

# I. STEPPING FROM THE MALE TO THE WARRIOR IDENTITY

## MALE IDENTITY IN LATE NEOLITHIC/EARLY BRONZE AGE EUROPE, 2800–2300 BC

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### Abstract

A spatial and comparative analysis is made of **three male weapon graves from Bohemia, northern Italy and southern England**. Consideration is given to the grave goods, their function and symbolic significance, commencing with a discussion of male and warrior identity from 2800 to 2300 BC.

Key words: male identity, warriorhood, function, weapon, human body, Corded Ware Culture, Bell Beaker Culture.

### Introduction

During The third millennium BC, substantial changes in society occurred in several parts of Europe. The changes move from egalitarian and group-oriented societies with causewayed enclosures and communal graves as megaliths, to societies with individual graves and eventually to elitarian societies (2800–1800 BC) (Vandkilde 2004, p.75). These processes apparently occurred in various areas of time and space, and at different rates. Traditionally, these social developments are interpreted on the basis of graves, and also, partly, on deposits. During recent years, excavations and studies of settlements have been included. The discussions include religious, ritual, and more everyday aspects. Here, artefacts and contexts play the central role.

The most visible changes occurred in funerary practice. With Corded Ware Culture (CWC), the single grave is introduced around 2800 BC as the most common grave form in Central and Eastern Europe. The male graves are characterized by a slender corded beaker and a shafthole axe or mace, while the female graves are characterized by adornments (eg tooth beads) and pottery (Vandkilde 2004).

Around 200 to 300 years later, approximately 2500 BC, Bell Beaker Culture (BBC) arose in Western Europe, which is primarily characterized by a bell-shaped beaker with zone ornamentation. Due to the presence of beakers and weapons placed around the deceased in the grave, the BBC graves are apparently associated with CWC graves. These two dominating culture groups or macro-regional cultures in Europe have different local

variations, but the above-mentioned characteristics are overall and widespread (Vandkilde 2006, p.415).

In this paper, male identity around 2800 to 2300 BC is discussed. As a case study, **I have selected three male graves** from different parts of Europe. In my analysis, the focus will be on the space, especially the relation between the human body and the grave goods. I will discuss the artefacts, their function, symbolic meaning and placement, and compare the three graves, commencing with a discussion of male and warrior identity 2800–2300 BC.

### Theorising

Theorising is of course important when you want to discuss graves and male identities. In my discussion of material culture, I have used primarily Helle Vandkilde's three divisions in analysing *function* (2000, p.22). She speaks of *practical function*, *social function* and *symbolic meaning*. The *practical function* deals with the utilitarian purposes and potentials of objects. The *social function* is more complex. It deals with the social relations applying to objects: ethnicity, cultural identity, status, age, gender, rank, profession, etc. By virtue of its visual expression, being implemented, material culture may be used as a manipulating factor. The *symbolic meaning* refers to the qualities and properties connected to the objects, which *could* be a combination of *practical* and *social function*.

Marie Louise Stig Sørensen has analysed and discussed the rich Early Bronze Age grave from Leubin-

gen by dividing the grave and discussing its elements. Julian Thomas has analysed British Bell Beaker graves and the placement of the beakers. I will try to use both of their phenomenological and spatial approaches in a discussion of social identity, body culture, and gender.

When a member of society dies, a social drama takes place; there is a rupturing of existing relations (Sørensen 2004, p.168). These relations are renegotiated in the burial, so the placement of the grave goods and the body creates an image of the deceased; an image of the values and ideals of the society (2004, p.168). Julian Thomas sees the grave as a text, where the objects are *signifiers* (1991, p.38). The grave must eventually be seen as a potential semiotic room and the objects must be seen as an extension of the body and body-related actions, for example, cooking, eating, drinking, dressing, hunting and fighting (Thomas 1991, p.38; Sørensen 2004, p.173; Vandkilde 2006, p.394).

The main pillar for theorising identity and gender is social anthropology. It is used within archaeology to add an extra dimension to the archaeological material proposing a “more balanced view” of a possible structure of prehistoric society (eg Apel 2001; or Wiermann 1998, p.131). Social identity and gender denote the individual’s perception of the self and the affiliation in society, and are also a way societies categorise individuals using sex, age, profession, rank and status (Eriksen 1998; Vandkilde 2006). Status may be added or achieved and different kinds of status may vary in meaning in different contexts.

