



## ENYO'S SKIRMISHERS. WARRIOR WOMEN DURING THE EARLIER BRONZE AGE IN THE EASTERN CARPATHIAN BASIN

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**Abstract:** *The present paper challenges the previously held view, that warfare is the domain of men. Looking at funerary inventories of the earlier Bronze Age of the Eastern Carpathian Basin of anthropologically identified women interments, the regional embodiments of a female personhood are sought. Jewellery, pottery sets or their lack, weapons/tools of the deceased and the variety of their materials all play a role in negotiating identities of the living. Moreover, the funerary context engages the individuals in a constant re-remembering, hence actively re-negotiating social standing, meaning of embodiments and ultimately identities. Social-ranking based on funerary inventories and the recognition of embodiments of a female engendered warriorhood allows for the reinterpretation of warfare in practice. As bellicose women are recognised the constitution of society from the misty southeastern Europe is further elucidated.*

**Keywords:** *engendered warriorhood, embodiments, social theory, funerary archaeology*

*... there are interesting discussions which consider the possible role of women in weapon use and fighting, and it is certain that not all instances of weapon burials were those associated with men.*

Harding 2006, 505

### Introduction

Societies of the earlier Bronze Age from the Eastern Carpathian Basin (ECB) in some sense are not totally left in the mist of time. Entanglements of their individuals and their relations is inferred from location of graves within burial grounds<sup>1</sup>, grave goods<sup>2</sup>, archaeo-genetics<sup>3</sup> and to some extent figurines<sup>4</sup>. An interesting social status to take a closer look at during the third and earlier second millennium BCE within the region is warriorhood, which we know is engendered at least from “the warrior’s beauty” of the later part of the second millennium BCE<sup>5</sup>. For the Late Bronze Age scholars argue for an emic idea of a female engendered warriorhood based on Aegean iconography, where women, who emanate a divine nature, are associated with offensive and defensive weaponry or are in heraldic postures between or opposite to lions or shields<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, skeletons of women are documented among the individuals at the battle on the Tollense river crossing, though, due to their gender, are quickly dismissed as warriors and

<sup>1</sup> E.g. O’SHEA 1996.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. ŞANDOR-CHICIDEANU/CHICIDEANU 1989.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. GERLING *ET ALII.* 2012; PINHASI *ET ALII.* 2012.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. SCHUMACHER-MATTHÄUS 1985.

<sup>5</sup> TREHERNE 1995, 108, 124–126.

<sup>6</sup> REHAK 1984; KOPAKA 1999, 482–483, pl. 45; REHAK 1999.

attributed the role of support individuals next to children<sup>7</sup>. Moreover, it is argued that at least central European Middle Bronze Age lavish female burials warrant a reinterpretation of their high significance and impact of and on societies of their times<sup>8</sup>.

What are the roots of this identity and more importantly for the present thesis, how does the bud of this engendered social status manifest itself, if at all? Since weapons are rarely encountered in hoards of the earlier Bronze Age, opposed to the later Bronze Age<sup>9</sup>, it would seem likely that that they are used to negotiate even within funerary milieus an engendered warriorhood.

### Embodiments of the female gender and engendered social structures

Gender, as all human culture, is under the imperative of the human experience, which is in constant change of essence and rules, specifically negotiated among members of the group of every region and span of time<sup>10</sup>. Due to the lack of a gender study theory, tailored to the phenomenological needs of the earlier Bronze Age ECB<sup>11</sup>, it is emphasised that the present paper is a 'gender-related study'<sup>12</sup>. These types of approaches can employ anthropological data originating from skeletons and their associated inventories. Burials and their inventories can be used to infer engendered social contexts negotiated not only among the deceased, but also with the individuals carrying out the act of disposal of the dead<sup>13</sup>. It can be said that the deceased, disposed body and associated funerary inventory have agency<sup>14</sup>, in the sense that they are social actors in the negotiation of social status of the living, which ultimately implies gender too. Moreover, the disposed individual and funerary inventories viewed in this light can be seen as embodiments<sup>15</sup> of an engendered social status.

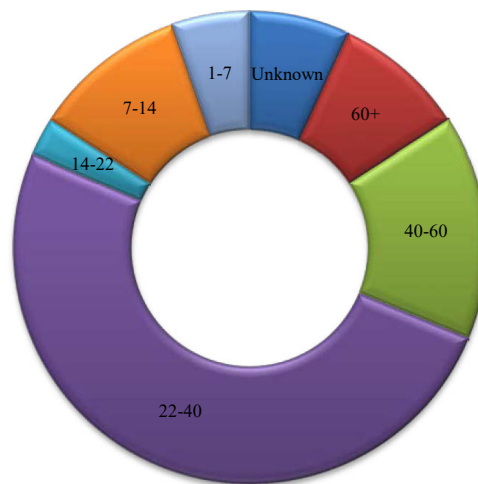


Fig. 1. Age groups of anthropologically determined female burials

<sup>7</sup> JANTZEN *ET ALII.* 2011, 430.

<sup>8</sup> BRÜCK/FONTIJN 2013, 203–204.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. HARDING 2007, 125–127.

<sup>10</sup> HAYS-GILPIN 2008, 336.

<sup>11</sup> PALINCAŞ 2010, 107–108.

<sup>12</sup> DOMMASNES/MONTÓN-SUBÍAS 2012, 370.

<sup>13</sup> SOFAER DEREVENSKI 2002, 194–197.

<sup>14</sup> GIDDENS 1984, 5–14.

<sup>15</sup> MERLEAU-PONTY 1945, 330, 335–336, 461–462.

From a total of 255 funerary sites dated to the earlier Bronze Age in the ECB, the skeletons of only eight sites benefited of an anthropological analysis, that yielded positive results for the presence of women<sup>16</sup>. In total 189 female skeletons were identified with about half in the age-range of 22–40 years, followed by 15% of them in that of 40–60 years, infants and children at 5% and 11% respectively, while only 3% were adolescents (fig. 1). Almost 10% of the total documented cases are of women with the age above 60 years. The very low number of only five adolescent women burials does raise the question if it represents a low death or disposal-rate of women of this age or if it is a glitch in the archaeological record.

Women burials are usually oriented south-north (73%), which indicates a strong cohesion to a similar set of rules over wider areas and over at least several hundreds of years. This is followed by a smaller fraction (5%) of such burials, which are oriented N-S. Other orientations that slightly deviate from the S-N axe are around 1%, which most likely have to do with the season in which the disposal occurred. It must be noted that east-west and west-east orientation occur in low number, in a total of three instances. Furthermore, a large proportion (83%) of documented female burials is right contracted, while a significantly lower proportion (13%) is left contracted. The few remaining cases are either of indeterminable orientation or are on their backs with straight or contracted legs. A general trend in context of the burial is clearly noticeable, which previous research has pointed out quite eloquently<sup>17</sup>.

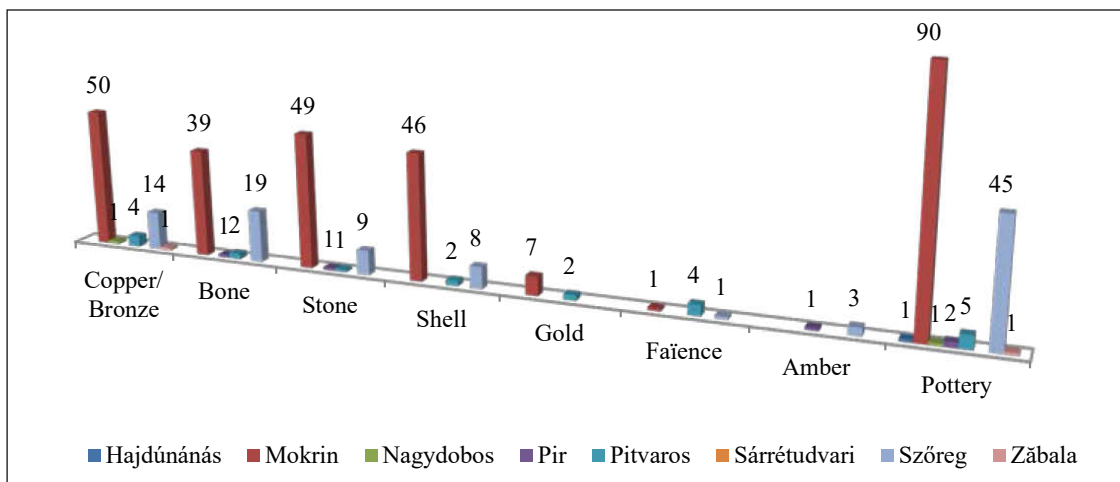


Fig. 2. Recorded amounts of raw materials types in burials of anthropologically determined female burials

Only 25 of the 189 documented female burials did not have any funerary finds. Most commonly burials of women of the earlier Bronze Age from the ECB have, next to pottery, copper or bronze objects as grave goods, closely followed by objects made of bone, stone<sup>18</sup> and shells. Usually, they are jewellery, but a more detailed discussion of type of objects can be found below. In rare instances gold, faïence and amber is recorded as well (fig. 2). From the first glance over the seriation of raw materials (Appendix 2), from which inventories of female burials are made, they clearly cluster in three groups: a smaller one of about 30–40 burials that contain most types of these (RM 1), a significantly larger one that only contains at most three types (RM

<sup>16</sup> DARÓCZI 2015, 70–203.

<sup>17</sup> O'SHEA 1996, 339–342, 348–349, tab. 9.10; P. FISCHL 2001, 196–197.

<sup>18</sup> Beads referred to in the original publications as of kaolin are in fact of faïence (GIRIĆ 1971, 225; O'SHEA 1996, 125, tab. 5.26.), though in the present discussion and appendix are catalogued under the generic term of 'stone.'

2), usually pottery with objects of bone, stone or shell and the above mentioned ones with no funerary finds (RM 3).

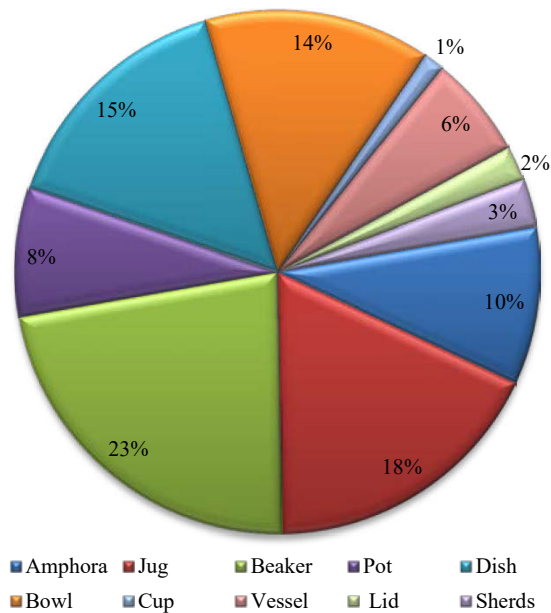


Fig. 3. Ratios of vessel shapes in burials of anthropologically determined female burials

The most common funerary find in the graves with female burials is pottery. Six types of vessel are recorded with additional categories of sherds and of those of an indeterminable shape (fig. 3). Usually, they are of small size, for the use of a single person, though occasional larger vessels are also noted, like amphorae or deep dishes. In a few cases three vessels are encountered in a single grave, but the standard seems to have been two in the following combinations: beakers-bowls, jugs-dishes, bowls-amphorae (Appendix 3). The above listed pairs of vessel shapes are a closed, taller, small vessel with a small or medium-sized, open vessel, which would either suggest the pouring from the closed ones into the open ones, or a standardised 'course for the afterlife' of the deceased women of a liquid and a more solid meal. The interpretation of a 'meal for the afterlife' seems the most likely, as sherds which would suggest a funerary banquet or feasting, at the end of which the participants would smash their vessels, are not documented in the archaeological record. Sherds in burials of women only account for 3% of total amount of pottery (fig. 3), and even in those instances are representing in most cases remains of complete funerary goods, which were poorly preserved. Burials of women with a single vessel usually contain either beakers or jugs, and less commonly dishes, bowls or amphorae.

The importance of relation of pottery sets and inhumed body in the Middle Bronze Age Carpathian Basin is recognised by other scholars too<sup>19</sup>. If a ranking can be made based on the presence of types of vessels in these burials, four social groups would emerge among women, which differentiate themselves in space and time (Appendix 3), based on the presence and variety of their 'meal for the afterlife'. The ones that contain three vessels (P1) are mostly found at Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* and Szőreg – *Lelöhely C/Szív utca*, which belong to a slightly later period<sup>20</sup>, and might represent embodiments of local variations in beliefs in the afterlife of

<sup>19</sup> STIG-SØRENSEN/REBAY-SALISBURY 2008, 61, 65, esp. 66, fig. 10; REBAY-SALISBURY 2013, 24.

<sup>20</sup> ŞANDOR-CHICIDEANU/CHICIDEANU 1989, 36–37, fig. 28.

the gender in discussion. The second group contains burials of women with two vessels (P2), in the pairings and possible interpretations described above, which are usually found at the burial grounds of Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* and Szőreg – *Lelöhely C/Szív utca*, though single instances are documented at Pitvaros, Hajdúnánás – *Feketehalom* and Nagydobos – *Sípos telek* as well. They roughly belong to the same chronological horizon which reaches from the EBA II to the MBA I<sup>21</sup>, in this sense they most certainly are the embodiments of a coherent social practice that withstood the test of time for at least several centuries. The third group is represented by burials which only have a single vessel (P3) and they are present in all regions and chronological phases of the earlier Bronze Age in which burials of women are recorded. Since this third group is documented throughout the period in discussion and if fewer vessels, and implicitly a less varied ‘meal for the afterlife’, would suggest a lower social ranking, they can be viewed as embodiments of a distinct, lower group among women. The last group comprises of female burials with no vessels (P4) and these too are recorded in all discussed chronological phases, and by the viewpoint expressed above, precisely the lack of any pottery in the funerary inventory which might suggest a ‘meal for the afterlife’, would place them at the lowest level, among the women burials discussed here.

