

FIGHTRESS CLUBS? WOMEN OF A SPECIAL SOCIAL STATUS IN THE LATE COPPER AGE IN HUNGARY

In this study, my focus is on the social position of women in the Baden complex and the Yamna culture, the two dominant macro-regional cultures of the Late Copper Age (3600-2800 BC) and the ensuing transitional period (2800-2600 BC) in Hungary in the light of the archaeological record¹.

Although the Beaker population is assigned to the Early Bronze Age (2500-1900 BC, Early Bronze Age 1/2 transition – Early Bronze Age 2a, 2b period) in the Hungarian chronological system, it is dated to the Late Neolithic/Late Copper Age, the transition between the Neolithic/Copper Age and the Bronze Age, and the Reinecke Bronzezeit A0 (before 2300 BC)-A1 (after 2200 BC) horizon regarding its metalwork in other regions of Europe where this culture was distributed, and I have therefore included this cultural complex in my analysis².

My comparison is thus based on a complex body of evidence: on the cultures living simultaneously in a region on the one hand, and on overlapping and successive cultures on the other, which also affords a look at differently organised societies as well as at certain diachronic tendencies. A comparison of this type is virtually impossible on a smaller scale (thus, for example, for the Middle Copper Age Balaton-Lásinja culture or the Early Bronze Age Makó culture) owing to the lack of relevant data. Viewed from another perspective, we can only shed light on the social position of women if we are familiar with the social position of the period's men.

The other goal of the study is to distinguish the signs of aggression and violence in the three cultures examined here, and to possibly identify former charismatic individuals who played a prominent role in their societies, and can be plausibly associated with warfare, battling and brute physical force. The study of the artefactual material in itself is insufficient in this case and the field observations made during excavations can provide equally important information. For a long time, excavation standards were unsuitable for recording observations of whether a microlithic stone implement lodged in the body had been the cause of death or whether it was placed there in the course of post-mortem secondary manipulation after the dead body had decomposed. The archaeological investigations at Balatonőszöd (Kom. Somogy/H) can be regarded as the first excavation where several such observations were made (in Hungary, see Horváth/Köhler 2012; Horváth 2014b). It is therefore not mere chance that aside from a few well-known and renowned cases, I shall base my enquiry on my own excavations or publications, even if a part of the latter is based on excavations conducted by other researchers.

The need for precise observations is aggravated by the fact that death can be brought on without leaving any traces, even with one's bare hands, and thus even the application of the most rigorous analytical procedures will be unfruitful and we shall not be able to identify any traces of a violent death. Any changes and advances in this field can be hoped from even more rigorous excavation techniques alongside DNA and isotope analyses, with which we can determine who were members of a local community and who were intrusive non-locals, i. e. potential enemies or immigrants³.

Obviously, we generally single out cases which for one reason or other seem special to us as archaeologists, that appear to be unique, particularly striking phenomena and finds for us. At the same time, the projection into the prehistory of cases that appear to be unusual today can be a permanent source of many pitfalls in interpretation.

Ultimately, only so much can be said that in all three cultures studied here, there were men and women occupying a special position in their societies – either owing to their profession, their wealth, their personality, their special knowledge or their material possessions – who visibly rose above the period's average in a manner that is still discernible today. These signs can be the reflections of an incipient social ranking even in egalitarian societies, while they are quite natural in a ranked society. This stereotype is as old as human society, a phenomenon attested in every age and every social organisation (for ethnographic examples, see Ember 1978; Harding 2007, 27-29; Helbling 2015, 69-83; for the Baden complex, see Horváth 2008, 180-182). Being an intrinsic part of human nature (e. g. Ember 1978; Harding 2007, 17-23), aggression and violence can be documented from the Palaeolithic onward (cp. Vencl 1984, 120; Harding 2007, 41-45; Ferguson 2013, 196-202; Meller/Schefzik 2015, 83-109). We can only draw meaningful conclusions regarding the period discussed here if we also examine the societies of the preceding and ensuing periods, enabling the identification and assessment of possible salient changes as well as the continuity of existing traditions on the tendency level.

Countless studies have covered the existence of warriors and of a possibly organised warrior class in the Late Copper Age, particularly in relation to the Corded Ware, Beaker and Yamna cultures (e. g. Vandkilde 2006; Heyd 2007; Anthony 2007). The existence of a similar class has not been demonstrated for the Baden culture (or the culture has simply not been studied from this aspect), although it has been argued that the burial mounds of the Baden culture conceal the graves of individuals who had enjoyed a socially prominent position (Sachße 2011), mostly on the strength of analogies with the Yamna culture (the latter also being no more than a hypothesis).

THE CHRONOLOGICAL, SPATIAL AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

One trait shared by the three archaeological cultures discussed here is that all three are pan-European, macro-regional cultures calling for international collaboration in their research since their distribution extends beyond the borders of Hungary. This facilitates their study inasmuch as the available record incorporates other data besides the evidence from Hungary, but also aggravates it because one can hardly diverge from the »fashionable« international research trends, which also have an impact on national scholarships. Thus, even though our enquiry focuses on warrior women, we cannot neglect the warriors, and neither can we avoid touching upon social roles and gender issues, specialisation, the distribution of goods and the rites behind the phenomena providing proof for violence – i. e. ritual life – and since much of the evidence comes from burials, neither can we disregard the currently employed approaches to mortuary analyses.

The overall picture marked by stagnation, smaller changes and the lack of a complete population change since the Early Neolithic was radically redrawn at the close of the Middle Copper Age (between 4000 and 3600 BC) in Hungary. The Late Copper Age marked the advent of an entirely new world and the arrival of new peoples of non-local origin as part of vehement, often large-scale population movements in the Carpathian Basin (for an overview, see Horváth 2014c; 2015). The Late Copper Age and the ensuing transitional period between 3600 and 2600 BC is an archaeologically homogeneous period in Hungary in terms of the Baden and Yamna cultures. The date of 2600 BC, marking the upper boundary of this period, did not bring stability to life in the Carpathian Basin: the ensuing Early Bronze Age can be described with further, although

smaller population movements and short-lived cultures (e. g. Makó and Nyírség), only the tell cultures (Hatvan and Nagyrév) emerging at the period's end created the foundation for a stable development that continued in the ensuing periods.

The distribution of the archaeological cultures discussed here overlapped both spatially and chronologically, but their cultural dimensions differed substantially since all three specialised in different subsistence practices, which defined the essential nature of each culture.

The Baden complex extended from the Black Forest to the Black Sea, and its main distribution was along the Danube. The background to the diverse habitats occupied by the Baden communities was determined by the proximity of water and the land that could be drawn into cultivation – most of the Baden sites are represented by some type of settlement. The culture's burials are known from a handful of larger cemeteries and many intramural burials, usually with some ritual background, found on settlements. Regarding its anthropological make-up, the culture points towards the south, although local elements can also be distinguished, suggesting that intrusive populations blended with local groups from the classical Middle Copper Age, from which the Baden complex emerged (for a comprehensive discussion, see Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.3.1).

The Baden and the Yamna population coexisted on the Hungarian Plain roughly between 3350 and 2600/2500 BC, although, as shown by the location of their sites, they tended to avoid each other owing to different habitat preferences: Baden sites can generally be found on good arable land, while Yamna kurgans usually lie in less good quality pastures – the two preferred habitats (ecological niches) sometimes overlap, principally along the watercourses that were essential to both lifeways, for example in the Dévaványa (Kom. Békés/H), Tiszavasvári (Kom. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg/H) and Békés areas, resulting in actual encounters and interactions between the two cultures.