In her work “Warriors and Warrior Institutions in Copper Age Europe”, H. Vandkilde (2006) theorises on warriors and warriorhood using ethno-historical perspectives. Warriorhood must be seen as a secondary status; a group identity added to the male gender. It may work *ad hoc* or be institutionalised in society (Vandkilde 2006, p.397). She puts up three ethnographic models for institutionalised warriorhood, where access is regulated through: 1) *age*, possibly by initiation rites; 2) *personal qualities*, where the warrior is more independent; and 3) *distinctions of rank*, where the warriors form a kind of warrior elite (Vandkilde 2006, pp.399-403).

### Source criticism

Within source criticism, there are several factors to mention. The more elementary ones are the states of preservation. One has to bear in mind that artefacts of organic material, such as leather, wood or textiles, may have played a role in the material expression of the grave, but are most often not preserved. However, the greatest source criticism should be pointed toward

my choice of graves. In the analysis of the graves, one should involve a whole row of factors in relation to each grave, eg terrain, topography, surrounding natural and cultural landscape, a cemetery context, if any, and a larger comparison of its graves. By choosing to focus only on the grave room as a context, I exclude the above-mentioned factors, but including them would go beyond the physical limits of this paper. It might seem problematic that the male graves chosen in this study are very different in their expression. There is a large difference in the degrees of material richness compared to their surrounding contemporary graves and cemeteries. Their similarities are the fact that they are male graves with weapons and pottery, they are with preserved skeletons, and they are clearly positioned in the graves.

### Spatial analysis of grave rooms

The spatial analysis is simply made by dividing the grave room to see if there are any clusterings or regularities in the position of the different artefacts in connection with the body and the grave room. I have chosen to divide the grave into squares using the body as a starting point. The mid-axis goes along the spine, crossing the skull, pelvis and feet, while the cross-axis goes across the mid-axis across the pelvis (Fig. 1). Starting from the objects in these four squares, I will describe, and to some extent compare, the three graves. I have chosen to divide the grave goods into four groupings: pottery, dress equipment (eg bone pins) and adornment (eg tooth beads or gold jewellery), weapon-related objects, and craft-related objects. It may very well be debatable whether such a division in weapon and craft-related objects can be legitimized. It is a discussion of weapon-tools and tool-weapons (cf Vandkilde 2006, p.404). In my opinion, the division is made from their everyday context. For example, the working axe from the Vikletice grave is determined to be a craft-related object. Vikletice is a CWC cemetery in the northwest of the Czech Republic. Due to the chalky subsoil, bones are well preserved. The cemetery is made up of a total of 179 graves, of which the majority date from CWC (Buchvaldek, Koutecký *et al.* 1970).

Grave 58, which was excavated in 1964 (Fig. 1a), is determined to be a male grave according to the grave goods and the position of the body. The skeleton is determined to be of a juvenile. The grave is orientated approximately east-west, measures 156 by 120 centimetres, and has a rectangular shape with rounded corners. The body is centrally placed in the grave with the left arm resting across the stomach region and the right arm resting along the side of the body. The body is surrounded by objects on all four sides, and several

