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## THE GRAVE OF THE “LADY OF BORJÁD” – A LATE NEOLITHIC WOMAN OF HIGH STATUS FROM BARANYA COUNTY (HUNGARY)

*The paper publishes a recently excavated grave and the possible remains of an adjacent, but destroyed grave, both dated to the Late Neolithic Lengyel Culture. The graves were found in 2010 during a rescue excavation near the village of Borjád (Baranya County, southwestern Hungary). The intact grave (and most probably the destroyed one, too) belongs to a recently discovered type of high-status burial within a large rectangular burial pit with hollowed corners. Many of these graves are richly endowed with grave goods. Though hundreds of Lengyel Culture graves have been published so far from Baranya, the intact Borjád grave is the first of the type from the county, and second outside the site (Alsónyék-Bátaszék, Tolna County) where the type was discovered.*

*A cikk két, egy ép és egy nagyrészt elpusztult, a késő neolitikus lengyeli kultúra idejére keltezhető sirt mutat be. A 2010-ben, a Baranya megyei Borjád határában egy mentőásatás keretében feltárt objektumok abba a nemrég azonosított típusba sorolhatók, melyeknek fő jellemzője a nagy, téglalap alakú sírgödör, melynek sarkaiba mélyedéseket vájtak. E sírok egy jelentős részére jellemző még a gazdag sírmelléklet is. Noha Baranya megyéből már több száz publikált lengyeli sirt ismerünk, az itt ismertetett típus eddig ismeretlen volt, és a baranyai sír a második, amely a típust ismertté tevő alsónyék-bátaszéki lelőhelyen kívül előkerült.*

**Keywords:** *Lengyel Culture, high-status grave, burial structure, copper, marine shell, necklace, strainer*

**Kulcsszavak:** *lengyeli kultúra, fejedelmi temetkezés, sírépítmény, réz, kagyló, nyaklánc, szűrőedény*

In the autumn of 2010, a local amateur archaeologist donated a more-or-less intact pedestalled vessel to the Department of Archaeology of the Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs. He reported that the vessel and some other sherds were washed out by a temporary watercourse in the vicinity of the village of Borjád (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The vessel can be dated to the Late Neolithic Lengyel Culture because of its characteristic shape and porous red paint.

After this kind donation, we visited the site with the local representative of National Office of Cultural Heritage. The area is cultivated as a nursery garden. Field-walking of ca. 2 ha area around the findspot of the pedestalled vessel produced finds belonging to the Lengyel Culture indicating that a settlement was located there.

We found that the vessels were brought to light by excess irrigation water that had repeatedly flowed through the area. Since this process endangered a part of the site, we implemented a small-scale rescue excavation that produced unexpected results.

Following the removal of the thin layer of topsoil, we found the traces of several scattered overlapping features belonging to the Middle and Late Neolithic periods (Fig. 2). In general, the features of lighter brown fill proved to be those containing Middle Neolithic material. Because of the small size of the excavation area, most of the larger features could not be fully excavated. A pale, but unusually rectangular, discolouration (Feature 3) stood out of the exposed features, most of which were irregularly shaped. As it turned out later, this feature was a rich grave.

Apart from the various pits and the aforementioned grave, we also uncovered the possible remains of another destroyed grave (Feature 10) that was dug into a previously back-filled pit complex (Feature 5).

It seems therefore that the site was inhabited during at least two periods of the Neolithic. In several cases, the pits of the Lengyel Culture cut those that belonged to the Middle Neolithic. In turn, the



Fig. 1 Location of the site in Hungary  
1.kép A lelőhely elhelyezkedése

Lengyel graves were cutting other Lengyel Culture features. This fact also suggests at least two horizons during the Lengyel Culture period of the site; most probably the graves indicate a period when the excavated part of the settlement was not in use anymore. In our paper, we present only the graves.

#### *Description of the graves*

##### *Feature 3 (Fig. 3–9)*

Having removed the topsoil, Feature 3 showed up as a rectangular discolouration that seemingly cut Feature 5, a pit of the Lengyel Culture. Surmising that the pit might be analogous with the then mostly unpublished Alsónyék-Bátaszék ‘*Hauptlingsgräber*’, we began to remove the backfill from half of the pit in order to produce a vertical section but after the removal of a mere 25 cm of the more-or-less homogenous fill, we already found human bones and pottery.

Accordingly, we continued to uncover the remains, and found a contracted skeleton lying on its left side in an east-west orientation. The bones were preserved in bad condition, and parts of the crushed skull were missing, most probably removed by a burrowing animal. Along the east and west wall of the pit, we found two trench-like elongated hollows that contained the major-

ity of the grave goods. In the corners of the pit, the ends of the “trenches” were further deepened forming four posthole-like cavities. The skeleton was positioned on the central “plateau”, slightly south of the west-east axis of the rectangular grave. The head extended beyond the central floor of the grave and, as we found it, lay inclined on the slope of the east trench. It seems though that originally the head had been supported by something made of perishable material, e.g., a wooden burial bed or a pillow that decayed over time, thus causing the head to descend onto the steep slope below it (Fig. 5).

The grave measured 175×210 cm. The original depth of the grave cannot be determined because of the erosion of the slope. Measured from the present-day surface, the deepest points in the corners were -70–75 cm while the main floor was at a relative depth of 40 cm.

The grave goods consisted of 15 ceramic vessels and a necklace comprising beads made mainly of copper and marine shells. Most of the vessels were placed in the hollows in the corners. However, three pieces lay on the shallower, central part of the west trench and three pieces were placed on the central floor. One of these latter two vessels was adjacent to and leaning on the south wall ca. 10 cm higher than the skeleton, and two

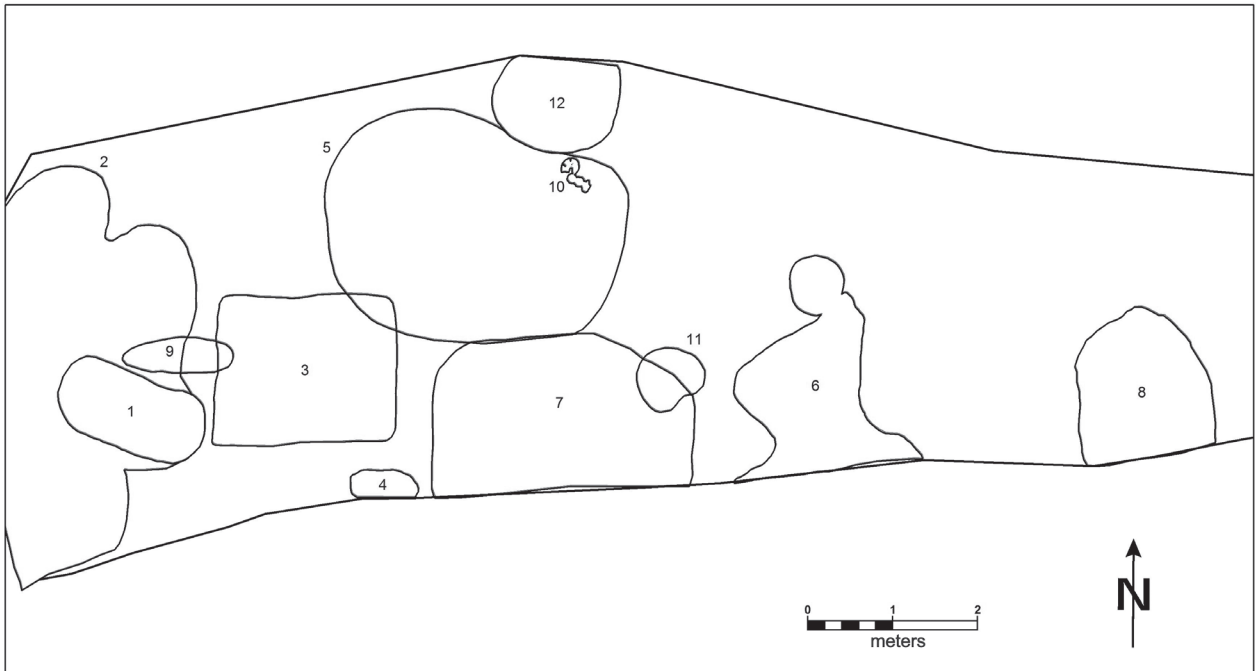


Fig. 2 Plan of the excavated features  
2. kép A feltárt jelenségek alaprajza

other vessels lay near the knee of the body. Four vessels were found on a second level: below the level of the skeleton, in the southeast and southwest “posthole”, below other vessels (Fig. 7–8).

### Grave goods

Nr. 3/1a. Beaker (O.2012.305.3.1; Fig. 14, 1). Well-fired, finely tempered thin-walled, dark grey tripartite beaker. It has been restored to its full original form. Form: cylindrical neck, convex upper body, strongly conic, straight-walled lower body, small base. The entire outside of the vessel shows traces of red paint, as well as a painted strip on the inside right above the lip. Height: 9.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 8.5 cm, diameter of the bottom: 3 cm. Found next to the knees of the skeleton. Its pieces were found broken and mixed with the sherds of vessel 3/1b, so much so that the two separate vessels were only identified during the restoration process.

Nr. 3/1b. Beaker (O.2012.305.3.16; Fig. 14, 2). Well-fired, thin-walled, finely tempered, dark grey bi-conical beaker with traces of red paint on its outside and the inside below the rim. Restored from sherds. It has a slightly curved neck, sharp carination, and conical lower body. It has four, evenly distributed knobs around its belly. Height: 9 cm, diameter of the rim: 11.4 cm, diameter of the base: 3.5 cm. The sherds of this vessel

were mixed with those of vessel 3/1a and were separated and identified during the restoration work.

Nr. 3/2. Pedestalled vessel (O.2012.305.3.2; Fig. 13, 1a–e). Well-fired, dark grey, low-pedestalled vessel. The upper part of the vessel is conical with a straight profile. The rim of the pedestal is slightly flared. The vessel shows traces of red paint both on the inside and the outside. On the outside of the upper part there are four round knobs. In the areas between the round knobs the red paint is interrupted by four ring-shaped, unpainted areas rimmed with white in the inner part. The red-painted inside of rings had white zigzag motifs painted on them. Unfortunately, we have only photographs of the white motifs, because the white paint disintegrated shortly after the removal of the vessel from the soil. Four, evenly placed knobs are placed on the upper part of the pedestal. It seems that the pedestal was decorated with alternating red, white and unpainted, dark gray areas. Unfortunately, only the traces of an unpainted saw-tooth pattern and a white, triangular shape painted on the red ground coat can still be discerned from the decoration of the pedestal. Height: 21.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 41 cm, diameter of the base 12.5 cm. This vessel was found in the southwest corner of the grave. The rim of the vessel was on the same level as the central floor of the grave.

Nr. 3/3. Butmir type (mushroom) pot (O.2012.305.3.3; Fig. 15, 7). Finely tempered, well-fired, dark grey pot with

inward leaning, hemispherical shoulder, and conical belly. Found broken, it is now restored. Both the shoulder and the belly has four, large, semi-spherical knobs. Traces of red paint can be seen on the outer surface. Height: 26.8 cm, diameter of the rim: 8.6 cm, largest diameter: 38 cm, diameter of the base: 13 cm. It was found at the foot of the skeleton, placed on the middle, higher part of the trench along the west wall of the grave.

Nr. 3/4. Beaker (O.2012.305.3.4; Fig. 14, 4a–b). Well-fired, thin-walled, finely tempered, dark grey tripartite beaker with cylindrical neck and semi-spherical bottom. There are four small knobs evenly placed just below the line of the carination. Once having probably covered the entire outer surface of the neck, there are traces of white, ‘basket-weave’ pattern on the partially surviving red base coat paint. There is red paint also on the inside of the neck. Height: 10 cm, diameter of the rim: 8 cm, diameter of the base: 4 cm. It was found placed inside vessel 3/5, next to the pot 3/3.