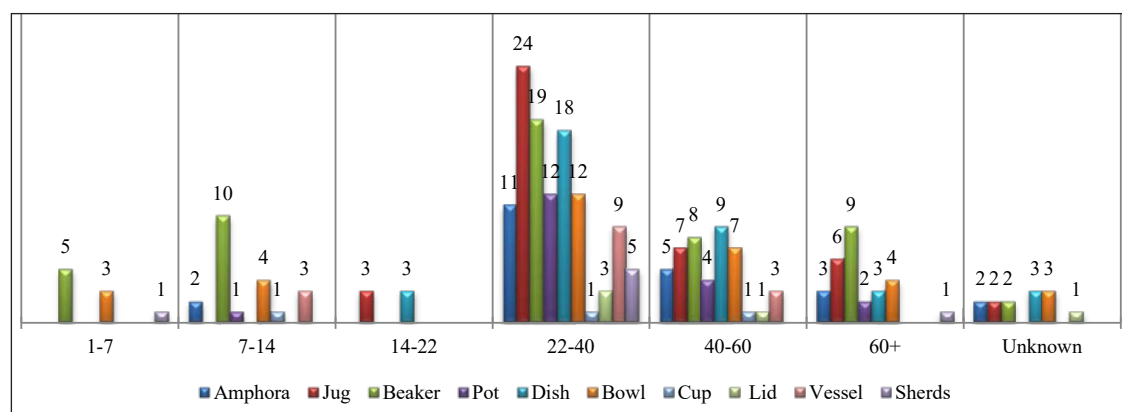


Fig. 4. Relations of vessel shapes to age groups of anthropologically determined female burials

Pottery shapes associated with age intervals of the deceased women that they were found next to reveal certain trends are the usage of vessels (fig. 4). Infants are documented only with beakers and bowls, children do have the full spectrum of recorded shapes that are usually associated with women, though the ratios are different as for adults. This later age group is found more often with beakers than other types of pottery, while adolescents only are recorded with jugs and dishes. Adults between 22 and 60 years, although also have the full spectrum of documented shapes of pottery, usually have jugs, beakers, amphorae and dishes. Lastly, the oldest individuals are also recorded with all the vessel types, though the most common ones, just as in the case of infants and children, are beakers. It can be concluded that women were receiving different types of ‘meals for the afterlife’, based on their age differences. A social differentiation of women based on age also occurred, based on how ‘meals for the afterlife’ were embodied in the funerary inventory according to the above analysis, which resulted in four loose, social age-groups.

Besides pottery, other types of finds are also documented among women burials of the earlier Bronze Age in the ECB. About a third of these burials did not have any finds made of raw materials other than pottery (Appendix 4). These finds can appear in sets of five to eight pieces,

<sup>21</sup> DARÓCZI 2015, 36–38, pl. 1.

for which this group can be described as that of the more lavishly adorned women burials or in sets of one to four. The richest burials, a total of seven, usually have bead-necklaces associated with diadem/head-ornaments, pendants, needles and pins, spiral bracelets, and are seldomly seen with bead-bracelets, waist-string, lock-rings, rings, neck-bangles and weapons or tools. The skeletons of the second group are usually seen with single pieces of jewellery enumerated above and with complete or partial remains of animal skeletons, quite often lower jaws or skulls. Three social groups of women with specific embodiments of their engendered, social status arise from this analysis. A group with lavish adornments of up to eight pieces of jewellery and other finds (O 1), a second group of less rich character most commonly of up to four items of jewellery or other finds (O 2) that expresses social status, and a third one which lacks any such embodiments (O 3).

Age	1-7	7-14	14-22	22-40	40-60	60+	Unknown	Sum
Figurine				1				1
Neck-bangle (torqued)		1		2	1			4
Pendant				13	6	3	1	23
Bead-necklace	3	7	2	26	11	4	6	59
Waist-string				8	3			11
Bead-bracelet			2	7	1			11
Spiral-bracelet		2		8	4	1	1	16
Bangle		1				1		2
Diadem/Head-ornament	2			22	5	2		31
Crescent				2				2
Ear-ring					1	1		2
Lock-ring	2	1		3	1		1	8
Ring		1		4				5
Pin				9	5	3	1	18
Awl				1		1	1	3
Needle	2	3		5	4	4		18
Chisel				1				1
Scale		1		11	1		1	14
Lump of Cu/Brz							1	1
Dagger		1		1	1		1	4
Axe				2				2
Mace-head				2		1		3
Flint				2		2		4
Seal				1				1
Spatula		1						1
Animal/ fragment		1		8	2			11
Quern				1				1

Fig. 5. Relations of grave goods to age groups of anthropologically determined female burials

If the above listed finds are grouped according to age-intervals of the women skeletons that they have been found associated with, a slightly different image emerges (**fig. 5**). Infants are only seen with bead-necklaces, diadem/head-ornaments, lock-rings and needles, while children are documented with the same objects along with spiral bracelets, bangles, rings, scales, spatulas, animal bones and a dagger bend in a loop as well. Adolescents are only documented with bead-necklaces and bead-bracelets. Adults were recorded with the entire myriad of types of possible

grave goods; the only differentiation is in the intensity of occurrence. The most often encountered items are bead-necklaces and diadem/head-ornaments, followed by pendants, scale, spiral and bead-bracelets, waist-strings, rings and pins. Lastly, the oldest recorded documented skeletons of women most commonly have bead-necklaces and single instances of pendants, spiral-bracelets, needles and scales. It is further worth noting that usually adult women are seen with weaponry, though in one case a girl and in another a senior woman is seen with these. After this brief survey, it may be concluded that bead-necklaces and/or associated diadem/head-ornaments are obvious embodiments of female social status. Though needles, and for adult women pins, bead and spiral bracelets can be considered as embodiments of their engendered status as well, especially if they are seen associated with the previously mentioned, more common jewellery items.

Inventories of women burials and their contexts seen as embodiments of gender and expressions of social status of the period in discussion can shed light on an engendered social organisation of the Bronze Age<sup>22</sup>. If this fragmented picture of embodiments with their associations is unified, certain clusters of pottery and object shapes, and variety of their raw materials emerges (fig. 6). These clusters can be seen as embodiments of engendered social groups and can be considered, even if deceased, as active social actors of their societies. According to the lavishness of grave furnishings and variety of the “meal for the afterlife” certain rankings of these groups and subcategories can be highlighted (fig. 7).

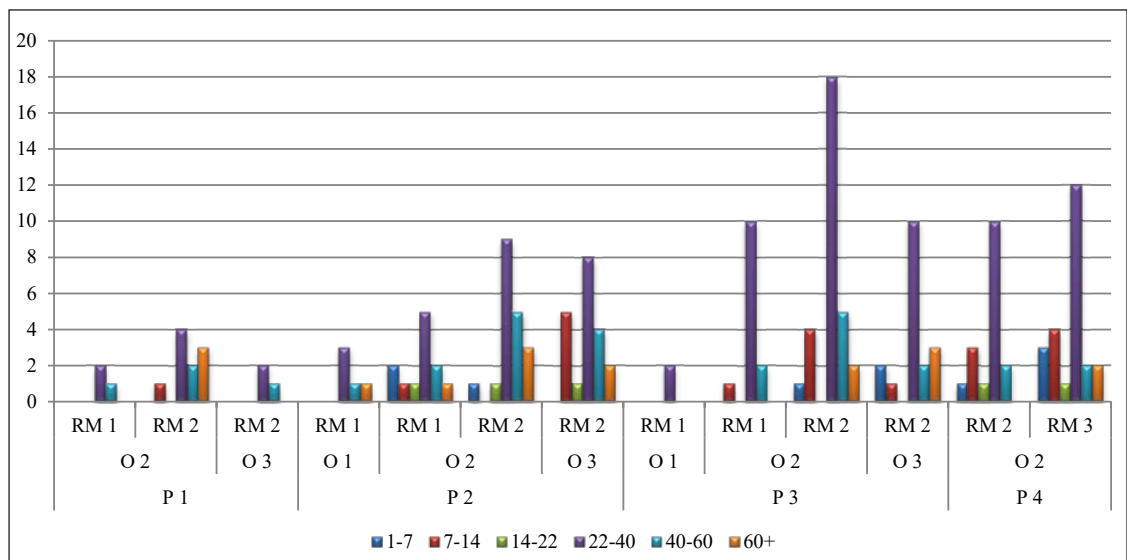


Fig. 6. Summary of embodiment groups from burials of anthropologically determined women

The upper class is quite a restrictive one, as it is only documented in ten instances and they can be considered as representing the women elites among the recorded 189 burials of women. Their engendered embodiments of social standing are characterised by one, two or three vessels, rich inventory of objects comprising of five to eight items, less commonly of one to four, made by the most varied assemblage of raw materials. Based on how rich the ‘meal for the afterlife’ must have been, meaning one or two vessels, two groups are recognised within this class, designated as Upper 1 and Upper 2. The latter encompasses three instances where three vessels are associated with sets of one to four items. The middle class, in the above clustering (fig. 6), has embodiments that comprise of sets of objects of one to four items of raw materials that show

<sup>22</sup> JOCKENHÖVEL 1991, 60; STIG-SØRENSEN 1997, 103–104, 110–111; KRISTIANSEN 2013, 762, 767.

some variations and can have vessels as well. Variations in raw material types and how elaborate 'meals for the afterlife' could have been allow for the loose separation of this middle layer of women into an upper, middle and lower one. The individuals of the Upper-middle subgroup are clustered into two further groups based on how varied the raw materials of their items are, although they both have the same amounts of vessels, except ten individuals of the Upper-middle 2 where three are recorded as well, and have sets of one to four items as grave goods. The same pattern is recognised in the case of the Middle group as well, with the difference that they are only seen with one vessel, meaning a poorer 'meal for the afterlife'. Lastly, the Lower-middle one is defined as having no pottery, which would imply an absent 'meal for the afterlife', but with a limited amount of gender embodiments of a more refrained variety. According to the reasoning that embodiments of gender and their lavishness express a certain status, then the ones with no such finds or only pottery must represent the lowest steps of this structure (fig. 6). Four of these groups are recognised, Lower 1 to 4 (fig. 7), and they are differentiated by the variety of the 'meal for the afterlife', i.e. three to one vessels, or the complete lack of it at the bottom.

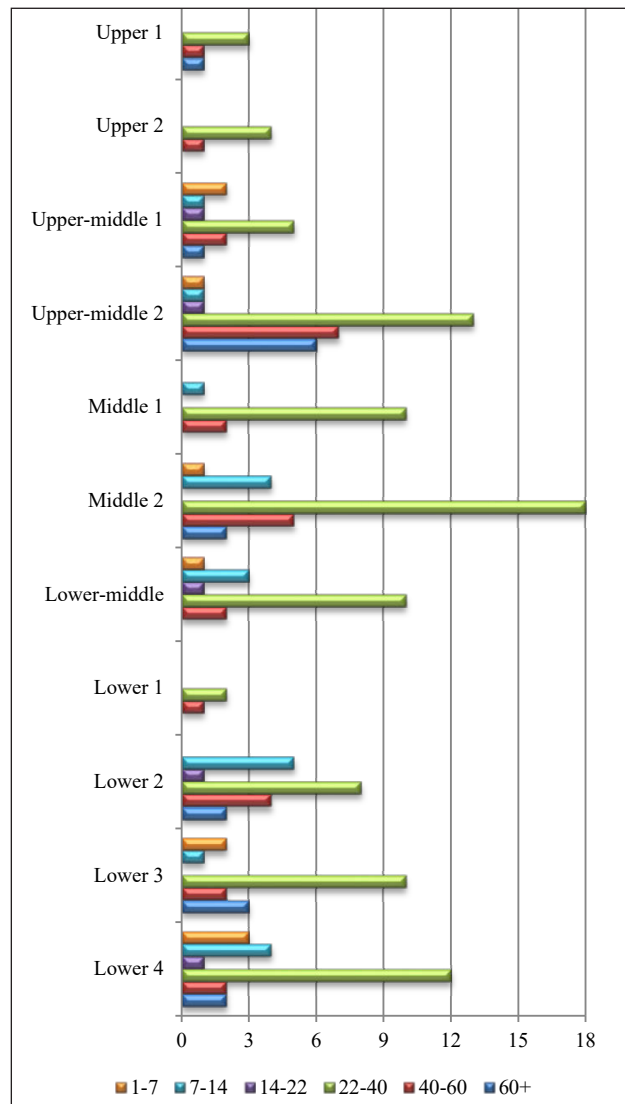


Fig. 7. Social groups originated from the analysis of anthropologically determined female burials

