area north of the Krim, as the funerary rite of kings required a forty-day wagon journey through his territory (*Herodotus* IV 71, 73): remnants of this practice can be seen archaeologically in the many horses sacrificed in connection with high status burials (Rolle 1978). There is, however, no trace of cremation in the area. It is therefore quite surprising that a recently excavated burial mound (or kurgan) at Jalžabet, Croatia, dating to the first half of the sixth century contained not only a cremation and the remains of Scythian horse gear, arrow heads and armour, but also the remains of cremated horses (Šimek 1998). This can only be explained through contacts with the Hallstatt neighbours in the west. Another interesting mixture of eastern and western elements in the burial ritual is apparent from the findings of Gemeinlebarn Tumulus 1, Austria. A male cremation was buried with a classic Hallstatt C

³ In the western Hallstatt provinces, only one grave with two buried horses is known from Unterfahlheim, Bavaria (Ambs 1998).

Mindelheim sword (Torbrügge 1992: 469), the typical warrior equipment of the western Hallstatt province. The place of cremation was directly outside the burial chamber, and excavations revealed that the body was almost certainly cremated with a wagon. Wagon burials are not uncommon, in fact typical for west Hallstatt graves, but they are not cremated, and they do not include the horses. At Gemeinlebarn, however, a horse was inhumed next to the burial chamber (Neugebauer 1997: 166).

Contacts between the Hallstatt area and groups further east were perhaps not always the most peaceful. Earlier research has imagined two waves of large-scale invasion triggering major social changes in the eighth and sixth century BC, the ‘Thrace-Cimmerian’ and ‘Scythian’ invasion (Kromer 1986), but it is perhaps more fruitful to picture small-scale warfare and raids as well as political alliances with winners and losers. Smolenice-Molpír, Slovakia, for example (Dušek and Dušek 1984) was almost certainly amongst the settlements that were destroyed by Scythian warriors around 600 BC and discontinued; the cemetery of Chotín (Dušek 1966) with definite Scythian traits was founded around that time in direct vicinity. Many other settlements in the north-east were discontinued at the time, and some even speak of a ‘collapse of the east Hallstatt culture’ (Teržan 1998). Other areas, such as Carniola, Slovenia, might have indirectly profited from contacts to the east; here too, some destruction layers are found in the settlements, but they are continued afterwards and Scythian material culture and practices become more readily absorbed.

South of the Kalenderberg group, in Alpine areas and at the eastern edge of the Alps, Hallstatt communities practice cremation almost exclusively (few inhumations appear at the end of the Hallstatt period, for instance at Rifnik, cf. Teržan 1990: 56). Scattered cremations, cinerary urns and the pyre sites as such constituted graves; at Frög, for instance, at a ratio of 57:37:6 per cent (Tomedi 2002: 101). Princely burials follow a slightly different chronological trajectory than the ones in the western Hallstatt provinces (Egg 1996). They connect more closely to the Urnfield period and start at the beginning of Ha C; they peak in Ha D1 but cease shortly thereafter. Princely burials often include the remains of more than one individual, and furthermore, cremated animal bones; pyre remains are frequently found under or in immediate vicinity of the grave constructions. The Kröllkogel at Kleinklein, Austria, for example, situated in a cemetery encompassing several hundred burial mounds, contained a stone chamber measuring eight by eight meters plus a twelve meter long *dromos* (Egg and Kramer 2005: 9). The chamber contained the cremated remains of at least three individuals, whilst cremated animal bones were scattered both in the chamber and the *dromos*. The sword and arrowheads, an impressive set of weaponry as well as feasting and drinking equipment in bronze and ceramic was arranged along the chamber walls. Noteworthy are bronze body armour and two (left) hand masks and a face mask. At least three horses as well as remains from cattle, pig and sheep/goat could be identified

amongst the burnt animal bones. The temperature the animals were exposed to was slightly lower than for the human bodies; Egg and Kramer therefore reconstruct a funerary pyre in which the human bodies were placed on top, whilst the animal corpses were stacked at the sides (*ibid.*: 10). The offering of burnt animals is, of course, a common theme in the eastern Alps and in the Bavarian foothills, and is documented from Alpine sanctuaries (e.g. Krämer 1966; Lang 2006; Steiner 2010).

A notable exception to the use of cremation for burial in the eastern Hallstatt provinces is the Carniola group in Slovenia, for which inhumations are the norm (Urban 2000: 234). Large burial mounds are built in the vicinity of major hilltop settlements. They are not necessarily constructed for the primary grave of an individual, but for communities or family clans numbering into the hundreds. If a central burial is present in these mounds, it does not differ from the others that are arranged radial in the mound's mantle (Egg 1996: 58). The cemetery of Kapiteljska njiva (Fig. 3.3), Novo Mesto, Slovenia, for instance, consists of ten mounds. At least in part, it was erected over a Late Bronze Age cremation cemetery dating to around 800–700 BC (Ljubljana IIa and b, equivalent to Ha B3/C1, Križ 1997b: 23). Inhumation graves frequently cut the older cremations and metal finds, so broken pieces of large cinerary urns as well as cremated remains end up in the fill of inhumation graves. A direct continuation of the Late Bronze Age cemetery other than the same use of space is therefore doubtful. The early Iron Age occupation, however, starts around 650 BC (Podzemelj II, equivalent to the end of Ha C1) which does not leave a large chronological gap. Hiatus or not, the dramatic change of burial practices in this spot marks a clear departure from old traditions. Barrow A and B were excavated in the nineteenth century and exact counts of graves are not available, they are estimate to contain between twenty and forty inhumations. Barrow 1 revealed a central grave with stone packing, which was robbed but contained a horse head and an iron horse bit, and forty-four inhumations. Barrow 2, in contrast, had a central area with several graves, but no clear central grave; it contained thirty-five inhumations in total. Barrow 3 to 8 contained fifty-six, three, seventy-four, forty-five, forty-two, and twelve inhumations, without there being a central grave at all. The mounds of Kapiteljska njiva suffer from extensive damage due to antiquarian excavations, erosion, ploughing, and trenches of the Second World War running through the field; furthermore, the acidic soil is detrimental to the bone preservation and leaves many inhumation graves void of any traces of the body. From what can be inferred, all bodies were laid out stretched on their backs, in coffins or wooden containers. Grave goods were placed with the body or, in some cases, on top of the coffin (Križ 1997a: 36). The burial mounds were in use between the mid-seventh or mid-sixth century to the mid-fourth century BC. Although a large number were robbed, some exceptional finds such as a bronze situla, a sheet bronze belt with figurative decoration, and large numbers of amber and

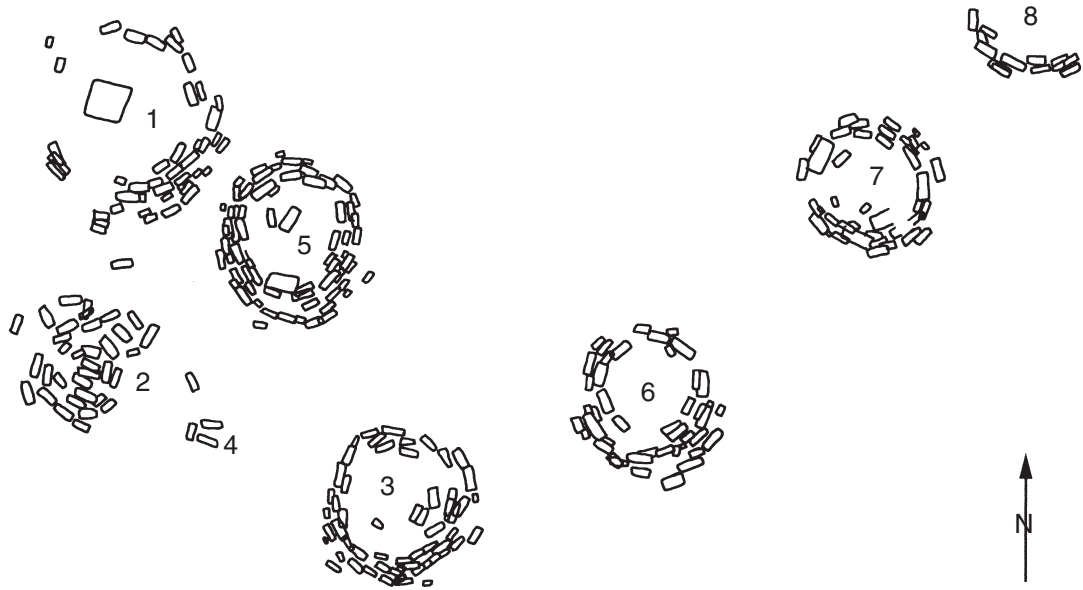


Fig. 3.3 Burial mounds of Kapiteljska njiva (drawn by Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, after Križ (1997a: 24))

glass beads reveal a well-off community, in which graves containing such items were not specially marked or constructed.

In summary, cremation remains the norm in the eastern Hallstatt provinces during the Hallstatt period until the transition to inhumation in the La Tène period. Earlier inhumations can most often be traced to influences from the western provinces or the Scythian east. Again, a gender- and age-related pattern emerges, but this time, it seems to be the women and children that are first inhumed, whilst male adults continue the tradition of cremation. Cremation is, in this context, a form of ritual conservatism employed in social differentiation. Some of these early inhumed individuals are well equipped with grave goods, but none reach elite level. At the site Hallstatt itself, which for many reasons represents a rather unusual community, it is the high-status males that emphasize continuity and tradition through the persistent use of cremation. Carniola (Slovenia) is the only region in the eastern provinces where a change of burial ritual occurs in a radical way: here, single cremation graves are replaced by large burial mounds representing a community. They do not necessarily have a central grave, and can be understood as a cemetery in their own right, perhaps that of a family.

DISCUSSION

The transition from cremation to inhumation during the early Iron Age in Central Europe is, as we have seen, not straightforward and instead regionally

variegated. It is associated with a number of different variables, none of which can actually explain the phenomenon. It has therefore, more vaguely, been explained through a change of beliefs about the soul and the afterlife, for instance in the sense that it was no longer believed that cremation as a practice was needed to release the soul or spirit from the body (e.g. Meid 2012: 423). Religious and spiritual beliefs in a wider sense did certainly contribute to the way funerary practices were carried out; that they were not uniformly accepted and that it was, perhaps, possible to hold multiple and contradicting beliefs, is exemplified by the variety of practices in the Hallstatt period. In contrast to the Late Bronze Age, when the humans were not depicted and the physical shape of the human body, fragmented through cremation (Rebay-Salisbury 2010) played little role in the grave, the human body form re-emerges with confidence in the early Iron Age. Representations of humans appear on a range of different objects, and grave architecture and grave goods are arranged around the human body. The human body almost becomes the stage on which the display of status—an increasingly important theme in the early Iron Age—is carried out. An interpretation of inhumation in terms of the striving for exclusivity and self-expression seems appropriate (Kurz 1997: 131–2). This is linked to the inhumed body in the west, but as examples of high-status graves in the east show, this strategy can also operate around the cremated body, especially in cases where the whole pyre site becomes transformed into a grave. Modes for furnishing and equipping inhumations and cremations are, in some areas (e.g. north-east Bavaria and Bohemia) nearly identical, whilst in others (e.g. Baden-Württemberg), there are more significant differences (cf. Müller-Scheeßel 2013).

The mosaic of burial patterns across the Hallstatt area reminds us that there was a certain element of choice available in which way to conduct burial rituals. This is particularly apparent in the case of bi-ritual graves, when an inhumed and cremated body are deposited at the same time in the same grave. Of course it is not possible to assess when the cremated individuals died and were cremated and how much time elapsed between the cremation and funeral. The funerary architecture, placement of the bodies in relation to each other, and the grave goods associated with the inhumed and cremated bodies lets us draw tentative conclusions as to their relationship; in the western areas often a sub-ordinate role of the cremated individual(s). Cremations were frequently not afforded their own, individual funeral, for reasons that might have to do with practical concerns such as seasonality, or emotional reasons such as connectedness between individuals. Further, they could simply have been put in another person's grave because the means for an individual funeral were not available. The 'small cremation graves' that occur during the whole of the Hallstatt period also seem to be the graves of the poorer sectors of society. In some areas, they tend to be women and children in particular, whilst in other areas no such patterns could be observed. Multiple cremations in one

grave are not exceptional in the east, and although especially for high-status burials the primary individual can be identified by the location in the grave and associations between objects and the cremated body, there are also burial mounds with multiple cremations where there does not seem to be a clear hierarchy. In the east, women and children are the first to be inhumed, and high status males tend to stick longer to the tried and tested methods of a traditional funeral.

Considering the transition to inhumation as innovation within a network adds additional insights. At first, it may seem odd, as one might suspect that the funerary realm is particularly resistance to change; in moments of crisis, tradition often provides the framework to re-establish emotional and social order. And yet a funeral where many people come together is also the ideal venue to negotiate and mark social change. Innovation can be triggered by internal and external drivers, often a combination of the two, but it crucially relies on the context—the network—in which information flows (Conway and Steward 2009). The network size, structure and composition impact the way information is transmitted and adopted and thus changes societies. Absolute numbers of network participants may play a role in embedding new information, but the adoption of new ideas involves active agents and elements of decision making; progressive or conservative thinking may help or hinder innovation. The role tradition plays in a given society might explain communities' differential acceptance for change. Besides, the social status of innovators and early adopters are crucial in overcoming potential reluctance to accept change and adopt innovations (Rogers 1958). The gender, age, and status-led patterns we observed explain why inhumation as an innovation is more readily adopted for further segments of society in some areas than others. More participants at funerary rituals may mean many different opinions on how the rituals should be conducted, fewer possibilities of control and thus the higher probability of greater mortuary variability (Burmeister 1999; Müller-Scheeßel 2013).

Innovation is most effective when it is advantages, corresponds to the norms and needs of potential adopters and is relatively easy to notice, understand and test (Hofmann and Patzke 2012: 87). The advantage of inhuming rather than cremating might lie in the extended possibility to display the body with all its status indicators, and comes in at a time when status display becomes important in the negotiation of power. Elites in the west were able to push inhumation, perhaps because after around 600 BC, they did have access to a wider and more diverse network. At that time, traffic on major trade routes from the Mediterranean northwards shifted from the eastern alpine fringe to the Rhone valley: the foundation of the Greek colony of Massalia is but one symptom of this development. This network is most often thought of in terms of economics and prestige good transfer (e.g. Sherratt 1993, Sherratt and Sherratt 1993), but clearly extended into the ideological and religious

domain, bringing a diversity of new ideas and openness to innovation. Eastern elite networks developed differently. Although they received cultural impulses from Etruria via the Po valley and Slovenia, they might have had trouble maintaining their lifestyle under economic pressure and ever-changing relationships with their eastern neighbours. Eastern communities chose to justify power and display status by maintaining old traditions. In the context of 'Hallstattization', an early form of globalization, this reaction might be understood in terms of a traditional backlash. Communities clung to localized customs, used heirloom objects in graves and continued to use cremation as the prevailing burial rite.

As we have seen, inhumation and cremations both play a role in early Iron Age status negotiations, albeit in different ways. Whether to inhume or cremate a body becomes part of negotiating entirely different social concerns that, at times, overshadows a general change in beliefs about the body and soul or other spiritual and religious concerns.

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3. Human images of Early Iron Age Central Europe

3.1 The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe

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of the Hallstatt World

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

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Preface

'The human body is the best work of art.'

Jess C. Scott

Many threads of my research come together in this book. My interest in human representations of the early Iron Age was sparked by the assignment of an undergraduate thesis in 1997, for which I published a few cremation graves from Donnerskirchen, Austria. They included a vessel with stylised human images. They looked so familiar, and yet so strange. Who were these people, and why were they sketched into the pottery? The topic has never ceased to fascinate me since.

I was lucky to have been able to explore early Iron Age cemeteries in detail for my MA and PhD theses at the University of Vienna, with a particular focus on gender relations in the past, and to continue my research on burial practices at the University of Cambridge. As a post-doc within the research programme 'Changing Beliefs of the Human Body', funded by the Leverhulme Trust and co-ordinated by John Robb, I was first initiated into the wondrous world of body studies and theories, as Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and I worked together at understanding the spread of cremation throughout middle to late Bronze Age Europe.

As research associate and project manager of 'Tracing Networks', funded by the Leverhulme Trust and led by Lin Foxhall, I was able to conduct my project 'Translating art and craft: Human representations, identities and social relations in the late Bronze and Iron Age of Central Europe'. This book is the outcome of this investigation. I am very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting both projects I had the pleasure to be part of and which funded my research. John Robb, Marie Louise Sørensen and Lin Foxhall were excellent mentors, and I owe much to their guidance.

In the course of research for this book, I had to make a lot of tough choices about which material to include and what to ignore. Sources on the treatment of the human body in death are plentiful in early Iron Age Europe, and even human representations come in much greater numbers than I envisioned at the beginning of the project. Serendipity was on my side, too, as several very interesting and important pieces of art have recently been discovered and could be integrated during the course of this study. I aimed at a complete coverage of all known human

representations to date, but both the chronological and geographical selection for this book is, of course, open to critique. I am very aware that the data I used in no way represent all images in use during the early Iron Age. After all, only a fraction has been preserved in archaeological contexts. Nevertheless, I found a somewhat numerical approach, in addition to a qualitative data analysis, helpful for a full appreciation of the material and to get a sense of the scale of human representations as a phenomenon. I hope I will be forgiven for the numerous omissions I have undoubtedly made. In addition, classifications were not always straightforward, as images remain ambiguous and open to multiple interpretations. My initial plan to compile an open image database came to a shrieking halt once I became aware of copyright legislations and restrictions. I was not able to include illustrations of all images discussed in this book, but many are available by searching the internet.

I am happy to be able to say that this book is not only an ending, but also the beginning of a new research endeavour. By taking the human body as the focal point, I noticed that sexuality, maternity, paternity and genealogy were of key concern in the early Iron Age. In parallel to my own transition to motherhood, the lack of research into how prehistoric societies responded to the transition to motherhood became more and more apparent. In my current research project, I am investigating if and how women's social status changed when they became mothers and how motherhood, as a component of identity, was conceptualised in the past.

Many colleagues from the Universities of Cambridge and Leicester, the Austrian Academy of Sciences and many other institutions have contributed to this book by intellectual exchange and critical discussions. In particular, I would like to thank Jo Appleby, Edeltraud Aspöck, Laura Bocchi, Dušan Borić, Ann Brysbaert, Peter van Dommelen, Alexandrine Eibner, Martin Fera, José Fiadeiro, Margarita Gleba, Monika Griebel, Karina Grömer, Susanne Hakenbeck, Anthony Harding, Oliver Harris, Susanna Harris, Colin Haselgrove, Kerstin Hofmann, Jessica Hughes, Erzsébet Jerem, Kerstin Kowarik, Sheila Kohring, Jutta Leskovar, Michaela Lochner, Marianne Mödlinger, Doris Pany-Kucera, Elisa Perego, Mark Pluciennik, Benedetta Prosdocimi, Alessandro Quercia, Peter Ramschl, Hans Reschreiter, Andrea Roppa, Roderick Salisbury, Robert Schumann, Jo Sofaer, Sara Strack, Timothy Taylor, Sarah Tarlow, Peter Trebsche, Emilio Tuosto, Marion Uckelmann, Otto Urban, Melissa Vettters, Leo Webley, Estella Weiss-Krejci Ian Whitbread, and Karin Wiltschke-Schrotta.

I would like to highlight Robert Schumann's contribution of reading and critically commenting on a draft of the text and Martin Fera's help with geographic information system (GIS) mapping. In addition, I would like to thank my Facebook friends, a valuable resource for hunting literature and a great place to test unusual ideas. I would also like to acknowledge Michael Greenwood, commissioning editor for Routledge, who provided excellent support throughout the process of preparing the manuscript for the book, the anonymous reviewers for helpful corrections and suggestions and Mark Pluciennik for proofreading.

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I would like to dedicate this book to my husband Roderick and my children Daniel and Simon; my family, who came into life during the years of researching for and writing this book.

1 Introduction

Individual and social identities, as well as social relations, are fundamental elements of early Iron Age societies. This study investigates how prehistoric people constructed and negotiated personal identities in the setting of their societies and how societies constructed difference between themselves and others. To approach identity from a new and different angle, this study takes the human body as the focal point of investigation. The human body can be understood as a medium through which social relations, identities and status categories are negotiated, as they are not fixed and permanent, but malleable and in a constant state of alteration. Aspects of identity include, among others, the ways that gender relations were constituted, maintained and practiced; how age contributed to the way individuals were perceived; how wealth and status came to be significant personal characteristics; and how different variables of identity were interconnected.

Personal identities are composed of a mosaic of different elements, for which we find clues in the archaeological record. The two primary sources used for this study are burial data and human representations. The human body is most directly encountered in the grave, where the physical remains of a person were deposited. The human remains themselves provide information on biological parameters of life, such as sex, biological age and health status. Objects associated with the body give further clues as to what might have been important to the person and to the people burying their dead. Mortuary practices, the ways bodies were treated after death and equipped for the grave, can give us some further insights into how people of the early Iron Age understood life and death, themselves and their place in the world.

The second line of evidence for this study, human representations, directly addresses prehistoric ideas and ideals of identity. Humans and beings of human form are depicted on objects ranging from figurines to sketches on pottery and from *situlae* to rock art; some represent people, whilst others represent creatures and gods in human form as they featured in Iron Age mythology or ideology. Rather than focussing on the narrative content of these images and scenes, portraits of humans are here taken as visualizing and mediating identity. There is no way and no reason to distinguish the representations of actual human beings from those imagined to take the human form – both rely on the same frame of cultural reference. Depicting the different ways people are dressed (or not), the jewellery

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and objects they wore on the body, the actions they engage in or the material culture that is involved may not have been the primary concern of the artist, and yet they inform us about how identities are constructed through bodily practices.

The study is set in an area conventionally described as the ‘Hallstatt Culture’, spread over parts of Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia and northern Italy. In short, I refer to the study area as ‘central Europe’, a vague term in itself, as there are multiple and conflicting definitions of central Europe. The cultural identity of central Europe today is based on multi-ethnicity, and to a large part, on the heritage of the Habsburg Empire.

While study of prehistoric identity in these regions is traditionally a matter of interpreting clusters of similar material objects in terms of culture groups – which is still, more or less, a shortcut for ethnicity – other aspects of identity have only recently started to become addressed. Personal identity is about belonging to and identifying with groups: these might be gender groups, age groups, groups of people involved in the same occupations and, of course, groups of people living in the same area. Were personal identities constructed differently in different areas, and what impact did the making of personal identities have on the construction of group identities? Are what archaeologists recognise as ‘cultural groups’ the result of people living in different areas or living a different lifestyle (such as farming, mining or pastoralism) in different landscapes, or are other factors involved? How is difference between groups maintained and played out during the past?

Relationships beyond the Hallstatt culture area, in particular with Mediterranean societies, are a further theme in this study. Early Iron Age societies were integrated into a network of contacts across Europe and the Mediterranean, and these contacts took a variety of forms, including dependency relations between unequal partners. Archaeologically most visible are forms of economic exchange where ‘foreign’ goods can be identified – the famous ‘Mediterranean imports’ found on Hallstatt territory. These are, however, just the tip of the mass of knowledge exchange and transfer of ideas between the Mediterranean world and temperate Europe. Knowledge exchange contributed much to the change of societies at the transition from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age and, thereafter, via the integration and local adoption of Mediterranean ideas. These ideas can be traced by a network analysis, taking the structure and dynamics of networks into account. This is particularly important for the study of human images in the Hallstatt world, because many of them are not independent, indigenous creations, but owe aspects of their existence to Mediterranean templates. Many motifs are passed along in the Hallstatt world like Chinese whispers, changing small aspects as they travel over time and territory. Human images have been selected as an informative source about identity, but also as a relatively compact set of data, which can be analysed under a variety of aspects.

Details of the theoretical framework can be found in Chapter 2, which presents recent developments of ‘body theory’ and ‘network theory’, the two foundations of this book. The opportunity to explore these themes arose in the context of the research programme ‘Changing Beliefs of the Human Body: A Comparative

Social Perspective' at the University of Cambridge and the research programme 'Tracing Networks: Craft Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond' at the University of Leicester, both funded by the Leverhulme Trust. Bringing 'the body' and 'networks' together enables us to see how the body is involved in long-term, cross-cultural communication.

Chapter 3 outlines the early Iron Age setting and describes how people conducted their lives and went about their everyday business. It addresses subsistence, diet and physical appearance. Changes in economy and settlement patterns are not the primary focus of this book, nor is it the increasing complexity of Iron Age societies, but these themes inevitably feed into the ways identities are constructed. As such, this chapter provides the necessary backdrop to understanding how burial practices unfolded and how human representations were introduced. The unity and diversity of the Hallstatt regions is the critical issue here, without going too deeply into the questions of which archaeologically established 'cultural groups' people belonged to or where their boundaries were. The central European Iron Age cannot be treated as a uniform block, as there are too many inter-regional differences, but neither should the differences be overstated and the survey become too fine-grained. A similar approach is taken to chronological comparisons. Chronology is crucial in order to understand how phenomena develop, but the development of phenomena might follow comparable trajectories without being, strictly speaking, contemporaneous. Adhering too strictly to chronological schemes, which in many cases are debatable, might therefore hinder more than help a useful analysis.

Comparing and contrasting aspects of identity on a chronological and spatial level can, of course, be done at many different levels of resolution. The survey of mortuary practices in Chapter 4 relies on well-documented and well-published case studies and regional overviews, which have been brought together by many scholars with different aims and which date to different decades of archaeological research. The survey of the treatment of the body after death and the change of burial practices from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age, as well as throughout the early Iron Age, therefore takes the form of an interpretative literature review. The aim is to understand changes in attitudes towards bodies as they unfold in the mortuary sphere. Most visibly, bodies become the focus of display in graves, regardless of whether there is a shift from cremation to inhumation or whether cremation remains the dominant rite. Differences in grave construction, furnishing and displayed wealth in the graves increase during the early Iron Age and have been taken as evidence for increasing social complexity. The expression of social status as part of negotiating identity in the mortuary arena does not necessarily imply a different social organisation, but may have something to do with shifting relationships between individuals and groups; social relations and far-reaching trade connections seem to contribute to social standing.

The artistic representation of the human body is the focus of the next chapters of this book. Only a few human images date to the late Bronze Age, but from the early Iron Age human images become increasingly common, and a number of interesting objects are available for study. The popularity of human images is another argument for an increased interest in identity expression in the early Iron

Age. Human representations and narrative scenes help to understand how people saw themselves and their immediate social surroundings, and narrative scenes inform us about which actions and practices were important enough to be captured permanently. Interpreting image data is a difficult challenge for many reasons, and we can only ‘read’ their meaning to a certain extent, as we do not know the purpose of the images, nor the artists and audiences. Representational art as means of sign language and communication is discussed in Chapter 5, which looks into different ways of interpreting human images. It also aims to clarify which roles images play as messengers and if and how we can understand human representations in terms of agency.

The relationship between the image and object is the subject of Chapter 6. In order to study human representations from all angles, a large image database was compiled, comprising more than 3000 individual human images available for study. The images are found on a range of different objects, including statues, figurines, votive plaques, personal objects, vessels and even furniture and tools. They were therefore seen both during everyday activities and in ritual contexts, from far away and from close up. The different materials, their properties and affordances, as well as the technologies in which the images were made, play a part in how the human image appears. A section of this book is therefore dedicated to understanding the impact of the choice of materials and technologies on the outcome, that is, the human image. Considering concepts such as the *chaîne opératoire* and cross-craft interaction as helpful tools to understand the transmission of knowledge, this chapter also tackles how images were ‘translated’ across different materials and technologies, as well as over geographical space. A body might be reduced to a point and several strokes for the upper body and limbs and still be understood as a body. This translation into a ‘low resolution’ version of an image, for example, through changing from a sketch to punches on pottery, is particularly important, as it forces a focus on crucial elements of the motif, on elements that are important to understand the identities depicted.

Chapter 7, ‘The Hallstatt body in life and death’, brings together the two main lines of evidence, the burial and the representational data, and discusses themes that arise from the analysis. The way faces and bodies are composed of individual elements will be discussed, as well as body proportions and bodily ideals such as beauty. Understanding personhood in early Iron Age Europe, in other words, what it meant to be a person and to be categorised as a person, as well as identifying the forms of human selfhood and embodiment, will be explored through the themes of body parts and hybridity. Early Iron Age imagery includes local and foreign forms of hybrids and isolated body parts as a decoration of objects before they become a benchmark of Celtic Art in the La Tène period.

Amongst the building blocks of identity, sex and gender play a prominent role. All too quickly binary gender realities and ideals are assumed for the European Iron Age on the basis of the biological sex of individuals buried in graves, and yet many of our pictorial sources are more ambiguous. Both nude and clothed

bodies occur in the archaeological record; many persons are depicted naked and include a clear display of sexual parts; others are clothed and wear gendered dress and jewellery or engage in gender-specific practices. Whereas representations of people with both female and male sexual characteristics remain exceptions, the representation of sexless bodies is common during the Hallstatt period. This creates a group of people for which sexuality and reproduction were emphasised and another one for which it did not seem to play a role at all, at least in the representations.

Ageing and the stages of life are difficult to make out from human representations alone; it is here where we have to rely most heavily on burial data to understand how people's identities changed throughout the lifecycle. How femininity and masculinity were constructed in imagery is the focus of separate sections. Dress is perhaps the most immediate signifier of identity categories, whilst objects associated with the body, such as tools and weapons, point to activities and actions that were engaged in regularly and therefore become part of a person. Women's dress, veil, hairstyle and attributes will be discussed, as well as the importance of marriage and motherhood. For men's identities, both the civil and warrior identity, there is more evidence. Again, hairstyle, headgear and dress are discussed, as well as weaponry and men's best friends: the horses.

Further clues to identities can be found in people's postures and gestures, as they show us how people moved through the landscape and interacted with their immediate environment and each other. Actions, activities and practices people are engaged in are, of course, not a representative sample of everyday life, but frame important events. Women's occupations (for which we have much less evidence in the pictorial sources) are quite clearly set apart from men's pursuits; whereas textile work belongs to the female sphere, ploughing, herding, hunting and fishing, as well as participating in raids and conflict, are male domains. Both genders participate in feasts, which appear to be held for different occasions and involve drinking, making music, dancing and sports.

The more complex scenes with human images arise from high-status contexts and thus inform us about activities of the elite, who were well connected to contemporaneous societies across Europe. Chapter 8 returns to the question of relationships between the Hallstatt area and the Mediterranean and traces some of the networks apparent from specific motifs of human representations. It recaps how attitudes about the body, bodily ideas and ideals, as well as knowledge about practices involving the body, are transmitted and transformed across the European continent.

Chapter 9 concludes the study by reflecting on the nature of body worlds in early Iron Age central Europe. This book is the first to use a 'body perspective', the theoretical framework outlined in detail in the next chapter, and all available data on and around the material human body to investigate aspects of identity. It aims to treat burials and artistic representations of the human body as an integrated whole rather than as separate fields. Some aspects of Hallstatt body worlds are continuations of earlier prehistoric traditions, whereas others reflect contacts

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with and influences from the Classical worlds. Through a better understanding of identities in the central European early Iron Age, we can gain a deeper understanding of social relations and societies as a whole. This book is about how people understood themselves, others and their connections; this is what real lives were made of and what Iron Age life was about.

2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this book consists of two elements: the body, personhood and identity; and networks. Although at first sight they have little in common, identity in particular is a relational concept; it is not only about how people see themselves, but also how they are perceived by others. Network theory and insight into network dynamics elucidate how identity might be communicated and signalled from one person to another and with the help of material culture. This chapter aims to outline the theory implicit in this research and clarify terms and definitions used throughout the book.

2.1 Approaching the Iron Age body

2.1.1 *The body*

Inspired by social theorists (for example, Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner 1991, Shilling 1993, Turner 2008), an ‘archaeology of the body’ has emerged during the last two decades (for example, Borić and Robb 2008, Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005, Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002a, Meskell and Joyce 2003, Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010a, Robb and Harris 2013, Sofaer 2006a). A focus on the physical body as encountered archaeologically in the grave is, of course, not new; what is new and different is that the bio-anthropological information and archaeological data are brought together with new ways of thinking about how this body relates to the wider world and is understood within it. An archaeology of the body aims to analyse ‘the production and experience of lived bodies in the past through the juxtaposition of traces of body practices, idealised representations, and evidence of the effects of habitual gestures, postures, and consumption practices on the corporal body’ (Joyce 2005: 139).

The physiological basis of the person – encountered in archaeology as human remains – has traditionally been the subject of osteology, a branch of physical anthropology (for example, Cox and Mays 2000, White, Black and Folkens 2011). Inhumed or cremated skeletal remains, both articulated and fragmented, are an amazing source of information. Traditionally, anthropologists compile a report on each individual, which includes a record of how completely the skeleton is represented and the sex, age at death, body height, stature and pathologies reflected

in the bones; these latter may include health status, illnesses and traumas during life, as well as perimortal injuries, which may point to the cause of death. If multiple individuals are present, for instance in a cemetery, some palaeodemographic information may become available (for example, Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970, Chamberlain 2006). This includes the sex ratio of a cemetery population, average age at death and life expectancy, as well as the probability of death for men and women at any given age. Data on the physical constitution and measurements of cranial features have led to ethnic interpretations of cemetery populations, but this branch of study has long since fallen out of favour. It is important to appreciate that demographics as apparent in cemetery populations do not necessarily reflect the living society, as some individuals may have been selected for burial, whereas others were classified as unfit for burial, treated differently, buried elsewhere away from the usual community burial ground or were not available to be buried; ‘missing children’, for instance, may indicate that children were not understood as persons in their own right, or ‘missing men’ might have gone to a battle never to return.

In recent years, the study of isotopes in human teeth and bones has advanced dramatically and gives new insights into a person’s diet throughout their lifespan, as well as their personal mobility (Knipper 2004, Oelze et al. 2012). Strontium, oxygen, sulphur, carbon and nitrogen isotopes continue to be built into the bone during a person’s lifespan. Differences between isotope signals from tooth enamel, which reflect conditions during early life, and from bone collagen, which reflects the last 10 to 20 years of life, may give us valuable insights into changes in living conditions. Isotopes reveal if the primary diet of a person was meat, fish or plant based, which could lead to conclusions on a person’s status, if access to food was an issue of class. Furthermore, the age and process of weaning, which was an important break in an infant’s life, as well as a potential health hazard (Herring, Saunders and Katzenberg 1998), can be investigated. The selection, preparation and communal consumption of food may also be activities that generate identity. Specific foodstuffs are often connected to regional identities, and feasting is a good opportunity for enhancing group cohesion and political activities (Dietler 2006). Individual mobility can be assessed by comparing the isotope signals within a population to the local geological background; although ‘foreigners’ can be identified, their exact place of origin is more difficult to determine.

The study of ancient DNA, although costly, prone to contamination and dependent on collagen preservation, promises further interesting scientific insights (for example, Hofreiter et al. 2001, Hummel, Schmidt and Hermann 2005, Kiesslich et al. 2005). The primary applications are the reliable sexing of an individual based on his or her genotype, in particular when results of traditional osteological methods are ambiguous, and the reconstruction of kinship relations. Tracing the male lineage through Y-chromosome DNA analysis and the female lineage through mitochondrial DNA not only gives insights into the relatedness of individuals, but also on population and migration structures. Furthermore, some infectious and, of course, hereditary diseases are manifest in ancient DNA (Bramanti 2013).

Increasingly, the human body is not only understood as the unchangeable biological basis of a person, but also as a product of a person's practices and habits, diet and nutrition, life circumstances and reproductive history, as well as other life events. This holistic approach, termed social bio-anthropology (Agarwal and Glencross 2011), understands the human body as culturally malleable. The body itself can, in fact, be understood as an artefact, as material culture (Sofaer 2006a). Practices such as skull deformation or swaddling infants may intentionally be applied to shape the body's appearance, but any strenuous and repetitive activity will produce a bone reaction (Wolff 1892). As Jo Sofaer put it, 'Skeletal remains can be regarded as the product of human action in much the same way as other forms of material culture, with gender materially articulated in the skeleton' (Sofaer 2006a: 105). Wear and tear is particularly apparent in the skeletons of ageing bodies, but different kinds of bodily infirmity may have had different social implications (Appleby 2011). Investigating the biological parameters in context with other archaeological information, rather than understanding the anthropological data as the scientific 'given' against which to check the archaeological record, is crucial for new insights into life and death in the early Iron Age.

Understanding the body as lived experience also lies at the heart of phenomenological approaches, albeit in a very different sense. Inspired by Husserl's critique of scientific empiricism (1913), Heidegger's 'being-in-the-world' (2005 [1927], 2006 [1927]) and Merleau-Ponty's insight that the world is experienced through the body and only through the body can action be performed (1962), phenomenologists strive to understand the world as experienced through the human senses. Rather than aiming for objectivity, subjective insights are important, as meaning emerges from bodily engagement with the world (Barrett and Ko 2009, Tilley 1994). Of course, different bodies experience the world in different ways, and there is no such thing as a universal body (Brück 1998, Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002b: 9, Meskell 1996). It is therefore doubtful which insights, if any, can be gained by attempting to re-experience past landscapes and monuments with one's own body. Drawing attention to the fact that different people experience material culture, places and human relations differently is, however, relevant to understanding the past. Emotions such as anger, fear or delight might be central motives for human actions and practices (for example, Harris and Sørensen 2010, Tarlow 2000, Tarlow 2012). For this study, a unity of the concepts of body and mind is assumed, as well as an 'enworldment' (Ingold 2000) of this body encapsulating the mind. Body and mind are continuously shaped through interaction with the material world; neuroplasticity and embodiment are continuous states of being, and all aspects of cognition are shaped by aspects of the body.

Although understanding the skin as the demarcation between an interior self and an exterior society has proven unsatisfactory (Joyce 2005: 144), the surface of the body clearly provides an opportunity to embellish, ornate and change one's appearance. This includes a range of more or less permanent body alterations, from body painting to tattooing and scarification. The way hair is managed is also a deeply cultural concern. Hair on the head, beards and body may be shaved or grown, left unkempt or elaborately combed, braided and styled in various ways.

Situla Art displays most men with bald or shaved heads under characteristic hats (Angeli 1974). According to Diodorus Siculus, the Celts washed their hair in lime water, which not only bleached it, but also made it stiff and spiky (Sherrow 2006: 77). Grooming equipment found in graves includes razors, and in the central European early Iron Age also a set of toiletry items consisting of tweezers, a nail clipper and a small spoon, which is understood to have been used to clean ears; in the late Iron Age the spoon is less common (Pauli 1978: 260).

The majority of the body's surface is, at least in temperate climates, clothed. By the early Iron Age, there is plenty of evidence for a highly developed textile industry (Banck-Burgess 1999, Banck-Burgess 2012, Grömer 2016, von Kurzynski 1996) with endless variation in spinning, weaving, dyeing and patterning techniques. Incredibly fine coloured and woven textiles have been found in the salt mines of Hallstatt (Plate 9, Grömer et al. 2013), and although they were probably in a secondary context, they prove the importance and high standard of textile work, which is for a number of reasons believed to have been in the hands of women. The patterns found have parallels on contemporaneous pottery and are also displayed in art. Fashions and styles were, as they are today, linked to particular identities. Evidence from the Villanovan cemetery of Verucchio (von Eles 2002, Stauffer 2002), for example, suggests that red garments were already signifying male political power by about 1000 BC. In depictions, men and women were clearly differentiated by the kinds of costumes and head covers they wore, although these also changed according to the kinds of activities they were engaged in and are, in some cases, difficult to read out of context. Dress further includes metal dress fittings such as pins, *fibulae* and belt buckles, which give at least some insight into how garments were worn when the textiles do not survive to the present day. Finally, jewellery plays a part in embellishing the body's surface: earrings, necklaces, bracelets and anklets are worn singly and as sets. Patterns of how these objects were worn on the body and how the sets were composed are again repeated for identity groups constructing and signalling gender, age, status and regional identity.

Dress and jewellery play a large part in the way bodies are represented in the early Iron Age, although a significant proportion of human images are depicted naked (see Section 7.3). Social signs of gender, age and status, encoded in dress, jewellery and associated material culture, are represented in human images and lead to conclusions about identity (cf. Arnold 2008, Sørensen 1997). Gendered identities are apparent from the archaeological material (for example, through dress fittings, jewellery and tools); they most often coincide with biological sex, but may differ in some cases. It is important to note that feminine and masculine identity is not ultimately dependent on a physical male or female body. Archaeological and anthropological data from graves must therefore be carefully evaluated together, without one kind of information taking precedence over the other (contra, for example, Alt and Röder 2014, Kleibschiedel 1997). It is difficult to access bodily ideals such as beauty and body size, as the wide variety of materials and techniques in which bodies are represented significantly affect their perceived form (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Nevertheless, I have yet to find the representation of an obese person in the early Iron Age, even in materials such as clay where

costs are not an issue, or representations of the elderly and infirm; even representations of children are unusual and ambiguous. Human representations in early Iron Age Europe depict an ideal kind of person; it is doubtful that they were meant to be portraits. In contrast, the early La Tène period statue from Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002, Herrmann 2003), may already divert from this rule: there is a close match between the objects found with the deceased and those represented on the statue.

Representations are situated between reality and imagination. They reflect social ideas and ideals, but also what was thinkable in myth and mythology. As such, even representations of human–animal hybrids, for example, might be used to understand how bodies were thought to be composed and combined. The art itself may take an active role (Gell 1998) in evoking expectations of what a proper way of being and living should look like. Although images are shaped by societies, they also shape societies by setting out social values and norms.

The treatment of the dead body, that is, the cultural responses to the material remains after a person's death, provides further insights into how bodies are understood. It is, however, difficult to differentiate between aspects of the funerary ritual that arise from understanding the dead body as a continuation of the living person, aspects that are meant to guide and help the transition from life to death (in terms of a 'rite of passage', for example, van Gennep 1960 [1909]), and aspects that are dealing with the remains of the person as a matter to dispose. Beliefs about what constitutes a person in life and death vary widely (for example, Carr 1995, Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in preparation, Ucko 1969) and, accordingly, cultural responses to the dead vary. A belief in a soul or non-material aspect that can be separated from the body may give rise to different funerary practices used when the person is understood to be eternally bound to the body. A soul may be believed to have a continued existence after the corporeal death, have the power to leave a dead body, roam around and perhaps find a new home.

The primary forms of treating bodies after death in the early Iron Age are cremation and inhumation, with varying proportions in time and space. Cremation has sometimes been interpreted in terms of a practice to release the soul trapped in the body (for example, Kaul 2004: 20, Kaul 2005), but it is by no means the only belief connected to cremation (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a) and is insufficient to explain the phenomenon as a whole. Inhumation burials suggest a closer connection between what is thought to constitute the person and the material body. This is suggested both by the presence of grave goods accompanying the body and other practices: the swapped shoes of the 'chieftain' of Hochdorf, Germany, for instance, have been interpreted in two ways, either as a deliberate means to help the transition to the otherworld, in which things are upside-down (Veit 1988), or as a practice to hinder the person from coming back and haunting the living (Koch 2006: 262). Either way, both interpretations suggest that whatever agency is believed to remain after a person's death, it is still believed to be somewhat bound to the physical, material body. Finally, deviant burials (Aspöck 2009, Murphy 2008) or burials in unusual contexts such as settlement pits might provide insights into ideas about specific individuals, whose treatment after death (and

perhaps the actions leading to death) might be related to how the persons or their actions were understood by society.

2.1.2 Personhood

Archaeological studies of personhood (for example, Brück 2006, Fowler 2004, Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, Thomas 2005) have added an interesting twist to the study of bodies and identities. They are concerned with the question of how people in the past understood the concept of what it is to be a person and with ‘identifying the forms of human identity, selfhood and embodiment that existed in the past’ (Thomas 2005: 186). Ethnographic studies have shown that the notion of a person bounded by the body and comprehended as a discrete, separate entity, both integral and original (Hall 2000), is not a human universal and has its roots in post-Cartesian western ideology. Other societies in Melanesia (Strathern 1988) or India (Busby 1997), for example, stress the divisible and relational aspect of identity more; people are perceived as constituent of social relations in a much more literal sense. This may be based on the perception of kinship relations, seeing the body as a permeable vessel or on the idea of connectedness through shared bodily substances such as blood and breast milk (for example, Altorki 1980, Parkes 2005).

There are individual and relational aspects in any society (LiPuma 1998), including our own. When a person begins and when it ends is not as clear-cut as it first seems; the question of how separate a mother is from the developing child in her, for example, lies at the heart of modern controversies about abortion. When does the personhood of a new baby begin? At conception, at 12 weeks’ gestation, at birth, when the first tooth comes through, when the child develops a sense of self, when he or she is able to live on their own? It is social conventions and laws that regulate these important understandings; in classical antiquity, unwanted infants may have been exposed during a period after birth before they were welcomed into society and perceived as a person. Modern societies set a limit for lawful abortions according to how far the pregnancy has proceeded. Ideas about the boundedness of bodies are also problematic when it comes to medical inventions such as blood transfusion or organ transplantation (Copeman 2008, Harris, McDonald and Robb 2013).

Chris Fowler (2004: 8–9) offers useful definitions of key concepts in personhood: he defines dividuality as ‘a state of being in which the person is recognised as composite and multiple-authored’. It is easy to understand that social relations make what people are, and most will recognise that we are not only the product of the society we were brought up in, but also dependent on living socially; it is, for the most part, an illusion to think one could live as a rugged individual alone in the woods. We owe most of what we are to relations with other people and the material world. Partibility, the way in which people are thought to be composed of parts, can take a number of forms, including addition and merging (Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010b). The importance of recognising this quality of personhood is that parts may be exchanged or substituted, and with

this, change meanings and connotations. This will be of importance, for example, when we try to understand hybrids in early Iron Age art. Permeability is a similar concept, but here it is not recognisable parts, but the flow of substances that is crucial and may change the internal composition of a person. Lastly, fractal relations may exist, where relationships between self-similar entities are conceptually similar at every scale; a homologous logic might be applied to bodies, things, and groups of entities such as pots, people and clans (Fowler 2008).

It is important to recognise that people cannot be classified as either individuals or dividuals, but, as different aspects of personhood are stressed in various ways and through many kinds of practice, original modes of personhood emerge from a variety of contexts at different times (Brittain and Harris 2010). All people are individuals in the sense that they are personally unique, and yet ‘individual’ has the connotation of being indivisible, with a constant, fixed self and a personal identity (Fowler 2004: 8–9). Although some scholars prefer not to use the term individual in the context of European prehistory at all (for example, Thomas 2004), most people would agree that ‘experiencing oneself as a living individual is part of human nature’ (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008: 15). The existence of the concept of the individual has a long tradition in Europe that may well reach deep into European prehistory. Others suggest that the notion of individuality may first have been most strongly emphasised during the Bronze Age (Bradley 1984, Shennan 1982).

Keeping an open mind to the fact that personhood might have been constructed in a number of ways can prove to be useful in the interpretation of the archaeological record of early Iron Age societies in central Europe. Past people not only formed attitudes to human bodies and gave them meaning, but also extrapolated these meanings to other things and formed metaphors in relation to the human body. Vessels that are made to look like people are an obvious example of this principle (for examples of face urns from the Bronze and Iron Ages in northern and central Europe, see Kneisel 2012), but pots may be generally thought of in a similar way as people, consisting of body parts that are named the same way, such as neck, shoulder and foot. Similarly, the containing quality of pots may be extrapolated to the human body, for instance, when the body is thought of as a vessel containing the soul. These cross-overs in how people think about bodies and things might give us further insights into prehistoric cosmology, how prehistoric people understood themselves and others in relation to the world.

As such, recognising that different societies have alternative ontologies, different ways in which lines are drawn – if at all – between different categories, is helpful in examining our own preconceptions and dissolving traditional dichotomies, changing what ‘we “see” when we unearth other peoples’ “past lifeworlds”’ (Alberti and Bray 2009: 337). This might apply to different stages of life, for instance. Our own society differentiates childhood from adulthood and sets gradual legal boundaries in relation to the biological age of children, ranging from 12, 14, 16, 18 and 21. Reaching these chronological ages comes with more privileges and responsibilities. Childhood in the past, however, might have been constructed differently or not conceptualised as a separate category at all (for example, Baxter

2008, Pawleta 2004). Another example is that of boundaries between humans and animals. Today apes are being recognised in the Western world as somewhat more evolutionarily related to us and therefore worth protecting; there are even some discussions about whether or not human rights should be extended to apes. There are certainly examples of pet dogs being anthropomorphised into little children, wearing hand-knitted pullovers and eating cake at the table. Human–animal relations and categorisations in the past are equally worth studying, for instance, through modes of co-habitation, art or burial customs. Horse burials at the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt area, for example, do raise the question of a special status of horses (for example, Dular 2007), a status that may include granting horses aspects of personhood. The study of Iron Age personhood can almost be understood as a prerequisite to studying identity, as it defines the entities of analysis.

2.1.3 Identity

Identity in the original sense of the word means ‘sameness’, but its meaning in terms of the person has changed to incorporate the sum of all the idiosyncrasies that make a person unique. Individual identity is constructed through difference rather than on the basis of what people have in common. Identity can be learned, adopted, constructed, emphasised and changed, and as such has many active components, but aspects of identity are not necessarily, or not at all, chosen at free will. The world into which a person is born already sets the parameters of some aspects of identity. Identity is constantly assumed and ascribed by others in their constant need to make the world comprehensible through classification and the recognition of the known – thus to some extent, it is in the eye of the beholder. Searching for personal or individual identity runs the risk of conflating ancient and modern experience (Meskell 2002: 281), as building and emphasising a ‘self-identity’ might be a modern concern (Insoll 2006: 3, Scott 1997). Recently, there has been a vivid discussion of the nature of identity amongst anthropologists (for example, Battaglia 1990, Hallowell 1960, Strathern 1988, Trudelle Schwarz 1997), which provide cautionary examples against assuming similar ways of constructing identities in prehistory to modern western ideology (cf. Siedentop 2014).

It is debatable if concerns of self-expression have been at the forefront of understanding oneself in the past, even if social or group identities are recognisable in the archaeological record. Identity can also be defined as the sum of particular group memberships, such as ethnicity, age group and gender group (for example, Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2006, Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005). Identity can in this sense be understood as sameness among group members who are bound together by common characteristics. Identity is therefore best understood as a relational concept, sitting somewhere between the self and society; hence ‘negotiating identity’ is about finding one’s own place in the world in a network of social relations (Holland et al. 1998). In that sense, identities are contextual and provisional (Cavallaro 2001). Personal and group identity is therefore inextricably intertwined: individuals are always part of social groups, and yet groups are

more than merely the sum of individuals. Social groups can be of very different natures and constitute themselves differently at different times.

Identities are neither given nor set at any point in time. Multiple identities can be held, and identities can shift and change (Casella and Fowler 2004). Changing identities may be socially marked and accompanied by a variety of practices. Famous are initiation rites (van Gennep 1960 [1909]) and changes of appearance (Sørensen 1997), both aspects to an extent observable in the past by archaeological means. Social roles as particular aspects of identities have to be learned through personal experience and are negotiated with the whole society. The negotiation of identity takes place through interaction with others, both on an unconscious level and discursively, but essentially the moulding of identity is a process informed by the interaction of persons with their immediate social surroundings.

Communicating identities is sending and recognising clues that make the identity of one person understandable to the other. The means of communication, used consciously or not, involve dress, hairstyle, gait, postures and gestures, behaviour and habitus (Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu 1990, Giddens 1991). They all carry meanings and messages to the observer. Often material culture is part of identity construction and communication, or practices leave traces in the ground. Through these windows into the past, some aspects of identities may be interpretable in the fragmentary archaeological record, while others get lost in translation into modern times.

Burial evidence and the depiction of individuals in art have one thing in common: in terms of understanding identity, they are third-party evidence. The dead 'do not bury themselves' (Barrett 1994, Parker Pearson 1999), although they might have some agency during their lifetime to decide about their own burial (Arnold 2001, Williams 2004). Burials are carried out by the mourning community, and the identity of the deceased can be manipulated accordingly. The archaeological evidence therefore carries information about those burying as well as the buried person. The depiction of humans in art may carry information about the identity of depicted individuals and people engaging in social interactions, but rarely will they be self-portraits. They are made by artists or craftspeople, perhaps under commission, who have their own views and ways of seeing, classifying, understanding and reflecting on the identities they depict. As mediators of communication, however, it is they who select the very clues to a person's identity to make their message understandable. Pieces of art can then, in themselves, become agents of communicating identity (Gell 1998).

The most important building blocks of identity include sex and gender, including sexuality and reproduction, age and stages of the lifecycle, wealth and status, ethnicity, ideology and religion. Humans, like other vertebrate animals, evolved a reproductive system depending on a male and female part; as such, most people are born with a biological sex that is either male or female. This biological basis is, in many societies, the foundation of gender. Gender as an important component of identity is both a personal experience and a social categorisation (Sørensen 2000). Babies are born as girls or boys, although they are blissfully unaware of this fact. One question a new mother often gets to hear is 'What is the gender of

the baby?’ The only correct answer to this question is ‘I do not know yet.’ In our society, gender is ascribed at birth, but as an experience, gender has to be learned and practiced (Sofaer 2006b). Although at first sight, the male–female dichotomy dominates discussions on gender, it has been realised that there is the possibility of trans-gender, third-gender and other (‘queer’) experiences; societies may ascribe different genders at different stages of life, bring up children in gender roles usually attributed to the opposite sex or create further genders than just male and female; for example, ‘two-spirit-people’ (Holliman 1997).

Although a specific gender archaeology did not emerge before the 1980s in the context of feminist concerns, the attempt to understand male and female roles in societies and the division of labour is much older (for example, Bachofen 1861). Graves provided the perfect opportunity to investigate sets of objects typically associated with males or females. In the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, ascribing gender to graves in an intuitive way was the norm; later, anthropologists investigating skeletal features determined the biological sex of the individual in the grave, and archaeologists juxtaposed this information with data derived from the grave inventories. The interpretation of gendered human images in early Iron Age Europe is likewise primarily based on intuitive categorisations along the lines of female = wears skirt and male = wears trousers, which has caused ample critique (for example, Leskovar 2005); and yet people in the early Iron Age did involve dress in the construction of gender.

Gender archaeology has since moved on to analyse gender as a lived experience through understanding gendered practices and the life experience of gendered bodies (Sofaer and Sørensen 2013). This has led to a critique of the commonly used conceptual distinction between sex and gender and towards the analysis of masculinity, femininity and sexuality as a gendered experience, exploring how sex, gender and sexuality are mutually constituted (Butler 1990, Butler 1993, Joyce 2004, Joyce 2008, Knapp 1998b, Perry and Joyce 2001, Voss 2000). Studies of sexuality most often include the investigation of reproduction management, sexual representations, sexual identities, prostitution and the sexual politics of institutions (Taylor 1996, Voss 2008). Representations of naked bodies and persons in sexual acts are indeed part of the early Iron Age image repertoire in central Europe. Furthermore, a number of bodies are characterised as sexless, perhaps not involved in reproduction (see Section 7.5). Although sexuality is often connected to fertility and reproduction, much of the actual sex life in a person’s lifetime has nothing to do with this; sex might be an act of bodily pleasure or, conversely, of dominance and control.

Reproduction and childbirth is a topic that deserves more attention than it is currently given in gender literature. The experience of childbirth and mothering is a very distinctive part of the life experience of many, but not all, women. Much of many women’s adult lives in the past would have been spent either pregnant or breastfeeding, which are both significant bodily experiences. It is widely assumed that all women go through the same stages of life, encompassing childhood, adolescence, marriage, child rearing and grandmotherhood. And yet, not all women had reproductive success in the past. Some died too young or were

infertile; others' children died before reaching adulthood; some might have been excluded from reproduction for social reasons, whereas others might have had the choice to control their fertility and spacing of children. The roles of women in general and mothers with reproductive success might have been conceptualised differently and have to be analysed accordingly where possible. Child rearing is not only incredibly labour intensive, it often involves a number of people other than the mother and numerous culturally specific practices, from breastfeeding, carrying (Taylor 2010: 123) and swaddling (Frenken 2011) to child abuse (Laes and Mustakallio 2011, Waldron 2006) and infanticide (Conklin and Morgan 1996, Krauß 1998, Scheper-Hughes 1992, Scott 2001). Infancy is the first chapter in understanding age as a category of identity.

Age can be understood in terms of absolute, linear progress in time – the chronological age – but also in terms of physiological and sociological age, which might differ (Ginn and Arber 1995, Robb 2002). The physiological age takes the person's health and physical abilities into account, as they result from the lived-in environment and challenges to the body through work. Bodily tasks that are repeated over and over leave an imprint on the bones through stress markers, abrasion and general wear and tear. The ageing body may become fragile and more limited in the scope of physical abilities, but the meaning of old age is a social construct. How the elderly body is perceived and how old age is socially recognised and responded to vary culturally and are therefore worth studying; comparing the skeletal record of elderly persons with grave inventories is one way forward (for example, Appleby 2011).

A further question related to age is whether and when age was socially recognised and conceptualised in terms of stages a person went through. These might be termed childhood, adolescence, the pre- and post-marital stages, adulthood, maturity and old age, but are by no means universal. Societies differ in the number and kinds of life stages they recognise and the importance that is attributed to these stages. Transitions from one stage of life to another are often marked by elaborate feasts and rites of passage (van Gennep 1960 [1909]), and different behaviours might be appropriate for people in different stages of life, for instance, for unmarried and married women. Stages of life might be marked materially through practices involving the body (circumcision, tattoos, scarification and so on), new hairstyles and new ways of dressing (for example, veiling, wedding rings). Archaeologically these issues have been addressed by cemetery studies that compare the physiological age of the person at death with typical sets of dress elements and grave goods (for example, Burmeister 2000, Hodson 1990).

Gender and age are intrinsically linked and have to be investigated together (Sofaer 2006b). Gender, for instance, might only be recognised as a category for persons during the reproductive years, but not for children or the elderly. Stages of life might typically change at different points in time for men and women. In many societies, women marry earlier than men; hence males typically have a longer period of adolescence, especially when it is the young men who have to acquire resources necessary to set up a family, which might cause all different kinds of problems (Barrett 2008). Weapons as markers of a warrior status might

have to be earned or inherited, and elaborate jewellery is often linked to females getting married or becoming mothers. In old age, material markers of life stages and wealth might be passed on to the next generation or deposited for the gods; an absence of material goods related to the remains of elderly persons is therefore not the best indicator of their status (for example, Gerritsen 2003).

Status is an important component of social identity in later European prehistory, at least since the beginning of metallurgy in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Harding 2000, Renfrew 1978). Rank (Wason 1994) refers to the hierarchical position within a society, based on one's perceived importance. The social status of one person to another is linked to a number of factors, most prominently access to resources, material wealth and power over others (Weber 1922). 'Soft' factors such as skill, knowledge and the overall likeability of a person may also have to be considered and contribute to a person's prestige (see Schumann 2015). Status differences have been noted very early on in archaeology (Babić 2005) and can be expressed in a number of ways such as settlement structures and differences in grave goods and labour investment. The emergence of social complexity and the study of differences in social status and class through cemetery analysis have a long pedigree in studies of early Iron Age central Europe and have also been favourite subjects in a processual framework. Arthur Saxe (1971) and Lewis Binford (1971) argued that the analysis of the variability within the mortuary practices of a single culture is a fruitful endeavour, as graves do provide a fragmented, but accurate, picture of a society, and burial represents the total social persona of an individual; the complexity of a society can therefore be understood through burial practices.

This approach has been criticised as very mechanistic and simple. The equations 'lots of grave goods = rich and powerful person; few grave goods = dependent person' do not hold true for all time periods and places, as famously demonstrated by a study of the Cambridge cremation cemetery (Parker Pearson 1982). John O'Shea (1984) suggested considering the different roles of artefacts in the graves in a better way and to address status differences only after age and gender had been ruled out as causing differences. Joseph Tainter's (1978) study of 93 societies revealed that only 5 per cent use grave goods to symbolise the status of a deceased person, but for all societies the labour investment of the burial is relevant. This led to a stronger focus on burial practices and performance. Status representation practices might differ enormously even between groups living close together, and the status of a person may not be accurately reflected in graves at all, but be distorted and misrepresented; the roles grave goods play might range from personal possessions to gifts from the mourning community (Meyer-Orlac 1982). Clearly, we have to understand grave inventories as a product of relations between the dead and the burying community, as a place where social concerns are worked through, which may include power games and inheritance squabbles.

And yet, the transition from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age is a period when status becomes a major concern in central Europe, negotiated in the mortuary arena and other spheres of social interaction. Differences in grave goods and labour investments in the construction of burial monuments become more

and more noticeable and lead to a monumentalisation of the landscape in various parts of the Hallstatt culture. Using cemetery data to understand status differences between individuals has been undertaken in various areas of the Hallstatt culture and has led to interesting conclusions (for example, Burmeister 2000, Hodson 1986, Rebay 2006, Schumann 2015). Status expression varies between areas, and it is time to rethink and reassess how status was constituted and how it was produced in a social context. Status may be ascribed at birth and through descent or marriage, but may also have a component that is based on personal achievement such as heroic behaviour in battle or excellent craftworking skills. A society's ranking system may be quite fluid and permeable, allowing personal movement throughout the informal scale, but may also become very rigid and class based, like the Indian caste system. Understanding how individuals gained status, maintained it and exercised power over others is a clue to understanding how status affected people's lives as components of individual identity.

Although the archaeology of social differentiation dominated early Iron Age studies in the second half of the twentieth century, ethnicity and regional group identity remained a hidden paradigm. Studying the distribution of different types of finds and their interpretation within the culture–historical paradigm still governs much of how archaeology is thought of in the study area (for a comprehensive discussion, see Gramsch 2006, Popa and Stoddart 2014, Trigger 1989, Veit 1989). Group identities are widely thought of as approachable and understandable through patterns of distribution of material culture, with boundaries of artefact type distribution determining the 'cultural circles' (Rebay-Salisbury 2011), whereas the interaction of groups is often perceived and interpreted literally in terms of the movement and shifting of ethnic groups. Ethnicity is normally understood as consisting of a group of people using the same language and material culture, but also being part of the same 'race', or, in more modern terms, genetic group (Lucy 2005). Apart from the fact that some implicit methodological assumptions have been questioned and challenged by ethno-archaeological studies (for instance in regard to pottery decoration, see Hodder 1982), the level of satisfaction with these kinds of studies is surprising. Attaching a group or ethnic label to an archaeological phenomenon does not actually explain anything or tell us much about the actual people involved. As such, the very concept of a Hallstatt culture can quite easily be questioned, but deeply rooted in and validated through centuries of research history (explained, for example, in Müller-Scheeßel 2000, Sørensen and Rebay 2008a), it remains a useful shorthand and quick reference to time and space. People whose associated material culture does 'not quite fit' into regional traditions have long been recognised as foreign or as immigrants and tell us important tales about the maintenance and acceptance of a different individual identity under the pressure of the peer group. The study of the mobility of individual people and the movement of groups have recently got new momentum through the wider integration of isotope studies in archaeology (for example, Oelze et al. 2012).

In approaching regional identity groups, it is important to acknowledge that they come at different scales, from household to village to wider regions and

landscapes. The concept of ‘nested identities’ or ‘layers of identity’ (Fernández-Götz 2013) is therefore useful to think with. Not all of the different levels of ethnic identity are necessarily associated with material culture and shared practices, and thus are archaeologically accessible, but some of them may be; furthermore they are easily confused with other identity markers (Fernández-Götz 2013: 131). Macro-ethnic tags are particularly unhelpful. There is a vast body of literature on the ‘Celts’ that embraces Hallstatt areas as ‘Celtic’ (Birkhan 1997, Cunliffe 1997, Powell 1980, Rieckhoff and Biel 2001). I would like to refrain from this problematic and unhelpfully coarse classification and instead discuss similarities and differences within the project area in terms of the subtleties of group identities. Connecting names of historically known peoples with archaeological evidence is problematic on many levels, especially if the actual historical record does not provide much more than a description of otherness from a Greek or Roman standpoint. It is unknown what ancient historians meant by Celts; how ethnic groups were defined; and if the term referred to groups with similar language, material culture, beliefs and identity, for example, and it is unclear if there is an actual link to the modern Celts, defined as speakers of Celtic languages (cf. Collis 2003). Although post-Roman, medieval sources in Celtic languages can provide useful analogies to supplement ideas derived from the much more accessible medieval feudal system (for example, Karl 2006), they do not tell us anything about prehistoric notions of identity themselves.

Religion and beliefs are amongst the most difficult topics to access in the absence of written sources, and yet they are important components of people’s lives and identities. By religion, I mean the belief in a transcendent power that goes beyond people’s everyday experience of the world and has the power to influence people’s fates and explain the world’s mysteries. This belief may be conceptualised as related to the cosmos – for example, to the sun or the moon – or to gods with more or less anthropomorphic traits. Religion may be more or less formalised in any given society and a private, public or social concern. The archaeology of religion (Edwards 2005, Insoll 2004) is primarily concerned with the beliefs of groups and less so with beliefs as components of individual identity. Today, in a secular society, there is room for several different religions and beliefs within the boundaries of a society or nation-state (albeit rarely without conflict), but in the past, religious deviance may not have been tolerated.

Beliefs more generally include what people think about the world, the body, death and the afterlife: what it needs to make the world and people’s place within it understandable in their own terms. Importantly, beliefs do not have to be ‘rational’, coherent and consistent; multiple and conflicting ideas can be held and prioritised under certain circumstances (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a: 15). Ideology follows on from beliefs: ideology can be defined as a set of beliefs, a worldview that is dominant within a given society or proposed by the dominant class of a society to encompass all members of this society.

A related concept is that of cosmology, beliefs about the origin and the order of the world and its place in the universe. Most societies have a number of myths, sacred narratives that explain how the world and humankind came to be in its

present form (Dundes 1984). These myths may become materialised by representing narratives in art. In early Iron Age Europe, snippets of mythological stories and beings are captured in art. The material side of beliefs also plays out through practice. Rituals are repeated social actions that may leave traces in the soil for archaeologists to study. Although not all rituals are religious, the ones that are can be explained with a concern about influencing one's fate through making connections with the transcendent powers – for instance, through prayer and offerings.

Towards the early Iron Age, central Europe is characterised by a number of interesting social phenomena that may best be explained in terms of an ideological change, a new *zeitgeist* (Hakenbeck, Rebay-Salisbury and Salisbury in press) or shared cosmological understanding of the world affecting not only the area of the Hallstatt culture, but Europe more broadly. One symptom of this change is a renewed focus on the human body in funerary practices (Rebay-Salisbury in press-a) after cremation; few individualising features had been the dominant funerary rite for centuries (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury in preparation). A greater visual status differentiation, accessible through monumental funerary structures and elaborate grave goods for a small sector of society, reinforces the idea that some individuals rise significantly over others; some humans may even be thought of as heroes or deities after death. Another symptom is the return of human imagery to the body of figurative art after a period of rigid and restricted iconography, with only a few figurative elements such as birds, ships and some celestial motifs (for example, Kossack 1954b, Meller 2004, Wirth 2006). It becomes possible to depict humans or gods in human form – in any case, the distinction between (some) humans and gods becomes blurred.

A significant change in religion and ideology affecting a wide area is therefore not particularly useful to understand personal or group identity; it is, however, part of people's subjective and personal experience of the world. More locally, we might be able to differentiate material traces of particular religious practices such as offerings in sanctuaries and depositions. Although rare, ritual specialists are identifiable in early Iron Age graves (for example, Knüsel 2002, Ramsel 2008, Teržan 1996), and amulets and charms let us glimpse a little of prehistoric beliefs and the strategies applied to influence one's fate in a beneficial way and to ward off evil (Pauli 1975). Particular gestures, such as the ubiquitous orant, may point to communication with transcendent powers and gods, but other gestures and postures may be used more locally and be reflected in local material culture and art.

As we have seen, most aspects that constitute identity, personhood and the body are relational and emerge from the tension between the individual and society; it is therefore useful to turn to network theory next to better understand relations between people, people and material culture and the dynamics that affect these relations.

2.2 Networks

The second part of the theoretical framework that forms the foundation of this book is a network perspective. An increased interest in networks and how they

function might be traceable to the recent rise of the World Wide Web as a web of knowledge (Berners-Lee, Hendler and Lassila 2001), as well as social networking online. Social networking ‘understands’ social relationships in terms of nodes and ties, with nodes being individuals, organisations or businesses, and ties being the all-important relationships or connections between them. The aim of ‘networking’ is to increase the number of nodes and ties, to gain information and to promote and spread it to as wide an audience as possible.

A number of archaeological studies have focussed on networks in the Mediterranean region and beyond in recent years (for example, Blake and Knapp 2005, Horden and Purcell 2000, Knappett 2011, Malkin 2011, van Dommelen and Knapp 2010), although the idea of connectedness, social change through interaction, trade and exchange has been a key concern of archaeology since the beginning of the discipline. ‘Networks’ is a concept that is used in the wider sense to emphasise the relationships between people, animals, material culture and places; a ‘networks perspective’ views the world as a set of relationships and flows between actors. More narrowly, networks analysis applies techniques and approaches to reveal social networks and investigate their nature and characteristics (Conway and Steward 2009: 69–81).

Using a networks perspective in archaeology must go beyond the purely social, as the people as actors are rarely recoverable. Material culture, however, is linked to people and places, and connections between elements of material culture reveal relationships that must have existed. We can, for instance, trace a common raw material source, compare techniques and technologies for common traits and investigate the distribution of similar objects within geographical or topological space. Investigating networks means both trying to understand the nature and structure of social systems and the role and behaviour of network elements; it is therefore a way to investigate both structure and agency (for example, Barrett 2001, Dobres and Robb 2000, Giddens 1984) and how they mutually bring each other into being. Practice in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990) connects objects and people, as the relationship between the structured environment and the structured dispositions engendered in people leads them to reproduce the environment, constituting the lifeworlds and contexts in which people act, even if they become transformed in the process. Actor–network theory (Latour 2005) is probably best known for attributing agency to non-material things; its ‘material-semiotic’ method aims to map relationships that are simultaneously material and semiotic (that is, between things and concepts). The classic sociological example is the school, which involves children, teachers and their ideas, but also a building and various technologies forming a single network. Actor–network theory aims to explain how these networks come together and act as a whole, while emphasising that they need to be constantly performed, made and re-made to remain in existence. This concept is useful in archaeology in the sense that it understands networks as engagement between people, objects and places, and the emphasis on performing networks is a fruitful way to integrate the notion of practice in archaeological studies.

Networks understood in this sense are open ended, ever-ramifying and all-encompassing; in short, impossible to investigate wholly. Setting the boundaries

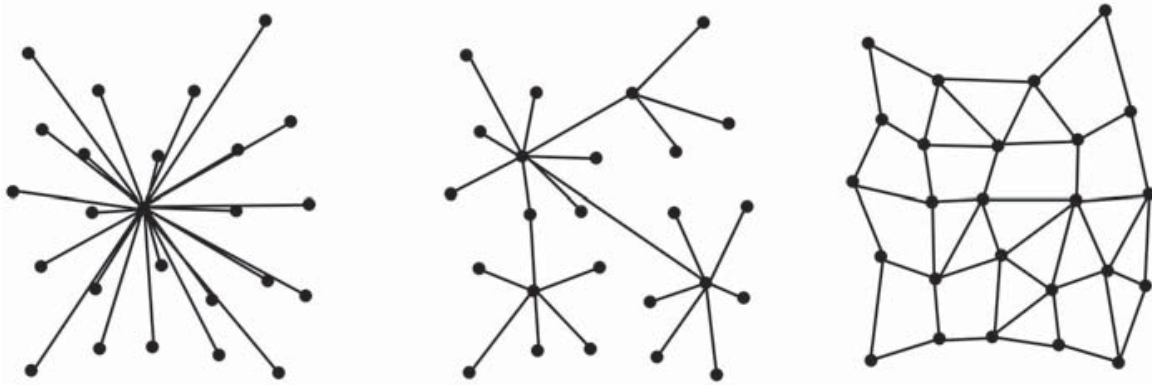


Figure 2.1 Types of networks: centralised, decentralised and distributed networks (after Baran 1964: fig. 1)

of network analysis is therefore a complex problem, as the boundaries are always artificial (for example, Conway and Steward 2009: 70, Freeman, White and Romney 1992: 61, Mitchell 1969). A network study must focus on a section of the network, either a subset of relationships or/and a set of relationships within an enclosed geographical space; alternatively, a focal network may explore the links and ties of only one single network entity. Network studies range from small-scale interactions – for instance, between family members – to the wider social world within the community and extend to questions of inter-regional interaction, colonial encounters and global connectivity (Foxhall et al. in press). Distribution maps in archaeology, for instance, are amongst the earliest attempts to visualise networks; although all they do is represent co-presence in geographic space, the hidden assumption is that something links the dots on the maps, be it a common ethnicity (for example, Childe 1950, Kossinna 1911), a common sense of aesthetics (for example, Megaw and Megaw 2001, Wells 2008b), shared technological knowledge or other factors. Network studies explore the properties of relationships between different entities to get to the bottom of what it is that links the dots together. If we understand specific sites as nodes in a network, for instance, we can begin to differentiate centralised, decentralised and distributed networks (Fig. 2.1) by the way the sites are connected to each other and interpret the role of any given archaeological site within this network.

2.2.1 *Networks as an archaeological concept: features and properties*

A network's basic structure consists of nodes and ties, the entities and the relations between them. Complex networks show patterns of connection between their elements that are neither purely regular nor purely random; it is the patterns and rules of connections that we are interested in to explain cultural phenomena. In a social network, nodes are persons, actors or organisations; in a more general sense nodes in a network may be artefacts, objects, places, contexts, sites. Ties, links and connections are the terms used for relationships; further concepts include *flow*, the 'content' of transactions that occur through the relationships, and *mechanisms*, the

modes of interaction employed (Conway and Steward 2009: 73). Steve Conway and Fred Steward (2009: 86, Table 3.2) provide an excellent overview of network dimensions, and the following overview of features and properties is based on their observations and commented on from an archaeological point of view.

The size of a network primarily describes the number of nodes in a network; these may be individuals or organisations, but also sites, finds or other entities. The size of the network does not refer to its spatial distribution; it is subject to the boundaries set by the researcher, and in archaeological case studies, a number of other factors influence this selection, such as preservation and archaeological visibility. The density of a network refers to the ‘number of linkages between the various members of a network as a proportion of the total number of possible linkages’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 86). In a high-density network, many relations are redundant, as they are multiple connections to the same nodes, but these connections are, of course, particularly strong and continuously re-enacted over time. In a network, more densely connected regions may be called clusters or cliques. Reachability means the ‘average number of linkages between any two members in a network’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 86–87) and is calculated from the number of links that separate any two actors in a network. An individual with a high number of links is also called a ‘star’ (in a network graph, this is just what this node looks like), whereas isolates have no connections to others. Direct connections between two nodes are better for the speed and accuracy of information flow between them; each separate step along the line of transmission enhances the likelihood that information is being transformed, adapted or lost. The ‘Chinese whispers’ effect in the transfer of knowledge can indeed be seen in the archaeological record, as ideas are adjusted to fit local customs and conventions. The diversity of a network describes how different the nodes in a network are; for instance, if they are persons, this might be in regard to gender, age or ethnicity. The openness of a network refers to the degree to which individuals or organisations in the network are connected to those in other networks. Open networks are characterised by strong ties in the core group, but a number of ties to the outside, whereas members of close networks interact predominately with each other (Conway and Steward 2009: 87). The stability of a network is the ‘degree to which size, membership, diversity or density of a network is stable over time’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 87); this is, in fact, a crucial characteristic for archaeological networks. Networks constantly change and transform, so any representation of a network is, invariably, a snapshot of changing circumstances. In archaeology, we cannot usually say for certain if the phenomena we observe are, strictly speaking, contemporaneous, so we must allow for a wider window of time in our observations. The changing properties and dynamics of networks directly contribute to social change, and, in fact, the way social change unfolds may be partly explicable through understanding the dynamics of networks.

The relationships within a network can also vary and have a number of different qualities. Steve Conway and Fred Steward describe the following as the most important (2009: 82–86). The nature of the relationship explains ‘the creation and persistence of relationships between two individuals or organizations’ (2009: 85);

the relationship in a social network may be, for instance, based on economic interests, family and kinship, affection and friendship. Technology, shape or common raw material sources may link artefacts together; sites may be linked by common features such as size, artefact assemblage or date. Particularly strong are multiplex relationships, which are ‘based on more than one type of tie or relation between two individuals or organizations’ (2009: 85). ‘The degree of formalisation of the relationship between two individuals or organizations’ is called formality, whereas intensity ‘concerns the frequency of interaction and exchange between two individuals or organizations’ (2009: 85). Thinking about Greek and Etruscan material culture found in the Hallstatt area, it is often difficult to tell if the relationships behind these transactions were one-offs or bound into a net of diplomatic contacts and trade enacted regularly over a longer period. Moral codes such as guest-friendship would have been the formal framework in which transactions were carried out.

Symmetry, or reciprocity, is another important factor of relationships, as it describes ‘which exchanges within a relationship are reciprocated’. We must not assume that all relationships are mutual and valued equally on both sides. Imitation or skeuomorphism, for example, would be an example where the relationship is rather one sided, with a clear origin of the idea on the one hand and a clear receptor on the other. Finally, trust in a relationship ‘is the expectation in a relationship that the other party will act reliably, fairly, and exhibit goodwill’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 85). Strong relationships exhibit a higher level of trust than weak ones, and information is more likely to be passed on in trusted relationships. Craft knowledge and technical skills such as metallurgy, which may be understood as the secret magic of transformation (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 53), may be kept confidential amongst master and apprentice, who trust each other, but not outsiders.

2.2.2 Personal relationships

Today and in the past, the most important and meaningful relationships are usually within the living and production unit called family and household. A personal network includes family, friends and acquaintances, who know each other on a personal basis rather than in broader categories, and averages about 150 people per person (this number is based on research by Robin Dunbar and therefore is also referred to as Dunbar’s number). The personal network in humans from an egocentric point of view is organised in an inclusive, hierarchical manner: the support clique of about five persons, from whom one would seek advice, support and help in times of distress; the sympathy group of about fifteen persons one feels emotionally close to and contacts at least once a month; the band of about fifty people; and the active network in its entirety. This network comprises about 150 social relations and includes all individuals that one has a personal relationship with and makes a conscious effort to keep in contact with (Dunbar 2010, Dunbar, Gamble and Gowlett 2010). There seem to be constraints on the number of relationships one can maintain at a sensible level, which might be based on

the evolution of the brain (Roberts 2010). Close relationships are demanding and costly; they have to be constantly maintained with some effort, which takes some of the limited time each person has. Before the advent of the Internet, there were also limits to how well a relationship could be maintained if there is a large geographical space in between the two partners.

Kin relationships are networks with particular strength and high density, as kin networks have more ties between individual members than, for instance, networks of friends have. It takes less effort to maintain the network, also, because often within a family, one member takes on the role of the ‘kinkeeper’ and works at keeping family members in touch with each other (Rosenthal 1985). Organising family get-togethers or feasts, as well as passing on information, gossip and organising support, is often the role of an older female within the family; parents often maintain the relationships between siblings. Even if contacts to cousins are not actively maintained, grandparents might pass on stories along with a sense of family connectedness.

Family can be understood in biological terms as the relationship between persons that share a genealogical origin. Members of a family share a proportion of their DNA. The more DNA they share, the more closely related they are. Although we share 50 per cent of our DNA with parents and siblings, this number dilutes to 25 per cent with uncles and aunts and 12.5 per cent with first cousins; the third cousin twice removed shares only 0.195 per cent of an individual’s DNA (given that there are no duplications), at which point relatedness becomes relatively meaningless. Nevertheless, interest in preserving one’s own genes might drive help and support within families. The ‘grandmother hypothesis’, for instance, has suggested that the help of postmenopausal women is a huge contribution to the reproductive success of her children and helps the survival of grandchildren (Hawkes 2004).

Family, however, is as much a social institution as it is a biological fact. It means a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity or co-residence, and although genetic relationships are often implied, family can also include people who are not strictly speaking related. Using the kinship terminology, there is more than one mechanism to make persons just like blood relations: for example, nurture kinship (Schneider 1984), such as adoption and fostering (Howell 2009, Karl 2006), as well as a ceremonial blood-brotherhood, can create such links. A fourth-century BC gold plaque from the burial mound of Kul-Oba, Ukraine, shows an intimate scene in which two Scythians confirm their bond by drinking from one *rhython* (Jacobson-Tepfer 1995: Fig. 55). In some societies, breastfeeding from the same source is what creates kinship relatedness; breast milk rather than blood is seen as the substance that establishes kinship ties and transmits identities such as ethnicity and status (Chapman 2012). ‘Milk kinship’ not only creates strong bonds, but also creates an incest taboo amongst the ‘milk siblings’ breastfed from the same woman (for example, in some Arab societies, cf. Altorki 1980, Parkes 2005).

Heirlooms give evidence of inheritance patterns as well as allow us to understand how materials and artefacts are used to transmit mementos of past emotive

connections. Although we understand kinship to be one of the strongest contributors to stability and tradition, it is important to consider other forms of connect- edness. Friendship might also tie people together. The way in which friendship is understood and differentiated from mere acquaintance is culturally diverse; likewise, what is expected of a friend varies widely. Friendship is reciprocal, vol- untary and based on trust, goodwill and affection; it often implies mutual help and protection. Other than encounters and casual connections, friendship is main- tained over time. Groups of friends are often called cliques, but there are other types of networks with strong group cohesion, including coalitions (exchange- based strategy alignments with reciprocal obligations), as well as groups of com- rades (bonded collective action groups such as warrior groups) and colleagues (shared interest and social distinctiveness, Arrow 2010).

2.2.3 *Scaling up*

At a larger scale, interpersonal relationships unfold in communities (Mac Sweeney 2011, Marcus 2000, Moore 2007, Yaeger and Canuto 2000). There are multiple ways in which we can understand communities in relation to networks: as a subset of specific ties, such as the community of craftspeople or the community of people dedicating votives in a sanctuary, or as a spatially bounded group tied into a land- scape and place, such as the community living on a specific island (for example, Knapp 2003). The community of practice has been recognised as an important venue of socialisation, where people learn to act, produce and craft in cultur- ally specific ways that may create identity (Kohring 2007). Community is under- stood as a form of social identity (Mac Sweeney 2011: 3) actively constructed and constantly enacted. Communities are groups of people that come together at specific points; the community comes into being through enactment. Land- scapes may contribute to constituting communities and are simultaneously a part of the network. In contrast to networks, which are ultimately without boundaries, communities are concise, have boundaries and, at least before global ubiquitous computing, a shared place. In terms of scale, communities are located somewhere in between the household and the region, and yet remain difficult to define. Com- munity is a rather loose term in archaeology, often used to refer to people from specific sites or cemeteries; in that sense, it is an analytical category rather than a sociological one.

Beyond communities, contacts on an inter-regional level have most often been interpreted in terms of trade and exchange (Hänsel 1995, Renfrew 1969, Renfrew 1975, Wells 2008a). Earlier interpretations focussed on the economic logic of trade, taking market dynamics such as supply and demand into account and the ways exchange transactions were carried out, for instance, with or without mid- dlemen or specialised traders. Trade can, however, also be understood in terms of social interactions (Agbe-Davies and Bauer 2010). The anthropological lit- erature has contributed greatly to our understanding of trade by discussing the social mechanisms of gift exchange (Mauss 1954, Peebles 2010), emphasising how social contacts are maintained through a system of credit and debt that goes

beyond the economic. Social debt, the feeling of having mutual responsibilities and obligations towards others, is the glue that holds societies together. Gift exchange between communities, and, in fact, between communities and gods, illustrates the cultural and ideological components of exchange transactions.

World-systems theory (Wallerstein 1974) contributed to understanding the dynamics of socio-political and economic systems at the global scale. The core-periphery concept was adopted particularly in European prehistory (for example, Kristiansen 1994, Sherratt 1993). In this view the 'core' of the economic system is a developed economy and a complex political system, as well as advanced technology and craftsmanship; this core is in control of the system and can be located in Egypt and Mesopotamia for the late Bronze Age, shifting further to the central Mediterranean towards the Iron Age. The contact or buffer zone includes politically and economically subordinated polities and agencies, such as colonies and 'acculturated natives', which play an important role in mediating contacts between the core and the periphery. In the latter, staples and raw materials are sourced, and high-value objects such as prestige goods can be found. The flow of goods from the core is archaeologically evident through manufactured goods, luxury items and technology transmitted to the contact zone and the periphery, but it is much more difficult to determine what flows back. Raw materials, timber, metals and foodstuff such as cereals are attested from historical sources, but are difficult to find in the archaeological record; the exchange of people such as slaves, mercenaries and seasonal labourers was certainly part of the system, perhaps even at a larger scale than we commonly imagine today (Taylor 2001). It is important to understand that a world-system may include exploitative processes with economic dependencies, just like the relationship between the developed world and suppliers today. There are obvious winners and losers; in the short haul, some crafty and business-minded intermediaries might profit greatly (not least by exploiting their own people), while in the long haul, the intermediate zone and the periphery do profit from the transmission of technologies and the social change they trigger. The system might be kept temporarily stable by the establishment of military threat and through diplomatic contacts, including hostage exchange.

Although world-systems theory has been criticised as being overly simplistic, neglecting the agency of people, underestimating the scope of action for the periphery and over-emphasising material links at the expense of ideological and social connections (see Hall, Kardulias and Chase-Dunn 2011: for a comprehensive review), it is a very useful model for understanding the relationship between the Mediterranean and central Europe in the first half of the first millennium BC. It explains a number of phenomena that can be traced archaeologically, including Mediterranean imports into Hallstatt areas, the quick and often short-lived rise of elites at different chronological points during the early Iron Age and the cultural assimilation and adoption of a number of different technologies. Understanding the early Iron Age as in a relationship dependent, but not totally reliant, upon the Mediterranean, thus retaining agency and a certain scope of independent action, is important. Further, agreeing with the model at the large scale does not imply disregarding all the complexities as well as historical developments. Several systems of trade might have existed at once, including down-the-line trade,

and ties between people established through kinship or religion might have been the primary motives of transactions which also extended into the economic. That a world-system is not historically stable and resilient to change has been demonstrated by Andrew Sherratt (1993: in particular Fig. 12), who mapped long-distance trade routes across Europe shifting farther west at the transition from Hallstatt C to D around 600 BC, particularly after the establishment of Greek colonies in the western Mediterranean.

It is questionable if the term ‘colonialism’ is appropriate to use for the ancient world, as most often it is used in the context of European settlement and political control over the rest of the world. ‘Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another’ (Kohn 2012). It is an organised process for specific ends, such as trade or growing food, and involves an unequal, exploitative relationship between the incoming colonisers and the local population. Inevitably, migration is involved, with the movement of people on a substantial scale (van Dommelen 2012). Colonialism creates networks in two quite different ways. First, contacts between the ‘home country’ and the ‘home away from home’ (as the ancient Greeks called colonies, cf. van Dommelen 2012: 396) often remained strong, and goods as well as people travelled back and forth. The foundation of a colony was not a one-off event after which ties were cut, but began a long process of entanglement. Second, the relationship between the local, indigenous population and the incomers needs to be considered. Trade was often established before a more formal ‘colonialisation’ took place. Encounters with newcomers and their material culture triggered a range of changes in the social world of the indigenous population, as they became embedded in the wider world of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, customs of the locals were also often adopted by the colonisers. Colonial encounters in Iron Age France, especially after the foundation of Massalia around 600 BC (Dietler 1997, Dietler 2010), for instance, did not only have local impact, but repercussions on Hallstatt societies as a whole, as consumption practices – wine and associated ceramics – as well as technological practices, were adopted more widely. But it is not all about the wonderful light of civilisation brought to the natives; there is also evidence of resistance and military conflict, as well as persistence or even revival of alien indigenous practices (such as headhunting, cf. Armit 2012). Under the influence of post-colonial theory (Gosden 2001, van Dommelen 2011), more emphasis is placed on understanding the complex relationships between colonisers and indigenous peoples, including understanding hybridity and ‘third space’. The analysis of the cultural legacy of colonialism, often explicitly political, involves hearing and analysing multiple voices. Nothing engenders multiple identities as much as moving between cultures and places; a feeling of belonging neither here nor there gave rise to the notion of ‘diaspora space’ (Brah 1996: 242) to embrace ‘the entanglement of the genealogies of dispersal with those of staying put’.

2.2.4 Network effects and the flow of information

After reviewing the multiple ways in which we can understand networks and the scales of networks that make up our own and the ancient world, this section

reviews network effects and the way information flows within networks. Network size, structure and composition have considerable impact in the way information is transmitted, innovations are adopted and societies changed. Typically, any individual's social network has a small number of strong ties involving high levels of trust and mutual support and a large number of weak ties, loose connections that are not necessarily maintained for substantial periods. Both kinds of ties have their role in the transmission of ideas.

Strong ties, such as family relations and the immediate community people are born and raised in, are important in maintaining traditions. High levels of trust and perhaps an emotional engagement are necessary for some transactions in the network – for instance, borrowing resources when it is unclear if they can ever be repaid, or taking care of children and the elderly. Styles, preferences and embodied technologies – knowledge that is usually not made explicit or discursive – are most often transmitted within the community of practice (Kohring 2007) as part of socialisation and upbringing. Strong ties are thus crucial in maintaining the status quo, in transmitting technologies and in keeping traditions alive. Nevertheless, maintaining traditions is an active and dynamic process, just as innovation and cultural change are too.

Weak ties, on the other hand, are important for rapid transmission of ideas over large distances. Their strength (Granovetter 1973) contributes considerably to the transmission of cultural elements and to innovation. A wide network of weak ties is helpful for the flow of information, for instance, as gossip races through the neighbourhood. For learning about a job opportunity or finding a good doctor, these networks work fine, but they have little changing power; they are links that cannot be depended on for unconditional support.

Allegedly, everybody in this world is connected to everybody else by six or even fewer steps of separation. Complete strangers are linked by a small number of mutual acquaintances, and these links, enabled through ever better means of communication and transport, make the world appear a smaller place. The small-world network, a term made popular by Stanley Milgram's social experiments in the 1960s (Travers and Milgram 1969), is characterised by short path lengths. Most interaction takes place at the local scale, but a few, crucial long-distance connections relate to the wider world. This means that only a few steps are necessary between distant areas for information to flow quickly. So although the global network is large in terms of numbers, each person in it is linked only to a few; the network is decentralised and highly clustered (Watts 1999a: 495–496).

A small-world network emerges from connecting several small local networks in a specific way. In highly connected clusters ('isolated caves' Watts 1999b: 103), all members are connected internally, but not at all externally. Communication takes place only at a local scale. If one internal link of the network is replaced by an external link, however, the local will still be dominant, but information can flow. If there are many such links, information flows slowly because there are many steps from one end of the network to the other. Information can become distorted by going through many nodes (the 'Chinese whispers' effect). By adding only a few random long-distance links, far fewer steps are necessary

between opposite ends of the network and the distance between nodes becomes short. This allows information to flow quickly and preserves the content, as little distortion of information occurs. A local, yet global, small-world network emerges (Fig. 2.2, Watts 1999a). Small-world networks are neither completely ordered nor completely random; they typically show a high clustering coefficient with many strong, interconnected clusters with a high degree of redundancy. This high degree of redundancy makes most parts of the network highly resilient. The strongly interconnected local clusters are connected by only few links, which are random to a certain degree, but highly significant. Small-world networks do not have a typical size and occur on many different scales.

The princely grave of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a), illustrates local and global links in an early Iron Age small-world network. Although most of the grave goods are local – some even produced on the spot – the outside world is cited by including exotica such as the drinking horns, couch and the cauldron. The cauldron is a particularly interesting piece of hybrid material culture, as two of the attached lions are (western) Greek like the cauldron (Bieg 2002), but one lion has been replaced by a local imitation, presumably after it was lost. Cultural citations (Helms 1988) such as these associate elites with long-distance travel through which foreign goods and esoteric knowledge are acquired for political advantage and to gain prestige. They illustrate the distant links that tie the Hallstatt communities to the wider world.

Innovation as a cultural process can be triggered either by internal inventions and internal social changes or by the integration of foreign cultural elements. New ideas are most often products of a network rather than appearing ‘fully formed and articulated from a single source’ (Conway and Steward 2009: 93). In either case, innovation crucially relies on the context into which information flows. Some ideas take off immediately, whereas others never go beyond the experimental stage and are given up before they can catch on: the right conditions and a network of links with sufficiently strong connectivity need to be in place for inventions to become embedded as innovative technologies. An ‘innovation network’ is characterised by an open network configuration, the presence of bridges and boundary-spanning activity, a diversity of internal and external actors and

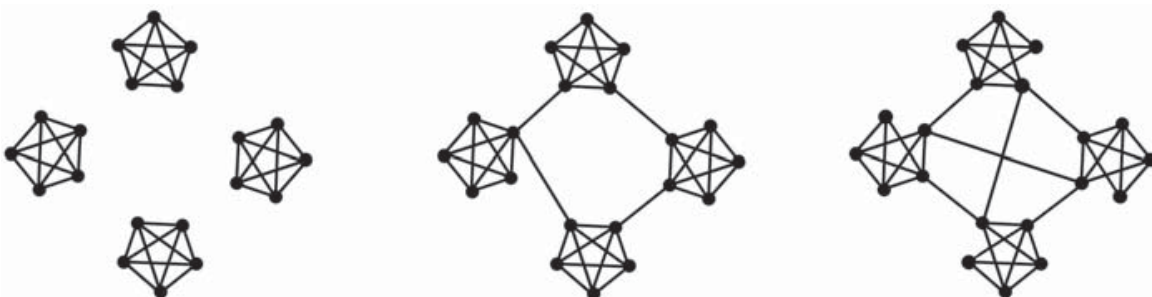


Figure 2.2 Connecting cavemen: isolated cavemen, connected cavemen, some local connections replaced by global connections (small-world network) (after Watts 1999b: 103, 108)

informal, personal relationships supplementing more formal links (Conway and Steward 2009: 94). It helps if innovation is seen as an advantage; corresponds to norms, experiences and needs of potential adopters; and is relatively easy to notice, understand and test (Hofmann and Patzke 2012: 87). Further, the social statuses of innovators and early adopters are crucial in overcoming potential reluctance to accept change and adopt innovations. Over time, early adopters can be distinguished from late adopters, as well as laggards in the process (Rogers 1958). Absolute numbers of network participants may play a role in the embedding of new information, but the adoption of new ideas and technologies involves active agents and elements of decision making: progressive or conservative thinking may help or hinder innovation.

Knowledge changes as it becomes transmitted. Some of this change includes small, unintentional copy errors and is almost natural; in fact, it has been likened to the process of biological evolution, in which modification of genes and their selection are crucial processes (for example, Eerkens and Lipo 2005, Eerkens and Lipo 2007, Shennan 2002). That cultural traits are, in fact, subject to similar selective pressure as genes is doubtful, as it is not the cultural traits that replicate, but they become replicated through cultural processes. Knowledge and technologies do, however, not only change at random, but also through various processes of directed change. This includes technological improvements or adaptation to local circumstances, environments and materials. It has been noted that cross-craft interaction, the transmission of a technology and style usually used for one material to another (Brysbaert 2007), is an important source of innovation.

As we have seen, the more steps between the nodes, the more likely it is that information becomes lost, distorted or otherwise changed. In the context of this study, it is particularly important to understand the ‘Chinese whispers’ effect when analysing how early Iron Age motifs change as they travel over distance and across different materials. Treating all elements of a human image as units of information, a comparison between the images of a charioteer in two different materials reveals changes in the image, as well as in the essence of the information that is to be transmitted. The frieze on the *situla* of Kuffern, a bronze vessel found in an early La Tène grave in Austria (Karner 1891, Lucke and Frey 1962, Nebehay 1993), shows a charioteer with reins in one hand, while he startles the horses with a stick and looks back over his shoulder. The image, carried out in repoussé and chasing technique, depicts the driver in quite some detail. The same motif was found on a large ceramic vessel with conical neck from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962), but this time made of lines of single, soft impressions. This technique sets the resolution to a minimum and forces a focus on the units of information that absolutely have to be transmitted. The non-linear perspective chosen by the potter for horses and chariot allowed them to be depicted simultaneously from both sides and could therefore clearly state that there are two horses involved, but also that the type of wagon is a chariot rather than a four-wheeled wagon (a significant difference at the time). Other details concentrate on communicating the charioteer’s identity, which is difficult for an image that is barely a stick figure; nevertheless, it is clear that the person is depicted as male, by

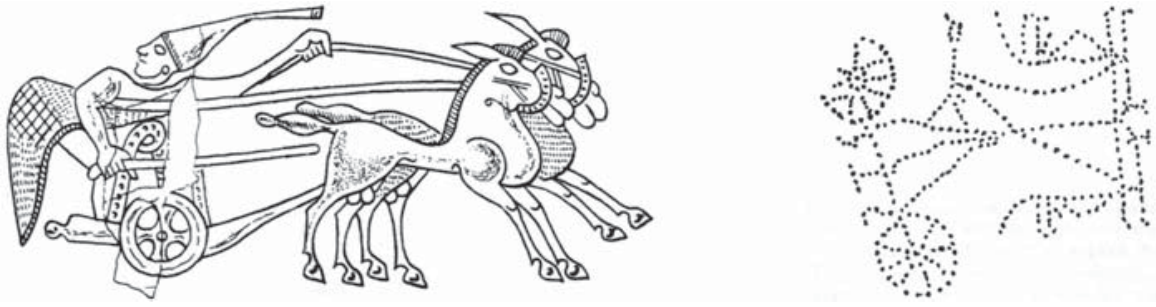


Figure 2.3 Charioteers on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria, and a ceramic vessel from Rabensburg, Austria (after Felgenhauer 1962: 94, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75)

two carefully placed dots just at the right spot and wearing the long, pointed cap typical of chariot drivers (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b).

In this example, the material of the object, the technique of decoration and the perspective are altered as the image crosses the Alps, and yet the essence of the image which addresses the depicted person's identity is retained. Communicating the social identity of the depicted person and clarifying his social categorisation are the important issues as information travelled through trans-Alpine networks.

2.3 Identity and/as communication

'The self arises in social interaction with others' (Mead 1934), moulded and changed through social feedback. If we take identities as the flow of information between people, we can begin to understand how network dynamics makes a difference to the way identities are understood. Identity is bound up in a constant feedback loop, in which information is sent, received, evaluated and responded to. This information is then sent back and is crucial to the evaluation, re-assessment and further construction of the self. Positive feedback may contribute to a sense of self-worthiness and further affirm identity, especially within the in-group. Negative feedback, on the other hand, may cause insecurity, an attempt to change the signals or, conversely, an affirmation of boundaries.

The means of communication – or elements of information – are bound up in the way identities are constructed and use non-verbal clues such as dress and material culture, gestures and postures, as well as *habitus* and practices. Other signals like sex and skin colour are biologically based, but can be culturally altered, if not completely deleted. Verbal means of communicating identity remain, of course, inaccessible to prehistoric archaeologists, but this does not, for our purposes here, have to be a disadvantage. In many social encounters, 'the medium is the message' (McLuhan 1964) – not the content of the message, which we tend to foreground, but the process in which it is delivered, and subtly changes a society's norms and values. The form the medium takes is embedded in the message and does, in fact, influence how the message is perceived and received. This can be directly applied to human communication; not only the words, but the whole appearance of the person conversing is the message.

Messages do not necessarily reach the recipient as they have been intended. True understanding between partners in communication is only possible if the language is exactly the same, which does not even happen within families or between closest acquaintances. Even slight variations result in distortion of the message and in changes of information. The more recipients or links a message has to go through, the more distorted it may become – the classic ‘Chinese whispers effect’ occurs. The flow of information can become blocked for a variety of reasons, including cultural boundaries that are difficult to penetrate and impermeable for some sectors of society. Women, for instance, may have less opportunity to travel outside their home community in patriarchal societies; peasants have responsibility towards their land and rarely the means for travels further afield. It is thus often the elite whose members have the connections reaching the furthest; communication over cultural boundaries, however, is more difficult, as there are fewer strong links with much redundancy.

Thus far, we have assumed a symmetric relationship between nodes in a network, but information flow can be a directed process. Signals of identity can be sent out to and received by many people. High-status individuals, for instance, may be known by a large number of people, without the person necessarily knowing all the ‘commoners’. The elements of identity they signal in terms of fashion and elite behaviour, for example, may find a large number of followers and copiers, without much flowing back, except, perhaps, affirmation justifying their position.

Human representations take part in this network of communicating identities. As non-human actors, they visualise and mediate identity. They play a crucial part in transmitting ideas about identity and shaping social expectations. Art as sign language and in communication will be further discussed in Section 5.2.

3 The Iron Age setting

The aim of this chapter to characterise the early Iron Age in central Europe, clarifying place and time, but most importantly, what life was like. A large number of detailed specialist studies about the Hallstatt culture exist in all areas of this study, but syntheses that are both super-regional and sufficiently detailed are few and far between. There is little comprehensive literature in English on the late Bronze and early Iron Age in central Europe beyond a very superficial level, although the region is often included in large-scale overviews (e.g. Collis 1984, Kristiansen 1998). One ends up with the impression that the early Iron Age is either a uniform Hallstatt block or, alternatively, a conglomerate of groups without much in common. Spread over a rather complicated modern political setting of nation and language borders, the divide into western and eastern Europe during the Cold War particularly influenced the way in which the Hallstatt culture was studied; namely in a fragmented, regionally focussed way along modern nation boundaries.

For the purpose of this study, which focuses on networks within and beyond the Hallstatt area, a strict definition of the ever-changing boundaries of cultural groups is neither necessary nor desirable. In describing similarities and differences between regions, the necessary background for the study is explained. The geographical entity one inhabits and the relations to immediate neighbours are, of course, building blocks of identity and, as such, important to the early Iron Age people.

This study is chronologically set before one can truly speak of the ‘Celts’ in the region, although, of course, the Hallstatt culture is one of the foundations of Celtic culture and encompasses the region in which it most likely emerged. Nevertheless, I would like to keep the ethnic label where it belongs, namely in the chronological vicinity of the beginning of our era and the century leading up to it. ‘Celtic art’, however, describes a phenomenon emerging in the early La Tène period, in some areas already in the fifth century BC. Celtic art embraces components of Hallstatt, as well as Etruscan and Scythian art, and combines geometric as well as figurative elements, such as plant, animal and body parts, into complex patterns with characteristic curvilinear forms (Jacobsthal 1944, Megaw and Megaw 2001). Celtic art is the cut-off point for this study, as human representations are quite a different matter and occur much more frequently after the Hallstatt period. Society and art underwent dramatic changes that cannot be addressed in the scope of this

study. On the other hand, there are forms of Hallstatt art that continue well beyond the early Iron Age into the La Tène period: the *situlae* are a prominent example of this. One of the latest objects of this kind is the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: 75, Nebehay 1993), dating to the fifth century BC but most likely deposited around 400 BC in a La Tène-period weapon grave (Urban 1989: 199). Particularly the Alpine sanctuaries include depositions of objects spanning centuries within the first millennium BC, but remain stylistically close to Hallstatt art; not only are they difficult to date as individual objects, but the exact date is not that relevant – they testify to a longer-lived cultural identity than the strict chronological brackets archaeologists like to employ.

3.1 Unity and diversity: the regions

The Hallstatt area as a whole encompasses a territory spread over parts of the modern nations of France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia and Italy, an area of temperate climate and diverse landscapes ranging from fertile, rolling lowlands to Alpine highlands. Developing from the preceding Urnfield culture, the introduction of iron and iron technology (Cech and Rehren 2014, Pleiner 2000) is a turning point, even if iron, at that stage, was used selectively and did not penetrate all aspects of life in the same way as in the La Tène period. Iron was used from around 800 BC in central Europe, but its use is not exclusive to the Hallstatt area.

The unity of the Hallstatt area was first recognised by Hans Hildebrand at the Seventh International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology in Stockholm in 1874 (Weiss 1999: 9). It was described in terms of an art style and certain elements of material culture such as the conical-necked vessel, red-and-black painted pottery, the iron sword, bronze vessels and *fibula* types. The strong connection between the Hallstatt world and the Mediterranean, in particular Italy, was noted early on and formed the foundation of the first chronological framework developed by Moriz Hoernes (1885). People of early Iron Age central Europe looked to the Near East for lifestyle inspirations; the drinking and dining culture, including material paraphernalia, a taste for exotic luxury goods and the visual culture is characterised by an eager reception of outside influences (Hansen 2011: 293). The similarities in the style of material culture that is used to define the Hallstatt culture, can, however, be found outside the areas that are conventionally understood as Hallstatt (Kossack 1980: 35). It is the entirety of the Hallstatt lifestyle and its intermediate role between the Mediterranean world and the European periphery that characterises the culture and defines its extent.

Social criteria, namely a stratified society with a ruling elite (Gebhard 1993: 4), were later added as a defining characteristic of the Hallstatt culture. Social stratification is most visible in the building of burial mounds and an increase in settlement hierarchies. Burial mounds, however, are common in many prehistoric periods and a defining characteristic of the middle Bronze Age Tumulus culture. In the late Bronze Age, the practice of mound building continued in some areas. Particularly between Burgundy and the French Jura, central Hessen and north

Bavaria, ninth century BC burial mounds could reach considerable dimensions with a diameter of up to 50 m. From about 800 BC, the practice of mound building spread to the west, north and east and became characteristic of the Hallstatt culture (Pare 2003).

Traditionally, the Hallstatt culture has been divided into a western and an eastern ‘circle’, after Otto Tischler noted a distinction between western graves with swords and eastern graves without swords but showing stronger Italian influences (Tischler 1881). The divide was geographically fixed at the rivers Enns, Moldova and Elbe by Georg Kossack (1959). A study by Nils Müller-Scheeßel (2000), who evaluated similarities and differences between the regions of the Hallstatt culture in the light of research history, found some good arguments for cultural coherence in the west, but little that unites the east: the East Hallstatt area is a conglomerate of different regional groups that have little in common, except that they have been treated historically as one entity.

Despite numerous well-founded critiques, the notion of the cultural area as an archaeological concept has not died out (Roberts and Vander Linden 2011). Cultural areas have been persistent for three reasons: first, because they provide a convenient shorthand for time and place in archaeological discourse; second, because they reflect the research traditions of the entities described; and third, because at some times and particular places, material culture and traces of practices do indeed correlate with some form of regional identity. Unfortunately, it is often not easy to distinguish the degree to which the latter two facts have shaped the cultural concepts still widely used in continental literature. In the following brief summary I take a generous (and thus superficial) approach to describing the boundaries and regions of the Hallstatt area and beyond for the purpose of giving the reader a broad orientation (Fig. 3.1); it should not continue debates on the exact boundaries, names and cultural groups in the area. Cultures are dynamic and ever changing; a more or less static description must therefore always be found wanting.

3.1.1 *The north*

The northern boundary of the Hallstatt area is normally defined by the Mittelgebirge (Hansen 2011: 291), a belt of low mountain ranges between the northern lowland and the Bavarian Alpine foreland, extending over the Czech border into the Bohemian Massif. Beyond the study area, towards the northwest, the late Bronze Age Laufeld group develops into the Hunsrück-Eifel culture, which occupies the middle Rhine region between the end of the seventh century and the mid-third century BC (Haffner 1976, Hornung 2008, Schneider 2012). The Hunsrück-Eifel culture is relevant for the Hallstatt–La Tène transition at around 500 BC, as a high number of wagon graves and ‘Celtic art’ objects are known from this area. Farther east, the Thuringia culture (Claus 1943, Heynowski 1992) continues between the rivers Weser and Elbe. Between this group, the West Hallstatt culture and the Lusatian culture in the east of the Czech Republic, the Bylany culture (Koutecký 1968) serves somewhat as a buffer in the northwestern Czech Republic.



Figure 3.1 Hallstatt groups and regions in relation to modern nation boundaries

A larger cultural complex, the Lusatian culture, continues farther east beyond the study area to the River Vistula: it occupies some of eastern Germany and most of Poland from the North Sea and the eastern part of the Czech Republic (Gedl 1975, Rücker 2007). The Lusatian culture is the direct northern neighbour of the East Hallstatt area. The late Bronze Age and early Iron Age are subsumed under one cultural bracket between circa 1300 and 500 BC, as there is no break in the cultural development in the area. Arable agriculture formed the basis of subsistence; settlements include both open villages and fortified sites, of which Biskupin in Poland (Rajewski 1959) and Berlin-Buchau (Kimmig 1992) in Germany are probably the most famous. Cremation burials remained the norm throughout the whole period, although changes in the specific treatments of the bodies can be observed over time. The cemeteries of Cottbus-Alvensleben and Niederkaina, Germany (Coblentz and Nebelsick 1997, Gramsch 2010, Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007), recently provided detailed insights into the treatment of bodies and

changing funerary practices. Contacts between the Lusatian and Hallstatt areas, particular the northeast, can be seen in both the funerary practices and in art. Human images sketched on pottery at a number of Polish sites are closely related in style and choice of motifs. Further, the Pomeranian face urns are a striking feature that developed in the Lusatian area and become most common in northern Poland between the seventh and second centuries BC. As well as housing the cremated remains, they embody the cremated individual quite literally. Eyes and noses make the face recognisable, but some are also adorned with bronze earrings or necklaces (Kneisel 2012, La Baume 1963).

3.1.2 The west

The West Hallstatt area extends from France in the west to the Bohemian-Moravian highlands in the east and from the Mittelgebirge in the north to the Alps in the south. It is most often geographically defined by the extent of the ‘princely seats’ (*Fürstensitze*) and ‘princely burials’ (*Fürstengräber*): rich, elaborate inhumation graves in burial mounds with southern imported goods, gold jewellery, wagons and horse gear (for a debate on Wolfgang Kimmig’s terminology, see Biel 2007, Müller-Scheeßel 2006, Schweizer 2006). Swords are typical for the early, daggers for the late Hallstatt period.

Most generously, the western borders of the West Hallstatt area are set at the sources of the Seine in Burgundy or the upper Loire River (Megaw and Megaw 2001, Müller-Scheeßel 2000: 26). Vix and the Mont Lassois in France (Joffroy 1979, Rolley 2003) are perhaps the best known sites in the region. The discovery of a princely tomb at Lavau in France’s Champagne region in 2015 promises exciting insights in the near future (Institut de recherches archéologiques préventives 2015). The area west of the Rhine, including the Palatinate, Saarland, north-eastern Switzerland and eastern France, is a crucial area for the development of many Hallstatt characteristics, as in that region, inhumation burials with swords and under mounds already appear in the late Bronze Age (Pare 2003, Wamser 1975).

The north–south axes of the rivers Elbe, Moldova and Enns are used to divide the western from the eastern Hallstatt areas (Kossack 1959), although, of course, this does not reflect the archaeological record accurately. Most regional syntheses follow modern political entities, such as southwest Germany (Baden-Württemberg). Internal divisions of the West Hallstatt area are most often described in terms of geographical entities such as river valleys and basins (for example, the Altmühl Valley in Bavaria). Regions with high population densities and large numbers of graves cluster in geographically favourable areas, and unsurprisingly, the regions follow slightly different cultural trajectories over time.

The northwest Alpine area can be divided into northern and southern Württemberg groups – the Forest of Hagenau group, the Middle Rhine group and the Saar-Palatinate group – as well as Burgundy and the Swiss Plateau (Parzinger 1988: 53). The northern Württemberg group encompasses the areas of the upper Neckar River and the River Enz; in southern Baden-Württemberg regional entities include

Breisgau, Hegau, Black Forest and the middle and eastern Alb. Prominent sites in the area include the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1976a) at the slopes of the Black Forest, the Heuneburg settlement on the Danube (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012) and the burial mounds in its surroundings such as the Speckhau group that includes the Hohmichele (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003, Kurz and Schiek 2002) and the Bettelbühl group (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2011). The cemetery of Mauenheim (Aufdermauer 1963) in Hegau is also well known. Alb-Hegau ceramics (Keller 1939) appear in the early Iron Age (eighth and seventh century) in this area; they are handmade specifically for funerary use and decorated with polychrome, stamped and cut geometric patterns of high complexity. The ceramic forms are varied and creative, including impressively large stepped plates.

The Hagenau group, with the highest numbers of sites between the Rheine, Sauer and Zorn, include groups of burial mounds such as Maegstub and Weitbruch (Sangmeister 1969). Sites of the Middle Rheine group are concentrated in the Upper Rhine Plain, which includes smaller regional entities such as the Wetterau, Rheingau, Reinhausen, Ried and the Neckar-Rheine confluence (Parzinger 1988: 67). The Saar-Palatinate group lies west of the Middle Rheine group and north of the Hagenau group; its northern neighbours are the Hunsrück-Eifel culture. Sites cluster south of the River Nahe in the North Palatine uplands and the Palatinate Forest (Parzinger 1988: 70).

Bavarian groups continue farther south, with Schirndorf (Hughes 1999, Hughes 2001, Müller-Scheeßel 2009b, Stroh 1979, Stroh 1988, Stroh 2000a, Stroh 2000b) one of the best-known and best-published cemeteries in the region. The valley of the River Altmühl also includes several important cemeteries such as Riedenburg-Untereggersberg (Nikulka 1998) and Dietfurt-Tankstelle (Augstein 2015).

The Inn-Salzach region (Stöllner 1996–2002) provides a crucial link between the northwest and southeast Hallstatt areas. Important sites include Hallstatt (Hodson 1990, Kern et al. 2009, Kromer 1959b), the eponymous site for the early Iron Age, and the Dürrnberg near Hallein (Lobisser 2005, Moser 2010, Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012, Stöllner 1999, Stöllner 2002, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2015), a late Hallstatt/early La Tène centre. Both sites have to be understood as reflecting Alpine communities with an economy based on salt mining (and perhaps meat processing) as well as trade, which enabled them to acquire considerable wealth. Hallstatt particularly is sometimes understood as the intersection between the western and eastern Hallstatt areas, with graves of locals and foreigners from outside the Alpine area (for example, Dörner 2002, Egg 1978).

The inner Alpine region in Tyrol, Salzburg, Upper Austria, Styria and Carinthia remains significant in the early Iron Age, not only as a rich source of raw materials, but also in terms of connecting trade over the Alps. Further, Alpine pastures were used for transhumance farming since at least the late Bronze Age (Cerwinka and Mandl 1998). Cremation graves, often with stone cists, prevail in the inner Alps, with flat cemeteries such as Welzelach or Bischofshofen (Lippert 1972,

Lippert and Stadler 2009). Natural elevations and rock outcrops are frequently utilised as locations for burial mound constructions in the Alpine environment.

3.1.3 The east

The eastern Hallstatt provinces are much less culturally coherent than those of the west; they are a cluster of groups that differ in many aspects, including the subsistence base, use of material culture and burial practices (Müller-Scheeßel 2000). In general, tradition seems to play a greater role in the east. The eastern areas are characterised by a stronger continuity of Urnfield practices, including cremation, the role of pottery in graves and the style of material culture. The primary weaponry includes lances and axes rather than swords and daggers, and single sets of horse gear suggest that riding horses was at least as important as using horses to draw a wagon. Human images and plastic decoration of ceramics are more prevalent. The East Hallstatt area has its centre in the eastern Alps, but extends to lowland regions of Lower Austria, Burgenland, Styria, Carinthia, southern Slovakia, western Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia (Weiss 1999: 11).

Within these boundaries, the northeast Alpine group extends over parts of eastern Austria, Moravia, Slovakia and western Hungary. Although situated in fertile farmland, little access to raw materials explains that metal finds in the area are rare; this is, however, over-compensated for by the amount and quality of pottery found in graves, which include a range of peculiar forms. The burial practices are deeply rooted in the Urnfield culture, and cremation is predominant throughout the early Iron Age. Despite these traditions, the area is not cut off from the broader Hallstatt trends: grave structures become more and more elaborate until around 600 BC, when monumental burial mounds begin to be built. Large burial mounds with *dromoi* as entrances are found as far north as Morašice, Kr. Znojmo (Golec 2004), an area between the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands and the rivers Thaya and Morava that is sometimes called the Horákov group (Podborský 1974). Only separated by modern state boundaries, but with no real cultural breaks, the Kalenderberg group (Rebay 2006: 258–261) continues farther south into eastern Austria, southern Slovakia and western Hungary around Sopron. Western Hungarian Hallstatt groups extend to the River Danube and include a northeastern group in the Danube Bend, a group around Lake Balaton and the basin of the River Raab, and a south Pannonian group (Patek 1993).

Looking at the eastern boundary of the Hallstatt area, which can be drawn along the rivers Váh in Slovakia and the Danube stretching north–south along the great Hungarian plain, we find groups of Scythian character: the Upper Tisza group, the Alföld group and the Transylvanian group (Kromer 1986, Teržan 1998). Most importantly, these groups have to be understood in terms of their lifestyle. The landscapes of the Hungarian plain with its swamps and steppes afford subsistence practices such as herding and animal breeding, although there is also evidence for agriculture. A high emphasis on horse breeding and fighting on horseback is typical for groups living a nomadic or transient lifestyle, which has contributed to the image of these ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’, ‘Pre-Scythian’ and ‘Scythian’ groups as

warlike raiders and invaders from the east (Metzner-Nebelsick 2002: 483–493). Although eastern material culture, in particular horse gear and certain items of weaponry, start to make their impact in the eighth century BC and might even contribute to the social change and the emergence of elites apparent at the Bronze/Iron Age transition, eastern influence becomes stronger and perhaps even devastating to the northeastern Hallstatt groups from around 600 BC.

The three adjacent groups differ in terms of their burial rituals. The Upper Tisza group cremated their dead. A typical set of weapons includes an axe plus one or two spearheads, sometimes a dagger and a bow and arrow as well as horse gear. The Alföld group used both cremation and inhumation in their burial rites and included a bow and arrows, sometimes an axe and one or two lances. Horse burials are common, as well as the deposition of horse gear in graves. The famous cemetery of Szentés-Vekerzug included fourteen horse burials amongst the 151 graves (Kemenczei 2003). The Transylvanian group inhumes their dead. *Akinakes* – a particular form of dagger – are the primary piece of warrior equipment, along with the bow and arrow; sometimes axes and horse gear are included in the graves as well.

Contacts between the Hallstatt area and groups farther east were perhaps not always the most peaceful. Earlier research has imagined two waves of large-scale invasion triggering major social changes in the eighth and sixth centuries BC: the ‘Thraco-Cimmerian’ and ‘Scythian’ invasions (Kromer 1986), but it is perhaps more fruitful to picture small-scale warfare and raids as well as political alliances with winners and losers. Smolenice-Molpír, Slovakia, for example, (Dušek and Dušek 1984) was almost certainly amongst the settlements that were destroyed by Scythian warriors around 600 BC and discontinued; the cemetery of Chotín (Dušek 1966), with definite Scythian traits, was founded around that time in the close vicinity. Many other settlements in the northeast were discontinued at the time, and some even speak of a collapse of the East Hallstatt culture (Teržan 1998). Other areas, such as Carniola, Slovenia, might have profited indirectly from contacts to the east; here, too, some destruction layers are found in the settlements, but they continued afterwards, and Scythian material culture and practices became more readily absorbed.

The southeast Alpine group extends over Austria, Slovenia and parts of Croatia and includes the river valleys of the Sava, Mura and Rába. The landscape is fragmented by marked valleys, but provides rich raw materials, including copper, iron and lead ores. The Austrian part includes sites like Strettweg (Egg 1996a) and Kleinklein (Egg and Kramer 2005, Egg and Kramer 2013) in Styria and Frög (Tomedi 2002) in Carinthia, regional centres which are sometimes treated as distinct groups. The Styria (Štajerska) and Carinthia (Koroška) groups extend over Austria and Slovenia (Gleirscher 2005b, Teržan 1990). The Sv. Lucija (Santa Lucia) group can be found in the upper Soča River area and, in the Julian Alps, are located the Ljubljana group and the Notranjska group in inner Carniola (Gabrovec 1999: 150). They differ in terms of their settlement patterns, but both bury their dead in flat cremation cemeteries with scattered cremations marked by

stone slabs, but with standardised sets of pottery and male and few female dress elements; weapons are not normally included in male graves (de Marinis and Teržan in prep).

The Dolenjska (Lower Carniola) group is spread over southeast Slovenia, a prosperous, hilly area with a large number of fortified central places, for example, Stična (Gabrovec 1994). The group differs from others in burial rite: unlike most of the eastern Hallstatt area, inhumation is dominant, and a large number of graves are arranged within a single burial mound. These burial mounds most likely represent families or clans and are found in groups, for instance, at Stična (Gabrovec et al. 2006), Magdalenska gora (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004) or Novo Mesto (Knez 1986, Knez 1993a, Knez 1993b, Križ 1997a, Križ 1997b, Križ 2000, Križ 2006). The graves are well equipped with iron objects, glass jewellery and bronze; the eastern core of Situla Art is also located in this area (Kromer 1962: Verbreitungskarte). An emphasis on horse breeding, training and trading, a popular motif in Situla Art, connects Lower Carniola to the Veneto and emphasises the role of trade around the northern Adriatic.

Sites like Kaptol (Potrebica 2012, Vinski-Gasparini 1987) and Jalžabet (Šimek 1998), Croatia, demonstrate that the Hallstatt area extends into Slavonia, the Sava–Drava interfluvies up to their confluence with the Danube (de Marinis and Teržan in prep). The prevailing mode of burial is cremation graves under tumuli, sometimes of more than one individual, which can form burial landscapes of several hundred mounds. Settlement centres look inconspicuous in comparison to the wealth expressed in some monumental graves.

3.1.4 The south

A variety of Alpine communities between Lake Maggiore and Lake Como, the lower Inn Valley and Lake Constance are referred to as *Raeti* in ancient sources (Metzger and Gleirscher 1992), and in the archaeological literature as the Laugen-Melaun (Luco, Meluno) and Fritzens-Sanzeno cultures, for the early and late Iron Age, respectively. Epigraphic sources indicate that their language was most closely linked to Etruscan. Cremation graves are common, but not particularly conspicuous. Proto-urban centres are lacking, but cremation sanctuaries (*Brandopferplätze*) are an interesting feature of the inner Alpine landscape with large deposits of cremated animal bone, pottery fragments and occasional bronze finds; votives in the form of human images became more common during the course of the Iron Age. Old sheet bronze objects like belts or *situlae* were sometimes recycled for anthropomorphic cut-outs (for example, Gleirscher, Nothdurfter and Schubert 2002, Steiner 2010).

The Camonica Valley north of Lake Iseo in eastern Lombardy is famous for its rock art (Anati 1994, Bevan 2006). The art spans from the Copper Age to the modern era, and is notoriously hard to date (Pause 1997); stylistic similarities and some depicted artefacts indicate, however, that some of the images date to the Iron Age. The human images are most often scratched or stippled into the rock surface

and are relatively small (rarely exceeding 15 cm). It is unclear if the inhabitants of the valley, the *Camuni*, belonged to the *Raeti* or were a distinct ethnic and language group (de Marinis and Teržan in prep).

Towards the south, at the southern edge of the Alps, Etruscan influences are mediated via two important cultural regions, which are at times understood as distinct cultural areas and sometimes subsumed in the Hallstatt world. The western area, encompassing western Lombardy, eastern Piedmont, Ticino and the Mesolcina valley, is home to the Golasecca culture (de Marinis and Teržan in prep; Rapi 2012), stretching from the Alpine watershed in the north and along the Po River in the south. The Mesolcina valley is significant as a connection to the north, allowing access to the Rhine river valley via the San Bernardino Pass (Pauli 1971). The Golasecca culture is also known under the ethnic name of the Lepontii; early inscriptions indicate that Lepontic was a Celtic language. Important centres were Castelletto Ticino, Sesto Calende and Golasecca in the southern Lake Maggiore area and Como at the southwest of Lake Como. In this area, cremation was prevalent during the early Iron Age. The dead were cremated and deposited in simple urn graves, which were sometimes covered or lined with stones. Children and adolescents were excluded from the regular burial rite, and over time, from the middle of the eighth century BC, the simple funerary equipment gave way to more elaborate characterisation of the dead. Wagons, weapons (including defensive armour), and metal vessels are now found in the graves, for instance, at Sesto Calende (de Marinis 1975, de Marinis 2009, Ghislanzoni 1944) and Como-Ca' Morta (Bertolone 1957, Kossack 1957). Although Etruscan influences were noticeable through imports and the introduction of the potter's wheel before the fifth century BC, they intensified markedly at this time. The Como centre expanded, perhaps at the expense of that at Lake Maggiore, until the Gallic invasion of 388 BC, which led to the collapse of Padanian Etruria (de Marinis and Teržan in prep).

The eastern area, the Veneto and Friuli Venezia Giulia, home of the Este culture, or ethnically, the Veneti (Bianchin Citton, Gambacurta and Ruta Serafini 1998, Capuis 1993, Chieco Bianchi 1988, Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988, Gamba 2013), also extends from the Alps over a hill zone to the lower plain of the River Po, but includes coastal territory. This area has traditionally been a strong trading hub. Amongst the best-known sites are Padua (Fogolari and Chieco Bianchi 1976, Ruta Serafini 1990) and Este (Ruta Serafini 2002), settlements that grew into proto-urban centres during the eighth century BC. The settlements were surrounded by several distinct cemeteries, probably representing households or families, including primarily cremation cemeteries with a small proportion of inhumations. Complex burial patterns included graves with the burials of multiple people (Perego 2014). Status differentiation in the funerary domain became increasingly common, and burials of couples appeared (de Marinis and Teržan in prep); in contrast to the Golasecca area, children and adolescents are included in the cemeteries. Culturally characteristic is an emphasis on horses and horse breeding (for example, Azzaroli 1980, Kos 2008), which connects the area to Slovenia. Also important are the sanctuaries, which are dedicated to distinct gods and goddesses and were often used for centuries until Roman times. Around Este, for

example, four sanctuaries are known. They include numerous votives, including miniature ceramic vessels and bronze figurines of men and women (Ruta Serafini 2002). The Veneto is one of the two core areas in which figurative *situlae* are found, the other being the southeast Hallstatt area, in today's Slovenia (cf. Kromer 1962: Verbreitungskarte), even if some important sites like Bologna are located even further south. It therefore represents the home of a crucial body of human images.

The Po River plain includes highly relevant areas for the transmission of ideas and technologies. The Etruscans expanded into the area known as Padanian Etruria from the ninth century BC and made cities like Felsina (Bologna), Marzabotto, Verucchio and Spina into allies. From 540 BC onwards, Etruscan control of the area between the mountain passes to the Alps to the Gulf of Venice intensified and the Etruscan trade network flourished (Heurogon 1993: 20). The Gallic invasion of 388 BC brought an end to this development, and is associated with the La Tène culture in northern Italy; by the second century BC, after a series of wars, the area became part of the Roman Empire (de Marinis and Teržan in prep). The Etruscans proper are beyond the scope of this study; there are, however, a number of excellent studies of aspects of the Etruscan body (for example, Amann 2000, Bonfante 2003a, Stoddart 2009).

3.2 Chronology and temporality

As much as it is a regional term, Hallstatt is, of course, a chronological term. Most of central Europe, in particular southern Germany, follows the chronological scheme developed by Paul Reinecke (for an in-depth discussion, see Gerloff 2007, Reinecke 1965). He divided the Bronze Age and early Iron Age in four alphabetically labelled phases each: *Bronzezeit* A to D and *Hallstattzeit* A to D. Cemeteries of the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age in central Europe often contained bronze and iron objects, making it difficult to separate the Bronze and Iron Ages sharply (Sørensen and Rebay 2008a). What might be confusing is that today, the late Bronze Age encompasses Bz D as well as Ha A and B in Reinecke's system (*frühe Hallstattzeit* and *zweite Hallstattstufe*), whereas Hallstatt C and D make up the early Iron Age. Until today, the late Bronze Age is most often referred to as the Urnfield period (*Urnenfelderzeit*), and the early Iron Age as the Hallstatt period (*Hallstattzeit*) in the German literature, but the meaning of the term *Hallstattzeit* today has largely shifted to encompass only the early Iron Age.

Joseph Déchelette, who developed the chronological system followed in France (Déchelette 1913, Déchelette 1914), placed less emphasis on the continuity from the late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age. The First Iron Age ('Premier âge du Fer') in the French terminology corresponds to the Hallstatt period, and the Second Iron Age ('Deuxième âge du Fer') to the La Tène period.

Paul Reinecke suggested absolute dates on the basis of cross-dating and came to the conclusion that Ha A lasted from about 1200 to 1000 BC, and Ha B from 1000 to 850/800 BC (Gerloff 2007: 119). A further sub-division of the late Bronze Age into Ha A1, Ha A2, Ha B1, B2, B3 was undertaken by Hermann Müller-Karpe

(Müller-Karpe 1959), who also subsumed Bz D into the *Urnenfelderzeit* (Urnfield period, late Bronze Age). Suggesting 100 years for each of his sub-phases, he extended Ha B to three centuries, and thus let the Iron Age (Ha C) begin at around 700 BC. This late start of the Iron Age was conventionally used in most of the scholarly literature of the second half of the twentieth century; Ha B2/B3 was later commonly subsumed in one phase spanning from 900 to 700 BC (Gerloff 2007: 151).

Absolute dating via scientific methods is problematic in the early Iron Age, as dates between 800 and 400 BC fall in a flat spot of the C-14 calibration curve and cannot be dated more accurately. Dendrochronology brought precise dating for several archaeological complexes, but it is, of course, restricted to sites with sufficient wood preservation. To complicate matters further, dendrochronological dates from before about 500 BC had to be pushed back by 71 years after the German oak tree-ring chronology was corrected in the 1980s (Friedrich 1996); earlier publications have to be treated with caution. Incorporating dates derived from the dendrochronology of Swiss lake sites and C-14 dates, Lothar Sperber (1987) dated the beginning of the late Bronze Age (SB 1a or Bz D1) to 1365 BC, and the end of the late Bronze Age (SB IIIb or Ha B3) and therefore the beginning of the early Iron Age to 740 BC. An even earlier date for the beginning of the Hallstatt period is supported by the early Hallstatt C burial at Wehringen-Hexenbergle, Burial Mound 8. The wooden chamber and a wagon were made of wood cut between 783 and 773 BC. It was initially thought that both the wagon hub and chamber were made of the same piece of wood, which would have interesting implications for the temporality of the funerary ritual and preparation of grave goods and architecture, but lately this has been doubted (Eggert 2012: 281). The grave of an adult male included a sword of the Gündlingen type, which can typologically be dated early in Ha C1 (Trachsel 2004: 149). According to Trachsel (2004: 151), the Hallstatt C1/C2 transition dates to 720 BC, and the transition from Ha C to D at around 650 BC. The end of the Hallstatt and beginning of the La Tène period would then have to be dated to around 520 BC, too early for some

<i>Reinecke 1965</i>		<i>Müller-Karpe 1959</i>		<i>Trachsel 2004</i>		<i>this book</i>	
<i>dates BC</i>		<i>dates BC</i>		<i>dates BC</i>		<i>dates BC</i>	
Bz D	1300–1200	Bz D	1300–1200				
Ha A	1200–1000	Ha A1/2	1200–1000				
Ha B	1000–850/800	Ha B1	1000–900				
		Ha B2/3	900–750			LBA	to 800
Ha C	850/800–650	Ha C	750–600	Ha C1	810–720	Ha C1	800–710
				Ha C2	720–650	Ha C2	710–625
Ha D	650–450	Ha D	600–450	Ha D1	650–595	Ha D1	625–550
				Ha D2	595–565	Ha D2	550–500
				Ha D3	565–520	Ha D3	500–450

Figure 3.2 Absolute dating of late Bronze Age and early Iron Age chronological phases

researchers. Dendrochronological dates for grave 352 from Dürrenberg, Austria (Sormaz and Stöllner 2005), for example, a complex that clearly dates to Ha D3 in typo-chronological terms, dates to 464 BC.

Paul Reinecke's dating scheme is widespread in central Europe, but the application of a system developed for southwest Germany to other regions remains difficult. Numerous other cemetery-based and regional chronological systems exist, which are normally based on detailed investigations of find combinations and typological developments of pottery, bronze and other materials. Chronologies of the Iron Age correlate different categories of finds and practices that follow different trajectories, aiming to create a 'package' of features appearing in a synchronised fashion, which, of course, remains unrealistic (cf. Collis 2008: 100). The synchronisation of local chronologies is most often, however, done primarily via the bronze typology (for example, Pare 1998, Pare 1999, Parzinger 1988, see Teržan 1992: for a solid critique, Torbrügge 1991, Torbrügge 1992) under the assumption that single types are characteristic for sharply defined chronological phases. Nevertheless, there are a number of problems with this assumption.

First, in areas with little use of metal generally there are few complexes that can be dated, and the metals that are used in the graves are often not locally produced, may be in use for a long time and represent a quite heterogeneous, eclectic mix (for example, Statzendorf, Austria, Rebay 2006). Second, understanding objects solely in terms of chronology underrepresents their social significance, in particular as markers of identity and status, but also as cherished possessions. An important observation that Martin Trachsel emphasises (Trachsel 2004) is that the date of production of objects in a grave is not necessarily the same as the date of object deposition. The finds assemblage of a grave is often dated collectively based on the latest object. In fact, it appears that especially those types connected to individual identity, such as jewellery, dress elements or weapons, are acquired throughout a person's lifetime. Women in particular receive a number of objects at the time of adolescence (Müller 1994: 210–213). Depending on the age of death, these objects may be several decades old when they are placed in graves. Other objects are manufactured specifically for deposition in the grave, and their date of manufacture corresponds closely to the date of deposition. When dating object assemblages, it is important to consider the age of the buried individual, as well as the biography of the individual artefacts. It has to be made clear what the date of an object actually refers to – the time of production or the time of deposition.

Third, it is common in a Hallstatt context to deposit reused, repaired and recycled objects, as well as objects that must have been handed down as heirlooms. The belt plates from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Tumulus 1, grave 1, and Tumulus 18, grave 18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 32. 17, 32.18, Turk 2005: fig. 42), for instance, were both worn enough to break and be repaired by driving rivets through the overlapping pieces of sheet bronze. In this process, the decorative scenes were shortened and altered (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b). Belt plates in particular were often re-worked into pendants or even anthropomorphic plaques; at the sanctuary of Ampass-Deimfeld, Austria, it could be shown exactly how the pieces were cut from the older object (Tomedi 2009: 273, fig.2b). At Hallstatt, a

number of objects were reworked and integrated into sets of women's jewellery, including parts of wagons and horse gear, as well as fragments of sheet bronze vessels, belts and helmets (Glunz-Hüsken 2013). An emotional connection to the first users of these objects seems likely in these cases, as well as a protective or religious significance.

Swords of antique style have repeatedly been found in elite graves of the southeastern Hallstatt area, for instance, at Gornja Radgona and Stična, Slovenia (Harding 1995: 87, Teržan 1990: 85), and more recently, at Strettweg, Austria (Tiefengraber 2013). Swords of Tachlovice type normally date to Ha B (before 800 BC), but both the use of such old-fashioned forms and the practice of deliberate destruction at deposition a couple of hundred years later connect the funerary rituals of the elite in the early Iron Age to Urnfield customs. It is difficult to know if these finds represent true heirloom objects that have been handed down over generations, because we do not know how and if objects were bequeathed at all and, if so, to whom. These traditional swords may have been passed on from father to eldest son, as would perhaps still be customary in our own society; the last son without sons might have received the sword as a grave good after death. Stories like these, although plausible, are difficult to prove, and the motives for including objects in graves might work entirely differently.

The addition of a large fragment of a decorated *situla* in Grave 346, Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 108, 110–113) to a high-status grave dating to the second half of the third century BC is particularly intriguing. The fragment shows a feasting scene with musicians, horses and hunters returning with a deer, as well as a ploughing scene. It can stylistically and technically be dated to the first half of the fifth century BC. The long time span between the production of the *situla* in the first place and deposition in its fragmentary status not only underlines the significance of the object even at a time when it was unusable, but also suggests that it was curated for a long time and could not just be disposed of or recycled; its significance, or perhaps the significance of the depicted scene, endured for centuries.

Traditions may be honoured by the inclusion of objects, but also by adhering to long-established practices. At Este-Ricovero, Italy, for example, a woman named Nerka was cremated and buried in Grave 23, dating to the first half of the third century BC, but following funerary rituals and patterns of grave furnishing established in the eighth century BC. As a high-status woman, she was characterised in the grave as a hostess and textile producer, competent in cult and religion and able to fulfil her position within a powerful family (Lang 2012: 374). The deliberate return to traditional funerary rites underlines her significance.

These examples demonstrate the importance of dating objects in context. Not only do we have to understand the date of production, but also the use-life of artefacts, their connections with the person buried in the grave, including their age and stage of their lifecycle, and the significance attributed the object at deposition; all these factors feed into the chronological classification. In the light of this discussion, I aim to differentiate between context dates and object dates in analysing human images, although in many cases the dating will be the same. In order to acknowledge the production and use-life of objects, I adopt a moderate to high

translation of relative chronological terms to absolute dates (see Figure 3.2), with the Hallstatt period spanning from circa 800 to 450 BC. The absolute dates given for objects should be understood as rough guidelines, as they mainly constitute translated relative dates given in the literature; the inbuilt assumptions and reasons for the suggested date in the literature frequently remain unclear.

It is also important to appreciate that the end of the Hallstatt period at around 450 BC is not a cut-off point for this study, but the stylistic change from Hallstatt to La Tène art is. Some human representations continue Hallstatt traditions, even if their production and deposition reference the La Tène period. Most notably the images on *situlae* tell us about traditional ways of life and death, referring to times past; votive figurines and plaques in Alpine and northern Italian sanctuaries also continue ritual traditions into Roman times.

3.3 Lifeways

The third main factor after place and time of birth for the kind of person one becomes is the context of socialisation and upbringing. The way one's parents and community conduct their everyday lives teaches, consciously and sub-consciously, social norms and beliefs, and they communicate the framework in which self-expression of identity is permitted. What kind of life did most people in the central European Iron Age lead? What were the main factors that generated different lives for different people?

The landscapes people inhabited range from flat river valleys and basins, plateaux, rolling foothills and low mountain ranges to high Alpine regions above the tree line, each offering unique affordances and challenges. For Alpine areas, for instance, we can consider transhumance, the seasonal migration between valleys and Alpine pastures (Cerwinka and Mandl 1998). Cattle as well as sheep and goats are brought up to high pastures in the summer, while being stabled in the winter. Animals are kept for milk, ploughing and fertilisation; centres such as Hallstatt and Hallein, with access to salt, might have produced large amounts of pork and beef, respectively, which was cured and preserved (Pucher 1999, Pucher 2009). Towards the east and the Hungarian basin, the climate was increasingly continental, with very dry summers and extended periods of flooding at the change of seasons. Nomadic cultures on the eastern fringe of the Hallstatt area, with their emphasis on horses, wagons and mobile mounted warriors, undoubtedly interacted with and thereby influenced sedentary farmers in the area. Life on the waterfront has to be considered for both inner-Alpine lakes and sites in Poland (Harding and Raczkowski 2010). Veneto, Friuli and Istria were connected to the Mediterranean lifestyle (Horden and Purcell 2000) by the northern Adriatic Sea, most likely making the most of access to fish and sea fruit, as well as taking advantage of travelling by sailing boats.

