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Out of ordinary or common burial practice? A Funerary Discovery from the Baden Settlement at Sântana “Cetatea Veche”*

Victor Sava, Luminița Andreica, Xenia Pop, Florin Gogâltan

Abstract: The study brings to attention a discovery made in 2009 during excavations at Sântana “Cetatea Veche”. From a chronological view point, the finding in question belongs to the Baden settlement. It consisted of a pit which contained the osteological remains of a ten-eleven years old child, bones that were not placed in anatomical connection. The anthropological analysis revealed that the surface of the skull bore traces of violence. In addition to the human bone fragments, some pottery sherds, animal bones as well as coal and adobe were placed inside the pit. Similar discoveries were recorded and, in fact, the great number of contexts containing disarticulated human bones suggests a common practice through the end of the Copper Age. Part of a plain burial or of a sacrifice, either way the deposition of human skeletons inside settlements or in more peculiar places, such as caves, can be seen as a manifestation of the transcendent.

Keywords: Lower Mureș valley, Late Copper Age, Baden-style ceramic, violence, funerary discovery.

The Site

Due to the impressive size of the earthen fortification, the site from Sântana “Cetatea Veche”, came into the attention of scholars since the first half of the nineteenth century¹. Towards the end of that century, due to S. Márki’s works, “Cetatea Veche” became one of the most significant historical sites in the county of Arad². But it was only later, through the archaeological excavations led in 1963³, 2009⁴ and 2011⁵, that specialists increased their knowledge of the site in its entire archaeological complexity⁶.

The first mention of Baden-type artifacts found in the perimeter of this site appeared in a 1976 study signed by P. Roman, dedicated to artifacts representative for “the transition period between the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age” which were preserved in the collections of the Arad Museum Complex⁷. In the mentioned study, Roman illustrates a pottery fragment (inv. no. 13325) decorated with rows of circular impressions⁸, discovered by the archaeologists from Arad Museum in 1957, during their research⁹. The same information was later included in the monograph work about the Baden Culture

* English translation: Ana M. Gruia.

¹ Fábíán 1835, 91.

² Márki 1882, 112–121; Márki 1884, 185–194; Márki 1892, 39–40.

³ Rusu *et al.* 1996; Rusu *et al.* 1999.

⁴ Hügel *et al.* 2010; Gogâltan, Sava 2010.

⁵ Gogâltan *et al.* 2012.

⁶ According to present knowledge, the site’s existence began with some Tiszapolgár funerary depositions (Rusu *et al.* 1996, 18, Pl. II.1-Fig. a, V). During the excavation from 1963, in trench II above the sterile level, there was recorded a layer of deposit having about 1 m in thickness that included among isolated Tiszapolgár-type pottery shards, ceramic fragments typical to the end of the Bronze Age (Rusu *et al.* 1996, 17–18). More Tiszapolgár-type pottery fragments were discovered during the 2009 campaign, in trench S01, between the dirtlenses of the earthen rampart belonging to the third enclosure (Enclosure III), dated to the end of the Bronze Age. The Baden settlement is representative for another chronological horizon (Hügel *et al.* 2010, 302; Gogâltan, Sava 2010, 29, Gogâltan *et al.* 2012). As far as we know, a fortification was built towards the end of the Bronze Age and developed throughout three stages (Rusu *et al.* 1996; Rusu *et al.* 1999, Hügel *et al.* 2010; Gogâltan, Sava 2010, Gogâltan *et al.* 2013). Both excavations and systematic field researches led to the identification of traces corresponding to an isolated habitation from the third-fourth and 18th–19th centuries.

⁷ Roman 1976a, 31.

⁸ Roman 1976a, Pl. 2/5.

⁹ The data from the inventory registry belonging to the archaeological department of the Arad Museum Complex were not conclusive with regards to the type of the research mentioned by P. Roman in his work. For as far as we know, the only

on the current territory of Romania¹⁰, as well as in the repertory of Arad County¹¹, and in a study dealing with the end of the Copper Age on the Western Plain of Romania¹².

As we have mentioned on other occasions, the 2009 and 2011 excavations confirmed the existence of a Baden settlement inside the earthen fortification. The archaeological excavation conducted in 2009 has led to the discovery of two pits that can be attributed to the Baden Culture¹³. Namely, the pit labeled Cx 03 which was identified in trench S02¹⁴, and pit Cx 04, under analysis here, found in S03 (Fig. 4–6)¹⁵. In 2011, another trench (S04), measuring 3 × 3 m, was opened in the North-Western part of the second enclosure (Enclosure II), by the railroad track (Fig. 2–3). On that occasion we were able to document a consistent layer of culture, of about 1 m in thickness, which contained numerous Baden-type pottery fragments, parts of a hearth, adobe, and a rich faunal lot¹⁶.



Fig. 1. The Baden settlement view from the east.

Due to the nature of the research performed so far, there is no other available data on the settlement belonging to the end of the Copper Age. The 2011 test trench proves the existence of a consistent culture layer, indicating a significant settlement¹⁷. Thanks to the investigations taken in 2009 and

excavations conducted in the '50s involved some small test trenches, investigated under the leadership of E. Dömer in 1953, as part of the works for the railroad construction (see Gogâltan, Sava 2010, 20–21). Given these facts, we cannot indicate, for now, the nature of the investigations under which the artifacts from 1957 were discovered, thus we will use the set expression – field researches.

¹⁰ Roman, Némethi 1978, 12, Pl. 4/6.

¹¹ Vasiliev, Barbu 1999, 113–114, pt. 4.

¹² Sava 2008, 56, pt. 65.

¹³ Hugel *et al.* 2010, 302.

¹⁴ Cx 03 was circular pit, identified as an agglomeration of adobe fragments. On the surface, its filling was represented by grey clay, pigmented with a lot of coal and adobe. The subsequent layers consisted of yellow soil, different from the archaeological sterile due to the presence of a few adobe and coal pigments. The archaeological material was represented by several pottery fragments, most of them atypical, a few animal bones, and some shells. The pit was rapidly filled with the soil extracted during its original dug; an indicator of this is, besides the composition of the filling, the pottery of the first layer that had matching fragments in the subsequent layer. The final dimensions of the pit were: length 1.96 m, width 1.88 m, absolute depth at identification 107.10 m, inner depth: 0.60 m.

¹⁵ The excavation system was presented in detail on another occasion (Gogâltan, Sava 2010, 28–29).

¹⁶ Gogâltan *et al.* 2012, 126.

¹⁷ One must note that no other Baden settlement, having a complex or a consistent stratigraphy, has been found so far in the Western Plain of Romania. Among the settlements with the most substantial depositions, we ought to mention Sanislău “Curtea fermei C.A.P.” (Sava 2008, 52), where the culture layer reached 0.70 m in thickness (Roman, Némethi 1978, 15, Iercoșan 1991, 43–60; Iercoșan 1993, 81; Némethi 1999, 45).

1963, one can at this point presume the north-eastern and eastern borders of the settlement (Fig. 2). In trenches S02 and S03, excavated in 2009 no deposition layer corresponding to the end of the Copper Age was identified. Likewise, in trench S01, which was set to cut through the fortification of Enclosure III, no Baden-type pottery was discovered, situation that corresponded to the one recorded for SII, dug in the 1963. It is for these particular reasons that one can state, with a fair degree of certitude, that pits Cx 03 and Cx 04 were located on the Eastern edge of the settlement.

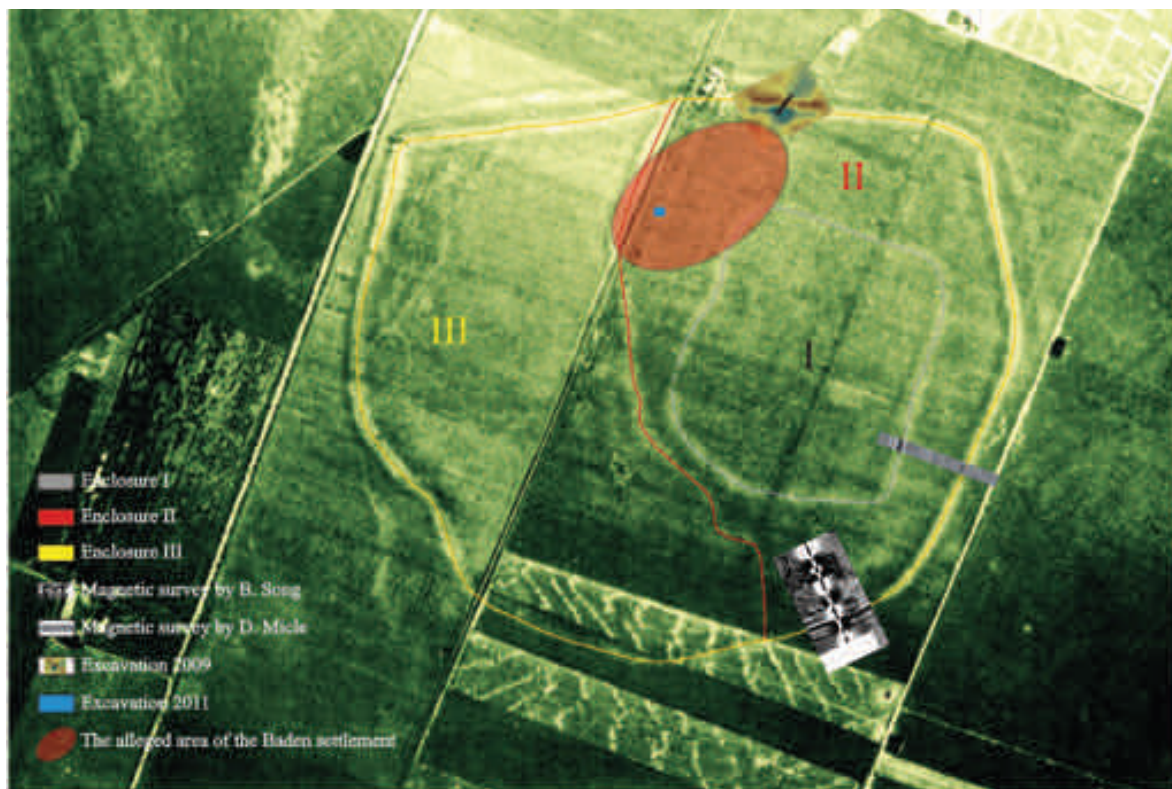


Fig. 2. Aerial photograph with the most recent researches marked.

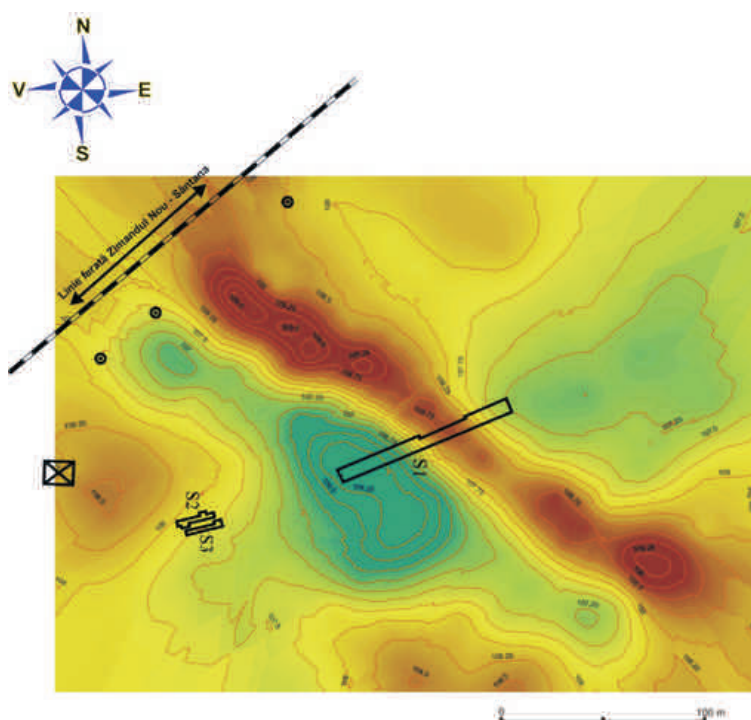


Fig. 3. Ground plan of the 2009 excavation.

Context of discovery

The excavation of trenches S02 and S03 was conducted in order to check if there was a culture layer corresponding to the Bronze Age fortification or any traces from the Baden settlement. The field researches led to the observation that both deposition layers, either the one from the end of the Cooper Age or that from the end of the Bronze Age, were strongly disturbed by modern agricultural works. Thus, we were able to identify only those complexes that went as deep as reaching into the archaeological sterile. A part of the complex, that was labeled Cx 04, was surprised in the eastern corner of trench S03, next to a pit-house (Cx 01), dated to the Modern Era (the eighteenth century) (Fig. 4). The complete uncovering of the complex required the extension of S03 with 1.5 m and the widening of the sector with 2 m. Regarding the excavation technique, the decision made was to correlate the successive horizontal sections with a stratigraphic profile, in order to obtain a clear perspective upon the sequence of layers. In order to do this, a square trench was opened on the eastern side of the pit.

The pit distinguished itself on the ground as a grey spot with a few traces of adobe. For a better understanding and documentation of it, we chose to excavate it in four successive, artificial layers (Fig. 5). Thereby, in the upper layer excavated, which ranged between the absolute depths of 107.12 and 107.17 m, there was identified an irregular agglomeration of adobe, surrounded by a soil very similar in color to the sterile one. The only difference from the latter was given by the traces of adobe that lent it a pale reddish color. At the same time, the filling was strongly pigmented with calcareous concretions. The removal of adobe (107.12–106.95 m) led to identifying a layer consisting of few adobe fragments, several pottery sherds, charcoal, and animal bones. The subsequent layer, identified between 106.95 and 106.80 m, contained a higher number of pottery fragments placed horizontally, as well as animal bones, and two agglomerations of charcoal and adobe. At the absolute depth of 106.75 m, we uncovered a fragmentary skull belonging to a young person, whose age ranged between ten and eleven years (*Infans II*). Some of the long bones were also preserved beside the skull. We were able to note at that point, how a large part of the skull and some of the long bones underwent thermal treatment. Also, by the skull there were several pottery fragments deposited horizontally, a small cup, preserved in its entirety, and a few shells. There should be noted that about half of the pottery discovered in this pit was identified in the layer above the human osteological remains. The total weight of the pottery deposited inside Cx 04 was 5.6 kg. The pit had the following dimensions: length: 1 m, width: 0.70 m, absolute depth from the level of identification: 107.86 m, inner depth: 0.20 m (Fig. 5, 6).