The Yamna groups spread westward from the Russian steppe. The line of the Tisza in Hungary and the grassy habitats in eastern Hungary marked their westernmost distribution. Only the burial mounds of this population are known: neither large cemeteries with »commoners'« graves, nor their settlements have yet been found on the Hungarian Plain. It is generally assumed that the burial mounds conceal the burials of the elite, but this yet remains to be archaeologically proven, even if this assumption is underpinned by the stone steles erected in honour of the primary burial, which, no matter how schematically, portrayed the deceased – usually a man, but sometimes also women – in the period's costume: a cross-strap across the chest or a belt around the waist, and weapons such as a dagger/halberd, battle axe/axe, or perhaps a bow. The same elements recur on the figurines of the Baden culture, reflecting the integration between the two cultures, and on the steles known from the Alpine region in Western Europe. The creation of portraits is an incipient and visible mark of individualism, of personal achievement and glory, in addition to being an expression of respect and social rank. The main problem is that steles have so far only been found in the culture's eastern distribution, the single exceptions being the piece from Mezőcsát (Kom. Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén/H) and, more recently, the stray find from Békés, and that their dating is still controversial. Few can be dated to the earliest Yamna horizon in terms of their iconography (Horváth 2014c, 524-526; Harding 2007, 51)⁴.

The Yamna immigrants arriving at the Carpathian Basin from the east were robust anthropological types, which differed from the much more gracile local populations. Wedged in-between the Baden culture, they created their own realm on the Hungarian Plain. It is generally assumed that the Yamna groups represented a conquering warrior-nomadic equestrian culture that established a patron-vassal relation with the vanquished peoples. However, this is not reflected in the archaeological record and seems to be more an expression of our own 20th-century ideas, at least regarding this earliest period of nomadism. In fact, following their settlement on the Hungarian Plain, the mixed anthropological material of the Yamna population rather

reflects a slow assimilation into the new milieu, suggesting that the small number of conquering, intrusive Yamna groups established their own settlement niches wedged in the Baden settlement territory, and were slowly assimilated through the dominance of the elite (for an overview, see Horváth 2011; 2014a).

Similarly to the Baden culture, the sites of the Beaker culture are strung out along the Danube, with island-like clusters by the natural fording places. Beaker sites do not extend beyond the line of the river. The earliest Beaker finds make their appearance around 2500 BC and they seem to supplant the Baden population that had survived in the Budapest area or had disappeared shortly before. Despite the seemingly identical habitat preference, the Beaker folk found this environment attractive for entirely different reasons than the Baden groups, even if there was some overlap regarding the importance attached to water (regarding shipping, trade and transport, although not for bare subsistence as in the case of Baden, see Horváth 2013a; 2013b).

The Beaker sites in Hungary represent the colonies of small intrusive river merchants: they can be seen as trading settlements functioning as advance posts of warriors and conquerors that had split off the culture's main core distribution, which had to make a living among other, more populous cultures – in contrast, the Baden population established its trading and transport centres within its own distribution, often at the same river fording places as the Beaker groups (Horváth 2013b). Beaker sites are essentially made up of a handful of major settlements and the associated larger cemeteries (in the distribution of the Csepel group) and they are also characterised by the appearance of an anthropological type with an uncommon skull form (Taurid, plano-occipital brachycranial type), which distinguished this population from the other prehistoric cultures of Hungary (although the appearance of this anthropological type in the Early Bronze Age Kisapostag and Gáta-Wieselburg culture reflects some form of interaction between two, see Zoffmann 2004, 387).

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

I shall break down the prehistoric periods discussed here into three overtly simple chronological groups: 1. before the Middle Copper Age, 2. from the close of the Middle Copper Age to the Early Bronze Age, and 3. after the Early Bronze Age, which I shall correlate with tribal, transition between tribal and chiefdom, and chiefdom societies. It must be emphasised that this gross simplification was necessary in order to be able to identify large-scale structural changes on the social level – I have simplified both the periods and the associated social organisations in order to make their distinctive traits more apparent. I am fully aware that the correlation of the Neolithic and the Early and Middle Copper Age with tribal societies (cp., e.g. Vandkilde 2006, 366-371; Parkinson/Gyucha 2007), and of the Middle Bronze Age with chiefdoms (Harding 2007) is not as straightforward and much more nuanced, and that there can be many variations and finer regional and cultural differences. Also, much depends on the extent of archaeological and cultural anthropological scholarship in this field in a particular region (Earle 2002).

The most intriguing period, the most complex and the most difficult to describe is the transitional period, especially in terms of archaeological periods, representing the time between the slow disintegration of tribal societies and the gradual emergence of chiefdom societies. It is this period, which I have termed Age of Transition in several studies, falling between 4000/3600 and 2600/2000 BC, on which this study focuses.

The Baden complex

In my earlier studies, I reconstructed a social organisation essentially based on kinship (family) ties for the Baden complex, in which smaller, perhaps extended family groups pursued a mobile lifestyle along a water-

course (family settlements, semi-sedentary lifestyle principally based on sheep and cattle breeding, complemented with arable farming). Looking at the entire distribution, I reconstructed a tribal organisation in the process of disintegration brought on by the period's extraordinary technical innovations (wheels, wheeled vehicles, the rapid development of trade and transport), which can best be described as pan-tribal sodalities, characterised by cooperation above the tribal level. One striking feature is the lack of strict differentiation according to sex in burial practices, a trait typical for the preceding periods: there are no differences in orientation and body placement between men and women (suggesting the lack of differentiation in the period's social organisation). Neither can any divergences be discerned in the grave goods, either in cemeteries or in the case of settlement burials. The radical transformation of subsistence practices (the shift from the primacy of arable farming to stockbreeding) is reflected in ritual practices too, as shown by the decline of permanent burial grounds separate from settlements and by the growing number of settlement burials, in which the deceased had many different backgrounds (Horváth 2008, 160-170; 2014b, Chapter 4).

The examination of the artefactual material revealed that in contrast to all previous prehistoric cultures, there were far more objects, principally ritual ones, that could clearly and to a greater extent be associated with women (such as figurines and female anthropomorphic vessels), meaning that the female sex was more strongly and emphatically represented in the Baden society. This, in turn, unmistakably reflects the growing importance of female roles (whether social, political, economic or ritual) and, perhaps, of kinship communities organised along the female/maternal line. I described the Baden society as an egalitarian one rather than a ranked or stratified society because there were no obvious and recurring emblems of rank (strictly tied to sex, age or rank) either among the grave goods recovered from cemeteries or among the finds brought to light on settlements.

The above broad picture is supported by the fact that very few objects of the Baden culture could be identified as having been emblems of rank or prestige items in their own age (Horváth 2008, 162-164)⁵.

