

ΜΩΜΟΣ ΙΧ.

A RITUÁLÉ RÉGÉSZETE
Őskoros Kutatók IX. Összejövetelének
konferenciakötete

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RITUAL
Proceedings of the IXth conference
of researchers of prehistory



DISSERTATIONES ARCHAEOLOGICAE
ex Instituto Archaeologico
Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae
Supplementum 3.

ΜΩΜΟΣ ΙΧ.

A RITUÁLÉ RÉGÉSZETE

Őskoros Kutatók IX. Összejövetelének
konferenciakötete

Miskolc, 2015. október 14–16.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RITUAL

Proceedings of the IXth conference
of researchers of prehistory
14–16 October 2015, Miskolc

edited by

Piroska CSENGERI – András KALLI – Ágnes KIRÁLY – Judit KOÓS



Budapest 2020

Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico
Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae
Supplementum 3.

Editors:
Piroska CSENGERI
András KALLI
Ágnes KIRÁLY
Judit KOÓS

Available online at <http://dissarch.elte.hu>
Contact: dissarch@btk.elte.hu

PKP
PUBLIC
KNOWLEDGE
PROJECT

ISSN 2064-4574

© Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Archaeological Sciences
Technical editor and layout: Gábor Vácz

Budapest 2020

TARTALOM – CONTENTS

CSENGERI Piroska – KALLI András – KIRÁLY Ágnes – KOÓS Judit	7
<i>Előszó</i>	
KIRÁLY Attila – FARAGÓ Norbert – MESTER Zsolt	9
<i>Hasznos rítusok és haszontalan technikák. A rituális cselekvés régészeti azonosításának néhány elméleti kérdése egy pattintott kő leletegyüttes kapcsán</i>	
REZI KATÓ Gábor	43
<i>A Baradla-barlang mint rituális tér</i>	
Csilla FARKAS – Antónia MARCSIK – Andrea HEGYI	59
<i>Human Remains in the Central Area of a Bronze Age Multi-layered Settlement at Boconád-Alatka-puszta</i>	
MELIS Eszter	75
<i>A nemi identitás kifejezésének vizsgálata a Nyugat-Dunántúl kora és középső bronzkori csontvázas temetkezései körében</i>	
GULYÁS András – SÜMEGI Pál	101
<i>Kutatások Szarvas-Arborétum-Rózsakert és Szarvas-Arborétum-Filagória-dombja lelőhelyeken. Előzetes jelentés</i>	
Emília PÁSZTOR	111
<i>The Role of Sun Symbols in the Burial Rite of the Middle Bronze Age Ványa Culture: A case study</i>	
SÁNTA Gábor	129
<i>Közösségi cselekvéssorok nyomai Domaszék-Börcsök-tanyán, a halomsíros kultúra településén</i>	
Polett KÓSA	163
<i>New Results from Megyaszó-Halom-oldal dűlő: Soil-sample analysis and a hypothetical reconstruction of the funerary ritual</i>	

Kristóf FÜLÖP	171
<hr/>	
<i>The Ritual Role of Wells beyond their Everyday Water-providing Function: A Late Bronze Age well from Pusztataskony-Ledence</i>	
VÁCZI Gábor	193
<hr/>	
<i>Az urnás-hamvasztásos temetkezés eseménysorának elemzése az urnamezős időszak balatonendrédi temetőjének példáján</i>	
László GUCSI	215
<hr/>	
<i>Methods of Identification for Ceramics with Traces of Secondary Burning and their Occurrences in Mortuary and Ritual-related Assemblages</i>	
Gábor ILON	241
<hr/>	
<i>Grindstone: Grinding... and Human Sacrifice? Why?</i>	
FEKETE Mária – SZABÓ Géza	259
<hr/>	
<i>Újdonságok – kellékek – rítus – interpretáció. A reprezentatív bronzedények, kerámia utánzataik, festett-faragott agancstárgyak és a regölyi építmény értelmezése</i>	
Márta GALÁNTA	281
<hr/>	
<i>Boys Becoming Men: Male initiation rites in a North-Eastern Nigerian village</i>	

Előszó

CSENGERI PIROSKA

Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc

csengeri@hermuz.hu

KALLI ANDRÁS

Várkapitányság Nonprofit Zrt.

andraskalli2@gmail.com

KIRÁLY ÁGNES

Bölcseztudományi Kutatóközpont

Régészeti Intézet

kiraly.agnes@btk.mta.hu

KOÓS JUDIT

Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc

skoosjudit@gmail.com

2015. október 14–16. között a miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum rendezte meg a IX. ΜΩΜΟΣ konferenciát, vagyis az Őskoros Kutatók IX. Összejövetelét. E konferenciasorozat 1997-ben indult útjára, és hagyományosan két évente, mindig egy meghatározott témakörben ad lehetőséget az ősrégészet kutatóinak újabb eredményeik bemutatására. Debrecen, Szombathely, Kőszeg és Százhalombatta után Miskolc városa először adott otthont a programnak.

A konferencia témája ezúttal „*A rituálé régészete*” volt, a tematika kidolgozását az ELTE BTK Régészettudományi Intézetének kutatói segítették. A felvezető és összefoglaló előadásokon túl a *Strukturált depozitumok; Rituális cselekvésmódok és rituális specialisták; Rituális tér (rituális építmények, rituális táj, rituális térhasználat)*; valamint a *Temetkezések mint rituális cselekvésformák* altémák köré rendeződött a program. A konferencia fő célja az volt, hogy közösen számba vegyünk azokat a jelenségeket, melyek ebben a körben értelmezhetőek, ütköztessük az eltérő megközelítéseket, interpretációkat, és közös fogalmi keretet alakítsunk ki – hiszen a kutatás így tud megújulni, fejlődni.

Ezeknek a céloknak csak részben tudtunk megfelelni, a konferenciát mégis eredményesen zártuk. A három nap alatt 31 előadás hangzott el, mellettük 12 poszter is bemutatásra került. A résztvevő 120 kutatót és érdeklődőt rendhagyó módon fogadó „Pannon-tenger Múzeum” hangulatos helyszínnek bizonyult, és sokat jelentett, hogy a szervezésben a Múzeum munkatársai és a közel 40 fős Régészeti Tár egy emberként vett részt.

Az esemény óta eltelt négy évben több kutató munkája is megjelent, így ebben a kötetben tizennégy tanulmány kapott helyet. A közlések a konferencia altémáit felbontva, immár időrendi sorrendben, a kőkorszaktól a vaskor végéig foglalkoznak a „rituálé régészettel”, eredményeiket egy kulturális antropológiai tanulmány egészíti ki. A kötet kiadása egy sikertelen pályázatot követően a Herman Ottó Múzeumban anyagi nehézségekbe ütközött, emiatt a Szervezők nevében szeretnénk megköszönni az ELTE BTK Régészettudományi Intézetének a lehetőséget, és különösen Váczi Gábor áldozatos munkáját, amelynek révén a *Dissertationes Archaeologicae* sorozat *Supplementum* köteteként végül mégis hozzáférhetővé válhat a kutatás és az érdeklődők számára.

Grindstone: Grinding... and Human Sacrifice? Why?

GÁBOR ILON

9662 Mesterháza, Kossuth u. 2.

ilon.gabor56@gmail.com

Abstract

Three features, dated to diverse periods of prehistory (Neolithic: Transdanubian Linear Pottery Culture; Bronze Age: Tumulus culture; Iron Age: Celtic Period) are presented in the current study. One of our main goals is to encourage the introduction of an otherwise generally accepted protocol for the investigation and sampling of similar phenomena to Hungarian archaeological research. The method focuses on the examination of 1, complete or partial human skeletal remains; 2, complete or partial animal skeletal remains; 3, offerings according to social position; 4, tools for food preparation and equipment of the ritual feast; 5, traces of burning or fire; 6, patterns of the action sequence burning–fragmenting–scattering, together with material analyses for all samples. This way a categorization of the results might open a possibility for a more adequate interpretation. The features under study fall into category A in Joanna Brück's classification system of human skeletal remains,¹ but I regard the phenomena also containing grindstones a subcategory. The ritual in the course of which these were created might have been practiced for millenia in an unchanged form; its possible interpretation was described by István Tóth. According to our view such actions represent the liminal zone between the worlds of the living and the dead.

