

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN PREHISTORY, EARLY HISTORY AND PRESENCE

**Alena Bistáková – Gertrúda Březinová – Peter C. Ramsl
(Editors)**

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MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN PREHISTORY, EARLY HISTORY AND PRESENCE

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in Klement (Austria) 2016 and Nitra (Slovakia) 2018**

**Alena Bistáková – Gertrúda Březinová – Peter C. Ramsel
(Editors)**

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THE STORY OF THE SASPRO PROJECT: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IDENTITIES WORKSHOPS

PETER C. RAMSL

It started all in May 2015, when I was looking for new project possibilities in Austria and surrounding countries. At the traditional Iron Age “Keltové/Kelti” meeting in beautiful Zvíkov, Bohemia, some colleagues hinted that the SASPRO programme had opened in Slovakia. SASPRO (Slovak Academy of Sciences Programme; www.saspro.sav.sk) ran between 2014 and 2018 as a mobility programme of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. It included both a collaboration scheme for scientists from abroad to work in Slovakia and a reintegration scheme to encourage Slovak scientists to return home and stop the brain drain.

SASPRO was financed by the Slovak Academy of Sciences itself, but most of its funding came from Marie Curie Actions and the FP7 of the European Union. The title of my SASPRO project was “Male Identities in La Tène Cemeteries (MILT) in the Middle Danube Region” and it lasted for 3 years from the beginning of 2016 until the end of 2018.

To qualify for the programme, each project was assessed by at least two reviewers. The applicant then underwent an interview in Bratislava in front of an international commission. In November 2015, I was called to the Slovak capital for an interview; I travelled to the headquarters of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and was successful in both the presentation and the interview. At the end of November 2015, the results of the committee were published, and I was lucky to be granted funding for my project. In December, I started to negotiate with the Institute for Archaeology to ensure I received the contract on time. We ventured down the valley of k. u. k. Slovak-Austrian bureaucracy and successfully emerged from the other side to start the project. I was familiar with Nitra from former visits and lectures. Nevertheless, it was interesting to explore the old and new quarters of my new working hometown, with its various characteristics and architecture. With the help of many colleagues from the institute, I learned how to work and live in Nitra without knowing much of the language.

In September 2016, together with Katharina Rebay-Salisbury (FWF-Projekt P 26820 “Der soziale Status von Mutterschaft im bronzezeitlichen Europa” partly founded the workshop) of the OREA Institute in Vienna, I organized our first workshop: “Multiple Femininities – Multiple Masculinities: The Diversity of Gender Identities in the Bronze and Iron Ages” in Klement/Oberleis in Lower Austria.

About 30 colleagues from six countries (Czechia, Austria, Germany, Croatia, Hungary and France) answered our call. It was a very productive meeting, with fruitful discussions, and I would call it a big success for both our institutions. The introduction text to the workshop read as follows: “*The archaeology of personal identities has firmly established age, gender and status as relevant categories of investigation. Beyond the recognition that not all women and men led identical lives, however, there has been little effort to unravel the diversity of gendered lives. 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*





Fig. 1. Invitation to the 2016 workshop (design K. Rebay-Salisbury).

societies. Further, the mechanisms by which men turned into warriors 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? Some aspects of personal identity may not be gendered at all. Was gender relevant for making pots or taking care of children? This workshop aims to review how different social roles have been conceptualized and attributed to prehistoric people, and how these roles intersected with each other as well as with age, gender and status. We would like to reconstruct the variability of gendered lifecycles and brainstorm for common as well as unusual social roles in prehistory. In addition, we would like to discuss methods of investigating the burial and settlement record that will aid in understanding the diversity of gendered identities in the Bronze and Iron Ages" (Katharina Rebay-Salisbury).

We must thank the staff of the workshop, particularly Michaela Fritzl, Maciej Karwowski and Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, who were familiar with the organisation of the venue.

At the end of October 2018, Branislav Kovár from the Institute of Archaeology SAS and I organised the final SASPRO workshop "Diversity of Identities in Prehistory, Early History and Present" at the Archaeological Institute in Nitra. This conference yielded 13 papers from 17 authors, and about 30 contributors from nine countries joined the conference, with a final excursion to the castle in Nitra. The results of these two workshops will be published in Nitra.

The following is the main introduction text to that conference: "The archaeology of personal identities has firmly established age, gender and status as relevant categories of investigation. In 2016 we organized a workshop in Klement-Oberleis in Lower Austria under the topic of 'Multiple femininities – multiple masculinities: the diversity of gendered identities in the Bronze and Iron Ages'. This year, as the final act of the SASPRO Project, it is time to expand the field from prehistory also to early history and our present days. Next to different 'archaeological identities', we want to ask about 'Identity of archaeology', hence the identity of archaeologists. Hence, papers about all kind of archaeological and gender identities are welcome as well as of studies about archaeologists – maybe of you?"



Fig. 2. Workshop 2016 in Klement-Oberleis.



Fig. 3. Workshop 2016 in Klement-Oberleis.



Fig. 4. Invitation to the 2018 workshop (design P. C. Ramsl).

As we can see, the bandwidth of the topic has been greatly expanded to include the personal and social backgrounds of the scientists themselves. Other than B. Kovár, we must also thank the staff of the workshop: L. Ježisková and D. Krčová.

At this point, I wish to thank the director of the Institute, M. Ruttkay and the scientist in charge of my project, K. Pieta, as well as G. Březinová and L. Benediková for their huge support in the starting phase of the project and throughout. I must not forget my science officers in the SASPRO Centre in Bratislava, Z. Hrabovská-Paliková and E. Kristofová, who always had an open ear for questions and solved every problem. The same can be said of A. Šupová, head of the Economic Department at the Institute in Nitra. Furthermore, I want to thank my colleagues and friends, who have supported me in both science and civil life in Nitra. It was also very nice to meet the already retired "old generation" of the "Bronze Age corridor" at the institute. Finally, I want to mention my friends and colleagues from the University of Constantine the Philosopher for their help and support.

MALE AND FEMALE IDENTITIES IN THIS PROJECT: A SHORT INTRODUCTION

The term "identity" has become fundamental in archaeology after decades of discussing ethnicity. Identity can be located at the interface between human individuals and society, describing a permanent process of becoming in the construction of social membership. An individual's identity describes their current state of self-identification; as such, it is never stable, but is permanently in a state of flux. One valuable current approach to identity is that of P. Bourdieu (1997): "*Because social structures are engraved into the habitus, there tends to be a reproduction of these structures, particularly if the conditions at the time of application are identical with the formation conditions*" and: "*the history of the individual is never anything other than a certain specification of the collective history of his group.*" Looking at archaeological evidence, we can detect patterns of behaviour and action based on a set of group-specific standards, with the habitus creating the material culture of the group. Burials represent the remains of mortuary rituals and are



Fig. 5. Workshop 2018 in Nitra.

thus good indicators of identity. The replication of mortuary behaviour, such as a specific body position or arrangement of grave goods, suggests that people shared activities, beliefs, and thus identity, since knowledge about specific funeral rites and death symbolism is not easily accessible to non-group members. Burials combine evidence about both the individuals and their social groups.

In the present project, I want to look for evidence of different subgroups within the large group of graves with anthropologically male skeletons. Importantly, their assignment as male does not automatically mean that the buried individuals were seen as male in ancient times. To date, the discussion of male identity in the Iron Age has been dominated by concepts of warrior identity. However, only a fraction of male bodies are staged as warriors in graves. This project will explore alternative male identities. Which roles were played in these "warrior societies" by men buried without weapons? Did unarmed men with finger rings made of precious metal have the same or different roles? First of all, different life-stage identities shall be analysed, such as "boy identity", "adult identity", and "old man identity". Next, we shall analyse a very special, but fascinating case: "poor man identity". Other "special identities" can be observed in La Tène period cemeteries. One special case is "druid identity", such as those seen in Pottenbrunn, grave 520 and Dürrnberg, grave 321/322, where remains of special medical or surgical instruments were found. We should also mention "craftsman identities", where special tools may let us identify professions or reflections thereof. Moreover, in the past, society was not as simple as schoolbooks imply, so this group also includes "special identities" that transcend the borders of common or established models. Male skeletons with commonly "female" markers like special jewellery, or "male" markers used in an unusual way, may indicate that societies had gender models other than simply male–female. In this regard, the field of gender archaeology has become important to scientific research.

As mentioned above, at the outset of this project, we only aimed to evaluate male graves in the Iron Age cemeteries in parts of Central Europe to observe their structures and different identities. However, an overview of the literature revealed that research on masculinity is deeply embedded in feminism. It seems (to me), it is hiding in this area, also because of a (to call it in a diplomatic way) "tendentially conservative research" in this topic, as "Männerbeben" (Hoffmann 2007) or "Das entehrte Geschlecht" (Bönt 2012). In the last decades, masculinity is no longer an unmarked, unseen category, but it has been given pride of place within gender research. At this point, I wish to mention several



Fig. 6. Workshop 2018 in Nitra.



Fig. 7. Workshop 2018 in Nitra.

short handbooks or overviews of masculinity research. Firstly, R. W. Connell (1987) published "Gender and Power", followed by "Masculinities" (Connell 1995) and by "Der gemachte Mann" (Connell 2006). Subsequently, B. E. Carrolls published "American Masculinities", which reflected on American male myths (Carroll 2003). Later, "Men and Masculinity" by M. S. Kimmel, A. Aronson (2004) should be mentioned, as should M. Flood (2007), with his "International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinity" and E. Ruspuni (2011) with "Men and Masculinities around the World". One of the first German speaking handbooks is "Handbuch der Männlichkeit", by St. Horlacher, B. Jansen, W. Schwanebeck (2016). In Anglo-Saxon research of the early 1980s, masculinity became more nuanced. For example, K. Clatterbaugh (1990) mentioned six perspectives on masculinity: (1) Conservative (coming from nature), (2) Pro-feminist, (3) Legal, (4) Spiritual, (5) Marxist sociological, and (6) group-specific. The seminal text on this topic was published by T. Carrigan et al. (1985): "*Towards a new sociology of masculinity*". A. B. Knapp contrasted reactionary masculinities, where "weekend warriors" play the "wild man" with "Zeus energy", with motivated masculinities, which have taken on board radical implications and ideologies associated with feminism (Knapp 1998, 92). In the German-speaking area of research, this discussion has been ongoing since the 1980s, but worldwide scholarship has focused on this question since the early 2000s. Interestingly in this regard, research on masculinity started in the 19th century, with C. F. Pockels (1808) and his work "Anthropologisches Charaktergemälde des Männlichen Geschlechts", or F. Ehrenberg (1822) and "Charakter und die Bestimmung des Mannes". Since the 1960s and 70s, there was main influence of theoretical American psychology. Since the 1980/1990ies they got more impact, but mainly non-scientific, more populistic as in 1980, the doctoral thesis "Männerphantasien" by K. Theweleits (1996), the first inventory "Kritische Männerforschung". They followed the basics and programs of feminist theory.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is at the centre of masculine-theoretical debates. By hegemony, Connell understands a cultural dynamic in which a group claims the leading position of social life and thus maintains patriarchy, in which women have subordinate positions (Connell 2006, 77, 78). Another important and heavily discussed concept is this of P. Bourdieu: Masculin habitus ("... the endeavor, to dominate other men, and secondarily, as an instrument of symbolic struggle, women..."). The concept of the sexual habitus of P. Bourdieu (1997), which is an important concept in the social science debate on masculinity and femininity, is based on the unquestioning assumption of "natural" bipartisanship.

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WEIBLICHE BEIGABEN IN MÄNNLICHEN GRÄBERN UND MÄNNLICHE AUSSTATTUNGEN FÜR DIE FRAU?

Zur personalen Identität und Geschlechterrolle im Bestattungskontext¹

I N E S B E I L K E - V O I G T

Female-specific grave goods in male graves and male equipment for a woman? On personal identity and gender role in burial context.

Differences between anthropologically gendered skeletons on the one hand and archaeologically determined gender-specific grave goods on the other hand leave room for explanations. However, these quickly show the boundaries of the two sciences because, on one hand, there is no clear distinction between the biological sex and the social gender, meaning the social gender role and, secondly, because the traditional two-gender model – man and woman – is being applied. In this article misinterpretations are discussed and alternative models of interpretation presented.

Keywords: identity, gender role, gender role change, intersexuality, sex-specific grave goods, berdache.

EINLEITUNG

Mit dem Tod ist der Lebenszyklus eines Menschen beendet und das Grab stellt in der Regel seine letzte Ruhestätte dar. Neben der eigentlichen Grablege und -herrichtung bilden die materiellen Hinterlassenschaften in Form von Schmuck- und Trachtausstattung sowie Grabbeigaben die Basis der archäologischen Analyse, um Rückschlüsse auf die Identität der/des Verstorbenen zu ziehen.

Dabei ist die personale Identität der verstorbenen Person sowohl an ihre biologischen Parameter wie Alter und Geschlecht, als auch an ihre kulturelle Einbindung, den Status und soziale Rolle, die der/diejenige zu Lebzeiten innehatte, geknüpft (Abb. 1). Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Ethnie oder zu einer Religion prägt Identität ebenso. Sie setzt sich also aus einer Vielzahl von Einzelmerkmalen zusammen und definiert sich über diese Zugehörigkeiten (vgl. Beilke-Voigt 2015, 15–17).

Eingebunden jedoch in einen spezifischen sozio-kulturellen Kontext sind diese Identitätsmerkmale und Zugehörigkeiten kulturabhängig geprägt, die nicht losgelöst von der sozialen Identität, der sozialen Geschlechterrolle betrachtet werden können. Somit ist die soziale Identität zwar eng an die Komponente biologisches Geschlecht (in Verbindung mit dem Alter) geknüpft, wird jedoch wie auch die personale Identität durch ein „komplexes Wechselspiel mehrerer Faktoren hergestellt...“ (Batram 2013, 32; Owen/Porr/Struwe 2004, 148). Dabei ist zu betonen, dass zur Bestimmung der Geschlechterrolle hinlänglich und schematisch nur zwischen Mann und Frau – auf Grundlage des sogenannten Zwei-Geschlechter-Modells – unterschieden wird. In Abhängigkeit ihrer kulturellen Einbindung wird von den Geschlechtern eine spezifisch soziale Geschlechterrolle erwartet und damit impliziert, dass Männer und Frauen mit geschlechtsspezifischen Eigenschaften ausgestattet sind, an denen sich Tätigkeits- und Berufsbilder sowie unterschiedliche Fähigkeiten orientieren (Ebeling 2006, 282) und bestimmte Verhaltensweisen und Normen mit dem jeweiligen Geschlecht verbunden sind, die Geschlechterrolle (gender) also kulturabhängig geprägt und bestimmt wird.

Wir gehen davon aus, dass die Identität des Verstorbenen, also sowohl das biologische Geschlecht (sex) als auch seine soziale Geschlechterrolle (gender) über die materiellen Hinterlassenschaften in den Gräbern zu erschließen ist. Doch immer wieder zeigen die Untersuchungen in der Gräberarchäologie Diskrepanzen

¹ Manuskript zum Vortrag beim Workshop in Klement, 29. 9. 2016.

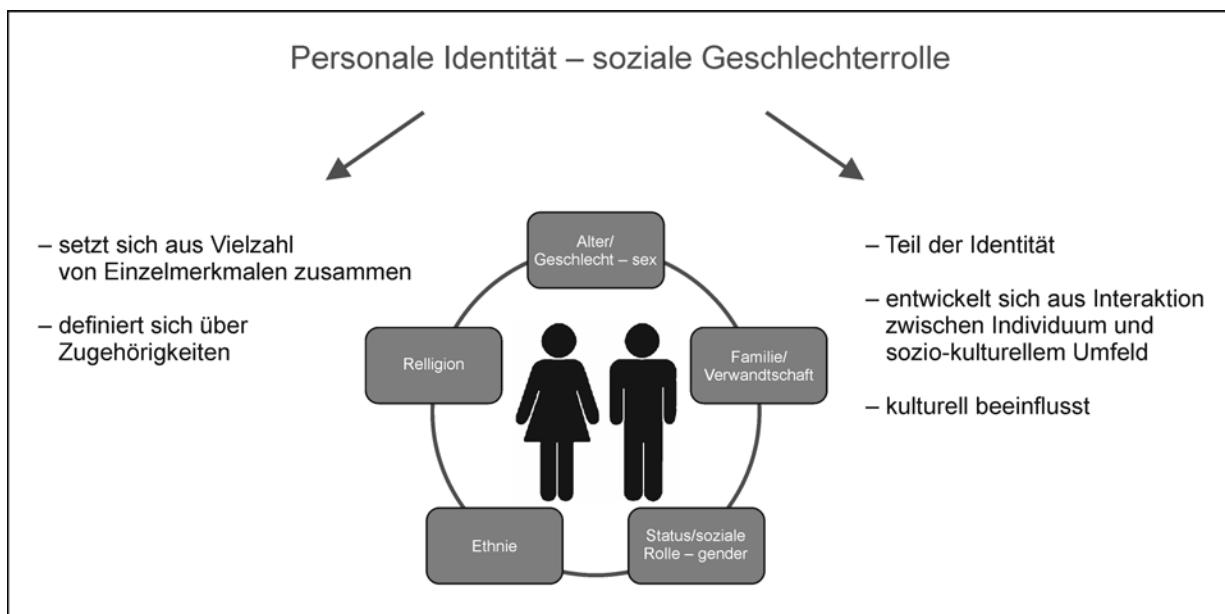


Abb. 1. Schema: Personale Identität und soziale Geschlechterrolle (nach Autorin).

zwischen der archäologischen und anthropologischen Geschlechtsbestimmung und die Zuschreibung der Geschlechter anhand von Beigaben steht zuweilen der anthropologischen Bestimmung gegenüber. Archäologisch sogenannte geschlechtsbezogene Beigaben weichen vom anthropologisch bestimmten Skelettbefund ab und im Ergebnis werden gegenteilige Geschlechter für die Grablege angenommen.

Wie sind diese Grablegen also zu interpretieren, wenn sie aus dem „Rahmen fallen“ und das anthropologisch bestimmte Geschlecht nicht mit dem archäologisch bestimmten übereinstimmt? Könnten diese abweichenden Bestimmungen unter Umständen das Zwei-Geschlechter-Modell in Frage stellen bzw. müssen die angenommenen sozialen Geschlechterrollen neu überdacht werden?

Diese Auseinandersetzung soll im folgenden Beitrag mit dem Ziel thematisiert werden, die oben beschriebene Diskrepanz zwischen archäologischem und anthropologischem Befund zu hinterfragen. Dabei geht es darum, unser Bild von prähistorischen Gesellschaften nicht nur zu erweitern, sondern durch alternative Interpretationsmodelle ein Umdenken zu bewirken und starre Rollenbilder neu zu interpretieren (vgl. Wiermann 2000, 116).

SEX, GENDER UND DAS ZWEI-GESCHLECHTER-MODELL

Im Sinne der biologischen Anthropologie wird mit sex das biologische Geschlecht bezeichnet, das auf körperlichen Charakteristika basiert, die die sexuelle Reproduktion ermöglichen. Das zugrunde liegende Konzept basiert dabei auf einem zweigeschlechtlichen, das heißt einem bipolaren Geschlechtermodell, das zwischen Mann und Frau unterscheidet (ausführlich Schmitz 2006a, 35–38). Dieser Geschlechtsdimorphismus zeigt sich anhand bestimmter anatomischer Merkmale, die zwischen Frauen und Männern unterschiedlich ausgeprägt sind. Hierzu zählen Formenmerkmale (insbesondere Becken und Schädel), die Robustizität der Knochen und die Körperhöhe. Zur Beurteilung der Formenmerkmale sind die Beckenknochen aufgrund funktionsabhängiger Eigenschaften, die den Erfordernissen der Schwangerschaft gerecht werden müssen, am besten für eine Geschlechterbestimmung geeignet. An zweiter Stelle sind bestimmte Schädelmerkmale zu nennen, die ebenfalls geschlechtsspezifische Differenzen aufweisen (vgl. dazu Alt/Röder 2009, 94, 95; Grosskopf 2009, 70–72.) Die Erfolgsquote der Geschlechtsbestimmung über diese Merkmale liegt bei über 90 %. Lediglich die Geschlechtsbestimmung bei Kindern und Jugendlichen ist mit dieser Methode problematisch, da für diese Altersgruppe kein bzw. nur ein schwacher Geschlechtsdimorphismus ausgebildet ist (Alt/Röder 2009, 94).

Als eine zweite Methode zur Bestimmung des biologischen Geschlechts kann diese ebenso auf morphometrischer Grundlage erfolgen. Dazu werden verschiedene Messungen, die für eine Geschlechter-

trennung sprechen, an sogenannten Skelettmarkern durchgeführt. Diese zeichnen sich durch eine hohe Trennschärfe zwischen weiblichem und männlichem Knochenbau, wie Becken, Zähne, Femur, aus und werden mittels Diskriminanzfunktionen statistisch bewertet (vgl. dazu Alt/Röder 2009, 94; Grosskopf 2009, 72–74). Auch hier liegt die Genauigkeit der Geschlechtsbestimmung bei über 90 % (Alt/Röder 2009, 95).

Durch die molekularbiologische/-genetische Analyse mit Hilfe alter DNA erfolgt eine eindeutige und damit 100prozentige genetische Geschlechtsbestimmung. In dieser Methodik liegt ebenso die Möglichkeit, verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen zu klären, ethnisch/geografische Zugehörigkeiten sowie Infektions- und Erbkrankheiten zu bestimmen (Alt/Röder 2009, 95, 107–111; Grosskopf 2009, 70). Insbesondere für die biologische Geschlechtsbestimmung bei Säuglings- und Kinderskeletten ist die aDNA-Analyse bedeutsam, da bei ihnen noch kein Geschlechtsdimorphismus ausgebildet ist. Problematisch ist jedoch generell, dass nur in 80–90 % der Untersuchungen die Erhaltung des Skelettmaterials für eine Beprobung ausreichend ist (Alt/Röder 2009, 109).

Bereits aus diesen Darlegungen geht hervor, dass die biologische Anthropologie ein Zwei-Geschlechter-Modell bedient und sich in dieses Schema demzufolge keine Menschen einordnen lassen, deren Geschlechtsmerkmale nicht eindeutig als männlich bzw. weiblich angelegt sind. Zu Recht wird kritisiert, dass es in diesem Modell bzw. „in diesem Konzept nur ein, entweder/oder‘, ein, ja-männlich/nein-weiblich‘, aber keine Zwischenräume gibt“ (Schmitz 2006a, 37, 38).

So werden zum einen intersexuelle Menschen als das sogenannte dritte Geschlecht nicht in diesem Modell erfasst, obwohl der Anteil der Interexe an der Gesamtbevölkerung auf 1,7 % geschätzt wird (Schmitz 2006a, 43). In Deutschland betrifft das zwischen 80 000 und 120 000 Menschen.² Dass bislang diese Zwischenräume nicht vorgesehen waren und es nur ein entweder/oder gibt, zeigt sich auch bei den Eintragungen im Geburtenregister. Bislang wurde nach deutschem Personenstandsrecht ein Kind im Geburtenregister entweder dem männlichen oder dem weiblichen Geschlecht zugeordnet bzw. das Geschlecht nicht eingetragen. Dass man sich dieser „Lücke“ jedoch bewusst ist und dies thematisiert, zeigt ein jüngster Beschluss des Bundesverfassungsgerichts vom 10. Oktober 2017. Hierin wird der Gesetzgeber bis zum 31. Dezember 2018 verpflichtet, diesbezüglich eine Neuregelung zu schaffen und die bisherigen Geschlechtsangaben *männlich* und *weiblich* um eine dritte Möglichkeit und beispielsweise den Eintrag inter/divers zu erweitern. Hiermit würden Personen erfasst werden, die sich weder dem männlichen noch dem weiblichen Geschlecht dauerhaft zuordnen lassen.³

Ebenfalls außerhalb dieses Zwei-Geschlechter-Modells stehen zum anderen transsexuelle Personen (Transidente), also Menschen deren eigene Geschlechtsidentität nicht mit ihren körperlichen Geschlechtsmerkmalen übereinstimmt, obwohl sie einen eindeutig männlichen bzw. weiblichen Körper mit dementsprechenden biologischen Merkmalen aufweisen. Sie haben jedoch das Gefühl, in einem „falschen“ Körper zu sein (ausführlich Schmitz 2006a, 49–52). Die persönlich wahrgenommene Geschlechtsidentität ist also abweichend vom biologisch vorgegebenen Geschlecht der betreffenden Person.

Die soziale und kulturell beeinflusste Geschlechterrolle wird mit dem Begriff gender beschrieben (Kirchengast 2015, 189). Sie ist nicht biologisch, sondern kulturspezifisch determiniert und entwickelt sich erst aus der sozialen Interaktion zwischen Individuum und seinem kulturellen Umfeld (Alt/Röder 2009, 114; Ebeling 2006, 283). Demnach wird die *Geschlechterrolle* also soziokulturell bestimmt und ist Teil der sozialen Identität eines Individuums (Gramsch 2004, 406). Es handelt sich somit um ein Konstrukt, das eine Kombination aus biologischen, sozialen und kulturellen Faktoren einschließt (Grosskopf/Gramsch 2004, 287). Somit ist das kulturelle, das soziale Geschlecht (gender) weder allgemeingültig noch natürlich und deshalb nicht zwingend mit dem biologischen Geschlecht (sex) gleichzusetzen. Doch wird in den Kulturen unterschiedlich wahrgenommen, was als männlich bzw. was als weiblich angesehen wird und welche Geschlechterrollen im Sinne von gender erwartet werden. Dabei geht es um die Unterscheidung zwischen „biologisch weiblichen und männlichen Individuen und der Frage, ob sich biologisches und soziales Geschlecht der Menschen decken, welche soziale Konnotationen dies jeweils mit sich bringt oder inwieweit derartige Prinzipien durchlässig gewesen sein mögen“ (Batram 2013, 32). Das physische Geschlecht (sex) muss also nicht zwingend mit der gelebten, sozialen Geschlechterrolle (gender) übereinstimmen.

Bereits mit der Evolutionstheorie Darwins wurden geschlechtstypische Verhaltensweisen zwischen Mann und Frau unterschieden und der Mann als aktive, jagende Person der passiven Frau gegenübergestellt (zur Debatte vgl. Kirchengast 2015, 189–196). Diese seitens der Naturwissenschaften postulierten Verhaltensunterschiede zwischen den Geschlechtern hatten nachhaltigen Einfluss auf die Theorienbildung in

² <https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2018-12/drittes-geschlecht-rechtliche-anerkenntung-mann-frau-vielfalt-akzeptanz> [09. 01. 2019]

³ <https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilung/Nr.95/2017 vom 8. November 2017> [09. 01. 2019]

der Paläoanthropologie und flossen in evolutionsbiologische Modelle bis in die frühen 1970er Jahre ein. In diesem Zusammenhang wird der Geschlechterkategorie Mann zumeist ein höherer Status eingeräumt als der Kategorie Frau (*Dommasnes 2009, 177*). „Der männliche Jäger als Motor der Evolution zum Menschen hatte sich etabliert und dominierte die Modelle zur Hominidenevolution“ (*Kirchengast 2015, 192, 193*).

Kritisch formuliert die Biologin *S. Schmitz* (2006c, 332), dass dieses dualistische Grundprinzip der universellen Zweigeschlechtlichkeit in der Soziobiologie „als optimale Strategie zur Weitergabe der Gene angesehen“ und zum zentralen Prinzip sozialen Handels erklärt wird. Es wird dadurch ein Bild suggeriert, das den frühen menschlichen Gesellschaften eine eindeutige geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung – Männer jagen und Frauen sitzen am Feuer – unterstellt (*Schmitz 2006b, 190*). Und auch nach *M. Jung* (2013, 25) sind diese zum Teil bis heute dargestellten Geschlechterverhältnisse „Ausdruck unreflektierter Projektionen kleinbürgerlicher Lebensverhältnisse auf vorgeschichtliche Zeiten...“

Die Frau ist für den häuslichen Bereich und die Versorgung der Kinder zuständig, der Mann dagegen widmet sich interessanteren und kulturell bedeutsameren Tätigkeiten“. Zu Recht wird kritisiert, dass damit ein unreflektiertes Bild vermittelt wird, das den aktiven Mann in Verbindung mit der Werkzeugherstellung und Kultur zeigt, und dieses der passiven Frau in Verbindung mit Mutterschutz und Natur gegenübersteht, das bis in ur- und frühgeschichtliche Zeit zurückreicht (*Schmitz 2006b, 208, 209*).

Es werden also Stereotypen gezeigt, die ein altes bürgerlich geprägtes Männer- bzw. Frauenbild aufgreifen, und aufgrund des biologischen Geschlechts werden kulturelle Geschlechterrollen erwartet, „denen man praktisch nicht entkommen kann“ (*Dommasnes 2009, 176*). So werden vor diesem Hintergrund kulturelle Werte und Normen für das Verhalten von Frauen und Männern vorgegeben und ihnen meist unterschiedliche Handlungsräume zugeteilt (*Dommasnes 2009, 180*). Und zu Recht fordert *S. Schmitz* (2006b, 206) demzufolge, dass nicht zu vorschnell eine geschlechtliche Zuweisung erfolgen sollte, die durch die Befundlage nicht belegbar ist. Funde sind keine Beweise für bestimmte Tätigkeiten, sondern sie werden nachträglich mit bestimmten Tätigkeiten in Zusammenhang gestellt (*Dommasnes 2009, 207*).

Dass diese Kritik durchaus berechtigt ist und inzwischen auch seitens der Archäologien reflektiert wird, zeigt sich in verschiedenen Beiträgen (vgl. u. a. *Jung 2013*). Und auch *S. Burmeister/N. Müller-Scheeßel* (2005, 92) geben zu bedenken, dass eine Geschlechtsspezifizierung von Gegenständen in eine weibliche und männliche Sphäre ohne kulturelles Wissen nicht möglich ist, es sei denn, dass uns schriftliche oder ikonografische Quellen einige Anhaltspunkte dazu geben. Und schließlich sei auch *B. Lohrke* (2004, 151) an dieser Stelle stellvertretend zitiert, wenn sie schreibt, dass eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit in der Interpretation der archäologischen Befunde darin liegen sollte, „sie nicht zur Projektionsfläche der uns vertrauten Rollenmuster“ zu machen.

ARCHÄOLOGIE VERSUS ANTHROPOLOGIE

Von Seiten der Archäologie werden über die Grabbefunde, die Grabausrüstung, über die Körperorientierung und -ausrichtung der/des Verstorbenen und über die Beigaben und Grabobjekte Indizien gesammelt, um Rückschlüsse auf die Identität der/des Verstorbenen zu ziehen. Und insbesondere die Beigaben und Grabobjekte werden sowohl für eine Zuweisung bezüglich des biologischen Geschlechts herangezogen als auch als Hinweise darauf gewertet, welche Tätigkeit die verstorbene Person zu ihren Lebzeiten ausführte, so dass diese Objekte an die Frage nach ihrer sozialen Rolle gekoppelt sind.

So gelten nach unserem Rollenverständnis Waffen und bestimmte Geräteausstattungen als männliches Attribut, so dass in männlich determinierten Gräbern Waffenbeigaben nicht/kaum in Frage gestellt und als „selbstverständlich“ angesehen werden. Kampf und Krieg stellen eine „fast universell männliche Domäne“ dar, obwohl sich in den ethnologischen Schriften hier diesbezügliche Ausnahmen anführen lassen (vgl. *Kleibscheidel 1997, 52*). Dagegen werden Objekte, die mit der Textilverarbeitung zusammenhängen, wie Spinnwirtel, Webgewichte und Nähnadeln, der weiblichen Sphäre zugeordnet und ebenfalls kaum in Frage gestellt (kritisch dazu u. a. *Hofmann 2009, 145*).

Wir gehen also davon aus, dass die Beigaben abhängig vom biologischen Geschlecht und der sozialen Rolle der/des Verstorbenen beigegeben wurden und demzufolge für eine geschlechtliche Zuweisung herangezogen werden können. Durch die archäologische Geschlechtsbestimmung wird also der Grabbeigabe ein „soziales Geschlecht“, ein „Beigabengeschlecht“ (gender) zugewiesen (*Alt/Röder 2009, 115*). Dieses sogenannte gendering der Beigaben nimmt das anthropologische Zwei-Geschlechter-Modell von männlich und weiblich auf und überträgt es auf die Grabbeigaben (*Alt/Röder 2009, 118*). Wie bereits dargelegt, handelt es sich demzufolge um eine pauschale Zuordnung (*Lohrke 2004, 148*) und zu Recht wird

davor gewarnt, „unsere eigenen traditionellen Vorstellungen eines geschlechtsspezifischen Charakters... auf die Funde (zu) übertragen“ (*Belard 2013, 102*).

Dennoch zeigen sich Tendenzen bezüglich von Beigabenkombinationen in Abhängigkeit von anthropologisch bestimmten Geschlechtern, und es lassen sich geschlechtsdifferenzierte Zuordnungen von Beigaben belegen. So formulieren *S. Burmeister/N. Müller-Scheefel (2005, 92)*: „Da sich das kulturelle Geschlecht in der Regel auch durch geschlechtsspezifische Accessoires der persönlichen Ausstattung manifestiert, besteht eine große Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass auch mit den Grabbeigaben solche Geschlechtspezifika überliefert wurden.“ Vor diesem Hintergrund und von der Grundüberlegung ausgehend, dass der kulturelle Geschlechtsdimorphismus zur Polarität in der Beigabenverteilung führt, werden in der Gräberarchäologie kombinationsstatistische Verfahren angewandt, um Grabbeigaben in eine geschlechtsspezifisch zu interpretierende Ordnung zu überführen.

So legen die Korrelationen zwischen Grabbeigaben und anthropologischen Bestimmungen der Skelette bzw. Leichenbrände nahe, dass es generell geschlechtsspezifische Beigaben- und Trachtsitten gegeben hat und auf die Präsenz weiblicher bzw. männlicher Individuen geschlossen werden kann. Statistische Auswertungen von Fundkombinationen werden in diesem Zusammenhang für die geschlechtliche Zuweisung herangezogen und scheinen bei regelhaften Vorkommen dieses Bild zu bestätigen.

In ihren Untersuchungen zu hallstattzeitlichen Gräbern in Württemberg konnten *S. Burmeister/N. Müller-Scheefel (2005, 93–98)* diesbezüglich feststellen, dass unterschiedliche Ausstattungsmuster für die Geschlechter existieren und bestimmte Beigaben von geschlechtsspezifischer Signifikanz sind. So ließen sich Frauen und Männer durch eine geschlechtsspezifische Beigabenausstattung archäologisch unterscheiden. Anthropologische Aussagen, insbesondere vom Magdalenenberg und aus Nordwürttemberg, stützen die Aussage, dass Fraueninventare in einem „Schmuckblock“ und Männerinventare in einem „Waffenblock“ zu fassen sind (*Burmeister/Müller-Scheefel 2005, 96, Tab. 4; 5*). Erstere zeichnen sich durch die verstärkte und kombinierte Beigabe von Ohrringen, Bronzechalsringen, Gürtelblechen bzw. mehreren Arm- und Fußringen aus. Die männlichen Inventare dagegen bestanden in der Regel aus Waffen, Rasiermessern und/oder bestimmten Fibeltypen. Die Beigaben geben demnach eine tendenziell geschlechtsbezogene Mitgabe an. Dennoch ließen sich auch Veränderungen in der Verwendung von ehemals geschlechtertypischen Objekten feststellen. Die Untersuchungen zeigten sowohl regionale (zwischen Nord- und Südwürttemberg) als auch zeitliche Unterschiede (zwischen frühem und spätem HaD) in der Nutzung dementsprechender Artefakte. Das betraf beispielsweise die Halsringe, die in der frühen Phase von HaD in Nordwürttemberg und im Magdalenenberg als weiblich gelten, in der gleichen Phase in Südwürttemberg jedoch geschlechtsunspezifisch sind (*Burmeister/Müller-Scheefel 2005, 96*). Die im Bestattungsbrauch ausgewiesene Geschlechtsspezifität lässt zum einen eine unterschiedliche Bewertung der Geschlechter und deren Rollenerwartungen erkennen, zeigt zum anderen aber auch deren Flexibilität durch die beobachteten Veränderungen.

Und auch *S. Schmidt (1993, 122–126)* konnte für sein Arbeitsgebiet Schleswig-Holstein für die jüngere Bronzezeit herausarbeiten, dass Rasiermesser, Pinzetten, Lanzetten und Schwerter als kennzeichnend für Männergräber stehen. Insbesondere Schwertbeigaben werden als sicheres Indiz für Männerbestattungen gewertet, da sie bislang in anthropologisch gesicherten Frauengräbern nicht gefunden wurden. Ebenso gelten Rasiermesser als typisch männlich bezogene Beigabe, die in 25 % der beigabeführenden Gräber Schleswig-Holsteins vorkommen (*Schmidt 1993, 122*). Unerwartet sind indes Grabausstattungen von Frauen, die sowohl mit Rasiermesser als auch Pinzette ausgestattet waren (*Schmidt 1993, 133 mit Anm. 474*). „Sofern das Geschlecht durch die Leichenbrandanalysen richtig ermittelt wurde, fassen wir mit diesen Fundkomplexen eine Gruppe von Frauen mit eindeutig männlicher Ausstattung“ (*Schmidt 1993, 133*). Mit Verweis darauf, dass es sich bei diesen Gräbern um Individuen der maturen Altersgruppe handelt, schlussfolgert *Schmidt (1993)*: „Da vergleichbare adulte Frauengräber bislang fehlen, ist die Auswahl der Gegenstände möglicherweise Ausdruck eines besonderen Sozialstatus, den Frauen, nur in Ausnahmefällen, erst im fortgeschrittenen Alter erreichen konnten.“ Weitere Beigaben wie Knochennadeln scheinen den anthropologischen Bestimmungen nach ausschließlich in Frauengräbern vorzukommen und einen frauenspezifischen Beigabentyp zu repräsentieren. Auch Halsringe sind den Untersuchungen zufolge als Beigabe zu werten, die in der jüngeren Bronzezeit ausschließlich in Frauengräbern angetroffen werden (*Schmidt 1993, 125, 132, 133, Tab. 19*).

Auch für das Gräberfeld von Niederkaina in der Oberlausitz (Sachsen) mit 2000 Bestattungen und mehr als 26 500 Funden aus der bronze- und fruheisenzeitlichen Lausitzer Kultur konnte durch die anthropologischen Untersuchungen festgestellt werden, dass es alters- und geschlechtsbezogene Beigaben gibt, und sich Hinweise auf Geschlechtsdifferenzen in der Trachtsausstattung abzeichnen.

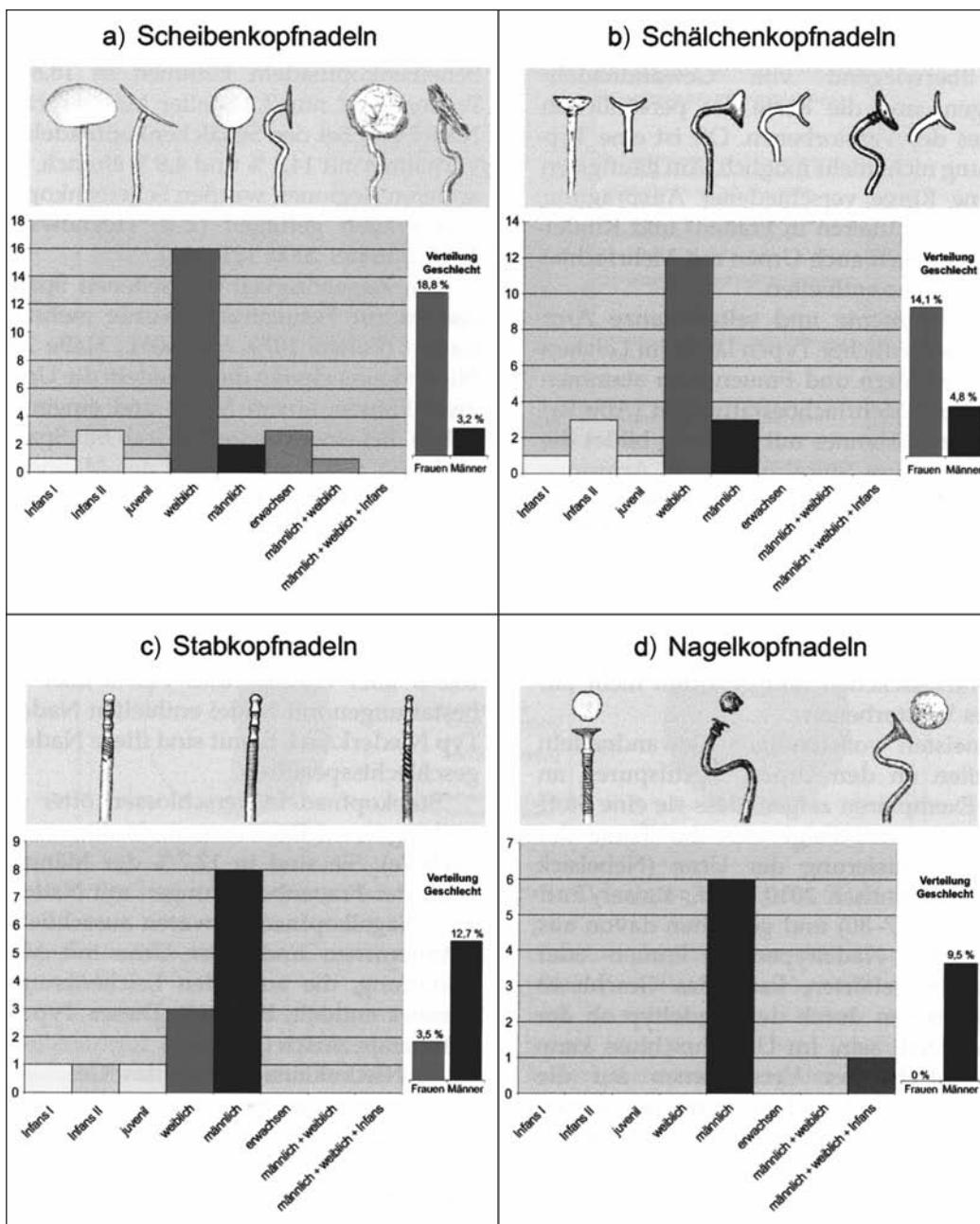


Abb. 2. Beispiele für das Verhältnis von Gewandnadeln an verhüllten Urnen zu Alter und Geschlecht der Verstorbenen in Gräbern der Billendorfer Kultur von Niederkaina (Kaiser/Manschus 2013, 61, Abb. 7).

J. Kaiser/G. Manschus (2013, 61 Abb. 7a, b) stellten diesbezüglich fest, dass beispielsweise Scheibenkopf- und Schälchenkopfnadeln in der Regel Frauenurnen schmückten und mit weniger als 5 % bei Grabgefäß von Männern vorkommen. Stab- und Nadelpkopfnadeln dagegen sind bevorzugt für die Verhüllungen der Männerurnen genutzt worden bzw. in männlich determinierten Gräbern zu finden (Abb. 2). Somit lässt sich für Niederkaina tendenziell festhalten, dass das Geschlecht der Verstorbenen teilweise durch die verschiedenen Nadeltypen an den Urnen dargestellt wurde, was mit den anthropologischen Bestimmungen korreliert.

Ebenso weisen die bemalten Schälchen eine alters- und geschlechtsbezogene Beigabe und konkret einen „deutlichen Bezug zu Männerbestattungen“ auf, indem neun Männergräber mit dieser Keramikbeigabe zwei Frauenbestattungen gegenüberstehen (Kaiser/Manschus 2013, 62, Abb. 9d). Gleiches gilt für die gelegentlich mitgegebenen Eisenmesser, die in der Regel als Beigaben in Männergräbern anzutreffen sind. Hier stehen 21 Männergräber nur drei Frauengräbern gegenüber (Kaiser/Manschus 2013, 64, Abb. 9c).

Trotz dieser in Fallbeispielen vorgestellten Tendenzen wird zu Recht davor gewarnt, Geschlechtsdifferenzierungen nur auf Grundlage „typisch weiblicher“ bzw. „typisch männlicher“ Beigaben vorzunehmen, da diese zu gravierenden Fehlinterpretationen des archäologischen Befundes führen können (Alt/Röder 2009, 115; Grosskopf/Gramsch 2004, 283). Diese Fehlinterpretationen sind vor allem dann gegeben, wenn die oben dargelegte Zuschreibung der Geschlechter anhand von Beigaben im Widerspruch zu der anthropologischen Bestimmung steht und sich im Ergebnis also gegenteilige Geschlechtsbestimmungen konstatieren lassen. So soll im Folgenden die Beigabe im Fokus der Betrachtungen stehen, da die als Grabbeigabe mitgegebenen Objekte seitens der Archäologie eine grundlegende Rolle für die Geschlechtszuweisung spielen und damit auch Auslöser für Fehlinterpretationen sein können.

Zur Rolle und Funktion von Beigaben

Beigaben sind Sachgüter, die dem Toten mitgegeben werden und in materialisierter Form überliefert eng mit dem Bestattungsritual und Totenbrauchtum verknüpft sind. In Abhängigkeit der Überlieferungs- und Erhaltungsbedingungen können diese mitgegebenen Objekte also erkannt, interpretiert und das Totenbrauchtum in Ansätzen rekonstruiert werden. Dabei gilt zu beachten, dass das Grab als archäologische Quelle nur fragmentarisch und selektiv überliefert ist (Hofmann 2009, 140, Abb. 4). Zudem muss grundsätzlich davon ausgegangen werden, „dass sich in den Ausstattungen nicht unbedingt der Wille der Bestatteten zur Selbstdarstellung äußert, sondern dass sie in erster Linie Reflex der Intentionen der Bestattenden sind“ (Müller-Scheessel 2013, 69). Die Komplexität und soziokulturelle Bedeutung der Beigaben ergibt sich aus ihrem kulturellen Kontext, der wiederum von gesellschaftlichen Normen und religiösen Vorstellungen geprägt ist (Grosskopf/Gramsch 2004, 283). Demzufolge kann die Mitgabe von Grabobjekten aus verschiedenen Motivationen heraus entstammen und erschließt sich uns nie mit 100prozentiger Sicherheit. Richtigerweise weist L. C. Koch (2013, 144) darauf hin, dass Todeszeitpunkt oder -art, Umfang und Zusammensetzung der Bestattungsgemeinschaft, Trauer, familiäre Situation des/der Verstorbenen oder auch individuelle Eigenschaften (wie handwerkliche, intellektuelle, magische Fähigkeiten) wichtige Aspekte bei der Interpretation einer Grabausstattung sind. Vor diesem Hintergrund sind Abweichungen einer Grablege von den üblichen „Mustern“ unterschiedlich zu erklären (Koch 2013, 144). Aber auch die Herkunft und Ethnizität, soziale Stellung und Status des/der Verstorbenen in der Gemeinschaft sind als Einflussfaktoren auf das Totenbrauchtum zu werten und erschließen sich nur bedingt bzw. entziehen sich generell unserer Kenntnis.

So zeigen ethnologische Studien, dass Grabbeigaben nur selten als Ausdruck des sozialen Status der bestatteten Person genutzt wurden und dass auch die Errichtung und Ausstattung eines Grabes nicht unmittelbar mit der verstorbenen Person im Zusammenhang stehen muss, sondern genauso der Konsolidierung der sozialen Rollen der Bestattenden dienen kann (vgl. dazu Batram 2013, 33 mit weiterer Literatur). Somit ist die Bandbreite an Interpretationen von Beigaben groß und wird insbesondere dann kontrovers diskutiert, wenn männliche Bestattungen mit Beigaben, die der weiblichen Sphäre zugeordnet werden bzw. auch der umgekehrte Fall, in den Grabbefunden auftreten. Sie lassen immer wieder Spielraum für Spekulationen und Interpretationen.

Demzufolge ist es nach N. Batram (2013, 33) „mehr als an der Zeit, die sozialen Rollen der Männer gründlich zu beleuchten. Abgesehen davon, scheint es... unmöglich, dass sich eine ultimative Rolle „der Frau“ oder „des Mannes“ als solche überhaupt bestimmen ließe. [...] Einzig ein „soziales Ideal“, gleichsam ein Stereotyp vergangener Rollenvorstellungen ließe sich aus archäologischen Materialien, zumindest solchen, die aus dem Begräbniskontext stammen, erschließen.“ Einschränkend gibt sie zu bedenken, dass sich „tatsächlich gelebte Rollen“ in den Bestattungen nicht nachweisen lassen, denn es stellt sich richtigerweise die Frage, was in einer Bestattungssitte/-handlung ausgedrückt wird (Batram 2013, 33).

Zum einen gehen wir von der Annahme aus, dass der Tote Anspruch auf eine bestimmte Grabausstattung hatte, die sich in den Beigaben widerspiegelt und seinen persönlichen Besitz kennzeichnet, ihn somit als Eigentümer auszeichnet. Das ist durch Schriftquellen naheliegend, und durch Caesar wissen wir, dass die Gallier bei Leichenfeiern „alles, was nach ihrer Meinung den Toten lieb gewesen ist... mit ins Feuer“ warfen (aus Bellum Gallicum 6, Kap. 19 [4], zitiert nach C. Woyte 1988, 158).

Zum anderen – und insbesondere für „abweichende“ Beigaben und Objekte, die nicht in die archäologisch definierten geschlechtsspezifischen Beigabenkategorien passen – wird erwogen, dass es sich um persönliche Abschiedsgeschenke oder Liebesgaben handeln könnte. Und so werden Spinnwirbel in Männergräbern als offerta der Frau an ihren verstorbenen Mann angesehen (vgl. dazu Koch 2013, 144 mit

Literatur). In diese Richtung weist auch die Interpretation als Liebesbeigabe bzw. als symbolische Beigabe der Frau/Gefährtin des Verstorbenen, wenn in italischen und etruskischen Nekropolen der frühen Eisenzeit (8.–5. Jh. v. Chr.) gelegentlich Spinnwirtel oder Webgewichte („Garnrollen) in männlichen Waffengräbern (mit Schwert, Lanzen und/oder Helm) zu finden sind (Weidig 2014, 710, 711 mit Beispielen und Literatur). Ähnlich vermuten auch S. Burmeister/N. Müller-Scheeßel (2005, 97, Anm. 5), dass es sich bei „weiblichen“ Gegenständen in männlichen Gräbern um Mitgaben der weiblichen trauernden Bestattungsgemeinschaft handeln könnte.

Eine weitere in Betracht zu ziehende Möglichkeit ist, dass es sich bei den mitgegebenen Objekten um Geschenke für früher Verstorbene handeln kann, die dem zuletzt Verstorbenen ins Grab mitgegeben werden (Meyer-Orlac 1982, 60–62). Das bedeutet, dass der Verstorbene den anderen Toten etwas mitbringen sollte. Und so wären auch vor diesem Hintergrund „weiblich“ determinierte Beigaben im Rahmen von Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten für einen männlichen Verstorbenen und umgekehrt nicht ungewöhnlich.