Pathological alterations and mechanical injuries can be indications of lifestyle, specialisation, warfare, hunting or injuries suffered during a simple accident (broken ribs in the case of the man interred in burial 64 at Balatonószöd, a broken leg in the case of the 23-29-year-old man in burial 53, a broken nose and traces of blows and cuts on the skull of the adult man from burial 41)⁶, or alterations caused by various activities (the prominent attachment ridge of the deltoid muscle and the marked robusticity of the upper arm bones suggesting activities involving the frequent lifting of heavy loads were especially striking in the case of the 39-43-year-old woman of small-medium stature from burial 42 and the 59-70-year-old woman of small stature from burial 79, while the lateral abrasion on the incisor of the 23-27-year-old man from burial 27 was probably caused by the constant chewing or drawing of some vegetal fibre, perhaps bast, wool or some other material during spinning and weaving, which had to be constantly wetted with saliva and chewed to keep it soft and fibrous, suitable for weaving, see Horváth/Köhler 2012, 456-457).

Grave 91 at Budakalász »Luppa-csárda« (Kom. Pest/H) was the burial of a flint knapper, a 45-55-year-old man (or perhaps woman), interred with a rich array of lithics and objects of boar tusk (Horváth 2013b, 334)⁷. The quality and quantity of the chipped stone implements found in a heap (perhaps in a container of organic material) under the hipbone of the 50-54-year-old man interred in grave 17 of the Balatonlelle »Felső-Gamász« cemetery (Kom. Somogy/H) suggest that the deceased had been one of the community's outstanding hunters (Nagy 2010, 460-469), which seems to be supported by the boar tusks he had kept as a trophy. Even more intriguing is that grave 22, the burial of a 33-39-year-old woman, was similarly rich in chipped stone implements that lay in a heap at the feet, perhaps an indication of her recognition as a skilled huntress (Nagy 2010, 480-487). The comprehensive evaluation of the small cemetery separate from the settlement revealed that although arrowheads that could be interpreted as weapons had been placed in

several graves, but never more than a pair (graves 9, 14 and 21), while graves 17 and 22 were strikingly rich in these finds, making the above interpretation feasible.

The arrowhead lodged in the vertebra of the 26-32-year-old woman interred in burial 37 at Balatonószöd was the first reliable piece of evidence that the burials recovered from the sacrificial pits at Balatonószöd represent the victims of physical violence (Horváth/Köhler 2012, 456). This burial was exceptional and unusual because it lacked the victim's head: in its place, we found the skull of the 23-27-year-old man (interred in burial 95), which provides evidence for the post-mortem, secondary manipulation of the body (replacement of the head)⁸.

Some of the burials described in the above were uncovered in sacrificial pits, which further complicates their interpretation, and adds a primary sacral-ritual dimension to these interments, although it does not exclude the possibility (secondarily) that the deceased had been the victims of armed conflicts, leading to their sacrifice. What still remains to be established is whether they had been outcasts in their own community or whether they had been sacrificed as non-local enemies, prisoners of war – a conclusive answer to these questions can only be expected from the genetic/isotope analyses to be performed in the future (Horváth/Köhler 2012, 456-461; Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.2.2).

The Yamna population

The reconstruction of the Yamna social organisation is a much more difficult task than in the case of the Baden complex owing to the lack of settlements and the low number of finds. I had to discard the roughly half century old myth of a population engaged in horse breeding and the related archaeological narrative of the existence of a mounted warrior aristocracy of males. In my view, the Yamna population had an egalitarian society based on kinship ties that was made up of communities of nuclear families, which – in contrast to Baden – were organised patrilineally. These communities were mobile groups whose subsistence was based on animal husbandry and, similarly to Baden, they migrated, or better said, pastured their animals along watercourses. Their values differed from the ones professed by the Baden communities owing to their nomadic society (they prized pastures, animals and easily portable goods such as jewellery and weapons), which had a profound impact on the Baden population: their smaller groups were eventually assimilated by the Baden population and not the other way round.

The emergence of a class of specialised artisans can be demonstrated in the kurgan burials on the eastern steppe – in Hungary, finds of this type have not been discovered yet. For example, finds suggesting an occupation as a metalworker (crucible) were recovered from the burial of an 18-20-year-old woman in the Aksay kurgan (Rostow obl./RUS), while a mould was brought to light from the kurgan burial of a 12-13.5-year-old boy in Pershin (Orenburg obl./RUS; Bátorá 2002, 183. 187). These exceptional finds attest to the emergence of master artisans in the case of crafts calling for a special knowledge and exotic materials: unlike stone implements, metal artefacts could not be made by anyone. These examples also illustrate that these crafts cannot be linked to a particular sex or age and that the valuable accessories of a craft and the associated knowledge were passed down in a family, irrespective of age and sex, if there was no adult male descendant.

The Beaker complex

In contrast to the previous two cultures, the Beaker groups lived in a ranked society, as shown by the regularly recurring prestige articles regularly deposited in their burials, some of which (such as the boar tusks)

may have been trophies. Although the Beaker society lacks the social markers of chiefdoms in Hungary (perhaps because their heritage represents the material of isolated colonies separated from its core distribution), it seems likely that these trading colonies were not (or not only) organised along kinship ties, but along utilitarian and personal qualities in Hungary. However, I would definitely challenge the leading role earlier ascribed to the Beaker population in horse breeding, the dissemination of the art of brewing beer and drinking from bell beakers made specifically for this purpose as well as in the emergence of European bronze metallurgy owing to the lack of conclusive evidence and the early date⁹.

Sexual differentiation again appears in inhumation burials, although it is restricted to body placement and is not consistently applied in the grave goods accorded to the deceased. A mound was erected over some burials, perhaps as an indication of rank; however, the mounds themselves usually perished and no more than the ditch enclosing them has survived. One possible marker of interaction with and assimilation into local communities is the mixed burial rite noted in cemeteries (urn graves, scattered cremation and inhumation are all attested in Hungary, and the construction of burial mounds can also be assigned here). The rather frequent occurrence of lavishly furnished burials lacking a deceased (cenotaphs) could be seen as a rudimentary indication of individualisation, of personal achievements in warfare and of personal glory, given that these burials are generally interpreted as the graves of conquerors/warriors who fell on distant battlefields, whose body could not be brought home and buried since the discovery of the Middle Copper Age cemetery at Varna/BG (Vandkilde 2006, 366-367).

IDENTIFICATION OF WARRIORS AND WARFARE

The influential studies written on this subject generally agree that the institution of war, namely the weapons serving this purpose, the special social groups emerging in their wake and the clubs and societies serving them appeared at the close of the Late Copper Age, around 3000/2800 BC, and spread across Europe, principally in the Corded Ware and in the Beaker cultures, and under their impact (Vandkilde 2006, 357; Harding 2007). These are reflected in the archaeological record in the following manner:

Weapons

The period's leading weapons were the bow and arrow, two arms existing since the Palaeolithic. The time when these became the arms of warriors from simple hunting equipment (which could, obviously, also be used for defensive or offensive purposes too, as shown by burial 37 of Balatonőszöd) can be linked to the Beaker population (Strambowski 2015). The bow and arrow owed its rise and growing prominence to the social changes. The Beaker population needed to occupy new territories in order to achieve their trade expansion in unfamiliar milieus, for which they needed an appropriate background: swift, mobile, but sturdy ships (about which we know next to nothing) and weapons that were suitable for offensive and defensive purposes alike.

