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Sacred space: contributions to the archaeology of belief

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Preface

Although there have been a flurry of academic publications devoted to the archaeology of sacred space in the last three decades[1], the topic has not been a strong focus of mainstream academic archaeology in Central Europe[2], something we hope this volume may help amend. The essays collected here address the problems of geographically defined and socially constructed and religiously denoted space dating from the 5th millennium BC to the present day and ranging from Scandinavia over the Polish Lands, the Carpathian Basin and Aegean to the Near East. The authors approach the subject from a variety of theoretical standpoints and academic backgrounds but all attempt to describe and in some cases explain the factors that distinguish and designate liminal sacred space.

Marta Kaczmarek opens the volume with *Settlements of the Brześć Kujawski Group of the Lengyel Culture – places of sacrum or profanum?* which traces changing attitudes to sacred space during the 5th millennium BC in central Poland. Early and classic period settlements of this group show a typical if highly complex notion of the sacred involving carefully located and furnished graves and small cemeteries being integrated into the settlement structure. In the closing centuries of the 5th millennium, this complex pattern of mortal/ancestral cohabitation erodes. The dead are treated in a more haphazard way indicating the abandonment of highly standardised notions governing interface between the living and the dead.

Votive deposition plays a significant role in the essays that follow. While the remarkable custom of consigning valuable metal to the earth in later European Prehistory is embedded in the broader context of underground storage, much of it is part of a complex pattern of ritualised material renunciation connecting the mortal and immortal spheres. Clear ritual intent is shown when the liminal space or elemental context of deposition is aquatic. The Chalcolithic beginnings of the use of the abundant surface waters of the territory of Poland for the systematic deposition of metals is analysed in the contribution *Copper artefact deposits in waters and wetlands during the later 5th and 4th millennium BC in the territory of Poland* by Louis Daniel Nebelsick and Grzegorz Łyszkowicz. In *Jewelry depositions from the end of the 2nd millennium BC from the Romanian Carpathian Basin: a survey of eastern Carpathian hoards*, Antonia Flontaș analyses Early Urnfield Period jewelry deposits arguing that they were lavish votive gifts by women and groups of for female deities. Finally, in her contribution *Early Iron Age hoards between Brittany and the Carpathian basin – a preliminary review*, Imke Westhausen challenges the assumption that bronze hoarding ceases at the end of the Bronze Age by showing that in large parts of Central, Northern and Western Europe votive deposition of bronzes continues, in some cases with high intensity, well into the Iron Age.

Cyprus and the Levant play an essential role in this volume. A broad review of contextual information about the use of anthropomorphic figurines from the 10th to 3rd millennium is offered by Christine Winkelmann who argues in *Places of ritual activity in pre-Bronze Age Cyprus* that sacred and domestic space were, in fact, utterly conflated. The figurines seem to have been used on special occasions by selected households in rituals firmly embedded in their domestic context, making the structures "ordinary yet special" at the same time.

In contrast to this domestic approach, Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska looks upward in *The space above. Sacred sky in Prehistoric Cyprus.* She begins by demonstrating the importance of birds in the diet of Cypriots from the Epipaleolithic to the present but also the role of migratory wildfowl who use the Island as a stopover in telling celestial time. The characteristic long-necked female figurines of the Chalcolithic are interpreted by her as being stargazers underlining the crucial importance and sacrality of the sky.

Laerke Recht analyses the meaning and consequences of equid remains in 3rd to 1st millennium funerary con-

[1] Ernst Cassirer´s concept of special denotation and Mircea Eliade´s paradigmatic concept of the crucial physical division between the sacred and the profane lie at the base of the modern discourse on sacred space. For Prehistoric Archaeology Richard Bradley´s work has been particularly seminal (1996 and 1999). New collections of essays dedicated to sacred space include: Alcock and Osborne 1994; Insoll 2011; Moser and Feldman 2014; Laneri 2015; Renfrew, Morley and Boyd 2017.

[2] For a review of recent Polish contributions, see Baron 2009.

texts in her article *Asses were buried with him. Equids as markers of sacred space in the third and second millennia BC in the Eastern Mediterranean*. After a thorough summary of the evidence, she explores the polysemic nature of equids and their symbolic connotations seeing them playing roles as varied as embodying martial status to defining the borders of sacred space.

In *Fossilising the Holy. Aniconic standing stones of the Near East* Nicola Scheyhing contributes the first attempt to summarise the phenomenon of betylism in the Levant in this century. She reviews the evidence for this remarkable phenomenon which sees highly archaic aniconic rough-hewn standing stones being integrated into and indeed defining sacred space in Levantine urban settings since the third millennium. Moreover, she interweaves textual and archaeological evidence to show that despite the rustic nature of the stones themselves they evoked complex religious perceptions and ritual action.

A highly original approach to what was always considered a military and political construction is taken by Krzysztof Narloch who interprets the Roman *Limes* not only as a physical barrier towards the barbarian other but also as a vast *pomerium* enclosing *The largest European area of the sacred*. He then offers a historically graded phenomenology of the integrative function of this enclosed space, its permeability and its ability to bestow coherence and identity.

In his *Towards a sacred topography of Early Byzantine Thessaloniki* Roman Szlązak offers a sweeping account of the gradual iconographic and architectural appropriation of public and space that accompanies the transition of Late Antique Thessaloniki from a cosmopolitan pagan metropolis cast in a geometric city plan and dominated by imperial palatial architecture to a crowded Medieval Byzantine city dominated by monumental churches and encrusted with lesser ecclesiastical buildings and memorials. Once espousing imperial ambition, the Medieval city is reborn as an embodiment of ecclesiastical celebration.

In a summary article Edvard Zajkovski explores *The Central European Watershed as a part of the space of the pagan sacred*. The segment of this watershed which extends from northern Moravia through the north-western part of Ukraine was a focus of ritual activity and religious architecture in the pagan as well as the Christian period indicating an awareness and veneration of this crucial continental divide.

Adriana Ciesielska offers an explicitly theoretical approach in her paper *Selected concepts of power and sacral space*. She begins with a theoretical introduction rehearsing various approaches to human psychological and social interactions with real and constructed space. She then she takes the visual interaction of the Early Medieval Polish island fortress of Ostrów Lednicki with its surrounding landscape as an example for different degrees of sensual awareness among visually interlinked communities and resulting patterns of awareness and behaviour.

For anyone familiar with traditional accounts of the archaeology of North East Poland Zbigniew Kobyliński´s contribution *Sacred space of the Iron Age enclosed sites in the north-eastern Poland* will come as a big surprise. His pioneering work on hilltop enclosures from Warmia and Masuria once thought to be Early Medieval fortifications have revealed that they are concentric Iron Age multivallate constructions which are likely to have served ritual purposes rather than being fortresses. This is a new category of enclosed sacred space both for the region and the period.

Starting from the analysis of meanings of the Prehistoric and Early Medieval ship-shaped stone-settings and boat burials Zbigniew Kobyliński and Kamil Rabiega explore *The symbolic role of boats and ships in pagan and Christian Medieval Northern Europe* in a holistic fashion. The authors weave a grand narrative tracing the role of that most liminal of all vehicles, the ship, in funerary cult from the dawn of the Metal Ages into the Medieval Period and embellish archaeological evidence with a wealth of literary sources.

This volume is concluded by Bożena Józefów-Czerwińska who offers a fascinating and intimate view of traditional patterns of sacred landscape denotation and ritual interaction in *Sacred environment and sacred communication process according to ethnographic field research in the Nadbuże Region*. The intense religiosity of the inhabitants ethnic and religious border region in north-eastern Poland has led to patterns of creating, maintaining and at times overcoming both positively and negatively charged sacred space.

Finally, before we invite you to enjoy this book we would like to thank Professor Zbigniew Kobyliński – the editor of the "Archaeologica Hereditas" series – for enabling and robustly encouraging the printing of this volume and Professor Sławomir Zaręba – the Dean of the Faculty of Historical and Social Sciences of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw for granting us the vital funding for the publication of this book.[3]

This volume is dedicated to Professor Maria Miśkiewicz, initiator of research on the archaeology of spirituality at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University.

Louis Daniel Nebelsick, Joanna Wawrzeniuk and
Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska

[3] This essay volume, which has a Central European and Eastern Mediterranian focus has been inspired by the results of the international conference *Sacred space in the past: between archaeological theory and practice* organised by the Institute of Archaeology of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw and the Institute for European Art History and Archaeology at the University of Halle-Wittenberg in 2015, which was made possible through the generous funding of the Foundation for German-Polish Cooperation.

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Settlements of the Brześć Kujawski Group of the Lengyel Culture – places of *sacrum* or *profanum*?

Marta Kaczmarek

The issue of the existence of a *sacrum* among the communities of the Brześć Kujawski Group of the Lengyel Culture[1] is an extremely interesting topic, because these people buried their deceased within their settlements. The best examples illustrating this phenomenon come from the area of central places, that is the Brześć Kujawski settlement itself, located, together with a complex of other sites, on the Smętów Lake peninsula[2] and the Osłonki settlement, which lies between two former lakes.[3]

Current state of research

Systematic research on the Lengyel Culture in Kuyavia began in 1933, when Konrad Jażdżewski, working with Stanisław Madajski, came across traces of material culture which they classified as the Brześć Kujawski Group[4] during their excavations of the settlement and cemetery of the Globular Amphora Culture at Brześć Kujawski itself. These excavations were conducted between 1933 and 1939. Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War II prevented the continuation of this research. Additionally, some of the excavated materials were destroyed or lost during the war.[5] In 1952, Maria and Waldemar Chmielewscy explored the site at Brześć Kujawski for another season. Later, the site's exploration was intensified in 1976 under Ryszard Grygiel and Peter Bogucki. Research at Osłonki began in 1989 and continued up to 2003. The 28-season campaign[6], provided a wealth of material and data for further analyses. Up to today, almost 180 graves of the Brześć Kujawski Group have been discovered in both sites.

Region and chronology

The people of the Brześć Kujawski Group occupied the area of Central Kuyavia (*Kujawy*).[7] This territory belongs to the Kuyavia Plateau.[8] Brześć Kujawski and Osłonki both lie in the catchment of the Bachorza River basin, which drains into the Zgłowiączka and the Vistula rivers. This region was an attractive settlement area, as it connected the Vistula, the Noteć and the Gopło Lake with the southern part of eastern Kuyavia.[9] Moreover, in this territory sixteen types and sub-types of soil can be identified[10], among the most important of which was humus rich chernozem proper.[11] The fertile soils were a natural resource attracting people to this land during the Neolithic period.[12] And that is the reason why the traces of houses, fragments of valuable grave inventories, as well as human remains of the Kuyavia´s Neolithic inhabitants have been perfectly preserved.[13]

During its pinnacle phase, the settlement at Brześć Kujawski occupied an area of two hectares with a basic organisational unit in the form of an up to 2000 sq. large household cluster.[14] The timeframe of the settlement has been established between 4800 and 3500 BC. This timespan can be divided into three phases: the early phase – about 4700/4600–4500 BC, the classic phase – 4500–4300 BC and the late phase – approximately 4300–4100/4000 BC.[15] The settlements decline during the late phase was the result of degradation and disintegration of the cultural landscape, that had been caused by the population of the Brześć Kujawski Group, during its classic phase of development.

[1] The nomenclature of the Brześć Kujawski group is still not unequivocally settled among researchers (see Czerniak 1996; Grygiel 1996, 2008b).
[2] Grygiel 2008c: 20.
[3] Grygiel 2008a: 476.
[4] Jażdżewski 1933: 1–3; Cofta-Broniewska and Stolpiak 1984: 39; Grygiel 2004: 26–27.
[5] Grygiel and Bogucki 1981: 11.
[6] Grygiel 2004: 38, 54.
[7] Cofta-Broniewska and Kośko 1982: 48.
[8] Grygiel 2004: 113.
[9] Grygiel 2004: 119.
[10] Grygiel 2004: 136.
[11] Kamieńska 1967: 258; Grygiel 2004: 138.
[12] Grygiel 2004: 136.
[13] Gładykowska-Rzeczycka 2007: 198.
[14] Grygiel 1986: 316.
[15] Grygiel 2008b: 1917–1918.

Burials and settlements

People of the Brześć Kujawski Group inhabited central places such as Brześć Kujawski, site 4 or Osłonki, site 1, as well as satellite settlements, for example, Brześć Kujawski, site 5, Zagajewice, site 1, and Konary, site 1. The central settlements developed simultaneously[16] and without interruptions.[17] The basic unit of settlement constituted a household cluster[18] in which intensive economic activity was conducted.

The community of the Brześć Kujawski Group of the Lengyel Culture buried their deceased as inhumations, usually in the vicinity of houses. The burials were located within the dwellings or just outside of them.[19] They were found over and under the foundation trenches or were adjacent to them. A rule that governed their location, in reference to residential buildings, has not yet been established. Probably, the deceased were buried in under-developed areas of the settlement compounds.[20] As a result, individual features intersected each other – and younger features partially damaged the older ones.

During the pinnacle development of the Brześć Kujawski Group, graves located within particular houses were grouped in clusters. Probably, such isolated, smaller clusters of graves constituted family backyard cemeteries which may have served to illustrate ancestral ties.[21] These burial clusters may represent may a group of people inhabiting one house. However, locating graves within the settlement points to profound connections between the place of the burial and the living who were functioning in that very place.

The tradition of burying the dead near houses became common during the early phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group. This custom would also characterise the later phase of the group. Neither do the location of these burials follow fast rules, nor are they regularly oriented according to cardinal directions. The woman's head from grave no. XXXV, Osłonki site 1 was directed towards the west[22] but the woman's head from grave no. VI, site 4a at Miechowice – to the north.[23] However, in the Brześć Kujawski site the oldest graves were laid out on a south-eastern axis, which later became standard.[24]

In the classic phase, small cemeteries set up near houses became common. Archaeologists have identified several domestically bound burial clusters. An example is the cluster near house no. 56 in site 4 at Brześć Kujawski. As many as ten burials were chronologically linked to the structure.[25] At that time burying the dead with their heads pointing south or south-east became a rule.[26] Typically, the bodies were arranged due to sex – dead women were put on their left side, and men – the right.[27] All cemeteries of the Brześć Kujawski Group feature this arrangement with the exception of Biskupin, site 15a, where women in all three graves which were recovered were put on their right side.[28]

The classic phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group relates to the peak development of settlement and use of copper among its people. At that time, two central settlements at Brześć Kujawski and Osłonki were established.[29] The emergence of these settlement is the result of the inclusion of these communities in cultural network of the large complex of the Lengyel Culture, located in the south Middle Europe. At the time, with the increase in wealth, a demographic upsurge occurred, and, as a result, a rapid growth of the size of buildings and the number of graves.[30] The presence of cellars in houses on Osłonki, site 1 can be linked with access to ample copper resources[31] – as a result the wealthier residents were able to elaborate their dwellings. At the same time, graves of women with rich copper inventories and male graves with antler axes appear.[32] These male graves are interpreted as evidence for the rise of a class of warriors protecting the settlements. In the case of the Osłonki site, the erection of a defensive circuit in the form of a ditch and a palisade is linked to the decline of the classic phase and the end of copper imports to the Brześć Kujawski Group.[33]

The late phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group, dated to 4300–4100 BC, was characterised by social and economic disintegration. It is also linked with numerous house fires. Sometimes, multiple burials were dug next to the remains of the burned dwellings. Bones from 31 phase III burials bear traces of at times fatal injuries.[34] Grave no. LXXIII, from Osłonki, site 1 in which a woman with two children was buried, serves as an example. Her skull and those of her older child show traces of fatal wounds, in the form of round holes. They were probably made using of an antler axe.[35]

In this late phase the burial custom which mandated arranging the body with its head pointing east, was abandoned and burying the dead in refuse pits became a rule; for example, at Brześć Kujawski, site 4, pits no. 891 and 893.[36] Moreover, the deceased

16 Grygiel 2008c: 8.
17 Grygiel 1986: 316, 2008c: 22.
18 Grygiel 1986.
19 Czerniak and Pyzel 2013: 146.
20 Gabałówna 1966: 66–67.
21 Grygiel 2008c: 314.
22 Grygiel 2008a: 485.
23 Grygiel 2008a: 1015.
24 Grygiel 2008b: 1854.
25 Grygiel 1986: 296–297, table II, 2008b: 1855.
26 Czerniak 1980: 118.
27 Grygiel 2008b: 1855.
28 Maciejewski, Rajewski and Wokroj 1954: 72, 76–77.
29 Grygiel 2008b: 1909.
30 Grygiel 2008a: 528.
31 Grygiel 2008a: 529.
32 Grygiel 2008a: 993.
33 Grygiel 2008a: 562.
34 Lorkiewicz 2012b: 75.
35 Grygiel 2008b: 1912–1913, fig. 1389–1393.
36 Grygiel 2008b: 1916.

were not given any recognisable grave goods.[37] The only thing that remained from earlier funerary traditions was to lay out women on their left side, and the men on their right.[38] However, this did not always apply, in many cases bodies were lain their back or buried as extended inhumations, for example, at Brześć Kujawski, site 4, grave no. XVI, or at Osłonki, site 1 grave no. XXX, with a male extended inhumation.[39] At the same time, numerous animal burials appear as well.[40]

The youngest settlement phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group is also characterised by a sudden cessation of copper import and other resources, as well as the cessation of ornamental bone production, whose products were extremely popular in wealthier graves up to that time.[41] The changes in burial tradition are connected[42] with infiltration of indigenous population from the area of Osłonki by ethnically foreign communities. Evidence for the presence of foreigners among the Brześć Kujawski Group comes from an untypical cemetery, Konary, site 1a, where the dead were buried in single or double graves, in a place separate from the settlement itself, and not in within its limits, as in other sites in the area of Brześć Kujawski or Osłonki. An exceptional is also location of eight graves from site 1 at Osłonki, dated to the earliest phase. They were placed within a younger section of the moat, from the south side, that is from outside the palisade. These graves (no.: XLIX–LII, LV, LVI, LIX) are totally isolated from the rest of the burials at Osłonki. Moreover, most of them are orientated in a different manner than the generally accepted east-west axis.[43]

Sacrum for the people of the Brześć Kujawski Group

As indicated above, the people of the Brześć Kujawski Group took great care of their deceased. This is reflected by the carefully composed grave good inventory, the layout of the bodies and the choice of burial places.[44] Yet despite this, graves are regularly found which had been disturbed during the construction of new dwellings. There are a series of possible explanations for this. Perhaps we can assume that after the body was buried the skeleton lost all its significance. Or, that after time had passed the people simply forgot where the bodies had been buried. We cannot settle this issue today but the question of what *sacrum* amounted to for the people of the Brześć Kujawski Group still remains open. Perhaps the deceased and his/her grave constituted *sacrum* only until the body was buried and after that became a part of the settlement, that is the *profanum*. It is also possible that the entire settlement was treated as *sacrum.*[45]

As the rich grave inventories show, the deceased were treated with great respect. In the classic phase of the Brześć Kujawski development, women were buried with imported copper items or hip belts incrusted with shells, and the men with antler axes. Therefore, we do know that at the time of burial, the deceased were of great importance for the living. Interestingly, in cases when the dead did not receive prestigious grave goods, their graves were filled with many pottery vessels. Moreover, an example of marking or delineating the space of such backyard cemeteries is known. In the Osłonki site, trenches near a grave cluster were found that were interpreted as the remnants of a construction surrounding the sepulchral area.[46] This could be seen as evidence that the area of the cemetery, at least during the time it was operative, was treated as *sacrum*; and that this small cemetery was separated from the dwelling.

Evidence for the long-term remembrance of grave sites can be seen in the case of a grave cluster in site 4 at Brześć Kujawski (graves no.: XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV – Fig. 1) which is located in an area devoid of dwellings and not disturbed by other features.[47] Perhaps the sites of these graves were once marked by earthen mounds. The shallow grave pits in which some of the skeletons lay may be an indication of the presence of such mounds erected over graves.[48] Moreover, further evidence for respect for the dead is shown in site 4 at Miechowice. When a burial dating to the classic phase (no. VI) disturbed a grave from the earlier phase (no. VIa), the bones were carefully transferred into the new grave.[49]

However, there are also counter examples, *i.e.*, graves destroyed or damaged by later features. Graves disturbed by later house foundations are known from Brześć Kujawski, site 4, graves no. XXII and XXIII were dug into by the foundation trench of house no. 4, and grave no. X was completely cut though by the western foundation trench of house no. 2.[50] However, the reverse situation usually applies – *i.e.*, the grave is dug into the foundation trench of a house. Examples include, for instance, graves no. VI–VIII from Osłonki 1 (Fig. 2) whose pits were dug into the eastern foundations trench of house 1. Both graves, as well as the house, can be dated to the classic phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group. Unfortunately, these

[37] Grygiel 2008a: 754.
[38] Grygiel 1984: 298.
[39] Grygiel 2008b: 1914–1915.
[40] Grygiel 2008a: 754, 1099, 2008b: 1916.
[41] Grygiel 2008b: 1914.
[42] Grygiel 2008b: 1916.
[43] Grygiel 2008b: 1916.
[44] However, another question arises – where was the rest of the population buried, because only about 20% of the population were buried inside the settlement?, see more: Czerniak and Pyzel 2013: 147, 2016: 110.
[45] *Cf.* Rzepecki 2015: 284.
[46] Grygiel 2008a: 754.
[47] Grygiel 2008: 218, fig. 7.
[48] Gabałówna 1966: 68.
[49] Grygiel 2008a: 1015.
[50] Grygiel 2008c: 310, 314.

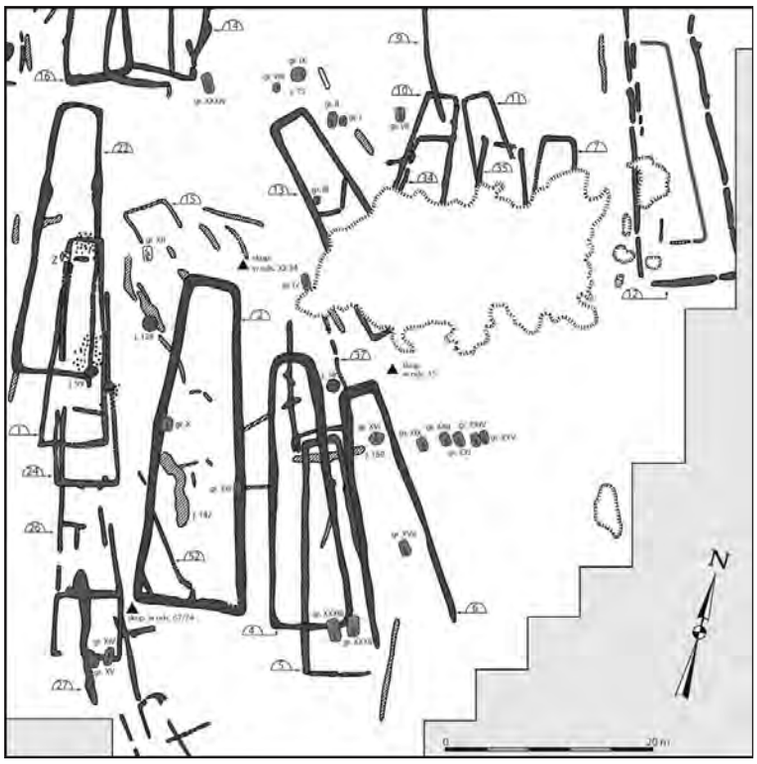

Fig. 1. Brześć Kujawski, part of site 4 (after: Grygiel 2008, fig. 7, modified)

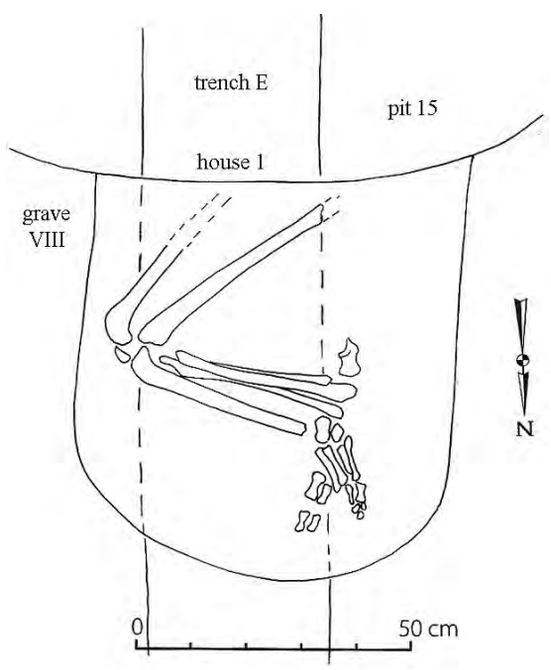

Fig. 2. Grave VIII from Osłonki 1 (after: Grygiel 2008a: 903 fig. 765: 3)

graves were partially damaged by a further pit, connected with later settlement in the region.[51]

The lack of a chronological classification of graves from Brześć Kujawski, site 4, in relation to the three cultural phases makes is difficult to say whether the disturbed graves came from earlier phases and were destroyed by house foundations from younger phases. However, from Osłonki, site 1, such data is available, so we know that the disturbed or damaged graves were not only not necessarily significantly older than the features that disturbed them but also could date to the same chronological phases as the features that cut into them. A good example of this fact is the double grave no. XI from Osłonki, site 1 which was destroyed by the southern trench of house no. 19. The grave, as well as the house, date to the classic phase[52], which, in turn, may be seen as evidence that during a single developmental phase of the cultural group its members had already forgotten the burial places of their ancestors.

As mentioned above, the declining phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group, was characterised by changes in burial ritual. The most prominent was to bury the dead in waste pits; for example, grave no. IX from site 4 at Brześć Kujawski was dug in pit no. 75.[53] In the earlier published literature, these graves had been described as untypical but, in fact, this name is quite misleading. The only example of an untypical burial connected with the Brześć Kujawski Group is grave no. XXX from Osłonki, site 1, which belongs to the late phase (Fig. 3). It contained a skeleton of a male extended inhumation lying on its back. His shin bones were cut off, probably *perimortem*, and the feet were placed next to the knees. The skull was also heavily damaged, its bones bear traces of about 25 intentional cuts. The grave inventory clearly indicates

[51] Grygiel 2008a: 529, 535–536.

[52] Grygiel 2008a: 561, 767, fig. 404.

[53] Grygiel 2008c: 314, 2008a: 754.

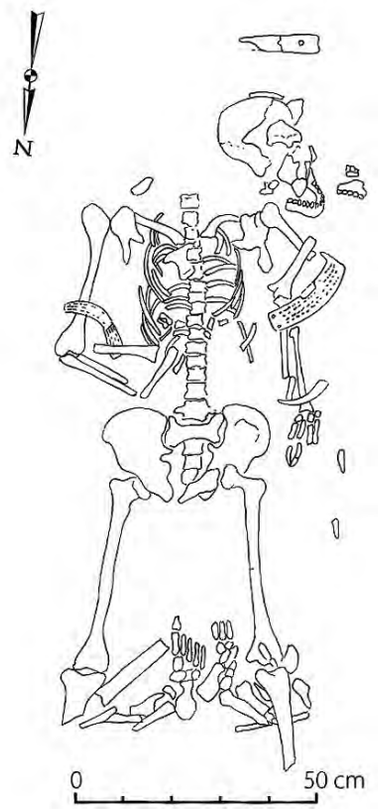

Fig. 3. Grave XXX from Osłonki 1 (after: Grygiel 2008a: 931 fig. 793:1)

that this grave belongs to the Brześć Kujawski Group. Another highly untypical feature of this grave is a bone dagger with an intentionally damaged blade that was placed next to the head. Grygiel interprets this burial as an unknown ritual practice during which a killer's dead body was defiled.[54] However, it is not certain whether all injuries were caused *post-mortem*. In fact this may have included decapitation (indicated by the lack of preserved cervical vertebrae). It is known, however, that the body of this individual was treated in an exceptional manner.[55]

Remains that can be related to ceremonial activity also include a concentration of burnt wheat in pit no. 892 (Fig. 4), at Brześć Kujawski, site 4. This pit was interpreted as a workshop where antler axes were made. After the workshop was abandoned and just before the pit was refilled a shock of unripe wheat was thrown into it and burnt. This remarkable find has analogies in Funnel Beaker Culture features from the Kuyavian sites of Radziejów Kujawski, Opatowice and Zarębowo. The fact that green grain can neither be consumed or stored underlines the votive character of such deposits.[56]

An exceptional amphora (Fig. 5) of the Brześć Kujawski Group can also be seen in a ritual context. The "oily" composition of the clay its temper made up of a small

[54] Grygiel 2008a: 758.
[55] Lorkiewicz 2011: 430–433.
[56] Grygiel 1984: 281, 320; see also Woźny 2005: chapter II.2.2.

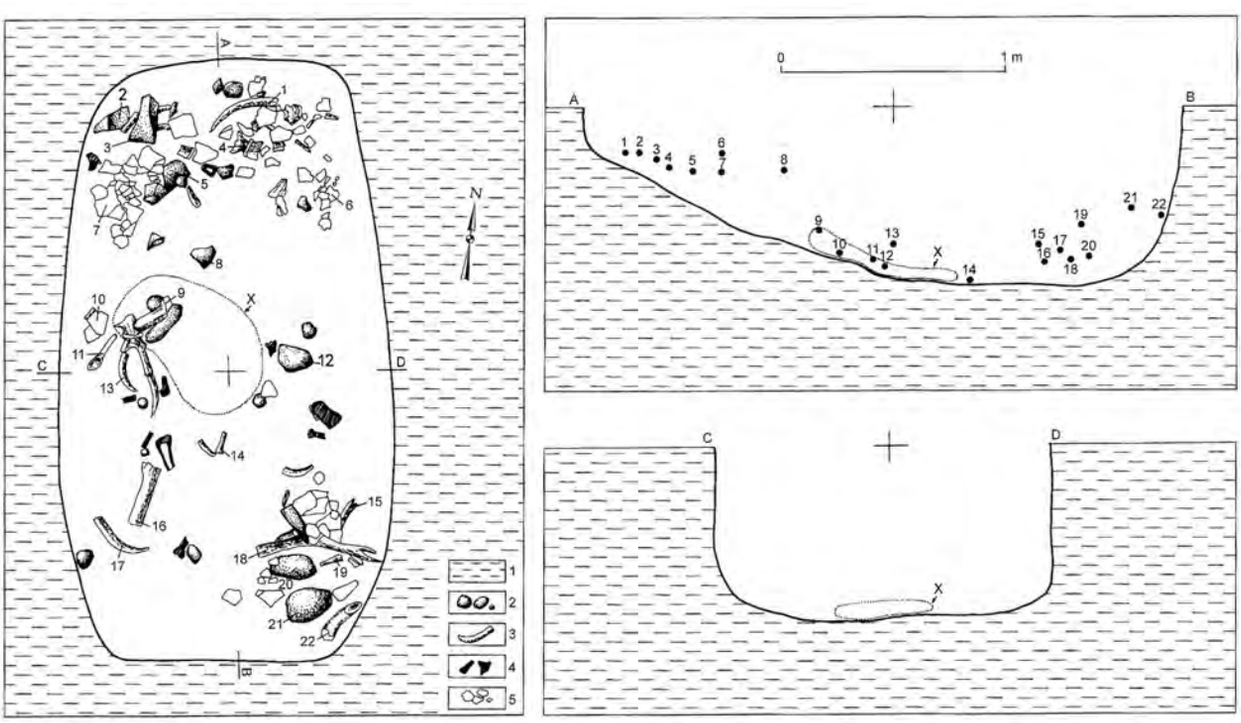

Fig. 4. Pit 892 from Brześć Kujawski 4. Location of materials in the antler workshop: 1 – clay, 2 – stone, 3 – antler, 4 – animal bones, 5 – potsherds. "X" indicates the area with burnt wheat (after: Grygiel 2008: 130 fig. 107)

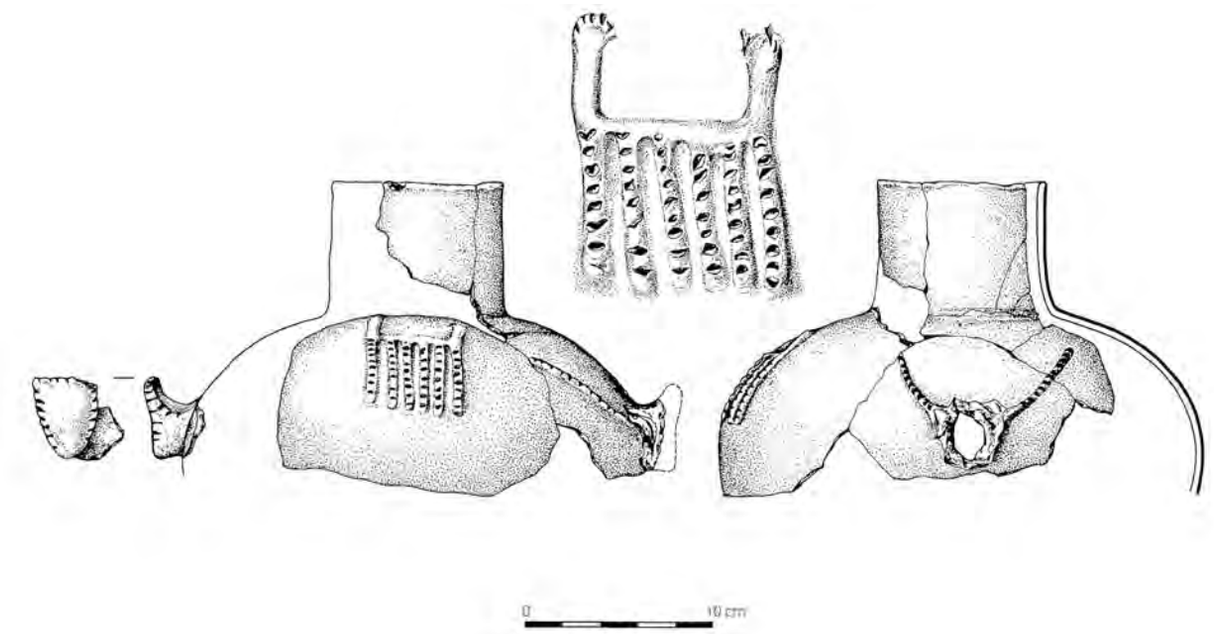

Fig. 5. Fragments of an amphora from Osłonki with rich decoration (after Grygiel 2008a: 642 fig. 526)

addition of ash coloured dry sand and its surface treatment resulting in a smooth, shiny and hard surface are unique in the usual pottery repertoire. Its cylindrical neck merges with a pronounced belly with two zoomorphic handles connected to indented cordons Its main ornament is made up of cordons on the upper part of the belly forming an enigmatic figural scene.[57] The ritual purpose of this vessel is unclear.

Conclusion

Cemeteries are generally considered *sacrum* because they contain burials, which are the result of rituals of passage aimed at maintaining the functional continuity of society. Each necropolis connects the world of the living with the realm of the dead.[58] It usually comprises three elements: the first sphere is especially marked with *sacrum* in the context of a ritual, the site of the grave itself. The second sacrum involves the place where the participants gather, adjacent to the sacred centre and, at the same time, separated from it. The third involves sites of transition – where ritualised acts take place, for instance a street leading to the burial place. In order for the cemetery to function as *sacrum,* spheres of burial contexts must be distinguished and correspond to spatial layouts present in the land of the living.[59] On this basis we can assume that small backyard cemeteries, set up within settlements, as well as single burials of the Brześć Kujawski Group, were treated as a kind of *sacrum*. Simultaneously, in these settlements, the symbolism of dwellings intertwines with that of the graves. Thus, graves may have had the same meaning as houses because they constituted temporary dwelling of the dead.[60]

However, the dynamics of changes during the development of the Brześć Kujawski Group seem to indicate the lack of a unified interpretation of *sacrum* during the entire time span involved. In every developmental phase of the Brześć Kujawski Group its communities perceived the settlement itself, as well as area it contained, that is the entire notion of *sacrum,* differently. We do not know whether the entire settlement was treated as *sacrum*. If the sepulchral space was not marked nor fenced off from the area used for economic purposes and the deceased were buried directly in waste pits, perhaps the entire settlement was deemed as *profanum*. Or maybe only the grave itself was considered *sacrum*, during the time when memory of the deceased was kept alive, which, in turn, would be enmeshed in wider cultural traditions which were an integral part of their world view and thus no need for it to be manifested.[61] Changes in the perception of *sacrum* by the Brześć Kujawski Group is also indicated by changes in the burial tradition during the phase of decline, as well as introduction of new elements connected with later Globular Amphora and Funnel Beaker cultures, whose genesis is linked to the Brześć Kujawski Group.[62]

[57] Grygiel 2008a: 547.
[58] Woźny 2000: 43, 123.
[59] Woźny 2000: 43–44.
[60] Woźny 2000: 135–138, 2002: 51.
[61] Woźny 2000: 112.
[62] *Cf.* Grygiel 2008b: chapter 9; Lorkiewicz 2012a: 175–177.

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Places of ritual activity in pre-Bronze Age Cyprus

Christine Winkelmann

In general, the Cypriot figurines of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic period[1] are commonly accepted as representing ritual devices and are therefore suggestive of an ancient belief system. However, as stated so aptly by Desmond Morris: "But where is the evidence for the worship of a deity in prehistoric Cyprus? There are no temples to the Great Goddess, no remains of huge effigies, no models of the faithful attending her shrine, nothing, not a scrap of hard evidence to support her existence on the island at an early date. All we have is a large number of strange little figurines from tombs and occasionally from excavated settlement".[2]

Although scholarship does not accept that a Great Goddess was worshiped in Prehistoric Cyprus, the figurines as ritual paraphernalia are indicative of a cult practices. But where did these rituals take place? Eszter Bánffy has demonstrated, that there was not necessarily a clear cut, obvious differentiation between sacred and profane structures during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods of South-East Europe.[3] Similarly there is a lack of recognisable, distinguishable sacred places in pre-Bronze Age Cyprus, thus the aim of this paper is to pursue the issue of where rituals are likely to have taken place, based on the anthropomorphic figurines and the information provided by their contexts.

Before turning to the meaningful contexts of the Prehistoric Cypriot figurines[4] it is worth considering an underlying issue of this investigation. A salient fact is that the vast majority of the figurines in question derive from general settlement contexts, that is, general habitation layers inside and predominantly outside of domestic structures, or from refuse pits.[5] Therefore, most contexts do not provide further insights about the locations the rituals took place in, except for making it likely that ritual performance took place within the boundaries of the inhabited area/settlements.[6] However, there are specific contexts which can serve as indicators for places of ritual activity which shall be discussed in the following chapters.

The evidence from the Neolithic Period (9,000–4,500/4,000 cal BC)

Hitherto, barely three schematic anthropomorphic figurines are known from the Cypro-PPNA (or Initial Aceramic Neolithic – 9,000–8,500/8,400 Cal BC)[7]. They are all from one site: Ayia Varvara Asprokremnos (Nicosia District). Though these cannot be taken as indicative for the ritual behaviour during this early Neolithic phase, these contexts are nonetheless worth examining.

One of the two stone figurines from the site was retrieved from a burnt soil sediment (unit 427), sealing a semi-subterranean structure which had been previously destroyed and abandoned (F300). This circumstance, *i.e.*, the destruction and abandonment of the habitation in connection with the deliberate deposition of the figurine, led the excavators to reach the conclusion that the anthropomorphic representation played part in a closure event at the end of the use life of this ephemeral building.[8] The same applies to the second stone figurine which was recovered from the site. This artefact was recovered

[1] The chosen time frame for this investigation spans *c.* 9,000–2,500/2,400 BC (after Knapp 2013: 81–82). The previous Epipalaeolithic Period is left out for the simple reason, that anthropomorphic figurines have not been recovered from this earliest phase of human presence on the island.

[2] Morris 1985: 115.

[3] Bánffy 1990–1991.

[4] For a full overview of all hitherto known Cypriot figurines, see Winkelmann forthcoming.

[5] Such contexts are not meaningful for my argument in this paper, since they do not provide evidence – or even hint at – the function that the figurines had during their use phase. They merely indicate, that these anthropomorphic figures had a certain length of use life, which ended at some point along with their symbolic significance, after which they were apparently regarded as mere rubbish and were simply thrown away along with the general settlement debris (Le Brun 1989a: 177, 1989b: 79–80).

[6] However, it must be stressed that for the time periods under investigation here there is only one known, distinctly segregated burial ground (Souskiou Vathyrkakas) during the Middle Chalcolithic and no other kinds of known prehistoric sites beside the settlements/area of habitation.

[7] Winkelmann forthcoming.

[8] McCartney, Manning and Seward 2010: 80–81; referring to figurine no. G–382.

from a cache, deposited together with other stone items (including a pecked stone sphere and two flat cobbles, one of which had traces of ochre) at the end of the use of another structure.[9] In contrast, the third, fragmented figurine of baked clay was found in the fill of a natural channel. Based on the association with other artefacts and features in the immediate vicinity, the excavators suggest in this case, that we are dealing with a foundation deposit.[10]

These contexts indicate ritual behaviour which involved the final deposition of anthropomorphic figurines, either during foundation or closure rites, all of which certainly took place within the inhabited area, in two cases clearly connected to dwellings.[11]

With eight anthropomorphic figurines altogether, the evidence from the subsequent Cypro-PPNB (or Early Aceramic Neolithic – 8,500/8,400–7,000–6,800 Cal BC) is also fairly sparse and can likewise not be taken as indicative for the entire phase.[12] Nonetheless, those few more informative contexts which provide some insights into the ritual behaviour of that time shall be given consideration.

A plaster head of an anthropomorphic figurine was found in Parekklisha Shillourokambos (Limassol District). It was recovered from the fill of one of the abandoned wells from the site (117), and located at a depth of 3.20 m.[13] If this item was deliberately inserted in the fill of the abandoned well, it may have also have been involved in a closure ceremony.[14]

Another find from a comparable context[15] is itself of ambiguous character: a serpentine head with feline ears, which can be interpreted for instance as the representation of a feline (a domestic cat or feline predator), a human wearing a mask of a cat, or a humanized feline (half-human, half-cat). This artefact was also recovered from a fill of a well (66) from the same site, at a depth of 1.85 m.[16]

From Kissonerga Mylouthkia (Paphos District) there is also evidence for the final deposition of a figurine in an abandoned well (133), though the accompanying fill is of a completely different character.[17] The entire content of the feature is outstanding due, on the one hand to an unusual large quantity of ground stone artefacts,[18] as well as the remains of 23 caprines and the bones of at least four human individuals of different ages (infancy to adulthood). The anthropomorphic figurine derives from a fairly low segment of the fill (deposit 282) which has been interpreted as a secondary burial based on the occurrence of human remains and a mace head.[19] Since the excavator, Edgar Peltenburg, assumes that the artefacts included in this feature´s fill were deliberately selected and buried[20], they must have had a particular meaning, in this context most likely as grave goods accompanying the interments.[21]

Overall, the evidence for ritual activities based on the contexts of figurines during the Cypro-PPNB is connected with wells. Therefore, at least the last stage of these rituals, the final deposition of the artefacts, took place at these features. Though they have not been directly found in association with buildings, all these figurines derive from features related to settlement activity.

Even though the quantity of anthropomorphic figurines is with about 88 specimens[22] distinctly greater during the Late Aceramic Neolithic (7,000/6,800–5,200 Cal BC), the contextual evidence they provide is still fairly limited. This is due to two reasons: 1) many of these artefacts were found during excavations undertaken in the initial years of Cypriot archaeology, at a time when the focus lay on general chronological and typological issues and contexts of artefacts were, unfortunately, largely neglected[23]; 2) several of these figurines are recorded as mere surface finds[24], and sometimes the information concerning the provenance of certain figurines is even viewed as insecure.[25]

The vast majority of the (clearly identifiable) Late Aceramic Neolithic figurines derives from a single site: Khirokitia Vouni (Larnaca District; hitherto 27 examples).[26] Here, they generally occurred in habitation layers outside and between the domestic structures[27], distributed more or less equally throughout all levels.[28]

[9] Internet: http://cyprus-mail.com/2013/09/20/ archaeologists-unearth-earliest-complete-human-figurine-in-cyprus/ (20. September 2013); no find registration number is given.

[10] McCartney *et al.* 2008: 69–70, fig. 3; referring to figurine no. O-344.

[11] However, it remains uncertain whether this was the primary function of the figurines or not.

[12] Winkelmann forthcoming.

[13] Guilaine 2003: 330, fig. 1b; no find registration number is given.

[14] Winkelmann forthcoming.

[15] Guilaine 2003: 329–330; no find registration number is given.

[16] Guilaine *et al.* 1999: 1–9, figs 1, 4–6.

[17] Peltenburg *et al.* 2003: 297, 315; referring to figurine no. KMyl 1532.

[18] Jackson 2003: 40.

[19] Peltenburg 2003a: 92–93, fig. 11.3; registration no. of mace head: KMyl 1505.

[20] Peltenburg 2003a: 91.

[21] As assumed with regard to the mace head (KMyl 1505) from the site. See Peltenburg *et al.* 2001: 69, 75.

[22] Winkelmann forthcoming.

[23] Peltenburg 1991a: 112.

[24] *Cf., e.g.*, Dikaios 1953: 407 (Kh 1404), 350 (Kh 194); Fox 1988: 36, 41 (no. 309); Nicolaou 1967: 52 (PM 1503); Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971: 160 (CM 1948/V-17/2); Pearlman 1993: 201 (CM 1988/V-16/1); Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971: 160 (LM 795).

[25] *Cf., e.g.*, ARDAC 1987: 65 (CM 1987/I-15/1); Dikaios 1953: 299, note 1 and Karageorghis 1963: 262 (CM 1948/V-17/2); Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971: 160 (fig. 1694/LM 795).

[26] Apart from these there are at least 16 possible anthropomorphic representations; *cf.* Winkelmann forthcoming.

[27] Dikaios 1953: 342 (Kh 1), 343 (Kh 21), 348 (Kh 135), 357 (Kh 384), 373 (Kh 680), 390 (Kh 938, Kh 948), 391 (Kh 967), 394 (Kh 1068), 395 (Kh 1073, Kh 1102). *Cf.* also Le Brun 1994b: 18. In this case, only a general statement about the find contexts of figurines is given, mentioning that some figurines were found inside dwellings, but that the majority derives from debris or pits inside and outside of domestic structures. *Cf.* also Karageorghis 1977: 16, 2006: 34 (for the Late Aceramic Neolithic figurines in general).

[28] *Cf.* Dikaios 1953.

Barely four specimens were found inside domestic structures. The fairly well known anthropomorphic head of unbaked clay is merely reported to having been lying on a floor of a habitation[29], two further figurines were recovered from fill layers above floors.[30] Nonetheless, these finds suggest their probable usage (or at least storage) inside ordinary domestic dwellings. The fourth specimen, however, was found lying on a stone slab which covered a shallow pit dug through a floor (VIII) of a dwelling ("Tholos V").[31] In this case, the figurine was apparently deliberately placed in this location, not permanently deposited in the ground, but ready to be used.

The three anthropomorphic figurines from Petra (Morphou Bay), found during the excavations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, are reported as having been found inside buildings lying on floors.[32] Two of them are said to derive from or near the "kitchen" area of the respective dwellings.[33] This evidence also points to the assumption that the figurines were used, or at least kept, in these domestic structures.

In a hitherto singular instance, a figurine fragment was found in a fairly rich burial of an adult individual (burial III)[34], located in "Tholos XVII" (associated with floor II) at Khirokitia. This feature contained, beside a necklace made of dentalium and carnelian beads, a quantity of stone bowl fragments which have been deliberately broken prior to deposition, as well as a quern placed on the chest of the deceased.[35] However, due to the inclusion of several stone vessel fragments, it has been considered that the figurine fragment was lying in the grave´s fill merely by chance[36], an explanation which seems most likely. Otherwise this would be the only evidence for the deposition of a figurine as a grave good in a Late Aceramic Neolithic funerary context discovered so far.

Limited as the evidence still is, an overall estimation has shown that approximately two thirds of the Late Aceramic Neolithic figurines derive from extra-mural deposits, whereas the remaining examples come from intra-mural, domestic contexts, where they are often reported as having been found either lying on the floor of the dwellings, or from the fills above floors. A single specimen could present a possible grave good (though it seems fairly unlikely).[37] Alain Le Brun has noticed (regarding the finds from Khirokitia and Petra) that it seems most probable that the Late Aceramic Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines were mainly used in domestic contexts inside the dwellings.[38] At least, they were kept there while not in active use.

Unfortunately, the number of figurines, and with it the number of known contexts, decreases considerably during the subsequent Ceramic Neolithic (5,200/5,000–4,500/4,000 Cal BC). Barely six clearly identifiable anthropomorphic figurines can be attributed to the whole period.[39] However, it is quite surprising that at least four of these figurines, alongside further possible anthropomorphic representations[40], were detected in association with buildings.

At Sotira Teppes (Limassol District), the only known Neolithic anthropomorphic figurine made of bone discovered so far was found in House 35, and lay between floors I and II of the domestic structure.[41]

A unique stone head of an anthropomorphic figurine was discovered in the north-western corner on the floor of House 12 at Paralimni Nissia (Ammochostos District).[42] Apart from that, some further possible anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines were found on this site (though their identification is unclear or ambiguous); three of them were also found inside dwellings[43], and five other possible figurines or figurine fragments derive from extra-mural contexts.[44]

It is also worth considering a possible fragment of a figurine from Ayios Epiktitos Vrysi (Kerynia District), that has been found in association with the wall collapse of a structure (Unit 118 of H2A)[45] that has been interpreted as an axe-workshop.[46] The only clearly identifiable an-

[29] Dikaios 1953: 181, 183 (Kh 1063): from Tholos XLVII, floor II.

[30] Dikaios 1953: 183 (Kh 1175β): from Tholos XLVII, from layer between floor I and II. Dikaios 1953: 155 (Kh 1089): from Tholos XXXV, layer overlying the (single) floor.

[31] Dikaios 1953: 60, 65 (Kh 1401); on page 60 the find circumstance seems to be incorrectly described as the figurine was lying underneath the slab, but the drawing/plan section of floor VIII (p. 61, fig. 29) as well as the photo (pl. XVII a) taken during excavation indicate that the object in fact lay on top of this slab as correctly pointed out by Peltenburg and Thomas in Peltenburg *et al.* 1991: 9.

[32] Åström 2003: 32 (PtL 27, PtL 42); *Archaeologia Viva* 1, 1969: 10 (PtL 27).

[33] Åström 2003: 32; referring to figurines no. PtL 42 and PtL 72.

[34] On page 300 (Dikaios 1953, with regard to figurine Kh 822) the context is probably wrongly given as burial I.

[35] Dikaios 1953: 106, 109; registration no. of necklace: Kh 560; registration no. of stone bowl fragments: Kh 810-812, registration no. of quern: Kh 1148.

[36] *Cf.* Vagnetti 1980: 53.

[37] Winkelmann forthcoming.

[38] Le Brun 1994a: 292.

[39] Winkelmann forthcoming.

[40] *Cf.* Winkelmann forthcoming.

[41] Dikaios 1961: 115/116; referring to figurine no. 225.

[42] Flourentzos 2008: 9; referring to figurine no. 100.

[43] One figurine (no. 173) was detected on the floor of House 20, together with ground stone tools, lithics and other artefacts (Flourentzos 2008: 15). A comparable situation is documented for another specimen (no. 329) in House 8 (Flourentzos 2008: 6) as well as for a further example (no. 564) in House 2 (Flourentzos 2008: 4/5).

[44] Whereas one possible figurine (no. 170) was found in an at least partially enclosed courtyard between Houses 9 and 10 (Flourentzos 2008: 7), another example (no. 455) comes from an open area between Houses 35, 37, 38 and 39, two items (nos. 509 and 513) derive also from an open area between Houses 39 and 40, found near the latter (Flourentzos 2008: 24), and a last one (no. 431) was recovered from „Pyre A" (Flourentzos 2008: 18/19).

[45] Peltenburg 1982: 327; referring to possible figurine no. AEV 109; no further information on p. 205/206.

[46] Peltenburg 1982: 102.

thropomorphic figurine from Ayios Epiktitos Vrysi came from a depression in the lower SE section of another building (H 7.2) which has not been further described.[47] It was associated with a dense concentration of other artefacts including needles, chipped stones, lamps and vessels.[48] However, the excavation report does not state whether this cavity was artificially created (like a pit, for instance) or if the artefacts were either deliberately or accidentally deposited in it.

A so far unique context concerning an anthropomorphic figurine is evidenced in House 5 at Sotira Teppes (Limassol District).[49] The structure itself is located approximately at the centre of the densely inhabited plateau. It differs from the other buildings with regard to some individual features[50], among which is an unusual installation: in the north-eastern corner of the domestic structure there is a low, slightly curved enclosure wall, separating this part from the main floor area. The compartment held two fills, the lower layer of which comprised the anthropomorphic figurine alongside a quantity of vessel fragments. Porphyrios Dikaios assumed that the purpose of this feature was to store the items deposited inside.[51] However, it must be noted that the building itself does not differ from other contemporary ones for instance with regard to size or position within the built-up area.[52] Therefore, the evidence suggests that this structure had in general an ordinary domestic function.[53] The particular context including the figurine, an assumed storage feature, leads to the suggestion that the figurine (and other special items)[54] could have been kept for a while until they were taken out to serve their intended purpose.

Another context is noteworthy in this particular respect, though it does not involve an anthropomorphic figurine, but pillar-figures. It concerns House 1 at Ayios Epiktitos Vrysi (Kerynia District), which shows general similarities to the above described domestic structure at Sotira. In House 1 at Vrysi there is a comparable low partition wall constructed in the north-western part of the dwelling separating the floor space. This enclosure held, besides other artefacts, three self-supporting pillar-figures (height about 60 cm), one of which has a phallic shape. On the surfaces of these pillar-figures traces of organic material have been detected, suggesting that they were once wrapped. Based on these two examples from Sotira and Vrysi, Peltenburg has put forward the suggestion that ritual practices changed during the Ceramic Neolithic and were now connected with particular buildings (within the settlements).[55]

Hitherto, all Ceramic Neolithic figurines from meaningful contexts derive exclusively from intra-mural deposits, again pointing to an active use or at least storage within domestic structures.

Overall, we lack explicit information about how and where ritual activities took place during the Neolithic.[56] The fact, that no distinguishable sacred areas or buildings have been uncovered so far does not generally argue against their existence. They might, for instance, not protrude from the archaeological record by exceptional architecture or other features in contrast to common residential buildings and are therefore hard to distinguish.

Whereas the contexts of some of the very early figurines from the Initial and Early Aceramic Neolithic suggest a rather respectful secondary treatment, indicated by the deposition during foundation or closure acts, or as a grave good, the behaviour appears to have changed in the Late Aceramic and Ceramic Neolithic. Though the vast majority of these anthropomorphic figurines again derive from secondary contexts, they only offer insights with regard to the treatment of the figures after they apparently fulfilled their primary purpose. Regarding those Late Aceramic and Ceramic Neolithic items from the more meaningful contexts for the investigation undertaken here, they likewise unfortunately do not provide any further insights about the primary function and purpose of the anthropomorphic representations. For instance, no kinds of installations whatsoever for their display or the like could be detected so far that would provide direct evidence for their utilization. The only aspect they have in common is that they generally do not come from burials and therefore had no funerary function. Since some of the Late Aceramic Neolithic figures were discovered in regular domestic structures, the context seems to indicate a use within the realms of some individual household units. However, not every household appears to have had a figurine. Rather the contrary seems to be the case. And the respective buildings do not stand out among the overall settlement plans.

The same applies for the figurines of the Ceramic Neolithic in general (though far fewer items are known, indicating some kind of restriction in their distribution). Only in the case of Sotira Teppes a figurine is associated with a particular installation of a structure. In conjunction with the context of some pillar-figures of Ayios Epiktitos Vrysi, this association led Peltenburg to the assumption that ritual activities were connected with particular buildings during the Ceramic Neolithic.[57] However, the evidence is hitherto scarce and in both cases they are

[47] Peltenburg 1982: 33; referring to figurine no. AEV 353.
[48] Peltenburg 1982: 102, 335; no further information with regard to specific finds delivered in general discussion on p. 219–220.
[49] Dikaios 1962: 202; referring to figurine no. 106.
[50] Dikaios 1961: 41, pl. 20; Peltenburg *et al.* 1991: 92.
[51] Dikaios 1961: 42, pls. 20, 41 b/c, 42 b, 43 b; Dikaios 1962: 42, 167.
[52] *Cf.* Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971: 160.
[53] Peltenburg 1978: 61.
[54] The pottery found within the enclosure was of high quality (Stanley Price 1979: 78–79).
[55] Peltenburg 1989: 110–113. These changes also include mortuary rites; graves are now locally separated from dwellings (Peltenburg 1991b: 105).
[56] Karageorghis 1977: 17.
[57] Peltenburg 1989: 110–113.

linked to overall ordinary dwellings.[58] The Sotira context nonetheless speaks for the storage of particular, ritual artefacts while not in active use for instance during ceremonies.

Overall, there is no evidence so far from the archaeological record for such cultural phenomena as communal ritual activities or segregated, exclusive sacred areas whatsoever. There does not seem to have existed a distinct, clear-cut distinction between the sacred and the profane, but rather the rituals appear to having been practiced within the realms of the inhabited area.

The evidence from the Chalcolithic Period (4,000/3,900–2,500/2,400 cal BC)

As during the previous Neolithic period, the Cypriot Chalcolithic stone and pottery figurines from secure contexts are generally found during settlement excavations where they derive from habitation layers inside and outside of domestic structures or from pit fills.[59] The whole hitherto known assemblage comprises of 87 stone and 193 pottery figurines (along further possible examples).[60]

Altogether six, possibly seven stone figurines and four possible stone figurine fragments, as well as 13 pottery figurines and four possible pottery figurine fragments were detected inside domestic structures. They were found at Kissonerga Mosphilia, Lemba Lakkous, Kissonerga Mylouthkia and Kalavasos Pamboules.[61]

At least nineteen, and possibly as many as 26 stone figurines derive from pits from Kissonerga Mosphilia, Kissonerga Mylouthkia, Kalavasos Ayious and Geronisos.[62] Thereof, nine plus seven possible stone figurines were detected in the ritual deposit Unit 1015 at Kissonerga Mosphilia alone. Overall, the majority (12, plus seven possible stone figurines) come from this site (Kissonerga Mosphilia). The number of pottery specimens from pits is even higher: 64, possibly 66 pottery figurines, as well as nine possible pottery figurine fragments were retrieved from such facilities. Again, eight items likewise come from the above mentioned ritual deposit Unit 1015. Overall, 38 pottery figurines, plus one possible pottery figurine fragment derive from Kissonerga Mosphilia, 26, plus two possible pottery figurine fragments come from Kalavasos Ayious and 24, plus six possible pottery figurine fragments were recovered at Kissonerga Mylouthkia.[63]

Additionally, two stone figures might derive ultimately from graves,[64] as well as one pottery figurine.[65] But such an origin is not secure. Only two other specimens, both pottery artefacts, stem indeed from burial facilities.[66] However, even in these instances they are unlikely to represent intentionally inserted grave goods.[67] Hitherto, only two anthropomorphic vessels in shape of pregnant females can be viewed as intentionally deposited in burials.[68]

In contrast, the well-known Cypriot figurines, the so-called cruciforms, usually come from graves, where they were deliberately placed during the funerary rites; otherwise, they derive from settlements, indicating the location of production and, more importantly, their use during life.[69]

In the following only those figurines and their contexts will be mentioned that are more conclusive with regard to the overall question of where rituals (besides those connected with burials) were conducted.

Figurines from buildings

At Lemba (Paphos District), altogether three female stone figurines were found in three different dwellings.[70] However, only in one case, the context is of interest here.

The so-called "Lemba Lady" derives from a building (B1.1 F10)[71], which was only partially preserved. The surviving section was divided into two segments by a radiating, pebble-lined groove. The preserved areas are furthermore demarcated by different floor treatments; the northern section had an earthen floor, whereas the floor of the southern section had been plastered.[72] Overall, the structure is a typical Middle Chalcolithic dwelling by

58 *Cf.* Peltenburg 1991b: 105.

59 Winkelmann forthcoming.

60 Winkelmann forthcoming. Apart from these, again a certain quantity of items is without any or insecure information about their provenance, most of which are chance finds.

61 Goring 1991, 1998a, 1998b, 2003; Peltenburg *et al.* 1985.

62 Goring 1991, 1998a, 1998b, 2003; South 1985, 2004; Connelly and McCartney 2004.

63 Goring 1991, 1998a, 1998b, 2003; South 1985, 2004.

64 Goring 1998a: 159/151, 1998b: 177; referring to figurine no. KM 578. Thomas 1988: 271; referring to figurine no. 696.

65 Goring 1998a: 156, 1999b: 177; referring to KM 816.

66 Goring 2006: 80; referring to figurine SVP 29/1; see also Peltenburg in Peltenburg and Christou 2006: 16. Goring 1998a: 155, 1998b: 162, 185; referring to figurine KM 1382.

67 *Cf.* Winkelmann forthcoming: chap. V.4.1. See also Goring 1998b: 162; referring to KM 1382.

68 Bolger 2006: 11; Peltenburg in Peltenburg and Christou 2006: 29–30; referring to figurines SVP 86/20 and SVP 86/26; *cf.* also Bolger 2006: 117.

69 Vagnetti 1974: 31; Peltenburg 1992; Winkelmann forthcoming: chap. VI.4.1, appendix II.3.1. For cruciform pendants, see chap. VII.4.1, appendix II.4.1. *Cf.* also Crewe, Peltenburg and Spanou 2002; Crewe *et al.* 2005; Goring 1991, 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2006; Peltenburg *et al.* 1985.

70 For figurine no. LL 54 see below; for figurine no. LL 236 (B 2.2, lip of F27) see Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al.* 1985: 282. For figurine no. LL 720 (B 21.1, F 1) see Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al.* 1985: 111/112, 281/282.

71 Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al.* 1985: 282; referring to figurine no. LL 54.

72 Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al.* 1985: 35. The structure had an estimated diameter of 7 m and an internal space of 28.3 m². Though pavings were detected in other buildings as well, the surface treatment of B1 is only evidenced one more time (B4). But until now it remains unknown if it was connected with a special function.

design. The figurine was found lying on its back next to the wall of the building behind some storage jars[73] in the most eastern part of the northern section. It appears to have been deliberately placed in this lying position, since the figurine is not self-supporting and no pedestal for its placement or pedestal to place it in an upright position was detectable.[74]

Unfortunately, the context does not hint at the primary function or purpose of this anthropomorphic representation. Regarding the structure it was found in, in contrast to the contemporary buildings, it remains uncertain whether it had a particular significance. Its isolated location, described as "perched on the lip of the Upper Terrace" in Area I, sets it apart from the other dwellings which are densely clustered at the back of terraces. Though the building is surrounded by pit burials to the east[75], they all seem to be of an earlier date. Also, the inventory of the structure comprised, besides stored commodities, the usual domestic features.[76] Overall, it remains uncertain whether the building itself had a special significance within the settlement[77], but it seems likely.[78] As stated by Peltenburg, it could be the earliest known Cypriot example of a "sacred place".[79] Nonetheless, the structure does not stand out architectonically, solely by its location and the fact, that the "Lemba Lady" was found inside.

Another building (IXb), excavated at Erimi (Limassol District), is of particular interest, though there is no direct connection with figurines. However, Diane Bolger mentions two circular, paved platforms located inside this structure, which could have served as pedestals for the display of items such as figurines.[80]

In three other cases figurines were found inside buildings in association with hearths. For instance, at Kissonerga Mosphilia (Paphos District), a stone figurine was recovered from a hearth (1563) of a structure (Ridge Building 1565), together with a complete stone bowl and a burnt bowl fragment. The same building also yielded a badly damaged pottery figurine fragment (Floor 1). Based on this association, Goring has put forward the suggestion that there might have been a connection between the use of the figurines and this particular structure, possibly even between the two figurines.[81]

In another case, a single pottery figurine fragment was likewise detected in association with a hearth (951) of another domestic structure (Ridge Building 855, floor 1) at the same site (Mosphilia).[82] Finally, at nearby Kissonerga Mylouthkia, again several figurines of different materials were found associated with a hearth (1.02), comprising one stone figurine and two pottery specimens.[83]

A particular and so far unique case is represented by a fragmentary figurine interpreted by Elizabeth Goring as an applique (due to the shape of its back) once attached to the wall[84] of another structure (Red Building 206) at Kissonerga Mosphilia. This building is the so far largest excavated structure (diameter *ca* 14.5 m, interior *ca* 132.7 m²) of the site, located next to and linked with the "Ceremonial Area" (see below). Moreover, this so-called "Red Building" had special features, such as walls and a floor (Floor 1) in red colour alongside a paved section (room 970), differentiated at one side by a radial wall, as well as a white plastered floor (Floor 2) and contemporary white walls, additionally furnished with pink inlays.[85] However, it is so far the only Chalcolithic building directly connected with anthropomorphic figurines that possessed outstanding architectonical features.

Figurines from pits

Besides those figurines detected in association with buildings, several stone and quite a lot of pottery figurines were found in pits. In many cases it is impossible to decide if their deposition in these facilities has to be regarded as deliberate and meaningful, since there are no clear indicators to interpret these facilities as prehistoric ritual depositions; on the contrary, they usually represent mere rubbish pits. However, at least in two instances pits are reasonably interpreted as ritual deposits.

Turning first to pits used for the deposition of settlement refuse, altogether nine stone figures were found in eight pits at three different sites (Early Chalcolithic Kissonerga Mylouthkia and Kalavasos Ayious, Middle Chalcolithic Kissonerga Mosphilia).[86] The remaining ten

[73] Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al*. 1985: 282.
[74] Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al*. 1985: 36; in contrast to earlier assumptions that the pebble-lined groove might have been the bedding of a partition screen (Peltenburg 1977: 141, 1979a: 21, 1979b: 92).
[75] Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al*. 1985: 282, 317, fig. 6.2, 10.
[76] Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al*. 1985: 317, 324.
[77] Peltenburg 1979a: 22, 1979b: 92; Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al*. 1985: 324.
[78] Peltenburg 1991b: 92.
[79] Peltenburg 1977: 141, 1989: 122/123.
[80] Bolger 1988: 31.
[81] Goring 1998a: 161/162, 1998b: 180; referring to figurines no. KM 3602 and KM 3157.
[82] Goring 1998a: 155, 161, 1998b: 186. See also Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 33/34; referring to figurine no. KM 2086.
[83] Goring 2003: 172, 174; referring to figurines no. KMyl 152, KMyl 9 and KMyl 16.
[84] Goring 1998a: 161–162; referring to figurine no. KM 778+854.
[85] Peltenburg in Peltenburg *et al*. 1988: 32, fig. 34. *Cf.* also Peltenburg 1986: 28, 1987: 221.
[86] Figurines no. KM 977 (pit 578), KMyl 302 (pit 109), KMyl 1141 (pit 300), KM 3597 (pit 1667), K-Ay 385 (pit F. 250), KM 332 (pit 7), KMyl 165 (pit 16), KMyl 584 (pit 100), KMyl 891 (pit 109).

stone figurines, as well as seven possible stone figures, derive from the two above mentioned ritual deposits; moreover, all but one were found together in one pit (unit 1015) at Kissonerga Mosphilia, where they were deposited with several pottery figurines (see below).

Twenty-six, possibly even 28 pottery figures (as well as a single stone figurine fragment) derive from different features of the pit-and-tunnel system in the NW Area of Early Chalcolithic Kalavasos Ayious (Larnaca District).[87] Unfortunately, the primary function of these negative features remains unknown.[88] At a later point in time, these subterranean facilities were apparently rather rapidly filled with rubbish deposits (including the anthropomorphic figurines).[89] Therefore, there is in general no relation deducible between the artefacts recovered from the pit and tunnel fills and the negative features themselves[90] and consequently, the contexts from which the figurines derive do not provide any evidence of their primary function. It barely indicates their careless discard after the end of their use life[91], and hints at their previous usage near this part of the site.[92]

In contrast, a damaged and re-worked stone figurine fragment came from a pit (16, fill 16.04) at Kissonerga Mylouthkia stands in contrast.[93] Due to the nature of the fills and their contents it has been suggested that this feature possibly had some symbolic significance.[94] Therefore, the context could hint at some kind of ritual behaviour as evidenced at Kissonerga (see below); but this cannot be taken for certain in this case.

In contrast, the most intriguing and insightful information regarding ritual activities of Prehistoric Cyprus is provided by the so-called "Ceremonial Area" at Kissonerga Mosphilia including the Ritual Deposit Unit 1015, dating to the Middle Chalcolithic period. The "Ceremonial Area" is an open (unroofed), extra-mural yard, confined in its initial phase by four adjacent structures (B 2, B 4, B 206 [the "Red Building" mentioned above] and B 1000); it yielded a series of four successive white plastered surfaces (1289, 1239, 985, 169) into which divers pits have been dug at different times (mainly containing ash and heat-cracked stones), among which are the single-phase pits Unit 1225 and, of particular interest regarding figurines, Unit 1015.[95] The latter (Unit 1015) was a quite large, sub-circular pit (1.12 x 0.88 m, depth 0.36 m) with a flat bottom. It held – besides the 18 figurines and other items, arranged in and around a building model (KM 1446) and covered by a complete vessel (KM 1444) as well as two large vessel sherds (KM 1445, KM 1495) in the southern corner of the depression – several hundred stones, stone tools, fragments of pottery vessels in its ashy fill. Though many of these artefacts are heat-cracked and blackened, there is no evidence to suggest that the feature itself served as a fire pit.[96] In conjunction with the contents of the other pits (ashy fills, heat-cracked stones, bones, shell and flint)[97] the excavators suggest that the pit fills are to be interpreted in connection with food preparation and consumption activities.[98]

As mentioned above, the Ritual Deposit Unit 1015 yielded divers anthropomorphic figurines made of stone and pottery, as well as some unworked stones resembling the human shape, which were probably viewed as naturally shaped figurines, and additionally a curious anthropomorphic vessel (KM 1449).[99] In terms of the overall positioning of the figurines inside and outside the building model (KM 1446), no discernible pattern of arrangement, neither with regard to material, size nor state of preservation, is observable[100]; their placement probably depended on the limited space of the bowl, respectively the location of the deposition inside the pit, which was utilized in the best possible way.[101] Owing to the composition of the artefacts and their contemporary deposition Peltenburg suggested that they once belonged to a related set and were probably also used together.[102]

Based on the overall evidence, the following sequence of events, presenting a multi-faceted ceremony, are assumed to have been taken place in the "Ceremonial Area", probably also including the largest building of the

87 South 1985: 67, 2004: 193. Not a single example derives for any of the other excavated areas (SW or E Central; South 2004: 193).

88 South 1985: 67.

89 South 1985: 67, 2004: 191–193, table 36 (on page 192).

90 Todd 1991: 6–8; South 1985: 65.

91 South 1985: 67, 2004: 191–193.

92 Todd 1991: 8; South 1985: 67, 2004: 193.

93 Goring 2003: 170, 174; referring to figurine no. KMyl 165. It is also a mixed context (Goring 2003: 169).

94 Peltenburg 2003b: 265–266.

95 Peltenburg and Thomas 1991: 1–3, figs 10, 11.

96 Peltenburg and Thomas 1991: 5, table 1, figs 12, 14.

97 Peltenburg and Thomas 1991: 6–8.

98 Peltenburg and Thomas 1991: 11.

99 Peltenburg and Thomas 1991: 5–6, table 1; Goring 1991: 39; referring to stone figurines KM 1448, KM 1455, KM 1467, KM 1469, KM 1470, KM 1471, KM 1472, KM 1473 and KM 1474; possible naturally shaped stone "figurines" KM 1468, KM 1479, KM 1484, KM 1490, KM 1491, KM 1499 and KM 1500; potter figurines KM 1442, KM 1443, KM 1451, KM 1460, KM 1463 and KM 1464+1476; as well as hollow figurines/anthropomorphic vessels KM 1449, KM 1466 and KM 1475. It is noteworthy that this deposit did not yield a single picrolite figurine (or other artefact made of this particular stone); *cf.* Goring 1991: 54.

100 Only in some exceptions their placement might have had a distinct significance. For instance, the spatial separation of similarly rendered specimens (*e.g.*, figurines no. KM 1442 and KM 1460; *cf.* Goring 1991: 48, 53) inside, respectively outside the building model (KM 1446). Furthermore, Goring assumes that the placing of the most detailed example of the birth figures (figurine no. KM 1451), lying face down, was possibly either chosen to protect or to hide the birth scene on the lower panel between the legs; *cf.* Goring 1991: 49. Additionally, the birth vessel (figurine no. KM 1475) was wedged in between the side of the pit and the building model (KM 1446); here, the artefact faces inside the building model and also blocks its entrance (Goring 1991: 49).

101 Goring 1991: 48–49, 53; Peltenburg 1991b: 89; Goring in Peltenburg and Goring 1991: 22.

102 Peltenburg 1991b: 88, 98–99.

site ("Red Building" B 206, associated with the applique figurine) southwest of the open space. Within the secluded yard, earth ovens were constructed, pits were dug and some posts were installed. The food, which was cooked in these earth ovens, was presumably beforehand prepared and later consumed in this area, possibly even in the outstanding "Red Building". Probably the main event is represented by the deliberate destruction, the intentional "killing", of some of the figurines, all of which were afterwards deposited in the pit Unit 1015 along with heat-cracked stones and cooled down ash from the earth ovens. Presumably at about the same time the erected posts were removed and the remaining holes likewise filled with the debris from the food preparation.[103]

After some time had passed, a new building (B 994) was constructed at the site above the two more salient pits 1015 and 1225, the location of which were still recognizable above ground[104]: the rims of some of the buried bowls were still protruding through the current occupation layer and were left unharmed during the construction activities indicating the still present awareness of the special character of this open area, even after some time had passed after the ceremonies had taken place.[105]

Another (probable) ritual deposit including a stone figurine was uncovered on the island of Geronisos, located off-shore the western coast of Cyprus near Agios Georgios on the mainland. It has been ascribed to visitors' presence on the islet during the Early Chalcolithic period.[106] Here, a large, shallow pit (max. diameter 1.10 m, depth *ca* 0.20 m) dug through a Chalcolithic floor was found underneath the much later East Building (Hellenistic to Byzantine period). The ashy fill of the feature contained, besides the figurine, pottery, chipped stone, ground stone tools, the fragment of a stone bowl and a jasper chip at the lowest level.[107] Based on the slightly damaged state of preservation of the figurine and its deliberate deposition in a "sealed" pit the feature has been interpreted as evidence of a ritual behaviour culminating in the Middle Chalcolithic period in the ritual deposit discussed above (Unit 1015) at Kissonerga.[108]

Figurines from burial features

At the cemetery of Souskiou Vathyrkakas, a pottery figurine head was found at the "very top of [the] pit fill above [the] shaft" of a grave (T.29).[109] But there was no apparent association detectable between this pottery specimen and any of the other buried artefacts (*e.g.*, the anthropomorphic bone pendants) or the interment itself. Based on its position within the feature, it is more than questionable whether this head represents a grave good at all. However, the nearby settlement is located on the opposite side of the ravine. Therefore, the figurine fragment cannot have ended up here, for instance, by being included in the debris of the settlement, by mere chance. It must at least have been intentionally brought to the cemetery, though its use or function here remains uncertain.

The circumstances of discovery of a another stone figurine from Maa Palaeokastro are also uncertain. It was found in a pit (J, Unit 67) that was apparently intended as a rock-cut tomb. This feature also yielded small stones, cobbles and stone bowl fragments. However, no skeletal remains were detected, nor were any primary deposits found, suggesting that this depression had never been actually used as a burial feature.[110] Therefore, it is likely that the figurine was washed into the pit accidently at some point rather than being deliberately deposited as a grave good.

Finally, a head and neck fragment of a pottery figurine was recovered from an undisturbed grave (Gr. 520, burial KM 1066) at Kissonerga, which also contained a burnisher.[111] However, Goring has reasonably pointed out that this association should rather be viewed as accidental, since the figurine only survived in a fragmentary state of preservation and, more importantly, since (solid) pottery figurines generally do not represent grave goods.[112]

Only two anthropomorphic pottery artefacts, which are not solid figurines but vessels in shape of pregnant females, represent actual grave goods from this period. Both derive from an undisturbed sector of a partly looted tomb feature at Souskiou Vathyrkakas.[113] The restorable vessel belonged to an undisturbed burial deposit (fill 86.1) which lay next to, and thereby was associated with, the skull (5231) of an adult of 20–25 years of age, which was deposited together with other grave goods. The second anthropomorphic example, was broadly similar but only survived as a fragment from the grave´s fill.[114] It is worth noting, that only these two examples were found in a burial and can therefore be interpreted as deliberately and unequivocally deposited grave goods. This is even more remarkable, as in contrast solid pot-

[103] Peltenburg 1991b: 88–91.
[104] Peltenburg and Thomas 1991: 2–3, fig. 12.
[105] Peltenburg 1991b: 90.
[106] Connelly and McCartney 2004: 19; referring to figurine no. St.97.55.
[107] Connelly in Connelly and McCartney 2004: 22–23, figs 5–9.
[108] McCartney in Connelly and McCartney 2004: 34–35.
[109] Goring 2006: 80; referring to figurine SVP 29/1; see also Peltenburg in Peltenburg and Christou 2006: 16.
[110] Thomas 1988: 271; referring to figurine no. 696.
[111] Goring 1998a: 161. Note, that Goring refers to this feature elsewhere (1998b: 185) as Gr. 519; referring to figurine no. KM 1382.
[112] Goring 1998b: 162.
[113] Bolger 2006: 111; referring to anthropomorphic vessels SVP 86/20 and SVP 86/26.
[114] Peltenburg in Peltenburg and Christou 2006: 29–30; *cf.* also Bolger 2006: 117. A further, similar vessel belongs to the above mentioned assemblage of the Ritual Deposit Unit 1015 from Kissonerga Mosphilia; referring to anthropomorphic vessel KM 1466. *Cf.* Goring 1991: 60.

tery figurines of the Chalcolithic generally to not occur in sepulchral contexts.

The Cypriot Chalcolithic stone and pottery figurines were found in settlements, where they usually come from different domestic contexts like habitation layers inside and outside buildings as well as ordinary refuse pits. Only the cruciform figurines as a group can generally be regarded as being intentional grave goods.

The majority of find contexts, which are general habitation layers and refuse pits, only give us information about the secondary treatment of the Cypriot stone and pottery figurines: after being used by the living and having fulfilled their primary function, they apparently lost their ritual significance completely and were regarded as mere rubbish, as indicated by the rather disrespectful way, in which they were discarded together with settlement debris.

Some of the figurines, that were discovered inside buildings, were found in association with hearths. The structures, in which these figurines were found, generally represent ordinary dwellings. Exceptions include a few structures which were somewhat exceptional either due to their location within the inhabited area as a whole or particular construction features. However, they were all used as dwellings.

As stated above, almost all pits yielding figurines are ordinary refuse pits, a unique exception is represented by the Ritual Deposit of Kissonerga Mosphilia (Unit 1015), which allows for the partial comprehension of its ritual background. While access to the particular area, in which this feature was located, was somewhat restricted and it was furthermore denoted by particular architectonical features (*e.g.*, the size of structures, floor and wall treatment), all indicating a special status of the residents of the buildings, the associated structures were, nonetheless, also used as dwellings.

Conclusion

Up to now no exclusive sacred places or structures have been detected in the archaeological record of pre-Bronze Age Cyprus.[115] The most extensive group of ritual devises is represented by the anthropomorphic figurines of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. Although many were found within the boundaries of the inhabited area of settlements, most contexts do not inform us about their primary function or where they had been actively used. The majority of the figurines were found in general habitation layers inside and outside buildings or refuse pits.

The number of the figurines discovered inside the dwellings indicate that not nearly every household possessed its own figurine, and therefore their use was somehow restricted. However, all structures yielding figurines were generally used as dwellings by the living; only few were marked as special by outstanding features or their location.[116] There is, however, no general link between these special structures and the figurines. The apparent special status of the architectonically outstanding Chalcolithic structure at Kissonerga Mosphilia was probably first and foremost related to their residents. Moreover, as pointed out by Peltenburg, even the unique building model (KM 1446) that was closely associated with a large quantity of figurines mirrors a typical, standardized house of the Middle Chalcolithic period.[117] In some cases, the storage of the figurines[118] is suggested during times they were not in active use. In other cases, they were found in association with hearths, but again no general link is apparent.

To judge from the contexts described above, it appears that anthropomorphic figurines were used during rituals that generally took place either inside regular domestic structures, or outside, possibly in courtyards or other open spaces within the inhabited area, which overall neither show particular features for identification or separation from profane places. Sacred spaces in general were apparently not visibly marked, at least not detectable to us in the archaeological record. Overall, there was apparently no clear-cut distinction between the sacred and the profane in pre-Bronze Age Cyprus, a result also detected by Bánffy in her study on South-East Europe.[119] This conclusion is supported in particular by the building model (KM 1446) from the ritual deposit at Kissonerga Mosphilia, associated with a distinct set of ritual implements. As so correctly pointed out by Peltenburg, it should be viewed as a special structure due to its association with cult paraphernalia and its uniqueness. However, it also represents the typical, standardised Middle Chalcolithic house. This "apparent paradox of an ordinary yet special building" seems to be solely a contradiction to the present-day observer. And, moreover, suggests that the building had only sometimes a cult-related function connected with ritual activities carried out here every once in a while on certain occasions.[120]

Beyond this, the possibility must be kept in mind, that ritual activities could also have been conducted in other places which remain elusive – possible sacred places outside settlements, for instance at naturally defined locations such as rock massifs, forest glades or water bodies – and have not been detected so far.

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115 *Cf.* Peltenburg 1991b: 92.

116 *Cf.* Peltenburg 1991b: 92, 104.

117 Peltenburg 1991b: 92.

118 *Cf.* Dikaios 1961: 42, 1962: 42, 167 with regard to the figurine from Sotira Teppes (no. 106). Peltenburg 1991b: 92 with regard to the Lemba Lady (no. LL 54).

119 Bánffy 1990–1991.

120 Peltenburg 1991b: 99; also 103–104.

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The space above. Sacred sky in Prehistoric Cyprus

Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska

Introduction

There have been mutiferious and copious publications on various aspects of the cults and beliefs of Prehistoric Cyprus including, among other things, works dealing with stone and teracotta figurines, temples and the iconography of seals and sealings. When we take a look at periods before the Late Bronze Age, a period with well established temples, sanctuaries, the cult of horned gods, and the beginigs of Aphrodite, then probably the most widely recognised sacred space in Cypriot culture is the realm of the dead. This includes all aspects connected with funerary rituals and ancestor cult; and, remarcably, sometimes quite the opposite, rituals connected with birth and fecundity. Thus, it seems that Prehistoric Cypriots were mostly preoccupied with the matters of life and death. However, as ethnography often illustrates, besides these two grand subjects, systems of beliefs usually also include many other aspects, and especially the forces of nature. The most impressive context where such forces are manifested is the sky. In this paper I will present several ways in which we can argue that this high lying space, was indeed a sacred space in Prehistoric Cyprus.

Epipaleolithic

Cyprus is the third largest Mediterranean island, after Sicily and Sardinia, with an area of 9251 square kilometers. Its island character means that it has fixed boundaries with the possibility of isolation from the outside world. However, its location between Aegean, Anatolia and the Levant offers a very different path of development – a crossroads of civilisations. Both of these counter posts isolation and interaction had various degrees of influence during different periods of the Cypriot past. Scholars dealing with Cypriot Prehistory usually present either a biogeographical approach, focused on climate and ecological factors, or a social approach, considering the development of a spatially conditioned identity and process of isolation or interaction with an outside world.[1]

The sea surrounding the landscape can either be seen as a barrier or a bridge between the familiar and the unknown. Islanders' perspectives include a dual experience of land and sea.[2] Islands become prominent and flourish for two reasons: the presence of rare resources or a unique location, serving as stepping-stone to the mainland or other islands. The Epipaleolithic period in Cypriot archaeology is a new area of research, which was almost unkwnown even a decade ago. Initial human occupation of the island can now be dated to 8900–8700 BC, and its been also suggested it might be dated even earlier.[3] Some scholars[4] suggests that early human presence on the island might have been a seasonal occupation, connected with groups of people who still tried to follow a pre-Neolithic pattern of existance, migrating after the animals they were hunting. Such coastal sites excavated so far, like Aetokremnos, Nissi Beach and Akamas Aspros provide us with evidence which support those notions. As Albert Ammerman has noticed „we are now beginning to realise that the early foragers who were making seasonal trips to Cyprus were not heading toward the Neolithic but away from it (in terms of their life style and interests)".[5] What could have brought them to Cyprus? I argue, that among other reasons, these could have been birds, which they had to observe during spring and autumn migrations. According to the archaeozoological data seasonal inhabitans of sites like Aetokremnos, Nissi Beach and Akamas Aspros exploited island resources including mainly shellfish and avifauna.

In Aetokremnos many marine resources like sea urchins, limpets and topshell and grey mullet fish, but also turtle, snake and land snails were being exploited. Bird remains included bones from dove, goose, grebe, shag, teal, and also burnt eggshells.[6]

Among the bird species found in Aetokremnos are:

- the grebe, a migrating, freshwater, diving bird, which is still endemic to Cyprus;

[1] Knapp 2009: 16.

[2] Knapp 2009: 16–17; Broodbank 2000: 28–29.

[3] Knapp 2013: 48.

[4] Knapp 2013: 51; Ammerman *et al.* 2008; Simmons 1999.

[5] Ammerman 2010: 89.

[6] Knapp 2013: 59.

- the shag, which mainly feeds in the sea, is rarely found inland and breeds on coasts, nesting on rocky ledges. It can migrate but must not necessarily do so if it finds a good supply of food;
- the teal, which inhabits Cyprus on a permanent basis. At the same time migrating teals use the island as a stopover, when migrating from northern Europe to Africa. The teal is commonly found in sheltered wetlands and feeds on seeds and aquatic invertebrates;
- the goose is one of the most common migratory birds. It breeds in wetlands, freshwater marshes and on the coasts. Additionally it is the largest bird in this list, thus, when hunted provides the most meat from one bird. This is also one of the reasons, why it was domesticated at a very early period;
- the dove is a bird still popular in Cypriot cuisine, and is also closely connected with the most Cypriot deity – Aphrodite. Many of its subspecies are also migratory, like for example turtle dove – which is still being hunted in Cyprus.

Avifaunal bones were also found in Nissi Beach and Aspros. As pointed out by the excavators both sites were in the areas of a low agricultural or woodland potential, and thus not attaractive for farmers or terestrial hunters. However, it was a good spot to explore marine resources and avifauna.[7]

We can observe a different pattern in inland sites. Ayia Varvara Asprokermmos is an inland site, probably connected with flint tool production. Numerous faunal remains included mostly pigs (*Sus scrofa* – small Cypriot wild boar, probably brought from Levant), bird bones and fresh water crab.[8] Ayios Tychonas Klimonas (3 km inland, near Amathus), was probably a semi-premanent camp were numerous flints were found, along the evidence for bone industry (like polished bone needle, two blades and a cylinder). Most of faunal remains (93%) are attributed again to a wild boar, but also some bird bones and molluscs were found.[9] Both inland sites are now often being considered as a transition between seasonal ocupation by hunter-gatherers and sedentary Early Aceramic Neolithic period.

For the seasonal travelers of the Epipaleolithic the sky must have been a map and a calendar, telling them weather to move, were to go, and when to do it. Seasonal migration of birds from Europe to Africa and *vice versa* must have been a widely observed and much looked-forward-to event. In later periods the importance of birds in the Cypriot diet diminished, but never ceased entirely. Hunting for migratory birds is still popular in Cyprus, although often criticised by those who want to protect wildlife and call it "a mass annual slaughter". Traditional Cypriot dishes include dishes like *ambelopoulia* – baked small birds (mostly songbirds) eaten whole. Although serving it is illegal it is still possible to order it in a tavern, or instead choosing the very popular (and legal) roasted *peristeria* – pigeon or dove.

Neolithic and Chalcolithic

The sky must also have interested Prehistoric Cypriots in later periods, and we may have evidence of this embodied in some of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic antropomorphic figurines. The first example is a 19 cm heigh Late Aceramic Neolithic stone figurine found at Khirokitia. It has got a rectangular body and – according to many scholars[10] – a phallic-shaped neck. A similar interpretation is often connected with similar figurines dated to the Chalcolithic period.[11] They were made of a picrolite, a soft, greenish-blueish stone, and are known as cruciform figurines, with arms streched outwards, bent knees, a long neck and small head, as it is illustrated by the 16 cm high example from Yalia, of 16 cm (Fig. 1). Another example is also a Chalcolithic figurine, however made of limestone and of 36 cm height (Fig. 2). However, it has also been suggested they depict a woman in a squatting birth-giving posture (with arms extended for support) this interpretation remains disputable, because of their unclear gender and lack of swollen bellies (Fig. 3).[12] They were probably used as amulets, worn by the living and given to the dead as a part of the funerary assemblage.[13] Moreover, recent research suggests that their usage and meaning differs between the earlier and later Chalcolithic periods.[14] What is clear is that when we look at these objects is that the proportions of neck and head are wrong. The neck is clearly elongated and the head compressed. Facial characteristics of these statuettes are also highly stylised, a long chin, narrow and small mouth, prominent nose and small eyes lying very close to the eyebrows. I argue that the odd proportions of Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines become understandable when we compare them with a posture of a person looking upwards, looking at the sky. We can observe the same pattern – long and wide neck, more rounded head, protruding long chin, narrow less visible mouth, prominent nose and small eyes closer to eyebrows. Also the forehead seems shorter then it is. Exactly as the proportions presented by the early Cypriot figurines.

We do not have any other iconography that would support the notion of Cypriot sacred sky, no solar or lunar depictions. Actually we do not have any other early iconography from Cyprus. There are no examples of the Epipaleolithic art. The only zoomorphic figurine from the

[7] Ammerman *et al.* 2006: 17–18, 2008: 4–9, 2011: 264–267; Simmons and Mandel 2007: 480.
[8] Knapp 2013: 67.
[9] Vigne *et al.* 2011: 10–12.
[10] Dikaios 1962: 48–49; Knapp and Meskell 1997; Knapp 2013: 130–131.
[11] Bolger 2003: 85–88.
[12] Budin 2003: 119.
[13] Christou 1989: 88–91.
[14] Winkelman and Cory-Lopez 2010.