Als weitere Begründungen für die Mitgabe von Beigaben sind Aspekte wie eine Ausstattung für die Zwischenwelt bzw. für die Reise, Eintrittspreis in die Gegenwelt, die Ausstattung für die Gegenwelt und Statuszeiger für die Gegenwelt in Betracht zu ziehen (Trachsler 2005, 61). Nicht zu vergessen ist die symbolische Bedeutung bestimmter Objekte, die u. U. kultisch-religiöse Funktionen besaßen, oder auch die Entsorgung von durch den Tod unrein gewordenen Gegenständen.

Um dieser aufgezeigten Diskrepanz zu entfliehen, kritisiert B. Grosskopf (2009, 76) in diesem Zusammenhang zu Recht, dass die anthropologischen Ergebnisse oftmals durch den Archäologen „korrigiert“ und anthropologisch als Fehlbestimmungen benannt werden. Und weiter schreibt sie: „Abgesehen von der Tatsache, dass Beigaben nicht zwangsläufig zur Kennzeichnung des biologischen Geschlechts ins Grab gegeben wurden, wird durch eine „Korrektur“ die Chance vertan, mögliche Differenzen zwischen dem biologischen und dem sozialen Geschlecht, also zwischen sex und gender, zu erkennen.“ Es sollte also vielmehr berücksichtigt werden, dass Beigaben auch als Attribute sozialer Rollen verstanden werden können, und die soziale Rolle nicht zwangsläufig an das biologische Geschlecht gebunden ist. „Möglicherweise liegt hierin die Ursache bei der Unschärfe bei der Bestimmung geschlechtsspezifischer Elemente in den Bestattungs- und Trachtsitten“ (Kaiser/Manschus 2013, 65).

Geschlechtsspezifische Beigaben versus anthropologische Bestimmung

Bezüglich der dargelegten Differenzen zwischen der anthropologischen und archäologischen Geschlechtsbestimmung werden diese meist mit methodenbedingten Schwierigkeiten bei der anthropologischen Geschlechtsbestimmung erklärt. Als eine der Fehlerquellen wird dabei die anthropologische Untersuchung in Frage gestellt und die Richtigkeit der jeweiligen Skelett- bzw. Leichenbrandbestimmung bezweifelt (vgl. Grosskopf/Gramsch 2004, 282). An der Richtigkeit der archäologischen Geschlechtsbestimmung wird also festgehalten und dieser gegenüber der anthropologischen der Vorrang eingeräumt.

So konnten T. Makiewicz/J. Skowron/D. Żychliński (2004, 491–496) in ihren Untersuchungen großpolnischer Gräberfelder der Vorrömischen Eisenzeit und Römischen Kaiserzeit feststellen, dass es gravierende Unterschiede zwischen den anthropologischen und archäologischen Daten hinsichtlich der Geschlechtsbestimmung gibt. Einige der als anthropologisch bestimmten Frauengräber enthielten Waffen und Werkzeuge, wohingegen die als anthropologisch bestimmten Männer mit typischen weiblichen Objekten ausgestattet waren. Diese Ergebnisse wurden jedoch seitens der Archäologen angezweifelt und in der Konsequenz entschieden, dass „wir den archäologischen Bestimmungen ein höheres Gewicht“ geben (Makiewicz/Skowron/Żychliński 2004, 489). Ebenso stellten S. Burmeister/N. Müller-Scheeßel (2005, 93) in ihren bereits eingangs dargelegten Untersuchungen zu hallstattzeitlichen Gräbern in Württemberg bezüglich der Diskrepanzen zwischen der archäologischen und anthropologischen Bestimmung der Geschlechter fest, dass es sich fast ausschließlich um anthropologisch männlich bestimmte Individuen mit weiblichem Inventar handelte. Diese wurden dahingehend interpretiert, dass es sich „hierbei schlachtweg um anthropologische Fehlbestimmungen handeln“ kann. Diese Verschiebungen geschlechtsspezifischer Merkmalsausprägungen in Richtung „Männlichkeit“ werden von den Autoren (Burmeister/Müller-Scheeßel 2005) mit schweren körperlichen Belastungen bzw. mit durch die Menopause hervorgerufenen Veränderungen des Körpers begründet.

Durchaus können die Robustizität der Knochen bzw. deren pathologische Veränderungen Auskunft zu körperlichen Belastungen geben, die sich am Skelettmaterial niederschlagen. Werden Muskeln dauerhaft stärkeren Belastungen ausgesetzt, entstehen ausgeprägte Muskelmarken, die als sogenannte Stressmar-

ker Überbelastungen anzeigen. Verschleißerscheinungen (wie Arthrosen) zählen zu den sogenannten degenerativen Veränderungen, die aufgrund lang andauernder und übermäßig starker körperlicher Fehl-/Belastung auftreten können (vgl. dazu *Alt/Röder 2009, 99; Grosskopf 2009, 76*). Unter Umständen kann sogar aufgrund bestimmter Belastungsmuster auf die Art der Tätigkeit geschlossen werden, die zu Lebzeiten vorrangig ausgeübt wurde, so dass sich arbeitsteilige Zusammenhänge bzw. Unterschiede für eine geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung ableiten lassen, wenn solche Marker regelhaft bei Männern bzw. bei Frauen auftreten (*Alt/Röder 2009, 99*).

Dennoch muss auch in diesem Zusammenhang vor Fehlinterpretationen gewarnt werden, da verschiedene Tätigkeiten zu ähnlichen Aktivitäts- und Belastungsspuren am Skelett führen können. So wird in der Regel davon ausgegangen, dass die Tätigkeiten im Rahmen der Textilherstellung wie Spinnen und Weben frauenspezifische Arbeiten gewesen sind. Dies legen ikonografische Quellen prähistorischer Zeiten durchaus nahe. Krankhafte Befunde an den Händen, wie beispielsweise Osteoarthritis, werden in diesem Zusammenhang als ein Hinweis auf die Tätigkeit des Webens interpretiert. Interessanterweise belegen jedoch anthropologische Untersuchungen an 29 männlichen Individuen, die aufgrund historischer Quellen in ihrem Leben als Weber tätig waren, nur an drei Individuen Osteoarthritis. K. W. *Alt/B. Röder (2009, 100)* vermuten daher, dass es eher eine strenge Korrelation im Auftreten dieser Erkrankung mit dem Alter und nicht mit dem Geschlecht gibt.

GESCHLECHTERROLLENWECHSEL – EIN INTERPRETATIONSANSATZ FÜR ARCHÄOLOGISCHE UND/ODER ANTHROPOLOGISCHE FEHLBESTIMMUNGEN

Zurückkommend auf die Fehlinterpretation von geschlechtlich gegenteilig bestimmten Grablegen und vor dem Hintergrund der Rekonstruktion prähistorischer Geschlechterrollen auf Grundlage des Zwei-Geschlechter-Modells lassen oben genannte Befunde keinen Spielraum für Interpretationen, die nicht in dieses Modell passen. Doch sind in einer Reihe ethnologisch beobachteter Kulturen drei und mehr Geschlechter bekannt. Vor diesem Hintergrund kritisiert *S. Schmitz (2006c, 333)*, dass in Ableitung des bipolaren Konzeptes der Zweigeschlechtlichkeit die Geschlechterkörper immer noch in den Polen Mann und Frau als normal angesehen werden. „Phänomene zwischen diesen Polen (beispielsweise Inter- und Transsex) werden pathologisiert und medizinisch wieder in das binäre Schema eingepasst.“ Die Zuordnung als Intersex wird im medizinischen Sinne sogar als eine in der Geschlechtsentwicklung benannte „Funktionsstörung“ angesehen (*Alt/Röder 2009, 113; Schmitz 2006a, 42*, mit weiteren Ausführungen 42–44). Bei konträren Ergebnissen zwischen archäologischer und anthropologischer Geschlechtsbestimmung ließe sich jedoch eine interessante Forschungsperspektive eröffnen und „produktiv nutzen“, indem man der Frage nachgeht, welche sozialen Phänomene hinter diesen Befunden stehen könnten. Zu denken wäre hier etwa an Geschlechterrollenwechsel, an das Vorkommen weiterer Geschlechter und an Intersexualität (*Alt/Röder 2009, 115*). Diese Phänomene zeigen, dass es nicht nur die bipolaren Kategorien von Mann und Frau gibt, sondern im Vergleich zu anderen Gesellschaften, die mehr als zwei Geschlechter kennen, wird außerdem deutlich, dass es sich nicht nur um eine biologische, sondern auch eine kulturelle Geschlechtsbestimmung handelt (*Kästner 1997, 53*). Somit soll diesen möglichen Interpretationen im Folgenden nachgegangen werden.

Geschlechterrollenwechsel durch kulturelle Varianz

Ein erster Interpretationsansatz bezüglich eines Geschlechterrollenwechsels bezieht sich auf die Geschlechterrollen-Varianz. Wie bereits dargelegt, wird nach unseren Vorstellungen schematisch zwischen Frau und Mann im Sinne eines Zwei-Geschlechter-Modells unterschieden. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass Männer und Frauen mit geschlechtsspezifischen Eigenschaften ausgestattet sind, an denen sich Tätigkeits- und Arbeitsbereiche sowie unterschiedliche Fähigkeiten orientieren. Ethnologische Quellen zeigen, dass das Miteinander von Frauen und Männern mit einer weitreichenden Trennung der Lebens- und Arbeitsbereiche einhergeht und diese Trennung sowohl den profanen Alltag (Nahrungsbeschaffung, Kindererziehung) als auch rituelle Bereiche (Initiation, Zeremonien) betrifft (*Kästner 2004, 222*). Somit scheint den ethnologischen Zeugnissen nach eine geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung zwar universal zu sein, doch die den Geschlechtern zugeschriebenen Tätigkeitsbereiche und ihre Rollen variieren erheblich in den einzelnen Kulturen (*Kästner 1997, 52* mit weiteren Beispielen). „Zugeschriebene“, d. h. in

Abhängigkeit der jeweiligen Kultur erwartete Geschlechterrollen für das biologische Geschlecht müssen jedoch nicht immer konform laufen.

Bezüglich einer geschlechtsspezifischen Arbeitsteilung lässt sich beispielsweise ein Geschlechterrollenwechsel im Textilhandwerk eindrucksvoll belegen. So werden Objekte, die im Zusammenhang mit der Textilherstellung und -verarbeitung stehen, zumeist als Indiz für Frauenarbeit gesehen. Ethnologische Untersuchungen zeigen zwar, dass beispielsweise das Weben mit ca. 77 % in den weiblichen Tätigkeitsbereich fällt, doch gibt es auch eine Reihe von Ethnien, in denen ausschließlich Männer weben (Kleibscheidel 1997, 53). So sei in diesem Zusammenhang auf die peruanische Insel Taquile im Titicaca-See verwiesen, auf der traditionell das Spinnen, Weben und Stricken vor allem von Männern durchgeführt wird. Vor diesem Hintergrund sollte es nicht verwundern, wenn ihnen Textil- und Handarbeitsutensilien als Grabbeigabe mitgegeben werden.

Und auch antike Quellen berichten von Varianzen der Geschlechterrollen im Textilhandwerk. Hier zeigen die Überlieferungen für Griechenland, dass Frauen in der häuslichen Produktion, Männer dagegen in der gewerblichen Produktion beschäftigt waren. Und auch für Ägypten sind im Neuen Reich dementsprechende Unterschiede belegt: Männer arbeiteten am neu aufkommenden vertikalen Zweibaumwebstuhl, Frauen dagegen am traditionellen horizontalen Bodenwebstuhl. Die geschlechtliche Arbeitsteilung innerhalb eines Handwerks war in diesem Fall also technologisch begründet (vgl. Kleibscheidel 1997, 53). Damit zeigen sowohl die ethnologischen als auch die antiken Quellen, dass dieser Tätigkeitsbereich nicht auf ein Geschlecht reduziert werden kann. Damit ist auch die Grundlage der rein archäologischen Geschlechterbestimmung anhand von Beigaben und der Annahme, dass es primär geschlechtsspezifische Objekte gibt, in Frage gestellt (Kleibscheidel 1997, 54).

Vor dem Hintergrund eines Geschlechterrollenwechsels und kultureller Varianzen belegen auch irische Rechtstexte, dass althergebrachte Aussagen zum Rollenverhältnis der biologischen Geschlechter Mann und Frau neu zu überdenken sind. Diesbezügliche Denkanstöße gab R. Karl (2013) in seinem interessanten Artikel „Die Waffe macht den Mann“. So zeigen frühgeschichtliche Quellen, dass biologisch weibliche Personen in der Gemeinschaft auch sozial männliche Rollen übernehmen konnten. Die Rechtstexte beschreiben, dass das Einbringen von Landeigentum in eine eheliche Beziehung bestimmte, wer das soziale Vollwertige Oberhaupt der Familie war. Im Fall der heiratenden Erbtochter war diese nunmehr rechtlich handlungsfähig und bedurfte nicht der Zustimmung ihres Partners (Karl 2013, 40, 41). „Diese soziale Haushaltsstruktur kennzeichnet sich dadurch, dass die, führende‘ Rolle im Haushalt einer Person zukam, die guten Gewissens als sozialer Mann bezeichnet werden kann, nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil diese Rolle normalerweise biologischen Männern vorbehalten blieb. [...] Unter gewissen, erb- und eherechtlich bedingten Umständen konnte es jedoch dazu kommen, das biologische Frauen Landeigentum erwarben – vorzugsweise durch Erbschaft, [...] – und wenn ein solcher Fall eintrat, konnte auch eine biologische Frau die Funktion eines Haushaltvorstandes übernehmen. Eine solche Erbtochter war dann sozial in der gleichen Rolle wie biologisch männliche Haushaltvorstände, und damit, kurz gesagt, ein sozialer Mann“ (Karl 2013, 42). Diese „soziale Geschlechterrollenumkehr“ war jedoch mit allen Rechten und Pflichten verbunden, die ebenso die Pflicht zum Waffendienst einschloss. Vor diesem Hintergrund sollte es nicht verwunderlich sein, wenn die Person aus einem Waffengrab ein biologisches weibliches Geschlecht aufweist. „Sozial jedenfalls, und das ist bekanntermaßen das, worum es der archäologischen Geschlechterforschung geht, ist der oder die Tote ein Mann gewesen, unabhängig davon, welchen biologischen Geschlechts die Person gewesen sein mag“ (Karl 2013, 42). Als Fazit bleibt aus den Darlegungen von Karl festzuhalten, dass biologisches und soziales Geschlecht in den Bestattungen nicht per se gleichzusetzen sind (Karl 2013, 43).

Geschlechterrollenwechsel durch ambivalente Geschlechtsidentität/Intersexualität

Mit diesem Interpretationsansatz wird die Möglichkeit eines Geschlechterrollenwechsels aufgrund einer ambivalenten Geschlechtsidentität aufgegriffen. Auch wenn es nach S. Burmeister/N. Müller-Scheeßel (2005, 93) sogar „zu einer gewissen Mode geworden“ ist, bei abweichenden Geschlechtsbestimmungen diese Fälle im Sinne eines dritten Geschlechts zu deuten, liegen trotz der Berechtigung und unter Umständen zu deutender Einzelfälle „generelle Zweifel an diesem Interpretationsmuster“ für die Autoren vor. Zur Begründung geben sie an, dass schon die Vielzahl abweichender Beispiele „quantitativ das Maß der ethnographisch untersuchten Kulturen mit solchen mehrdimensionalen Geschlechtsausprägungen bei weitem übersteigt“ (Burmeister/Müller-Scheeßel 2005).

Abweichend von den beiden Geschlechterkategorien, Frau und Mann, lassen andere Kulturen jedoch mehr als diese zwei Geschlechter und damit geschlechtliche Ambivalenz im Sinne eines alternativen Geschlechtsstatus zu (*Lang 1990, 16*), der sich zum Teil erheblich von den uns bekannten Vorstellungen über Geschlecht, Geschlechtsidentität, Rollenverhalten und Geschlechterrollenwechsel unterscheidet. Dieser wird nicht nur gesellschaftlich akzeptiert, sondern geht zumeist mit einem Geschlechterrollenwechsel einher.

Unter Geschlechterrollenwechsel wird dabei die „Übernahme der in einer Kultur definierten sozialen Rolle des anderen biologischen Geschlechts“ verstanden (*Lang 1990, 3*). Dieser Wechsel wird von drei Komponenten beeinflusst: der Geschlechtsidentität, als subjektives Empfinden der eigenen Geschlechtszugehörigkeit, der Geschlechterrolle, als Ausdruck dieses Empfindens, und dem Geschlechtsstatus – der kulturell zugeordnet wird (*Lang 1990, 57*). Die ethnologische Literatur beschreibt diesen Geschlechterrollenwechsel allein für Nordamerika für 133 Kulturen (*Lang 1990, 4*), in denen er kulturell akzeptiert wird und zum Teil in institutionalisierter Form auftritt.

Eines der bekanntesten Beispiele sind die nordamerikanischen berdaches⁴, die von der Ethnologin Sabine Lang in ihrer Dissertation ausführliche Betrachtung erfahren haben. „Ein Berdache ist eine Person physisch eindeutigen Geschlechts, die freiwillig und dauerhaft kulturell definierte Verhaltensweisen und Tätigkeiten des anderen Geschlechts annimmt und von ihrer Gesellschaft einen besonderen (ambivalenten) Geschlechtsstatus zugewiesen bekommt“ (*Lang 1990, 10*). Die berdaches zeichnen sich durch einen gemischten Geschlechtsstatus aus („gender mixing“), der dadurch gekennzeichnet ist, dass sie nicht vom männlichen in den weiblichen Status und umgekehrt wechseln, sondern einen aus beiden Geschlechtern kombinierten Status, nämlich berdache, innehaben. Die ihnen zugewiesene Geschlechtszugehörigkeit stellt also ein Konstrukt dar, das neben den biologischen Geschlechtskategorien männlich und weiblich einen dritten Status und somit eine eigene Geschlechterkategorie zulässt (*Lang 1990, 41*). Sie wechseln demzufolge in eine ambivalente Geschlechterrolle, die weder dem männlichen noch dem weiblichen Status zugeschrieben werden kann und die Geschlechtsidentität beider Pole umfasst (*Lang 1990, 53*). Diese setzt sich aus einer Kombination von Maskulinität und Femininität zusammen, so dass in Konsequenz auch ihre sexuellen Beziehungen weder als homo- noch als heterosexuell zu bezeichnen sind, sondern von einer trisexuellen Orientierung gesprochen wird (vgl. *Lang 1990, 246*, ausführlich 218–246).

Zur Begründung dieses tiefgreifenden Geschlechterrollenwechsels in den Status berdache werden Visionen oder Träume als Auslöser angegeben oder Ursachen, die bereits in der Kindeserziehung lagen (zusammenfassend *Lang 1990, 266–289*). Besondere Rituale und spezielle Tests dienten dann zur Legitimation des Geschlechterrollenwechsels und zur Zuordnung als berdache, der insbesondere von Männern angestrebt wird. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird beispielsweise erwähnt, dass sich die jungen Männer bei den Plainsindianern Nordamerikas dem Krieg entziehen konnten und nicht als Feiglinge galten, wenn sie ein Leben als berdache führten, sondern sie sogar verehrt wurden (vgl. *Wiermann 2000, 114, 115*). Dem entgegen schreibt *Lang (1990, 72)*, dass der Geschlechterrollenwechsel für die berdaches nicht „pauschal als Flucht vor Ansprüchen der männlichen Rolle interpretiert“ wird und ein „willkommener Ausweg für Männer gewesen (ist), die das harte Kriegerdasein scheuten.“

Interessanterweise ist jedoch das Vorkommen von weiblichen berdaches und ein damit einhergehender Geschlechterrollenwechsel wesentlich seltener belegt, was mit den physiologischen Eigenschaften der Frau und insbesondere mit der Menstruation in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Letztere wird als schädlich für männliche Aktivitäten angesehen, so dass Frauen zumeist erst nach der Menopause Zugang zu männlich determinierten Tätigkeiten hatten (*Lang 1990, 49–52, 310–363*). Als Gründe für die Ausübung männlicher Tätigkeiten und dem damit verbundenen Geschlechterrollenwechsel wird der Wunsch nach Unabhängigkeit angegeben (*Lang 1990, 317, 322*) oder auch, dass die Frauen bereits im Kindesalter aus verschiedenen, zumeist ökonomischen Gründen als Knaben erzogen wurden (*Lang 1990, 329, 330*).

Um ihre Geschlechtszugehörigkeit nach außen zu signalisieren und im Rahmen des Geschlechterrollenwechsels auszudrücken, werden von den berdaches äußere Attribute wie Kleidung, Haartracht, Schmuck, Körpersprache (Mimik, Gestik, Sitzweise) sowie auch die Ausübung von Alltags- und Kunsthandwerkstätigkeiten des biologisch anderen Geschlechts übernommen (*Lang 1990, 54, 145–152*).

So versuchen männliche berdaches der weiblichen Geschlechterrolle so nah wie möglich zu kommen, indem sie die weibliche Physis, also äußere Geschlechtsmerkmale wie Genitalien und Brüste, imitieren bzw. die eigenen äußeren Geschlechtsmerkmale verbergen sowie weibliche Körperfunktionen, wie

⁴ Berdache (arab.: bardaj bzw. barah) bedeutet so viel wie „männlicher Prostituierter“, „Lustknabe“ (vgl. *Lang 1990, 4*). Der als diskriminierend empfundene Begriff wurde in den 90er Jahren durch Two-Spirit ersetzt und bezeichnet das dritte Geschlecht.

Menstruation, Schwangerschaft, Geburt und Stillen, nachahmen (*Lang* 1990, 152–161). So konnte durch Blutigkratzen der Oberschenkel die Menstruation simuliert (*Lang* 1990, 154), mit dem Unterstopfen von Stoffstücken unter ihrer Kleidung eine Schwangerschaft scheinbar gemacht bzw. durch die Einnahme von Abführmitteln und demzufolge starken Unterleibskrämpfen Wehen imitiert werden. Zu der vermeintlichen Geburt gingen die berdaches in den Wald, nahmen die „sitzende Position gebärender Frauen ein und entleerten ihren Darm über einem Loch. Nach Begraben dieser, Totgeburt‘ begaben sie sich nach Hause und begannen, um das totgeborene Kind zu trauern“ (*Lang* 1990, 154, 155).

Weiterhin ist die „Bevorzugung von Tätigkeiten des anderen Geschlechts“ charakteristisch (*Lang* 1990, 10). So führen männliche berdaches insbesondere Tätigkeiten aus, die kulturell den Frauen zugeordnet sind. Oftmals galten sie sogar als Spezialisten in weiblichen Handwerksbereichen und taten sich nicht selten als besonders begabt hervor. Zu diesen Tätigkeiten zählen Sammelaktivitäten (von Grassamen, Beeren, Wurzeln), die Weiterverarbeitung des Gesammelten und das Kochen von Mahlzeiten, das Flechten von Körben und Matten, Nähen und Handarbeiten (Perlen- und Quillstickerei), die Verarbeitung des von Männern erbeuteten Jagdwildes, die Erziehung der Mädchen (*Lang* 1990, 101–109 mit Beispielen zu den einzelnen Ethnien) sowie Aktivitäten im weiblichen Zeremonialbereich (*Lang* 1990, 109–121 mit Beispielen). Weiterhin wird als auffallend beschrieben, dass es den männlichen berdaches nicht genügte, es den Frauen bei der Ausübung bei den ihnen kulturell zugeordneten Tätigkeiten gleichzutun, „sondern daß sie danach streben, ihr Rollenbild möglichst noch zu überflügeln“ (*Lang* 1990, 101). So wird angegeben, dass die Berechtigung der berdache-Institution bei den Zuñi darin bestand, „Männern im Rahmen eines Sonderstatus die Ausübung weiblicher Tätigkeiten zu ermöglichen“ (*Lang* 1990, 138).⁵ Zudem waren ihnen besondere Tätigkeitsbereiche vorbehalten, doch scheinen sie nicht in männlichen Spezialistentätigkeiten eingebunden gewesen zu sein (*Lang* 1990, 197–199). Zu den besonderen Aufgabenbereichen zählen spezielle Funktionen bei Beerdigungsfeierlichkeiten, wie die Herrichtung des Toten, als Totengräber, das Tragen des Leichnams, als Leiter der Trauerzeremonie (*Lang* 1990, 200–206) sowie die Begleitung der Krieger (für das Zubereiten der Mahlzeit, um das Lager in Ordnung zu halten, zur Bergung Toter und Verwundeter) und in diesem Zusammenhang auch als Schamane (*Lang* 1990, 206–210). Teilweise werden diese Tätigkeitsbereiche für die berdaches damit begründet, dass sie für diese weibliche Geschlechterrolle in Verbindung mit männlicher Körperfunktion besonders geeignet waren (*Lang* 1990, 205).



Abb. 3. We'wha, ein Two-Spirit der Zuñi (zwischen 1871 und 1896. Foto John K. Hillers, 1843–1925, Photographer (NARA record: 3028457) – U. S. National Archives and Records Administration, Gemeinfrei (<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=17208698>; 09. 01. 2019).

⁵ S. *Lang* (1990, 141) verweist darauf, dass mit zunehmendem Einfluss der „weißen“ Kultur ein offenes Fortbestehen dieser Institution im Schwinden ist. Dennoch werden von den berdaches gerne Frauenberufe gewählt: Haushälterin, Krankenschwester, Köchin (*Lang* 1990, 199).

Mit am bekanntesten ist We'wha, eine biologisch männliche berdache bei den Zuñi, die das äußere Erscheinungsbild einer Frau, die weibliche Geschlechterrolle und weibliches Verhalten so perfekt imitierte, dass man kaum annahm, sie könne biologisch männlich sein (Abb. 3; Lang 1990, 87). Zudem galt sie als eine vorzügliche Weberin und Töpferin (Lang 1990, 90). Interessant für unsere Thematik sind die Überlieferungen zu ihrer Bestattung. Es wird beschrieben, dass We'wha in weiblicher Kleidung beigesetzt wurde, jedoch auch mit einer Hose bekleidet war. Zudem wurden ihr silberne Halsketten und Armreifen – als typische Attribute der Zuñifrau – und Türkisohrringe mitgegeben (Wiermann 2000, 115). Hier würde unserem Verständnis nach eine geschlechtsindifferente Beigabenausstattung in einem anthropologisch bestimmten Männergrab vorliegen, die wir ohne Kenntnis des kulturellen Kontextes nicht bzw. nur spekulativ deuten könnten.

Mit dem Stichwort der Intersexualität bzw. drittes Geschlecht soll an dieser Stelle ein weiterer Erklärungsansatz für die beobachtete Diskrepanz zwischen geschlechtsbestimmten Skeletten und geschlechtsindifferenten Beigaben aufgegriffen werden. Dabei handelt es sich um Personen beiderlei Geschlechts. Auch in diesem Fall handelt es sich um eine Geschlechtsambivalenz, bei der die jeweilige Person äußere und/oder innere Geschlechtsmerkmale von Mann und Frau in sich trägt.⁶

Bei den im Südwesten der USA und im Nordwesten Mexikos lebenden Navaho werden diese Personen als nadle bezeichnet. Auch sie vollzogen Geschlechterrollenwechsel, kleideten sich stets als Frauen, heirateten nicht und hielten ausschließlich zu Männern sexuelle Beziehungen (Lang 1990, 80). Zudem galten sie als glücksbringend und wohlstandfördernd (Lang 1990, 74). Aufgrund ihrer Zweigeschlechtlichkeit standen ihnen sowohl männliche als auch weibliche Tätigkeitsbereiche offen; ausgeschlossen waren sie jedoch von der Jagd und dem Krieg, zwei charakteristisch männliche Aktivitäten. Im Allgemeinen fungierten die *nadle* als Haushaltsoberhaupt, leiteten das Pflanzen und die Feldarbeit, als männerspezifische Tätigkeiten, bzw. waren in spezifisch weiblichen Tätigkeitsbereichen aktiv wie Weben, Töpfern, Gerben von Häuten, Herstellung von Moccasins, Stricken und als Hebammen (Lang 1990, 75). Somit ist nicht nur ihr biologischer, sondern auch ihr gesellschaftlicher Status als ambivalent zu charakterisieren. Ihre Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit ermöglichte es demzufolge „an den Rollen beider Geschlechter teilzuhaben und die in diesen Rollen liegenden Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten dadurch zu potenzieren, daß sie alle zu Möglichkeiten einer einzelnen Person und nicht zweier Personen werden“ (Lang 1990, 79).

FAZIT

Zurückkommend auf das Anliegen des Beitrages Geschlechtsspezifische Beigaben versus anthropologische Bestimmungen sollte mit diesen Darlegungen aufgezeigt werden, dass die Diskrepanz von geschlechtsbestimmten Skeletten und geschlechtsindifferenten Beigaben einen großen Spielraum an Erklärungen liefert. So sollte zunächst die anthropologische Bestimmung der Skelettreste oder der Leichenbrände eine wesentliche Voraussetzung einer biologischen Geschlechtszuweisung bilden (Kleibscheidel 1997, 61), dem folgend mit den archäologischen Ergebnissen abgeglichen und somit beidseitig eine abgesicherte Geschlechtsbestimmung durchgeführt werden. Bei der Interpretation entsprechender Diskrepanzen sollte von einem starren Zwei-Geschlechter-Modell endlich Abstand genommen und die Möglichkeit weiterer Geschlechter bzw. divergierender Geschlechterrollen diskutiert und berücksichtigt werden. Ein Blick in die bio-medizinische Forschung zeigt, dass das biologische Geschlecht (sex) viele Varianten einschließt und außerhalb der postulierten Zweigeschlechtlichkeit weitere Geschlechter durchaus bekannt sind. Zudem wird zu Recht gefordert, dass klar zwischen dem biologischen Geschlecht (sex) und dem kulturellen Geschlecht, der sozialen Rolle (gender) unterschieden werden muss (Burmeister/Müller-Scheeßel 2005, 92). Wir sollten uns verabschieden von einem reinen Schwarz-Weiß-Denken und nach alternativen Modellen und Konzepten suchen. So fordern K. W. Alt/B. Röder (2009, 119) ein Geschlechterkonzept, „das sowohl die biologischen als auch die soziokulturellen Aspekte von Geschlecht in ihren Wechselwirkungen einschließt.“

Dennoch muss letztendlich anerkannt werden, dass uns sex und gender nie vollends über die Bestattungsrituale erschließbar sind. Auch wenn wir uns in enger Zusammenarbeit mit den Anthropologen der Identität des Verstorbenen annähern können, wird uns seine einstige Persönlichkeit mit all seinen persönlichen Facetten und Empfindungen verborgen bleiben und nie ein reales Abbild des Individuums

⁶ Aktuell ist dieses Thema auch in Deutschland aufgegriffen worden und das Bundesverfassungsgericht fordert für ein drittes Geschlecht den Eintrag im Geburtenregister (8. November 2017).

überliefern können. Oder anders ausgedrückt: auch „wenn eine Person anthropologisch als Mann gilt und mit männlich bezeichneten Grabbeigaben bestattet wurde, bleibt unklar, ob sich diese Person auch wirklich als Mann gefühlt hat“ (Kästner 1997, 66).

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diskrepanzen zwischen anthropologisch geschlechtsbestimmten Skeletten auf der einen Seite und archäologisch bestimmten geschlechtsspezifischen Beigaben auf der anderen Seite liefern immer wieder einen großen Spielraum für Erklärungen. Diese zeigen jedoch schnell die Grenzen beider Wissenschaftsbereiche auf, da zum einen nicht klar zwischen biologischem Geschlecht (*sex*) und dem sozialen Geschlecht, also der sozialen Geschlechterrolle (*gender*), unterschieden und zum anderen traditionell von einem Zwei-Geschlechter-Modell – also lediglich von den Geschlechtern Mann und Frau – ausgegangen wird. So werden vor diesem Hintergrund Fehlinterpretationen thematisiert und alternative Interpretationsmodelle vorgestellt.

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CHANGING FEMININITIES AND MASCULINITIES BETWEEN THE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY ROMAN PERIOD IN HUNGARY: A REVIEW

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During the past few decades, the archaeological analysis of gender has gone through tremendous theoretical and methodological development. However, although gender relations are fundamental to the social life of any community, Hungarian archaeology only took its initial steps in the archaeology of gender relatively recently, in keeping with several other east central European research traditions. Bearing in mind the pitfalls of such a study, we will present several case studies based on the analysis of burials between the Neolithic and the end of the Iron Age and of a series of representations from the Late Iron Age and the Early Roman period. We ask what the archaeological record can tell us about the range of femininity and masculinity by analysing the life cycle of men and women, examining data concerning the social position of children, their transition into adulthood, labour division and craft specialisation, the transition into mothers or warriors, etc. Our aim is to highlight the similarities and differences in how femininity and masculinity were created using material culture and other media in these societies.

Keywords: gender, identity, prehistory, Early Roman period, Pannonia, Carpathian Basin.

INTRODUCTION

Post-processual archaeologies of social identity focus on individual identities and use complex gender categories. Gender relations are fundamental to the social life of any given community, and the archaeological analysis of gender has undergone several important theoretical and methodological developments during the past few decades (*Gero/Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1999; Gowland 2006; Chapman 1997; Sofaer 2011; Sørensen 2004; Voss 2006*). Despite this, Hungarian archaeology only took its initial steps in the archaeology of gender relatively recently, in keeping with several other east central European research traditions (*Anders 2016a; 2016b; Chapman/Palinceş 2013; Koncz/Szilágyi 2017; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; 2017; Siklósi 2007*).

The aim of the present paper is to adopt this approach in the study of prehistoric communities in Hungary using several case studies that analyse burials between the Neolithic and Early Roman periods. To this end, we carry out micro-research on several well-studied sites, with a particular focus on age and gender, femininity, masculinity, children, the body, and craft specialisation.

In each of these case studies, we review the analyses of relevant cemeteries and burials from a gender archaeological point of view, using archaeological and bioarchaeological methods. We look for gender-specific grave goods and their possible implications with regards to the social structure of the communities concerned. Moreover, stable isotope studies suggest that males and females had differential mobility patterns, providing important clues about social structure and various cultural rules, such as exogamy. Such studies also inform us about dietary practices, where differences can often have a gendered aspect as well. In many cases, the study of pathologies using human skeletal remains provides important information about gender roles, such as various forms of labour division. In some cases and in almost all periods, a small number of burials deviate from gender-specific burial rites and patterns of grave-good deposition. These are important, as they may indicate a non-bipolar gender structure, with the possible presence of third genders in these communities.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

In the present paper, we ask what the archaeological record can tell us about the range of femininity and masculinity by analysing the life cycles of men and women. For example, we examine data concerning the transitional period, as well as the process of becoming mothers, warriors, craft specialists, etc. Our case studies are based on detailed analyses of burials from the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age periods in Hungary.

From the Middle Neolithic (Linear Pottery culture; *Linearbandkeramik*; LBK), we draw upon archaeological, physical anthropological, and stable isotope studies of the large European LBK Lifeways project from eastern and western Hungarian sites (5300–5000 cal BC; Alföld Linear Pottery: Füzesabony-Gubakút, Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás, Polgár-Ferenci-hát; Transdanubian LBK: Balatonszárszó-Kis-erdei-dűlő), which were published in a monograph (Whittle *et al.* 2013). Data from sites on the Great Hungarian Plain were recently re-analysed by Alexandra Anders, with a special regional focus (Anders 2016a; Anders/Nagy 2019).

The Late Neolithic (5000–4450 cal BC) data from the eastern Hungarian Tisza and western Hungarian Transdanubian Lengyel cultures were summarized by A. Anders (2016a) and Zs. Siklósi in several papers and a book. The main focus of Siklósi's study was a correspondence analysis of the finds from the burials at Aszód-Papi földek (Siklósi 2007; 2013a; 2013b).

From the later period, we refer to Bell Beaker period cemeteries from the modern-day Czech Republic. Based on these, we carry out a comparative bioarchaeological analysis of Bell Beaker burials in the Budapest region that date to 2500–2200 cal BC – the first part of the Early Bronze Age in Hungary. Specifically, we focus on cemeteries excavated at Budapest-Békásmegyer, Szigetszentmiklós, and Budakalász (Endrődi 2013; Köhler 2011; Kulcsár 2011; Patay 2013; Price *et al.* 2004). More recently, the ongoing evaluation of the aDNA analyses from the same burials (Olalde *et al.* 2018) provides new data for interpreting gender roles.

We continue our analysis with burials from the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1500 BC) located in the northern part of the Great Hungarian Plain: specifically three recently excavated Füzesabony culture cemeteries around Polgár. Preliminary results from the study of these burials (Dani/Máthé/Szabó 2004) will be completed in ongoing multidisciplinary investigations (Giblin *et al.* 2019; Kiss *et al.* 2018). We refer to archaeological (Jovanović 2016; Matić 2010; Šandor-Chicideanu/Chicideanu 1989, 9–11, 38) and scientific analyses of Maros culture burials from the same period, located in the southern region of the Great Hungarian Plain (Macintosh *et al.* 2014; Porčić/Stevanović 2009). There, a strict bipolar burial orientation connected to biological sex suggests bipolar gender roles similar to the northern region. Rare exceptions raise the question of a third gender or other kind of special social status.

Identities from the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period (1st century BC–1st century AD) require more complex answers because of the unbalanced power situation and the interactions between the indigenous people of Pannonia and Roman culture. We collect evidence that spinning implements were used as grave goods and analyse their meaning in burials (Gleba 2011; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011).

At this point, it may be important to define the terms 'femininity' and 'masculinity' as we use them. We regard both as a set of roles, behaviours, and attitudes associated with females and males, respectively, in any given culture. They are socially constructed, historically emergent, and culturally contingent (e.g. Connell 2005; Murphy 2004; Seidler 1989), so they are likely to vary greatly throughout prehistory. Our aim is to map some of this diversity and investigate how it intersects with other aspects, such as age and social status.

CASE STUDIES FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE BRONZE AGE

Research into Near Eastern pre-Neolithic and Neolithic groups and Middle Neolithic burials of Linear Pottery population (LBK) may also constitute social bioarchaeological studies. The LBK Lifeways project investigated graves from almost the whole territory of the LBK using osteoarchaeological, stomatological, stable isotope, and paleopathological analyses of 3000 individuals from the period. The stable isotope results show differential mobility patterns for men and women, suggesting patrilocality (Bickle/Whittle 2013). Differences in food consumption were also observed. As part of the same research project, the skeletons of 50 individuals were examined from among 113 burials at Polgár-Ferenci-hát. Dental caries was more frequent among women than among men, suggesting that women consumed higher amounts

of carbohydrates, which are found in starch-rich foods such as cereals and legumes (*Anders 2016a*). Tooth wear was also observed in skeletons excavated at the same site. For example, the skeleton of a 37 to 46 year-old woman demonstrated occlusal grooving of the anterior teeth, indicating that she often engaged in fibre or string working, and therefore that craft activities were gendered in her society. In addition, in the skeletons of 174 adults from the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age of Central Europe the upper arms were examined to detect whether any changes in activities occurred over this long period, and whether there are any differences between the right and left arms or between the work activities performed by men and women. Analysis of the upper arm bones of three men and two women from burials uncovered at Polgár-Ferenci-hát indicated no apparent differences between the right and left sides, but major differences between male and female samples. The alterations were more pronounced on the female upper arm bones, which was consistent with the results at other Neolithic sites included in the analysis. The differences were linked to the division of labour between men and women (*Anders 2016b*, 4, 5, fig. 2).

Other Hungarian sites included in this project, like Füzesabony-Gubakút, Mezőkövesd-Mocsolyás, and Balatonszárszó-Kis-erdei-dűlő, have not yet provided any similar data. Meanwhile, in some cases, there have been difficulties in determining age and biological sex (*Appleby 2011*). The complex bioarchaeological methods mentioned above are sufficient to reconstruct the different social roles of prehistoric populations, and have suggested possible regional or chronological differences.

However, no similarly complex, independent studies have been conducted in Late Neolithic or Copper Age Hungary, the periods in connection with prehistoric gender studies began in Hungary. Based on Ida Bognár-Kutzián's works on Copper Age cemeteries in the 1960s, John Chapman analysed gender roles on the Great Hungarian Plain in connection with arenas of social power (*Chapman 1997*). He noted that houses are erected on the site of ancestors' houses, surrounded by burials on Late Neolithic tells, and that production was household-based. This is known as the domus/agrios dichotomy, and it suggests that women's power prevailed during this time. The male/female dichotomy was emphasised in materiality and through the use of symbols more than in earlier periods. This strong emphasis on gender dichotomy continued into the Copper Age. However, the domination of women's power changed with the appearance of formal cemeteries during the Early and Middle part of the period, and with Late Copper Age kurgan burials (*Bognár-Kutzián 1963; Chapman 1997, 132*).

As a case study, here we present an analysis of Late Neolithic burials from Aszód-Papi földék, where an extensive Late Neolithic settlement and 224 graves were found. The finds represent a mixture of the eastern Hungarian Tisza and the Transdanubian Lengyel cultures (*Kalicz 1985; Kreiter et al. 2017*). Based on absolute and relative chronological data, all these graves can be dated to a short time period. Importantly, the area of the settlement was not separated from the burials. Most people living in the settlement were buried in a contracted position, placed on their right side. Exceptions to this strict practice can only be found among women and children. The systems of orientation and grave furniture can be loosely correlated with age and gender. Mace heads, shoe-last adzes, stone chisels, wild boar mandibula, and pendants made from wild boar tusk have only been documented in men's burials, while *Spondylus* bracelets, *Glycymeris* pendants, and beads made of red deer canine have only been found in women's. At Aszód, bone tools for chipped stone tool processing have only been found in women's burials, suggesting that women also specialised in chipped stone tool making (*Tóth 2013, 277*). Stone chisels as characteristic male grave furniture were found in the burial of an Infans I child in only one case. However, characteristic female grave goods, such as *Spondylus* bracelets, were found in several child burials. Based on these data, some Infans II children (aged 8–12) could be identified as young females (Fig. 1). These girls had probably already passed some biological and/or social stages of growing into a woman, and thus were considered socially mature adults (*Siklósi 2007; 2013a, 119, 120; 2013b*).

Gender-related elements, like the *Spondylus* bracelets, were common in the whole Late Neolithic Carpathian Basin, not only at Aszód. For example, representations of broad bracelets have been found on the upper arm of female statuettes, while multiple incisions around the wrists of male and female statuettes found on the Great Hungarian Plain may represent copper spiral bracelets (*Siklósi 2013a, 252, 253; 2013b, 427, 428*). Multi-row belts consisting of stone and *Spondylus* beads are depicted as incisions on Sé-type anthropomorphic figures found in Transdanubia (*P. Barna 2004*). Conversely, two male burials were found with typical female grave furniture from Aszód and Kisköre, raising the question of whether there was a third gender or *berdache* (*K. Zoffmann 2015; Siklósi 2013a, 114, 115, 178, 196*).

In several Late Neolithic sites on the Great Hungarian Plain, body positioning was connected with the gender of the deceased: men were buried on their right and women on their left sides (*Anders/Nagy*



Fig. 1. Aszód-Papi földek Grave 164. Infant II burial with typical female grave goods, e.g. Spondylus bracelets.

2007, 91, 92; Bognár-Kutzián 1963, 355, 356; Raczyk/Anders/Siklósi 2014, 328–331; Siklósi 2013a, 175). This became general in the Early Copper Age (Fig. 2). Burials of the latter period from Eastern Hungary were examined by Joanna Sofaer. Based on the investigation of the Tiszapolgár burials, she realized that copper bracelets were typical grave goods of individuals aged between 5 and 25; after those ages, copper artefacts were never placed in male graves (Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 877–880; 2000, 398, 399). Ethnographic parallels show that children became part of the economic life of the communities at the age of 5 years (Pany-Kucera/Reschreiter/Kern 2010; Wager 2009). This suggests that children in the Copper Age had an active role in society, but they had a long-lasting liminal period before they were considered adults (Sofaer Derevenski 2000). A simplified relationship between age and gender can be observed in Middle Copper Age burials with Bodrogkeresztúr-style material. According to Sofaer, the disappearance of copper in the Late Copper Age can be associated with this transformation in the social structure (Sofaer Derevenski 2000).

In the Bronze Age, we also encounter gender dichotomy in burial practice. For example, in Bell Beaker inhumation cemeteries (2500–2200 BC), deceased women were buried on their right and men on their left sides, suggesting that gender was associated with particular ideas, quarters, and sides. Anthropological analyses have shown that adherence to these rules was very high, with only a few exceptions (Endrődi 2013; Heyd 2007; Kern 2001; Turek 2000; 2013). The characteristic grave goods of male burials are weapons (copper daggers, wristguards, flint arrowheads), while the typical grave goods of female burials are jewellery and V-perforated bone buttons (Fig. 3). Decorated bell beakers, which are usually connected with beer consumption, are more frequent in the burials of men (20 %) than in those of women (11 %). Specific bipolar burial orientation is diagnostic in the graves of older children (Inf. II age category) in Bohemian cemeteries (88.8 % of graves, 54 % of which were boys and 46 % girls). Grave goods also prove that there were gender-specific rites in child burials: stone implements and weapons can be found in the burials of boys (Turek 2000; 2013). Furthermore, miniature vessels are also characteristic of children's graves.

Based on the few exceptions involving men with body orientation and grave goods typical of female burials, Jan Turek suggested that the culture may have recognised a gender of women-men, similar to *berdache* among native North American populations (Turek 2000; 2013). At this point, we

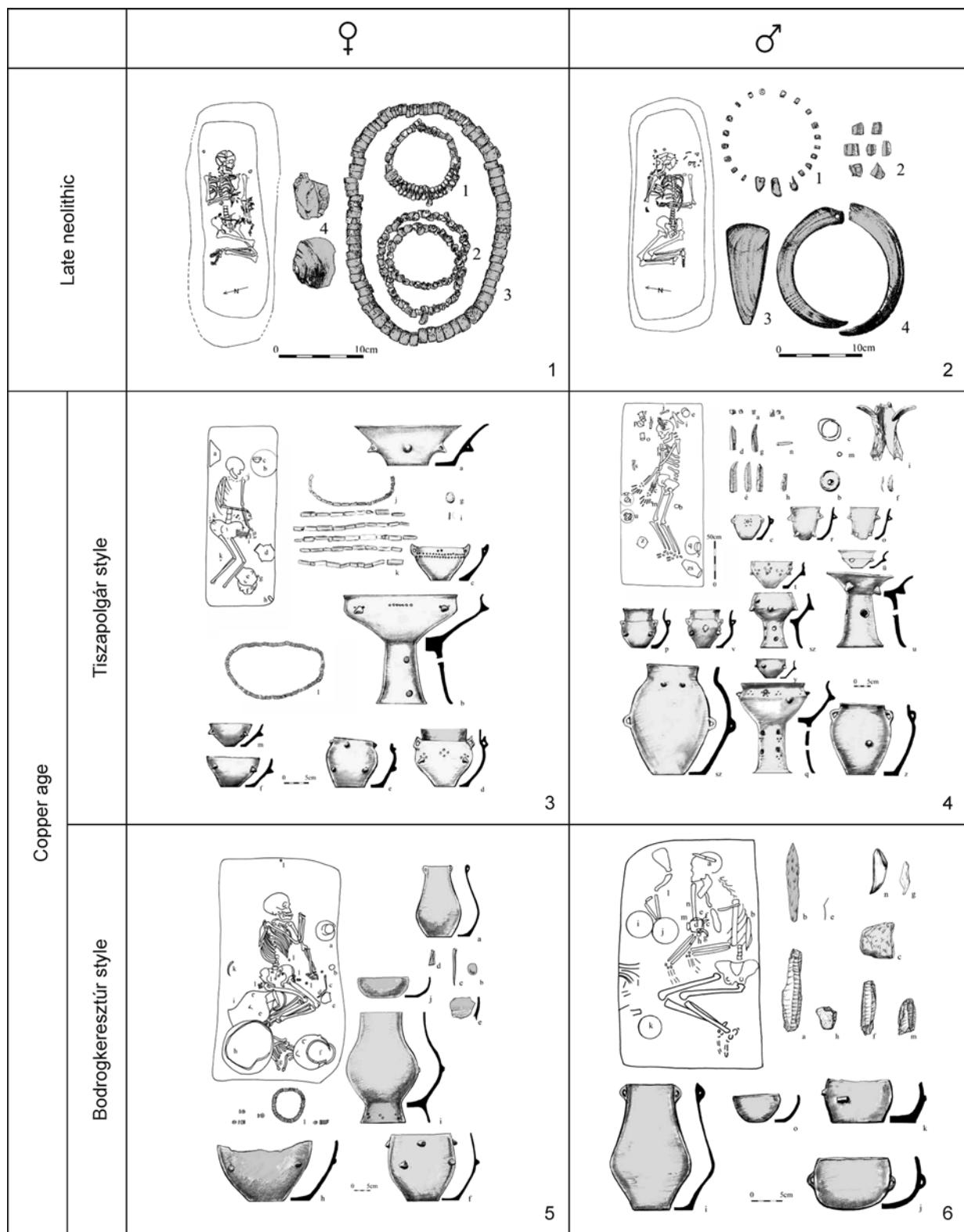


Fig. 2. Selected burials of the Late Neolithic and Copper Age with typical grave good associations. 1 – Typical female grave from Polgár-Csószhalom horizontal settlement (Feature 362); 2 – Typical male grave from Polgár-Csószhalom horizontal settlement (Feature 406); 3 – Typical female grave from the Tiszapolgár-Basatanya cemetery with Tiszapolgár style pottery (Grave 23); 4 – Typical male grave from the Tiszapolgár-Basatanya cemetery with Tiszapolgár style pottery (Grave 33); 5 – Typical female grave from the Tiszapolgár-Basatanya cemetery with Bodrogkeresztúr style pottery (Grave 105); 6 – Typical male grave from the Tiszapolgár-Basatanya cemetery with Bodrogkeresztúr style pottery (Grave 123; after Raczky/Anders/Siklósi 2014, fig. 5).

