

Enclosure of La Tène Graves in the Territory of Slovakia

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to give a basic analysis of graves enclosed by rectangular and circular ditches documented at La Tène cemeteries from the territory of today's Slovakia. It is focused mainly on the characteristics of the shape and size of the ditches or their spatial analysis within individual cemeteries. We also pay attention to graves situated within the area enclosed by the ditches. In this regard, the size of grave pits, the composition of grave goods, the dating, and the characteristics of buried individuals are important. The analysis should contribute to the discussion of basic questions regarding the design and function of the ditches and reasons for their occurrence in the studied area.

KEYWORDS

Enclosure; rectangular; circular; graves; La Tène; Slovakia; elite.

INTRODUCTION

Graves enclosed by ditches are common mainly in Western Europe, especially in England (e.g. STEAD 1961; 1991; WHIMSTER 1979), France (e.g. BARAY *et al.* 2013; BLONDIAU – BUCHEZ 2009; BOUTHIER 2002; GRANSAR – MALRAIN 2009; HERBIN *et al.* 2013; LAMBOT 2000), and Germany (e.g. CORDIE 2006; DECKER – SCOLLAR 1962; HAFFNER *et al.* 2008–2009; SCHWARZ 1962). Numerous graves enclosed by ditches have been documented also at some cemeteries in Austria. We can mention for instance the large cemeteries in Franzhausen, Mannersdorf or Pottenbrunn (NEUGEBAUER 1992, 29, 41–61; RAMSL 2002; 2011; 2017). In Pottenbrunn, the number of graves with ditches is higher than the number of graves without enclosures (RAMSL 2002). In the territory of central and southern Poland, we come across such graves in the Tyniec group and Przeworsk culture (BOCHNAK 2007). Other, although less numerous, cases come from northern Italy (ORTALLI 1995), Bohemia (Černouček: BRNIC – SANKOT 2006; Nové Dvory?: ŠUMBEROVÁ – VALETOVÁ 2011; Tišice?: BÍLKOVÁ 2014, 36–38, 77, 78, fig. 31, 32; Vliněves: LIMBURSKÝ – GINOUX – SANKOT 2013), Moravia (Brno-Maloměřice?: ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 2005, 15; Dolní Bojanovice?:¹ ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1993, 117; Domamyslice, Vícemilice: ČIŽMÁŘ 1973; Olomouc-Slavonín:² KALÁBEK 2001, 258, 259; Žatčany: ČIŽMÁŘ 2000, 183–184), Hungary (Győr-Ménfőcsanak: UZSOKI 1987; VADAY 2006; Szomód-Kenderhegy: VADÁSZ 1987, 233, 235, 236), and Romania (Gâmbaş and Viștea: RUSTOIU – BERECKI – FERENCZ 2017, 256, 268, fig. 5).

Southwestern Slovakia is the only part of today's Slovakia where graves enclosed by ditches have been discovered (**Fig. 1; Tab. 1**). The cemetery of Dubník has the highest number of such graves; there were nine out of 31 graves situated within an area enclosed by rectangular ditches (BUJNA 1989). In another two – partially detected – ditches, no graves were found. Six exemplars – three rectangular and three circular – have been documented at the cemetery of

1 No burial was found in the rectangular enclosure.

2 A burial was found only in one of the five rectangular enclosures.

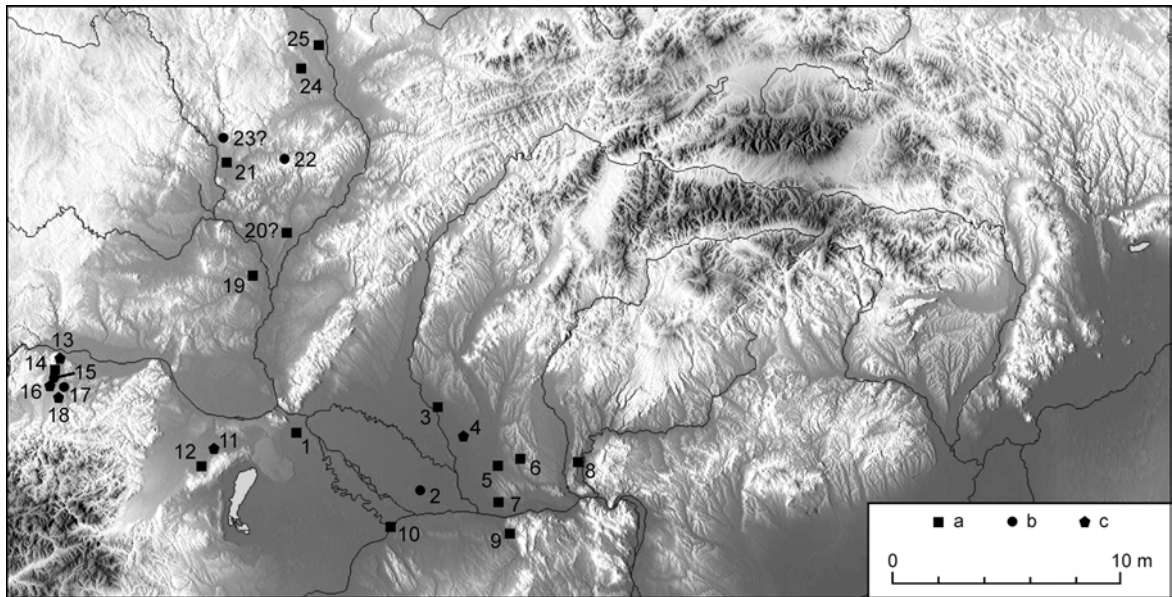


Fig. 1: 1 - Bratislava-Jarovce; 2 - Holiare; 3 - Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov; 4 - Palárikovo I; 5 - Bajč-Vlkanovo; 6 - Dubník; 7 - Chotín VIII; 8 - Malé Kosihy; 9 - Szomód-Kenderhegy; 10 - Győr-Ménfőcsanak; 11 - Mannersdorf; 12 - Au am Leithagebirge; 13 - Franzhausen; 14 - Inzersdorf ob der Traisen; 15 - Herzogenburg; 16 - Oberndorf in der Ebene; 17 - Ossarn; 18 - Pottenbrunn; 19 - Bernhardstahl (Pernitál); 20 - Dolní Bojanovice; 21 - Žatčany; 22 - Vícemilice; 23 - Brno-Maloměřice; 24 - Domamyslice; 25 - Olomouc-Slavonín. a - cemetery with rectangular enclosures; b - cemetery with circular enclosures; c - cemetery with rectangular and circular enclosures (Tab. 1; ČIŽMÁŘ 1973; 2000; ČIŽMÁŘOVÁ 1993; 2005; KALÁBEK 2001; NEUGEBAUER 1992; RAMSL 2017; STRATJEL 2016; UZSOKI 1987; VADÁSZ 1987; VADAY 2006).

Palárikovo I (95 graves were investigated altogether; BENADIK 1975a). Three ditches were detected at each of the following sites: Bajč-Vlkanovo (68 graves in total; BENADIK 1960), Holiare (25 graves in total; BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957) and Malé Kosihy (102 graves altogether; BUJNA 1995). Those in Bajč-Vlkanovo and Malé Kosihy were rectangular, in Holiare, they were circular. Not all of them were fully detected (e.g. Bajč-Vlkanovo, grave 67; Dubník 26, 33; Malé Kosihy, ditch 15 and grave 452). As for Holiare, one of the incompletely preserved ditches did not contain any grave at all. Two other graves enclosed by rectangular ditches are known from Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov (40 graves altogether; BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957). Rectangular ditches are also mentioned at one of the La Tène cemeteries in the village of Chotín, particularly at site VIII. The published reports (BÉREŠ 1970, 356; DUŠEK 1961, 66), however, do not give the exact number or detailed data of such enclosed graves. At least 31 La Tène graves were studied at the cemetery (REPKA 2014, 27, tab. 1:43). The latest find of a grave with a rectangular ditch was discovered at a previously unpublished La Tène cemetery in Bratislava-Jarovce, Trávníky site.³ A grave (?) with a circular ditch detected by an aerial survey in Nové Zámky remains archaeologically uncorroborated but is considered to be of the La Tène period in literature.⁴

3 Investigation by the company Archeologická agentúra, s. r. o. I would like to thank Mgr. Bohuslav Šebesta, PhD. for basic information on the studied grave.

4 Other graves with circular ditches detected by aerial photos but of an unknown date are known from the territory of Slovakia (e.g. Stupava, Nitra-Lužianky: KUZMA 2010, 74, 92, fig. F78, F123).

THE GRAVES

SHAPES AND SIZES OF DITCHES

Two basic shapes of ditches enclosing graves from the La Tène period are known from the territory of modern-day Slovakia – rectangular and circular (**Tab. 1**). Rectangular shapes – square or slightly rectangular – are the most frequent. The ditches from Dubník (grave 24) and Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov (grave 233) have a slightly rhomboid shape. The three ditches from Palárikovo I (graves 84, 89 and 88) differ from most of the other ditches with their slightly rounded corners (BENADIK 1975a, 102, fig. 1). Moreover, two of them (graves 84, 86, and 88) are interconnected. We came across two connected ditches also at the cemetery of Dubník, particularly in graves 18+27 and 19. An intentional interruption of the ditch was documented at graves 10 and 22 in Dubník (**Fig. 5**) where a southwest oriented entrance to the grave area was thus created. Another entrance can be assumed at the rectangular ditch built around grave 86 in Palárikovo I. This one is oriented to the north.

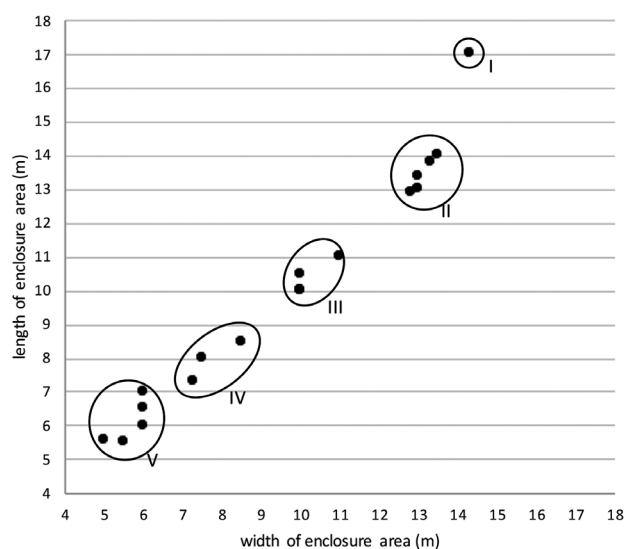


Fig. 2: Size categories of La Tène rectangular enclosures (according to their max. length and width) from the territory of Slovakia.

On the basis of their total size, the rectangular ditches can be divided into four, or five, categories (**Figs. 2, 3**). The first one is represented by the ditch built around grave 19 in Dubník with a maximum size of 14.3 × 17 m (enclosing an area of approx. 243.1 sq m). The second category of ditches with a max. size of 12.8 × 12.9 to 13.5 × 14 m (approx. 161–183 sq m) is associated with the cemetery in Dubník and documented particularly around graves 17, 18+27, 24 and 28. Grave 4 at the newly discovered cemetery in Bratislava-Jarovce with a ditch of 13 × 13 m can be classified in this group as well. The maximum size of ditches in the third category is 10 × 10–11 × 11 m (approx. 95–113 sq m). It is represented at three cemeteries – Dubník (grave 10), Malé Kosihy (grave 31), and Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov (graves 233 and 362). A fourth group with a maximum size of 7.3 × 7.3 to 8.5 × 8.5 m (approx. 53.3–71 sq m) has been exclusively documented at the cemetery in Dubník (graves 22, 23, and 26). The last size category of rectangular ditches is represented by exemplars from Bajč-Vlkanovo and Palárikovo I with a size of 5 × 5.6–6 × 7 m; they enclosed an area of approx. 25.5–36 sq m. The above-mentioned ditches with rounded corners (graves 84, 86, and 88) from Palárikovo I could be as a distinct sub-group within this category (**Fig. 3**).