Three features, dated to diverse periods of prehistory (Neolithic: Transdanubian Linear Pottery Culture; Bronze Age: Tumulus culture; Iron Age: Celtic Period) are presented in the current study. All were unearthed by the author in sites in Győr-Moson-Sopron as well as in Vas County: Szombathely-Oladi plató, Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő, and Ménfőcsanak-Széles-földek. The three phenomena share the very same basic character:

- all of them contain human remains
- with complete or fragmented grindstones around the bones
- with charred wood and burnt clay debris in their infills (*Figs 2–3, 5, Tab. 1*).

The interpretation of these phenomena – as e.g. a rite or a microhistorical event – only becomes possible by the incorporation of as many results of diverse relevant scientific studies as possible (e.g. pits with burnt animal and human remains² at a horizontal settlement of the Baden Culture, or at a Bronze Age tell).³ The current study intends to highlight the importance of this approach, and the author wishes to press the introduction of the described protocol into everyday field routine of the Hungarian archaeological research, as otherways there is no real chance to reach new, relevant conclusions. Only this approach may yield series of data suitable for statistical processing.⁴

1 BRÜCK 1995, Table 1.

2 SAVA et al. 2012, 62–67, Fig. 20; GOGÁLTAN 2012, 19, Pl. IV/1.

3 HANSEN 2016, 212.

4 LULL et al. 2016.



Fig. 1. Survey map of Szombathely-Oladi plató. An arrow marks the pit's position (survey by Gábor Vámos, prepared by Gyula Isztin).

1. kép. Szombathely-Oladi plató feltárási összesítője. A nyíl a gödör helyét mutatja (felmérte: Vámos Gábor, készítette: Isztin Gyula).

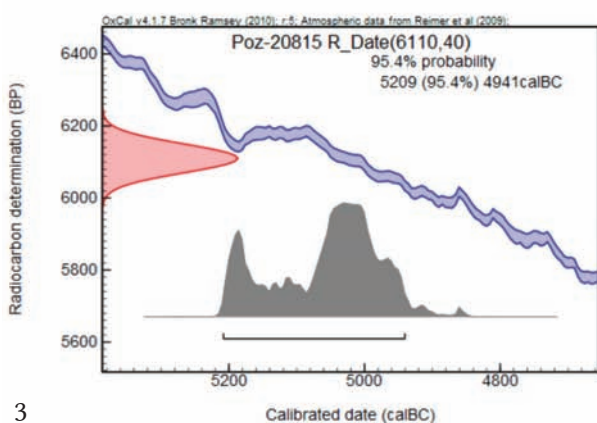


Fig. 2. Szombathely-Oladi plató. 1–2 – Feature 71/D during excavation, 3 – its radiocarbon age (photo by Gábor Ilon).

2. kép. Szombathely-Oladi plató. 1–2 – A 71/D gödör feltárás közben, 3 – a gödör ^{14}C kora (fotó: Ilon Gábor).

distribution of the phenomena made it necessary: in a lower zone in the territory of the future Parkerdei Residence, but not on the top of the hills. At higher altitudes, the possibilities were limited to the control of soil removal and the conduction of excavations in the path of future

Case studies

Szombathely-Oladi plató (Vas County) is located on top of a hill chain, farther from the valley of the Perint stream. The main historic periods present are the Neolithic and the Copper Age. In feature 71/D, a pit of the Middle Neolithic Transdanubian Linear Pottery Culture the skeletal remains of two humans were unearthed, together with grindstones (Figs 1–2, Tab. 1). One of them was a young woman, her intact body lying in a crouched position, heading northwards, while the decayed remains of an older man were scattered by the pit's walls in an elongated patch directed SW–NE. Can this be a collective burial⁵ or a double grave in the settlement? Or perhaps a double sacrifice? There was not any mark of a violent death on the bones. Good analogies and remarkable interpretations are known from Germany (single burial with a grindstone).⁶ It would require a comparative study involving the archaeological record of several sites to reveal any connection between the sex, body position, and state of decomposition of the individuals (Tab. 1).⁷ A superficial survey of literature did not yield any collective burials or human deposits with grindstones west of the study area.⁸

The pit's position in relation to the settlement's structure may be described and interpreted with caution. The quality of interpretation is largely affected by a compromised excavation method forced upon us by authorities,⁹ which resulted in open excavation carried out only where the dis-

5 TÓTH 2009a.

6 MEYER et al. 2013a, 113, 116, Abb. 2, 4.

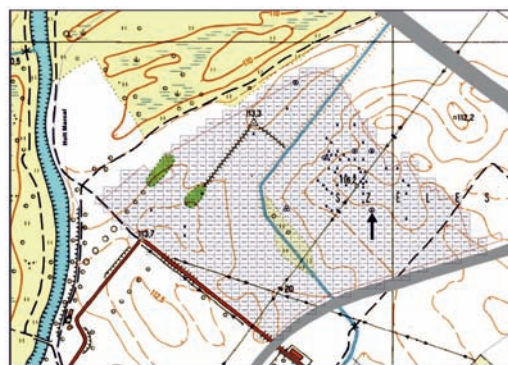
7 BRÜCK 2009, 9, 14.

8 RINNE – FUCHS 2013, 14, Abb. 2.

9 András Figler (1955–2010), former Head of Office of the Western Hungarian headquarters of the National Office of Cultural Heritage.

roads, following only notable phenomena outwards if necessary. However, the pit in question is clearly positioned in one of the cores of the Linear Pottery settlement (in this area the phenomena of the Furchenstich and Baden horizons were not present). It is possible that the phenomenon was part of a *Längsgrube* stretching along a house's wall, or that the deposit was actually placed inside – in this case one might perhaps interpret the building as some early variation of a funerary house(?).¹⁰

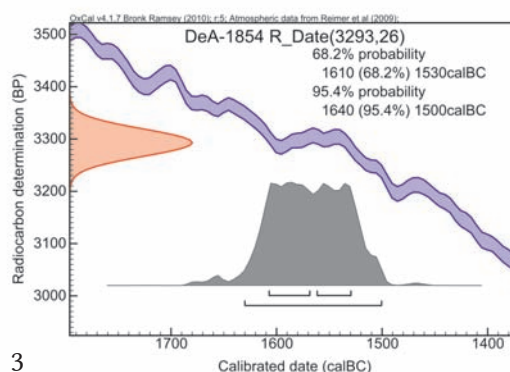
Ménfőcsanak is the only case the excavation and processing of which is more or less in accordance with the above-mentioned complex scientific protocol. The site is located on top of a terrace by the confluence of the Rába and the Marcal rivers. The pit, feature 7765, is positioned in section JD-23 (Fig. 3, Tab. 1).¹¹ The feature was interpreted as a foundation deposit, as implied by the incorporated phenomena: a pythos containing the skeleton of a child (*primitia*) next to an architectural ornament made of clay, remains of the ritual feast including food (bones of adult cattles, pigs, ewes and small ruminants, as well as carp and pike, shells, emmer and multi-row barley) and basic tools of its preparation (grindstones made of grainy, alluvial sandstone from the Danube area). The extraction of the grindstones from the profane realm by breaking them is a further element of the sacrifice. The pit's infill also contained elements of the close environment, e.g. gramma phytolits. The chain of ideas: 'flour (grist) = bread-like food = life' seems to be present and reflects the same notion since the Neolithic, as it is proven by objects from several historic periods. Besides, supportive data may also be found in written sources: grist is scattered beside the deceased in *The Odyssey*, Book 11; flatbread appears on the list of offerings in the *Book of Leviticus* (Lev 3:1–7) in Lev 3:2;



1



2



3

Fig. 3. Ménfőcsanak-Széles földek. 1 – position of the features of the Tumulus Culture settlement (black triangles) and of the three hoards dated to the Koszider Period (three circles forming a triangle). The arrow marks the position of feature 7765 (by István Eke, Tamás Csuti), 2 – feature 7765 during excavation; 3 – the radiocarbon age of the pit.