Nr. 3/5. Biconical jar (O.2012.305.3.5; Fig. 14, 6a–b). Well-fired, thin-walled, finely tempered, dark grey tripartite jar with cylindrical neck and biconical belly. Its outside bears traces of red paint. Both the belly and the neck are decorated with four small knobs. Restored from sherds. Height: 18,7 cm, diameter of the rim: 15,5 cm, diameter of the base: 5 cm. It was found placed next to vessel 3/3.

Nr. 3/6. Pedestalled vessel (O.2012.305.3.6; Fig. 13, 2a–c). Well-fired, finely tempered, dark grey pedestalled vessel. The upper part of the vessel is conical with slightly convex profile. The rim of the hollow pedestal is flared. The outside and a 6 cm wide outer section of the inside of the vessel have traces of red ground paint. There is a single knob on the outside of the bowl, and another four knobs placed symmetrically around the upper part of the pedestal. There are four negative, dark grey ring motifs (12 cm in diameter, 1.5 cm in width) on the outside of the bowl. Height: 35 cm, diameter of the rim: 43 cm, diameter of the bowl: 15.5 cm. It was found in the northeast “posthole” of the grave.

Nr. 3/7. Butmir type (mushroom) pot (O.2012.305.3.7; Fig. 15, 5). Small, thin-walled, well-fired, finely tempered, dark grey Butmir type (mushroom) pot with inward leaning, conical shoulder, and conical belly. Restored from sherds. There are traces of red paint all over its outer surface. There is a single knob under its rim, and a possible one placed symmetrically on the opposing side. Height: 13 cm, diameter of the rim: 6.5 cm, diameter of the base: 6 cm. Found next to the vessel 3/6, in the northeast corner.

Nr. 3/8. Conical bowl (O.2012.305.3.8; Fig. 15, 4). Well-fired, oval, conical bowl. Restored from sherds. Tempered with fine gravel, its brownish-grey fabric is medium coarse. On one of its shorter sides there is semi-circular, vertical handle with a round hole. There are two vertical,

knob-like handles on the longer sides. Its other short side is undecorated. Height: 7.3 cm, diameter of the rim: 15.5×22 cm. Found on the main floor of the grave, lying on one of its longer sides, leaning on the south wall, ca. 10 cm above of the level of the skeleton.

Nr. 3/9. Butmir type (mushroom) pot (O.2012.305.3.9; Fig. 15, 3). Small, thin walled, well-fired, finely tempered Butmir (mushroom) pot with inward leaning, hemispherical shoulder, and conical belly. Restored. It has a biconical body and narrowing rim. There are traces of red paint all over its outer surface. Four on each level, there are symmetrically placed knobs around the rim, on the shoulder, and on the belly of the pot. Height: 13 cm, diameter of the rim: 6.7 cm, diameter of the base: 4 cm. It was found immediately in front of the skull, next to vessel 3/10, and overlying vessel 3/14.

Nr. 3/10. Beaker (O.2012.305.3.10; Fig. 14, 3). Thin walled, finely tempered, well-fired dark grey beaker with flaring rim and sharp carination. There are traces of red paint all over its outer surface, and also around the rim on the inside. Height: 6.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 9.5 cm, main diameter of the base: 2.8 cm. It lay next to vessel 3/9, in front of the forehead of the skull.

Nr. 3/11. Necklace (O.2012.305.3.11; Fig. 12 a–b). Necklace consisting of marine shell (Table 1), copper, and possibly bone and stone beads. The deceased wore a necklace consisting of copper, marine shell, stone, and possibly bone/tooth beads. The necklace was arranged in a way that the larger shell beads were at the back, and the copper beads in the front of the skeleton. The 126 copper beads of the necklace were probably formed by cutting and bending copper wire. According to their size, they belong to three groups: 66 of them are made of bent wire and are ca. 3.5 mm in width, 56 pieces, also of bent wire, are ca. 4.5 mm in width, while 4 of the items were 1.4–1.5 cm long, thin tubes probably made of bent copper sheet. The overall weight of the copper beads is 13 g. The larger marine shell beads are of various size ranging from 6.5 mm to 9.4 mm of width and 7.6 mm to 32 mm of length (Table 1). Among the copper beads there were 9 other very small, white beads probably made either of marine shell or bone. The necklace also included 4 malachite beads similar to the larger copper beads in size, and a yellow, transparent, slightly triangular stone bead, all of them drilled through. It was around the neck of the skeleton.

Nr. 3/12. Beaker (O.2012.305.3.12; Fig. 14, 5a–c). Thin-walled, finely tempered, well-fired, dark grey, beaker. Restored from sherds, amended. It has slightly curved neck, sharp carination, and conical lower body. There are four evenly placed knobs along the carination. There are traces of red ground paint all over its outer surface, and also around the rim on the inside. Unpainted lozenge pattern can be observed against the red base paint around the knobs decorating the belly of the beaker. The lozenges

No.	Length (mm)	Width (mm)	Diameter of the hole (mm)	Weight (g)	Description
1	32	9,4	3,5	6	Cylindrical body, squarish cross-section with rounded corners
2	31,7	7,1	3,7	3	Cylindrical body, rounded on one side and has two rounded edges on the opposite. The layered structure of the shell is visible on its surface.
3	28,4	8,2	3,7	3	Cylindrical body, oval cross-section with longer sides slightly flattened.
4	23,4	7	3,8	2	Cylindrical body, squarish cross-section with rounded corners; The layered structure of the shell is visible on its surface.
5	15,3	7	3	1	Broken at one end; cylindrical body with squarish cross-section of three flattened and one rounded side. The layered structure of the shell is visible on its surface.
6	11,4	7,5	2,8	1	Cylindrical body with holes on the surface; oval cross-section;
7	10,3	6,5	2,5	1	Rounded, slightly squarish cross-section
8	9,2	6,8	2,6	>1	Cylindrical, slightly angular cross-section
9	8,2	7,8	2,5	>1	Cylindrical, slightly angular cross-section, porous material (broken)
10	7,6	6,6	2,4	>1	Cylindrical, slightly angular cross-section

Table 1 Marine shell beads of the necklace (Fig. 12, 2)

1. táblázat A nyaklánc tengeri kagylóból készült gyöngyei (Fig. 12, 2)

are connected by diagonal lines on the bottom part of the body. Faint traces of white 'basket-weave' motif could also be observed around its neck. The surface of the vessel below the paint is burnished. Height: 7.8 cm, diameter of the rim: 11 cm, diameter of the base: 3.5 cm. It was found placed inside vessel 3/13, in the southwest corner, below vessel 3/2.

Nr. 3/13. Strainer vessel (O.2012.305.3.13; Fig. 15, 1a–b). Thin-walled, well-fired, finely tempered brownish-grey bowl with slightly narrowing shoulder and gently flaring rim. There are 25 holes, 3–4 mm in diameter, pierced through its body and base. Both its inside and outside has traces of red ground coat. There are four small knobs along the rim and also around the carination. Unpainted, inter-connected negative, semi-circular linear motifs surround the knobs on the carination line from below. Height: 12.9 cm, diameter of the rim: 23 cm, diameter of the base: 6 cm. It was found under vessel 3/2 (pedestalled vessel) and contained 3/12.

Nr. 3/14. Conical bowl (O.2012.305.3.14; Fig. 15, 2). Conical bowl of dark grey fabric tempered with fine

gravel, well-fired. Four large knobs distributed evenly around its side. Two of the opposing knobs are round the other two are vertically elongated. Height: 7.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 23 cm, diameter of the base: 13.5 cm. It was found placed upside down on the bottom of the hollow in the southeast corner of the grave. We found a bone fragment under it. Items 3/9 and 3/10 were placed on top of this vessel.

Nr. 3/15. Conical bowl (O.2012.305.3.15, Fig. 15, 6). Conical bowl of medium coarse, brownish-grey fabric, tempered with fine gravel, well-fired. Status: restored from sherds, missing parts are amended. It has four, evenly distributed conical knobs on the midline of its body. Height: 9.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 24.5 cm, diameter of the base: 11 cm. Next to the bowl 3/14, in the southeast hollow, at the bottom.

#### Feature 10 (Fig. 10–11)

Near the area most eroded by the occasional flow of excess water, we found several ceramic vessels, some placed on top of, and others next to, each



Fig. 3 Photo of grave No. 3.  
3. kép A 3. sír fényképe

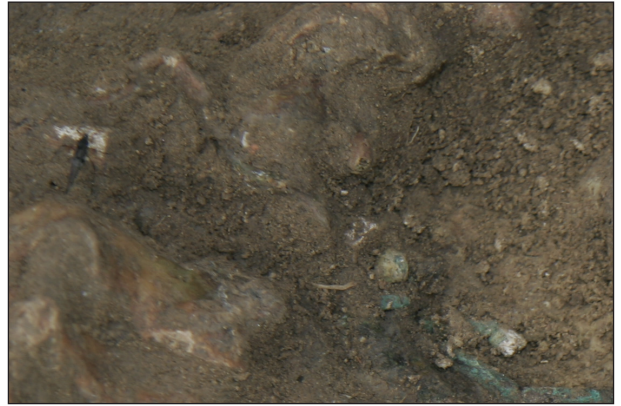


Fig. 4 In situ photo of the necklace in grave 3.  
4. kép In situ kép a 3. sír nyakláncáról



Fig. 5 Detailed photo of the upper head-part in Feature 3  
5. kép Részletfotó a fej környékéről a 3. jelenségben



Fig. 6 The empty grave No. 3  
6. kép A 3. sír üresen

other. We also found a cranial fragment among the sherds. The pottery assemblage (Feature 10) was found buried in the uppermost layer of Feature 5 (also a Lengyel Culture pit).

The fill of the pit most probably associated with the ceramic assemblage could not be differentiated from the surrounding dark back-fill of a pit. However, the assemblage consisting of two, almost intact pedestalled vessels placed on top of each other, and six other vessels placed under and next to them reminded us very much of the grave goods placed in the corners of Feature 3. It seems plausible that the rest of the putative grave had been destroyed by agricultural activity and erosion. According to Mr. Kurucz, he had found the pedestalled vessel he kindly gave to the Museum washed out immediately next to the spot where the assemblage of Feature 10 was found. This fact further corroborates our supposition that Feature 10 had been a grave similar to Feature 3.

#### *Finds of Feature 10*

Nr. 10/1. Pedestalled vessel (O.2012.305.10.1; Fig. 17, 1). Well-fired, finely tempered, buff-coloured, small pedestalled vessel with no traces of paint. The upper part has a straight profile, the base of the pedestal is slightly flared. Height: 15.7 cm, diameter of the rim: 18.7 cm, diameter of the base: 8.6 cm. Found next to vessel 10/2 and 10/3.

Nr. 10/2. Pedestalled vessel (O.2012.305.10.2; Fig. 16, 1a–c). Well-fired, dark grey, thin-walled, finely tempered pedestalled vessel. The bowl has a straight profile. Restored from fragments. Both the inside and the outside of the vessel has traces of red paint. There is a single knob on the outside of the upper part, and four evenly placed knobs on the upper part of the pedestal. There are four unpainted (black), circular motifs on the outside of the upper part with ring has black zigzag motifs on the inside. Height: 25 cm, diameter of the rim: 24,5 cm, diameter of the base: 10.7 cm. Its pedestal standing on top of 10/2, the sherds of its body were found broken off the pedestal and lying on vessel 10/3.