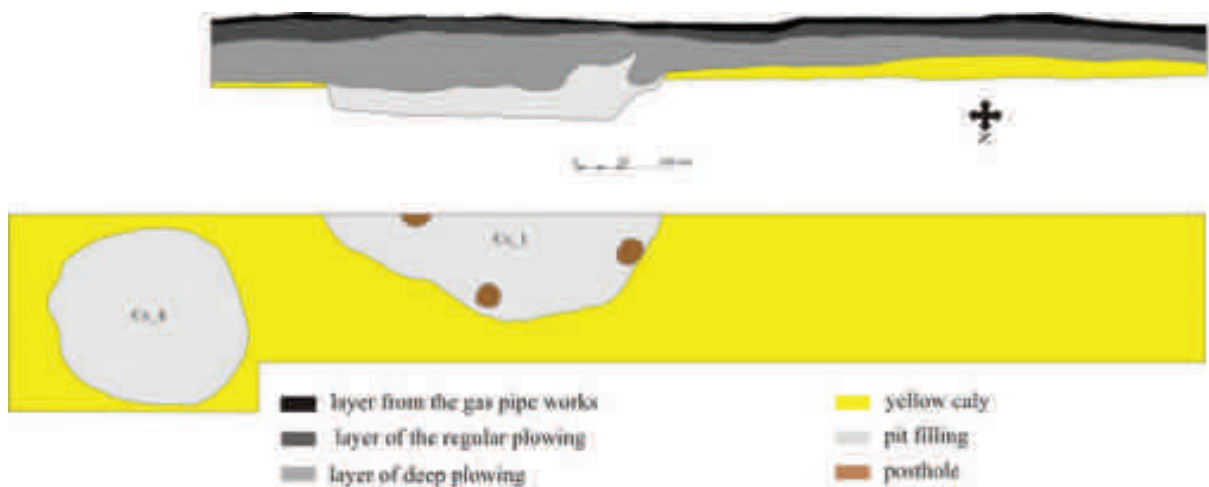


Fig. 4. Trench S03. Profile and horizontal planum.

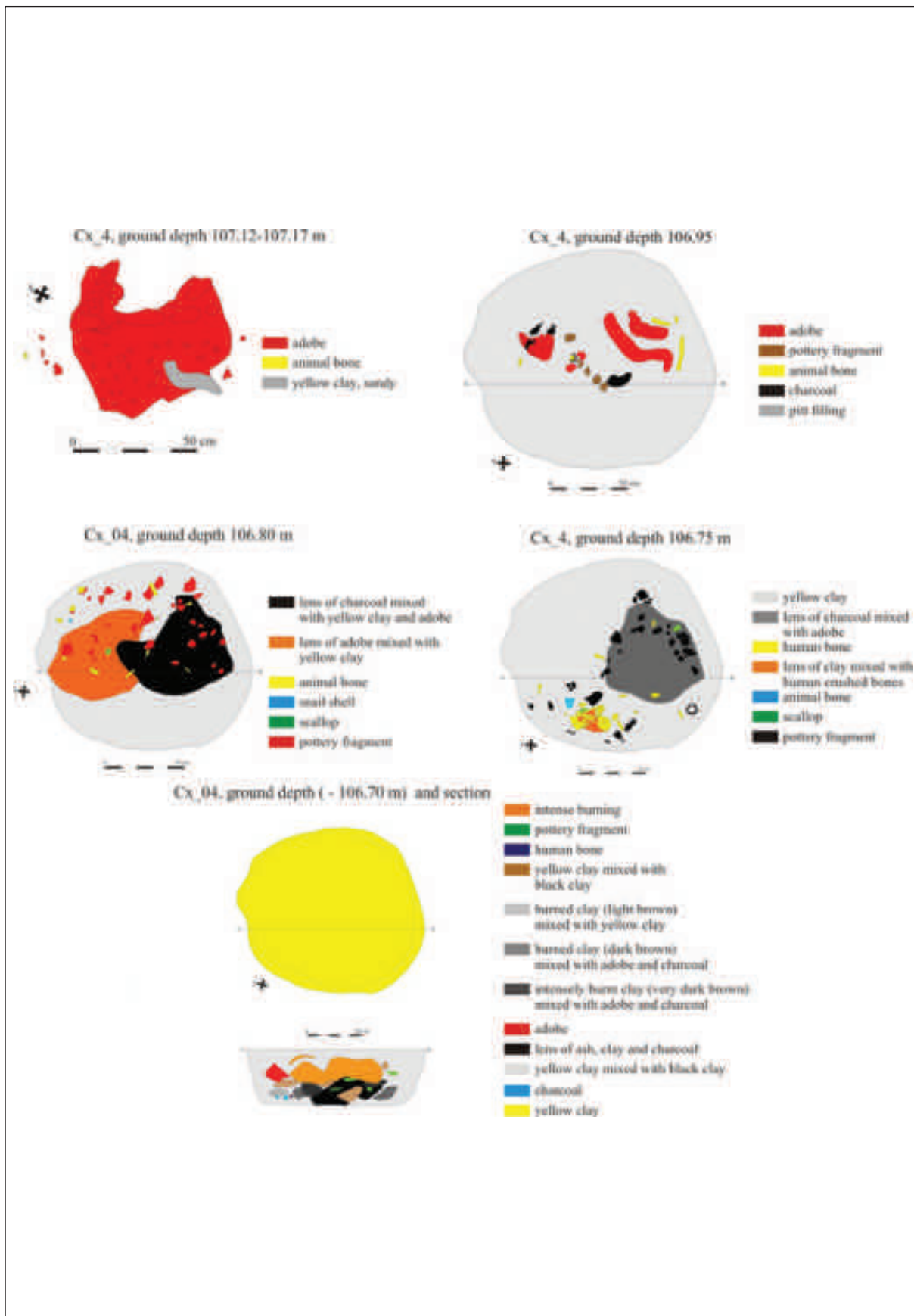


Fig. 5. Drawings of pit Cx 04.



Fig. 6. Photographs of pit Cx 04.

Catalogue of the illustrated pottery

1. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 7/1), small cup?, fabric with inclusions of sand, reducing firing, black in color (10YR-2/1)¹⁸, polished both outside and inside.
2. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 7/2), small-size tureen, fabric with inclusions of sand, oxidizing/reducing firing, dark yellowish brown in color (10YR-4/4) outside, dark gray inside (10YR-4/1), smoothed.
3. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 7/3), pot?, decorated with deep incisions, fabric with inclusions of small pottery fragments, oxidizing firing, reddish yellow in color (5YR-6/6) outside and pale brown (10YR-6/3) inside, poorly smoothed.
4. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 7/4), tronconic tureen, decorated with a rectangular prominence, fabric with inclusions of small sand grains, oxidizing/reducing firing, reddish yellow in color (5YR-6/6) outside, brown (10YR-4/3) inside, while the core is black (10YR-2/1), polished both inside and outside.
5. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 7/5), bitronconic pot, decorated with a rectangular prominence placed under the rim, two short incisions also placed under the rim, while on the belly it bear a decoration of "sunken triangles"¹⁹, fabric with inclusions of sand grains, oxidizing/reducing firing, reddish yellow in color (5YR-6/6) on the outside, while the inside and the core are dark gray (10YR-4/1), smoothed on the outside and polished on the inside.
6. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/1), fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, reducing firing, black in color (10YR-2/1), polished both inside and outside.
7. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/2), fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, reducing firing, dark gray (10YR-4/1), smoothed.
8. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/3), fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, reducing firing, dark gray (10YR-4/1), polished inside and outside.
9. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/4), fabric with inclusions of sand and small pieces of crushed pottery as temper materials, reducing firing, reddish brown (5YR-4/3) inside and outside, with black core (10YR-2/1), smoothed.
10. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/5), fabric with inclusions of sand and small pieces of crushed pottery as temper materials, reducing firing, reddish brown (5YR-4/3) inside and outside, with black core (10YR-2/1), smoothed.
11. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/6), small-size tureen, reducing firing, dark gray (10YR-4/1), smoothed.
12. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/7), fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, oxidizing/reducing firing, pale brown (10YR-6/3) inside and outside, with black core (10YR-2/1), smoothed.
13. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/8), bowl?, decorated with rows of circular incisions on the belly and alveoli on the rim, fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, oxidizing firing, reddish brown (5YR-4/3), polished outside and inside.
14. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/9), small-size tureen?, fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, reducing firing, black (10YR-2/1), polished both outside and inside.
15. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/10), pot?, decorated with two rows of impressions placed under the rim, fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, oxidizing firing, reddish yellow (5YR-6/6), smoothed.

¹⁸ For color determination we used Munsell Soil-Color Charts 2009.

¹⁹ The term "sunken triangles" was used by P. Roman in Roman, Némethi 1978, 37, see also pl. 2/7, or according to Roman 1976, 26, pl. 36/16, ornament type Af.

16. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/11), pot?, fabric with inclusions of sand grains as temper material, reducing firing, dark reddish brown (5YR-3/3) outside and inside, with black core (10YR-2/1), smoothed.

17. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 8/12), small-size tureen, fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, reducing firing, dark brown (10YR-3/3) inside and outside, and black core (10YR-2/1), smoothed.

18. Fragment of rim, belly, and base (Fig. 8/13), tureen, fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, reducing/oxidizing firing, light reddish brown (5YR-6/4) outside and inside, and dark gray core (10YR-4/1), polished on the outside, smoothed on the inside.

19. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/1), decorated with deep incisions, fabric with inclusions of small pieces of crushed pottery as temper material, oxidizing firing, light reddish brown (5YR-6/4) on the outside, light yellowish brown (10YR-6/3) on the inside, and gray core (10YR-5/1), smoothed.

20. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/2), bowl?, decorated with circular impressions placed in rows, fabric with inclusions of sand as temper material, oxidizing/reducing firing, dark yellowish brown (10YR-4/4) on the outside, black (10YR-2/1) in the core and on the inside, polished outside and inside.

21. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/3), bowl?, decorated with circular impressions placed in rows, fabric with sand inclusions, oxidizing/reducing firing, dark yellowish brown (10YR-4/4) on the outside, dark gray (10YR-4/1) in the core and on the inside, polished both outside and inside.

22. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/4), decorated with deep incisions, fabric with inclusions of small pieces of crushed pottery as temper material, oxidizing firing, light reddish brown (5YR-6/4) on the outside, light yellowish brown (10YR-6/3) on the inside, and gray (10YR-5/1) core, smoothed.

23. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/5), decorated with deep incisions, fabric with inclusions of small pieces of crushed pottery as temper material, oxidizing firing, light reddish brown (5YR-6/4) on the outside, light yellowish brown (10YR-6/3) on the inside, and gray (10YR-5/1) core, smoothed.

24. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/6), decorated with deep incisions, fabric with inclusions of small pieces of crushed pottery as temper material, oxidizing firing, light reddish brown (5YR-6/4) on the outside, light yellowish brown (10YR-6/3) on the inside, and gray (10YR-5/1) core, smoothed.

25. Belly fragment (Fig. 9/7), decorated with deep incisions, fabric with inclusions of small pieces of crushed pottery as temper material, oxidizing firing, light reddish brown (5YR-6/4) on the outside, light yellowish brown (10YR-6/3) on the inside, and dark gray (10YR-4/1) core, smoothed.

26. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 9/8), pot?, fabric with inclusions of sand grains as temper material, oxidizing/reducing firing, reddish yellow (5YR-6/6) on the outside, dark yellowish brown (10YR-3/4) on the inside, and gray (10YR-5/1) core, smoothed.

27. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 9/9), pot?, fabric with inclusions of sand, oxidizing/reducing firing, reddish brown (5YR-5/4) on the outside, black (10YR-2/1) on the inside, smoothed.

28. Belly fragment (Fig. 10/1), decorated with circular impressions and incisions, fabric with sand inclusions, oxidizing/reducing firing, on the outside dark yellowish brown (10YR-4/4), while the core and the inside are black (10YR-2/1), polished both outside and inside.

29. Fragment of rim and belly (Fig. 10/2), tronconic tureen with handle placed under the rim, fabric with inclusions of sand grains, reducing firing, black (10YR-2/1), polished inside and outside.

30. Cup (Fig. 10/3), fabric with inclusions of sand grains, reducing firing, dark yellowish brown (10YR-4/4) on the outside and black inside, smoothed.

31. Handle fragment (Fig. 10/4), fabric with inclusions of sand grains, reducing firing, very dark grayish brown (10YR-3/2), smoothed.

32. Fragment of belly and handle (Fig. 10/5), fabric with sand inclusions, oxidizing/reducing firing, yellowish red (5YR-5/8), black (10YR-2/1) core, smoothed.

33. Base fragment (Fig. 10/6), fabric with inclusions of small pottery fragments as temper material, oxidizing/reducing firing, yellowish brown (10YR-5/6) outside, very dark gray (10YR-3/1) inside, smoothed outside, polished inside.

34. Handle fragment (fig. 10/7), fabric with inclusions of sand grains as temper material, reducing firing, dark brown (10YR-3/3) outside and inside, with black (10YR-2/1) core, smoothed.

35. Base fragment (Fig. 10/8), fabric with sand inclusions, reducing firing, brownish yellow (10YR-6/6), smoothed.

36. Base fragment (Fig. 10/9), cup, fabric tempered with small pottery fragments, oxidizing firing, dark yellowish brown (10YR-3/6), polished outside and inside.

37. Base fragment (Fig. 10/10), fabric with sand inclusions, reducing firing, black (10YR-2/1), smoothed.

38. Base fragment (Fig. 10/11), fabric with inclusions of sand and small pieces of crushed pottery as temper materials, oxidizing/reducing firing, reddish brown (5YR-5/4) on the outside, black (10YR-2/1) on the inside, smoothed.

As mentioned before, when the complex was described, we are dealing with a significant number of pottery fragments, of which the vast majority was placed horizontally, above the skeletal remains. Most of the sherds, from the lot of 5.6 kg of pottery identified in the filling of the pit are atypical. Regarding the degree of fragmentation, one should notice that a single pot was found in its entirety, i.e. the cup illustrated in Fig. 10/3; the shape of several other vessels can be reconstructed, though, as follows: two small tureens (Fig. 10/3,9), one bowl (Fig. 7/2), and probably a bitronconic pot (Fig. 7/5). As for the other forms, they can be established on the basis of available analogies. It is also important to mention that no trace of secondary firing has been observed on the surface of the pottery fragments. For as far as we can tell, the sherds belong to about 25–30 vessels.