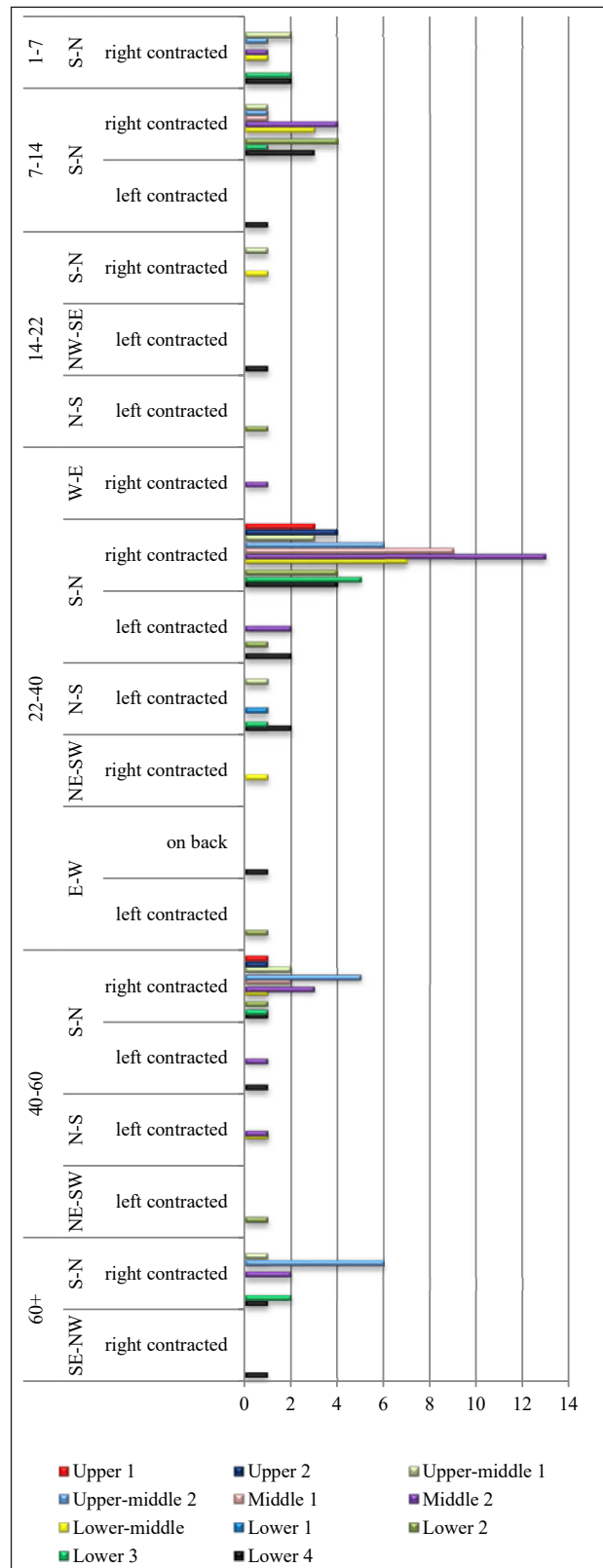


Fig. 8. Orientations and positions of female burials related to age-groups and social classes

The above enumerated social groups of women are based on the ‘deconstruction’ of the social mirror of the earlier Bronze Age of the ECB left by the living in the form of burials and their contexts. Analysis of engendered embodiments and their associations allow for the discerning of preferences in expressing womanhood even through deceased individuals, making them social actors and agents in the negotiation of an obviously engendered, social position. It is important to note that there are feed-back mechanisms that are employed in order to test the validity of the present claims and eliminate possible sources of paradoxes, in which these social groups are plotted according to dating, burial ground location, age, orientation and position of the buried women. Burial grounds with a larger number of individuals have all defined social categories documented, meaning that they do not represent regional traditions, though slight variations are recorded. These classes plotted against age-intervals show that only the Upper ones are age-restrictive, while other groups are documented for most age-groups (fig. 7). The Upper 1 and 2 are only seen for adults, as one would expect from established, full-aged members of the elites to have the most lavish embodiments and a more varied ‘meal for the afterlife’.

An interesting picture emerges if these social classifications, based on engendered embodiments, are further analysed in the context of position and orientation of the deceased (fig. 8). All infants and children have a south-north orientation and most classes are documented, except the Upper ones. In most cases they are right contracted, though in one instance a left contracted child is documented as well. This exception is part of the above defined Lower 4 subgroup, which in turn would explain the non-standard position of the skeleton. A strong cohesion to the same sets of social rules expressed by the orientation and position of the youngest female individuals of these social groups is evident, though the lowest one shows a deviation from these. Further, one would expect that children of the elites, i.e. Upper 1 and 2 classes, would have lavish embodiments, though obviously not as lavish as those of adults. Adolescent girls are seen both as right and left contracted, though the former are always in the more commonly encountered orientation of the gender, i.e. south-north, while the latter in the north-south one. The gender specific position and orientation is seen for this age-group for the middle, while the non-specific one is seen for the Lower 2 and 4 classes, which would fit in well with their lesser or outsider status. Skeletons of adult women in the age range of 22–40 years encompass the most varied orientations and positions. All social groups of this age-range are seen as right contracted and south-north oriented, though occasionally different ones are recorded as well and they can be social-group restrictive. Usually, individuals belonging to the lower classes are seen in left-contracted position oriented south-north, north-south and east-west, though in two cases individuals of the Upper-middle 1 and 2 are recorded as well. West-east oriented and right contracted or east-west oriented on back or left contracted adult women of the lower social groups are recorded too. Most often encountered social ranks of adult women in the age-interval of 40–60 years are right contracted and south-north oriented. In five instances they are seen as left contracted, two of them are south-north, while the other three are north-south oriented and they are all part of the Lower 2, 4, Lower-Middle, Middle 2 or Upper-middle 2 classes. Quite clearly, the lower social groups deviate from the usual orientation and position. The oldest documented burials of women are highly standardised, just as the youngest members, meaning that they are always right contracted, south-north oriented and are recorded from the lowest classes up to the Upper-middle 1 one.

As general conclusions, it can be stated that the defined social classes are strongly anchored in embodiments and their contextual associations specific to their gender and social standing. The validity of these social groups can be verified if put in the contexts of age-groups, orientation and position of skeletons, where in most cases the lower ones are documented in non-gender specific postures, though in some cases elites are clearly recognisable. Infants, children and the oldest members of society are recorded almost in all cases, except one, in the gender

specific position and orientation, something that one would expect from the most dependent members of society, regardless of their social standing. After the picture of engendered embodiments and social groups, sketched in broad strokes above, the engendering of warriorhood and 'lesser' aspects of warfare during the earlier Bronze Age in the ECB can be addressed.

### Of engendered warriorhood and skirmishers

The remains of an individual associated with at least one weapon, viewed at the very least through a positivistic archaeological prism, are usually claimed as the remains of a warrior<sup>23</sup>, though the social actor role of a Bronze Age warrior is in fact constantly negotiated next to weapons, through gender specific embodiments, i.e. 'toilet articles' and certain types of arm rings, pins, hooks and decorations for sword belts<sup>24</sup>. Surprisingly, the ECB seems to be an exception, as 'toilet articles' are missing from the engendered, male warrior embodiment package, even in later Bronze Age periods, when they are abundantly found in most European regions<sup>25</sup>.

The obvious question arises, how do embodiment sets of an engendered warriorhood look like in the earlier Bronze Age in these parts of Europe? It has been stated, that most weapons, from at least parts of the ECB, are found in hoards and not in graves, which allows for the possibility that they were used by women<sup>26</sup>. The 'standards' of social status and prestige must not be expected to be the same for all genders<sup>27</sup>, meaning that embodiments of an engendered warriorhood can be different as well. Engendered social groups, along with their embodiments, can be defined based on burials of women and their funerary inventories. The presence of weapons along with engendered embodiments would allow for the possibility of arguing the case of warrior women already in the earlier Bronze Age.

Four burials from the documented 189 women interments of the earlier Bronze Age contained complete, fragmented or altered metal daggers. They are considered as hallmarks of warriors in this period, as they are the most common weapons<sup>28</sup>. In central Europe they are occasionally seen in women or children burials as well<sup>29</sup>. Three of them (pl. 3/IB5, 4/IC4, 5/ID1) are of an elongated triangular shape with two rivet-holes and most likely a straight base, while the last one (pl. 2/IA4) only has the metal-hilt, with a circular cross-section, preserved. The former ones are dated to the later EBA<sup>30</sup>, while the latter to the transition from EBA III to MBA I in the Carpathian Basin and neighbouring regions<sup>31</sup>. The two women burials with complete and not altered daggers, Pitvaros grave 4 (pl. 4) and Szőreg – *Lelőhely C/Szív utca* grave 67 (pl. 5), are part of the Lower-middle and Middle 2 social classes, respectively (fig. 9), which is due to the fact that they have quite a modest and in raw materials not very varied inventory. Furthermore, the one from Pitvaros does not have any finds, which might indicate a 'meal for the afterlife', and the one from Szőreg has only a two-handed juglet (pl. 5/ID2), suggesting a less varied such course for the beyond. Another interesting aspect is that in the latter burial the skull bears marks of trepanation (Appendix 1), which suggest a blunt object as the source of

<sup>23</sup> E.g. HARDING 2007, 57; GOGÁLTAN/SAVA 2012, 65, 68; SAVA/IGNAT 2014, 25, 27, esp. 28, 29.

<sup>24</sup> TREHERNE 1995, 110–111.

<sup>25</sup> HARDING 2008, 194.

<sup>26</sup> PALINCAŞ 2010, 95.

<sup>27</sup> SOFAER DEREVENSKI 2002, 192–193.

<sup>28</sup> O'SHEA 1996, 222–223; HARDING 1999, 161.

<sup>29</sup> FALKENSTEIN 2007, 37.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. VLADÁR 1974, 22–23, nos. 15–19, pl. 1/15–19; GEDL 1980, 43–44, no. 85, pl. 12/85; NOVÁK 2011, 43–44, nos. 91–96, 107–117, pls. 5/91–96, 6/107–116, 7/117.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. GEDL 1980, 15, no. 12, pl. 2/12, 16, no. 14, pl. 2/14, 17–18, nos. 18, 21–22, pls. 3/18, 4/21–22; NOVÁK 2011, 70, 72–73, no. 293, pl. 19/293.

the trauma and could further attest the participation in warfare of the buried individual, as it was suggested for similar instances at the burial ground from Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka*<sup>32</sup>.

The other women burials with fragments or distorted daggers are not considered by O’Shea<sup>33</sup> ‘true dagger burials’. Nevertheless, the bellicose nature of the metal-hilt fragment of a dagger from Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* grave 182 (pl. 2/IA4) and the blade of a triangular dagger used as a bracelet in grave 267 (pl. 3/IB5) from the same burial ground cannot be disregarded, especially in such a meaningful context. The individual from grave 182 was placed in the Middle 1 and the one from grave 267 in the Upper-middle 1 social group (fig. 9), so clearly they occupy higher social steps than the previous two. More importantly the women with the metal-hilt from a dagger has missing hands and feet (Appendix 1), which could have been a mutilation to which the body was submitted already in ancient times. The highest social rank among the women burials with daggers is that of the 7–14 years old girl in grave 267, where one of the highest varieties in raw materials used for the funerary inventory of women is recorded (Appendix 2). Furthermore, she has a beaker and a deep dish (pl. 3/IB6–7), which suggests a varied ‘meal for the afterlife’, lock-rings of copper/bronze and gold (pl. 3/IB1–2), along with a bead-necklace (pl. 3/IB4) and a bone needle (pl. 3/IB3), which would fit in quite well with the above described embodiment sets for women. As she did not become a full aged member of her group, the presence of the dagger, the strongest expression of warriorhood embodiment, can be seen as a practice of disposing of the weapon of the future female warrior in the form of a bracelet. The fact that is lacking a head-ornament could be subscribed to her young age, while her lavish grave furnishing, doubled by the presence of a dagger, suggests she might have been the offspring of a warrior, possibly even women, with a higher social status.

Three further burials of adult women have yielded another type of weapon, namely axes (Appendix 4). The two earlier ones, grave 69 from Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* (pl. 6) and grave 114 from Szőreg – *Lelöhely C/Szív utca* (pl. 8), had fragments from stone shaft-hole axes, while the later one in grave M3/skull 1 from Pir-*Cetate* (pl. 7) contained two antler shaft-hole axes. The women with stone axes belong to the Upper 2 and Middle 1, respectively, while the one from Pir to the Lower-middle social classes (fig. 9). The woman in grave 69 from Mokrin has a rich head-ornament (pl. 6/IIA1–2) that runs down along the back and a bead-necklace (pl. 6/IIA3) made from a myriad of raw materials along with a pendant. The presence of just a juglet (pl. 6/IIA9) suggests a more modest ‘meal for the afterlife’. At the height of pelvis, next to the side of the grave-pit a seal (pl. 6/IIA4), a flint fragment (pl. 6/IIA6), a copper needle (pl. 6/IIA6) and the fragment of a polished-stone, shaft-hole axe (pl. 6/IIA8) was also discovered probably in a pouch of organic material inlaid with two bronze scales (pl. 6/IIA5). The unique set of this female warrior, i.e. ceremonial equipment, which can be considered as that of a warrior-elite, represent a different type of warriorhood. These embodiments suggest a more ritualised, and not necessarily a skirmishing or front row brawling, role of the social actor, which would fit in well with the position occupied on the top of social hierarchy. The woman in grave 114 at Szőreg has a modest head-ornament (pl. 8/IIC1), bead-necklace (pl. 8/IIC2), a waist-string (pl. 8/IIC3–4), a juglet and a jug (pl. 8/IIC10–11), suggesting a more abundant ‘meal for the afterlife’. The fragmented polished-stone, shaft-hole axe was discovered along with three pebbles (pl. 8/IIC6), and two less common objects of an angular stone (pl. 8/IIC8) and a circular bone disc with a central circular hole (pl. 8/IIC9). Just as in the previous case it would seem, that the embodiment set indicates a women warrior with a higher social standing, who is partaking in ritualised social actions. Finally, the woman from Pir grave M3 along the two antler, shaft-hole axes (pl. 7) possibly had an anthropomorphic figurine among the funerary goods as well, which

<sup>32</sup> FARKAS/LIPTÁK 1971, 252–259.

<sup>33</sup> O’ SHEA 1996, 223.

yet again express a certain affiliation with ritualised social activities, albeit quite obviously she belonged to a lower social group.

