



LIDIA CYMEK, AGNIESZKA KRZYSIAK, MIROSLAV KOPECKÝ, FRANCISZEK ROŻNOWSKI

PEOPLE OF THE TIMES OF CIST GRAVES AND FACE URNS – A STUDY ON SKELETAL REMAINS EXCAVATED IN 2008–2015 AT MULTICULTURAL CEMETERY IN CZARNÓWKO (SITE 5), LĘBORK DISTRICT (POMERANIA, POLAND)

ABSTRACT: *The graves from which the skeletal remains were removed date back to the early Iron Age, Hallstatt D, period and the early pre-Roman period, and were used for the burial of previously cremated bones by people of the Pomeranian Culture. Skeletal remains were removed from 38 graves: cist graves, cinerary urn graves with stone surrounds, cinerary urn graves with a stone cist-like surround, one cloche grave, destroyed cinerary urn graves, cavity graves with cinerary urns and cavity graves. Incinerated human bone remains were probably deposited in 46–48 urns or other vessels serving this purpose, as well as in a few cavity graves. In this study we explored plain and unornamented urns as well as face urns, which varied in terms of decorative patterns and representations of human faces. The surface of the vessels was decorated with stylized twigs of coniferous trees, solar and astral motifs, encircling rims, oblique lines or geometric patterns. Some urns were also embellished with jewellery. Bones explored from the above-listed graves probably belonged to at least 58 individuals, including 18 women, 15 men, 2 adults of undefined sex, 7 children and 16 individuals of undefined age and sex. The age-at-death was probably 30–40 years (mean 33.1 years) for women (n=18), and 36–48 years (mean 42.2 years) for men (n=16). The mean ante-mortem body height calculated based on the diameter of the long bone heads was 154.35 cm (Pearson's method) or 155–159 cm (method by Strzałko et al. 1973) in women (n=11), and 166.1 cm (Pearson's method) or 170–174 cm (Strzałko et al. 1973) in men (n=9).*

KEY WORDS: *Face urns – Cist graves – Pomeranian Culture – Cremated bones*

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INTRODUCTION

Regular archaeological work at the cemetery in Czarnówko (site 5), Lębork district, was initiated in 2008 and continued until 2015 (*Figure 1*). The manager of this research project was Agnieszka Krzysiak, MSc, from the Museum in Lębork. Exploration was carried out on an area of 24,000 sqm. The research revealed that the investigated necropolis was in use at various historical periods, from the Neolithic to the early Middle Ages (Krzysiak 2014).

Very few graves at this cemetery dated back to the Neolithic period, the early and middle Bronze Age. A large number of graves came from the Hallstatt period and early pre-Roman period (from about 600 to 250 BCE). At that time the cemetery in Czarnówko was used for burials by the people of the Pomeranian Culture. Unfortunately, some of these graves were destroyed by later users of the cemetery land and, in modern times, by heavy agricultural machinery, so today it is impossible to determine how great the scale of the loss was. In the late pre-Roman period (from the first half of the 1st cent. BCE to the early 1st cent. CE)

the cemetery was used by people representing the Oksywie culture, who placed cremated human remains in cavity graves or cinerary urn graves, and only a small number of graves, dated to the end of this period, were inhumation burials. Most graves explored on the studied site came from the Roman period (early 1st cent. CE to 3rd cent. CE). The necropolis in Czarnówko was then used by the people of the Wielbark culture, who practiced bi-ritual funeral rites, and inhumation graves account for about 70% of burials. Other graves, found in low numbers, are dated for the Migration Period (5th cent. CE) and the early Middle Ages (900–1200 years CE). All skeletal remains excavated from the cemetery in Czarnówko were analysed by anthropologists, and short reports on these studies were published by Rożnowski and Cymek (2015a, b).

THE POMERANIAN CULTURE

The Pomeranian Culture have taken form as a result of transformation of local "Lusatian" groups under influence of frequent, long-distance trade exchange.