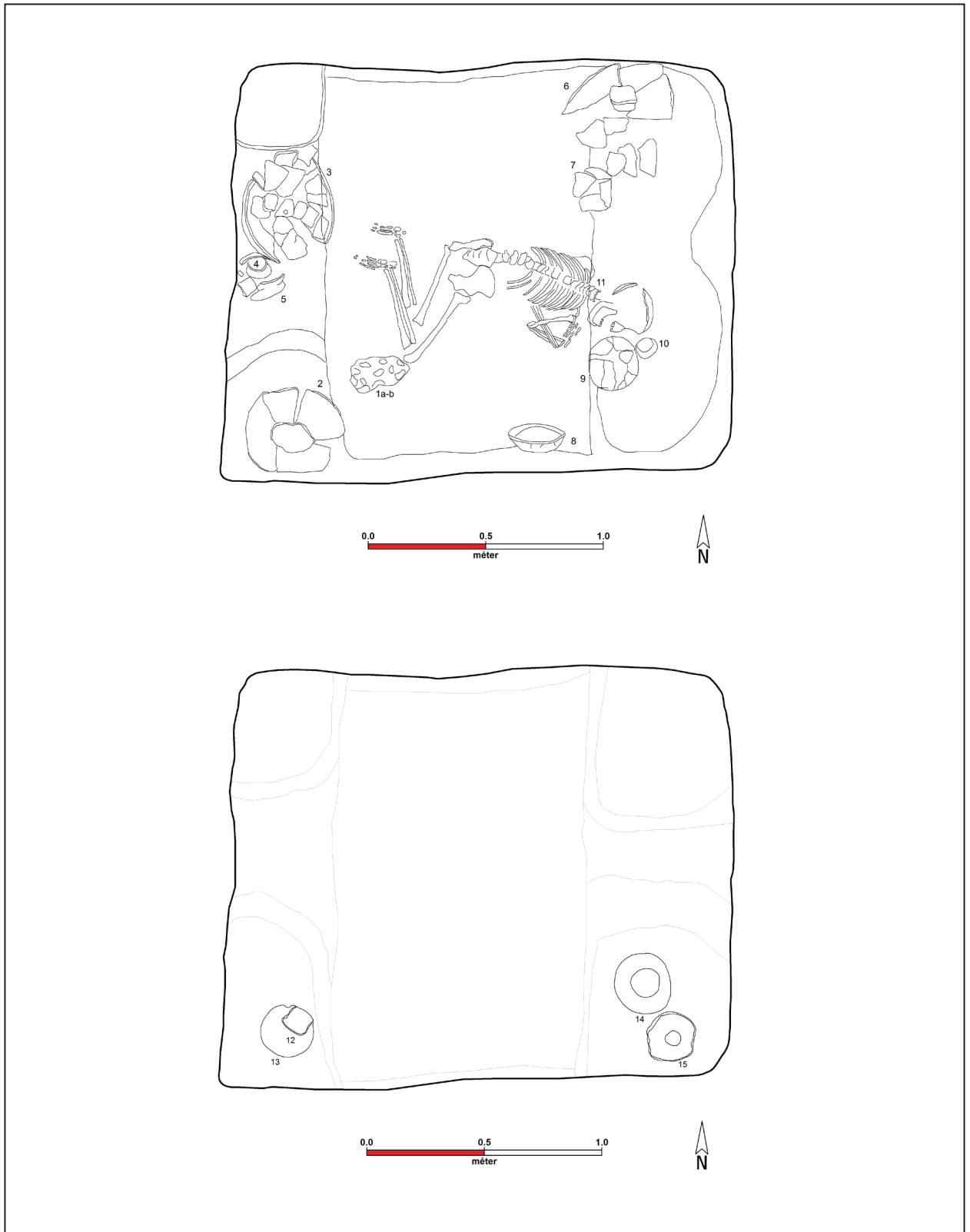


Fig. 7 Plan of grave No. 3 with grave goods on various levels: first level (above) and second level (below)  
 7. kép A 3. sír alaprajza a különböző szinteken elhelyezett mellékletekkel: első szint (fent) és második szint (alul)

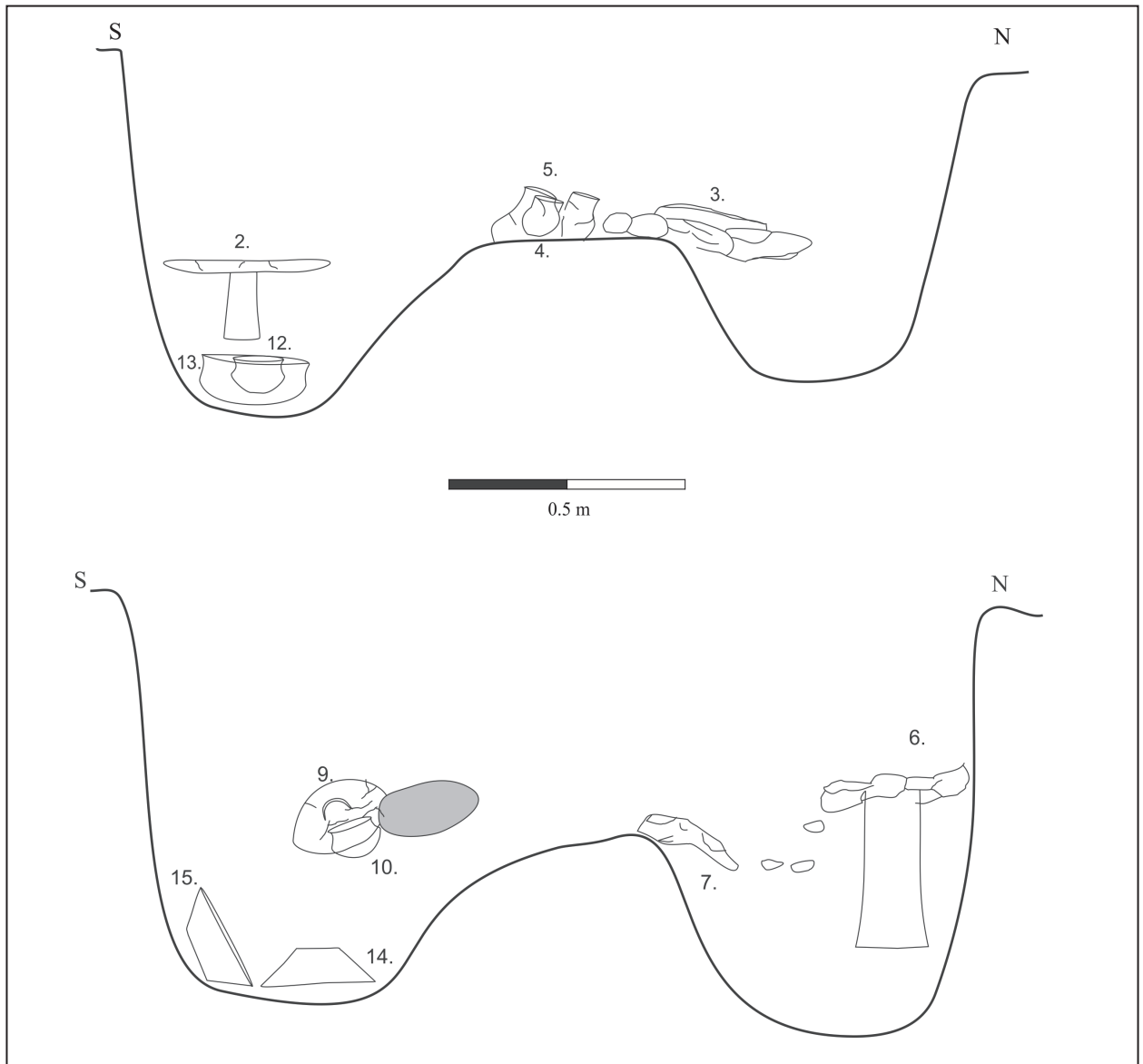


Fig. 8 North–south section drawings of grave No. 3: on the western side (above) and eastern side (below)  
8. kép A 3. sír észak–dél irányú metszete: nyugati oldalon (fent) és keleti oldalon (lent)

Nr. 10/3. Pedestalled vessel (O.2012.305.10.3; Fig. 16, 2a–c). Well-fired, finely tempered, dark grey pedestalled vessel. The bowl has a straight profile. The base is slightly flaring. There are traces of red paint on the outside of the vessel and also around the inside of the rim. There are four small knobs placed in equal distance around the body, and also around the upper part of the pedestal. There unpainted (black) ring motifs, 12 cm in diameter, between the knobs on the body. Height: 28.8 cm, diameter of the rim: 35.5 cm, diameter of the base: 14 cm.

Nr. 10/4. Bowl (O.2012.305.10.4). Sherds of a thin walled, dark grey, red painted bowl, one piece with knob.

Nr. 10/5. Conical bowl (O.2012.305.10.5; Fig. 17, 3). Well-fired, dark grey conical bowl of semi-coarse fabric. Restored from sherds. Height: 8.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 28 cm, diameter of the base: 12 cm. In the photos this vessel was marked 4 and 5. The sherds turned out to be parts of the same vessel during restoration. No. 10/4 was subsequently reassigned to O.2012.305.10.4.

Nr. 10/6. Butmir type (mushroom) pot (O.2012.305.10.6; Fig. 17, 2). Well-fired, finely tempered, small, dark grey, thin-walled Butmir type (mushroom) pot with inward leaning, hemispherical shoulder, and conical belly. It has four symmetrically placed knobs both below its rim



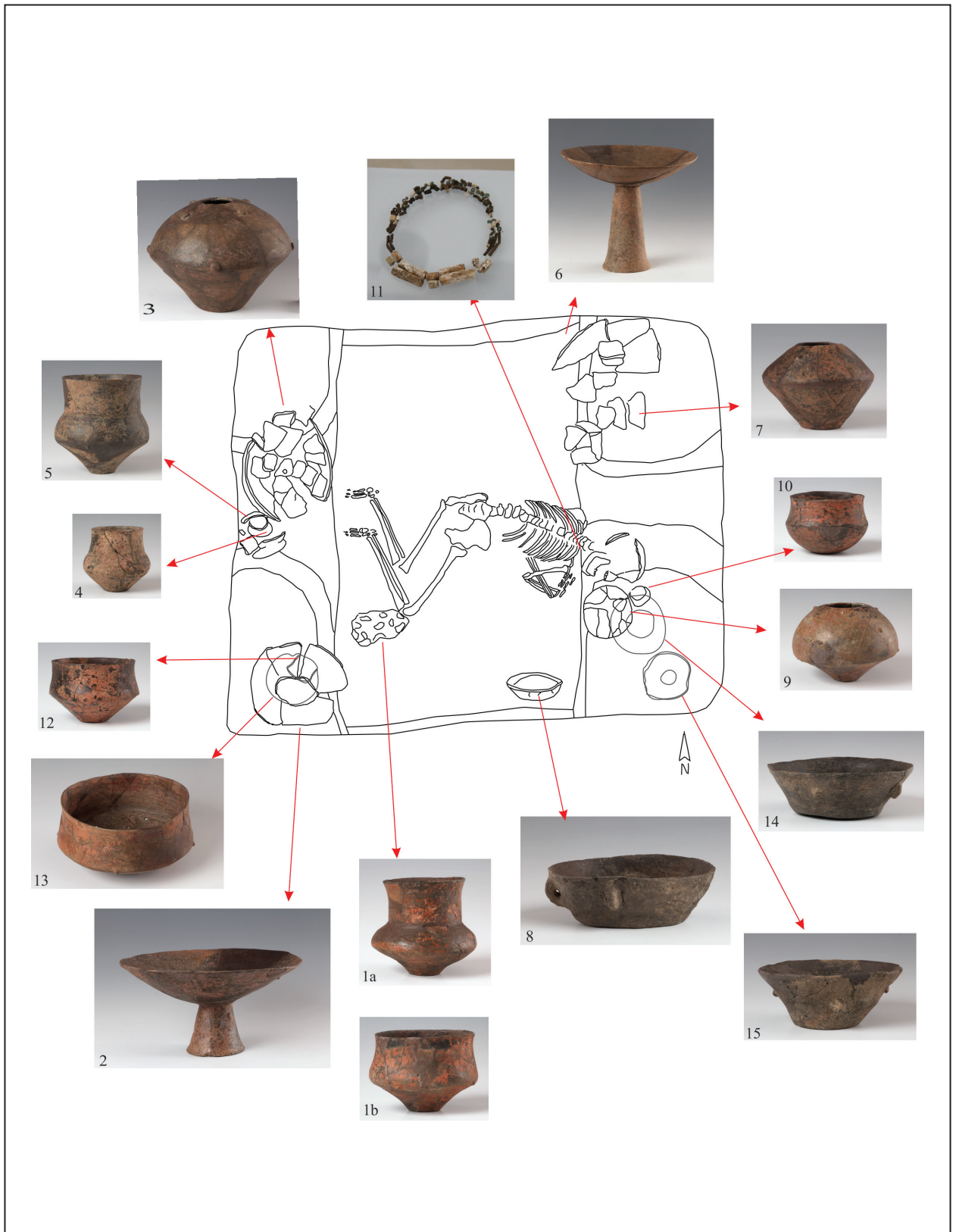


Fig. 9 Plan of grave No. 3. with restored vessels  
 9. kép A 3. sír alaprajza a restaurált edényekkel