The period's other weapon was the battle-axe and mace made from polished stone, which was most widespread in the Corded Ware culture. Their rigorous examination has revealed that some had not been genuine weapons at all, or had had a dual purpose: as grave goods, they had a symbolic value and were items of display, while in the case of others, it cannot always be determined whether they had been weapon-tools or tool-weapons (Zápotocky 1992; Chapman 1999, 107-110; Vandkilde 2006, 366; Harding 2007, 46-47). We should not forget about the small daggers, no matter how unsuitable for combat at the time, appearing

in the Mondsee and Baden cultures (Horváth 2015, 120; one piece was found at Kántorjánosi [Kom. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg/H]: György 2012, 111-113), the larger daggers that could have served as halberds (one exemplar of which is known from kurgan 7 of the Yamna culture at Sárrétudvari [Kom. Hajdú-Bihar/H]), or the pickaxes and axes (the so-called Bányabükk-Fajsz type in the Carpathian Basin and the types of the Remedello culture in Italy) made of copper, whose depictions appear on steles, among rock carvings and on figurines, suggesting that they had been emblems of prestige (cp., e.g. Kerig 2010). Their manufacturing technique improved and they played an important role in later periods too as offensive and defensive arms as well as symbols of prestige once they began to be made from bronze (Zich 2015; Maraszek 2015).

Ötzi the Iceman's equipment included all of these artefact types and their find context indicates that he himself had been the victim of violence sometime between 3300 and 3110 BC. Still, no-one has suggested that the Late Copper Age iceman found high up in the mountains near Hauslabjoch had been a warrior or a particularly prominent individual in his own time exactly owing to his perfectly preserved complete body and equipment. This discovery serves as a particularly forceful caveat for cases when the individuals from dozens of burials furnished with a similar equipment in various cemeteries are interpreted as warriors or high-ranking persons (e.g. the »rich« graves of the Bodrogkeresztúr and Lengyel cultures). Ötzi was neither a warrior, nor a chieftain, nor a Big Man – he is generally viewed as a victim of ritual combat. In life, he could have been a herder, a miner, a mountain leader and hunter – all at once, depending on which of his skills were called for, and he was also able to fight his enemies, if the need arose, who may have come from his own community (Harding 2007, 48-49).

Fortified settlements

Several scholars link the existence of warfare to the appearance of fortified settlement as an evident means of repelling attacks¹⁰ – I have my doubts about this association, just as about the »obvious« relation between the burial mounds and high social status. It seems quite feasible to me that the immense labour that went into the construction of the earthworks was in part fuelled by a concern for defences and the creation of an illusion of safety, which may have been triggered by a former genuine attack or an irrational fear, but it may equally well have been precipitated by other, equally important considerations. The creation of an illusion, the expression of a genuine or imaginary megalomania and of the feeling that »we're superior to others« plays an important role in the social and spiritual make-up of some communities – and leads to a display of power well in excess of the realities of the day. These psychological factors could have stimulated huge community efforts for erecting burial structures, defence systems and other monuments (such as astronomical observatories) whose construction sometimes called for several centuries of concerted community labour to at least the same extent as the feeling of being under attack or of being in need of protection, or independently of them (Dani/Horváth 2012, 121-122).

Construction of mounds as funerary structures

The custom of erecting a mound over a burial may have been one expression of high social status among burial rites. However, it seems to me that each case should be examined individually. For example, the megalithic burials of the Atlantic region have nothing to do with social prestige, and neither do I see conclusive evidence for an interpretation along these lines in the case of the pre-Yamna and early Yamna burials that lack grave goods. Aside from the burial rite, the construction of mounds by mobile societies may have

served a simple, profane function of acting as a stable spatial and chronological point of orientation in the life of a community that was always on the move, where they could regularly gather and hold commemorations. A place marked out, to which they would always find their way back because it was as much part of the collective mental topography as was the genuine landscape. They could return to the mound for reburials in it or hold commemorative ceremonies on the anniversary of death. The erection of each new mound for the deceased meant a constant expansion, a growth in time and space as well as mentally and ritually – the mounds served as mementoes in more ways than one and had several purposes for the descendants. It seems likely that in cases when the construction of a mound was accompanied by the erection of a stele and the deposition of a rich array of grave goods, the mound assumed the role of a status symbol too (for an overview, see Horváth 2015, 111-112).

Rocks and stones may have been heaped over Baden burials for the simple reason that the community wished to cover the deceased according to their custom even in regions poor in earth and that the available stones formed a larger heap than the usual earthen mound would have and called for a different construction technique (Ózd-Piliny group).

Mass graves, cannibalism, traces of traumas on bones, post-mortem manipulation, head-hunting, skull cult, brain-eating

Although each of the above is an indicator of violence, they cannot all be conclusively linked to warfare¹¹. These practices were motivated by a wide range of considerations, some of which exclude any hostile intents, battle-hunger or warfare.

Unfortunately, nothing conclusive can be said about the prehistoric mass graves, despite their careful excavation and rigorous archaeological and anthropological assessment¹². Multiple burials are often found in the Baden culture on settlements and, more rarely, in cemeteries too, while the culture's single mass grave is represented by the well at Balatonőszöd (feature 1099) into which ten bodies had been dumped. One extraordinary trait of this well is that it is the single sacrificial/burial feature that can be linked to water rather than fire and can be associated with underworldly, chthonic powers (and, possibly, with some form of black magic), having been dug deep into the ground (Horváth/Köhler 2012, 455; Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.2.2).

Cannibalism can emerge in times of stress (famines, a protein-deficient diet, scarcity of the local animal fauna, etc.), and is then incorporated into rites in order to explain the practice (consumption of the ancestors or enemies as an act of reverence or of lust for power), but it can equally well be a ritual, ceremonial act accompanying the conclusion of warfare and violence (Diamond 2010, 147-157. 198. 297-323).

A part of the physical alterations on the bones could have been acquired during daily life or during rites, or they may have been caused by accidents – few have an unmistakable cause. The cuts on the man's skull interred in burial 41 at Balatonőszöd could be the remains of an initiation rite into the world of spirits because the cuts have a definite pattern and appear to have simply marked the skull rather than to have healed injuries. In contrast, the indentation on the skull was caused by a deliberate blow and the conspicuously high number of alterations and injuries suggest that he had been an outstanding hunter/warrior of his community since he had suffered a remarkably high number of injuries, which he had survived without exception. His burial was also an unusual affair: his entire body was covered with pottery sherds, a practice rarely encountered in the Baden culture (Horváth/Köhler 2012, 456-458 fig. 4)¹³.

Post-mortem manipulations of the body¹⁴, the head cult/skull cult¹⁵ and the consumption of the brain¹⁶ are usually motivated by ritual beliefs; in the case of prehistoric incidences, it is virtually impossible to determine whether it involved a former enemy – in which case it can be linked to warfare – or a member of the com-



Fig. 1 Vörs »Majorsági-épületek« (Kom. Somogy/H), burial of a woman wearing a diadem. – (Photo T. Kádas, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Régészeti Intézet, Budapest).

munity, who had been ostracised or sacrificed in the course of a rite calling for human sacrifice¹⁷.

Food, drink and weapon hoards

In societies where there were separate male and female clubs organised with different goals in mind, it is common that members strengthen their group cohesion and identity with a distinctive costume that sets them apart from others, or that they organise common feasts and drinking bouts. Vessel sets that are principally made up of drinking vessels can be seen as the archaeological imprints of the latter. A few such hoards are known from the Baden complex¹⁸.