Iron Age life was, for most people, still dominated by the yearly cycle of farming and stockbreeding (Lüning et al. 1997). The temperate climate of central Europe with its changes of seasons, including cold and icy winters as well as hot and dry summers, had a profound impact on the activities carried out throughout

the year, which, among many others, included growing, harvesting and threshing crops; growing fruit and vegetables; attending farm animals' needs and processing their produce; managing woodland; and producing textiles. Overall, the early Iron Age was wetter and cooler than the preceding late Bronze Age (Kristiansen 1998: 31–32, Fig. 12). Life in summer and winter was most likely quite different, not only in terms of which activities were the most urgent to attend to, but also how people interacted and lived together. Communities (and their livestock) moved closer together in the winter, whereas summer activities were more dispersed in the landscape, enabling contact and interaction with communities further afield, but at the same time, limiting intense interaction at home.

The majority of people lived in agricultural villages, small clusters of single-room rectangular houses with storage facilities and some sunken features as well as ancillary buildings. The building techniques were tied into the landscape, making the most of available resources: in Alpine areas, limestone is often used for the foundation of log cabins, whereas in the lowlands, wooden posts and wattle-and-daub constructions prevail; thatched roofs were common. Images of houses are rare, and most of them stem from the rocks of the Val Camonica (Anati 1961: 159); one image was sketched into a vessel found in Balzers in Liechtenstein and dating to around 500 BC (Gleirscher 1991). They show multi-storage, post-built structures with triangular roofs and with small bases, perhaps indicating stilts or a cellar.

The Iron Age household is a group of people living together, often equated with but not necessarily the same as a family. It represents the basic unit of production and consumption (Webley in press). Later sources suggest that late Iron Age and early medieval Celtic societies (Karl 2006) are usually constructed from households comprising a male head, with one or more wives, children, fosterlings, servants and slaves. Communities are built of a number of households, a village, or more dispersed settlements within a local area, at a size in which face-to-face interaction is still feasible on a daily basis (Webley in press). From the late Bronze Age onwards, agglomerated villages emerge in central Europe, as well as fortified hilltop settlements (Harding 2000: 48–72). Early Iron Age centralisation and urbanisation processes are evident from sites such as the Heuneburg, Germany, and Mont Lassois, France (Rieckhoff and Fichtl 2011). The size of communities of people living together grew, perhaps to several hundreds and thousands. The population of the Heuneburg hillfort and surrounding settlements has recently been estimated at around 5000 (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012). Representative architecture, planned villages with houses arranged along streets, religious centres, traces of long-distance trade and craft specialisation are signs of a change that was, most probably, primarily social: the inhabitants of the nucleated settlements had to be sustained from the surrounding area, which makes a hierarchical distinction of land owners and peasant farmers likely.

The first and most fundamental way in which daily activities were structured was along the lines of gender and age, although we do not know the extent to which labour was distributed and how permeable the boundaries of gendered activities were. Transgressions of these boundaries were most likely sanctioned by ridicule

and shame (Sofaer 2006a: 107). There might also be a mismatch between the ideology of gendered labour distribution and the way tasks were actually carried out. In early Iron Age art and graves, for instance, there is a strong association between men, hunting and warfare, and textile work and women. Domestic tasks such as preparing food, looking after children and homecraft is normally attributed to women, whereas men were responsible for outdoor tasks. When men were absent, women often had to fill in for the necessary tasks, and when push came to shove, all members of society probably had to help out and accomplish tasks together. Although there is considerable regional variation in the way children were treated after death and children are rarely shown in artwork, there is good evidence that children were involved in proto-industrial production processes. Even newborns were brought into the salt mines of Hallstatt, and children show similar activity-induced bone markers to those of adults (Pany-Kucera, Reschreiter and Kern 2010).

The diet of early Iron Age people in central Europe included spelt barley, emmer wheat and millet as the most important cereal crops. Einkorn wheat, foxtail millet, naked barley and naked wheat are also found. Oats and rye present weed-like admixtures at the time (Boenke 2005: 251). Peas, lentils and beans are represented in the archaeobotanical record of most early Iron Age sites (Boenke 2005: 252). Oilseeds include flax, camelina and poppy. Fruit included apples, pears, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries and blueberries; blackthorn, hawthorn and hazelnut were likely gathered from forests.

The most important species of domestic animals were cattle, sheep/goats and pigs, found in varying proportions in the faunal assemblages throughout the Hallstatt area (Müller-Scheeßel and Trebsche 2007). The ratio of cattle to sheep/goats and pigs (48:28:24 overall) depended largely on the nature of the landscape and environment and on settlement size; large numbers of people were fed with pork. Cultural choices of meat species and cuts were found for food offerings in graves. Meat consumption included game; the analysis of faunal collections of 74 Hallstatt and early La Tène settlements (Trebsche 2013) came to the conclusion that hunting was a regular activity and contributed to the diet in both elite and non-elite settlements. Fish was also evidenced in a quarter of the settlements. The primary species hunted were red deer (45 per cent), followed by hare (23 per cent) and wild boar (11 per cent), whereas roe deer (7 per cent) was less common.

Mining communities and settlements specialising in craft production, in contrast, were supplied with meat from domestic animals. In Hallstatt, Austria, the pig had particular importance; cattle were significant on the Dürrenberg, Austria (Pucher 1999, Pucher 2009). It is likely that curing meat with salt was its own industry in the early Iron Age. The diet reconstructed for the miners of Hallstatt is based on a cereal stew, consisting mainly of barley, millet and spelt, and including beans, peas and lentils as well as some meat (Barth 1992). The analysis of 73 well-preserved faeces from the salt mines of the Dürrenberg (Boenke 2012) revealed that miners were well nourished and consumed mainly cereals, fruit and meat, but also ate some legumes. Spices such as the mustard-like-tasting camelina, poppy, flax and caraway were found as food additives.

Although miners may be a specific sub-set of the population and not representative of the complete early Iron Age population, the data reveal what food was actually consumed. Further insights can be expected from a broader application of isotope analysis of human remains. The diet of the people buried in the Magdalenenberg near Villingen, Germany, a group of people of heterogeneous origin, was high in domestic animal protein from milk or meat and did not differ significantly between men and women. Fish was not consumed in significant proportions. A group of men buried with weapons seemed to have consumed some millet and large amounts of animal protein (Oelze et al. 2012: 414), a pattern found in La Tène weapon graves of Bohemia as well (Le Huray and Schutkowski 2005).

The degree of specialisation in Iron Age communities was probably limited, and crafts such as pottery, textile production and metal work were carried out alongside farming activities. Nevertheless, in areas with good raw material access, for instance, to salt or metal ores, specialised communities emerged who were linked in exchange networks and often accumulated enough surplus wealth to leave a considerable proportion in graves. In turn, the goods reflect the manifold economic and social connections built over time. It is difficult to establish to which degree communities acted as a unit and engaged communally in labour and shared the profit or were hierarchically organised, with dependent and exploitive relationships.

Social hierarchies are in fact amongst the themes most often discussed in Iron Age studies. It is tempting directly to correlate the wealth expressed in the early Iron Age funerary record with social status, and despite the many pitfalls this approach can entail, it is not entirely unreasonable. We have moved away from understanding the funerary record as a portrait of the deceased and consider the social implications that led to the funerary record, assembled by members of the community and not the deceased himself or herself (Parker Pearson 1999). However, goods are arranged around a real human being in the grave, which contains the body and associated objects; many of these objects are tailored to and custom-made for the body. And even if the first of the ‘princely burials’ were considered rich primarily in terms of the antiquarian value of the grave goods (Fischer 1995), it is clear that there are marked differences in quantity and quality of grave goods, as well as in labour investment in the construction of the burial monument. At particular points in prehistory, in particular places, under particular political circumstances, drawing conclusions from the funerary record on the status of the individual is likely to work; to compare widely across time and place, however, is more complicated.

According to Kristian Kristiansen’s analysis (Kristiansen 1998: 394–402), patterns of wealth deposition in graves and hoards follow the rise and consolidation of elites. He suggests that the rise of new elites is linked to expansion politics, mobile wealth such as cattle and metal and exogamy (with bridewealth), archaeologically visible in rich, male graves and little emphasis on hoarding. When expansion ends, societies consolidate. Settled agrarian societies need to keep wealth in the family by endogamy (with dowries), made archaeologically visible by rich female graves and more elaborate hoarding/offering practices. Deposition

patterns, however, varied widely across Europe, and the mechanisms of gaining and maintaining status might include practices not communicated in the mortuary arena, such as feasting and conspicuous consumption (Dietler 1996).

Early Iron Age societies are often understood in terms of a 'chiefdom' (Arnold and Blair Gibson 1995, Kristiansen 1998), the middle ground between a tribe and a state in the ladder of cultural evolution. Chiefdoms are kinship-based social organisations in which senior members of selected families are ascribed high status and the leading role, and ideology is used to legitimate the political role of the aristocracy. Such chiefs have been 'identified' in the late Hallstatt 'princely burials' such as Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a). Members of the elite families resided in fortified hilltop settlements and were buried in large burial mounds in their vicinity (for a critique of this model, see Eggert 1999, Krauße 1999). Individuals with special roles in society, ritual specialists, persons with medicinal knowledge, traders and specialist craftspeople might have emerged from such settlement centres. Classic visions of the Iron Age social pyramid, inspired by Julius Caesar's description of the Aedui in first century BC France (*Gallic Wars* 6.13–15), include a religious elite as well as one of mounted warriors, and varying numbers of commoners, who were dependants of the elite, had to pay tribute or service and had limited political power. Large fortified sites and burial mounds were taken as evidence that elites could organise and control labour and, by doing so, manifest status (Cunliffe 2005). Other views suggest communal effort could have been put into their construction, and in turn, represented communal wealth and networks of social obligations between communities (Hill 1993, Sharples 2010).

Slaves are often absent in romanticised visions of Iron Age society, but slavery was a fact and took on considerable proportions across neighbouring peoples in antiquity; there is no reason to assume that in early Iron Age Europe this would have been any different (Arnold 1988, Taylor 2001). Craft specialists, such as goldsmiths, have been ascribed a pivotal role in terms of transmitting ideas and styles over large areas (Wells 1996). The itinerant smith, however, might in fact have been a slave, sold and resold amongst the early Iron Age elite.

What emerged from years of debate about Iron Age social structures is that no model is universally applicable, and we can envision minimally structured, agrarian societies alongside communities specialising in certain tasks, regionally diverse patterns of agglomeration of wealth and power and temporary hierarchisation (Moore in prep). Regardless exactly how we envision social rank in Iron Age society, the elite would have access to better food, more material goods, more labour power and more control over decision making; life for a slave, in contrast, would have meant not even being able to influence crucial life changes. Similar to being sold as a slave, women might have experienced drastic uprooting on the occasion of being married, with little or no power to control their fate.

Although differences in social status can be translated into different ways of living, other variables were the same for everyone. Disease and death affected rich and poor alike. Life events, such as birth, transition to adulthood, marriage and the death of family and friends affected everyone, albeit in different ways. The funerary record is, of course, overemphasised in the archaeological record,

but evidence for ritual and religious activity is also abundant in the early Iron Age. Transitions in the biography of a person (van Gennep 1960 [1909]) would have been marked by rituals, and the yearly cycle was most likely structured by recurring religious festivities. There is evidence that time was measured and associated with ritual in early Iron Age Europe (Teržan 1996). Social and religious feasts gave life structure. They played an important part in breaking up people's everyday routines and gave opportunities to affirm social bonds and create a sense of community.

It is easy to underestimate the importance of cosmology and cosmological beliefs in the pre-scientific world. Beliefs about fate and how to influence it, about the power of nature, gods and heroes; beliefs about death, the afterlife and what happens to a person after death all affected ritual and religious practices and were intertwined with everyday life (see also Insoll 2004, Insoll 2011: for definitions of ritual, religion, ideology and cosmology). In early Iron Age central Europe, an abundance of ritual and religious places emerges. 'Gifts to the gods' are evident by individual objects, sets of objects or collections of similar items found in particular landscape contexts such as caves, springs, rivers and other watery places, as well as Alpine peaks and important crossroads. Sanctuaries emerge as built places in the vicinity of settlements, dedicated to the worship of deities and the sacrifice of food, votives and other goods (for example, Ruta Serafini 2002, Steiner 2010, Weiss 1997).

Bodies are shaped by the conditions of life, and individual identities emerge from the ways of living described in general terms in this chapter. The landscape setting, as well as pre-existing social structures and ontological beliefs, affected the place into which each member of society was born and defined the extent to which development and change were possible.

3.4 The physical anthropology of early Iron Age people

What do these bodies look like physically? Anthropological investigations of skeletal material from the rich cemetery record of the early Iron Age, inhumed and cremated remains, provide some answers. The methods and research questions of human biology have changed over the years. Morphometrics and ethnic categorisations in the first half of the twentieth century gave way to an increased focus on palaeo-pathology and the reconstruction of individual life histories as inscribed in human bones by practices and habits, diet and nutrition, life circumstances and reproductive history, as well as other life events (for example, Agarwal and Glencross 2011). Palaeo-demography aims at reconstructing the composition of communities by looking at sex and age ratios, mortality, fertility and migration. Isotope and DNA analyses (Bramanti 2013, Brown and Brown 2013, Eriksson 2013) of early Iron Age human remains promise exciting insights into diet and nutrition, migration and mobility, as well as kinship.

Individuals from elite graves, such as the '*Dame de Vix*', France (Knüsel 2002, Rolley 2003), have received the most attention. Although several anthropological investigations classed her as a female who died at the age of approximately 30 to

40, certain androgynous skeletal traits caused confusion. The individual suffered from episodes of childhood stress and congenital conditions that caused abnormal growth. Her skull is asymmetrical, and she 'would have had a waddling gait and held her head tilted to the right side' (Knüsel 2002: 292). Her stature, estimated at about 160 cm, matches that of the bronze *kratēr* in the grave.

Eleven individuals from elite burial mounds were recently compared to more than 100 late Bronze Age, 650 early Iron Age and 50 late Iron Age individuals from the region of Baden-Württemberg, Germany (Wahl et al. 2010). They included the central burial as well as Graves 2, 3 and 4 from Eberdingen-Hochdorf; the central burial as well as Graves 17 and 18 from Grafenbühl-Asperg; and the central burials of Ludwigsburg, Herbertingen-Hundersingen, Schöckingen and Magdalenenberg-Villingen. The study revealed that the elite male was, on average, 177 cm tall, 6 cm taller than 57 contemporary non-elite men. Aged at 43 rather than 37 years, on average, they died at a higher age than the average population. Significant muscle markers, particularly of the arms, suggest trained bodies (Wahl et al. 2010: 33).

The Magdalenenberg near Villingen, Germany, contained an elite burial in a central wooden chamber and 126 secondary graves with 144 buried individuals. Except for eight cremated individuals, all bodies were inhumed, but not particularly well preserved (Gallay 1977). The mound included 13 children up to 14 years of age, 4 juveniles, 63 adults between 20 and 40 years of age and 22 adults over 40. Men and women were equally represented: men had an average height of 168 cm, women 164 cm (Gallay 1977: 107). Pathologies and traces of trauma were rare, but most probably because the bone preservation was too poor for further conclusions. Fourteen individuals suffered from caries; teeth showed heavy signs of abrasion.

A recent isotope analysis of 58 of the buried individuals from the Magdalenenberg (using C, N, S, Sr and O isotopes) aimed to clarify if the community members buried in the mound were local or exogenous and to get some 'insights into the social catchment area of the elite burial' (Oelze et al. 2012: 408). The isotopic patterns were very heterogeneous, suggesting that people buried in the mound were not only local, but grew up in the wider region. About a third of the individuals may have lived on the local hillfort Kapf, but others likely came from the Black Forest, the Lake Constance area and perhaps even from south of the Alps (Oelze et al. 2012: 417). Both men and women were highly mobile in the early Iron Age.

A synoptic anthropological investigation of early Iron Age sites from the Upper Palatinate, including the cemeteries of Beilngries-Industriegebiet, Dietfurt-Tennisplatz and Schirndorf, included 420 individuals (Claassen 1989). The sub-adult ratios of the cemeteries, at 22 per cent, 18 per cent and 33 per cent, are thought to be too low to represent the whole communities, particularly because babies under one year of age are under-represented in the cemetery record. The average height of women from these cemeteries is 161 cm, and 170 cm for men; the average age of death was between 31 and 32 years old for both sexes. Low frequencies of fractures, injuries and degenerative diseases of the skeletons were

noted. *Cribra orbitalia* is rare, which suggests a diet containing sufficient levels of iron. The caries frequency is low at around 10 per cent. Other cemeteries in the same region, Dietfurt-Tankstelle and Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, have since been further investigated (Augstein 2015, Nikulka 1998, Schubert 1998), adding to the picture of a relatively healthy population.

The anthropological investigation of 215 skeletons of an estimated 4000 from the cemetery of Hallstatt, Austria, identified 175 as adults, 70 as male and 43 as female; the subadult ratio of 19 per cent (29 children and 11 juveniles) is not thought to be representative (Pany 2009). Musculoskeletal markers revealed that both men and women worked hard. Men had the strongest marks on the upper arm, presumably from striking movements and from overcoming resistance; they had well-developed chest and back muscles. Women, on the other hand, showed different patterns of strain: their strongest marks are on the attachment sites of muscles that flex the elbow and lift the forearm. This pattern points to lifting, carrying and pulling heavy loads. Women also showed asymmetrical signs of wear on the cervical vertebrae consistent with carrying loads on the shoulders. The gendered patterns of strain point to a labour division along gender lines. Children were involved in work from a young age, as degenerative signs and alterations in their skeletons suggest (Pany 2009: 140).

Cemeteries of the Dürrenberg near Hallein, Austria, date to the transition from the Early to the late Iron Age and to the La Tène period. At the cemetery Hexenwandfeld (Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014) 72 burials were found in 29 graves, of which 58 individuals could be anthropologically evaluated. The sex ratio within the cemetery is fairly balanced, and at least 15 of the individuals are of sub-adult age. The youngest children are two to three years old, which is consistent with the observation that babies were buried in settlement locations (cf. Karl and Löcker 2011). Women of the age class 21 to 25 were twice as likely as men to die of a comparable age, pointing to marriage and first motherhood at this age (Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014: 218). Enamel hypoplasia was found in all but six individuals. Children, particularly those between the ages of three and five, presumably after weaning, were subject to nutritional deficiencies. These were also manifest in *cribra orbitalia*, which affected about half of the individuals, as well as the very frequent inflammatory traces on long bones. Traces of inflammation caused by diseases such as *meningitis*, *otitis*, *periostitis* or *osteomyelitis* are common; the sinus *durae matris* and the paranasal sinuses were affected in 71 per cent and 56 per cent of individuals, respectively (Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014: 228). Trepanation was thought to help combat the pain of such conditions, and at least one individual was treated in such a way on this cemetery. Trepanation is common in late Iron Age communities in Austria (for example, Urban, Teschler-Nicola and Schultz 1985). Degenerative diseases and trauma are not observed so often. Young adults showed surprisingly few signs of hard physical labour for a population that is thought to have lived from salt mining. Wear and tear of the skeleton, however, did strike in middle age. The frequency of caries is about 42 per cent, comparable to other cemeteries of the Dürrenberg. The women from Hexenwandfeld were, on average, 157 cm tall, and the men 168 cm (Wiltschke-Schrotta 2014: 227).

The high proportion of cremation graves makes the assessment of the physical anthropology difficult in some areas. The large cremation cemetery of Bischofshofen-Pestfriedhof, Austria (Renhart 2009), encompassed 507 cremation graves, 68 of which contained more than one individual. Of the cremations able to have their sex assigned, 64 per cent could be identified as female, 36 per cent as male; 18 per cent were sub-adult individuals. The prevalence of female burials has been noted in other Iron Age cemeteries, for example, Sopron, Hungary (Renhart 2009: 291). Only three babies under one year old are present in the cemetery, and the proportion of sub-adults is lower than the expected 50 per cent. The statistical life expectancy at birth was about 20 years; only 9 years if the child deficit is corrected and number and ages of missing children excluded from the funerary contexts are included in the demographic modelling. Having survived the dangerous time of childhood and adolescence, men could expect to die at an average age of 37, women at 35. The lower age is likely connected to the risk of pregnancy and childbirth. An average height of 171 cm for men and 160 for women was calculated from a few well-preserved individuals (Renhart 2009: 299).

At Stanzendorf, Austria (Renhart 2006), life expectancy was slightly lower for women. Men were, on average, 166 cm tall, women 157 cm. Both men and women have muscle markers that speak for a well-trained, muscular body. According to the metrical diagnosis, the skulls appear to be medium length and narrow (Renhart 2006: 330–331). Although the cremated remains of the four individuals deposited at Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Grill and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013), were too fragmented for sexing and height assessment, the size of the bronze body armour suggests that the buried male member of the elite was about 180 cm tall.

An unusual context is that of 138 uncremated individuals recovered from the cave Durezza-Schachthöhle near Villach, Austria (Fabrizii-Reuer and Reuer 1997). Contemporary burials are cremation burials, but special events, such as warfare or plagues, may have resulted in unusual burial practices. The lack of grave goods and metal dress components, except for a few *fibulae*, finger rings and hair rings, as well as one arm ring, an earring and a few glass beads (Gleirscher 1997), is also unusual for the Hallstatt period. It cannot be excluded that the cave represents a place of human sacrifice. Nevertheless, the sex and age distribution does not differ significantly from what is known from early Iron Age cemeteries. The 36 children and 102 adults did not show any signs of perimortal trauma; three men had injuries on the skulls that were in the process of healing. There is no evidence for particular bio-mechanical stress from hard physical labour, but the state of teeth was bad. Front teeth frequently showed heavy abrasion, and the caries frequency was high in comparison to contemporary cemeteries.

The Býčí skála cave, Czech Republic, in contrast, includes a wealth of material goods, for instance, a wagon, a figuratively decorated bronze vessel, Etruscan imports and other items one could expect in an elite burial. The cave contained the remains of 30 to 40 individuals, primarily skulls, whereas post-cranial skeletal parts are largely missing. Again, the sex and age distribution is not atypical for any living population. There is, however, evidence for post-mortem cut marks,

which strengthens the hypothesis of Býčí skála being a place of sacrifice or of burial after violent conflict (Parzinger 1996, Parzinger, Nekvasil and Barth 1995).

Taken together, the physical anthropology of early Iron Age people suggests some site-specific and regional differences in terms of health status, average body height and physical stress. Access to nutrition and physical labour was, at least in some areas, dependent on sex and social class. The average age of the living population was low at around 22 to 23 years of age, calculated from the average age at death above 25 and under 35 years (Burmeister and Gebühr in press). A community of 20 people might typically include a baby and a toddler, three to five children from about age 3 to 14, two or three juveniles, about ten adults aged between 20 and 40 and a few people over this age. Whereas many settlement units probably did not exceed this scale, the Heuneburg hillfort and surrounding settlements might have housed as many as 5000 inhabitants (Fernández-Götz and Krause 2012: 31).

4 Funerary practices and the body

The way bodies are treated after death is a unique source of how people were socially understood, but it is difficult to comprehend. The living person is not the same as the dead body, and yet some of the treatment of the dead body refers to the persons as if they were still living. All human societies, and even some animals (Kluger 2013), feel the need to work through the experience of loss and grief through funerary practices. One component of this is handling the dead body to remove it from society and integrate it into the community of the dead, which can, as evidenced by ethnographic observations (for example, Carr 1995, Ucko 1969), be done in a staggering number of different ways. There is, of course, an archaeological bias towards treatments that leave obvious archaeological traces: certain elements of body treatment are only apparent in very special, well-documented cases, such as the burial of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a). The treatment of the body includes the choice of whether to inhumate or cremate. Both practices are common in the Hallstatt period of central Europe, but show distinct regional and chronological patterns (Rebay-Salisbury in press-c). The next level of analysis is the way in which the body is equipped with objects and graves are built and furnished; the two often appear conflated in the archaeological record. Lastly, the ways in which bodies are buried together, in graves of multiple individuals, burial mounds and cemeteries, might give insights into how social ties were formed and communities were imagined and constructed.

4.1 The treatment of the body

Between death and the burial of the corpse, inhumed or cremated, the body is prepared for the funeral. This includes actions that are difficult to access archaeologically, such as washing and anointing the corpse, dressing and wrapping it, preparing the grave goods and constructing the grave. At the spectacular Hochdorf burial, Germany (Fig. 4.1, Banck-Burgess 1999, Bieg 2002, Biel 1981, Biel 1985a, Hansen 2010, Koch 2006, Körber-Grohne 1985, Krauß 1996, Olivier 1999), we know that several weeks must have elapsed between the beginning of the construction of the grave and the sealing of the wooden chamber with all its funerary installations, even if some of them seem to have been executed in a hurry (Olivier 1999: 122). The preparations for the funeral included some interesting

details. Personal possessions of the deceased, such as the bronze dagger, bronze belt, shoes and drinking horn, were transformed by adding a layer of sheet gold. Other gold objects, such as the non-functional gold *fibulae*, cup and bracelet, were manufactured on the spot, as evidenced by remains of the goldworking process in the fill of the burial mound. Traces of workshops at the fringe of the burial mound indicate that gold, bronze, amber and perhaps even iron were processed right before the burial mound was heaped up (Biel 1985a: 35).

It is not known where and how the body was stored before closing the grave, or indeed, if precautions were taken to preserve the body for that time. In the light of the evidence recently compiled by Gerd Stegmaier (2008), conservation seems rather likely. Despite the wealth of biological remains recovered at Hochdorf (Körper-Grohne 1985), it is remarkable that human hair was absent, and so were larvae of insects, in particular the blow flies (*Calliphoridae*), which would be expected to start inhabiting a decaying body and surrounding textiles within hours. A winter death might explain the absence of insects, but pollen analysis suggests that the burial chamber was open in the late summer/autumn period sometime between August and October (Körper-Grohne 1985: 147). Insect remains from a further nine Hallstatt-period graves in Germany and Austria could all be identified as house flies (*Muscidae*), whereas the blow flies were absent (Stegmaier and Amendt 2010). This indicates that bodies were not immediately inhabited by insects, but only after several days or weeks (Stegmaier and Amendt 2010: 270); in this period, the bodies must have been kept clean and conserved.

The methods of body conservation remain elusive. Embalming with honey was a technique used frequently in antiquity, most notably for the body of Alexander

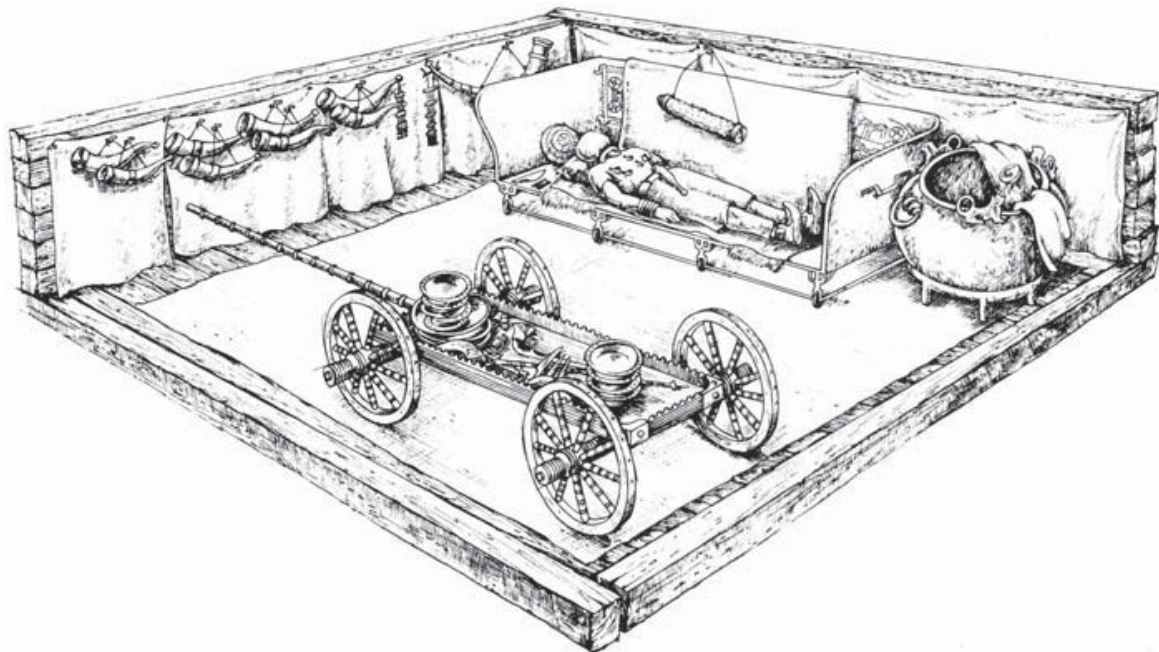


Figure 4.1 Reconstruction drawing of the central chamber at Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985b: fig. 119, © Landesdenkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg, courtesy of Jörg Biel)

the Great (Stegmaier 2008: 52). The large bronze cauldron found in the grave contained sediment with large quantities of pollen and sufficient quantities of honey to produce alcoholic mead, but beeswax was also identified (Körper-Grohne 1985: 147). Instead of a drink, the cauldron might have contained the conservation materials for the dead body – honey and wax (Kull 1997: 277). Drying, smoking, cooking and roasting the body is a further technique employed all over the world to conserve bodies. Applying heat to the body would explain the absence of human hair at Hochdorf. Finally, wrapping in many layers of textiles would contribute to the body's preservation, but does not suffice to explain all the evidence. A combination of methods is therefore most likely (Stegmaier 2008: 53). Twigs of trees and shrubs as well as flowers, which were recovered underneath and on the bronze couch, might have been part of the conservation procedures and used to cover up the smell (Koch 2009).

The dressing and wrapping of the body are further aspects of preparation. Textiles of the clothes of the deceased did not leave many traces and were probably made of linen, which does not preserve as well as wool (Körper-Grohne 1985: 147). Personal grave goods such as the gold *fibulae*, torc, arm ring, belt and dagger, as well as the shoes, were placed on the body before he was wrapped. It is unclear if the body was wrapped immediately, or if the spectacular gold attire was kept visible for a certain time, after conservation or while he was laid out at home or transported. He could also have been wrapped when he was placed in the burial chamber, or have received some additional layers of wrapping along with the objects in the grave. The shrouds were spectacular: the Hochdorf body was wrapped in a crimson textile of local craftsmanship, but coloured by the Mediterranean Kermes dye (produced from a scale insect) and a red-and-blue checked cloth; a further checked cloth was placed over the legs (Banck 1996: 44). The wrapping with textiles extends from the body to all the grave goods and the floor and walls of the burial chamber (Banck-Burgess 1999), constituting wealth of almost unimaginable proportions.

Textiles preserve most often in the presence of metal, and are known from many Hallstatt-period funerary contexts, both inhumations and cremations (Grömer 2016). Bodies, intact and cremated, were wrapped in textiles, and so were grave goods. A layering of textiles, in which cremations are first wrapped, then placed in a container, which is then wrapped again, is attested from the north and south of the Alps. In addition, the textiles were sometimes fastened with small *fibulae* and pins (Banck-Burgess 1999: 18–21).

The wrapping of the body might serve the purpose of an initial separation of the dead body from the view of the living before it is interred. From Greek sources we know that the lying in repose, the *prothesis*, was an important part of the funerary ritual (cf. Kull 1997). Depictions of death on geometric Greek vase paintings, around 900–700 BC, often show the wrapped body surrounded by mourners (for example, Boardman 1998: fig. 44, 46, 47). In Greece, the body was normally transported to the resting place by the third day after death (Toohey 2010: 364). For exceptional personalities such as Achilles and Hector, however, at least 17 days and more than 20 days are reported (Homer, *Iliad* XXIV 31.413.664,

Odyssey XXIV 63–65, after Stegmaier 2008: 49). Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.71–72) reports that Scythian kings were embalmed and carried on a wagon around their territory from tribe to tribe on a journey lasting for 40 days before they were buried in a royal tomb (Rolle 1979: 74–75). Although we cannot assume this model for the Hallstatt area, it is possible that wagon graves were linked with this element of display. In wagon graves of the West Hallstatt territory, the body is often placed on the wagon box, even if the wheels are dismantled and placed along the sides of the burial chamber (for example, Demmelsdorf, Germany, Abels 1993: 63, Vix, France, Rolley 2003). The practical function of a wagon for display and transport aside, wagon graves have an additional ideological dimension as a vehicle for the journey to the afterlife (Pare 1992). A wrapped body would have been easier to transport and, in the case of Hochdorf, translate from the wagon on to the bronze couch.

The procession to the resting place is another very popular motif in geometric Greek vase painting (for example, Boardman 1998: fig. 45). The *ekphoria* includes the deceased, carried by a horse-drawn carriage, followed by mourners. In *Situla Art*, processions are also a very popular motif (for example, Matrei, Austria, Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 59, pl. 64, Magdalenska



Figure 4.2 Cremation necessities on the *situla* Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Kastelic 1964: pl. 12)

gora, Slovenia, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: App. 4) and range from rows of identical persons marching one after the other to more colourful depictions of men and women carrying food and leading animals to the (funerary) feast. The body of the deceased is never depicted in Situla Art, although the composition of the images does indicate that a funerary feast is the most likely interpretation of the procession.

The second register of the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), shows such a procession most clearly. It is spearheaded by a man guiding a bovid to sacrifice, followed by three men carrying various utensils. Three women are depicted next: on their heads, they carry a basket, a cist and a pile of wood – necessities for a cremation burial (Fig. 4.2). Two pairs of men, sharing the burden of a large bronze vessel, follow. Another animal, this time a ram, is part of the procession after that, followed by three men and three women carrying vessels on their heads. Last in the procession are two men, one carrying vessels and the other one a spit and an axe, presumably to slaughter the animals. An iron axe and knife, placed on the wagon, were also part of the Hochdorf assemblage, although animal bones were not (Biel 1985a: 136). This underlines the deceased's role in rituals involving the killing of animals.

4.2 Cremation and inhumation

In central Europe, the late Bronze Age Urnfield period (BA D, Ha A/B, c. 1300 to 800 BC) is characterised by the dominance of cremation as a burial rite. By and large, bodies were cremated, placed in urns and buried in urnfields that could reach considerable dimensions. Inhumation cemeteries, such as the warrior cemetery of Neckarsulm, Germany (Knöpke and Wahl 2009), remain the exception. Although of simple appearance, urn burials imply a complicated chain of actions and practices that constitute the funerary ritual. The burning of the body on the funerary pyre is one crucial element, as it transforms it into a different kind of substance (Sørensen and Rebay 2008b). The practice of cremation may be explained by a range of different beliefs, such as releasing the soul from the body, enabling rebirth or helping the journey to the afterlife, but rarely are beliefs formulated clearly enough that practices can be explained solely through them (Rebay-Salisbury 2012a). In fact, one of the most convincing arguments of why bodies are cremated or inhumed is tradition – bodies are treated the way they always have been, and therefore, it is the right way. Alternatives might never come to mind if there is no exposure to new and different ideas. It is the times in which funerary practices change that require further interpretation.

The treatment of the body does not, however, end with cremation. Although in some cases, the pyre remains stay put and form the basis of the grave, the cremated remains are most often translated to a different place. There is a considerable amount of variation in the way the remains are deposited. First, a distinction can be made if and how the pyre remains were separated from the burnt bones. In some cases, a fair amount of the pyre debris, including the human bones, is scattered in the grave or placed in a vessel. In other cases, the pyre remains and

human bones were separated. The separation and picking out of human bones may be done to varying degrees; small amounts of charcoal are almost always found with the cremated remains. Especially when the pyre remains are extinguished by water or rained on, the colour contrast between the white bones and the dark wood ashes might have aided the separation (see Fig. 4.3).

Most often, only the cremated bones found their way into the graves, but the pyre remains as such might also be deposited in the vicinity, inside or outside the grave. Cremated remains were frequently collected and placed in a container, a ceramic urn or an organic container before being placed in a grave pit. Finds from Cottbus-Alvensleben, Germany, a late Bronze Age to early Iron Age cemetery from the Lausatian area (Bz D – Ha C1) with 105 individuals, revealed that particular care was taken to preserve the person beyond the pyre by stacking the remains in anatomical order in the urns, thereby ‘anthropomorphising’ the urn (Gramsch 2004: 412). However, in other cases little care was taken to ensure completeness or enclosure of the remains. Cremated remains may also be scattered directly in the grave or placed on the ground in heaps. These minute distinctions in the way cremated remains were treated often remain elusive, as different semantics are used by different researchers and wrong descriptions are frequent in the literature (cf. Kurz 1997: 67–70). It is thus difficult to assess the frequency and distribution of these different ways of dealing with the cremated dead.

Grave goods can be added and removed at any stage of the funeral ritual, before, during and after the cremation. Late Bronze Age urn burials tend to include few objects, but this simple appearance does not allow conclusions on the social status of the deceased. At that time, status is not generally expressed in the mortuary realm (exceptions such as Čaka, Slovakia or Seddin, Germany, prove the rule, cf. Kunow 2003, Paulík 1975), but negotiated in other venues such as settlements and sacred places. Traditionally, the large-scale spread of cremation during the middle to late Bronze Age has been understood in terms of the movements of peoples (for example, Childe 1950, Kraft 1926) or a change in religious beliefs (for example, Alexander 1979). More recently, a change in how the human body is ontologically understood is seen as the more likely underlying cause (Harris et al. 2013b).

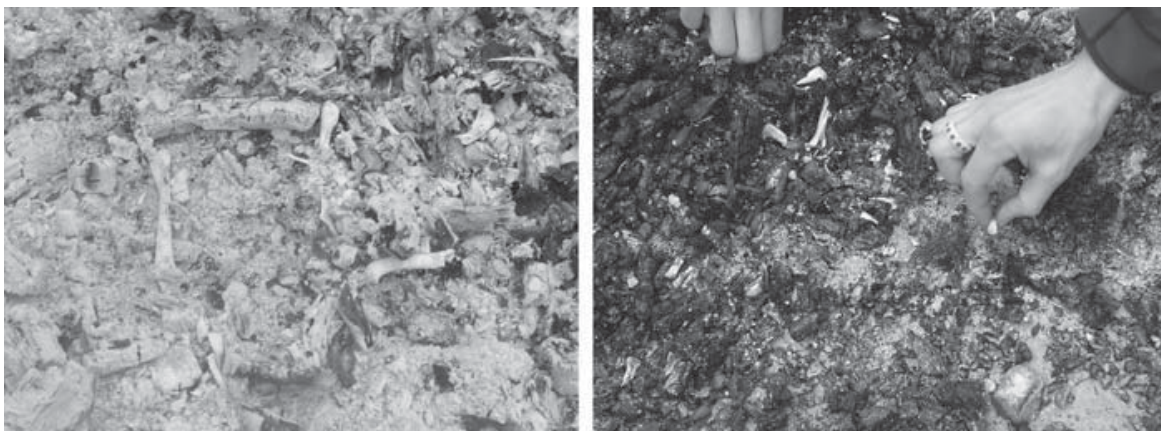


Figure 4.3 Cremated bones and pyre remains in an experimental cremation of a pig in Hallstatt 2006, before and after rain (© photos: Doris Pany-Kucera)

After several hundred years during which cremation prevailed, the early Iron Age saw the re-emergence of inhumation burials in central Europe. The transition back to inhumation follows interesting regional and chronological patterns (Rebay-Salisbury in press-c), and in many places, inhumation and cremation are practiced side by side. The way in which body treatment is linked to other variables of identity, such as gender, age and status, is underexplored, as clear links are difficult to establish; it is often a variety of factors that lead to the choice of different burial practices.

Very broadly, the re-introduction of inhumation seems to follow a west to east trajectory. The earliest instances of a transition to inhumation can be observed west of the Rhine, in eastern France, and on the western Swiss plateau, where inhumation had been practiced since the late Bronze Age (Wamser 1975). In fact, inhumation is not the only factor contributing to a 'Hallstattisation' from the west; several elements such as the use of iron and wagons in graves are also first traceable in the western parts of the West Hallstatt zone (Trachsel 2004: 328). The practice of building burial mounds, an important indicator of social stratification, also spreads from a ninth century BC core between Burgundy and the French Jura, Hessen and north Bavaria towards areas further west, north and east (Pare 2003). Within this core area, the western groups practiced inhumation, while the eastern groups in the area along the Rhine practiced cremation (Pare 2003 fig. 4). Early inhumations in Germany cluster in the upper Rhine Valley around Breisach and Colmar, in the Hegau and in the Middle Alb (Stöllner 2012: 558, fig. 4). Other areas such as Bavaria (Kossack 1959), Bavarian Swabia (Dietrich 1998), the upper Rhine (Aufdermauer 1963) and the upper Neckar valley (Reim 1990) do not show a consistent transition at all and cannot be reliably connected to a chronological development (Kurz 1997: 119).

In the West Hallstatt provinces depositing the body in burial mounds that cluster in groups typically of about ten to forty in number, and rarely more than one hundred, can be seen as the norm (Spindler 1983: 92). The burial mounds often contain multiple individuals, and secondary burials are frequent. The transition from cremation to inhumation has traditionally been seen as a marker for the transition from the early to the late Hallstatt period (Ha C to D, c. 620 BC), or even in terms of a 'Celtic revolution' (Zürn 1987: 25–27), but in fact cremation continued to be practiced throughout the whole of the Hallstatt period. Small cremation graves, comprising inauspicious, small pits with scattered cremations or urns and few, if any, grave goods, may be found between burial mounds – often overlooked in antiquarian excavations – or in separate cemeteries (Fries 2007). They are difficult to date as most can only be assigned to the Hallstatt period in general, but there are examples of graves securely dated to both Ha C and Ha D. In some areas, anthropological investigations of the cremated remains have demonstrated a high count of sub-adults, but these tendencies cannot be extrapolated over the whole of the area (Fries 2007: 25). Overall, there are more graves dating to Ha D than C in the West Hallstatt provinces, and women and children seem to be underrepresented, especially in the early period. The 'small cremation graves' may account for this difference (Müller-Scheeßel 2007: 8), as the vast number of

graves overall leaves no reason to suspect that not everybody had been granted a formal burial.

Early Hallstatt cremation graves continue Urnfield traditions with new pottery types (Kurz 1997: 122–123, Spindler 1983: 187). The bodies are typically cremated in their dress, and metal dress elements are picked out along with the cremated bones and deposited in a ceramic urn, an organic container or scattered in the grave pit. Pyre remains are often also placed in graves along with large sets of vessels. Hallstatt cremation graves tend to include few metal grave goods, but the long sword, which in the late Bronze Age is deposited in rivers and bogs but not in graves, became included in the grave assemblages from the Early Hallstatt period onwards (Kurz 1997: 129). The sword bearers seem to be the first to take up inhumation as a burial rite (although other graves may just not have enough datable objects). They are frequently buried in separate burial mounds, disconnected from the community and underlining their striving for exclusivity (Stöllner 2012: 559). The elite spearheads this innovation, while for some time yet cremation remains the norm for average graves before most people ‘convert’ to inhumation (Spindler 1983: 186). Late Hallstatt burials are typically inhumations under large burial mounds, with few or no ceramic vessels but ample metal grave goods, which include dress fittings and jewellery as well as daggers and spearheads (Stöllner 2012: 551).

One of the largest and best-known Hallstatt burial mounds in Germany is the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1971, Spindler 1972, Spindler 1973, Spindler 1976b, Spindler 1977, Spindler 1980). Its central wooden chamber, dendrochronologically dated to 616 BC, early in Ha D (Trachsel 2004: 149), had been robbed, so research focussed on excavation, analysis and interpretation of the 128 secondary burials dating to a quite narrow chronological margin between 616 and 575 BC, encompassing no more than two to three generations (Trachsel 2004: 150). The burial mound can be understood as a bi-ritual cemetery, as it includes both cremations and inhumations, although the latter are much more common. The graves 14, 22, 28 and 40 were single cremation graves covered by stone packing. The remains were deposited in a grave pit in what must have been an organic container with few grave goods (one grave contained an iron belt buckle and ring with traces of the funerary fire, one grave contained a miniature vessel, one a large vessel with conical neck and another grave fragments of a large vessel). Anthropological analysis confirmed one male individual and suggests two further male individuals; one had no diagnostic criteria preserved. All were adults between 20 and 60 years of age (Kühl 1977). Johannes Müller (1994) categorises the cremations in status groups 3 and 4, the lowest social ranks.

Graves that contain both cremations and inhumations are particularly interesting at the Magdalenenberg, as they reveal details about the relationships between the individuals. The bi-ritual grave 56 (Fig. 4.4) contained a female inhumation with an elaborate set of jewellery and dress elements of amber, bone, lignite and bronze, including pins for a veil, and arm and leg rings; on the left side of her body, between the forearm and the hip, a cremation was placed in a birch bark container with a bronze pin, a small bronze ring and bronze belt fittings (Spindler 1973:

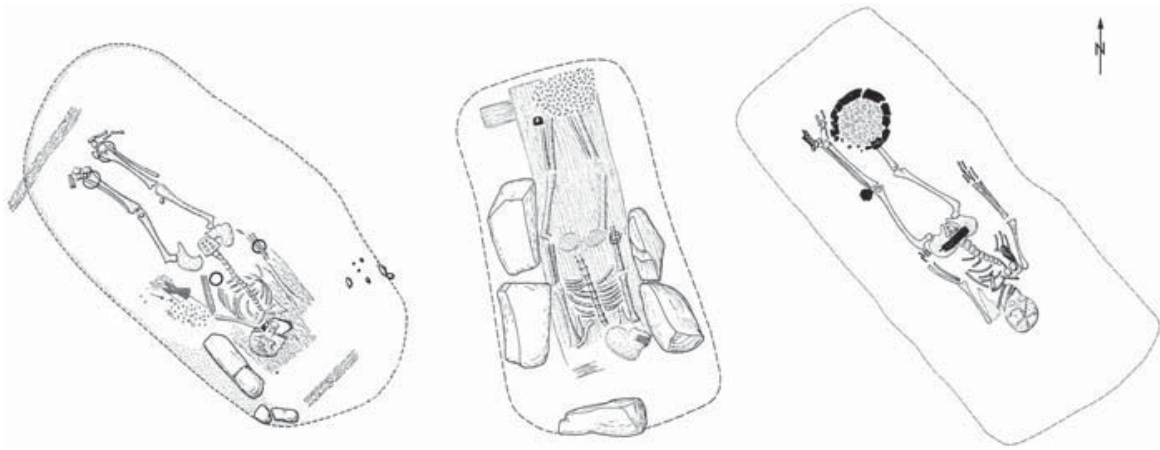


Figure 4.4 Bi-ritual graves 56, 75 and 106 from the Magdalenenberg near Villingen, expressing different relationships between the inhumed and cremated body (after Spindler 1973: pl. 2, pl. 37, Spindler 1976b: pl. 42)

19). The individual was a child around 14 years of age (Kühl 1977: 126) and of unknown sex. The fact that the inhumed woman was between 20 and 40 years old at death makes it just about possible that she was buried with her own child. The way the cremated remains were placed next to the woman's body shows an intimate, perhaps protective, relationship. This is different in the other bi-ritual graves: Grave 75, the inhumation of a male individual, was buried with a miniature vessel and an organic, rectangular container at his feet that contained the remains of two cremated individuals, a woman of about 30 years of age and a 10- to 11-year-old child (Kühl 1977: 126–131). Grave 106 (Fig. 4.4), another male inhumation, had the urn of a child less than seven years old at his feet. In both these cases, the difference in grave equipment and the placing of the cremation suggests the expression of a subordinate role of the cremated individuals in the grave.

The Hohmichele (Riek 1962), one of 36 burial mounds of the Speckhau necropolis associated with the Heuneburg, included eight inhumation and five cremation burials. Burial Mound 17 and 18 of the Speckhau group have recently been investigated by Bettina Arnold and Matthew L. Murray (Arnold and Murray 2002, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003). The central chamber of Burial Mound 17 measured 5 by 5 m and contained the cremation of a man and inhumation of a woman along the eastern wall of the chamber in a south–north orientation. The chamber had been looted, but the man was found with the remnants of an iron spearhead and knife. The woman was found with bronze earrings, a bronze pin, a bronze-studded leather belt, a bronze and iron *fibula* and bronze arm rings (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001: 69). At least three secondary inhumation burials were found in the mantle of the burial mound, which was used from c. 600/540 BC until c. 450/400 BC (Arnold 2012: 106). The cremation grave in the centre of Burial Mound 18 included the remains of a large, square funerary pyre measuring 3 by 3 m. Radiocarbon dates between 1390 and 1010 cal. BC derived from the central cremation grave were much older than

expected and can possibly be explained by the old wood effect (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003: 81); the use-life of the burial mound spanned from late Hallstatt C (640/600 BC) to Hallstatt D3/La Tène A (450/400 BC, Arnold 2012: 106).

The cemetery of Schirndorf in Bavaria (Hughes 1999, Hughes 2001, Stroh 1979, Stroh 1988, Stroh 2000a, Stroh 2000b) is another of the few almost fully excavated Hallstatt cemeteries that include both inhumations and cremations. It spans the whole duration of the Hallstatt period and includes more than 100 burial mounds and about 300 individuals (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). The burial mounds include wooden chambers, stone covers and stone linings; graves are densely packed, and the sequence of burials is difficult to reconstruct due to the complexity of secondary burials and grave extensions. The oldest burials are often male cremations with large sets of ceramic vessels, but inhumations soon become equally common; cremation and inhumation are practiced side by side (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). ‘Small cremation graves’ occur at the periphery of the mounds; they are often women and children with few, if any, grave goods (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: 341). Secondary burials are both cremations and inhumations. The wooden chamber of Mound 33, for instance, includes an inhumation along the west wall and clusters of cremated remains in the north and east of the chamber; cremated remains of two individuals were found over the hand of the inhumed individual (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a: fig. 5). The primary inhumation was almost certainly an adult male, but bones of a juvenile individual were found in the chamber as well. The cremated individuals could be classified as an adult, perhaps female, and a juvenile; it remains unclear, however, if the deposition of the cremated bones of two individuals were one or two separate events (Hughes 1999: 395–397). Secondary burials may be interred into the same chambers; if they were still intact, older individuals may be pushed aside and older grave goods smashed in the process. Other secondary burials are new constructions on top of older monuments. Nils Müller-Scheeßel (2005a) observed a trend during the course of the Hallstatt period towards less effort in grave construction and equipping buried individuals with objects, but, at the same time, a trend towards greater equality – more people of all age groups and genders are included in the community the cemetery represents.

The cemetery of Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, Germany (Nikulka 1998), shows similarities to Schirndorf in the grave architecture. There 127 individuals were buried in 95 graves placed in 84 architecturally distinguishable grave structures, of which 33 had wooden chambers (Schumann 2015: 56). Here, too, the chronological succession of burials is difficult to ascertain but seems to cover the whole Hallstatt period. Stone-lined burial mounds were frequently re-opened and expanded; subsequent burials were added to the cemetery in many different kinds of ways, including in existing burial mounds, adjacent to and between burial mounds and, after levelling the ground, over old burial mounds. Multiple interments in grave chambers can often not be securely distinguished from secondary additions and small, inauspicious cremation graves are common too. The age and sex of the buried individual, as well as chronological trends, were revealed to be fundamental for the mode of burial (Nikulka 2004). As in other cemeteries in the

Altmühl Valley, namely Dietfurt-Tennisplatz, Dietfurt-Tankstelle, Riedenburg-Emmerthal, Riedenburg-Deising, Kelheim-Am Urnenfeld and Beilngries-Im Ried-Ost, recently summarised by Robert Schumann (Schumann 2015: 106–107), there is a clear chronological trend from cremation to inhumation during the Hallstatt period, but social concerns play a role in the choice of burial practice too. Among the inhumation burials, male individuals prevail; amongst cremation burials, the sex ratio is balanced. Adult individuals tend to occupy the primary places within grave structures, and mature individuals are particularly frequently interred.

The cemetery of Hallstatt, Austria, occupying a somewhat intermediate position between the west and the east, has early been recognised as a ‘bi-ritual’ cemetery. The documentation of Johann Georg Ramsauer included a clear differentiation between inhumations and cremations (*‘Skelette, Leichenbraende’* [sic]), and illustrations for about a third of the graves, particularly the very large and rich cremations and inhumations in peculiar positions (Hodson 1990: 5, Kern 2009b: 117). The illustrations include partial cremations, in which part of the body seems inhumed and another part cremated, but they constitute intercutting graves with separate sets of grave goods (which were numbered accordingly at the time of excavation).

Inhumations and cremations are represented almost equally in Hallstatt (53 per cent inhumation, 47 per cent cremation; Hodson 1990: 76, Pany 2009: 136). Bodies are usually inhumed on their backs, with the head in the west looking towards the east (or, topographically speaking, from the high valley to the lake). Cremations are normally scattered, with dress elements placed on top of the cremated body and other grave goods arranged around the cremation; they come in different sizes and levels of equipment. Very few individuals were deposited in urns, in which case the graves are inconspicuous and consist only of the urn and body (Pany 2009: 129–130). According to the data published in Hodson’s analysis (1990: 76, table 12; 78, fig. 18), male graves are more likely to be cremations: the ratio of cremations to inhumation is 56:44 for male graves, and 45:55 for female graves. However, of the 926 graves, 478 graves could be classified as female, but only 294 as male, an imbalance which could easily account for the difference. Both inhumation and cremation graves are chronologically spread over the whole duration of the cemetery. According to Hodson (1990), 290 graves belong to the early cemetery phase (Ha C, 800 to 600 BC), 170 to the later phase (Ha D, 600 to 475/450 BC), with 466 that could only be dated to the Hallstatt period more generally. In Ha C, 166 cremations can be juxtaposed with 124 inhumations, in Ha D 96 cremations with 74 inhumations. This means that the ratio of cremation to inhumation of the datable graves remains almost unchanged (57:43 and 56:44) as the Iron Age progressed. A link of burial rite to status differences is the most credible for the cemetery of Hallstatt. Seventy per cent of metal vessels, which are thought to constitute considerable wealth, stem from cremation graves (Kern 2009a: 129, Urban 2000: 238). In Hodson’s analysis, more than half of all male inhumations are buried with only one functional artefact class, whereas the majority of cremation graves have two or more; females tend to be associated with slightly more

artefact classes in general due to their more elaborate dress, but the pattern is repeated. If we take the number of functional artefact classes as a status indicator, cremations are indeed linked to higher status in Hallstatt.

The cemetery of Hallstatt, however, represents a rather unusual community. Located in a high valley that is difficult to access, it is intrinsically linked to salt-mining activities, for which a seasonal rhythm is presumed (Reschreiter and Kowarik 2009: 58). The climate in the mines is more stable in winter, whereas subsistence and craft activities requiring daylight would optimally be carried out in the summer. If we assume that people die on a fairly regular basis independent of the seasons (an invalid assumption for many reasons, cf. Rebay-Salisbury in prep), perhaps we can link cremations and inhumations to seasonality. This link could work on a variety of levels, practical as well as ideological and belief based, but at present, there no pollen data are available from the graves to establish a firm link to seasonality. The following (Fig. 4.5) summarises the hypothetical link that

	<i>Summer</i>	<i>Winter</i>
treatment cremation/ inhumation	body has to be treated more quickly as it decays fast	treatment of the body can be postponed – frozen ground may impede digging grave pits – firewood may be in short supply – light and heat of the funerary pyre has additional effects in the cold and dark season
dress elements and jewellery	– summer dress may require fewer dress fittings – certain jewellery items may be on display more prominently (e.g., sheet bronze belts, upper arm rings, etc.)	– winter dress might have more layers, requiring more dress fittings (e.g., pins, <i>fibulae</i>) – certain jewellery items may not be worn under heavy clothes (e.g., leg rings under boots)
other objects	functional objects might relate to seasonal work, e.g., sickles, pruning knives (harvest)	functional objects might relate to seasonal work, e.g., axes for cutting wood and maintaining woodland – textile work (spinning, weaving, sewing)
food	– cooler serving temperatures may be preferred – choice of foodstuff may include more variety of freshly gathered fruit and nuts (resulting in a variety of smaller serving bowls and platters in graves) – meat of young animals (e.g., lamb)	– warmer serving temperatures may be preferred – choice of foodstuff may include more stews and soups (resulting in large cooking vessels in graves) – meat of seasonally slaughtered animals (e.g., pig)

Figure 4.5 Hypothetical link between seasonality and funerary activities

may exist between seasonality and funerary practices. Not only could the season affect the ways in which the bodies were treated, but also the choice of objects put in the grave. In winter, the frozen ground makes digging graves difficult, which is why in historical times, the dead were often stored on wooden biers in a shed until the spring in Alpine areas (Hartinger 1982). Cremated individuals are easier to store and transport. It is unclear where the dead were cremated, as there is no firm confirmation of funerary pyres at the cemetery itself. Ideologically, the dead might require the light and warmth of a funerary pyre during the dark seasons. Differences in the grave goods for cremations and inhumations could be related to seasonality as well. More variety in dress fittings, for instance, is required for more layers of clothing in the winter (if the funerary dress is not entirely different from everyday clothing). That the foodstuff put into graves and used in funerary feasts must relate to seasonality and availability is almost obvious, but this could have a knock-on effect on the vessel forms chosen as grave goods. Furthermore, the preferred serving temperature in the summer and winter might differ, which could again affect vessel forms and materials.

In the eastern Hallstatt area, cremation remains the norm during the whole of the early Iron Age until the transition to the late Iron Age. There are, however, some notable exceptions. In the northeastern Kalenderberg group, where influences from and contacts with the West Hallstatt provinces are plentiful, a small percentage of people were buried uncremated. At Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006), for example, of the 373 graves in total were 38 inhumations. There is little consistency in the way they were buried; 14 were oriented east–west (unlike in the western provinces, where south–north is most common), but orientations in all other cardinal directions also occur. Most lie on their backs, but some on their sides. Little anthropological data are available to investigate gender or age-led trends, but a comparison of the social index value to the burial type showed that both among the burials without any grave goods and the burials with high-status values a higher percentage of inhumations occurred than expected. The rich graves are almost exclusively females with elaborate stone grave structures and sets of pottery, as well as dress elements that suggest a connection to the west. It is possible that these were women from further up the Danube that were integrated into the community at Statzendorf; after death, they ended up treated according to their native customs.

In the northeastern Hallstatt area, inhumations seem generally more common for women and children at first (Kaus 1973: 335, Nebelsick 1997: 33), as the cemeteries of Grafenwörth (Lochner 1988) and Inzersdorf a.d. Traisen (Schneidhofer 2006), both in Austria, suggest. Infants and children are commonly deposited as secondary burials on top of a cremation. At Süttő, Hungary, for example, excavations of a monumental mound revealed a very complex burial, built on top of a pyre site with the remains of multiple cremated people. A stone chamber with *dro-mos* was covered by a roof construction, and on top of the roof, the body of a child was deposited in north–west to south–east orientation. Along with the skeleton of the child, parts of cattle, pig, sheep and dog were found, along with three pairs of horse bits (Kmeťova 2001, Patek 1993: 124–127, Vadász 1983). The context has led researchers to believe that the child might have been sacrificed (for example,

Egg 1996c: 65), but it might just as well have been a secondary burial. Male inhumations, on the other hand, are almost always dated to the Hallstatt/La Tène transition, such as at the cemetery of Sopron-Krautacker, Hungary (Jerem 1987).

Influences from the east may also play a role in the uptake of inhumation in the Kalenderberg area. Grave 2 from Retz, Austria (Teržan 1998: 515), dating to Ha C2, is a south–east to north–west oriented inhumation found crouched on the right side. Of the finds associated with the skeleton, the horse gear and axe are of Scythian types, whereas the pottery points to the Lusatian area in the north. At the northern fringe of the Hallstatt province, cremation is dominant, while at the eastern fringe, nomadic groups such as the Alföld and Transylvanian group (Kromer 1986, Teržan 1998) use both cremation and inhumation. The cemetery of Chotín, Slovakia, for instance, includes 121 cremations and 247 inhumations, one grave that includes both an inhumation and a cremation, one inhumation with a horse and eight individual horse burials. Mikuláš Dušek mentions that five inhumations had traces of fire above the skeleton and one in the pit, which caused the skeleton to char (138A, Dušek 1966: 10). This might suggest a merging of cremation and inhumation on a conceptual level. The bi-ritual nature of the cemeteries of the Alföld group is most often explained through ethnicity. Cremations are considered to be the local, older rite, whereas inhumation is seen as the rite of the Scythian immigrants (for example, Kemenczei 2003: 180).

South of the Kalenderberg group, in Alpine areas and at the eastern edge of the Alps, Hallstatt communities practice cremation almost exclusively (a few inhumations appear at the end of the Hallstatt period, for instance, at Rifnik, cf. Teržan 1990: 56). Scattered cremations, urns and the pyre sites as such constitute graves; at Frög, for instance, at a ratio of 57:37:6 per cent (Tomedi 2002: 101). Elite burials follow a slightly different chronological trajectory than the ones in the West Hallstatt provinces (Egg 1996c). They connect more closely to the Urnfield period and start at the beginning of Ha C; they peak in Ha D1 but cease shortly thereafter. In the west, by contrast, the richest graves date to Ha D2 and 3. Princely burials often include the remains of more than one individual, and also cremated animal bones; pyre remains are frequently found under or in the immediate vicinity of the grave constructions. The Kröllkogel at Kleinklein, Austria, for example, situated in a cemetery encompassing several hundred burial mounds, contained a stone chamber measuring eight by eight metres plus a twelve-metre-long *dromos* (Egg and Kramer 2005: 9, Egg and Kramer 2013). The chamber contained the cremated remains of four individuals, and cremated animal bones were scattered in both the chamber and the *dromos* (Grill and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013). The sword and arrowheads, an impressive set of weaponry, as well as feasting and drinking equipment in bronze and ceramic, were arranged along the chamber walls. Noteworthy are the bronze body armour and two (left) hand masks and a face mask (Plate 13, Egg and Kramer 2013). At least three horses as well as remains from cattle, pig and sheep/goat could be identified among the burnt animal bones. The temperature the animals were exposed to was slightly lower than for the human bodies; Egg and Kramer therefore reconstruct a funerary pyre in which the human bodies were placed on top and the animal corpses were stacked at the sides (Egg and

Kramer 2005: 10). The offering of burnt animals is, of course, a common theme in the eastern Alps and in the Bavarian foothills, and is documented from Alpine cremation sanctuaries (for example, Krämer 1966, Lang 2006, Steiner 2010).

A notable exception to the use of cremation for burial in the eastern Hallstatt provinces is the Carniola group in Slovenia, for which inhumations are the norm (Gabrovec 1999). Large burial mounds are built in the vicinity of major hilltop settlements. They are not necessarily constructed for the primary grave of an individual, but for communities or family clans numbering into the hundreds. If a central burial is present in these mounds, it does not differ from the others that are arranged radially in the mound's mantle (Egg 1996c: 58). The cemetery of Kapiteljska njiva, Novo Mesto, Slovenia (Knez 1993b, Križ 1997b, Križ 2000, Križ 2006), for instance, consists of 10 mounds. At least in part, it was erected over a late Bronze Age cremation cemetery dating to around 800–700 BC (Ljubljana IIa and b, equivalent to Ha B3/C1, Križ 1997b: 23). Inhumation graves frequently cut the older cremations and metal finds, so broken pieces of large cinerary urns as well as cremated remains end up in the fill of inhumation graves. A direct continuation of the late Bronze Age cemetery other than the same use of space is therefore doubtful. The early Iron Age occupation, however, starts around 650 BC (Podzemelj II, equivalent to the end of Ha C1), which does not leave a large chronological gap. Hiatus or not, the dramatic change of burial practices in this spot marks a clear departure from old traditions.

In summary, inhumation in the West Hallstatt provinces first seems to be chosen as a marker of exclusivity. The materiality and dimensions of the dead body are suitable to choreograph the deposition of objects such as swords, wagon parts and other high-status objects spatially. Rather than ending the display with the spectacle of the funerary pyre, the body's presence continues in the grave, where personal objects remain directly related. The transformation of the body into another substance gives way to the continued display of status arranged around the body, but the transformative element of the funerary ritual might be shifted to other practices such as wrapping. The transition to inhumation is led by men with weapons in the west and soon emulated by all segments of society. We might be able to observe cycles of elite fashion, imitation by commoners and reactions to these by further differentiation, including via noble understatement (such as observed in the context of Athenian elite burials of the fifth and fourth century, cf. Morris 1992). At the end of this development, in the late Hallstatt period (Ha D3), the elite includes more women, and the male elite are no longer buried with weapons but choose different ways to mark exclusivity (Dehn, Egg and Lehnert 2005: 235, Abb. 152, Abb. 153). In the eastern Hallstatt provinces, on the other hand, cremation remains the norm during the Hallstatt period until the transition to inhumation in the La Tène period. Earlier inhumations can most often be traced to influences from the western provinces or the Scythian east. Again, a gender- and age-led pattern emerges, but this time, it seems to be the women and children who are first inhumed, whereas male adults continue the tradition of cremation. Some of these early inhumed individuals are well equipped with grave goods, but none reach elite level. At the site of Hallstatt itself, which for many reasons

represents a rather unusual community, it is the high-status males who emphasise continuity and tradition through the persistent use of cremation. Carniola saw the most radical departure from old traditions around 650 BC with an entirely new form of burial, in which people were inhumed in large community mounds. A second wave of change occurs during the fifth century BC, the early La Tène phase. Elite burials have a last heyday with burials such as Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002, Bartel et al. 1998), Reinheim, Germany (Echt 1999), or some graves from the Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser 2010). But generally, burials under mounds give way to inhumations in large cemeteries (for example, Mannersdorf, Pottenbrunn, Austria, Ramsel 2000, Ramsel 2011).

The pattern of transition from cremation to inhumation during the early Iron Age in central Europe is, as we have seen, quite complicated. The human body reappears as the focus of status display and negotiation, and although some aspects of this practice fall easily into place around the intact body that has not been transformed by cremation, it can also be done around cremated remains. If we understand the transition to inhumation as innovation within a network, we might understand why inhumation is taken up more enthusiastically at first in the west. Innovation can be triggered by internal and external drivers, often a combination of the two, but crucially it relies on the context – the network – in which information flows, as well as the social status of innovators and early adopters (see Section 2.2).

After around 600 BC, the West Hallstatt area had access to a wider and more diverse network. At that time, traffic on major trade routes from the Mediterranean northwards shifted from the eastern Alpine fringe to the Rhone valley – the foundation of the Greek colony Massalia is but one symptom of this development. This network is most often thought of in terms of economics and prestige goods transfer (for example, Sherratt 1993, Sherratt and Sherratt 1993), but clearly extended into the ideological and religious domains, bringing a diversity of new ideas and an openness to innovation. Eastern elites were cut off from these new networks that developed farther west, were probably less exposed to new ideas and might have had trouble maintaining their lifestyle under economic pressure and ever-changing relationships with their neighbours. The route taken to justify power and display status by eastern communities is maintaining old traditions – a reaction that might be understood in terms of a traditional backlash. Communities clung to localised customs, used heirloom objects in graves and continued to use cremation as the prevailing burial rite. Using this model, the Carniola burial mounds with inhumations might be explained as an effort to distinguish themselves from eastern groups, with whom they had intensive exchanges.

4.3 The body and objects

The role of grave goods is a complicated issue and cannot be pre-defined, but has to be determined contextually (Ekengren 2013). Objects have to be investigated in terms of why and how they are used in graves to understand their meaning. This is not an easy task, and although some objects may be easier to read than

others, multiple meanings may be attached to each object or emerge from the ritual practices in which they are used. Renate Meyer-Orlac (Meyer-Orlac 1982) differentiates between three categories of objects in graves: the first is that of objects associated with the dead body, including clothes, wrappings and adornments. The second category comprises 'grave gifts', objects added for several reasons, including that they were the deceased's possessions, were rendered polluted or taboo through contact with the deceased or the event of death, or they were intended for use by the deceased, practically or symbolically. Further options for interpretation include that objects represent the mourning community or are deposited to gain prestige, express grief or as a visitor's present. They may be meant as a gift to the deceased or for members of the community that had died earlier, or objects to ward off evil (and prevent the return of the deceased). The third category comprises features of the tomb, including furnishing and decoration. This is particularly relevant when graves are constructed as an analogy of houses.

Starting from the body, it is useful to consider its appearance in life. Physical appearance is key in signalling and communication identity, even without words. A person's appearance is composed of the physical body, body modifications and alterations, and further additions, including dress and jewellery (Bergerbrant, Jørgensen and Fossøy 2013). In addition, a person's gait and movements, as well as objects that are habitually carried, can contribute to the way people define and accentuate their corporeal reality. In this sense, objects can be understood as extending the body and the scope of its capability and reach and become part of the cognitive system (Malafouris 2008). After death, some traces of physical appearance remain or are left unchanged; others are embellished, changed, added to and subtracted from by the burying community.

Analytically, it is further useful to distinguish the elements that make up a clothed person. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (Sørensen 1997) differentiates cloth, the textile itself, clothing, the garments cut and made from cloth and costume, which includes the entirety of clothing, dress fittings and ornaments. Textiles are rarely preserved in graves, but their quality, colours and patterns already encode meaning. In the Villanovian cemetery of Verucchio (von Eles 2002, Stauffer 2002), for example, red textiles were found in high-status male graves, suggesting that the idea of this colour signalling power and status goes back a long way. Textiles found in the salt mines of Hallstatt (Plate 9, Grömer 2016, Grömer et al. 2013) demonstrate the high standard of spinning, weaving, dyeing and patterning techniques. The patterns include stripes, block checks, chevron, diamond and swastika motifs, as well as meanders, which have parallels on contemporary pottery, but are also depicted on representations of dress. Patterns on ceramics have been found to have regional significance (Brosseder 2006) as well as encoding other levels of nested identities, including differences within burying communities. The emphasis on patterning in ceramics and the preserved textiles makes it likely that cloths played a major part in communicating identity.

The next level up in the appearance of a person is clothing. The cut of the different dress elements is even more difficult to reconstruct from burial evidence, as often only textile fragments are preserved, but again, pictorial sources can

complement our knowledge. Dress fittings and jewellery completing the costume are, in contrast, a frequent occurrence in graves. The particular combination and location of the objects on the (inhumed) body may reveal how they were used, how they were combined with clothes and what kind of appearance they produced. Dress elements in early Iron Age graves are most often made of bronze, but particular rich graves include gold objects, and iron is used to replace bronze for some object types. The succession of materials over time could be demonstrated through the horizontal stratigraphy at the cemetery of Statzendorf, Austria. At this site, bronze harp *fibulae* (*Harfenfibeln*) are used in the older cemetery part in the north, and the same type occurs in iron in the southern section of the cemetery (Rebay 2006: 168). Although the basic form and style of the artefact remain the same, both the production technology and the visual impact must have differed considerably.

4.3.1 *Head*

A multitude of different shapes of hats, caps and helmets are attested for men from pictorial sources. Hats made of organic materials do not often leave any traces in graves, as they normally do not have any metal parts. Fragments of a hat made of birch bark from Hochdorf and Dürrenberg Grave 352 (Moser 2010: 56–60) seem to indicate a conical shape, such as shown on the stele from Hirschlanden (Zürn 1964a). Caps of fur, in beret and conical shapes from the salt mines of Hallstatt (Popa 2009), might function primarily as protective gear, and it is not clear if these types of hats were commonly worn outside the mines. Helmets are occasionally found in graves in the southeastern Hallstatt area, especially when the warrior identity of the deceased is particularly emphasised. They come in a surprising range of varieties in the early Iron Age (Egg 1986b), including wickerwork helmets plated with bronze calottes (for example, Smrjeta, Slovenia), double-crested bronze helmets (for example, Kleinklein, Austria) and helmets of the Negau type (for example, Novo Mesto-Kandija, Slovenia). These are interesting as they create a different outline of a person, depending on whether viewed from the front or in profile. The appearance of a person wearing a helmet is further changed by including crests, which, according to the images, might reach far on to the warrior's back. Four different types of helmets are shown in the parade on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64).

For women, virtually all depictions indicate that a woman's head and hair were typically covered by a veil. Veiling is, as contemporary political discussions indicate, a significant alteration of appearance. Small bronze pins are sometimes recovered from around the face of a woman in a grave and indicate the wearing of a headdress, a hair band or veil. A particularly good example is Grave 56 from the Magdalenenberg, Germany (Spindler 1973: 18–21), in which 16 bronze pins with bronze and amber heads were arranged in a symmetrical pattern with alternating materials. In this case, the buried individual was a woman of adult age (20 to 40 years at death), and the co-buried child (which may be her own) might point to her status as a married woman, perhaps a woman who has already given birth. Lenerz-de Wilde suggested a differentiation of married and unmarried

women on the basis of their headdress (Lenerz-de Wilde 1989) for the Magdalenenberg. If pins and rings located at the ears and temples really indicate marital status, this means that a third to a quarter of all women remained unmarried (Burmeister 2000: 90). The combination of objects pointing to a specific headdress is most common on the late Hallstatt Magdalenenberg, but extends into southwestern Germany more generally, though in other areas bronze objects in graves are less clearly connected to headdresses. Rings made of sheet gold appear to have been braided into long hair at the Dürrnberg near Hallein, Austria (Moser 2010: 42–46), and Grave 353 even contained an elaborate headdress composed of several sheet gold balls. How and if these pieces of jewellery were combined with a veil or covered by it remained unclear.

Bronze rings, often made of a bent double wire, are commonly found in the ear and temple region in women's graves, but are also very common items in East Hallstatt cremation graves. They, too, are markers of age and gender, and are commonly depicted (for example, on the conical vessel from Sopron-Váris, Fig. 7.2, Gallus 1934: pl. 16.2).

4.3.2 Neck

Different types of necklaces are found in early Iron Age graves, including solid bronze, open rings and string necklaces with beads made of glass, amber, jet and other materials. Multiple items may be found on the neck of one individual. Solid neck rings are used for both men and women, with regional differences. For example, neck rings are typical female items in northern Württemberg (incl. the Magdalenenberg) during early Ha D, but they are not gender specific in southern Württemberg at the same time; in late Ha D rich men wear gold neck rings (Burmeister 2000: 71, Burmeister 2003).

Colourful necklaces composed of beads are typically found in women's graves, although single beads appear in male graves from Ha D2 in Württemberg. They

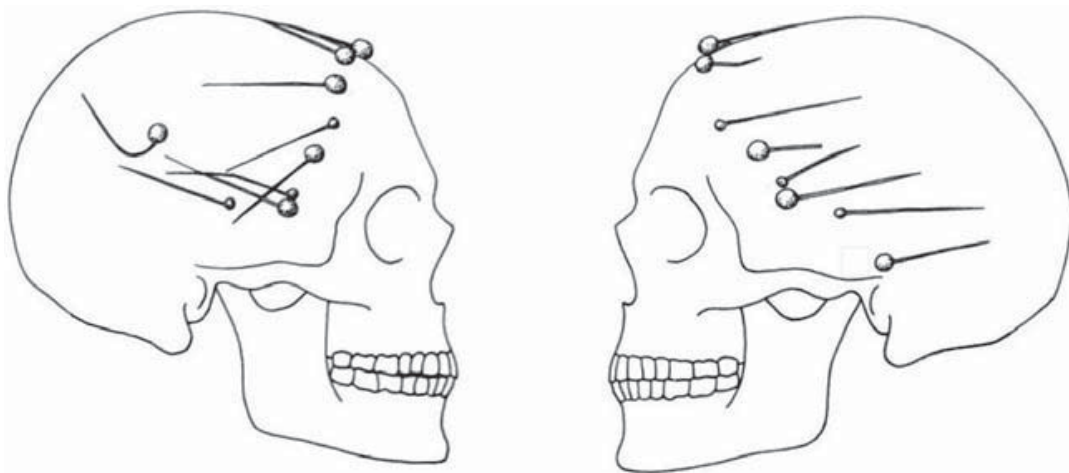


Figure 4.6 Pins arranged around the face in Grave 56 from the Magdalenenberg (after Spindler 1973: 19, fig. 2)

are further an attribute of girls and younger women; women over 40 are no longer associated with these colourful items. This led Ludwig Pauli to believe that they might have had an apotropaic and protective character for women before and of childbearing age (Pauli 1975). Beads of glass and amber are also a characteristically female item in the northeast (Rebay 2006: 194). In the southeastern Carniola group, glass and amber beads were particularly abundant so that a local production centre is assumed. The most common colour for glass beads is blue, followed by white and yellow; different glass colours are also combined in multi-coloured beads with wave or dot-and-circle motifs. Even beads in the shape of ram's heads were made, both in glass and in amber (Križ 1997a: 37). Skeletal preservation is extremely poor in this area, so it is difficult to assess how they were associated with the appearance of men and women; it seems, however, that sets of beads are more common in female graves. The co-occurrence of bead necklaces and weapons is commonly interpreted to indicate the double grave of a woman and man.

4.3.3 *Torso*

Dress elements such as dress pins and *fibulae* are commonly found on the upper body, including the shoulder region, and were used to fasten garments. The types of garments are difficult to reconstruct from the position of dress elements alone. In addition, we might not only assume different layers of clothes, perhaps depending on the number of items a person owned or the season of death, but also wrapping in funerary shrouds and textiles, which might have been fastened with the same types of objects. On the basis of the depictions, it is safe to assume tunics of varying lengths and arm lengths for men, as well as different shapes of skirts and trousers; several finds of trousers, garments covering both legs separately, are known from the bogs of northern Europe (Grömer 2016). That they were also used in central Europe is evidenced by images sketched on a vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Gallus 1934: pl. 9), and a bronze belt plate from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: fig. 7).

Women's clothing is often reconstructed as a *peplos* (Grömer 2016), a long, tubular cloth folded at the shoulders and fastened with a pair of dress pins or *fibulae*. The top of the tube was folded down and might appear as a separate item. The *peplos* may be held together at the waist with a belt. Cloaks are also known from imagery for both men and women. They are essentially large pieces of cloth worn over another layer of clothing, fastened at the neck or the shoulder with one dress pin or *fibula*. A nice example of a floor-length cloak was discovered at Mitterkirchen, Grave X/2 (Pertlwieser 1987), a double burial of a man and a woman. The woman wore a leather cloak fitted with thousands of bronze buttons sewn on to the upper body section and the section below the knees.

The way *fibulae* are worn might be age and gender specific in certain regions or places at certain times. In late Ha D Württemberg, for example, women generally wear three *fibulae*, whereas a pair worn on the shoulders characterises boys from the age of 10 and men; further, *fibulae* on the Magdalenenberg tend to be slightly larger for men than for women (Burmeister 2000: 71, 91). On the Dürrenberg near Hallein men and women wear the same types of *fibulae*, but often only one piece

(Moser 2010: 50). Women have a pair on the upper body and an additional one on the right shoulder – to fasten a cloak or a second layer of clothing (Moser 2010: 38). Double-spiral dress pins, distributed in the Inn-Salzach area in early Ha D, are not gender specific per se, but, whereas a count of one or two can be paired with weapons, three are only found in female graves (Trebsche, Pollak and Gruber 2007: 74–75). Interestingly, although they are sometimes arranged on the upper body (where they seem not particularly practical), they are also found deposited next to the body, on wooden boards or in wooden chests. In the northeastern Hallstatt area, the practice of cremation makes an investigation of (gendered) dress items even more challenging. It seems, however, that dress pins were used by both men and women to fasten garments at the shoulder, whereas *fibulae*, especially the common *Harfenfibel*, are more commonly a component of the female dress (Nebelsick 1997, Rebay 2006: 194).

Belts structure the appearance of the body by dividing it in the middle. Textile and leather belts that do not survive are sometimes evidenced by metal hooks and rings used for fastening; sheet bronze belts and composite belts made of sheet bronze or iron plates and various layers of leather and textiles are increasingly used throughout the Hallstatt period. Sheet bronze belts, leather belts with bronze applications and bronze belt hooks are, in late Hallstatt Württemberg, restricted to women of adult age, but in late Ha D, men started to wear them as well (Burmeister 2000: 89). On the Dürrenberg, both men and women wear belts during the Hallstatt period (Moser 2010: 40), a pattern that continues farther east. Belt plates from Slovenia seem more typically associated with male graves; unfortunately, associated skeletal remains are rarely preserved (Knez 1993b: 25). The iconography of the belt plates decorated in *situla* style points to the male sphere and includes images of war, sex, hunting and fishing (for example, Brezje, Plate 12, Turk 2005: fig. 83, Molnik, Egg and Eibner 2005: fig. 7, Magdalenska gora, Lucke Frey 1962: pl. 41b, Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva: Križ 1997b: app. 4).

Male appearance, especially in the role of the warrior, is emphasised in graves containing sheet body cuirasses. In the late Bronze Age, finds are known from France to Slovakia. Fragments of one of the oldest sheet bronze corselets, dating to approximately the twelfth century BC, were found cremated in a burial mound at Čaka, Slovakia (Točík and Paulík 1960). In the early Iron Age they are restricted to a small area in the eastern Hallstatt zone. Five examples have been found at Kleinklein, Austria (Egg and Kramer 2013, Hansen 2007), two at Stična (Božič 2009) and one at Novo Mesto in Slovenia (Gabrovec 1960); one is known from Hungary with no closer identification of the site (Hansen 2007). Shaped after the naked upper body, shiny and golden, they mimic muscle lines and depict nipples. Defensive body armour serves a dual function: the protection of the body from physical harm in close combat and, as a side effect, the accentuation of the body surface underlining the desired nude appearance of the warrior.

4.3.4 Arms and legs

The extremities were frequently adorned with bracelets of different shapes and forms. Arm rings were worn on the upper and on the lower arm. Leg rings appear

around the ankles and are normally solid rings of bronze, more rarely of iron. Women frequently wear several pieces per arm and leg (Fig. 4.7), which must have created a quite distinctive sound while moving. Again, it is less the types than the number and whether they were paired or not, which points to gendered patterns of wear. In late Hallstatt southern Württemberg, two or more pairs of arm and leg rings are typically female (Burmeister 2000), but in late Ha D, the rings become integrated in the typical set of male jewellery. The recently discovered ‘Celtic Princess’ from the Bettelbühl necropolis near the Heuneburg wore three jet arm rings on the

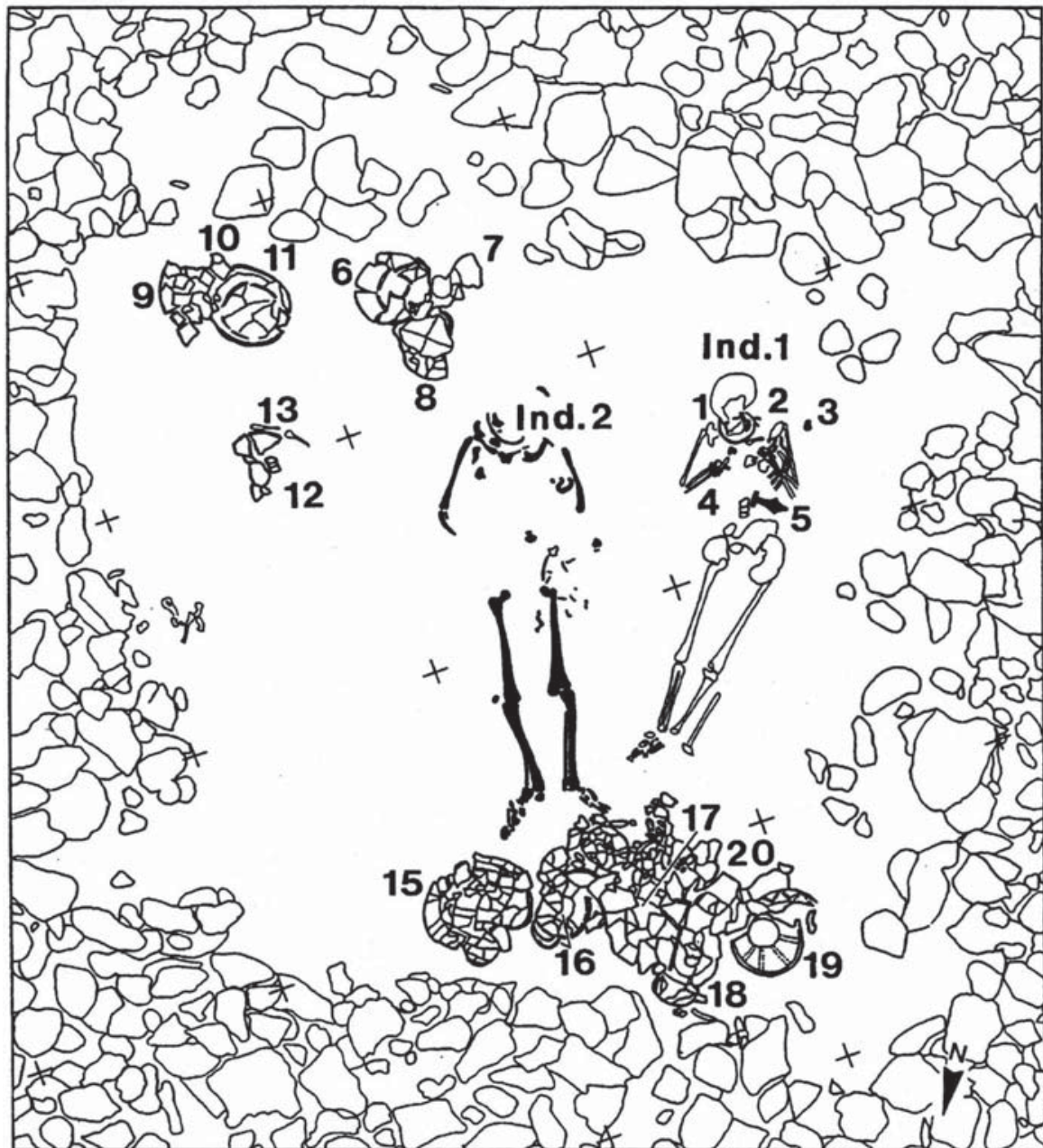


Figure 4.7 Grave 33 from Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, Germany. Individual 1 on the right is an adult woman buried with a bronze neck ring, two pins, three arm rings on each arm, three spiral wire rings and an iron belt hook. The burial of Individual 2, an adult male, is disturbed. The grave chamber further contained numerous pieces of pottery (Nikulka 1998: 244, fig. 81, courtesy of Frank Nikulka).

right arm and four on the left, as well as two bronze rings on each ankle (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2012). Dürrenberg women frequently wear three rings per arm and leg (Moser 2010: 40). The sets can reach considerable weights: the 12 leg rings of Grave 117 together weigh about 5.4 kg (Pauli 1978: 152). The diameter of the bracelets can sometimes help to distinguish children's from adult's graves.

Arm rings in the northeast seem to be more common for women than for men (Rebay 2006: 194). Smaller rings found in the foot area of the grave can sometimes be interpreted as components of leather shoes or boots. A pair of ceramic lasts found in a settlement pit near Sommerein, Austria (Neugebauer 1980), is proof of sophisticated shoe manufacturing.

4.3.5 Personal items

Personal items other than clothing include items for body care and grooming and objects used for everyday activities and habitual practices. Very interesting insights into personal and medical care are provided by ceramic rings of 55 to 85 mm in diameter found in the lower pelvic area of female skeletons of the early Iron Age. They can be interpreted as pessaries, devices that can be used to treat prolapse of the uterus. So far, 11 rings could be interpreted as pessaries according to their placement, but it is likely that many more can be added once their use is better known. The skeletal remains associated with the pessary from Stuttgart-Mühlhausen, Germany, also indicate changes to the pelvis that might have been caused by trauma during pregnancy and childbirth (Fig. 4.8, Scherzler 1998).

Tools for textile work are another group of objects often found in women's graves. Loom weights, spools and sewing needles can be found, but especially spindle whorls are testimony of spinning as a habitual, embodied practice; spinning might

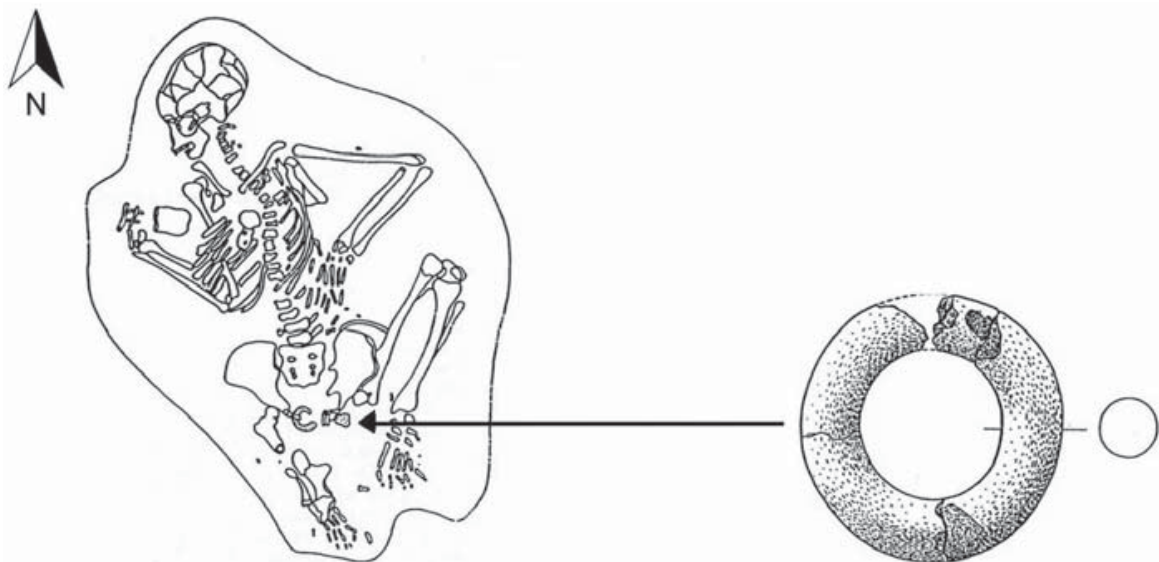


Figure 4.8 The location of the ceramic pessary on the skeletal remains of a 20- to 30-year-old woman in Grave 8, Viesenhäuser Hof, Stuttgart-Mühlhausen (after Scherzler 1998: figs 2 and 3, © Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart)

be done as a sideline job whenever possible, particularly in the winter months. As grave goods, spindle whorls are not particularly common in late Hallstatt Württemberg, although they do occur in late Ha D in northern Württemberg (Burmeister 2000: 71). In the northeastern Hallstatt area, they are very common grave goods for women. The spindle is one of the items that stays close to the body throughout life, death and beyond: many spindle whorls show traces of fire, which suggest the spindles were cremated with the body, as well as collected and deposited together with the remains after the cremation (Rebay-Salisbury 2010).

Toiletry items for male body care are well known north of the Alps. A typical combination is tweezers, nail cutters and ear spoons, often held together with a ring (Parzinger, Nekvasil and Barth 1995: 80). It was also important for the hair and beard to be well kept; images suggest that at least some men shaved both hair and beard off completely. Razors are thus found in graves in late Hallstatt Württemberg, for example, associated with mature men (Burmeister 2000: 92). Male personal items may also include knives, a multi-purpose tool and associated grindstones. Versions with small holes might have been strung and carried around, perhaps fixed to a belt. These are typical male grave components in the northeastern Hallstatt area (Rebay 2006: 182).

Weapons may also be considered personal items, and especially swords are thought to have some kind of personhood in their own right as well as extend the bodily and cognitive capability of the sword carrier to the extent that the sword may be thought of as a body part (Malafouris 2008). The sword as a grave good is typical for the Early Hallstatt period in the west; it occurs only in very exceptional grave contexts in the east. By the late Hallstatt period, the sword is replaced by the dagger in the west. In contrast to the sword, the dagger is more of an all-purpose object and walks the fine line between being a weapon and a tool. This is important, as over time men are portrayed less as warriors and more in other roles in graves; they are further allowed more female dress elements, objects that would have been considered too 'girly' a generation or two previously. Spearheads are found in graves of adult men from about the age of 20 in the west (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005). Weapons are almost exclusively found in central burial chambers in the Bavarian Altmühl Valley (Schumann 2015), strong evidence that weapons were linked to social status and the prestige of the deceased. Spears and axes are the typical weapons of eastern warriors (Egg 1996c, Nebelsick 1997). Images indicate that they were not only used for war, but also for hunting and killing animals in a sacrificial context. Similarly, bows and arrows, most often apparent in graves as a set of arrowheads and the remains of a quiver (for example, Hochdorf, the Glauberg, Dürrnberg Grave 116 and Dienstberg, Trebsche, Pollak and Gruber 2007: 38–39), can be used both for warfare and hunting.

The layering of clothing, dress and personal items in a spatial and temporal way on and around the physical human body has been extensively discussed through the example of Hochdorf (for example, Olivier 1999: 113–114). The body of the taller-than-average male individual of about 40 years of age was laid on a badger pelt, on a pillow stuffed with herbs, placed on a bronze couch. Personal possessions worn directly on the body include a cloth garment, a gold torc and an amber

necklace, a gold belt, two gold *fibulae*, a sheet-gold bracelet on the right arm, a gold belt and dagger, which had been covered with sheet gold for the funeral (Biel 1985a: 51). Shoes with sheet-gold decoration were placed on the feet, albeit in the wrong way – the left shoe was on the right foot and vice versa (Veit 1988). The deceased also wore a birch hat. Further items in contact with the body include a bag of toilet items with nail clipper, a small knife, three fishing hooks and some fishing line, which was placed on the chest of the dead body; a razor and comb lay near the birch hat. The quiver with arrows placed upside down was also placed with the body on the couch. Laurent Olivier also includes the large iron drinking horn hung behind the head of the deceased and the small sheet-gold drinking cup placed near the feet on the bronze cauldron in his list of personal items (1999: 114). Further, he differentiates funerary-endowment grave goods (which include the wagon, yoke, horse gear and dining set), placed on the side opposite to the body in the funerary chamber, and furniture and fittings in the grave (carpets, wall hangings, the couch, the drinking horns attached to the wall and the bronze cauldron).

The drinking and dining set in the grave of Hochdorf is exquisite. It includes an iron drinking horn hung on the chamber wall above the deceased's head and next to eight further slightly smaller drinking horns made of bronze. Nine bronze plates, the large bronze bowls and a big iron axe and knife for slaughtering and cutting animal meat were placed on the wagon (Krauß 1996). Animal bones were absent. The set of drinking and dining equipment was deposited at a time when such objects were no longer normally deposited in graves; in fact, as we will see later, pottery becomes less important over time in West Hallstatt graves.

4.4 Bodies and/as vessels

Pottery in graves often encompasses multiple meanings, as functional categories may overlap. Analytically, it is perhaps useful to distinguish the function of vessels as containers for food and drink, as serving dishes and accessories or tools for eating and drinking, as decorative and representational objects in their own right, as containers for cremated bodies and as representations of persons.

Pottery shapes and types emerge from the lived culture and embody stylistic preferences and ontological categorisations of people and things. Pottery vessels are rarely 'just' containers for food and drink; they encompass functional elements, but they also mirror worldviews – from commonly used units of food and drink, to aesthetic conventions and to changing attitudes towards standardisation and creativity. In addition, whether or not pottery is included in the graves, and to what extent, follows trends of fashion and beliefs and depends on developments in other social areas such as votive deposits and settlements. Of course, pottery is a very good indicator of dating, as preferences and styles change over time, but this is not the focus here. Pottery styles and preferences mark and reflect identities, and even if pottery can certainly not always be aligned with ethnic identities, as ethno-archaeological studies have shown (Hodder 1982), there are reasons to suspect that systems of marking and signalling social identity were in place in early Iron Age central Europe (Brosseder 2004, Brosseder 2006).

Food and drink were not only important parts of everyday Iron Age life, but the regulation of access to food and drink, cooking and preparation techniques (Wood 2000), as well as the contexts of consumption, provide interesting insights into body politics. It is widely acknowledged that food and drink played a crucial role in the feasting practices of Iron Age communities, which, in turn, contributed to politics, the construction of group coherence and diplomatic encounters between communities (for example, Dietler 2006, Ralph 2007). Pottery in graves mirrors these concerns at different levels.

Food remains found in connection with vessels can clarify their function. Botanical remains such as grains, nuts and fruit are sometimes preserved; animal bones are found both in vessels, where they might be interpreted as part of a meaty stew (Barth 1992), or placed on shallow bowls, often together with a small knife, which probably represents cooked or roast cuts of meat. Not all the pottery in the graves, however, was necessarily filled with food or drink: stacks of plates and bowls from graves suggest that they were deposited empty as the necessary cooking, dining and drinking equipment. The consumption of alcoholic drinks as an integral part of society is well documented in graves (Kaus 1980, Kossack 1964, Nebelsick 1997) and is particularly emphasised in many narrative scenes in art (see Section 7.11.1). Food and drink in the grave are frequently interpreted as provisions for the journey to the afterlife, or in the afterlife as such; further, pottery may have some value in itself, can represent possessions of the dead as well as gifts from the mourners, or vessels from burial rituals that took place at the open grave. Pottery can symbolise access to food and drink and the capability to invite guests, thus documenting social relations. Standard pottery sets vary in time and place, but may be multiplied to symbolise a specific number of people and relationships.

Further, vessels are decorative objects in their own right and generally symbolise access to fine craftsmanship, raw materials and labour, and on a specific level, particular shapes and decorations hint at domestic and ritual practices. In the West Hallstatt area, lavishly decorated ceramic vessels were placed in graves of the eighth and seventh centuries BC; the so-called Alb-Hegau ceramics (Keller 1939) are handmade pottery vessels made specifically for funerary purposes. The polychrome decorations appear dense and include geometric ornaments in incised, cut and stamped techniques. Innovative vessel shapes include large, stepped plates and composite vessels (Guggisberg in press). Towards Bavaria, Hallstatt ceramics increasingly emphasise the black-and-white contrast with ceramics fired under oxygen-deprived conditions, leaving a dark surface, which is sometimes finished with graphite, and incisions and stamps filled with paste (see Hughes 1999, Hughes 2001: for examples from the cemetery of Schirndorf, Germany, Stroh 1979, Stroh 1988, Stroh 2000a, Stroh 2000b). The custom of placing decorative pottery in graves is largely restricted to the Early Hallstatt period; late Hallstatt graves contain few items of pottery or none at all. Overall, the regional and chronological pattern of pottery deposition in graves is diverse throughout the Hallstatt area and ranges from none or just a few pieces of pottery to sets of several dozens.

Important innovations at the beginning of the Iron Age in the northeastern Hallstatt area include an explosion in ceramic forms and decorations, which points to a new aesthetic understanding as well as an expanded field of pottery use, which most likely includes the ritual sphere. The leitmotif of the Kalenderberg area is a one-handled pot of medium size and simple form, but with very elaborate plastic decoration made of clay ‘warts’ set densely on the shoulder and belly surface. This decoration feels rough and certainly prevents the pot from slipping through the hands, perhaps because of its valuable or slippery content (Rebay 2006: 90). Double and triple vessels, as well as vessels with several miniature vessels attached (*kernoi* after similar finds in the Mediterranean), are also sometimes found in graves and connected to libation rites (Nebelsick 1997: 71). The presence of fire-dogs and pedestal bowls with miniature firedog models in graves – particularly those of women – has been interpreted in terms of the re-creation of the hearth in the grave (Nebelsick 1996). The combination of double vessels, firedogs and Kalenderberg vessels (the ‘Kalenderberg triad’) is often found in well-furnished female graves that further contain spindle whorls and other evidence for textile working, as well as some female dress elements such as *fibulae*, beads and neck and arm rings. This has given rise to the idea that women might have had a special role in the ritual life of the Kalenderberg area (Eibner 2001, Teržan 1986: 116), in which the hearth and the household, traditionally part of the female sphere, were emphasised.

Zoomorphic vessels, on the other hand, are more likely to be found in graves of children or men. A distinction has to be made between small, zoomorphic vessels and large vessels with two or more bull protomes. The former are a continuation of a late Bronze Age tradition of putting small feeding vessels and zoomorphic vessels with a spout into children’s graves (Eibner 1973). The vessels are usually built of standard types with additions in the appropriate places to turn the whole vessel into an animal form (for an example from Este, Italy, cf. Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: no. 5, 31, Franzhausen, Austria: Neugebauer 1996, Sopron, Hungary: Preinfalk 2003, Donnerskirchen, Austria: Rebay 2005, for example, Statzendorf, Austria: Rebay 2006: 107). The spouts are made to work so liquid can be poured out of them. Although they may still be interpreted as feeding vessels, especially when found in children’s graves, they became included in male and female graves during the course of the Hallstatt period; their meaning might have shifted towards different functions, for instance, as an object to use in the context of libation rites. The latter, opulent, representative vessels are larger in size, most commonly painted in geometrical red-and-black patterns and rather than transforming the whole vessel into an animal, zoomorphic protomes are often only added to the vessel at its shoulders. The number of protomes varies and ranges from one (for example, Nové Košariská, Slovakia: Pichlerová 1969), two (for example, Langenlebern and Gemeinlebern, Austria: Preinfalk 2003), three (for example, Donnerskirchen, Austria: Kaus 1989, Šmarjeta pri Novem Mestu, Slovenia: Siegfried-Weiss 1979: 193) and four (Großmugl, Austria: Krenn 1959). Vessels like these are found in wealthy graves with male components all over the East Hallstatt area. In fact, they are sometimes cited as one of the few unifying

elements of the East Hallstatt area (cf. Müller-Scheeßel 2000). The large bull-headed vessels might symbolically represent the herding of bovids in the area, which represented considerable wealth at the border to the steppe zone in Europe.

Anthropomorphic vessels from the same area are, however, a rarity. Most common is the addition of feet on vessels and bowls; Kalenderberg vessels with two parallel ceramic feet in place of a pedestal have been discovered at Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 92), and Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Szombathy 1929: pl. 25, fig. 1). Three feet – more sensible in terms of stability – were added to a vessel from Jois, Austria (Pescheck 1942: pl. 48, 2), and are also known in two examples from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969); one with four legs was found in Sopron, Hungary (Gallus 1938: 23, fig. 23). The feet vary in length and are quite accurately modelled according to anatomical proportions, including the knees. The vessels from Nové Košariská even model the toes, but the artist took a shortcut, and there are only four toes instead of five. Tumulus 6 from Nové Košariská included another anthropomorphic vessel (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 30) with hands as the anthropomorphised elements: the vessel's basic form is a large bowl on a pedestal. Two *kernoi* were added on the shoulder and in between arms raised up in an orant gesture. The palms are raised up horizontally, and a small hole just underneath the ring finger holds a chain of ceramic rings. The fingers are formed well. Although the proportion of hand and fingers are reminiscent of a child's hand, it seems more likely that shortening the hand was for technical reasons. The only comparable vessel known from this area was found in a tumulus at Marz, Austria, in 1879. Franz Heger, who first discussed this vessel, found the attachments most curious and initially could not decide if they resembled hands or feet, since the fingers were broken off (Heger 1903). Because of the common compositional principles applied to all vessels, it is much more likely they are hands. Anthropomorphised vessels use body parts conceptually divided into pieces; these fragments teach us about how body parts are thought about as distinct entities (cf. Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen and Hughes 2010a). With only a few items to consider, it is hard to establish hard-and-fast rules. Arms are cut above the elbow, legs are cut in different places, which coincide with the finishing lines of different types of dress – from Situla Art we know skirts with hems above the knee and just below the knee (both for men) and at the ankle (for both men and women). Both partitioning lines are also used for anthropomorphised bronze pendants (see Section 7.3). Both arms and feet are attached at corresponding places on the vessel. Arms and feet are not attached at random places, but on the appropriate sites: the merging of the body part extends and humanises the whole vessel. This further suggests that vessels were conceptualised in the likeness of a human body, with parts of the vessel corresponding to body parts.

Face urns are the most striking and articulate renderings of persons. Although they are not directly known from the Hallstatt area, they occur in two main areas flanking the Hallstatt core: an area between Scandinavia, northern and central Germany and Poland on the one hand, and Etruria, Italy, on the other. The first group, distributed in the first millennium BC with a core in the seventh to fifth centuries BC (Kneisel 2012, La Baume 1963), encompasses about 2200 objects,

many of which were lost and destroyed during the world wars. The vessel shapes originate in contemporary storage vessels and are only slightly altered to match bodily proportions; nose, eyes and eyebrows, and more rarely ears and mouths, are added to complete the face. Some vessels have added bronze jewellery such as earrings or necklaces just as on a real body. The face urns are often carriers of human imagery, which is frequently gendered – adornments and jewellery point to the female sphere, weaponry, hunting and animal representations to the male sphere. Although only in rare cases can the vessels be matched to the remains of cremated individuals, they are often deposited in stone cists for more than one individual where the context is known. In these, a mature male individual tends to be the oldest buried, suggesting a patrilineal social order (Kneisel 2012). The face urns from early Iron Age Italy are also known as Etruscan *canopic* vases (Gempeler 1974), although they have little to do with their Egyptian namesakes, which are jars used to store and preserve the viscera of mummies. Dating from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC, the urns have a concentration in central Italy, particularly in the tombs of Chiusi. The Italian vessels are made of bronze or clay, sometimes in combination, and often combine a bust-shaped urn with a lid shaped as the head of the deceased. Arms may be added, sometimes made to be moveable. The urns are often set on thrones, emphasising the high social status of the deceased. The idea to put a face on an urn or transform the whole vessel into a human is not unique to the early Iron Age – similar ideas surface in other times and places, for example, Middle Bronze Age Hungary (Kovács 1977) or Roman Austria (Jobst 1992). Whether or not the locally restricted but related phenomena in early Iron Age Europe were in fact connected over the large distance and, if so, how these relations might have worked are difficult to ascertain. Jutta Kneisel (2012) pointed to a possible connection in the form of an ambiguously decorated vessel from Dlhá nad Váhom, Slovakia (Studeníková 1996: 503, fig. 1).

A further theme expressed in the funerary domain is to give the remains a new home to ‘house’ the body; this is quite literally achieved by using urns in the shape of houses and huts. Again, they are found in two major clusters in Europe: in central Italy (Latium Vetus and Etruria) between the tenth and eighth centuries BC (Bartoloni et al. 1987), and in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Poland in the seventh and sixth centuries BC (Sabatini 2007). The Italian urns are shaped after dwellings in which people lived, whereas northern European house urns seem to be more similar to granaries, which suggests a slightly different ideological background from which their manufacture arises (Bradley 2002). The central metaphor, however, remains similar and includes notions of storing and containing.

More generally, the vessel form most frequently used as an urn is the large storage vessel. Although no specific type is employed consistently, use wear suggests that in many cases urns are selected from domestic storage and cooking vessels. But the fragility of some urns, particularly in high-status graves, makes it likely they were made specifically for the funeral. Urns provide a place for the cremated remains and, to a degree, provide a new corporeality, reconstituting the person fragmented by the funerary fire (Rebay-Salisbury 2010). As a vessel fit to contain the remains of a person, the association between the clay wall of pottery

and skin seems obvious. The question is how much urns were generally thought of as bodies; curiously, there is a wide variation in how tightly and securely the remains *need* to be contained. Already in late Bronze Age Central Europe cremated remains are often put carelessly in what can be identified as a ‘central vessel’: sometimes in it, next to it or scattered over the urn and the bottom of the grave pit (Wiesner 2009: 581). Norbert Wiesner suggested that the prevailing motive might be to place the body on a ‘sustaining base’, to nourish it; a notion that is also apparent from the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age graves in Vollmarshausen near Kassel, Germany, where urns were re-opened and fed with foodstuff (Bergmann 1982).

The princely grave of Seddin in the Lusatian cultural area, Germany (Kunow 2003), dating to the late Bronze Age at around 800 BC, is a primary example of how a concern about secure closure leads to a nested wrapping of the cremated remains; the different materials and textures might also allude to other meanings and metaphors. From inside to outside, the cremated remains were wrapped in fur, then placed in a bronze amphora, which was placed in a lidded ceramic pot. The lid was fastened with ceramic pegs. With other grave goods, the urn was then placed in a stone-built burial chamber and topped with a mound of soil. Urns can take the place of a human body in the way they are handled and cared for. We have already seen how bodies – whether interred or cremated – are wrapped in textiles before burials. Urns were sometimes treated in the same way – wrapped, clothed and even dressed with pins like a dead human person. An iron pin left a rust stain on the body of an early Iron Age urn from Niederkaina, Germany (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 77), which suggests that the pin had been used to hold the ‘shroud’ together and was placed according to the ‘correct’ parts of the body the urn resembles. Urns as bounded, enclosed spaces for the cremated remains invert the fragmentation and dispersion that happens through cremation. Covering urns with lids, bowls, stones and the like is frequently observed as a practice to make the enclosure complete.

The evidence for the use of urns in the West Hallstatt area is – as in the east – skewed by the fact that detailed observations are lacking for many well-known sites. In antiquarian reports, all varieties of cremation burials were labelled urn burials, regardless of whether the cremated remains were deposited in vessels or not. Further, large vessels were, until recently, generally referred to as urns, whether or not they contained cremated remains (cf. Kurz 1997: 76). Jana Esther Fries observed that in ‘small cremation graves’, cremated remains were most often separated from the pyre debris and placed in an urn, sometimes turned upside down. But deposition without a vessel is also common (Fries 2007: 21). The cremations in the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1971, Spindler 1972, Spindler 1973, Spindler 1976b, Spindler 1977, Spindler 1980) are also of both kinds, enclosed by an urn and deposited in a heap without a vessel. Different from a scattered cremation, the distinct boundaries of the heap of cremated remains suggest that the cremated remains were deposited in a container of organic material such as wickerwork, wood or fabric, which is no longer preserved.

The use of urns in early Iron Age cremation burials in the eastern Hallstatt area seems to continue the themes of the southern Urnfield culture. Simple pit graves with only few vessels deposited in the grave use urns regularly and may cover them with bowls or stones. At Statzendorf, Austria, for instance, about 76 per cent of cremations were deposited in an urn, whereas the rest were found in a heap next to the pottery in the grave (Rebay 2006: 37); of the urns, the majority were covered. As the development towards rectangular and larger burial chambers continued during the course of the Hallstatt period, urns were used less often. As we will see later, different forms of depositing cremated remains in a single burial chamber co-existed. Scattered cremations dominated, used particularly for high-status graves, whereas urns continued to be used for secondary and subsequent burials. The emphasis on closure shifted from the vessel itself to the enclosing built structure, the burial chamber and burial mound.

In conclusion, pottery in graves fulfils a range of roles, of which containing food and drink is just one; pottery symbolises social networks and gatherings for feasts, expresses wealth through fine craftsmanship and access to raw materials, allows associations with identities at different levels and allows different kinds of metaphors of human bodies to be played out. The degree to which urns indeed represented persons in graves varied geographically and chronologically, but nowhere in the Hallstatt area were associations between people and vessels formulated as they were in central Italy or northern Europe.

4.5 The internal geography of graves and the body

The internal layout of Hallstatt graves is reliant on two primary factors. First, on the mode of burial – inhumation or cremation – and second, on the degree of elaboration of the funerary structures, which determines the use of space. Graves range from simple pits to large wooden and stone-built chambers. The placement and orientation of inhumation graves are always linked to the orientation of the chamber around them.

In the West Hallstatt area, bodies are almost always laid out in supine position, with arms parallel to the body (Kurz 1997: 92–96). Deviations from this pattern, if not a consequence of taphonomic processes or erroneous documentation, might have particular significance. Nils Müller-Scheeßel has recently analysed the ways arms were placed in well-documented Hallstatt inhumation graves (Müller-Scheeßel 2008). He could show that a position with arms bent and held in front of the chest is more frequent in high-status male graves. This is a posture that occurs on stone stele such as Hirschlanden and has been interpreted as a masculine and warrior gesture or, more recently, with a ‘specific relationship with death, the ancestors, and the Otherworld which could have either male or female associations’ (Armit and Grant 2008: 421). Arms placed at the belly are, in contrast, more common in female graves and might constitute an apotropaic gesture in the context of reproduction and fertility. A further interesting observation is that a greater distance between spine and arms might be a clue to obesity and excess weight of a buried person (Müller-Scheeßel quotes Grave 97 from the Magdalenenberg,

Germany, as an example, Spindler 1976b: pl. 24). Bodies placed on the side or in crouched positions occur less frequently, and positions on the belly are particularly rare (see Kurz 1997: 93 for a table of exceptional body positions).

In the West Hallstatt area, south–north orientation prevails, but with a large margin of variation. Secondary burials are often aligned perpendicular to the radius of the mound and not primarily according to cardinal directions; further, traditions within burial communities most likely weighed more than trans-regional conventions. Orientation according to sunrise and sunset – in itself depending on the time of year in which the burial occurred – has been considered and dismissed in a recent survey of skeletal orientation in southern Germany (Müller-Scheeßel 2005b); a more important cosmic factor for the orientation of the bodies might have been the stars. In fact, the changing stellar constellations during the course of the Hallstatt period could be traced in the chronological development of grave orientations (Müller-Scheeßel 2005b). The placing of the inhumation graves within the Magdalenenberg recently gave rise to very interesting interpretations. Overall, the inhumations are placed perpendicular to the radius of the mound, and most inhumations are oriented with their head towards east–southeast (Jung 2003). The buried community is naturally divided in two parts by timber alignments roughly dividing the mound at a northwest–southeast axis (Meyer-Orlac 1983: 13, Abb. 1). Recent palaeo-astronomical research has shown that the timber alignments correspond to phenomena related to the moon, namely the lunar standstill. Allard Mees even put forward the idea that inhumations were placed around the central chamber in the pattern of the stellar constellations visible in the northern hemisphere at midsummer in 618 BC, resulting in a giant lunar calendar (Mees 2011).

Body orientations differ even within the same group of mounds, which has recently been exemplified by excavations in the Speckhau group near the Heuneburg, Germany (Arnold and Murray 2002, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003). The walls of the central chamber of Burial Mound 17 were aligned with the cardinal directions, and the inhumation along the eastern wall of the chamber was oriented south–north. The three secondary inhumation burials in the mantle of the burial mound also seemed to have been oriented towards the cardinal directions. The secondary burials of Burial Mound 18, in contrast, were arranged perpendicular to the radius of the mound around the central chamber. One bi-ritual and 16 inhumation graves in the mantle of the burial mound included at least seven women and two men (Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003: 82); all bodies at this site were almost completely decayed. Nevertheless, most bodies were placed with the head in the south; only the graves on the north or south sides of the burial mound could not be oriented this way without changing the ‘tangential pattern of deposition’ (Garstki, Arnold and Murray 2015: 28).

Bodies were put in pits with no discernible coffin or grave construction, or in wooden burial chambers of various sizes, from small, body-sized rectangular ones to large square or rectangular house-like structures measuring several metres on each side. The wooden walls, normally built in a log-cabin technique, more rarely with posts and wooden boards, were sometimes reinforced by stone slabs or boulders set along the outside of the wooden structure. At least in Hochdorf, Germany

(Banck-Burgess 2012), the whole wooden chamber was lined with elaborate textiles. Evidence for how chambers were finished on the inside in the eastern Hallstatt area comes from Janíky, Tumulus 4, Zöldhalom, Slovakia (Studeníková 1996): the walls were whitewashed and ornamented with geometrical patterns in black. Interestingly, this decoration was also applied to large vessels in the grave, which were painted over with patterns that differed markedly from the original decoration.

In relation to the layout of the burial chamber, bodies in high-status inhumation graves tend to be placed on furniture (for example, Hochdorf, Biel 1985), or on wagon boxes (for example, Vix, Rolley 2003); positions along the side of the chamber or in the centre but parallel to one wall are the norm, even in less well-equipped graves. Vessels are normally placed alongside the opposite wall where space allows it; in smaller, rectangular chambers pottery is frequently placed at the foot or the head of the inhumation, more rarely in the middle (Kurz 1997: 104).

Space was optimised when further inhumations (or cremations) were added. At the Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser 2010, Zeller 2001), for instance, it was frequently observed that older inhumations were pushed further towards the side of the chamber to make room for new bodies. Access to the grave chambers must have been possible via the side walls of the chambers or, alternatively, from the top: the cover of the extraordinarily well-preserved grave chamber of Grave 352 from the Dürrenberg, Austria (Egg and Zeller 2005), had a rectangular hole cut into it, which may be a relic of an attempt at grave robbing (Moser 2010: 56), but might also be connected to subsequent offerings or the secondary burial of an infant in the same grave. Changing and re-building grave structures around new burials have also been observed in Bavarian cemeteries, notably Schirndorf (for example, Müller-Scheeßel 2009a, Müller-Scheeßel 2009b).

Built structures such as corridors allowing access to the grave chambers are absent in the West Hallstatt area. Occasionally, however, they have been unearthed from eastern elite burials (Egg 1996c) and seem to mimic the Mediterranean idea of the *dromos*. The northernmost burial mound with an entrance corridor was documented in Morašice, Czech Republic (Golec 2004). Excavations of Tumulus 115 from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Holport 1999), revealed construction details of the 5.5 × 5.5-metre wooden burial chamber, as hot charcoal helped to preserve it: the chamber was made of oak timbers split in half and set on stone plaster. The walls were built in log-cabin technique; the roof construction of the chamber was supported by several posts and covered by split logs and stone slabs. Separated only by a thin plank wall, a 1.5-metre-wide corridor extended from the centre of the east chamber wall 7 metres towards the east. In contrast to the chamber, the *dromos* did not seem to be roofed and was later blocked by large blocks of limestone. It seems that after the funerary ritual, which saw the placement of the bodies, the chamber was securely closed.

Curiously, it is often difficult to reconstruct the relationship of the built structure with the cremated remains in large burial chambers. The deposition of cremated bone on the floor was common, but the excavated amounts rarely match what would be expected for a whole person. The bones often belonged to more

than one individual, and the scattering of bones in different places even makes counting a minimum number of individuals difficult. At Schirndorf, Germany, for example, the primary deposition of adult individuals in graves 42 and 65 were both laid out divided into several heaps (Müller-Scheeßel 2005a, Stroh 1979: 156, fig. 44, Stroh 1988: fig. 21), without there being evidence for more than one buried person. In Tumulus 3 from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969), cremated human remains were distributed between an urn in the northwest corner of the burial chamber and three heaps along the southern wall. They belonged to an adult of 30 to 50 years old, but it remained unclear if there was more than one person in the grave. Tumulus 6, an even larger burial mound from the same site with an exceptional pottery set of more than 70 pieces, including anthropomorphic ones, revealed neither any urns nor heaps of cremated human bones on the floor of the chamber; cremated remains of children from six months to six years in age, however, were found in the backfill above the chamber.

Re-excavations of burial mounds can, of course, only partially help to solve the mystery, as human bones might well have been relocated by grave robbers and antiquarian excavators. At Kleinklein, Austria, concentrations of human bones of an adult individual were found in the north corner, while three more individuals, including an adolescent, were found in the southeast of the chamber. Burnt animal bones of at least three horses, but also some cattle, pigs and sheep/goat, were deposited in the *dromos* (Egg and Kramer 2005: 9, Grill and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013). Both in Langenlebern and Gemeinlebern, Austria (Neugebauer 1997, Preinfalk 2003), there was a cremation in the centre of the chamber of the monumental burial mounds, around which the grave goods and vessels were arranged.

The expectation to find the bodily remains of one single individual for whom the grave was built is perhaps more of a modern construct than early Iron Age reality. Evidence is mounting up that at least some of the monumental burial mounds in the East Hallstatt area are, in fact, the resting places of multiple people and were not built for only one individual. At the tumuli of Hochholz, Bad Fischau, Krensdorf and Loretto site 25a, all in Austria (Nebelsick 1997: 54), this seems to be the case; at the latter site, a burial chamber of 5 × 5 m had at least nine cremations arranged on a clay platform along the (south-)eastern wall of the chamber, in part in urns, in part placed in small heaps. The chamber was divided by a large rock; at the opposite wall, at least 14 large storage vessels were aligned.

A complex burial situation was also documented at burial mound 1 of the small barrow group of Zagersdorf, Austria (Fig. 4.9, Rebay 2002). Along the north wall of the burial chamber and in the southwest corner of the burial chamber, four discrete clusters of cremated bones were found; 152 g of a possibly female individual, aged between 14 and 40 years old, with a small vessel; 78 g of a possibly adult female individual with a set of bronze rings; 152 g of an adult individual with four spindle whorls and 186 g of a juvenile individual without objects directly associated. On the central west side of the chamber was a large urn with 680 g of human bone of a 25- to 40-year-old, possibly female, and some bronze dress elements; on the opposite east wall, a vessel contained 262 g of an adult, again possibly a female. A few fragments of human bone have also been found

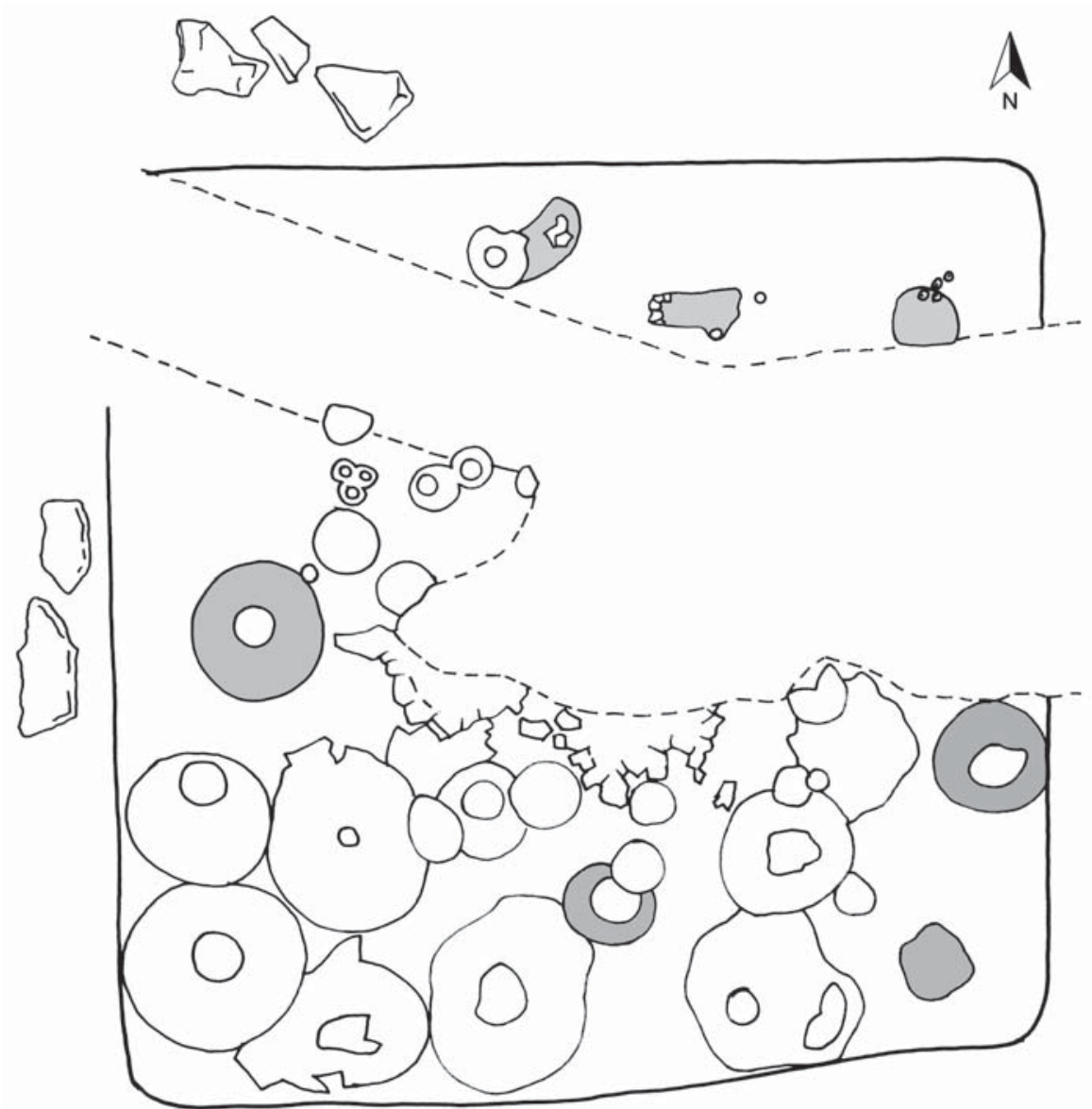


Figure 4.9 Plan of the burial chamber of Zagersdorf, Austria. Grey: location of human remains (after Rebay 2002: pl. 26)

in a vessel near the centre, together with a spindle whorl and small bronze rings of a necklace. With the exception of the urn containing 680 g of bones, none of the other clusters is representative of complete human remains after cremation. It seems that *pars pro toto* sufficed for the burial. It is also interesting that although the complete collection of the fragmented body was not a consideration, bodies and objects remained close together. In the case of the individual deposited with the spindle whorls, traces of fire indicate that they, too, had been on the funerary pyre, were cremated with the body and were collected and deposited together with the cremated remains (Rebay-Salisbury 2010). Although the centre of the burial chamber was destroyed in World War II by the construction of a military trench, it seems evident that the south of the burial chamber was densely packed with pottery, with large vessels arranged along the south wall and smaller ones in front: this kind of theatrical arrangement makes most sense if one considers how the

burial chamber was experienced and seen. Excavations confirmed the presence of a ramp at the north side of the chamber, an elevated place from which the inside could be viewed. This construction detail emphasises the role of the grave as a place of social display, which requires access, perhaps regularly and not only on the occasion of the funerary deposition.

In the Lusatian area towards the northeast of the Hallstatt area, the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age also encompasses a change from relatively simple urn burials to depositions in rectangular wooden chambers. At the cemetery of Niederkaina, Germany, which encompasses more than 600 Bronze Age urn burials and 1200 early Iron Age graves (Coblentz and Nebelsick 1997, Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007), detailed insights into depositional practices could be gained. After cremating the dressed body, the cremated remains were gathered from the feet up in a small leather pouch, which was closed by a ring or pin and placed in a large vessel from the household. After closing it with a bowl, the whole package was wrapped in cloth, perhaps fastened with a pin and deposited in the grave (Kaiser and Puttkammer 2007: 78). The grave construction – rectangular wooden chambers of different sizes – resembles contemporaneous houses in geometry and orientation. Most interesting is the deposition of clusters of grave goods in three different areas of the grave: a group of ceramics close to the body, most likely a set of drinking vessels, can be differentiated from a cluster of ceramics further away from the body, which includes household ceramics and hearth models and is thought to represent the household. Furthermore, fragments of the ceramics that had been on the funerary pyre are scattered in a separate area within the grave (Nebelsick 1995: 69–73).

As we have seen, the internal geography of the graves is highly dependent on the mode of burial: the layout of the grave is structured by the inhumed body, or vice versa: the body is laid out in relation to the built structure. Furnishing follows the principle that wooden chambers are built in analogy of houses – pottery is most often stacked along the walls and in spaces left empty by the body. Access to the body is never a factor in the West Hallstatt area, whereas some eastern elite graves include corridors to the chambers. There is no general structural principle of where cremations are deposited within the grave; enclosure of the remains of the person in organic containers or urns is not generally applied, and scattered cremations may include partial depositions. Pyre remains are sometimes included in the grave or deposited nearby. It is important to note that several individuals may be placed in one grave and that one individual may be divided into several clusters or heaps of human bones – this underlines the importance of careful excavations and analysis by specialists in physical anthropology.

4.6 From grave architecture to burial communities

Graves are rarely found alone; in the Hallstatt period the variety of ways in which graves are arranged and grouped together to form burial communities is indeed striking. Communities are built, relationships confirmed and genealogies made explicit through the spatial organisation of burial places. Graves are also ideal

places to show status differences between members of the same community. How exactly burial places and cemeteries are linked to settlements and communities of the living remains difficult to ascertain. Calculations of population size on the basis of the number of buried individuals (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970, Chamberlain 2006) only provide approximations, even if the age structure of the community is taken into account. The calculated numbers often appear disappointingly low: burial places tend to be used over centuries, which limits the number of people living together at any one time. A population of only about 60 individuals would account for a cemetery of 400 graves used over 200 years. Whether or not all individuals of a community were indeed buried is a hotly debated topic in Iron Age archaeology, as so many individuals seem to be ‘missing’. Inconspicuous burials between better-documented ones – for example, small cremation graves in between burial mounds, or secondary interments in larger mortuary structures – may, however, make up for this difference. On the one hand, Nils Müller-Scheeßel has argued quite convincingly for the Hallstatt communities in southwestern Germany that sufficient graves have been found to account for the estimated population size at the time (Müller-Scheeßel 2007). If, on the other hand, the postulated population size of 5000 for the Heuneburg, Germany, is true (Fernández-Götz and Krausse 2012), it begs the question where their burials are – burial mounds in the vicinity do not come close to accounting for a population of that size.

About 92 burial mounds of different sizes have been recorded within a 5-km radius of the Heuneburg (Kurz and Schiek 2002), some of which are single monuments, while others appear in groups. The Gießübel-Talhau group is closest to the hillfort, while the Speckhau group, including the famous Hohmichele, with a diameter of c. 80 m, is the second largest early Iron Age burial mound in Europe (Riek 1962); the Baumburg and the Lehenbühl are situated at about a 1-km distance. The Bettelbühl group and the Rauher Lehen are located across the Danube.

Seven burial mounds make up the Bettelbühl necropolis, which is named after a small tributary of the Danube that created wet soil conditions beneficial to organic preservation at the site. In 2005, the inhumation grave of a child was discovered as a secondary interment in the mantle of Burial Mound 4. Only dental remains of the individual were preserved, which point to a 2- to 4-year-old girl. She was found with two decorated, gold-plated bronze *fibulae*, glass beads, small bronze rings, a bronze arm ring and two round pendants with elaborate gold filigree decoration, possibly of Etruscan origin. The grave dates to the end of the sixth century BC (Kurz and Wahl 2006).

A systematic excavation of the burial mound in 2010 led to the discovery of a well-preserved wooden chamber made of oak and fir that measured 4.5 × 3.6 m. Because of the potential for organic preservation, it was removed *en bloc* and transported to the laboratory of the Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Ludwigsburg for thorough investigation. The burial chamber contained two inhumations. A 30- to 40-year-old woman, thought to be the primary interment, was found with a rich set of dress and jewellery items *in situ*. Her skull and mandible, including a golden earring, however, were dislocated and found at quite some distance within the

chamber. The chamber did not appear to have been robbed. Rather, the changing groundwater levels may have been responsible for the dislocation.

The ‘Celtic Princess’, as the primary interment has been characterised, wore gold earrings and elaborate amber and gold jewellery around the neck and chest, including three bronze bow *fibulae* with amber inlets. She wore three jet arm rings on the right arm and four on the left; a bronze belt and amber jewellery adorned her waist. Two bronze rings were found around each ankle. The filigree gold balls that were part of the jewellery set appear to be technologically very similar to the jewellery in the child’s grave discovered in 2005. A family relationship between the ‘Princess’ and the child is therefore assumed.

Amongst the exotica in the grave is a horse’s bronze head armour found in the southeast corner of the burial chamber (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2014), towards the feet of the second individual, also a woman. This woman was buried with barely any jewellery. At present, it is unclear if she was a lower-status individual buried contemporaneously with the ‘Celtic Princess’ or if she was interred at a later date (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2012). The wooden grave chamber was dendrochronologically dated to 590/580 BC (Krausse and Ebinger-Rist 2014: 119).

This grave is the only remaining intact princely grave contemporary to the heyday of the occupation of the Heuneburg; most other burial mounds have been reopened and robbed. Whereas the Bettelbühl ‘Princess’ certainly belonged to the upper strata of society, the grave inventories of the recently excavated Burial Mounds 17 and 18 of the Speckhau group make a more modest impression (Arnold and Murray 2002, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2001, Arnold, Murray and Schneider 2003). Excavations next to Burial Mound 14 of Sätze-Süd, in the vicinity of the Speckhau group (Klein 2006), revealed several simple flat graves. It seems that with more attention to the space between burial mounds, individuals from a wider range of social strata are added to the archaeological record.

Large burial mounds visible from the settlements, but separated by topographic features such as valleys and fortifications, are typical for the West Hallstatt area. Although secondary burials are uncommon or a later Hallstatt phenomenon in the Swiss plateau, northern Württemberg and Burgundy (Stöllner 2012: 559), they are common both in Ha C and D in most of the West Hallstatt provinces. Large burial mounds with multiple secondary burials like the Magdalenenberg near Villingen (Spindler 1976a) or Kappel (Dehn, Egg, and Lehnert 2005) have been interpreted in terms of a change of social organisation from family units to tribes (Stöllner 2012: 559). The Magdalenenberg near Villingen’s (Spindler 1976a) secondary burial community comprises 126 graves with 144 individuals buried within a short time span. Recent isotope analysis has demonstrated that only about a third of the individuals grew up locally, most of the individuals in the wider region of southwestern Germany, and some had roots further afield (Oelze et al. 2012). Conversely, DNA analysis on individuals in the burial mound cemetery of Mitterkirchen, Upper Austria, identified closely related members of a family (Kiesslich et al. 2005).

A central place like the Dürrenberg, Austria, for instance, would be surrounded by a number of cemeteries and individual graves in the landscape. The different

cemeteries share similarities, but also enough differences that they may be understood as distinct communities with their own patterns of grave goods and funerary rites (for example, Kammelhöhe, Sonneben, Moserfeld amongst many others, cf. Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012, Tiefengraber and Wiltshcke-Schrotta 2012). Northern Italian sites such as Este (Ruta Serafini 2002) are surrounded by a number of sanctuaries dedicated to different deities, as well as several cemeteries.

The Hallstatt pattern of settlement–cemetery relations continues farther east. At Donnerskirchen, for instance, a group of large burial mounds was built, visible across a valley from the hilltop settlement, while further graves and settlement traces were located in the valley (Rebay 2005). Large cemeteries without traces of burial mounds are known from the preceding Urnfield culture and were, in some areas, preserved throughout the Hallstatt period. Several hundred individuals per cemetery are not uncommon, but an increase in social differentiation through grave architecture and the spacing of graves can be observed almost everywhere. During the course of the early Iron Age at Statzendorf, Austria, for example, the space between graves increased and individuals of low social rank were buried at the edges of the cemetery (Rebay 2007).

Funerary monuments arranged along the access roads of settlements is a typical Mediterranean layout which was, most likely, the influence leading to the topographic arrangement of burial mounds at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Fig. 4.10, Eibner-Persy 1980). An access road led along the ridge of the hill before bridging a ditch to the entrance of a well-situated and fortified hilltop settlement. About 150 burial mounds were built along the road leading to the entrance, leaving a corridor along the fortification which was not used for mound building. At Purbach, Austria, the situation is similar (Doneus et al. 2008). About 100 barrows line the access road to the settlement, fortified by a massive rampart and several ditches; the barrows are placed in proximity of the settlement but not quite adjacent. The mementos of the dead were difficult to ignore upon entering the hillfort. Movement through the landscape surrounding the settlement, as well as the corresponding burial monuments, seems to have been an important feature of the funerary ritual – men and women in procession are shown on many *situlae* artworks, but nowhere as clearly as on the *situla* from Grave 68, Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Bartoloni and Morigi Govi 1995, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64).

In the eastern Hallstatt area, it seems that monumental burial mounds were not exclusively built for one individual, with secondary interments reflecting subordinate individuals or later additions, but rather that burial mounds were built for several individuals in the first place. New excavations at Strettweg, Austria (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2014), for example, have demonstrated that high-status individuals were buried in small groups even in monumental tumuli, and a clear ‘primary individual’ is difficult to make out. Contrary to previous suggestions (Egg 1996a), it does not look as though women were sacrificed at the event of a ruler’s death, but had status in their own right.

An international project (Armit et al. 2014) is currently exploring the nature of landscape inhabitation in the east Alpine region. Particularly Slovenian centres such



Figure 4.10 Settlement and access road lined with burial mounds at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (after Bella and Müller 1891: pl. IV)

as Poštela (Mlekuž and Črešnar 2014) or Stična (Gabrovec et al. 2006, Gabrovec and Teržan 2008) are embedded in hundreds of burial mounds. Their placement in relation to landscape features, routes and pathways is not yet fully understood.

In Carniola, inhumation burials were arranged in large burial mounds around a centre that may or may not include a primary interment; the groups of individuals numbering into the hundreds are thought to represent families or clans. This claim

is difficult to substantiate in the area as skeletal preservation is particularly poor. At Kapiteljska njiva, Slovenia, for example (Fig. 4.11), Barrows A and B were excavated in the nineteenth century and are estimated to contain between 20 and 40 inhumations. Barrow 1 contained a central grave with stone packing, which was robbed, and 44 inhumations. Barrow 2 had a central area with several graves, but no clear single central grave; it contained 35 inhumations in total. Barrows 3 to 8 contained 56, 3, 74, 45, 42 and 12 inhumations, respectively, without there being a central grave at all. The burial mounds were in use between the mid-seventh and the mid-fourth century BC. Graves containing high-status items such as bronze *situlae*, sheet bronze belts and large numbers of amber and glass beads, were neither specially marked nor involved special constructions, suggesting a well-off community rather than single exceptional individuals with high status (Križ 1997a: 36).

Burial communities primarily included humans, but very occasionally, at the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt provinces, horses were included in the cemeteries (Dular 2007, Rebay-Salisbury in press-b). These are not to be confused with wagon burials and burials with horse gear, which do not normally include the animals. Beyond the Hallstatt area towards the east, the cemetery of Szentes-Vekerzug, Hungary (Kemenczei 2003, Párducz 1953: fig. 1), included 14 horse burials in the 151 graves, many of which were placed at the southern fringe of the cemetery. Their inclusion in the cemetery at all, however, might suggest they were attributed a form of personhood and seen as companions and parts of the community. This kind of personhood has not been extended to other animals such as dogs. It is easy to trace the inclusion of horses in cemeteries to the Ukrainian steppes, where kurgans of the sixth to fourth centuries BC include up to 16 horses (Rolle 1979: 96–112). Fully equipped with bridles, saddles and breast plates, horses were

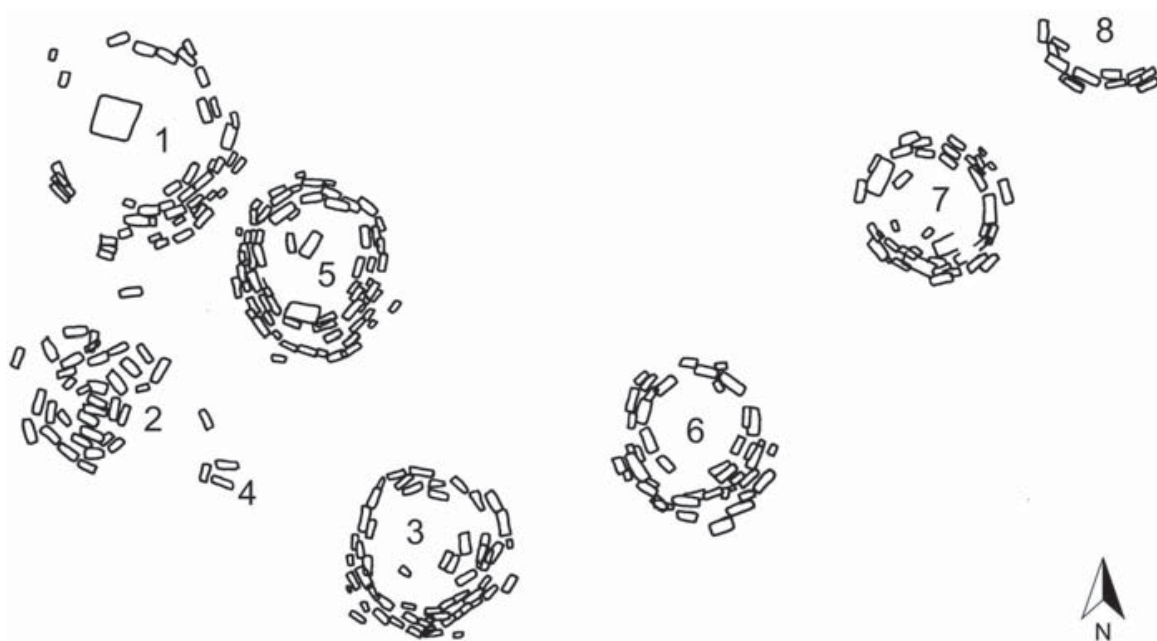


Figure 4.11 Burial mounds of Kapiteljska njiva (after Križ 1997a: 24)

killed and deposited in rows near the entrance to the main burial shaft. In such contexts they are clearly to be interpreted as grave goods. Horse bones in the fill of the burial mounds, however, may be relics of a burial rite described by the Greek historian Herodotus (*Histories* 4.72), according to which horses and attendants were strangled, disembowelled, filled with chaff and arranged in full bridle as mounted horsemen on stakes and posts around the burial mound.