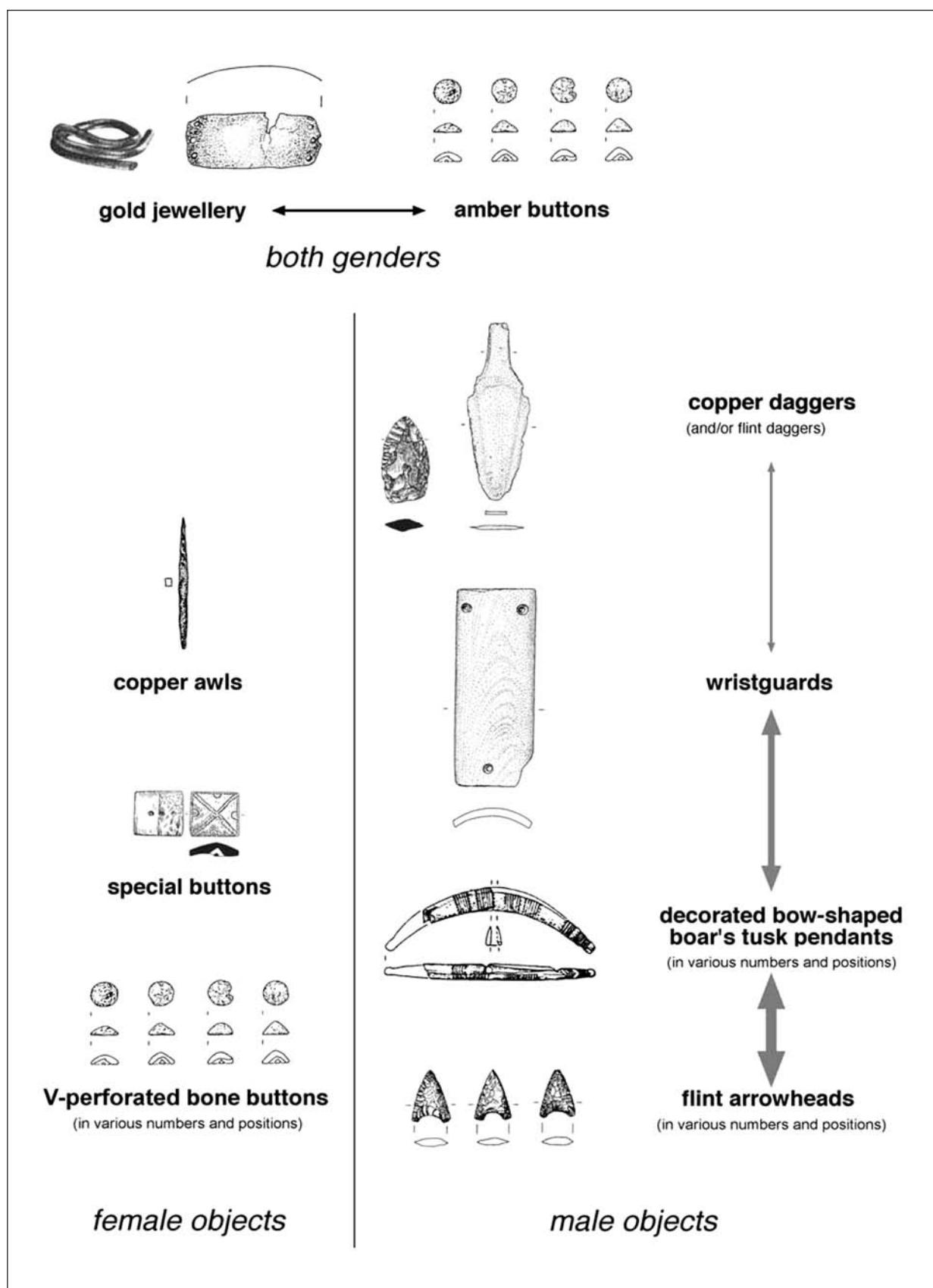


Fig. 3. Special grave goods in the Bell Beaker East Group (after Heyd 2007, fig. 9).

should mention that a recent aDNA analysis of Bell Beaker burials from Hungary highlights the uncertainties of biological sex determination by physical anthropological methods. The deceased from burial 597 of the cemetery excavated at Budakalász-Csajerszke was identified as a male, but its orientation was characteristic for female burials: on its right side, with south-to-north orientation. However, aDNA analysis determined the biological sex of this individual as female, in accordance with the usual burial orientation of the Bell Beaker complex (*Olalde et al. 2018, Supplementary*). This may account for the situation in the Late Neolithic grave at Aszód mentioned before, although no aDNA analysis has yet been performed on those remains.

Stable isotope data from the Neolithic LBK Lifeways project and Austrian Corded Ware burials suggest that alternative burial orientation may also occur in graves belonging to non-local individuals who had arrived from a different cultural background. In Bell Beaker communities from several regions in Central Europe, strontium isotope data have shown that some graves belonged to non-local women who spent their early lives elsewhere and had sometimes travelled 200 km. This suggests clear patterns of patrilocality and female exogamy, although strontium isotope analyses of Hungarian Bell Beaker cemeteries have already attested both male and female non-locals (*Kulcsár 2011, fig. 8; 9; Price et al. 2004*).

Middle Bronze Age (2000–1500 BC) burials on the Great Hungarian Plain also indicate gender dichotomy in burial practice. In the recently excavated three cemeteries of the Füzesabony culture around Polgár in northeast Hungary (Polgár-Kenderföld, Polgár-Király-épárt, and Polgár-Homok-dűlő), 242 graves were discovered. The deceased men were buried on their right and oriented south-to-north, while women were buried on their left side and oriented north-to-south. From the Kenderföldek and Homok-dűlő cemeteries, several men were buried with an orientation characteristic for women. In the Homok-dűlő cemetery, four such burials were found, from which three were placed close to each other on the northern edge of the cemetery. The excavators of the cemetery, J. Dani and G. V. Szabó, determined that these were burials of homosexual men or *berdache*. They also called attention to similar burials in the Maros culture population (*Dani/Máthé/Szabó 2004*).

In the Maros culture (southeast Hungary), biological sex and gender-related positioning of the deceased matched in 94 % of inhumation cases. There, another possible explanation of the ‘deviant’ burials came to light: ten buried males with an orientation opposite to the norm and with female grave furniture were interpreted as being some kind of ritual or medical specialists, or elderly men with a special status (*Jovanović 2016; Matié 2010; Şandor-Chicideanu/Chicideanu 1989, 9–11, 38*). Alternatively, based on the stable isotope data of the Neolithic LBK Lifeways project and Austrian Corded Ware burials mentioned above, the deceased may have had an unusual orientation because the graves belonged to non-local people whose burial practice differed from that of the local population.

Pottery decoration also suggests that the representation of gender was important for Bronze Age society. In the Bell Beaker period, we can see a so-called ‘moustache motif’ on accompanying pottery/common ware (Begleitkeramik) vessels from men’s graves, while small knobs as possible depictions of breasts were identified in burials of women (*Turek 2011, fig. 3*). T. Kovács called attention to similar representations of breasts on Middle Bronze Age women’s urns, and to depictions of weapons (daggers or axes) on the urns of men from the same period (*Kovács 1992; Poroszlai 1992; Sørensen/Rebay-Salisbury 2009, fig. 6*). G. Szabó analysed the ornamental motifs found on the Transdanubian Encrusted Pottery vessels at the recently excavated cemetery of Bonyhád, where an osteological analysis of the cremated remains was carried out by Tamás Hajdu. In women’s burials, the pottery was frequently decorated with zig-zag lines and vertical bundles of lines, while the net-pattern motif appears on vessels associated with male burials. These results show that at least some encrusted patterns correlate with gender (Fig. 4; *Hajdu et al. 2016; Szabó/Hajdu 2011, 98–104, tab. 2*), perhaps because this culture practiced cremation, which results in the disintegration of the human body and the destruction of characteristic grave goods (e.g. ornamented textiles, or metal jewellery), so gendered symbols of identity may have been placed onto the urns as containers of the fragmented body (*Hajdu et al. 2016; Sørensen/Rebay-Salisbury 2009; Szeverényi 2013*).

In many cases, child burials are equipped with miniature vessels. At the mentioned cemetery discovered at Bonyhád-Biogas factory, excavations revealed that some burials with the cremated remains of children aged 1–3 years were associated with small vessels called drinking horns. These vessels may have been used as special purpose vessels to complement or substitute for breastfeeding (*Kiss 2012, 83–85; Reich 2002; Szabó/Hajdu 2011, 90, 96, 97, fig. 1*). Detailed analysis of child burials according to age categories only began recently (*Melis et al., in press*).

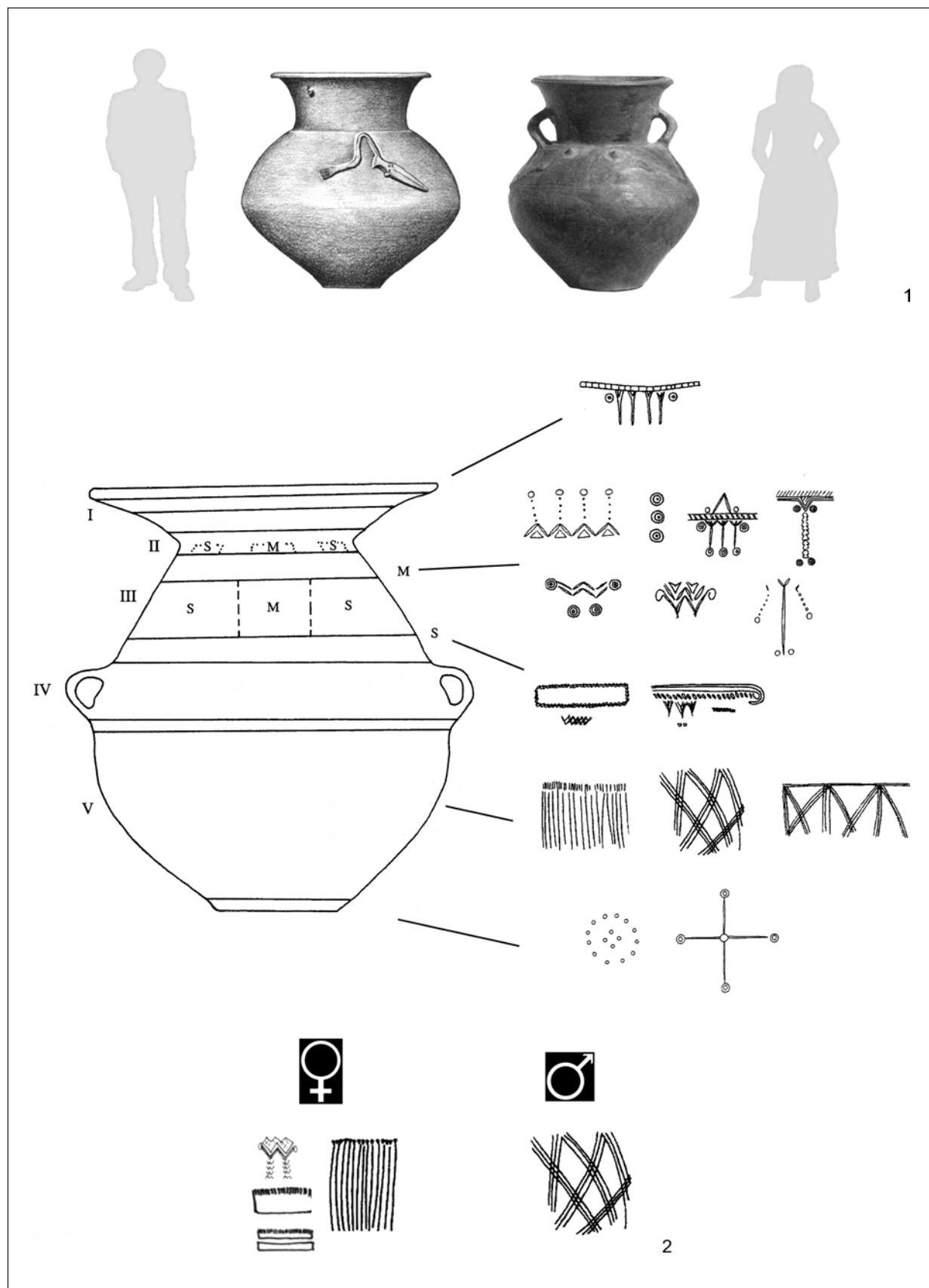


Fig. 4. Gendered symbols on Middle Bronze Age pottery. 1 – Vatya style (after Sørensen–Rebay-Salisbury 2009, fig. 6); 2 – Transdanubian Encrusted Pottery style (Kiss 2012, fig. 16).

Small anthropomorphic figurines were also decorated with representations of jewellery and gendered symbols. Recently discovered figurines from Middle and Late Bronze Age Hungary provide evidence that both male and female statuettes were produced, with defensive armour indicating male warrior identity (Király/Koós/Tarbay 2014; Kiss 2007; 2019; Kovács 1972). According to physical anthropological analyses in the Lower Danube region south of Hungary, anthropomorphic female figurines and miniature clay axes have been found in several burials of children, as well as in double burials where one of the deceased was a child (Gârla Mare-Cârna culture, e.g. Cârna, Feudvar-Štubarija, Korbovo-Glamija; Kiss 2007; Reich 2002). Based on these data, burials equipped with figurines have been identified as the graves of subadult children (girls) with special social status (Dietrich 2011, fig. 8; Holenweger 2011, 42, fig. 126; Chicideanu-Şandor/Chicideanu 1990; Kiss 2007; 2019).

Depending on their intensity, various activities that use the hands and arms can cause biomechanical alterations in the upper limbs that leave a mark on the surface of the bones. Results from 174 adults dated to Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age Central Europe mentioned above, revealed sex divergence in the lateralization of upper limb biomechanical properties between the Early/Middle Neolithic and Early/Middle Bronze Age, indicating major differences between male and female samples from these periods (see above). The alterations were more pronounced on female upper arm bones, which was consistent with the results from other Neolithic sites. In the Bronze Age, the properties of female remains from Ostojicevo, Serbia were more homogeneous and symmetrical than the right-biased, lateralised changes found on contemporaneous male skeletons (Macintosh *et al.* 2014; Porčić/Stevanović 2009). As in the Neolithic period, stable isotope and physical anthropological analyses indicate differences in food consumption between Bronze Age women and men, with less meat and more vegetables occurring in the diet of women (Münster *et al.* 2018; Sjögren/Price/Kristiansen 2016, fig. 7).

CASE STUDY FROM LATE IRON AGE AND EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

In the Roman period, we find a different picture regarding the unbalanced power situation in the province of Pannonia (Alföldy 2005; Gardner 2013; Grüll 2007; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; Rothe 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; Schörner 2005; Woolf 2014). For the moment, available osteological analyses seem to indicate that spinning implements were placed exclusively in female burials in Roman Transdanubia (Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; 2012; 2017). In most cases, they were found in the graves of females from the adult or mature age groups, but occasionally they occurred alongside the osteological remains of juvenile girls. It follows that, in the Roman province of Pannonia, the spindle and distaff are gender- and age-specific grave goods, being found in the burials of females aged above 10, but dominantly in those of adult females (in the Roman rather than the modern sense of adulthood; Fig. 5: 1). In the case of Roman girls, the twelfth birthday was postulated as the usual *terminus post quem* for adolescence; after this age, according to legislation enacted in the Augustan era, they were legally allowed to enter into marriage. Of course, legislation is one thing and compliance with the law is another. Among the epigraphic records from Pannonia and the neighbouring province of Dalmatia, a small group of grave monuments testifies that some girls entered into marriage at the age of 10, and that brides aged around 12 years old were not exceptional (Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011).

While the interment of spinning implements was not unusual in Roman Period Transdanubia, there is no evidence that spinning tools were deposited into burials during the indigenous, pre-Roman Iron Age. Thus, spinning implements as grave-goods appeared in the area after the Roman arrival. Indeed, most such instruments are of Italian origin, with morphological predecessors from the Italian Iron Age, and their manufacture seemingly spread along the roads in the newly established province of Pannonia (Fig. 5: 2; Bergerbrant 2014; Gleba 2008, 109–122; 2011; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; 2012; 2017).

In early Imperial Italy, wool spinning (*lanam fecit*) became synonymous with laboriousness and domestic virtue in women (Larsson Lovén 2002; Peskowitz 1997). Unlike the precious spinning implements of their Iron Age aristocratic ancestresses, which were deposited in burials to symbolise women's economic role as the chief coordinators of textile production in the community, the spindles and distaffs of deceased Roman wives from the more industrialized Imperial times were a powerful symbol of marital/wifely loyalty, of good moral standards, and of feminine gender, rather than of economic importance (Cottica 2007, 208–216; Gleba 2008; 2011; Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; 2017).

In our opinion, the *Eravisci*, the indigenous Pannonic people who inhabited Northeastern Transdanubia, used these iconographic symbols of marriage on tombstones that were erected according

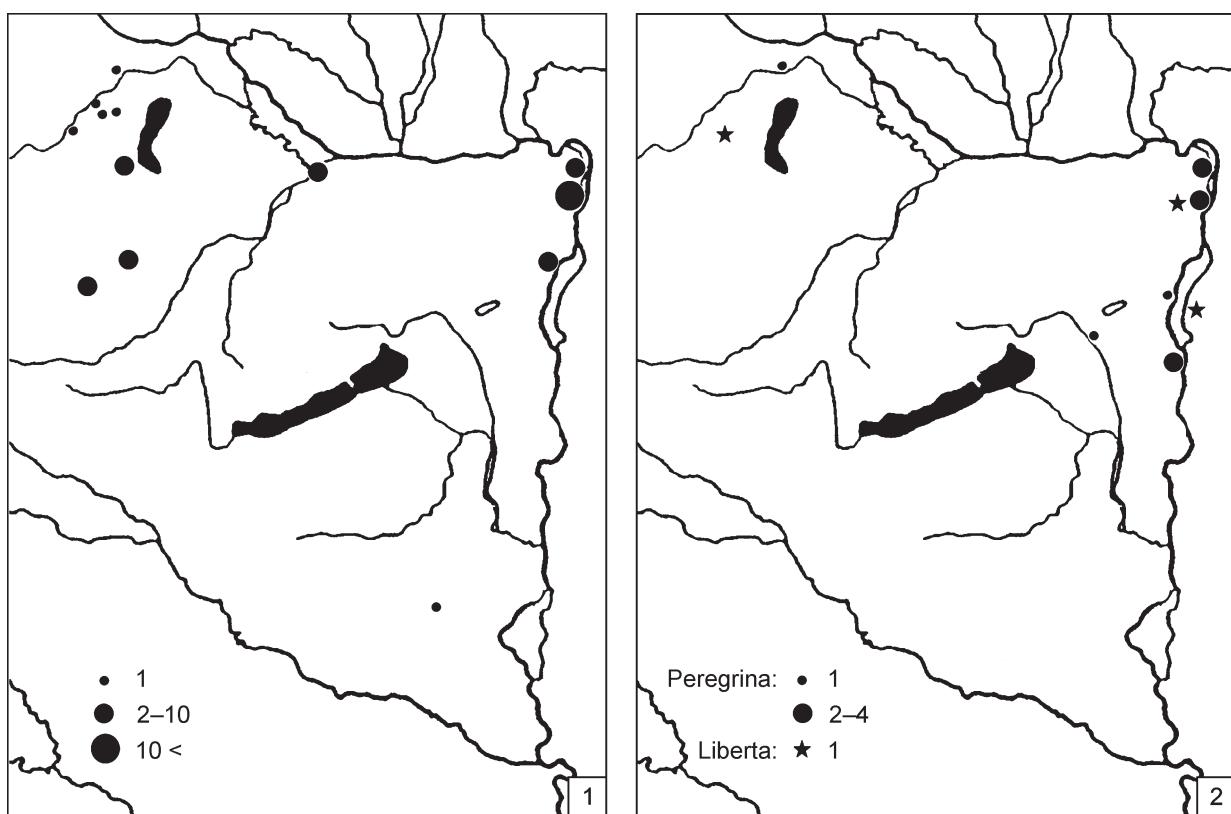


Fig. 5. 1 – Spinning tools from Pannonia in the early centuries AD; 2 – depiction of spinning tools on tombstones from Pannonia in the early centuries AD.

to Roman models during the second half of the 1st and first half of the 2nd century AD (Facsády 2007). Although these indigenous people did not always have a legal Roman marriage, the symbolism of the spindle and distaff was used to emphasise that their marital relationship (*matrimonium iuris gentium*, to use the Roman term) was morally strong and legal in their own traditional way. To make the message understandable for viewers of these monuments, they adopted and used the international pictorial “language” of Roman funeral iconography (Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; 2012; Rothe 2009, 79; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c).

Importantly, just because spindles and distaffs are found in female burials or depicted in the hands of deceased women, it does not follow that only women spun in Roman times, that men did not, that local Pannonian textile production was a domestic affair, or that spindle whorls found in both civil and military settlements or camps are direct indicators of the presence and work of women there. As evidenced in a remark by Pliny (NH 19.17: “spinning flax is a respectable occupation for men”) and a unique depiction on an Ostian sarcophagus, where a male spinner is depicted working on plant fibre in a shoemaker’s workshop scene, some Roman men were certainly employed in professional spinning – although both these examples refer to linen rather than wool (Gällnö 2013; Larsson Lovén 1998; 2002; Zimmer 1985). In other words, it was spinning wool (*lanam fecit*), not simply spinning, which had a strong symbolic connection with married women, while spinning plant fibres such as linen was a respectable occupation for Roman men as well (Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; Pásztókai-Szeőke/Radman-Livaja 2015).

Furthermore, spinning implements are probably not the only elements on these tombstones that refer to the moral standards of the depicted indigenous women. According to some researchers, even the so-called Norican-Pannonian, or Eraviscan outfit of these indigenous women can be interpreted as a hybrid or the creative re-creation of Iron Age traditions. That is, it may visually express a new Pannonian identity that amalgamated both local Iron Age and Italian elements (Pásztókai-Szeőke 2011; 2017; Rothe 2009; 2012a). Looking at these depictions of indigenous women, someone arriving in Pannonia from Italy or even Rome would immediately have noticed the differences that expressed the “otherness” of these locals. However, at the same time, they could relate to their “sameness” – to the similarity with the Roman *matronae stolatae* and its complex of values, such as fidelity and fertility (or motherhood).

CONCLUSIONS

We believe the evidence reviewed above indicates that gender was a fundamental aspect of prehistoric social life in Hungary. Furthermore, by reviewing such evidence in a diachronic fashion, it is clear that the type, nature, and manifestations of gender differences changed through time, indicating that there were changing patterns of gender roles and relations, and that there may have been different constructions of gender in the various periods. For example, during the Middle Neolithic, bioarchaeological data indicate gender differentiation. From the Late Neolithic onwards, it seems that the male and female dichotomy was more pronounced, as represented on anthropomorphic figurines and in material remains, as well as in burial orientation and grave furniture, which can be loosely correlated with age and gender. Gender differences appear to already manifest during childhood (8–12 years), with girls probably passing some biological and/or social stages of growth into a woman. This strong emphasis on gender dichotomy continued and may even have intensified into the Early and Middle Copper Age. During the second part of the Copper Age, strong distinctions such as those expressed using copper disappeared from the burials, perhaps indicating simpler age and gender structures.

In the Bronze Age, gender dichotomies in burial practice seem to become more pronounced again, as reflected in Bell Beaker inhumation cemeteries or in the cemeteries of the Middle Bronze Age Füzesabony and Maros cultures. However, a few 'deviant' burials disrupt the strict, gender-specific burial rites. Several male individuals were buried with an orientation characteristic for women, suggesting the existence of women-men similar to the *berdache* of North American native populations.

Available bioarchaeological and stable isotope results indicate gender differences regarding labour, although the Neolithic seems to have differed from the Bronze Age in this regard. Isotope studies indicate more female mobility and differences in food consumption between women and men both in the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, with less meat and more vegetables in the diet of women. In the Early Roman period, we find a different picture regarding the unbalanced power situation in the province of Pannonia.

The case studies presented here highlight the similarities and differences in how femininity and masculinity were created using material culture and other media in prehistoric societies. However, our conclusions are only based on the available published evidence and analyses. We think that Hungarian archaeology urgently requires more dedicated gender archaeological analyses and interpretations to acknowledge the importance of this basic social identity in prehistory.

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A GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY APPROACH TO SELECTED FEATURES OF NEOLITHIC BURIALS

MICHAELA MANDÁK NIKLOVÁ – PETER MANDÁK

The present paper focuses on selected features of Neolithic burials in the light of gender archeology, with specific regard to graves of the Linear Pottery Culture (LBK) in various burial grounds. The thesis aims to evaluate selected elements of these graves excerpted from published studies by applying the principles of gender archaeology, and to use various types of analysis to ascertain gender expression in the grave inventory during the period. Selected analyses were illustratively applied to the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial ground; the outcomes were then compared with the results of previous research and interpreted. Gender specific grave inventories are highlighted in the evaluative part of paper, wherein we also point out unusual practices and rare findings that may represent the different identities of particular individuals.

Keywords: gender, burials, Neolithic, Nitra-Priemyslová ulica.

DEFINING THE TERM GENDER AND THE METHODS OF GENDER ANALYSIS

The term “gender” was introduced into archaeological writings in the 1980s. Several authors (*Arnold/Wicker 2001; Gilchrist 1999; Nelson 1997; Sørensen 2000*) have attempted to define the term, emphasising that, although gender is closely related to biological sex, it may be separate. While sex is determined biologically as either “male” or “female”, gender defines people’s roles in society and determines what is typically masculine and feminine within the standards of a particular culture. Therefore, the concept of gender constitutes a cultural and social interpretation of sex differences that leads to the categorisation of individuals and their associated artefacts. Such differences are also reflected in burial rites. It is generally accepted that burials, with their various forms, reflect an idealised tradition rather than the real social structure of a given community. Nonetheless, such findings are still a significant indicator of social changes. This is particularly apparent at sites with a confirmed continuity of burial.

To what extent do burial rites reflect the lives of the prehistoric populations concerned? We have no way of discerning what preceded the deposition of grave goods into the grave, whether and how the funeral ritual changed the meaning of these objects, and what rules dictated their contents, whether religious or purely traditional.

In the study of gender in archaeology, it must be emphasised that theory and method are not separate categories. According to *S. M. Nelson (1997, 56)*, androcentrism, ethnographic analogies, direct historical approaches, and ethnoarchaeology must be approached critically in gender research. As such, archaeology must change its attitude and approach to the interpretation of past societies, because prehistoric reality may have been perceived differently by particular communities. Conversely, not all methods are universally applicable. For example, a direct historical approach cannot be used to investigate older periods without written sources. In archaeology, the creation of theoretical models and their subsequent testing (*Neustupný 2007; Sosna 2007*) plays an important role.

In the case of gender analysis of archaeological sources, investigators must first determine the possible gendered aspects of the examined context. It is also important to identify the subject of interest and the background within which it will be explored. Moreover, the significance of the observed artefacts should be reinterpreted and compared with selected socio-cultural aspects. The meaning of such objects can only be analyzed in relation to their active context (e. g. pottery in the context of a grave), and it is important to

remember that the context of a find includes a broader spatial definition, as well as any events reflected in the archaeological source, not simply the place of discovery. Although context cannot always be determined objectively by archaeologists, certain rules must be followed in its analysis. The more an artefact is associated with a particular individual, the more accurate can be the knowledge of that person's gender role in society (Remišová-Věšínová 2010, 22, 23).

In the gender study of burial, an interdisciplinary approach involving sociology, ecology, and psychology must be applied to create archaeological questions, hypotheses, and models. Within the framework of gender archaeology, burial rites, sex, age, social roles, and individual status are the most common areas of interest (Moravcová 2008, 7).

According to D. Sosna (2007, 18), gender should be defined in archaeology as a biological element that can be identified using skeletal remains and characterised in terms of categories that reflect perception of male and female elements. He also asserts that gender is acquired by an individual during childhood, as well as when they become a man or woman. However, there are cases when a woman needs to fulfil the gender role of a man (e. g. when a male heir is not available), and sometimes a society member can have several gender roles, indicating that gender is not permanent. From the viewpoint of burial analysis, the gender of the deceased is influenced by the gender context of the burial rite, and this gender dynamics is linked with the age of the deceased (Sosna 2007; Turek 2010; 2011).

The primary sources of *gender* analysis are the importance and function of artefacts within the cultural and social context. Thus, the gendered content of the object consists of how it is used and perceived by the community. Individual artefacts can have several functions and meanings, depending on whether they constitute a masculine or feminine instrument at a particular time; that is, whether they are used in male or female rites (Remišová-Věšínová 2010, 21; Sørensen 2000, 74–95).

While examining the role of the particular elements of a past material culture, we must realise that the habits, ideals, and norms of that time may not correspond with those of the present, and therefore that the examined objects may not always have an objective value. On the other hand, artefacts play an important role in gender, reflecting the gender status of the buried individual and making it tangible (Remišová-Věšínová 2010, 21, 22).

As mentioned above, one important element of gender analysis is the connection between the age, sex, and the grave inventory of the buried individuals. Age and sexual identity are essential categories of social differentiation, and grave goods can represent a gender-specific element, although it is important to remember that a grave's inventory may include personal gifts from the mourners, rather than representations of the gender role of the deceased. As such, when interpreting this type of source, we must work with several factors other than the composition and multiplicity of grave goods. Notably, the data needed for *gender* analysis are often incomplete, especially in earlier periods. For example, organic material and organic inventories such as beverages and herbs are not identifiable among grave goods.

Several studies have dealt with selected aspects of gender analysis in the context of Neolithic burials, and a number of attitudes have come to light in this regard. For example, J. Chapman (1996) noted that the localisation and arrangement of graves changed alongside the development of settlement structure in the period of the Early and Middle Neolithic within the territory of Hungary. He argued that, at that time, typical burials were more connected with settlements and that no gender differentiation occurred with regards to grave goods, burial type, or orientation. Similarly, I. Wunn (2001) believes that gender status is too often unrecognisable in the grave inventory of the Early and Middle-Neolithic burials. Instead, he claims that gender can be traced in the structure of the burial itself. Similar thoughts have been expressed by other investigators. For example, K. Remišová-Věšínová (2017) argues that grave inventory was not gender-specific or connected with sex in this period. In her estimation, the observable gender indicators are the multiplicity of grave goods and the age of the individuals.

According to the authors, some traceable traits could be referred to as "funeral anomalies", such as atypical grave location, internal arrangement, body placement, and body orientation, as well as different grave good quantity and burial of the deceased outside of grave context, such as in settlement pits. Given that the structure of burial grounds varies over time and space, these claims cannot be applied across the board to the LBK settlement across the monitored area in southwestern Slovakia, but these theses must be confirmed or refuted in each case by exploring the available sources.

The present work investigates selected features of Neolithic burials in the context of gender archaeology, focussing on LBK graves from separate burial grounds. Specifically, we evaluate selected elements

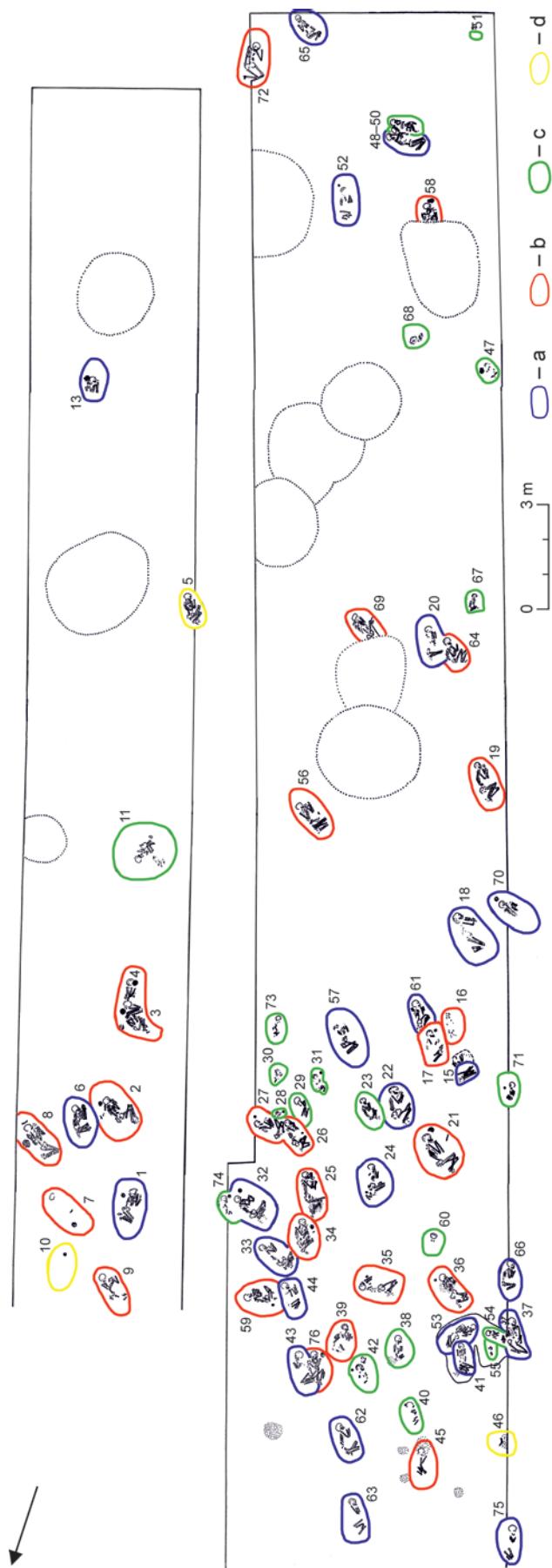


Fig. 1. Plan of the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial site, with graves coloured on the basis of anthropological determination. Legend: a – women; b – men; c – children; d – undetermined individuals (according to Pavúk 1972, plan 1; modified).

of funerals from published studies according to the principles of gender archaeology, using various types of analyses to identify gender expression in the grave inventories of the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial ground.

In the first step of the graves' evaluation, the collected burials were subjected to manual analysis. That is, we monitored the occurrence of selected grave good components to determine their gender significance. These data were compared with the results of previous research and subsequently interpreted. To identify possible gender-linked grave clusters based on the common occurrence of a certain type of grave inventory, a Cluster Analysis was subsequently performed. After that, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was applied (Demján 2015; John 2005) to confirm or refute the previous analyses. The gender specificities of the grave inventories, as demonstrated by the analyses, are highlighted in the evaluative part of paper. At the same time, we point out unusual practices and rare findings that occurred at the observed burial site, which probably represent the different identities of particular individuals.

GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE LBK BURIALS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AVAILABLE SOURCES

Location of a burial within the burial site

The first phenomenon likely related to gender status is the location of a burial within the burial ground. As early as the Neolithic, there are well-known sites based on family and/or gender affiliation. In some cases, whole groups of graves are excluded from the burial ground, and sometimes there are no female, male, or child graves within a given site (Chapman 2000; Wunn 2001). Such localisation of graves can be observed in the Moravian site Vedrovice-Široká u lesa (Podborský et al. 2002). Selected clusters can also be divided by sex, with one group of graves being

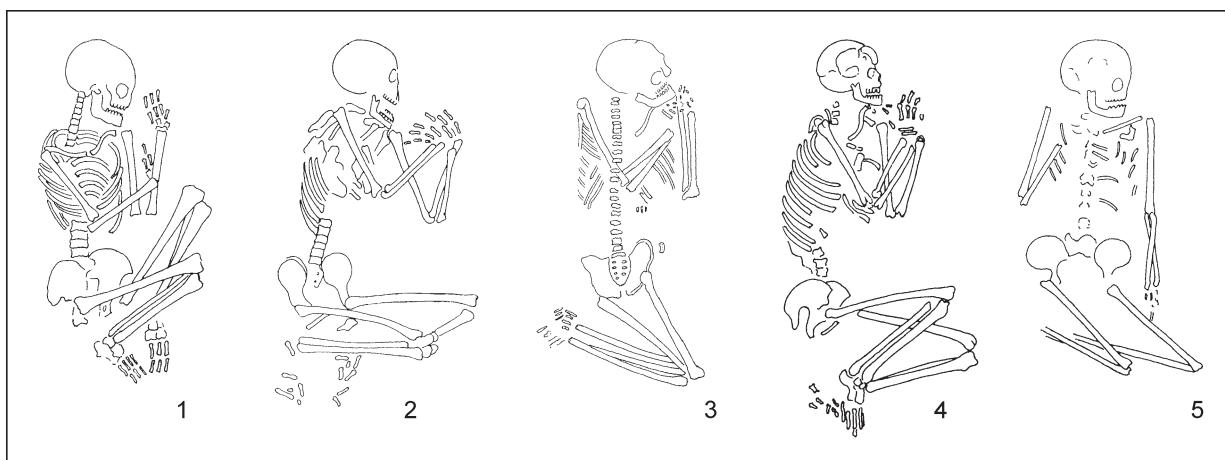


Fig. 2. Forms of lower and upper limb deposition. 1 – crouched legs pointing upwards combined with folded arms in front of the body; 2 – crouched legs placed in a horizontal position; 3 – crouched legs pointing downwards; 4 – one leg bent upwards and the second one downwards; 5 – one arm folded, the other outstretched (according to Neugebauer-Maresch/Lenneis 2015; Pavúk 1972; modified).

populated exclusively by females and the other one by men, children, and anthropologically undefined individuals (*Podborský et al. 2002, 301, fig. 2*). An attempt was made to observe this phenomenon in the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial ground in Slovakia (Fig. 1). However, in this case, no such groups of graves can be identified at first glance.

Position of the deceased

Another phenomenon likely to be related to gender status is the opposite orientation or otherwise varying position of the deceased. However, according to *K. Remišová-Věšínová (2017)*, a different orientation or position could also be connected to a certain situation or event that had taken place during the life of the deceased and was a reflection of their gender status. The same author wrote that funerals of so-called transgenders may have taken place. Throughout the LBK period, the deceased have a characteristic crouched position; it follows that stretched positions such as the ventral position and mainly the sitting position could be designated as “non-traditional” (*Niklová 2013*). Moreover, the binding of buried bodies is undoubtedly “anomalous”, as is covering the skeleton or whole grave with a ground stone or ceramic vessel (*Niklová 2015*). However, from a gender perspective, the assessment of these burials is complicated, because it is no longer clear what life situations may have played a role in the individual burial processes of the time.

To uncover possible gender expression, the position of the upper and lower limbs of the deceased was evaluated within the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica grave site. Leg placement was divided into the following categories: upward flexed legs (Fig. 2: 1), crouched, horizontally positioned legs (Fig. 2: 2), downward flexed legs (Fig. 2: 3), and one leg flexed upwards and the second one downwards (Fig. 2: 4). Another two categories were defined based on the deposition of the upper limbs: arms folded in front of the body (Fig. 2: 1–4) and the combination of one folded and one outstretched arm (Fig. 2: 5).

Within this site, a crouched position of the body with the lower limbs bent upwards occurred mostly in male, but rarely in female or children’s graves (ratio of male : female : children = 12 : 5 : 8). Crouched legs with a horizontal positioned occurred in almost equal proportions among men, women, and children = 4 : 5 : 2, while a downward position of the lower limbs predominantly occurred in women (7 : 10 : 1). Deposition of the legs whereby one limb was facing upwards and the other downwards occurred exclusively in two male graves. The most characteristic position of the upper limbs within the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial site is the folding of the arms in front of the body, which occurred in men, women, and children (25 : 18 : 10). More rarely, the deceased had one arm outstretched and the other folded, which occurred in four female graves.

Burials in non-grave contexts

With regards to burials in non-grave contexts, such as in settlements, we believe that they are wrongly defined as "funeral anomalies". Burials in settlement pits were not unusual in the LBK. On the contrary, they became a fixed feature of funeral habits and are one of the hallmarks of this period (Niklová 2013). Indeed, secondary burials or secondary skull deposition could be considered as a gender dimension of funerals. This phenomenon has been observed in graves that date to the Mesolithic Period (e. g. Lepenski Vir – Srejović 1972), as well as during the pre-pottery Neolithic in the Middle East (Çatal Höyük, Jericho – Hodder 2004; Mellaart 1975), wherefrom the habit expanded to the Balkans (Starčevo-Körös-Criş culture complex) and further into Europe, where it continued during the LBK (Zalai-Gaál 1984, 38).

Burials of separated human skulls have been documented within the Nitra sites as well (Nitra-Dolné Krškany and Nitra-Mikov dvor). Generally, in such cases, it is unclear how many examples of the phenomenon were caused by grave violation or poor body preservation. Nonetheless, in some cases, burial of only part of the skeleton was probably intentional. Sometimes, the pious deposition of the skull is emphasised by special grave treatment. One example of this can be seen in Nitra-Dolné Krškany, where a part of the skull was placed into a ceramic vessel (Bánesz 1959).

As we have already suggested, secondary treatment of skulls may also have a gender dimension, although this has only been verified in several locations. Specifically, in the Lepenski Vir settlement, the separate burial of the skull only occurred in cases of dead men (Handsman 1991). In the Middle East and Middle Danube region, specifically Lower Austria and Burgenland, it was also documented with women (Niklová 2013; 2014). However, the linking of this phenomenon to gender remains to be confirmed or refuted.

Grave goods

Pottery and the decoration motifs

The final category that may be connected with gender is the grave inventory, which can include pottery, stone, bone, or antler artefacts, as well as various types of jewelry.

With regards to ceramics, only one or two vessels are generally added to the grave. Larger numbers are rarer and constitute a deviation from the norm that probably indicates the higher social status of the individual (Oravec 1998–1999, 56).

In the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial ground, 47 ceramic exemplars were identified in 44 grave units (21 men, 13 women, eight children, and two unidentified individuals). More specifically, there were 11 globular vessels (six in male, four in female, and one in a child's grave), six bowls (four in male, one in female, and one in a child's grave), nine amphoras (four in male, two in female, and three in children's graves), 10 bottles (four in male, four in female, and two in the graves of unidentified individuals), five cups (one in male, one in female, and three in children's graves), one strange shape in a male grave, and five unidentified kinds of jar (three in male and two in female graves). Clearly, bowls appeared mostly in male graves, corresponding to the trend of vessel shape distribution at the burial site in Vedrovice, which was observed in a factorial analysis made by P. Květina (2004, 385).

As with ceramic type, pottery decoration motifs are typical for either men or women as well, as noted by P. van de Velde (1997, 85) at the LBK burial sites Elsloo and Niedermerz. Based on his analysis, he determined two basic decoration elements that are peculiar to a particular sex: the meander motif and the rectangular motif (Van de Velde 1997, 85).

The meander motif consists of round waves or spirals, while the rectangular motif comprises the V and ☺-shapes, or the right-angled spiral. In some cases, other underlying motifs appeared, but Van de Velde did not take them into consideration. In the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial ground, 42 type-definable ceramic vessels were found among 40 graves. Other graves contained either no pottery or only unidentifiable fragments. Of the 42 type-definable pieces of ceramic vessels, 29 were decorated. Overall, the meander motif occurred 13 times, with a men : women : children : undetermined ratio of 7 : 4 : 1 : 1. As such, the meander motif relates more to male individuals. The rectangular motif occurred nine times, with an almost equal men: women: child ratio of 4 : 3 : 2. It follows that the motif is not linked

to a single sex, although one of the children's graves (40) contains a stone wedge: a male feature that earmarks the individual as a boy, changing the ratio to 5 : 3 : 1 and suggesting that rectangular motifs relate more to male individuals. The same study also uncovered nine graves containing undecorated pottery, with a men : women : child ratio of 3 : 4 : 2. In five cases, a further decoration category was identified that differed from the two basic motifs included in the analysis.

The stone industry

Eleven exemplars of polished stone industry were found at the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial ground. There were 10 stone wedges ("Schuhleistenkeile"; eight discovered in male, one in female, and one in a child's grave) and one flat axe (found in a male grave). As such, the gender relation of the stone axe to the buried person remains inconclusive because it only occurred in one grave, unlike stone wedges, which are more prevalent in men's graves and may therefore be related to male sex, as described by A. Häusler (1966) and O. Höckmann (1982), who considered polished and chipped industries to be typically male inventory. J. John (2005) also concluded that stone wedges are a typical male inventory item based on evaluations of Bavarian burial sites within the western extension of LBK.

An interesting exception to the association of stone wedges with the male sex is the burial of woman No. 41, with whom a fragment of a stone wedge was found that had apparently been intentionally broken or degraded. Its rearward part even shows traces of cutting, or cuts from another tool. As the stone wedge is often understood as a purely male object, it is interesting that this tool was present in a female grave, and that the tool was broken in this female grave, but whole in male graves.

All aspects related to the function of the polished industry, the manner of fastening and scappling, as well as damage, suggest that most tools were deposited used (Salaš 1981, 104, 105), indicating that they were not produced solely for funeral purposes, unlike ceramics. Even the distribution of the artefacts in the grave pit – above the knees of the crouched lower limbs, within the space of hucklebones or back – suggests that the handle was pointing to the hands of the deceased. Other stone artefacts were found in the area of pelvis, suggesting that the handle was pointed towards the deceased's waist, and thus that it may have been tucked into a leather or textile belt (Salaš 2002, 199).

Chipped industry comprises 13 pieces at the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial site: four trapezes, six blades (one listed as part of a sickle), two chips, and one scratcher. Gender – linking only occurs with trapezes, which have exclusively been identified in male graves. No other artefacts representing chipped industry occurred often enough to be linked with one sex.

Trapezoidal shapes were associated with sickles in former sources (Lech 1983, 51, 52), but I. Mateiciucová (2002, 221, 222) argues that this shape could not be part of the sickle. For example, at the Vedrovice settlement, crescent blades have been discovered with a typical, so-called sickle brightness. These were slightly larger than the other trapezoidal shapes found in the graves (Mateiciucová 1992). The origin of the raw material also plays a role. The majority of sickle blades were made of local raw materials, while trapezes in the graves constitute exemplars of imported raw materials. Furthermore, if a trapezoid were used as a sickle, a typical brightness would arise. Experiments have shown that this luster is already present after 90 minutes of use (Ginter/Kozłowski 1990, 178; Hahn 1993, 278). No such glint appeared on the burial exemplars. Thus, J. Lech (1983, 52) opined that they may have been sickles that were only produced as grave goods. However, only a few graves have yielded trapezoidal artefacts that may have been used as sickles. One was found in grave 58 at the burial site in Nitra (Pavúk 1972, fig. 28: 6).

Most such trapezoidal shapes are wider than they are long. Thus, according to I. Mateiciucová (1992; 2002, 222), they should be interpreted differently. Together with W. Taut (1973–1974, 76, 77) and J. Hahn (1993, 265), she interprets them as arrowheads. Since the trapezoidal shapes of the chipped industry were mostly found in male graves, designating them as stone arrowheads may suggest that the individuals buried with them were hunters or warriors. Indeed, stone wedge-like weapons often occur alongside this shape, perhaps supporting this interpretation.

Jewelry

At the LBK burial grounds, jewelry forms an essential part of the grave inventory. One typical raw material used in its production was the shell from the sea mollusc *Spondylus gaedoropus* L., whose habitat

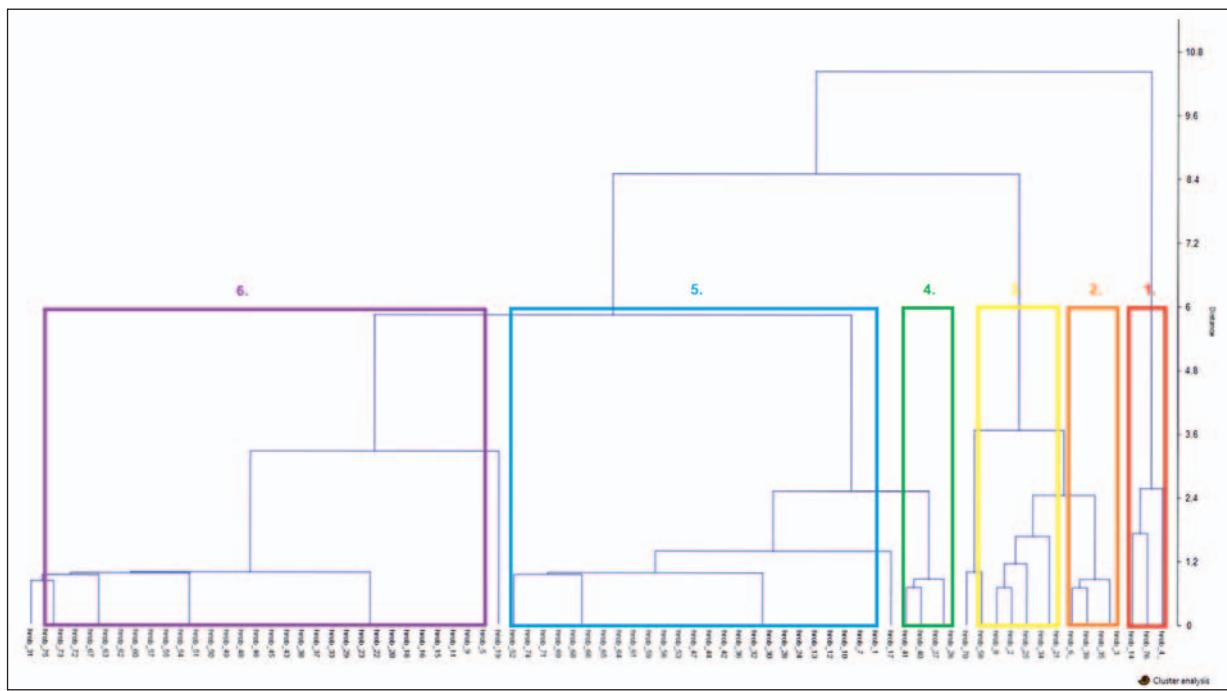


Fig. 3. Cluster analysis of grave inventory at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica. Highlighting the traced groups.

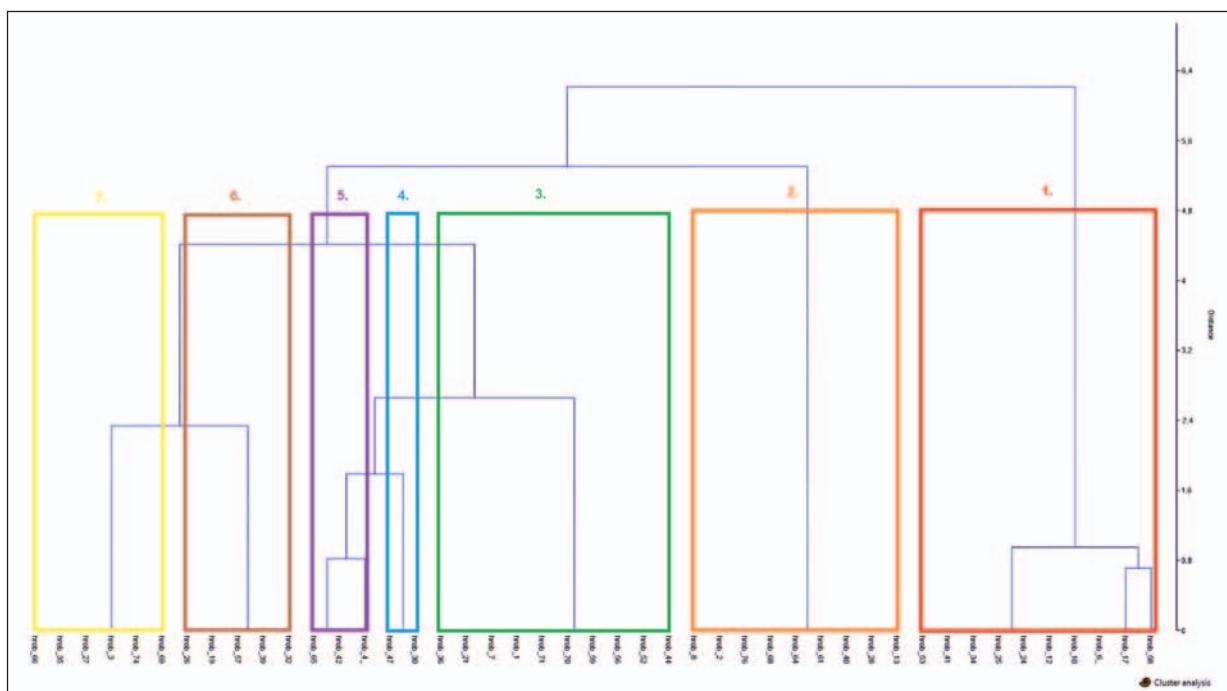


Fig. 4. Result of the cluster analysis of ceramic type at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica. Highlighting the differentiated groups.

extends from Greece across the Black Sea coast. In the older literature, most *Spondylus* decorations occur in male graves. Furthermore, according to some authors (Nieszery 1995, 188; Pavák 1972, 73; Podborský et al. 2002), ornaments made from *Spondylus* or other molluscs were not merely jewelry, but were also a symbol of their owners' social status. Still other authors (Cheben/Illášová/Miklíková 2001; Kalicz/Szénászky 2001, 50) evaluate them as ritual objects or as amulets.

