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An offprint from

Fingerprinting the Iron Age

Approaches to Identity in the European Iron Age.
Integrating South-Eastern Europe into the Debate

Cătălin Nicolae Popa and Simon Stoddart

Hardback ISBN: 978-178297-675-2

Digital ISBN: 978-178297-676-9

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Oxford & Philadelphia

www.oxbowbooks.com

Published in the United Kingdom in 2014 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
908 Darny Road, Havertown, PA 19083

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Hardback ISBN: 978-1-78297-675-2
Digital ISBN: 978-1-78297-676-9

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

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Typeset by M.C. Bishop at The Armatura Press
Printed in England by Short Run Press, Exeter

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Back Cover: Silver bracelet from Tekija hoard with axe-shaped pendant (Courtesy of National Museum, Belgrade).

The publication of this book was supported by



BREWIN DOLPHIN

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18. Iron Age Identities in Central Europe: Some Initial Approaches

Peter C. Ramsl

KEYWORDS: IRON AGE, CENTRAL EUROPE, EASTERN AUSTRIA, IDENTITIES, SOCIAL IDENTITIES

INTRODUCTION: WHY IS IDENTITY A KEY QUESTION FOR ARCHAEOLOGY?

In the first chapter of the volume ‘Soziale Gruppen – kulturelle Grenzen’, Niels Müller-Scheeßel wrote, ‘...scheint das Thema Identität ein Problem der modernen westlichen Industriegesellschaften zu sein...’, ‘...der Verlust sozialer Bezugsysteme und die damit einhergehende Identitätsdiffusion...’ [‘...identity is a problem of the modern western industrial society...’ because of ‘...the loss of social reference systems and the dilution of identity...’] (Burmeister & Müller-Scheeßl 2006: 10). This topic has become fundamental for archaeology after decades of discussing ethnicity. Identity can be located at the interface between human beings and society, providing a permanent process of becoming for the construction of social membership (Fig. 18.1a). Identity is the current state of self-identification of an individual, and thus is never stable but permanently in a state of flux (Davidovic 2006: 44).

One valuable current approach to identity is that of Pierre Bourdieu. ‘Da im Habitus soziale Strukturen eingeprägt sind, tendiert er zur Reproduktion dieser Strukturen, insbesondere wenn die Bedingungen zum Zeitpunkt der Anwendung noch mit den Entstehungsbedingungen identisch sind.’ (Rehbein 2006: 92–93) – [‘Because social structures are imprinted in the ‘habitus’, there is an inclination to reproduce these structures, especially if the conditions at the point of action are identical with those of origin.’] From this we should also be aware, that ‘Die Geschichte des Individuums [ist] nie etwas anderes als eine gewisse Spezifizierung des kollektiven Geschichts einer Gruppe’ (Bourdieu 1976: 189) – [‘the History of an individual never is other than a specific path of the collective history of a group.’]

If we look at archaeological evidence, we can detect the pattern of behaviour and action, based on a set of group-specific standards, where the ‘habitus’ is creating the material culture related to the group. Burials combine evidence of the individual and social group. In this paper, I want to look for some evidence of the interaction of these two scales of identity in the Iron Age of eastern Austria: the shared identities of single persons.