3. kép. Ménfőcsanak-Széles földek. 1 – A halomsíros kultúra településének jelenségei (kitöltött háromszögek) és a koszideri korú kincslelet helye (három üres kör, gúla alakban), a nyíl a 7765. számú gödröt mutatja (Készítette: Eke István, Csuti Tamás), 2 – a 7765. számú gödör feltárás közben, 3 – a gödör ¹⁴C kora.

10 BRÜCK 2011, 236.

11 ILON 2014a.

and there is a well-known sacrifice in a considerably younger source, the ballad of Kőmíves Kelemen (Clement Mason), where, after killing her, the mason's wife's body gets cremated, the remains ground, and utilized in order to prove the success of the castle's building. It is however a question (and not only in the cases of the grindstones found in this pit or mentioned in the study) that in which grinding phase were the stones used. It would be useful to take the fundamental work by Tünde Horváth¹² seriously, and build, in Hungary, a database of this important tool of agriculture.

The pit's position in relation to the settlement's structure was clear: it is positioned on the southern fringes (*Fig. 3.1*). As the nearest features were located at a distance of 30 and 80 m respectively, this one seems to be excluded from the settlement.

Naturally, we are very far from revealing that to which type of offerings as enlisted in the Book of Leviticus (burnt, cereal, peace, purification, reparation or sin offerings) these features, together with other archaeological phenomena, might belong. It was not possible to determine the sex of the animals in the feature of Ménfőcsanak due to heavy fragmentation of the remains, but analogies of other, coeval phenomena might be useful in this case, like the burial 1A from Nagydém. This grave was fitted with varied animals in abundance: remains of a 15–18 months old calf, an adult bull and a pig, a 6–8 months old lamb, a 1.5–2 years old ram, and fish were found in it.¹³ It must be noted that by Moses the subject of the burnt offering as well as of the offerings of wealthy men are always male animals. Another analogy, Veszprém-Kádárta-Gelemér lays further off. A vessel depot from the Koszider Period was found here; the pit also contained bones of predominantly pigs, but also ewe, and cattle.¹⁴ Some animals may regularly appear as offerings beside human remains in several historic periods:¹⁵ the list includes hare, dog, ewe, cattle, and pig, and becomes completed with horse during the Iron Age. The dog's presence might symbolize bad aspects, i.e. the ravaging of the deceased.¹⁶ While animals served as paraphernalia in rituals and as food in feasts, their remains might also acted as mediums to enhance the fertility of humans of the same sex.¹⁷ The detection of blood offerings¹⁸ is hard, but it was possible decades ago already by a soil analysis of the vessel's infill,¹⁹ and recently by an analysis of the inner wall, e.g. that of the askos from Alsóvadász-Várdomb.²⁰ Thus, a routine sampling would be worth to deal with this possibility.

The irregular pits at Ménfőcsanak also contained a few shells, as did a burial of the Magyarád culture at Budmerice.²¹ They were perhaps introduced to mark the significance of this auxiliary food resource, but they could also have been brought to their final place by floods.

As far as I know, a complex, interdisciplinary processing – like that of the feature at Ménfőcsanak – of similar phenomena is regrettably not part of a daily routine even in international research. In the followings, I'd like to discuss a few fields which must be covered by a future protocol. One of these is a thorough anthropological processing, the application of which

12 HORVÁTH 2000.

13 VÖRÖS 1995.

14 ILON 2012; TUGYA 2012.

15 HORVÁTH 2011, Tab. 10.1–2; INSOLL 2010; GRIEBL – HELLERSCHMID 2013, 341; FLEISCHER et al. 2013, 454, Tab. 9.

16 HANSEN 2016, 230.

17 INSOLL 2004, 73; HORVÁTH 2011, 132.

18 HANSEN 2016, 221.

19 DUMA – LENGYEL 1967.

20 SZATHMÁRI 2003, 519–520.

21 JELÍNEK 2013, 267, Fig. 3.

became fundamental already in international research. There are well-known observations on violence marks from Hungary²² as well as from neighbouring countries.²³ Cannibalism, however, is hard to prove.²⁴ Another important method is phosphate analysis, by which it became possible to prove for example the practice of defleshing of the cadavers in the Aunjetitz culture.²⁵ Isotope analyses might be helpful in locating the origin of the ‘buried’ members of the community.²⁶ Extended archaeogenetical investigations²⁷ involving larger series are only a recent development in Hungarian research.²⁸ A categorization of the bones by their direction in the find context is a more simple but expedient method.²⁹ These results highlight the current methodological lag of Hungarian research, and urge for a change. Naturally, a precise, detailed field documentation (including data on position, e.g. face down, on the back, crouched on either side, bent, or sitting) and excavation of the phenomena is fundamental.³⁰

Gór-Kápolnadomb (Vas County) is situated on a bank of the Répce stream. Features containing irregular deposits of human remains, belonging to the Late Bronze Age Urnfield, i.e., the Late Iron Age Celtic settlement were unearthed here; the phenomena were processed and published according to our current understanding at the time (*Fig. 4*).³¹ The identified practices include single and collective burials as well as skull burials or deposits in separate pits, the latter referring to skull cult.³² Similar variations appear in the archaeological record of e.g. a settlement at Hodonice Větřov (Czech Republic).³³ The incorporating feature, at least in the Early Iron Age in the territory of Eastern Hungary, is predominantly a pit.³⁴ Beside complete and partial bodies, the Urnfield Period pits at *Gór* also contained ‘prestige’ goods:



Fig. 4. *Gór-Kápolnadomb.* The position of the pit containing human remains is marked by a black circle (survey and map by Attila Rideg).
4. kép. *Gór-Kápolnadomb.* Gödör (fekete pont) emberi maradványokkal (felmérés és térkép: Rideg Attila).

22 HORVÁTH – KÖHLER 2012, 458, Fig. 6.9.

23 E.g. Pavol Jelínek (JELÍNEK 2007); Július Jakab (JAKAB 2013); Sorin-Cristian Ailincăi (AILINCĂI 2015, 54–66).

24 ZEEB-LANZ 2014.

25 ERNÉE 2013.

26 MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL et al. 2013, 419–422, Abb. 10.

27 MEYER et al. 2013b, 430.

28 KISS 2016.

29 TREBSCHKE 2016, 97.

30 ROTTIER 2012.

31 ILON 1992; ILON 2001; K. ZOFFMANN 2001; K. ZOFFMANN 2007.

32 ZALAI-GAÁL 2009; GRIEBL – HELLERSCHMID 2013, Abb. 3.

33 ROŽNOVSKÝ 2012.

34 AILINCĂI 2016, 147–148.

moulds, stone anvils (Ha B2/B3),³⁵ antler cheekpiece,³⁶ loomweights,³⁷ and there was also a Celtic double burial with 'simple' animal bones and vessel fragments.³⁸ There is a clear connection between grave good type and the sex of the deceased: e.g. the antler cheekpiece was found in the burial of a man, while the loomweight beside a woman. There's a good analogy for the latter from Těšetice-Kyjovice, where a pit was unearthed containing the skeletal remains of a woman and two children, with spindle whorls beside them.³⁹ The position of these special pits in the Urnfield Culture settlement is clearly determined by a need to ensure their proximity to water: they are aligned in an almost straight line along the bed of the Répce stream.