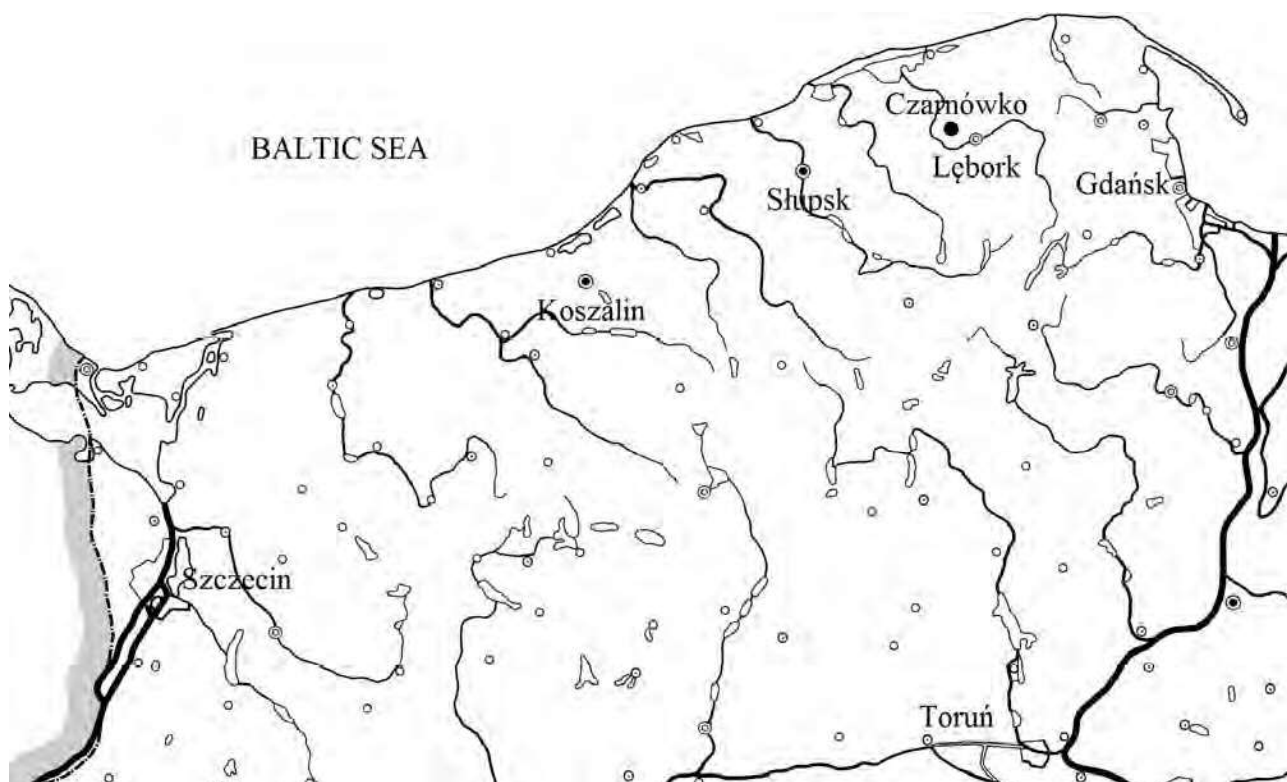


FIGURE 1: Location of the cemetery in Czarnówko, Pomerania.

The people of Pomeranian Culture had turned their back on their earlier tradition of raising earth and stone barrows in favour of stone-built cist graves perfecting their construction over time. This is also the time when a new and highly distinct vessel form came to be produced and used as a container for the cremated remains, for the first time since the adoption of this burial rite – the face urn. Presumably, the idea of making face urns was the result of influence from Etruscan Cultures, in what is now northern and central Italy, where the dead were buried in canopic jars – human-shaped vessels, or in models of houses made of clay, stone or bronze. The impact of Etruscan Cultures, especially on the burial rite, is observed also on the territory of modern Hungary, Germany and Denmark. Next to the culture stimuli from the Italian Peninsula the region where Czarnówko is situated received influences also from the Nordic cultures of Scandinavia.