Despite the fact that the research of the entire pottery lot found in Cx 04 is not the aim of the present study, we will briefly mention the main characteristics of the illustrated pottery. The predominant decoration is represented by deep incisions (Fig. 7/3,5; 9/1, 4–7), although circular impressions (Fig. 8/8; 9/2; 10/1), and knobs (Fig. 7/4–5) are also present. All types of firing are present in almost equal proportion. Oxidizing firing has rendered the vessels red or pale brown, while reducing firing has turned them dark brown, gray, or black. Another category consists of pottery fired both in the presence and absence of oxygen. As to the color range thereby obtained, it varies between red outside and brown inside to red or pale brown outside and gray inside. The technique of finishing the outer and inner surfaces, identified in the most cases is smoothing, sometimes of poor quality, though in several cases both surfaces have been polished.

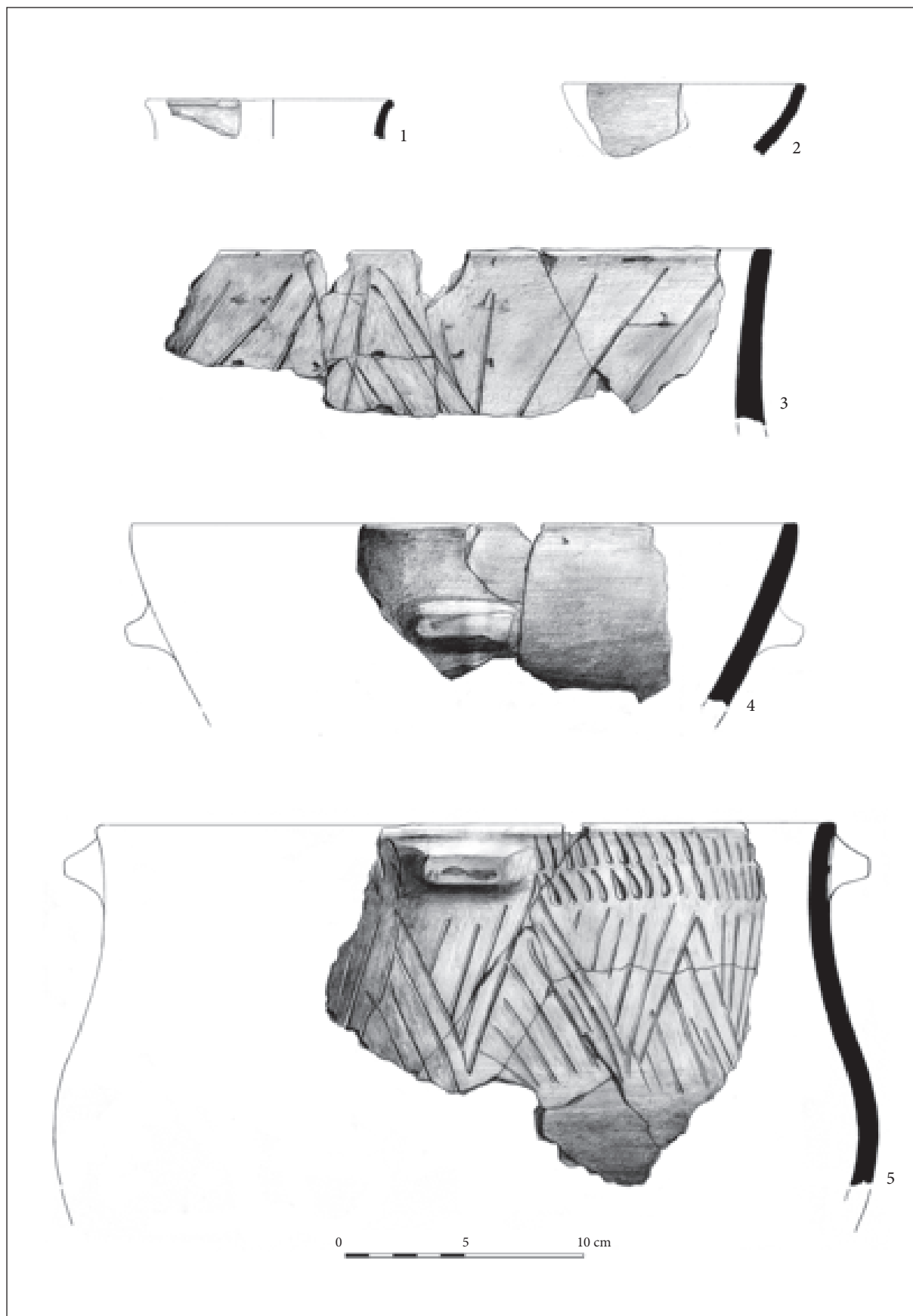


Fig. 7. Pottery discovered in pit Cx 04.

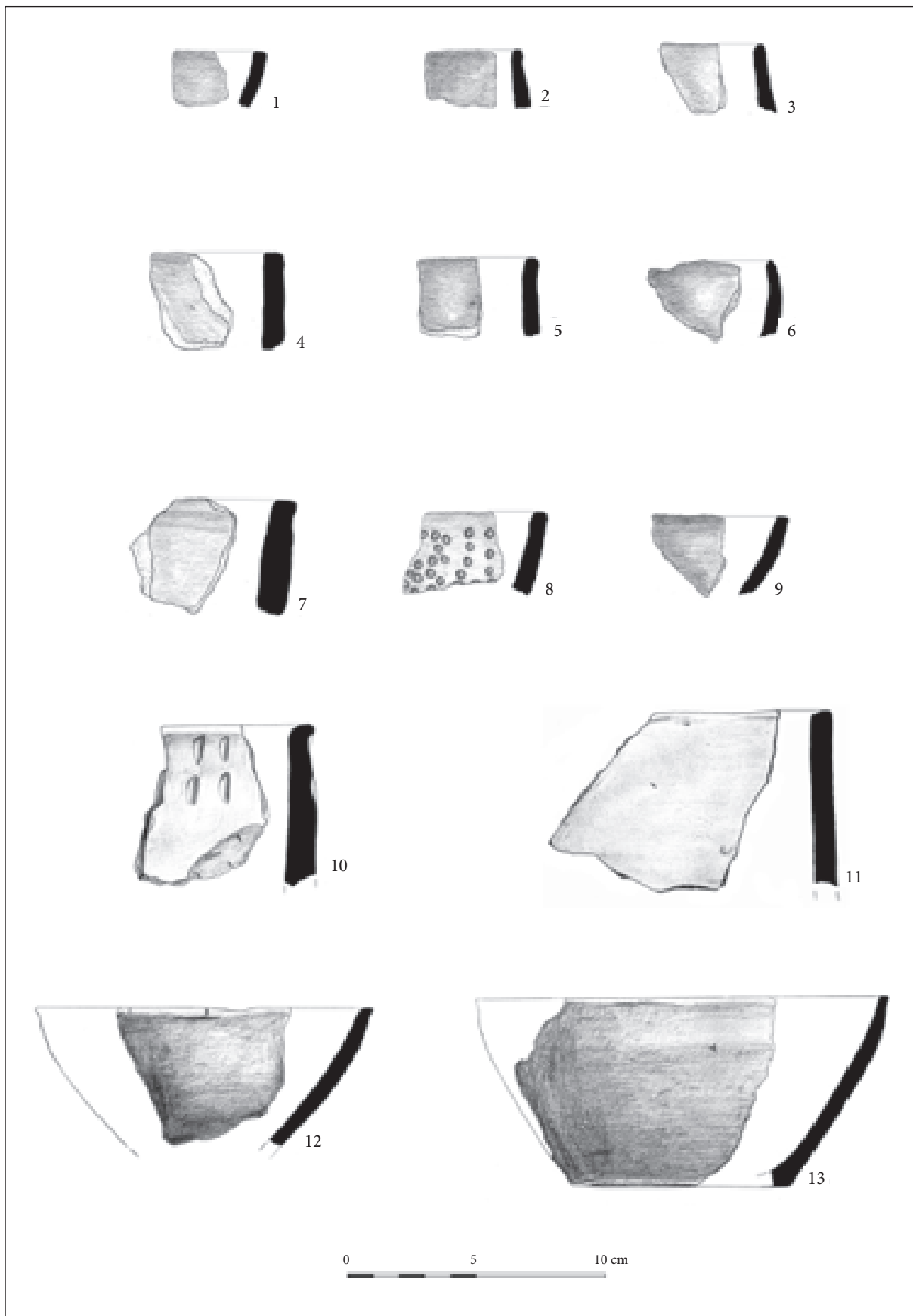


Fig. 8. Pottery discovered in pit Cx 04.

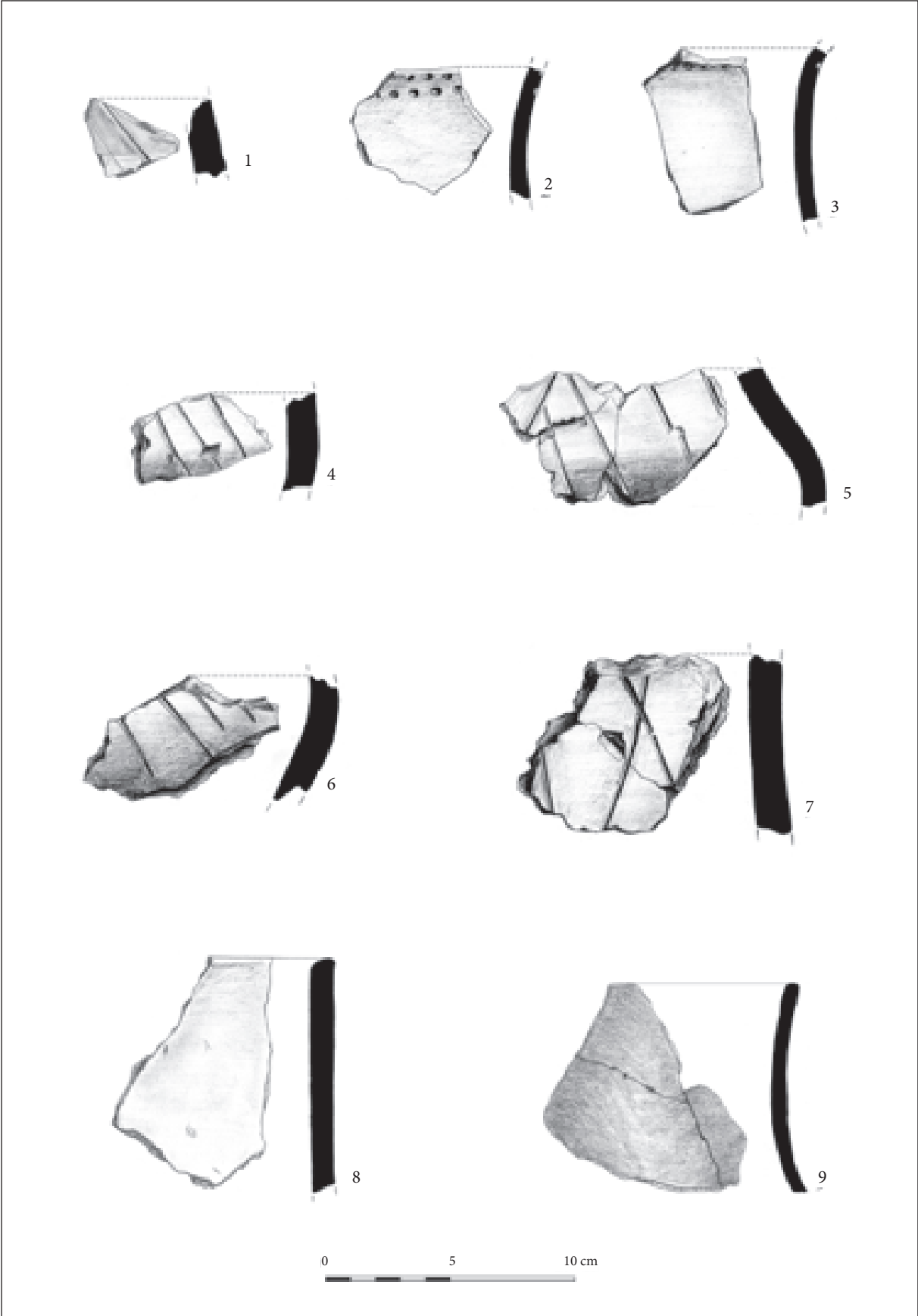


Fig. 9. Pottery discovered in pit Cx 04.



Fig. 10. Pottery discovered in pit Cx 04.

Anthropological analysis

The state of preservation and representation of the osteological fragments recovered from pit Cx 04 is rather poor. The cranial skeleton is the closest to completion, being represented by fragments from the frontal bone, the left-right parietal, right temporal, occipital, the basilar part, and the supraorbital margins with the orbital surface of the frontal bone. From the viscerocranium, archaeologists have recovered the nasal bones, one fragment from the right maxilla (displaying, in their alveoli, M1, M2, M3 permanent), and another fragment that includes two monoradicular teeth. Due to the changes induced by the elevated temperatures they have been subjected to, one cannot identify the teeth with certainty. From the mandible there were recovered the right mandibular body, corresponding to the alveoli of Pm1, Pm2, M1, M2, M3, and its mentonian area. The alveoli preserved I1, I2 right and I1, I2, C left. From the lower jaw was also identified the left coronoid.

The long bones are very poorly represented; the only diaphysis that was partially restored belongs to a femur, possibly the left one. Other fragments were identified as well: several diaphysis fragments, possibly humerus, radius or ulna.

Due to the poor state of preservation and representation of the unearthed bones, the teeth were the only indicators of age. On the jaw fragments one can observe, in the alveoli, three molars, among which molar 3 does not have the root formed, in case of molar 2 the detail is not visible, while in case of molar 1 the length of the root is $\frac{3}{4}$. On the mandible one can note a right-side molar 3 that has still not erupted and its root is not formed. Molar 2 on the right side is missing from its alveolus, and in the case of molar 1 one can note that the apex of the root is not closed. Besides, these dental items, three other were recovered, namely the other two permanent molars 3 and one permanent premolar, with roots unformed yet. Having all this data, and using Ubelaker's diagram of dental eruption²⁰, we could estimate an approximate age of 10–11 years.

The precarious state, under which the bones were found, impeded the determination of the individual's sex, as well.