The processing and evaluation of a coeval tumulus from Zahrádka (in the southern part of the Czech Republic) is enviably exemplary. The work incorporates anthropological, archaeozoological, xylotomical, archaeobotanical, pollen-, entomological, textile- and metal analyses, and radiocarbon dating. An environmental reconstruction was also completed, with changes detected up to the Celtic Period.⁴⁰ In this latter respect our current state is very good, as (due to the work of Pál Sümegei and his colleagues) there is a complex climatic and environmental reconstruction at hand, describing the conditions and changes in the territory of Western Transdanubia from the Ice Age on.⁴¹

The relevance of the work hypothesis of a specialist in ancient history, István Tóth, elaborated upon an analysis of the connection between the well-known urns from Sopron-Burgstall and Roman Period tombstones from Pannonia Superior seems to exceed its original limits. Elements of several themes: the fighting- or competition scene, the coach representation, the hunting scene and the deer(?) herd are reflected by the archaeological record of Górhalmi. The two males from the bard scene on one of the Sopron urns, together with the two women adoring them (representing gender as well) are reflected in Górhalmi by human remains. In the hunting scene the prey is deer, while dogs are aiding the hunters: the remains of both species were identified in the material from the pits' infills at Górhalmi. There is also an analogy for the red deer killed by spear,⁴² and for the *Bos* or *Bison* (in the form of cattle and horse bones). In István Tóth's opinion the deer and bovid herd representations may be connected with the *Pleiades*:⁴³ a similar theory was set by the author on the globule segments in the golden hoard of Velem.⁴⁴ This connection might open way for us to reveal a possible cognitive background of these phenomena, one that may be valid for all the Urnfield Culture and a vast part of Europe. We have every right to suppose that the idea lives on here, in this 'inbetween' region of Europe, and becomes reflected even by stone relief representations during the Roman Period.⁴⁵ To sum up Tóth's hypothesis: "...the *Great Hunter*, *Orion* and his two dogs, *Canis Maior* and *Canis Minor* herd the bull (*Taurus*) and the hare (*Lepus*) before them toward the deer herds of the stars around the *Polaris*."⁴⁶

35 ILON 1992.

36 ILON 2001, 246, Abb. 3, Taf. 3.1.

37 ILON 2001, 246–247, Abb. 4, Taf. 7.

38 ILON 2001, 246–247, Abb. 4, Taf. 7.

39 ROŽNOVSKÝ 2010, 80, Obr. 10.

40 ŠÁLKOVÁ et al. 2015.

41 SÜMEGEI et al. 2011; NÁFRÁDI et al. 2015.

42 VÖRÖS 2019.

43 TÓTH 2009b, 23–24; TÓTH 2015, 72.

44 ILON 2015b, 73–74.

45 TÓTH 2009b, 22–24; TÓTH 2015, 78–80.

46 TÓTH 2009b, 23; TÓTH 2015, 78–80.

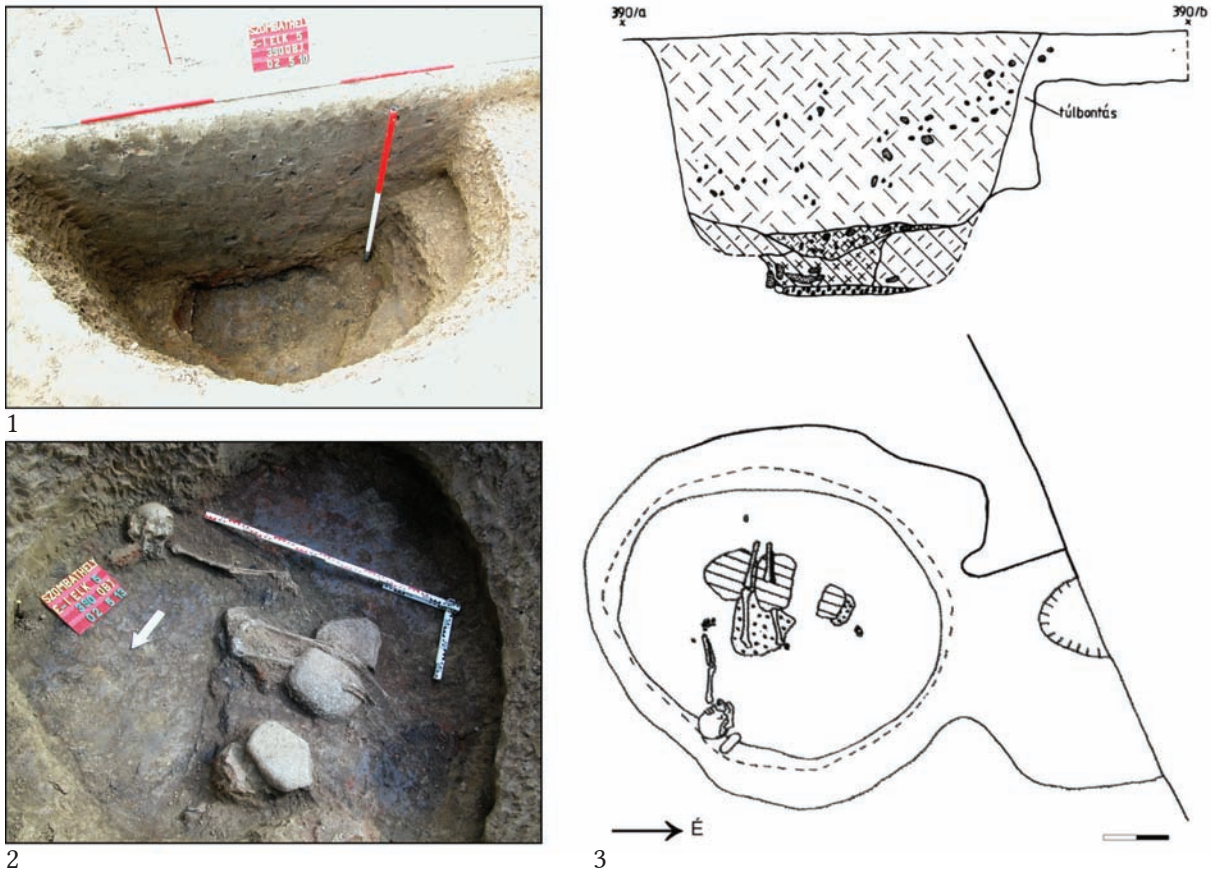


Fig. 5. 1–3 – Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő, the pit dated to the Celtic Period (drawing by Ágnes Kenesei, photo by Gábor Ilon).

5. kép. 1–3 – Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő kelta kori gödre (rajz: Kenesei Ágnes; fotó: Ilon Gábor).

Pit A in the L-8 section at Górr provides another analogy. This feature contained hare, red deer, cattle and pig bones beside vessel fragments as well as the complete, intact skeleton of a 3–5 years old child laying on its back.⁴⁷ In my opinion the interpretation of Sándor Gallus,⁴⁸ a version also accepted by István Tóth⁴⁹ on a much debated element of the sacrifice scene on one of the urns from Sopron-Burgstall was basically right. In Gallus's description "...based on a good photo the meaning of the formerly misinterpreted scene becomes clear. The figure on the left holds the sacrificial animal by its rear legs, while stabbing it with a knife in his right hand. The knife is unbent. In the meantime, the figure before him holds the animal by its head, grasping its horns. The animal is either laying on the floor or is held above an altar. It is perhaps a goat considering its small size and horns." But István Tóth thinks further⁵⁰ (and, as the above-mentioned example from Górr shows, he might be right): the subject of the sacrifice is indeed "small and with horns". But it's not an animal: it's a child. A naked child with horns, representing the sacred. Were it an animal, the rear legs would be just as long as the front ones: thus, these are not front legs, but schematic representations of the short hands of a child. It is horned because *Dionysos*, the son of *Demeter* (in other version *Persephone*) was born with horns on his head... the circle could be closed

47 ILON 2001, 248.

48 GALLUS 1934, 15.

49 TÓTH 2015, 77.

50 TÓTH 2009b, 22, 9. kép; TÓTH 2015, 77–78.

here by citing the analysis and interpretation of the bronze hoard and organic remains from a pit at Ikervár, but this is not necessary, as the study is already published.⁵¹

Another example of the features under study was unearthed at *Szombathely-Reiszig erdő* (Vas County); the publication is available.⁵² The pit, dated to the Celtic Period, contained the skeleton of a young man together with grindstones (*Fig. 5*). The processing is incomplete however, as the poor condition of the bones significantly limited the anthropological investigation by hindering the observation of stress or violence marks. The budget of the development-led excavation on a future road's path only allowed us to conduct a few analyses at the time, and today the majority of the analyses carried out on the material from Ménfőcsanak are not possible to perform here due either to the lack of financial resources or that of suitable samples. Nonetheless, the E–W direction of the skeleton is congruent with the main practice on coeval sites in the Danube region of Austria.⁵³

The position of this pit in relation to the settlement's structure can only be reconstructed on one axis. There are other coeval features inside a ten meter radius around, but due to the fact that the excavated area matches the road's path (segments 3+452–454), it's impossible to tell whether all these phenomena are positioned on the fringes or inside the settlement.