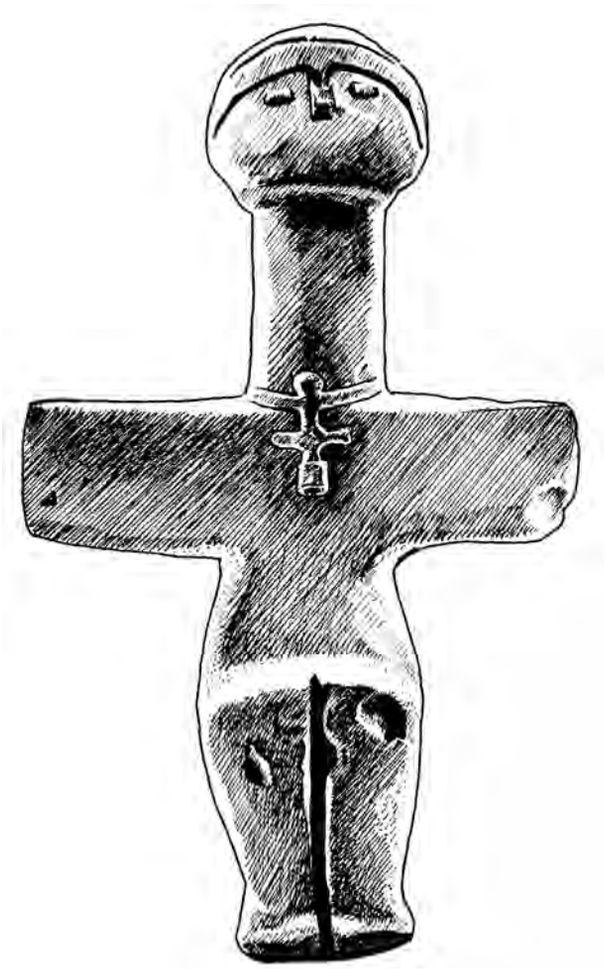

Fig. 1. Chalcolithic cruciform figurine from Yalia, Cyprus (drawing by P. Butler)

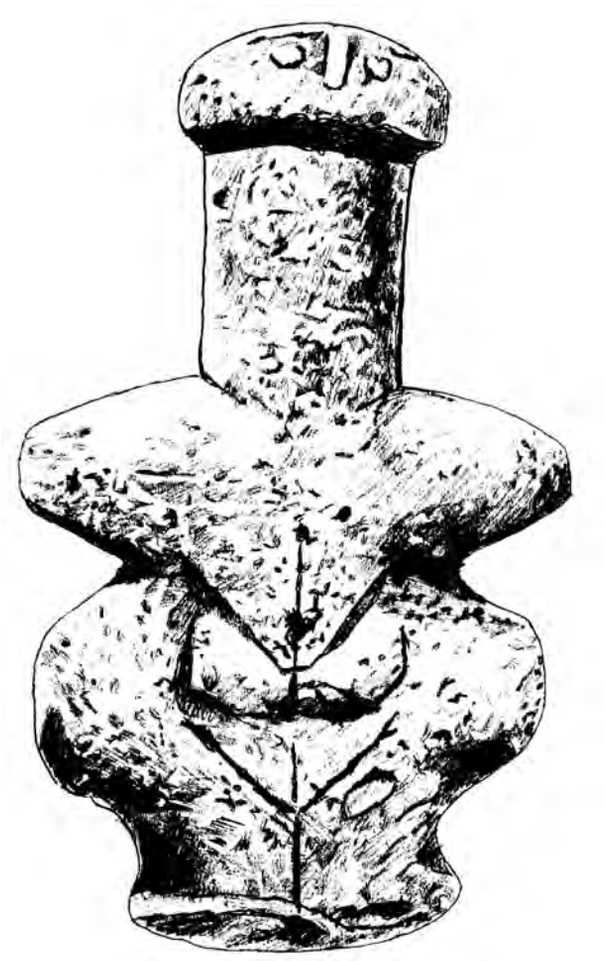

Fig. 2. Anthropomorphic female figure from Lemba, Cyprus (drawing by P. Butler)

Fig. 3. Three Chalcolithic figures from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (photo by MMA)

Neolithic period is a head of a cat from Shillourokambos.[15] In the Chalcolithic period beside clay and stone antropomorphic figurines there are several small items probably made for decorative purposes, like a rosette from Souksiou-Laona; and one clay, hybrid animal, with some bird-like features, also from Souksiou-Laona.[16] However, if indeed most of human representations of these early periods depict people looking up to the sky, it must have been an important element of spiritual life of Prehistoric Cypriots. At the same time it is not something that would automatically occur in the minds of modern scholars. The way we see the space above is changed beyond our own awareness. It is no longer a realm of ancestors or deities, a mysterious space filled by our imagination. Today it is a conquered space. The notion that "only birds can fly" is *passé*, everything has been changed by planes, drones, satellites and especially pollution, including the so-called "light pollution", which made the stars simply invisible in the cities and air hard to breath. Maybe we should sometimes, like the Prehistoric Cypriots, take a look at the sky and think of it as the sacred space, worth taking care off, so that also our children would be able to see the stars or the flocks of migratory birds.

[15] Gulaine 2000
[16] Peltenburg 2006: pl. 56.

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Copper artefact deposits in waters and wetlands during the later 5th and 4th millennium BC in the territory of Poland

Louis Daniel Nebelsick and Grzegorz Łyszkowicz

Early Chalcolithic copper deposition in the territory of Poland

It is the goal of this essay[1] to show that there is substantial evidence for the systematic and wilful deposition of metals in wet contexts in Central Europe in general and in Poland in particular, before the advent of the Bronze Age (Fig. 1). The earliest evidence goes hand in hand with the first appearance of Chalcolithic copper artefacts north of the Central European mountain belt. This involves the deposition of heavy shaft-hole hammer-axes and axe-adzes that find their way into what is now Poland in the framework of intensive interaction between northern Central Europe and the Carpathian Basin between the collapse of post-Linear Pottery cultural *koiné* and the emergence of the Baden Complex during the later 5th and early 4th millennium BC.[2] Comparing cultural sequences between the Baltic and the Balkans is not easy as the supraregional discussion is overshadowed by regional inconsistencies in both chronological terminology and cultural definition, and the term Chalcolithic itself is seen as being ambiguous and problematic.[3] Moreover, in the Carpathian Basin the absolute time spans allotted to these early axes and the cultural contexts in which they are embedded is still a matter of controversial discussion with a tendency towards a more compact and generally lower assessment of the absolute chronology[4], and as this article is dealing with the most northern periphery of their distribution we will be using broad dating ranges. While it is possible that the earliest hammer axes of type Pločnik were being cast at the end of the 6th millennium, they have a mid-5th-millennium manufacturing focus and were still being deposited during the later 5th millennium. The characteristic Tiszapolgár heavy axes of types Crestur, Vidra, Szendrő and Székely-Nádudvar have a late 5th-millennium focus. Mezökerestes, Čoka, Hamndlová and Şiria axes which are also found in Bodrogkeresztúr contexts were still current in the early 4th millennium. The last implements to be dealt with here are the mass-produced cross-bladed Jaszladany axes which are probably best seen as early 4th-millennium products.

Earliest Carpathian heavy axes of type Pločnik have been found in both Lesser Poland (Małopolska) and Silesia (cat. nos. II/4, II/19, II/21). All seem to be depositions on dry land and the example from the hilltop site of Skomorochy Małe which was used as a cemetery from the Early Bronze Age to the Hallstatt Culture may have been a grave good from a preceding Eneolithic grave (cat. nos. II/21 and VII/7). Their import and ritual renunciation are probably best seen in the context of acculturation which is reflected by the emergence of the southern Polish Lengyel/Polgar Culture province in the earlier 5th millennium.

The advent of wetland finds goes hand in hand with the appearance of Tiszapolgar forms north of the Carpathian Mountain Belt. A hammer-axe of type Crestur is said to have been found in the water-rich vicinity of Kuyavian Pakość (cat. no. II/17) which lies on the swampy interface between the Pakoskie Lake and the Noteć River bottom. It may well have been deposited in or on the banks of the Pakoskie Lake, as Stefan Łęczycki[5] assumes, but since the axe, as well as any documentation of its find circumstances, seems to have gone lost, this is impossible to confirm.

A second early Chalcolithic copper hammer-axe of type Şiria, however, was recovered from a certain wet context. It was found in Lake Gopło (cat. no. I/3; Fig. 2), which is actually a waterlogged and flooded segment of the Noteć River valley. This is the earliest metal artefact known to date which was sunk into the waters of this impressive lake which would remain a hub of lacustrine deposition throughout the following millennia. Later

[1] This article is the first of the planned series of publications which will present an actualised version of the results of Grzegorz Łyszkowicz master's dissertation about Bronze Age depositions from wet contexts in Poland, written under the supervision of Louis Daniel Nebelsick (Łyszkowicz 1999). An earlier version of it was published in 2015 (Nebelsick and Łyszkowicz 2015). We dedicate this article to Aleksandra and Carola.

[2] For the western and northern peripheries of the early Chalcolithic heavy implement horizon, see Klassen 2000; Łęczycki 2005; Hansen 2009; Czekaj-Zastawny, Kabaciński and Terberger 2011, and Heeb 2014. Early Chalcolithic artefact imports are also reflected by the local manufacture and deposition of accurate stone imitations of Carpathian copper axe shapes (Łęczycki 2003).

[3] Schier 2014.

[4] See Diaconescu 2014

[5] Łęczycki 2005: 64–65.

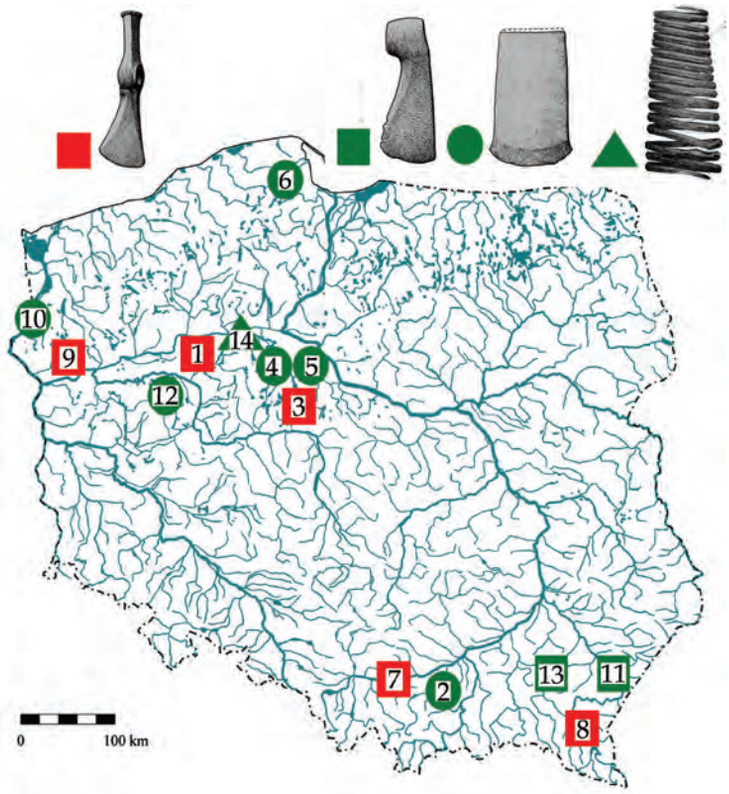

Fig. 1. Map of the Chalcolithic copper artefacts from wet contexts mentioned in the text (after Łyszkowicz 1999)

Fig. 2. Gopło Lake, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province (cat. no. I/3). Copper hammer-axe head type Şira (after Gedl 2004, no. 14)

Chalcolithic flat axes were also recovered from the margins of the lake (cat. nos. 4–5), and Bronze Age artefacts from the lake and its wet margins abound, begging the question of long-term deposition continuity.[6] A further type Şira hammer-axe head was recovered from the Vistula's harbour at Cracow-Płaszów (cat. no. I/7; Fig. 3). This harbour basin had been dredged out of an old oxbow of the river, making it highly likely that the axe had either been deposited in the river itself or on its wet margins. The metropolitan area of Cracow was densely settled during the late 5th millennium[7] and a second early Chalcolithic axe, type Székely-Nádudvar was found near Cracow-Kurdwanów just 5 km to the south of Płaszów in a late Lengyel-Culture settlement pit (cat. no. II/10). Another early hammer-axe of type Székely-Nádudvar was found at Krzemienna on the bank of a stream on the swampy rim of the San River bottom which should qualify as a wetland deposition (cat. no. I/8; Figs 4–5) and it is possible that a brown-patinated hammer-axe of the same type found in the vicinity of Wiślica (cat. no. II/27) came from or near the Nida River.

Between 4000 and 3600 BC water deposition of heavy copper artefacts continues. This mainly involves the elegantly modelled cross-bladed Jászladány type axe-adzes.[8] One example was recovered from the waterlogged floodplain of the Warta at Krzemów near Sulęcin in Great Poland (cat. no. I/9; Fig. 6). A half of another axe-adze of this type was found either alone or with a "dagger" in the meadows of the broad Noteć River bottom near Antoniny (cat. no. I/1; Figs 7–8) originally belonged to the Jászladány type. It was later broken in two and the edges of the shaft ham-fistedly bludgeoned into the shape of a flat axe before being sunk into a branch of the Noteć or its wet margins.[9] This secondary refashioning may have already happened in the Carpathian Basin as halves of shaft-hole axes of type Jászladány with crushed or deformed sockets are found there with surprising regularity.[10]

[6] For Bronze Age depositions in Lake Gopło and its broad swampy margins, which include more than 10 single bronze artefact finds and hoards dating mainly from the early and older Bronze ages but including late Bronze Age finds, see Łyszkowicz 1999, nos. 9, 10, 11, 24, 33, 34, 35, 36, 65, 81, 146.

[7] Grabowska and Zastawny 2011.

[8] Patay 1984: 67–89; Kienlin 2011; Czekaj-Zastawny, Kabaciński and Terberger 2011:48–50, fig. 1.

[9] Łęczycki 2005: fig. 6.

[10] Jászladány type axe-halves with deformed sockets are known from Slovakia – Gánovce, okr. Poprad (Novotná 1970, no 109), Kláštor pod Znievom, okr. Martin (Novotná 1970, no. 110); Hungary – Aranyosapáti, com. Szabolcs-Szatmár (Patay 1984, no. 490); Budapest-Békásmegyer (Patay 1984, no. 472); Hencida, com. Hajdú-Bihar (Patay 1984, no. 447); Kerepes, com. Pest (Patay 1984, no.

Fig. 3. Cracow-Płaszów, Małopolska Province (cat. no. I/7). Copper hammer-axe type Şira (after Gedl 2004, no. 15). Map based on the *Deutsche Heereskarte 1: 25000, no. 48/30 G Krakau, Herausgegeben vom OKH/Gen St d H. Chef des Kriegskarten- und Vermessungswesen Herausgabe 1944*; dry land shaded yellow; water bogs and wet meadows shaded blue (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

Most of these fragmented axes have been recovered in a broad landscape band stretching from Moravia to Transdanubia, indicating a clear regional preference for depositing these halved tools in the northern half of the heavy implement distribution.[11] This makes it likely that Chalcolithic axes were being halved intentionally as well as transported and deposited as ingots or pre-monetary units of value.

This earliest water find repertoire is dominated by, but not restricted to, massive adze and hammer-axes. A copper flat axe with rounded profile was found in a TRB/Late Lengyel Culture settlement pit on the edge of the upper Oder River valley just south of Racibórz (site 423)[12], a second was deposited in or on the edge of the Oder River delta near Mescherin (cat. no. I/10; Fig. 9), both date as early as the late 5th millennium.[13]

This seemingly small number of early copper artefacts which can be confidently assigned to wet contexts must be seen against the background of the limited number of inceptive metal objects about which any contextual information has been published. The surface condition (patina) of early copper heavy shaft-hole adzes and axes from Poland collected in the definitive *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* volume[14], for instance, is not mentioned and save the assignment to a modern place name, even cursory contextual information is mainly missing in this and other volumes dealing with Chalcolithic finds. These deficits can be partially rectified by consulting earlier publications, for instance Erich Blume´s meticulous description of the find circumstances of the axe blade from Antoniny mentioned in this text (cat. no. I/1). Contextual information can also be gained by plotting the topographical descriptions that survive on old topographical maps which show geographic and – in particular – hydrographical information before the onset of industrialised agriculture and the attendant desiccation of rural landscapes, as we have attempted to do in this article. The present state of knowledge about late 5th and early 4th millennium shaft-hole axes in Poland (List II) permits us, none the less, to at least describe in outline early Chalcolithic deposition patterns (Fig. 10). Of the 27 copper shaft-hole axes which have been found in Poland we can feel confident about the find circumstances of 21, of which 5 (24%) come from wet contexts. Four of them were deposited in or on the wet margins of major rivers (Noteć, San, Warta and Vistula). Moreover, since Lake Gopło is passed through by the Noteć River, this association with major rivers may even be seen to be exclusive. Furthermore, of the 17 finds on dry land, 9 (see List II, 53%) are located close to major rivers. Altogether deposition in or close to major rivers make up a sizable 62% of the known early hammer and adze axes in Poland. This clearly indicates that the use and deposition of these Carpathian imports were closely linked to riverine communication and presumably trade corridors. Classifying the context of single dry land stray finds is never easy. It is worth noting, however, that there is a tendency for axes found in dry contexts to be deposited on prominent hills. This has also been observed in Bohemia, for instance, where copper objects found on summits are interpreted as reflecting the sacred denota-

471); environs of Kisvárda, com. Szabolcs-Szatmár (Patay 1984, no. 489); Magyarhomog, com. Hajdú-Bihar, Mogyorós Tanya, Grave 1 (Patay 1984, no. 482); environs of Szombathely (Patay 1984, no. 442); Hungary (Patay 1984, no. 493); Rumania – jud. Bihor/com Bihar (Vulpe 1975, no. 207); Mociu, jud. Cluj (Vulpe 1975, no 214); environs of Sebeş, jud. Alba (Vulpe 1975, no 185); Moravia – Napajedla, okr. Gottwaldov (Říhovský 1992, no. 28); Serbia – Dobra.

11 Heeb 2014: 94–100, fig. 81; Kowalski *et al.* 2016: fig. 9.

12 Bobrowski and Sobkowiak-Tabaka 2014; Kowalski, Adamczak and Garbacz-Klempka 2017: table 1.

13 Klassen 2000: 104–105.

14 Gedl 2004.

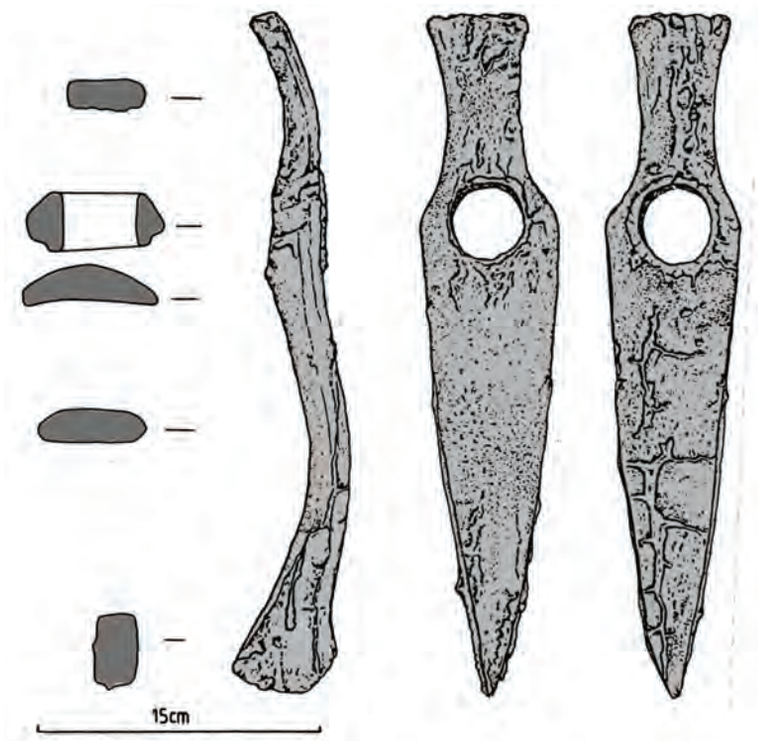

Fig. 4. Krzemienna, Community of Dydnia, Podkarpackie Province (cat. no. I/8). Copper shaft-hole axe type Mezőkerestes (after Muzyczuk and Tunia 1992, fig. 2)

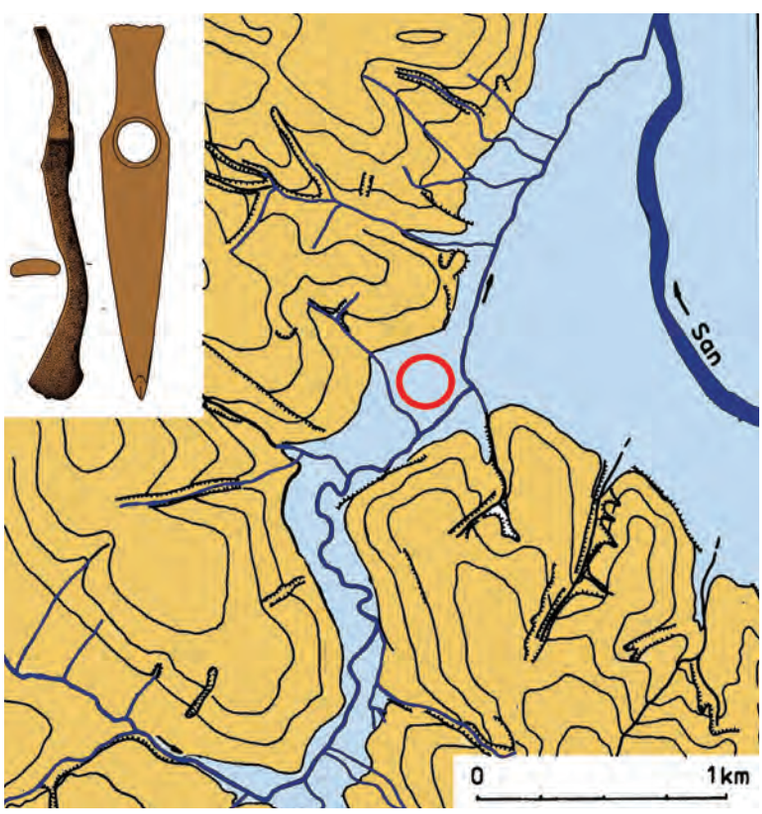

Fig. 5. Krzemienna, Community of Dydnia, Podkarpackie Province (cat. no. I/8). Copper shaft-hole axe type Mezőkerestes (after Gedl 2004, no. 13). Map (after Muzyczuk and Tunia 1992, fig. 1); dry land shaded yellow; water bogs and wet meadows shaded blue (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

tion of high places.[15] The spectacular new find of a Şiria type axe/adze in Grave 3 from an early 4th millennium metal-rich Lublin-Volhynian Culture hill-top cemetery at Książnice Wielkie (cat. no. II/15) in Central Poland, which overlooks the Vistula´s flood plain (Fig. 11) underscores the possibility that many of the stray finds from hill-tops might well be from graves. The grave itself belongs to a nucleated grave group of male and female inhumations with rich metal grave goods that include three weapon-

[15] For Chalcolithic hill- and mountain-top deposition in Bohemia, see Zápotocký 2010.

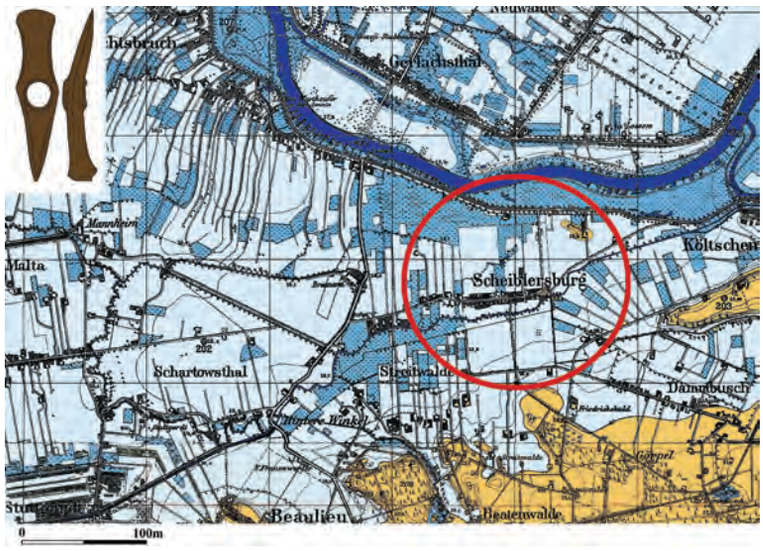

Fig. 6. Krzemów, Community of Krzeszyce, Lubuskie Province (cat. no. I/9). Map based on the *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1: 25000, no, 1775, Költschen, Herausgegeben von der Preußischen Landesaufnahme 1891, Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme berichtigt 1923*; dry land shaded yellow; water bogs and wet meadows shaded blue (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

bearing males (cat. nos. II/15 and VII/4-5), obviously the plot of a leading lineage.[16] Moreover, the site was used by succeeding communities as a cemetery in the Corded Ware Culture period and in the Early Bronze Age.[17] It is tempting to think that Chalcolithic grave monuments at this sites may have animated later communities to use the hilltop as cemetery. It is thus possible that the stray find of an axe of the Vidra type which was found in the area of the Únětice Culture cemetery of "Szubieniczna Góra" at Opatowice (cat. no. II/16) or a Székely-Nádudvar type axe which came from the Mierzanowice Culture cemetery near Skomorochy Małe (cat. no. II/16), may aso have been grave goods from unrecognised Early Chalcolithic cemeteries.

Flat copper axe blades from a richly furnished Jordanów Culture grave from Dobkowice (Grave of 1971, no. VII/1) and inhumation/feature 13123 from a contemporary wealthy cemetery near Domasław, both on the northern foothills of the Góry Sowie (Owl Mountains) range, make it clear that population of Silesia had also embraced the custom of furnishing elite males with copper weapons in the later 5th millennium. This would link the sepulchral culture of early copper users in the territory of Poland with communities in the north-eastern Carpathian Basin and the Black Sea littoral, who regularly furnish graves of elite males with shaft-hole axes.[18] Further likely candidates for graves include a Jászladány type axe found with human bones and a bracelet near Koniecmosty (cat. no. II/9) in Central Poland and a Vidra type axe – allegedly found with an armring and chisel – from Hłudno (cat. no. II/5; Fig. 12) in the Carpathian piedmont.

When mapped (List VII; Fig. 13) it is clear that late 5th to early 4th millennium graves furnished with axes and

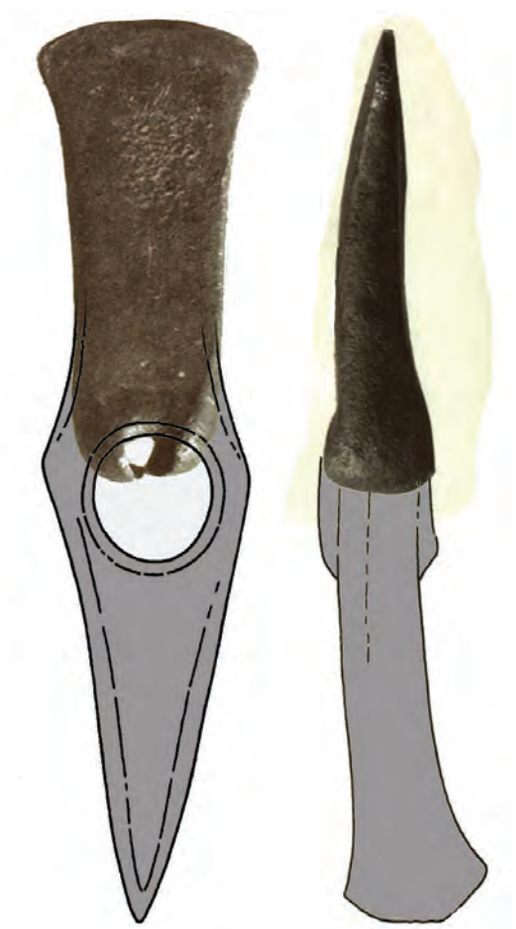

Fig. 7. Antoniny, Community of Szamocin, Wielkopolskie Province (cat. no. I/1). Front half of an axe adze type Jászladány (after Blume 1909), reconstructed on the basis of the axe from Krzeszyce (after Gedl 2004). Length of the blade – 12.8 cm (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

[16] Wilk 2018.

[17] For the structure long term use of this cemetery, see Wilk 2013, 2014b and 2018.

[18] See the cataloge in Heeb 2014.

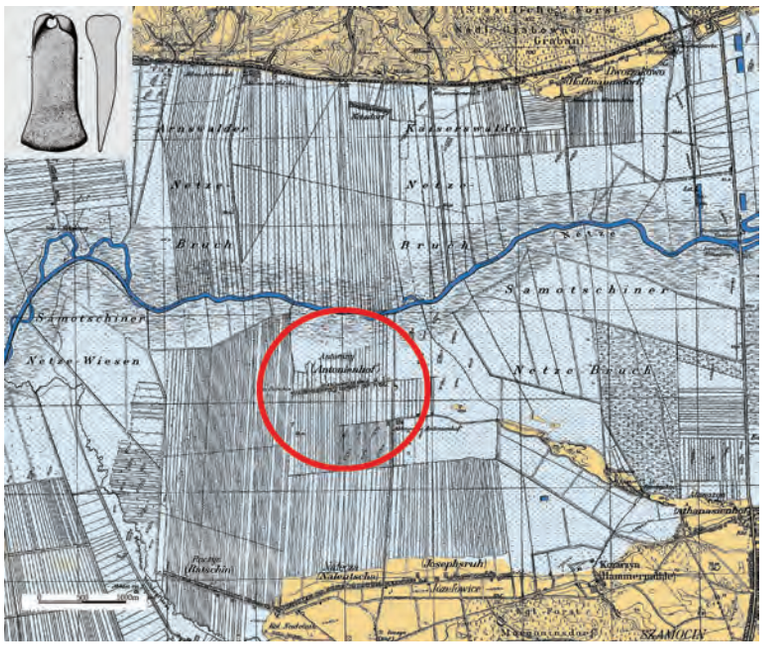

Fig. 8. Antoniny, Community of Szamocin, Wielkopolskie Province (cat. no. I/1). Copper axe blade (after Szpunar 1987: no. 65). Map based on the *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches, 1: 25000, no, 2968, Samotschin, Ausgabe von 1936*; dry land shaded yellow, water bogs and wet meadows shaded blue (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

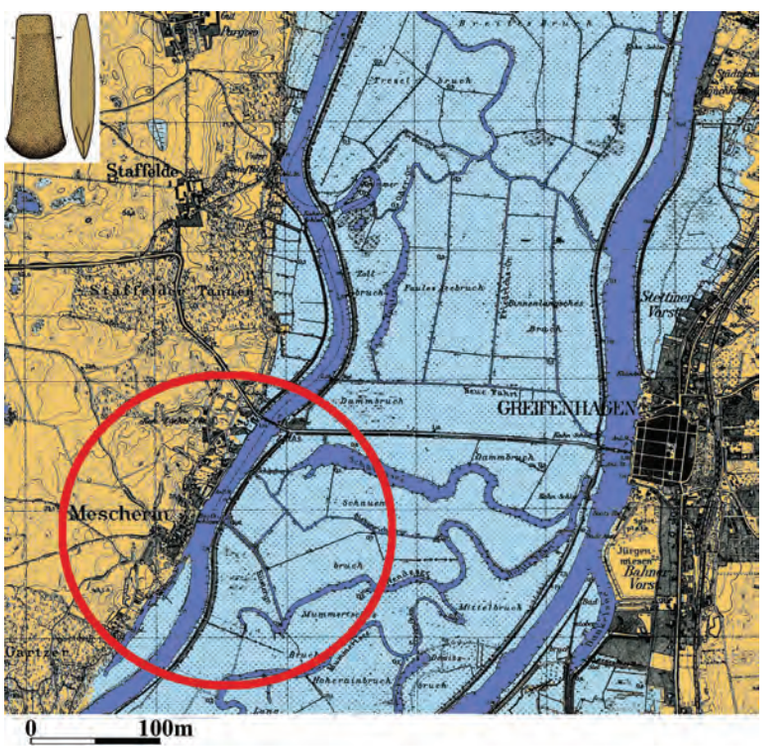

Fig. 9. Mescherin, Lkr. Uckermark, Brandenburg / Gryfino, Zachodniopomorskie Province (cat. no. I/10). Map based on the *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches, 1: 25000, no, 1324, Greifenhagen, Herausgegeben von der Preußischen Landesaufnahme 1888, Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme berichtigt 1933*. Dry land shaded yellow, water bogs and wet meadows shaded blue (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

celts, which are only found on the northern periphery of the Carpathian/Central European mountain belt, reflect the complex integration of north-eastern Carpathian funerary customs in the burial practices of neighbouring Lesser Poland (Małopolska), but also the Jordanów Culture hub in Silesia[19]. This makes it highly likely that many of the stray finds of axes found in the piedmont of the central mountain belt come from graves. Moreover, the deposition of copper weapons on these hilltop cemeteries and on nearby valley bottoms may be seen as precursors to TRB Culture deposition patterns in northern Europe, which see a dichotomy between wetland depositions of stone axes on the one hand and hilltop burials on the other[20].

There are, however, new finds that make it clear that deposition within settlement contexts on hilltop sites must also be considered as an alternative. These include a Székely-Nádudvar type axe from the settlement on

[19] Kadrow 2017.

[20] Wentink 2006: 52–53.

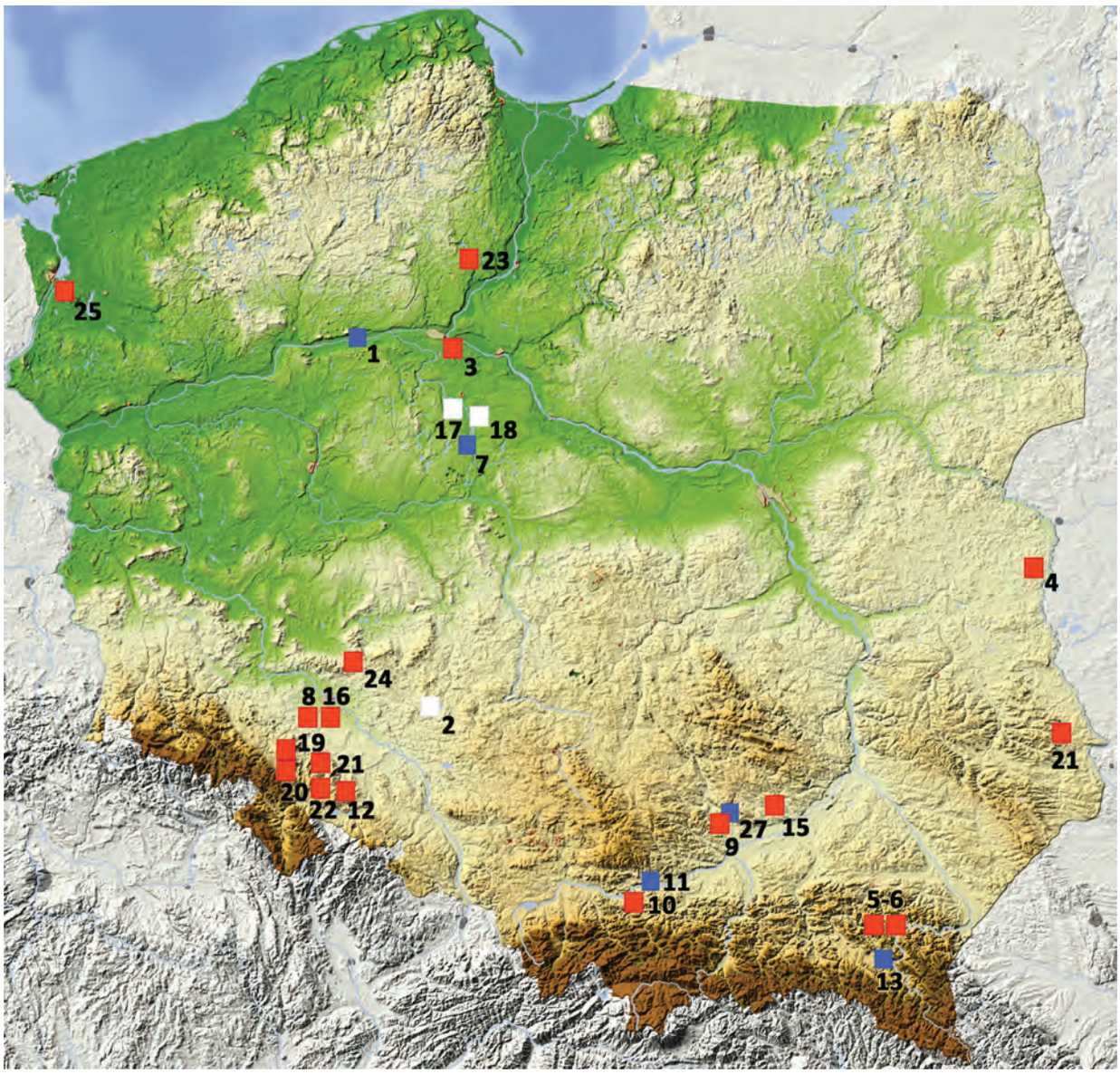

Fig. 10. Map of 5th to early 4th millennium axes from Poland according to their find circumstances (after List II) blue = wet contexts, red = dry contexts, and white = unclear find circumstances (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

a hill overlooking the Vistula River floodplain in Cracow-Kurdwanów (cat. no. II/10), and a small hoard made up of a heavy shaft-hole axe, possibly deposited as an antique, with an early dagger and spiral ornament in a pit in a late TRB Culture settlement on the impressive site of the Piast stronghold on the „Góra św. Wawrzyńca" ("St. Laurent Mountain") at Kałdus (cat. no. III/1). Interestingly, settlement deposition of heavy copper artefacts, sometimes embedded into, or lying under house floors, is commonly practiced in the Carpathian Basin.

In the territory of Poland there is clear regionally differentiated patterning in the location of both wet and dry sites of copper axe deposits. In south-eastern Poland and in the Vistula Basin, cemetery, settlement sites as well as stray finds that host copper axes, show clear riparian affinities (Fig. 14).[21] All were buried on hills overlooking the broad valleys of major rivers. In the Oder River basin in Silesia, however, this is clearly not the case, as copper axes are found deposited within the rolling hill country well away from the Oder and with no visual contact to the river. This dichotomy is one of many reflections of patterns of communication and emulation which would result in Silesia´s inhabitants resonating with communities of the western Carpathian Basin and the Central European mountain belt, while populations in Lesser Poland (Małopolska), the Vistula Basin and Kuyavia were inspired by the Tell Cultures of the Great Hungarian Plain.[22]

[21] For the distribution of Pločnik type axes along major river channels, see Govedarica 2001.

[22] Nowak 2009: 148–154; Kadrow 2017: 93.

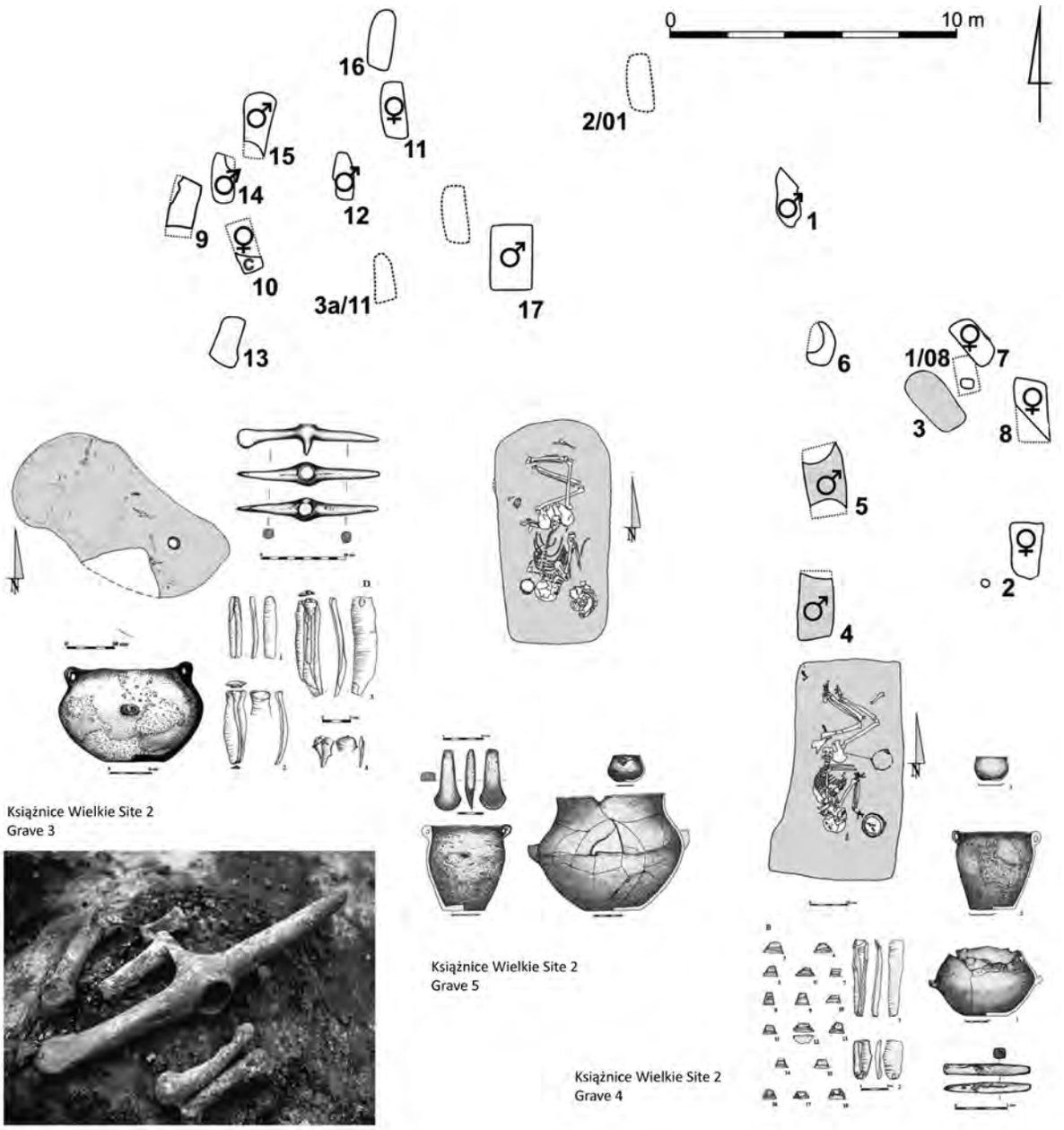

Fig. 11. Książnice, Świętokrzyskie Province, site 2. Inhumation graves 1/08, 4 and 5 of the Lublin-Volhynian Culture (cat. No. II/15) (after Wilk 2004 and 2018)

Obviously, trying to integrate this evidence from Poland for early wetland deposition into a broader European background is not easy. While there is occasional evidence for riverine deposition of shaft hole axe/adzes in the Carpathian Basin during the late 5th and early 4th millennia (see List V), the fact that details of find circumstances and descriptions of patina are almost never reported for copper axes from the region make it impossible to assess whether we can speak of wet deposition as a systematic phenomenon in the region or define its geographic *foci*. Contemporary groundstone shaft-hole axes have, however, regularly been recovered from wet contexts in large parts of Europe and their contexts show regional patterning. When finds from lacustrine settlements are left aside, the find circumstances of pre-Baden Culture period type F and type K groundstone hammer axes, for instance, show a massive prevalence for deposition in flowing water rather than in bogs or lakes in Central Europe.[23] In contrast, depositions in wet sediments, swamps and streams are almost wholly restricted to the North European Plain and Scandinavia. It is interesting to note that the two early copper flat axes found in a wet context within the bounds of the seminal Scandinavian Neolithic: the late 5th millennium flat axes from Kirch Je-

[23] Zápotoký 1996.

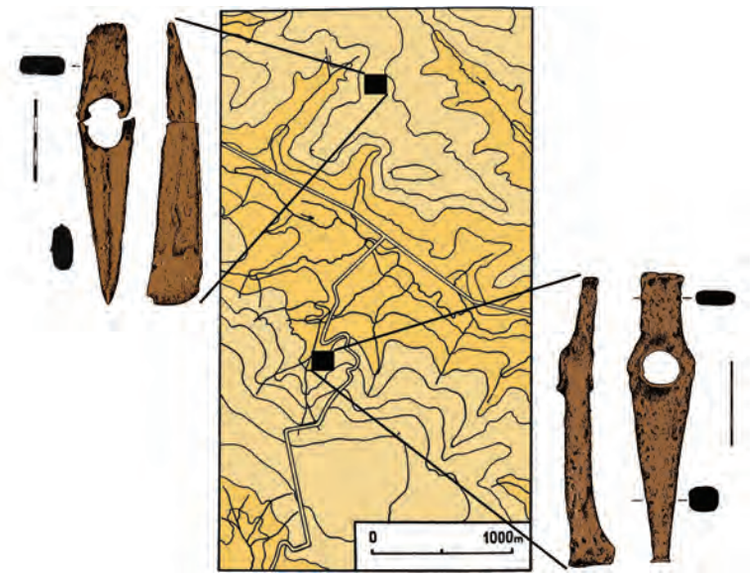

Fig. 12. Hłudno, Podkarpackie Province (cat. no. II/5-6). Findspots of the axe – hammer type Vidra (top) and Székely-Náduvar (bottom) (after Tunia and Parczewski 1977) (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

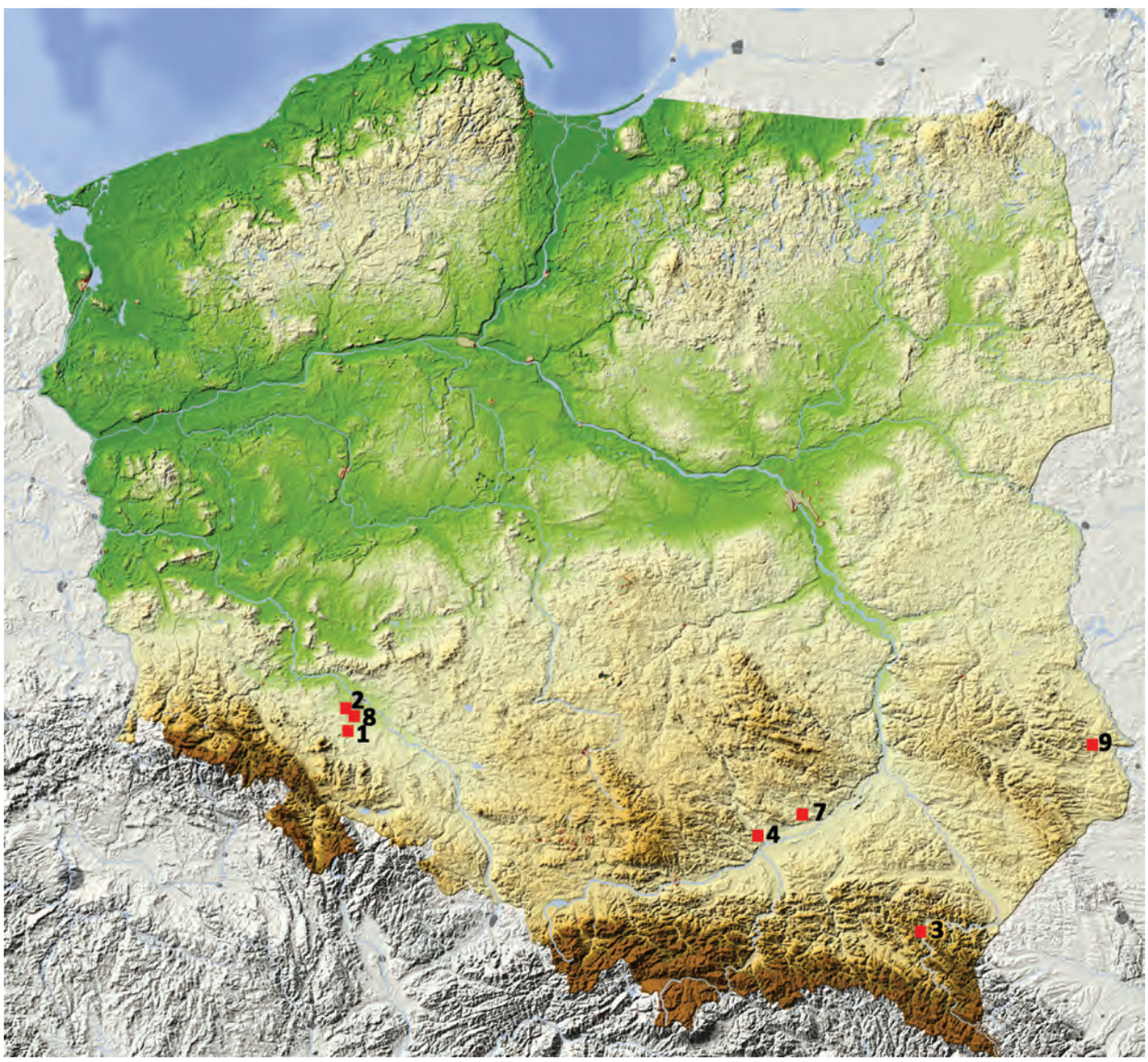

Fig. 13. Map of burials with late 5th and early 4th millennium shaft-hole axes from graves in southern Poland (after List VII) (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

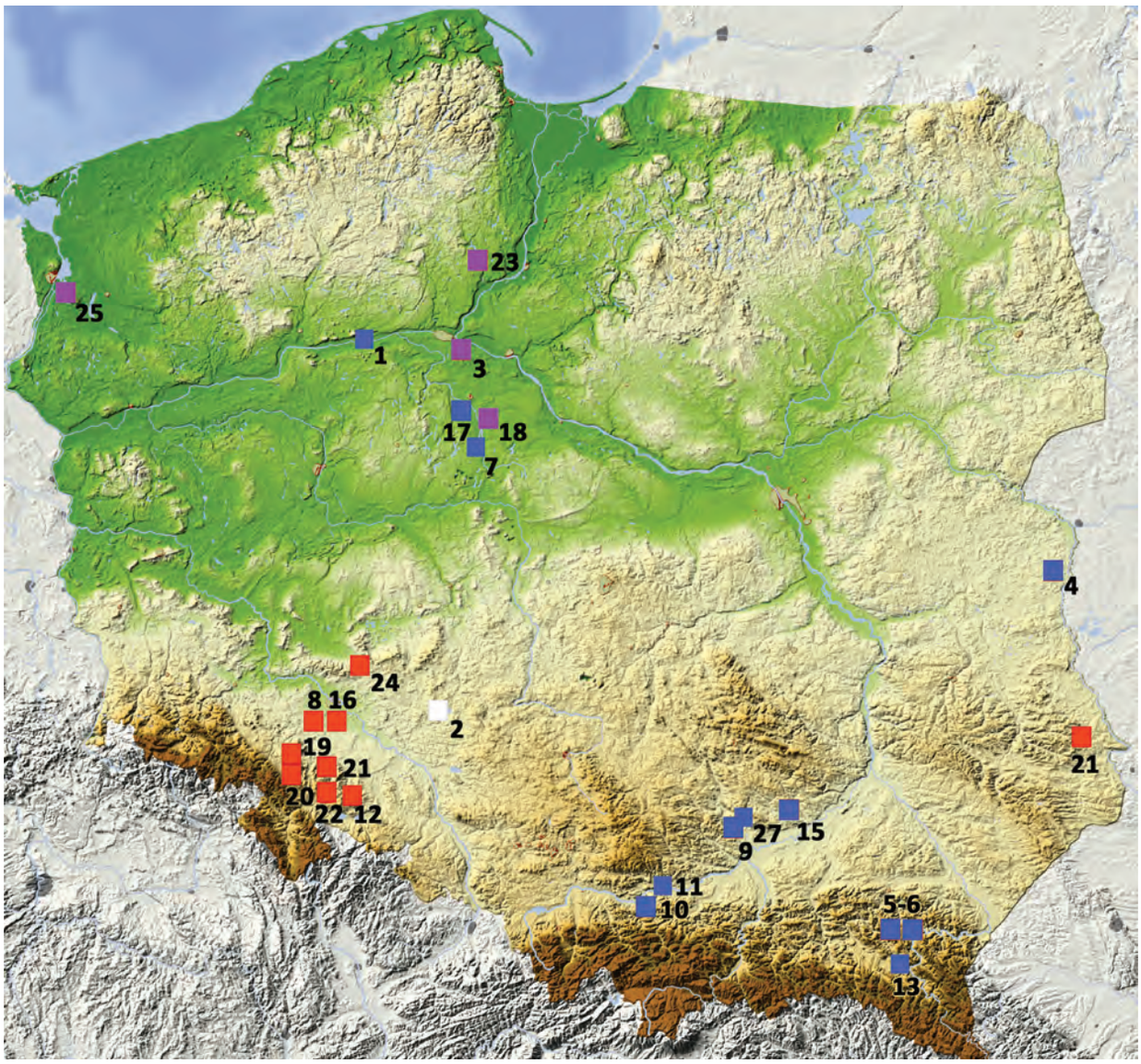

Fig. 14. Map of 5th to early 4th millennium axes from Poland according to their distance from major rivers (after List II). Blue – 0–5 km away from a major river, purple – 5–10 km away from a major river, red – over 10 km away from a major river (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

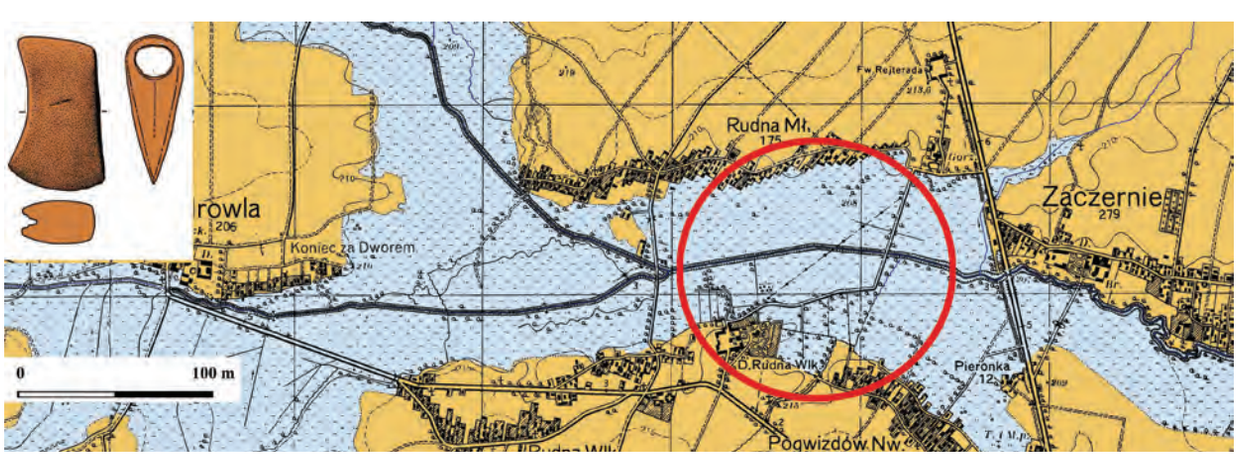

Fig. 15. Rudna Mała, Community of Głogów Małopolski, District of Rzeszów, Podkarpackie Province (cat. no. I/13). Type Baniabic axe variant from the bottom of the Mrowla River (after Gedl 2004: 25–26, no. 19, pl. 3)

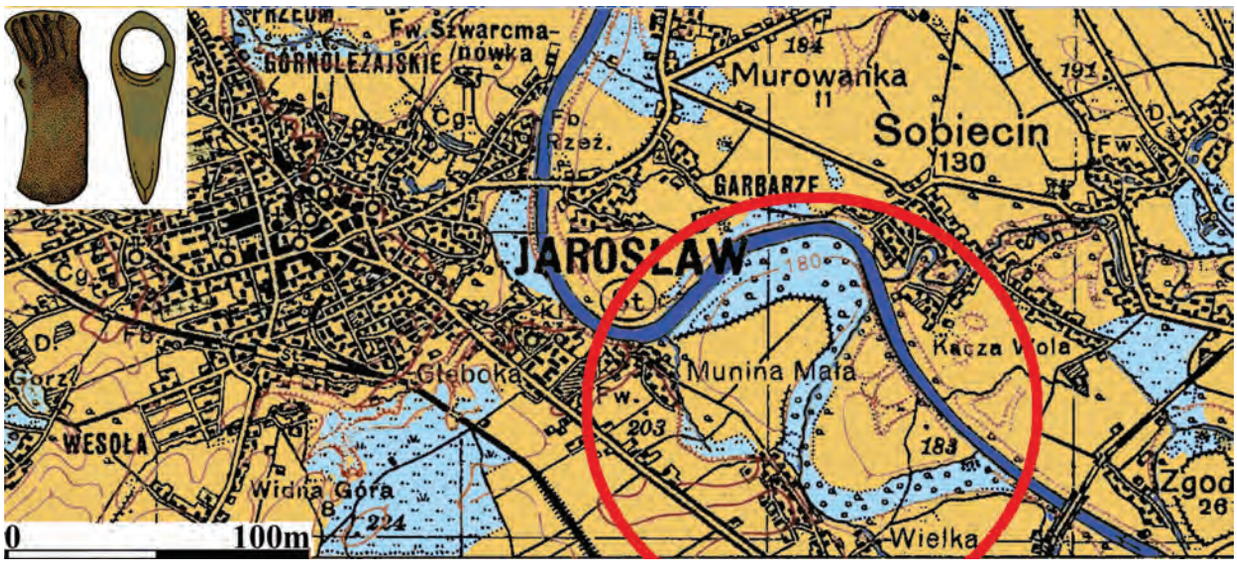

Fig. 16. Munina, Community of Jarosław, Podkarpackie Province (cat. no. I/11). Shaft-hole axe related to type Baniabic (after Gedl 2004: 26, no. 20, pl. 3). Map (Pas 48 Słup 35 Jarosław, 1937-38): dry land shaded yellow, water bogs and wet meadows shaded blue (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

sar in Mecklenburg and Vantore on Lolland[24], were both deposited in bogs. This reflects a Scandinavian preference for bog deposition that may have roots going back to the Mesolithic Period.[25] It is, however, even more difficult to recognise significant Pan-European trends affecting the aquatic deposition of Chalcolithic flat axes, as problems in establishing the chronology of their often unspecific shapes have hindered their systematic collection. Nonetheless finds such as a late 5th millennium flat axe from a stream bed in Hruštín on a pass in the Beskid Mountains[26] fit into this dichotomy between bog deposition in the north and flowing water in the south east.

The 5th and early 4th millennium preference for riverine deposition remains a feature of the developed Copper Age in the south-eastern Poland in the later 4th millennium. A Baniabic type shaft-hole axe found in the Mrowla River bed near Rudna Mała (cat. no. I/13; Fig. 15) in the Carpathian piedmont dates to the later 4th millennium[27] and marks the beginning of a second Chalcolithic copper deposition horizon in the Polish lands. A closely related axe from the environs of Munina (cat. no. I/11; Fig. 16) easily fits into this pattern of riverine deposition. The village lies directly on the edge of the wet meadows of the San River from which the blackish-patinated axe was most likely deposited. These Caucasian-inspired shaft-hole axes are mainly found in graves in the Eastern European steppes and in settlements, or as single finds in the Carpathian Basin[28] and an example in a grave of the Corded Ware Culture period from Szczytna (cat. no. III/6) in the Carpathian piedmont probably reflects influences from the North Pontic steppes. Sadly, the published find circumstances of two further shaft-hole axes from Kwieciszewo and Leszno (cat. nos. III/2-3) are too vague to make any contextual conclusions. The evidence for water deposition of later Chalcolithic celts is even more threadbare. The only sure water find from this period is a copper flat axe of type Vinča/Altheim/Avnslev[29] retrieved from the meander of the Raba River near Chełm nad Rabą at the foot of the Beskid range (cat. no. I/2; Fig. 17). Interestingly, the axes and celt from Rudna Mała, Munina and Chełm nad Rabą were all recovered from rivers in the Carpathian foreland and set forth the region´s earlier tradition of fluvial axe deposition.[30] This use of major rivers as the mandated context for late 5th and 4th millennium water deposition in south-east Poland is also reflected by a pattern of stone axe deposition spanning the entire 5th to 3rd millennium. A significant number of stone shaft-hole axe heads and stone flat axe blades have been recovered from the rivers Biała, Dunajec, Raba, Ropa, San, Wiar, Vistula and Wisłok, as well as a few from attendant streams.[31] This remarkably constant pattern of deposition in the rivers draining Polish Carpathian Mountains is totally abandoned at the ad-

[24] Klassen 2004: 69, 425, cat. no. 2 and 7.
[25] Tilley 1996: 43–42, 101.
[26] Danielová 2017.
[27] Hansen 2009: 34–37; Szeverény 2013.
[28] Szeverény 2013.
[29] Łęczycki 2004: 44–49; Klassen 2000: 40, 124–128.
[30] There are as yet no attempts to make a supra-regional survey of wetland deposition of early copper flat axes, however, it is worth noting that in the northern Alpine piedmont, for instance, lakes, not rivers, seem to be the focus of aquatic deposition; Schwarzberg 2016; Pászthory and Mayer 1998.
[31] See catalogue entries in Valde-Nowak 1988: 123–147, as well as Stasiak 2013: 146 fig. 3, for a Corded Ware Culture axe deposited in the midst of the Noteć flood plain.

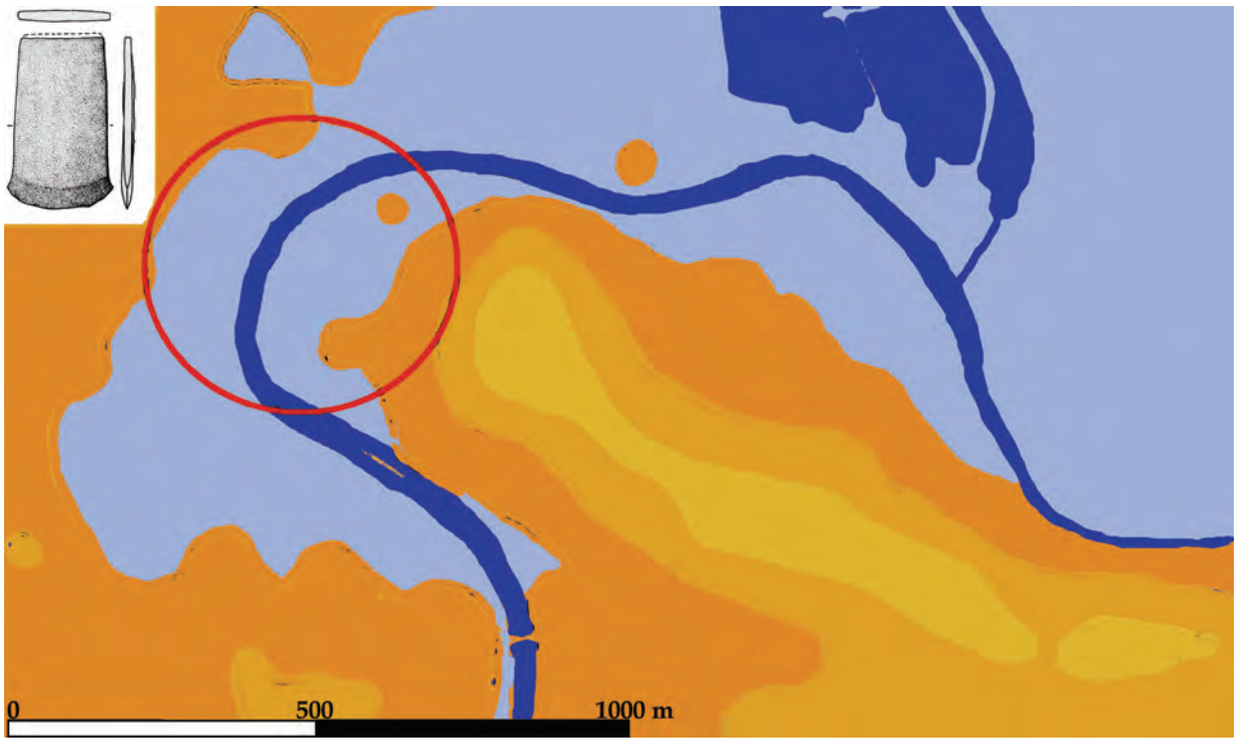

Fig. 17. Chełm nad Rabą, Community of Bochnia, Małopolskie Province (cat. no. I/2). Flat, copper axe blade type Vinča (after Szpunar 1987: no. 18). Map based on Google maps (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

Fig. 18. Kamionka, Community of Kartuzy, Pomeranian Province (cat. no. I/6). Map based on the *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches, 1: 25000, no, 459, Schönberg in Westpreußen, Preußischen Landesaufnahme 1875, Herausgegeben 1877* (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

vent of the Early Bronze Age. It is only after a millennium hiatus that there is evidence of a very sporadic use of South-East Poland's river systems as repositories for Late Bronze Age metal artefacts.[32]

In the northern Poland, different tendencies can be seen that reflect the region's incorporation into the Scandinavian cultural sphere. A type Bytyń blade, for instance, was found in a wet meadow adjoining the Ostrzyckie Lake near Kamionka in Pomerania (cat. no. I/6; Fig. 18) and a second one in boggy terrain near the Pamiątkowskie Lake (Pamiątkowo, cat. no. I/6; Fig. 19).

[32] Łyszkowicz 1999: 72–94; Jeremicz 2009.

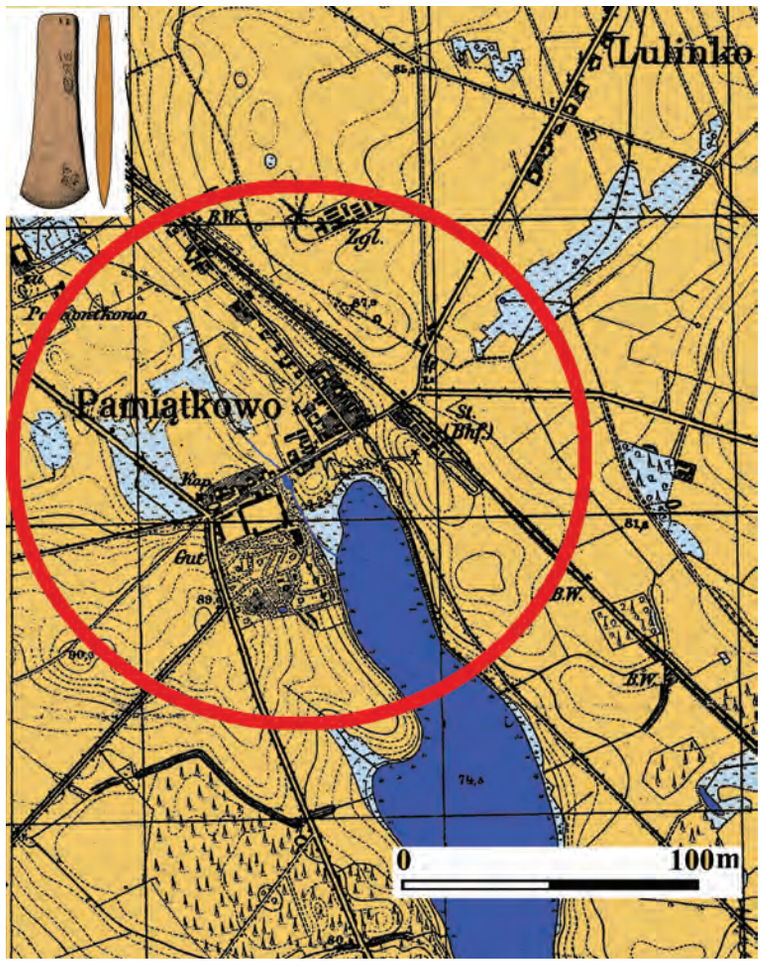

Fig. 19. Pamiątkowo, Community of Szamotuły, Wielkopolskie Province (cat. no. I/12). Flat axe blade type Bytyń (after Szpunar 1987). Map based on *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1: 25000, no. 3466 Wargowo, Herausgegeben von der Preußischen Landesaufnahme 1898* (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

It is likely that two flat axes reported to have been recovered from the Gopło Lake (cat. nos. I/4-I/5) belong to this horizon. Moreover, a copper Bytyń type axe found in the environs of Mętno near Chojna in south western Pommerania[33] is also probably best seen as a water find. Like the mass of metal finds attributed to this findspot, this copper axe is likely to have come from the margins of the southern swampy extension of Lake Mętno. The deposition of these TRB Culture period axes in standing waters or bogs conforms to a wide-spread pattern of later 4th-millennium copper artefact deposition, particularly in Northern Europe. Singly deposited late 4th-millennium flat copper axes are regularly found in bogs and wet meadows in northern Germany and Scandinavia[34] and sporadically in southern-central Europe as well. This is just one facet of a culture of material renunciation which is reflected in the rituals whose enactment led to widespread and intensive single and multiple depositions of stone weapons in wet contexts during the 4th and 3rd millennia across the North European Plain[35].

While evidence for wetland deposition of copper shaft-hole axes in the Funnel Beaker Culture period in Poland is restricted to the possible find of the poorly documented shaft-hole axe from a bog near Worowo in Pomerania (cat. no. I/18), which, if it can be credulously compared to late Chalcolithic shapes, would augment a pan-European pattern of wetland deposition of latest Copper Age shaft-hole axes (List VI). The few other late Chalcolithic axes, if provinienced, seem to be from dry contexts (List IV), including the surprising find of a shaft-hole axe in a wealthy Corded Ware Culture burial from Szczytna (cat. no. III/6). Flat axes from the blurred chrono-technological borderline between latest Copper Age and earliest Bronze Age have also been recovered from wet contexts, including a celt found in a boggy stream bottom near Busówno in south-eastern Poland (cat. I/15) or a copper celt with raised rims found just west of Poland´s border in the wet meadows of the Oder near Neuzelle, Landkreis Oder-Spree, in eastern Brandenburg.[36] Yet while this evidence is too thin to support the assumption that late Chalcolithic celts were regularly de-

[33] Piezonka 2005: 111, cat. no. 61, pl. 7.
[34] Klassen 2000: 34–35; Kibbert 1980: 83.
[35] Wojciechowski 1976; Rech 1979: 35–69; Midgley 1992: 281–282; Karsten 1994; Wentink and van Gijn 2008.
[36] Jentsch 1896: 92; Sprockhoff 1926: 177; Rassmann 1993: 235, no. 3976. See Jacobs 1989 for this and further examples of copper flat axes in wet contexts in eastern Germany.

Fig. 20. Skarbenice, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province. Hoard from a small wet meadow near the village (after Kostrzewski 1923: 35, fig. 86-88). Map based on *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1: 25000, no. 3172 Znin, Herausgegeben von der Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme 1940* (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

posited in water, metal analyses of further flanged celts thought to date to the Early Bronze Age may well reveal more examples from Poland.

There is, however, clear evidence for latest Chalcolithic jewellery deposition in wet contexts in Northern Poland. A small collection of copper jewellery including arm spirals, hair spirals and spiral beads which were deposited in a wet meadow near Skarbienice (cat. no. I/14; Fig. 20) in Kuyavia can be assigned to the later 4th millennium on the strength of parallels to middle-Neolithic Scandinavian costume hoards, particularly Årupgård in Denmark.[37] The evocation of the human body implicit in the composition of this hoard can also be seen in a collection of flimsy wire copper, or bronze jewellery found together with a stone shaft-hole axe or hammer in peat in the vicinity of nearby Żnin (cat. no. I/20), which may be contemporary to it. Two western-Polish hoards belonging to the Epi-Corded Ware Culture / Earliest Bonze Age "willow leaf" horizon were also found in wet contexts.[38] A large collection of wire spirals and bracelets augmented by „willow leaf" jewellery from the „Rehnitz Bruch" bog on the south-west banks of Łubie Lake north of Renice (cat. no. I/17) in Pomerania was found together with two stone shaft-hole axe heads, and a stone axe blade. A similar assemblage of jewellery and weapons which included stone axes as well as copper or bronze flanged axes was recovered from the Wodra River valley

[37] Klassen 2000: 352f., no. 98, pl. 26–27.

[38] For the "Willow Leaf" Horizon and the blurred transition between the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in Poland, see Czebreszuk and Szmyt 1998; Kadrow 1998, 255; Blajer 1999; Czebreszuk and Kozłowska-Skoczka 2008. The cultural context of Proto- and Early -Únětice Culture hoards remains unclear, particularly as it now seems that the onset of the Únětice Culture once thought to begin at 2300 – now dates to 2200/2150 BC (Furmanek and Lasak 2013; Stockhammer *et al.* 2015), on the one hand widening the gap to latest beaker assemblages and on the other suggesting that early Mierzanowice Culture, and its typical Willow Leaf jewellery assemblages may predate the begin of Únětice Culture by as much as 150 years (Włodarczak 1998; Górski *et al.* 2013). For gold spirals with flattened willow leaf like terminals from a late Corded Ware Culture grave at Kichary Nowe, see Kowalewska-Marszałek 2000.

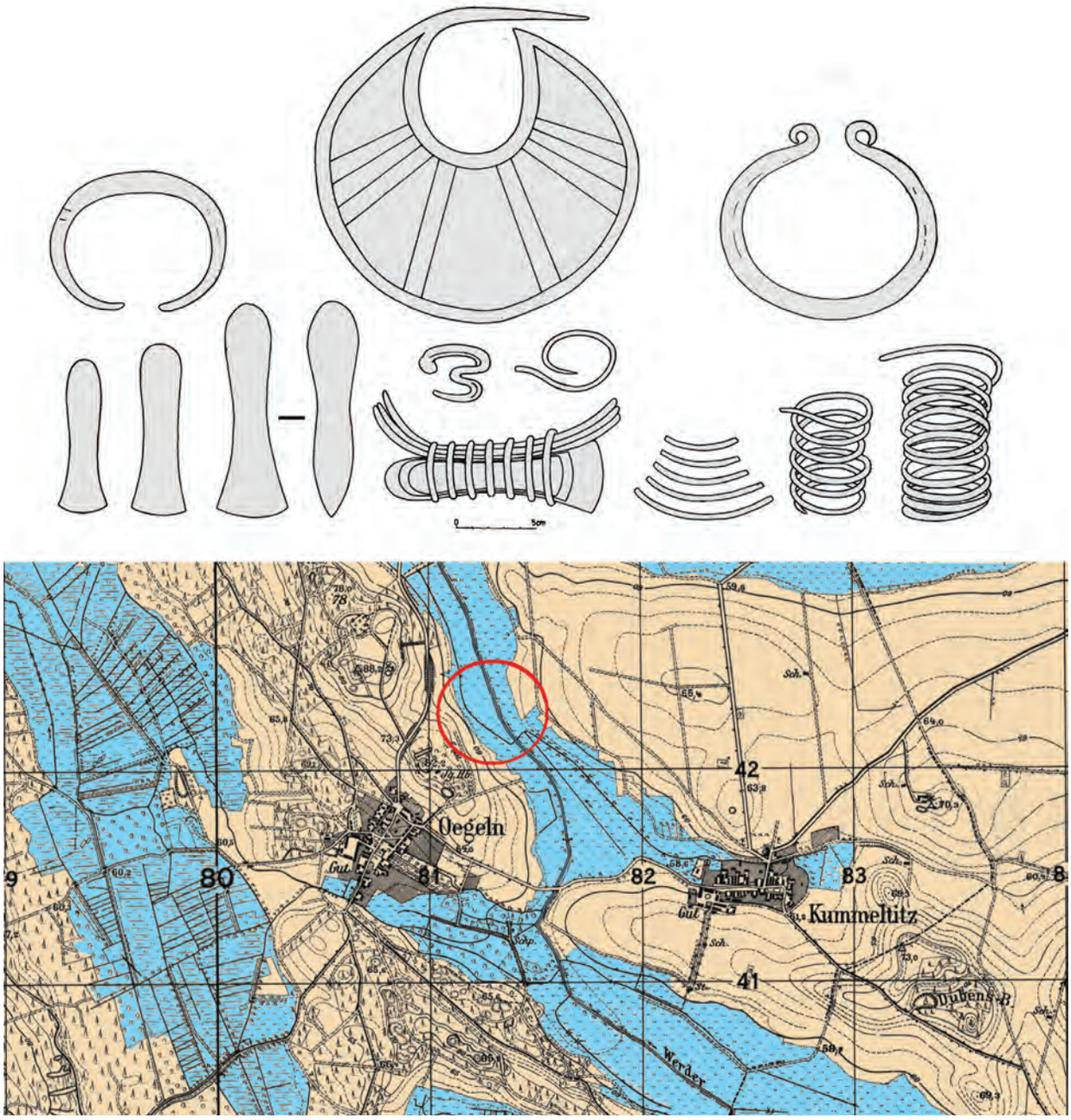

Fig. 21. Węgliny, Lubuskie Province (cat. no. I/19). Hoard from a small wet meadow in the Wodra River valley. Map based on *Topographische Karte des Deutschen Reiches 1: 25000, no. 4154_Jessnitz_M851_Germany_25K_AMS_1952* (designed by L.D. Nebelsick)

bottom near Węgliny in the Stary Kraj region (cat. no. I/19; Fig. 21). Sadly, both hoards are now lost, so that it is impossible to check whether the metal involved was copper or bronze. Willow leaf jewelry and a "wedge" were recovered from a bog in Wielkopolska (cat. no. I/16). Even if these "willow leaf" assemblages are better seen within an Early Bronze Age context as a Late Neolithic ones, the hoard of Skarbienice suffices to show that rituals resulting in the depositing coherent jewellery sets into wet contexts have local roots in the Northern-Polish lake lands. Interestingly, the principle of body mimicry – or at least the body´s evocation that is implicit in the composition of these hoards – is also a typical feature of early and older Bronze Age jewellery deposition.[39]

It is also worth noting that the bassic composition pattern of the hoard, that is a complex jewellery set augmented by one or two completely deposited axes or daggers, creates an iconographic link between objects of martial/male-connoted agency and female-connoted

[39] Blajer 1999; Sommerfeld 1994: 63–91; Vankilde 1996: 206–210; Blajer 2001: 33–45.

adornment and luxury. Moreover, this combination is also found in Early Bronze Age hoards in Poland but also further to the west in Central Germany and would remain a recurrent feature of hoard compositions throughout the Bronze Age.

Conclusion

Although the small number of securely contextualised finds make reconstructing a detailed „grammar of deposition" for copper implements at the dawn of the metal ages in Poland difficult, analysing the evidence at hand reveals a remarkably clear general structure of Eneolithic/Chalcolithic wetland deposition. Late 5th and early 4th-millennium water deposits are restricted to the great rivers that link the Central European Mountain Belt, and thus the Carpathian Basin to the Baltic. Mapping the distances of all findspots of "heavy implements" from major rivers (Fig. 14) reveals that, in stark contrast to Silesia, south-eastern and central Polish heavy axes were all deposited in or near the country´s major water channels. Although the find circumstances and patina of heavy implements from the Carpathian Basin are so rarely reported, the published record indicates that Carpathian axes with known provenances mainly come from graves or more commonly settlements, many near major rivers. There is, however, a small but significant number of copper shaft-hole axes which are known to have been found in or near the Carpathian stretch of the Danube and its major tributaries. Moreover, fluvial deposition of contemporary stone shaft-hole axes is an endemic phenomenon in both East and West Central Europe. This may indicate that, like the copper shaft-hole axes themselves, the rituals that lead to their deposition may have been part of the intensive pattern of North-South communication which linked the Neolithic farmers of South-East and Central Poland to the more complex structured communities of the Great Hungarian Plain.

In the later 4th millennium, the picture is more differentiated. While rivers, or their margins, continue to be the exclusive sites of aquatic deposition in South-Eastern Poland, a more complex pattern of wetland deposition emerges in the north and west of the present-day territory of the country. Here bogs and wet meadows are the primary focus of both implement and jewellery deposition. This clearly looks forward to the much more intimate patterns of Bronze Age wetland deposition, which sees the myriad of ponds, lakes, bogs and wet meadows that spatter across the glacial landscapes of both Poland and the wider North European Plain as the main wet-land deposition focus. This choice of small-scale enclosed wet contexts as the site of ritual renunciation also reflects the process of cultural enmeshing between Scandinavian and North-Central European communities which found its expression in the formation of the Funnel Beaker Culture complex.[40] Much research, particularly on lithic deposition patterns, but also on the chronology of the "Willow Leaf" Horizon will need to be done before it is possible to assess whether it is possible to bridge what seems to be the 3rd-millennium hiatus in metal deposition. If so, it would be possible to forge links between Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age patterns of aquatic material relinquishment in Poland. And, indeed, a series of wetland deposits of 3rd-millennium shaft-hole axes of type Eschollbrücken[41] (List VI) in the Rhine and upper Danube basins makes it very likely that such continuities existed elsewhere in Central Europe. This is also underscored by the fact that the earliest flint daggers found on the Northern European Plain are mainly found in bogs.[42] If indeed water deposition, at least in Northern Poland, was a continual phenomenon beginning in the late 5th millennium[43], then this complex and polysemic world of ritual renunciation which would become a hallmark of the Polish Bronze Age[44] can be seen to be the result of an unbroken tradition of aquatic veneration reaching back to the very beginnings of metallurgy, if not beyond.

Appendices

List I. Catalogue of Chalcolithic metal artefacts found in wet contexts in Poland

I/1. Antoniny (before 1918 also *Antonienhof*), Community of Szamocin, District of Chodzież, Wielkopolskie Province (Figs 7–8).[45] Description: Front half of a copper axe/adze type Jászladány which had been broken prior to deposition. The half socket had then been hammered shut so that it looked like and was perhaps used as a flat axe blade.[46] Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: Axe blade with brown patina found in a segment of the wet meadows of the swampy Noteć River bottom (*Netzebruch*), formerly known as *Gorschen Wiese*, which lay in the fields of the Antoniny village it was said to have been found together with a copper/bronze "dagger" during peat cutting 1.25 m deep. The find was secured by a master copper smith called Conrad from Szamocin who donated it to the town's museum before 1909. Thereafter the axe was sent to the Museum

[40] Midgley 1992.

[41] For Eschollbrücken axes, see Maran 2008. While western examples are "stray" or water finds, axes in the Carpathian basin and related North Pontic examples are found in graves (Szeverény 2013: 81; Dani 2011: 32.

[42] Rassmann 1993: 62–65; van Gijn 2015.

[43] Kofel 2014.

[44] Woźny 1997.

[45] Blume 1909: 62, no. 629 pl. 3 no. Schl. M. 9398 (sic); Kostrzewski 1923: 37, fig. 95, a–b, Kostrzewski 1924: 184, no. 4; Szpunar 1987: 19, no. 65; Schmitz 2004: table 75, no. 2315; Łęczycki 2005: 65; Czekaj-Zastawny, Kabaciński and Terberger 2011: 50; Kowalski *et al.* 2016.

[46] Łęczycki 2005: fig. 6.

in Poznań, where it is curated to this day. The "dagger" is said to have been sent to the Museum in Bydgoszcz but does not seen to have been integrated in its collections. Antoniny, was a typical wetland colony founded 1812 which never did well, became neglected and was gradually abandoned. The last buildings were demolished in 1994. The village lies just south of the Noteć in the midst of the rivers broad waterlogged meadows. The site of the find lies in swath of unimproved wet meadows and bogs with peat cuttings (*Abbaue zu Antonienhof*), perhaps the *Gorschen Wiese*, lie south east of the village. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposit or hoard in or on the waterlogged margins of a river. Collection/Museum: Formerly Museum at Szamocin (*Heimatmuseum der Stadt Samotschin*), now Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu, no. 1911: 300. Remarks: There has been considerable confusion about the location of this find.

Erich Blume who published the earliest reference to the piece said it was found in the *Gorschenwiese im Netzebruch von Atonienhof, Kr. Kolmar*. Kostrzewski (1923) agrees placing it in "Antoniny (Antonienhof) pow. Chodzieski". Szpunar (1987) mistakenly assignes it to „Antoniny, gm. Obrzycko, woj. Poznań", a wrong attribution which has gained wide acceptance due to its publication in the prestigious "Prähistorische Bronzefunde" series. He is not followed by Łęczycki (2005), however, who refers to the find spot correctly as „Antoniny, pow. Chodzież" while Czekaj-Zastawny, Kabaciński and Terberger (2011) refer, somewhat enigmatically, to an „Antonin…. in the (Polish) lowlands". Finally, Kowalski *et al.* 2016 have set the record straight.

The "dagger" which was said to have been found with the axe is lost, its form was never recorded. Earliest daggers in Poland are found in TRB contexts[47], which are half a millennia younger than the Jászladány axes and so far restricted to south east Poland. Most scholars see the dagger from Antoniny as a separate Early Bronze Age deposition.[48]

I/2. Chełm nad Rabą, Community of Bochnia, District of Bochnia, Małopolskie Province (Fig. 3).[49] Description: Flat, copper axe blade type Vinča. Chronology: Chalcolithic – later 4th millennium. Context: Flat celt found by Gustaw Lach before 1876 in fluvial sand on the right bank of the Raba River. The find spot lies on the foot of a multi period hill fort site, at a point *ca* 100 m above the former ferry crossing (the Raba flows in a broad meander around the hamlet of Chełm which lies on a prominent hilltop). This outlier of the Carpathians lies at the end of a north-west pointing spur which juts into the adjoining Sandomierz Basin making it a widely visible landmark. This hilltop site was intensively settled since the Neolithic and fortified in later prehistory.[50] Fluvial sand is still being quarried on a stretch of river bottom between the western foot of the hill and the banks of the river Raba. This is probably the find spot of the blade. Deposition type: Single weapon deposit in flowing water. Collection/Museum: Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University in Cracow.

I/3. Jezioro Gopło (Gopło Lake, before 1918 also *Goplosee*), Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province (Fig. 4).[51] Description: Copper alloy[52] hammer-axe head type Şiria. Chronology: Late 5th – earlier 4th millennium. Context: Axe head found in the Gopło Lake or on its margins before 1915 (during the early part of the 20th century large scale drainage and canal building efforts led to a significant lowering of the Gopło Lake's water table leading to a glut of archaeological finds either on the exposed lake bed or in sediments dredged out of the lake itself). Deposition type: Single weapon deposit in or on the margins of standing water. Collection/Museum: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, Id 1090.

I/4-I/5. Jezioro Gopło (Gopło Lake, before 1918 also *Goplosee*), Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[53] Description: Two copper? flat axes. Chronology: Chalcolithic?; probably later 4th millennium. Context: Two flat axe blades found on the shore of Gopło Lake before 1893. Deposition type: Two single weapon deposits or a hoard in or on the margins standing water. Collection/Museum: Archaeological Museum in Cracow.

I/6. Kamionka (Kamionka Brodnica, before 1918 also *Kamionken* and *Steinhaus*), Community of Kartuzy, District of Kartuzy, Pomeranian Province (Fig. 5).[54] Description: Fragment (lower blade) of a Bytyń type copper flat axe with an as cast surface. Chronology: Chalcolithic – later 4th millennium. Context: Axe blade found in a wet meadow near the Kamionka farmstead before 1887. Kamionka lies on the edge of a *plateau* overlooking the Jezioro Ostrzyckie. Wet meadows lie on the western tip

47 Adamczak *et al.* 2015; Wilk 2018.

48 Maas 1926: 140, map B; Knapowska-Mikolajczykowa 1957: 33; Sarnowska 1969: 168; Gedl 1980: 67, no. 203; Zich 1996: 555, no. N1; Jaremicz 2006: 58; Čivilytė 2009: 546, no. 2517. We were exposed to Kowalski *at al.* 2016 who come to the same conclusions as we do two years after this article was written.

49 Cabalska and Nosek 1976: 33–36; Kowalczyk 1973; Szpunar 1987: 14, no. 18., pl. 2; Valde-Nowak 1988: 131; Dobeš 1989: 47, no. P/9.

50 Cabalska 1969, 1972; Wałowy 1974.

51 Henne am Rhyn 1886; Blume 1909: 25. no. Id 1090; Kossinna 1917: 151; Kostrzewski 1923: 37, fig. 96, 1924: 163, fig. 2, 185, no. 10, 1927: 214; Tunia and Parczewski 1977: 158; Gedl 2004: 24, no. 14; Matuschik 1997: 87, 103 no. 54, fig. 6; Czekaj-Zastawny, Kabaciński and Terberger 2011: 50; Kowalski *et al.* 2017: table 1.

52 Metal analyses have surprisingly revealed 3,6% tin content in the copper alloy used to make this axe, which, if true, suggests that this is one of the earliest tin bronzes in Europe. See Krause 2003: 212, fig. 192; Kowalski *et al.* 2006: 106, tab. 2; Ramsdorf 2017: 199, no. 1.

53 Much 1893: 46; Kostrzewski 1924: 184, no. 12; Szpunar 1987: 19, no. 72–73; Schmitz 2004: tabl. 75, no. 2031–2032.

54 Lissauer 1887: 102, no. 36; Chmielewski 1906: 71–73; Kostrzewski 1924: 183f., no. 1; Šturms 1936: 79f.; Szpunar 1987: 15, no. 37; Suchy *et al.* 2016.

of the lake south west of the farmstead but also to its north in an area of indeterminate drainage near the large glacial erratic which gives the place its name. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition in wet sediment, brown patina. Collection/Museum: Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu, no. 868.

I/7. Cracow-Płaszów, Małopolskie Province (Fig. 6).[55] Description: Copper hammer-axe type Şira. Chronology: Late 4th / early 5th millennium. Context: Wet. Deposition in a major river or on its wet margin. Axe head found near the main building of the Wisła (Vistula) harbour, before 1935. The inner urban harbour complex at Płaszów is located on the bend of the Vistula just downstream from the historic city centre. It was dredged out of an old marshy oxbow of the river which was still visible at the beginning of the last century. This makes it likely that the find was originally deposited very near to, or in the river itself. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition in a major river or on its edge. Date: Early 4th millennium. Collection/Museum: Archaeological Museum in Kraków, Inv. no. 7655.

I/8. Krzemienna, Community of Dydnia, District of Brzozów, Podkarpackie Province (Figs 7–8).[56] Description: Copper hammer-axe type Székely-Nádudvar. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Axe head found at the site of the Dydnia/Krzemienna health center during the 1950s and presented to the Museum in Krosno in 1978. The find-spot lies at the bottom of a slope on the left bank of an unnamed stream at the point where it flows into the floodplain of the San River. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition in flowing water or sediment on the edge of a river valley. Collection/Museum: Museum in Krosno, Inv. no. MOK-A-103.