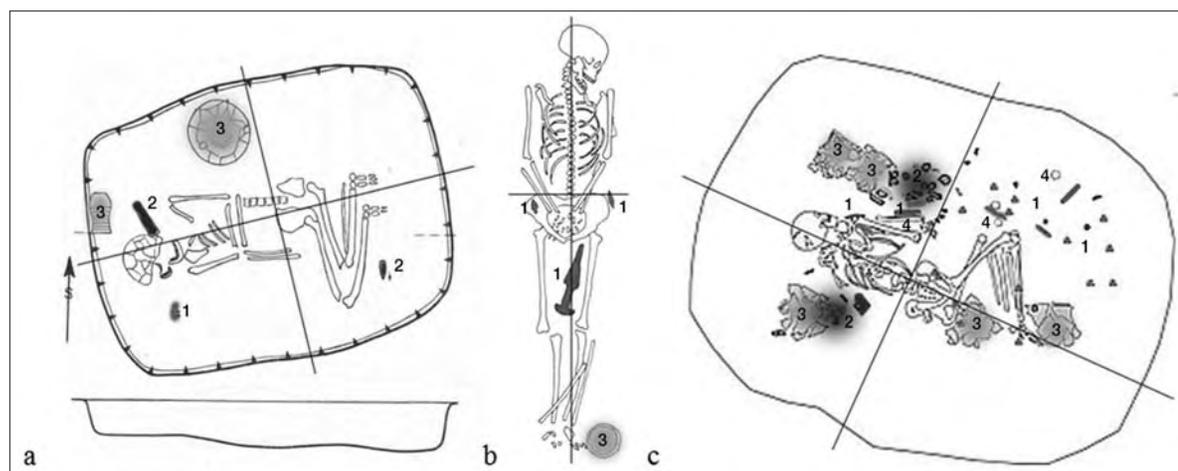


Fig. 1. Model for spatial analysis of grave goods: a Vikletice grave 58 (Bohemia, Czech Republic) (no scale); b the Spilamberto grave (northern Italy) (no scale); c the Amesbury grave (southern England) (no scale). The objects are numbered according to their metonymical aspect: 1 weapon-related objects; 2 craft-related objects; 3 pottery; 4 dress equipment/adornments (rearranged after Buchvaldek, Koutecký 1970, p.169, Abb. 107; Barfield 1997, p.117, Fig. 9; Wessex Archaeology 2002).

of them seem to have had a direct connection to the placement of the body.

Dividing the grave by the mid and the cross axis, the grave is divided into four, where the square behind the legs is apparently empty. In the quadrant in front of the legs, just below the right knee, you can see an approximately seven-centimetre-long, almost pointed blade knife (Buchvaldek, Koutecký *et al.* 1970, p.55). In the southwest quadrant, in front of the face, which is facing south, a mace head or what could possibly be a very eroded battleaxe is placed. Its placement indicates that when shafted, it had been laid in the hand of the deceased. With this direct connection to the body, the placement stresses action, and its function as a weapon, practically, socially and symbolically, seems obvious. In the last quadrant, behind the man's back, a large working axe made of a type of rock is found behind the neck. At first glance it has a very prominent and an almost violent placement, with the edge pointed directly towards the skull. In this case, I do not find that the specific placement is so important. In several other graves, such axes are found in the same quadrant of the grave (Buchvaldek, Koutecký *et al.* 1970, eg pp.102, 113, 166), and the axe may have been moved a bit in the grave, which may cause that marked placement. I have chosen to mark the axe and the blade knife as craft-related objects, but it is with some reservation, since they may have weapon or violence-related potentials. Approximately ten to 20 centimetres above the skull lies a corded beaker with the mouth pointing south. It seems as if it could have been deliberately pointed towards the deceased's skull region. In the cemetery, corded beakers are only found in male graves, and almost always at the head end of the grave in front or behind the skull. In several cases, the drink-

ing beaker is placed on the side. In contrast, other pots are generally placed in an upright position. The amount of content, the irregularity of the grave bottom, or the size of the beaker may have, of course, caused it to tip over. One could also imagine that the beaker may have been emptied before or while it was placed in the grave as part of a ritual act. I find this very interesting in connection with the idea of the institutionalized warriorhood in CWC, where drinking rituals may have played a part in the warrior group (cf Vandkilde 2006, p.415). What we see in male graves with corded beakers is probably a reflection of these drinking rituals in the grave rituals. Besides the slender corded beaker, an undecorated globular amphora is found. The amphora is almost always placed along the northern side in all graves in the Vikletice cemetery, regardless of the sex or geographical orientation of the deceased. It is placed behind the back or in front of the legs. In grave 58, the amphora is placed behind the back and no terms of action are stressed in its placement. It possibly served as a container for food or beverages.

The Spilamberto grave is from the Spilamberto cemetery in northern Italy (Barfield 1986). The dating is "chalcolithic" or "eneolithic". The graves here are different from the rest of the north Italian cemeteries from the same period of time, eg Remedello, which has given its name to a local culture group. According to Lawrence Barfield (1986), Spilamberto is not under the same influence of CWC as the more northern cemeteries in the area, and compared with these, the Spilamberto graves are much more uniform and not as strictly divided into male and female graves. For example, the orientations of the graves are alike, regardless of sex and age; both males and females are buried lying on their back, with their hands resting on the lap. Al-

so, the objects are not as strictly divided according to male and female graves. For example, there are several female graves equipped with arrow points, and in the Remedello cemetery, anthropologically determined females are buried with copper daggers and arrow points (Barfield 1986, p.243).