Grave	Shape of enclosure	Size of enclosure (m)	Width of enclosure (m)	Depth of enclosure (m)	Size of grave pit (m)
BAJ 4	□	13 × 13	1-1.3	0.5-0.6	1.4-1.6 × 4
BAV 22	□	5.5 × 5.5	?	?	?
BAV 65	□	6 × 6	?	0.15	3.1 × 2
BAV 67?	□	?	?	?	3 × 1.45
DU 10	□	9.5-10 × 9.5-10	0.25	0.15-0.25	2.6 × 1.8
DU 17	□	13.5 × 13.2-14	0.5	0.2-0.35	3.5 × 3.4
DU 18, 27	□	13-13.3 × 13.3-13.8	0.4-0.6	0.4-0.55	b. 18: 3.3 × 3.2; b. 27: 1.2 × 0.9
DU 19	□	14.3 × 17	0.9	0.6-0.8	3.5 × 3.5
DU 22	□	8 × min. 7.5	0.15-0.25	?	2.6 × 2.2
DU 23	□	8-8.5 × 8.5	0.3-0.45	0.2	2.4 × 2.4
DU 24	□	12.5-12.8 × 12.6-12.9	0.25-0.4	0.15-0.3	2.6 × 2.6
DU 26	□	7.3 × 7.3	0.15-0.25	0.15	no grave
DU 28	□	12.6-13 × 12.9-13.4	0.2-0.4	0.4	2.6 × 2.6
DU 33	□	?	0.25	0.15	no grave
HO 29	○	length 10	?	?	1.2 × 0.8
HO 186	○	length 10	?	?	1.5 × 1.1
HO (not numbered)	○	length 10 ?	?	?	no grave
CH VIII, more graves	□	?	?	?	?
MK 15 (b. 34?)	□	?	?	?	?
MK 31	□	10 × 10	0.3 - 0.4	0.2	1.8 × 1.25
MK 452	□	preserved 5 × 2	0.3	0.2	1.6 × 1.35
PA I 44	○	l. 6.3-6.5	?	?	2.45 × 1.54
PA I 46A, 46B	○	l. 6.5	?	0.2-0.3	2.65 × 1.7
PA I 75	○	l. 6.5-7.2	?	?	2.4 × 1.65
PA I 84	□	7 × 6	?	?	?
PA I 86	□	6.5 × 6	?	?	2.55 × 0.75
PA I 88	□	5-5.6 × 4.5-5	?	?	?
TNV 233	□	10-11 × 10.5-11	0.61	0.65	2.6 × 1.9
TNV 362	□	10 × 10-10.5	0.87	?	2.8 × 1.35

Tab. 1: Overview of La Tène grave enclosures in the territory of Slovakia (BAJ - Bratislava-Jarovce; BAV - Bajč-Vlkanovo; DU - Dubník; HO - Holiare; CH VIII - Chotín VIII; MK - Malé Kosihy; PA - Palárikovo I; TNV - Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov; □ - rectangular; ○ - circular; I - inhumation; C - cremation; l. - length).

Depth of grave pit (m)	Burial rite	Sex of buried	Age of buried	References
1-1.3	I	?	?	information from Mgr. Bohuslav Šebesta, PhD.
1.5	I	female	?	BENADIK 1960, 399
1.34	I	?	?	BENADIK 1960, 406
1.1	I	?	?	BENADIK 1960, 406
0.8	I	?	<i>maturus</i> ?	BUJNA 1989, 256; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
1.1	I	male	<i>maturus</i> I	BUJNA 1989, 261; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
b. 18: 1; b. 27: 0.65	I	male	b. 18: <i>adaltus</i> I; b. 27: ?	BUJNA 1989, 263, 275; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
1	I	male	<i>maturus</i> II	BUJNA 1989, 265, 267; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
0.7	I	male	<i>maturus</i> II	BUJNA 1989, 271, 272; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
0.7	I	?	<i>maturus</i> I ?	BUJNA 1989, 272; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
1.1	I	male	<i>juvenis</i> ?	BUJNA 1989, 272, 273; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
no grave				BUJNA 1989, 275
1.1	I	female	<i>adaltus</i> II	BUJNA 1989, 276, 277; JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989
no grave				BUJNA 1989, 283
2.6	C	male (according to grave goods)	?	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 84, 86
2.2	C	female? (according to grave goods)	?	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 88
no grave				BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 85, obr. 24
	?	?	?	BÉREŠ 1970, 356; DUŠEK 1961, 66
	C	?	?	BUJNA 1995, 26; JAKAB 1995
	C	male	<i>maturus</i>	BUJNA 1995, 24; JAKAB 1995
	C	female?	?	BUJNA 1995, 88; JAKAB 1995
1.68	I	male	<i>adaltus</i> I	BENADIK 1975a; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016; JAKAB 2016
1.95	b. 46A: I; b. 46B: C	b. 46A: male; b. 46B: ?	b. 46A: <i>matu-</i> <i>rurus</i> I; b. 46B: ?	BENADIK 1975a; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016; JAKAB 2016
0.95	I	female?	<i>infans</i> II	BENADIK 1975a; JAKAB 2016
?	I	male	<i>adaltus</i> II	BENADIK 1975a; JAKAB 2016
1.8	I	male?	<i>adaltus</i>	BENADIK 1975a; JAKAB 2016
?	I	?	<i>adaltus</i>	BENADIK 1975a; JAKAB 2016
2.4	I	female	adult?	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 21, 221
2.3	I	male	<i>maturus</i>	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 27, 224

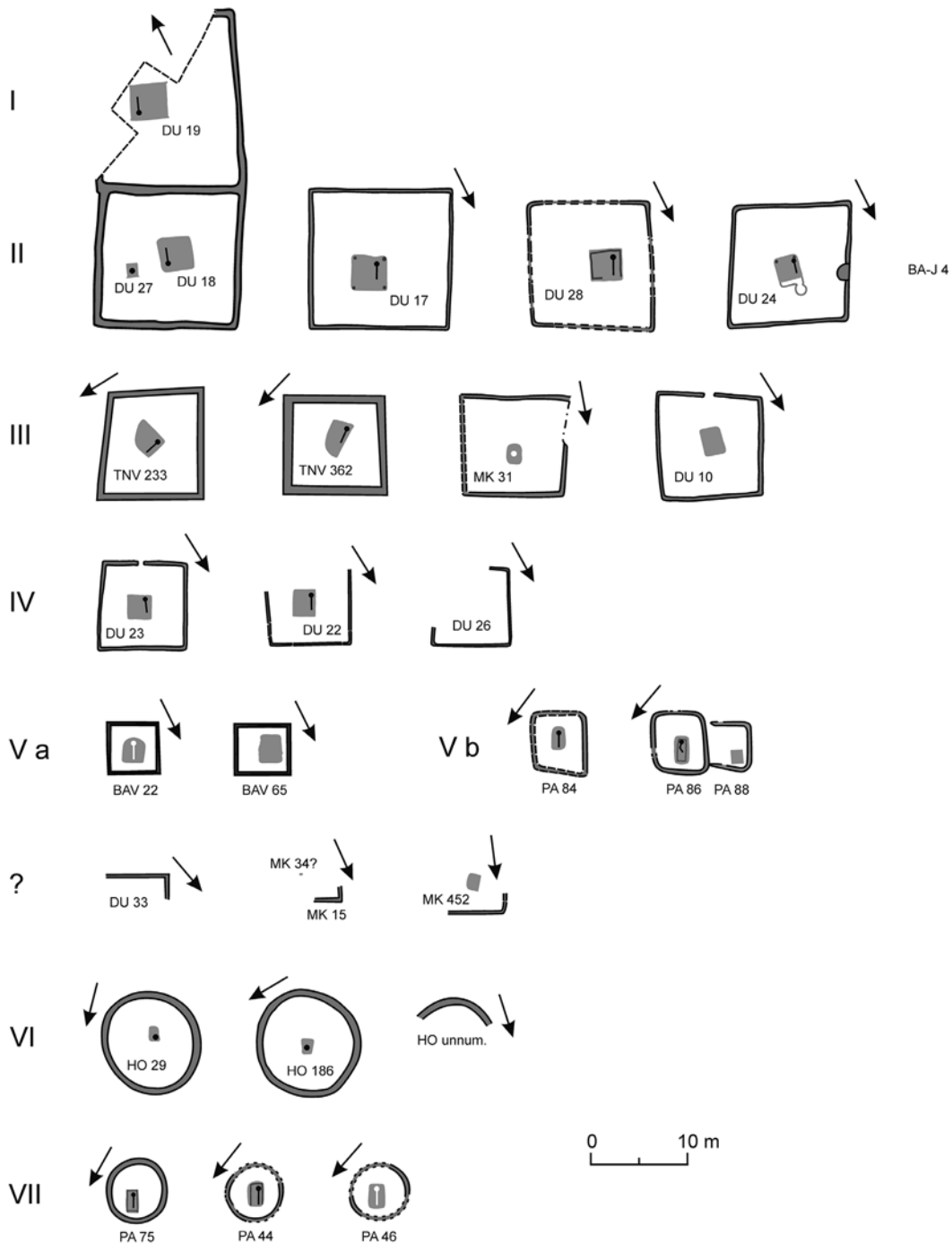


Fig. 3: Graphic presentation of size categories of La Tène enclosures from the territory of Slovakia (cf. Tab. 1).

Circular ditches which have been detected in only six cases so far are represented only in two size categories in the territory of Slovakia – with a diameter of 6.3 to 7.2 m (approx. 32.2–37.4 sq m) at the cemetery in Palárikovo I (graves 44, 46 and 75) and with a diameter of 10 m (approx. 78.5 sq m) at the cemetery in Holiare (**Fig. 3**).

It is interesting that with the exception of Dubník,⁵ almost identical ditch sizes were documented at each of the individual grave grounds. At the cemetery in Bajč-Vlkanovo, a pair of rectangular ditches reached a size of 5.5×5.5 m and 6×6 m (**Fig. 3; Tab. 1**).⁶ In Trnovec nad Váhom, sizes varied between 10–11×10.5–11 m and 10×10–10.5 m (**Fig. 3; Tab. 1**). Similarly, an identical diameter of approx. 10 m is documented in Holiare, though the ditches there are circular in ground-plan (**Fig. 3; Tab. 1**; BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 85, fig. 24). Similar sizes can be observed in Palárikovo I, where rectangular as well as circular ditches occur (**Fig. 3; Tab. 1**). The diameter of the three circular ditches there varied between 6.3 and 7.2 m while two (graves 84 and 86) out of the three rectangular ditches had sides of 6.5–7 m. The ditch around grave 88 with dimensions of 4.5–5×5–5.6 m was the smallest, although its size was not very different from the other two. In the case of the cemetery in Malé Kosihy, a comparison of sizes of the three detected ditches is not possible, since they have been preserved – with the exception of grave 31 – only partially and without a possible reconstruction of the total size (**Fig. 3; Tab. 1**).

As far as the width of individual ditches is concerned, the values vary too (**Tab. 1**). The narrowest ditches identified in Dubník (graves 10, 22, 26, 33) reached only 0.15–0.25 m. They are followed by ditches 0.3–0.6 m wide, also documented in Dubník (graves 17, 23, 24, 28) and also in Malé Kosihy (graves 31, 452). The ditch around grave 19 in Dubník reached a maximum width of 0.9 m.⁷ As for the ditches from Bajč-Vlkanovo and Palárikovo I, their widths were not stated and their detection from drawn or photographic documentation was distorted to some extent.