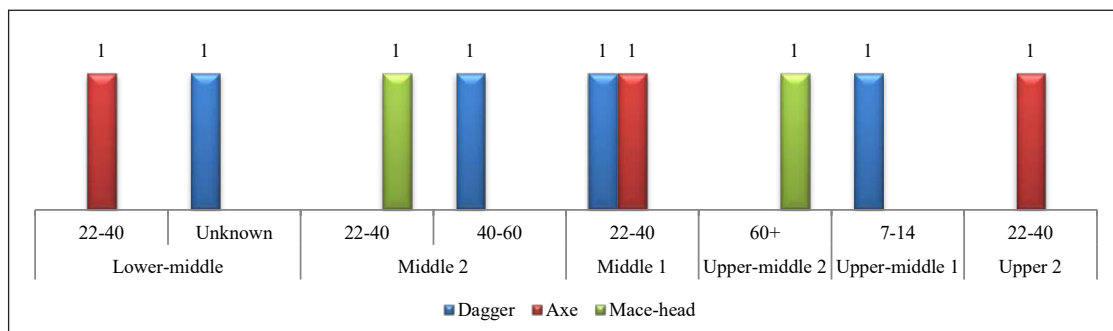


Fig. 9. Social-class and age distribution of warrior women based on the associated weapons

Two burials of women contained polished-stone mace-heads with a central, cylindrical, vertical shaft-hole. Grave 61 from Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* had a slightly irregular torus-shaped mace-head (pl. 9/IIIA1), while grave 269 from the same burial ground contained a biconical-shaped one with a similar vertical, cylindrical shaft-hole (pl. 10/IIIB2). The former is part of the Middle 2 class (fig. 9), since it only had a beaker (pl. 9/IIIA2) as additional funerary good, suggesting a lesser ‘meal for the afterlife’. The latter is part of the Upper-middle 2 class (fig. 9), since the remains of three vessels (pl. 10/IIIB3–5), suggest one of the most abundant such meals recorded, along with a bone pin (pl. 10/IIIB1). What is remarkable at the latter woman is that she is over 60 years old (fig. 9) and she has missing feet as well (Appendix 1). The interpretation of the this woman is not a simple one, due to her advanced age, which excludes the possibility that she was still active in warfare, but as it is shown by the funerary inventory even in death wore embodiments of a female warriorhood. The rich ‘meal for the afterlife’ and missing feet suggests, yet again a role that she could have fulfilled among the living.

After the present study, a bit more can be stated about the woman engendered warriorhood than just the association of female skeletons with weapons. Female warriorhood is embodied not only by what we could call skirmishing weapons, but also by lavish or less spectacular head-ornaments made of several pieces of copper/bronze objects (‘pan-flutes’, eye-glass pendants, crescents), associated with bead-necklaces with or without pendants, and pins made from copper/bronze or bone. Moreover, individual status is negotiated, as they become social actors even in their death, through the variety or lack of their ‘meal for the afterlife’, represented by one, two or three complete vessels among the funerary goods, stone seals and torus-shaped bone objects. In addition, the age-related status of the future woman warrior is further negotiated by lock-rings of copper/bronze and gold in case of girls. Lastly, an important way that this specific social role is embodied in the funerary context is the deliberate destruction and alteration of weapons. Both documented polished-stone axes were destroyed (pls. 6/IIA8, 8/IIC6), as was the metal-hilted dagger (pl. 2/IA4), while the dagger (pl. 3/IB5) in the above mentioned case of the girl, was bent to serve as a bracelet. Generally, women who are engaged as social actors in the negotiation of their warriorhood tend to be adults, as only in two instances are girls and senior members recognised with such an identity (fig. 9). Furthermore, they mostly represent the middle social layers, though the woman from grave 69 at Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* is part of one of the highest classes, i.e. Upper 2. Based on the type of weapon they are using, class-restrictions are not noticeable. The weapons and lack of weapon sets indicate a less central

role in the actual conflict for these warriors, most likely that of skirmishers. In some instances a certain ritual aspect, especially among the higher standing members, can be concluded.

Similar, but also rare cases of women burials with light weaponry (mace and arrow-head, and axe), which might be perceived as some attributes of women warriorhood in the earlier Bronze Age, have been recognised in areas, neighbouring the ECB, just to the southeast as well<sup>34</sup>. Moreover, recently in the period preceding the one discussed in this paper the importance and role of women, who can be described as warriors, is noted and their presence documented in burials of the Carpathian Basin<sup>35</sup>.

Employing the little fewer than 200 female burials recorded at nine sites from the ECB during the earlier Bronze Age certain individual woman engendered embodiments and sets of these items are identified in funerary inventories. Moreover, focusing on the associations of items from the grave goods, their opulence and variety of raw materials, and the richness of the 'meal for the afterlife' allows for the outlining of social rankings. These are verifiable against orientations and positions of deceased and disposed female individuals and major age-groups. Nine graves delivered among other inventories weapons made from copper or bronze, stone or antler. The recognised warrior women can be described as being skirmishers, usually from the middle classes and in exceptional cases their intra-group identities are negotiated in a ritual aspect as well. The present analysis concluded the presence of warrior women in the ECB, recognised certain associations of finds in funerary contexts, which can be viewed as further embodiments of an engendered warriorhood.

### Catalogue of female burials with weapon inventories:

Four burial grounds of the earlier Bronze Age from the ECB (**pl. 1**) yielded evidence for burials, which could be considered for the present analysis. The site of **Mokrin** – *Selište-Lalina Humka* is situated in the western part of Banat. The Bronze Age burial ground is located east of the modern village, on a sand dune. Excavations took place in the '50s and '60s, which yielded in all 312 graves<sup>36</sup>. **Pir** – *Cetate* is located in the Criş drainage area, in the northeastern Tiszántúl, on two sandy knolls. The Middle Bronze Age burial ground was discovered in the late '40s and was excavated in the early '50s. In all 13 graves were excavated<sup>37</sup>. The burial ground at **Pitvaros** is on the lower Maros, on a sandy knoll located on the northern outskirts of the modern village. The site was discovered in 1926 and a total of 43 graves were excavated in the subsequent years<sup>38</sup>. **Szőreg** – *Lelőhely C/Szív utca* is located on the lower Maros, under the present-day town, also on a sand dune. The 231 burials were excavated between 1928 and 1931<sup>39</sup>.

#### I. Female burials with daggers

##### A. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka*, Grave 182 (Pl. 2)

**Grave length:** 115 cm, **width:** 90 cm, **depth:** 125 cm

**Burial orientation:** S-N (35° E deviation)

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing NE, **length:** 83 cm, **age:** Adultus (22–40 years)

**Dating:** ~EBA III

**Grave and burial:** Grave 182 is located in the northern part of the burial ground. The grave-pit is described as 'considerably different from the surroundings' by the excavator. The skeleton has a standard orientation and position for women burials in the period and region in discussion, albeit the deviation

<sup>34</sup> BÂRZU 1989, 50–51.

<sup>35</sup> HORVÁTH 2017, esp. 36–37.

<sup>36</sup> MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2011, 126, no. 612; DARÓCZI 2015, 136, no. 405.

<sup>37</sup> MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2011, 136, no. 723; DARÓCZI 2015, 151, no. 496.

<sup>38</sup> MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2011, 136–137, no. 725; DARÓCZI 2015, 152, no. 501.

<sup>39</sup> MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2011, 152, no. 905; DARÓCZI 2015, 178, no. 651.

of 35° towards E might be an indicator for the season when the act of disposal of the body took place. Furthermore, the skeleton has missing feet and hands.

**Grave goods:** An *ornament of copper plaques fastened on leather* (IA1), traces of which are identified under the above mentioned metal objects, is found on the skull and chest. Further two bent *Cypriote knot-headed pins* (IA2) are retrieved from the upper torso. A *necklace* (IA3) of 13 rounded kaolin, a pierced domestic dog fang, another pierced tooth of a wild animal and a shell of snail Dentalium beads is discovered around the neck. The *metal-hilt of a copper dagger(?)* (IA4) is found on the torso. A greyish-brown, conical *bowl* (IA5) is located in front of the skull.

**Bibliography:** GIRIĆ 1971, 126–127, pl. LI/1–5, XCVIII/26–27

**B. Mokrin – Selšte-Lalina Humka, Grave 267 (Pl. 3)**

**Grave length:** 140 cm, **width:** 106 cm, **depth:** 154 cm

**Burial orientation:** S-N

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing E, **length:** 73 cm, **age:** Infans I (7–14 years)

**Dating:** ~EBA III

**Grave and burial:** Grave 267 is positioned in the in the eastern part of the burial ground. The orientation and position of the skeleton is a standard one for the gender in question in region and period. The human remains are poorly preserved.

**Grave goods:** A spiral *lock-ring* (IB1) made of copper wire and another *lock-ring* (IB2) of one and a half loops made of a gold wire thickened at the ends is discovered next to the skull. A bone *needle* (IB3) is found on the torso, while a *necklace* (IB4) of two caterpillar-shaped, 16 rounded kaolin and a mussel shell beads is around the neck. A copper *dagger* (IB5), bent in a loop, is discovered on the right(?) arm. A small *beaker* (IB6) is placed behind the torso and a *deep dish* (IB7) is unearthed under the feet.

**Bibliography:** GIRIĆ 1971, 168–169, pl. LXX/1–5, 7–8

C. Pitvaros, Grave 9 (Pl. 4)

**Grave length:** unknown, **width:** unknown, **depth:** 140 cm

**Burial orientation:** S-N

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing E, **length:** unknown, **age:** unknown

**Dating:** EBA II

**Grave and burial:** The location of grave 9 is unknown within the burial ground, as no plan is drawn during the retrieval of the finds at the beginning of the last century. The orientation and position of the skeleton is the one usually encountered for women burials in the southern Alföld in the earlier Bronze Age.

**Grave goods:** A *necklace* (IC1) of green faïence beads with a larger *spool-shaped bead* (IC2) among them is retrieved from around the neck. Two *spectacle pendants* (IC3), probably from a head ornament, are found on the shoulders, though one of them is decayed. A triangular, copper *dagger* (IC4) with two circular rivet holes is also reported by Bóna (BÓNA 1965, 19) from a not specified location within the grave, albeit it is first published as from grave no. 5 by Banner (1931b, 24, no. 54d., pl. XI/54d; 1931a, 50, pl. XI/54d).

**Bibliography:** BANNER 1931b, 27, no. 9, pls. IX/16, 18, X/43, XI/544; 1931a, 49, nos. 16, 18, 43, pls. IX/16, 18, X/43, XI/54d; BÓNA 1965, 19, pls. IV/7–9, V/13; FARKAS 1971, 53, 60, Tab. 1

**D. Szőreg – Lelőhely C/Szív utca, Grave 67 (Pl. 5)**

**Grave length:** unknown, **width:** unknown, **depth:** 200 cm

**Burial orientation:** N-S

**Skeleton position:** left contracted, facing E, **length:** 110 cm, **age:** Maturus (40–60 years)

**Dating:** ~MBA I

**Grave and burial:** Grave 67 is located in the western part of the burial ground. The skeleton has an atypical position and orientation for its gender for the period in discussion of this region, although, a contradiction between the two results of the anthropological analysis' is noted (O'SHEA 1996, 66, Tab. 4.4; P. FISCHL 1999, 49–53). FARKAS (1975) defined the skeleton as a man, while REGA (1989, fig. 5) determined it as a woman. The skull bears marks of trepanation REGA (1989, fig. 5).

**Grave goods:** A triangular shaped, bronze *dagger* (ID1) with a circular rivet still in place and broken at the corner of the other, possibly circular, rivet hole is discovered in front of the pelvis. A two-handled *juglet* (ID2) is found in front of the skull.

**Bibliography:** BANNER 1931b, 29, pl. XI/54a; 1931a, 50, pl. XI/54a; FOLTINY 1941b, 19–20, pl. VIII/7, XX/53–55; 1941a, 76, 78, 80; P. FISCHL 2000, 83, fig. 11/7

## II. Female burials with axes

### A. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka*, Grave 69 (Pl. 6)

**Grave length:** 111 cm, **width:** 70 cm, **depth:** 114 cm

**Burial orientation:** S-N (25° E deviation)

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing E, **length:** 87 cm, **age:** Adultus (22–40 years)

**Dating:** ~EBA III

**Grave and burial:** Grave 69 is located in the north-central part of the burial ground. The grave-pit is of irregular shape, while the skeleton is positioned in the usually encountered manner for women in the period in discussion of the region. The deviation of 25° to the E might indicate the season in which the body was disposed.

**Grave goods:** A *head ornament* (IIA1) which consists of ten ‘pan-flutes’ made of copper sheet, probably fastened to leather or linen, is found on top of the skull. Another *head ornament* (IIA2) also made of copper objects is found along the back of the skull. The second one comprises of eight four-tubular and 33 three-tubular ‘pan-flutes’, an eyeglass pendant made from a single wire and a crescent-shaped pendant of a single sheet, all of which are most likely attached also to a sheet of organic material. A *necklace* (IIA3) that comprises of a pierced wolf fang, seven Cardium shell, a Potamidae shell, a mussel shell and eleven Dentalium shell, a goat tibia, 27 rounded, greenish kaolin beads and an elongated, stone pendant decorated with small circles. An oval *pintandera* (IIA4) made of animal bone and with a handle on the back, decorated with circles arranged into a pattern of six radial lines is found at the side of grave-pit. Two oval *scales* (IIA5) made of copper sheet, decorated with circles in an irregular pattern are found under the grave inventories discovered at the side of the grave. A brown *flint* (IIA6) fragment and a short, copper *needle* (IIA7) with a rectangular cross-section are found next to the pintandera. A fragment from a polished stone, *hammer-axe* (IIA8) with a shaft-hole and the cutting edge still intact is discovered along the same pintandera. A *juglet* (IIA9) with two horizontal lug-handles is located behind the torso.