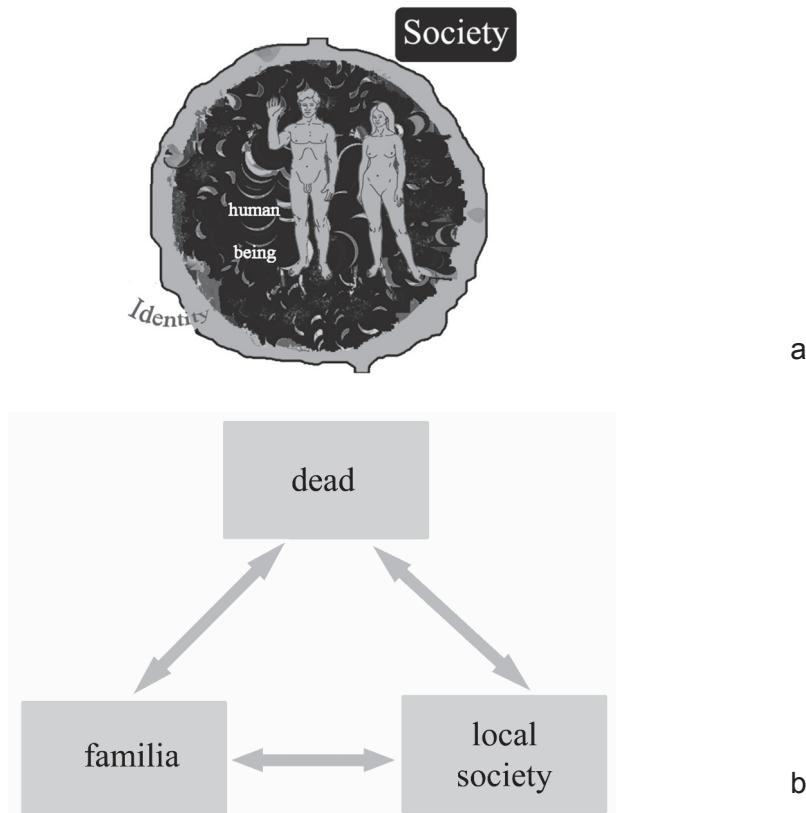


Figure 18.1. a: Identity as the interface of human beings and society; b: The relationship between the dead, the family and the local society.

EVIDENCE FROM THE FUNERARY MATERIAL CULTURE

Death rites achieve a processual character – with the occurrence of death – that involves not only the dead but also the whole community in an often long-lasting process of transition (Veit 2008: 26). The dead corpse is only the lifeless image of the living person, so the grave goods are mere indications of the former practical function that they performed (Veit 2008: 26). Nevertheless the grave goods are closely related with the dead (or rather the former living), and thus intrinsically involved in embedded ideas and discussions of the deceased. These discussions are mediated by the practice of the next of kin who by definition have a close relationship to the deceased. More specifically, the grave goods belong to the worldly property of the dead and are identified – in the imagination of the burying community – with the deceased person (as they have died with him). The grave goods are specially chosen, for their characteristic relationship to his/her personality and his/her social roles. The grave goods may be traces of the burial rites, participating in its conspicuous qualities or documenting its identity (Jung 2008: 274).

Broadly, there are three participants in the burial rite: the dead, the family and the local society (Brather 2008: 153). The dead individual may be characterised