The few hoards of chipped stone implements found in Beaker contexts can be taken to reflect the importance of hoarding and of the growing significance of weapons (or their raw material, see Horváth 2013a, 167).

DESCRIPTION OF WELL-DOCUMENTED CASES IN THE THREE CULTURES

Baden complex

A comprehensive analysis of the fully excavated cemeteries of this cultural complex involving a comparison of the differences between males and females is not possible because a part of the evidence has been lost alongside several finds that had perished during the time that had elapsed between the excavation of the Buda-kalász cemetery in the 1950s and its publication in 2010 as well as because the period's field documentation hardly meets modern standards, while the Balatonlelle cemetery is too small, with no more than 23 graves. Settlement burials are unsuitable for this type of analysis because the interments had a different background, with some of the deceased not dying of natural causes, and thus they are also unsuitable for a demographic analysis. Only individual cases can be highlighted and here I shall focus on females and truly remarkable burials.

Vörs »Majorsági-épületek« (Kom. Somogy/H)

In 2005, I requested the anthropological examination of the skull, which, together with the diadem found on it, is all that survives of the burial (fig. 1). The examination of the previously unstudied skull indicated that in contrast to previous assumptions that the grave had been the burial of a man variously described as a chief, a tribal leader or a shaman, the skull actually came from a woman. The significance of this analytical result is immense: the Vörs woman had worn a prestige item, as a woman, that elevates her above all the currently known Baden burials. A woman had acted as the leader of her community in a religious, social or some other capacity, a unique phenomenon in the prehistory of the Carpathian Basin (Horváth 2008, 183-184 fig. 2; Köhler 2015). It yet remains to be established in what capacity the repoussé-decorated simple



Fig. 2 Balatonlelle »Felső-Gamász« (Kom. Somogy/H), female grave 22. – (Photos T. Horvath with kind permission of B. Nagy).

headband terminating in two horns had portrayed her – no interpretations have yet been proposed (although one that immediately comes to mind is the Mistress of Animals: Counts/Arnold 2010).

Balatonlelle »Felső-Gamász« (Kom. Somogy/H), grave 22

The excavator assumed that the crouched inhumation burial of a 33-39-year-old woman (**figs 2-3**) had been robbed. The grave goods were three copper beads by the neck, six flint arrowheads over a 20 cm × 30 cm area some 10 cm downward from the beads and a seventh arrowhead by the left ankle. The arrowheads did not point in the same direction. There were two quern stones 5 cm to the right of the left ankle. A bowl with animal bones was found slightly upward of the head. Several vessels and other finds lay on a ledge on the left side of the grave pit in its southern half, some 20-50 cm left of the deceased and some 20 cm higher than the burial: five cups in one heap, originally probably strung together through the handle, in line with the upper part of the spine, a lump of red pigment somewhat lower and a flint core to its right. A bowl containing a smaller, fragmented bowl with a strap handle lay roughly in line with the head, and a dish-bowl was placed upward of them. An intact jug was set against its upper part and another dish-bowl lay upward from these vessels in the grave pit's south-eastern end. A two-handled pot in a strongly fragmented condition was placed in the part towards the grave pit's edge (Nagy 2010).

Balatonőszöd »Temetői-dűlő« (Kom. Somogy/H)

Pit 1489, a sacrificial pit (**fig. 4**), contained the remains of six newborn babies, three small children, a female (burial 37) and a male skull (burial 95), which formed one assemblage. A triangular arrowhead was found lodged in one of the woman's vertebrae. Although it seems likely that the pit contained the remains of the same family, this can only be ascertained after the DNA analyses. The isotope analyses will perhaps answer the question of whether they had been members of their own community or non-locals who had been massacred (Horváth 2014b, 135-136).

In sum, we may conclude that in addition to extraordinary finds, the presence of prominent female individuals is also attested in the burial record of the Baden complex, demonstrating that not only men but also women were accorded a leading social role.

Yamna culture

Of the burials found underneath the kurgans excavated in the Hungarian Plain, I only regard those female burials as representing the interments of women with a possibly prominent status in their own time and community that were discovered in the mound's centre and can be regarded as primary burials.

Püspökladány »Kincses-domb« (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar/H)

The primary burial of the kurgan was the double burial of a woman and a child wrapped in a goatskin. A lump of ochre was deposited as a grave good. A ditch section was uncovered on the side of the kurgan. The ritual elements indicated a pre-Yamna burial of the Nizhnemihailovka type (Dani/Horváth 2012, 33-35).

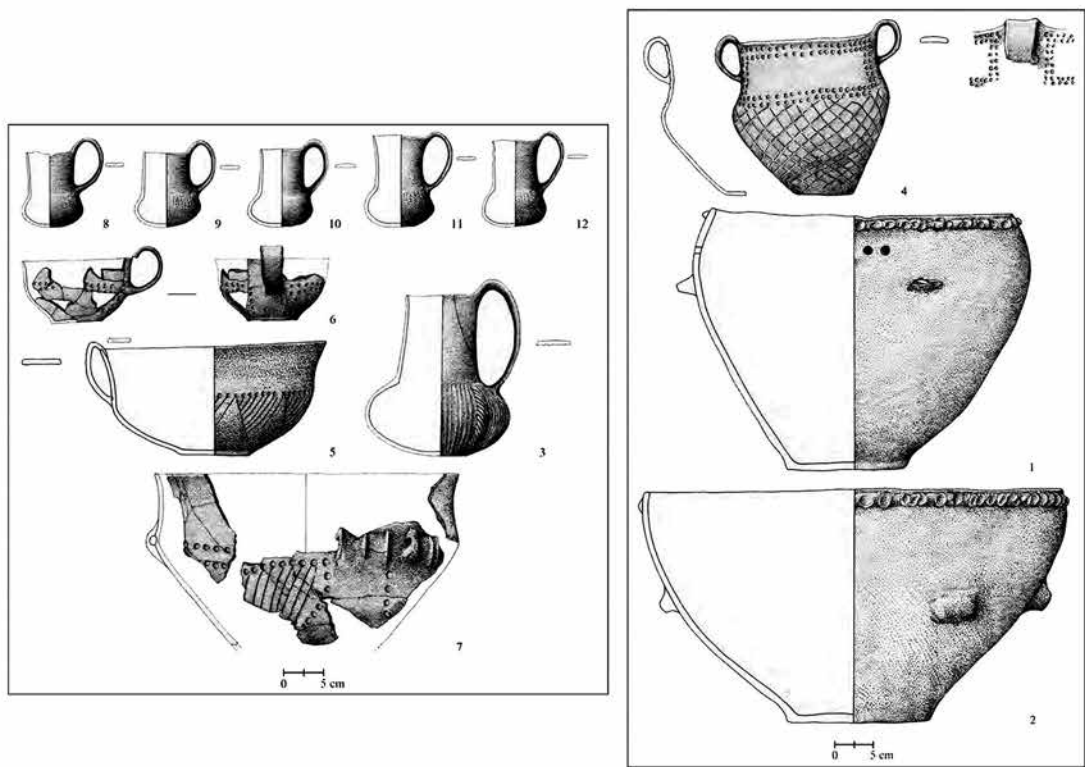
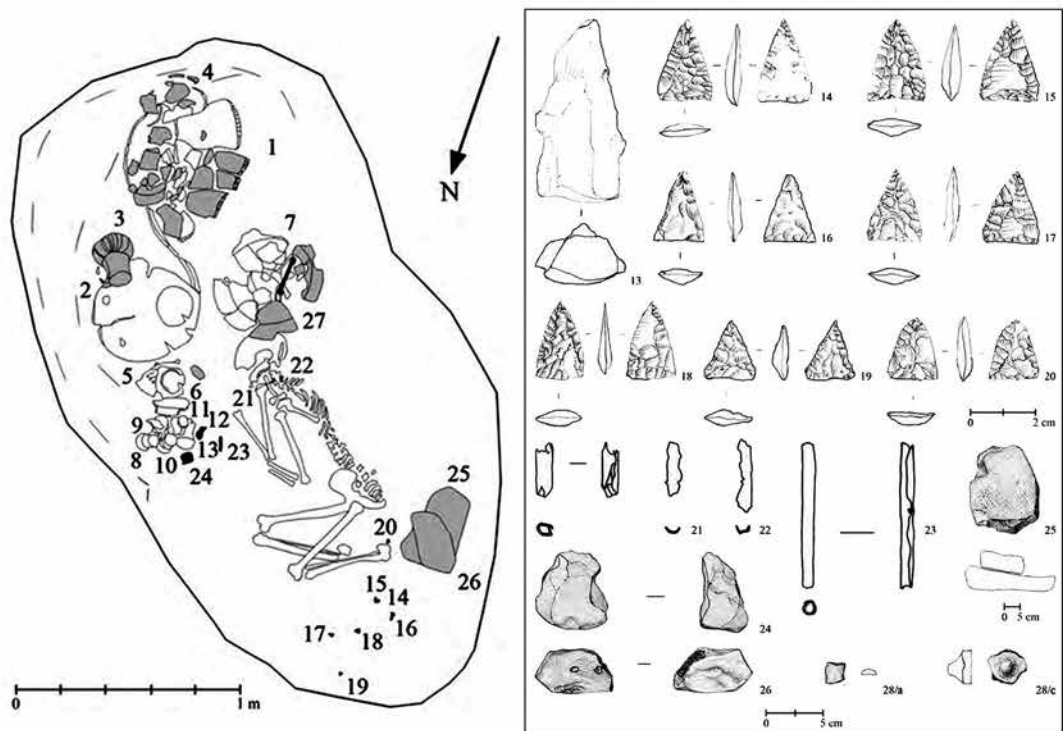