These exceptional vessels (face urns) make Pomeranian Culture one of the more interesting archeological cultures in Poland. Face urns were made by hand from clay tempered with sand and crushed rock. No two of them are alike – they differ in shape, designs of the face and ornamentation. The designs seen on their surface engraved in wet clay are quite diverse. Many of them are decorated with figural scenes and symbols which probably are associated with magic. A more distinctive motif of a series of V-shaped patterns arranged in a row is thought to represent the needle-shaped leaves of evergreen trees. Was this a reference to permanence, possibly, even to eternal life? Other popular designs are solar and astral as well as a distinctive design of three strokes – one vertical and two oblique motifs, circumferential lines, oblique strokes and impressed geometric designs; urns were decorated also by applied knobs or strips of clay. Also seen on them are representations of personal ornaments, weapons and toiletry articles, possibly meant as symbolic gifts made to the dead individual which, for some reason, could not be placed in the grave. Quite common are the depictions of metal dress pins and brooches used as fastenings, necklaces and pectorals, combs, razors, tweezers, but also, swords, shields and spears. Images of animals (deer and horse) and heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars, comets even!) presumably had a different meaning than they do today and may have been identified with deities and gods or ascribed with some magical significance. On some of the Pomeranian urns there are elaborate narrative scenes such as riding a four-wheel wagon drawn by horses, mounted warriors with weapons, or – quite differently – scenes of weaving. Less rare are

depictions of hands, water (waves), doors or clothing. Some vessels were made even more attractive by inlaying – filling the engraved linear designs with a white mineral paste. These representations are one of the earliest on Polish territory and are an invaluable source of insight into beliefs and customs of that age. The moulded ears of urns often had inserted in them metal earrings with beads made of amber, blue glass, metal and bone, and pendants of bronze spangles and chains.

The Pomeranian Culture people treated their dead with great care and respect. The cremated remains were placed in a decorated funerary vessel, deposited in the durable, carefully constructed stone grave. Usually its form was that of a box, built of large flat slabs of stone, set in the ground.

The Pomeranian Culture people started to bury their dead in the grave field at Czarnówko at a time of their greatest prosperity and may have continued to use the site for almost 400 years (Krzysiak 2014).

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The excavated objects of the Pomeranian Culture included various types of graves, hollows (related to the storage of goods, settlement, the making of offerings?), post holes, fireplaces and a hearth. The largest identified objects were cist graves – solid stone cists made of slabs, in which one to several urns were placed. Urns containing skeletal remains were also well preserved in cinerary urn graves with stone surrounds, cinerary urn graves with a stone cist-like surround, and in cloche graves. Much fewer skeletal remains were removed from destroyed cinerary urn graves, cavity graves with cinerary urns, and cavity graves, and they were very fragmented. Because of the good preservation of skeletal remains placed in urns they could be analysed quite extensively in terms of anthropological aspects such as their arrangement in the urn, and the age and sex of dead individuals. It was also possible to take some measurements.

Anthropological methods used for the assessment of the age of individuals representing prehistoric populations allow for the estimation of the developmental age based on skeletal development. The age-at-death of juvenile, adolescent and mature individuals was estimated based on a method proposed by Ubelaker (1989), who presented the mean age and sequence of eruption of deciduous and permanent teeth. The age-at-death of adults with preserved permanent teeth was assessed by analysing the degree of tooth wear

according to the protocol proposed by Lovejoy (1985). We also analysed stages of ossification of bone shafts and heads, changes in the structure of cancellous and cortical bone, and the obliteration of cranial sutures in preserved bones of the skull (Knußmann 1988, Malinowski, Bożiłow 1997, Piontek 1996, Steckel *et al.* 2011). The sex of the examined individuals was established based on the analysis of the morphology of glabella, the supraorbital margin, projections on the occipital bone (nuchal crest), mastoid processes, zygomatic arches, the height of the mandibular corpus and the degree of gonial angles, some parameters of long bones, the acetabulum of the pelvic bone, the linea aspera and other (Acsádi, Nemeskéri 1970, Piontek 1996, Steckel *et al.* 2011).