I/9. Krzemów (before 1945 – *Scheiblersburg*), Community of Krzeszyce, District of Sulęcin, Lubuskie Province (Fig. 9).[57] Description: Copper axe-adze type Jászladány. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: This shaft-hole axe with a pristine „as cast" surface was published as coming from Krzeszyce by Gedl in 2004. According to Museum's archives it was in fact found at a site near *Kreischt* (Krzeszyce) which the museum's archives pinpoint to what Driehaus transcribed as *Schefflers Burg*. This obviously refers to *Scheiblersburg* (The Berlin Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte´s archives are written in what can be almost illegible Sütterlin cursive script), now Krzemów, a colony established in the swampy Warta River bottom, which lies 4 km north east of Krzeszyce. Krzemów is stretched out along a levee on the southern banks of the Warta and despite over 150 years of drainage endeavors, was still surrounded by wet meadows of the *Warthebruch* at the close of the 19th century. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition on the edge of a river floodplain. Collection/Museum: Museum für Vor und Frühgeschichte, Berlin, If. 18232.

I/10. Mescherin, Lkr. Uckermark, Brandenburg (Fig. 10).[58] Chronology: Axe blade dredged from the Oder River, near to or on its left bank near Mescherin before 1931 (as the full width of the Oder River belongs to Poland this find can actually be assigned to the Community and District of Gryfino, Zachodniopomorskie Province). Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition in flowing water or on a river's edge. Description: Flat axe blade related to the Bygholm type made of Nógardmarcal copper (FMZM 1563). Date: Probably later 4th millennium. Collection/Museum: Formerly Muzeum Narodowe in Szczecin, PS 528.

I/11. Munina, Community of Jarosław, District of Jarosław, Podkarpackie Province (Fig. 11).[59] Description: Shaft-hole axe related to type Baniabic/Chapayivka. Chronology: Later 4th millennium. Context: Axe blade found by children in the area of the village and initially stored in the village school before being donated by its director to the Museum in Jarosław in 1950. The axe has a well preserved as cast surface and blackish-green patina. Munina lies on the edge of the wet meadows of the San River which are crisscrossed by its former sinuous channels. A wide S-shaped waterlogged oxbow forms the eastern edge of Munina Wielka, the village's southern centre. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool probably from a river or its swampy margins. Collection/Museum: Museum in Jarosław, no. 1056.

I/12. Pamiątkowo, Community of Szamotuły, District of Szamotuły, Wielkopolskie Province (Fig. 12).[60] Description: Flat axe blade type Bytyń. Chronology: Later 4th millennium. Context: Axe blade found during drainage works near the village 1 m under the surface. The village and its fields lie between the margins of the Jezioro Pamiątkowskie and a waterlogged stream bottom tributary whose wet margins have been drained and are now partially cultivated. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition on the edge of a lake or stream.

[55] Jamka 1963: 282, fig. 123; Kostrzewski 1964: 43, 41, fig. 38; Krauss 1971 (Kraków-Podgórze); Tunia and Parczewski 1977: 158 (two axes, Kraków-Podgórze); Gedl 2004: 24, no. 15.

[56] Parczewski 1984: 219, fig. 17, 9; Muzyczuk and Tunia 1992; Gedl 2004: no 13 (type Mezőkeresztes); Pop 2007: 52.

[57] Driehaus 1956; Heeb 2014: no. 1307 (Krzeszyce); Gedl 2004: 22, no. 10, pl. 1 (Krzeszyce).

[58] Kunkel 1931: 37, pl. 27,1; Kersten 1958: 55, no. 531, pl. 52; Otto and Witter 1952: 96, no. 89, fig. 89; Jacobs 1986: no. 108; Szpunar 1987: 16, no. 44, pl. 3; Dobeš 1989: 47, no. DDR/42; Rassmann 1993: 234, no. 3963; Klassen 2000: 350, no. 84; Schmitz 2004: I II, 1027.

[59] Żaki 1955; Kunysz 1959–1960: 366f.; Żaki 1961: 89–90, fig. 1; Kostrzewski 1964: 51, fig. 53; Gedl 2004: 26, no. 20, pl. 3; Klochko and Klochko 2013: 52–55, fig. 11, 5.

[60] Jasnosz 1984: 63; Szpunar 1987: 16, no. 44A, pl. 3.

Collection/Museum: Archaeological Museum in Poznań, now missing.

I/13. Rudna Mała, Community of Głogów Małopolski, District of Rzeszów, Podkarpackie Province (Fig. 13).[61] Description: Small shaft-hole axe related to types Baniabic and Chapayivka. Chronology: Later 4th millennium. Context: Shaft-hole axe found on right bank of the Mrowla/Czarna stream about 300 m upstream (*i.e.*, West) of the bridge in 1947. The axe has brown patina. The stream flows through a wide swampy valley separating Rudna Mała and the village of Rudna Wielka which lies to the south. Deposition type: Single weapon/tool deposition in running water. Collection/Museum: Museum in Rzeszów, Inv. no. 1073.

I/14. Skarbienice (before 1918 also *Skarbenice*), Community of Żnin, District of Żnin, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province (Fig. 14).[62] Description: 1–2: two large copper arm spirals with 18 turns; 3–4: two smaller copper spirals with 14 turns; 5–12: eight small wire spiral tubes /saltaleone; 13: 17 fragments of small wire tubes. Chronology: Probably later 4th millennium. Context: The hoard was found in 1878 two feet under the surface of a small wet meadow near the village. The wet margin of the Jezioro Skarbiński lies on the western edge of the village, and a waterlogged stream bottom which connects a chain of small boggy meadows and ponds to the lake lies to the northeast. This boggy stretch best fits the description "small wet meadow. Deposition type: Jewellery hoard in wet sediment associated with a large lake. Collection/Museum: Archaeological Museum in Poznań.

3rd millennium contexts

I/15. Busówno (formerly *Bussówno*, also *Busivno*), Community of Wierzbica, District of Chełm, Lubelskie Province.[63] Description: Flat copper(?) axe with slightly incurved sides and traces of flange. Szpunar type Brusy. Chronology: Szpunar dates this blade to the Early Bronze Age due to its analogy to the blade from an Únětice barrow at Brusy in Kuyavia[64] yet analogous Type Neyruz blades in southern and south eastern Europe with slight flanges have a much broader dating range beginning as early as the late 4th millennium and lasting into the first half of the second.[65] Context: Axe blade found 1949 in a peat bog. A broad boggy stream bed lies south of the village which still is pockmarked by flooded peat cuttings in its eastern stretch south of the village's outlier Busówno Kolonia. Deposition type: Weapon/tool deposit in wet sediment. Collection/Museum: Regional Museum in Chełm.

I/16. Nowy Dwór (formerly *Neuhof*), Community of Krzywiń, District of Kościan, Wielkopolskie Province.[66] Description: Two neck rings with looped finals, one bracelet with narrow terminals, four willow leaf shaped earrings, as well as a "clay weight" and a "wedge". Chronology: Period I/late 3rd millennium. Context: Found in peat, before 1882. The bronzes lay in a pottery vessel. A broad boggy valley lies just south of the village. Deposition type: Jewellery deposit in a bog. Collection/Museum: Archaeological Museum in Poznań.

I/17. Renice (formerly *Rehnitz bei Soldin*), Community of Myślibórz, District of Myślibórz, Zachodniopomorskie Province.[67] Description: Three copper or bronze arm rings with round section, one miniature massive copper or bronze bracelet, two copper or bronze arm spirals with round section, 12 small rings made of oval thin (beaten?) copper or bronze with flattened "willow leaf" final. Stone artefacts probably associated with the hoard: one stone celt, two stone shaft-hole axe blades. Chronology: „Willow Leaf Horizon" probably second half of the 3rd millennium. Context: Found in a boggy valley formerly called the *Rehnitzer Bruch* between the Łubie Lake and the former *Renicer Kietz-See* north west of the village. The finders reported that the arm spirals were emesched with each other and surrounded the ring ornaments furthermore the stone celt was said to have been found sticking inside one of the spirals. Deposition type: Jewellery deposit in wet sediment possibly standing water. Collection/Museum: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin.

I/18. Worowo (formerly *Wurow*), Community of Łobez, District of Łobez, Zachodniopomorskie Province.[68] Description: Only a crude sketch recording this weapon survives in the archives of the National Museum in Szczecin. The piece seems to have had a mushroom shaped hammer like butt, a pronounced middle encasing the shaft-hole and what looks like a pointed blade. The shaft was made of metal possibly a bronze tube

[61] Żaki 1950; Nosek 1953; Kunysz 1959–1960: 366–367; Żaki 1961: 88–89, fig. 1; Gedl 2004: 25–26, no. 19, pl. 3; Klochko and Klochko 2013: 54, fig. 11, 2.

[62] Feldmanowski and Virchow 1879; Schwartz 1880: 9; Erzepki 1894: 7, pl. 6; Montelius 1900: 20; Kostrzewski 1923: 35, fig. 86–88, 1924: 184, no. 5, 1927: 216, 1955: 61, fig. 123; Czerniak 1980: 151; Pieczyński 1986.

[63] Kostrzewski 1964: 28; Nosek 1951: 93–94, fig. 6; Szpunar 1987: 18, no. 64.

[64] Szpunar 1987: 18.

[65] Mayer 1977: 71–76; Klimscha 2010.

[66] Kostrzewski 1923a: 196; Knapowska-Mikołajczykowa 1957: 66; Sarnowska 1969: 193; Blajer 1990: 123, 215, pl. 63; Blajer 2001: 316, no. 1/43.

[67] Krause and Buchholz 1884: 389; Voß 1887; Buchholz 1927: 51f; Sprockhoff 1956: 1, 3, 53, 209; S. Griesa 1982: 196, no. 205 (Iron Age); Blajer 1990: 5, 129–130, 238, pl. 86, 2001: 316, no. 1/53; I. Griesa 1999: 26, fig. 23 (Iron Age); Piezonka 2005: 146–147, no. 177.

[68] Gedl 2004: 31–32, no. 37, pl. 4.

ending in a button shaped final. Chronology: Gedl relates this weapon to early metal shafted Early Bronze Age halberds, however hammer-shaped buts are completely alien to the halberd repertoire. Save the apparently pointed blade, the proportions of the sketched axe compare closely to late Chalcolithic – 3rd millennium hammer-butted axes which regularly have cast on copper shafts, for instance, the Eschollbrücken axes from Lužice (cat. no. VI/5), Bebra (cat. no. VI/1) and Reiffenhausen.[69] These analogies are particularly close if the axe is seen from the top. Perhaps the sketch is a misguided attempt to combine a top and side view of the piece. Context: found in a bog *ca* 1881. Worowo lies on the edge of the bend of the Rega River whose broad wet meadows form the northern and western edge of the village. Deposition type: Weapon/tool deposit in wet sediment. Collection/Museum: formerly in a Pomeranian private collection, eventually taken to Wiesbaden, now lost.

I/19. Węgliny (formerly *Oegeln / Hugliny*), Community of Gubin, District of Krosno Odrzańskie, Lubuskie Province.[70] Description after Kästner: 1–2: two triangular green stone axes; 3–6: four „pure copper" (sic) axes with slight flanges (Szpunar type Wrocław-Szcztniki); 7: a copper lunula like disk (probably a "willow leaf" hair ring; 8–13: six identical „copper" bracelets; 9–15: seven plain „pure copper"neckrings with looped finals; 16–17: two arm spirals; 18: fragmented bent „copper" rod like pieces seemingly from a ring or rings (eight are illustrated). Chronology: Second half of the 3rd millennium BC. Late Chalcolithic or beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Context: Bronzes found shortly before 1826 at the foot of a prominent hill called *Weinberg,* while digging a drainage ditch on the western edge of the Wodra River valley between Węgliny and Wielotów (formerly *Weltho*) before 1826. The ditch segment, which still exists, lies northeast of the village, *ca* 10 meters from the valley's edge. The artefacts were found lying in „fat earth". One spiral, three axe blades and three bent rods were packed into an arm spiral neckrings and armrings were placed inside each other. Collection/Museum: Originally curated by Herr von Lindenau, possibly aquired by Gustav Klemm for his collection in Dresden at a later date, now lost.

I/20. Żnin (formerly also *Znin*), Community of Żnin, District of Żnin, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[71] Description: 1–2: two copper or bronze arm spirals, 3: small copper or bronze spiral, 4: stone hammer or shaft-hole axe. Chronology: Chalcolitic? Possibly later 4th millennium. Context: Hoard found in peat before 1880. Żnin lies in a valley bottom between the greater and lesser Żnin lakes both of which have broad boggy margins. Deposition type: Mixed hoard in wet sediment on the periphery of a lake or in standing water. Collection/Museum: Unclear.

List II. 5th and early 4th millennium BC copper shaft-hole axes and adzes in Poland (with distances from a major river)

II/1. Antoniny, Community of Szamocin, District of Chodzież, Wielkopolskie Province = I/9. Type: Copper axe-adze type Jászladány. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: Noteć River (0 km – Noteć).

II/2. Byczyna (environs of), District of Kluczbork, Opolskie Province.[72] Type: Axe/adze type Jászladány. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: Unclear (*ca* 50 km – Oder River).

II/3. Glinki, Community of Koronowo, District of Bydgoszcz, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[73] Type: Hammer/axe type Crestur. Chronology: Late 5th early 4th millennium. Context: Unclear, probably dry with riparian affinities. Glinki´s fields lie on the forested high terrace which lies on the southern edge of the broad Vistula valley between Bydgoszcz and Toruń (*ca* 10 km – Vistula).

II/4. Hanna, Community of Hanna, District of Włodawa, Lubelskie Province.[74] Type: Hammer-axe type Pločnik. Chronology: Late 5th early 4th millennium. Context: Dry with riparian affinities. Found ploughing dry ground on the western edge of the Bug River bottom (*ca* 2 km – Bug).

II/5. Hłudno, Community of Nozdrzec, District of Brzozów, Podkarpackie Province.[75] Type: Hammer-axe type Vidra, variant A. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Dry with riparian affinities – eventually from a grave. The adze was found while plowing a field on a spur overlooking the San River in 1964. Alleged associated finds include an armring, rod or chissel and another copper object (*ca* 4 km – San).

II/6. Hłudno, Community of Nozdrzec, District of Brzozów, Podkarpackie Province.[76] Type: Hammer-axe type Székely Náduvar. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Dry with riparian affinities. Found while digging

[69] Grote 2004: fig. 1.

[70] Kästner 1826: 211, pl. 3; Jentsch 1889: 21; Bohm 1935: 103, no. 16, 109, no. 100, pl. 7/19; Sarnowska 1969: 352, no. 363, fig. 161/c; Szpunar 1987: 23, no. 118–120, pl. 44; Zich 1996: 582–583, no. R111; Gerloff 1997; Gedl 2002: 17, no. 88–94, pl. 16.

[71] Sarnowska 1969: 146; Blajer 1990: 149, no. 159; Blajer 2001: 322, no. 4, 33.

[72] Gedl 2004: no. 12.

[73] Gedl 2004: no. 7a; Kowalski *et al.* 2017: table 1.

[74] Krukowski 1920: 90; Kostrzewski 1964: 34, 101, fig. 9,8; Tunia and Parczewski 1977: 158; Gedl 2004: 19 no. 1.

[75] Gedl 2004: 20, no. 5; Valde-Nowak 1988: 25, 129, pl. 5,3; Tunia and Parczewski 1977: fig. 2; Łęczycki 2005: 64.

[76] Gedl 2004: no. 8; Valde-Nowak 1988: 25, 129; Tunia and Parczewski 1977: fig. 1, map – fig. 3; Łęczycki 2005: 64.

a foundation for a home 1 m deep in 1970 on the dry edge of the Baryczka Stream valley shortly before it flows into the San River valley (*ca* 2 km – San).

II/7. Jezioro Gopło, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province = I/3. Type: Hammer-axe head type Şiria. Chronology: Late 5th – earlier 4th millennium. Context: Gopło Lake or its margins (0 km – Gopło/Noteć).

II/8. Jordanów Śląski, Community of Jordanów Śląski, District of Wrocław, Dolnośląskie Province.[77] Type: Hammer-axe type Vidra. Chronology: Second half of the 5th millennium.Context: Dry. Found by a worker north-east of Jordanów Śląski near Popowice not far from the Chalcolithic cemetery and settlement site on Góra Biskupice, formerly known as the *Bischkowitzer Berg*, before 1901 (*ca* 30 km – Odra).

II/9. Koniecmosty, Community of Wiślica, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province.[78] Type: Axe-adze type Jászladány. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: Grave with riparian affinities. Found in what was probably an inhumation grave associated with human bones and a copper bracelet. The site lies on top of hill overlooking the broad river bottom of the Nida River on the edge of a Neolithic settlement (*ca* 0.5 km – Nida).

II/10. Cracow-Kurdwanów, site 8, Małopolskie Province.[79] Type: Hammer-axe type Székely-Nádudvar. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Dry with riparian affinities. Lengyel Culture settlement on the dry edge of Wilga River valley close to confluence with Vistula (*ca* 4 km – Vistula).

II/11. Cracow-Płaszów, Małopolskie Province = I/7. Type: Hammer-axe type Şira. Chronology: Early 4th millennium. Context: River Vistula (0 km – Vistula).

II/12. Karłowice Małe, Community of Kamiennik, District of Nysa, Opolskie Province.[80] Type: Hammer axe type Szendrő A with an as cast surface. Chronology: Second half of the 5th millennium. Context: Dry with riparian affinities. Found during agricultural work 2003/2004, probably on a slope overlooking a small river valley, green patina (58 km – Odra).

II/13. Krzemienna, Community of Dydnia, District of Brzozów, Podkarpackie Province = I/8. Type: Székely-Nádudvar. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Stream edge, probably wet on the margin of the San River (0.4 km – San).

II/14. Krzemów, Community of Krzeszyce, District of Sulęcin, Lubuskie Province = I/9. Type: Copper axe-adze type Jászladány. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: River Warta (0 km – Warta).

II/15. Książnice, Community of Pacanów, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province.[81] site 2, Grave 3. Type: Carefully finished shafted copper axe adze type Şiria. Chronology: Late 5th early 4th millennium. Context: Grave, dry with riparian affinities: inhumation Grave 3/2002 from the Lublin-Volhynian Culture (LVC) cemetery on hilltop northern edge of the Vistula River flood plain. Grave goods from this disturbed, and possibly partially robbed, inhumation include three flint blades debitage and a two-handled vessel. Further LVC graves with copper grave goods from this site include Grave 4 with a copper chisel and Grave 5 with a fan-shaped flat axe type Felsőgalla and the wealthy female Grave 8 with ostentations jewellery (1.5 km – Vistula).

II/16. Opatowice (formerly *Ottwitz*), Community of Borów, District of Strzelin, Dolnośląskie Province.[82] Type: Axe-hammer type Vidra. Chronology: Second half of the 5th millennium. Context: Dry, found on the hilltop of Szubieniczna Góra (formerly *Galgenberg*), possibly grave find. The site was later occupied by a Únětice Culture to Hallstatt period cemetery (20 km – Oder).

II/17. Pakość (environs of) or Kuyavia, Community of Pakość, District of Inowrocław, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[83] Type: Adze-axe type Crestur. Chronology: Late 5th, possibly early 4th millennium. Context: Unclear. The water-rich area of Pakość lies on the western bank of the boggy Noteć River valley and the northern tip of the Pakoskie Lake (1 km – Noteć).

II/18. Radojewice, Community of Dąbrowa Biskupia, District of Inowrocław, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[84] Type: Copper adze-axe type Jászladány. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: Unpublished (6 km – Noteć).

II/19. Radzików (formerly *Rudelsdorf*), Community of Łagiewniki, District of Dzierżoniów, Dolnośląskie Province.[85] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Pločnik. Chronology: Late 5th early 4th millennium. Context: Unclear, probably dry. A description in inventory book of the Berlin Muse-

[77] Seger 1904: 51–52; Gedl 2004: no. 6; Łęczycki 2005: 54–56.
[78] Gedl 2004: no. 9; Graba-Łęcka and Szymański 1957.
[79] Przybyła and Suder 2002a, 2002b.
[80] Dobrzański 2014; Adamczak *et al.* 2015; Suchy *et al.* 2016.
[81] Wilk 2004, 2006, 2014a, 2018; Łęczycki 2005: 62 (Pacanów); Wilk, Haduch and Szczepanek 2006; Zakościelna 2009, 2010: 270, pl. 35; Kadrow 2011: 6–7.
[82] Mertens 1899, 1906: 34, fig. 51; Montelius 1900: 216, 218, fig. 549; Seger 1899: 234–238, 1904: 52; Tunia and Parczewski 1977: 158; Butent-Stefaniak 1997: 129; Gedl 2004: no. 2 (type Pločnik); Łęczycki 2005: 56–57.
[83] Gedl 2004: no. 7.
[84] Łęczycki 2005: 65.
[85] Łęczycki 2005: 54, fig. 8/1; Boege 1936: 85.

um für Vor- und Frühgeschichte states that it was found within the parish boundries of Radzików, which lies in dry hilly terrain transversed by a very narrow stream with dry margins (40 km – Oder).

II/20. Ruszkowice (formerly *Ruschkowitz*), Community of Niemcza, District of Dzierżoniów, Dolnośląskie Province.[86] Type: Hammer-axe type Crestur. Chronology: late 5th millennium possibly early 4th millennium. Context: Dry. Found before 1903 by the civil servant and manor owner E. Schöltzel in his garden (= the garden of the manor house) which lies on a low spur (55 km – Oder).

II/21. Skomorochy Małe, Community of Grabowiec, District of Zamość, Lubelskie Province.[87] Type: Copper hammer-axe type Pločnik (Gedl) or type Székely-Nádudvar (Pop). Chronology: Late 5th millennium possibly. Context: Dry, from the site of a later Mierzanowice Culture cemetery site (40 km – Bug).

II/22. Starczów (formerly *Alt-Altmannsdorf*), Community of Kamieniec Ząbkowicki, District of Ząbkowice Śląskie, Dolnośląskie Province.[88] Type: Adze-axe type Jászladány, with brown to green patina. Chronology: Late 5th millennium possibly early 4th millennium. Context: Dry, found by the manor owner Josef Bittner in 1904 during the demolition of a house on his property, 1.50–2 m deep in the ground (60 km – Oder).

II/23. Stążki (formerly *Stonsk*), Community of Świekatowo, District of Świecie, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[89] Type: Probably an early axe /adze. Only sketches based on poor quality photos of wooden copies of this implement and an associated flat axe survive. Chronology: Unclear, possibly late 5th – early 4th millennium BC. Context: Probably dry-hoard. Found in 1855 under the roots of an oak stump together with a flat celt (5 km – Vistula).

II/24. Sucha Wielka (formerly *Groß Zauche*), Community of Zawonia, District of Trzebnica, Dolnośląskie Province.[90] Description: Hammer axe type Sucha Wielka related to type Handlová axes. Chronology: First half of the 4th millennium. Context: Dry, said to have been found during fieldwork before 1904 (25 km – Oder).

II/25. Szczecin-Śmierdnica (formerly *Mühenbeck*), Zachodniopomorskie Province.[91] Type: Unique hammer-shaft-hole axe „type Szczecin-Śmierdnica". Chronology: Probably early 4th millennium. Context: Dry. Hoard found in 1936 under a red granite boulder composed of the axe and a copper flat celt (type Bytyń, variant A) in dry soil midway between the Oder estuary and Lake Miedwie (9 km – Oder).

II/26. Wielkopolska/Great Poland.[92] Type: Copper hammer-axe type Şira. Chronology: Early 4th millennium. Context: Unclear.

II/27. Wiślica (surroundings of), Community of Wiślica, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province.[93] Type: Hammer axe type Székely-Nádudvar. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Unclear – possibly wet. The axe has brown patina. Wiślica lies on the eastern edge of the Nida River bottom opposite the funerary site at Koniecmosty from which a Jászladány adze was recovered (cat. no. II/9) (1 km – Nida).

List III. Axe-adzes and shaft-hole axes of the later 4th – Early 3rd Millennium BC in Poland

III/1. Kałdus, Community of Chełmno, District of Chełmno, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[94] Type: Unique hammer axe with clear traces of usage. Chronology: Late 4th millennium? The unique archaic-looking axe may have been an antique when deposited. Context: Dry with riparian affinities small hoard in a pit in a late TRB settlement (site 2) on a prominent hill top (Góra św. Wawrzyńca), part of which was later the site of a Piast stronghod overlooking the Vistula. Associated artefacts: copper type Usatovo dagger and double spiral with twisted link.

III/2. Kwieciszewo, Community of Mogilno, District of Mogilno, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[95] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Dumbrăvioara. Chronology: Late 3rd – early 2nd millennium. Context: Probably dry with wetland affinities; found during plowing. The village´s fields lie on the edge of the Noteć River bottom near the tip of the Bronisławskie Lake.

III/3. Leszno (formerly also *Lissa*), Wielkopolskie Province.[96] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Dumbrăvioara. Context: Unclear, probably found in the wider surroundings of the town.

[86] Anonymus 1903: 232; Seger 1909; Kostrzewski 1924: 186; Sarnowska 1969: II/96; Tunia and Parczewski 1977: 158; Gedl 2004: 19, no. 3 (type Pločnik); Łęczycki 2005: 53–54; Czarniak 2008.

[87] Nosek 1957: 257, pl. 20, 3; Kostrzewski 1964: 66, 117, pl. 25, 7; Przybyła and Suder 2002b: 178; Gedl 2004: no. 4 (type Pločnik); Łęczycki 2005: 64; Pop 2007: 52 (Székely-Nádudvar). For the Mierzanowice Culture cemetery, see Ślusarski 1956.

[88] Seger 1909; Gedl 2004: no. 11; Łęczycki 2005: 62.

[89] Gedl 2004: 28, no. 27; Wegner 1872: 54 fn 3, fig. 18 (celt), fig. 19 (adze); Lissauer 1887: 87–88, no. 14.

[90] Seger 1904: 51; Mertins 1906: 34, fig. 52; Gedl 2004: no. 18; Łęczycki 2005: 58–62.

[91] Kunkel 1936: 392, fig. 4; Kersten 1958; Gedl 2004: no. 17; Szpunar 1987: 16, no. 55.

[92] Gedl 2004: no. 16.

[93] Gągorowska-Chudobska 2009, 2010.

[94] Adamczak *et al.* 2015.

[95] Gedl 2004: 27, no. 21.

[96] Gedl 2004: 27, no. 22.

III/4. Munina, Podkarpackie Province = I/11. Type: Shaft-hole axe type Baniabic.

III/5. Rudna Mała, Podkarpackie Province = I/13. Type: Shaft-hole axe related to type Baniabic.

III/6. Szczytna, Community of Pawłosiów, District of Jarosław, Podkarpackie Province.[97] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Dumbrăvioara/Sáromberke. Context: Dry, site 6 on a low spur *ca* 4 km west of Munina. Wealthy Corded Ware Culture inhumation. Chronology: Mid-3rd millennium.

List IV. Epi-Chalcolithic / Early Bronze Age shaft-hole axes from later 3rd millennium BC from Poland

IV/1. Ośno, Community of Aleksandrów Kujawski, District of Aleksandrów Kujawski, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province.[98] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Stubło (Steblevka). Context: Unclear, probably dry; Ośno lies on a *plateau* 7 km west of the Vistula River.

IV/2. Strzelin, Dolnośląkie Province.[99] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Stubło. Context: Probably from the surroundings of the town, single find.

IV/3. Worowo (formerly *Wurow*), Community of Łobez, District of Łobez, Zachodniopomorskie Province = I/18. Context: Wet, bog.

IV/4. Wrocław-Popowice, Dolnośląskie Province.[100] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Stubno. Context: Found before 1888, once in a private collection in Borów (*Markt Bohrau*) in Silesia, copy made for Altertumsmuseum Breslau (Wrocław). Museum in Wrocław 33:29 (Gedl 2004) or 37:16 (Demidziuk 2004). Popowice lies one kilometre north east of Jordanów Śląski – the findspot of a Vidra axe (cat. no. II/8). The axe was said to have been found on the road joining the two villages, perhaps there is a conflation of find reports here. If not, it is highly likely that the axe came from a dry context on or near the chalcolithic hill top settlement Biskupice Góra.

List V. Hammer axe and adze axes from wetland contexts outside of Poland

V/1. Békés Povád, com. Békés, Hungary.[101] Type: Jászladány. Context: Found in the triangle between the Körös River and street to Köröslany.

V/2. Budapest Szentendre, Hungary.[102] Type: Székely-Náduvar. Context: Found in the gravel of the Danube shortly before 2003 wood remains of the shaft were still preserved.

V/3. Herrsching am Ammersee, „Kiental", Bavaria.[103] Type: Unique hammer axe of the Bodrogkerestur Culture period. Context: The Kienbach stream flows through the wet margins of the Ammersee and the hammer axe was found encrusted with calcium carbonate making it sure it was found in a wet context.

V/4. Lábatlan, com. Komarom, Hungary.[104] Type: Tărgu Ocna-Nógrádmarcal. Context: Near the southern bank of the Danube.

V/5. Magyarcsanád-Bökény, com. Csongrád, Hungary.[105] Type: Jászladany. Context: Bank of the river Maros.

V/6. Petreu, jud. Bihor, Rumania.[106] Type: Two type Mezökerestetes axes. Context: Found in sand from the valley bottom of the Barcău River.

V/7. Olomouc-Holic, okr. Olomouc, Moravia.[107] Type: Pločnik. Context: Flood plain of the Morava River between two ponds.

V/8. Szeged Tápé, com. Csongrad, Hungary.[108] Type: Jászladány. Context: Found in the triangle formed by the confluence of the Tisza and Maros rivers.

V/9. Velké-Losiny, okr. Šumperk.[109] Type: Two or three copper adze axes related to type Jászladány. Context: Said to come from the Dešná stream bed. The find circumstances of these axes are somewhat confused.

V/10. Poiana, jud. Bihor, Rumania.[110] Type: Jászladány. Context: Found in the bed of the Bistra River.

V/11. Majdanpek-Pustinac, okr. Bor, Serbia.[111] Type: Jászladány, Context: Found in the river Pek.

V/12. Svilaj-Bosanski (Gornji and Donji Svilaj), općini Odžak, Bosnia.[112] Type: Jászladány. Context: Found in a spring or well.

[97] Czopek 2011: 249, photo 96; Jarosz and Machnik 2017.
[98] Gedl 2004: 27, no. 24.
[99] Gedl 2004: 27, no. 26.
[100] Gedl 2004: 27, no. 25 (Radzików/Rudelsdorf); Demidziuk 2004: 159.
[101] Patay 1984:78, no. 411.
[102] Szathmáry 2013.
[103] Pászthory and Mayer 1998: 19, no. 1.
[104] Patay 1984: 91, no. 518; Heeb 2014: no. 561.
[105] Patay 1984: 71, no. 337.
[106] Vulpe 1975: 29, no. 59A–B.
[107] Dobeš and Peška 2010.
[108] Patay 1984: 71, no. 356.
[109] Říhovský 1992: 33–34, no. 21–22; Halma 2013.
[110] Fazecaş 2005.
[111] Antonović 2012.
[112] Žeravica 1993: no. 18.

List VI. Central European shaft-hole axes of the late 4th and 3rd millennia from wet contexts

VI/1. Bebra, Lkr. Hersfeld-Rotenburg, Hesse.[113] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Eschollbrücken with copper shaft, corroded brown (water) patina. Context: Wet. Found in the Nengerbach stream near the Bebra Castle.

VI/2. Eldagsen, Stadt Springe, Reg. Hannover, Lower Saxony.[114] Type: Late Baniabic style copper shaft-hole axe. Context: Bog find. The village lies within an arc described by the waterlogged Haller valley.

VI/3. Eschollbrücken, Lkr. Darmstadt, Hesse.[115] Type: Two copper axes type Eschollbrücken with bog patina. Context: Bog find from the „Eschollbrücker Moor", 1857.

VI/4. Ketzin, Lkr. Havelland, Brandenburg.[116] Type: Double axe type Zabitz. Context: Found in sand under peat, 12 feet underground in the Havel´s valley bottom.

VI/5. Lužice, okr. Hodonín, Moravia.[117] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Eschollbrücken. Context: From laminated sediments on the bottom of a drained pond in 1886. The Kjiovka stream valley, just west of the town, is still the site of dozens of fish ponds impounded by a maze of dams.

VI/6. Mainz (environs of), Rheinland-Palatinate.[118] Type: Shaft-hole axe type Eschollbrücken, variant Köttingen. Context: Probably from the Rhine.

VI/7. Prinzhöfte, Kr. Oldenburg, Lower Saxony.[119] Type: Double axe type Zabitz with dark water patina. Context: Found in a sod stack cut from the wet meadow of the Dehne River bottom.

VI/8. Pyrmont-Holzhausen, Landkreis Hameln-Pyrmont, Lower Saxony.[120] Type: Double axe type Zabitz. Context: Found in a bog called the „Holzhäuser Bruch" during ditch digging in 1900.

VI/9. Weeze, Kr. Geldern, North Rhineland-Westphalia.[121] Type: Copper shaft-hole axe type Eschollbrücken (variant Köttingen) with dark brown patina. Context: Found in a large bog known as the „Wemberbruch bei Baal" in 1912.

VI/10. possibly Worowo (= cat. no. I/18).

[113] Kibbert 1980: 26, no. I/6; Görner and Oschmann 2011.
[114] Laux 2000: 192, no. 1060.
[115] Kibbert 1980: 25, no. 1–2.
[116] Bohm 1935: pl. 5,8; Rassmann 1993: 232, no. 3927.
[117] Říhovský 1992:40, no. 38; Šebela 1999: 96, no. 174, pl. 51.
[118] Kibbert 1984: 25–26, no. 3; Wegner 1976; Hansen 2012: 36.
[119] Laux 2000: 189, no. 1054.
[120] Laux 2000: 189, no. 1054.
[121] Kibbert 1980: 26, no. 5.

List VII. Possible and certain Eneolithic / Early Chalcolithic (5th to mid 4th millennium) graves with copper weapons from Poland

VII/1. Dobkowice, Community of Kobierzyce, District of Wrocław, Dolnośląskie Province, Grave of 1971.[122] Type: Copper flat axe type Strzelin. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Inhumation grave, dry. Found by a farmer, crouched inhumation accompanied by (at least) two vessels, fragment of stone axe, 13 flint tools, including 11 blades, two copper spectacle pendents saltaleone, two copper (arm?) bands.

VII/2. Domasław, Community of Kobierzyce, District of Wrocław, Dolnośląskie Province,site 10/11/12, excavation 2006–2007, Feature 13123.[123] Type: Small tapered copper flat axe with oval section. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Inhumation grave, dry. One of 25 richly furnished Jordanów Culture graves excavated in 2006–2008 in lieu of the construction of the Wrocław ring road. Grave/feature no. 13123 was a crouched inhumation of a 45–50 year old male which was accompanied by a pottery vessel set, an antler axe, a flint sickle and flint blades, a bone composite artefact including boar`s tusks, the copper axe and a copper bracelet.

VII/3. Hłudno, Community of Nozdrzec, District of Brzozów, Podkarpackie Province = II/5. Type: Adze-hammer type Vidra, variant A. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Probably from a funeral context.

VII/4. Koniecmosty, Community of Wiślica, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province = II/9. Type: Axe-adze hammer axe type Jászladány. Chronology: Late 5th – early 4th millennium BC. Context: Probably from an inhumation grave.

VII/5. Książnice, Community of Pacanów, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province, site 2, Grave 3/2004 = II/5. Type: Carefully finished shafted copper axe adze type Şiria. Chronology: Late 5th millennium. Context: Inhumation grave from a Lublin-Volhynian Culture cemetery.

VII/6. Książnice, Community of Pacanów, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province, site 2, Grave 4/2004.[124] Type: Chisel-like thin square-sectioned axe. Chronology: Late 5th early 4th millennium. Context: Grave, dry with riparian affinities: inhumation Grave 4 from the Lublin-Volhynian Culture (LVC). Inhumation grave with three vessels, 16 trapezoidal projectile points, two flint

[122] Lech and Noworyta 1979; Szpunar 1987: 13, no. 11; Furmanek *et al.* 2013.
[123] Furmanek and Lasak 2017; Mozgała-Swacha 2017; on the site, see Mozgała and Murzyński 2012.
[124] Wilk 2004: fig. 16, 2018; Zakościelna 2010: 263f., pl. 36.

blades. As in Grave 5 and probably disturbed Grave 3, the copper weapon lies between the head of the deceased and a pottery vessel.

VII/7. Książnice, Community of Pacanów, District of Busko Zdrój, Świętokrzyskie Province, site 2, Grave 5/2004 = II/15.[125] Type: Flat axe with fan-shaped blade type Felsőgalla. Chronology: Late 5th early 4th millennium. Context: Grave, dry with riparian affinities: inhumation Grave 3 from the Lublin-Volhynian Culture (LVC) cemetery.

VII/8. Opatowice, Community of Borów, District of Strzelin, Dolnośląskie Province = II/16. Type: Axe-hammer type Vidra. Chronology: Second half of the 5th millennium. Context: Dry, possibly grave, found on the hilltop of Szubieniczna Góra occupied by a Únětice Culture to Hallstatt Period cemetery.

VII/9. Skomorochy Małe, Community of Grabowiec, District of Zamość, Lubelskie Province = II/21. Type: Copper hammer-axe type Pločnik (Gedl) or type Székely-Nádudvar (Pop). Chronology: Late 5th millennium possibly. Context: Possible grave, found on the site of a later Mierzanowice Culture cemetery.

VII/10. Silesia. Type: Copper flat axe.[126] Context: Said to have been found together with two spectacle pendants, a copper sheet spiral, sheet fragment with pointed end. The inventory is all but identicle to that of Dobkowice. Chronology: Probably Jordanów Culture, late 5th millennium.

[125] Wilk 2004, 2006, 2014a, 2018; Łęczycki 2005: 62 (Pacanów); Wilk *et al.* 2006; Zakościelna 2010: 264f., pl. 37; Kadrow 2011: 6–7.

[126] Szpunar 1987: N. 83.

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"Asses were buried with him". Equids as markers of sacred space in the third and second millennia BC in the Eastern Mediterranean

Laerke Recht

Introduction

The death of Ur-Nammu and his descent to the netherworld records that at Ur-Nammu's burial, "asses were buried with him".[1] Donkeys and other equids increasingly became a part of human lives in the third millennium BC in the Near East and made their impact in the Aegean beginning in the second millennium BC. Equids performed a number of roles, some of which I will examine here. The main focus of this paper, however, is on their symbolic and religious significance, when they are placed within or designate sacred space in human mortuary contexts. In the process, I discuss some of the ways in which equids influenced and played a part in human life and death. I will be looking at the areas of the Eastern Mediterranean that includes the ancient Levant, Syria and Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete.

Species

The term "equid" refers to members of the *Equidae* family. The discussion here involves *Equus caballus* (the domestic horse), *Equus asinus* (the domestic ass or donkey), and *Equus hemionus* (a wild donkey, also called onager, wild ass or hemione).[2] Along with these are the highly prized hybrids, usually either donkey X onager or more rarely horse X donkey (mule/hinny).

In many cases, we are not able to identify the species more specifically than to say it is an "equid". This applies not only to faunal remains, but also to iconography and textual sources. For faunal remains, this is partly because many animal bones have not been examined by experts. Even when they have been, it can sometimes be quite difficult to identify the species and there is still not complete agreement on the methods that can be used to do so. Identifying hybrids is especially difficult.[3] The same can be said for artistic material, where the identifiers that might be used for determining species are often missing, not clear or muddled. Hybrids are again the most difficult to identify because their features lie between those of the others. In cuneiform and Linear B, some species have been identified, but many are still uncertain.[4]

Identification

Visual and physical characteristics that can be used for determining species include:

- The mane – whether it is erect, lying down or flowing. Usually only horses have a flowing mane, although they do not always have this quality. What can be said is that a flowing or hanging mane almost certainly belongs to a horse; but the opposite is less certain (*i.e.*, that an erect mane excludes the horse from identification). The mane continuing over the crown of the head and onto the forehead is characteristic of horses.
- The tail – whether it is full or with a tuft at the end, and its length. Horses have the fullest tail, but it may be braided and thus appear thinner at the top. Donkeys and onagers have tufted tails, while onagers may have longer and more fully tufted tails.
- How elegant or gracile the animal is. Horses are usually the most gracile, followed by onagers. They may be depicted with more slender bodies and longer legs.
- Markings in the fur, for example the dorsal stripe, a dark line along the spine. This is rarely shown; it is especially a characteristic of onagers and donkeys but can also appear on horses. The shoulder stripe is most common for donkeys.
- The shape and length of ears and muzzle. Donkeys have the longest ears, and a pronounced upper muzzle may indicate donkey, onager or hybrid, while a narrow muzzle may indicate horse.

Since there is great variation within each species, these characteristics are guidelines rather than strict rules. Evidence for interaction with humans include the following archaeological and iconographical features:

[1] Kramer 1967: 118, line 71.

[2] The hemione/onager is sometimes considered part of *Equus asinus*. Zebras are also part of the *Equidae* family, but they are not discussed here as they are not relevant.

[3] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 17–32.

[4] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 149–151.

Fig. 1. Map showing geographical distribution of sites with burials with equid remains (drawn by L. Recht)

- gear intended to control or direct the animal, such as halter, bridle, harness or saddle;
- physical changes such as nostril slitting, wear on the teeth or genital contraptions;
- association with chariot and other vehicles;
- indications of grooming or decoration, such as braided manes or tails as well as elaborate gear designed for presentation.

None of these interactive indicators are exclusive to equids, however, and can therefore only be used for understanding the human-animal relationship, not for identifying species. They are, however, revealing of the type of relationship and suggest how animals featured in human lives, and how this bears on their role in sacred space.

Geographical distribution

Fig. 1 shows the geographical area discussed in this article, and within it, the distribution of sites where equid bones have been found in association with human burials. This is a rather large geographical area, covering about 1500 years, from around 2600 to 1100 BC.[5] Even though quite a few sites are marked, it should be noted that the practice of including equid remains in human burials or mortuary rituals was never particularly common, and appears to have been especially linked to wealthy members of society. It is a very distinctive practice. At certain sites, equids seem to have had special significance, as they are found in unusually large concentrations. Among them are Dendra (Cat. G6), Tell Madhhur (Cat. I3), Abu Salabikh (Cat. I7), Tell Umm el-Marra (Cat. S2), Jericho (Cat. L1) and Tell el-'Ajjul (Cat. L2).[6]

The chronological distribution of the sites (Fig. 2)[7] shows that, within the area concerned, the practice first occurs in the Near East, especially in southern Mesopotamia around the area of Kish, during late Early Dynastic II or the early part of Early Dynastic III (Cat. I2). In contrast, the coastal Levantine area, along with Cyprus and Greece, have more instances of equid interments in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. In Greece itself, most horse interments are from the Late Bronze Age. The practice thus seems to move from east to west, but it is not clear if this is the result of direct influence.

[5] The present paper is only concerned with equids in the sacred space of mortuary contexts, but equids also denotate non-mortuary sacred spaces. Examples come from the *abi* / Underworld channel at Tell Mozan (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2004; Collins 2004), Tell Brak Areas FS and SS (Clutton-Brock 2001; Oates *et al.* 2001: 41–92), and Tell Haror Area K Sacred Precinct (Klenck 2002: 39–90; Bar-Oz *et al.* 2013). I am not concerned with the origins of human – equid relations here: for such treatments Anthony 2007, and Zarins and Hauser 2014 provide excellent discussions.

[6] Cat. numbers refer to the sites listed in the catalogue at the end of this paper.

[7] Some contexts have multiple or prolonged dates, so that the equid remains cannot be more specifically dated within the span. I have taken a conservative approach, using the latest date for the distributional map.

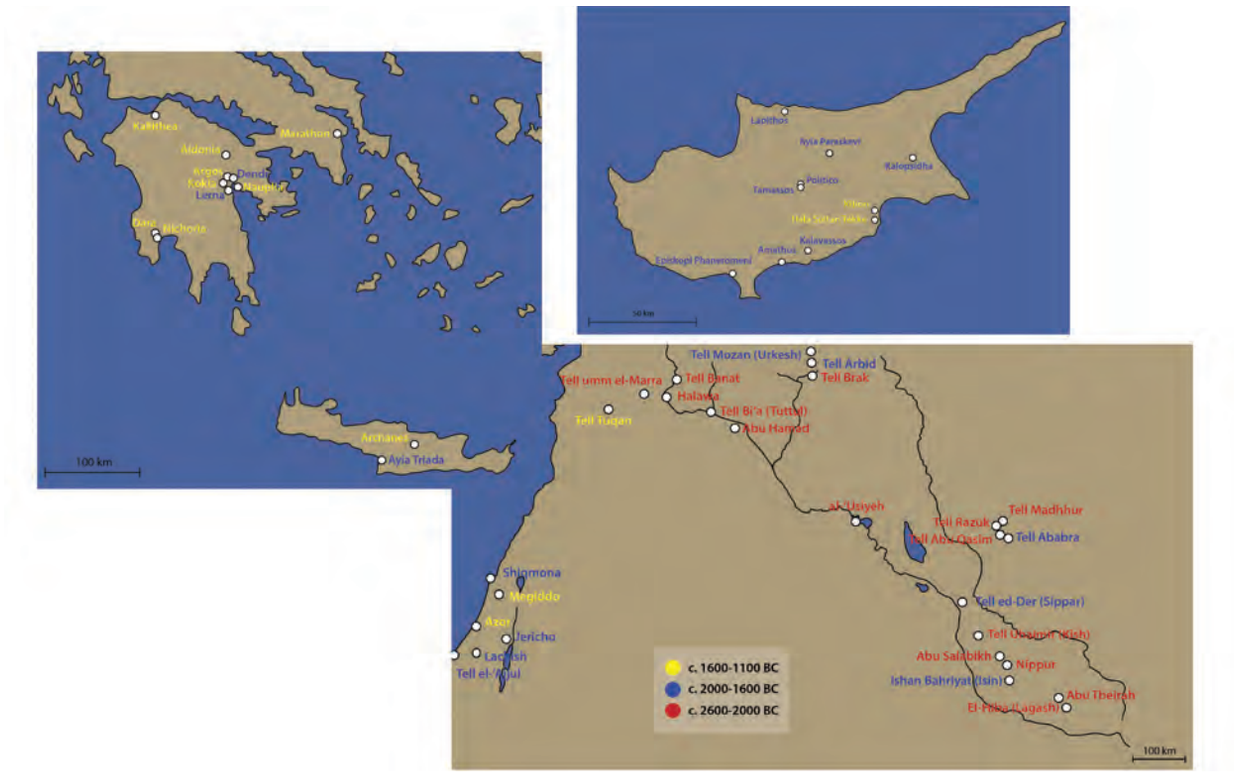

Fig. 2. Map showing chronological distribution of sites with burials with equid remains (drawn by L. Recht)

As far as it is discernible,[8] the species distribution seems to correspond to the chronological time line, in which donkeys and onagers are more common in the beginning of the Bronze Age, and horses become predominant in the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 3). In the Near East, donkeys are most common, with a few instances of onagers and hybrids identified or suspected at Al Hiba (Cat. I1), Kish (Cat. I2B), Tell Madhhur (Cat. I3B), Tell Umm el-Marra (Cat. S2), and Abu Hamad (Cat. S6). Only one specimen of horse comes from mortuary contexts in the Near East (Cat. L2B).[9] In Cyprus, we mostly find horses, but donkeys are also reported. Interestingly, at Hala Sultan Tekke, both species are found in the same context: the disturbed remains of two donkeys and one horse were found in the Late Bronze Age Tomb 2 at the site (Cat. C8A).

In Greece, we mainly have horses, although the faunal remains in many places have not been examined by experts, so it is possible that other equids are present.[10] This suggests that if this practice in the west was influenced by the east, a transformation took place over space and time, during which the preference moved from donkeys/hybrids to horses. This general image largely corresponds to the iconographic and textual evidence. The iconography from Greece almost invariably and quite clearly depicts horses, while donkeys or hybrids are preferred in the iconography of the Near East, although far from exclusively, and in many cases the depictions are not clear-cut enough to make secure identifications.

Complete equids

When equids are found in association with human burials, they are most commonly of complete or nearly complete skeletons (Fig. 4). This can be contrasted with other animal remains like cattle, sheep and goat, which are likely to represent joints of meat.[11] The exception is canine remains. They are less frequent than equid remains in mortuary contexts, but when they are found, they are also often complete or nearly complete. They seem to have a special association with equids. If parts of equids are missing, it is most often the skull, or

[8] The map only records specific species in cases where the remains have been analysed by a zooarchaeologist. In all other cases, the broader term "equid" is used.

[9] This should not be taken to mean that horse bones have not been identified in other contexts, which they certainly have (see, *e.g.*, Zarins and Hauser 2014 for early examples). One possible example not included here because the mortuary nature of the context is as yet uncertain is the Middle Bronze Age Monument 1 at Tell umm el-Marra, where possible horse remains were identified in several of the layers (Schwartz *et al*. 2012: 175–179; Schwartz 2013: 511).

[10] Donkeys have been identified outside mortuary contexts in Greece at least as early as MH (Sloan and Duncan 1978: 70).

[11] Recht 2011: 82–89, 157–163, Table 3.

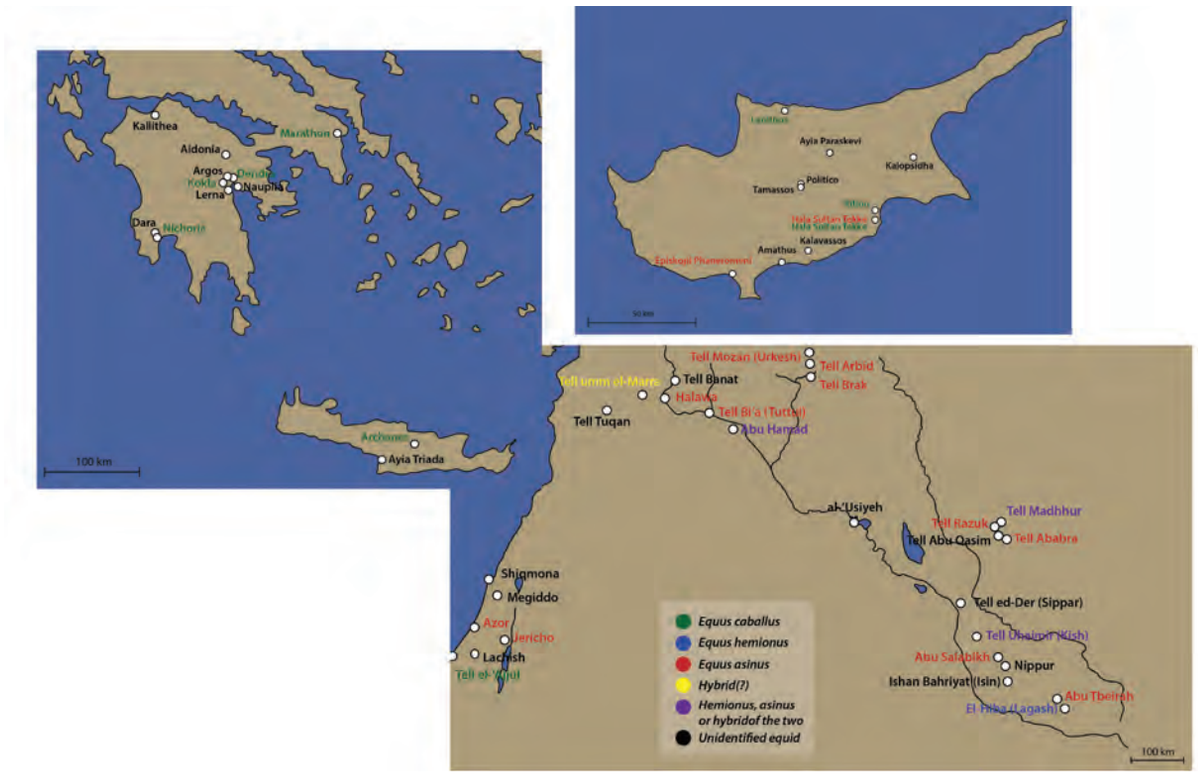

Fig. 3. Map showing species distribution of sites with burials with equid remains (drawn by L. Recht)

larger parts of the whole body, for example the whole hind part (Cat. G2, G7B, S2, S3, L2D, L2E). If only a small part of the equid is present, it is often the skull or parts thereof. They are less likely (though not impossible) to represent cuts of meat, but rather had symbolic value. Examples include Cat. R2, G4, G10, C4, C7, C10, I7E, L4A, and L4B.

Complete equid skeletons found with human burials are often assumed to be related to warriors or battle. One would therefore expect to find objects related to military activities, and/or a corresponding context. This could for example be a clear relation between equids and soldiers or warriors and their gear, combined with remains of chariots or trappings. However, most of the burials with associated equids contain multiple human skeletons, and in only one case is a complete equid clearly associated with a male skeleton with weapons (Cat. I3B). In another case, an equid is clearly associated with a female skeleton without any objects that suggest the presence of a warrior (Cat. S5).

Furthermore, although equids are found in teams of two or four, remains of chariots or trappings found in association with them in archaeological contexts are rare. A few possible examples come from the Kish Chariot burials (Cat. I2). Kish Chariot Burial II contained four equids. They were placed about 50 cm above a four-wheeled vehicle. At the same level and in front of the vehicle was a bovid mandible. Kish Chariot Burial I contained two chariot wheels above which were one equid and three bovid skeletons; and in Kish Chariot Burial III, there were remains of a chariot, equids and bovids. The equids were apparently placed on the side of the chariot and the bovids in front.[12] These contexts, along with the comparative material from Ur, make the association between the equids and the vehicles very tentative; in fact, it seems more likely that the vehicles were drawn by the bovids.[13]

At Ur, remains of a sledge and chariots were found in several tombs in the ED III Royal Cemetery, but these were all in unambiguous relation to bovine animals,[14] for example in tombs PG 789, PG 800 and PG 1232.[15] This should also warn us against inevitably interpreting vehicles as suggestive of military activity, or as always associated with men; PG 800 was probably the tomb of a high-ranking woman, even a queen, and a "sledge" was found here pulled by cattle. An added twist to the story is that a rein ring topped by an equid was found with this same vehicle (Fig. 5).[16]

12 Moorey 1978: 109.

13 Small items possibly related to wheeled vehicles were found at Al-'Usiyah (Cat. I6, copper rein ring, Roaf and Postgate 1981: 198), and Tell Mozan (Cat. S8, two small bronze rings, Doll 2010: 264).

14 They were initially misidentified as donkeys or onagers by Woolley (Dyson Jr. 1960).

15 Woolley 1934: 62–71, 73–91, 107–111.

16 Woolley 1982: pl. LXVIII.2.

	complete or nearly complete equid	dog	equid gender	human gender			complete or nearly complete equid	dog	equid gender	human gender			complete or nearly complete equid	dog	equid gender	human gender
R1	x					I3A	x					S3	x			C, ?
R2						I3B	x			M		S4				
G1	x					I3C	x					S5	x		M	F
G2						I4	x					S6	x			
G3	x	x	F, M			I5	?					S7	x	x	?F	F, M
G4		x				I6	x					S8	x		F	C, M
G5	x					I7A	x					S9A				M
G6A	x		M			I7B						S9B				?M
G6B	x		M			I7C						L1A	x			
G6C						I7D						L1B	?			
G6D	x					I7E						L1C	?			
G7A	x					I8	x					L1D				
G7B	x					I9	x		M			L1E	?			
G8	x					I10				M		L1F				
G9				F, M		I11						L1G	?			
G10				F		I12A	?		M			L1H	?			
C1	x	x				I12B				C		L1I	?			
C2						I12C				M		L2A	x			
C3	x	x				I13						L2B				
C4						S1	x		F, M	M, ?F		L2C				
C5						S2A	x			M, F, C		L2D	x			F, M
C6	?					S2B		x				L2E	x			
C7						S2C		x		M, F, C		L3				
C8A	x					S2D	x		M	C, ?		L4A				
C8B						S2E	x		M	C		L4B				
C9						S2F	x	x	M	C		L4C				
C10						S2G	x	x	M	C		L4D				
I1	x		M			S2H	x		M	C		L4E				
I2A	x					S2I	x		M			L4F				
I2B	x					S2J	x		M			L5				
I2C						S2K	x		M							

Fig. 4. Table indicating burials with complete / nearly complete equids, association with dogs, association with human men / women / children, and sex of equid (compiled by L. Recht)

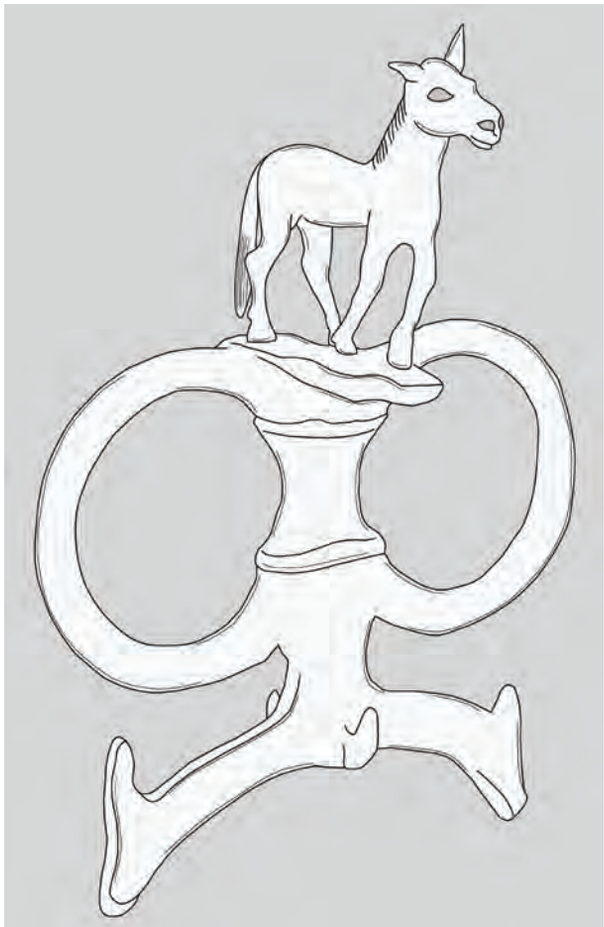

Fig. 5. Rein ring from Ur Royal Cemetery Grave PG 800, U. 10439. Gold and silver alloy (equid), and silver (rings). H. 13.5 cm. ED IIIA, *c.* 2600 BC (drawn by L. Recht, after British Museum 121348)

Liminality

Equid remains associated with human burials are often found in liminal spaces, for example in shafts, *dromoi*, in upper or sealing layers, or in features outside the main area of interment. These spaces are in between, transitional both physically and metaphorically. Due to this transitional nature, identities can be reversed and social order disputed or turned upside down in the liminal "gaps", making them very suitable for ritual action.[17] One example comes from a Late Bronze Age *tholos* tomb at Marathon in Mainland Greece (Fig. 6 – Cat. G1). The *tholos* tomb had a *ca* 25 m long *dromos* and a chamber with two stone shafts, each containing a human skeleton. In one was a gold cup and in the other a bronze object. The floor of the tomb was covered in a thick layer of ash mixed with a considerable amount of bones from cattle, pigs, sheep and birds, and Mycenaean pottery sherds. Towards the entrance of the *tholos*, two equids had been placed facing each other in a symmetrical arrangement. Although there is plenty of space, there were no signs of a chariot or harness. The dromos is an archetypal liminal space, marking the transition between the living and the dead. It has also been suggested that equids mark out a space between social groups, for example between aristocracy and non-aristocracy, since they occur almost exclusively in wealthy tombs.[18]

A Near Eastern Middle Bronze Age example comes from Tell Mozan, ancient Urkesh, in north-eastern Syria. In this case, Tomb 37 is a chamber tomb, integrated into a domestic house and associated with the ritual Chamber AX (Cat. S8). The burial chamber itself contained the skeleton of a child and a man aged *ca* 60, buried at different times. An equid was interred in front of the tomb. It was the complete skeleton of an adult female donkey. The equid skeleton was placed in a liminal space, directly in front of the entrance to the tomb itself. In these cases, equids could be interpreted as guardians or as animals providing transport for the deceased from this world to the next – again underlining their transitional nature. They may also have transported the deceased to the tomb, acting as a kind of hearse, and subsequently sacrificed as part of the funerary rituals.

[17] The concept of liminality is connected with a vast literature, which cannot be adequately reviewed or discussed here, but most relevant works for the present paper include van Gennep 1960 and Girard 2005. See also discussion in Recht 2014: 405, notes 7–8; *cf.* 406, note 10 on Jean Baudrillard's concept of simulation and simulacrum.

[18] Carstens 2005.

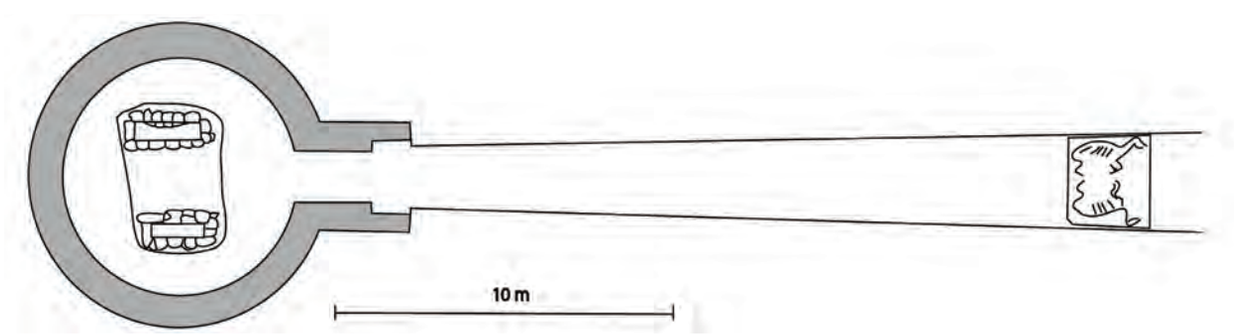

Fig. 6. Marathon Tholos Tomb (drawn by L. Recht, after Daux 1959: fig. 5)

Given the absence of any remains of chariots, the role of equids marking liminal sacred spaces may not be solely related to their use for pulling vehicles, but certainly they had a high symbolic value that allowed their inclusion in human burials. Moreover, in these cases, they are clearly secondary and function only in reference to the human interments. Though we are able to identify the spaces as physically liminal, the exact metaphorical function may escape our understanding – possible suggestions relate to death versus life, this world versus the otherworld/afterlife, or even as between humans and non-humans.

Equids as social actors

In other cases, equids appear to have been shown special respect, sometimes separate from or equal to their human counterparts, suggesting a dynamic and active role in human affairs.[19] Tumuli B and C at Middle Bronze Age Dendra in Mainland Greece (Cat. G6A, G6B) can be interpreted in this manner. Each tumulus contained two complete equid skeletons (Figs 7–9). They had been placed in very carefully and deliberately arranged compositions, in Tumulus B as parallel and mimicking a chariot team, and in Tumulus C in a double-mirrored image. No human burials were clearly associated with the equids.[20] It is assumed that the human remains have simply not been identified yet or have not been preserved, but it is also possible that these animals were buried in their own right or as symbols charged enough to function on their own, marking a larger sacred space. The equids have all been identified as male horses, aged 15–17.[21] Their fairly advanced age could suggest that these horses were honoured after a lifetime of service, whether by sacrifice or following their natural death. An option that can be seen as lying between these possibilities is that the horses had become too old to perform their role, and thus were put down in an act that is partly sacrificial and partly respectful, the two not being mutually exclusive.

Although widely different in time and space, it is interesting to compare this material to an Early Bronze Age mortuary complex at Tell umm el-Marra in Syria. This elite complex is dated to the second half of the third millennium and includes tombs with human interments and so-called "installations" with complete equid skeletons, along with other subsidiary features and rooms that indicate continuous ritual activity (Fig. 10). The tombs contain multiple burials of men, women and infants.[22] In at least one case, the burials are simultaneous and may have included human sacrifices.[23] The tombs also contain many animal bones, both of complete, smaller animals, and of butchered bones,[24] probably remains of cuts of meat.

All the installations contained remains of equids (Cat. S2), with a total of 25 complete animals and at least 15 partial ones.[25] The equids are all of the same species, which Weber convincingly argues to be the highly prized *kunga*, a donkey x onager hybrid.[26] The equids seem to have carried out draft work continuously from an early age, and there is also suggestion of the use of a lip ring.[27]

Installation A consists of a rectangular room, placed north of Tomb 1 (Fig. 11 – Cat. S2E). In the structure were found four complete equid skeletons, a skull and post-cranial remains of a human infant (deposited after the equids), and sherds of a cylindrical ceramic stand in the upper debris. The equids were males, three aged 9–13 and one aged 4–5.

Installation B consists of a 1 m deep subterranean mudbrick structure divided into two chambers (Fig. 12 – Cat. S2F). Each compartment contained an equid skeleton placed standing up, with a detached skull (probably due to decomposition), and at the top of the western wall, in a gap in the brick course, was a spouted jar. Each compartment also contained three puppies. There were also bones of sheep/goat (possibly from joints of meat) and a third equid skull. Remains of four human infants are associated with the installation. The two complete equids were aged males, *ca* 20 years old.

Although there are certain differences between the equid installations and the human tombs (the installations are generally smaller and subterranean, while the human tombs are at least partly above ground), the treatment of the equid remains is striking. They are given their own space, and what could be interpreted as their own offerings.[28] In this sense, they can be seen as being awarded special honour, corresponding to that of the humans allowed to be buried in this space. This is supported by the uniformity of the equids, all being male and of the same species, and by the fact that some aged equids are among them which had been taken well care of beyond the years of their practical use. Weber has argued that the older animals were not sacrificed (as the

[19] A social actor is usually a human, and the concept is greatly discussed across the disciplines, and was especially influenced in archaeology by, *e.g.*, Giddens (1979) and Gardner (2004). Animals are now increasingly also being understood as social actors, in the sense that they are able (or perceived to be able) to shape their surroundings through action, and that this action can be interactive, *i.e.*, social and have some level of intention. Studies include Hribal 2007, Walker 2008, and papers in DeMello 2010.

[20] A single human burial (Grave 1) was uncovered, but does not seem associated with the equids (Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: 94).

[21] Payne 1990.

[22] Schwartz *et al*. 2003; Schwartz *et al*. 2006; Schwartz 2007.

[23] Porter 2012: 201–202.

[24] Weber 2012: 164.

[25] Weber 2012: 165.

[26] Weber 2008; 2012.

[27] Weber 2008: 505.

[28] In fact, Weber interprets the older animals in Installations B, C and D (her "Type II") as substitute human deceased, and the younger animals as possible substitutes for human sacrifices (2012: 172–179).

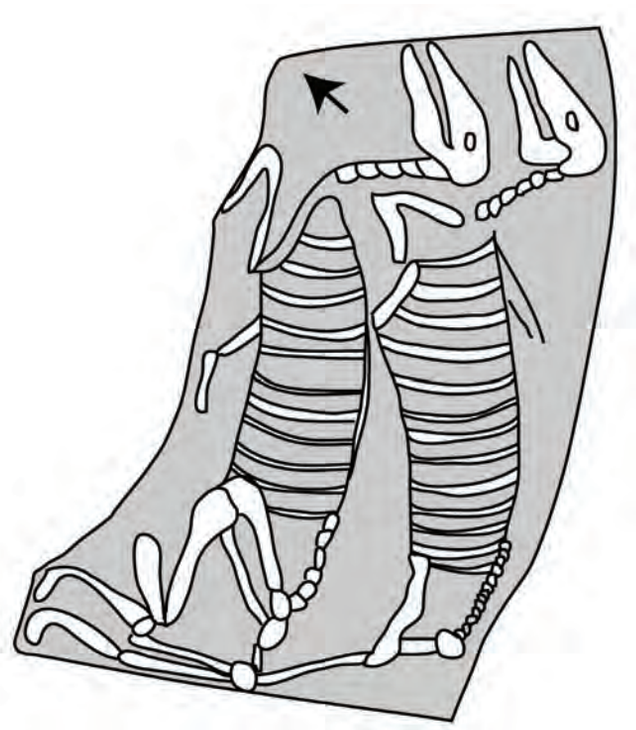

Fig. 7. Horses in Dendra Tumulus B (drawn by L. Recht, after Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: fig. 7)

Fig. 8. Horses in Dendra Tumulus C (drawn by L. Recht, after Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: fig. 17)

Fig. 9. Two other sets of horses on display at Dendra (photo by L. Recht)

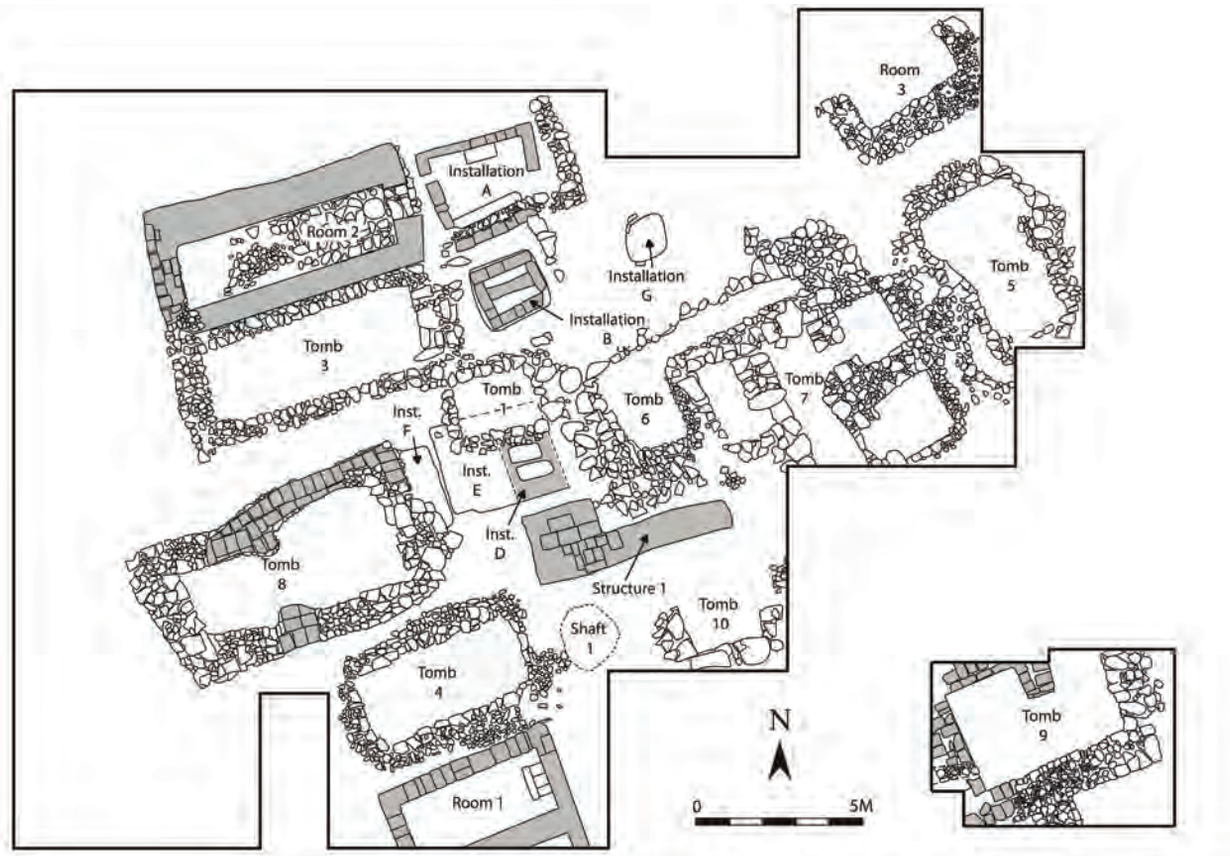

Fig. 10. Plan of the EBA mortuary complex at Tell Umm el-Marra (after Schwartz *et al*. 2012, fig. 2. Courtesy of Glenn M. Schwartz)

Fig. 11. Installation A at Tell Umm el-Marra, with excavator Jill Weber (courtesy of Glenn M. Schwartz)

Fig. 12. Installation B at Tell Umm el-Marra (courtesy of Glenn M. Schwartz)

younger ones most likely were), but rather died a natural death and acted as substitute human (royal) deceased.[29]

Clearly the equids were an essential part of the life and identity of the people buried in this space, and in this way, occupy a central role in designating it as sacred. The equids can be seen as actors with a social identity of their own, playing their part in the "life" and construction of the complex and shown proper respect along the lines of their human co-habitants. As with the horses at Dendra, some of the older equids at Tell Umm el-Marra may also have been put to sleep, which would explain some of the simultaneous interments taking place[30] – if these were indeed teams of equids, perhaps the whole team was buried together when one of them died naturally.

Cuneiform and iconography

Equids appear in various contexts in the artistic material. They are shown with chariots, as ridden, as booty, in scenes of hunting and in mythological and religious scenes. Equids are also mentioned quite extensively in the cuneiform sources of the Near East[31], and occur in Linear B tablets from Greece. They are recorded with war chariots and other vehicles, as gifts, as sacrificed during treaties, they are awarded food rations, their skins are kept, and they perform a number of roles, such as pack animals, animals of transport, as plow or threshing animals, and as fodder for dogs and lions. These roles have bearing on how we might interpret the presence of equid remains in sacred spaces.

It was noted earlier how remains of chariots in association with equids are very rare in archaeological mortuary contexts. This is in stark contrast to artistic representations, where equids are most frequently shown with a wheeled vehicle, both in the Aegean and the Near East. These scenes with equids pulling wheeled vehicles do in some cases refer to military action. This is most clearly depicted on the famous "Standard of Ur", where the panel usually referred to as "war" shows equids trampling or jumping over enemies (Fig. 13). This object is a good example of the difficulty and lack of consensus concerning the identification of equid species in artistic representations.[32] The equids running over enemies in this panel are all at full speed, galloping or charging their opponents. The equids not trampling enemies are walking at a steady pace, either because they are at the back of the action, or because they are part of a procession (in the latter case, probably referring to the other 'peace' side, where more extensive processions take place).

The same kind of trampling can be seen on a seal impression from Tell Brak, where actual fighting between human figures is also shown (Fig. 14). The scene is quite schematic and the species difficult to determine, but the large ears and thin, perhaps tufted tail mean it must be a donkey or a hybrid. On a seal from Ugarit, the trampling goes almost unnoticed in a scene of hunting in which an evocative and majestic eagle takes centre stage (Fig. 15). Here the gracile, full-tailed equids are horses, and it is revealing that this Levantine seal is much closer in date to the Aegean material.

[29] Weber 2012: 172–179.

[30] Although in some cases, not all the equids remains in an installation were placed there during a single event (Weber 2012: 179).

[31] The most up to date commentary for the third millennium BC can be found in Zarins and Hauser 2014: 149–245, with a complementary appendix.

[32] For discussion and list of possibilities suggested, see Zarins and Hauser 2014: 128.

Fig. 13. "Standard of Ur", "war" side (Woolley 1954: 87–89, pl. 13). From Ur Royal Cemetery Grave 779, Chamber 9. Red limestone, lapis lazuli and shell. H. 20.3 cm. British Museum WA 121201. ED, *c.* 2600 BC (drawn by L. Recht)

Fig. 14. Sealing from Tell Brak, Area SS. ED III (drawn by L. Recht, after Matthews 1997: pl. xix, no. 200)

Fig. 15. Impression of cylinder seal from Ugarit, Ugarit, Minet el-Beida, trench 25.IY, topographic point I. Black steatite. H. 2.2. cm. RS 4.021, Louvre Museum AO 15772. 14th c. BC (drawn by L. Recht, after Yon 2006: 128–129, no. 8)

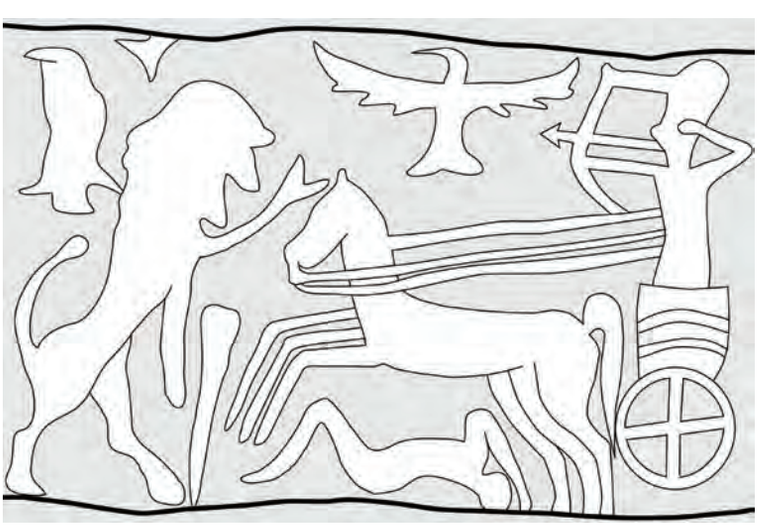

Fig. 16. Scan of gold signet ring from Mycenae, Shaft Grave IV. LH I. *CMS* I, no. 15 (courtesy of Ingo Pini / *CMS)*

Fig. 17. Drawing of gold signet ring from Aidonia. LB I – LB II. *CMS* V Sup. 3, no. 244 (courtesy of Ingo Pini / *CMS)*

Hunting scenes with horses and chariots are also found in the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus and the Aegean. A gold signet ring from Mycenae shows the extended flying gallop of the horses, and the man in the chariot with the bow echoes that of the Ugarit seal (Fig. 16). Another gold signet ring, in this case from Aidonia, is probably not portraying hunting, since the man in the chariot does not have a bow, but rather a whip or stick to encourage the horses (Fig. 17). On the other hand, it is not a scene of direct combat either, as no enemies are shown, and the horses are moving at a walking pace, or at most trotting.[33]

Two wall paintings from the palace at Tiryns on Mainland Greece show ceremony or procession taking place, perhaps before or after hunting or battle (Figs 18–19). The paintings are part of a fresco which also depicts a boar hunt. The man depicted is dressed in gear that can be either for war or for hunting, but the women are dressed in their finery, and all the animals are again moving at a slow pace (*i.e.*, walking) in what appears to be an orderly line. Interestingly, we have in Figure 19 a visual association between horses and dogs (the presence of a dog might point toward hunting rather than battle). We can especially note how elaborately decorated everything is, from the attire of the people to the decorated chariot and the accoutred manes and tails of the horses – a sign that presentation was of importance.

The presence of elaborate gear is particularly clear on a scene from an ivory box found at Enkomi, Cyprus (Fig. 20), where the horses' tails have also been braided, but still kept full. The emphasis on visually impressive display is evident in the Linear B tablets from Knossos, which record equids with chariots. The purpose of these teams is not clear, but it is worth noting that there are nearly always descriptions about the state and finery of the chariot, *e.g.*, Knossos tablet Sd4401: "[Two] horse-(chariots without wheels) inlaid with ivory, (fully) assembled, painted crimson, equipped with

[33] This can be compared to similar scenes on *CMS* I: no. 229; I: no. 230, II.6: no. 19, II.6: no. 87, and VII: no. 87. In all of these depictions, the horses are shown at a fairly steady pace of either walking or trotting, and the person in the chariot is urging them on with a whip or similar item. Given the lack of references to battle or hunting (such as enemies, prey or weapons), and the steady pace, despite urging, these depictions may relate to a kind of sport or game, where the chariot driver displays his expertise at handling the horses.

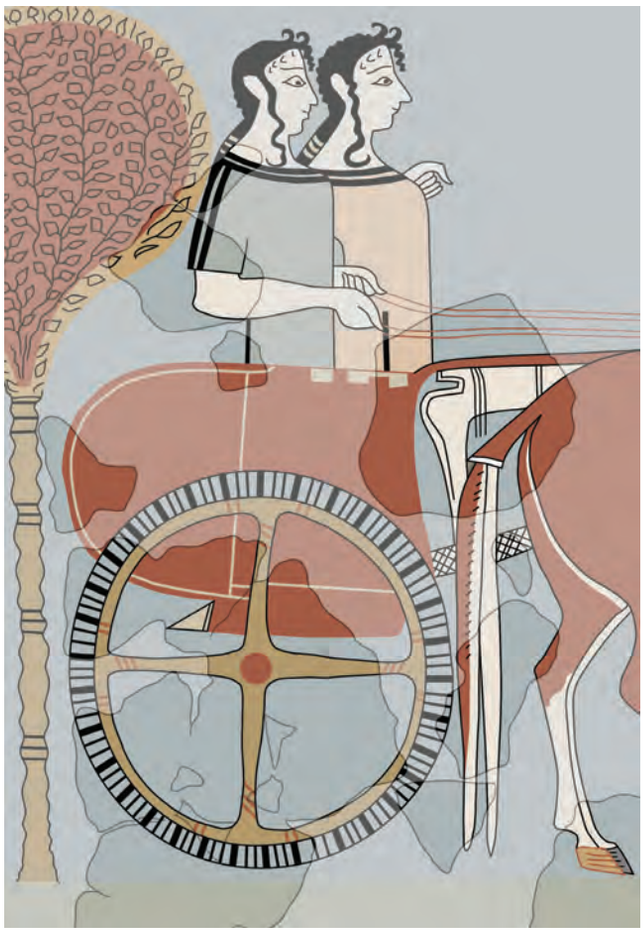

Fig. 18. Wall painting from the palace at Tiryns, west slope epichosis (Immerwahr 1990: pl. 68). Part of the "Boar Hunt" fresco. National Archaeological Museum of Athens. 14th–13th c. BC (drawn by L. Recht)

Fig. 19. Wall painting from the palace at Tiryns, west slope epichosis (Immerwahr 1990: pl. 69). Part of the "Boar Hunt" fresco. National Archaeological Museum of Athens. 14th–13th c. BC (drawn by L. Recht)

bridles with leather cheek-straps (and) horn bits"[34] (LM IIIA2-late).[35]

It is also possible that the ceremonies shown as taking place in these images are related to broader mortuary activities that might involve funeral games, feasting and processions to the tomb. This would account for the attention paid to presentation, but this can for the time being only be speculation, and in any case, need not apply to all the depictions or be exclusive of other activities. Support for the idea might be found on a larnax from Tanagra in Greece (Fig. 21). One side shows an upper register with a group of women performing a gesture of mourning by tearing out their own hair.[36] The lower register appears to depict a competitive event that includes horses and chariots flanking two central figures – possibly boxers. The juxtaposition of this event with the mourning women and the function of the *larnax* (made to hold the remains of a young individual) suggests that funeral games may be depicted. Whether or not the event is strictly related to the function of the *larnax*, it should be stressed that horses are shown as part of a scene that also involves competition between two individual humans (rather than anything resembling an army), and therefore very likely portraying (ritual?[37]) games.

Equids were also used for plowing, at least in the Near East. A tablet from Girsu records the use of both male and female equids for plowing:

1 healthy-eyed male equid hybrid,
2 healthy-eyed female hybrids,
(with) Inim-ma-ni-zi.
They are plow team leaders.
(Edin. 09–405, 35. Girsu, ED IIIA[38])

In Figure 23, a plow is indirectly associated with the equid by being placed below the chariot – perhaps as a reference to this role that the equid could perform.

Equids and chariots are also found as elements of mythological or religious scenes. Two seal impressions

[34] Chadwick 1973: 366, no. 266.

[35] Even more elaborate and costly gear is recorded in the 14th c. BC Amarna letters. For example, EA 22/VAT 395 is a list of gifts that include a chariot covered in gold, *maninnu*-necklaces for horses with gold and precious stones, bridles with elements of ivory, gold, and alabaster, reins with gold and silver, and a leather halter with elements of precious stone and lapis lazuli (Moran 1992: 51–52).

[36] This gesture is well-known from Geometric vase paintings, but also seems to apply here. An alternative interpretation is that the women are dancing, perhaps as part of the event depicted below.

[37] Benzi suggested a rite of passage that reflects the age of the deceased found in the larnax, in the transitional stage between child and adult (1999: 229–231).

[38] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 265.

Fig. 20. Ivory gaming box from Enkomi, Tomb 58. H. 6.3 cm. LC IIC – LC III, *c.* 1250–1050 BC (drawn by L. Recht, after British Museum 1897,0401.996)

Fig. 21. Painted decoration on one side of terracotta larnax from Tanagra (Greece), Tomb 22 (drawn by L. Recht, after Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 181, fig. 120)

from Tell Beydar in Syria show equids and chariots combined with deities, who are marked by their horned head pieces (Figs 22–23). The scenes are rather enigmatic, but the boat, combined with what appears to be a procession with a four-wheeled vehicle, could be interpreted as a funerary procession with the deceased being the person transported in the boat to the next world.

Apart from the Ur-Nammu text, cuneiform sources rarely indicate the use of equids in relation to funerals or mortuary practices. A few rare exceptions mention equids as part of the funerary assemblage. In another tablet from Girsu, a team of female hybrid equids are recorded, along with a threshing sledge:

> 1 woman's garment (of the wool from) barley-eating sheep,
> 1 long nig_2-lam_2-garment,
> 1 boxwood bed with thin legs,
> 1 chair, being open(-work?), of boxwood,
> 1 sledge (of threshing-sledge type) of boxwood,
> 1 team female $kunga_2$-equids,
> 1 bronze hand-mirror,
> 1 ... of bronze,
> 1 Akkadian copper luxury(?) container,
> 1 copper ... luxury(?) item,
> 1 small bun_2-di-bowl
> (DP 75. Girsu, Ur III. Funeral of Ninenise, wife of Urtarsirsira).[39]

Several interesting things can be noted about this text. One is that the equids are associated with a sledge, rather than a wheeled vehicle. Another is that the sledge is for threshing, and is therefore associated with agriculture rather than military activity. Thirdly, these funeral gifts are for a woman, the wife of a high official, so here we have a case of a woman being buried with equids.

In the LH IIIA2-B period in the Aegean, kraters depicting horses and equids became very popular. They are exported to Cyprus, where we find complete vessels as part of funerary assemblages. The scenes sometimes seem to be of mythological or religious content. On a Mycenaean krater (Fig. 24), horses pull a chariot with female drivers. Both in front of and behind the chariot there are tall figures with upraised arms, which may be female deities or statues that form part of a ritual. The type behind the chariot is well-known as figurines commonly called "Goddesses with upraised arms". Their exact identify and function are much debated, but they were clearly used in ritual contexts.[40] The horses are here completely static, perhaps because they have arrived at their destination. The so-called "Zeus krater" from Enkomi shows horses and chariot, standing in front of a figure holding up scales (Fig. 25). Karageorghis has followed Nilsson in interpreting the scene as "Zeus holding the scales of destiny in front of the warriors before they depart for battle".[41] The

[39] Cohen 2005: 165. An ED III text records the grave goods of Bilalla and his wife with an equid and a chariot (Foxvog 1980: 67).

[40] Zeman-Wiśniewska 2012: 154–157.

[41] Karageorghis 1958: 385.

Fig. 22. Reconstructed sealing from Tell Beydar. ED III late (drawn by L. Recht, after Rova 2012: 753, no. 55)

Fig. 23. Reconstructed sealing from Tell Beydar. ED III late (drawn by L. Recht, after Rova 2012: 753, no. 62)

Fig. 24. Mycenaean krater. H. 41.6 cm. LH IIIB, *c.* 1300–1230 BC. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.966

Fig. 25. "Zeus krater" from Enkomi Tomb 17/1, LH IIIA (after Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: pl. 120,3–4). Cyprus Archaeological Museum (roll-out drawing of decoration by L. Recht)

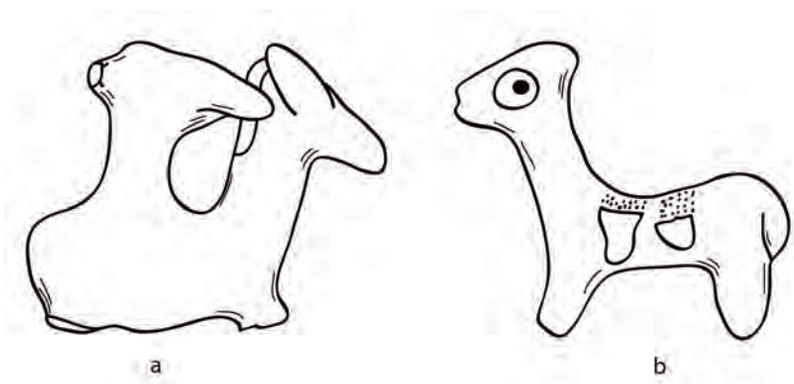

Fig. 26. Terracotta equid and rider figurines from Tell Selenkahiye, SLK 67–895 and SLK 67–206. Ur III (drawn by L. Recht, after Liebowitz 1988: pl. 30.2–30.3)

Fig. 27. Equid with rider figurine from Archanes, tomb at Metochi Spiliotaki. LM III (drawn by L. Recht, after Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 522, fig. 517)

action does seem to be set in the realm of the supernatural, and the horses are a central part of that realm.

Riding is not depicted very often, but there are some instances from both the Aegean and the Near East. Interestingly, the kind of riding shown is not very suitable for military action. Examples of riding side saddle (Figs 26–27) were likely reserved for either processions and/or transport of royal or elite persons. The riders on the terracotta mould from the British Museum (Fig. 28) and the figurine from Mycenae (Fig. 29) sit very far back on what appear to be horses.[42] This is not a good position for controlling the animal, but may have been especially used for riding donkeys.[43] Riding is one of the activities less frequently mentioned in cuneiform sources. From the third millennium on, riding was associated with messengers and perhaps officials or escorts.[44] There is some indication that in the Near East, riding was not considered as suitable as movement by chariot for royal persons – a famous letter to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, states that

> [Verily] you are the king of the Haneans, [but] secondly you are the king of the Akkadians! [My lord] should not ride a horse. Let my [lord] ride in a chariot or on a mule and he will thereby honour his royal head!
>
> (*ARM* VI 76: 20–25).[45]

This preference could account for the low frequency of depictions of riding compared to chariot scenes. Hybrids were also more prestigious than both horses and donkeys, as corroborated by cuneiform sources that record donkey and horse prices being much lower than those for hybrids, and cases of donkeys owned by non-elite persons.[46] Hybrids receive more fodder than other equids, were rarely used for agricultural activities, and have stronger associations with royalty and divinity.[47] In the Late Bronze Age, horses seem to take on a larger part of this role, extensively used by royalty and highly valued, as recorded in the Amarna correspondences and sources from Ugarit.[48]

[42] The Mycenaean example is too schematic to be identified as an equid with certainty; the mould depicts an equid, with the full tail of a horse, but a rather oddly shaped head not at all equine.

[43] See however Kelder's (2012) arguments for the possibility of Mycenaean cavalry.

[44] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 198, 204, 215.

[45] Malamat 1987: 33.

[46] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 216, Table 21; Michel 2004.

[47] Heimpel 1994; Zarins and Hauser 2014: 208–217.

[48] Moran 1992; Caubet 2013. The care of horses and other equids was important enough that texts were written about how to treat certain ailments pertaining to them; these have been found at Ugarit and from earlier Akkadian sources (Pardee 1985).