5 The representation of the body

Images and imagined worlds

Human images visualise and mediate identity; they arise from a particular social context and were made for a certain purpose. The interpretation of these images, however, challenges the interpreter, who has to engage in the dialectic between the maker of the image and the depicted person(s). It is uncertain if an interpreter detached from the prehistoric context and symbolic language can fully understand what was meant to be seen and understood. When it comes to judging the readability of images (cf. Juwig and Kost 2010: 14–15), individual researchers of prehistoric image worlds range widely between optimism and pessimism; without additional information such as texts, which supply a reference point, a hermeneutic interpretation is not particularly fruitful (Eggert 2010: 58–62). Using analogies from the classical world to interpret early Iron Age images in central Europe comes with its own pitfalls. It risks projecting image contexts on to communities which might not have understood the images in the same way. At the same time, communities did actually import these images, and thus transferred and integrated the context of these images in various ways. Almost all stories and scenes from the Hallstatt world can in some way be traced to parallels in the Mediterranean. This demonstrates connections, but does not mean they were locally understood in the same way – or that we understand the early Iron Age images correctly.

Accepting that a full understanding of early Iron Age images and the stories they tell might be an illusion, we can focus on how the image works rather than what the image tells; how it generates meaning and affects people and societies. To add a further layer of complexity, human images can be understood as art. It is much debated (cf. Gell 1998: 5–7) how art can be defined, particularly in a sociological and anthropological framework of interpretation. Most simply, ‘art is what is recognized as such’ (Gell 1998: 6), but art objects may have ‘semantic and/or aesthetic properties that are used for presentational or representational properties’ (Morphy 1994: 655). According to Alfred Gell the role of art lies in its function in constituting social relations through the abduction of agency (Gell 1998). Anthropological art theory has supplied helpful ideas for tackling the complex world of early Iron Age images.

To interpret the human body in its artistic representation, the principles of reading body language need to be considered. Facial expressions and some

gestures link to our evolutionary past (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 372); they have developed over the course of human development and are, when not masked and covered by cultural conventions, universally understandable. Facial expressions, for instance, the motions and positions of the muscles of the face, are particularly important in non-verbal communication, as they are tied to a person's emotive state and can only be partially controlled. The transcultural and universal comprehensibility of some aspects of facial and body language provides a unique opportunity to bridge the gap to the past, because the expression and reading of emotions are likely to have remained constant over time. Further, one may draw tentative conclusions from aspects of depictions that may not have been the primary concern of the artist: different forms of dress and adornment, actions in which people engage and the material culture associated with different kinds of bodies give clues as to how identities are constructed through bodily practices.

5.1 The multi-layered nature of art objects

Representational art is first and foremost selective. Art provides a frame for the selected subject, the motif, which is chosen from reality or from the imagination. The motif, however, is not the whole story, as multiple further components make up the piece of art. After the selection of the motif, design principles and formal composition constitute the second layer. Style might be defined as the third layer, and last, images differ in details. In addition, images are found on a range of different objects, and the material and techniques employed to create a piece of art greatly influence the outcome.

It is important to note that similarities between images can occur at varying levels, which is important for the transmission of motifs; although the selection of the motif and the formal composition may be imported, style and details may be adjusted to local preferences. In order to understand properly dependencies between images of the Mediterranean and the Hallstatt world, we must therefore dissect the image and evaluate its components accordingly.

Comparing three roughly contemporary images of feasting in the ancient world illustrates this principle (Fig. 5.1). The scenes from the Greek, Etruscan and Hallstatt imagery depict the same motif, chosen from the real or imagined world. The picture is framed as a selection of a few acting people and some furniture items, indicating an indoor scene. Although the number and positions of people vary, there are similarities in the way the people are set up to engage with each other. The style of the images differs substantially. Objects, materials and techniques employed in the creation of the scene are most radically different: on the ceramic bell *kratēr*, the scene is executed in painting and skilful firing, the Etruscan image is a painting in a tomb and the *situla* from Kuffern was made on sheet bronze in repoussé and chasing technique. As we will see later, material and technology significantly affect the expressivity of the image. The details of the image are most informative in terms of reading identity – hairstyle, dress and objects are adjusted to local preferences and customs.

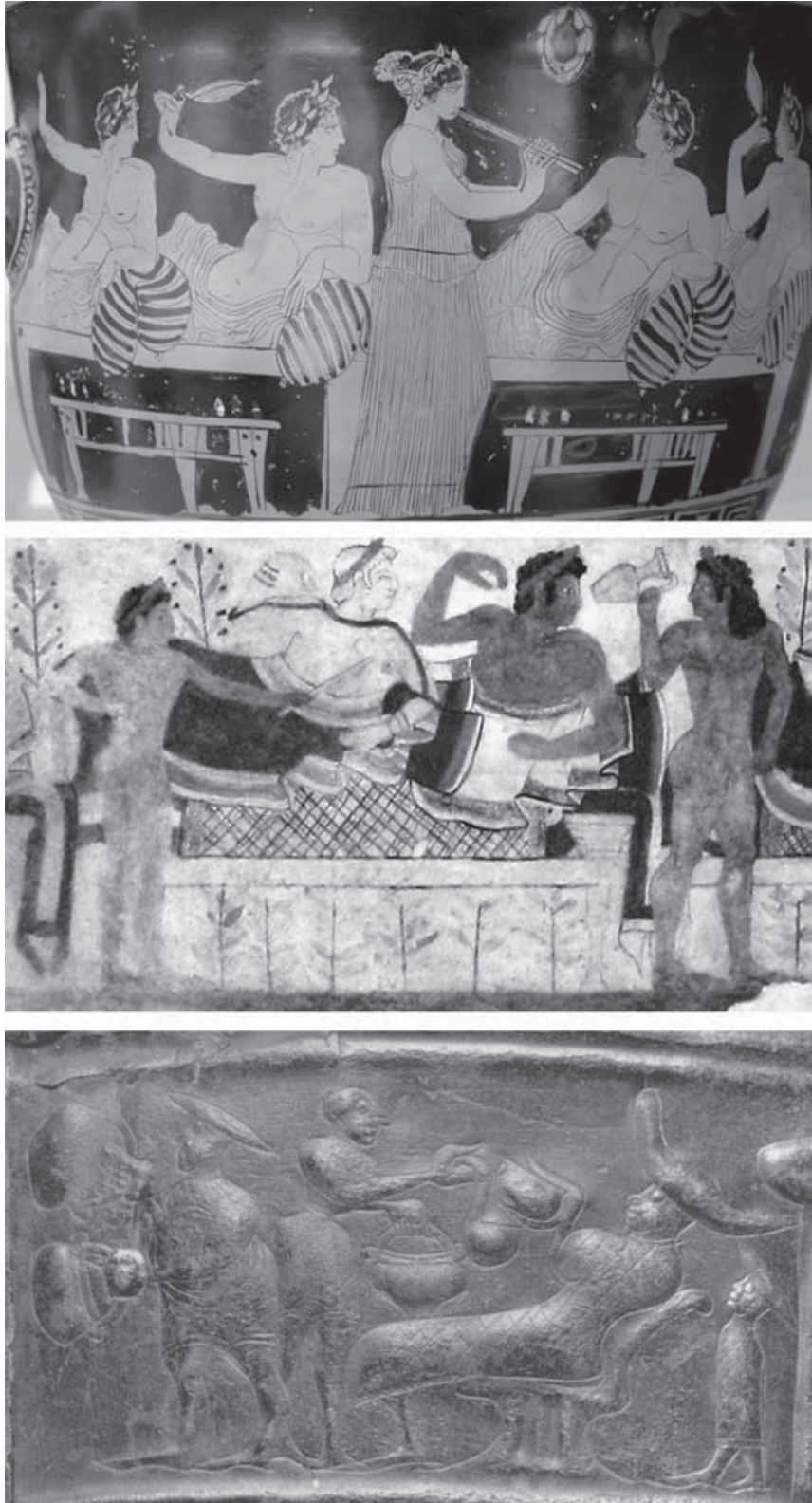


Figure 5.1 Symposia on an Attic red-figure bell kratēr, c. 420 BC (© Marie-Lan Nguyen, Wikimedia Commons), on a wall painting in the Tomba dei Leopardi, Tarquinia, Italy, c. 480–450 BC (public domain, Wikimedia Commons), and on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria, c. 475–425 BC (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien).

5.2 Art as sign language and in communication

The different layers of art can be juxtaposed with the different layers of language and communication (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 25–26). The language of words enables us to talk about people and things that are not present, describe without pointing and talk about past and future. Word language is often considered to be fundamental to human thinking. Communication via verbal language, however, requires a shared reference vocabulary; communication across linguistic and cultural borders, or indeed across time, therefore has its limits. Body language, in contrast, is formed by our evolutionary history and is in part transculturally understandable, whilst specific signs, gestures and body positions transport cultural meaning. Body language is frequently used to transport social messages and is affective. Communication via images and signs are the third and fourth layers of communication. They are set deliberately to enable association with people, things and memories (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 35). After the *iconic turn* (Samida 2010) images are taken more seriously in their own right, and the visual qualities and effects of images came to be more appreciated. Thinking through images, as opposed to translating them into language, came to be accepted as a way of engaging. To which extent the language of images and signs is readable outside the cultural context and to which extent meaning can be recovered by archaeological analysis is, however, still the question.

Semiotics, the study of signs and their communicative effects, is helpful here. The semiotic method aims to systematise the signs in an image and the context from which they arise, as well as understand the rules according to which the signs in an image came into being (Dotzler 1983: 48). From Charles Sanders Peirce's typology of object relations, which aims to classify signs according to the type of relationships between reality and image (Peirce 1955), the distinction between icon, index and symbol is useful. The icon is structurally similar to the objects and thus establishes an immediate relation; it provides a simplified version of reality. The meaning of an icon is self-explanatory and does not need to be learned. The sign also has many properties in common with what it stands for. The index, in contrast, does not directly represent the object but provides a pointer to what it really is. It shows reality in a limited way, but retains an actual relation to the subject. The indexical sign is physically caused by what it stands for. Smoke, for example, indexes fire. Finally, the symbol stands for something other than what it shows. It is arbitrarily chosen to signify a meaning, which has to be learned. Its relationship to the object relies on cultural customs, rules and conventions and cannot be read outside the cultural context and without clues to decode the symbol. The symbolic dimension of prehistoric objects is therefore not accessible (Burmeister 2003, Eggert 2010: 64).

The analysis of prehistoric art can, however, reveal conscious and unconscious semiotic considerations in the prehistoric material: the limits of their interpretation become more clearly highlighted (Dotzler 1983: 60). The problem lies in the fact that the classification as such already provides difficulties: whereas the iconic and indexical character of images might be read, the symbolic dimension of the

very same images remains obscure. Alfred Gell (Gell 1998: 6) argues most radically that art may be icon and index, but not symbol; he rejects the notion that art can have meaning in the sense that language does.

How the transmission of messages works is well described by the Shannon-Weaver model (Fig. 5.2, Shannon 1948, Shannon and Weaver 1963), widely used in communication theory. In this model, information is sent from a source by a transmitter or sender via a signal to the receiver. Upon decoding the signal, the message reaches its destination. The first crucial point is that both sender and recipient of the message are embedded in a common social context and must share

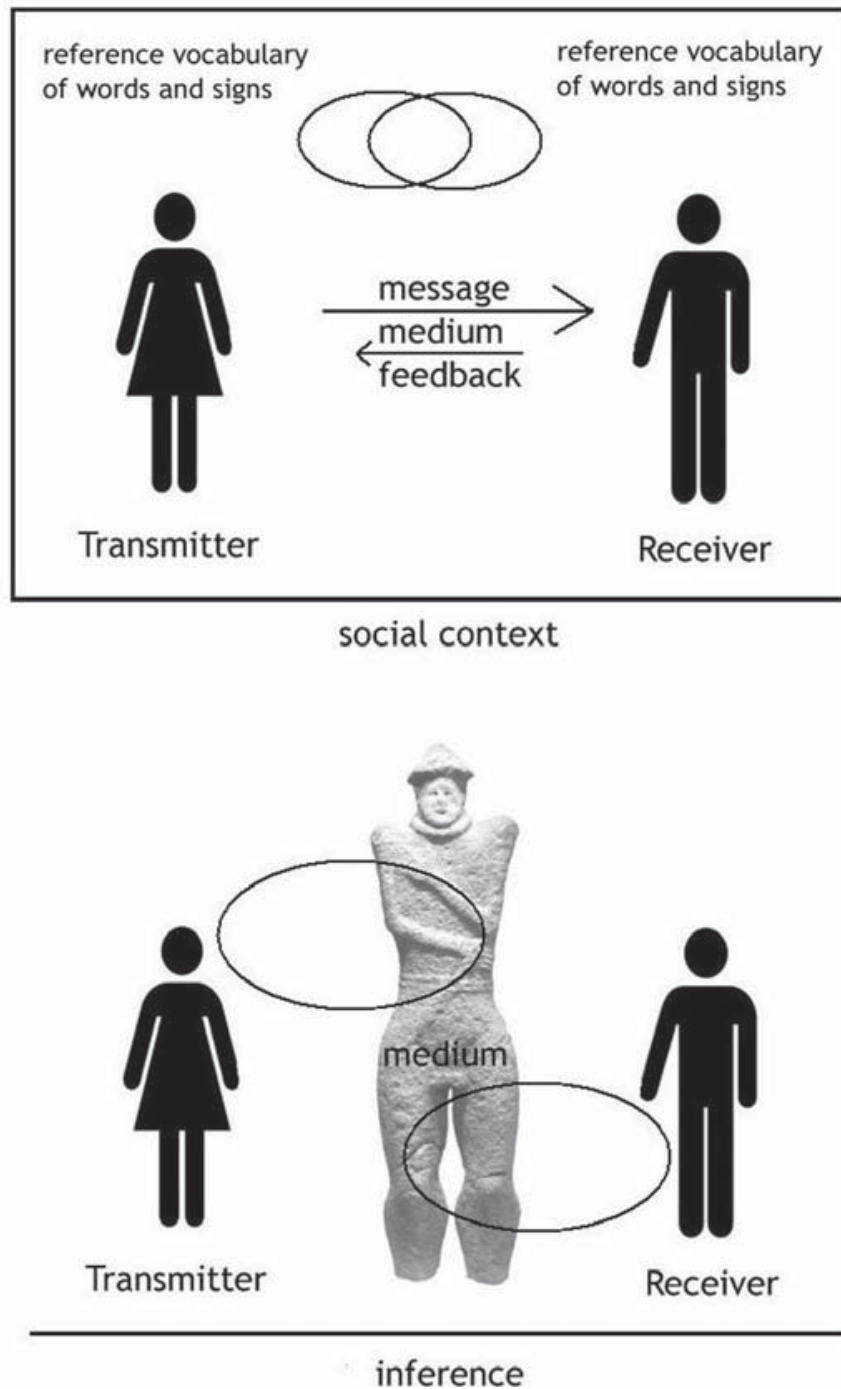


Figure 5.2 Communication models without and with art as the medium of the message

a reference vocabulary. Of course, the reference vocabulary or set of signs is never 100 per cent the same between two persons, but sufficient overlap is necessary to make communication possible. What is thought and expressed in words is not always understood as intended by the recipient. The second crucial point is that the message is sent encoded through a medium, but is susceptible to disruptions. Problems such as incompatible languages, ambiguity, cultural differences or limited perception can change the message.

If an art object takes the place of the medium, communication can in principle still occur in the same way; but other than with language, the medium as the message remains constant through time. The message remains encoded in the object, even outside the cultural context, which may be generations removed and displaced. The recipients may change, but the encoded message is still transmitted and read. The piece of art becomes a field of inference and can still work through affecting the viewer. Meaning is created through abduction, a form of inference that does not depend on knowledge of cultural convention (Layton 2003: 454).

5.3 Art as agency

The active role of art is central to Alfred Gell's reading. He interprets art as a system of action (Gell 1998: 6) and focusses on art in terms of its social relations rather than its semantic or aesthetic value. The social life of the object, its social context of production, circulation and reception, is the topic of his studies. Gell considers art a component of technology; art objects are made beautiful to exercise agency and achieve certain ends. This 'technology of enchantment' uses the artist's power to make things with striking effects: art plays a role in psychological warfare and magic; it creates desires and social relations.

The work of art is inherently social in a way which the merely beautiful or mysterious object is not: it is a physical entity which mediates between two beings, and therefore creates a social relation between them, which in turn creates a channel for further social relations and influences.

(Gell 1992: 52)

Art objects can substitute persons or agents (Gell 1998: 5) in that they affect people actively. Art can captivate and fascinate, attract or repulse; it may be difficult, both in production and in being understood. It may be creative and unusual and provoke thinking. Art can be enjoyable, but equally it can be confusing and scary; as such it may be employed to ward off evil and protect against enemies. The way in which art works as an agent lies in the way it triggers abductive inferences and cognitive interpolations. Art can be understood as the initiator of causal threads; although art does not actually have agency, it is believed to be and understood as acting and therefore does have secondary agency.

Two steps are necessary to turn art objects into social agents: First, the construction of the 'index', the material entities that motivate abductive inferences. The authors of the index may be artists or artisans, but also patrons who commission

art; further, art may be believed to have divine origins. Second, the art object needs to become integrated into the network of social relations. The recipients enter into a relationship with the object that references the prototype – they see the object and the object acts on them. The perception of the object changes the thinking and feelings of the recipient. Art as a field of inference can act independent from the cultural environment. One example Gell (1998: 13) used to elucidate this matter is that of a person smiling in a picture: the recipients infer for both the actual person and the picture that the person is friendly, as there is a direct relationship between a person smiling and the emotion of happiness.

The notion of art as agency is particularly seductive for interpreting human representations within a network perspective. Understanding human images as part of a social network does not exclude their aesthetics and semantics, which are ‘integral to and to understanding the impact that art works have on people’ (Morphy 2009: 5). But art as agency goes beyond this notion: it demonstrates how ideas about the human body were transmitted over long periods and large geographical areas as well as cultural boundaries.

6 The image and the object

Art is made to be viewed (Gell 1998: 24), but not everything classified as an artistic representation of the human body was produced for the sake of being art. Images are made both in their own right and as an ornament, adorning objects of different materials and functions. This chapter focuses on the objects as image carriers and considers their materials, production technologies and their place in *chaînes opératoires*, as well as their functions, uses and depositional contexts.

6.1 The image database

In order to best capture the complex properties and qualities of human images in the early Iron Age, a relational database linked to a geographic information system (GIS) was designed in the course of the ‘Tracing Networks’ research programme.¹ Data were recorded at five levels: site, context, object, scene and individual. The database is briefly described here as it forms the basis of the image analysis in the following chapters.

The site level records information on the name(s) of archaeological sites, the modern political entity (country) the site is located in, altitude above sea level, latitude and longitude in geographical coordinates to enable mapping and the level of accuracy of the geographical information (spot on, within 1 km, 5 km or mapped after the site name without further knowledge of the accuracy). Geographical coordinates (decimal degrees to six decimal places) as well as altitude were taken from Google Earth after identifying the site on the aerial image or on a map from the literature. The site type information gives a coarse classification (e.g., single find, settlement, cemetery, burial mounds, hoard and sanctuary) with the possibility of multiple entries.

The context information records the original name of a context, including grave numbers, layer numbers, areas, etc. Information on graves is further classified according to grave type: cremation or inhumation, urn or scattered cremation. Anthropological information on sex and age of the buried individual in a context is recorded, as well as the most likely gender according to the combination of finds. The relative dating of the context after the literature and its justification is recorded, as well as translated into absolute dates (see Section 3.2). The chronological bracket aims to be as realistic as possible and ranges between 50 and

100 years in most cases, although single finds dated only by stylistic means can often not be dated more specifically than within several hundred years. If useful for dating or gender assessment, a list of objects from the same context is added.

A large number of objects were studied directly in central European museums. Each individual object that represents a human or is decorated by one or more human images is linked to an image and exact citation; whenever possible, the primary publication is used; alternatively the publication with the best image. The primary material the object is made of is recorded (bone, bronze, bronze and iron, ceramic, faience, ivory, lead, sandstone, stone), followed by a typological classification at three levels. The dating of the object, most often, but not always identical to the dating of the context, is noted in relative and absolute terms. The date is normally based on the literature (see Section 3.2 for more details on dating) and translated into absolute terms. If a date is given as 'fifth century BC' it is translated as 500 to 400 BC, a date of 'circa 600 BC' is translated as 625 to 575 BC. The relative dates of the Hallstatt period range between 800 and 450 BC (with the sub-phasing Ha C1 = 800 to 710 BC, Ha C2 = 710 to 625 BC, Ha D1 = 625 to 550 BC, Ha D2 = 550 to 500 BC, Ha D3 = 500 to 450 BC). The condition of the object is listed as complete, almost complete, fragment or reconstructed; measurements of height and width of the object are recorded in mm. The production technique of the human image on the object is recorded at up to three different levels of detail in order of priority for the making of the human image. Last, information on the current location of the object, museum inventory numbers and additional information on the object biography are noted.

A unique identifier is used for each scene that features people. The number of human images in a scene is recorded, as well as a description of the scene, interpretations and a list of associated animals and objects.

The level of the individual human image is the data sheet with the most records. A single record was created for each depicted individual and linked to all previously recorded information. Data on the individuals record the perspective (shown from the front, front-left, front-right, front-turned with feet facing outside, left, left-front, left-right, right, right-front, right-left, three-dimensional) and the mode of depiction (cut-out, geometric, relief, outline, outline with pattern, outline with perspective, flexibly shaped, stick figure). The figure type classifies standard, recurrent representations as body part, boxer, carrier, driver, hunter, hybrid, man, musician, orant, person, ploughman, rider, rower, textile worker, wagon guide, wagon rider, warrior and woman. A full description of the image follows. Next, human images are described as naked or dressed, in some cases naked except for a belt. The sex of the person, if clearly shown by genitalia or breasts, is recorded as male or female, but deliberately sexless depictions are noted as well. The gender of the person as signalled via dress, jewellery or attributes is recorded separately. After the description of the dress, body parts are described. Head, arms, hands, legs and feet are recorded in terms of the way they are depicted and in which position the body parts are held; further, objects associated with the head, right or left arm are listed. The posture and gestures of the person are recorded next; last, the size of the human image in mm and its position on the object are given.

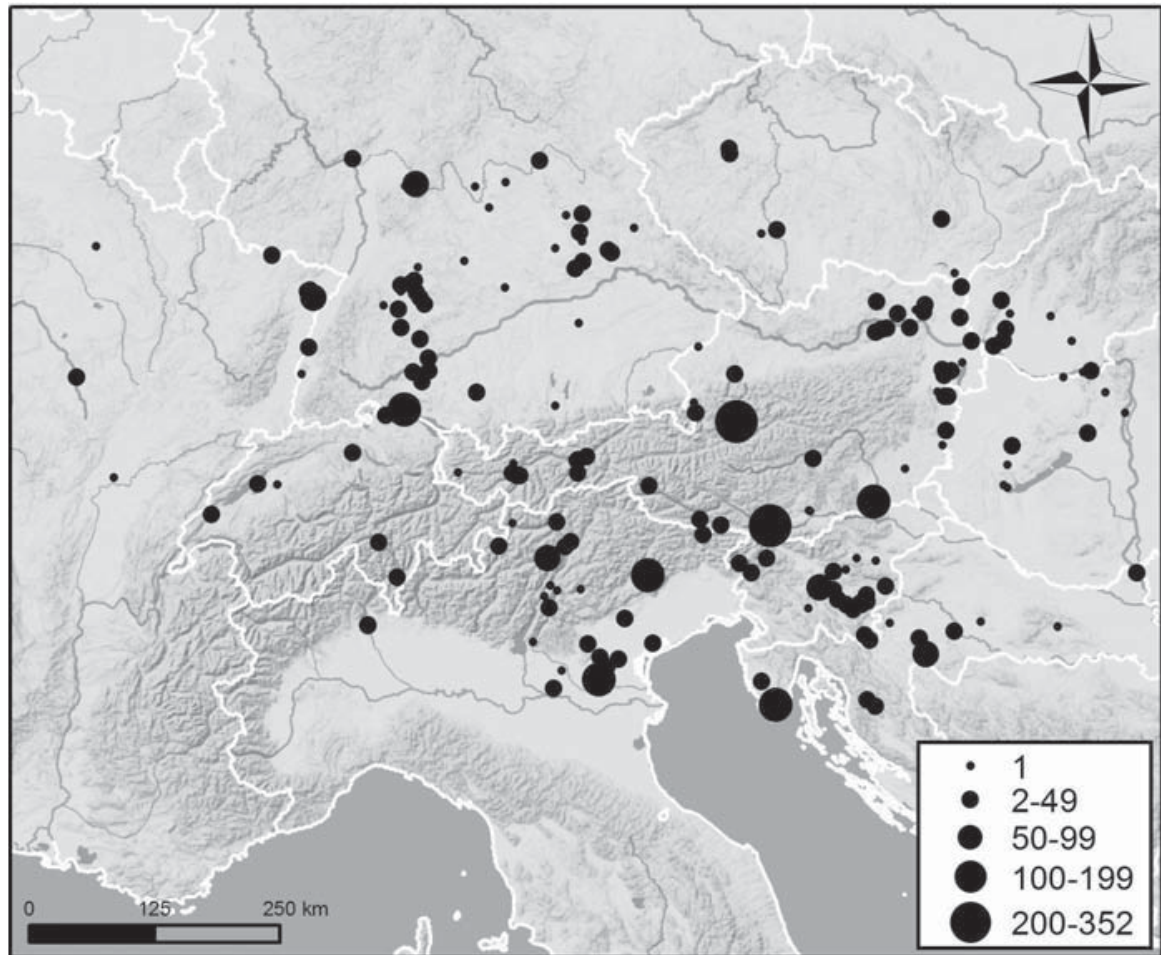


Figure 6.1 Number of individual human representations per site (n = 3068)

The quantitative analysis of early Iron Age human images is, due to a high number of repetitions, not always straightforward. Individually crafted human images in clay, for instance, would be vastly outnumbered by hundreds of punches in human form found on a single sheet bronze belt; similarly, hundreds of very similar lead figurines found at the site of Frög, Austria, would foreground one burial site at the expense of others. The analysis must therefore normalise the data by site and object as appropriate (Fig. 6.1).

6.2 Objects

Human images appear as or on a range of different object classes, which are briefly described here and discussed in terms of how humans interacted with these objects, engaged with them and used them. Statues, sculptures and figurines – 3D images of humans – are specifically produced to represent the human form. In contrast to many other kinds of objects discussed later, the human image is not a decorative addition; the intention and purpose of statues, sculptures and figurines is the representation of a person (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Other object classes include plaques, personal objects such as weaponry and jewellery, vessels made of bronze and ceramics, furniture and tools.

6.2.1 Statues, sculptures and rock art

Statues and sculptures are roughly life sized and carved out of (sand-)stone. In early Iron Age central Europe they are somewhat rare finds. Often found moved and out of context, there is some debate as to whether to date individual finds to the early Iron Age, which results in changing numbers in the literature (c. 30, cf. Baitinger and Pinsker 2002: 313–327, Duceppe-Lamarre 2002). Best known and among the best preserved is the statue of the warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Zürn 1970: 167, pl. A), found in a ditch surrounding a burial mound dating to about 600 BC. The statue was originally placed on top of the burial mound as a grave marker. The feet are missing, but the rest of the statue still measures 1.5 m. Although the warrior is naked, he is depicted with a round, pointed hat – perhaps a birch-bark hat or a conical helmet – a large neck ring, a belt and a late Hallstatt dagger. The upper body appears slim in comparison to the muscular, strong legs, and the hands are placed in front of the body in a particular gesture: the right arm is wrapped around the body with the right hand on the left side of the waist; the left arm is bent and the left hand is placed just below the right shoulder. Whether this gesture expresses a particular meaning (Armit and Grant 2008) or is the result of technical constraints working a difficult material (Mielke 2013) is currently debated. There is little doubt that the Hirschlanden warrior is a grave monument and a monument to an actual, perhaps heroised, human being buried in the burial mound. This interpretation has become even more likely with the discovery of the monumental statue of the ‘Lord of the Glauberg’ (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002), dating slightly later around 500 BC, the early La Tène period. Every little detail of the statue finds its equivalent in an inhumation grave excavated near the place the statue was found, from the leaf crown to the torc pendants and the wooden shield. And yet the Glauberg warrior is only the best preserved of the statues – fragments of at least three further very similar statues have been found in the ditch system surrounding the grave monuments. This suggests that the image of the high-status warrior, and perhaps also social and religious leader, was less individualised and personalised, but fabricated using particular material culture and body styles.

Returning to the early Iron Age, there are a number of further stone monuments with anthropomorphic traits, although they are much more stylised, such as the stelae from Tübingen-Kilchberg (Beck 1974: 260–264, figs 10–12), Stammheim (Ströbel 1952: 42, fig. 16), Gomaringen-Stockach (Riek 1941: pl. 10, figs 1–3), Rottenburg (Huth 2003: pl. 23, fig. 2), Ebrach (Spindler 1983: 183, fig. 29), Rai-Breitenbach (Kimmig 1987a: 267, fig. 17) and Birkach (Kimmig 1987a: 271, fig. 29), all southern Germany. These statue-stelae represent little more than a head and upper body and are quite varied in appearance. Also for these finds, an interpretation as grave markers is likely. Grave markers in the form of simple, plain stelae were widespread throughout the Hallstatt area.

Two seated, life-sized limestone figures, one of a woman and one of a warrior, were unearthed from slightly different contexts. They were found in a sanctuary not far from the famous tomb of Vix near Mont Lassois in France, more precisely at the end of a rectangular ditch with an entrance, measuring 26 metres by

24.5 metres and dating to around 500 BC (Chaume and Reinhard 2002, Chaume and Reinhard 2003: 258–259, figs 8 and 10). Both figures are missing heads and are shown seated on the ground with their knees drawn in. The woman wears a long garment and a torc; the warrior clasps a shield placed in front of the legs. The body positions of the human statues are unique in the early Iron Age world. Nevertheless, the funerary–ritual context suggests a similar function of the monuments to the German statues, perhaps as representations of the heroised deceased.

The most peculiar group of stone monuments was unearthed in Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984), a fortified settlement with a sanctuary that later became the centre of the ancient tribe of the Histri. The high degree of fragmentation makes an interpretation of the pieces difficult. There are several parts of legs and feet, a hand, two male torsos with the arms and hands in similar position to the statue of Hirschlanden and a male lower body with an erect penis. The head of a woman with earrings and headband and the statue of a rider on horseback with most of the upper body missing are amongst the more complete finds, as is the Janus head, that is, two heads with a headband and combed hair or helmets joined together at the back. Most unusual, however, is the body of a naked female statue (Fischer 1984: pl. 8, fig. 1) with the head missing. Her right breast is visible as well as both arms and hands held in front of the body. Her left hand appears to spread her vulva open; the legs are slightly bent and the feet are missing. Across the left upper body is a bundle interpreted as a baby – as such, the monument represents giving birth and may point to fertility cults. The closest classical analogy is Artemis Kourotrophos, the nurse of youths (Fischer 1984: 39).

Monumental stone sculptures are neither restricted to the early Iron Age nor to central Europe. Iberian warrior statues from northwestern Spain and Portugal (Duceppe-Lamarre 2002); the cross-legged seated statues from Roquepertuse, Glanum and Entremont; the head pillars with both real skulls and sculptured human heads from southern France (Armit 2012); and the Picenian statues such as the ones from Capestrano (Frey 2007, Naso 2000) give further clues to the tradition of monumentality in Iron Age Europe, despite their differences in style. Further, it is quite likely that monumental sculptures and statues of wood have existed, as finds preserved in special circumstances such as the wooden statue from Saône à Seurre, France (905–352 cal. BC, Chaume and Reinhard 2003: 265, fig. 13) or the wooden carvings from the Viereckschanze of Fellbach-Schmidlen, Germany (127 cal. BC, Wieland 1999) demonstrate.

Human representations pecked into rock surfaces are a large body of imagery that cannot be ignored. Like statues and monuments, they are fixed in space and not integrated into the trade and exchange of goods. Rock art has to be experienced in situ. The places rock art is found in are remote Alpine areas, for instance, the Val Camonica, Italy (Anati 1994, Bevan 2006), or Mont Bego, France (Louis and Isetti 1964). The number of images has been estimated at around 300,000 (Huth 2010: 130). Whether or not these images can be attributed to the early Iron Age, however, is currently debated (Pause 1997, Schuhmacher 1983). Dating difficulties mean that they are commonly discussed in separate studies, although some themes and objects found on Iron Age art do also occur at rock-art sites. The

social embedding of human images on rock art is probably the most difficult to understand. Human images in the Val Camonica (Anati 1994), at the intersection between the Villanovan and Hallstatt spheres, derive from an ideological background that is shared with contemporary Iron Age groups and draws on familiar motifs and stereotypical depictions. The context of image technology and production, however, is radically different and has little in common with other material culture. No raw material procurement is necessary except the selection of the right panel. Pecking an image needs little or no tool preparation and can be done relatively spontaneously and outside a household context. Human images in the Val Camonica are rather small in size, but include many repetitions on rock panels, which must have been kept vegetation free for a longer period. Rock art might therefore be associated with travelling, shepherding grazing animals, hunting and finding directions. That these activities are primarily, but not exclusively, associated with a male social sphere might explain the large numbers of warriors and hunters on the panels; interesting exceptions that prove the rule are the depictions of looms and people engaged in weaving, an activity often ascribed to the female gender. The dense packing and overlaying of images indicate that the panels were returned to, viewed and reused over and over again; the image reception went on for generations, and therefore rock art probably played a role in shaping ideas about society.

6.2.2 *Figurines (and cut-outs)*

Figurines are defined as ‘small moulded or sculptured figures’, ‘small statues of a person’ or ‘models of a bodily form’², focussing on their size as a defining property. Their dimensions are commonly adjusted to being held, handled and manipulated by a human hand. This is especially true for ceramic figurines; figurines made of other materials, such as bone, bronze or lead, are often smaller. The wide variety of sizes, materials, technologies and contexts of figurines suggest that they were made and used by a variety of people and for different functions. Of the 697 individuals, there are 320 lead figurines (all but one from a single site), 240 bronze figurines (of which the majority is cast, but 35 are cut from sheet bronze), 113 ceramic figurines, 18 faience and 6 bone figurines. The materials and technologies employed in making the figurines significantly influence the way the bodies are formed (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Ceramic figurines, for instance, often have a plump, cylindrical and emphasised body core, whereas legs and arms are kept short to avoid breakage; metal figurines predominantly have a slim body core and long arms and legs; lead figurines can easily be bent after casting and show the widest variety in gestures. On average, figurines are 53 mm high, although again this depends much on the material used. Ceramic figurines measure, on average, 80 mm, bronze figurines 71 mm, but lead figurines only 35 mm.

The representations show individual traits, not so much between the individual figurines, but within the specific contexts they are found. It is therefore hard to summarise their generic properties. About 35 per cent of all figurines are of a naked person, 17 per cent of figurines are clearly shown dressed and a few wear

only a belt. Men are much more often depicted than women, regardless of whether only figurines with explicit sexual parts are counted in this category or if other gender indicators such as weaponry and dress are also taken into account. The sex of 131 figurines could be identified as male, normally by the penis being shown, and 46 as female; interestingly, there are also 54 figurines depicted as sexless. In these cases, it is not a matter of preservation or ambiguity that the artisan did not give any clues (see Section 7.3 for further details). Ceramic figurines counter this general trend – many more ceramic figurines depict females than males. This may be a reflection of the gender of the producer or the specific contexts the figurines were found in (Fig. 6.2).

Ceramic figurines occur from settlement, grave and ritual contexts; the late Bronze Age predecessors are typically settlement finds and appear to be made in an ad hoc fashion (e.g., Bad Buchau-Wasserburg, Germany, Lac du Bourget, France, Primas 2008, Uslar 1964). Such finds continue into the early Iron Age and are often classified as stray finds (e.g., Eisenstadt-Burgstall, Austria, Reichenberger 2000: 215, pl. 18, fig. 76) or were found in pits (e.g., Wiesbaden-Erbenheim, Germany, Großweikersdorf, Austria, Amann-Ille and Ille 1994, Tripp 1941). Further ceramic figurines come from funerary contexts, such as the sets from Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn, Austria (Fig. 6.3, Plate 10, Kromer 1958, Preinfalk 2003), which were found in monumental burial mounds located about 20 kilometres apart along the Danube. Similarities in the grave construction and furnishing, including almost identical pieces of pottery, suggest strong connections between the communities that built the mounds around 600 BC, if not the same craftspeople or a common place of production. Tumulus 1 (of three) from Gemeinlebarn was a mound 50 metres in diameter with a large wooden chamber. Although no human remains were recovered, the nineteenth-century excavation revealed a sword and horse gear alongside a large set of elaborately shaped and decorated pottery (Dungel and Szombathy 1903); a horse burial, remains of a funerary pyre and a wagon were found outside the central chamber in subsequent excavations (Neugebauer-Maresch and Neugebauer 1996). The set of figurines from Gemeinlebarn comprises at least 14 human figurines and a number of animal representations, including a horse and seven four-legged animals of different sizes, one of which can almost certainly be identified as a stag. Both human and animal representations have traces of resin on their legs and feet, suggesting they

	<i>Nudity</i>			<i>Sex</i>			<i>Gender</i>		
	<i>dressed</i>	<i>naked</i>	<i>belt</i>	<i>sexless</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>	<i>sexless</i>	<i>female</i>	<i>male</i>
ceramic	16	63	4	40	25	9	4	31	14
bronze	82	75	3	6	14	65	4	62	116
lead	0	117	0	0	16	57	0	39	89
all	121	255	7	54	47	131	9	136	222

Figure 6.2 Figurines, nudity, sex and gender

were fixed to an object such as a wagon of organic material or a large vessel and were intended to be viewed from various sides. Tumulus 3 from Langenlebern had already been re-opened several times before the set of figurines was discovered in one corner of the chamber in 1981 (Preinfalk 2003). This set seems slightly less complete, but included at least eight human figurines, one of them a rider, as well as a horse and four other four-legged animals.

Those figurines preserved in full length are about 10 cm tall. Their body core is a slab, with rolled arms and legs. The heads of the Gemeinlebern figurines are globular, and breakage points suggest they were added and merged with the core body at the forming stage. The facial features include moulded eye sockets, noses and ears; eyes are circular stamps and the mouths indicated by horizontal incisions. One figurine even has incised nostrils. Necklaces are rows of small, round stamps or horizontal incisions. Five figurines have attached breasts; curiously, it is only the right breast that is carried out as a clay addition, whereas the left breast is painted. Many, if not all, of the figurines are painted in red and black like the rest of the pottery in the grave. Where preserved, the painting is either done in horizontal bands over the body, perhaps indicating clothes, or it splits the figurine at the central symmetry line into a red half and a black half. Some figurines of the Gemeinlebern set are clearly marked as females, but other figurines appear sexless. This pattern is repeated with the Langenlebern set; this time, however, there are three clearly male figurines, as indicated by the addition of a penis. Their bodies are again painted black and red, split at the central line and their arms are raised to the head. Other figurines do not have any sexual markers and appear not to have been painted; their shape differs from the others through an elongated neck. Their heads and particularly their faces are not very well preserved. In contrast to the Gemeinlebern figurines, the core shape of the heads is cylindrical. Eyes and noses are indicated in a similar fashion, but the region of the mouths is elongated, broken off and not preserved, which makes it impossible ultimately to determine their form. Only the rider's face is complete, but very rudimentary in form with a pinched nose and stamped eyes. The Gemeinlebern set is clearly the more elaborate of the two; shaping and decoration show more attention to detail. Nevertheless, they remain very closely matched assemblages in both the technologies used for their construction and the types of persons they represent. As a set, they most likely comprised a scene such as the one shown on the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a) in bronze.

Ceramic figurines from a sanctuary near a funerary site at Turska kosa, Croatia (Fig. 6.3, Balen-Letunić 2004, Čučković 2008a), offer insights into different depositional contexts. Whereas the oldest layers of Cult Location I date between the ninth and seventh centuries BC, the layers dating from around 600 to 300 BC contained numerous sherds from broken vessels and a range of miniatures such as spindle whorls, spools, small representations of loafs of bread and boats, as well as animal and human figurines (Čučković 2004: 199). The 49 human figurines published in recent exhibition catalogues show only rudimentary bodily features, but focus on markers of identity such as sex and dress elements as indicators of status. The body core is made of a thick, flat slab of clay, which is little worked at the back, indicating

that the figurines were designed to be placed on their back rather than to be shown in three dimensions. There are, however, a number of seated figurines with clearly modelled buttocks and bent legs (e.g., Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 19.2, 19.3, 22.21 and 29.2), as well as figurines of riders with legs shaped in a way that means they can easily sit on a horse figurine (e.g., Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 22.24 and 22.25). The Turska kosa figurines are most likely individual representations made to be deposited in a sanctuary; they do not tell a story as in the examples earlier, but emphasise aspects of identity, which most likely mirror those of the dedicators.

Bronze figurines are also a varied object group, and boundaries between figurines, plaques, pendants and other decorative elements are blurred. North of the Alps, they are primarily stray finds or grave goods, whereas in Alpine areas and south of the Alps they are most often found in sanctuaries that may date from the late Bronze Age well into the Roman period (around 1300 BC to 400 AD). The stylistic continuity of some sites often makes a precise dating of individual figurines impossible. The objects show varying degrees of refinement in their craftsmanship. A range of different techniques is employed to work bronze, and in principle a greater level of expertise is needed to work bronze figurines than, for instance, those in ceramic. Most common is the lost wax (*cire perdue*) casting or casting in a mould, though a simpler technique is cutting small, flat figurines out of sheet bronze pieces. Making figurines by the lost-wax technique requires shaping a wax model, which is then stabilised in the clay mould. This method lends itself extraordinarily well to shaping fragile necks, arms and legs and arranging body positions and gestures in a three-dimensional way (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Bronze figurines often appear very slim, probably because of the value of bronze and the ease of producing slim wax models. Surface decorations are often already anticipated in the wax model, and additional decoration indicating clothes and jewellery can be added to the finished cast by engraving, filing and polishing.

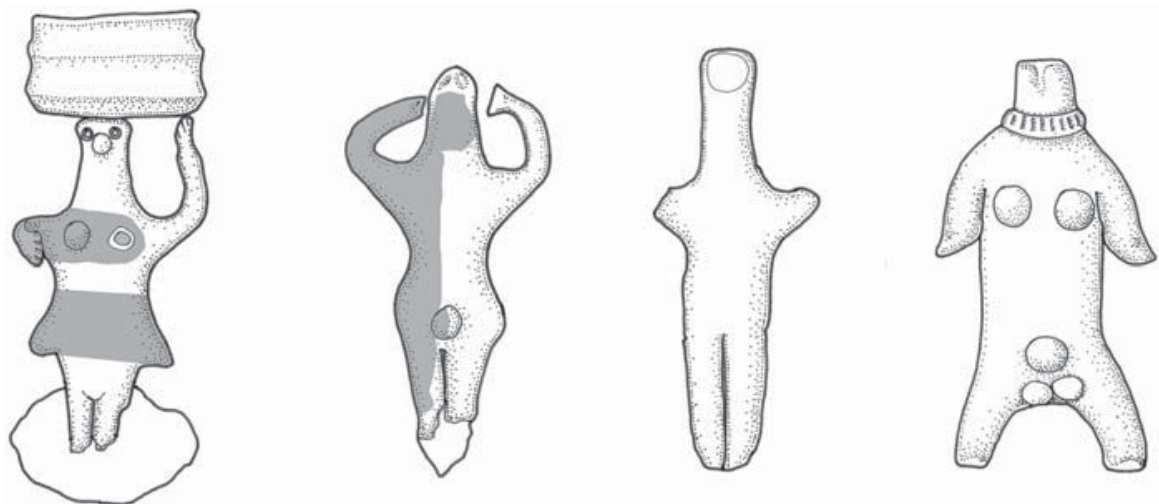


Figure 6.3 Female ceramic figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (see also Plate 10), male and sexless figurine from Langenlebarn, Austria, androgynous figurine from Turska kosa, Croatia (c. 9 cm each, after Preinfalk 2003: 91, pl. 34.10, pl. 31.3, Balen-Letunić 2004: 337, No. 21)

The figurines that make up the Cult Wagon of Strettweg (Fig. 6.4) were worked so well after casting that almost no traces of the production processes remain (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: 19). The wagon was found in a very rich grave in Styria, Austria, and dates to about 600 BC. The figurines were arranged on a wheeled square platform and hold a central female figurine, which, at approximately 23 cm in height, is much larger than the rest of the figurines. At her feet, the scene of a sacrifice is repeated in mirror image. A pair of a female figurine and a male figurine shouldering an axe follows a pair of sexless figurines, who lead a stag by the antlers; they are in turn flanked by a pair of armed horsemen. The body proportions follow natural and artists' conventions of body proportions in some respects; the head of the figurines is about one-eighth of the length of the whole body, the legs start at about half the length of the figurine and the arms extend to the middle of the thighs (Bammes 1990). The torso and waist, however, are much slimmer than expected, and the extremities are slightly elongated. This is particularly visible in the central female figurine; instead of the conventional eighth of the body length for the waist ($23/8 \times 1 = 2.9$ cm) and one and a half times the eighth of the body length for the hips ($23/8 \times 1.5 = 4.3$ cm), the figurine's waist measures 1.6 cm across at the waist and 2.8 cm at the hips, only slightly more than half of the expected values. Figurines of similar elongated shapes are known, for example, from the Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: fig. 20), or Somló, Hungary (Patek 1984: pl. 22, 7). The heads of bronze figurines are often disproportionately large, especially when two conditions are met: facial features are shown and the figurine is small overall. Eyes, nose, mouth, chin and ears are the most commonly modelled facial features; hair, hats or helmets are represented in about half of these figurines (e.g., from Idrija pri Bači, Slovenia, Guštin 1991: pl. 22, Bernhardsthal, Austria, Nebehay 1987: 219). The eyes, round or almond in shape, are often placed off centre and slightly too high on the head to appear natural, probably to use the available space more fully for details of the facial features.

Large numbers of bronze figurines have been unearthed in sanctuaries surrounding the prehistoric settlement of Este, Italy. Este-Baratella (Chieco Bianchi 2002), for instance, was most likely a sanctuary to the goddess Retia and was in use from the end of the seventh century BC to the second or third century AD. Amongst the numerous finds of offerings were animal bones, molluscs, botanical remains, everyday and miniature objects such as spinning and weaving tools, organ votives, about 700 figurative plaques and about 130 bronze statuettes. The 36 female and 48 male figures are gendered by garments; men are often shown with weaponry such as lances. Both male and female statues frequently hold a small bowl or vessel to characterise them as persons bringing offerings. The sanctuary of Montegrotto near Padova, Italy (Dämmer 1986), similarly contained hundreds of votive offerings, including bronze rider statues and large numbers of pottery cups.

Apart from one lead figurine, a stray find from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary (Egg 1996a: 50, fig. 29), all other lead figurines come from a single site, namely Frög, Austria. Gerhard Tomedi (Tomedi 2002) has published several hundred of these figurines, but due to the rather eventful antiquarian research and conservation

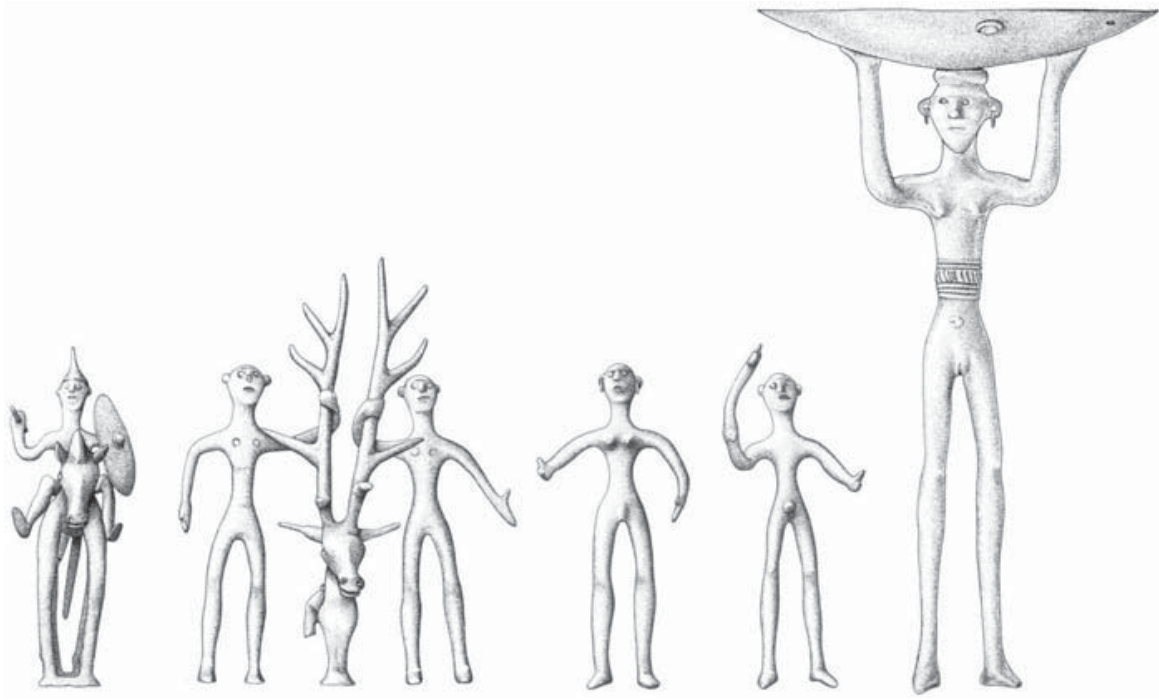


Figure 6.4 Figurines from the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: figs 10–14, © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, courtesy of Markus Egg)

history, many more can be considered lost and missing. The lead figurines were found in burial mounds with cremation graves, most of which date between 800 and 550 BC. There are only a few types of figurines, which are found in large numbers of repetitions. Some were used as small appliquéés to decorate the outer surface of large ceramic vessels, whereas others were found in groups on the surface of the graves (Tomedi 2002: 259). The most popular type is a horse rider going towards the right (Plate 15); only a handful of riders go in the opposite direction. To indicate the masculinity and virility of the riders, the horses are often characterised as stallions – given the size constrictions on appliquéés that are rarely more than 3 cm in height, some details of the riders themselves had to be omitted and transferred to the horses. The riders' arms are joined to the horses' reins and their legs to the horses' forelegs; this creates figures that lean back slightly, which is typical for the posture of bareback riders. Of the 123 human figurines other than horsemen, there are 9 heads, 75 male figurines and 38 female figurines. The naked bodies range from c. 3 cm to 10 cm in size and from normally proportioned to elongated figures; they are gendered through breasts and male genitals. Early excavators interpreted a group of long, male figures as representations of dead bodies due to their lifeless appearance (Tomedi 2002: 256, see pl. 94 for examples).

Figurines cut from old pieces of sheet bronze are primarily known from sanctuaries, where they comprise votive offerings of various shapes, including full bodies and body parts. Objects such as belts and vessels are recycled and reworked into new objects. The figurine from Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Fig. 6.5, Tomedi 2009: fig. 2),

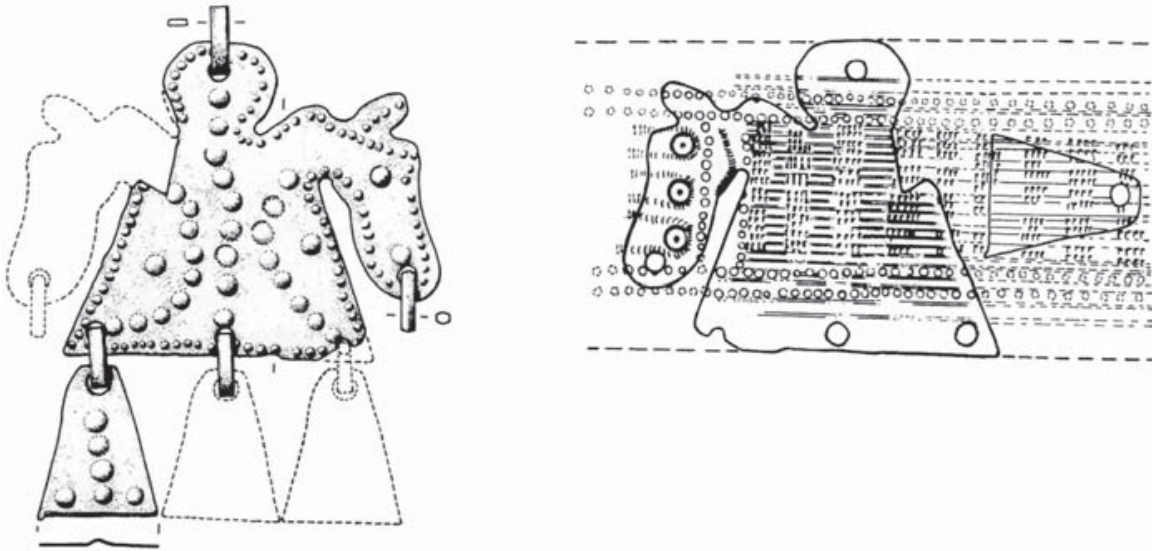


Figure 6.5 Figurine from Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Tomedi 2009: fig. 2, courtesy of Gerhard Tomedi)

for example, was cut from a sheet bronze belt of 6 cm width, thus limiting the figurine size. The figurine is the representation of a female with horse heads instead of arms and a number of small pendants attached to the bottom and is interpreted as an image of the goddess Raetia. The anthropomorphic shapes of the cut-outs are usually very simple. They avoid obvious breaking points such as necks or overly large limbs and focus entirely on the core of the body. Amongst the figures of the Mechel sanctuary are a number of cut-outs in the shape of humans, some plain, some with reinforcing punches at the edges or simple incisions and punches to give the image some decoration and elaboration (for examples see Marzatico 2001: fig. 75). Anatomical votives, representations of body parts such as arms and legs or genitals, become particularly common in the Venetian area (Ruta Serafini 2002) and further south into the Classical periods (e.g., Recke and Wamser-Krasznai 2008, van Straten 1981).

6.2.3 Plaques

Closely related to figurines are plaques; they are small, flat pieces of metal bearing an image or relief of one or more persons. Unlike figurines or cut-outs, they are neither three-dimensional nor follow the outline of a person. The shape of plaques is primarily rectangular, but some round or slightly shaped pieces are known. Many plaques have holes in the corners or on one or both sides, which suggests they were hung up or fixed to an object. The 16 lead plaques are cast and show a person with stretched-out hands inscribed in a rectangle standing on a double circle (Tomedi 2002: pl. 81). All other 110 bronze plaques are made of sheet bronze. The human images are rendered by different techniques: repoussé and chasing is most popular, with 82 instances, followed by incised ($n = 17$) and embossed ($n = 10$) images; in many cases the images are further incised or lined with point-boss decoration. The quality of the images varies. Certainly, for some plaques the

way in which they were carried out suggests that they were not always made by professional craftspeople. They appear very informal or ‘self-made’. Cutting a human image from an existing bit of sheet bronze is certainly the technically least demanding way to make a human figure of bronze.

The context in which these kinds of representations were found suggests that they did not need to be durable; they were made for deposition and dedication and not to be viewed and handled. Except for the lead plaques, which were found in Tumulus 168, Grave 1 of the cemetery of Frög, Austria, all others come from sanctuaries. The plaques from each sanctuary show an individual ‘handwriting’ not necessarily repeated at other sites. The sanctuaries around Este, Italy, a major centre of the Veneti from the late Bronze Age to the Roman period, seem to cater to different groups of people, as some sanctuaries contain primarily images of warriors, whereas others contain images of females or anatomical parts (Ruta Serafini 2002). The Santuario Orientale contained many images of warriors on foot with large, round shields, helmets and lances; the Santuario Settentrionale also contained images of elaborately dressed women. Anatomical votives made of sheet bronze were also unearthed from the Santuario Sud-occidentale (Dämmer 2002, Gambacurta 2002), in many cases representations of male genitalia, although breasts, hands, one leg and one face are also part of the assemblage. The plaques from Altino (Tirelli 2002) show warriors, armed and some on horseback, as well as women dressed in local attire. The plaques from Vicenza (Zaghetto 2002a) frequently show more than one person. Repetitions of particular types, such as athletes and warriors, women and men, are stamped in rows on strips of sheet bronze. The round votive plaques from Montebelluno (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004) show high-status women with keys in their hands, which most likely characterises them as heads of households.

The individuals on the plaques are, on average, 55 mm tall, although large figures on round votive plaques can measure up to 193 mm. Except for organ votives, which often show a body part from the front, most images of full persons are shown from the side; 117 face left and only 27 face right. Most people are shown fully dressed (80), and only 28 were clearly naked. Images of men are represented by 85 examples, most often as warriors carrying weapons such as lances and shields, more rarely on horseback. Fifty-seven images were those of women, characterised by their dress and especially their veil.

6.2.4 Personal objects

Personal objects are worn directly on or carried close to the body. For the most part they are thought to comprise personal property, to have been acquired during certain stages of the lifecycle and to accompany the deceased in the grave. They are all, with a few exceptions, made of bronze. Personal objects include weaponry such as helmets, daggers and swords, belts and jewellery, including *fibulae* and pendants. Most objects with context information come from graves, but there is a considerable number of stray finds in this object group; personal objects may relatively easily have been lost or dedicated in sanctuaries. Adorning personal

objects with human images were most likely meant to convey messages about personal qualities such as virility and power; anthropomorphic composite beings, for example, winged human faces, might point to an apotropaic function, calling upon the protection of spirits and deities.

The helmets from Brezje, Magdalenska gora, Tumulus 4 Grave 3 and Vače, Slovenia (Egg 1980b: 244, fig. 2, Hencken 1978: 108, Kromer 1959a: pl. 7), all have a pair of winged busts with human faces flanking the crest. The conical helmet from Oppeano, Italy (Pigorini 1878), shows a parade of horses interspersed with a sphinx; this hybrid being also has a winged human body, with the arms and hands with which he holds on to the horse in front, and with human legs; the animal body and hind legs are attached somewhere at the human's back. Another helmet from Magdalenska gora, Tumulus 4, Grave 1, of which only a fragment is preserved, shows a frieze of warriors made in repoussé and chasing, each with helmet, lance and shield and marching to the left (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 1, fig. 1). The motif of the warrior is also found on a Villanovan helmet of unknown provenience from Italy; here, a warrior is shown in point-boss decoration in a frontal posture, wearing exactly the shape of the helmet he adorns (Iaia 2005: 100, fig. 43).

Daggers are common in the later phase of the early Iron Age, particularly in western central Europe (Sievers 1982), and the shape of the handles frequently plays on the human form without explicitly depicting a person. The dagger from Hundesingen, Hügel 1, Nachbestattung 2, for instance (Zürn 1970: 108, pl. O, fig. A1), has a two-part handle, dividing the person in the middle, a knob that could be read as a head and ends in two half-circles which look like the raised arms and hands of an orant.

Two stylistically plastic, nude human figures are inscribed into the ends of the handle of a dagger from Hallstatt, Grave 116, Austria (Kromer 1959b: pl. 16, fig. 3a). From the same site, Grave 641, comes another unique piece, an axe adorned with a small bronze figure of a horse and rider (Kromer 1959b: pl. 137). Although axes are part of the standard set of (eastern) Hallstatt weaponry, this particular item seems more of a ritual object. The famous sword scabbard from Hallstatt, Grave 994 (Kromer 1959b: pl. 202), also needs to be mentioned here; although it most likely dates to the middle La Tène period (Zimmermann 2009), the decoration and motifs remain rooted in Hallstatt art. The scenes show marching and mounted warriors, two pairs of men with wheels and a hard-to-read personal fight on the top of the scabbard. There are a number of decorated dagger scabbards from Este, Italy, one in repoussé and chasing, showing a man with spear and axe in the middle of a group of animals (Kern and Guichard 2008: 13). Others have incised decorations and show quite diverse motifs, such as a hybrid being, a rider amongst animals and warriors with raised axes (Frey 1969: pl. 66, Kromer 1962: 36, pl. 24). They are commonly thought to be among the ancestors of Situla Art; some decorated sword and dagger scabbards from further south in Italy (Bianco Peroni 1970), as well as razors (Bianco Peroni 1979), are decorated with hunting scenes. This places them firmly in the male sphere of action, but also underlines that daggers are multi-purpose objects that may be used for fighting, but also for hunting and butchering.

A large number of individual human representations (801) has been recorded from belt hooks and plates. The majority of the 54 objects fall into two broad groups, which can be differentiated geographically as well as in terms of the decoration technique. As personal objects worn on the body, some belt plates must have had a long use-life and show signs of repeated repair. Decorated belt hooks are rather rare; a find from Carceri, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, Fig. 5.1), is decorated with an incised feasting scene, in which the drinker is lying on a sofa and is served by a woman. Two belt hooks from Este, Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 71), show mythological creatures with a human leg hanging out of their mouths. A handful of Alpine pieces, round and oval belt hooks, for example, from Fließ (Sydow 1995: pls 2, 20) and Giubiasco (Gleirscher 1991: 40, Primas 1974), are decorated with small, geometrical human figures using a variety of techniques such as punches, incisions and stitched incisions.

Belt plates and bronze belts decorated in *situla* style, that is, repoussé and chasing or incised engravings forming figurative scenes, are known from Slovenia and Italy. The most elaborate of them all might be the recent find of a belt from Novo Mesto, Kapiteljska Njiva, Grob III 12 (Križ 1997b: app. 4). At 40 mm in width and 1270 mm in length, there is ample room for narrative scenes. Although the level of preservation of the sheet bronze is not the best, a fishing scene, a hunting scene and a sex scene can be discerned. The other 16 finds are belt plates of rectangular shape, decorated with pretty much the same motifs and scenes that may be found on *situlae*: these include processions (e.g., Stična, Turk 2005: 71, fig. 106a), fighting (e.g., Vače, Turk 2005: fig. 92), hunting (e.g., Zagorje, Lucke and Frey 1962: 80, pl. 54), a sport competition (Magdalenska gora, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004) and hybrid mythological creatures (Magdalenska gora, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 24, fig. 3).

The approximately 30 West Hallstatt belt plates and sheet bronze belts are distributed in southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria and France (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972). The objects are primarily found in late Hallstatt graves and are decorated with geometric embossed patterns. Some of the stamps used are made in the form of a human figure; most commonly, a person in frontal view with the arms raised; riders on horseback are also an option. The stamps can become very rudimentary, such as when the rider is merely indicated as a dot on the horse's back (e.g., Hallstatt, Grave 404, Kromer 1959b: 101, pl. 66). The size of the individuals ranges between 6 mm and 12 mm, so there is little room for elaboration. Most human images on belts, belt hooks and belt plates do not indicate clearly the gender of the depicted person, but 63 are most likely male and only 6 are female.

Fibulae with human faces and figures are not yet very common in the early Iron Age, though they later become an iconic feature of La Tène art. However, there is a group of 10 *fibulae* from graves of Vinica, Slovenia, which were part of the Mecklenburg collection (Mahr 1934). The footrests of the knobbed *fibulae* are shaped in the form of a bust and head of a human person, sometimes with an aureole around the head. Particularly intriguing is the object from grave 65a (Mahr 1934: 62), which seems to show a snake creeping up the upper body towards the face of the depicted person. The *fibula* fragment from Griže-Šešče, Slovenia

(Teržan 1990: 453, pl. 77, fig. 1), is interesting because the arms of the person end in birds, creating a different form of animal–human hybrid. Other *fibulae* depict a horse and chariot, such as the five from Cles-Campi neri, Sanzeno (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: fig. 2, 620, no. 5.26) and Mechel (Marzatico 2001: 528, fig. 47) in Italy, and Vače (Mahr 1934: 140) and Magdalenska gora (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 10, fig. 2) in Slovenia. Three *fibulae* are shaped in the form of horse and rider: those from Este, Casa di Ricovero and Benvenuti in Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 7, 28, Huth 2003: pl. 87, 4) and Rifnik, Slovenia (Teržan 1990: 105, fig. 24, 4). Two *fibulae* are shaped in the form of sphinxes, winged hybrid beings with human faces and lion bodies (e.g., Belluno, Italy, Frey 1969: 87, fig. 50, Este-Santuario Orientale, Salerno 2002: 155, fig. 59.20). The *fibula* from Burzina glava, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2008: 147, no. 158), is certainly an unusual piece: a double-spiral *fibula* with a pendant in the shape of a cut-out human figure in profile, with a long, pointed cap, raised hands with fingers, an erect penis and bent knees.

Anthropomorphic pendants are a large and diverse object group. They are listed here under personal objects, as many of them were attached to *fibulae*, arranged on necklaces or worn on a string around the neck. The 74 objects include 140 human representations, largely because often more than one anthropomorphic pendant is arranged on one object: many were found in groups of several pendants hung together on little bronze chains. The desired effect was certainly the sound the objects made when the person wearing it moved; the rattle of the bronze pendants was surely part of the early Iron Age soundscape. Some pendants depict only body parts, particularly hands (n = 6, e.g., at Este-Baratella, Italy, Dämmer 2002: 261, fig. 109, or Brezje, Slovenia, Kromer 1959a: pl. 3) and feet or boots (Grossaltdorf, Germany, Frey 2005: pl. 3b). Half-figures that only depict the upper body, head and arms are also common (n = 7); in some cases, the arms are formed as wings and probably represent sphinxes (e.g., Carceri et al. 1962: 60, Fig. 5.5). Fifty pendants represent the body form in an abstract way, most often by a ring as a head and a triangle as a body, with optional arms or feet. There is a degree of interpretative freedom as to which pendants count as anthropomorphic, of course, but this play with ambiguity might well have been part of what made this object group desirable. An interesting anthropomorphic pendant of abstract nature is the one from Hellbrunnerberg, Austria (Stöllner 1996–2002: 316, pl. 82, fig. 85), as it depicts a seated person. Naturalistic pendants in human form are very close to bronze figurines, but have a ring at the head or the neck. In this group of 10 pendants, those with unambiguous sexual parts are particularly interesting. The pendant from Esslingen, Germany (Zürn 1987: 66, pl. 79, 34), shows a man and a woman attached together at the back; there also pairs of male and female figurines which express binary ideas about sex and gender (e.g., Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany, Huth 2003: pl. 21,1, Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland, Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101, 4).

Among the pieces of jewellery which do not fit any other categories are amber beads shaped in the form of human heads from Kompolje, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2008: 154), the end of a torc or neck ring in the shape of a human head of unknown

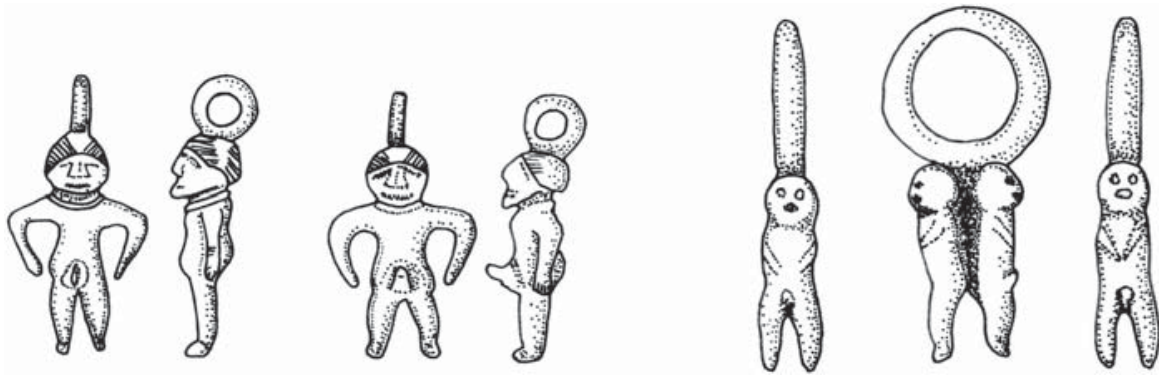


Figure 6.6 Pendants from Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland, and Esslingen, Germany (after Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101, 4, Zürn 1987: 66, pls 79, 34)

provenance in Hungary, although this might date to the La Tène period (Lessing 1980: fig. 11) and the rather strange object described as ‘pectoral’ with a human head and pendants from Ulaka, Slovenia (Starè 1970), which may also represent a birthing scene. Unique pieces are the hand and face masks from Kleinklein, Austria (Plate 13, Lessing 1980, Schmid 1933), which may be personal objects, although their function is debated: they either represent an effigy of the deceased, similar to a death mask, or might have adorned a wooden chest or box, perhaps even containing the remains of the cremated dead. The closest parallels to the face mask from Kleinklein are bronze masks from Chiusi and Tarquinia, Italy, associated with cremation graves and probably adorning ceramic urns; the golden masks from Trebenište and Ohrid, Macedonia, as well as Sindos, Pella and Archontiko, Greece, in contrast, are death masks placed on the faces of the deceased in inhumation graves (Egg and Kramer 2013: 169–170).

6.2.5 *Vessels*

Feasting and drinking played an important role in early Iron Age social life and, beyond that, in the ritual and funerary realms. The vessels that contained food and drink, the paraphernalia used for serving, eating, drinking and offering to the gods, are tangible traces of these practices and among the most common finds in early Iron Age sites. A small proportion of vessels from settlements and funerary contexts, as well as from sanctuaries, were adorned with human images, many of which themselves show scenes of feasting and drinking. As such, the vessels transport social messages but also show how exactly the various forms of vessels were used and integrated in the drinking and feasting. The scene on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 6.7, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), for example, shows a seated central person being served a drink with a ladle from a *situla*. He consumes the drink from a bowl, whilst another person is walking away with two cauldrons and a lid tucked under his arm. Further *situlae* are hung up on a rack behind the drinker.

A total of 1154 human representations on 204 vessels were recorded for this project: 883 human images on 103 bronze vessels and 271 human images on 103 ceramic vessels. Ceramic vessels were frequently produced in similar forms to



Figure 6.7 Drinking paraphernalia on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75)

the bronze vessel types and presumably had comparable functions. In some areas, there is a chronological shift from the inclusion of ceramic vessels to bronze vessels in graves; in other areas where bronze is scarce, ceramic vessels substitute for bronze vessels. The lack of bronze is more than made up for by large numbers of pots deposited in the graves.

The most common type of bronze vessels is the *situla* ($n = 39$), a bucket made of sheet bronze with a handle, which is commonly assumed to have functioned as a container for undiluted wine. Decorated *situlae* measure 276 mm in height on average, ranging from 162 mm to 562 mm. They are common components of high-status early Iron Age graves, although the figuratively decorated pieces are rare. The *situlae* gave name to the genre of ‘Situla Art’, a term commonly used to refer to figuratively decorated sheet-bronze objects such as *situlae*, but extending to other objects like lids and bronze belts. The most common technique of decoration is repoussé and chasing, although especially older objects may also be decorated in point-boss decoration and with circular stamps. In addition to complete vessels or larger fragments of vessels, a number of pendants and fragments cut out from figuratively decorated vessels have been unearthed from sanctuaries. The 24 pieces are counted as vessels here, because the image was part of the original vessel. Some votive objects that were cut out clearly respect the image, for instance, at Mechel, Italy, where the pendants are usually cut exactly around one or several persons participating in a procession, but in other cases, the recyclers cut through all motifs, drilling holes through a person’s head or turning the figures upside down (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 27, 9).

Another common vessel form ($n = 12$) aside from the *situla* is the *cist*, a bucket with slightly wider diameter and straight walls. The *cist* from Kleinklein, Austria, is decorated with point-boss decoration; those from other sites in repoussé and chasing. They are 261 mm high on average. Decorated sheet bronze lids ($n = 11$) occur more frequently with *cists* than with *situlae*. Only three bronze bowls bear human images, and other types of vessels ($n = 6$) are more or less unique shapes

or imports, for example, the *hydria* from Grächwil (Lessing 1980: fig. 113) or the *kratēr* from Vix (Frey 2007: fig. 108). Further, fittings and applications to bronze vessels that are shaped in human form are in this group, such as attachments on beaked flagons from Hradiště, Czech Republic and Sunzing, Austria (Straub 1980: fig. 13, 2 and 4), or the mould in which they have been made (cf. from the Heuneburg, Germany: Hase 2000). The overwhelming majority of complete bronze vessels come from grave contexts, and fragments were also found in sanctuaries. Hoards and settlement finds are extremely rare.

The greatest proportion of ceramic vessels with human images was likewise found in graves; only a handful stem from ritual depositions or settlements. Forms and types of vessels follow local preferences. In the eastern Hallstatt area, the conical-necked vessel is the most common bearer of images, with 49 figuratively decorated examples; on average, they measure 334 mm in height. Farther west, collar-necked vessels ($n = 13$) and stepped bowls ($n = 3$) are more common. Fifteen bowls with anthropomorphic decorations have been found, many of which are pedestal bowls and have variably shaped, anthropomorphic feet. Pots with handles and cups are rarely decorated with human images ($n = 2$ each); the *kernos* from Dolenjske Toplice (Gallus 1938: 26, fig. 8) remains a unique piece. Nine fragments could not be assigned to any particular object type. The group of figuratively decorated ceramic vessels also includes imported pieces from Greece or Italy, which have been found in central European early Iron Age contexts (e.g., at the Heuneburg, Germany, cf. Böhr and Shefton 2000). These images, which were not produced locally, were imported for a reason; they may have been gifts, specially commissioned or selected, and their images have shaped social understandings just as much as locally produced ones. They may even have been models for local production.

The human images on ceramic vessels were produced in a range of different techniques, of which incisions were the most common; circular and other impressions, stamped dots and dents are also common. Similar to the point-boss decoration on sheet bronze, images composed of impressed dots are much lower in resolution (which will be further discussed later). Among the painted pottery, graphite motifs on black or red backgrounds are the most common, followed by black figures on red or brown backgrounds. Common decorative elements like triangles, widespread in the Urnfield culture, become transformed into human images by small, anthropomorphic additions of arms, legs or heads.

It is interesting to note that of the 1154 depicted persons on vessels, the overwhelming majority ($n = 761$) is male and 101 are female, as far as it can be discerned via dress and other attributes. This gender imbalance is, as with the figurines, linked to the material in which the persons are depicted. Bronze vessels show 722 male and 62 female images, ceramic vessels 39 male and 39 female persons. The representations on *situlae* tend to be part of complex narrative scenes and represent a range of different types of persons or, indeed, one person engaged in different activities. Single human images representing nothing but the human form are more often found on pottery.

The contexts and rarity of both bronze and ceramic vessels with human images suggest that they were not everyday objects. They were likely produced for a certain purpose, if not only for the deposition in graves. The size of human images on vessels is relatively small, so they cannot be seen from greater distance. To read the images and understand the scenes, one must be close to the object. Vessels such as cups and bowls were handled by the participants during drinking and feasting. These objects are, however, very rarely decorated with human images. The *situlae*, cists and large storage vessel types which are commonly decorated must have formed the backdrop and furnishing of a feasting place. They were on display, as the image in the *situla* of Kuffern suggests, or even the prize in a contest (cf. the music competition on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Frey 1969: pl. 87). As grave furnishings, decorated vessels were also placed to be on display. As large vessels, they were frequently arranged along the sides of the funerary chambers or marking corners (see Section 4.4).

6.2.6 Furniture

Only a few other objects do not fit the categories noted earlier, and the ways in which people engaged with them followed different patterns. These are, first, anthropomorphic elements on grave furniture. Best known is the *klinē*, or couch, of Hochdorf, Germany (Plate 16, Biel 1985a: pl. 26), which not only includes an embossed scene of wagons and sword fighters, but also eight individually produced figurines to bridge the space between the seat level and the floor level. Despite their similarities, minute differences show that they could not have come from the same moulds. Most likely, the two halves of the figurines were made separately by first carving them into wood; the wooden halves would then be filled with wax and joined after embedding a clay core. Subsequently, the wax figurines were finely reworked before they were embedded in clay moulds. The final finish of the Hochdorf figurines includes filing and polishing as well as drilling small holes for the coral inlay that marks the eyes, necklace, belt, arm and leg rings and joins the bronze pearls representing the breasts (Binggeli and Sander 2012). Ivory fittings in the form of sphinxes have been discovered in the robbed central chamber of the monumental burial mound at Grafenbühl, Germany (Zürn 1970: pl. 66). They are composite items with the human face carved from amber, whilst the rest of the lion body is carved in bone and ivory. These sphinxes must have been fitted on a piece of furniture. Although it has been assumed that this piece of furniture was probably a Greek *klinē*, it has recently been argued that it was more likely a throne (Fischer 1990, Jung 2007). This would, of course, connect the Grafenbühl to Italian rather than Greek elite influences. The elite burial mound of Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Germany (Zürn 1987), was furnished by a wagon with sheet bronze decoration, which was stamped in a similar fashion to contemporary belt plates. The rows of animal stamps alternate with stamps of human figures with their hands raised. These finds illustrate that in graves of the elite, the human image was part of characterising the deceased; of telling stories that contribute to

the documentation of their life, ancestry and heroisation; and connect to the world of myths and beliefs.

6.2.7 Tools

Only a handful of tools are adorned with human images. First, a ceramic stamp was found in Este, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 5), which shows an animal beast with a human leg hanging out of its mouth. The motif is familiar from *situlae*, such as the one from Este-Boldù-Dolfin, Graves 52 and 53 (Frey 1969: 25, pl. 20), which suggests that this object might have been employed in the making of the repoussé and chasing decoration. It could, however, also have been used to mould ceramics. The ceramic fragment showing an athlete with dumb-bells exhibited in the same museum in Este (Hoernes 1893: 109, fig. 49) demonstrates that styles and images of *situla* decoration were sometimes transferred to other materials such as ceramics. Unfortunately, the context and use of both of these unusual objects remains in the dark. A small, pyramidal loom weight from the settlement of Smolenice-Molpír, Slovakia (Reichenberger 2000: pl. 38, fig. 161), has the image of a stylized orant in the centre amongst other geometric decorations. At 65 mm high, it is the same size as another loom weight-shaped object, which is decorated so that it might represent a person. It was found in the context of the cult location of Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004: 326, no. 4).

The chronological distribution of object types (Fig. 6.8) follows an interesting trajectory. Whereas vessels are common in both the early and later phases of the early Iron Age, figurines tend to date to the older phase; they are in part replaced by plaques in the later phase. Sculptures most commonly date to the later phase. The importance of personal objects increased during the Iron Age, which is reflected in the fact that a higher proportion of personal objects decorated with human images were found from the later phase.

In terms of the geographical distribution over the study area, vessels cluster in areas such as Bavaria north of the Danube and eastern Austria/western Hungary; in these areas, they are primarily made of ceramics. Figurines are spread over the

	<i>total</i>	<i>early</i> (from 800 BC)		<i>late</i> (from 625 BC)		<i>very late</i> (from 450 BC)	
	<i>N</i>	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
sculpture	28	9	32%	18	64%	1	4%
figurine	665	383	58%	276	42%	6	1%
plaque	126	0	0%	94	75%	32	25%
personal object	175	58	33%	109	62%	8	5%
vessel	204	98	48%	94	46%	12	6%
total	1205	552	46%	594	49%	59	5%

Figure 6.8 Chronological distribution of object types

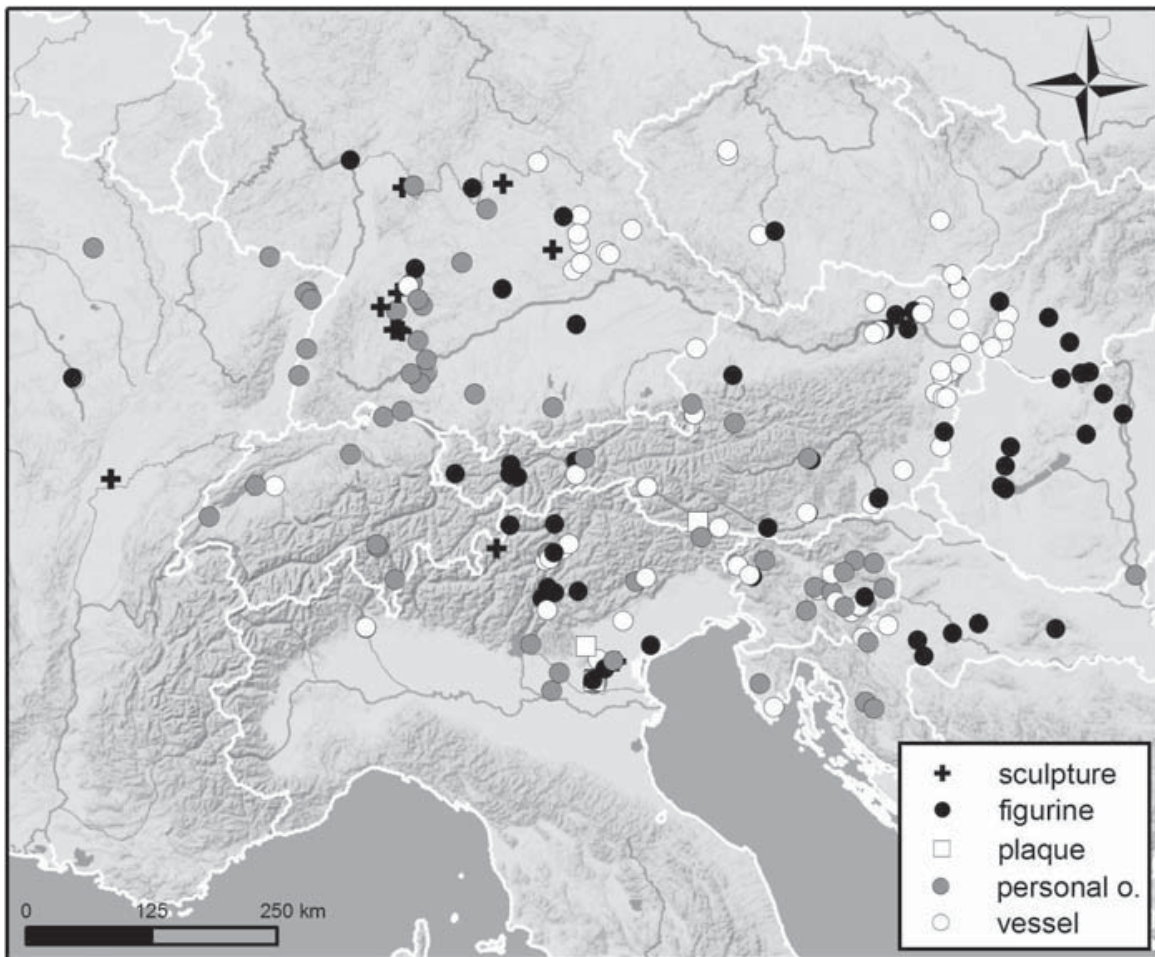


Figure 6.9 Distribution of object types with human images

whole of the study area; plaques are more or less restricted to Alpine and Venetian sanctuaries. Sculptures are found in southwestern Germany and occasionally in France, Italy and Croatia. Personal objects cluster in southwestern Germany and Slovenia. They are common in the west, south and southeast of the study area, where inhumation is common, but are very rare in the north and northeast, where cremation prevails.

6.3 Materials and technologies

The materials used for human representations have a direct impact on the outcome, as each material can be worked in different ways, with different technologies and tools; material properties such as malleability, crystalline structure, ability to absorb water and many more afford particular ways of treatment and result in specific shapes and forms. The notion of affordances is useful here (Gibson 1977, Gibson 1979), which describes the relationship between subject and object and is a relational concept (Chemero 2003). After Gibson's theory of direct perception, the environment in which the perceiver is embedded encodes meanings that are perceived directly and not by translation of raw data in the brain. In

the direct model of perception the environment is loaded with meaning, and by sensuous engagement with this environment, the perceiver can extract meanings through interaction. Affordances of materials and objects are thus not independent properties or resources; they are not constant, but change according to the situation in which they are found and the agents that engage with them. Affordances allow the performance of an action, but the persons performing the action have to perceive the possibilities within the landscapes, objects and materials. Affordances may result from physical, logical or cultural reasons. Social conventions, rules and traditions are among the things that can restrict access to and availability of resources (Norman 1988: 85–86), in the same way as more ‘objective’ criteria, for instance, the distribution of ores in the vicinity of a metal production site. Affordances are specific to the agent engaging with the object or material: a classic example is the door handle that affords opening the door to adults, but not to children who cannot reach it (Knappett 2004).

Affordances of different materials are crucial to the production of human images: clay, for instance, lends itself to different treatment than that of wax or wood. Some of the stylistic features of human representations derive directly from the materials and the technologies employed to work them. Each craft therefore develops its own ‘language of design’ (Blakolmer 1999), but there are few, if any, absolute constraints. Certain shapes, forms and details naturally and easily fall into place when working with one particular material, whereas the same features might be difficult to achieve in a different material. Cutting the outline of a human figure out of sheet bronze, for example, is quite easily doable; cutting it out of the wall of a ceramic vessel in similar detail is virtually impossible. The morphology of objects is intertwined with the underlying production processes. In the following, I will review all major material groups and consider the impact of material properties and affordances on the human images produced.

6.3.1 *Stone*

Stone carved in the early Iron Age is primarily sandstone, a sedimentary rock composed of sand-sized grains of minerals, for instance, quartz and feldspar. Its colour ranges from light tan to dark grey, and because it is relatively soft, it can be easily carved. Sandstone comes in varying qualities, and inclusions in the stone matrix mean that there may be some obvious breaking points. Sandstone is also prone to weathering when exposed to the elements. Although stone is used to produce other small objects like grindstones, there are no small-scale stone figurines that date to the early Iron Age. Human representations in stone are life-sized.

The main constraint in working with stone is the size and format of the stone block, which is the starting point for all carved objects. Statues like that from Hirschlanden (Zürn 1970: 167, Table A) or its later version from the Glauberg (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002) have raised ample discussions as to the peculiar proportions, in particular concerning the way the arms and hands are depicted. Ideas that the warrior of Hirschlanden is a reworked Greek *kouros* have been put forward, but dismissed on the grounds that the sandstone is local (Beeser 1983). Laurent

Olivier (2013) recently presented the idea that Iron Age stone monuments look peculiar because they are not true three-dimensional renderings: instead of imagining a person in 3D perspective, they are composed of two-dimensional visual planes that have been folded to a three-dimensional form. This explains why the arms, for instance, look awkward: they are projected both on the side and the front plane. The combination of using a ‘peculiar way of drawing space’ (Olivier 2013) with the natural constraints of the material (Mielke 2013) might easily account for the ways the arms are held in early Iron Age statues, although the transmission of meaning through the gestures (Armit and Grant 2008) may also play a part.

6.3.2 Clay and ceramics

Clay is an extremely versatile material. It is plastic and malleable, and its properties can be altered by adding water or particles such as graphite, grog or straw dust. Clay becomes solid through drying, and it is turned into ceramics through firing. The plasticity of the clay means that it can easily be shaped and moulded with fingers and simple tools. In principle, every child can play with clay and form simple objects, although, of course, there are degrees of craftsmanship in use that can be read from the finished product (cf. Sofaer and Budden 2012). It is the most democratic material, as it is easily obtainable and probably did not have much value. It could be worked anywhere and everywhere and finished and fired in a household context, with pyrotechnology available at most homes where people cook. Whereas pottery for everyday use was probably produced in household contexts, ceramics found in funerary contexts show marked differences in quality and in terms of object biography. Some had already been used for domestic tasks, whereas other pieces were especially produced for the grave or altered specifically for use as funerary vessels.

Clay was used as building material and to make vessels used for serving, eating and drinking and preparing and storing food, as well as other objects such as spindle whorls, loom weights and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. Making large vessels that have uniform wall thicknesses and do not break when drying and firing is difficult. They clearly had a certain value as a finished product, as they were frequently repaired when they cracked: at Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 50), vessels were repaired by drilling two holes on either side of the crack and tying the wall together with string; other methods of fixing broken vessels include using lead and iron clasps.

Clay can easily be decorated using just hands, fingernails and simple tools such as sticks, pieces of straw or jewellery at hand. Pieces of clay can be added and connected to the main body, but clay can also be incised or impressed. Adding a human image on a drying clay vessel before firing is a task that is very easily done; in fact, it is so easy that one has to wonder why the highly decorated early Iron Age vessels do not show figurative decorations more often than they do. The level of detail in the image depends largely on the technique of decoration. Details can be expressed clearly with incisions, and the resolution drops markedly when using point incisions or impressions.

When using clay to make figurines (Rebay-Salisbury 2014), the affordances of the material favour certain body shapes, such as a round, large and plump body core, whereas elongated and thin parts of the body such as the neck, arms and legs are more difficult to shape as they are prone to breaking; they are therefore often shorter than they would be in the natural body. The properties of the clay also affect the way faces appear. Eyes and noses are normally made by impressing and squeezing a tiny bit of clay out of the main body that constitutes the face; for that reason, faces often appear slightly bird-like.

6.3.3 Bronze

Bronze technology was well established by the early Iron Age (cf. Kienlin 2013); access to bronze as a material and to the knowledge required to work it, however, was most likely not ubiquitous. It remained the primary material for art and ornaments, although iron began to be exploited and worked in the central European early Iron Age around 800 BC. Iron is not as easy to work into fine, detailed objects such as jewellery and human figurines, and was first primarily used for weapons, tools and horse gear. It is further prone to corrosion, so even if it was worked to an ornament, it may not have been preserved. Bronze is an alloy of copper and about 10 per cent tin (with the percentage of tin varying considerably in prehistory) and other metal inclusions or additives such as iron or nickel. Copper was mined at a considerable scale in central Europe at sites such as Mitterberg and Eisenerz in Austria (O'Brien 2013: Fig. 24.1), but tin had to be traded in. The Bronze Age trade networks spanning the European continent still seemed to be in place at the beginning of the early Iron Age. The role of recycling, however, cannot be underestimated. Even if no obvious traces of reworking can be detected, scrap metal most likely formed the basis of the majority of early Iron Age bronze working. Casting bronze requires reaching a temperature of about 950° C and a few simple tools such as crucibles, tongs and moulds; it is unsurprising that such simple metal workshops are much more difficult to trace archaeologically than smelting sites.

Human images in bronze were made using four basic techniques. First, lost-wax casting was employed for figurines, pendants, attachments and the like. Second, casting in open moulds was an option. Third, sheet bronze objects were decorated with punched images or in repoussé and chasing, and fourth, figures were cut out of sheet bronze. It is the combination of the affordances of the materials and techniques used to work them that influences the shape the human image can take. Lost-wax casting requires making a model of the desired product in wax, which shares many properties with clay: it is extremely malleable, but more viscous and less prone to breaking. The fact that wax models have to be stabilised in clay moulds makes long and slim shapes possible and has the added benefit of not having to use very much metal, which may be quite precious and costly. Figurines and pendants thus have slimmer and thinner body shapes (Rebay-Salisbury 2014). Lost-wax casting produces exactly one copy of a bronze item, whereas open moulds or composite moulds can be re-used. Open mould casting results in relief figures, with a flat reverse, which is not normally worked further. The human

image therefore appears two- rather than truly three-dimensional and has a chosen perspective, that is, shows the person from the front, right, left or a combination of these. All cast bronze objects are usually refined after casting, when they can be filed and polished to smooth any casting marks, or punched and incised to add further details. Fine features of faces and clothing are frequently indicated in this way.

Sheet bronze production and decoration almost certainly required the knowledge and skill of an experienced craftsman. Bronze was hammered from ingots to produce sheets of about 0.2 to 1 mm thickness, which was then cut into the required shapes and assembled into objects like *situlae* and cists by folding and riveting the sheets together. Some decorations may have been added before the final assembling, but others could be added later. The primary techniques to decorate sheet bronze, and indeed to make human images on sheet bronze, are incisions, stamps and punches, and repoussé and chasing. Most often, a combination of these techniques is used. Incisions produce the images with the most detail, but the incisions can be so fine that they are hard to see, particularly from farther away. Images composed of punched points are also an option. The resolution of the human images is low, and they can be difficult to read, particularly when they merge into patterns such as on the cists found in the Kröll-Schmiedkogel at Kleinklein, Austria (e.g., Zister XIII, Schmid 1933: pl. 1c). Anthropomorphic punches producing repetitive images of very small size are primarily used in southwestern Germany and beyond to decorate sheet bronze belts. The repoussé and chasing technique, in which the bronze sheet is ornamented from the reverse side to create a design in low relief, is widespread in Slovenia and northern Italy. Whereas repoussé creates the raised design on the front by hammering from the back, chasing refines the design on the front by sinking the metal. The plasticity of the sheet metal means that there is no loss of material – the bronze is stretched and the surface remains continuous. The produced relief effect is usually not particularly strong in Situla Art, but the technique can highlight particular facial and body features. At Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, for example, working cheeks in repoussé creates a chubby-faced appearance of the depicted persons (e.g., Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 41, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3).

Sheet bronze objects and their fragments can be recycled by cutting out shapes and figures. Many of the plaques dedicated in sanctuaries were in fact produced this way. Scrap metal certainly had a lower value than ‘fresh’ sheet bronze and was relatively easy to cut. Details could be added by punching and incising. A two-dimensional outline of a person is often the result, with a few thin and long breaking points: necks and details of arms and legs are therefore frequently omitted. Recycling sheet bronze in this way can probably be done by everyone.

6.3.4 Lead

Casting lead is a technology rarely applied except for the site of Frög, Austria (Plate 15, Tomedi 2002), where thousands of small figures, primarily riders, were produced. Both lost-wax casting and open mould casting are possible; casting in perishable and temporary moulds made of sand, wood or charcoal is a further

possibility. Although there is some evidence of subsequent treatment such as forging, cutting and bending, most figures were put in the graves as raw casts, regardless of casting mistakes or fuzzy edges. Almost certainly the figurines were made for funerary use.

Lead as a material is relatively easy to work, as it can be melted at very low heat (327° C); the light of a candle is in fact sufficient. The material remains soft after casting and can be bent easily. Legs and arms are rarely preserved at full length, but most of the time, they appear elongated. Whereas legs appear straight and parallel, the arms are bent into various gestures: some hang parallel to the body, some are crossed in front of the chest, some carry various objects or are raised. This indeed seems to be one of the crucial advantages of using lead as a material: the same basic forms can be cast over and over and varied, as well as being adjusted by bending the soft metal carefully into the desired shapes.

Lead is widely obtainable in central Europe, easy to smelt and work and did not seem to have been of particular value, as it was, for instance, used to repair ceramic vessels. It is likely, however, that lead formed the economic basis of the early Iron Age community of Frög, and the use of this material was a symbolic component in the local funerary rites.

6.3.5 Further materials

Carving human images of antler, bone, ivory, amber and wood is, in part, similar to carving stone. It produces a negative image from a fixed-size predecessor, which, especially in the case of antler and amber, restricts the size of the object considerably. In addition to this, antler and wood in particular are fibrous structures, which are easier to work with the line of the material than against. Carving requires no pyro-technology, but a sharp blade and a certain level of skill; crucially, it is a time-consuming technique.

Glass, a non-crystalline, amorphous material, is hard and brittle in solid state and malleable and rubber-like when hot and molten. Its primary ingredient is silicon dioxide; faience is a mixture of silica crystals and glassy material (Henderson 2013). Although the earliest occurrences of glass in Europe date to the early and middle Bronze Age, it remains a precious material associated with high-status contexts. Glass, like bronze, does not have to be produced from scratch in every single instance, but can be traded over distance, re-melted and reworked without the need of a specialised craft workshop. Knowledge, skill, a heat source and few tools suffice. Human images in glass were rarely produced in the early Iron Age, although the impressive amount and quality of glass working at sites like Kapiteljska Njiva, Novo Mesto, Slovenia, testify to the high standards of glass craft working. Even beads of ram heads (Križ 1997a: 38), complete with horns, eyes and nostrils, were produced. Glass beads with human faces are known from later contexts, for instance, from Prozor, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2008: 155, fig. 16), dating to the third and second centuries BC. The small, about 3-cm-high faience figurines found in Grave 234, Este-Casa di Ricovero, Italy, date between 650 and 600 BC (Frey 1969: pl. 36) and were part of a high-status female grave.

The choice of materials and technologies used for making human images varied through time and across geographical areas, most likely due to material availability and access to technological knowledge, but also in response to fashions and trends. In terms of chronology, ceramic objects occur in similar proportions in the early and later parts of the early Iron Age. The significance of bronze, in contrast, rose at least fourfold in the later phase. Lead is almost only used in earlier contexts, but only occurs at two sites. Stone monuments are more frequent from 625 BC, but have predecessors that may date from earlier.

	<i>early</i> (from 800 BC)	<i>late</i> (from 625 BC)	<i>very late</i> (from 450 BC)
bronze	101	447	56
ceramic	117	102	12
lead	320	16	
stone	8	18	1
all materials	552	594	59

Figure 6.10 Chronological distribution of materials

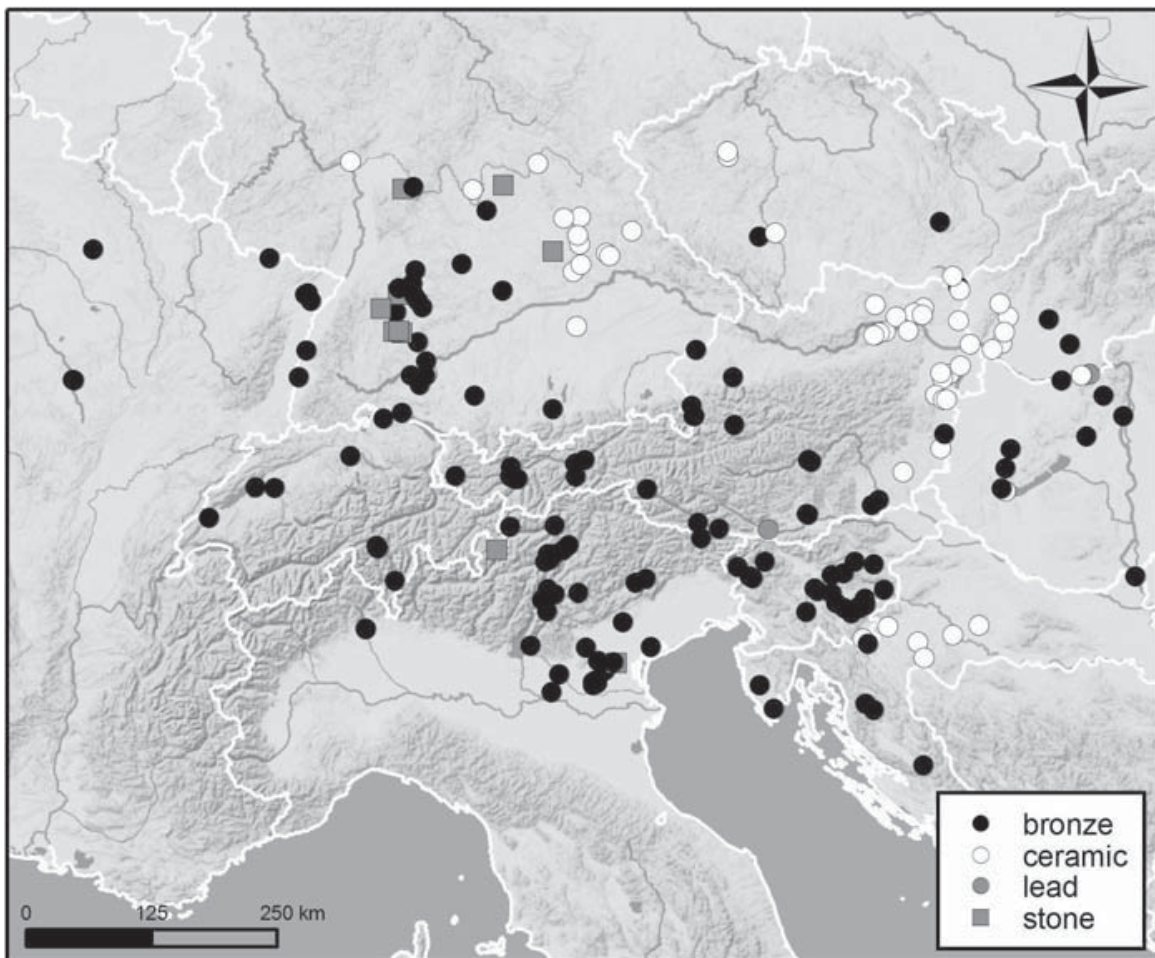


Figure 6.11 Primary material of objects with human images mapped per site

	<i>sex</i>				<i>gender</i>			
	<i>female</i>		<i>male</i>		<i>female</i>		<i>male</i>	
bronze	46	18%	205	82%	266	20%	1053	80%
ceramic	25	58%	18	42%	72	58%	53	42%
lead	16	22%	57	78%	39	30%	89	70%
stone	1	17%	5	83%	3	21%	11	79%

Figure 6.12 Material, sex and gender

The geographical distribution of the materials places single bronze finds all over the study area. Clusters are found in southwestern Germany, northeastern Italy and Slovenia. Ceramics cluster in three areas: Bavaria north of the Danube; the northeastern Alpine fringe of eastern Lower Austria; and western Hungary, Slovakia and inland Croatia. Lead is restricted to the site of Frög in Austrian Carinthia and single stray find from Nyergesújfalu in Hungary. Stone sculptures are concentrated in southwestern Germany, but also found in a few contexts in France, Italy and Croatia.

Further, it is interesting to see that the selection of material varies according to sex and gender of the depicted person (Fig. 6.12). The following table counts male and female images with clearly shown sexual parts (*sex*) and taking hairstyle, clothing and gendered attributes into account (*gender*). There are clear material associations with sex and gender: Human representations in bronze are four times more likely to be male than female; similar values are true for lead and stone. Ceramics is the only material with female connotations: images of women outnumber images of men in this material, albeit only slightly. These material associations provide a starting point to think about the social setting of image production, use and consumption, for which the *chaîne opératoire* provides a helpful tool.

6.4 The *chaîne opératoire*: contexts of production, use and deposition

The *chaîne opératoire* is a useful tool to think through all stages of production, from the acquisition of raw material to the deposition of the objects, and link them to human actions. The concept is derived from French anthropology (Leroi-Gourhan 1964, Leroi-Gourhan 1965) and is translated as production sequence or chain of production, although this does not fully encapsulate its meaning. The *chaîne opératoire* does not only consider all technological elements of the production, distribution and consumption of specific goods, but particularly considers the social elements and includes the socio-cultural biography of objects. First, all actions are described that convert natural resources into culturally significant objects. After Pierre Lemonnier (Lemonnier 1992, 1993) it is the interplay of five heuristic elements that need to be analysed separately, namely material, energy, objects, gestures in their sequence and knowledge.

Thinking through the chain of actions that led to a finished product also entails aiming to understand people's decision-making processes and thus to see them as

decisive actors (Dobres and Hoffman 1999, Dobres and Robb 2000). Decision-making processes can be described using ‘mental maps’ (Dobres 1999: 124, Schlangler 1994), which include the structures and symbolic dimensions of prehistoric technologies. It is not always the most efficient way to produce an object that is chosen, but the chosen path always represents one of many possible options. Choices are influenced by cultural factors such as opinions and beliefs, traditions or political intentions. This is why in some cases, ceramic decorations or depositional practices may be linked to identity groups or cultures – an interpretative framework that culture–historical archaeology relies on (cf. Brosseder 2006, Sommer 2003: for a comprehensive discussion). The *chaîne opératoire* approach thus differs significantly from typological or technological approaches in which either the end product or the manufacturing method is in the foreground; considering the whole biography of an object, including cultural decision-making factors, may help to recognise and appreciate similarities and differences between groups more clearly.

Apart from an analytical tool, the *chaîne opératoire* is simultaneously a methodological approach that establishes connections between the traces of technological actions and the social and political relations of production. Each technological step is seen as a social activity, to which people and their bodies are central. Particularly conventional and routine activities are always executed in a certain way, and gestures and postures associated with these actions are passed on over generations. The actions do not need to be carried out in a conscious way; it is thus not only discursive, but embodied, knowledge (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2012) that is relevant to describe. Men, women, children and old people are involved in different aspects of these processes; the *chaîne opératoire* can help to infer aspects of social organisation that are not immediately obvious from the archaeological remains. Marcia-Anne Dobres (Dobres 1999) sees technology as a network of skill, knowledge, values, functional goals, views and tradition, power relations and material constraints. Technologies are executed in a social milieu that includes labour divisions; extending the concept of technology to incorporate social aspects enables us to understand that actions are inextricably linked to value systems and the organisation of social life. The transformation from raw material to culturally significant object has many parallels in social life, similar to the way identity transformations in the course of the lifecycle are marked by rites of passage (van Gennep 1960 [1909]). In both cases, technologies are employed to enable and assist transformation, and often there are overlaps in the kinds of technologies employed (for example, burning, painting, scratching, etc.). These meaningful parallels are to be explored.

In terms of interpreting human images of the early Iron Age, the *chaîne opératoire* is particularly useful to investigate the intersection between the object and the image (Fig. 6.13). The human image may be understood as an ideological raw material selected from the pool of all possible image contents which, through the technology employed, is joined to the object as the image carrier. This intersection takes place at various stages of production, which reveal the social setting and context of the image, and thus help to interpret its meaning. In the case of figurines and monuments, which are made exclusively as human images, the intersection is located at the beginning of the production process. Other objects are decorated with human images at some point during their production, or even after their use-life.

The figural decorations of the vessels from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary, provide particularly interesting examples for thinking through the interface of image and object using the *chaîne opératoire* approach (Fig. 6.14). Clearly, ceramic vessels have to be shaped before they can be decorated, but some vessels with human images were already decorated before the human figures were added. It therefore becomes clear that the human image was not part of the original ornamental concept. For example, the fragment of a conical-necked vessel from Tumulus 80 (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 101/3) shows a rider incised on to a surface already decorated with channelling. On a conical-necked vessel from Tumulus 28 (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 31), the head of the person on the shoulder/neck break overlaps the triangles that had already been incised. Even the famous weaving scene on a conical-necked vessel from Tumulus 27 (Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 16, 17) shows interesting details: the stamped decoration in the region of the spinning person had been erased so that there was room to add the human image. Although the decoration is carried out very professionally and with the same technique, this demonstrates that the human image was added later than the original decoration but before the firing took place.

The observation that the human images were not part of the original vessel concept raises questions about the social context of production. That the original decoration

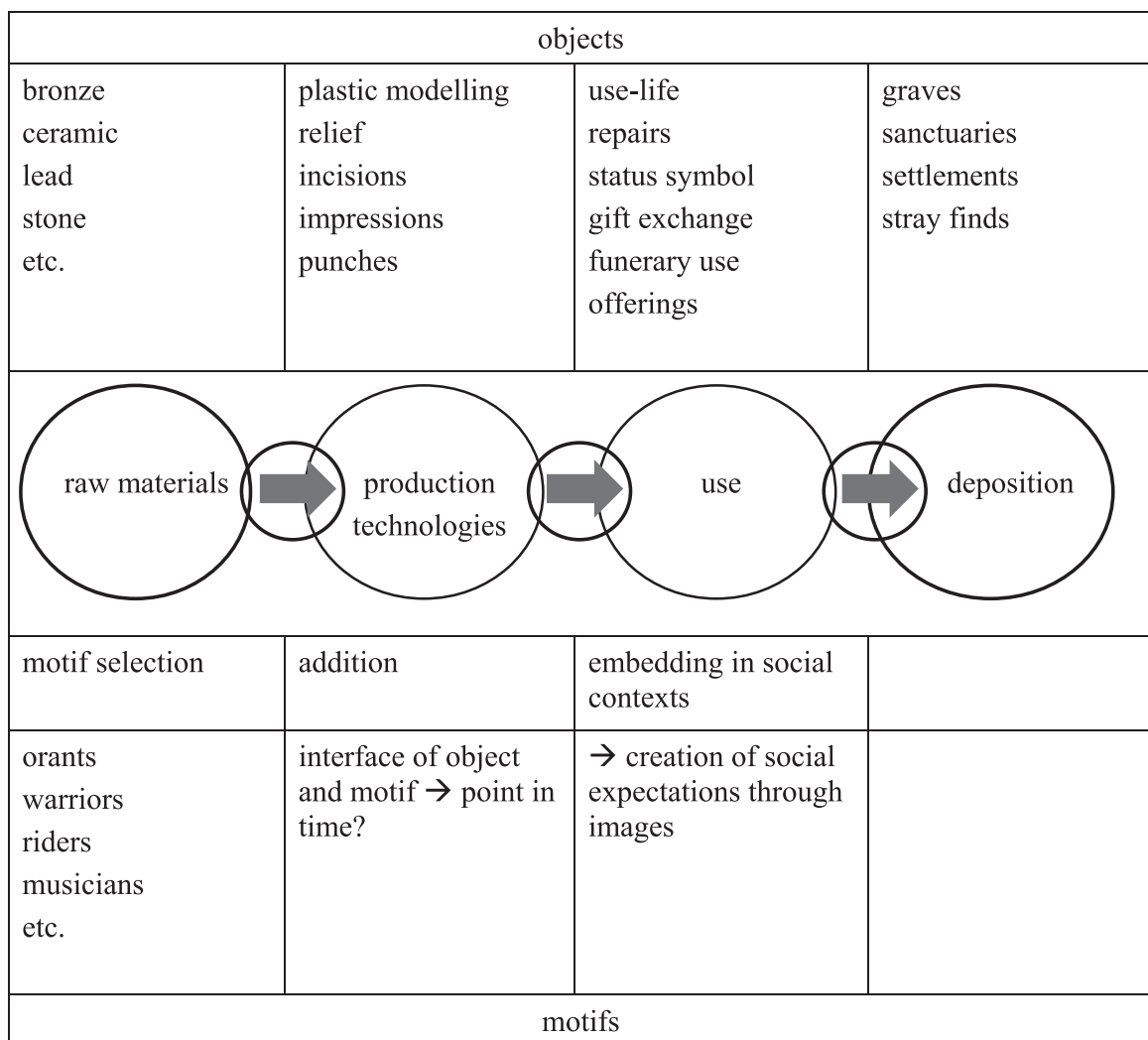


Figure 6.13 The *chaîne opératoire* and the interface between object and image



Figure 6.14 Human image over existing decorations at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien)

concept was altered might imply that the purpose of the vessel was changed during production. Conceived as a domestic vessel, it might have been transformed into a grave gift. Did death occur during the production process? Second, it might indicate that different people were involved in making the decorations; the normal, domestic

decorations and the ritual, funerary decorations may be the domain of different people. Can we trace different kinds of ‘handwriting’ in the vessel decorations?

Tracing object biographies means examining the circumstances of use and deposition, as made evident by the contexts of the objects. Although, as we have seen, some objects like the lead figurines of Frög or the vessels from Sopron seem to be made to be deposited in graves, others show traces of a long use-life and were in circulation for generations. Human images may remain meaningful even when they were no longer useful as objects. This may be suggested by including the fragment of a figurative *situla*, produced several hundred years before its deposition around 250–230 BC, in Grave 346 B, Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 110–112). Some sheet bronze fragments, on the other hand, were recycled into pendants and miniature objects for ritual deposition in sanctuaries with little or no regard for the image. At Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: fig. 19), for example, a scene with horses and wagons had been cut and worked into a miniature shield; at Mechel, Italy, several of the deposited pendants were cut out of figuratively decorated sheet bronze. Whereas for some the outlines of the persons were respected, others were upside-down or had holes drilled through bodies and heads (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 27). In addition, new human representations emerge from the process of recycling old objects such as disposed sheet bronze belts (e.g., an orant figure at Ampass-Deimfeld, Austria, Tomedi 2009: 273, fig.2b).

Last, the meaning of the image may be altered by composing images in a different way. The belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Fig. 6.15, Plate 12, Lucke and Frey 1962: 32/17, Turk 2005: 42), is a particularly good example of this. It is a piece that shows a number of breaks, was worn, torn and had been repaired. The original scene is difficult to reconstruct, but it shows at least the mirror image of two couples engaged in sexual activities, with the men kneeling in front of the women seated on thrones. The left woman’s leg rests on one man’s shoulder, and he looks back over his shoulder away from the woman. Little is left of the couple on the right, only the woman’s stretched-out foot and the tip of the man’s garment. Another man on the throne, looking back, is seated on the throne further



Figure 6.15 The belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, drawing after photo, Huth 2003: pl. 62, and drawing by Vesna Svetličič in Turk 2005: 31, fig. 41)

on in the scene. The image is likely to depict the passing of power and rulership over the generations. During the repair, however, a large metal vessel was inserted between the couples, similar to the one used as a prize in the music competition on the *situla* in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962). Through this composition, the image of a competition is revoked and the solemn scene turned into a joke.

6.5 Translating images: cross-craft interaction

Cross-craft interaction is a useful framework to investigate how different crafts interacted and mutually influenced each other (Brysbaert 2007, Brysbaert 2008, McGovern, Notis and Kingery 1989). Conceptually, it has many overlaps with the *chaîne opératoire* because they both examine the production, distribution, use and deposition of artefacts. Again, not only technological details, but also the social setting of the craft activities is under scrutiny; the technological and social interactions that arise from doing different crafts are of interest here. As outlined earlier, each craft, be it pottery, bronze, wood or stone working, has certain typical stylistic traits that can usually be derived from the affordances and properties of the worked materials. Through cross-craft interaction, ideas, styles, techniques, skills and materials are exchanged between crafts and workshops; tools, trade networks and distribution strategies may be shared. The transfer of ideas and knowledge is a key factor for innovation. Analysing the mutual influences different crafts have upon each other allows better insights into the work organisation and division of labour; social differentiation; and exchange of materials, ideas and knowledge over great distances. The adaptation of styles and techniques in other environments and circumstances may be done to various degrees and not always turn out to be successful. Building a Mediterranean mud-brick wall to fortify the early Iron Age central site of Heuneburg, Germany, famously only proved to be sustainable for a short time (Burkhardt 2011, Kimmig 2000).

Among the many manifestations of cross-craft interaction in the archaeological record (Brysbaert 2007: 335–337) is skeuomorphism, the transfer of characteristics of one particular medium to another, for example, when features typical of metal production are formed in clay. Characteristics of metal vessels, such as sharp edges, rivets and thin, elongated handles, for example, soon become a feature of early Iron Age pottery. Further, vessels are frequently coated with graphite dust to create a silver, metal-like appearance (Pescheck 1948). The term skeuomorphism is also used when design characteristics of an older type are maintained in a new product, even if they are no longer technically necessary. This effect, which can also be used to establish typological sequences and relative dating, is also known as ‘typological rudiment’ (Eggert 2001: 187, Montelius 1903: 17). Crucially, familiar and well-known features create familiarity and trust when a new type of object is introduced.

Composite objects, objects for which more than one raw material is used, foster the collaboration of craftspeople and the sharing of knowledge, time and techniques. Only through knowing about the properties of different materials and how they are worked can the optimal end product be achieved. Bronze smiths, for

instance, must be familiar with pottery technology to a certain extent when they use ceramic moulds; ceramic shrinks when dried and fired; metal expands when heat is applied. These differences in material properties need to be taken in consideration. Finally, shared technological facilities and tools promote knowledge transfer; the spatial proximity between different locations of craft working is thus a factor to consider. For instance, pyrotechnology, the controlled use of fire, is necessary for many technologies from baking bread to firing ceramics and melting metals. Moreover, it is used for social transformation techniques such as cremation of dead bodies, transferring meanings and metaphors from the technological to the social domain.

Cross-craft interaction is a useful concept for comparing the decoration techniques of human representations in different media. There are similarities and overlaps in those used to create a human image in ceramics and bronze. The dumb-bell fighters on a ceramic fragment in the Museo Nazionale Atestino at Este, Italy (Hoernes 1893: 108, fig. 49), and the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Kastelic 1964: pl. 49), are incredibly alike, although the function and purpose of the ceramic from which the sherd, a stray find, derives are not known. Low-relief figurative ceramics mimicking repoussé and chasing are extremely rare. One other object from a recent rescue excavation at Este (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 5) also shows a familiar *situla* motif – an animal with a human foot in the mouth. It is interpreted as a stamp. Perhaps these stamps were employed in *situla* making in some way, as Este was certainly a centre of their production, but it is conceivable that textiles or wall plasters were decorated using these objects.

In both bronze and ceramics, continuous lines may be used to outline the human body and indicate details. They are engraved in bronze or incised in clay. In both materials, outlines are also drawn by broken lines of consecutive points, punched in bronze, incised or indented in clay (Fig. 6.17). These translate an image into a ‘low resolution’ version, which is particularly interesting as it forces a focus on crucial elements of the motif – those that are important to understand the image.



Figure 6.16 Dumb-bell fighters on a ceramic fragment from Este, Italy, and the belt plate from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (photos: K. Rebay-Salisbury and © Naturhistorisches Museum Wien)

A body can thus be reduced to a point and several strokes for the upper body and limbs and still be understood as a body; whereas in other examples, the focus lies on the dress, perhaps because dress is important for the social categorisation of people.



Figure 6.17 Techniques of decoration on bronze and pottery: engraved/incised images on the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia, and the vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien), punched images at the cist from Kleinklein, Austria (© Universalmuseum Joanneum Graz) and the vessel from Schirndorf, Germany (photo: K. Rebay-Salisbury © Archäologische Staatssammlung München)

We have already seen the comparison of the image of a chariot driver in two different materials: bronze and ceramics (see Figure 2.3). The image taken from the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria, comes from a bronze vessel found in an early La Tène grave (Nebehay 1993) and is probably one of the latest examples of Situla Art in the Hallstatt tradition. It only has one figurative frieze, into which a drinking scene, a boxing scene and a chariot race are fitted. The first chariot driver keeps the reins in one hand while spurring on the horses with a stick and looking back at his pursuers. A number of details are visible in this version of the image, carefully manufactured in repoussé and chasing technique: the features on the face of the driver, the details of the chariot, the harnessing and the horses. Of much simpler making is the image on a stray pottery find from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962), once part of a large conical-necked vessel. The decoration technique is neither sketching nor stamping; rather, the lines are made of single, soft impressions. This is an unusual technique with which to apply an image in this area and sets the resolution to a minimum. The artist very cleverly applied a visual trick by using the natural perspective for horses and chariot – in this way, it could be made apparent that there are two horses under the yoke and that it is, in fact, a two-wheeled chariot and not a four-wheeled wagon, which constitutes a significant difference in the early Iron Age (Rebay-Salisbury in press-b). The driver is standing on the chariot with the reins in the left hand and reins or a switch in the other. Although the human image is barely a stick figure, it is interesting that two details were selected for depiction; apparently these two features were the key to communicating the social identity of the depicted person and to clarifying his social categorisation. The first one is his masculinity, which is clearly indicated by carefully placing two dots just in the right spot, and the second one is his pointed cap, which most likely indicates his role as a sportsman. Chariot drivers on Slovenian *situlae* all wear round caps, whereas some of the drivers on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi wear pointed caps (Frey 1969, Macellari 2002). The content of the image is reproduced as accurately as the constraints of materials and technologies allow. What we see here are the steps that change an image from a representation to a sign (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 62): emphasising the prototype by reduction and simplification, focussing on the most important by regulation and adding symmetry and structure, as well as deleting unnecessary and irrelevant details.

Some images, in contrast, change their properties as they become translated through technologies into other media. An example of this is the stereotypical image of the musician holding a lyre (Fig. 6.18). It does not only show details of the instrument itself, but allows observation of how it is held and played. If we take the lyre player from the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), as a starting point, we can almost go as far as counting the strings: but we can clearly see the musician sitting on a couch, holding the instrument pressed against his chest. The instrument is also depicted in very rich detail on the sheet bronze cist from Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991, Schmid 1933). In comparison to the musician the lyre is more than life-sized. A lot of attention is paid to the shape of the instrument and the number of strings, but the way in

which the object intersects with the person is completely different: the instrument is held away from the body, and the person is not sitting, but standing. This may mean that the lyre is handled and played differently north of the Alps. On pottery, the lyre player is carried out in four different decoration techniques. Sketching the image into the clay, as is done on a vessel from Reichersdorf, Austria (Neugebauer 1988: 98), or the vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980), permits depiction of the lyre most accurately. It is shown with great care, including the strings and sound box. In addition to that, the instrument appears turned, giving the impression that the instrument is carried rather than played.

The musicians from Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 1988: pl. 89), are composed of lines of impressions on a dark clay filled with white paste. A change in this and all further images is that the sound box is no longer depicted. A rolling stamp is used to manufacture the image from Ernstbrunn, Austria (Huth 2003: pl. 33), which drastically limits the scope of what can be shown. The lyre has become transformed into a rectangular box. Finally, the lyre player was painted on a few vessels: one bowl was found in a cremation grave in Loretto, Austria (Nebelsick 1994: pl. 69), and two large funerary vessels were found in Slovakian burial mounds: Janíky-Dolné Janíky (Studeníková 1996: Fig. 3.4) and Nové Košariská (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 4). In these cases, the lyre has become transformed into a geometrical object, rectangular or triangular, and is portrayed as held away from the body; the lyre player appears in conjunction with orants that may, in that context, be interpreted as dancers. The gender of the player, indicated by earrings and possibly also the form of the dress, has become irrelevant, and both females and males are playing the instrument. At this point it is impossible to read the image without any prior knowledge of the image content; this makes it likely that the original meaning of this stereotypical depiction of a musician had been



Figure 6.18 Musicians playing the lyre, from Bologna-Certosa (Italy), Kleinklein (Austria), Reichersdorf (Austria), Sopron-Várhely (Hungary), Schirndorf (Germany), Ernstbrunn (Austria), Loretto (Austria), Janíky-Dolné Janíky (Slovakia) and Nové Košariská (Slovakia), after the references cited in the text.

translated into a local context. It may no longer refer to a lyre player as such, but have become a shortcut to signify a ritual action such as a dedication. It could also have been merged with the stereotype of the carrier and re-interpreted as holding a vessel. What we are looking at is the social embedding of image content in different cultural contexts.

The embedding of an image, style or motif in a ‘foreign’ cultural context does not always mean that the attached meanings and ideas get imported as well. The depicted people and their involvement in the narrative scenes become moulded to fit social expectations that can be understood in the regional setting. We can think about this in terms of ‘cultural re-interpretations’, or the merging and ‘creolisation’ of ideas informed by different backgrounds.

Notes

- 1 Tracing Networks was funded by the Leverhulme Trust from 2008–2013, see www.tracingnetworks.ac.uk, accessed 17 November 2014.
- 2 www.thefreedictionary.com/figurine, accessed 17 November 2014.

7 The Hallstatt body in life and death

The human image can arise in two different ways: depicting an internal representation, and copying a model. In child development, it is well known that younger children depict what they know, whereas older children depict what they see (Huth 2003: 36). All people form an internal idea of what a human person should look like, what the main criteria of a person are, where the landmarks of the body are situated and which relationships they have with each other. The internal representation is normally schematic and abstract (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 56–58). Experimental studies with the Eipo in West Papua during the contact period, who were not used to seeing or producing human images, confirmed these principles. Upon being asked to depict a human, a man who had been asked to depict a woman and a boy asked to depict a man used the same principles: they drew a vertical line representing the body axis and then marked eyes, mouth and ears along the top of the axis. Arms and legs were represented as lines coming off the vertical line with five additional lines representing hands and feet. In addition, both added marks and symbols along the body axes to detail the identity of the depicted person: breasts, belt and the pubic region for the woman; arm bands, calves and a loincloth for the male individual (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 58, fig. 56). With this kind of representation, the artists do not take notice of people in the immediate vicinity and do not compare the images to the real world.

Depictions of individuals with the unique characteristics that characterise a person, such as physiognomy, facial expressions, character and age, do not become universally common in early Iron Age Europe. Rather, aspects of identity are signalled by way of attributes. Representing someone by using the natural person as a model does not seem to have been done. The composition of objects included in graves, however, paints a picture of the deceased in a very similar way (see Section 4.3). The similarities between some grave *stelae* and the inventories of the graves they marked are striking. The Warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Plate 1, Zürn 1964b), is equipped with the same items that have been found in the grave of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a). The most prominent early La Tène example, the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002), contained the grave of a male warrior with exactly the same objects depicted on the stone representation, including the headgear, torc with three pendants, arm and finger rings and shield. Nothing in the way the face is made suggests any individual traits; fragments of

at least three further statues of the same type do not seem to differ in any way from the most complete one. Copying not from a person, but from another piece of art, was by far the most common way a human depiction came into being in the early Iron Age. Dependencies between prototype and copy can be traced all over Europe for certain image types.

7.1 Reading faces

Humans are conditioned to read faces. We tend to see faces everywhere, even in inanimate objects (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 167), such as trees and stones, when our brains combine natural dots and lines to make a face. Facial expressions, the motions and positions of the muscles of the face, are particularly important in non-verbal communication, as they are tied to a person's emotive state and can only be partially controlled. The link between emotive states and facial expression developed over the course of our evolutionary history (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 372) and can therefore, to a degree, be universally understood. The expression and reading of these emotions is thus constant over time. The eye, with its sharp contrast between the white sclera and the iris/pupil, seems to have evolved in tandem with the ability to read where other people look. Staring, for example, is considered threatening across cultures, and so in many cultures, eyes have become an apotropaic symbol. The subtlety of variations in facial features, which deliver messages of mood and emotion, are difficult to capture in artistic representation. The position of the head, for instance, is expressive and significant – even subtle differences such as raising the chin might suggest arrogance, the opposite may suggest defeat and submission, a slight tilting of the head signals affection (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 372–373).

Because the face is so important in communication, it is surprising that the head seems to play only a minor role for the human representations of the Central European early Iron Age. The vast majority of the human images are depicted without facial features. The head is represented as a globular or conical solid in three dimensions and as a stroke, dot, dent or circle in two dimensions. More than a third ($n = 1028$, 39 per cent) of the 2640 human images with heads show facial features (254 heads are not preserved, and 109 images do not depict heads – they are mainly isolated body parts). In the transition from the Hallstatt to the La Tène period, the emphasis shifts entirely and the head becomes one of the most often depicted figurative art elements. The head is most often shown from the front and appears isolated from the rest of the body (e.g., Bagley 2014).

The selection of facial features to represent in a human image follows generic principles, as well as principles of perspective and mode of depiction. As we have seen, the material in which a human image appears is one of the most decisive factors for the outcome. It is useful to consult eye-tracking studies (Fig. 7.1, Yarbus 1967) for generic principles of how faces are read. They measure the point of gaze and the motion of the eyes as they look at a person or object and thus reveal reference points for perception. The principal reference points for faces are the eyes, followed by the nose and mouth region, before the outline of the face is tracked.

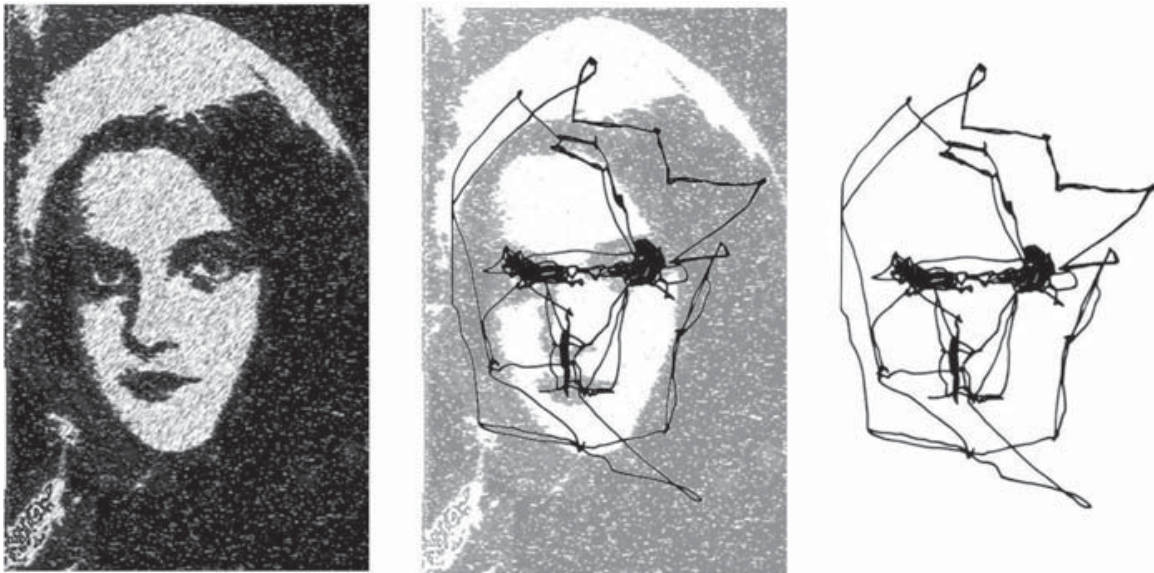


Figure 7.1 Eye tracking recorded during free examination of the picture with both eyes for a minute (after Yarbus 1967: 179, fig. 114)

For the perception of early Iron Age human representations, however, the outline is clearly most important, even if only represented by a globe or circle, as it affects all human images. The second most important features are the nose (c. 1028) and eyes (c. 968), followed by the chin (c. 837), mouth (c. 773), ears (c. 599), neck (c. 332), cheeks (c. 251) and hair (c. 118). As these features are sometimes difficult to identify, the numbers must remain inaccurate. They also reflect the choice of perspective and materials more than the importance of certain body parts. Frontal depictions are most often very rudimentary; fewer than 5 per cent draw attention to the noses, and only slightly more than 5 per cent to the eyes. Other facial features are even rarer. They are more prominent in depictions in profile, either left or right. Especially the nose and chin protrude and are characteristic for the human face. Forty-nine per cent of persons depicted in profile have one or both of these features; eyes follow with 40 per cent. The large number of *situla* figures in this group explains why cheeks are a common feature, too – in both repoussé and chasing a punch is often applied from the back of the bronze sheet in that area of the face to make it look more plastic. About a third of three-dimensional figurines emphasise both eyes and nose – they are commonly modelled together rather than as separate features – whereas the mouth is modelled only in 22 per cent and the ears in 13 per cent of human figurines. The effect of the material used for depiction is less pronounced than the perspective for facial features. Depictions in ceramics – and this includes both the figurines and images on the surface of pottery vessels – are most likely to include noses (13 per cent) and eyes (11 per cent), followed by ears (7 per cent). Only about three per cent show the mouth, and other facial features are even rarer. Depictions in bronze, including works of Situla Art and stamps of all varieties, depict the nose (36 per cent) and eyes (36 per cent) most often, followed by chin (31 per cent), mouth (27 per cent), ears (19 per cent) and cheeks (11 per cent).

Male faces are generally crafted in a more expressive way than female faces, with 788 of them (65 per cent) showing at least the nose (compared with 165, or 42 per cent for women); this is due to the much higher proportion of male figures on *situlae* and higher proportion of female depictions on ceramics. Comparing the individual facial features against each other, there is little difference between male and female faces. Noses, eyes and mouths occur in roughly the same proportions. Cheeks, however, are much more frequent in male depictions (22 per cent compared with 2 per cent), as are ears (35 per cent compared with 15 per cent). Women's ears are quite frequently covered by a veil.

Even when faces are rendered in considerable detail, their facial features remain strangely absent of any emotions and expressions. It would have been easy to bend the line of the mouth ever so slightly as to create a smiling or frowning face, and yet this was never done. The stiff upper lip, even in scenes that practically evoke emotions such as the sex scenes or racing, boxing and making music, is indeed remarkable. The facial expressions range from contented to contempt, if they were to be described in modern terms, but most often appear lifeless. The fact that people are shown in lively scenes of actions creates a noticeable tension, almost as if the images were situated somewhere between life and death. If they indeed indicate the imagined afterworld, it was not an utterly happy place.

The idea that faces were covered with masks has been explored in the context of the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (cf. Barth and Urban 2007, Egg and Schönfelder 2009), where the mounted warriors seem to be masked; the extra line at the neck may also, however, depict the chin strap of the helmet. Cavalry masks for commanders are known from Classical Antiquity. Whilst they include an element of protection, masks provide a static image of facial expressions and emotions, disguising reality and transforming the person. Masks have been used for millennia across many cultures of the world, for practical, ritual and entertainment purposes (cf. Napier 1986, Pernet 1992). The sheet-bronze face and hand masks from Kleinklein, Austria (Plate 13, Egg 2013), in contrast, are unique in the Hallstatt world and were most likely fixed to a wooden container; they seem more related to death masks than masks that were worn.

7.2 *Gestalt*: perspective, body form, proportions and bodily ideals

The search for outline and proportions, the search for *gestalt*, remains crucial for the perception of the body. As we have seen, the outline is the most important feature of the head in the early Iron Age. Understanding the body outline is also directly linked to the mode of representation. Cross-culturally, humans are most often depicted from the front, whereas animals are depicted from the side (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 181). This resonates in early Iron Age imagery when, for example, a horse is shown from the side, but the rider from the front in the same picture (e.g. Turska kosa, Croatia, Balen-Letunić 2004: 204, fig. 22). The overall numbers paint a different picture: of the 3148 analysed human representations, $n = 550$ (17 per cent) are rendered in three dimensions, $n = 1067$ (34 per

cent) are shown from the front and $n = 1524$ (48 per cent) from the side ($n = 895$, 28 per cent show the right side, $n = 629$, 20 per cent the left side). A considerable gender difference is noticeable: whereas 36 per cent of all female depictions ($n = 391$) are three-dimensional, 30 per cent are shown from the front and 34 per cent from the side; only 20 per cent of all males ($n = 1215$) are three dimensional, with four per cent shown from the front, but 76 per cent from the side. Leaving the obvious issues of material and image carrier choices aside, it seems that for females, the corporeal appearance was more important, whereas activities were foregrounded for men, which were easier to show from a side perspective.

Body proportions are important for a coarse ad-hoc gender classification. Sexual dimorphism develops after puberty: women develop breasts and hips, men's shoulders grow and they become taller than women. These characteristics are sex typical rather than sex specific, as there is a considerable amount of overlap; further, exercise, diet and gendered body practices may affect the body shape (Harris and Hofmann 2014: 268). The female prototype has a slim waist and broad hips, with a waist-to-hip ratio of 0.71 considered to be most attractive. The male prototype has broad shoulders and narrow hips (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 181). This scheme, translated into a stylized form, is a triangle on its base and on its tip, respectively. According to transcultural studies conducted in Germany and Tanzania the gendered triangle scheme is understandable even to children from the age of about seven (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 306). Clothing conventions, however, can mask and overpower these principles of body perception and become equally internalised.

Geometric shapes such as triangles and hourglasses are commonly used as outlines for human depictions on bronze and pottery. Rudimentary anthropomorphic bronze pendants often take this shape. There has been a considerable amount of debate in how far these shapes can be read as indicating gender, especially revolving around the large storage vessels found in the northeastern Hallstatt area. The simplest form, the triangle on the base with some indication of a head and/or arms, develops ornamental patterns into human depictions. They are interpreted as orants, female figures praying or lamenting; the triangle form also resonates with ideas about the three stages of a woman's lifecycle and the goddesses of fate (Eibner 1997: 129–135). A gendered interpretation of the shape alone, however, seems hard to justify (cf. Leskovar 2005). Some more complex scenes with slight differences between the depicted figures call for caution.

The most famous scene on the vessel from Tumulus 27, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Fig. 7.2, Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17), depicts two classic orant figures with arms stretched out and bent up, plus one figure weaving and one spinning. All four are dressed in the same way, with triangular-shaped dresses filled with geometric ornaments, and they all are adorned with rings next to their heads, most likely indicating earrings or bronze spirals braided into the hair. The fifth figure towards the right of the loom, playing the lyre, is depicted without the 'female' jewellery, and the triangle that defines the body shape is much slimmer: its base is about half the width of the other triangles. This figure, on the basis of dress, jewellery and activity, may be male.

Lyre players on a vessel from a different grave, Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), however, are dressed in trousers. They are flanked by larger figures with bell-shaped, geometric dresses, possibly women dancing and spinning so that their skirts open. Pairs of figures, both dressed in trousers and skirts and shown opposing each other, decorate the belly of the vessel. Again, they might be shown dancing or fighting, but the rudimentary form of depiction does not allow further conclusions. The triangle is also the basic body shape of a figure hunting and a figure on a wagon, both on the same vessel, whereas a figure shown (dragged?) behind the wagon is sketched as a stick figure.

The vessel from Grave 3, Sopron-Váris, Hungary (Fig. 7.2, Gallus 1934: pl. 16.2), is the last of the more complex scenes from the northeastern Hallstatt area. It shows three orant figures, complete with hands in the air, triangle dress and artistically ornamented heads, next to three more figures, also dressed in triangle dresses, but without head ornaments. One of them is riding a horse, and the two further figures are engaged in a scene that has evoked a number of different interpretations, ranging from offering a bird, mounting wool from a basket on a distaff or warping a loom for weaving, to forging a knife with a hammer on an anvil (Kern 2009d). The textile work interpretations would point to the female gender of the depicted persons, and forging to the male gender. Offering could be done by both; the lack of head ornaments (in particular in contrast with other figures in the same scene) points to male gender.

It has become clear that the triangle shape alone does not, in all instances, indicate a female person, but the clothed human shape more generally. Overcoats and cloaks as well as tunics/dresses seem to have been worn by both genders and may be behind the triangle-as-person theme. A belted tunic or shirt/blouse and skirt combination accentuating the waist results in an hourglass shape. This geometric form, composed of a triangle on its tip combined with a triangle for its base, underlies human depictions from southern German sites like Dietldorf, Kirchenreinbach, Pettenhofen or Bamberg (Reichenberger 2000: pl. 3–7). Although on general principles of perception they evoke an association with the male gender, there is little detail to support this interpretation. Only the figure on the lid from Pettenhofen (Torbrügge 1979: pl. 53.12) wears a triangular hat or helmet, which points to the male more than the female sphere. The figures from Reichersdorf, Austria (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1986: 95), combine diamond shapes with triangles on their bases and seem more like orants. At this site, western and eastern design principles have merged.

Eye tracking studies on the female body have shown that the face and chest are the most important points of reference, followed by the waist and hip as well as belly and pubic area (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 303) – those most likely to assess the reproductive status of the woman. For men, the focus also lies on the face, chest and genitals for both heterosexual and homosexual viewers (at least when it comes to Michelangelo's David, Brignull 2009).

