SKELETAL “BURIALS” IN THE PITS OF KNOVÍŽ SETTLEMENTS IN BOHEMIA

ABSTRACT — In the burial Knovíž Culture in Bohemia presence cremation burials, skeletal burials appear rarely. The third way of burial are skeletons dumped in settlement pits. The discoveries of the recent years have made it possible for the author to study 106 selected burials (see list of settlements and of other selected objects). However, anthropological documents are missing in almost half of them. Most skeletons dumped in refuse pits come from the transition from the Tumulus culture to the Knovíž horizon. This process culminates at stages KIV—V (i.e. medium stage of the Knovíž Culture) and the number of finds is then dropping at the turn of the younger Knovíž and Štítnary periods. Almost one-fourth of the skeletons were found in crouched position, fewer appear lying in supine or prone position, sitting, or thrown to the pit. The number of skeletons in the pits varies between 1–6; the author distinguishes between mass burials and family burials, burials of mothers with their children and separate child burials. For comparison’s sake the author presents 13 examples from Germany and Poland. The sample material is divided by the author from the viewpoint of context. It is divided into 4 groups: 1. Burials with grave goods, without traces of violence. II. Burials without grave goods and with no traces of violence. III. Complete or incomplete skeletons with traces of violence. IV. Skeletons with the skull missing or separated from the trunk. Groups I and II are regarded by the author as normal burials outside the burial ground, groups III and IV are connected with ritual sacrifices showing traces of anthropophagy.

KEY WORDS: Skeletal remains in pits — Knovíž culture — Bronze Age — Bohemia.

The Knovíž Culture in Bohemia developed in the Late Bronze Age under rather complex cultural and historical conditions. The basic structural component was formed by the ceramic finds of the Tumulus culture of the Middle Bronze Age, with the contribution of the Lusatian culture, and of some even older component (Pleiner 1975). The Late Bronze Age in parts of Central Europe north of the Danube is the period of culmination of the patriarchal social system, when tribal laws and the established customs were understandable to everybody (Bouzek 1985). But the very complicated burial rite of the Knovíž Culture is not in correspondence with our ideas of a simple patriarchal society, on the contrary, it bears witness of a great ideological variety (Pleiner — Rybovit 1978). The Knovíž Culture is burial and its graves may be divided into three groups (Spurný 1950).
1. Ritual cremation: graves, in which charrred pieces of bones and grave goods are placed in the urn with due respect. Such graves form separate cemeteries (Šalánka 1986).
2. Ritual skeletal burials in oval or rectangular pits, sometimes lined with stones and provided with grave goods. They occur sporadically on the margin of urnfield cemeteries, or separately. In the light of the recent studies their “riches” (žatec — Macek, Luk v Motu, Hostomice) is quite problematic (Kytlíčová 1989). Rich grave goods are more typical of cremation graves.
3. Skeletal burials in settlement pits, sometimes with grave goods, but mostly without, and with skeletons put down with reverence. This form of burial will be the subject of our study in connection with so-called cannibalism (Belec 1988).

The problem of anthropophagy aroused considerable attention in this country already in the late 19th century. The eponymous settlement not far from Slaný was discovered in the years 1892–3. V. Schmädl and J. Foleman studied at that time more than 52 pits, 13 of them yielding also human bones: separate skeletons in two of them, isolated bones in nine of them, and in the remaining two cases (Nos. 3 and 33) human skeletons. In the backfill of the pits in general appeared sherds, animal bones, bone tools, clay weight and dust fragments. The overall picture is completed by bronze rings, pins and parts of big moulds for casting bronze products (V. Schmädl, 1893–95). The revision of finds, unfortunately without having access to complex finds, republishing of notes on the finds and chronological classification of the pottery was done by J. Harty (1972).