**Bibliography:** GIRIĆ 1971, 73–74, pl. XXI/1–9

### B. Pir – *Cetate*, Grave M3/Skull 1 (Pl. 7)

**Grave length:** unknown, **width:** unknown, **depth:** 40 cm

**Burial orientation:** N-S (E deviation)

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing N **length:** unknown, **age:** Adultus (30–39? years)

**Dating:** ~MBA I

**Grave and burial:** Grave 3 is a double, male and female, burial in the southern, excavated part of the burial ground. Both skeletons are contracted and facing each other, the female burial has an unusual orientation for its gender, while the deviation towards the E might suggest the season of the body's disposal.

**Grave goods:** Two deer antler shaft-hole *axes* (IIB1) are reported as grave inventories, though only one of them is identified among the finds. Furthermore, an anthropomorphic figurine is also associated with this burial, though it is not published.

**Bibliography:** SZÉKELY 1966, 129, fig. 4/3

### C. Szőreg – *Lelőhely C/Szív utca*, Grave 114 (Pl. 8)

**Grave length:** unknown, **width:** unknown, **depth:** 130 cm

**Burial orientation:** unknown

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, **length:** 100 cm, **age:** Adultus (22–40 years)

**Dating:** EBA III

**Grave and burial:** Grave 114 is located in the eastern part of the burial ground. Although the orientation of the skeleton is not recorded, the position is the one usually encountered for women of this period.

**Grave goods:** A decayed deep dish is reported in front of the skull. Nine circular *scales* (IIC1), each with two holes are recovered from behind the skull. 16 larger and 40 smaller tubular shell along with 23 rectangular *beads* (IIC2) made of faïence are arranged into strings along the upper body and around the skull. Nine pierced teeth are used as *beads* (IIC3) and are found on the basin, while further

ten Dentalium shells and an amber *bead* (IIC4) are located next to it. Two bone *awls* (IIC5) are located behind the basin, while a third is discovered under the chin. A fragmentary, polished stone, shaft-hole hammer-*axe* is recorded along with a grey and two white *pebbles* (IIC6) next to the basin. Four clam *shells* (IIC7) are found on the basin, as well. A flat, angular *stone* (IIC8) and a flat, bone *disc* (IIC9) with a circular hole in the middle are also among the grave inventory. A *juglet* (IIC10) and a *jug* (IIC11) are discovered behind the torso.

**Bibliography:** BANNER 1931b, 31, pls. II/10a, V/19d, IX/1–3, 8, 9, 16, 17, 27, X/35, 53, XI/58, 61; 1931a, 49–50, 51, pls. II/10a, V/19d, IX/1–3, 8, 9, 16, 17, 27, X/35, 53, XI/58, 61; FOLTINY 1941b, 27, pls. XI/3, 7, XXI/1–14, 16–31, 33, 37; 1941a, 76, 78, 79; P. FISCHL 2000, 86, fig. 14/4

### III. Female burials with mace-heads

#### A. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka*, Grave 61 (Pl. 9)

**Grave length:** 165 cm, **width:** 100 cm, **depth:** 176 cm

**Burial orientation:** S-N (23° E deviation)

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing W, **length:** 113 cm, **age:** Adultus (22–40 years)

**Dating:** MBA I

**Grave and burial:** Grave 61 is located in the northern-central part of the burial ground. The skeleton has an usually encountered orientation and position for women burials of this period and region, though the skull is turned towards the W, as opposed to the usual E. Just as in the above cases, the deviation to the E might suggest the season on interment of the body.

**Grave goods:** A biconical, vertically pierced, polished stone *mace-head* (IIIA1) is discovered in front of the pelvis. A greyish-brown coloured, small *beaker* (IIIA2) is located in front of the torso at the elbows.

**Bibliography:** GIRIĆ 1971, 70, pl. XXII/1–2

#### B. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka*, Grave 269 (Pl. 10)

**Grave length:** 150 cm, **width:** 120 cm, **depth:** unknown

**Burial orientation:** S-N

**Skeleton position:** right contracted, facing E, **length:** 83 cm, **age:** Senium (60+ years)

**Dating:** MBA I

**Grave and burial:** Grave 269 is located in the northeastern part of the burial ground. The shape of the grave-pit is irregular, while the orientation and position of the skeleton is typical for women burials of the period and region in discussion. The skeleton is poorly preserved and the feet are missing.

**Grave goods:** An animal bone *pin* (IIIB1) is discovered in the grave-pit. A vertically pierced, biconical, polished stone *mace-head* (IIIB2) is also recorded among the grave inventories. A rim fragment of a *deep dish* (IIIB3) with only one preserved strap-handle is recovered from the grave-pit, as well. A grey coloured, damaged, small *beaker* (IIIB4) is discovered behind the skull. A single handled, medium-sized *beaker* (IIIB5) of brownish-yellow colour is discovered in the grave-pit.

**Bibliography:** GIRIĆ 1971, 169–170, pl. LXXI/1–5

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MFMÉ: StudArch

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**Appendix 1.** Burials of anthropologically determined female skeletons with injuries of the earlier Bronze Age from the ECB

Site	Grave #	Missing				Trepanation	Injury sets*
		Feet	Fingers	Hands	Arms		
Hajdúnánás – Feketehalom	32 obj./ 51 str.	.					.
	52	.		.	.		
	151	.					
	155	.		.			
	159	.					
	160	.					
	180					.	
	181	.					
	Mokrin – Selište-Lalina Humka	182	.		.		
220		.	.				
237		.					
252		.					
266		.					
269		.					
271		.					
283		.					
294		.					
Szőreg – Lelőhely C/ Szívutca	67					.	
	118				.		

\* blunt blow to skull, luxated lower jaw, broken lower, left arm; (– burials with weapons)

**Appendix 2.** Raw material types of inventories from burials of anthropologically determined female skeletons of the earlier Bronze Age from the ECB

Site	Grave	Copper/ Bronze	Bone	Stone	Shell	Gold	Faience Amber	Pottery	Site	Grave	Copper/ Bronze	Bone	Stone	Shell	Gold	Faience Amber	Pottery
Mokrin	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Szőreg	53	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	161	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	20	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Szőreg	162	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	267	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	5	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	287	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	159	.	.	.	.			.
Szőreg	114	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Szőreg	64	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	97	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	58	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	119	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	104	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	271	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	136	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Szőreg	105	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	181	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	200	.	.	.	.	.		.
Mokrin	182	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Pitvaros	43	.	.	.	.	.		.
Mokrin	194	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	53	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	235	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	73	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	245	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	144	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	246	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	227	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	288	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	237	.	.	.	.			.
Mokrin	302	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Mokrin	37	.	.	.	.			.

Site	Grave	Copper/ Bronze	Bone	Stone	Shell	Gold	Faience Amber	Pottery	Site	Grave	Copper/ Bronze	Bone	Stone	Shell	Gold	Faience Amber	Pottery
Mokrin	221	.	.					.	Szőreg	50		.	.				.
Mokrin	248	.	.					.	Szőreg	98-		.	.				.
Szőreg	126	.	.					.	mother			.	.				.
Mokrin	109	.	.					.	Mokrin	228	.	.	.		.		.
Pitvaros	9	.		.		.		.	Szőreg	135	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	170	.		.				.	Szőreg	138	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	199	.		.				.	Mokrin	3	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	201	.		.				.	Mokrin	82	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	283	.		.				.	Mokrin	154	.	.	.				.
Szőreg	151	.		.				.	Mokrin	231	.	.	.				.
Pitvaros	24	.				.	.	.	Mokrin	270	.	.	.				.
Pitvaros	27	.				.	.	.	Pitvaros	34	.	.	.				.
Szőreg	95	.					.	.	Pitvaros	30/B	.	.	.				.
Szőreg	2	.					.	.	Szőreg	20	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	39	.						.	Szőreg	58	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	84	.						.	Szőreg	68	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	89	.						.	Szőreg	70	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	101	.						.	Szőreg	118	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	128	.						.	Szőreg	123	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	151	.						.	Mokrin	196	.	.	.				.
Mokrin	165	.						.	Pir	M3-		.	.				.
Mokrin	174	.						.	Skull 1?			.	.				.
Mokrin	229	.						.	Szőreg	97		.	.				.
Mokrin	266	.						.	Mokrin	52		.	.	.			.
Nagydobos	38/ 1930-c	.						.	Mokrin	124		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	27	.						.	Mokrin	179		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	67	.						.	Mokrin	300		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	109	.						.	Mokrin	205		.	.	.			.
Zábalá		.						.	Mokrin	252		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	80	.						.	Mokrin	305		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	261	.						.	Mokrin	209		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	268	.						.	Mokrin	61		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	55	.						.	Mokrin	166		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	142	.						.	Pir	M20-		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	2		.	.	.			.	Skull 4?			.	.	.			.
Mokrin	15		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	207		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	108		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	215		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	137		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	155		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	180		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	219		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	72		.	.	.			.	Hajdúnánás	32 obj./ 51 str.		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	247		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	25		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	55		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	76		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	269		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	98		.	.	.			.
Mokrin	297		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	100		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	7		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	102		.	.	.			.
Szőreg	13		.	.	.			.	Mokrin	103		.	.	.			.
									Mokrin	113		.	.	.			.

Site	Grave	Copper/ Bronze	Bone	Stone	Shell	Gold	Faience	Amber	Pottery	Site	Grave	Copper/ Bronze	Bone	Stone	Shell	Gold	Faience	Amber	Pottery
Mokrin	133								•	Szőreg	146								•
Mokrin	135								•	Szőreg	160								•
Mokrin	156								•	Szőreg	165								•
Mokrin	172								•	Szőreg	89-								•
Mokrin	186								•		mother								
Mokrin	190								•	Hajdúnánás	36 obj./								
Mokrin	191								•		62 str.								
Mokrin	206								•	Mokrin	88								
Mokrin	222								•	Mokrin	93								
Mokrin	223								•	Mokrin	116								
Mokrin	236								•	Mokrin	122W								
Mokrin	256								•	Mokrin	141								
Mokrin	257B								•	Mokrin	153								
Mokrin	272								•	Mokrin	160								
Pir	M10- Skull 2?								•	Mokrin	192								
Pitvaros	3								•	Mokrin	195								
Szőreg	6								•	Mokrin	197								
Szőreg	19								•	Mokrin	220								
Szőreg	41								•	Mokrin	224								
Szőreg	69								•	Mokrin	233								
Szőreg	73								•	Mokrin	255								
Szőreg	76								•	Mokrin	257A								
Szőreg	86								•	Mokrin	279								
Szőreg	96								•	Mokrin	293								
Szőreg	99								•	Mokrin	294								
Szőreg	100								•	Mokrin	299								
Szőreg	101								•	Mokrin	303								
Szőreg	102								•	Mokrin	304								
Szőreg	111								•	Pir	unknwn- Skull 6?								
Szőreg	121								•	Pitvaros	44								
Szőreg	122								•	Sárrétudvari	12								
Szőreg	134								•	Szőreg	43								
Szőreg	144								•										

(– burials with weapons)

### Appendix 3. Vessel types of inventories from burials of anthropologically determined female skeletons of the earlier Bronze Age from the ECB

Site	Grave	Beaker	Jug	Dish	Bowl	Amphora Pot	Vessel	Sherds Lid	Cup	Site	Grave	Beaker	Jug	Dish	Bowl	Amphora Pot	Vessel	Sherds Lid	Cup
Szőreg	7	•	•	•						Mokrin	269	•			•				
Szőreg	20	•	•	•						Mokrin	97	•					•		
Szőreg	53	•	•	•						Mokrin	103	•							•
Szőreg	58	•	•	•						Mokrin	2	•							
Szőreg	69	•	•	•						Mokrin	5	•							
Szőreg	19	•								Mokrin	7	•							



Site	Grave	Beaker	Jug	Dish	Bowl	Amphora	Pot	Vessel	Sherds	Lid	Cup	Site	Grave	Beaker	Jug	Dish	Bowl	Amphora	Pot	Vessel	Sherds	Lid	Cup	
Mokrin	266				.	.					.	Pitvaros	9											
Mokrin	3				.	.						Pitvaros	27											
Mokrin	8				.	.						Pitvaros	44											
Mokrin	20				.	.						Hajdúná-	36 obj./											
Mokrin	156				.	.						nás	62 str.											
Mokrin	200				.	.						Mokrin	80											
Mokrin	237				.	.						Mokrin	88											
Mokrin	267				.	.						Mokrin	93											
Mokrin	53				.		.					Mokrin	109											
Mokrin	135				.		.					Mokrin	116											
Mokrin	272				.		.					Mokrin	122W											
Pitvaros	34				.							Mokrin	141											
Mokrin	58				.							Mokrin	144											
Mokrin	73				.							Mokrin	153											
Mokrin	182				.							Mokrin	155											
Mokrin	227				.							Mokrin	160											
Mokrin	302				.							Mokrin	161											
Mokrin	102				.		.					Mokrin	192											
Mokrin	170				.		.					Mokrin	195											
Mokrin	100				.					.		Mokrin	196											
Mokrin	246				.					.		Mokrin	197											
Zábala					.							Mokrin	219											
Mokrin	15				.							Mokrin	220											
Mokrin	69				.							Mokrin	224											
Mokrin	98				.							Mokrin	233											
Mokrin	128				.							Mokrin	247											
Mokrin	205				.							Mokrin	252											
Mokrin	209				.							Mokrin	255											
Mokrin	222				.							Mokrin	257A											
Mokrin	119						.					Mokrin	261											
Mokrin	151						.					Mokrin	268											
Mokrin	270						.					Mokrin	279											
Szőreg	96						.					Mokrin	293											
Szőreg	98-						.					Mokrin	294											
	mother											Mokrin	299											
Mokrin	287							.	.			Mokrin	303											
Mokrin	61							.				Mokrin	304											
Mokrin	89							.				Mokrin	305											
Mokrin	174							.				Szőreg	2											
Szőreg	67							.				Szőreg	43											
Szőreg	73							.				Szőreg	55											
Mokrin	101									.		Szőreg	97											
Mokrin	136									.		Szőreg	142											
Mokrin	257B									.			M3-											
Mokrin	300									.		Pir	Skull 1?											
Sárrétud- vari	12											Pir	unknwn- Skull 6?											