Body proportions and attractiveness or beauty are intrinsically linked. Beauty and attractiveness are cognitive constructs in the eye of the beholder (Grammer et al. 2003: 399). Underlying evolutionary principles, however, mean that what

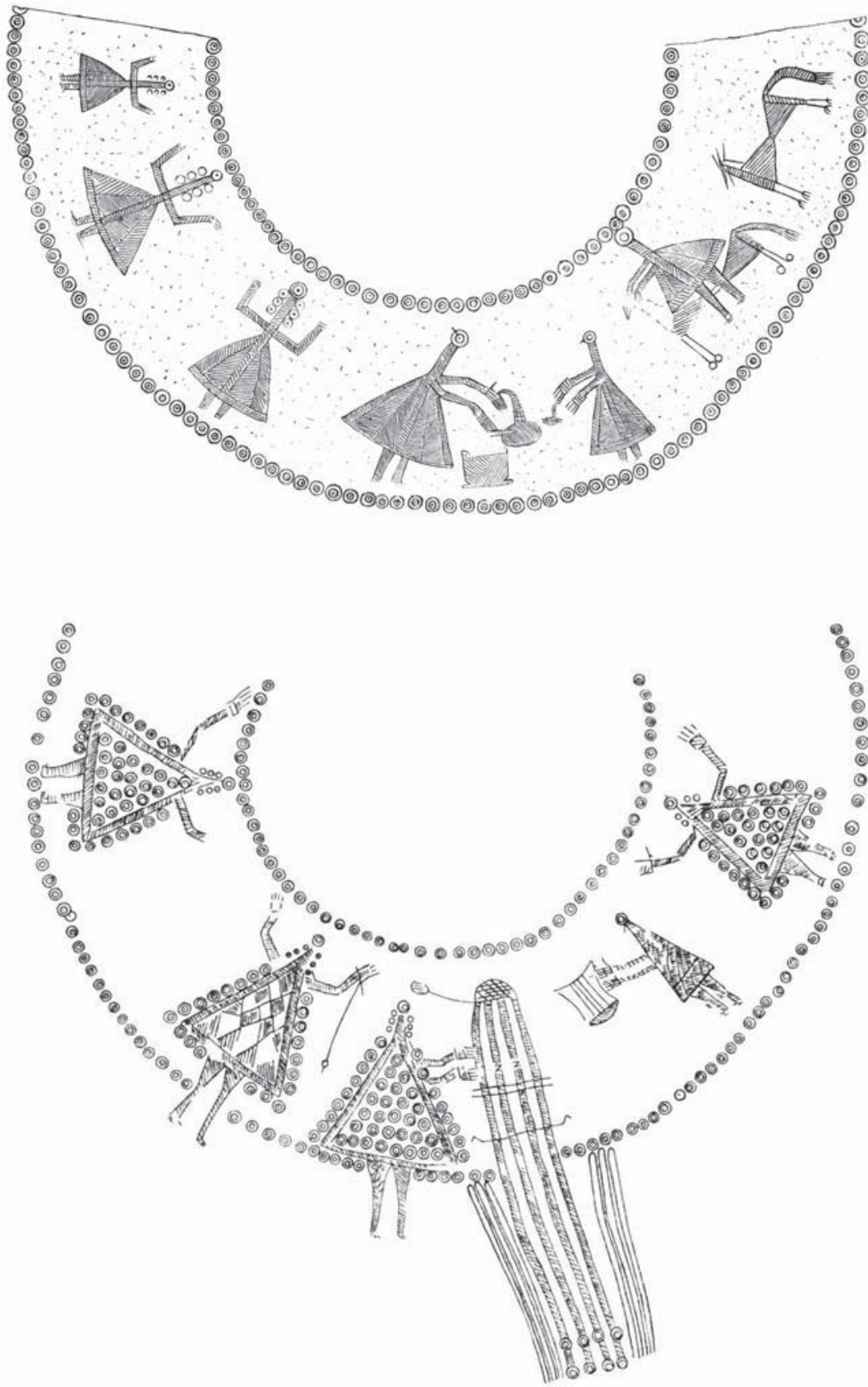


Figure 7.2 Scenic depictions of people with the triangle as underlying geometric principle, from Grave 3, Sopron-Váris, Hungary (Gallus 1934: pl. 16.2) and Tumulus 27, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17, courtesy of Alexandrine Eibner)

is perceived as beautiful must serve an adaptive advantage. Cultures may have changing beauty standards, but the standards are biologically based (Grammer et al. 2003: 401). The psychology of physical attraction investigates what beauty connotes: health, goodness, innocence and the like (Swami and Furnham 2008: 9–20). Attractiveness bias (Dion, Berscheid and Walster 1972) means that beautiful people are favoured and treated differentially and tend to get more attention, be more successful and have a higher social status.

What is considered beautiful is different for men and women. Humans are sexually size dimorphic (Grammer et al. 2003: 402) with males on average larger than females. Sexual selection is based on a mating system in which females limit the male reproductive success; the females are the choosers because their reproductive resources are more limited. In the animal kingdom, the choosers are normally in camouflage, grey or brown. In human societies, both sexes spend a considerable amount of time and effort on enhancing their beauty and associated mating chances (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 298). Females select for socio-economic status, social position, prestige and wealth more than attractiveness. Males, on the other hand, choose reproductive capacity rather than social status (Grammer et al. 2003: 389). In both sexes, basic features of human attractiveness are symmetry, averageness and sex-hormone markers, which give basic insights into the current health status of the individual and their reproductive capability.

Although beauty standards may vary between cultures and times, some elements are cross-culturally universal (Grammer et al. 2003: 385). The face is important and powerful, along with a firm and slim body, as well as pure skin; signs of age such as wrinkles and missing teeth are considered unattractive. Symmetric features suggest a stable growth environment and the absence of diseases and parasites. Grace and elegance in movement are also clues to symmetry and health. Facial features develop under the hormonal influences of testosterone and oestrogen; males tend to have wider jaws, big chins, wider shoulders and more hair. Females with clear skin and little body hair are preferred. They need to look mature enough to be considered attractive (the age of 24 is considered the peak of female attractiveness and the optimal age for reproduction). Whereas male bellies and male overall fatness is unattractive, about 25 per cent fat in the body mass of women is required for stable levels of female sex hormones; it is distributed most attractively at visible places like breasts and buttocks (Grammer et al. 2003: 391).

The waist-to-hip ratio (WHR) is an indicator of good health. The smallest circumference of the waist just above the belly button is divided by the hip circumference at its widest part of the buttocks or hip to calculate the value. A value of 0.9 is considered optimal for men, and 0.71 is considered most attractive for women. Women with an optimal waist-to-hip ratio get pregnant most easily. The BMI (body mass index, i.e., weight scaled for height), is also an important factor (Tovée, Brown and Jacobs 2001: 1009). Granting that different ethnic groups have varying risk associated with high BMIs, below 19 and above 25 indicates higher health risks and lower fertility. In unstable environments, plump females are normally preferred over the ones of ideal reproductive weight, as heavier mothers tend to have more children. Amongst the semi-nomadic Moors of the



Plate 1 The Warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (height: 150 cm)

© Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, photo: P. Frankenstein / H. Zwietasch



Plate 2 The *situla* in Providence, USA (height: 27.2 cm)

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Plate 3 Detail of the *situla* in Providence, USA

© Rhode Island School of Design



Plate 4 Tintinnabulum of Bologna, Italy (height: 11.5 cm)

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Plate 5 Vessel with weaving scene from Tumulus 27, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (height: 41.5 cm)

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Plate 6 Aulos player from Százhalombatta, Hungary (height: 7.3 cm)

© Matrica Múzeum, Százhalombatta



Plate 7 Aulos player from Cist XIII, Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (height: c. 10.5 cm)

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Plate 8 Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (height: 46.2 cm)

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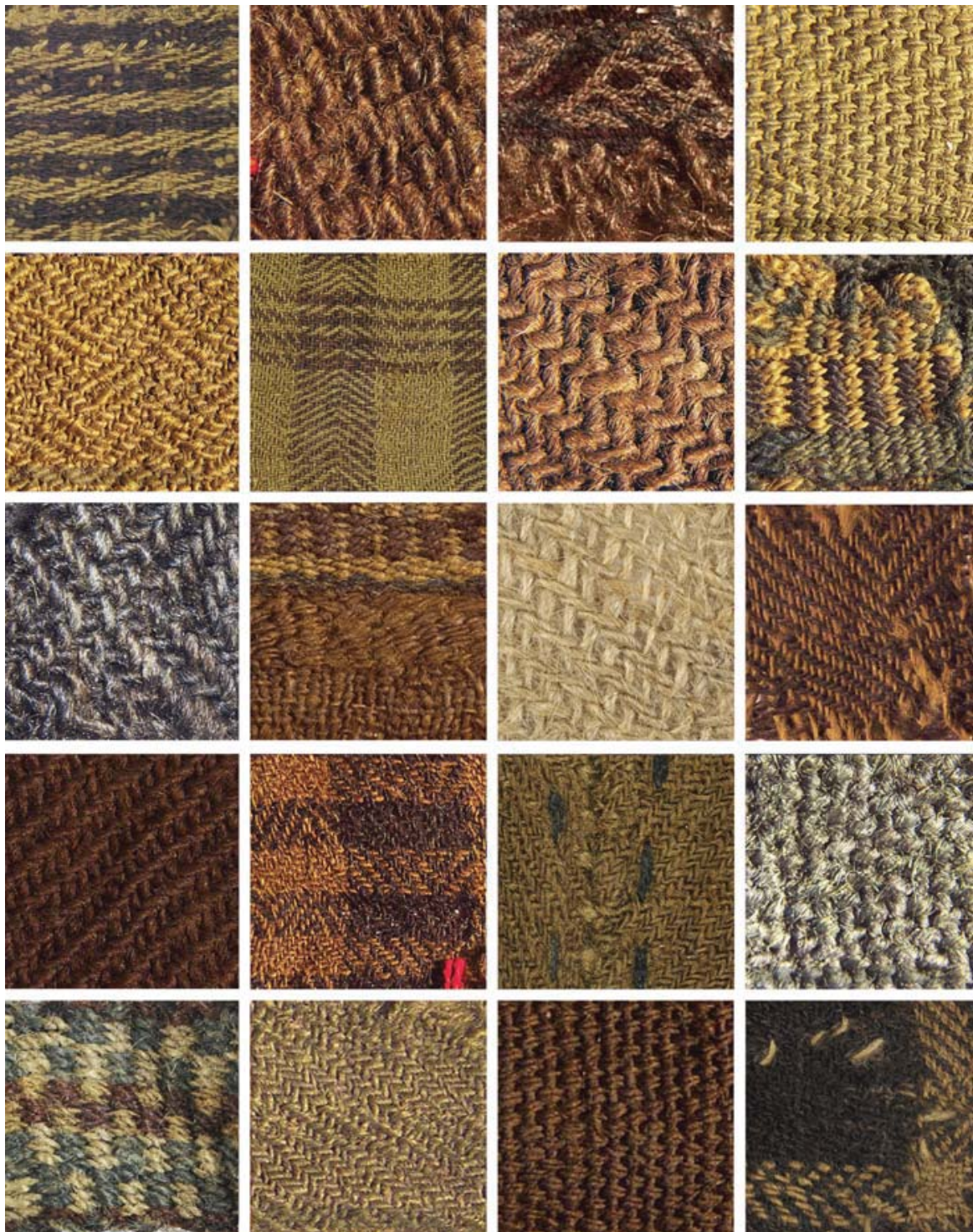


Plate 9 Early Iron Age textiles from the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria (different scales)

© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, photo: A. Rausch / K. Grömer



Plate 10 Female figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (height: 9.5 cm)

© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien



Plate 11 Dame de Vix, France (height: 19 cm)

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Plate 12 Belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (height: 6 cm)

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Plate 13 Face and hand masks from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (height of mask: 19 cm)

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Plate 14 Warrior on the *situla* from Sesto Calende, Italy (height: 17.5 cm)

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Plate 15 Lead figures from Frög, Austria (height: c. 2.5 cm)

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Plate 16 Detail from the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany

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Sahara desert, for example, girls are systematically fattened by feeding and making them immobile before marriage (Popenoe 2004).

The advantage of using the waist-to-hip ratio for this analysis is that it can be measured from the front, the profile or the circumference (Marlowe, Apicella and Reed 2005), and although frontal WHR measurements differ among cultural groups because of different body fat storage patterns in different population groups, it is a measurement that can also be made for human representations. The female ceramic figurines from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958), have a WHR of c. 0.55 to 0.66, in part through their skirt-like dress. The male Langenlebarn figurines (Austria, Preinfalk 2003), in contrast, show a range in WHR from 0.77 to 0.82. The sexless figurines show almost no difference between the waist and hip measurements. The WHR of the bronze figurines from Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), ranges between 0.4 and 0.7, but little difference can be observed between the sexes. Human images on *situlae* are most often shown dressed in long tunics and cloaks, with no difference between the circumference of the waist and hips. The belted female figures, for example, from Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), come close to the 0.71 ideal. Male figures with bare upper body and short dresses, however, are also shown with a similar WHR. It can be concluded that sex-typical body proportions were not reflected in the way bodies were represented.

Sexual dimorphism regarding size was also only rarely accounted for in early Iron Age art. According to anthropological analyses, the average Hallstatt period man was around 170 cm tall and the average woman about 10 cm shorter; high-status individuals with good access to nutritious food like the ‘prince’ of Hochdorf, who reached a height of c. 187 cm, were sometimes taller (see Section 3.4). Men are either represented as tall as women on *situlae* (e.g., Magdalenska gora et al. 2004: app. 4) or slightly shorter (e.g., Bologna-Certosa, Italy, and Welzelach, Austria, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64 and 76), especially when they are depicted carrying loads on their heads. Rather than a deliberate attempt at depicting women shorter, the women’s sizes are constrained by the height of the frieze, to which all figures are adjusted. Paired bronze figurines of men and women, such as the ones from Esslingen, Germany (Zürn 1987: pl. 79), Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland (Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101), and Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), do not show any size differences. The central female figurine from Strettweg is, at 22.6 cm, about twice as tall as the female, male and sexless persons that average c. 12 cm in height. Her special ritual status as goddess or priestess might have been underlined by this difference in size.

Representations of children are oddly rare in the early Iron Age, with only a few exceptions (see Section 7.6). Children are represented with the same proportions, but not as tall as adults. Body proportions in reality change markedly from birth to adulthood. The head is about a quarter of the length of a person at birth, but only about one sixth to one eighth in adults. The legs are about a third of the body length at birth and about one half in adults. Slight changes in proportions are a means of emphasising particular body parts in art; heroic images, for instance, emphasise the chest and elongate the legs. In early Iron Age art from

central Europe, there is little consistency in terms of the head-to-body or leg-to-body ratios. Heads range from child-like and oversized to naturalistic in figurines; in Situla Art the head takes up a quarter to a fifth of the body length; on pottery heads are often just indicated by a stamp or small circle far too small for an actual representation.

Fatness and obesity (Uliaszek and Lofink 2006) play no role in early Iron Age imagery. In contrast to figurines of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, in which fat women were most likely represented to emphasise their reproductive ability, no such representations exist in the early Iron Age. Body shapes of figurines are most influenced by the choice of material (see Section 6.3.1), but whereas elongated and extremely slim bodies are common, fatness does not feature at all. So far, little attention has been paid to possible indicators of obesity in graves, such as traces of disease that correlate with fatness, or the position of arms spaced at a distance from the rest of the body (Müller-Scheeßel 2008: 519). Bronze belts may also indicate waist circumference. A waist measurement of 94 cm or more for men or 80 cm or more for women is considered an indicator of a tendency to being overweight (Lean, Han and Morrison 1995). The bronze belt from Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 171), is adjustable and allows to be fastened at 64.2, 71.7, 76.3, 80.9 and 85.5 cm. Given the fact that the belts are worn over textiles, this alone indicates the belt was worn by a rather slim person and certainly not during advanced pregnancy. One hole for the belt hook looks most worn – it is the one for a belt circumference of c. 80 cm.

Early Iron Age imagery presents a bodily ideal of normality. The only major factors that are accounted for are sex and gender (see Section 7.4), but there are no obvious individual bodily variations such as beauty or disability (Finlay 1999) that are rewarded or stigmatised. The Hallstatt body in art is not that of an individual, but a specific type of body, characterised by sex and gender, dress, postures, gestures and associated objects.

7.3 Body parts and hybridity

This chapter examines representations of isolated human body parts and body parts that have been combined with animal (parts) and objects to create new entities (Figs 7.3 and 7.5). Observing patterns of partition and re-combination teaches us how the human body was thought of being composed, where partitioning lines were thought to be in place, and which body parts probably had meanings attached that went beyond merely being a part of a whole.

Ceramic body parts in conjunction with ceramic vessels are rare in the early Iron Age period. An isolated ceramic hand was found at Prächting, Germany (Reichenberger 2000: pl. 6, fig. 28); it may be interpreted in terms of its apotropaic function. Shoe vessels go back to the late Bronze Age. Well known are the 22 examples from the cemetery of Budapest-Békásmegyer, Hungary (Kalicz-Schreiber 2010), but one has even been found on the late Bronze Age settlement of the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger 2007). Further objects cluster in the northeastern Hallstatt region. Arms raised in an orant gesture coming out of a

ceramic vessel from Nové Košariská, Tumulus 6, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 30), and at Marz, Austria (Heger 1903), have palms facing up and are complete with fingers. Anthropomorphic feet as pedestals are known from Lednice, Czech Republic (Forman, Forman and Poulik 1956: 103), Statzendorf, Gemeinlebarn, and Jois, Austria (Pescheck 1942: pl. 48, 2, Rebay 2006: 92, Szombathy 1929: pl. 25, fig. 1), Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969), and Sopron, Hungary (Gallus 1938: 23, fig. 23). The feet are either shown in some kind of footwear, perhaps a boot, or complete with toes (albeit only four instead of five). The number of legs per vessel ranges between two and three; depending on the view of the onlooker, however, only two are visible at any one time. Whereas some of these vessels merely seem to play with the analogy between vessel and body, the orant arms cross the line to the sacred and place the vessels firmly in the realm of funerary symbolism.

The integration of isolated body parts into patterns of ornamentation are a defining feature of early La Tène art (Jacobsthal 1944, Megaw and Megaw 2001), but their predecessors can be found in early Iron Age art. The motif of a human leg, complete from the toes to just over the slightly bent knee and protruding from a beast's mouth, is known from Este, Italy, and Vače, Slovenia. It adorns belt plates and bronze *situlae* (Frey 1969: pl. 71 and 77) as well as a ceramic stamp at Este, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996); at Vače (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73); it is also found on a bronze *situla*. The addition of a human leg underlines the fierceness and cruelty of the mythological creature in the picture, which can almost certainly be assigned to the world after death.

Isolated legs and feet as bronze pendants are known from Grossaltdorf and Zwiefalten-Upflamör, Germany (Frey 2005: pl. 3b, Zürn 1987: pl. 325), but hands are much more common. The hands include right and left hands, although they are sometimes not easy to distinguish and are cut off at about the middle of the lower arm. Sometimes several of them are used as pendants on *fibulae* and for rattling pendants. They were found in graves and sanctuaries, for example, at Bitnje, Brezje, and Libna, Slovenia (Kromer 1959a: pl. 3, Warneke 1999: fig. 83), or Gazzo Veronese and Este-Baratella, Italy (Dämmer 2002). More or less isolated faces decorate *fibula* pendants at Vače and Stična, Slovenia (Starè 1970: pl. 3, Wells 1981: 20), and appear at the chest of bronze plaque figures from Mechel and Cles, Italy, and an unknown Swiss site (Egg 1986a, Höck 1997: no. 106). The addition of hands and faces is most easily explained by an apotropaic function, warding off evil by the gesture of the hands and the gaze; it is unclear, however, how feet could be explained in this context. Figurative *fibulae* in the form of shoes become common in early Celtic art (Bagley 2009, Warneke 1999).

The majority of depictions of isolated body parts come from sanctuaries and can be interpreted in terms of anatomical votive dedications. As elsewhere in the Mediterranean World (e.g., Oberhelman 2014), representations of body parts are thought to refer specifically to illnesses and diseases of the particular body part shown. It is unclear if they represent a prayer before or gratitude after successful healing; the body parts themselves seem to show no direct sign of illness, but rather the ideal, healthy counterpart. The sanctuaries at Este, Italy (Ruta Serafini



Figure 7.3 Body parts on objects, from Statzendorf, Austria (Rebay 2006: 92), Nové Košariská, Slovakia (after Pichlerová 1969: pl. 30), Zwiefalten-Upflamör, Germany (after Zürn 1987: pl. 325) and Brezje, Slovenia (after Kromer 1959a: pl. 3)

2002), were particularly rich in three-dimensional cast bronzes and bronze plaques depicting body parts. Amongst those, there are hands, feet and legs, single eyes and pairs of eyes and faces, as well as male and female body parts. Male genitals include representations of the penis and scrotum, sometimes with indications of pubic hair (e.g., Gambacurta 2002: 273, fig. 116,1); female genitals are shown as pairs of breasts (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 2002: 246, fig. 102, 28) or a section of a woman's lower body indicating the vulva (Gambacurta 2002: 273, fig. 116,6). Arms and feet cut out of sheet bronze appear as far north as the sanctuary of Mechel, Italy (Marzatico 2001). It is interesting to note that the votives around the city of Este show parts of the human body only from the outside and not in their anatomically dissected state. Organ votives showing precise renderings of inner anatomy such as the womb are known from Etruscan sanctuaries (e.g., Baggieri 1998).

From analysing isolated body parts depicted in early Iron Age art, we may conclude that hands, feet and heads were seen as particularly distinct parts, with partitioning lines at the neck, mid-arm before the elbow, and varying lines at the lower extremities from mid-thigh to ankles. Anatomical votives further suggest that the body was understood in regions rather than as organic systems; the body surface, not the interior features in the representations. There are, however, only a few artefacts to consider, too few for a full interpretation. Hands were the body parts most emphasised and perhaps infused with meaning relating to gestures (see Section 7.9.2) such as warding off evil.

Hybrids are animals, plants and things emerging from the combination of different elements (cf. Kristoffersen 2010: 263). Humans and objects are merged in a curious way on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). A presumably wooden wine rack, on which six *situlae* are hung, is depicted in the middle of a feasting scene (see Fig. 6.7). The piece of furniture is decorated with two life-sized human beings sitting on top of the vertical beams; their legs

are stretched out, their upper body is leaning forward and the bald head is facing backwards; arms and hands are not visible.

The combination of human (parts) with animal (parts) to form a new whole may follow several formalistic conventions and thus require a definition of the nature of the mixing (Hughes 2010). The anatomy of hybrids ranges from combinations of whole bodies with animal attachments, to human–animal combinations recomposed along fictive dividing lines, in which body parts remain distinct and can still be recognised, to truly mixed beings with characteristics of humans and animals bleeding into each other, without being able to define the boundaries clearly.

Early Iron Age art draws heavily on ideas of hybrid beings from the Classical World. Several of these can be identified and named in the material. Most hybrid beings, however, come into the Hallstatt world via the Etruscans, where the precise nature of the mixture is more difficult to disentangle. In the orientalis-ing seventh century BC in particular, central Italy becomes a hotspot for trade and connections throughout the Mediterranean and to the Near East. Iconographic and mythical ideas from afar become integrated and merged with indigenous ideas to create a range of ‘fantastic beasts’ (Biella, Giovanelli and Perego 2012). Some may be traced to Assyrian prototypes, such as the *lamassu*, a winged bull or lion with the head of a human male. The hybrid beings of the Hallstatt world draw from this image world, but are sometimes not straightforward to classify.

Sphinxes are mythical creatures combining lion bodies with human faces or heads; in the Egyptian tradition, they tend to be male. Egyptian, Assyrian and Persian sphinxes are often placed outside palaces and graveyards to guard against evil. Greek mythology knows one individual female sphinx with the head of a woman, the body of a lioness, the wings of a large bird and a serpent tail. Related to the Chimaera, the Nemean lion and Cerberus, the sphinx is a monster with connotations of destruction and bad luck (Cartwright 2012b).

The pair of sphinxes from the burial mound of Grafenbühl, Germany, one made entirely of ivory, the other of bone with an ivory face (Fischer 1990), are considered products of a southern Italian workshop. The Grafenbühl sphinxes show the human face from the front, whereas the rest of the body is shown in profile; the hairstyle with shoulder-length hair points to a Near Eastern iconographic origin. The sphinx on a scabbard of a dagger from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Kromer 1962: 36, pl. 24), is shown entirely in profile. The human head still displays long hair, but the merging line between the lion back and the human upper body is complicated. The forelegs of the lion are missing; instead, we see at least one human arm reaching out to a bird. The sphinxes on the bronze bowl from Castelletto Ticino, Italy (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: 296, fig. 3), integrated siren elements. The head and upper body shown from the front appear human, although the arms are wings and the body surface has feathers or scales. This half-upper body is mounted on a lion’s lower body in profile. The sphinxes from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 24.3), Waisenberg, Austria (Gleirscher 2009), and Hallstatt, Grave 696, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 343, pl. 123), seem more adjusted to the prevalent local styles. All three sphinxes appear with lion bodies, although it is rather obvious that the artist has probably never seen a

lion. The size of the animal bodies is adjusted to the other animals in the frieze, on the Waisenberg and Hallstatt lids to stags and chamois and on the belt plate from Magdalenska gora to other fantastic creatures. Whereas the Hallstatt sphinx wears a cap, the Waisenberg and Magdalenska gora sphinxes are shown with bald heads – both choices fit within the local iconographic conventions. Last, sphinxes appear on small bronzes, such as a *fibula* from Belluno, Italy (Frey 1969: 87, fig. 50), or a small bronze plaque from a sanctuary at Este, Italy (Salerno 2002: 155, fig. 20).

Whereas the mythical creature in the central frieze of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), can almost certainly be identified as a sphinx by its human head, lion body and wings, the winged creature in the top frieze combines elements of sphinx and centaur. Centaurs combine the body of a horse with a man. In Greek mythology, they represent barbarism and chaos; some individual named centaurs have their own mythological stories attached and a more complex character (Cartwright 2012a). The representations of centaurs in Greek art follow an interesting chronological development: in the Archaic period, they start out as full human bodies with the back of a horse attached at their lower back; during the fifth century BC, however, they become more animalised and the human legs disappear, making room for four legs of a horse (Hughes 2010: 103). The human upper body and torso are now joined to the body of the horse where its neck would be. On the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti a full human body, with face in profile and upper body seen from the front, is shown walking left. He has a dagger in his right hand, pursuing a giant bird, and holds the tip of the wings with his left hand. The half-body of a lion (?) protrudes from his back. The helmet from Oppeano, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 78), is composed in a very similar manner. This time, the winged human with arms walks after a horse, grabbing its tail, and has the half-body of a horse attached at his back. Unclear are also the two hybrids from the upper frieze of the cist from Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62). Human headed and winged, their bodies bear little resemblance to lions, but rather to horses, bulls or Alpine game. The central hybrid from *situla* II, Este-Boldù-Dolfin, Italy (Fig. 7.4, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 2), similarly has a body resembling a horse perhaps more than a lion. The human head is shown in profile with a helmet; it has wings, but no arms. Just behind, there is another smaller hybrid creature, consisting almost entirely of a head with helmet in profile, joined to a bunch of feathers as the lower body.

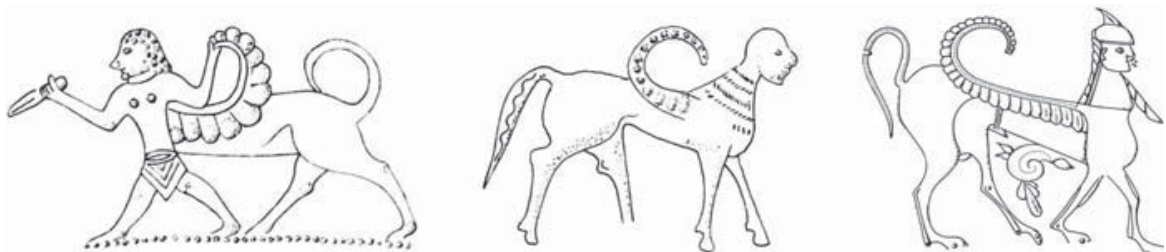


Figure 7.4 Hybrid beings from Este-Benvenuti, Appiano and Este-Boldù-Dolfin (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62, 65, app. 2)

Humans with wings, often depicted in the midst of beasts, creeping behind prey and just about to attack from behind, seem the central motif of these hybrids. The winged figure of a man in profile from Padova-Via Tiepolo, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 1), seems to fit this theme, although he has not got an animal joined to his back. He is depicted walking to the right, following a stag with large antlers. He has both wings and arms; in fact, the hands seem to hold the tips of his wings. The winged creatures of northern Italian Situla Art seem male; this is in contrast to the sirens of Greek mythology, which combine features of women and birds. Sirens are both beautiful and dangerous and particularly their song is seductive; sirens are thought of as muses or demons of death. Their shape in Greek art is also subject to transformation over time: whereas early examples dating to the sixth century BC are human-headed birds, later Classical examples have arms and often carry musical instruments (Hughes 2010: 103). Whereas the earlier winged humans do not seem directly connected to the idea of the siren, sirens did come north of the Alps via Etruscan imports, such as the beaked flagons from Sunzing, Austria, and Hradiště, Czech Republic (Straub 1980: Fig. 13.2, 13.4). Little bronze figures with human heads and wings of a bird, raised like hands over the head, which adorn bronze helmets from Brezje, Magdalenska gora and Vače, Slovenia (Egg 1980b: 244, fig. 2, Hencken 1978: 108, Kromer 1959a: pl. 7), are more likely connected to the earlier tradition.

Satyrs combine features of humans and horses in different ways than centaurs. Said to be the male companions of Dionysus in Greek mythology, they are normally depicted with pointed, horse-like ears, a horse tail and a large, horse-like penis, representing virility and fertility. Silenus, the most important of the satyrs, is most often depicted. Early representations depict features of old men and include equine legs, but from the sixth century BC onwards, human legs are most common, and the figure gradually transforms into a youthful one (Gantz 1996: 135). The handle attachment on the bronze flagon from Kleinaspergle, Germany (Kimmig 1988), shows an isolated head with horse-like ears and a puffy forehead, cheeks and chin; previously interpreted as an Etruscan import, it now seems more likely to be an indigenous production. The burial mound dates late in the Hallstatt period (second half of the fifth century BC) and this work of art can be considered early La Tène.

Beyond the world of Classical hybrids filtered into the Hallstatt area, is there a case to be made for indigenous hybrids? Ceramic figurines of humans sometimes have crude faces with bird-like features, for example, the fragment from Süttő, Hungary (Horváth 1969), or the rider from Langenlebern, Austria (Preinfalk 2003). It is difficult to tell how far the beak is an artefact of using clay as crafting material (see also Section 6.3.1) or a deliberate attempt to produce a bird face. The combination of person and water bird has indeed a long pedigree in central Europe and can be traced far into the Bronze Age (e.g., Reich 2005). In the late Bronze Age, water birds became popular motifs of bronze decoration. Combined with boats, wagons and the sun, they tell the myth of the recurrent rising and setting of the sun. The fragment of a bronze figurine from Griže-Šešče, Slovenia (Teržan 1990: 453, pl. 77, fig. 1), combines the human head and neck

with arms in the shape of birds. It is one of the prime examples of the syncretism of the Hallstatt world in which Bronze Age elements are combined with the idea of hybridisation to create new beings.

A number of anthropomorphic bronze plaques brought together by Markus Egg, with arms and hands in the form of horse heads, have been found as votives in Alpine sanctuaries, for example, Mechel and Sanzeno, Italy, and as a stray find from Switzerland (Egg 1986a). Cut-outs from Terlago, Italy (Marzatico 2001: 539, Fig. 62.8), and Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Figure 6.5, Tomedi 2009: 273, fig. 2), as well as the female-headed pectoral from Ulaka, Slovenia (Starè 1970: 17), also feature horse heads, in the latter case reduced to a small ornament. The association of female and horse-specific material culture has a long, possibly pan-European pedigree. Its origins can be traced in the late Bronze Age hoards of southeast and northern Europe (Metzner-Nebelsick and Nebelsick 1999), before horse-shaped *fibulae* become a typical item in sanctuaries and high-status late Hallstatt/early La Tène graves (Metzner-Nebelsick 2007). The combination of female and horse features has been interpreted in terms of a ‘mistress of the horses’, and an identification with the Venetian goddess Reitia seems thinkable.

The representation of beings that are not found in reality, but composed of elements that are, seems to be rooted in two different ideas. These ideas are also embodied in the way the fragmentation and re-assembly is executed in the representation; human body parts are joined to animal parts in different ways in the Hallstatt world. One is the destruction of the natural order and the subsequent birth of a different, perverted, transformed kind of reality from the fragments. Although some dividing lines are clearly derived from prototypes, there is considerable variability in the re-composition of the parts, frequently with a change of perspective. This expresses that the formulae of re-composition are not fixed, but express a certain fluidity and ambiguity, even chaos, perhaps in contrast to the more formalised and defined nature of (later) Classical hybrids such as centaurs, sphinxes and sirens. Hallstatt hybrids are also more often male rather than female.

Such hybrids of the Hallstatt otherworld are dark creatures. Depictions are exclusively found on objects found in graves, and particularly with the material culture of war (helmets, daggers) and banqueting. In association with their Mediterranean relatives, the realm these hybrids roam in can be associated with death and the horrors of the afterlife. Hybrids with human elements are hunting and being hunted – it is a dog-eat-dog world that is being displayed. The hybrids may thus symbolise the transition between life and death, rather than transcending and overcoming the boundaries between the different realms, as has been suggested for medieval Scandinavia (cf. Kristoffersen 2010: 265).

Other hybrids, particularly those of the human–bird and human–horse mergers, seem to be joined more seamlessly. Their connotation is different. They seem to bring together and integrate different qualities of the elements that are combined, such as adding the power and strength of a horse to a human to create a super-human but still anthropomorphic god-like creature. Objects embodying these kinds of hybrids are found in ritual contexts. The reference to the sun-bird, for example, points to the integration of (late Bronze Age) religious ideas about the sun, death and re-birth.

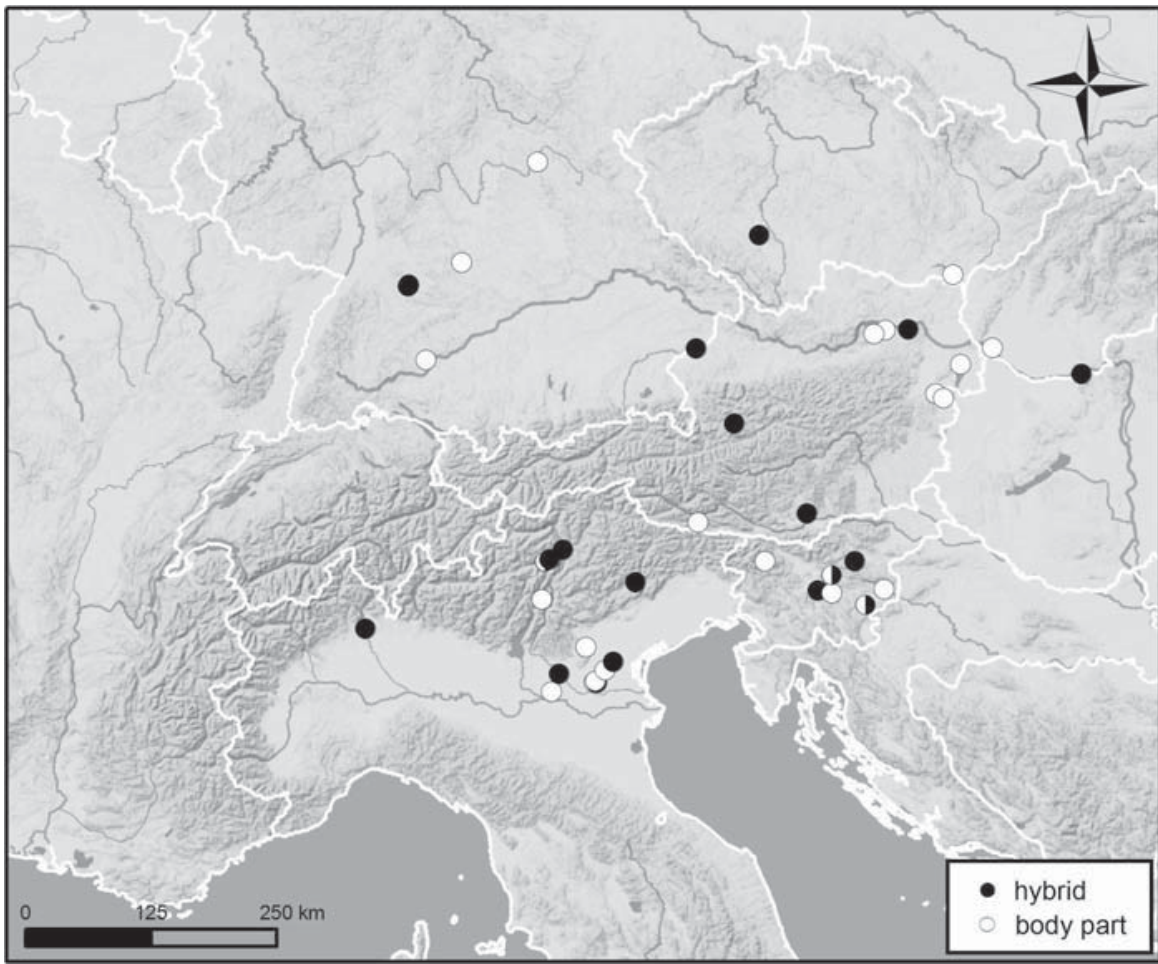


Figure 7.5 Body parts and hybrids in the Hallstatt area

7.4 Nudity, sex and gender

The difference between females and males in burial practices and representations has already featured large in this book, as sex and gender are amongst the most fundamental social categories of personal identity in the central European early Iron Age. The difference between sex and gender has been introduced in Section 2.1.3. Humans, having evolved a bi-part reproductive system, are born with either female or male genitalia (vulva or penis/scrotum). These primary sexual characteristics may be part of human representations if the person is depicted in the nude. Among the secondary sexual characteristics, breasts and beards, for example, which develop due to hormonal changes during puberty, may be added to representations to indicate sex. A significant proportion of bodies in the early Iron Age was represented naked and/or with clearly visible sexual parts. Intersex persons have both male and female sexual characteristics, normally based on a chromosome divergence from the standard XX for women and XY for men. Androgynous people appear partly female and male and are of indeterminate sex. The early Iron Age image world captured people as both sexed and sex-less bodies, providing insights into early Iron Age thinking about sexuality and reproduction.

Based on these biological characteristics are gendered appearance and practice. Gender categories were confirmed and elaborated by hairstyle, dress and accessories, as well as gendered activities, giving rise to feminine or masculine bodies. It is possible to tell clothed men and women apart in many representations based on gender-specific dress, objects and activities. The gender classification by a modern onlooker must, however, be carried out with caution. Situla Art, for example, provides us with examples of men and women shown with sexual parts, engaged in sexual activities, and yet wearing the gender-typical clothes known from other representations (for example, the beltplate from Brezje, Slovenia, Plate 12, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 32). In these instances it is legitimate to read, learn and transfer the gendering principles of clothing to other representations. Other images, first of all the northeast Hallstatt images sketched on pottery, are less easy to read. For a considerable number of images, it is not even possible to determine whether people were represented naked or clothed; some only wear a belt as a symbol of their status.

The sex of human representations refers to visible sexual characteristics. This includes $n = 290$ (9 per cent) male representations characterised by a penis and $n = 85$ (3 per cent) female representations characterised by vulva, breasts or shown during sexual intercourse. One person from Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004: 337 Number 21), has both female and male sexual parts: a protruding breast, penis and scrotum. A similar intersex bronze figurine from Gutenberg near Balzers, Liechtenstein, was not included here as it seems to date to the late Iron Age (Cain and Rieckhoff 2002: 33, fig. 1). In addition, 71 (3 per cent) of persons are described as sexless. This category applies when the persons are rendered naked and in enough detail to show their sex, but sex characteristics were deliberately omitted. For the most part, sexless figures can only be recognized in context with similar, sexed figures of the same style.

The gender classification of early Iron Age human representations for this book includes sexual characteristics and supplements this data with indications of a person's gender by dress and attributes. There were no contradictions between sex and gender established this way. Of 3148 human representations, 391 (12 per cent) were classified as female, 1215 (39 per cent) as male and 50 (2 per cent) remained androgynous or sexless.

Data on nudity, sex and gender are summarised in Fig. 7.6. For about half the representations it is possible to determine whether they are represented naked or dressed; 39 per cent are clothed and 15 per cent naked. Other anthropomorphic

	<i>all</i>	<i>female</i> (gender)	<i>male</i> (gender)	<i>sexless/ androgynous</i>
belt only	35 (1%)	10 (3%)	22 (2%)	2 (4%)
dressed	1137 (36%)	240 (61%)	667 (55%)	
dressed?	88 (3%)		18 (1%)	
naked	439 (14 %)	85 (22%)	300 (25%)	48 (96%)
naked?	22 (1 %)	1 (0%)	18 (1%)	
not clear	1427 (45%)	56 (14%)	190 (16%)	
total	3148 (100%)	391 (100%)	1215 (100%)	50 (100%)

Figure 7.6 Nudity, sex and gender of human representations

figures are too schematic to tell if they wore clothes or not. A minority is nude except for a belt (35, just 1 per cent). Females appear a little more frequently in dress than men; only 22 per cent of women are depicted naked, compared to 26 per cent of men. Both sexless and androgynous persons are naked – a prerequisite for their identification. On most sites, representations of both dressed and naked people were found. In Fig. 7.7, sites are mapped according to the percentage of dressed and naked people. On 84 sites, the majority of represented people are dressed; on 49 sites the majority is naked. Sites with a high prevalence of nudity are distributed all over the study region, but cluster in France and southwestern Germany, Slovakia and Hungary, as well as southern and eastern Croatia.

Nudity is a common, but not predominant, feature of early Iron Age human representations. There are four primary explanations for why some people were represented naked. First and most obvious, nudity was associated with sex. Men engaged in sexual activities are naked or wear only a belt; women, by contrast, are still shown with their headscarves, naked only below the waistline. Second, nudity can have a ritual meaning. Representations of the naked body are frequently found in ritual contexts such as sanctuaries, most concretely on ritual objects like the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), or organ votives (for example, Este, Italy, Ruta Serafini 2002). Third, nudity is associated with athletic competitions, hunts and wars. Dumb-bell fighters are, for example, always depicted

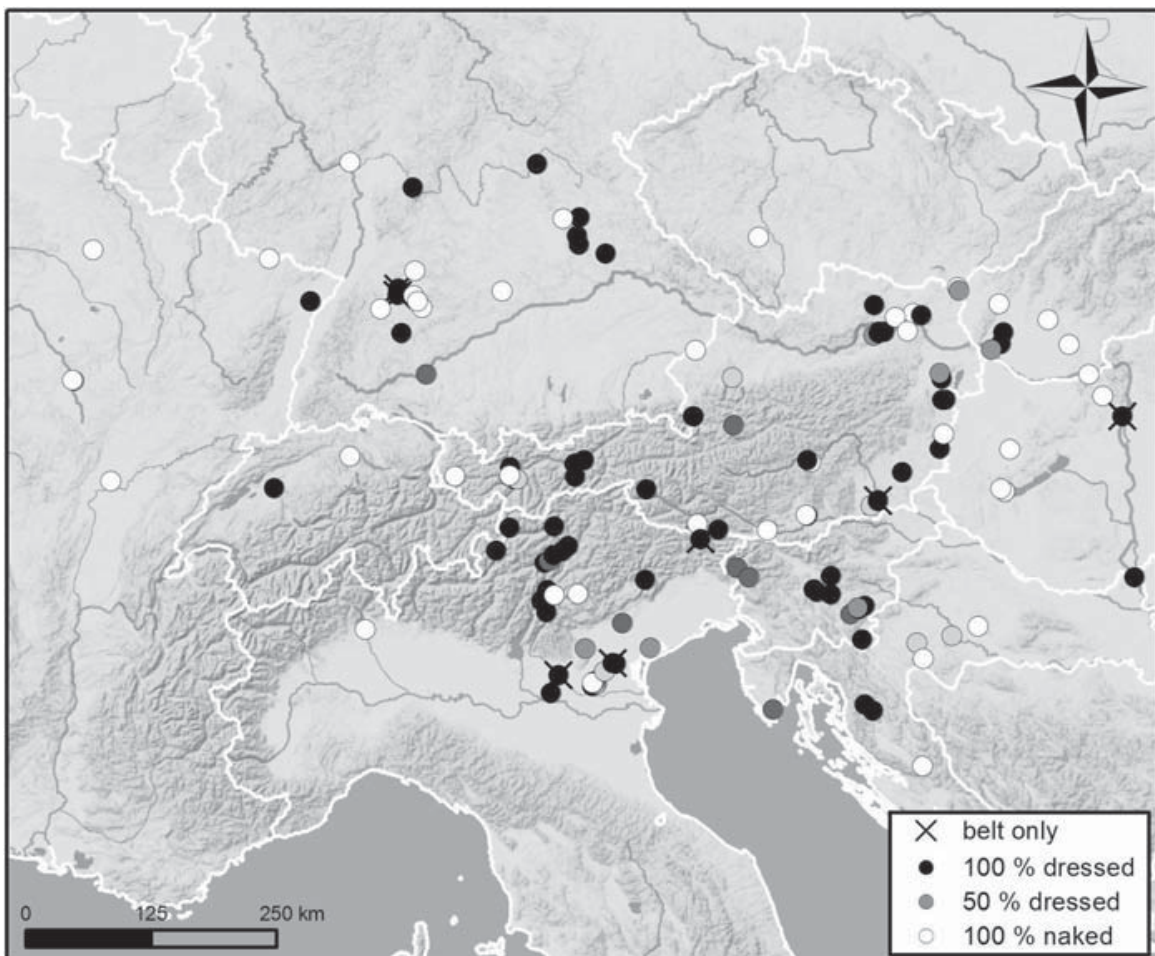


Figure 7.7 Sites according to the percentage of dressed and naked human representations

naked. The image on the *situla* in Providence (Figs 7.8 and 7.9 Lucke and Frey 1962) reveals that nudity was situational. The sportsmen are normal participants in the feast, but their clothes were taken off immediately before the fight. These are then placed between the legs of the contestants, neatly folded and covered by a beret-shaped hat. The dumb-bell fighters still wear their belts; although in the context of the specific sporting event the belt may have other meanings (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b: 191), it is an indicator of high status in early Iron Age central Europe. Last, captives and slaves are shown naked, for example, on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), or Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: 65). On the latter, the naked person in shackles still wears his belt, perhaps an indication of his status and superior value as a captive.

In the contexts of athletic competitions, hunts and wars, the naked male stresses virility and strength. The erect penis of the male warrior, as, for instance, known from the stamps on the lids of Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 350–351), may also be transferred to his horse (e.g., Frög, Austria, Tomedi 2002), if the constraints of the mode of representation do not allow for a direct depiction. Vulvae and breasts of the naked female body are likely to stress the reproductive ability of women, in contrast to sexless depictions.

Figure 7.10 summarises observations on sex and gender of early Iron Age human representations, of which 447 (14 per cent) indicate sex; they are either shown with male or female sexual parts, with both or with a distinct lack of sexual characteristics. Male representations clearly outnumber female ones (65 per cent to 21 per cent), but the sexless representations are also not rare, at 14 per cent. For a little over half of all representation (1656, 53 per cent), gender could be established. Male representations prevail again with 73 per cent, 24 per cent are most likely female and 3 per cent sexless. In short, about every fourth person in early Iron Age imagery is female.

Traditionally, gender roles are discussed along the lines of male and female as binary oppositions, because most of the evidence comes from graves, where we find anthropological data for both sexes, and also because today's society is

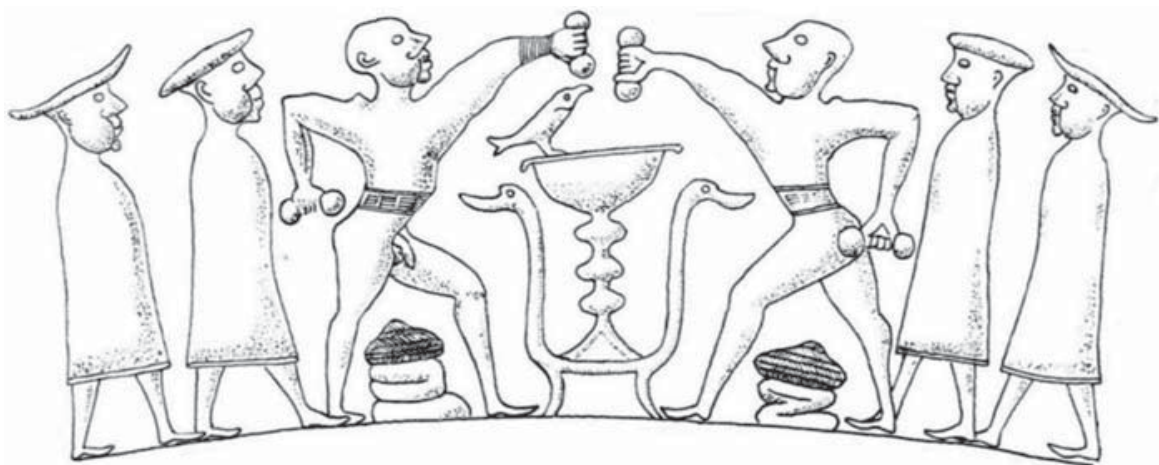


Figure 7.8 Situational nudity: dumb-bell fighters, having just taken off their clothes before the contest on the *situla* in Providence (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1)

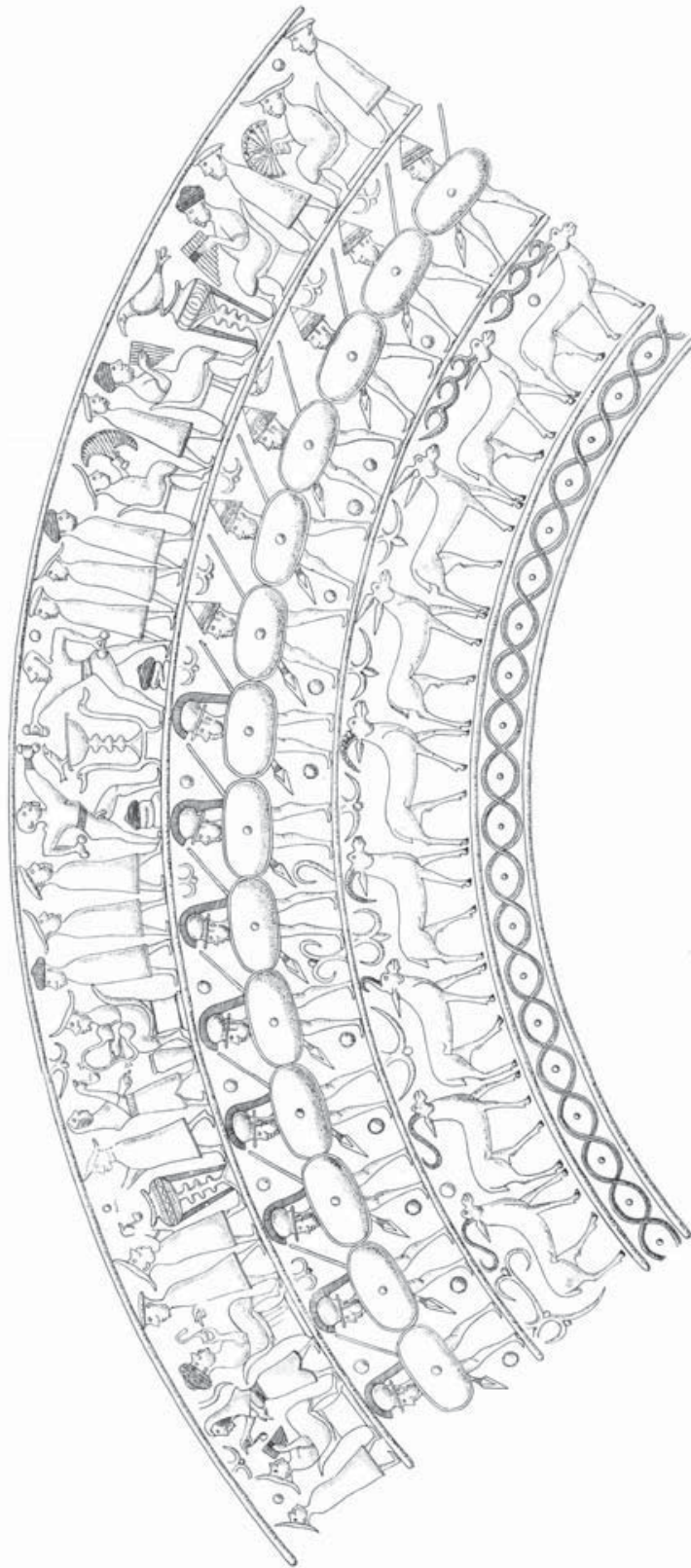


Figure 7.9 *Situla* in Providence (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1)

structured along those lines. And indeed, a binary understanding of gender is portrayed in some human representations, for instance, in bronze pendants from graves in Switzerland and southern Germany, where male and female bodies are represented together. In Esslingen, Germany (Zürn 1987: 66, pl. 79.34), a naked

	<i>Sex</i>			<i>Gender</i>		
	<i>n = 447</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>% of n</i>	<i>n = 1656</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>% of n</i>
female	93	3%	21%	274	9%	17%
female?				117	4%	7%
male	290	9%	65%	1164	37%	70%
male?				51	1.5%	3 %
sexless	63	2%	14%	49	1.5%	3 %
androgynous	1	0%	0%	1	0%	0 %
no sex	2701	86%	no gender	1492	47%	
total	3148					

Figure 7.10 Sex and gender of human representations

male and female figure are joined back to back; their heads connect to a bronze ring on which the pendant was hung up. A set of one male and one female pendant, with one ring each, was found in Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland (Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101.4 and 5), and Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany (Huth 2003: pl. 21). Not all human representations can be ascribed clearly to one sex or the other, although they appear to be naked and not clothed. In such cases, they are often either regarded as female (classified by the absence of male reproductive parts) or not further interpreted. I argue, in contrast, that the notion of gender in the early Iron Age in central Europe has to be expanded to include sexless representations.

Sets of figurines, which include depictions of humans in the same style, but with different reproductive parts or their absence, are most intriguing. One such set of ceramic figurines was discovered in Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958), and another at Langenlebarn, Austria (Preinfalk 2003). The sites are located only about 20 kilometres apart along the Danube and include remarkable parallels in the construction of the burial space and the ceramic grave goods. At Gemeinlebarn, a set of at least 14 human figurines as well as a few animals were discovered in the chamber. Traces of resin on the legs and feet suggest they were fixed to an object, perhaps a wagon of organic material or a large conical vessel. Some of the figurines are clearly portrayed as females, with one breast painted and the other in a plastic medium, but other figurines are more ambiguous; most are too fragmented to be absolutely certain of the absence of sexual features. At Langenlebarn, the figurine set consists of at least seven human figurines. This time, some figurines are clearly depicted with male sexual parts, whereas others appear sexless. The size and body proportions of these sexless figurines are those of adults, although the neck seems particularly long and over-emphasised.

The Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: 6), includes very similar figurines in bronze. It was found in 1851 in a monumental tumulus with a *dromos* that included several cremated individuals, as well as exceptional drinking and feasting equipment, and was recently re-excavated (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2014). The central figurine of the Cult Wagon is a nude female individual

with broad belt and earrings. This central figurine, which balances a vessel on her head with her hands, is twice as tall as the rest of the figurines on the wagon, which are arranged as a mirror image scene in the front and back with six persons each. The scene depicts the sacrifice of a stag. Two nude figurines without any sex indication hold a stag by the antlers, followed by a woman and a man with a raised axe to strike the animal from the back. The figures are flanked by two mounted warriors. Again, there is a clear distinction between male, female and sexless figurines.

Sexless figurines dominate also in the ritual context of Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004), whereas similar figures, such as the figurine from Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 2000a: pl. 9.1), or Ilsfeld, Germany (Echt 1999: 87), are more difficult to read due to the absence of contrasting, clearly sexed figures.

The representation of these sexless human representations can be read in a number of ways. One interpretation would be that for the performance of certain tasks gender was not a relevant category and therefore not depicted. However, because gender was usually marked out very clearly through burial rites and in depictions, this explanation seems unlikely. More likely, the conceptualisations of social roles allowed for other categories and were not exclusively based on difference between two sexes. The highlighted difference between the sexed body with reproductive parts and the sexless body may hint at the existence of social

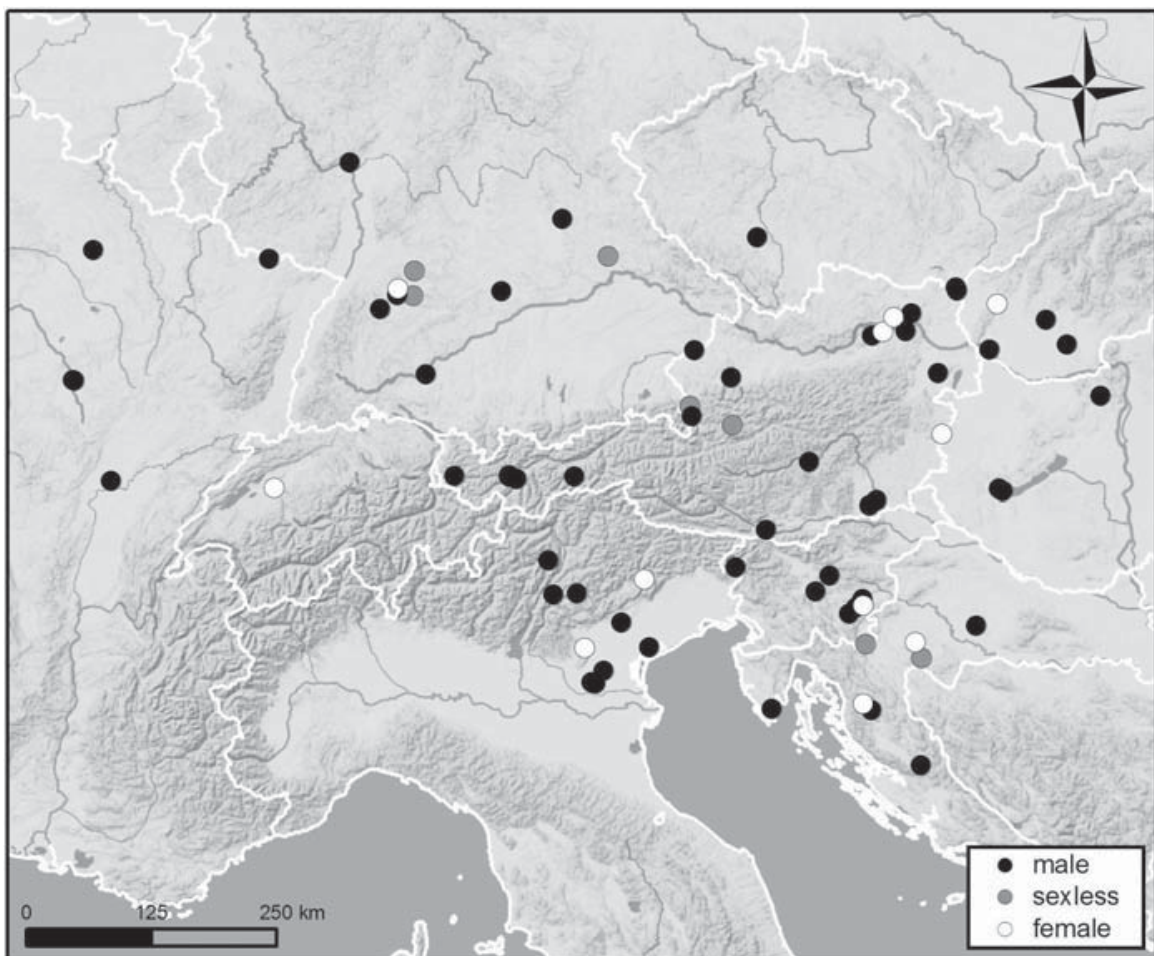


Figure 7.11 Distribution of sites in terms of the prevailing sex

groups for which sexuality and therefore reproductive abilities were either of no importance or actively restricted.

Many pre-modern societies such as the Assyrian, Persian, Chinese, Byzantine and Islamic worlds had eunuchs (Tougher 2002). These castrated males have a special gender status and are normally destined for particular roles in a court society, for example, in the position of a treasurer or in a harem; the inability to have biological children removed them from family responsibilities and succession. This made them safe, high-ranking servants to the rulers or particular candidates for ritual and religious careers. Certainly a metaphorical castration or the deliberate abstinence from sexuality and reproduction without genital mutilation is a further possibility, which in some societies is held as a virtue.

The sexless bodies of the early Iron Age may be a hint that reproduction was socially regulated and restricted to a defined group of people within a society, for instance, those who could afford their own household. Farmhands, maids and domestic servants in post-medieval central Europe, for instance, frequently found themselves in a position where they could not marry and have (legitimate) children. Alliances amongst them were certainly no rarities, but it depended largely on the generosity of their masters whether pregnancies or children would be

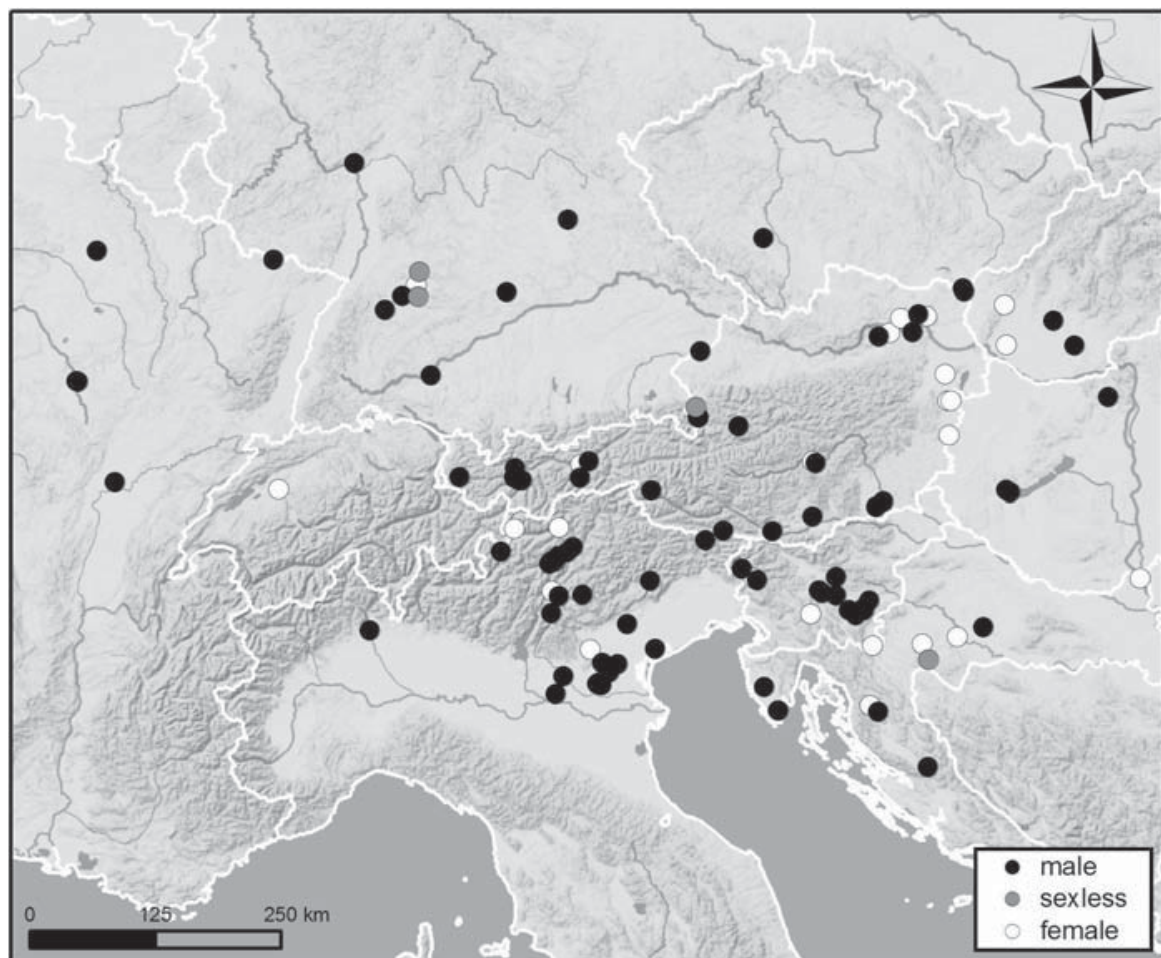


Figure 7.12 Distribution of sites in terms of the prevailing gender

accepted; women were dismissed from service, pregnancies hidden and infants killed (Weber 1985). Children of unmarried parents had a low social status and were the coming generation of servants. Such reproductive restrictions are also attested in Celtic written sources (Karl 2006: 88) and will be further discussed in Section 7.7. By such reproductive restrictions, the social system was reproduced. Individuals were only small pieces in the jigsaw (Stevens 1999).

Male human representations outnumber female ones by about four to one, a little less with naked people, a little more with clothed people. Sexed male representations prevail at 58 sites (Fig. 7.11). Only at 11 sites do the females shown with sexual parts outnumber sites with male human representation of the same kind. Sexless representations in the majority occur on seven sites. Mapping sites in terms of the prevailing sex reveals that the geographical distribution of these differences is not particularly significant.

Mapping sites in terms of the prevailing gender (Fig. 7.12) puts more data points on the map, most of which are male. The 26 sites with gendered representations of women in the majority are still vastly outnumbered by the 92 male-dominant sites. Nevertheless, a small cluster of sites with female representations in the majority emerges in the northeastern Hallstatt area. A few data points appear in the Alps as well as Slovenia and Croatia. Turska kosa in Croatia remains the only site with a significant number of sexless representations.

7.5 Sexuality

Human sexuality goes much beyond the biological necessity of reproduction. It is intertwined with culture (Taylor 1996: 4), and therefore representations of sexuality reflect specific cultural meanings. Sexuality is often not only connected to individual reproduction, but also the reproduction of social order (Stevens 1999). Other than in archaic and classic Greece or Etruria (cf. Harris et al. 2013a, Stoddart 2009), where depictions of explicit sexuality are largely restricted to prostitution, the depictions of sexual acts serve different means in early Iron Age central Europe; they seem to refer to establishing lineages of biological relatedness and power. Further, much of the actual sex life in a person's lifetime has nothing to do with reproduction; sex might be an act of bodily pleasure or, conversely, dominance and control.

Heterosexual encounters have been captured in Situla Art several times. The widest variety of sexual positions is shown on the bottom frieze of the *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago (Fig. 7.13, Gangemi 2013: Fig. 6.9). The frieze is divided into four scenes that can be read from right to left. The first scene shows three couples or, more likely, one couple depicted three times: first in embrace, then with the woman touching the man's face, and last, with the man opening the woman's veil with his erect penis signalling sexual desire. The woman's hand gestures are ambiguous: one hand touches his coat folded back over the shoulder, whereas the other one is stretched out as to refuse his advances. In this scene, both partners are dressed; the woman with tunic and veil, the man with tunic or cloak and a beret-shaped hat. The next scene seems to be taking place indoors; the man appears

fully naked and has taken his hat off, whereas the woman remains dressed. The couple makes love in standing position face to face, with the woman seated on a throne, and in a standing position from the back. Bystanders include a woman holding an axe, a woman holding the seat of the throne, a woman sitting on a throne and another, smaller woman slightly elevated behind the back of the man in the last sexual encounter. The next scene is familiar from other pieces of Situla Art – a man and woman having sex in missionary position on the mattress of a bed. This, in contrast to depictions known from the Classical world (cf. Bonfante 1999), is the most commonly shown sexual position in the Hallstatt area. The last scene on the *situla* of Pieve d’Alpago is concerned with the consequences of sex: it shows a woman giving birth, assisted by two women acting as midwives (more in Section 7.7.1).

The missionary position is also found on the image from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1996: pl. 11, fig. 6), where only the feet facing each other are preserved. The images from Montebelluna, Italy (Fig. 7.14, Bianchin Citton in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6), Sanzeno, Italy (Fig. 7.14, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4) and Castelvetro, Italy, just south of the River Po (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), show the women lying on their back, with raised legs; they are wearing a veil and sometimes earrings; only the bottom half of the body is naked. The men are depicted without headgear, with bald heads and naked except perhaps for a belt or an upper arm ring. The erect penis, scrotum and pubic hair are clearly shown where preserved. The couples seem to be embracing, but nothing in their facial expression, where preserved, indicates emotion of any sort. The images on the belt plate of Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Turk 2005: 56, fig. 83), are slightly different in that they show a mirror image of a woman seated on a throne, dressed with earrings, a veil and a raised skirt or dress. Her pubic hair is clearly indicated. Her legs rest on the shoulders of the man kneeling in front of her; her ankles are adorned by rings. Clearly, she is depicted as a member of the ruling elite. The man penetrating her is kneeling in front of her and is, in contrast to most other images, dressed. He is wearing a simple tunic with beret-shaped hat and looks away from the woman. The heavily repaired and altered piece depicts a large metal vessel between the couples, evoking images of feasting and sporting competitions.



Figure 7.13 Courtship, sex and birth on the *situla* from Pieve d’Alpago, Italy (after Frigo 2013)

It is interesting to note that sex scenes occur on two belt plates (Brezje, Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva), two cists (Montebelluna, Sanzeno), three *situlae* (Nesactium, Montebelluna, Pieve d' Alpago) and one bronze mirror (Castelvetro). One fragment of the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 60), shows a leg held horizontally over a bronze vessel held by a hand; although this scene is commonly referred to as foot washing, in the light of the new finds, an interpretation in terms of a sex scene seems equally possible.

The two cists and the *situla* of Montebelluna also bear images of ploughing, which suggests a thematic link with ideas about fertility and procreation (Eibner 1997: 138). Although not on the same bronze vessel, images of ploughing were also found twice at Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2, Mihovilić 1996: pl. 11, fig. 10), and once on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64).

Depictions of heterosexual encounters are much closer to the Etruscan than to the Greek image world, but retain their unique characteristics (Bonfante 2003b). Sex as depicted in early Iron Age imagery is not an issue of privacy. We find sex scenes embedded in feasting scenes, with bystanders either offering drinks or watching the scene. As a public act, sex is of importance for the social order. In fact, witnessing sex may be of utmost importance. *Mater semper certa est, pater numquam* – the mother is always certain, the father never – unless paternity is ensured by witnesses to the act of procreation. The importance of making sure who the father is may point to a patrilineal definition of kinship in the early Iron Age, in which biological relationship through the male line is emphasised.

At the same time, the women were by no means unimportant. The thrones shown on the sex scene from Brezje (Plate 12, Barth 1999) and Pieve d' Alpago (Gangemi 2013) characterise the women as being of exceptionally high status, perhaps even as goddesses, queens, heroines or priestesses (Eibner 2001: 128). The women in the sex scenes have been suggested to have a crucial role in the transfer of power from one generation to the next and in social reproduction, as daughters or widows of the previous ruler (Teržan 2001a, Teržan 2001b, Turk 2005: 30–31). The image from the mirror of Castelvetro frames the sex scene with two other human encounters that easily fit into the story: men and women gesticulating (see Section 7.9.2), perhaps negotiating the terms of marriage. The



Figure 7.14 Witnessing a sexual union at Sanzeno and Montebelluna, Italy (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67, 68 and Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6)

three well-trained horses may well be part of the dowry. Marriage, defined here as the socially sanctioned unity of man and woman in which reproduction took place, might have been a prerequisite for sex.

The recently discovered *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), seems to depict the festivities on the occasion of a marriage. In the top frieze, a procession of horsemen, a chariot and two wagons travel to the feast. The scene is special in two respects: first, the passenger standing on the chariot behind the driver is a woman, and second, the last wagon with three seated persons drags a naked man in shackles behind them. The woman travelling may well be the bride and the naked man a slave, representing her dowry or a captive to exchange. The middle frieze of the *situla* depicts a feast with sporting competition. The different teams supporting the competitors are characterised by different headgear. The sexual union between the newlyweds takes place right next to the feast. On the other side of the bed, two women stand opposite each other spinning. The subtle differences in their dress may again articulate individuals of different groups: perhaps they can even be interpreted as bride and mother-in-law spinning together. Such an admittedly rather liberal reading of the depicted scenes would point to a patrilocal family residence, in which the bride marries into the groom's family and resides with them.

Homosexuality is nowhere directly depicted in early Iron Age imagery. Contemporary cultures in Antiquity, the Greeks and Scythians practiced forms of homosexuality, but it is debatable to what extent they can be understood in the same way as modern conceptualisations of homosexuality. Lasting friendships between males were crucial in the construction of regional networks in Antiquity. They imply mutual help and protection and may range from emotional to affectionate and even passionate. Scythians, for example, confirmed their friendship through the ritual of drinking from a common vessel, a scene nicely captured in a golden plaque from the Kul-Oba kurgan, Ukraine, dating to the fourth century BC (Menghin et al. 2007).

The facets of Greek homosexuality have been discussed extensively (Davidson 2007, Dover 1978, Keuls 1993, Patzer 1982). In particular pederasty – the affection between men and youths has given rise to much speculation. Most likely, the relationship between the lover and beloved involved courtship, initiation to male ways of living and occasionally homosexual practices. To which extent they were socially sanctioned changed from time to time. Eva Keuls argued that pederasty was distinct from homoerotic relations and part of the construction of masculinity (Keuls 1993: 274–299), whereas homosexuality between two adults was not approved. James Davidson (Davidson 2007) coined the term ‘homobesottedness’ for the passion for and a strong interest in younger men. This relationship had an educational aspect, in particular with regard to hunting. A few ancient sources hint that pederasty was also common practice amongst the Celts (Bremmer 1980, Dynes and Donaldson 1992). Aristotle, who lived from 384 to 322 BC, hinted in his *Politics* (II, 9)¹ that Celts approved of male lovers, and so did Athenaeus of Naucratis (second/third centuries AD) in his *Deipnosophists* (XIII, 79).²

The theme of pederasty is taken up many times in Greek mythology, for example, by the relationship between Zeus and Ganymede, and expressed in iconography. A black-figure vase painting from c. 530 BC, for example, shows Ganymede with a cockerel (Boardman 1974: 217). Small animals were commonly depicted in such scenes of love and courtship; they represent love gifts, which were offered and could either be accepted or rejected. Most common were cockerels and hares, but deer, foxes or waterfowl were also gifted (Koch-Harnack 1983).

The Greek cultural background as described earlier is perhaps the clue to understanding the relationship between a man and a boy as depicted on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 7.15, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75, Nebehay 1993). There are two images of smaller persons, one standing behind a seated person enjoying a drink, and one standing opposite a man with a raised, overlong index finger, perhaps a way of expressing teaching the boy a lesson. A cockerel is shown behind the boy. The scenes are unusual in many ways – size differences are not normally a topic of Situla Art, and in particular children are usually not represented. The size difference may be used to define a difference in age, but also status difference or difference in knowledge. This again would be the topic of the teaching or initiation scene. The transition from one life stage to the other, or perhaps initiation and the transferral of the power of rulership, seems to be the topic of the scenes depicted on the *situla* from Kuffern. The domestic chicken at the time is still a rarity in the archaeological record (Rebay 2006: 190) and most likely represents a precious gift. Conversely, it may just be employed to symbolise fighting (Eibner 2012a: 54), as a chariot race takes place in the next scene. The similarity between these motifs and Greek depictions of pederasty are nevertheless striking. Translated into situla style, the scene preserved the formal frame of the friendship between man and boy known from the Greek cultural context. It remains unclear, however, whether the content was fully understood.



Figure 7.15 Man, boy and cockerel on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), and Zeus seizing Ganymede on a red-figure kylix, c. 475 BC–425 BC (© Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina, Ferrara, Italy, Ferrara T212BVP, Beazley Archive Number: 211576)

7.6 Age, ageing and stages of life

Every person's life begins with pregnancy and birth. As a lived experience, they consciously affect the mothers most and are therefore discussed in the course of the female lifecycle. For children, the most dangerous day was and is the day on which they are born. Neonatal and childhood mortality is generally assumed to be 40 to 50 per cent in prehistoric societies (Burmeister and Gebühr in press). Premature birth, birth complications and infections are the most common causes of perinatal mortality today (Save the Children 2013); the highest under-five mortality rate with 185 deaths per 1000 live births is presently documented in Sierra Leone. Childhood mortality strongly correlates with the social status of women.

Stefan Burmeister reconstructed a mortality rate for infants between 0 and 5 years of age of 43.4 ± 4.1 per cent on the basis of late Hallstatt cemetery demographics from southern Germany (Burmeister 2000: 85). Thirty to forty per cent of this age group are missing in the cemetery record. Although such young children are sometimes buried without gendered objects, it seems that babies with a female inventory are slightly more often represented than those with male inventories, which indicates a sex difference in mortality and/or burial practices. Keeping children alive during their first years was probably difficult enough. The deliberate killing of babies, infanticide (Krauß 1998), may have happened too, but it is analytically very difficult to differentiate victims of infanticide from babies who died naturally in the perinatal period.

Newborns were often buried outside the classic cemeteries in settlement contexts. A survey of early Iron Age settlement burials in Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria (Müller-Scheeßel et al. 2013) revealed that a quarter of all buried individuals were under one year old, with other sub-adult age groups also being represented in other quantities than demographically expected. Late Iron Age evidence (c. 380–250 BC) from the Ramsautal settlement of the Dürrnberg near Hallein, Austria (Karl and Löcker 2011), led to particularly interesting insights. Eleven baby burials were recovered in the context of building features, in the entrance areas, along the building axis, below the floor layers, between house and drainage ditches or within the drainage ditches. No features were specifically dug for the internment of the skeletons, but the babies were deposited during the construction of the buildings. Their deposition in these liminal spaces of the settlement may be interpreted to mirror the liminal state of their lives, between physical birth and social integration into society. The integration of baby burials in settlements is common in both the early Iron Age (e.g. Heuneburg, Germany, Wahl 1995) and the late Iron Age (e.g. Pichler et al. 2012, Rams 2010) and seems to represent a wider social phenomenon.

Early childrearing practices contribute greatly to the survival of children. In the first year(s) after birth, babies stay intimately connected to their mothers and other carers by their utter dependency – they need to be fed, kept warm and held almost constantly. Breastfeeding is the most natural way to feed a baby, but cultural attitudes to breastfeeding and beliefs about the effects of breast milk vary widely. Breastfeeding avoids contaminated substitute food and enhances the

babies' immune system by transmission of maternal antibodies; the age of weaning is thus associated with a peak in childhood mortality in past societies. The duration of breastfeeding and the age of weaning have only recently emerged as fields of archaeological inquiry, and can best be assessed by a combination of palaeo-anthropological methods such as studying the chronological distribution of enamel hypoplasias and isotope studies (e.g. Bourbou et al. 2013, Eriksson 2013, Herring, Saunders and Katzenberg 1998, Howcroft 2013). Infants who are breast-fed exclusively appear enriched in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (nitrogen), as their position in the food chain is above their mothers. $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (oxygen) helps to differentiate breast milk from drinking water as the main fluid intake.

So far, there are no specific studies on infant feeding practices of the central European Iron Age. Isotopic studies on mobility and diet of the Magdalenenberg, Germany, acknowledged specific effects from breastfeeding, but did not specifically study the practice (Oelze et al. 2012). A study of individuals from Wetwang Slack, Britain (Jay et al. 2008), an Iron Age site dating from the fourth to the second centuries BC suggested restricted levels of breastfeeding and supplementation of the diet by animal milk and/or plant gruel early on, before children ate the same diet as adults by about 2.5 years of age. Evidence from Iron Age Sweden (Howcroft, Eriksson and Lidén 2012) revealed a complex pattern of breastfeeding and introducing weaning food, which suggested infant feeding practices did not follow a uniform cultural norm, but depended on social status, gender and individual feeding decisions. The high variability of infant feeding practices calls for more studies of specific burial populations to better understand mother-child relations in the Iron Age, of which breastfeeding is an important component.

Feeding vessels, small vessels with a spout, are common finds in late Bronze Age central Europe (Eibner 1973) and also occur in early Iron Age graves. They have been associated with infant feeding, and may indicate that animal milk was substituted for mother's milk, milk from another woman was used or other foodstuff was introduced. For young infants, this carries a high risk of contamination as well as the possibility that unsuitable food was used, leading to a higher risk of death. During the course of the Hallstatt period, however, vessels with spouts in animal form develop into monumental funerary vessels more closely associated with high-status males. They have been interpreted in terms of a libation ritual (Nebelsick 1997). Miniature vessels – smaller forms of the usual types – are also common finds in children's graves (e.g., Hadersdorf, Austria, Wewerka 1998: 275). Toys such as rattles are also found, sometimes shaped as balls, sometimes in animal form. They do, however, also occur in those of adults, which is why they are sometimes interpreted in terms of ritual objects or musical instruments (Kaus 1971). It seems that child-typical material culture is deposited in the graves, but it is not exclusive to children.

Early childrearing is not only incredibly labour intensive, it frequently involves a number of people other than the mother, particularly if the mother died, was absent or her workforce was indispensable for society. Early childrearing involves practices such as carrying and swaddling, for which there is early Iron Age evidence. Babies were even carried into the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria, as demonstrated by a fur cap that could only have fitted a three- to six-month-old

(Pany-Kucera, Reschreiter and Kern 2010: 55). So far, however, no baby slings or specific baby-carrying devices have been found. Swaddling babies (Frenken 2011) is another piece in the jigsaw of childrearing practices that seems to have a long pedigree in Europe. Swaddling has made a recent comeback as it seems to calm newborns by mimicking a warm and enclosed space quite like the mother's womb. Greeks and Romans swaddled their babies, in part as they believed that babies were not finished and their bodies had to be correctly moulded (Graham 2013). Babies were swaddled after the first post-natal bath and 'unpacked' after 40 to 60 days. The right hand was unpacked first to improve the motor development of the right side and ensure right-handedness (Wirth 2010a: 214).

Images of swaddled babies thus almost certainly refer to newborns and very young babies. Votives in the form of swaddled babies were found in sanctuaries, for instance, in Hellenistic Italy (Graham 2014). A stone sculpture of a baby was unearthed at Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984: pl. 8, fig. 1). Although it is badly preserved and the top part is missing, its placing across the chest and in the arms of the sculpture of a birthing woman favours the interpretation. It appears like a bundle rather than an anatomically shaped infant. Cist XIII from Kleinklein (Fig. 7.16, Schmid 1933: pl. 1c), which is decorated with human shapes in point-boss technique, may include the images of three swaddled babies. The upper parts of their bodies include circles indicating the head and arms stretched out to the side and bent up; the fingers point upwards in the typical orant gesture. The lower part of the body, in contrast, is shaped like a rectangular bundle and not further elaborated; the proportions fit a baby much better than an adult. Interpretations of these three persons have ranged from swaddled babies to the appearance of a god (Eibner 1993) – notions that do not need to be contradictory, as the image may well intend to show the birth of a deity.

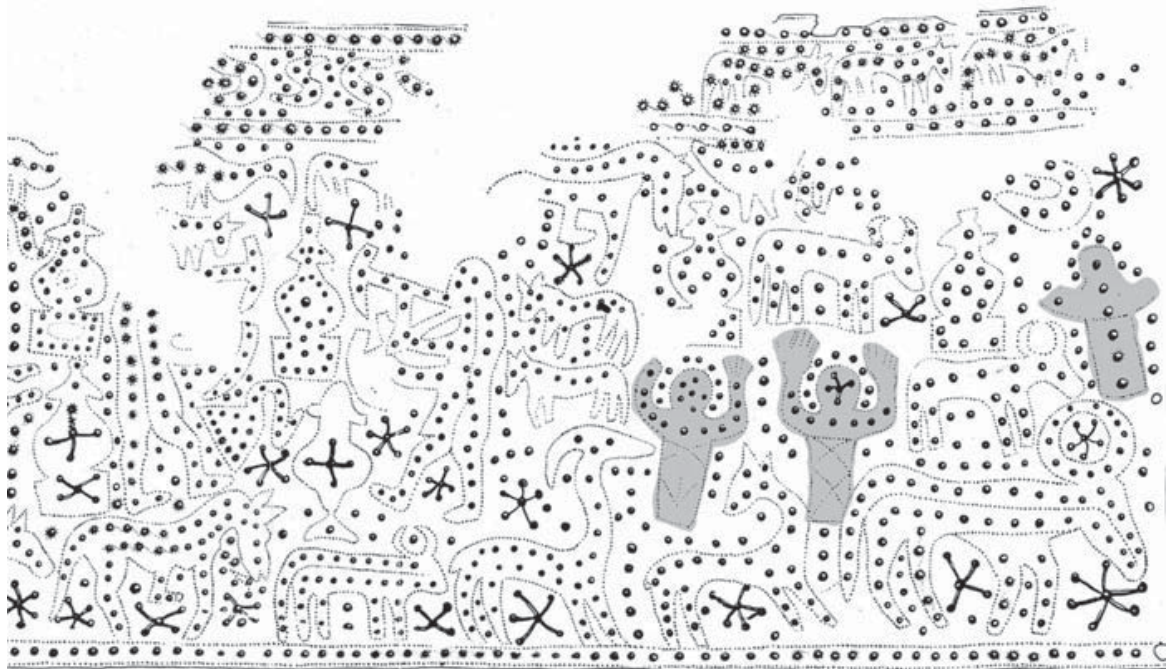


Figure 7.16 Swaddled babies (?) on Cist XIII from Kleinklein, Austria (after Schmid 1933: pl. 1c)

The social concept of a ‘middle childhood’ has recently been proposed for Neolithic societies (Bickle and Fibiger 2014). Biologically, it is the period from about the age of six or seven, when the first permanent teeth erupt, until the onset of puberty. When puberty occurred is by no means certain for the early Iron Age, and it is a process rather than a fixed point in time. One marker is the age of menarche for girls, which has dropped considerably in modern times due to better nutrition and living conditions (Thomas et al. 2001). An educated guess for the Iron Age would place menarche between 12 and 16 years of age, perhaps rather at the latter end of the spectrum. The reproductive years for women begin about one to two years after menarche, as the first cycles are normally anovulatory.

During middle childhood, children were first recognised socially and began to learn and engage in gender-specific activities. Images of children are almost totally absent in early Iron Age central Europe. It seems likely, therefore, that it was not a socially recognised period in life. Only a handful of scenes, including the one on the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 7.17, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), depict smaller people with people of normal size. The boy at the wine racks behind the seated person is c. 60 per cent the size of the adults, which suggests a five- to six-year-old according to modern growth charts. The boy being taught is approximately 70 per cent the size of the adults, which corresponds roughly to a seven- to eight-year-old.

On the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Fig. 7.17, Bianchin Citton in prep), we again encounter a small boy standing behind a seated figure playing the flute. The similarity to the scene on the Kuffern *situla* is striking. The boy is only about half the size of the adults in the same scene, a three-year-old perhaps; two women carrying cists on their heads right behind the boy may represent his carers. Two small persons depicted on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Fig. 7.17, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64, Zimmermann 2003), are likewise noteworthy. They are standing on the armrests of a sofa, on which a flute player and a lyre player are seated for a music competition; a *situla* hangs between them as a trophy. The small, naked persons are represented in the fashion of dumb-bell fighters, although they do not have the dumb-bells in hand. They may represent children practicing fist fighting, although their proportions rather resemble those of adults; perhaps they embody the competitive spirit. The only small person in woman’s dress observes the sexual scenes on the *situla* of Pieve d’Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013). At c. 66 per cent of the average adult’s height, her height corresponds to a five-year-old girl. Based on the elevated position, Giovanna Gangemi (2013: 284) suggests, that it is the representation of a divine statuette that embodies the presence of the supernatural and functions to consecrate the space in her presence.



Figure 7.17 Children at a feast, from Bologna-Certosa and Montebelluna, Italy, and Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64, 75 and Bianchin in prep)

Children were integrated in the adult work life. Their presence in the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria, has long been attested by finds of small-sized leather shoes in the mines. Only recently, palaeo-pathological evidence has shown that children were involved in the same work processes as adults. Symmetrical changes in the upper vertebrae of children indicate they carried heavy loads. Child skeletons from Hallstatt further show traces of trauma, which may be due to accidents, interpersonal violence and child abuse. The patterns of trauma are likely to stem from blows on the head (Pany-Kucera, Reschreiter and Kern 2010). Life as a child in the Hallstatt mining community does not sound like a blissful experience.

In the West Hallstatt area, children below the age of 10 are buried with female-typical grave goods, and only from the age between 10 and 15 do boys begin to be buried with male-typical grave goods; weapons and razors are reserved for adults (Burmeister 2000: 77, Lenerz-de Wilde 1989: 261). Children's dress frequently includes *fibulae* for boys and jewellery for girls; amulets and apotropaic pendants are typical for children's graves, but also occur in those of women (Pauli 1975). The reported burials of children with high-status grave goods from Mitterkirchen, Austria (Leskovar 2000), turned out to be those of adults after a modern anthropological re-analysis of the human remains, in particular the teeth (Schumann, Leskovar and Marschler 2015). Detailed analyses for other areas in regard to ages and stages from infancy to adulthood have not been attempted so far. Amongst the children's graves in the northeastern Hallstatt area are burials that are well equipped with pottery, including child-typical miniature forms, such as Grave 67 from Hadersdorf, Austria (Wewerka 1998). In the southeastern Hallstatt area, skeletal material is very badly preserved, and often children's graves cannot be distinguished from adults'. In general, it seems that children – at least from the age of cemetery inclusion – were treated after death and equipped in a similar way as adults, perhaps without status symbols (Schumann 2015: 295–303).

A distinct period of adolescence, after middle childhood but before adulthood, is neither apparent from the human imagery nor from the cemetery record. Inventories of graves from juvenile individuals are not dissimilar from those of adults. Adulthood seemed to have begun at the age of about 20 for both men and women, and from this age, the life experience differed markedly.

7.7 Femininity: of marriage and motherhood

Knowledge about early Iron Age gender relations, family structures and social organisation is still fairly limited. As discussed earlier (Section 7.3), bodies are represented in both sexed and sexless variants, suggesting that reproduction was at times emphasised and de-emphasised. Motherhood is often understood as universal; a natural and inevitable part of a woman's lifecycle, but it is as much a social as a biological phenomenon. Reproductive regulation (Taylor 2006) excluding individuals from having children might have taken place for subsets of society, or reproduction might have required a social and legal sanctioning in the form of marriage. Some individuals may even have had the choice to remain childless and control their own fertility.

Marriage is the social framework for the unity of man and woman in which reproduction took place; it most likely required a certain level of prosperity (Burmeister and Gebühr in press) and the means to found a household. Unmarried individuals may well have had children, but their provision and social position have been less secure. It is important to stress that marital unions for high-status individuals may well have included polygamy (cf. Karl 2006: 76). At Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria, for instance, it has been suspected that upon the death of the ruler, a concubine had to follow into the grave, whereas the main wife and mother of successors was spared (Egg and Kramer 2005: 18). The anthropological analysis of the cremated individuals in the grave could certify three adults and a juvenile individual, all of indeterminate sex (Grill and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013). Burials of multiple persons, however, have multiple causes; particularly in creation graves, it can ultimately not be decided if individuals died of natural causes or were killed prior to burial.

Marriage most likely began with a social ritual – a wedding. Although we have no direct evidence for such ceremonies, the depictions of sex scenes (discussed in Section 7.5) may represent just that. Particularly the scene from Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), may be read as the negotiation of marriage followed by its confirmation by sexual intercourse.

A change of dress and appearance accompanied the change of social status for women as they got married at the age of around 20. At the same time, the probability of dying rises significantly (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 89). In the West Hallstatt area and beyond, girls from middle childhood to adulthood are frequently buried with colourful and materially diverse jewellery items made of glass, molluscs, corals, amber and gold, which are interpreted in terms of an apotropaic function. Colourful items cease to be worn at the end of the women's reproductive period; jet jewellery and earrings are never found in graves of women older than 40 (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 103). Around the age of 20, women tend to be buried with sets of pins rather than single items (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 101). The position of the pins in the head and neck region suggests the wearing of a headscarf or cap (Lenerz-de Wilde 1989: 252–253), which Majolie Lenerz-de Wilde interpreted in terms of the women getting married; Stefan Burmeister (Burmeister 2000: 90), however, contended that the number of married women would be far too small in that case. In *Situla Art*, all women – or persons recognisable as such – wear headscarves, but it cannot be excluded that only married women were depicted. Bronze belt plates and belt hooks were typically female items in the early phase of Hallstatt D, but their gender connotation along with that of arm rings and pearl jewellery changed over time; from Hallstatt D2 they are commonly included in male graves as well (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 96). In the south-eastern Hallstatt area, belt plates are high-status items for both men and women. The iconography on the belt plates themselves and the way they are depicted on *situlae* also speak for a male connotation (cf. Schumann 2015: 211). Belts for high-status women may symbolise chastity. Ancient Greek women dedicated their belts to Artemis on the occasion of their first pregnancy (Eibner 2000b: 131). Archaeologically only visible



Figure 7.18 The mirror from Castelvetro, Italy (Cavedoni 1842: pl. H)

in traces, the change of women's dress at the onset of adulthood was certainly significant, but at present, it remains unclear if it correlates with age alone, marriage, or motherhood.

7.7.1 *Women's dress, veil, hairstyle and attributes*

Women's clothed bodies on early Iron Age imagery seems rather uniform. Amongst the 240 depictions of dressed women are two large groups of sources: images on *situlae* and images on pottery. The difference in the style of depiction affects quite significantly how women are shown. What they have in common is the detail in depicting the ornamentation and sophistication of fabrics. The quality and diversity of Hallstatt textile production is breathtaking and includes an incredible wealth of materials, colours, spinning and weaving

patterns, as well as sewing and refining techniques. In contrast to northern Europe, however, where textiles recovered from bogs form the majority of the known material (Bender Jørgensen 1991), such preservation is uncommon in central Europe (Grömer 2016) and pre-Roman Italy (Gleba 2008), areas that share major aspects of their textile tradition. Finds to compare to the images are found either in graves, where textiles preserve because they corrode on to metal grave goods, or from the salt mines of Hallstatt and Hallein, Austria, where they are re-used as rags.

The colours, patterns and cuts of the textiles women wore as dress contributed the most to their appearance; metal dress fittings such as *fibulae*, pins and belt hooks, in contrast, added only a small part of the overall impression, but form the majority of archaeological finds. Colours are largely absent in early Iron Age imagery, but patterns are sometimes alluded to by specific metal and pottery decoration techniques, and some aspects of the cut can be derived from the depictions, too.

Women on Situla Art (Fig. 7.19) generally wear their heads covered by a veil. The veil of the early Iron Age is a garment intended to cover hair and head, but not the face or neck; it is a relatively simple rectangular or semi-circular piece of cloth of varying length (cf. Lenneis 1972). Plain and patterned versions are attested; some veils end at waist level, whereas others are almost as long as the garment underneath. Even women engaged in sexual activities; notably the ones on the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), are always depicted with a veil as the only item of clothing, although in this case, it blends into a cloak or mantle worn over the head and the whole body. Only the woman giving birth on this *situla* is fully naked and shown with some hair. The length of the headscarf/mantle may, to some extent, indicate the women's social status and importance. On the *situla* of Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for example, the spinning women and one of the serving women wear a long veil, whereas the women carrying cists and the other serving women wear short veils. Likewise, the women on the mirror from Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), seem of different age and status, perhaps daughter and mother.

The female bronze statuette from the lid of the *kratēr* from the *tombe princière* of Vix, France (Plate 11, Rolley 2003: pl. 107), renders the female early Iron Age dress in beautiful detail. To this day, the statuette can be read as embodying elegance and modesty. It is 19 cm high and was probably made in a south Italian workshop around 540–530 BC. Veiling is, of course, a cultural practice with origins in the Near East, which was common during much of European late pre-history until recently. Depending on the cultural context, veiling signalled social distance, marital status, reputability or religiosity. That women are supposed to cover their heads is mentioned in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 11. 2–16). St Mary is almost always shown with a veil, and her iconographic omnipresence in the Christian tradition certainly affected the long-term European dress culture. Until very recently, Christian women covered their heads upon entering a church, and Catholic nuns still wear a veil as part of their habit. Veiling is also part of dressing modestly, and is required for Muslim women; which specific form the veil should take, however, is a matter of regional variation.

Veils may be reserved for a certain subset of women, and women may wear veils continuously or only in certain social contexts, for example, in public appearances or at religious feasts. It is hard to tell if that was the case in the early Iron Age, as most images *a priori* depict scenes of the elite with a religious sub-text. What is clear is that the veil was worn outside (during processions and travelling) and indoors (during feasting and sex). The veil can be clearly recognised in 134 images, but with many of the stylised images it is not clear if women wore a veil or not. Earrings or hair draped in curls are present in 70 of the female representations and are also an important indicator of gender, particularly for very stylised human images. Necklaces (86 in number) likewise have a female connotation, but neck rings closer to the torcs are also found with male individuals.

Women's hair is often hidden under the veil or only the hairline is visible, as on the figurine from Vix (Plate 11, Rolley 2003: pl. 107). It is therefore difficult to assess women's hairstyle, as it was not a subject of depiction. The bronze figurines from the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: fig. 14), and Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), naked except for a belt, show women without hair, perhaps with shaved heads, but with earrings. A female lead figurine from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary (Egg 1996a: Fig. 28.1), however, wears her long hair separated into a ponytail. The figurine from Vöcklabruck, Austria (Straub 1980: Fig. 13.7), wears an elaborate, combed hairdo.

The dress underneath the veil reaches to the middle of the calves or the ankles. There are plain, simple tunic dresses, often hemmed with an ornate band (most likely tablet woven, cf. Grömer 2016), producing a slim and androgynous silhouette, for instance, on the *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73). Most women's garments are belted and therefore appear more tailored to the body shape; especially Situla Art from south of the river Po pays tribute to women's curves. From the images alone, it remains unclear if different patterns for the upper and lower body mean different garments or a partitioning of the dress. Vertical stripes for the skirts may represent pleats (e.g., Montebelluna, Italy, Bianchin Citton in prep, or Welzelach, Austria, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76). The women on the belt buckle from Carceri, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, Fig. 5.1), wears boots underneath her pleated skirt, but on most Situla Art, the specific footwear is not represented.



Figure 7.19 Women's dress according to images on *situlae*, from Bologna-Certosa, Italy; *situla* in Providence, Carceri, Italy, Vače, Slovenia, and Welzelach, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, app. 1, pl. 64, 73, 76)

Women's dress as represented on sheet bronze is thus a close match to Etruscan dress (cf. Bonfante 2003a). In textile studies, it is still debated whether female dresses in central Europe were cut like tunics or draped like the Greek *peplos* (Grömer 2016). Although pairs of *fibulae* at the shoulders are common grave finds, they may be used to fasten a cloak just as well as a *peplos*. Many Hallstatt graves in southern Germany, for instance, include a symmetrical pair at the shoulders and a single smaller *fibula* in the centre of the chest (Mansfeld 2011), suggesting a finer undergarment and a coarser overgarment. Representative cloaks or mantles have also, on occasion, been found in graves. In the double grave of burial mound X from Mitterkirchen, Austria (Pertlwieser 1987), for example, one woman with headdress, bead necklace, pin and leg rings wore a leather cloak adorned by a pattern of thousands of little bronze rivets and rings. A mantle with similar bronze appliques, arranged in geometric patterns, has recently been reconstructed from Grave 20 of Burial Mound 48 from Stična, Slovenia (Hellmuth 2008). The grave also included sheet gold appliques of woman's headdress, which perhaps originates in the Scythian area. A more modest version in bronze was found in Strettweg, Austria (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2013).

Women's dress formed in clay or sketched on pottery in the northeastern Hallstatt area gives a few complementary insights. Here, too, the geometrical patterns of the fabrics, including checks, stripes, triangles and dots, seem an important feature alluding to sophisticated textile fabrics. Differently patterned hems are common again, and the body of the dresses often appear to have vertical sections, perhaps indicating a composite garment. The basic shape of the triangle (Dobiat 1982, Schappelwein 1999) comes in a number of variants. Arms above the triangle may indicate a skirt, and the whole body rendered as a triangle a cloak. The female figurines from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958), wear the shortest skirts in the Hallstatt area. Bell-shaped dresses, as found on the vessel from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), may indicate motion; the figures appear to be dancing to the play of the lyre. It is unclear whether women of this area also wore veils, as they are not clearly represented. A further vessel from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 31), perhaps represents bouffant hair. Due to the schematic mode of depiction, the gender of the persons is not immediately apparent from the shape of dress sketches on pottery; the typical triangular form most likely represents a cloak or mantle, an overgarment worn by women and men.

The range of objects women are associated with in art is quite limited. Objects in association with people normally index activities (see Section 5.2) or symbolise ritual roles and status categories. Textile tools such as the spindles from Sopron, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), point to the activity of textile making. Further, women are often associated with vessels. In *Situla Art*, women are frequently shown carrying cists and large storage vessels on the head, for instance, at Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1995: 320, pl. 11, fig. 3), Welzelach, Austria (Urban 2000: 244), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep). The *situla* of Bologna-Certosa (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64) shows a procession in which three women carry a basket, a cist and a pile of wood (for the funerary pyre) on their heads, followed by men carrying large

bronze buckets either with a stick supported by their shoulders or on the handle; three further women follow three men, carrying another set of large vessels on their heads.

The motif of women carrying heavy loads on their heads is not restricted to Situla Art. The ceramic figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Plate 10, Kromer 1958: 43), the lead figurines from Frög, Austria (Tomedi 2002: pl. 80), and the bronze figurines supporting the bronze *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a), suggest that this motif was widespread and worked in most available materials. Some of the figurines, such as the central woman carrying a bowl at the wagon model from Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: 24, fig. 14) use ring-shaped carrying devices to support their heavy loads, presumably made of textiles or other organic material.

Feasting scenes on *situlae* show a wide selection of vessel types, from bowls to cups, jugs, handled bronze buckets and large bowls, to mixing vessels on tripod stands. Pouring drinks with a ladle is a task done equally by men and women on most *situlae* (e.g., Vače, Slovenia, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73); only late *situlae* from northern locations exclusively depict men in this serving role (e.g., Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl and Kuffern, Austria, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75, Zeller 2004: 400). Perhaps these were produced in a place and at a time when women became increasingly excluded from feasting as a male activity.

Vessels may indicate a sacred action, for instance, when they characterise a person as giving offerings to the gods. At Este-Baratella, Italy (Chieco Bianchi 2002), for example, female and male bronze figurines hold small bowls in their hands to embody their role as worshipper and dedicator.

True attributes, signalling power and status, are keys, which are held in the right hands of veiled women with elaborate dresses on the votive plates from Montebelluna, Italy (Teržan 2004). Keys symbolise access to and power over the house, which may not only mean the household as such, which the women oversaw, but also the house in its genealogical sense. The women are depicted as matriarchs of their families; the dogs next to the women underline their role as guardian of the household.

7.7.2 *Pregnancy and childbirth*

The age of marriage is crucial for early Iron Age demographics. Generally speaking, the later the marital age for women, the fewer children are born. There is good evidence that during the Iron Age, the average age of first motherhood was almost 10 years higher in northern central Europe than in the Mediterranean (Burmeister and Gebühr in press). This is interesting because it confirms that the western European marriage pattern (Hajnal 1965), with very late marriages and few children in cross-cultural comparison, may have roots in prehistory. Just prior to industrialisation in Western Europe, for example, only about half of all women between 15 and 50 years of age were married; the others were spinsters, nuns or widowed early. Census data from nineteenth century Austria suggest a link between

micro-regional socio-economic structures and marriage rates, which ranged between 30 and 60 per cent (Teibenbacher 2012), but never included all women.

Becoming a mother comes at a risk. Even today, death during childbirth is at 1500 per 100,000 births (Van Lerberghe and De Brouwere 2001) when nothing effective is done to avert death; women in the poorest nations still face a lifetime risk of 1 in 16 to die in pregnancy or childbirth (Save the Children 2013). Immediate complications range from obstructed labour to haemorrhage and infection. Intriguingly, the underlying cause of maternal mortality today is the social status of women: maternal and infant mortality is the result of factors such as poverty, access to healthcare and female participation in decision making. Knowledge about modern medical interventions and procedures is but one factor. A range of further practices affect maternal and infant mortality, including attitudes to hygiene and breastfeeding, the level of involvement of women in physical work before and after labour, access to food of high nutritional value and the level of care provided by relatives.

Estimates of prehistoric maternal mortality vary widely, but certainly the first and last births are particularly dangerous. Stefan Burmeister's analysis of late Hallstatt graves in southern Germany showed that most grave inventories were associated with women of the reproductive period between 20 and 40 years of age. Only 8.2 per cent of the 103 female grave inventories he looked at were those of teenage girls between 10 and 19, but 31.6 per cent of female grave inventories were associated with women who died between the ages of 20 and 39, and 19.3 per cent with women between 30 and 39 years at death. The percentage fell again in the next decade, with 9.5 per cent of inventories associated with women between 40 and 49 years at death (Burmeister 2000: 77). A higher mortality during the reproductive period suggests an association of death with the risks of pregnancy, labour and the post-partum period, although certainly not all deaths during early adulthood can be attributed to reproduction.

Direct evidence of maternal mortality in the form of graves of women with foetuses in situ, or double burials of women and neonates, are part of the archaeological record, albeit not particularly numerous. Graves of pregnant women are known from Rottenburg am Neckar, Germany (Berg, Rolle and Seemann 1981), and Dürnberg, Austria (Pauli 1975). A recent re-analysis of the famous cremation grave from an Athenian geometric tomb revealed the presence of a foetus (Liston and Papadopoulos 2004) which previously had been missed; a closer look at cremation burials may unearth a number of similar findings in the eastern Hallstatt area.

Becoming a mother may have further health implications that affect women's lives in the long term (cf. Shorter 1982). Thanks to modern medicine, birth injuries such as fistulas and prolapse of the uterus are surgically treatable, although they remain huge problems for women in the developing world. Prolapse of the uterus results from overstraining or injuring the pelvic floor, most often in connection to childbirth, although other causes are possible. Rest after childbirth is crucial for healing, but not always possible or socially supported for all physically hard-working women. Until today, prolapse of the uterus is alleviated by inserting pessaries in the vagina to hold the uterus in place. The earliest evidence for such

gynaecological interventions in central Europe date to the early Iron Age: ceramic rings of 5.5 to 8.6 cm diameter were found in the pelvic area of female skeletons in western France and southern Germany, most recently in Stuttgart-Viesenhäuser Hof, Germany (Scherzler 1998). Ceramic rings are also known from settlement sites, where they are frequently interpreted as (loom or fishing net) weights; they might also have been secondarily used as pessaries.

Images of pregnant women and childbirth in Central Europe are rare. On the conical neck of a vessel from Maiersch, Austria (Fig. 7.20, Berg 1962: pl. 29), a smaller person is inscribed into the geometric representation of a larger person; both are depicted in triangular shape and highly abstracted. The image may therefore just be an ornamental play or, conversely, represent an adult and child standing in front. A staggered perspective was, however, not used in this style of depiction. A figure from Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Blecha 2016, Tomedi 2009: fig. 10.2) repeats the person-in-person motif in bronze and has recently been interpreted as representing a pregnant woman. A pregnant figurine was unearthed at the sanctuary of Turska kosa, Croatia (Fig. 7.20, Čučković 2008a: 99, no. 68). The pregnant belly is indicated by a large, round and separately formed slab pressed on to the abdominal area of the figurine before firing. A number of further figurines have small button-like additions, perhaps representing navels (belly buttons).

Francè Starè reads the decoration of a bronze pectoral found in Ulaka, Slovenia (Starè 1970), as the representation of a woman in childbirth. She would be captured in a highly unusual way, lying down with her legs spread, with the baby just emerging as an oval from the vagina. The abstracted nature of the representation, however, does not easily lend itself to this interpretation. A clearer image is that of the fragment of a stone sculpture from Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984: pl. 8, fig. 1), in which a woman is shown shortly after birth: her left hand is at her

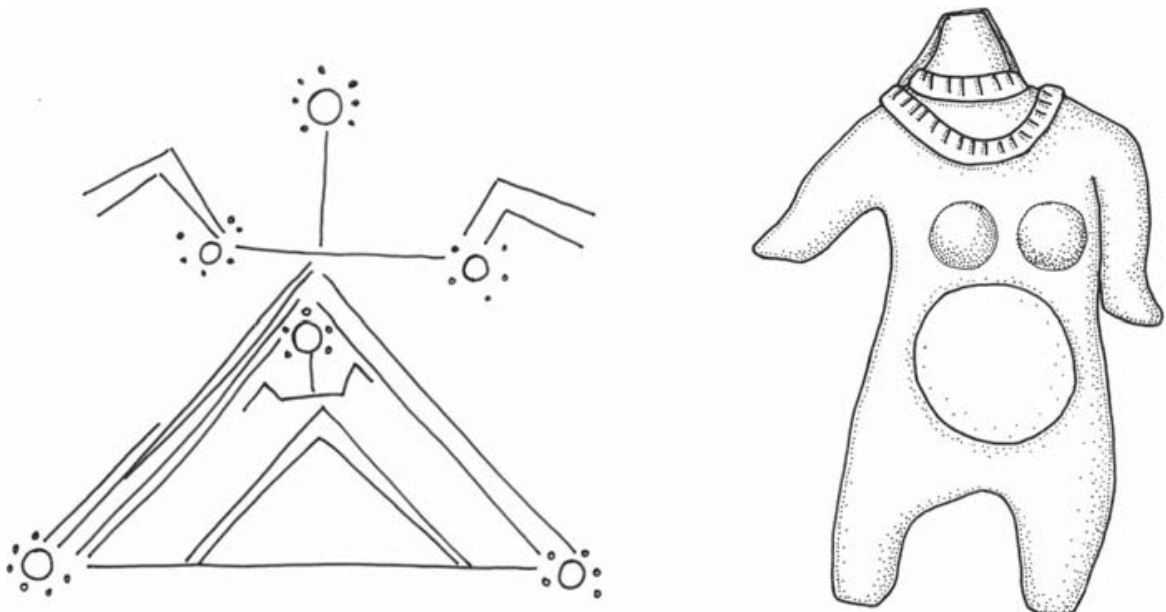


Figure 7.20 Pregnant women from Maiersch, Austria and Turska kosa, Croatia (after Berg 1962: pl. 29, Čučković 2008a: 99, no. 68)

clearly depicted vulva and she appears to be breastfeeding a baby placed across her chest.

The image of childbirth on the *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Fig. 7.21, Gangemi 2013), is a relatively recent find and not yet well known. The birthing woman is depicted in a standing position, with arms stretched out and holding on to a beam or frame above her head. The birth bar could have been a loom used for that purpose. Her face and body are shown in profile, with her pregnant belly clearly indicated; her feet are shown from the side and wide apart. A baby is just emerging from her pubic area: the head and arms have already been born, whereas the rest of the body is still waiting to come out. The woman giving birth does not appear to wear clothes, in contrast to the assisting women.

The women assisting in childbirth have their hands under the arms of the birthing women. In a gravity-assisted birth, supporting the woman holding on to the birth bar may be necessary at this stage. The midwife standing in front of the birthing woman seems to give the baby a push with her hand on her belly, whilst she is carrying a vessel by its handle in the other hand. One can easily imagine it contained water for baby's first wash or bath, or is used to dispose of the afterbirth. The second midwife behind the woman supports the other arm; her role may also be to reassure the birthing woman and to relieve pain. In this scene, birth is depicted as a female-only but assisted affair, most likely taking place indoors. The rest of the scenes depicted in the *situla* frieze show courtship and sex in five different positions – it seems apparent that the connection between sex and reproduction was well understood.

The closest Mediterranean parallels for the childbirth motif are stamps on Etruscan pottery from Poggio Colla, Italy (Fig. 7.21, Perkins 2012), dating to c. 700–600 BC. They show a woman squatting as she gives birth to a baby, which is shown already partly delivered between her legs. Her upper body is in profile, with hands raised, perhaps holding on to a frame or vegetation in natural surroundings. The stamp is only one centimetre high and thus details are difficult to interpret. Birth scenes are very rare in the Iron Age Mediterranean. Amongst the notable exceptions are an Attic relief of a woman giving birth on a birthing stool, assisted by four women (Keuls 1993: 143, fig. 124), and several images of women in birthing position on a pig found in southern Italy (Keuls 1993: 353–354).

7.7.3 *Beyond the childbearing years*

Women beyond the reproductive period are even more difficult to trace in imagery. Nothing suggests old age beyond adulthood. The image on the mirror of Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: 21), seems to depict women of two generations. One woman is slimmer, wears a short veil, earrings and a belted dress, whereas the other woman – perhaps the mother or mother-in-law – is a little more corpulent and wears a longer veil. She appears to be wearing more ring jewellery on the arms, but no belt.

Women of post-reproductive age most likely contributed much to society by helping to raise grandchildren (Hawkes 2004) and contributing to domestic tasks. Older women in the cemetery of Chotín, Slovakia (Dušek 1966, Eibner 1986),



Figure 7.21 Images of childbirth from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy and Poggio Colla, Italy (after Frigo 2013, Perkins 2012; drawing by Morgan Burgess, © Mugello Valley Archaeological Project, courtesy of Phil Perkins)

for instance, were buried with more spindle whorls than younger women. Only a sixth of the sub-adult women had a spindle whorl in their grave, a third of the adult-to-mature women, but all of the oldest age class. This perhaps indicates that spinning became a more and more important task as women aged.

Little, however, is left to suggest that the value of elderly women was socially recognised. Women in cemeteries in southwestern Germany are often buried with less elaborate and conspicuous dress elements above the age of about 40. Colourful and apotropaic jewellery is missing in this age group. Whereas women buried during their apparent reproductive period had the largest burial chambers in southern Germany, often exceeding those of males in size, older women beyond the reproductive years are again buried in smaller chambers (Burmeister 2000). A similar trend seems to be noticeable in the Bavarian Altmühl Valley (Schumann 2015: 106), where the extent of the pottery set in the graves correlates with the chronological period, the sex and the age of the buried individual. At least in the early phase of the Hallstatt period, juvenile individuals are buried with few items of pottery. Their number increases with the burial age until late adulthood; mature individuals are then again buried with fewer vessels. This clearly suggests that Hallstatt societies valued women most in their capacity as potential childbearers; past reproductive success seems less important.

In summary, femininity as expressed in imagery and graves is likened to women's role as mothers. This included looking after a household and associated activities. As yet, we know little of alternative lifeways for women and what they may entail. There is evidence, however, that aspects of masculinity such as wearing weaponry and participating in war were, at times, transferable to women.

7.8 Masculinity: war and everyday life

Graves of men were, a long time ago, identified by weapons as grave goods (Sofaer and Sørensen 2013), before it was realised that not all graves of men include weapons. Masculinity in the early Iron Age had two faces – that of the

civilian and that of the warrior. Attempting an explicitly masculinist approach (cf. Joyce 2005, Knapp 1998a), this section systematically explores what it means to be a man in the early Iron Age and outlines different ways of how masculinity was constructed through material culture and imagery. It will aim to understand the multidimensionality of masculinity and explore the warrior identity as situational and which, at times, may also be adopted by women.

Participation in warfare and the cultivation of the body are the pillars of warrior identity, which, according to Paul Treherne (Treherne 1995), began to appear as a European-wide phenomenon some time in the mid-second millennium BC. The crucial shift from communal identity to individual identity with clear status differentiation can be traced through the characteristics of high-status graves. Warriors are men who, probably only during a part of their life span, led a characteristic lifestyle that is associated with the participation in (ritualised) warfare and raids. Warriors form privileged, elite groups, which involve fraternity, relationships of hospitality and reciprocity, and honour codes. Central to the warrior identity is the equipment with weaponry; the consumption of alcohol as seen in drinking vessels, riding and driving horses as well as bodily ornamentation (Treherne 1995: 108). The ‘warrior’s beauty’ is achieved through bodily practices such as training, but also grooming, dress and armour.

The late Bronze Age warrior, equipped with sword, spear, shield, helmet, greaves and corselet, as well as toilet articles such as combs, tweezers, razors, mirrors and awls (Treherne 1995: 110), continues well into the early Iron Age. Importantly, and in contrast to the late Bronze Age, these items may accompany the deceased into the grave and fix his image in death. Typically male grave goods are not as easy to trace as female items in southern German graves. Children under the age of 10 are never buried with specifically male grave goods; only from about that age do boys begin to be socially recognised as male. Gender typical in early Hallstatt D is the pair of *fibulae* (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 104). Weapons start to be included in some graves from the age of about 20. Younger men tend to be buried with lances, whereas daggers are reserved for males of the late adult-to-senile age group; this suggests that rather than reflecting particular styles of combat, the type of weaponry indicates a social role. Razors were also found together with older males, for which body care and beauty were clearly significant (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 104). Men of old age in the southern German Iron Age seem to fall in two distinct groups: a group of high-status individuals with weapons and unique items for the gender and age group, buried in very large burial chambers, and older men buried in chambers below the average size of adult men. The fact that up to 50 per cent of men reached a distinguished high status in old age seems to reflect family rulership in a generally wealthy society rather than an actual elite (Burmeister and Müller-Scheeßel 2005: 121).

The addition of weapons in graves in the northeastern Hallstatt area is the exception rather than the rule, but singular graves with lances and horse gear (e.g., Statzendorf, Austria, Rebay 2006) and swords (e.g., Gemeinlebarn, Austria, Dungal and Szombathy 1903) are known. The typical warrior equipment of the southeastern Hallstatt area includes two lances and an axe. Sometimes the axe

is omitted or pieces of defensive weaponry, horse gear or arrowheads are added (Schumann 2015: 210). Helmets in particular seem to indicate a high social prestige; it is no coincidence that helmets often occur on *situlae* as prizes for the successful dumb-bell fighter.

As we have seen earlier (Section 7.4), more than two-thirds of all human representations are male; of those, about a third are depicted naked in a more or less explicitly sexual way. One pathway of constructing masculinity therefore directly relates to biological maleness.

The man in civilian dress and without weapons – except for an axe for ritual purposes – accounts for the majority of male depictions (674, 21 per cent of the total of 3148). The counterpoint to the ‘civilian’ is the warrior (389, 12 per cent), identifiable in early Iron Age art by wearing a helmet (295) and/or weapons (315) as attributes. Interestingly, these numbers roughly correlate with the proportion of weapon graves of 7 to 20 per cent in the southeast Alpine area (Schumann 2015: 291). The complete warrior attire consists of helmet, body armour and greaves; weaponry is regionally and chronologically distinct and includes swords, daggers, lances, axes, arrows and shields.

Warriors mounted on horseback complete with weaponry are less common (50, 2 per cent). The horse, however, plays a very important role, both as an element of civilian and military activities. Men are associated with horses in one way or another – training, leading, riding or driving horses; some also hunt on horseback. A large number of riders are depicted without weaponry (396 of 446 riders) and gender characteristics, often in a very schematic way. They may be intended to represent mounted warriors. In the northeastern Hallstatt and the adjacent Lausitanian area, however, riders on horseback frequently appear to be hunting (cf. Schlette 1984). Not a single image shows with certainty a female person on horseback, although other associations between women and horses exist, for instance, in hoards (Metzner-Nebelsick and Nebelsick 1999), in the form of horse *fibulae* in Hallstatt and La Tène women’s graves (Metzner-Nebelsick 2007) or female hybrids with horse-shaped arms (Egg 1986a). The horse may therefore be considered Iron Age man’s best friend and an independent element of constructing male identity.

7.8.1 Men’s hairstyles and headgear

A particular style of wearing hair and beard can convey messages of social status and order. Cutting hair and shaving a beard have been shown to transport a range of cultural situational meanings, for example, mourning and grief; the fulfilment of a task; or being forcefully employed by others, punishment and loss of social position (Dotzler 1983: 205). Of men’s hairstyles, the bald – or rather shaved – head is most notable (n = 63). On the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), the person pouring a drink for a seated person with a broad-brimmed hat is shown with a bald head, his servant role perhaps suggesting a lower social position. From the *situla* in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962), however, it is apparent that the bald head was normally covered by a hat, which

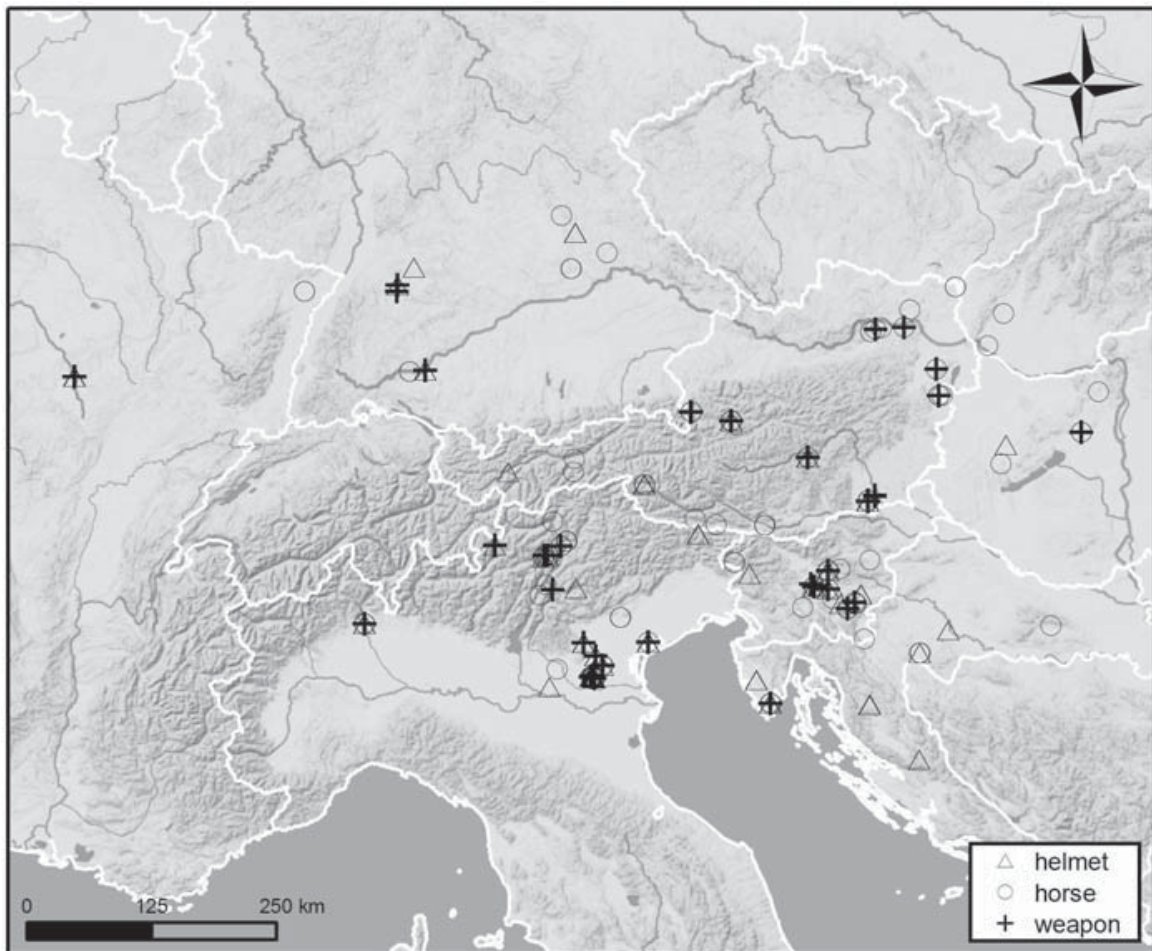


Figure 7.22 Elements of masculinity in early Iron Age imagery

was only taken off only during special occasions. Men with bald heads are thus depicted in sporting competitions and during sexual encounters; occasionally also whilst hunting (e.g., Pillerhöhe, Austria, Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998). The shaved head was the default look of the high-status Hallstatt man, combined with specific headwear.

Although the shaved head is most often found on *Situla* Art, it is not confined to that genre. It extends to bronze figurines such as the *aulos* player from Százalombatta, Hungary (Plate 6, Egg 1996a: 50, fig. 50), or the rider and boxer from Hallstatt, Austria (Kromer 1959b: pl. 115, pl. 137), to ceramic figurines such as the rider from Speikern, Germany (Vollrath 1964), or the figure head from Rotendorf (Wamser 1980). In many cases, however, the mode of depiction does not specify any particular hairstyle and leaves it open whether or not people shaved their heads, wore short or long hair or any other hairstyle. Hair was, for the most part, not subject to depiction.

Short hair peeks out under a round hat on the *situla* from Este-Capodaglio, Italy (Lessing 1980: fig. 59). Long hair is rare. The left warrior on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 55), wears long and wavy hair, most likely because he has lost his helmet in battle. The hairstyle has been

taken as an indication for his foreign origin (Turk 2005: 40) or even female gender (Kern and Guichard 2008: 11). Long hair, however, certainly does not reference women. Long hair, perhaps bundled in a ponytail, is shown on the inside of a bronze bowl from Hallstatt, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 311, pl. 99). This kind of image is rare, and the mode of depiction – a casual sketching – leaves the possibility that what is actually meant is a helmet with crest and tail. A female lead figurine from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary (Egg 1996a: Fig. 28.1), however, wears a similar hairstyle with long hair separated to a ponytail, which has been traced to the Picenum region in Italy.

This hairstyle appears several times in very stylised form at the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), keeping the long hair of the sword fighters in check. Whether the fragment from Býčí skála, Czech Republic (Eibner 1999: 47), intends to depict a similar hairstyle or the plume of a helmet is difficult to decide. On pottery, one of the figures on the conical-necked vessel from Praunsberg, Austria, seem to be depicted with a ponytail. At Sopron, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), three pairs of persons are depicted that literally seem to be getting into each other's hair – the hairstyles of dancing or fighting persons dressed both in skirts and trousers can only be described as scruffy. A much neater appearance with elaborate hairstyles, including head bands, was set in stone at Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984: pl. 9). Near-Eastern hairstyles with shoulder-length curly hair and fringes were imported alongside sphinxes (e.g., Grafenbühl, Germany, Zürn and Herrmann 1965) and copied in some local variants of hybrids (see Section 7.3).

Beards were generally not in fashion in early Iron Age imagery. Rare exceptions include imported images such as the Attic *kratēr* from the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000: pl. 1), and a bronze plaque from Vicenza, Italy (Zaghetto 2002a: 309, Fig. 134.2), where one of the two men with broad-brimmed hats and cloaks is shown with a full beard made by a band of parallel incisions. The style of wearing the hair and beard underwent a radical transformation from the early to the late Iron Age. Short hair and moustache become characteristic of early La Tène male depictions, perhaps best exemplified by the Glauberg warrior (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002) or the bronze plaque attached to a wooden flask from Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012: 103).

Hats (465 in total) are shown in an extraordinary range of fashions. Simple, flat and round hats are most common (n = 267). Some hats (115) have the same main shape and a slightly protruding centre. They appear more turban-like, as the body of the hat is broader and sometimes shaped with a herring-bone pattern perhaps indicative of braiding. The third main type of hat (n = 46) has a broad brim and appears crescent shaped in profile. The broad-brimmed type is most commonly found pictured on Italian Situla Art, for example, at Bologna-Certosa and Este-Benvenuti (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64, pl. 65), whereas the beret and turban shapes are dominant in Slovenia, for instance, on the *situla* from Dolenjske Toplice (Egg and Eibner 2005) or Magdalenska gora (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 5). Some pointed caps (n = 24) come close to the shape of the Phrygian hats and helmets, but without necessarily having the top pulled forward (e.g., the hunter on the belt plate of Molnik, Slovenia, Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7). They were, presumably,

made of organic material and do not preserve in graves; however, two hat types, the round and the pointed, were found in the salt mines of Hallstatt, Austria (Kern et al. 2009: 105). Made of sheep pelt, the round, beret-shaped hat was worn with the wool outside, whereas the pointed hat had the wool inside.

The three main forms of hat appear together on some *situlae*, for example, that in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), which may underline the importance of the depicted feast in bringing people of different social and regional identities together. The *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), suggests most clearly that hats express regional identities. All persons proceeding towards the feast wear round and flat hats, a few with slightly protruding centre; at the feast itself, men wear either this shape of hat or the broad-brimmed type, which looks crescent shaped in profile. At the dumb-bell fight, a team of three supporters of each kind stand left and right of the competitors, respectively. The musicians wear the broad-brimmed hat type, the persons mixing and serving drinks the flat and round types.

Long pointed hats are worn by the chariot drivers on the *situlae* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), and Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75); they may be a specific sporting outfit.

Triangular shapes of headgear usually refer to helmets, although fragments of a hat made of birch bark from Hochdorf, Germany, and Grave 352 from Dürrenberg, Austria (Moser 2010: 56–60), suggest that they were in use too. Triangular hats reminiscent of Chinese hats seemed to have been worn during agricultural work, as depictions of ploughing men in civilian clothes from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), or Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), suggest. It is sometimes hard to judge from the representation alone whether a helmet or a different kind of headdress is meant: the warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Plate 1, Marzoli 2003, Zürn 1964a), for example, was long thought to be wearing a conical helmet before examples of hats of similar form made from birch bark emerged from the archaeological record.

7.8.2 *Male dress*

Male dress is considerably more varied than female dress on Situla Art and other forms of human imagery (Fig. 7.25). The standard ‘civilian dress’ is a straight, simple and untailed tunic reaching somewhere between over the knee and the ankle. Seventy-one per cent (488) of clothed men ($n = 685$) wear this form of garment. From the depictions alone, it can ultimately not be decided whether they are plain tunics or cloaks worn as over-garments. Particularly people travelling, regardless of whether they are riding a horse, driving a wagon or walking on foot, are normally depicted without arms, which makes a simple cloak without tailored arms a likely possibility.

On the other hand, people participating in feasts wear the same plain dresses, and again, arms are only shown when they are holding objects, gesticulating or engaging in specific activities. Like female dresses (cf. Section 7.7.1), the quality and pattern of the textiles are often emphasised by the mode of sheet bronze

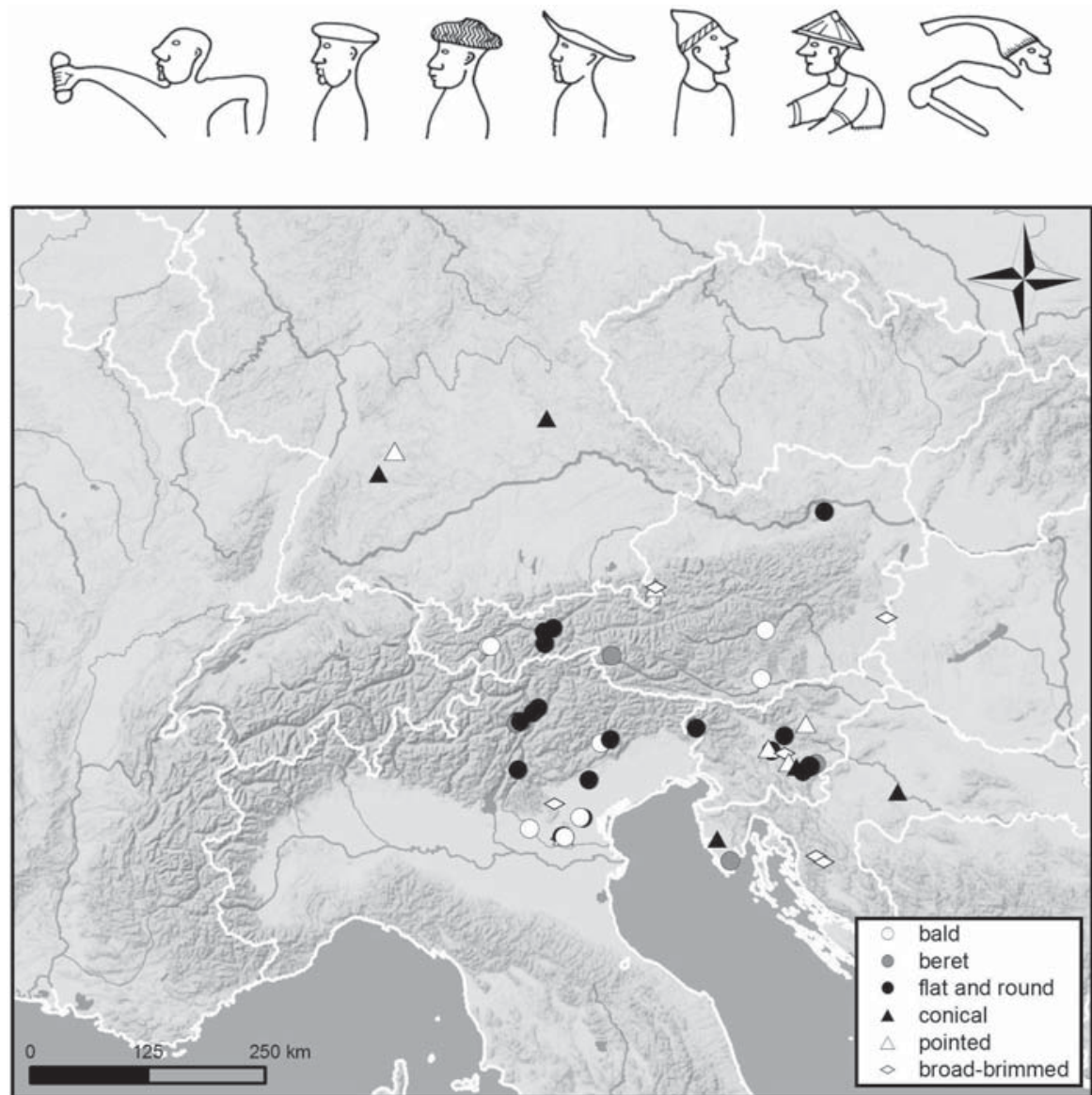


Figure 7.23 Male heads: bald, with flat and round hat, beret-shaped hat, broad-brimmed hat, pointed hat, conical hat and long pointed hat, from the *situla* in Providence (first four), Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, Montebelluno, Italy, and Kuffern, Austria (after Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, pl. 68, 75), distribution of prevailing head types

decoration. Plain, dotted, striped and check varieties of fabrics and a (tablet-woven) band at the hem are frequently depicted. Sleeves occur rarely, and because they are often only indicated by two lines at the upper arm, they may represent upper arm rings. Several persons on the *situla* fragment from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112), for example, the ones carrying a dead deer on a pole or the lyre player, almost certainly wear short-sleeved tunics.

Some other tasks, including outdoor tasks such as ploughing or hunting, require an outfit in which a short skirt is central. It is sometimes worn with bare upper body and at other times combined with a belt and a plain, short-sleeved shirt (e.g., Welzelach, Austria, Sanzeno, Italy, Nesactium, Croatia, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 45, 60, 67). This

skirt is sometimes depicted as check or striped – perhaps because it was pleated – and has an uneven, curved hem, which points to a square basic garment shape.

Striped or pleated short skirts appear with hunters (?) sketched on the inside of the bronze pedestal bowl of Hallstatt (Prüssing 1991: 311, pl. 99); unusually, they are also depicted with long hair (or crested helmet). A simple wrap skirt with straight hem, again combined with bare upper body or plain shirt features in depictions of physical strain, is seen when heavy vessels are carried or heavy animals dragged (e.g., on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: 64). An orant bronze figurine from Imst-Parzinspitze, Austria (Höck 1997: no. 1), wears a plain, short skirt with check waist band and hem. The sword fighters on the *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a), perhaps also wear short skirts, although other forms of garments, such as an extension of body armour, are equally thinkable.

Of unusual shape are some garments on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2). Although the *situla* was found in the grave of a woman, it is by no means certain that the people wearing them are indeed women (contra Turk 2005: 29). Only the lower halves of the person are preserved and there are no other indicators of sex or gender. They either represent two-part outfits with a plain shirt, belt and skirt or belted one-piece garments. The skirts have a high-cut opening on the front, revealing the legs up to the middle of the thighs; the back part of the skirt is long. People wearing this outfit appear to be dancing to music.

Very few early Iron Age images show trousers. On the belt plate from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7), the trousers are checked and tailored to the body, but with a little give at the legs. Trousers are also depicted on the conical-necked ceramic vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: 29), worn by pairs of fighting people. Here, too, the sketching suggests a check fabric. People on the cists of Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991, Schmid 1933) are shown with wide and separated legs, perhaps in trousers rather than tunics. As they are simply outlined with punches on sheet bronze, the precise type of their garments remains unknown. Trousers seem more common from the early La Tène period onwards, for example, on the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007, Egg, Hauschild and Schönfelder 2006). The trousers on this object are hooped and combined with an upper body garment that extends the back part over the buttocks.

Cloaks were worn over tunics, shirts/skirts or trousers to protect against the cold, but had additional significance as a sign of status for both men and women. The *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), shows cloaks decorated with many bronze rivets such as the one found in the women's graves of Mitterkirchen, Austria, and Stična, Slovenia (see Section 7.7.1). A seated man is wearing the cloak whilst he is holding a horse by the reins, whereas two other men, seated at a feast, convey the impression that they had hung their cloaks over their seats before sitting down.

Several cloaks of different form have been discovered in graves of Villanovan Etruria. The *tomba del trono*, Verucchio, Italy (Bonfante 2003a, von Eles 2002), for example, included two mantles in addition to a tunic. They were woven of



Figure 7.24 *Situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65)

very fine twill and coloured brown and red, with tablet-woven decorative borders in blue and purple, respectively. This is one of the earliest instances of the long-term tradition to reserve the colour purple for rulers.

Footwear of the early Iron Age is often not specifically depicted. The aforementioned man with cloak from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), definitely wears pointed shoes or boots with a sloping instep and a flat tapered point. In other depictions on *Situla Art* the foot is of a similar fashion, but it remains unclear if footwear is worn at all. *Schnabelschuhe* first appear in the Etruscan area and become popular farther north in the early La Tène period, where several *fibulae* are shaped in this shoe form (Bagley 2009, Pauli 1978: 217, fig. 11, 630–631, fig. 52), and shoe lasts have been found, too (at Sommerein, Austria, Neugebauer 1980).

7.8.3 Warriors' outfits

The early Iron Age warrior – at least south and southeast of the Alps – wears a helmet, of which a range of different shapes and forms were in existence and represented in art. From images alone, it is sometimes not easy to decide if a person wears a helmet or some other kind of hat. When in doubt, headwear was interpreted as a helmet when it co-occurred with other weaponry. Of the 299 helmets worn by persons, 182 are crested; the shape of helmets ranges from round to conical, with a minority of helmets shown as brimmed. Unusual are the depictions of horned helmets found on the *situla* of Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), and the La Tène stone monument of Bormio, Italy (Pauli 1973).