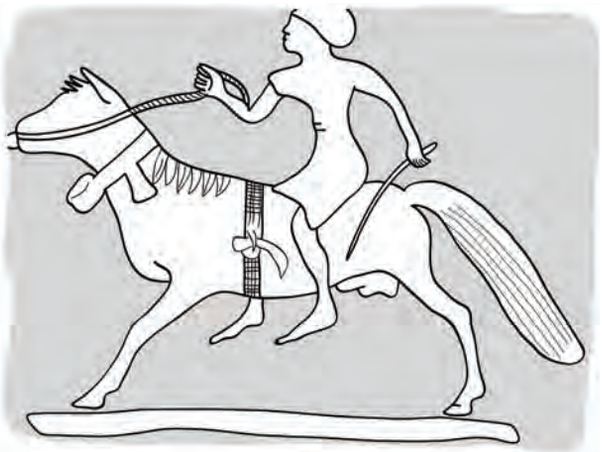

Fig. 28. Terracotta mould. L. 9.8 cm. Old Babylonian, *c.* 2000–1800 BC (drawn by L. Recht, after British Museum 22958)

Fig. 29. "Cavalryman" from Mycenae, deposit west of Persia Fountain House (Hood 1953). H. 9 cm. LH IIIB, *c.* 1300 BC (after Kelder 2012: 3, fig. 1, courtesy of Jorrit Kelder)

Gender

Humans and human figures

Equids are associated with both men and women in the Near East, Cyprus and the Aegean during the Bronze Age. It is possible that the associations reflect different roles of the equids. For example, unambiguous scenes of war and hunting show predominantly men as drivers of chariots. One exception to this is a late second millennium version of the Semitic war goddess Astarte. She is perhaps better known from first millennium sources, but she already appears associated with horses in the late second millennium at Ugarit.[49] We have seen, however, that chariots and other wheeled vehicles with equids also occur with human females, although their use is not always clear.[50] In archaeological contexts and iconography, equids appear with women and men alike. The presence of an equid can therefore not be assumed to indicate one specific activity or to be associated with a specific human gender without taking the complete context into account.

Equids

The issue of the sex of the equids is more complicated. In some cases, as at Dendra and Tell Umm el-Marra, there is a clear preference for male equids. Overall, the faunal material suggests that male equids were more popular for mortuary rituals, but females do also occur. Unfortunately, there are only a few instances where we actually have reliable data about the sex of the animals.

The artistic material presents another difficulty because the female sexual organs are not immediately visible the same way male ones are on the actual animals, making interpreting representations tricky. The equids on the Standard of Ur (Fig. 13) are very deliberately depicted as stallions. This attention to the genitals must mean that the gender of the equids was considered highly relevant, and presumably serves to enhance the message of the scene. It closely echoes the situation found at Tell Umm el-Marra, with the use of nose/lip rings and the exclusive presence of male equids as draft animals. A subtler depiction of male equids (whether stallions or geldings) can be seen in Figure 17, but generally, when the genitals are shown, they are exaggerated in the manner of the Standard of Ur.

Mares, however, are much harder to identify. Strictly speaking, the lack of genital designation should equal female. Unfortunately, this clashes with how one might depict a neutrally gendered animal, and when no genitals are shown, it may equally mean that the sex was simply not considered an important attribute in the specific context. As an analogy, we might consider modern representations of humans. On toilet doors, for example, female and male are shown differently – the female usually wearing a skirt. This female wearing a skirt is always taken to be just that – female. But the icon for male is also elsewhere taken to mean "human", as for example on traffic lights for pedestrians (notwithstanding efforts in some places to show both!). Similarly, equids without specifically designated genitals in these Bronze Age depictions may indicate either mares or a more generic "equid".

The only artistic instances where we can be more definite about intention concerning gender are in the round. Figurines of equids necessarily include the gen-

[49] Schmitt 2013: 216.

[50] An association between women and equids / equid gear and equipment is not unique. It can be found in various parts of Europe during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (see, *e.g.*, Metzner-Nebelsick and Nebelsick 1999).

Fig. 30. Equid figurine *in oestrus* from Te Mozan, Palace AK, f115/locus 168 (A6.149). H. 4.01 cm (forequarters) (drawn by C. Wettstein, after Hauser 2007: 374, fig. 21, courtesy of Rick Hauser / The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies)

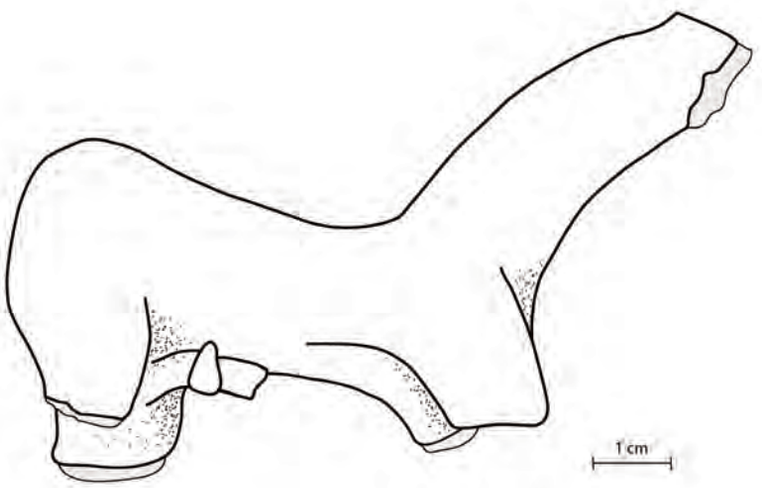

Fig. 31. Equid figurine from Tell Brak, Area FS. Second half of third millennium BC (drawn by L. Recht, after Oates 2001: 289, fig. 311, no. 56)

ital area from all angles, and it can therefore be established whether male, female or neutral/ungendered was intended. Neutral examples are the most common, but both mares and stallions appear. Examples can be seen in Figures 30–31. In these cases, when the male and female genitals are indicated, it may be in reference to their reproductive abilities, because the mare appears to be shown as in heat (Fig. 30)[51] and the stallion is depicted with a penile strap, presumably to control breeding (Fig. 31). This suggests that the function of least some figurines is related to the administration of breeding activities and training of equids.

Consequently, it can be noted that certain places and instances required a male equid, but the statement cannot be generalised to include all cases. Whether or not the reverse is true – *i.e.*, that females at times were required – cannot be established. Certainly, mares were used, but there is not enough evidence to prove that gender in mortuary contexts was always significant.

Human-equid encounters

At times, we are allowed rare glimpses into more intimate encounters between humans or deities and equids – ones where there is a sense of mutual respect, and perhaps curiosity. Two seal impressions from Urkesh illustrate such encounters (Figs 32–33). In Figure 32, we find a seated King Shar-kali-sharri – or possibly a deity, as suggested by Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati[52], and Hauser.[53] He is part of a fairly standard Akkadian and Old Babylonian theme usually called a "presentation scene". He is approached by Ishar-beli, the owner of the seal, who carries a foal[54] and is led by an interceding deity. However, immediately before him, an equid approaches the seated figure, who in turn reaches out with his hand, holding something presumably edible for the equid. The equid is perhaps an onager, as suggested by Hauser[55], or one of the highly prized *kunga* hybrids, as suggested by Zarins and Hauser.[56] The body is very caballine, but the big-tufted tail point to an onager; a hybrid may therefore be intended. The posture is similar to that of charging equids in front of a chariot (it is certainly not a posture actually used by equids when peacefully approaching something). The striations of the mane are so strongly marked that one might also suspect that a kind of braiding has taken place, reminiscent of those so clearly shown on Aegean imagery. The scene certainly has political overtones, relating to Ishar-beli's and/or his wife's official responsibility of obtain-

[51] Hauser 2007: 374.

[52] Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000: 139.

[53] Hauser 2007: 52.

[54] The animal most commonly carried in these types of scenes is a goat or a sheep. However, the animal looks remarkably like a very young equid, which would be unwonted, but fit the scene, which is in any case highly unusual. This identification is also preferred by Hauser (2007: 52) and Kelly-Buccellati, who further notes that if this the case, we may have a mare with her foal (2010: 187).

[55] Hauser 2007: 52.

[56] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 138.

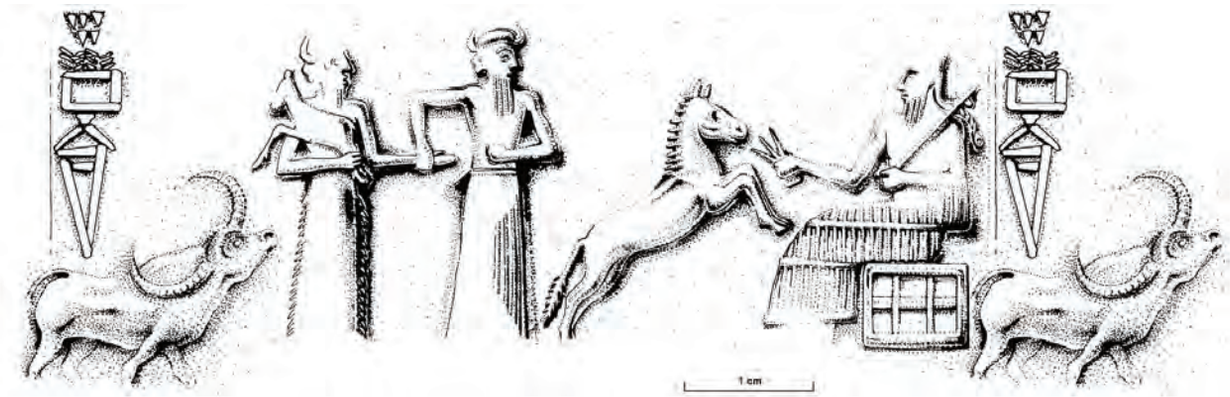

Fig. 32. Composite drawing of seal impressions from Tell Mozan, Palace AK, Room H2 (A13.28). Akkadian (drawn by P. Pozzi, after Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000: 140, fig. 5, courtesy of The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies)

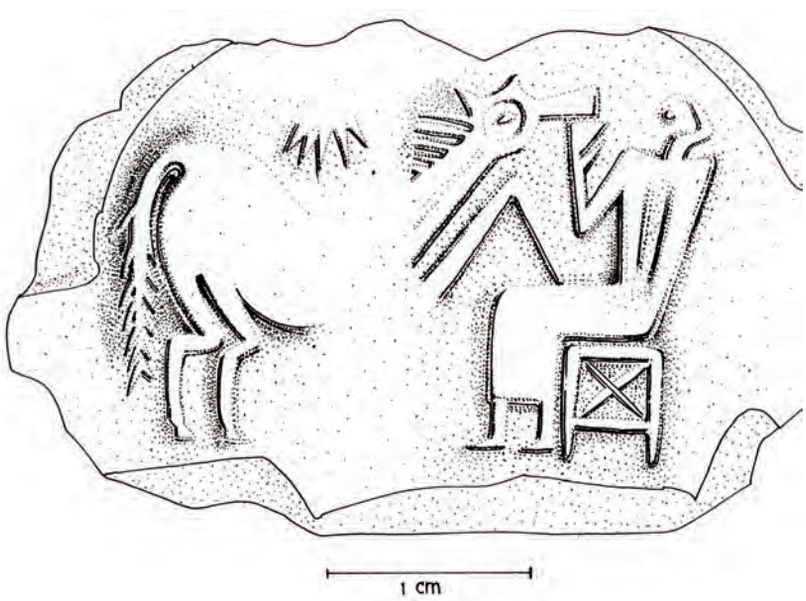

Fig. 33. Composite drawing of seal impressions from Tell Mozan, Palace AK, f73/q126 (A9.27). Akkadian – Late Akkadian (drawn by P. Pozzi, after Kelly-Buccellati 2015: 118, fig. 6, courtesy of The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies)

ing prime equids.[57] But the encounter is nevertheless remarkably intimate. The two meet without any sign of coercion, and in a Sistine Chapel-like moment, they nearly touch.

The second Urkesh seal impression (Fig. 33) has been interpreted as probably being an imitation of the first.[58] The encounter in this case is perhaps even more intimate. The seated figure is even closer to touching the equid. The posture of the equid is quite different; while this may be a misunderstanding on behalf of the artist, it is just as likely that a slightly different act is depicted. The equid raises at least one leg. The second leg is either not individually engraved, or it was standing on the ground, in the space that is unfortunately not preserved. I consider the latter more likely for several reasons. Although the style may not be as fine as that of the Ishar-beli seal impression, it is not inaccurate in its anatomical details. The hind legs of the equid are both carefully carved, as are the characteristic erect mane and long, tufted tail. It would thus seem odd if the second front leg were not also depicted. Further, the posture of the front part of the body is not thrust upwards, but in fact is bent slightly downwards or straight, suggesting that one front leg was in fact on the ground. It would not be possible for an equid to take the posture of the mid-body as shown with both legs raised.

However, the position of one leg raised and the other on the ground *is* a fairly peaceful gesture which an equid might make on meeting a human (or other being), often as a sign of good-willed impatience. If this reading is correct, we here have an exceptional snap shot perception of communication between human and equid in the Bronze Age.

[57] Zarins and Hauser 2014: 140.
[58] Kelly-Buccellati 2015: 119–120.

Conclusions

Equids had a highly symbolic value that made them extremely suitable for religious and mortuary contexts. A large amount of expensive material, time and effort was invested into both maintaining and presenting equids in various settings, including death. Horses, donkeys, onagers and hybrids of both sexes appear, and vary in their roles and significance at different times and regions. Equids were used in warfare, hunting, agriculture, transport (including use by messengers and for officials and royalty) and ritual.

They appear with men and women, although some roles seem to mostly occur with either male or female figures. Artistically and textually, equids have strong associations with chariots and other vehicles, as part of battle, hunting, ceremony, transport and possibly competitive events. This is not immediately reflected in the archaeological record, where their symbolic value seems to extend beyond this association. Less frequent but far from insignificant is evidence of riding and maintaining equids. For equids to perform these roles, daily interaction in the form of handling, care, training and breeding was necessary, creating dynamic bonds between human and animal.

All of this influenced human life and perception, both directly and indirectly. Directly through the way in which equids transformed the activities of which they were part – for example, it is clear from the 14th century BC Amarna letters that a city's defence was not complete without chariots and horses. Horses were at this time so integral to the royal courts that they were part of the customary opening greeting of the letters, which otherwise include the family of the king (*e.g.*, letters EA 1–3).[59] Indirectly, equids became part of the ideology and identity of certain groups and individuals, especially among the elite, but we also see specific job titles related to equids for high officials as well as presumably less prestigious ones related to handling of the equids. The equids themselves even receive something resembling titles in the shape of being "team leaders" of plow teams.

It is in particular the ideology, prestige and ritual surrounding equids that create a symbolically charged animal so suitable for marking and participating in sacred space. The activities involving equids necessitate close relations between equids and humans, and ultimately equids are both honoured by and in turn honouring humans by being placed in mortuary sacred space.

[59] Moran 1992.

A catalogue of equids in mortuary contexts: the Bronze Age Aegean and Near East

Notes to catalogue: The entries listed here shortly describe the known data for equid remains – for further details, please consult the bibliographical references. If the Latin name is used, the remains have been studied by a faunal expert. If in quotation marks, the identification was instead made by the excavator. Catalogues of selected areas and periods are also presented by Sakellarakis (1970), Kosmetatou (1995), Reese (1995), Doll (2010), and Way (2010).

The Aegean

Crete

R1. Archanes Tholos Tomb A
Slaughtered and dismembered *Equus caballus* found in main chamber of tholos tomb. *Ca* 6 years old. Cutmarks were found on the shoulder bones. LM IIIA.
Sakellarakis 1967: 278–281, 1970; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991: 72–85, 1997: 158–168, 262–265; Kosmetatou 1993: 38; Reese 1995: 37.

R2. Ayia Triada Tholos Tomb A
Jawbone of "horse" found in Room I of tholos tomb. EM I – MM II.
Stefani 1930/1931.

Greek Mainland

G1. Marathon Tholos Tomb (Fig. 6)
Two complete *Equus caballus* found in mirrored position with legs towards each other in the dromos. LH II / LH IIB, *ca* 1425 BC.
Lemerle 1935: 253; Orlandou 1959: 23–27; Daux 1959: 583–586; Vanderpool 1959: 280; Sakellarakis 1970: A6 and C1.

G2. Argos Tomb 8
Tomb containing "probable horse", skull missing. LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB.
Vollgraff 1904: 370; Deshayes 1956: 365, 1966: 69–70, pl. 70.3; Sakellarakis 1970: C2.

G3. Kokla Chamber Tomb II
Chamber tomb with four complete equids and one dog. *Equus caballus*, size *ca* 1,31–1,33 m. Horse 1: nearly complete, *in situ*, lower level. Male, aged *ca* 7. Horse 2: (no longer) complete, upper layer. Female, aged 10. Horse 3: (no longer) complete, upper layer. Male, old. Horse 4: least complete, possibly more

than one. Female. LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB1, beginning of 13th century BC.
Boessneck and von den Driesch 1984; Demakopoulou 1989: 83–85; Reese 1995.

G4. Kallithea Tholos Tomb
Skull of a "horse" in tomb; also some dog bones. LH I – LH IIIC.
Papadopoulos 1987.

G5. Nauplia Chamber Tomb
Complete "horse" skeleton in tomb. LH.
Stais 1892: 52–54, 1895: 206–207; Sakellarakis 1970: C7; Kosmetatou 1993: 38.

G6. Dendra Tumuli
A. Tumulus B (Fig. 7)
Two *Equus caballus* in parallel position in pit at the edge of tumulus. Male, aged 15–17. LH IIIA-B.
Payne 1990; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990.
B. Tumulus C (Fig. 8)
Two *Equus caballus* in double-mirrored position in a pit inside tumulus. Male, aged 15–17. LH IIIA-B.
Payne 1990; Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990.
C. Tumulus?
Portion of leg found at end of trench, *Equus caballus*? LH IIIA-B.
Payne 1990.
D. Tumulus? (Fig. 9a–b)
Two other sets of two equids placed in mirrored positions like those of Marathon are on display at the site. *Equus caballus*. LH IIIA-B.
Pappi and Isaakidou 2015.

G7. Aidonia
A. Chamber Tomb
In a dromos without chamber, 14 "horse" mandibles and one complete skeleton were found. LH?
Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: 102; Kosmetatou 1993: 38; Reese 1995: 35; Krystalli-Votsi 1998: 24–28.
B. Shaft Grave
Grave containing remains of decapitated "horse". LH.
Krystalli-Votsi 1998: 24–28.

G8. Dara Tholos Tomb
On the floor of the tomb were a complete skeleton, "probably horse", and a "horse" skull. LH IIIA – LH IIIB.
Parlama 1973/1974; Reese 1995: 37.

G9. Nichoria MME Tholos Tomb
One *Equus caballus* upper molar found in a pit near the dromos. LH IIIA2 – LH IIIB2.
Sloan and Duncan 1978: 69; Wilkie 1992: 231–260; Reese 1995: 37.

G10. Lerna Pit Grave 65
"Horse" tooth in grave. MH.
Blackburn 1970: 67–68; Reese 1995: 36 [Grave 95].

Cyprus

C1. Lapithos-Vrysi tou Barba Tomb 322
Bones of one *Equus caballus* found in Chamber B; dog skeleton also found in the tomb. EC III / EC III – MC I.
Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 140–157; Reese 1995: 38.

C2. Episkopi-Phaneromi Tomb 23
The head and left humerus, radius, metacarpus and first phalanx of one *Equus asinus*. EC III / MC I.
Reese 1995: 38.

C3. Politico-Chomazoudhia Pit Tomb 3
Tomb with "horse" on top of human remains. A dog skeleton was also found in the tomb. Late MC II / MC III.
Gjerstad 1926: 81; Åström 1972: 245, 278, n. 1–2; Reese 1995: 38.

C4. Ayia Paraskevi Tomb 14
"Horse" teeth found in tomb. MC.
Myres 1897: 134–135, 138; Reese 1995: 38.

C5. Kalopsidha Tomb 9
"Horse" teeth and bones, teeth worn, perhaps from use as polishers. MC.
Myres 1897: 143, 147; Gjerstad 1926: 81; Reese 1995: 38.

C6. Tamassos Tomb
"Horse" remains found in the tomb. MC.
Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: 419–420, pl. 70, 1–8; Karageorghis 1965: 282, 286; Reese 1995: 38.

C7. Amathus Burial Caverns
Jaws and teeth of "horse", camel and sheep/goat. MC.
Reese 1995: 38; di Cesnola 1991: 282–283.

C8. Hala Sultan Tekke
A. Tomb 2
Tomb with remains of one *Equus caballus* and two *Equus asinus* (one adult, one *ca* 2 years old). Late LC I – Late LC II, late 15th century – late 13th century BC.
Karageorghis 1976: 71–72, 78–90. pl. LV lower right; Ducos 1976; Reese 1995: 38, 2007: 50.
B. Area 22, F6128
Deposit with human remains and one bone from an *Equus caballus* and 20 bones from two *Equus asinus*. LC IIIA1.
Jonsson 1983: 224, 228, 229; Reese 1995: 38.

C9. Kalavasos Tomb 46
Equid bones from two individuals (including mandible), not further identifiable. EC IIIB – early MC I.
Croft 1986: 181; Reese 1995: 38.

C10. Kition Tomb 8
Tomb with mandible of *Equus caballus.* LC.
Reese 2007: 50.

The near east

Iraq

I1. Al Hiba Burial
One complete *Equus hemionus* (mature male) found with human remains. ED IIIB.
Hansen 1973: 70.

I2. Kish
A. Kish Burial I
Remains of one equid above two chariot wheels and a rein ring. Late ED II.
Gibson 1972: 83–86; Moorey 1978: 104–107.
B. Chariot Burial II
Four *Equus hemionus* or *Equus asinus* found above four-wheeled vehicle. Late ED II.
Watelin and Langdon 1934: 30; Gibson 1972: 83–86; Moorey 1978: 104–109.
C. Chariot Burial III
Burial including equid remains, extent unclear. Late ED II.
Gibson 1972: 83–86; Moorey 1978: 104–106, 109–110.

I3. Tell Madhhur
A. Grave 7D
Two equids, "probably donkeys" found in tomb. ED II / ED III.
Killick and Roaf 1979: 540; Roaf 1984: 114.
B. Tomb 5G
Tomb with two *Equus asinus* or *Equus asinus* – *Equus hemionus* hybrid. One *ca* 2.5 years old; one over 20 years old. ED III / Early Old Akkadian, *ca* 2300 BC.
Killick and Roaf 1979: 540; Roaf 1982: 45–46, 1984: 115; Clutton-Brock 1986: 210.
C. Grave 6G
Remains of one or two equids in a grave (partly destroyed by later pit). Early Old Akkadian, *ca* 2200 BC.
Roaf 1984: 115.

I4. Tell Razuk Burial 12
Two *Equus asinus* in parallel position in grave with one human. Early Akkadian.
Gibson 1981: 73–75, 1984: 206.

I5. Tell Abu Qasim Tomb
Equids associated with burial at the site. ED III / Early Old Akkadian.
Zarins 1986: 175.

I6. Al-'Usiyah Tomb
Remains of three or four equids associated with a copper rein ring. Remains too poor for further analysis. ED III.
Roaf and Postgate 1981: 198; Zarins 1986: 175.

I7. Abu Salabikh
A. Grave 162
Remains of five equids, probably *Equus asinus*. Four were placed in two pairs, in parallel position. A fifth animal was not as complete and lying on its own at a higher level. ED III, *ca* 2450 BC.
Postgate 1982: 55–57, 1984: 95–97, 1986: 201–202; Postgate and Moon 1982: 133–136.
B. Grave 48
Equid bones found in grave. ED IIIA.
Postgate and Moorey 1976: 151–153; Postgate 1980, 1982: 132, 1985: 3, 101–104.
C. Grave 38
Equid bones found in grave. ED III.
Postgate and Moorey 1976: 151; Postgate 1980, 1985: 3, 90–96.
D. Grave 27
Equid bone found in grave. ED III.
Postgate 1980, 1985: 72–75.
E. Grave 73
Equid tooth found in grave. ED III.
Postgate 1985: 125–131.

I8. Nippur Burial 14
One equid skeleton in tomb. ED – Late Akkadian.
McMahon 2006: 40–53.

I9. Tell Ababra Grave 29
One complete *Equus asinus*, young adult male. Poorly preserved. Old Babylonian.
Piesl-Trenkwalder 1981/1982: 252; von den Driesch and Amberger 1981.

I10. Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt Grave 116
Grave with lower part of the front leg of an equid. Old Babylonian.
Hrouda 1987: 123, 147.

I11. Tall Ahmad al-Hattu burial 54/19:II
Burial with animal bones, "perhaps equid". ED.
Eickhoff 1993: Table 2.

I12. Abu Tbeirah
A. Animal Grave 1
Grave containing equid, probably *Equus asinus*, male aged 5.5. Part of larger burial ground, but no human remains in this. End ED – beginning Akkadian, *ca* 2500–2000 BC.
D'Agostino *et al.* 2015: 219; Alhaique *et al.* 2015a.
B. Grave 5
Grave with two equid bones. Sumerian.
Alhaique *et al.* 2015b: Table I and II.
C. Grave 15
Sarcophagus burial with one equid bone. *Ca* 2500–2000 BC.
D'Agostino *et al.* 2015: 210.

I13. Tell ed-Der T.272
Tomb with four equid legs in the dromos. MBA.
Wygnańska 2011: 610.

Syria

S1. Halawa Grave H-70
Grave with three *Equus asinus*, two female, one male. *Ca* 2200–2100 BC.
Orthmann 1981: 54; Boessneck and Kokabi 1981: 92–98, 101.

S2. Tell Umm el-Marra (Fig. 10)

All the below entries from the site comes from an elite mortuary complex with human tombs, installations with equids, rooms and isolated but associated finds. The whole complex belongs to the second half of the third millennium (for a reconstruction of the sequence of features, see Schwartz 2013). All the equids belong to the same species, most likely onager-donkey hybrids (Weber 2008, 2012).

A. Tomb 1

Tomb with equid skeleton against exterior of eastern wall, skull missing. *Ca* 2300 BC (built and used 2500–2200 BC).

Schwartz *et al.* 2000, 2003; Schwartz 2007, 2012a: 15–20, 2012b: 60–62.

B. Tomb 3

Tomb with animal bones, including equid. EB IVA, beginning of 25th century BC.

Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 609–610; Schwartz 2007.

C. Tomb 4

Tomb with animal bones, including equid. EB IVA. Lower layer: *ca* 2400 BC. Upper layer: mid 24th c. BC.

Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 610–623; Schwartz 2007, 2012b: 62–63.

D. Tomb 8

Equid skeleton found against exterior eastern wall of tomb. EB III.

Schwartz 2012b: 63–64; Schwartz *et al.* 2012: 160–162, 165.

E. Installation A (Fig. 11)

Installation with four complete equid skeletons (male, three aged 9–13, one aged 4–5), skulls separate from body. Partial remains of a fifth equid. EB, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 624–625, 2012: 164; Schwartz 2007, 2012a: 19–22; Weber 2008: 501–502, 2012: 165–166.

F. Installation B (Fig. 12)

Installation with two complete equids, each in their own compartment (placed standing upright, both male, one aged 20, one a bit younger). The skulls found in a gap in the brick course, and another equid skull (juvenile). Also three puppies in each compartment placed after equid interment. EB, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 625, 2012: 164; Schwartz 2007, 2012a: 19–22, 2012b: 71; Weber 2008: 502, 2012: 166–167.

G. Installation C

Installation with two nearly complete, articulated equid skeletons in each their compartment (placed standing upright, both male, one aged 20, one a bit younger). Skulls and pelvises were missing, but two equid skulls found in Tomb 1 wall may belong to the installation. Adult dog placed later between the equids. EB, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 625, 2012: 164; Weber 2008: 502–503, 2012: 166–167; Schwartz 2012a: 19–22.

H. Installation D

Installation with two complete equid skeletons, each in their own compartment (placed standing upright, both male, one over 20 years old, the other aged 15–20). In northern chamber, extremities of two further equids, and in southern chamber, four further skulls, extremities and limb bones. EB, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Schwartz *et al.* 2006: 625–627, 2012: 164; Schwartz 2007, 2012a: 19–22; Weber 2008: 503–504, 2012: 166–167.

I. Installation E

Installation with four complete equid skeletons (placed standing upright, all male, aged *ca* 5), each bisected and placed in eight different chambers, with three of the skulls placed on a ledge; articulated hindquarter of another equid. EBA, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Weber 2008: 504, 2012: 165–166; Schwartz 2012a: 19–22, 2012b: 65; Schwartz *et al.* 2012: 164–165.

J. Installation F

Installation with four equids, male of prime age. EBA, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Schwartz 2012a: 19–22; Schwartz *et al.* 2012: 164; Weber 2012: 165–166.

K. Installation G

Installation with four relatively young equids (male) in lower pit, two articulated and two disarticulated equid skeletons in upper pit. These both in one larger pit which skull and toe bones of at least another three equids. All male, one aged, the others 3–13 years old. EB, *ca* 2500–2200 BC.

Schwartz 2012a: 19–22, 2012b: 66; Schwartz *et al.* 2012: 165; Weber 2012: 167–168.

S3. Tell Brak TC Oval Burial

Burial with two or more *Equus asinus*, lacking hind legs and heads separate from body. ED IIIB, *ca* 2400–2250 BC.

Emberling and McDonald 2003: 48.

S4. Tell Banat North White Monument

Burial mound with at least four phases: In the latest (Monument A) 40% of the animal bones analysed belonged to equids, with little or no equid bones in the other phases so far. *Ca* 2600–2300 BC.

McClellan and Porter 1999: 107–108; Porter 2002a: 21, 2002b: 160–165.

S5. Tall Bi'a/Tuttul Burial U:22

Burial with complete *Equus asinus*, aged male. *Ca* 2500–2400 BC.

Boessneck and von den Driesch 1986; Strommenger and Kohlmeyer 1998: 93, pl. 17.6.

S6. Abu Hamad Tomb A5

Cist tomb with three complete but poorly preserved *Equus asinus* or *Equus hemionus*. EB IV.

Falb *et al.* 2005: 20–21, 89, 335–337; Vila 2006: 116–117.

S7. Tell Arbid Chamber Tomb G8/G9-S-37/55–2001

Equid interred in pit in front of shaft, disarticulated but complete, probably *Equus asinus*, perhaps female,

aged 15–17. Also dog skeleton found in shaft, and further equid bones, probably *Equus asinus*. MBA II.
Piątkowska-Małecka and Wygnańska 2011: 70; Wygnańska 2011: 610, 2015 – personal communication; Koliński 2012: 549.

S8. Tell Mozan Chamber Tomb 37
Complete *Equus asinus* interred in front of chamber, placed on its back. Adult, female. MBA, *ca* 2000 BC.
Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner 2001: 129–133; Doll 2010: 264–265.

S9. Tell Tuqan
A. Burial D.451
Grave with equid bone. LBA, *ca* 1400–1200 BC.
Minniti 2006: 323; Peyronel 2006: 186.
B. Burial D.458
Grave with equid bone. LBA, *ca* 1400–1200 BC.
Minniti 2006: 323; Peyronel 2006: 186.

The Levant

L1. Jericho
A. Tomb B48
Two equids, perhaps *Equus asinus*, in the shaft fill. MB IIB-C.
Ellis and Westley 1964: 695; Kenyon 1964: 211–226.
B. Tomb B50
Remains of two equids in the tomb. MB IIB-C.
Kenyon 1964: 303–312; Ellis and Westley 1964: 695.
C. Tomb B51
Remains of one equid found in the shaft of the tomb. MB IIB-C?
Kenyon 1964: 332–357; Ellis and Westley 1964: 695.
D. Tomb D9
Equids' bones found in the chamber. MB IIB-C.
Ellis and Westley 1964: 695; Kenyon 1964: 276–286.
E. Tomb D22
Remains of one equid found in the shaft. MB IIB-C.
Ellis and Westley 1964: 695; Kenyon 1964: 242–260.
F. Tomb J3
Three *Equus asinus* skulls and forelegs found in the fill. MB IIB, *ca* 1750–1625 BC.
Ellis 1960: 535–536; Kenyon 1960: 306–314; Ellis and Westley 1964: 695; Clutton-Brock 1979: 145.
G. Tomb J37
Remains of two equids found in the shaft. MB IIB-C?
Ellis and Westley 1964: 695; Kenyon 1964: 269–273.
H. Tomb M11
Remains of two equids found in the shaft. MB IIB-C?
Ellis and Westley 1964: 696; Kenyon 1964: 226–242.
I. Tomb P21
Remains of two equids found in the shaft. MB IIB-C?
Kenyon 1964: 428–438; Ellis and Westley 1964: 696.

L2. Tell el-'Ajjul
A. Tomb 1417
Complete skeleton of "donkey" east of dromos entry. MB IIA.
Petrie 1932: 5, 13, pl. XLVI, XLVII; Tufnell 1962: 2, 4–8, 10–11, 17, 21, 27; Wapnish 1997: 350.
B. Burials 1467, 1474, 1702 (TCH)
Burial 1474 contained incomplete *Equus caballus*, including skull and other bones. MB IIB-C.
Petrie 1934: 15, 16, pls. LVIII, LXII; Wapnish 1997: 350; Raulwing and Clutton-Brock 2009: 8, 21, 43–48.
C. Tomb 101
Four incomplete "asses" associated with the tomb; including many articulated parts. MB IIB-C?
Petrie 1931: 4, pls. VIII:5–6, IX, LV, LX; Wapnish 1997: 350.
D. Tomb 210 (441)
"Horse" associated with tomb, hind part missing. MB IIB-C?
Petrie 1931: 4, pls. VIII:1, IX, LV; Wapnish 1997: 350–351; Way 2010: 223.
E. Tomb 411
"Horse" in central oval pit, three legs missing. MB IIB-C?
Petrie 1931: 4, 4–5, pls. VIII:2–4, LV, LVII, LXI; Petrie 1933: pls. XLVIII, L; Wapnish 1997: 351.

L3. Megiddo Tomb 1100
Equid bones in tomb. MB I – LB I.
Guy 1938: 88–89, 210.

L4. Azor
A. Area C LB II Burial (no number assigned, Maher 2012 fig. 3.4)
Burial with equid cranium, probably *Equus asinus* aged 4.5–5. LB II.
Ben-Shlomo 2012: 17; Maher 2012: 196.
B. Area C LB II Burial (no number assigned, Maher 2012 fig. 3.5)
Burial with equid mandible fragment, scapula possibly also belonging to equid. Aged min. 3.5. LB II.
Ben-Shlomo 2012: 17; Maher 2012: 196.
C. Area C LB II Burial (no number assigned, Maher 2012 fig. 3.6)
Burial with limb bones of small equid, perhaps *Equus asinus*, aged min. 15–18. Mandible and cranium perhaps also belonging to equid. LB II.
Ben-Shlomo 2012: 17; Maher 2012: 196.
D. Area C LB II Burial (no number assigned, Maher 2012 fig. 3.7)
Burial with limb bones, probably equid, perhaps *Equus asinus*. LB II.
Ben-Shlomo 2012: 17; Maher 2012: 196.
E. Area C Shaft Tomb
Tomb with animal bones, including possible equid skull. MB IIC.
Ben-Shlomo 2012: 16–17.
F. Area B Burial Cave
Cave with equid remains, "burials of human beings and horses side by side". LB and Iron I.
Dothan 1975: 146, 1993: 127.

Note: Equid bones were found associated with Jerablus Tahtani Tomb 302, but appear to represent either refuse (Main Chamber) or re-deposited Uruk period material (Mound)[60]. Equid bones are also thought to have been found in Grave IV of Grave Circle A, Mycenae[61], but no confirmation seems available in the published reports.

[60] Croft 2015: 203, and pers. comm. Jan. 2016.
[61] Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: 102.

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Abbreviations

ARM = Archives royales de Mari
CMS = Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
RA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie

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Fossilising the Holy. Aniconic standing stones of the Near East

Nicola Scheyhing

Introduction

When it comes to the discussion of „sacred spaces" of societies of the ancient Near East, we are confronted with a huge selection of different categories. Temples and sanctuaries had been investigated extensively, their interpretation was supported by text sources as of cuneiform tablets, wall or rock inscriptions and, not least, of Biblical provenience. Beneath a direct identification by written sources, cultic buildings or sacred areas were determined by the analysis of recurrent architectural attributes and by the appearance of facilities with a ritual purpose. Altars, traces of offerings by libation or fire, offering tables or slabs are here to mention as well as displays or figurines of deities.

Another feature related to ritual activities are standing stones with an aniconic character. In ancient Greek text sources, they are referred to as *baityloi*, and in Old Testament Hebrew texts as *maṣṣebā*.

Currently, while this subject is being intensively discussed in academic publications, there is no compilation of the current state of research which is what I hope to achieve in this article. My focus on the topic of standing stones is the Levant, with its rich heritage of relevant Biblical and Classical sources, as well as the Syrian and Anatolian region.

Despite the fact that approximately 150 sites of standing stones are known from in the deserts of the southern Levant, *i.e.*, the Sinai area, the Arab Peninsula and Jordan, these regions only play a marginal role in my research. Most of these monuments are surface finds without stratigraphic information and rarely associated with any finds, which leads to dating problems. Moreover, research on monumental stone structures in Jordan and southern Israel frequently conflates standing stones with other stone structures like funerary dolmens leading to issues of definition. It is only in the recent past that research has made progress on these issues. Research on the standing stones of the Arabic Peninsula was difficult for me to access as it is mainly published in Arabic and there is no conjunction with the Levantine evidence. These difficulties made it impossible for me to assess their chronological position and cultural impact.

In order to outline the characteristics of the standing stones in the Levantine and conjoining regions, I will begin with a summary of the philological evidence.

Sikkanum

In 1953, while excavating the early 3rd millennium B.C. Nini-Zaza-temple at Mari (Fig. 1, no. 6)[1], André Parrot discovered a 1.50 m high cone-shaped stone. In the initial publication in 1954, the excavator already refers to it as a „Baitylos"[2]. This word was used by late antique authors like Philo of Byblos to characterise cultically venerated aniconic stones and steles.[3]

Though, cuneiform texts also found at the same context in Mari, interrelated the installation to the term *sikkanum*[4], which refers to the akkadian *SKN*, „(in-)habit".

In these text sources *sikkanum* refers to an object, which king Zimrilim of Mari required for a ceremony in honour of goddess Ištar. Further he planned to provide two more *sikkanatum*[5] for the gods Dagan and Addu. One passage mentioned, that a *sikkanum* was a matter of big object, which was worked out of stone. Therefore Jean-Marie Durand interpreted *sikkanum* as a synonymous for the Greek indicated *baitylos* as term for cult steles. He defined these objects as „local numen, which embodies the immanence of a deity.[6]

Isochronic to the texts from Mari dates also a cuneiform tablet from Ebla (Fig. 1, no. 17). The text mentions the Gen.Pl. *zi-ga-na-tim*.[7] Further documents also mention *sikkanum* in Emar and Ugarit. Letters and reports of the erection of such installations for sacred festivals and sacrifices clearly link the *sikkanatum*-steles to cult activities.

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1 For all sites mentioned, see maps – Fig. 1 and chart – Fig. 2, sorted by approximate dating and region.
2 Nunn 2010: 131.
3 See also under the heading *Baethyls*.
4 See also: Durand 1954: 79–84, 1988: 469–470.
5 Pl. s*ikkanum.*
6 Dietrich, Loretz and Mayer 1990: 133.
7 For more details, see Hutter 1993: 88.

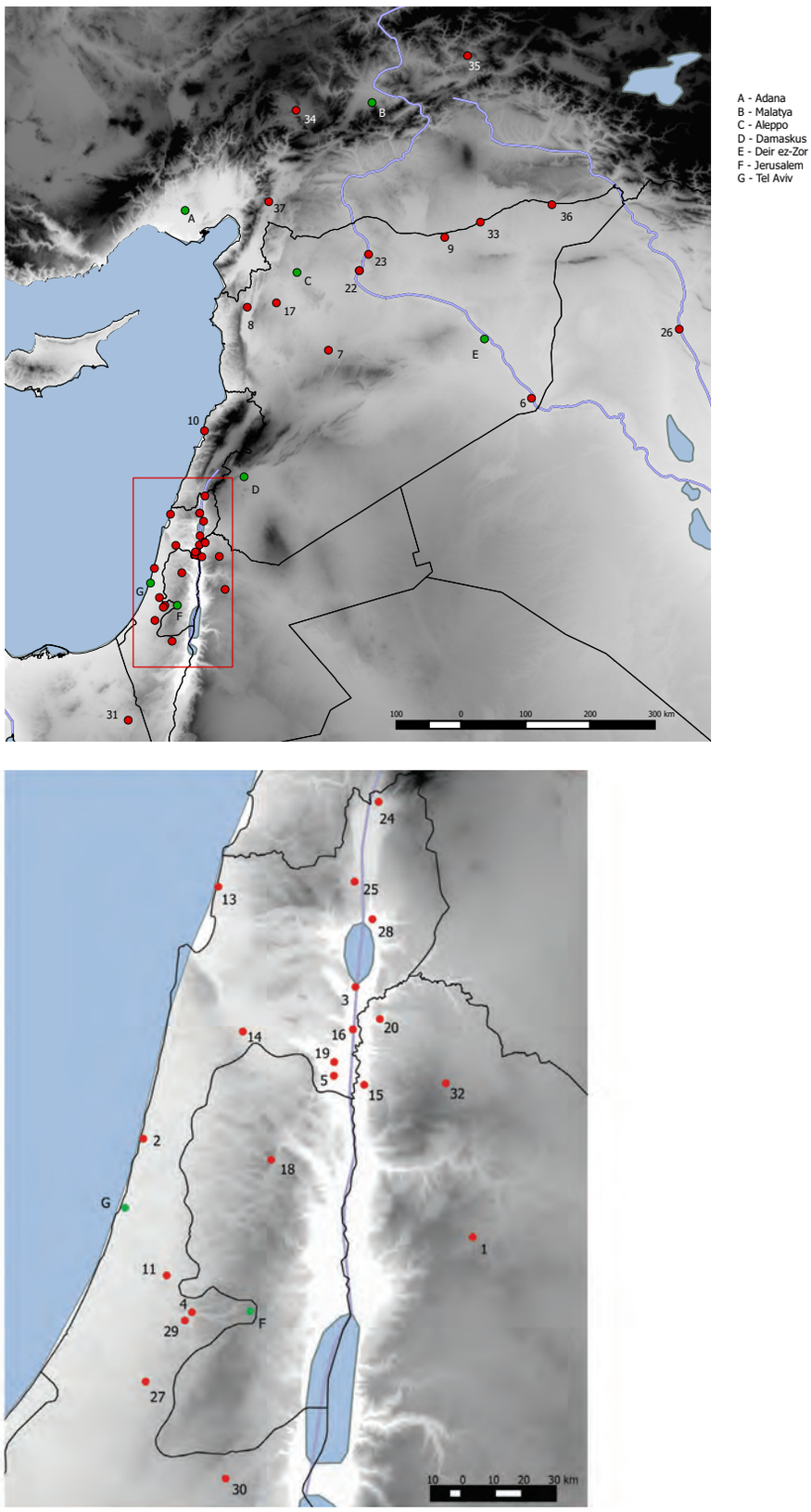

Fig. 1. Maps of the sites of standing stones mentioned in the text (compiled by N. Scheyhing)

ID	site	region	dating	context
1	ʿAin Ghazal	Jordan	LPPNB	Sanctuary
2	Tel ʿAshir	Israel	EBA	High Place
3	Beth Yerah / Khirbet Kerak	Israel	EBA	City Gate
4	Hartuv	Israel	EBA	Sanctuary
5	Tell Rehov	Israel	EBA	Sanctuary
6	Mari / Tell Hariri	Syria	EBA	Temple context
7	Ar-Rawda	Syria	EBA	Temple context
8	Tell Qarqur	Syria	EBA	temple context?
9	Tell Chuera	Syria	EBA?	Enlignment
10	Byblos	Lebanon	EBA/MBA	Temple context
11	Gezer	Israel	MBA	High Place
12	Hazor	Israel	MBA	Temple context
13	Nahariya	Israel	MBA	Open air sanctuary / City Gate related
14	Megiddo	Israel	MBA	Temple context
15	Tell el-Ḥayyāt	Jordan	MBA	Temple context
16	Tel Kitan / Musa	Jordan	MBA	Temple context
17	Ebla / Tell Mardikh	Syria	MBA	Sanctuary
18	Shechem / Tell Balāṭal	Palestine	M/LBA	Temple context
19	Beth Shean	Israel	LBA	Temple context
20	Tall Zira´a	Jordan	LBA	City Gate
21	Tell Munbāqa	Syria	LBA	passage
22	Tell Munbāqa / Ekalte	Syria	LBA	Temple context
23	Tell Bazi	Syria	LBA	unclear
24	Tel Dan	Israel	LBA/Iron Age	City Gate / Sanctuary
25	Hazor	Israel	LBA/Iron Age	Sanctuary
26	Assur	Iraq	Iron Age	Enlignment
27	Lachish	Israel	Iron Age	Sanctuary
28	Bethsaida	Israel	Iron Age	City Gate
29	Beth Shemesh	Israel	Iron Age	Open air sanctuary / City Gate related
30	Arad	Israel	Iron Age	Sanctuary
31	Kuntillet ʿAğrud	Egypt	Iron Age	City Gate related
32	Tirzah / Tell el-Farʿah	Palestine	Iron Age	City Gate
33	Tell Fecheriya	Syria	Iron Age	single
34	Karahöyük	Turkey	Iron Age	single
35	Kuşaklı	Turkey	Iron Age	Sanctuary?
36	Nusaybin	Turkey	Iron Age	single
37	Zincirli	Turkey	Iron Age	single

Fig. 2. Summary table of the sites dealt with in the text and mapped in Figure 1 (compiled by N. Scheyhing)

Another reference to the term is found on tablet KTU 1.17 from Ugarit, which is often cited as evidence for their use in the context of ancestral adoration.[8]

The act of sacrificing in front of *sikkanatum* seem to intend, that they functioned as a representation of deities. This is underlined by the interpretation, that *sikkanum* may be derived from *SKN* (Akkadian. „to live or inhabit"), instead of to *ŠKN*, "to set or erect". If so, the stone object is addressed as an imagined habitation of an entity. Therefore, in the Semitic usage *sikkanum* may be a cognate of *bêt ´aelohím* (House of God), which is mentioned in Genesis 28,17.22 and Judges 17,5 in the Old Testament.

A contract text from Sfire mentions the *terminus technicus bty ´lhy*, which is translated as „animated stone".[9]

This interpretation is underlined by a text passage from Emār, which describes the initiation ceremony of a priestess of Entu. Sacrifices and libations at a cultic steles in a temple of Ḫebat are mentioned which are considered to represent the goddess.

SKN are also mentioned in Ugaritic texts dealing with the responsibilities of the descendants to commemorate their forefathers. Dietrich, Lorenz and Mayer have noticed that appearance of *sikkanatum* outside of the cult of deities in the context of ancestral veneration only appears at Ugarit. Therefore, it seems to be a matter of local negotiation.[10]

Sikkanatum also appear in malediction phrases directed against perjurers in documents found in Emār and Munbāqa. In these texts, a number of deities are summoned to take vengeance on the breach of contracts, and as a punishment *sikkanatum* are to be erected by the houses of the culprits. In this context, Dietrich, Lorenz and Mayer link the *sikkanatum* to their significance in the death cult at Ugarit and propose that their function is a component of a curse of ultimate doom, in other words of death. Thereby they present two different kinds of denotations of the *sikkanatum*: In public cult contexts, they functioned as the loci of divinities, in private observances they are linked to the death cult and symbolise death and perdition.[11]

Summing up, *sikkanatum* are characterised as standing stones, which are worked, mainly in the form of steles, and erected as a domicile of deities. Therefore, they had a numinous character themselves. They took part as important participants in cultic ritual acts and played a role in the conclusions of contracts, in which they took part both as witnesses and representatives of the deities and thereby exhibiting their numinous character.[12]

Ḫuwaši

In the 2. millennium BC the term *ḫuwaši* first appears in a Hittite text related to cultic purposes. The term itself related to the Akkadian loan word *humă/ûsum*, which is found in the Mari texts. Thus the term *ḫuwaši* can be interpreted as being synonymous to *sikkanum*, which could lead to the assumption, that the manor of the veneration of numinous stone objects spread from the Syrian to the Anatolian region.[13]

In contrast to the *sikkanatum*, there are no Hittite objects which can be confidently identified as sacred stones despite the fact that there are extensive written sources referring to their appearance and the use in cult contexts.[14]

The term *ḫuwaši* only applies in texts with cultic content, though it is sometimes also translated as „grinding stone".[15]

A number of sources refer to their shape: According to their descriptions they were mainly made of stone, but could also been made of wood or metal or been coated with metal in particular cases. They differed in size, some of them must have been small enough to put them on an altar, and they could also been decorated with reliefs.[16]

No information survives about of the shape of the *ḫuwaši*, but they are descried as objects which had been erected.[17]

There is textual evidence that *huwaši* were cult objects. They mention the erection or re-erection of *huwaši* for a deity, their ministration and sacrifices in front of them.[18]

In one case[19] it is indicated, that someone enters a *huwaši* or emerged. This could be interpreted, that the term *huwaši* was also used for a sanctuary or cult complex referring to a stele.[20]

Also, the Hittite ideogram for temple (*É.DINGIRlim*) and *ḫuwaši* (*NA4 ZI.KIN*) are used analogous sporadically. While for some of the numerous Hittite deities temples are intended, others were equipped with *ḫuwaši* instead.

[8] Hutter 1993: 88–89.
[9] Hutter 1993: 90.
[10] Dietrich, Loretz and Mayer 1990: 134–135.
[11] Dietrich, Loretz and Mayer 1990: 135–137. Another passage concerning a *sikkanum* dedicated to Dagan is known from Tell Bi´a. A later reference dating to the 1st millennium BC from Tell Fecheriyah refers to an erection for the river (god) Habur – Castel 2011: 78.
[12] Hutter 1993: 90–91.
[13] Hutter 1993: 91.
[14] Darga 1970: 5–23.
[15] Darga 1970: 11. The frequently synonymous terms *Massebah* and *Baityl* are sometimes translated as „grinding stones". This might indicate the veneration of stone objects in the domestic sector.
[16] Hutter 1993: 92–93; see also Figulla 1916,1 ii 21–23 and Güterbock 1983: 215.
[17] Darga 1970: 11.
[18] Güterbock 1925: 2iii 1–3, 1926: 1 ii 1–4, 1934: 15.
[19] For example, Güterbock 1922: I 3 ii 32f., 1924: 1, 22f., 61 Rs. 3f., 1927: 99 ii 25f.
[20] Hutter 1993: 94–95.

It seems, that both, temple and *ḫuwaši,* had a similar denotation.

Temples served as a mundane habitation of a deity, which they could visit for rest, to dine from sacrifices or to interact with believers. Therefore, the availability of such „contact points" for various numina at different cult centres was essential. The sheer amount of deities populating the Hittite Pantheon made it impossible to provide an own house, represented by a temple, for each of them. Hence a *ḫuwaši* was used as an alternative for these purposes.

However, the *ḫuwaši* itself did not symbolised the deity at all, which was underlined by several reports of situations where statues of gods have been brought to their *ḫuwaši*. As well as a temple, these objects represented not the deities themselves, but their dwelling.

Other sources reported, that *ḫuwaši* had been erected not only in temples, but in forests, groves or other open air sanctuaries. Statues of deities were lead to them in processions and erected behind them, which symbolised the entering of the numina in their house, represented by a *ḫuwaši,* where they received sacrifices and veneration[21] It remains unclear if the Hittites differentiated between the meaning of a *ḫuwaši* as an object of cultic purpose for the veneration of a deity, or in their function as a representative of the particular one[22].

Waniza

The passing of the Hittite empire and the establishment of the late Hittite states led to the enforcement of the luwian hieroglyphs against the Hittite characters also at inscriptions. The former *ḫuwaši* was substituted with *waniza*. Now also inscriptions on steles appear, so that it was possible to identify a number of *waniza* in archaeological context. Examples include standing stones from Karahöyük in Elbistan, Darende, Cekke and the stele from Aleppo, which was found in Babylon.[23]

All known *waniza* are characterised as flat steles with a rounded top side, wearing inscriptions and, in some cases, reliefs. Their shape may be a symbolisation of hills or mountains, referring to the numerous references to mountain imagery in the Hittite mythology.[24] In a linguistic terms they follow the Hittite tradition of the *ḫuwaši,* but also show conjunctions with the Mesopotamian *kudurru.*[25]

One example for a *waniza* is the stele of Karahöyük (Fig. 1, no. 34) in Elbistan.[26] The piece has a 0.55 to 11 m diameter, is 2.69 m tall and rounded on the top and bottom. One side is left rough, the other three carefully worked and inscribed with hieroglyphs. It was fixed by rubble in a foundation, which was 1 x 2 m in size, 0.32 m high and had a 0.35 x 1.10 m broad and 0.28 m deep recess. In front of the stele stood a basin, which measured 0.75 x 1.05 m and a height of 0.40 m. There was no building, which could be linked to the stone. It stood in an open space, with a plastered street running towards it. The excavators date the complex to the end of the Hittite Empire at around 1200 BC, due to small finds discovered on the open area. It was obstructed at a later date.[27]

In 1996, during a survey accompanying the excavation Kuşaklı (Fig. 1, no. 35), remains of a building were found near a spring pool 2.5 km away from the settlement. Two remarkable large stones where found at the plastered courtyard of the building, but no further archaeological evidence for any kind of a *huwaši* sanctuary.[28] The excavators presumed, that this could have been a sanctuary of the "*huwaši* – stones of the weather god", which is mentioned by a cuneiform tablet (Kuşaklı, tablet inv. 19) with ritual content, found at the acropolis at Kuşaklı,. It names some *huwaši* in a cult building near a sacred pond named *Suppitassi,* which the excavator identified with the spring pool.[29]

During the excavations of Troy (Fig. 1, no. 26), a number of stone steles were uncovered which had been linked to the context of cultic venerated stones by the excavators. Several flat stone slabs with and rounded tops were discovered very close to the gates of Troy VI (1700–1300 BC). They had a height of one to two meters and had been embedded in the soil. One example found near the southern gate had a foundation stone.[30]

Waniza seem to have the same function as *huwaši.* Moreover, their optical appearance seems to be identical, they could also display inscriptions[31]. One example is a stele from Darende, which was found in a Medresse in Sivas. It is made of basalt and 0.79 x 0.80 x 0.20 m in size. It shows a three-lined inscription, which contained the name of a king, a praise of his name and the statement, that he had erected the stele as an altar.[32]

Other examples include an inscribed Hittite stele from Cekke and one from the temple of the weather god of

[21] Darga 1970, 12–17. The designation of *ḫuwaši as* landmarks does not exclude their religious significance. Similar to the *sikkanatum,* they functioned as representatives for deities, witnessing the regulation of borders; Hutter 1993: 95.

[22] Güterbock 1983: 215.

[23] Orthmann 1971: figs 5b, 5d, 6a.

[24] Darga 1970: 16.

[25] Hutter 1993: 96. Stone stele referred to as *Kudurru* were in use at the Kassite Kingdom of Babylonia in the 16th to 12th century BC. They were in use as documents guaranteeing borders and landholding. Therefore they were erected in temples, showing symbols of deities and invocations of gods to assure the legitimation of the written documents – Orthmann 1975: 54.

[26] Darga 1969: 20f, pl. I and II.

[27] Özgüç and Özgüç 1949: 70 –71.

[28] Müller-Karpe 1997: 108–109.

[29] Müller-Karpe 1997: 118–120.

[30] Korfmann 1998: 471–473.

[31] Hutter 1993: 96.

[32] Bossert (1956: 348–349) translated „grinding stone" instead of altar, which seems to be a commonality of all types of cultic venerated stone installations.

Aleppo, which was deported to Babylon.[33] Thereby, the question, how such *waniza* could be delimitated against other kinds of ritual which used stone objects which show representations and inscriptions, remains unclear.

Maṣṣebot

The term *maṣṣebot* descends from the Hebrew *maṣṣebā* and its radical *nṣb,* "to set, to erect"[34]. Further, examples of the translation „dressed stone" of the Hebrew term *mṣbh* appear.[35]

While this term clearly refers to erected standing stones, it is unclear, if it makes a distinction between worked and unworked, inscribed or uninscribed stones or such ones supplied with reliefs could be assumed. Due to the mention of these terms in passages of the Old Testament it is widely accepted, that these installations belonged to a cultic context.[36]

Early interpretations of the 19th century correlated stones with rounded top sides, which were discovered in excavations in Palestine[37], as phallic symbols of a fertility cult. Further, they were also seen as imaginations of animistic numina. As these installations mostly appeared near other cultic inventory, like basins made of stone or assemblies interpreted as altars, these rounded, undecorated stones were identified as cult steles.[38]

The common practice of the secondary utilisation of cult steles as architectural elements in later times led to a number of misinterpretations. The evolutionistic concept of society at the beginning of the 20th century AD found it obvious to explain, that "primitive" stone idols had been reused as profane items in times of a new, more "advanced", monotheistic cult. But this usually involved fragments of pillar bases and plinths being misinterpreted as remains of former cultic standing stones.[39]

In passages of the Old Testament, two different aspects of cult steles and standing stones are mentioned. Mostly these prophetic readings, condemning pagan cult practices like sacrifices to deities, who are not Jahwe, mainly named as Ba´al and Astarte. They mention the veneration of idols as well as *maṣṣebots*. Their repeated disaffirmation in Biblical texts indicates that these cult steles enjoyed a high degree of esteem in popular beliefs.[40] These prophetic condemnations also reveal information about the sites where the steles were erected and venerated which are termed „high places", *i.e.*, open-air sanctuaries which are seen as precursors of later temples.[41]

Evidence for a sacra-judicial meaning of the *maṣṣebah* cult is given in *Exodus* 24,4, in which Moses erected 12 *maṣṣebots* as substitutes for the 12 tribes of Israel, and *Genesis* 31, 44–54, which describes the conclusion of the contract between Jacob and Laban which is accompanied by the erection of a stone as a witness.[42]

The most important and detailed reference to a *maṣṣebot* in Biblical sources is the story of the well-known dream sequence Jacob´s Ladder (Gen. 28, 18f.). The story includes the detail that while he was dreaming, Jacob rested his head on a stone. When he awoke, he declared the place he slept on to be sacred. He then erected his pillow stone and he sacrificed to it by libating oil. In doing so, he addressed the stone as a representation of Jahwe.[43] Furthermore, he referred to a *maṣṣebah* as a „House of God", which is a common Biblical paraphrase for a temple. This has led to the interpretation, that *maṣṣebots*, like temples, are interfaces between numina and the profane world.[44] Besides its function as a representation of the deity, the stone in the lore of Jacob operates also as a witness: It witnesses the vow of Jacob, to accept Jahwe as the one and only god, if he makes a safe return from Harran.[45] „Bethel" ,a place name mentioned in the story of Jacob, is of special interest in this context. It is assumed, that it derives from semitic *bēt ´il*, which can be translated as "House of God". It is broadly assumed, that this name was assigned to a complex of erected stones, and later evolved into the ancient Greek *baitylion* as a designation of stones thought to have thaumaturgic powers.[46]

This supposed transformation has led to a tendency, to use the terms *maṣṣebot* and *baitylos* as being synonymous.[47] The *maṣṣebot* in the Jacob narrative, however, is of special interest, as it is also mentioned in other passages of the *Genesis*.[48]

A wholly different semantic context for these steles is provided by the story of the *Maṣṣebot* of Absalom (2. Sam 18.18), which he erected as a memorial stele before he died. No other Biblical description of standing stones mentions a funerary context. Therefore, Hutter assumes,

[33] Orthmann 1971: figs 5b, 5d, 6a.
[34] At this juncture it is worth mentioning the linguistic proximity of *huwaši* to *sikkanum* – Hutter 1993: 99.
[35] Markoe and Ohlsen 2003: 123.
[36] Dohmen 1995: 730.
[37] For example in Gezer.
[38] Grässer 1973: 3.
[39] Burrows 1934: 42–51.
[40] Hutter 1993: 99–100.
[41] Such a „high places" have presumably been discovered in Gezer and Tell Ashir, among other sites; Grässer 1973: 34.
[42] Hutter 1993: 100.
[43] Hutter 1993: 100–101.
[44] Grässer 1973: 46–48.
[45] Hutter 1993: 100–101.
[46] Grässer 1973: 46–48.
[47] Hutter 1993: 100–101. Following Grässer (1973: 46–48), the Syro-Palestinian, aniconic installations of the Bronze and Early Iron Age could be clearly divided from the later *baytiloi* of Late Antique Syria or the Nabatean examples. This is also because they cannot be described as "standing stones".
[48] Hutter 1993: 100–101.

that the term *maṣṣebāh* was mistranslated in later times to include grave steles.[49]

In contrast to the usual Deuteronomic condemnation of *Massebots*, the verses *Exodus* 24:4 and *Deuteronomy* 27:3 condone and indeed command the use of steles as memorial and inscription stones.[50] Although there are multiple references in the *Old Testament* (*i.e.*, Dtn 16:) as well as inscription and iconograpic information the semantic context of the aniconic *maṣṣebots* still require much further interpretative effort. As Grässer rightly indicated, their analysis is not only a problem of current academic discourse but also reflects the fact that the ancient beholder had a variety of different possibilities of interpreting of such steles.

He clearly distinguished the *maṣṣebots* from the inscribed and decorated steles of Mesopotamia and Anatolia like the *kudurru*, and defines them as a Syro-Palestinian phenomenon, which may have spread to further areas during the establishment of the Phoenician colonies. Their aniconic character is their salient feature.[51]

Baethyls

According to late antique authors like Philo of Byblos[52] or Damaskius of Damascos' *Vita isidori*[53], *baetyls* or *baityloi* were known as "exceptional / ensouled stones" (Philo of Byblos). In ancient Greek sources they are described as "sent by Uranus", „occurring in swarms" (Damascius), and as being colourful with a luminating nucleus. This has led to the interpretation, that they might have been meteorites. It was rumoured that they had abilities for prophecy and magical powers.[54]

Following Fick[55], they were "naturally shaped stones, unworked by human hand, to which numinous characteristics were ascribed".

The best-known historic example is the Elagabal of Emesa. We owe an elaborate description of the *baetyl* itself and the related rituals by Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antonius (204–222 AD), who was the hierophant of its cult. Herodian characterised Elagabal in his *History of the empire of Marcus Aurelius* as a „very large stone, round underneath and peaked at the top; it (therefore) has a conic shape, and it is coloured black, which is related to the holy legend, that it fell from the sky".[56].

It remains unclear how the transformation of the term *baitylos* from a description of unworked stones and meteorites to religiously venerated aniconic steles and other "sacred" stones happened. It has been suggested on various occasions, that the term *baitylos* may be a semantic transfer from a Semitic term, related to the place-name „Bethel" which is mentioned in the Biblical Jacob narrative, *i.e.*, *bet´il*, (Hebrew for "house of El/God").[57] However, in which sense the term *baitylos* was in use in the ancient Greek parlance before Late Antiquity has not been extensively researched. At the close of Antiquity the term *baetyl* was and is commonly used synonymously for all types of cult steles and cultic venerated stones.

A number of objects that have been described as *baethyls* are known from Phoenician contexts. Examples include stones from Kommos on Crete, but also western Phoenician steles like those found in Mozia near San Pantalo at Sicily or Mogador in Morocco. Besides their association with temples, they are also located in open air sanctuaries known as *bamah*. Further Phoenician examples were discovered at the so called Ma´abed in Amrit or at the Eshmun sanctuary at Bustan el-Sheikh near Sidon.[58] These steles are mainly pillar shaped or conic and erected on a plinth or set into a rectangular slot.[59]

Related stone objects of Bronze Age Crete belonging to the Minoan and Mycenaean period are probably not *baethyls* in the Levantine sense. Examples are known from Pylakopi, Gournia, and Mallia.

They can be rounded, egg-shaped or similar to steles.[60] Besides the objects themselves, a number of images on small fiancé plaques have been discovered in the shaft graves of Knossos, showing libation scenes in front of pillar-shaped or rounded objects. This custom of sacrificing in front of cultic venerated stone objects brings them in reach of Levantine customs.[61]

The most popular piece of the antique was a cone-shaped stone from Paphos on Cyprus, which was venerated as a representation of Aphrodite. The related sanctuary was passed down since the Bronze Age, from the late 13th to the end of the 4th century AD.[62]

The holy stone and its cult were famous in antiquity and a number of authors, including Homer and Tacitus, referred to it.[63] The first images of the Paphos stone are known from Roman coins.

Neither the stone itself or its setting has been found in either the Late Bronze Age building or in the succeed-

[49] Hutter 1993: 104. The twin pillars Jachin and Boaz, which are said to have been erected by Salomon in front of the temple in Jerusalem, are commonly related to *maṣṣebots*. They are however defined in the Bible as *´ammûd*, (column) not as *maṣṣēbot*. Although they also had a cultic function, their primary purpose was to mark the passage from the profane to the sacred world: Grässer 1973: 46.

[50] Dohmen 1995: 730.

[51] Grässer 1973: 35–38.

[52] Herennius Philon: FGrH III C, 790, 2.

[53] Asmus 1911: 121,26–123,2.

[54] Fauth 1979: 806.

[55] Invoked to Gese, Höfner and Rudolph 1970: 191f.; Fauth 1975: 806–808; Kron 1992: 59 f, 63f.

[56] Fick 2004: 157–161.

[57] Fauth 1979: 807.

[58] Markoe 2003: 122–129.

[59] Markoe 2003: 124.

[60] Warren 1990: 203–206.

[61] Warren 1990: 193.

[62] Kron 1992: 61.

[63] Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 81.

ing Roman temple. A roughly worked, conic black stone, 1.22 m in height, was, however, discovered near the Roman pillar hall and may be Aphrodite´s stone lying in a secondary position.[64]

Nefeš

A tradition of stone adoration in the Aramaic city-states, reaching back to the first half of the 1st millennium BC, can be inferred by the etymology of certain personal and place names. Examples are Ancient Sikkān, identified with Tell Fecheriya (Fig. 1, no. 32) and Aramaic Nisibis, nowadays Nusaybin (Fig. 1, no. 36) on the Syro-Turkish border. The identification of *Sikkān* was made possible by an Assyro-Aramaic bilingual inscription on a stele found on the site. First references this place-name from clay tablets dating back to the 2nd millennium BC mention a settlement of that name near the river Chabur. Lipinski suggested the etymological affinity for this place name to the term *skn* used in the 3rd millennium BC.

In contrast, Nisibis was first mentioned as an Aramaic settlement in the 1st millennium BC.[65] The name Nisibis can be derived from the Assyrian term *Naṣībīna*. Its root *nṣb*, to erect something, is mainly used in the context of erecting (sacred) pillars. Lipinski concludes that the city may have been a cult centre for a holy stone alluded to in the Early Iron Age.[66]

Furthermore, he presumes, that the Hebrew *maṣṣēbā* with its root *mṣbt*, and the root *nṣb*, to which the Aramaic **naṣībīn* as well as the Arabic *naṣub* refer, could be related to the erection of cult stones as the *baetyls*.

In addition, in Aramaic texts in the Old Testament, the Hebrew *maṣṣēbā* is translated to *qām*.

The *terminus qām* was often purposed in Aramaic personal names, which commonly imply the name of a deity or the term god itself, for example Qāmu-ma-´ilum, "*baetyl* of god", found in the Mari texts dating to the 7th century BC, or Ba ´lum-qāmum, "Ba´al is a *baethyl*".

These personal names are further evidence showing *baethyls* being identified with deities and interacting with adorants. Another instance is *Ša-ma-´ -Qá-am-lí* – "The *baethyl* paid attention to me" – indicating the stone´s sentience.[67]

An Aramaic inscription on a stele from Zincirli (Fig. 1, no. 37), discovered in 2008, sheds new light to this interpretation. It shows the image of a seated male, feasting next to an inscription and dates back to the last third of the 8th century BC.[68] The inscription indicates, that the erector of the stele commissioned it as a resting place for his soul after his death, so that he could take part in the feasts and celebrations of commemorating the ancestors.[69] In this case, the cult steles was part of the ancestral cult, as is mentioned in text sources from Ugarit. It is an extraordinary example of such a cult stele, which is typically aniconic.[70]

Memorials of the dead called *nefe*š (soul) in the Nabatean cultural provenience can only be mentioned briefly. They appear as buttresses or as reliefs of *baethyls* on grave monuments.[71]

Cult steles and cult stones – archaeological context

Although an extensive number of publications concerning cult steles and –stones have been written, many are focused on philological aspects of classification. The archaeological features themselves are usually relegated to appendices or buried in annotations. Therefore, I would like to contribute a summary of the archaeological evidence below. I intend to focus on the Levant and adjoining areas where a classification to the relevant philological terms *sikkanum* and *massebot* has been made by linking the archaeological features to written sources or by indirect relations to the corresponding cultural context (Figs 1–2).

Sikkanum

In 1954 André Parrot excavated the central courtyard of the Temple of Nini-Zaza in Mari (Fig. 1, no. 26), which dates to the 3rd millennium BC. He discovered a conical stone pillar in the centre of a courtyard, which he compared to a row of standing stones from Gezer in Israel which was already well known at that time. Parrot named the stone as a *baetyl* in his publication one year later, a term he was familiar with in the ancient Greek sources.

The conically shaped stone pillar in question was 1.50 m high and made of coarse basalt. There was no trace of an associated pedestal or any other foundation structure, and the pillar was not found *in situ*. In Parrot`s reconstruction, it originally rested on the compacted clay floor of the temple´s courtyard.[72]

Further excavations in 2006 and 2007 revealed the *massif rouge*, a plateau of mudbricks, on which a ritual complex containing the northern temples had been built. In the Temple Nord 2 a 0.46 x 0.18 x 0.14 m limestone feature was revealed in 2007. Traces of a road, which was

64 Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 98–99.
65 Lipinski 2000: 599.
66 Lipinski 2000: 110.
67 Lipinski 2000: 600.
68 Pardee 2009: 51–52.
69 Pardee 2009: 62.
70 The aniconic representation of *baethyls* and related constructions as a main characteristic is discussed broadly elsewhere, but in my opinion with no satisfying results yet. See further: Nunn 2010; Mettinger 1995.
71 Kühn 2005: 101.
72 Parrot 1971: 156–157.

Fig. 3. Stele alignment from Tell Chuera, dated approximately Early Bronze Age. A relation to a street is assumed, a possible relationship to a cult building is not proven (photos by N. Scheyhing)

interpreted as a *via sacra*, conjoining the sacred area of the *massif rouge* with the Nini-Zaza-temple in the south had been investigated in the previous year. Jean-Marie Durand`s excavations in 1952 in the *massif rouge* area revealed a further standing roughly worked stone slab, in its north-eastern corner. It was 1.20 m in height and approximately 0.70 m thick. Another nearly unworked stone was found lying directly beneath this stele. A small test trench revealed that an uncertain number of smaller worked stone slabs once accompanied the foundation in this area which the excavators interpreted as an alignment.[73]

In the 1960s, excavations in Ebla (Fig. 1, no. 26) revealed related features from Middle Bronze Age contexts, which had not been linked to the custom of the veneration of aniconic stones at that time. They include a *cella* at Temple D, containing a stele, 1.20 m high and made of basalt, which was found still erected and *in situ*. In front of it lay a shallow slab with two impressions which probably was the site of sacrifices. A further stone object, a decorated basin, was located in a niche of the *cella*. Another stele, 1.03 m in height, was found leaning on the south-western wall outside of the *cella*.[74]

Steles from the so-called *Stelenstraße* (Street of the Steles) in Tell Chuera (Fig. 1, no. 26; Fig. 3) were excavated in 1958. It is an alignment made up of an unspecified number of two to three meter high, roughly hewn stone slabs, which are slightly pointed on their tops, still *in situ* at present. These stones are distributed on a 70 m long trajectory, which leads to a poorly preserved building, known as the *Außenbau*, an extramural building, whose purpose remains unclear. A path, running between the steles and even enclosing them, was made of smooth and accurately paved small cobble stones, which were flattened on the surface. The steles had been embedded 0.50 m deep in the ground, and there was no evidence of any foundation or socket constructions. None of them was inscribed or decorated. Only one of the steles stands out with its unique triangular profile, perhaps a later modification. The alignment most likely dates to the Early Bronze Age.[75]

A feature found in the temple area of Ar-Rawda (Fig. 1, no. 7) has also been interpreted as a standing stone serving cultic purposes. This a 3.20 m tall and 0.50 m broad stone slab, which was encountered still *in situ*, stood in a round room with a diameter of 3.70 m. Benches were running along the walls, which were interpreted by the excavators as a possible shelf for votive offerings. The room was located at the northern end of a *temenos* wall surrounding a complex of buildings, which is interpreted as a temple district.[76] The subsequent rooms contained plastered basins, which were probably used for cult activities such as libations.[77] The temple dates from the Early Bronze Age IV, to the end of the 3rd millennium BC.[78]

A similar feature was discovered in Munbāqa (Fig. 1, no. 22), ancient *Ekalte*. This so called *Steinbau/*Stone Construction 4, is a cult building belonging to the Late Bronze Age city, located adjacent to the northern gate.[79] Steinbau 4 is an east west oriented temple *in ante* with adjacent rooms.[80] Two stone pillars are associated with this structure. The larger is rectangular, 1.20 m high example stands on the base of the stairway connecting the entrance vestibule to the temple. At its base were various slabs, some of which covered a pit in which frag-

[73] Butterlin 2011: 95–100.
[74] Nunn 2010: 138, see also: Matthiae 1989: 150–152, and pls 105–106.
[75] Moortgat 1960: 9.
[76] Castel 2010: 123.
[77] Nunn 2010: 138.
[78] Castel 2010: 123.
[79] Blocher *et al.* 2008: 92.
[80] Blocher *et al.* 2008: 96.

ments of a stone vessel, which the excavators believe was ritually destroyed and deposited.[81]

South west of the outer door of the complex, another roughly worked stone pillar was found *in-situ*, leaning against the north-western wall of a plastered niche of the *temenos* wall.[82]

A nearly quadratic standing stone in Tell Qarqur (Fig. 1, no. 8) was found in a badly damaged building, that might have been a temple in antis. It is likely to date to the Early Bronze Age at around 2350–2200 BC. The roughly hewn stone which was not completely excavated reached a height of 0.80 m.[83]

A similar Late Bronze Age feature of roughly worked local stone was discovered in Tell Bazi (Fig. 1, no. 23) in 2007.[84]

The relationship of the alignment of steles in Assur (Fig. 1, no. 26) to the Levantine standing stones is still debated.[85] In Assur, 167 stones were aligned along a Late Bronze and Early Iron Age yard or street, between the city walls and the suburbia. They are known to be erected by Salmanassar III around 840 BC.[86] Some of these stones are roughly worked in form of pillars or steles, while others were finely worked and decorated. Most of them were inscribed, mentioning names and ancestry of kings and nobles, as well as of functionaries. If related to the context of the *sikkanatum* mentioned in Ugaritic texts, they could be seen in the context of an ancestor cult and therefore should be considered in this discussion.[87]

Maṣṣebot

Perhaps the best known excavated complex of standing stones referred to as *maṣṣebots* is known from the Gezer (Fig. 1, no. 11) alignment on a hilltop, forming a so-called „High Place" as described in the Old Testament. A row of ten roughly worked steles runs from north to south. They are 1.57–3.16 m in height, have a diameter of 0.35–1.40 m at the bottom and 0.38–0.76 m at the top and are made of local limestone. In front of the fifth and sixth stele, as seen from the north, lay a rectangular stone block with a depression on its surface. Its purpose is highly debated, as there are no traces either for a use as a water basin, as a fireplace nor as an enclosure of another pillar or eventually an Ashera-tree. Although the site is generally dated to the Middle Bronze Age IIC, this dating is debateable. Near these steles some older graves and a Late Bronze Age ceramic deposition was found which also contains a bronze figurine of a naked, horned goddess, that underlines the cultic purpose of the site.[88]

Another High Place, Hebrew „*Bamah*," may have once existed in Nahariya (Fig. 1, no. 13). A partly preserved building found under a later temple on the site was interpreted by the excavators as a Middle Bronze Age sanctuary. A number of large stones standing were erected in front of it, which, if they were *maṣṣebots*, could be seen as evidence for the existence of *bamah* that preceded a later sanctuary.[89]

One of the newer discoveries is an alignment on Tel ´Ashir (Fig. 1, no. 2), which was excavated in 1981 and 1982. The construction consists of 16 roughly worked steles made of limestone or sandstone, running in a scattered line from northwest to southeast. They are between 0.30–1.26 m high and 0.04 x 0.75 to 0.09 x 0.30 m in diameter and rounded on top. In between them, the ground was paved by sandstone slabs, while pebble stones were used to stabilise the ground. The site dates to the Late Bronze Age and may have replaced an earlier construction of the Middle Bronze Age. It could also be interpreted as a *bamah.*[90]

The Early Iron Age (10th century BC) temple of stratum XI in Arad (Fig. 1, no. 30) seems to be a reuse of a former open-air sanctuary. The *cella* of the rectangular building was equipped with a niche on its western wall, which could be reached by three steps. There, an elaborately worked stele with a rounded top was discovered. Two more, but more roughly worked steles leaned against the northern and southern wall.[91] Another two stone pedestals were found in front of the entrance of the *cella*, which may have been supported by wooden posts or stands. In the front courtyard, a quadratic altar, made of soil and cobble stones was found. As it shows traces of heat and might have been used for fire sacrifices.[92]

A similar feature was found in the Early Bronze Age Stratum II of Hartuv (Fig. 1, no. 4). A presumed cult building was partly excavated. A large rectangular room facing a courtyard might have been roofed, as five flat stones, possibly bases of wooden pillars, were found in its middle axis. Opposite the entrance at least ten stone slabs with a maximum height of 1.20 m leaned against the wall. These steles were slightly worked with a smooth surface and round edges, while two had a rectangular shape. In front of two of the steles ashy material and burnt animal bones were found on a narrow bench made of pebble stones. The excavators proposed that a further

81 Blocher *et al.* 2008: 104–105.
82 Blocher *et al.* 2008: 115.
83 Castel 2010: 72.
84 Castel 2010: 78. Further examples from Tell Qarqur and Tell Bazi were made known to to Castel directly by the excavators but are still unpublished.
85 Canby 1976: 113–114.
86 Gressmann 1927: 123.
87 Andrae 1913: 11–16.
88 Zwickel 1994: 64–67.
89 Zwickel 1994: 39. Zwickel correctly mentions that the standard of the publication is poor, and a planned new publication by Sharon Zuckerman would have shed more light on the matter, but was not realised before her death in 2014.
90 Ayalon and Gophna 2004: 155–165.
91 Aharoni 1968 speculates, that these might have been *maṣṣebots*, which were not in use anymore and therefore had been stored there.
92 Aharoni 1968: 18–19.

flattened stone, perhaps another stele that was found in an adjoining small chamber, was later used as an "offering table".[93]

At Tell Rehov a building dating to the Early Bronze Age IIB was excavated, which was interpreted as a sanctuary. It contained of a spacious courtyard, oven, clay bins and benches as well as a mud-brick pedestal in the northeast, which formed the basis for a pebble packing, on which three small, upright, unworked stones were placed facing the big courtyard. Fragments of a broken pottery altar were found in front of the stone slabs, making it likely that their identification as *maṣṣebots* by the excavators is correct.[94]

In Tell el-Ḥayyāt (Fig. 1, no. 15), six stone steles with a height of 0.75–1.0 m stood in front of cult building 4, dating to the Middle Bronze Age IIA. They were located near the northern extension of the anteroom of the rectangular building. In front of each stone, a small stone slab was found. Slightly east of the complex, a limestone basin was located, which may have served for libation. The building and the stone cult complex was surrounded with a *temenos* wall.[95]

At Tel Kitan (Fig. 1, no. 16), a row of up to ten steles[96] made of local river boulders was discovered in front of an ante temple of phase V, dating to the Middle Bronze Age IIB. Three pits plastered with pebbles, included in the alignment, may have been postholes or stone slots. In the middle of the row, a remarkable roughly shaped stone was found with distinctively modelled breasts and female genitals.[97]

In phase XII (1850–1730 BC) of areal B in Megiddo / Tell el-Mutesellim (Fig. 1, no. 14), a number of stones are denominated as *maṣṣebots* by the excavators. They seemed to form lines, which were running in form of a quadrate.[98]

The Middle and Late Bronze Age layers of the Migdal temple of Shechem / Tell Balāṭal (Fig. 1, no. 18) the excavators also reported the presence of a *maṣṣebā*, which was destroyed by the workmen.[99] This partially modelled altar-like stone, which may date to the Late Bronze Age, stood in a courtyard whose entrance was flanked by two flattened stones, which might have served as bases for further pillars, steles, or *maṣṣebots.*[100]

At Beth Shean (Fig. 1, no. 19; Fig. 4), a temple complex of the 14th century BC was partly unveiled by Rowe in 1925–1928. Later excavations in 1983 reassured the dating. The complex contents of a central courtyard, in the east a rectangular room with a pedestal made of mudbricks, which is interpreted as an altar. At the southern end of the yard, a quadratic room contains benches running along the walls. In its middle, a round, plastered pit, which is supposed to been used for fire sacrifices, was found. Behind the outer wall of this room, a corridor runs east towards another group of rooms, one containing another altar stone and one with an oven and a slot. Between these rooms, a mudbrick pedestal was discovered. On it, a rounded stone pillar was found, standing on a foundation of unworked stones. In a small debris in front of it stood a basalt bowl.[101] The pillar was also made of basalt and 0,5 m in height. Nearby, a stele displaying a scene, showing a person adorating in front of the god Mekal, identified by a sanctification inscription of an Egyptian soldier, was found.[102] Futhermore, in one of the adjacent chambers, another conical shaped stone with a size of 0.26 m was found, which might have been used as a mobile cult installation.[103]

The well-known "stele temple" in Hazor (Fig. 1, no. 25) most likely dates to the Late Bronze Age during the 14th–13th century BC. It is a small, rectangular stone building with a cult niche and a pedestal. On the back side of the niche, ten steles made of basalt, with a height of 0.22–0.65 m were erected. Embedded in the floor, they were only visible to a height of maximum 0.40 m. The fronts of these steles were worked flat, while their backs and tops were slightly rounded. One of the steles displayed a relief showing two uplifted arms accompanied by a sun and moon emblem. Beside of the stele, an orthostat showing a lion and a male sitting statue was also deposited in the niche. In front of this composition, a shallow basalt plate with a size of 0.90–0.25 m was found, which was interpreted as for sacrificial purposes.[104]

Newer excavations of the last ten years unveiled a Middle Bronze Age a temple containing a standing stone precinct. Approximately thirty stone slabs of chalk and basalt stone were aligned along the walls. Several flat slabs were interpreted as offering tables and a huge round stone basin completed the complex. At the beginning Late Bronze Age 15th century BC, the room was ceased to function by covering it by earth.[105] Furthermore, the new excavations have also revealed an open-air sanctuary of the Early Iron Age I in Area A. It consisted of a standing flattened basalt slab which seems to have a brocken top. This stone faced east, and was fixed to the ground by flattened recumbent stone slabs. On its northern side, a circle of ten elongated and narrow basalt

93 Mazar, de Miroschedji and Porat 1996: 7–9.
94 Mazar 1999: 18.
95 Zwickel 1994: 44.
96 The numbers mentioned vary in the literature vary between eight and ten.
97 Eisenberg 1977: 80–81.
98 Loud 1948: 87–92. The publication mentions them only by describing them as quite a number and been erected partly on the soil, partly on stone foundations. The extensive stone pillars built into the wall of the so called "Schuhmacher's temple" seem to be an architectural embellishment.
99 Zwickel 1994: 46–55.
100 Grässer 1972: 50–51.
101 Mazar 1993: 216.
102 Mettinger 1995: 189.
103 Rowe 1930: 13.
104 Zwickel 1994: 165.
105 Ben-Tor 2013: 81–84.

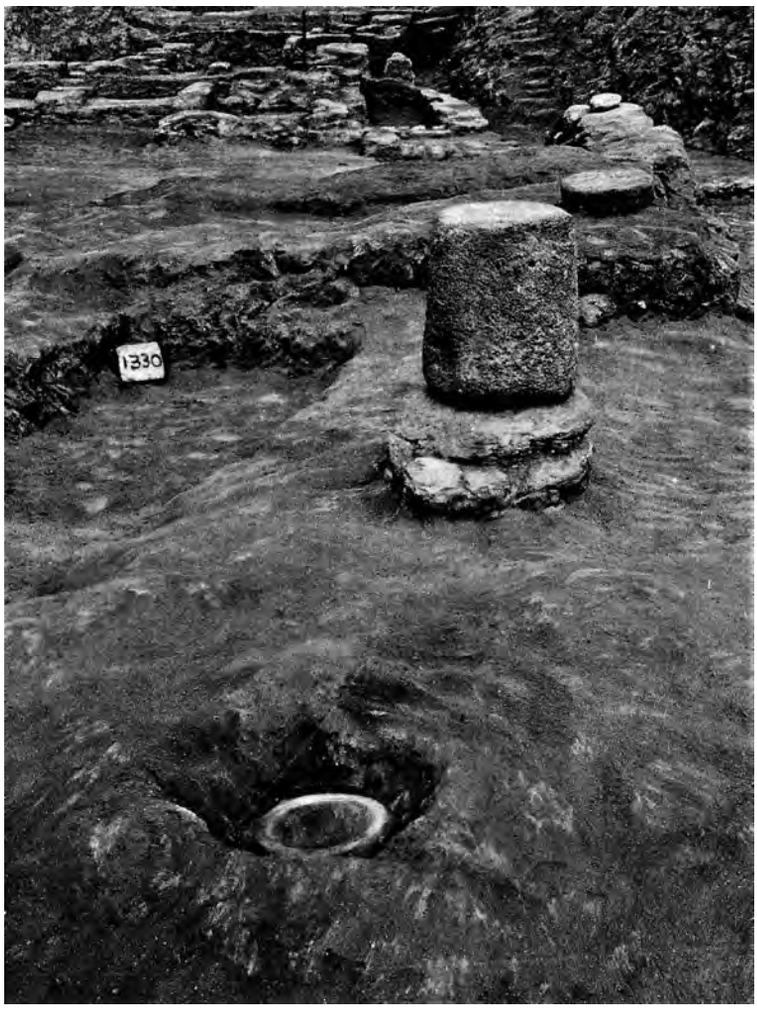

Fig. 4. Discovery context of the stele from Beth Shean in its reconstructed location, with the embedded bowl lying in front (after: Rowe 1930: pl. 21)

stones was erected. There were no traces of burning or other offering practices associated with these features.[106]

The Middle Bronze Age Temple of the Obelisks in Byblos (Fig. 1, no. 10) which dates between the 19th and 16th century BC was equipped with *circa* 30 sand- or lime-stone obelisk-shaped pillars, morticed onto shallow stone pedestals. Sacrifices were probably deposited on stone slabs located in front of some of them. Small niches in some of the obelisks probably fulfilled the same function.[107]

A shrine found in Lachish (Fig. 1, no. 27). dates most probably to Iron Age IIA. It seemed to have contain only a single small 2.3 x 3.3 m room, with an entrance facing north-east. A basalt slab was discovered at the site of the former door-still. It was flattened on one side and slightly rounded towards the front. Its bottom is broken and its remaining size is approximately 0.25 x 0.10 m. Excepting the north-eastern wall, a shallow bench with a width of approximately 0.5 m, a maximum height of 0.4 m and built of stone ran along the walls. A number of ceramic cult stands and bowls, as well as a quadratic stone were found, concentrating at the western corner of the room. The basalt slab is thought to have served as an altar.

Just south the so-called sanctuary, a stone pillar was found still erected. It was a limestone, flat on one side, rounded on the others, with a height of 1.20 m and a diameter of 0.60 x 0.95 m. It was founded by a fixture of three smaller, unworked stones, which were located in Stratum VI or V, dating its erection in Iron Age IIA at around 1100 BC. A round heap of burnt ashes was found in front of it. The excavators suggested, that it was visible at least till Iron Age IIC, maybe till the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in 588–586 BC.

Near that pillar, a pit was discovered on a street. It held amongst other things also four roughly dressed stones with a rectangular shape and a height of 0.60–0.70 m. They were assumed to be further *maṣṣebot*s, which were not used anymore and therefore been buried.[108]

In the excavations of 1912 in Beth Shemesh (Fig. 1, no. 29; Fig. 5), five pillars were explored in the layers of the Third City, which seems to be an Iron Age context. Sadly, they are not described in any way, besides that they had a "monumental appearance" and were found

[106] Ben-Ami 2013: 101–104.
[107] Jidejian 1971: 35.
[108] Aharoni 1974: 26–32.