The anthropological study of the human bones was realized by J. Matieška. He found the skeletons of two children in two pits, one of 20–24 months, the other 3–4 years old. He found traces of charring, breaking, radial splitting, cutting, crushing and also gnawing by animals on the human and animal bones, and he connected these features with cannibalism. In his view the Krvovice people "relished" not only the enemies, but also their own kinfolk. He presumed that these people ate not only the brain and marrow but also the palms and soles of their fellow creatures. Thus J. Matieška presented proofs of the existence of anthropophagy in the Krvovice people more than 100 years ago. It is important to add that anthropophagy was not caused by shortage of food or famine, the abundance of animal bones in the pits indicates that they lived in affluence in this respect. The real cause of their anthropophagy was "lasciviousness" (Matieška 1982–3). In connection with cannibalism we find side by side with skeletal "burials" at the Bronze Age settlements also similar "burials" in the hill settlements (Yelín-Skalica), in the hillforts (Hradisko u Kroměříže) and in caves (Býela skála), (Jelinek 1988).

Between the two World Wars many new finds of human bones, and even entire skeletons were discovered at Krvovice settlements. The latest osteological finds come namely from 10 localities from the territory of greater Prague, most of them from Prague-Tabuleč (Schránil 1928, Böhm 1941). Pits with human skeletons were discovered also in northwestern Bohemia (Patečky, Most; Freidel 1934).

In the late nineteenth-thirties there were gathered sufficient finds of skeletal burials in settlements, and thus V. Sprný was able to start with their study. The results of his study were published only when World War II was over (Sprný 1960). The base for his analysis was formed by the 150 best documented skeletal burials; 10 % of them were ritual graves from cemeteries, the rest came from pits. He concluded that most burials coming from the settlements belong to HÁ (Kroměříž culture) and the minority to HÍ (Ślęza culture). The great variability of the ways of laying the dead document that we have to do with disrespectful "burials" — in crouching or sitting position, in prone position on the ventral side, etc. Skeletons in irregular position, incomplete skeletons, separate skulls, burials of several individuals in a single pit, cases of quartering, splitting and breaking of skulls with dull implements are connected without doubt with anthropophagy (Sprný 1960, 15–16).

The unprecedented development of archaeological research following WV II resulted in further finds of human bones. Namely in north-western Bohemia the rescue research operations in the open-cast coal mines resulted in the discovery of new Krvovice and Lounicean settlements.

**LIST OF SELECTED SETTLEMENTS**

(TAB. I)

**BŘEŠTANY,** Teplice District. In the M. Gorki open-cast mine part of a settlement was discovered, including 20 pits. In 12 of them human bones were found, in pit VIII appeared also the skeleton of a child (Belecký — Zeman 1954, Smidrová 1954).

**BŘEŠNO,** Louny District. I. Pleinerová discovered in the years 1964—1977 a very densely populated Krvovice settlement. 306 objects were studied over an area of 2.5 ha. Two pits contained the skeletons of two boys (of 8 and 16 years), the head of the skeleton from pit No. 523 is missing, 10 pits contained fragments of bones and skulls (Pleinerová — Hráš 1988).

**KAMENNÁ VODA,** Most District. E. Nesvůj proposed excavated in the year 1965 in the local quarry part of a settlement — 88 pits, 15 of them yielded human bones and 5 complete or almost complete skeletons (pits Nos. 35, 72, 76, 84 and 88). The bones showed traces of violent interference — breaking and splitting of skulls and of mandibles (Bouzek—Koutecký 1980, not yet published in detail).

**KNOVÍZ,** Kladno District. See pp. 1—2.

**KONOBRZE,** Most District. The author of this paper excavated in the years 1969—70 part of a settlement in the Lečický open-cast mine. A total of 110 pits were discovered, 17 of them contained individual human bones and fragments of skulls. In 2 pits complete skeletons were found (pits Nos. 1, 6, 18E, 31 and 70); in pit 18E the skeleton of an adult female was found, with her head missing (Chochol 1979, Bouzek—Koutecký 1980).

**LIBOJÍ,** Chomutov District. E. Černá and Z. Sýrka rescued in the years 1973—1984 part of a Krvovice settlement in the open-cast mine Nástein.
Pit 1/62: circular, of 118 cm diameter and 52 cm deep. At the bottom there was an incomplete skeleton of an adult male. The long bones showed traces of violence—smashed shattered braincase, broken lower limbs (Koutecký 1970, Chochoľ 1974, 22).

Pit 31 (2/67): in an almost circular (174 x 182 cm), 88 cm deep storage pit in two places remains of the skull was found. One belonged to an infant (inf. II), the other to a mature individual; Koutecký 1987, Chochoľ 1979, 33.