In a few cases it was possible to explore skeletal remains from urns layer-by-layer (thickness about 3–5 cm), and to analyse their arrangement inside the urn (Figure 15). Such attempts were made because in our previous studies on skeletal remains discovered in other cemeteries of the Pomeranian Culture we observed their specific arrangement inside the urns. Bone fragments deposited in the urns were analysed in detail, particularly those found in cist graves and cinerary urn graves with stone surrounds. Whole preserved urns were analysed for the presence of sand and incinerated bones. The following aspects of layers were assessed during their mechanical separation: arrangement of skeletal fragments (photographic documentation was prepared for the bones in a specific arrangement), anatomical classification of the most characteristic bone fragments, bone colour and biometric parameters of some of them, which further allowed for the reconstruction of the ante-mortem body height of the individuals. According to the previously used methodology (Malinowski, Rożnowski 1978, Fudziński, Rożnowski 1997, 2002, Cymek 2015), results obtained from the analysis of skeletal remains from individual layers were graphically presented, on the background of the outline of the preserved urn, with the indicated arrangement of bone clusters inside them. This approach provides new information on the funeral rites used by people representing the Pomeranian Culture. A completely different method of testing urns contents has been presented by Pankowska *et al.* (2018). Due to high costs and lack of special equipment we would not be able to use it.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The largest sepulchral structures created by people of the Pomeranian Culture were cist graves. They were built

of large stone slabs placed in the ground. Cists were usually rectangular, but occasionally square or triangular. Around and above the slabs layers of cobbles were placed consisting of various fieldstones (Figure 2). Urns with incinerated remains of bodies were placed inside such graves (Figures 3, 4). In many cases the southern wall of the cist grave was made of more than one slab, because it was probably designed for the reopening and placement of subsequent urns, or for grave extension (Figure 5).

In this paper we present more detailed findings from the study on the skeletal remains of people of the Pomeranian Culture excavated from 38 different types of graves. On the explored site we discovered: 10 cist graves (Figures 2–5), 8 cinerary urn graves with stone surrounds (Figure 6), 5 cinerary urn graves with a stone cist-like surround (Figure 7), 4 cavity graves with cinerary urns (Figure 8), 3 cavity urn graves with pyre debris (Figure 9), 2 cinerary urn graves, 1 cloche grave (Figure 10), 4 cavity graves with pyre debris, and one cavity (?) grave (Table 1, Figure 11).



FIGURE 2: Object 1370, cist grave, view of the stone structure from the outside (photo by A. Krzysiak).

FIGURE 3: Object 570, open cist grave with 7 urns inside (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 4: Object 1423, cist grave with 3 urns inside (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 5: Object 410, cist grave with a single richly decorated urn, most likely designed for reopening (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 6: Object 1561 – cinerary urn grave with a stone surround (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 7: Object 557, cinerary urn grave with a stone cist-like surround, with 2 urns inside (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 9: Object 449, cavity grave with pyre debris (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 8: Object 417, urn B – example of a cavity grave with a cinerary urn (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 10: Object 862, cloche grave (photo by A. Krzysiak).

Of all 10 cist graves one contained 7 urns (Object 570), 2 contained 3 urns each (Objects 1423B and 1460?), one contained 2 urns (Object 1557), and the remaining graves contained single urns with incinerated bones (Objects: 410, 582, 968, 1016, 1370). In one destroyed cist grave skeletal remains were not preserved (Object 948). One cinerary urn grave with a stone cist-like surround contained two urns (Object 557), and two others (Objects 906, 1447, 1515A, 1750) contained single urns. Quite a lot of incinerated bones

were preserved in vessels from 8 cinerary urn graves with stone surrounds (Objects 547, 1516, 1561, 1762, 1763, 1770, 1788 and 1789). Cavity graves with cinerary urns (Objects 417B, 417D, 883 and 1001) and destroyed cinerary urn graves (Objects 1380 and 1562) varied in terms of the amount of skeletal remains. In other graves: cavity graves with pyre debris, cloche grave (cavity grave with cinerary urn?) and in cavity graves (?) the bones were poorly preserved or absent (*Figure 11, Table 1*).

TABLE 1: Results of anthropological investigations of burnt human bone remains from graves discovered at the cemetery in Czarnówko (site 5). ♂, male, ♀, female.