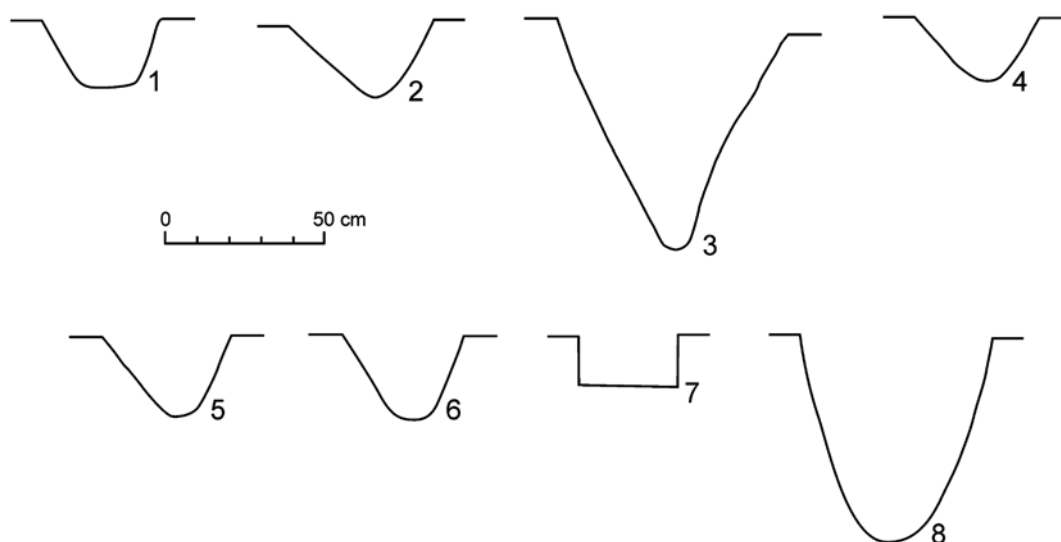


Fig. 4: Sections of the ditches. 1 - Dubník, grave 10; 2 - Dubník, grave 17; 3 - Dubník, grave 19; Dubník, grave 22; 4 - Dubník, grave 23; 5 - Dubník, grave 24; 6 - Dubník, grave 28 (all BUJNA 1989); 7 - Bajč-Vlkanovo, grave 65 (BENADIK 1960); 8 - Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov, grave 233 (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957).

- 5 As already stated above, four size categories of rectangular ditches are represented here, except the smallest fifth category.
- 6 Another ditch found around grave 67 was detected only in fragments, so it is not possible to state its original size.
- 7 According to B. Benadik (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 21) the ditch around grave 233 in Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov was 1.38 m wide and 1.45 m deep. According to the published drawing, however, the width is only 0.61 m and depth 0.65 m.

Almost all the published ditches are V-shaped in section with a rounded – not pointed – lower part, which is their common feature (**Figs. 4:1–7, 9**). The sole exception may be the ditch around grave 65 in Bajč-Vlkanovo (**Fig. 4:8**). The depth of the individual ditches varied mainly between 0.15 and 0.6 m, The ditch around grave 19 in Dubník is an exception with its depth of 0.8 (**Tab. 1**). There was an observable correlation between the total size of the ditches and the widths and depths at each site (**Tab. 1**). At Dubník, on the contrary, they vary much more. However, we can observe a clear correlation between the total size of the ditches and their widths and depths there. The smallest ditches (53.3–64 sq m) at the cemetery around graves 22 and 26 also had the smallest width (0.15–0.25 m) and the smallest depth (0.15 m). As for the ditch around grave 10, which covered an area of 95 sq m, its width was 0.25 m with a depth of 0.15–0.25 m. In ditches of 161 sq m and 169 sq m, the width increased to 0.4 m and the depth to 0.3–0.4 m. A similar depth was measured in the ditch around grave 17 with an area of 183 sq m, but its width was as much as 0.5 m. A slightly smaller ditch (177 sq m) is situated around the pair of graves 18 and 27, however, it has a greater width (0.6 m) and depth (0.55 m). Finally, the largest ditch in the cemetery was found around grave 19, with an area of 243.1 sq m, width of 0.9 m and depth of 0.8 m (**Tab. 1**).

SPATIAL RELATIONS OF GRAVES AND DITCHES WITHIN CEMETERIES

The arrangement of graves at the studied cemeteries is visible at first sight. The cemetery in Dubník is the best example. There are two groups of graves with rectangular ditches in the studied area. Larger ditches (graves 17, 18+27, 19, and 28) have been documented in the north-western part. In the northeastern part, on the other hand, there were smaller graves (10, 22, 23, and 26), with the exception of grave 24 (**Fig. 5**). A spatial division of ditches also occurs at the other studied cemeteries. The studied parts of the cemeteries in Bajč-Vlkanovo (**Fig. 6**) and Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov (**Fig. 8**) can be divided into three clusters of graves. In two cases, there is/are grave/s with ditches. B. Benadik (1960) already drew attention to these clusters before. In Bajč-Vlkanovo (**Fig. 6**) and Palárikovo I (**Fig. 7**), graves without ditches are clearly arranged around graves enclosed by ditches. At the cemetery in Palárikovo I, we can observe clusters of graves not only around ditches, but also in other places, e.g. near graves 24, 58, and 70 (**Fig. 7**). The above described division can be associated with the terrain configuration at the cemetery. B. Benadik (1960), for instance, mentions a slight elevation in the area of graves 65 and 67 from Bajč-Vlkanovo.

All the rectangular ditches were oriented almost strictly to a cardinal point, more precisely their corners pointed in the direction of the cardinal points (**Figs. 2, 5–8**). This is an orientation also found in other cemeteries (e.g. BOCHNAK 2007; HERBIN *et al.* 2013, 84, fig. 7; LAMBOT 2000, 157, fig. 17; RAMSL 2002, fig. 147; RAMSL 2011, fig. 178; STEAD 1991, fig. 5–24).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ENCLOSED GRAVES

Graves enclosed by ditches share multiple features in common. In most cases, a large grave pit is documented. As for inhumations, there are mainly square graves of 4.35–12.25 sq m. On the other hand, cremated remains were deposited in grave pits of 0.96–2.25 sq m. The depth of grave pits varies from 0.65 to 2.6 m (**Tab. 1**).

In some cases, we can observe a certain correlation between the size of a grave pit and the size of the ditch enclosing it. For example, it is true of the three largest ditches detected at the cemetery in Dubník. Grave 19 with a grave pit of 3.5×3.5 m (12.25 sq m) was situated in a ditch enclosure of 14.3×17 m (243.1 sq m). The grave pit of grave 17 enclosed by a ditch of

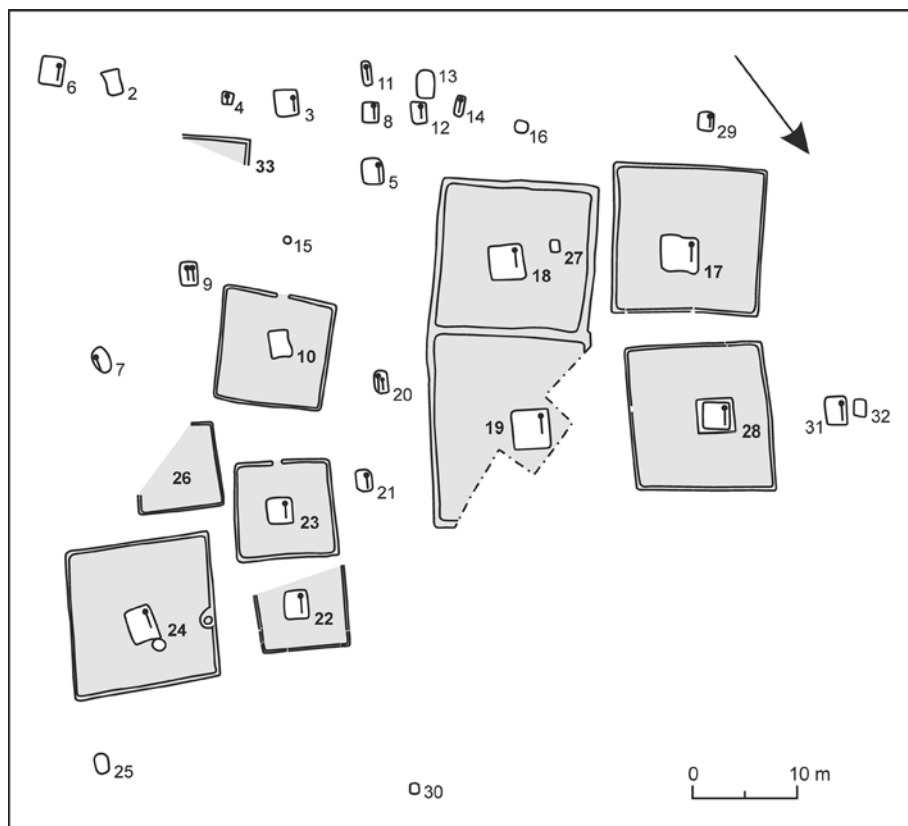


Fig. 5: Plan of the La Tène cemetery in Dubník (adapted by the author according to BUJNA 1989).

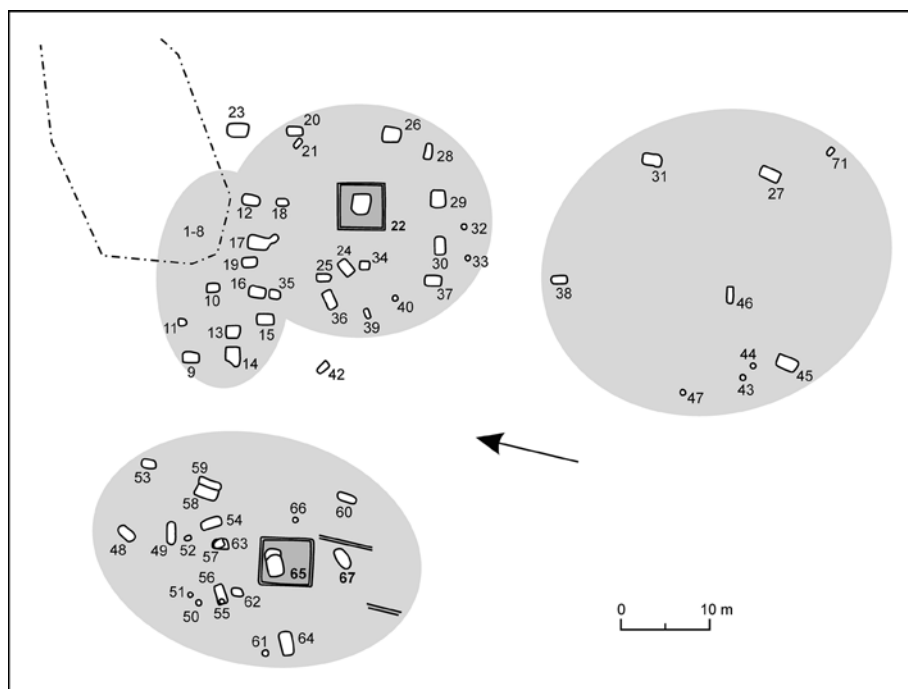


Fig. 6: Plan of the La Tène cemetery in Bajč-Vlkanovo with the clusters of graves (adapted by the author according to BENADIK 1960).