We will, further on, try to interpret this case, by attempting to give the best suitable answers to a series of questions, such as: Were the traumas identified on the skull suffered during the perimortem or the postmortem interval? Was the individual burnt while the soft tissue was still present or after the corpse had skeletonized completely? How can one explain the color differences on the burnt fragments?

The recovered osteological fragments were found in a secondary-type deposition, while most of the bones, both cranial and postcranial, had undergone different degrees of temperature exposition. In order to obtain an explanation with regards to the way in which the individual was manipulated until the moment of his/her final deposition, one needs to analyze the traumas and reconstruct the taphonomic processes.

Six blows were identified on the skullcap (Fig. 11): five of them are visible on the frontal bone, while the sixth is located on the left parietal bone, near the coronal suture. All six traumas were inflicted with a blunt object or through hitting a blunt surface. When such a force is applied to the skull, it reacts in several ways: first there is a bending of the bone towards the inside, at the place of impact; if a stronger force is applied, fracture lines appear on the outer surface of the bone, in radial direction. In case the force is strong enough to pierce the bone, concentric fracture lines will form around the impact spot²¹. In the case analyzed here, one can suspect that the impact was rather strong, since most of the traumas have generated radial fracture lines. The nature of one of the traumas, located on the frontal bone, near the coronary suture, is also interesting. The particularity is given by the fact that it extends over a much wider area of the skull (it measures ca. 75 mm) and has the aspect of a cut-out piece from the cortex. The trauma was most probably inflicted with a blunt object that, at the moment of impact, also created the cutting-out from the outer plate of the bone.

All these injuries are specific to trauma inflicted to the hydrated bone²²; the fractures on the skull start from the area of impact and are placed radially, while the route of the fracture lines is linear. These details generate another question with respect to the moment when these traumas were caused.

²⁰ Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994, 51.

²¹ Krenzer 2006, 9.

²² Botella *et al.* 2000, 88.

Therefore, did the individual die because of the traumas, or were these traumas inflicted shortly after death? This matter ought not to be neglected, since fractures leave similar marks if inflicted less than 72 hours prior to the time of death or shortly afterwards, when most of the soft tissues are still present²³. It is precisely because of these facts, that we can only suggest an answer, based on the context of discovery. Therefore, one can presume that everything was part of a ritual; which would mean that the traumas in question might have been inflicted in order to kill the child, as a first stage of the ritual.

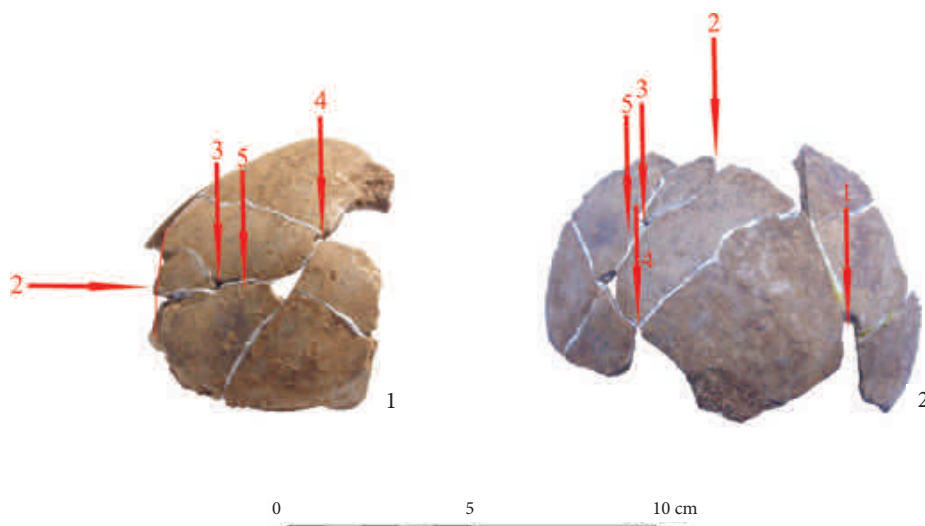


Fig. 11. Traumas to the skull inflicted with a blunt object, generating radial and concentric fracture lines, and bone depression.

Later, the body was left to become a skeleton, in the open air or inhumed. As to approximating the time required by its decomposition, one must take into consideration certain factors, among which the most important ones are temperature, humidity, and accessibility to the body. Temperature has a significant effect on the activity of carrion insects; in the case of bodies kept in environments with warm climate, the activity of these insects is accelerated and thus the decomposition is shorter than in the case of bodies stored in cold climates. Humidity also plays an important role in the process of body decomposition the process taking less time in humid areas than in dry areas. That is because the tissues dry slower in wet environments, allowing therefore a more intense activity of insects and other organisms. Also, when approximating the interval required by a corpse to decompose, it is essential to take into account, as a final factor, the accessibility of carrion insects to the body. As for the location of the body, decomposition is much faster for the corpses kept in the open air, than for those stored in less accessible places²⁴. P. S. Sledzik has analyzed the stages of decomposition according to the two main cases in which a corpse can be stored: in the open air or interred. According to him, the time necessary for a body to decompose in the open air varies between two months and two years, while in the case of interred corpses, the interval is somewhat longer, i.e. between 14 days and three years²⁵.

In the case of Cx 04, after the body became a skeleton, the remainings were exposed to high temperatures. This statement is supported by the aspect of the burnt bones, which is typical to osteological fragments burnt in the absence of soft tissue; the surface of the skull bones lacks strong modifications and the long bones are cracked lengthwise²⁶ (Fig. 12). If these fragments would have been burnt together with the soft tissues, the pattern of the fractures would have been completely different. In the case of long bones, to take an example, when being burnt while the soft tissue is still present, the fractures induced by fire are transversal and perpendicular to the main axis of the bone²⁷, due to the contraction of the muscles under the effect of heat²⁸.

²³ Botella *et al.* 2000, 85.

²⁴ Krenzer 2006, 4.

²⁵ Sledzik 1998, 109–119.

²⁶ Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994, 97.

²⁷ Botella *et al.* 2000, 73

²⁸ Juniper 2007, 98.

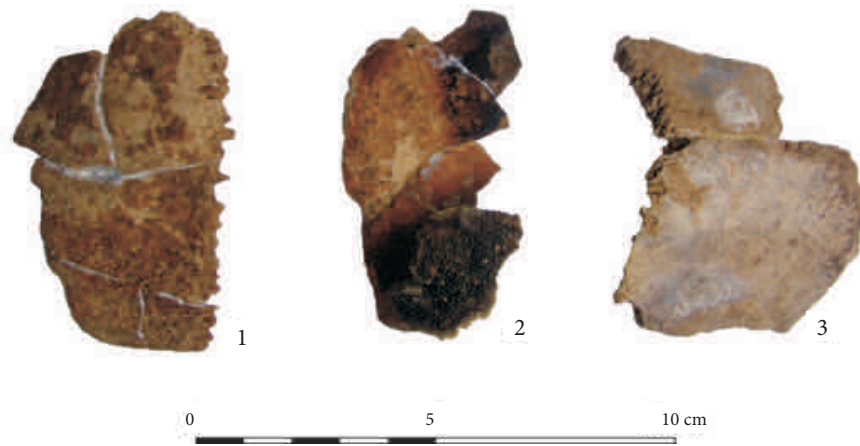


Fig. 12. Color differences among skull fragments under the effect of different temperatures (1: 185 °C – 285 °C; 2: 400 °C – 600 °C; 3: 600 °C – 900 °C).

One should note that the osteological remains have been subjected to different firing temperatures (Fig. 13). The partial reconstruction of the cranium has revealed that the majority of bones on the right side, but also fragments of the upper jaw have been subjected to the highest temperatures span; their color is bluish-gray and the firing temperature can be estimated at 600 °C to 800 °C²⁹, and 645 °C to 940 °C³⁰. Conversely, some occipital fragments along with a few long bone pieces were black, which means that the temperature they had been burned at was lower, of up to 400 °C.³¹ According to studies elaborated by the team led by P. Shipman, black can indicate temperatures varying between 525 °C and 645 °C³². Another osteological fragment from the occipital is reddish, with small asperities on the surface. In this case, the temperature was much lower, of ca. 185 °C – 285 °C³³ (Fig. 21).

These observations can lead to the following conclusion: the skull was placed in a position that allowed the highest temperatures access to the face bones and to the right side of the calvarium (Fig. 21).



Fig. 13. Modifications of the osteological fragments in the form of fissures and splinters, specific to bones burned in the absence of the tissues (1. Mandible fragment; 2, 3. Femur fragments).

²⁹ Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994, 95; Holck 2008, 99.

³⁰ Shipman *et al.* 1984.

³¹ Buikstra, Ubelaker 1994, 95; Holck 2008, 99.

³² Shipman *et al.* 1984.

³³ Shipman *et al.* 1984.

The last stage of the ritual consisted of the final deposition of the osteological remains. There are three possible explanations to the fact that this phase only envisaged some fragments of the long bones and of the cranial skeleton: the first hypothesis refers to the initial selection of these particular fragments to be burned; another one has to do with the process of selection among the bones in the fire; less probable in this case, due to the paucity of osteological fragments, the third hypothesis refers to possible accidental factors, such as the loss of some fragments during manipulation.

By carefully analyzing the photographs taken *in situ*, we were able to note that the cranial skeleton was mostly in anatomical position, with very few fragments displaced. In case of the latter ones, the explanation may reside in the fragmentation of the bones due to perimortem fractures or to fragmentation during firing, while the fact that some fragments were placed incorrectly in pit Cx 04 may be linked to their faulty manipulation.

Fractures that appear on carbonized and calcinated bones³⁴ require temperatures of at least about 500 °C³⁵. Such fractures were especially noted on the long bones; the majority of the cracks are parallel to the main axis of the bone, leading to the latter fracturing lengthwise. This type of fractures often appears in the case of burnt bones³⁶. Another proof is the identical color of the fracture margins and of the adjacent cortical surfaces, suggesting the fact that all of these surfaces were burnt³⁷. Such particular traces were identified both on the long bones and on the cranial skeleton.

Archaeo-zoological analysis

Besides pottery fragments and parts of a human skeleton, 220 paleo-faunal fragments have been identified in the filling of pit Cx 04. Out of them, only 42 could be identified. Their analysis has revealed the fact that they belonged to the following species: ovicaprids, bovines, canidae, leporidae, bivalvia (mollusk), and gasteropoda (snails). We also feel obliged to mention the presence of several bone fragments that have been identified anatomically, but we were unable to attribute to particular species. What can be said is that they certainly belonged to the groups of both large animals and small-average size animals (Fig. 14). Two bone fragments show traces of anthropic interventions. One is a lissoir (probably made of a cow's rib) and the second is an item with a sharp tip. As for the sample's state of conservation, it was rather fragmentary, as few bones have been entirely preserved (it should be mentioned here the ovine calcanea and astragali, and the bovine phalanges). Most of them are burnt. The burning is not equal; some of the bones are black, while the others are reddish-brown. The rest of the fragments show black spots or are completely calcinated. This strong fragmentation was caused by the exposition of the bones to high temperatures.

Species	NISP	%	MNI	%
<i>Ovis aries/Capra hircus</i> (Ovicaprid)	9	21.42	2 (ovis)	40
<i>Bos taurus</i> (Cattle)	5	11.90	1	20
<i>Canis familiaris</i> (Dog)	2	4.76	1	20
<i>Lepus europaeus</i> (Rabbit)	2	4.76	1	20
<i>Unio</i> mollusk	23	54.76		
<i>Snail</i>	1	2.38		
Total identified remains	42	100	5	100
Unidentified, large animal	Teeth 7 frag. Vertebra 1 Ribs 6			

³⁴ Juniper 2007, 51.

³⁵ Shipman *et al.* 1984.

³⁶ Symes *et al.* 2008, 42.

³⁷ Juniper 2007, 52.

Unidentified, small-average size animal	Vertebra 1 (apophysary) Ribs 5 Coxal 2 Long bone 1			
Unidentified, burnt	136			
Unidentified	19			
Total	220			

NISP- Number of Identifiable Specimens; **MNI**-Minimum Number of Individuals

Fig 14. Proportion of bones in the sample.

The group of ovicaprid is documented in pit Cx 04 through bones belonging to at least two individuals, aged over 2.5 – 3 years (Fig. 14). On the basis of the morphological aspects³⁸, we were able to determine the fact that the two individuals belonged to genus *Ovis aries* (sheep). One individual can certainly be identified as female. According to the biometric data collected, the size of the female can be calculated, i.e. 70.3 cm³⁹. Ovine bones are, in fact, one distal humerus (left), one distal tibia (right), one astragalus, and two calcanea from the right leg. Concerning the rest of the fragments (one distal femur and one femur head, one skull fragment, and one metatarsus diaphysis), we were unable to distinguish between sheep and goat (Fig. 15, 17).

Five osteological remains belong to cattle, more precisely to a single individual (Fig. 14–15). Given the degree of ossification of the primary phalanges⁴⁰, we estimate that the individual was older than 2 years at the time it was sacrificed (Fig. 16).

The canidae and leporidae species are only represented by one individual each. For the dog we have identified one fragment from an ulna and one patella (Fig. 19). Two osteological fragments belong to the rabbit: one distal femur⁴¹ and one distal tibia, both fragments from the left leg (Fig. 18).

The 23 shells represent the most numerous archaeo-faunal remains (Fig. 6/3–4, 14). We were able to note traces of firing on them.

		Bone segment	<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i> (Ovicaprid)	<i>Bos taurus</i> (Domestic cattle)	<i>Canis familiaris</i> (Dog)	<i>Lepus europaeus</i> (Rabbit)
Axial skeleton	Cranium	Splanchnocranium	1 ovis/capra			
		Teeth		1		
Appendicular skeleton	Skeleton the forelegs	Humerus	1 ovis			
		Ulna			1	
		Metacarpus	1 (diaph.) ovis/capra			
	Skeleton of the hind legs	Femur	2 ovis/capra			1
		Patella		1	1	
		Tibia	1 ovis			1
		Astragalus	1 ovis			
		Calcaneus	2 ovis			
		Phalanx 1		3		

Fig. 15. Distribution according to anatomical segments.

³⁸ The differentiation between *ovis* and *capra* was made on the basis of Boessneck 1969 and Fernandez 2001.

³⁹ Size was calculated according to Teichert's 1975 coefficients – see Udrescu *et al.* 1999, 97.

⁴⁰ Udrescu *et al.* 1999, 60, 68.

⁴¹ We thank Dr. Alexandru Gudea from the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine in Cluj for his help in determining the rabbit femur, confirming other identifications, and especially for his precious advice on certain aspects related to the individuals.