Fig. 3 Balatonlelle »Felső-Gamász« (Kom. Somogy/H), female grave 22: **1-20** chipped stones. – **21-23** copper beads. – **24-25** ground stones. – **26. 28** shreds from the grave, scattered finds. – **27** animal bone (in bowl no. 7 at the head of the woman). – (Drawings B. Nagy).

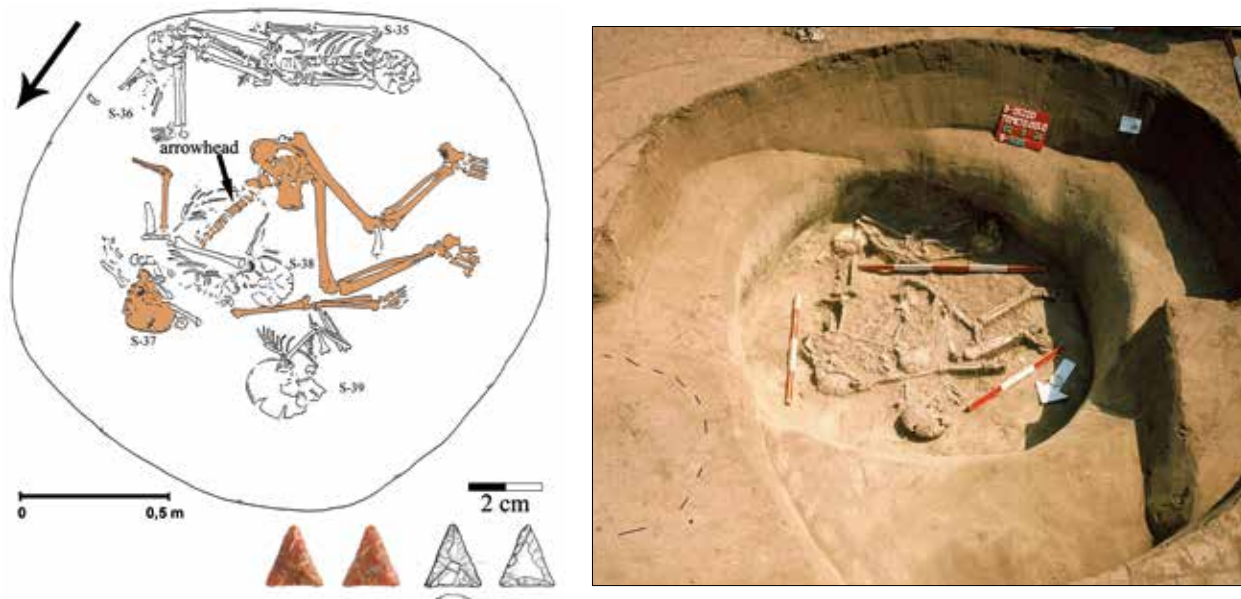


Fig. 4 Balatonőszöd »Temetői-dűlő« (Kom. Somogy/H), multiple burials in pit 1489. – (Photo and drawings T. Horvath).

Sárrétudvari »Őr-halom« (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar/H)

At Sárrétudvari, only male burials with an outstanding weapon are considered. Grave 7, the burial of a 40-59-year-old man, contained a copper axe and a dagger or halberd of the Eschollbrücken type alongside silver and electrum lock-rings, both of which were probably emblems of rank. We assigned the burial to the second construction period and the third burial period and identified it as a Yamna burial with Catacomb traits (Dani/Horváth 2012, 26-32).

In sum, we may say that the grave goods representing the weapon, jewellery and artefact types which can be linked to a ruling warrior elite and perhaps an emerging ranked society make their first appearance in the latest period (during the Copper Age-Bronze Age transition) among the Yamna groups under Catacomb influence. However, these can only be noted among male burials. Still, women may also have been accorded a socially prominent role (as a leader or a respected member of their community), but this did not involve grave goods reflecting social rank and especially not weapons.

Beaker culture

Budakalász, site M0/12 (Kom. Pest/H)

A total of 1070 burials were uncovered in the cemetery investigated at this site alongside the associated settlement. I had the opportunity to assess the lithic material, and during this work, I assembled a list of the graves, both male and female, which might represent the burials of warriors. I only included burials that had contained at least two artefact types that could be classified as weapons, which could be categorised as a hunter or warrior's equipment and could plausibly be regarded as expressing a hunter/warrior identity. This was the first instance that a complete list with a breakdown according to age and sex could be assembled, enabling a comparison according to these two criteria.



Fig. 5 Budakalász, site M0/12 (Kom. Pest/H), grave 616, a female burial. – (Photo T. Horvath with kind permission of A. Czene).

Men:

- Grave 847, adult male inhumation burial with three chipped stone arrowheads, a bronze dagger and a wristguard;
- Grave 884, adult male urn grave with a chipped stone arrowhead and a wristguard.