It can be stated that the remains of the ritual feast (grindstones, vessels, remains of food including nutritious shells as well), together with other utilitarian objects (mould, spindle whorl, loomweight, horsebit) as well as special ones (moon idol, reflecting temporality⁵⁴) can be regarded as prestige items. Mass grave 841 at Stillfried also contained wetstones, bronze hooks and knives.⁵⁵ It is by all means important to note whether the objects (grindstone, vessel, jewellery, animal remains) in the features are complete, fragmented, or even showing firemarks.⁵⁶ And this is the place to highlight again that only upon large quantities of well-documented features will it be possible to build relevant hypotheses.

During my time on field in the territory of Vas and Győr-Sopron Counties the only mass grave or 'deviant burial' (like the Early Iron Age ones from Pusztataskony⁵⁷ in Eastern Hungary and Stillfried⁵⁸) I had the chance to unearth was dated to a later period of the Middle Ages.

Finally I would like to draw attention on three special types of phenomena that may be interpreted as 'deviant' occurrences of human remains.

- Neolithic and Copper Age pits with small clay figurines of humans in their infill are interpreted by the majority of Hungarian researchers as symbolic human sacrifices. Several examples are known from the study area. The most abundant sites in this respect are Sé-Malomoldal (124 pieces) as well as Szombathely-Oladi plató (95 pieces),⁵⁹ where 65 figurine fragments were found in the infill of a single pit (Feature 1) of 50 cm in diameter. The feature, naturally, contained grindstone fragments as well. A region-wide evaluation of the features of this type can only be efficiently carried out as a monograph.

51 NAGY et al. 2012.

52 ILON 2004.

53 TREBSCHKE 2016, 97, Abb. 14.

54 INSOLL 2004, 43.

55 GRIEBL – HELLERSCHMID 2013, Abb. 11.

56 BRÜCK 2009, 13.

57 KIRÁLY et al. 2013.

58 GRIEBL – HELLERSCHMID 2013.

59 KALICZ 1998; KÁROLYI 1992, 43–44, 36. t.; KÁROLYI 2011; ILON 2007; ILON 2009.

- A bog body, dated to the Late Tumulus culture, was found in the peat mine at Vindornyaszóllós (county Zala).⁶⁰ The man was laying on his back, with the body directed N–S, and a dagger near the right hand (perhaps originally it was hanging from his belt). The possible explanations in this case are simple drowning, drowning of a wounded man and sacrifice.⁶¹ There is regrettably no possibility for further investigations, as the remains were lost by the miners and even that is a question, whether every belonging of the man had been brought into the museum's collection. The feature fits into category *H* in Joanna Brück's system.⁶²
- Skeletal remains of about a dozen people were deposited in the Kő-lik (Stone-hole) cave at the Mt. Szentgál-Tűzköves.⁶³ The research conditions here fall very far behind the ones obtained in the case of Lichtensteintenhöhle⁶⁴ (Urnfield Period): the bones had not been radiocarbon dated; only a fireplace or torch remain dates the feature to the start of the Middle Bronze Age, but its relation to the human remains is unclear. There is no comprehensive anthropological evaluation carried out, so the questions of how many men, women and children were interred in the cave, which parts are present and what is their condition remain unanswered. The presence of characteristic Urnfield Culture material makes the radiocarbon dating of the remains necessary.⁶⁵ It is well known that caves were considered sacred place since prehistoric times (including the Bronze Age). Caves fit into category *G* in Joanna Brück's system.⁶⁶

Summary

The described features may be regarded as uncommon contexts, as a border or liminal zone between the worlds of the living and the dead. The ritual practice followed a strict and conservative regulation, with its main characteristic being immutability.⁶⁷ In the case of the features under study only a planned sampling, analysis and evaluation can provide real answers to the following questions: 1, partial or complete skeletons, and their social position (full member or subjected); 2, which animals or which of their parts participate in the ritual (including pristine fur colour, and body regions, on which we have no knowledge today);⁶⁸ 3, types of offered objects according to social position; 4, tools for food preparation used as part of the ritual, food remains, intact or fragmented remains of the tools and vessels used as part of the ritual; 5, firemarks on bones and tools; 6, variations in the pattern of the action sequence burning–cutting–scattering,⁶⁹ and finally a categorization of the observations according to the aforementioned structure. The presented features fall into category *A* (within a settlement, with no traces of burning on the bones) in Joanna Brück's⁷⁰ classification system of human skeletal remains, but I regard the phenomena also containing grindstones a subcategory.

60 BAKAY et al. 1970, 6, 256, Taf. 16.13; KEMENCZEI 1988, 30, Taf. 10.125; ILON 2015a, 247.

61 TURK 2009, 66–71, Fig. 68; BURMEISTER 2013.

62 BRÜCK 1995, Tab. 1.

63 ILON 1991.

64 FLINDT et al. 2013, 359, Abb. 1, 3, 7–8, Tab. 1.

65 ILON 2014b, 121, 129, Taf. 18.

66 SCHAUER 1981; BRÜCK 1995, Tab. 1.

67 BRÜCK 1995, 256–257, Fig. 13; INSOLL 2004, 11–12, 99, 152–153.

68 INSOLL 2010, 238–241, Tabs 1–2.

69 BRÜCK 2009, 15.

70 BRÜCK 1995, Tab. 1.

Grave offerings probably possessed a considerable symbolic power⁷¹ for pristine communities, and bore special meanings. Other details (e.g. direction, body position, ways of postmortem manipulation) offer infinite possibilities for categorization,⁷² making both typologization and interpretation⁷³ difficult, but this step cannot be avoided. Fear, respect and joy filled jointly the community and its collective memory participating in the ritual event,⁷⁴ a dimension not reachable using archaeological methods. ...and the members of the community became immersed in a union, in the transformation to sacred, holy, and ancestral.⁷⁵

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Gyula Isztin (Szombathely) for his help with the preparation of the maps and figures. I am also indebted to Marcella Nagy for her observations. And I would like to say a special thanks to Katalin Sebők for her translation.

References

- AILINCĂI, S.-C. 2015: *Trăind cu morții. Inmormântări în așezările de la începutul epocii fierului între Balcani, Tisa și Nistru*. Cluj-Napoca.
- AILINCĂI, S.-C. 2016: Living with the Dead: Burials in Early Iron Age Settlements Between the Balkans, Tisza and Dnestr. In: SÎRBU, V. – JEVIĆ, M. – DMITROVIĆ, K. – LJUŠTINA, M. (eds): *Funerary practices during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Central and Southeast Europe: Proceedings of the 14th International Colloquium of Funerary Archaeology in Čačak, Serbia, 24th – 27th September 2015*. Beograd–Čačak, 147–164.
- BAKAY, K. – KALICZ, N. – SÁGI, K. (szerk.): *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája 3. Veszprém megye. A devecséri és sümegi járás*. Budapest.
- BRÜCK, J. 1995: Place for the death: the role of human remains in Late Bronze Age Britain. *Proceedings of the Praehistoric Society* 95, 245–277.
- BRÜCK, J. 2009: Women, Death and Social Change in the British Bronze Age. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 42:1, 1–23.
- BRÜCK, J. 2011: Fire, earth, water: An elemental cosmography of the European Bronze Age. In: INSOLL, T. (ed.): *The Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*. Oxford, 387–404.
- BURMEISTER, S. 2013: Moorleichen – Sonderbestattung, Strafjustiz, Opfer? Annäherungen an eine kulturgeschichtliche Deutung. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 485–506.
- DUMA, Gy. – LENGYEL, I. 1967: Őskori edények vér tartalmú agyagból. *Építőanyag* 19:2, 49–57.
- ERNÉE, M. 2013: Uniformität oder Kreativität im Totenbrauchtum? Zum Bestattungsritus der Aunjetitzer Kultur aus Sicht der Phosphatanalyse. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 227–238.

71 HANSEN 2016, 216.

72 INSOLL 2004, 16–17.

73 Timothy Insoll mentions several fitting possibilities in an analysis of a Lybian representation (INSOLL 2004, Fig. 8).