The grave (Fig. 1b) is oriented north to south, with the head at the north. The skeleton of an adult male is lying on his back with his face slightly turned eastwards and his hands resting on his lap. Between his thigh bones lies a large bone dagger with the tip pointed towards his left groin. On each side of his pelvis, a tanged arrow point, probably of flint, is placed, and just south of his left foot stands a beaker. The beaker placed near the left foot and the face are turned left, making a vague marking of that side of the grave. Despite that, the composition of the grave is very symmetrical. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to find any further descriptions of the beaker or the arrow points in the literature. The bone dagger looks very much like the shafted copper daggers known from the area and the rest of Europe. It is cut in one piece, and the end of the shaft is almost semicircular shaped. The blade is thicker in the middle.

If you lay out the mid and cross axes, it is remarkable that the area above the waist is apparently empty. All the weapon-related objects are placed around the pelvis, and, with the beaker placed near the feet, no terms of bodily action are stressed (cf Sørensen 2004, p.173), just as with the globular amphora in the Vikletice grave.

The hitherto richest male grave from BBC in Britain is the so-called Amesbury Archer, which was excavated with another nearby BBC grave by Wessex Archaeology in 2002. The two graves are situated in southern England only three miles from Stonehenge. The results have not been thoroughly published yet, but are mentioned among news in *Antiquity* (Fitzpatrick 2002). However, Wessex Archaeology has published some of the results on their web page ([www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects/amesbury/archer.html](http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/projects/amesbury/archer.html) [Wessex Archaeology 2002]). The richest of the two graves, the Amesbury Archer, is referred to as *the Amesbury grave*. Radiocarbon analysis dates the grave to 2400–2100 cal. BC. The results of stable isotope analyses of oxygen, <sup>18</sup>O, from the human tooth enamel are of great interest. It is an indication that the man grew up in the Alpine area (Wessex Archaeology 2002).

The grave (Fig. 1c) is oriented WNW-ESE, with the head at WNW. The grave has probably been supported by some kind of wooden chamber. The man, determined as an adult male between 35 and 50 years old, lies in left positioned hocker, the most common for a

BBC male grave. The arms are folded along his chest. The body is centrally placed in the grave, and with the exception of above the skull, it is surrounded by objects. **The grave contains no less than 100 artefacts, most of which are flints.**

The mid and the cross axes divide the grave into four equally sized quadrants; however, the grave goods are unequally placed. In the quadrant behind the legs, along the mid-axis, only a bell beaker is placed. In the quadrant in front of the legs, a beaker is placed by the feet near the mid-axis. A number of status markers, such as a red sandstone wristguard, a shale belt ring, a tanged copper dagger, and two gold so-called “basket earrings” are also placed in this area of the grave. Much points towards the fact that this is an extra set of equipment, possibly including clothing. It looks as if it is deliberately placed at that very spot in the grave. Fitzpatrick calls it equipment for a dress or possible *regalia*, and infers by these means that we are dealing here with some kind of king or chief (2002). Furthermore, in front of the legs, in the northeast part of the grave, 15 arrow points were found scattered one level above the bottom of the grave. These are probably the remains of a quiver, with the arrows placed above a possible lid of the chamber (Fitzpatrick 2002, p.630). In the quadrant in front of the face, **a copper knife is placed near one hand**, and along his underarm lies a black sandstone wristguard and a bone pin. In front of the arms there is a cache of flints, such as flakes, scrapers, knives (small daggers, my comment), blanks for arrow points, a small tanged copper dagger, a red deer spatula, a small lump of iron (possibly for a strike-a-light), and some boar tusks. In the quadrant behind the back, there is a bell beaker behind the skull and another cache of flints, for example, scrapers, some boar tusks, and a small cushion stone (possibly a small anvil for working gold). **To sum up the weapon-related objects in the grave**, there are three small tanged copper daggers, two small flint dagger blades, two wristguards, and 15 arrow points. An overall view of the numbered version of the plan of the Amesbury grave shows that all weapon-related objects (1) are placed in the two quadrants in front of the body, to the right of the mid-axis. In my opinion, the copper dagger placed by the hand of the deceased stresses a term of action. It is the same for the objects referred to as adornment and dress equipment (4), which are also placed in the two right quadrants. The so-called craft-related objects (2) are placed above the cross-axis, above the waist. The five bell beakers (3) are found in all four quadrants, with predominance in the quadrant in front of the face.