Pit 6/79: circular, 110 cm in diameter, 55 cm deep. At the depth of 120 cm there was a skeleton in a stretched position, on the right the leg was arched, with the head to the west (Fig. 1 J). Position of the arms—No. 1V (Researches in Bohemia 1982—3, no. 492, 192).

Pit 43/79: irregular circular shape with squared walls, upper diameter 125, lower 100 cm, depth 85—92 cm. The skeleton was in sitting position, with its elbows leaning against the southern wall. The lower limbs extended, the position of the arms—No. VII (Fig. 1 J). Researches in Bohemia 1979—7, No. 421—145).

Pit 135/81: double pit; the smaller and deeper of them has a diameter of 135—140 cm and in 50 cm deep. There was a skeleton on the bottom in supine position, the position of arms—No. 11. The bones of the human hand were missing, the skull had been shifted aside—Fig. 1: 5 (Researches in Bohemia 1981—81, No. 410, 130).

Pit 142a: a circular pit, 120—140 cm in diameter and 50 cm deep. At the bottom there were scattered human bones—Fig. 1: 2 (Researches in Bohemia 1979—7, No. 424—145).

Skeletons from the years 1978—1981 are anthropologically not yet determined (Koutecký 1987).

We can attach to the above data also an information on earlier finds in similar sites near Mníšek Hrásko the skeleton of a young man was discovered (Štítka 1980). A disturbed pit in Věčnětice the skeleton of the remains of children (Hraja 1970) and a partially preserved skeletal burial was found in pit 25/55 (Solé 1980).

It is evident from synoptical table 1 of ten selected settlements that in some cases human bones and burials in pits were rare (Beřezov 29: 1, Veleměřice 62: 1), elsewhere they were relatively frequent (Mníšek 7: 1, Kamenný Voda 6: 1, Koneře 5: 1, Konopišť 4: 1). In some settlements the proportion is 3: 1 and in Libouň or in Beřezov even 2: 1. But it is possible that in the latter cases the proportion has been distorted due to the loss of a number of objects (it was a rescue operation). In some settlements, e.g. in Ralčany on the lower Moravice, human bones were found at all (Bouzek—Koutecký—Novotný 1960).

FURTHER RECENT FINDS OF SKELETONS IN SETTLEMENTS IN CENTRAL AND NORTH-WESTERN BOHEMIA

HOŠNICE, Chomutov District; 1985 excavation by J. Bládek. Pit 24/85: oval in shape, half-preserved. At the bottom, at the depth of 27 cm there was a dumped skeleton in supine position with some dislocated bones. The legs were strongly eburned, the trunk turned to its left side, the skull more or less to the west, position of the arms—No. IX, the right tibia and fibula are missing. Pit 3/85 yielded human and animal bones, in pit 13/85 at the bottom near south-western wall there was a human skull—Fig. 3 (Research in Bohemia 1984—85, No. 134, 57).

In ITICE, Teplice District; 1982 excavation by J. Maika. During rescue research realized by the Teplice Regional Museum in the Mor. Gorki open-cast coal mine besides other objects appeared also 2 pits with skeletons of immature individuals. Their preliminary determination was realized by M. Šnukal.

Pit 8/82: oval in shape 150 x 122 cm, the preserved depth is of 32 cm. At the bottom there was the skeleton of an adolescent (of 13—14 years) lying on its right side with strongly eburned lower limbs. The arms in position No. IV, the head oriented to the east (Fig. 3: 5).

Pit 6/92: circular in shape, 110—120 cm in diameter, depth only 30 cm. The skeleton of a child (inf. II) was dumped to the pit, fell on its back, the legs are slightly eburned at the knees, the arms are stretched to the sides — position No. 11. The head of the skeleton was oriented to E; Research
The position of the skeletons in the pits is much more varied than the position of ritual burials in normal cemeteries. Some skeletons from the pits were— for practical reasons, to get them into the pit— bent in the pelvic area or at the knees (Velemelyives 67/3, 67/5).