74 HANSEN 2016, 212–213.

75 INSOLL 2004, 153–154.

- FLEISCHER, F. – LANDOLT, M. – ROTH-ZEHNER, M. 2013: Die eisenzeitlichen Siedlungsbestattungen des Elsass. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012.* Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 439–470.
- FLINDT, S. – HUMMEL, S. – SEIDENBERG, V. – SCHOON, R. – WOLF, G. – HASSMANN, H. – SAILE, T. 2013: Die Lichtensteinhöhle. Ein ‚irregulärer‘ Ort mit menschlichen Skelettresten aus der Urnenfelderzeit – Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1993–2011. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012.* Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 347–364.
- GALLUS, S. 1934: *A soproni Burgstall alakos urnái (Die Figuralverzierten Urnen von Sopron-Burgstall).* Archaeologia Hungarica 13, Budapest.
- GOGÁLTAN, F. 2012: Ritual Aspects of the Bronze Age Tell-Settlements in the Carpathian Basin: A Methodological Approach. *Ephemeris Napocensis* 22, 7–56.
- GRIEBL, M. – HELLERSCHMID, I. 2013: Menschenknochen und Menschenniederlegungen in Siedlungsgruben der befestigten Höhensiedlung von Stillfried an der March, Niederösterreich: Gängige Praxis der Totenbehandlung in der jüngeren Urnenfelderkultur? In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012.* Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 327–346.
- HANSEN, S. 2016: Gabe und Erinnerung – Heiligtum und Opfer. In: HANSEN, S. – NEUMANN, D. – VACHTA, T. (eds): *Raum, Gabe und Erinnerung. Weihgaben und Heiligtümer in prähistorischen und antiken Gesellschaften.* Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 38. Berlin, 211–236.
- HORVÁTH, T. 2000: Az őrlés folyamata és szerszámai az őskor időszakában Magyarországon (The process and the tools of grinding in the prehistorical times in Hungary). In: ILON, G. (ed.): *Válogatás a Berzsenyi Dániel Főiskola régésztechnikusainak és a József Attila Tudományegyetem régész hallgatóinak tanulmányaiból 2.* Pannicvlvs B/5. Szombathely, 101–143.
- HORVÁTH, T. 2011: Animal Deposits in the Late Copper Age Settlement of Balatonőszöd-Temetői dűlő, Hungary. In: LUSHKOWKI, A. (ed.): *The Ritual Killing and Burial of Animals: European Perspectives.* Oxford, 115–136.
- HORVÁTH, T. – KÖHLER, K. 2012: Life and death: mortuary rituals of the Baden culture at Lake Balaton (Transdanubia). *Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 42, 453–472.
- ILON, G. 1991: A Szentgál Mecsek-hegyi Kő-lik barlang régészeti emlékei (Archäologische Funde in der „Kő-lik“ Höhle im Mecsek-Berg bei Szentgál [Komitat Veszprém]). *Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei* 2, 83–96.
- ILON, G. 1992: Keftiubarren ingot from Urn-Grave culture settlement at Górád-Kápolnadomb (C. Vas). *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 44, 239–259.
- ILON, G. 2001: Siedlungswesen und Bestattungssitten in Górád. Zum Übergang von der Urnenfelder- zur Hallstattzeit. In: LIPPERT, A. (Hrsg.): *Die Drau-, Mur- und Raab-Region im 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Akten des internationalen und interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 26. bis 29. April 2000 in Bad Radkersburg.* Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 78. Bonn, 243–267.
- ILON, G. 2004: Óskori temetkezések az utóbbi évtized Vas megyei ásatásain. Adatok a mellékletek és az eltemetett nemének kérdéséhez (Vorzeitliche Bestattungen auf den archäologischen Ausgrabungen vom letzten Jahrzehnt im Komitat Vas. Angaben zu den Beigaben und zur Frage des Geschlechtes der Beerdigten). In: ILON, G. (szerk.): *ΜΩΜΟΣ III. Óskoros Kutatók III. Összejöve-*

- telének konferenciakötete. Halottkultusz és temetkezés. Szombathely–Bozsok 2002. október 7–9. Szombathely, 211–242.*
- ILON, G. (szerk.) 2007: *SZÁZSZORSZÉPEK. Emberábrázolás az őskori Nyugat-Magyarországon (DIE WUNDERSCHÖNEN. Menchendarstellung im urzeitlichen Westungarn – WONDERFUL. Human representations in prehistoric Western Hungary)*. Szombathely.
- ILON, G. 2009: A Lengyeli-kultúra baltás istene Szombathelyen (Vas megye) (The „Axe God” of the Lengyel culture from Szombathely [County Vas]). In: BENDE, L. – LÓRINCZY, G. (szerk.): *Medinától Etéig. Tisztelgő írások Csalog József születésének 100. évfordulóján*. Szentés, 225–230.
- ILON, G. 2012: A Halomsíros kultúra rituális (?) „edénydepója” Veszprém határából (The ritual “vessel hoard” of the Tumulus culture in the vicinity of Veszprém). In: KISFALUDI, J. (szerk.): *Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon 2010 (Archaeological Investigations in Hungary 2010)*. Budapest, 19–54.
- ILON, G. 2014a: Opfergrube der Hügelgräberkultur in der Gemarkung von Ménfőcsanak. Spiralornament auf einem Tonfries eines Gebäudes. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65, 5–42.
- ILON, G. 2014b: Der Anfang der Urnenfelderzeit (Bz D) im Bakonygebirge (Ungarn). Das Gräberfeld und die mehrschichtige Siedlung der Spät-Hügelgräberzeit und der Früh-Urnenfelderzeit in der Gemarkung von Németbánya. In: DIZDAR, D. L. – DIZDAR, M. (eds): *The Beginning of the Late Bronze Age between the Eastern Alps and the Danube: Proceedings of the International Conference in Osijek, October 20–22 2011*. Zbornik Instituta za Archaeologiju 1. Zagreb, 101–177.
- ILON, G. 2015a: Zeitstellung der Urnenfelderkultur (~1350/1300–750/700 BC) in West-Transdanubien. Ein Versuch mittels Typochronologie und Radiokarbonaten. In: REZI, B. – NÉMETH, R. – BERECKI, S. (eds): *Bronze Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin: Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş 2–4 October 2014*. Bibliotheca Musei Marisiensis – Series Archaeologica 8. Târgu Mureş, 223–296.
- ILON, G. 2015b: *The Golden Treasure from Szent Vid in Velem: The Costume of a High-Ranking Lady of the Late Bronze Age in the Light of New Studies*. Archaeolingua – Series Minor 36, Budapest.
- INSOLL, T. 2004: *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*. London – New York.
- INSOLL, T. 2010: Talensi animal sacrifice and its archaeological implications. *World Archaeology* 42:2, 231–244.
- JAKAB, J. 2013: Brüche an menschlichen Knochen aus urgeschichtlichen Siedlungsgruben der Südwestslowakei In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 75–86.
- JELÍNEK, P. 2007: Nálezi detských skeletov v sídliskových objektoch z neolitu, eneolitu a doby bronzovej z juhozápadného Slovenska. *Študijné Zvesti* 42, 71–98.
- JELÍNEK, P. 2013: Human Remains in Settlement Pits of the Maďarovce Culture in Slovakia (Early Bronze Age). In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 267–278.
- KALICZ, N. 1998: *Figürliche Kunst und bemalte Keramik aus dem Neolithikum Westungarns*. Archaeolingua – Series Minor 10, Budapest.
- KÁROLYI, M. 1992: *A korai rézkor emlékei Vas megyében (The early Copper Age in county Vas)*. Szombathely.
- KÁROLYI, M. 2011: A Sé-Malomi-dűlői neolitikus település festett kerámiájának díszítési rendszerei (The ornamenting systems on painted pottery in the neolithic settlement at the Sé-Malomi slope). *Savaria – A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője* 34:1, 123–172.