Women:

- Grave 14, adult female urn grave with a bronze dagger and a wristguard;
- Grave 616, inhumation burial of a 23-59-year-old female (?) with ten chipped arrowheads, a bronze dagger and a wristguard (**fig. 5**).

Adult burials of indeterminate sex:

- Grave 107, urn grave with a bronze dagger and a wristguard;
- Grave 284, urn grave with two chipped stone arrowheads, a wristguard and four beakers;
- Grave 945, urn grave with two chipped stone arrowheads and a wristguard;
- Grave 1082, adult inhumation burial with nine chipped stone arrowheads, a wristguard and two bronze pins (perhaps a female burial in the light of the latter).

Children:

– Grave 1118, scattered cremation burial of a 1-7-year-old child with a chipped stone implement, a mould, a wristguard and a stone axe.

The comprehensive assessment of the cemetery indicated that the artefact types that could be categorised as weapons (arrowheads and daggers) cannot be correlated with sex since they were accorded to both males and females. Neither is there any correlation with the burial rite, given that they were deposited in urn graves, scattered cremation burials and inhumation burials alike. There is no correlation with age since a child burial is one of the most richly furnished in this respect. It might be of some significance that grave 616, the most lavishly equipped burial, was the interment of a woman whose sexing was a difficult task (masculine, transvestite, hermaphrodite female?). It seems to me that the role of wristguards as unmistakable accessories of archery, as generally claimed in international scholarship, can be challenged since in this cemetery they were more often found in combinations with daggers than with arrowheads. It is possible that the soft stone plaques were used for sharpening bronze, rather than being artefacts protecting the wrists during archery.

CONCLUSION

Proceeding according to the three main periods discussed here, we may contend that in the period preceding the Late Copper Age, the archaeological cultures of the Carpathian Basin – and the Tiszapolgár, Bodrogkeresztúr and Lengyel cultures in particular – were tribal societies according to international scholarship, in which there may have been male clubs (Vandkilde 2006). However, the grave assemblages unearthed to date call for caution – in my view, the combat spirit reflected by these finds is rather modest, while the weapons and artefacts that could be wielded as weapons are more likely to have been used more in hunting and for everyday purposes, while various clubs were probably engaged in ritual activities, principally in the organisation of fertility and burial rites.

In the Late Copper Age, the disintegration of tribal societies in the Baden complex is reflected by the growing importance of women's role that became equal to men's, especially in the ritual sphere, but probably also in daily life, and it seems likely that this increased importance was transferred to the sacral sphere from the quotidian. It is quite probable that there were women's clubs too, concerned principally with fertility rites, in addition to men's clubs/men's societies.

Similarly to other nomadic peoples, the role of both sexes was probably quite prominent, but owing to the large animal herds and the pastoralist lifestyle, men eventually assumed the leading role in all wakes of life (for a comprehensive overview, see, e.g. Davis-Kimball 2002). However, it seems unlikely that sex/gender roles have been sharply separated or that there had been groups with hereditary rank, or that the triple social division regarded as a hallmark of Indo-European social organisation (aristocracy/warriors/priests) had already evolved. On the testimony of the current evidence, this social differentiation began at the time of the mingling between the late Yamna and the Catacomb populations (Horváth 2011).

An elite layer comprising warriors equipped with weapons (bows and daggers) emerged in the Beaker culture. The grave assemblages indicate that warriors could come from the ranks of both women and men, and even children were given warrior equipment for the otherworld, raising the possibility of hereditary social rank and the symbolic value of these artefacts. It seems likely that the clubs were not merely peaceful groups engaged in the performance of fertility rites – which would deal with the occasional conflict – but men's and women's warrior clubs organised specifically for warfare and for managing violent conflict situations.

It must be emphasised that the men's clubs/men's associations and their female counterparts were not identical with fight clubs. The former appear in societies where women are sufficiently powerful and their clubs act as a counterbalance to the role of the other sex rather than as an organisation called to live for military purposes (Vandkilde 2006, 360. 379). They are transformed into military associations in an *ad hoc* manner under external influence, in times of external aggressions, but exist as such for a brief time, for the duration of the incident (Redmond 1994, 3; Vandkilde 2006, 359). If a society feels constantly threatened or is engaged in a constant expansion (such as nomadic cultures, or the Beaker culture), the associations primarily serving social and ritual purposes first metamorphose into special fight clubs and eventually develop into a military organisation.

The early hunters of prehistory thus turned into warriors during the Late Copper Age and into soldiers during the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age – on the institutional level, hunting associations were transformed into fight associations, fight clubs and then into organised armed retinues and armies. To what extent this intensive tendency is part of the general development of humankind and this earthly world could best be recounted by the unnumbered millions – most of them unnamed and innocent – who became victims of this military spirit – but they remain silent.

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Notes

- 1) See Horváth 2008 for a detailed socio-morphologic description of the Baden complex, including the exceptional status of women as reflected by breast pots (an extension of breastfeeding), and the culture's demographic conditions (Horváth 2008, 184-189).
- 2) See, e.g. Horváth 2013a, for the assessment of the lithic finds from Budakalász site M0/12, the currently known largest Beaker cemetery, and Horváth 2015, for the controversial issues in Copper Age and Bronze Age studies.
- 3) The examination of the human remains from Balatonőszöd »Temetői-dűlő« is part of an ongoing project since 2013 conducted by two independent ancient DNA laboratories. One of them is the Centre for GeoGenetic in Copenhagen and the second one is the ancient DNA laboratory at Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
- 4) Very often, they are discovered in a secondary context, which poses additional difficulties in their assessment and dating. Most of the steles found *in situ* date from later periods and can be linked to the Catacomb and Timber-grave populations.
- 5) The following types can be assigned here: copper diadems, copper daggers, copper breast ornaments and copper torcs. Although made of clay, I would assign the portrait-like mask of a male face from Balatonőszöd to this category: Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.2.5. – One intriguing feature of the portrayed face is that although the mask was found on a Baden settlement, the reconstructed face was not that of a Baden anthropological type, but rather represented an eastern population (Tripolye/Usatovo/Yamna): see Dani/Horváth 2012, 95.
- 6) Additional examples can be quoted from the Baden settlement at Szombathely »Zanat-Trátai dűlő« (Kom. Vas/H), where the burial of an adult man was found in feature 49: the man had a healed fracture on his left shoulder, his right frontal bone was pierced by an 11 mm x 13 mm injury, which was probably the cause of death since there was no trace of healing: Tóth 2011, 100.
- 7) The boar tusk pendant might be an indication that he had been not only a maker of weapons but one in charge of weapons too. Interestingly enough, the primary sexing was dubious: the physical anthropological examination allows for both a masculine woman or a feminine man, similarly to the Vörs burial and grave 616 of Budakalász.
- 8) The deposition of the head of another individual instead of the »original« can perhaps be likened to the Baden figurines with detachable/transposable head – what we have here is perhaps the same ritual element in another context, in the world of genuine deceased.
- 9) E.g. Horváth 2014a, 103-113, in which I challenge the very notion of Yamna horse breeding, horse riding and a mounted warrior culture. – H. Vandkilde voiced a similar caveat regarding similar stereotypes regarding the Beaker and Corded Ware cultures: Vandkilde 2006, 372-375. See also: Lyubyanovics 2016.
- 10) Vandkilde 2006, 366. Fortified settlements are also known from the Baden complex, see Horváth 2004, 64.
- 11) Mass graves of this type are attested from the *Linearbandkeramik* onward (see, e.g. Meyer et al. 2014); one of the best-