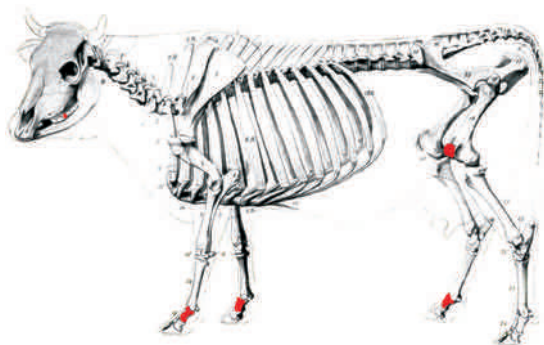


Fig. 16. Skeletal parts of the *Bos taurus* (in red).

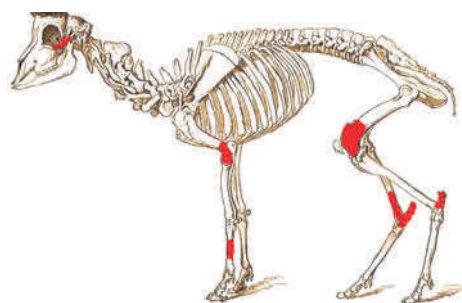


Fig. 17. Skeletal parts of the *Ovis aries*/*Capra Hircus* (in red).

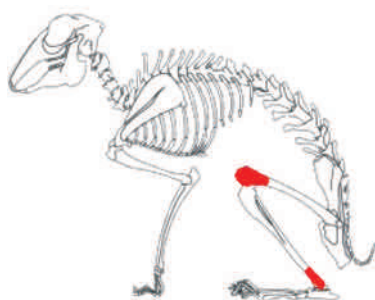


Fig. 18. Skeletal parts of the *Lepus europaeus* (in red).

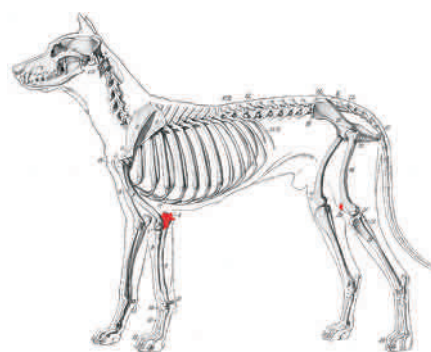


Fig. 19. Skeletal parts of the *Canis familiaris* (in red).

The chronological setting

Baden-type discoveries in the Western Plain of Romania represent a less researched segment for this chronological sequence⁴². The best known sites are those in the northern part, among which one can mention those from Pişcolt "Nisipărie"⁴³, Ciumeşti⁴⁴, Girişul de Criş "Rături"⁴⁵ or Unimăt "Dâlboci"⁴⁶.

The small test trenches executed in the Baden settlement from Sântana cannot provide enough data on the chronology of the site. As we have shown earlier, the two pits (Cx 03, Cx 04) documented in 2009, offered a small lot of pottery sherds. Among them, there is no element typical to one of the stages in the development of the Baden pottery, such as the split tureen with notched handle ends, disk-shaped buttons etc.

Some clues have been offered by the test trench excavated in 2011. The pottery fragments in S04 originate in a deposition layer identified between – 0.45 and – 1.30 m, an even layer, consisting of a gray soil, pigmented with small adobe fragments. Among the fragmentary pottery, a great proportion is decorated with circular incisions, often placed in rows. The tureens, with an elongated S-shaped profile, bear a decoration that represents a clear Kostolač influence⁴⁷ but also a chronological indicator for the final stage of development of Baden pottery (stage IV)⁴⁸. Analogies for the pottery in

⁴² For a recent stage of research, see Sava 2008, 48–52; Sava 2012.

⁴³ Roman 1976, 84; Roman, Néméti 1978, 14–15, 22, pl. 21/13, 14; 23/6–11; 24–42; Néméti 1979, 527, 529, 534; Néméti 1996, 89.

⁴⁴ For "Bostănărie" see: Zirra 1968, footnote 2; Roman, Néméti 1978, 15, pl. 11/4–6; for "Grajdurile C.A.P." see: Zirra 1968, 1, 3, footnote 2, 4; Kacsó 1969, 54; Roman, Néméti 1978, 15–17, pl. 11/7–16; 12–14; 15/1; 16/1a-b; Néméti 1999, 50; for "Pășunea Fântâniei" see: Roman, Néméti 1978, 17, pl. 10; 11/1–3; 19/4.

⁴⁵ Dumitraşcu 1967, 73–74; Dumitraşcu 1968, 257–264; Dumitraşcu, Tăutu 1968, 12; Roman 1976, 51, 82; Roman, Néméti 1978, 13–14, 22, 23, pl. 57/7–13; 58–59; 69/4–12; 70–71; 72/1–3, 5; Dumitraşcu 1986, 693; Crişan 1988, 341; Ciugudean 2000, 10, 72.

⁴⁶ Dumitraşcu 1969, 41–45; Roman 1976, 86; Roman, Néméti 1978, 18, 22, pl. 60; 61; 64–68; 69/1–3; Kalmar 1983, 62; Néméti 1999, 17; Ciugudean 2000, 53, 84.

⁴⁷ Roman 1976, 43. See also Bondár 1984, 59–84; Siklósi 2004, 139–161.

⁴⁸ Sachße 2010, 22–23.

Sântana “Cetatea Veche” can be found on all sites typical to this chronological stage in the Lower Mureș area: Beba Veche “Căramidăria Baravine”⁴⁹, Cladova “Dealul carierei”⁵⁰, Hódmezővásárhely “Bodzáspartról”⁵¹, Hódmezővásárhely “Kishomok”⁵² or Sânpetru German “Fântâna Vacilor”⁵³, and also to the south, at Timișoara “Freidorf”⁵⁴, as well as in other sites from the Romanian Banat region⁵⁵.

Relatively little known remains the pottery in stage IV, as framed by V. Němejcová-Pavúková’s chronological division⁵⁶, or in phase D₂-E of the Baden manifestations, after E. Neustupný⁵⁷, P. Roman and I. Némethi, from the western part of Romania. The same thing happens with the regionalization phenomenon of “Sânpetru German, Beba Veche – type discoveries” from the Lower Mureș area. Unfortunately, there is still no radiocarbon data available⁵⁸. More recently, T. Horváth regarded the groups Ózd-Piliny and Uny⁵⁹, included in this stage, as earlier than previously thought⁶⁰. According to the same researcher, in the south-eastern area of Slovakia and the north-western part of Romania (Satu Mare region), the Baden pottery was strongly influenced by the Coțofeni Culture during this sequence. The phenomenon took place during the classical Baden/Coțofeni II horizon and continued during the subsequent sequence, final Baden/Coțofeni III⁶¹. The classical Baden /Coțofeni II horizon in south-eastern Slovakia includes several Baden sites where Coțofeni pottery has been discovered, among which Zalužice⁶², Zemplínske Kopčany⁶³, Zemplínske Hradište⁶⁴, Prešov⁶⁵ and Šarišské Michaľany⁶⁶. The most numerous Baden sites, where Coțofeni pottery has been identified, were discovered in north-western Romania⁶⁷. For the Baden final/Coțofeni III horizon in Hungary⁶⁸, there were discovered a lot of Baden sites containing elements specific to Coțofeni pottery: Bucsa, Biharugra, Ipolydamásd “Sziget” etc. One should mention the fact that these influences in the field of pottery did not extend beyond the line of the Danube⁶⁹. We did not find clear Coțofeni elements in Sântana “Cetatea Veche” yet, despite the fact that somewhat westwards, in Hódmezővásárhely “Gorzsa”, there are fragments of cups decorated with successive punctures⁷⁰, while clear Kostolač and Coțofeni influences were found in Hódmezővásárhely “Bodzáspartról”⁷¹. As for the absolute chronological background of this final stage in the development of Baden manifestations, a series of data recently obtained for the cemetery in Budakalász “Luppacsárda” as well as for the settlement in Balatonkeresztúr-Réti-dűlő, correlated with older ones (Ószentiván VIII, Szigetcsép “Tangazdaság” etc.) or some corresponding to other contemporary cultural realities (Kostolač, Vučedol, burials under tumuli etc.), place the sequence under discussion at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.⁷²

⁴⁹ Roman, Némethi 1978, 11, Pl. 6/1–6; Kalmar, Oprinescu 1986, 201.

⁵⁰ Sava 2012.

⁵¹ Harkai 2000, 7–46.

⁵² Bondár, Korek 1995, 28–31, Pl. 6–14.

⁵³ Dörner 1970, 455, Fig. 10/5; Roman 1976a, 32, Pl. 5/5–7; Roman, Némethi 1978, 12, Pl. 2/1–10, 3/6–20; Kalmar, Oprinescu 1986, 201, 203; Chirilă, Hügel 1999, 111, pct. 2.

⁵⁴ Ardeț 1988, 121–133.

⁵⁵ Kalmar, Oprinescu 1986, 199–209.

⁵⁶ Němejcová-Pavúková 1981, 261. On the chronological system suggested by Viera Němejcová-Pavúková and its relations to researches in Hungary, see Kalicz 2004, 177–205.

⁵⁷ Neustupný 1973, 324–328.

⁵⁸ Roman, Némethi 1978, 36–37, 47.

⁵⁹ Patay 1999, 45–57.

⁶⁰ Horváth 2009, 111–112.

⁶¹ Horváth 2009, 109–110.

⁶² Horváthova 2008, 115.

⁶³ Horváthova 2008, Fig. 2/1, 4.

⁶⁴ Horváthova, Chovanec 2006; Horváthova 2008, Fig. 3/1.

⁶⁵ Horváthova 2008, Fig. 3/3.

⁶⁶ Horváthova 2008, Fig. 2/5, 8–9.

⁶⁷ Sava 2008, Tb. 1.

⁶⁸ Bondár 1984, 81.

⁶⁹ Horváth 2009, 111.

⁷⁰ Banner 1956, Pl. LV/38–39, 40, 42–43.

⁷¹ Sachße 2010, 48.

⁷² Horváth *et al.* 2008, 447–458; Siklósi 2009, 462–465; Sachße 2010, 38–39; Fábrián 2013, 616–617, Tab. 1, Fig. 1.

Discussion

As previously indicated, the discovery under discussion is a very special funerary find. For such contexts, German authors have employed the term *Sonderbestattung*, while Anglo-Saxon ones used the term *deviant burial*⁷³. Besides these consecrated terms, others have been used as well, such as *verscharren (einscharen)*, *verlochen* or *vergraben*⁷⁴, *disposal*⁷⁵, *human bone deposition*⁷⁶, *morts anormaux et sépultures bizarres*⁷⁷, *atypical burials*⁷⁸, *intramural burials*⁷⁹, *Irreguläre Bestattungen/Irregular Burials*⁸⁰, *Silobestattungen*⁸¹, *unusual funerary practices*⁸² etc.

Naturally, through their unusual character and the issues they raise, the funerary finds deemed "atypical", mostly those inside certain settlements, have attracted the interest of a large number of specialists. Besides numerous studies focusing on such practices, especially from an anthropological viewpoint⁸³, there are monographic archaeological approaches dedicated to different chronological and cultural sequences⁸⁴, and also papers resulted from symposiums that have synthesized as well the discussion from a methodological and contextual perspective⁸⁵. Specialists from Romania have not avoided the topic either, stressing in their analysis particular cases for which anthropological investigations were not absent⁸⁶.

The funerary monuments, part of the Baden world, have been the topic of some monograph studies⁸⁷ and micro-regional researches⁸⁸ that dealt with certain types of funerary rites and rituals⁸⁹. Nevertheless, C. Sachße has recently provided an exhaustive overview of funerary practices in the Baden environment. The analysis of discoveries according to regions and the classification of the burials in two main types, intramural and extramural, attribute C. Sachße's work a coherent and realistic perspective on these archaeological objectives. From a chronological viewpoint, for the early Baden stages one gets a relatively even picture of the funerary context, with incineration tombs placed outside the settlements and inhumation tombs inside them. Later on, during the classical and late phase, as one can notice, the funerary rites acquired regional characteristics. At the same time, there were more numerous and more visible intramural burials, involving numerous secondary burials or human sacrifices⁹⁰.

The large number and spectacular nature of burials inside Baden settlements have determined the elaboration of synthetic works that approach the topic⁹¹. Among some recently studied particular

⁷³ The history of the use of these terms, their definitions, and a comparison of German literature and Anglo-Saxon literature on the topic, can be found in Aspöck 2008, 17–34. Recent explanations in Müller-Scheeßel 2013a, 1–8; Veit 2013, 11–24; Aspöck 2013, 25–38; Pavel 2013, 39–48; Gramsch 2013, 509–518.

⁷⁴ Wahl 1994, 88–89, 92.

⁷⁵ Kroeber 1927, 308–315; Parker Pearson 2003, 5, 25.

⁷⁶ Chapman 2000a, 134–182.

⁷⁷ Baray, Boulestin 2010.

⁷⁸ Pavel 2013 uses this term besides *Sonderbestattung* due to its neutral semantic value.

⁷⁹ Kogălniceanu 2008, 101–111; Mishina 2008, 137–146; Sachße 2008, 49–68; Horváth 2010, 1–79; Sachße 2010; Horváth, Köhler 2012, 453–472.

⁸⁰ Müller-Scheeßel 2013a, 1–8; Pechtl, Hofman 2013, 123–138; Sachße 2013, 169–184.

⁸¹ Alterauge 2013, 185–196.

⁸² Czerniak, Pyzel 2013, 139–150.

⁸³ The most often quoted works on the topic are Kroeber 1927, 308–315; Wilke 1931, 202–206; Kyll 1964, 168–183; Schwidetzky 1965, 230–247; Ucko 1969, 262–280; Saxe 1970; Pauli 1978, 44–53; O'Shea 1984, 70–301; Shay 1985, 221–241; Meyer-Orlac 1982, 252–274; Schultz 1997, 11–13. More recently Baray *et al.* 2007; etc.

⁸⁴ Pauli 1975; Happ 1991; Peschel 1992; Veit 1996; Orschiedt 1998; Beilke-Voigt 2007; Sachße 2010; etc.

⁸⁵ Rittershofer 1997; Murphy 2008; Beilke-Voigt, Biermann 2009; Tichý 2010; Müller-Scheeßel 2013.