Fig. 10 Photo of the possible grave No. 10  
10. kép A 10., feltételezett sír fényképe

and around its belly. It shows traces of red paint on the outside. Height: 15.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 7.2 cm, diameter of the base: 5.5 cm. Its sherds were found during the removal of upper vessels of the assemblage.

Nr. 10/7. Beaker (O.2012.305.10.7, Fig. 17, 5a–c). Status: restored from sherds. It has four symmetrically placed knobs both below its rim and around its belly. There are negative, dark spiral motifs around the knobs on its belly. Traces of white –“basket-weave” motifs on red ground coat can be seen on its neck. Height: 10.8 cm, diameter of the rim: 16 cm, diameter of the base: 5 cm. Found under vessel 10/3.

Nr. 10/8. Beaker (O.2012.305.10.8; Fig. 17, 4). Thin walled, well-fired, finely tempered, dark grey beaker. Status: restored from sherds. It has two symmetrically placed knobs both below its rim and on its belly. The beaker shows no traces of paint. Its outer surface is burnished. Height: 8.5 cm, diameter of the rim: 8.3 cm, diameter of the base: 5 cm. Found under vessel 10/1.

Nr. 10/9. Sherds of a vessel with linear traces caused by the process of forming (O.2012.305.10.9).

Nr. 10/10. Sherds of a biconical vessel (belly and knob) (O.2012.305.10.10).

### Analysis

#### Grave structure

Lengyel graves resembling Feature 3 in its rectangular shape with side trenches and “postholes” in the corners have not been known until very recently. So far, they have been found at only one site in the neighbouring Tolna county (GALLINA et al. 2010; ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS 2009; ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS–KÖHLER 2012). Of the 1,593 analyzed graves of the ca. 2,300 burials dated to the period of the Lengyel Culture at the Alsónyék-Bátaszék site (Tolna County) 123 burials (7.72 per cent) belonged to this type (ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS–KÖHLER 2012, 72). The common characteristics of the rectangular, “side trench and posthole” type are: 1.: a near-rectangular shape, 2.: large size when compared to ‘ordinary’ burials (1.6–2.5 m length), 3.: a deep trench and/or posthole-like hollows inserted into the sides and/or corners of the grave cut.

#### Burial rite<sup>2</sup>

According to the anthropological analysis (for the details see the Appendix), the person buried in Feature 3 was an adult female. According to the analy-

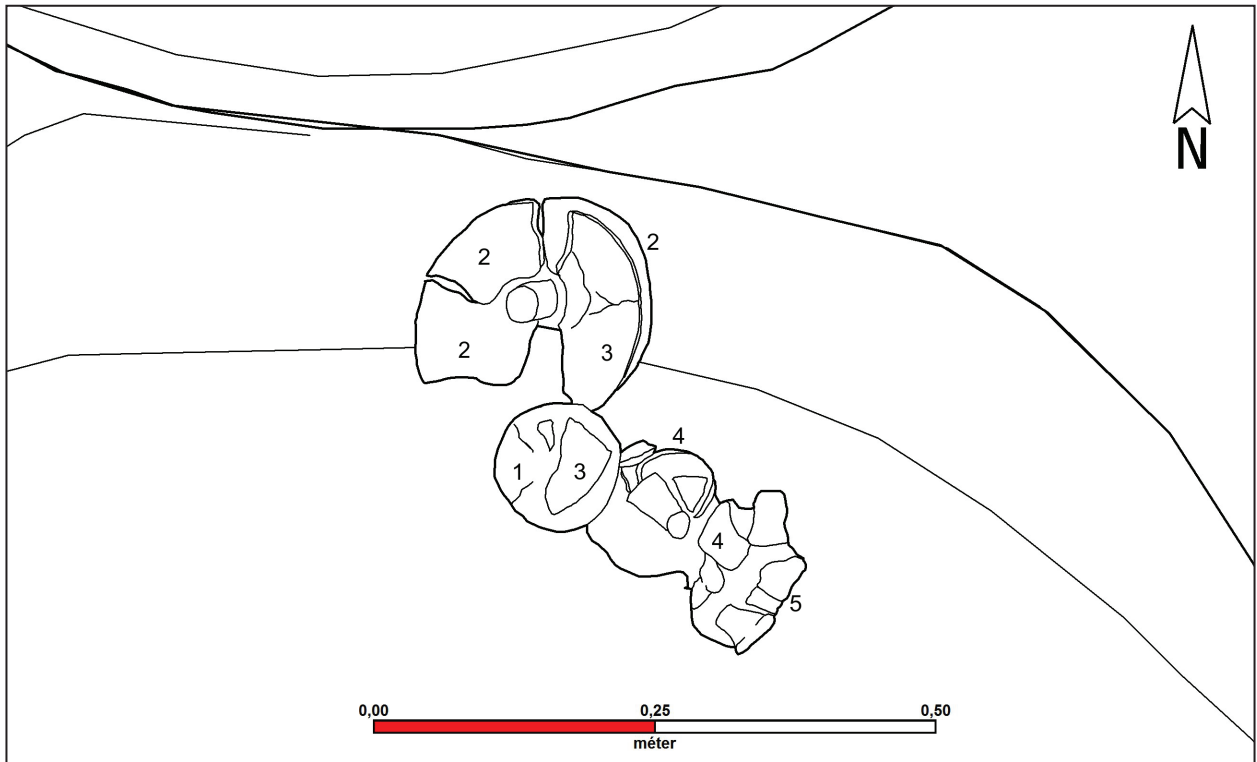


Fig. 11 Plan of the grave goods from grave No. 10  
11. kép A 10. sír edényeinek alaprajza

ses dealing with the Late Neolithic burials in the surrounding region, the majority of the graves were those of adult women (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 52–53). However, in the case of the graves similar in structure to Feature 3, the ratio of the two sexes is more or less equal (ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS–KÖHLER 2012, 112).

The contracted body lay on its left side. Its arms were placed in an awkward, overlapping and bent position, suggesting that they had been bound. Located ca. 10 cm from the necklace, the fingers of the left hand showed green marks of oxidized copper (Fig. 4) However, we found no copper objects directly around or on the fingers. This may indicate that the hands were originally forced near or under the neck and the skull in a “sleeping” position. This way, the oxidized necklace could have caused the green marks. It probably happened during the process of decomposing that the hand moved away from the necklace.

Contracted burial was the most wide spread tradition in the Lengyel period at the most well-known nearby sites in Zengővárkony, Villánykövesd (both located in Baranya county), as well as the closest known sites in Tolna County (Mórág and Alsónyék-Bátaszék). In the case of the Zengővárkony

burials, some 87.5 per cent of the burials were contracted with the body placed on its left side (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 60–69).

Facing south, the body had an east-west orientation, which is typical of the contemporary cemeteries uncovered at Zengővárkony, Pécsvárad and Villánykövesd. According to the comparative observations made by I. Zalai-Gaál, the prevalence of the opposite, west–east orientation in the case of the Mórág burials has a chronological significance, as they seem to be characteristic of a latter period (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 56–59). At sub-site 5603 near Alsónyék–Bátaszék, the graves similar in structure to Borjád Feature 3 are also mostly oriented east–west (ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS–KÖHLER 2012, 96–97). Accordingly, the Borjád burial is not extraordinary in the region in terms of orientation.

#### *Grave goods*

Located on several levels, there were vessels of various type placed around the buried person. She also had a necklace of copper and marine shell beads as part of her funeral attire, which may have been lavishly decorated, but no traces of it survived. Some of the vessels<sup>3</sup> may also have served as part of



Fig. 12 Parts of the necklace from grave No. 3. 1: stone (malachite?), bone, and copper beads; 2: marine shell beads  
 12. kép A 3. sír nyakláncának részei. 1: kő (malachit?), csont és rézgyöngyök; 2: tengeri kagylók

the equipment used during a funeral feast. Though we did not find any traces of offerings placed on them, other grave goods were most probably also included to ensure the well-being of the deceased in the afterlife. As we found them, all of the vessels were broken, but all the pieces were next to each other in their 'natural' position. This means that they broke either during the burial by the soil dropped on them or after the burial because of the pressure of the soil.

It is also possible that grave goods of ephemeral material were not placed only on or into the vessels since one of the corner holes lacked finds. Additionally, as mentioned above, the position of the skull and the vessels Nos. 3/9 and 3/10 also implies a sup-

port that had later decomposed. It may also not be coincidental that the grave goods were positioned on various levels in the grave.<sup>4</sup>

Considering all of the known Lengyel Culture burials in Southern Transdanubia, the number of pottery vessels recovered from Feature 3 is well the average of 2–5 pieces. Graves with more than 5 vessels are extraordinarily rare, and we know on only one grave with more than 15 pieces: Grave No. 114 in Zengővárkony had 21 pieces (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 73–74). According to the observations made by I. Zalai-Gaál, burials with large number of pottery vessels are characteristic of the early and transitional phase (Ia–Ib) of the Lengyel Culture in Southern Transdanubia, and are rare in the later phases (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 84). Feature 3 is also among the richest in pottery grave goods when compared to the published graves of similar structure uncovered in the Alsónyék-Bátaszék Lengyel cemetery.

The unique construction and the extraordinary number of funerary items seem to confirm the conclusion by I. Zalai-Gaál and A. Osztás that this type of graves belonged to persons of high status (ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS 2009, 247, 252). However, our knowledge of this type of burial is limited, and therefore the interpretation of its structural elements is uncertain. Even the graves published so far show a great variety both in terms of layout and grave-goods.

As for the corner holes, the excavators of the Alsónyék site proposed that they may have been postholes of a wooden construction. In the Carpathian Basin, traces of similar structures dated to the Late Neolithic are sporadic (HORVÁTH 1992). Naturally, the question occurs: to what type of wooden construction could these “postholes” belong to? In technical terms, a wooden “mortuary house” structure that formed part of the backfilled grave can be more plausibly supposed in the case of the burials with empty holes of near-round cross section in their corners e.g. (ZALAI–OSZTÁS–KÖHLER 2012, Figs. 16 and 19). In the case of the Borjád burial, the corner holes do not have a definite shape and three of them contained grave goods that did not allow the presence of posts. In the southeast and southwest corners, the pottery vessels are on top of each other, with some of them deliberately placed on the bottom of the hollow, while some may have either been placed or slid and broke on top of the bottom ones, while the northeast corner hollow had a pedestal vessel in it that prevented the placement of a post into it. Consequently, we do not think that the corner holes of the Borjád grave served as real postholes of a permanent funerary structure.

