

#### DEATH AND THE BODY IN BRONZE AGE EUROPE

This volume offers new insights into the radical shift in attitudes towards death and the dead body that occurred in temperate Bronze Age Europe. Exploring the introduction and eventual dominance of cremation, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and Katharina Rebay-Salisbury apply a case-study approach to investigate how this transformation unfolded within local communities located throughout central to northern Europe. They demonstrate the deep link between the living and the dead body and propose that the introduction of cremation was a significant ontological challenge to traditional ideas about death. In tracing the responses to this challenge, the authors focus on three fields of action: the treatment of the dead body, the construction of a burial place, and ongoing relationships with the dead body after burial. Interrogating cultural change at its most fundamental level, the authors elucidate the fundamental tension between openness towards the 'new' and the conservative pull of the familiar and traditional.

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen is Professor in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge. She has made important contributions to the scholarship on the European Bronze Age in a range of topics, including dress, creativity, the construction of identities, and the role of 'things'.

**Katharina Rebay-Salisbury** is Research Group Leader at the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Austrian Academy of Sciences. She specializes in the interdisciplinary analysis of Bronze and Iron Age burials. She was awarded a European Research Council Starting Grant for her project 'The value of mothers to society' and teaches at the University of Vienna.



# DEATH AND THE BODY IN BRONZE AGE EUROPE

FROM INHUMATION TO CREMATION

MARIE LOUISE STIG SØRENSEN

University of Cambridge

KATHARINA REBAY-SALISBURY

Austrian Academy of Sciences







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009247399

DOI: 10.1017/9781009247429

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig, author. | Rebay-Salisbury, Katharina, author.

TITLE: Death and the body in Bronze age Europe : from inhumation to cremation / Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, University of Cambridge, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2022024067 (print) | LCCN 2022024068 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009247399 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009247382 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009247429 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Dead–Social aspects–Europe–History–To 1500. | Human remains (Archaeology)–Europe. | Human body–Social aspects–Europe–History–To 1500. | Death–Social aspects–Europe–History–To 1500. | Burial–Europe–History–To 1500. | Funeral rites and ceremonies, Ancient. | Bronze age.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC GT3170 .S67 2023 (print) | LCC GT3170 (ebook) | DDC 393.094–dc23/eng/20220607

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022024067

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022024068

ISBN 978-1-009-24739-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



# **CONTENTS**

List of Figures		page ix
List of Tables		xi
Acknowledgements		xiii
1	INTRODUCTION: CHANGING PRACTICES AND PERCEPTION OF THE BODY	I
	Reflections on Aims and Scope	3
	The Body: As Materiality and the Location of Death	5
	Discussing Beliefs	7
	About Burials and Cremations	8
	Our Position	9
2	A BRIEF HISTORY OF URNS, URNFIELDS, and Burial in the Urnfield Culture	15
	Tripping over Urns: Early Recognition and Explanations of Urns and Urnfields	15
	Framing Time: The Birth of the 'Urnfield'	18
	Ethnic Explanations: 'Urnfield People' and 'Urnfield Culture'	20
	Understanding How Cultural Practices Spread: Migrations and Diffusions	23
	Explaining Urnfield Symbolism, Beliefs, and Religion	28
	Recent Trends	33
3	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	36
	The Corpse Is a Body, Too	38
	Materiality: Making People and Burials	47
	Briefly on Methodology: Investigating How Burials Are Conducted and Graves Constructed	50
	The Importance of Temporality: Chaînes Opératoires	30
	and Biographies	51