1. The most frequent way of putting the skeletons in the pits is crouching position— in our material this group with 24 skulls (10 skeletons) were discovered lying on the right side (10.6 %), 9 (5.1 %) on the left side, and in crouched position in general (7.7 %). From determination of the position of crouched legs lightly crouched, strongly crouched position, the legs pulled to the hip bones, or legs stretched out. From the determination of the skeleton we can judge whether he was put there with due respect, sometimes even with grave good. The position of the arms will be discussed below.

2. The second most frequent way of putting the dead in the pit in the right side (26 cases), with the lower limbs either stretched — 15 = 9.8 % or slightly crouched — 16 = 10.6 %. Both these ways of putting the dead in the pit are regarded as respectful, no matter whether they are connected with grave good or not. With two exceptions on the bones of individual burial in this way there are no traces of violent interference.

The remaining ways may be regarded as extraordinary or exceptional. Burial in sitting position occurred 7 times — 4.6 % e.g. in pit 35 from Kamenná Voda the skeleton of a female leaned against its back against the wall of the pit. The burial in pit 73/78 in Velemelyives also contained a skeleton placed in sitting position with the back leaning against the north wall of the pit, with legs and arms thrown apart. There was a special case in Žilice in the Kladno District, where allegedly a skeleton was found seated on a stone bench, and a stone bench set apart. Both these positions occurred in our analysis 7 times — 4.6 %.

In pit 72/95 in Kamenná Voda the skeleton of a woman was seated, and both hands touching shoulders. The skeleton from Libany burial with pottery grave goods had its back

### Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Type of Burial</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Crouching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Sitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Lying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2. Burial sites

They are quite frequent also among settlement burials. To this type belong pit containing skeletons of a man, of a woman, and of one or more children. Most frequent are pits with three skeletons (Matějů 1985). It is a possible to mention also some earlier finds with two-three skeletons such as Ohrada near Kolín, Prague-Suchdol, and Zípy (Bohun 1941, Schrábil 1929). The most plausible explanation is that they all died in consequence of an epidemic, less plausible is the conjecture that burials of this type represent human sacrifices.

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3. The number of skeletons in "burials" found in settlement pits (Tab. II).

Before we start the consideration of skeletal finds in the neighbouring countries we have to note one thing: in our sample there was the number of burials in the individual pits. From the synoptical table follows that 65 pits (62 %) contained by one skeleton, two skeletons were found in 16 pits (14.9 %), three in 8 pits (7.5 %). In four cases four skeletons were found in a single pit and in two pits there were found 5 skeletons in each. Only in a single case were there the skeletons of six individuals in a single pit. From the viewpoint of the number of burials the result can be divided into 4 groups: mass burials, family burials, burials of mother with child and separate burials of children.
| Table 2 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>Skeletal burials at Kroebel-Neu-Orlawitz and their cultural identity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of graves</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>65</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Burials of mothers with children

Burials of a mother with 1–2 children are quite frequent in the Knovis settlement area. In Knovis, the number of graves was found also in the settlement of Jilovce, Kamenné Voda, Libočany and Rostoky near Prague. In earlier finds we find no cases within the definition "woman with child", in most cases without anthropological determination. In Byland, Chom, Prague-Hloubětín. In the case of the definition "adult child" it cannot be ruled out that the adult is a male. Anthropologically accurately defined skeleton of a male (father?) with a bigger child is quite rare (Konebné pit 6/70).

4. Burials of children

Separate burials of children are quite frequent in the settlements where child burial amount to 14.2% – 15% of the total number; in combination with adults there have been 46 such cases. Most pits contained a single skeleton, in pit 33 in Knovis 3 skeletons were found, pit 31/70 in Konebné and a pit in Všecky contain two skeletons. Our ensemble comprises children of all age groups; infants – infants 0 (0–3 years) – 4 times; children belonging to the infants II group (3–7 years) – 8 times; children – infants III (8–10 years) – 5 times. Three cases cases of the total number; in combination with adults there have been 46 such cases. Most pits contained a single skeleton, in pit 33 in Knovis 3 skeletons were found, pit 31/70 in Konebné and a pit in Všecky contain two skeletons. Our ensemble comprises children of all age groups; infants – infants 0 (0–3 years) – 4 times; children belonging to the infants II group (3–7 years) – 8 times; children – infants III (8–10 years) – 5 times. Three cases cases of the total number.