Like Fitzpatrick, I find the cache of prestige objects or the so-called *regalia* significant in its placement, because of its role as an extra set of special dress equip-

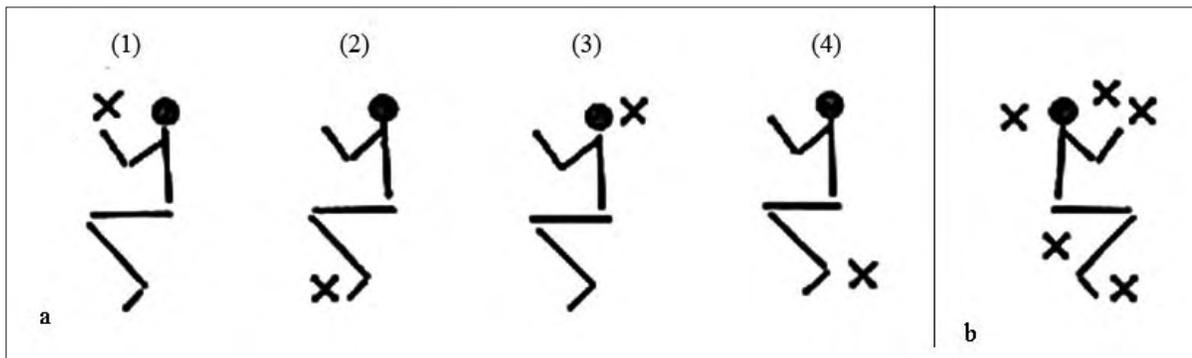


Fig. 2. Positions of the bell beakers in British Bell Beaker graves: a a simplified representation of the four common placements of the bell beaker in Britain (after Clarke 1970, p.455, 3.9); b the same model rearranged showing the placement of the five bell beakers in the Amesbury grave.

ment. Yet, I find the other objects just as significant in their placement in relation to the body. In his work about bell beakers in Great Britain and Ireland, D. Clarke has also researched the placement of the bell beakers in graves (1970). Bell beakers, of which there is only normally one found in each grave, if any, have statistically four positions (Fig. 2a): 1) in front of the face; 2) in front of the legs; 3) behind the head; and 4) behind the legs (Clarke 1970, p.455). To this he relates, among other things, statistics over “gender and age”, classified as male, female and child (Thomas 1991, p.39, Fig. 5), where most male graves have the beaker in position 3, most female graves have it in position 2, and most children graves have it in position 1. All three groups are represented in the four positions (1991, p.39).

I have marked the beakers’ positions in the Amesbury grave (Fig. 2b), and it is obvious that all aforementioned positionings have been used. There is a stylistic difference in the beakers placed near the head and the ones placed near the legs. The different styles of the bell beakers may very well be a marking of social relations between ethnic groups inside BBC and possibly also mark connections to other chiefs (Clarke 1970).

With this analysis of the Amesbury grave, I see several common features with M.L.S. Sørensen’s analysis of the Leubingen grave (2004). The Amesbury Archer was probably not a craftsman (eg goldsmith, ceramic artist or furrier), nor did he carry five daggers and two wristguards. The way the objects are placed in the grave in “function spheres” indicates that he was a powerful person and had a number of crafts and craftsmen under him. In connection with the placement of the objects and the body, we can see that he was put in the grave not dressed as the powerful man he possibly was, but more as a warrior. This is evident from the dagger in his hand, a wristguard on his arm, and a bone pin to close his garment. His status as a powerful man is stressed by the objects placed around him in the grave thereafter.

In J. Thomas’ model of sequencing (Fig. 3), I have marked the objects found in the grave with the numbers used in the spatial analysis (Fig. 1). If we assume that each beaker “starts a sequence” in the model, five beakers might be necessary for the presence of all the other objects in the grave. However, a grave found nearby, the so-called Archer’s Relative, does not correspond with this idea. He has no beaker in the grave, but has a boar’s tusk at his side and two “basket-earrings” in his mouth (!) (Wessex Archaeology).