- KEMENCZEI, T. 1988: *Die Schwerter in Ungarn I*. Prähistorische Bronzefunde IV/6, München.
- KIRÁLY, Á. – SEBŐK, K. – K. ZOFFMANN, Zs. – KOVÁCS, G. 2013: Early Iron Age ‘Mass Graves’ in the Middle Tisza Region: Investigation and Interpretation. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 307–326.
- KISS, V. 2016: From bones, bronzes and sites to society: multidisciplinary analysis of human mobility and social changes in Bronze Age Hungary (2500–1500 BC). *The European Archaeologist* 48, 18–21.
- LULL, V. – MICÓ, R. – RIHUETE HERRADA, C. – RISCH, R. 2016: Agraric Sociology: Sex and Death. *Complutum* 27, 31–62.
- MEYER, Ch. – LOHR, Ch. – STRIEN, H.-Ch. – GRONENBORN, D. – ALT, K. W. 2013a: Interpretationsansätze zu ‚irregulären‘ Bestattungen während der linearbandkeramischen Kultur: Gräber en masse und Massengräber. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 111–122.
- MEYER, Ch. – HANSEN, L. – JACOBI, F. – KNIPPER, C. – FECHER, M. – ROTH, Ch. – ALT, K. W. 2013b: Irreguläre Bestattungen in der Eisenzeit? Bioarchäologische Ansätze zur Deutung am Beispiel der menschlichen Skelettfunde vom Glauberg. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 425–438.
- MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. – BERSZIN, C. – GRUPE, G. – SCHWENTKE, A. – STASKIEWICZUND, A. – WAHL, J. 2013: Ältereisenzeitliche Siedlungsbestattungen in Baden-Württemberg und Bayern. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 409–424.
- NAGY, M. – SÜMEGI, P. – PERSAITS, G. – GULYÁS, S. – TÖRŐCSIK, T. 2012: Iron Age Hoard Found at Ikervár (Vas County, Hungary) in the Western Region of the Carpathian Basin: A Study in the Reconstruction of the Cultic Life of the Hallstatt Period in the Light of Archaeological and Scientific Analyses. In: BERECKI, S. (ed.): *Iron Age Rites and Rituals in the Carpathian Basin: Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş 7–9 October 2011*. Bibliotheca Mvsei Marisiensis Series Archaeologica 5. Târgu Mureş, 31–64.
- NÁFRÁDI, K. – P. BARNA, J. – SÜMEGI, P. 2015: Geoarchaeological investigations at Sormás-Törökföldék, a Neolithic site in Southwestern Transdanubia, Hungary. *Journal of Archaeological Science – Reports* 1, 8–20.
- RINNE, Ch. – FUCHS, K. 2013: Bestattungen in Siedlungen. Norm und Sonderfall in der Bernburger Kultur. In: MÜLLER-SCHEESSEL, N. (Hrsg.): *„Irreguläre“ Bestattungen in der Urgeschichte: Norm, Ritual, Strafe ...? Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Frankfurt a. M. vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2012*. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 19. Bonn, 211–224.
- ROTTIER, S. 2012: Sépultures différentes, pratique commune: le cas du complexe funéraire de Barbuise et La Saulsotte (Aube) au début du Bronze final. In: CASTEX, D. – COURTUD, P. – DUDAY, H. – LE MORT, F. – TILLIER, A.-M. (dir.): *Le regroupement des morts Genèse et diversité archéologique*. Publications de la Maison des sciences de l’homme d’Aquitaine, 161–180.
- ROŽNOVSKÝ, D. 2010: Pohřební rítus Věteřovské skupiny na Znojemsku. *Acta Musei Moraviae Scientiae Sociales* 95:1, 71–84.
- ROŽNOVSKÝ, D. 2012: Nejnovější soupis lidských ostatků na věteřovském sídlišti v Hodonicích (okr. Znojmo) (Jüngstes verzeichnis Menschlicherüberreste auf der Věteřov-Siedlung in Hodonice [Bez. Znojmo]). *Pravěk* 20, 61–85.

- ŠÁLKOVÁ, T. – BEZDĚK, A. – BŘEZINOVÁ, H. – FARKAŠOVÁ, K. – HOUFKOVÁ, P. – CHVOJKA, O. – JOHN, J. – KMOŠEK, J. – KONÍK, P. – KOVAČIKOVÁ, L. – MICHÁLEK, J. – MSALLAMOVÁ, Š. – NOVÁK, J. – PAVELKA, J. – ŠULÁKOVÁ, H. – BEŠTA, T. – MÝSKOVÁ, E. – WEITER, L. – ZRONEK, P. 2015: Bioarchaeological reconstruction of the funeral rite: Case study based on organic material from the Hallstatt Period tumulus at the site Zahradka (South Bohemia, Czech Republic). *Památky Archeologické* 106, 95–135.
- SAVA, V. – ANDREICA, L. – POP, X. – GOGÂLTAN, F. 2012: Out of ordinary or common burial practice? A Funerary Discovery from the Baden Settlement at Sântana “Cetatea Veche”. *Ziridava – Studia Archaeologica* 28, 39–76.
- SCHAUER, P. 1981: Urnenfelderzeitliche Opferplätze in Hohlen und Felsspalten. In: LORENZ, H. (Hrsg.): *Studien zur Bronzezeit. Festschrift für Wilhelm Albert von Brunn*. Mainz am Rhein, 403–418.
- SÜMEGI, P. – PERSAITS, G. – PÁLL, D. G. – TÖRÖCSIK, T. 2011: Results of analysis carried out in the alluvium of Borzó Creek and at the Zanat archaeological site. In: KVASSAY, J. (szerk.): *Szombathely-Zanat késő urnamezős korú temetője és a lelőhely más ős- és középkori emlékei. Természettudományos vizsgálatokkal kiegészített anyagközlés (The Late Urnfield period cemetery from Szombathely-Zanat supplemented by an assessment of Prehistoric and Medieval settlement features and interdisciplinary analyses)*. VIA. Kulturális örökségvédelmi kismonográfiák (VIA. Monographia minor in cultural heritage) 2. Budapest, 224–243.
- SZATHMÁRI, I. 2003: Beiträge zu den Vogeldarstellungen der bronzezeitlichen Tell-Kulturen. In: JEREM, E. – RACZKY, P. (Hrsg.): *Morgenrot der Kulturen. Frühe Etappen der Menschheitsgeschichte in Mittel- und Südosteuropa. Festschrift für Nándor Kalicz zum 75. Geburtstag*. Archaeolingua 15. Budapest, 513–523.
- TÓTH, G. 2009a: Újabb újkőkori emberi maradványok Vas és Zala megyéből (Anthropological finds from the Neolithic from Counties Vas and Zala). In: BENDE, L. – LŐRINCZY, G. (szerk.): *Medinától Etéig. Tisztelgő írások Csalog József születésének 100. évfordulóján*. Szentés, 239–243.
- TÓTH, I. 2009b: A Burgstall öröksége. Egy archaikus túlvilágkép töredékei (Das Erbe des Burgstalles. Bruchstücke eines archaischen Jenseitsbildes). *Soproni Szemle* 53:1, 3–26.
- TÓTH, I. 2015: *Pannoniai vallástörténet*. Ókor – Történet – Írás 2, Budapest–Pécs.
- TREBSCHKE, P. 2016: Latènezeitliche Leichen im Keller? Überlegungen zur Deutung von Siedlungsbestattungen im österreichischen Donauraum. In: HUSTY, L. – SCHMOTZ, K. (Hrsg.): *Vorträge des 34. Niederbayerischen Archäologentages Rahden, Westfalen*. Rahden/Westf., 79–118.
- TUGYA, B. 2012: Appendix. Veszprém–Kádárta, Geleméri-dűlő lelőhely 50. objektuma állatsontleleteinek rövid elemzése (A short analysis of the faunal remains of feature no. 50 at the Veszprém–Kádárta, Geleméri-dűlő site). In: KISFALUDI, J. (szerk.): *Régészeti kutatások Magyarországon 2010 (Archaeological Investigations in Hungary 2010)*. Budapest, 54.
- TURK, P. (ed.) 2009: *The Ljubjanica – a river and its past*. Ljubljana.
- VÖRÖS, I. 1995: Étel- és állataldozat leletek Nagydém-Középrépuszta középső bronzkori temetőjében (Funde von Speisebeigaben und Opfertieren in dem mittelbronzezeitlichen Gräberfeld Nagydém-Középrépuszta). *Acta Musei Papensis* 5, 149–155.
- VÖRÖS, I. 2019: A Gőr–Kápolnadombon feltárt vaskori gímszarvas (*Cervus elaphus* L. 1758) csontváz (Iron Age red deer [*Cervus elaphus* L. 1758] skeleton found at Gőr–Kápolnadomb, NW-Hungary). In: BARTOSIEWICZ, L. – T. BIRÓ, K. – SÜMEGI, P. – TÖRÖCSIK, T. (szerk.): *Mikroszkóppal, feltárásokkal, mintavételezéssel, kutatásokkal az archeometria, a geoarcheológia és a régészet szolgálatában. Tanulmányok Ilon Gábor régész 60 éves születésnapjára*. Szeged, 275–283.
- ZALAI-GAÁL, I. 2009: *Zur Herkunft des Schädelkults im Neolithikum des Karpatenbecken*. Archaeolingua – Series Minor 27, Budapest.