Burials of a mother and a child are explained in various ways; the most frequent explanation is that they are ritually "impure" or otherwise inferior persons, denied the privilege of being buried on the sacred hill. To the periods in which women in various cultures were considered impure belonged, e.g. the childbed. That's why they appear buried with newborns.

Separate burials of children may be connected with the fact that they died prior to reaching maturity (i.e. before undergoing the initiation ceremony and were not considered part of the full rights). In some cases there is no doubt that they served as sacrifices to the gods of fertility and harvest (Bouzek–Koutek 1980).

**SKELETAL BURIALS AT BRONZE AGE SETTLEMENTS IN THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES**

Cases of skeletal burials at settlements are known from the territories of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg) and Poland (Silesia, Little Poland, Great Poland), the German Democratic Republic (Thuringia, Upper Saxony, Lower Saxony). The phenomenon occurs also in Moravia, Slovakia, Austria and northern Yugoslavia (Jelinek 1988). Among the earliest reports on the phenomenon belongs the article by E. Lehmann on a Knovis settlement in Gera-Niederung near Erfurt. In the local graved pit several pits containing Knovis-like pottery sherds were found. They appeared associated with human bones showing traces of violent interference prior to killing (Lehmann 1928, 1929).

Thanks to a dissertation by A. Wimsiecki we have a survey of finds of human bones found at settlements in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany. The survey contains detailed information on the situation in Bavaria and in Baden-Württemberg. R. Gansmoler (1988) deals also with similar problems in connection with the publication of a skeletal burial discovered in a pit in Altdorf. In order to draw comparisons with Bohemian finds I have chosen similar examples from Germany and Poland.

**ALTENDORF, Lkr. Landsbut.** Three pits of the Final Bronze Age settlement yielded human skeletons – Pit No. 14 contained the skeletons of a child (infant III, 6 years) placed in crouching position on the right side, at the side, at the side, at the right side of the pit. The skull lay on the right temporal bone and was oriented to the east. In Pit No. 48 there were found remains of a child – parts of the trunk, pelvis and arms. Pit No. 356 contained the skeleton of an old man (matrurh), with the right femur missing. The burial was fitted with grave goods – with a bronze bracelet and the neck of a vessel. In two further pits (Nos. 71 and 301) there were found individual bones (Gansmoler 1988, Fig. 2, Wisniecki, inventory).

**BOLZHAUSEN, Lkr. Würzburg.** In one of the pits in the settlement of the Final Bronze Age (1332) the skeleton of an adult was found in prone position and with stones placed on it. As grave good a dragon-fly-shaped pin was added (Wilberta 1982, Wisniecki, inventory).

**BURKHEIM am Kaiserstuhl.** In a hill settlement from the period of the Urnfield culture the skeleton of a child was found in a pit (Gisum 1929 to 32, Wisniecki, inventory).

**ESSENbach, Lkr. Landshut.** In one Bronze Age pit the remains of at least five human skeletons were found. The finds come from a settlement in Wisniecki, inventory.)


**WALLENFING, Lkr. Rothal-Ilm.** In an Early Bronze Age settlement human bones were found in two pits. Pit No. 25 contained a double burial – the skeleton of an adult male (adult I), of that of an adult female (adult II). Pit No. 30 contained the bones of an older adult-to-old man (adultus II-maturus) (Siegroth 1972, Wisniecki, inventory).

Pits in other localities in the Federal Republic of Germany yielded individual bones: in Gögglingen – fragments of a skull, Unterschwing – a femur Weingheim – in 3 pits right arms of females, Wirtalsingen – a human skull ex dental bones and pottery

**Localities in the GDR.**

**ALTENBERG, Kr. Neutra.** At a Final Bronze Age settlement the human skeletons were found in two pits. In Pit No 2 there was a child skeleton in prone-position. The bones showed traces of charred long bones of the humeri – 3 times were found. In Pit No 1 there was an incomplete skeleton of an adult, lying on a layer of stones. The skull and lower limbs had been cut off by force, the bones showed traces of chopping and burning. In Pit 3 the form of a child skull was found (Maria 1971, Gansmoler 1988, Abb. 10: B).