Grave No.	Urn No.	Number of person	Age	Sex	Bone colour	Weight [g]	Height [cm] Pearson's method
Cist Graves							
410	1 Face urn	3	Adultus	♀?	Light beige	1509	154.9
			Maturus	♂?			164.5
			Infans I	?			-
570	1	1	Maturus II	♂?	Light beige	552	-
	2	3	Maturus I	♀?	Light beige	1849	155.9
			Maturus II	♂?			164.0
			Infans ?	?			-
	3	2	Maturus I	♂?	Light grey	738	165.5
			Adultus	♀?			152.8
	4	1	Maturus I	♂?	Light grey	562	-
	5	1	Infans I	?	Whitish	89	-
	6	1	Infans I	?	Grey	49	-
	7	1	Infans I	?	Light grey	120	-
582	1	2	Senilis	♂?	Light grey	837	167.9
			Maturus I	♀?			157.3
948	Destroyed						
968	1 Face urn	1	Iuvenis	♀??	Light beige	560	150.0?
1016	1	1	Maturus	?	Light beige	211	-

TABLE 1: Continued.

1370	1 Face urn	1	Adultus	♀	Light beige and grey	875	153.0
1423B	1 Face urn	1	Maturus I	♂	Whitish	1387	165.8
	2	2	Maturus	♀?	Whitish	1347	156.7
			Maturus	♂?			166.7
	3	1	Maturus II	♀	Whitish	857	154.0
1460	2-3??	1	>20 years	♀??	Grey	112	-
1557	1 Face urn	1	Adultus	♀	Whitish	1356	154.0
	2 Face urn	2	Maturus	♀	Whitish	1910	-
			Maturus	♂			165.5
Cinerary urn graves with a stone cist-like surround							
557	1	1	Maturus II	♂	Light beige	652	166.8
	2 Face urn	1	Maturus II	♀?	Grey	689	154.9
906	1	2	Adultus	♀??	Beige	655	-
			Maturus II	♂??			-
1447	1	?	?	?	Light beige	7	-
1515A	1	1	Infans I	?	Grey	5	-
1750	1	1	>20 years	♂??	Grey	69	167.9
Cinerary urn graves with stone surround							
547	2??	4	Iuvenis	♀	Beige	2909	-
			Maturus II	♂			-
			Maturus II	?			-
			Maturus	?			-
1516	2?	2	Maturus	♀?	Light beige	516	-
			Infans I	?			-
1561	1?	1?	>20 years	?	Grey	48	-
1762	1?	1	Adultus	♀??	Grey	678	-
1763	1?	?	?	?	Grey	1	-
1770	1?	?	?	?	Grey	3	-
1788	1?	3	>20 years	♀	Grey and Light beige	468	-
			Infans I	?			-
			Infans	?			-

TABLE 1: Continued.

1789	1?	?	?	?	Grey	68	-
Cavity graves with cinerary urns							
417B	1 Face urn	2	Maturus I	♀??	Whitish	1776	-
			Maturus II	♂??			-
417D	1 Jug	Bones have not survived					
833	1	1	Maturus I	♀	Whitish	642	154.4
1001	1	1	Maturus ?	♂	Light Grey	809	-
Cinerary urn graves							
1380	2 Destroyed	4	Maturus II	♂	Light beige and Light grey, brown	4469	-
			Maturus I	♀			-
			Adultus	♀			-
			>20 years	?			-
1562	1?	?	?	?	Grey	2	-
Cavity urn graves with pyre debris							
370	1-2?	?	?	?	Light beige	38	-
449	1?	` 1	Maturus ?	♂??	Beige-grey	162	-
874	1?	?	?	?	Dark-grey	4	?
Cloche grave							
862	1	1	Infans I	?	Whitish grey	23	-
Cavity graves with pyre debris							
864	?	?	?	?	Dark-grey	5	-
1369A	?	?	?	?	Dark-grey	1	-
237	Bones have not survived						
880	Bones have not survived						
905	Bones have not survived						

Urns used for the deposition of incinerated skeletal remains had different shapes and were handmade of clay with the addition of sand and crushed stone. Some urns had a smooth surface without ornaments. The second most fascinating group of vessels are face urns. These urns varied in terms of their ornamentation and representation of human faces. The surface of the vessels was decorated with stylized twigs of coniferous trees, solar and astral motifs, encircling rims, oblique lines or geometric patterns. Some urns were also decorated with

jewellery (*Figures 12–14*). Archaeologists link the making of face urns with influences of Etruscan Cultures from northern and central Italy, and from the Nordic region of Scandinavia on the local population.