⁸⁶ On prehistoric discoveries, see more recently Irimia 2003, 251–268; Ailincăi, Topoleanu 2003, 45–50; Ailincăi *et al.* 2003, 307–324; Jugănar 2005, 31–40; Ailincăi *et al.* 2006, 77–108; Ailincăi *et al.* 2006a, 81–99; Ailincăi *et al.* 2007, 46–77; Kogălniceanu 2008, 101–111; Ailincăi, Constantinescu 2008, 121–131; Ion 2008, 109–129; Ailincăi 2008, 11–30; Ailincăi 2008a, 9–33; Gogăltan *et al.* 2008, 109–123; Ion *et al.* 2009, 47–79; Gligor 2009, 117–132; Popescu, Băjenaru 2009, 23–47; Ion 2010, 27–36; Urák, Marta 2011, 155–162; Ailincăi 2013, 57–59; etc. For the funerary contexts from the second Iron Age see Sirbu 1993, 31–36; Sirbu 1997, 193–221; Sirbu 2001, 323–334; Sirbu 2008, 71–90; etc.

⁸⁷ Banner 1956, 184–210; Kalicz 1963, 7–18; Bondár, Raczky 2009; Sachße 2010.

⁸⁸ Roman, Némethi 1978, 38; Mayer 1991, 29–61; Chapman 2000, 125–160.

⁸⁹ Nevizánsky 1985, 249–270; Kovács 1987, 99–105.

⁹⁰ For a general overview of Baden funerary discoveries see Sachße 2008, 49–68; Sachße 2009, 145–177; Sachße 2010, 41–190. Special aspects of the funerary rites, such as tumular burials, are presented in Sachße 2011, 127–134.

⁹¹ Sachße 2013, 169–184 with the older bibliography.

cases, one notes the analysis of the 77 skeletons or skeletal parts from the settlement in Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő”⁹² and the investigation of other objectives in the area of Lake Balaton⁹³. As to the geographic distribution of the intramural discoveries, one can observe a significant concentration in the northern area of Transdanubia and in western Slovakia⁹⁴, while few such funerary discoveries were identified in the northern and southern Alföld Plain⁹⁵.

Referring only to the classical and late stage of Baden-type manifestations in the center and eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin, one can find a large diversity of ways in which the deceased were handled inside settlements⁹⁶. To begin with, inhumation⁹⁷ and incineration⁹⁸ were equally practiced. Usually, one⁹⁹ or several entire skeletons were being found, placed in different positions¹⁰⁰, but also separate human bones¹⁰¹. Skulls were mostly found in ovens¹⁰² or in simple household refuse pits¹⁰³. Depending on the region, the number of children is slightly higher than or equal to that of adults. The funerary inventory often consists of entire vessels, in the case of tombs following the norm of “extramural” burials¹⁰⁴, or of pottery fragments¹⁰⁵. We can offer numerous examples of pits where animals were also deposited beside the deceased¹⁰⁶.

In Hódmezővásárhely “Bodzáspartról”, the closest Baden settlement to the site from Sântana “Cetatea Veche” where human bones have been found, only entire skeletons, placed in crouching positions were researched so far. What is interesting to note in that case, is two children’s tombs, where the vessels deposited as inventory were placed upside down¹⁰⁷.

There is rather little information on funerary discoveries from inside Baden settlements on the territory of Romania. One could mention the two incineration graves discovered in the settlement from Valea lui Mihai “Grădina lui Ráthonyi Iosif.” The inventory of the first grave consisted of an urn which contained remains of calcined boned, one cup, and one copper ring. As for the inventory of the

⁹² Horváth 2004, 71–110; Zoffmann 2004, 111–126; Horváth 2008, 71–87; Horváth 2010, 1–79; Honti, Horváth 2013.

⁹³ Sófálvi *et al.* 2007, 151–162; Horváth Köhler 2012, 453–472; Fábíán 2013, 613–626.

⁹⁴ Sachße 2010, 96–112 (region I); Sachße 2013, 173–178.

⁹⁵ Sachße 2010, 167–170 (region IV), 175–176 (region V), 180–185 (region VI); Sachße 2013, 179.

⁹⁶ General considerations in Horváth 2004, 71–110; Sachße 2010, 202–206; Horváth Köhler 2012, 453–472; Sachße 2013, 173–179.

⁹⁷ Balatonkeresztúr “Réti-dűlő” (Sachße 2010, 12–13, no. 14; Fábíán 2013, 620), Balatonlelle “Órszágúti Dűlő” (Sachße 2010, 13–14, no. 16), Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, 462, Tab. 1), Bogojevo (Sachße 2010, 16–17, no. 23), Budapest “Békásmegyer” (Sachße 2010, 30–31, no. 26), Moha, “Homokbánya” (Sachße 2010, 67, no. 102), etc.

⁹⁸ Budapest “Békásmegyer” (Sachße 2010, 30, no. 26), Budapest “Nagytetény” (Sachße 2010, 33, no. 32), Keszthely “Fenekpuszta II” (Sachße 2010, 55, no. 84), Šarišské Michal’any (Sachße 2010, 104, no. 169), etc.

⁹⁹ Bajč “Vlkanovo II” (Sachße 2010, 9–10, no. 10), Balatonkeresztúr “Réti-dűlő” (Sachße 2010, 12–13, no. 14; Fábíán 2013, 620), Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, 462, Tab. 1), Balatonlelle “Órszágúti Dűlő” (Sachße 2010, 13–14, no. 16), Esztergom “Szentkirály” (Sachße 2010, 39, no. 48), Kaposújlak (Somogyi 2004, 165; Sachße 2010, 54, no. 82), etc.

¹⁰⁰ One can mention a series of common burials, such as those in Balatonkeresztúr “Réti-dűlő” where specialists have identified three adults, two children, and three babies (Sachße 2010, 12–13, no. 14), another that contained two individuals, and a pit with five individuals, from Balatonszemes “Szemesi Berek” (Sachße 2010, 15, no. 20), a pit in Kaposújlak that contained the skeletons of a man, two women, and five children (Sachße 2010, 54, no. 82) or the situation in Jelšovce I where 13 individuals were deposited together (Sachße 2010, 53, no. 78; Sachße 2013, 175, Abb. 5). Two pits are mentioned in Nitriansky Hrádok: one contained 11 individuals, while the other at least 20 (possibly up to 25) (Točík 1987, 17). Similar contexts are also known in Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, 454–457, Fig. 2–3, Tab. 1), but they have been dated slightly earlier than the late Baden stage (no. 1099, 1489).

¹⁰¹ Bajč “Vlkanovo II” (Sachße 2010, 9–10, no. 10), Balatonkeresztúr “Réti-dűlő” 13 (Sachße 2010, 12–13, no. 14; Fábíán 2013, 620), Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, 462) etc. Several examples are discussed below.

¹⁰² Thus, the skeleton of a mature individual and part of a child’s skull were found inside an oven in the settlement in Bajč “Vlkanovo II” (Sachße 2010, 9–10, no. 10). Three children’s skeletons were found in an oven in Slovakia as well, at Svodín (Sachße 2010, 98–99, no. 157). No less than six ovens with human skulls were found in the settlement in Kaposújlak (Sachße 2010, 54, no. 82).

¹⁰³ Bajč “Vlkanovo II” (Sachße 2010, 9–10, no. 10), Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, Tab. 1), Esztergom “Szentkirály” (Sachße 2010, 39, no. 48), Fertőrákos (Sachße 2010, 39–40, no. 50), Iža (Sachße 2010, 52, no. 76), Kamenín (Sachße 2010, 53, no. 78), Szentes “Naghegy” (Sachße 2010, 100, no. 162), etc.

¹⁰⁴ Balatonkeresztúr “Réti-dűlő” (Sachße 2010, 12–13, no. 14), Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, Tab. 1), Dobanovici (Sachße 2010, 36–37, no. 41), Hul (Sachße 2010, 50, no. 72),

¹⁰⁵ Bajč “Vlkanovo II” (Sachße 2010, 9–10, no. 10), Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” (Horváth Köhler 2012, Tab. 1), Chl’aba (Sachße 2010, 35, no. 35).

¹⁰⁶ Horváth 2004, 75 with numerous examples.

¹⁰⁷ Banner 1956, 76–86; Harkai 2000, 7–46; Sachße 2010, 48–49, no. 68.

second grave, it did not preserve¹⁰⁸. One can also mention pit no. 2 in the settlement from Sanislău "Ferma C.A.P.". It had a circular shape with a flat bottom, the rim measured 1.80 m in diameter, while the bottom was 1.40 m in diameter, with an inner depth of 1.20 m. As archaeological material, it contained pottery fragments, a large quantity of animal bones, a lot of ash, and one human skull¹⁰⁹.

At the end of the Copper Age, in the Carpathian Basin, besides the Baden cultural unit, one can mention Coțofeni-type discoveries in the eastern part of the region, and Kostolač-type discoveries towards the south-east¹¹⁰. Unlike the Baden environment, where numerous intramural and extramural funerary discoveries were identified¹¹¹, the Coțofeni and Kostolač networks are poor in such finds¹¹².

Though, until now, only few burials have been identified in the Coțofeni environment, C.I. Popa noted a large diversity of funerary rituals (inhumation, incineration, secondary burials etc.)¹¹³. At the same time, one can mention the preference of Coțofeni communities towards burying their children in caves. Researches conducted in Baia de Fier "Peștera Muierii" have led to the discovery of "a skeleton with scattered bones" buried in a habitation layer uncovered in the cave portal, and above which four stone slabs had been placed¹¹⁴. A child's grave was researched also in the south-western part of Romania, in Băile Herculane "Peștera Hoților." In that case, rocks were placed on the top of the grave's pit¹¹⁵. Besides discoveries made in caves, one needs to mention those in the open settlement from Șincai "Cetatea Păgânilor," in the center of Transylvania, where human osteological fragments were discovered¹¹⁶.

A special case, that requires slightly more attention, consists of the human remains documented in Igrîța Cave¹¹⁷. The discoveries there consisted of the deposition of human skeletal remains and numerous artifacts in "Sala Coloanei". The analysis led there, indicated that the skeletal remains belonged to a large number of children, more than 50. I. Emödi identified three main depositions that he called graves. "Grave A" was excavated in a natural alveolus measuring 0.75–0.80 m in diameter and 0.15 m in depth. The following human osteological remains have been identified there: a skull cap, half of the upper jaw, and other skull remains. Besides these osteological remains, Emödi have recovered more than 200 pottery fragments, all from the same vessel, a stone-made amulet, polished and perforated, one bead made of fossil mollusk, one fragment from an *unio* mollusk, one quartzite flake, a small limestone rock with traces of use, and several animal teeth. All of these elements were covered with a 3-cm thick layer of ash, mixed with pieces of charcoal, above which a layer of ochre, 1–2 cm thick, has been deposited, covered likewise with an even layer of grey clay¹¹⁸. "Grave B" was also deposited in a natural alveolus measuring 1 m in diameter, and contained fragments from three vessels, one small axe made of black quartzite, ochre beads, phyllite, mother-of-pearl, and ochre lumps. Besides these artifacts, Emödi have also identified parts of human skeletons; the pit was covered with a layer of yellow clay. According to the anthropological analysis, the osteological remains in "Grave B" belonged

¹⁰⁸ Roska 1932, 73, Fig. 11, 12; Roman, Némethi 1978, 14, 38; Sachße 2010, 108–109, no. 180.

¹⁰⁹ Iercoșan 1991, 44.

¹¹⁰ For the chronological relations between these cultural manifestations see Roman 1976, 51–57; Roman, Némethi 1978, 49–55; Tasić 1995, 51–74; Ciugudean 2000, 51–59; Nikolić 2000, 54–79; Ciugudean *et al.* 2005, 12–18; Horváth 2009, 109–110; Horváthova 2008, 115; etc.

¹¹¹ The catalog of Baden funerary discoveries comprises 199 sites, among which 57 are settlements where funerary discoveries were identified – see Sachße 2010, 1–117.

¹¹² In the Coțofeni cultural environment, we are aware of 19, certain sites with funerary discoveries (see Popa 2009, 673–680, 698–701). Seven sites with such discoveries have been documented until now in the Kostolač environment (Tasić 1995, 62–63; Nicolici 2000, 86).

¹¹³ Popa 2009, 731–750. For the chronological stage subsequent to the Baden/Coțofeni horizon one can mention other funerary depositions, which could be interpreted as secondary burials. Researches performed by teams led by Gheorghe Lazarovici and Horia Ciugudean in the Apuseni Mountains led to the uncovering of several tumuli in the mantle of which secondary tombs were identified; these were characterized by the deposition of the skull and of the long bones (Lazarovici, Meșter 1995, 86–105; Ciugudean 1996, 132–133; Meșter 2001, 267–274; Moldovan 2003, 487–495; Moldovan 2005, 185–204).

¹¹⁴ Roman 1976, 31; Roman 1977, 192.

¹¹⁵ Roman 1976, 33, Pl. 7/3; Roman 1977, 192; Ciugudean 2000, 43.

¹¹⁶ Lazăr 1976, 33.

¹¹⁷ I. Emödi attributes the discoveries in this cave to the Baden Culture (Emödi 1984); both H. Ciugudean and C. I. Popa discuss the "burials" there in the context of the funerary issues typical to the Coțofeni communities, given the preponderance of pottery belonging to this type (Ciugudean 2000, 43; Popa 2009, 677–679).

¹¹⁸ Emödi 1984, 406.

to children who died at the ages of 2.5 and 10–11 years¹¹⁹. “Grave C” was strongly disturbed, but several artifacts were recovered, among which fragments from a cup and a common pot, several fragments from other vessels, one flint tool, another made of quartz, two beads made of fossil mollusk of the Dentalium type, mother-of-pearl beads, and four perforated animal teeth. Numerous pottery fragments and human bones concentrations, mostly skull parts, were discovered near “Grave A.” Pottery fragments associated to artifacts and human bones were also recovered from other parts of the cave¹²⁰.

The Kostolač cultural environment benefits from a restricted number of graves, while as funerary rite, both inhumation and incineration have been practiced. Graves were usually located inside the settlements¹²¹ and it was only in Padina where a small cemetery was researched¹²².

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Returning to the funerary discovery from the Baden settlement in Sântana, the anthropological analysis has helped us reconstruct the rite and ritual practiced by this community from the death of the child until the final deposition of the remains in pit Cx 04 (Fig. 20). Due to the precarious state of preservation of the osteological remains, the stages presented below must be regarded as a possible reconstruction of the post-mortem treatment of the deceased.