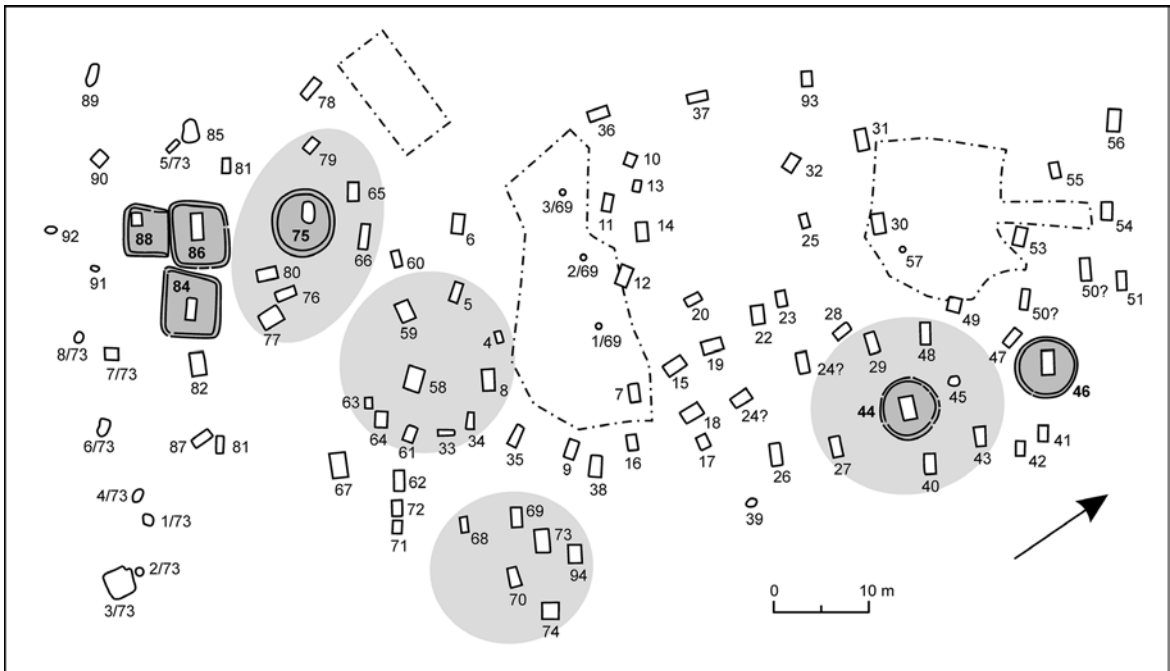


Fig. 7: Plan of the La Tène cemetery in Palárikovo I with the circular grave clusters (adapted by the author according to BENADIK 1975a).

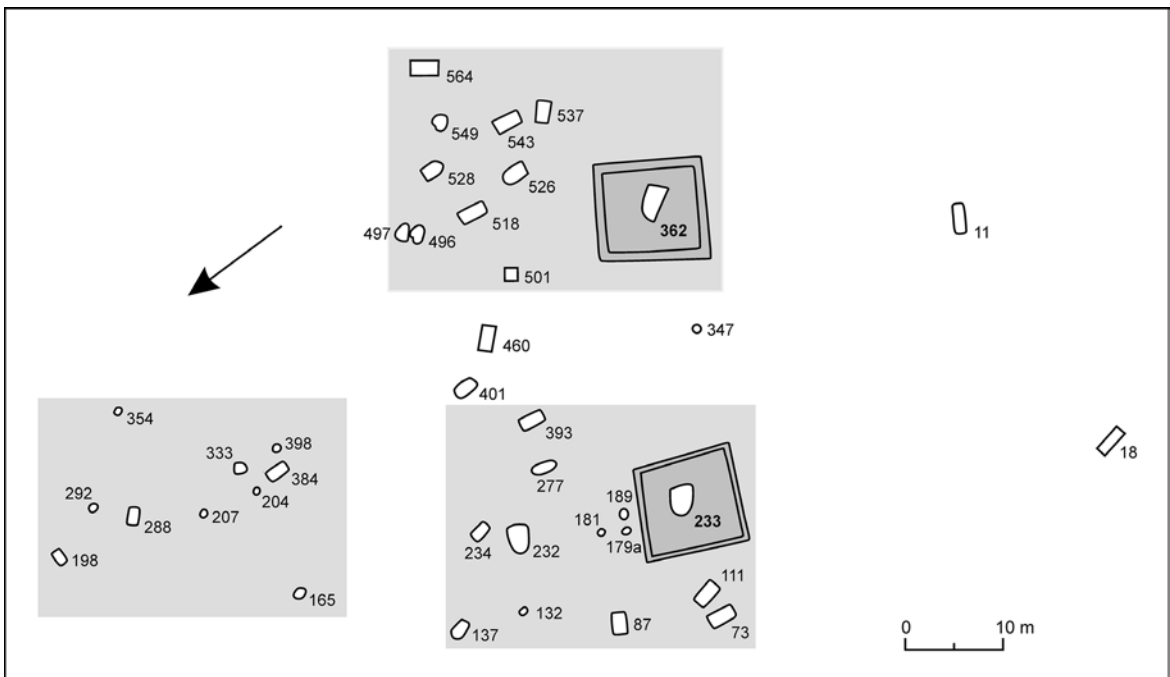


Fig. 8: Plan of the La Tène cemetery in Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov with the clusters of graves (adapted by the author according to BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957).

13.5×13.2–14 m (approx. 183 sq m) was only a little smaller – 3.5 m wide and 3.4 m long (11.9 sq m). The size of the ditch around graves 18 and 27 was 13–13.3×13.3–13.8 m (177 sq m); the central inhumation grave 18 was 3.3×3.2 (10.56 sq m; **Tab. 1**).

In some – mostly inhumation – graves, the grave pit was lined with wood, as documented by wood remains in the pits. Such cases are known from graves 17, 19, 24, and 28 in Dubník (BUJNA 1989). Post holes were found in the pits of graves 17 and 24 (BUJNA 1989, 265, 274, fig. 21, 32). In the first grave in question, they were situated in all four corners, while in the other one, they were detected only in the southeastern and southwestern corners. In Palárikovo I, wooden constructions were confirmed in graves 44 and 86 (BENADIK 1975a). Another case is grave 4 in Bratislava-Jarovce, which was also indicated on the surface by a stone stele.

Most buried individuals were given ‘rich’ grave goods (**Figs. 9; Tab. 2**). Despite the fact that most graves were disturbed (**Tab. 2**),⁸ they can be classified in the first social group based on the classification by J. Bujna (1982). Male individuals were buried with weaponry, most often represented by swords: 11 out of 12 enclosed male graves contained warrior equipment. The equipment in all these graves – with the exception of grave 24 from Dubník – included swords (**Figs. 1, 4, 5**). Seven graves contained complete warrior equipment characteristic of the La Tène culture, i.e. a sword, a spear, and a shield. Only the cremation grave 27 from Dubník lacked a shield; however, the grave was a later addition to this enclosed area (**Tab. 2**). Graves 17, 18, 19, and 24 in Dubník also contained items of everyday use, such as scissors, a razor, and a grinding stone (**Tab. 2**), whose occurrence is associated with warrior graves mainly in the earlier stage of the flat Celtic cemeteries. A golden ring from grave 19 in Dubník is an exceptional find from the warrior graves (**Tab. 2**).

All the graves with female individuals were characterized by the presence of belts or their metal parts and a higher number of fibulae and annular jewellery. All such graves contained anklets typical of women. Like in the case of male graves, these burials can be classed in Bujna’s first social group. Two individuals could have been buried in grave 233 from Trnovec nad Váhom (**Fig. 9:3**) on the basis of its grave goods containing 13 fibulae, 10 annular jewels, two belts, an amber ring, three vessels and animal bones (**Tab. 2**).

In regard to grave goods, graves 10 and 22 from Dubník with their considerably poor furnishings were exceptional. Grave 10 – a burial of an individual of undetermined gender – contained one vessel, two sherds, and animal bones. Male grave 22 contained one iron fibula, two vessels and one sherd (**Fig. 9:6**). Grave 23 with three fibulae, two bracelets, and six vessels was richer. Graves 65 (**Fig. 9:7**) and 67 from Bajč-Vlkanovo had undoubtedly been robbed, so an assessment of their incomplete inventory is irrelevant (**Tab. 2**).

The importance of graves with ditches is documented by the remains of meat in the form of animal bones. Fowl bones, including that of chicken and goose, were found in some analysed graves (Bajč-Vlkanovo, grave 22; Dubník, graves 17, 18, 19; Malé Kosihy, grave 31; Palárikovo I, grave 46 A; **Tab. 2**; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2014). In graves 24 in Dubník and 362 in Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov, the bones come from an unidentifiable bird (**Tab. 2**). Poultry bones are rare and only occur in graves with rich grave goods at Celtic cemeteries (BENADIK 1960, 412; BUJNA 1991, 239, 240; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2014, 521, 522).⁹ It is assumed that poultry meals – probably in the form of a broth/soup – were very important for the Celts. Chicken soup was considered a typical sacrificial and ritual meal also with the Slavs (NIEDERLE 1911, 174).

As far as the age of the individuals buried in the enclosed graves is concerned, it could be assessed only in nine cases and adult individuals make up the majority (present in seven or

8 Secondary burials were added to grave 44 from Palárikovo I and probably also to grave 233 from Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov (BUJNA 2011, 80, note 8; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016).

9 The latest list of graves with the presence of poultry bones in La Tène graves from the territory of Central Europe is presented by P.C. Ramsil (2011, 677, 678, Tab. 2). A. Gardelková-Vrtelová (2014) dealt with finds from Slovakia in more detail.

Grave	Fibula	Ring jewel	Other jewel	Belt	Warrior equipment
BAV 22 (D)	5Bz, 3Fe	-	GlB, BzNch	Fe+Bz	-
BAV 65 (D)	2Bz, 2Fe	-	-	Fe	-
BAV 67? (D)	2Fe	-	-	-	-
DU 10 (D)	-	-	-	-	-
DU 17 (D)	4Fe	-	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh
DU 18 (D)	4Fe	-	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh
DU 19 (D)	3Fe	AuFr	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh
DU 22 (D)	1Fe	-	-	-	-
DU 23 (D)	3Fe	2Bz	-	-	-
DU 24 (D)	3Fe	-	-	Fe	Sp, Sh
DU 27	3Fe	-	-	Fe	Sw, Sp
DU 28 (D)	1Bz, 7Fe	BzBr?, FeBr?, 2BzAn	BzNe	Bz	-
HO 29	2Fe	-	-	Fe	Sw, Sh
HO 186	3Bz, 3Fe	GlBr	-	Bz	-
MK 15 (b. 34?)	-	-	-	-	-
MK 31 (D)	2Fe	FeBr?	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh, He?
MK 452 (D)	2Bz, 3Fe	FeBr?, BzAn?	-	Fe	-
PA I 44	Fe?	BzAr, FeAr, SpAr	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh
PA I 46A (D)	Fe	BzAr	-	Fe	Sw, Sh
PA I 75	5Fe	2BzBr, AuFr, AgFr, BzFr, 2BzAn	-	Bz	-
PA I 84	2Fe	BzNr	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh
PA I 86	Bz, 3Fe	2BzBr, SpBr, 2BzAn	-	Fe	-
TNV 233a, b	10Fe, 3Bz	4BzBr, FeAr/Br, 2BzAn, 2BzFr, SPBr	BzNch, AmPe	2Fe	-
TNV 362	Fe	-	-	Fe	Sw, Sp, Sh

Tab. 2: Inventory and dating of La Tène enclosed graves in the territory of Slovakia. Only graves with a published inventory are presented. (D - disturbed grave; Au - gold; Ag - silver; Bz - bronze, Fe - iron; Sp - spropelite; Gl - glass; Am - amber; Br - bracelet; Ar - armlet; An - anklet; Fr - finger-ring; Nr - neck-ring; Nch - Necklace-chain; B - beads; Pe - pendant; Ne - needle; Sw - sword; Sp - spear; Sh - shield; He - helmet; K - knife; R - razor; Sc - scissors; W - whetstone; f - pottery fragments; Ca - cattle; P - pig; Ha - hare; Ch - chicken; G - goose, Bi - bird; Fi - fish; for cemetery abbreviations cf. Tab. 1).