At the burial ground of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica, jewelry was found in 12 graves, 10 involving Spondylus shells and two with bone or tooth ornaments. At that site, most jewelry was found in the graves of men, with only two cases occurring in women's burials.

Beads are the most numerous type of jewelry found at Neolithic burial grounds. They occur in different shapes and sizes and appear in male, female, and children's graves, either alone or as part of a necklace. With regards to the materials used, ornaments made from Spondylus shells are in the majority, although Spondylus necklaces are sometimes supplemented with beads made of other materials, such as stone, bone, or wood.

At the burial site in Nitra, beads were predominantly found in male graves, with only one piece per burial. In contrast, when beads were found in female graves (two cases), more exemplars occurred (five and three pieces). The beads were usually situated in the head and neck area, sometimes on the chest. They were usually discovered as single exemplars or as only a handful of pieces, so graves containing bead necklaces were exceptional. Indeed, a whole necklace was discovered in only one case (grave 19) at the Nitra burial ground, although it was composed of several human and animal teeth, not beads; it will be discussed in the next section of the paper.

Pendants are the second most common type of jewelry represented in Neolithic burial grounds. They can be divided into several types based on their shape: arched, target-shaped, quadrangular, triangular, flat ovular, "L-shaped" etc. (*Podborský et al. 2002*, 245). At the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica, three arched Spondylus pendants were found, exclusively in male graves.

Lockets are the third characteristic type of jewelry. In the literature (e. g. *Podborský et al. 2002*, 240), these are also referred to as "target pendants". According to *V. Podborský et al. (2002)*, they are the most typical type of Spondylus ornament. In most cases, the pendants have a wide, ovular shape and are made of an empty Spondylus shell containing two hanging holes. However, no such ornaments appeared at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica.

One characteristic feature of Neolithic jewelry is the double-wing belt buckle, which can be found from Slovakia to the Paris basin, with approximately 28 known exemplars (*Nieszery 1995*, 178). This kind of artefact appears in grave 2 at the burial site in Nitra. This type of jewelry is usually made using the upper part of a Spondylus shell, with a V or U cut into one third of the object, creating two wings: one smaller with a mounting hole and the other larger that serves as a fastener. These ornaments are generally found in the area of the pelvic bones, implying that they served as a belt fastener (*Nieszery 1995*, 181; *Pavúk 1972*, 56). Such objects were often found in men's graves as a significant artefact. Interestingly in this regard, *N. Nieszery (1995)* opined that neolithic populations buried their deceased in clothes.

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Cluster analysis of all components of the grave inventory

In light of the published studies summarised above, and because the authors cited above did not believe that the grave goods themselves constituted evidence of gender in the monitored period, we carried out a cluster analysis to ascertain whether inventory was connected with the age or sex of the buried. The results revealed six groups of graves (Fig. 3), three of which were linked to sex and three to age.

The first cluster is Group 1, characterised by the predominance of polished, chipped, and bone industry, together with ceramics. This group is exclusively male, comprising men aged in the Maturus I category. The second cluster, characterised by predominance of ceramics and jewelry, mostly comprised burials of males in the Maturus I category, with the exception of one woman in same age category and one young man aged 14–15 years. The third cluster (Group 3) counted ceramics, polished industry, and jewelry as its predominant categories. These components of the grave inventory were discovered exclusively in the graves of men in the Maturus category, indicating that they were linked to older male individuals.

In this context, Group 4 is interesting. At first glance, this group seems not to be gender specific, since the predominant grave goods (ceramics and polished industry) occur in the graves of men, women, and children of all ages at a ratio of 2 : 1 : 1, respectively. That said, the child's grave was likely male because

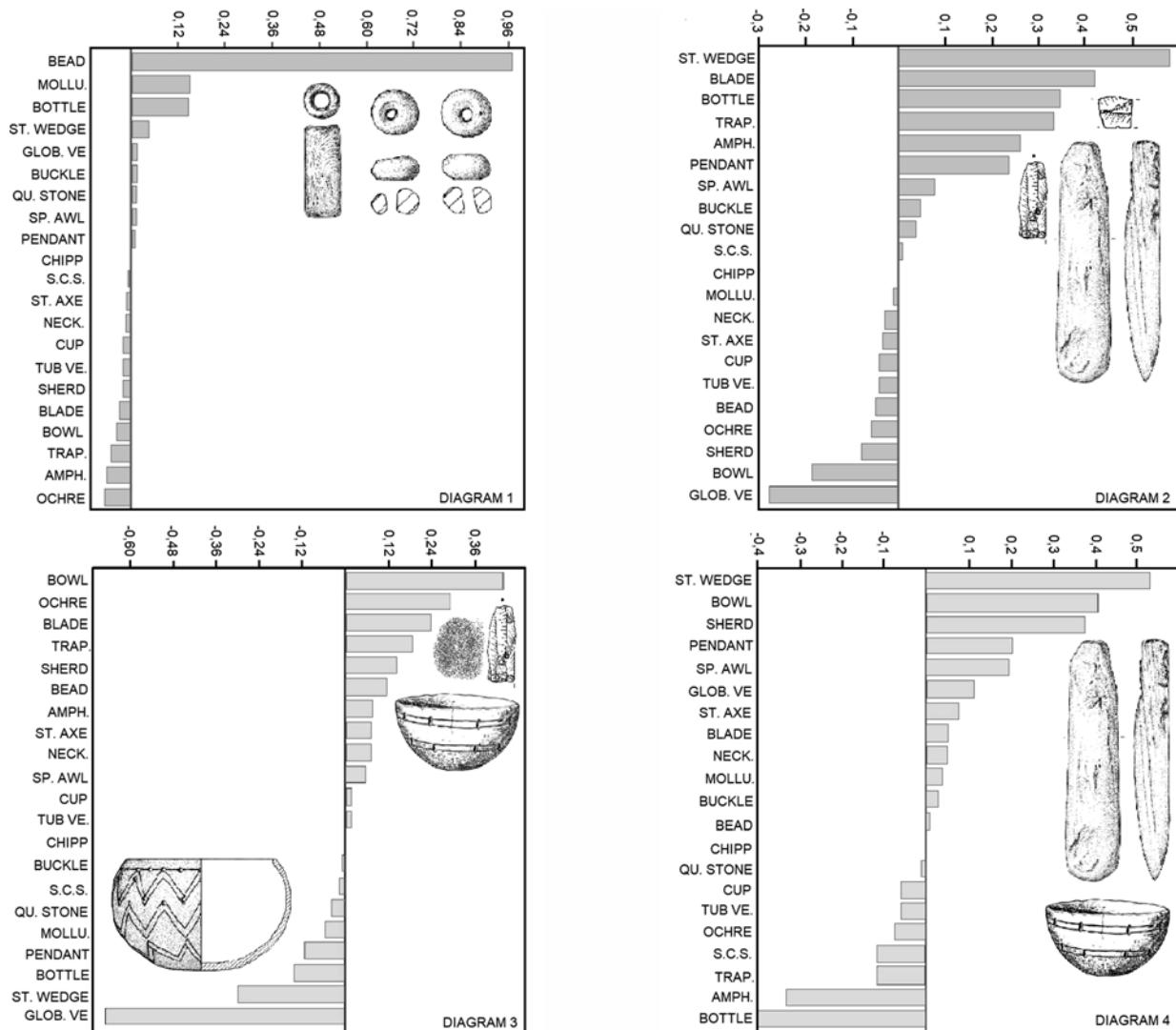


Fig. 5. Imaging representation of the diagrams depicting the main components of the burial inventory at the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica. Explanatory notes: mollu. – mollusc; st. wedge – stone wedge; glob. ve. – globular vessel; qu. stone – quern-stone; sp. awl – sprig awl; s.c.s. – strange ceramic shape; st. axe – stone axe; neck. – necklace; tub ve. – tub vessel; trap. – trapeze; amph. – amphora.

it contained a stone wedge, skewing the ratio further towards men. The most interesting observation in this group was a stone wedge in a female grave, although it had been intentionally broken. It is not clear how this should be interpreted, and the find will be discussed further below.

At this point, we must mention one exceptional grave that cannot be assigned to any of the groups: grave 19, which belongs to a man and whose inventory stands out from those of the other graves in the same burial ground. Specifically, the grave contained a necklace made of human and animal teeth. Furthermore, this was probably the only grave that contained meat food, as evidenced by the presence of animal bones. This burial will also be discussed below.

Cluster analysis of the ceramic shapes

Subsequently, a cluster analysis was carried out on the types of ceramics found in the graves at the Nitra-Priemyslová ulica burial site. Seven groups of graves (Fig. 4) could be distinguished based on the occurrence of one or more ceramic shapes. Probable gender specificity is shown in Group 7, in which bowls were shown to be connected with male burials; no connection with age was proven.

Table 1. Factor score of the grave inventory at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica, marking the main components that have shown a connection to the sex of the deceased.

	Principal Component 1	Principal Component 2	Principal Component 3	Principal Component 4	Principal Component 5	Principal Component 6	Principal Component 7
Globular vessel	0.017666	-0.27464	0.51623	0.074276	-0.6656	-0.12038	0.11133
Bowl	-0.028387	-0.18617	-0.073317	-0.08159	0.44138	-0.55563	0.40476
Amphora	-0.058813	0.26137	-0.17809	0.67422	0.076679	-0.10352	-0.33145
Bottle	0.14729	0.34369	-0.21963	-0.56038	-0.1441	0.01707	-0.39974
Cup	-0.016878	-0.038899	-0.024648	-0.015931	0.016118	0.0057848	-0.055592
Tub vessel	-0.016878	-0.038699	-0.024648	-0.015931	0.016118	0.0057848	-0.055592
Strange ceramic shape							
Sherd	-0.0042106	0.0097749	-0.029183	-0.065526	-0.0141	0.0058332	-0.11648
Stone wedge	-0.017375	-0.078092	-0.062979	0.0026674	0.14751	0.7046	0.3741
Stone axe	0.046598	0.58116	-0.16775	0.16597	-0.29596	0.016141	0.53061
Blade	-0.0089809	-0.0323732	-0.017284	-0.016037	0.071161	-0.11296	0.075336
Trapeze	-0.025693	0.41744	0.54864	-0.29673	0.24107	-0.034748	0.051771
Chipp	-0.047928	0.33006	0.4736	0.23235	0.19006	-0.03074	-0.11589
Bead	-3.9952E-28	-8.7688E-22	-5.5269E-22	-4.2805E-23	-1.1735E-20	3.6505E-18	1.3029E-17
Necklace	0.96932	-0.048768	0.071374	0.11708	0.11553	0.010138	0.0094314
Buckle	-0.010223	-0.02853	0.0050962	-0.000785	0.071403	0.20832	0.050412
Pendant	0.01778	0.045881	-0.033543	0.097852	-0.0082231	-0.013729	0.028564
Mollusc	0.012248	0.23639	-0.090986	-0.059871	-0.11154	-0.058525	0.20573
Spring awl	0.15136	-0.0075089	0.024671	0.031144	-0.054188	-0.0011094	0.037948
Quern stone	0.014422	0.078504	-0.018598	-0.10403	0.058113	-0.15269	0.19566
Ochre	0.015589	0.037714	-0.05222	-0.050078	-0.039198	0.01713	-0.011668
	-0.064129	-0.055687	0.26485	0.054866	0.29553	0.28864	-0.073877

Table 2. Factor score of the ceramic shapes at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica, marking the main components that have shown a connection to the sex of the deceased.

	Principal Component 1	Principal Component 2	Principal Component 3	Principal Component 4	Principal Component 5	Principal Component 6	Principal Component 7
Globular vessel	0.79476	0.26132	0.26493	0.31476	0.12924	0.15814	0.29849
Bowl	-0.041139	-0.066952	-0.81971	0.32287	0.24559	0.18277	0.34967
Amphora	-0.17248	-0.75444	0.40501	0.23475	0.20125	0.17677	0.33193
Bottle	-0.56982	0.59424	0.30116	0.21814	0.19022	0.076749	0.37661
Cup	0.091076	0.022517	-0.010615	-0.79157	0.51332	0.15231	0.27894
Tub vessel	-0.0073873	-0.010352	-0.042819	-0.25785	-0.7628	0.29104	0.51473
Strange ceramic shape	-0.06223	0.065671	0.034755	0.030433	0.03053	0.89156	-0.44031

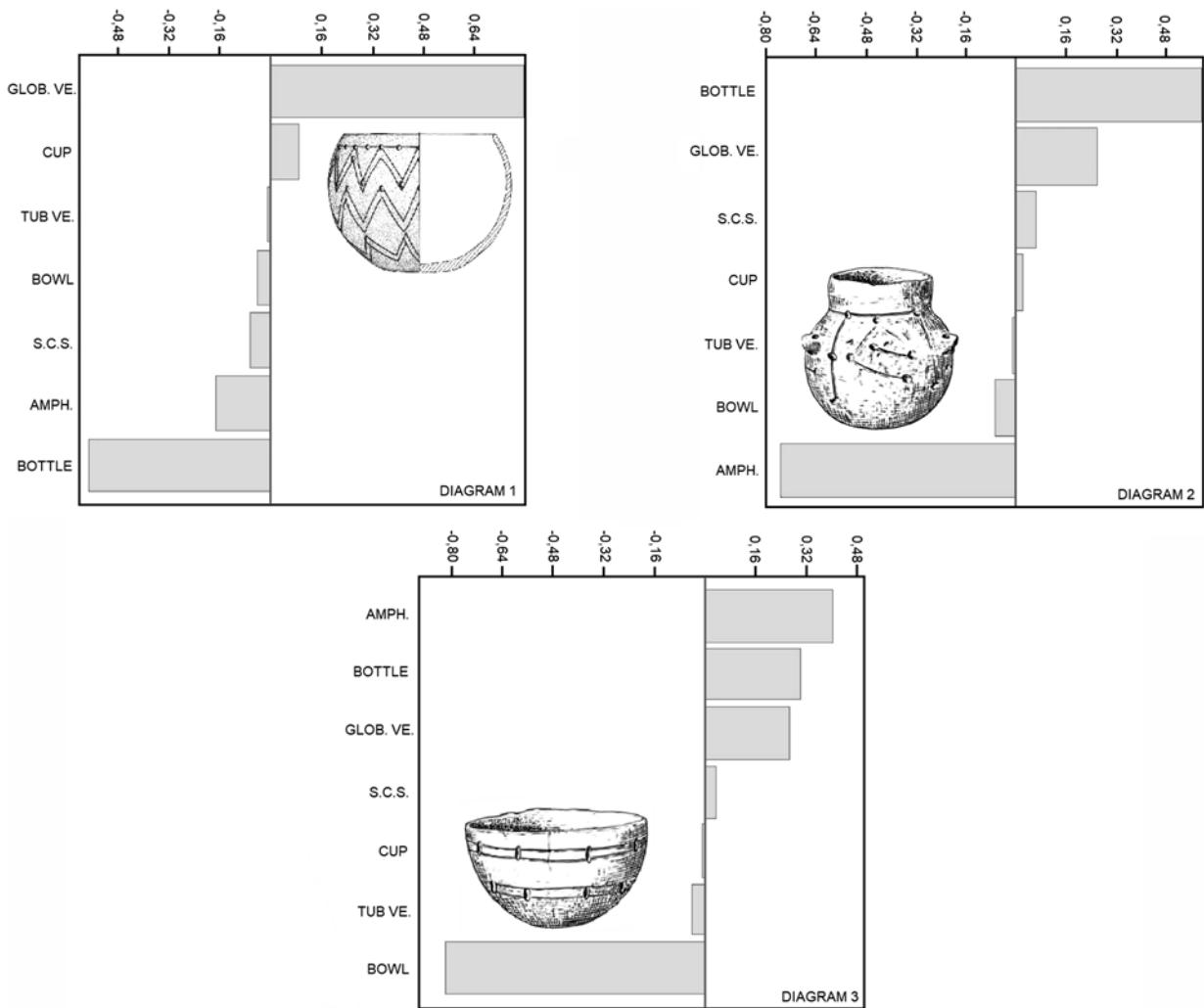


Fig. 6. Imaging representation of the diagrams depicting the main components of the ceramic shapes at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica. Explanatory notes: glob. ve. – globular vessel; tub ve. – tub vessel; s.c.s. – strange ceramic shape; amph. – amphora.

PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS ANALYSIS (PCA)

PCA analysis of all grave inventory components

By analysing the main components of grave inventory, we sought to confirm or refute the results of the cluster analysis. Only selected components are presented within the results, namely those with sufficient exemplars to allow analysis and those with possible gender specificity. We followed up factor score values greater than 0.5 and less than -0.5 in the individual graves. In the first step, all components of the grave inventories were analysed (Table 1). Next, we evaluated whether gender was correlated with any particular ceramic shapes (Table 2). Using PCA analysis of the grave inventory from the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica, we extracted four main components connected to a specific sex (Fig. 5).

Beads are the first component, having evident predominance among men at a ratio of 6 : 2. Furthermore, they only occurred in the graves of older men within the Maturus category. Stone wedges are the second component; they were found exclusively in male graves, with one apparent exception in a child's grave. However, since this grave contains such a typical male component, it is most likely that of a male child. Bowl-shaped vessels are the third component, showing predominance in men's burials, with only one appearance in a female grave. Finally, the combination of a stone wedge and a bowl-shaped vessel is the fourth component. Anthropological determination of individuals with sensitive factor score values has shown that this combination occurs exclusively in male graves.

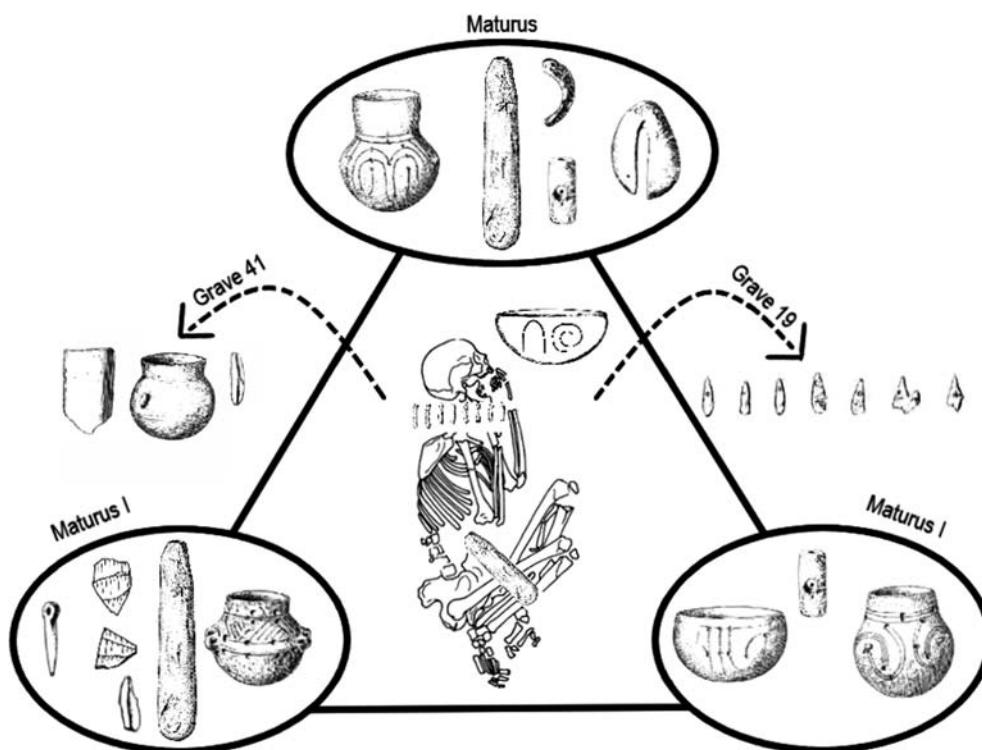


Fig. 7. Depiction of the results regarding a typical male inventory, along with three distinct groups showing how grave inventory was related to sex and age, as well as two exceptional graves that probably indicated different identities of the particular members of the society.

When evaluating the analysis from the Nitra burial ground, we must mention that the coefficient of the globular vessel component was also significant in the graphic representation. Since this component is anthropologically linked to both sexes, at a ratio of men : women : children = 5 : 3 : 1, and because some of the children may have been women, unequivocal attachment to one of the sexes has not been established.

PCA analysis of the ceramic shapes

PCA analysis of the ceramic shapes occurring at the burial site of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica yielded three main components (Fig. 6) linked to one of the sexes. One of the main components of the analysis was a globular shape, which was connected to the male, female, and pediatric groups, with a men: women: child ratio of 6 : 4 : 1 on the basis of inconclusive quantitative representation. The second component is an amphora, which occurred at a men : women : child ratio of 4 : 2 : 3, and infectious trials with sensitive factor score tombs. A hoof wedge was found in the grave of one child, who could have been a boy, which would skew the ratio towards male predominance and suggest that this specific ceramic shape is connected with the male sex. The third component is a bowl shape, which predominated in the graves of men (four exemplars), with only one female and one child's grave showing this component. Therefore, bowls can be interpreted as a specific gender feature of men.

EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

The analysis found that several categories of grave inventory could be considered manifestations of male gender at the burial ground of Nitra-Priemyslová ulica. These categories showed a relationship to both the sex and the age of the buried individuals (Fig. 7).

From the grave inventories present at the site, stone wedges, beads, and ceramic bowl shapes were found to be significant by both cluster and PCA analyses. Regarding decorative motifs, the meander pattern dominates in men's graves. No grave goods could be connected with female sex at this site.

Interestingly, grave 41, which contained a female body, contained an intentionally broken stone wedge. This is a purely male artefact, so this woman may have been assigned male status within her society. Alternatively, the wedge may have been a personal gift of the deceased, expressing the sexual identity of the surviving relatives, accentuated by the deliberate damage to this otherwise exclusively male attribute?

The man from grave 19 probably played a specific social role, as he was decorated with jewelry made of human and animal teeth. Based on this unique inventory and the location of the grave within the burial site, he likely had different identity, perhaps that of a shaman.

Regarding age, the cluster analysis identified three groups. The first was a group of men in the Maturus category (Fig. 7, group on top), who probably represent a group of community members with higher social status, as indicated by the grave inventory, which included Spondylus belt buckles, Spondylus pendants, or bracelets. The second group (Fig. 7, group on the bottom left) consists of men in the age category Maturus I, who may have been hunters or warriors, as indicated by the stone wedges and trapezes found in their graves. The third group (Fig. 7, group on the bottom right) predominantly comprises men in the Maturus I category, with two exceptions: a woman of the same age and a young man in a different age category. As such, the social identity of this group cannot be interpreted beyond doubt, although they were likely not entirely ordinary members of society.

Notably, the way in which the lower and upper limbs are deposited has been related to sex in Nitra: men are more often crouched on their left side with their legs bent upwards and arms folded in front of the body. Conversely, women are more often crouched on their left side with their legs pointing downwards, one arm outstretched and the other arm folded. This observation corroborates that of J. Pavúk (1972).

CONCLUSION

The present paper constitutes a pilot study to monitor possible gender expression within selected elements of the LBK burials in our territory. Of course, the use of statistical analyses in gender archaeology has its obstacles, and further testing is necessary. Nonetheless, the results suggest that some components of grave inventory can be linked with the gender or identity of the buried person.

To conclude, analysing burial rites and related data allows the life of prehistoric populations and the structure of their society to be reconstructed. It is a reflection of many cultural, religious, social, and economic factors. The information obtained from grave units is not always sufficient to explain the individual aspects of gender, but innovative approaches to the evaluation of this data, as well as the ever-increasing number of investigated sites, have opened up new possibilities for complex gender analyses. Several examples of LBK burials presented here demonstrate the diversity of burial rites of this culture. Further research, coupled with the application of gender archaeology methods, will certainly present interesting challenges in the near future.

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COSTUME AND IDENTITY

A costume analysis of Early Bronze Age Nitra culture

Z U Z A N A Z E T O C H O V Á

Physical appearance is a powerful medium for communicating information about an individual. It is used to express the identity or identities of any community member. Affiliation to a certain community or social group (clan, family, profession, etc.) is especially visible in the costume, which includes jewellery, clothing fittings, and hairstyle, as well as textile-based organic parts. In particular, jewellery and clothing fittings are not simply attractive to the eye; they also play a key role in constructing gender, religious, social, and cultural identity. The present paper focuses on costume variability within the Nitra culture from the territory of south-western Slovakia and Moravia and seeks to reveal some new information about the various identities connected with the life-cycle of those communities. Indeed, certain social identities have been ignored in the investigation of the Early Bronze Age. These can be traced in the material used to create personal appearance.

Keywords: Early Bronze Age, Nitra culture, costume, identity.

INTRODUCTION

In general, costume has been a popular topic in archaeological research, particularly after the advent of gender archaeology. Several reconstructions and costume variability analyses involving the Bronze Age all over Europe have been published in recent years. However, in these studies, costume was mostly examined from a social structure point of view, focusing especially on specific social identities such as chieftains and warriors.

In 1975, S. Shennan published a paper in *Antiquity* that focused on the social structure of a community that buried deceased members in the cemetery in Branč. In that cemetery, the graves of women, and sometimes even children, were as rich as those of men. Shennan concluded that the women of the Nitra culture in Branč had the same social status as men, although they admitted that some of the rich burials of women may have reflected the wealth of their husbands (Shennan 1975). Such social differentiation may have resulted from progressive changes in the system of agriculture and food production, namely the introduction of teams of oxen, ploughing implements, and "secondary products of evolution" (Neustupný 1967; Sherratt 1981).

Many studies have focused on particular costume elements. For example, many studies have been published in *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* focusing on pins (Novotná 1980), fibulae (Novotná 2001), pendants (Furmánek 1980) and diadems (Novotná 1984). The terminology for singular types of jewellery and clothing fittings, as well as for their morphological parts, was developed by a collective of authors (Bujna *et al.* 1996). Moreover, G. Schumacher-Matthäus analysed finds of jewellery and clothing fittings from the Bronze Age Carpathian Basin. She examined the costumes of men and women separately and divided them into a various costume groups from the Early to the Late Bronze Age (Schumacher-Matthäus 1985).

Several research papers and monographs have studied costume variability from the Early Bronze Age. For example, C. Bernard published a dissertation dedicated to a detailed analysis of the Nitra culture from the territory of south-western Slovakia. That research focused on costume analysis and the combination of various elements, as well as on material culture. Based on the results, Bernard divided the female costume of Nitra culture cemeteries in Slovakia into separate chronological groups (Bernard 2005, 108 nn., 152 nn., 189 nn.). J. Bátorá (2000b, 496 nn.) published a detailed analysis of the costume from cemetery in Jelšovce. He separately analysed the costumes of men, women and children in the Nitra, Únětice and Maďarovce cultures.

Several papers have also been published about costume from the Late Bronze Age. For instance, *E. Mařáková* (2008) published a complex study of the costume of women in the Lusatian culture. She based her conclusions about variability, as well as her possible reconstructions, on finds from graves and hoards.

Recently, reconstruction has become a common method of archaeology popularization. In their 1985 summary, *V. Furmánek* and *K. Pieta* (1985) published the first reconstruction of Early Bronze Age costume from the territory of south-western Slovakia. However, this reconstruction was based on material from various graves, so it illustrated the typological variability of jewellery and clothing fittings from the Early Bronze Age. A costume reconstruction from the Late Bronze Age Čaka culture was based on the burial of a woman from Dedinka (*Paulík* 1986, 69 nn.).

CLOTH, CLOTHING AND COSTUME

Firstly, we must define the terminology used in the present paper. "Costume" refers to period clothing that singularizes people from different communities or regions. It consists of two main components: clothing (organic parts, i.e. textile or leather) and jewellery/clothing fittings. Cloth refers to a single part of clothing. Clothing together with personal ornaments creates the costume (*Sørensen* 1997; 2010). Our knowledge about colour, pattern, and costume design during the Central European Bronze Age has changed significantly over the last 15 years. The main sources of this knowledge were textiles found preserved in the Hallstatt salt mines in Austria, waterlogged finds from Bronze Age lacustrine settlements in Northern Italy and Switzerland, and objects mineralised on metal artefacts (*Bazzanella* 2012; *Grömer* 2012; *Grömer et al.* 2013; *Rast-Eicher* 1997). Many finds used in Bronze Age costume analysis have been discovered in Scandinavia, specifically Borum Eshøj, Muldbjerg, Trindøj, Skrydstup, and Egtved (*Broholm/Hald* 1948). We know how the fabrics were woven and what plants or insects were used to colour the textiles (*Grömer* 2016, 39). Several finds from the Hallstatt mines showed us that the fabrics were also rich in patterns. However, only one Bronze Age textile has a more complex pattern: the fabric from Pfäffikon-Irgenhausen in Switzerland, which was found in a lake dwelling. Radiocarbon dating places it in the Early/Middle Bronze Age transition period (1685–1493 cal. BC). That fabric was linen decorated with blue, red, violet, and yellow embroidery consisting of chessboard-patterns, triangles, and stripes (*Rast-Eicher* 2017; *Vogt* 1937, 76–90, fig. 112–150). A similar pattern can be seen on a contemporary clay figurine from Klicevac, Serbia (*Müller-Karpe* 1980, 326, 327).

Head covers and hairstyles were also important organic components of the costume. Unfortunately, information about these has mostly been lost because they tend to be organic. Some of these components may have been connected with certain social groups. Direct evidence that sophisticated head covers were worn in the Bronze Age came from grave 110 in Franzhausen I (*Neugebauer* 1994a, 80–89, fig. 36; 40; 41) and from grave 747 in Franzhausen II (*Neugebauer* 1994b, 88). Further proof can be found in the bronze, half-hollow spheres found in graves at Jelšovce cemetery (*Bátora* 2000a, fig. 638; 2000b, 499), which were almost certainly used on a head band composed of organic material. Bronze sheet headbands were also common and have been found in various Bronze Age sites: Rebešovice (*Ondráček* 1962), Branč (*Vladár* 1973), Dunaújváros (*Bóna* 1975). Similar evidence from later periods has also been found. For example, differently designed head covers, clearly intended for various groups of people, have been found depicted on situla art, specifically on situlas from Vače, Providence, and Magdalenska Gora (*Lucke/Frey* 1962, tab. 68; 73).

Jewellery and clothing fittings were designed to inform others about the social role of their owners. Several criteria can be distinguished for their analysis. The first is the quantity and quality of the objects that were part of the costume. These usually reveal the role of the individual in the hierarchical system of the community, which is only one element of his/her identity. The combination of the costume parts also reveals significant information, as does the composition of the costume – the functional position of each segment – which indicates the affiliation of the individual to certain groups within the studied community, such as family, clan, mothers, widows, etc. (*Wells* 2008).

Costume was influenced by many factors, the most important being the climate of the area. Next, the identity of the individual played a major role in the final appearance of the costume, with one of the most important factors being the individual's gender, followed by their ethnicity and social role. All of these were manifested in certain elements of the costume to inform others about the individual's affiliation. Social status information can be understood from various points of view:

1. marital status (single, married, and widowed);
2. hierarchical status/role (ruling class or common people);
3. profession (*Wells* 2008).

Intact inhumation burial, where the dead are stretched out on their back with straightened arms and legs, constitutes the best source for costume analysis. In such burials, the entire grave inventory is in its original position, including the costume segments.

Anthropomorphic statues found at several Early Bronze Age sites can be also used in costume analysis. Similar artefacts from other cultural areas depict rich chest ornaments/necklaces. The most relevant of these are the statues from Košice-Barca and Szurdokpüspöki (*Schumacher-Matthäus 1985, tab. 16*). Such necklaces made of bone/antler beads, often combined with other materials, are common in the graves of women from the Nitra culture.

TAPHONOMY AND COSTUME ANALYSIS

When studying burials to carry out costume analysis, archaeologists must focus on many factors that can influence the circumstances of the burial. That is, the taphonomy of each burial must be considered individually. Specifically, not all jewellery/clothing fittings in the grave must necessarily have been part of the costume, and the position of the objects might have been compromised; they might have moved either vertically or horizontally. In this regard, two main types of artefact displacement are known. The first is natural displacement, usually caused by the decomposition of the body, destruction of the grave structure, bioturbation, movements of the earth mass, or changing groundwater level. Case studies carried out on pig carcasses have shown that almost 400 different insect species contribute to the decomposition process (*Chamberlain/Pearson 2001, 15–20*). The activities of small rodents can move almost 30 % of small bone artefacts from their original position to a depth 40 cm deeper. J. M. Erlandson estimated that, in 100 years, almost 5 % of buried material has changed its original position (*Erlandson 1984, 788–792*).

The second type of artefact displacement is caused by non-natural activity. During the Early Bronze Age, many graves were opened secondarily, mostly for material reasons (grave looting). For example, in the Branč cemetery, more than 10 % of graves have been reopened, and the equivalent figure in Jelšovce was almost 33 %. Of course, graves that have been looted no longer contain their original cache of jewellery and clothing fittings, and the original functional position of the body itself may have been compromised. That said, in some cases, the graves may have been reopened for other reasons that were more ritual or superstitious.

The manner of body deposition in the grave adds a further complication. In the Nitra culture the dead were deposited on their right or left side, depending on their gender. This doubtless affected the original functional position of several artefacts in the grave, especially in the case of jewellery and clothing fittings from the chest area.

COSTUME ANALYSIS

The detailed study of costume raises many questions: Was the costume found in the grave designed for the living or the dead? Which objects are clearly connected to the status of the buried individuals? Can we identify any coherent social group based on a certain type of jewellery? Does the variability in personal ornaments suggest that the buried individual is affiliated with any particular social groups? How do we know that the costume seen in the burial was worn by the buried individual during their lifetime? After all, it was not the buried individual who was responsible for their final appearance during burial. All the rituals were performed by the mourners: preparation of the body and deposition into the grave. All grave goods were likely chosen by close family members and probably by some members of the community who were responsible for the funeral. It is unclear whether the complex identity of the deceased individual was somehow manifested in the burial. Only some identities can be garnered from archaeological context, and burial itself can both mask and illuminate social structures (*Sørensen 1997; Wells 2008*). In the Early Bronze Age, both burial rites and some of the costume elements therein were gendered, as described by J. Bátorá in his monograph about the Jelšovce cemetery (*Bátorá 2000b, 496–507*). Such symbolic expression of male and female identity probably reflects different social roles within the community. Male burials often involve weapons (arrowheads) and symbols of status such as triangular daggers. In contrast, women of the Nitra culture were often adorned with various personal ornaments, such as hair rings, necklaces, waist decorations made of bone/antler beads, etc.

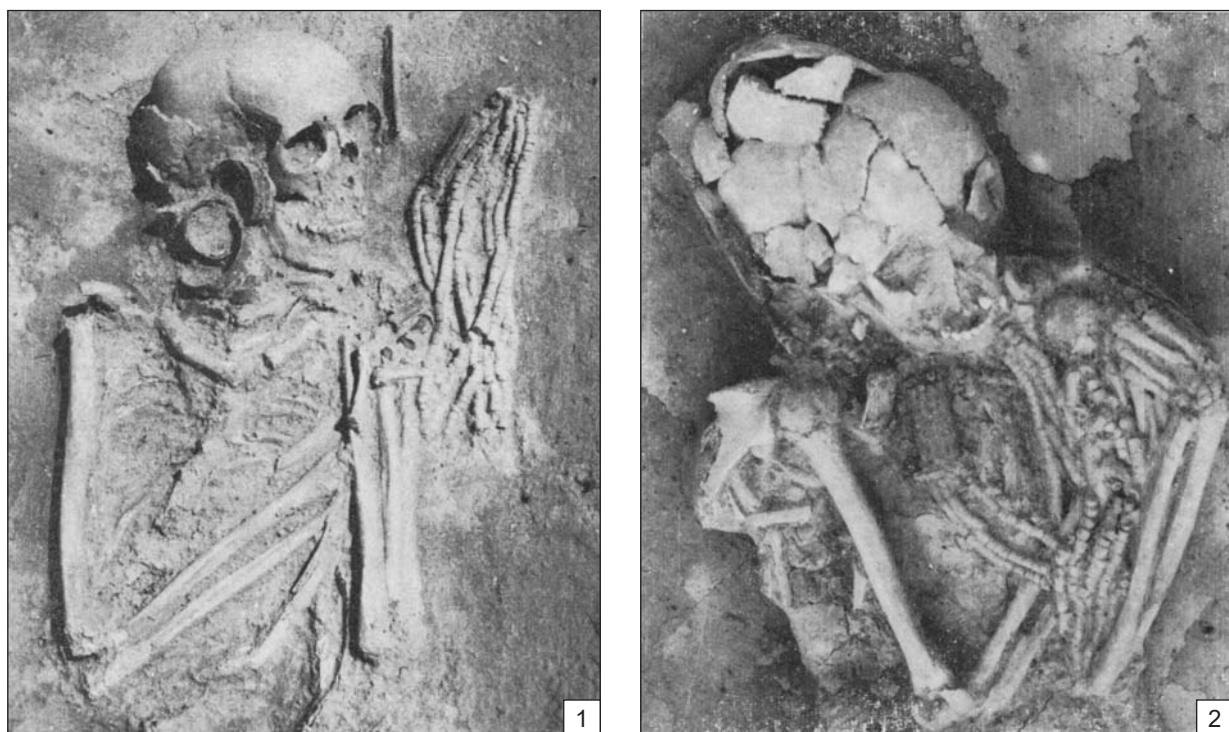


Fig. 1. Branč. 1 – Female grave 161, with the deposition of a necklace in a non-functional position (after Vladár 1973, fig. 24); 2 – Female grave 186, with the deposition of a necklace in the functional position (after Vladár 1973, fig. 43).

Other graves contained no grave goods or jewellery/clothing fittings. Despite this, it may be that these members of the community used another means to express their identity. Graves without grave goods or costume elements are always evenly distributed throughout cemeteries, indicating that they were present during all chronological phases of the Nitra culture. Most such graves belonged to men or children.

Burial 161 in Branč cemetery provides one clue that not all elements of a grave inventory were necessarily a part of the buried person's regular costume. This burial of a woman contained, among a rich inventory, a necklace composed of various materials. However, the necklace was not deposited in the so-called original functional position. Instead, it was placed in front of the face of the buried woman, touching her fingers (Fig. 1: 1). It may be that the necklace was buried with the woman as a gift from some of the mourners, or as a symbol of what she could have become had her life not ended.

Costume analysis of the Nitra culture

The Nitra culture constitutes an important element of the Early Bronze Age Carpathian Epi-Corded Ware complex. Based on its location within relatively clear boundaries in Slovakia and Moravia, it was defined by A. Točík (1956, 24–46). The greatest concentration of cemeteries was identified in the Nitra Basin: Branč, Jelšovce, Výčapy-Opatovce, Ludanice, Mýtna Nová Ves (Furmánek *et al.* 2015). The burial costume of the Nitra culture people was rich and variable, especially in women's graves. Apart from necklaces of antler/bone beads combined with other materials (shells, copper beads, tubes and spirals), most jewellery and clothing fittings were made of copper (earrings, arm-rings, pins, etc.).

The examination of Nitra culture costume has focused on three cemeteries from the territory of south-western Slovakia: Branč, Výčapy-Opatovce, and Jelšovce, as well as one cemetery from Moravia: Holešov. All such studies excluded many graves from their analysis because they contained no material (Branč 24.6 % of graves; Výčapy-Opatovce 37 % of graves; Jelšovce 38.5 % of graves; Holešov 28.7 % of graves). The graves with no jewellery or clothing fittings were also discarded (Branč 16.5 % of graves; Výčapy-Opatovce 16.8 % of graves; Jelšovce only 7.7 % of graves; Holešov

Table 1. Costume analysis database of Nitra culture graves from the territory of south-western Slovakia and Moravia (after Z. Zetochová).

Site	Number of excavated graves	Number of analysed graves	Men	Women	Children	Source
Branč	236	124	35	47	42	Vladár 1973
Výčapy-Opatovce	317	106	23	61	22	Točík 1979
Jelšovce	187	78	38	25	14	Bátora 2000a; 2000b
Holešov	420	114	43	54	17	Ondráček/Šebela 1985
Σ	1160	422	140	187	95	

24.6 % of graves). Most graves with no jewellery or clothing fittings belonged to men. Grave looting adds another complication to costume analysis, especially in the Early Bronze Age, as mentioned in the taphonomy section.

The final database consists of 422 Nitra culture graves, which amounts to 34.3 % of all excavated graves in all four cemeteries mentioned (Table 1). The graves of men, women, and children were analysed separately.

Chronology is another problematic issue when analysing costume from the Early Bronze Age. Relative chronology is based on changes in the typology and variability of jewellery/clothing fittings and weapons (Bátora 2000a; 2000b). However, most graves from the Nitra culture contained no chronologically sensitive material, so it is hard to categorize them into different phases of Nitra culture development. As one exception, female costume could be distinguished chronologically, but male costume and the costume of children were analysed from the viewpoint of variability and composition.

The jewellery and clothing fittings from the analysed graves can be divided into several categories:

1. Head decoration: hair rings (wire or willow leaf-shaped), tin headbands, ornaments from antler/bone, faience, and nacre beads; copper tubes, spirals, and beads; shells.
2. Neck/chest decoration: necklaces from antler/bone, faience, nacre beads, shells, copper tubes, spirals, and beads; pendants from drilled wild boar tusks and animal teeth; pins (bone and bronze); dress applications from antler/bone, nacre, and faience beads.
3. Waist decoration: antler/bone, faience beads; copper tubes, spirals, and belt clasps.
4. Upper limb decoration: finger-rings (wire or willow leaf-shaped); arm rings (wire or willow leaf-shaped); copper tubes and spirals. Also, from male burials only, wrist guards can be categorised as costume elements.
5. Lower limb decoration: ornaments on the skirt/apron; antler/bone, nacre, and faience beads.

Weapons like daggers, knives, and arrowheads constitute a distinct category within the costume. Although they have no practical function, their symbolic value must be considered when analysing the costume and especially the identity of the buried individual. Furthermore, some types of jewellery and clothing fittings may have been produced from organic materials and therefore it may be that no traces of them remain in the archaeological record. This should be considered in the case of graves without any grave goods; some of these may have contained sophisticated organic costume elements.

A detailed analysis shows that some types of jewellery or clothing fitting were more typical or exclusive to the graves of men or women (Fig. 2). For example, willow leaf-shaped hair rings were mostly found in female graves. Such items were found in less than 8 % of male graves, as well as in several children's graves that mostly belonged to girls. Copper headbands, bone separators for necklaces, and nacre beads only appeared in the graves of adult women. Costume elements like copper tubes and spirals, together with bone pins and bone/antler/faience beads or shells were more likely a part of the female costume. Objects that clearly carried a symbolic message, like triangular daggers, belt parts, and wrist guards, were associated with male costume. Stone arrowheads can be interpreted within this category. Although such items are not considered an element of costume, they were found in the graves of men traditionally connected with the identity of hunters/warriors, as were wild boar tusks. No costume elements were identified as solely typical for children, although willow leaf-shaped bracelets were found more often in the graves of children than in those of adults.

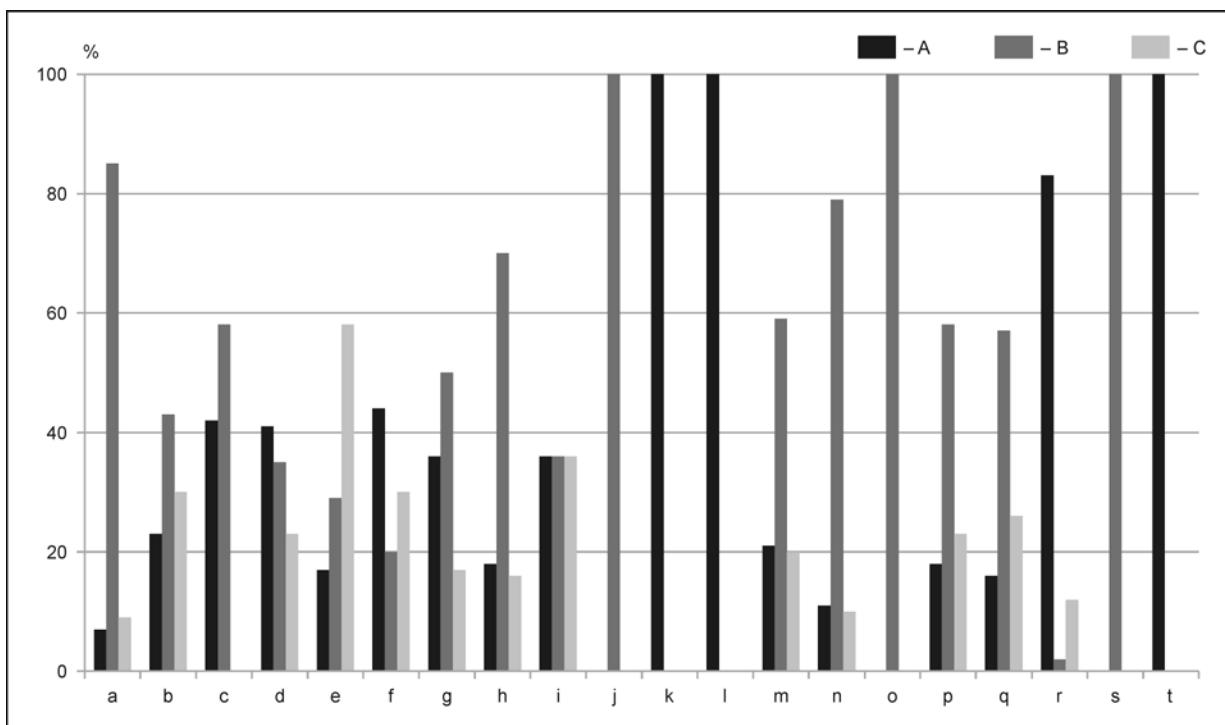


Fig. 2. Jewellery and clothing fittings in the analysed graves of the Nitra culture from the cemeteries at Branč, Výčapy-Opatovce, Jelšovce and Holešov. Legend: A – men; B – women; C – children; a – willow-leaf hair rings; b – wire hair rings; c – willow-leaf finger-rings; d – wire finger-rings; e – willow-leaf arm rings; f – wire arm ring; g – copper pins; h – copper tubes/spirals; i – neck-rings; j – headbands; k – daggers; l – belt parts; m – bone pins; n – bone beads; o – bone separators; p – faience beads; q – shells; r – boar tusks; s – nacre beads; t – wrist guards. X-axis: percentage presence of the individual costume elements (after Z. Zetochová).

Female costume in the Nitra culture

Female costume in the early Nitra culture showed great variability, although certain similarities could be observed among graves from all analysed cemeteries. Hair rings (mostly willow leaf-shaped) and necklaces made of bone/antler beads were the most common jewellery types in all four cemeteries. Skirt or apron decorations were another common feature of the costume, as indicated by the position of the bone beads in the graves (Fig. 3). In all chronological phases of the Nitra culture, hair rings were worn asymmetrically and usually on both sides of the head.

In the classical phase of the Nitra culture, female costume became richer in personal ornaments, which is especially visible in the Branč cemetery. Perhaps for this reason, the variability of combinations is enormous. Female costume from this phase of the culture's development could be divided into four main groups:

1. costume with only head ornaments (hair rings);
2. costume with dominant chest ornaments (combined necklaces from various materials and bone pins);
3. costume with dominant waist ornaments (bone/antler beads and separators);
4. costume with dominant ornaments on the lower part of the skirt or apron (bone/antler beads and separators).

Decorations of the skirt/apron and waist made of bone/antler beads appeared in all cemeteries. The main categories of female costume were evenly distributed throughout the analysed cemeteries and did not form any obvious grave groups. The diameter of the willow leaf-shaped hair rings increased during the classical phase of the Nitra culture, but they were gradually replaced by wire hair rings. That said, willow leaf-shaped jewellery remained longer at Branč cemetery than at the other sites. The classical phase of the Nitra culture was also characterised by a great number of combined necklaces in the graves of women, mostly from Branč cemetery. These necklaces consisted of various materials,

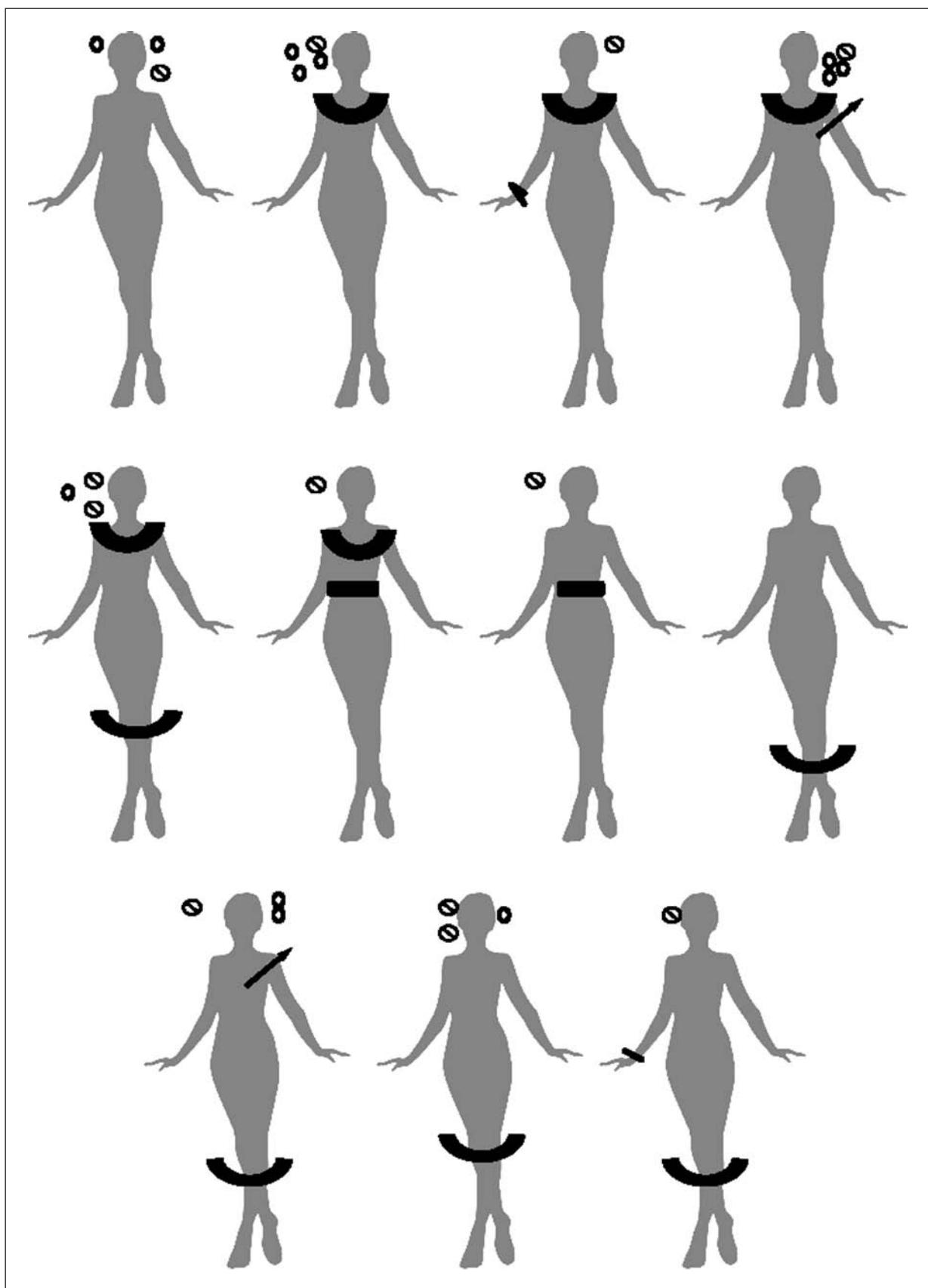


Fig. 3. Variability in female costume of the Nitra culture, with visible division into the head, chest, waist, and lower part of the skirt/apron (after Z. Zetochová).

such as bone/antler beads, as well as the faience beads, shells, copper tubes, and spirals mentioned above. In this phase, new types of jewellery and clothing fittings also appeared, such as bone pins and faience beads (Bátora 2000b, 313–335). Neither bone pins nor bone separators were found in the graves at Holešov cemetery (Ondráček/Šebela 1985); this is one of the regional differences observed in the graves of the Nitra culture from Moravia. As a main material for necklaces, nacre beads rather than bone/antler beads were used.