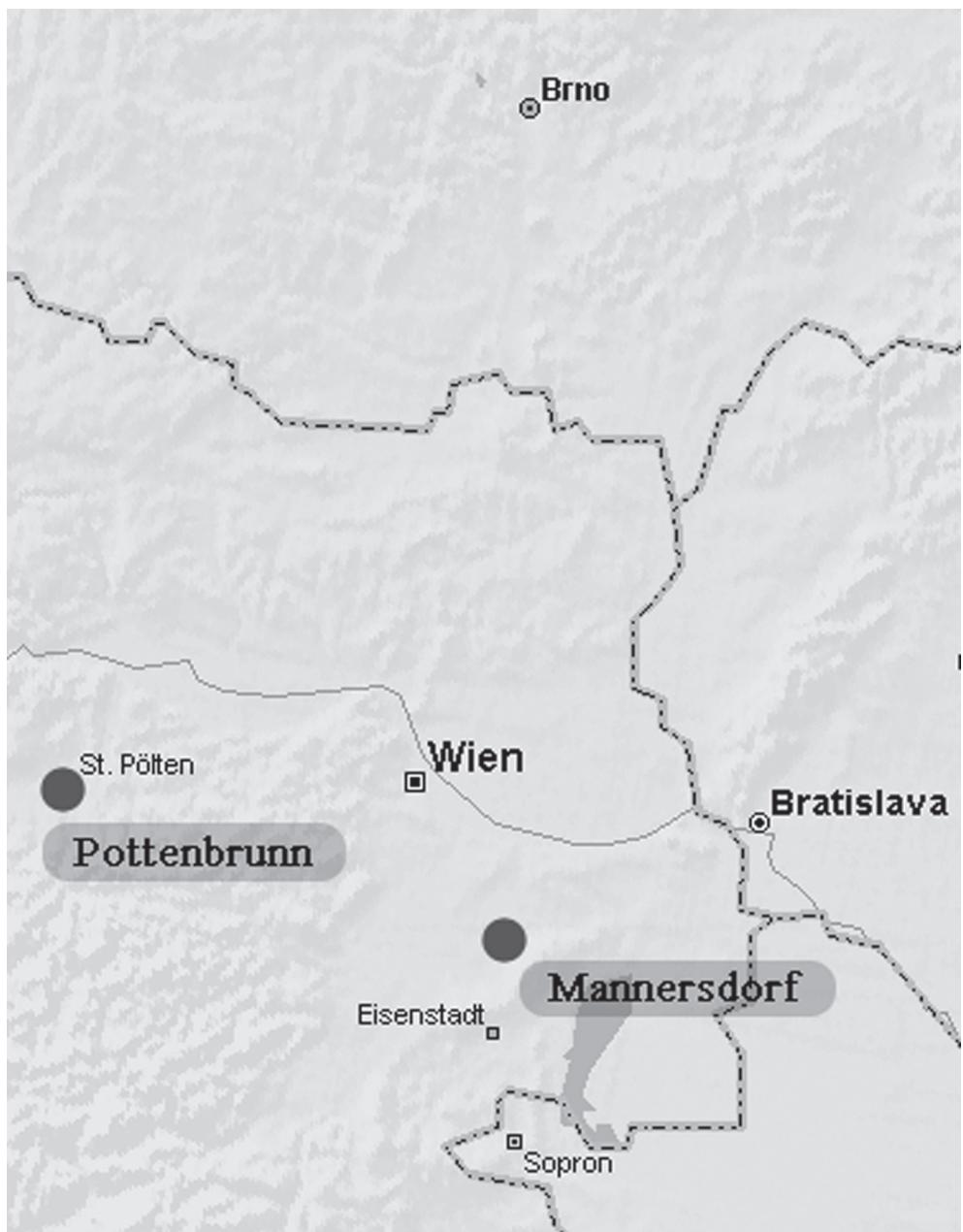


Figure 18.2. Location of the sites mentioned in the text (Pottenbrunn, Mannersdorf); (graphics: P.C. Ramsl, basics: Encarta).

by his status and prestige. The family is very interested to stress the social rank and prestige of the dead through the adequacy of ritual, and thus reflect on itself. The local society – of which the family is a participant – requires the expectations of public ceremony (Fig. 18.1b). In Roman law, ‘familia’ is (among others)

the entirety of all people in a household (from the slaves up to the head) (Leonhard 1909 [1980–1982]). Similar structures are supposed to have existed in non-roman societies (Karl 2007: Abb. 4). The excavated image is often an idealised view, which does not reflect social reality, but a retrospective view of the identity of the dead. So it can be seen as the result of a transition process, which starts with the demise of a person and ends with final closing of the grave at the finalisation of all burial rites (which can often take a long time).

EXAMPLES

In this paper I want to have a look at examples of different kind of evidence in the La Tène phase of eastern Austria, attempting to uncover identities or part/shared identities.

Geographically the precise region of eastern Austria is located near the cities of Vienna, Bratislava and Sopron (Fig. 18.2) and the selected sites are the cemeteries of Pottenbrunn (Ramsl 2002a) in the Traisen valley and Mannersdorf in the Leitha hills (Ramsl 2011).

These two areas are zones of geographical transition (or *cultural turntables*) between the different cardinal directions, albeit not always with the same emphasis, since the focus changes in different periods of the Iron Age: between the west (looking towards the Alpine area, the foothills of the Alps and further west to Bavaria and Switzerland), the east (towards the Carpathian basin (Ramsl 2002b)), the north (towards Moravia and south Poland) and the south (towards the Balkans and northern Italy).

Pottenbrunn cemetery

This cemetery of about forty-five burials in the Traisen valley (similar to other sites like Franzhausen or Ossarn) was excavated in 1930 by Josef Bayer (Bayer 1930) and later especially in 1981/82 by J.-W. Neugebauer (Neugebauer 1992: 48).