## Discussion

The battleaxe or mace is as a *weapon* only associated with warfare, unlike daggers and archery equipment, which are also linked with hunting (Vandkilde 2006, p.394). In this connection, I would like to add the comment that battleaxes, maces and daggers might as well be associated with the (ritual) slaughtering of animals. Like the rest of the material, we may look at several aspects of the dagger as an artefact: the utilitarian aspects and the symbolic aspects. Daggers are traditionally seen as almost purely symbolic objects; but, in my opinion, discussions and analysis of the utilitarian purposes and real function are just as important.

The bone dagger from Spilamberto (Fig. 4c) has, as mentioned, been inferred as non-functional and purely symbolic grave equipment by L. Barfield and C. Chippindale (1997, p.116). I disagree with their opinion. A bone dagger may very well have utilitarian purposes connected with the material and morphology, not necessarily in acts of war. From the south Scandinavian Mesolithic and Neolithic, several bone daggers made from the elbow bones of larger mammals, for example, are known. They have traditionally been suggested to be skinning knives (Brøndsted 1957, p.101 and 211). J. Apel has, in his technological study of Scandinavian flint daggers, also commented upon their utilitarian purposes. He finds the flint daggers’ use as stabbing devices rather poor, whereas experiments with and the

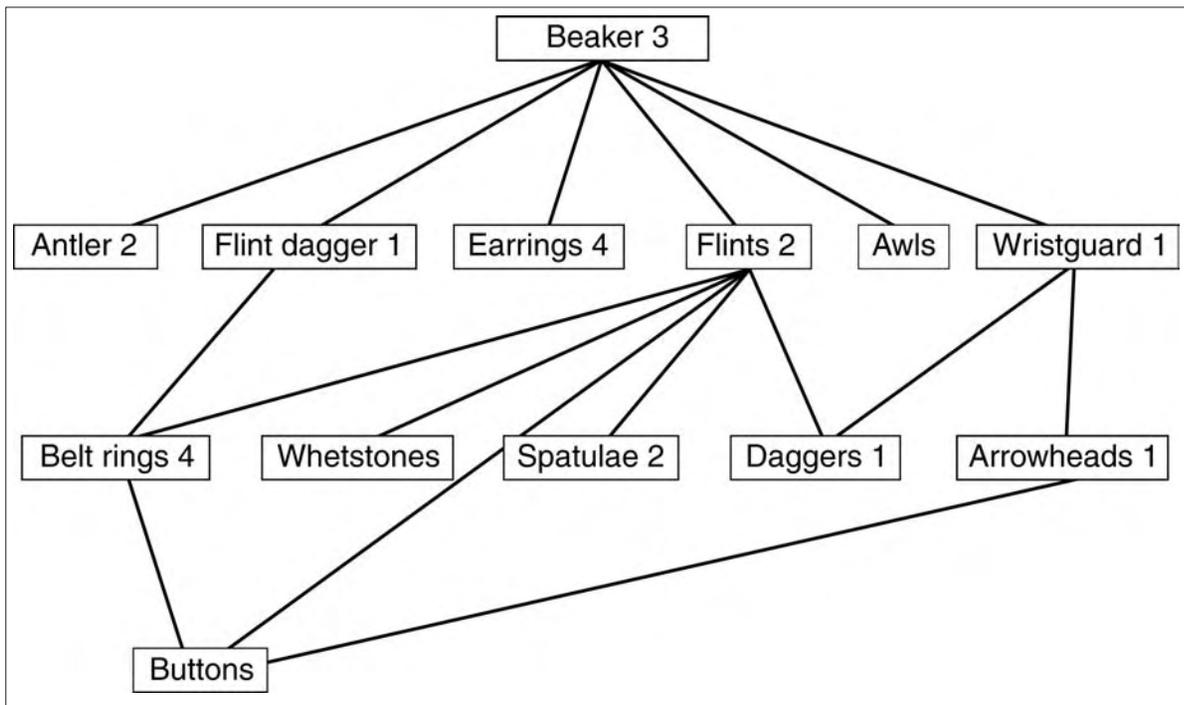


Fig. 3. Possible sequence for the choices involved in the combination of grave goods in British bell beaker graves (rearranged after Thomas 1991, p.35, Fig. 1). The numbered items mark the objects represented in the Amesbury grave. The meanings of the numbers are the same as in the spatial analysis (cf Fig. 1).