- ZEEB-LANZ, A. 2014: Was geschah vor 7000 Jahren in Herxheim? Ritueller Kannibalismus in der Pfalz. *Biologie Unserer Zeit* 44:3, 172–180.
- K. ZOFFMANN, Zs. 2001: Appendix. Anthropological remains from the Urnfield Period site of Górkápolnadomb. In: LIPPERT, A. (Hrsg.): *Die Drau-, Mur- und Raab-Region im 1. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Akten des internationalen und interdisziplinären Symp. vom 26. bis 29. April 2000 in Bad Radkersburg*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 78. Bonn, 269–270.
- K. ZOFFMANN, Zs. 2007: Embertani leletek az Urnamezős-kultúra Górkápolnadomb lelőhelyéről (Anthropological finds from the site Górkápolnadomb dating from the Urnfield period). *Savaria – A Vas megyei Múzeumok Értesítője* 30, 145–158.

Őrlőkő – őrlés... és emberáldozat? Vajon miért?

E tanulmányom alapvető célja, hogy az őskor különböző fázisainak (újkőkör: dunántúli vonaldiszes kerámia kultúrája, bronzkor: halomsíros kultúra és vaskor: kelta kultúra) településeiről és csak a saját ásatási praxisomból, azaz Győr-Moson-Sopron és Vas megyéből bemutassak három (Szombathely-Oladi plató és Szombathely-Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő, valamint Ménfőcsanak-Széles földek), fő jellemzőikben szinte teljes azonosságot tükröző jelenséget. Ezek az alábbiak: 1. mindegyikben emberi maradványok voltak, 2. mellettük őrlőkőveket vagy őrlőkővek töredékeit találtam, 3. a betöltésükben szenült famaradványok és égett agyagtapasztás is volt (2–3, 5. képek, 1. táblázat).

Nem mellékes céloom ezen írásom kapcsán az, hogy szorgalmazzam a hazai kutatásban egy általános protokoll alkalmazását az ilyen típusú gödrök mintavételezésére. A vizsgált gödrök esetében: 1. emberi csontvázak, vagy csak részletek, 2. állatok csontváza vagy részleteik, 3. a társadalmi státusznak megfelelő adománytárgyak, 4. a szertartási étel elkészítésének eszközei, és a „göngyöleg” maradványai, 5. a tűz nyomai, 6. az égetés – darabolás – szétszórás módzatai és a jelenségben tett összes megfigyelés természettudományos vizsgálata, valamint a megfigyelések rendszerezése ad lehetőséget a hipotézisek megfogalmazására. Joanna Brück emberi csontmaradványokat osztályozó rendszerében⁷⁶ e gödrök az A kategóriába sorolhatók. Az őrlőköves „szett-tel” rendelkező, egyúttal *homo* maradványos gödröket a jelenségek egyik alcsoportjának tartom. A három gödör jellemzői alapján feltételezem, hogy a szertartás gyakorlata évezredek át a hagyományokhoz ragaszkodó, szigorú szabályok szerint zajlott, és állandóság jellemezte a rítust. Ezt Górkápolnadomb urnamezős kori gödreinek (4. kép) jelenségei megerősíteni látszanak.⁷⁷ A szertartási cselekmény értelmezésének egyik lehetséges módzatát hazánkban Tóth István ókortörténész írta le az egyik soproni kora vaskori edény karcolt rajzai, illetve a római kori Nyugat-Pannonia sírkövei jeleneteinek összevetése kapcsán.⁷⁸ Ennek számunkra leglényegesebb és kiemelendő eleme az emberáldozat bemutatása. Úgy vélem, hogy az ilyen jelenségek a határzónát képezik az élő- és a túlvilág között.

76 BRÜCK 1995, Tab. 1.

77 ILON 2001.

78 TÓTH 2009b; TÓTH 2015.

A mellékelt adománytárgyak korabeli ereje⁷⁹ nyilván nem lehetett elhanyagolható, és jelentéssel bírt. Természetesen a részletekben (pl. tájolás, a test pozíciója, manipulálás módozatai) szinte végtelen variáció⁸⁰ lehetséges, ezért tipologizálásuk, s így értelmezésük nehézségekbe ütközik, de nem elkerülendő. A rettegés, a tisztelet és az öröm együttesen volt jelen a szertartáson résztvevő közösségben, annak kollektív emlékezetében,⁸¹ amelyekről régészeti módszereinkkel nem igazán szerezhethünk információkat. ...és a szertartás közben a szentté / szentséggé / össze alakulás, egyesülés folyamatában⁸² merült el az „ünneplő” közösség.

Az emberi maradványok deponálásának további különleges helyzeteire csak a figyelmet hívom fel néhány nyugat-dunántúli lelőhely kiemelésével. Ilyenek 1. a neolitikus és rézkori agyagszobrocskákat tartalmazó gödrök (Sé, Szombathely-Oladi plató), 2. a „láphullák” (Vindornyaszőlős) és 3. a barlangok (Szentgál).

79 HANSEN 2016, 216.

80 INSOLL 2004, 16–17.

81 HANSEN 2016, 212–213.

82 INSOLL 2004, 153–154.

		<i>Szombathely- Oladi plató, feature 71/D</i>	<i>Ménfőcsanak- Széles-földek, feature 7765</i>	<i>Szombathely- Reiszig erdő alatti dűlő, feature 390</i>
<i>Chronological position</i>		Neolithic, Transdanubian Linear Pottery Culture	Bronze Age, Early Tumulus Culture	Late Iron Age, Celtic Period
<i>Pit</i>	<i>relative depth (cm)</i>	90	80	140
	<i>extensions (cm), groundplan</i>	100×140, quadrangular	170×180, oval	100×130, oval
	<i>shape</i>	vertical shaft	narrowing	downward extending
	<i>burnt clay debris and its relation with the human bones</i>	small, above	very small, in the infill	large, coarse, above the bones, forming a layer
	<i>charcoal layer, its intensity and relation with the human bones</i>	everywhere in the infill, few	in a layer below, few	in a layer above, and below, a large amount
<i>Human remains</i>	<i>age at death</i>	1: Adultus 2: 17–20 years old	5–8 years old	15–18 years old
	<i>sex</i>	1: man? 2: woman?	child	man?
	<i>position</i>	above and beside the grindstones 1: non-anatomical order 2: crouched on the left side	in a vessel beside the grindstones, the right pelvis and scapula among the animal bones	on the grindstones, laying on its back
<i>Condition of the remains, soil type</i>		very poor, in clay	good, in loess	very poor, in clay
<i>Grindstone (pcs)</i>	<i>complete</i>	2	–	1
	<i>fragment</i>	5	6 (of two examples)	2
<i>Vessel (pcs)</i>		3	35	1 fragment
<i>Other objects</i>		–	architectural ornament, portable oven	–
<i>Animal remains</i>		shell	cattle, pig, ewe, small ruminant, pike, carp, shell	–
<i>Archaeobotanical remains</i>		<i>no analysis</i>	emmer, multirow barley, goosefoot	<i>no analysis</i>
<i>Food remains</i>		<i>no analysis</i>	some kind of bread	<i>no analysis</i>

Table 1. Data of the pits containing grindstones.

1. táblázat. Az őrlőköves gödrök adatai.