My first example is grave 562. This burial of a 20–30 year old man was accompanied by an iron lance, shield rim fragments, and, for the period, a very large sword, strikingly similar to a Hungarian example from Kosd on the bend of the Danube. This sword clearly had an interesting biography, highlighted by the scabbard decoration and its embedded history. The decoration comprised an engraving of a distinctive dragon pair (Fig. 18.3a), overlaid by two discs of inlaid organic material (perhaps coral or ivory) and a third layer of openwork iron ornament on a foundation of gold foil. Thus at least three steps of ornamentation of this scabbard can be detected. In the interpretation of André Rapin, this reflects the expression of military ranking derived from war expeditions, and the symbolic recognition of military leagues in the pair of dragons or griffons (Rapin – pers comm; Kruta & Lička 2004: 85; Ginoux 2007: 118). The dating of the burial to La Tène B2/C1 (c.250 BC) (Ramsl 2002a: 144–5) might make the owner of this sword a participant in one of the historically recorded military expeditions (although it would be too precise to cite a particular event such as the sack

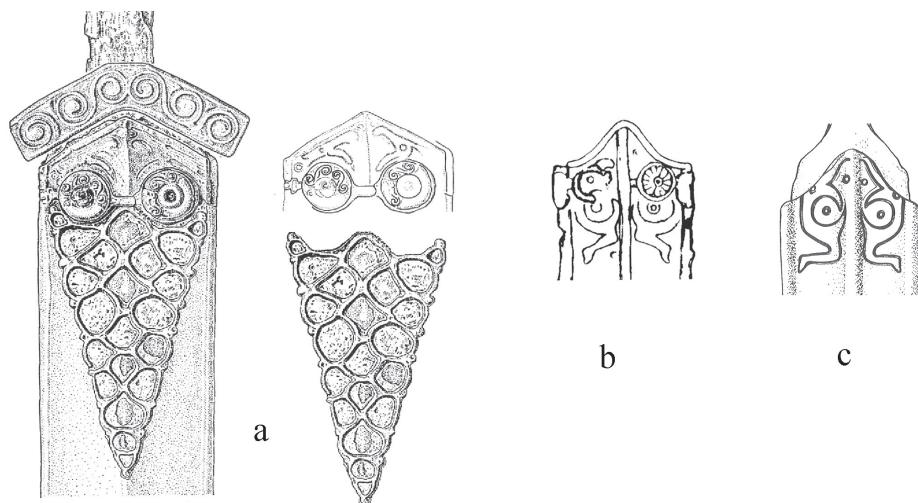


Figure 18.3. a: Scabbard in grave 562 (Pottenbrunn); (graphics: M. Imam, P.C. Ramsel); b: Scabbard from Villeperrot (after Ginoux 2007: Pl. 62/1); c: Scabbard of unknown provenance (after Szabó & Petres 1992: Pl. 77).

of Delphi). Whatever the precise historical specificity of the particular expedition, these events would have been a striking part of the life of this man, and thus part of his biographical identity, embedded in redolent material culture. The scabbard of Villeperrot in France (Ginoux 2007: Pl. 62/1), shows that this occurrence may not have been unique (Fig. 18.3b), and there are other examples such as a scabbard of unknown provenance (Fig. 18.3c) which had been recycled and used at least twice, with the same biographical implications.

A possibly even more developed example of multiple identities is represented by burial 520 from Pottenbrunn. The biological data suggest that this male died in his late forties or early fifties, an advanced age for the period. The high degree of inflammation of the palate can be interpreted as the product of preferential access to sugar (for which read honey). The attrition of the frontal teeth points to use of these as a third hand. The wear on some of his vertebrae and fingers suggest a specific combat related activity. His body was inhumed, stretched on his back, with the head orientated to the south south east, conforming to the local group practice. The man was armed with a typical Latène sword on the customary right hand side. Some probable shield fragments were found at his feet and a high quality spearhead or 'standard' to the left of his head. These items give him a specific position amongst the warrior elite. More distinctively, parts of the leg of a red deer, some domestic fowl bones and some arrowheads (to his right) were found with his body. This combination of the leisure of elite hunting with the prized plumage of the domestic fowl is a marker of substantial status. Furthermore, he is accompanied by an instrument that combines the function of saw and blade, placed together with three different small knives, a whetstone, another (mortar-like?) stone and a propeller shaped bone tool. These tools are