Items of everyday use	Pottery	Animal bones	Dating	References
-	1	Fo	LT B2b-c	AMBROS 1960, 452; BENADIK 1960, 399, 400
-	2	-	LT B1/B2-B2a	BENADIK 1960, 406
-	2	-	?	BENADIK 1960, 406
-	1+2f	P	?	AMBROS 1989, 371; BUJNA 1989, 256, 257
R	8+7f	2P, 2Fo, 2G,	LT B2b	AMBROS 1989, 372; BUJNA 1989, 261-263
K, R, Sc, W	7	P, Fo, Fi	LT B1c-B2a	AMBROS 1989, 372; BUJNA 1989, 263-265
R, Sc, W	6+1f	Ca, 2P, 2G, Fi	LT B1c -B2a	AMBROS 1989, 372, 373; BUJNA 1989, 265-269
-	2+1f	-	LT B1a-b	BUJNA 1989, 271, 272
-	6+1f	P	LT B1a-b	AMBROS 1989, 373; BUJNA 1989, 272
R, Sc	4+2f	P, Ha, Bi, Fi	LT B1c-B2a	AMBROS 1989, 373; BUJNA 1989, 272, 273
-	1+3f	P	LT B2c	AMBROS 1989, 374; BUJNA 1989, 275, 276
-	2+4f	Ca, P	LT B1c-B2a	AMBROS 1989, 374; BUJNA 1989, 276-279
K	2	-	LT C1c	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 84, 86
-	1f	-	LT C1/C2	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 88-90
-	2f	-	?	BUJNA 1995, 26
Sc	4f	2P, G	LT B2c-B2/C1	AMBROS 1995, 212; BUJNA 1995, 24, 25
-	3f	P	LT C1a-b	AMBROS 1995, 216; BUJNA 1995, 88, 89
-	2	Ca, 2P	LT B2c-C1a	AMBROS 1985; BENADIK 1975a; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016
K, W	4	Ca, P, G	LT B2c-C1a	AMBROS 1985; BENADIK 1975a; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016
-	5	2P	LT B1c	AMBROS 1985; BENADIK 1975a
-	4	P	LT B2c-C1a	AMBROS 1985; BENADIK 1975a
-	5	P	LT B2c-C1a	AMBROS 1985; BENADIK 1975a
-	2+1f	P	LT B2c-C1	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 21, 23, 24
Sc	2+2f	P, Bi	LT B2c?	BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957, 27-29

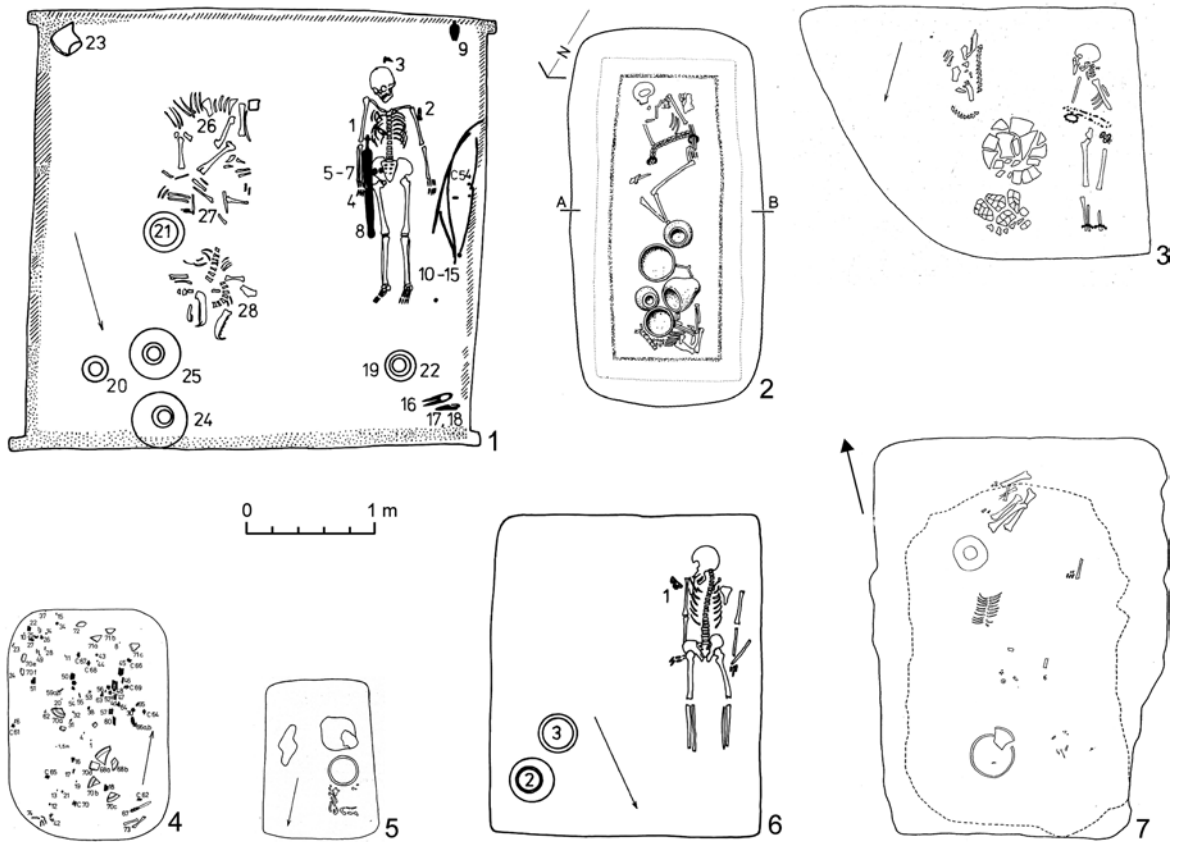


Fig. 9: Enclosed La Tène graves from the territory of Slovakia. 1-3 - rich inhumation graves; 4, 5 - rich cremation graves; 6, 7 - poor inhumation graves. 1 - Dubník, grave 19 (BUJNA 1989); 2 - Palárikovo I, grave 86 (BENADIK 1975a); 3 - Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov, grave 233 (BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957); 4 - Malé Kosihy, grave 31 (BUJNA 1995); 5 - Holiare, grave 29 (BENADIK - VLČEK - AMBROS 1957); 6 - Dubník, grave 22 (BUJNA 1989); 7 - Bajč-Vlkanovo, grave 65 (BENADIK 1960).

eight graves), often in the category of *maturus*, (**Tab. 1**). Only one individual buried in grave 75 from Palárikovo I can be classified as a child (JAKAB 2016, 114).

The individuals buried in enclosed graves within individual cemeteries are typically of above-average physical height, although this criterium could be studied only in 7 cases out of 23¹⁰ (**Tab. 1**). At the cemetery in Dubník, the average height of the buried males was 165.5 cm. While in the graves without ditches (2 A, 8, 31), the height varied from 156.2 to 169.2 cm, burials from enclosed graves 17 and 19 exceeded this value. The skeleton remains of a male in grave 17 were 170.2 cm tall and those in grave 19 were even taller - 171.3 cm (JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989, 362, 364, table II, IV). A similar situation can be observed in female graves at the same cemetery. In graves without ditches, the height varied from 144.6 to 159.6 cm. On the other hand, the female buried in enclosed grave 28 was 164.6 cm tall (JAKAB - VONDRÁKOVÁ 1989, 363, 364, tab. III, IV). The cemetery in Dubník is not unique in this regard. Similar values are measured at the cemetery in Palárikovo I. Male individuals in graves 44 and 46 with circular ditches - like in Dubník - exceeded the value of 170 cm (grave 44 - 172 cm; grave 46 A - 177.6 cm). Grave 84

¹⁰ Five individuals were cremated.

with a male individual who was 168.2 cm tall is an exception in this regard. Nevertheless, it is not a low value, since the average at the cemetery in Palárikovo was 165 cm. The heights of those buried within male graves without ditches reached values between 160.2–167.5 cm. Only the above mentioned grave 70 with the assumed presence of a ditch is an exception. There, a 170 cm tall individual was buried (JAKAB 2016, 128, 130, tab. 12, fig. 8).

The tallest individual among the analysed enclosed graves was found in grave 362 in Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov, 178 cm tall (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 27, 224). It considerably exceeded other individuals at the cemetery, whose height varied from 148 to 166 cm, or – in the case of individuals anthropologically determined as males – from 160 to 165 cm (graves 460 and 537; BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 217). In this regard, it is important to note that J. Waldhauser (1998, 98, 101, tab. 8, 9) points to the higher age (20/40–60 years) and physical height (162/165–187 cm for men and 159–164 cm for women) of individuals equipped with golden finger-rings, which he refers to as Celtic elite graves.

DATING

As stated above, the enclosed graves usually contain rich grave goods. It provides good support for their chronological classification,¹¹ but based on the premise that the ditches were carved contemporarily with the graves in their middle.¹² It is the only way to date the enclosures, because no archaeological finds come from their filling.

The earliest enclosed graves in the territory of Slovakia occurred in the Early La Tène period, particularly beginning in the phase LT B1a-b (**Fig. 10**). This dating is confirmed by graves 22 and 23 in Dubník. The first of them contained an iron fibula of Bujna's type EF-C2-b (BUJNA 2003, 68) among the chronologically sensitive artefacts. The other contained a pair of bronze bracelets of Bujna's type BR-B1-Ab (BUJNA 2005, 21). The highest number of enclosed graves was created at the cemetery in Dubník at the end of LT B1 and the beginning of LT B2. These are female grave 28 and warrior graves 18, 19, and 24. The dating element of the warrior graves are triple tubular iron belt rings of Bujna's type HEGr-C3-a (BUJNA 2011, 59). In grave 28, there are three tubular bronze belt rings of Bujna's type HBGr-C3-b (BUJNA 2011, 55, 56). On the basis of an iron fibula of Bujna's type EF-C9-A (BUJNA 2003, 72) and three tubular iron belt rings of Bujna's type HEGr-F-A (?) (BUJNA 2011, 62), warrior grave 17 can be classified among the later of these graves (phase LT B2b). At the very end of the Early La Tène period, grave 27 was added to the earlier enclosure of grave 18. Its inventory contained chronologically sensitive items – a tubular iron belt ring of Bujna's type HEGr-C1-C (BUJNA 2011, 60–62) and an iron fibula of the Early La Tène scheme (BUJNA 1989, 325, pl. XXVIII:1). Grave 10 contained only pottery finds (BUJNA 1989, pl. IX:B).

The early occurrence of enclosed graves is also documented by the cemetery in Palárikovo I. Although the cemetery has not been completely published,¹³ the enclosed graves can be dated to the time span from the end of LT B1 to the beginning of LT C1 (**Fig. 10; Tab. 2**). The earliest

11 From among the analysed graves, we cannot determine the date of grave 88 from the cemetery in Palárikovo I. Its inventory has not been published. The same applies to grave 4 from Bratislava-Jarovce. It has not been fully evaluated and published.

12 Ž. Brnič and P. Sankot (2006, 55) assumed that the grave enclosures with an entrance result from a usage change – the original enclosure had, in their opinion, rather the character of a sanctuary and only later was it used for burial purposes. They pointed out the situation at the Pottenbrunn or Serbonnes cemeteries.