The final phase of the Nitra culture brought completely new types of jewellery, such as copper pins and head bands (Bátora 2000b, 313–335). Willow leaf-shaped hair rings completely disappeared as a costume feature, and the number of bone/antler beads in graves decreased rapidly. On the other hand, the number of shells, nacre, and faience beads was considerably higher, although nacre beads were only found in the graves at Holešov cemetery. Female costume from the ending phase of the Nitra culture shows great variability, with only a few common features. Rich necklaces and decorations of the skirt/apron almost completely disappeared. These changes in the final phase of the Nitra culture were probably connected to the arrival of Unětice culture. Several indicators point to a changing population structure at that time: different grave orientation, new material culture, etc. (Mitáš 2013).

Male costume of the Nitra culture

Analysis of male costume was more complicated because 64 % of graves of men contained no chronologically distinct types of jewellery or clothing fittings. Moreover, the common population was characterized by modest costume, usually decorated with only wire hair rings or a few bone/antler beads as a part of a small necklace. Therefore, it seems that male costume was less variable than that of women. Nonetheless, three main groups of men can be distinguished according to costume parts (Bátora 1991, 134–139). The first group comprises poor graves with no costume elements or only a few. The second is composed of warriors/hunters and it is associated with the presence of daggers, knives, arrowheads, and wrist guards in the graves. More than 50 % of all analysed graves of warriors/hunters could not be assigned to a certain chronological phase of the Nitra culture. In early periods, the costume did not vary widely: other than wrist guards and weapons, no other costume elements were present. In several graves, only one faience/bone bead was found in the neck area (e. g. grave 24 in Jelšovce and graves 17, 50, 57, and 83 in Holešov). In the next phase, the graves of warriors/hunters showed higher variability. Hair rings, finger-rings, bracelets, and copper tubes in the waist area appeared in graves from the territory of south-western Slovakia. In the final phase, copper pins became an important costume element, as seen in grave 271 in Výčapy-Opatovce (Točík 1979, 120–122) and in grave 87 in Branč (Vladár 1973, 34).

The top societal class is represented in graves that are usually interpreted as those of chieftains. Such graves contain status objects such as weapons and belt parts. In a few cases, a special burial rite was used, as evidenced by the presence of wooden underground constructions or even structures built over the grave. Such constructions are interpreted as „*Houses of the dead*“. Chieftains were often buried with other objects to stress their status, such as bear claws, wild boar tusks, amulets, complete bovine skulls, etc. (Bátora 1991, 134 nn.). Chieftain's graves from the early phase of the Nitra culture could only be identified in Holešov (graves 46, 84, 310; Ondráček/Šebela 1985, 22, 60). All these graves contained wrist guards and many stone arrowheads. The wrist guards represent a heritage of the previous Bell Beaker culture, although changes in their shape can be observed during the development of the Nitra culture: they became thinner and lost their typical bending, causing them to be less practical. This is usually interpreted as an evolution of the objects' function from practical to symbolic (Šmejda 2002, 13). Other than symbolic objects, the only costume elements found in graves 46 and 84 in Holešov were wire hair rings (Ondráček/Šebela 1985, 22).

The chieftains' graves at Branč (graves 31, 62) and Jelšovce (grave 444) can be attributed to the classical phase of the Nitra culture (Bátora 2000b, 216, 217; Vladár 1973, 20, 27). These graves were dated on the basis of the bone pins, which were found in their functional position (Bátora 2000b, 313–317). Grave 31 in Branč also contained an amulet made from a human skull, belt parts, a pendant made from a wild boar tusk, and a finger-ring (Vladár 1973, 20). Little can be said about the costume of the man from grave 62 in Branč. This grave was robbed and the only costume element found was a fragment of a belt part (Vladár 1973, 27). The costume of the chieftain from Jelšovce consisted of a willow leaf-shaped hair ring, a pendant made from a wild boar tusk, and a wire bracelet (Bátora 2000b, 216, 217).

Only one chieftain grave can be attributed to the final phase of the Nitra culture: grave 88 in Branč (*Vladár 1973, 34, 35*). The elements of this costume comprised a “Cypriot” pin, copper tubes and spirals in the waist area, and a wire finger-ring. Next to the man’s head, an amulet made from a human skull was deposited (*Vladár 1973, 34, 35*). However, the affiliation of this grave with the Nitra culture is questionable. According to P. Barta, the time of the burial (together with that of the other graves) exceeds the chronological frame of the Nitra culture (*Bárta 2008, 10–15*). The costume of the chieftains of the Nitra culture varied widely. No rules can be derived regarding burial rites or costume elements.

Child costume in the Nitra culture

Children are often almost invisible in the archaeological record (*Sofaer-Derevenski 1996*). Childhood is defined differently in various cultures and depends on social, economic, and technological factors (*Lillehamer 1989, 93*). In some societies, children below a certain age (usually 2 years, or until they started talking) are believed to have no soul and are therefore not fully accepted as members of the community (*Häusler 1966*). The social status of children in past societies is a broadly discussed topic in archaeology. Several research papers have focused on the social status/identity of children in prehistory (e. g. *Dommasnes/Wrigglesworth 2008; Levine 2007; Romanowicz 2013; Sofaer-Derevenski 1996*). Several of these analysed children and childhood during the Early Bronze Age in territory of Slovakia (*Candráková 2001; Daňová 2012*).

Many graves of children contained no material, and anthropological evaluation was uncertain in many cases. Costume analysis of these graves was complicated because almost 80 % of them did not contain any chronologically distinctive material. The children’s sex was usually decided by the manner of body deposition, because this corresponded with the manner of adult body deposition in most cases: women on the left side and men on the right side. Boys were usually buried with only a few costume elements, the most common being arm rings. Other jewellery types did occur, but less often; (e. g. hair rings, bone/antler beads, etc.). The costume of girls seems to depend on their age. Girls up to the age of about 14 were most often outfitted in a manner similar to boys. According to ethnographic theory, this indicates that all children – both girls and boys – were raised in the same manner. That is, the children were not yet gendered, and maybe did not even fully belong to the community (*Eliade 2004, 23, 24*).

In the graves of many girls, or we could say young women (aged 14–20 years), elements typical for adult women were found (e. g. grave 240 from Výčapy-Opatovce; *Točík 1979, 116*). These girls were already of a productive age, and may even have been mothers. The costume elements could have been used to stress their position within the community. Elements of costume typical for adults were also found in boys’ graves. Drilled wild boar tusks were found in the graves of warriors/hunters in the Nitra culture. Several boys’ graves also contained this type of decoration (e. g. grave 188 in Branč; *Vladár 1973, 64, 65*).

J. Turek (2000) already drew attention to the symbolic differences between female and male child burials from the Late Eneolithic. In the Nitra culture, the burials were gendered by costume as well as by burial rite. Importantly, these gender differences in costume were more visible in the age group Infant II, perhaps because burial practices were connected to the rites of passage that served as a festive transition from childhood into adult life (*van Gennep 1960*).

Deviant burials

Deviant burials (Sonderbestattungen) are defined as those involving an untraditional burial rite, such as an atypical grave inventory or manner of body deposition. L. R. Binford argued that even the varying treatments of dead bodies were connected to individuals’ social identities, and that such identities could have been acquired during the individual’s life or shortly before their death (*Binford 1972, 231 nn.*). For example, the buried individual may have been a criminal, or they may have died in unusual circumstances, such as suicide, drowning, lightning strike, contagious disease, etc.

Among the analysed graves of the Nitra culture, only a few involved different burial rites. In all cases, anthropological determination was certain. However, in several graves, the deposition of the deceased contradicted the gendered principle used traditionally in all Nitra culture cemeteries; that is, men were

buried unexpectedly on their left side (graves 77, 80, 191, and 306 from Branč), while women were buried on their right side (graves 1, 23, and 145 from Branč). Almost all of these graves were poorly equipped and had almost no grave inventory. Furthermore, costume analysis showed no trends. In the case of child graves, deviancy of burial rite cannot be reliably determined, because the anthropological determination of sex is uncertain in such cases.

The man buried in grave 191 from the Branč cemetery was lying on his left side, which was typical for women. Furthermore, the grave inventory comprised a mix of objects connected to both male and female identity. In the functional position, five willow leaf-shaped hair rings were found, three on the left side and two on the right side of the head. In the chest area, more than 170 bone beads were found, together with a copper spiral. These elements are more typical of female costume in the Nitra culture. The male identity of the buried individual is indicated by two wild boar tusks found in the chest area. Other than these costume parts, two bracelets were found in a non-functional position: on the right knee and in the grave filling (Vladár 1973, 66; fig. 47; 48). What does this tell us about the identity of the buried individual? Did he fulfil a different gender role than what we can assume from his biological sex? Or were these objects simply gifts from his relatives. The two bracelets found in the grave were surely not a part of his costume, so they could have been a gift. However, with regards to the manner of body deposition, the explanation is less simple. The Nitra culture was very strict about the position of the body, so any deviation must have had a reason. However, it would be too bold to interpret such a deviation straightforwardly as a manifestation of a different gender role. The solution may be much simpler. The deceased may have suffered from some health condition that precluded his deposition on the standard side, although this is not the solution in all cases.

In grave 82 from Branč, the dead body had been treated in an unusual manner: the body of a young woman was intentionally mutilated by some kind of the cutting weapon (Vladár 1973, 31 nn., 133 nn., fig. 14; 15; tab. IX: 1–18). The grave had a rich inventory, and the costume contained all the elements typical for adult women of the Nitra culture, such as hair rings, combined necklaces, and decoration of the skirt/apron. The only pottery vessel belonged to the Wieselburg culture, which is a foreign element in this area. The location of the grave may imply that the person had been excluded from the community (Fig. 4). The group of graves in the south-eastern part of the cemetery is clearly separated from others; grave 88 was also located within this group. Because a 'Cypriot' pin was present, this burial site can be affiliated with the Nitra-Únětice phase (Vladár 1973, 34 nn., fig. 16; 17). The woman buried in grave 82 may have been a foreigner to the other members of the community who buried their dead at the cemetery in Branč, or she may have simply married a foreigner rather than a community member. This deviant body deposition may have been carried out to prevent any reputed harm to the rest of the society. Alternatively, the woman's cause of death, which cannot be determined, may have forced the other community members to act that way.

Only two analysed women's graves of the Nitra culture contained weapons: graves 67 and 409 from Holešov cemetery were equipped with stone arrowheads (Ondráček/Šebela 1985, 18, 77, 78). Both women were buried on their right side, which is characteristic for men. However, it is not clear whether the women actively hunted or fought. No analysis of the anthropological material was conducted to detect stress markers that might testify to long-term horse riding or archery. Such evidence is only available

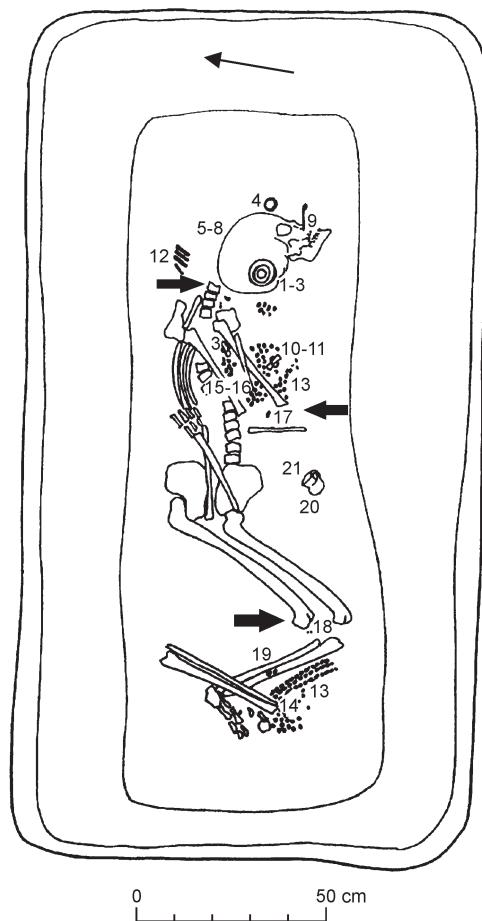


Fig. 4. Branč. Unusual deposition of the body in grave 82. The black arrows show the intentionally mutilated body parts (after Vladár 1973, fig. 15; adjusted by Z. Zetochová).

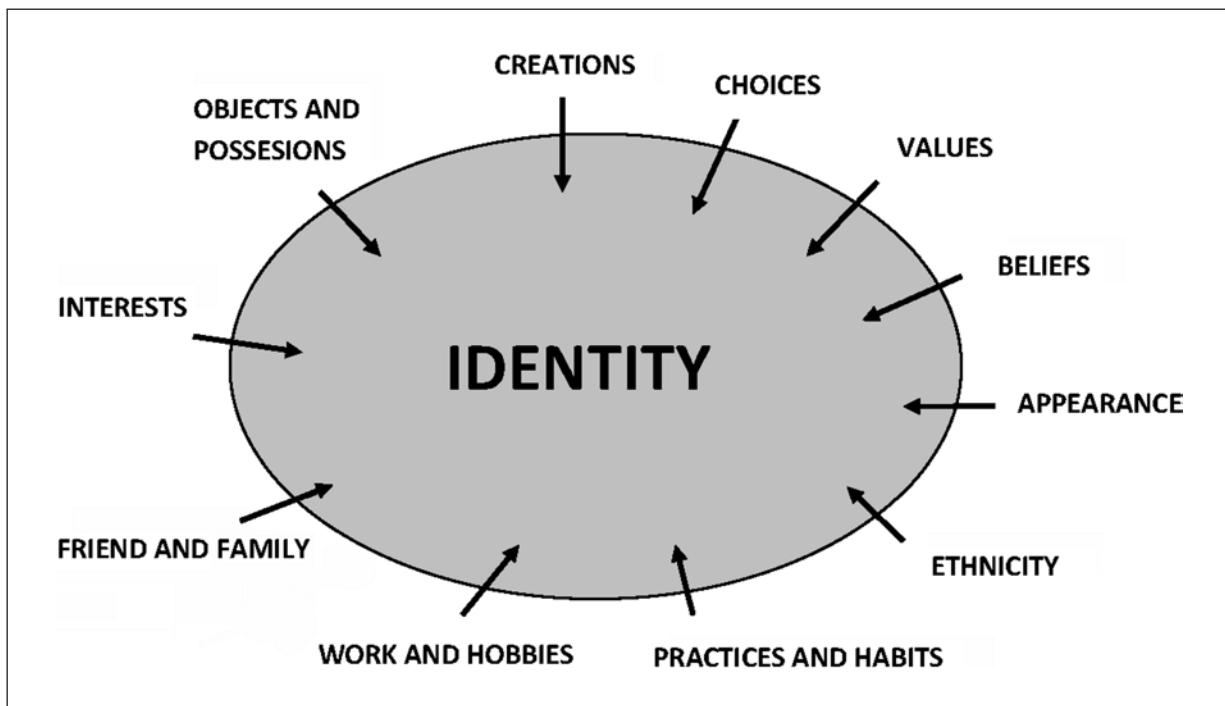


Fig. 5. Diagram of the basic elements that influence the identity or identities of an individual (after Z. Zetochová).

from Scythian and Sarmatian cemeteries (Nelson 1997, 145). It is therefore probable that arrowheads and drilled wild boar tusks found in graves of women were intended to reflect the social status of their husbands.

IDENTITY AND COSTUME

Archaeology is fundamentally a discipline concerned with identity. As archaeology has developed, the constructs of identity regarding ethnicity, rank and status, gender, age, and occupation have varied considerably (Díaz-Andreu/Lucy 2005, 2 nn; Meskell 2001, 190 nn; 2002, 279 nn), and the essence of identity itself is a complicated issue. In recent years, the term 'identity' has shifted from meaning 'sameness' to accommodate 'difference' (Woodward 2002). Identity refers to the relationship between individuals and society. It often changes during the life of the individual (e. g. single – married – widowed). Furthermore, an individual's relationship to other members of the community can vary considerably over time. An individual can have one identity among close family and a different one among other members of the group or with strangers. Therefore, archaeologists use the concept of multiple identities (Fig. 5; Meskell 2002). The source of this multiplicity – the many roles which people inhabit, and their susceptibility to change over time – is well-understood. However, it is perhaps less clear what motivates people to commit to these identities.

Affiliation to a group of individuals with high social status is represented by certain types of objects (belt parts, weapons) or by a special burial rite (Bátora 1991, 134 nn.). However, some objects connected with special status have also been found in graves that belong to the common population. For example, amulets found in chieftain's graves 31 and 88 in Branč were found also in graves 18, 172, 179, and 298 (Vladár 1973, 17, 55, 56, 58, 59, 90). Even a wooden construction in the grave pit may not indicate higher social status. Graves 145 and 302 in Branč contained few grave goods, but they did contain a wooden construction (Vladár 1973, 46, 91). Does this prove that a wooden construction in the grave pit was not an indicator of social status? What if the grave contained other status symbols that did not survive and therefore are invisible in an archaeological context? Objects like amulets may have magical or ritual function which does not depend on social identity.

Can we really understand the social structure of the Bronze Age or any other prehistoric communities? We are affected by our own identities and by our social background with its own structure. When analysing any prehistoric identity, we may tend to create categories that are familiar to us. However, people in the past had their own social structures, beliefs, and superstitions. Therefore, we cannot easily read the message hidden behind rituals, symbols, and other actions connected to the everyday life of the communities.

Does the variability of costume elements tell us something about the social structure? Simpler explanations may suffice: fashion choice, tradition, superstition, lack of resources, etc. All of these could have influenced the final appearance of the costume without regard for any social structure or the role of the individual. We can only analyse what is visible in the archaeological context. Therefore, certain social identities may be permanently hidden from us.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As this paper suggested, certain types of social identities have been ignored in Early Bronze Age research so far. These identities can be recognized in the objects used to create personal appearance. Costume analysis shows that certain elements were connected with male or female identity: gender. The elements typical for the graves of men are connected to certain social identities, such as chiefs and warriors/hunters, who were often buried with triangular daggers, wrist guards, and arrowheads. Knives were found in the graves of adult males, as well as in several boys' graves (graves 2, 15, 168, and 188 in Branč; Vladár 1973). Grave 168 contained other elements usually connected with hunting, such as boar tusks (Vladár 1973, 51, fig. 26; 27). However, the presence of knives does not necessarily indicate that these children actively hunted. In the Nitra culture, no triangular daggers have been found in the graves of women or children. This phenomenon appeared in the subsequent Únětice culture, probably because of changes in social structure that prompted mourners to more manifestly represent the power and hereditary status of the buried individual.

Ascriptive or hereditary status played a major role in primitive communities. According to R. F. Murphy, affiliation with the elite, and the resulting wealth, was symbolically reflected in manifestations such as clothing, jewellery/clothing fittings, and objects associated with power and prestige (Murphy 1988, 160).

Based on the present results, certain types of jewellery or costume elements can be affiliated with a social group. Necklaces from various materials were common in female graves from the classical phase of the Nitra culture (Fig. 3). An anthropological analysis was carried out on all graves, but the age of the buried women was only determined in some cases. Most belonged to the age group Adultus I and II, so it is likely that they were connected with a certain identity (e. g. mothers, mothers of several children, mothers of boys, etc.). Graves with similar costume elements are usually evenly distributed in the cemeteries, and there is no evidence that a burial area was created for any given social group such as a family. In the case of women, it seems likely that variations in costume elements were connected with other types of social identity that was accessible to all or most women, such as motherhood, birth of several children, wife of a warrior/hunter, mother of a son, etc. Only the groups of adult males connected with the status of chieftains or warriors/hunters stand out. No other special group was connected by the same costume type or elements among the analysed graves of adult males and children.

Personal appearance is influenced by many factors. Some may be obvious to us and some may remain hidden. The material used in the present study was intentionally well-known. I wanted to demonstrate that new patterns may continue to be revealed if different questions are asked. Material culture, and particularly costume elements, is not simply a typological or chronological marker, it was also involved in activities that were meaningful for prehistoric communities.

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MARGINAL IDENTITIES IN IRON AGE VENETO

A case study based on micro-scale contextual analysis and burial taphonomy

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We tackle social marginality in Iron Age Veneto by proposing a micro-scale contextual analysis of the recently published cemetery of Emo Palazzo Capodilista-Tabacchi in Padua (Italy) c. 950–450 BC. We focus on a single inhumation tomb from a sample of around 170 burials, to discuss the ritual treatment of socially excluded individuals in a period of rising inequality and environmental stress. We employ the taphonomy-based method of archaeothanatology, alongside material culture analysis of pottery shapes, to gain new insights into the mortuary evidence. We show that the supine adult male in Tomb 125 presented both abnormal and normative burial features within the Emo funerary context, which could point to his ambiguous social status in the local community. In light of this case, we contribute towards a framework for the archaeological study of past marginality at the micro-scale – while discussing limitations in evidence and methods. Ultimately, this paper adds to the marginality debate in archaeology, by demonstrating how a multi-disciplinary approach to past evidence can contribute to the identification of different forms of social exclusion in antiquity.

Keywords: marginality, archaeothanatology, material culture analysis, micro-scale analysis, Veneto, funerary practice, disability, Iron Age Italy.

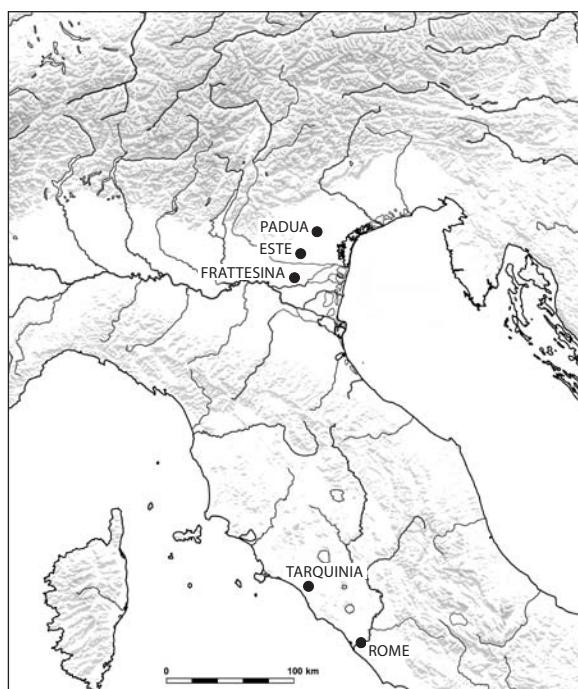


Fig. 1. Map of Italy with main sites mentioned in this paper (drawn by E. Perego; base map courtesy of the Ancient World Mapping Center).

INTRODUCTION

The present article addresses social marginality in Iron Age Veneto by proposing a micro-scale contextual analysis of the recently published cemetery of Emo Palazzo Capodilista-Tabacchi in Padua, Italy, where most of the preserved evidence dates to around 950–450 BC (Fig. 1). Marginality in past societies is a topic of growing interest in archaeology (Mant/Holland 2019; Perego 2014; Perego *et al.* 2015; Perego/Scopacasa 2016; 2018a; 2018b; Tamorri 2019). The marginality approach moves beyond standard discussions on rank and status in antiquity to explore the life histories of people pushed to the margins of society, taking into account the wider social and environmental context in which marginalisation develops. It tackles past inequalities at the intersectional level, focusing on how inequality and social exclusion relate to people's identity at different levels (Crenshaw 1989). More specifically, it explores how the intersection between different aspects of an individual's social standing determine marginality, including their gender, age, ethnicity, personhood, physical impairment, and disability.

In the present article, we discuss the results of a case study employing micro-scale contextual analysis to tackle marginality in the context of a single cemetery. This type of analysis provides a detailed assessment of social dynamics and funerary practices in the past (*Perego/Scopacasa 2019; Perego et al., forthcoming*). It also allows archaeologists to investigate the dynamics of marginalisation and its consequences for potentially vulnerable social groups, including the individuals given abnormal burials, who are at the core of our analysis.

Focusing on a single tomb from a sample of around 170 burials from Iron Age Padua, we discuss the ritual treatment of socially excluded individuals during phases of growing inequality and environmental stress. In developing this line of analysis, we also emphasise the challenges presented by the available data, including the preservation of human remains in the sample and the partial publication of the Emo bioarchaeological and photographic record. Finally, we employ a taphonomy-based method, namely archaeothanatology, as well as material culture analysis of pottery shapes, to gain additional insights into mortuary practices in the Emo sample.

The present work will contribute towards a framework for the micro-scale archaeological study of past marginality, while discussing limitations in evidence and methods. Ultimately, we seek to show how a multi-disciplinary approach to past evidence can identify different forms of marginality in antiquity.

METHODOLOGY

Funerary archaeology

Our key assumption is that analysing mortuary practices can provide insights into marginality and social exclusion in past societies such as Iron Age Veneto. Studies on past funerary practices are increasingly stressing that formal burial and normative funerary treatments may be exclusively granted to selected individuals or groups, in view of social policies of discrimination and marginalisation. Access to formal burial can be grounded in criteria such as status, rank, gender, health, age, and/or cause of death (*Morris 1987; Pearson 1999; Perego/Scopacasa 2016*). Demographic studies indicate that in preindustrial agricultural societies without modern medicine or vaccination, infant mortality was high, and infants and young children up to around 5 years of age formed a large portion of the living population (*Chamberlain 2006; Lewis 2013, 22; Morris 1987*). Therefore, if younger sub-adults are absent or scarce in past cemeteries, this might indicate selectivity in formal burial, as we shall see in the Emo case study (Table 1; *Perego et al., forthcoming*). However, the absence of a certain age or gender group from a burial site must be interpreted with caution: the composition of funerary populations may be skewed by factors other than intentional marginalisation, such as the degree of skeletal preservation or demographic phenomena like catastrophe-related mortality.

Table 1. Age ranges in human remains (modified after Buikstra/Ubelaker 1994).

Age categories	Foetus	Infant	Child	Adolescent	Young Adult	Middle Adult	Old Adult
Age in years	before birth	0–3	3–12	12–20	20–35	35–50	50+

Furthermore, the link between funerary practices and marginality is not always easy to understand. Funerary rites do not necessarily mirror the social standing of an individual in life (*Pearson 1999*). The role and status of people in society can be transformed by certain funerary practices. Burial could be used to ideologically refashion or even consolidate the social standing of an individual, which might have changed several times during their life. For instance, secondary burial can change the ideological delineation of the deceased's identity, as renegotiated by the mourners, and social death may predate the biological death of an individual (*Kaufman/Morgan 2005; Morgan 1989*).

A third key theme in the archaeology of marginality is how to define funerary deviancy and identify it in the archaeological record. The concept of deviancy was first introduced during the 1930s to distinguish normative from anomalous mortuary practices (*Aspöck 2008, 19; Perego 2014* on Veneto; *Tamorri*

2017a; 2017b on burial taphonomy; Tsaliki 2008). In this regard, the term 'deviant burial' refers to rare, idiosyncratic, or abnormal mortuary practices that fall outside the standard mortuary rituals of a given culture. Deviancy is generally used as an antonym for normalcy, with the latter referring to the regular and typical funerary customs of a group.

It can be difficult to identify deviant burials in the archaeological record. Scholars occasionally interpret rare or apparently inexplicable funerary rites as abnormal or deviant, such as body treatment that does not conform to the norm within a given cultural context (e.g. disarticulation in cultures where the deposition of integral cadavers was the norm). However, the adoption of practices that differ from the norm may not necessarily indicate that the society aimed to marginalise the deceased individual (Murphy 2008; on Veneto Perego 2014; Perego et al. 2015; Tamorri 2019). Similarly, apparently inexplicable burial finds may result from complex taphonomic and archaeological processes, rather than deviant practices; this must be taken into account when reconstructing the events surrounding a deviant burial (Tamorri 2017b).

Therefore, it is key to consider all archaeological data to verify whether specific contexts were indeed anomalous and may have symbolised the identity of marginalised or socially excluded subjects. Taphonomy-based approaches such as archaeothanatology can further elucidate the complexity of practices involving potentially deviant burials.

Archaeothanatology

Archaeothanatology is a critical tool in the excavation and analysis of human burials in the field (Duday 2009). Archaeothanatology is also key in reassessing post-excavation photos, drawings, and reports of burials (Duday 2009; Nilsson-Stutz 2003), which is the perspective we adopt in the present article (Tamorri 2017a; 2017b; 2019). This method can reveal key evidence regarding the funerary customs of a given society, which may escape traditional approaches. This may include, for example, the use of architectural elements even after they have disappeared from the archaeological context (e.g. wooden coffins).

Archaeothanatology investigates corpse taphonomy, decomposition processes, and osteological remains from an interdisciplinary perspective (Duday 2009). The central idea to the method is that even in intact depositional contexts the position of the bones, as found by archaeologists, is not exactly the same as it was in the fleshed cadaver. Corpses undergo a multistage process of decomposition, beginning at death and ending with full skeletonization. After skeletonization, bones are free to move from their original position in the fleshed body as the tissue holding them in place disappears. Therefore, the position of bones in the tomb may not faithfully represent the arrangement of the deceased in the pit at the time of interment (Duday 2009). Various additional factors, such as secondary interventions or disturbances, may completely alter the position of bones in the archaeological context. Archaeothanatology can provide evidence on events that occurred between death and the excavation of the burial by focusing on:

1. the relative chronology of disarticulation of labile and persistent joints;
2. the dynamics of formation and infilling of the original volume of the corpse, which comprises the flesh, organs, and muscles of the body before decay;
3. the spatial distribution of bones in their surrounding environment, namely the decomposition space (Duday 2009).

Skeletal disarticulation follows a precise timeline, paced by the chronology of decomposition and dislocation of the joints in the human body. Such joints are divided into labile and persistent. Labile articulations, such as the cervical vertebrae, are those that decompose more rapidly, generally a few weeks after death (Duday 2009, 27). Conversely, articulations such as the lumbo-sacral vertebrae or the ankle are considered persistent, as they can last for months or years after death (Duday 2009, 27). Once human remains reach full skeletonization and disarticulation – that is, when all soft tissue connecting the skeleton has disappeared, bones are free to shift either inside or outside the now-empty volume of the corpse. Such bone displacements are subject to the laws of gravity and the empty or filled conditions of the decomposition space (Duday 2009). In an empty decomposition space, which remains undisturbed, the correct topography of the naturally disarticulated skeleton is often maintained. However, bones can shift either inside the empty cadaveric volume or outside of it (e.g. inside the empty space of a coffin) due to the laws of gravity or external factors (e.g. passage of animals). The flattening of the ribcage is typical of supine and extended burials deposited in empty spaces (e.g. Duday 2009).

Instead, a filled decomposition space occurs if the cadaver is inhumed in direct contact with the soil and immediately covered with sediment (*Duday 2009*). In this case, naturally disarticulated bones have no room to shift outside the volume of the body. However, they may fall into it if it remains free of sediment until skeletonization and bone disarticulation. Bone distribution can also be altered by external factors such as the passage of small animals, grave robbing or intentional funerary related actions (e.g. bone collection).

The meticulous observation and recording of evidence regarding human burials through archaeo- thanatology can help reconstruct:

1. the original position of the human remains at the time of interment;
2. how corpses interact with their space of decomposition (e.g. coffin, pit etc.) throughout the decay process;
3. any anthropogenic acts on the human remains, such as intentional manipulations or tomb looting;
4. any non-anthropogenic factors that can influence bone distribution in the space of decomposition (e.g. passage of scavengers).

Overall, archaeo- thanatology can yield information on events occurring to human remains between death and excavation, while providing insights into the chronological sequence of these events. For example, in the case of a disturbed burial, it may be possible to determine whether a tomb was reopened when the cadaver was in an advanced or early state of decay (*Duday 2009*). This, in turn, can provide further insights into the funerary actions involved in the creation of burials, and consequently into the socio-cultural role of the deceased.

Context

In first-millennium BC Veneto, key sites such as Padua and Este underwent processes of urbanisation, growing social stratification, and potentially state formation (*Capuis 2009; De Min et al. 2005; Gamba et al. 2013*). Such social changes can be traced in view of increasing complexity and variability in the funerary record.

The normative funerary rite in the region was cremation on a pyre, followed by deposition in a tomb, usually with grave goods. Inhumation was much less common, but is nonetheless attested in most of Veneto in frequencies that vary significantly between different sites (*Gamba et al. 2013; Gamba/Gambacurta/Serafini 2014; Gamba/Voltolini 2018; Perego 2012*). Inhumation was generally sporadic at settlements such as Este, but more common at Padua, where it accounts for around 20 % of all graves discovered to date (e.g. *De Min et al. 2005; Gamba/Gambacurta/Serafini 2014; Gamba/Voltolini 2018*). Inhumation tombs were often simple pits directly dug into the ground. However, according to scholars such as *Gamba/Voltolini (2018)*, wood containers and shrouds were used at Padua and elsewhere. Funerary assemblages associated with inhumation burials, if present, were simpler than the lavish items found in the richest cremation tombs. Overall, inhumation seems to indicate social diversity; in some cases, it may constitute funerary deviancy that suggests extreme social marginality (*Perego 2014; 2016; Gamba/Voltolini 2018*).

Funerary rituals in Veneto expressed the construction of hierarchical identities that were embedded in power negotiation. Full social recognition was granted to elite individuals cremated and buried inside formal cemeteries. Conversely, practices of social exclusion affected those who were denied formal burial in the cemetery and/or were exploited or abused in life, as indicated in certain cases in view of bioarchaeological evidence (*Perego 2016*, with bibliography). However, Venetic funerary practices attest to significant variability, reflecting both social differentiation between Venetic centres and changing forms of marginalisation and identity construction throughout the region in the Iron Age (i.e. first millennium BC). Formal burial played a key role in determining the degree of social inclusion granted to Venetic individuals. This is suggested by the complex ritual activities involved in the delimitation of burial tumuli and cemeteries, and by the anomalous treatment of inhumations outside formal burial sites (e.g. prone deposition). Exclusion from normative funerary rites was a key means of diminishing an individual's degree of social inclusion after death. In certain cases, deviant ritual practices may have represented forms of extreme marginalisation and violent deletion of personhood (*Perego 2014; 2016*), possibly involving human sacrifice (*Michelini/Serafini 2013*; below).

Dataset

Our sample consists of around 170 burials from the recently published cemetery of Emo Palazzo Capodilista-Tabacchi in Padua. Within this context, we apply micro-scale contextual analysis to a single grave, namely Tomb 125. This grave was selected because photographic evidence was available, and because the marginal status of the buried individual was ambiguous in this case.

The site of Emo, where Tomb 125 was found, developed south of the Venetic settlement of Padua from around 950 BC; it was investigated in the early 2000s. The excavated area yielded almost 700 tombs and three horse burials, mostly dating between the ninth and fifth centuries BC. The late first-millennium BC phases were almost completely obliterated by more recent activity. However, there is evidence that the cemetery was used until the Roman period.

Table 2. Approximate chronology of the Emo cemetery (after Gamba/Voltolini 2018).

Phase	Chronology
A	Ninth to mid-eighth century BC
B	Mid-eighth to early seventh century BC
C	Around mid-seventh century BC
D	Mid-seventh to early sixth century BC
E	First half of sixth century BC
F and G	Mid-sixth to mid-fifth century BC
H	Second half of fifth century BC

The percentage of inhumation tombs at Emo (23 %; n = 156) is one of the highest in Veneto in the first millennium BC. However, the cremation tombs can contain more than one individual, sometimes in the same urn. The cemetery is partly unpublished. Twelve inhumation and 23 cremation tombs dating to the early first millennium BC were published by *Gamba/Gambacurta/Serafini (2014)*. Preliminary data on the remaining inhumations were made available by *Gamba/Voltolini (2018)*, including the chronology, age, and sex of the deceased individuals, as well as a list of grave goods associated with such burials. *Gamba/Voltolini (2018)* also published additional information regarding some depositions (e.g. drawings of grave goods and photos), as well as preliminary plans of the burial site in different chronological phases (Table 2). Additional data on Emo were made available in earlier publications (e.g. *Gamba/Tuzzato 2008*).

While most bioarchaeological or taphonomic data remain unpublished, stratigraphic evidence reveals that the spatial organisation of the cemetery changed through time. However, because the site was used intensively in antiquity, stratigraphic sequences are sometimes difficult to determine. Graves are generally clustered in groups whose arrangement and size changed over time. Earthen tumuli may have had covered burial clusters, as at other Venetic cemeteries, although this remains uncertain due to poor stratigraphic preservation. An *ustrinum*, namely an area reserved for cremating the dead, appeared from around the mid-seventh century BC. Anomalous inhumations were deposited on or close to the boundary of the *ustrinum* alongside pits containing debris from cremation pyres. Such depositions included prone, crouched, and/or dismembered individuals, and were probably used as ritual offerings or even human sacrifices intended to sacralise the *ustrinum* (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*). Key evidence from the site dates to the period between the mid-seventh and mid-sixth centuries BC, which is also the chronology of Tomb 125. These finds, including the appearance of the *ustrinum*, are connected with an increase in abnormal practices involving inhumations at Padua Emo. The c. 650–550 BC phase was also characterised by growing social inequality, abnormal burial practices, and environmental stress in central-western Veneto (*Perego 2012; 2016; Perego/Scopacasa 2019; Tamorri 2019*).

The Emo cemetery: Overall sample

Age and sex profile of the funerary population

As noted above, preliminary osteological analysis of the Emo cemetery was published in *Gamba/Voltolini (2018)* and *Gamba/Gambacurta/Ruta Serafini (2014)*, with osteological analysis and definition of age classes by Onisto (see also Table 1). Our analysis is based on this published material. We did not carry out the osteological analysis ourselves, nor did we participate in the original excavation.

The Emo cremation sample includes 30 burials, with 19 adults (21+ years, 63 %) and 11 sub-adults (0–20 years, 37 %). The sexed samples comprise 17 possible females and 11 possible males. However, cremations are often difficult to sex (*Cavazzuti et al. 2019*). The sub-adult sample includes eight individuals

under 7 years old (26.6 %) and three adolescents (14–20 years, 11.4 %). Among the infants, there is one neonate around 6 months old and one individual around 2 years old.

The Emo inhumation sample includes at least 156 individuals, with 94 adults (61 %) and 61 sub-adults (39 %). The sexed sample comprises around 51 females and 38 males, including the male in Tomb 125. One individual was too poorly preserved to be characterised in terms of either age or biological sex. The sub-adult inhumation sample comprises one foetus, 38 infants, 15 children, and six adolescents. The incomplete and partially cremated individual in Tomb 306 was also estimated to be a sub-adult.

Preliminary osteological data show that pathologies and stress markers (e.g. enamel hypoplasia) were widespread in the overall sample, especially among females (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*, with previous bibliography). Most anomalous burials (e.g. prone, crouched) seem to be females, generally estimated to be middle- or old-adults at death. In the published sample, most anomalous depositions found outside the burial clusters are also females. These trends might indicate gender-based discrimination, the nature of which remains uncertain. However, some women in the inhumation sample do not seem to have been discriminated against, especially during specific phases of use of the cemetery; women are also the most well-represented sex in both published samples (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*; for further discussion, *Perego et al., forthcoming*).

Burial posture and tomb structures

A variety of tomb structures were used, probably in relation to factors such as the status and rank of the deceased (*Gamba/Gambacurta/Serafini 2014*; *Gamba/Voltolini 2018*). Pits and wooden containers were often used for cremations, with such structures becoming more complex and sophisticated over time. Inhumation burials were usually deposited in pits, either directly in contact with the ground or protected by some kind of cover (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*; *Perego et al., forthcoming*). In some rare cases, a wooden container appears to have been used, as in Tomb 468 below, which contained an old-adult female and the richest grave assemblage in the Emo inhumation sample. Anomalous inhumation burials seem to have been deposited in simple pits, sometimes in a careless manner.

Most Emo inhumations were supine, as in the case of Tomb 125. The supine posture was the norm in formal cemeteries across first-millennium BC Veneto (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*; *Perego et al. 2015*). In the case of infants, the foetal (fetale) position seems prevalent (see *Gamba/Voltolini 2018*, for an accurate description of the positioning). The supine position becomes increasingly common for sub-adults between 6 and 12 years old, and is prevalent among adult individuals. Twelve prone and 10 crouched inhumations are also attested at Emo. These individuals often display other abnormal or deviant features, such as deposition outside a burial cluster and near the *ustrinum*, and/or careless interment. Prone and crouched individuals seem to have been mostly middle- to old-adult females (according to data in *Gamba/Voltolini 2018*, table 1). Only one sub-adult between nine and twelve was crouched, and no infants or younger children were buried prone. This is in keeping with burial evidence from the entire region during the first millennium BC. Crouched infants and children sometimes occur, while prone burials in this age range are absent or extremely rare; prone children are occasionally attested in the earlier site of Frattesina (*Perego et al. 2015*).

Overall, burial posture seems to have delineated different identities and degrees of social inclusion at Emo. Age seems to have been one of the factors at play, with younger sub-adults given a treatment which was different from the normative supine posture. However, anomalous adults were also denied the supine position.

Grave goods

Grave goods are scarce or absent in cremation tombs dating to the ninth and early eighth centuries BC at Padua Emo. However, grave assemblages become more complex and sophisticated from the mid-eighth century BC (e.g. *Gamba/Gambacurta/Serafini 2014*; *Gamba/Tuzzato 2008*). The inclusion of grave goods in cremations was a common practice throughout the region for the most of the first millennium (e.g. *Bianchin Citton et al. 1998*; *Chieco Bianchi/Capuis 2006*; *Gamba/Gambacurta/Serafini 2015*).

The situation regarding inhumations such as Tomb 125 was different. Objects such as fibulae, pins, ceramics, and tools were found in association with only 35 of 156 inhumations (22 %). Grave goods from the Emo inhumation sample were usually very simple, and most often associated with supine adult burials. Overall, grave goods or ritual offerings appear with 29 buried adults out of 91 (32 %). In contrast, most sub-

adults in the Emo inhumation sample were buried with no visible or surviving objects: grave goods were found with only four infants and children out of 55 (less than 10%). Overall, these data may indicate the incomplete social integration or low status of most younger sub-adults and many adults in the inhumation sample. Alternatively, the status or role of such individuals may not have been delineated through the deposition of artefacts in their grave.

The percentage of inhumations associated with objects decreases from 30% in Phase A, to 20 % in Phases C–E (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*). This suggests a change in the significance of inhumation rites over time. Notable is the opposite trend with cremations, which become richer with time. Explanations may include more people of lower status having access to the cemetery (*Gamba/Voltolini 2018*) or increasing marginalisation of buried individuals in a phase of growing social stratification and environmental stress (*Perego et al., forthcoming*).

Some grave assemblages associated with inhumations include items that probably indicate gender, such as a spindle whorl in a couple of female tombs. However, gender does not normally seem to have been highlighted through the deposition of grave goods, especially with sub-adult burials, which were generally lacking in (visible) grave assemblages. Such lack of gender-specific grave goods may have occurred because gender expression in burial was connected with status in Iron Age Veneto: most inhumations at Emo were apparently either low-status or marginalised individuals. Grave goods associated with cremations were usually more elaborate, also with regard to gender delineation. In some cases, the osteological sexing or age determination of some individuals conflicts with the gender and age significance of their grave goods (*Perego et al., forthcoming*). This raises the possibility that these objects were offerings given to the deceased by the mourners, or that the ideological construction of gender and age categories of these individuals did not correspond to the norm for Emo. In this regard, Tomb 125 is an interesting case.

Marginality at the micro-scale: A case study of Tomb 125 at Emo

Context

According to the osteological data available, the individual in Emo Tomb 125 was a middle- to old-adult male at the time of death (Fig. 2). The tomb contained a pot (bicchiere) and an iron pin (Fig. 3; *Gamba/Voltolini 2018*). Pins are an extremely rare find among Emo inhumations; only one other example has been attested, which also occurred in a male burial, but was dated to Phase A. In the Venetic area,



Fig. 2. Emo Tomb 125 (Soprintendenza Archeologia del Veneto; available open-access in Gamba/Voltolini 2018).

pairs of pins are generally associated with adult male burials. However, pins are also attested in some female graves, generally as a single item as in Tomb 125 (Bianchi/Capuis 2006).

Tomb 125 dates to Phase D in the Emo relative chronology, which corresponds to a period of increased flooding and growing social stratification in central Veneto (cf. Perego/Scopacasa 2019 with stratigraphic data in Balista et al. 1992; Bianchin Citton et al. 1998). These phenomena were contemporaneous with an increase in abnormal inhumation practices at Emo, as well as in other Venetic sites, with several cases of dismemberment/disarticulation and crouched/prone burials (Perego/Scopacasa 2019; Tamorri 2019).

Tomb 125 was inside or on one corner of the *ustrinum*, where a number of anomalous inhumation burials clustered. These include:

1. Tomb 278, a crouched, middle-adult male (Phase D). The deceased seems to have been deposited inside, but on the margin of a burial cluster, with no grave goods. The burial was not far from the *ustrinum*.
2. Tomb 124, a prone adult female deposited on the boundary of the *ustrinum* (Phase D). She was found with a pot (coppa) and bronze fragments.
3. Tomb 121a, a pit containing the remains of a supine, middle- or old-adult male, who seems to have been dismembered (Phase D). The deceased was associated with a bicchiere, like the individual in Tomb 125, and an olletta pot. The pit was inside the *ustrinum*, close to its boundary.
4. Tomb 121b, a pit close to 121a and containing two human lower limbs that were found fully articulated but deposited in opposite directions (phase D). These remains belong to an adult male, possibly the same individual as in Tomb 121a (Gamba/Voltolini 2018). The pit also contained an incomplete knife, a bronze pointed tool (punteruolo), and two bone rings. These elements might have been grave goods, ritual offerings made by the burying group, or even the implements used to carry out the dismemberment.
5. Tomb 123, a pit containing the remains of a male estimated to be 18–21 years old at death. The individual might have been dismembered and subject to a number of other body manipulations, including a fracture of the femur and possibly bone disarticulation. Preliminary osteological data indicate that the individual was affected by spina bifida (Gamba/Voltolini 2018). If the attested variant of spina bifida was harmful, the consequent impairment of the individual might have motivated his ritual treatment and potential marginalisation (see also Perego 2016 with bibliography). The deceased in Tomb 123 (Phase E) was deposited inside the *ustrinum* at the end of a depositional cycle that started with Tomb 121a. This was followed by the deposition in Tomb 121b, the cremation in Tomb 126 (which remains unpublished), and finally by the deposition in Tomb 123.
6. Tomb 306, an oval pit containing a human articulated spine, charcoal, and pottery fragments (Phase E). The pit was close to the *ustrinum*. Osteological analysis suggests that the individual was a sub-adult.

Archaeothanatological analysis

The male individual in Tomb 125 had been arranged in the pit supine, with his upper limbs extended along his sides. His head was pointing south and the deceased was facing east (see below). The very good anatomical order of the skeleton, which maintained some of its labile joints, indicates that this was a primary burial, namely that it was the first and final resting place of the individual.

Despite the anatomically correct order of the remains, some bone displacements can be observed, especially in the upper skeleton. As mentioned above, the deceased was facing east; that is, his head was turned to the right. However, because the cervical vertebrae are not visible in the photograph, it is not possible to tell whether this was an intentional arrangement of the deceased upon interment or the result of taphonomic events such as the decomposition of the neck tendons (for a similar case from a Venetic

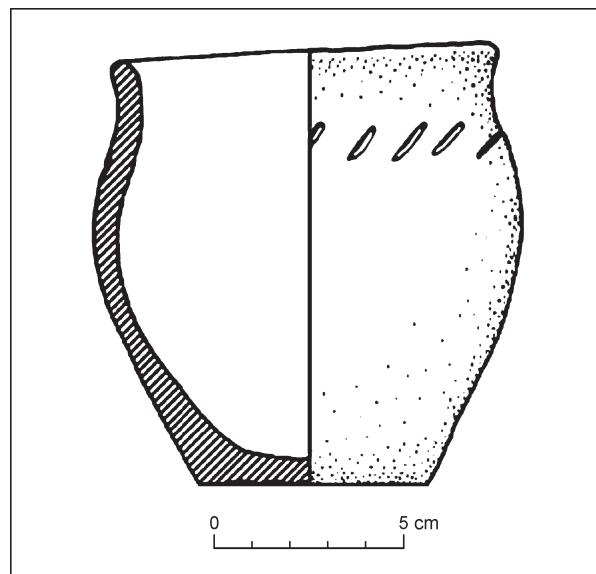


Fig. 3. Bicchiere pot from Tomb 125 (available open-access in Gamba/Voltolini 2018).

site, see *Tamorri 2019*). The shoulders seem to have mostly preserved their articulation, with the possible dislocation of the scapulae and humeri, namely the gleno-humeral joints. However, the ribcage partially collapsed and flattened due to the laws of gravity after the decomposition of soft tissue and organs. While the ribs of the right hemithorax flattened, the left side of the ribcage seems to have maintained part of its volume. This may be due to the off-centred placement of the cadaver in the tomb, whose left thoracic side may have rested on the sloping cut of the pit. The image available does not allow us to confirm this hypothesis.

As shown in the photograph, the spine of the skeleton had broken into several segments. This is common in supine burials and is due to the staggered decomposition of the ligaments in the spine over time (*Duday 2009*). The upper limbs are also partly disarticulated, with the exception of the right hand, which is the only one clearly visible in the photo. In regard to the left upper limb, the left hand seems leaning on the wall or cut of the pit; this may have contributed to the hand maintaining its anatomically correct structure.

In the lower part of the skeleton, the joint connecting the sacrum and the coxal bones (i.e. the sacroiliac articulation) disarticulated. However, the pubic symphysis does not seem to have broken; this may depend on the shape of the pit, whether U-shaped or narrow, which by preventing the movement of the disarticulated hipbones, maintained the pubic symphysis intact. The condition of the lower limbs is more complex. Both femora are outside of their acetabula, and the left appears more markedly rotated outward (i.e. laterally) than the right. Notably, both kneecaps (i.e. patellae) remained at the knee joints. The patellae are among the most diagnostic bones to reconstruct the filled or empty nature of the decomposition space. If there is no sediment or other obstacles in the funerary context to prevent their movement, they tend to fall from their position at the knee joint when femora disarticulate. In Tomb 125, the lower part of the lower limbs, including the feet, maintained a very good articulation, although some phalanges of the feet may be missing. The fibulae are not visible in the photograph.