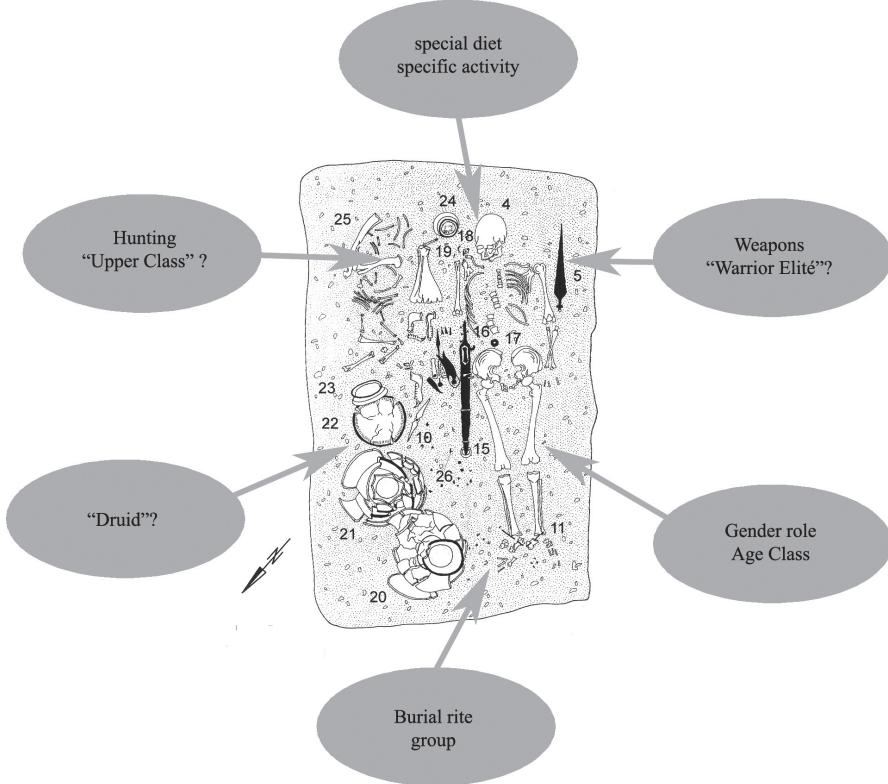


Figure 18.4. *The compartmentalized identities of grave 520 from Pottenbrunn (graphics: P.C. Ramsl; basics: A. Gatringer).*

suggestive of medical and pharmacological functions, involved in cutting, grinding, pulverising and applying of poultices.

In summary, we can define a series of overlapping multiple identities (Fig. 18.4) through these exceptional redolent survivals of distinctive material culture: Senior male; military prestige; dietary privilege; specialist activity related to the teeth; special burial rite; access to hunting; and medical knowledge.

My final example of *Mannersdorf* is a site placed on the western border of the Leitha hills near the Neusiedler See/Fertö. This contains 96 burials and was occupied between 400 and 200 BC (Fig. 18.5). My chosen example is Grave 114, the burial place of a woman of unknown age. Her identity is given by several distinctive elements of material culture seen elsewhere in the cemetery: a group wearing looped bracelets; another individual in Grave 86 with a Champagne style s-shaped bracelet; another individual in grave 112 with Inner Alpine style pottery; a group of women with Swiss style double anklets like at Münsingen and Saint Sulpice (Fig. 18.6). The cemetery of Münsingen (near Bern) consists of 220 to 230 burials of the Early and Middle La Tène Period (Hodson 1968),