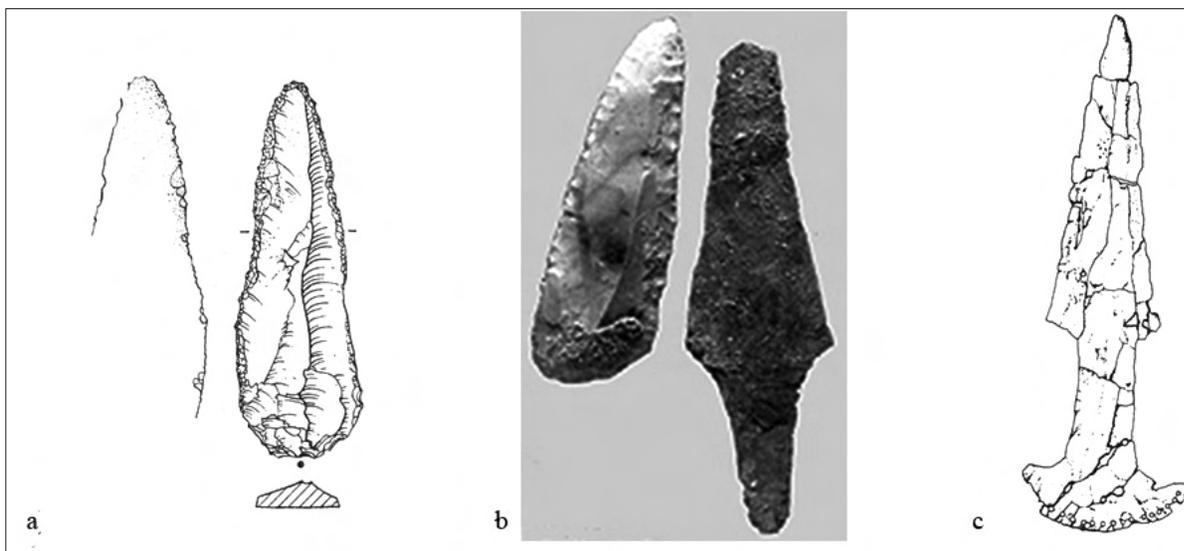


Fig. 4. Daggers and knives: the blade knife from Vikletice, length 7 cm; b a flint dagger blade and the largest tanged copper dagger from the Amesbury grave (no scale); c the bone dagger from the Spilamberto grave (no scale) (after Buchvaldek and Koutecký 1970, p.169, Abb. 107. 5; www.wessexarch.co.uk and Barfield 1997, p.117, Fig. 9, respectively).

use of flint daggers have shown that they are excellent as cutting devices for slaughtering and skinning animals (Apel 2001, p.311). Apparently no *thorough* use-wear analyses on flint daggers or any other kinds of daggers have been made. However, in *single* cases, use-wear on daggers has been analysed. On a flint dagger from Ffair Rhos, for example, all use-wear on the edges has been inferred as a result of the dagger being pulled in and out of a sheath (Keeley 1982, p.495), a treatment that destroys any other possible use-wear. It

is mostly traces of shafting that you see on the daggers (Keeley 1982). Many flint daggers from Scandinavia have been re-sharpened, which destroys the use-wear, but also shows the importance of resharpening as a result of breakage or ritual sharpening (Apel 2001, p.311). Of course, it is possible that the daggers have just been used as ordinary cutting devices. It would be interesting, if it was possible, to study several kinds of daggers from grave contexts, such as bone daggers, flint daggers, copper and bronze daggers, more system-

atically for traces of use-wear to see if certain patterns arise.