**GROSS–GÖDULLA, Kr. Meissenburg.** In a 140 cm deep refuse pit from the Final Bronze Age at the depth of 160 cm there was a crouched skeleton of an adult. The skeleton was found in the right side of the pit, the legs were crouched with the knees at the very chest. The arms at the elbows were bent so that the hands were at the shoulders (Gansmoler 1988, Abb. 14: 4).

**KOMITZ, Kr. Kelstedeit.** In two Knovis culture pits, with broken skulls, bones, waste debris, and sherds were also the skeletons of a man and of two children (Wisniecki, inventory). 

**SIEGROTH, Kr. Würzburg.** At a Final Bronze Age settlement a pit with a fireplace contained the skeleton of a female, some bones appeared in the ashes. The legs of the skeleton were bent at the knees and the feet were missing, the arms were stretched, and the hands were clasped on the lap (Age 1934, Gansmoler 1988, Abb. 14: 6).

**Finds in Poland.**

The finds of human skeletons and bones, similarly as in Bohemia are very frequent in the fortified settlements of the Bronze Age and of the Hallstatt period. They appear in moats, and cultural layers (Biskupin, Smoczewo, Sobużycy, etc.). In contrast to Bohemia they are less frequent, in open settlements of the Bronze Age or of the Hallstatt and a Three period.

**SLUPA, pov. Slupca.** In this lowland settlement of the Late Hallstatt period (HH) human skeletons were found in two pits. One pit contained the incomplete skeleton of an adult woman (adultus I, 30 years), with smashed skull, separated mandible and a rib. The other pit contained the fragmented skull of a child (Malinowski 1966, 1969).

**SZYŻYN, pov. Konin.** In the open settlement from the Final Bronze Age (D) human skulls were found in two pits (Gell 1966, Nos. 35, 36; Malinowski 1969).

**WITLOW, pov. Kazimierz.** One of the pits of the Early Latuanian settlement situated on the high terrace of the Vistula River contained a complete skeleton, which was put on the right side in crouched position and received the usual grave goods (a vessel, flint to produce sparks; Gell 1966, No. 122, 39–40).

In Poland, in settlements belonging to the Latuanian Culture appear mostly deficient skeletons and individual human bones (Malinowski 1961). Complete skeletons are not known, except one (see Wiatr). Comparable conditions can be seen also in the Latuanian settlements in Bohemia, and conditions are similar also in the territories of Germany. The largest number of skeletons dug in pits, and the large number of isolated bones is probably connected with cannibalism, or development of the production of bronze and iron (Jelínek 1988).

We, on the other hand, held that the Bronze Age, with the culmination of the Middle period established, this period was characterized by firm and stable social order. A break occurred later, at
be time of the extension of the use of iron in the Hallstatt Period, with the first signs of the decay of the clan institutions, when the importance of the individual, or the leader, and that of the institution of the body of armed retainers was increasing (Bouzek 1985, Koutek 1968).

**COMPREHENSIVE EVALUATION OF SKELETAL BURIALS DIVIDED INTO GROUPS (TAB. III)**

1. Burials with grave goods, without traces of violent interference

In settlements they appear in relatively small quantities, viz. 12 burials (6.8%). As a rule they are fitted with ceramic grave goods (1-3 vessels), the finds included also a bronze pin, a stone ball and a moon symbol. The proportion of sex, and of adults and children is even. Half of the skeletons have not been anthropologically determined. Prevails the situation of the skeleton in crossed position on the right side (5 cases). Two skeletons were found on the left side, and other two in the sitting position. In one case the skeleton was lying in prone position. The orientation of three burials has been determined — twice N-S, once SW-NE. The position of arms was determined in three cases. Type VIII once, Type II twice. The burials with grave goods had been put into the earth with due respect, there are no traces of secondary position or violent interference. These occurred only on the skeleton of a female from Lipence, where J. Chochoł stated the presence of mandible, and in skeleton from pit 3 in Knoviz, with crushed skull. It is not quite clear whether we have to do with secondary decay. The position of normal burials of adults and of children buried in settlements, because for some reason they were denied a place in the normal burial ground. They may have been children who had not yet initiated, sick or people otherwise differing from the mass. They may have been breaking a law (tab. 1), breaking rules (tab. 2), accord- ing to the ideas of the period they had been denied afterlife (Podhorský 1988).