Four different kinds of warriors on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), wear helmets with a short brim (Negau type), helmets plated with bronze calottes (*Schüsselhelm*), crested helmets with tails (*Doppelkammhelme*) and conical helmets similar to the helmet of Oppeano, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 78.2, Pigorini 1878). A similar march of infantry with crested helmets followed by warriors with conical helmets takes up the middle frieze of the *situla* in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1). Fighting warriors on the *situlae* of Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992), and Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: 65), wear crested helmets. Two mounted warriors are shown in close combat on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 58). The warrior with hair, apparently without a helmet, fights with a lance, whereas the opponent,



Figure 7.25 Men's dress according to images on *situlae*, from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria, Welzelach, Austria, Montebelluna, Italy, Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, Molnik, Slovenia, and Este-Benvenuti, Italy (after references cited in the text)

fighting with an axe, wears a brimmed helmet. Both are flanked by warriors with shields and lances.

Helmets are frequently represented as trophies between the contestants of sport and music competitions; they seemed to have played a role as prestige objects (cf. Schumann 2015: 202–203, 212–213) in the Hallstatt period. As such, they were part of the fluid dynamics of negotiating prestige. On the *situla* of Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2), a seated lyre player wears a helmet – perhaps he is shown at the point when he has already won the music competition. Other musicians, however, notably the flute players from the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), play marching, wearing a helmet. Their hands are already occupied by the instrument, of course, and there is no other way of showing warrior's attributes. Many helmets of the Hallstatt area were found in isolation (cf. Egg 1986b, Gabrovec 1962–63), but helmets found in the closed contexts of graves were usually found with further rich grave goods.

The garments warriors wear on their bodies are often hidden behind the shield they carry. The briefest form of dress is the belt and loincloth, depicted on a hybrid and a number of warriors on the lower friezes of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65). In this mode of depiction, the genitals of the otherwise naked people are covered, which is rather unusual for the early Iron Age. The hem of short skirts or tunics sometimes shows beneath the shield, with its striped pattern pointing to pleats, which ensure extra freedom of movement. The garment may also represent part of a full-body armour of organic material such as leather or textiles, as shown on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Turk 2005: fig. 58), for all four warriors. Similar body protection is visible on the La Tène period warriors of the Hallstatt sword scabbard (Barth and Urban 2007, Egg, Hauschild and Schönfelder 2006) and on both the stone statue and bronze figurine from the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002).

Corselets made of sheet bronze were also in use during the Hallstatt period. They mimic the muscle physique and body features such as nipples; the shiny and smooth appearance of the metal surely contributed to the striking appearance of the warrior. In cremation graves, for instance the Kröllkogel at Kleinklein, Austria (Egg and Kramer 2005: 33, Egg and Kramer 2013), a metal corselet may have

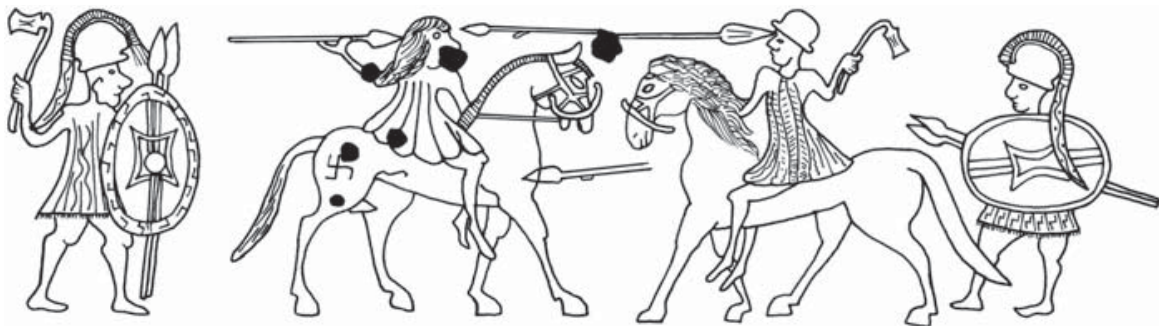


Figure 7.26 Figurative scene on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (after photo and Turk 2005: fig. 58)

been added to reconstitute the body surface and provide a skin for the deceased. Metal corselets have been found as far west as Marmesse, France (Mohen 1987), where six complete late Bronze Age body armours were deposited near a river source, and Saint-Germain-du-Plain, France (Merhart 1969), where a single early Iron Age example was found in the River Saône. Further corselets of the early Iron Age were found in graves in the southeast Alpine area (Kleinklein, Stična and Novo mesto, Hansen 2003: 11).

7.8.4 Weaponry

Archaeological finds of the Hallstatt warriors' weaponry in graves comprises a sword/dagger in the west and lances plus an axe in the east (see Section 3.1), occasionally complemented by other types of weaponry such as a bow and arrow. The body of early Iron Age imagery includes 315 individuals depicted with weapons that may be employed for warfare or hunting (Fig. 7.27).

Of those, only 22 wear swords; swords are combined with lances in 11 cases, with shields in 13 cases and with helmets and horses in four cases. The swords are generally short. They are held upright in a sword fight or dance on the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), whereas some of the swords on the sheet metal work of Sesto Calende, Italy (Plate 14, Huth 2003: pl. 52), are fastened to a belt. This is also the way in which they are shown on the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007). Swords are generally worn on the right side, in contrast to the way Greeks and Etruscans wear swords, although it is sometimes difficult to decide from images in profile. This is consistent with historical sources about the Celts and archaeological finds (e.g., Grave 994 of Hallstatt, Austria, Kromer 1959b: 183), in which swords are most frequently deposited next to the right side of the body. The dagger shown on the stele from Hirschlanden (Plate 1, Zürn 1970: pl. A) is worn obliquely at the front of the body, with the handle close to the right hand, whereas the later warrior from the Glauberg, Germany (Herrmann 2002: fig. 12b), wears his dagger/short sword at the right side of the body. The hare hunter from Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), similarly seems to wear his short sword/dagger on the right side of his waist.

It is hard to distinguish short swords from daggers and daggers from knives on images alone. In connection to (ritual) killing and sacrifice, both a dagger and axe are shown killing an animal from behind at Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62). The hybrid being from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), strikes a giant bird from the back in a similar composition. Two persons shown in opposition fight with short swords or daggers on the vase from Este-Casa Alfonsi, Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 69). Further images of daggers/knives on pottery come from Sopron, Hungary. At Sopron-Váris (Teržan 1996: fig. 15), a sharp object may either represent a distaff or spindle, or a dagger/knife to cut wool (although other interpretations include the sacrifice of a bird or forging, cf. Kern 2009d). At Sopron-Várhely, one of the pairs of people dancing/fighting in trousers may handle such a weapon (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29). In summary, swords, daggers and knives are not the most common object in the human representations.

This is consistent with the distribution of the objects as such. In the West Hallstatt area, they are the leading weapon types, but human images are rare, whereas in the eastern area, where images are plentiful, lances and axes prevail.

The lance or spear accompanies at least 183 individuals. The term lance is preferred in this book, as the items are normally referred to as *Lanze* in the German literature. *Lanze*, in German, denotes a thrusting weapon rather than a throwing weapon (*Speer*). The English language distinction of lance for cavalry and spear for infantry is not useful for the early Iron Age, as the same weapon is used by persons on foot and on horseback. The weapons are thrown in the depiction of the ship battle of Nesactium, Croatia (Fig. 7.46, Mihovilić 1992), and thrust from horseback on the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 58), for example; warriors on foot right next to the riders seem to supply them with additional lances. Archaeologically, lances and spears cannot be securely distinguished, although differences in size have been recorded. It remains certain that a metal tip on a stick is a useful multi-purpose tool for thrusting, stabbing and throwing, on foot and on horseback, in war, for hunting and killing animals. The lance appears as a long vertical or oblique line in two-dimensional images; in three-dimensional human representations, it is an object frequently lost. The lance is often combined with the shield (in 129 cases) or the helmet (129). Warriors with lances are mainly marching on foot, and 38 are mounted on horses.

In six cases, the lance is combined with the axe. The axe is an interesting object, as it occurs with civilians and warriors in the contexts of war and sacrifice, but also as a symbol of power. Of the 91 depictions of persons with axes, 63 use them as a weapon and 28 as a tool. On the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 58), one warrior complete with crested helmet, shield and a pair of lances raises an axe whilst marching in battle; another mounted warrior fights with an axe against another horseman equipped with a lance. The image of a warrior with helmet, shield and raised axe also appears on the vase of Este-Casa Alfonsi, Italy (Frey 1969: pl. 69). At Kleinklein, Austria, the motif of the warrior with shield and axe is rendered in point-boss technique (Dobiat 1980: 375), as well as multiple times as small bronze punches, where the warrior is characterised as male by the erect penis and shown marching with raised axe and a crested helmet (Prüssing 1991: 350, 351). The axe is carried, casually hung over the shoulder, in many scenes of civilians travelling to a feast. That it was also a symbol of power is clearly indicated by the axe hung over the bed of the couple having sex on the *situlae* of Sanzeno and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 31, 67). The axe is further central to the ritual slaughter of animals, in particular stags (see Section 7.10.2).

The bow and arrow appears primarily in the context of hunting. Only in the ship battle scene from Nesactium, Croatia, are bows and arrows used alongside the ubiquitous lances in warfare (Mihovilić 1992).

Shields are the most important part of defensive weaponry in addition to the helmets and body armour discussed earlier. There are 179 warriors carrying shields, nearly all of whom (169) also wear a helmet. The remaining images, for the most part, are incomplete and miss the head. Twenty shield bearers are

mounted on horses. Shields are most often oval, although round shields occur occasionally. The *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), shows three shapes of shields: oval, oval-rectangular and circular, underlining the different origins of the warriors.

Weaponry is a defining element of the masculine warrior identity. In some rare cases, however, warrior elements are borrowed by females to express a particular part of their identity. In this light, we can understand depictions of warrior women and goddesses: the Amazons depicted on a Greek vase in the tomb of Vix, France (Rolley 2003: pl. 12), or the Minerva figurines from the sanctuaries of Este-Baratella, Italy (Chieco Bianchi 2002).

7.8.5 Horses: men's best friends

Horses play an important role in the lives of the elite in all regions of the early Iron Age (cf. Dietz 2008, Koch 2006, Rebay-Salisbury in press-b). As riding, pack and draft animals, companions for hunting and partners in sport, they are also status symbols, not least because the keeping and training of horses require considerable resources. A large number of persons (594, 19 per cent) are associated with horses in early Iron Age imagery. This includes riders sitting on a horse (446),

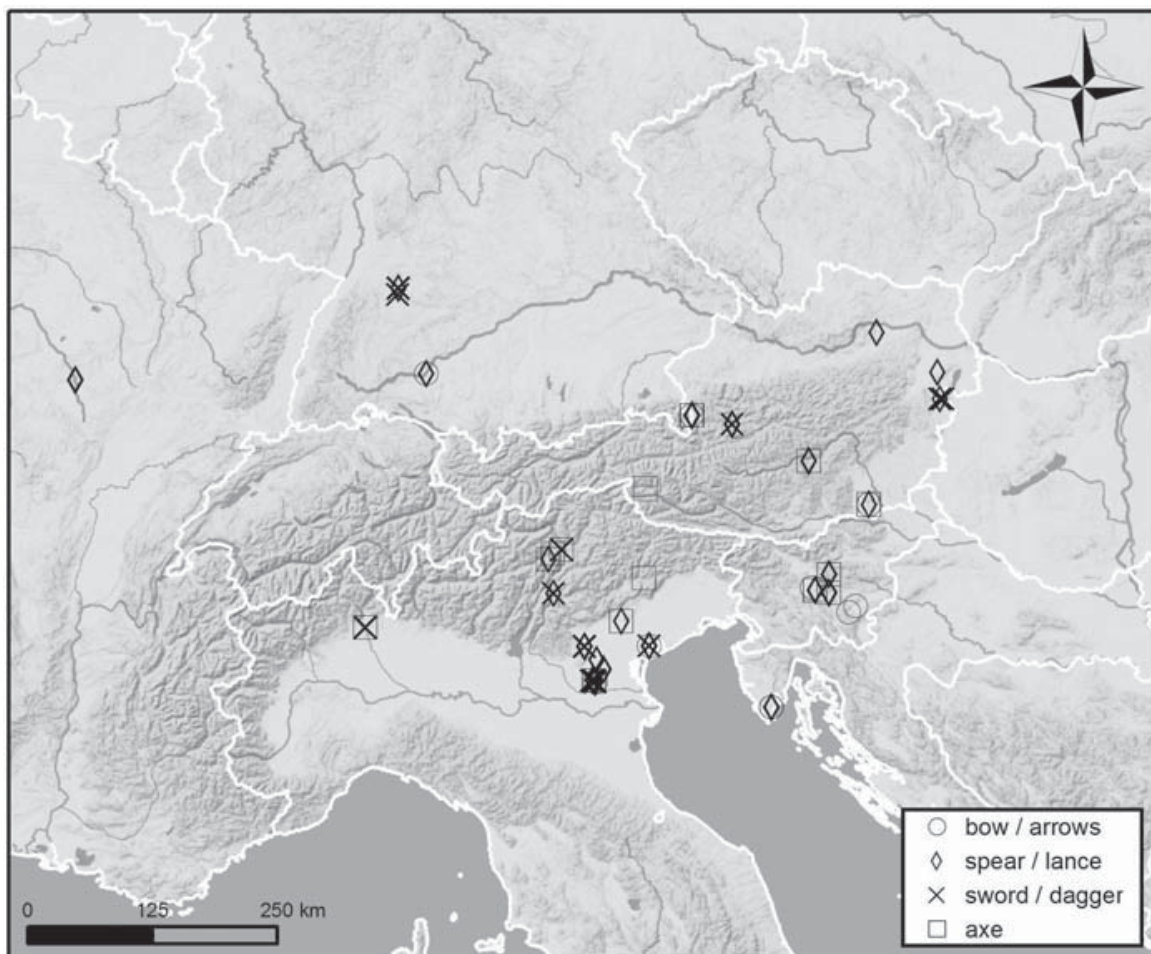


Figure 7.27 Weapon types in conjunction with human representations

men training and leading horses on reins, and drivers of chariots and wagons. Many images come from Slovenia and the Italian region of Veneto, where horse breeding and training has a long tradition until the present day. Strabo reports that horses were branded:

. . . and the wolf, when set free, drove off a considerable herd of unbranded horses and brought them to the steading of the man who was fond of giving bail; and the man who received the favour not only branded all the mares with a wolf, but also called them the ‘wolf-breed’ – mares exceptional for speed rather than beauty; and his successors kept not only the brand but also the name for the breed of the horses, and made it a custom not to sell a mare to outsiders, in order that the genuine breed might remain in their family alone, since horses of that breed had become famous. But, at the present time, as I was saying, the practice of horse-breeding has wholly disappeared.

(Strabo, Geography V, 1.9, translated by H. L. Jones)

The training of horses is captured in beautiful detail on the mirror of Castelvetto, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21). Three men, each with a horse, make up the scene. The first is standing to the left side of the horse with the right arm over the horse’s withers. He teaches the horse to bend the neck on the reins, which is emphasised by showing the horse’s head from the front, a very unusual way of depicting horses. The horse is walking in pace, the two legs of the same side of the horse moving forward together; this horse gait occurs naturally for some breeds, especially harness racers, but may also be specially taught (Harris 1993: 50). The second man leads a horse on long reins from behind. The fact that only the right long rein is depicted and corresponds to the horseman’s stretched out hand points to lunging. In this classic horse training exercise the horse is asked to respond to the commands given by the trainer on the ground, walking at the end of a long line at some distance. Again, the horse walks in pace. The third horseman walks in front of the harnessed horse and leads it. This most likely depicts the fully trained horse. The horse training scenes of the central European Iron Age appear just a little earlier than the oldest horse training manual, written by the Athenian historian and soldier Xenophon (c. 430–354 BC) (Xenophon n.d. [1962]).

The quality control of a horse seems to be a topic of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65): a man seated on a throne holds the reins of a horse, whilst another man inspects its hind leg. The height at the withers of an average horse was around 130 cm (Benecke 1994: 113–114); the animal bone evidence (Bökönyi 1968) suggests that several different breeds of different sizes existed. Eastern horses of the nomadic cultures of the steppes had stronger legs and were larger, whereas western horses tended to be smaller. Both types of horses seem to be shown in the battle scene on the belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 55, Powell 1971).

Relationships to nomadic peoples such as the Cimmerian and Scythians influenced the development of bridles and horse gear in the Hallstatt area (e.g., Kromer 1986, Metzner-Nebelsick 1998, Metzner-Nebelsick 2002) from the ninth and

eight centuries BC onwards. Despite some exceptions (Dular 2007), horses are not normally deposited in early Iron Age graves. Horse gear and wagon parts, however, are frequently discovered in high-status graves. Grave 11 from Mindelheim, Germany (Kossack 1954a), and the burial mound at Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006), are good examples for early and late Iron Age wagon graves, from which bridles could be reconstructed. Bridles and reins are often shown in extraordinary detail on Situla Art. They include frontbands, browbands and nosebands; central to the depictions are the bent cheek-pieces. It is not possible to tell from the bridle alone if the horse was used as a riding or draft animal, although paired bridles indicate a pair of horses and thus constitute the *pars pro toto* of a wagon.

Travelling with horses often occurred on foot. Horses are depicted in the midst of processions of several men, led behind by the reins (e.g., Magdalenska gora, Slovenia, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3) or walking in front on long reins. The *situla* from Novo mesto-Kandija, Slovenia, shows one horse in the frieze with a palmette ornament on the back that may imply a pack saddle (Knez 1986: app. 3). Several ways of travelling with horses are depicted together on the *situlae* of Vače (Fig. 7.28, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73) and Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep): horses on the long and short rein, men on horseback and travellers in various forms of vehicles.

On *situlae*, there are two main forms of vehicles: chariots and wagons. Chariots are light vehicles with spoked wheels, a square or D-shaped platform measuring approximately one metre by one metre and with railings made of bent wood on either side or, alternatively, a D-shaped balustrade covering the front and sides of the box. The chariot has place for a driver and a passenger, both of whom stand on the vehicle. Of Near Eastern origin, chariots were adopted in Europe around the early to middle Bronze Age (Pare 1989: 81). They appear in graves in Etruria and Picenum around 800–600 BC. Image sources suggest that they were around, but did not play a significant role in funerary practices north of the Alps before the early La Tène period, when chariots replaced the central European four-wheeled wagons. Archaeological finds of chariots cluster in Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany, and Champagne, France (Schönfelder 2000: 44), but warriors were buried on early La Tène chariots in other regions, for instance, the warrior of Grave 44/2 from Dürrenberg, Austria (Penninger 1972: 76).

Chariots were used for travelling, racing and in warfare. Passengers could easily hop on and off the chariot even when in motion. The *situla* from Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), has captured the passenger in motion, with one foot abreast of the platform, holding on to the railing. Only in Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), is a woman shown as the passenger. Chariot racing, of course, is done without a passenger. In war, although nowhere directly depicted in Situla Art, the chariot seems to have been employed as a ‘battle taxi’, driving the warrior to and from battle and for representation (Schönfelder 2002: 326). The chariot driver from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), appears as a civilian, although he features in the same frieze as the



Figure 7.28 The *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Starè 1955: app. 1, drawing by France Starè © Narodni muzej Slovenije)

ship battle scene (unfortunately the connection between the ship battle and the chariot driver is missing).

The other main form of wheeled vehicle is the wagon, with an ornate rectangular wagon box supported by two or four wheels. It is intended for drivers and passengers to sit down and can transport up to four persons (on the *situla* from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Križ 1997b: app. 3). Wagons are a characteristic feature of the West Hallstatt elite burial rite, in which members of the elite were interred in rectangular wooden grave chambers under mounds (see Chapter 4). About 260 wagon graves have been discovered in the main area of distribution north of the Alps from Burgundy to Bohemia and Upper Austria, among which are also a number of women's burials (cf. Metzner-Nebelsick 2009: 250). In the east, where cremation was dominant, only a few wagons have been found (e.g., Somlóvásárhely, Hungary, Strettweg, Austria, Egg 1996a, Egg 1996b). Representations of four-wheeled wagons are almost mutually exclusive (Pare 1987: 212–223) to actual findings of the same vehicles in graves.

The decoration of the wagon boxes frequently includes references to the bird motif, which had tremendous popularity in the late Bronze Age, and continued ritual significance in the early Iron Age. The wagon from Mechel, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 28.11), is perhaps closest to the sun–bird–boat motif, which embodies the journey of the sun through day and night and the journey of the dead to the afterlife (Wirth 2006, Wirth 2010b). A reference to the afterlife makes most sense when the wagon is employed in a funerary procession or to transport people to feast in honour of the dead.

Four-wheeled wagons in turned perspective decorate the back of the bronze *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany (Plate 16, Biel 1985a), but here the wagon seems to be part of a battle. Although the long object in the hand of the person standing on the wagon may be read as a goad, the shield suggests a military context. Images of wagons, simply sketched on pottery, occur as far north as the urns of Pomerania, Poland (Kneisel 2012, La Baume 1950). Two vessels from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Bella 1894: fig. 11, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), depict persons on top of the wagon box, whilst another person walks behind it. A parallel to these images has recently been found on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), where a captive or slave in shackles follows the wagon of the travelling people. The demonstration of victory and social difference seems to lie at the heart of these images.

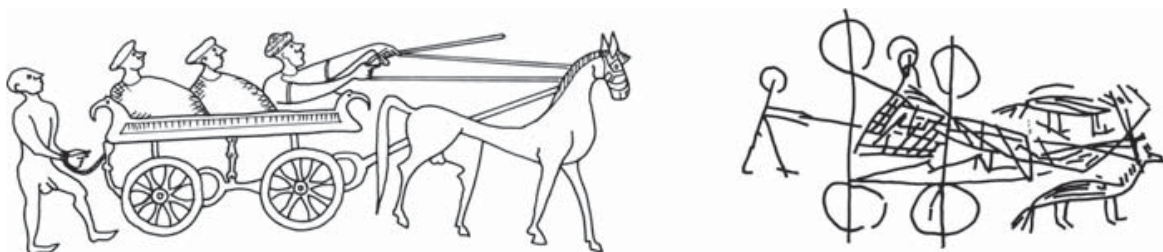


Figure 7.29 Travelling with captives, on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy, and Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (after Bianchin Citton in prep, Eibner-Persy 1980)

Riding horses is a popular stand-alone motif in early Iron Age art. In context (see Section 7.10), the rider takes part in travels, sports, hunts and warfare. Horses never wear saddles. Presumably they were indeed ridden bareback, though saddles complete with a wooden saddle tree, padded cushions and felted covers dating to the fifth century BC have been unearthed from the frozen tombs of Pazyryk in Siberia (Rudenko 1970) and were known by the Scythians. There is solid evidence for the use of crops and whips as riding aids. On the belt plate from Magdalenska gora (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 41b), for example, a rider is shown with a turned upper body just as he uses a forked whip on the horse's hindquarters.

Horses were instrumental to a whole range of high-status activities in the early Iron Age and important for the construction and enactment of male identity. Clearly, they were highly valued. Nevertheless, how far did a possible emotive connection between elite men and their 'best friends' go? Not beyond death, it seems. Horse burials are rare exceptions in the early Iron Age Hallstatt area (see Chapter 4). At the end of their lives, horses were likely eaten. The butchering patterns from Iron Age settlements such as the Heuneburg and Manching, Germany, show similarities to other domestic animals, and the age of the slaughtered animals suggests they were eaten after their use (Müller, Kaenel and Lüscher 1999: 121).

Besides, is there a case to be made for the dog as the Hallstatt man's companion? Dogs do not feature largely in early Iron Age imagery (but see Koch 2012), but they do accompany the horseback-mounted hunter carrying bow and arrow (see Section 7.10.2). Many hunting scenes with horses also include some small four-legged animals that may be dogs. Dogs appear quite large in relation to people in some scenes and cross the borders between wolf and beast, for example, on the belt plates from Stična, Slovenia (Fig. 7.36, Gabrovec et al. 2006: 268, fig. 71, Turk 2005: 71). However, dogs are not exclusively associated with men; the votive plate from Montebelluna, Italy (Marzatico 2004: 225), displays a woman with a key and dog. Along with the key, the dog may represent guardianship over the household. In the Hallstatt period, dogs were companions, guards and perhaps even sacrifices (Ramminger 2012).

7.9 Postures, gestures and movement

Body positions and gestures are a mix of innate and cultural expressions (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 218). A finite number of body positions are anatomically possible, and some are quite clearly associated with particular actions, movement or rest. Body positions may be infused with specific, culturally contingent meanings that vary in time and space; kneeling, for instance, expresses submission and prayer in the western cultural context, whereas lying flat on the ground may be a fitting response to a threat in some situations. Even the body position that is commonly assumed during sleep is culturally contingent, although all people have a biological need to sleep. In Ancient Egypt from c. 1800 BC, for example, people slept with headrests made of wood, bone or stone; they keep the

head well aired and cool and can be traced over the *longue durée* in western Africa until recent times. Sleeping in a reclining, half-seated position was common in the early modern period in Europe and is the primary reason why beds appear incredibly short to modern eyes – people did not fully stretch out while sleeping.

Gestures are ‘visible bodily actions’ (Kendon 2004: 1) that, similar to spoken language, have the purpose of communication and may complement or substitute words. Desmond Morris and colleagues (1979: xvi) differentiate between ‘illustrators’ and ‘emblems’, accompanying and replacing verbal statements, respectively. Visible body actions also underline changes of postures, movements and activities; the categories of posture, gesture, action and movement therefore blend into each other. Early Iron Age images only capture a snapshot of this blend. Particularly, images in profile do not allow a secure distinction between static and moving images; it is unclear if a person depicted in profile is standing or walking, for instance, as in both cases, the feet are shown just a little apart. The body position therefore already includes an element of interpretation, as their reading depends on the context.

7.9.1 Postures

Body postures that can be differentiated from early Iron Age images include standing, sitting, lying and kneeling. The overwhelming majority of persons (n = 2117 of 3148, 67 per cent) are depicted in a standing position. Of these, most are pictured from the front (n = 992, 47 per cent) and virtually equal numbers from the left (n = 378, 18 per cent) and right (n = 376, 18 per cent) side. A similar number (n = 369, 17 per cent) are three-dimensional images. Most stand on the ground, which is assumed rather than depicted. Very few stand on horseback (n = 7), for example, on the vessel from Beilngries-Im Ried West, Germany (Torbrügge 1968: no. 246), but the simplicity of the mode of depiction may actually indicate a person sitting on a horse. Conversely, horse acrobatics are also attested, particularly in the context of Eurasian nomads. Standing on a chariot, a two-wheeled vehicle with a platform for the driver and passenger, is depicted 24 times. All 19 drivers of chariots are male, but amongst the five passengers, there is also one female standing (on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy, Bianchin Citton in prep).

The standing position includes a number of more specific body positions. Most common is the orant posture, which requires both arms to be stretched out and up. In this position, the elbows are bent to varying degrees, depending on the mode of depiction, but both arms and hands are rendered symmetrically. If fingers and hands are shown at all, the palms face up or the fingers are spread. The orant posture was the common posture of praying and pleading in prehistory, Antiquity and early Christianity. With n = 888 instances, the orant gesture is found with 28 per cent of all human images. Whereas a connection to the sacred seems likely in most cases, not least because the context of images is primarily funerary or ritual, its precise meaning is situational and hence difficult to access. The gesture may be employed to express mourning for the dead or praying for specific divine intervention. Sometimes, for instance, at Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy

1980), the orant gesture is combined with dancing (with or without the depiction of musical instruments), an activity that occurs in the context of feasting on many occasions, including funerals. The gender of the orant is often female ($n = 103$, 12 per cent) rather than male ($n = 27$, 3 per cent), though it cannot be determined in the majority of cases ($n = 755$, 85 per cent). The typical orant is dressed ($n = 258$, 29 per cent) rather than naked ($n = 22$, 2 per cent), but again, for most figures it cannot be determined with certainty if they were dressed or not. Some orants seem to be touching their heads, for example, at Langenlebarn, Austria (Preinfalk 2003), and Frög, Austria (Tomedi 2002); these images invoke notions of biblical expressions of grief such as tearing one's hair out or sprinkling the hair with ashes.

Another position related to the divine is that of the dedicator, offering food and drink to the gods. In Italian sanctuaries, for example, Este (Ruta Serafini 2002), the persons offering are depicted with a small bowl or vessel in one hand. Both women and men are amongst the 59 offerers. The ritual of pouring liquid as an offering to a god or in memory of the dead is also referred to as libation. Consuming and offering food and drink during ritual and religious feasts was commonplace in the early Iron Age. In Ancient Greece, libations were part of daily life and religious practice, done habitually with every meal (Muir 1985: 194–195). Wine and oil were commonly offered at funerals in Ancient Rome (Scheid 2008: 269). Central European images of people pouring liquid with bowls and ladles are therefore also often interpreted in that light, although drinks are clearly served to people in the first instance, at least on *situla* images. Ladling drink from a large vessel and serving it to participants of the feast is done by women (12) and men (13) in equal measures, whereas mixing and spicing the drink is an exclusively male domain. Related to the theme of consuming/offering drinks is the gesture of carrying vessels. On *situlae*, it is often the women who carry cists on their heads to the feast; particularly large vessels are sometimes carried by two men with their hands or shouldered on a carrying rod (e.g., Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64). Carrying a vessel in front of the body is more unusual, although, as we have seen, north of the area of *situla* production, the image of the lyre transforms into an object that may equally be read as a vessel (Section 6.5).

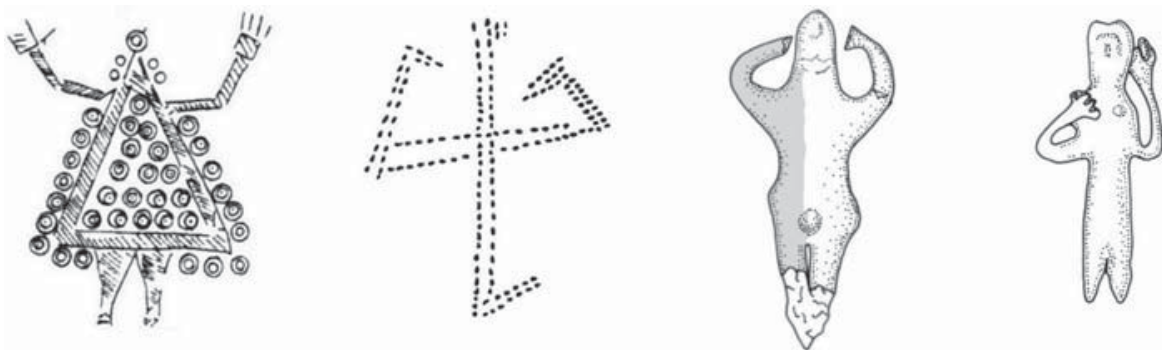


Figure 7.30 Orants, from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary, Schirndorf, Germany, Langenlebarn, Austria, Frög, Austria (after Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17, Preinfalk 2003, Tomedi 2002: pl. 94, Torbrügge 1968: no. 248)

Figurines that seem to be carrying something, with the ‘something’ being absent, are, for instance, known from Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 2000a: pl. 9), and Leibnitz, Austria (Szameit 1983: fig. 336).

The body position of the dumb-bell fighter (see also Section 7.11.1, with references) is a specific instance of the standing position. There are always two persons placed in opposition; they face each other and create an almost identical mirror image; in between the opponents or above them, a helmet or other object may be shown as the trophy to be earned. In the classic version of the image, the naked and bald persons grip the dumb-bells with their hands; one arm is stretched outwards at the opponent, and the other arm is held back behind the body. To show the nudity in its full glory, the left sportsman normally uses his left arm for the strike and balances the body with the left leg set forward and bent at the knee. The right leg is braced backwards for stability. The dumb-bell fighter is thus shown in semi-profile, turned slightly towards the viewer. His opponent stands antithetically, turned slightly away from the viewer, again with the left arm and leg forward. Variations of this classic image include the dumb-bell fighters shown on the *situla* of Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), in which the opponents have both arms stretched towards each other.

Outside the immediate genre of the *situla* images, the dumb-bell fighter occurs as a single depicted person. There are, however, also a number of antithetical pairs of persons on pottery, sheet bronze and even in rock art, which are drawn in the same or similar body position as the dumb-bell fighters. They are standing facing each other, with one leg set forward, the other braced to the ground; the hands are holding objects that are less straightforward to interpret – shields, swords, weapons or nothing at all – in these instances, the couples appear to be holding hands. As discussed later, the antithetical body position is one of the instances where the frame of an image is imported, but the content changes. The specifics of the sport may not have been translated into all cultural contexts and the image turned into a fighting or dancing scene.

The persons depicted in sitting position ($n = 545$, 17 per cent) are primarily riders who sit on horseback ($n = 446$, 82 per cent of the sitting persons). A few ($n = 21$, 4 per cent) are sitting in a wagon, and some ($n = 53$, 10 per cent) are seated on a throne, chair or other piece of furniture. Wooden thrones of round shape with backrests and armrests, often beautifully decorated with wood carvings, are known from the Etruscan area; most famous is perhaps the throne from Tomba 89, Verucchio-La Rocca, Italy (Gentili 2003: fig. 59), which depicts a whole sequence of textile work. These thrones are depicted on *Situla* Art, for instance, on the *situla* Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), or the *tintinnabulo* from Bologna, Italy (Plate 4, Morigi Govi 1971). East Alpine versions are a little less elaborate and include backrests, but no armrests (shown on the *situla* in Providence or the *situla* of Vače, Slovenia, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, pl. 73). Thrones, according to Alexandrine Eibner’s definition, also include footstools (Eibner 2012b: 42, Eibner 2013), which may be simple and flat, but variants with feet are also known. They elevate the seated person to (almost) the level of a standing person, which makes almost all people depicted on *situlae*

appear the same height, regardless of whether they are sitting or standing. A bench that seats two people (named *bisellium* and most likely carved of wood, cf. Eibner 2013: 467) is depicted on the *situla* Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), and the *klinē* from Hochdorf, Germany, may also fall into that category (Plate 16, Jung 2007). It has enough space for one person to lie down, as demonstrated by the fact that the deceased was buried lying on top of the *klinē*. In the Mediterranean world, however, the *klinē* is comparable to a daybed, a surface to lie on with an elevated head/backrest. This type of furniture is rather uncommon in the Hallstatt area. The fragmented nature of the images on *situla* suggest there may have been many more seated persons, who cannot be matched to the depictions of furniture or vehicles. In the depictions of sitting people, the right side is definitely favoured. Fifty-five depictions are three-dimensional: only four are shown from the front (whereas their horse is always shown from the side); 97 (18 per cent) from the left and 388 (71 per cent) from the right.

Persons sitting on a horse and in a wagon are always male. A few women are amongst the people seated on chairs or thrones, for example, the women engaged in sexual activities seated on thrones from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Barth 1999), or Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013). The female and sexless persons from Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004), are sometimes depicted in a seated position, although it remains unclear what they were seated on, if they were seated on anything at all. Similarly, the anthropomorphic pendant from Hellbrunnerberg, Austria (Stöllner 1996–2002: 316, pl. 82, fig. 85), has both the arms and legs in rather unusual positions: bent at the elbows and knees and pointing down. Depictions of sitting on the floor, with the legs straight, knees bent or cross-legged are extremely rare. The body position of the two stone statues of Vix-Les Herbues, France (Chaume and Reinhard 2003), are unique in that they depict two persons sitting or rather leaning on to a wall, with their knees bent and feet on the floor. One warrior has the shield drawn against the knees, whereas the other seated person wears a torc and a long, plain dress covering the legs. The cross-legged or tailor-style posture becomes more common in the late Iron Age, for example, on the beak-spouted flagon from the Glauberg, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002: fig. 236), or the Gundestrup cauldron (Olmsted 1979).

Kneeling is a body position in which the body weight is either supported by both knees on the ground or one knee and one foot. Whereas in our cultural context, the kneeling position is associated with praying and showing submission, early Iron Age contexts of kneeling are primarily hunting and sex. The hunters on the belt plates from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7), or Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4), are shown in a lunge, in which one leg is positioned forward with the knee bent and foot flat on the ground and the other leg is positioned behind. Less explicit versions of the same body position shown from the side with the feet wide apart are, for example, the hunters from Dürrenberg-Eisfeld, Austria (Moser 2010: 106). The kneeling position seems to embody quietly approaching the prey and at the same time expresses the active alertness required for hunting. Herein perhaps lies the communality of hunting

and sex. The men engaged in sexual activities on the belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Plate 12, Barth 1999), and the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), kneel in front of women seated or bent forward.

The 17 people depicted in lying positions are rare and occur in specific contexts. First and foremost, they are men and women having sex in the missionary position, with the woman lying on her back on a bed, with the man on top. The women have one or both legs bent at the knee to show the action even more clearly. The elaborate furniture on which the sexual act takes place underlines the high-status context; the beds have a wooden frame, often beautifully carved and decorated, and are padded with a thick mattress. Foot stools are placed in front of the bed in the scenes from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 67), and Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Cifton in prep); the depiction of Montebelluna places the bed underneath a metal frame window. Feasting people are depicted in standing or sitting position in the Hallstatt area; the only reclining person is the man in the belt buckle from Carceri, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: 60, Fig. 5.1), who is being served a drink whilst lying on what appears to be sofa or *klinē*. Evidence for imported Mediterranean furniture, such as a Greek *klinē*, comes from elite graves of the West Hallstatt area (e.g., Grafenbühl, Germany, Fischer 1990). Today, only small pieces of their decoration remain, and it is unclear to what extent such pieces influenced the 'sitting culture' of the Hallstatt world.

Lying down otherwise indicates defeat and death. On the *situla* Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), the person blowing the horn whilst being stabbed by a lance appears to be falling backward; a person lying on the ground is being trampled to death by the horses of mounted warriors on the sword scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007). A recent restoration of the *situla* from Novo Mesto, Slovenia (Egg and Lehnert 2011), brought another gruesome scene to light, in which two warriors raise their axes over a shackled man lying between them. He seems to be facing execution. An isolated head, towards the left and underneath a rider, has already been chopped off another unfortunate victim. Similarly, a person (or corpse) is shown falling backwards from a ship into the sea in the battle scene from Nesactium, Croatia (Fig. 7.46, Mihovilić 1992). Persons in a lying or floating position are the ones being swallowed by giant fish on the cist of Kleinklein, Austria (Fig. 7.31, Prüssing 1991: pl. 109, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b). Two are swallowed feet first, one head first in this gruesome scene. The image is particularly noteworthy as in the landlocked, Alpine area the cist was found there is no particular danger of being eaten by a fish. The image may be traced to a late geometric Greek model, such as an Ischian *kratēr* (Boardman 1998: 53, fig. 161).

Although dying was depicted, images of dead people seem to be absent in the Hallstatt world. *Prothesis*, the lying in repose, was not captured by early Iron Age artists the same way as was common in early Greek vase painting (e.g., Boardman 1998: fig. 44–47). Only the sheet bronze face and hand masks found in Kleinklein, Austria (Plate 13, Lessing 1980: fig. 1), may point to this practice, although the exact use of these masks is disputed (Egg and Kramer 2005); with a height of 19 cm, the face mask seems too small to cover the deceased's face.

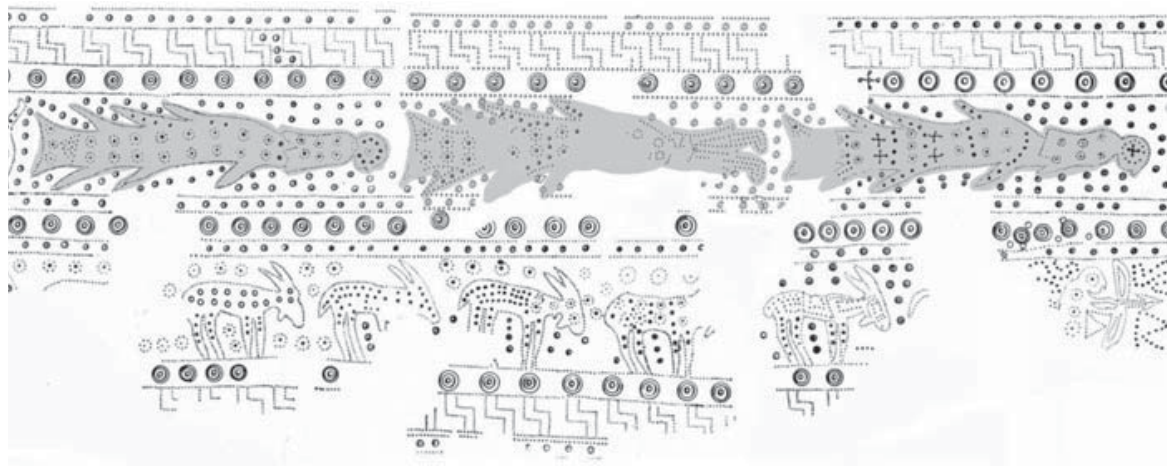


Figure 7.31 Man-eating fish at Kleinklein, Austria (after Prüssing 1991: pl. 109, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b)

7.9.2 Gestures

The positioning of arms and hands allows for further bodily expressions. They again incorporate both innate and cultural meanings. The defensive gesture, with arms raised and palms turned outward, for instance, is universally understandable. The hand as an apotropaic symbol in its own right (see Section 7.3) might have developed from it (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sütterlin 2007: 218). In a major study mapping 20 common gestures across 40 European locations in the 1970s, Desmond Morris and colleagues (Morris et al. 1979) concluded that most gestures were widespread, but were linked to several meanings, some of which were more local than the gesture itself. Others had more than one, and sometimes conflicting meanings in the same region. The boundaries of gesture distributions tended to stop within a particular linguistic area and could sometimes be linked to past political and colonial events; such ‘gesture boundaries’ were found to reveal the deep history of bodily communication.

Arms are an important body part for schematic human figures, as they help to anthropomorphise otherwise geometric ornaments. Nevertheless, they are absent in 769 cases (24 per cent), often on persons depicted on *situlae* when they are not holding any objects or are engaged in other activities requiring hands. In 299 (9 per cent) further instances of human figures have missing arms due to preservation issues. The most important arm gesture for the early Iron Age is the orant, discussed earlier. Arms and hands that are not engaged in any activity are normally held beside the body. In very few cases, the arms are held in front of the body, as if carrying a (missing) object or in embrace. Examples include the ceramic figurines from Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Kromer 1958), Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 2000a: pl. 9), or the bronze figures from Vix-Mont Lassois, France (Rolley 2003: 359, no. 686), and Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany (Huth 2003: pl. 21).

Arms folded in front of the body are a particular feature of monumental stone figures such as the warrior of Hirschlanden, Germany (Plate 1, Zürn 1964b). His

shoulders are slightly drawn up and his arms appear thin; the left arm is held across the body, the open hand touching the right side of the chest, whilst the right hand rests at the left waist near the grip of his dagger. Parallels are widespread in Europe and include the Glauberg warrior, Germany (Baitinger and Pinsker 2002), as well as statues from Capestrano, Italy (Moretti 1936), and Nesactium, Croatia (Fischer 1984). Constraints of material and perspective certainly play a part in this curious gesture (Mielke 2013). Ian Armit and Philomena Grant (Armit and Grant 2008: 421) suggest that the gesture ‘seems to denote a specific relationship with death, the ancestors, and the Otherworld which could have either male or female associations’.

Two naked female figurines of unknown, but most likely Italian, origin (Egg and Pare 1995: pl. 54, fig. 1) repeat the gesture in bronze: again, the right hand is at the hip, whereas the left hand rests at the central part of the chest. The figurines are part of a rattling assemblage of several bronze items, including isolated bronze hands and more stylised anthropomorphic pendants. The figurine from Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Germany (Frey 2005: pl. 2), is shown in the same position in reverse, with the left hand on the hip and the right hand on the chest. An association with the apotropaic or ritual sphere seems therefore justified for this gesture.

Similar and yet quite different in meaning seems the posture known as the arms akimbo, a body position in which the hands are at the waist or hips, with elbows bent outwards. One or both hands at the hips convey confidence and assertiveness, as it makes the body appear larger. This pose appears very rarely on *situlae*, for example, Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4); it is more common for bronze statues, for example, from Este-Baratella, Italy (Chico Bianchi 2002: pl. 18), or Gazzo Veronese, Italy (Warneke 1999: 104, fig. 48, no. 463). The figurines from Vinkov vrh, Slovenia (Starè 1970: pl. 4), for which only the upper part of the body is shown, blur the boundary between human figures with arms akimbo and figures of sirens (see Section 7.3), with arms rendered as wings.

Fingers are depicted much more rarely than arms, in only 703 cases (22 per cent). Individual fingers are even rarer, with 335 instances; other renderings of fingers usually include the thumb and the flat hand, as a fist or flat hand.

Pointing with the finger is a gesture found on several *situlae*. In depicting this gesture, the index finger is often rendered overly long to draw attention to what is being pointed at. Nevertheless, detached from the early Iron Age world, it is hard to read the meaning of this gesture. Three participants of the feast on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962) use this gesture. Two women, who are serving drinks from ladles with the right hand, point slightly downwards at the seated musicians in front of them with the left hand, more precisely towards the groin area. According to Christoph Huth, the gesture pointing to the groin area replaces the sex scene on this *situla* (Huth 2003: 174). The male person who uses this gesture points with the right hand at a seated male drinking from a ladle. On the *situla* fragment from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112), the person standing right of the tripod used to mix the wine, points with an elongated index finger to the ladle of the man standing left of the vessel. This gesture perhaps serves to underline the importance of libation, a ritual that connects drinking with the worship of gods and the commemoration of the deceased.



Figure 7.32 Pointing gestures on the *situla* in Providence, from Kuffern, Austria and Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, pl. 75 and © Keltenmuseum Hallein)

On the *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73), the spicing of the drink is accompanied by the gesture of touching the nose with the fingers and thumb. It seems to indicate smelling the spices that the man standing left of the large mixing vessel adds to the drink. A similar scene has been reconstructed for the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Urban 2000: 244).

An index finger twice the length of the hand can be found on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). It is instrumental to the gesture between a man standing on the left and a small boy of perhaps seven to eight years of age (see also Section 7.6). To the modern onlooker, the gesture seems to embody the man teaching or scolding the boy, although with the distance of millennia, the full meaning remains obscure.

The long index finger is further a feature of the mirror of Castelvetro, Italy (Fig. 7.18, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21), which includes three men walking horses on the lead, a sex scene and a scene of (marriage?) negotiations. The woman in a couple standing opposite each other raises the finger; another woman gesticulates fiercely with a seated man, who raises his overly long, extended index finger.

On the cist of Montebelluna, Italy (Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6), a woman stands right next to a couple having sex and watches them. Her (right?) hand is held in another particular gesture: the thumb seems to rest on her chin, while the index finger or flat hand is held vertically. The same gesture is employed by a (male?) person on the *situla* from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), in the same context. The person observes a couple having sex, although (s)he does not stand directly next to them, but is separated by another person serving drinks with a *situla* and ladle in hands, looking backwards. The hand-at-face gesture occurs again on the *situla* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), with two women who are watching the couples having sex. Perhaps the gesture expresses that the person witnesses something that would normally not be for public viewing, except in this very special circumstance captured in the scene; perhaps it suggests that silence is indicated during the sacred act (Huth 2005: 522).

The *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Fig. 7.13, Gangemi 2013), incorporates a number of further interesting gestures, which occur in the scene leading up

to the sexual encounters: we see a couple embrace, a woman touching a man's face and a defensive gesture, as the woman stretches her palm against the man's face as he opens her dress. The man having sex in kneeling position behind the woman leads his penis with the left hand, while his right hand is at the waist. The bronze figurine from Vel'ké Lovce, Slovakia (Kolník 1982: 244), curiously also holds his penis with his left hand, whilst the right hand is raised, a gesture very similar to the one made by the nude warrior with bowl-shaped helmet from Lestina near Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 20). Most likely, this gesture indicates virility.

Early Iron Age images rarely speak through gestures; instead, meaning is conveyed through attire and attributes, body positions and arranging images in sequence.

7.9.3 Movement and travelling

Situla Art intends to show animals and people in motion, although the mode of depiction in profile renders the participants of marches and travels rather static. It is not immediately apparent if a person depicted from the side is standing sideways or walking. A sense of movement is constructed through repetition of similar animals or people facing in one direction and the order of images on the object. Figurative *situlae* and cists are organised in horizontal zones of narrative content, the friezes. This mode of depiction may have been transmitted via the Phoenicians and Etruscans towards the Hallstatt area. Originally, the position and direction of the friezes were infused with meaning: whereas the top frieze faced left and symbolised life and order, the bottom frieze faced right and symbolised untamed nature, chaos and death (Turk 2005: 20–21). This scheme may have been the model, but was certainly not strictly adhered to in the Hallstatt area (see Figures 7.33 and 7.34). In general, facing the right side is the preferred mode of depiction in early Iron Age central Europe: 895 (59 per cent) of the 1524 human images displayed in profile face this direction, whereas 629 (41 per cent) face the opposite way. Interestingly, persons standing, walking or marching are almost to the same extent shown right and left (372 and 375, respectively), whereas persons on horseback are much more likely to face right (334 and 65).

It is important to note that not each human representation necessarily means one individual. Repetitions of people often just mean 'many people', whereas the main protagonist of the more complex scenes may be depicted several times doing different things. It is thus sometimes hard to discern how many people were actually referred to.

Situlae and cists were made to be read from top to bottom. The direction of the friezes frequently alternates from row to row (Fig. 7.33). The *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), for example, shows a large number of people proceeding to an event. The people in the upper frieze walk towards the left, the people in the middle row towards the right. The bottom row, which completes the story, is again read from right to left. It starts with courtship, proceeds to various scenes of sexual intercourse and ends with a birthing scene.

Other *situlae*, for example, the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Cinton in prep), and that from Vače and Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey

1962: pl. 73, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), place the crucial feasting scene in the middle. The top rows again show travelling to a feast, and the bottom rows show hunting/ploughing and animal friezes oriented the other way. Whereas multiple protagonists facing in one direction suggest movement, alternating and mixing people oriented left and right expresses stasis. The order of movement and actions further creates a time depth: travelling comes before the feast, ploughing and hunting after the feast. The *situlae* from Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy, and the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63, app. 1) perhaps suggest that a feast was held *before* marching into battle. *Situlae* dating to the La Tène period, for instance, the *situla* from Kuffern, tend to be reduced to a single figurative frieze.

Of 28 *situlae* and cists well enough preserved to observe their syntax, six display centred scenes in the top frieze, nine face to the left and 13 to the right; the bottom friezes are 11 times oriented to the left and 17 times to the right. Despite the presence of a certain logic, there are no clear rules as to the right and left handedness of the representations.

Bologna-Certosa	4	left	right	centre	left
Magdalenska gora (T2-GA)	4	right	centre	right	right
Este-Benvenuti	3	centre	left	left	
Nesactium	3	centre	left?	left	
<i>Situla</i> in Providence	3	centre	left	right	
Welzelach	3	centre-left	left	left	
Dolenjske Toplice	3	left	centre	left	
Magdalenska gora (T13-G55)	3	left	centre	right	
Pieve d'Alpago	3	left	right	left	
Vače (1882)	3	left	centre	right	
Matrei	3	left	centre	right	
Montebelluna- <i>situla</i>	3	right	centre	left	
San Maurizio	3	right	right	right	
Sanzeno	3	right	centre	right	
Montebelluna-cista	2	centre	right		
Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl	2	centre-left	right		
Bologna-Arnoaldi	2	right	left		
Magdalenska gora-Laščik	2	right	right		
Magdalenska gora (T2-GB)	1	left			
Novo mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva	1	left			
Novo mesto-Kandija (T4-G3)	1	left			
Appiano	1	right			
Este-Boldù Dolfin	1	right			
Kuffern	1	right			
Novo mesto-Kandija (T4-G3)	1	right			
Vače (T1-G3)	1	right			
Novo mesto-Kandija (T2-G6)	1	right			
Valična vas	1	right			

Figure 7.33 The direction of movement on figurative *situlae* and cists decorated in repoussé and chasing technique from Austria, Italy and Slovenia (site/name, number of friezes, direction of first, second, third and fourth frieze; grey: animal friezes)

Situlae and cists decorated in point-boss technique rather than repoussé and chasing follow a related, if slightly different, pattern. Animal friezes and friezes with geometric bands are common, but they rarely follow the zig-zag reading pattern and are not as well defined. Cist XI from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 85–88, Schmid 1933), for example, breaks two animal friezes for a central pair of dumb-bell-fighters, and cist VIII adds the same motif upside down to another. Cist XIII includes a small animal frieze on top and one large frieze with central images; the empty space is interspersed with right-facing rows of animals and riders, but they are not placed in a separate frieze.

The patterns of order and direction in arranging image content diffuse even more on pottery. In general, human images are much more frequently displayed from the front on pottery. Few vessels have more than one frieze, that is, decorated on the neck and the belly. The vessel from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 28), perhaps comes closest. Its upper scenes are arranged centrally and right facing, but the lower scenes are all symmetrical. Other vessels arrange scenes in a loosely scattered manner. On the vessel from Nové Kosariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 4.1), for example, scenes of hunting, dumb-bell fighting and playing the lyre do not reference each other.

People in movement are, if not engaged in other activities discussed later, either marching as warriors or walking or travelling on horseback, in chariots or in wagons (cf. Eibner 2012b). Whole friezes of warriors marching left appear on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), where six warriors with conical helmets follow eight warriors with crested helmets. On the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), five marching warriors follow two mounted ones; separated by an ornament, three groups of four warriors follow, differentiated by their helmets, shields and weaponry. The marching warriors carry their shields towards the left side of the body, with their lances obliquely across the body with the tip facing down. Axes are generally rested on the shoulders. The short warriors' dresses are often invisible behind the shields, but ensure freedom of movement. The legs and feet are otherwise bare; one leg is set forward to indicate movement. The marching warriors appear to be

Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (VII)	5	right	left	right	right	left
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (XI)	4	left	left	left	left	
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (XII)	4	left	left	left	left	
Kleinklein-Pommerkogel S	3	left	left	centre-left		
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (VIII)	2	right	right			
Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (XIII)	2	right	centre-right			
Sesto Calende A	2	right	centre-right			
Sesto Calende B	2	right	centre-right			
Kleinklein-Pommerkogel (III)	1	left				

Figure 7.34 The direction of movement on figurative *situlae* and cists decorated in point-boss technique from Austria and Italy (site/name, number of friezes, direction of first, second, third and fourth frieze; grey: animal friezes)

travelling and are not yet going into battle. Ithyphallic warriors punched into the lids from Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: pl. 130), are marching in line with crested helmets and raised axes. This motif, for whatever reason, did not spread farther north; southern German and Swiss belt plates (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), for instance, are decorated with punches of orants and riders, but not with marching warriors.

Walking civilians are a frequent motif on *situlae* (Fig. 7.35). Lines of identical persons arranged in procession lines follow each other. They are often dressed in a simple tunic or cloak and hat, with no visible hands. Their feet are slightly apart, but the mode of depiction is not necessarily different from standing persons. Such lines of walking people appear, for example, on the *situlae* from Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013), Matrei, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 59), and Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3), and the belt plates of Stična, Slovenia (Gabrovec et al. 2006: fig. 71, Turk 2005: 106). They seem to be proceeding to a feast or a ritual.

There are several variations of the theme of the procession. Most common is the addition of objects to indicate a person's role, such as an axe. Persons proceeding to a feast often bring the necessities: women carry food, drink and firewood on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), men carry heavy metal vessels and lead animals intended to be slaughtered. At Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112), a hunted deer is carried upside down to the feast on a pole. Animals were brought to the feast dead or alive; the leading and driving of animals is thus a common variation of the procession. The local animals, mountain goats and deer, are particularly charming, for instance, on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), and on the cist of Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62).

The burial itself is not a subject of depiction in Situla Art, although travelling to the (funerary) feast is. Intriguing is the motif on two of the three belt plates of Stična, Slovenia, from Tumulus 6, Grave 30 (Gabrovec et al. 2006) and an unknown context (Turk 2005: 71, fig. 106). They show a row of people in a procession line, walking towards the right. Dressed in the normal civil attire and wearing hats, some of them carry objects such as lances and an axe. One of the belt plates has 8 or 9 men in the procession, with the other 15 men and 1 woman

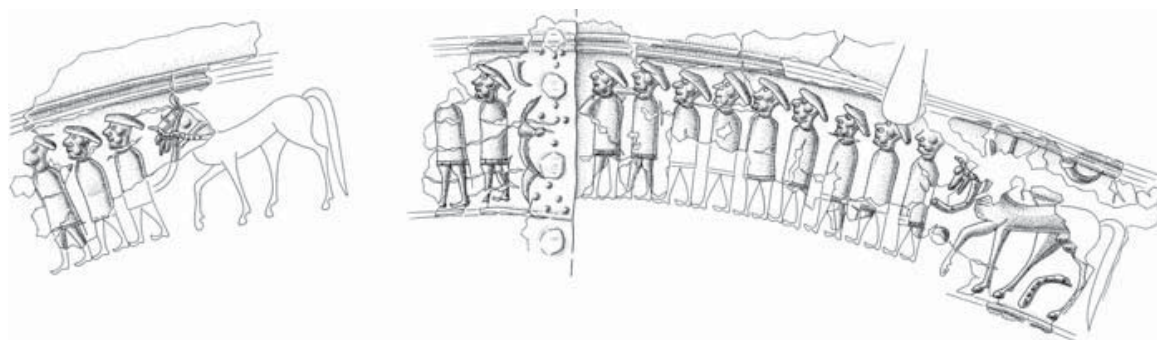


Figure 7.35 Walking civilians on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 3, © Narodni muzej Slovenije)

as the last person. A large hound-like beast sits where the procession line is going; the first man stretches out his arm to touch the beast. It is easy to imagine it guarding the entrance to the underworld, similar to the *Kerberos* of Greek and Roman mythology. Biba Teržan has suggested that the people are attending a funeral and bringing the grave goods: the second a lance, the ninth an axe and the eleventh a double-axe; the last of the mourners, a woman, has been interpreted as a wife or concubine following the deceased into the grave (Teržan 1997, Teržan 2001a, Turk 2005: 40).

Another common variation of walking processions of people is the addition of horses that are either led behind on a short rein or led in front on a long rein. Sometimes, these horses are interspersed with riders, such as on the *situla* of Novo mesto-Kandija, Slovenia (Turk 2005: fig. 63). As explained earlier (Section 7.8.1), horses were trained on short and long reins and were highly valued. This does not mean they were not eaten, but they do not feature as animals to be slaughtered. That horses were walked in scenes of processions and travelling either has the background that they were brought to replace tired riding and draft animals hitched up to the chariots and wagons or that they were brought as trading goods, gifts or dowry.

The use of horses always indicates movement. Horses are ridden for warfare, travelling, hunting and horse races; isolated riders may do any of these activities. Archaeological finds indicate that horses were always in pairs under the yoke for both chariots and wagons. The harness consisted of wooden beams fitted on the horses' necks in front of or just behind the withers. The double yoke is symmetrical, with two lateral arches and a straight centre section, which connect to the pole between the horses, which in turn connects to the vehicle. Various leather straps and belts keep the constructions in place. In Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006), a double yoke made of maple wood measured 1.20 in length was anatomically formed and decorated with a pair of cast bronze horses. The horse harnesses on *situlae* do not explicitly show how the pole was attached to the horse – they only show a broad strap around the horse's neck (Eibner and Forstenpointner 2009). Such a construction constrains the horse's breathing and is thus not ideal; over time, this problem led to the development of head collars for horses in the medieval period. In images of travelling with chariots and wagons, however, for instance, Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), or Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), only one horse is shown per vehicle;

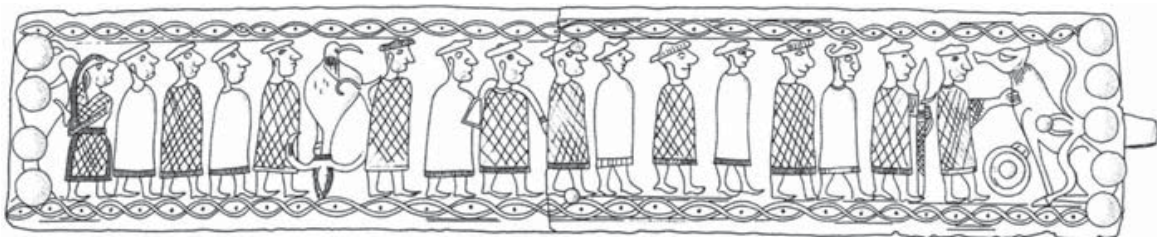


Figure 7.36 Belt plate from Tumulus 6, Grave 30 of Stična, Slovenia (Gabrovec et al. 2006: © Narodni muzej Slovenije)

the pole is set behind the horse. This seems to be a shortcut of perspective, which apparently presented a conundrum for artisans producing similar images outside the immediate realm of Situla Art. On Cist XII from Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: pl. 118), for instance, pairs of horses rendered in point-boss technique are either shown on top of each other or as if folded open, with the top horse above a dividing line and the bottom horse upside down. At Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94), the turned perspective is utilised to depict a pair of horses in front of a chariot (Fig. 2.3). Examples of such modes of depictions continue farther north and east, not least because of the importance of showing details of the vehicle construction and the number of horses.

Depictions of chariot races, on the other hand, on the *situlae* from Kuffern, Austria, San Maurizio, Italy, and Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Fig. 7.45, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63, 66, 75), depict two horses explicitly, perhaps to indicate the extra speed. Another way of demonstrating speed and overcoming distance is chasing the pattern of sweat on the horses' bodies on the sheet bronze (Bauer 2015).

Motion, movement and speed are difficult to show in images that appear as static snapshots. Nevertheless, the artisans employed techniques such as depicting certain body positions, repetition and order on the object to tell stories in sequence and create temporal depth. The landscape through which movement takes place is never depicted in the early Iron Age. Very few images give a glimpse into the immediate surroundings of the protagonists, for example, furniture and, extremely rarely, houses. Movement is depicted as it is experienced, through the moving body (cf. Rebay-Salisbury 2013).

Travelling can constitute a normal part of life, when relatives and markets are visited, fields a little farther from the settlement are ploughed and planted, hunts are undertaken and religious and ritual places are frequented. Pilgrimages and journeys may, however, also represent liminal states: it is not the journey from place A to place B that is important, but travelling has meaning in its own right. Travelling may be part of young men's education and upbringing, intended to prove themselves and enhance their status through familiarity with the exotic. Through travelling, new relationships between home and away are forged, creating a network of foreign relations. Mary Helms has argued (1988) that the knowledge about foreign places always has a mystical, sacred dimension and is regarded as knowledge given by the gods. Bringing back strange, rare and unusual objects may be used to advantage to legitimise political and spiritual power.

Movement through the landscape is restricted by many factors, such as physical skills, social conventions, architecture, cosmological ideas and worldview, and is charged with fears and emotions. Travelling in the early Iron Age was likely an elite activity and, although it included some women, was a primarily male affair. The elite, from Scythian kings to the European Middle Ages, travelled through their countryside to exercise power (and collect some taxes on the way). Travelling through an unknown environment is often lined with meaning and perhaps even the symbolic conquering of landscape (Tilley 1994: 28). With the limited expressivity of early Iron Age images, showing travelling is a way of showing ownership over geographical as well as temporal distance.

7.10 Actions, activities and practices

Early Iron Age images show people in action. The kind of action is thereby defined through the participating people and animals, their body positions and especially the objects utilised in the process. Object relations specify people's identity and status, but also annotate the actions people engage in and clarify what exactly they are doing. The identification of objects, however, is not always straightforward: objects represented unclearly are often recognised by analogy to a clearer image on another object. This principle favours consistent interpretations at the expense of accounting for every subtle representational difference, be they intentional or not.

Static images can only ever show single actions: specific, single movements, which reference the series of actions of a specific activity. The more elaborate scenic representations string several actions together to give a fuller picture of what is going on. The range of early Iron Age activities shown on different objects is limited; nevertheless, it is rare that a specific action is captured only once. It is therefore possible to reconstruct a network of actions and activities through geographical and temporal distance, which points to domestic and ritual practices shared with the Mediterranean world and beyond.

7.10.1 Women's occupation: textile production

The depiction of women's work is rare in early Iron Age imagery. Traditional female activities, such as raising children, caring for the elderly and preparing food, do not feature as image content. The only reference to domestic tasks is the representation of textile production – partly because it was an activity of high status and partly because of its symbolic dimension. The sequence of actions in textile production, notably spinning, weaving and cutting the thread, can also be understood in parallel to the threat of fate (cf. Eibner 1986, Eibner 2005, Teržan 1996). Women in this context appear as the creators of life and weavers of networks, with the power to end it all.

Some iconic images from the area south of the River Po serve as models for the images found farther north. The wooden throne of Verucchio, Italy (Gentili 2003: fig. 59), outlines the whole textile making process in detail, from cutting wool to transport on a wagon, carding, washing, preparing the dye, spinning and weaving. The sheet bronze rattle (*tintinnabulo*) from Bologna-Arsenale Militare, Italy (Plate 4, Morigi Govi 1971), also shows women engaged in textile work. In typical *situla* style, they are dressed in ornate tunics and hooded cloaks. The actions captured include spinning, taking wool on distaffs, weaving and tablet weaving. The women depicted are of high status, as indicated by the thrones they are seated on.

A newly discovered *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), is the first in the study area to include images of spinning women. Two women are standing facing each other next to a couple having sex; they both hold distaffs in their left hands whilst they are twisting the thread to which a drop spindle is

attached. Montebelluna appears to be an important node in the network that connects with sites farther north.

In the Val Camonica, Italy (Anati 1961: 34–35), a little off the main network, multiple images of looms were picked on rocks (Fig. 7.37). The looms are represented as squares with an upright timber beam, heddle rod and shed rod; some looms also have loom weights depicted. Stick-figure people are all around the looms, and in one instance a loom seems to be moved and transported. This might be an important clue to women's mobility – the activity of weaving may be shared in the neighbourhood and did not necessarily bind women to the house. The empty loom may also have a role as a birth bar (see Section 7.7.2). The rock surface further shows a number of paddle-shaped objects, which may represent hackles – combs with which the fleece of the sheep was combed and cleaned. The rock-art images present an interesting source, but dating suggestions range from the middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age. It thus remains difficult to determine what kind of role such images played in the transmission of image content.

Otherwise, images of textile-working women were found at quite a distance: they appear sketched on large, conical-necked vessels at Sopron, Hungary. The scene from Sopron-Várhely (Fig. 7.2, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 16, 17) depicts a woman spinning and a woman weaving on a warp-weighted loom, accompanied by lyre play; the lyre has also, in other readings, been interpreted as a weaving



Figure 7.37 Looms in rock art; Parco Nazionale delle Incisioni Rupestri di Naquane, Val Camonica, Italy (photo: Katharina Rebay-Salisbury)

frame (Urban 2000), which seems less likely in the context of the circum-Alpine image network. Two orant figures complete the scene. The details of the loom make a classification as a warp-weighted loom possible; the timber beam, the loom weights, the heddle rod, the shed rod and the end of the weft thread wound into a ball are all visible. The woven textile is marked by hatching, perhaps to indicate a 2/2 twill (Grömer 2016).

Less clear is the image from Sopron-Váris, Hungary (Fig. 7.2, Gallus 1934: pl. 16), which shows three female orants, a person on horseback and an additional horse, as well as two persons turned towards each other over some hard-to-identify objects. In contrast to the orants, who are most likely women as indicated by their hair and earrings, the other persons on this vessel are not clearly gendered. The objects they are handling have been identified as a basket, wool fleece and distaffs, as a knife and animal to be slaughtered, and as hammer and anvil plus bellows (Kern 2009d: 232). The suggested activities range from textile work to animal sacrifice and forging. In the context of the early Iron Age imagery network, especially taking the analogy to the *tintinnabulo* from Bologna-Arsenale Militare into account, it is most likely that the scene depicts a snapshot in the sequence of textile work in which the wool fleece is taken from a basket and mounted on a distaff.

It is possible that the chessboard-like frames painted on the conical vessel of Rabensburg, Austria (Kerchler 1977: 64), represent a shortcut to indicate looms, although the schematic rendering could also be interpreted as a net for fishing or hare hunting.

The depictions of women's activities, apart from textile work, focus primarily on their ritual role. Most commonly they are depicted in the orant pose and appear to be praying, dancing or grieving. Female participants in feasts are confined to serving roles, offering and pouring drinks, and perhaps practicing libation to connect to the gods and the deceased. Their task is also to witness sex to ensure the legitimacy of offspring emerging from the act of procreation.

7.10.2 Men's pursuits: ploughing, herding, hunting and fishing

A wide range of subsistence activities have been captured in Situla Art and related imagery. They cannot, however, be solely understood as representations of work; rather, their symbolic meaning has to be taken into account. There are reasons to assume that images captured in Situla Art depict the lives of the elite. That high-status people are engaged in manual labour of different kinds suggests a flat social pyramid or a valuation of tasks different from a modern understanding.

Ploughing is an activity that, in addition to its agricultural use, has symbolic meaning (cf. Salisbury 2012). A connection between ploughing and sexual scenes has been drawn, as both allude to fertility (Eibner 2014: 36–37). In addition, the act of drawing a furrow around the space which is meant to become a settlement is known from several foundation myths, including the one of Rome. Ploughs of the early Iron Age are ards or scratch ploughs dragged by pairs of draft animals such as bovines or perhaps even horses. The plough consists of a draft pole, a handle and a share which could be dragged through the soil to cut a shallow furrow. Turning

over the soil, fresh nutrients are brought to the surface and weeds are buried, which prepares the soil for seeding.

The clearest image of a ploughman was discovered on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 19). In this image, the ploughman wears a simple tunic and cap as he carries the plough on his shoulder. He walks behind a pair of cattle, which he spurs on with a whip. As the last person in a sequence which includes the march of warriors, the procession of civilians to a feast, hunting and feasting, he appears to have already completed his task and is on the way home. Other images of ploughmen were found in Sanzeno (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), Italy, on both the cist and the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6), two *situlae* from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2, Mihovilić 1995: 320, pl. 11, fig. 10), and perhaps a fragment of the *situla* from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010: 112). They all show the ploughman in action, dressed in a short, skirt-like garment; they either wear flat and round hats or conical hats. One hand is on the plough, whilst the other one raises a whip or stick to spur on the cattle (Fig. 7.38).

Looking after livestock and moving animals from place to place is the task of a herder. The *situla* of Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 70), held in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, shows a herder dressed in a simple tunic with a long herding stick. He is the only person amongst a herd of eight four-legged animals with large, curved horns, almost certainly caprids, perhaps ibex. A similar herding stick is depicted on the cist from Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62), where several men lead caprids, bovids and cervids interspersed with sphinxes and riders. Herders on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), appear to be travelling with their animals to the feast in the next frieze. The animals look like local, Alpine caprids, perhaps chamois and ibex. Herding animals may have been part of transhumance practices in the Alpine zone, where high pastures are used in the summer season to feed dairy animals (Eibner 2014: 37–38). Animals destined to be sacrificed are often part of the processions to the feast: they include sheep/goats and cattle, for example, on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), where a male sheep with large, curved horns is brought to the feast. Interestingly, the hunted wild boar and stag are already dead when they are carried to the feast, whereas the hare is just being trapped in the net. A single person walking behind

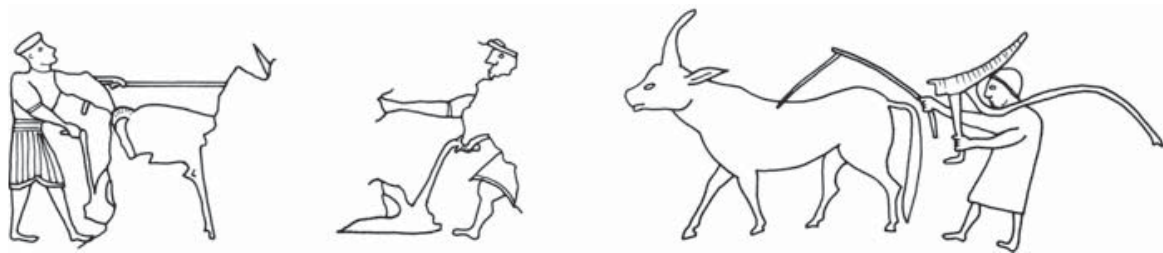


Figure 7.38 Ploughmen on the *situlae* of Sanzeno, Italy, Nesactium, Croatia, and Bologna-Certosa, Italy (after Lucke and Frey 1962: 19, 67, Mihovilić 1995: 320, pl. 11, fig. 10)

three bovids, three cervids and three caprids and in front of two large dogs or bears on Cist XI from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Prüssing 1991: 38, pl. 116–117), may be counted to be the herders; perhaps also a person with a long stick walking behind a horse on the *situla* from Kleinklein-Pommerkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: fig. 10a). The schematic rendering of images in point-boss technique limits exact identification.

The depiction of hunting includes a person with hunting weapons and the prey. The person is either naked or in the dress of a civilian. The weapons used for hunting are primarily lances as well as bow and arrow, although the killing of the animal may involve an axe or dagger, and clubs, nets and traps are also in use. Hunting is done on foot and on horseback; the hunters normally operate alone, but are sometimes aided by a dog. The most common prey are cervids. In the central European Iron Age, the most widespread species was the red deer, which shows a pronounced sexual dimorphism. The male stag grows antlers each year, starting in spring and which he sheds at the end of winter. Each year of his life, the size of his antlers increases. Impressive antlers, the subject of many depictions, thus give information on both the age of the animal and the season of hunting. The female hind, on the other hand, does not grow antlers. Stags were not only hunted, but also ritually killed (see later). Other prey include wild boar, bears, wild fowl and hares.

Hunting deer with bow and arrow appears on the bowl from Dürrenberg-Eisfeld, Austria (Fig. 7.39, Moser 2010: 106), the belt plate from Molnik, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 197, fig. 7), and the *situlae* from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 3), Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2), and Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), as well as a bronze fragment from the sanctuary of Este-Baratella, Italy (Dämmer 2002: 261, fig. 109). The hunter approaches the deer, most often a group of deer, including a stag and hind, with wide open legs and in a half-kneeling position; the bow is drawn and the arrow in place. Between the hunter and the prey is a stylised bush or tree, perhaps to suggest the hunter's cover or to just generally set the scene in the woods. It appears that sometimes, one stag is on a lead; this suggests an ancient hunting technique in which a captured and tamed stag is used to lure other deer by their roaring (Dobiat, Fless and Stauch 2005, Eibner 2014: 40). Archaeological evidence of such 'domestic deer' has been found. Hunters, especially the ones with a bow and arrow, are sometimes supported by an exceptionally large dog sitting patiently behind the hunter. A badly preserved belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Turk 2005), depicts a dog on the leash in front of a man and jumping at an unknown animal. Hunting with bow and arrow appears in point-boss technique on Cist VIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b). Here, the target of the hunt seems to be a bear or beast; the hunter is again accompanied by a dog. The hunter with bow and arrow on Cist XIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1c), is shown with an erect penis and appears to be hunting a chamois.

The deer are brought home tied to a pole, which is shouldered by two men. A stag hangs upside down on such a pole on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64); on the *situla* from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria

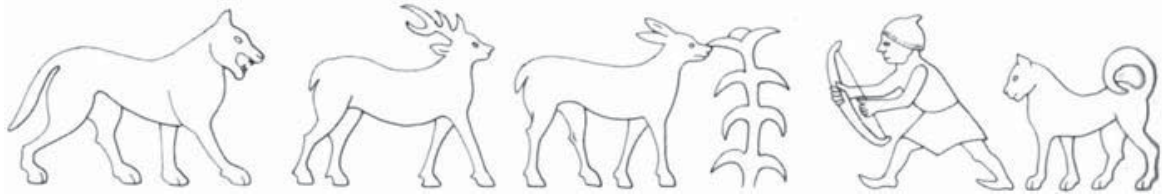


Figure 7.39 Hunting deer with bow and arrow, at Dürrenberg-Eisfeld, Austria (© Keltenmuseum Hallein)

(Moser, Tiefengraber and Wiltschke-Schrotta 2012: 112), it is a hind. Only Cist XI from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria, has the same motif with five waterfowl hanging off the pole (Schmid 1933: fig. 42).

Deer hunting on horseback hardly ever appears in Situla Art. It appears on the belt plate from Zagorje, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: 54), where a mounted hunter has just struck a hind from behind with a lance. A stag with impressive antlers follows the rider and is bitten in the hindquarters by a dog. Another time, on the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), a mounted hunter pursues a ten-ender and hind as well as an eight-ender with a hind. The latter is hit by two lances, whilst the hunter throws a third lance. A horseman accompanied by a dog is the motif of the bronze belt from Este-Nazari, Italy (Kromer 1962: pl. 22), although it remains unclear what exactly he is hunting; five rows of hares in the next image might connect him to battue hunting. Very similar is a late Bronze Age fragment of a hunter with horse found on the Gurina, Austria (Jablonka 2001: 170, pl. 125).

Hunting deer on horseback is a more common motif on pottery, although the mode of depiction blurs some of the details. The hunter from Tumulus 28, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), almost certainly uses lances and perhaps a group of dogs to hunt several stags and hinds; a similar motif may have existed on another vessel from Tumulus 80, which is now too fragmented to be sure (Bella 1894: fig. 11). On the vessel from Reichersdorf, Austria (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1986: 95), the mounted hunter is separated from his prey, a stag, by a hatched triangle. It is unclear which weapon he is using. Further hunting scenes are painted on the vessels from Biely Kostol and Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 4, Urminský 2001: pl. 3), recognisable only because the riders are surrounded by other four-legged animals. Mounted hunters also occur outside the study area, towards the north and east. A hunter with bow and arrow, is, for example, the motif on a vessel from Łazy, Poland (Huth 2003: pl. 30); a bowl decorated with two impressive stags and a rider was found at the settlement of Biskupin, Poland (Kopiasz 2010). It is perhaps unsurprising that hunting on horseback is more frequently found where open landscapes were present. In heavily wooded areas, on the other hand, hunting deer on foot is more appropriate.

In addition to hunting, the killing of stags with axes had a particular ritual significance in the early Iron Age (Fig. 7.40). This recurrent motif appears in several media, as bronze and ceramic figurines, on sheet bronze in repoussé and chasing and in point-boss technique.

The Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), gives a detailed account of how the killing ritual was carried out. The wagon, dating to around 600 BC, was found in a very rich grave in 1851 that was re-excavated in 2012 (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2013). During this recent campaign, a few additional pieces of the Cult Wagon were discovered, although the most interesting new piece of information is the wagon's grave context: the exceptionally rich grave was built into a monumental tumulus with a *dromos* and contained at least four individuals, two of which were most likely men and two of which were women. Exceptional for the East Hallstatt area, the most important person in the grave was likely the adult woman – she was dressed in the most exquisite attire, which included golden hair rings, two bronze *fibulae*, a cloak sewn with bronze plaques, a headdress and an unusual belt made of bronze rings, as well as bead jewellery made of amber, glass and gold. Typical signs of male status and prestige – helmets, swords and cuirasses – are not part of the inventory. The Cult Wagon's centre piece is a female figurine approximately 23 cm high, twice as tall as the rest of the figurines. It is likely that this figure either represents a goddess or the deceased woman in the grave, perhaps a priestess.

The sacrifice of a stag takes place twice at her feet, repeated in mirror image. Both scenes include a front row, into which a small stag is led by two sexless people using its enormous antlers with 10 ends. The stag is followed by a female and a male figurine who holds an axe raised in his right hand, about to slaughter the animal. The whole scene is flanked by a pair of armed horsemen. In Gemeinlebarn, Austria (Kromer 1958), and perhaps Langenlebarn, Austria (Preinfalk 2003), fragments of ceramic figurines were found which could make up similar scenes; they include human as well as animal figurines, including a stag.

On the *situla* from Sesto Calende, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 52), a similar scene in point-boss technique shows a beautiful image of a stag, a hind and a fawn suckling; another scene in the same frieze shows the killing of a stag. He is shown standing towards the right, with a person holding his antlers. One person is standing behind him (the object in the right hand is missing), whilst the second person on the right raises an axe towards his head. *Situla* B contained a related scene, but is much more fragmented.

Whether the scenes from Kleinklein-Pommerkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: 1b), can be added here is debatable. The middle frieze of the cist shows an armed man with an axe walking behind two animals, the first of which may be a bear, the second a four-legged animal – perhaps a deer to be struck from behind. The lower frieze also shows a warrior with helmet, shield and axe facing an animal – unfortunately, the crucial bit necessary to understand the scene fully is missing.

The cist of Appiano, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62), shows both a tame stag led behind a walking person and the killing of a stag: in this case, the act is carried out by a (probably male) person without a headdress holding an axe in one hand and a knife or dagger in the other, both of which he uses to forcefully slash into the croup of the animal. Quite similar is the image on the *situla* from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67). Again, a nude, bald person strikes an animal from behind with an axe in the right hand and a lance in the left. The axe has already hit the animal in the croup and is shown slicing through the flesh.

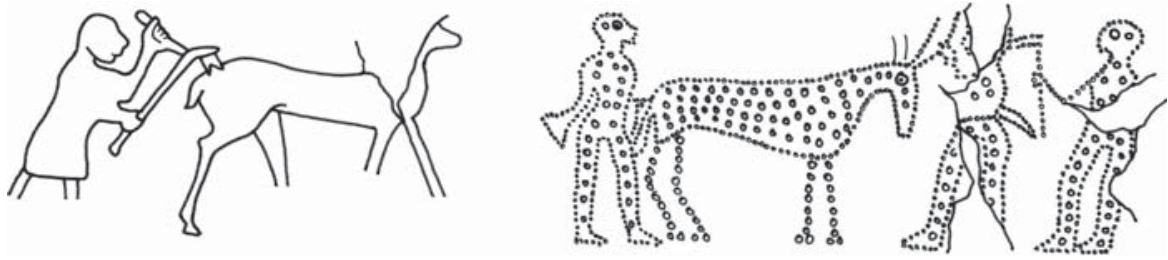


Figure 7.40 The killing of the stag: Appiano and Sesto Calende, Italy (after Huth 2003: pl. 52, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62)

The deposition of red deer in storage pits is not unheard of in the late Bronze Age and Hallstatt periods. The Urnfield culture settlement of Stillfried, Austria (Griebl and Hellerschmid 2013), contained several such pits in which human remains were buried along with those of red deer. The deposition of an old stag with 10-ended antlers in a settlement pit at Langenzersdorf near Vienna, Austria (Ladenbauer-Orel 1965), is particularly intriguing in this context. The stag was deposited in autumn, around 415 ± 220 cal. BC (charcoal from the pit fill) and is almost complete, except that the right hind leg is missing. The stag was not only very old, but also showed several pathologies that would have made it difficult for him to survive in the wild; he was likely kept in captivity before his death. That deer were kept in captivity is further underlined by the findings of bits too small for horses and likely used in deer bridles. A deer burial complete with bit and bridle was found, for instance, in Villeneuve-Renneville, France (Pauli 1983).

Because red deer was the preferred prey for hunting and may have included using a tamed stag to lure other deer, the art motif of killing the stag might refer to such a 'domestic' stag. One could further speculate that the stag belonging to the master of the hunt had to be killed upon his death – after all, all pieces of art showing the scene were found in elite graves. Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a, Krauß 1999), did not include any reference to this ritual except the axe on the wagon, which may be a shortcut to the scene. Curiously, the season of the closure of the burial mound may have been autumn/early winter – the time when red deer carry the most developed antlers.

Axes are frequently shouldered by civilians who are participating in a feast or procession. It appears plausible that they, too, carry their axe in order to slaughter and sacrifice animals further along the timeline. Such images are known from the *situlae* of Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Zeller 2004: 400), for example, or the lid and *situlae* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2, 4, 5). What we know about the ritual of stag killing is that it must have taken place in autumn or winter. Because it is unlikely that all (elite) persons were buried only during this season, the killing of the stag may not be exclusively linked to funerals. The Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), is the only composition that adds a direct reference to the

transcendent in the form of the over-life-sized female figurine: a ‘mistress of the animals’ perhaps (cf. Counts and Arnold 2010).

Wild boars are sometimes targets of hunting, as on the scabbard of Este, Italy (Drexler-Woldrich 1980), and the bowl from Dürrenberg-Eisfeld, Austria (Moser 2010: 106). A boar is also dragged to the feast on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64). Bears seem to have been hunted as seen on the cists of Kleinklein, Austria (e.g., Kröllkogel, Schmid 1933: pl. 1). That the hunter, in this case, is dressed as a warrior may allude to the mythological struggle of a hero against a monster (Egg and Kramer 2005: 29).

Hunting hares is a rare motif, shared by the *situlae* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67), Welzelach, Austria (Fig. 7.41, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 76), and the belt from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 3). The hunter from Bologna-Certosa is nude except for a pointed cap, but he is armed with two clubs to drive the hare into the net. Between the hunter and the hare is a plant, perhaps to indicate his cover. The hunter from Welzelach is dressed in a short skirt with belt, on to which a dagger is fastened, and is portrayed in a particularly dynamic motion. He drives two hares into the net with a club. The preservation of the belt from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva and the *situla* from Sanzeno is insufficient to recognise other details than the hare and the net.

The same object, the belt from Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Fig. 7.41, Križ 1997b: app. 3), also shows fishing. Two naked men are holding in place a fish trap, comprising a net spanning two rods. Two fish are already trapped in the net. Fish are otherwise a rare motif in the Hallstatt world. A row of fish swimming right is part of an animal frieze on a fragment from Mechel, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 28), and a large, man-eating fish, perhaps a local interpretation of a shipwreck scene, appear on Cist VIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b). That fishing was, in fact, an elite activity, is ascertained by the three fishing hooks and some fishing line found with the Hochdorf burial (see Section 4.3).

Ploughing, herding, hunting and fishing are all outdoor pursuits that are tied into particular seasons. Ploughing is an activity carried out during spring to prepare the fields for growth, fishing tends to be most plentiful in summer and hunting is primarily done in late autumn, as confirmed by the presence of impressive



Figure 7.41 Hare hunting and fishing at Welzelach, Austria, and Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (after Križ 1997b: app. 3, Urban 2000: 244)

antlers on the images of stags. The ritual killing of the stag was also carried out during autumn or winter. Depicting these activities may ‘date’ other actions on the same object to particular seasons. Conversely, they may be intended to show the whole breadth of year-round activities and thus a sense of ownership over time.

7.10.3 *Feasting: drinking, making music and sports*

The feast is a central motif of many *situlae*. On the occasion of the find of the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria, Lambert Karner (Karner 1891: 68–71) famously interpreted the scene as just a funny tavern story (*‘lustige Wirtshausgeschichte’*). Wolfgang Lucke continued this sentiment, noting that such a happy and loud party with music, drinking and competitions can be experienced in Alpine valleys to this day (Lucke and Frey 1962: 47). Early on, however, parallels to funerary feasts as described in the *Iliad* have been drawn (for a history of interpretative ideas, see Koch 2003: 350–351), and one of the most common interpretations is that the scenes on *situlae* are concerned with the heroisation of the dead (e.g., Kull 1997, Teržan 1997). Interpretations differ in terms of whether the scenes are set in the real or transcended world: some bridge both views. Christoph Huth suggested that the *situla* feast is always concerned with the death of the main protagonist (Huth 2003, Huth 2005), not least because figurative *situlae* are normally found in graves, and many objects furnishing elite graves are interchangeable with objects in the depictions. According to his reading, the *situlae* show the journey to the afterlife, and the *situla* feast takes place after the death of the father in the next world. It displays the transmission of power from father to son and the apotheosis of the father. Religious rituals such as drinking from a ladle served by a woman and sexual intercourse are employed to legitimise power. The *situlae* further show fateful struggles and heroic deeds of the deceased.

Conversely, I would caution against applying one single explanatory model to the depiction of a theme that in actuality displays quite a bit of variability. Feasts were held for particular occasions, which emerge from the context in some instances, but remain obscure for others. On the *situlae* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for instance, a feast seems to have been held on the occasion of marriage; on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1) before going into battle and on the *situla* of Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), the feast was most likely a funerary feast. Persons gathering for a feast include women and men, standing and sitting people. According to Alexandrine Eibner, the feasts are tribal conventions (Eibner 2012a: 49). Only late *situlae*, for example, the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), include exclusively men and seem to aim at depicting and heroising a single male person, perhaps the deceased in the grave where the object was found. The focus thereby shifts from the community to the individual.

To reduce the scenes of Situla Art merely to the religious and symbolic fails to account for the fact that feasts were important to the community – not only funerary feasts, but also feasts for many other occasions. It is important to acknowledge evidence of feasting beyond images and graves, for instance, remnants of feasting

paraphernalia from settlements, including Mediterranean imports (e.g., the Heuneburg, Kimmig 2000). Feasting was an important mechanism to tie communities closer together, to confirm and strengthen existing networks and to build new ones. And yet, Situla Art is masterful at displaying multiple layers of meaning simultaneously: the profane and religious, this world and the afterlife, order and chaos, reality and mythology.

Feasting includes several elements. At its core is the consumption of an alcoholic beverage in a choreographed way, aided by particular vessels and other utensils (cf. Dietler 1996, Dietler 2006, Kaus 1980, Kossack 1964). In the Mediterranean region, this alcoholic drink was wine, and archaeobotanical finds from Stillfried and Zagersdorf, Austria (Rebay 2003), suggest that domesticated wine was indeed imported or even produced north of the Alps; farther north, for instance, at the Glauberg, Hochdorf and the Heuneburg, Germany, mead was primarily consumed (Rösch 2005). Wine was stored in *situlae* and cists, bronze buckets that were hung on racks, according to the images on the *situlae* of Este-Benvenuti, Italy, and Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65, 75). Wine was further mixed with water in a large cauldron on a pedestal or tripod – a *kratēr* or *lebes* – and spiced with herbs, an action carried out by two men on the *situlae* of Vače, Slovenia, and perhaps also at Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 60, 73). Two men standing on both sides of a large cauldron, taking the drink out with a ladle, is depicted on the *situlae* from Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Moser 2010), Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004), Montebelluna and Sanzeno, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: 67), and the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1). One person is always holding the ladle, whereas the other one either holds out a bowl to receive a drink or holds his hand in an iconic gesture (see Section 7.9.2). The drink is then served with a ladle or, alternatively, libation takes place, which is especially likely when the persons offered the drink are otherwise engaged and have no bowl or other means to receive the drink in their hands. The actual offering of drinks with ladles/libation is done by two women and one man on the most complete *situlae* (Magdalenska gora, Montebelluna, Providence, Vače) and taken over by only one man in the late images (Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Kuffern). Whenever the seated male participants in the feast are actually shown drinking, they drink from a ladle that is being offered or from a bowl in their hands. And although animals – dead or alive – are brought to the feast, eating is not depicted at all.

Seated dignitaries of the feast are drinking from a bowl or ladle that is being offered, playing the lyre or flute, or holding objects that are sometimes hard to identify. Persons in the second row behind the flute players from the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1) are holding a fan; a sheet bronze fan, decorated in *situla* style, has indeed recently been found in the ‘grave of a nameless king’ at Waisenberg, Austria (Gleirscher 2005a). Sceptres appear on the *situla* from Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73), where its end is shaped like a double-bird head, and at Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 4), where its single end again looks like a bird or

snake. A seated man on a throne on the lid of Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 5), is depicted with a forked stick. Forked sticks also appear in the context of sporting competitions, notable at Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), where they seem to be involved in refereeing. The women witnessing sexual scenes on the *situla* of Pieve d'Alpago, Italy (Gangemi 2013: 290, Fig. 6.9), hold club and axe-like objects. In the absence of other good explanations, they, too, can be understood as symbols of power (cf. Eibner 2009). Perhaps they resemble sceptres, which were found in high-status female graves on a range of Slovenian sites such as Vače and Magdalenska gora (Schumann 2015: 229, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: 334–340). In the light of Etruscan parallels, these elaborate bronze sticks are interpreted to signal an important ritual role in society.

Images on *situlae* arise from high-status contexts, and the people depicted belong to the highest ranks of early Iron Age society. Nevertheless, the depiction of objects helps to signify status and prestige amongst this peer group. Thrones and other furniture are the backdrop of the elite; objects that signal power and status are sceptres and, to a lesser degree, axes. These multi-purpose tools serve well as weapons for warfare and conflict, and have their use in hunting and in rituals that involve the killing of animals. The axe hung over the bed of the couple having sex on the *situla* of Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), however, quite clearly indicates its function as a symbol of power. For women, textile tools may be analogous in signifying both a tool and symbol of status. Helmets are shown as prizes on *situlae*, if they are not worn, and thus have their place in the negotiation of prestige (cf. Schumann 2015).

The feast further includes music played on pan flutes and lyres. A single pan flautist plays music on the feast on the *situla* from Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73), and Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (Fig. 7.42, Zeller 2004: 400). The pan flute is played by marching men with crested helmets following women carrying vessels on the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Urban 2000: 244). They almost certainly are on their way to a feast. A lyre player accompanies a dance on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2). Other *situlae* depict musical competitions, in which musicians are seated opposite each other with a prize in the middle. On the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), two pan flautists compete over a large vessel; on the *situla* from Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), it is a flute and a lyre player sitting on a sofa-bed together. They compete over a *situla* hung between them. Opposing pairs of lyre and pan flute players sometimes frame the central scene with the mixing vessel; it is unclear how far their play also involves a competitive element.

Depictions of music making are relatively frequent in early Iron Age images (Fig. 7.43, cf. Eibner 1980, Schuster 1991). In total, 84 individuals are shown with musical instruments. This surprisingly large number comprises 37 lyre players, 14 pan flute players, 11 aulos players and 22 horn blowers, who appear in the context of war (see Section 7.10.4). The lyre is especially popular both south and north of the Alps and is found on bronze vessels as well as pottery (cf. Reichenberger



Figure 7.42 Feasting at Dürrnberg-Kranzbichl, Austria (© Keltenmuseum Hallein)

1985a); as described earlier (Section 6.5), it undergoes a transformation in the way it is handled and depicted as it moves northwards. Musicians in Situla Art are exclusively men and appear in the context of feasts. North of the Alps the context is not as obvious, as the lyre player appears in isolation or only with a few other people who appear to be dancing (e.g., Loretto, Austria, Nebelsick 1994: pl. 69). At Sopron-Várhely (Fig. 7.2, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17), the playing accompanies a spinning and weaving scene. At Janíky-Dolné Janíky, Slovakia (Studeníková 1996: 61), a very abstract version of a lyre – if a lyre at all – is held by an individual who is most likely female, based on earrings or hairstyle indicated by dots around the head. In contrast to the motif of the lyre, the motif of the flautist seems confined to sheet bronze work and does not spread northwards.

Depictions of *aulos* players, on the other hand, never feature in repoussé and chasing, but are an element of sheet bronze decoration in point-boss technique. The *aulos* is a wind instrument sometimes also referred to as a flute, but in fact a double pipe played with a reed. It was popular in ancient Greece and adopted by a few communities in central Europe. The bronze figurine of an *aulos* player from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Plate 6, Eibner 1999: 39), is unfortunately a stray find without context. Nine *aulos* players decorate Lid XIII and Cist XIII from Klein-klein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Plate 7, Prüssing 1991: pl. 120–121, 131), where they are also set up in pairs, competing over bronze vessels. A further image of an *aulos* player was found on a fragment from Býčí skála, Czech Republic (Eibner 1999: 47).

Feasts also include sports – physical activities with a competitive element, involving skills, rules and formal organisation (cf. LeUnes 2008: 5). Sports of the early Iron Age in central Europe have to be seen within the context of sports in the Mediterranean world, especially Greece and Etruria (Rebay-Salisbury 2012b). But without sources other than images alone, it is difficult to work out the specific, regionally unique characteristics. The fragment of a little black-figure master cup found at the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000: pl. 11, Fig. 7.1), which shows a

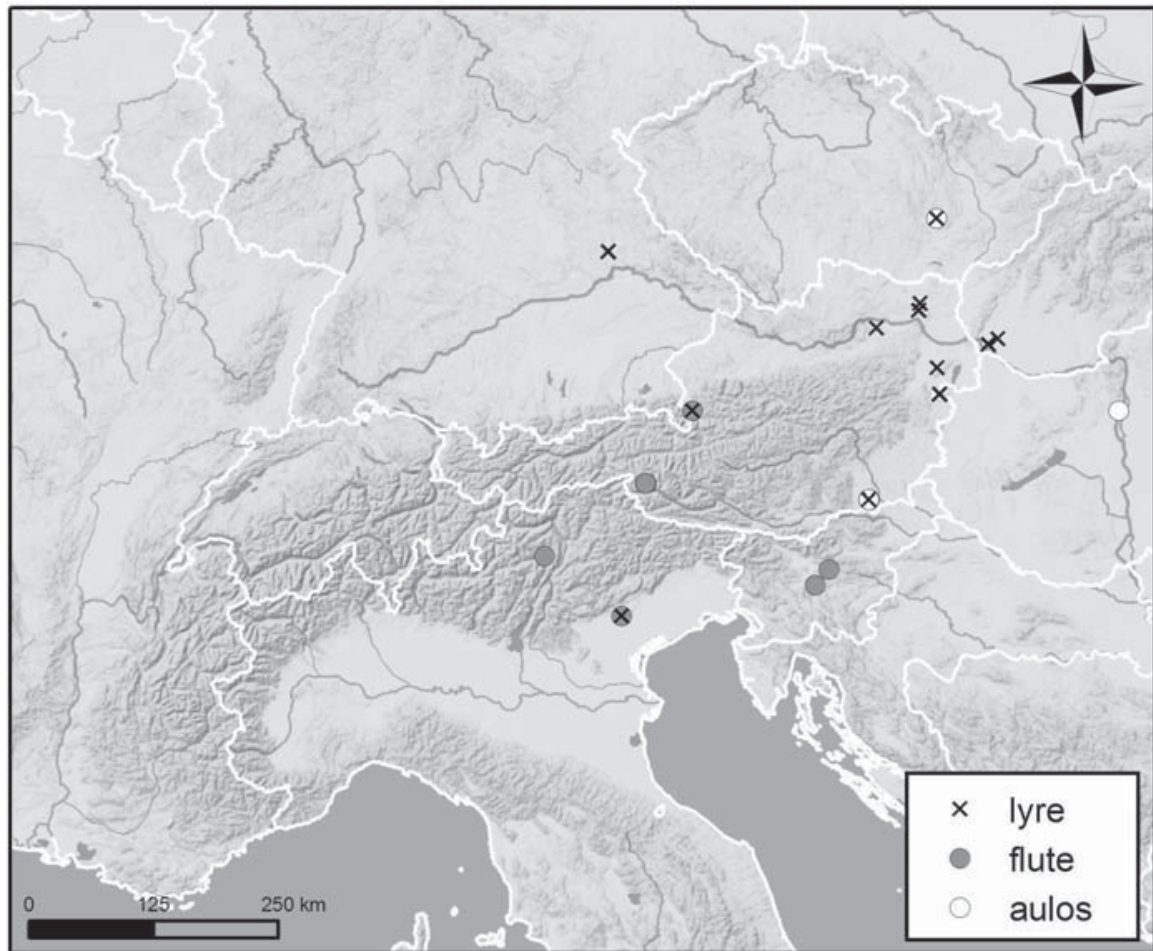


Figure 7.43 Representations of musical instruments: lyre, flute and aulos

naked wrestler flanked by a bystander or referee, suggests that images of Mediterranean sports could reach as far as north of the Alps. Formalised sporting competitions are a high-status activity and may, as in the Mediterranean, have religious and ritual connotations. Sports that can clearly be identified on *situlae* and other media include dumb-bell fighting and horse and chariot races.

Dumb-bell fighting looks similar to boxing, but seems to have been conducted in an entirely different way (Fig. 7.44, Lazar 2011, Zimmermann 2003). It is the most commonly depicted sport and easy to recognise. The opponents fight naked and are depicted with bald or shaved heads; as an image on the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2 and 3, Lucke and Frey 1962) suggests, the clothes were taken off just before the contest and remain neatly folded nearby. Some dumb-bell fighters still wear their belts, arm rings or other indicators of superior status. They stand facing each other; one leg is slightly bent and set forward, whilst the other one is straight and braced backwards for stability. One arm is raised and stretched towards the opponent; the other one is bent and held behind the body. Both hands grip the dumb-bells, the essential sport paraphernalia used in this competition. Although so far, no archaeological finds have been discovered that could, with absolute certainty, clarify what they really are, the depictions suggest a bar with a weight in the form of a sphere on either end. Perhaps the reason why they have

not been found is that they were made of organic materials; some images suggest they were fixed to the hand by a strap, which was almost certainly leather or textile. The dumb-bells have been likened to the Greek *sphairai* (Franz 1962: 270). During the fight, one arm swings forward whilst the other swings back, and the fists are twisted. The aim of the game may have been to disarm the opponent. On the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), the sportsmen seem to struggle over one central dumb-bell and have both arms held to the front. The image is frequently framed by the spectators who, in contrast to the fighters, are clothed. On the *situla* from Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), teams with different headgear can be made out. Some bystanders hold a stick or sceptre in their role as referee; at Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2), two persons with similar, long sticks bent at the top are watching dumb-bell fighting; at Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), a forked stick is used. The person towards the left of the sportsmen holds the forked stick up, whilst the one on the right points it down. The position of the stick seems to signal a scoring system. The central part of the iconic dumb-bell scene shows the prize for a successful fight: a crested helmet. Only the *situla* in Providence (Plate 2, Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1) features a large bronze vessel, and on the *situla* from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 2), the price is replaced by a rosette, which possibly represents a shield.

Other than on Situla Art, the iconic composition of the image of the dumb-bell fighter appears on a ceramic sherd from Este, Italy (Hoernes 1893: 109, fig. 49), which may have been used as a stamp or repoussé and chasing aid for the sheet bronze work. Variations on sheet bronze found farther north include dumb-bell fighters on the fragment from Fließ, Austria (Sydow 1995: pl. 43, 329), in which the equipment takes the form of an oval loaf, and the images in point-boss technique from Kleinklein, Austria, which, due to their low resolution, are more difficult to classify. The image of two contestants with thickened fists curiously appears upside down on cist VIII from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b); the image on cist XI (Prüssing 1991: 338, pl. 116–117) lacks the thickened fists most likely representing dumb-bells, but repeats the fighters' position with both arms stretched towards each other, and with a rosette in the middle. Further images from Kleinklein (cist VII, Schmid 1933: pl. 1a; cist IV, Prüssing 1991: 335a, pl. 110–111) take up the frame of the opposing contestants, but change the content: objects that resemble long shields and short round shields replace the sporting equipment and turn the scene into a serious fight. Figurines with the dumb-bell fighter motif from Landeck, Austria (Höck 1997: 101) include a dumb-bell fighter with a conical hat or helmet; the figurines also have a Saint Andrew's cross on their chest, suggesting some form of sportswear or armour.

Four pairs of contestants sketched into the soft clay on a vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29), are depicted standing close to each other, and each person's arms are shown on the other person's head, gripping each other's hair or giving each other a hook to the chin. Three pairs of figures are wearing trouser-like garments, whereas one pair is shown with ballooning skirts. Rather than dancing or mourning, the figures seem to express direct, physical

violence as if caught up in a sporting competition or an even more serious fight. The recent find of a conical-necked vessel with similar but even more stylised images from Frög, Austria (Gleirscher 2009), contributes seven further pairs of persons depicted in a similar manner, standing opposite and seemingly ‘holding hands’. Paul Gleirscher has argued in this context that dancing with connected hands is a particular cultural feature of the East Hallstatt area. The simply painted stick figures from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pl. 3, 4) standing opposite each other with connected hands may also be mentioned here. In all these cases it is hard to discern whether a friendly, competitive or even hostile atmosphere is captured.

The back of the cline of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: pl. 26), is the northernmost depiction which may be added to the canon of images of sports in the Hallstatt area. Three pairs of sword fighters (or ‘dancers’ according to Huth 2003: 92–97) appear in a similar body position to the dumb-bell fighters, with one leg set forward and one leg set back. The upper body, however, is tilted farther backwards than usual. One arm stretched towards the opponent is carrying a small shield or buckler to parry the blows; the other arm is bent at the back with a short sword or dagger. In addition to the ponytail hairstyle and the skirt-like garment, the contestants are represented with erect penises.

In total, 83 persons from 22 sites could be classified as sportsmen engaged in dumb-bell fighting or a variation of that scene; it clearly indicates that physical exercise, competition and achieving an athletic body were parts of the early Iron Age bodily male ideal. Simultaneously, they are preparations for warfare.

Other less frequently depicted sports are horse and chariot races. The belt plate from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: pl. 41.1), shows a single rider sitting bareback on a horse next to a dumb-bell fighting scene; he is bald, nude and his upper body is turned. One arm is stretched forward, holding the reins close to the mane, whilst the other one is stretched back, slashing a whip with a forked end over the croup of the horse. Racing riders appear directly behind the chariot race on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). They wear exactly the same long, pointed hats as the charioteers, whilst their bodies are naked. The upper bodies are tilted backwards and the left arms are bent, with the fists held upright, gripping the reins. The second rider’s right arm is stretched out behind the body towards the croup of the horse. He is using an object, probably a whip or perhaps a dagger, to spur on the horse. Riding and racing bareback requires balance, skill and training and was certainly worth competing over. Outside the context of Situla Art, riders appear regularly, but the context of their actions is hard to ascertain; they primarily feature in military and hunting scenes, and it is unclear if some of them involve equestrian sports.

The images of chariot races on the *situlae* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), and Kuffern, Austria (Fig. 7.45, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), are very similar to each other. Four men drive their pairs of horses with chariots at full speed to the right. Two horses are shown directly behind each other, a rather unusual way of depiction for Situla Art and perhaps employed to signal speed (see Section 7.9.3); normally only one horse is shown from the profile, although a pair

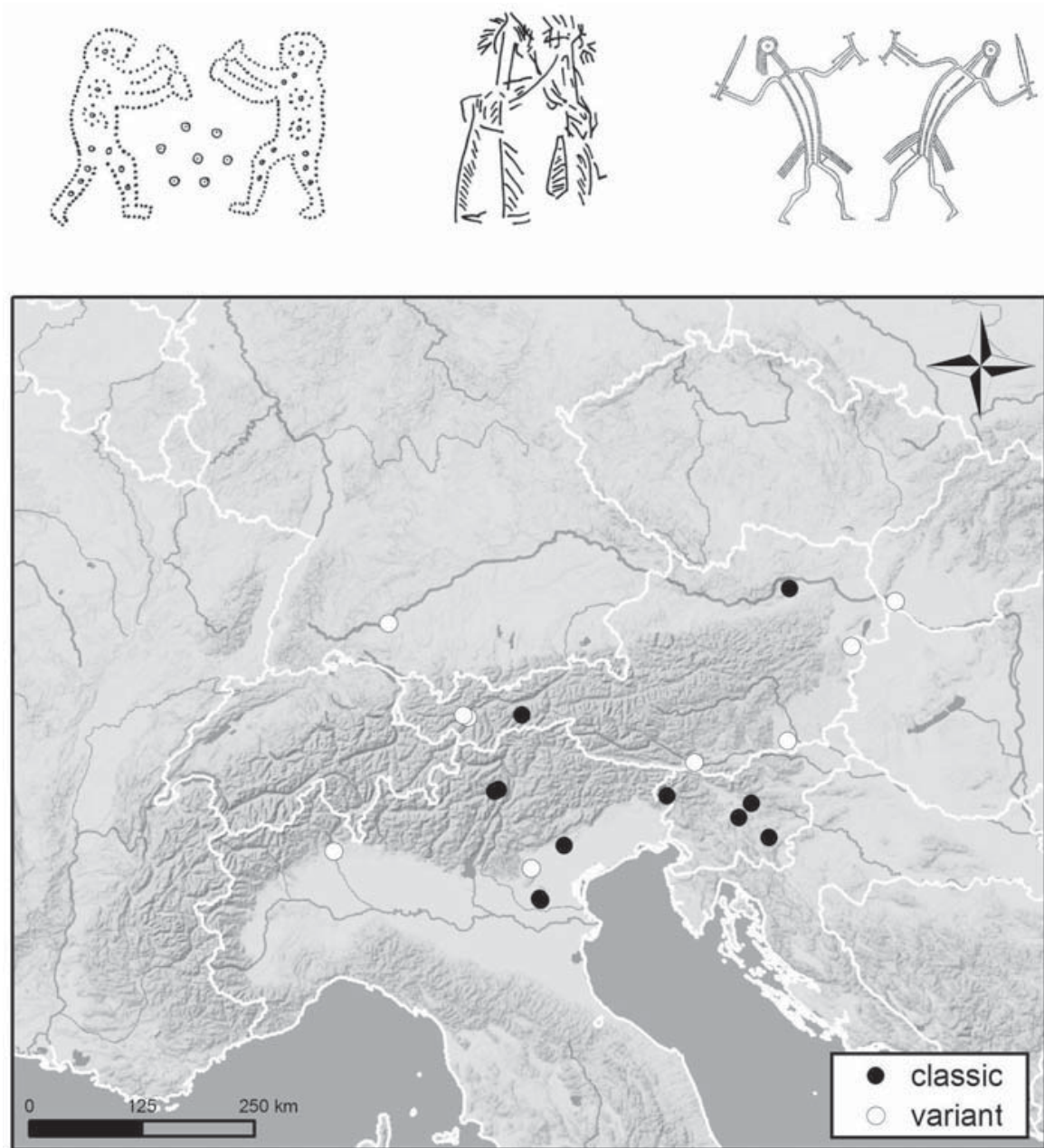


Figure 7.44 Dumb-bell fighting variations, from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria, Sopron-Várhely, Hungary and Hochdorf, Germany (after Biel 1985a: pl. 26, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b), and their distribution

was used. The charioteers are dressed in a short-sleeved garment with a belt on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi and are depicted with a rather strange, patterned skirt on the *situla* of Kuffern, which seems to be cut short in the front and long in the back. On both *situlae*, they wear a long, pointed hat particular to chariot racing (and few other contexts, for example, the steersman on the *situla* of Nesactium, Croatia: see Section 7.10.4). They all face forward except for the second one on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi and the first on the *situla* from Kuffern, who look back at their pursuers.

The chariot drivers hold long reins with both hands and carry a goad in their right hand to spur on the horses to higher performances. The horses are normally

controlled by voice and reins, but in addition, sharp points were used in the early Iron Age. Goads (*stimuli* in Latin, *kentra* in ancient Greek) are typical equipment for sportive chariot races. Tips of goads have been found in Etruscan contexts such as Volterra, Tarquinia, Veio and Bologna, Italy (Krauß 1992), as well as north of the Alps at the Heuneburg and in the princely burial of Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006: 87, 275). The left arm of the charioteer is raised above the head, whilst the right arm is held at waist level. On the *situla* from Kuffern, the reins are clearly shown wrapped around the waist, but on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi, it is unclear how they are held in place. Greek chariot racers held reins in their hands, whereas Roman drivers steered using their body weight and wrapped the reins around their torsos (Futrell 2006: 191); the image thus seems more related to ancient Italian models.

On the *situla* from Kuffern, the chariot race is followed by a horse racing scene; on the *situla* from Bologna-Arnoaldi, a chariot with driver and passenger, dressed differently but also holding a goad, follows the scene. He might have just arrived, travelling to the event, or may be watching and refereeing. The racing scene is framed towards the right by a person naked except for a belt; his body pose resembles that of a dumb-bell fighter, with one arm stretched out and up and the other one back behind the body and with open legs. He is either placed there as a referee (e.g., Huth 2003: 201) or it is the remnant of an earlier attempt to craft the dumb-bell fighting scene (cf. Rebay-Salisbury 2012b). Both *situlae* show a dumb-bell fight in the same frieze, underlining the sporting character of the event.

Fragments of a cist from San Maurizio, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 66), may also depict the chariot race but are not as detailed. At least two chariots seemed to be involved in the race, recognisable by the duplication of the horse image in profile. The use of the goad also speaks for an interpretation of a race; only part of one driver is preserved. A man facing the horses with a handled vessel in his hand is standing between two chariots. His role is unclear. He may be a referee, holding the prize for the successful contestant, or a horse groom ready to feed and water the animals (Eibner 2012a: 56). A fragment of a chariot race also survived in the sanctuary of Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: Fig. 18.2), reworked into a shield votive. It shows a bald driver on the chariot, dressed in a short-sleeved garment. Again, he holds his left hand up high whilst the right one tightly grips a goad. His own horses are not on the preserved part of the fragment; the horses behind him are again depicted in the characteristic double profile.



Figure 7.45 Chariot race on the *situla* of Kuffern, Austria (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75)

The chariot race is elusive north of the Alps, where depictions of four-wheeled wagons prevail. Only the chariot from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94), connects with the racing tradition farther south. The image was made of lines of single, soft impressions on a large vessel with conical neck and thereby sets the resolution to a minimum. Nevertheless, the ithyphallic driver is shown standing on the chariot with the reins in the left hand and reins or goad in the other. Even his headdress seems to follow the conventions from Bologna-Arnoaldi and Kuffern. To show clearly two horses and the type of vehicle, they are rendered in non-linear perspective (Figure 2.3).

7.10.4 Warfare

In addition to the insights gained from warrior equipment in graves and individual human representations, a few scenic representations inform us about military practices. Early Iron Age warriors from central Europe were predominantly fighting on foot. Weaponry varied regionally, but in the area of human representations, lances, shields and axes dominate (Egg 1996c, Frey 1973). Marching warriors, who appear to be travelling (see Section 7.9.3), often come in groups of four to five identically equipped men, which seems a suitable unit for cooperation. Mounted warriors, equipped with lances and bow and arrows, are typical for the pastoral steppe cultures; contact with Scythians, including armed conflict, left its legacy in weaponry and fighting styles of the eastern Hallstatt area (see Section 7.8.4).

Warriors marching into battle are characterised by a man who blows a horn to signal (Eibner 2000a). The horn blower marches in front and is usually armed with helmet, shield and lance. Only occasionally does he operate from horseback (e.g., Este-Baratella, Italy, Dämmer 2002). A rider, eight infantrymen and a mounted warrior follow a warrior blowing the horn into battle on the *situla* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63). In contrast to the marching warriors, these all carry two lances with the tips facing up. Similarly, a warrior with two raised lances follows a horn blower on the fragment from Bacchiglione, Italy (Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988: fig. 234).

Despite the omnipresence of the warrior, very few scenes directly depict armed conflict. In one such scene on the belt plate of Vače, Slovenia (Fig. 7.26, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 55), two mounted warriors are facing each other. The left one, with wavy hair and body armour but without a helmet, is about to throw a lance at his opponent. His horse is noticeably taller than the other's and has a short or braided mane; it is branded with a swastika on the right croup. The right-hand warrior is wearing a brimmed helmet and body armour and is fighting with an axe; a lance has already struck his opponent's horse. His own horse is smaller, has a longer skull and a flowing mane. Both horsemen are flanked by almost identical warriors on foot, wearing crested helmets and body armour, and with oval shields and two lances each. The left one has an additional axe, which he raises against the scene. Primarily based on the slightly different horse types, which find their matches in the animal bone record, the left warrior has been interpreted as from

the east (Scythian), whereas that on the right was seen as the local (Illyrian, Powell 1971). An alternative reading takes the horse branded with a swastika as indicative of a local, Lower Carniolian warrior, and the right hand warrior as an Etruscan or Venetic immigrant (Turk 2005: 40). The fact is that they appear slightly different – and any difference in this part of the world tends to be interpreted as ethnic.

The lower frieze of the *situla* from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Fig. 7.24, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl.65), shows the end of a battle and the return after victory. In the first part of the scene, a warrior with crested helmet and two lances stabs a horn blower; a second warrior behind him faces the other way, holding lances in reserve. A chariot with a bald driver follows, perhaps the ‘battle taxi’. Separated by an ornament are two warriors with round shields; the first one still appears to be fighting, whereas the second one has already taken a captive, who follows in shackles. The third part of the scene displays one warrior with helmet and round shields and two captives, one in front and one behind. The captives seemed to have been stripped of their clothes, helmets and weapons, but two retained their shields, which are fixed to their shoulders. Taking captives might indeed have been an important part and perhaps also the purpose of armed conflict. Enslaved captives may have represented an important part of property. On the *situla* of Monebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for example, a naked person is tied to a wagon with a seated driver and two passengers follow on foot. Much simpler depictions with similar image content were found on pottery vessels in Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Bella 1894: fig.11, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29).

At Sopron, other sites in its vicinity and farther north, there are numbers of pairs of people standing opposite each other in the manner of the dumb-bell fighters (see Chapter 7.10.3). It is, however, mostly unclear what exactly they are doing, and interpretations range from sport to dance and interpersonal conflict. In particular the men with swords from the *klinē* of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985a: 94b), suggest that interpersonal conflict was, at times, solved with swords.

The scene of beheading on the *situla* from Novo Mesto, Slovenia (Egg and Lehnert 2011), which features two warriors armed with axes over a lying man in shackles and an isolated, chopped-off head underneath a mounted warrior, is likely set in an act of warfare which goes beyond one-to-one conflict. Similarly, the four horsemen on the scabbard of Hallstatt, Austria (Barth and Urban 2007, Egg and Schönfelder 2009), let their horses walk over a dead body.

Unique and intriguing is the representation of a ship battle on the *situla* from Nesactium, Croatia (Fig. 7.46, Mihovilić 1992). The scene extends over the upper two friezes, with the ship on the right side. With its deep, spacious hull and rounded stern, it resembles Etruscan or Greek trading ships of the seventh or sixth centuries BC (Mihovilić 1992: 73–74). It is powered by oarsmen, whose heads are rendered as round circles on the deck above the hole for the oars; as the *situla* is quite fragmented, only nine oars are preserved. A person with pointed hat might be the steersman; all the others on board wear helmets. The scene is captured in the middle of the collision; a large number of arrows and lances fly through the air. Particularly dynamic is the depiction of a person falling overboard into the sea. The rest of the scene is not very well preserved, which makes it difficult to

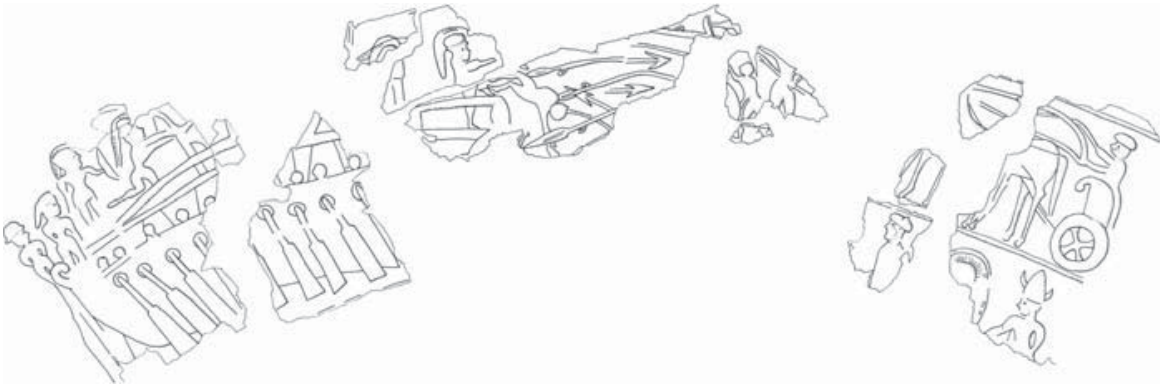


Figure 7.46 Ship battle on the *situla* from Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992: app. 2, © Arheološki muzej Istre, courtesy of Darko Komšo and Kristina Mihovilić)

ascertain if the opponents of the warriors on the ship fight from another ship or the shore. The chariot on the right side of the scene, driving left, may suggest the latter option. A likely explanation (Mihovilić 1992: 75) is that the ship battle scene remembers the heroic deed of a member of the elite. The control of trade around Nesactium may well have been an important source of income for the community and most likely included piracy and attacks on trade ships sailing by.

Perhaps the rather mysterious shipwreck scene on the cist of Kleinklein, Austria (Prüssing 1991: pl. 109, Schmid 1933: pl. 1b), in which people are swallowed by giant fish, is a local rendering of the same image content. In the landlocked, Alpine area the scene comes as a surprise; that young elite men from Kleinklein participated in raids and piracy in far-away lands, however, does not.

Notes

- 1 www.gutenberg.org/files/6762/6762-h/6762-h.htm, accessed 17 December 2014.
- 2 www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2013.01.0003%3Abook%3D13%3Achapter%3D79, accessed 17 December 2014.

8 Motif networks

Human representations of the early Iron Age take one of two forms. They are either quite idiosyncratic, locally specific in technology and style, or bound into a motif network that extends beyond the Hallstatt area and encompasses wider worldviews of the early Iron Age. Sites in which objects with human images have been found denote, for the most part, merely the location of their consumption; although some seem locally produced, many objects may have been produced quite some distance from where they were used, sacrificed or buried as grave goods. The fact that human images have been selected, accepted and modified where necessary, however, makes them part of the Hallstatt body world and, in turn, contribute to shaping it.

The site-specific, local ways of making bodies can best be understood in terms of communities of practice, in which both social and technological knowledge are learned and transmitted (Kohring 2012, Wenger 1998). People learn primarily through engaging in everyday practices within their communities, which provide a scaffolding of aesthetics and meanings. Within this framework, people produce material objects and reproduce techniques and styles characteristic of their communities. The transmission of knowledge across generations, through embodied learning, forms local traditions. The community of practice is a wider social unit than the household, in which people live and work together; it is a group that interacts daily and shares material culture and ways of doing things. Variations of material culture within the community of practice can best be explained by individual choices within the aesthetic and technological framework provided by the community.

Human representations made within the community of practice are often made of easily available materials and with technologies that require little specialist skill. They reflect and reinforce local ideas about the body, gender and identity, but also have to be understood in terms of the context for which they are made. The lead figurines and pottery appliques from Frög, Austria, for example (Plate 15, Gleirscher 2011, Tomedi 2002), are specific to a centre of local importance in Carinthia. The choice of lead as material is unique and perhaps reflects the economic basis of the community. The human representations – predominantly riders on horseback, but also some male and female figures – are cast in easily reproducible ways and used for funerary purposes. The assemblage of ceramic figurines from

Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić, Bader and Stork 2008, Čučković 2008a), to name another example, is unique in stylistic details of rendering heads, body proportions and jewellery. The dominance of sexless and female figurines underlines the importance of the sanctuary they were found in, which was specifically for women. The community-specific practices and aesthetics that we see in such sites form part of local traditions that may extend over centuries, as they are transmitted from generation to generation. This is why specific objects, particularly from sanctuaries that were in use for a long time, are difficult to date.

Relationships beyond the community level link people together in the wider social network. The human representations from the sanctuaries of Este, Italy (Ruta Serafini 2002), take a somewhat intermediate position between the local and wider networks. On the one hand, they benefit from Este being a major production centre for sheet bronze work at the time, and thus participate in the available technological knowledge and aesthetic network of the Hallstatt world. On the other hand, many of the human representations do not appear to be the height of craftsmanship and seem ad hoc and casually made. Their production for dedication in specific sanctuaries is further underlined by the fact that selected human representations, for instance, warriors or women, are found in specific contexts.

A large number of human representations can best be understood in terms of a supra-regional network of motifs that connects the Hallstatt world (Fig. 8.1). This network is apparent as an elite network. It displays scenes of life, death and the mythology of the upper sections of society, and it displays a predominantly male world. Complex motifs are primarily worked in sheet bronze, in point-boss technique or repoussé and chasing, which exhibit the skills of an experienced bronze smith. Acquiring objects with such human representations requires a certain level of wealth and/or power, as they are either bought or gifted, or perhaps even raided. Craftspeople who made objects with complex motifs most likely worked on commission and for more than one patron, travelling between the seats of the elite. Alternatively, as valued dependants, they might have been borrowed or sold among the elite. Either way, both traders and craftspeople contributed to knitting a tight web of connections within the Hallstatt world.

Characteristic for the Hallstatt motif network is its close relation to Mediterranean, and notably Etruscan, motifs (cf. Koch 2003). From the body of available motifs some are selected, transmitted, transformed and adjusted to the local environment. This encompasses both adjustments to local technological styles and to local social practices, including the incorporation of local dress, hairstyle and associated material culture. Direct 'imports', for example, pottery manufactured in Greece or southern Italy at the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000), play their part in shaping the aesthetic and bodily ideals in the area of consumption.

A number of network phenomena can be observed by looking at early Iron Age human images as a network. The web of connections woven by images can best be understood as a decentralised network, with several highly connected nodes with several ties in northern Italy and Slovenia. These better-connected areas participate in a network of high density and redundancy. A number of sites with human images are situated along obvious pathways through the Alps. Other areas farther

afield are connected by a small number of far-reaching ties, which, linking into their own communities of practice, make up a small world network.

Every new find puts another node in the network. The discovery of the *situla* in Montebelluna, Italy (Bianchin Citton in prep), for instance, is the first that shows women spinning; it narrows the wide gap on the map between similar motifs on the throne of Verucchio, Italy (Gentili 2003: fig. 59), the *tintinnabolo* from Bologna, Italy (Plate 4, Morigi Govi 1971), and the pottery vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Plate 5, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 17). The connection between Montebelluna and Sopron is further underlined by another motif that is both rare and present at both sites: the motif of the captive walking behind a wagon (Fig. 7.29), found on another vessel in Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Tumulus 28, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29). The fact that these motifs were in fact found in two different burial mounds speaks for strong ties in networks continuously enacted over time.

In such cases, it is possible to trace very clear, direct relations between early Iron Age motifs in the Hallstatt area and their models. Other examples include the man-eating fish at Kleinklein, Austria (Egg 2013: 468, Reichenberger 1985b), which appear on an Ischian Late Geometric kratēr from Pithekoussai, Italy (Boardman 1998: 53, fig. 161), capturing a shipwreck scene. The ship-battle scene on the *situla* of Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1992), has a parallel in the hydria of the Micali painter, who worked in Vulci at the end of the sixth century BC (Koch 2002); similar scenes are also known from Greece, for instance, painted on a ceramic vessel from Kynos, Greece (Dakorōnia et al. 2013: 98, fig. 4). The hare hunt, as apparent on the *situla* of Welzelach, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: 76), and the belt of Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4), similarly goes back to Etruscan models (Koch 2002: 70).

The motif of the chariot race is another very good example of image transmission, which appears on the *situla* of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), the cist from San Maurizio, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 66), a fragment from the sanctuary Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: Fig. 18.2), and the *situla* from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). The rendering of a chariot driver from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94), in pottery is a local version of the same motif. The motif of killing a stag with an axe from behind appears on the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a), the figurine sets of Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn, Austria (Kromer 1958, Preinfalk 2003), and in sheet bronze at Sesto Calende, Appiano and Sanzeno, Italy (Huth 2003: pl. 52, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 62, 67). Both the chariot race and the stag-killing networks extend across the eastern Alps and although none of the sites shares the same motif, they appear similar when mapped.

Amongst the most intriguing motifs are the sex scenes, which underline the importance of marriage, legitimacy and family networks. The marriage network, with the sites of Pieve d'Alpago, Montebelluna, Sanzeno and Castelve-tro (Bianchin Citton in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6, Gangemi 2013: Fig. 6.9, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 21, 67) in Italy on the one hand, and Brezje and Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia (Križ 1997b: app. 4, Turk 2005:

56, fig. 83) as well as Nesactium, Croatia (Mihovilić 1996: pl. 11, fig. 6) on the other, indicates the two core areas of Situla Art; the motif is not found outside this area.

Innovation dynamics within a network can explain why some motifs spread widely, whereas others did not. The motif of the aulos player, for instance, present in the form of a figurine from Százhalombatta, Hungary (Plate 6, Eibner 1999: 39), as well as on point-and-boss decorated sheet bronze vessels from Kleinklein-Kröllkogel, Austria (Plate 7, Prüssing 1991: pl. 120–121, 131), and Býčí skála, Czech Republic (Eibner 1999: 47), remains exotic. The aulos player, too, can be derived from the Mediterranean world, but the motif is closer to Greece than Etruria and never becomes a classic *situla* motif worked in repoussé and chasing. It spreads early, but not in numbers necessary to spread more widely; it also spreads in an area in which the network of connections is not as dense and therefore remains at the eastern fringes of the Hallstatt world.

The motif of the lyre player seems to have spread more than once. Images on pottery from Bavaria and the northeastern Hallstatt area date early in the Hallstatt period. As Alfred Reichenberger has noted, stylistic details such as the symmetry of the lyre and the standing position of the player point to a direct origin in geometric Greece (Reichenberger 1985a). The lyre players on *situlae*, on the other

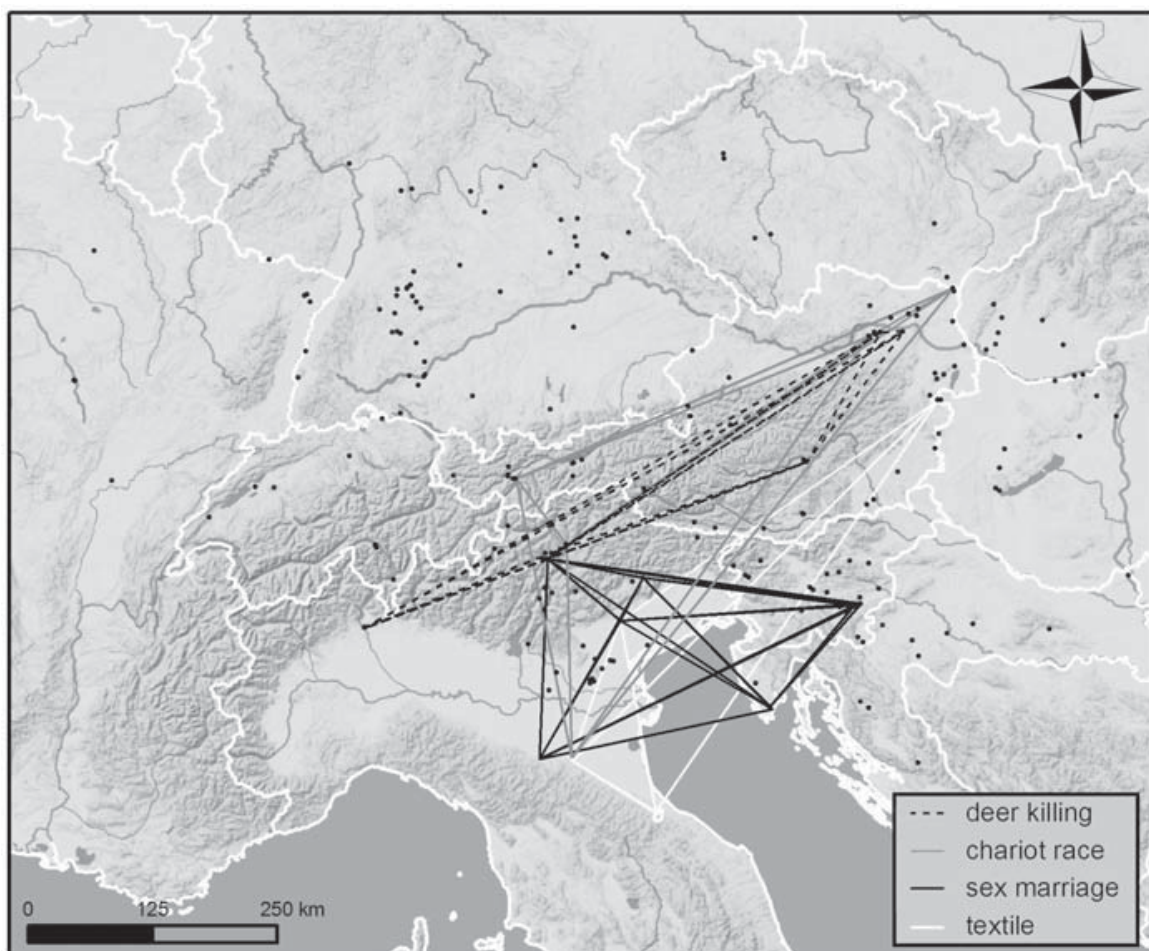


Figure 8.1 Motif networks

hand, play asymmetrical instruments in the sitting position; the images date to the later phase of the Hallstatt period.

The lyre player is also a good example of the ‘Chinese whispers’ phenomenon: the transmission of a message via many nodes may distort it to the point that it becomes difficult or impossible to read for people outside the specific cultural context. For the transformation of a motif, this frequently means that the formal frame remains in use, but the image loses its readability due to a change in image details. It becomes unclear exactly which object the lyre players are handling. Similarly, the motif of the dumb-bell fighter changes and takes on different meanings as it is worked in different materials in areas outside the main concentrations of Situla Art (see Section 6.6).

The depiction of feasting is spread more widely. Sites in northern Italy such as Cerceri, Este-Benvenuti, Mechel, Montebelluna and Sanzeno (Bianchin Cifton in prep, Lucke and Frey 1962: 28, 60, 65, 67) and sites in Croatia and Slovenia such as Nesactium, Dolenjske Toplice, Magdalenska gora and Vače (Egg and Eibner 2005, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 60, 73, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004: app. 5) connect to sites farther north, namely Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl, Welzelach and Kuffern in Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75, 76, Moser 2010). The network extends into the rest of the Hallstatt world, but the motif of feasting is not subject to art; it is staged and enacted in the funerary sphere (cf. Huth 2010).

Human images in early Iron Age central Europe are thus just the tip of the iceberg, testimonies to worldviews and body worlds that share some traits with the wider Mediterranean world, but also exhibit their own idiosyncrasies. Images were taken from the Mediterranean world, transmitted and modified. I agree with Leonie Koch that they have to be analysed as a whole, including origin and development, but I disagree with the notion that therefore they are no means to assess Iron Age life ways (Koch 2002: 74). On the contrary, because they were selected, integrated and, at times, adjusted to local understandings, they are a valuable source to access Hallstatt body worlds.

9 Conclusion

Burial practices and human representations are the building blocks of the body worlds of early Iron Age central Europe. Long-term trends in treating the body after death include a change from cremation to inhumation during the Hallstatt period; some areas use both inhumation and cremation side by side, whereas others persistently keep cremating their dead. A move away from single burials to grave sites for more persons is but one symptom of an increased emphasis on family ties and genealogy. Objects in graves include dress elements and grave gifts, as well as grave furnishings; the selection and size of the assemblage is thought to comment on the social status of the deceased. Some of the dead were buried within settlement contexts, but the majority were buried in dedicated places. Located near settlements and along pathways, burial mounds form impressive landscapes of the dead that were experienced through travelling.

Funerals and burials, particularly of important people, paint an image of the deceased that is largely congruent with what we find in contemporaneous human representations. Both the grave architecture and the plentiful, expensive and exotic grave goods play a part in staging the body of the deceased in a perfect, idealised way, demonstrating status and prestige and reminiscent of heroes and divine beings. Graves like Hochdorf, Germany, or Vix, France, demonstrate the utmost effort and expense afforded to few. Even large central settlements had no more than a few thousand inhabitants, and everyday life remained based in small communities, while at the same time a supra-regional elite network emerged. But at least some motifs of the bodily understandings of the elite of whatever nature trickle down and are also traceable in the simpler graves of the common population – the idea of feasting, for example, which is apparent in pottery sets for eating and drinking in the afterlife.

The wide variety of materials and technologies in which human bodies are represented masks general stylistic characteristics and directly affects the shape of the human bodies. The mode of depiction is heavily influenced by the material in which it is made; materials used include stone, ceramics, bronze, lead and, more rarely, antler, bone, ivory, amber and wood. Bronze in particular is worked in a range of techniques, from casting figurines to decorating sheet bronze in point-boss technique or repoussé and chasing, to cutting figures from old sheet bronze objects. Translating a motif from one material or technology to another reveals

the essence of the image, referencing crucial points to understanding the image content.

The ideal Hallstatt body is that of averageness and normality, with little reference to beauty or physiognomic difference. The shape and outline of the human body are emphasised over details of the face or facial expressions, which appear static, lifeless and void of emotion. Depictions of body parts and hybrids challenge the idea of the human body as a discrete entity. The profane and ritual were deeply intertwined in early Iron Age central Europe; everyday practices were infused with references to beliefs, worldviews and myths. Religious rituals such as libations and material sacrifices were commonplace, and although some of the Bronze Age numinous symbols such as the sun and the bird remain part of the iconography, gods and goddesses acquire distinct anthropomorphic traits. Merged humans and animals take up a divine nature in the Hallstatt world.

Sex and gender are among the most fundamental social categories of personal identity in the central European early Iron Age. Whereas we encounter a binary understanding of gender in graves, the human representations of the Hallstatt world also differentiate between sexed and sexless bodies – bodies for which reproduction was a key issue and bodies for which it was not. Nudity is common in human representations, associated with sex, sport and enslavement in war (for men only) and with ritual for both women and men. Dress and headgear, however, are important clues to people's identities, and objects depicted with the human body denote their actions. Postures and gestures of human representations refer to movements and practices.

Male body representations outnumber female ones at about 3:1. There is no question that early Iron Age central Europe was male dominated and masculinity set the standard. Masculinity had two faces: that of the civilian and that of the warrior. The ideal male body was groomed and trained through participation in hunting, warfare and sportive events. The well-dressed male had a wide variety of headdresses available for a variety of occasions. Helmets were items of prestige and cherished prizes in sports competitions. Elite men's pursuits included herding, hunting, fishing and ploughing, with the latter in some contexts having ritual significance. Feasting is central to many depictions in early Iron Age art. Despite the presence of some women, the activities men are engaged in are much more plentiful, comprising drinking and libation; sports such as horse racing, chariot racing and dumb-bell fighting; making music; and sex.

The ideal female body is the image of modesty, chastity and reproduction. Other than in archaic and classic Greece or Etruria, where depictions of explicit sexuality are largely restricted to prostitution, they have a different meaning in early Iron Age central Europe. Depictions of weddings and the public consumption of marriage, openly witnessed, point to a concern with legitimacy, hereditary and transmission of power through the generations. The transition to motherhood was clearly the most important event in women's lives; women who died during the age of reproductive potential were also most recognised in the funerary sphere. Women did at times participate in feasting, unlike in Greece, but similar to

Etruria, although often only in serving roles. Other occupations include domestic tasks, for instance, textile work, which was highly elaborate and valued.

The ideal Hallstatt body is depicted in its prime of life; neither childhood nor old age features large in human imagery. The participation of children in adult's work and life was likely not further noteworthy. Status differences are played out most in the funerary domain. Complex art that features people gives a glimpse into elite lifestyles without further commenting on social difference; only depictions of conflict differentiate between winners and losers, who seemed to have been captured, enslaved and at times executed. The early Iron Age repertoire of human representation in materials other than the prestigious sheet bronze works includes images of people from and of all walks of life.

Early Iron Age body worlds in central Europe share many traits with the wider Mediterranean world: the elite, at least, was bound into a network of social and economic relationships. This network included the transmission of prestigious objects with motifs featuring the human body, which were accepted into the Hallstatt world. Motifs spread and were at times adjusted to local cultural expectations. Human images from the Mediterranean shaped the body worlds of the Hallstatt people, but they also developed their own characteristics.