13 Only partial publications of selected graves and of some find categories are available (BENADIK 1975a; 1975b; BUJNA 2014; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2014; 2016; 2017; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ – HORVÁTH

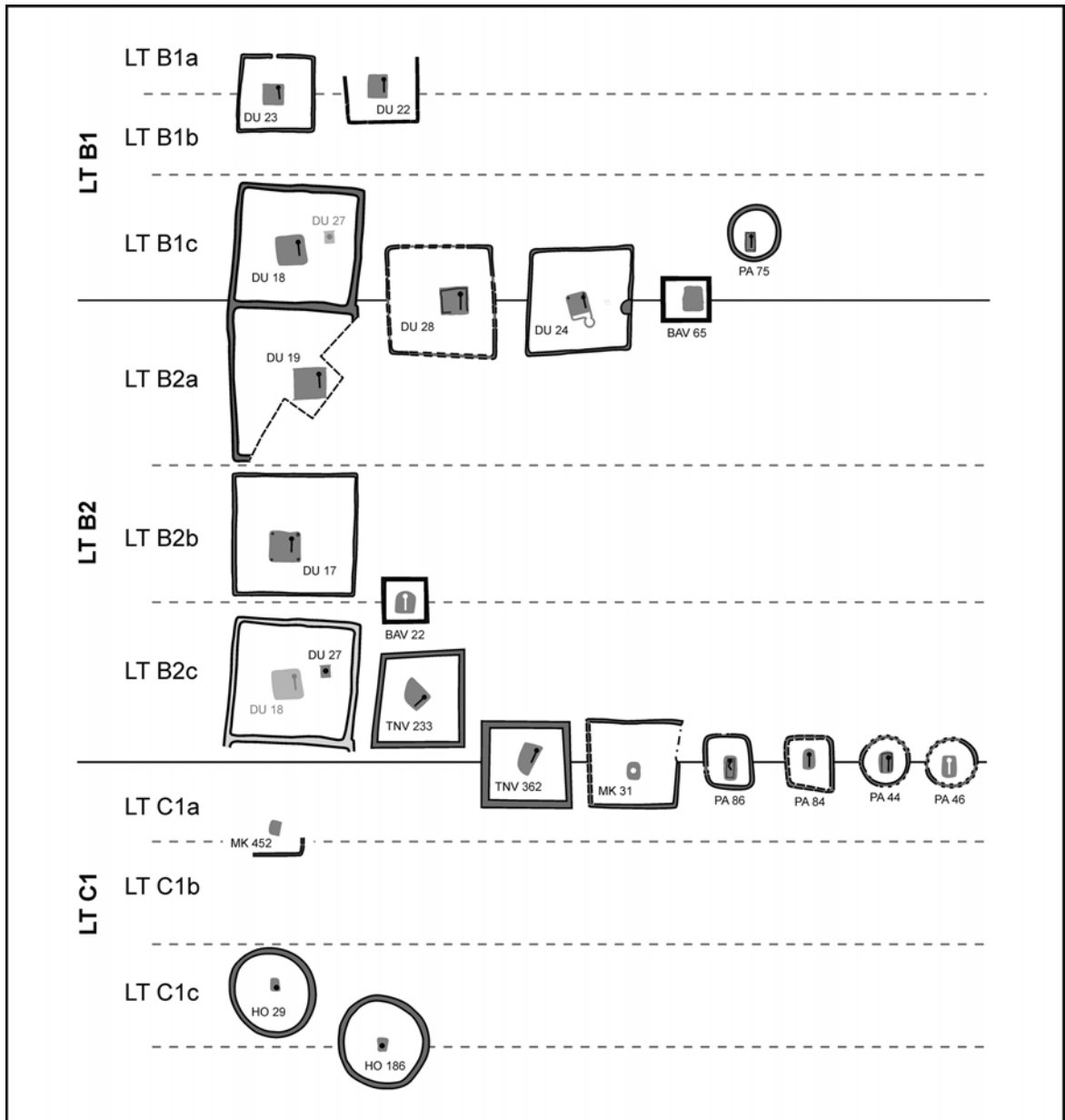


Fig. 10: Dating of La Tène enclosures from the territory of Slovakia. Without scale.

graves from LT B1 include a child grave 75, which can be dated to LT B1c (for dating, see the latest information in BUJNA 2011, 97, 100, tab. 1), is characterized by the occurrence of three finger-rings from three different materials – gold, silver, and bronze. The two rings made of precious metals can be classified as Bujna’s type AR-J1 (BUJNA 2005, 71–73). Besides this, the parure of the buried individual was complemented with a pair of bronze anklets (BR-C1 type according to BUJNA 2005, 30) and two bracelets (types BR-A4 and BR-K1-B according to BUJNA 2005, 18, 77–79). On the other hand, grave 86 and warrior graves 44, 46 A, and 84 from the studied cemetery can be classified to the end of the Early La Tène period and the beginning of

2015; GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ – RAMSL 2018). A. Vrtelová’s (2017) PhD thesis in which the entire cemetery was processed is as yet unpublished.

the Middle La Tène period. The dating of the grave 86¹⁴ can rely on the occurrence of an asymmetrical and unpaired annular parure consisting of anklets (type BR-C4 according to BUJNA 2005, 35, 36), typologically different bronze bracelets (type BR-H3-Ad and BR-N according to BUJNA 2005, 68, 69, 71, 88–90) on both wrists and a sapropelite bracelet (type SR-1-A according to BUJNA 2005, 119–122) on the left wrist. An iron chain belt, Bujna's type Gk-B (BUJNA 2011, 75, 76) and two bronze fibulae of BF-G1-Aa type (according to BUJNA 2003, 55, 56) belong to the same horizon. In terms of dating, the specific warrior graves 44, 46 A, resp. 46 A and 84, contained, both earlier and later artefacts. In grave 44 it is bronze armlet (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 120, tab. 28) of type BR-L1-A (according to BUJNA 2003, 84) from LT B1c-LT B1/B2. On the other hand, pair of iron fibulae type of EF-H/LI-B are dated to LT B2/C1 (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 105, tab. 17; according to BUJNA 2003, 73–75). This dating is confirmed also by iron chain belt (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 98, tab. 15) of type Gk-C1-a (BUJNA 2011, 76; see also REPKA 2015, 163–168), one-part shield boss (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 96, tab. 13) of type F2 (according to RAPIN 1999, 56, fig. 9). Grave 46 A contained bronze armlet with three indistinct knobs from stages LT B1-B1/B2 together with a later iron brooch of MLT-scheme (cf. GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016, 153). In grave 84 was placed a neckring of bronze wire of BR-H2-Ab type (according to BUJNA 2005, 66, 69) dated to LT B1c. Iron chain-belt (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 98, tab. 15) of type Gk-C1-a (according to BUJNA 2011, 76), two-part shield boss (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 96, tab. 13) of type C1? (according to RAPIN 1999, 56, fig. 9) and sword scabbard of 'V'-shaped chape (VRTELOVÁ 2017, 97, tab. 14) point to the later period of the end of stage LT B2 and the beginning of stage LT C1.

The pair of graves in Bajč-Vlkanovo are of a different date. Grave 65 falls within the turn of LT B1 and B2 or the beginning of LT B2 on the basis of a bronze fibula of Bujna's type BF-C1 (BUJNA 2003, 48–50) and a tubular bipartite iron belt ring (HEGr-C1-A type according to BUJNA 2011, 60–62). Grave 22, however, is later and can be dated to LT B2b–c, as suggested by bronze fibulae (types BF-C2, BF-C2/BF-C3, BF-E-a according to BUJNA 2003, 50, 51, 55) and a chain belt (Gk-F type according to BUJNA 2011, 95, 96). Grave 67 with a partly preserved ditch cannot be dated with precision.

Both of the enclosed graves in Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov can be dated to the end of the Early La Tène period and the beginning of the Middle La Tène period (**Fig. 10; Tab 2**). Grave 233, like the grave 86 in Palárikovo I, contained an asymmetrical unpaired annular parure (anklets – type BR-C3 – and bracelets – types BR-F1-C, BR-N, SR-1 according to BUJNA 2005, 32–34, 47–51, 88–90). A chain belt of the type Gk-C (according to BUJNA 2011, 78–80) corroborates this date. There was also one more chain belt – type Gk-D-B – in a non-functional position, but this item is younger, dated to LT C1b–c (BUJNA 2011, 83–86) which made J. Bujna (2011, 86, note 11) think about the possibility that the grave actually hosted a double burial. Grave 362 contained a complete weaponry set including a sword in a scabbard with a solid (i.e. non open-work) oval chape (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 159, tab. VII:14; for dating cf. REPKA 2015; SZABÓ 2014, 83, fig. 3:j) and at least one badly preserved iron fibula of ELT-scheme (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, tab. VII:11) which can be dated to the end of the Early La Tène period.

Grave 31 from Malé Kosihy is dated to the same period on the basis of its grave goods, especially the bracelet/armlet of Bujna's type ER-U-C or ER-U-D (BUJNA 2005, 108–110). The dating of this grave is also supported by an iron loop-in-loop type chain belt (REPKA 2015, 63–67, fig. 24: 4). The neighbouring ditch with grave 452 can be dated to LT C1a–b on the basis of

14 According to anthropological analysis, a man was probably buried in this grave (JAKAB 2016, 117). However, the combination of annular jewellery points to female individual (cf. BUJNA 2005, 36, tab. 18).

three fibulae (two BF-Hx1-B, one EF-H2-A according to BUJNA 2003, 57, 76–78), two annular jewels (types BR-F4-A and ER-Z according to BUJNA 2005, 54, 55, 57, 116, 117) and a single-part lanceolate belt hook (type Gs-E2 according to BUJNA 2011, 28, 29). Grave 34 with ditch 15 cannot be dated, because only pottery finds were discovered there (BUJNA 1995, 26).

Graves with circular ditches from the cremation cemetery in Holiare are the latest (**Fig. 10; Tab. 2**). Warrior grave 29 can be dated to the end of LT C1 (fragments of iron fibulae of MLT-scheme with two massive knobs, possibly of the type EF-K according to BUJNA 2003, 80, 81), or – in the case of grave 186 – to the turn of LT C1 and C2. There are bronze fibulae of Bujna's type BF-Hy-2 and BF-J (BUJNA 2003, 60, 61, 92), an iron fibula of the type EF-K (BUJNA 2003, 81, 92), a glass bracelet of Bujna's type GIR-15 (BUJNA 2005, 138), and a chain belt of Bujna's type Gk-J (BUJNA 2011, 100–105).

SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the analysis of the shapes and sizes of the individual ditches, we can state that to some extent their construction followed certain rules, as is evident from the clearly defined shape and size categories which could be distinguished. This is linked with the topic of the design and function of the ditches. Three basic interpretations are considered: One regards them as elements stabilising the tumuli dumps (**Fig. 11: 1**). The second one is associated with the concept of houses of the dead in the form of wooden above-ground constructions (**Fig. 11: 2**). The last interpretation is that of (palisade) enclosures (Germ. 'Grabgärten': **Fig. 11: 3, 4**; BARAY *et al.* 2013, fig. 20; FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2016, 169–172; CHRISTLEIN 1980, 108; RAMSL 2002, 117–119, Abb. 132; RAMSL 2012, 186, 187, fig. 7, 8).

The ditch enclosure of the central warrior grave 18 in Dubník disproves the assumption of tumuli dumps. The ditch was probably dug during the deposition of the grave, i.e. in late LT B1. Later, at the end of the following stage LT B2, another warrior grave – cremation burial n° 27 – was additionally deposited in the western part of the area enclosed by the ditch, under the terrain surface. Had there been a tumulus dump delimited by the ditch, the additional grave would have probably been deposited in the tumulus body, like in e.g. Palárikovo II.¹⁵ A similar situation with an additional grave in the ditch is documented e.g. at the cemetery in Mannersdorf in graves 10 and 145 (RAMSL 2011, 228, Abb. 178n). At the cemetery in Palárikovo I, another individual was secondarily deposited in the same grave pit in grave 46 (GARDELKOVÁ-VRTELOVÁ 2016, 150).