11. Burials without grave goods and without traces of violent interference

This group represents more than half of our sample — 120 cases (62.2%). The burials from this group can also be regarded in most cases as normal — but with no grave goods. The half of the finds have not been determined anthropologically. From the viewpoint of age and sex children prevail — 31 finds (50% of the determined finds). 3/4 are adult females, the rest are males or adults without determined sex. 11 skeletons were lying in crossed position (without known closer deduction) ten skeletons lay on the right side in crossed position and five in crossed position on the left side. Twelve skeletons were lying in sitting position, and six in supine position with their legs crouched. Appeared also burials in sitting and in prone position (Gaense).

Cases of non-anatomical position (possible secondary burial) occurred 21 times, 42 cases have remained non-determined. As far as the position of arms is concerned — the right hand is stretched, the left is bent at the elbow to the shoulder (4 cases) and type VI — the right arm is stretched and the left arm is bent at the elbow and touching the chest (3 cases). For the rest see the table. The orientation of the head — N-S (8 cases), E-W (6 cases), S-N (4 cases), rest is in the rest of the skeleton.

In this group too we may have to do with children not yet initiated, or with possible cases of gods, rather than befitting ones. Some males and females buried in this way can be regarded from the viewpoint of morality of the period as immoral or unclean, created by people expelled from the society, delinquents, etc.). There may also be sacrificed people in this group, but there is no proof of anthropophagy, there are no traces of violent interference in these skeletons (Bouzek—Koutek 1980).

**III. Complete or almost complete skeletons with traces of violent interference**

This group is represented by 35 skeletons only (19%). We would expect more, following a detailed anthropological evaluation perhaps we shall be able to add to this group some of the skeletons from group II. Preval adult males (10) and children in the age of 12-14 years, evidently boys. Among sexually non-determined adult males prevelly palms. Very conspicuous is the small number of females (3 cases). 20 skeletons were found in pits, otherwise the non-anatomical position prevailed in the deceased have been scattered on the bottom, heaped up, or mixed with the backfill (9 cases). In this group we can find also seemingly normal, but late disturbed burials, twice crouching on the left side. The position of arms has been determined in two cases (Type VIII and IX, orientation 1X E—W).

On the skulls and on the long bones there are frequent traces of violence prior to putting these individuals to death, the skull broken with a blunt object, broken mandible, bones split longitudinally and removed narrow. Frequent are also the transversal guantes and traces of charing. Probably we have to do with killed individuals, in some cases with ritual human sacrifice made during interments with gods at least hold in honour of the latter. Namely the incomplete skeletons may be related with such practices. The breaking of skulls is often explained as a measure to prevent the dead from causing harm to the living. Adult males and boys may have been sacrificed at ritual sites, whereas females were taken by the companions to their new homes as workforce and secondary wives (Bouzek—Koutek 1980).

**IV. Skeletons without skulls or with skulls separated from the trunk**

This group of special skeletons is the smallest, it includes 9 skeletons, i.e. 5% of the total sample.

The skeletons of three females and of a single man were found without skulls. The skeletons of children have their skulls, but separated from the trunk, and buried alongside the body or outside the pit. In two cases adult individuals had their skulls situated 50 cm from the trunk. In three cases the skull was on the left side and the legs crouched, three times in supine position with crossed legs, one skeleton was in prone position, and one non-anatomical position was found. Traces of violent interference were found in three skeletons (Kamenná Voda, pit 76/55, Most-Zažehary pit 1/57 and Břeclavá pit VIII). The skeleton in pit 15E in Konopiště had — according to J. Chochoł — the skull severed with a single oblique cut (with a sword) across the neck and through the vertebræ; it is a clear case of decapitation. In the place where one would expect the head, there was a big stone lying. The skeletons of females without head are considered as related with persons having supernatural force (black and white magic). Spercers were sometimes severely punished if the prophecy misled — by hanging, decapitation, etc. (Glob 1960).

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Skeletal burials in settlements</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Adolescents</th>
<th>Child-</th>
<th>Not-de-</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Burials with grave goods and with no traces of violent interference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Burials without grave goods and with no traces of violent interference</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Skeletons with traces of disturbance</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Skeletons without skulls, or the head is bloodstained and separated from the trunk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of burials</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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