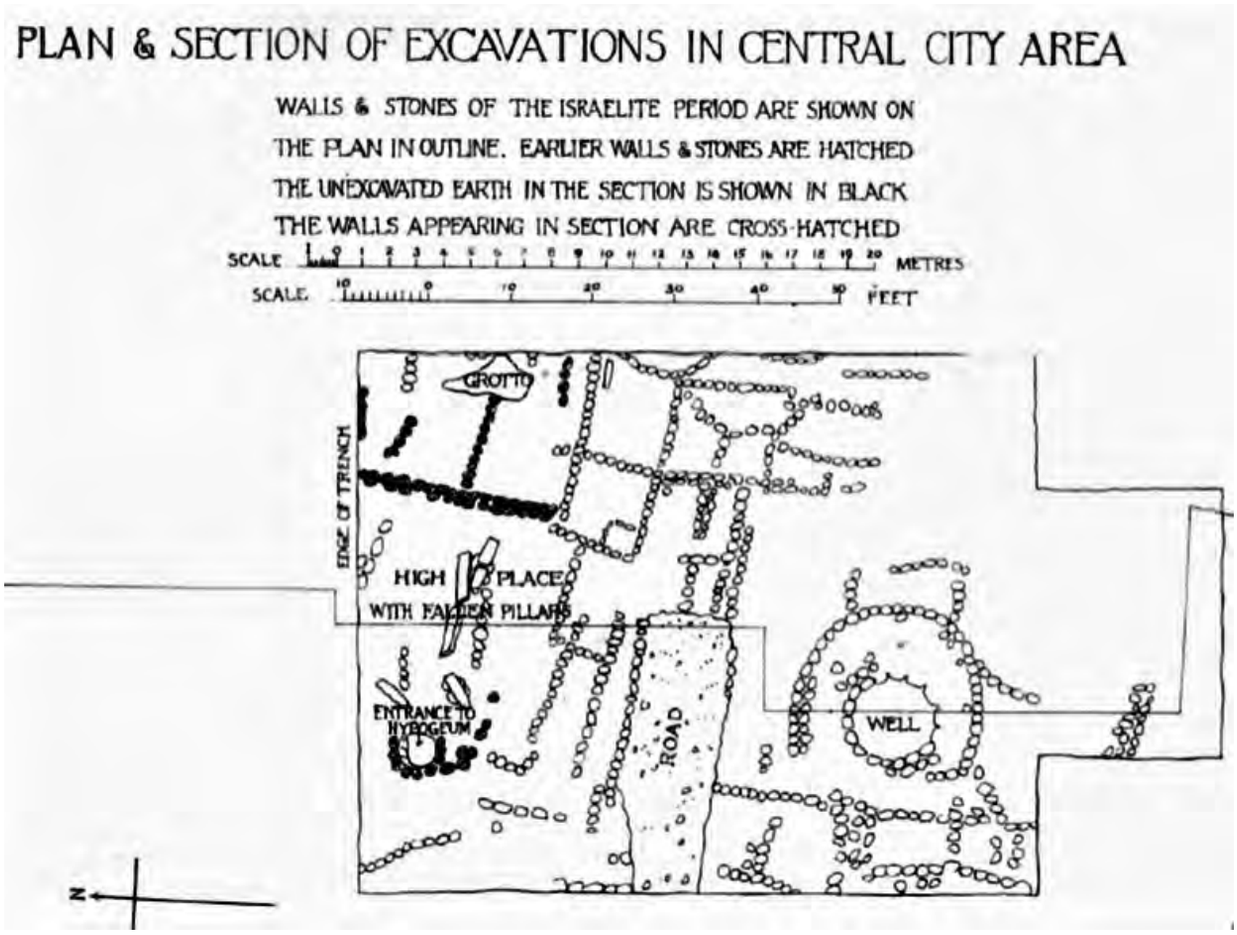

Fig. 5. The five possible steles from Beth Shemesh were only mentioned in a short note, and recorded in this plan (after: Mackenzie 1913, pl. II)

in the middle of an area in front of the so-called hypogeum shaft.[109] The plan of the section shows something that might have been an alignment of smaller stones and three pillar-shaped steles, one broken in the middle. Two were standing next to the shaft, facing east, while the southern one is nearly in line with the interrupted alignment.[110]

Of no clear evidence is an installation at an Iron Age II building at Tirzah / Tell el-Far´a (Fig. 1, no. 32), located directly at the western city gate. A pillar base and a small basin was found. The basin with its measurement of only 0.48 x 0.6 m and just 0.3 m deep seems to have had a ritual purpose, as for other it would have been too small.[111] A 1.80 m high stone pillar with a diameter of 0.40 x 0.40 m was found 2.50 m south of the pillar base in a later 7th century strata, but is reconstructed by the excavators as originally erected on the pillar base, which was founded in the 10th century. The purpose of the building, which grounded on a Middle Bronze Age gate, is highly discussed, as well as if the location of the stele and the basin was a room or an open space.[112]

Quite a number of stones referred to as *maṣṣebot* are known from the extensively excavated Iron Age site Tel Dan (Fig. 1, no. 24; Fig. 6). Debris adjacent to the city wall, which may have been the result of the Assyrian destruction in 733/732 BC, included three stone slabs that were found still erect, beside a further stele with inscriptions. They had a maximum height of 1.17 m, 0.73 m and 0.50 m respectively. In front of the largest stone, a large basalt bowl was found, which held traces of burning and ashes.[113] Around 40 m from the outer part of the main gate, five more *maṣṣebots* had been discovered on a flagstone pavement.[114]

The most interesting construction was discovered at the inner threshold of the gate. A 4.50 m long bench and a square shallow pedestal, with one step apron, made of ashlar limestones was found at the right site. On three corners of the pedestal, small columns with decorated bases had been found. The excavators link this feature

[109] Mackenzie 1913: 16.
[110] Mackenzie 1913: pl. II.
[111] Mettinger 1995: 155–157.
[112] Bernettt and Keel 1998: 55–57.
[113] Biran and Naveh 1995: 2–3.
[114] Biran and Naveh 1995: 6.

Fig. 6. The supposed cult platform in the Iron Age Gate of Tel Dan. A small stone stele is visible at the left corner (photo by Mboesch, Creative Commons)

to the Biblical text passages[115] which mention city gates as places of judgement where kings and governors spoke right over wrong.[116] A stone slab stood left of the pedestal at the corner meeting the gate wall.[117]

In Bethsaida (Fig. 1, no. 28), a ritual complex resembling a shrine was discovered in a niche of the northern tower of the outer gateway. It consisted of a 1.53 x 1.53 m large rectangular pedestal made of rough stones, with two stairs leading to it. A rectangular basin made of basalt rested on top of it, which was accompanied by fragments of a stele that is thought to have stood behind it. It is decorated by a crudely modelled and highly schematised human figure with a bull´s head with a sword attached to its midriff.

Left of the pedestal, at the corner of the gateway, a further 1.24 m high basalt stele with a rounded top and smooth surface was discovered standing *in situ* affixed to the wall. Further associated features include two more aniconic stones, and a bench running along the wall. Remains of an obelisk-shaped stele which may have tumbled from a pedestal was found at the southern corner of the inner gate suggesting that the elaborate installation at the outer gate was mirrored by a similar construction inside the fortification, so that the ancient inhabitants would have had a stele at their right when entering or leaving the city. This ritual complex is dated by Iron Age II "incense cups" that were found in the basin.[118]

Only mentioned in a footnote by an excavator *via* email is a possible installation in Kuntillet ´Ağrud (Fig. 1, no. 31). A room in a L-shaped buttress of the gateway of the Iron Age fortress contained benches running along the walls. A number of *pithoi*-sherds with inscriptions mentioned the room and related it to cultic purposes by listing also names of gods venerated there. Following the passed down information of the excavator, in that room were also two flat stone slabs with a size of 0.50–0.60 m and a quadratic stone slab, interpreted as an offering table, discovered.[119]

The appearance of cult steles at gates is not restricted to the Iron Age, as a feature from Early Bronze Age II Beth Yerah (Fig. 1, no. 3) illustrates. A large[120], flat steles with a rounded top and a hole at the middle of the upper part leaned at the right hand side of the outside wall of the gate. It was fixed by three ashlar stones placed in front of it. The excavators suppose, that the complex might have been a shrine, related to seafaring, as the stele is shaped like the anchors of that period.[121]

A similar, but not identical situation was discovered in a small room in the casemate of the Late Bronze Age city wall of Tall Zira´a (Fig. 1, no. 20). Its entrance was accompanied by two cylindrical basalt stones ,which may have served as the bases of wooden pillars. A *maṣṣabot* with a flattened bottom and conical top was recovered in the inner right corner of the room.[122] Another small *massebā* from an Early Iron Age (private?) house in Stratum 12 or 13, may have been erected in an on a yard next to columns and two fireplaces. Gropp interprets this *massebā* in the context of private cult.[123]

One very early possible feature originates from the highly exceptional Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B – site

115 1 Kings 22:10, 2 Sam 19:8, 2 Kings 23:8.

116 Biran 1974: 44–48.

117 Unfortunately, there are no further information published. The only reference is found on the excavation´s website https://teldan.wordpress.com/discoveries/, and as a note at Mettinger (1995: 166), who cites personal information by Avner and Biran.

118 Bernett and Keel 1998: 2–7.

119 Bernett and Keel 1998: 60–61.

120 No measurements are found in the publication, as well as no further information due the material or state of work.

121 Greenberg 2011: 43–44.

122 Viewegerta and Häser 2007: 151.

123 Gropp 2013: 533. A couple of finds were also interpreted similarly, for example from an Iron Age 1 foundation of a mudbrick wall – Gropp 2013: 433, from outside an Iron Age II building and from a pit outside and east of the same building – Gropp 2013: 627–648; another example was found in the colluvium – Gropp 2013: 851.

at ´Ain Ghazal (Fig. 1, no. 1), dating to the 8th and 7th millennium BC. The settlement includes quite a number of constructions with possible cultic purpose, which have been interpreted by the excavators as temples and shrines, though they are all without any parallels in their construction and architecture. A rectangular building, explored in 1996, which was only partly preserved, showed traces of usage in two or three phases. In the middle of the one-room-building three limestone blocks with a height of approximately 0.70 m and a diameter of roughly 0.25 x 0.35 m were found, the outer two of which were still *in situ*, the middle one dislodged. The stones were only slightly worked. In the earliest phase, a rectangular structure made of red painted lime plaster and a round pavement of flat limestones was discovered, which was thought to be a fireplace. The second phase included a platform made of stone in a size of 1 x 1 m at the northern end of the row of standing stones.[124]

A few further possible *maṣṣebots* could be mentioned here, but are omitted due to inconclusive evidence.[125]

Conclusions

Due to the increasing appearance of aniconic standing stones in what are seen to be cult context, the veneration of such objects can be seen as characteristic for Palestine.[126] As already mentioned, their chronological development and approximated origin are not ascertainable. The custom of erecting and venerating stone objects is already spread throughout the entire distribution area at the Early Bronze Age, their origin still remains unknown.[127]

Although Zwickel suggested, that the custom of erecting these stones ended in the Late Bronze Age, some new finds from the Early Iron Age have now disproved this assumption.[128] Moreover, the extent to which these earlier standing stones are reflected upon in the later *baitylos*-cult and in which relation they stand to the cult stones of the Aegean islands is unclear. The regional distribution of this phenomenon is also problematic. Most examples are known from Israel, Palestine and western Jordan, the area explored by scholars who were aware of Biblical sources. While a substantial number of standing stones are known from the rest of Jordan, Lebanon lacks any examples outside of Byblos. The Syrian examples concentrate mainly in the well-investigated areas of the West and the Jezirah. South east Syrian Mari appears to be an isolated location. This patchy distribution may be related to the size of the stones. While isolated Syrian large stones might have been related to *maṣṣebots*, it seems conceivable that smaller examples did exist, but have been confused with architectonical elements. The same might be the case in Iraq. Perhaps Mesopotamian steles can be related to our standing stones, but most of the known examples are inscribed and thus outside the bounds of our enquiry. Various authors have tried to differentiate the *maṣṣebots* from other steles by defining them as being strictly aniconic. Though, a number of related standing stones display inscriptions or relief work, like the stele from Hazor (Fig. 1, no. 25) with its raised hands, or the example from Bethsaida. It is imaginable that the erectors would have seen no problem in carving motifs on supposable aniconic items. The very most of them remain aniconic, however, and decorated examples presumably were primarily meant as aniconic characters or the symbolisation of the aniconic principle. The steles from Assur but also Hittite and Luwian examples, which are already linked philologically to the anionic standing stones, serve as examples.

As the category which is discussed the most when it comes to stone objects with a cultic purpose, there are attempts to typologise the *maṣṣebots*. They have been separated into: 1) simple, nearly unworked, erected stones, 2) flattened slabs in most cases with a rounded top (which make up the largest number), 3) conic or half conic examples with one flat side, 4) approximate obeliscoid *maṣṣebots*, and 5) roughly quadratic examples. These subclasses display limited regional and temporal foci. It seems, for instance, that obeliscoid examples concentrate at Byblos, and Middle Bronze Age *maṣṣebots* seem to be generally large and roughly worked, while the later standing stones are usually smaller.[129]

The above-mentioned standing stones occur in three different contexts. They appear in cult buildings and sanctuaries, where they are placed in niches or along walls, as in Arad (Fig. 1, no. 30) or Hazor (Fig. 1, no. 25), while some others were erected in courtyards. In cases when they are found in entrances, they may have had a delimitating function, which may also be the reason why some were erected at city walls. Their presence at gates may have had the same purpose, but they may have also functioned as witnesses representing deities in legal disputes.[130] Moreover these standing stones also appear at the so called „High Places“ or *bamah*, open air sanctuaries like in Gezer.[131]

124 Rolefson 1998: 50–51.

125 For example, a fragment from the so called „Bull Site“ in the Samarian hills, could also be interpreted as an altar – Mazar 1982: 27–42, further the stone slabs from the so called “Schumachers Temple” at Megiddo – Mettinger 1995: 157 – 161, are more likely to have served an architectural purpose.

126 Zwickel 1994: 72.

127 Avner assumes that they originated in desert complexes, the problems of their interpretation and dating were already discussed above.

128 Zwickel 1994: 200.

129 Lapp 1964, 36.

130 Two more, but not intensively published examples may be a fragment from Samaria – Wright 1959: 77, and another one from Tirzah – Grässer 1972: 52.

131 Grässer 1973: 50–52.

Most likely, conic or half conic shaped small worked stones with a size of only 0.15–0.35 m which have been found in Hazor or Tall Zira´a may have been used as miniaturised representations of *maṣṣebots* for personal cult purposes in private houses.[132]

While they are clearly linked to ritual practice and cult context by their identification in the text sources and their relation to cult installations, it seems that these stones were not limited to a function as ritual objects. By appearing in alignments, at hilltops and gates, they also defined areas as sacral spaces a function which they may have shared with Hittite *ḫuwaši*.

[132] Grässer 1973: 55–56.

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Jewelry depositions from the end of the 2nd millennium BC from the Romanian Carpathian Basin

Antonia Flontaș

Introduction

Late Bronze Age jewelry hoards from the Romanian part of the Carpathian Basin represent a special category among this region´s metal deposits, as – in contrast to other hoard types, above all the ubiquitous scrap metal depositions, they are quite rare. A total of 42 hoards (Fig. 1), which date between the 13th and 12th century BC periods were collected and analysed for this paper (*e.g.*, Figs 15–21).[1] The Late Bronze Age in Romania is divided into several chronological horizons, and the hoards I am dealing with here belong to the horizons Uriu-Domănești (Reinecke Bz D) and Cincu-Suseni (Reinecke Ha A1).[2]

Furthermore, it should be mentioned, that not all the depositions I will be dealing with are composed exclusively of jewelry, a few of them also contain a single tool or one weapon (except for a single hoard, with two implements). These few hoards, however, will be treated as being part of the jewelry deposit phenomena as these single tools or weapons can be considered to have the same ritual-cultic character as the jewelry.

In order to make an interpretation of these depositions as pertinent as possible, I have made and consulted various combination tables and distribution maps. In avoidance of discrepancies concerning the composition of the hoards, I have correlated the several publications of the depositions and have tried to reconstruct the composition of the deposits as correctly as possible.

Arm-rings / bracelets and other arm jewelry

As 33[3] out of the 42 depositions dealt with here contain arm-rings/bracelets[4] (Figs 16, 18, 19 and 21). I have studied them intensively and have classified and analysed the combinations of the décor on these arm-rings. As a result, three major groups emerged. Designs which are typical for the Uriu-Domănești horizon (Fig. 2) stand in contrast to typical décor of the Cincu-Suseni horizon (Fig. 3) but there are motifs which appear on arm-rings of both horizons (Fig. 4). The difference between the two horizons can be clearly seen (Figs 2–3), the earlier horizon comprises four décor types, whereas in the later horizon only a single type décor is represented. However, it should be taken into consideration that significantly less hoards can be assigned to the Cincu-Suseni with 10 hoards than to the Uriu- Domănești horizon with 32 hoards. Moreover, the number of the bracelets and other ornaments worn on the arms is much more considerable in Uriu-Domănești than in Cincu-Suseni. The variants termed „a" and „b" describe motifs with a high degree of similarity that have slight distinctions (*e.g.*, Uriu-Domănești: the dotted line, Cincu-Suseni: the fringes). The table, which collects the motifs attested in both horizons (Fig. 5), contains six décor types and a column for unornamented arm-rings. It presents different variants (a and b) for nearly each motif. In this table variants „a" can all be assigned to the Uriu-Domănești horizon and the „b" variants are typical for the later horizon. The general chronological implications will be discussed further below. Beside this décor which appears repeatedly, there are a few arm-rings with unique décor. The cross-sections of the arm-rings are also chronologically sensitive. Most arm-rings have a round section and are

[1] This paper is based on my bachelor thesis submitted in 2014 to the Institute for Prehistory, Early History, and Provincial Roman Archaeology, at the Ludwig-Maximilian University Munich and written under the supervision of Prof. Carola Metzner-Nebelsick. I would like to thank her for her guidance and also Dr Carol Kacsó from museum in Baia Mare for his generous advice. The German version was published in 2014 in "*Revista Bistriței*" (Flontaș 2014).

[2] Mozsolics 2000: 18, fig. 3.

[3] The hoard from Ulciug is not included in this survey, since it is not sure if the rings from this hoard are arm-rings or not.

[4] For the frequency of arm-ring depositions from the Early Urnfield Period in the region of Upper Tisza see Vachta 2008: 88, fig. 66 and 112–113.

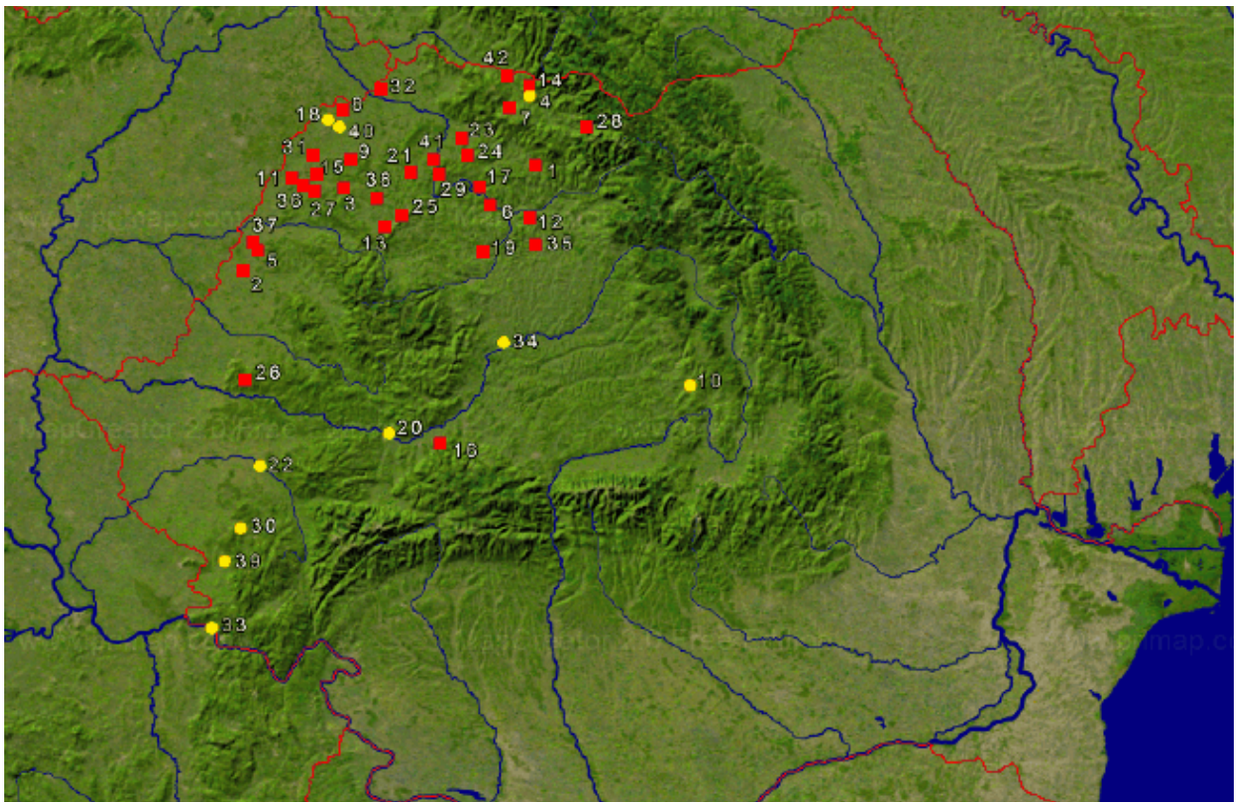


Fig. 1. The distribution of Uriu-Domănești (red squares) and Cincu-Suseni (yellow circles) hoards. 1 – Agrieș (BN); 2 – Arpășel (BH); 3 – Balc (BH); 4 – Bârsana (MM); 5 – Bicaci (BH); 6 – Bogata de Jos I (CJ); 7 – Breb (MM); 8 – Căpleni I (SM); 9 – Cehăluț I (SM); 10 – Cheile Vârghișului II (HR); 11 – Ciocaia (BH); 12 – Cireșoaia II/III (BN); 13 – Cizer (SJ); 14 – Coștiui II (MM); 15 – Cubulcut (BH); 16 – Cugir II (AB); 17 – Dobrocina I (SJ); 18 – Foieni II (SM); 19 – Giula (CJ); 20 – Hărău (HD); 21 – Lelei (SM); 22 – Lugoj (TM); 23, 24 – Maramureș I und III (MM); 25 – Meseșenii de Sus (SJ); 26 – Minișu de Sus (AR); 27 – Mișca (BH); 28 – Moisei (MM); 29 – Năpradea (SJ); 30 – Ocna de Fier (CS); 31 – Otomani (BH); 32 – Petea (SM); 33 – Pojejena (CS); 34 – Războieni-Cetate (AB); 35 – Sânnicoară (BN); 36 – Sânnicolau de Munte (BH); 37 – Sânnicolau Român II (BH); 38 – Șimleu Silvaniei III (SJ); 39 – Ticvaniu Mare (CS); 40 – Tiream (SM); 41 – Ulciug (SJ); 42 – Vadu Izei (MM) (compiled by A. Flontas). Abbreviations used in Figs 1, 10–14: AB = Alba; AR = Arad; BH = Bihor; BN = Bistrița-Năsăud; CJ = Cluj; CS = Caraș-Severin; HD = Hunedoara; HR = Harghita; MM = Maramureș; SJ = Sălaj; SM = Satu Mare; TM = Timiș

Fig. 2. The ornaments on arm-rings from the Uriu-Domănești horizon (compiled by A. Flontas)

Location	Horizontal lines	Groups of oblique lines	a / b	
Agrieș (BN)	5			
Cehăluț I (SM)		1		
Ciocaia (BH)	1			
Coștiui II (MM)	3			
Cugir II (AB)		1		
Dobrocina I (SJ)			1 (a)	
Lelei (SM)	2			
Maramureș III (MM)	7			1
Moisei (MM)	5			
Sânnicolau Român II (BH)		1		
Vadu Izei (MM)	6		2 (b)	3

Fig. 3. The ornaments on the arm-rings from the Cincu-Suseni hoard horizon (compiled by A. Flontas)

Location	 a b
Ocna de Fier (CS)	9 (a)
Pojejena (CS)	1 (b)

Fig. 4. The ornaments on the arm-rings which appear in both the Uriu-Domănești and Cincu-Suseni hoard horizons (compiled by A. Flontas)

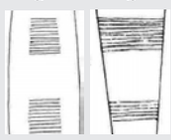
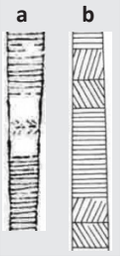
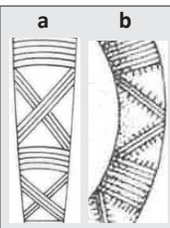
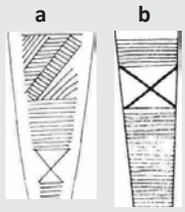
Location	Time horizon	a b 	a b 		a b 	a b 		Un--orna-mented
Agrieș (BN)	Uriu-Domănești		3 (a)				2	2
Arpășel (BH)	Uriu-Domănești			1				
Balc (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	1 (a)						
Bicaci (BH)	Uriu-Domănești				2 (a)			
Breb (MM)	Uriu-Domănești							2
Căpleni I (SM)	Uriu-Domănești	2 (a)						1
Cehăluț I (SM)	Uriu-Domănești	2 (a)						4
Ciocaia (BH)	Uriu-Domănești		1 (a)					
Cugir II (AB)	Uriu-Domănești	1 (a)				1 (a)		
Dobrocina I (SJ)	Uriu-Domănești							2
Maramureș III (MM)	Uriu-Domănești		1 (a)	1				
Sânnicolau Român II (BH)	Uriu-Domănești							1
Bârsana (MM)	Cincu-Suseni	2 (b)		4		1 (b)		
Cheile Vârghișului II (HR)	Cincu-Suseni						3	
Foieni II (SM)	Cincu-Suseni	1 (b)						
Hărău (HD)	Cincu-Suseni							1
Ocna de Fier (CS)	Cincu-Suseni							4
Pojejena (CS)	Cincu-Suseni		1 (b)					
Războieni--Cetate (AB)	Cincu-Suseni				1 (b)			2

Fig. 5. The ornaments and the cross-section forms of the anklets of the Uriu-Domănești and Cincu-Suseni hoard horizons (compiled by A. Flontas)

Location	Time horizon	Unornamented	Ornamented	Cross-section			
				Round	Oval	Rhombic	D-shaped
Bogata de Jos I (CJ)	Uriu-Domănești	(1)		(1)			
Ciocaia (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	1		1			
Coștiui II (MM)	Uriu-Domănești	2		1	1		
Dobrocina I (SJ)	Uriu-Domănești	3		2	1		
Maramureș I (MM)	Uriu-Domănești	(1)		(1)			
Moisei (MM)	Uriu-Domănești	10		10			
Năpradea (SJ)	Uriu-Domănești	(1)		(1)			
Cheile Vârghișului II (HR)	Cincu-Suseni	3		3			
Lugoj (TM)	Cincu-Suseni	2				2	
Războieni-Cetate (AB)	Cincu-Suseni	2		2			
Tiream (SM)	Cincu-Suseni		2				2

ubiquitous however rings with D-shaped sections are mainly found in the later (Ha A1) depositions.

Apart from the arm-rings, some hoards contain other jewelry types which were also worn on the arms. These include narrow or broad wristbands, spiral arm-rings, and so-called armguard-spirals. The latter (Fig. 21: 5–8) represent a highly specific type within the jewelry assemblage. They are often found in hoards together with weapons and have therefore been interpreted as being male attributes[5]. However, they are also deposited together with jewelry– especially with arm-rings that are generally attributed to the women[6]. Besides this, some scholars have proposed an interpretation of the so-called armguard-spirals as prestige goods or insignia, because these massive ornaments were probably too uncomfortable to have been worn in everyday life.[7] Therefore, it is assumed that they were worn, if at all, only during special cultural events or ceremonies.[8] An argument for their interpretation as women´s attributes are the female denoted hourglass-shaped pendants which were found hanging on the armguard-spirals from the Ticvaniu Mare hoard.

Anklets and neck rings

There are a few ring shapes which decorated other parts of the body. In contrast to the arm-rings anklets which mainly have a round cross-section (Fig. 5) are, with two exceptions, left unornamented.

Pendants and other jewelry types

The next group of jewelry comprises pendants, saltaleoni, buttons and discs (Fig. 6). In hoards, large amounts of these ornaments in particular the hourglass (Fig. 15: 4–8) and crescent shaped pendants (Fig. 15: 9–11) as well as the saltaleoni (Fig. 19: 4–6) are found deposited together, leading to the assumption that they were worn together as a necklace.[9] This makes it highly likely that these pendants belong to women's costume jewelry and can thus be seen as female attributes.[10] A symbolic character is attributed particularly to the hourglass-shaped pendants, most of all due to the fact, that it appears as a motif on the belt plates (*e.g.*, the belt from the deposition in Giula; Fig. 18: 12).[11] Svend Hansen came to the conclusion that the belts with pendant motifs never appear together in the same deposition with the individual pendants.[12] This can be observed also for the deposition from Giula, where the hourglass-shaped pendant appears only as a motif on the belt plate. The individual pendants are represented exclusively by the crescent-shaped ones. Beside this, only one more deposition (Cehăluț I) contains belt plates, which are however not ornamented[13].

[5] Mozsolics (1985: 24) added them to the „defence weapons"; see also: Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: 119 and Vachta 2008: 39.

[6] See Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: 124. Furthermore see Hansen 1994: 278.

[7] Kemenczei 1965: 113. Vachta (2008: 39, 48) interpreted them also as prestige goods, which however were worn by men.

[8] Schumacher-Matthäus 1985: 122.

[9] Kacsó 1989: 87, 1995b: 101.

[10] Mozsolics 1985: 62–63; Kacsó 1989: 87, 1995b: 99.

[11] Hansen 1994: 241. Their symbolic character is also shown by their similarity with the "double ax motif" (Chidioșan 1977: 67–68; Kacsó 1989: 87, 1995b: 99; for the „double ax motif" see also: Hänsel 1997: 19). Moreover, they are interpreted as amulets (Kossack 1954: 18, 40, 97); for more about these pendants, see: Hansen 1994: 241–245, 252. They also appear in Bronze and Iron Age graves of women and children (Hansen 1994: 266).

[12] Hansen 1994: 252.

[13] Although the belt plates are present here only in two depositions, they are in Transylvania common finds (Mozsolics 1985: 59; Hansen 1994: 239–240).

Fig. 6. The pendants from the hoards (based on their shape), the saltaleoni, the suspended chain pendants, the buttons, the discs and the belt plates of the Uriu-Domănești and Cincu-Suseni hoard horizons. "appended" = appended pendants on the suspended chain pendants resp. arm guardspirals (compiled by A. Flontas)

Location	Time horizon	Pendants			Saltaleoni	Suspended chain pendants	Button	Disc	Belt
		Hourglass--shaped	Crescent--shaped	Conical					
Arpășel (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	5; 12 (appended)	3	2		2	1	1	
Balc (BH)	Uriu-Domănești						8	30	
Bicaci (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	1		1			2	2	
Cehăluț I (SM)	Uriu-Domănești			1				65	2
Ciocaia (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	9 (appended)				1			
Cizer (SJ)	Uriu-Domănești		2				1	1	
Cubulcut (BH)	Uriu-Domănești		1	22 (2 preserved)					
Giula (CJ)	Uriu-Domănești		129		133				2
Minișu de Sus (AR)	Uriu-Domănești		11		7		6	3	
Mișca (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	100–120			20–25				
Otomani (BH)	Uriu-Domănești				70		8	21	
Sânnicolau de Munte (BH)	Uriu-Domănești		13						
Hărău (HD)	Cincu-Suseni				3				
Ticvaniu Mare (CS)	Cincu-Suseni	3 (appended)							

Fig. 7. The tools and weapons from the hoards of the Uriu-Domănești and Cincu-Suseni hoard horizons (compiled by A. Flontas)

Location	Time horizon	Axe-hammer with disc butt	Socketed axe	Sickle	Winged axe
Agrieș (BN)	Uriu-Domănești	1			
Breb (MM)	Uriu-Domănești	1			
Ciocaia (BH)	Uriu-Domănești	1			
Dobrocina I (SJ)	Uriu-Domănești		1		
Bârsana (MM)	Cincu-Suseni		2		
Hărău (HD)	Cincu-Suseni		1		
Lugoj (TM)	Cincu-Suseni		1		
Ocna de Fier (CS)	Cincu-Suseni			1	
Ticvaniu Mare (CS)	Cincu-Suseni				1

Pins

In addition to these objects, several pins have been discovered in jewelry hoards.[14] The hoard from Petea is crucial to understanding the nature of their deposition as it was found and meticulously recorded in an official excavation. This hoard contains four knobbed pins of „Warzennadel type" (Fig. 20) which are typical for the Noua Culture. Their votive character is revealed by the extreme length of the pins (they are more than 30 cm long), and by the fact that their points were intentionally bent before they were deposited sticking vertically into the ground.[15] They can be therefore be seen as prestige objects, which were intentionally damaged to preclude future use. Moreover, the ritual character of this deposit is underlined by the fact, that the pins were deposited within a settlement near an old course of a stream.[16]

Tools and weapons

As mentioned above, tools and weapons also appear – though occasionally – among the depositions, like sickles and various types of axes (Fig. 7; Fig. 18, Dobrocina I; Fig. 19, Hărău; Fig. 21, Ticvaniu Mare). Only one hoard

[14] The pins are apparently a rare phenomenon in the Carpathian Basin resp. Transylvania (Hansen 1994: 294–295; further see: Marta 2005: 87).

[15] Marta 2005: 85–86. For vertical depositions, see in detail: Soroceanu 1995: 35–41.

[16] Marta 2005: 87. The special meaning of this hoard was also mentioned by Soroceanu (2012: 244). It should also be mentioned that the arm-rings from this hoard were deposited as pairs – with one exception. The missing eighth arm-ring may, however, may have gotten lost during the hoard´s discovery (Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1944–1948: 265, 1977: 84, 1978: 115; Kacsó 2011: 221).

Location	Time horizon	Circumstance	Chain pendant	Cone-shaped pendant	Disc-butted axe	Bead	Disc	Button	Belt	Gold objekt	Crescent-shaped pendant	hourglass-shaped pendant	Pin	Armguard-spiral	Anklet	Arm-rings/arm jewelry	Ring	Socketed axe	Saltaleoni	Tongue-shaped sickle	Lance shoe	Winged axe	Neck ring	Other
Agrieș BN	Uriu	slope, in ceramic vessel			1											14								sheet bronze remains (helm?/vessel?)
Arpășel BH	Uriu	in ceramic vessel	2, with pendants (1 frag.)	2			1	1			3	5; (12 appended)				1								2 three-ring-links
Balc BH	Uriu	/					30	8					1	3 frg.		2								
Bicaci BH	Uriu	in the wood (today)		1		1	2	2				1				3								1 plate frg.; 3 potsherds; charcoaled bone frg.
Bogata de Jos I CJ	Uriu	/													1	6								
Breb MM	Uriu	/			1											2 (in 3 frg.)								
Căpleni I SM	Uriu	/												2 frg.		3								
Cehăluț I SM	Uriu	slope		1			65 (also frag.)		2 (frag.)							10; 2 armlets								
Ciocaia BH	Uriu	/	1 (with pendants)		1							9 (appended)			1	2								
Cireșoaia II/III BN	Uriu	hilly area														17 (of which maybe also anklets)								
Cizer SJ	Uriu	in ceramic vessel, on the riverbank					1	1			2		3			3	1 Frg.							
Coștiui II MM	Uriu	/													2	3								
Cugir II AB	Uriu	in a stream														5								
Dobrocina I SJ	Uriu	in ceramic vessel				(several glass beads)									2; 1 frg.	3		1						
Giula CJ	Uriu	in ceramic vessel							2 (frag.)		129								133					
Lelei SM	Uriu	/														25 (only 2 preserved)								
Maramureș I MM	Uriu	on the riverbank (?)													1	2								
Maramureș III MM	Uriu	/														10								
Meseșenii de Sus SJ	Uriu	/								1 arm-ring						10								
Mișca BH	Uriu	slope, in the vicinity of water										100-120							20-25					
Moisei MM	Uriu	slope/hill (over 800 m)													6; 4 frg.	5								
Năpradea SJ	Uriu	/													1	2								
Otomani BH	Uriu	/					21	8					3						70					
Petea SM	Uriu	in the vicinity of water, vertical position, in settlement											4											
Sarasău I MM	Uriu	/														1		1						1 bronze stab
Sânnicoară BN	Uriu	/														2								
Sânnicolau de Munte BH	Uriu	in ceramic vessel									13													
Sânnicolau Român II BH	Uriu	/											1 frg.	1 frg.		2 frg.; 1 spiral arm-ring frg.								
Șimleu Silvaniei III SJ	Uriu	/														4								
Ulciug SJ	Uriu	/														several rings (arm-rings?)								
Vadu Izei MM	Uriu	slope (andesite stones), in the vicinity of water														12								
Bârsana MM	Suseni	in ceramic vessel														7		2						
Hărău HD	Suseni	/														1; 2 armbands		1	3					1 plate frg.
Lugoj TM	Suseni	/													2	1		1						
Ocna de Fier CS	Suseni	/														1; 13 frg.				1				1 spiral bar
Pojejena CS	Suseni	hilly area														10	1							
Războieni-Cetate AB	Suseni	/											3		2	3	3			1				
Ticvaniu Mare CS	Suseni	/										3 (appended)		4 (with pendants)		4					1	1		
Tiream SM	Suseni	moorland													2									

Fig. 8. Seriation table with the objects from all the depositions ("/" – no data available) (compiled by A. Flontas)

contains more than one weapon or tool, it is the one from Bârsana, which has two socketed axes.[17] Tools and weapons were here deposited mostly together with ring jewelry (like arm-rings or anklets). With the exception of the hoard from Ticvaniu Mare, the pendants, buttons, discs and belt plates were never deposited together with weapons or tools. Regarding their interpretation it is to be emphasised, that they are seen by the scholars often as cultic-ritual objects. In association with jewelry finds, the socketed axes were interpreted by Carola Metzner Nebelsick as sacrificial implements.[18] Moreover, for Bernard Hänsel the socketed ax represents a sacrificial symbol as well as having monetary value.[19] They were generally interpreted as having a social-economic role.[20] The ax-hammers also represent a prestigious and a highly symbolic insignia – mostly attributed to men[21], though their association with the arm-rings, which are female attributes, should not be ignored. The sickles may also have a cultic-religious character since they are interpreted as a symbol of the moon due to their shape. Furthermore, they could also have served as thank-offerings of the cultivators for bountiful harvests.[22]

The topographic situation

There is, unfortunately, very little reliable information about the exact topographic situation of these deposits, since only two (Cheile Vârghișului II and Petea) of the 42 jewelry hoards were found and documented in the course of archaeological excavations. All the others were discovered accidentally. However, the evidence at hand suggests that most depositions were located on a slope or deposited in close vicinity of water (Fig. 8).[23] Interestingly, two depositions were found in caves.[24] This indicates, that the many hoards were deposited on special locations. This fact allows to associate them with divinities, since special locations on a mountain or a hill cam be seen as places where communication took place with the divinities.[25] Also springs, streams, and the rivers can have a religious character, they were credited with healing properties and thus as being sacred.[26] Finally depositions in caves speak strongly for a ritual motivation, since caves were not used in mundane ways, but rather for special, cultic events.[27] These statements support the interpretation of the jewelry depositions as a predominantly cultic-religious phenomenon.

Conclusions

Since 21 of the 43 hoards consist purely of rings (*e.g.*, arm-rings or anklets), and most others include ring jewelry it is obvious that rings represent the main component of the depositions in both chronological horizons. Rare exceptions include a hoard consisting only of pins (Petea) as well as two depositions, which contain only pendants (Cubulcut and Sânnicolau de Munte).

The importance of the arm-rings and other jewelry objects worn on the arms in both Bz D and Ha A1 are clearly illustrated in Fig. 9. Even though during the later Cincu-Suseni horizon, the difference between each type of jewelry is not as considerable as it was earlier. Moreover, in the Ha A1 period weapons and tools are more common. After arm jewelry they are the second most common type of hoarded finds. This stands in contrast to the hoards from the Uriu-Domănești Period in which weapons and tools are underrepresented, especially if one considers the number of hoards in each horizon (Fig. 9). The composition of the hoards shows clear differences. For example, several jewelry types, like the pendants, buttons, and discs, appear more often or even exclusively in the Uriu-Domănești horizon.

Another important aspect of these hoards are the distribution patterns of the various hoard compositions. The distribution maps, show two groups that are readily distinguishable. On the one hand, the ring jewelry (arm-rings and anklets) focuses on the northern part of the area under consideration (Fig. 10–11), while the pendants and other jewelry types (like buttons, discs, belts and suspended chain pendants) appear mainly in the western area[28] (Fig. 12). The arm guard-spirals, the beads and the pins were found primarily in the depositions from the south of the Someș River (Fig. 13). With one exception, the weapons and the tools never appear in the depositions in the west, they are, however, characteristic for the northern and southern region (Fig. 14). This points to the existence of regionally differentiated hoarding customs. In Fig. 1 it can be clearly seen, that – with few exceptions – the depositions of the two horizons

[17] It should also be mentioned that the arm-rings from this hoard were deposited as pairs – with one exception. The missing eighth arm-ring may, however, may have gotten lost during the hoard´s discovery (Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1944–1948: 265, 1977: 84, 1978: 115; Kacsó 2011: 221).

[18] Metzner-Nebelsick 2012: 164–165.

[19] Hänsel 1997: 17–18.

[20] Jockenhövel 1982: 459; Hansen 1994: 126–127.

[21] Vulpe 1970: 95; Hansen 1994: 197; Vulpe 1996: 520; Vachta 2008: 34; 48. They have also been interpreted as votive resp. sacrificial objects (Vulpe 1970: 95; Vachta 2008: 34; Hänsel 1997: 19).

[22] Hänsel 1997: 20.

[23] See furthermore: Soroceanu 2012: 231–232, 245, 1995: 80.

[24] Emődi 2006: 31–32.

[25] Soroceanu 1995: 21. For a ritual interpretation of the depositions on hilltops see also: Müller-Karpe 1980: 685.

[26] Hansen 2012: 40. Water-finds are also dealt with by Müller-Karpe 1980: 684.

[27] Soroceanu 1995: 27, 29, 2012: 233; Müller-Karpe 1980: 685.

[28] For the distribution of the hourglass-shaped pendants in the Carpathian Basin see also: Kacsó 1989: 86, 1995b: 98 and for the distribution of the crescent-shaped pendants: 2009: 169. The appearance of amulet jewelry in the Crișana region was also noticed by Hansen (1994: 356).

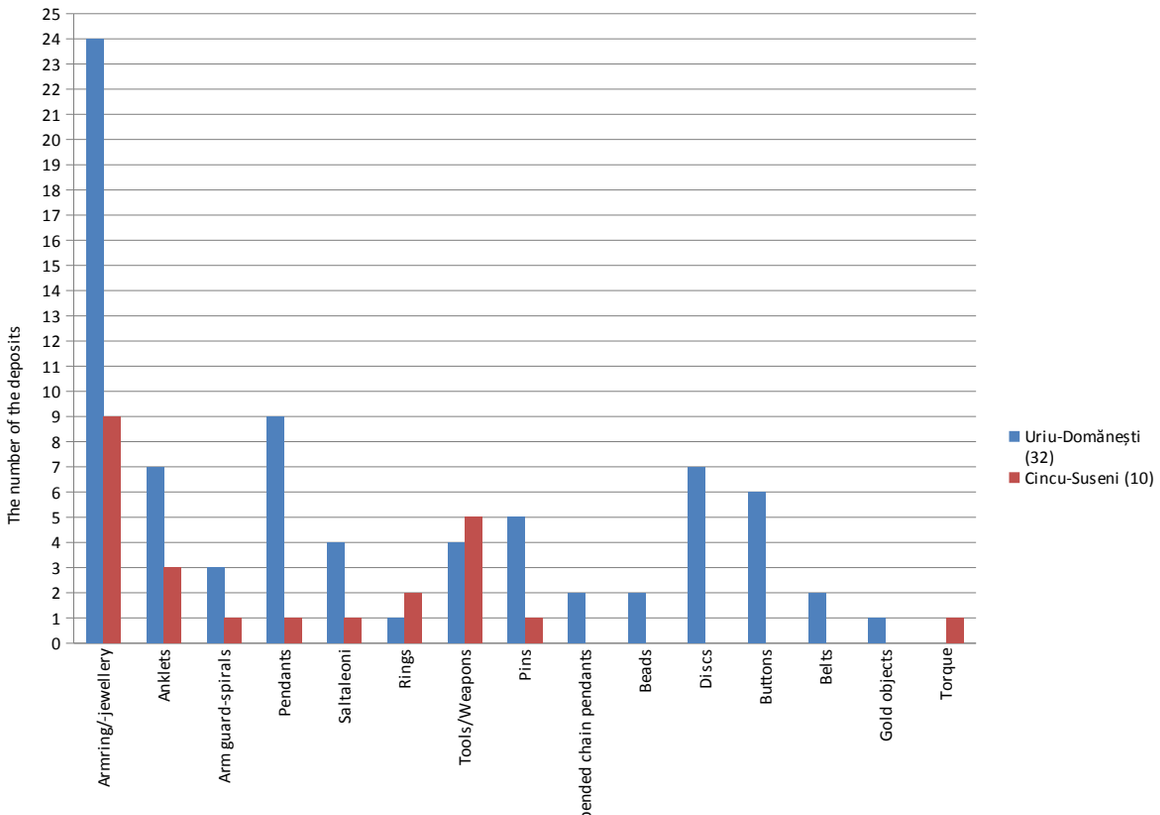


Fig. 9. The types of objects in the depositions of both time horizons (designed by A. Flontas)

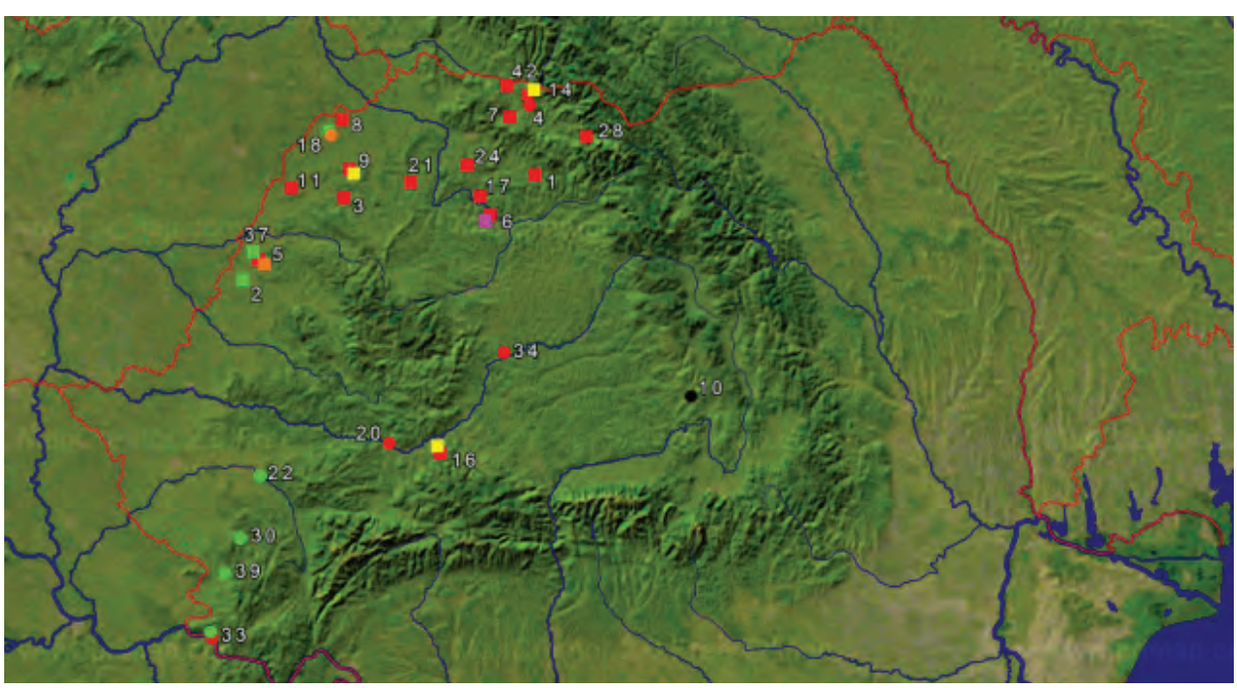


Fig. 10. The distribution of hoards based on the cross-section of the arm-rings (square – Uriu-Domănești; circle – Cincu-Suseni). Red: round; yellow: oval; green: D-shaped; pink: rhombic; orange: outside curved, inside angular, black: unknown cross-section form. 1 – Agrieș (BN); 2 – Arpășel (BH); 3 – Balc (BH); 4 – Bârsana (MM); 5 – Bicaci (BH); 6 – Bogata de Jos I (CJ); 7 – Breb (MM); 8 – Căpleni I (SM); 9 – Cehăluț I (SM); 10 – Cheile Vârghișului II (HR); 11 – Ciocaia (BH); 14 – Coștiui II (MM); 16 – Cugir II (AB); 17 – Dobrocina I (SJ); 18 – Foieni II (SM); 20 – Hărău (HD); 21 – Lelei (SM); 22 – Lugoj (TM); 24 – Maramureș III (MM); 28 – Moisei (MM); 30 – Ocna de Fier (CS); 33 – Pojejena (CS); 34 – Războieni-Cetate (AB); 37 – Sânnicolau Român II (BH); 39 – Ticvaniu Mare (CS); 42 – Vadu Izei (MM) (compiled by A. Flontas)

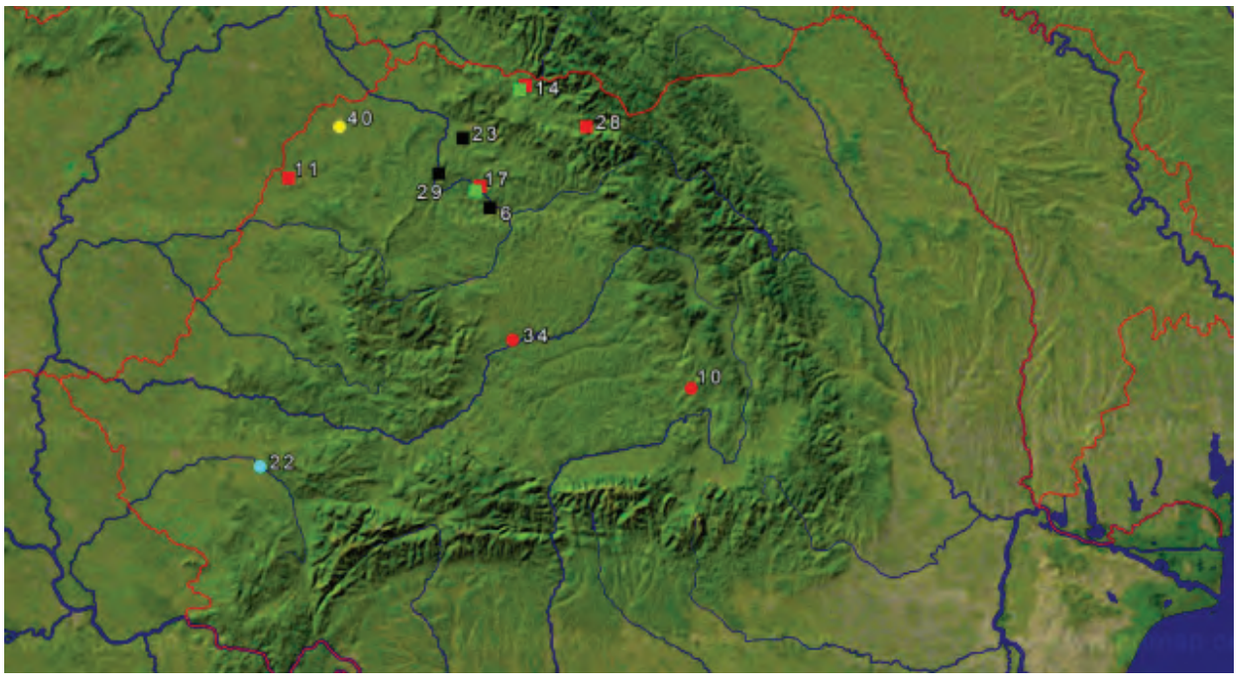


Fig. 11. The distribution of the hoards based on the cross-section forms of the anklets. Square – Uriu-Domănești; circle – Cincu-Suseni. The following colours correspond to the four cross-section forms from Fig. 5 (from left to right): red-green-blue-yellow. Black – unknown cross-section form. 6 – Bogata de Jos I (CJ); 10 – Cheile Vârghișului II (HR); 11 – Ciocaia (BH); 14 – Coștiui II (MM); 17 – Dobrocina I (SJ); 22 – Lugoj (TM); 23 – Maramureș I (MM); 28 – Moisei (MM); 29 – Năpradea (SJ); 34 – Războieni-Cetate (AB); 40 – Tiream (SM) (compiled by A. Flontas)

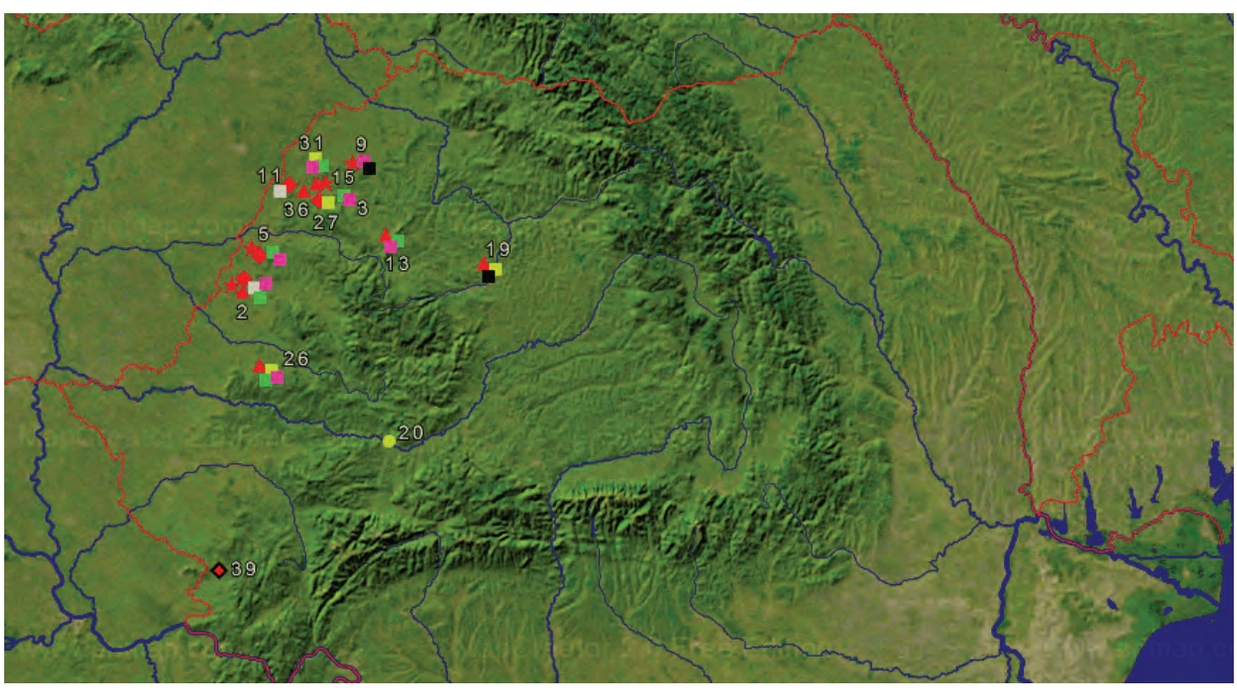


Fig. 12. The distribution of the hoards based on the pendants (hourglass-shaped – red and black framed rhombuses; crescent- shaped – red triangles; conical – red stars); saltaleoni (yellow); suspended chain pendants (white); buttons (green), discs (pink) and belt plates (black). Circles and black framed symbols – Cincu-Suseni; all other symbols – Uriu- Domănești. See also Fig. 6. The rhombuses from no. 11 and 39 represent the hanged pendants on the suspended chain pendants resp. arm guard-spirals. 2 – Arpășel (BH); 3 – Balc (BH); 5 – Bicaci (BH); 9 – Cehăluț I (SM); 11 – Ciocaia (BH); 13 – Cizer (SJ); 15 – Cubulcut (BH); 19 – Giula (CJ); 20 – Hărău (HD); 26 – Minișu de Sus (AR); 27 – Mișca (BH); 31 – Otomani (BH); 36 – Sânnicolau de Munte (BH); 39 – Ticvaniu Mare (CS) (compiled by A. Flontas)

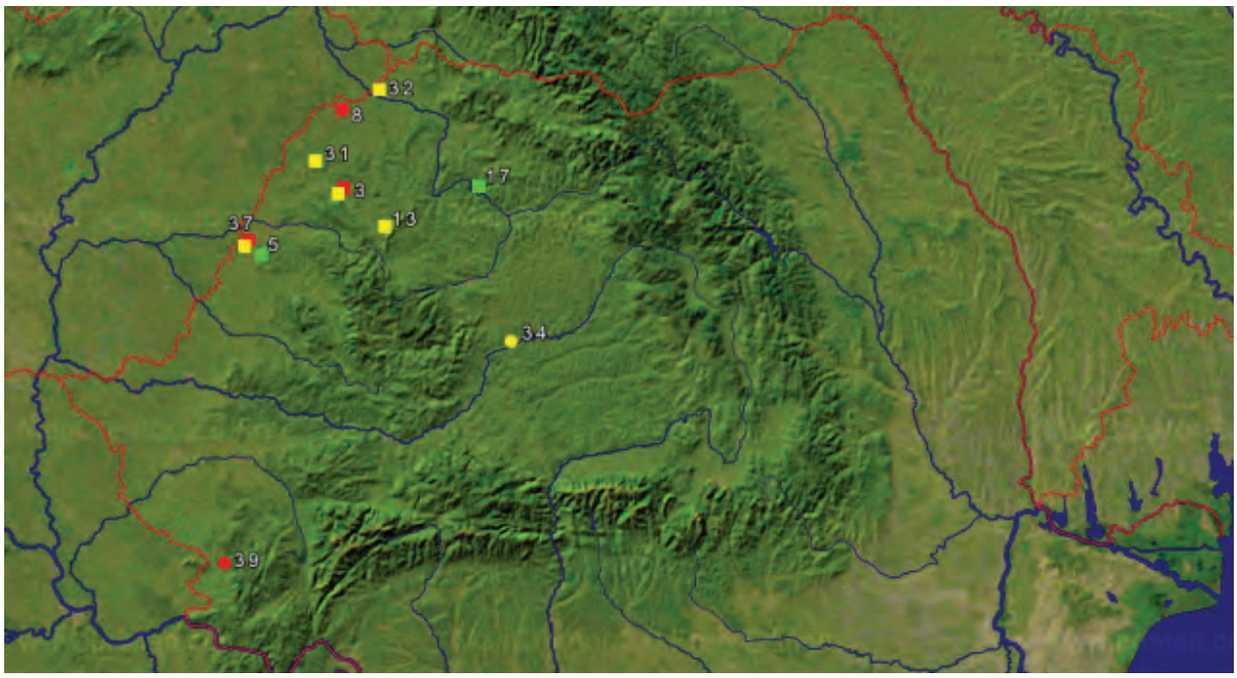


Fig. 13. The distribution of the hoards containing arm guard-spirals (red), beads (green) and pins (yellow). Square – Uriu-Domănești; circle – Cincu-Suseni. 3 – Balc (BH); 5 – Bicaci (BH); 8 – Căpleni I (SM); 13 – Cizer (SJ); 17 – Dobrocina I (SJ); 31 – Otomani (BH); 32 – Petea (SM); 34 – Războieni-Cetate (AB); 37 – Sânnicolau-Român II (BH); 39 -Ticvaniu Mare (CS) (compiled by A. Flontas)

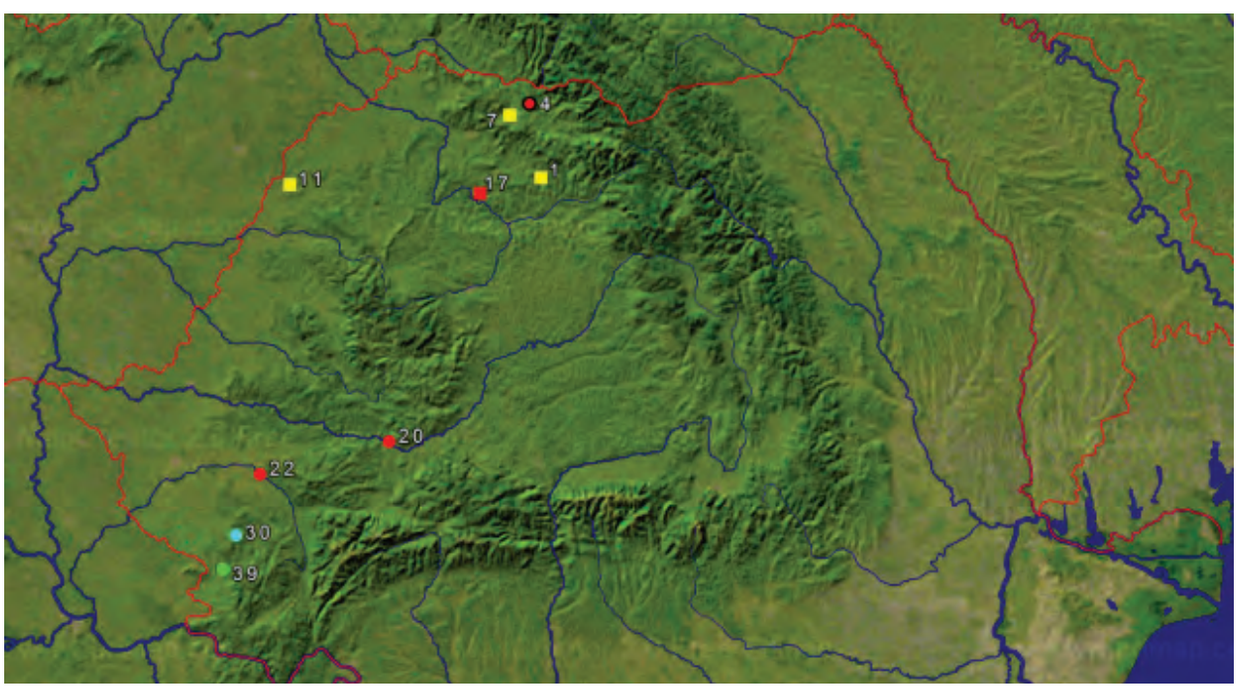


Fig. 14. The distribution of the hoards containing tools and weapons (see Fig. 7). Square – Uriu-Domănești; circle – Cincu-Suseni. Red – socketed ax; green – winged ax; yellow – ax-hammer with disc butt; blue – sickle; black framed symbols – more than one tool. 1 – Agrieș (BN); 4 – Bârsana (MM); 7 – Breb (MM); 11 – Ciocaia (BH); 17 – Dobrocina I (SJ); 20 – Hărău (HD); 22 – Lugoj (TM); 30 – Ocna de Fier (CS); 39 – Ticvaniu Mare (CS) (compiled by A. Flontas)

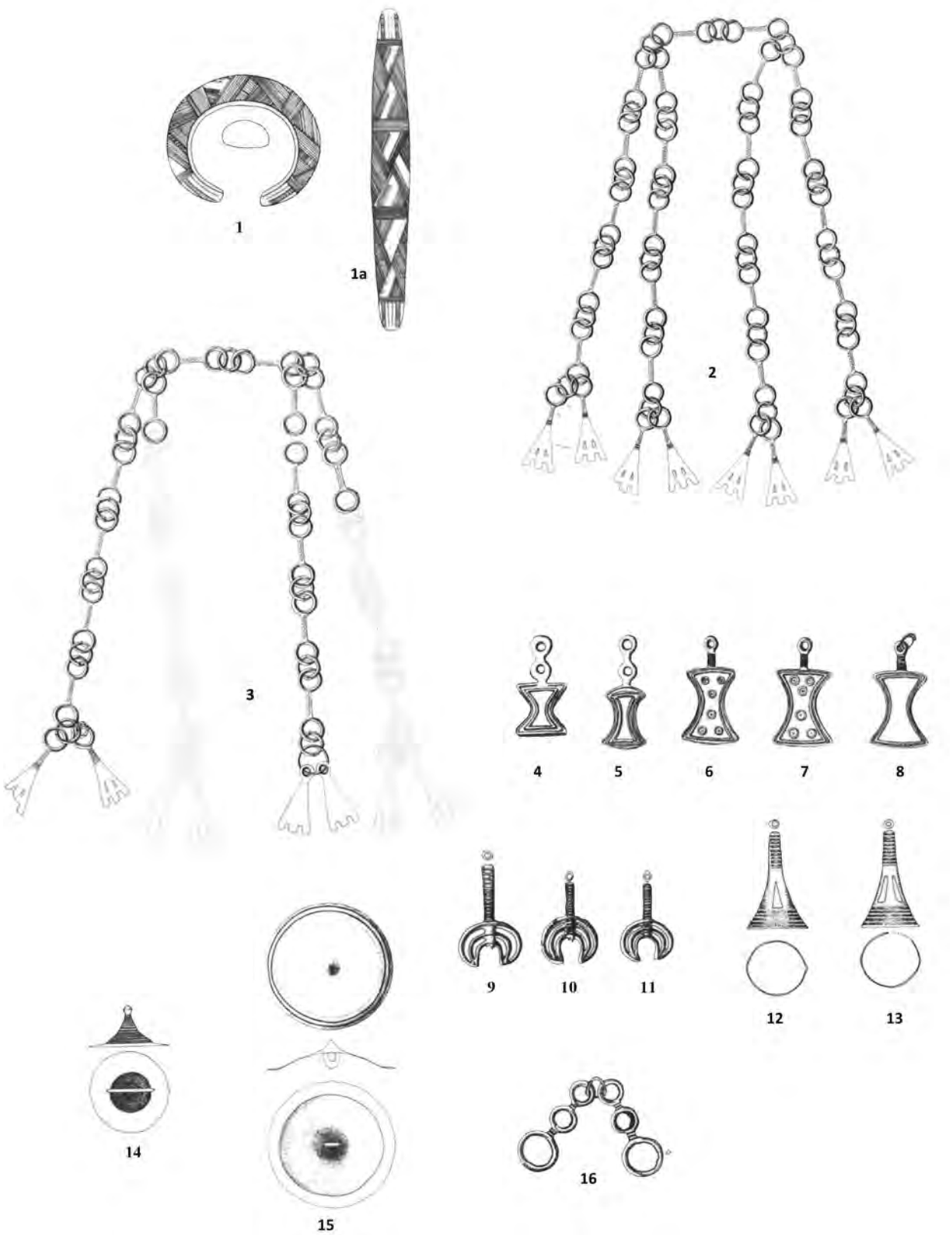


Fig. 15. The hoard from Arpășel (after Kacsó 1995b)

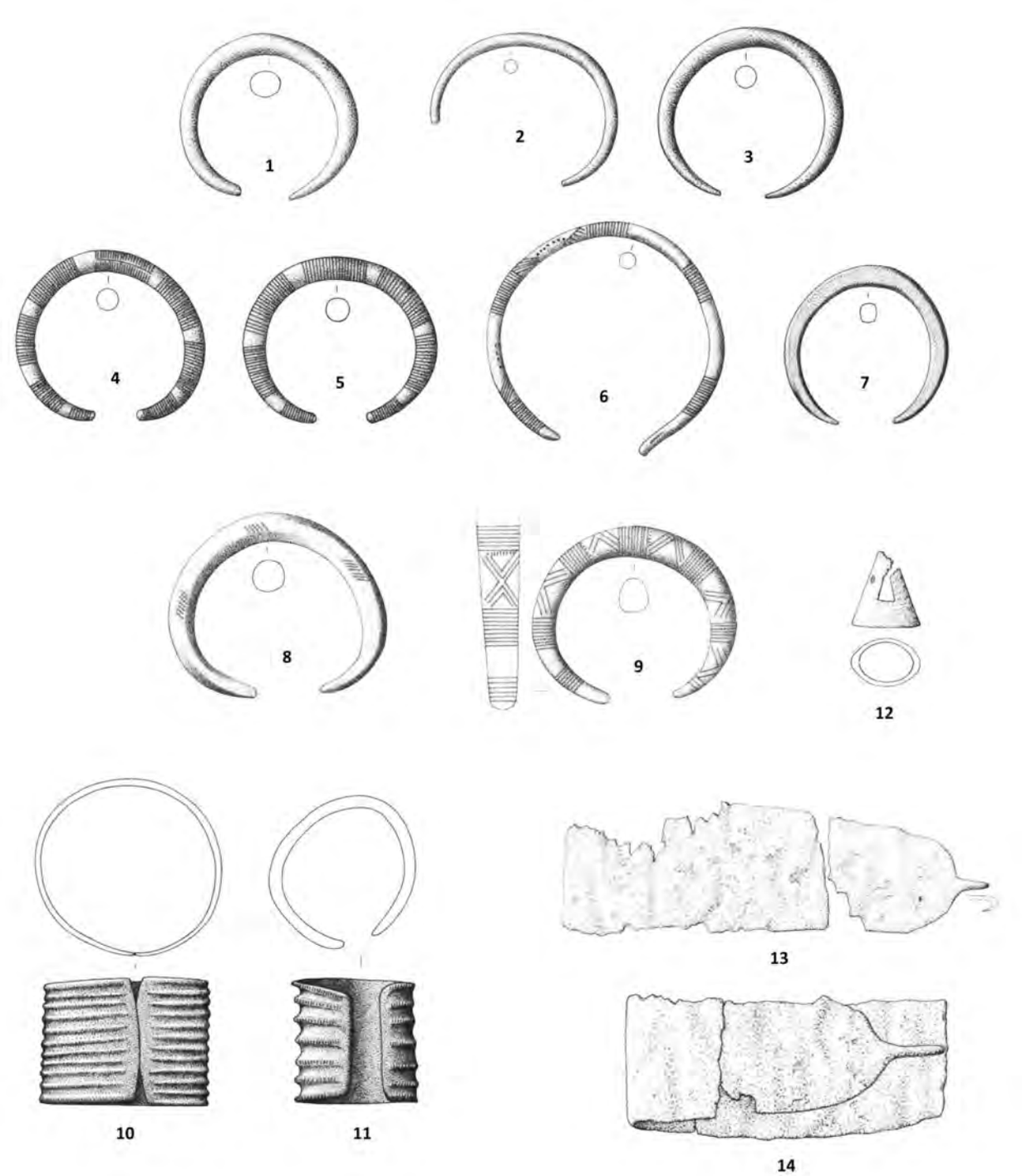


Fig. 16. The hoard from Cehăluț I, part 1 (after Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1998)

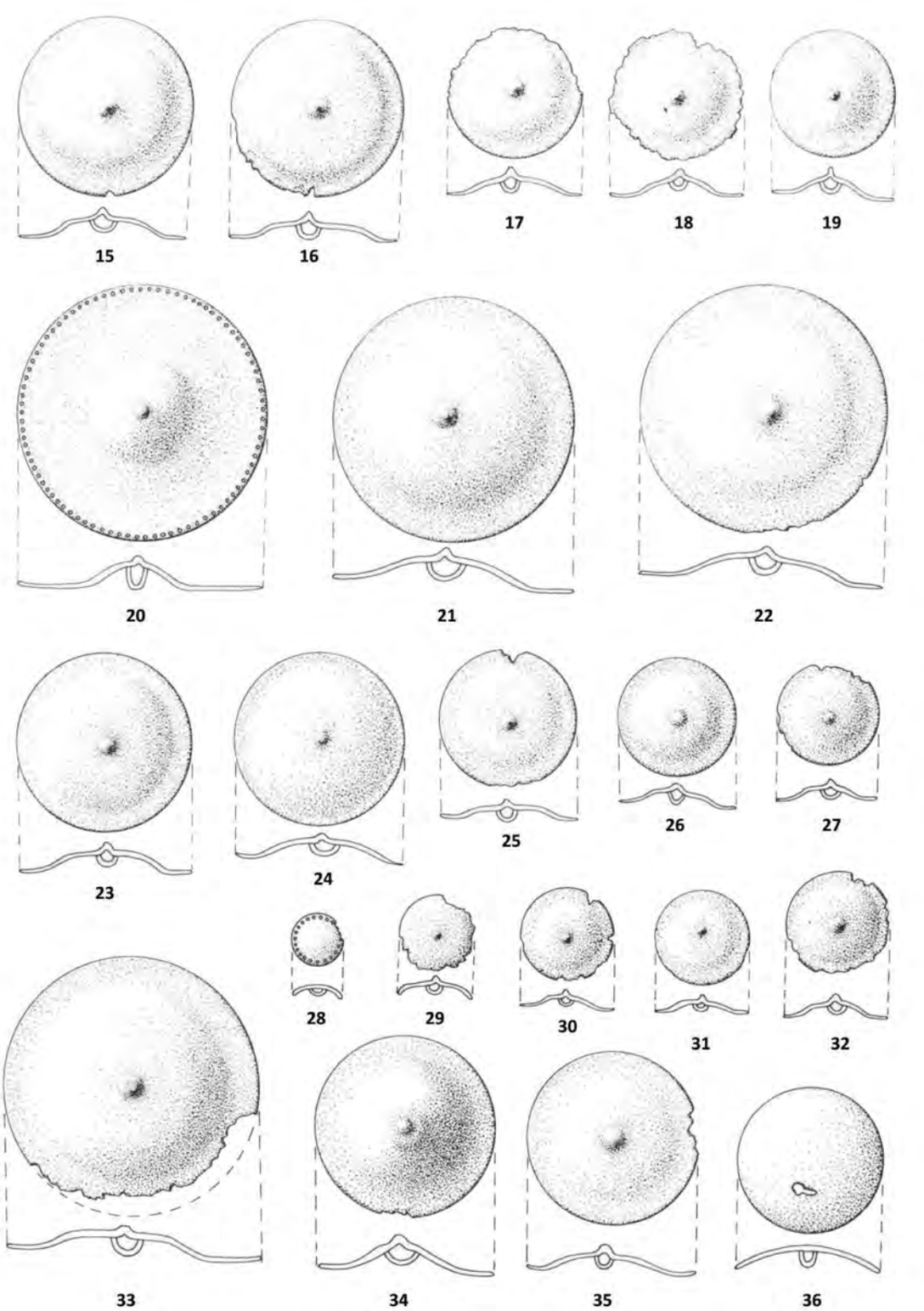


Fig. 17. The hoard from Cehăluț I, part2 (after Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978)

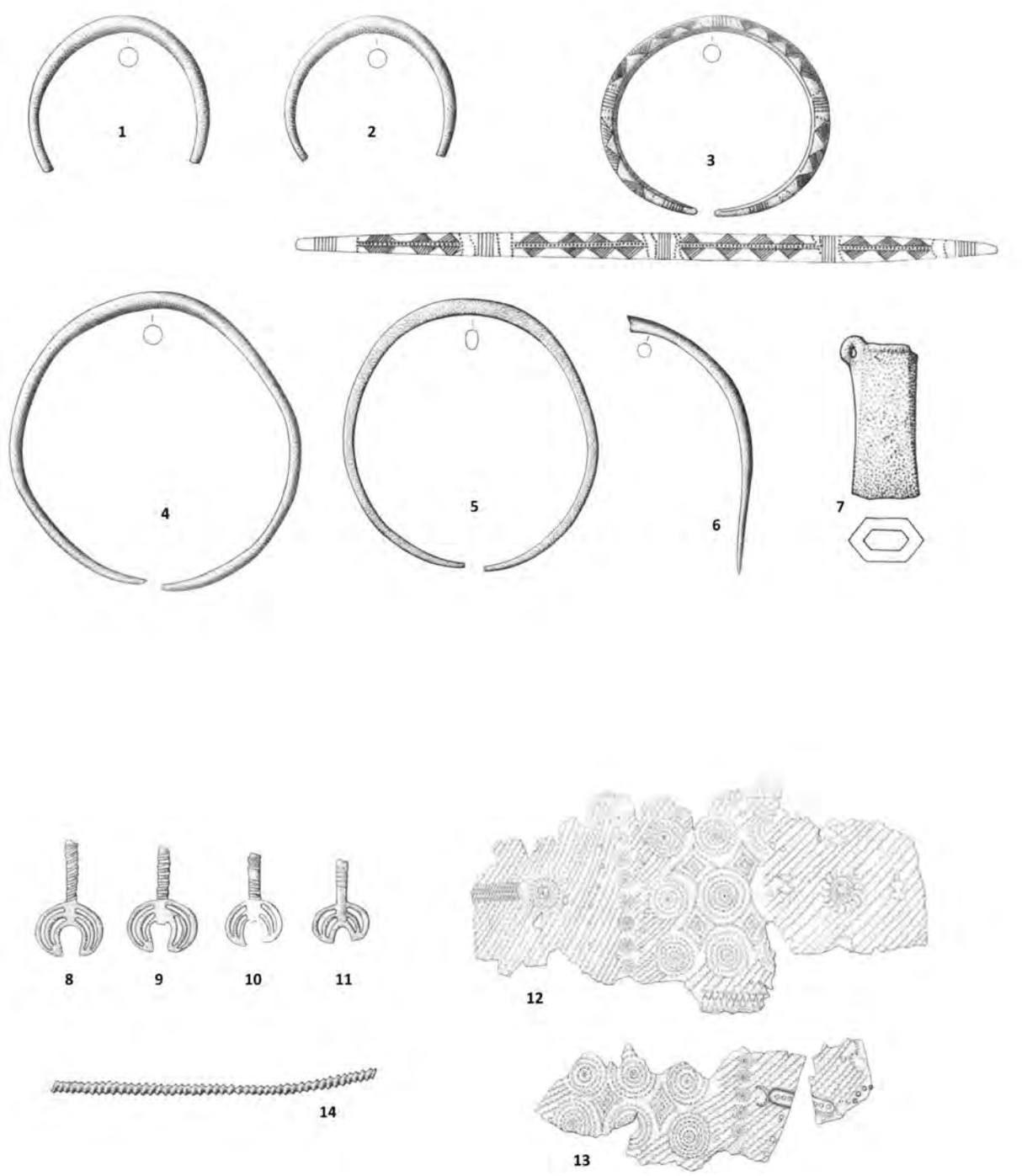


Fig. 18. The hoard from Dobrocina (1–7) und Giula (8–14) (after Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1978 and 1998)

exclude each other. Due to this fact, it might be considered, that the two horizons could partly represent regionally and not chronologically differentiated phenomena.

Bronze hoards in general and these jewelry hoards in particular have been subjected to a wide range of scholarly interpretations. They have been seen as votive offerings, *i.e.*, „gifts" for the gods[29] or in total contrasts as deposits of scrap metal. Hoards containing only a single category of objects, like the jewelry hoards I have dealt

[29] See among others: Müller-Karpe 1980: 688 (who sees the hoards as profane as well as sacred actions); Hansen 1994: 381; Vulpe 1996: 517; Hänsel 1997: 13 (while he does not exclude the possibility of hoards being hidden treasures, but agrees that the majority of the depositions have a religious character); Müller 2002: 12; Hansen 2002: 93, 2005: 307, 2012: 27; Metzner-Nebelsick 2003: 99, 2005: 321, 2012: 160, 2014: 22; Vachta 2008: 114; Bratu 2009: 9–10; Hänsel 2009: 144; Eggert 2012: 80. Huth (1996: 142) favours a profane interpretation for most hoards, whose deposition is however linked with cultic events.

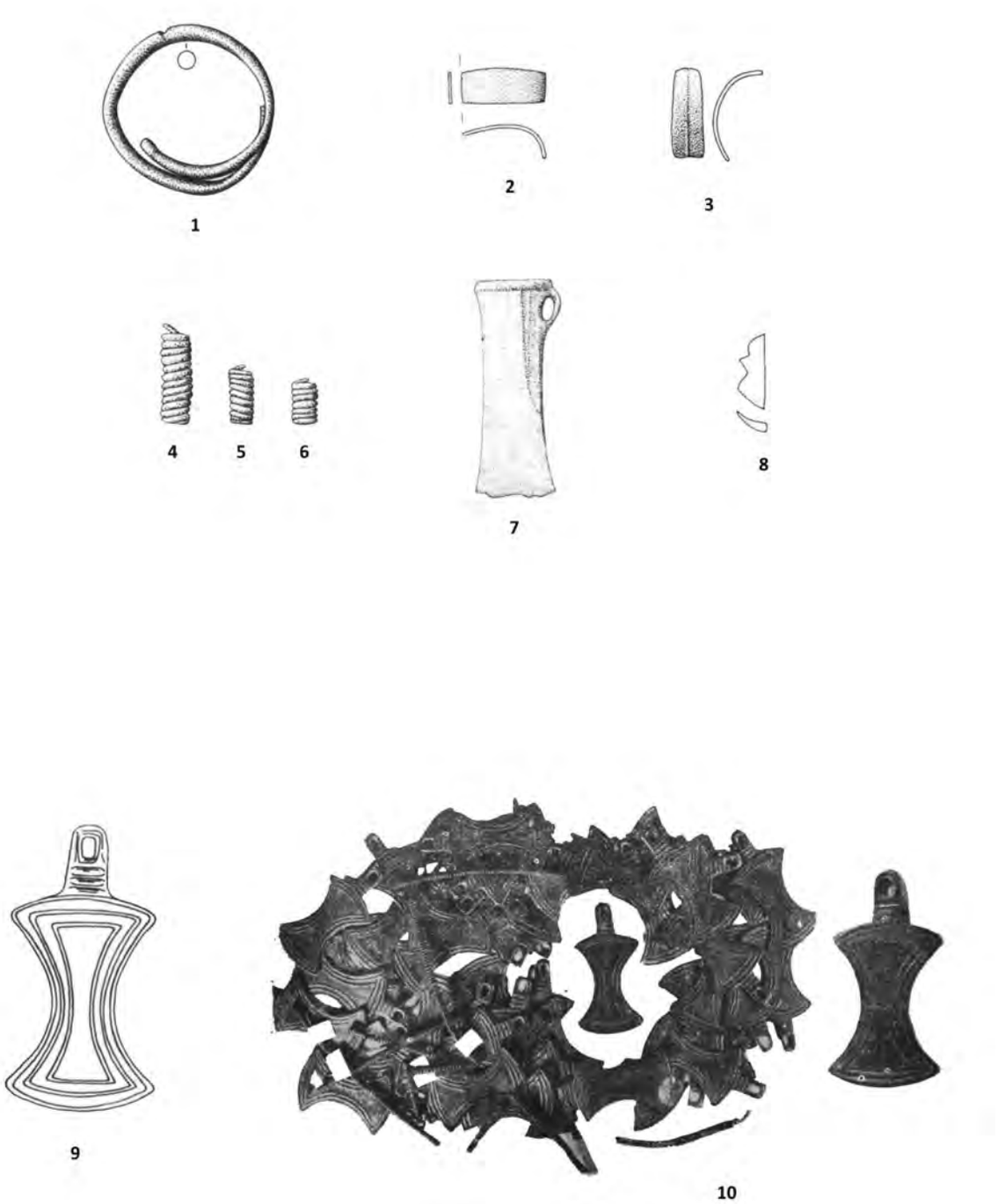


Fig. 19. The hoard from Hărău (1–8) und Mișca (9–10) (after Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1998 and Bader 1978)

with, were interpreted – by Metzner-Nebelsick – as votive sacrifices. These votive hoards are made up of undamaged whole artefacts. Because these jewelry depositions usually contain a small set of personal objects, they are probably best seen as having been associated with a single individual, probably the person preforming the offering ritual.[30] In this context, the divinities were probably envisaged as anthropomorphic entities, something indicated by the gender related composition of deposited the artefact types.[31] The objects from pure jewelry depositions (in this case hoards composed of female jewelry and/or combinations of female jewelry and horse trappings) are therefore likely to represent

[30] Metzner-Nebelsick 2012: 165, 168.

[31] Metzner-Nebelsick 2012: 166–167. Hänsel (1997: 19) also maintains that Bronze Age people imagined their divinities in human form. See also Müller 2002: 20 and Metzner-Nebelsick 2014: 21.

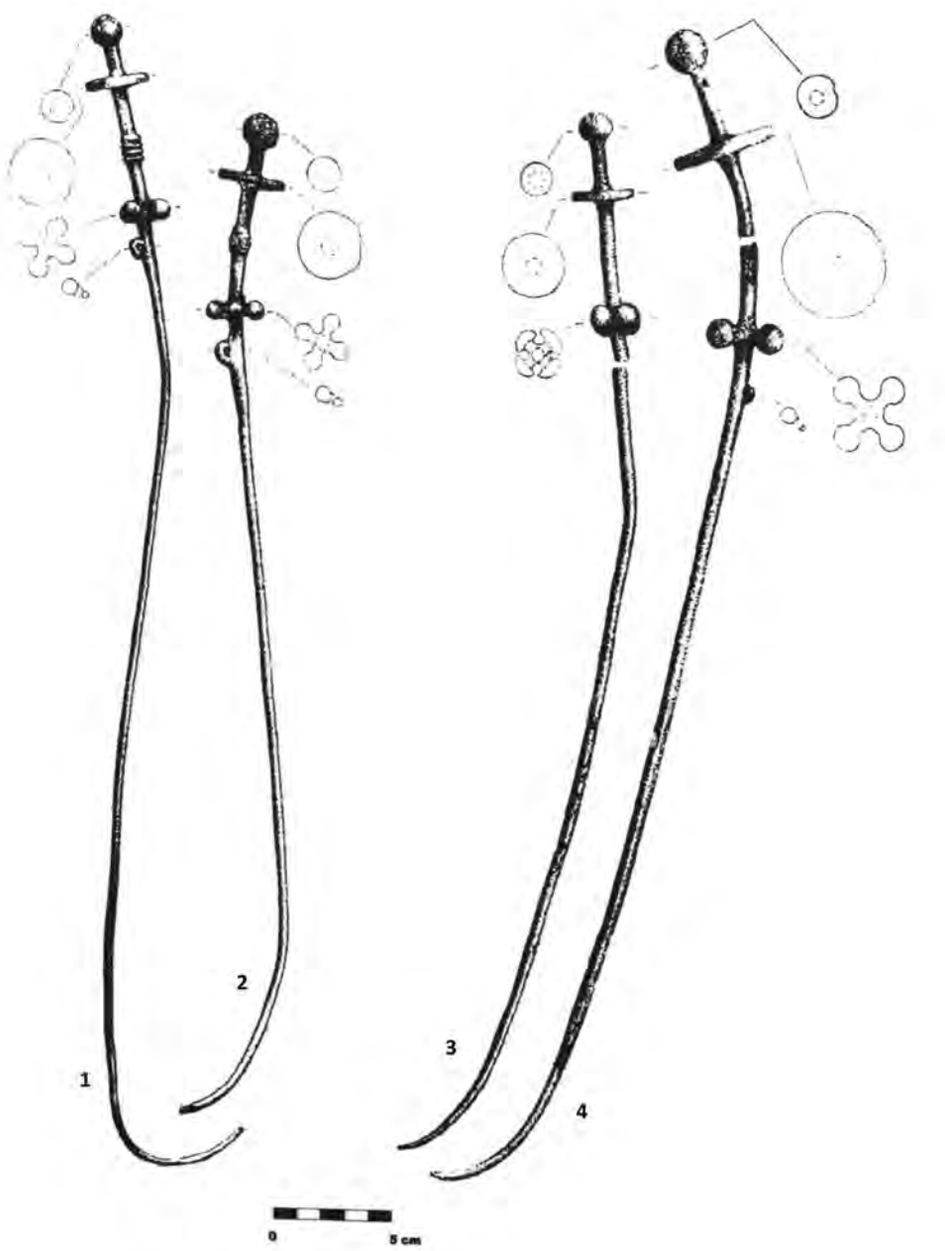


Fig. 20. The hoard from Petea (after Marta 2005)

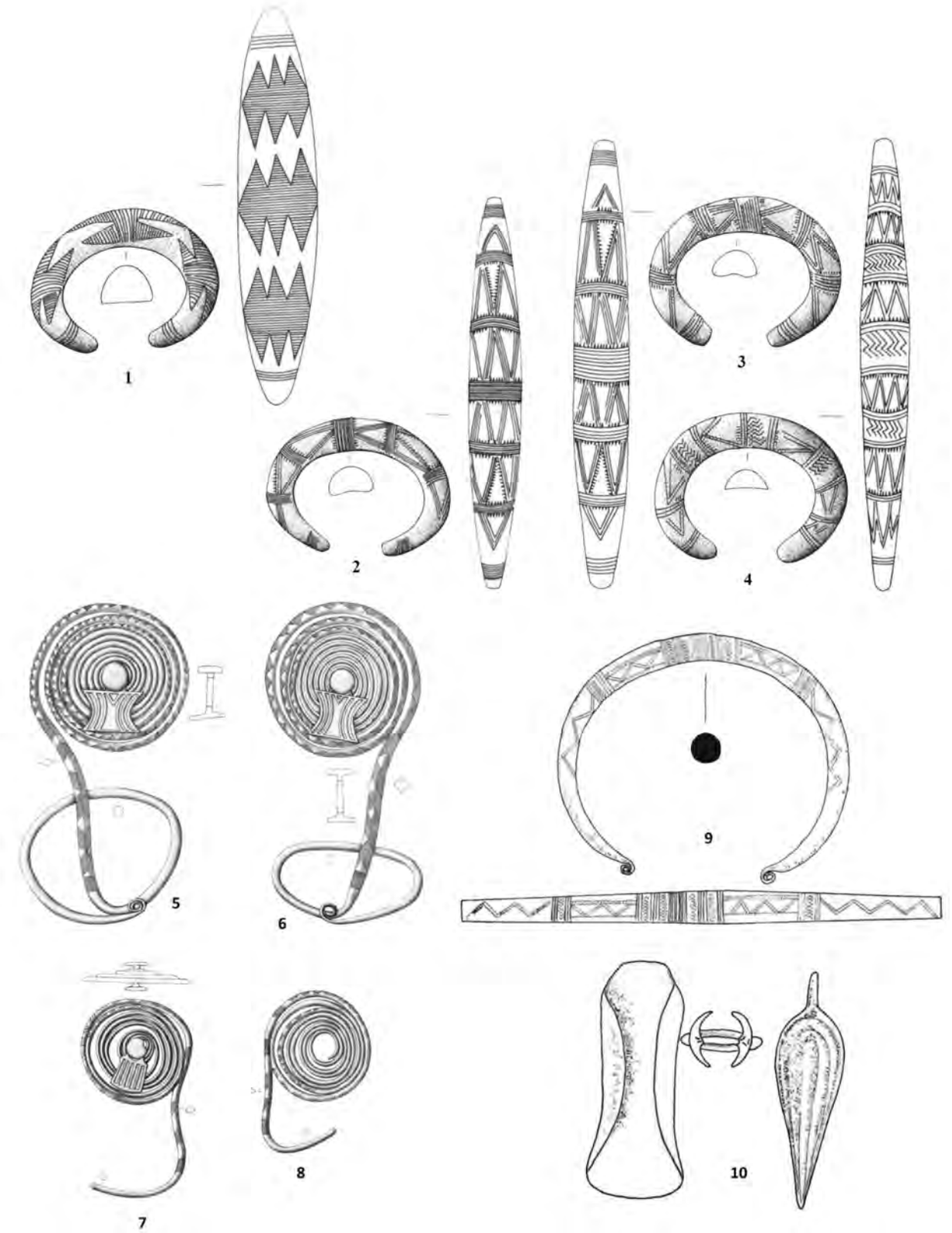


Fig. 21. The hoard from Ticvaniu Mare (after Petrescu-Dîmbovița 1998 and Săcărin 1981)

votive offerings for female divinities.[32] They can be seen as mirrored cognates of sword or ax depositions, which were likely to have been consecrated to a male connoted war god.[33] It is also likely, that the larger hoards were deposited by a larger group in public, while the ritual deposition of smaller hoards made up of personal objects was probably done in private. It is worth considering that jewelry belonging to the personal sphere would have been seen as objects of high value. It has been suggested, that sacrificing valuable objects would demonstrate and enhance the power and prestige of the person doing the offering. Besides, it should be taken into consideration that the sacrificing individuals' decisions to dissociate themselves from other cultural groups may stand behind the different composition patterns of the hoards.[34]

In summary we can demonstrate that the 13th and 12th century BC jewelry depositions in the Romanian Carpathian Basin belong to a special category of hoards, which were most likely deposited in the course of cultic-religious events, presumably as offerings from women for female divinities.