(– burials with weapons)



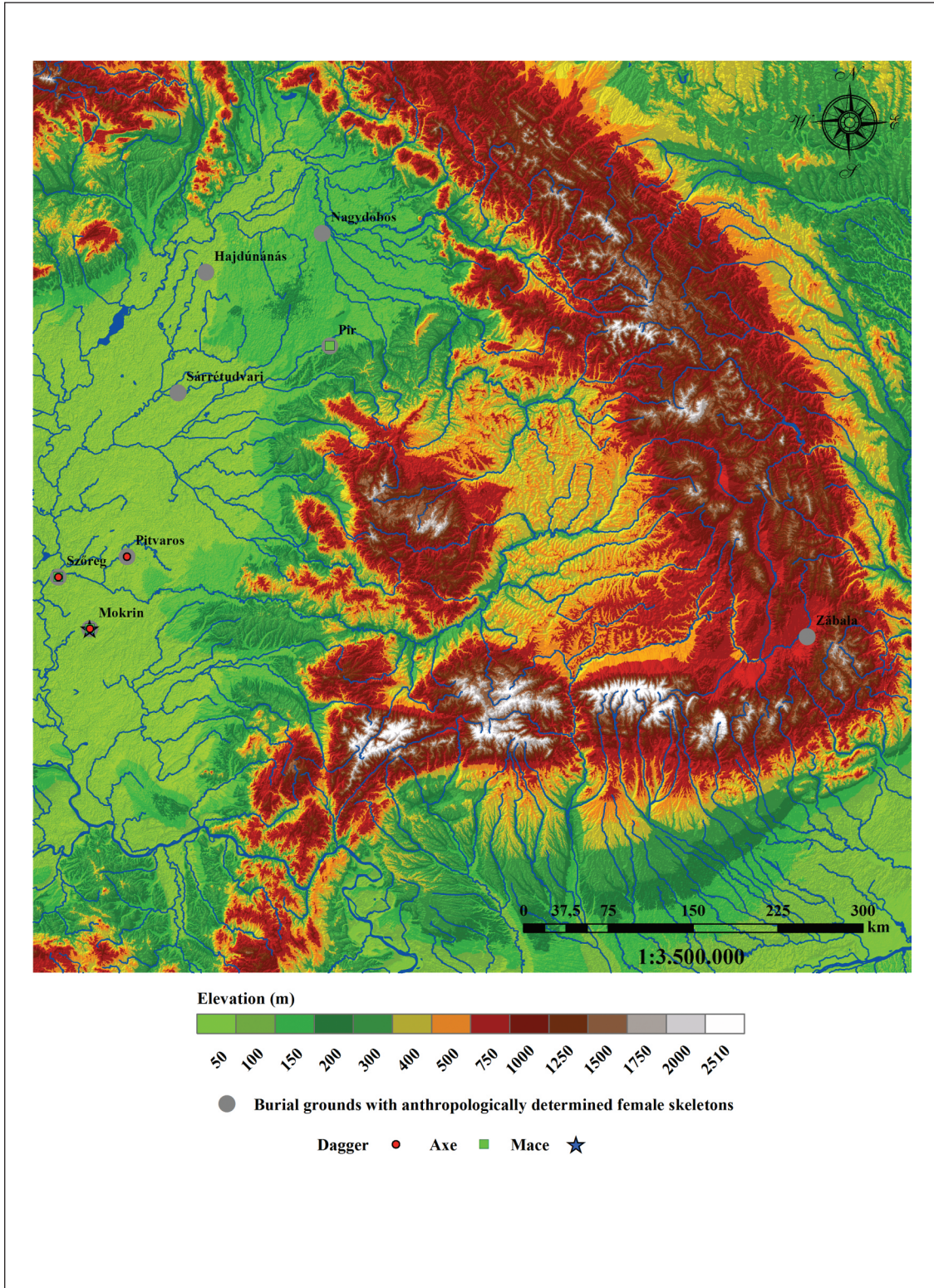




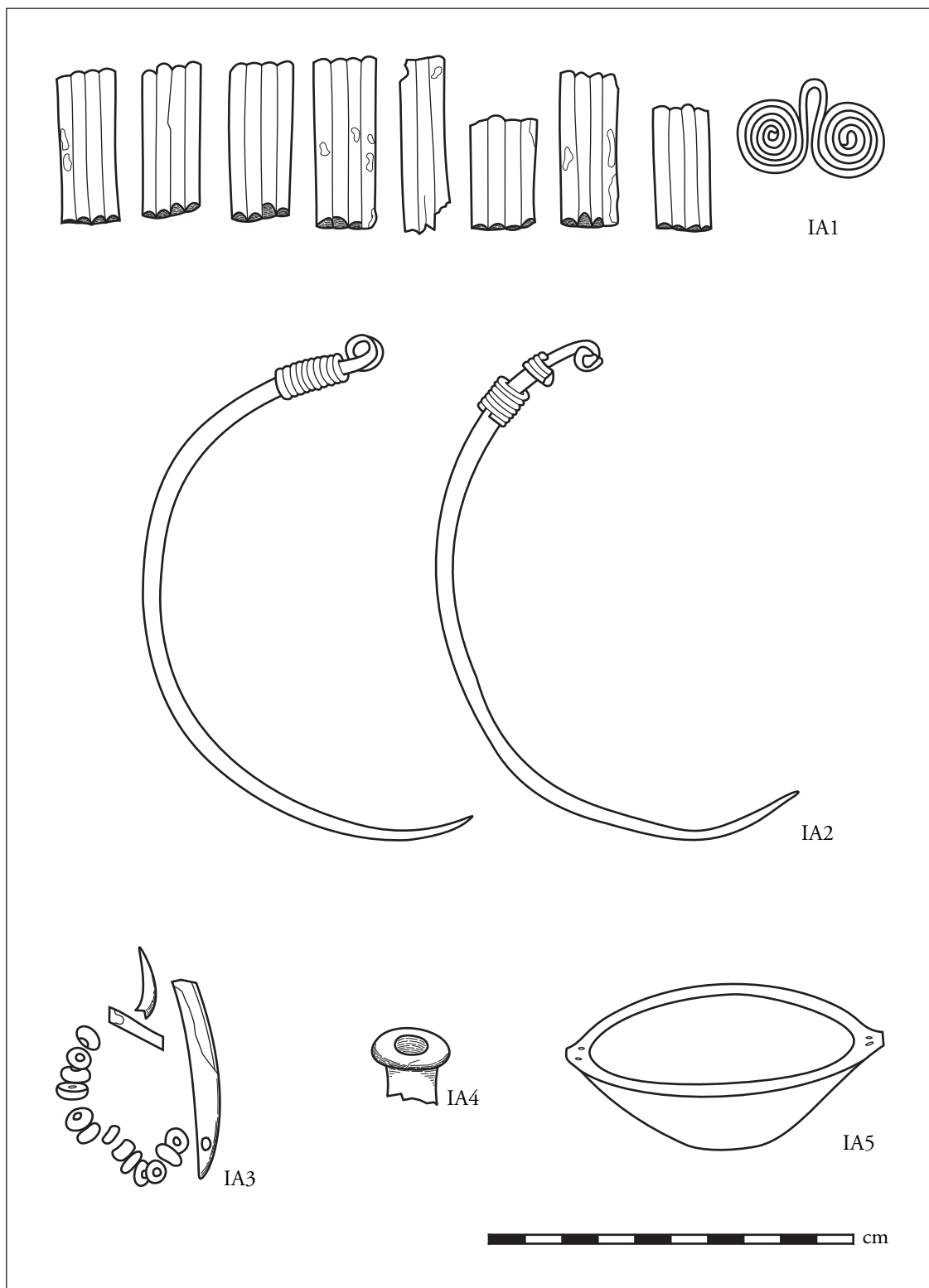


Site	Grave	Bead-necklace	Diadem/Head-ornament	Pendant	Needle	Pin	Spiral-bracelet	Scale	Bead-bracelet	Waist-string	Animal/ fragment	Lock-ring	Ring	Neck-bangle (torqued)	Dagger	Flint	Awl	Mace-head	Axe	Bangle	Crescent	Ear-ring	Figurine	Chisel	Lump	Seal	Spatula	Quern	
Mokrin	294																												
Mokrin	299																												
Mokrin	303																												
Mokrin	304																												
Szőreg	6																												
Szőreg	19																												
Szőreg	41																												
Szőreg	43																												
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Szőreg	73																												
Szőreg	76																												
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Szőreg	89-																												
	mother																												
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Szőreg	165																												
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	Skull 2?																												
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	Skull 6?																												

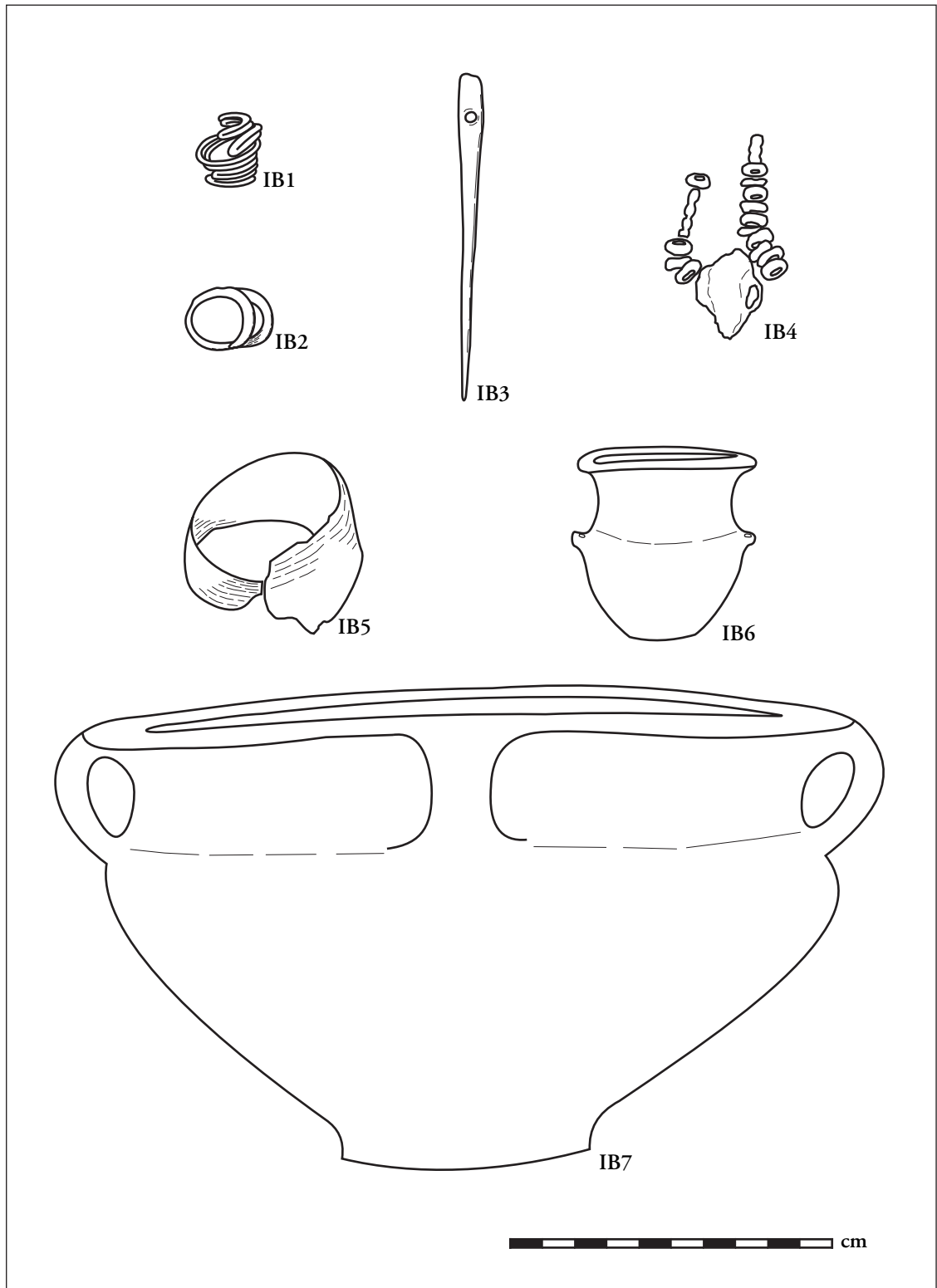
(– burials with weapons)