Seven of the face urns and the Pomeranian Culture graves in which they were discovered deserve to be presented in closer detail. A well preserved large grave number 410 (*Figure 5*), by its northern wall, stood a richly ornamented face urn. On its neck is a moulded nose, an engraved mouth, eyes represented by pits, and,

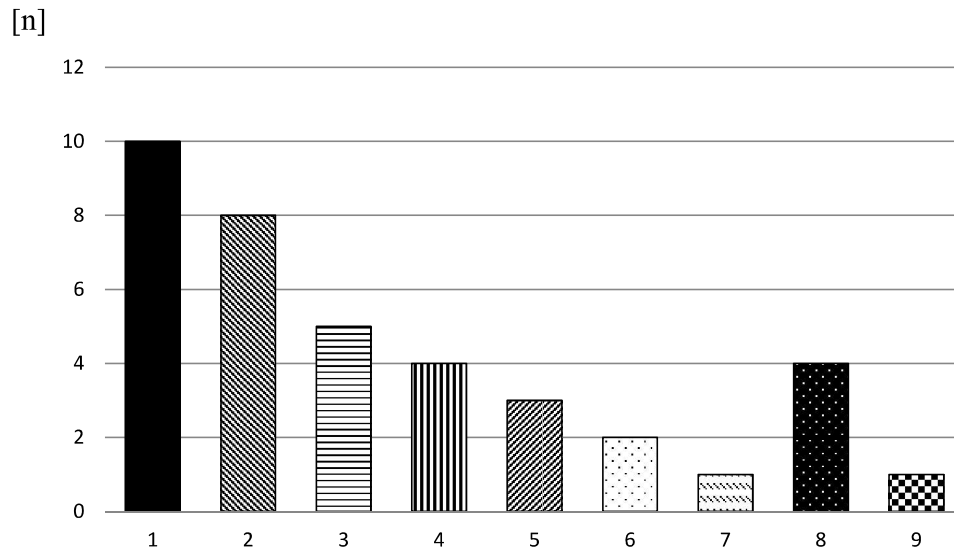


FIGURE 11: A number of different types of graves of people of the Pomeranian Culture discovered at the cemetery in Czarnówko (site 5); 1, cist graves; 2, cinerary urn graves with stone surround; 3, cinerary urn graves with a stone cist-like surround; 4, cavity graves with cinerary urns; 5, cavity urn graves with pyre debris; 6, cinerary urn graves; 7, cloche grave; 8, cavity graves with pyre debris; 9, cavity graves.

in each of moulded ear, three "earrings". The vessel's surface was decorated with motifs of coniferous trees in strokes accentuating the urn's neck and with lines of zig-zag resembling waves. Remains of the three individuals were found in the urn: two adults (woman – *Adultus*, man – *Maturus*) and a child (*Infans I*). In stone cist (grave No. 570), three large urns stood by its western wall and four smaller in its eastern part. None of them had faces or any ornaments of their surface. The four small vessels held the remains of: in three of them three children (*Infans I*) and in the fourth one adult man (*Maturus I*). In first large vessel remains of an elderly man were found (*Maturus II*). Second large vessel held the remains of: one woman (*Maturus I*), man (*Maturus II*) and a child. The last large urn held the remains of two adult individuals (women – *Adultus*) and man – *Maturus I*).

In the investigated cemetery incinerated human bone remains were found in 46–48 urns or other vessels serving this purpose. Skeletal remains from 8 well-preserved urns were explored by the mechanical separation of layers in order to analyse them for the potential deliberate arrangement of incinerated bones. We found probably deliberate arrangement of the cranial vault bones in the topmost layer inside the urn only in object 968 (Figure 15, 15A, 15B). This

arrangement of incinerated bones has been reported from studies carried out in Zapceń (Rożnowski 1977), Zawory (Fudziński, Rożnowski 1997), Rąb (Fudziński, Rożnowski 2002) and Porost (Cymek 2015).