[32] Metzner-Nebelsick 2012: 168; see also Hänsel 1997: 20.
[33] Hänsel 1997: 17; Metzner-Nebelsick 2012: 167–168, 2014: 22–23.
[34] See also: Vachta 2008: 116–117.

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Early Iron Age hoards between Brittany and the Carpathian basin – a preliminary review

Imke Westhausen

This paper represents the first attempt to do a systematic analysis of "hoard" phenomena in the period between 800 and 300 BC between Brittany and the Carpathian Basin.[1] In the greater part of this geographic focus, the Early Iron Age is referred to as the Hallstatt Period and the transition to the subsequent Late Iron Age the La Tène Period, which is associated with the historic Celtic speakers and took place around 480 BC. Since the Hallstatt – La Tène transition was fluid, hoards from the beginning of the Late Iron Age, the Early La Tène Period, are also included in this survey. Hoards, or depositions as used synonymously below, are defined as intentional deposits of artefacts without a settlement or grave context, or according to the definition I have chosen, they are intentional deposits made for reasons that are not obvious at first sight. The hoard phenomenon has a history reaching back at least to the Neolithic. Bronze artefact hoards are considered to be a definitive phenomenon for the entire Bronze Age, and numerous metal depositions of different composition are also known for the later stages of the Late Iron Age/La Tène Period. The widely held scholarly opinion, that the hoarding does not take place in the Early Iron Age is inaccurate.[2] While the number of hoards in the distribution area of the classic Hallstatt Culture, that extends from eastern France to western Hungary, did, in fact, decrease significantly in comparison with the previous Late Bronze Age, in neighbouring Central European regions, *e.g.*, in present-day western France and Poland (Fig. 1), the Early Iron Age saw the emergence of significant hoarding activity at this time.

Hoards, in general, are interpreted by scholars as material evidence of Prehistoric religiously motivated action. More specifically they are considered "gifts to the gods" dedicated at a time without classical temple buildings. These ideas underscore the importance of hoards as evidence for religious practice, since during the chosen period of *ca* 800 BC until *ca* 300 BC Central Europe is a Prehistoric nonliterate society whose ideology and religion can only be reconstructed by analysing archaeological finds and features.

Important clues for the identification of material expressions of religion can also be gained by making comparisons with contemporary civilisations but also with the results of contemporary ethnological, folklore research and, importantly, religious studies.

However, there is no unified definition of religion; instead, religion is "a scholarly construct that comprises a whole bundle of functional and substantial definitions; a construct that allows associated elements and forms of expression to be captured in a grid as the subject-matter of research in religious studies (and other disciplines) – as "religion".[3] Of course, only the material legacies of religion can be recorded by archaeological means. An essential aspect of religion is its ritual aspect. Each religion carries out specific rituals which have in common that they are repeatable acts that follow set rules for the purpose of communication. Many ritual acts leave material traces, the obvious example being sacrificial ritual involving durable objects. Recurring patterns of ritual behaviour, which indicate the existence of governing rules, can be recognised in archaeological finds and features.[4] Following this approach I would suggest the following archaeological indications of religiously motivated behaviour:

- built up places whose architecture seems to follow specific rules without serving an apparent functional purpose[5];
- places where repeated depositions took place according to set rules without any tangible benefit;
- deposits whose pattern of composition was the result of a selection according to set rules;
- deposited objects which were manipulated or damaged according to established rules;

[1] This paper offers an overview of my project entitled *Depositions of the Early Iron Age between Brittany and the Carpathian Basin*, which I am currently working on at the Institute for Prehistoric Archaeology of the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Carola Metzner-Nebelsick.

[2] For instance: Hansen 2013.

[3] Hock 2011.

[4] In the case of hoards this would involve patterns in the choice of particular objects and their manipulation and destruction and in the case of sanctuaries characteristic ubiquitous architectural features.

[5] In contrast to workshops, for instance, which have characteristic architectural features but a functional purpose. Similar counterexamples could be cited for the following theses.

Fig. 1. Jewellery hoard from Podbiel, district of Otwock, Poland (after Narożna-Szamałek 2013)

- objects which are regularly deposited in specific locations without any apparent functional reason;
- pictorial representations that occur repeatedly and whose composition follows strict rules.

This spectrum of the expected evidence illustrates the potential of hoards being a material expression of Prehistoric religious practice.

I initiated my research project by collecting the Early Iron Age Central European hoards as thoroughly as possible from the published sources in a database. This almost exclusively involves depositions of metal artefacts. The databank was structured in order to recorded and evaluate in particular the composition and treatment of the objects, as well as the context and the topography of the site. The aim is to work out the fixed rules that are typical for rituals and to identify any chronological and/or regionally specific peculiarities by systematically comparing the hoard sites with each other. Moreover, in order to place hoarding in a larger context of contemporary religious behaviour, its characteristics are compared to those of Alpine burnt offering sites, architecturally designed sanctuaries, cultically used caves and other cult places. This comparison aims to answer the question of whether hoards co-existed with other religious phenomena or whether they were temporally or regionally excluded from them and to what extent the inventories of these different source genera are comparable.

Currently, my database contains exactly 500 metal depositions from 14 European countries lying between Brittany and the Carpathian Basin. Most of the Early Iron Age depositions in my databank come from France with 221 examples, Germany has produced 80, Poland – 56, Switzerland – 53, northern Italy – 27 and finally Austria with 23 hoards (Fig. 2). As I am still in the process of collecting information from south-east central Europe, I expected the number of hoards from these regions to increase considerably.[6] Of the 500 hoard sites I have collected so far six can only be generally dated to the Early Iron Age. The rest can be dated more closely: 109 hoards can be assigned to Ha C, 78 can be dated to the Ha C to Ha D transition. Hoarding is more prolific in the younger and Late Hallstatt Period. 161 hoards date to Ha D, and 52 to the Ha D – La Tène A transition. With the beginning of the later Iron Age hoarding declines. 72 hoards date to the Early La Tène period proper and 23 can be dated more generally to the La Tène Period (Fig. 3). Judging from the evidence collected so far, the main focus of hoarding lies in the Ha D Period.

Both the composition and size of Early Iron Age depositions vary widely (Fig. 4). The simplest type of hoard involves depositing a single-object into the earth or water. Hoards consisting of several or many objects are mainly

[6] The numbers used in the following statistical analysis reflect my database as of the end of May 2017.

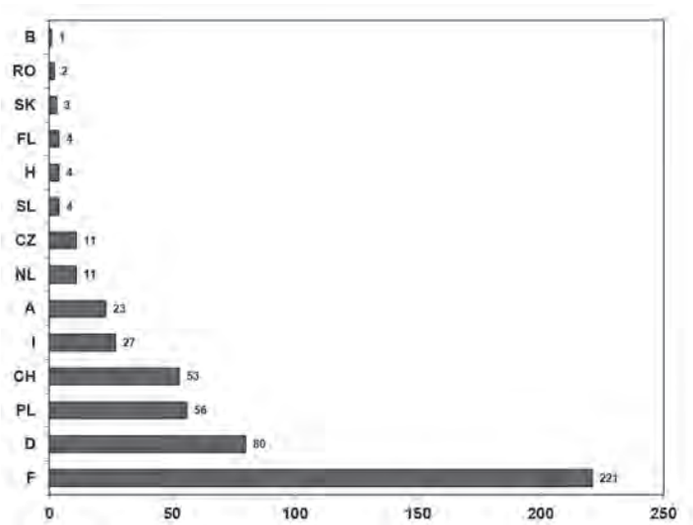


Fig. 2. Overview of the number of the depositions included in the database to date from different European countries (designed by I. Westhausen)

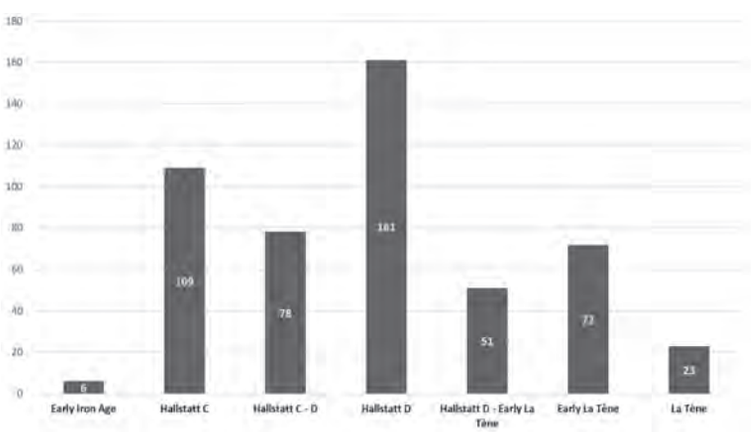


Fig. 3. Distribution of depositions in different periods (designed by I. Westhausen)

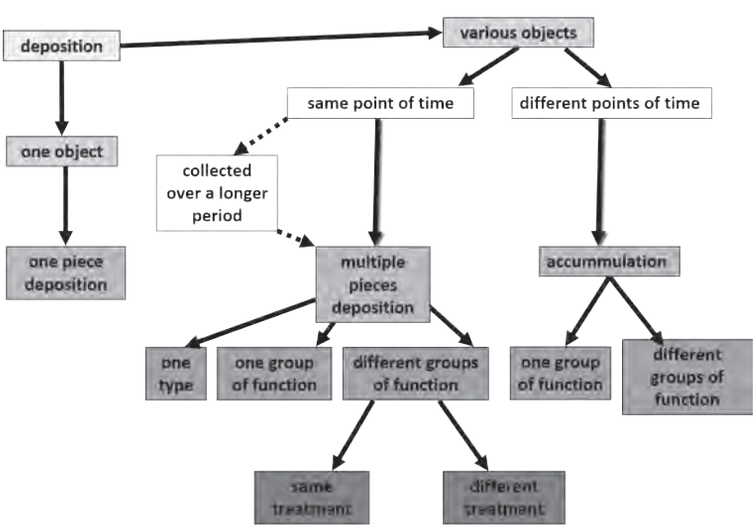


Fig. 4. Composition of different deposition types (designed by I. Westhausen)

classified as multi-piece depositions, that is contexts in which objects were deposited together at the same time in one place. This does not exclude, however, the possibility that these multi-piece depositions may also contain objects of different date since the objects could be collected and curated over a long period of time before they were deposited.

Hoards can also be differentiated on the basis of their composition. Thus, there are "pure" multi-piece depositions which only contain a single type of object, mul-

Fig. 5. Pure jewellery multi-piece deposition: hoard II from Woskowice Małe, district of Namysłów, Poland (after Grempler 1897)

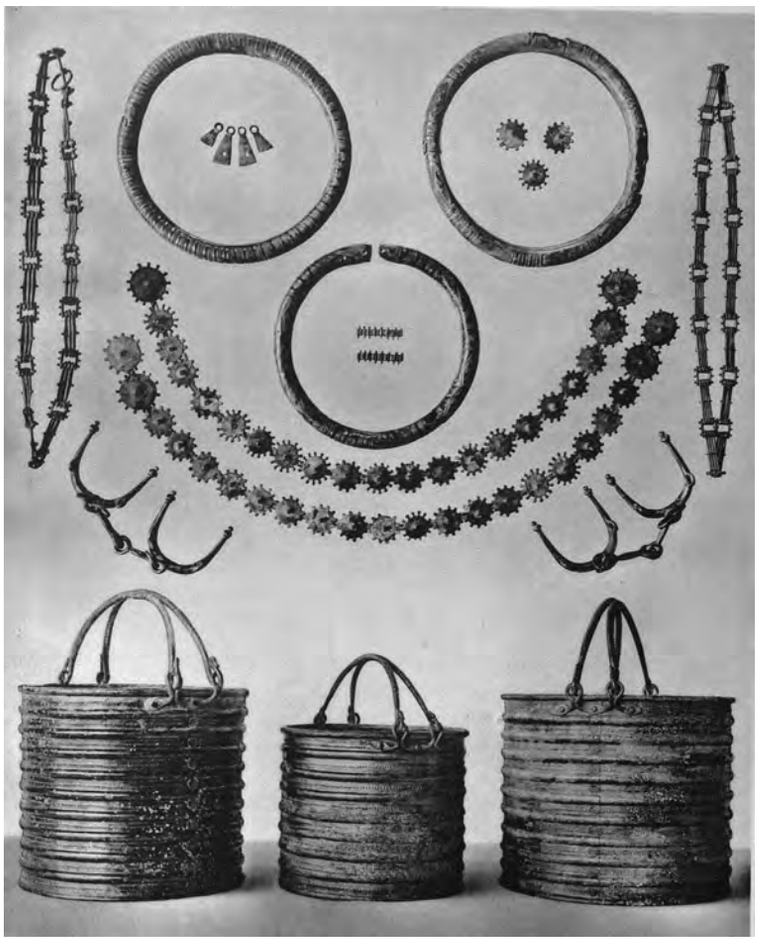


Fig. 6. Complex multi-piece deposition: hoard I from Woskowice Małe, district of Namysłów, Poland (after Seger 1928)

ti-piece depositions with objects of a single functional group, *e.g.*, costume jewellery (Fig. 5) and complex multi-piece hoards in which several functional types are present for instance the association of jewellery and horse gear (Fig. 6). In the case of complex multi-piece depositions, a further subdivision is possible into hoards in which the objects were all treated the same way, for example, that all were undamaged when deposited, and in hoards where the objects were treated differently before being hoarded, *i.e.*, if a hoard was made up of completely preserved artefacts in combination with intentionally destroyed and/or incomplete objects (Fig. 7). In addition to multi-piece depositions, where several objects were deposited at the same time, there are also collections of objects that were relinquished at the same place, but at different times. These accumulated artefact collections can be the differentiation with reference to the combination of object types. In some cases, Early Iron Age objects of the same function group (*e.g.*, costume accessories) and collections with artefacts belonging to different functional groups. However, in contrast to hoards deposited in a single act, there are no accumulations of objects of only one type. This is not surprising since accumulations mainly involve objects that were deposited over a long period of time and thus allowing the types involved to change. A typical example would involve a spring in which people had been casting fibulae over a period of 100 years (Figs 8–9). Since during this time-period the fibula fashion changed, the fibula involved would be of very different types. It is not surprising that prominent naturally shaped locations attracted such long-term sequences of deposition.

In the preceding and all the following considerations, one group of more than 300 hoards, which would probably make up the majority of Early Iron Age depositions, was excluded.[7] These are pure hoards of Armorican socketed axes from Brittany and Normandy. They are made up exclusively of socketed axes and represent with their close spatial distribution a regional variation or the pure hoarding phenomenon. Unfortunately, most of these axe hoards were discovered before the 20th century, and therefore there is often no information about the original number of axes or the exact location and nature of their deposition.[8] Of the 500 hoards I have collected in my databank, 290 are single-object deposits, 137 – pure multi-piece hoards, 65 – complex multi-piece hoards, and four – simple accumulation and four complex accumulation (Fig. 10).

[7] Huth 1997.

[8] For a comprehensive account of the history of research, see: Rivallain 2012.

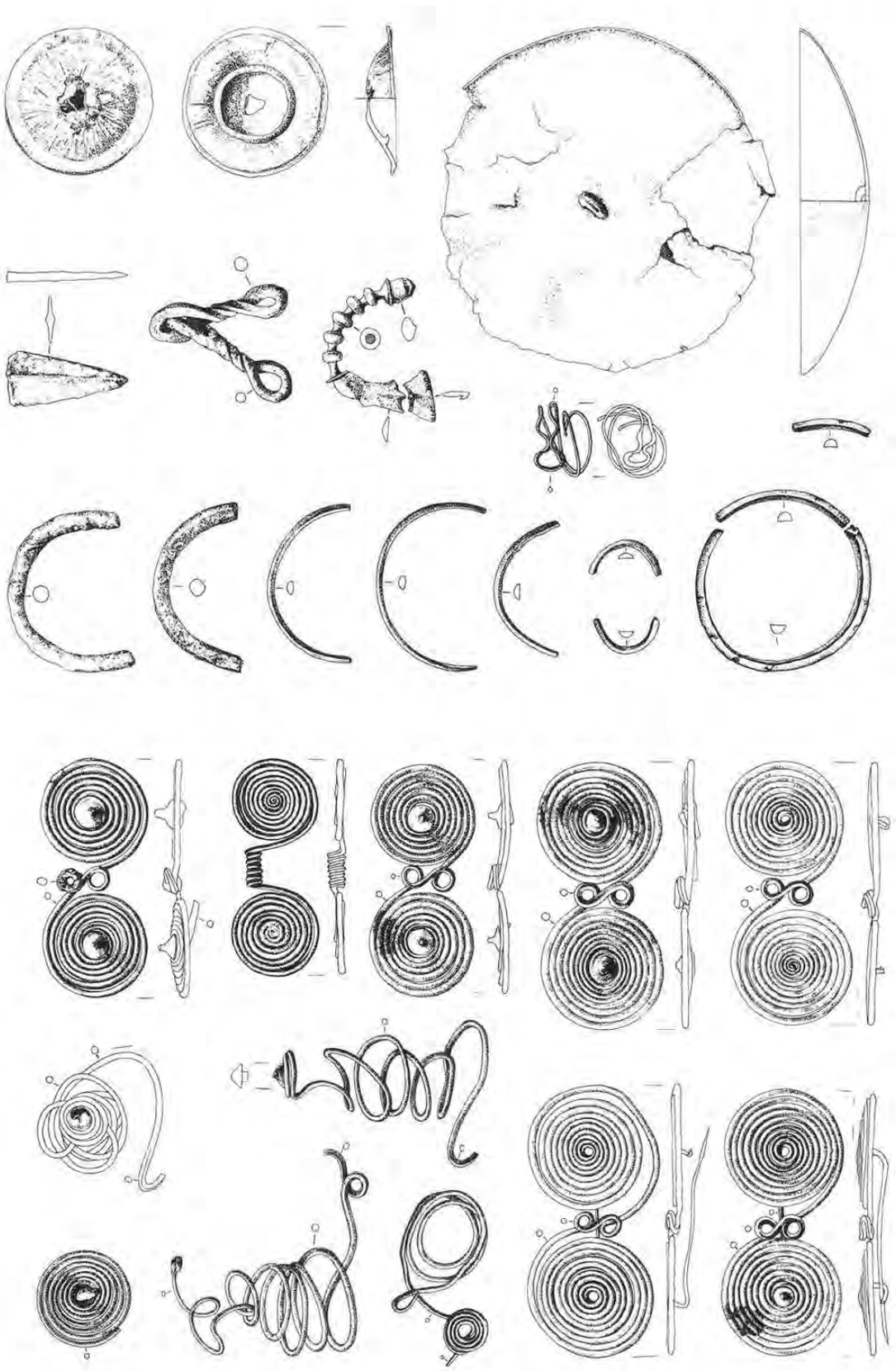


Fig. 7. Complex multi-piece deposition: hoard III from Vinţu de Jos, Jud. Alba, Romania (after Aldea and Ciugudean 1995)

Fig. 8. Fibulae from the accumulation in the source of the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine, Dep. Côte-d'Or, France in the Museé du Pays Châtillonnais (photo by I. Westhausen)

Fig. 9. The source of the Douix in Châtillon-sur-Seine, Dep. Côte-d'Or, France in Spring 2015 (photo by I. Westhausen)

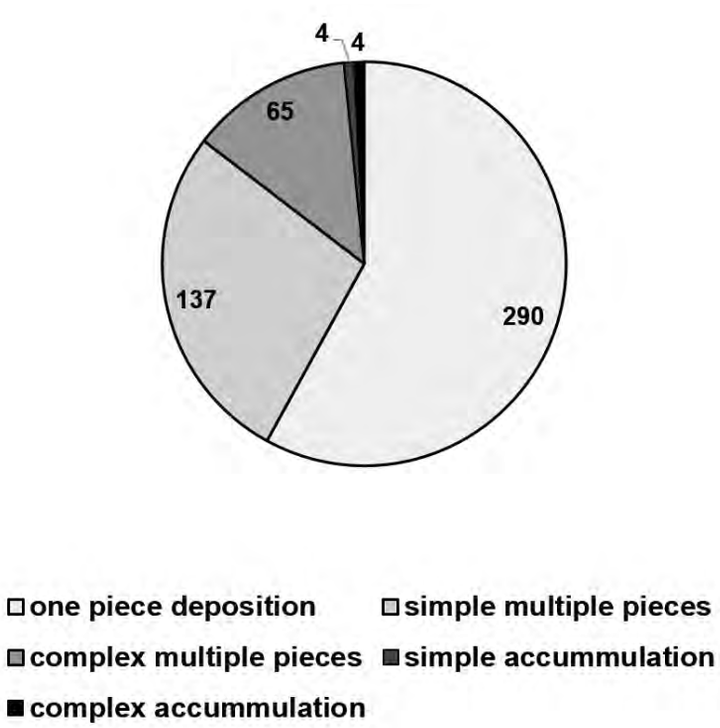


Fig. 10. Quantity of different deposition types (designed by I. Westhausen)

If one considers the find contexts of these hoard sites, the high number of hoards from "wet" contexts stands out.[9] With 284 hoards, more than half of all hoards originate from bodies of water or from sites lying in direct contact with water. Water finds are dominated by 231 single object depositions, but there are also 47 multi-object depositions and although there are only six instances of long-term artefact deposition in wet contexts they make up the majority of this class of site. A total of 53 hoards were found on Alpine mountains, of which 46 are one-piece depositions, six multi-piece depositions, and one accumulation. Finally, 25 hoards were discovered in settlement contexts, with 10 of these being single-artefact depositions and 15 multiple depositions. All 17 hoard sites that were discovered on a hill or a high place are multipiece depositions. The 14 hoards, whose site is related to a conspicuous rock formation, are single-object depositions, 12 multiple-object hoards, and one artefact accumulation. In 107 cases the place of discovery was either inconspicuous, or there was no published pertinent contextual information available to judge them. 105 examples, that is nearly half of the multi-piece hoards, originate from such unspecified contexts, in contrast to only two unspecific one-object depositions. In conclusion, one-piece depositions are particularly common in "wet" contexts and are not uncommon even on Alpine summits. In contrast, the majority of multi-piece depositions come from rather unspecific contexts, though they have been found to a lesser extent in "wet" contexts and very rarely in other contexts. Multiperiod accumulations were mostly recovered from "wet" contexts, in one case from an Alpine mountain and once in the surroundings of an extraordinary rock formation. All these places may have been particularly impressive in the Iron Age, inspiring the population to visit them and relinquish artefacts repeatedly (Fig. 9). Such accumulations of artefacts at these conspicuous places could well point to the existence of so-called natural sanctuaries (Fig. 11).

Given the large number of intentionally deposited objects from bodies of water or "wet" contexts, it is worth giving them a closer preliminary consideration. With regard to their chronological development, it can be said that the largest number of depositions in "wet" contexts like the majority of hoards in general, date to the Ha D period. It is also possible to see chronological variations in this type of hoarding. While in Ha C the one-piece depositions predominate and multi-object depositions are extremely rare, the number of multi-piece depositions increases significantly during the transition to Ha D, while in the Early La Tène Period hoards from water contexts become somewhat less common. Interestingly the transition to the Late Iron Age sees the initiation of five of the six "wet" artefact accumulations[10] and this may suggest a change in the hoarding and thus in cult practice, to rituals which were tied more to specific places (Fig. 12).

When examining the functional groups represented in the three different types of hoard found in "wet" contexts, it is noticeable that most single artefact depositions consist

[9] „Wet" contexts include such find categories as river, lake, spring, bog, swamp, as well as water edge or vicinity of water and silted up oxbow, *etc.*

[10] The only exception was frequented throughout the Early Iron Age.

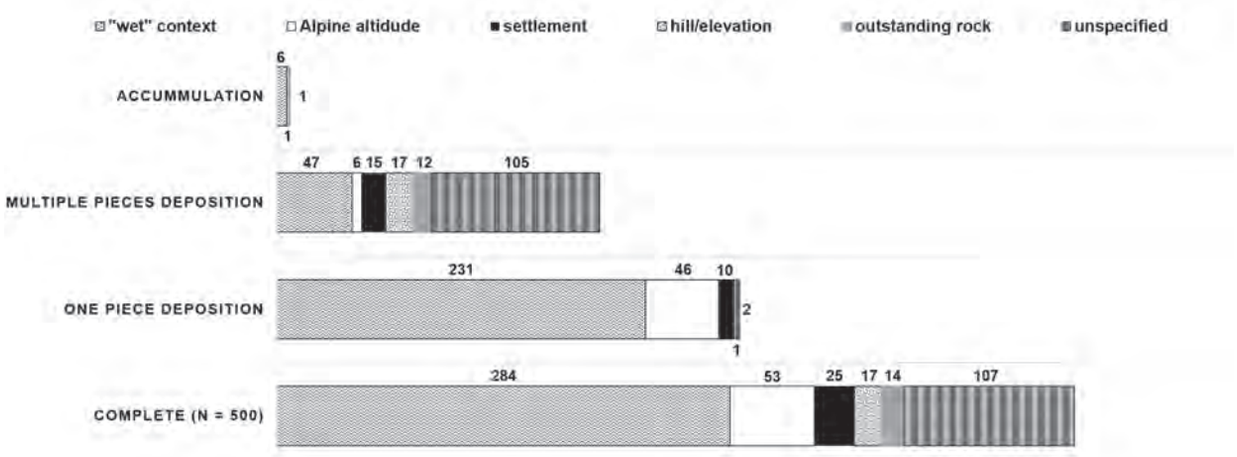
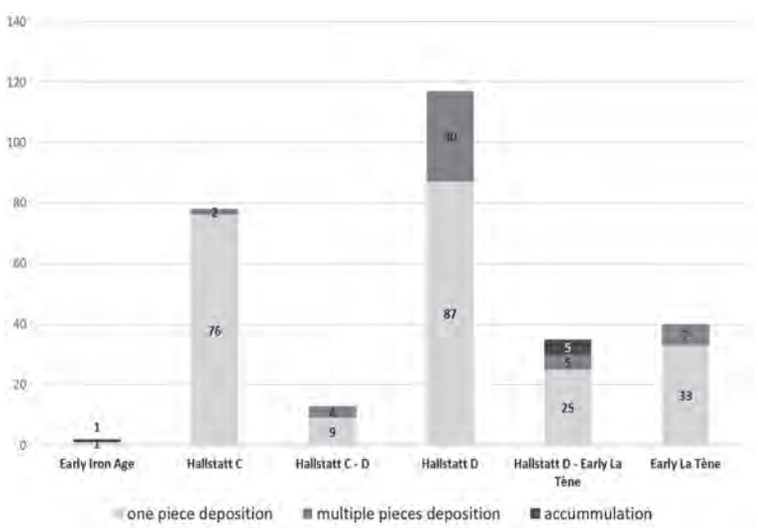


Fig. 11. The contexts of all depositions considered in the research and their deposition type (designed by I. Westhausen)

Fig. 12. Depositions from "wet" contexts: distribution of deposition types in the different periods (designed by I. Westhausen)



of male connotated objects including weapons, daggers, helmets, and razors. Interestingly, while weapons are the most common class of artefacts deposited individually in wet contexts, they were only included in a multi-piece water deposition in two cases.[11] This sets the pattern for the other male water finds. All helmets and razors recovered from wet contexts were apparently deposited there individually as were daggers with a single exception[12] (Fig. 13).

Most bronze vessels which have been recovered from wet contexts seem also to have been deposited there individually although vessel sets are also recorded. Only a few submerged examples seem to have been put their combined with artefacts belonging of other functional groups. In 62 cases, costume jewellery was also deposited individually, only two tools and just one example of horse gear and a metal ingot respectively were deposited in wet contexts as single finds. As I mentioned above, weapons play only a very marginal role in submerged multi-piece hoards. Costume jewellery seems to play the most important role in wet deposition. Twenty-three of the multi-object hoards that were found in "wet" contexts are homologous multi-object assemblages composed solely of costume jewellery (Fig. 14). Only four of these hoards involve more complex multi-piece compositions, which in three cases combine costume jewellery and metal ingots, and in one case bronze vessels and costume jewellery. There are also nine multi-piece hoards composed of axes, four multi-piece deposition of metal ingots, three multi-piece deposition of bronze vessels, and two multi-piece deposition of horse gear. Not surprisingly costume jewellery plays the leading role in the com-

[11] The functional category weapon includes swords and spears. Daggers are not considered weapons due to their well-known role as non-functional status symbols in the Late Hallstatt Period. Axes are also considered to be their own functional category as they can, on the one hand, be used both as a weapon and a tool and on the other hand because many early Hallstatt Period axes are only semi-functional and probably had a different significance than either the categories weapon or tool can express.

[12] It is possible that this unique combination may be the result of an accumulation of artefacts in one wet context with the dagger and the costume jewellery submerged separately from each other.

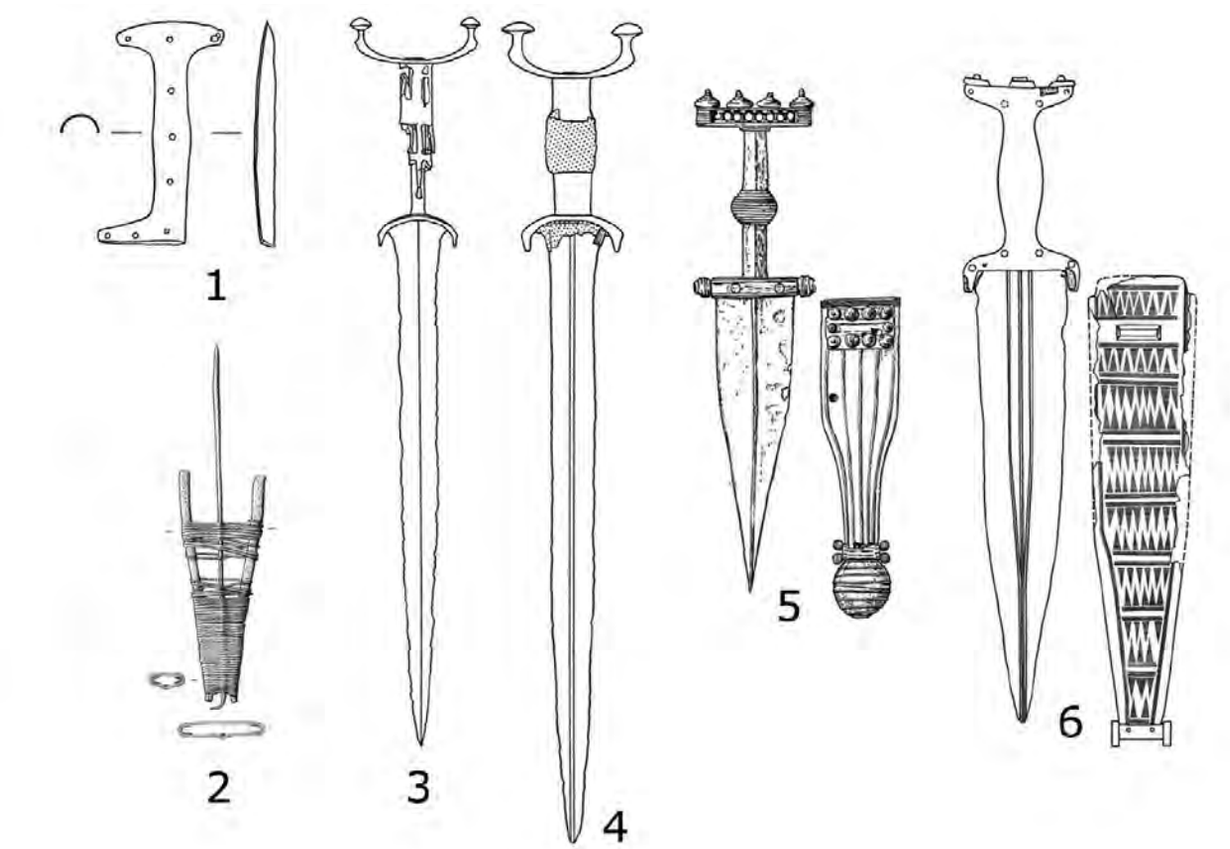


Fig. 13. Hallstatt-period daggers from wet contexts in Switzerland: 1. Orpund, Ctn. Bern; 2. Port, Ctn. Bern; 3. Thielle-Wavre, Ctn. Neuchâtel; 4. Concise-La-Raisse, Ctn. Vaud; 5. Estavayer-le-Lac, Ctn. Fribourg; 6. Cudrefin-La Sauge, Ctn. Vaud (after Drack 1972/1973 and Sievers 1982)

position of wet depositions which accumulated through time, four such assemblages consist solely of costume jewellery. More complexly composed finds show in one case costume jewellery combined with weapons and in a second jewellery combined with a dagger. In both these contexts mainly female connoted objects, *i.e.*, costume jewellery, was deposited together with masculine connotated objects, either dagger or weapon. This combination is completely missing in the multi-piece hoards. Perhaps this reflects the aforementioned deviating rituals that accompany longer term depositions that are focused on a particular place. In this case unlike the sites used for a single hoard, men and women sacrificed together though not necessarily at the same time (Fig. 15).

The preference for certain functional groups is not only dependent on the type of hoard, but also is subjected to chronological variations. While weapons dominate hoarding in Ha C there is a significant decrease beginning with the transition to Ha D when weapon hoarding dwindles to insignificance only to rebound during the transition to the Early La Tène Period. During Ha D, a period when the percentage of weapons is negligible, daggers emerge as a functional type in hoards, and in the Early La Tène Period, when daggers go out of use, the proportion of hoarded weapons rises again, this time augmented by helmets. Swords, daggers and helmets are the typical insignia of the Iron Age male elite. Dated grave contexts confirm these changes in the deposition practice through time. The same sequence from sword to dagger and again to sword, then rarely with helmet, which can be observed in the hoards can also be observed in grave contexts. Thus, over the entire period under consideration it seems that typical male connotated insignia of elite representation were continuously deposited in "wet" contexts. The increase in the percentage of deposited weapons in Late Iron Age beginning with the Early La Tène Period is a prequel to the establishment of the well-known large-scale weapon depositions in wet contexts which are typical for the both the Middle and Late La Tène periods. One can observe a general pattern that periods characterised by a high proportion of weapons deposited in wet contexts have a low percentage of costume jewellery and that conversely and a small number of submerged weapons goes hand in hand with a high proportion of costume jewellery. This is particularly clear in Ha C, where weapons dominate so clearly and the number of depots with costume jewellery is extremely low. In stark contrast during the succeeding Ha D phase, the number of wet depositions of costume jewellery reaches its zenith and weapons their nadir. The deposited razors are most prevalent in wet depositions

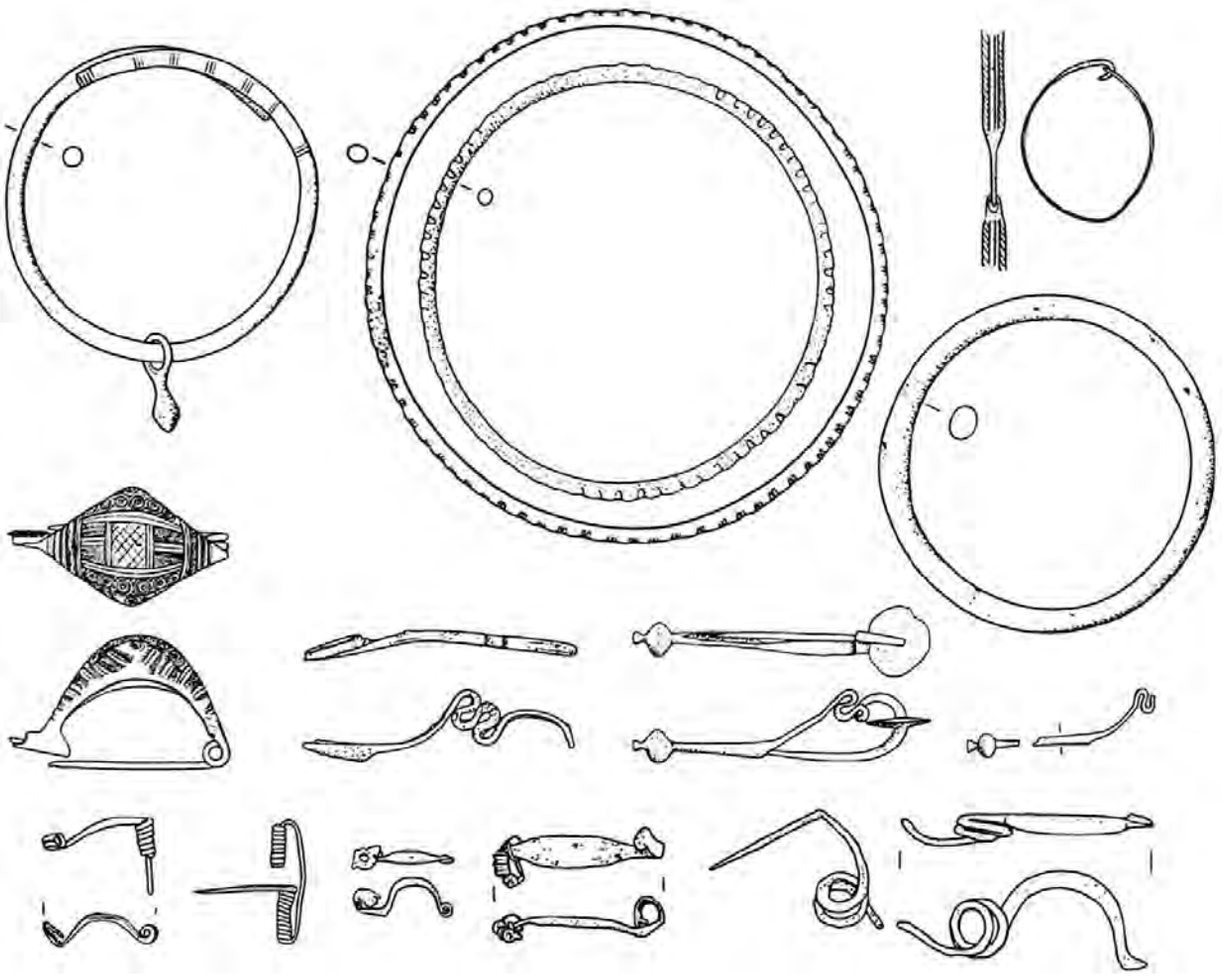


Fig. 14. Jewellery from the accumulation in Orpund, Ctn. Bern, Switzerland (after Osterwalder 1979/1980)

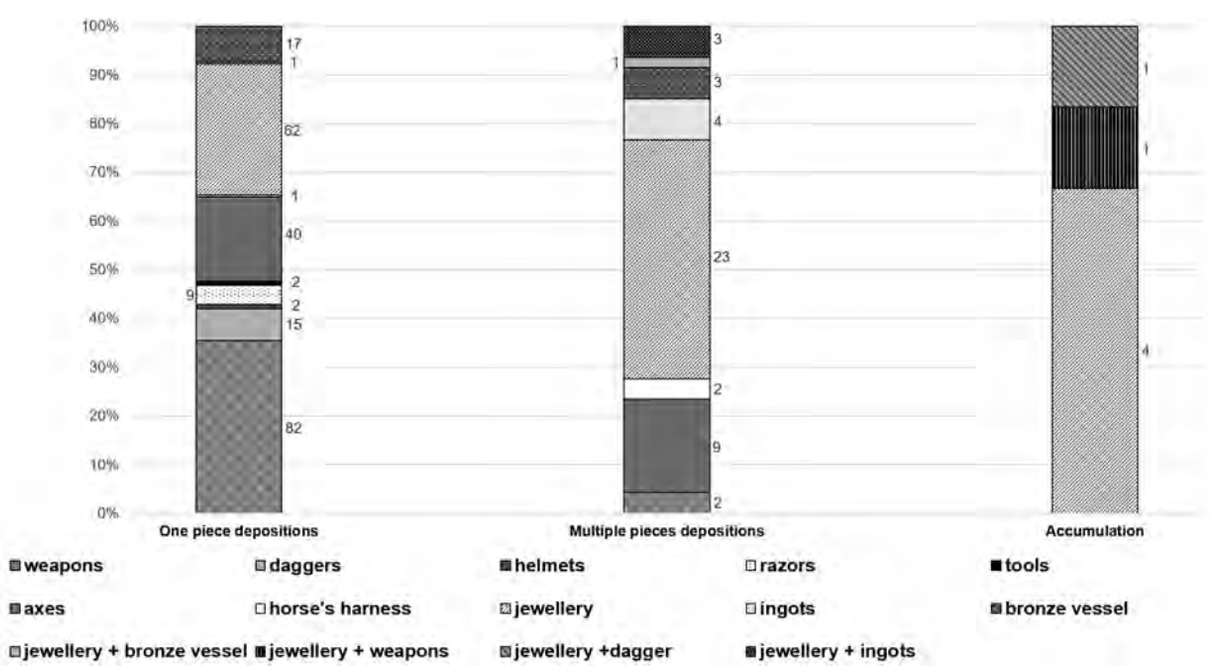


Fig. 15. Depositions from "wet" contexts: occurrence of groups of function in different deposition types (designed by I. Westhausen)

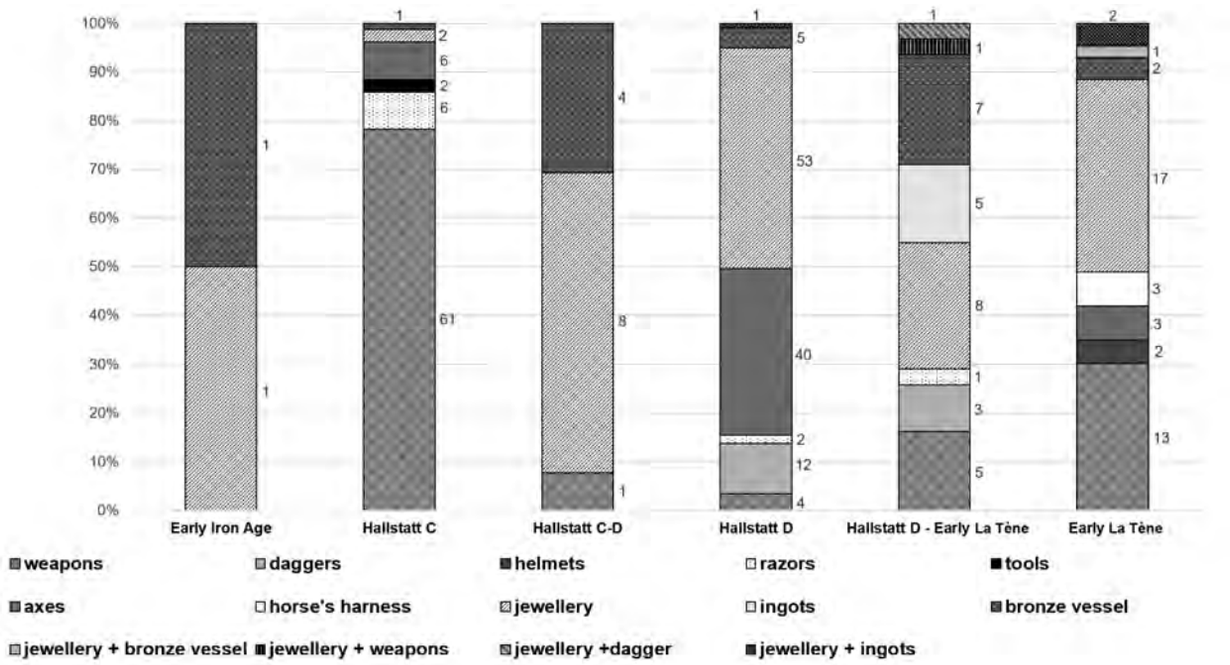


Fig. 16. Depositions from "wet" contexts: occurrence of groups of function in the different periods (designed by I. Westhausen)

made during Ha C. In Ha D and during the transition to the Early La Tène Period only one razor is known for each phase. Very few Iron Age tools have been recovered from wet contexts and both known examples date to Ha C. Axes in wet contexts are also rather rare in Ha C, with only six known examples. This changes radically in Ha D during which 40 examples were consigned to wet surroundings. Next to costume jewellery these are the second most frequent functional type in this contextual category. Remarkably, in the Early La Tène Period axes once again play a marginal role, with only three known from wet contexts. Bronze elements belonging to the horse harness are only rarely immersed in "wet" contexts during the period under study, and all three known examples date to the Early La Tène Period. Metal ingots, combined with costume jewellery, appear in wet contexts for the first time in Ha D and five submerged ingots date to the Ha D/La Tène. During the Early La Tène Period, there is a return to the earlier deposition pattern and two complex hoards in wet sediments have ingots combined with costume jewellery. Bronze vessels appear in somewhat fluctuating proportions in all the chronological stages under consideration. Only a single bronze vessel deposition can be dated to Ha C, four were deposited in contexts dated to the Ha C-D transition and five to Ha D. The largest amount – seven – can be assigned to the Ha D/Early La Tène transition, and one bronze vessel comes from a hoard dated to the Early La Tène Period proper. The only complex "wet" deposition in which a bronze vessel is combined with costume jewellery dates to the advent of the Late Iron Age as do two submersions of vessel sets. The more complex combinations of costume jewellery and dagger as well as costume jewellery and weapons occur, as we have already seen above, only once in accumulated depositions on the transition from Ha D to Early La Tène (Fig. 16).

It is worth stressing that research on Early Iron Age hoarding not only offers us the opportunity to gain insights into an ancient community's ritual behaviour but also allows us to reflect upon the far-reaching supra-regional communication networks of the period. A good example are hoards which include heavily moulded bronze ring jewellery from central France. In its region of origin, this jewellery was deposited undamaged in pure costume jewellery hoards that were often laid down in wetland contexts[13] (Fig. 17). In the southern French Languedoc, however, the same rings are usually found in a strongly fragmented condition in the so-called Launac hoards[14] (Fig. 18). These are complex composite hoards, which mainly contain bronze bun ingots, bronze axes and complete as well as fragmented costume jewellery.[15] Outside of France an Alpine bronze hoard from Arbedo in Ticino, Switzerland also contained fragments of this characteristic central French ring jewellery, in addition to numerous other fragmented artefacts of some of which originated Sicily, Greece and Etruria.[16] Remarkably, fragments of these characteristic Early Iron Age central French rings have been found far outside of the core area of my study in the Mediterranean. Examples have been recovered from sanctuaries or temples: such as the Heraion of Perachora on the Gulf of Corinth[17], from the sanctuary

[13] Milcent 2004.
[14] Chevrier and Verger 2013; Verger 2013d.
[15] Cazalis de Fondouce 2013.
[16] Schindler 1998; Verger 2006.
[17] Verger 2011.

Fig. 17. Jewellery hoard from the source "Fontaine de Loucineau" in Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Dep. Deux-Sévres, France (after Tauvel 1974)

under the Lapis Niger in the Forum Romanum[18], and from ritual depositions in the archaic levels of the Sanctuary of Demeter in Gela in Sicily.[19] Deposition in these sanctuaries and analogous phenomena in Mediterranean sacred sites dedicated to specific deities could, on the one hand, provide important impulses for the interpretation of contemporary metal depositions in Central Europe on the one hand, and on the other help guard against considering the hoarding phenomenon too one-sidedly.[20]

[18] Verger 2013.
[19] Verger 2011a, 2013a.
[20] For the translation from German I would like to thank Prof. Dr. L. Nebelsick very much for his efforts.

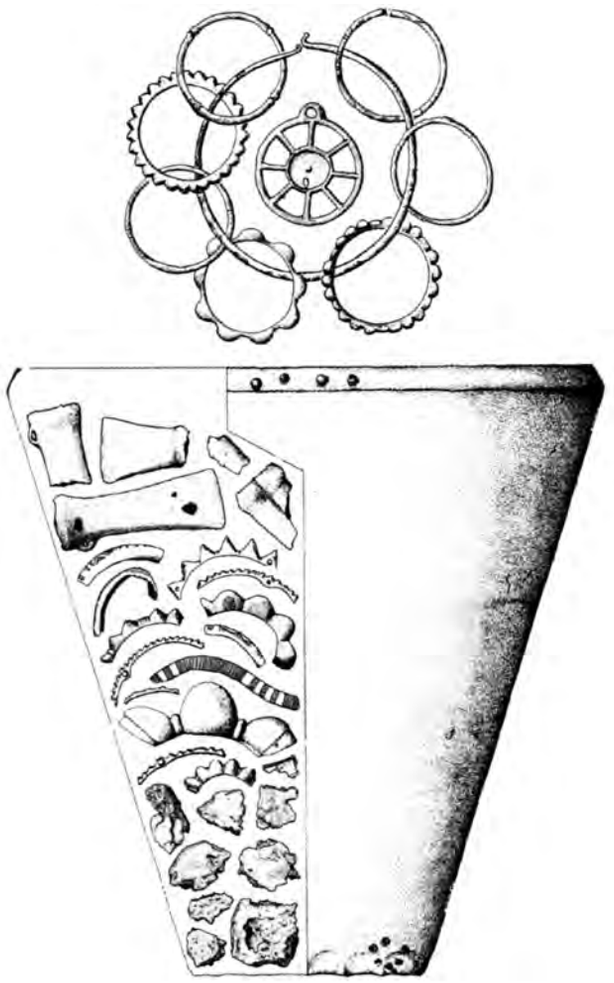


Fig. 18. Overview over the complex multi-piece "Launac" deposition from Roque-Courbe, Dep. Hérault, France (after Verger 2013c)

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The largest European area of the sacred

Krzysztof Narloch

The Romans built one of the largest empires in the world and certainly one covering the largest part of our continent. Its origins date back to a city in central Italy. The legend has it that it was founded by two brothers in 753 BC. One brother, Romulus, killed the other one, Remus, since the latter ignored the *pomerium* or a sacred line ploughed in order to determine the boundary around the city. Romulus, the remaining brother settled the city with all kinds of social outcasts who had captured the Sabine women. After the war between the Romans and Sabines had ended due to the intervention of the women, the two peoples united and Romulus shared power with Titus Tatius. This way, from its very legendary beginnings, the Roman society has consisted of people of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Throughout the most of its history, however, it maintained the elite character of Roman citizenship.

As Rome´s expansion progressed, more and more territories along with Rome's populations became dependent on the city. Some of them, usually after a difficult struggle, managed to become Roman citizens. During the imperial period, when the term *limes* (a "border") of the *Imperium Romanum* was established, marked the final stages of expansion.

The research on the meaning of the Roman *limes,* and a consequent definition of the borders of the *Imperium Romanum,* has a very long tradition dating back to the beginnings of the modern researchers' interest in Romans. In the 19th century Theodor Mommsen defined limes as a line of permanent fortifications or formal military or administrative organisation[1], which took a form of a completed border.[2] This interpretation, although not accepted without reservations, was the most influential viewpoint of its time and dominated the research in this field during the first half of the 20th century.

The main result of later studies is mostly a rejection of the linear and strictly defensive character of that border with a clearly defined route and all necessary facilities such as forts, strongholds and watchtowers, as well as the attempt to understand the way the term was perceived by the Romans.

In the first three centuries AD, when the term "limes" appeared in the sources, it signified a borderland of the Empire and as such did not have to contain any military structures or even be limited by a natural barrier. From the 4th century AD it meant lands near the border managed and controlled by a dux. Its meaning was administrative and not connected to military constructions which could exist on a given territory. These lands were connected by a system of roads which facilitated communication and, if necessary, military intervention. The roads led not only through Roman dominions but also entered barbarian territories. They were protected by organized posts employing not only Roman soldiers, but also people from areas allied with the Empire at a given time. It is worth noting, however, that Roman sources never refer to the most linear of the empire´s defensive constructions, Hadrian's wall, as a *limes*.[3]

The nature of *limes* as well as border in general depended on local conditions. They could be made up of natural barriers such as rivers, mountains or the sea, or the barriers could be intentionally constructed. In Europe, Asia or Africa, *limes* could also constitute areas deep inside the *barbaricum*, where Roman soldiers were often stationed. In more Romanized areas a system of more linear fortifications was built.[4] Soldiers were stationed there, however, and the area of its activity covered even relatively distant territories on both sides of the border.[5]

Importantly *Limes* also constituted the border between the sacred and the profane and, with its fortifications and soldiers, it belonged to the latter. This way it had the nature of an elusive and a very fluid zone or a frontier of *orbis Romano*. The Romans, however, never established the range of their influence or the limit of their territorial ambitions, which could theoretically overlap *orbis terrarum*. *Limes* was only a conventional strategic border determining the lands on which the

[1] Mommsen 1926: 456–464.
[2] Fabricius 1926: 572–575.
[3] Isaac 1988: 126–138.
[4] Napoli 1997.
[5] Visy 2002.

Roman law was obeyed and whose population, at least theoretically, enjoyed *Pax Romana*. Milestones only divided provinces inside the Empire. The outside world remained open and that is why it was often, also militarily, penetrated by the Romans.[6]

Moreover, the situation of the people living inside and outside of the Empire changed throughout the centuries. A huge breakthrough occurred as a result of a political decision which contributed to forming the nature of late Antiquity.

The law, called *constitutio Antoniniana*, established in 212 AD by Caracalla, immediately and irrevocably changed the entirety of social relations. With just one act, Roman citizenship, until then prestigious, was spread to almost all inhabitants of the empire.

According to modern historians, the reasons why that edict was edited created and later implemented oscillate between three possibilities. In his now classic interpretation, Michael Rostovtzeff, explaining the reasons for creating *constitutio Antoniniana*, focused on the increase in tax income as well as broadening the group of people who could be called to pay their duties in municipal liturgies and thus weakening the higher classes of the society which were hostile towards the policies of the Severans.[7] Some researchers also point to the necessity of the edict to unify Roman law throughout the entire area of the Empire. That is what role Caracalla's edict was meant to play.[8] Expanding the citizenship also had its propagandist dimension. The emperor wanted to become more popular, especially among the lower classes of the society[9].

The act also contained clauses pointing to the *deditícii* (groups that had surrendered) as ones excluded from the community of Roman citizens. The aim of this measure was probably to provide for the diversity of auxiliary forces, which were being increasingly dominated by Roman citizens, and thus to keep their different ways of fighting and weaponry. One can thus agree with the statement that the warriors, who clearly differed and freely emphasized their otherness, did not have Roman citizenship and thus were outside the regular military system of the Empire. Additionally, they possessed a legal status of *deditícii*, secured by *constitutio Antoniniana*. They were also directly connected with the Severan Dynasty through the *deditio* act or they belonged to formerly dominated populations, characterised by a low level of Romanisation.[10]

In his edict, Caracalla, excluded certain groups of *peregrini* from among the population of Roman citizens, with a legal tool of *deditio*, and thus provided a possibility for further recruitment of ethnic groups characterised by their unique style of warfare. In this way, he could grant, if it proved necessary and desirable, people of different ethnicity and culture the possibility to enter the Roman world.

Further changes took place in the following decades of the 3rd century, when the situation on the borders began to change and Barbarians, and Germans , organised more and more daring raids into the Empire. Their aim at that moment was, above all, to acquire spoils. It forced the Romans to adopt a politics based mostly on diplomacy. In order to maintain freedom of military actions they created a certain buffer zone where they tried to win over some of the barbarian leaders. The privileged ones were given presents, archeologically noticeable, which could be compared to foreign aid. In return, the Romans could influence relations between groups or collect necessary information through a highly-developed network of spies. Thanks to this area of influence they could also reinforce their army with barbarian recruits and obtain supplies to sustain garrisons stationed in border provinces. To summarise, a buffer zone, formally remaining outside of the Empire, was nevertheless included in the Roman military and economic system. Barbarians themselves, however, were not merely passive executors of the Roman will. They enjoyed autonomy and often stood in the way of the Roman plans by realising their own strategies[11].

Some of the so called Roman imports were probably diplomatic gifts or a kind of payment for barbarian chiefs for their military service. However, some of them could well be spoils plundered during successful raids on the territory of the Empire. From the point of view of archeology, identifying their origins is very difficult or even impossible. There is, however, a third way that such "imports" could enter the *barbaricum* territory. In the 4th c. the German warriors constituted a significant component of the Roman army.[12] Elements of Roman military belts have been found in numerous 4th and 5th century graves discovered east of the Rhine. While the belts may have been brought there by the German warriors after completing military service in the Roman army, a few workshops producing such equipment have been discovered, along with casting moulds, on the *barbaricum* territory. What is more, some of them were found in women's graves, which suggests that they did not necessarily have to be connected to the Roman gear. Roman craft and culture influenced German communities not just in terms of "fashion", but also in the way of decoration of numerous objects and one can venture a claim that in this respect border areas of the *Imperium Romanum* as well the areas outside of its borders did not demonstrate significant differences.[13]

[6] Trousset 1993.
[7] Rostovtzeff 1957: 415–432.
[8] Talamanca 1971: 451–460; Jacques and Scheid 2008: 371–372.
[9] Potter 2004: 138–139.
[10] More on this proposition and the act analysis in Rocco 2012: 29–52.
[11] Heather 2001.
[12] Waas 1965.
[13] Brather 2005: 151–154

During Late Antiquity the terms "Roman" and "German", and to be precise their juxtaposition only made sense from the legal point of view[14]. In other words, a barbarian was a person who remained outside of Roman legislation. In literature of the time descriptions of Barbarians obeying the law or unable to do that owing to their wildness, are mentioned.[15] Thus, from the legal point of view being a Roman rather than belonging to a specific ethnic group, required obedience to the laws, disposing of undesirable "barbarian attributes"[16], beating swords into ploughshares and working on keeping *Pax Romana* and, if necessary, defending it militarily. The Romans, on the other hand, did not bar anybody from accessing their culture and its rights as well as privileges and duties connected to them[17]. Of course, legal solutions did not exclude other factors enabling the identification of an individual or even a group, such as origins, spoken language, appearance or even behavior.[18]

As early as the 4th c. one of the institutions in which the integration process – while preserving specific ethnic traits of individuals and societies – was the most successful was the army. Army units were recruited among different populations found inside *Imperium Romanum* from the times of Augustus onwards. Their titles were, however, more general and they suggest geographical origins of the auxiliary forces (*e.g.*, *Gallorum, Mauri*). Obviously, the ethnic composition of these units changed over time and could eventually differ significantly from the original one[19].

"Ethnic" troops were often used in Late Antiquity as well. Such support was eagerly employed during civil wars. In 312 Constantine the Great incorporated Germans and Celts into his army[20] and in 351 Magnentius used Franks and Saxon troops.[21] Moreover, written sources[22] confirm the existence of additional large numbers of units with ethnic titles.

During Late Antiquity more precise terms such as *Tzanni*[23] or *Heruli*[24] appear in unit titles. There is a consensus that these ethnonyms reflect the ethnic composition of the military units, or at least did so at the moment of their formation. Defeated populations, pursuant to *foedus*[25], were obliged to provide recruits or entire troops and as such could preserve their tactics and weaponry, which could enable them to gain advantage in the battlefield. This suggests that also in this case ethnic categorisation had mostly a practical dimension[26]. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that with progressing standardisation of weaponry in the Roman army and a mutual influence of different groups even that lost sense.

To summarise the theoretical deliberations dealt with above, Romans created one of the largest empires inhabited by disparate populations of different ethnicities and cultures. It spread over three continents and it would eventually occupy the area of more than fifty modern countries. This number would even be larger if we considered its area of influence, yet, it was not encircled by a line of fortifications fencing it off the outside world. What is more, in Late Antiquity, when the citizenship was no longer exclusive, masses of people who were treated as Romans and whose ethnicity was of minor importance, found their place there. One dimension of the present deliberations, granted they are applicable, would be that the Romans created the largest sacred area, guarded by *limes,* in known to European culture and they did not ban anybody who was desirable and eager to obey the binding laws from entering it. What is more, ethnic and cultural diversity was in some cases necessary. That is why the integration process or the lack of it, which took place mostly at the outskirts of the Roman world and which concerned a lot of different populations, require further research and a lot of questions can be answered mainly by archaeology.[27]

14 Brather 2005: 170.

15 *E.g. Pan. Lat.*, VIII, 21, 1: "and the Franks, admitted to our laws*";* Eng. trans. Nixon and Rodgers 1994; Oros. VII, 43, 6: "the Goths were completely unable to obey the law"; Eng. trans. Fear 2010.

16 See Dauge 1981: 468–481.

17 Rocco 2011: 253–258.

18 On identification and self-identification, see, *e.g.*, Halsall 2007: 35–62.

19 More on the topic: Chessman 1914; Holder 1980; Haynes 2013.

20 Zos. II, 15.

21 Iul., Or., I, 34D.

22 Especially *Notitia Dignitatum.*

23 Not. Occ., VIII, 17, 49.

24 Not. Occ., V, 18, 162; VII, 13.

25 More on the topic: Heather 1997; Stickler 2007.

26 Rocco 2011: 259–266.

27 The research was financed from the means of the National Science Center granted as part of the post-doc grant financing, decision number DEC-2015/16/S/HS3/00240.

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Sacred space of the Iron Age enclosed sites in the north-eastern Poland

Zbigniew Kobyliński

Introduction

It might seem that strongholds – the remains of Prehistoric and Medieval wooden and earthen fortifications, which have their own characteristic field form, are a category of archaeological sites that are the easiest to identify. Therefore one could assume that, we are fully informed about their number and have precise data on their location in Poland. However, as we could demonstrate during the implementation of the research project *Catalogue of strongholds of Warmia and Masuria. Part 1. Pomesania, Pogesania and Warmia*, which was conducted as part of the National Program for the Development of Humanities in 2012–2017 by the Institute of Archaeology of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University (UKSW) in Warsaw[1], the reality in this matter in Poland is completely different than one would suppose. This is at least true in relation to areas covered by forests, and It must be remembered that forests now cover up to 30% of the Polish landscape.[2]

Already during the project's planning stage, in 2011, based on previous experience with using data from aerial laser scanning as part of projects identifying archaeological heritage resources in various parts of the country[3], that were implemented by the Institute of Archaeology UKSW thanks to funding from the National Heritage Institute, it was considered that airborne lidar scanning should be one of the integral elements of the work on the catalogue of fortified settlements. Initially we supposed that the results of airborne laser scanning would be used primarily to verify the correctness of the geodetic plans of previously-known fortresses. We also hoped to detect eventual additional elements of their structure, which could be difficult to see from the earth`s surface. Bearing in mind the intense development of German archeology in East Prussia in the pre-war period, beginning already in the nineteenth century, and preceding by amateurish *Heimatkunde* (local history studies)[4], as well as the existence of very precise pre-war cartographic studies, not to mention the intensive post-war work of Polish archaeologists, conducting field searches in the Warmian-Masurian Province, we assumed that the location of these defensive settlements were already generally recognised, and the task of the project team would be not to discover them, but to complete their modern documentation and determine their chronology.

Thanks to public availability of the results of aerial laser scanning (ALS) throughout Poland, it has been possible to perform analysis of the digital terrain model for the entire vast area covered by the project, namely the area of a large part of the districts of Iława (communities of Iława, Kisielice, Susz and Zalewo) and Ostróda (communities of Ostróda, Miłomłyn, Morąg, Miłakowo and Małdyty) in the western part of the Warmian-Masurian Province, corresponding historically to regions of eastern Pomesania, Pogesania and part of Warmia.

This new information led to a revolution in the knowledge of archaeological sites, and their characteristic shapes which were located in forested areas. This is not only due to the fact that new, previously unknown strongholds were discovered[5], but also because of the fact that a previously unknown category of fortresses from the Iron Age, most probably rather having a magic-religious than defensive function, was identified and partially excavated (Fig. 1).

This particular form of fortresses, usually has a round or oval contour, and is surrounded by several – usually three – rings of ramparts and ditches. Prior to the implementation of our project, only one such defended settlement was known. It is located on the island of Lake Radomno in the community of Nowe Miasto Lubawskie and had been considered to be a completely unique form. As a result of the project, further sites of this type were discovered and excavated: at Stary Folwark, site 1 and 2, community of Kisielice, and at Tątławki, site 2,

[1] Kobyliński (ed.) 2012, 2016, 2017.
[2] *Raport* 2016.
[3] Budziszewski and Wysocki 2012; Kobyliński *et al.* 2012.
[4] Hoffmann 2013. The comprehensive inventory of Prussian defenses in 1826–1828 by Johann Michael Guise deserves a special mention: Hoffmann 2007.
[5] Kobyliński 2018.

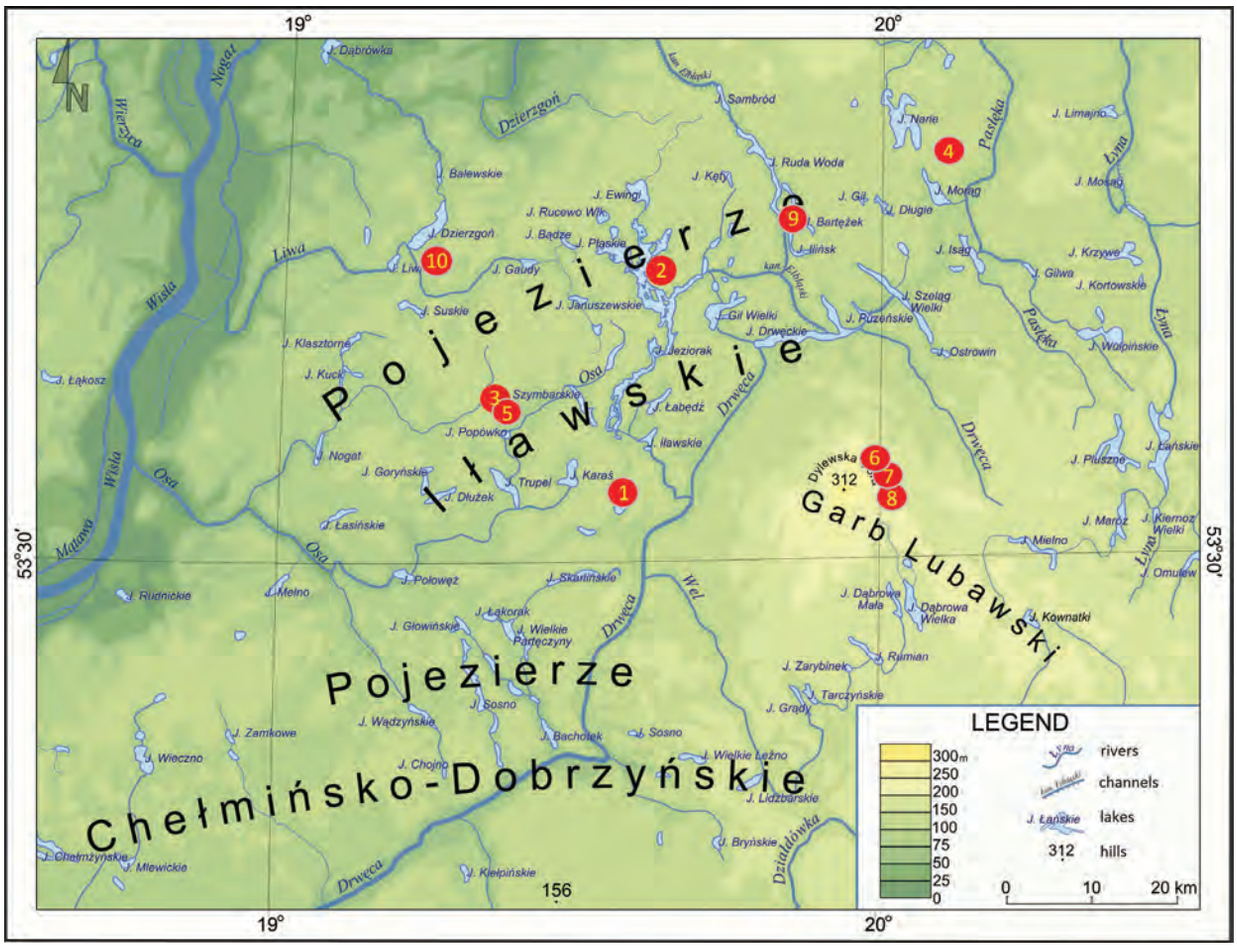

Fig. 1. Distribution map of sites mentioned in the paper: 1 – Radomno Lake; 2 – Wieprz, site 20; 3 – Stary Folwark, site 1; 4 – Tatławki, site 2; 5 – Stary Folwark, site 2; 6–8 – Wysoka Wieś; 9 – Liksajny; 10 – Lake Sowica near Prabuty (designed by Z. Kobyliński)

community of Morąg. Moreover, the previously identified enclosure at Wieprz, site 20, community of Zalewo, has, after excavation, also been recognised as belonging to this category. All these sites are located in wooded, sometimes densely forested areas, their embankments and moats are very poorly preserved, and basically, they are almost completely impossible to identify when observed from the ground.

Through further analysis of the ALS imagery from the western part of the Warmian-Masurian Province we made new discoveries of the same type of site, which are not yet excavated: three strongholds in the vicinity of Wysoka Wieś on the Dylewskie Hills in the Ostróda community, a stronghold near the village of Liksajny in the Miłomłyn community, or on the island on the Sowica Lake near Prabuty, are located in the eastern part of the Pomeranian Province. While it is true that their chronology cannot be determined conclusively at the moment, their form is analogous to those that have been excavated in the framework of the *Catalogue of strongholds of Warmia and Masuria* project. This clearly suggests that they are related to the aforementioned Iron Age enclosed sites. It is to be expected that further sites of this type, which I propose to call the type Wieprz-Stary Folwark-Tątławki, will be discovered in the near future thanks to the analysis of data obtained from the airborne lidar scanning.

The characteristic form of these enclosures, as well as the results of previous excavations, indicate their sacred function. Already in 2013, Kazimierz Grążawski suggested tentatively with reference to the then only known enclosure of this type, located on an island on Lake Radomno (Fig. 2), that the function of this three-ring enclosure might not be defensive, but rather ritual. At the same time, he put forward a theory that the genesis of this kind of structures could have originated from the Neolithic "rondel" sites.[6]

Our excavations confirmed the ritual nature of these sites. In this article, I would like to briefly present the arguments for such an interpretation obtained mostly during the research of two of these sites: at Wieprz, site 20 and at Stary Folwark, site 1, referring the reader who

[6] Grążawski 2013: 106.

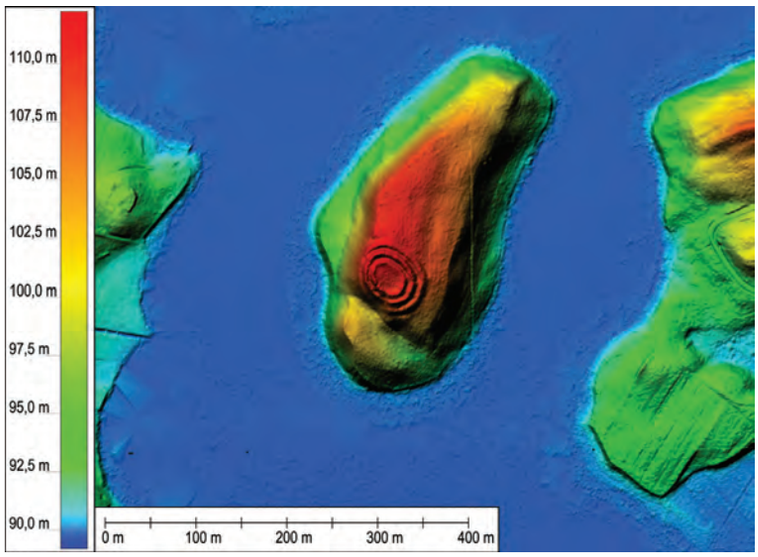

Fig. 2. Stronghold on island on the Radomno Lake near Radomno, community of Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, district of Iława – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

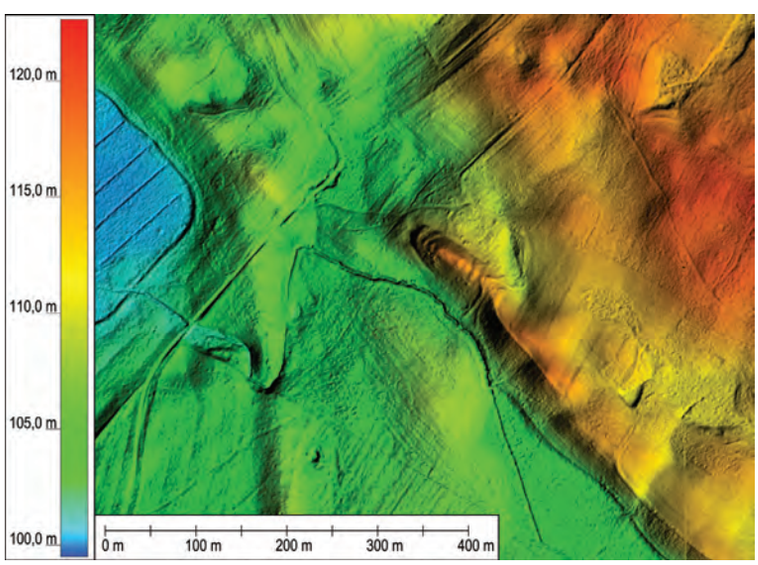

Fig. 3. Stronghold at Wieprz, site 20, community of Zalewo, district of Iława – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

interested in full reports to the source publication, which is the final result of the realisation of our project.[7]

Wieprz, site 20

The enclosure at Wieprz, site 20 (Fig. 3) is located on rising ground – a promontory of the neighboring upland which is barely visible in the field. It is possible to observe four rampart lines and three moats. They are visible both in the south-eastern part of the site, where they cut off access to the headland from the plateau, as well as in the north-western part, from the side of the lowland. The preserved height of the embankments in relation to the current level of the fill of the ditches is only approx. 20–40 cm. The space surrounded by these ramparts is extremely small: it is only about 35 m long and about 15 m wide. In its area, no settlement features were found, which indicates that only a sporadic use of the place, for reasons other than residential purposes, took place. This space was most probably surrounded by a fence, whose post-holes were preserved, followed by ramparts and moats. The ramparts at the base have a width of approx. 4–5 m, and ditches – approx. 4–5,5 m at their top. The difference in height between the bottoms of moats identified during the excavations and the surviving tops of ramparts is currently about 1.4–2.5 m, but originally it was probably higher. Unfortunately, it is not possible to recognise the construction of the embankments – there were no traces of any wooden structures in them, but it may be assumed that there were some types of wooden fences on their tops.

From the point of view of the interpretation of the function of this site, the most important find is the perimeter ditch running outside of all the defensive structures, parallel to the outermost ditch. This ditch had the form of a regular gutter with a width of about 1.3 m and a depth of up to 0.5 m. At its bottom was a burnt layer

[7] Kobyliński (ed.) 2017.

composed of charred fragments from a pine tree, and lumps of burnt and unburnt clay, which contained numerous fragments of broken ceramic vessels.

Dating the enclosure at Wieprz, site 20 is possible on the basis of the analysis of the ceramic material, which on the basis of analogies allows to date the site to around the 4th-2nd century BC. This is also confirmed by the radiocarbon dating of the material from the external ditch discussed above. The calibrated date gave an interval of 378–202 BC, with a probability of 95.4%. Thermoluminescence dating was also caried out on a pottery sherd. The resulting time estimate ranged between 140 BC and 120 AD. On the basis of the recovered pottery, located primarily in the outer ditch filled with burnt residues, and the results of radiocarbon and thermoluminescence dating, the site is best dated to the Iron Age (4^{th}-2nd century BC) and be connected with the transition between phase II and III, and with phase III of the West Baltic Barrows Culture.[8]

Stary Folwark, site 1

The enclosed site at Stary Folwark, site 1 (Fig. 4), occupies the north-western part of a hill situated in a local wetland depression. The oval hill's enclosing features extend over a length of about 35 m, and the entire site, including its slopes, is about 80 m in length. It has clear, steep slopes from the north, west and east. From the southern side, these slopes become milder and in this part of the site the lines of three embankments and three moats are best visible on the ground.

The enclosing ditches had a width of 1.2–2.8 m at their top, and they were at least 0.6–0.9 m deep. It seems that not all ditches functioned at the same time, and some of them probably had a kind of palisade on their bottom. A kind of wooden fence also probably surrounded the oval space enclosed by embankments, which was about 40 m long. Its maximum width was about 25 m, which is not much more than in the case of the site 20 at Wieprz.

Against the background of other surveyed strongholds and enclosures built in the times of the west Baltic Barrow Culture, the stronghold at Stary Folwark, site 1 stands out above all by the presence of areas densely covered with pottery sherds, and a specific construction of the three-ring defensive structures covering slopes of the hill. The low number of animal bones found in the excavated area of the site suggests that it was not used for normal habitation purposes. For this reason, the specific function of this site is hard to determine, it is perhaps not as much a residential but rather a ritual structure, similarly as it could be the case with similar – in terms of form and chronology – strongholds at Stary Folwark, site 2, Wieprz, site 20, or Tątławki, site 2.

The most important features for reconstructing the original function of site 1 at Stary Folwark, are the two areas densely covered with shattered fragments of ceramic vessels and burnt debris. The first of them (Fig. 5), about 2.5 m wide, was located in the southern part of the site, on its edge. A total of over 500 pottery sherds were found in this feature, preserved in both small and large fragments. It is also the best preserved ceramic assemblage with only a slight degree of erosion. We managed to find a few vessels that were either complete or could be completely reconstructed. The pottery assemblage included small thin-walled vessels, larger vessels with thicker walls and large coarse ware vessels.

The second deposit of broken pottery (Fig. 6) was discovered in the northern part of the site. The base of a depressed area was filled with a layer of burnt debris, pottery sherds and stones. This absolutely extraordinary deposit lay on specially leveled ground. The length of the area covered with ceramics was about 3 m, and the width – at least 1.2 m (the western part of the deposit exceeded the limit of the excavation). It consisted of almost

[8] Okulicz 1970: 102–104.

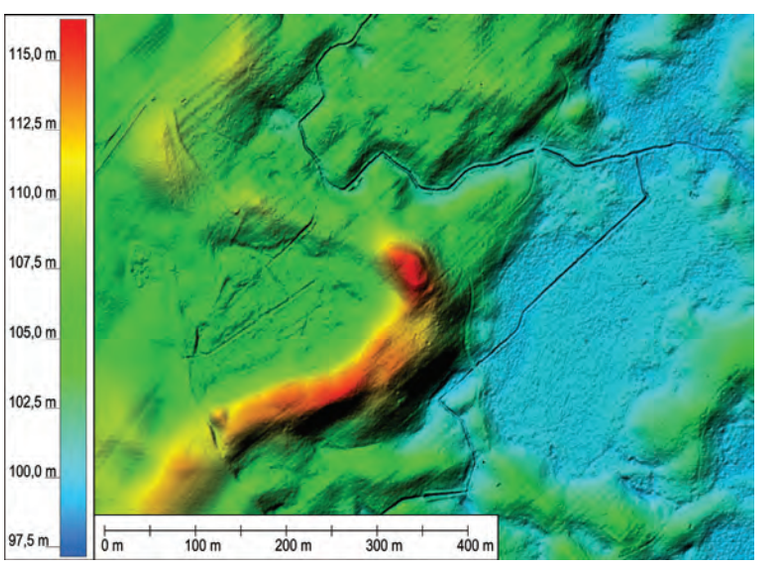

Fig. 4. Stronghold at Stary Folwark, site 1, community of Kisielice, district of Iława – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

Fig. 5. Stronghold at Stary Folwark, site 1. One of the areas covered with broken pottery vessels (photo by D. Wach)

Fig. 6. Stronghold at Stary Folwark, site 1. One of the areas covered with broken pottery vessels (photo by D. Wach)

1500 pieces of ceramics of various types, both thick- and thin-walled, including miniature pots. This deposit, as estimated on the basis of attempts to reconstructs the whole pots, consisted of almost 50 various vessels, broken into small pieces. Between, above and beneath fragments of ceramics lay burnt stones and ash layers.

It is impossible to be definite about the formation of these deposits. Certainly, however, these are not remains of routine settlement activities. As in the case of Wieprz, site 20, some form of ritual activity, in which the intentional, ritual destruction of clay vessels and burning fires must have played an important role.

The absolute chronology of the site at Stary Folwark, site 1, was determined by radiocarbon dating. Dates from charcoal samples were 2245 ± 30 BP (after calibration: 393–206 BC with a probability of 95.4%) and 2235 ± 30 BP (after calibration 388–204 BC with a probability of 95.4%). In addition, thermoluminescent dating of one of the fragments of daub was obtained, which gave a result of 2.35 (21) ka, *i.e.*, 610–190 BC. These dates – taken together – indicate the use of the place in the 4th–3rd century BC, *i.e.*, from La Téne Period B1 to the beginning of the younger Pre-Roman Period A1.

Other Iron Age three-ring enclosed sites from the area of the western part of the Warmian-Masurian Province

In the case of other strongholds belonging to the same type as the sites at Stary Folwark, site 1 and Wieprz, site 20, we can assume a cult function with less probability, basing it only on their form. The hypothesis concerning the sacral nature of the three-ring fort on the island on Lake Radomno has already been mentioned above. We propose a similar function in the case of other Iron Age sites surveyed and excavated under the project *Catalogue of strongholds of Warmia and Masuria*, such as the one at Tątławki, site 2 (Figs 7–8) and Stary Folwark, site 2 (Figs 9–10). Moreover, on the basis analogous form to the above mentioned enclosures, we can suggest the Iron Age dating of sites discovered thanks to the analysis of the ALS data, such as the enclosures near Wysoka Wieś (Figs 11–13), near Liksajny (Fig. 14), or near Prabuty (Fig. 15). In these cases, their putative ritual function must remain hypothetical until excavation is undertaken.

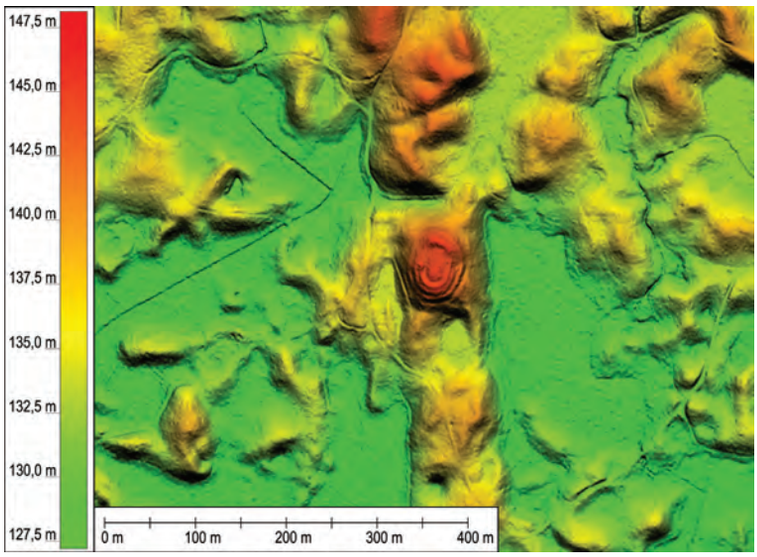

Fig. 7. Stronghold at Tątławki, site 2, community of Morąg, district of Ostróda – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

Fig. 8. Stronghold at Tątławki, site 2, community of Morąg, district of Ostróda – view of the ditches and ramparts (photo by J. Wysocki)

The interpretation of the ritual function of the Iron Age three-ring fortified sites

Of course, the statement that an archaeological site served a ritual function is not a simple or obvious thing, because we only have material remains at our disposal, that do not necessary reflect phenomena of the intangible sphere at all. Moreover, if they reflect them – they require knowledge of the mechanisms of transformation of spiritual phenomena into their material correlates, to enable us to reconstruct the past rituals and beliefs. In the Polish archaeological literature on the spiritual sphere in the past, the most-quoted publication by Tadeusz Makiewicz and Andrzej Prinke recalled the criteria for identifying sacral sites proposed by Carsten Colpe. That is that criterion of the characteristic form of the sanctuary, the criterion of the presence of a hidden space within the temple complex and the criterion of extraordinary symbolism.[9] Without going into any discussion on the adequacy of these criteria, we must of course note the difficulty of applying them in the archaeological practice. In the particular case considered here, however, we should note the close formal similarity of the Iron Age three-ringed enclosures discussed above. However, the most important criterion for interpreting a certain form of archaeological sites or objects as having a cult or magic-religious function is, in my opinion, the irrationality of human past behavior when judged on the basis of our current knowledge. When we assume rationality of every human actions, such an observation forces us to state that apparently the mentality of those people was completely different from ours, and this included culturally conditioned assumptions regarding the sacred sphere.

With regard to the newly discovered category of enclosed sites from the Iron Age in northern Poland discussed in this article, it should be stated that it is impossible to find a rational explanation for them on the basis of our knowledge. These enclosures are located in places that are not the best places in the vicinity as far as the natural defensive characteristics are concerned.

[9] Makiewicz and Prinke 1980: 63; *cf.* also criticism in: Posern-Zieliński 1982: 193–196.

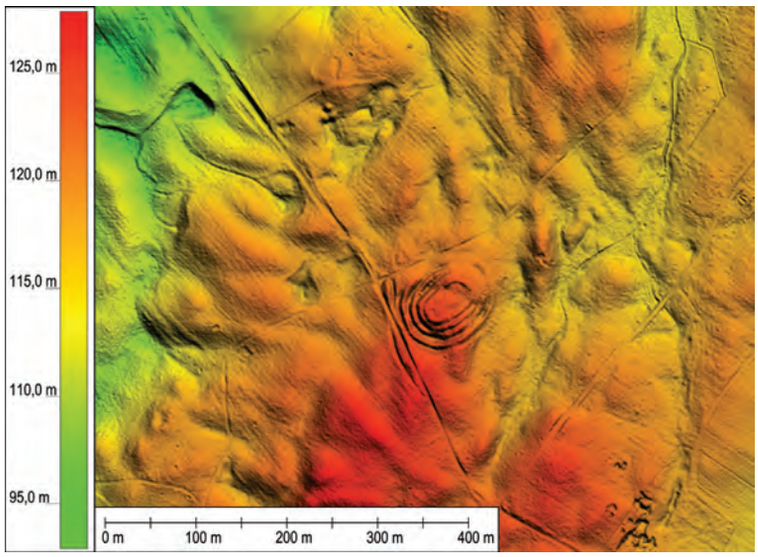

Fig. 9. Stary Folwark, site 2, community of Kisielice, district of Iława – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

Fig. 10. Stary Folwark, site 2, community of Kisielice, district of Iława – view of the ditches and ramparts (photo by J. Wysocki)

In the post-glacial landscape of Warmia and Masuria it was easily possible to find higher and steeper hills, which would have been better suited to erect strongholds if defense objectives were a priority. At least some of these enclosures have been erected in places with no access to fresh water, which also call their usefulness into question as a refuge from an enemy. Their enclosing structures, at least if we can judge by their current state of preservation, were not functional, because instead of single, but solid and high embankment capable of effective defense, they were surrounded by three low embankments and three not very deep ditches, often situated on the slopes and occupying their entire surface down to the base of the hill, as was the case, *e.g.*, at Stary Folwark, site 1 or Tątławki, site 2. In addition, the available space within these fortifications remained very small, which is particularly striking in the case of the fort at Wieprz, site 20. Typical settlement features were found in none of the above-mentioned cases – for instance sunken or upstanding huts, or fireplaces, which could be expected. Moreover, in the more extensively excavated site 1 at Stary Folwark, spatially limited sunken areas were discovered filled with crushed ceramic vessels, ashes, charcoal and lumps of daub. These were certainly places of intentional burning of fire and breaking of clay vessels, which of course also cannot find any rational explanation on the basis of our knowledge. A similar feature was found on the outskirts of the site at Wieprz, site 20.