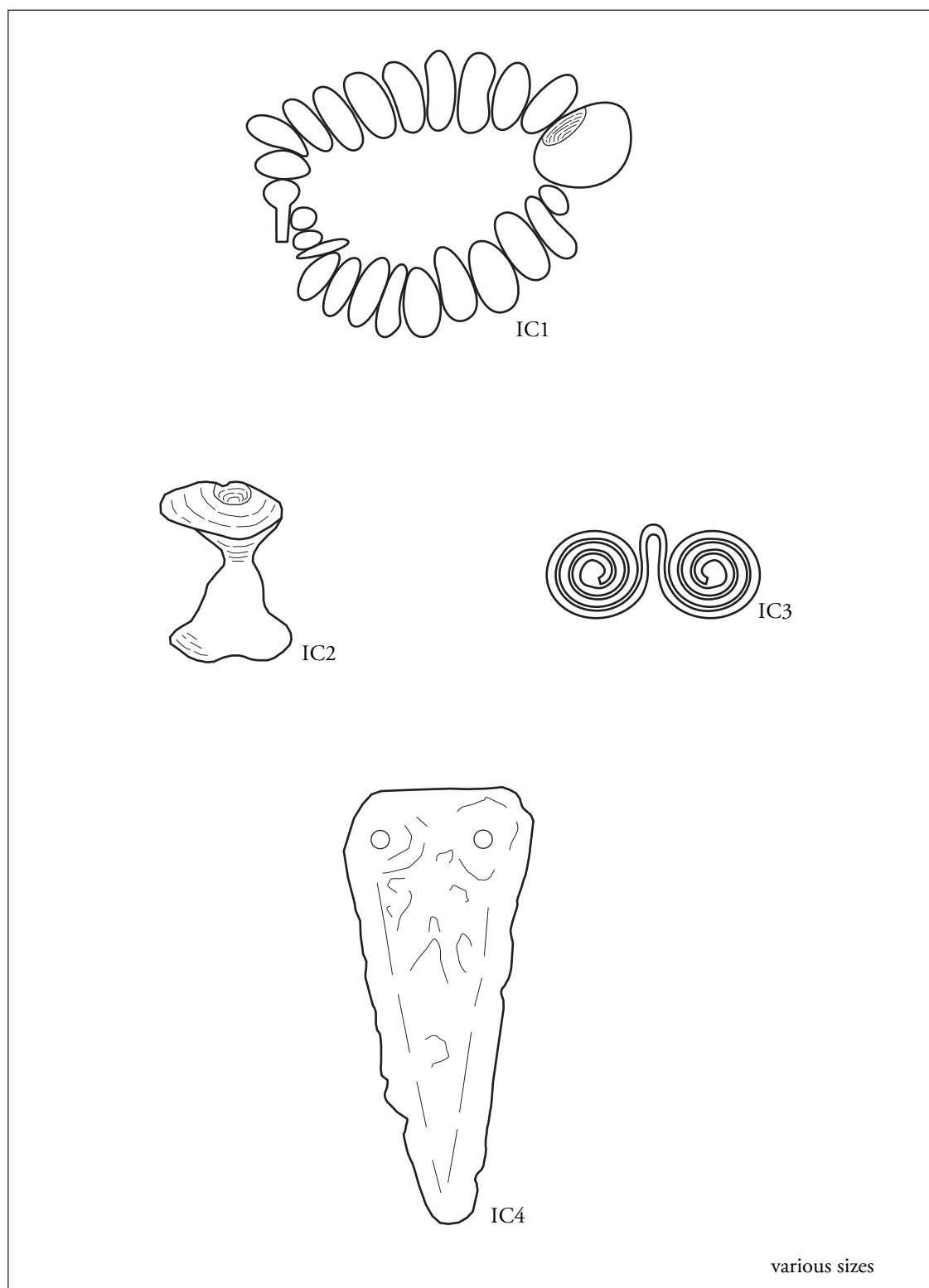
Pl. 1. Burial grounds of the Eastern Carpathian Basin with anthropologically determined female burials and weapons as grave inventories



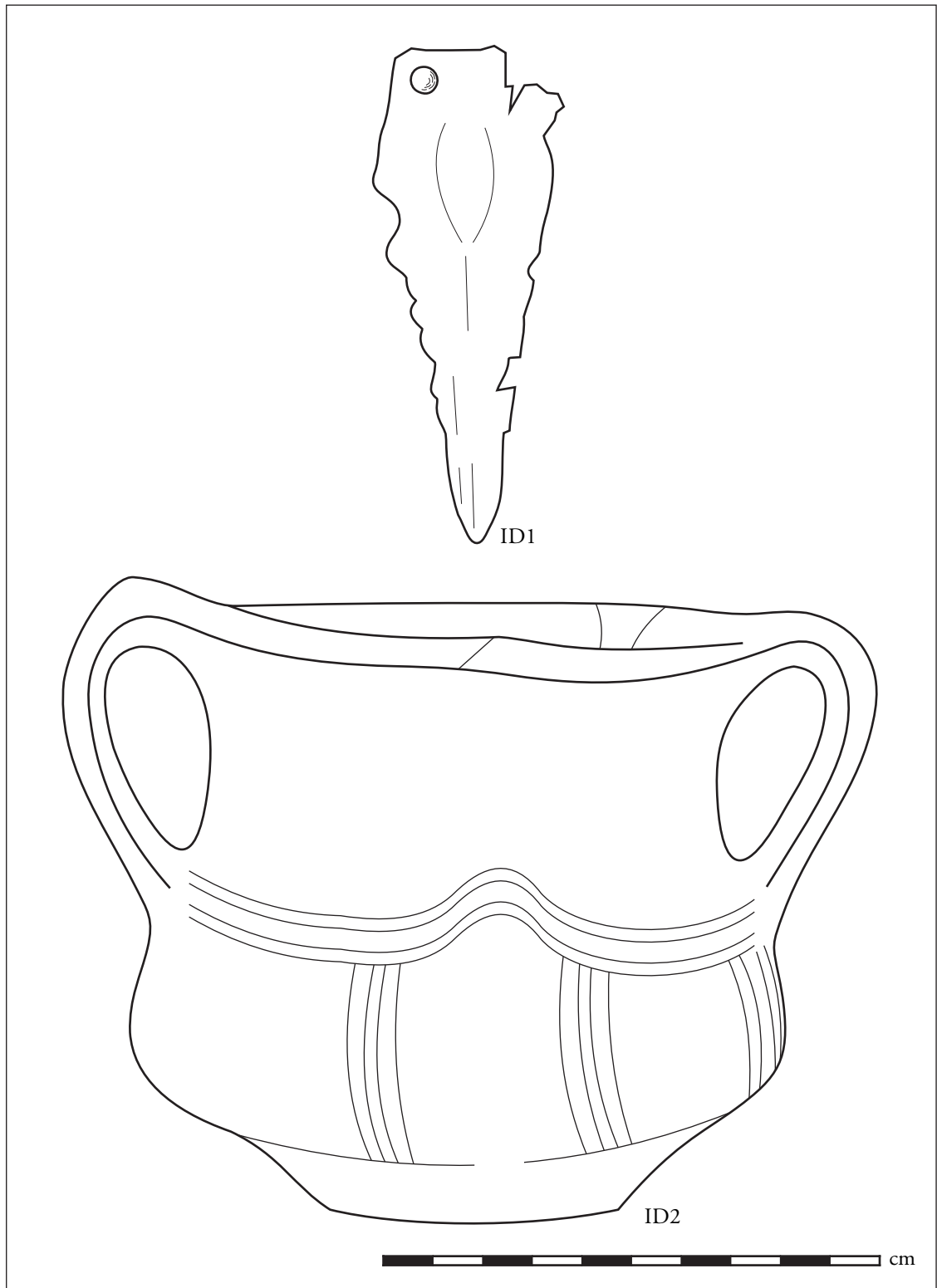
Pl. 2. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* Grave 182 (after Girić 1971)



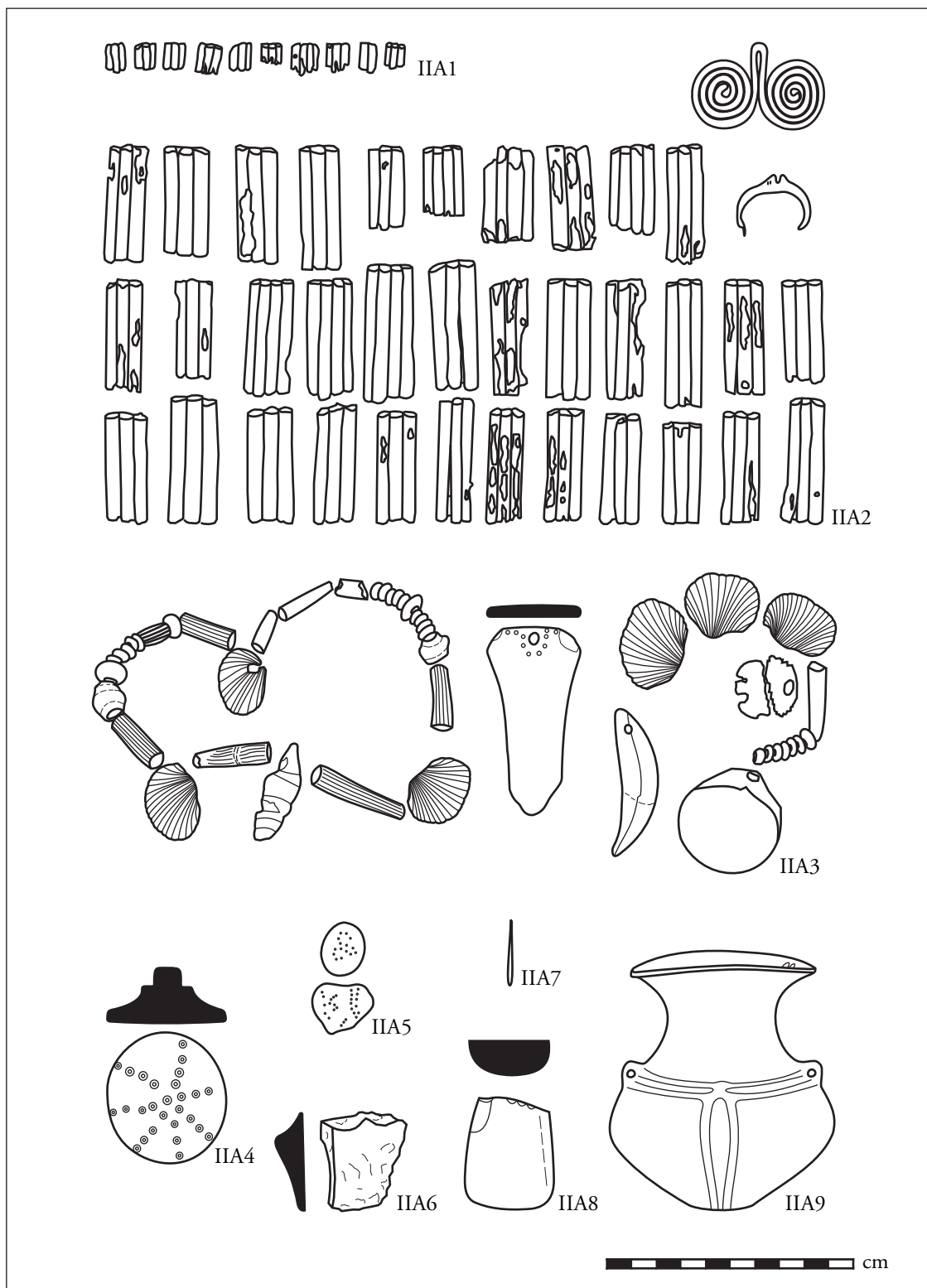
Pl. 3. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* Grave 267 (after Girić 1971)



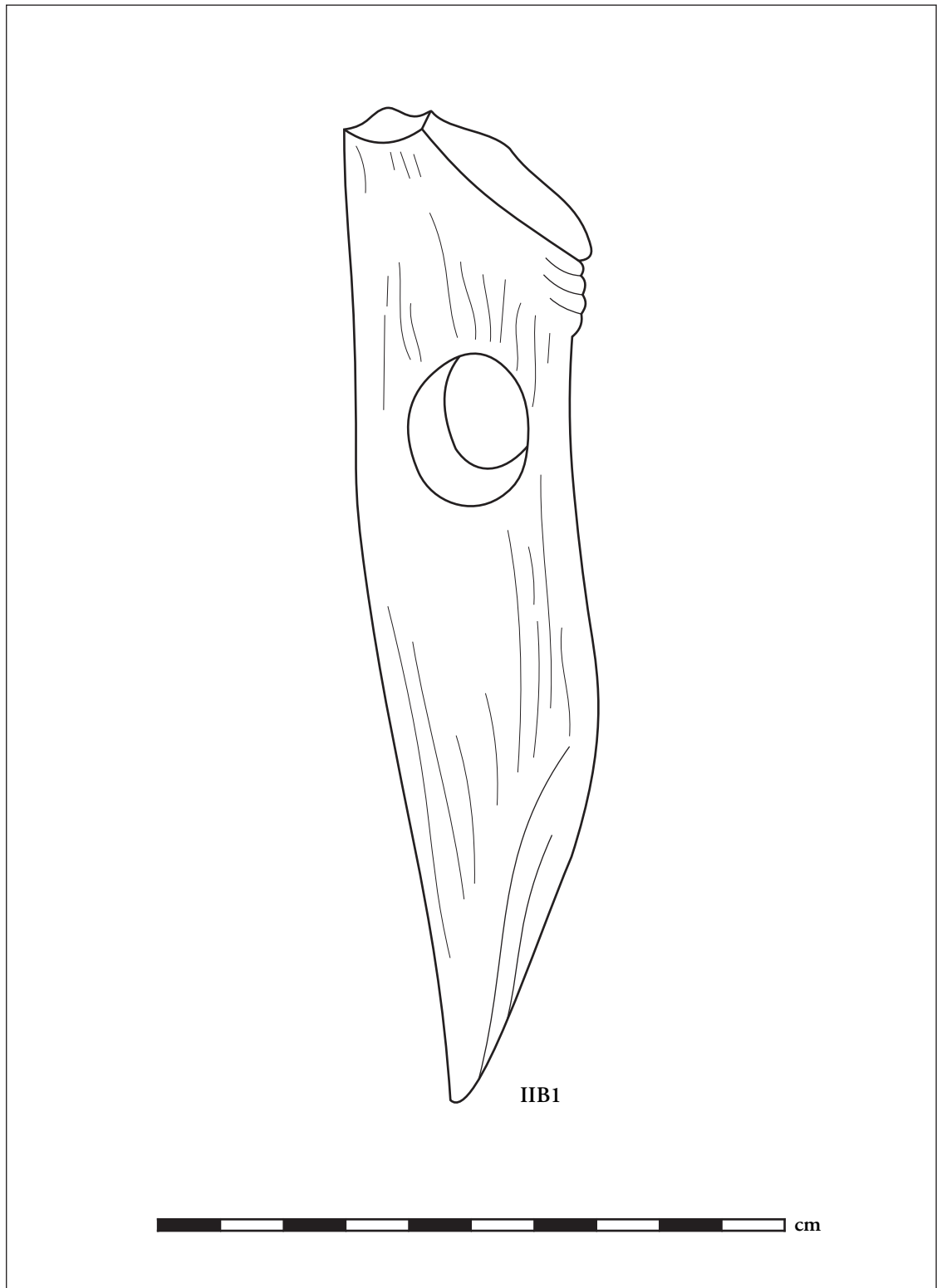
Pl. 4. Pitvaros Grave 9 (after Bóna 1965)