Overall, the bone distribution observed in the upper part of the skeleton seems compatible with an empty or semi-empty decomposition space. This bone distribution was probably due to the delayed filling of the original volume of the cadaver as well as to the presence of air pockets that may have formed in certain areas of the pit (e.g. right elbow). These conditions may have been created by the use of a covering element (e.g. leather), which decomposed after soft tissue, similar to the case of neonatal Tomb 183 also at Emo (*Perego et al., forthcoming*; cf. *Gamba/Voltolini 2018*, for the possible use of covers at Emo). However, the correct anatomical location of the patellae is worth noting. While their preserved position generally indicates a filled space of decomposition, in Tomb 125 the disarticulation and outward rotation of the femora would exclude this. The uncertain location of the fibulae also prevents a full understanding of the decomposition space in the tomb. In terms of funerary ritual, the use of a cover may indicate care for the deceased. The use of a coffin, as observed in the relatively rich inhumation Tomb 468, can be ruled out. No intentional pre- or post-depositional manipulations of the human remains in antiquity have been noted in Tomb 125. Assessment of additional images of Tomb 125 from other angles and at different stages of the excavation may clarify some of the outstanding issues.

Material culture analysis: focusing on a vessel shape

As noted above, one bicchiere pot was found in Tomb 125 (Fig. 3). The specific content or use of such vessels remains unconfirmed. We have recently suggested that their frequent low quality, closed shape and occasional association with lids might point to a soft and non-prestigious content, which was possibly used as baby or sick food, at least occasionally (*Perego et al., forthcoming*). Below, we present a more in-depth analysis of these artefacts to shed further light on the possible social role of the individual in Tomb 125. We will now consider the association of the bicchieri with the age and burial treatment of the deceased.

Bicchieri associated with sub-adults appear as the only item in the tomb:

1. One bicchiere was found in neonatal Tomb 90 (Phase C). The infant was around or under 2 months old at death. The bicchiere in this tomb, therefore, could indicate an offering, an effort to present the child as an adult, or an early attempt at weaning.
2. Another bicchiere was found in adolescent Tomb 601b (Phase C). The individual was 13–15 years old at the time of death. Again, the vessel was the only (visible) element in the grave assemblage. The anomalous Tomb 601a was located near Tomb 601b; it contained a prone, young-adult female found

with a bronze fragment. The association of the adolescent with an abnormal burial might point to an abnormal status shared by both these individuals.

Bicchieri associated with supine adult burials: all the bicchieri in these tombs come as part of a pair of vessels, or a small pottery set, which were the only items visible in the grave assemblage. These tombs do not display any clear evidence of abnormality within the inhumation sample. At the same time, their features are not indicative of high status.

1. Tomb 211 contained a young-adult male with a cup (tazzina) and the bicchiere (Phase C). As in other Venetic contexts, the cup might indicate wine drinking, but the example from this tomb remains unpublished.
2. Tomb 372 was a young-adult or middle-adult female (phase C). The bicchiere was associated with a large bowl (scodellone). Scodelloni are a relatively rare find in Venetic graves (e.g. *Bianchi/Capuis 2006*). They are usually rather coarse-ware pots that may have been used for cooking or containing food. The example from Tomb 372 remains unpublished, so a more precise evaluation cannot be carried out.
3. Tomb 624 was a young-adult female with two bicchieri (phase D). Her grave was not far from the *ustrinum* and Tomb 125. Most data pertaining to Tomb 624 are unpublished, so it is unclear whether her deposition in the *ustrinum* area was indicative of social exclusion in this case.
4. Tomb 122 was a middle-adult male with an olletta, a bicchiere, a small lid, and fragments presumably belonging to a second olletta. The location of this grave is not indicated on the cemetery map. As in the previous cases, the grave assemblage contains only pottery.

Bicchieri associated with old-adult individuals always form part of a grave assemblage containing at least two or three elements, and sometimes more. Some prestige elements (e.g. relatively complex pottery sets, ornaments) and unique/rare status or role indicators (e.g. spindle whorls, which indicate textile production) may also appear in these tombs, perhaps suggesting that some old-adult individuals (male and female) had reached a position of relative importance in their community. This contrasts with the treatment of several other old-adult individuals from Emo, generally females, who are among the abnormal depositions.

1. Tomb 568 contained a supine male burial with three pieces of pottery: a bowl (scodella), a cup (tazzina), and the bicchiere. The cup could, again, indicate wine drinking, but this remains unconfirmed (phase B).
2. Tomb 612 contained a supine female associated with a bicchiere, a needle, and a spindle whorl (phase B). The only other spindle whorl in the Emo inhumation sample was in Tomb 468, which belonged to an old-adult female and boasted the richest assemblage at the site, as well as two bicchieri.
3. Tomb 468 contained a female estimated to be in her 70s at death (Phase C). The tomb yielded two bicchieri with lids, ornaments—namely a fibula, coral, and amber beads—two cups (tazzine), an olletta, a bowl, animal teeth, a spindle whorl, and a vase (vaso cipolliforme). This type of vase was generally used as an urn in cremation tombs, prompting *M. Gamba/D. Voltolini (2018)* to suggest that the deceased was granted a fictitious cremation rite because she could not undergo real cremation for reasons that remain unknown. Notable is the presence of potential amulets in the tomb (coral, amber and animal teeth: *Perego 2010*). Also, osteological analysis pointing to advanced old age might be indicative of extensive physical strain and/or anomalous longevity for the time. This might justify the adoption of the less common inhumation rite and protective devices (*Perego et al., forthcoming*).
4. Tomb 143 was a supine male associated with a bicchiere and a tazzina (Phase D).

Bicchieri associated with anomalous burials: in two cases out of three, the bicchiere is associated with an olletta. Ollette had a closed shape, and therefore might have contained liquid or soft foodstuffs as the bicchiere.

1. One bicchiere and one olletta were found with the crouched adult female in Tomb 421 (Phase B). In phase B, the only other olletta in the Emo inhumation sample was in Tomb 443: an adolescent burial that also contained shells. In Iron Age Veneto, shells were apparently used as ornaments, and/or toys, as well as, crucially, amulets (*Perego 2010*); they were often associated with sub-adult and female burials. Therefore, both the olletta and bicchiere in this phase may indicate some degree of deviant identity, and/or the consumption of food associated with the sick or the prematurely deceased.
2. The same combination of bicchiere and olletta was found with the individual in Tomb 121a, who was presumably dismembered. He was deposited in the *ustrinum* (Phase D) not far from Tomb 125 itself.
3. A fragment of a vase defined as a bicchiere was found with a bronze ring in Tomb 98 (Phase F). The deceased was estimated as an old-adult female. She was deposited prone on the boundary of the *us-*

trinum. The bicchiere fragment, as shown in M. Gamba/D. Voltolini (2018), seems to be from a fine-ware, decorated vase that did not resemble the shape or coarse quality of the bicchieri in the other sampled tombs. It might have been an offering, deposited with the dead as a pars pro toto during a sacrifice or ritual act (similar cases have been noted at the ritual site of Via S. Eufemia; Michelini/Serafini 2013). Nearby Tomb 61 contained another anomalous deposition: a crouched middle- or old-adult female with no grave goods.

DISCUSSION

The Emo funerary population is not representative of a standard living population in a pre-industrial agricultural society. Females are over-represented in certain phases, while neonates and young children are under-represented overall (*Perego et al., forthcoming*). Coupled with evidence of abnormal depositions, this might indicate practices of ritual marginalisation, according to which not all individuals in the Padua community received formal burial. However, it must be noted that the intense use of the funerary space and possible poor skeletal preservation (Tomb 183, analysed in *Perego et al., forthcoming*) might have diminished the funerary visibility of younger sub-adults at Emo.

Abnormal or deviant depositions (e.g. prone, crouched, and dismembered) are often associated with the *ustrinum*, especially between c. 650–550 BC. Such individuals are mostly adults. As in other Venetic sites, burial location seems to have delineated forms of social exclusion and inclusion. Deposition outside the main burial clusters involved both sub-adult and adult inhumations, as well as some cremations. However, it is sometimes difficult to identify such clusters stratigraphically because the funerary space was used intensely. Burial posture and grave goods may also have delineated different forms of social exclusion, as well as gender/sex, age, status, and rank. Forms of inclusion and exclusion from society, and their funerary presentation, were likely related to an individual's various circumstances, such as gender, age, health, social/kin affiliation, socio-economic status, cause of death, deviant behaviour in life, and stigma.

Tomb 125 – Micro-scale analysis

Tomb 125 dates to a period of environmental stress and growing inequality, which might have justified the increase in abnormal burial practices noted at Emo as well as other Venetic sites. However, the burial practices involving this grave are fully representative of the complexity surrounding funerary deviancy and marginalisation in the Venetic archaeological record. The grave displays both abnormal and normative characteristics within the wider Emo sample.

The individual in Tomb 125 was buried in a supine position, which is apparently normative for an adult inhumation. Archaeothanatological analysis revealed the potential use of a cover on the body, which would indicate care for the deceased. However, the grave was located near a corner of the *ustrinum* close to many inhumations that display abnormal or deviant features, such as the prone, crouched, and dismembered individuals that appeared in Tombs 121a, 121b, 123, 124, 278, and 306. These depositions may have represented human sacrifices or ritual offerings to sacralise the *ustrinum* and/or its boundary.

Tomb 125 was one of the few inhumations at Emo accompanied by a grave assemblage, implying that no extreme marginalisation had occurred in this case, even though the individual was not cremated. The grave contained a pin and a vessel (bicchiere), which were probably deposited as grave goods.

Analysis of the information available about the bicchieri has provided further insight into the funerary use of such vessels. First, the bicchieri in the Emo sample were characterised by M. Gamba/D. Voltolini (2018) as coarse-ware or semi-fine vessel shapes. Therefore, they may sometimes have contained non-prestigious contents, including possibly baby or sick food. In particular, we note the presence of bicchieri in the following depositions, which may have contained individuals who were marginalised or who were buried close to the *ustrinum* and/or to other deviant burials:

1. Sub-adult burials, containing victims of premature death and/or individuals unable to consume solid food (n = 2; i.e. Tombs 90 and 601b);
2. Old-adult individuals, potentially affected by precarious health, which might have required them to consume soft foods (e.g. severe dental pathologies; n = 5 i.e. Tombs 98, 468, 143, 612, 568);

3. Abnormal burials, which might have included impaired individuals such as the possible case in Tomb 123 (n = 3 i.e. Tombs 98, 121a, 421);
4. Burials close to or inside the *ustrinum*, which might have been ritual offerings to sacralise this area (n = 4 i.e. Tombs 125, 121a, 624, 98);
5. Burials close to or associated with abnormal burials (n = 5 i.e. Tombs 98, 125, 121a, and possibly 421 and 601b). The location of burials with bicchieri in the vicinity of deviant burials might indicate that the individuals in question shared an abnormal status.

Second, bicchieri may have helped delineate the life course of the deceased in the Emo cemetery. The combination of bicchieri, attending vessels, and other grave goods could have been linked to incremental levels of social significance in some burials. The two sub-adults accompanied by a single bicchiere had no other grave goods. Increasingly complex grave assemblages including bicchieri were associated with more advanced age. This seems partly to contradict the possible association between bicchieri and marginal identities discussed above.

Thirdly, different combinations of pottery, including the bicchieri, are attested. The specific use and content of such vessels remain uncertain. Different pottery shapes may have been multifunctional in different contexts. Vessel features, such as shape, size, and pottery quality could be key clues in this regard. This issue warrants further analysis when the whole cemetery is published.

Some vessel combinations are particularly intriguing. A single bicchiere is associated with a small cup (*tazzina*) in a few middle- or old-adult supine burials. In many such cases, the deceased was male, although, for example, Tomb 468 contained a female individual; sometimes these burials were characterised by relatively complex grave assemblages. This may indicate that this vessel type, used as a liquid container, was part of a small drinking set in these circumstances. Old-adult female Tomb 468 contained closed vessel shapes associated with small cups, such as the *tazzine ad ansa sopraelevata*, which were probably used in drinking practices that involved alcohol consumption. Therefore, in such Emo tombs, the coupling of the bicchiere and *tazzina* may indicate the consumption of a beverage such as alcohol.

For a long time, scholars of ancient Italy have considered alcohol consumption a practice reserved for elite groups (Iaia 2016, with bibliography). However, in a recent paper, C. Iaia (2016) showed that simple drinking sets suggesting alcohol consumption appear in non-elite tombs in Iron Age central Tyrrhenian Italy. Iaia argues that different styles of drinking may have developed among different social groups in this context, including non-elite social segments. Such non-elite alcohol consumption would have been signalled in the burial context by vessels that differed from the highly sophisticated drinking sets deposited in elite tombs. Such dynamics may have been at work in the Emo community as well. While elite cremated individuals in Veneto were generally given sophisticated drinking assemblages (e.g. bronze containers such as *situle* and bronze *tazzine ad ansa sopraelevata*), non-elites might have been able to access alcoholic beverage and use it for ritual purposes. This would have been manifest in the deposition of vessels such as bicchieri in lieu of bronze containers such as *situle*, and small drinking cups in these individuals' tombs.

In this context, Tomb 125 reveals some peculiarities. As noted above, while relatively complex pottery assemblages were found in other middle- or old-adult tombs, the bicchiere in this grave appears as a single piece of pottery. In the Emo inhumation sample, only three other tombs feature a bicchiere as the only ceramic item: two sub-adult graves and one old-adult female grave. This raises questions concerning the identity of the male individual in Tomb 125, especially since he was placed in the *ustrinum* corner close to several deviant inhumations. Was this individual presented, in the funerary sphere, as more akin to a sub-adult or a marginal individual? Was the bicchiere used as a container for sick food in this grave, rather than as part of a drinking set? It is worth noting that an individual with a potential impairment was deposited in Tomb 123, which is near Tomb 125.

SUMMARY

In the present study, we proposed a micro-scale analysis of a single tomb within a wider sample of around 170 human burials from Padua Emo. The work provides new insights into the dynamics of marginalisation at the micro-scale in a context of growing inequality and environmental stress.

Overall, the evidence from Emo confirms that, in Iron Age Veneto, burial rituals and funerary treatments were used to delineate forms of marginality and social exclusion, at least in the funerary sphere.

Foetuses, infants, and children probably did not receive full social inclusion, and adults were sometimes given abnormal burial treatments (*Perego et al., forthcoming*). The adoption of inhumation itself may indicate social exclusion, especially in certain chronological phases, or the expression of different identities in death, as was probably the case in Tomb 125. Variety in burial practices might provide insight into different forms of social exclusion, at least in the funerary sphere.

The case of male Emo Tomb 125 fully embodies the complexities surrounding inhumation rites in Iron Age Veneto. An apparently normative supine burial, with a potential body cover, the individual in Tomb 125 was placed near a corner of the *ustrinum* (i.e. the area reserved for cremating the dead) in the vicinity of several abnormal or deviant depositions. These included prone, crouched, and dismembered individuals who might have been used as human sacrifices or ritual offerings to sacralise the cremation area. While Tomb 125 contained objects, possibly grave goods, it also yielded a vessel (bicchiere), which, as a single pottery piece, is otherwise only attested in sub-adult tombs and one deposition of an old-adult female.

Between the ninth and mid-fifth centuries BC, increasing social inequality and socio-environmental stress appear to have been linked with the rise of novel mechanisms of social control in Venetic mortuary contexts. The communities that used burial sites such as Emo probably manipulated notions of social inclusion vs. exclusion to reaffirm their power and resilience in the context of socio-environmental unpredictability. This is particularly clear between the mid-seventh and mid-sixth centuries, which represent the period of Tomb 125 itself. This phase was marked by significant flooding, accelerated socio-political change, and increased deviancy in the funerary sphere. In this heavily charged ideological environment, it remains uncertain how conceptions of social inclusion or exclusion may have reflected the everyday treatment of individuals who were apparently marginalised and abused in death.

The publication of all bioarchaeological data from Emo will provide further insight into marginalisation practices in Iron Age Padua. These data may elucidate why an apparently normative inhumation burial was associated with deviant depositions in the corner of the *ustrinum*, which might have included at least one impaired individual. Standard application of archaeothanatology to both archival material and in the field can generate important data on marginal burials in past funerary contexts, including Veneto. The wide-ranging analysis of grave goods will shed further light on the significance of objects buried with potentially marginalised individuals within the broader Venetic cultural context. The study of artefacts related to care may cast new light on past impairment, disability, and welfare (for care in the past, see *Tilley/Oxenham 2011*).

Overall, the present analysis of the Emo sample, and Veneto more generally, suggests that ideas of marginality can be quite variable and nuanced even within the same cultural context. The link between the delineation of marginality and burial practices is not necessarily direct. However, this article shows that multi-disciplinary archaeological analysis can shed light on practices pertaining to marginality and single life histories. For example, a marginality-focused approach to funerary evidence can afford new insights into past notions of disability and care, ritual abuse in phases of socio-environmental stress, and the postmortem treatment of marginalised individuals. The method employed in the present article will be applicable to other geographical and chronological contexts.

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ALLES KRIEGER ODER WAS?

Waffengräber der frühen Eisenzeit aus Mittelitalien

CHRISTOPH BAUR

A world in arms? Graves with weaponry in Early Iron Age Central Italy.

At the transition from the final Bronze Age to the early Iron in Etruria vast proto-urban centers were founded, developing over the following centuries into the Etruscan city-states. The driving forces of this “proto-urban revolution” were the elites of the Proto-Villanovan facies of central Italy. Their growing power was represented in the funeral ritual by the offering of symbolic weapons. With the formation of the Villanova-culture at the beginning of the Early Iron Age the deployment of the new settlement structures was concluded and the strengthening of the elites in socio-economic terms became apparent: the graves of the warrior elites now contained real weapons. Intensive trade contacts and the concomitant cultural transfer with the eastern Mediterranean influenced the Villanovans fundamentally: The Orientalizing phase marked the birth of the Etruscan nation. Their elites – the “principi etruschi” – displayed their military, economic, political and ritual omnipotence in opulent burial equipments.

This paper presents some preliminary results of the authors dissertation project, which aims at a comprehensive investigation on the weapon graves of the different Villanovan groups. Two short studies are presented in order to show, that the superregional analysis of Early Iron Age weapon graves from central Italy are more than just the investigation of warrior hood. First some statistical analysis of the graves with weaponry from Tarquinia and Bologna show, that axes are also well represented in female graves and have therefore most likely a symbolic function way beyond their martial use; most probably they symbolize a function in sacrificial practices, open to both men and women. Secondly the rare phenomenon of sword graves in Bologna are analyzed together with development of the settlement structure in the Po-plain. The deposition of weapons in graves seems to be connected to a taboo in Early Iron Age Bologna. The evidence of a small circle of prominent male depositions probably belonging to the same generation is therefore most exceptional. Considering the thoughts of Luc Baray on the political dimensions of grave good selection a model may be developed, which sees these sword-bears as the leaders of different clans involved in the collaborative foundation of Bologna in the second half of the 8th century.

Keywords: Early Iron Age Italy, proto-urban centers, weapon graves, social structure.

EINLEITUNG

Die frühe Eisenzeit Italiens ist eine von Traditionenbrüchen und der Etablierung neuer Sitten geprägte Zeit. Am Übergang von der Endbronzezeit zur frühen Eisenzeit Italiens um die Mitte des 10. Jh. v. Chr. entstehen in Etrurien jene Großsiedlungen, die sich in den folgenden Jahrhunderten zu den etruskischen Stadtstaaten entwickeln. Als Träger dieses autochthonen Prozesses gelten die Eliten der endbronzezeitlichen Protovillanova-Gruppen Mittelitaliens, die anhand symbolischer Waffen im Grab erkennbar sind (Pacciarelli 2006).

Mit der Ausbildung der eisenzeitlichen Villanova-Kultur gelangen ab dem frühen 9. Jh. v. Chr. echte Waffen in die Gräber, was auf ein sozioökonomisches Erstarken der Eliten hindeutet. Bedingt durch seine zentrale Lage am Mittelmeer entwickelt Etrurien als „ein fruchtbares Land, das alles Erdenkliche lieferte“ (Diodor 5, 40, 3), auch reiche Metallvorkommen (Plin. nat. 33, 1), ab dem 8. Jh. v. Chr. enge Beziehungen zum östlichen Mittelmeerraum. Auch sind Verbindungen zu den alpinen und transalpinen Kulturen der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit evident. Die frühetruskischen Eliten nehmen eine Vermittlerrolle im kulturellen Austausch zwischen dem östlichen und westlichen Mittelmeerraum sowie der Zone nordwärts der Alpen ein (Tomedi 2017). Dadurch bildete sich die Orientalisierende Periode als erste historische Epoche Altitaliens heraus, in der die aristokratischen „Principi Etruschi“ ihre kriegerische, wirtschaftliche, politische und kultische Macht in opulenten Grabausstattungen zur Schau stellen (Di Gennaro 1986).

Um die Entwicklung der sozialen Organisation und die hierarchische Gliederung dieser waffentragenden Eliten von einer lokalen endbronzezeitlichen, egalitär bestattenden, hin zu einer überregional vernetzten und durch aristokratische Herrschaftsstrukturen geprägten Gesellschaft nachzuzeichnen, habe ich im Rahmen meiner Dissertation¹ die Ausstattungen von rund 700 Gräbern mit Waffen- bzw. Rasiermesserbeigabe aus insgesamt 34 Nekropolen mit Hilfe multivariater statistischer Analysen verglichen.

Die Arbeit stützt sich wesentlich auf die Thesen von *A. A. Saxe* (1970) und *L. Baray* (2009), wonach Grabbeigaben die soziale Person des Bestatteten widerspiegeln, sprich seinen gesellschaftlichen Rang und seine sozialen Rollen im Verhältnis zur Gesellschaft der Bestattenden. Baray hält einschränkend fest, dass die Auswahl der Grabbeigaben nicht notgedrungen die realen Gegebenheiten innerhalb der Gesellschaft wiedergibt, vielmehr lassen sich „politische“ Motive erkennen: Die Grabausstattungen der miteinander in Konkurrenz stehenden Eliten sind Ausdruck einer auf Erhalt und Ausbau sozio-ökonomischer Macht abzielenden Bestattungsideologie (*Kossack* 1974).

Den Forderungen Barays entsprechend (*Baray* 2009, 199) werden für eine Annäherung an die Bestattungsideologie auch Daten zur Siedlungs- und Sozialstruktur (*Franciosi* 1995; zur Sozialstruktur *Linke* 1995; zur Siedlungsstruktur vgl. z. B. *Pacciarelli* 2017; *Smith* 2006), zur Wirtschaftsweise (*D’Ercole* 2017) sowie religiösen Vorstellungen (*Maras* 2017) aus einem ausreichend großen Untersuchungsgebiet – im Focus stehen Tarquinia in Südetrurien sowie Bologna in der südlichen Poebene – in die Auswertung miteinbezogen.

Anthropologische Daten liegen nur begrenzt vor². Dennoch lassen sich männlich konnotierte Waffenbeigaben, insbesondere Lanzen und Äxte, auch in weiblichen Bestattungen feststellen (zur Beigabe von Lanzen in weiblichen Grabkontexten siehe jüngst *Lucentini* 2015). Dies wirft Fragen zum Status der Frauen in der frühetruskischen Gesellschaft, aber auch zum Symbolgehalt der Waffen in männlichen Gräbern auf. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrages sollen nun zwei kurze Studien präsentiert werden, die sich mit der Frage beschäftigen, ob die Waffen im villanovazeitlichen Italien – im Speziellen Äxte und Schwerter – tatsächlich als Zeichen von Kriegereliten gewertet werden können, oder ob die Beigabe dieser Objektgruppe nicht andere Gründe haben kann.

FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE UND FORSCHUNGSSTAND

Die Gräberfeldarchäologie hat in Italien eine lange Tradition. Da zahlreiche eisenzeitliche Siedlungen bis heute bewohnt, überbaut und so schwer zu untersuchen sind, versprach die Erforschung der eisenzeitlichen Nekropolen Erkenntnisse zur Entwicklung der an der Schwelle zur Staatlichkeit befindlichen, frühetruskischen Kultur. Man widmete sich zunächst umfangreichen Materialvorlagen³ und der Klärung chronologischer Fragestellungen (*Bartoloni/Delpino* 2005; *Carancini* 1969; *Guidi* 1993; *Müller-Karpe* 1959; *Peroni* 1979; *Pincelli* 1960; *Toms* 1986). Ab den 1980er Jahren wurden die Untersuchungen zu spätbronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Siedlungsstrukturen intensiviert und sozial-anthropologische Forschungsansätze traten zunehmend in den Vordergrund (vgl. u.a. zur Sozialstruktur *Di Bietti Sestieri* 1992; *Di Gennaro* 1986 und *Guidi* 1993; zur Bestattungskultur *Bartoloni/Delpino* 2005 und *Iaia* 1999; zur Bewaffnung und Kampfesweise *Stary* 1981). Diese beiden Forschungsstränge wurden in den späten 1990er Jahren von Marco Pacciarelli zu dem in der Einleitung beschriebenen Bild der „protourbanen Wende“ zusammengeführt (*Pacciarelli* 2006). Dieses Konzept der von mehreren Gräberfeldern unterschiedlicher Deszendenzgruppen umgebenen Großsiedlung prägt bis heute maßgeblich das Bild der früheisenzeitlichen Gesellschaften Mittelitaliens.

Unter dem Blickpunkt des autochthonen Stadtwerdungsprozesses wurden in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten verstärkt eisenzeitliche Siedlungen archäologisch untersucht (zu Bologna *Ortalli* 2013; zu Veji *Bartoloni* u. a. 2013; zu Verucchio *Harari/Rondini/Zamboni* 2017) und vor allem die Bestattungsideologie der Kriegereliten einer Neubewertung unterzogen (*Iaia* 2006a; 2013a; 2013b; 2016; *Iaia/Pacciarelli* 2012; *Pacciarelli* 2010). Eine diesen Themenstrang betreffende, überregionale Studie stellt ein Forschungsdesiderat dar, das jedoch aufgrund der Fülle an Daten und Fundmaterial ohne Datenbank und statistische Analysen nicht zu bewältigen ist. Mit dem oben beschriebenen Dissertationsprojekt soll begonnen werden, diese Forschungslücke zu schließen.

¹ Die Dissertation mit dem Titel „Villanovazeitliche Waffengräber. Beiträge zur Chronologie, Sozialstruktur und Elitengenese der frühen Etrusker Mittelitaliens“ wird im Laufe des Jahres 2019 an der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, Institut für Archäologien eingereicht.

² Die Mehrzahl der untersuchten Gräber wurde Ende des 19. und im frühen 20. Jh. ausgegraben, das Knochenmaterial wurde in kaum einem Fall aufbewahrt.

³ Siehe dazu die zahlreichen Bände zu Italien in der Reihe „Prähistorische Bronzefunde“.

FALLSTUDIEN

Die Axt im Kontext villanovazeitlicher Bestattungen: Waffe – Werkzeug – Kultgerät?



Abb. 1. Grab Benacci 251 im Museo Civico di Bologna. Foto Ch. Baur.

Die Abb. 3 und 4 zeigen jeweils einen Biplot der Korrespondenzanalysen der Gräber mit Waffenbeigabe aus Tarquinia (Abb. 3) und Bologna (Abb. 4).⁶ Dargestellt sind sowohl die Gräber als auch die enthaltenen Beigaben, von denen allerdings die Äxte und Gefäßbeigaben aus der Analyse ausgeschlossen wurden, da sie in Bezug auf den untersuchten Sample nicht geschlechtsspezifisch sind und somit verbindend wirken.

Die Grafik in Abb. 3 zeigt deutlich, dass sich die weiblichen (hängende Dreiecke) von den männlichen Inventaren (stehende Dreiecke) absetzen, während sich die wenigen für Tarquinia belegten Doppelbestattungen (Kreuze) dazwischen einordnen. Diese Trennung lässt sich auch bei den Beigabentypen

Sowohl aus Tarquinia als auch aus Bologna sind Gräber mit Axtbeigabe bekannt, die aufgrund ihrer Beigabenkombination als weibliche Bestattungen gelten. Man kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass vor allem die italienische Forschung nicht weiß, wie sie mit diesen Gräbern umgehen soll. So ist von den betreffenden Bologneser Gräbern nur das Grab 251 der Benacci Nekropole im Museo Civico di Bologna ausgestellt (Abb. 1), wo es als weibliche Brandbestattung angesprochen wird. Stefania Panichelli klassifizierte es hingegen als Doppelbestattung, wofür lediglich die Axtbeigabe spricht (Panichelli 1990, 335, Tab. 1). Aus Tarquinia sind mindestens vier Gräber – allesamt aus der Arcatelle-Nekropole – bekannt, die aufgrund ihrer Beigaben als weibliche Bestattungen mit Axt zu bezeichnen sind, doch ist nur eines, das Grab 34 (Hencken 1968, 191–193, Abb. 172–174)⁴ ist, wohl aufgrund seiner herausragenden Gefäßbeigaben, auch bildlich überliefert (Abb. 2).

Dabei sind genau diese Gräber von hohem Interesse, da sie belegen, dass Äxte eben nicht nur Waffen (Stary 1981, 88, 89)⁵ oder Werkzeuge (Iaia 2006b) sind, die der Sphäre des Kriegers und Handwerkers, also dem Männlichen zuzuweisen sind, sondern durchwegs auch andere Bedeutung haben konnten. Zu denken wäre hier etwa an Opfergeräte im Rahmen kultischer Handlungen oder an Amtsinsignien. Diese Überlegungen führen einerseits zu einer erweiterten Betrachtung des Symbolgehaltes der Axt im früheisenzeitlichen Bestattungswesen Mitteleitaliens, andererseits aber auch zur Erkenntnis, dass derartige Funktionen bzw. Ämter beiden Geschlechtern offenstanden.

⁴ Bei Hencken 1968 wird dieses Grab als „Dolio with the girdle with a turtle M6“ bezeichnet, in der älteren Literatur ist es auch als Grab vom 8. März 1883 bekannt. Die hier verwendete Nummerierung geht auf die Arbeit von Cristiano Iaia zur Bestattungssymbolik der Villanovakultur Südetruriens (Iaia 1999) zurück.

⁵ Jedoch bezweifelt Peter Stary selbst, dass die Axt bei den Etruskern tatsächlich als Waffe Verwendung fand.

⁶ Zur Korrespondenzanalyse siehe Siegmund 2015. Die Analysen wurden mit dem Softwarepaket Past 3 (Paleontological statistics software package) durchgeführt, vgl. dazu Hammer/Harper/Ryan 2001. Für die vorliegenden Analysen wurde die Version 3.23 (Stand März 2019) genutzt. Die Software ist über die Internetadresse <https://folk.uio.no/hammer/past> (Stand 11. 3. 2019) frei erhältlich.



Abb. 2. Grab 34 von den Arcatelle. Grave with a gridle with a turtle, nach Hencken 1968, Abb. 172–174; Grafik Ch. Baur.

nachvollziehen: Rechts in der Grafik sind den männlichen Gräbern vor allem Waffen (Lanze, Schwert, Helm), Knie- und Schlangenfibeln sowie Trensen zugeordnet, wohingegen Kahn- und Sanguisugafibeln, Webutensilien (Spinnwirtel, Spindeln und Rocken), Gürtelbleche und Messer für die weiblichen Bestattungen charakteristisch scheinen. Vor allem die Assoziation mit Messern mag als weiteres Indiz dafür herangezogen werden, dass Äxte im Kontext des Totenrituals auf eine Rolle des bzw. der Verstorbenen in Verbindung mit Opferhandlungen hinweisen. A. M. Bietti Sestieri (2008) konnte für die benachbarte Laziale Kultur glaubhaft machen, dass dort die Beigabe von Messern in Gräbern mit einer sozialen Rolle priesterlichen Charakters einhergeht, die dort Männern wie Frauen zukam.

In Bologna ist die Befundlage etwas komplexer (Abb. 2). Die Klassifizierung der Gräber nach Geschlechtern stützt sich auf die bereits genannte Arbeit von St. Panichelli. Auffällig ist zunächst die sehr hohe Anzahl an Doppelbestattungen, die vordergründig nicht weiter verwundert: Aufgrund der geografischen Nähe und der engen Bindungen Bolognas zur Este-Kultur in Venetien, wo Doppel- und Mehrfachbestattungen die Regel darstellen, ließe sich dieses Phänomen auch in Bologna sehr gut erklären. Trotz des hohen Anteils an gemischten Inventaren zeigt sich doch eine recht deutliche Trennung der Gräber. Waffen spielen im Bestattungsritual des villanovazeitlichen Bolognas praktisch keine Rolle, weshalb die charakteristischste Beigabe männlicher Grablegen das Rasiermesser kombiniert mit verschiedenen Nadel- und Fibeltypen darstellt. Den wenigen, ausnahmslos hochrangigen Schwertträgern (graue stehende Dreiecke) sind zudem noch Wagen, Trencen und weiteres Kultgerät wie Presentatoii und palette votive beigegeben.⁷ Charakteristisch für weibliche Bestattungen sind hingegen Webutensilien, Fibeln mit zusammengesetztem Bogen und Schmuckelemente (verschiedene Perlen, Ketten, Anhänger etc.). Die in Südetrurien ebenfalls charakteristischen weiblichen Gürtel und Messer sind hingegen eher den Doppelbestattungen zuzuordnen, genauso wie Fibeln mit verdicktem gedrungenem Bogen, die ansonsten charakteristisch für weibliche Bestattungen sind, und die klassisch männlichen Dragofibeln.

Dies könnte den geneigten Betrachter zum Schluss führen, dass die Beigabe von Gürteln und Messern in Bologna verheirateten Frauen vorbehalten war, doch zeigt die Grafik auch, dass die Gruppe der Doppelbestattungen keinen homogenen Cluster bildet. Viel ratsamer erscheint es daher zunächst zu hinterfragen, auf welcher Grundlage die Klassifikation der Gräber nach Geschlechtern erfolgte. Als umstritten gilt die Tatsache, dass bestimmte Objekte geschlechtsspezifisch sind: Als vornehmlich weiblich konnotiert gelten Ohrringe, Webutensilien, rautenförmige Bronzeblechgürtel, paarig beigegebene Bogen- und Sanguisugafibeln sowie Armreife; als vornehmlich männlich konnotiert gelten Rasiermesser,

⁷ Die letztgenannten Beigabentypen sind jedoch keineswegs ausschließlich den männlich konnotierten Bestattungen vorbehalten, sondern finden sich auch durchwegs in weiblichen Bestattungen wieder, allerdings nicht in dem hier analysierten Sample der Bestattungen mit Waffenbeigabe.

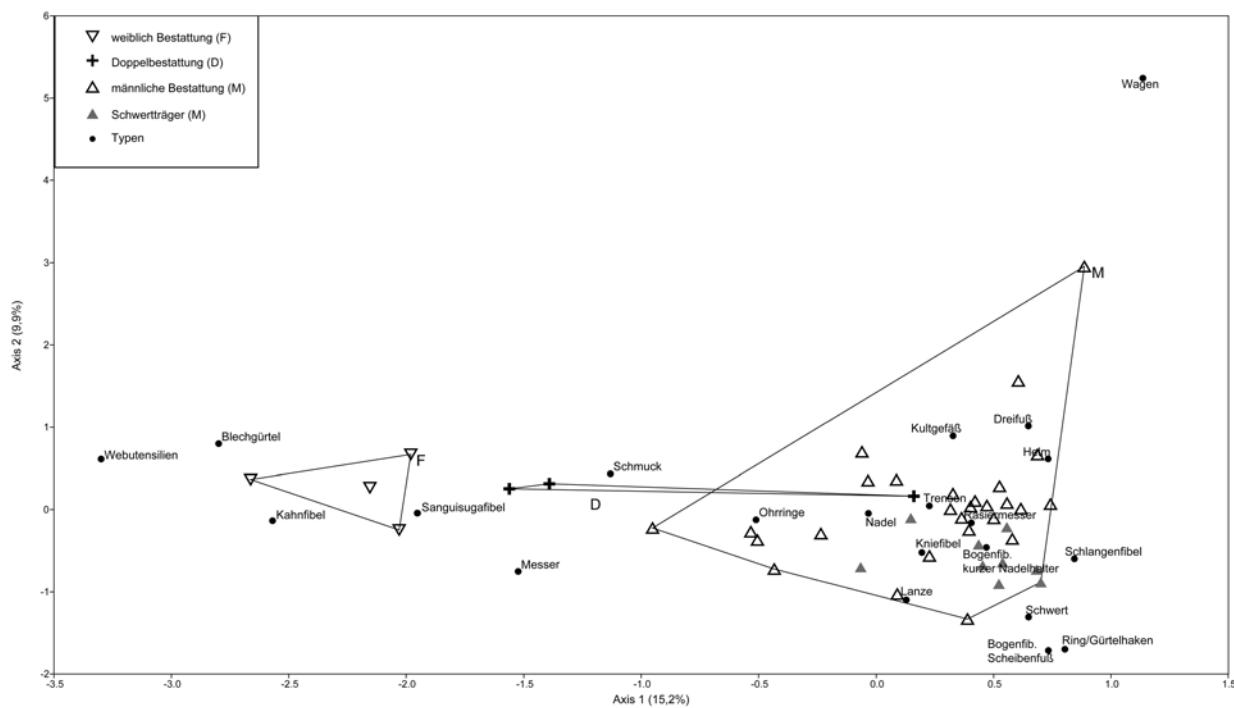


Abb. 3. Korrespondenzanalyse der Gräber mit Axtbeigabe aus Tarquinia. Inventare nach Carancini 1984; Hencken 1968; Iaia 1999.

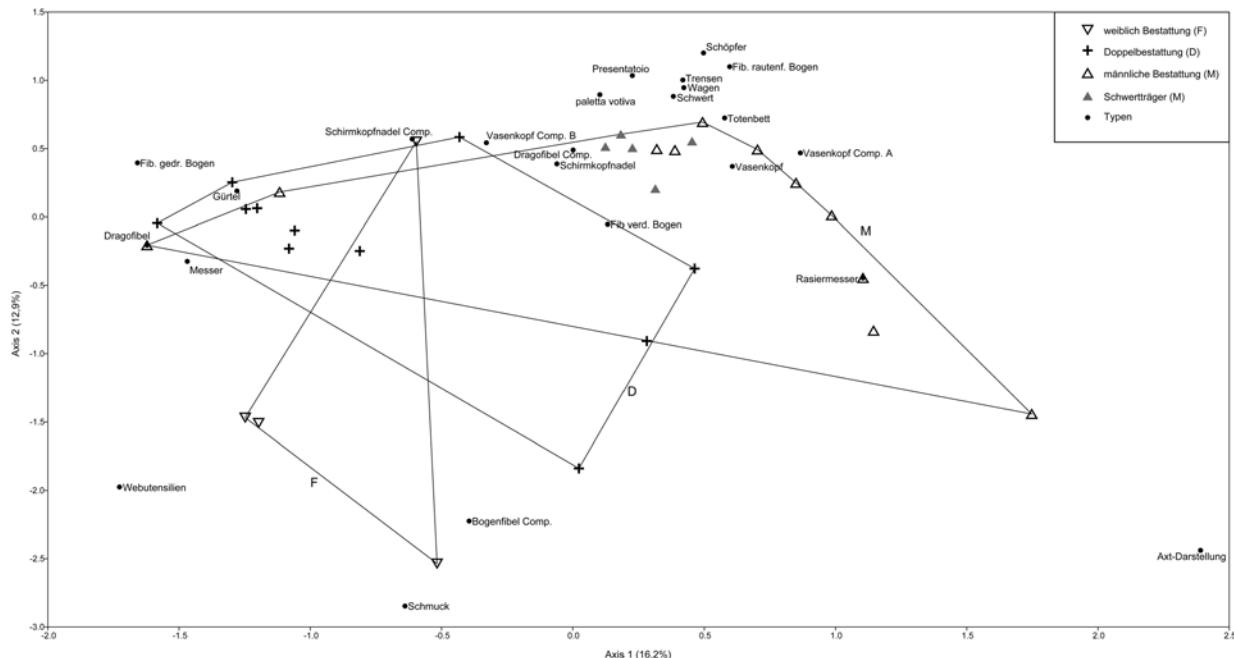


Abb. 4. Korrespondenzanalyse der Gräber mit Axtbeigabe aus Bologna. Inventare nach Carancini 1984; Panichelli 1990; Pincelli/Morigi Govi 1975; Tovoli 1989.

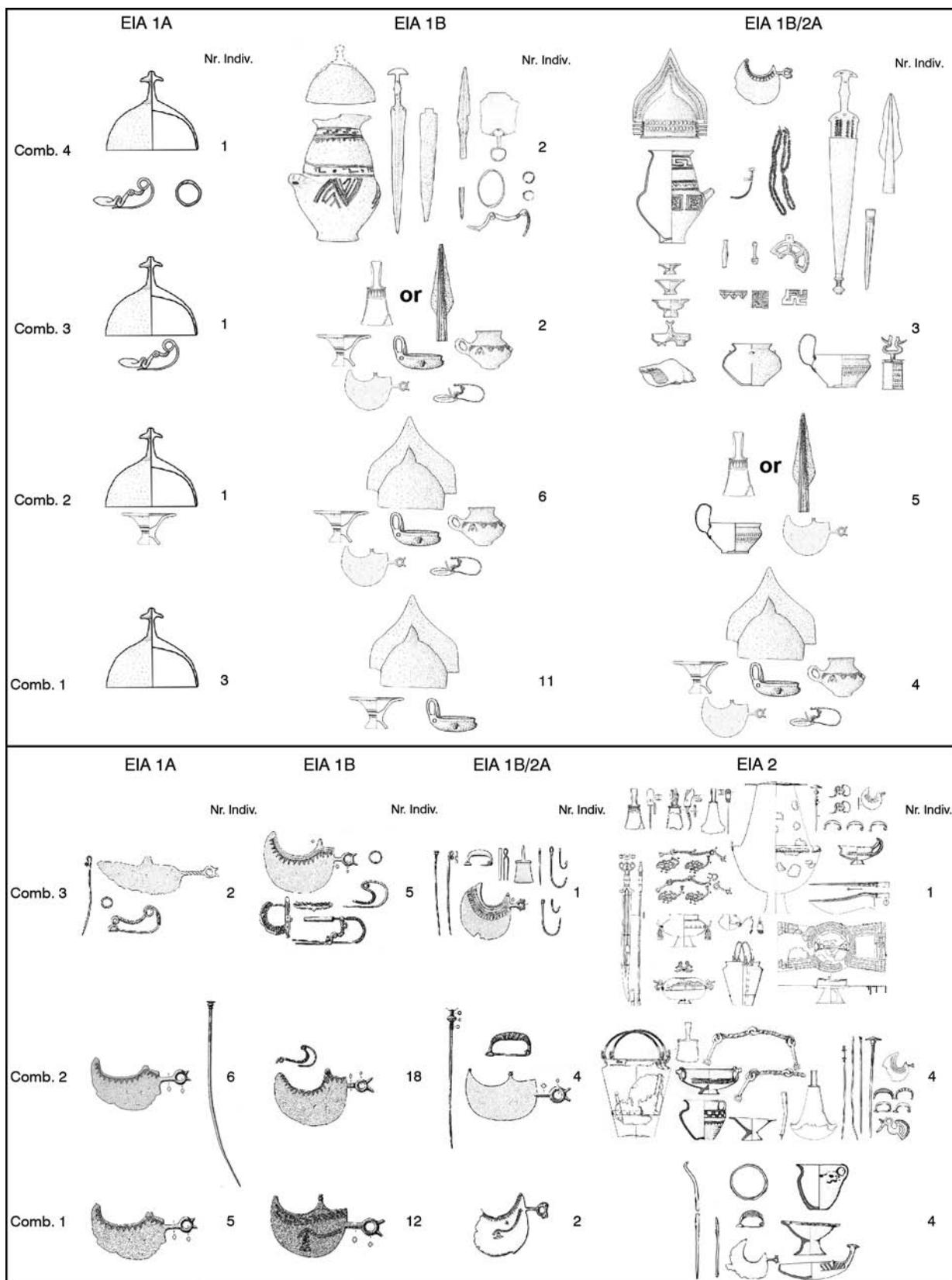


Abb. 5. Ausstattungsmuster für Bologna und Tarquinia. Oben: Waffengräber der Gräberfelder Selciatello, Poggio sopra Selciatello und Poggio dell'Impiccato von Tarquinia (Umzeichnung nach Iaia 1999, Abb. 9A; 13; 24). Unten: Gräber mit Rasiermessern der Gräberfelder San Vitale und Benacci Caprara (Umzeichnung nach Bianco Peroni 1979, Taf. 98A; G; J; 99E; 103D; Tovoli 1989, Taf. 16; 37–41; 45; 55; 76).



Abb. 6. Grab Benacci Caprara 39 im Museo Civico di Bologna. Foto Ch. Baur.

Schlangen-, Knie- und Dragofibeln, einzelne Armreife, Nadeln sowie Waffen ausgenommen Äxte (Bartoloni 2000; Bianco Peroni 1979, 178–181). Diese auf Beobachtungen beruhende Annahme wurde in den letzten Jahren – wo möglich – durch anthropologische Untersuchungen im Wesentlichen bestätigt (Onisto 2015). Das Problem besteht jedoch vornehmlich darin, dass einzelne weibliche Objekte in ansonsten männlich geprägten Grabkontexten – wie etwa ein Spinnwirtel – als Liebesgabe gedeutet werden, wohingegen im umgekehrten Fall – ein männliches Objekt in weiblichem Grabkontext – tendenziell eher eine Doppelbestattung angenommen wird. So wurde – wie oben bereits festgestellt – auch das Grab Benacci 251 von St. Panichelli einzig und allein aufgrund der Beigabe einer Axtklinge als Doppelbestattung gewertet.

Ein einzelnes weiblich konnotiertes Objekt innerhalb eines archäologisch männlich bestimmten Grabs, oder umgekehrt, kann jedoch nicht als ausreichendes Argument für eine Doppelbestattung erachtet werden. Die Beigabe eines einzelnen Ohr- bzw. Schläfenringes in einem männlich konnotierten Grab darf durchaus als Zeichen der Trauer interpretiert werden, so gehörte etwa das Lösen der Haare (solvare crinales vittae) zum Trauergebaren der römischen Frauen (Franciosi 1995, 81, 82). Als Trauer- oder Liebesgaben lässt sich freilich auch die Beigabe einer einzelnen Schlangen-, Knie- oder Dragofibel innerhalb eines ansonsten weiblich konnotierten Grabinventars deuten (Lemos 2017).

Wie auch immer man diesen Fragenkomplex bei zukünftigen Betrachtungen zu lösen gedenkt, zeigt die hier präsentierte Analyse deutlich, dass den Frauen der frühen Eisenzeit in sozialer wie politischer Hinsicht wohl eine bedeutendere Rolle zukam als ihnen gemeinhin zugewiesen wird (Bartoloni 2006). Vor allem für Bologna und Verucchio wurde dies schon mehrfach dargestellt (Kruta Poppi/Neri 2015; von Eles 2007). Außerdem zeigt sich, dass die Analyse von Frauengräbern durchaus auch gewinnbringend für die Deutung von Gräbern mit Bewaffnung sein kann, und das nicht nur im Hinblick auf die Deutung von Äxten.

Schwerträger in Bologna: Krieger – Clanführer – Game Changer

Im Gegensatz zur sehr dynamischen Entwicklung der Bestattungssitten in Südetrurien, zeichnen sich die Beigabensitten Bolognas während der frühen Eisenzeit durch einen stark ausgeprägten Traditionalismus aus. Vor allem bei den durch die Beigabe eines Rasiermessers als männlich gekennzeichneten Verstorbenen bleibt man in der Poebene den althergebrachten Prinzipien der egalitären Bestattungsweise treu (Abb. 5).

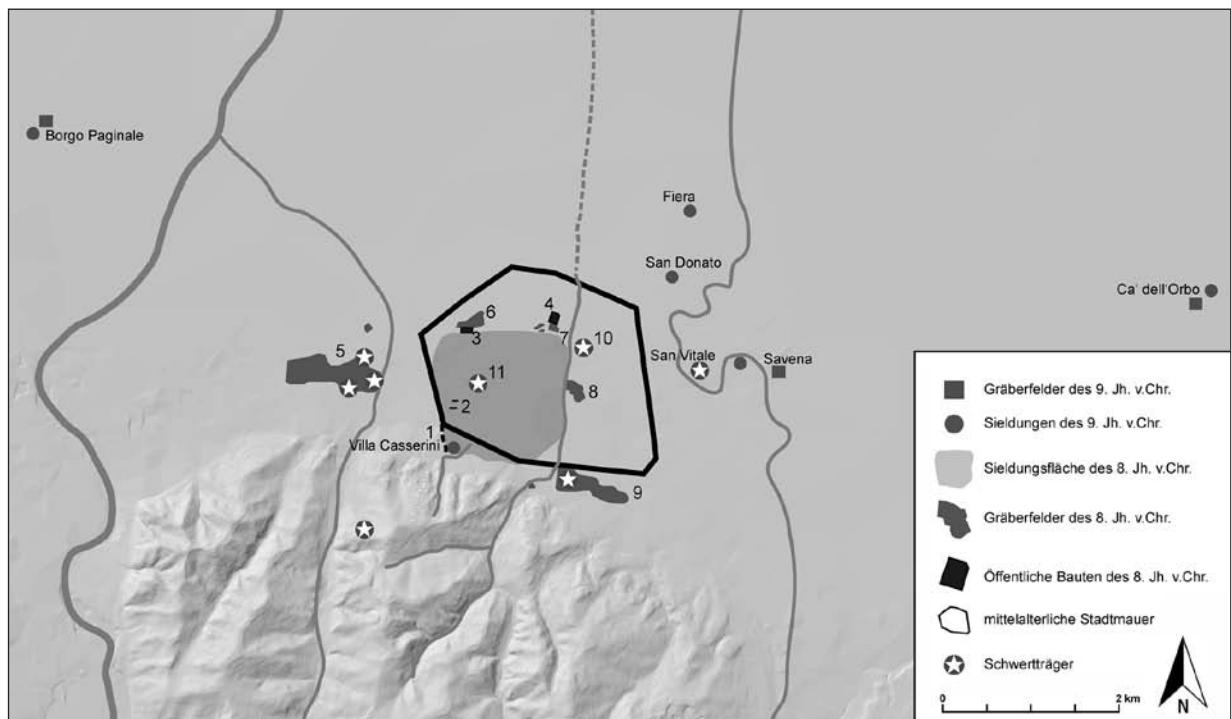


Abb. 7. Früheisenzeitliche Siedlungs- und Grabbefunde aus dem Großraum Bologna. 1 – Vallescura-Kanal; 2 – Drainage-Kanäle; 3 – Befestigungsmauer bei der Piazza Azzarita; 4 – Pfostenstruktur der Piazza VIII Agosto; 5 – westliche Nekropolen (Benacci, Benacci Caprara, Arnoaldi etc.); 6 – Nekropole Piazza Azzarita, Via Lame und Via Calori; 7 – Gräber und Nekropolen entlang der Via Falegnami und Righi; 8 – östliche Nekropole; 9 – Nekropolen Arsenale Militare und Giardini Margherita; 10 – Nekropole Via delle Belle Arti; 11 – Depot von San Francesco. (Kartengrundlage Regione Emilia-Romagna <http://www.regione.emilia-romagna.it>; Kartierung nach Ortalli 2013, Abb. 1; Taglioni 2005, 158, Abb. 33; Grafik Ch. Baur).