All these arguments show convincingly that the actions leading to the construction of these enclosures and to the pursuit of undefined activities in their area were not for the purpose of securing defence but at delimiting sacred space. When looking for an analogy to this type of enclosed sites, it is impossible not to mention strongholds of the so-called Tušemla-Bancerovščina Culture which, while they are much later, are also found in the forest zone of Eastern Europe, in the basin of the upper and middle Dnieper River. It is especially worth mentioning the stronghold at the eponymous village of Tušemla (Fig. 16), that belongs to the category of so called hill-fort-temples, and is generally dated to the 5th to 7th

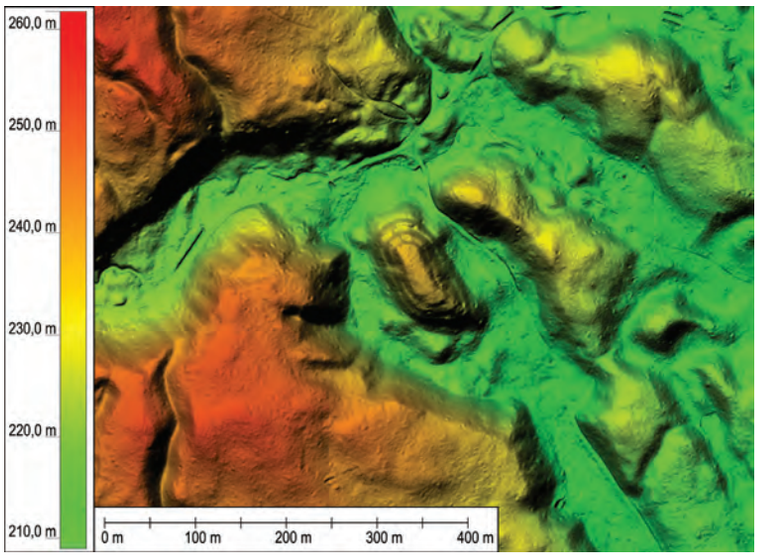

Fig. 11. Stronghold near Wysoka Wieś, community of Ostróda, district of Ostróda – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

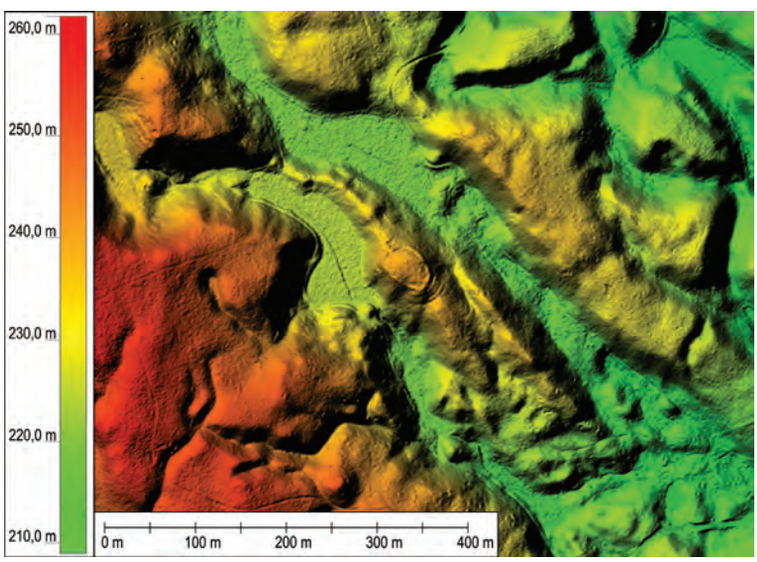

Fig. 12. Stronghold near Wysoka Wieś, community of Ostróda, district of Ostróda – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

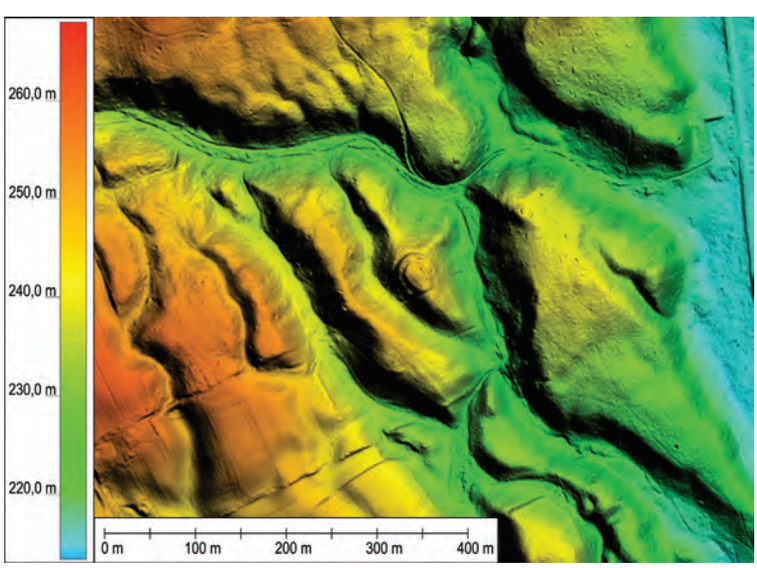

Fig. 13. Stronghold near Wysoka Wieś, community of Ostróda, district of Ostróda – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

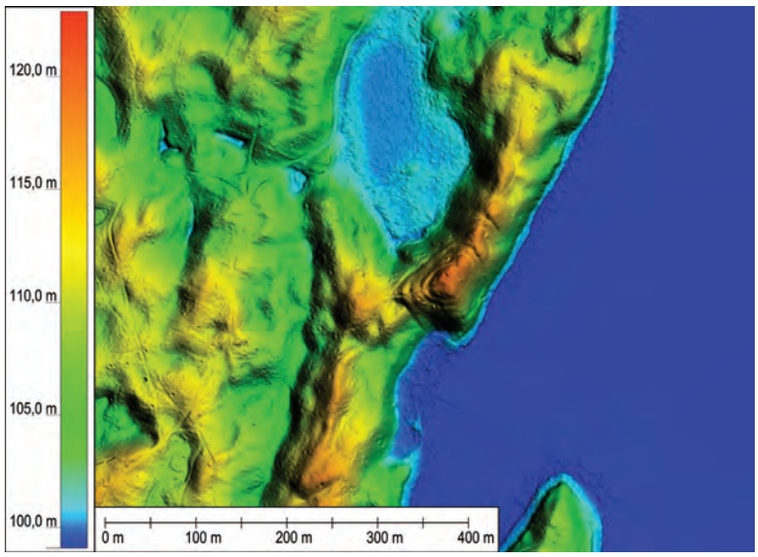

Fig. 14. Stronghold near Liksajny, community of Miłomłyn, district of Ostróda – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

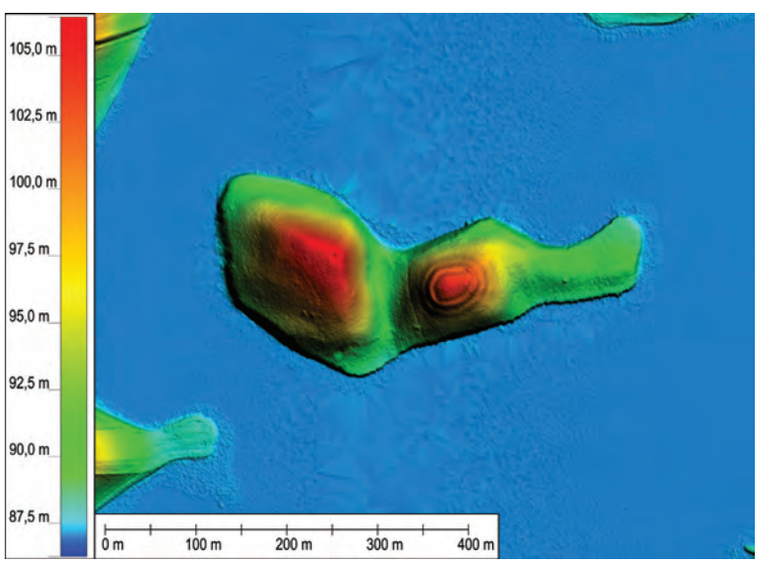

Fig. 15. Stronghold on island on the Sowica Lake near Prabuty, district of Kwidzyn – DTM based on the ALS data (designed by R. Solecki)

century AD.[10] Further analogies to these enclosures can be found among the much earlier "fortified" sites of the so-called Stroke-ornamented Ware Culture from the basins of the Neman and Dvina (Daugava) rivers in the present-day Russia, Belarus, Lithuania and Latvia.[11] In the case of the site at Tušemla, the embankments and ditches were located on the hillside, just as in the case of the Iron Age strongholds discussed in this article. Scholars argue that in this case the aim was to create a ceremonial road climbing spirally to the top of the hill, where there was a sacred space. A similar form can be guessed in the case of the Iron Age phase of the Haćki stronghold in the Bielsk Podlaski community in eastern Poland, where round trenches were discovered in the middle of the hill's slope and at the foot of the hill.[12]

It is true that in the case of the Iron Age enclosures discussed in this article, we are not dealing with spiral but with concentric multiple fortifications, however, the analogy from Tušemla seems to be justified, especially as it concerns the area inhabited also by people of Baltic origin. On the other hand, it does not seem justified to search for the source of the idea of these three-ring fortified sites in the Neolithic rondels, which are not only very distant in relation to chronology (up to several thousand years), but which also were distributed in completely different regions.[13]

The symbolism of sacred circular space, limited by ramparts or walls, is well recognised in ethnological, historical and religious studies, also, *e.g.*, in relation to Early

[10] Tretjakov and Šmidt 1963: ryc. 13; Tretjakov 1966: fig. 81, p. 275; Sedov 1982: plate 10, p. 76; Dulinicz 2000.

[11] *E.g.*, Kulikauskas 1966; Mitrofanov 1970: 247–248; Okulicz 1976: 202–206, fig. 80;

[12] Kobyliński and Szymański 2005, 2015.

[13] Kobyliński *et al.* 2012; Literski and Nebelsick 2012; Budziszewski *et al.* 2017.

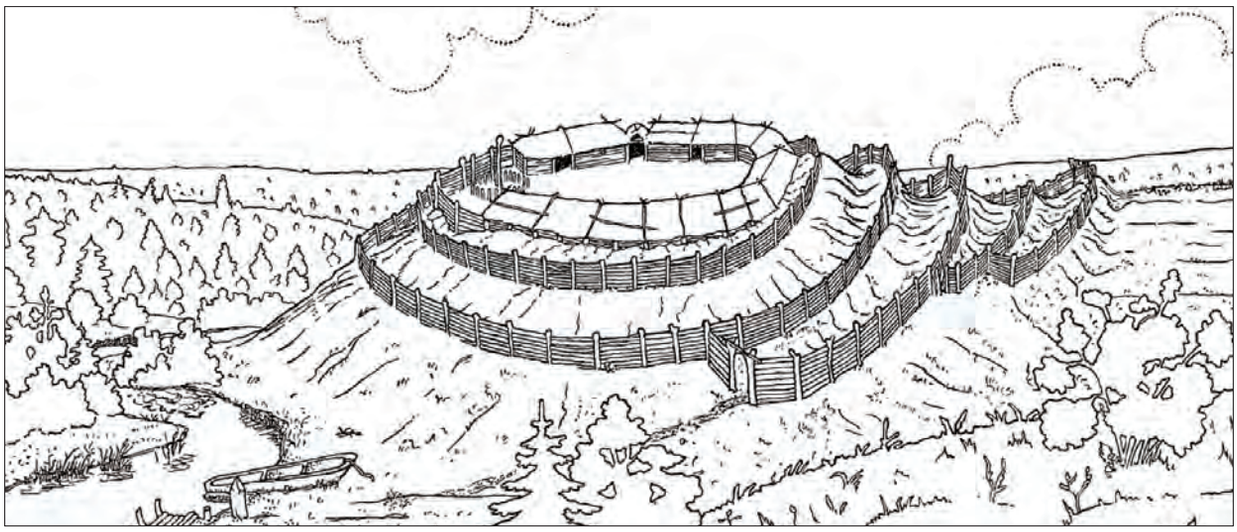

Fig. 16. Reconstruction of the Tušemla stronghold in Belarus (according to V.V. Sedov 1982)

Medieval strongholds[14] as well as later cities.[15] Ritual, intentional breaking or crushing of various artefacts[16], including clay vessels is also a sacred phenomenon confirmed for various regions and different eras, for example for ancient Egypt and Nubia[17], or for the time of the Lusatian Culture in Central Europe, where it was practiced in the funeral rite.[18]

Taking into account all the arguments quoted above, I think it justified that the three-ring hillforts of the Wieprz-Stary Folwark-Tątławki type erected in the Iron Age, lately discovered in the forests of the western part of Warmia and Masuria thanks to ALS data analysis, should be regarded as sacred sites. Undoubtedly, this newly discovered phenomenon deserves further, detailed research, including excavation.

[14] *E.g.*, Kujawska 2012.
[15] *E.g.*, Bardzińska-Bonenberg 2016.
[16] On intentional fragmentation in Prehistory, see Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gayadarska 2007.
[17] Budka 2014.
[18] Nebelsick 2016.

Acknowledgements

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Towards a sacred topography of Early Byzantine Thessaloniki

Roman Szlązak

Introduction

Thessaloniki is the second largest city of Greece after Athens. It is the administrative center of the north of the country, a thriving university center and an international trade fair and exhibition center. It is a wealthy metropolis with a cosmopolitan character. During its long existence it was influenced by subsequent cultures – Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Turkish and Greek. Its history dates back to twenty-three centuries.

The well-preserved architecture of the early Byzantine period allows us to follow the changes in the religious topography of the city. This allows us to learn about the process of transformation of existing religious centers into new ones and the process of creating new places of worship. Thanks to the spatial analysis of the city topography, it is possible to understand the relationship between ideology, tradition, and worship in the city planning process. It is essential to trace the process of integrating a new religion in the city by evenly placing large Christian constructions in important city sectors. New buildings were located right next to the four most-important streets of the city serving as cardo and decumanus. Scattered religious centers in the city were connected by a common tradition and worship, especially manifested during the holidays associated with Saint Demetrius. The tradition of performing processions was of particular importance for the integration of city dwellers into the structures of the new faith. Introducing a new religion to the city was not a chaotic process, the location of religious centers was planned in such a way that the new buildings could positively interact with the residents.[1]

1. The topography and history of the city

1.1. The 4th to 6th century

During the transitional and early Byzantine Period, Thessaloniki was fundamentally transformed due to the ambitious building programme of Emperor Galerius who settled in Thessaloniki at the close of the 3rd century and started to construct a vast palatial complex.[2] The palace became the town´s center of culture, administration, and religion. A similar drastic change was implemented when the administrative center was moved from the praetorium to the forum. The palace was located in the relatively narrow site, between city wall and hippodrome from the south-west and the theatre-stadium on the north-east in a specially designed section of the city. For this construction the southeast fortification walls were moved so that the complex could fit into the area. The Via Regia heading towards the palace was decorated with a peristyle, and its south-western terminus merged into the palace's buildings[3] (Fig. 1).

The complex was divided into two parts: a religious one together with the rotunda on the north-west, and the civic-cultural one along with the palace, hippodrome, stadium and an octagonal building located in the south-west. The Via Regia divided this centre into two and the two segments were linked by a triumphal arch (the Arch of Galerius/Kamara) built over the intersection of its trajectory with the central axis of the palace.[4] The main entrance to the palace complex was through the arch. The construction of the arch stimulated the city's expansion towards the south-east where the wealthy Romans set-

1. The civil and Christian topography of Thessaloniki was a topic of the author's dissertation, published as a book in 2013. This article, presents selected issues regarding the relation between the zones of *sacrum* and *profanum.* The problem of dating, decor and architectural structure is described in more detail in the author's book (Szlązak 2013). This article has been supplemented with a new bibliography and new interpretations.

2. Lavas 1996: 24.

3. Vitti 1993: 90; Adam-Veleni 2003: 171; Ćurčić 2010: 19; for the history of the research in the palace complex see Hadjitryphonos 2008: 205–206.

4. The triumphal arch of Galerius was built to celebrate the victory over the Persians in the year 297; Spieser 1984: 97. Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou believes that the Galerius Arch never was designed as a separate structure, and that it was planned as part of the new palatial complex from the beginning. She thinks that it was not built only in Galerius` honour but that it was also a state monument, which symbolised system of tetrarchy; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2006: 163–188.

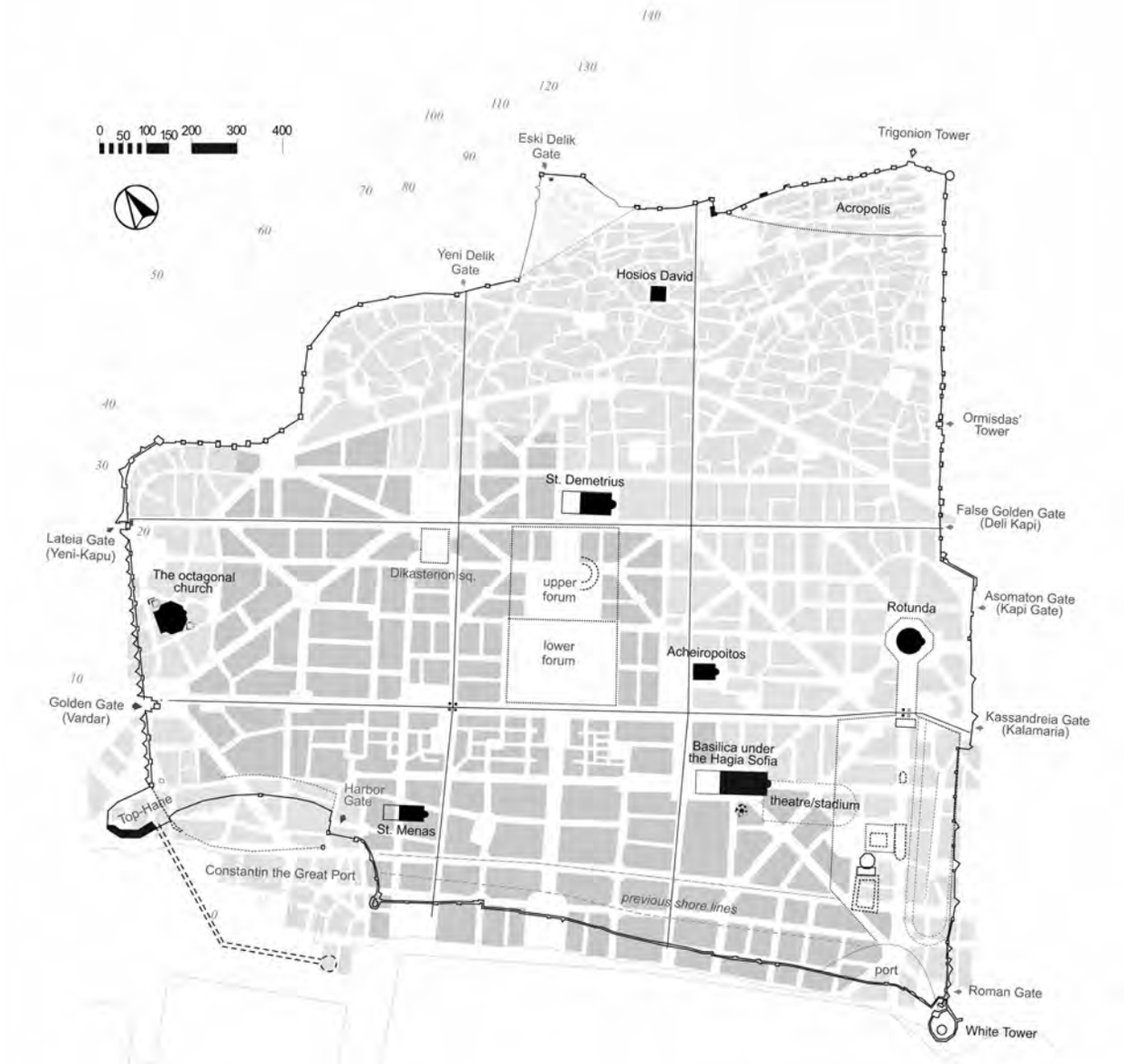

Fig. 1. An arrangement of early Byzantine churches in Thessaloniki (drawn by R. Szlązak, 2018)

tled and built their vast villas. These villas were usually located in the areas which had not been built-up previously.[5]

The 4th-century mint was part of the administrative center and possibly located within the area of the palace since the 5th century. It is possible that during the 5th century, after the relocation of the capital of Illyricum to Thessaloniki in 441/442, that the mint was connected to the prefect's palace or to the praetorium and not too the Galerius' palace.[6] However, it is not certain that the prefect's and the emperor's palaces were situated in the same area as Katherina Hattersley-Smith has pointed out. Michael Vickers located the palace of prefect on the hill where the church of the Prophet Elijah (Sarayli Cami) is now standing. His hypothesis was based on the bricks found in this area by Charles Techier in 1850, whose stamps date to the 5th century. Hattersley-Smith believes that this hypothesis is wrong, and that the bricks probably are spolia originating from another building. Polyxeni Adam-Veleni believes that the palace of the prefect or *praetorium* was built in the place of the Hellenistic royal residence on the current Kyprion Agonistion square. S. Ćurčić locates the prefect's palace

5. Adam-Veleni 2003: 169. We can distinguish two phases in the palace's construction, one dated to the end of Galerius life and second probably in the period of the rule of Constantine I. The second phase of the construction is still under discussion. Slobodan Ćurčić believes in a link between the Galerius arch and Rotunda which was built during the second phase of construction; Ćurčić 2010: 19, 53–54; *cf.* Mentzos 2010: 333–359.

6. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 14, 39, 139–141.

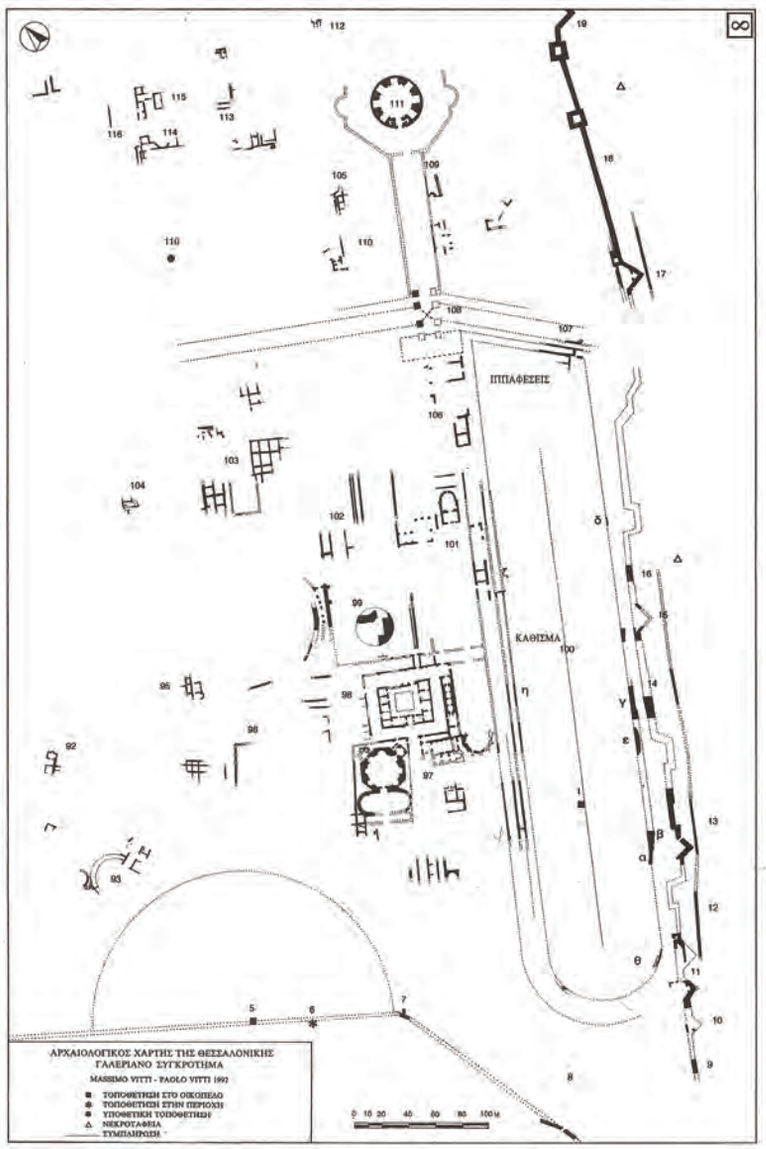

Fig. 2. Archaeological plan of the Galerius palace complex with the surrounding area and marked locations of the rotunda (111), triumphal arch (108), hippodrome (100), palace (98), octagon (97), theatre-stadium (99), city walls (11, 17) (by M. Vitti 1996, after Kazamia-Tsernou 2009: pl. 7)

on the Hagios Demetrious Street, south east from basilica Hagios Demetrios, where "an unnamed cruciform church" was discovered.[7]

The first Christian buildings in Thessaloniki date back to the 4th century, however only one of these early structures, a small church, has been discovered in the city itself. It was found underneath the St. Demetrius basilica.[8] Martyria were built in the eastern and western cemetery outside the city walls and a cemetery basilica has been recovered near Tritis-Septemvriou Street.[9]

The regular street grid in Thessaloniki was maintained during the 4th century.[10] This changed during the 5th century when the implementation of Christian architecture brought on major urban changes. At this time the regular street grid was interrupted due to the construction of major Christian basilicas (Figs 1–2). New constructions, however, were largely built along the main courses of the street grid which, as Hattersley-Smith believes, was respected till 7th century.[11] George Levas observed that in all periods the urban development of Thessaloniki was strongly influenced by the dominating religion. The rise of Christianity as Thessaloniki´s majority´s religion in

7. Vickers 1971:369–371, 1973a: 285–294; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 138–139; Adam-Veleni 2003: 138–139. Slobodan Ćurčić stresses that the Christian function of the so-called "an unnamed cruciform church" discovered by Euterpi Marki, cannot be accepted; Ćurčić 2010: 105, n. 81.

8. Charalambos Bakirtzis thinks that after the Edict of Milan 313 AD, a "small house" (*oikiskos*) was built at Demetrius' grave. It is however not known, whether its construction was made up of the remaining walls of the Roman baths, or whether it was a separate structure; Bakirtzis 1988: 11.

9. Marki 2006: 95–98, 2007a: 16–17.

10. Lavas 1996: 26.

11. K. Hattersley-Smith believes that the Hippodamian grid was respected till 7th century due to the city law which forbade changes of the course of streets; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 119-120.

the 4th century led to an ideological shift in urban planning. The harmony, order, and regularity of the Hippodamian grid of streets lost their primary importance as priority was given to emphasising religious centres, namely impressive Christian basilicas, built in the 5th and 6th century. The substantial ecclesiastical complex on the present Mackenzie King Street, the site of the Hagia Sofia church is a pertinent example. It included a large basilica with five naves, an atrium, the bishop's palace, a baptistery and a few other buildings. This vast complex was not alone, other elaborate buildings put up in the 5th and the 6th century include the Saint Demetrius church on the north-east side of the forum, the Acheiropoietos church on the south-east side of the forum, which is a basilica with three naves near the Constantine harbour whose apse is preserved in the St. Menas church, and the Latomu monastery in the upper part of the city to the north-west of Agia Sofia Street.[12]

The process of changes in the topography of the city during the Byzantine period (4th-15th centuries), has been analysed by G. Levas. According to him, the changes took place gradually and it is not possible to attribute them entirely to the Early Byzantine period. However, there is no doubt, that the churches built in significant places in the 5th /6th century influenced the relocation of the religious centre through its dissipation. The Roman rotunda, located approximately halfway along the south-eastern wall, was converted into a church, and the newly established Christian centres were located in various parts of the city.[13]

The churches were located in places that were especially important for the citizens. Moreover, the buildings of such size had to fit into the structure of the city without the destruction of other city constructions. Bathhouses happened to meet these requirements.[14] The new churches were put up in the areas occupied by former buildings in a way that their walls partly overlapped as seen on the examples of St. Demetrius church, and Latomou Monastery. Because of the extensive construction of the new churches, the bathhouses did not play such an essential role as they had played before, although they were still in operation. In the course of time, the bathhouses were destroyed and replaced as new buildings were put up. The structural and architectural changes in the town probably started, according to Hattersley–Smith, after the 6th century when changes to the street grid did not have to be consulted with the city council.[15]

The location of the Acheiropoietos Basilica and St. Demetrius basilica is related to the worship of St. Demetrius. According to *Passiones* and *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, the Acheiropoietos basilica was built on the site where St. Demetrius was said to have taught and the St. Demetrius church on the site of his grave. Moreover, the five-nave basilica from the 5th/6th century discovered underneath the Hagia Sofia church could have been originally related to the worship of St. Demetrius and so the octagonal church by the Vader gate to the worship of St. Nestor. According to the legend written in *Passiones* and *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, St. Demetrius was imprisoned in the bathhouses near the stadium. The Hagia Sofia church was built in place of a large complex of bathhouses near the theatre-stadium which makes it likely that the church was also related to the worship of St. Demetrius. Nestor himself visited St. Demetrius asking him for a blessing before his fight with the gladiator Lyaeus (Lyeios). When Nestor won the contest, he and Demetrius were killed at the order of the emperor. Nestor was buried near the Vader Gate, a site memorialised by an octagonal church with martyrium and a baptistery.[16]

The origin of the St. Demetrius cult is unclear. Michael Vickers proposed that when the capital of Illyricum was moved from Sirmium[17] to Thessaloniki in the 5th/6th century the saint´s cult moved with it *Passiones* and *Miracula sancta Demetrii* could have clarified the location of 5th/6th-century basilicas. At the same time (*i.e.*, the 434/435 or the 442/443) impressive basilicas were built, and the rotunda was converted into a church during the prosperous period in Macedonia after the Goths left for Italy.[18]

1.2. The period after the 6th century

In the 7th century, a series of earthquakes and fires destroyed many of the town´s buildings. The city walls, the forum, churches and some of the buildings belonging to the palace complex were also damaged. Afterwards, some of the churches, like St. Demetrius, Acheiropoietos, and the Rotunda were restored. Other buildings were rebuilt, but their architectural shape changed. The

12. Rautman 1990: 298; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 235, 269–270; Lavas 1996: 26–27.
13. Ćurčić assigns the conversion of Rotunda to Theodosius I and stresses that if the dating is correct, this conversion was the first instance of a surviving monumental structure in the Balkans to be converted to Christian use. In his opinion Theodosius had chosen Thessaloniki as example to follow; Ćurčić 2010: 71.
14. K. Hattersley-Smith notes that the construction of the churches in Thessaloniki at the bathhouse is not an isolated case, as this phenomenon can also be observed in other cities in the region of Macedonia: Filippi and Herakleia Lykestis. See Hattersley-Smith 1996: 236.
15. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 269–270; Lavas 1996: 26.
16. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 269–270; Lavas 1996: 26–27; Vakalopoulos 1984: 20.
17. Sirmium in the 4th c. was seat of imperial authority similar to Thessaloniki and up to its destruction it played a crucial role in the administration of the Balkans; Ćurčić 2010: 19; Popovič 1993: 15–27.
18. Vickers 1974: 338; see also Popovič 1987: 95–139. Ćurčić stresses that despite of the unresolved questions regarding the actual *locus* of the death and burial of St. Demetrious, Greek scholars uniformly accepted Thessaloniki as the original place of his martyrdom; Ćurčić 2010: 102, n. 71.

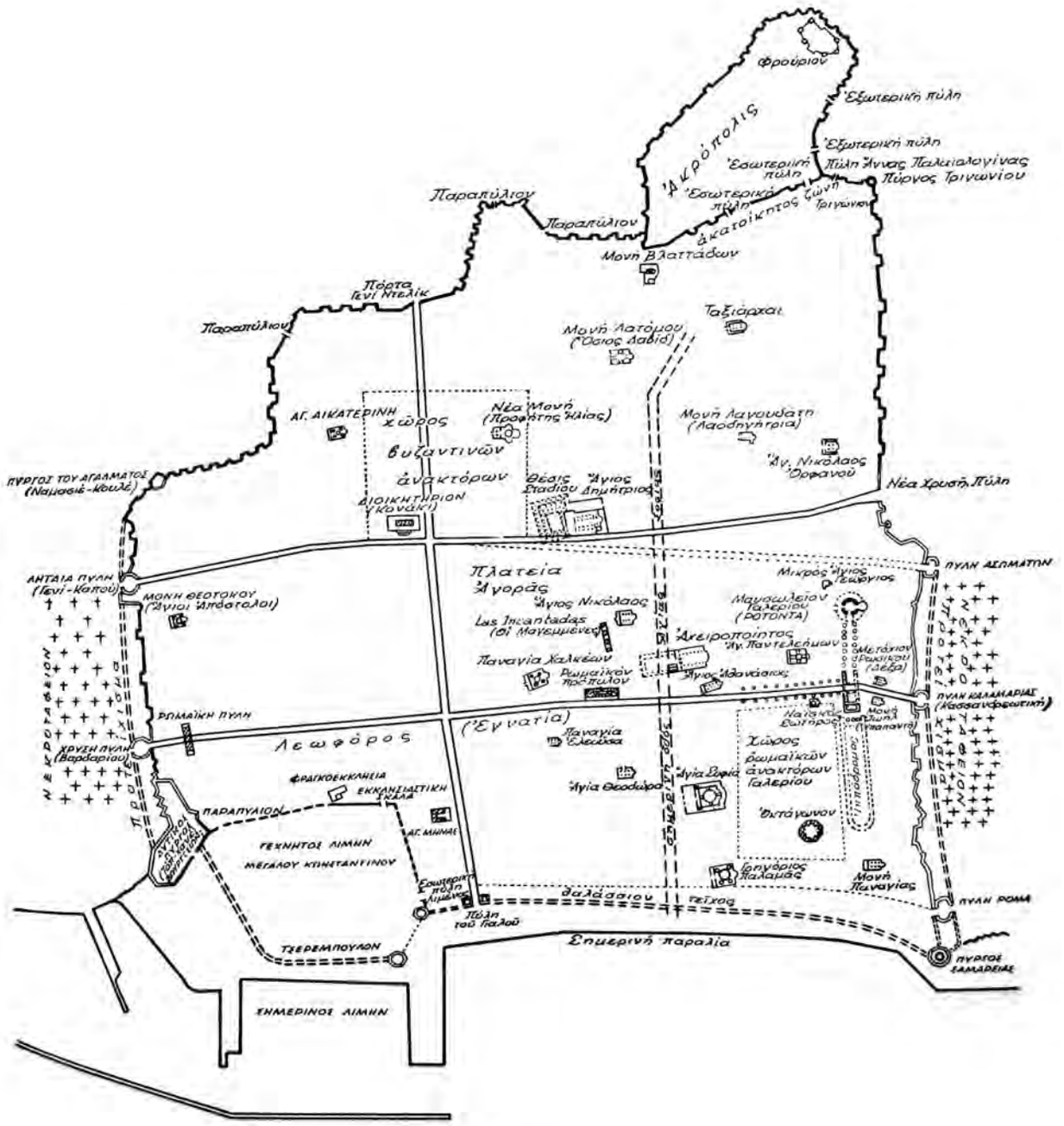

Fig. 3. The Byzantine urban planning of Thessaloniki (by G.I. Theocharides 1954, after Kleinbauer 1972: 57)

domical Hagia Sofia basilica, for example, was replaced by a far larger five-nave basilica. At that time the city was besieged by the Slavs, which prolonged the time of restoration. The forum may not have been rebuilt at all and its remaining structures seem to have been quarried for the construction of churches and restoring the city walls. In the Early Byzantine Period, the area of the forum was used as a market and its lower part for trading copper.[19]

During the 7th century, the Galerius Palace did not serve its original function anymore. The drought and the Slavs who settled down in the vicinity of the city as well as the damage to the buildings after the series of earthquakes issued in a period of decline. During this time the baths, as well as the Odeon which had been in partial operation as late as in the 6th century, were

19. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 122–128, 234. The use of lower part of forum as a copper trading market can be confirmed by the name *chalkeutike stoa*, the place of trade in copper, and by the name of the later church of Panagia ton Chalkedon from the 11th century; Mentzos 1997: 379–391.

abandoned. Some public buildings were even transformed into water tanks and cisterns. During the period between the 7th and the 15th century, the city did not extend its borders outside the fortified perimeters. Very gradually new buildings, a forum and palace complex were re-erected.[20] The original street grid was disturbed by the construction of new churches. 39 small and large churches and 25 monasteries were built from the 7th until the 15th century (Fig. 3). After the city was conquered by the Turks in 1430, most of these churches were converted into mosques. During the Ottoman period the city structure remained intact, the only major changes that took place involved erecting minarets and Turkish bath houses (*hamam*). The course of the city walls remained unchanged.[21]

Most of the city centre was damaged by the great fire in 1917. The western part of the city near the Byzantine walls from the north-south axis between the Lefkos Pyrgos tower and the church of Prophet Elias were completely destroyed. The St. Demetrius church was burned to the ground. During the following reconstruction of the city, its urban arrangement was changed. The old streets became wider and the new ones appeared. The original grid plan of the city is not as visible as it was before the fire. Due to a progressive process of hillside erosion and sedimentation within the low-lying town, the remaining Byzantine buildings are, at present, up to 10 meters below the present street level. Yet despite all these changes, the ancient city still forms the centre of modern Thessaloniki.[22]

2. The theatre/stadium

During construction works in 1989 a fragment of a curved wall of an auditory (*cavea*) was found in the area of the Galerius palace and revealed by excavations which were conducted along the narrow Apellou Street to the west of the Navarinou square. This discovery was followed by substantial archaeological excavations which demonstrated that the curved part of the 2 meters high and 3.5 meters thick construction belongs to a theatre or stadium (this theatre is mentioned in an inscription from the 2nd century).[23]

This theatre/stadium was 100 meters wide and its remains reach to the Hagia Sofia church. It was in operation from the 1st until the 4th century AD and closed when Theodosius the Great issued an edict banning pagan performances. Modifications of the structure thereafter have nothing to do with its original function as a theatre-stadium. The most significant change in the construction was made when the palace complex was built. The exterior part of the *cavea* was reconstructed and surrounded by a row of pillars and marble columns. The changes were made in order to integrate the theatre-stadium into the area of the palace complex. It is not known whether, as seems likely, a passage between the theatre-stadium and the palace existed. The discovery of this theatre-palace compels us to reinterpret the impact of St. Demetrius as it shows that far from being subject to a radical conversion the citizens of Thessaloniki were celebrating two religions and two cultures, maintaining their Hellenic roots for a long time.[24]

3. The Rotunda

The rotunda is a carefully planned impressive structure which was built at the turn of the 3rd and 4th century and marked the northern terminus of the palace complex. The space around the rotunda was attached to the city walls near the Archangels Gate. The function that this building originally served, is unknown, and it is even possible that the rotunda was built before the erection of the palace. Ralph F. Hoddinott and Ejnar Dyggve believe that it was built to function as the mausoleum of Galerius, P. Adam-Veleni believes that it was built as a temple of all gods or as a temple of those gods patronizing the tetrarchs. S. Ćurčić dates the construction of Rotunda to the second phase of Galerius palace construction, which he relates to Constantin I. He believes that emperor started its construction as his mausoleum, but left it unfinished after 324, when he finally chose Byzantion as his new capital instead of Thessaloniki.[25] The building was surrounded by a wall (*peribolos*) of octagonal or rectangular shape with two semi-circular exedras located on the south-east and north-west axis (Fig. 4) The rotunda was either covered with a wooden roof or a hemispheric *cupola*. Eight niches were found inside its main room. The main entrance was in the south-west facing the triumphal arch. The architecture and decorations made the rotunda look very much like the Roman Pantheon.[26] The main difference was that in the rotunda there were large windows over the niches and that its walls were made out of the combination of bricks and stones bonded with mortar (Fig. 5). Eugene Kleinbauer also notices the similarity of the rotunda to the church of

20. *Cf.* Bakirtzis 2003: 41; Paolo 2005: 35.
21. Lavas 1996: 26–27.
22. For the great fire in 1917 see: Hekimoglou 2010: 12–13.
23. Adam-Veleni and Velenis 1997: 250.
24. Adam-Veleni and Velenis in their first article about theater-stadium considered the various shapes of the building plan, among others circle or oval; Adam-Veleni and Velenis 1989: 245. On the Roman circus see also Humphrey 1986: 30–33.
25. Adam-Veleni 2003: 165; Hoddinott 1963: 108; Ćurčić 2000: 10–13, 2010: 53–54. Ch. Bakirtsis agrees with this assessment on the basis of his mosaic analysis; Bakirtzis, Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 2012; for dotation of the mosaic see also Bakirtzis and Mastora 2011: 33–45.
26. Dyggve 1953: 66 n. 23; Mentzos 2001/2002: 61; Velenis 1974: 305–306; Hoddinott 1963: 109.

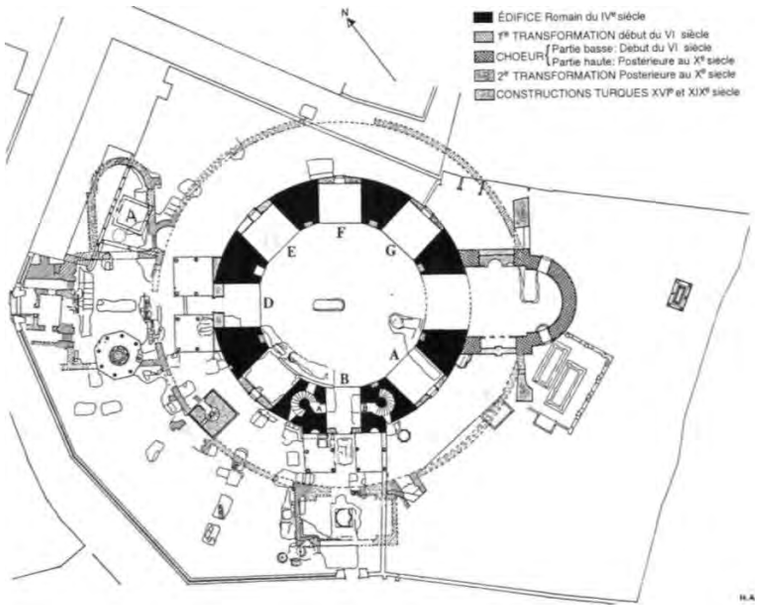

Fig. 4. Plan of the Rotunda with marked uncovered fragments of its previous structure (by E. Hébrard 1920, after Mentzos 2001/2002: 59)

Fig. 5. Rotunda, view from the south, with Christian apsis, and the main entrance from the first stage of its construction (photo by R. Szlązak)

St. Stephen in Rome, the Rotonda of Anastasis on Golgotha and the Diocletian's mausoleum in Split.[27]

The rotunda´s function during the Early Byzantine period is not clearly specified. Some people believe that it functioned as a martyrium, palace chapel, city church or cathedral.[28] Between the years 450 and 550 it was one of the main churches in Thessaloniki.[29] The rotunda`s transformation into a church went hand in hand with the following architectural changes: the *opaion* was closed and a passage, southeast entrances and a presbytery with an apse on its south-east side were added. The passage connecting the rotunda to the palace remained and the link to the triumphal arch was enriched with a *peribolos*. The eastern niche was widened and a rectangular presbytery with a vaulted ceiling and an apse was built up so the rotunda could meet the architectural requirements of the Christian faith.[30]

During the Early Byzantine Period, the building lacked exterior decorations – only its perfect proportions were visible from the street. Rich and splendid décor was lavished on the inside of the building. The floor in its center an in the surrounding niches was raised and made of marble. The inside walls were also covered with marble, and the windows were bricked up; with only small round holes remaining. The most elaborate early Byzantine ele-

27. Mentzos 2001–2002: 58, 61; Kleinbauer 1972: 58.
28. Nasrallah 2005: Konstantinos Raptis believes that in the 7th century Thessalonican Episcopal See was located not in the Rotunda but in the Church of Acheiropoietos, which hosted the services of the episcopate untill the middle or the third quarter of the 8th century; Raptis 2016: 801–802.
29. Pazaras 1993: 5, 1985: 15; Kleinbauer 1972: 60; Weitzmann 1979: 30; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 169; Krautheimer 1965: 54–56.
30. Mentzos proposed that the Rotunda was transformed into a Church especially for the impérial wedding of Valentinian and Galla Placidia. Torp has hypothesized that its conversion may indicate Theodosius' desire to renovate the palace-complex, or that its conversion may have been a theological statement against those he considered heretical or even as an apology in the form of benefaction to a city in which he had once approved a public massacre; Mentzos 2001–2002: 64, 77–79; Torp 2002: 27–28.

ments were mosaics in the *cupola* and its encircling arches above the small windows as well as the ceilings of the niches. The decor of the mosaics formed a comprehensive iconographic programme.[31] The by-pass, *narthex* and the southern porch were destroyed by an earthquake in the 7th century. Another earthquake in the 9th century destroyed a part of the *cupola*. The rotunda performed the function of an orthodox church until the Latin conquest of 1204. In the years between the 1515 and 1591 it served as the city´s cathedral and then it was converted into the Hortaci Süleyman Efendi Camii mosque with a minaret designed by Bey Sinan Pasza. It was rededicated as a church in 1912. In 1917, however the rotunda was turned into the Museum of Macedonia. Nowadays it serves as the Rotunda Museum and is sometimes used as a Greek Orthodox Church.[32]

Laura Nasrallah thinks that the conversion of the Rotunda into a Church was a revolutionary moment for citizens of Thessaloniki. In her interpretation, the construction of rotunda was used to express the imperial power and its conversion could be a symbol of Christian triumph. This sacralisation of Christian space, might even have involved the desacralisation of Roman space. As the Rotunda was not functioning alone in its urban framework, it is essential to analyse the meaning of its transformation in its local context, both as part of Galerius' palace complex and the structure of the wider city. The different interpretations of the original function of Rotunda which range from an urban shrine, a private temple, or a public building makes further contextual investigations difficult. Until the problem of identification can be solved, it is not possible to understand the exact connection between the rotunda and Galerius palace. This lack of knowledge makes it impossible to thoroughly understand the impact transforming the building had on Thessaloniki's citizens.[33]

The Octagon was located in the southwest of the Rotunda in Galerius's palace complex. It probably originally functioned as an octagonal audience hall or temple for the imperial or city cult. The interpretation of the original function of this structure a discovery of a marble arch, the so called small Arch of Galerius, in the atrium or, as Ćurčić believes, in open court, which could be part of octagon complex is crucial.[34] This marble structure was carved with relief busts of Galerius and Tyche in roundels, supported by figures in Phrygian dress, and by the depiction of the mythological figures Pan, a maenad, and Dionysos. Inside of the Octagon four marble pilasters from its original decoration were discovered which are carved with reliefs of Kabiros, Hygeia, Zeus, the Dioscuri, and perhaps even Tyche and Galerius. Based on this discoverys it is possible that the Octagon could have also had a religious function. This is significant because in the eastern apse or roundel of the Octagon, from the second phase of its construction, is probably contemporary with the second phase of the palace's construction, in which a brickwork image of cross inscribed in a circle supported by two palms was found. This image was placed 3,5 m above the original floor level. The interpretation of the Christian meaning of this cross has been discussed controversially. Ćurčić believes that roundel would have been covered by the marble revetment making the cross invisible. Moreover, is not sure if the apse with the cross is dated to the second or to the third phase of the Octagon's construction. Nasrallah believes that in the later phase the Octagon probably was converted into the church, during the same period as the Rotunda. Ćurčić agrees with this opinion and sees its conversion coinciding with Theodosius I visit to Thessaloniki. In his opinion the Octogon continued to be used as a secular structure until the end of 5th century. Nasrallah stressed that probably after the 6th century the Octagon served not only a private or public Christian function but may even have been the city's cathedral.[35]

4. The Saint Demetrius Basilica

The Saint Demetrius church was built in the city centre near the present Agiou Dimitriou Street to the north of the Roman forum. It was built on the ruins of Roman bathhouses. The great antiquity of this structure is demonstrated by the Theodosian composite capitals, capitals with acanthus leaf ornament and the close ties of the church to the legend of St. Demetrius. It is believed that the basilica was built at the turn of the 5th and 6th century.[36]

Although the link of the church with the cult of Saint Demetrius is generally accepted by most researchers the genesis of the cult is a topic of discussion.[37] The actual tomb of Saint Demetrius has not been found except for the symbolic grave in the church.[38] Vickers argued that the genesis of his cult could be connected not with Thes-

31. The mosaic of Rotunda has been a subject of many studies. The most recent analyses are by Ch. Bakirtzis, Ch.B. Kiilerich and H. Torp; Kiilerich and Torp 2017; Bakirtzis, Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 2012.
32. Mentzos 2001–2002: 62, 66. For the investigations of the Rotunda's structure during conservation after the earthquake of 1978, see Peneli 2008: 53–58.
33. Nasrallah 2005: 468–469.
34. Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1995: 53.
35. Vickers 1973a: 285–94, 1973b: 111; Knithakes 1975: 105–106; Hoddinott 1996: 76–78; Blackman 2000: 77; Nasrallah 2005: 476 n. 24; Ćurčić 2010: 22, 53–54, 103.
36. Cormack 1985: 51–55.
37. Woods believes that the Demetrius cult might have been borrowed from the cult of the Spanish holy soldiers Emetrius and Chelidonius. He draws attention to the similarity of the sound of the names Demetrios and Emetrius; Woods 2000: 227–234; *cf.* Toth 2010: 145–170.
38. Lemerle 1953b: 673; Bakirtzis 2002: 178.

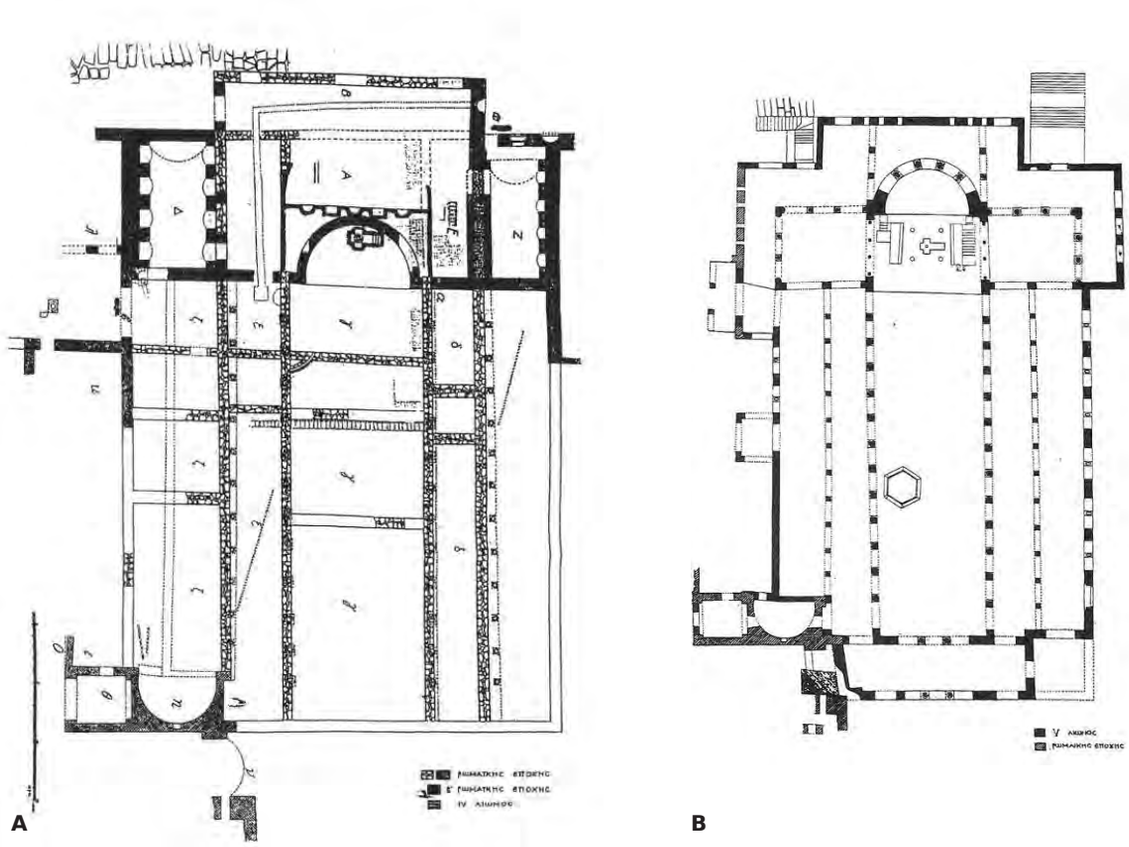

Fig. 6. A) The walls of the Roman baths found under the basilica of St. Demetrius; B) Reconstruction of the basilica's plan from the 5th century (after Soteriou and Soteriou 1952: 140)

Fig. 7. Basilica of St. Demetrius, view from the north (photo by R. Szlązak)

saloniki but with Sirmium[39], from where it could be transferred after the destruction of the city by Attila in 411. According to Vickers and Lemerle, the legends of Saint Demetrius are not a good historical source about the genesis of cult and the origin of the church, as they were written after 600 AD.[40]

39. According to Walter, there was a sanctuary dedicated to Saint Demetrius in Sirmium from the sixth to the eleventh century; Walter 1973: 159.

40. Vickers 1974: 337–339; Lemerle 1953a: 349–361; see also Bauer 2013.

Fig. 8. Church of St. Demetrius after the fire in 1917 (after Soteriou and Soteriou 1952: 121)

Originally the church was constructed as a Roman basilica with three naves and a transept from the south-east side and a *narthex* and an atrium on the north-west side. The construction made use of the remaining walls of the Roman bathhouses. The apse was located above the *nymphaeum*. The north-west part of the main nave stood above the *palaestra* and the side naves were over the peristyle of *palaestra,* while the north-east nave – over the remains of *tepidarium* and *caldarium* (Fig. 6). The apse of the *caldarium* has been preserved up to the present time and is used as a chapel as well as the foundations of a bell-tower that was built after the fire of 1917[41] (Fig. 7).

On the south-east side of the church there was a 9-meter-wide apse with five windows. Inside the apse stood the bishop's throne and a *synthronon* with presbyters' seats. In the central part of the transept, there was an altar with the side panels separated from the main nave by a partition. One of the partition's pillars is now built into the north-east wall of the church. In the central part of the church, above a small cross-shaped crypt, there was a *ciborium* supported by four square pillars with Corinthian capitals. On the southern part of the transept, there was a stairwell to a crypt believed to be a grave of St. Demetrius. In the middle of the crypt a well and a marble *ciborium* supported by seven pillars were found.[42]

In the centre of the main nave of the church there would have been a further *ciborium* marking the place of St. Demetrius' worship – his symbolic grave. The floor in the main nave was paved with marble slabs. The exact nature of the church´s decor is unknown but its general appearance can be reconstructed on the basis of surviving elements of mosaics, fragments of paintings, sculptures and capitals.[43]

The church was damaged by fire between the years 629 and 634. The fire was probably not so devastating, probably only the roof and the wooden galleries and their stairs burned down, the interior decoration was not affected.[44] The church was reconstructed in the form of a basilica with five naves. In the Ottoman period it was converted into the Kasimiye mosque then, in the following Greek period, it became a church again. It was burned to the ground during the great fire in 1917 (Fig. 8). The burned construction was not restored until the 1946 when archaeological research started to be conducted inside the building and in the 1949 it was reconstructed.[45]

5. The Acheiropoietos Basilica

This basilica has survived almost unchanged up to the present time (Fig. 9). It is located on the western side of the junction of Agia Sophia and P. Papegeorgiu Streets and from the eastern side on the junction of Acheiropoietou and Dionysiu Streets. It was built in the centre of the Byzantine city, to the east of the forum, near the Via Regia and Leoforos Street on the site of a Roman bath house whose remains have been found near the western propylon wall under the baptistery and by the entrance to the basilica.[46]

41. Hoddinott 1963: 128. A place of worship of Saint Demetrius was discovered in the *ciborium* of the crypt; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 153–155.
42. Lemerle 1953b: 662; Hoddinott 1963: 130.
43. Lemerle 1953b: 664; *cf.* Brenk 1994: 29–31.
44. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 154; *cf.* Spieser 1984: 197: Brenk 1994: 27.
45. Cormack 1985: 45.
46. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 146. On the basis of on both recent archaeological data and a reappraisal of earlier findings in the basilica Raptis claims that the previous structure on which church was built was not a late Roman bath as previously stated, but could have been a large villa, or public, secular edifice; Raptis 2016: 795.

Fig. 9. The Acheiropoietos Basilica, view from the east (photo by R. Szlązak)

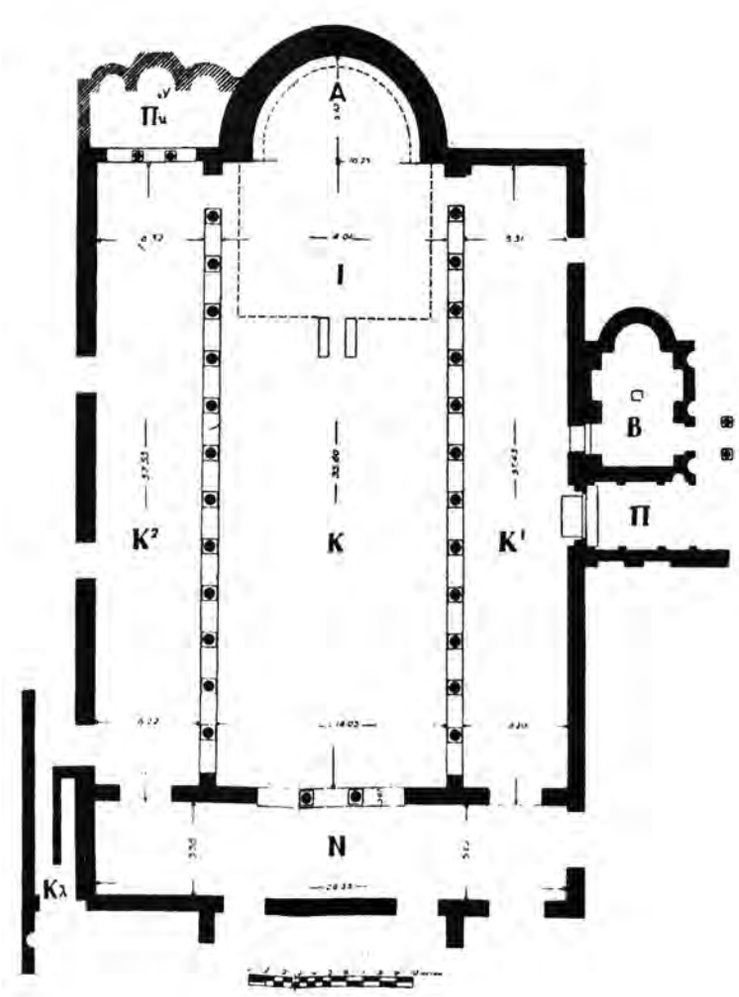

Fig. 10. Plan of the Acheiropoietos Basilica (after Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1989: 16)

The exact date of the Basilica's construction has not been confirmed. On the basis of Theodosian capitals, the typology of the remained inlays, an inscription with the name of Andrew (benefactor of the basilica) and brick stamps, it is likely that the process of construction took place during the turn of the 5th to the 6th century.[47]

The basilica is a typical Hellenic construction with three naves, galleries, an apse and a *narthex*. The present-day basilica is 51.9 metres long and 30.8 meters wide with the side walls of 14 metres high at the side external walls, and 22 m on the top of the roof of the central aisle (Fig. 10). Originally there were two entrances, once from the side of the *narthex* and the other from the south-west side leading through monumental *propylon*. Its construction is almost same as it was in the 5th century. In his recent research Konstantinos Raptis observed that the basilica was redesigned and reconstructed several times in such a way that the later phases of construction followed the plan of the Early Byzantine church. These renewals usually retained the preceeding ground-floor level.[48] The original roofing with overhead windows was not preserved. Raptis and Zombou-Asimi believe that originally the gallery above the *narthex*, the elevated section of the central aisle, was higher than it is today, which allowed their upper part to act as a light-well.[49] The apse and the *narthex* have both been rebuilt.[50] The only remaining parts of the *propylon* are their foundations. To the east of the *propylon* the remains of a 5th century building which is recognised as a baptistery were found.[51] The baptistery was reconstructed in the years between the 1927 and 1928. The archaeological excavations have shown that on the north-west side of the basilica there was a two-story annexe with a wooden roof; the remains of its stairs can be seen in the front elevation.[52]

Despite Ernest Hébrard's opinion that 5th-century basilicas always have a quadrilateral atrium, the Acheiropoietos church was built without this kind of structure. This is due to the importance of the pre-existing *cardo*. Konstantinos Raptis believes, that the basilica may have had an open *exonarthex* as its western façade. He also thinks that the basilica occupied the northern part of the insula in order to provide sufficient space to its south, where monumental annexes were probably arranged forming the access to the basilica from the *decumanus maximus*. This was either in the form of a large rectangular atrium along the south side of the church, or portico similar to the one which was connecting Rotunda with Galerius's triumphal arch during the same period.[53]

The Acheiropoietos church is characterised by harmony and consistency in its decoration. It is known for its homogenous architectural sculptures and decorative mosaic murals, They proclaim the Late Antique aesthetic conception of the monument. The columns and floors were made of proconnesian and white and grey marble and green Thessalian marble was used for the *tribelon*. Different kinds of columns were used in the construction. Columns made in Constantinople were used to separate the main nave from the side naves. The columns have attic bases and so called Theodosian capitals with a *chrismon* between the acanthus leaves. In the upper galleries, ionic capitals with floral decorations and a sign of a cross were used for decoration. They were imported from the capital city, which is shown by a mason's mark which is characteristic for workshops in Constantinople that was found on one of the columns. The 5th-century ambo, another part of the original construction that has survived, was in the form of a monolith with a single flight of stairs with four steps.[54]

The only wall mosaics that remained in the basilica are the ones below the *tribelon* arch and below the arches of the columns separating the naves. The mosaics were decorated with floral and geometrical motifs. The mural mosaics of the church have been recently discussed in a series of studies.[55]

6. The Saint Menas Church

St. Menas church is a post-Byzantine basilica. It consists of three naves and is surrounded by an arcaded portico. It is situated in an industrial area by the Vasileou Irkleiou Street, 200 metres away from the present day harbour. In the years 1851–1852 the church was built onto the apse of an older church, dated for the turn of the 5th and 6th century, which had been destroyed. In the Early Byzantine and Byzantine period it was adjacent to the main gate of

47. Kleinbauer 1984: 248. Raptis in his recent works dates the construction of the church to the last decade of the 5th or the first decade of the 6th century (about 500), in the period of Anastasios I's reign (491–518) and the bishopric of Andreas (*ca* 490–513); Raptis 2016: 801, 2017: 290, 294. For a summary of the history of the monument see Papakyriakou 2012: 65–81.

48. On the basis of the morphological study of the masonry, which were re-documented during the last program of conservation of the church, Raptis proposes that earlier scholarly opinions which held that the church was preserved unaltered should be re-examined; Raptis 2017b: 290–291; Raptis and Zombou-Asimi 2008: 307–14, 2013: 411–428; *cf.* also Ćurčić 2012: 107–109.

49. Raptis and Zombou-Asimi 2013: 411; Raptis 2017b: 295–297. Ćurčić observed that the structure`s lightness, the proportions of the main nave and the splendid decoration testify to the fact that this church was used for ceremonial purposes; Ćurčić 2010: 108.

50. In the apsis we can distinguish at least three phases; Raptis 2017: 292, 297.

51. The small building could be an early Byzantine deacon´s residence and not a baptistery; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1989: 19; *cf.* Kleinbauer 1984: 242; Spieser 1984: 192–193; Diehl *et al.* 1918: 35.

52. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1989: 18; for more on the architecture of the Acheiropoietos Basilica, see: Tafrali 1913; Diehl 1918: 339–346; Pelekanidis 1949: 43–68; Kleinbauer 1984: 241–257; Oraioulos 1992: 11–32; Raptis 1999: 219–237, 2017: 112–115.

53. Raptis 2016: 795.

54. Spieser 1984: 200–201; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1989: 10; Raptis and Zombou-Asimi 2013: 412.

55. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 2012; Fourlas 2012; Taddei 2009, 2010, 2012; Raptis 2014: 102–107, 109–112.

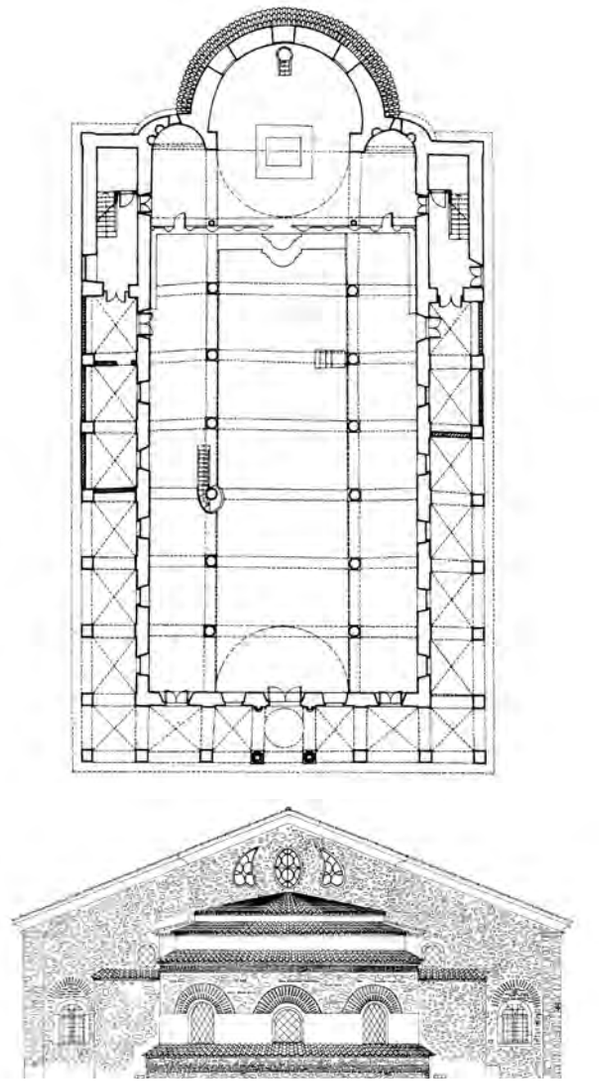

Fig. 11. Plan and the drawing of the aps of the St. Menas church (after Mantopoulou-Panagiotopoulou 1996: plates IV-V)

Constantine the Great's harbour and it constituted a part of a monastery. It must have been an important place, because after it was burned down in the 1890s (Ottoman period) the area where it was located started to be called Yanik Manastir meaning a burned monastery.[56]

As observed by Thanassis Papazotos, the only parts of the Early Byzantine basilica that still remain are the lower part of a semi-circular apse, two capitals, ambo and a few sculptured stones[57] (Fig. 11). It is difficult to reconstruct exact architectonical shape of the whole structure based on these few surviving elements. Thaleia Mantopoulu-Panagiotopoulou believes that it was probably a transept basilica surrounded by a portico larger than the church itself.[58] The lower part of the apse is typologically dated for the Early Byzantine period

56. Mantopoulu-Panagiotopoulou 1996: 239.
57. Papazotos 1985: 75.
58. Mantopoulu-Panagiotopoulou 1996: 239, 256.

Fig. 12. Church of Hosios David, view from the east (photo by R. Szlązak)

(between the 5th and the 6th century). The exterior diameter of the apse is 11.8 metres. The wall is 1.7 metres wide and 1.98 to 2.07 metres long. The walls were made out of loose stones separated by a brick layer. The mortar is of a light pink colour as it contains traces of roof tiles. The remaining Early Byzantine ambo typologically refers to the ambo in St. Demetrius church and its decoration to the ambo in rotunda. It is dated for the first half of the 6th century.[59]

7. The Hosios David Church

The Hosios David church originally functioned as the *catholicon* of the Latomos Monastery (Fig. 12). It was built in the 5th century in the upper part of the city in the area of former Roman bath houses.[60] The plan of the *catholicon* was based on the Greek cross set within a nine polar square with an apse on the eastern side.[61] Above the main nave, on the junction of two arch vaults there was a *cupola* supported by a tambour. Less than two thirds of the Early Byzantine construction of the church

59. Mantopoulu-Panagiotopoulou 1996: 258; Orlandos 1952: 218–219, 545–549; Sodini 1976: 500–502.
60. James Snyder refers to written reports that the construction of the baths were funded by Theodora, daughter or stepdaughter of the tetrarch Maximian; Snyder: 1968: 145.
61. The *Catholikon* of the Latomos Monastery was one of the first churches built on the plan of Greek cross; Grossmann 1984–1985: 258–260; Ćurčić 2010: 110.

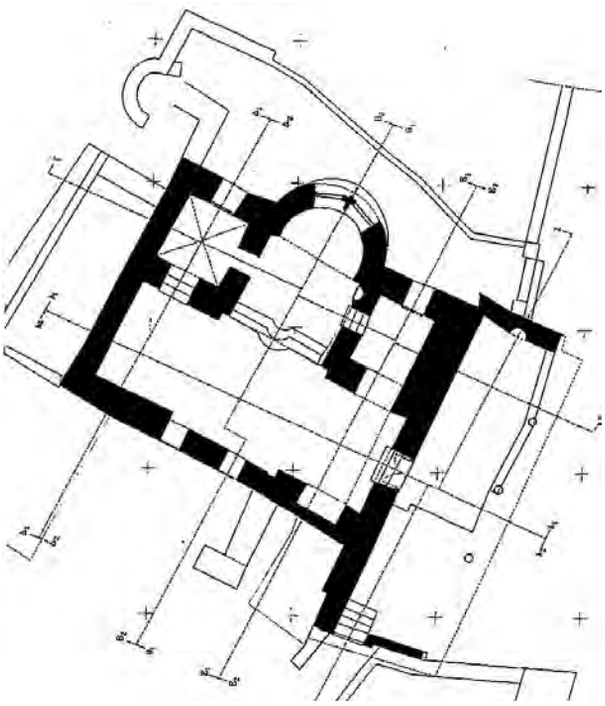

Fig. 13. The present plan of the Hosios David church with its surroundings (made by Eforat of Byzantine Antiquity in Thessaloniki, after Kazamia-Tsernou 2009: 564)

are preserved. The eastern part of the church with an apse remained while the western part was destroyed. The central part together with the arms of the cross were reconstructed. Originally the main entrance to the church was on the western side. Andreas Xyngopoulos, however believes, that there had once been another entrance on the south-east side which was reconstructed during the Ottoman period and now functions as the main entrance[62] (Fig. 13).

In the legend Theodora – a daughter of Maximus the emperor was a benefactor of the decoration and the construction of the church itself in the place of her residence. This story is undoubtedly an imaginative fabrication, but as Ćurčić has observed it can be interesting because it alludes to the conversion a private building into a Christian sanctuary, which was common in the 5h century.[63]

The church is well known to scholars, because of its decoration, and the problems posed by its interpretation. The semi-circular part of the apse is covered by a mosaic depicting Maiestas Domini.[64] The remaining part of the interior is decorated with wall paintings. At the time of iconoclasm, the paintings were covered with plaster. During an earthquake in the 821 the plaster layer covering the mosaics fell off, as witnessed by one of the monks. This event was considered to be an act of theophany, a revelation of God. Since then the Latomos Monastery was called the Christ the Saviour monastery. Under Ottoman rule, the building was converted into a mosque (probably in the 16th century), until it was reconsecrated as a Greek Orthodox Church in 1921 and was given its present name.

8. Other sacred buildings

8.1. The basilica under the Hagia Sofia church

The basilica under the Hagia Sofia church was probably built at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century on the ruins of Roman bathhouses.[65] Foundations are the only part of the church that have survived.

This large church had five naves with a and semi-circular apse on the east, *narthex*, and *atrium* on the west. The central nave together with the side naves was 94 meters wide and 53.05 meters long what made it the largest basilica in Thessaloniki and one of the largest in the Balkans. Only the northern, southern and western parts of the basilica´s walls have survived. The foundations of the *argestatrium* and the exterior *narthex* or the eastern atrium's portico have been recovered in excavations[66]. Inside the basilica, there are remains of stylobates, fragments of opus sectile mosaics, marble slabs of the presbytery, central and northern naves. Some elements of this church survive in the fabric of the succeeding Hagia Sophia church including the capitals of the columns of the bottom gallery, the old portico, and segments of the floor. The interior of the basilica was divided to the central nave of 19.45 meters wide and four side naves of 6.30–6.35 meters by the stylobates. From the east, there were seven aisles leading to the *narthex*, one on each from the side naves and three in the main nave. The interior of the *narthex* was paved with a stone floor as was the exterior *narthex* and atrium's portico. The atrium was 54–55 meters long and 53 meters wide and was reaching up to propylaea as of the Byzantine church (present site of the Agia Sophia Street). South of the basilica a hexagonal structure was discovered, which today is known as the "Hagisma of Hagios Ioannis". Its form was highlighted by six horseshoe-shaped niches. The interior corners of the structure were enlivened by six large columns, fitted between the niches. By architectonical analysis and location next to the basilica under the Hagia Sofia church, we can assume that this construction could have served as a bap-

62. Xyngopoulos 1929: 142–143, 148.
63. Ćurčić 2010: 109–110.
64. Snyder 1968: 145. New interpretation of the mosaic depiction has been presented by Semoglou 2012: 5-16.
65. Aristotelis Mentzos proposes that the construction of the basilica could be connected with the transfer the capital of the Illyricum prefecture to Thessaloniki in 442 AD; Mentzos 1981: 202, 1997: 202; Theocharidou 1988: 9; Devolis 2007: 16; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 141; *cf.* Marki: 1997: 55.
66. The basilica was much larger than the other churches of Thessaloniki such as Acheiropoietos (about 37.4 meters long) and Saint Demetrius (about 47 meters long). It was also twice as large as the current Hagia Sofia church; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 143–144; Mentzos 1981: 203.

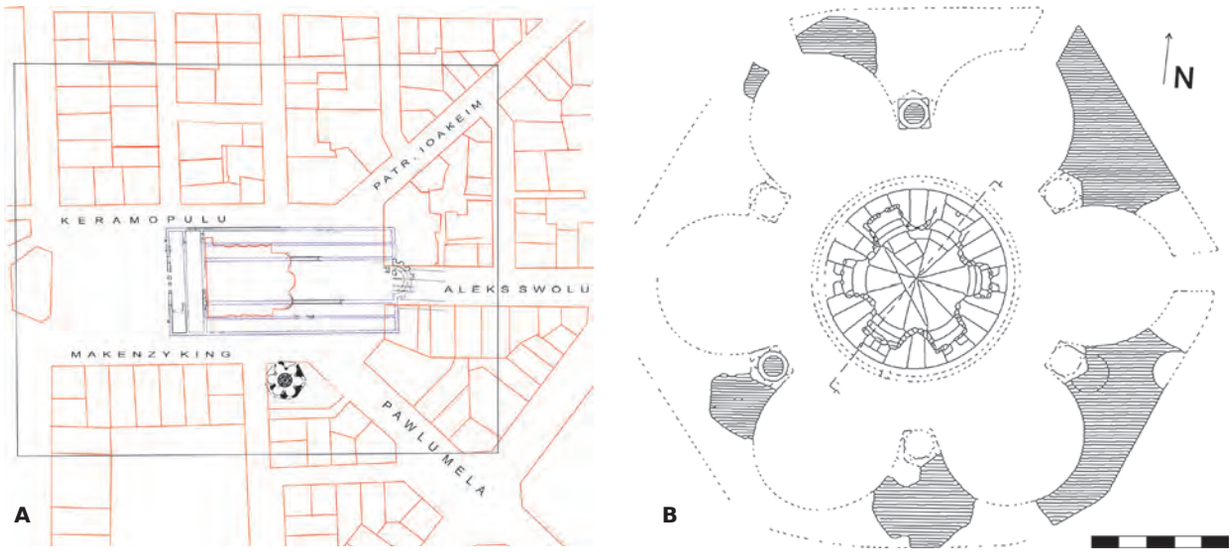

Fig. 14. A) Reconstruction of the plan of the basilica and the surrounding area; B) Reconstruction of the baptistery (after Marki 1997: 57, 59)

tistery, its date of erection can't be precisely determinate. Ćurčić believes that its foundation was associated with the incipient Christianisation of the city, which started around 400 and was Thessaloniki´s first baptistery. Discovered in the area of the south-east baths is possible that it was part of the bishop's palace. If this interpretation is correct, both baptistery and episcopal residence show that the basilica under the Hagia Sofia could have served as the first cathedral of the city[67] (Fig. 14).

The basilica under the Hagia Sofia church was destroyed at the beginning of the 7th century by an earthquake. It was not reconstructed, but instead replaced by the smaller Hagia Sophia basilica with cupolas. The worship of Saint Nestor probably took place in the St. Demetrius basilica. During the Ottoman period, the smaller Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque. However, the neighbouring bathhouses preserved its name.[68]

8.2. The octagonal church by the Vardar Gate

The foundations of an octagonal church from the 5th/6th century were discovered during the excavations conducted from the 1970 to 1982. The church is dated on the basis of pottery finds. The church may be connected with St. Nestor. According to the *Passiones* Nestor was buried near the Vader or the Golden Gate in the eastern part of the city.[69]

The church seems to have been a detached, octagonal building with an apse in the east and a rectangular *narthex* (40 by 7 metres) occupying an area of 54 by 59 metres. A small semi-circular niche was recessed into on each of the walls apart from the northern and western segments. The octagon was surrounded by stylobates that supported the entrance pillars. Only four rows of the interior pillars survived with one of them of stylobate form which was discovered *in situ* near the north-western wall. Besides the 4th and 5th century pillars five 5th/6th century Corinthian capitals were also discovered. The central part of the octagon was covered by a *cupola*, the *narthex* and the ambulatory by a lower arched vault. The construction of the church might have resembled the Galerius palace complex and the octagon in Philippi from the 5th century.[70]

Hattersley-Smith points out that the chronology of this complex is unclear. According to Marki, on the basis of architectural decoration discovered during excavations, it is possible to date construction in the late 5th century or early 6th century. According to Hattersley-Smith, this dating fits the period of intensification of the cult of St. Demetrius, with whom the cult of Saint Nestor was tied up. Ćurčić believes that construction of the Church was part of a climate of aggressive Christianisation initiated by Theodosius I, moreover – similarly as the rotunda – the Octagon was located next to the principal gate of the city, two buildings located on the posit ends of Via Regia (Odos Egnatia) were creating an ideological framework of the city. It is not known how long the church functioned. Marki believes that it could have been destroyed during the earthquake in 518 AD. This is the same quake that damaged the church of Acheiropoietos. Hattersley-Smith thinks that it is more likely that it was destroyed during a series of earthquakes that struck Thessaloniki around 620 AD. A monastery was erected on the ruins of the complex and martyrium was changed

67. Ćurčić 2010: 104–106.
68. Theocharidou 1988: 11–12; Mentzos, 1981: 208, 216–217; Hattersley-Smith 1996: 143.
69. Marki 1983: 117–119, 130.
70. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 74, 164.

by the monks into a bathhouse. The cult of the saint was transferred either to the Basilica of Saint. Demetrius, or to a church built in its vicinity.[71]

Byzantine written sources record the existence of further 6th century churches: St. Mark´s church is mentioned in 519, St. Laurence´s church is confirmed by 15th-century sources, and an inscription in the Koukoleotes monastery. These churches have not been identified with confidence. However, the five naved basilica which was found under the Hagia Sofia church may have originally been St. Mark's church.

A baptistery and a martyrium shaped like a Greek cross plan are also connected to the octagon by the Vardar Gate.

On the north side of the *narthex* a baptistery was built on a square plan of 15 by 15 m, with rectangular and semi-circular niches in the thickness of the walls. In the 16th century, this construction was incrusted by Turkish baths. A martyrium was found to the south-west of the octagon, its size was similar to the baptistery. Hattersley-Smith believes that from the mid-5th century on, martyria containing relics of saints were built inside the city walls next to the churches associated with their worship. On this basis, she concludes that the octagonal church at the Vardar gate and associated with the church martyrium was dedicated to Saint Nestor.

9. Cemeteries

Until the 4th century, there were no separate Christian cemeteries in Thessaloniki. Christians buried their dead in Roman, pagan cemeteries, and former Hellenic graveyards. These graves were marked by funerary monuments adorned with Christian symbols. The interior of the tombs could be decorated with paintings with the scenes from the Old and New Testament.[72] Usually, the graves were surrounded by small gardens. The custom of visiting the graves originates in Roman tradition. Convenient access to water was provided for watering the plants and for the needs of the sepulchral feast (*cena funebris*).

71. Hattersley-Smith 1996: 124, 165; Marki 1983: 130; Ćurčić 2010: 104–105.

72. Allamani-Souri 2003: 94–95.

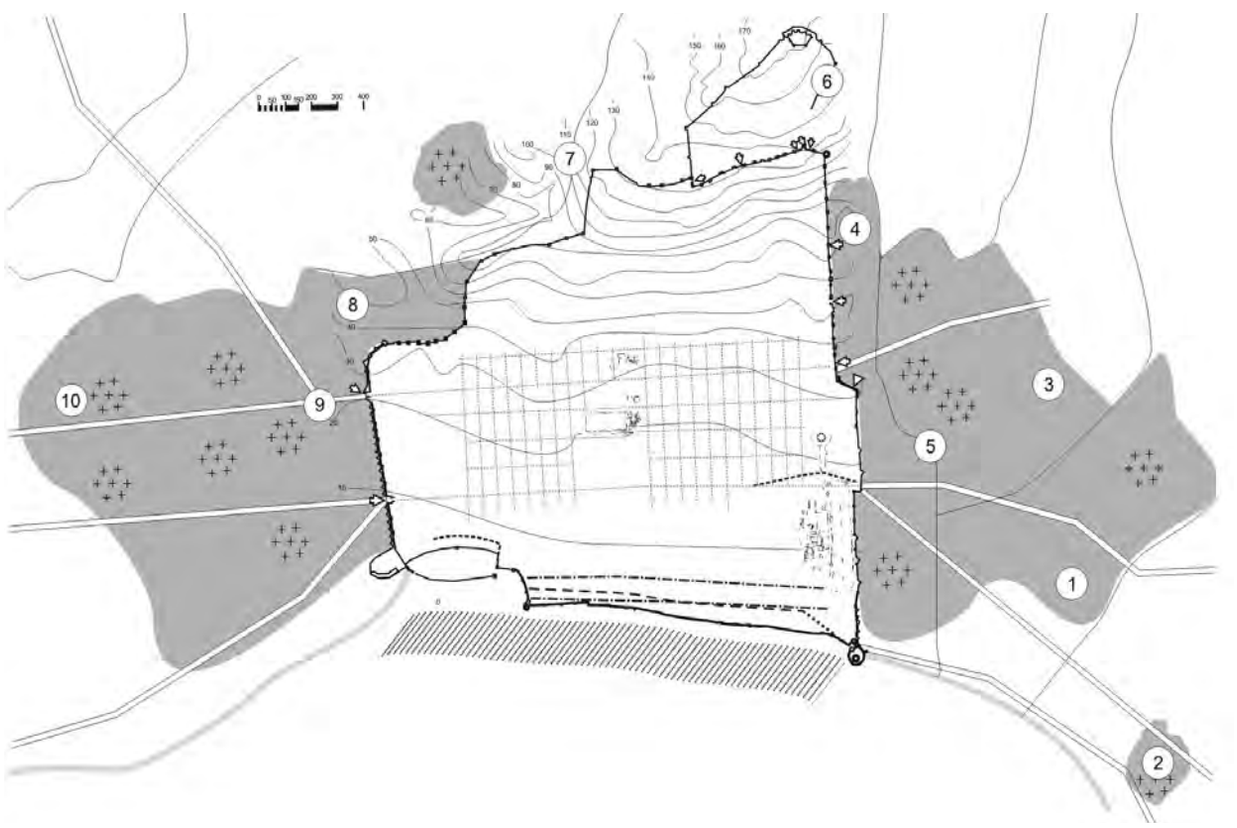

Fig. 15. The extent of cemeteries in the early Byzantine period with the location of martyries and cemetery basilicas: 1. Maryrium at Tritis-Septemvriou st.; 2. Martyrium in the Agia Triada district; 3. Martyrium near the basin of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki; 4. Martyrium near the hospital of Agios Dimitrios; 5. Martyrium of St. Anysia; 6. The cemetery's basilica at Heptapyrgion (Eptapirgio); 7. Church of St. Theodora (Sikies); 8. Martyrium of the three saints Eirene, Agape and Chionii; 9. Basilica at the intersection of Agia Dimitriou street and Lagakada street; 10. Martyrium at the junction of Ambelononi street and Kallitheas street (drawn by R. Szlązak 2018, based on Marki)

The water was stored in cisterns supplied from surrounding streams via water pipes. Three rectangular or square funerary cisterns have been found in Thessaloniki. The roofs of the cisterns were constructed in a way so they could collect rain water.[73]

9.1. The topography of the cemeteries

Roman cemeteries in Thessaloniki were laid out along the main roads heading out of the city: to the west towards Pella and to the east towards Amphipolis (the burial place of the poorer inhabitants) and along the road leading to the Kalamaria valley (the burial place of the rich citizens). It was not until the end of the 4th century that the first Christian cemeteries were established. The oldest ones date back to the time of Constantine the Great.[74]

They were set up around the martyria, where the saints were either worshipped or believed to have been buried. The earliest graves were usually located the closest to the martyria (*ad sanctos* burials)[75]. The size of the cemeteries varied according to the lay of the land, and their borders were formed by natural features like hillsides and streams but also buildings.

The eastern cemetery was the largest when it comes to the number of the graves and the western cemetery when it comes to the area size. Since the 4th century Thessaloniki also had a Jewish cemetery that was situated in the eastern part of the city between the Evagelistria and Saranta Ekklisies Street, and the present Agiou Dimitriou and Egnatia Streets[76] (Fig. 15).

9.2. The martyria and the cemeteries in Thessaloniki

The first martyria in Thessaloniki were built after the year 313 when the Edict of Milan which legalized Christianity was issued. They were places for commemorating the death and martyrdom of their patrons. With the increased number of the faithful, cemetery basilicas were built next to martyrs´ graves. These martyria could be found not only in the cemeteries but also in other sites that played important roles in the lives of the saints. Examples of such cemeteries are Agia Triada and a martyrium near the Tritis-Septemvriou Street (Fig. 16). In those cases when a martyrium was erected in the area of a former cemetery and a new Christian cemetery was set up around it, the earlier/pagan graves were destroyed and reused.[77] This can be seen in the cemeteries next

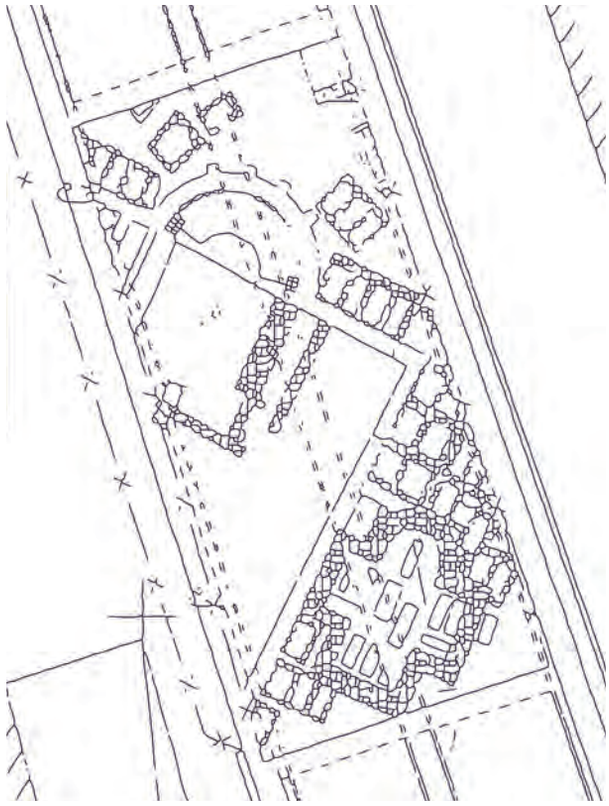

Fig. 16. Martyrium under Tritis-Septemvriou street (after Marki 2006: 80)

to the martyrium next to the Aristotle University pool as well as the martyrium next to the St. Demetrius hospital. While non- Christian cemeteries were functioning in Thessaloniki even after the Edict of Milan was issued, their area was much reduced.

In the 6th century most of the martyria were converted to be catholicons of surrounding monasteries. In the 618 these monasteries were destroyed by the Avars who laid fire to the outskirts of the city.[78] This catastrophe, is mentioned in the *Miracula sancti Demetrii*[79] which states that Avars burned down all the houses and buildings situated beyond the city walls. There are also archeological evidences confirming the widespread destruction of the fire and only a few of buildings like St. Anysia monastery[80] were reconstructed thereafter and functioned during the Early Byzantine period.[81]

When in the 7th century the area around Thessaloniki was settled by Slavs the city dwellers were afraid to go out beyond the city walls. They stopped using the cemeteries outside the city and started to bury people in abandoned urban sites, *e.g.*, in the area of the an-

73. Marki 1988: 51–64, 89–104.
74. Marki 2006: 49.
75. Marki 2007b: 43.
76. Marki 2006: 57–60.
77. Marki 2007b: 44.
78. Lemerle 1981: 103; *cf.* Marki 2007b: 52.
79. Lemerle 1981: 189.
80. St. Anisia was martyred about 304, as a result of persecution initiated by the tetrarch Maximian. Currently her relics are in the church of St. Demetris in Thessaloniki. Her holiday is celebrated on December 30 (Viteau 1991: 62–63).
81. Marki 2007b: 52.

cient agora. Later the dead were also buried around the churches and monasteries. When the Slavs no longer threatened the city, dwellers started to use the exterior cemeteries again[82] (Fig. 15).

There is information about the eight martyria from the time between the 3rd and the 7th century. Five of them were located in the eastern and one in the western cemetery. The exact number of cemetery basilicas that existed in late antique Thessaloniki is unknown. We know about the existence of five basilicas: one near the Tritis-Septemvriuo Street, one in the northern part of the Acropolis, one by Margaropoulou Street., one on the junction of Agia Dimitriou and Lagakada Street and one next to the Aristotle University.[83]

Conclusions

The history and topography of Thessaloniki in the Early Byzantine period is of crucial importance for the development of the city. The reconstruction of particular changes in the topography and the character of the city is possible thanks to written sources and archaeological excavations that have taken place in the 20th and 21st centuries.

From the 4th until the 7th century Thessaloniki developing very quickly becoming the second Byzantine metropolis. The city was not only the paramount administrative centre but also a centre of religion, culture, and trade which is reflected by the existence of a large number of public buildings. While the Hellenic and Roman topography of the city would continue to provide its basic ground plan, the location of the churches was governed by Christian ideology and the imagined topography generated by the cult of the saints. It can be assumed that the construction of Christian buildings in the city and the conversion of Rotunda into the church could be a result of the plan for the Christianization of city made by Theodosius I. However, the lack of good dating methods of early Christian churches of Thessaloniki makes it difficult to trace this process and assign it to one person. Newly constructed buildings were the symbols of power and religion and prevailed over the earlier urban architecture redefining the character of the city. The knowledge of these continuous changes allows us to understand the city itself.

This collection of information about the sacred and public buildings in Thessaloniki in the Early Byzantine period demonstrates not only what is known but also how much more there is to know, challenging future researchers. Some of the monuments like St. Demetrius, Acheiropoietos of Hosios David church have been published monographically, there is, however, a clear need for a comprehensive re-evaluation of even these landmark sites. There have been many studies on the Roman forum and the Galerius palace complex, but there is no publication that attempts a synthetic overview. The defences of Thessaloniki and its cemeteries have also been dealt with in monographs which are, however almost all written in Greek, which makes it hard for many foreign researchers to access this topic.

The majority of the Early Byzantine buildings can be found as deep as ten meters below the present city surface. Rescue archaeological research conducted at the time of the subway construction and their preliminary reporting has provided us with some new and fascinating information. There has been a vivid discussion about the importance of the at times spectacular features which were discovered, in particular a segment of a marble road leading to the harbour with the surrounding Early Byzantine buildings found in 2012.

In the light of new discoveries, a comprehensive review of the architecture of the city may help future researchers to work out their own interpretations about the development and meaning of Thessaloniki´s past.

82. Marki 2007b: 53.
83. Ćurčić 2010:102.

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The Central European Watershed as a part of the space of the pagan sacred

Edvard Zajkovski

The peculiarity of the physiogeographical position of Belarus is that its area is divided into two parts, one of them belongs to the Baltic Sea basin and the other to the Black Sea basin. The area containing the sources of the rivers of these two tributaries is part of the Central European Watershed, which runs through north Moravia (northeast of the Czech Republic), then roughly along the state border between Poland and Slovakia (through the Carpathian Mountains and the Beskidy Mountains) then through the north-western part of Ukraine, in the area of Lviv, adjacent to the tributaries of the West Bug (Vistula River Basin) on the one hand, Dniestr River and Pripyat River on the other, then crosses the area of Belarus from the south-west to the northeast (Fig. 1). Thereafter, this section of water runs north-west to the northern outskirts of the Smolensk region and Valdai Hills, which in the Middle Ages was known as the Okowski Forest from which the Dvina, Dnepr and Volga rivers take their origins.[1]

According to the 15th century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz, after the Union of Krewo, when Catholicism became the state religion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in 1387 the first seven parish churches were established: Wilkomir, Majszogole, Niemianczyna, Miedniki, Hajna and Obolcy.[2] It should be noted that Hajna and Obolcy are located next to the area of the Central European Watershed.[3] According to a generally accepted Medieval tradition, which is supported by written sources from various European countries, the first Christian churches were usually built on the sites of pagan temples.[4] In addition, there are about twenty features in the area of the Central European Watershed which according to archaeological sources or folklore' sources, were once "pagan holy places". These sites include sacred stones, such as so called "Bory's Stones" which were christianised at the beginning of the 12th century.[5] Other sites include hills with the names such as "Holy", "Virgin"[6], "Wołowa", some of which are the sites of hillforts. Beyond the borders of Belarus the holy mountains: Radhošť in Moravia[7], Babia Góra (border of Poland and Slovakia) should be mentioned as well as a number of so called *gorodišče-sviatylišče* (strongholds-temples) hillforts, which were also sacred places, in the Lviv region and Volhynia in the western Ukraine[8].