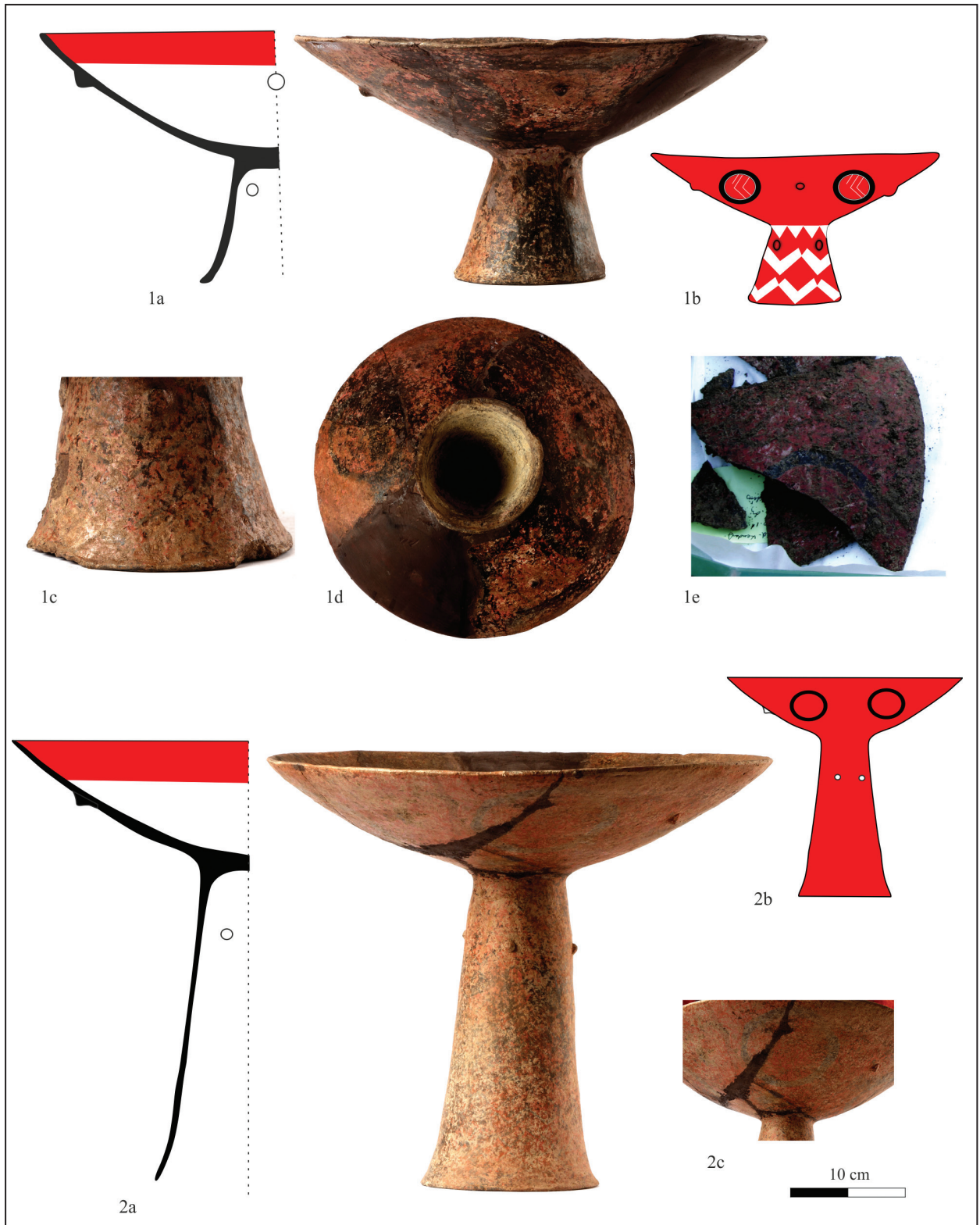


Fig. 13 Pottery vessels from grave feature No. 3; 1b, 2b: reconstruction of the painted motifs (not in scale)  
(Photo: István Füzi, JPM)

13. kép Edénymellékletek a 3. sírból; az 1b és 2b a festett motívumok rekonstrukciója (nem mérethelyesen)  
(Fénykép: Füzi István, JPM)

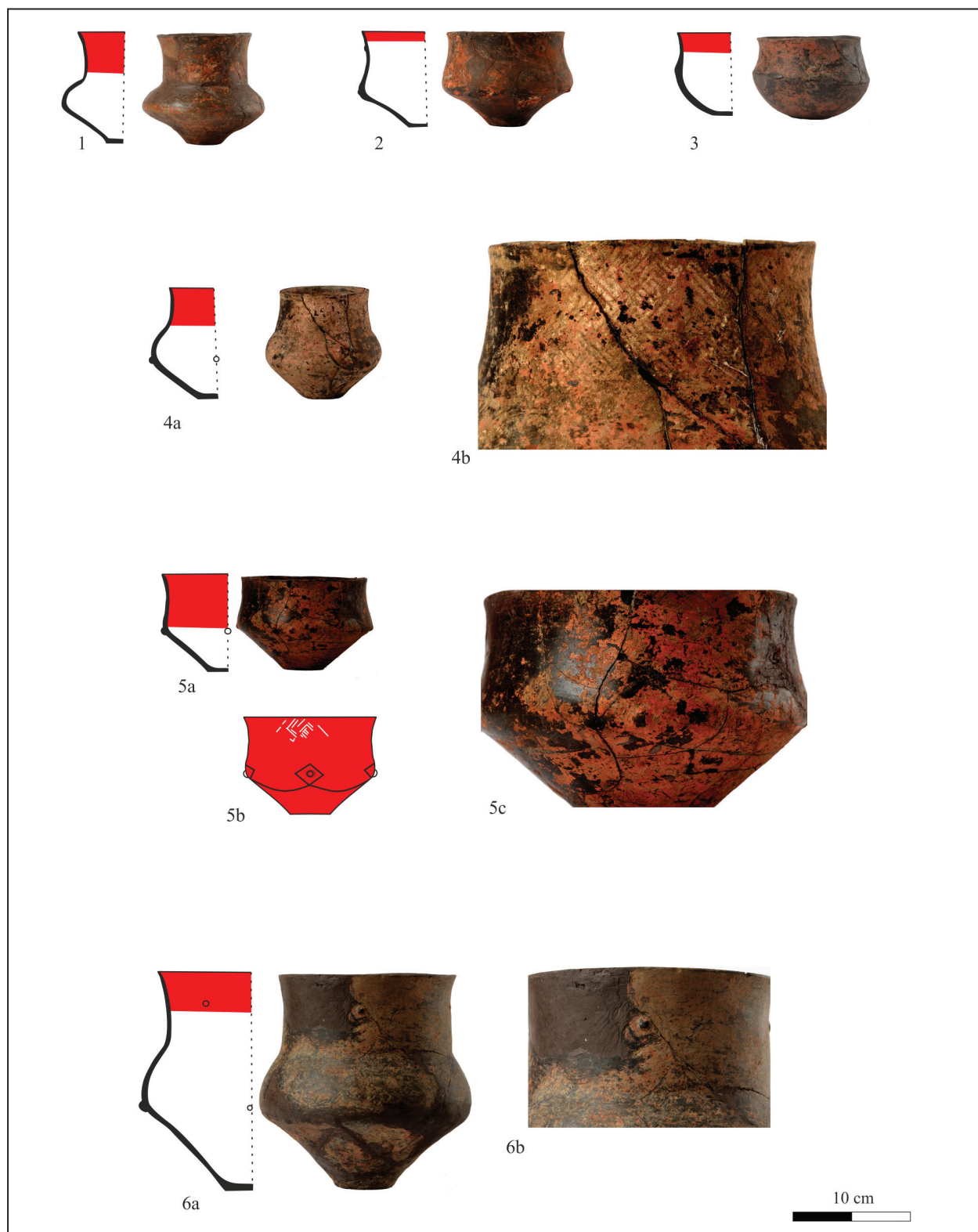


Fig. 14 Pottery vessels from grave feature No. 3; 5b: reconstruction of the painted motifs (not in scale)  
(Photo: István Füzi, JPM)

14. kép Edénymelléletek a 3. sírból; az 5b a festett motívumok rekonstrukciója (nem mérethelyesen)  
(Fénykép: Füzi István, JPM)

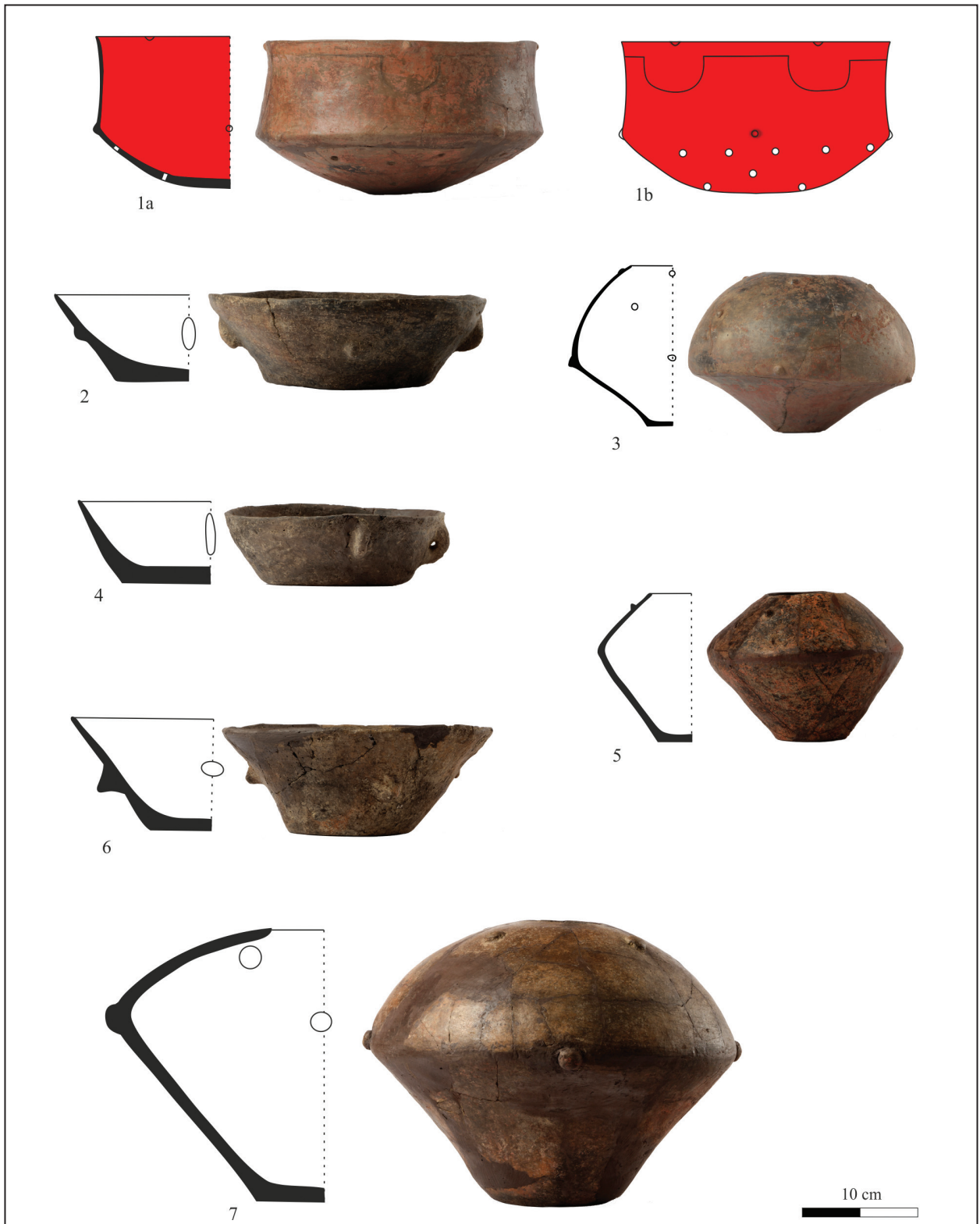


Fig. 15 Pottery vessels from grave feature No. 3; 1b, : reconstruction of the painted motifs