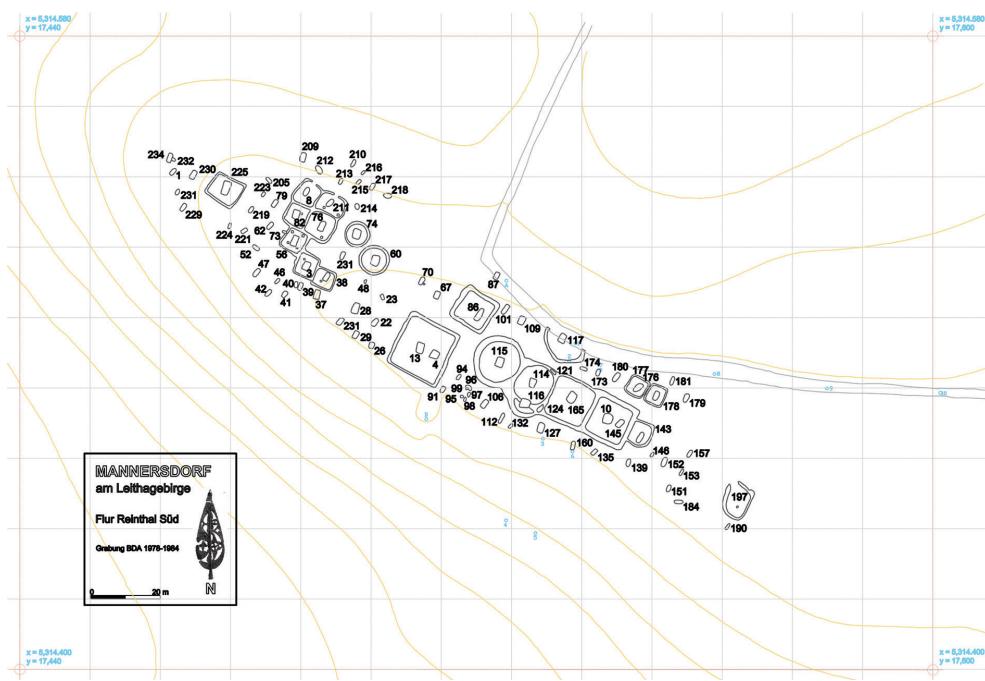


Figure 18.5. Plan of the cemetery of Mannersdorf am Leithagebirge, Lower Austria (graphics: P.C. Ramsl).

structured in groups of three to seven burials, which were interpreted at the outcome of endogamous marriage policy within the local community (Alt *et al.* 2005: 201). On the other hand, Saint Sulpice, placed on the shore of the Lake Geneva is represented by 87 graves, which were excavated from 1912–1914 (Kaenel 1990). The identity represented here is not that of wealth, but of connectivity (Fig. 18.7) to other members of local society.

The mobility of men and women were of a different kind (see also Arnold 2005). On the one hand, armed men would have been quite busy as mercenaries over longer distances in the Mediterranean (Tomaschitz 2002) – sometimes also accompanied by their women and children. On the other hand, women were probably more systematically mobile, but over shorter distances. That said, Caesar describes the marriage of the sister of the king of Noricum with Ariovist over a very substantial distance. The matter is not entirely simple (Arnold 2005). In our case, ‘costume’ is the translation of german ‘Tracht’. In archaeological terms where most organic materials like textile and leather do not survive, we can only deal with the proxy elements like bracelets, anklets, necklaces and fibulae. Some of these elements, which can be interpreted as ‘Ring-costumes’ show the social role of the person (age, rank, status...) within society. Others provide a signal to the world outside. Once again consideration of ‘dress’ in the available literature is not simple (e.g. Entwistle 2000).