The second interpretation as houses of the dead does not have massive support in Slovakia either. In comparison with the situation at Austrian (Mannersdorf, graves 3, 38, 56, 76, 82, 211: RAMSL 2011, fig. 178; Pottenbrunn, graves 54, 68, 89, 233, 854, 855, 961, 972: RAMSL 2002, fig. 147) and French cemeteries (e.g. GRANSAR 2009; 270, fig. 1; GRANSAR – MALRAIN 2009; POMMEPUY *et al.* 2000), additional construction elements in the form of post holes have been documented only in Dubník, in grave enclosures 17 and 24. In both cases, however, they were located directly in the grave pit itself. In grave 17, there were four post holes situated in all four corners (BUJNA 1989, 265, fig. 21). In grave 24, only two post holes were discovered – in the corners of the southern wall (BUJNA 1989, 274, fig. 32).¹⁶

15 For more cases of additional graves in earlier prehistoric tumuli in the La Tène period from the territory of Slovakia, see REPKA 2014.

16 In Dubník there were post holes also in one more grave (nr. 6) without enclosure (BUJNA 1989, 255, Abb. 9).

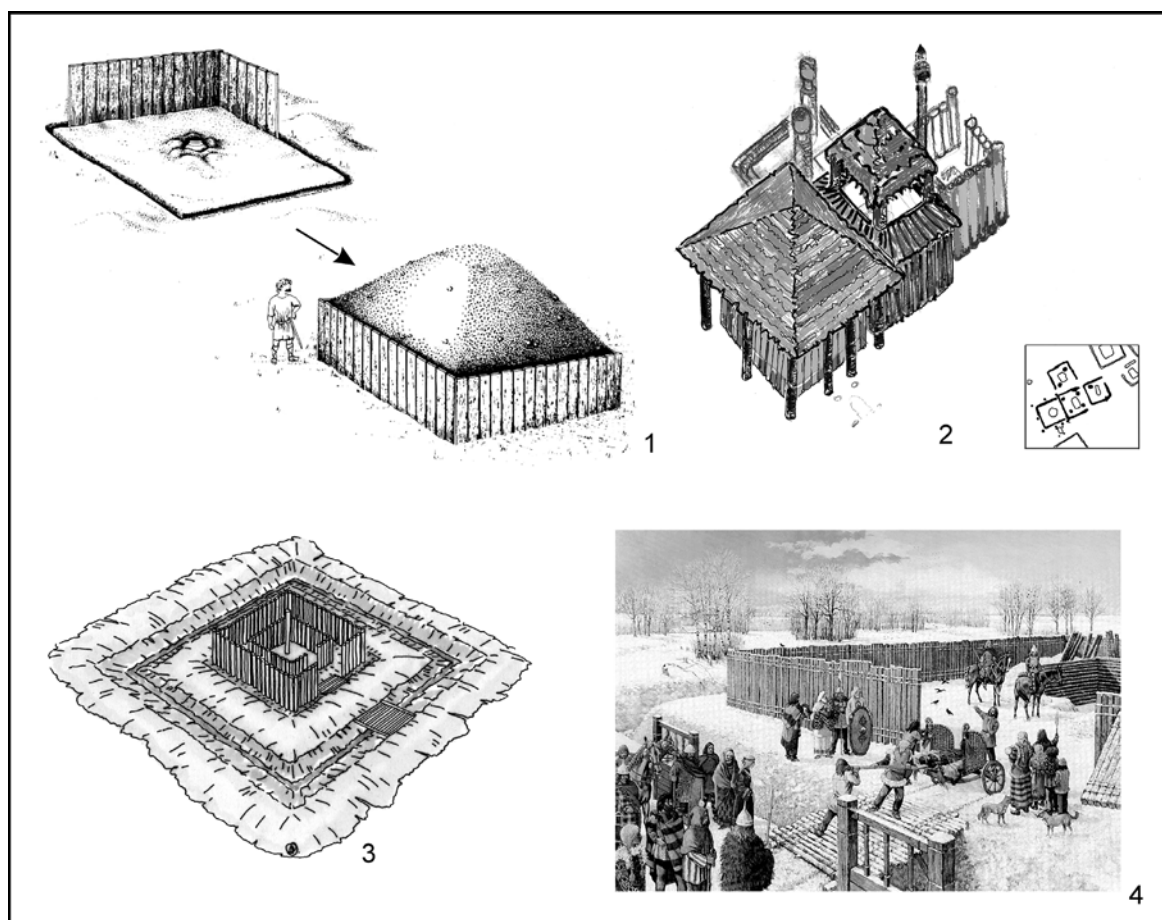


Fig. 11: Hypothetical graphic reconstructions of enclosure of La Tène graves. 1 - tumulus: Hörgertshausen, DE (CHRISTLEIN 1980); 2 - houses of the dead: Pottenbrunn, graves 4, 89, 68, and 99, AT (RAMSL 2012); 3, 4 - Grabgärten: 3 - Molinons, FR (BARAY et al. 2013); 4 - Bouranton, FR (FERNÁNDEZ-GÖTZ 2016).

The last of the above-mentioned possible interpretations – as palisade enclosures – seems to best fit the studied ditches from Slovakia. Nevertheless, it has to be remarked that wood remains from the wooden palisade were not found¹⁷ in any of the ditches. Based on the arrangement of the graves at the investigated cemeteries, it seems that the course of the ditches and graves in the space which they enclosed was respected during the whole period of burying (Figs. 5–8). No disturbance of a ditch or the grave in its area has been documented. Graves without ditches kept a certain distance from the edge of the ditch (Figs. 5–8). On the other hand, we come across unique disturbances of these features at cemeteries outside Slovakia, e.g. at the cemetery in Győr-Ménfőcsanak, grave 17 (UZSOKI 1987, 14, fig. 2), Szomód-Kenderhegy, grave 3 (VADÁSZ 1987, 231, 233), Mannersdorf, graves 114, 121 and 124 (RAMSL 2011, fig. 178), Rudston (STEAD 1991, 12, 13, fig. 10, 11).

Another two important questions are, who was buried in the enclosed grave and why? According to some Central European scholars (e.g. BENADIK 1960, 407; BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 116; NEUGEBAUER 1992, 29; RAMSL 2011, 250), these are graves of the elite who tried to differ from the rest of the population in this way. From the Hallstatt period to

¹⁷ In several cases the fillings of ditches were not analysed.

the Early La Tène period, when we observe a rather advanced social differentiation, elites demonstrated their status and power by means of fortified seats – hillforts – and tumuli with large tombs. These were equipped with numerous grave goods which also included luxurious artefacts of Etruscan and Greek provenance. Society underwent significant changes in the La Tène period, which is expressed mainly in the horizon of flat Celtic cemeteries. No fortified seats or tumuli from this period have been documented within a considerable part of the territory of Europe settled by the Celts.¹⁸ Mediterranean import also disappeared. In spite of this, elites can be identified mainly in the west Celtic area (France, Germany). There, mainly graves with chariots, helmets, and gold and silver circular jewels are attributed to elites (SCHÖNFELDER 2009, 67–70). M. Schönfelder (2009, 67, 68, fig. 4) considers the occurrence of gold and silver rings as evidence of such an elite in LT B1 or the beginning of LT B2 in the more eastern part of the Celtic world. P. Jud (1998, 142) attributed a group of five females buried with golden rings to a higher social group on the basis of an analysis of the cemetery in Münsingen-Rain.

An elite group is distinguished for LT B1 within the territory of Slovakia from among richly equipped female graves also by J. Bujna (2012). It is defined by the presence of circular jewels made of a precious metal and neck ornaments in the form of neck-rings or necklaces. P.C. Ramsl arrived to a similar conclusion on the basis of his analysis of the cemetery in Mannersdorf (RAMSL 2011, 238, 239, 250). He considers individuals equipped with a pair of anklets and a pair of armlets together with the occurrence of an annular jewel made of a precious metal to be the female elite of LT B1 or the beginning of LT B2.

On the other hand, in the later period of the horizon of flat Celtic cemeteries, particularly in stages LT B2 and LT C1, manifestations of elites are connected more often with male warrior graves in the eastern Celtic territory, especially when wagons and parts of protective armament – e.g. helmets or armour – are present (RUSTOIU – BERECKI 2014; SZABÓ 2014, 99–113). In most cases, these elements are characteristic of western Celtic areas, but in that period, they occur also in the east. We come across imports from Greece and Macedonia in this period, especially in warrior graves (РЕРКА 2015, 100–117). This is related to the military campaign of the Celts in this territory in 280–279/278 BC.

Comparing the grave goods from enclosed graves in Slovakia with the above-mentioned characteristics of the Celtic elite, we can see that only some of them correspond with them (**Tab. 2**). As for stage LT B1, child grave 75 from Palárikovo I and warrior grave 19 from Dubník (**Fig. 9:1**) containing golden rings can be classified in this category. Grave 75 from Palárikovo I also contained another ring made of silver. A neck ornament in the form of a bronze torc was deposited in warrior grave 84 at the cemetery in Palárikovo I. One can regard as an elite feature an iron helmet whose fragments have been found – besides the complete warrior equipment – in the warrior grave 31 from Malé Kosihy (**Fig. 9:4; Tab. 2**). Most enclosed graves known from Slovakia, however, do not contain the above described artefacts typical of the elite (**Tab. 2**).

A similar situation can be seen regarding the sizes of the grave pits. Some graves with ditches have rather large pits (**Tab. 1**), e.g. the square pits of inhumation graves 19 (**Fig. 9:1**; 3.5×3.5 m), 17 (3.5×3.4 m), and 18 (3.3×3.2 m) from Dubník, which could be considered the largest grave pits studied at Celtic cemeteries from the territory of Slovakia in general (cf. HARUŠTIK 2009). Also, the other enclosed graves in Dubník are large (**Tab. 1**; BUJNA 1989, 284, table 2). There are also graves with rectangular grave pits of average sizes. They could

¹⁸ The territory of the central Rhineland is an exception. Rare tumuli from this period are known also in neighbouring Austria, the sites of Katzelsdorf and Pottenbrunn (RAMSL 2012, 183).

include inhumation grave 75 (2.4×1.65 m) with 'elite' grave goods and inhumation grave 86 (2.4×1.4 m) from Palárikovo I (**Fig. 9:2**).

There are also differences in the depth of the grave pits. In Holiare, the enclosed cremation graves 29 and 186 have significantly deeper pits (depths of 2.6 m and 2.2 m) than other graves which only range from 0.35–1.45 m (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 93, 138). Also the pits of graves 233 (depth 2.4 m) and 362 (depth 2.3 m) are the deepest in the cemetery of Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov (BENADIK – VLČEK – AMBROS 1957, 93, 116) and most of the enclosed graves in Dubník, especially with the largest ditches – graves 17, 18+27, 19, 24, and 28 (**Tab. 1**; BUJNA 1989, 284, tab. 2). This does not apply in Bajč-Vlkanovo. Graves with ditches reached depths of 1.1 m (grave 67), 1.34 m (grave 65) and 1.5 m (grave 22). But there are deeper pits with depths of 2.8 m (grave 48), 2.1 m (grave 54), 1.95 m (grave 60), 1.8 m (grave 62), and 1.7 m (grave 64) (BENADIK 1960).

Of significance for the discussion of this topic is the location of the enclosed graves within the cemeteries and their relation to other graves. The dominant location of the enclosed graves has been documented at some cemeteries. It is obvious mainly in Bajč-Vlkanovo, where graves with ditches were situated in the central parts of two main grave clusters (**Fig. 6**). A similar arrangement of graves can be seen at cemeteries outside the territory of Slovakia. The cemetery in Bucy-le-Long in France is a good example – such an arrangement is clearly visible there, mainly in graves dated to LT C1 (GRANSAR 2009, 270, fig. 11).