It may be assumed that there are several reasons why sites located on the Central European Watershed were used as sacred places. This European divide largely runs on the summits of mountain ranges on which the cult of the holy hills was developed, for which there were no prerequisites in the flatlands. The concentration of sources and springs of numerous minor and major rivers which flow into both drainages facilitated cult of water. In the moraine regions glacial boulders were abundant, some of which were considered to be sacred. Moreover, it is worth stressing that remnants of the Baltic tribes, which remained pagans, well into the Middle Ages lived along the watershed and thus transmitted ancient traditions into the historic period.

[1] Alekseev 1974: 5–11.
[2] Długosz 1981: 214.
[3] Zajkoŭski 1999: 61–72, 2006: 49–50.
[4] Rusanova 2002: 45, 67, 84.
[5] Rybakov 1964: 26–27.
[6] Rybakov 1981: 285–286, 1987: 140–147.
[7] Gracianskaja 1978: 187; Tokarev 1983: 95.
[8] Korčinskij 1998: 71–75; Tersk'ij 1998: 71–75; Filipčuk 2010: 346–347.

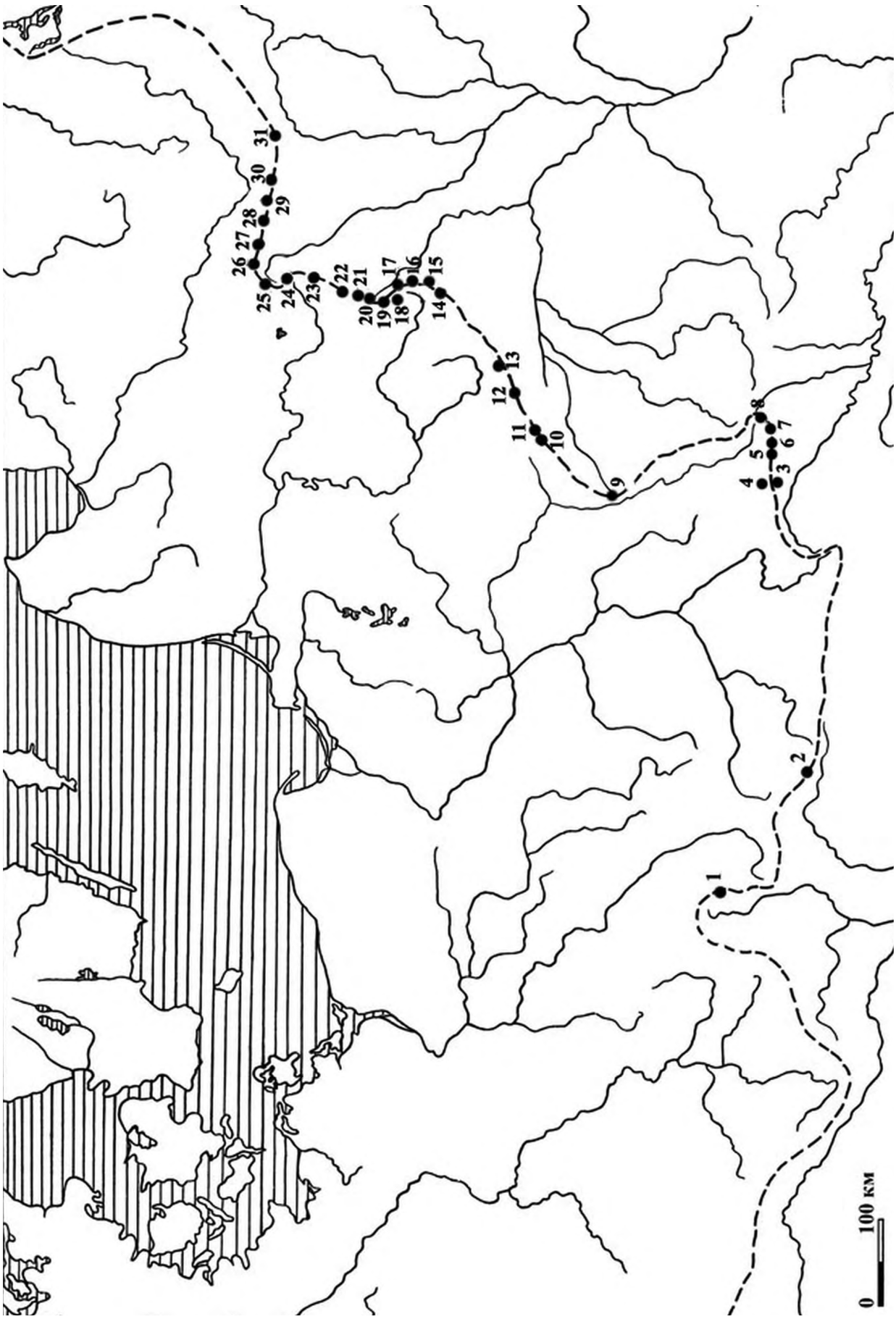
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Fig. 1. Sacral places in the Central European Watershed, eastern Europe: 1 – Radhošť, holy mountain in Moravia, Czechia; 2 – Babia Góra, holy mountain on the border Slovakia and Poland; 3 – Lvov (Svjatajurskaja mountain, Zmijeva mountain, Čarnečaja, Baba hill), Ukraine; 4 – Malyja Grybaviči (hillfort Čornaja mountain), Lvov region, Ukraine; 5 – Pidgradišča (cult place on the hillfort X – XI century), Lvov region, Ukraine; 6 – Ramaniv (Kamula mountain) Lvov region, Ukraine; 7 – Ganačyvka (cult place VIII – X century), Lvov region, Ukraine; 8 – Pidgircy, Lvov region, Ukraine; 9 – Gal'avno, *gorodišče-svjatylišče*, Volyn region, Ukraine; 10 – Novy Dvor, healing stone, Svisl'oč district, Grodno region, Belarus; 11 – Vialikija Masušyny, holy hill, Svisl'oč district, Belarus; 12 – Kosovo (sacred spot Meračovščyna), *gorodišče-svjatylišče*, Ivacevicki district, Brest region, Belarus; 13 – Sviacica, Lachavicki district, Brest region, Belarus; 14 – Gosbiščy, stone with footprint, Uzdzenski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 15 – Mikol'ka, sacred place complex, Uzdzenski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 16 – Vozera, sacred lakes, Uzdzenski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 17 – Skirmantova, Holy Mountain (Dzjaržynskja), top hill in Belarus (Minsk region); 18 – holy stone called "shoemaker", Val'ožynski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 19 – Daminova, holy stone called „shoemaker", Val'ožynski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 20 – Dubrava, Dzjavočaja mountain (barrows and Adamov stone), Maladechna district, Minsk region, Belarus; 21 – Žukavka, Holy mountain, (hillfort and water source), Minsk district, Belarus; 22 – Gajna, first church built in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, L'agojski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 23 – Kremjanec, holy stone and barrows, Lagojski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 24 – Zamastočča (hillfort and cult place), Dokšycki district, Vitebsk region, Belarus; 25 – Krasniki-Bojary, holy stone called Ščepan „Scjop" and barrows, Dokšycki district, Vitebsk region, Belarus; 26 – Krupeni, sacred spot Kopavišča, Gl'ybocki district, Vitebsk region, Belarus; 27 – Volova Mountain, Lepelski district, Vitebsk region, Belarus; 28 – Staryja Ščavry, Volova mountain, Krupski district, Minsk region, Belarus; 29 – Vysoki Garodzec, holy stone called „tailor Ščepan" (Tal'ačynski district, Vitebsk region); 30 – Kliaban' (Obolcy, first church built in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Tal'ačynski district, Vitebsk region, Belarus; 31 – Simachi, *gorodišče-sviatylišče* Carkovišča and barrows, idol stone, Aršanski district, Vitebsk region, Belarus (designed by E. Zajkovski)

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Selected concepts of power and sacral space

Adriana Ciesielska

Introduction

Considering how much the social sciences – understood here in the widest possible sense – have achieved, it can be assumed that the notion of power is a multi-dimensional concept. As a starting point for my research I have taken the distinction introduced by Steven Lukes of three types of theories regarding power: one dimensional, two dimensional and three dimensional.[1]

The first understands power as: "the ability of an individual or a group of individuals to modify the behaviour of other individuals, consequently leading to a distinctive sequence of events. The subject here is the observable behaviour of the individuals, and the struggle for power is synonymous with the struggle to prevail in the decision-making process, particularly within a nation".

In the second concept power: "is identified both with the system of values, beliefs and rituals as well as institutional procedures (the rules of the political game), which in a permanent and systematic way protect the interests of one social group over those of other social groups. This theory focuses not only on people's visible behaviour and on the specific decisions made by an individual (or individuals) in power, but also on the interests of society, whether open or concealed, as well as overt or covert systems of behaviour or prejudice, characteristic of defined social groups".

The third interpretation of power is: "the potential ability to shape and determine the behaviour of propositional people. In this understanding of the concept under analysis, a discussion of power or of the power struggle is justified despite the lack of an ongoing, observable conflict which may effectively go unspoken or be repressed. We are dealing instead here with a concealed conflict, a so-called conflict of interest between those who are in power and those who are subordinate".

With such a broad definition of the concept of power in hand, we have the right to ask questions, not simply in the who is in control? Who holds the power? vein, but also how is power exercised? And furthermore, how is power experienced?

This wide definition of the concept of power entitles me to outline various areas of research starting with social institutions, by this I mean the objectification of power broadly understood as power over society, through power over space (the landscape), power over the body, to power over memory. Studies into power realised in these specific fields of research gain inspiration from other, more appropriate, power theories.

Power over society, or rather objectified power

In this context the most common definition of power considers it an institution which interferes in the life of an individual to the highest degree. Following Michael Mann[2], it is possible to assume that the nature of power is either extensive or intensive. Extensive power is able to organise many people across a significantly scattered, extensive territory. Intensive power is able to enforce that its subjects declare a high level of commitment to it and to the defence of its structure.

So understood, and depending on its source, power can be further divided according to its origin into: ideological power, economic power, military and political power. Ideological power emerges from the need to connect one's life with a particular system of values and norms, from the need to share aesthetic, cognitive values and participate in ritual practices. Economic power develops from the desire to extract, process, distribute and consume natural resources. Military power is based on monopolising the means for physical coercion and the conviction that aggression is useful. Power of this type is above all authoritarian, centralist by nature. Political power is connected to the crystallisation of the concept of nation.

According to Michael Mann[3], the struggle for control over ideological, economic, military and political power resources is a significant part of social development.

[1] Wróbel 2002: 56–66.

[2] Mann 1993: 2–10.

[3] Mann 1993: 2.

Power over space

This is likewise a very wide research field and so I will concentrate only on phenomenological concepts as suggested by Maurice Merleau-Ponty[4], Anthony Giddens[5] and Martin Heidegger.[6]

Merleau-Ponty's ideas concern perception and developed from criticism of classic behaviourism, according to which sensory experience is caused by an external stimulus, and perception is the individual's response to it. Maurice Merleau Ponty separates perception (noticing) and judgement (thought of the perceived object), creating the concept of phenomenological reduction. He leaves behind the naive belief that the natural world exists independently and that it causes our perception. The world post-reduction is a world full of meaning, a world that is the result of internal acts assigning meaning executed by the individual to whom this world appears. In fact, we direct our attention towards selected objects in the external world, we notice them, and therefore they exist in our perception.

In his proposed theory of structuration Anthony Giddens put social practices within time and space into order. Society is composed of practices reproducing the collective life of people through institutionalised behaviour. Social actions can be repeated which means that people do not create them but rather continually reproduce them by whichever means are appropriate.

In the discourse on space, Giddens' observation is particularly significant – the reflexive monitoring of action usually and routinely includes monitoring the setting of the action. Structuration processes, the creation of structures, are connected with mutual relations between meanings, norms and power. Structure is both a medium and the result of interaction. It is not understood as a barrier to action but as a fundamental part of its creation. Structure is not material but it does exist virtually.

In structuration theory, concepts of practical consciousness and routinisation are significant. The first includes everything that the actors want to know about how to manoeuvre on the social stage, but are unable to express in discussion. Routine in turn is action which is carried out ordinarily, repeated activities which make up ordinary life in society. The carrier of routine is practical consciousness. Routine roots human actions simultaneously in time and space. Regular meetings and the position of the body in social meetings are of fundamental significance. How the body is positioned is rich in content, especially concerning detailed observation of body language, gestures, facial expression, typical of social life. At the same time the individual is placed differently according to the framework of social relations which determine that person's specific identity. Giddens proposed studying the situational nature of societal interaction in reference to various places, the stages for interaction, which are used by active agents usually unconsciously, in order to give meaning to the act of communication.

Space-time relations are fundamental circumstances for the recreation of social life. They may be fleeting, unconstrained, such as two acquaintances passing in the street exchanging greetings or more formalised, official, taking place in the company of many people, severely restricted in time and space, and proceeding according to strictly defined models of behaviour.

Social relations can therefore be arranged in space-time trajectories, thus creating a dynamic map of actions.

The phenomenological method may be supplementary, key to considering how experience and understanding of the world by members of local communities leads from being to a Heideggerian being in the world. For Heidegger, existence is simply being outside of oneself, being in the world with others, finding oneself in a world full of objects and tools essential to one's own existence.

Heidegger's late work[7] delivers the concept of dwelling: a person is an object residing in a building but not living in it. To live means to have a corner, to dwell means to build but it has a double meaning. alongside building as in making buildings there is also building as in surrounding with care. These two types of building are rooted within the sphere of the word "dwell". To dwell then is to retain a selected place in order to give it some sense, to rip a fragment of space out of anonymity, to give it a name and make it known.

Power over the body

Sigmund Freud[8] is the author of the central analysis in this field, followed by Michael Foucault[9], who claims he declared Freud the originator of the repression hypothesis. According to Freud, a fragment of the external world was in part disregarded as an object and through identification absorbed by ego, so becoming an element of the external world known as superego. Superego is an element of our "I", which observes, judges, gives orders, threatens. In this interpretation culture is a collection of achievements and devices which serve to create global order, or to be more specific, in detail: it will protect a person from nature and the regulation of interpersonal relations. By regulating our relation with nature, culture also regulates our personal relation with the nature of our own body. To be precise, a collection of customs regulates spheres of life such as eating, dressing, sex, procreation. The order of culture defines what can be done and where. For Freud, ideally productive culture is

[4] Merleau-Ponty 1962, 1963.
[5] Giddens 1984.
[6] Heidegger 2001: 141–159.
[7] Heidegger 2001.
[8] Freud 1961.
[9] Foucault 1978.

Fig. 1. Aerial photo of Ostrów Lednicki (photo by W. Rączkowski)

a state of culture in which all the members of the culture have internalised an appropriate (for that culture) system of values and adhere to it implicitly.

Freud's idea was developed into a hypothesis of repression by Michael Foucault. According to this hypothesis, culture fulfils a basic repressive function in suppressing drive and forcing people to impose enormous constraints upon themselves. The actions of those in power in this hypothesis are not kept secret, hidden. Power is fulfilled in the role of the Freudian superego.

Freud differentiated between sex and that which is sexual. According to him, that which is sex is directed to procreative functions, whereas that which is sexual is connected with pleasure. Reflecting the regression hypothesis the relation between power and sex is always negative – power always applies rejection, exclusion, refusal, suppression. Power dictates sex rights as a result of which sex is subject to a regime of legality and illegality, prohibition or permission. There is only one law for sex – repression. Sex is to reject pleasure.

Power over memory

According to Pierre Bourdieu[10] and Basil Bernstein[11] authority, power is connected not only with the possession of resources for production, but also with access to the resources and forms enabling the reproduction of culture, especially in regards to extending the sphere of social control. Symbolic control is based on interpersonal communication, which arises in contexts where the highest level of supervision is possible, for example in religious practices or the transmission of knowledge. For Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic systems are not simply cognitive tools, but also instruments of control. They are factors in cognitive integration and as such participate in social integration around an arbitrarily imposed order.

Cognitive categories are adapted to the divisions of the established order and so to the interests of those who govern. The social world is a place of never ending battle for legitimate meaning.

Ostrów Lednicki is the largest of the four islands on Lednickie Lake in the Gniezno Plain (Wielkopolskie Province, west-central Poland), an area of rolling terrain with a maximum height of 115 m amsl, criss-crossed with the valleys of numerous lakes (Fig. 1). There is no doubt that we experience the Lake Lednickie landscape completely differently today than in the past. It is worth noting that likewise in the past, the people living in different parts of the Ostrów Lednicki area experienced in a completely different sensory way too (Fig. 2). This is determined by environmental as well as cultural and biological factors. And this exactly what Maurice Merleau Ponty termed phenomenological reduction. It is generally accepted that island's surface today does not differ to any great extent from that in the 10th century as far as form is concerned. Then, as now, the island was divided into the stronghold section (southern) and the settlement outside the stronghold walls (in the north). The high-

[10] Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992.
[11] Bernstein 1973–2003.

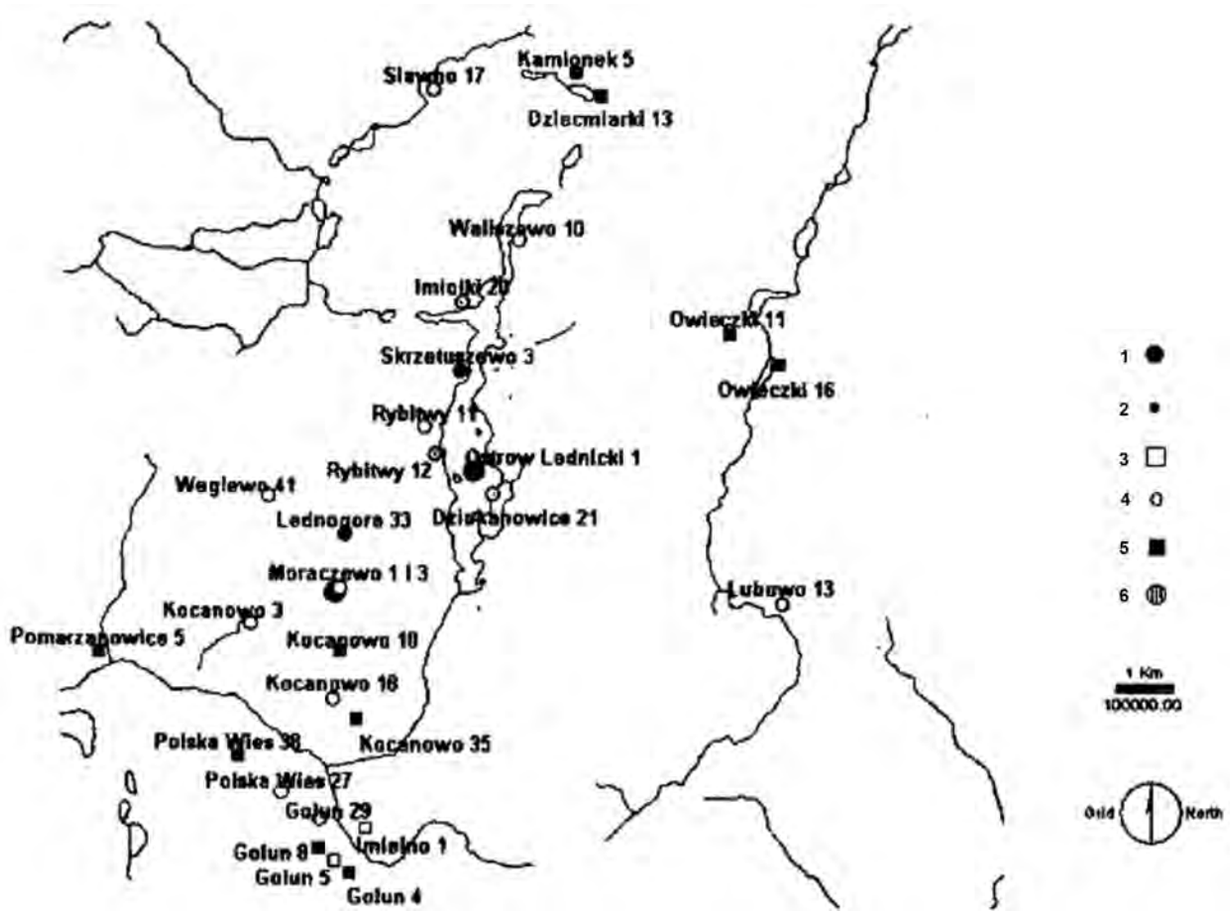

Fig. 2. Archaeological sites around Ostrów Lednicki. 1. strongholds; 2. settlements – phase C (or phase C or earlier than phase C); 3. points and vestiges of settlements – phase C (or phase C or earlier than phase C); 4. settlements – phase C/D (and from earlier and next period); 5. points and vestiges of settlements – phase C/D (and from earlier and next period); 6. settlements – phase D (or later than phase D) (after Zapłata 2005)

est point was, and still is, located in the stronghold section. At 118.56 m amsl, it is on man-made feature on the island, that is, on the northern peak of the embankment. The settlement lies a little lower – on a small hill at 112–113 m amsl, sloping gently to the north-east. The next highest point (113 m amsl) is in the north of the island and slopes gently eastwards, though the western, north and north-eastern slopes are steep and reach the edge of the island.

The shape of the landscape is one of the factors permitting the cultural and social creation of borders. A visibility analysis for Ostrów Lednicki[12], makes the reconstruction of social borders possible. This analysis revealed that the culturally influenced sensory experience of the landscape was different for the inhabitants of Ostrów Lednicki compared to other open sites lying in the surrounding area.

The location and architectural form of the stronghold is a factor affecting the privileged sensory participation of its inhabitants. It is a privileged spot in terms of the range of visibility, that is the number of places – the archaeological sites – to be found within sight. At Ostrów Lednicki there are ten sites within this range: the settlements at Dziekanowice, site 13, Imiolki, site 20, Lednogora, site 33, Rybitwy, site 12, the stronghold at Moraczewo, the east-west bridge, the Główna River and the east and west banks (Fig 3). In the Middle Ages different worlds of existence were constructed based on the senses, here it may have led to the visible sphere, seen from a defined position in space being separated from that which is invisible, remaining hidden. Being seen and able to see are at the same time a particular way of participating in culture, a lack of sensory participation places the subject beyond a certain world, excluded from participating in it. Sensory perception therefore determines virtual borders related to socially shaped norms and regulations. Between the stronghold at Ostrów Lednicki and the places within sight of it cultural participation in one world of existence would have taken place. Visual relations create a network of connections between par-

[12] Zapłata 2005.

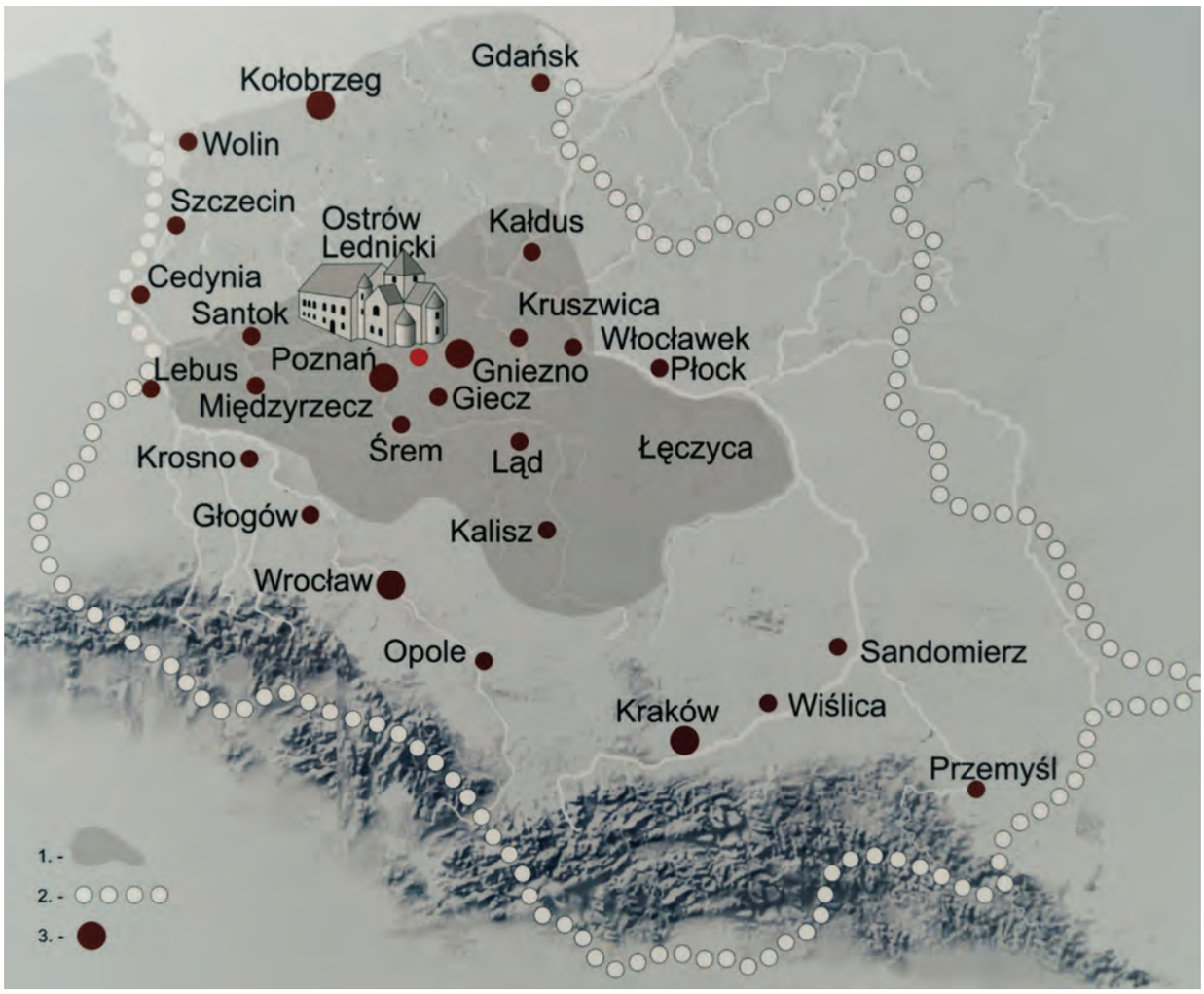

Fig. 3. The map of Ostrów Lednicki. 1. the area of Greater Poland under Mieszko the 1st rule; 2. trade routes in the 10th century; 3. strongholds (designed by W. Kujawa, from the Collection of the Museum of the First Piasts on Lednica)

ticular places. The fact that a specific settlement can be seen from the stronghold at Ostrów Lednicki also signifies that it has a spatial, cultural control over the settlement, especially as the perspective of seeing the landscape from certain open settlements is now different, it has changed, become narrower. An inhabitant from Dziekanowice, site 13 sees the landscape differently to an inhabitant from Lednogóra, site 33. This is also a form of extending control over space.

Sight, as a sense, is one of the elements which shapes what we know about the world, or in this case, our knowledge of the landscape. Additionally, this knowledge can be supported through travel, being in other places as ordinary life continues. In the light of the visibility analysis, it is possible to assume that the cultural knowledge and memories held by inhabitants of the stronghold were different from those of the people who lived in other settlements, and everyday practices did not permit the inhabitants of certain places to participate in the world in the same way. The zones that are within sight can therefore be treated as specific forms of areas for social gatherings. Places within sight and places that can be seen are places which make social gatherings possible. This is then space common to both the stronghold and the settlement – for the stronghold at least some of the surrounding area of settlements is accessible through sensory experience. Sensory perception includes these settlements in a time space reality whilst the layout of these sites makes it possible for reality to exist in this form. The sites – places are not therefore passive elements of past reality, but places which co-organise the cultural landscape.

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The symbolic role of boats and ships in pagan and Christian Medieval Northern Europe

Zbigniew Kobyliński and Kamil Rabiega

The symbol in this paper is considered to be a visible sign which is semantically opaque, *i.e.* has a poetic function, or – in other words – is self-reflective. It directly signifies sense perceptions and is polysemic; it has a high capacity for modelling human behaviour and evokes emotional-motivational states. Therefore it is perceived as being identical with its referent. Contrary to conventional signs, the relation between a symbol and its referent is not based in knowledge of any transformational code but is founded in a vital and indispensable union. Paradoxically, symbols do not cease to be material objects and can be used at the same time for techno-utilitarian purposes.

In which way can material artefacts become important symbols? Based on the writings of cultural anthropologists and ethnologists, we may assume that some important artefacts, such as houses, or tools that are crucial for the survival of a community including boats and ships, attract emotions: esteem, attachment, adoration and care.[1] These emotions can, in certain circumstances, even take on religious forms. This is the case when an artefact is furnished with its own spiritual nature, when it is recognised as being created by gods or when it is considered to be their materialisation. Paradoxically, such an artefact is often not recognised as such by its maker as her/his product but is thought to be a product of an extra-human reality.[2] This is the case, for example, for *acheiropoieta* – Christian icons which are said to have come into existence miraculously, not created by human hands.

The efficacy of symbols active in our culture is obvious, and – while they cannot be fully explained in verbal discourse – their meaning is commonly understood (or rather sensed). The situation is quite different for past cultures , or those which are alien to our own. A reliable indicator of the symbolic character of a phenomenon observable in a culture when studied from outside, can be the occurrence of an artefact which has its primary techno-utilitarian function, in contexts different from any utilitarian sense, in other words – of an artefact with distorted pragmatics.[3] In the case of boats and ships in Prehistoric and Medieval Europe, especially in Northern Europe, which frequently appear in situations which are quite irrational from the point of view of our modern knowledge and experience, far from any practical use as a means of transport, we are entitled to suggest that they had a cultural, symbolic meaning, both in pagan and in Christian times.

Symbolism of boats and ships in Prehistoric and Early Medieval Northern Europe

Archaeological evidence from Prehistoric (since the Bronze Age) and Early Medieval Northern Europe, from Scandinavia in particular, presents many situations in which boats and ships appear in clearly symbolic contexts[4], for example:

- the integration of a boat or ship in burial ritual: in the form of boat-like graves in which the presence of the boat is simulated by the shape of a stone-setting on the surface; real boat- or ship-burials containing real vessels or their parts; steles and carved tombstones with boat images, burials in urns with boat images, or those furnished with a miniature model of a boat;
- finds of boats or their parts in bogs, in a context suggesting that they were sunk on purpose as votive offerings;
- houses built in the shape of boats turned upside down;
- miniature wooden and metal boats;
- boats and ships shown in Stone and Bronze Age rock-carvings, as well as on Viking Age runic and picture stones;
- images of boats and ships used as decoration on various artefacts, especially of Bronze-Age razors, knives, spear-heads, drinking horns or bracelets.

[1] Wasilewski 1977: 98.
[2] Kobyliński 1995: 17.
[3] Bayburin 1981.
[4] For more on the symbolism of boats and ships in Prehistoric and Early Medieval Northern Europe, see: Kobyliński 1988a, 1988b, 1995.

Fig. 1. Ship-shaped stone setting called "Tjelvar's grave" on the island of Gotland from the late Bronze Age (1100–500 BC) (photo by M. Stenberger 1938. Swedish National Heritage Board)

Fig. 2. Viking-period ship-shaped stone settings at Badelunda, near Västerås, Sweden (Wikimedia Commons)

Ship-shaped stone settings

Graves with stone settings in shapes of boats and ships are known in Scandinavia from the Late Bronze Age until the Viking Age. About 2000 examples of such features have been identified so far (Figs 1–2). Based on the cases in which it is possible to date such settings it can be concluded that they were mainly created between the 6th and the 11th century AD.[5] The symbolism of boats and ships in these cases is not only evidenced by specific shape of the settings, but also by written evidence from the runic stone at Tryggevælde on Sjelland, which states that the widow had a "ship" erected in memory of her late husband.[6]

Boat- and ship-burials

The most spectacular manifestation of symbolic role of boats and ships in Prehistoric and Early Medieval North-

[5] Capelle 1986, 1995.

[6] Andrén 2014: 50.

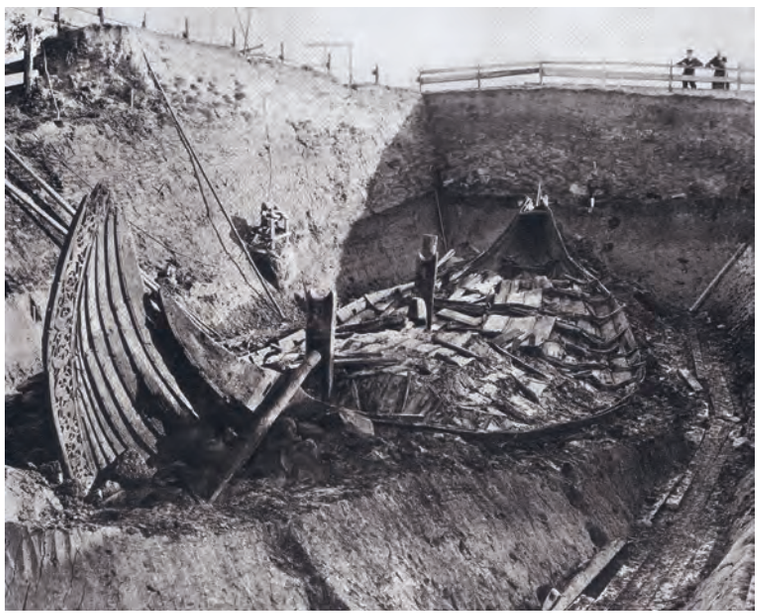

Fig. 3. The Oseberg ship during discovery in 1904 (Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 4. Ardnamurchan Viking boat-grave near Ockle in Scotland (photo by J. Haylett, Wikimedia Commons)

ern Europe are definitely boat- and ship burials. They range from ostentatious royal ship burials, such as the one from Oseberg in Norway[7] (Fig. 3) or Sutton Hoo in England[8], to much more modest – but also much more numerous – burials in small boats (Fig. 4), frequently without any further furnishings.

In the case of boat burials there can sometimes be difficulties in their unambiguous identification. In the case of cremation graves, burials in dugout boats are archaeologically totally invisible. Cremation burials in clinker-built boats can be identified only if the iron boat rivets are recovered during excavation. In cases where the cremation pyre was located in a place different from the burial site sometimes, only few boat rivets are preserved, because it is probable that not all the rivets were collected and deposited in the grave. Some clinker boats had the hull planks fastened with wooden pegs, animal tendons or plant fibres, which makes them archaeologically invisible in case of cremation burial. Moreover, as we know for example from the cemetery at Slusegård on Bornholm Island, some boat burials could contain only parts of boats, which would result in a small number of rivets, if any being preserved.

In case of inhumation graves, burials in dugout boats are only visible thanks to the specific form of the grave pit. Burials in clinker boats can be identified by the number and arrangement of iron boat rivets recovered during excavation, the same can hold true but in the case of cremation burials, which would also contribute to the lack of rivets or to their small numbers. Moreover, some clinker boats had the hull planks fastened with organic materials, which would make them archaeologically equally difficult to identify as the cases of dugouts.

In the case of both inhumation and the cremation boat burials, it is also necessary to take into account that boats had diverse lengths and – consequently – diverse numbers of rivets can be found in boat graves. Archaeological evidence shows that small boats 2.5–5 m long were used in burials, known for example from Aland Islands, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. Other graves contain medium length boats 5–15 m long which are known from Scandinavia and the British Isles, *e.g.*, in burials from Føre

[7] Blindheim 1980; Ingstad 1982.
[8] Carver 1992.

Fig. 5. Discoveries of boat- and ship-burials in the Northern Europe 1970–2012 (compiled by K. Rabiega)

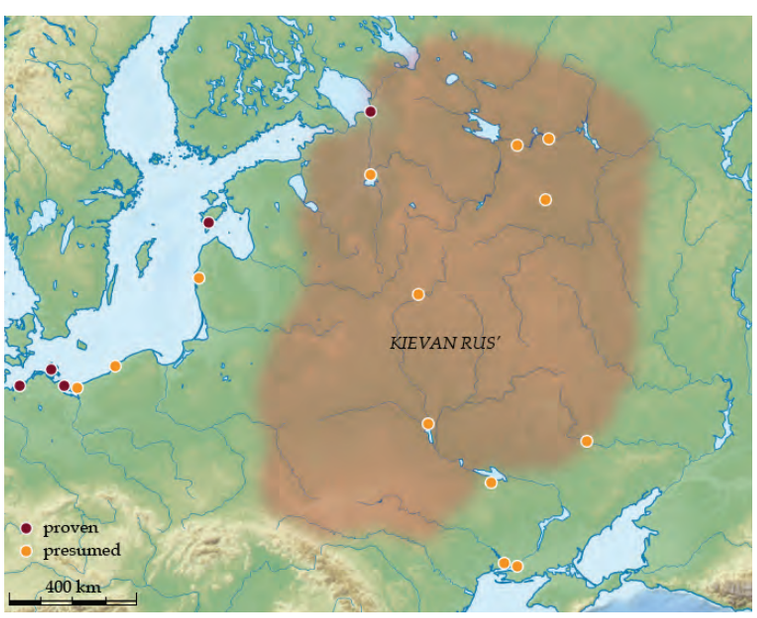

Fig. 6. Discoveries of the Viking Period boat- and ship-burials on southern shores of the Baltic Sea and in the territory of Kievan Rus (compiled by Z. Kobyliński and K. Rabiega)

Fig. 7. Reconstruction of a boat-shaped house in Trelleborg (photo by Casiopeia, Wikimedia Commons)

(Norway)[9], Petersdal (Denmark)[10], Salme I (Estonia)[11], Gamla Uppsala[12] and Fittja (Sweden). And finally long boats 15–27 m long are known from, *e.g.*, Ladby on Funen in Denmark[13], Hedeby (Haithabu) in Germany[14], from Norway in Tune[15], Borre[16], Oseberg and Gokstad in Vestfold[17], Gunnarshaug and Bo on Karmöy Island, from Sutton Hoo in England[18], or from Salme in Estonia.[19] Obviously, the use of these various lengths of boats would also result in a diverse number of rivets preserved in the grave, so that evaluations based on the number of boat rivets in a grave can be seriously misleading.

In 1970, Michael Müller-Wille, a well-known German Medieval archaeologist and long-term professor of the University of Kiel, published his book entitled *Bestattung im Boot [Burial in a boat]*[20], in which – with his typical competence and meticulousness – he collected all the examples of boat-burials known to him in that time.[21] Up to 1970, 422 boat- and ship-burials had been discovered on nearly 300 sites.[22] Up to 2013, the number of known sites grew to nearly 400, while the number of individual burials has increased to almost 650[23] (Fig. 5). In the light of discoveries made after the publication of the fundamental work by Michael Müller-Wille it can be also be demonstrated that this phenomenon occurred much more frequently than previously thought on southern shores of the Baltic Sea[24] (Fig. 6). Moreover, new publications confirmed the existence of the previously uncertain presence of such burials in the territory of Kievan Rus, along the Volkhov, Dnieper and Volga rivers (*e.g.,* at Plakun, Gnezdovo, Novgorod, Kostroma, Shestovitsa and Vladimir, and other places where boat rivets were found in inhumation or cremation burials).[25] Alleged boat burials have also been reported from the Polish coast – from Szczecin, as well as from Wolin and Góra Chełmska near Koszalin.[26] However, the rivets found on these sites could be also interpreted as being nails or rivets belonging to wooden coffins, chests, wagons or sledges.[27] It is especially interesting to note, that new discoveries from the territory of Poland suggest that the custom of burial in boat was known there already in the first centuries after Christ[28], probably as a result of contacts across the Baltic.

Trying to answer the question why some people were buried in boats and why at the same time others did not[29], we may suggest that the custom of boat-burials could be understood as probable manifestation of:

- ethnicity: Scandinavians *vs.* local population (*e.g.*, Goths in the territory of Poland; Scandinavians on the southern coast of the Baltic; *ar-Rus* (Varangians) *vs. as-Saqaliba* (Slavs) in the territory of the Kievan Rus);
- religious beliefs: probable difference between two religious groups, reflected in the conflict between two groups of deities: *Vanir vs.* the *Aesir;* boats and ships being connected with the *Vanir;*
- high social status: men connected with navigation, long-distance trade, conquest expeditions.

Boat-shaped houses

Other manifestations of the Early Medieval symbolism of boats and ships are, among others, houses in the form of an upturned boat (Fig. 7). The development of the house form with curved walls probably began in Denmark. The best examples have been found in the Viking fortresses at Trelleborg or Fyrkat. In the Early Medieval period this

[9] Schanche 1991.
[10] Kastholm 2004.
[11] Konsa *et al.* 2009; Allmäe 2011; Allmäe, Maldre and Tomek 2011; Peets, Allmäe and Maldre 2011; Peets 2013.
[12] Nordahl and Malmius 2001.
[13] Thrane 1987.
[14] Müller-Wille 1976.
[15] Marstrander 1974.
[16] Myhre 1992.
[17] Marstrander 1979.
[18] Müller-Wille 1974: 193.
[19] Peets 2013.
[20] Müller-Wille 1970, see also 1974, 1995.
[21] Müller-Wille 1974.
[22] Müller-Wille 1970.
[23] Rabiega 2013; Kobyliński and Rabiega 2015: 42–43.
[24] Warnke 1981; Biermann 2004; Gerds 2006.
[25] Stalsberg 1980; Mühle 1988; Kobyliński 1988b: 109–110; Crumlin-Pedersen 1991: 243; Duczko 2007: 128.
[26] Kajkowski and Kotowicz 2014; Kajkowski 2017.
[27] Kobyliński 1988b: 109.
[28] Natuniewicz-Sekuła and Rein Seehusen 2010: 298–306; Natuniewicz-Sekuła and Okulicz-Kozaryn 2011.
[29] Kobyliński 1988a, 1988b, 1995.

Fig. 8. Miniature gold boats from Nors sogn (B3509) (National Museum in Copenhagen, photo by L. Larsen)

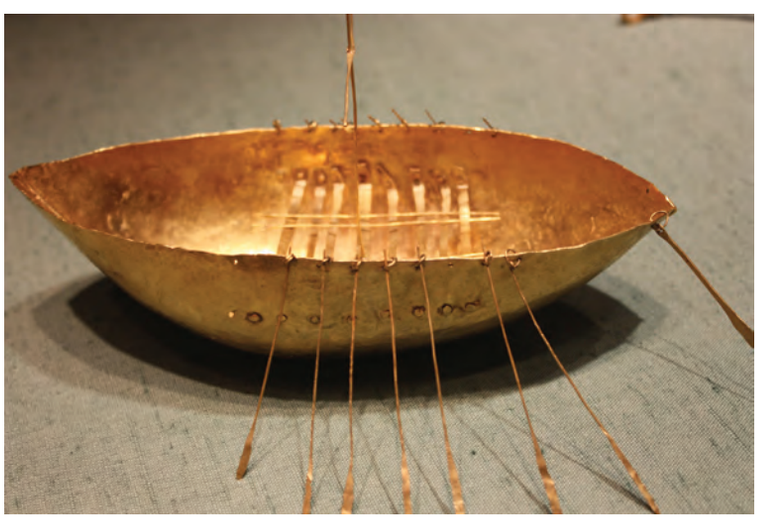

Fig. 9. Broighter Ship, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, photo by Ardfern, Wikimedia Commons)

house-type was dispersed throughout most of northern Europe, particularly in the North Atlantic area of Viking settlement: in eastern England, in Scotland, on the Isle of Man, in the Hebrides, the Shetlands, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and even in North America.[30] The small number of houses of this type found in the original country of the settlers, in Norway, can be explained convincingly by the fact that buildings of this design were built of wood there. In the forestless rocky islands of the Atlantic, the design was adapted to an archaeologically visible structure of stone and turf. This is indirectly confirmed by the occurrence of large boat sheds for storing boats and ships in winter along the coast of western and northern Norway. They have the same boat-shaped plan and date back to the late Roman Period.[31] These buildings could have been the inspiration for later boat-shaped dwellings. Despite the well-defined plan of such houses, the reconstruction of their upstanding architectural remains the subject of discussion. However, most authors agree that the arc-like inclination of the long walls must have pushed up the roof-ridge, thus giving to the house the shape of an upturned boat.

The ubiquity of houses of this type is also confirmed by their representations in figurative art: on Gotlandic

[30] Nørlund 1956: 24, 33; Dahl 1970; Small 1976; Albrethsen 1982.

[31] Bakka 1971: 39; Myhre 1977.

Fig. 10. Early Medieval wooden miniature boats from excavations in Elbląg (Internet: http://staremiastoelblag-mah.blogspot.com/2012/04/o-dawnych-zabawkach.html)

carved stones (*e.g.*, Alskog Tjangvide I), and in Christian times as reliquaries from Kamień Pomorski, Limoges and Vatnas, and on the Bayeaux Tapestry.[32]

Miniature boats

Prehistoric and early historic miniature boats are sometimes evidently symbolic gifts for water gods – examples were found at Nors Sogn, Denmark, which can probably be dated to the 4th–5th cents AD (Fig. 8), but also on farmland near Limavady, in the north of Ireland, dated to the 1st cent. BC (Fig. 9). Miniature boats have also been found in Early Medieval towns and have the form of small wooden or bark boats that have been interpreted as children toys – *e.g.* in Elbląg, Poland (Fig. 10). Further boats have also been found in the Early Medieval settlement layers in Gdańsk, Szczecin, Wolin, Kołobrzeg, Opole or Grodno.[33] It is, however, worth mentioning that toys can be at the same time powerful symbols, in this case probably of fertility.

Rock-carvings and picture stones

Scandinavian rock carvings, which date from the Stone Age to the Early Iron Age, but mostly focussed on the Bronze Age (*ca* 1500–500 BC), depict many images of ships (Fig. 11). They are found chiefly in southern Sweden (with the largest collection of petroglyphs in Tanum in Bohuslän Province) as well as in the central and Arctic Norway (with the best-known group in Alta in Finnmark Province). Scenes with boats pecked onto rock surfaces include ubiquitous fishing and fighting, but also alleged mythical scenes in which boats coexist with sun symbols and with images which may be connected with a fertility cult.

The image of a journey by ship to the other world is frequently depicted in Early Medieval art – on rune stones, and particularly on Gotlandic picture stones (Fig. 12). Gotlandic picture stones were erected from the 5th to the 11th century AD as tombstones or slabs commemorating the dead. They refer directly to Old Norse mythology and probably depict scenes of funeral ceremonies and the passage of the deceased to Valhalla.[34] In this situation, the only means of transport by which the deceased could move to the world of the dead was a ship. The boat/ship symbol appears on all large stones from the 8th century. A woman is also is frequently shown, who welcomes a rider with a drinking horn.

[32] Hicks 2006; Rud 2008.
[33] Kobyliński 1988b: 113.
[34] Ellmers 1995: 167; Williams 2014: 18.

Fig. 11. Petroglyph in Basteröd dated to 1800–500 B.C. showing a total of 15 ships sailing southeast (photo by C.-M. Helgegren, Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 12. Ship symbols on Gotlandic picture stones: 1. Stone from Tjängvide. 2. Stone from Smiss (SHM 11521) (State Historical Museum in Stockholm, Sweden, photo by O. Myrin and C. Ahlin)

Fig. 13. Ship symbols on bronze razors: 1. Razor from Lysgård Sogn. 2. Razor from Solbjerg Sogn (B10127) (National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark, photo by J. Lee and L. Larsen)

Other artefacts

The finds, which include boat symbolism include some everyday Prehistoric objects, mainly Bronze Age razors (mostly from the period 1100–500 BC)[35] (Fig. 13), but also knives, jewellery or drinking horns, and weapon (spear-heads). These small artefacts, stand out from other objects of this kind because of the symbols of the boat inscribed on them and thus may have been associated with the magical sphere.

The motif of a boat on the earliest Danish coins was probably borrowed from the neighbouring Frankish em-

[35] Kaul 1995.

Fig. 14. Ship on s silver coin from Hedeby (National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark, photo by J. Lee)

pire, where such images appear on coins minted in the main trading ports of Dorestad and Quentovic. Perhaps the depictions of the Viking longship on the coins were a conscious statement to show the importance of the newly established trading emporium in Hedeby and the expression of the strength of the fleet that defended it[36] (Fig. 14).

The meaning of the symbol of the boat in the pagan times

All the phenomena, briefly characterised above, are clear indications for the extremely important role of boats and ships in the spiritual culture of Prehistoric and Early Medieval Northern Europe. The reasons for this were not only based on the fact that boats and ships were the most important vehicle, enabling subsistence, far-distance travel, seizing loot and enabling military expeditions, but also in the fact that using boats (especially long-boats) and ships created specific form of strong personal social relations between the members of the crew, This is shown for example by the Iron Age and Medieval boathouses (*naust*) that are scattered along the Norwegian coast, representing the system of *ledung* (*leiðangr*) in which free men were organised in "ship communities".[37]

Fragmentary information preserved in the written literary sources, such as *Beowulf*, *Poetic Edda*, Icelandic sagas, skaldic poetry or Finnish *Kalevala*, as well as in Tacitus' *Germania*, and in Medieval German chronicles, the analysis of iconography of the Stone- and Bronze-Age rock-carvings from the Northern Europe, Medieval runic stones, and Gotlandic carved stones, as well as evidence from the furnishings of ship- and boat graves and other manifestations of boat-symbolism in the Prehistoric and Medieval Northern Europe[38], allows us to propose that in pagan times the ship was the central symbol for the whole system of religious beliefs. They encompassed various spheres of meaning, such as: the eschatology (both cosmic and anthropological), the fertility cult and magic to ensure plenty; as well as mapping the structure of World (Fig. 15).

Since boats and ships are used as means of transportation, the obvious reference of the boat symbol is the journey in its various aspects: the journey of the sun across the sky, the journey of the mythical ship Naglfar on the deck of which the giants will come led by Loki on the day of Ragnarök, as well as journey of every deceased person to the world of the dead. The idea of the world of the dead lying across a water barrier, *e.g.* a river is present in many pagan North-European myths: In Finnish mythology it is the land of Manala on the other side of the Tuoni River[39]; in Scandinavian mythology – Hel which lies across the Gjoll River, and Valhalla across the Thund River[40], or on an island (*e.g.*, in Celtic mythology).

Literary descriptions of the posthumous voyage aboard a ship can be found in *Beowulf*, as well as in *De bello Gothico* by Procopius of Cesarea (concerning Britta-

[36] Williams 2014: 17–18.
[37] Myhre 1997.
[38] For full analysis of evidence see Kobyliński 1988a, 1988b, 1995.
[39] *Kalevala*, chapter 16.
[40] *Grímnismál* in the *Poetic Edda*.

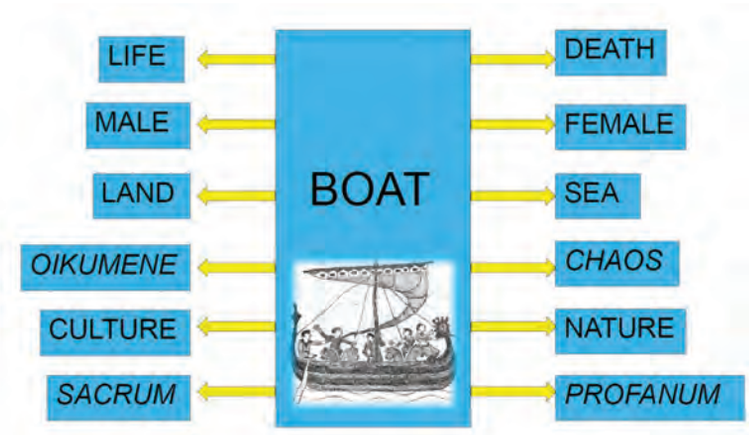

Fig. 15. Pre-Christian symbolism of boats and ships (designed by Z. Kobyliński)

ny), less directly also in *Frá dauða Sinfjötla* [*On the death of Sinfjötli*] in the *Poetic Edda* or in the Icelandic sagas *Egils saga Skalla-Grimsonnar*[41] and *Brennu-Njáls saga*.[42] Some heroes dared to go on such a mission when still alive, for example Bran mac Febail in the Irish legend, or Väinämöinen in the Finnish *Kalevala*. Visual presentation of the voyage of the dead on a ship can be found on the Gotlandic carved stones.[43]

Thus, in the burial ritual the boat could have two meanings simultaneously: as a means of transporting the body to the burial place, and as a means of transportation the deceased to the land of the dead. A similar meaning can probably be ascribed to the chariot burials of the early Celtic peoples in the Central Europe in the Hallstatt and La Tène periods. The fact that the orientation of the overwhelming majority of the bows of the Early Medieval burial boats from the Northern Europe is between SSW and NW seems to suggest that the land of the dead was thought to lie where the sun set. This association is also attested by the fragment of *Egil's Saga*[44] that tells of a barrow in which the body of a man who died at sea was placed which could not be closed until sunset. This also permits another association: the movement of the sun as a journey in a boat and the resulting symbol of a sun ship (well-known *e.g.* from the Ancient Egyptian mythology[45]). The mythical journey of sun across the sky is probably depicted on the Bronze-Age asymmetric razors, but also on neck-rings and other objects such as knives and tweezers. Images of one or more ships are engraved on these objects, which are sometimes combined with circles, horses and mushroom-shaped figures. Apart from the ship, the most frequently recurring image is the circle, which is interpreted as a symbol of the sun, because it sometimes has rays and sometimes is connected with a horse, in the role of a sun-horse as shown on the Trundholm sun chariot from Denmark. It is possible to make a fundamental distinction between the ships based on their direction of their travel. Since all circle motifs and all pictures of sun-horses are connected to ships travelling to the right, they can be interpreted as images of "day-ships", transporting the sun across the sky from sunrise in the east to sunset in the west.[46]

At the same time, together with the individual eschatology, the presence of a boat in burial ritual may have referred to cosmic eschatology, designating the mythic ship Naglfar on board which, according to the *Edda*, the giants would come on the day of Ragnarök.

Both in the folk tradition of the Celts and among the Medieval Scandinavians, the belief that the dead man remained as a "living corpse" in his house, the burial mound, which was his house, flourished next to the notion of the dead man's journey to the land of the dead. Astonishing analogies to these ideas can be found in literary sources describing accounts of burning the dead in chambers constructed to imitate houses and in archaeological finds of burials in wooden chambers or sheds. Comparing the burial rituals in grave chambers with those in burial boats, it might be concluded that they differ fundamentally reflecting different to eschatological beliefs.[47] However, we know of cases in which these two rituals are combined in one consistent burial rite, for example burials in boats over which chambers were constructed (*e.g.*, at Sutton Hoo, Oseberg, Nes, Gunnarshaug, Gronhaug and elsewhere) or burials in chambers over which a boat was placed (as at Hedeby). This indicate that these two rituals were not contradictory, and the boat burials could also have involved the belief that the dead man resided in his grave. Here the funeral boat would be a house of the dead. This reminds us of the burials under an upturned ship, which can also be explained as building a house for the dead. This brings to mind the comparison with houses built in the shape of upturned ships in northern Europe in the early middle ages. There are hogback tombstones of similar shape in the Early Medieval England and Scotland in the 10th–12th centuries. The

[41] *Egil's Saga*, chapter 27.
[42] *Njál's Saga*, chapter 159.
[43] Lindqvist 1941–1942; Andrén 1992.
[44] *Egil's Saga*, chapter 78.
[45] *Cf. e.g.*, First 2017.
[46] Kaul 1995, 1998, 2004; Andrén 2014: 127–128.
[47] Lindqvist 1921: 187.

shape of these houses cannot be justified by any utilitarian reasons but evidently resulted from the will to imitate the real boat. In these cases, ships are identified with human dwellings protecting the human sphere against the watery chaos. In this context, it is interesting to note that the Scandinavian skaldic poetry included a paraphrase (*kenning*) referring to a house as a ship.[48]

An extremely important reference to the ship symbol occurs in the *Gisla Saga*, where it is mentioned that a priest of the god Freyr was buried in a ship. We know that Freyr was a god from the race of the Vanir. Literary sources supply astonishing testimony of connections between this race of gods and boats and ships, whereas there are no such data for the gods of the Aesir race. The Vanir: Njörðr, Freyr and Ullr functioned as phallic bestowers of fertility, ensuring prosperity for the farming production (Adam of Bremen in the second half of the 11th century describes Frey as the god *cum ingenti priapo* (with an immense penis). The connections between the ship and the fertility cults is also directly testified in Tacitus' account in the *Germania*[49] of the ship being an emblem of Isis (the name is probably the result of interpretatio romana of the goddess of fertility, perhaps Nerthus, the female counterpart of Njörðr). Clear associations of phallic figures with boats can be found on many Bronze-Age rock-carvings.

When it was placed in a grave, the boat assumed an additional meaning: it became an element of the burial furniture, which suggested the property status of the dead man, his social position, the roles which he had played in the social system, *etc.*

The importance and the central character of the ship and boat symbol within the Scandinavian ideological system resulted from the fact that the ship or boat united in one material form references to such opposing relationships, as death and rebirth, the fertility of soil and female fecundity, the human world and the other-world. As a result of the Viking raids and conquests, this complex meaning of boat and ship symbolism, was dispersed throughout Northern Europe and along its western coasts, and by means of political, military and economic contacts along the Dnieper River –reaching the eastern Slaves.

Symbolism of boats and ships in Christianity

Interestingly, the vitality of the boat and ship symbol did not stop with the end of the Viking era. It also clearly existed in Christian times.[50]

The „Ship of the Church" is a popular Medieval metaphor – the Christian Church is a ship of salvation for the believers, as we can see in many metaphorical representations (Figs 16–18). In the 14th-century *Belleville Breviary* St. Peter lies in a boat on a storm-tossed sea while God blesses him from the heavens, symbolising the soul's refuge in time of trial in the ship of the Church which is blessed by God.

Actually, as is evident in various languages, every church is a ship – the main part of the church is called a "nave" (ship). Some early Christian churches in Northern Europe, for example the boat-like oratories from early monasteries along the south-west coast of Ireland[51], were built in form of ship or upturned boat (Fig. 19). The first church in Brattahlíð in Greenland also had a boat-like shape.[52] The interior of almost every Scandinavian Medieval church also resembles an upturned ship (Fig. 20). Some Early Medieval reliquaries have the same shape

48 Guriewicz 1976: 82.
49 *Germania*, chapter 9.
50 Munch Thye 1995.
51 De Paor 1961: 57–58, 248, pl. 8, 11.
52 Jones 1968: 19.

Fig. 16. *Christ rescuing Peter from drowning* (1370), Lorenzo Veneziano (1336–1379) (State Museums, Berlin, Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 17. Detail of the *Belleville Breviary* (1323–1326), Jean Pucelle (*c.* 1300–1355) (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (MS. Lat. 10484, folio 37 recto), Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 18. *Ship of the Church* (replica), *ca* 1500 AD, Gdańsk, Artus Court (photo by M. Tomaszewicz and G. Franczak)

Fig. 19. Gallarus Oratory, Dingle Peninsula, County Kerry, Ireland (photo by K. Jähne, Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 20. All Saints Church, Harby, Nottinghamshire, 13 cent. AD (photo by J.P. Guffogg, Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 21. Saint Cordula reliquary from Kamień Pomorski, 10–11th cent. AD (replica), National Museum in Copenhagen, Danmark (photo by K. Rabiega)

Fig. 22. Baroque church decor with a boat-shaped pulpit, Międzylesie, parish church dedicated to Corpus Christi, 17–18th cent. (photo by Corpusdelictus99, Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 23. Boat-shaped pulpit in the church of St. Peter and Paul, Benedictine Abbey in Tyniec (photo by Jan Mehlich, Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 24. Church ship in St. Nicholas Church, Copenhagen, 1845 (National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark, photo by A. Mikkelsen)

Fig. 25. Church ship in Marstal church, Marstal, 1804 (National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark, photo by A. Mikkelsen)

(Fig. 21) and even in modern times pulpits in churches have sometimes form of a boat or ship (Figs 22–23).

Votive models of ships are relatively common in churches since the late Medieval times in the Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland, as well as on Åland and the Faroe islands, but are known also in Germany, the United Kingdom, France (including the Mediterranean coast) and Spain (Figs 24–25).

Perhaps Medieval ship graffiti, found in churches not only in Scandinavia: in Norway and Denmark[53], but even in Byzantium also had a votive character.[54] The fact that such graffiti was more than just meaningless children scribbles and had symbolic meaning is suggested by the fact that it can be found quite often in churches built far

[53] *E.g.*, Christensen 1995; le Bon 1995; Kastholm 2011.
[54] Babuin and Nakas 2011.

Fig. 26. Modern painting from the church in the Capdepera Castle in Mallorca, Spain (photo by U. Kobylińska)

away from the sea even in mountainous areas.[55] Votive paintings showing miracle rescue of boats and ships in danger are still being offered to churches (Fig. 26).

In a much more pagan sense, even in the High Medieval times ships were clearly related to fertility cults in a similar way as in Prehistory and Early Middle Ages. Such a meaning of ship symbol in the Christian times is confirmed by some Medieval chronicles, which inform about wheeled ships moving from one village to another in ceremonies involving blessing the fields.[56] The *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium,* which was written in the 12th cent. by Rudolf of St. Trond from the abbey in Sint-Truiden, Limburg includes a story on half-naked women dancing at night around a ship in 1133.[57] The late reminiscence of this custom is the use of ships on wheels in carnival parades even in the post-Medieval times in Western Europe (Figs 27–28). For example, in 1135 a wheeled ship on wheels was used in a parade between several towns in Brabant. The Russian saint, St. Gleb, who according to legend was buried under an upturned boat, was connected very distinctly with agrarian magic and the fertility cult of soil.[58]

Another interesting appearance of the ship symbol in the Medieval and post-Medieval times is the metaphor of *Ship of Fools* (*Narrenschiff*), in which the ship symbolises the whole of society. The „Ship of Fools" is a ship manned by a crew travelling in search of happiness. The crew is represented by various classes and social conditions, various ethical attitudes and personal patterns. Originally *Ship of Fools* is the title and main motif of Sebastian Brant's poem published in 1494 (Figs 29–30). The theme of this work is the journey of fools towards their promised land Naragony. Representatives of all social classes and professions travel on the ship. Before the catastrophe, they reach Land of Cocaigne (*Schlaraffenland*) – the land of eternal abundance.

In the Middle Ages it was customary to expel insane people and the mentally disabled by sending them on a away by ship or other means of transport. The expellees were entrusted to groups of pilgrims or merchants, they were taken under the protection of seafarers who sometimes disembark their passengers earlier than

[55] Babuin and Nakas 2011: 15.
[56] Ellis Davidson 1976: 100.
[57] Piekarczyk 1963: 67.
[58] Rybakov 1971: 93–97.

Fig. 27. Nuremberg Shrovetide Carnival (1449–1539). Schembartsbuch 1590–1640, Nuremberg (Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Source: Europeana Collections)

Fig. 28. Nuremberg Shrovetide Carnival, *ca* 1540–1800 (?), Municipal Library Nuremberg (Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 29. Detail of the title page of *Der Narrenspiegel, das gros Narrenschiff* (1549), Sebastian Brant (1457–1521) (Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 30. Title page of the Lower-German edition of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, printed in Rostock by Ludwig Dietz in 1519 (Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 31. Hieronymus Bosch, *Ship of Fools* (*ca* 1490–1500), oil on wood, Louvre, Paris (Wikimedia Commons)

agreed. These exiles were supposedly being sent to centres of worship famous for healing. Attention should be paid to the symbolic importance of this exclusion method. A person departing from the social order was sent on a sea voyage without a set destination. The motive of driving out the insane features in Hieronymus Bosch´s *Ship of fools* dated between 1490 and 1500 (Fig. 31).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the ship symbols appear frequently on Medieval town seals along the Atlantic and Baltic coasts (Fig. 32).

Taking all this evidence into account we can suggest that the strength and popularity of ship symbolism in post-Viking times in the Medieval and post-Medieval northern and western Europe is a result of joining the Biblical symbolism of ship as the vessel of salvation (Noah's Ark and the Christ's voyage on the Sea of Galilee) with previous common experience of the symbolism of boat and ship in the pagan times, existing since the Bronze Age, based in Norse and Celtic religions[59],

[59] Schjodt 1995.

dispersed along the coasts of Europe during the Viking raids.

The great symbolic role of boats and ships is a phenomenon not limited to Northern Europe. It can be found in such diverse socio-cultural and chronological contexts, as for example in ancient Egypt, in Minoan Crete (Fig. 33), in ancient China, Philippines, Polynesia and Melanesia.[60] Important role of boats and ships is testified for example in the prehistory of the Balearic Islands in the western Mediterranean, where in the period between 1600 and 1000 BC both dwelling and graves were naviform[61] (Fig. 34). Such similarity or perhaps even identity of symbolism cannot however neither be understood as result of a cultural diffusion, nor as evidence for existence of any innate archetypes. Rather, such cases should be explained as resulting from similarity of social practices in similar environmental conditions, which caused similar perception of reality and similar attitudes towards the artefacts, which were crucial for the existence.

[60] *Cf. e.g.*, Ballard *et al.* 2003; Ward 2006; Rich 2013; Dy-Liacco 2014.
[61] Micó 2006; Lull *et al.* 2013: 623.

Fig. 32. Medieval town seals of La Rochelle in France, *ca* 1200 (source: www.heraldry-wiki.com)

Fig. 33. Clay boats model from Crete, Minoan Culture, *ca* 2300–1900 BC. Archaeological Museum in Heraklion (photo by Z. Kobyliński)

Fig. 34. Boat-shaped houses at the site S'Hospitalet Vell in eastern Mallorca, *ca* 1700–1100 BC (photo by Ł. Kobyliński)

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Sacred environment and sacred communication process according to ethnographic field research in the Nadbuże Region

Bożena Józefów-Czerwińska

Introduction

This paper concerns the traditional perception of world in the Polish folk culture. I would like to focus mainly on the results of ethnographic research done in the part of central-east Poland, called southern Podlasie, however, the local inhabitants refer to the region as Nadbuże.[1] When referring to the troubled history of this region we can see it as a sphere in which mediation takes place between the nations and their faiths and cultures connecting the folklore resources of Poland, Belarus, and Ukraine. This is also a border between the influence spheres of the two great denominations of the Christian faith. Orthodox and Catholic Christians have lived together from the Middle Ages up to this day. Before the World War II other indigenous religious populations included the Jewish community and Polish – Muslim – Tatars, as well as Protestants locally referred to as "Olędry" (the Dutch).

From this rich foundation, a very specific religious culture has emerged, which we can study from a vernacular perspective.[2] This religious cultural heritage, not only includes official Christian dogma but also popular beliefs and knowledge, *e.g.*, eschatological convictions as well as customary rules belonging to the canon of inherited ancestral traditions, which are visible in customary laws and taboos. These inherited ancestral traditions, beliefs and knowledge have played crucial role in surmounting difficult moments of life. Even today this phenomenon is still apparent among local communities and for this reason we can conclude that the Nadbuże region is one of the last strong centres of the traditional culture in this part of Poland.

If we compare data collected by ethnographic research with 19th-century sources, we can recognise many "long-term structures".[3] These are especially important when we try to study cultural codes involving knowledge about transcendent and symbolic signs – in communication processes or describe them according to respondent categories of "special places" or "sacred places" – indicating their presence in the sacred landscape. These cultural phenomena will be the subject of this article.

1. Understanding the communications process – according to transcendent and symbolic cultural codes

The inhabitants of Nadbuże indicate that communication processes can take on transcendent and symbolic forms and involve intuitive interpretation, which at the same time relies on their traditional cultural canon. Information collected through these cognitive processes can be interpreted through cultural codes and attitudes, especially in cases when evidence from observation of nature are referred to as the activity of supernatural beings or powers, according to Aaron C.T. Smith`s conception of "attributing agency"[4], and cognitive mechanisms of the human mind which Justin Burrett has named Hypersensitive Agency Detection Device (ADD).[5] These phenomena can be also associated with pareidolia, as Stewart Guthrie has shown in his book *Faces in the clouds: a new theory of religion.*[6]

The Nadbuże inhabitants believe that God and other supernatural beings from heaven can communicate with people using "miraculous" or "sacred" signs. For this reason, many phenomena which are recognised as unusual have religious connotations and are decoded as information that comes from supernatural spheres. Many of these kinds of symbolic signs are recognised by informants as messages which leave traces on the soil, in nature and the sky. They attempt to recognise them, reading and decoding them by using all the data collected in the context of their observations. While some are seen as emanating from the divine spheres, others might be

[1] My study concerns part of South Podlasie (Podlachia), located between the upper Narew and Bug rivers, a region very close to the Belarus border (and is based on an ongoing ethnographical project initiated in 2010 by the Pułtusk Academy of Humanities).
[2] Bowman and Valk (eds) 2012.
[3] Engelking 2012: 759, 763.
[4] Smith 2014: 49; Barrrett 2000: 29–34.
[5] Barett 2000: 31; Dennett 2008.
[6] Guthrie 1993; Błachowski 2009:165.

linked with earth's less positive supernatural beings, such as damned souls, or other demonic creatures, both seen in the context of *sacrum*. This knowledge is still important in contemporary society, passing from generation to generation, in the Nadbuże region but also in other Polish communities.[7]

An analysis of this ethnographic sources – if we compare this data with the information from the 19th century -it allows us to distinguish several characteristic sign categories recognised as coming from sacred spheres – which were decoded as:

- signs of God order;
- signs of the time transitions (liminal time – impending disasters);
- signs of divine protection in critical times;
- signs of divine blessing and empathy;
- signs of God's anger and curses for sinners (in Polish terminology: *dopust Boży*);
- signs indicating the sacred nature of places, objects and other facets of holiness (epiphania, hierophany). [8]

In the past, there were also important "divination signs" (induced signs) – which are obtained using divination practices. According to Oppenheim, "divination represents a technique of communication with the supernatural forces that are supposed to shape the history of the individual as well as that of the group. It presupposes the belief that these powers are able and, at times, willing to communicate their intentions and that they are interested in the wellbeing of the individual or the group -in other words, that if evil is predicted or threatened, it can be averted through appropriate means".[9]

Basically, it is seen as vital to obtain a symbolic statement – informing people about God's will. In this context reading divination signs has a religious purpose in the context of convictions that the sacred signs come from supernatural spheres. For example, in Nadbuże, if a pigeon knocks on the window of the house, it is usually decoded as communication that the dead were intruding into human spheres.

Signs of God's order

Believers hold that, according to these symbolic codes, "Heaven" instructs people about their actual relationship with God. The concerns of the people are also manifest when the observed phenomena are unique and unusual. This is particularly the case when signs include phenomena which they interpret as reversing the normal patterns of nature. Even today substantial beliefs hold that changes in the order of nature may reflect the interference, or influence, of supernatural beings. Usually, signs of God's order – in our informants' opinion – were related to harmony in Nature, "when everything goes right", unaccompanied by any detrimental changes such as anomalous faunal and floral patterns. In symbolic meaning, it is also taken as evidence that people possess God's protection. Informants from the older generation were convicted that, if in a particular place there is a disruption of harmony in nature (an absence of birds, animals or trees), then by analogy these places are dangerous and inappropriate for people and constitute "black places"- sometimes it was also emphasised that animals, *e.g.*, horses, can confirm these signs and recognised these categories of dangerous places).[10]

Signs of temporal transitions – liminal time

Some of the signs observed in the sky are interpreted as harbingers of coming changes – times of transformation – liminal time.[11] This also reflects the belief that the sky portends to the communities predicting forthcoming calamity. Many times, the informants emphasised that before World War II unusual phenomena appeared in the sky. Here I would like to quote one of many: "My father was a woodcutter and when we had nothing to eat he left us in order to try to find a job. Once he worked on the other side of the Bug River. He told me that one day, around 3 o'clock in the morning, and just before dawn, the landlady began to weep and say: 'Oh dear God, Oh God... Oh my dear God…'. My father got out of bed and looked out of the window and recognized what the landlady saw: in the sky three columns appeared, they were so bright that it was as if the sun had gone to sleep. These columns of light then grew, differently than normal rays of the sun. People said that surely then the war would begin".[12]

Sometimes informants also decoded symbolic signs of the sun, for example, if it was exceptionally red as if stained with blood.[13] Even more frequently they talked about the signs of God which were written in the sky, *e.g.*, the sign of the cross seen in clouds, stars and others which came from astronomical observations.[14] On the other hand liminal signs were also associated in this region with the extinction of certain animal species, such as partridges and storks.

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[7] "The study of signs and portents observed in the physical and social worlds indicating the will of supernatural agents and the course of future events was undoubtedly important (also) in all ancient cultures" – Annus 2010: 1.

[8] In Mircea Eliade's terminology – Eliade 1972: xiii.

[9] Oppenheim 1977: 207.

[10] Górny and Marczyk 2003: 85–86.

[11] Gocko 1999: 98.

[12] Informant: N.H., 70 years old, Okczyn 2013 (south Podlasie) – in Archive of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in Pułtusk Academy of Humanities [AEZA.AHAG].

[13] AEZA.AHAG, informant: M. Sz., 64 years old, Kostomłoty 2014.

[14] "A year before World War II, as older people relate – a cross with stars leading from east to west was formed in the sky. It was read as a sign foretelling a quick, great war, alternatively a luminous cross was seen glowing red" – Górny and Marczyk 2003:50.

Signs of divine protection

Inhabitants of this border area have experienced dramatic situations in many different wars. According to legends, we can find convictions that the community has survived thanks to divine protection and miracles which saved people from danger. One of them tells us that during the Second War World, at a time when people had nothing to eat, God willed a lake containing fish to appear. After the war this lake disappeared. Members maintain to this day the belief that God protected them with this miraculous phenomenon.[15]

We can also find many legends which are widely known in other regions in historical sources associated with these convictions.[16] In 1648, when Cossacks came to Lublin with Bogdan Chmielnicki, the population of the city was miraculously saved. As legend tells us, this event is attributed to the Holy Cross which was situated in the Dominican monastery. The story about this phenomenon was written by a Dominican monk – Paweł Ruszel – who described this event in the 17th century: "Through the divine power, there was an extraordinary phenomenon seen in the sky. At night, the soldiers who stayed on guard were warming themselves by the fire. Suddenly they saw brightness in the sky. In the beginning a bright streak came which began to form the sword and the cross shape".[17] These phenomena of light took the form of a cross and then a snake and arrows appeared in the sky accompanied with a huge noise. They frightened the enemies and helped to protect the citizens of the city.

In the Nadbuże region, religiosity increased especially during the seventeenth century and notably when the Swedish army invaded the Polish lands. From this period we have many documented sources about miraculous phenomena in the sky as well as testimonies describing how people survived – supposedly due to divine protection. Even today the cross, *e.g.*, seen in clouds is usually decoded as this category of God´s sacred sign.

Signs of blessing and empathy

In the Nadbuże region members of the community hold a firm conviction that the sky reacts to the experience of ordinary people[18], especially when they pray together. Their view may be expressed with the phrase: "Group prayer moves the sky".[19]

Some signs are associated with the blessing of God: when rays of light fall upon them. To this day the belief survives that the sky can cry with the people and thus unite with them in their tragedies. But on the other hand, if it rains during the funeral ceremony, older residents would say: "Happy sky when the sun shines. When the sky cries into the tomb, it blesses the deceased through the rain".[20]

Signs of God's anger and cursing of sinners

Certain categories of signs are recognised as consequences of sacrilege and other primal sins, such as people who were losing their crops (caused by hail, prolonged winters, intense precipitation, *etc.*). These classes of signs have been interpreted by people as being the result of breaching the covenant with God by violating laws, rules[21] and taboos. Communities share a general conviction that all of their members hold responsibility about those others because each individual's actions have consequences for all the other members. Sometimes it is considered that the penalty for transgressions toward God fell not only onto the sinner themselves but also upon other members of their family.[22] Various views are held towards those who passed away from a stroke of lightning. Sometimes it is perceived as a punishment meted out to the one who was sacrilegious.[23] However in past times it was also believed that God took the most favoured and good people to heaven with a lightning bolt, *i.e.*, that those hit by lightning immediately ascended to heaven.

Classes of signs connected with the relationship with God are most important for the people who observed the forces of nature which were associated with God's power. The nature of this relationship to God did not stem solely from the precepts of the Christian church. They also reflect the canon of customary rules and convictions which people have inherited from their ancestors. These were treated as sacred laws and taboos of the same importance as Christian doctrine; and in the past these traditional rules were meant to be honoured by all members of the community.

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15 Józefowicz 2013: 117–118.

16 For example: Lavra monastery of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Pochayiv in the thirteenth century, survived against the Tatars because of the sky appeared the Blessed Virgin.

17 Ruszel 1649.

18 AEZA.AHAG informant: V.F., about 70 years old, Luta, Breskaja Oblast, Belarus, 2014.

19 AEZA.AHAG informant: M.S., 66 years old, Kostomłoty 2014 (south Podlasie).

20 Lach 2000: 103.

21 For example: punishment as a result of perjury: "There was a time that our church was converted to an Orthodox church. It was necessary to go there and under the cross to swear that it had been so for centuries. A Ukrainian couple came to swear that it was so and the husband was blinded immediately. His wife had to lead him until the end of her life and said: 'Why did you swear that, that's why you were blind'"; Górny and Marczyk 2003: 52.

22 AEZA.AHAG informant: M.S., 66 years old, Kostomłoty 2014 (south Podlasie).

23 As well as perjurers.

Fig. 1. Sacred oak (close to the sanctuary area at Jabłeczna, south Podlasie) (photo by B. Józefów-Czerwińska, 2014)

Signs indicating the sacred nature of places and objects

In the Nadbuże region there are many places which are recognised as sacred, *i.e.* holy places (both local sacred places and sanctuaries). Not every one of these local sacred places always finds acceptance by the church authorities. Even if these places are not accepted by the churches when people recognise the codes of holiness, they initiate a religious cult until holiness and miraculous signs are felt to be present (temporary local sacred places). This phenomenon is associated with places where holiness had been manifested usually as a great religious symbol. For example, in 2011 I recorded narratives about the tree in which the figure of Jesus Christ appeared. In the informant's opinion there was a"Mysterious willow in which a cross appeared, shining its own light (like a fluorescent glow) at night, in the village Mościce Dolne near Sławatycze. Not far from this place is a stone set close to Mucharyńska Chapel. In this stone, according to informants (particularly from older generations) there is a footprint of the Mother of God".[24]

Sacred places could also be indicated by unusual phenomena in the sky. Originally many sanctuaries were related to legends. In the 17th century during the war a monk from the monastery of St. Bernard travelled from Podlasie to Grodno. On the way he passed through the village of Różanystok. He stopped because he saw an uncommon light which fell from the sky with great impact onto the Earth. Standing on a hill he saw an illumination which befell a wooden cross. This sign was recognised as a light from God which indicated a sacred place where many miracles subsequently occurred.[25]

Other sanctuaries in legends were also recognised according to miraculous signs, *e.g.*, at Leśna Podlaska. During the 17th century people came to this place to observe the miraculous phenomenon in the sky associated with the holy Mother Mary, whom later they called Leśna (the forest's) Holy Mother. Legends indicated that on September 7, 1699 a great brightness was observed at Leśna which looked as if a fire was descending from heaven to earth.[26]

[24] More data in: http://mucharyniec.nadbugiem.pl/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Katalog_szlak_rowerowy_Mucharyniec.pdf; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ClXQkbHjmJg.

[25] J.... ski 1854: 240–241.

[26] Pruszkowski 1897; more on this subject: Szafraniec 1983: 19; Adamowski 2011: 95.

One of the most important sanctuaries for the Orthodox Church in Podlasie is the Grabarka Hill.[27] Even to this day pilgrims come here not only from the immediate neighbourhoods but also from other regions of Poland; in doing this they cross the borders between Christian denominations because Catholic pilgrims can also be met there. Sacred places, especially sanctuaries, still enjoy important roles in contemporary communities. For example, the faithful believe that water from this sanctuary has miraculous power and think that in this sanctuary – through the power of God and the holy water – they will be able to regain health or change their fate.

In the Nadbuże region many sanctuaries were associated with holy icons and sacred legends.[28] Some of these sacred images of God, the Virgin Mary or the saints were considered miraculous. It was believed that holy icons themselves could choose the places for their sanctuaries. In the past believers also identified the sanctuaries with the miraculous "arrivals" of the icons.

For example, there is one legend from Jabłeczna[29] which is associated with the arrival of St. Onuphrius' holy icon. This story probably originated in the 16th or 17th century. According to the legend fishermen picked the icon of St. Onuphrius from the Bug River.[30] They took this icon and placed it under an oak tree, which is still recognised by the informants as a sacred tree (Fig. 1). A sanctuary was built nearby and to this day the tree still stands, within the holy precinct. A holy icon floating in a river can also be connected with specific cultural taboo. In this area there are strong convictions that every artefact which is identified as sacred cannot be just thrown away. In Catholic communities unused and unrequired holy accessories are burned. When we look for reasons why icons can be found in the rivers, even today we can find that among Orthodox believers there is a strong conviction that the old icons and other disused holy objects should be thrown into the river and not be destroyed by human hands.

2. Sacred landscape: holy and "black" places according to ethnographical field research

Thomas Schaaf has emphasised that "traditional societies around the world have assigned a special status to natural sites considered as sacred – either through the perception of residing deities and spirits, as shrines dedicated to ancestors, or as privileged spiritual sites for contemplation, mediation and even purification of the inner self. The sacredness of a site distinguishes it from the adjoining non-sacred areas that generally make up the bulk of the land area of land. But as sacred sites are places of seclusion from the non-sacred world they are generally subject to restricted access and therefore less direct human impact in terms of the economic exploitation of natural resources".[31]

In south Podlasie we can also recognise various qualities of places which we are assigned to the inhabitants' sacred landscape. We can analyse them according to different methods of classification but simultaneously it should be emphasised how important it is to understand our informants' interpretations, *i.e.*, how they recognise and categorise them and which taboos are associated with these places.

When mapping these places in sacred landscapes they can be divided into natural and culturally transformed categories. Each of them can then be associated with convictions about activities of the supernatural sphere and beings – identify with *sacrum*, but their meaning and role as they are attributed in their environment, according to narratives of informants is varies. In the Nadbuże region it is possible to indicate several different categories of sacred or "special" places:

1. Sacred natural places[32]:

a. topographically conspicuous sites (in the past – *e.g.,* hills, river, boulders);

b. topographically unexposed sites (groves, trees, swamps and others places excluded from human activity – due to their significance in sacred spheres);

2. Culturally transformed places associated with religious cult:

a. official Christian churches: local sacred places – permanently or temporarily sanctioned by a religious cult (sanctuaries; churches, *e.g.*, with miraculous icons; shrines and roadside crosses; but also, cemeteries; cenotaphs; and other places associated with beliefs and religious cult;

b. local sacred places – not accepted by the church (temporarily used for religious ceremonies without the participation of the clergy. They are venerated (in the Nadbuże region), by local communities as long as a hierophany is visible. Then they were marked with a cross or shrine).

3. Other "special" places/objects identified in their environment according to local informants as cursed places, (it is possible, that some of them in the past had opposite meanings – associated with "holy places" not connected with Christianity).

Summarising this part of my considerations, in the Nadbuże region sacred landscapes are usually connected with convictions and hierophany and recognised through the appearance of sacred transcendent and symbolic signs, or other uncommon phenomena, associated with

[27] Lebeda 2002: 97.
[28] Kracik 2012: 110–122.
[29] Batiuszkow 1885: 210–211.
[30] Jackowski and Sołjan 1995: 59.
[31] Schaaf 2006: 12.
[32] Richard Bradley has shown that natural holy sites are similar in different parts of the world – Bradley 2000: 14–32.

Fig 2. Cross from Oczyn – in the border area of the village (photo by B. Józefów-Czerwińska, 2017)

them. Important aspects of the process of identifying them, according to the faithful are:

1. symbolic signs seen as coming from divine spheres, as well as pareidolia;

2. miraculous phenomena;

3. mystic religious experience and convictions that in these locations informants feel divine power;

4. embodied cognition.[33]

During the process of ethnographic research of a sacred landscape we were able to recognise different semantic meanings of sacred or "special" places. We could indicate locations as holy places when:

- the faithful initiate a celebration of these places/objects and we can observe religious cults and practices. In past times this involved offerings of candles, flowers, and other votives;
- when they take holy water or other accessories considered as sacred from these places;
- when we find crosses, shrines, especially those connected with stories about an epiphany – usually in local, temporary used sacred places;
- when we can find records of unusual legends or stories about them (at the historical and contemporary research level), as well toponyms and micro-toponyms connected with them; and if in these places other artefacts or objects can be found such as stones which could be associated with religious cults recorded in archaeological or historical records, especially when other sources such as toponyms and legends also indicate them.[34]

On the other hand, sacred environments – according to the informants – include "special places" – associate with threatening forms of *sacrum*[35]. In ethnographical studies we can recognise them:

- when people avoid going there as they are perceived as cursed spheres/places, although they sometimes are marked by crosses, shrines or holy icons; usually erected to neutralise the dangerous sacrum, rather than coming from divine spheres;
- when informants report in their narratives that they could not get out of these places and return home;
- when community members recognise them according to different patterns and signs in nature or according to embodied cognition;
- when we find many taboos associated with these locations (for example the prohibiting the collection of mushrooms, flowers and herbs collection from these places;
- when certain places were excluded from normal agricultural use and human activities;
- also, through the study of local stories, legends, toponyms and micro-toponyms together with historical and archaeological sources.

[33] Cordas 1990; Gallagher 2005; Shapiro 2011.

[34] On using these category of sources see, *e.g.*, Klimek 2010: 62–76; Łapo 2006, 2007.

[35] Józefów-Czerwińska 2017: 146–149.

Fig. 3. Assembly of participants before the procession and consecration of the fields (photo from family archives of N.H.)

Informants from the Bug River area (both on the eastern and western side of the river) recognise these "special places" according to the power of the opposite of divine *sacrum* – belongs generally to demonic spheres/condemned souls.[36] These places are described as: black, cursed – identified as dangerous for human life. "Black places" are excluded from human activity and the cursed land left unused.

Amongst contemporary world views – according to the statements of informants – there is still an important legacy of beliefs that the earth may also be co-inhabited by human souls which do not have enough power to pass borders – while attempting to move forward – to the next world. Cursed places have the same association with similar characteristic motives visible also in folk legends. These legends often concerned churches which the Earth had buried or flooded as a consequence of the ancient inhabitant's past sins. Some informants emphasise that, according to will of God, when these evil people die that their church was destroyed with them.

A few of these places recognised as "black places" have a strong relationship to archaeological sites such as the site close to the village of Sławatycze in the place called Mucharyniec[37].

In past times, members in these communities also believed that during the night demonic spirits and creatures could enter human spheres, and even human houses. Therefore, apotropaic practices in the areas of village, household border, houses and human mind and body are sometimes still important.

To better enforce invisible borders around human spheres against demonic creatures, informants use holy symbols and many sacred accessories of the type used in ritual practices and cyclic consecration of human spheres and crop fields. Unusually large red crosses are commonly seen in this region are which, *inter alia*, perform protection and apotropaic functions (Fig. 2). Dangerous power can only be neutralised by the most powerful forces. Some are convinced that even human bodies and souls need God's protection before each night; the most useful remedy in this case is saying a prayer before going to sleep.

Conclusion

The results of our ethnographic research show that the community in south Podlasie has a strong connection with the traditional meaning of spirituality tied to old cultural codes and patterns of religiosity. The most important aspect for them is their relationship to God. Holy places have connotations of divine epiphany associated with heaven. Most of them play the role of a sanctuary, but in south Podlasie they are not restricted to holy places accepted by church authorities. Holy sites which are identified, according to informants, with God's or other divine supernatural activities, do not require acceptance from Christian church authorities. If hierophanies in their environment are recognised, pilgrims will come to these places to celebrate them. These pilgrims, not only come from the immediate neighbourhood of these unofficial sacred places but also from other regions. Celebration continues as long as the epiphany is visible in symbolic cultural codes connected with sacred signs. After that period when the signs of holiness disappear, community members usually place small shrines or crosses at the site.

On the earth, there are sacred spaces where the community has the best contact with God and supernatural beings – holy places and sanctuaries which, until this day, are being visited several times during the year by thousands of pilgrims. For believers, it is the way to religious

[36] The used to be a belief that invisible supernatural beings reside in these places which are associated with demonic creatures or human souls, which may be trapped in-between the worlds.

[37] This places can be observed using Google Earth: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?hl=en_US&mid=13o1kMSqksX3Pbi-pb2Mbkk5GXrwk.

purification and above all a renewal of their relationship and covenant with God. From these places they take to their homes holy accessories and the hope that, thanks to the care of God, a solution will be found for the difficulties in their lives. Holy accessories are brought to homes and often used in apotropaic practices.

For the older generations, the earth, nature and sky were full of signs which they could recognise, read and decode according to the magical religious world-view which was and is characteristic for this cultural region.

Even today older informants believe that the whole universe is interconnected. In this context, it is also essential to note traditional convictions that the land and the sky are populated by human souls and a variety of supernatural beings. Between different categories of invisible spheres and other equally invisible inhabitants, there is a possibility of mutual and multi-level communication and relations. This also involves beliefs of the spiritual danger (supernatural demonic creature) present on Earth and in the universe and how it might come to human spheres. It is therefore essential to use ritual apotropaic practices which leave visible signs around the village, household border or human body which can help protect people. This is attested to by the common use of holy accessories, holy symbols and so forth.

Up till the present day places exist which, excluded from human activities in common opinion, are marked as cursed space. Their dangers can be neutralised only by the most potent agents.

Research of these phenomena helps to provide a better understanding of the religiosity of this community, its cultural codes and the meaning of its symbols as well, where religious activities are visible not only during religious celebrations but also in every day human life.

On the other hand, we should examine this cultural phenomenon, not only by analysing beliefs associated with them but also consulting other data including the meaning of places in sacred environment or role of sacred–symbolic communications. We should also consider whether these testimonies of the perception of places in the cultural landscape, or the role of sacred communication are only characteristic for these traditional communities or whether they are also present in broader segments of modern society.

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