(Photo: István Füzi, JPM)

15. kép Edénymelléletek a 3. sírból; az 1b a festett motívumok rekonstrukciója

(Fénykép: Füzi István, JPM)

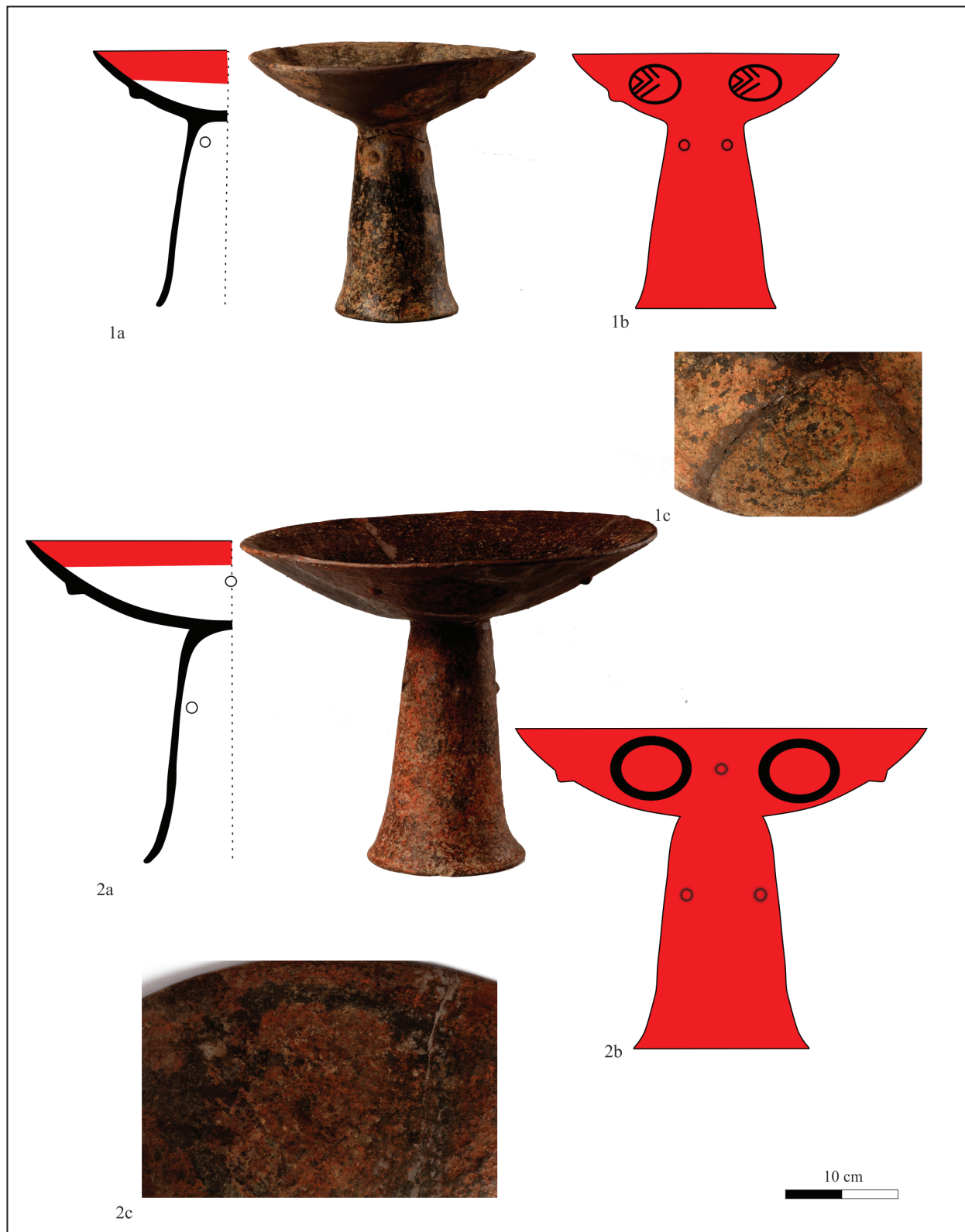


Fig. 16 Pottery vessels from grave feature No. 10; 1b, 2b: reconstruction of the painted motifs

(Photo: István Füzi, JPM)

16. kép Edénymelléletek a 10. sírból; az 1b és 2b a festett motívumok rekonstrukciója (Fénykép: Füzi István, JPM)



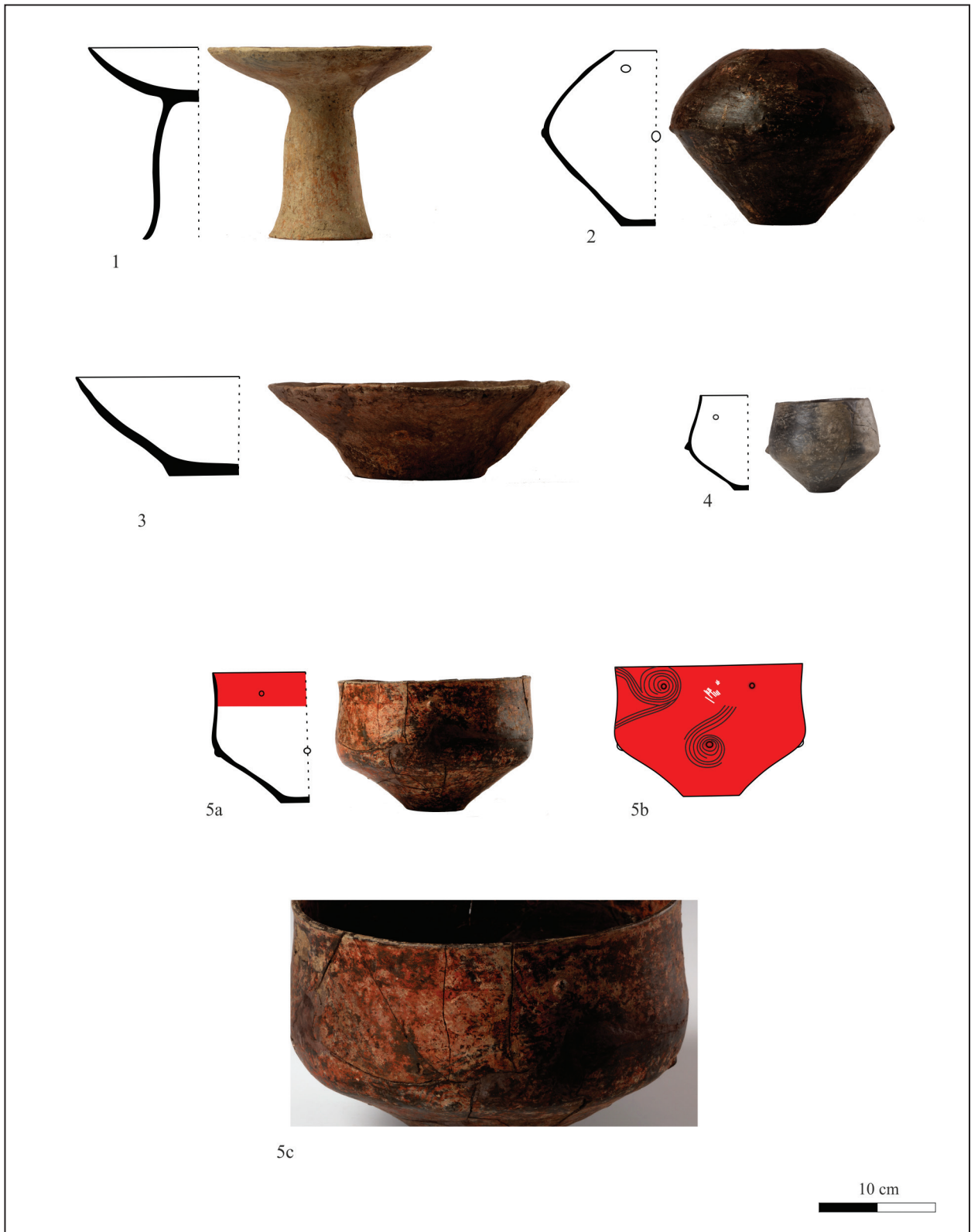


Fig. 17 Pottery vessels from grave feature No. 10; 5b: reconstruction of the painted motifs  
(Photo: István Füzi, JPM)

17. kép Edénymellékletek a 10. sírból; az 5b a festett motívumok rekonstrukciója (Fénykép: Füzi István, JPM)

A possible explanation of these two major types, i.e. the graves with genuine and imitation postholes, could be based on a temporal change: the real postholes became symbolic, and gained a new ritual function by time. Another possible solution could be that the legs or posts of a subsequently removed catafalque or house-like structure were placed into the corner holes before or during a funeral ceremony. If so, the presence of the grave goods in the corner holes suggests that either the whole platform or at least its legs were removed and the corner pits were filled with grave goods before the backfilling of the grave. The fact that the head of the buried person was found inclined on the slope of the south-east hollow in an unnatural position may indicate the presence either of a solid platform or at least a pillow-like support at the time of the burial. This support decayed by time and allowed the head to descend into the hollow.

Moving away from the purely technical reasoning, it is quite possible that the special structure of the Borjád and similar Lengyel graves have an explanation rooted in the ritual beliefs of the Lengyel people. Due to the lack of data, we could come up only with purely theoretical interpretations that are beyond the scope of this paper. It is to be noted, however, that objects of obvious sacral significance, like idols and altars, were not found in the grave. All of the pottery finds were what we would rather think of as items (or copies of items) for everyday use,<sup>5</sup> while the necklace was most probably an object of prestige with decorative function.

Considering the Alsónyék cemetery, it is plausible that Feature 3 was not a unique phenomenon within the Borjád site. Though not confirmed, Feature 10 may be the surviving part of a as a neighbouring burial of similar type: it is characteristic of the Lengyel funerary customs to place graves in groups in any case.

### *Pottery forms*<sup>6</sup>

Most of the vessel forms are typical for the South-eastern Transdanubian Group of the Lengyel Culture: there were found in Feature 3 two pedestalled vessels, three conical, oval bowls, three so-called 'Butmir'-type (mushroom) pots, three small beakers with curved neck and wide rim two beakers and a jar with biconical body and vertical neck. In the southwest corner of the grave we found a unique deep bowl (No. 3/13: Fig. 15, 1), a strainer vessel with holes on its round bottom. It was placed under a pedestalled vessel (No. 3/2: Fig. 13, 1), and contained a beaker (No. 3/12: Fig. 14, 5).

### *Decoration*

#### *Red paint and unpainted, negative motifs*

With the exception of the oval, conical bowls, all the pottery finds from Feature 3 show traces of painted decoration. In most cases at least some of the paint remained attached to the soil upon the removal of the vessel. Therefore, it is difficult to reconstruct some of the motifs. Also in feature 10, except for vessels 1 and 5 (Fig. 17, 1, 3), every piece showed traces of red painting.