Finally, we can conclude that not all graves with ditches can be classified as elite graves. It is well documented at the cemetery in Dubník, where there are three large male graves (17, 18, 19) with complete warrior equipment complemented with items of everyday use (scissors, razor and a grinding stone), and numerous drinking and eating vessels (six to eight complete forms, others in fragments) with the remains of chicken meat, which was presumably a prestigious meal (**Tab. 2**). These graves were also enclosed by the largest ditches (**Fig. 3**; **Tab. 1**). The same applies to their grave pits which so far exceed all other known La Tène graves from Slovakia. From these three warrior graves, grave 19 stands above the other two in almost all respects. The presence of a golden ring is the most significant difference and – as stated above – a feature of an elite grave (**Tab. 2**). Other graves at the Dubník cemetery which had smaller ditches (**Fig. 3**) and grave pits, and poorer grave goods (especially 10, 22, or 23) stand in sharp contrast to it (**Fig. 9:6**; **Tab. 2**). Grave 10 contained one vessel, two sherds, and animal bones. Grave 22 contained one iron fibula, two vessels and one sherd (**Fig. 9:6**). Grave 23 contained three fibulae and two bracelets, and six vessels. Nevertheless, typical artefacts of a higher social class (belts, anklets in female graves or belts with swords in male graves) are absent. If the individuals from the above-mentioned graves were not members of a higher social class, why then did their families pay so much effort to construct their graves? Moreover, richer graves of the same period (LT B1a–b), such as 6 and 21, were not enclosed by ditches (**Fig. 5**; BUJNA 1989, 253, 254, 270, 271). It is not a unique phenomenon. A similar situation can be seen at the cemetery in Mannersdorf. From the 22 ditches within which 25 graves were situated, almost a half could be defined as rich or elite. Most of them were graves with the largest ditches and grave pits (especially graves 13, 10, 115 and 86; RAMSL 2011, 111, 129–131, 237–241, fig. 189). Based on the cemeteries with higher numbers of such enclosed graves, it seems that creating ditches does not depend on the social status or ethnicity of the buried.

Regarding the occurrence of enclosing graves with ditches, we can see a clear association with the western environment. We find them in France or Germany continually from the Middle Bronze Age to the La Tène or Roman period (LAMBOT 2000). Compared to Slovakia, it

is a rather common phenomenon in the La Tène period in these territories.¹⁹ Several similarities in shapes and sizes of the ditches are another piece of evidence (**Fig. 12**; e.g. GRANSAR – MALRAIN 2009; HERBIN *et al.* 2013; LAMBOT 2000; MILLET 2008; STEAD 1991).

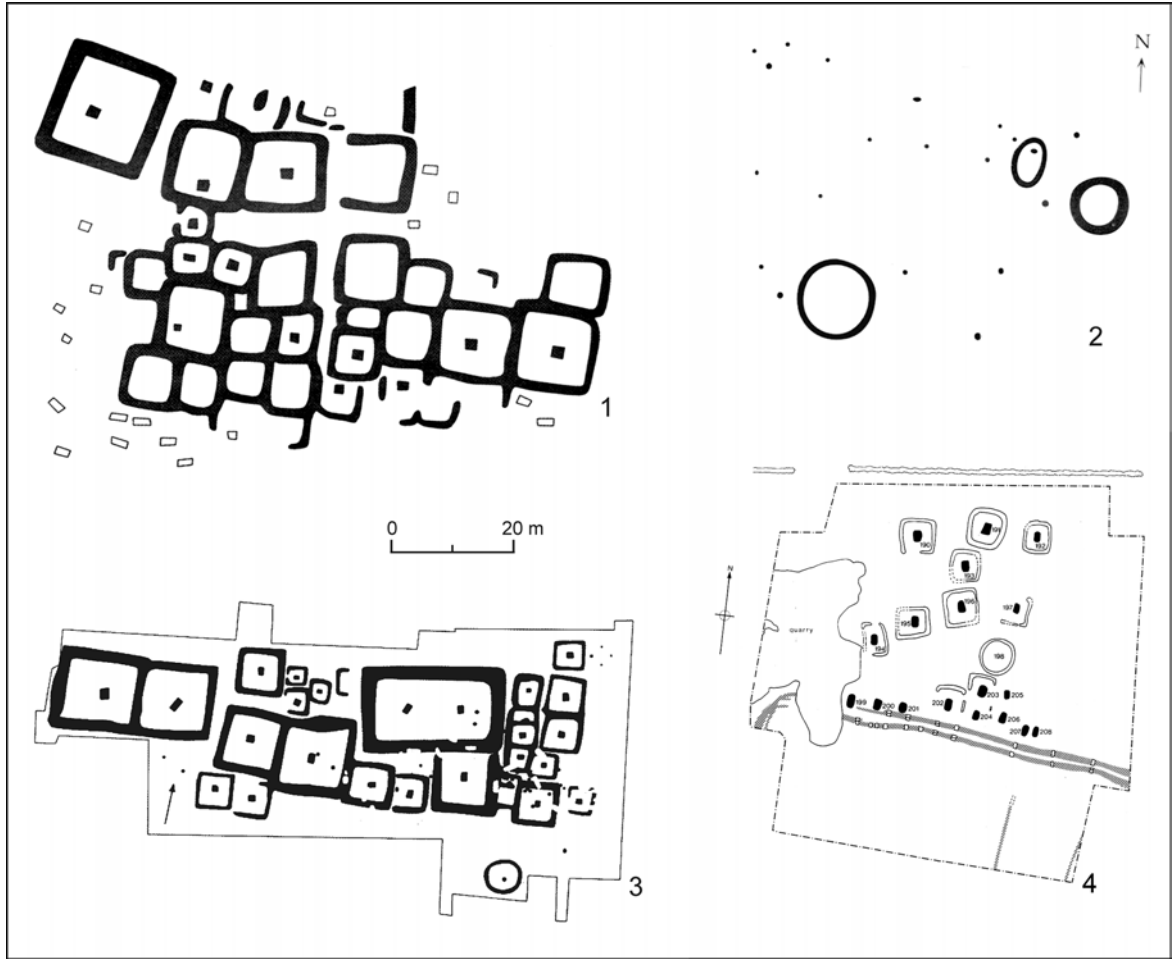


Fig. 12: La Tène cemeteries with enclosed graves from Western Europe. 1 - La Neuville-en-Tourne-A-Fuy, FR (LAMBOT 2000); 2 - Bucy-le-Long, FR (POMMEPOY *et al.* 2000); 3 - Ville-sur-Retourne, FR (LAMBOT 2000); 4 - Rudston, GB (STEAD 1991).

19 Enclosed graves are known in the territory of Slovakia also in the previous period, but are very rare. It is for example the case of a circular ditch from Hviezdoslavovo dated to the early Hallstatt period (BARTÍK – RAJTÁR 2011, 28, 278, fig. 1). In one case, a circular ditch was found also in the cemetery of the Vekezug culture Chotín IB (grave 72/62) dated to the recent and late Hallstatt period (KOZUBOVÁ 2013, 283, with bibliography). There is evidence of Vekezug circular ditches also from eastern Hungary (KOZUBOVÁ 2013, 283, 284). A rare exception is the newly published rectangular ditches from southern Hungary in Szeged-Kiskundorozsma (grave 27, 93?; PILLING – UJVÁRI 2012, 222, 231, fig. 2, 10) and Bátmonostor-Szurdok (symbolic grave? GYUCHA *et al.* 2015). Both are dated to the end of the Hallstatt and beginning of the La Tène period (5th and 4th centuries BC; GYUCHA *et al.* 2015, 189; PILLING – UJVÁRI 2012, 234). However, the Celtic influence has not been confirmed here.

Grave goods also point to the western Celtic area in some cases. First of all, there is annular jewellery made of precious metals represented by the golden ring from grave 19 in Dubník or by the golden and silver saddle ring from grave 75 in Palárikovo I (on the association of such finds with the western areas cf. BUJNA 2012; LORENZ 1978, 138, 274–278, Liste 7; RUSTOIU 2016). These finds seem to be associated with the first waves of Celtic settlement in southwestern Slovakia in LT B1 and LT B2. A clay vase and bowl on a hollow bell-shaped stem together with a neckring dated to LT B2c–C1a were deposited in warrior grave 84 in Palárikovo I (BENADIK 1975b, 23; VRTELOVÁ 2017, 66). This shape of vessels has its origins in the western Celtic area, particularly in northeastern France, Belgium, and the Rhineland (REPKA 2015, 89–92). It is interesting that other finds of vases with hollow bell-shaped stems also come from the analysed cemeteries in Bajč-Vlkanovo and Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov, although they were not found in enclosed graves (grave 8 from Bajč-Vlkanovo and grave 165 from Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov; REPKA 2015, 91, fig. 42: A1, A4, A5). The association with the western Celtic area is documented also by cremation warrior grave 31 in Malé Kosihy, whose grave goods included – besides other items – an iron scabbard decorated with stamps and an iron chain belt of the loop-in-loop type, both dated to the end of LT B2 (ČERNÝ *et al.* 2018, 79–83; REPKA 2015, 60–67, fig. 22:3, 24:4). Another foreign belt was discovered in female grave 22 from Bajč-Vlkanovo. This belt consisted of entwined iron segments connected with bronze rings (type Gk-F; BUJNA 2011, 95, 96). This grave is also dated to the end of LT B2 (REPKA 2015, 68, 69).

Based on the dating of enclosed graves from Slovakia (**Fig. 10; Tab. 2**), regardless of the fact whether artefacts of a western Celtic origin have been distinguished in their grave goods, their occurrence can be associated with several migration waves directed to southwestern Slovakia. The oldest graves from Dubník (22 and 23) were probably related to the historical migration of the Celts from the beginning of the 4th century BC (REPKA 2014, 35). The arrival of other Celtic groups in southwestern Slovakia is assumed at the end of LT B1 and the beginning of LT B2, when new cemeteries were also founded (REPKA 2014, 35, 36, fig. 5). Six enclosed graves are documented in this period (Bajč-Vlkanovo, grave 65; Dubník, graves 18, 19, 24 and 28; Palárikovo I, grave 75; **Fig. 10; Tab. 2**). Another migration wave which has certain support not only in archaeological but also in written sources comes at the end of the LT B2 and LT B2/C1 transition (REPKA 2014, 36). It is in this period, specifically in 280–279/278 BC, that the military campaign of the Celts to Macedonia and Greece took place. According to ancient written sources, Celtic groups from western Europe (the Volcae-Tectosages, Belgae, Senones; REPKA 2015, 38, 39; REPKA 2016, 219–223) participated. Graves enclosed by ditches are also known from this chronological horizon (grave 27 from Dubník, grave 31 from Malé Kosihy, the pair of graves from Trnovec nad Váhom-Horný Jatov, grave 22 from Bajč-Vlkanovo and graves 44, 46 A, and 84 from Palárikovo I; **Fig. 10; Tab. 2**). Grave 452 from Malé Kosihy – although dated to the beginning of LT C1 – could probably be classified in the same group. The latest graves with ditches come from Holiare, although only grave 186 can be dated more precisely – to the turn of LT C1/C2 (**Fig. 10; Tab. 2**). It is the period that Celtic graves disappear in the territory of Slovakia (REPKA 2014, 38).

P.C. Ramsel (2011) also discussed the relation of enclosed graves from the cemetery in Mannersdorf to the western Celtic area. The same applies to the unique cases from Romania, which are dated to the first horizon of the Celtic settlement there – the first horizon of the cemetery in Pişcolt (RUSTOIU – BERECKI – FERENCZ 2017, 256).

In order to clarify the issue of the origin of individuals buried in the analysed enclosed graves from Slovakia, natural science analysis can be beneficial. It is the focus of a VEGA project ‘Armament in warrior graves of the Central Danube Region as an indicator of the territorial, cultural, historical and social identity of the leading layer of the Celtic Society’, currently

running at the Department of Archaeology of the Constantine the Philosopher University Nitra.²⁰ Within its framework, strontium isotope analysis is executed on a set of samples from selected graves (including those with enclosure) from the cemeteries of Dubník, Malé Kosihy and Palárikovo I (BUJNA 2019, 13, 14). Preliminary results show that foreigners were buried in three richly equipped warrior graves with enclosed 17, 18, and 19.

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