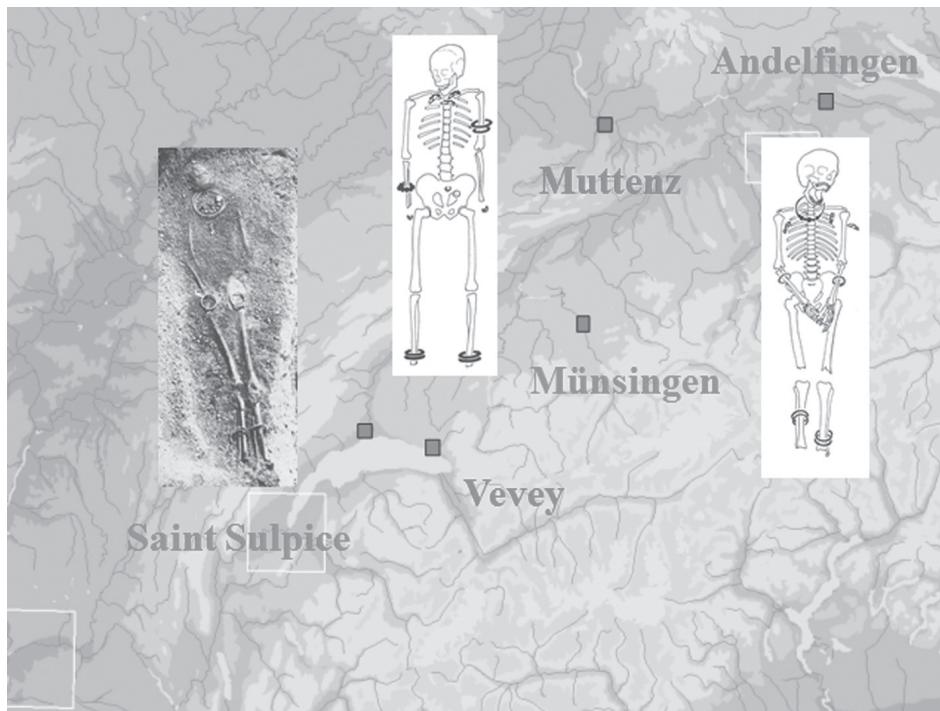


Figure 18.6. Comparable *La Tène* cemeteries in Switzerland (basics: Encarta, pictures: Hodson 1968; Kaenel 1990; Viollier 1912).

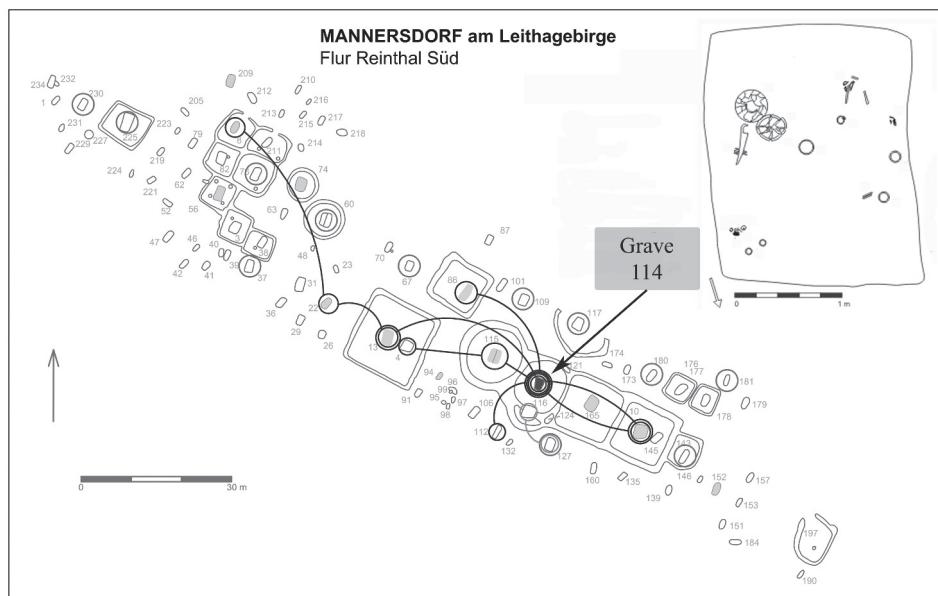


Figure 18.7. Connections of the person in grave 114 with other people buried in this cemetery (graphics: P.C. Ramsl).

In the area of the Traisen valley, we have some indication that we may postulate different local groups. On the one hand, we can see buried persons with different kinds of panoply, which may lead us to suppose different groups of ‘weapon units’. On the other hand, it is possible to see conservative and innovative groups, as in the case of the costumes of the women. Further work will be needed to tease apart the degree to which chronology or contemporary spatial patterning contributes to these patterns. All these examples show that when we have rich and distinctive arrays of material culture it is possible to dissect the evidence to understand the complexity of competing identities at different scales between the individual and the wider community.

CONCLUSION

This paper has dissected the burial evidence to show that rich material culture can be forensically examined to detect layers of identity, that range from special roles in life, to networks in death. Biographies of material culture can give powerful information on the layers of biographical identity in life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF): P23517-G19, P12531-SPR and P15977-G02. I would like to thank Kerstin Kowarik, Micheline Welte and Simon Stoddart for checking the text and all colleagues at Cambridge for discussing my paper and giving me input into the topic.

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