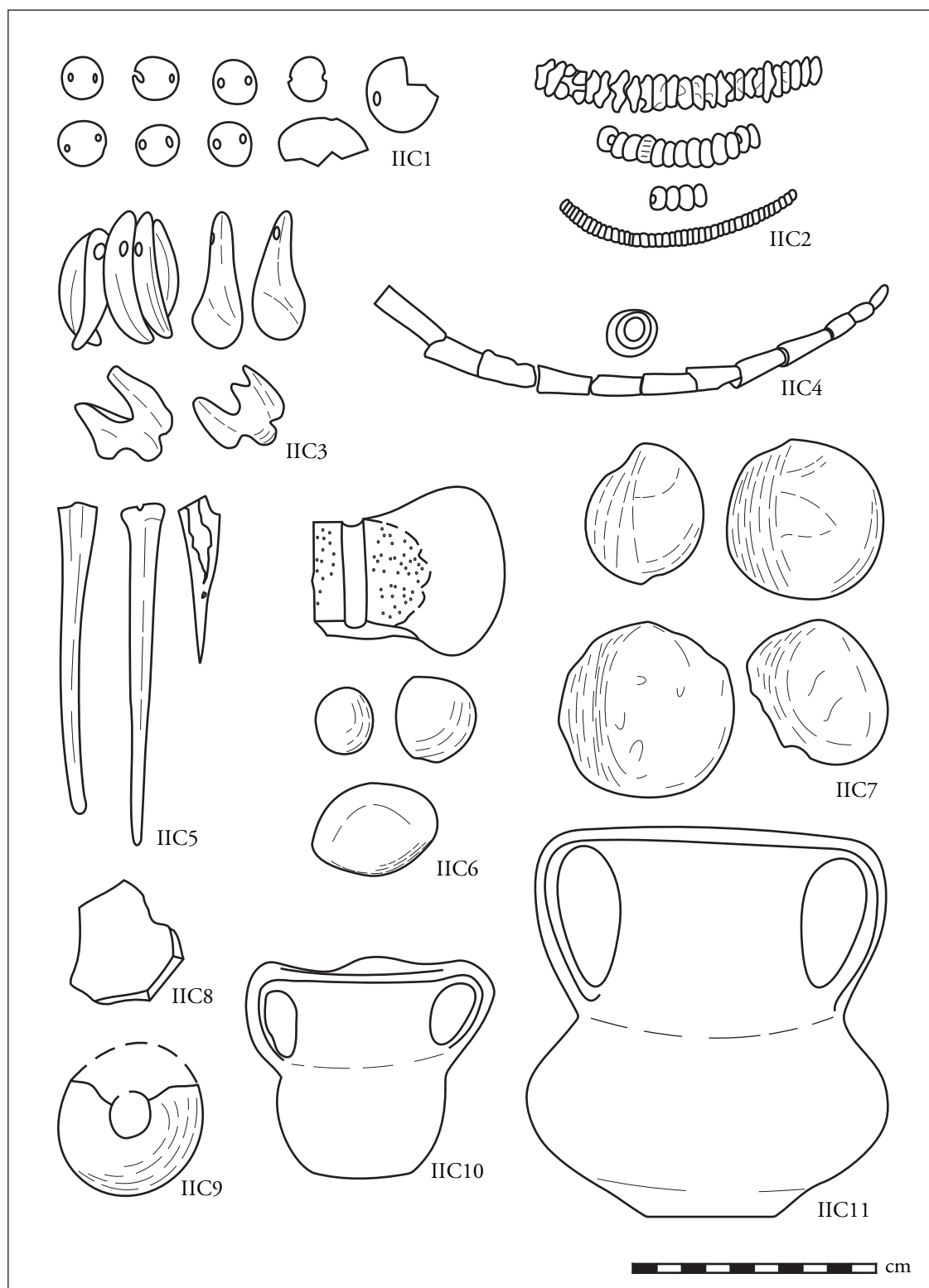
Pl. 5. Szőreg – *Lelőhely C/Szív utca* Grave 67 (after Foltiny 1941b)



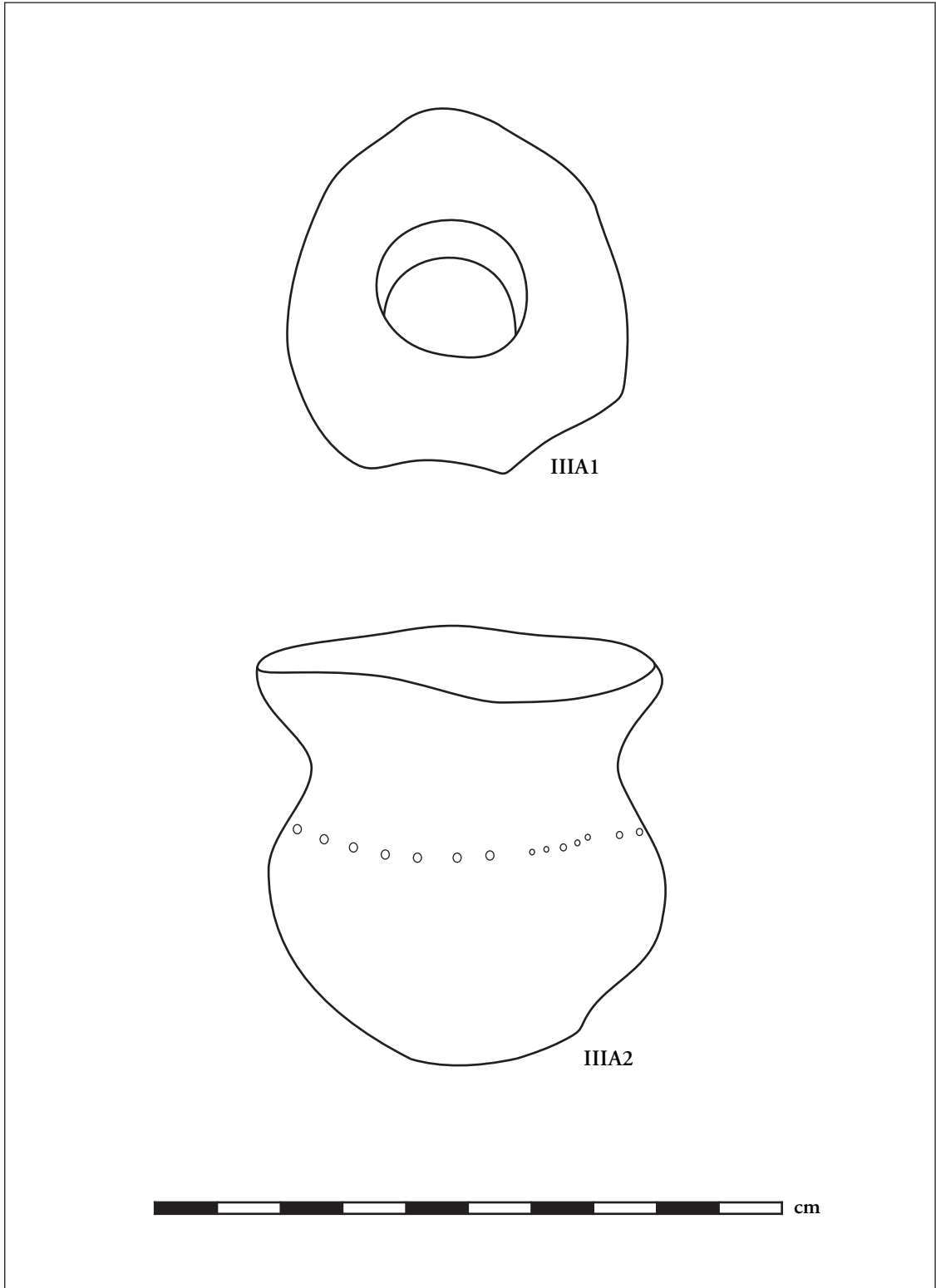
Pl. 6. Mokrin – Selište-Lalina Humka Grave 69 (after Girić 1971)



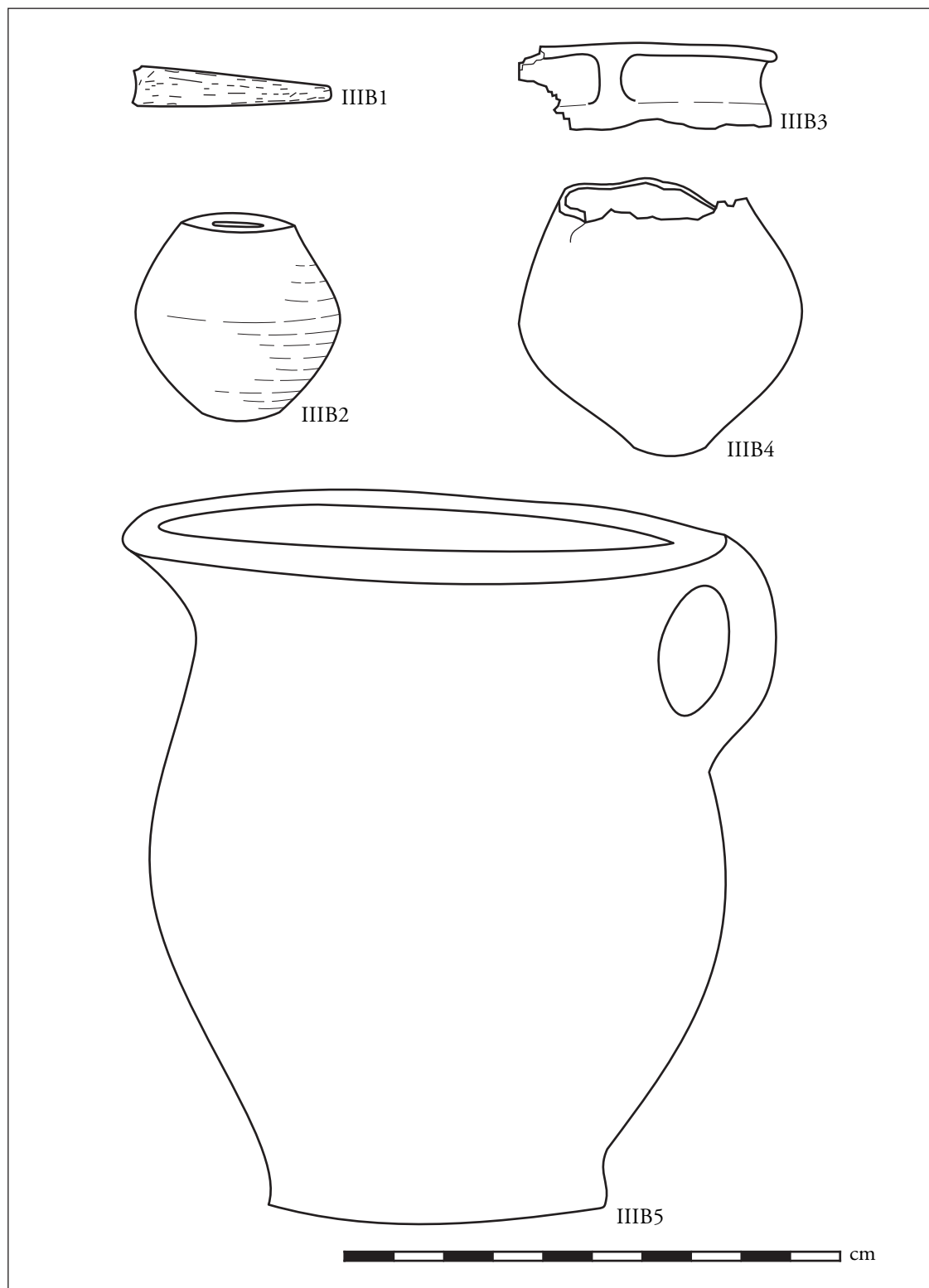
Pl. 7. Pir – *Cetate* Grave M3/Skull 1 (after Székely 1966)



Pl. 8. Szőreg – *Lelőhely C/Szív utca* Grave 67 (after Foltiny 1941b)



Pl. 9. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* Grave 61 (after Girić 1971)



Pl. 10. Mokrin – *Selište-Lalina Humka* Grave 269 (after Girić 1971)