known sites is Talheim (Lkr. Heilbronn/D): Wahl/Trautman 2012. – In Hungary, the earliest similar mass grave was discovered at Esztergályhorváti (Kom. Zala), a site of the Lengyel culture: Barna 1996. – A comparable mass grave, dating from the Middle Copper Age immediately preceding the Baden culture, uncovered at the eponymous site of the Altheim culture (a hillfort, Lkr. Landshut/D), has been interpreted as containing the remains of a battle fought there: Saile 2014. – A comparable mass grave was found at the Gotha site of the Bernburg culture: Beier 1983. – Mass graves as a phenomenon are known from the Globular Amphorae culture that was partly contemporaneous with late Baden (cp. Konopka et al. 2016: 12 of the 15 individuals in grave 523 bore a deadly wound caused by a sharp chisel, 2875-2670 BC) as well as from the Corded Ware culture, as shown by the renowned grave from Eulau (Burgenlandkreis/D): Meyer et al. 2009.

- 12) One exceptional example is a Bronze Age battlefield littered by the dead by a river, dated to around 1200 BC, whose interpretation was obvious already at the time of its excavation: Jantzen et al. 2011.
- 13) The single trepanated skull of the Late Copper Age from Zillingtal (Bez. Eisenstadt-Umgebung/A), assigned to the Boleráz culture, raised similar issues: Kritscher 1985.
- 14) Post-mortem manipulations of the body, including the removal of the head and the limbs and their deposition in other features, are attested both in the Baden complex and in the Yamna culture. The body of the man interred in grave 291 at Balatonlelle »Felső-Gamász« was severed in half at the hips after the funeral and the lower half was deposited in pit 117, lying some 1.5-2 m from the grave: Horváth/Köhler 2012, 461; Nagy 2010, 474-480. – I have singled out this most unusual case from among the many similar ones because all the body parts were recovered and their relation to one another could be studied in this case, while in most other cases, either only the trunk was found or only the severed body parts, with the rest missing.
- 15) Although independent skull burials are known in the Baden complex, I would hesitate to call this a head cult or a skull cult,

which can in some cases be linked to warfare (the ritual manipulation of the enemy's head: its acquisition as a trophy, as the reward of the vanquisher). In other cases, head or skull trophies could be made out of respect for the leaders or ancestors as part of the mortuary cult. The custom of depositing the head and the limbs in different locations and their severance from the body was regularly practiced as part of the Baden funerary rites, which was closely allied to and consistent with other ritual elements: for example, the anthropomorphic figurines made for ritual purposes to portray humans without a head and limbs: Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.2. – On the steppe, the modelling of the head using various materials (such as clay, tar and ochre for modelling masks) was a general practice in the Catacomb culture: Dani/Horváth 2012, 71. It has been suggested that nomads buried their dead in the summer camp: the bodies of individuals who had died in winter were somehow »conserved« until they returned to the summer camp, where they conducted the funeral. In order to do so, certain manipulations had to be performed on the body to ensure its adequate condition for the summer funeral, one element of which was the modelling of the face in clay: Davis-Kimball 2002, 89.

- 16) A single skull fragment bearing traces of burning was unearthed at Balatonőszöd, possibly suggesting the consumption of the brain (pit 2480, burial 68): Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.2.2: 158, fig. 132.
- 17) Horváth/Köhler 2012; Horváth 2014b, Chapter 3.2; Alt/Friedrich 2015. – It seems quite certain that a head cult and skull cult were practiced in the Michelsberg culture, flourishing between 4300 and 3600 BC (although it remains uncertain whether this practice involved non-locals and enemies or members of their own communities), as evidenced by the signs of skull trepanation and the ritual skull masks created from the fragments taken from the splanchnocranium: Wahl 2010.
- 18) Vessel depots are known from Donnerskirchen-Kreutberg (Bez. Eisenstadt-Umgebung/A), Dřetovice (okr. Kladno/CZ): Horváth 2008, 171 note 31. – Stoitzendorf (Bez. Horn/A), pit 20: Schmitsberger 2004. – Igołomia (woj. małopolskie/PL): Kaflińska 2006, cat. 78.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Gemeinschaften von Kriegerinnen? Frauen mit einem besonderen gesellschaftlichen Status in der späten Kupferzeit in Ungarn

In der vorliegenden Studie wird der Status der Frauen in den bedeutenden Kulturen (Baden-Komplex und Kurgankultur) der Spätkupferzeit (3600-2800 BC) bzw. der nachfolgenden Periode (2800-2600 BC) dargestellt. Die ungarische Terminologie ordnet die Glockenbecherkultur zwar der Frühbronzezeit (2500-1900 BC) zu, in anderen Ländern Europas wird sie aber endneolithisch/spätkupferzeitlich und nach Reinecke A0 datiert, deshalb wird sie hier ebenfalls behandelt. Die Erscheinungsformen der Aggression und Gewalt werden in diesen drei Kulturen analysiert und dadurch einstige charismatische Figuren identifiziert, die mit Krieg und Kampf in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können. In allen drei untersuchten Kulturen existierten solche Frauen, die in ihrer eigenen Gesellschaft aufgrund ihres Berufs und Vermögens einen speziellen Status hatten und sowohl damals als auch heute noch sichtbar über den Durchschnitt erhoben.

Fightress Clubs? Women of a Special Social Status in the Late Copper Age in Hungary

In this article I focus on the status of the woman in the main cultures (Baden complex and Yamna) of the Late Copper Age (3600-2800 BC) and the transitional period (2800-2600 BC). Although the Bell Beaker complex belongs to the Early Bronze Age in Hungary (2500-1900 BC), in European terminologies it is a Late Neolithic culture and belongs to the Reinecke A0 horizon in its late phase, which is why I included it into my research. I identify charismatic people displaying signs of aggression in these three culture complexes, whose personalities are associated with warfare. In all three cultures there were women with specialised status: their knowledge, property and profession raised them above the average man and woman.

Une association de guerrières? Des femmes à statut social spécifique à la fin du Chalcolithique en Hongrie

Cette étude présente le statut des femmes dans les cultures principales du Chalcolithique supérieur hongrois (complexe de Baden et Kourgane, 3600-2800 av.J.-C.) et de la période suivante (2800-2600 av.J.-C.). Bien que la terminologie hongroise place le campaniforme au bronze ancien (2500-1900 av.J.-C.), d'autres pays européens placent le phénomène à la fin du Néolithique ou du Chalcolithique en le datant de la phase A0 de Reinecke, c'est pourquoi ils seront pris en compte ici. Les expressions de la violence et des agressions ont été analysées pour ces trois cultures et un certain nombre de figures charismatiques ont pu être identifiées en relation avec la guerre et les combats. Dans les trois cultures il s'agit de femmes à statut spécifique, leur niveau de propriété, de connaissances dépassant celui de la moyenne de leur contemporains.

Traduction: L. Bernard

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés

Ungarn / Späte Kupferzeit / Krieger / Kriegerin / Frauen / Sozialstruktur
 Hungary / Late Copper Age / warrior / female warrior / women / social structure
 Hongrie / Chalcolithique récent / guerrier / guerrière / femmes / structure sociale

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