V



### vi CONTENTS

4	THE BRONZE AGE: SETTING THE SCENE	54
	Chronology: Event or Process	55
	The Social Landscapes	59
	The Body in Domestic Contexts	64
	The Individual, Mobility, and Life Expectancy	68
	Aspects of Beliefs: Hoards and Iconography	71
	Representations and Treatments of the Body	74
	Burial Practices	76
	People-Objects Relations	80
	The Challenge of Change	83
5	THE CHANGING BRONZE AGE BODY: INTRODUCTION OF CASE STUDIES	86
	Hungary: Early Cremations and Regional Variations	89
	Pitten: Experimentation and Within-Cemetery Variation	92
	Vollmarshausen: Conformity and Post-Funerary	92
	Engagement	95
	Bavaria: Objects and Pyre Debris (Zuchering, Grundfeld)	98
	Marburg: Mounds and Memory Spaces	103
	Lüneburg Area: Transformation of People-Object	
	Relations	105
	Denmark: Complex Choreographies in Burial Mounds	107
6	THE TREATMENT OF THE BODY: COMPATIBILITY AND DIVERGENCE	113
	The First Stage: The Temporal Span between Death and Cremation	115
	The Second Stage: The Technology and Performance of Cremation	125
	The Third Stage: Treatment of the Fragmentary Cremated Remains – Categories for Separating and Remaking Bodies	136
	Different or Similar: Cremated Bodies and Other Human Bodies	142
	Different or Similar: Entanglement of Cremated Bodies, Animals,	
	and Things	145
	Summative Reflections	т 48



CONTENTS

7	THE CONSTRUCTION OF GRAVES: COHERENCE AND VARIATIONS	149
	Variation in Graves: Form and Shape	152
	Summative Reflections	171
8	AFTER THE BURIAL: PROLONGED ENGAGEMENT WITH	
	THE BODY	174
	Feeding the Dead and Commensality at Graves	176
	Creating Spaces for Continued Interaction	181
	Disturbing the Grave: The Phenomenon of 'Grave Robbing'	
	or Reaccession	185
	Post-Burial Practices as Part of Local Webs of Meaning	190
9	CONCLUSIONS: ON THE NATURE OF CHANGE IN	
	BURIAL PRACTICES	191
	The Mechanisms of Change	193
	The Anatomical Body	196
	The Need for a Room: Transforming Dimensions	197
	Containers and Containment	197
	Returning to the Question of 'Origin'	198
References 201		201
Index		225



# **FIGURES**

2.I	Excavating urns as a leisurely, yet educational, pursuit in 1877	page 17
2.2	Distribution of early urnfields in Europe and the expansion	
	of the Urnfield Culture	24
2.3	Spread of the Urnfield Culture and the 'sea peoples'	27
4. I	Bronze Age chronology for the Carpathian Basin,	
	central and northern Europe	58
4.2	Ritual object from Potsdam-Eiche, Germany	72
4.3	Nebra Sky disc, Germany	74
4.4	Depiction of charioteers and a possible cremation pyre	
	on the ceramic urn from Veľké Raškovce, Slovakia	75
4.5	Oak coffin of Guldhøj, Denmark, during the excavation in 1891	78
5.I	Map and chronology of the case studies	87
5.2	Pottery and the material body in Hungarian Middle Bronze	
	Age graves	90
5.3	Map of burial forms at the cemetery of Pitten, Austria	93
5.4	Map of burial forms and grave types at the	
	cemetery of Vollmarshausen, Germany	96
5.5	Grave 314 of Zuchering, Germany	99
5.6	Grave 31 of Grundfeld, Germany	102
5.7	Excavation plan of Marburg-Stempel, Germany	103
5.8	Heathland of the Lüneburger Heide, Germany	105
5.9	Oak coffin of Egtved, Denmark	109
6.1	Mortuary house at Schutschur, Germany	117
6.2	Grave 155 (and 160) of Pitten, Austria	128
6.3	Reconstruction of a cremation platform with reconstructed	
	pyre at Aparn/Zaya, Austria	129
6.4	Bones and wood remains after experimental	
	cremations in Hallstatt, Austria	133
6.5	Grave 192 of Pitten, Austria	139
6.6	Oak coffins with inhumation burial of Borum Eshøj and	
	cremation burial of Hvidegård, both Denmark	140
6.7	Grave 537 of Zuchering, Germany	142
6.8	Grave 348 of Zuchering, Germany	144
6.9	Vessel with breasts and arms from Százhalombatta, Hungary	146