Eine Differenzierung erfolgt lediglich aufgrund einer mehr oder weniger umfangreichen Trachtausstattung, die mit der beinahe regelhaften Beigabe von Gewandnadeln an bronzezeitliche Gepflogenheiten anknüpft und eher an eine soziale Differenzierung – etwa unterschiedliche Altersgruppen, verheiratet/ledig etc. – denken lässt. Sozioökonomischer Status wird bei der Beigabenauswahl für den Verstorbenen offenbar bewusst ausgeklammert, denn die Beigabe von Prestigegütern, wie etwa Bronzegefäßen, und vor allem Waffen bleibt ein Tabu. Erst in der Spätphase der frühen Eisenzeit, an der Schwelle zur Orientalisierenden Phase, treten männlich wie weiblich konnotierte Bestattungen wie das bekannte Grab Benacci Caprara 39 (Abb. 6) in Erscheinung (Tovoli 1989, 128–144), die mit diesen Traditionen brechen und neben umfangreichen, individualisierten Trachtausstattungen oppulente, äußerst prestigeträchtige Beigaben-Sets bestehend aus umfangreichen Geschirrensembles – darunter nun auch Bronzegefäße-, Trensen und Wagenteilen sowie Symposialgeschirr aufweisen. Darunter befinden sich insgesamt sieben Gräber, die zusätzlich durch die Beigabe eines rituell zerstörten Schwertes ausgezeichnet wurden (Baur 2017; 2018).

Um die Bedeutung der Schwerträger Bolognas besser einordnen zu können scheint ein kurzer Blick auf die Siedlungsgeschichte Bolognas unerlässlich (Abb. 7).⁸ In der frühen Eisenzeit, während des 9. Jh. v. Chr., bestehen im Großraum Bologna mehrere, unabhängige kleine Siedlungen mit zugehörigen Gräberfeldern, die jedoch kaum die Mitte des 8. Jh. v. Ch. erreichten und relativ abrupt aufgegeben wurden. Einige Ausnahme sind Befunde von der Villa Casserini, eine das Siedlungsplateau von Bologna überragende Hügelkuppe im Süden der Stadt, auf der in etruskischer Zeit die arx und das Zentralheiligtum Felsinas lagen. Die Befunde des 9. Jh. v. Ch. lassen sich allerdings nicht als Siedlungsfunde deuten: Denn neben Gruben mit Opfergaben fanden sich auch zwei für die Villanovakultur untypische Körperbestattungen. Vielmehr ist davon auszugehen, dass sich hier bereits im 9. Jh. v. Ch. ein für die umliegenden Siedlungen wichtiges Heiligtum befunden hat.

Nach derzeitigem Kenntnisstand datieren die frühesten Siedlungsspuren im Bereich des 180 ha großen eisenzeitlichen Siedlungsareals Bolognas in die Mitte des 8. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts J. Ortalli (2013)

⁸ Vgl. dazu u.a. Donati/Sassatelli 2005; Forte/von Eles 1994; sowie Ortalli 2013 mit älterer Literatur; Sassatelli 1994.

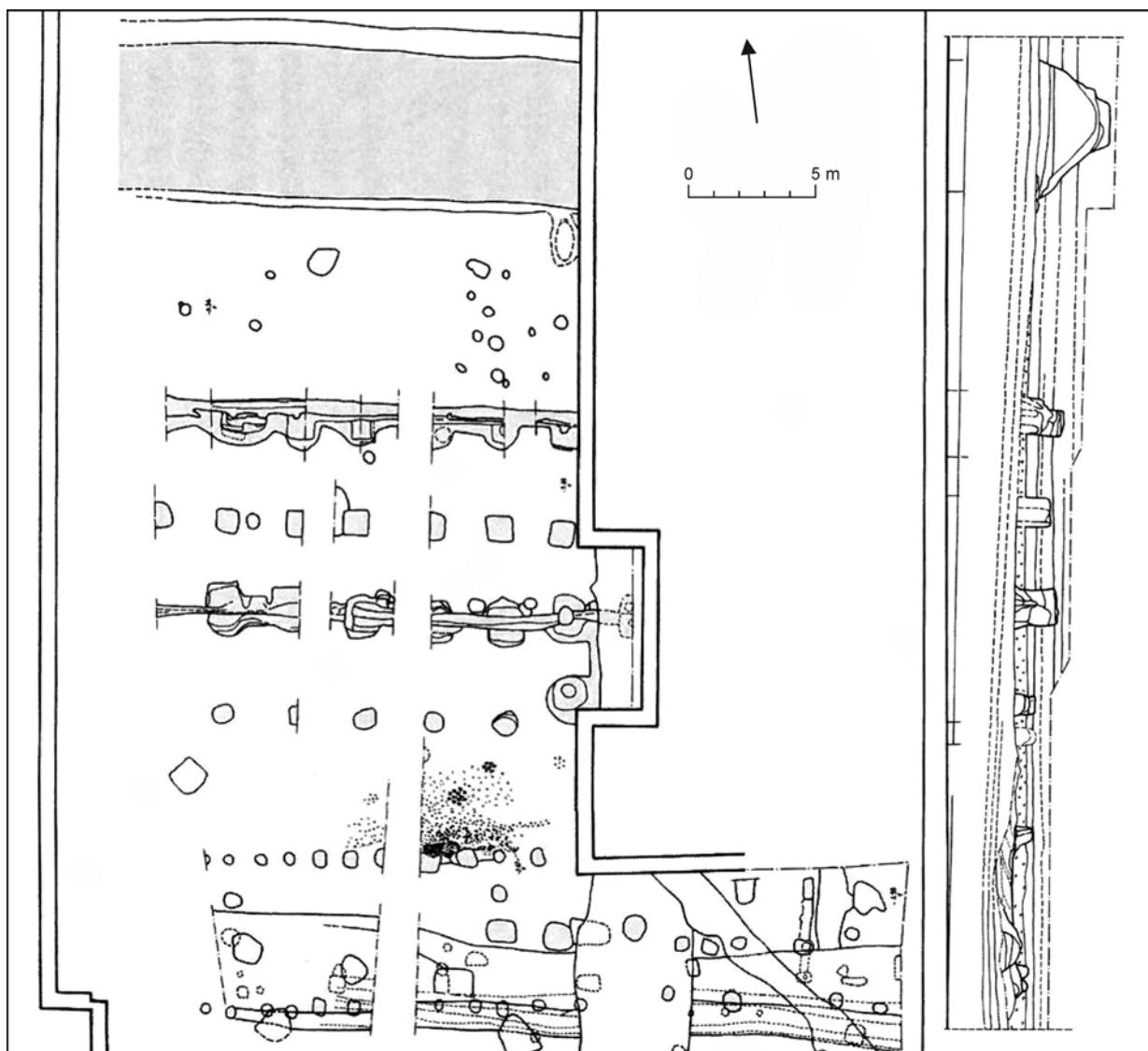


Abb. 8. Befundzeichnung des Wehrwerks bei der Piazza Azzarita (nach Ortalli 2008, Abb. 2; 3).

stellte jüngst in einem vielbeachteten Artikel einige in diesen Zeithorizont datierende Bauwerke öffentlichen Charakters aus dem villanovazeitlichen Bologna vor, welche die Entstehung des protourbanen Zentrums in ein neues Licht rücken.

Im Bereich der heutigen Piazza Azzarita (Abb. 7, Nr. 3) konnte bei Notgrabungen ein rund 40 m tiefes Befestigungswerk dokumentiert werden (Abb. 8), das den Stadtbereich von Bologna nach Norden hin begrenzt. Es besteht aus einem vorgelagerten Graben, durch den eine Bach geleitet wurde, einer etwa 7m breiten Holz-Erde-Mauer und dahinterliegenden Pfostenreihen, die mit Servicestrukturen für das Wehrwerk in Verbindung gebracht werden (Ortalli 2008). Viel wichtiger aber ist die rund 140m lange und auf einer Breite von 45m freigelegte Pfostenstruktur außerhalb der Stadt (Abb. 9), im Bereich der heutigen Piazza VIII Agosto (Abb. 7, Nr. 4). Pfosten, in regelmäßigen Abständen von 3 m gesetzt, die zugehörigen Pfostenlöcher bis zu 1,2 m im Durchmesser und 1,5 m tief versenkt, bilden lange Gänge mit dazwischenliegenden freien Korridoren. Der nördliche Abschluss ist absidial gestaltet und weist eine zentrale Freifläche auf. Außerdem ist im Nord-Osten eine Art Service-Gebäude nachgewiesen (Ortalli 2013, 14–26).

Ortalli bringt diese Struktur mit der aus römisch-republikanischer Zeit bekannten *septa* in Verbindung. Diese Säulenhalle am Marsfeld in Rom diente für die Wahlen der *comitia centuriata* und wurde aufgrund seiner Ähnlichkeit mit einem Pferch als *ovile* bezeichnet, was so viel bedeutet wie „Schafstall“.

Getrennt von dieser Säulenhalle bestand noch ein zweiter, *diribitorium* genannter Saalbau, der zur Auszählung der Stimmtafeln diente. Zurecht bezeichnet Ortalli die in Bologna aufgedeckte Anlage aufgrund ihrer strukturellen Parallelen als Marsfeld Felsinas, also einen extramuralen Versammlungsplatz, auf dem die Bevölkerung der Stadt sich traf um in welcher Form auch immer Volksentscheide zu treffen (Ortalli 2013, 32–46).

Wenn wir uns nun wieder dem seltenen Phänomen der Schwerträger von Bologna zuwenden, so fällt auf, dass bis heute lediglich sieben derartige Grablegen aufgefunden wurden (Abb. 7), und das bei einer Gesamtzahl von mindestens 4000 Gräbern.⁹ Die sieben Schwerträger wurden in unterschiedlichen Nekropolen beigesetzt, sie datieren in denselben Zeitraum wie die Errichtung der großen öffentlichen Bauten, nämlich um die Mitte bzw. die zweite Hälfte des 8. Jh. und dürften ein und derselben Generation angehört haben.¹⁰ Wie eingangs dargelegt, vollzieht diese Generation einen Wandel im Bestattungsritual, der Verstorbene wird durch die Beigabe umfangreicher Trachtausstattungen und Prestigegüter individualisiert, womit sich praktisch schlagartig eine Schicht sozioökonomisch hervorragender Personen in den Gräbern fassen lässt. Sie dienen späteren Generationen als Vorbilder bei der Ausstattung ihrer Toten, doch die Beigabe von Schwertern blieb einzig und allein dieser Generation vorbehalten.

Dass die Bologneser keineswegs Pazifisten waren, lehrt uns der ca. 15 000 Einzelstücke umfassende Hortfund von San Francesco (Abb. 7, Nr. 11), der über einen Zeitraum von etwa 250 Jahren hinweg gesammelt wurde und dessen Typenspektrum die gesamte frühe Eisenzeit abdeckt. Neben Werkzeugen, Schmuck und Trachtelementen enthält er Waffen, nämlich 4000 Axtklingen und 400 Lanzenspitzen, aber auch ein Antennenschwert vom Typ Tarquinia sowie Fragmente eines bronzenen Kammhelms (Abb. 10). Die Waffen weisen Fragmentierungsspuren auf, wie sie uns ansonsten in Gräbern begegnen. Sind das die Waffen, die uns in den Bologneser Gräbern fehlen? Muss man den Hortfund von San Francesco als Gemeinschaftshort interpretieren, in welchem über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg jene Gegenstände deponiert wurden, die nicht in die Gräber gelangen durften? Auffällig ist jedenfalls, dass die Deponierung des Hortes beinahe im Zentrum des früheisenzeitlichen Bolognas in etwa dieselbe Zeit zu datieren ist wie die Bestattungen der Schwerträger (Bentini 2005; Morigi Govi/Vitali 1982).

Bevor wir diese Daten und Überlegungen zu einem neuen Bild zusammenfügen, müssen wir nochmals kurz auf die in der Einleitung erwähnten Überlegungen zur Bestattungsideologie L. Barays zurückkommen (Baray 2007; 2008; 2009): Demnach sind egalitär bestattende Gesellschaften nicht notgedrungen politisch egalitär organisiert. Vielmehr zeigt sich hier, dass das sozio-politische Gefüge anerkannt und stabil ist; beim Ausfall von Führungspersonen ist die Nachfolge geregt und steht nicht zur Disposition. Gesellschaften hingegen, in denen sich Eliten anhand opulenter Grabausstattungen von der Masse abzuheben suchen, mögen ein Zeichen für fluktuierende Machtverhältnisse sein. Das Bestattungsritual

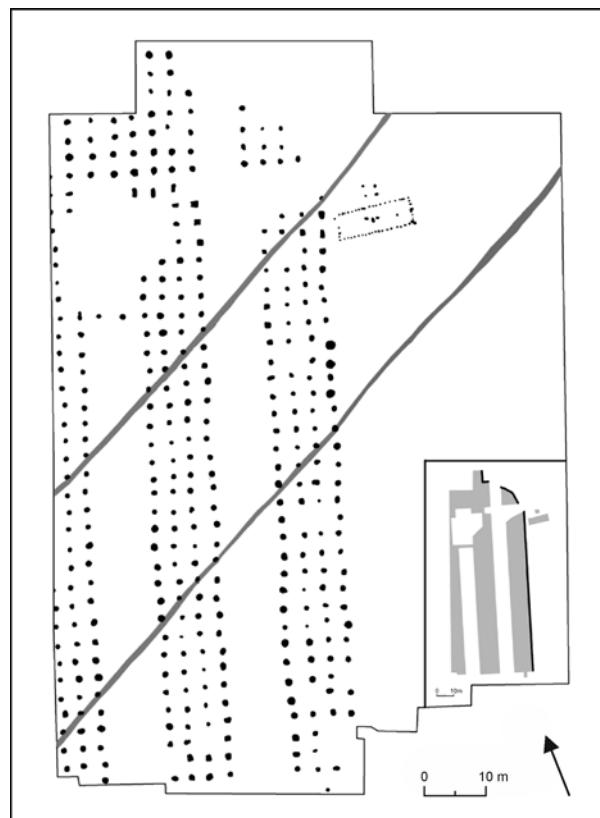


Abb. 9. Plan der Pfostenstruktur außerhalb des früheisenzeitlichen Siedlungsbereiches bei der heutigen Piazza VIII Agosto (nach Ortalli 2013, Abb. 7).

⁹ Es sind dies die Gräber Benacci Caprara 39 (Tovoli 1989), Benacci 494 und 938, Arsenale Militare 21 und Ronzano (Bianco Peroni 1970), das Grab 776 der San Vitale Nekropole (Pincelli/Morigi Govi 1975) sowie das erst jüngst entdeckte und noch unpublizierte Grab 95 aus der Via delle Belle Arti (von Eles/Mazzoli/Negrini, in Druck). Zur Gesamtzahl der Gräber Bolognas siehe Sassatelli 2005.

¹⁰ Eine Ausnahme bilden die Gräber aus der Benacci Nekropole, Benacci Caprara 39, Benacci 494 und Benacci 938. Diese dürften jedoch ursprünglich voneinander getrennte Grabbezirke dargestellt haben, die im Laufe der Orientalisierenden Phase zu einer geschlossenen Nekropole zusammenwuchsen. Zur Datierung siehe Baur 2019.

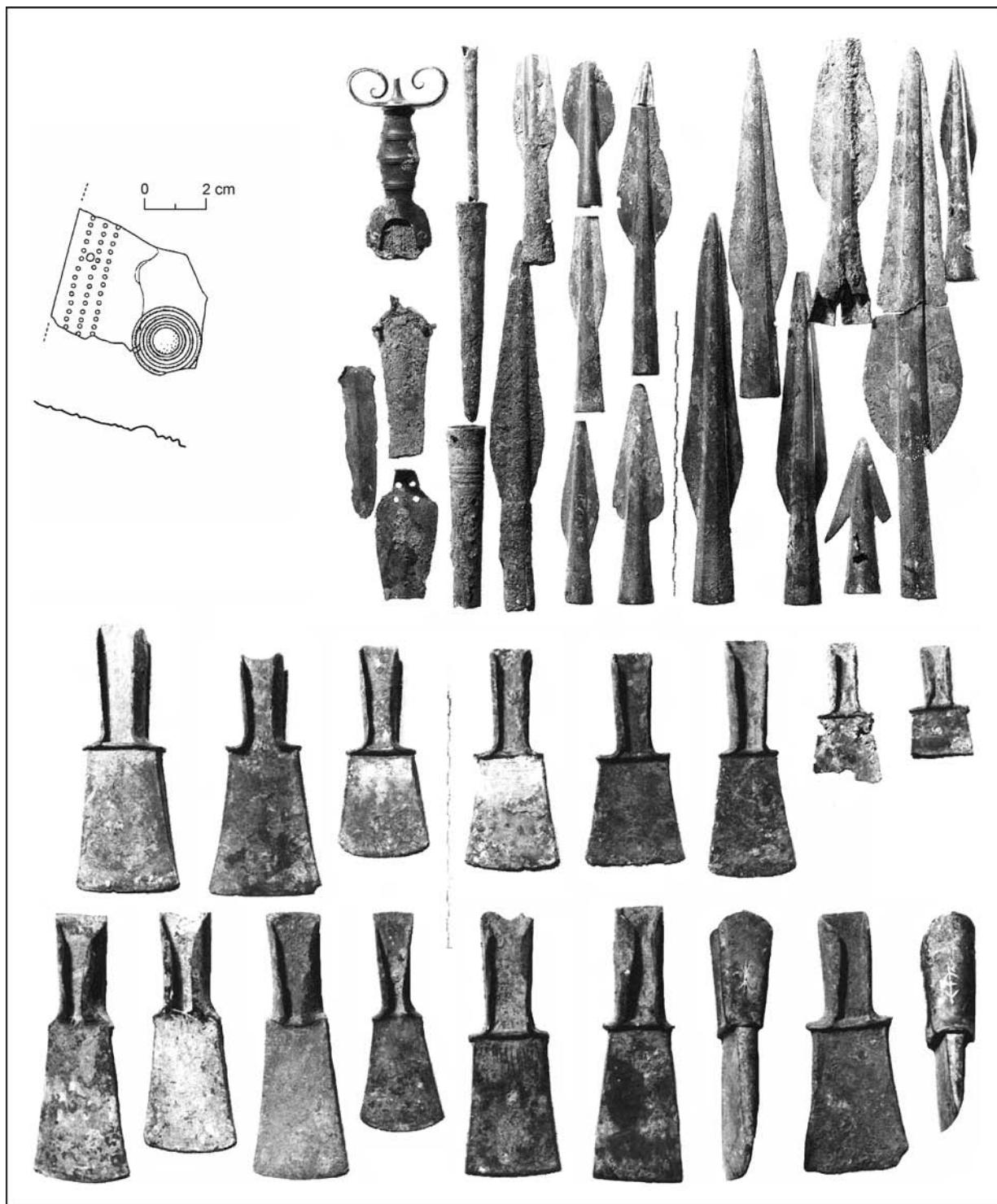


Abb. 10. Teile des Hortfundes von San Francesco (nach Iaia 2005, 102, Abb. 34, Nr. 54; Morigi Govi/Vitali 1982, 261, 262).

wird zum gesellschaftlichen Ereignis einer politisch motivierten Bestattungsideologie, in deren Rahmen miteinander konkurrierende Gruppen durch die Darstellung tatsächlicher oder vermeintlicher sozioökonomischer Macht ihrem Anspruch auf Erhalt und Ausbau politischer Macht allseits sichtbar Ausdruck verliehen (vgl. auch d'Agostino 1999). Wenn wir die zur Verfügung stehenden Daten unter diesem Aspekt betrachten, lässt sich folgendes Modell für die sozialen Verhältnisse, Umbrüche und Entwicklungen im Großraum Bologna für das 9. und 8. Jh. v. Ch. entwickeln:

Im 9. Jh. v. Ch. bestanden mehrere autonome Siedlungen mit eigenen Gräberfeldern sowie ein eventuell gemeinsam genutztes Heiligtum im Bereich der Villa Casserini. Gegen Mitte des 8. Jh. v. Ch. beschlossen diese Gemeinschaften – eventuell als Reaktion auf die Erfolgsgeschichte der neuen Zentren in Etrurien – gemeinsam eine Großsiedlung im Schatten des alten gemeinsamen Heiligtums zu gründen. Hierfür unternahm man gemeinschaftliche Anstrengungen wie die Errichtung einer Stadtbefestigung und weiterer Infrastruktur. Aufgrund des Synoikismos auf bis dahin unbewohntem, vielleicht sogar gemeinschaftlich genutztem Gebiet übernahm nicht eine hegemoneale Herrschaftspersönlichkeit die politische Macht, vielmehr deuten die Reste einer monumentalen Säulenstruktur im Bereich der Piazza VIII Agosto proto-republikanische Machtverhältnisse an: Die Clans oder Gentes der Altsiedlungen und ihre politischen Anführer bestimmten gemeinschaftlich über die Geschicke ihres neuen protourbanen Zentrums. Dies führte jedoch auch dazu, dass die führenden Familien unter politischen Druck gerieten, da ihr vormals unumstrittener Herrschaftsanspruch nun mit den anderen tonangebenden Familien des neuen Zentrums im wieder neu ausgehandelt werden musste. Jenen Anführern, die ihre Clans in die neue Stadt geführt haben, wurde eine besondere Ehre zuteil, als *heroiktistes* wurden sie mit ihren Schwestern bestattet, weniger aufgrund ihrer Position als Krieger, sondern vielmehr als Sinnbild ihrer politischen, „tabubrechenden“ Macht. Mit dieser Gründergeneration wurde auch die althergebrachte autonome Lebensweise der Clans symbolisch durch die Niederlegung des alten Gemeinschafts-Hortes zu Grabe getragen. Die Stadtgründer – und ein solcher ist auch im Hortfund von San Francesco versinnbildlicht – dienten fortan als Vorbilder für die sich konstituierende Aristokratie bei der Herausbildung neuer Bestattungsrituale und Etablierung einer auch politisch motivierten Bestattungsideologie.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG UND ERGEBNISSE

Im Rahmen dieses Artikels wurde versucht anhand der Präsentation zweier Vorstudien aufzuzeigen, dass die überregionale Betrachtung und Analyse waffenführender Bestattungen aus der Früheisenzeit Mittelitaliens zu durchaus überraschenden und über den Bereich des Kriegertums hinausgehenden Ergebnissen und neuen Deutungsansätzen führen kann.

Die statistische Auswertung von Gräbern mit Waffenbeigabe aus Tarquinia und Bologna zeigt deutlich, dass Äxte im Bestattungsbrauchtum der Villanovakultur nicht notgedrungen Waffen darstellen. Sowohl in Tarquinia als auch in Bologna finden sich Klingen dieser multifunktionalen Geräte auch in ansonsten eindeutig weiblich konnotierten Grabkontexten; ihre Deutung als Doppelbestattungen ist nicht haltbar. Sofern man davon ausgeht, dass der Symbolgehalt von Axtbeigaben bei männlichen wie weiblichen Bestattungen derselbe ist, lässt sich anhand der Studie zeigen, dass die Axt auch als Insignie für eine Tätigkeit oder gesellschaftliche Funktion steht, die beiden Geschlechtern offenstand. Dabei wäre in erster Linie an Opferhandlungen zu denken, wofür auch die fast schon regelhafte Vergesellschaftung der Äxte mit Messern in den weiblichen Grabkontexten sprechen könnte.

Anhand der Analyse der Schwertgräber aus Bologna konnte hingegen aufgezeigt werden, dass einerseits die Beigabenpraxis der frühen Eisenzeit ideologisch stark durch das dahinterstehende Gesellschaftssystem geprägt ist, andererseits der Beigabe von Schwertern eine viel tiefere, stark politische Bedeutung innewohnt. Während in den protourbanen Zentren Etruriens ab dem frühen 9. Jh. v. Ch. eine wirtschaftlich dominante, waffentragende Elite in den Gräbern sichtbar wird, bleibt in Bologna die Beigabe von Waffen, ganz in bronzezeitlicher Tradition stehend, über beinahe die gesamte Dauer der frühen Eisenzeit hinweg offenbar mit einem Tabu behaftet. Erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jh. v. Ch., an der Schwelle zur Orientalisierenden Phase, wird dieses für einen kleinen Kreis außergewöhnlicher Persönlichkeiten, die vermutlich alle derselben Generation angehören, kurzfristig außer Kraft gesetzt. Indem wir den Ideen L. Barays zur politischen Bedeutung des Bestattungsrituals, vor allem der Darstellung der sozialen Person durch Beigaben im Grab folgen und die zur Verfügung stehenden Daten zur Siedlungsgeschichte des Großraums Bologna in unsere Überlegungen mit einbeziehen, lässt sich dieser kleine Zirkel offenbar hochverdienter Männer mit ihren tabubrechenden, exklusiven Grabausstattungen als Oberhäupter mehrerer Clans bzw. Gentilverbände deuten, die sich in gemeinschaftlicher Anstrengung daran machten, am Nordrand des Apennins ein protourbanes Zentrum zu gründen. Sicherlich wird durch das Schwert die politisch-militärische Macht dieser Führungspersönlichkeiten angezeigt, das brechen des Tabus jedoch, das nachfolgend offenbar wieder in Kraft trat, verleiht ihnen jedoch den Status mythischer Gründerpersönlichkeiten.

Tabelle 1. Datengrundlage (Presence-Absence-Matrix) für die Korrespondenzanalyse der Gräber mit Axtheigabe aus Tarquinia im Abb. 3. Inventare nach Carancini 1984; Hencken 1968; Iaia 1999.

Tabelle 1 Weiterführung.

Tabelle 2. Datengrundlage (Presence-Absence-Matrix) für die Korrespondenzanalyse der Gräber mit Axthiebige aus Bologna in Abb. 4. Inventare nach Carancini 1984; Panichelli 1990; Pincelli/Morigi Gori 1975; Toccoli 1989.

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THE “ARCHAEOLOGICAL” AND “BIOLOGICAL” SEX OF AN INDIVIDUAL – WHY DO THEY SOMETIMES DIFFER?¹

RENÁTA PŘICHYSTALOVÁ – KATERINA BOBEROVÁ

The determination of sex in archaeological skeletal findings, in this case those in the graves discovered at Pohansko, has been a matter of controversy since the outset of collaboration between archaeologists and anthropologists. Such discrimination depends on the scientific opinion of experts, the theoretical and practical knowledge they have at their disposal, and the methods they choose to approach the grave/skeleton. Four graves out of the 205 found in the early medieval stronghold of Břeclav-Pohansko (CZ), specifically in the Southern Suburb, presented discrepancies between ‘archaeological’ and ‘anthropological’ sex/gender. Two of these were child graves in which earrings appeared (graves JP/100, JP/155) and one belonged to an adult individual with the earrings in a functional position (grave JP/160). All these skeletons were determined to be male individuals on the basis of aDNA analysis. On the other hand, according to aDNA analysis, an axe accompanied one adult skeleton that was determined to be that of a female (grave JP/103). The present paper discusses the quality of the evidence used, together with the cogency and logical reasoning of the archaeological and anthropological approaches. When there is contradiction between the anthropological and archaeological sex determination of a particular individual, arriving at a consensus depends on several key points: the state of the environment surrounding the archaeological finding, the quality of documentation, the condition of the skeletal material, the anthropological (archaeological) methods employed, and the archaeologist’s (anthropologist’s) judgement.

Keywords: Pohansko, southern suburb, burial ground, biological sex, archaeological sex, gender.

Grave complexes are among the most widely-utilised of all archaeological sources. Although graves represent the end of a person’s living influence within a culture, they allow deductions to be made about the buried individual and, by extension, about the life of the entire contemporary population.

Sex assignment is an important factor when attempting to ascertain funeral context. This designation may or may not correspond with ‘archaeological gender’, which is traditionally determined on the basis of a grave’s furnishing, largely in terms of a dichotomous perception of male and female roles within society. Should weapons or parts of riding equipment be found in the grave, it is established as male without significant dissent? If the skeleton is adorned with precious jewellery (e.g. earrings, S-shaped rings, glass beads) or artefacts associated with feminine activities like textile manufacturing (e.g. spindle whorls, needles), then it is categorised as female without further issue (Remišová Věšínová 2017, 22, 25, 29–32).

The advent of aDNA analysis to determine biological sex has allowed more in-depth study to specify the identity of the individual buried. Biological sex may not correspond primarily with the individual’s gender or social roles in contemporary society. If skeletal remains were identified as male or female using genetic methods, but the grave’s furnishing does not correspond with the common male and female inventories, then biological sex (male, female) must be differentiated from socio-cultural categorisation of individuals (‘gender’), which may not adhere to set boundaries (e.g. Hedenstierna-Jonson *et al.* 2017). Determining the gender of archaeological skeletal findings from grave complexes has led to fruitful discussions since archaeologists began collaborating with anthropologists. The position held by experts the level of their

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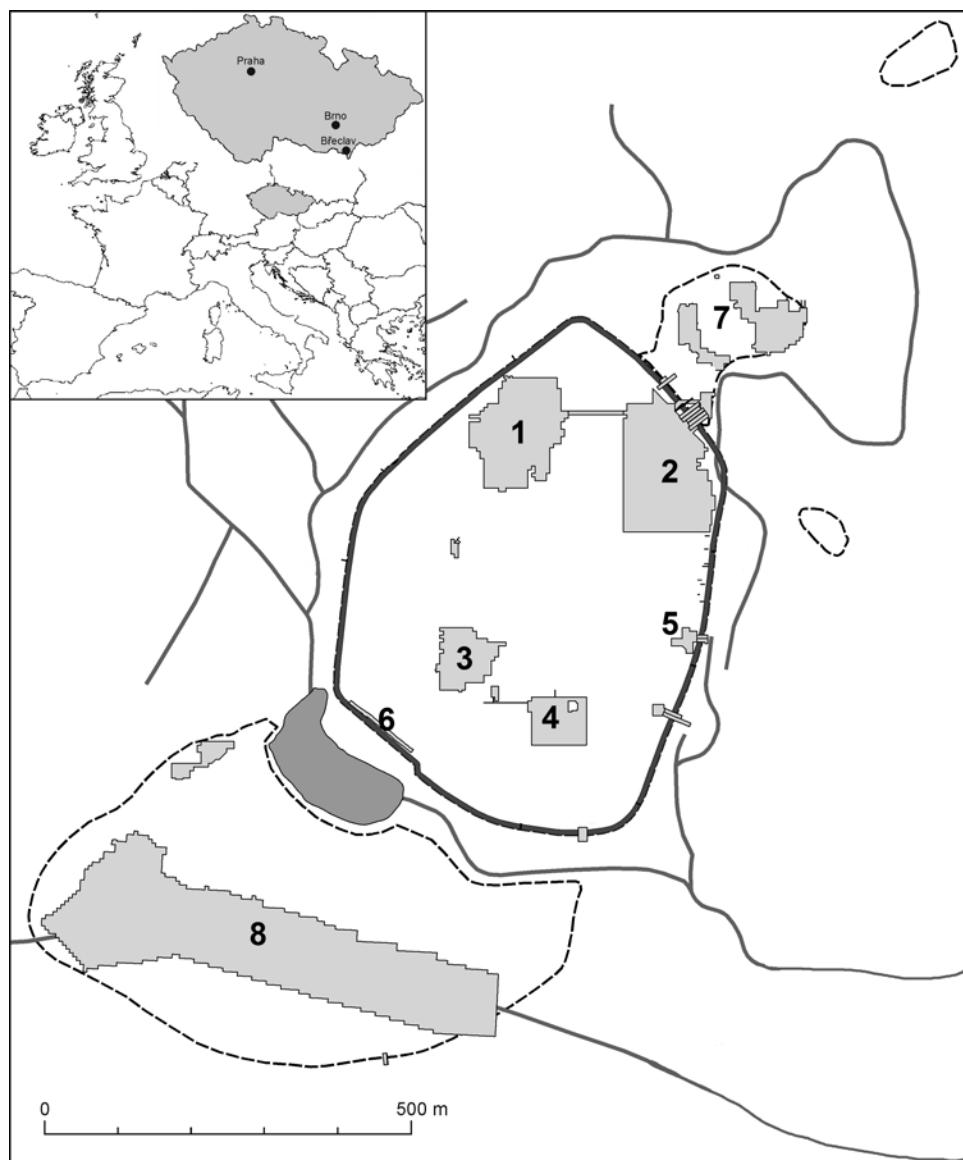


Fig. 1. Břeclav-Pohansko. General site plan with excavated areas. 1 – Magnate's Manor; 2 – Forest Nursery; 3 – Cremation Graveyard; 4 – Forest Dune; 5 – Rampart sections and Eastern Gate; 6 – Excavation trench in front of the Chateau; 7 – North-Eastern Suburb; 8 – Southern Suburb.

theoretical, practical, and technical knowledge, and the methods they choose to employ when analysing grave complexes and skeletal remains are essential in both fields (Donié 1999, 55; Geller 2005, 598).

Biological sex is determined using anthropological methods that assess the morphological or metric features of bone matter (Dokládal 1999; Stloukal *et al.* 1999). Many methods have been devised to determine sex, with varying degrees of reliability. Conflicting conclusions may be reached when assessing the same skeletal material at different times or under differing conditions (see Welinder 1988–1989). The most recent anthropological method used to determine sex employs molecular genetic aDNA analysis (Boberová 2012; Cappellini *et al.* 2004; Cunha *et al.* 2000). This is particularly useful to determine the sex of immature, fragmented, or incomplete skeletal remains – especially those lacking a well-preserved skull and pelvis, which are of the most value when determining sex. In such cases, the traditional means of sex determination by morphoscopic and morphometric methods are difficult and often impossible. Molecular-genetic methods may help, although they may not resolve all cases of undetermined sex, particularly those involving aDNA degradation in the bone sample. Furthermore, fastidious anti-contamination measures must be adhered to.

Archaeological gender, or the socio-cultural categorization of an individual, is generally based on a grave's inventory and/or pit arrangement, as well as on the position of the buried individual. Such analyses often assume a dichotomy between the male and female genders (*Härke 2000, 181, 182; Jordan 2009, 96, 99*). Archaeological gender is a social construct construed by archaeologists, ethnologists, religionists, historians, and many more experts based on analogies and current perceptions regarding the differences between male and female attributes, which are then used as a mirror to reflect and compare with the past. For this reason, the resulting conclusions may be significantly distorted. According to one theory, a grave's inventory (pieces of clothing, adornments, amulets) is most often directly associated with the person buried and with their placement within a vertical social scale. It follows that the orientation or position of the body, grave-pit modification, and the placement of grave goods (food, drink etc.) convey a close connection to the society's religion and its rituals surrounding burial rites. Relatedly, the location of a grave (funeral area) may be associated with the broader beliefs and worldview of the culture in question (mythology, anchoring the present through the past, etc.; *Knüsel/Ripley 2000, 169*). However, we should exercise caution when drawing conclusions of this kind. Indeed, it may never be clear whether the objects included in a grave's inventory belonged to the deceased, whether the preserved articles of clothing constituted common folk attire or were a special burial shroud, whether the inventory was intended to characterise the bereaved individual who placed the artefacts into the grave rather than the deceased, etc. Explaining burial components as female-specific, male-specific, or unrelated to sex is always speculation backed by arguments of varying calibre (*Kästner 1997, 512–514*).

Both anthropological and archaeological methods have their drawbacks, and the best of both should be used when drawing conclusions. When the results fail to correlate, we should consider arguments derived from both approaches and select the most objective resultant to arrive at the most likely scenario.

Four burial complexes in which the profile of the graves' contents did not match the assigned biological sex have been uncovered in the Southern Suburb of the central settlement agglomeration of Břeclav-Pohansko (Fig. 1), specifically graves JP/100, JP/103, JP/155, and JP/160.²

SEX DETERMINATION METHODS BASED ON aDNA ANALYSIS

Genetic determination of sex in humans is based on the presence of XY chromosomes in male cells (heterogametic sex) and XX chromosomes in female cells (homogametic sex) (*Černý/Sieglová/Brdička 1997*). Analysis of aDNA allows genetic sex determination based on genetic markers present on their X and Y chromosomes. To determine sex from skeletal material, investigators often utilise sequence amplification of a segment from the first intron of the amelogenin gene, together with an SRY marker. These two markers were also chosen to determine sex in the four apparently discrepant remains in the grave complexes from the Southern Suburb of the Břeclav-Pohansko central settlement agglomeration. Alternative genetic analyses were used to verify the sex determination results in these specimens; aDNA amplification was carried out using the Plexor[®] HY System (Promega) commercial kit, TaqMan[®] Copy Number Assays (Applied Biosystems), and PowerPlex[®] ESX and ESI 17 Systems (Promega; for more details, see *Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019*).

AMELOGENIN

Amelogenin is the main protein in tooth enamel. The human amelogenin gene has two copies: one on the X chromosome (*AmelX, Xp22.31-p22.1*) and another on the Y chromosome (*AmelY, Yp11.2; Hummel 2003; Lau et al. 1989; Salido et al. 1992; Sasaki/Shimokawa 1995*). This gene was first identified on sex chromosomes by *E. C. Lau et al. (1989)*. Sex determination using the amelogenin test is mainly carried out in forensics and prenatal diagnostics (*Haas-Rochholz/Weiler 1997; Lattanzi et al. 2005*), but it has been used more recently to analyse historical skeletal remains as well (*Cappellini et al. 2004; Caramelli et al. 2007; Zink/Grabner/Nerlich 2005*).

The amelogenin gene exhibits differences in sequence length between the X and Y chromosomes that can then be used to distinguish males from females. Several PCR primer variants have been published

² The text of the study is based on in-depth research, the results of which have been thoroughly detailed and published in the monograph *Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019*.

to amplify the amelogenin gene, including 212/218 bp, 106/112 bp, and 80/83 bp fragments. The most commonly used PCR-assisted sex determination test utilises the primers described by K. M. Sullivan *et al.* (1993). This method was developed in the 1990s following the discovery of a 6 bp deletion in the first intron of the amelogenin gene on the X chromosome (Mannucci *et al.* 1994; Sullivan *et al.* 1993). As such, the PCR products from the X-and Y-chromosome variants of the gene differed in length. The aDNA fragment amplified from the X chromosome was 106 bps long, whereas that from the Y chromosome was 112 bps long (Cunha *et al.* 2000; Kaestle/Horsburgh 2002; Mannucci *et al.* 1994; Sullivan *et al.* 1993). Therefore, male aDNA yields two products 106 and 112 bps in length, while female aDNA yields two identical products 106 bps in length. These appear as one band after electrophoretic separation.

One disadvantage of this method is that amelogenin is a 'single-copy' gene – only one copy of it is found on the chromosome, so the likelihood of successful undamaged amelogenin amplification is considerably decreased (Eliášová/Mazura 2009). For this reason, the amelogenin locus amplification must be performed at least three times to confirm that the result is accurate before further sex determination methods can be used (SRY marker, Y-STR markers).

THE SRY GENE

The SRY gene (Sex-determining Region Y, or TDF-Testis Determining Factor) is located on the short arm of the Y chromosome (Yp 11.3) near the border with the pseudoautosomal region. The SRY gene produces a transcription factor that regulates the development of male sexual characteristics (Delbridge/Graves 1999; Hammer/Zegura 1997). Santos/Pandya/Tyler-Smith (1998) published a method to directly identify a male individual by amplifying a 93-bp-long section of the SRY gene. Male aDNA yielded an amplification product while female aDNA did not. When determining the sex of child skeletal remains, E. Cunha *et al.* (2000) demonstrated that this SRY gene fragment amplifies more readily than longer segments of the amelogenin gene and is therefore more suitable for specimens with insufficient aDNA or with degraded aDNA. However, using this technique, the absence of a PCR product does not necessarily confirm that the aDNA sample came from a female; the PCR amplification may simply have failed because an inhibitor is present, the template aDNA is

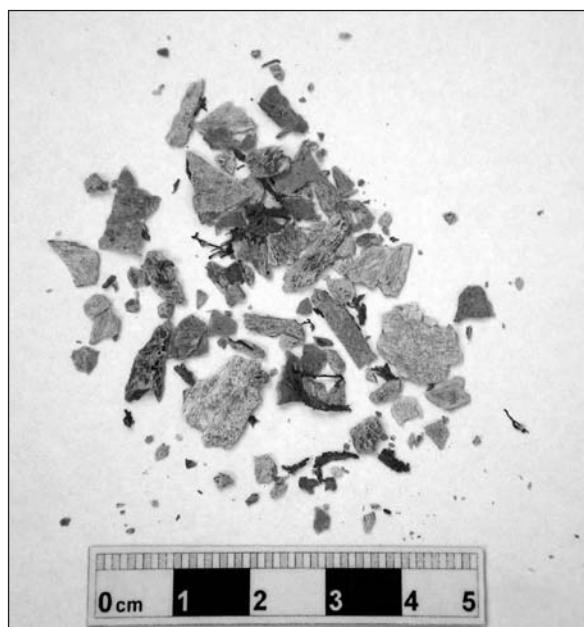


Fig. 2. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/100, current state of the skeletal remains.

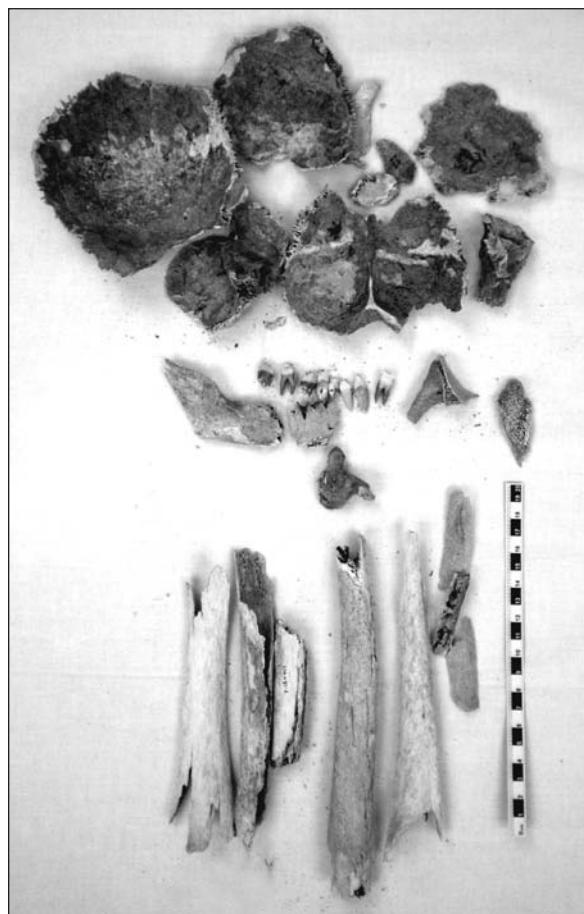


Fig. 3. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/103, current state of the skeletal remains.



Fig. 4. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/155, current state of the skeletal remains.



Fig. 5. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/160, current state of the skeletal remains.

too fragmented, or the fragments are too short. For this reason, the analysis should be supplemented with more markers, such as the amelogenin marker mentioned above.

GRAVES WITH A 'BIOLOGICAL' AND 'ARCHAEOLOGICAL' SEX/GENDER DISCREPANCY

Four graves in the Southern Suburb of the Břeclav-Pohansko central settlement agglomeration were identified as ambiguous.

Grave JP/100 (Fig. 2; 6)

The findings indicate a heavily-damaged child skeleton; only a few small bone fragments are preserved. The age could not be determined. A simple, bronze hoop earring was found in the grave inventory, so female sex was assigned to the remains (Přichystalová 2007, 177). However, this constitutes indirect or 'archaeological' gender determination based on the presence of jewellery that is almost always found in the graves of women and girls.

After analysis of both sex markers (SRY, amelogenin), the remains were unanimously determined as belonging to a male. Neither the Plexor® HY System (Promega) nor TaqMan® Copy Number Assays (Applied Biosystems) provided any reproducible results, even though both autosomal and Y-chromosome aDNA of the sample were detected in one of the experiments (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 97). The aDNA sample was then further amplified using the PowerPlex® ESI 17 System (Promega) amplification kit. However, the genetic profile obtained failed to provide any information; neither the X nor the Y amelogenin allele was detected (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 106).

The poor preservation state of the skeletal remains from grave JP/100 and the resulting low yield of authentic aDNA are inconducive to unequivocal genetic sex determination, although the methods employed imply male rather than female gender.

Grave JP/103 (Fig. 3; 7)

Skeletal fractions of an adult individual, age undetermined. The preservation state of the skeletal material meant that no other anthropological methods could be used to determine sex. The enamel of the surviving teeth had been almost completely chipped away, and the roots had been broken off, so they could not be used in a metric sexual diagnosis. Among the grave goods was an axe, indicating male sex according to traditional archaeological evaluation (Přichystalová 2007, 177).

By matching the analysis results of both sex markers, the sex was established as female. The SRY marker amplification results were negative, and amelogenin analysis amplified only the X allele. Using the Plexor® HY System Kit, the sex was determined as female in another experiment: no Y-chromosome aDNA was amplified (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 98). When utilising the TaqMan® Copy Number Assays, one

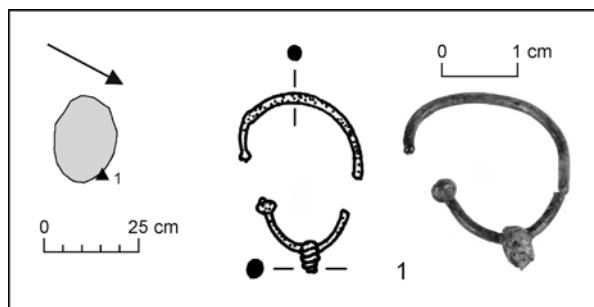


Fig. 6. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/100, position of grave inventory in relation to skeleton. 1 – bronze earring (inventory No. P 158861).

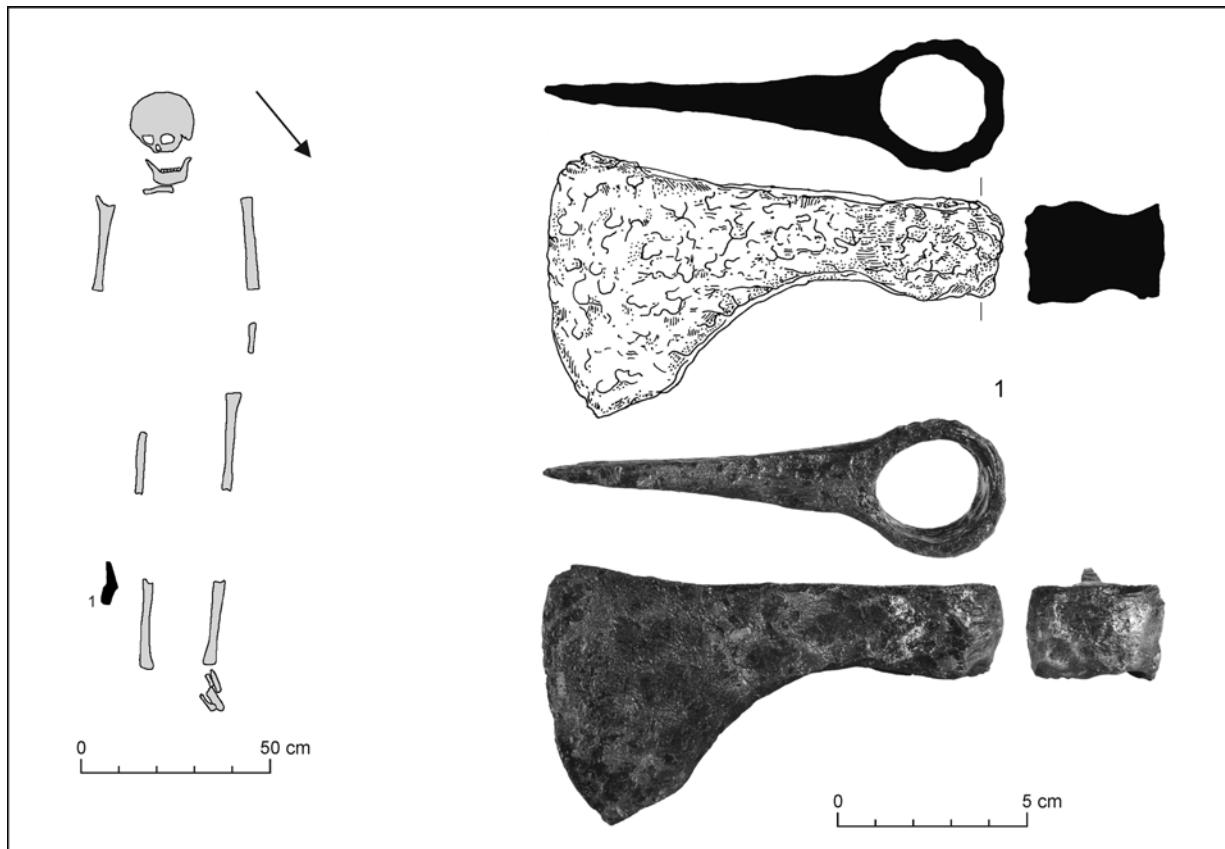


Fig. 7. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/103, position of grave inventory in relation to skeleton. 1 – iron axe (inventory No. P 158869).

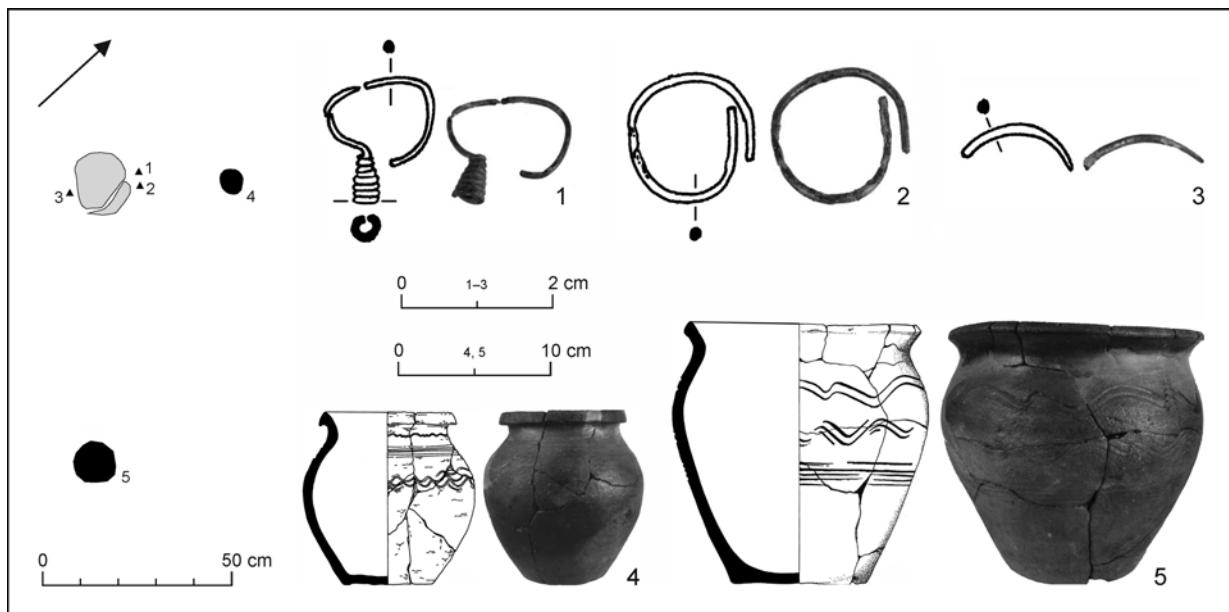


Fig. 8. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/155, position of grave inventory in relation to skeleton. 1–3 – bronze earrings (inventory No. P 159029); 4, 5 – pottery (inventory No. P 159028, P 159027).

experiment was able to detect reference assay amplification (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 102). No assay amplification for the SRY gene was observed either, also indicating female sex (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 103). The aDNA sample was then further amplified in an independent laboratory using the PowerPlex® ESY 17 System kit; only the presence of the X amelogenin allele was confirmed (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 104). Thus, according to the sum results of the genetic analyses employed, the skeletal remains in question are those of a woman.