Relatively well preserved vessels were also discovered in cist graves (18 urns), cinerary urn graves with stone surrounds (10 urns), in cinerary urn graves with a stone cist-like surround (6 urns), in cavity graves with cinerary urns (3 urns and 1 jug), in one cinerary urn grave (2–3 urns), and in cavity graves with pyre debris (3–4 vessels). Most of these vessels contained the bones of a single person, but occasionally the remains of two and even three people were identified. For example, one urn from object 410 (Figures 5 and 12), richly decorated on the outside, bearing a face image with a well-shaped nose, distinct eyes, and modelled ears embellished with hanging earrings, contained the incinerated remains of three people: a woman (*Adultus*), a man (*Maturus*) and a child (*Infans I*).

During the exploration of the cemetery in 2008–2015 skeletal remains of at least 68 (?) individuals were discovered, including 21 clusters of female bones, 17 clusters of male bones 10 of children (Table 1). There were also 9 other bone clusters that could not be identified for age and sex due to the small number of



FIGURE 12: Object 410, richly decorated urn with an image of a human face (photo by A. Krzysiak). It contained the incinerated bones of a woman, a man and a child.



FIGURE 13: Object 417, after 2500 years researchers discovered a human face modelled on the urn (photo by A. Krzysiak).



FIGURE 14: Object 1557, a huge trapezoid box structure with two richly decorated face urns placed near the northern wall (photo by A. Krzysiak). One contained female bones and another one female and male bones.

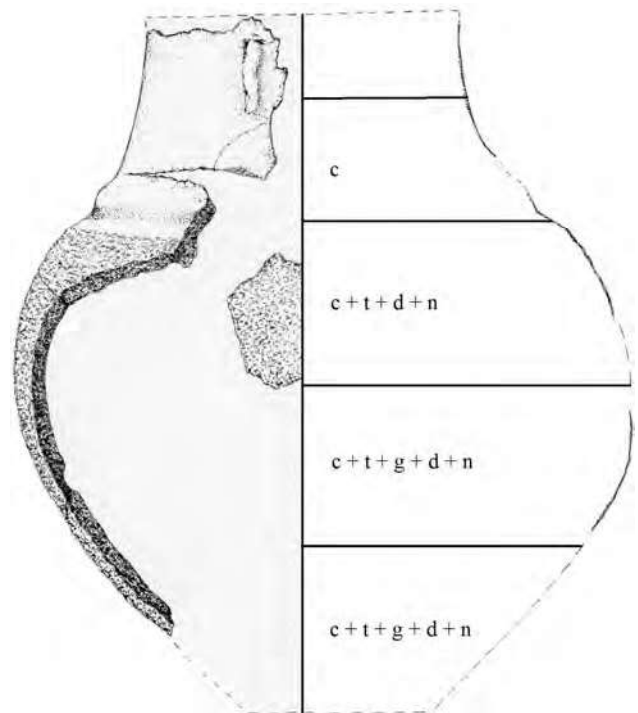


FIGURE 15: Arrangement of incinerated skeletal remains in the urn from object 968, in layers I–V; c, skull bones; t, thorax bones; g, arm bones; d, leg bones; n, unspecified bones.

remains. In 5 graves skeletal remains were not preserved or belonged to adults of unidentified sex and age. The anatomical analysis of skeletal remains allowed for the rough estimation of age-at-death for some individuals. The age-at-death was probably 30–40 years (mean 33.1 years) for women (n=18), and 36–48 years (mean 42.2 years) for men (n=16). Because skeletal remains deposited in urns were relatively well preserved, it was possible to measure the diameter of the heads of long bones, and based on this to use regression equations and to calculate the estimated ante-mortem body height of men and women. The mean ante-mortem body height was 154.35 cm (Pearson's method) or 155–159 cm (method by Strzałko *et al.* 1973) in women (n=11), and 166.1 cm (Pearson's method) or 170–174 cm (Strzałko *et al.* 1973) in men (n=9). The difference in body height between women and men was 11.7 cm. Men lived 9 years longer than women.