10 List of sites included in the analysis

Austria

Aldrans (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Ampass-Demlfeld (Tomedi 2009), Bernhardsthal (Nebhay 1987), Bludenz (Höck 1997), Braunsberg (Urban 1995), Donnerskirchen (Rebay 2005, Warneke 1999), Dürrenberg-Eislfeld (Moser 2010), Dürrenberg-Kranzbichl (Zeller 2004), Eisenstadt-Burgstall (Langenecker 1994, Reichenberger 2000), Ernstbrunn (Dobiat 1982), Fließ (Sydow 1995), Franzhausen (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1988), Frög (Gleirscher 2009, Tomedi 2002), Führholz (Wedenig 1990), Gemeinlebarn (Kromer 1958, Szombathy 1929), Großmugl (Kromer 1986), Großweikersdorf (Tripp 1941), Gurina (Jablonka 2001), Hallstatt (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972, Kromer 1959b), Hellbrunnerberg (Stöllner 1996), Imst-Parzinspitze (Höck 1997), Jois (Pescheck 1942), Kleinklein (Dobiat 1980, Prüssing 1991, Schmid 1933), Krennach (Dobiat 1982), Kuffern (Lucke and Frey 1962), Landeck (Höck 1997, Merhart 1932), Langenlebarn (Preinfalk 2003), Leibnitz (Szameit 1983), Loretto (Nebelsick 1994), Maiersch (Berg 1962), Mannersdorf (Kern 2009c), Marz (Heger 1903), Matri (Lucke and Frey 1962), Möderndorf (Fuchs 2006), Pillerhöhe (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998), Praunsberg (Lauermaun 1990), Rabensburg (Felgenhauer 1962, Kerchler 1977), Reichersdorf (Neugebauer and Gattringer 1986), Schandorf (Kaus 1998), Stanz (Höck 1997), Statzendorf (Rebay 2006), Strettweg (Egg 1996a), Strettweg-Falkenberg (Teßmann 2007), Sunzing (Straub 1980), Vöcklabruck (Straub 1980), Volders (Lucke and Frey 1962), Waisenberg (Gleirscher 2009), Welzelach (Lucke and Frey 1962, Urban 2000)

Croatia

Batina (Teßmann 2007), Burzina glava (Balen-Letunić 2008), Gradina Sv. Andrej mali (Starè 1970), Kaptol (Potrebica 2013), Kiringrad (Balen-Letunić 2004), Kompolje (Balen-Letunić 2008, Teßmann 2007), Mikleuška (Balen-Letunić 2004), Nesactium (Fischer 1984, Lucke and Frey 1962, Marzatico 2009), Nesactium (Mihovilić 1992, Mihovilić 1995, Mihovilić 2001), Prozor (Balen-Letunić 2008, Teßmann 2007), Sisak (Balen-Letunić 2004), Trešćerovac (Balen-Letunić 2004), Turska kosa (Čučković 2008b, Balen-Letunić 2004)

Czech Republic

Býčí skála (Parzinger, Nekvasil and Barth 1995, Eibner 1999), Hradiště (Straub 1980), Lednice (Forman, Forman and Poulik 1956), Němčic-Burkovák (Axamit 1930), Pavlikov-Brabečky (Reichenberger 2000), Rakovník (Reichenberger 2000)

Germany

Aichstetten (Zürn 1987), Beihingen am Neckar (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Beilngries-Im Ried West (Huth 2003), Birkach (Kimmig 1987), Böblingen-Brand (Huth 2003), Bullenheimer Berg (Huth 2003), Dietkirchen-Niederhofen (Torbrügge 1979), Dietldorf (Torbrügge 1979), Ditzingen-Hirschlanden (Zürn 1970), Düren (Torbrügge 1979), Eberdingen-Hochdorf (Biel 1985a), Ebrach (Spindler 1983), Engstingen-Großengstingen (Zürn 1987), Esslingen (Zürn 1987), Freiberg am Neckar (Zürn 1987), Gomaringen-Stockach (Riek 1941), Grafenbühl (Zürn 1970), Grossaltdorf (Frey 2005), Heuneburg (Böhr and Shefton 2000, Hase 2000), Huglfing (Huth 2003), Hundersingen (Zürn 1970), Ihringen (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Ilsfeld (Echt 1999), Kaltbrunn (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Kappel am Rhein (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Kirchenreinbach (Torbrügge 1979), Klein-Aspergle (Schlette 1984), Ostrach-Habsthal (Zürn 1987), Pettenhofen (Torbrügge 1979), Pfaffenhof (Torbrügge 1968), Prächting (Reichenberger 2000), Raibreitenbach (Kimmig 1987b), Reinheim (Echt 1999), Rottenburg (Huth 2003), Rottendorf (Wamser 1980), Schippach (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972, Stroh 1979), Schirndorf (Stroh 1988, Stroh 1979, 1988, 2000a, 2000b), Sigmaringen-Laiz (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Speikern (Torbrügge 1968), Stammheim (Ströbel 1952), Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt (Frey 2005, Zürn 1987), Stuttgart-Uhlbach (Huth 2003), Tübingen-Kilchberg (Beck 1974), Uckersdorf (Huth 2003), Wallerstein-Ehringen (Dietrich 1994), Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (Amann-Ille and Ille 1994), Zwiefalten-Upflamör (Zürn 1987)

France

Maegstüb (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Ohlungen (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Saint-Jean-sur-Tourbe (Joffroy 1979), Saône à Seurre (Chaume and Reinhard 2003), Vix (Chaume and Reinhard 2003, Rolley 2003), Vix-Mont Lassois (Rolley 2003), Weitbruch (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972)

Hungary

Keszthely-Apátdomb (Patek 1984), Keszthely-Dobogó (Patek 1984), Nyergesújfalu (Egg 1996a, Szabó 1982), Ószőny (Szabó 1982), Somló (Csalog 1943, Patek 1984), Sopron-Várhely (Bella 1894, Dobiát 1982, Eibner-Persy 1980, Gallus 1938, Patek 1982), Sopron-Váris (Bella and Müller 1891), Sümeg (Patek 1984), Süttő (Horváth 1969), Százhalombatta (Eibner 1999), Székesfehérvár (Patek 1984), Velem (Iaia 2005, Patek 1984), Zsámbék (Patek 1984)

Italy

Altino (Tirelli 2002), Appiano (Lucke and Frey 1962), Bacchiglione (Fogolari and Prosdocimi 1988), Belluno (Frey 1969), Bormio (Pauli 1973), Carceri (Lucke and Frey 1962), Castel Telvana-Borgo Valsugana (Höck 1997), Castelletto Ticino (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Cavèdine (Egg 1986a), Cles-Campi neri (Höck 1997, Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Este (Capuis and Serafini 1996, Frey 1969, Hoernes 1893, Kern and Guichard 2008), Este-Baratella (Capuis and Chieco Bianchi 2002, Chieco Bianchi 2002, Dämmer 2002, Eibner 2007, Frey 1969, Kromer 1962), Este-Benvenuti (Frey 1969, Huth 2003, Kromer 1962, Lucke and Frey 1962), Este-Boldù-Dolfin (Frey 1969), Este-Caldevigo (Eibner 2007, Höck 1997, Kromer 1962), Este-Capodaglio (Frey 1969), Este-Casa Alfonsi (Frey 1969), Este-Casa di Ricovero (Frey 1969), Este-Franchini (Frey 1969), Este-Nazari (Kromer 1962), Este-Pelà (Frey 1969), Este-Prosdocimi (Warneke 1999), Este-Randi (Warneke 1999), Este-Rebato (Frey 1969, Warneke 1999), Este-Santuario Occidentale (Baggio Bernardoni 2002), Este-Santuario Orientale (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004, Salerno 2002, Zaghetto 2002b), Este-Santuario Settentrionale (Gambacurta and Zaghetto 2002), Este-Santuario Sud-occidentale (Gambacurta 2002), Este-Scolo di Lozzo (Aigner-Foresti 1980), Gazzo Veronese (Warneke 1999), Mals-Tartscher Bühel (Marzatico 2001), Mechel (Höck 1997, Kromer 1962, Lucke and Frey 1962, Marzatico 2001, Marzatico 2009), Meran-Hochbühel (Egg 1986, Höck 1997, Marzatico 2001, Merhart 1932), Misincinis di Paularo (Vitri, Corazza and Simeoni 2007), Monte Ozol (Marzatico 2001), Montebelluna (Bianchin in prep, Capuis and Serafini 1996, Kromer 1962, Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Montegrotto (Dämmer 1986), Oppeano (Pigorini 1878), Padova-Camin (Huth 2003), Padova-Via Tiepolo (Capuis and Serafini 1996), Pieve d'Alpago (Gangemi 2013), Pustertal (Merhart 1932), Rivoli Veronese (Iaja 2005), Rovereto (Lucke and Frey 1962), San Maurizio (Lucke and Frey 1962), Sanzeno (Egg 1986a, Lucke and Frey 1962, Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004), Sarnonico (Höck 1997), Sesto Calende (Ghislanzoni 1944, Huth 2003), Terlago (Marzatico 2001), Villazzano (Marzatico 2001)

Slovakia

Biely Kostol (Urminský 2001), Janíky-Dolné Janíky (Studeníková 1995), Nitra (Kolník 1982), Nové Košariská (Pichlerová 1969), Reca (Dušek 1971), Smolenice-Molpír (Reichenberger 2000), Vel'ké Lovce (Kolník 1982)

Slovenia

Bitnje (Warneke 1999), Brezje (Kromer 1959b), Dolenjske Toplice (Egg and Eibner 2005, Gallus 1938, Warneke 1999), Dragatuš (Spitzer 1973), Griže-Šešče (Teržan 1990), Idrija pri Bači (Guštin 1991), Kobarid (Lucke and Frey 1962), Libna (Warneke 1999), Magdalenska gora (Hencken 1978, Tecco Hvala, Dular and Kocuvan 2004), Molnik (Puš 1991), Most na Soči (Starè 1970, Teržan, Lo

Schiavo and Trampuž-Orel 1984, Warneke 1999), Novo mesto-Kandija (Turk 2005), Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva (Križ 1997b), Rifnik (Teržan 1990), Šmarjeta (Dular 1991, Stare 1973), Stična (Grabrovec 2006, Turk 2005, Wells 1981), Ulaka (Starè 1970), Vače (Aigner-Foresti 1980, Egg 1980b, Lucke and Frey 1962, Mahr 1934, Starè 1970, Teržan 2007, Warneke 1999), Valična vas (Lucke and Frey 1962), Vinica (Mahr 1934), Vinkov vrh (Starè 1970), Zagorje (Lucke and Frey 1962)

Switzerland

Bofflens (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Dalpe-Vidresco (Warneke 1999), Giubiasco (Gleirscher 1991, Primas 1974), Grächwil (Lessing 1980), Hemishofen (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Ins (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), Osco-Freggio (Warneke 1999), Unterlunkhofen (Schmid-Sikimić 1996)

Site unknown

Situla in Providence (Lucke and Frey 1962), from Germany (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1972), from Hungary (Mozsolics 1954, Patek 1984, Szabó 1982), from Italy (Bianco Peroni 1970, Egg and Pare 1995), other (Egg 1980a, Teßmann 2007)

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3.2 It's all fun and games until somebody gets hurt: images of sport in Early Iron Age art of central Europe

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It's all fun and games until somebody gets hurt: images of sport in early Iron Age art of Central Europe

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Abstract

Physical, competitive activities played an important role in social life in early Iron Age Central Europe. In this paper, the iconography of the most common forms of sport competitions – dumb-bell fighting, chariot racing and horse racing – are followed across temperate Europe. Although these ‘barbarian’ images remain linked to Mediterranean models, differences in materials, technologies and details in the way persons are depicted reveal local variations and divergent cultural connotations of what might have been understood as ‘sport’ in the European Iron Age.

Keywords

Iron Age art; sport; dumb-bell fighting; chariot race; horse race.

Introduction

Sports were certainly part of human social life in much of Iron Age Europe. In contrast to physical activity in the context of play, games, recreation or military training, sport is not only based on physical athleticism, but a ‘competitive activity involving at least two competitors, requiring physical skill, following formal rules, and occurring within a formal organizational framework’ (LeUnes 2008: 5). The sports of ancient Greece and Rome, which significantly contributed to our modern definitions of sports, are relatively well documented (e.g. Crowther 2010; Futrell 2006), but evidence for sports elsewhere in Iron Age Europe is more difficult to find. We have to rely almost exclusively on pictorial sources, which comes with a catch: human images of Central Europe are not entirely independent creations, but bound up in a network of themes and motifs that were common in the Mediterranean and beyond. Although local materials, techniques, details

and themes were incorporated, images have to be understood within the conventions and contexts of depicting humans at the time.

A number of competitive sport disciplines were already mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Greek sports included archery, boxing, chariot racing, discus and javelin throwing, foot racing, jumping, sword fighting and wrestling, as well as a blend of boxing and wrestling known as the *pankration*. The contexts of sport competitions were funerary games or games to honour the gods (Herrmann and Kondoleon 2004: 43); the first formal competitions in Olympia took place in 776 BC. Soon after, it became customary for all athletes to compete naked, except for equestrian events (LeUnes 2008: 36), and this is reflected in contemporary iconography. Etruscan sports show resemblance to the Greek ones, but in contrast to Greek athletes, Etruscans are shown either naked or with shorts (Harris 1972: 45) and spectators seem to play a bigger role (Crowther 2010: 79). Most popular among the disciplines were chariot races, wrestling and boxing (Gori 1988: 387).

Both Greeks and Etruscans had considerable influence on early Iron Age societies beyond their territory. The Central European Iron Age (variously known as Hallstatt, Este, Golasecca and other cultures) was in contact with Mediterranean people, as evidenced by trade connections and gift-giving that brought Mediterranean goods into circulation. Shared ideas and ideologies are expressed through a common repertoire of human representations and scenes in early Iron Age art. They most often include feasting, hunting and funerary processions, as well as music and sport competitions. Despite this common repertoire and elements of formal similarities in image composition, there are local ‘translations’ of human representations, little variations in details, which give a flavour of the diversity of early Iron Age practices. The most detailed images are found on sheet bronze objects decorated in repoussé and chasing, the so-called ‘situla art’, named after the bronze buckets on which this kind of decoration is often found. Most works of situla art were produced in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, but some had a long use life and were recycled or deposited in graves and sanctuaries considerably later. The dating of individual pieces is therefore highly contested. Situla art is common in northern Italy, Slovenia and parts of Austria; further north, images are most often found on pottery. This analysis takes sports on situla art as a starting point to discuss depictions of similar images in other media, observing how images transform ideas about sports in early Iron Age Central Europe.

Dumb-bell fighting

Dumb-bell fighting is the most clearly depicted sports in situla art.¹ The opponents stand facing each other, one leg is slightly bent and set forward, the other one straight and braced backwards for stability. One arm is raised and stretched towards the opponent; the other one is bent and held behind the body. Both hands grip the dumb-bells tightly. Most images show two spheres left and right of the fist, but some images also reveal the bridging bar, and others (e.g. Kuffern, Matrei) seem to indicate that a strap running at the back of the hand was used to fix the dumb-bells in place. No dumb-bells have yet been recovered in archaeological contexts; it is therefore assumed they must have been made of organic material such as wood or leather. They bear no resemblance to boxing gloves, but have

been paralleled to *sphairai* known from Greek texts such as Plato and Plutarch (Franz 1962: 270).

The dumb-bell fighters are, without exception, depicted naked. The image on the situla in Providence (Fig. 1) shows that clothes were probably taken off immediately before the fight, since they are placed, neatly folded and covered by a barret-shaped hat, between the legs, i.e. behind both fighters. Another characteristic of the athletes is their bald or rather shaved heads. Despite the nudity, some wear armbands, wristbands, headbands or belts, the latter often being indicators of superior status in early Iron Age Central Europe. In the context of this competition, they may also serve a specific function in the rules of this sport, such as clearly demarcating punches below the belt. The image from the situla of Providence seems to imply that the contestants in the dumb-bell fight are normal participants in the feast, and not differentiated through their clothes or headgear from others in the picture, although the participation in the feast may in itself indicate a high social rank.

It is not entirely certain how the dumb-bell fight was conducted. Zimmermann (2003) suggests that it was fundamentally different from boxing. The opponents clearly swing one arm to the front while the other swings back, and they twist the fists, neither of which is ideal for boxing (ibid. 226). The aim of the fight might have been to 'disarm' the opponent, and, indeed, the right fighter on the situla from Bologna-Arnoaldi is already missing one dumb-bell (ibid. 236). The situla from Este-Benvenuti perhaps shows a different phase of the fight. It is the only image in which both arms are held to the front, and the opponents seem to struggle over the central dumb-bell. The prize for a successful fight is usually depicted between the two opponents. Most commonly, it is a crested helmet on a stand, supplemented by a lance in Matrei. A metal tripod, other vessel or rosette may replace the helmet. The number of spectators ranges from none to five, but in most cases people are depicted standing left and right of the fighters, watching the competition. Only on the situla from Este-Benvenuti do we see seated spectators. There are two, one of whom seems to have fallen asleep. On the situlae from Kuffern and Magdalenska gora the closest spectators to the left and right carry a forked or bent stick respectively: their role may be that of a referee.

The immediate contexts of the dumb-bell fight, as far as they can be determined, are feasts (e.g. Huth 2005; Kromer 1980), which most often involve scenes of spicing, pouring

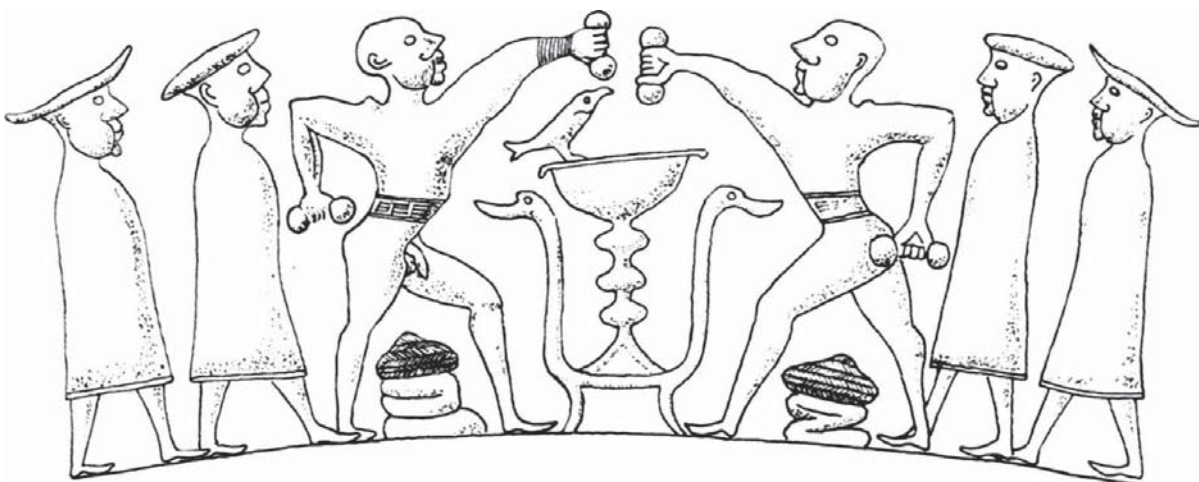


Figure 1 Dumb-bell fighting on the situla in Providence, USA (after Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1, by kind permission of Verlag Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG).

and consuming drinks, dancing, music competitions and horse and chariot races; common are also hunting, preparations for the feast as well as processions and travelling to the feast. This sport was one activity among many, and probably equal to the music competition. On the situla in Providence, two flute players sitting opposite each other are separated by a trophy similar to that for the dumb-bell fighters and are also watched by spectators. On the situla from Bologna-Certosa, a pan-flute player is sitting opposite a lyre player on a sofa; a situla hung above them seems to represent the trophy. In this image, two smaller, naked people with shaven or bald heads stand on the armrests, their posture indicating a boxing position. Perhaps they represent the musicians in a different stage of the same game that included a competition in both musical and sporting skills.

Images of dumbbell-fighting in other media and materials are rare.² It is the typical position of the two contestants, standing opposite each other in alert posture, feet apart, facing each other, ready to start fighting, that is repeated with slight variations in other materials and decorative techniques. The frame of the image, expressing a sporting competition, is transmitted over wide areas, while the content of the image is subject to local variation and adjustment.

Most likely, the curiously upside-down image on bronze cist VIII from the Kröll-Schmiedkogel, Kleinklein, Austria (Schmid 1933: pl. 1b) also represents dumb-bell fighting. The low resolution of the point-boss decoration makes a close evaluation impossible, but the thickened fists may well represent dumb-bells, a feature that an image on another cist from the same burial mound (XI, Prüssing 1991: 338, pl. 116–17) does not have. Both images show the contestants with both arms stretched towards each other, and a rosette (shield?) in the middle. A variation of the theme from the same grave can be found on cist VII (Schmid 1933: pl. 1a) and from a different grave of the same site (cist IV, Prüssing 1991: 335a, pl. 110–11). In these images, objects that resemble long shields and short, round shields are held by the two opponents: a contest of physical strength involving different sporting equipment.

Images sketched into the soft clay on a vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (Fig. 2; Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 29) describe a similar social context as the images familiar from situlae, including a hunting and a wagon scene. On the neck of the vessel, two harpists stand in opposition, framed by spectators that appear to be dancing or clapping their hands, but below, on the wall of the vessel, four pairs of contestants are sketched. This time, they stand close to each other, and each person's arms are shown on the other person's head, gripping each other's hair or giving each other a hook to the chin. The rather direct, physical violence expressed in these images makes it unlikely that dancing or mourning is meant; the figures seem to be caught up in a sporting competition like wrestling or boxing. The variations within this theme may indicate that rules were different, or different phases of the fight were depicted. The different styles of dress indicated, resembling trousers and a wide, balloon-like skirt, have been taken as indications of gender (e.g. Gleirscher 2009: 214). Due to the stylized nature of the images, this is far from certain, but it reveals an interesting distinction between these and the classical depictions, in which contestants are always naked.

Images painted on funerary vessels from Nové Košariská, Slovakia (Pichlerová 1969: pls 3, 4.1, 20.4) also show simple stick figures, probably dressed, with or without skirt-like garments. One leg forward, one leg back, the figures have both hands stretched out



Figure 2 Wrestling on a ceramic vessel from Sopron-Várhely, Hungary (photo: © akg-images Ltd./ Erich Lessing, Lessing 1980: fig. 10).

horizontally towards the opponent. Although they are not embedded in scenes in the same ways as on the situlae, other images on the vessels show people hunting, making music and dancing. The pairs appear to be standing opposite each other ‘holding hands’ – the images are too simplified to understand whether a friendly, competitive or even hostile atmosphere is captured. Similarly ambiguous are images from a recent excavation at Frög, Austria (Gleirscher 2009: 6), which were created by lines of circular stamps with white incrustation. Six pairs of very stylized human figures are shown on the neck and wall of a cylinder-necked vessel, connected by a single or double line representing the arms. The back of the cline of Hochdorf, Germany (Biel 1985: pl. 26), is decorated with three pairs of sword fighters – or ‘dancers’ (Huth 2003: 92–7). Their body position is similar to that of the dumb-bell fighters, with one leg set forward, one leg set back; the upper body is tilted slightly backwards. One arm is stretched out towards the opponent and carries an object quite similar to a dumb-bell, presumably a small buckler to parry the blows. The other arm is bent at the back of the person, carrying a short sword or dagger. Despite the nature of decoration, which does not allow for the representation of details, the opponents are characterized by a ponytail hairstyle and a skirt-like garment as local markers of identity.

The images described above are simultaneously similar to and different from conventional images of sport. The lack of detail allows for a range of different

interpretations that go beyond sport competitions such as mourning, fighting or dancing. It has even recently been argued that dancing with connected hands is a particular cultural feature of the east Hallstatt area, independent of the Mediterranean image world (Gleirscher 2009). Yet the frame of the image, the posture and elements of the gestures, are clearly familiar from the Mediterranean. Original images of sports of the classical world certainly reached people beyond the Alps, as evidenced by imported pottery, such as a black-figure little master cup found at the Heuneburg, Germany (Kimmig 2000: pl. 11, fig. 7.1), dating to *c.* 540 BC. The image shows a naked wrestler, flanked by a bystander or referee. Contests of strength, such as boxing or wrestling, were probably adjusted to local preferences and rules rather than copied in an identical way.

Sex

It might be unusual to list sexual intercourse as a sport, but in the context of the Hallstatt image world there is a reason to do so if we stick to the definition of sport being a competitive activity based on physical athleticism. Hallstatt images of sex have nothing private about them. Most images are part of a feasting scene and show a man and woman in missionary position on a bed with a thick mattress (e.g. Montebelluna, Italy, Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6; Sanzeno, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67; Novo Mesto-Kapiteljska Njiva, Slovenia, Križ 1997: app. 4). The couple is sometimes watched by a woman or offered drinks by a servant. Most convincingly, these images have been interpreted in terms of fertility rituals or the transfer of power to a new ruler and his inauguration (e.g. Eibner 2001: 128; Huth 2003). One image on a belt plate, however, is different. The belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia (Fig. 3; Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 32, 17; Turk 2005: fig. 42) was obviously a cherished piece, as it is worn, torn and has been repaired. This makes the reconstruction of the original scene difficult. It shows at least two couples having sex, the man kneeling in front of a woman seated on a throne, with one of her legs on his shoulder. He looks away from her over his shoulder, towards another couple in a mirror image. This scene is repeated at least once on the belt plate, but this was revealed only when the belt plate was taken apart for restoration. When it was repaired during the Iron Age, a large metal vessel was fixed next to the couple with rivets, similar to the ones used as trophies in other sporting competitions. The antithetical composition of

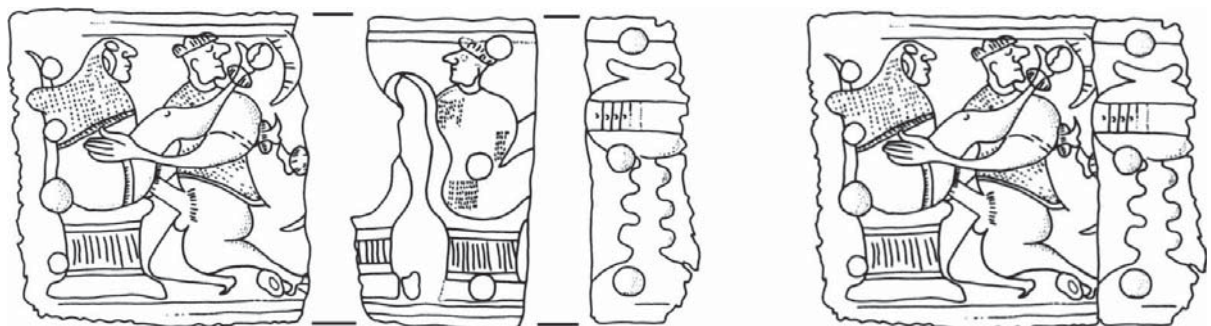


Figure 3 Belt plate from Brezje, Slovenia, before and after repair (drawing by Vesna Svetličič, after Turk 2005: 31, fig. 41 and Kromer 1959: pl. 1, by kind permission of Narodni muzej Slovenije).

the image, but especially the addition of a trophy, creates a close resemblance to the way in which sport competitions are composed. Taylor (1996: 209, fig. 8.5) has indeed suggested a sex competition. Taking the life-cycle of the object into account, both interpretations are plausible – a little joke of the bronze smith who repaired the belt plate, perhaps?

The chariot race

The best images of chariot races come from the situlae of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Fig. 4; fifth century BC, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63) and Kuffern, Austria (fourth century BC, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). The images are very similar to each other: both show the chariot race in the same register as the dumb-bell fighting, which underlines its character as a competitive sport. In both pictures, four pairs of horses are shown with chariots and drivers in full motion going to the right. The chariot drivers hold on to the long reins with both hands and carry a goad in their right hand, used to spur on the horses. Goads, termed *stimuli* in Latin and *kenra* in ancient Greek, were about the only sporting equipment for which there is material, archaeological evidence. Tips have been found in Etruscan contexts such as Volterra, Tarquinia, Veji and Bologna, Italy (Krauß 1992), but also north of the Alps at the Heuneburg, Germany. Recently a wooden goad of 1.66m length, wrapped in sheet bronze and armed with an iron prickle, was found placed across the four-wheeled wagon in the princely burial of Hochdorf, Germany (Koch 2006: 87, 275).

In the chariot race images the left arm of the charioteer is raised above the head, while the right arm is held at waist height; the reins on the situla from Kuffern are clearly shown wrapped around the waist, while on the situla from Bologna-Arnoaldi it is not entirely clear how they are held in place. This is potentially an important difference, as Greek chariot racers held reins in their hands, while Roman drivers steered using their body weight and wrapped the reins around their torsos (Futrell 2006: 191). Dress and headgear of the chariot drivers are particularly noteworthy. They do not compete naked, but dressed in a short-sleeved garment with a belt. The hats are long, pointed caps, which is unusual for situla images and perhaps particular to chariot racing. The first and the two last competitors face forward, but the second one looks back at the pursuers on the situla from Bologna-Arnoaldi; on the situla from Kuffern it is the first one who looks back.

On the situla from Bologna-Arnoaldi, the racing scene is followed by another image of a chariot that differs in many respects from the racers. Although the horses look the same

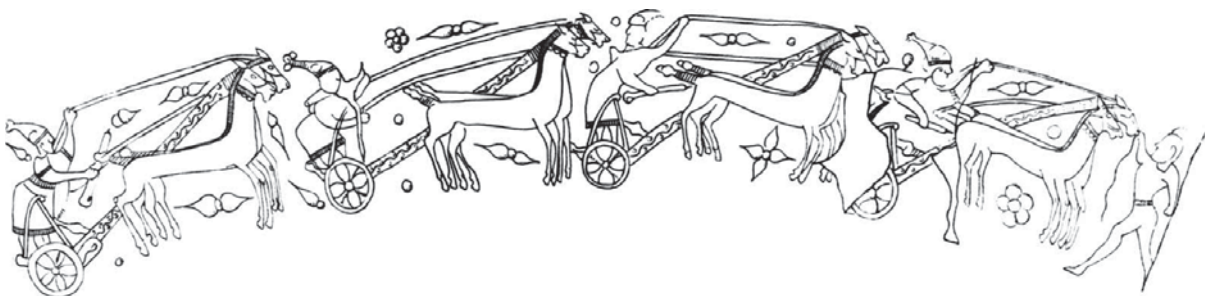


Figure 4 Chariot race on the situla of Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (after Lucke Frey 1962: pl. 63, by kind permission of Verlag Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG).

and parts of the image are missing, it is clear that the reins and goad are held differently, and a different kind of chariot is used. Not only the charioteer, but the driver and a passenger are standing on the chariot. Both are dressed differently from the racers, with the usual simple tunic and round hats. Overall, they do not seem to participate in the race, but watch it or travel to it. A curious image frames the racing scene on the right: it is a person in profile to the right, facing the race (Fig. 4). The person is naked except for a belt and his position resembles that of a dumb-bell fighter, with one arm stretched out and up, the other one back behind the body. The legs are in an open, dynamic position. There are two possible explanations for this image: either this person is in this image deliberately, perhaps as a referee (e.g. Huth 2003: 201), or it is the remnant of an earlier attempt to craft the dumb-bell fighting scene. It is not unusual in early Iron Age art that scenic images are poorly planned and do not fit together perfectly in the end.

Further images of definite chariot races are rare. One fragment of a scene survived as a shield votive cut from a decorated sheet bronze object at the sanctuary Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: Fig. 18, 2). The fragment shows only one driver on a chariot, with shaven or bald head, but dressed in a short-sleeved garment. The gesture with the left hand held up high while the right one holds a goad closely resembles the scenes from Bologna-Arnoaldi and Kuffern.

Chariots also appear in contexts other than racing. First, they seem to be part of war efforts and are embedded in scenes of warriors and battles, such as on the situla from Este-Benvenuti, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65) or the situla with a ship battle scene from Nesactium (Mihovilić 1996: app. 3). Second, they appear in the context of travelling, such as the situlae from Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73) or the fragment from Rovereto, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 32.12). In these cases, chariots do not only have a driver, but also a passenger, standing on the step behind the driver. Many of the scenic images of travelling depict a variety of ways in which horses are used or trained, to be ridden and driven in front of various types of wagons, led on short reins and trained on the long rein. The situla of Este-Benvenuti even shows how the hoof of a horse is inspected. Breeding, training and showing horses were clearly important high-status pursuits.

North of the Alps, depictions of vehicles are almost exclusively restricted to four-wheeled wagons, sketched or stamped on pottery. These types of wagons are also found in a large number of high-status Hallstatt burials (although the distribution of actual wagons and depictions is almost mutually exclusive, cf. Pare 1992: 204–15). The use of four-wheeled wagons for racing seems unlikely, and most wagon images can be more credibly interpreted in terms of hunting, funerary activities, processions and war-like activities. One particular image of a two-wheeled wagon from Rabensburg, Austria (Fig. 5; Felgenhauer 1962: 94), however, connects to the tradition of chariot racing further south. The image was made of lines of single, soft impressions on a large vessel with conical neck, of which only a fragment was found as a stray find. This technique sets the resolution to a minimum and limits the artist's ability to depict details. Nevertheless, a non-linear perspective for horses and chariot allowed depiction simultaneously from both sides and clarified the type of vehicle as a two-wheeled chariot. The driver is shown as standing on the chariot with the reins in the left hand and reins or goad in the other. Despite the minimal resolution, details of his sex and headdress help to communicate the driver's identity. Although the



Figure 5 Chariot race on a ceramic vessel from Rabensburg, Austria (Felgenhauer 1962: 94, by kind permission of Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien).

charioteer from Rabensburg is depicted naked, he also wears the long, pointed cap of the chariot racers seen at Bologna-Arnoaldi and Kuffern.

The horse race

Racing on horseback is shown directly after the chariot race on the situla of Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75). Two riders with exactly the same long, pointed caps as the charioteers are spurring on their horses. It is possible that the artist meant to depict the same persons involved in different sports. The scene is preserved only in fragments, but it seems that the riders are not wearing any clothes (at least on their upper bodies) and are riding bareback. The upper bodies are slightly tilted backwards; the left arms are bent, with the fists held upright, gripping the reins. Bareback riding, let alone racing, requires balance, coordination and training. It is certainly a skill worth competing over. The second rider's right arm is stretched out behind the body; the fist is tightly gripping an object used to spur on the horse, probably a whip.

The whip is drawn much more clearly on the belt plate from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala et al. 2004: pl. 41.1). Next to an image of dumb-bell fighting, a single rider is sitting bareback on a horse. The upper body is relatively straight, but turned; one arm is stretched forward to grip the reins close to the mane, while the other one is stretched back, holding a short whip with a rounded grip and a forked end over the croup of the horse. The rider is depicted naked; his head is shaven or bald and shown without any headgear, very similar to the dumb-bell fighters on the same belt plate. Again, it seems likely that the same contestant is shown engaging in a different kind of sporting competition.

Riders are a very popular motif in situla art and other Iron Age art. Aside from the horse race, they appear in the context of travelling, hunting, military marches or parades

and battle scenes or fights. The way they are depicted is, however, quite different. Travellers (e.g. Vače, Slovenia, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73; Bologna-Certosa, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64) are always dressed and sit on their horses calmly, without spurring them on vigorously with whips. Hunting is much more frequently done on foot than on horseback in situla art, but a few images show riders in context with dogs as accompanying animals (e.g. Este-Nazari, Italy, Lessing 1980: fig. 56) or using a lance to strike a deer (e.g. Zagorje, Slovenia, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 54b). Only the gesture of the hunter from Este-Nazari may be confused with a horse racer, as he is also depicted with turned upper body, whipping the horse. Very often, riders are part of a military march or parade, in which case the rider wears a helmet and carries a lance and a shield, which often covers the whole body (e.g. Bologna-Arnoaldi, Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 14). The belt plate from Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 54a) shows the confrontation of two warriors on horseback flanked by warriors on foot. The two groups are shown with different dress, weaponry and horses, perhaps indicating different ethnic groups at combat (Powell 1971: 8).

Further north in the Hallstatt and Lausitz areas (e.g. Sopron-Várhely, Hungary, Eibner-Persy 1980: pl. 28; Łazy, Poland, Schlette 1984: 100), hunting on horseback is a popular motif. Repetitions of stylized riders also appear regularly on bronze as well as pottery in these areas, but it remains difficult to interpret this motif as horse racing. A row of riders on a vessel from Schirndorf, Germany (Torbrügge 1968: no. 248), for example, does not reveal any further details as to the context. Figurines of riders such as the ceramic ones from Speikern, Germany (Torbrügge 1968: no. 250) and Großmugl, Austria (Kromer 1986: 5) or lead plaques from Frög, Austria (Tomedi 2002) also depict naked male riders. Nevertheless it seems that in these cases nudity is used to express virility and power, and does not necessarily indicate a sporting event.

People standing on horseback are depicted on a vessel from Beilngries-Im Ried West, Germany (Torbrügge 1968: no. 246), as lines of small, encrusted impressions. Through showing the horse from the side in slightly oblique position, the artist creates a very dynamic image. Such horse acrobatics are not unknown from Eurasian nomads, who undoubtedly were in contact with the Hallstatt people, and, rather than an inability to reproduce an image of a rider correctly, this image could indicate a local variant of this sport.

Conclusion

Despite the absence of written records, ample evidence for physical, competitive activities supports the notion that sports played an important role in social life in early Iron Age Central Europe. Not surprisingly, Etruscan ideas of sports had great influence in adjacent areas further north, but interpreting local variations of dumb-bell fighting, chariot racing and horse racing suggests that details of the activities changed and often took up divergent connotations. At the same time, conventions of image composition were adhered to over a surprisingly wide area. Participants in sport competitions often appear naked in Central European human representations, on situlae primarily in dumb-bell fighting and further north also in equestrian disciplines. Evidence for female participation in sports is patchy at best. Even simplified, schematic images use male genitals unambiguously to indicate the

sex of the actor. The social status of athletes seems not to differ from that of other depicted persons; there is indeed reason to suspect that the same persons are depicted in various different activities, such as feasting, hunting, playing music and competing in sports. All these are in themselves high-status pursuits. It seems that persons with the kinds of bodies training produces were privileged. Trained, strong bodies as well as masculinity, suggested through nudity in a very straightforward way, contributed to their status and the definition of their role in society. Images of athletes and warriors merge in some areas and underline the notion that what is understood as 'sport' in Mediterranean cultures cannot be directly translated into contexts of early Iron Age art in Central Europe, but might take up a more serious connotation. In short, different rules apply.

School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester
kcrs1@le.ac.uk

Notes

- 1 Images of dumb-bell fighters are found on situlae from Bologna-Arnoaldi, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 63), Bologna-Certosa, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 64), Dolenjske Toplice, Slovenia (Egg and Eibner 2005: 195, fig. 4), Este-Benvenuti (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 65), sheet bronze fragments from Este-Santuario Orientale (Marzatico and Gleirscher 2004: 278, fig. 2) and Fließ, Austria (Sydow 1995: pl. 43, 329), a situla fragment from Kobarid, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 33), the situla from Kuffern, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 75), the belt plate, lid and situla from Magdalenska gora, Slovenia (Tecco Hvala et al. 2004: pl. 41, app. 5, app. 2), the situla fragment from Matri, Austria (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 58), a fragment reworked into a pendant from Mechel, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 27, 8), the situla in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design Art Museum, Providence, USA (Fig. 1; Lucke and Frey 1962: app. 1), the situla from Sanzeno, Italy (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67) and the situla from Vače, Slovenia (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 73).
- 2 Exceptions include a ceramic fragment in the Museo Nazionale Atestino at Este, Italy (Hoernes 1893: 108, fig. 49), a first-century BC stone relief, the Sedia Corsini in Rome, Italy (de Luca 1976: pl. 81–5) and a number of individual dumb-bell fighters cast as small bronze relief figurines (e.g. Landeck, Austria, Egg 1980).

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Katharina Rebay-Salisbury studied prehistoric archaeology at the University of Vienna, Austria. Her doctoral research, completed in 2005, explored ideas about gender and social structures in early Iron Age Central Europe through cemetery analysis. She subsequently worked as a research associate at the University of Cambridge, within the Leverhulme-funded project ‘Changing Beliefs of the Human Body: A Comparative Social Perspective’. In the framework of this project, she investigated changing burial rites and attitudes to the human body in the European Bronze Age, focusing in particular on the introduction of cremation. In 2009 she joined the School of Archaeology and Ancient History in Leicester as Leverhulme Research Associate and project manager of ‘Tracing Networks: Craft Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond’. Her present research at Leicester centres on studying human representations, identities and social relations in the late Bronze Age and the Iron Age of Central Europe.

3.3 Materials make people: how technologies shape figurines in Early Iron Age Central Europe

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10 Materials Make People

How Material Properties and Technologies Contribute to Figurine Shapes in Early Iron Age Central Europe

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

INTRODUCTION

Representing the human body on mundane as well as ritual objects made of different materials and in different technologies becomes increasingly popular during the early Iron Age in Central Europe. Figurines are amongst the objects specifically produced to represent the human form; they vary in size, even if they are most commonly adjusted to handling by and holding in a human hand. Figurines are formed of clay, cast in bronze or lead or carved in bone; some are also further decorated in a range of different techniques. On the one hand, the shape of the figurines follows the conventions of depicting humans in the early Iron Age in general; on the other, style and shape of the human form are additionally influenced by the process of their making. The material properties, affordances and practicalities of production that add details to the outcome are of interest in this chapter, which aims to survey early Iron Age figurines in Central Europe using the *chaîne opératoire* approach. Thinking through the steps of production, use and deposition of the figurines, the chapter investigates the impact of human–material–object relations to understand why Hallstatt figurines take the form they take.

CONVENTIONS OF HUMAN REPRESENTATIONS

After a period of relative absence of human representations in the late Bronze Age (c. 1300 to 800 BC), they appear on a range of different object types, materials and technologies in the early Iron Age of Central Europe (also referred to as the Hallstatt Culture, predominant in parts of France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Slovenia between c. 800 and 400 BC). Most often, they decorate the surface of containers for food and drink; ceramic vessels are decorated with human images that are sketched, punched in or painted on sheet bronze vessels. Amongst these are the famous *situlae*, decorated in repoussé and chasing or with punched points and dents. Other objects

with human images include belt plates made of sheet bronze, scabbards of swords and daggers, axes, fibulae and loom weights. Anthropomorphic pendants, designed to be attached to fibulae or bronze vessels or worn as an ornament, are often highly abstract and ambiguous objects, hinting at the human form rather than being concrete and faithful human representations. Furthermore, there are anthropomorphic appliqués made of bronze, tin and lead, which were made to decorate the outside of ceramic or wooden containers. Anthropomorphic pendants and appliqués share many properties with figurines in terms of production technologies, and indeed the boundaries between these groups of objects are not very clear cut. Figurines are defined as ‘small moulded or sculptured figures’, ‘small statues of a person’ or ‘models of a bodily form’¹, focussing on the size as a defining property. In contrast to some of the other objects mentioned, the human image is not a decorative addition; the intention and purpose of the figurine is the representation of a person.

Human images have triggered the interest of generations of researchers (e.g. Dobiak 1982; Eibner 1982, 1993; Frey 1969; Gallus 1934; Hoernes 1893; Huth 2003; Reichenberger 2000) but primarily focussed on interpreting the narrative content and meaning of the images. Generic human images aside, most representations can be classified as belonging to a specific and recurrent figure type. Types of people are differentiated through details of the human image such as gestures and postures, dress and associated objects; they play particular roles and engage in specific tasks, which provide insights into how identities were understood and played out in the early Iron Age. Scenes of people acting include feasts with drinking, sport and music competitions, funerary processions, sacrifices, hunting and weaving. The narratives of the Hallstatt area are often related to similar motifs known from the Mediterranean (see, e.g., Aigner-Foresti 1980; Fischer 1973; Hase 2005; Jerem, Schönfelder and Wieland 2008; Kimmig 2000; Kossack 1969; Kromer 1986; Siegfried-Weiss 1979), but they are not one-to-one copies; rather, images change as they are transmitted over distance, and, mixing foreign and local elements, ‘creolized’ versions emerge².

Making Figurines

Figurines, as a specific subset of human images of the Hallstatt culture, also draw from this image world. Individual representations dominate, although sets of figurines or collections with shared properties are found in specific contexts. About half of all figurines were identified as naked, and only about one eighth appear dressed. Male figurines are about three times more common than female ones, regardless of whether only figurines with explicit sexual parts are counted or if other gender indicators such as weaponry and dress are also taken into account. If a specific type of person could be identified, it was most often a rider on horseback; orants, warriors or carriers as recurrent figurine types occur much less frequently. Many of the figurines,

however, are just generic human forms without further characteristics or details that would point to their specific identity.

Hallstatt figurines vary widely beyond these common characteristics, and a number of factors, from the idea to produce a figurine to its production use and deposition, contribute to this variation. Thinking through all the steps of the *chaînes opératoires* (e.g. Brysbaert 2011; Dobres 2010), including their social embedding and associated beliefs and traditions, helps to clarify some points. Before we even consider material and technological implications, we need to ask by whom and for which purpose they were made. Skill and the level of craftsmanship is one issue that has to be considered: the context of figurine production ranges from casual to formal, the place of production from the home to the workshop, and the skill level of the artists also varies widely. Figurines comprise a wide range of objects, which may be intended to be used as children's toys, centrepieces, ritual objects, votive offerings or grave goods; some of the objects were produced to perfection, whilst quite a number of them were produced in a way that shows quality was not prioritised; it was the symbolic value that counted and not the level of craftsmanship. Some figurines could have been produced ad hoc by anyone, whilst others clearly showed the hand of a skilled craftsperson and a considerable amount of planning.

In this chapter I will look at ceramic figurines, bronze figurines made using three different technologies and lead figurines to consider the material properties, constraints and technological implications separately for each figurine group. The notion of affordances is useful here (Gibson 1979), in that it foregrounds the relation among materials, things and humans. Affordances are not independent properties; they are not constant but change according to the situation in which they are found and the agents that are engaged with them. A classic example is the door handle that affords opening the door to adults but not to children who cannot reach it (Knappett 2004). At the interface between the artist and the figurine, the affordances of different materials are crucial: clay lends itself to different treatment than wax or wood. The properties of the materials (e.g. malleability, crystalline structure, ability to absorb water) afford particular ways of treatment and result in specific forms. Some of the stylistic features of figurines derive directly from the materials and the technologies employed to work them. Each craft therefore develops its own 'language of design' (Blakolmer 1999), but there are no absolute constraints. Simply, some shapes, forms and details naturally and easily fall into place when working one particular material, whilst the same features might be difficult to achieve in a different material. Cutting the outline of a human figure out of sheet bronze, for example, is quite easily doable; cutting it out of the wall of a ceramic vessel in similar detail is virtually impossible. The morphology of objects is intertwined with the underlying production processes.

CERAMIC FIGURINES

Ceramic figurines appear across the continent in the late Bronze and early Iron Age. Whilst those from the late Bronze Age are typically found in settlement contexts and appear to be made in an ad hoc fashion (e.g. Lac du Bourget, France, or Kreuznach, Germany; for details, see Uslar 1964), early Iron Age figurines most often come from graves and sanctuaries. They appear as individual objects or parts of formalised assemblages that share principles of construction and decoration.

The 126 Central European ceramic figurines in my database³ come from 37 sites across Austria, Germany, Hungary, Italy north of Bologna, the Czech Republic, Poland, France and Croatia (Figure 10.1). The figurines with fully preserved lengths are on average 8 cm tall, measuring from 4 to 19 cm, which makes them an ideal fit in any person's hand. The torso is either cylindrical, made of a piece of clay rolled between the palms of the hand, or a flat slab. The body's core is usually the most prominent feature of the figurine, whilst the head and the extremities are much smaller than actual body proportions would propose. Heads can be cylindrical, conical or globular in shape, and

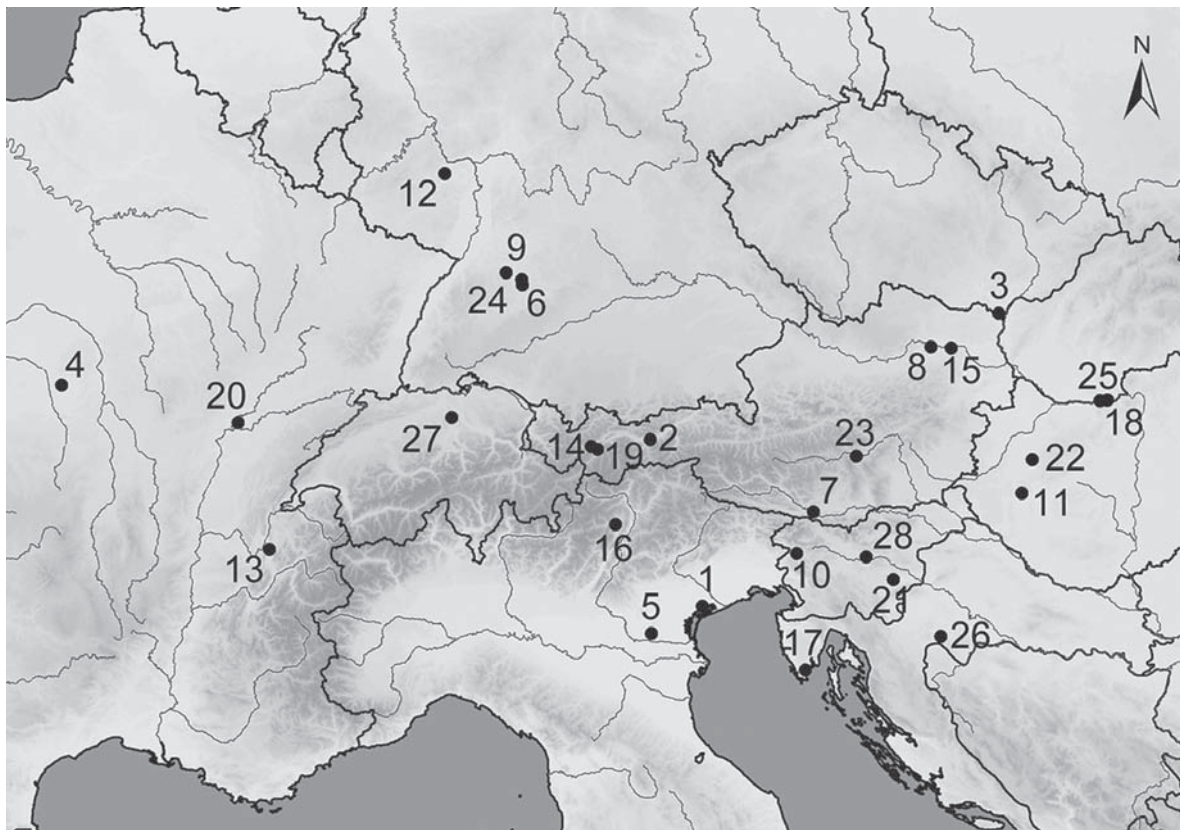


Figure 10.1 Map of sites mentioned in the text (1: Altino, 2: Ampass-Deimfeld, 3: Bernhardsthal, 4: Bourges, 5: Este, 6: Fellbach-Schmidlen, 7: Frög, 8: Gemeinlebarn, 9: Hochdorf, 10: Idrija pri Bači, 11: Keszthely-Dobogó, 12: Kreuznach, 13: Lac du Bourget, 14: Landeck, 15: Langenlebarn, 16: Mechel, 17: Nesactium, 18: Nyergesújfalu, 19: Pillerhöhe, 20: Saône à Seurre, 21: Šmarjeta, 22: Somló, 23: Strettweg, 24: Stuttgart-Uhlbach, 25: Süttö, 26: Turska kosa, 27: Unterlunkhofen, 28: Vače)

most often the neck is either absent or quite broad and elongated. The proportions of the head and extremities are adjusted to the material of which the figurines are made—to avoid obvious points of breakage during the process of drying and firing, the proportions are usually kept to a minimum.

Three basic techniques are used to shape the figurines further: drawing on the plasticity of the clay, they can be moulded and pressed into shape with fingers and simple tools, pieces of clay can be added for further elaboration, or clay can be subtracted through impressions or incisions. These techniques are employed for the little details that give the figurines more than a human shape—a face, a gender, a social categorisation. About half of the figurines indicate some facial features; most often, the eyes and nose are shaped first. This can easily be done by pinching the head with two fingers, creating the eye sockets and, at their joint, a nose. The nose thus sometimes appears like the beak of a bird, which has caused some speculation of possible human-bird hybrids; except for some cases (for example, the figurine from Süttő, Hungary; Horváth 1969), the birdlike features might instead result from the properties of the soft clay in combination with the moulding technique. Ears are often constructed in a similar way, by drawing out small slabs from the head. In addition, eyes are often further emphasised through circular impressions and incision in the clay, but mouths are formed much more rarely.

Although it is sometimes impossible to determine whether the figurines are supposed to appear dressed or naked, only 20 from the sample are definitely wearing a tunic or cloaklike garment. A few only wear belts, but the great majority are naked. Their sex is indicated by drawing out or adding the relevant body parts: breasts for women (28), penises for men (11). Gender is further marked by dress and jewellery as well as postures, such as sitting on a horse. But even taking these markers into account, female figurines outnumber male ones considerably. Necklaces, either added in the form of small, plastic bands or subtracted by incisions across the neck, are the most common type of jewellery; belt buckles, belts and arm and leg rings as well as earrings appear in similar fashion. Other attributes are rare—some figurines wear hats and helmets, carry vessels or shields. Most figurines are depicted in a standing position (95), with parallel legs, straight or in reverse u-shape. Others were designed to sit on the back of a horse. Sitting other than on a horse is extremely rare and only known from the Turska kosa (Croatia) assemblage.

This brief outline has summarised the most common shapes and features overall, but to illustrate the impact technological choices have on the shape of the figurines and to differentiate these from the results of material affordances, we will look at specific sets of figurines from Central European contexts.

The sets of ceramic figurines from Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn (Figure 10.2; Kromer 1958; Preinfalk 2003), both in Lower Austria, date to *c.* 600 BC and were found in monumental burial mounds, located about 20 kilometres apart along the Danube. Similarities in the grave construction and furnishing, including almost identical pieces of pottery, suggest strong connections among the communities that built the mounds, if not the same craftspeople or a common place of production. Tumulus 1 (of three)

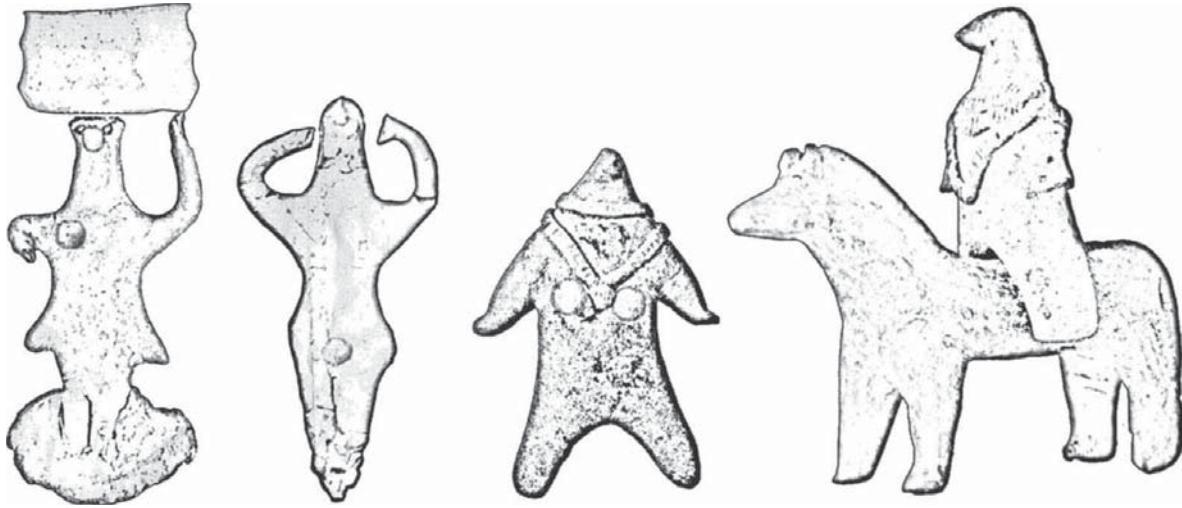


Figure 10.2 Ceramic figurines from Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn (Austria, c. 9.5 and 9 cm, after Preinfalk 2003: 91, Taf. 34, 10; Taf. 31, 3) and Turska kosa (Croatia, c. 8 cm each, after Balen-Letunić 2004, 333, No. 17.1 and 205, fig. 23)

from Gemeinlebarn was a mound of 50 metres in diameter with a large wooden chamber. Although no human remains were recovered, the 19th-century excavation revealed a sword and horse gear alongside a large set of elaborately shaped and decorated pottery (Dungel and Szombathy 1903); a horse burial, remains of a funerary pyre and a wagon were found outside the central chamber in subsequent excavations (Neugebauer-Maresch and Neugebauer 1996). The set of figurines from Gemeinlebarn comprises at least 14 human figurines and a number of animal representations, including a horse and seven four-legged animals of different sizes, one of which can almost certainly be identified as a stag. Both human and animal representations have traces of resin on their legs and feet, suggesting they were fixed to an object such as a wagon of organic material or a large vessel and were intended to be viewed from various sides. Tumulus 3 from Langenlebarn had already been reopened several times before the set of figurines was discovered in one corner of the chamber in 1981 (Preinfalk 2003). The set seems slightly less complete but included at least eight human figurines, one of them a rider, as well as a horse and four other four-legged animals.

Those figurines preserved in full length are about 10 cm tall. Their body core is a slab, with rolled arms and legs. The heads of the Gemeinlebarn figurines are globular, and breakage points suggest they were added and merged with the core body at the forming stage. The facial features include moulding of eye sockets, nose and ears; eyes are circular stamps and the mouth is indicated by a horizontal incision. One figurine even has incised nostrils. Necklaces are rows of small, round stamps or horizontal incisions. Five figurines have attached breasts; curiously, it is only the right breast that is carried out as a clay addition, whereas the left breast is painted on. Many if not all of the figurines are painted in red and black, like the rest of the pottery in the grave. Where preserved, the painting is either done in horizontal bands over the body, perhaps indicating clothes, or splits the figurine at the central symmetry line

in a red and a black half. Some figurines of the Gemeinlebarn set are clearly marked as females, but other figurines appear sexless. This pattern is repeated with the Langenlebarn set; this time, however, there are three clearly male figurines, as indicated by the addition of a penis. Their bodies are again painted black and red, split at the central line, and their arms are raised to the head. This construction makes longer extremities possible, as the connection of the arms with the head stabilises them. Other figurines do not have any sexual markers and appear not to have been painted; their shape differs from the others through an elongated neck. Their heads and particularly faces are not very well preserved. In contrast to the Gemeinlebarn figurines, the core shape of the heads is cylindrical. Eyes and noses are indicated in a similar fashion, but the region of the mouths is elongated, broken off and not preserved, so ultimately, the form cannot be determined. Only the rider's face is complete, very rudimentary in form with a pinched nose and stamped eyes.

The cores of all the figurines from Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn, except perhaps the riders, are flat slabs. The back side is usually not further elaborated but remains plain. They were certainly dried and fired while lying on their backs. All legs and most of the arms are therefore in that horizontal plane, except for arms bent towards the front of the body with some figurines from Gemeinlebarn. The Gemeinlebarn set is clearly the more elaborate of the two; shaping and decoration show more attention to detail. Nevertheless, they remain very closely matched assemblages in both the technologies used in their construction and the types of persons they represent.

Amazing numbers of figurines have recently appeared from a sanctuary near a funerary site at Turska kosa, Croatia (Figure 10.2; Balen-Letunić 2004; Čučković 2008). Cult Location I's oldest layers date between the 9th and 7th centuries BC and contain a number of fireplaces that might be explained through the local cremation of the dead and associated offerings. Subsequent layers contained cremated animal bones, indicating a shift in burial rites and offering practices. The layers ranging from approximately 600 to 300 BC contained evidence of ironworking such as slag and ceramic bellows tubes as well as numerous sherds from broken vessels and a range of miniatures such as spindle whorls, spools, small representations of loaves of bread and boats as well as animal and human figurines (Čučković 2004: 199).

The 49 human figurines published in recent exhibition catalogues (Balen-Letunić 2004; Čučković 2008) give good insights into the principles of constructing the bodies in this area. Features are rudimentary at best; if they have been added, they centre on markers of identity such as sex and dress elements. In most cases, the body core is made of a thick, flat slab of clay, which is little worked at the back, indicating that the figurines were designed to be placed on their backs rather than to be shown in three dimensions. There are, however, a number of seated figurines with clearly modelled buttocks and bent legs (e.g. Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 19.2, 19.3, 22.21 and 29.2) and figurines of riders with legs shaped in a way that means they can easily sit on a horse figurine (e.g. Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 22.24 and 22.25).

The heads of the figurines appear small and conical and are barely separated from the body. Most figurines have a beak-shaped nose as their only elaborate feature, whilst other facial features are missing. The arms and legs of the figurines are kept short and small and appear as conical additions to the body. Their anatomy is not further elaborated; at best, hands and feet are modelled by squeezing the ends of the arms and legs a little to shape the clay into flatter slabs. Arms are slightly set off the core of the body, pointing diagonally to the floor.

The majority of the figurines do not show sexual parts as indicators of sex and gender; gender seems to be more often indicated via dress elements and gestures. Breasts were added in the form of lumps of clay in 12 cases, but male sexual parts are mostly absent from the Turska kosa sample (but are present in the area, e.g. from Mikleuška; Balen-Letunić 2004, No. 9). One figurine combines female and male features (Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 21) to construct an androgynous body. Another figurine is characterised by the addition of a large, round slab on her abdomen; the figurine has been interpreted as a representation of a pregnant woman (Čučković 2008: 99, No. 68). Smaller additions of round clay slabs at the centre of the abdomen are, however, common features and seem to depict belt buckles; very small ones might indicate bellybuttons. They often co-occur with breasted figurines and thus seem to be an indication of femininity; fully plastic, broad belts also most often occur with breasts (e.g. Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 17.2 and 20.4). The belt is, in fact, a typical marker of high-status females across the Hallstatt area, although in many areas both men and women wear belts. Symmetrical sets of arm and leg rings are another component of the jewellery set for women and have been accurately depicted on some Turska kosa figurines as well (e.g. Balen-Letunić 2004: No. 20.6). Thirty-eight of the figurines wear necklaces of some variety, ranging from simple bands across the neck to elaborate double and triple constructions hanging on the chest in v- or u-shape with one or multiple pendants. Interestingly, necklaces are added in the form of clay bands, often additionally decorated with incised or impressed stripes, and are not merely incised or imprinted on the body. Necklaces are clearly central to the social understanding of the role of the depicted person, most likely indicating wealth and status. Their common occurrence across all figure types points to their nongendered nature.

The Turska kosa figurines have to be understood as individual representations, made to be deposited in a sanctuary, and each individual figure is constructed to communicate certain aspects of identity: first and foremost, status and wealth, and only secondarily gender. The body almost fades into the background and becomes the carrier of status symbols. The Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn figurines, in contrast, need to be understood as part of a set, in which each figurine plays a role in telling a story relevant in the framework of the funerary practices. What kind of story this might be can only be guessed with analogies of similar bronze sets, such as those from Strettweg (see what follows; Egg 1996). These figurines are gendered

and gestures appear more varied, but much less emphasis is placed on metal dress elements (which is consistent with the relative rarity of metal dress elements in graves in the area north-east of the Alps).

As we have seen in this section, ceramic figurines vary in form and function across the regions. The malleability of the clay makes any shape possible in principle, but the drying and firing process puts constraints on the final form of the figurine. Sizes are adjusted to easy forming and handling with human hands. The figurines made of clay change the bodies' proportions in favour of the trunk and at the expense of the extremities. The head is usually barely offset from the body, as to do otherwise would create an obvious breaking point. Arms and legs are often both thicker and shorter than actual body proportions would suggest.

BRONZE FIGURINES

Bronze is the material that Hallstatt figurines are made of most frequently. There are 208 objects classified as bronze figurines in my database (see endnote 3), but boundaries between this object type and appliqués, pendants or decorative elements and attachments to other objects are naturally blurred. North of the Alps, they are primarily stray finds or grave goods; in Alpine areas and south of the Alps, they are most often found in sanctuaries that date from the late Bronze Age well into the Roman period (*c.* 1300 BC to AD 400); precise dating of the figurines is often impossible, as stratigraphic details were rarely recorded at the time of excavation and dating figurines on stylistic grounds is extremely unreliable. Unsurprisingly, bronze figurines occur more often where the material is more readily available, such as in the areas in close vicinity to the Alps and in and around 'princely seats' of the Hallstatt culture; bronze is both less readily available than clay and more expensive. Fully preserved bronze figurines range from 3 to 19 cm in height when fully preserved, which is surprisingly close to the ceramic figurines; their average size is 1 cm less than for the ceramic figurines at 7 cm tall.

To work bronze, a greater level of expertise is needed, and bronze figurines were probably produced by experienced craftspeople, perhaps in workshops. There are, however, a range of different technologies employed in the making of human representations in bronze, ranging from very simple to extremely complex. Therefore, the level of craftsmanship has to be taken into account in analysing how material properties influence the way humans are depicted. Bronze figurines can be cut out of old pieces of sheet bronze or be cast in open or composite moulds, but the most commonly employed technology is probably lost-wax casting. To produce a figurine in this technology, a wax positive is formed and embedded in a mould of clay, which is subsequently dried and fired at a high enough temperature to melt the wax out. This process leaves a negative which is filled with molten bronze. The mould is used only once, as it has to be destroyed to retrieve the

bronze object, resulting in a unique figurine for each casting process. Several levels of complexity can be added to this principle, especially when several close copies of one template are desired. For the bronze couch from Hochdorf, Germany (Figure 10.3; Biel 1985), for example, eight similar figurines were produced to bridge the space between the seat level and the castors. Despite their similarities, minute differences show that they could not have come from the same moulds. Most likely, the two halves of the figurines were made separately by first carving them into wood; the wooden halves would then be filled with wax and joined after embedding a clay core. The wax figurines were then finely reworked before they were embedded in clay moulds. The final finish of the Hochdorf figurines includes filing and polishing as well as drilling small holes for the coral inlays that mark the eyes, necklace, belt and arm and leg rings and join the bronze pearls representing the breasts (Binggeli and Sander 2012).

At this level of complexity, any desired form can be achieved. Free forming aside, anything from a carved wooden model to a preexisting bronze figurine or a template of clay can be the starting point for a figurine in lost-wax technique, but the most important step in achieving the form is making the wax model. Wax as a malleable material shares some properties with clay, and yet clay figurines look rather different from bronze figurines. What are the reasons for these differences? An important factor is certainly the value of bronze. Although availability and cost of bronze differed throughout the Hallstatt area, it was without doubt a valuable material that was not

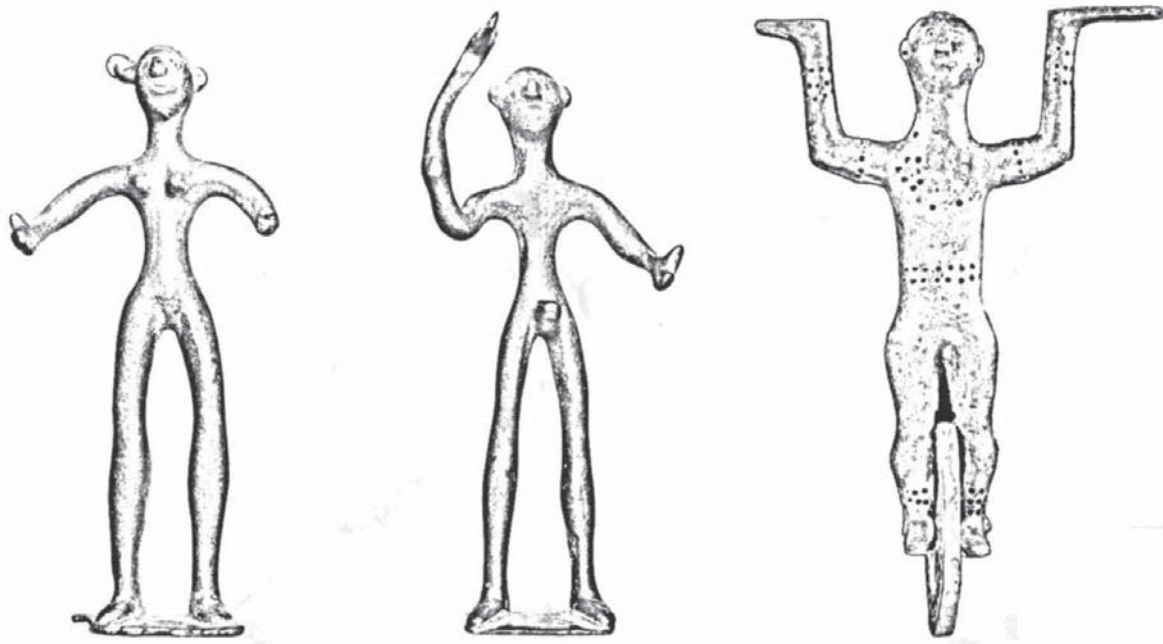


Figure 10.3 Bronze figurines produced in lost-wax technique from Strettweg (Austria, c. 12 cm, after Egg 1996: pl. 8.1) and Hochdorf (Germany, c. 32 cm, after Biel 1985: pl. 30)

wilfully wasted. The cost of bronze probably favoured shapes for which little material was needed, such as slim bodies or, as in the previous example, bodies cast around cores of other materials.

The material properties of wax, clay and bronze contribute to the final shape of the figurine. Shaping the extremities of a figurine in wax is much easier than in clay, as the material does not dry out in the same way and is less prone to breaking. Thin and long arms and legs can therefore be easily achieved, creating a marked difference from the shortened arms and legs most ceramic figurines have. The body proportions of clay and bronze figurines come out markedly different; even very thin necks that join the head and body do not jeopardise the head in the working process. The fact that the fragile necks, arms and legs are then embedded and stabilized in the clay mould makes three-dimensional arrangements quite easily possible, such as arms raised forwards and upwards. Figurines with this gesture, also known as orants, are particularly popular in the early Iron Age. Once the bronze is cast, the end product is still stable despite the obvious breakage points of a full-body representation. While some surface decorations are often already anticipated in the wax model, additional decoration can be added to the finished, filed and polished form by incising the material; dress elements and fabrics are often indicated this way.

The figurines that comprise the Cult Wagon of Strettweg (Figure 10.3) were worked so well after casting that almost no traces of the production processes remain (Egg 1996: 19). The wagon was found in a very rich grave in Styria, Austria, and dates to *c.* 600 BC. The figurines were arranged on a wheeled, square platform and hold a central female figurine, which, at approximately 23 cm in height, is much larger than the rest of the figurines. At her feet, the scene of a sacrifice is repeated in mirror image. A male figurine shouldering an axe and a female figurine follow a pair of sexless figurines leading a stag by the antlers; they are flanked by a pair of armed horsemen. The body proportions follow natural and artists' conventions of body proportions in some respects; the head of the figurines is about one eighth of the length of the whole body, the legs start at about half the length of the figurine, and the arms extend to the middle of the thighs (Bammes 1990). The torso and waist, however, are much slimmer than expected and the extremities are slightly elongated. This is particularly visible in the central female figurine; instead of the conventional eighth of the body length for the waist ($23/8 \times 1 = 2.9$ cm) and one and a half times the eighth of the body length for the hips ($23/8 \times 1.5 = 4.3$ cm), the figurine's waist measures 1.6 cm across at the waist and 2.8 cm at the hips, only slightly more than half of the expected values. Figurines of similar elongated shapes are known from the Circum-Alpine region—for example, from the Pillerhöhe, Austria (Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 1998: fig. 20), Somló, Hungary (Patek 1984: pl. 22, 7) or Altino, Italy (Tirelli 2000: fig. 137, 3). I argue that this might be an effect of both the value of bronze and using a combination of free-formed wax and bronze as materials to give these figurines shape.

The heads of bronze figurines are often disproportionately large, especially when two conditions are met: facial features are shown and the figurine is small overall. Eyes, nose, mouth, chin and ears are the most commonly modelled facial features; hair, hats or helmets are represented in about half of these figurines (e.g. from Idrija pri Bači, Slovenia; Guštin 1991: pl. 22, or Bernhardsthal, Austria; Nebelhay 1987: 219). The eyes, round or almond in shape, are often placed off centre and slightly too high on the head to appear natural, probably to use the available space more fully for details of the facial features. This might also be the reason the heads are enlarged in the first place. Although disproportionately large heads are a developmental feature of babies and children, it is unlikely that age is represented this way; other bodily proportions such as limbs are not adjusted to children's proportions, and the size and functionality of sexual features are often exaggerated (e.g. the figurines from Bourges, France; Echt 1999: fig. 25; Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Germany; Huth 2003: pl. 21, 1; Unterlunkhofen, Switzerland; Schmid-Sikimić 1996: pl. 101, 4).

Other than lost-wax casting, bronze figurines can also be cast in open moulds. A range of different materials is suitable for the production of the moulds, including clay, wood, compressed sand and sand- and soapstone; only the latter two are really suitable for multiple reuse. The casting technique creates a relief figure with a flat back, which, in most cases, remains unrefined. It is relatively rare to produce figurines this way (only 18 flat-cast figurines are in my database (see endnote 3), although of course pendants and appliqués with anthropomorphic features are primarily cast in this technique). The figurines are thus designed to be viewed from the front and have to be shaped with a particular perspective in mind; most often, human bodies are represented from the front, and only a handful of figures are represented in a turned perspective, in which part of the body is shown from the front and part from the side (e.g. the figurines from Landeck, Austria; Figure 10.4; Egg 1980). Relief figurines are most often found in sanctuaries; they are votive objects designed to be dedicated. The small figurines from Keszthely-Dobogó, Hungary (Patek 1984: pl. 26, 1) and Šmarjeta, Slovenia (Dular 1991: pl. 40), all stray finds, have good parallels in central Italy, where they seem to be votive offerings in a sacred landscape (Stoddart and Malone 1994). Their form includes elongated bodies and very straight limbs: arms are stretched out horizontally from the body and legs are extended in an open triangle. This kind of shape can most easily be achieved when carving a wooden or sand- or soft-stone mould; the affordances of the materials employed in the making of the moulds may in this case contribute to the form of the figurines.

Finally, there is one more technique employed in making human images in bronze: cutting the human form from sheet bronze. Bronze cutouts are also primarily known from sanctuaries, where they comprise votive offerings of various shapes, including full bodies and body parts. The raw material, the sheet bronze, is rarely new; rather, old sheet bronze objects such as belts and

vessels are recycled and reworked into new objects. The height of the figure from Ampass-Demlfeld, Austria (Tomedi 2009: fig. 2), for example, is 6 cm, just the same as the width of the sheet bronze belt it was cut out from. The figurine most probably shows a female with horse heads instead of arms, interpreted as the goddess Raetia; a number of small pendants are attached to the bottom of the figurine with rings. It is these pendants that are most often found in sanctuaries around the Alps. Sometimes, figurative *situlae* are reworked into votives, and the original image may be preserved. There are cases in which the cutout clearly respects the image, for instance, at Mechel, Italy, where the pendants are usually cut exactly around one or several persons participating in a procession (Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 27, 9), but in other cases, the recyclers cut through all motifs, drilling holes through a person's head or turning the figures upside down (Lucke and Frey 1962: *ibid.*). The human shapes of the cutouts are usually very simple. They again avoid the obvious breaking points such as necks or overly large limbs and focus entirely on the core of the body. Amongst the figures of the Mechel sanctuary are a number of cutouts in the shape of humans, some plain, some with reinforcing punches at the edges or simple incisions and punches to give the image some decoration and elaboration (see Marzatico 2001: fig. 75, for examples). Interesting are the anatomical votives, representations of body parts such as arms and legs, which become much more common further south and into the Classical periods (e.g. Recke and Wamser-Krasznai 2008; van Straten 1981).

Anatomical votives made of sheet bronze have also been unearthed from the Santuario Sud-occidentale of Este, Italy (Dämmer 2000; Gambacurta 2000), in many cases representations of male genitalia, although breasts, hands, a leg and a face are also part of the assemblage. The sanctuaries around Este, a major centre of the Veneti from the late Bronze Age to the Roman period, seem to cater to different groups of people, as some sanctuaries contain primarily images of warriors, while others contain images of females or anatomical parts (Ruta Serafini 2002). In the Santuario Sud-occidentale plaques with representations of armed warriors, horsemen as well as men and women in processions were found, too, and the way in which the images are produced varies widely. The image of an armed horseman, for instance, was carefully carried out in repoussé and chasing and then cut out around the outline; the spear has been cut off in the process, which suggests that the image previously had been part of a larger composition (Dämmer 2000: fig. 108, 2). The figure of a naked male, in contrast, which has been interpreted as a participant of a jumping contest (Dämmer 2000: fig. 108, 4), was given shape through the cutting out of sheet bronze only. Other plaques use stamps or incisions to create human representations, some of which appear very informal or 'self-made'.

Cutting a human image from an existing bit of sheet bronze is certainly the technically least demanding way to make a human figure. The context in which these kinds of representations were found suggests that they did

not need to be durable; they were made for dedication and not to be viewed and handled. Furthermore, they could be produced by almost anyone with access to a bit of old sheet bronze and a few tools; the way in which some of them were carried out suggests that they were not always made by professional craftspeople.

LEAD FIGURINES

Lead, which is widely obtainable in Central Europe, is easy to smelt and work. It had a certain amount of significance in the late Bronze and Iron Age economy as a component of bronze alloys before iron was widely available; it changes the properties of bronze, lowering the melting point, making it softer and easier to work but less durable and hard. This is an advantage when it comes to casting but a definite disadvantage for forging, particularly sharp weaponry and knives, and rarely matters for objects like jewellery and figurines. Adding high amounts of lead changes the colour of bronze, which makes the presence of lead macroscopically identifiable. It is widely believed that lead was not particularly valuable, which is underlined by the fact that it was used in forgeries in pretence of other metals and to fix ceramic vessels (Tomedi 2002: 246–254). With one notable exception, lead figurines are very rare in the Central European early Iron Age⁴: the cemetery of Frög, Austria (Figure 10.4; Tomedi 2002), dating to *c.* 800 to 600 BC, yielded several hundred figurines. Although many have been lost since the time of the antiquarian excavations and details of the contexts were not recorded, they formed a part of the inventory of cremation graves in burial mounds.

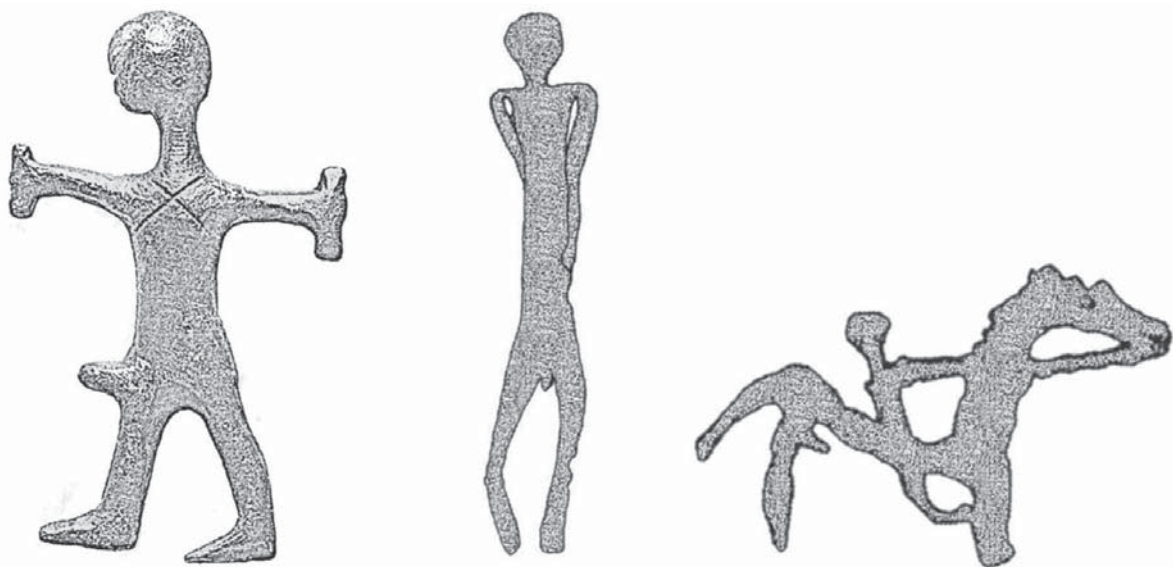


Figure 10.4 Bronze and lead figurines from Landeck (Austria, *c.* 6.5 cm, after Höck 1997: nr. 101b) and Frög (Austria, *c.* 9.5 and 3 cm, Tomedi 2002: pl. 94 and pl. 11)

Most of them are not strictly figurines, but small appliquéés to decorate the outer surface of large ceramic vessels. The most popular type is the rider on horseback (approximately 200 such figurines are published in Tomedi 2002), going towards the right; only a handful of riders go the other way. To indicate masculinity and virility of the riders, the horses are often characterised as stallions—given the size constrictions on appliquéés that are rarely more than 3 cm in height, some details of the riders themselves had to be omitted. The riders' arms are joined to the horses' reins and their legs to the horses' forelegs; this creates figures that lean back slightly, which is typical for bareback riding. With the exception of a few fully cast riders, they are all flat casts, presumably cast in open moulds or sand (which might explain the uneven surface of many figurines). Although traces of forging, cutting and bending survived, most were put in the graves as raw casts, including casting mistakes and fuzzy edges resulting from too much lead poured into the moulds.

Of the 123 human figurines other than horsemen, there are nine heads, 75 male figurines and 38 female figurines. The naked bodies range from *c.* 3 to 10 cm in size and from normally proportioned to elongated figures; they are gendered through breasts and male genitals. A group of long, male figures has been interpreted by early excavators as representations of dead bodies in the graves due to their lifeless appearance (Tomedi 2002: 256, see pl. 94 for examples). The heads are globular and the eyes and sometimes the nose are the most commonly preserved facial features; the poor state of preservation does not allow any more details to be recognised. Legs and arms are rarely preserved in full length, but it seems that they, too, were elongated. Whilst legs appear straight and parallel, the arms are bent into various gestures: some hang parallel to the body, some are crossed in front of the chest and some carry various objects or are raised. This indeed seems to be one of the crucial advantages of using lead as a material: the same basic forms can be cast over and over and varied as well as being adjusted by bending the soft metal carefully into the desired shapes.

OTHER MATERIALS: SANDSTONE, BONE, IVORY, ANTLER AND WOOD

It is rather surprising that despite a considerable number of life-sized statues and stelae used as monuments and grave markers in Central Europe (e.g. Stary 1997), to the best of my knowledge, stone is not used to carve figurines in the early Iron Age. A handful of human representations were made of bone or antler, such as the surprisingly similar horsemen from Nesactium, Croatia, Vače, Slovenia and Mechel, Italy, or pendants in the shape of females from Vače (Marzatico 2009; Teržan 2004). Preservation might of course be an issue here, just as it is for wood, which is only preserved in exceptional circumstances. Occasional finds like the wooden carvings from

the *Viereckschanze* of Fellbach-Schmiden, Germany (Wieland 1999), or the wooden statue from Saône à Seurre, France (Chaume and Reinhard 2003: 265, fig. 13), show just how much we may be missing. Wooden figurines similar in size and shape to figurines in other materials have, however, not been found so far. For antler and bone, the structure of the bone tissue is something to consider when giving figurines shape; similarly, the fibrous structure is of importance when working wood. The dimensions of the raw materials are also constraining factors for the shape of the figurines. Although arms and legs can be joined to the body relatively easily, carving figures out of one piece affords slim bodies and slender extremities, or generally figurines of smaller size.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Early Iron Age figurines from central Europe are highly variable in their appearance. In order to understand how and why they take the shape they do, we need to understand how material properties and aspects of technology were related to the style and shape of the figurines. Through understanding materials and the way they are worked, tendencies towards certain forms and shapes can be explained; the basic points are summed up in Figure 10.5. There are, however, no absolute constraints, and with the right level of skill, shapes that are more difficult to achieve in a certain material might become possible. It is the hallmark of good craftsmanship to work with the material, not against it, and understanding multiple materials and their affordances is certainly necessary for more complex procedures. An element of cross-craft interaction comes in here: comparing the production sequences of multiple crafts and identifying overlaps in which they impact each other technologically and socially, we might be able to understand innovation and knowledge exchange (Brysbaert 2007). Casting bronze in lost-wax procedures, for instance, presupposes knowledge about building, drying and firing ceramics.

It has proven to be extremely important to look at the possible social contexts of production and use. The questions of ‘who made them?’ and ‘what were they made for?’ can be addressed though the context in which the figurines were found. Although figurines are often stray finds, many have been discovered in settlement, funerary and ritual contexts. Variation in the level of skill employed in the making of figurines is noticeable; in particular, figurines that were deposited in sanctuaries and graves are often produced in a careless manner. This leads to the conclusion that a considerable number of these objects were made specifically for funerary and ritual use and either did not have a previous use-life of being viewed and handled (as the raw casts from Frög would suggest, for instance) or were recycled and deposited at the very end of a long use-life (such as the cutouts made of old scraps of metal from Alpine sanctuaries). In addition, it might suggest

	material properties	effect on figurine design	skill level	depositional context
ceramic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + malleable to a certain point + clay can easily be added + can easily be impressed or incised to add details - prone to breaking at drying and firing stage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * body core cylindrical or flat * body core most prominent * short legs and arms * head often joined with body * bird-like facial features 	low - medium	settlement funerary ritual
bronze: lost wax cast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + wax is highly malleable + wax figurine can be stabilized in clay + details can be added after casting - high value of bronze 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * slim body core * long arms and legs * three-dimensional gestures * large heads to show facial features 	high	settlement funerary ritual
bronze: open mould cast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + re-use of forms possible (depending on which material is used as moulds) - high value of bronze 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * flat relief figures * perspective needed * material of some moulds affords straight limbs 	medium - high	ritual
bronze: cut-out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + lower value of recycled sheet bronze + easy to cut + details can be added by punching and incising - two dimensional 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * flat outline * perspective needed * size restricted to available piece of sheet metal * body core most prominent * breakage points have to be avoided 	low	ritual
lead	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + low melting point + material remains soft after casting + can be bent easily + low value 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * slim bodies (lost wax cast) * long arms and legs (lost wax cast) * varied gestures through bending arms after casting 	medium	funerary
antler/ bone/wood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fibrous structure - fixed size and shape of raw material 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * elongated bodies and limbs * arms and legs close to body if not joined as separate pieces 	low - medium	funerary

Figure 10.5 Properties of materials used for figurines and their effect on figurine shape and design, required skill level and context of use and deposition

that not all figurines were made by professional artisans, if such persons even existed in the early Iron Age. Some figurines could be made ad hoc, at home, with minimum levels of skill or even by children, whilst very detailed understandings of multiple technologies are necessary to produce complex figurines (such as the figurines supporting the Hochdorf couch). Clearly, not all depositional contexts warranted the application of high levels of skill to the production process.

Finally, it is important to remind ourselves that representations of human bodies remain bound up in the cultural, regional and temporal context in which they were produced, despite other contributing factors considered in this chapter. Figurines arise out of the social understanding of what a human body, a specific type of person or a particular individual should look like, and through making, viewing, handling and depositing figurines, this understanding becomes reinforced, shaped and refined. Figurines are thus not merely a reflection of identities in the early Iron Age but have an effect on society (cf. Gell 1998; Wells 2008); ideas about social identity and the classification of persons play a role in the making of figurines just as bodily ideals and ideas about sickness and health do. The extensive variation of the appearance of figurines shows that ideas about the human body remained in flux and were constantly constructed and negotiated, in part through art.

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NOTES

1. www.thefreedictionary.com/figurine, accessed 8 June 2012.
2. Creolization refers to the mixture of indigenous and foreign cultural elements, as well as traditional and modern ones, leading to the formation and development of new identities (Cohen 2007). Rather than emphasising the fusion (as by the term ‘hybridisation’), creolization emphasises the innovative process in which cultural elements are selected from more than one culture and endowed with different meaning to create something new.
3. The figurines discussed in this paper are a subset of the data of human representations that I compiled in a database within the framework of the ‘Tracing Networks’ project. The database aimed at a full coverage of all known human images dating to the early Iron Age of central Europe, ranging from eastern

France to Hungary and from central Germany to Italy north of Bologna; despite this aim, the vast amount of available data makes omissions inevitable.

4. A female lead figurine from Nyergesújfalu, Hungary, seems to be a Picenian import (Egg 1996: 50, fig. 28).

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4. The body as perspective

4.1 Zur Archäologie des Körpers. Körper und Geschlecht in der Hallstattzeit des Nordostalpenraumes

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Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Zur Archäologie des Körpers. Körper und Geschlecht in der Hallstattzeit des Nordostalpenraumes

Schlagwörter: Archäologie des Körpers, Körper, Grab, Hallstattzeit, Kalenderbergkultur, Kunst, Körpererfahrung

Keywords: archaeology of the body, body, Early Iron Age, Hallstatt period, art, embodiment

In diesem Beitrag nehme ich den Körper als Mittelpunkt der menschlichen Erfahrung zum Ausgangspunkt, Geschlecht und Geschlechterrollen in der Hallstattzeit des Nordostalpenraums neu zu untersuchen¹. Ich möchte zunächst ein paar theoretische Grundlagen vorausschicken, die in den letzten Jahren als *body theory* Eingang in die englischsprachige Archäologie gefunden haben und weiterentwickelt wurden, und diese dann an konkreten Fallbeispielen aus dem Bereich der Kalenderbergkultur untermauern. Auf diese Weise möchte ich zeigen, dass ein Perspektivenwechsel, der den menschlichen Körper zum Ausgangspunkt der Überlegungen nimmt, durchaus neue Einsichten zu alten Fragen bringen kann.

Der menschliche Körper ist Zentrum des Selbst und die Basis aller sinnlichen Erfahrung. Durch den Körper, durch Sinneserfahrungen nehmen wir die Welt wahr und konstruieren unsere Persönlichkeit. Diese Erfahrung ist einzigartig für jede Person und ändert sich im Laufe des Lebens ständig. Sie durchläuft Entwicklungen von der Kindheit über das Erwachsenenalter bis ins hohe Alter. Sie ist nicht nur für Frauen und Männer unterschiedlich, sondern hängt auch von vielen anderen Faktoren, wie Gesundheitszustand, Beweglichkeit, sozialen Einschränkungen etc. ab. Die Oberfläche

des Körpers bildet die Schnittstelle zwischen verinnerlichter Person und Gesellschaft. Diese Oberfläche kann persönlich gestaltet werden, z. B. durch Kleidung und Schmuck, durch Gesten und Körperhaltung. Über den Körper wird das Selbstbild kommuniziert. Die Gestaltung des Körpers geschieht allerdings nicht im sozialen Vakuum, sondern wird häufig primär vom Umfeld bestimmt und ist nur in Nuancen tatsächlicher Selbstbestimmung unterworfen. Zum anderen hilft diese Oberfläche der Kommunikation, indem sie dem gesellschaftlichen Umfeld ermöglicht, eine Person zu kategorisieren und etwa Geschlecht, Alter, Beruf und andere Bausteine von Identität festzustellen. Geschlecht als Teil der persönlichen Identität ist also gleichzeitig eine persönliche Erfahrung und eine soziale Kategorie (Sørensen 2000). Theoretische Ansätze zu Geschlechterforschung in der Gräberarchäologie haben sich in den letzten Jahren von einer intuitiven Zuschreibung von Geschlecht und einer Gegenüberstellung anthropologischer und archäologischer Daten deutlich weiterentwickelt (Sofaer/Sørensen 2013). Die Übersetzung von „gender“ als „soziales Geschlecht“ greift dabei zu kurz, da hier zu sehr die soziale Kategorisierung auf Kosten der persönlichen Erfahrung und der Performanz von Geschlecht in den Vordergrund gerückt wird.

In den letzten Jahren hat sich, inspiriert von soziologischen Ansätzen (z. B. Featherstone u. a. 1991; Shilling 1993), eine Archäologie des Körpers (*archaeology of the body*) entwickelt, die zu Büchern wie „Embodied Lives“ (Meskell/Joyce 2003) „Thinking Through the Body“ (Hamilakis u. a. 2002), „Past Bodies“ (Borić/Robb 2008) oder „Body Parts and Bodies Whole“ (Rebay-Salisbury u. a. 2010) geführt hat. In einem Artikel in der „Annual Review of Anthropology“ fasste Rosemary Joyce (2005) ihr Anliegen einer „semiotischen Perspektive auf den Körper“ zusammen:

1 Mein Dank gilt allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die am Projekt „Changing Beliefs of the Human Body“, eines Leverhulme Research Programmes von 2005–2009 an der Universität Cambridge mitgearbeitet haben und von denen ich viel lernen durfte.

Es gilt, die Entstehung und Erfahrung des gelebten Körpers zu rekonstruieren, und zwar durch die Gegenüberstellung von Spuren von Körperpraktiken, von idealisierten Repräsentationen der Körper sowie von Hinweisen auf gewohnheitsmäßige Gesten, Körperhaltungen und Konsumpraktiken. Wie der menschliche Körper im sozialen Kontext verstanden wird, wird durch Assoziationen mit materieller Kultur mitgestaltet, dies wiederum ermöglicht erst eine Analyse durch archäologische Methoden.

Eine Reihe theoretischer Strömungen trug zur Entstehung der Archäologie des Körpers bei. Seit langer Zeit nehmen Studien zur Repräsentation des menschlichen Körpers in der Kunst einen prominenten Platz in der klassischen Kunstgeschichte ein. Wie der Körper dargestellt wird, welche körperlichen Ideale in den Vordergrund gerückt werden, wie sehr die Darstellung von Körpern standardisiert oder auf bestimmte Geschlechter und Altersgruppen beschränkt ist, wie der menschliche Körper geschmückt, bekleidet, dekoriert wird, ist Gegenstand der Forschung. Diese eher statische Auffassung des Körpers als öffentliche, lesbare Oberfläche (Joyce 2005, 139) tritt gegenüber neueren Auffassungen des Körpers als Schauplatz von Selbst- und Fremddarstellung und als Medium sozialer Verhandlungen in den Hintergrund.

Die archäologische Auseinandersetzung mit Geschlecht entwickelte sich ähnlich weiter und brachte wichtige Impulse. Der Wechsel des Schwerpunkts von einer sozialen Kategorisierung von Körpern in Bezug auf Geschlecht zu einer Untersuchung der Lebenserfahrung in einem bestimmten Körper und deren Ausdruck und Performanz führte zu einer Kritik der konzeptionellen Trennung von *sex* und *gender*, zu Analysen von Weiblichkeit und Männlichkeit sowie Transgender-Erfahrungen (Butler 1993; Joyce 2004; 2008; Knapp 1998; Perry/Joyce 2001; Voss 2000). Außer dem Geschlecht wurden auch Alterskategorien kritisch unter die Lupe genommen, die ebenfalls zunächst als natürlich vorgegeben und absolut galten. Doch neben dem chronologischen Alter eines Menschen lässt sich sowohl das physiologische als auch das soziale Alter unterscheiden (Ginn/Arber 1995; Robb 2002), die beide vom absoluten Alter abweichen können. Sie sind mit Werten und Vorstellungen verbunden und können nur im sozialen Kontext einer Gesellschaft verstanden werden. Unverzichtbar für die Geschlechterarchäologie und die Archäologie des Alters ist selbstverständlich die physische Anthropologie. Die soziale Bioanthropologie begreift den Körper als Ergebnis seiner Praktiken, geformt durch Ernährung, Lebensumstände, Reproduktion und persönlich durchlebte Ereignisse. Der Körper selbst kann

daher als Artefakt, als materielle Kultur verstanden werden (Sofaer 2006).

Ansätze der Phänomenologie (z. B. Casey 2001; Ingold/Vergunst 2008; Tilley 1994) untersuchen, wie sich der menschliche Körper durch den Raum und bestimmte Landschaften bewegt, wie der Mensch mit seiner Umwelt auf Basis seines oder ihres Körpers interagiert, und reflektieren die Erfahrung des „in der Welt seins“ gleichzeitig mit dem „im Körper sein“ (*embodiment*). Der menschliche Körper bildet dabei den Rahmen, der Erfahrungen gleichzeitig ermöglicht und beschränkt. Welcher Handlungsspielraum Menschen, Tieren, aber auch Dingen zukommt und zugemessen wird, wird unter dem Schlagwort *agency* untersucht (z. B. Barrett 2001; Dobres/Robb 2000; Dornan 2002; Gell 1998). *Agency theory* betont, dass Menschen Entscheidungen treffen, Absichten haben und Maßnahmen ergreifen; durch diese Sichtweise kann über breitere, strukturelle und umweltbedingte Erkenntnisse hinausgegangen werden und das Verhältnis zwischen dem oder der Einzelnen und der Gesellschaft analysiert werden. Ausgehend von dieser Diskussion kam es zu einer Auseinandersetzung mit Begriffen wie Individuum und Person, vor allem weil kritisiert wurde, dass moderne, westliche Denkweisen wie Konzepte des Selbst und des Anderen unkritisch auf die Vergangenheit übertragen wurden; während wir von einem mehr oder weniger durch die Haut begrenzten Körper als statischem Individuum ausgehen, ist die Vorstellung, was eine Person ausmacht, in anderen Kulturen durchlässiger, verschiebbar, mischbar und kann Elemente anderer Personen, Tiere und Dinge miteinschließen sowie wandelbar sein. Wie „Person sein“ in verschiedenen kulturellen Kontexten verstanden wird und wie diese Kategorie mit materieller Kultur verbunden ist und durch sie ausgedrückt wird, ist Gegenstand der Forschung der *archaeology of personhood* (z. B. Bloch 1988; Fowler 2004; Knapp/van Dommelen 2008).

Die zahlreichen Anregungen, die die Archäologie des Körpers bietet, möchte ich hier anhand der Fallbeispiele (1) der Körper im Grab, (2) der Körper in künstlerischer Darstellung und (3) der Körper im Raum für die Hallstattzeit Zentral-europas illustrieren.

Der Raum der Kalenderbergkultur oder -gruppe (vgl. Kaus 1981; Nebelsick 1997), das Arbeitsgebiet für dieses Kapitel, liegt im Nordostalpenraum und erstreckt sich auf Niederösterreich, das Burgenland, Teile Mährens, der Slowakei und Ungarns. Höhensiedlungen und kleinere Gehöfte charakterisieren die Landschaft an der Donau, deren Bewohner hauptsächlich von Landwirtschaft und Viehzucht in

den fruchtbaren Ebenen und Hügelländern lebten. Die Gegend ist arm an Metallfunden, aber reich an Keramik – der sog. Kalenderbergtopf mit seiner auffallenden plastischen Verzierung ist typisch. Die Bestattungslandschaft ist vielfältig: Einige Gemeinschaften halten an spätbronzezeitlich anmutenden, großen Friedhöfen mit einfachen Brandbestattungen fest, während zunehmend auch Grabhügelgruppen und monumentale Grabhügel entstehen, besonders um etwa 600 v. Chr. Außerdem werden qualitative und quantitative Unterschiede in den Grabbeigaben zunehmend auffälliger und es entsteht ein Trend zu personalisierten, einzeln ausgewählten Grabbeigaben.

Der Körper im Grab ist die direkteste Quelle, die wir zur Verfügung haben. Hier lassen sich biologische Grundlagen, auf denen vielfach soziale Kategorisierungen beruhen, über die menschlichen Überreste ebenso fassen wie Spuren, die das Leben hinterlassen hat. Der Körper kann als materielle Substanz aufgefasst werden, die gewollt und ungewollt in ihrer Form gestaltet werden kann (Härke 1993; Sofaer 2006), doch finden wir im Grab zudem viele Hinweise auf soziale Rollen und Identitäten, die im Grabbrauch komprimiert zum Ausdruck kommen. Tracht kann etwa auf Alter und Geschlecht hinweisen, Objekte auf Tätigkeiten, die routinemäßig ausgeführt wurden, die Behandlung des Körpers, z. B. Balsamierung, Aufbahrung, Verbrennung oder Niederlegung, auf traditionelle Glaubensvorstellungen über Tod und Leben nach dem Tod – das Grab ist Ausdruck der Beziehung zwischen Person und Gesellschaft. Wie wird Geschlechteridentität im Grab nun ausgedrückt?

Die archäologische Analyse von Geschlechteridentitäten im Grab gestaltet sich im Gebiet der Kalenderbergkultur von jeher schwierig, schon weil die überwiegende Mehrheit der Bestattungen in dieser Region Brandbestattungen sind. Die Zuverlässigkeit anthropologischer Geschlechtsbestimmung ist bei Brandbestattungen deutlich eingeschränkt (Wahl 2008, 148), während Altersbestimmungen wesentlich genauer ausfallen können. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Grabungen wurde zu einer Zeit durchgeführt, in der wenig oder gar kein Wert auf Dokumentation und Sammlung von verbrannten Knochen gelegt wurde, wodurch viele Daten unwiederbringlich verloren gegangen sind. Zudem ist die Forschung durch bestimmte Vorurteile geprägt, nicht nur durch die „male bias“, die historisch durch männliche Forscher geprägte Interpretationsgeschichte, die bereits vielfach in der Genderarchäologie kritisiert wurde, sondern auch durch die unkritische Übertragung klassischer und ethnographischer Analogien. Dazu gehören

etwa Herodots Schilderung skythischer Bestattungen (4, 71–72) oder die Begräbnisse des Patroklos (Il. 23, 161), Hektor (Il. 24, 778), Elpenor (Od. 12, 11–15) und Achilles (Od. 24, 65) bei Homer. Modelle, wie Brandbestattungen zu lesen sind, stammen auch vom indischen Subkontinent (z. B. Parry 1994) und wurden zuletzt besonders im skandinavischen Raum für die Interpretation prähistorischer Befunde aufgegriffen (Fahlander/Oestigaard 2008; Kaliff/Oestigaard 2004; Oestigaard 2000).

Schließlich herrschte lange die Meinung vor, dass Grabhügel nur für eine Person errichtet und dann maximal noch für Nachbestattungen genutzt wurden. In traditioneller, binärer Denkweise werden Gräber immer nur für ein Individuum angelegt, und dieses Individuum muss eben entweder Mann oder Frau sein. Für wirklich monumentale Grabhügel, wie etwa den Großmugl, Niederösterreich, der mit 55 m Durchmesser und 16 m Höhe die Landschaft dominiert, wird häufig eine männliche primäre Bestattung vorausgesetzt. Beweisbar ist das allerdings nicht, da dieser Grabhügel noch gar nicht ausgegraben ist (Krenn 1959). Auch sind Einzelbestattungen nicht unbedingt die Norm und wir müssen mit Grabhügeln für Bestattungsgemeinschaften rechnen. Hügelgrab 1 der Grabhügelgruppe von Zagersdorf im Burgenland (Rebay 2002) ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür, wie komplex die Situation in einem Grabhügel sein kann (Abb. 1). Erste Ausgrabungen wurden bereits bei der Entdeckung 1934 durchgeführt, weitere während des Zweiten Weltkrieges, doch 1985 wurde der Grabhügel vollständig ausgegraben. Mit 16 m Durchmesser und 1 m Höhe ist er nicht einer der monumentalen Grabhügel, aber auch nicht einer der ganz kleinen. Mit einer Gemeinschaft von zehn Personen könnte er durchaus innerhalb einer Woche errichtet worden sein (Rebay 2002, 22–23). Die Ausgrabung ergab eine 3 m x 3 m messende Grabkammer und eine große Anzahl an Gefäßen, die wie auf einer Theaterbühne der Größe nach angeordnet waren. Trotz einiger Störungen konnten noch sechs eindeutig voneinander abgegrenzte Bestattungen dokumentiert werden, die alle sorgfältig alters- und geschlechtsbestimmt wurden. Besonders die drei Bestattungen im Vordergrund des Betrachters sind interessant: Alle drei zeigen eine enge Verbindung zwischen Körper und Objekt, die durch mehrere Phasen des Bestattungsrituals, der Verbrennung, Aufsammlung und Beisetzung hindurch beibehalten wurde (Rebay-Salisbury 2010, 66–67). Das belegen etwa die Verbrennungsspuren an den Spinnwirteln, die mit den Überresten eines erwachsenen Individuums gefunden wurden. Objekte wie diese können in Zusammenhang mit routinemäßig

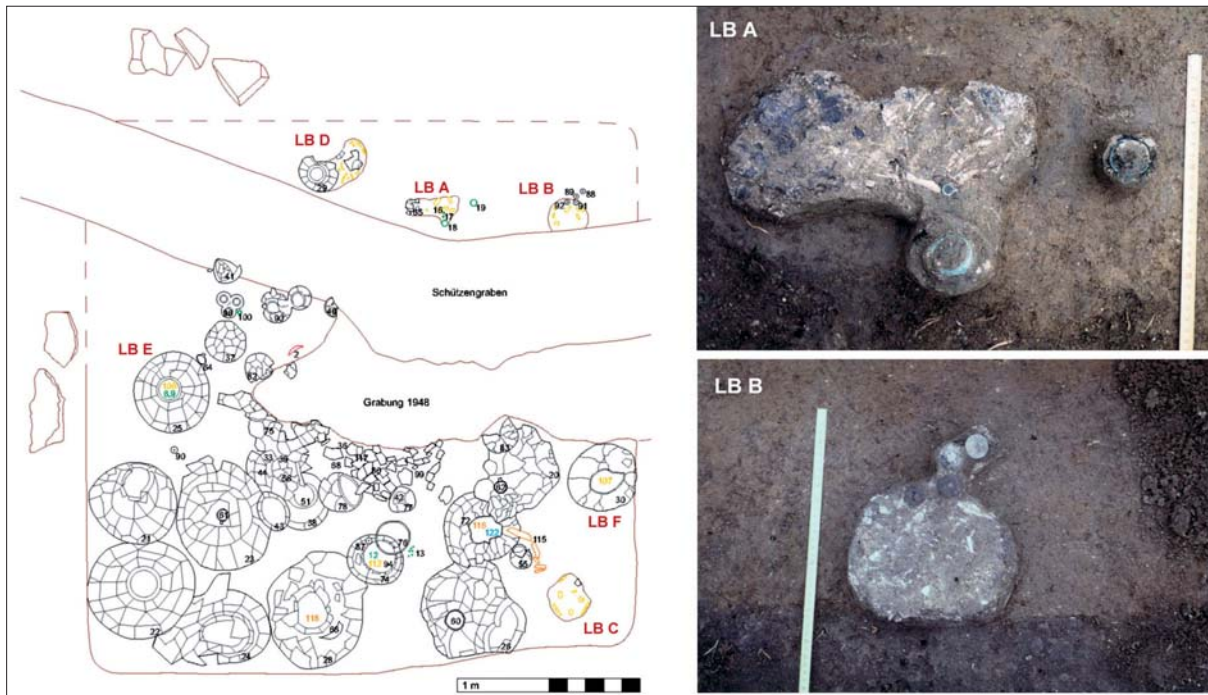


Abb. 1. Grabhügel 1 von Zagersdorf, Burgenland, als Bestattungsgemeinschaft: Die Leichenbrände (LB) A-F wurden räumlich getrennt niedergelegt und mit Objekten assoziiert (LB A = 78 g, adult?, weiblich?; LB B = 152 g, adult-matur; LB C = 186 g, juvenil; LB D = 152 g, 14-40, weiblich?; LB E = 680 g, 25-40, weiblich?; LB F = 262 g, adult, weiblich?) (nach Rebay 2002 Taf. 26; 33).

ausgeführten Tätigkeiten gebracht werden, die oft an ein bestimmtes Geschlecht gebunden sind. Spinnen und Weben wird in der Eisenzeit Mitteleuropas seit jeher als typisch weibliche Tätigkeit verstanden (Eibner 1986). Im Grabhügel von Zagersdorf gibt es keine konkreten Hinweise auf männliche Präsenz, weder durch Leichenbrände noch durch Grabbeigaben. Grabhügel wie diese sind wohl am besten als kleine Friedhöfe aufzufassen. Trotzdem ist es immer noch der Fall, dass, sobald die Überreste eines Mannes im Grab vermutet werden, weitere Bestattungen als subordinativ gesehen werden, als Dienerinnen, Ehefrauen und Witwen, die sich auf dem Scheiterhaufen verbrennen lassen mussten. Das ist zwar nicht unmöglich, aber doch wohl eher nur bei besonders hervorragenden Bestattungen der Fall – leider ist das das Bild, das häufig öffentlich kommuniziert wird.

Zur geschlechterspezifischen Ausstattung der Gräber lässt sich neben den bereits erwähnten Spindeln nur wenig Konkretes finden. Im Kerngebiet der Kalenderbergkultur gibt es einige keramische Sonderformen, die mit Frauengräbern in Verbindung gebracht werden und denen ein spezieller Kultstatus zugebilligt wird (Nebelsick 1996; Teržan 1986). Dazu zählen Formen wie das Mondidol oder der Tonfeuerbock, eine Form, die auch auf Höhensiedlungen häufig anzutreffen ist, innenverzierte Fußschalen, Zwillings- und Drillingsgefäße und Herdmodelle. Zur männlichen Sphäre werden häufig

Stierkopffgefäße gerechnet, auch wenn kleine tiergestaltige Gefäße eher in Kindergräbern vorkommen (Nebelsick 1997, 118). Um die Ausstattung von Männer- und Frauengräbern qualitativ und quantitativ zu vergleichen, finden wir in Gräberfeldern mit hoher Individuenanzahl beste Voraussetzungen. In der ca. 375 Gräber umfassenden Nekropole von Statzendorf (Rebay 2006) scheinen Männer zunächst im Durchschnitt besser ausgestattet zu sein als Frauen, auch wenn das reichste Grab ein Frauengrab ist; dies ist aber hauptsächlich auf die Tatsache zurückzuführen, dass auch ärmere Frauengräber durch geschlechtsspezifische Beigaben wie Schmuck und Spinnwirtel leichter zu identifizieren sind. Nimmt man ausschließlich die anthropologisch bestimmten Gräber als Grundlage, von denen es leider nur etwa 40 gibt, besteht die Gruppe mit hohem Status ausschließlich aus Frauengräbern, während sich Männer häufig in der Gruppe ganz ohne Beigaben finden. Zusammenfassend kann man wohl von einem recht ausgewogenen Zugang zu materiellen Gütern, zumindest fürs Grab, ausgehen.

Außer Gräbern stehen uns im Kalenderbergraum als weitere Quelle zu Geschlechterrollen einige Menschenbilder zur Verfügung, die zumeist auf Keramik geritzt, gestempelt oder gemalt sind, aber auch als Figurinen vorliegen. Auch ihre Interpretation beruht häufig auf dem binären Geschlechtermodell, obwohl verschiedene Indizien auf die Darstellung mehrerer

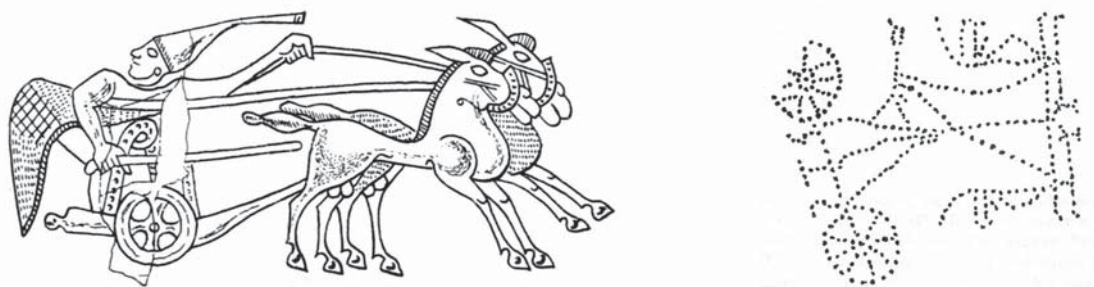


Abb. 2. Wagenfahrer auf der Situla von Kuffern, Niederösterreich, und dem Kegelhalsgefäß aus Rabensburg, Niederösterreich (nach Lucke/Frey 1962 Taf. 75; Felgenhauer 1962, 94).

unterschiedlicher sozialer Gruppen hindeuten. Menschendarstellungen lassen auf diverse ideologische Vorstellungen schließen, auf Tabus und ästhetische Ideale, auf formelle Identitätshinweise und ontologische Kategorien, etwa wo die Grenzen zwischen Menschen und Tieren oder verschiedenen Geschlechtern konzeptuell verstanden werden. Menschliche Darstellungen geben indirekte Hinweise auf Identität; die Mechanismen, die dem zugrunde liegen, laufen allerdings anders als bei Gräbern. In gewisser Weise liegt Identität im Auge des Betrachters, wird ständig von anderen zugeschrieben, um die Welt klassifizierbar und begreifbar zu machen. Hinweise auf Identität werden normalerweise von den Individuen selbst gegeben, etwa durch Kopfbedeckungen, Kleidung und Schmuck, durch Gesten und Körperhaltungen und durch Objekte, die getragen werden. Bei menschlichen Darstellungen ist das grundlegend anders, auch wenn wir vereinzelt Selbstportraits oder Kommissionsarbeiten nach detaillierter Anweisung nicht ausschließen können. Die Handwerker oder Künstler, die die Bilder produzieren, benutzen bekannte und klare Hinweise, um die Identität der Personen darzustellen. Dazu werden oft nur wenige Hinweise isoliert. Durch diese können wir auf Bausteine persönlicher Identität schließen, etwa Geschlecht, Alter, Verwandtschaft, Status, Wohlstand, Klasse, Ethnizität oder Religion. Während in Gräbern oft so viele verschiedene Hinweise zusammenkommen, dass sie schwer zu entwirren sind, wird bei menschlichen Darstellungen auf mehr Klarheit geachtet.

Vergleicht man etwa das Bild eines Wagenfahrers von der Situla von Kuffern (Lucke/Frey 1962 Taf. 75) mit dem von Rabensburg (Felgenhauer 1962, 94), so sieht man, dass schon aufgrund der gewählten Darstellungstechnik einige wenige Identitätshinweise ausgewählt werden mussten (Abb. 2). Die Situlendarstellung in Bronze erlaubte eine weit höhere Auflösung als das Bild aus Rabensburg, das aus wenigen in

Keramik eingedruckten Punkten besteht. Durch die verdrehte Perspektive konnten hier sowohl die zwei Pferde als auch der zweirädrige Rennwagen eindeutig wiedergegeben werden. Der Fahrer, der ebenso wie auf der Situla von Kuffern Zügel und Treibstachel in den Händen hält, wird durch zwei Details persönlich charakterisiert: Das ist zum einen die Kopfbedeckung, die typisch für Rennfahrer ist und ausschließlich im Zusammenhang mit dieser Beschäftigung dargestellt wird; und zum anderen durch zwei Punkte an genau der richtigen Stelle, um die Männlichkeit des Fahrers anzudeuten (Rebay-Salisbury 2012, 182).

Inwieweit es sich bei den hallstattzeitlichen Darstellungen um Kopien und Imitationen bekannter Bilder aus dem Mittelmeerraum handelt und in welchem Maße lokale Elemente zum Ausdruck kommen, ist schwer zu beurteilen; Bilder bestehen aus vielschichtigen Komponenten, wie Erzählinhalt, formaler Rahmen und Details, die jeweils zu unterschiedlichen Graden ausgetauscht und an lokale Verhältnisse angepasst werden. Fest steht, dass Bilder nicht nur darstellen, sondern auch gesehen werden und so soziale Normen und Vorstellungen prägen und mitgestalten. In Bildern der Hallstattzeit werden *sex* und *gender*, das biologische und das sozial konstruierte Geschlecht dargestellt, und zwar durch Bilder von nackten und bekleideten Menschen. Manche Tätigkeiten sind häufiger mit Nacktheit verbunden, wie z. B. sportliche Wettkämpfe oder Jagden. Hier wird zumeist die Männlichkeit der Teilnehmer unterstrichen. Nacktheit kann auch situationsbedingt sein, was uns die Darstellung auf der Situla von Providence (Lucke/Frey 1962) deutlich vor Augen führt: Hier ist das Gewand der Faustkämpfer sorgfältig zusammengelegt samt Hut zu sehen. Bilder wie diese lassen uns den Zusammenhang zwischen *sex* und *gender* am besten erkennen, und wir können untersuchen, wie Geschlecht durch Kleidung, Schmuck und verschiedene andere Assoziationen konstruiert wird. Geht man von normalen

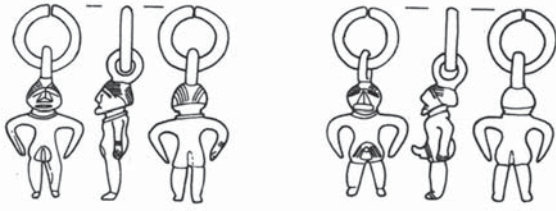


Abb. 3. Bronzanhänger mit weiblichen und männlichen Geschlechtsteilen aus Unterlunkhofen, Schweiz (je ca. 48 mm hoch) – Indikatoren eines binären Geschlechtermodells? (Schmid-Sikimić 1996 Taf. 101, 4–5).

demographischen Verhältnissen aus, so sollte die geographische Verbreitung von Männer- und Frauendarstellungen ausgewogen sein, doch gibt es im Hallstattbereich deutlich mehr Fundorte mit Männer- als mit Frauendarstellungen. Im Durchschnitt kommen vier Männer auf eine Frauendarstellung², und zwar sowohl bei nackten wie auch bei bekleideten Personen. Die bekleideten Figuren sind besonders im Situlenkreis verbreitet; im Kalenderbergraum wird männliche Identität eher durch Nacktheit, weibliche durch Kleidung ausgedrückt. Solche regionalen Variationen gilt es zu berücksichtigen, wenn man die Konstruktion von Geschlechteridentitäten analysieren will.

Geschlechterrollen werden häufig nur als Gegensatzpaar Mann und Frau verstanden, und tatsächlich wird dieses binäre Geschlechterverständnis auch in der Hallstattzeit häufig dargestellt, etwa durch kleine Bronzanhänger wie aus Unterlunkhofen, Schweiz (Abb. 3) (Schmid-Sikimić 1996 Taf. 101), oder Stuttgart-Uhlbach, Deutschland (Huth 2003 Taf. 21). Es gibt jedoch auch andere Quellen: Keramikfiguren des Kalenderberggebietes treten nicht nur männlich und weiblich auf, sondern auch geschlechtslos. Mindestens 14 menschliche Figuren und einige Tierfiguren, die mit Harz auf einem Träger befestigt waren, wurden etwa in Tumulus 1 von Gemeinlebern (Kromer 1958) entdeckt, bei dem es sich wahrscheinlich um das Grab eines Mannes handelt. Einige der Figuren sind eindeutig weiblich und durch eine plastische und eine aufgemalte Brust als solche kategorisiert, während andere geschlechtslos dargestellt sind.

² Eine detaillierte Analyse und Kartierung hallstattzeitlicher Menschendarstellungen läuft derzeit durch die Autorin im Rahmen des Rahmenprojekts „Tracing Networks: Craft Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond“ (<http://www.tracingnetworks.ac.uk>) an der Universität Leicester, mit fünfjähriger Finanzierung durch den Leverhulme Trust.

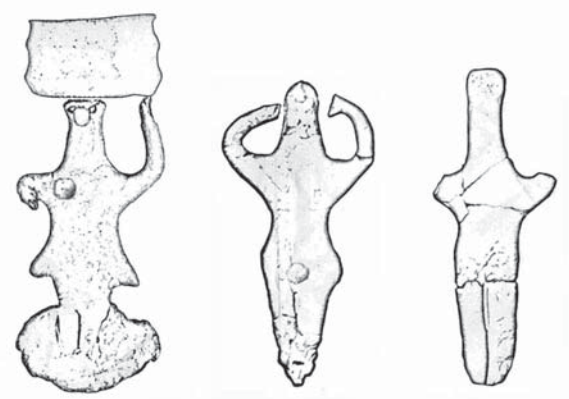


Abb. 4. Weibliche (Gemeinlebern, 95 mm), männliche und geschlechtslose (Langenlebern, 89 und 104 mm) Keramikfiguren aus niederösterreichischen Grabhügeln (© Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, nach Preinfalk 2003, 91, Taf. 34, 10; Taf. 31, 3).

Im nicht allzu weit entfernten Grabhügel 3 von Langenlebern (Preinfalk 2003) wiederholt sich das Bild – wieder wurde ein Set aus mindestens sieben Menschenfiguren in der Kammerdecke gefunden. Hier war zu wenig Leichenbrand vorhanden, um Alter oder Geschlecht des Toten feststellen zu können. Wieder gibt es solche, die eindeutig mit Geschlechtsteilen dargestellt wurden, diesmal mit männlichen, und andere, die eindeutig geschlechtslos sind (Abb. 4). Die beste Parallele zu diesen Figuren ist natürlich der Kultwagen von Strettweg³ (Egg 1996), wo wir unter den kleineren Figuren zwei spiegelgleiche Szenen dargestellt finden: Zwei geschlechtslose Personen führen einen Hirsch zum Opfer, während eine Frau und ein Mann mit Axt hinterherschreiten.

Wie kann man nun das Auftreten solcher geschlechtsloser Figuren neben den eindeutig als männlich und weiblich kategorisierten verstehen? Natürlich kann man argumentieren, dass das Geschlecht der Figuren nicht dargestellt wurde, weil es nicht wichtig war. Das halte ich aber für wenig wahrscheinlich, da Geschlecht ja auch im Grabbrauch ein wichtiges Identitätskriterium war. Interessanter ist es schon, an dritte Geschlechter wie Eunuchen zu denken, die durch die Geschichte vom Assyrischen Reich über Byzanz, das frühe Christentum, das Osmanische Reich bis China vorkamen (Tougher 2002). Eunuchen sind zudem mit einer

³ Neueste Grabungen im Kultwagengrab von Strettweg brachten weitere Teile des seit 1851 bekannten Wagens selbst, sowie verschmolzene Reste eines zweiten, am Scheiterhaufen mitverbrannten Wagens zutage (Tiefengraber/Tiefengraber 2013). Man darf gespannt auf die Ergebnisse der Restaurierung sein!

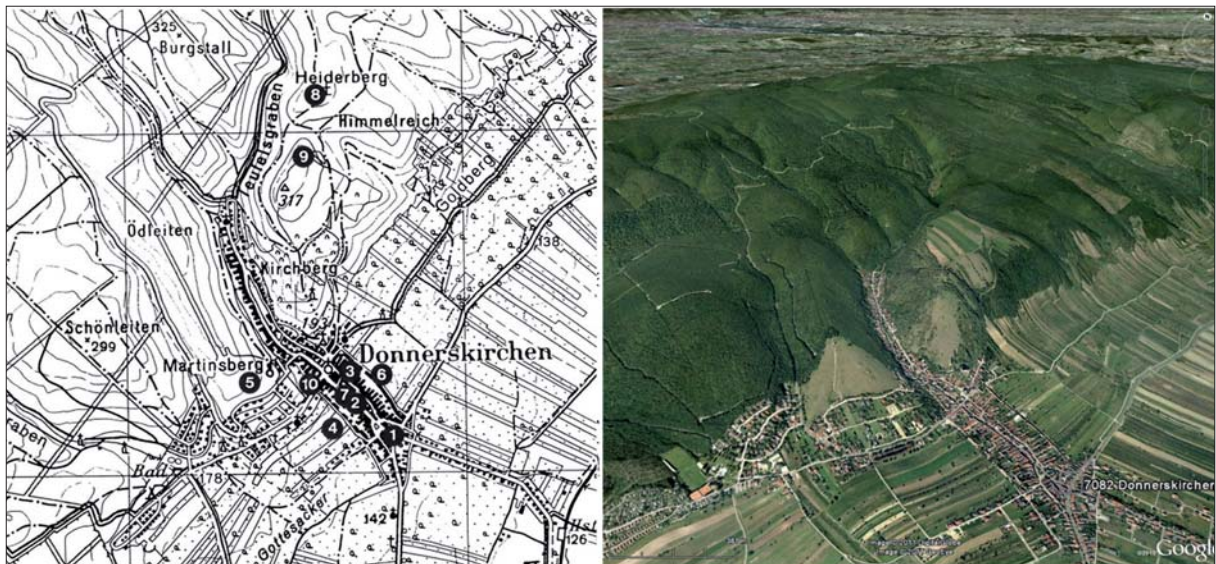


Abb. 5. Topographische Lage der Höhensiedlung und Grabhügel in Donnerskirchen: Gräberfeld im Tal, große Grabhügel auf dem Mahdberg (5) und Haderberg (8) sowie die Höhensiedlung auf dem Ehrenfeld (9) (nach Rebay 2005, 168 Abb. 1 und © Google Earth, Image © 2011 DigitalGlobe and GeoEye).

bestimmten Sozialstruktur, einer absolutistischen Hofkultur, assoziiert und übernahmen oft heikle Rollen, wie etwa die des Schatzmeisters. Nachdem sie keine eigenen Nachkommen haben konnten, wurde angenommen, dass sie weniger in die eigene Tasche wirtschafteten und mehr Loyalität gegenüber dem Herrscher bewiesen. Auch wenn eine solche Praktik für die Hallstattzeit schwer vorstellbar scheint, die Darstellung von Eunuchen könnte auf eine bestimmte Gesellschaftsorganisation hinweisen oder Kontakte mit exotischen Gebieten anzeigen. Denkbar ist auch, dass Reproduktion für bestimmte Teile der Bevölkerung nicht vorgesehen und sozial sanktioniert war. Man denke nur an neuzeitliche Knechte und Mägde im Alpenbereich (Weber 1985), die nicht heiraten durften und in Schimpf und Schande vom Hof verwiesen werden konnten, sollten sie doch uneheliche Kinder in die Welt setzen. In die Sexualität von Sklaven und Unfreien wurde häufig reglementierend eingegriffen, zum Teil auch im umgekehrten Sinn, um mehr Sklaven zu produzieren.

Zuletzt möchte ich noch kurz auf Phänomenologie und *embodiment* eingehen, darauf, wie der Mensch durch seinen oder ihren Körper die Umwelt erfährt und sich durch die Landschaft bewegt. Wie die Welt durch die Sinne wahrgenommen wird, basiert auf der Grundlage des jeweiligen Körpers, von dem die Sinneswahrnehmung ausgeht – unterschiedliche Körper machen unterschiedliche Erfahrungen, Männer, Frauen, Kinder, Erwachsene, alte Menschen oder Menschen mit Behinderungen nehmen die Welt jeweils anders wahr. Diese sinnlichen Erfahrungen können zu einem gewissen Grad auch untersucht werden. Besonders interessant

ist etwa die Bewegung des Körpers durch Landschaft und Raum, der in der Hallstattzeit zunehmend zum gebauten, mit Monumenten gestalteten Raum wird. Auf den Bildern der Situlenkunst sieht man, wie unterschiedlich Menschen sich durch den Raum bewegen. Es kommen Bewegungsarten wie Anschleichen, Schleppen und das Tragen schwerer Lasten, Reiten, Fahren und Marschieren vor, um nur einige zu nennen. Bilder sich bewegender Menschen aus dem Kalenderbergraum sind ähnlich. Man bewegt sich anders durch die Landschaft, wenn man reitet, jagt, mit Rennwagen oder vierrädrigen Wagen fährt, dabei musiziert oder – wie häufig im Fall von weiblichen Darstellungen – Gefäße auf dem Kopf balanciert.

Durch welche Art Landschaft bewegt sich der Mensch der Hallstattzeit nun? Ein besonders schönes Beispiel ist die Höhensiedlung von Purbach im Burgenland, die kürzlich durch Lidar-Daten genau erfasst werden konnte (Doneus u. a. 2008). Das dreieckige Siedlungsgebiet von ca. 1300 m x 600 m befindet sich auf einem langen Grat, der steil in Richtung Südosten abbricht. Eine massive Befestigung umschließt den Burgberg. Nähert man sich nun der Siedlung an, muss man mehrere Wall-Graben-Linien überwinden und sich einen Weg durch die Grabhügellandschaft bahnen, die sicherlich im Laufe der Hallstattzeit gewachsen ist. Es wird schwer gewesen sein, die Präsenz der Toten zu ignorieren, nachdem man physisch mit ihren Grabdenkmälern in Kontakt kommen musste. Es scheint auch mehrere mögliche Wege durch das Gräberfeld gegeben zu haben, auch wenn nicht vollständig geklärt ist, welche davon in die Hallstattzeit datieren. Dann geht es noch an einem grabfreien

Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten tatsächlich stattgefunden haben; hier sehen wir Männer und Frauen in Bewegung (Abb.7). Ähnliches können wir auch für den Kalenderbergraum annehmen, aus dem zwei- und dreidimensionale Menschen Darstellungen vor allem aus bzw. auf Keramik bekannt sind. Wenn man einen phänomenologischen Ansatz wirklich ernst nimmt, kann man etwa untersuchen, wie Männer und Frauen Räume unterschiedlich nutzen. Wie bewegt man sich auf eine Höhensiedlung zu, wenn man Gefäße auf dem Kopf trägt? Woher kommen Speisen und Getränke oder auch die Holzstöße, für deren Transport offensichtlich Frauen verantwortlich waren? Welche Wege kann man realistisch zu Fuß, mit Gefäßen auf dem Kopf, zu Pferd oder im Wagen benutzen? Welche Wege scheiden für Gebrechliche, Schwangere oder Frauen mit kleinen Kindern aus? Das sind alles Fragen, für die Geschlecht als gelebte Erfahrung grundlegend ist.

Eine „Archäologie des Körpers“, wie in diesem Artikel ansatzweise umrissen, wird in der Zukunft vielschichtige Einsichten in die Geschlechterrollen der Eisenzeit bringen. Durch unterschiedliche Ansätze, von denen der Körper im Grab, der Körper in künstlerischer Darstellung und der Körper im Raum nur einige Beispiele darstellen, fassen wir die individuelle Gestaltung des Selbst, soziale Kategorisierungen und unterschiedliche Lebenswelten. Mit dem menschlichen Körper im Mittelpunkt gibt es noch viel zu entdecken.

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag wird der menschliche Körper zum Ausgangspunkt genommen, um Geschlecht und Geschlechterrollen in der Hallstattzeit des Nordostalpenraums (Niederösterreich, Burgenland, Teile Mährens, der Slowakei und Ungarns) neu zu betrachten. Die archäologische Analyse von Geschlechteridentitäten gestaltet sich in diesem Raum von jeher schwierig, da Brandbestattungen vorherrschen und wichtige Grabkomplexe oft nur von schlecht dokumentierten Altgrabungen bekannt sind. Menschendarstellungen können häufig nicht eindeutig einem bestimmten Geschlecht zugewiesen werden. Inspiriert von Ansätzen der „Archäologie des Körpers“, die in diesem Kapitel kurz vorgestellt werden, wird der Körper im Grab, der Körper in künstlerischer Darstellung und der Körper im Raum diskutiert. Geschlechterideologien werden auf Grundlage des menschlichen Körpers entwickelt, der Mittelpunkt der Umwelterfahrung ist; durch die menschlichen Sinne wird die Umwelt begreifbar und durch den Körper wird Bewegung durch Landschaften ermöglicht.

Abstract

This paper focuses on the human body to reassess gender and gender roles in the Hallstatt period of the Northeast alpine region (Lower Austria, Burgenland, parts of Moravia, Slovakia and Hungary). The archaeological analysis of gender identities in this area has always been difficult, since cremation was the prevailing burial rite and important finds were often only known from poorly documented antiquarian excavations. Furthermore, human images of the early Iron Age in this region are often ambiguous and cannot clearly be assigned to a particular sex or gender. Inspired by concepts of the archaeology of the body, which are briefly presented here, the body in the grave, the body in artistic representation and the body in the landscape are discussed. Gender ideologies are considered with focus on the human body as the centre of human experience; the environment is experienced through the senses and the body enables movement through landscapes.

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4.2 Phänomenologie und Landschaft: der menschliche Körper in Bewegung

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Phänomenologie und Landschaft: der menschliche Körper in Bewegung

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Zusammenfassung

In der englischsprachigen, besonders aber in der britischen Archäologie lieferten phänomenologische Ansätze seit den 1990er Jahren wichtige Impulse zur Theorieentwicklung (z.B. Gosden 1994; Thomas 1993; Thomas 1996; Tilley 1994). In den zwanzig Jahren, die seitdem vergangen sind, bildeten sich aus der philosophischen Grundhaltung verschiedene Zweige, so dass man nun schon fast eine Geschichte der phänomenologischen Archäologie schreiben kann. Tatsächlich gibt es bereits einige Rückblicke (z.B. Brück 2005; Johnson 2012). Phänomenologie ist ein reizvoller und faszinierender Ansatz, der Anreize zum Denken bringt, doch fand sie trotz ihres deutschen Ursprungs in der deutschsprachigen Archäologie bislang wenig Anklang.¹ In diesem Beitrag möchte ich daher zunächst eine kurze Zusammenfassung phänomenologischen Denkens bringen, von den Grundlagen zu einigen erfolgreichen Beispielen zur Kritik, dann möchte ich einige Richtungen aufzeigen, in die sich phänomenologische Landschaftsarchäologie entwickelt, und schließlich diskutieren, wie dieser Ansatz Denkanstöße liefert, um die Eisenzeit besser zu verstehen.

Abstract

Since the 1990s, phenomenology has brought important impulses to the development of archaeological theory in the Anglo-American and particularly British scholarly world (e.g. Gosden 1994; Thomas 1993; Thomas 1996; Tilley 1994). Twenty years on, various branches of phenomenological archaeology have developed, so that it is almost possible to write a history of phenomenological thought in archaeology. Indeed, there already have been a few reviews aiming to present the various threads (e.g. Brück 2005; Johnson 2012). Phenomenology is a fascinating approach that makes one think and interpret the archaeological record differently. Despite its German origin, phenomenology has had little impact on German-language archaeology. In this article, aimed at a German audience, I aim to summarize phenomenological thought, from the basics to some successful examples and its criticism, and point out some new directions that are in the process of being developed. Finally, I will discuss how this approach provides interpretative tools in order to better understand the Iron Age.

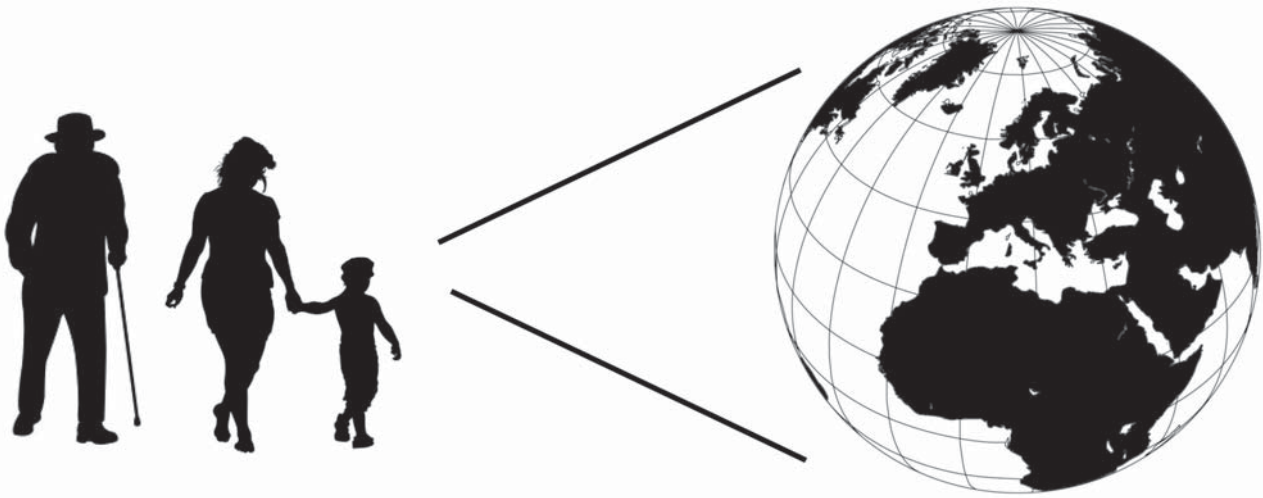


Abb. 1: Unterschiedliche Perspektiven auf die Welt (Globus: © Bruce Jones Design Inc. 2009).

Phänomenologie ist das Studium und die Beschreibung von Phänomenen, wobei Phänomene alle Einheiten, Dinge und Ereignisse sind, die sich der Welt präsentieren. Phänomenologie ist ein humanistischer Ansatz, der Menschen und wie sie Dinge wahrnehmen zum Zentrum der Forschung macht, aber Phänomenologie ist weder eine Theorie noch eine Methode (Tilley 2005: 202). Als philosophische Grundlagen der Phänomenologie werden oftmals Husserl (1913), Heidegger (2005 [1927], 2006 [1927]) und Merleau-Ponty (1962) genannt, deren Lesart und Interpretation zu unterschiedlichen Graden in die Werke der Phänomenologen eingeflossen sind. Husserls Kritik des wissenschaftlichen Empirismus wendet sich gegen die Art und Weise, wie die Welt wissenschaftlich beschrieben wird und argumentiert, dass Menschen sie nicht so wahrnehmen. Alles was messbar ist, wie etwa Größe, Gewicht, Distanz, etc. wird in der wissenschaftlichen Sichtweise besonders hervorgehoben, während schwer messbare, qualitative Eigenschaften wie Gefühle und Emotionen verloren gehen. Die wissenschaftliche Sichtweise wird als inhuman und verarmt dargestellt. Ein Beispiel wäre die Kartographie: bis vor kurzem war es Menschen unmöglich, die Welt aus der Vogelperspektive wahrzunehmen. Karten wurden aufgrund von Messungen und Berechnungen erstellt, doch das Bild, das dabei entstand, war abstrakt und hatte nichts

mit der menschlichen Wahrnehmung zu tun. Heute gibt es wieder Bestrebungen, durch moderne Technik wie virtueller Realität von der Abstraktion zurück zur Wahrnehmung zu kommen. Das Projekt Google Street View² verspricht, Orte auf der ganzen Welt durch 360-Grad Bilder erfahrbar zu machen – Wahrzeichen, Naturwunder, Gallerien und Sammlungen der ganzen Welt sollen so allen Menschen virtuell zugänglich gemacht werden.

Auf Heidegger gehen Begriffe wie Dasein und In-der-Welt-sein zurück, die man tatsächlich als deutsche Lehnworte in der englischen Literatur finden kann. In jedem Fall geht es um die Beziehung zwischen selbst und der Welt, um die Konzeptualisierung und Beschreibung von Beziehungen zwischen Subjekt und Objekt. Wir erfahren die Welt ausschließlich durch unseren Körper, der in der Welt ist und nicht getrennt von ihr sein kann (Abb. 1). Diese Wahrnehmung ist bereits Interpretation, daher kann es keine „objektive“ Sicht der Welt geben. Orte werden dreidimensional, sinnlich und subjektiv wahrgenommen, weshalb Sinneserfahrungen und subjektive Wahrnehmung Gegenstand der Forschung sein müssen. Unsere körperliche Platzierung und Orientierung ist bereits situations- und kontextgebunden. Die Bewegung des Körpers im Raum ist daher besonders signifikant (Brück 2005: 47), da sie Menschen immer wieder andere Einsichten in die

Welt ermöglicht. Erfahrungen reihen sich wie Erzählstränge aneinander, aus ihnen geht Bedeutung hervor (Tilley 1994: 27–33).