Creating 'negative' motifs by omitting the paint, whereby the pattern shows up with the natural, dark colour of the fabric, was applied in several cases, as in the case of the ring motifs on the pedestalled vessels (No. 3/2, 3/6, 10/2, 10/3: Fig. 13, 1, 2, Fig. 16, 1, 2) and the zigzag patterns (No. 10/2: Fig. 16, 1) within these rings.

#### *White paint*

There are some cases where traces of white motifs painted on red background could be observed. However, the white paint was very thin and in most cases disintegrated already in, or soon after being removed from the soil.

A white, 'basket-weave' or possibly meander-like motif is still visible on the upper part of two of the beakers (No. 3/4: Fig. 14, 4b; No. 3/12: Fig. 14, 5b) and a traces of such a pattern is visible on another beaker from Feature 10. (No. 10/7: Fig. 17, 5b). Similar meander-like painted patterns were found on other Lengyel vessels (e. g. PAŽINOVÁ 2012, 231, Fig. 1).

A recently re-examined example of a real 'basket-weave' pattern is a beaker from Öcsöd (RACZYKÓVÁCS 2009, 143, Fig. 3). The white pattern on the dark, birch bark-tar coated surface of the Öcsöd vessel was found to be the residue of interwoven straw. In our case, the white pattern could also be the remains of plant residue, but the 'fixer' present on the surface of the Öcsöd vessel is missing here. Originating from two Lengyel site in Western Transdanubia white painted pottery sherds looking more similar to the Borjád examples than that from Öcsöd (see TÓTH et al. 2013, Fig. 2c) proved to be decorated with paint that consisted of pure, homogeneous calcite.

Additionally, there is a sherd with white, most probably painted patterns at Borjád, namely the pedestalled Vessel 3/2 (Fig. 13, 1b). In the case of Vessel 3/2, the triangular white motifs near the base of the pedestal cover the red paint without traces of interwoven motifs. The areas enclosed by the rings on the outside of the upper part of Vessel 3/2 were

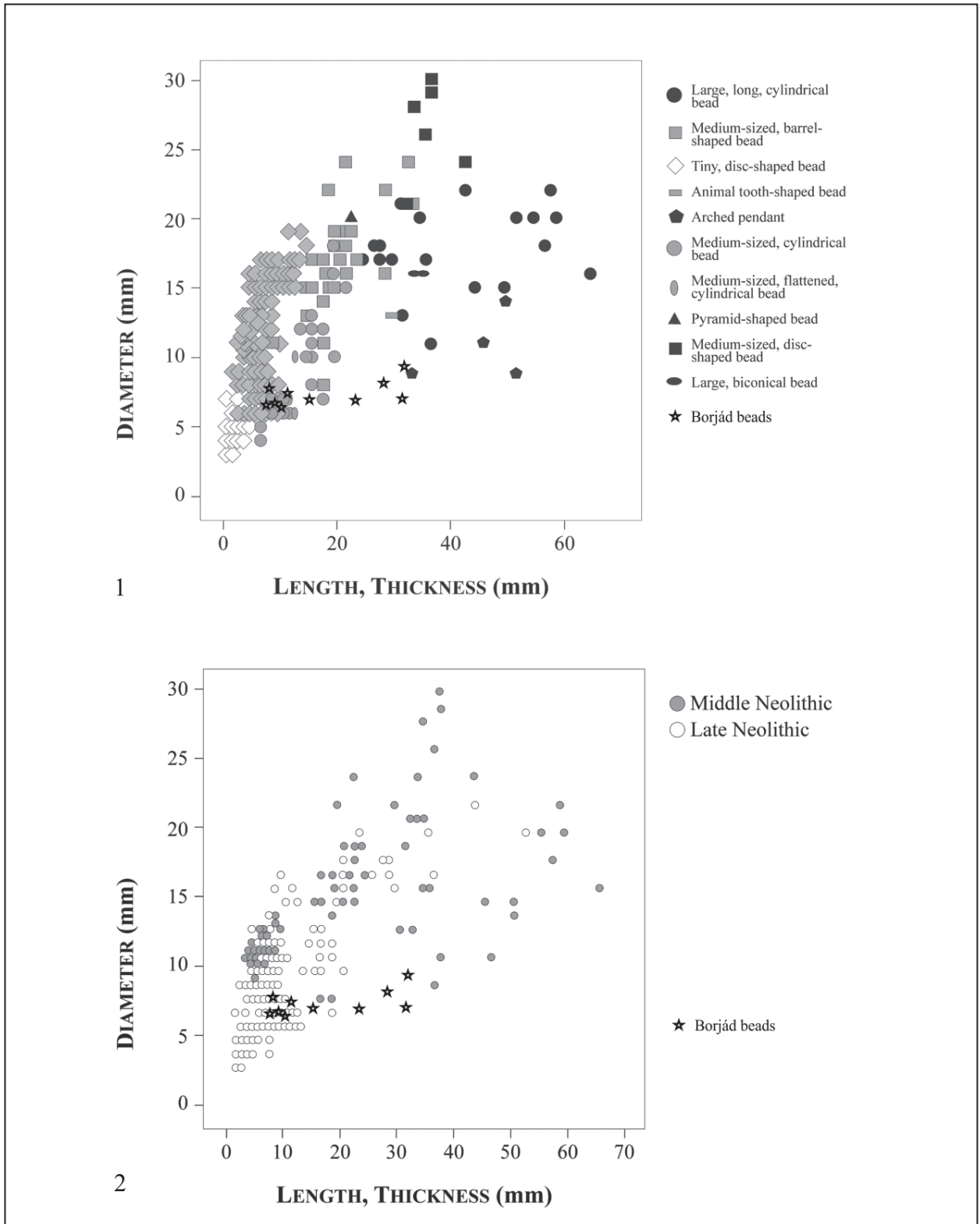


Fig. 18 1: The Borjád marine shell beads added to SIKLÓSI–CSENGERI 2011, Fig. 2; 2: The Borjád marine shell beads added to SIKLÓSI–CSENGERI 2011, Fig. 3

18. kép 1: A borjádi tengeri kagyló gyöngyök SIKLÓSI–CSENGERI 2011, Fig. 2 ábrájába illesztve; 2: A borjádi tengeri kagyló gyöngyök SIKLÓSI–CSENGERI 2011, Fig. 3 ábrájába illesztve

decorated with white zigzag lines, while the rings themselves were outlined with single white lines.<sup>7</sup> These latter white coloured marks seemed more like paint as opposed to those on Beaker 3/4. It is also possible, that the “basket-weave” pattern on Beaker 3/4 is indeed an imprint made by first applying white paint e. g., on a straw mat, and then by pressing the wet, painted surface of the mat to the neck of the vessel. Any further conclusions would require a detailed archaeometric examination of the objects mentioned above.

So far, white-painted vessels have been extremely rare in Southeastern Transdanubian Group of the Lengyel Culture. I. Zalai-Gaál mentions only two examples altogether (ZALAI-GAÁL 2007, 71). The lack of the phase with white paint in this region has caused a chronological problem in research (ZALAI-GAÁL 2007, 15–18). Our example shows that, upon removal from the soil, the white paint decays much easier than the – otherwise also very vulnerable – red paint. Consequently, the lack of white painted material in our region may have been caused by local soil chemistry or the chemical properties of the local white paint, which, in turn, could have been more common than it has been suspected before.

#### *Knobs and motifs*

Aside from being adorned with paint, most of the vessels were also decorated with knobs of various size. The majority of the knobs were hemispherical, placed symmetrically around the pedestal and the body, four on a level. There also examples where the knob was combined with painted motifs.

Unpainted lozenge pattern can be observed against the red base paint around the knobs decorating the belly of the Beaker 3/12 (Fig. 14, 5b–c). The lozenges are connected by diagonal lines on the bottom part of the body.

The knobs of Jar 3/5 have concentric circles around them (Fig. 14, 6b).

There is an unpainted, linear motif running parallel with the rim of the Strainer bowl 3/13 with semicircular sections surrounding the knobs from below (Fig. 15, 1b).

The small Bowl 10/7 had garland motifs between the knobs, and also on the belly (Fig. 17, 5b).

#### *Strainer*

The curved body and base of Vessel 3/13 (Fig. 15, 1) are perforated by 25, more-or-less evenly distributed holes, ca. 3–4 mm in diameter. We know of several analogies for perforated vessels from the Neolithic in general, but Lengyel examples are rare, and for this particular bowl we have not found

any close analogies. Confirming P. Bogucki’s proposal (BOGUCKI 1984), a recent scientific examination showed that many of the Middle and Late Neolithic strainers were indeed used for straining dairy products (SALQUE et al. 2013). In the lack of lipid analysis, we cannot confirm the same about Vessel 3/13, but as one of the most plausible possibilities we find it worth mentioning here.

#### *Necklace*

Most probably, the beads were strung on thread of organic material that held them in position at least as long as some of them got corroded and stuck together in groups. The structure of some of the groups and the position of the beads in the grave suggest that the copper beads formed a double line.

It seems to be a common practice in the richer female graves of the Lengyel Culture to adorn the dead person with jewellery. The shell-copper bead combination is the most characteristic of I. Zalai-Gaál’s chronology in the late classical phase of Neolithic period (IIa) of the Lengyel Culture (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 170). Both being objects of prestige, the presence of copper and shell beads in the grave indicate that the dead person was of high social status.

#### *Copper beads*

Preliminary investigations<sup>8</sup> show that the beads were made of pure copper. The raw material in this case was either native copper, or copper ores of high copper content, like cuprite, malachite, or azurite, which seems to correspond to the general picture about Neolithic copper (KALICZ 1992; PERNICKA et al. 1993, 2–4).

I. Zalai-Gaál (1997) studied the known copper artefacts of the Lengyel Culture in Southeastern Transdanubia. Naturally, his survey included only the grave finds recovered before the large-scale rescue excavations in the mid-2000s that preceded motorway construction in the Southern Transdanubian region. Sometimes found together with malachite beads, the most common copper objects recovered from graves are beads of various sizes, the majority of which are small, 3–5 mm in diameter. According to his analysis, 23 per cent of the known Lengyel graves contained copper jewellery combined with shells. (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 170). Both of these data, as well as the number of objects in the graves, are relatively high when compared to those of Northern cemeteries (ZALAI-GAÁL 2010, 148). Armbands are also present, but in much smaller numbers.

Grave item no. (Borjád)	Type of vessel	Zalai-Gaál Type (2007)	Remarks
3/2	Short pedestalled vessel	1a1b1	
3/6	Pedestalled vessel	1a4a1–2	
10/1	Pedestalled vessel	1a3b1	
10/2	Pedestalled vessel	1a3b2	
10/3	Pedestalled vessel	1a3b2	
3/3	Butmir (mushroom) vessel	2a2a1	
3/9	Butmir (mushroom) vessel	2a1b4	
3/7	Butmir (mushroom) vessel	2a1b4	
3/1	Beaker	1b2a5	possibly 1b2b5
3/4	Beaker	1b2a6	
3/5	Biconical jar	1b2a5	Similar to 3/4 but larger, carination is more expressed
3/12	Biconical beaker	1b3a2	
3/10	Beaker	2c3d1	Sharp carination, flaring neck, spherical lower body (perhaps 2c3d2)
3/1b	Biconical beaker	1b3a2	
10/7	Biconical beaker	2c3d1	
10/8	Biconic beaker	1b3a1	
3/13	Strainer	n/a	Vessel without analogy, both in terms of form and function. Closest type in ZGI: 2b2a1
3/14	Conical bowl	2b2c1	
3/8	Conical bowl	2b2c1	
10/5	Conical bowl	2b2c1	
3/15	Conical bowl	2b2c2	

Table 2 Typology of the pottery from Borjád according to the chronological framework of I. Zalai-Gaál  
2. táblázat A borjádi kerámiaanyag tipológiai besorolása Zalai-Gaál I. rendszere szerint

### *Marine shell beads*<sup>9</sup>

It is still an unsettled issue whether the various marine shells used for producing jewellery in the Carpathian Basin during the Neolithic were locally collected fossils or imported from either the Adriatic or the Aegean (SÜMEGI 2006, 89; BAJNÓCZI et al. 2013). Considering the statistics provided by I. Zalai-Gaál and P. Sümegi, the majority of the jewellery made of thick shell valves from the Lengyel graves of Southeastern Transdanubia were contemporary, imported ones. However, locally found fossils belonging to the *Ostrea* genus also had a significant, 19 per cent ratio in the material of nearby sites (SÜMEGI 2006, 101). As for Borjád, the proximity of the fossil-bearing Mecsek mountain range and the fact that several of the nearby sites<sup>10</sup> yielded artefacts of fossil shells make both possibilities worthy of consideration. In many cases it is very hard or impossible to tell the fossils from contemporary *Spondylus* or *Glycymeris* shells by simple macroscopic observation. Since we have not had the means for a more in-depth examination, the origins of the Borjád beads could not be determined so far, but based purely on the available statistics a non-fossil, imported origin is more likely.