The weight of skeletal remains from well preserved urns containing bones of adults was from 112 g to 4469 g, (mean 1038 g per urn, 710 g per adult person). In urns containing the remains of children the mean



FIGURE 16: Skeletal remains in the urn from object 968, in layer I. In the first layer, probably deliberately, only 12 fragments of the skull's vault were placed among the sand and part of the frontal bone with the supraorbital margin.



FIGURE 17: Characteristic skeletal remains in the urn from object 968, in layers II-V. Layers II-V contained bone fragments from all parts of the skeleton.

TABLE 2: Comparative data on the biological characteristics of Pomeranian Culture people.

Location/Dating	The mean life expectancy		% Children to Adults	The mean age-at-death		The mean ante-mortem body height [cm]	
	Newborn e_0^0	Adult e_{20}^0		Women	Men	Women	Men
Czarnówko/ (600–300 BC)	33.33 N=68	17.43	18.5 : 81.5	33.1	42.2	154.4	166.1
Dąbrówno/ (800–600 BC)	29.95 N=88	21.22	35.2 : 64.8	36.3	45.7	154.9	166.3
Rąty/ (600/300 BC)	22.45 N=64	13.42	33.8 : 66.2	31.8	41.5	154.5	163.9
Zawory/ (600/300 BC)	30.07 N=45	20.85	20.0 : 68.7	32.0	43.3	155.5	165.7
Rąb/ (600/300 BC)	29.22 N=102	17.98	31.3 : 68.7	32.5	45.6	154.4	169.7

weight was 86 g per person. The vessels contained the remains of 47 individuals. In total, during the exploration of the cemetery in 2008–2015 the remains of at least 68 individuals were discovered, grouped as follows: 21 clusters of female bones, 17 clusters of male bones, and 10 clusters of child bones.

At the cemetery in Czarnówko 20.4% of remains belonged to children and 79.6% to adults. The ratio of children (d_{0-14}) in Czarnówko was 18.5%, and the mean life expectancy for a newborn (e_0^0) was 33.33 years. The comparison of biological characteristics of the population from Czarnówko and the population

representing the Pomeranian Culture from Dąbrówno, Rąb and Rąty did not reveal any significant differences (Table 2). The population from Czarnówko differed only for a longer mean life expectancy of the newborn and a relatively low ratio of children.

These findings will most certainly be revised in the future, but it largely depends on the completion of the analysis of materials recovered from this cemetery during unmethodical research in 1974–2000 and analysis of new material obtained in 2017.

CONCLUSIONS

The population of Pomeranian Culture used different burial customs. Most often, the corpse were buried in impressive cist graves or in similar cinerary urn graves with a stone surround. Inside the graves were placed 7, 3, 2 or 1 urn. In one of the urn bone remains belonged to 3 people, up to 2 or 1. The specific way of laying the skull bones in the top of the urn was found in only one case. Bones explored from the above-listed graves probably belonged to at least 58 individuals, including 18 women, 15 men, 2 adults of undefined sex, 7 children and 16 individuals of undefined age and sex. The condition of the bones in the ashtrays graves was very good, as evidenced by their large number, on average 710 g per adult and 86 g per child.

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Lidia Cymek*
Aleja Różana 19
76 200 Włynkówko
Poland,
E-mail: lidiacymek@wp.pl

Agnieszka Krzysiak
Museum in Lębork
ul. Młynarska 14-15,
84 300 Lębork
Poland
E-mail: a_krzysiak@poczta.fm

* Corresponding author.

Miroslav Kopecký
Palacký University Olomouc
Faculty of Health Sciences
Department of Specialised Subjects and
Practical Skills
Hněvotínská 3
775 15 Olomouc
Czech Republic
E-mail: miroslav.kopecky@upol.cz

Franciszek Rożnowski
Drewniana 8/87
76 200 Słupsk
Poland
E-mail: froznowski@gmail.com