Die Erforschung der Landschaft und deren Monumente ist der wohl bekannteste Zweig phänomenologischer Archäologie, doch es gibt auch andere, die sich vorrangig mit Artefakten oder dem menschlichen Körper befassen. Eines der ersten und sehr bekannten Bücher ist Tilleys „A Phenomenology of Landscape“ (1994), in dem er in einem photographischen Aufsatz seine Eindrücke von der Landschaft um neolithische Steingräber festhält. Es geht ihm darum, Beziehungen zwischen den Monumenten und der unmittelbaren Landschaft (z.B. Felsen, Flusstäler, Bergsporne etc.) zu untersuchen. Landschaft existiert, weil Menschen ihrer Umwelt Bedeutung geben. Ohne diese Bedeutungen ist Landschaft nur Umwelt (Forbes 2007: 395). Barrett and Ko (2009: 280, meine Übersetzung) fassen Tilleys Position folgendermaßen zusammen:

1. Ohne menschliche Präsenz können archäologische Daten nicht verstanden werden. Bedeutung entsteht aus der menschlichen Auseinandersetzung mit der materiellen Welt.
2. Der Körper ist das Medium, durch das diese Auseinandersetzung erfolgt.
3. Indem der eigene Körper als Medium zum Einsatz kommt, können Archäologen das In-der-Welt-sein in der Vergangenheit nachvollziehen, und dabei die Bedeutung der archäologischen Hinterlassenschaften der Vergangenheit erfassen.

Tilley geht also davon aus, dass wir mit prähistorischen Menschen im Großen und Ganzen die biologische Grundlage der Wahrnehmung, nämlich unseren Körper, gemeinsam haben. Daher könne man von unseren Sinneserfahrungen und unserem Empfinden auf das der prähistorischen Menschen schließen. Zu den Sinnen zählen neben den aristotelischen fünf (Sehen, Hören, Riechen, Schmecken und Tasten) auch Temperaturempfinden, Schmerzempfindung, der vestibuläre Sinn, der zur Balance und räumlichen Orientierung beiträgt, Propriozeption, die Wahrnehmung des eigenen Körpers und der Körperteile relativ zueinander, sowie die Zeitwahrnehmung. Das Empfinden von Emotionen wie etwa Angst, Wut oder Freude wurde als zentrales Handlungsmotiv prähistorischer

Menschen erkannt (e.g. Harris, Sørensen 2010; Tarlow 2000; Tarlow 2012), doch gestaltet sich die Erforschung von Emotionen in der Vergangenheit, ohne in Spekulationen zu verfallen, als schwierig. Emotionen sind jedoch so eng mit materieller Kultur, Orten in der Landschaft sowie menschlichen Handlungen, Praktiken und Ritualen verbunden, dass sie als Forschungsthema nicht völlig von der Hand zu weisen sind. Die emotionale Subjektivität der Forscher selbst ist nicht zuletzt ebenfalls ein Thema, mit dem sich eine Archäologie der Emotionen auseinandersetzen sollte.

Verschiedene Aspekte der Phänomenologie á la Tilley waren heftiger Kritik ausgesetzt. Zum einen wurden seine Beobachtungen von Kritikern wie Andrew Fleming überprüft (1999; 2006) und zum Großteil als nicht nachvollziehbar eingestuft, was ihren Wert erheblich in Frage stellt. Außerdem wurde kritisiert, dass es bei den ersten Versuchen einer phänomenologischen Herangehensweise fast ausschließlich um den visuellen Aspekt der Landschaft ging. Mittlerweile gibt es jedoch auch zahlreiche andere Versuche: Watson und Keating (1999) haben etwa an Stonehenge kartiert, wie Geräusche durch das Denkmal geleitet werden, in welchen Bereichen sie blockiert und in welchen besonders gebündelt werden. In der paläolithischen Archäologie wird ausprobiert, wie akustische Effekte in Höhlen erzeugt werden, indem man etwa Tropfsteinsäulen als Instrumente betrachtet (Scarre, Lawson 2006). Der Tastsinn wird durch die Oberflächenbearbeitung von Monumenten und der Textur materieller Kultur im Allgemeinen angesprochen. MacGregor (1999) untersuchte zum Beispiel Steinbälle aus dem schottischen Neolithikum, von denen über 400 Exemplare bekannt sind, und die nur mit großen Schwierigkeiten zu deuten sind. MacGregor argumentiert, dass wenn man Artefakte rein unter funktionalen oder sozio-politischen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet, ihre wahre Bedeutung nicht erkennen kann – man muss sie sensorisch erfahren um sie zu rekontextualisieren. So hofft er, Rückschlüsse auf prähistorische Weltanschauungen zu erlangen.

Zur Interaktion zwischen menschlichem Körper und materieller Kultur sowie Landschaft hat auch die Hirnforschung Einiges beizutragen. Unter neuronaler Plastizität versteht man, wie sich Hirnfunktion, -anatomie und -vernetzung durch sensorische Reize ver-

ändert. Durch Wahrnehmung, Erfahrung, Lernen und Ausüben von Handlungen, kurz gesagt durch die Auseinandersetzung mit der materiellen Welt verändert sich das kognitive System des Menschen. Neuronale Plastizität findet ständig statt, sie ist der Normalzustand. Wir verändern uns ununterbrochen durch Interaktion mit der materiellen Welt. Es gibt daher Stimmen, die befürworten, Artefakte als Teil des menschlichen kognitiven Systems zu sehen (DeMarrais, Gosden, Renfrew 2004; Renfrew, Zubrow 1994).

So kommen wir also zu Embodiment, der These, dass Intelligenz einen Körper benötigt, und eine physikalische Interaktion mit der Welt voraussetzt. Es entstehen Wechselwirkungen zwischen Körper und Psyche, zum Beispiel beeinflussen Körperhaltungen und Gesten psychische Zustände und Emotionen. Manches Wissen sitzt so tief, dass es nicht mehr artikulierbar ist, und sozusagen fest im Körper verankert ist (Sørensen, Rebay-Salisbury 2012). Motorisches Wissen, etwa wie man spinnt, töpft, oder Rad fährt, kann nicht ausschließlich durch den Intellekt beschrieben und weitergegeben werden, der Körper muss es lernen und trägt dieses Wissen. Wiederholte Handlungen und Rituale, auch und besonders im religiösen Bereich, sind ebenfalls von diesem „verkörperten Wissen“ geprägt.

Das sind nur einige der Grundlagen einer Körpertheorie, die von soziologischen Ansätzen inspiriert (z.B. Featherstone, Hepworth, Turner 1991; Shilling 1993) zur Entwicklung einer Archäologie des Körpers geführt haben (Borić, Robb 2008; Hamilakis, Pluciennik, Tarlow 2002a; Joyce 2005; Meskell, Joyce 2003; Rebay-Salisbury, Sørensen, Hughes 2010).³ Eine Archäologie des Körpers ist notwendig, da der Körper nicht nur etwas ist, was wir alle haben, er ist die Grundlage unserer Wahrnehmung. Beziehungen – zu anderen Menschen und der Umwelt – bestehen aus dem, was unsere Körper machen. Körper sind nicht einfach nur eine biologische Grundlage, auf der Kultur aufbaut, sondern sind darin verflochten: Freuden und Abneigungen, sowie Einstellungen zu körperlichen Vorgängen wie Sex, Krankheit, Geburt und Tod sind nicht natürlich, sondern Produkt kulturellen Lernens. Körperpraktiken, Gesten und Bewegungen sind erlernt und haben häufig eine Bedeutung. Einstellungen zum Körper sind nicht universell, sondern kulturspe-

zifisch, und können daher untersucht werden. Für eine Archäologie des Körpers gilt es, die Entstehung und Erfahrung des gelebten Körpers in Hinblick all dieser Aspekte zu rekonstruieren (Joyce 2005).

Erste phänomenologische Ansätze gingen davon aus, dass der Körper, die biologische Grundlage der Erfahrung, *das* Bindeglied zwischen dem heute und der Vergangenheit ist, da wir ihn im Großen und Ganzen mit unseren Vorfahren gemeinsam haben. Indem wir mit diesem Körper die Spuren der Vergangenheit nachvollziehen, können wir sozusagen dieselben oder ähnliche Erfahrungen machen. Das Problem dabei ist, dass es keinen universellen Körper gibt (Brück 1998; Hamilakis, Pluciennik, Tarlow 2002b: 9; Meskell 1996). Frauen und Männer haben andere Körper, Alte und Junge, Gesunde und Kranke, Schwangere und Personen mit kleinen Kindern. Als frischgebackene Mutter eines kleinen Sohnes machte ich erst kürzlich die Erfahrung, dass man die Welt nun ganz anders wahrnimmt und wahrnehmen muss, sei es, um neue Wege zu entdecken, die man mit dem Kinderwagen bewältigen kann, oder sei es, um Gefahren für das Baby zu erkennen und zu entschärfen.

Die Verbindung zum Menschen der Vergangenheit durch Feldbegehung zu suchen ist ja an sich kein neuer Gedanke. Schon Forscher im 19. Jahrhundert schnürten sich die Stiefel und begingen prähistorische Monumente. Trotzdem ist die antiquarische Tradition nicht unbedingt als Vorläufer phänomenologischer Feldmethoden zu verstehen (Gillings 2011). Was unterscheidet aber nun Phänomenologie von üblicher Feldbegehung? Ein wesentlicher Punkt ist, dass das Ziel nicht das Sammeln objektiver Daten, sondern der subjektive Erkenntnisgewinn ist. Phänomenologie kann uns seine reichere Sicht der Vergangenheit ermöglichen, und uns in andere Richtungen denken lassen. Phänomenologie lehrt uns über uns selbst und unsere Beziehung zur Vergangenheit. Phänomenologie akzeptiert verschiedene, unterschiedliche und in Konflikt stehende Interpretationen von Landschaft, und ist daher politisch (Johnson 2012). Ein eisenzeitliches Monument kann zum Beispiel für einen Wissenschaftler eine andere Bedeutung haben als für einen Esoteriker, und beider Interessen gilt es in der modernen Welt zu berücksichtigen.

Die praktische Umsetzung phänomenologischer

Ansätze bzw. die Entwicklung phänomenologischer Methoden jenseits der Feldbegehung mit photographischem Aufsatz wird von den Puristen völlig abgelehnt, da sie sozusagen die Umkehrung der ursprünglichen Abkehr der Wissenschaftlichkeit darstellt. Trotzdem oder gerade deshalb gibt es einige recht interessante Arbeiten. Cummings, Jones und Watson (2002) verwenden etwa Kreisdiagramme, auf denen eingetragen wird, welche topographischen Bezugspunkte von welchem Standpunkt aus gesehen werden und analysieren so Symmetrien und Asymmetrien von Steingräbern in Wales (Abb. 2). Hamilton et al. (2006) entwerfen Fragebögen, auf denen eingetragen werden kann, welche Sinneseindrücke man von einem Bodendenkmal zum anderen erkennt, zum Beispiel ob man Pfeifen, Schreien, Tratschen oder Schafe blöken hört, ob man kochendes Essen riecht, ob man Gesten wie Winken erkennen kann. In Zusammenhang mit den Umwelteigenschaften wie Wetter und Wind wird dann sozusagen eine phänomenologische Einzugsanalyse des Umlandes kartographisch erstellt, wobei Aktivitätszonen kartiert werden. Analog zur Landschaft („landscape“) wird die „taskscape“ (Ingold 1993) entworfen, die eine Ansammlung von Aktivitäten beschreibt, ein sozial konstruierter Raum menschlicher Aktivität.

GIS und die virtuelle Realität (Conolly, Lake 2006) bieten natürlich auch die Möglichkeit, phänomenologische Ansätze zu integrieren. Allerdings tat sich in den letzten Jahren eine riesige Kluft zwischen Vertretern der „reinen Lehre der Phänomenologie“ und Archäologen, die GIS verwenden, auf – unter anderem, weil letztere häufig und völlig fälschlich als technisches Personal ohne intellektuelle Ambitionen wahrgenommen werden. Nach zahlreichen Versöhnungsversuchen forderte Gillings zuletzt (Gillings 2012), die Phänomenologen zurückzulassen und eigene theoretische Wege zu gehen. Er greift ein recht interessantes Konzept aus dem Forschungsfeld der visuellen Wahrnehmung auf, das auch für die Archäologie Potential hat: das Konzept der *affordances*. Der eingedeutschte Begriff Affordanzen ist wenig geläufig und wird daher auch als Angebots- oder Aufforderungscharakter übersetzt. Geprägt von Gibson (Gibson 1977; Gibson 1979) beschreibt dieser Begriff die Beziehung zwischen Subjekt und Objekt und ist daher so wie die Phänomenologie relational

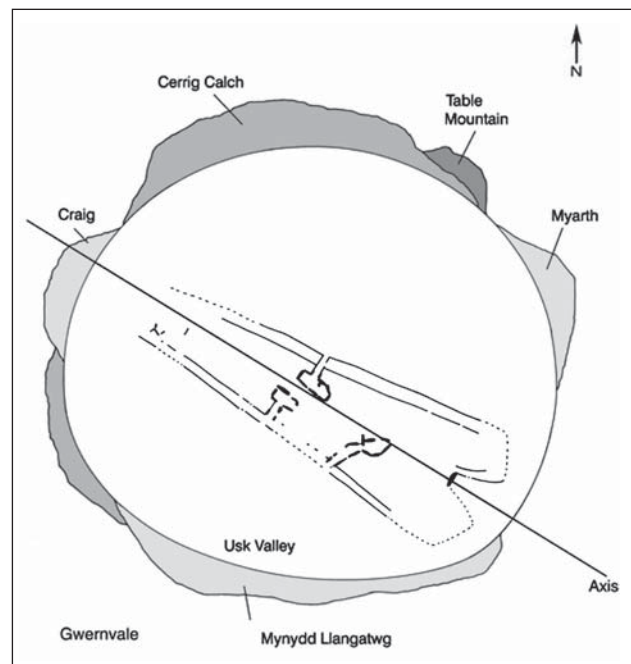


Abb. 2: Repräsentation der Sichtzonen und Symmetrien des Grabmonuments von Gwernvale, Wales (nach Cummings, Jones, Watson 2002: Abb. 2; nachgezeichnet von Ursula Mattenberger in Brück 2005: Abb. 3).

(Chemero 2003). Gibsons direkte Theorie der Wahrnehmung argumentiert dass das Umfeld, in dem die Wahrnehmenden eingebettet sind, Bedeutungen kodiert, die direkt wahrgenommen werden, und nicht über den Umweg oder die Übersetzung von Rohdaten im Gehirn. In dem direkten Modell der Wahrnehmung ist die Umwelt mit Bedeutung geladen, und durch die sinnliche Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Umwelt können Wahrnehmende die Bedeutungen extrahieren. Bedeutung entsteht also durch Interaktion. Affordanzen eines Gegenstandes oder Ortes sind nun mehr als nur Eigenschaften oder Ressourcen: sie ermöglichen einer Person, eine Aktion durchzuführen und müssen von einer Person auch als solches wahrgenommen werden. Sie können sich aus physischen, physikalischen, logischen oder kulturellen Gründen ergeben. Soziale Konventionen, Verhaltensregeln und Traditionen zählen zu den Dingen, die den Zugang und die Verwendbarkeit von Ressourcen einschränken können (Norman 1988: 85–86).

Ein klassisches Beispiel zur Verdeutlichung des Konzepts der Affordanzen ist der Sessel⁴. Er hat für erwach-



Abb. 3: Stühle laden durch ihre unterschiedliche Gestalt und Beschaffenheit zu bestimmten Verwendungen ein.

sene Menschen den Angebotscharakter, zum Sitzen oder Hinaufsteigen geeignet zu sein, zum Beispiel um eine Glühbirne zu tauschen. Er hat diesen Charakter aber nicht für Babies: Mein Sohn sieht den Sessel als etwas, an dem er sich anhalten und aufziehen kann. Ein Hund kann ihn als etwas sehen, was tabu ist: Er darf nicht darauf sitzen, Menschen aber schon. Menschen aus anderen Kulturen können einen Sessel als unnötig betrachten und eher bevorzugen, auf dem Boden zu sitzen. Bestimmte Objekte laden gleichsam dazu ein, in gewisser Weise behandelt zu werden. Vergleichen wir verschiedene Modelle – einen Bürosessel, Holzstuhl, Kaiserthron und Thonet-Schaukelstuhl (Abb. 3), so wird klar, dass sie außer der Idee des Sitzens nicht viel gemeinsam haben, und zu unterschiedlichen Verwendungen auffordern.

Doch was hat das alles mit Landschaft zu tun? Für eine phänomenologische Landschaftsanalyse bedeutet das Konzept der Affordanzen zum Beispiel, dass man nicht einfach Ressourcen auf einer Karte eintragen kann, man muss sich auch vergewissern, ob diese tatsächlich von den prähistorischen Menschen, die wir gerade untersuchen, als solche erkannt wurden bzw. zur Verfügung standen.

Eine Keramikanalyse von Fundmaterial vom Braunsberg (Gregor, Rebay-Salisbury 2012) hat zum Beispiel ergeben, dass zur Magerung des Tons auch Mineralien der gegenüberliegenden Donauseite zur Verwendung kamen – sie standen also zur Verfügung. Wäre die Donau zur Eisenzeit eine kulturelle Grenze gewesen, wäre das vielleicht nicht der Fall. Ein anderes Beispiel wäre etwa der Streit um Interpretationsmodelle: Eine eisen-

zeitliche Befestigungsanlage kann ganz unterschiedliche Affordanzen für verschiedene Leute haben – für den Hallstattfürsten die Repräsentation, für den Angreifer die Herausforderung, für die Mutter mit Kind die Gewissheit, dass es nicht sofort den Steilhang hinunterstürzen kann, für den Schafhirten eine willkommene Begrenzung der Weidefläche.

Die Erfahrung von Landschaft geschieht im Allgemeinen durch In-der-Landschaft-sein, und durch Bewegung durch die Landschaft (Grömer, Mückler, Kritscher 2012). Man kann mehrere Bewegungsradien voneinander unterscheiden. Zum einen, wie man sich durch bekannte, vertraute Umgebung bewegt – zum Beispiel durch das eigene Haus, die Siedlung oder die unmittelbare Umgebung. Diese vertraute Umgebung besteht nicht nur aus den Orten selbst, sondern aus den dort erlebten Verwandtschaftsverhältnissen, Gemeinschaften, Traditionen und Weltanschauungen (Forbes 2007). Hier kann man die choreographierende Wirkung von gebautem Raum und Architektur untersuchen (Trebsche 2010), sowie die Wirkung des unmittelbaren Umlandes.

Ein recht interessantes Projekt, das versucht, Bewegungsabläufe zu dokumentieren, fand kürzlich an der Uni Bedford statt. Stuart Dunn und Kollegen rekonstruierten ein virtuelles eisenzeitliches Rundhaus in einem Tanzstudio und steckten Freiwillige in Anzüge, an denen mehrfache Sensoren befestigt waren, um Bewegungsabläufe genau aufzeichnen zu können.⁵ Dann hat man die Teilnehmer gebeten, typische, alltägliche Bewegungsabläufe nachzuvollziehen, wie zum Beispiel Wasser holen, das Rundhaus mit dem Besen

kehren, und so weiter. Die Analyse ist noch nicht abgeschlossen, aber es zeigte sich bereits, dass zumindest bei modernen Menschen riesige Unterschiede bestehen, wie sie diese Aufgaben bewältigen. Jene sind zum Teil geschlechtsspezifisch und hängen zum Teil davon ab, wie routiniert die oder der Beteiligte ist. Offen bleibt jedoch die Frage, ob wir über solche Experimente tatsächlich etwas zur Vergangenheit lernen können, oder doch nur zur Gegenwart.

Wie die unmittelbare Landschaft erfahren wurde, kann man heute mit Hilfe moderner Technik immer besser nachvollziehen. Ein wichtiger Kritikpunkt phänomenologischer Ansätze ist schließlich, dass die Landschaft seit der Urgeschichte großen Veränderungen unterlag und man sie daher gar nicht mehr authentisch erfahren kann. Ganz dramatisch ist da etwa die Rolle der Bewaldung, die ein Monument völlig verändern kann. Wird die Landschaft aber mit LIDAR-Daten rekonstruiert, kann Bewaldung und moderne Bebauung bis zu einem gewissen Grad weggerechnet werden. Ein besonders schönes Beispiel ist die Höhengiedlung von Purbach im Burgenland, die kürzlich genau erfasst werden konnte (Doneus, Briese, Fera, Janner 2008). Durch die Aufnahme der topographischen Details lassen sich Wege erahnen, die Menschen bei der Annäherung an die Siedlung genommen haben mussten, und ihre Eindrücke nachvollziehen. Der Zugang zum Burgberg von Sopron (Eibner-Persy 1980), eine der bekanntesten Höhengiedlungen des Kalenderberggebietes, liegt ebenfalls in heute bewal-

detem Gebiet. Er ist von Grabhügeln gesäumt, aus denen auch die Darstellung von Wagenfahrten stammen (Bella 1894: Abb. 11; Gallus 1934: Taf. 7.2) (Abb. 4). Es scheint kaum vorstellbar, dass diese tatsächlich an diesem Ort gefahren sein konnten. Die Diskrepanz zwischen Darstellung und praktischen Voraussetzungen, bzw. Affordanzen der Wege, muss und kann ideologisch erklärt werden.

In der hallstattzeitlichen Kunst ist Bewegung häufig dargestellt. Auf Situlen (Eibner 2012) sieht man, wie unterschiedlich Menschen sich durch den Raum bewegen – Beispiele reichen vom Anschleichen über das Tragen schwerer Lasten, zum in Reih und Glied gehen, Reiten, Fahren und Marschieren. Die Bilder auf Keramik (Reichenberger 2000) sind ähnlich. Prozessionen zu Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten sind ein besonders dominantes Motiv, bei dem wir Männer und Frauen in gemeinschaftlicher Bewegung sehen (z.B. auf der Situla von Bologna-Certosa, vgl. Bartoloni, Morigi Govi 1995: Fig. 6). Man bewegt sich anders durch die Landschaft wenn man reitet, jagt, mit Rennwagen oder vierrädrigen Wagen fährt, dabei musiziert, oder – wie häufig im Fall von weiblichen Darstellungen – Gefäße auf dem Kopf balanciert. Wenn man einen phänomenologischen Ansatz wirklich ernst nimmt, kann man etwa untersuchen, wie Männer und Frauen Räume unterschiedlich nutzen. Wie bewegt man sich auf eine Höhengiedlung zu, wenn man Gefäße auf dem Kopf trägt? Woher kommen Speisen und Getränke, oder auch die Holzstöße, für deren Transport offensichtlich



Abb. 4: Wagenfahrt von Sopron-Várhely, Tumulus 80 (nach Bella 1894: Abb. 11).

Frauen verantwortlich waren? Welche Wege kann man realistisch zu Fuß, mit Gefäßen auf dem Kopf, zu Pferd oder im Wagen benutzen?

Bewegung durch die Landschaft ist nicht frei, sondern durch viele Faktoren eingeschränkt. Dazu zählen körperliche Fähigkeiten, soziale Konventionen, Architektur, kosmologische Vorstellungen, Weltbild, Ängste und Emotionen. Denken wir nur an die Art, wie im Märchen vom Rotkäppchen der Brüder Grimm der Wald mit Eigenschaften wie Dunkelheit, Gefahr und Einsamkeit gleichgesetzt wird und eine emotionsgeladene Landschaft geschaffen wurde. Reisen durch die weitere, unbekanntere Umgebung ist häufig mit Bedeutung unterlegt. Tilley (1994: 28) etwa meint, dass die Bewegung durch Landschaft immer auch deren zumindest symbolische Besitzergreifung bzw. das In-Beschlag-nehmen ist. Dass das jedoch keineswegs immer der Fall sein muss demonstriert Forbes (Forbes 2007) am Beispiel von Kirchen und Heiligtümern.

Reisen kann zum Statusgewinn eines Individuums beitragen. Von den skythischen Königen bis zum europäischen Mittelalter war Reisen durch die Landschaft ein wichtiges Element der Herrschaftsausübung und -demonstration. Reisen in unbekanntere, exotische Gefilde tragen auch über Geschichten und Mitbringsel dazu bei, den Status des Heimkehrers zu heben. Fremde Güter und Wissen können zum politischen Vorteil gebraucht werden. Helms hat argumentiert (1988), dass das Wissen über ferne Länder immer eine mystische, heilige Dimension hat und als Wissen gilt, das von den Göttern gegeben wird. So kann Macht auch spirituell legitimiert werden. Ein klassisches Beispiel des Zitierens des Exotischen ist neben vielen anderen hallstattzeitlichen Fürstengräbern das Grab von Hochdorf (Biel 1985), in dem durch materielle Kultur – den Kessel, die Kliene, die Trinkhörner – Netzwerke und Verbindungen in den mediterranen Raum und nach Osten demonstriert werden.

Reisen können natürlich Teil des ganz normalen Lebens sein, wenn Verwandte und Märkte besucht werden, zu Feldern gefahren wird, gejagt wird oder Beutezüge unternommen werden. Reisen wie Pilgerfahrten und Prozessionen können aber auch als liminale Zustände zu sehen sein. Hier steht weniger die Fahrt von A nach B im Vordergrund, sondern das Reisen als eigentlicher Sinn – der Weg ist das Ziel. Durch Reisen entstehen neue Beziehungen, zwischen dem Zuhause und der Fremde. Menschen in der Diaspora beschreiben das oft als weder hier noch dort, als Zustand von Entwurzelung, ohne wieder zu verwurzeln (Brah 1996: 242). Ankerpunkt im Leben der Menschen ist dann häufig wiederum die tragbare, materielle Kultur – der Koffer voller Erinnerungen und vertrauter Gegenstände (Bender 2001). Auch so könnte man vielleicht die zahlreichen „Importe“ fremder materieller Kultur in der Eisenzeit verstehen.

Zurück von diesem Streifzug durch phänomenologisches Gedankengut stellt sich abschließend die Frage: Was hat Phänomenologie je für uns getan? Phänomenologie – versteht man sie contra Tilley doch als Methode – propagiert einen Perspektivenwechsel, in dem der menschliche Körper und seine Sinneserfahrungen im Mittelpunkt stehen. Die bewusste Subjektivität, der Versuch, Dinge in anderer Menschen Schuhen zu sehen, kann uns helfen, eingefahrene Denkmuster zu überwinden. Zudem ist die Betonung der Wechselwirkungen, Beziehungen und Interaktionen zwischen Mensch, materieller Kultur und Landschaft, aus denen Sinn erst entsteht, von Bedeutung. Die Einsicht, dass die Vergangenheit für jeden prähistorischen Menschen einzigartig und anders war, lässt uns bei archäologischen Interpretationen der Frage nach dem „cui bono“ mehr Bedeutung zuweisen. Nicht nur „Wie war das?“, sondern „Wie war das für wen?“ ist eine wichtige Frage.

Anmerkungen

- 1 Diese Tatsache ist auf verschiedene Faktoren zurückzuführen, unter anderem auf ein anderes Verständnis von Archäologie als Disziplin in den „humanities“. Viele englische ArchäologInnen würden sich nicht den „sciences“ zuordnen, und daher auch nicht als Wissenschaftler verstehen (auch wenn das Wort Wissenschaftler nicht 1:1 ins Englische übersetzt werden kann). Das Aufgreifen der Phänomenologie mit ihrer Betonung der Subjektivität passt gut in den Rahmen der generellen Anliegen der post-prozessualen Archäologie. Schließlich wird die Schwierigkeit, Geldmittel für Grabungen aufzutreiben, hinter vorgehaltener Hand ebenfalls als Triebfeder phänomenologischer Feldarbeit genannt.
Ausnahmen bestätigen die Regel: Eine völlig andere, nicht in die englischsprachige Tradition eingebundene Ansicht von Phänomenologie wird etwa von A. Krenn-Leeb vertreten (Krenn-Leeb, A. (2011), Von der Phänomenologie zur

- Mentalitätsgeschichte am Beispiel ritueller Praktiken in der Frühbronzezeit. In: Dietz, U., Jockenhövel, A. [eds.], *Bronzen im Spannungsfeld zwischen praktischer Nutzung und symbolischer Bedeutung*. Beiträge zum Internationalen Kolloquium am 9. und 10. Oktober 2008 in Münster, Prähistorische Bronzefunde 20.13. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner: 163–176.)
- 2 <http://maps.google.co.uk/intl/en/help/maps/streetview/> (22. November 2012).
 - 3 Siehe (Rebay-Salisbury in press (2013)) für eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Entwicklung der Archäologie des Körper im englischsprachigen Raum.
 - 4 In Österreich ist der Begriff Sessel geläufiger, in Deutschland Stuhl: in jedem Fall bezeichnet der Begriff ein in vielen Varianten ausgeführtes Sitzmöbel für eine Person.
 - 5 <http://www.motioninplace.org/>, 6. Jänner 2013.

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Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, University of Leicester

5. The diversity of gendered lives

5.1 Male, female and sexless figures of the Hallstatt Culture: indicators of social order and reproductive control?

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MALE, FEMALE AND SEXLESS FIGURES OF THE HALLSTATT CULTURE: INDICATORS OF SOCIAL ORDER AND REPRODUCTIVE CONTROL?

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Institut für Orientalische und Europäische Archäologie

Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Katharina.Rebay-Salisbury@oeaw.ac.at

Austria

Human representations of the Hallstatt culture are striking in their diversity. Communities living in parts of eastern France, Switzerland, southern Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia and northern Italy between c. 800 and 400 BC produced images in a wide range of sizes, materials and technologies (Rebay-Salisbury 2014), decorating artefacts such as the sheet bronze situlae or ornaments, and as representations in their own right, as figurines, stelae and rock art. The variability of human representations found in different contexts makes it hard to describe their common characteristics, and entices us to apply our own cultural norms and expectations to their interpretation. This is particularly true for the assessment of gender, which is based on the biological duality of the male and female sex evolved for reproduction, but not restricted to it. Masculine and feminine identities are based on their bodies' sex, but ultimately do not depend on it (e.g. Sørensen 2000). The archaeological investigation of gender in prehistoric graves reinforces the idea of male and female as primary structuring principles of any human society. A recent analysis of over 3,000 human images (Rebay-Salisbury in press), however, has brought to light the fact that a purely binary understanding of gender is insufficient for understanding human representations of the Hallstatt culture.

The analysed body of early Iron Age imagery from central Europe includes naked and clothed people, and some which are rendered too simply to tell apart. Male human representations outnumber female ones by about three to one. The central European Iron Age was clearly male-dominated and masculinity set the standard. The sex of human representations, determined by visible sexual characteristics (penis for men; vulva and/or breasts for women), is indicated more often for men than for women. In the absence of sexual characteristics, gender can often be inferred by gender-specific dress and attire, as well as objects people handle and activities they engage with. About 15% of all human representations appear naked. Nudity is commonly associated with sex, sport, enslavement in conflict (for men only) and with ritual practices for both women and men. Images that appear naked, but cannot be ascribed clearly to one sex or the other, have often been interpreted as female, based on the absence of male reproductive parts, or not further pursued. Conversely, I argue that representations included a third category, the sexless, in the central European early Iron Age.

This category is elusive, because sexless figures can only be recognized in comparison with similar, sexed figures of the same context and style. Perhaps the best example is the bronze figurine assemblage from the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Fig. 1, Egg 1996), found in a monumental tumulus in 1851, and dated to c. 600 BC. The mound included a dromos entrance to a burial chamber for several cremated individuals buried with exceptional ritual, drinking and feasting equipment, of which further parts have recently come to light in a re-excavation (Tiefengraber and Tiefengraber 2014).

The Cult Wagon shows two scenes of the sacrifice of a stag in mirror image, arranged around the central figurine of a nude woman with broad belt and earrings, twice as large as the other figures and depicted carrying a vessel. The stag in the front row is led by the antlers by two nude figurines without

any sex indication. A woman and a man with a raised axe follow behind, ready to strike the animal from the back; the male and female sex of the figures in the second row is clearly shown. The figures are flanked by two mounted warriors. The two sexless figures in the front row evidently contrast with the sexed figures in the second row.

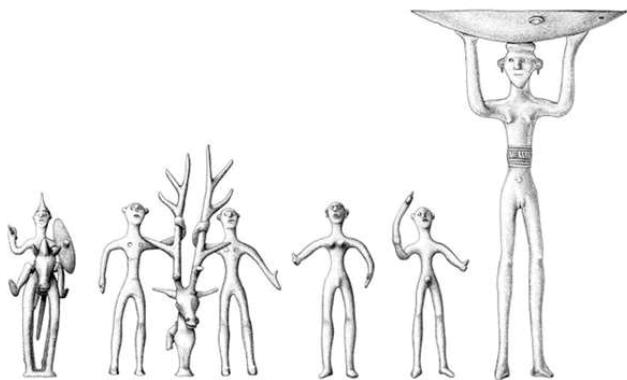


Fig. 1: Figurines from the Cult Wagon of Strettweg, Austria (Plate 8, Egg 1996a: figs 10-14, © Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz)

A similar contrast between sexed and sexless figurines was found at Gemeinlebarn (Fig. 2, Kromer 1958) and Langenlebarn (Fig. 3, Preinfalk 2003), two sites in Lower Austria close to one another. Like Strettweg, the sites date to c. 600 BC and include high-status burials in monumental mounds; the abundance of high-quality, highly decorated ceramic grave goods is regionally specific. At both sites, sets of ceramic figurines were found. The figurine set from Gemeinlebarn includes at least 14 human figurines, as well as a few animals, which were fixed to an object with resin, perhaps a wagon of organic material or a large conical vessel. For some figures, sexual characteristics are absent, whereas at least three others are unmistakably modelled as females, with one painted breast and one formed in clay (note a parallel to the bronze *klinē* bearers from Hochdorf, Germany, which similarly have a single breast, Biel 1985: pl. 29).



Fig. 2: Figurine from Gemeinlebarn, Austria © Naturhistorisches Museum Wien

The figurine set from Langenlebarn consists of at least seven human figurines, three of which represent men with clearly modelled penises. The left half of their bodies is painted red. Other figurines show neither traces of paint nor sexual characteristics; their necks are long and over-emphasized, but their body proportions are those of adults.



Fig. 3: Figurines from Langenlebarn, Austria. Photo: Norbert Weigl © Landessammlungen Niederösterreich

At both Gemeinlebarn and Langenlebarn, the level of antique and antiquarian grave disturbance prevents a concrete reconstruction of the narrative scenes embodied in the human and animal figurines. In analogy to Strettweg, a sacrificial scene is thinkable, but a hunting scene, for example, is equally likely. In any case, all three sets of figurines make a distinction between people for which sex is clearly indicated and sexless people. Similar figurines from other sites such as Schirndorf, Germany (Stroh 2000: pl. 9.1) and Ilsfeld, Germany (Echt 1999: 87) do not have contrasting, clearly sexed figures in the same context; it is therefore impossible to ascertain if a sexless representation was the intention of the artist. Sexless ceramic figurines further appear in the ritual context of Turska kosa, Croatia (Balen-Letunić 2004), where animal and human figurines were found in a layer dating between c. 600 and 300 BC along with sherds from broken vessels, spindle whorls and spools, as well as miniatures representing loafs of bread and boats. The Turska kosa assemblage also included the representation of a pregnant woman, indicated by a large, round slab pressed on to the abdominal area of the figurine before firing (Čučković 2008: 99, no. 68), and the representation of an intersex person with both male and female sexual characteristics: protruding breasts, penis and scrota (Balen-Letunić 2004: 337 Number 21). Representations such as these testify to the engagement of early Iron Age people with the concepts of sex and gender, health and reproduction as well as bodily ideals. But how might this early Iron Age thinking, apparent from the distinction between sexed and sexless human images, be interpreted? That gender was not a relevant category for the performance of certain tasks and therefore not depicted is certainly a possibility; most likely, early Iron Age societies allowed for social roles that were not aligned with either of the two sexes. The juxtaposition of sexed and sexless people in the same contexts emphasizes reproductive abilities for some people, whereas for others, they were of no importance or actively restricted.

The establishment of a genetic lineage through the male line seems to have been of uttermost importance to early Iron Age elites. This can be derived from the way sexuality is represented in situla art, which captures lives and myths of the powerful elite (e.g. Turk 2005). Sex is presented as a public act, framed in a feast and witnessed by bystanders offering drinks or watching the scene (e.g. on the situlae from Sanzeno and Montebelluna, Italy, Lucke and Frey 1962: 67, 68; Fig. 4). Witnessing the sexual act and at the same time, closely controlling the sexuality of women, was the only way to ensure paternity in the past. After imaginative courtship and sex scenes, the bottom frieze of the situla of Pieve d'Alpago (Gangemi 2013: fig. 6.9) displays a birth, the desired outcome of the sexual union.

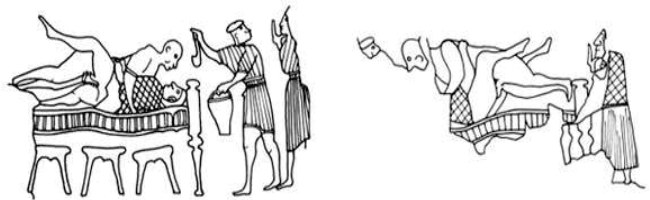


Fig. 4: Scenes from the situlae of Sanzeno and Montebelluna, Italy (after Lucke and Frey 1962: pl. 67, 68 and Capuis and Serafini 1996: fig. 6)

For high-status women, pregnancy and childbearing were clearly important and desired. However, reproduction may have been socially regulated and restricted to a defined group of people within a society, for instance those who were married and could afford their own household. Farmhands, maids and domestic servants in post-medieval central Europe, for instance, were frequently discouraged from marriage. Only half of all women between 15 and 50 years of age were married in western Europe just prior to industrialization, the others were spinsters, nuns or widowed early (Hajnal 1965). Census data from 19th-century Austria suggest a link between micro-regional socio-economic structures and

marriage rates, which ranged between 30% and 60% (Teibenbacher 2012). Although unmarried women did have (illegitimate) children, their fertility rates were a fraction of married women's; it depended largely on the generosity of their masters whether pregnancies would be accepted, since they did, after all, represent the coming generation of low-status servants. On the other hand, women were also dismissed from service, or pregnancies hidden and infants killed (Weber 1985). In global, cross-cultural comparison, this specific marriage pattern is unusual, but it may be traced into the European Iron Age by following what the clear representation of sexed and unsexed people suggests. The social system of high-status elites with servants discouraged from reproduction is not only captured by the early Iron Age image world, but reproduced and reinforced through artistic expression.

A further, more literal interpretation of people depicted unsexed is to see them as representations of castrated men, as eunuchs. Eunuchs were part of a wide range of pre-modern societies, for instance in Assyria, Persia, China and Byzantium (Tougher 2002). Their special gender and inability to have biological children destined them for specific roles in court societies, such as the position of a treasurer or the guard of a harem. They had no family responsibilities and no children who could potentially claim inheritance, which made them safe, high-ranking servants to the rulers and perhaps, at the same time, candidates for specific ritual and religious roles. Early Iron Age societies show many similarities to historically known court societies, and may well have had a place for eunuchs. But even in the absence of genital mutilation, the deliberate abstinence from sexuality and reproduction for some members of society may have been held as a virtue, in a similar way as it is, for example, for Catholic priests, monks or nuns today. In the absence of written records, human representations and graves are the only clues

to family and social organization in the early Iron Age Hallstatt culture. As graves include human bodies, which are biologically classifiable as male and female, our view on gender has long been restricted to the simple distinction of men and women. With advances in ancient DNA technologies and their wider application to entire cemetery populations, we can safely await progress in reconstructing family lines and genealogies. Meanwhile, human representations, which include renderings of male, female and sexless people, provide complementary insights into social order. It is important not to overlook these subtle clues, in particular by misreading sexless figures as females. Artistic expression provides insights into early Iron Age thinking about sexuality and reproduction by capturing people both with sexed and unsexed bodies.

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5.2 Comments on Paul Treherne's 'The Warrior's beauty: the masculine Body and self-identity in Bronze Age Europe'

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Aging Well: Treherne's 'Warrior's Beauty' Two Decades Later

CATHERINE J. FRIEMAN¹, JOANNA BRÜCK², KATHARINA REBAY-SALISBURY³,
SOPHIE BERGERBRANT⁴, SANDRA MONTÓN SUBÍAS⁵, JOANNA SOFAER⁶,
CHRISTOPHER J. KNÜSEL⁷, HELLE VANDKILDE⁸, MELANIE GILES⁹ AND
PAUL TREHERNE¹⁰

¹*School of Archaeology and Anthropology, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia*

²*Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Bristol, Bristol, UK*

³*Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria*

⁴*Department of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden*

⁵*ICREA, Departament d'Humanitats, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain*

⁶*Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK*

⁷*UMR 5199 PACEA, University of Bordeaux, Bordeaux, France*

⁸*Department of Archaeology, Institute of Culture and Society, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark*

⁹*School of Arts, Languages and Cultures, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK*

¹⁰*St Stephen's International School, Rome, Italy*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Catherine J. Frieman

Over the (slightly more than) two decades that the *European Journal of Archaeology* (formerly the *Journal of European Archaeology*) has been in print, we have published a number of excellent and high profile articles. Among these, Paul Treherne's seminal meditation on Bronze Age male identity and warriorhood stands out as both the highest cited and the most regularly downloaded paper in our archive. Speaking informally with friends and colleagues who work on Bronze Age topics as diverse as ceramics, metalwork, landscape phenomenology, and settlement

structure, I found that this paper holds a special place in their hearts. Certainly, it is a staple of seminar reading lists and, in my experience at least, is prone to provoke heated discussions among students on topics as far ranging as gender identity in the past and present, theoretically informed methods for material culture studies, and the validity of using Classical texts for understanding prehistoric worlds. Moreover, in its themes of violence, embodiment, materiality, and the fluidity or ephemeral nature of gendered identities, it remains a crucial foundational text for major debates raging in European prehistoric archaeology in the present day.

Thus, it seemed pertinent that, as part of the commemoration of our 20th volume, we should return to our most loved paper to ask why and how it has aged so well, in what ways the debates we are currently having build on its themes, and where new data or interpretations have since enhanced (or challenged) Treherne’s compelling narrative. The following short articles were solicited as responses to and reflections on Treherne’s original article. Authors were asked simply to build on Treherne’s work and to reflect on how it had impacted their own research and their wider field. These reflections range from reviews of the ongoing significance of Treherne’s ideas to our understanding of gendered identities in the Bronze Age (Brück, Rebay-Salisbury, Bergerbrant), to the political impact of prehistoric research into gender identity and masculinity (Montón Subiás, Sofaer), and to the identification and social position of war, warfare, warrior’s bodies, and depictions of warriorhood in prehistoric societies (Knüsel, Vandkilde, Giles). We are also pleased to include a short response by Paul Treherne, now chair of history at St Stephen’s International School in Rome, to these reviews and to the ongoing significance of his postgraduate research for European prehistoric archaeology.

**GENDER AND PERSONHOOD IN THE
EUROPEAN BRONZE AGE**
Joanna Brück

Paul Treherne’s article in the *Journal of European Archaeology* for 1995 is one of the most influential pieces of work on the Bronze Age written in the past few decades. It effectively critiqued previous work on prestige goods—arguing, for example, that we need to account for the particular *character* of the grave goods that accompany high status burials—but it also

sustained and crystallized existing models of a Bronze Age warrior elite.

The image of the Bronze Age warrior is extraordinarily enduring; but it is, in my opinion, highly problematic, for it dominates our narratives of the period to the virtual exclusion of alternative interpretative frameworks, and it runs the risk of missing much of the depth, texture, and complexity of Bronze Age life. The following comments are based on many years of work on the British Bronze Age, but are relevant, I believe, for other areas of Europe too. It is true, of course, that burials accompanied by swords and other weaponry are a feature of many regions, but there are other sorts of grave groups that provide equally interesting, and often rather different, insights into Bronze Age society. In particular, there is a danger that, by focusing on warrior burials and accoutrements, we may inadvertently construct an androcentric vision of the period: in common with Treherne, recent work on the role of warriors and warfare in the Bronze Age (e.g. Kristiansen & Larsson, 2005; Harding, 2007) assumes that positions of social, political, and economic power were held solely by men, and that women were (like fine weaponry) the objects of elite exchange rather than social agents in their own right. There is, of course, copious evidence to counter such assumptions. ‘Wealthy’ female burials are found in many regions: the cremation burial of an adult female from the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Barrow Hills, Oxfordshire, was accompanied by a bronze awl, knife-dagger, and necklace of amber, faience, and jet/shale (Barclay & Halpin, 1999: 162–65), while the adult female from the famous barrow of Borum Eshøj on Jutland was buried with a dagger, a fibula, an elaborately-decorated belt disc, a neck-ring, two arm rings, two spiral finger rings, and two small bronze *tutuli*, among other things (Glob, 1973: 43–45). Our

tendency to sideline this evidence, or to interpret it as an indication that women acted as ‘vehicles for the display of their husband’s resources’ (Shennan, 1975: 286), is primarily a reflection of the position of women in our own recent past and can be critiqued on theoretical grounds: post-Enlightenment understandings of the self construct men as active subjects and women as passive objects, but this is part of an ideology that served particular purposes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, facilitating the colonial endeavour, for example, by feminizing and commodifying landscape.

Treherne argues that Bronze Age mortuary practices worked to construct an image of bodily perfection for the individual—the warrior’s beauty, as he puts it. Yet, this emphasis on the individual, and the assumption that the integrity of the body was a key concern during this period, are problematic, for they impose onto the past a model of the self that is particular to the contemporary western world. Body image is a matter of enormous concern in Euro-American society today, and the ideological primacy of the individual means that the body and the self are viewed as coterminous, one mapping neatly onto the other, and both having well-defined and impermeable boundaries. There is much to suggest, however, that Bronze Age concepts of the person were very different. Mortuary practices in Britain often involve the deliberate fragmentation of the body. This is true even for those funerary traditions most commonly invoked as evidence for an increasing concern with the ‘individual’, for example Beaker burials of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age. The grave of the ‘Boscombe bowmen’, for example, contained the incomplete remains of several adults and children (McKinley, 2011: 28–31): the articulated adult male (burial 25004) was missing his left hand and

forearm, while the two bundles of disarticulated bone found just above and below this burial comprise selected skeletal elements from five other individuals, predominantly skull and longbone fragments from the left side of the body. Cremation burials are characteristic of the Later Bronze Age in the same region, and the majority of these comprise only a portion of the remains of the deceased. The three heaviest of the twenty-one urned adult cremation burials found at Coneygre Farm in Nottinghamshire weighed 1475 g, 915 g, and 735 g respectively, but the remaining eighteen burials weighed less than 600 g, and fourteen of these were under 400 g (Allen et al., 1987: table 1). The evidence for the deliberate destruction of grave goods (Brück, 2004, 2006) and the circulation of heirlooms (themselves often incomplete or composite objects: Sheridan & Davis, 2002; Woodward, 2002) indicates that objects were subject to practices of fragmentation and curation, and we can suggest that human bodies may have been treated in similar ways: the resulting elements were exchanged over space and time to mark, mediate, and transform inter-personal relationships. Such practices hint at relational or dividual concepts of the self very different from modern Western ideologies of the individual (see Strathern, 1988; Busby, 1997).

An interest in ancestral ‘relics’ perhaps explains the evidence for the reopening of burials and for the reordering of the bones encountered when graves were reused. The Early Bronze Age shaft grave at South Dampton Down in Kent contained a sequence of burials (Perkins, *nd*); each time a body was placed in the grave, the skull of the previous interment was removed. Evidence for the reopening of graves on the Continent has often been interpreted as ‘grave robbing’, but could equally have acted as a means of acquiring the bodily remains or objects associated

with known and important deceased members of the community. The Middle Bronze Age cremation graves at Pitten, in Austria, were provided with special ‘doorway’ structures that allowed mourners to access the grave: it has been suggested that their purpose was to allow food offerings to be given to the deceased over a protracted period of time (Sørensen & Rebay-Salisbury, 2005: 166–67), but they may also have allowed grave goods or quantities of cremated bone to be removed. Certainly, cremation burials in Continental Europe sometimes contain only portions of the bodies of the deceased: the urn from grave 11 in area 1 of the Late Bronze Age cemetery at Niederkaina in eastern Saxony, for example, contained just 427 g of burnt bone belonging to an adult (Coblentz & Nebelsick, 1997: 40). Because my own research specialism is the British Bronze Age, I do not have a clear sense of how prevalent such practices were on the Continent, although this is certainly a question that would be worth exploring. In Britain, the deliberate deposition of fragments of human bone in domestic contexts (for example, in pits or postholes at the entrance to settlements: Brück, 1995) provides some insight into the ‘afterlives’ of such relics. Usually, such finds comprise single fragments of skull or longbone, although the complete mummified ‘body’ of an adult male buried under the floor of roundhouse 1370 at Cladh Hallan in Scotland was composed of the skull and cervical vertebrae from one individual, the mandible of a second, and the postcranial bones of a third (Parker Pearson et al., 2005), all several centuries old on burial, suggesting a protracted and complex phase of post-mortem manipulation. Together, what such practices indicate is that the identity of the deceased was not considered fixed on burial but could in fact be reworked as and when

fragments of bodies and associated objects were removed, exchanged, inherited, and (re)combined in a variety of mortuary and non-mortuary contexts. Treherne’s argument that there was a finality to the moment of burial resulting in the creation of a fixed image of the deceased can therefore be called into question: instead, memory was created through practices that involved the reworking and recontextualization of fragments of the dead.

In addition, it is of course problematic to assume that grave goods were owned by the deceased and reference intrinsic personal attributes (Brück, 2004). Grave goods may not have functioned as objects of display, but may instead have described aspects of the relationship between the living and the dead, or ideas about death and the afterlife. Although it is often assumed that cremation burials accompanied by razors must be male, in fact such items may be the product of ritual practices enacted as part of the funerary rite. Toilet articles such as razors, tweezers, and awls may have been used to mark the bodies of the mourners, for example by shaving the hair (Woodward, 2000: 115). This would have helped to distinguish different phases of the mortuary rite, particularly periods of separation or liminality. Objects such as wagons reference connectivity, travel, and transformation, while drinking cups are as much about commensality and the consumption of substances that facilitated communication with the otherworld, as personal status. Across much of western Europe, swords are found not in burials but were instead deposited in rivers (e.g. Fontijn, 2002), sometimes complete and still usable, and sometimes deliberately decommissioned—bent and broken in ways that cannot simply be explained as a product of combat damage. Often, large numbers of swords and other bladed weapons are found at particular locations, for example

fording places or the confluences of rivers. Such finds hint at the fluidity of personal identity for they suggest that the role of the warrior may have related only to a particular phase in the lifecourse, or may have been a temporary and highly ritualized form of identity that was taken up in particular political contexts and subsequently relinquished (Fontijn, 2005). The deposition of quantities of metalwork in rivers and their separation from the bodies of particular individuals hints at collective or community identities tied to place, with the character of the objects (weapons made of metal) referencing the dangerous and transformative properties of social and political boundaries. Yet, the relative paucity of defended settlements in these regions suggests that other concerns occupied those same ‘warriors’ for much of their daily lives.

There is, therefore, much to suggest that Bronze Age models of the self were very different from those common in our own cultural context. If we call anachronistic ideas about the individual, subjectivity, and the body into question, we must surely also revisit our assumptions about gendered identity: both women and men were actively involved in the construction of Bronze Age lifeworlds—lifeworlds that involved fluid and contextually-specific concepts of identity and power, and where inter-personal violence was just one element of a complex range of social relationships.

COMMENTS ON PAUL TREHERNE’S ‘THE WARRIOR’S BEAUTY’: THE MASCULINE BODY AND SELF-IDENTITY IN BRONZE AGE EUROPE

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Twenty-one years after its publication in 1995, Paul Treherne’s ‘The Warrior’s Beauty’ remains an influential article for

scholars interested in the archaeology of the body, gender, and identity in later European prehistory. The archaeology of the body and identity has since developed and grown, becoming a popular field of study in many different regional archaeologies (e.g. Meskell, 1999; Hamilakis et al., 2002; Joyce, 2005; Robb & Harris, 2013). This article, originally conceived as an MPhil dissertation at the University of Cambridge, investigates how the identity of the European Bronze Age warrior emerged from practices and beliefs centring on the human body and its aesthetics.

Treherne presents warrior identities as a pan-European phenomenon and an important part of Europe’s long-term social fabric. First formulated in the Bronze Age, a specific way of making identity continues into the Iron Age and beyond well into the Middle Ages. The warrior lives a particular lifestyle, which includes war/warfare, alcohol, riding/driving, and bodily ornamentation (Treherne, 1995: 108, hereafter only page numbers cited); in death, these themes are further developed and become archaeologically visible in burial practices and grave goods. The ‘warrior package’ thus contains several elements, which include personal weaponry, drinking equipment, bodily ornamentation, grooming tools, and horse harness and/or wheeled vehicles (p. 105).

Among the archaeological evidence, Treherne scrutinizes toilet articles such as combs, tweezers, razors, mirrors, and tattooing awls in particular. Male self-identity, according to Treherne, is linked to a specific kind of masculine beauty and achieved through bodily regimes. Treherne’s study is unique in that it aims to integrate the concepts of beauty and aesthetics into the large body of literature on Bronze Age war, warfare, and violence. To the modern reader, the catchy and intriguing title of Treherne’s article

provokes an association of dissonance: beauty is a concept that tends to be associated with femininity rather than masculinity today. The notion of the beauty of the warrior seems at odds with that of beauty. Bodily beauty and physical attractiveness, however, are important for both sexes, although what is considered beautiful is different for men and women; it underlies evolutionary principles of sexual selection and connotes health, symmetry, and sexual dimorphism (Grammer *et al.*, 2003).

Further, Treherne’s is one of the few articles that explicitly thematize masculinity, not only theoretically (as Knapp, 1998 has done admirably), but using archaeological evidence constructively to paint a vivid picture of what a particular kind of male identity might have been like. As such, he fulfils the call for understanding the warrior identity as one of ‘divergent, multiple masculinities’ (p. 91).

The development of a warrior ideology is tied into two large-scale social shifts in later European prehistory. The first concerns a shift from an ideology of place and community in Late Neolithic/Copper Age societies to an ideology of individual and personal display, which characterizes Bronze Age societies (p. 107). This shift took place at different times in different places, notably in a first wave during the fourth and third millennium BC (associated, for example, with Bell Beakers). Burial in communal, megalithic tombs gives way to funerary rites that include the interment of a single body in an individual grave, with personal grave goods including prestige goods acquired through long-term exchange networks. Social categorization, including gender and status, was achieved and played out in elaborate funerary rituals, but they were fleeting events: as the body was only visible for a very short time, it had to be represented in a very formalized and stereotyped way to communicate the message of identity unambiguously,⁵⁵⁸

‘fixing an image of the deceased’ in the memory of the participants in the funeral (p. 113).

A second wave of ideological change began in the mid-second millennium BC (associated with the central European Middle Bronze Age) and intensified towards the Iron Age: a ‘differentiated warrior ideology’ developed from a ‘generalised male ethos’ (p. 108). Traditionally, this has been interpreted in terms of increasing social hierarchies and the rise of chiefdoms. Importantly, the warrior identity now includes membership in a specialized group, attached to a patron in paramount position. Warriors engage in a system of relationships of hospitality and reciprocity, which includes exchange, the consumption of alcohol, a shared belief system, shared daily life, and ritualized warfare (p. 109), accompanied by cultural emotions such as honour (see Péristiany, 1966).

Archaeological evidence of this change include the sword—the first object designed solely for combat—among other weaponry and sets of drinking vessels which go beyond meeting an individual’s needs, ornaments that ‘accentuate every part of the body and its movement’ (p. 110, a theme further developed by Sørensen, 1997, 2010), and an emphasis on textiles as well as ‘toilet articles’.

Toilet articles are artefacts specifically designed for bodily grooming and decorating, such as combs, tweezers, razors, mirrors, and tattooing awls. Shaving, combing, plucking hair, manicuring nails, scarification, and tattooing are argued to be part of the daily routine of taking care of the body. Like weapons, toilet articles show signs of wear and tear, which suggests they were used to achieve ‘beauty in life’. Bog bodies with exquisitely manicured hands, which requires attention over extended periods of time, attest to daily self-care. Further evidence comes from Bronze Age anthropomorphic representations with carefully shaved and groomed

hair. The aesthetics of the warrior were achieved through reflexive, personal action; they were important in life and death, 'mutually constituting one another and together the individual's self-identity' (p. 125). Toilet articles might have also played a role in specific rituals for particular occasions, e.g. before entering battle or during funerary activities; the fact that they were placed around the body in the grave points to their use in the preparation of the corpse or in ritual mourning.

At this point, I have always wondered why Treherne did not develop this argument one small step further: namely, to see toilet items as means of identity transformation. By employing bodily rituals such as shaving, cutting, and grooming hair, the transition between different kinds of male identity—perhaps that of the warrior and that of a more civil nature—could have been marked and achieved. Multiple masculinities may have had different appearances. The warrior identity would then appear less fixed, although perhaps bound to a certain age and status group or group membership, and more fluid, situational, and temporal. The warrior identity could have been taken up on particular occasions by different people, at times perhaps even by women.

Interestingly, the discussion of beauty is centred on hair and nails, and there is little discussion of other bodily constituents of beauty. For the warrior especially, attractive body proportions with a lean body mass and well trained and defined muscles would have certainly been the ideal, and could only be achieved through regular training. Bronze and Iron Age body cuirasses (e.g. from Kleinklein, Austria: Egg & Kramer, 2013) with hints of muscle lines are indicators of such beauty standards.

Treherne's article develops theoretical thoughts on transformations of ideology and the emergence of elites. He reacts

against the prevailing interpretation of the focus on the human body in the grave as a medium of ideological expression, with the grave as the arena of power negotiation and the 'ideology of prestige display' employed in legitimization through mystification. The mantra of funerary archaeologists at the time—that the 'dead do not bury themselves' (see Parker Pearson, 1999: 84)—had begun to disregard and overshadow the lives of the buried people. Drawing on materialist formulations of ideology, tension between ideology as illusion and social reality had emerged. Treherne, however, insists that people lived their ideology as real (p. 116). Grave goods chosen for display and conspicuous consumption as well as ostentatious funerary rituals are expressions of social practices and beliefs people actually subscribed to. To explain why specific objects are selected for social legitimization and aggrandizement, their specific socio-historic context has to be taken into account.

Formulating his own philosophical position on the body against the work of Althusser, Merleau-Ponty, Bourdieu, Giddens, and others, Treherne stresses the 'fundamental materiality of the body and self' (p. 119). The body is more than a social construct, a product of discourse or the symbolic; the self is practically mediated and lived through the body. Self-identity emerges through sensory exploration with the body as the medium of experience; self-care and beauty maintenance, therefore, play an important part in identity construction.

To explain why beauty was important to the Bronze Age warrior, Treherne draws on sources and scholarship on the heroes of Greek Antiquity (e.g. Vernant & Zeitlin, 1991; Shanks, 1999). In particular the (lack of) beliefs in a life after death meant that the self could only transcend death in the minds of the living (p. 123).

Fixing the image of the deceased in the mortuary sphere was therefore paramount, because only memory preserved the deceased in the social discourse (p. 124). The emphasis on beauty counteracted the notions of mutilation, dismemberment, and decay associated with the corpse; elaborate funerary practices helped to cope with the emotion of existential anxiety and counteracted forgetting.

These notions are not necessarily apparent from the archaeological evidence alone and they raise questions about the applicability of the concept of the ‘warrior’s beauty’. Treherne’s focus on a detailed interpretation of the warrior identity led him to neglect temporal and regional differences; and the extent of the phenomenon remains vaguely defined. Treherne traces roots in the emerging urban societies of the Near East and Anatolia (p. 108), from which elements were selectively adapted; a part of the ideological transformation towards an emphasis on the individual seems anchored in northern and western Europe (although other forms of personhood than the individual may have prevailed; see Fowler, 2004) and does not fit central and eastern Europe in my opinion, where single graves have a much longer pedigree. Cemeteries with individual graves and personal grave goods were already common forms of body disposal during the LBK (Linearbandkeramik, c. 5500–4900). Subsequently, the deposition of ‘multiple and fragmented bodies’ in cairns, passage graves, and other megalithic structures became popular from Scandinavia to Iberia (Hofmann & Whittle, 2008: 296), but remained a northern and western European phenomenon.

The ‘differentiated warrior ideology’, in contrast, has perhaps most archaeological support in central Europe, where social difference became expressed through burial practices and grave goods since the early second millennium BC at the latest

(examples include the ‘princely graves’ from Leubingen and Helmsdorf, Germany; Meller, 2015: 245). Treherne, however, seeks interpretative analogies in much later Greece. And although the warrior identity is discussed as a historically situated product of time and place (Joyce, 2005: 150), one wonders if the combination of groups of males engaging in violence, intoxication, and beautification is not indeed a cross-cultural phenomenon. Specific to the European Bronze Age are then merely the burial practices and the specific kind of prestige good economy tied into metal circulation.

It further remains unclear how broadly the concept of the ‘warrior’s beauty’ applies within a given society. Does the ethos of the warrior form part of the general social ideology, adopted by every male of a certain age group, or how selective was membership in the warrior society? Treherne laid out how elite warriors had a lifestyle that involved risk and violence, but also of luxury and excess, apparent in valuable weaponry and bodily grooming, and with it a worldly existence of honour, glory, and beauty to be remembered so as to transcend death. However, what about the common fighter? The family father defending his farmstead, the youth gang raiding the neighbouring village, the mercenaries, and those forced to fight for others’ causes?

It seems that the Bronze Age elite warrior was similarly removed from those fighters as the officer in command is remote from the common soldier today, who, through discipline, control, and subordination, emerges as a non-individual (p. 128). The unknown, anonymous soldier encompasses all nuances ranging from the operator of a killing drone to the injured and traumatized homecoming hero. Perhaps it is time to shed light on the diversity of fighters in later European prehistory, too.

The nature of warfare and violence and its associated archaeological evidence in the form of weaponry, defensive architecture, and trauma on human remains has not lost its appeal since the publication of Treherne's article (e.g. Osgood & Monks, 2000; Parker Pearson & Thorpe, 2005; Otto et al., 2006; Peter-Röcher, 2007; Uckelmann & Mödler, 2011). *Krieg*, the current exhibition at the Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte in Halle (Saale), traces the origins of war in the Neolithic (Meller & Schefzik, 2015). Anthony Harding perhaps best described the chronological and regional variations in the evidence for fighting. He found the characterization of Bronze Age warriors as a war-band engaging in inter-group raiding more to the point (Harding, 2007: 169), although he too maintained the existence of an encompassing ideology of honour, prestige, and violence. Kristian Kristiansen and Thomas Larsson (2005), as well as Richard Harrison (2004), stressed the religious and ritual role of the warrior. A persuasive interpretation of Bronze Age religion on the basis of the iconography on razors has been put forward by Flemming Kaul (1998). The idea that the warrior's self-identity was connected to the maintenance of bodily ideas, however, was nowhere else formulated as concisely as in Treherne's article—it seems to have stood the test of time.

**WARRIOR'S BEAUTY: REVISITED FROM A
NORDIC PERSPECTIVE**
Sophie Bergerbrant

Paul Treherne's article 'The Warrior's Beauty' was published in the *Journal of European Archaeology* twenty-one years ago (1995); it remains the most downloaded article in the history of the *European Journal of Archaeology*.

The article was a reworked version of his MPhil dissertation submitted to the

University of Cambridge. In it he argued for the need to revitalize and revise the concept of the 'warrior aristocracy' (*Kriegeradel* in German). The article thus redefined the warrior ideal, both in life and in death. Treherne emphasized tangible, personal consumables that were essential for identifying this developing status group, and these centred around four important themes: weaponry, drinking equipment, bodily ornamentation (toilet articles), and horse harnesses and/or wheeled vehicles. He pointed out that not all attributes were present in all cases of warrior graves, and that a distinct form of masculinity, which was present both in life and in death, was central to the warrior ideological complex. He argued that a warrior ideal and lifestyle was born in or around the Bronze Age and that it endured for an extended period in history.

Treherne's contribution was an important catalyst for reviving the topic of the warrior class and ideal in history. Many studies have followed since (Vandkilde, 2006a: 57), and Treherne's article can be seen as having had a significant role in this revival. Indeed, it has been one of the inspirations and starting points for numerous studies about prehistoric masculinity. It has also been referred to in many subsequent Scandinavian studies (e.g. my own PhD: Bergerbrant, 2007), and in studies about warrior graves (e.g. Sarauw, 2007) and warrior identity (e.g. Skogstrand, 2014). However, the article's emphasis on the longevity of the warrior ideals has, in many ways, led the notion that 'warrior identity' was a monolithic cultural norm through many periods and regions, effacing subtle variations and culturally specific views of warriors. For example, Skogstrand (2014: 251–56) has shown that warriors disappear from the archaeological record on Funen in the Early Pre-Roman Iron Age; and, when they reappear, in the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, the warrior role has profoundly changed

from the Late Bronze Age form described by Treherne. Despite this, Treherne’s contribution provided a key to opening up new angles for the study of masculinity, although explorations of gender and masculinity are unlikely to have been the conscious or primary aims of the author as it is largely grounded in a different body of theory from most gender and masculinity studies. It also has quite a narrow focus, with the warrior class being treated as the only male identity worth defining, while today we are more likely to acknowledge the permutations and variations of masculinity (e.g. Skogstrand, 2014). Indeed, a close study of the male costumes recovered from the anaerobically preserved Danish oak log coffin burials has shown that there are at least two, and probably more, variations in male gendered attire, only one of which could be related to warriors (Bergerbrant, 2007: 50–54; Bergerbrant et al., 2013).

As the title indicates, Treherne’s article focuses on appearance and the beauty of the warrior, the softer and aristocratic side of warriorhood: the flashy weapons, the horse riding/chariots, the drinking, and the grooming. These are the positive sides that create bonds between males. Although it also claims to touch upon the darker sides of warriorhood, it really only mentions the actual hardship of a warrior lifestyle, i.e. war, and even that gets only a brief mention. Lately, remains of large-scale warfare have been excavated in northern Europe, such as at Tollense for the Bronze Age (Jantzen et al., 2015) and Alken Enge for the Iron Age (Holst, 2014), both showing the more brutal and unsavoury side of warfare. The Tollense publication, for example, demonstrates that many of individuals who died in the battle and ended up in the river were non-locals, and the evidence for their diet indicates that they had been eating millet (Jantzen et al., 2015), a plant that did not normally form part of the local diet. The

site indicates that warriors travelled long distances, and many died as a result of warfare, as demonstrated by the examples of arrowheads found embedded in skulls (Jantzen et al., 2015). Of course, one could always discuss whether these individuals were part of the warrior aristocracy or whether they were ‘mere’ foot soldiers. The first publication about Tollense focuses on the actual remains of warfare found at the site, and, not surprisingly, there is no reference to Treherne’s article in the book (Jantzen et al., 2015).

The main focus in Treherne’s article is the theoretical perspective it puts forward, with the archaeological material being included mainly as an illustration of the idea. The author emphasizes the importance not of a beautiful death as much as that of a beautiful treatment after death and in burial and hints that the presence of beauty in the burial might have been a way to cope with the anxiety that may have arisen after a warrior’s death. Drawing on the evidence that swords have been reshaped and toilet-equipment used, he suggested that ‘beauty’ was a fundamental part of the warrior lifestyle, too. Even though the body of the warrior is interpreted as an important part of the self-identity of the warrior aristocracy, the body of the warriors, the skeletal remains, are not brought into the argumentation. Bodies are often an important archaeological source for obtaining information and knowledge about prehistoric warfare. In *The Routledge Handbook of the Bioarchaeology of Human Conflict* (Knüsel & Smith, 2013a) there are no references to Treherne’s article either, whereas in *The Oxford Handbook of The European Bronze Age* (Fokkens & Harding, 2013) a number of articles refer to it. The physical sides of warfare and warriorhood need to meet the identity and status side put forward by Treherne. The challenge for the future is to combine these different aspects of warriors in prehistory, and to tell

a more complete story as there are always two sides to a coin (see Knüsel, this section).

Over the last ten years there has been a growing interest in the archaeology of the body in research (e.g. Sofaer, 2006; Boric & Robb, 2008). Many of these studies have shown the importance of connecting the physical body with archaeological interpretations of identity, in line with some of Treherne's arguments. Not only have there been theoretical developments concerning the archaeology of the body, there has also been great progress in scientific analyses that can help us gain information about the body. New developments in isotopic analyses and aDNA have given us new and unique possibilities for investigating the diet, mobility, and genetic heritage of deceased individuals, warriors or not, at a much more detailed level than ever before. So far, the most in-depth studies of this kind have been conducted on female graves (e.g. the new analysis of the Egtved girl by Frei et al., 2015), but future work on warriors' graves would clearly expand our understanding of warriorhood in the Bronze Age. An increase in the number of experimental warfare studies has also taken place over the last decade. All these recent developments need to be viewed together for an up-to-date reassessment on the Bronze Age warrior. We might not need to revitalize the archaeology of warfare and warriors, as Treherne's article did twenty-one years ago, but all this new research demands another serious theoretical and methodological discussion to bring together and reassess the different dimensions of warriorhood, both the beauty and the beast.

It is easy to find flaws in an article written two decades ago. The intention here is not to belittle Treherne's article in any way. It was, and remains, a sound and influential text, and it has been an important article for many fields of archaeology. As has been noted above, this article was

significant for changing perspectives and redirecting research on warfare and warriors. However, twenty-one years later its contribution and role has changed from being a new and innovative article to being 'a classic'; a starting point for many fields of research. It set a new baseline upon which we continue to build. The problem is, are we not becoming lazy if we simply go on accepting this article's interpretation as the norm?

The time has come for another young scholar to write a new thought-provoking article with a fresh interpretation on warfare and warriors in order for research to move another step forward, an article that embraces the multitude of ideas and data available through new theoretical and methodological developments within the archaeology of the body, or body-centred archaeology, without forgetting the many important contributions highlighted by Treherne. We should never forget that the beauty of the warrior ideal is always followed by the threat and unpleasantness of warfare. I hope there is someone out there who might be up to the task of again writing an article that challenges our perceptions so profoundly that it shifts and changes the course of many fields of archaeology.

AN IBERIAN PERSPECTIVE ON 'THE WARRIOR'S BEAUTY' Sandra Montón Subías

Twenty-one years ago, in his now classic article under discussion here, Paul Treherne brought to the fore the analysis of subjectivity in understanding what happened in the prehistory of Europe. After reviewing the evidence for warriors and warfare, he rejected as 'deficient' the ideology-as-a-resource mainstream interpretive models for the Neolithic/Bronze Age transition, and re-evaluated this shift

in terms of changes in the construction of the male self. In so doing, he pioneered studies of masculinity, of embodiment and symmetrical analysis in archaeology. In addition, his work remains a fine example of the role that prehistory can play in the construction of world history.

Contrary to the quite common conviction that interest in warfare and warriors is mainly a product of the 1990s, I regard the subject as deeply ingrained in the fabric of archaeology. Indeed, the emergence of militant male warrior elites has been considered inherent to processes of growing social complexity since the beginning of our discipline (see Siret & Siret, 1890 as an early example from Iberia). Although frequently theoretically underdeveloped, concepts such as warriors, conflict, instability, warfare, and militarism have been widely used in the archaeological literature of all time. Poorly developed theorizing is, in my view, not so much related to a lack of interest or a conscious wish to pacify the past (as stated, for instance, by Keeley, 1996), but to the very idiosyncrasy of archaeological schools of thought and background assumptions that have taken the phenomenon for granted (see Aranda Jiménez *et al.*, 2009 as an example, again from Iberia).

Within culture history, for instance, the theme was ubiquitous in the form of studies of weaponry (especially typologies), which were and are widely used as fossil types to define and characterize cultures, and to construct temporalities and chronological sequences across the whole of Europe. From the 1970s onwards, growing attention (from heterogeneous perspectives too) to the evolution of social complexity during the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age also correlated the increase in social hierarchy with the rise and consolidation of a male body of warriors. Treherne drew on the same material evidence handled by these

previous studies (new specialized weaponry, horse harness, wheeled vehicles, ornaments, and grooming tools) and accepted them as proof of new war-like practices and body language. However, he rejected the modernist dualistic thinking that took these shifts to merely represent a change ‘from an ideology of place and community to one of the individual and personal display’ (Treherne, 1995: 107, hereafter cited by page number only). To him, the Neolithic/Bronze Age transition was, first and foremost, an ontological process.

‘The Warrior’s Beauty’ connected the emergence of individualization and personal display in the archaeological record with a new style of life and changes in what it was to be a person (p. 122) and, more specifically, in male self-identity (p. 106). Warrior paraphernalia did not, thus, allude to a restricted elite mobilizing ideology as an external resource for its own benefit—as if persons and ideology belonged to different plans of action, as ideology could embrace structured thoughts detached from people’s actions—but to new men’s embodied understandings of themselves, their identity, and their way of being in their surrounding world.

Having set out the outline of Treherne’s argument, I would like to point out how valuable I find the identification of general trends in prehistory that may be related to concerns of our current times, without doubt a clear merit of Treherne’s overview. Maybe because I teach an MPhil course on world history and most of my departmental colleagues are historians of the written sources, I have for some time insisted on how important prehistory is in the construction (and teaching) of world history. Perceived sometimes as a remote (and even exotic) domain, it is also often thought to be unrelated to problems of the present day. However, prehistory saw the birth of many different processes that have

moulded the world to its actual shape. The fact that present social and gender inequality, existing identities and ways of being a person, and cultural values and attitudes have been formed by complex long-standing processes beginning in pre-history, and that these can only be well understood and modified in light of their historical backgrounds, has been insufficiently explored.

I find it worrisome, however, that long-term reviews are usually constructed to enhance social change(s) at the cost of social continuity(ies). Because I find Treherne's contribution to fit this tendency, I will now focus in greater detail on his main subject: the emergence of individuality in widespread areas of Europe. My intention here is to discuss the article on its own terms and not so much to point out missing topics that fall outside Treherne's purpose.

Fundamental to the author's argument is the relationship between material culture, the body, and the new type of subjectivity incarnated in the male warrior. According to Treherne, previous works had not really grasped the reasons why objects designated as 'prestige items' (an expression that he considers reductionist) are those and not others. Mainly considered as signs of elevated status, their intricate and vital relationship with the manipulation of the warrior's body had remained unattended. Pioneering symmetrical archaeology, Treherne claims that these goods are not only expressing but also constructing a new 'notion of self and personhood, grounded in changing attitudes to and practices in, on, and through the body' (p. 125). However, to me, the importance of the body is more announced by Treherne than it is explained. Even when, inspired by works about the Homeric warrior, he assumes the centrality of the body in societies with no body/mind dichotomies, the reader may remain mystified by why the body is so paramount

in constructing individualization and differentiation. At this point, I would like to draw attention to a series of works that have contextualized the importance of the body for personhood construction in the framework of oral societies (especially Hernando, 2002, 2012; Moragón, 2013).

Drawing also on the absence of the body/mind dichotomies and on studies promoted (among others) by Norbert Elias, Walter J. Ong, and David R. Olson, such works have explained that, in prehistoric oral societies, there must have been no disconnect between what persons were and their bodies, no fracture between what persons thought they were and what they actually were. Persons became selves through their embodied actions. Under such circumstances, the body was precisely the main mechanism (instead of abstract thinking and reflection) to construct and manifest identity (through its management, movements, actions, and associated material culture). In this sense, the importance of the body in self-hood construction was nothing new to Bronze Age Europe. However, while community belonging was previously performed, Bronze Age warriors set themselves apart and emphasized difference. The difference was thus between being *a part* of and being *apart* from, but always through the body.

However, and here I refer again to the change *versus* continuity issue mentioned before, it is not possible to be *apart* from something without at the same time being *a part* of it, as Almudena Hernando has shown in her works. While most scholarship has read Bronze Age warrior's gear, she argues, in terms of individuality and difference, it has at the same time ignored its meaning regarding relational bonding. While warriors were setting themselves apart, they were simultaneously bonding with new peers (warrior fraternities), and thus maintaining, although in a new fashion, relational identity (Hernando,

2012: 137–41). Treherne thus ignores relational mechanisms that remained in the construction of the new subjectivity. In this sense, we could say that Treherne’s is a masculinist study on masculinity. In focusing only on individuality and social change, he is stressing values that define hegemonic masculinity in the present and dominate the mainstream writing of (pre) history (see on this issue Hernando, 2012 and Montón Subías & Lozano, 2012).

In mentioning these flaws (in my view) I would not like to diminish the article’s merits. I regard it as a fundamental piece in archaeology’s literature, not surprisingly ‘the most downloaded paper in the entire EJA archive’, as Catherine Frieman mentioned when she invited me to contribute here. Paul Treherne is among the first scholars explicitly reflecting on the construction of the male self in prehistory. In the 1990s, when gender studies in archaeology were mainly perceived as women’s affair, it was very important to reflect on the fact that men also had gender. In addition, Treherne’s article made very clear that, during prehistory, there were different ways of being a person and, importantly, that individuality had a (pre)historic starting point. That is beyond any doubt, and as such needs to be acknowledged.

I want to insist, however, on how important it is to complement overviews such as Treherne’s with studies of social dynamics, values, and principles that have been marginalized from the mainstream of scholarly discourse and thus left outside history. To continue with examples from Iberia, different works—from a feminist or feminist sensitive standpoint—have already attempted to redress imbalances created by this neglect, focusing on the role of stability, continuity, recurrence, relationality, and interdependence (see, also for the Bronze Age, Colomer et al., 1998 and Aranda Jiménez, 2013 as two examples). Only by considering the interplay between change and permanence

can social complexity and diversity in the past be comprehended, changes be understood in their full dimension, and an inclusive World (pre)History be constructed. It is not only a question of fairness or representation; it is a question of improving archaeological and historical knowledge.

THE WARRIOR’S SEDUCTION Joanna Sofaer

In his novel *The Narrow Road to the Deep North*, Richard Flanagan describes the attitude to virtue of his central character, war hero Dorrigo Evans:

‘Dorrigo Evans hated virtue, hated virtue being admired, hated people who pretended he had virtue or pretended to virtue themselves. And the more he was accused of virtue as he grew older, the more he hated it. He did not believe in virtue. Virtue was vanity dressed up and waiting for applause.’ (Flanagan, 2013: 53)

Virtue, then, is not a matter of *self*-identity, which, as Dorrigo Evans’s story unfolds, is full of complexity and doubt borne of self-knowledge and introspection. Instead, virtue in relation to self does not really exist, or at most is shallow and showy. It emerges primarily from the desire of people to attribute qualities to others as if to give themselves hope in a world where honour and heroism seem in short supply.

As I write, the news is full of refugees fleeing conflict, stories of soldiers suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder, and terrorist atrocities. Perhaps it is precisely because of the lack of virtue in the modern world that the romantic vision of a warrior golden age offered by Treherne is so appealing. Yet it is both striking and disturbing that the combination of heroic traits identified by Treherne—a focus on hair and grooming as a marker of identity

and lifestyle, the search for glory, eternal remembrance, and heroic death—are hallmarks of a range of modern military and terrorist groups, albeit in different ways. One thinks of the ‘buzz-cut’ in the US military, the immaculately groomed and uniformed soldiers of the North Korean regime, and the propaganda promulgated by the self-styled warriors of Daesh. In each of these cases, the individual male body is linked to the body politic (Brod & Kaufman, 1994: 8). There seems very little of beauty here.

I do not doubt the importance of social categories in the Bronze Age, that ‘the warrior’ may have been one such category, or that the body, its display, and adornment played a significant role in the mediation of Bronze Age social relations. However, ‘The Warrior’s Beauty’ proffers a highly sanitized and hegemonic view of Bronze Age masculinity that does little justice to the complexity of human identity (see Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Asserting that there was a ‘coherent warrior lifestyle’ does not mean that all eligible men conformed to it. The evidence for how regularly masculine ideals were enacted and sustained, or how individuals entered the warrior ‘class’ is thin—to what extent was it ‘action-based’ or inherited? Similarly, the extent to which warrior values can be exclusively equated with social status, or whether status might be expressed or achieved in a variety of other ways, is unclear. One might also ask to whom the performance of beauty was directed and whether it took place in public or in private. In an age before mirrors, did men groom themselves or was this done for them? In the case of the latter, was identity, therefore, a co-creation? How might modifications to the body aim to meet the expectations of others rather than of self? Furthermore, the Homeric epic poems (a key strand in Treherne’s argument) post-date the

Bronze Age (Finkelberg, 1998). Thus, they cannot be understood to represent a Bronze Age reality, but are likely to represent an amalgam (Snodgrass, 1974) or ‘unhistorical composite’ relevant to the values of the intended audience (Osborne, 1996: 153). Yet these unresolved questions, tensions, and deficiencies often seem to be willingly overlooked, such is the draw of Treherne’s narrative.

‘The Warrior’s Beauty’ remains one of the few unambiguous discussions of masculine identity in the prehistory literature and here, too, lies some of its allure. It is useful to recognize that the article was written in the early days of gender archaeology. The potential of mortuary contexts for gendered analyses in terms of the relationship between the physical body and grave goods had recently been highlighted in a range of publications (e.g. Bertelsen et al., 1987; Gero & Conkey, 1991; see also Sofaer & Sørensen, 2013). While these and many other subsequent works aimed to rectify the ‘invisibility’ of women and other social groups, on the whole men have remained visible but ‘unmarked’ (Alberti, 2006: 401). Treherne’s article, therefore, offers a form of analysis that remains largely unavailable elsewhere. It may also provide a potential point of self-identification for modern men, something noticeable in responses to ‘The Warrior’s Beauty’ in my own teaching practice: a delight (and relief) that the study of social identity and gender has a place for men and is not just about women! However, whether the enduring popularity of the article is due to the particular nature of the insights it provides into the Bronze Age and the nature of masculinity, or whether it results from disciplinary failure to develop a range of recognizable narratives about men (and thus a lack of alternative points of contact with the past for young men in particular), is unclear. In claiming that the origins of feudalism lie with the Bronze Age warrior, Treherne

positions the Bronze Age in a particular way with regard to the construction of modernity and creates a seductive legacy for modern masculine identity. However, this apparent legacy deserves scrutiny since the elision of two distant and entirely different periods is awkward. There is, therefore, potential for a vibrant, more contextually-specific discussion that enriches archaeology by recognizing dynamics, complexity, and nuances in the interwoven histories of women and men.

Though presented through the lens of theoretical debates surrounding various Marxist and post-processualist understandings of the expression of ideology that took root in the 1980s and 1990s, much of the article reads as if it could have been written more recently. Re-reading 'The Warrior's Beauty' twenty-one years after its publication, it is striking how current some of the terminology is. Terms such as 'embodiment', 'performance', 'subjectivity', and 'personhood', along with an explicit focus on the physicality of the body as a source for the construction and mediation of identity, resonate with contemporary concerns regarding the nature of past human experience. The article, therefore, retains disciplinary relevance, although it is notable that, in contrast to the extended discussion of ideology in the first part of the publication, the theoretical vocabulary that may be of most interest today is comparatively under-referenced and used relatively loosely. A lack of explicit 'positioning' in terms of the shades of meaning that accompany some of these theoretical strands may be an additional reason for the article's continuing appeal. In other words, it is easier to agree with generalities rather than specifics. A number of highly relevant volumes arguing both for and against Treherne's position in relation to the body had already been published prior to 1995, but are not cited by him (e.g. Butler, 1990, 1993; Featherstone, 1991; Shilling, 1993; Cornwall &

Lindisfarne, 1994; Moore, 1994). It is, therefore, interesting to consider whether the impact and continued relevance of the publication reflects its original aims and intentions. Rather than continuing to use the article in order to understand masculine identity, it may be profitable to return to, and critically engage with, Treherne's broader initial goals and arguments regarding the lived experience of ideology. Today, when it seems that ideology is everywhere, a critical re-reading of Treherne's text has particular poignancy in reflecting upon the potential role of ideology in the development of human experiences. It challenges us to consider how the expression of individual and group action is tied to beliefs about the world and one's place within it.

Though Treherne's article retains its popularity twenty-one years after its original publication, this is not necessarily due to its complete veracity or the bullet-proof nature of its arguments and evidence base. Instead, it appeals to the all too human desire for his narrative in our own turbulent world. It speaks to the pressing need for particular kinds of histories and thereby highlights both missed opportunities and constructive disciplinary developments. It will doubtless continue to be widely read as new generations of archaeologists find inspiration in its pages.

**THE ONGOING SIGNIFICANCE OF PAUL TREHERNE'S CLASSIC 1995 ARTICLE 'THE WARRIOR'S BEAUTY: THE MASCULINE BODY AND SELF-IDENTITY IN BRONZE-AGE EUROPE' (*JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN ARCHAEOLOGY*, 3(1), 105–44.) IN RECOGNITION OF THE 20TH VOLUME OF THE *EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY*
Christopher J. Knüsel**

This review comes in the midst of what has been described as a 'crisis of masculinity' in societies across the world, a social

phenomenon that is characterized by a male attainment deficit, increased incarceration and recidivism, poor employment prospects, and low self-esteem. In 2001 *The Economist* noted that ‘throughout the world, developed and developing, anti-social behaviour is essentially male. Violence, sexual abuse of children, illicit drug use, alcohol misuse, gambling, all are overwhelmingly male activities’. The article goes on to observe that ‘Men [...] have been robbed of their traditional roles as providers, protectors and even procreators’. Nearly fifteen years later, in 2015, *The Economist* characterized this trend in rich countries as ‘no job, no family and no prospects’.

This description of contemporary masculinity is completely at odds with the image Paul Treherne paints of masculinity some 4000 years ago in ‘The Warrior’s Beauty’. Treherne characterizes these Bronze Age warriors as epitomized by a concern with physical appearance, as implied by items described as ‘toilet kits’ found in their graves, consisting of combs, razors, and tweezers, which probably groomed them in life and at death. He describes these warriors as ‘beautiful’, adorned in shiny gold and bronze metalwork displayed on woollen garments, with elaborate, well-groomed, and probably distinctive hairstyles and perhaps facial hair or lack thereof. They may have employed make-up, perhaps using the peculiar wooden ‘spatulas’ sometimes found in burials, contemporary examples of which were found with Gristhorpe Man (Melton et al., 2013 and see below) and another with the Amesbury Archer (Fitzpatrick, 2011: 75). These Bronze Age men engaged in feats of conviviality—drinking bouts and feasts—and in the skilled use of the first specialized arms requiring both physical co-ordination and more assiduous training. They had personal character and their appearance expressed a developed

self-identity based on a weapon-bearing warrior lifestyle. Perhaps, like their later medieval counterparts, they evinced prowess; not only physical skill, but bearing and poise in conduct (see Knüsel 2011, 2015) that won glory, renown, and remembrance that formed the goals of life and contributed to a good death (Bloch and Parry, 1982: 15; Binski, 1996) as represented by an elaborate single burial beneath a mound visible for all to see. These men seem to have exuded confidence, self-esteem, and self-assurance within their societies, as reflected and represented in the treatment of their bodies in death. Treherne draws splendidly on the notion that ‘the body and its treatment becomes [*sic*] an artefact of and canvas for symbolic and social expression’ (Knüsel et al., 2010: 306).

Although Treherne’s article is admirable for highlighting the accoutrements, material culture, and aspects of the social context of these Bronze Age warriors, it inspired my interest, in part, because of the areas in which it is least developed. Despite repeated mentions and discussion of the body from a metaphysical point of view based on funerary remains, few remains of bodies enter into the piece and when they do they involve apparent manipulations of the remains of the deceased with presumed symbolic value that has more recently been ascribed to other processes in many instances. In effect, this leaves the use of ‘male’ and ‘masculine’ in his treatment in the same realm as the use of the word ‘prestige’ that is critiqued so thoroughly in it. The physicality of these warrior males is left untouched—their height, weight, physique, their maladies and wounds, the extent of their masculinity as defined by masculine physical traits—and even if all the individuals accompanied by such objects were indeed males, all of these attributes can be determined from the

analysis of the skeletal remains of the deceased. Were these men physically distinctive? Where did they come from, and to whom were they related? Did these physical attributes also have an influence on the appearance and status of the warrior as much as their dress and accoutrements? Some of these questions have been answered in the twenty-one years since the article was published, but many have not, and geographic and temporal coverage is uneven. These corporeal attributes could act as a complement to, and contribute much, if not more, to the ‘substantive content and implications for subjectivity’ (Treherne, 1995: 117, hereafter cited by page number only), to address ‘the relationship between the body and *subjectivity*’ (italics in the original) implicit in the objects found with the dead. This means that the template provided by Treherne could be judged against individual Bronze Age warrior graves, and it could inspire similar approaches in later periods, as indeed it did in the medieval examples referred to above.

Deeper consideration of the physical remains of the dead would also contribute to better understand the placement of objects on the body with respect to skeletal remains; this would do much to unravel the ideological underpinnings of these objects, revealing in the process a grammar of symbolic intent present in the patterning of material with respect to the remains of the body.

The corporeal attributes of these well-appointed male burials can also provide a means to study the social effects of ideologies that permeate all forms of human practice and whether or not their manifestations were indeed a conspiratorial practice of a ‘small group of cynical men’ (p. 115) to obtain a pre-eminent social status that conferred membership to ‘the warrior fraternity’ (p. 114). As noted by Treherne, the societies of the Late

Neolithic and Bronze Age were not egalitarian (if not before, see below), and it may well be that the activities and behaviours linked to the appearance of these individuals was indeed a conspiracy to legitimate social inequality. And this may have been enforced through threat and fear of retribution—from within social groups and from the outside—that led to the hegemony of groups of people, at least in some places and times. The means to explore these relationships come in two forms: measures of well-being and physical injuries, including weapon-related trauma. Again, both relate to the physical remains of the deceased.

One of the occupants of these Bronze Age single burials, the nearly complete skeleton known as Gristhorpe Man, was buried in an oak log coffin on the coast overlooking the North Sea, near Scarborough in Yorkshire (Melton, et al., 2010, 2013). He was buried with a whalebone-embellished dagger, among other artefacts. Gristhorpe Man and other single inhumations form a distinctive group of ‘tall men’ from the Early Bronze Age in Britain that suggests preferential access to good nutrition and growth environments commensurate with social advantage from birth, stature being a good measure of population and individual health and well-being (see discussion in McKinley, 2011; Knüsel et al., 2013). These men may have belonged to an inherited social elite for a period of time, though one that was not apparently sustainably inter-generational over the longer term. Gristhorpe Man was of robust build with an enviable body mass, producing a high normal body mass index by today’s standards. His was of athletic build. His strongly developed right dominant arm (i.e. humerus) testifies to its use in strenuous physical activities that are likely to have included technological and subsistence-linked activities such as manufacture and maintenance of objects, as in

woodworking and metalworking, and pursuits requiring physical effort, including long-distance walking and sport, as well as weapon use. Dietary isotopes suggest that he had benefited from a rich, high-protein diet, which also predisposed him to renal stones. During life he had developed an intracranial tumour, the placement of which may have affected movement of the right side of his body, including his well-developed right upper limb, and his ability to speak and comprehend speech. His remains also show evidence of a chronic infection of the maxillary dentition from dental caries, as well as other carious lesions. These are indications of the physical consequences of a socially pre-eminent lifestyle that included the consumption of cariogenic foods.

Gristhorpe Man had sustained four ante-mortem (i.e. all healed) traumatic injuries, two to his ribs, another to his neck, and yet another to his chin. These attest to an active lifestyle that exposed him to injury. The Amesbury Archer (named after the arrowheads among the grave goods accompanying this Early Bronze Age male burial in Wiltshire) also had sustained a crippling knee injury in his young adult years (McKinley, 2011). A worldwide review of traumatic lesions related to inter-personal conflict found that such injuries occurred overwhelmingly in males from the Bronze Age to the modern period (Knüsel & Smith, 2013b). These sumptuously adorned men and their followers were not only able to deliver injurious blows, but also exposed themselves repeatedly to injury as well.

The Neolithic forms a turning point in the level of violence (Schulting, 2006; Schulting & Fibiger, 2012; Smith, 2014). Although there is noticeably more evidence of injuries resulting from inter-personal violence in the Neolithic than in preceding periods, there appears to be a more equal distribution of traumatic

injuries between the sexes (Schulting & Wysocki, 2005; Fibiger et al., 2013; Knüsel & Smith, 2013b), attesting to the differing circumstance in which these wounds were received. Neolithic warfare appears to have been more about surprise and hit-and-run tactics, as may be indicated by a lack of static, defensible fortified places. Support for this statement comes in at least two additional forms of physical evidence, in addition to skeletal trauma: mass graves and bilateral limb asymmetry. The Early Neolithic mass grave at Talheim, which Schulting (2013: 22) describes as 'paradigm-shifting', was the first to provide evidence that apparent 'tools' (adzes) were responsible for cranial trauma that resulted in the deaths of multiple men, women, and children (Wahl & König, 1987). It was not only in the Early Neolithic that such violence is documented (Meyer et al., 2014, 2015), other notable examples being known from the Late Neolithic (Meyer et al., 2009). Already in the Early Neolithic, males buried with adzes seem to have employed their right upper limbs in activities that predisposed them to thrower's elbow (Villotte & Knüsel, 2014), a disorder linked to single-handed tool-use that probably included weapons.

Schulting (2013: 25) notes that 'we do not see a specialized warrior identity in the Mesolithic or Neolithic and that every able-bodied male would be expected to perform this role alongside his other roles: as hunter, farmer, herder, fisher, weaver, potter, etc.'. If discernible warrior graves are apparently absent, it appears that their activities seem to have been present. Warriors, then, probably emerged before they became archaeologically visible in the Bronze Age (see Jeunesse, 1996), when a more highly organized entourage of (male) warriors and more highly orchestrated warfare that is familiar to historians of the ancient world came into being.

When combined with the type of material associations described by Treherne, these studies have the capacity to break the symbolic/utilitarian interpretive equifinality implicit in apparently socially-identifying objects. In short, a great corpus, made up of theory, historical precedent, and material cultural correlates, lacks a synthetic biological component, and we are thus left with the conundrum of whether elaborately interred individuals constitute an orchestrated symbolic, but in essence unreal or even misleading, representation, or a true reflection of the emergence of a socially differentiated group that contributes leaders, i.e. active social agents, wielding unequal power to influence social change. This question finds its correlate in the work of Härke (1990, 1992) on early medieval weapon burials, which are described by Steuer (1989) as also representing a ‘warrior life-style’ in the early medieval period. As suggested in Treherne’s essay, the key to unpicking this knot of ambiguity—to break the equifinality implicit in the term ‘weapon burial’—lies in the physical attributes of individuals buried in elaborate graves.

The emergence of warriors in the Bronze Age may go far to explain some of the population movements/mass migrations that are thought to have taken place on a grand scale in the period (Haak et al., 2015), but such an explanation may also be employed on a local or regional scale to account for the origin of warrior-leaders. This would also help resolve the question of whether individual cases represent true warriors—who had actually fought—and distinguish them from others who were non-combatants buried in ways which mimicked the warrior’s beauty, in a manner that is similar to the transformation from warrior to courtier-aristocrat of the Later Middle Ages (see p. 130). This diachronic perspective, hinted at in the

conclusion of Treherne’s piece, speaks for what appears to be a recurrent and enduring phenomenon of a certain type of masculinity. It seems clear that by the advent of the European Bronze Age, if not before, the martial component of masculinity had emerged, and it continues to be present in a less personally active but increasingly powerful and deadly form in leadership today.

THE ‘BEAUTIFUL WARRIOR’ TWENTY-ONE YEARS AFTER: BRONZE AGE WARFARE AND WARRIORS Helle Vandkilde

The seminal article by Paul Treherne in the 1995 volume of this journal seems to have given rise to a mostly independent thread unrelated to the current surge in warfare research. The role of warfare and warrior aesthetics is briefly discussed against this background.

Warriors would seem topical to questions of prehistoric warfare, which until c. 1996 was a marginal subject area in archaeology. Since then, war has gained considerable momentum as a research theme and today the archaeology of warfare is firmly placed in the suite of archaeologies addressed. The brilliant ‘Warrior’s Beauty’ paper by Paul Treherne, published in 1995 in the *European Journal of Archaeology* (then the *Journal of European Archaeology*) can, given its many citations, be categorized as a high-impact article; it is a frequently accessed article on the journal’s website. Against this background, it is pertinent to ask if the study has had a role in driving the current interest in war and, hence, has influenced the new knowledge now emerging. Are the visual appearance and bodily movements of the ancient warrior, *sensu* Treherne, at all present in the archaeology of warfare now blooming?

In the twentieth century, the warrior was considered a heroic stereotype at the head of an ancient society that was deemed essentially peaceful. But, after the ‘discovery’ of the war-like reality of societies in the late 1990s, warriors have paradoxically fallen out of the Bronze Age research limelight, although warrior elites sometimes figure in interpretations (Vandkilde, 2016). It is, therefore, timely to assess the value of Treherne’s contribution.

An impactful essay ahead of its time

Treherne’s essay contains a number of observations and theory-driven hypotheses, which have the potential to throw light on the main strands of change in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe and increase our understanding of the role of the warrior in these societies. In addition, it is a manifesto replete with theoretical insights: classic, mainstream, and scholarly. The position taken is not easily slotted in to any theoretical school or paradigm; the article works equally well as a grand history on an Eurasian scale, and, by contrast, as an examination of the male body and equipment as both unique and reiterated materiality in life and death. This epistemological stance embedded in Classical history may explain the immediate success of Treherne’s article, not least in the mid-1990s when much energy was invested in aligning with processual, post-processual, or post-structural persuasions.

Characteristically, the essay works with dualities rather than dichotomies. In fact, the inseparability of ideology and reality on the one hand, and of the body, identity, and personhood on the other, may have been an eye-opener for many archaeologists struggling to make sense of specific archaeological remains, in particular burials: it became clearer that people’s

beliefs were lived through their social interactions and affiliations, and that concepts such as ‘false consciousness’ tends to victimize, especially, those people ‘without history’ and thence to simplify complex pre-historic realities. People live out their ideologies and form their identities through their bodies in an entanglement where power is an inherent element. In providing a simultaneously sophisticated and straightforward framework for thinking theoretically about archaeological things, data, culture, and change, Treherne was well ahead of his time. First, the essay can be read as a critique of archaeology rooted in philosophy, while at the same time promoting body, gender, identity, agency, the senses, and even history as an interleaved package central to the interpretive agenda. Second, the essay can be taken to be an innovative framework for better understanding the numerous weapons recovered in burials and hoards from around 3000 BC onwards, and here Classical studies and early written sources support the argument well. The immediate impression is nevertheless that this second aspect has not been invigorated to any significant extent by the general academic turn set out by Treherne’s essay.

Internet data may confirm this broad canvas. Even if the number of citations is likely to be an underestimate, the statistics in [Table 1](#) show that Treherne’s article has contributed more significantly to other subject areas (eighty-four per cent) than to warfare, weapons, and warriorhood (sixteen per cent). Its main impact is on questions of identity and gender, body and agency, emotion, art, and the senses, in addition to general theory and overviews. Its low impact (very few, if any, references) on the otherwise thriving genre of war studies is illustrated when leafing through a number of anthologies: e.g. those of Carman & Harding (1999); Osgood et al. (2000); Otto et al. (2006); Ralph (2013). Given this essay’s heading and principal message,

Table 1 Citations of Treherne 1995.

Treherne 1995		
Archaeological themes	Citations	Year span
Overviews	28	1999–2015
Identity-gender	36	1997–2016
Rituals-death-burial	23	2002–2015
Body-agency	17	2005–2013
Theory, e.g. mind-matter	13	1999–2014
Emotion-senses-art	12	2000–2014
Weapons	6	2003–2015
Warriors	9	1999–2016
Warfare	9	2003–2013
Sum	153	

Source: Google Scholar February 2016

it is surprising that warrior studies show up in such a low proportion in the statistics, but this may relate to warriors being rather marginal to the current rise in warfare studies. In fact, a handful of major warrior studies do recognize Treherne 1995 as central to the analysis of ancient warriors: Harrison (2004); Vandkilde (2006b); Harding (2007); Knöpke (2009); Schulting (2013). One could argue that it was Keeley’s book (*War Before Civilization*, 1996) and the wars and genocide of the 1990s that heralded research in prehistoric warfare. Meanwhile Treherne’s essay became one of the guiding threads in a parallel thrust to populate prehistory with able-bodied real people, but this comprised few analyses of warriors until recently. Treherne’s article thus seems to have instigated an independent thread of research mostly disconnected from the surge of warfare studies from 1996 to the present.

While Treherne’s article demonstrates a good knowledge of the archaeology outside the English-speaking world, the works quoting Treherne come predominantly from the latter. German archaeology has recently discovered war as a research area; this

Kriegsarchäologie seems to largely be an independent development apparently little influenced by the global rise in war studies since 1996, as the few cross-references reveal (e.g. Meller & Schefzik, 2015). It may be that the interest in war now manifest in German archaeology is a logical continuation, or offshoot, of the strong *Kriegergräber* tradition, which was also a major source of inspiration for Treherne (p. 105). More broadly, weaponry is still an important research focus in Germany (as well as elsewhere), albeit the interest has shifted slightly more towards investigations of damage and wear on deadly weapons, such as swords and spears, as well as research on traumata (e.g. Peter-Röcher, 2007; Horn, 2013). Furthermore, recent discoveries have been influential too, notably the Corded Ware multiple burial at Eulau in central Germany (Meyer et al., 2009) and two early Urnfield sites, the battlefield of Tollense (Jantzen et al., 2011) and the Neckarsulm warrior cemetery (Knöpke, 2009; Wahl & Price, 2013) in north-eastern and southern Germany, respectively.

In sum, the growing field of the archaeology of warfare follows several research directions which have so far been little concerned with the beautifully-bodied warrior, despite his implicit capacity for violence. It may well be that the warrior needs to be instated as an instrumental agent in the sometimes war-like reality of prehistoric society.

The Bronze Age warrior: epic hero or militant professional?

Treherne used as a springboard, firstly, the ostentatious panoplies of weapons deposited in the so-called *Kriegergräber* and, secondly, Homer’s warrior tales and their reinterpretations in Classical studies traditionally favouring masculine bodily aesthetics. The association of both these categories with grooming tools, dress and accessories,

drinking equipment, and wheeled vehicles may be a convincing argument that they represent the shared characteristics of warrior elites—centred on both the living and the dead masculine body: common life/death style and norms, beliefs, appearance, as well as inbred social superiority and habits of cultural consumption. This ideology is accordingly lived through individualizing and communal action in the group of warriors among which courtly conduct is pre-eminent, not least during the funerals of companions. It is, indeed, the Weberian notion of the status group which permeates the analysis and which is similar to van Wees' status warriors in the setting of Homer's epics (1992), or for that matter Kristiansen's warrior aristocracies in the Bronze Age (1984, 1999). Treherne does not use the word 'hero', which is nevertheless implicit throughout his article, in which, furthermore, the concept of warrior elites is not criticized and becomes a static component of Bronze Age society.

Today we know that prehistoric warfare cannot be reduced to rituals such as Treherne erroneously contends (pp. 109), extending the paradigmatic absence of war and violence prevalent in much earlier archaeological interpretation, which also venerated the gallant warrior as the head of society. Homeric warfare is, to put it simply, about prowess and honour, and about fame and glory on an epic scale; but bloody raids and piracy represent the reverse of the gleaming coin. Van Wees (1992) shows that Homer's epics narrate a social world in which rivalry thrived, and where power and leadership were constantly under pressure rather than making an undisputed, stable warrior hierarchy. Ugly violence and brutal assaults, such as plundering cities for revenue and taking captives for slavery, are present as subtexts to the dominant narrative of heroic conduct, which also tends to evaporate when the fallen heroes are left unburied

and mutilated on the battlefield, in danger of losing their social status.

These are important nuances to consider in regard to Bronze Age archaeology too; the interface between heroic and violent realities is becoming clearer, but still needs further study. Van Wees' findings can be said to parallel the duality present in the archaeological sources for the Bronze Age:

There can, first of all, be no doubt that *a heroic logic is embedded within much Bronze Age materiality* in the same way as it is at the core of Homeric society, reflected in particular in the *Iliad*. This implies that heroization formed part of the social reality in both these connected worlds and later gave rise to the varied and probably quite widespread practice of hero cults (Whitley, 1995; Vandkilde, 2013a), echoed in Hesiod's men of bronze and his notion of an age of heroes. Against this background, it becomes problematic merely to dismiss the hypothesis of warrior aristocracies, even though this institution needs to be nuanced in Bronze Age settings. Treherne is not overmuch concerned with bodily techniques as physical action, *sensu* Mauss (1936), and is more in line with Vernant's (1991a) aesthetic body perspective. Aesthetics on its own is, however, inadequate: through a more complete body perspective, Warnier (2011) contends that warfare always involves the fighter's subjectivity and that warriors are the professional agents specifically trained in the techniques of warfare. The movements of both body and weapons have to be synchronized to effectively overcome the innate fear, as mentality is clearly important for survival.

Secondly, new data strongly suggest that prehistoric *warfare was quite widespread and often deadly*: there is now substantial skeletal evidence for war-related violence (e.g. Schulting, 2013). *Kriegergräber* have so far not revealed skeletal trauma—probably not

because it did not exist, but because the skeletons are generally badly preserved and often cremated. The social status of the warrior as sword carrier or as charioteer is effectively commemorated in the burial rites (e.g. Clausen, 1999; Winghart, 1999), and there is nothing to suggest that this did not have a bearing on conflict and war. A violent reality at the transition to the Urnfield period emerges clearly from two recently excavated sites. Around 1250 BC in the Tollense river valley, numerous plundered corpses of warriors with projectiles often still embedded in their bodies were left on the battlefield by the victors (Jantzen et al., 2011). This is paralleled at the cemetery of Neckarsulm, dated to the early Urnfield period (Ha A1) (Knöpke, 2009). Both sites contain almost exclusively young male warriors, many of them foreigners and probably mounted (Wahl & Price, 2013; Brinker et al., 2015). This matches well the quantification of weapon burials calculated by Clausen (1999: 392) with peaks at the beginning and end of this long period. Earlier evidence, such as the Corded Ware burials at Gjerrild and Eulau, and the Wassenar and Over-Vindinge burials dated to the transition to the Middle Bronze Age, clearly show that war-related violence occurred, if not throughout the period then definitely at the thresholds of change (see Otto et al., 2006; Peter-Röcher, 2007; Vandkilde, 2013b). These datasets concur with the outcome of use-wear studies of Bronze Age weaponry (e.g. Kristiansen, 2002; Mörtz, 2010; Horn, 2013). In addition, weapons such as swords, spears, shields, and armour became more deadly, effective, and standardized over time, culminating in the Urnfield period. While bows and arrows are infrequent in burials and other deposits they are prominently attested across the periods in the data for skeletal trauma. This reveals that archery was instrumental in war, while it did not officially form part of the concept

of heroic valour and of special codes of life/death style conducted in the companies of warrior peers.

Warriorhood can thus be defined as a social identity springing from militant bodily-material interaction, but also from heroic tales of men, war, and glory. Therefore, Treherne’s warrior obsessed with his bodily appearance ought to be taken seriously when we add the violence that is *also* integral to the warrior’s being and doing. Such an entwined reality for a Bronze Age warrior is in full agreement with the outcomes of the few warrior-focused studies mentioned in the introduction. If the identity of the warrior is disconnected from the activity of warfare, there is a risk that the many data obtained, notably for weaponry and trauma, will not further our knowledge of how war and its agents influenced history and vice versa. Quantitative variations over time in trauma and weaponry already hint that warriors and their actions were placed centrally in the historical web of causes and effects with major thresholds at around 3000 BC, 1600 BC, and 1200 BC.

**THE BEAUTY OF THE CHALK WARRIOR:
A REFLECTION ON TREHERNE’S
CONTRIBUTION TO PREHISTORIC
MARTIAL CULTURE
Melanie Giles**

Introduction

In 1995, archaeologists from the University of Sheffield were excavating a Late Iron Age-early Roman farmstead—a so-called ‘ladder’ or ‘droveway’ enclosure—on the High Wolds of East Yorkshire (Giles, 2007). Among the objects in the box of finds that has made its way into my care, is a small, broken tablet of hard chalk with an almost translucent or bony quality. It is

roughly triangular and, even though it lacks a head, it is clearly carved to represent a human torso: a new, rare example of the ‘chalk figures’ first drawn by Mortimer (1905: fig. 492) and published as a corpus by Stead (1988). The fragment is damaged by both plough and mattock, yet some original incised lines survive underneath the unwashed rime of loam: the double stripe of a belt, the flare of a sword’s hilt running up the backbone, and the sleeve-edges of both arms (Figure 1f). The right sleeve reaches behind over the shoulder blade; the left hangs down, truncated abruptly where the front has sheared off in antiquity (Figure 2). This diminutive armed figure is poised, frozen in the act of reaching for its sword—appealing to be understood in the context of the last century of Iron Age life in Britain, and its difficult and undoubtedly bloody entry into the Roman world.

1995 also saw the publication of Paul Treherne’s article on ‘The Warrior’s Beauty’, and an increasingly battered photocopy of this publication has accompanied me into the field ever since. Useful evening reading matter on an East Yorkshire Wolds dig where Iron Age square burials cluster along streams fed by violent springs. An example of taut scholarship that drew theory into skilful marriage with Bronze Age material culture. An article glowing with bronze feasting equipment, weaponry, and horse-gear, against which echo the worlds of Homeric poetry and the bloody sheen of figures such as Achilles and Hector. Yet at its heart lay overlooked and intimate objects of male bodily care: ‘accessories’ normally relegated to the domestic realm. The small piece of research presented here owes a debt of inspiration to this publication and its author. In the sections that follow, I want first to highlight its key strengths and then show how my own work continues to tack back-and-forth to this seminal article.

‘The Warrior’s Beauty’

Treherne’s critique of the Bronze Age ‘warrior aristocracy’ model draws on embodiment and practice theory of the late 1980s–1990s (particularly the theories inspired by Mauss, Bourdieu, and Giddens), and the work of John Barrett (1994), Julian Thomas (1991), and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (1991) on ‘technologies of the body’, ‘lifestyle’, and ‘biographical’ approaches in archaeology. Like them, he takes the materiality of the body and its life-cycle as a fundamental frame of human experience, meaning, and thus analysis. Yet his article stands out from these studies through an explicit interest in the character of the warrior. Treherne does not problematize this term (see Giles, *forthcoming*), nor spend time discussing the scale and character of violence in later prehistoric Europe, citing instead the ‘heroic combat’ of Classical Mediterranean literature as analogous evidence. He contrasts this kind of ‘sovereign warrior’ with the hoplite phalanxes of Late Bronze Age Spartans or serried ranks of Roman legionaries, for example. At the end of the article, brief allusions to medieval sacred masculinity, knightly valour, and later court aristocracy provide alternative models of male renown, which foreshadow the work of Taylor (e.g. 2013) or Gilchrist (e.g. 2009). It is, however, clear, as the article progresses, that Treherne is arguing that these warriors were not inevitable socio-evolutionary products of complex societies: they were the outcome of deliberate choices to elevate and perpetuate a particular character, and celebrate the ideals they embodied.

Such bodies took very particular historical and cultural forms, which required *work*: habitualized regimes of bodily training, care, and adornment, alongside a suite of cultural customs which valorized the body as ‘a locus of individuality’ (Treherne, 1995: 107). Musculature, posture, hair,

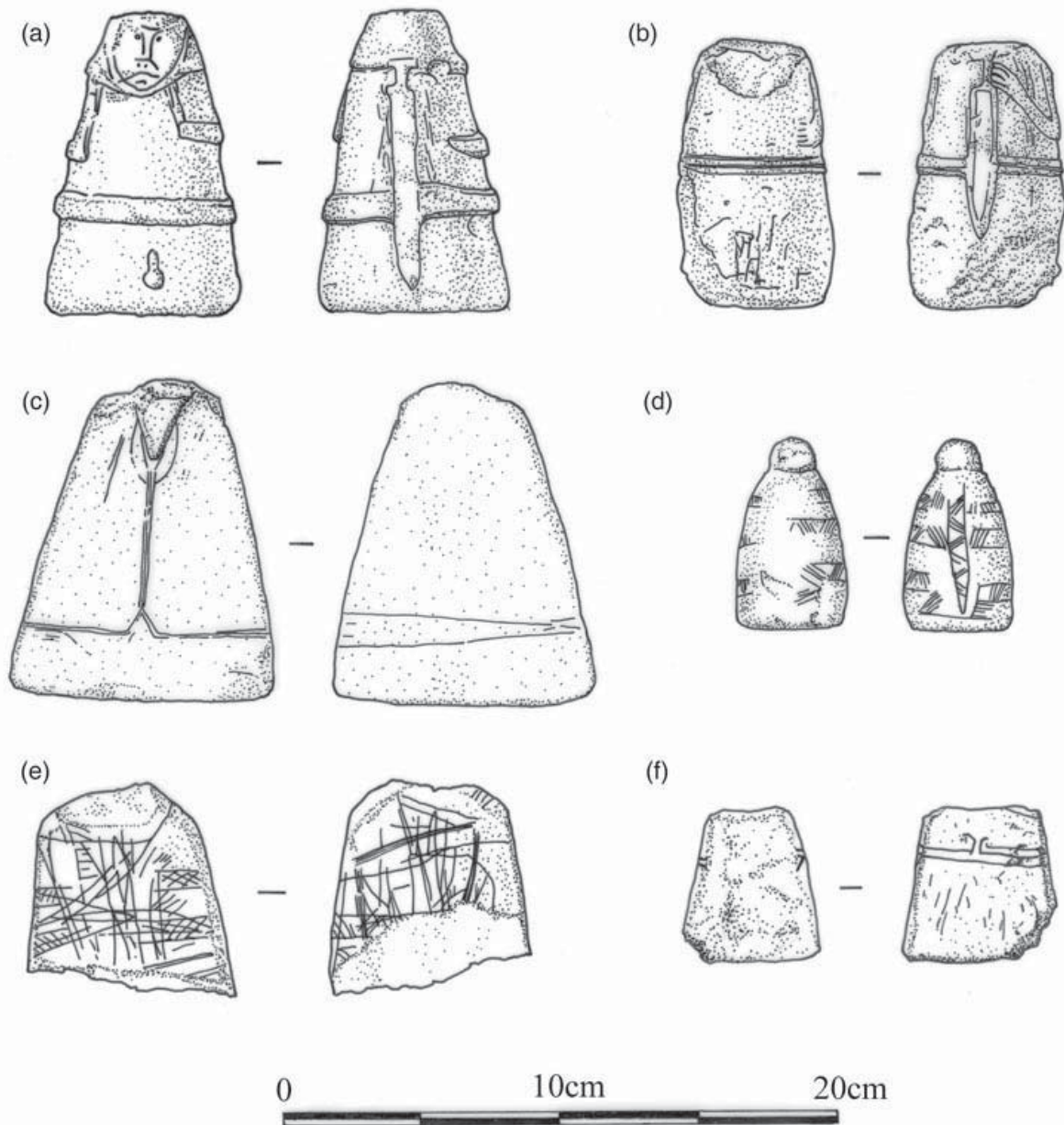


Figure 1. Chalk figures from East Yorkshire: (a) *Withernsea*; (b) *Garton Slack*; (c) *Fimber, Blealand’s Nook*; (d) *Malton*; (e) *Garton Slack*; (f) *Wharram Grange Crossroads* (after Stead, 1988 with additions, drawn by M. Giles).

equipment, and dress. The work of training, practising, and honing one’s skills. The work of crafting, sharpening, and repairing arms. The symbolically charged arenas of hunting and dancing through which warriors practised their arts. The drinking and eating through which warriors distinguished themselves from others, celebrated their courage, and bound themselves to their comrades. And, not least, the work of fighting: being wounded, dying with honour, being remembered. This not only

gave rise to a specific male ‘*life style*’ as he puts it, embodied in both ‘social practices and cultural representations’, but also a ‘*death style* ... a socio-culturally prescribed way of expiring’ (p. 106).

Throughout his article, Treherne deploys objects normally dismissed as part of male vanity (‘horn, bone, and bronze combs, bronze tweezers, razors, mirrors and (‘tattooing’) awls’; p. 110) and suggests they could be essential parts of the kit and care of the warrior. He reminds us



Figure 2. *The Wharram Grange Crossroads figurine fragment: dorsal face (Photo: M. Giles).*

that personhood was ‘not limited to the boundaries of the epidermis’ (p. 126), but could also be constituted through body art, hair styling, clothing, even the use of incense or oils, alongside actual arms, as part of costumes that ‘visually and acoustically accentuated the body’ (p. 127). Qualities of youth, physical power, sexual potency, and courage are illustrated through the ‘blaze’ of light said to surround heroes such as Achilles: a sheen that Treherne discusses in relation to the fleshy-material amalgam of shields, breast-plates, blades, hair, muscles, sweat, used in such synergy with the warrior’s body that they became not just trappings but *extensions* of the self. Treherne draws archaeologists away from the field of violence itself into the most intimate rituals of self-care that protected and strengthened these figures, as well as the rites that dealt with their injuries; prepared and buried their corpses in a fitting send-off, and—their direct corollary—despoiled, stripped, and defamed the bodies of enemies. And finally, he points to the after-work of commemoration: the graveside performances and monuments (warrior ‘stelae’ or tumuli, figurines or motifs) as corollaries of Greek epic poetry, which fixed them in both the land and the memory of their brothers-in-arms and descendants. Seminal to all of

these ideas was the heavily referenced work of Vernant (1991b).

Performing beauty, performing violence: the Iron Age warrior

Treherne’s model of embodiment has received critical attention from Bronze Age scholars (e.g. Brück, 2004) on relational identity or Fowler (2013) on personhood. Yet his notion that later prehistory marks the emergence of a form of ‘masculine *beauty* peculiar to the warrior’ (p. 106) was a compelling one. Methodologically, he made scholars look at the whole life-cycle of this persona through its associated material culture: not just weaponry, but objects of body care, statuary, figurines, and even burial as a kind of valorizing, material epigraph, ‘fixing a certain image in death’ (p. 121).

In my own field, James’s (2007) ‘call to arms’ (regarding the pacification of the Iron Age) has been complemented by seminal studies on weaponry (Stead, 2006) and violence (Redfern, 2009; Armit, 2012; Kelly, 2013; Aldhouse-Green, 2015); it created a richer understanding of the character of Iron Age conflict and a more critical approach to the ‘Celtic warrior’ (Creighton, 2000; Hunter, 2005; Giles, *forthcoming*). In my own work, I have combined osteological and material culture evidence to suggest that codes of honourable conduct governed communities like the Arras culture of Iron Age East Yorkshire: agreed, staggered stages of conflict before blood was shed, which were highly performative (Giles, 2012, 2015). It is into such arenas of swaggering bravado and bellicose posturing that we need to resituate decorated weapons and chariotry—not just as intimidating for an enemy, but apotropaically effective for the warrior (Giles, 2008). I have also revisited Vernant’s idea that ‘dying well’—achieving a ‘beautiful death’—was not merely a way of dealing

with grief and enhancing status (p. 123), but a vital means of grappling with the existential ‘angst’ that gripped young men committed to a brief but glorious life (p. 122): achieving post-mortem honour particularly in the case of untimely, mysterious, or ignominious deaths (Giles, 2015). But what about the notion of ‘beauty’ specific to such warriors? Let us return to the chalk figures.

The chalk figures

They emerge on the Yorkshire Wolds and surrounding Vales in the context of a radically changing world: the first century BC–first century AD (pre-dating the conquest of northern Britain but continuing to be made, used, and deposited into the later Roman period; Stead, 1988: 22–23). The final phase of this region’s square barrow cemetery rite witnessed a higher proportion of weapon burials than before (Stead, 1991), suggesting a renewed focus on arms, reflected in later weapons caches such as South Cave (Evans *et al.*, forthcoming). In an era when Roman conquest and military occupation became a lived reality, it is not perhaps surprising that armed masculinity was culturally re-vitalized. Whether dealing with resistance and its suppression, collaboration, or recruitment as an auxiliary, the right to bear arms and the skill to wield them must have defined the aspirations of many young men in this region.

Between forty and fifty figurines are known: twenty-four complete/near-complete examples, including Wharram (Stead, 1988: table 1). They are carved in a variety of different kinds of chalk: some heavily modified, others nodules and plaques apparently selected for their torso form. Both substance and appearance may have been key, not just for the ease of creating such figures from an everyday material, but for its white, hard shine—

analogous to bone while exuding the sheen of sweat which may have enhanced its perceived animacy (see Conneller, 2011). Details are finely incised (e.g. Malton, Figure 1d) or cut-back and excised to create three-dimensional effects (e.g. Withernsea, Figure 1a). The figures create a strong sense of an idealized body: composed, largely expressionless—simple eyes and a nose, rarely a mouth, and only then a flat line. Perhaps this conjured the grim determination or fortitude expected of a man poised for violence, enduring pain, or steeled for death (see Armit, 2012). Rarely are they explicitly gendered: Withernsea has a stylized phallus and scrotum, as well as a moustache and beard (or hood) and Fimber may also have a pointed beard (Stead, 1988). Heads are often missing, perhaps a point of structural weakness but Stead (1988: 25) also suggests that some may have been deliberately ‘decapitated’. Arms are depicted (but not legs or feet): frequently shown in a dual posture of left-handed welcome or hospitality (spread open across the stomach) and right-handed ‘readiness’, reaching for or hovering above the sword—an apotropaic gesture (Giles, 2007) rather than a realistic depiction of unsheathing a blade (Stead, 1988: 19).

Fourteen of the near-complete figures are depicted with swords (Stead, 1988: 19), twelve running vertically or diagonally along the back and two at the right-hand side (Anthoons, 2012). Stead links this to the mid-scabbard suspension loops found with his Group E (e.g. Mid–Late Iron Age East Yorkshire: Kirkburn K5, Wetwang Slack chariot burials 1 and 3) and Group F (first century AD ‘Brigantian’ swords from north-west Britain) swords (Stead, 2006). These weapons are often composites of bronze or wooden scabbards, shielding iron blades. La Tène-inspired Celtic art often draws the eye down the bronze scabbard to elaborate

chapes. Hilts and pommels frequently combine organic materials (wood, horn, and, in the case of South Cave sword 1, whalebone tooth and elephant ivory; O'Connor, 2013) with exquisite glasswork, excised iron grips, or raised bronze plates and studs. Rare scabbard fittings (rings, miniature terrets, and strap unions) would have fixed hide ties to belts. Importantly, it is these lost, 'ancillary' organics and the details of woven cloth that form the major decorative focus on the figures. Hems, hoods, collars, bands, and wrappings (sometimes covering the scabbard) are drawn as grids or alternating horizontal/vertical stripes and herringbone patterns. These might represent highly localized weaving traditions that demarcated aspects of neighbourhood, lineage, age, or gender (Giles, 2012: 127). On several figures (Figure 1e) repeated, incised gashes, slashes, and scored lines overlaid such clothing: symbolic wounding or killing of an 'enemy' figure perhaps, or representations of injuries endured—scars borne by a 'hero'.

Discussion

This reflection on Treherne's seminal work began with a new example of an Iron Age chalk figure. The brief example given here furthers Treherne's argument that the 'beauty' of such warriors resided in the melding of skilled body, kit, and experience: flesh marked by combat, but cared for; well-dressed hair and clothing; strappings, fittings, and sheathed blades. Yet beauty also resided in posture and gesture ... poised, prepared, ready ... exuding not the moment of violence, but potential for bloodshed. They thus form an important, indigenous contrast to the Classical world's representation of northern tribes—the noble, dying victim (e.g. the 'Dying Gaul'), or the defeated and trampled Barbarian (e.g. *Reitertyp* 581

tombstones, such as that of Insus found in Lancaster). The chalk figures were meant to stand outside of time, unmoved (quite literally, given the flat base and basal peg-hole on many examples; Stead, 1988: 22). What was their purpose? The idiosyncratic nature of their crafting, the multiple fragments found at sites like Garton Slack, and their deposition among household debris (as with the Wharram Grange Crossroads example) suggest these were not part of an elite art, but were made expediently, locally, and frequently. Household deity, toy, game-piece, warrior-god, mythic ancestor (Stead, 1988: 25)? Feared and symbolically dispatched enemy? Venerated mnemonic of an honoured relative? Intimate surrogate, even, for a body lost in conflict, defiled and defamed? We may never know. Yet they tell us of a concept of the armed figure which (in Treherne's words) did not simply relate to appearance, but to living beautifully and dying well.

AGING WELL ... DYING BEAUTIFULLY Paul Treherne

In the autumn of 2004, I was invited to view a discovery brought to light in a gorge below the little medieval town of Sovana, in southern Tuscany. Workmen clearing the vegetation around a large mass of volcanic *tuffo* (tuff) found the block of stone engraved on its underside. When I arrived, local archaeologists had burrowed underneath the boulder, propping it up with timber supports. Lying on my back, I shut my eyes, as they instructed, and pulled myself into the narrow space beneath the rock. I shall never forget the sight when I opened my eyes again. I found myself face to face with a life-sized demon, a Scylla or Triton, carved more than two thousand years ago from the warm-hued stone.

The *Tomba dei demoni alati*, as it is now known, was discovered by chance in a well-known necropolis where I, like countless others, had walked many times before. The winged demon once formed the pediment of a tomb, which had become detached centuries earlier from the high cliff face where the tomb itself was located. This accounted for the figure’s incredible state of preservation—his flowing hair, nude torso, and curling fishtails all fresh and crisp as if carved yesterday. Further excavation revealed a high arched niche, in which a painted effigy of the deceased lay. The false-door was flanked by at least one lion and two other standing figures that were largely intact from the neck down.

At the time, I was part of a collaborative project restoring the nearby Siren tomb at Sovana, first publicized by Samuel Ainsley and George Dennis in 1843. I was sent to Grosseto to inspect a carved head that had been found half a century later amid the rubble around the tomb of the Siren. The head had once belonged to one of two statues that flanked the central niche of the tomb’s façade, in exactly the same fashion as the more recent and better-preserved *Tomba dei demoni alati*. After years in which it had been kept in the vaults of the Archaeological Museum, a plaster cast of the head was being made for restoration on site.

Intriguingly, the curator showed me something one could not observe from the fragmentary torso on site, yet confirmed by the figures from the newly discovered tomb. In each statue, one hand drew back a tress of hair, while the other reached across with a blade to cut it. There was something more that intrigued me. Whereas the owner of the recent tomb was male, as advertised by a crude phallus etched in the rock face, the winged demons cutting their own hair were all female.

The experience cast my thoughts back to the article I wrote in this journal in 1995: ‘The warrior’s beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze Age Europe.’ The paper grew out of an undergraduate degree in anthropology and Classics and was adapted from a dissertation for an M.Phil degree in archaeology at Cambridge University, written in a few brief months over the summer of 1994.

The *Tomba dei demoni alati* at Sovana invoked many of the same themes that had informed my research. The monstrous Scylla, heaving the deck of a ruined ship over his shoulders, reminded me of the threat of annihilation that death (at sea) evokes, devoid of any notion of a redemptive afterlife. The figures cutting their long hair recalled the contrast between beauty and bodily mutilation in death, like the siren whose song promised not the splendour of eternal renown, but a place among the bleached bones and rotting corpses in her coils.

Archaeologists have dated the Sovana tombs to the third century BC, long after the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were committed to writing and enshrined as part of a common literary tradition across wide areas of the Mediterranean. Explicit Homeric scenes begin to appear in Etruscan funerary art from at least the seventh century BC, in some cases showing divergence from Greek versions of the tales.

In my original article, I made much more sweeping claims about the relevance of Homeric poetry to our understanding of masculinity and self-identity in later European prehistory, while deliberately avoiding questions as to how such a body of myth or epic tradition might have been transmitted, or adopted and reinterpreted in new environments. The purpose was not to pin-point Homeric epic in time and space, much less to suggest, as an earlier generation of archaeologists mistakenly did, that Bronze Age Europe *was*

somehow the Heroic Age of which ‘the bard’ had sung. Homer, if he ever existed, composed his epics in the specific circumstances of eighth-century Greece, at a time when society was undergoing rapid social change.

The poems themselves are layered with the accumulation of centuries of oral transmission, arguably reaching back to the Bronze Age. This is why archaeologists have tended to approach them like monuments to be excavated for material traces of the past. Instead, as Ian Morris explains, ‘material culture and poetic culture were two ways in which people in eighth-century Greece constructed the social world within which they moved. Both were important arenas in which people fashioned images of what they wanted the world to be, and challenged competing constructions which they did not like’ (Morris, 1997: 539).

In this light, the development of epic poetry itself only becomes intelligible when viewed, alongside funerary rites, as an historically contextualized response to fundamental questions of being: ‘the same strategy for dealing with death both inspires the treatment of the corpse and presides over the development of oral epic’ (Vernant, 1991b: 82).

The epic biography of a warrior often began with his funerary dirge but, more than this, heroic poetry and the ‘warrior grave’ functioned through homologous signifi- catory structures. Both comprised historically unique modes of narrative representation, relying on formulaic tools—static epithets, stock phrases or imagery, and highly standardized or repetitive scenes, episodes, and sequences—involving the living and dead body.

The exhibition of the individual in the earth and epic song were both performative spectacles, mythopœic acts that summed up an existence led in pursuit of an aesthetic ideal. Beyond simply

idealising the lifestyle of the warrior, these representational media shared a common function: the enshrinement of personal reputation and status in collective memory through linking the individual to an exalted heroic ‘past’ which stands outside time and space. Through imprinting particular images or associations in the minds of the audience, they were the sole opportunity for the individual to integrate and transcend death. By dying beautifully in the eyes of the living, the heroic warrior inscribed his singular being on the collective memory of the group, even the soil itself, thereby achieving a measure of immortality.

Seen in this light, the introduction of writing was only another strategy for rendering memory durable, a set of signs like the earthen mounds placed at conspicuous locations in the landscape. Paradoxically, however, the very technology that salvaged oral poetry for posterity altered its nature irrevocably, fossilizing it into a literary corpus open to scrutiny as abstract text. Self-conscious attempts to invoke an heroic past, like the *Tomba dei demoni alati* at Sovana, would henceforth take place in a world of literary ‘quotes’. The funeral of Misenus in the *Aeneid* is deliberately styled after that of Hector in the *Iliad*, as is the Tiber-side tumulus of the emperor Augustus, to whom Virgil dedicated his epic poem. Late Antique challenges to these monumental expressions of the heroic ideal would also be disseminated via the written word—the myriad ‘technologies of self’, as Foucault liked to call them, of which Christianity was the most far reaching.

On the fringes of Europe, where, over the Early Middle Ages, Christian literacy made inroads into what were still, essentially, prehistoric societies, surviving epic poetry and material culture reveal a great deal about changing notions of the body, masculinity, and personhood. Read side by

side, rather than as passive reflections of one another, the Sutton Hoo ship burial and funeral passages in *Beowulf* offer a rich and complex picture of the colliding worldviews and different ‘psychic fabrics’, as Seamus Heaney put it, that are woven into the Anglo-Saxon poem—a piece of narrative that speaks more than ever to us, living as we do, ‘[i]n an age when “the instability of the human subject” is constantly argued for if not presumed’ (Heaney, 2001: xvii).

One of the challenges for those studying the past is the way in which we inevitably look at the body or masculinity, as we do with everything else, through the lens of modern values, preoccupations, and concerns. I shall never forget one evening in a pub in Cambridge shortly after my article was published when a fellow student enthused that I had discovered ‘queens in the Bronze Age’.

It is gratifying to know that the article continues to inspire debate.

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5.3 Bronze Age beginnings: the conceptualisation of motherhood in prehistoric Europe

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Bronze Age Beginnings: The Conceptualization of Motherhood in Prehistoric Europe

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

INTRODUCTION

Researching motherhood in prehistoric periods, for which, by definition, no literary sources exist, may seem like an impossible task, not least because of the danger of projecting recent interpretations onto the past to fill the gaping holes in our knowledge. In recent decades, however, a panoply of scientific methods have become available, which, in combination with thorough archaeological observations and interpretations, can give us new insights into individual identities and demographic characteristics of Bronze Age communities. To separate fact from fiction, we must turn to the archaeological evidence to illuminate gender relations and family structures.

The rich archaeological record of the Bronze Age includes thousands of graves, which are the primary sources to consider. They include both biological information of the deceased individuals and social information: the way bodies were treated after death, how they were placed and which material objects were chosen to accompany them, gives us insights into values and beliefs of the deep past. Men and women of the period were buried with grave goods that relate to age, gender, status and wealth, as

K. Rebay-Salisbury (✉)
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria

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well as individual characteristics, including metal dress fittings and jewelry, weaponry and tools as well as vessels of ceramic and bronze, intended as containers for perishable provisions for the afterlife.

The transition to parenthood was perhaps the most significant change of identity in past people's lives, and, because of its dramatic effect on the female body,¹ particularly for women. Gender archaeology² has brought many advances in understanding the social roles, status and lifecycle³ of women, but has primarily focused on making women visible, investigating women's access to wealth and power or their work capacity beyond child-rearing. There is, however, a distinct lack of research into how women's lives changed through pregnancy, the event of childbirth and extended periods of childrearing, and how society responded to these changes.⁴ Because motherhood is often understood as a natural and inevitable part of a woman's lifecycle, with all women going through the same stages of life, encompassing childhood, adolescence, marriage, childrearing and grandmotherhood, the variability of women's lives in the Bronze Age has not yet been fully explored.

THE EUROPEAN BRONZE AGE

The Bronze Age covers roughly the second millennium B.C.E. in most of Europe, although the dating of the beginning and the end of the Bronze Age varies regionally. The beginning of the Aegean Bronze Age is dated to c. 3200 B.C.E.,⁵ but most of continental Europe, including Britain, France, Iberia, Germany and neighboring countries suggest a beginning around 2200 B.C.E. and an end around 800 B.C.E.⁶ The Scandinavian Bronze Age does not begin before 1800 B.C.E. and ends around 500 B.C.E. The common use of bronze, the defining characteristic of the Bronze Age, was a technical refinement of copper metallurgy rather than a radical innovation. Yet, the introduction of bronze economy coincided with, and may have triggered, important social changes.⁷ The production of bronze required sourcing the raw materials copper and tin, found in disparate places in Europe, which gave rise to new long-distance exchange networks. Metallurgical knowledge was most likely in the hands of few and led to an increase in craft specialization. Bronze objects are suitable to accumulate and store as well as to display and distribute wealth. The Bronze Age is thus the period in which social stratification and differentiation became firmly established, and this is increasingly archaeologically visible, especially in funerary rites.

Burial in communal, megalithic tombs, which were common in Western Europe in earlier periods,⁸ gave way to the interment of single bodies in individual graves at the beginning of the Bronze Age; this may be tied into a shift from an ideology of place and community to one of individual and personal display. Burial customs thus became formal and standardized, with age and gender as decisive factors for the way in which bodies were buried. Status expression through quality and quantity of grave goods and grave constructions became an increasing concern at the transition from the early to the Middle Bronze Age. Funerary rites changed from inhumation—with cremations as rare exceptions—to bi-ritual deposition under burial mounds in the Middle Bronze Age, to using cremation almost exclusively in the Late Bronze Age. The number of individuals included in cemeteries also varies throughout the periods, with groups of a few to perhaps several dozen graves most typical for the Early Bronze Age, to cemeteries of thousands of individuals in the Late Bronze Age. Yet, they are spread over several hundred years, which questions how representative even large cemeteries were for the demographics of Bronze Age communities. For many parts of Europe, there are not enough bodies in light of how many houses and settlements are found, suggesting that not all were buried in an archaeologically recognizable way.

The majority of Bronze Age people lived in small-scale settlements and single farmsteads,⁹ practiced subsistence farming and animal husbandry, and crafted products like textiles and tools for use and exchange. If this sounds idyllic, there is also considerable evidence of conflict, violence and war,¹⁰ for example through traces of injury and trauma on the human skeleton, and the presence of fortified settlements and weaponry. In fact, it is in the Bronze Age that, for the first time in European prehistory, we see the sword as a specialized weapon, solely designed for combat and no longer doubling as a tool. Axes, daggers and knives may be deadly as well, but they have other useful purposes besides fighting. Clearly, some people gained power and prestige at the expense of others.¹¹

On the ladder of cultural evolution, the Bronze Age has often been characterized as being composed of chiefly societies,¹² somewhat more complex than tribes or bands, but less complex than states. In a chiefdom, status is ascribed rather than achieved, and the individuals' ranks are defined by their position in the kinship group. This places key importance on an individual's parents. High status individuals, expected to perform heroic deeds, are thought to simultaneously play ritual and religious roles.¹³

Archaeological evidence of the Bronze Age also includes traces of ritual practices. Most common are hoards, deposits of a small group of objects. Some appear personalized and resemble weapon or jewelry sets, whereas others comprise many similar artifacts; there are also hoards of raw materials and scrap metals, which lend themselves to profane interpretations. Hoards are frequently found in special, liminal places, for example peaks, watery contexts or boundaries between different landscapes and plots of land. A common explanation for the hoarding practice is that the goods were dedicated to gods.¹⁴ It is unclear if bodies buried in unusual ways, such as in settlement pits,¹⁵ may be evidence of human sacrifices; many alternative explanations are possible, too. Other evidence for Bronze Age religion is scarce. Outside the Mediterranean, figurative art representing objects, animals, humans and gods is often absent; exceptions include rock art from Scandinavia¹⁶ and Alpine areas.¹⁷ Stelae from Iberia embody mostly warriors.¹⁸ Middle and Late Bronze Age iconography in Europe is limited to suns, birds and boats on metalwork, perhaps representing the journey of the sun (god?) through day and night, life and death.¹⁹

BRONZE AGE WOMEN

Where are the women, and indeed the mothers, in a world full of shiny bronze armor and weapons, as the Bronze Age is often presented? Material evidence for Bronze Age occupations beyond subsistence points to metalworkers, warriors, priests and shamans.²⁰ The warrior identity²¹ was certainly interlinked with male gender ideals, but there is no reason to assume metalworkers and ritual specialists were always male. The grave of an Early Bronze Age woman from Geitzendorf, Austria, for example, included a selection of stone tools employed in metal production, which suggests an identity as a craftswoman.²²

Women's graves are by no means less well equipped than contemporary men's are. They include jewelry and dress items of bronze, bone, shell, amber and glass, often a combination of different materials with different, striking visual properties. Dress pins, common for both men and women, fastened garments. Textiles²³ in themselves had considerable value; their production from linen and wool was labor intensive, and in the Bronze Age, likely in the hands of women. Remnants of a striped fabric were found in an elaborate Early Bronze Age bronze headdress in Franzhausen, Austria, and textile fragments from the Middle Bronze Age salt mines of Hallstatt give a glimpse of the manifold colors, patterns and textures of

textiles. Most of the time, however, only bronze dress fittings, pins, fibulae, bronze rivets and the like, survive in graves. Jewelry includes diadems, rings around the head, possibly hair rings or rings fastened on scarves, necklaces, both solid and composed of spirals, pendants and beads, arm rings, belts and leg rings, finger- and toe rings.

Cemeteries provide an opportunity to study how the biological age of women buried in graves intersects with their dress, jewelry and other items.²⁴ At the Early Bronze Age site of Prag-Miškovice,²⁵ Czechia, for example, the graves with the most elaborate stone constructions were those of two young girls at the age of 5–8 and 8–12; they were buried with only a single bronze pin each. The burial equipment of two girls in their teens, aged 14–17 and 14–20, was almost identical and included a wide variety of materials. The women were buried with one ceramic vessel each, one bronze dress pin, some hair rings, some bronze spirals worn as necklaces and amber beads; one woman's jewelry further included maritime shells, whereas the other had a perforated ceramic disk under her right knee. At this cemetery, the morphological determination of sex, which is often undetermined in sub-adult individuals, was supplemented by ancient DNA analysis.