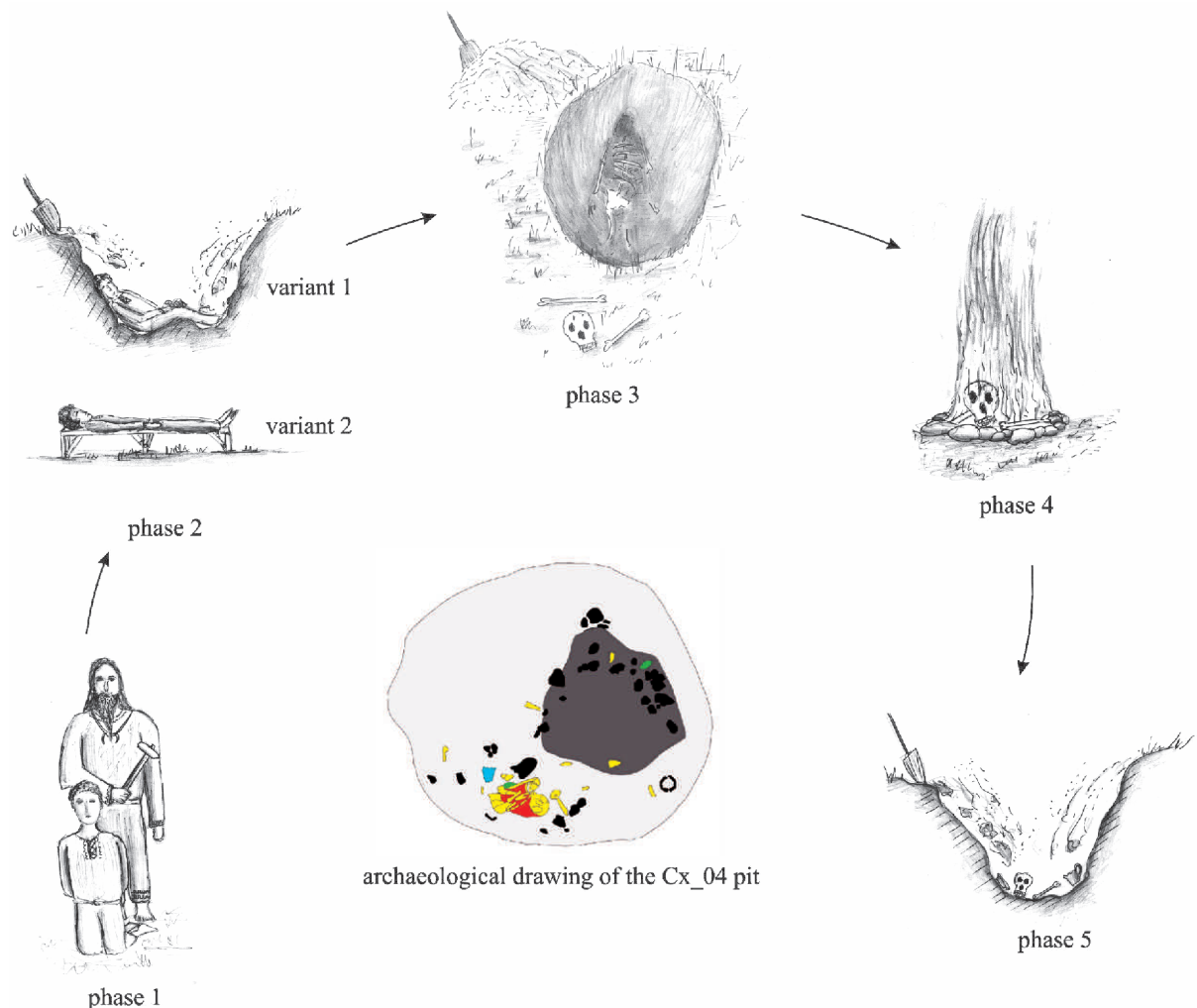


Fig. 20. Brief reconstruction of the presumed stages between the individual's death and the deposition of its remains in pit Cx 04.

¹¹⁹ Emödi 1984, 407.

¹²⁰ Emödi 1984, 406.

¹²¹ It is the well-known case of the site in Gomolava where one double tomb was found (adult and child) and two other inhumation graves (Petrović, Jovanović 2002, 248; Sachße 2010, 45–46, no. 61)

¹²² Tasić 1995, 62–63; Nikolić 2000, 86; Petrović, Jovanović 2002, 248–250.

First, the anthropological analysis has revealed the fact that the six repeated blows identified on the frontal bone, made with a blunt object (axe?) did not fragment the skull. In this situation one cannot determine with precision if the individual died due to these blows, since their traces look similar 72 hours before and after death. It seems more probable that the child, aged between 10 and 11, died due to these blows than that they were performed afterwards, but the latter hypothesis cannot be totally excluded. Naturally, one cannot decide if the child was killed as a sacrifice or the death occurred as result to unhappy events such as domestic violence, incurable disease, warfare etc.

During the second stage, the body was left to decompose. An important observation would be that no traces of flesh removal, disarticulation, or dismembering have been identified¹²³ and, therefore, one can presume that the decomposition process took place naturally. Bearing in mind that the preserved bones were subjected to high temperatures of up to 800 °C, it is impossible to state in which environment the remains decomposed. The following variants can be suggested: the body was either inhumed or deposited on some special construction (home of the dead etc.) in the open air.

The following step also involves several possibilities, depending on the environment where the body was left to decompose. In case it was inhumed, then the third stage envisages phase would imply its exhumation and the selection of the skull and of the long bones. In case it was left to decompose in open air, it cannot be established if the bones preserved in pit Cx 04 were intentionally selected, on the basis of clearly set norms, or if they represented the recovery of just what was left. As it is well known, the bodies left in the open air are affected by various natural factors (weather conditions), birds, or animals¹²⁴, or by other causes¹²⁵. The time passed from the moment of death cannot be estimated, but it can be stated with certitude, that in this phase, the body was completely decomposed.

During the fourth stage, the skull and some of the long bones suffered exposure to temperatures of up to 600–800 °C; the individual was more intensely burnt on the viscerocranium (face) (Fig. 21). Such temperatures can be reached in open fires or by using a hearth¹²⁶, with no need of complex installations or elaborated preparation. A funerary banquet was probably held then, given the animal bones, the entire cup, and the other pottery fragments identified in pit Cx 04. According to the archaeozoological study, the following animals were sacrificed or ended up in the pit: at least two ovicaprids, among which one was female, both aged between 2.5 and 3 years, one cattle older than 2 years, one rabbit, one dog, and 23 *Unio* mollusks (Fig. 16–19). At the same time, it is important to note that the majority of the animal bones, in an obvious fragmentary state, were also exposed to high temperatures.

A circular pit, not too deep, was dug during the final step and ash, coal, pottery fragments, and several animal bones were thrown on the bottom. Above them the bones of the deceased were placed, together with other pottery fragments, several shells, animal bones, and a small cup (Fig. 10/3). The entire pit was covered with strongly fired soil (red in color), resulted during the previous stage.

As previously indicated, among the intramural funerary depositions one finds also burials of certain parts of the deceased (usually skulls and long bones), that reflect post-mortem manipulation. These are funerary depositions distributed over the entire Baden cultural environment, mainly during its classical and late stages of development. Thus, in Bajč "Vlkanovo II" specialists have identified several pits with human remains: one pit contained a mandible, another a skull, hand bones, and some of the vertebrae, while another pit preserved three large bones of the limbs¹²⁷. From another

¹²³ Disarticulation aims at dividing a human body into smaller fragments at the level of the articulations. In such cases one notices certain incisions on the bones, especially on the epiphyses of the long bones, in the peri-articular areas (around the joints). The incisions are almost always transversal, parallel to the articular surface and perpendicular to the main axis of the bone. Due to the specific localization at the level of the articulation, this procedure differs from the process of dismembering. The latter involves cutting and, when the envisaged area cannot be reached with the knife, also traction, torsion, or hitting. Traces of disarticulation are very often found together with other roof of intentional body manipulation, such as traces of flesh removal, scraping, intentional fractures on the hydrated bone or the altering of the medullar channel. Flesh removal is the process through which the muscle mass is removed from the bones. Traces of this process, i.e. incisions, can be found on all bones and in all the places, excepting the articular area. Generally, one needs several attempts in order to cut the flesh from the bone; leading thus to finding several incisions, all in the same direction. For more insight in the matter, see Botella *et al.* 2000.

¹²⁴ The anthropological analysis did not lead to identifying animal-made traces on the bones.

¹²⁵ See Duday 1985, 6–13.

¹²⁶ Stewart 1987; Odgaard 2007.

¹²⁷ Sachße 2010, 9–10, no. 10.

settlement, in Palotabozsok, two pits must be mentioned; there several human bones were deposited: one contained a skull and few rib fragments, while a skull was recovered from the second¹²⁸. Other discoveries of the same kind have been mentioned in Vámosgyörk III, where two pits with human remains were found. The skeletons of two children and the skull of a third were deposited inside one of the pits, while a skull was identified inside the second¹²⁹. In Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő” there were reported of 15 cases, where the human bones have been manipulated. It was the case of mostly long bones and skull fragments¹³⁰. We have also mentioned above several settlements where pits with only one such deposition have been found¹³¹.

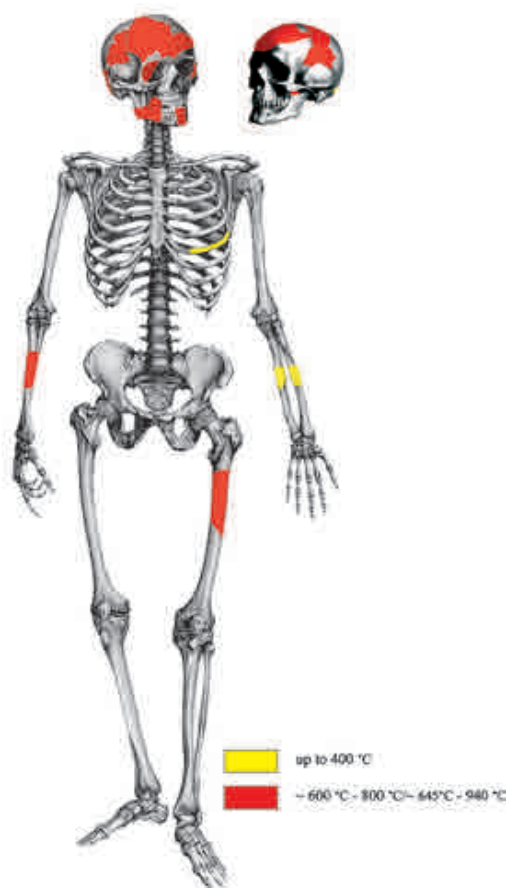


Fig. 21. Skeletal parts of the individual and the temperature of burning (yellow and red).

Signs of violence that most probably caused the death of the individuals in question were noted in several cases. In Mužla “Čenkov” the skull of a woman aged between 30 and 40 years showed, on the right side, a lesion measuring 4.2×3 cm, caused by a blunt object¹³². In Balatonőszöd “Temetői dűlő,” a woman aged 26–32 years had an arrowhead fixed to one vertebra¹³³. At the same site, the skeleton of a man displayed a rib fracture and probably other lesions as well¹³⁴. Other traces of fractures were identified on the *fibulae* of an average-size man aged between 23 and 29¹³⁵.

¹²⁸ Sachße 2010, 85, no. 128.

¹²⁹ Farkas 2001, 21–23.

¹³⁰ Horváth Köhler 2012, 462.

¹³¹ Besides these pits, other cases have been identified, both inside and outside settlements, such as those in Szigetszentmárton (Sachße 2010, 102, no. 165) or Ratzersdorf an der Traisen (Krumpel 2012, 211–231), when the skeletal remains of other individuals were deposited in the grave pit, subsequent to the initial burial.

¹³² Sachße 2010, 68, no. 105.

¹³³ Horváth Köhler 2012, 456, Fig. 3.

¹³⁴ Zoffmann 2004, 113.

¹³⁵ Zoffmann 2004, 114.

Like in the case of pit Cx 04 from Sântana, where ash, charcoal, and burnt soil were identified by the human bones, other pits, with similar filling, were found in the Baden environment. Such a pit can be mentioned in Fertőrákos, where a human femur was preserved near pottery fragments, animal bones, and traces of burning¹³⁶. Other similar examples can be found in Balatonőszöd "Temetői dűlő", where a human skull, several vessels that can be reconstructed, adobe, and coal were deposited in pit no. 2327. In the same settlement, a skull belonging to an adult individual, adobe, ash, and animal bones were uncovered on the bottom of pit no. 2480¹³⁷.

Burnt traces on the skeletons are rather rare. One could mention the example of an individual thrown face down in pit no. 1106 in Balatonőszöd "Temetői dűlő", whose skull shows traces of burning and also ash was found in the filling of the pit¹³⁸. In Nitriansky Hrádok, a pit contained the skeletons of 11 individuals that displayed traces of burning on different parts of the skull¹³⁹.

As previously indicated, the sacrificial slaughtering of animals was also a frequent practice in the context of funerary depositions inside settlements. In Balatonlelle "Órszágúti Dűlő" the skeleton of a dog was found near that of a child¹⁴⁰. A similar situation was encountered in Šarovce I¹⁴¹. The older excavations in Bogajevo have revealed the case of a man who was buried together with one cattle head and bird bones¹⁴². Tomb 2 from Budapest "Káposztásmegyer" contained, besides a woman and a child, a funerary inventory consisting of pottery fragments and a deer skull¹⁴³. In Kaposújlak, besides the skeleton of a man, archaeologists have identified two animal skeletons, probably dogs, while a pit contained remains from the skeletons of two men and the skeleton of one cattle head¹⁴⁴. Individuals from the same species have been recorded in two other cases, one cattle being deposited near a child in pit 153/72 and another one by a man, aged 30–40, in pit 1159/81 from Svodín¹⁴⁵. A pit in Nitriansky Hrádok contained the skeleton of a pig besides the remains of a human skeleton¹⁴⁶. Dogs and other elements of funerary inventory were presumably found on the same site, but in a common grave that contained 11 individuals¹⁴⁷. A vessel deposited by the head of a deceased in Szentes "Naghegy" contained hen bones with traces of burning¹⁴⁸.

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Why is it important to discuss about the funerary discovery in Sântana, besides the fact that belongs to a settlement? There would be to begin with, the existence of violence signs that probably caused the death of the 10–11-year old child. The following manipulation of the body, through the selection of certain bones and their burning was probably performed in order to deposit them and the remains of a possible funerary banquet, in a small pit. No traces of looting have been observed¹⁴⁹.