According to a study by N. Kalicz and J. Szénászkly, Neolithic shell finds recovered in the Carpathian Basin belong to one of two typo-chronological horizons. Beads and pendants made of *Spondylus* and other marine bivalves from the Middle Neolithic tend to be elongated and large in size, while the Late Neolithic finds include armbands, and the beads are smaller and disc-shaped (KALICZ–SZÉNÁSZKLY 2001, 49). Confirming and refining the results by Kalicz and Szénászkly, Zs. Siklósi and P. Csengeri found that not only the size and shape of shell objects had changed by time, but also their numbers: the smaller objects of the later period seem to be more numerous (SIKLÓSI–CSENGERI 2011, 47). The Borjád grave belongs to the Late Neolithic Lengyel period without doubt. Furthermore, based on the pottery finds, it is more likely to date to the later phase of Neolithic Lengyel (see below). However, considering the typology proposed by the studies quoted above, some of the beads from Borjád seem to be more analogous with the earlier, Middle Neolithic finds of medium size in terms of length. On the other hand, when comparing the Borjád beads with the diagrams of width/length correspondence in Siklósi and Csengeri's paper (SIKLÓSI–CSENGERI 2011, 50–51, Fig. 2, 3), the smaller beads fit into the smaller section of the type “medium size cylindrical bead”, but the larger beads form a subgroup that fills an unpopulated area (Fig. 18. 1–2).

While it is not impossible that an old ‘family heirloom’ refurbished with copper beads was buried with the “Lady of Borjád”, it does not seem the most likely possibility. Forthcoming new analyses based on the recently excavated large sites, however, may provide a more elaborate typo-chronology, based on which we may be able to date the Borjád beads with better accuracy.

### *Chronology*

For the typo-chronological analysis, we used I. Zalai-Gaál's framework (ZALAI-GAÁL 2007, 2008; ZALAI-GAÁL–OSZTÁS–SOMOGYI 2014) since he published and created a typology for much of the relevant material in our region

As seen above the majority of the vessels from Feature 3 and Feature 10 belong to Zalai-Gaál's typo-chronological Phase 3 and 4, with some examples of Phase 5. Accordingly, Feature 3 and 10 can be dated to the Ib–IIa1–IIb phases (Ceramic groups 3–5: “Übergang” and “Spätphase”) as determined by I. Zalai-Gaál (ZALAI-GAÁL 2007, 87, 94–96). For dating the grave more to the Transitional (“Übergang”) Phase, Grave 218 from Zengővárkony provides a close analogy in the form of a white-painted vessel (ZALAI-GAÁL 2008, Abb. 27, 4). On the other hand, several of the Borjád vessels with zigzag motifs within circles are closely analogous with a pedestal vessel recovered from Grave 15 in Mórággy that belongs to the late horizon IIa1 (ZALAI-GAÁL 2008, Abb. 56, 2).

The Borjád graves had far more vessels than the vast majority of the graves discussed by Zalai-Gaál, which means it that they have a higher variance than the other graves. This can either mean that several vessels (or types of vessel) survived for a longer period, or the existing typologies need refinement.

### *Summary*

Although in the last century a huge dataset concerning the Lengyel Culture burials in Baranya County has been collected, the rich grave of Borjád provided new data about the burial rites.

Aside from the fact that the graves presented here were endowed with grave goods much richer than the average, we found it important to publish them because they are the only representatives of a recently discovered type of burial of the Late Neolithic Lengyel Culture from Baranya County. Additionally, the grave goods themselves also include unique pieces that are worth sharing with the research community and may be worthy of further investigations.

### Acknowledgements

We express our thanks: For the constructive and helpful advices by writing the paper we are grateful to Anett Osztás, Dr. John Chapman, and Dr. Zsuzsanna Siklósi.

### Notes

- 1 We hereby express our thanks to Mr. Gábor Kurucz for reporting the site and for his help in the field.
- 2 Our description and analysis is based on the works published by I. Zalai-Gaál (ZALAI-GAÁL 2007, ZALAI-GAÁL 2008) in connection with the burials of the Lengyel Culture in Southern Transdanubia.
- 3 In case of the stainer vessel in Feature 3 (No. 3/13: Fig. 15, 1) we may assume that it was used not only for the food serving feast but also for the preparing.
- 4 It is noticeable that some of them were put inside each other, which might indicate that they were used together. E.g., a small beaker with the possible function either of a scoop, or a vessel to receive the strained liquid was inside the strainer vessel.
- 5 Though, of course, a ritual function cannot be excluded.
- 6 We discuss here the material from both Feature 3 and 10 since they obviously belong to the same style and period.
- 7 Unfortunately the white markings came off very soon after the vessel's removal from the soil, but we have photos showing them (Fig. 13, 1c).
- 8 We are extremely grateful for the laser induced breakdown spectroscopy (LIBS) examinations carried out by Zsuzsanna Márton from the Institute of Physics of Pécs University, Hungary.
- 9 We are grateful to Anett Osztás and Zsuzsanna Tóth for consulting us on the marine shell beads.
- 10 See e.g., ZALAI-GAÁL 2006, 12 on the nearby sites of Pécsvárad–Aranyhegy and Zengővárkony.

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## A “BORJÁDI ÚRNŐ” – MAGAS STÁTUSÚ KÉSŐ NEOLIT NŐ SÍRJA BARANYA MEGYÉBŐL

### Összefoglalás

2010 őszén bejelentés érkezett a Janus Pannonius Múzeum régészeti osztályára, miszerint a Baranya megyei Borjád mellett a falu határában (Borjád-Kenderföld) a csemetés öntözésekor a leáramló víz nagyméretű, festett edényeket mosott ki. Az edények a lengyeli kultúrához tartoztak. Mivel az öntözés során a domboldalról leáramló víz veszélyeztette a lelőhelyet, az érintett rövid szakaszon mentőásatást végeztünk. A felső, vékony humuszréteg eltávolítása után sűrűn egymás mellett, illetve egymásba ásva jelentkeztek az objektumok.

A jelenségek a feltárt rövid szakaszon a neolitikum idejére voltak keltezhetőek. Sötétbarna foltként jelentkeztek a lengyeli kultúra jelenségei, míg a középső neolitikus objektumok halványabb betöltésűek voltak. A nagyobb méretű objektumoknak csak egy részét sikerült így feltárni. A jelenségek között szembetűnő volt egy szabályos négyszögletes, lekerékített sarkú objektum – egy sír – halvány foltja (3. objektum).

A telepobjektumokon és az említett 3. objektum szabályos sírján kívül egy nagyobb gödörbokorba ásva még egy feltételezhető sír részleges maradványa is előkerült (10. objektum). Úgy tűnik, hogy a lelőhelyet a neolitikumban szinte végig lakták. A középső neolitikum jelenségeit vágták a lengyeli kultúra objektumai, melyekbe – feltételezhetően a teleprész felhagyása után – sírokat ástak.

Jelen tanulmány a két feltárt sírral foglalkozik. A lengyeli kultúrának az utóbbi évekig nem volt ismeretes hasonló, szögletes, „cölöpös-árkos” sírszerkezetű temetkezése. Az autópálya feltárások során a szomszédos Tolna megyében kerültek elő nagy számban hasonló temetkezések. Hogy nem csupán elszórt je-

lenségről van szó, mutatja, hogy a hatalmas kiterjedésű bátaszéki temető 1593 lengyeli sírja közül 123 (a sírok 7,72%-a) rendelkezett ilyen sírszerkezettel.

A borjádi sír esetében gazdag leletanyag, a nagy méret és az egyedi kialakítás megerősíteni látszik, hogy ezek az objektumok kiemelt státusú személyek temetkezései lehettek. Ezzel együtt ez a temetkezési forma annyira új a kutatás számára, hogy szerkezeti sajátosságainak értelmezése bizonytalan. Feltehető tehát a kérdés: milyen szerkezethez tartozhattak a gödör «cölöplyukai»? Halotti házak nyomai? A borjádi sírban ugyanakkor az eddig közölt sírok többségével ellentétben a sír belső mélyedéseibe is helyeztek mellékleteket: a délkelet és délnyugati lyukakban két szinten voltak edények, egyrészt az utólagosan «beleesett», összetört mellékletek, és alattuk a valószínűleg szándékosan odahelyezett edények. E különbség esetleges magyarázata lehetne az is, hogy bizonyos idő elteltével az egykor gyakorlati funkciót betöltő cölöplyukak a rítus változásával szimbolikussá váltak. Ez alapján legalábbis a borjádi sír esetében nem tartjuk valószínűnek, hogy valamiféle építmény tartóoszlopainak helyei voltak. A halott alatti szilárd platform egykori létére utalhat a halott fejének némiképp furcsa, lejtős helyzete, mely azt feltételezi, hogy az alátámasztott fej az alatta idővel elkorhadt támaszték alatti, azóta feltöltődött légüregbe csúszott be.

A sírba összesen 15 edénymellékletet helyeztek, valamint egy kagyló-, csont- és rézgyöngyökből álló nyaklánc volt a halott nő nyakánál. Az edények között megfigyelhető volt néhány egyedi sajátosság: az egyik edény áttört alja egy szűrő lehetett; több edény felületén fehér mintázat (festés vagy növényi

maradvány?) volt megfigyelhető, amely a kiemelést követően szinte rögtön eltűnt. Biztosan fehér festés volt az egyik csótalpas tál felületén.

A sír kronológiai meghatározásánál Zalai-Gaál István munkáját vettük alapul; az elmúlt években ő dolgozta fel a legrészletesebben a térség késő-neo-

litikum, kronológiai meghatározásoknak is alapul szolgáló síranyagokat. Ez alapján az edények mind a 3., mind pedig a 10. objektumból az Zalai-Gaál által meghatározott 3–4, kisebb részben az 5. kerámiafázisokra tehetők; azaz a sír összességében a Ib–IIa1–IIb fázisokra (Übergangs- és Spätphase) datálható.

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## APPENDIX

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### ANTHROPOLOGICAL REMAINS FROM FEATURE 3 AT THE SITE BORJÁD-KENDERFÖLDEK

Feature 3 contained the remains of the inhumation of a single individual. The buried person was a female aged between 23 and 39 years. It was not possible to reconstruct her skull due to its poor, fragmented, distorted, and incomplete condition. Therefore the skull could only partially be analyzed. The same applies to the long bones. As a result, the height of the individual could not be de-

termined. Traces of lesions on the bones could not be observed.

The remains allowed to determine only that the deceased was a relatively short, dolichomorph woman of gracile stature. She possibly belonged to the Gracile Mediterranean subtype, which is relatively common amidst the population of the Lengyel Culture.

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