ix



#### X LIST OF FIGURES

7. I	Chaîne opératoire of inhumation and cremation graves	
	in the Bronze Age. Processes focussed upon the treatment of the	
	body, its preparation for the status of being a member of the deceased,	
	and for the creation of the grave for the deceased.	151
7.2	Reconstruction of the funerary space at Marburg-Botanischer	
	Garten, U18, Germany	153
7.3	Grave 88 of Mezőcsát, Hungary	158
7.4	Grave 153 of Zuchering, Germany with preserved parts	
	of the wooden grave construction	159
7.5	Schematic view of a Vatja urn, Hungary	163
7.6	Burial mounds of Gravhøje, Maglehøj, and Brederød,	
	Denmark illustrated by Andreas Peter Madsen 1887	166
7.7	Core and layering of a cremation grave	169
7.8	Cremation Grave 24 and inhumation Grave 35	
	of Streda nad Bodrogom, Slovakia	171
8.1	Feeding the dead at the cemetery of Gelej, Hungary	177
8.2	Urns with artificial openings from Vollmarshausen, Germany	178
8.3	Pottery clusters in relationship to graves at the cemetery of Pitten,	
	Austria	181
8.4	Door opening of Grave 121 of Pitten, Austria	182
8.5	Rectangular funerary enclosure at Marburg-Tanzplatz, Germany	184
8.6	Grave 220 of Franzhausen I, Austria with traces of targeted	
	disturbance of the upper body, while the lower body remained	
	intact	186
8.7	Oak coffin of Storehøj, Denmark, with evidence of grave robbing	
	in the form of a hole in the coffin and the hooked rod that was	
	left behind	188



# **TABLES**

5.I	Cemetery phasing and burial type at the cemetery of Grundfeld,	
	Germany (data from Ullrich 2004)	page 101
6.1	Stages, activities, and concerns of cremation burials	114
6.2	Artefacts included in scattered cremation and	
	urn graves at Zuchering, Germany	122
7.I	Grave and coffin dimensions in relation to age and sex of buried	
	individuals at Zuchering (data from Schütz 2003)	159



#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This volume emerged from research initiated within the context of the five-year, cross-disciplinary Leverhulme Research Programme F/07907/A 'Changing Beliefs of the Human Body', based at the University of Cambridge from 2005 to 2010. Under the guidance of John Robb, a team of researchers based at the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, the Faculty of Classics, and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology explored how and why humans change what they believe about the human body. We are grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting this research and to our colleagues John Robb, Dušan Borić, Oliver J. T. Harris, Jessica Hughes, Maryon McDonald, Preston Miracle, Robin Osborne, Marilyn Strathern, Simon Stoddart, and Sarah Tarlow for many inspiring discussions. Within the project, our work focused on changing social practices of death in Bronze Age Europe in connection with the introduction of cremation.

Over the years, we have discussed burials, cremations, bodies, and how to interpret past actions, with many individuals, gaining considerably from their free sharing of ideas, questions, and suggestions. We have gained substantially from feedback provided on numerous occasions presenting our research and on our publications. There have been too many to name, but we must single out Jo Appleby, Claudio Cavazzuti, Daria Ložnjak Dizdar, Kerstin Hofmann, Flemming Kaul, Viktória Kiss, Michaela Lochner, Christophe Snoeck, Joanna Sofaer, and Magdolna Vicze, as having inspired us to keep on with our work over many years.

Katharina Rebay-Salisbury would like to acknowledge funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme for the project 'The value of mothers to society: responses to motherhood and child rearing practices in prehistoric Europe' (grant agreement No 676828).

The Covid-19 pandemic confined us both at home during much of 2020, in Britain and Austria, and thus gave us the time to finalize this project. Marie Louise would like to thank Christopher Evans and Katharina would like to thank Roderick B. Salisbury for their ever-ongoing critical advice and support of this research.

xiii