Post-mortem manipulations such as those of the individual in pit Cx 04 from Sântana have been interpreted as secondary burials¹⁵⁰. Among the numerous definitions in specialized literature, we have selected I. Kuijt's: "... I define secondary mortuary practice as a social act focused on the regular and socially sanctioned removal of objects, pieces, or all or part of a deceased individual from some place of temporary storage to a permanent resting place. Archaeologically this is expressed by the intentional

¹³⁶ Sachße 2010, pt. 50.

¹³⁷ Horváth 2010, 34–35; 35–36.

¹³⁸ Horváth 2010, 22.

¹³⁹ Točík 1981, 25.

¹⁴⁰ Sachße 2010, 13–14, no. 16.

¹⁴¹ Sachße 2010, 104, no. 170.

¹⁴² Sachße 2010, 17, no. 23.

¹⁴³ Sachße 2010, 31–32, no. 30.

¹⁴⁴ Sachße 2010, 54, no. 82.

¹⁴⁵ Němejcová-Pavúková 1986, 160–161; Sachße 2013, 174, Abb. 4.

¹⁴⁶ Točík 1981, 25.

¹⁴⁷ Točík 1987, 17.

¹⁴⁸ Sachße 2010, 100, no. 162.

¹⁴⁹ The entire discussion and the older bibliography in Kümmel 2009.

¹⁵⁰ For a short history see Schroeder 2001, 79–81; Orschiedt 2002, 11–12; Larsson 2003, 163–164. Recently, "Burial Rites-Secondary Disturbances in Tombs" was the title of a symposium held in January 2011 in Opava (Acta Archaeologica Opaviensia 4, 2011).

removal of skeletal materials from one location to another location and is often, but not always, exemplified by the recovery of disarticulated and relatively incomplete skeletal remains¹⁵¹.

P. Metcalf and R. Huntington have presented both the main characteristics of and the differences between primary and secondary burials. Thus, the main burial involves the activities and behavior following the death of a community member. The related rituals can include, among others, the preparation of the body for the first burial, the funerary banquet, various meetings, and the deposition of the body in the first location. From a temporal perspective, this first set of rituals takes place sometime between several days and several weeks since death. The secondary burial involves ceremonies through which the living commemorate the deceased in order to repair the social rupture caused by his/her death. One can estimate that the period between the primary and the secondary burial varies between several months and several decades, according to the social norms¹⁵². Ethnographic studies have proven the existence of a common element, i.e. the requirement that the body is sufficiently decomposed to allow for the cleaning of the bones¹⁵³.

Practices of this type (the most spectacular among them being the cult of the skulls¹⁵⁴) are known for all historical eras¹⁵⁵ surviving until more recent periods¹⁵⁶. From a geographical perspective, it is a funerary manifestation attested from Northern and Southern America to Australia, Asia, and Europe¹⁵⁷. Studies that attempt to explain its social and ritual mechanisms start from ethnographic or historical analogies and thus one can easily note that the reasons behind such a funerary manifestation are very diverse and pertain to the cultural background of each community¹⁵⁸. They depend on certain circumstances and on the role or status of the deceased in that society (she- and he-witches, criminals, invalids etc.) or the conditions of their death (during birth, as a consequence of disease, accidents, murder etc.)¹⁵⁹. For some, as for the case of burials in pits inside settlements, one must not exclude practical considerations¹⁶⁰. There are also numerous ethnographic and historical examples that attest to the expressed desire of the deceased to be buried in a certain way¹⁶¹.

For a better understanding of the great variability of such mortuary practices it is suggestive to present the conclusions of a study published several years ago by Estella Weiss-Krejci¹⁶². She has analyzed 868 individuals, members of the Habsburg, Babenberg, and Hasburg-Lorraine dynastic houses, who died between 994 and 1993. Among them, due to the circumstances of their deaths (“Unusual death”), their ideological and political position (“Social deviants”), and very young age (“Children who died younger than five years of age”), 257 persons were included in the category of “Deviant Burial.” Written information confirms that these were men killed in battle (crusades) or during military exercises; their bodies were stripped of flesh or eviscerated in order to be transported to their lands of origin. Out of the 30 victims of diseases (smallpox, tuberculosis, plague, flu, typhos), 11 have been eviscerated. In the case of deaths at birth or shortly afterwards, there were common graves, but this was not a rule. Queen Anne for example was buried besides her child that died 6 months old, five years previous. Deaths from accidents (hunting, horseback riding etc.) were not reflected in a “deviant” funerary treatment. The examples could be continued with persons who died following suicide, crime, execution, excommunication etc.

¹⁵¹ Kuijt 1996, 316. Other discussions in Orschiedt 1999.

¹⁵² Metcalf, Huntington 1991, 97, 119.

¹⁵³ Larsson 2003, 163.

¹⁵⁴ Maringer 1982, 703–740; Peter-Röcher 2002, 1–28; Röhrer-Ertl 2005, 107–158; Bonogofsky 2006; Wahl 2007, 169–183; Zalai-Gaál 2009; Wieczorek, Rosendahl 2011; Perschke 2013, 95–110; etc.

¹⁵⁵ Peter-Röcher 1997, 315–324; Furmánek, Jakab 1997, 14–23; Chapman 2000a, table 5.1; Weiss-Krejci 2008, 169–190; Lorentz 2010, 20–29; Chapman 2010, 30–45; Jakab 2013, 75–86; etc.

¹⁵⁶ For example Winter-Livneh *et al.* 2012, 426–428.

¹⁵⁷ Larsson 2003, 162–163.

¹⁵⁸ Brück 1995, 260–264; Meyer-Orlac 1997, 2–10; Chesson 1999, 142; Weiss-Krejci 2008, 169–190; Popescu, Băjenaru 2009, 47 with other bibliographic indications. More recently Kümmel 2009, 181–225; Aspöck 2013, 28–31; Weiss-Krejci 2013, 281, 284–286.

¹⁵⁹ Aspöck 2013, 26–27. For persons with disabilities see Pavel 2013, 41–46.

¹⁶⁰ More recently Pankowská *et al.* 2013, 260–261.

¹⁶¹ Meyer-Orlac 1982, 113–114; Meyer-Orlac 1997, 2. A suggestive example of this is the wish of Emperor Maximilian I, who died in January 1519, that his teeth should be pulled out and buried separately, a fact confirmed by the subsequent opening of his sarcophagus (Weiss-Krejci 2008, 186).

¹⁶² Weiss-Krejci 2008, 169–188.

All of these well-documented cases draw attention to the danger of interpreting such discoveries when their context cannot be clarified. A situation encountered in the Baden settlement in Balatonőszöd "Temetői dűlő" is suggestive for the era corresponding to the deceased from Sântana¹⁶³. The skeleton in grave no. 291 was discovered lacking the lower part of the body, i.e. the pelvis and the legs. These missing parts had been deposited in pit no. 117, identified in close proximity to the tomb. For such contemporary post-mortem manipulations, specialists have mentioned a discovery made in Lower Austria, in Ratzersdorf¹⁶⁴, and one could add the find in Wagram ob der Traisen as well¹⁶⁵. The first impression was that grave no. 291 had clearly been robbed. The hypothesis changed radically after the anthropological analysis. It was noted that the individual has simply been disarticulated before his body decomposed, and was buried in two different pits¹⁶⁶. In this case, looting and secondary burial are out of the question.

At this point of the discussion, one can address the following questions: are the human discoveries inside Baden settlements, such as the one from Sântana, evidences of some funerary practices different from the, let us say, consecrated ritual from the cemeteries of that period? Can they be included in the category of "Sonderbestattung/deviant burial"? Is this case a so-called secondary burial?

In most of the works mentioned above, the archaeological notion of "Sonderbestattung/deviant burial" is understood as an exception from the funerary contexts that are considered "normal." For this reason, the term has a somewhat negative connotation¹⁶⁷. As previously indicated, related to the Baden Culture, there was a great diversity of funerary rites and rituals, both inside and outside settlements. The number of those "irreguläre Befunde" from inside settlements are significantly more numerous, 25% as compared to the 10% of those "extramuralen Bestattungsplätze"¹⁶⁸. At the chronological horizon of the classical and late stage, we are aware of more than 40 settlements with burials and human remains in the central part of the Carpathian Basin, as well as along the Middle Danube, and around Lake Balaton¹⁶⁹. In fact, such contexts were found in all the settlements that were researched more intensely.

We are now facing a situation in which the funerary practices considered "special" or "abnormal," tend to become "normal"¹⁷⁰. Edeltraud Aspöck recently brought to attention the fact that it is dangerous to label phenomena that we no longer understand today as "Sonderbestattungen"¹⁷¹. For this reason, we believe it is better to avoid terms such as "Sonderbestattung/deviant burial" or secondary burial, and to regard the funerary discovery in the settlement from Sântana as the reflection of a complex rite that aimed at preparing the deceased for the meeting with the gods. Instead of interpreting this funerary practice, we would like to remind Estella Weiss-Krejci's conclusions from the above mentioned article: "Despite a certain relationship between deviant life, death and burial, without historic sources it is quite difficult for an archaeologist to understand why an individual was treated in a certain way"¹⁷².

¹⁶³ Horváth, Köhler 2012, 461.

¹⁶⁴ Krumpel *et al.* 2008, 99–165. See also the shortened English variant in Krumpel 2012, 211–231.

¹⁶⁵ Ruttkay, Teschler-Nicola 1984, 71–87.

¹⁶⁶ Horváth, Köhler 2012, 461–462. The interpretation must be taken into consideration.

¹⁶⁷ Meyer-Orlac 1997, 3–4, 10.

¹⁶⁸ Sachße 2013, 170.

¹⁶⁹ Sachße 2013, 174.

¹⁷⁰ Renate Meyer-Orlac made a very important statement, several years ago: "'Sonderbestattung' ist also eigentlich nur ein Arbeitsbegriff, da sich die statistische Situation durch Neufunde ständig ändern kann" (Meyer-Orlac 1997, 1).

¹⁷¹ Aspöck 2013, 36: "Außerdem besteht die Gefahr, das Etikett ‚Sonderbestattung‘ als eine scheinbare Erklärung für Phänomene zu verwenden, die man eigentlich nicht versteht". J. Pechtl and D. Hofmann took a similar stand when talking about "the norm of deviance" (Pechtl, Hofmann 2013, 136). See also Rinne, Fuchs 2013, 223: "Es handelt sich demnach also nicht um eine irreguläre oder nicht der Norm entsprechende Bestattung, sondern eher um eine normale Beisetzung an einem eher ungewöhnlichen Ort", Langová, Danielisová 2013, 249: "Aber immer mehr zeigt sich, dass die Niederlegung von Verstorbenen in frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlungsgruben nicht nur vereinzelt vorkommt, sondern so häufig, dass sie – zumindest in einigen Varianten – wohl als ein üblicher Teil des damaligen Bestattungsritus angesehen werden muss" or Pankowská *et al.* 2013, 254: "We are of the opinion that the majority of these burial pits correspond to standard graves in cemeteries".

¹⁷² Weiss-Krejci 2008, 187.

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Abbreviations

ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.
ActaHist	Acta Historica. Szeged.
Acta Siculica	Acta Siculica. Sfântu Gheorghe.
Aluta	Aluta. Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc Sfântu Gheorghe.
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis. Székesfehérvár.
AMN	Acta Musei Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
AMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis. Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău. Zalău.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis. Sibiu.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de studii clasice Cluj Napoca. Cluj-Napoca.
AnB S.N.	Analele Banatului – serie nouă. Timișoara.
Apulum	Apulum. Alba-Iulia.
AÉ	Archaeologiai Értesítő. Budapest.
Areopolisz	Areopolisz. Történelmi- és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok Odorheiu Secuiesc / Székelyudvarhely.
ArhMed	Arheologia Medievală. Iași.
ArchRozhl	Archeologické Rozhledy. Praga.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik. Ljubljana.
Banatica	Banatica. Muzeul Banatului Montan. Reșița.
BHAUT	Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis.
BAR International Series	British Archaeological Reports, International Series. Oxford.
BAM	Brukenthal Acta Musei. Sibiu.
BMMK	A Békés Megyei múzeumok közleményei, Békéscsába.
CAH	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae. Budapest.
Cerc. Arh.	Cercetări Arheologice. București.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIMRM	Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor arheologice din România. București.
Crisia	Crisia, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor. Oradea.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia. Recherches et Découvertes Archéologiques en Roumanie, București; seria nouă (N.S.): Dacia. Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Ancienne. București.
DissArch	Dissertationis Archaeologicae (Budapest).
Dolg	Dolgozatok. Szeged.
EphNap	Ephemeris Napocensis. Cluj-Napoca.
EL	Erdővidéki Lapok. Barót/Baraolt.
EM	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.
Isis	Isis. Erdélyi Magyar Restaurátor Füzetek. Cluj-Napoca / Kolozsvár.
JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch- Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. Mainz.
Marisia	Marisia. Studii și materiale. Arheologie – Istorie – Etnografie. Târgu-Mureș.
MCA	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice. București.

MFMÉ StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Studia Archaeologica</i> . Szeged.
MFMÉ MonArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Monumenta Archeologica</i> . Szeged.
OpArch	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica</i> . Zagreb.
OpHung	<i>Opuscula Hungarica</i> . Budapest.
Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> , Constanța.
PZ	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i> . Berlin.
RMM-MIA	<i>Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor – seria Monumente Istorice și de Artă</i> . București.
Sargeția NS	<i>Sargeția NS. Deva</i> .
SlovArch	<i>Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra</i> .
Soproni Szemle	<i>Soproni Szemle kulturtörténeti folyóirat</i> . Sopron.
StudCom	<i>Studia Comitatus</i> . Tanulmányok Pest megye múzeumaiból. Szentendre.
ŠtudZvesti	<i>Študijne Zvesti Arheologického Ústavu Slovenskej Akademie Vied</i> . Nitra.
Stud. și Cerc. Num.	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie</i> . București.
SCIVA	<i>Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie)</i> . București.
StComSatuMare	<i>Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare</i> .
Thrac-Dacica	<i>Thrac-Dacica</i> . București.
VMMK	<i>A Veszprém megyei Múzeumok Közleményei. Veszprém</i> .
VTT	<i>Veszprémi Történelmi Tár. Veszprém</i> .
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava, Complexul Muzeal Arad. Arad</i> .