Grave JP/155 (Fig. 4; 8)

These findings consist of the severely fragmented skeleton of an 18-month-old child (age based on dentition; Drozdová 2005). The grave inventory featured two bronze earrings, one fragment of a simple hoop earring, and two decorated ceramic vessels. Archaeologically, the gender was determined to be female (Přichystalová 2007).

Matching genetic analysis results of both sex markers determined the sex as male. The SRY marker results were positive in all cases, and both X and Y amelogenin alleles were proven present. The skeletal material was very fragmented. Available anthropological methods were also used to verify the genetically determined sex, specifically the metric method of determining sex on the basis of deciduous dentition (Black 1978). The dimensions measured were those of the second lower back tooth and the second bottom incisor of the milk dentition. According to this metric analysis, these teeth were part of a male set.

The aDNA sample was further amplified using the Plexor® HY System kit (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 99) and the TaqMan® Copy Number Assays. However, these analyses failed to provide any definitive results. The aDNA sample was then further analysed in an independent laboratory using the PowerPlex® ESY 17 System, which established the presence of both the X and Y amelogenin alleles (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 105). Thus, all the genetic analyses employed suggested that the skeletal remains belong to a small boy, with grave goods that included a feminine piece of jewellery.

Grave JP/160 (Fig. 5; 9)

These findings feature the fragmented skeleton of a putative adult individual of undetermined age. The grave furnishing included one complete bronze earring and one fragment of another one. The archaeological estimate thus assigned female gender (Přichystalová 2007, 177).

Congruent analysis results of the two sex-specific markers clearly determined male sex, as substantiated by a double-positive amplification of the X and Y amelogenin alleles. The skeletal remains were in a poor state of preservation. Available anthropological methods were used to verify the genetically determined sex, specifically a metric diagnosis of the second lower back tooth (Vilímovská 1993) to confirm that it belonged to a male set.

The aDNA sample was then further amplified using the Plexor® HY System kit, which detected an amplification of the locus on the Y chromosome (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 100). The aDNA could not be amplified using the TaqMan® Copy Number Assays (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 101). The aDNA sample was then further analysed in an independent laboratory using the PowerPlex® ESI System amplification kit, but failed to provide a genetic profile (Přichystalová/Kalová/Boberová 2019, fig. 107).

In this case, the degradation and low concentration of the aDNA analysed did not allow for definite genetic sex determination. However, the methods used and the existence of funeral rite exemptions (Hanuliak 2004, 154, 161; Ungerma 2007a, 70) suggest that this individual was male rather than female.

DISCUSSION

Two children's graves (children – boys, JP/100 and JP/155) and two graves of adults (undetermined individual accompanied by an axe – female aDNA, JP/103; undetermined individual associated with an earring – male aDNA, JP/160) exhibited discrepancies between the archaeological and anthropological sex determinations. Earrings were discovered in the vicinity of heavily fragmented skulls in the children's graves, where the remains were established as male by aDNA analysis. In both cases, the skulls were the only surviving parts of the skeleton.

In this discussion, we will first address the problematic child graves, since the presence of female-associated artefacts in the graves of small boys will be easier to argue logically, although admittedly the argument may rest on certain socio-cultural assumptions. One such assumption is that the emotional relationship between the mother (or other family members) and child was such that the earrings were probably not an article of clothing, but rather had some symbolic significance as grave goods with an apotropaic effect. Artefacts with a protective function, such as variously-shaped amulets made of miscellaneous materials, globular bells, iron objects (often sharp), antiques, etc., occur quite frequently in the graves of children (Eisner 1966, 434; Hanuliak 2004, 200; Macháček et al. 2016, 109–113; Přichystalová/Kalábek 2014, 248–265; Smetánka 2003, 11–16; Ungerma 2007b). The purpose of these objects was to protect the spirit of the deceased child and ensure its trouble-free journey from the world of living to the netherworld, while also acting as a symbolic barrier between those worlds.

Earrings are often interpreted as belonging among grave goods when they are found outside their functional position; that is, outside the skull area, most often in the vicinity of the pelvis or hands (Profantová 2015, 54). In the case of child graves JP/100 and JP/155, the earrings were found in the vicinity of the skull, but the area was in a heavily fragmented state in both cases. The exact position of the artefacts relative to the skull cannot be reconstructed on the basis of either photography or drawings made as part of the funeral documentation. Therefore, we should consider the alternative: that the earrings were intentionally added to the burial as apotropaic items or a sacrificial gift from a close person, and that they were not part of funerary attire.

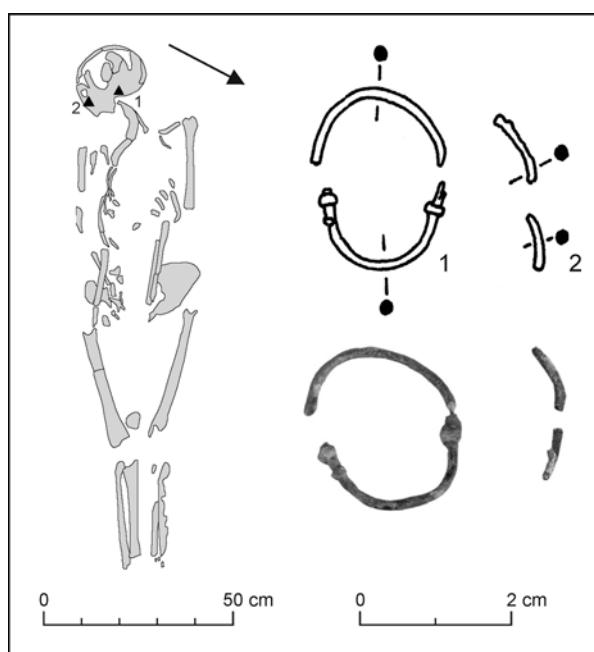


Fig. 9. Břeclav-Pohansko. Southern Suburb. Grave JP/160, position of grave inventory in relation to skeleton. 1, 2 – bronze earrings (inventory No. P 165025).

Even if we grant that the earrings found next to the skulls of the children from graves JP/100 and JP/155 were part of their apparel, we can still accept with little reticence that children were of male sex. Both written and iconographic sources, as well as ethnographic and historical studies of the history of clothing, provide sufficient evidence that children up to around the age of three years were still dressed in baby's shirts, skirts with braces, and dresses without gender differentiation as late as the early 20th century (Křížová 2011; Kybalová 2001). The earrings may have been a part of the decorative headwear with which the children were adorned when they were placed in the graves.

The fact that this is not a marginal phenomenon is further evidenced by the results of multidisciplinary research conducted at the Klecany I and II burial grounds (late 9th to 10th century). A determination of sex based on molecular-genetic analysis of skeletal remains was applied to the remains at this site. A total of 39 children and juveniles were analysed, only 23 of which yielded successful establishment of sex (16 boys, 7 girls). In three cases involving individuals of the male sex, the grave inventory featured jewellery and ornaments – grave 47 at Klecany I, and graves 17 and 18 at Klecany II (Profantová 2010, 17–19, tab. 39; 40; Profantová/Stránska/Hájek 2007, 145, 147, 149, 150).

If similar anthropogenetic results were more readily available from early medieval juvenile populations, more burial sites may show similar tendencies. For now, we can only assert that "feminine" jewels and decorative accessories in the graves of children up to a certain age do not necessarily confirm that the individual buried is female.

More problems in artefact interpretation classified in terms of male or female elements are posed by the presence of "gender-inappropriate" items in the graves of adults, i. e. weapons and riding equipment in the graves of women and jewellery in the graves of men. Both such cases have been detected in Pohansko's Southern Suburb.

An axe was the only item of inventory found in grave JP/103. It was located under the right knee joint at the outer side of the tibia, with its poll (butt) directed towards the foot of the grave pit, its bit (blade) directed at the earth's surface, and its beard facing the head of the deceased. Hence, the haft of the axe was originally directed at the right hand of the buried individual. The axe was classified by shape as Type V, according to B. Dostál 1966 (or Type III according to Ruttka 1976). This type has not been common in graves discovered to date, and is commonly ranked as a working tool rather than a combat axe (Dostál 1966, 72). Combat axes are characterised by a narrow blade, a blunt poll at the opposite end, low weight, longer handle, and fastenings used to secure spikes along the perimeter of the eye. The axe found in grave JP/103 featured neither spikes nor a rectangular poll, although it could have been used a weapon if necessary; axes are as versatile in this sense.

Axes also harboured extraordinary symbolic significance in the early Middle Ages (Klanica 1997). Together with swords, spears, and spurs, they fall within the category of objects that, when they appear in graves, allocate the buried individual to a certain social category – man, warrior/military troop member, rider/equestrian, etc. Archaeologists are faced with a conundrum when a grave featuring findings such as an axe is found to belong to a female.

There is one more distinctive grave complex in Pohansko presents discrepant biological and archaeological sex determination: grave SVP/92, which features spurs with fastenings in their functional position. Only anthropometric and anthropomorphological analyses of the skeletal material have been conducted to date; no genetic analysis has been carried out. The individual in question was identified as an adult between the ages of 35 and 50. The person was of slim build. The skeleton was not completely preserved: the lumbar and sacral spinal regions, along with the pelvis, have decomposed. Female sex was determined based on the morphology of the cranium and mandible (Macháček et al. 2016, 251, 349; Sládek/Makajevová/Hora 2017, 58, fig. 5-1), although genetic analyses will provide more definitive conclusions regarding the biological sex of the SVP/92 individual.

The axe may also be understood as a religious symbol. In pre-Christian, Slavic religion, the axe was associated with the god of war and thunder: Perun (Váňa 1990, 71–74, 181, 182). In Christianity, the axe became the symbol of St. Joseph, the human "foster-father" of Jesus. Although Joseph's sanctification took place rather late (shortly before 1000 AD; Braunfels 1994, 211), a connection with the Christian symbolism of Jesus may still be inferred, especially given that the position of the artefact was special in itself, with the blade directed towards the sky. Hence, another possible interpretation presents itself with respect to the axe found in a female grave. It may have been an apotropaic object, the origin and significance of which could be further speculated upon. Does it represent pre-Christian symbolism, in which a sharp iron object had a protective meaning, or an object associated with Christianity, such as a sign of Saint Joseph or Jesus?

From the point of view of an archaeologist, female jewellery and ornaments in a male grave presents less conflict, perhaps because the phenomenon has been observed more often than male appurtenances have occurred in female burials (Gärtner 2017, 116, 117). Grave JP/160 in the Southern Suburb at Pohansko presents just such a case. A simple bronze hoop earring and two fragments of a circular bronze wire, probably belonging to another earring, were found to the left of the skull. These earrings were the only element present in the JP/160 grave inventory. A further example from Pohansko is a glass bead found among the fill of a male grave (SVP/133), which belongs to the burial site beside the second church, but might not have been directly related with the individual in question (Macháček *et al.* 2016, 101).

Other examples of “feminine” jewellery present in male graves (usually in a non-functional position) have been found in other locations, e. g. graves 283/55, 433/55, 622/56, 636/56 at Dolní Věstonice; grave 22/05 at Klecany I; grave 134 at Libice nad Cidlinou – acropolis; grave 24/91 at Bíňa-Farský dvor; grave 7³ at Nitra-Zobor-Lupka (Hanuliak 2004, 154, 167; Profantová 2010, 112, 113; Ungerma 2007a, 70, 71). Examples of analogous graves dated to the Merovingian period of the 6th and 7th century have been identified in Bavaria-Straubing (grave 26) and Sindelsdorf (grave 232; Gärtner 2017, tab. 1; fig. 3; 115; 116). The general percentage of gender-discrepant burial complexes is low.

C. Knüsel and K. Ripley (2000, 169–181) took particular interest in the issue of mismatched biological and archaeological sex/gender determination in adult individuals. They chose four Anglo-Saxon burial grounds in Britain for their research (Buckland in Kent, Sewerby in East Yorkshire, Norton in Cleveland, and Portway in Hampshire) and compared anthropological and archaeological data, focusing on sex determination and establishing four grave groups in the process: M/F⁴ (anthropologically male, archaeologically female), M/M? (anthropologically male, archaeologically probably male), F/F? (anthropologically female, archaeologically probably female) and F/M⁵ (anthropologically female, archaeologically male). The last F/M category only occurred at the Buckland burial grounds; in contrast to the M/F group, it was given little attention in the study.

Both similarities and differences were recorded between the M/F and F/F? graves. The appearance of beads, pendants made of various materials, and metal pinned accessories (an annular brooch, a square-headed brooch, a sleeve clasp) were common to both. Keys or special types of belt hanger that imitated keys and simultaneously symbolised feminine household authority (“girdlehangars”) occurred in both groups. Graves belonging to the F/F? group displayed a more varied range of clip and buckle types than those of the M/F group, together with clasps for either clothing or belts. In graves pertaining to group M/F, items associated with textile production, such as a spindle whorl⁶ or an iron weaving sword (batten) were not recorded, with one exception from grave 75, in which a so-called bone weaving comb was found. In general, the objects in common were mainly those that may have been associated with protective or healing magic, such as crystal beads, pendants made of seashells, animal bones, teeth and claws, pendants in the shape of keys, pyramids or buckets, sieve spoons, ‘toilet implements’, caskets for small items, etc. (Knüsel/Ripley 2000, 179). The authors of the article interpret buried individuals from the M/F group as spiritual guides. They may have been engaged in healing and magic in general, similar to the *sacerdotes*, a pre-Christian ritual specialist in whom biological sex was not important. The authors adopted no interpretational position regarding the F/M group.

T. Gärtner (2017) has pursued the study of graves in Bavaria from the 6th and 7th centuries AD in which ambiguous archaeological and anthropological gender/sex determination were evident. A molecular-genetic aDNA analysis was conducted on graves where the character of the grave goods (weapons, jewellery) differed from the sex determination based on morphometric anthropological analysis. These comprised a total of 11 graves from seven locations (Gärtner 2017, tab. 1). The discrepant sex determination was cor-

³ The article by B. Chropovský (1962, 178) on the Nitra-Lupka burial ground mentions no anthropological determination in the description of grave 7 in the catalogue. M. Hanuliak (2004, 167) describes the context as the grave of an older adult man. On page 161 of the same book, three adult male graves each featured a ball earring in non-functional positions, with the specific location unspecified.

⁴ Sewerby: 3 graves – 6%; Buckland: 7 to 13 graves – 4% to 8%, F/M: 8 graves – 5%; Norton: 12 graves – 10%; Portway: 2 graves – 3% (Knüsel/Ripley 2000, 172).

⁵ Buckland: 8 graves – 5% (Knüsel/Ripley 2000, 172).

⁶ On the agglomeration’s Southern Suburb, as in Pohansko in general, a spindle whorl appeared in a male grave only once – with individual 175 from the double grave JP/175–176. This occurrence has been recorded rarely in the early Middle Ages although it can be found in a relatively large number of locations. Hence, we decided not to include individual 175 among the discrepant burials (Březinová/Přichystalová 2014, 190, 191).

rected in the graves with weapons – new results confirmed male sex. In graves with a feminine inventory (beads, other ornaments, combs, clothing clasps), two examples were confirmed to be male based on aDNA (see above). T. Gärtner (2017, 117) noted that, in the context of the early Middle Ages, we must account for individuals who had no discernible boundary in their social gender placement. However, the number of clearly-defined archaeological cases is too low to formulate any clear hypothesis.

The interpretation of male graves with a feminine inventory as belonging to individuals with special magical powers is somewhat problematic in our current environment. If no mistake was made in the biological sex determination, then the artefacts in such cases could be interpreted similarly to the graves of small boys with comparable furnishing – as apotropaic objects or sacrificial gifts from a close person.

Sacrifice of earrings as a gesture of gratitude for a miracle performed (such as the healing of a sick woman by the intervention of Christian saints during Christmas-time: the period of the winter solstice) was also detailed in the chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad dating back to the year 1137 ("Letopis tzv. Kanovníka vyšehradského", translation by Hrdina/Tomek/Bláhová 1974, 62, 63). It is therefore quite possible that earrings in male graves were a demonstration of a close person's funereal sacrifice, serving the function of a protective amulet (Gärtner 2017, 117; Profantová 2015, 54; Rejholecová 1995, 19).

We may interpret the axe found in the female grave in a similar manner. To consider grave JP/103 as that of a Great Moravian Amazon makes little sense in the context of the region's historical development. For now, T. Gärtner (2017, 111, 116) considers the Merovingian period of the Frankish Kingdom's region in Bavaria from the same perspective. In 9th century Great Moravia, society was already Christianised, at least superficially. The first stage of Christianization had taken place as the population was incorporated into Christian Europe, with mass baptisms, the implementation of Christian rituals, and the elimination of pagan cults and cult sites and their replacement with Christian shrines; however, pagan cults and rituals persisted (Slivka 2004, 153).

Mosaic religions, including Christianity, forbade dressing oneself in the clothing of the opposite sex. Indeed, this taboo was codified in the Old Testament, in the fifth book of Moses: "*A woman shall not wear the garment of a man, nor a man the garment of a woman, lest everyone that does so become despicable in the eyes of the Lord, your God.*" (5M Dt. 22: 5). A similar prohibition, carrying the penalty of a curse, was recorded in an assorted collection of sacerdotal and civil laws of the church – *Nomokanon*: "*If a woman in the act of misguided asceticism changes her attire and instead of ordinary female clothing she dresses in the way of a man, let her be cursed.*" (Bartoňková et al. 1971, MMFH IV, 311, *Nomokanon*, Gangr 13). This prohibition seems to apply only to the substitution of female garments with monks' robes, but it may have roots in purely civil custom law.

Finally, when there is a discrepancy between the anthropological (biological) and so-called archaeological sex of a particular individual, consensus depends largely on circumstances such as the condition of skeletal material, the anthropological methods employed, the state of the physical environment of the grave complex, context, documentation level, and the judgement of the researchers who carry out the processing, a matter highly relevant to both the archaeological and anthropological components of the analysis.

List of the abbreviations usually used in molecular – genetic anthropology

AmelX – one copy of the amelogenin gene, which is located on the X chromosome.

Xp22.31-p22.1 – the exact location on the short arm of the X chromosome, where the amelogenin gene is located.

PCR – polymerase chain reaction.

Bp – base pair, a unit consisting of two nucleobases bound to each other by hydrogen bonds.

Deletion – a mutation (a genetic aberration) in which a part of a chromosome or a sequence of aDNA is left out during aDNA replication.

Intron – a noncoding region of an RNA transcript, or the aDNA encoding it, which is eliminated by splicing before translation.

SRY – Sex-determining Region of the Y Chromosome, gene which is located on the short arm of the Y chromosome. It is necessary in male sex determination.

Y-STR – a short tandem repeat on the Y-chromosome. Y-STRs are often used in forensics, paternity, and genealogical aDNA testing.

Yp 11.3 – the exact location on the short arm of the Y chromosome, where the SRY gene is located.

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AN ENGLISHMAN IN ČSSR

J O H N C O L L I S

The author reflects on his 3-month visit to Czechoslovakia in 1967, studying in Prague, Brno and Nitra. He contrasts his archaeological background in England with the situation on the continent; the nature and aims of university training, and the theoretical and practical background he obtained as a student at Cambridge and excavating in Winchester and elsewhere in southern England. His studies in Prague formed a major component in the development of his understanding of Iron Age oppida, and he relates how he benefitted from the results of large-scale excavations at Hrazany, Staré Hradisko and Zemplín which formed an important basis for his book on oppida published in 1984, and how the visit led to a life-long connections.

Keywords: British Council, exchange scholarships, archaeology, Iron Age, oppida, Czechoslovakia, Cambridge, Winchester, archaeological theory.

I first visited what was then Czechoslovakia in January 1967, initially staying for six weeks in Prague, where I was attached to the Archaeological Institute, and then returning in May for another six weeks, during which I also visited Brno and Nitra. I had to go home for a job interview at the University of Sheffield; fortunately, I was unsuccessful, and it was not until 1972 that I finally obtained a lectureship at that institution. I graduated from Cambridge in June 1967 with a BA in Archaeology and Anthropology, specialising in the European Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age. In 1969, this degree was upgraded automatically to an MA. I obtained an exchange grant from the British Council for three months, at a time when it was relatively easy for British students to be awarded grants, as few British students applied to study in Czechoslovakia; most of those who did were either archaeologists or musicians – the only other British student I met was a composer. Other British archaeological contemporaries who came to Czechoslovakia included Ruth Tringham, Vincent Megaw, Steve Shennan, and Philip Allsworth-Jones, and I still have the letters of advice on Czech contacts from Ruth and Vincent.

MY BACKGROUND

I was a product of the “1944 Education Act”, which provided state funding for all qualified students from secondary school through university. Previously, free education was only available up to the age of 14, which is the age at which my parents and almost all my aunts and uncles left school. My background was Lower-Middle to Working Class: my paternal great-grandfather and grandfather were bootmakers and repairers, but they owned a house and large garden in Winchester. My mother was from a rural background; her grandfather was a woodsman on a large estate in Dorset. In both families, boys went into apprenticeships or into the armed forces, the lower ranks of course. Girls went into ‘service’ as maids in rich houses until they married. My father was a mechanic from the age of 15, and then a draughtsman in the Royal Air Force for 23 years. Later, he was a draughtsman in an industrial firm; his job included working on black boxes in aircraft. We lived with my paternal grandfather in Winchester, and my parents later inherited his house.

Up to 1944 in Britain there were:

“Public” schools for the rich, such as Eton, Winchester College, Harrow, etc. usually followed by university. There were a few scholarships for poorer pupils.

Grammar schools (mainly paying) for the Middle Classes.

“Secondary schools” for the Working Classes (my families).

After 1944 there were:

Preparatory Schools 7–11 (paying) for richer classes before going to ‘Public School’.



Fig. 1. Excavations in Middle Brook Street, Winchester 1954 (Collis, forthcoming; Winchester City Museum).

For the rest there were "Primary Schools" 5–11 (free) which is where I started. After primary school, free education continued, either at academic Grammar Schools, for which entry was by examination (the 11+), or practical "Technical Schools" and "Secondary Schools" for children who "failed". I was the first member of my families to go to Grammar School (Peter Symonds, Winchester, founded in 1605) from the age of 11 to 18. At Grammar School, students took examinations at 16 (Ordinary or "O-levels"); then the best went into "Sixth Form" to take Advanced "A-levels", and Scholarship ("S-levels") at 18.

Entry to university was competitive, based largely on A- and S-level results. In the Sixth Form, I studied Classics (Latin, Greek, and Ancient History). I was also the first of my families to go to university – Pembroke College, Cambridge, where I studied Archaeology and Anthropology (1963–1966). I was supported by a State Studentship, which was given to the top students, although most funding came from the Local Government. Only three students from my school got into Oxbridge, whose intake was – and to a certain extent still is – dominated by students from Public Schools. I obtained a reasonable, but not a brilliant BA (Class II/1): degree classes were decided in unseen, 3 hour written papers on defined topics we had been studying; there was no dissertation or thesis. I gained the MA two years after graduating by going to a free dinner at my college (it gave me greater borrowing rights at the university library). I failed to obtain a grant to support a doctorate on my first attempt (which is when I went to Czechoslovakia). However, on my second attempt, I was awarded one for three years (1967–1970). By that time, I had a family: I had married my Norwegian partner Sissel, and she had given birth to a son. I obtained my doctorate on Iron Age oppida in 1975, after being examined by G. Daniel and B. Cunliffe (Vivas in Britain are conducted in private).

EXCAVATION EXPERIENCE

I have always dug holes, in the back garden at home, or at the seaside. In my father's garden, I found a Neolithic scraper, Bronze Age pottery, and a Samian sherd. In 1951, the curator of Winchester City Museum, Frank Cottrill, started excavations in the town, beginning with the Roman and Medieval defences. In 1953 and 1954, he initiated excavations in the centre of the town, revealing a Roman house with mosaic pavements (Fig. 1), and my mother used to leave me watching the excavations while she went shopping. In 1955, there was an appeal for local volunteers to do further excavation on the Roman and Medieval defences, with their underlying Middle

Iron Age occupation. As an eleven-year-old schoolboy, I volunteered, I found my first piece of Iron Age pottery on my second day. Every Saturday for the next few years, I went digging, or washing and marking pottery for the Museum. By the age of 12 or 13 I had learnt about stratigraphical excavation and was doing some of my own recording and writing labels. Later, I moved into section drawing and planning, or drawing pottery and identifying Roman coins. B. Cunliffe and I have published some of these excavations, and I hope to complete another volume in the near future (*Collis 1978; Collis, forthcoming; Cunliffe 1962; 1964*).

During the school holidays, there were more possibilities. The Council for British Archaeology produced a "Calendar of Excavations", advertising archaeological sites where volunteers were needed. From the age of 14, I went on some of these excavations, for which I had to save up money to cover travel and food costs, so I sold raspberries from our garden. By the age of 15, I had worked as an unpaid volunteer for three professors at Oxford: Sir Ian Richmond at Hod Hill in 1958, Sheppard Frere at the Iron Age oppidum and Roman town of Verulamium (St. Albans; 1958–1959), and Sonia and Christopher Hawkes at the Early Iron Age settlement of Longbridge Deverill (1959). With my increasing expertise as a digger, I started being offered payment: I was given subsistence from the Ministry of Works (five shillings a day) at Twyford Roman villa in 1958; with Desmond Bonney of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, I was given a larger payment to work on the ditches of the Neolithic causewayed camp and Iron Age hill-fort at Hambledon Hill in Dorset (1958); at the Roman town of Cirencester, which was excavated under the supervision of J. Wacher in 1960, I worked as a paid student labourer for the princely sum of four shillings and five pence an hour. By that time, I had met some of the Cambridge students who would have a profound influence on my life, including B. Cunliffe, M. Biddle, and C. Renfrew. I had my first experience working abroad in 1963 and 1964, when I travelled to the Lower Rhine, near Xanten, Germany, with Lawrence Barfield, who was carrying out rescue excavations on prehistoric sites for the Bonn Museum.

In 1961, F. Cottrill persuaded M. Biddle to carry out rescue excavations near Winchester cathedral. I had previously dug for Martin at Twyford Roman villa, and at Nonsuch Palace, which was built by Henry VIII in the early 16th century, so he contacted me in his search for diggers. The site produced the remains of a Roman public building and town house, as well as part of the road system. Above these was a complex of Late Saxon religious buildings belonging to the New Minster, as well as a cemetery and water-logged deposits with textiles, leather, wooden vessels, etc. (*Biddle/Quirk 1964*). Biddle was impressed by the potential of Winchester, the "civitas capital" of Venta Belgarum and the capital of Late Saxon Wessex: the nucleus from which the Kingdom of England developed in the 10th and 11th centuries. Thus, with the threat of further urban development in the centre of the town, he set up a research committee to oversee rescue and research excavations in the town, looking at the whole evolution of the city rather than just one aspect of it, such as the Roman period, as was more normal in England at that time. The scale of the work (up to 120 volunteers each day during the summer season), and the use of medieval documentary sources, was revolutionary at the time. Excavation innovations included open area excavation and the Harris Matrix, which had a profound influence, not only in Britain, but on the continent as well, especially in France (*Collis 2011a*). Biddle was a medievalist, so he first asked me to deal with the Iron Age finds in 1964 and 1965; these included the first trench across the pre-Roman defences at Oram's Arbour (*Biddle 1966; 1967*). Winchester was normally referred to as an oppidum, which is what prompted the topic of my doctoral research; we are still working on the publication of the site: a defended enclosure dating to the 2nd century BC and covering about 20 hectares. It was constructed on a hill-slope and has now been largely covered by the Roman and Medieval towns (*Collis 2019; Morris 2018; Ottaway 2017; Qualmann et al. 2004*).

In 1962, F. Cottrill asked me to intervene in rescue excavations for Winchester Museum at a site near the village of Owslebury: about 8 km east of Winchester, where the farmer had turned up a Roman cremation burial and a corn-drying oven during deep ploughing. I carried out trial excavations across visible earthworks. With help from Christopher Hawkes and Collin Bowen of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, aerial photographs were obtained, which showed a number of enclosures belonging to a farming settlement. Following this up on the ground, I identified the remains of Iron Age and Roman cremation burials which had been hit by the plough. With the help of M. Biddle, I obtained a grant from the then Ministry of Works for a rescue excavation, and in 1966 I carried out the first large-scale mechanical stripping of one of the enclosures. I would continue excavating the site until 1972, pioneering new methods for excavating such sites in England (*Collis 1968; 1970; 1973; 1977; 2011b*).

Such a start to my career would have been impossible in most European countries, where permits are required for excavations and are usually only given to those with the necessary academic qualifications. No such permit is necessary in Britain, except on protected sites. Until the 1950s, the structure of excavations in Britain was similar to that on the continent; that is, digs were directed by Middle-Class people, perhaps

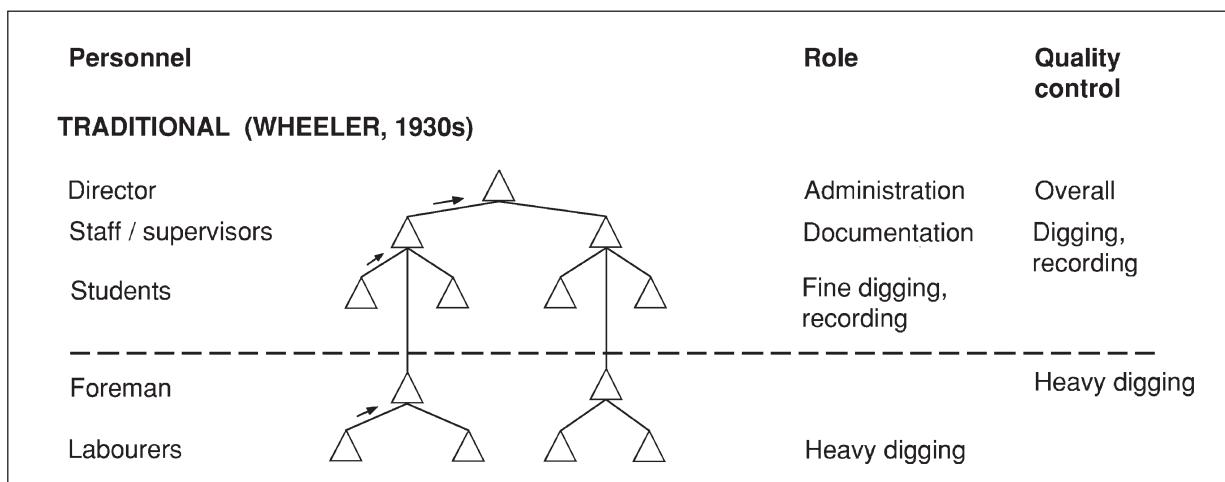


Fig. 2. Structure of British excavations in the 1930s (Collis 2001, fig 2.14a).

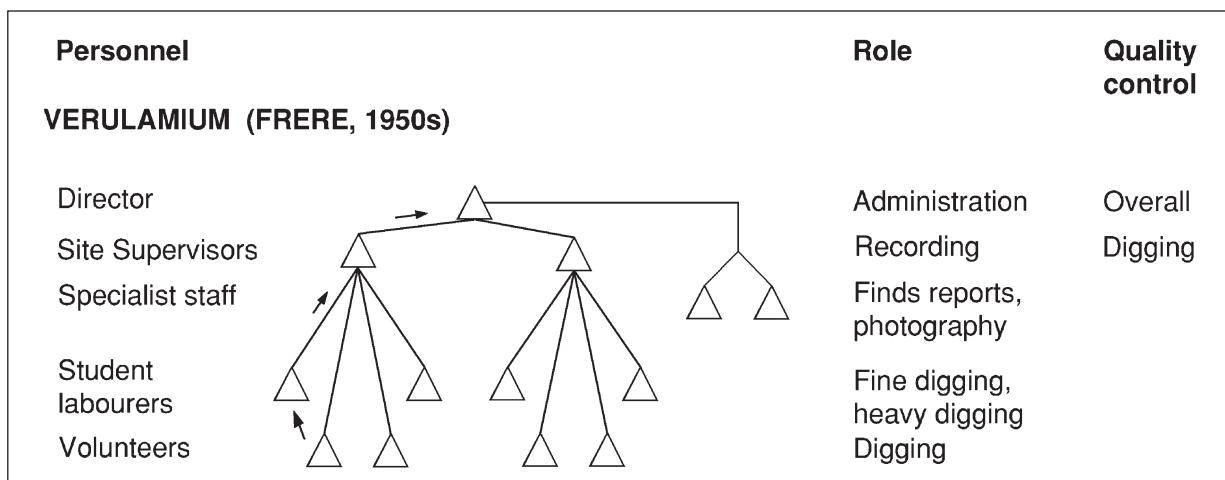


Fig. 3. Structure of British excavations in the 1950s (Collis 2001, fig 2.14a).

with students to carry out the recording and delicate excavation and most of the digging done by labourers, who were usually unskilled (though not always; Fig. 2). With one or two exceptions, labourers never directed excavations, and the structure of the excavation teams reflected the class structure. In fact, we were advised not to become archaeologists unless we had a private income! In Britain, there were local societies for amateurs who also excavated. When the Council for British Archaeology was set up in 1944, one of its remits was to provide training for these amateur archaeological groups. At the same time, the Education Act produced students like me, who increasingly did the actual digging, and by the mid-1960s the structure of excavations had completely changed (Fig. 3). Reflecting wider changes in society, one could start as a volunteer and work up to director, and in the 1960s and 1970s, this new generation of diggers gradually became the new professional archaeologists. The dress of the male director shifted from bow tie, waistcoat, and cuff-links to sandals, shorts, floppy pullover, and beard, with equivalent changes in female dress – archaeology has always been relatively gender-free; the first two excavations I worked on both had female directors, and the first ever female professor at Cambridge was the archaeologist Dorothy Garrod. I certainly expected the same sort of work to be carried out by all volunteers, whatever their gender, and one of my volunteers at Owslebury was Joan Gero, who is well-known for her critiques of gender bias in American archaeology, which she found contrasted enormously with her English experiences. All of this meant that, as excavators, British archaeologists had a lot of practical experience in the field, which their continental colleagues often lacked. This allowed new types of excavation, such as open area excavation (Collis 2001). Students such as myself, B. Cunliffe, and M. Biddle were already directing major excavations before we went to university.

ACADEMIC TRAINING

The university system in Britain had also diverged from that of the continent, although that process began sometime in the 19th century. In Britain, the purpose of going to university was to obtain a general education, and students were especially encouraged to read Arts- and Humanities-based subjects like Classics, History, and Philosophy. Behind this lay the concept of the “the gifted amateur”, someone given a general education who could then turn their skills to whatever careers they went into. This was especially true of the Government’s Civil Service, which recruited almost exclusively from Oxford and Cambridge for its higher posts. Most students left with a Bachelor’s degree after 3 years; Masters Degrees were virtually unknown, except when they entailed no further study or examinations, as in my case at Cambridge. PhDs were largely confined to those who were seeking an academic career. Only a few specialist degrees were intended as professional training, such as Medicine, Architecture, and some of the Natural Sciences. Change of subject was easy, and some Archaeology professors had no formal archaeology qualifications, notably S. Piggott, P. Rahtz, and M. Carver.

This contrasted with the continental tradition. Under the Napoleonic system of the Grandes Ecoles in France and the “Humboldt” system in much of central and northern Europe, the aim of university training was to receive a professional qualification. For archaeologists, this granted a holder the right to apply for excavation permits. There was no fixed curriculum, as in the British and American systems. Instead, students could develop their own curriculum and spend time in other universities studying under several professors. For university posts, there was the higher doctorate, the Habilitation, something which still does not exist in Britain. This difference in structure still has a major effect, even though a supposedly uniform system of the Bachelor, Masters, and PhD was adopted under the Bologna agreement. For instance, with the flexibility of the British system, students can change course and take different subjects at the different levels; it also affects the definition of an archaeologist. In Germany, an archaeologist is someone who has the necessary academic qualifications, although much of the fieldwork is supervised by skilled technicians, who are not classified as archaeologists even if they have practical skills. In Britain, an archaeologist is simply someone who “does” archaeology; they may have no formal academic qualifications at all. Hence the big contrast in numbers of archaeologists identified in the first surveys of the profession carried out under the aegis of the European Association of Archaeologists (*Aitchison/Edwards 2008*). In Britain, there were 6,865 archaeologists, but there were only 2,500 in Germany. However, if we include the ancillary workers (Britain: 866, Germany: 8,049), the totals were 7,713 in Britain and 10,549 in Germany (*Collis 2010*).

Until the 1960s, the teaching of archaeology in British universities was similar to that on the continent, but I arrived in Cambridge just as major changes were happening under Professor Grahame Clark. The great emphasis on artefacts and archaeological ‘cultures’ was just giving way to more economic and environmental approaches, with Clark’s “Prehistoric Europe: The Economic Basis” (*Clark 1952*), as well as his classic report on the Mesolithic site of Star Carr, which included an environmental reconstruction using pollen analysis and animal bones to identify seasonal movements and diet (*Clark 1954*). I had been brought up with more traditional approaches, with reconstructions of Roman and Medieval history which relied on dating of pottery and coins, while things like animal bones were usually discarded as of little interest. The Cambridge archaeology course involved studying human and animal bones, as well as aspects such as trade, using trace elements in metals or minerals in pottery. The teaching relied heavily on scientific approaches to archaeology, with the textbook ‘*Science in Archaeology*’, one of whose editors, Eric Higgs, was Grahame Clark’s research assistant (*Brothwell/Higgs 1963*). The other major influence was David Clarke, who was just completing his corpus on British Beaker pottery (*Clarke 1970*), but was already branching out into other interests and disciplines, such as central place analysis from the New Geography (*Clarke 1968*). Although we were expected to be able to identify typical prehistoric artefacts, this was relatively unimportant, and methodologies such as typology were being replaced by the more statistical techniques of ‘numerical taxonomy’ (*Sneath/Sokal 1963*). The range of approaches was therefore much wider and less deep than on the continent, with the emphasis on theory and methodology rather than data.

Just before I graduated, Grahame Clark published his paper on the ‘Invasion Hypothesis’ (*Clark 1966*), in which he rejected the idea that British prehistory could be explained as a series of invasions from the continent, although he accepted some immigrations had taken place, such as that of the Beaker users in the Chalcolithic. This brought him into conflict with Christopher Hawkes in particular, whose whole nomenclature of the Iron Age had been based on a series of invasions by bearers of Hallstatt and La Tène cultures (*Hawkes 1959; 1960*). Hawkes’ model had already come under fire from Roy Hodson, who had written a series

BRONZE AGE	EARLY PRE-ROMAN IRON AGE EARLIEST P.I.A.	IRON AGE EARLIER P.I.A.	LATE PRE-ROMAN IRON AGE	ROMAN I. A.	PHASES OF METAL WORK
BRONZE HOARDS Llyn Fawr	THAMES DAGGERS Portslade	WANDSWORTH STYLE	MIRROR (2D) AND SNETTISHAM (3D) STYLES ? ← COINS	STANWICK	
VARIOUS CULTURES e.g. DEVEREL RIMBURY at Shearplace Hill	UNIVALLATE HILL - FORTS	WOODBURY CULTURE (EARLY)	WOODBURY CULTURE (LATE) MULTIVALLATION AND STONE-REVETTED, INTURNED ENTRANCES In Many Highland Areas		
		Regional pottery styles (exact chronology and distributions uncertain), e.g. Blandford type	Many regional pottery styles, e.g.		OF CULTURES
		Ebberston (Ha. C Culture ?)	ARRAS LA TÈNE CULTURE Inhumations Burial with square-plan ditch and vehicle Cowlam /	AYLESFORD LA TÈNE CULTURE Cremations	ROMANO-BRITISH CULTURE
750/700 B.C.	Ha. C and D 400 B.C.	La Tène I and II 50 B.C.	La Tène III	43 A.D.	OF CONTINENTAL TYPE

Fig. 4. The Woodbury Culture (from Hodson 1964).

of papers questioning the factual basis of the system (Hodson 1960; 1962), suggesting that the majority of features of the British Iron Age, such as roundhouses and 'Celtic' field systems, were already present in the Bronze Age. Hodson accepted that some foreign groups were present, such as the 'Arras Culture' of Yorkshire, with its chariot burials and square barrows, and the Aylesford-Swarling 'Belgae', with cremation burials and continental style Late La Tène pottery and brooches. Nonetheless, he asserted that the main features of the Iron Age were indigenous (Fig. 4; Hodson 1964). I involved myself in this debate while writing my thesis, especially as it pertained to interpretations of Iron Age coinage (Allen 1960; Collis 1971).

I arrived in Czechoslovakia with these practical experiences and theoretical ideas, and this affected the way I viewed and collected data about the Czech Iron Age.

My Czechoslovakian experience

Before beginning my scholarship, I was asked to visit the Foreign Office in London to be given advice about how to conduct myself. For example, as a married man, I should be wary of any offers of sexual relationships, which could be used for blackmail. I was also given a typescript of the recent history of Czechoslovakia from a Western perspective, with topics such as "Did Jan Masaryk jump or was he pushed?" This document was not to be taken with me. Travelling on the train through the border, with its watchtowers and armed border guards, was an interesting experience for someone like me who had limited experience of travelling; I had only visited West Germany. When I arrived at Prague station, my first encounter was with someone from Pembroke College, the late Tim Wordsworth, a descendant of the poet who was in the first year of an archaeology degree and was in Prague visiting his Czech girlfriend. I was then met by a lady from one of the ministries, who brought me to my accommodation at the Kolej

Komenského in Strahov, and finally to the Institute in Letenská, where I had coffee with J. Filip and was appointed a supervisor E. Soudská. I was then assigned a desk, which was piled high with recent publications on oppida. Though I had tried to learn some basic Czech, it quickly became clear that German would be the best language to use, my limited German improved considerably. Nonetheless, I did acquire some reading knowledge of Czech, working with a dictionary to read Filip's books (*Filip 1956; 1960*) and some of the newly published booklets on recent excavations published by Academia (*Böhm et al. 1963; Jansová 1965; Soudský 1966*). I was also taken to the National Museum, where I met J. Neustupný and J. Břeň and looked at some of the material from Stradonice. One regret is that I did not go to the Charles University, so I did not meet any of my contemporaries there until the 1970s.

I was not registered for a PhD at Cambridge, so I was given no advice about how to conduct research; I was teaching myself. Some of my Czech and Slovak colleagues wondered what I was doing, but I too did not really know; my ideas developed gradually as I was writing the thesis (completed *Collis 1975a*), publishing the basic data and chronology (*Collis 1975b*), and later composing the book on oppida (published in *Collis 1984a*). I have never been an artefact researcher, except when I wrote up excavation reports, so I did not tour museums looking at finds other than to familiarise myself with the basic data, and I relied heavily on the published record. Czechoslovakia was a good place to start, as there had been major excavations at a number of sites, including Hrazany, Závist, Staré Hradisko and Zemplín (which I never visited) as part of a general research project initiated by J. Filip. As such, I immediately encountered a big contrast from Britain, where such ambitious, long-term, well-funded projects generally did not exist; when they did, they relied heavily on volunteers, as at Winchester, rather than on the state. At this stage of my research, I was simply collecting data, although I already had some idea of the sort of data I needed, namely distributions of coins or distinctive pottery, such as the painted wares, to estimate the market reach of an oppidum. My experience digging at Owslebury meant that I already had an interest in discoveries from surrounding farming settlements, not only from the oppida themselves. However, at that time, few data were available other than those from the earlier cemeteries documented by Filip. I was also interested in the sorts of structures found on oppida, so I was tracing the unpublished excavation plans of sites like Staré Hradisko. I was looking at maps to understand the relationship of sites to raw resources and good agricultural soils like loess. Although I was also gathering data which would be important in my discussions of the Celts, this was not of major interest to me at this stage (*Collis 1986; 2003*). Already this was not a traditional PhD; 'New Archaeology' was still developing and I was one of only a few people looking at these new approaches. I discuss the range of approaches suggested from outside archaeology (*Collis 1984a*, 73, 74).

On my second visit in May–June, I visited some of the oppida as part of a group expedition to Hrazany and Závist with Libuše Jansová in the pouring rain and with minimal visibility. I also travelled to Staré Hradisko with Jiří Meduna, where I was suffering from an awful hangover, having taken part the previous night in a nameday celebration which involved homemade slivovica. In Brno, I was warned about Nitra and the drinking habits of Slovaks. However, in this most exotic of places as I entered the Institute, which at that time was still in the bishops' palace, I heard a radio playing an international popular hit: 'Winchester Cathedral', which made me feel a bit more at home. In Nitra, my main contact was B. Benadik, the excavator of Zemplín (*Benadik 1965; 1971*), which would be the subject of one of my early articles, in which I noted the structure of sites on the eastern edge of the Hungarian Plain, with their small defended areas and large open settlements, which I called the Zemplín type. I then contrasted this with oppida in central and Western Europe, where the whole site was normally defended (*Collis 1972*); this article is still referenced today. I also discussed the chronology of sites like Taban-Gellerthegy in Budapest, and chronology has remained an important aspect of my research. I was also able to visit excavations of other periods in Czechoslovakia, notably the Neolithic Bandkeramik site of Bylany, where I met B. Soudský, as well as the early medieval site of Mikulčice. These projects still figure in some of my writings.

OUTCOMES

My original thought in going to Prague was that I might be able to get further grants which would allow me to write something on the Iron Age in Czechoslovakia, and to be accompanied by my family. I was disabused of this, in that the grant was not sufficient to support a family, even if I had found somewhere to stay. Nevertheless, in September I found myself on the reserve list for a State Studentship, which I finally

obtained for three years of research, and which included extra funding for family! This allowed me to travel around central and western Europe, visiting sites and people, as well as to continue my excavations at Owslbury. I am positive that my previous research in Czechoslovakia was an important factor in obtaining the grant, and I must have had strong support from Grahame Clarke. I finally submitted my doctoral thesis in 1974, and was awarded the PhD in 1975. In Cambridge, it was normal for research students to give tutorials to undergraduates, thus gaining useful teaching experience; one of my undergraduate students was Anthony Harding. I came back to Prague in 1977 with another British Council scholarship. By this time, I had a lectureship at Sheffield, which gave me special status; I received invitations to dine with both the British ambassador at the embassy, as well as with the British Consul, then based in Jungmannová. On these occasions, I was accompanied by guests, including E. Soudská, R. Pleiner, and J. Waldhauser; I have never been honoured in this way since. By this time, I was revising and adding to my thesis, extending its theoretical basis for the book which appeared in 1984. The Czech data formed an important part of both the thesis and the book, but by this time I was using other data from Czechoslovakia in my general teaching of the European Iron Age. These data also appeared in book form as *The European Iron Age*, which was also published in 1984 (*Collis 1984b*). The problem of the Celts was also beginning to appear, but mainly in a British and German context.

I was not to visit the Czech Republic or Slovakia again until after the fall of the communist regime; this time accompanied by my Norwegian wife, Sissel, as both were family occasions: our 25th wedding anniversary in 1991 and our 50th birthdays in 1994, both very memorable occasions. Nonetheless, connections with colleagues in Czechoslovakia had strengthened, in part because I used Sheffield University as a vehicle for officially inviting colleagues to work with us in France, including D. Drechslerová, D. Adelsbergová and M. Hajnalová who worked with us in the Auvergne. Furthermore, as secretary of the AFEAF, A. Duval was inviting Czech scholars to conferences I attended, where I met colleagues such as N. Venclová and P. Sankot. But I also recommended British Council scholarships to some of my Sheffield students, and the three who went certainly made their mark in different ways: Ch. Gosden, Ch. Cumberpatch, and Jon Humble. Another visitor to Sheffield for a month was E. Gromová, who was preparing an English–Slovak archaeological dictionary for the Nitra Institute. Later, through my wife, she set up an exchange of staff between the University of Nitra and Sheffield Hallam University for the teaching of English. Finally, one of our former Sheffield students of Czech origin, M. Zvelebil, came back to Sheffield as a lecturer, and later as a professor. He set up joint projects with the Prague Institute, notably with M. Kuna. E. Neustupný was another visitor to Sheffield soon after he became Director of the Prague Institute. From the 1990s onwards, I found myself visiting the Czech Republic quite regularly in various capacities, most recently as a visiting professor in Brno in October 2018, so my connections have been life-long, and I hope they have benefited the Czechoslovak side as much as they have me.

As mentioned, I was mainly collecting data, so our differing paradigms were not an important problem. Indeed, my own ideas were not properly developed at that time. I do remember giving a lecture in Nitra in 1977, during which E. Kolníková expressed surprise at the social and economic basis of some of my work, which was not quite Marxist, but not quite what was expected from a Westerner. In fact, the Cambridge department was quite right wing when I was a student, although I was more at home in Sheffield, where the politics were more in the centre and centre left. Sadly, I never dug in Czechoslovakia, but the organisation of the excavations seemed to resemble more the Wheeler structures of the 1930s–1950s rather than the more egalitarian system which I was used to. That said, with the fairly permanent staff, the labourers seemed better trained than in Britain. I did dig in Poland (three weeks after the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968), where there was surprise that I expected to dig at all, and that I did some of the heavy work of removing the plough soil with pick and shovel, as was normal in Britain. My experiences in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, France, and Spain made me much more aware of the different ways in which excavations were structured and university systems functioned. This was useful when I was asked to act as an external advisor for the project ‘Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe’, with the problems of defining ‘archaeologists’ (*Aitchison/Edwards 2008*). One of my recent interests is the construction and nomenclature of prehistoric chronological systems, and though as a student I had encountered the concept of horizons, especially Hachmann’s hoard horizons in the Scandinavian Early Bronze Age, the extensive use of the idea in the Czech Iron Age (e.g. the ‘Dux Horizon’ of Filip) has stayed with me and heavily influenced my thinking (*Collis 2008; 2014; 2019*).

RETROSPECTIVE

It is over fifty years since that very 'green' and inexperienced student went to Prague, an event which totally transformed my life. I write now with a certain amount of sorrow, as we are going through the 'Brexit' process of Britain leaving the EU; some of the bureaucratic and political barriers which I have seen gradually dissolve during my lifetime may be re-imposed. But we broke through the 'Iron Curtain', so we should survive Brexit! What I can do here is thank all those people who helped a rather raw and ignorant student still finding his feet in the academic world, and the friends who have enriched my life, as well as my late wife's, in so many ways.

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