At the cemetery of Franzhausen, Austria, girls were buried with the full female costume from the age of about 14,²⁶ at Gemeinlebarn, Austria, there seemed to be a gradual enrichment with dress components, with bronze rings for girls, to caps for (married?) women.²⁷ Graves of girls and young women were among the richest in the cemetery (and therefore prime targets for grave re-opening and the removal of objects). It appears that in this age group, women were thought to have the most potential, perhaps as marriage partners and mothers, and their untimely death moved the community deeply. Older women, in contrast, are buried with fewer and less diverse artifacts, suggesting that after the conclusion of their reproductive years, women lost their social status. Conversely, it is equally possible that elderly women were valued as grandmothers and keepers of knowledge, but had passed their dress items and jewelry on to their children, for example at the occasion of marriage or the birth of a child. In any case, women seemed to lose their social visibility²⁸ in comparison to men as they reached higher ages.

Middle Bronze Age women's graves occasionally include objects of considerable weight and size, which appear impractical and even hinder body movement. An assemblage from Upflamör, Germany, for example, includes leg spirals that were linked by a chain; use-wear analysis suggests

they were worn in life, and do not only constitute the death costume.²⁹ In the later part of the Bronze Age, sets of ornaments are increasingly found separated from bodies and found as ‘personalized’ bronze hoards. A study of the interplay between graves and depositions in the Netherlands showed that ornament deposition in graves might relate to identity construction, while ornament deposition in hoards may be part of the deconstruction of identities. Both may have coincided with transitional points in the female lifecycle.³⁰

MOTHERS

In order to investigate if and how women’s social status changed when they became mothers, and whether social status increased with reproductive success, a comparison of how they were buried with markers of health and obstetric histories is useful. Pregnancy and childbirth are stress events that can leave physiological traces on female skeletons. The bones of the pelvis are joined by ligaments that, under pressure and hormonal influences, can cause bones to react and remodel. A preauricular groove develops where the pelvic bone joins the sacrum; the pubic symphysis may open up and calcify, giving rise to an extension of the pubic tubercle. These changes in the pelvis are indicators of whether a woman has given birth or not.³¹

The presence of such pelvic markers in an only 17- to 19-year-old woman buried in Stuttgart, Germany, around 1560 B.C.E., has led to the conclusion that she had already given birth. Her grave appeared isolated; she was placed on the left side with animal bone thought to be raw material for the production of artifacts.³² A pilot study of selected parity features of skeletons from the Early Bronze Age site of Unterhautzenthall, Austria,³³ found preauricular grooves and extended tuberculum pubis in women of juvenile, adult and mature ages.

The absence of pelvic markers in a 50-year-old woman buried in the remnants of a burnt-down pithouse at Stillfried, Austria, on the other hand, led to the conclusion that she may have been infertile. Her death was almost certainly violent, as indicated by perimortal impression fractures on the back of the skull, and in contrast to the cremation rite prevalent at the time, she was placed or left in a settlement structure. Although fire had affected her body, it was not burnt in the usual way. Whether violent death, infertility and mode of deposition can indeed be causally tied together, as Emil Breitingger suggested,³⁴ remains unclear.

A further scientific method that may give insights as to whether and at what age a woman has first given birth is the microscopic analysis of tooth cementum. Tooth cementum annulation (TCA), or cemento-chronology, investigates thin sections of the teeth's roots. Acellular Extrinsic Fibers Cementum grows continuously and regularly at 2–3 μm per year in all teeth. One year includes a two-phase annual growth corresponding to a pair of alternating clear and dark lines. The estimated age at death is calculated by adding the age of tooth eruption to a count of the pairs of dark and light lines.³⁵ TCA is currently the most reliable method to estimate age at death, arriving at an accuracy of 2.5 years in modern samples with known biographical data.³⁶ It has further been shown that life-history events such as pregnancies, skeletal traumata and renal disease result in hypomineralized incremental lines, possibly due to their influence on calcium metabolism.³⁷ The position of these lines in the chronological sequence may not only reveal the age of the first pregnancy of a woman, but also the frequency of pregnancies and birth spacing.

DEATH DURING PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

Childbirth is risky, for both mothers and babies, and has certainly been recognized as a dangerous time of transition. Infant mortality³⁸ is estimated at c. 30%, sub-adult mortality at up to 50% for prehistoric periods.³⁹ Maternal mortality rates vary widely, in tandem with cultural and social factors such as the level of involvement of women in physical work before and after labor, access to food of high nutritional value, and the level of care provided by relatives and society. Beliefs about hygiene and childbirth may also play a part. Complications range from obstructed labor to hemorrhage and infection, and birth injuries may affect women's lives in the long term. The underlying cause of maternal mortality, however, is the social status of women: today, maternal and infant mortality is the result of factors such as poverty, access to healthcare and female participation in decision-making. Today, if nothing effective is done to avert death, about 1.5% of births result in the death of the mother.⁴⁰ Ten pregnancies during a woman's lifetime in the Bronze Age resulted in a 15% chance of dying of pregnancy and childbirth complications; this number fits well with palaeopathological studies of past populations.⁴¹ The numbers alone suggest that everyone knew someone who had died in childbirth.⁴²

Demographic evidence from the anthropological analysis of cemetery data frequently shows a peak in female mortality in early adulthood; nevertheless,

women buried with fetus in situ are relatively rare. Issues of fetal preservation and recovery do not suffice to account for the deficit of pregnant women in Iron Age societies⁴³; it seems that the practice of separating fetus and mother after death and affording them separate treatments was widespread in antiquity (e.g. mentioned in the Talmud and Roman Law).

Nevertheless, a few Bronze Age burials of pregnant women inform us about the perils of childbirth. Further, the ages at which the mothers died lead to conclusions about when they were married and had their first pregnancies. The skeleton of a 16–20-year-old, for example, was found with the left femur of neonate in a cave, the Grotta del Re Tiberio, Italy (c. 2400–1700 B.C.E.).⁴⁴ Inside the rooms of the houses of an agricultural village at Cerro de las Viñas de Coy, Spain (c. 1500–1000 B.C.E.), the crouched inhumation of a 25–26-year-old woman was found with a full-term fetus. The baby was lying transversely with the right fetal arm protracted; the cause of death was almost certainly dystocia (a specific case of obstructed labor).⁴⁵ Fetuses and infants are often buried in settlement contexts rather than formal cemeteries; this case may demonstrate that the selection of burial place was based on the baby, not the mother.

At the cemetery of Franzhausen I, Austria (c. 2000–1600 B.C.E.),⁴⁶ which includes over 730 individuals, three pregnant women were documented. The youngest was 20–25 years old and buried in a crouched position, placed south–north on her right side, as was customary for women. The full-term fetus was placed directly north of her pelvis, suggesting a post-mortem coffin birth. The mother was deposited in a rather small grave pit. Grave goods include a bronze awl, flint tools, bone rings, mollusks and a set of pottery. The 30–40-year-old mother was placed in a similar way, with the full-term fetus head down within the pelvic area. The woman's grave had been reopened after burial and objects were removed from her head and chest area, which is not unusual in this cultural context. Upon excavation, her grave still included a bronze awl, a shell necklace, a dress pin with disc head, pottery and animal bones. Instead of the usual one, there were two bowls in the grave—one perhaps intended for the unborn child. The grave of a 40–60-year-old woman was also disturbed and only the lower legs were found in situ. Remains of a seven-month-old fetus to neonate were preserved by copper salts stemming from bronze grave goods. Hair rings and glass beads were found in the grave. At this site, mothers who died in childbirth were not treated differently to other women; grave goods that may be linked to their circumstances include

cutting devices⁴⁷ and objects that may be interpreted as amulets or charms, such as the beads.

After the prevailing burial rite changed to cremation, burials of women of reproductive age together with fetal or neonatal remains suggest that they were, in fact, mother and child. The fire of the funerary pyre and the subsequent recovery process, however, destroyed any physical relationship between the dead bodies, and the heat destroyed their DNA. The bodies could also have been cremated at separate times and deposited together.

The 16–18-year-old woman inhumed in an oak coffin under a burial mound at Egtved, Denmark (c. 1370 B.C.E.),⁴⁸ for example, was buried with the cremated remains of a 5–6-year-old child at her feet. The woman's clothes were well-preserved and included a loose bodice with sleeves and a short string skirt, leaving her waist bare. Contemporary bronze figurines and rock art depictions suggest a ritual role of people wearing such dress that involved some acrobatics or dancing. Isotope analysis of soft tissue revealed that the woman had traveled widely during her life. Although it is just about possible that the child buried at her feet was her own biological child, the age gap between the individuals is small—it would make her an unusually young mother. Unfortunately, at present there are no scientific methods available to test the genetic relationship of the two buried individuals.

Other examples of cremated women with fetal/neonatal remains include a late juvenile to early adult from Telgte-Raestrup, Germany,⁴⁹ and a 16–30-year-old as well as an adult from Zuchering, Germany.⁵⁰ Interesting are the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (c. 1300–660 B.C.E.) urn burials from Cottbus-Alversleben, Germany.⁵¹ In grave 166, a late adult to mature woman was buried in one urn, with some fetal/neonatal remains, whereas a second, smaller urn contained the remains of a perinatal individual. That they were buried in such a separated way suggest that, although likely cremated together, the fetus/neonate was perceived as a separate individual by the mourning community.

MARRIAGE AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

The scarce evidence available seems to suggest that some women first gave birth in their late teens and early twenties. Both archaeological and isotopic data points to a patrilocal residential pattern in the Bronze Age, in which the women joined the husbands' communities after marriage; they often gave birth to and raised their children in a different community than

the one in which they grew up. This has considerable implications for reproductive success, as the maternal grandmother's presence has been demonstrated to be particularly beneficial for the survival of babies.⁵²

Evidence for patrilocal residence patterns are, for example, female ornaments that are found at a considerable distance from their place of production; whereas most women likely married locally, some marriages took the women more than 150 km from their native community. Marriage networks spanned the whole of Germany in the Middle Bronze Age,⁵³ and likely contributed widely to elite relationships, diplomatic endeavors and politics. Nordic ornaments produced during the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.E. were found along the common trading routes, the Rivers Oder and Vistula, south of the Elbe, throughout northern Germany and the Netherlands.⁵⁴

A stable isotope of human remains⁵⁵ gives insights into diet and mobility, as human tissue records the isotopic signature of groundwater and foodstuff. In particular, strontium ($^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$) and oxygen ($\delta^{18}\text{O}$) isotopes in the enamel of teeth that develop during childhood and adolescence can inform us about where people grew up and where they moved to, whether they were locals or foreigners in their place of burial. Matching the geographical background to isotopic signatures is not always easy, however, especially in geologically heterogeneous areas. Isotope analysis of late Neolithic collective graves in Switzerland and Germany suggest that taking women from outside the group has a long pedigree.⁵⁶ Further examples of cemeteries with a great isotopic variability, especially among the women, include the Early Bronze Age sites of Prag-Miřkovice, Czechia⁵⁷ and Hainburg, Austria.⁵⁸ At Singen, Germany,⁵⁹ in contrast, there was no evidence for individual mobility, even though metal artifacts indicate long-distance trade and exchange.

FAMILY RELATIONS

Direct evidence for family relations frequently comes from rather tragic events, in which individuals died a violent death. The four multiple burials from Eulau, Germany (late Neolithic, c. 2600 B.C.E.),⁶⁰ produced the oldest evidence for a nuclear family so far. In Grave 99, a 35–50-year-old mother was buried holding her 4–5-year-old son in her arms; in the same grave, the 40–60-year-old father is placed holding their 8–9-year-old son. DNA testing confirmed that the woman and both children share the same mtDNA haplogroup, and the Y chromosome haplogroup of the man

corresponds to the boys. Grave 98 contained the remains of a 30–38-year-old woman with three children (an infant, a 4–5- and 7–9-year-old). The two older children were maternally related, but their mtDNA did not match the woman's. She was buried facing away from the children, but cradling the baby. The reconstruction of family relations via DNA was not successful in the two remaining graves, in which a 25–40-year-old man was found with two children (4–5 and 5–6) and a 25–30-year-old woman was found with a 4–5-year old. This case study is enormously important for understanding prehistoric family relations. It demonstrates that—at least in this community—biological relatedness was the basis of social kinship, and it further shows that the way people were buried together does indeed reflect family relationships.

Because of the individualized burial rite in the Early Bronze Age, however, double and multiple burials are rare. At Franzhausen I, for example, 716 grave pits were excavated, but only 12 held double and multiple interments or secondary burials.⁶¹ The triple burial 599 included an 18–20-year-old man, placed on the left side with the head in the north, the usual placement for men. At his feet, two individuals were found lying on their right side, head south as customary for women; they were 14–16 and 12–14 years old.⁶² Granted the normal gendered burial rites were followed correctly, what bound these persons together after death? Were they siblings? Did they die for the same reason, perhaps an infectious disease? Was the young man a newlywed with his two wives? Some of these questions may soon be answered if the DNA analysis returns interpretable results.

Grave 662 held two separate wooden coffins placed parallel; the persons within were placed on their left sides, with the head in the north, as men usually are. This is why at first both individuals were assumed to be men.⁶³ The anthropological analysis, however, showed that only the left individual, a 50–70-year-old buried with an axe, a neck ring, a dress pin and some food provisioning was male; the right individual placed in front of the old man was a 25–35-year-old woman. A dress pin, a bowl and animal bones were found with her body, but the upper body region was disturbed by grave robbing. The communal grave pit suggests that the individuals had some sort of relationship, perhaps a marital one or that of master and servant. That the woman was buried following male funerary placement tentatively suggests a subordinate role.

In the Late Bronze Age settlement of Stillfried, Austria, large storage pits were discovered that contained the skeletons of multiple people.⁶⁴

Seven individuals were found in pit V1141 (c. 900 B.C.E.); there is no evidence of a violent death and their health status prior to death was good. The reason for their unusual death and deposition remains unclear; normally people were cremated after death and buried in urns in this community. The c. 45-year-old woman placed on her back at the bottom of the fill is especially striking, as she is staged as a mother. A six-year-old boy was placed close to her right, with one leg over her thigh; in turn, the woman's right hand is placed on his right thigh. A slightly older, an eight-year-old boy was laid on her left side. Directly over the mother, a 30-year-old man was placed in the center of the pit. Separated by a thin layer of soil, a woman of about 40 years was placed on top of the older woman. A nine-year-old girl seems to cower slightly isolated at the feet of the individuals, and the deposition of a three-year-old boy was last in the sequence; he appeared to have been thrown into the pit rather than carefully placed like the others.

Suggestions of how the individuals were related, based on heritable morphological traits, include one version in which the nine-year-old girl is the only child of the older woman, while the younger woman was the mother of the boys⁶⁵ and another version in which the older woman is the mother of all children.⁶⁶ In one version, the man had two wives, in another, the younger woman is assumed to be an aunt; both accept the man to be the father. Due to chemical treatment of the bones for preservation, DNA analysis has so far not returned any useful results.

This example highlights how little we know about what constituted a family in the Bronze Age. Did men have children with more than one woman at any one time? Was polygamy, or polyandry, an option? Was an age gap of 10–15 years significant for sexual partners? The only reliable piece of information seems to be an age gap of two to three years between siblings.

SIBLING SPACING

Hunter-gatherers typically have three and a half to four years between children,⁶⁷ which is what we assume normal for prehistoric people before the Neolithic, that is the adoption of agriculture, animal husbandry and a sedentary lifestyle. Unrestricted breastfeeding seems to suppress ovulation and prevent further pregnancies, which is one way this child spacing is achieved: how exactly this mechanism works in detail is still under debate.

Mothers expend a lot of energy during pregnancy, breastfeeding and the time when infants have to be carried,⁶⁸ particularly in nomadic societies.

A sedentary lifestyle with a more steady supply of high-calorie food-stuff ensured by agriculture and animal husbandry enables shorter intervals between births and population growth.⁶⁹ In farming communities, siblings are born in quicker succession, leaving only two to three years between births. The physical toll of childbirth likely increased for mothers, and their social position might have changed significantly. No longer required to go out on gathering trips as much and remaining close to home, presumably with other women in the same situation, they may have suffered the consequences of confinement and control.

Childrearing practices likely changed, too, as children were spaced more closely. Early childrearing is incredibly labor intensive and frequently involves a number of people other than the mother. Taking care of children communally is one of the strategies to spread out the burden of bringing up babies. Older siblings make perfect babysitters, and both children and their mothers can be supported by their communities, sharing childcare and provisioning. At Unterhautzenthal, Austria, two children were laid to rest in an old storage pit⁷⁰; although the grave does not include any objects, the children were placed on their sides, facing each other in an embrace. They were 2–2.5 and 6–7 years old at death. The placing suggests an emotional connection between the children, as siblings might have had.

BREASTFEEDING AND WEANING

Bronze Age babies were almost certainly breastfed. Breastfeeding is an important part of the mother–child relationship and highly relevant for infant survival. It ensures optimal nutrition, avoids contaminated substitute food and enhances the babies' immune system by the transmission of maternal antibodies. However, cultural attitudes to breastfeeding and beliefs about the effects of breast milk vary widely, and at present, we cannot yet address if cross- and wet-nursing,⁷¹ out of necessity or choice, took place in the Bronze Age. The duration of breastfeeding and the age of weaning, a process from the introduction of supplementary foods to the cessation of breastfeeding, is highly culturally contingent and can best be investigated by a combination of paleoanthropological methods and isotope analysis.

Weaning often represents a period of emotional and nutritional stress for the infant and coincides with a peak in childhood mortality. Stress may leave its mark on teeth in the form of enamel hypoplasias; their distribution can be related to the stage of the development of the tooth, which reveals when the hardship occurred.⁷² Tracing infant diet through stable isotope ratios works on the basis that babies who are breastfed exclusively appear enriched in $\delta^{15}\text{N}$: this trophic level effect results from their position in the food chain above their mothers. $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ helps to trace water supply (breast milk vs. drinking water).⁷³ Bones of children who died young can be tested for their isotopic signature to see if they were still breastfed. Recent studies, however, have demonstrated that the interpretation of elevated nitrogen levels is not as straightforward as previously thought, as maternal health, illness and the microbiome may play a significant role.⁷⁴ It is, therefore, more fruitful to study the weaning process in individuals who survived the process. Analyzing samples from the dentin of adults provide fine-grained insights into the timing of weaning. Dentin does not remodel in the same way as bone and therefore reflects the diet at the time of tooth development. Gathering isotopic data at multiple points in time in relation to the growth of the individual leads to powerful insights into weaning practices.⁷⁵

A study of Early Bronze Age infant feeding practices in Poland revealed that supplementary foods were introduced by the age of six months, and breastfeeding was discontinued around the age of three.⁷⁶ Similar results were obtained for the Bronze Age Mediterranean; these results fit well within the range of what is typical for societies before large-scale urbanization.⁷⁷ The substitution of animal milk for mother's milk would have been risky because of contamination and a mismatch of the nutritional value with the species-specific needs of the infant. From the Late Bronze Age, however, small vessels with a spout are frequently found in graves, which are interpreted as feeding vessels.⁷⁸ They occur in both adults' and children's graves, albeit with varying frequencies across different cemeteries. Sometimes, a religious function is presumed, for instance for libation rites.

TOYS AND CHILD-SPECIFIC MATERIAL CULTURE

It is surprisingly difficult to unambiguously identify child-specific material culture in the Bronze Age. Children's toys are difficult to recognize, as they resemble adult material culture; interpretations are frequently based on size, rarity and modern assumptions about the function of objects.

Unusual objects are further frequently linked to religious practices; differentiation between the trivial from the sacred is often impossible. In addition, prehistoric people may not have thought in these terms and applied different categorizations to their objects. Similarly, the world of adults was likely not separable and separated from that of children as it commonly occurs today.

It can safely be assumed that children learned about the world by engaging with their environment in play, as all children do. This does not necessitate specific objects used as toys; a potting mother would give children some clay to play with (e.g. a recent study of Bronze Age pottery from Sweden found the fingerprints of a c. nine-year-old).⁷⁹ The context of where such objects are found is crucial. Ceramic figurines of the Gârla Mare Culture in Middle to Late Bronze Age Romania, for example, are known from settlement contexts, but are also disproportionately found in graves that include children; they have been interpreted as dolls, toys and status symbols, as general evidence of a fertility cult, and, intriguingly, as substitute mothers for the buried children.⁸⁰

Ceramic rattles are frequently found in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age central Europe⁸¹ and come in many different shapes, from spherical to bird-shaped. Designed to be held in the hand, their hollow body is filled with pebbles or ceramic balls to produce an acoustic effect when shook. The instruments appear in settlement contexts as well as in graves, and although they are more frequently associated with children in some cemeteries, their use is not exclusive to children. Interpretations have thus ranged from musical instruments to magical devices and amulets, from cult objects to children's toys. A particularly charming example from Ichstedt, Germany, was a bird-shaped rattle with a decorated back following contemporary Bronze Age decorative conventions and indicating the feathers of the bird. It was in fact found in the context of a Roman grave; it had been discovered and cherished in antiquity, many hundreds of years after its production.⁸²

The size of artifacts in relation to its user is one criterion to judge whether children may have used it; but again, the miniaturization of objects can also be a sign of transforming the functional into the symbolic. Pendants represented miniature halberds in Early Bronze Age Wessex, England, and wheel pendants were common in Bronze Age Central Europe, for example, Slovakia and Austria.⁸³ Miniature weapons, razors and tools became common in Late Bronze Age cremation graves from Denmark,⁸⁴ replacing real-size grave goods with symbolic ones. Similar cultural phenomena are

known from Slovakia, Hungary and Bosnia, indicating far-reaching economic and ideological contacts.⁸⁵

Whereas the presence of miniature ceramic vessels in graves is not a definite sign of a child's grave, the size of urns is adjusted to the age of the buried person in some Central European Late Bronze Age cemeteries, for example Cottbus Alvensleben-Kaserne, Germany, and Franzhausen-Kokoron, Austria.⁸⁶

CONCLUSION: MOTHERHOOD IN THE BRONZE AGE

Although the survival of entire Bronze Age societies depended on bringing up children successfully, we still know little about motherhood in the Bronze Age. We have no direct evidence for how children were held and carried, or where they slept. No carrying devices such as baby slings were preserved that would enlighten if babies accompanied women on their everyday tasks; only later, early Iron Age sources suggest that even newborns were taken to workplaces such as underground salt mines.⁸⁷ Most of our evidence for prehistoric motherhood and child rearing comes from graves or evidence of tragic events. And yet, these are testimony to great love between mothers, fathers and their children, between siblings and among the Bronze Age communities as a whole.

Material culture in graves of women, whose age and gender are known, suggests that young women were socially recognized from the age of about 14. If this age coincided with marriage and first motherhood is not yet entirely clear, but a number of women under 20 have been recognized as having died of the consequences of pregnancy and childbirth. Distribution patterns of female ornaments and isotope analyses point to patrilocal residential patterns. At least in some cases, babies were born and raised in communities foreign to the mother, without the help of the maternal grandmother. Babies were breastfed about two to three years, and children were spaced accordingly. Child-specific objects in the Bronze Age are elusive. A few figurines, rattles, feeding vessels, miniature vessels and miniature bronze items have been linked to children's graves. Most types, however, also played a role in adults' graves, and may be linked to ritual and religion.

New scientific analytical methods, such as isotope and DNA analyses, are expected to bring major advances in our understanding of individuals and their place in their communities in the near future. A better link between the reconstruction of women's biological life parameters,

including diet and reproductive histories, with other archaeological evidence, will give insights into the variety of past female lives. At present, only a few case studies, often widely separated in time and place, illuminate snapshots of motherhood in the Bronze Age. As more evidence becomes available, perhaps regional and temporal patterns of different reproductive strategies will emerge. Giving birth and caring for children—among the most significant events in any woman’s life—need more focused attention in archaeological research.

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5.4 Big Mamas? Mutterschaft und sozialer Status im eisenzeitlichen Mitteleuropa

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Katharina Rebay-Salisbury

Big Mamas? Mutterschaft und sozialer Status im eisenzeitlichen Mitteleuropa

Ansehen und Status von Frauen der Eisenzeit werden implizit und explizit häufig mit Mutterschaft in Verbindung gebracht. Dieser Beitrag diskutiert den Zusammenhang zwischen sozialem und reproduktivem Status eisenzeitlicher Frauen und stellt die Forschungsstrategie des ERC Starting-Grant Projektes „The value of mothers to society: responses to motherhood and child rearing practices in prehistoric Europe“ vor. Unter Einbindung von paläopathologischen, histologischen, biochemischen und molekularbiologischen Methoden wird versucht, ein besseres Verständnis der Bedeutung von Mutterschaft im prähistorischen Europa zu erarbeiten. Die Bedeutung des Ehestandes und legitimer Nachkommenschaft wird anhand der Bildquellen und archäologischer Befunde deutlich. Aufgrund von Unterschieden im Reproduktionspotential eisenzeitlicher Frauen ist zudem von einer Variabilität weiblicher Lebenswege auszugehen, die bislang in der Forschung kaum Beachtung fand. Der Beitrag plädiert dafür, das Potential paläopathologischer und genetischer Methoden bei der Beurteilung von Frauengräbern voll auszuschöpfen, um zwischen Müttern und Nicht-Müttern zu unterscheiden. Mutterschaft ist neben Alter und Geschlecht als eigene Komponente von Identität zu verstehen, die es zu untersuchen gilt.

Reputation and status of Iron Age women are implicitly and explicitly associated with motherhood. This paper discusses the relationship between the social and reproductive status of women and presents the research strategy of the ERC Starting-Grant project “The value of mothers to society: responses to motherhood and child rearing practices in prehistoric Europe”. The project aims to develop a better understanding of motherhood in prehistoric Europe through the integration of palaeopathological, histological, biochemical and molecular biological methods. The significance of marriage and the production of legitimate offspring is documented by Iron Age human representations and archaeological findings. Due to differences in the reproductive potential of Iron Age women, a significant variability of female life-ways is to be expected, which so far has received little attention in research. This paper advocates the full exploitation of the potential of palaeopathological and genetic methods in the assessment of women’s graves to distinguish between mothers and non-mothers. In addition to age and gender, motherhood is to be understood as a distinct component of identity, with ought to be investigated.

Einführung

Ansehen und sozialer Status von Frauen der Vormoderne werden implizit und explizit häufig mit Mutterschaft in Verbindung gebracht. Dabei wird angenommen, dass Mutterschaft ein ganz normaler Teil des weiblichen Lebensweges ist, der nicht näher hinterfragt werden muss. Der Übergang zur Elternschaft ist tatsächlich – heute wie damals – eine der größten Identitätsveränderungen, die überhaupt im Leben stattfinden können. In der archäologischen Literatur zu Identität, Alter und Geschlecht wird diesem Wandel bislang noch zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Derzeit werden im Rahmen eines vom österreichischen Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung geförderten Projektes¹ anhand bronzezeitlichen Fundmaterials Methoden entwickelt, den Zusammenhang zwischen reproduktivem und sozialem Status von Frauen näher zu beleuchten. Dank der Förderung durch einen *Starting Grant des European Research Councils*² werden die Forschungen künftig auch auf die Eisenzeit ausgedehnt. Der Beitrag in diesem Tagungsband stellt die Strategien vor, wie unter Einbindung von paläopathologischen, histologischen, biochemischen und molekularbiologischen Methoden ein besseres Verständnis der Bedeutung von Mutterschaft im prähistorischen Europa erarbeitet wird. Bislang gibt es kaum wissenschaftlich fundierte, gesicherte Daten über Mutterschaft und Kindererziehung in der Urgeschichte. Auch bei Familienzusammensetzung und –organisation gibt es erheblichen Forschungsbedarf. Zudem wird anhand eisenzeitlicher Beispiele demonstriert, welches Erkenntnispotential Forschungen zur Mutterschaft für ein besseres Verständnis der eisenzeitlichen Gesellschaft als Ganzes haben.

Projektziele

Die Kernthese ist, dass Frauen, die Kinder geboren haben, sozial anders definiert waren als kinderlose Frauen, und dass es einen Zusammenhang zwischen dem sozialen und dem Reproduktionsstatus von Frauen gegeben hat. Der soziale Status von Frauen veränderte sich, als sie Mütter wurden, und soziale Reaktionen auf den reproduktiven Erfolg oder Misserfolg waren kulturell bedingt. Soziale Reaktionen auf Schwangerschaft, Geburt und frühe Kindererziehung in prähistorischen Gesellschaften sind daher zu erforschen.

Zunächst ist das erste Ziel, Mutterschaft als soziales Phänomen zu untersuchen. Soziale Erwartungen an Frauen variierten in der Urgeschichte sicherlich, und so bleibt zu fragen, ob tatsäch-

¹ FWF-Projekt P26820-G19, Der soziale Status von Mutterschaft im bronzezeitlichen Europa, 2015–2017 (<http://www.oeaw.ac.at/index.php?id=214>).

² The value of mothers to society: responses to motherhood and child rearing practices in prehistoric Europe (<http://www.oeaw.ac.at/value-of-mothers.html>) wird vom European Research Council (ERC) unter dem Horizon 2020 Forschungs- und Innovationsprogramm der Europäischen Union von 2016 bis 2021 gefördert (grant agreement No 676828).

lich von allen Frauen erwartet wurde, Mutter zu werden, ob bestimmte Frauen für Mutterschaft ausgewählt wurden, ob sie reproduktiver Kontrolle unterworfen waren oder ob manche sogar die Wahl hatten, kinderlos zu bleiben. Das zweite Ziel ist, Risiken und Folgen von Geburten zu bewerten. Mütter- und Kindersterblichkeit ist auch heute noch mit dem sozialen Status von Frauen verbunden. Zugang zu Nahrung und Erholung nach der Geburt, aber auch Beteiligung an Entscheidungsfindung sind Faktoren, die sich auch in Abwesenheit moderner Medizin direkt auf die Sterblichkeit auswirken. Trotzdem ist der Tod während Schwangerschaft und Geburt archäologisch nur selten nachgewiesen³. Das dritte Ziel ist, alle vorhandenen Informationen zu benutzen, um verschiedene Arten weiblicher Biographien zu unterscheiden und näher zu beleuchten. Zu häufig wird angenommen, dass alle Frauen exakt dieselben Lebenswege haben – vom Mädchen zur Frau, von Mutter zur Großmutter, doch es gab vielleicht ganz andere Lebensentwürfe. Manche davon mögen eng mit der individuellen reproduktiven Geschichte jeder einzelnen Frau zusammenhängen. Um den Wert erfolgreicher Fortpflanzung zu verstehen, sind Einblicke in Ernährung, Pflege und Betreuungspraktiken von Babys und Kindern wichtig. Der Zeitraum, in dem Kinder üblicherweise gestillt werden, kann etwa durch Isotopenanalysen und historische Quellen eingegrenzt werden⁴; kinderspezifische materielle Kultur wie Spielzeug und Tragehilfen bedürfen einer neuen Bewertung. Der soziale Wert, dem Reproduktionserfolge zugemessen werden, kann mitunter durch die Behandlung toter Kinder im Grabbrauch beurteilt werden. Ihre Bestattungsplätze und Beigaben sagen uns einiges über ihre Stellung in der Gesellschaft. Hinweise auf Kindesmissbrauch, Gewalt und Infantizid im Skelettmaterial ergänzen unsere Einsichten.

Um langfristige Entwicklungen der Einstellung prähistorischer Menschen zur Mutterschaft besser fassen zu können, habe ich einen diachronen Ansatz gewählt. Meine vier Fallstudien erstrecken sich über drei Jahrtausende, vom späten Neolithikum bis zur späten Eisenzeit, und sind auf Mitteleuropa (Österreich und Nachbarländer) fokussiert, da das Skelettmaterial in Bezug auf Umwelt und primärer anthropologischer Bestimmung vergleichbar sein muss. Für eine gezielte Analyse wählte ich große Gräberfelder mit einem gewissen Grad an unterschiedlicher Totenbehandlung aus sammelte zunächst alle verfügbaren archäologischen und anthropologischen Daten zu den bestatteten Individuen bevor ergänzende Analysen zum Einsatz kamen. Dazu zählen eine Neubeurteilung bestimmter Aspekte der Skelettmorphologie, die molekulargenetische Geschlechts- und Verwandtschaftsbestimmung sowie Isotopenanalysen zur Rekonstruktion von Ernährungspraktiken. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Integration der verschiedenen Arten von Daten in mehreren Schritten. Eine eingehende Analyse der individuellen Bestattungen rekonstruiert individuelle Lebensgeschichten, einschließlich des sozialen Ranges, der geburtshilflichen

³ Rebay-Salisbury im Druck b.

⁴ Fulminante 2015.

Ereignisse und der Beziehungen, die Menschen untereinander hatten. Der nächste Schritt interpretiert die Daten zu den vier chronologischen Fallstudien in Hinblick auf die Ziele des Projekts. So versuch(t)e ich, die Geschichte von Mutterschaft vom Neolithikum bis zur Römerzeit zu rekonstruieren. Eine Geschichte, die erzählt, wie sich Mutterschaft auf das Leben von Frauen auswirkte, wie sich Geschlechterrollen langfristig entwickelten und wie elterliche Verantwortung geteilt wurde. Diese urgeschichtliche Entwicklung ist eine der Grundlagen unserer eigenen Gesellschaft und kann uns helfen, diese besser zu verstehen.

Methodik

Den Kern der Methodik bilden zwei Komponenten: zum einen die Beurteilung des sozialen Status der bestatteten Person, zum anderen ein Modell der Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die bestatteten Frauen Mütter waren. Um den Wert der bestatteten Frau zu erfassen, ist eine Interpretation des Kontextes und der Lage des Grabes vonnöten (z.B. Siedlungsbestattungen und ungewöhnliche Bestattungsorte, Randlagen in Gräberfeldern, etc.). Innerhalb von Gräberfeldern mit zahlreichen ähnlichen Bestattungen sind Sozialindexberechnungen sinnvoll, um deren Rang einzuschätzen. Sozialindexberechnungen erlauben eine quantitative und qualitative Wertung der Beigaben auf objektivierbare und nachvollziehbare Weise, wenngleich der Anspruch einer Materialimmanenz wohl nicht erfüllt sein kann, da es sich ebenfalls um eine Klassifikation der Bearbeiter handelt. Jedem Grab wird dabei ein Wert zwischen 0 und 100 zugeordnet, wobei 0 das ärmste, 100 das reichste Grab beschreiben soll. Wird etwa die Grabtiefe als Kriterium genommen, so wird dem tiefsten Grab der Wert 100 zugeordnet, dem seichtesten Grab der Wert 0, Gräber mit einer Tiefe, die zwischen den Werten liegt, werden skaliert. Gesamtindices bündeln zumeist einzelne Werte, die auf verschiedene Weise ermittelt werden. Vor- und Nachteile unterschiedlicher Berechnungsgrundlagen und –methodiken, die Eingang in die Literatur fanden, wurden anhand des hallstattzeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Statzendorf diskutiert⁵. Johannes Müller verwendete für seine Auswertung der Nachbestattungsgemeinschaft vom Magdalenenberg bei Villingen⁶ die Anzahl der Beigaben, die Vielfalt der Beigaben, die Anzahl der Beigabenklassen, die Anzahl der Werkstoffe, einen Wert für die Seltenheit von Beigaben sowie das Volumen von Grabschacht und Steinpackungen. In Frank Roy Hodsons Auswertung des Gräberfeldes von Hallstatt⁷ wird der Wert eines Artefakttyps dadurch bestimmt, mit wie vielen Beigaben er im Durchschnitt im Grab zusammen vorkommt. Der Wert eines Grabes ergibt sich dann aus den addierten Werten aller Artefakte eines Grabes.

⁵ Rebay 2006, 199–234.

⁶ Müller 1994.

⁷ Hodson 1990.

Sozialindexberechnungen auf größere zeitliche und räumliche Einheiten als einzelne Gräberfelder anzuwenden ist schwierig, da eine sinnvolle vergleichbare Einheit definiert werden muss. Für Stefan Burmeisters Studie zu Geschlecht, Alter und Herrschaft in der Späthallstattzeit Württembergs waren aus logistischen Gründen moderne politische Grenzen ausschlaggebend. Seine drei Kriterien zur Beurteilung der Grabinventare waren Seltenheit einer Beigabe, Vielfältigkeit des Inventars und die Vergesellschaftung mit Gold⁸. Christin Kellers Vergleich der Beigabewerte innerhalb des gesamten Hallstatttraumes⁹ kommt aufgrund der Verschiedenartigkeit des Bestattungsbrauches auch nicht ohne die Unterteilung des gesamten Materials in drei Großregionen aus, für die einzeln Berechnungen angestellt werden; die Regionen werden dann aufgrund der skalierten Werte verglichen. Um den sozialen Wert einzelner Frauen innerhalb ihrer Gesellschaft zu beurteilen, scheint die analytische Einheit der Bestattungsgemeinschaft, also des einzelnen Gräberfeldes, die geeignetste Bezugsgröße zu sein.

Wie aber lässt sich feststellen, ob und wie viele Kinder eine Frau hatte, um ihren Sozialindexwert in Bezug zu ihrer Reproduktionsgeschichte zu setzen? Belastungen durch Schwangerschaft und Geburt können, müssen aber nicht physiologische Spuren an den weiblichen Skeletten hinterlassen. Beurteilung und Zuverlässigkeit der Aussagemöglichkeiten der sogenannten „Beckenmerkmale“ sind umstritten. Während die anglo-amerikanische Forschung zu erhöhter Skepsis neigt¹⁰, gilt in der zentraleuropäischen Forschung vor allem der gut ausgeprägte *Sulcus präauricularis* nach wie vor nicht nur als eindeutiges Geschlechtsmerkmal, sondern auch als Nachweis erfolgter Geburten¹¹. Zu den Beckenmerkmalen zählen Veränderungen an der Verbindung von Becken zu Kreuzbein (Exostosen/Läsionen) und Veränderungen am Schambein. Die physische Anthropologin Doris Pany-Kucera widmet sich derzeit im Rahmen meiner Projekte der Neubeurteilung der Beckenmerkmale, unter Einbeziehung moderner Mess- und Dokumentationstechniken¹². Der anatomische Zusammenhang zwischen Beckenmerkmalen, Schwangerschaft und Geburt ist nicht restlos geklärt. Durch (wiederholte) Geburtsvorgänge werden die Bänder, die die Beckenknochen verbinden, stark belastet. Es kann dadurch zur Ablösungen von Knorpelteilen an der Knorpel-Knochengrenze kommen, welche unter die Bandansätze geschoben werden können. Durch den entstehenden Druck kommt es zu Resorptionsvorgängen, die die Grubenbildungen am Darmbein und am Schambein verursachen¹³. Diese sind auch noch nach langer Zeit am Skelettmaterial erkennbar.

⁸ Burmeister 2000.

⁹ Keller 2015.

¹⁰ Z.B. Ubelaker/De La Paz 2012; Maass/Friedling 2016; McArthur et al. 2016.

¹¹ Z.B. Acsádi/Nemeskéri 1970; Breiting 1990b; Ullrich 1975; Bergfelder/Herrmann 1978; Bruzek 2002.

¹² Pany-Kucera et al. 2016.

¹³ Putschar 1976.



Abb. 1. Die Anatomie des weiblichen Beckens, nach Grey 1918, Abb. 451 (Kreise: Regionen, in denen Veränderungen durch Schwangerschaft und Geburt vermehrt auftreten) und Artikulation des Beckens, nach Grey 1918, Abb. 319; 320.

Einen anderen Ansatz, das Alter der Frau bei der ersten Schwangerschaft und vielleicht auch weitere Schwangerschaften nachzuweisen, verfolgt die Zahnzementchronologie¹⁴. Bei dieser Methode wird ein Dünnschliff einer Zahnwurzel unter dem Mikroskop ausgewertet. Im Dentin werden jährlich Ringe angelegt, und zwar ein dunkler und ein heller Ring, die sich in Struktur und Mineralisierungsgrad unterscheiden. Üblicherweise wird durch die Zahnzementchronologie das genaue Sterbealter ermittelt, doch können unter Umständen auch Ereignisse mit untypischer Mineralisierung erkannt werden, etwa Schwangerschaften oder Knochenbrüche. Schließlich könnte noch eine Analyse des Östrogengehalts in der Knochenmatrix bei der Identifikation von Schwangeren und Wöchnerinnen Erfolge bringen. Diese Analyse scheint allerdings nur bei besonders günstigen Bodenlagerungsfaktoren von Erfolg gekrönt zu sein¹⁵. Zuletzt bieten natürlich auch Analysen des Erbgutes die Möglichkeit, Verwandtschaften – und dadurch auch Mutter-Kind Beziehungen – näher zu fassen. In unserem Projekt setzen wir DNA-Analysen gezielt ein, um bei gemeinsam bestatteten Individuen eine Verwandtschaft festzustellen oder auszuschließen, und um bei Kindern das Geschlecht festzustellen. Wenn in Zukunft flächendeckende Erbgutanalysen ganzer Gräberfelder technisch und finanziell möglich werden, werden wir nicht nur Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen, sondern eventuell auch Erbregelungen besser verstehen lernen.

Wir ermessen die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass eine Frau Kinder geboren hat, durch eine Kombination der Beobachtung von Veränderungen im Becken, demographische Parameter, zum Beispiel Durchschnittsalter bei der ersten Schwangerschaft in einer Gesellschaft, und das individuelle Sterbealter, die wiederum zu einem Geburtenindex zusammengefasst werden. Damit entsteht

¹⁴ Kagerer/Grupe 2001. Dieser Ansatz wird derzeit mit einem ERC-Projekt von Sofija Stefanović in Belgrad an prähistorischem Material erprobt.

¹⁵ Held et al. 2010.

eine fassbare Größe, die in Bezug zum Sozialindex gebracht werden kann. Auf diese Weise lässt sich klären, ob und welchen Einfluss Mutterschaft auf den weiblichen Sozialstatus hatte.

Die Bedeutung von Nachkommenschaft in der frühen Eisenzeit

Die Bilddokumente der Situlenkunst belegen, dass die Zeugung legitimer Nachkommenschaft vor allem wohl für die eisenzeitliche Elite einen wichtigen Stellenwert hatte: Darstellungen von Sexualität sind dort Bestandteil von Hochzeitsverhandlungen und –festen. Der eheliche Vollzug unter Beobachtung von Zeugen scheint für eine patriarchalische Gesellschaftsordnung zu sprechen¹⁶, auch wenn Frauen mitunter bedeutende Rollen in Religion und Kult einnahmen. Vermutlich wohnt die Frau, die Mutter der künftigen Nachkommenschaft, auch bei der Familie ihres Mannes. Auf der neuentdeckten Situla aus Montebelluna¹⁷ dürfte ein Hochzeitszug dargestellt sein, bei dem eine Frau hinter dem Fahrer des zweirädrigen Wagens dargestellt ist, vermutlich um den Aspekt ihrer Anreise zu betonen. Auf der Situla von Pieve d'Alpago¹⁸ sind Brautwerbung, sexuelle Handlungen und deren Folgen – die Geburt eines Nachkommen – thematisiert. Vermutlich deuten diese Bilder aber Vaterschaft, nicht Mutterschaft an – die Sicherung der Genealogie aus männlicher Perspektive. Weibliche Themen wie Schwangerschaft und Geburt sind deutlich seltener dargestellt und ihre Variabilität in Bezug auf Darstellungstechnik und –art spricht dafür, dass es sich immer wieder um Einzelfälle statt um ein Standardmotiv handelt. So sind mögliche Darstellungen Schwangerer aus Ampass-Demelfeld (Tirol), Maiersch (Niederösterreich) und Turska kosa (Kroatien) auch geographisch weit gestreut. Eindeutige Geburtsdarstellungen fanden sich bislang nur auf der Situla von Pieve d'Alpago (Italien), mit einer Parallele aus Poggio Colla (Italien, Etrurien)¹⁹.

Die Variabilität weiblicher Lebenswege

In Forschung und musealer Forschungskommunikation ist die Variabilität weiblicher Lebenswege noch selten ein Thema. Scheidewege in weiblichen Lebensentwürfen stehen nicht nur, aber auch mit Mutterschaft in Zusammenhang. Nach dem Eintreten der Fortpflanzungsfähigkeit, die aufgrund der instabileren Versorgungslage vermutlich etwas später als zur heutigen Zeit, vielleicht um den 14. Geburtstag eintrat, ist die erste Frage, ob und in welchem Alter eine Frau

¹⁶ Rebay-Salisbury 2016a; Rebay-Salisbury im Druck b.

¹⁷ Bianchin Citton 2014, Abb. 4.

¹⁸ Gangemi 2013, Abb. 6.9.

¹⁹ Rebay-Salisbury 2016a, 186–189, mit weiterführender Literatur.

überhaupt heiratete (bzw. verheiratet wurde). Die nächste Frage ist, ob eine Frau Kinder bekommen konnte. Die Infertilitätsrate ist eng mit dem Gesundheitszustand der Frauen verbunden und dürfte auch in der Vergangenheit mindestens etwa 5 bis 15 % betragen haben. Etwa 15 % der Frauen sind vermutlich an den Folgen von Schwangerschaft und Geburt verstorben²⁰ und für viele resultierten diese Ereignisse in erheblichen gesundheitlichen Problemen bis hin zur Behinderung.

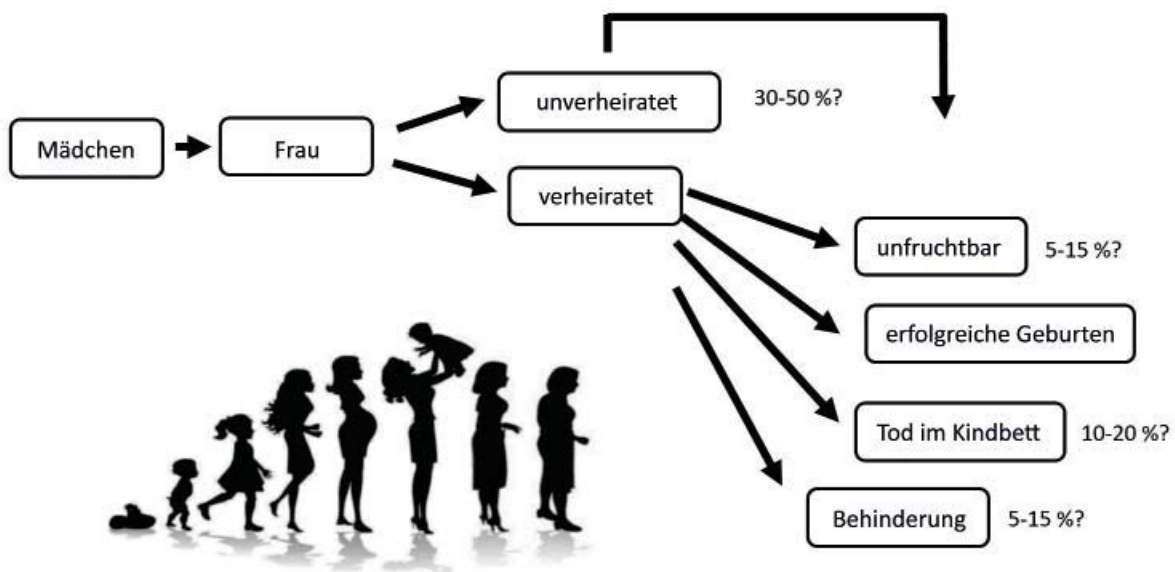


Abb. 2. Hypothetische weibliche Lebenswege.

Dass unter Umständen eine erhebliche Anzahl an Frauen in der Eisenzeit unverheiratet und aus diesem Grund kinderlos blieben, ergibt sich aus drei Argumenten: Zum ersten belegen Daten aus Österreich vor der Industrialisierung, dass die Heiratsrate mit der sozio-ökonomischen Mikrostruktur verbunden war. Wo Getreide und Weinbau typisch war, etwa in Niederösterreich, sind Unverheiratete selten; wo Almwirtschaft betrieben wurde, etwa in der Steiermark oder Salzburg, gab es einen hohen Bedarf an Dienstboten und Knechten, die weder Land besitzen noch heiraten durften. So schwankte der Anteil der Unverheirateten zwischen 25 und 60 %, wobei Unverheiratete, wenn überhaupt, nur wenige, illegitime Kinder bekamen²¹. Zweitens gibt es in der Kunst der Hallstattzeit neben eindeutig männlich und eindeutig weiblich dargestellten nackten Personen noch eine dritte Gruppe, nämlich eine

Personengruppe, die geschlechtslos dargestellt wird. Sie sind nur im Kontext mit geschlechtlich dargestellten Personen als solche eindeutig zu erkennen. Das prominenteste Beispiel ist

²⁰ Diese Schätzung beruht auf Daten zur 'natürlichen Muttersterblichkeit' (Van Lerberghe/De Brouwere 2001) und wird in Rebay-Salisbury im Druck b näher erklärt.

²¹ Teibenbacher 2009; Teibenbacher 2012.

wohl die Figurengruppe aus Strettweg²², bei der der Axträger männlich dargestellt ist und mit einer weiblichen Figur als Paar auftritt; die Personen, die den Hirsch führen, sind jedoch geschlechtslos dargestellt. Hier könnte es sich um Dienstboten oder eine andere Identitätsgruppe handeln, die bei der Reproduktion nicht erwünscht oder erlaubt war, weshalb sie auch nicht mit Geschlechtsmerkmalen dargestellt wurden²³. Das dritte Argument ist der Wandel der Tracht vom Mädchen- zum Erwachsenenalter, der in manchen Regionen der Hallstattkultur beobachtet wurde. So suchte Ludwig Pauli²⁴ die Tracht unverheirateter Frauen von der verheirateter Frauen in den Grabhügeln von Mühlacker und Hirschlanden zu unterscheiden; Majolie Lenerz-de Wilde²⁵ beschrift diesen Weg für die Nachbestattungen im Magdalenenberg bei Villingen. Aufwändige Haubentrachten, die durch Nadeln und Ringschmuck befestigt waren, dürften verheiratete von unverheirateten Frauen bzw. Mütter von Nicht-Müttern trennen. So käme man auf 25–35 % unverheirateter Frauen am Magdalenenberg und etwa 50 % Unverheirateter außerhalb des Magdalenenberges, was Stefan Burmeister für unwahrscheinlich hält²⁶, aber im typischen Rahmen für eine agrarische Wirtschaftsweise läge. Die Skeletterhaltung am Magdalenenberg dürfte leider nicht gut genug sein, um etwa Beckenmerkmale mit der Tracht der Frauen abzugleichen. Zudem scheint ein Trachtwechsel aus Anlass einer Eheschließung ein zeitlich und regional begrenztes Phänomen zu sein. So sind Frauen im Situlenraum etwa stets mit Schleier bzw. Kopfbedeckung dargestellt, bis auf die Frau auf der Situla von Pieve d'Alpago²⁷, die gerade ihr Kind gebärt.

Ungewollte Kinderlosigkeit war und ist ein gesellschaftliches Problem, das kulturell unterschiedlich bewertet wird. In vielen Fällen ist es mit Stigmatisierung – vor allem der Frau – verbunden. Im Gegensatz dazu gibt es eine Reihe von Frauen im Mittelalter, denen aufgrund ihrer Kinderlosigkeit (der durchaus Unfruchtbarkeit zugrunde gelegen haben kann) eine besondere Heiligkeit zugesprochen wurde. Derzeit gelten etwa 15 % aller Paare als unfruchtbar, und in diesem Bereich oder durch das niedrigere Erstgebärendenalter etwas darunter dürfte auch urgeschichtliche Kinderlosigkeit gelegen haben.

In der urnenfelderzeitlichen Siedlung in Stillfried wurde eine etwa 50-jährige Frau mit perimortalen Kopfverletzungen in den Resten eines abgebrannten Hauses deponiert. Der bearbeitende Anthropologe konnte keine Veränderungen am Becken feststellen, die sonst bei Frauen, die geboren haben, vorkommen. Er zog daraus den Schluss, dass die Frau durch ihre Unfruchtbarkeit marginalisiert, ermordet, und für die Gesellschaft untypisch beigesetzt wurde.²⁸ Leider ist das

²² Egg 1996, Abb. 10 und 11.

²³ Rebay-Salisbury 2016b.

²⁴ Pauli 1973, 14.

²⁵ Lenerz-de Wilde 1989.

²⁶ Burmeister 2000, 90.

²⁷ Gangemi 2013, Abb. 6.9.

²⁸ Breitinger 1990a; Griebel/Hellerschmid 2013.

Skelett für eine erneute Überprüfung der Beckenmerkmale nicht auffindbar. Zudem scheint es problematisch, aus ihrer Absenz weitreichende Schlüsse zu ziehen, die mehrere Handlungsebenen miteinander verknüpfen, die nicht unbedingt etwas miteinander zu tun haben müssen.

Geburten haben zuweilen gesundheitliche und soziale Folgen für das Leben von Frauen, die heute zum Glück bereits fast unbekannt sind. In Entwicklungsländern immer noch häufig sind etwa Geburtsfisteln, die bei komplizierten, langwierigen Geburten das Gewebe zwischen Vaginal- und Darmwand absterben lassen und zu unkontrolliertem Ausscheiden von Fäkalien führen²⁹. Weit verbreitet sind und waren vermutlich auch Gebärmuttervorfälle, die häufig durch Geburtsbelastungen entstehen. Eine Behandlungsmöglichkeit ist der Einsatz von Pessaren, die sich auch tatsächlich seit der Hallstattzeit bzw. der Frühen Latènezeit nachweisen lassen. Diane Scherzler hat zwölf Bestattungen von Frauen zusammengestellt, bei denen Tonringe im Beckenbereich festgestellt wurden, zum Beispiel etwa bei einer 30 bis 40-jährigen Frau aus Stuttgart, die in einer Siedlungsgrube bestattet wurde³⁰. Bei dieser Frau spricht der paläo-pathologische Befund für schwere Belastungen sowie für erfolgte Geburten, und es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass ein Gebärmuttervorfall mittels eines Pessars behandelt wurde.

Während Schwangerschaft und Geburt dürften etwa 15 % aller Frauen gestorben sein. Demgegenüber ist die Zahl der eisenzeitlichen Befunde von Schwangerengräbern viel zu gering. Neben den Erhaltungsbedingungen könnte die Praxis, die Föten nach dem Tod der Frauen zu entfernen und getrennt zu bestatten, das Fehlen erklären³¹. Bestattungen schwangerer Frauen scheinen Ausnahmen zu sein; wenn sie vorliegen, dann sind sie mitunter sehr reich ausgestattet und nehmen eine prominente Lage im Gräberfeld ein, wie etwa in Rottenburg-Lindele³². Der Fötus der etwa 20 bis 25-jährigen Frau war noch nicht geburtsreif (4. –7. Monat) und die Frau starb daher nicht an den Folgen einer Geburt. Schwangere und in der fruchtbaren Lebensspanne Verstorbene sind zudem oft mit einer reichen Vielfalt an Werkstoffen und Artefakten ausgestattet, die Amulettcharakter besitzen. Nicht unüblich sind zudem Schneidewerkzeuge – zur Trennung der Nabelschnur oder um die Trennung von Frau und Kind symbolisch zu umfassen. Unter den Siedlungsbestattungen sticht der Befund einer späthallstatt-/frühlatènezeitlichen Siedlungsgrube aus Stehelčeves³³ hervor, in der eine hochschwangere Frau mit Fötus im Becken gefunden wurde. Die Armhaltung der Frau – linker Arm über dem Kopf, linke mit rechter Hand verschränkt – ist äußerst ungewöhnlich und erinnert an Schmerzabwehr. In diesem Fall spricht der Befund tatsächlich für einen Todesfall während der Geburt, der vielleicht auch in dem ungewöhnli-

²⁹ <https://www.fistulafoundation.org/>, letzter Zugriff am 22. November 2016.

³⁰ Scherzler 1998.

³¹ Rebay-Salisbury im Druck b.

³² Reim 1988.

³³ Knor 1965.

chen Bestattungs- bzw. Entsorgungsplatz reflektiert wurde. Tod im Kindbett wird mitunter als „schlimmer Tod“, unzeitgemäß und unter unüblichen Umständen, bewertet. Eine Einschätzung, die Auswirkungen auf dessen Sichtbarkeit im archäologischen Befund haben kann³⁴. Die mir derzeit bekannten etwa 50 eisenzeitlichen Frauen mit Föten oder Neonaten sind bis auf eine Jugendliche (17–19) übrigens alle erwachsen (20 und älter), was auf ein höheres Alter bei der ersten Geburt als etwa zur Bronzezeit hinweist³⁵.

Interpretative Implikationen

Viele Fragen über den Zusammenhang zwischen Identität und Status werden wir in Zukunft besser fassen können, wenn wir Ehestand und Mutterschaft als entscheidende Komponenten von Identität eine genauso hohe Aufmerksamkeit schenken wie Alter und Geschlecht. Die Ausstattung der Gräber, über die wir den sozialen Status der Bestatteten zu fassen versuchen, könnte etwa massiv von Vererbungsregeln und –bräuchen verzerrt sein. Tracht und Schmuck könnte etwa vorrangig der nächsten Generation weitergegeben werden, wenn Töchter und/oder Schwiegertöchter vorhanden waren, und nur dann ins Grab gelangen, wenn dem nicht der Fall war. Umgekehrt könnte das Vorhandensein enger Angehöriger bedingen, dass Reichtum ins Grab kam, der andernfalls in der Gemeinschaft aufgeteilt worden wäre. Eisenzeitliche Bestattungsgemeinschaften dürften in jedem Fall enge familiäre, d.h. genetische Beziehungen gehabt haben. Im frühlatènezeitlichen Gräberfeld von Münsingen-Rain hat eine morphologische Verwandtschaftsanalyse³⁶ gezeigt, dass das Gräberfeld von einer oder zwei Verwandtschaftsgruppen belegt wurde, die schon seit vielen Jahren untereinander geheiratet haben und nur gelegentlich exogame Beziehungen aufwiesen.

Im Gräberfeld von Mitterkirchen wurde durch DNA-Analysen³⁷ eine zweifelsfreie Eltern-Kind Beziehung festgestellt. Es handelt sich um die Gräber I/8 und X/1, die 50% korrespondierende DNA Marker haben. Beides sind zentrale Kammerbestattungen: I/8 ist das Grab eines 20–40 jährigen Mannes, das mindestens 15 Gefäße, zwei Lanzenspitzen, einen Lanzenschuh, zwei Eisenmesser, eine Trense und weitere Pferdegeschirrtteile sowie zwei Bronzehenkel von vergangenen Holzgefäßen enthielt. X/1 ist das Wagengrab einer 25–35-jährigen Frau, bestattet mit einem Schmuckensemble aus Bernsteinperlen, einer Brillenfibel und einem Gürtel. Im Grab fanden sich weiter 21 Gefäße, Spinnwirtel, zwei Messer, ein Wagenkasten und eventuell Teile eines Jochs³⁸.

³⁴ Weiss-Krejci 2013.

³⁵ Rebay-Salisbury im Druck a.

³⁶ Alt et al. 2005, DNA war nicht in ausreichendem Maß erhalten.

³⁷ Kiesslich et al. 2005.

³⁸ Leskovar 1998, Pertlwieser 1987.

Auffallend ist, dass beide Gräber mit ungewöhnlich großen Fleischmengen ausgestattet wurden – vielleicht waren sie Angehörige einer Familie, deren Lebensgrundlage die Fleischproduktion war. Unklar bleibt, ob der Mann der Vater der Frau oder die Frau die Mutter des Mannes war. In beiden Fällen verstarben sie entweder bevor oder gerade als ihre Kinder das Erwachsenenalter erreicht hatten. Das wiederum unterstreicht, wie wichtig der Familienverband für die Betreuung und Erziehung von Kindern und Heranwachsenden war. Tanten und Onkel, Großeltern oder andere Angehörige konnten im Fall des Todes der Eltern die wesentliche Versorgung übernehmen.

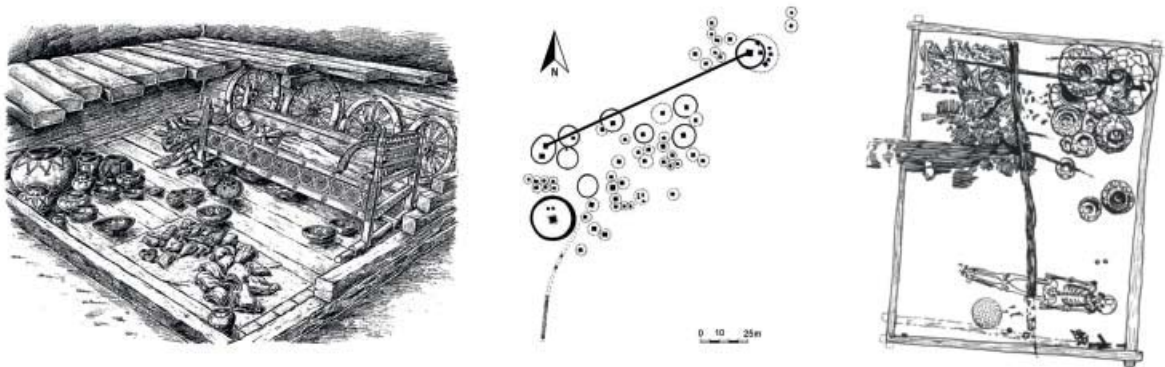


Abb. 3. Rekonstruktion des Grabes X/1 (Frauengrab, nach Pertlwieser 1987), Übersichtsplan des Gräberfeldes Mitterkirchen mit nachgewiesener Eltern-Kind Beziehung (nach Pertlwieser 1990, 291, Abb. 1), Grab I/8 (Männergrab, nach Pertlwieser 1982, 23, Textabb. 4).

Der hohe soziale Status der Frau könnte sich schon daraus ergeben, dass sie die Tochter eines einflussreichen Mannes war. Wir wissen nicht, wie materielles Erbe auf die Nachkommen aufgeteilt wurde und ob Geschlecht und Geburtsreihenfolge eine Rolle spielten. Aus späteren keltischen Quellen ist bekannt, dass Erbtöchter³⁹, also Frauen, die keine männlichen Geschwister hatten, erbberechtigt waren. Die Frau aus Grab X/1 von Mitterkirchen könnte ihren hohen Status natürlich auch durch Heirat erworben haben, diese Interpretation wird durch die mit Grabbeigaben dokumentierte Vater-Tochter Beziehung allerdings nicht unterstrichen. Im umgekehrten Fall – wenn sie die Mutter des Mannes war – könnte sich ihr hoher Status auf ihre Mutterschaft beziehen. Die Mutterschaft eines sie überlebenden Sohnes könnte von entscheidender Bedeutung für ihr Ansehen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft gewesen sein. Durch den Grabbrauch würde nicht nur ihr Reichtum, sondern auch emotionale und familiäre Beziehungen dokumentiert werden.

Ein ungewöhnlich reiches Grabmal wurde der Dame von Vix⁴⁰ zuteil, deren Rezeptionsgeschichte⁴¹ ein interessantes Beispiel sich verändernder Interpretationen darstellt. Die Frau mittleren Al-

³⁹ Karl 2006.

⁴⁰ Rolley 2003.

⁴¹ Arnold 2012.

ters, die ungefähr zwischen dem 35. und 40. Lebensjahr verstarb, musste schon zahlreiche anthropologische Analysen⁴² über sich ergehen lassen. Ihre erheblichen Asymmetrien im Kopf- und Beckenbereich werfen die Frage auf, ob sie erfolgreich Kinder zur Welt gebracht haben konnte. Christopher Knüsel brachte ihre Pathologien mit einer Beckenendlage⁴³ in Verbindung, eine ungünstige Ausgangslage bei der Geburt, deren Prädisposition ebenfalls erblich ist und Geburten deutlich gefährlicher macht. Ist ihr Reichtum im Grab vielleicht auf einen Mangel an Erben zurückzuführen? Germaine Depierre und Henri Duday beobachteten aber einen typisch weiblichen Sulcus präauricularis⁴⁴. Ist sie also, ganz im Gegenteil, als Stammutter einer Dynastie zu verstehen, der durch den Grabbrauch Respekt gezollt wurde?

Mutterschaft kann indirekt großen Einfluss auf den archäologischen Befund haben, da das Ansehen und der sozialer Status einzelner Frauen von erfolgreicher Reproduktion abhängen können. Zudem kommt der Mutterschaft auch eine Bedeutung bei der Vererbung von Tracht, Prestigegütern und anderen Gegenständen zu. Wie Mutterschaft und sozialer Status von Frauen im Einzelfall zusammenhängen, wird in Zukunft durch bessere paläopathologische Beobachtungen und einer systematischen Anwendung von DNA-Analysen deutlich klarer werden. Wichtig dafür ist jedoch, dass Mutterschaft als eine eigene Komponente von Identität sowohl von anthropologischer als auch von archäologischer Seite berücksichtigt und untersucht wird, und wir somit Mütter von Nicht-Müttern zu unterscheiden lernen. Erst dann werden wir wissen, ob die Gleichung „Big Woman = Big Mama“ tatsächlich aufgeht.

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⁴² Z. B. Depierre/Duday 2003; Knüsel 2002; Sauter 1980; eine DNA Analyse (Ginolhac et al. 2003) konnte ihr chromosomales Geschlecht als weiblich bestimmen.

⁴³ Knüsel 2002, 292.

⁴⁴ Depierre/Duday 2003, 36.

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5.5 Tod während Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der Eisenzeit

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Tod während Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der Eisenzeit

*Dr. Katharina Rebay-Salisbury
Institut für Orientalische und Europäische Archäologie
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Fleischmarkt 20–22
A–1010 Wien
Österreich
Katharina.Rebay-Salisbury@oeaw.ac.at*

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Haupttext

Schwangerschaft und Geburt sind heute noch, trotz erheblichen medizinischen Fortschritts, für Mütter und ihre Babys mit Gefahren für Gesundheit und Leben verbunden. Um gesellschaftliche Reaktionen auf Schwangerschaft, Geburt und frühe Kinderbetreuung in der Eisenzeit zu untersuchen,¹ bieten Gräber von Frauen, die während Schwangerschaft und Geburt verstarben, eine einzigartige Quelle.

Ludwig Pauli, der sich bereits 1975 mit dem Tod im Kindbett ohne die heute verfügbaren archäologisch-anthropologischen Quellen beschäftigte (Pauli 1975, 168–170), bemerkte: "Am gefährlichsten, und hier sind sich alle Quellen im Wesentlichen einig, sind jene Frauen, die im Kindbett gestorben sind." (Pauli 1975, 182). Sie gehören zu den „zu früh verstorbenen“ oder „gefährlichen Toten“ – Personengruppen, denen eine irreguläre Totenbehandlung und besondere Beigaben wie etwa Amulette zugesprochen werden.

In diesem Beitrag möchte ich auf die Bedeutung von Sexualität, Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der Eisenzeit eingehen, die mindestens zu erwartende Häufigkeit von Schwangeren erörtern und das „Schwangerendefizit“ im archäologischen Befund thematisieren, sowie einige Beispiele zu Gräbern von eisenzeitlichen Frauen, die hochschwanger bzw. bei der Geburt gestorben sind, und ihre Charakteristika diskutieren.

¹ Forschungen im Rahmen meines laufenden FWF-Projekts P26820-G19 „Der soziale Status von Mutterschaft im bronzezeitlichen Europa“ können demnächst dank eines ERC-Starting Grants 2015 thematisch und chronologisch ausgedehnt werden. Informationen zu den Projekten: <http://www.orea.oeaw.ac.at/mutterschaft.html>, <https://motherhoodinprehistory.wordpress.com/>. Ich danke Joachim Weidig für seine hilfreichen Hinweise zu italienischen Befunden, Estella Weiss-Krejci für Ihre stetige Diskussionsbereitschaft, Michaela Fritzl für ihre Hilfe bei der Durchsicht der Literatur zu Schwangerenbestattungen, und allen genannten für Korrekturen und Hinweise beim Lesen des Manuskriptes.

Sexualität

Darstellungen von Sexualakten sind von der Bilderwelt der Situlenkunst bereits seit langem bekannt. Sexualität geht über die biologische Notwendigkeit von Reproduktion hinaus und ist mit kulturellen und soziale Normen verwoben (Taylor 1996, 4). Dem Kontext der Darstellungen kann man entnehmen, dass die sexuelle Vereinigung von Mann und Frau mit Szenen von Hochzeitsverhandlungen und -festen kombiniert sind, anders als etwa Darstellungen von Sexualität in Griechenland und Etrurien (vgl. Harris u. a. 2013; Stoddart 2009). Ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Szenen ist der Vollzug der Ehe unter voller Beobachtung von Zeugen.

Zwei erst kürzlich entdeckte Situlen machen dies besonders deutlich: Im obersten Fries der neuentdeckten Situla aus Montebelluna, Italien (Bianchin Citton 2014), scheint die Reise zur Hochzeit dargestellt. Besonders die Frau, die stehend hinter dem Fahrer des zweirädrigen Wagens dargestellt ist, stellt eine Besonderheit dar, ebenso wie der nackte Mann, der in Fesseln hinter dem letzten Wagen geführt wird. Es könnte sich um die Braut sowie einen Sklaven oder Gefangenen als Teil des Hochzeitsguts handeln. Im mittleren Fries befindet sich die Darstellung eines Festes mit sportlichem und musischem Wettkampf. Gleich daneben wird einem Paar in Missionarstellung ein Trank gereicht. Die Szene wird mit zwei spinnenden Frauen abgeschlossen, die vielleicht die neue Hausherrin mit Schwiegermutter darstellen. Diese Interpretation würde auf eine patrilokale Familienresidenz hindeuten, bei der die Frau in den Haushalt des Mannes einheiratet.

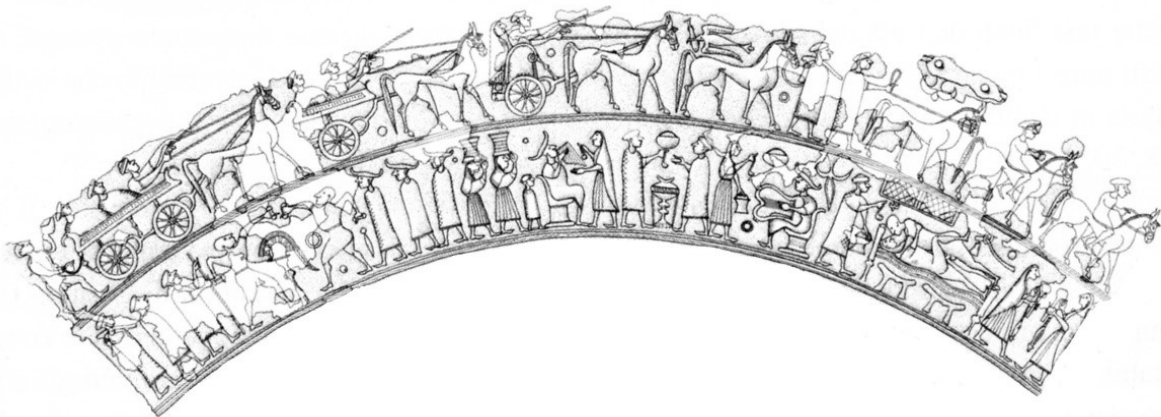


Abb. 1. Grafische Rekonstruktion der Friese der Situla aus Montebelluna, Italien von Stefano Buson und Leonardo Di Simone (© Bianchin Citton 2014, 1004, Abb. 4B)

Auf der Situla von Pieve d'Alpago (Gangemi 2013, Abb. 6.9) stellen die beiden Friese eine Prozession von Reisenden dar. Der unterste Fries, von links nach rechts zu lesen, zeigt drei Paare, bzw. ein Paar in drei verschiedenen Situationen: Eine Umarmung, eine Berührung und der Beginn einer sexuellen Handlung. Die Gestik der Frau spiegelt Ambivalenz zwischen Einladung und Abwehr wider. Die nächste Szene zeigt eine Vielfalt von Stellungen, in denen der Geschlechtsverkehr stattfindet. Wichtig scheinen allerdings nicht nur die handelnden Personen, sondern auch die Zeuginnen, die thronend oder mit Würdezeichen in der Hand dem Geschehen beiwohnen. Im dritten Abschnitt des Frieses hat das Paar Sex in Missionarstellung – der beliebtesten Stellung in der Situlenkunst. Der letzte Abschnitt der Situla ist einer Geburtszene gewidmet.

Sex ist in den Darstellungen der Eisenzeit kein privater, sondern ein öffentlicher Akt mit großer Bedeutung für die soziale Ordnung der dargestellten Oberschicht (Rebay-Salisbury 2016). Die Bezeugung des Aktes durch die Anwesenden war neben der strengen Kontrolle des Umgangs der Frauen vermutlich die einzige Möglichkeit, Vaterschaft eindeutig festzulegen. *Mater semper certa est, pater numquam* – dass die Mutter zwar immer bekannt, der Vater aber niemals sicher ist, war in der Antike bestens bekannt. Auch das Prinzip der bezeugten Vaterschaft deutet auf die Bedeutung der väterlichen Linie für die Genealogie hin, die in der Eisenzeit bereits betont wurde (vgl. Huth 2003, 194–195).

Auch wenn Frauen beim Sex zwar meistens mit Bekleidung in Missionarstellung dargestellt wurden (z. B. Castelvetro und Sanzeno, Italien, Lucke/Frey 1962, Taf. 21, 67), gibt es doch auch Darstellungen thronender Frauen aus Brezje, Slowenien (Barth 1999; Turk 2005, 56, Abb. 83) und Pieve d'Alpago, Italien (Gangemi 2015, Taf 1, 2). Diese Art der Darstellung weist auf den außergewöhnlich hohen sozialen Status der Frauen hin, eventuell sogar auf ihre Rolle als Göttin, Königin, Heroin oder Priesterin (Eibner 2001, 128). Frauen scheinen eine wichtige Rolle in der Übertragung der Macht von einer Generation zur anderen gehabt zu haben (Teržan 2001; Turk 2005, 30–31), nicht zuletzt als Mutter des künftigen Herrschers (vgl. Bartoloni 2006). Darstellungen von Sexualität in der Eisenzeit, die vom Standpunkt der Frau aus wohl eher einer öffentlichen Vergewaltigung als sexueller Selbstbestimmung nahekommen, haben ein klares Ziel: die Sicherung der Nachkommenschaft.

Geburt

Die Situla von Pieve d'Alpago (Gangemi 2013, Abb. 6.9; Gangemi/Basseti/Voltolini 2015, Taf. 1, 2) ist bislang die einzige, die eine Geburtszene zeigt. Die Gebärende ist nackt und stehend von der Seite dargestellt, sie hält sich mit dem Armen an einem Balken über ihrem Kopf fest. Ihre Beine sind weit gespreizt und ein Baby wird mit dem Kopf voran geboren, das niemand aufzufangen scheint. Die Gebärende jedoch wird von zwei Frauen unterstützt: Eine steht vor ihr, mit einer Hand hält sie den Henkel eines Bronzegefäßes, die andere Hand ruht am Bauch der Gebärenden. Die zweite Frau stützt die Mutter von hinten mit der Hand am Rücken. In dieser Szene ist die Geburt eine ausschließlich weiblich Angelegenheit, die im Haus unter Anwesenheit erfahrener Frauen stattfindet. Bemerkenswert sind die physiologisch günstige Geburtshaltung im Stehen bzw. Hocken sowie das Benutzen eines Balkens zum Festhalten. Eine ähnliche Haltung nimmt die Gebärende ein, die auf einem Bucchero-Stempelbild aus Poggio Colla in Etrurien (Perkins 2012) dargestellt ist. Ferner zeigt die Steinskulptur aus Nesactium, Kroatien (Fischer 1984, Taf. 8, Abb. 1), eine Mutter kurz nach der Geburt mit offener Vulva und Baby vor der Brust. In allen drei Szenen scheint die Geburt günstig verlaufen zu sein, was absolut keine Selbstverständlichkeit darstellt.



Abb. 2. Der unterste Fries der Situla von Pieve d'Alpago (© Gangemi u. a. 2015)

Müttersterblichkeit

„Als Müttersterbefall gilt der Tod einer Frau während der Schwangerschaft oder innerhalb von 42 Tagen nach Beendigung der Schwangerschaft aufgrund von Ursachen, die in Beziehung zur Schwangerschaft oder deren Behandlung stehen oder durch diese verschlechtert werden. Nicht zur Müttersterblichkeit gezählt werden Sterbefälle von

Schwangeren durch Unfall oder zufällige Ereignisse.“² Die Verringerung der Müttersterblichkeit ist ein erklärtes Ziel der WHO und tatsächlich wurden in den letzten Jahren beeindruckende Fortschritte gemacht. Trotzdem ist das Risiko einer Frau, im Laufe ihres Lebens an den Folgen einer Schwangerschaft zu sterben, in Deutschland etwa 1:10.600 und in Österreich etwa 1:18200, während es in Somalia 1:16 und in Sierra Leone und Niger 1:23 beträgt (Save the Children 2013, 70–73).

Wie lassen sich aber solche Zahlen für die Eisenzeit berechnen? Wird nichts medizinisch Effektives getan, um die Müttersterblichkeit zu verringern, so wird die natürliche Müttersterblichkeit auf etwa 1.500 zu 100.000 Geburten geschätzt, das heißt, etwa 1.5 % der Frauen sterben normalerweise pro Geburt (Van Lerberghe/De Brouwere 2001, 3). Schätzt man die Zahl der Schwangerschaften pro Frau in der Eisenzeit auf etwa zehn, so ergibt sich, dass etwa 15 % aller Frauen in Zusammenhang mit Schwangerschaft und Geburt starben. Ähnliche Raten ergeben sich auch aus paläo-pathologischen Studien (14 %, Aufderheide/Rodriguez-Martin 1998, 296). Bei einer Müttersterblichkeitsrate dieser Größenordnung ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass man jemanden kannte, der an den Folgen von Schwangerschaft und Geburt gestorben ist (Sayer/Dickinson 2013, 293), auch wenn man nicht selbst betroffen war.

Todensursachen (Kemkes-Grottenthaler 1999) gibt es zahlreiche: Blutverlust und Infektionen der Gebärmutter oder des Brustgewebes sind heute noch sehr häufig und waren unter ungünstigen hygienischen Bedingungen sicherlich problematisch. Eklampsie (oder Schwangerschaftsvergiftung) dürfte einer der Hauptgründe für den Tod um die Geburt gewesen sein. Sie tritt heute bei etwa 2–5% aller Schwangerschaften und gehäuft bei Erstgebärenden auf und kann unbehandelt zu Nierenversagen, Hirnödem, Thrombosen, Netzhautschäden, Blutungen und Plazentainsuffizienz führen. Zu den anatomischen Geburtshindernissen gehört beispielweise, wenn die Plazenta durch ungünstige Lage den Muttermund versperrt, was rezent bei etwa 1 % der Schwangerschaften der Fall ist. Ein Missverhältnis der Größe des Schädels des Kindes zum Geburtskanal der Mutter ist selten, da der kindliche Kopf auch extrem verformbar ist, kann aber vor allem bei Frauen mit rachitisch verformten Becken vorkommen. Häufiger ist Schulterdystokie, ein geburtshilflicher Notfall, bei dem der Kopf bereits entbunden ist, aber die Schulter des Babys im Becken der Mutter stecken bleibt. Das betrifft heute bis zu 3% der Geburten, dürfte allerdings bei schlechter Ernährungslage und damit geringerem Geburtsgewicht der Babys seltener vorgekommen

² <http://www.bib-demografie.de/SharedDocs/Glossareintraege/DE/M/muettersterblichkeit.html>, 8 März 2016.

sein. Ungünstige Geburtslagen wie Querlage oder Beckenendlage können ohne geübte Geburtshilfe ebenfalls schnell zum Tod von Mutter und Kind führen.

Weitere Sterbefälle

Da Sterbefälle von Schwangeren durch Unfall oder andere Ereignisse nicht zur Müttersterblichkeit gezählt werden, müssen im archäologischen Befund noch mit jenen Frauen gerechnet werden, die während einer Schwangerschaft an anderen Ursachen wie Gewalteinwirkung, Infektionskrankheiten etc. gestorben sind.

Wie viele Schwangerschaften eine Frau im Durchschnitt im Laufe ihres Lebens durchlebte und wie viele Kinder sie zur Welt brachte, ist Gegenstand demografischer Forschung. Zur Erhaltung einer stabilen Population bei annähernd 50% Kindersterblichkeit sind vier bis fünf Kinder pro Frau Voraussetzung (Bocquet-Appel 2008). Wenn man über die fruchtbare Lebensspanne einer Frau etwa zwischen 20 und 40 Jahren einen Geburtenabstand von etwa 36 Monaten annimmt, dann sind immer mindestens 9 % der Frauen dieser Altersgruppe hochschwanger (zwischen 6. und 10. Lunarmonat). Selbst unter günstigsten Rahmenbedingungen müssen wir also mit sehr vielen Frauen rechnen, die – ursächlich oder auch nicht – während später Schwangerschaft und Geburt verstarben. Doch wo sind sie im archäologischen Befund?

Schwangerendefizit

Schwangere Frauen mit Fötus³ in situ sind im archäologischen Fundmaterial sehr selten. Das hat meines Erachtens Erklärungsbedarf, der über Erhaltungsbedingungen und taphonomische Prozesse allein hinausgeht. So wie mit dem weithin bekannten Kleinkinderdefizit in prähistorischen Gräberfeldern müssen wir uns auch mit dem Schwangerendefizit auseinandersetzen.

Eine Erklärung für das Fehlen von schwangeren Frauen im archäologischen Befund wären kulturelle Sitten und Bräuche, die dazu führen, dass Schwangere gar nicht oder an anderen Orten als am regulären Friedhof bestattet werden (Pauli 1975, 168), wie es auch ethnographisch aus mehreren Gesellschaften belegt ist (Weiss-Krejci 2013, 284). Diese Ausnahmen zum regulären Bestattungsbrauch archäologisch zu fassen, ist schwierig bis unmöglich (Müller-Scheeßel 2013). Es gibt kaum Hinweise, die auf getrennte

³ Nach Ausbildung der Organe im Mutterleib um die 9. Schwangerschaftswoche entwickelt sich der Embryo zum Fötus, der nach der Geburt Neonatus genannt wird.

Bestattungspraktiken für Schwangere in der Eisenzeit hindeuten, so sind etwa aus Siedlungsbefunden zahlreiche Babys und Kleinkinder, aber kaum schwangeren Frauen bekannt (Beilke-Vogt 2010; Ramsel 2010). Eine Ausnahme dürfte der Befund aus Stehelčevce, Tschechien (Knorr 1965) darstellen, wo ein Individuum in einer Siedlungsgrube der Späthallstatt/Frühlatènezeit gefunden wurde. Die Armhaltung – linker Arm über dem Kopf, linke Hand mit rechter verschränkt – ist äußerst ungewöhnlich. Der Kopf des Kindes ist unter ihren rechten Ellenbogen gefunden worden, Knochen der kindlichen Beine befanden sich noch im Beckenbereich der Frau, die mit abgehockten Beinen bestattet wurde.

Eine in Bauchlage bestattete Frau mit einem Neugeborenen wurde auf der Höhengiedlung Walheim, Baden-Württemberg beobachtet (Busse 1997, Abb. 41). Es gibt auch eine Reihe eisenzeitlicher Frauenbestattungen, bei denen im Beckenbereich ein Tonring festgestellt wurde, etwa bei einer 30 bis 40-jährigen Frau aus Stuttgart-Mühlhausen, die in einer Siedlungsgrube bestattet wurde. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass es sich bei den Tonringen um Pessare handelt (contra Pauli 1975, 186–169; Scherzler 1998). Diese medizinischen Hilfsmittel werden bis heute zur Behandlung von Gebärmuttervorfällen eingesetzt, die häufig durch Schwangerschafts- und Geburtsbelastungen entstehen.

Gegen eine getrennte Bestattung verstorbener Mütter spricht die demographisch belegte Übersterblichkeit der Frauen im gebärfähigen Alter. Damit ist eine erhöhte Mortalität von Frauen im Vergleich zu Männern in der adulten Altersklasse gemeint, die je nach Gräberfeld bis zu doppelt so hoch ausfallen kann (Pauli 1975, 168; Renhart 2009, 291; Schwidetzky 1978, 568–569).

Die mangelnde Knochenerhaltung von Föten und Neugeborenen ist sicher mit ein Grund, warum nur von wenigen Schwangeren berichtet wird. In manchen Gegenden ist auch bei Erwachsenen die Knochenerhaltung so schlecht, dass lediglich die Lage der Beigaben über die Bestatteten Auskunft gibt. Trotzdem sind die Knochen von Föten nicht a-priori weicher und fragiler als die von Erwachsenen (Lewis 2007, 25), allerdings sind die Epiphysen der Langknochen noch nicht verwachsen und der spongiöse Anteil der Knochen ist vermehrt der Verwitterung ausgesetzt. Harte Schädelteile wie Joch- oder Schläfenbeine erhalten sich relativ gut, sogar in Brandbestattungen.

Sind lediglich Fragmente von fötalen und neonatalen Knochen im Grab erhalten, ist die Gefahr, sie bei der Ausgrabung zu übersehen oder mit Tierknochen zu verwechseln, sehr hoch. Besonders jüngere Föten bei der Grabung zu erkennen, ist fast nicht möglich, wenn die

Beckenregion von Frauenskeletten nicht systematisch gesiebt bzw. blockgeborgen wird (Caselitz 1980). Bei mittelalterlichen Gräbern in Norddeutschland fand man so bei mindestens 10% der Frauen eine Schwangerschaft (pers. comm. Peter Caselitz). Diese Vorgangsweise bei allen Grabungen zur Routine zu machen, würde das archäologische Erkenntnispotential wesentlich erweitern.

Eisenzeitliche Befunde schwangerer Frauen: Brandbestattungen

In der europäischen Eisenzeit kommen sowohl Brand- als auch Körperbestattungen vor. Brandbestattete Schwangere werden aufgrund des gemeinsamen Vorkommens von verbrannten Knochen von Frauen im gebärfähigen Alter mit fötalen/neonatalen Knochen postuliert. Ultimativ beweisbar ist die Zusammengehörigkeit mit gegenwärtigen wissenschaftlichen Methoden nicht, da unter Umständen auch fehl- und frühgeborene Föten bzw. Neonaten zusammen mit Erwachsenen, die ungefähr gleichzeitig gestorben sind, verbrannt und bestattet werden könnten. In den meisten Fällen zerstören die hohen Temperaturen, die bei Brandbestattungen erreicht werden, das Kollagen in den Knochen, das für die Bestätigung einer Mutter-Kind Beziehung mittels DNA Analyse nötig wäre.

Zudem ist bei einem Alter um den Geburtstermin schwer feststellbar, ob das Baby zum Zeitpunkt der Verbrennung noch im Mutterleib war (= Fötus), oder ob die Geburt bereits stattgefunden hatte (=Neonatus) und beide Individuen verstarben.

Die Sorgfalt beim Aufsammeln des Leichenbrandes ist zudem ein wesentlicher Filter. Hier können fötale/neonatale Knochen leicht verloren gehen, besonders wenn die Bestattungsgemeinschaft mit einem Teil des Leichenbrandes im Sinne einer *pars-pro-toto* Beisetzung zufrieden ist. Bei der Benützung eines gemeinsamen Verbrennungsplatzes ist die Beimengung einzelner Knochen anderer Individuen nicht ungewöhnlich, was wiederum nicht ausschließt, dass Leichenbrand von Babys und Kleinkindern später anderen Individuen zugeordnet wird. Trotz allem scheint die Verbrennung von Hochschwangeren in den folgenden Fällen die Befunde am besten zu erklären.

Beispiele

Der Leichenbrand eines besonderen Grabes der Athener Agora, 1967 ausgegraben, wurde zunächst als das Grab einer 24 bis 40 jährigen Frau bestimmt, die mit einigen Tierknochen in der gut verschlossenen Urne beigelegt worden war (Smithson 1968, 86). Bei einer Neuuntersuchung (Liston/Papadopoulos 2004) stellte sich allerdings heraus, dass sehr wohl ein recht vollständiges Skelett eines Fötus vorhanden war. Die 30–40 jährige Frau, die hier

bestattet wurde, war entweder hochschwanger oder hatte erst vor kurzem ihr Kind zur Welt gebracht. Vom Leichenbrand waren noch 1,35 kg erhalten, und die Verbrennungstemperatur unter 800 °C ermöglichte die gute Erhaltung der Knochen des Fötus, dessen Alter auf 4 bis 8 Wochen vor dem Geburtstermin geschätzt wird. Die Beigaben der um 850 v. Chr. Bestatteten sind außergewöhnlich reich. Zu den Trachtbestandteilen, die verbrannt ins Grab gelangten, gehören 18 Nadeln, ein Paar Bronzefibeln, drei Goldringe, ein Paar goldene Ohringe und eine Halskette aus Glas. Elfenbeinobjekte und Keramik wurden ebenfalls gefunden. Unter der Keramik sticht ein Kästchen in der Form eines Getreidespeichers hervor, das als Hinweis auf den Reichtum der Familie oder die Fruchtbarkeit gedeutet werden kann (Smithson 1968, 86).

Im Gräberfeld von Cottbus-Alversleben, das 74 Gräber mit 105 Bestattungen umfasste und der spätbronzezeitlich/früheisenzeitlichen Lausitzer Kultur zuzuordnen ist, wurden alle Altersgruppen verbrannt, inklusive der Säuglinge und Kleinkinder (Gramsch 2004, 409, 412). Grab 55 war das einer spädadulter Frau mit einem 3–9 Monate alten Baby, Grab 121 das einer frühmaturen Frau mit einem Neugeborenen (Gramsch 2010, 213). Eine Besonderheit des Gräberfeldes von Cottbus-Alversleben ist, dass der Leichenbrand der verstorbenen Individuen in anatomischer Abfolge in die Urnen geschichtet wurde. Die Gräber 99 und 166 repräsentieren Schwangeren- oder Wöchnerinnenbestattungen mit ihren Babys (Gramsch 2010, 220–222). Bei der Bergung des Leichenbrandes der etwa 33-jährigen Frau aus Grab 99 wurde besonders auf die Lage der fötalen Knochen geachtet, die in mehreren Leichenbrandlagen und nicht ausschließlich im Beckenbereich beobachtet wurden (Großkopf 2004, 169–170). Grab 166 enthielt zwei Urnen, die eines Fötus/Neugeborenen und die einer spädadulter/frühmaturen Frau. Unter ihren Brandresten fanden sich auch weitere Reste eines perinatalen Individuums. Da es keine offensichtliche Duplikation anatomischer Elemente gab (Großkopf 2004, 166–169), muss offen bleiben, ob hier zwei Föten/Neugeborenen bestattet worden waren, oder ob die (noch schwangere?) Frau und das Kind gemeinsam verbrannt, jedoch bei der Aufsammlung des Leichenbrandes getrennt wurden. Das ließe darauf schließen, dass bereits Ungeborenen bzw. Neugeborene als eigenständige Menschen, als Individuen, wahrgenommen wurden.

Ein weiteres Beispiel einer brandbestatteten Schwangeren stammt aus dem alpinen Brandgräberfeldes von Bischofshofen, Österreich. Hier wurde in Grab 368 der Leichenbrand einer 31–40-jährigen Frau mit Fötus im 7–8 Monat beobachtet (Renhart 2009, 274). Die Schwangere wurde in einer rechteckigen Steinkiste mit Fragmenten einer Bogenfibel, einem Drahtreifen, einer Nadel und einem Eisenmesserchen deponiert. Sie fügt sich damit gut ins

bekanntes Bild einer alpinen, hallstattzeitlichen Bestattungsgemeinschaft ein. Das Gräberfeld umfasst 17 weitere Doppelbestattungen von Frauen zwischen 19 und 40 mit Kindern zwischen 0 und 6 Jahren, wobei Spinnwirteln unter den Beigaben häufig sind. Das bestätigte sich auch bei Grab 27 der Gruppe Masser-Kreuzbauer in Kleinklein, Österreich (Bernhard/Weihs 2003, 91), wo die Brandbestattung einer 35–45-jährigen Frau mit 0–3-jährigem Kind geborgen wurde. Im Grab befanden sich neben einer eisernen und zweier bronzener Fibeln, einem bronzenen Gürtelring, zweier Spitzen aus Eisen auch Tierknochen sowie 15 Spinnwirtel.

Auch aus der späten Latènezeit stammt ein Beispiel einer Schwangeren/Wöchnerin gehobener Stellung, die 2004 im spätlatènezeitlichen Gräberfeld von den Toren des Oppidums von Bibracte entdeckt wurde. Der sehr sorgfältig geborgene und in einer Urne beigelegte Leichenbrand einer erwachsenen Frau mit den verbrannten Resten eines Fötus/Neonaten bestattet; es waren ebenso wie kleine Fragmente weiterer erwachsener Individuen zugegen. Es scheint sich um eine Frau hohen Rangs gehandelt zu haben, die – für Bibracte ungewöhnlich – auf einem Möbelstück aufgebahrt verbrannt worden war (Cordie et al. 2006, 10).

Zwischen Brand- und Körperbestattung

Brand und Körperbestattung sind nicht unbedingt als gegensätzlich aufzufassen (Rebay-Salisbury 2015); Elemente beider Bestattungspraktiken können mitunter kombiniert auftreten. Ein interessanter Fall einer Schwangerenbestattung aus dem frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. stammt aus der Phönizisch-Punischen Bestattungsgemeinschaft von Monte Sirai auf Sardinien (Piga u. a. 2016). In Grab 316 wurde eine 20 bis 25-jährige Frau in Rückenlage mit Keramikbeigaben bestattet, in deren Beckenbereich ein Fötus in Querlage gefunden wurde. Naturwissenschaftliche Analysen ergaben, dass die Individuen Temperaturen zwischen 600 und 750°C ausgesetzt waren. Feuer spielte im Bestattungsritual eine große Rolle, so steht diese Bestattung gleichsam zwischen Brand- und Körperbestattung.

Brand und Körperbestattung in Kombination finden sich in Singen, Kr. Konstanz, Grab 53/6, wo das Hallstatt D2/LT A-zeitliche Grab eines Fötus/Neonatus mit zahlreichen apotropäischen Objekten in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit der Brandbestattung einer Frau mit Korallenschmuck dokumentiert wurde (Pauli 1975, 45, 56, 170, Fig. 16).

Eisenzeitliche Befunde schwangerer Frauen: Körperbestattungen

Ungestörte Körperbestattungen schwangerer Frauen lassen unter Umständen sogar Schlüsse zur Todesursache wie Querlage oder Distokie zu. Eine genaue Dokumentation der Lage der fötalen Knochen sowie eine Rekonstruktion taphonomischer Prozesse ist dabei vonnöten.

Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen differenzierte neun verschiedene Lagebezüge zwischen dem mütterlichen Skelett in Rückenlage und dem Fötus/Neugeborenen (Teegen 2005, 118), wobei nur die Lage im Becken (in utero) und im Geburtskanal zweifelsfrei belegen, dass es sich um das eigene Kind handelt.

Etwas schwieriger stellt sich die Situation bei Föten/Neonaten dar, die zwischen den Beinen der Mutter oder in vergleichbar naher Lage bei anderen Körperlagen wie der Hockerstellung gefunden wurden. Befunde sogenannter Sarggeburten sind in der archäologischen und forensischen Literatur umstritten. Dabei wird angenommen, dass der Fötus nach Tod und Bestattung der Mutter durch den Fäulnisprozess aus dem Körper der Mutter gedrückt wird (Lewis 2007, 35). Dieser Vorgang wurde zwar gelegentlich historisch beobachtet, ist aber extrem selten. Eine Sarggeburt setzt einen Freiraum in der Grabkammer oder im Sarg voraus, in den das Kind geboren werden kann. Außerdem darf kein anatomisches Geburtshindernis vorliegen, und der Muttermund muss geöffnet sein. Sayer und Dickinson (Sayer/Dickinson 2013, 287) halten Sarggeburten im archäologischen Befund für unwahrscheinlich und bevorzugen andere Interpretation teilweise geborener Föten. Augias et al. argumentieren hingegen, dass mit Verlagerungen fötaler Knochen durch den Verwesungsvorgang durchaus zu rechnen ist, und dass der Fötus wohl bei einer unglücklichen Geburt vor der Bestattung entfernt worden wäre (Augias u. a. 2015).

Durch einen histologischen Schnitt der Milchzähne ist es auch möglich, zwischen Föten bzw. Neonaten und den Babys zu unterscheiden, die eine Geburt noch einige Tage überlebt haben. Der Zahnschmelz wächst bei der Zahnentwicklung inkrementell, und durch die Geburt kommt es zu einer Unterbrechung dieses Wachstums, da sich der Körper auf eine komplett neue Umgebung und Nahrungsaufnahme umstellen muss. Diese Unterbrechung ist als Neonatallinie sichtbar. Stirbt der Fötus schon im Mutterleib, fehlt die Neonatallinie; wird die Geburt aber überlebt, bildet sich weiter Zahnschmelz und überlagert die Neonatallinie (Eli/Sarnat/Talmi 1989; Witzel 2014).

So ist wohl im Einzelfall die anatomische und paläopathologische Beurteilung des mütterlichen und kindlichen Skelettes angezeigt, sowie eine kritische Beurteilung der

taphonomischen Prozesse, die zum Befund geführt haben. Gerade in prähistorischen Gesellschaften ist mit einer Inszenierung der Toten im Grab zu rechnen (vgl. Augstein 2009; Müller-Scheeßel 2005; Taylor 2002). Ein Säugling, der in Geburtslage zwischen den Beinen der Mutter gefunden wird, mag von der Bestattungsgemeinschaft bewusst so platziert worden sein. Nach Peirce's Logik der Semiotik (Peirce 1955) indiziert das Baby die Todesursache der Mutter in der Sprache des Grabes.

Unter Umständen könnte ein verstorbenes Neugeborenes auch mit anderen Personen als der Mutter bestattet werden, wenn etwa zeitnah ein anderes Begräbnis ansteht. Zum einen wird an Bestattungsaufwand eingespart, zum anderen spielt eventuell der Schutzgedanke eine Rolle. In solchen Fällen wäre bei entsprechender Erhaltung ein genetischer Test des Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses zwischen den Individuen möglich.

Auch zwischen nicht genetisch verwandten Individuen können emotionalen Beziehungen aufgebaut werden, die durch die Lage im Grab referenziert werden, zum Beispiel, wenn das Baby in den Arm der erwachsenen Person gelegt wird. Soziale Mutterschaft, also andere Kinder als die eigenen aufzuziehen, mag ein völlig natürlicher Bestandteil der prähistorischen Gesellschaftsordnungen gewesen sein; zudem sind Ammen, Kindermädchen und der Austausch etwas älterer Kinder in höheren Kreisen wohl keine Seltenheit (vgl. Karl 2005).

Beispiele

Die sorgfältige Auswahl des Bestattungsortes bezüglich der Todesursache bestätigen Beispiele von Schwangerenbestattungen aus Kirkburn in Yorkshire, England (Giles 2012, 91–93; Giles 2015). In Grab K6 wurde eine junge Frau, etwa 17 bis 25 Jahre alt, in Hockerstellung in einem Grabhügel beigesetzt. Ein Arm stütze den Körper, der andere war über Bauch und Brust gelegt. Ein ausgetragener Fötus lag zwischen ihren Beinen in Geburtslage. Die Frau aus Kirkburn wurde mit einigen ungewöhnlichen Objekten bestattet, wobei vor allem die Materialvielfalt (Kupfer, Bernstein und Gagat) auffällt – es könnte sich um Amulette und Heilbehelfe handeln. Das Grab befindet sich etwas abseits des Gräberfeldes, nahe einer anderen ungewöhnlichen Bestattung, nämlich eines Wagengrabes. Einige Zeit nach der Bestattung wurde im selben Grabhügel eine Frau nachbestattet, die zwischen 25 und 35 Jahre alt war und in deren Beckenregion ein acht Monate alter Fötus angetroffen wurde. Das Schicksal der ersten Frau scheint bei der Bestattung der zweiten Schwangeren noch in Erinnerung gewesen zu sein (Giles 2015, 541).

Ebenfalls aus der mitteleisenzeitlichen Arras-Kultur Englands stammt die Doppelbestattung eines jungen Mannes (17 bis 19 Jahre) und einer etwas älteren Frau (20 bis 25 Jahre). Zwischen den Beinen der Frau wurde ein sechs Monate alter Fötus in Geburtslage gefunden; auch hier ist unklar, ob es sich um eine bestattete Fehl- oder Totgeburt oder eine Sarggeburt handelt. In jedem Fall war die Schwangerschaft im 7. Monat wohl nicht mehr zu verbergen gewesen. Zur Zeit der Ausgrabung in den 1970ern wurde der Befund „das sündige Paar“ getauft (Giles 2012, 108–111), zumal der Ausgräber noch Reste eines Pfahles zu erkennen meinte, der die rechte Hand der Frau mit dem linken Ellbogen des Mannes fixierte.

Eine Schwangerenbestattung aus Grab 2 von Pievetorina in den Marken in Italien, die um 700 bis 580 v. Chr. datiert, ist aufgrund der ungewöhnlichen Beigaben auffällig (Lollini 1998, 69–70). Die Frau im Alter von 20 bis 30 Jahren mit Resten eines Fötus wurde mit reichem Schmuck aus Bronze, Silber und Bernstein begraben, wobei die Stola mit geometrisch verzierter Bronzescheibe am eindrucksvollsten ist. Eine besondere Wertschätzung schwangerer Frauen und ihrer Babys dürfte kennzeichnend für die mittelitalienische Region sein. Im früheisenzeitlichen Bazzano (Weidig 2014) wurden bereits Föten wie Säuglinge in Ziegelgräbern bestattet, in Spoleto (Manca/Weidig 2014) sind Gräber von Säuglingen und Kleinkindern bereits reich ausgestattet.

Diese Wertschätzung scheint auch ein wenig nördlich der Alpen zu strahlen, vor allem auf jene Fundorte, die eng mit Italien verbunden waren. Sowohl aus Hallstatt als auch vom Dürrnberg in Österreich gibt es auch Frauen mit Föten und Neonaten, die zum Teil noch nicht ausreichend publiziert sind, um ihren archäologischen Kontext beurteilen zu können.

Grab 308 vom Putzenkopf am Dürrnberg war die vorläufig letzte Ruhestätte einer 25 bis 30-jährigen Schwangeren, in deren Becken ein geburtsreifer Fötus „mit dem Schädel beckenauswärts gedreht“ (Zeller 2003, 526) lag. Trotz umfangreicher Ausstattung mit vier Eisenfibeln, einer Bronzekette mit Silber und Bernsteinschmuck und bronzener Arm- und Fußreifen zeugte ihr anthropologischer Befund von gesundheitlichen Problemen und Traumata (Höger 2002, 67–68; Wendling/Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013). Dass die frühlatènezeitliche Bevölkerung am Dürrnberg, und speziell die Bestattungsgruppe am Putzenkopf, durchaus medizinisches Wissen besaß, belegen das Geräteensemble aus Grab 322, das vielleicht einem Arzt mit chirurgischen Kenntnissen zuzuweisen ist (Zeller 2003, 539) sowie Grab 343 mit Bohrtrepanation (Zeller 2003, 548). Wie die Bestattung eines Fötus in Grab 255 eines Mannes am Dürrnberger Simonbauernfeld (Höger 2002, 122) zu deuten ist, bleibt der zu erwartenden Publikation vorbehalten.

Anhand des damals bekannten Fundmaterials vom Dürrnberg vermutete Ludwig Pauli (1975, 152), dass Amulette vor allem mit frühadulten Frauen und Kinder assoziiert seien. Einer Überprüfung dieser Hypothese durch Anna-Maria Höger, die Pathologien Dürrnberger Skelette mit Amulettbeigaben anhand von 447 Skeletten aus 197 Gräbern auswertete, hielt diese Hypothese jedoch nur bedingt stand. Tatsächlich steht der Hauptteil der Amulette mit adulten Frauen in Verbindung, aber auch adulte Männer bekommen Amulette ins Grab. Lediglich juvenile Männer sind von der Amulettbeigabe ausgenommen (Höger 2002, 76).

Neugeborene sind am Dürrnberg immer wieder auch im Siedlungskontext anzutreffen, so wie die elf aus der Siedlung im Ramsautal (Karl/Löcker 2011; Wiltshcke-Schrotta 1999), das jüngste der regulär bestatteten Kinder dürfte ein 12–18 Monate altes Kleinkind aus Grab 250 B2 vom Eisfeld sein (Höger 2002, 31). Neben den Füßen der Erwachsenenbestattung im Holzkammergrab 352 vom Hallersbichl wurde ein beigabenloses Kleinkind in Hockerstellung entdeckt, das in einer 55 x 60 cm großen, beschnitzten Holzkiste mit Abdeckung mitbestattet wurde (Egg/Zeller 2005, 353). Hier ist ausnahmsweise erhalten, was uns häufig fehlt – die organischen Komponenten einer respektvollen Niederlegung toter Kinder.

In Hügel 2 von Schirndorf, Deutschland (Stroh 1979, 16–20), lag zwischen den Beinen des Skelettes der Primärbestattung ein Fötus bzw. Neonatus in Geburtshaltung. Das Grab war mit einem reichen Geschirrsatz ausgestattet. Die anthropologischen Analysen, zuletzt von Horst Claassen (1989), kommen wie auch frühere Bearbeiter zu dem Schluss, dass es sich um ein eher männliches, eher älteres Skelett handelt; der Bearbeiter Richard Hughes (Hughes 1999, 12–24) hält jedoch daran fest, dass es sich wohl trotzdem am wahrscheinlichsten um ein Mutter-Kind Paar handelt. Das Gräberfeld Schirndorf ist bekannt für eine sehr männliche populationsspezifische Morphologie – auch hier könnte lediglich eine DNA Untersuchung restlos Klarheit schaffen. Dieses Beispiel zeigt in jedem Fall, dass auch anthropologisch als männlich bestimmte Individuen mit Föten/Neonaten vorbehaltlich in eine Analyse prähistorischer Mutterschaft einbezogen werden sollten.

Sicher um die Bestattung einer Schwangeren handelt es sich bei der Körperbestattung einer 20 bis 25-jährigen Frau aus Grabhügel 32 von Rottenburg-Lindele, Deutschland (Reim 1988, 19), das etwa 250 Brand- und Körperbestattungen der älteren und jüngeren Hallstattzeit in 78 Grabhügeln sowie einige latènezeitliche Bestattungen umfasst. Der Fötus, der in der Beckenregion der jungen Frau gefunden wurde, war etwa 6 bis 7 Monate alt und wurde unter einem bronzenen Gürtelblech geborgen, was sicherlich zu seiner Erhaltung beigetragen hat.

Neben dem Gürtelblech zählten duzende bandförmige Ohrringe, ein Bronzehalsreif, Bogenfibeln und Tonnenarmbänder zur Ausstattung der Schwangeren. Sie war die zentrale Bestattung des Hügels und wurde mit Steinplatten abgedeckt, was ebenfalls ihren gehobenen Status demonstriert.

Eine Parallele zur Ausstattung der Rottenburger Schwangeren stellt Grab 86 vom Magdalenenberg dar (Reim 1988, 22; Spindler 1976, 21–23, Taf. 4–5). Das Alter der Bestatteten wurde zunächst als matur bestimmt (Gallay 1977), nach neueren anthropologischen Analysen jedoch auf 30 bis 40 korrigiert (Zäuner/Wahl 2013, 142). Die nach oben gerückte Lage des Gürtels könnte auf eine Schwangerschaft hinweisen; betrachtenswert ist ferner das kleine Silexgerät, das im Grab gefunden wurde. Werkzeuge zum Schneiden, die sowohl praktisch dem Zertrennen der Nabelschnur oder chirurgischen Eingriffen dienten, als auch symbolisch die Trennung von Mutter und Kind bei der Geburt andeuten, werden bis in die Neuzeit in Gräbern bei und nach der Geburt Verstorbener beobachtet (Löw 2010, 28–29). Die Bestimmung des Östrogengehalts in der Knochenmatrix (Held u. a. 2010) kann unter Umständen helfen, trotz fehlendem Fötus Schwangere und Frauen, die im frühen Kindbett verstorben sind, zu identifizieren.

Chirurgische Eingriffe: von der Fetotomie zum Kaiserschnitt

Auch wenn der Aufzählung Brand- und Körperbestatteter Schwangerer (Tab. 1) sicherlich noch einige Beispiele hinzuzufügen sind, bleibt ihre Zahl unter den Toten weit unter der Erwartung (siehe Tabelle im Anhang).

Die Lösung des Rätsels, warum so wenige schwangere Frauen im archäologischen Befund zu fassen sind, mag in der Anwendung chirurgischer Praktiken liegen. Durch Fetotomie und Kaiserschnitt werden Mutter und Kind getrennt und können getrennt voneinander bestattet werden. Zunächst ist davon auszugehen, dass im Fall einer schwierigen Geburt das Möglichste getan wird, um das Leben von Mutter und Kind zu retten. Ist bereits absehbar, dass eine vaginale Geburt nicht möglich ist, kann der Fötus im Mutterleib zerteilt werden, um durch den Geburtskanal zu passen, um so zumindest das Leben der Mutter zu retten.

Kürzlich wurde der älteste dokumentierte Fall von Fetotomie aus Cagny, Département Calvados in der Region Normandie, vorgestellt (Corde u. a. 2015). In der obersten Schicht einer Grabenanlage in der Nähe weiterer latènezeitlicher Gräber wurde das unvollständige Skelett eines 36 bis 37 Wochen alten Fötus gefunden, an dem entzündliche Prozesse sowie Schnittspuren an Knochen festgestellt wurden. Vermutlich verstarb der Fötus bereits im

Mutterleib und wurde chirurgisch entfernt; ob die Mutter die Prozedur überlebte, bleibt unklar. Eine Radiokarbondatierung bestätigte das eisenzeitliche Alter und ergab 399 bis 303 v. Chr. (*ibid.* 21). Weitere archäologische Befunde von Neugeborenen mit Schnittspuren sind aus spätrömischer Zeit bekannt (Mays u. a. 2014).

Weit verbreitet scheint in der Antike auch die Praktik gewesen zu sein, Frauen, die bei der Geburt verstarben, den Fötus aus dem Leib zu schneiden. Bereits in der Lex Regia des Numa Pompilius wurde festgehalten, dass keine schwangere Frau bestattet werden durfte, der nicht zuvor das Kind aus dem Leib geschnitten wurde. Ähnliches findet sich im Talmud, wo das Gesetz sogar am Sabbat befolgt werden musste (Caselitz 1980). Möglicherweise war diese Praktik auch in der mitteleuropäischen Eisenzeit weit verbreitet, während sie im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit weniger zur Anwendung kam. Trotzdem findet sich im Augustinischen Canon auch im 15. Jh. n. Chr. wieder der Hinweis darauf, dass der Fötus entfernt werden soll, und zwar um die Mutter innerhalb, das Baby jedoch außerhalb des geweihten Friedhofes zu bestatten (Gilchrist/Sloane 2005, 71).

In dieser Praktik liegen ja auch die Anfänge des Kaiserschnittes im Rahmen der Geburtshilfe (Lurie 2005; Quecke 1952; Sewell 1993). Zunächst führte man den Kaiserschnitt nur an sterbenden oder bereits toten Frauen durch. Da der Fötus nur wenige Minuten nach der Mutter an Sauerstoffunterversorgung stirbt, war eine erfolgreiche Kaiserschnittgeburt eher eine Seltenheit. Für die Mütter wurde der Kaiserschnitt trotz legendärer Ausnahmen erst im 19. Jh. zu einer überlebenden Prozedur.

Ergebnisse und Ausblick

Das Alter der Frauen, die während Schwangerschaft und Geburt verstarben, liegt in der gesamten adulten Lebensspanne, doch meistens ab etwa 20 Jahren (Tab. 1). Lediglich die Frau aus Kirkburn könnte bei ihrer Schwangerschaft noch jugendlich gewesen sein. Da vor allem die ersten (und letzten) Schwangerschaften tödlich verlaufen, könnte so auf ein Heiratsalter um etwa 20 geschlossen werden. Das liegt etwas später als für die Bronzezeit vermutet wird (Teegen 2005; Thiel/Wahl 2016)⁴.

Unter den eisenzeitlichen Beispielen während Schwangerschaft und Geburt verstorbener Frauen dürften viele einen sehr hohen Rang in der Gesellschaft innegehabt haben. Eine Schwangerschaft scheint sich also positiv auf das Ansehen der Frauen ausgewirkt zu haben.

⁴ Eine Masterarbeit zu Teenagerschwangerschaften im archäologisch-anthropologischen Kontext konnte für diese Arbeit noch nicht berücksichtigt werden (Bealek 2016).

Medizinische und magische bzw. glücksbringende Objekte sind mitunter in den Gräbern präsent, auch solche, die trennen und schneiden können. Durchschnittlich ausgestattete Gräber von Schwangeren gibt es hingegen wenige und Hinweise auf Schwangerenbestattungen in irregulären Kontexten wie Siedlungen fehlen bislang fast völlig. Das weitgehende Fehlen von Schwangeren im archäologischen Befund ist zum einen auf ungünstige Knochenerhaltung, unzureichende Bergungsmethoden und mangelnde Dokumentation zurückzuführen. Ein wichtiger Schritt, weitere Schwangere im archäologischen Befund zu fassen, liegt in der Änderung der Erwartungshaltung: nur wenn bei der Bergung von Frauenskeletten bereits *a priori* die Möglichkeit einer Schwangerschaft in Betracht gezogen wird, können adäquate Schritte gesetzt werden. Die ständige Weiterentwicklung moderner Grabungsmethodik, forensischer Anthropologie und genetischer Analysemethodik gibt Anlass zur Hoffnung, dass in Zukunft weit mehr Gräber von Schwangeren sachgerecht geborgen und analysiert werden. Eine weitaus fundiertere Evaluation von Tod während Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der Eisenzeit wäre dann möglich.

Zum anderen dürften Föten jedoch auch aus dem Leib der Mutter entfernt und getrennt bestattet worden sein. Dies wirft wiederum grundsätzliche Fragen auf, nämlich ob bereits Ungeborene bzw. Neugeborene als eigenständige Menschen, als Individuen wahrgenommen wurden, ob Föten und ihre Mütter in der Eisenzeit ontologisch als ein oder zwei Wesen betrachtet wurden, und ab welchem Stadium der Schwangerschaft das der Fall war. Hier zeigen sich im interkulturellen Vergleich grundlegende Unterschiede, die auch strafrechtliche Konsequenzen mit sich ziehen. Eine unterschiedliche Totenbehandlung weist darauf hin, dass ein Fötus/ein ungeborenes Kind bereits anders als die Mutter aufgefasst wurde. So bleibt zu diskutieren, ob die Bestattung einer schwangeren Frau mit Fötus *in situ* als Doppelbestattung (vgl. Hess 2013, 47) zu verstehen ist.

Zusammenfassung

Sexualität und Geburt werden in der eisenzeitlichen Kunst thematisiert, was auf ihre Bedeutung in der Schaffung familiär geprägter Herrschaftsstrukturen hinweist. Schwangerschaft und Geburt sind mit Gefahren verbunden, denen vermutlich etwa ein Zehntel der Frauen zum Opfer fiel. Trotzdem sind lediglich wenige Bestattungen schwangerer Frauen im archäologischen Befund dokumentiert. Während bei Brandbestattungen das gemeinsame Vorkommen fötaler/neonataler Knochenreste mit jenen

von Frauen im gebärfähigen Alter auf eine Schwangerschaft oder unglückliche Geburt lediglich hinweist, lassen Befunde fötaler Knochen im Becken der Mutter unter Umständen sogar Schlüsse auf die Todesursache zu. Neugeborene zwischen den Beinen der Mutter oder in anderen Lagen im Grab müssen unter Einbeziehung pathologischer, taphonomischer und genetischer Daten im Einzelfall beurteilt werden. Das weitgehende Fehlen von Schwangeren im archäologischen Befund ist zum einen auf ungünstige Knochenerhaltung, unzureichende Bergungsmethoden und mangelnde Dokumentation zurückzuführen, zum anderen dürften Föten jedoch auch aus dem Leib der Mutter entfernt und getrennt bestattet worden sein.

Abstract

That sexuality and birth are addressed in Iron Age art suggests their importance for the creation of genealogies and family based power structures. Pregnancy and childbirth are fraught with danger and probably killed at least ten per cent of all women. Nevertheless, only a few burials of pregnant women are documented in the archaeological record. For cremation graves, the co-presence of foetal/neonatal remains with those of women of childbearing age indicates the burial of a pregnant woman or one who died shortly after childbirth. In inhumation graves, the position of the foetal bones in the pelvis of the mother in some cases may even allow conclusions about the cause of death. Newborns between the legs of the mother or in other locations in the grave must be assessed individually, considering pathological, taphonomic and genetic data. The virtual absence of pregnant women in the archaeological record is usually attributed to unfavourable conservation, insufficient recovery methods and a lack of documentation. An alternative explanation suggest that foetuses were removed from the womb of the mother and buried separately.

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Abbildungsunterschriften

Tab. 1. Eisenzeitliche Schwangerenbestattungen bzw. Bestattungen von Frauen mit Neugeborenen (K. Rebay-Salisbury nach zitierter Literatur)

Fundort	Grab	Datierung	Mutter	Kind	Merkmale	Literatur
Riedenburg-Untereggersberg (DE)	17	800-450 BC	20-40	Fötus/Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Nikulka 1998: 217
Riedenburg-Untereggersberg (DE)	37	800-450 BC	20-40	Fötus/Neonatus	Körperbestattung von fünf Personen: Mann, frühmatur; Mann?, adult; Frau?, adult im selben Bereich wie Fötus/Neonatus und Kind	Nikulka 1998: 251-253
Rottenburg-Lindele (DE)	Hügel 32	800-450 BC	20-25	Fötus (4-7. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Körperbestattung, Fötus in utero unter Bronzegürtelblech	Reim 1988: 19-22
Schirndorf (DE)	Hügel 2	800-450 BC	Mann?, 40-60	Neonatus	Körperbestattung von zwei Erwachsenen, beide als männliche bestimmt, Neonatus in Geburtslage zwischen Beinen der maturen Person	Stroh 2000: 16-18
Schwissel (DE)	936	750-480 BC	20-35	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	28	750-480 BC	30-40	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	833	750-480 BC	30-40	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	1265	750-480 BC	30-40	Fötus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	162	750-480 BC	25-35	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	387	750-480 BC	25-35	Fötus (7-8. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	853a	750-480 BC	25-35	Fötus (6-7. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Schwissel (DE)	827	750-480 BC	25-40	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 1)
Bargenstedt (DE)	9	750-30 BC	50-60	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 2)
Groß Timmendorf 1 (DE)	2	750-30 BC	Mann?, 20-30	Fötus/Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Schutkowski, Hummel 1991: 211)
Jevenstedt (DE)	257	750-30 BC	20-30	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Schutkowski, Hummel 1991: 199)
Jevenstedt (DE)	55	750-30 BC	20-35	Fötus/Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Schutkowski, Hummel 1991: 195)

Jevenstedt (DE)	230		750-30 BC	25-35	Fötus/Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Schutkowski, Hummel 1991: 198)
Pinnebeg (DE)	69		750-30 BC	20-30	Fötus/Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: 180)
Schwarzenbek (DE)	114		750-30 BC	25-35	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 2)
St. Michaelisdonn (DE)	80		750-30 BC	25-35	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: Tab. 2)
Singen (DE)	53/6		550-380 BC	?	Fötus/Neonatus	Fötus/Neonatus mit reichen Beigaben körperbestattet, in Kontext mit brandbestatteter Frau	Pauli 1975: 45, 56, 170, Abb. 16 (Maier 1957, Maier 1958)
Badow (DE)	200		480-60/30 BC	?	Neonatus/Kleinkind	Brandbestattung	Bemmann 1999: 269
Badow (DE)	533		480-60/30 BC	?	Neonatus/Kleinkind	Brandbestattung	Bemmann 1999: 271
Kirkburn (GB)	K6		500-100 BC	17-25	Fötus/Neonatus	Körperbestattung, Fötus/Neonatus in utero und zwischen Beinen der Mutter	Giles 2015: 539-541
Kirkburn (GB)	K6		500-100 BC	25-25	Fötus (8. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Körperbestattung, Fötus in utero	Giles 2015: 539-541
Wetwang Slack 5 (GB)	Hügel 1		500-100 BC	20-25	Fötus (6. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Körperbestattung, Mann 17-19 und Frau 20-25, Fötus unter Becken zwischen Beinen der Mutter	Giles 2012: 543-544
Bibracte, port du Rebut (FR)			150-0 BC	20-40	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Teegen, Cordie 2004)
Athens (GR)	H 16:6		850 BC	24-40	Fötus (32-36. Schwangerschaftswoche)	Brandbestattung	Liston 2004
Pontecagnano (IT)	1247		700-600 BC	20	Fötus	Körperbestattung, Fötus in Enchytrismos beim Knie der Frau	Cuozzo 1994: 428
Pieveterina (IT)	2		700-580 BC	20-30	Fötus (38-40. Schwangerschaftswoche)	Körperbestattung, Fötus in utero	Lollini 1998: 69-70
Carbonia (IT)	T316		550-450 BC	20-25	Fötus (38-40. Schwangerschaftswoche)	Körperbestattung, Fötus/Neonatus in utero und zwischen Beinen der Mutter	Piga et al. 2016
Pontecagnano (IT)	819		500-300 BC	30	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184
Conversano (IT)	Via G. De Giosa		300-200 BC	20-25	Fötus (4-7. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Körperbestattung, Fötus/Neonatus in utero und zwischen Beinen der Mutter	Sublimi Saponetti 2013
Kaštel bei Buje (HR)	19		900-750 BC	20-40	Fötus (7-8. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Brandbestattung von vier Personen (2 Erwachsene, Kind und Fötus)	Cestnik 2009: 204-205, 264

Hallstatt (AT)	KE I/B+C	800-500 BC	20-24	Neonatus	Körperbestattung	Pany 2003: 120
Bischofshofen (AT)	368	800-450 BC	31-40	Fötus (7-8. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Brandbestattung	Renhart 2009: 274
Masser-Kreuzbauer in Kleinklein (AT)	27	800-450 BC	35-45	Neonatus	Brandbestattung	Bernhard and Weihs 2003: 91
Dürnberg (AT)	308	500-50 BC	25-30	Fötus (38-40. Schwangerschaftswoche)	Körperbestattung, Fötus in utero	Zeller 2003: 526
Istria Bent (RU)	76/80	600-0 BC	40	Neonatus	Körperbestattung, Fötus neben Frau	Teleagă, Zirra 2003: 26
Tamins (CH)	17	800-450 BC	20-40	Neonatus?	Brandbestattung	Teegen 2005: 184 (Kühl 1983: table 2)
Reinach-Egerten (CH)	3	480-100 BC	20-40	Fötus (8. Schwangerschaftsmonat)	Körperbestattung	Müller 1981: 91
Chotín (SL)	247	800-450 BC	19-35	Neonatus/Kleinkind bis 3	Körperbestattung, Kind unter Arm der Mutter	Dušek 1966: 12, 65
Chotín (SL)	45	800-450 BC	20-60	Fötus/Neonatus	Körperbestattung, Fötus/Neonatus im Beckenbereich	Dušek 1966: 50
Dubník (SL)	21	500-50 BC	50-60	Neonatus	Körperbestattung, gestört, Neonatus neben rechtem Femur der Frau	Jakab, Vondráková 1989: 359
Palárikovo (CZ)	1	380-100 BC	?	Fötus/Neonatus	Körperbestattung, gestört	Paulík, Zachar 1975: 288
Ordzhonikidze (UK)	Kurgan 13	800-100 BC	?	Neonatus/Kleinkind	Körperbestattung, Baby und 7-10 jähriger Bub neben Frau	Guliaev 2003: 115

6. Reflections and outlook

My reflection on what kinds of insights a decade worth of applied archaeology of the body brought to understanding identities and social relations in Bronze and Iron Age Central Europe starts with stressing the importance of the human body as the scale of investigation. There is no human experience separate from and independent of the human body, and yet, investigations of long-term and large-scale processes in prehistory often fail to account for this. Human experiences are individual and particular to the bodies they are experienced in, and thus naturally different and diverse. People have, however, the ability to attribute intentions and experiences to others, and believe that phenomenological experiences can be shared; such intersubjective experiences provide the basis of social interactions and group membership. One example is the experience of becoming a mother: birth experiences are surprisingly unique, not only to each women, but also to each birth event, and simultaneously shared within, and perhaps across, cultures. Women's sense of identity as a mother is based on this shared intersubjective experience.

An archaeology of the body aims to bring patterns and processes back to the scale of the body as the basis of investigation, stressing choices based on bodily affordances, before upscaling to communities, societies and large-scale networks. Even if we aim to reconstruct the large questions of humanity globally, for example how humans dispersed around the globe and how their technologies changed the world, it always begins with the individual actions of human beings; in turn, every large-scale process we observe archaeologically, e.g. through stratigraphy or distribution maps, may ultimately be broken down to the actions of individuals. The transmission of technology, for example, is based on the embodied knowledge of a flint knapper, potter or metal smith, shared with the apprentice, who may be instructed, but primarily watches and learns, experiments and practices.

The archaeology of the body also goes beyond the intimate scale of the human body. In fact, a diachronically long-term study of the human body from the Palaeolithic to the Modern Era (Robb and Harris 2013), has demonstrated that attitudes to the body are implicated in all historical processes. Among of these processes are large-scale changes in funerary practices. How people bury their dead is usually a matter of tradition, laced with beliefs about the body, the soul and the afterlife, morality, the proper things to do, religion, ideologies and many others. Funerary practices are not usually at the forefront of experimentation and innovation, which makes changes in funerary patterns such an interesting field of study. What were the

driving forces of change? Who were the drivers? How can variability be explained, and does it support or contradict the usual patterns?

Comparing and contrasting inhumation and cremation in the Bronze and Iron Ages of Central Europe revealed several interesting points. It was first necessary to engage with the fragmentary nature of human bodies as they are broken down on the funerary pyre, to appreciate the very different quality of a burnt body, notably, its divisibility. There are completely contrasting ways in which people deal with this divisibility, from an increased effort to make the body whole again, for instance through tightly closed urns, to indifference, in which the treatment of a part of the cremated bones is just as good as the whole batch, to a deliberate dispersal of the body, thereby linking it to various people, places and things.

Investigating trends in the introduction of cremation during the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age in most of Central Europe, as well as the reverse trend at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, showed that it is very difficult to link this change to aspects of identity, although age, gender and status are always part of the way such changes unfold. At Pitten, phases of experimentation with in situ cremation burials allowed a large part of the traditional gendered funerary rites to continue, despite the addition of fire as a transformative agent. In Middle Bronze Age Hungary and elsewhere, many aspects of common funerary rituals drew on familiar practices and metaphors through which the world was understood. In the western and eastern Hallstatt area, inhumation and cremation were implicated in different ways in establishing power structures. Importantly, the case studies showed that cremation and inhumation cannot, a priori and out of context, be linked to a specific belief. Burial forms do not have a meaning in their own right; rather, they are informed by everyday practices and entangled in wider social discourses.

Burial practices and human images have much in common in terms of how they inform us about bodies and identities. In both cases, the source of information is, at least partly, conveyed through a third person's perspective. The deceased 'do not bury themselves' (Parker Pearson 1999), and the mourning community makes many of the choices about how a body is buried and what objects are buried with it. However, individual data such as sex, health status, height and stature cannot be distorted after death (cf. Härke 1993), and the deceased's wishes and moral obligation to follow them influence how funerals are executed (e.g. Sørensen 2009, Williams 2004). Fear of death and bad consequences when burials are not executed properly may play a role, too. The choice of which dress components, adornments and other goods are placed in the grave with the deceased lies with the

community, but the choices are confined by what is available and deemed appropriate. The choices are finite.

Fixing an image of the deceased in death through funerary practices (Treherne 1995: 121) and the representation of a person in art share common traits. We do not assume human images in later prehistory to be self-portraits, at least not in most instances; they again deliver a third person's perspective, different to the person depicted and the person viewing the image. If specific persons are depicted, they may have some influence on how their portraits are executed, and they provide the models. With commissioned artwork, the viewer may also contribute to the ideas embodied in the image. In most cases, however, it is the artisans that express and reflect beliefs about bodies, identities and human relations based on common and general principles of the societies we study.

Human images, and figurative art more generally, are notably absent in Bronze Age Central Europe with some exceptions such as the symbolic rendering of birds and boats. It is therefore perhaps no coincidence that we see a more wide-spread acceptance of human images at the same time as burial practices began to re-focus on the material body, cremated or inhumed, at the onset of the Iron Age. Human images of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe are delightfully diverse and complex; they occur on a range of different objects, are carried out in all available materials, and are embedded in domestic, funerary and ritual contexts. Despite this diversity, they cover a very narrow range of motifs and stories of mythology and religion.

Body ideas and ideals depicted in human images again reflect a choice; it is no coincidence that there are four times as many men as women on *situlae*, that children generally do not feature at all, except in very special circumstances, and that there are no fat or disabled persons present. Human representations, like burial practices, do not deliver accurate, exact portrayals of persons and societies, but illustrate ideological constructs. As such, they provide a window into the past of a different nature than, for example, settlement remains, which are traces of actual past living circumstances. To study this ideological component is fascinating in its own right, but the tension between ideology and past reality is particularly revealing. We know that the number of men and women was relatively balanced in the past, and we know that children must have been around, or the Early Iron Age would have lasted but one generation. The human images emphasise masculinity and downplay other aspects of life, such as femininity and motherhood – a reason to approach these topics from a different angle.

The relationship of Early Iron Age human images to the Mediterranean image world has long been noted, and a network approach helps in better understanding the nature of these connections. Human images consist of multiple components, the material, the technology, the way scenes are composed and the individuals. All these may be transmitted and transformed, but not always at the same time. Trying to understand the spread of burial practices and dealing with the transmission of art motifs over large geographical spaces made one thing very clear: whilst formal aspects of funerary rituals or human representations may travel large distances, the way they were locally interpreted and understood might not travel with them. Arriving at insights for one site through the context of practices and objects is possible, but this particular interpretation may not apply to other sites or objects, especially when it comes to the realm of ideas, ideologies and beliefs.

This calls for a careful assessment of how we use ethnographic or historical parallels as arguments. Undoubtedly, these broaden the horizon of the thinkable and challenge notions of what is 'normal', constrained by our own cultural biases. Analogies help to overcome tacit, non-discursive assumptions we may not even be aware of. They transfer information from one particular subject to another. What kinds of patterns in the relationship between two contexts may be transferrable, however, is not always easy to determine. It is important to first abstract the relationship before applying it to a different context, rather than assuming the same relationship. Having found strong evidence for a metaphorical relationship between domestic features and details in the grave construction in the Bronze Age, it makes sense to look for similar relationships in the Early Iron Age. This is a different process to that of transferring the same interpretations from one cultural context to another. A thorough understanding of the context is vital to arrive at additional insights, going beyond the subject itself, for instance the worldviews that informed the way people buried the bodies of their loved ones or created images of their bodies.

In a similar vein, the proximity between Early Iron Age images and the Mediterranean image world, which is much better understood through contemporary written sources, invites us to transfer known meaning to un-interpreted material. Mythological stories of beasts, gods, heroes and the underworld may well be behind the complex composite scenes featuring humans, but their alteration means it is far from certain that their intended meaning is the same. I preferred to work on a more basic level of the images, an aspect that is often overshadowed by the grand narratives: how the human body is depicted. This is a wide field and covers, for instance, how faces are constructed, which body proportions are chosen, how

human and non-human elements may be mixed, how women and men are differentiated, and if alternatives to the binary gender model existed, how dress and objects are implicated in the construction of identity, and which actions and practices people are participating in.

In the course of the work on networks of human imagery, gender and genealogies emerged as the most interesting themes. Most likely because we come from a society in which the world is neatly divided into men and women, it is easy to overlook concepts that do not neatly map onto these preset values. Early Iron Age images show sexuality as part of establishing families based on biological reproduction. It is clear that the concept of the ruling family has become well established, and yet, we still know very little about how these families were composed and how they functioned, and how family relations had developed diachronically in prehistoric Europe, before they were documented in *situla* images.

It is indeed surprising that we do not have an answer to some of the most basic question about families in prehistory, for example: Were all women in a society expected to become mothers? Were all sectors of society allowed to reproduce, or was reproduction restricted? Did prehistoric societies differentiate between mothers and non-mothers, in terms of how they were socially recognised and valued? What was the risk of childbirth to the life and health of mothers and children, and did it vary cross-culturally? At what age did women typically become mothers and how many children did they have? What was the typical sibling-gap? Where did families live, in the community of the mothers or the fathers?

My current projects aim to answer some of these questions. Recent advances in DNA and isotope analytical techniques have brought interesting insights. It is now possible, with fortunate skeletal preservation, to reconstruct parental relationships between individuals, and by strontium isotopes, reconstruct the location of childhood versus adult life, thus inferring marriage residential patterns. There are still far too few studies for a full picture, but some exciting results have already been forthcoming. At Late Neolithic Eulau, Germany, for example, people were buried in nuclear family groups (Haak et al. 2008), demonstrating that biological relatedness was the basis of social kinship in this group. The Late Bronze Age cave Lichtensteinhöhle, Germany (Flindt et al. 2013, Schilz 2006), was the final resting place for a family spanning several generations, with very few children per couple, and a patrilocal residential pattern. That Bronze Age women changed their residence upon marriage or motherhood to join the husband's family has been suspected on the basis of bronze ornaments for quite some time (e.g. Wels-Weyrauch 1988). That men are local and women foreign has been suggested for several sites, such as Neolithic Spreitenbach, Switzerland (Knipper et al.

2012) and Early Bronze Age Prag-Miškovice, Czechia (Knipper 2015). Evidence from the cemetery of Singen, Germany (Oelze, Nehlich and Richards 2012) in contrast, suggests that this rule was not universal, and we may have to search for more complex patterns. Isotopic evidence from Bronze Age bog bodies from Egtved and Skrydstrup in Denmark (Margarita Frei et al. 2015, Persson 2017), which take advantage of soft tissue in addition to enamel and dentin samples, suggests that some individuals were mobile at several points in their lives and across wide geographical spaces rather than changing their residence just once in their lives.

The future of understanding identities and social relations, in prehistory and any other period of the past, will increasingly depend on a seamless integration of complex analytical techniques and a successful interdisciplinary dialogue between the natural sciences and interpretative archaeology. The increasing integration of natural science approaches in archaeology brings epistemological challenges, as the way in which knowledge is generated in the natural sciences differs from the historical and cultural subjects. Does archaeology shift towards a new paradigm? Archaeology is more than project-managing results from the natural sciences; it remains a philosophical discipline aiming to discover the patterns and processes behind (pre-)historical developments. Archaeology is the study of the human past through material remains, and this includes biological remains just like material culture (cf. Barker et al. 2017: 5). After all, humans are the product of both nature and nurture.

Biology, in the light of evolution, is also essentially historical, and not only are humans still evolving, so does our understanding of biology. What we thought were laws of science, are constantly being reshaped and refined by research. For example, until recently it was believed that mitochondrial DNA can only be passed down through the maternal line, but it has now been discovered that rare exceptions exist and the male contribution may not be negligible (Schwartz and Vissing 2002, Strauss 1999). Human bodies are not fixed biological entities, but subject to historical developments. Descent with modification – evolution – enables optimal adaptation to changing environments (Darwin 1859), and many biological adaptations of the human body are not even particularly ancient (e.g. lactose tolerance, Burger et al. 2007). Although some mechanisms of evolution have been eradicated in the western world, such as the monopolisation of many women by few men or high childhood mortality (Jones 2008), human bodies are still changing. One of the latest developments is a change in female pelvic morphology. Due to the wide-spread application of Caesarean sections to overcome the difficulty of human childbirth, which is characterised by a systemic mismatch between the size of the female pelvis and size of the head of the foetus, women who would have been

eliminated from the gene pool through death in childbirth, are now successfully able to become mothers. For individual mothers and children, this is an obvious benefit, for the human species it means that childbirth will become increasingly difficult with time (Mitteroecker et al. 2016).

Understanding the human body as historical, and (pre-)historic processes as based on the human body, underpins my research approach. A *longue durée* vision that traces social developments over long time periods and compares across prehistoric periods has become increasingly important to my work over the last decade. Archaeologists specialising in a particular time period tend to have similar questions and concerns that may limit investigations. Bronze Age archaeologists tend to be infatuated with metal technology, for example, Iron Age archaeologists with status and prestige. The material evidence of the time periods is partly responsible for such specialisations, but fashions and dynamics of specialised groups of investigators play a role, too. A long-term vision helps to see processes much more completely. The Bronze Age – Iron Age transition in Central Europe, for example, is well-studied through settlements, hoards, and cemeteries, and looks, at first glance, like a shift towards the concentration of power and status within a few elite families. Taking a larger perspective, it becomes evident that such processes have occurred at various earlier points in prehistory. What is interesting about the Late Bronze Age is that the display of power and status shifts to new and different venues. Another example is the long-term reconstruction of what motherhood was like for prehistoric women. The prehistoric development of how gender roles were enacted and how parenting was shared in the past is one of the roots of how parenting is organised in our modern society and has the potential to enlighten modern parenting dilemmas.

In the near future, the reconstruction of the biological conditions of life, through skeletal morphology, and increasingly through isotopes and DNA, will provide better data to understand human choices. Nutrition, disease, infections, injuries, pregnancies and births have a profound impact on people's personal life-histories. Linking these data with material culture found with bodies in graves will provide insights into past value systems and ideologies. Further contributions are expected from the fields of geoarchaeology and palynology, which may provide insights into the season of burials; supplemented with data on the season of death through tooth cementum annulation (e.g. Klevezal and Shishlina 2001, Wedel 2007), this may soon lead to a better understanding of seasonal funerary practices and the rhythms of prehistoric life beyond a linear perception of time.

Research that creatively tackles the big questions of humanity has the potential to resonate outside academia and demonstrate the relevance of archaeology and long-term history to current debates. Motherhood in prehistory is a topic that many women can easily relate to through a shared, intersubjective experience. Motherhood is also a modern political problem, as raising small children and work life are often incompatible. There is a considerable amount of political debate how to best support working mothers in their careers and at the same time, provide optimal substitute care for babies and small children. That naïve narratives of ‘prehistoric’ and ‘natural’ childrearing are frequently misused as political arguments was one of the inspirations of my current projects. The lack of reliable, science-based information on motherhood and childrearing in prehistory is instantly filled by creative, but un-informed visions of the past. ‘Archaeological research influences contemporary society through debates concerning heritage, identity, politics and gender’ (Barker et al. 2017: 15) and responsible archaeologists have the duty to contribute to such debates.

Responsible research further has the duty to communicate findings to the public. In the digital era, this has become increasingly easy. An unprecedentedly large and diverse audience can be reached through free blog platforms and social media participation. The most-read post on my ‘Motherhood in prehistory’ blog, ‘Giving birth in the Iron Age’ (May 2015), for example, was viewed by 14.727 visitors in 2015, and my blog post ‘What did prehistoric people know about conception?’ (December 2016) was reprinted in the March 2017 issue of First Time Parenting Magazine.

Archaeological research, with a strong commitment to public outreach and education, is not just out to deliver what the public wants to hear; it is to inspire people to think with a deep timeframe about questions of identities, social relations, societies and ideologies.

Archaeological evidence never provides a complete picture, but a body-centred comparative approach to later prehistory allows me to provide interpretations of human representations and the social value of mothers that are relevant to our times.

7. References

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