The daggers from the Amesbury grave have consequently been called knives by A. Fitzpatrick (2002, p.630), but I have chosen to define them as daggers since they have two edges. They are divided into two groups: three small-tanged copper daggers and two flint dagger blades. The copper daggers must have had some kind of wooden shaft, and it is likely that the flint daggers also had a shaft of some sort. The flint daggers appear to have been made on blades that have been flatly retouched on one or both sides. It seems that one of the flint daggers from the Amesbury grave and the blade knife from the Vikletice grave look very much alike in shape and also in size (Fig. 4a and 4b). The blade knives from the Vikletice cemetery are not found in female graves, but only in some male graves with maces and working axes. In approximately half of the cases, the blade knives are placed near the legs (Buchvaldek, Koutecký *et al.* 1970, p.238). Some gloss was observed on the blades (Buchvaldek, Koutecký *et al.* 1970), and the use-wear analysis of 53 of the Vikletice blades by Kjel Knutsson indicates that the artefacts divide into two equally sized groups. They were either used for cutting vegetable material or were unused. They were used for scraping skin in only four cases (Knutsson 1995). Further use-wear analyses like this could be interesting concerning the use of blades from other CWC graves in Europe, for example cutting hides, meat or fat by the skinning or slaughtering of animals, or as seen in Vikletice, used mostly for plant working.

The dagger has traditionally been seen as a status symbol, more precisely male status (Barfield, Chippindale 1997, p.117; Apel 2001, p.311). In her work with the Singen am Hohentwiel cemetery, Emily Weglian sees the dagger's function as having a symbolic meaning. She infers that the bronze dagger was an adornment in line with other contemporary bronze objects, which are mostly jewellery related (Weglian 2001, p.147). In parts of the Alpine area, daggers are depicted on the so-called statue-menhirs (Fig. 5). They are found in areas where the deceased are buried in communal graves without any grave goods, and they are meant to stress a male identity not expressed in the funerary practice (Barfield, Chippindale 1997). In this connection, Barfield infers the dagger or its depiction as the symbol of "the adult male" (Barfield 1986, p.244), because some of the statue-menhirs are shaped like a phallus or the shaft of the dagger. He thereby sees a symbiosis of male, body, phallus and dagger (1986, p.244).

The archery equipment is heavily emphasized in the Amesbury grave. The 15 barbed tanged arrowheads

and two wristguards are clear components of BBC in northwest Europe. The red sandstone wristguard located at the end of the grave is of special interest, because of the copper-like colour. It is associated with BBC in the Lower Rhine Basin, where the colour of the red Grand Pressigny flint has also been suggested as a reason for the material choice for flint daggers (eg Lanting, van der Waals, 1974, p.16 and 67). As mentioned earlier, both dagger and archery equipment are associated with hunting. It has been suggested that stressing this equipment with BBC shows a new kind of specialized weapon use and a new warrior ideal (Vandkilde 2001, p.356).

J. Thomas and H. Vandkilde have different conclusions of *the pottery* in the graves. H. Vandkilde suggests, from a social anthropological view, that beakers in male graves, the corded beaker and the bell beaker, are connected with gender or institutionalized warriorhood. Food, and especially beverages, may have played an active part in rituals, and therefore the beakers played a central role in denoting the male identity (2006, p.410). In a bell beaker grave, at Ashgrove Fife in Scotland, traces of an alcoholic beverage were found in a bell beaker, which may support her hypothesis (Vandkilde 2006). It is a common view that the consumption of alcoholic beverages was a customary practice in prehistoric societies (eg Vencl 1994, p.317). A corded beaker from a single grave at Refshøjgård in East Jutland, has also been found to contain starch grains in a non-carbonized crust, which implies a clear trace of an alcoholic beverage (Klassen 2005, p.7).

J. Thomas takes the view of the bell beaker being the primary object in graves (if any grave goods are present) in BBC of males, females and children (Thomas 1991, p. 35). His thesis is that choices of grave goods are determined by certain patterns or sequences. For example, v-perforated buttons are only present if other objects are as well (Fig. 3), and the presence of a bell beaker determines whether other objects are present (1991, p.35). Pottery ornaments have often been seen as a symbol of ethnicity (eg Clarke 1970) or as an indication of use and content. According to ethnographic studies, pottery has a variety of functions categorized in a complex system where, as mentioned before, form, function and context are central aspects (Miller 1985).

Chemical analyses of ceramics and the study of macro fossils in connection with them are, in my opinion, of great interest and importance to the understanding of the pottery. The function, practically as a container, and symbolically in the stylistic variation, makes the study of pottery more complex (eg Lindahl 2000, p.163).

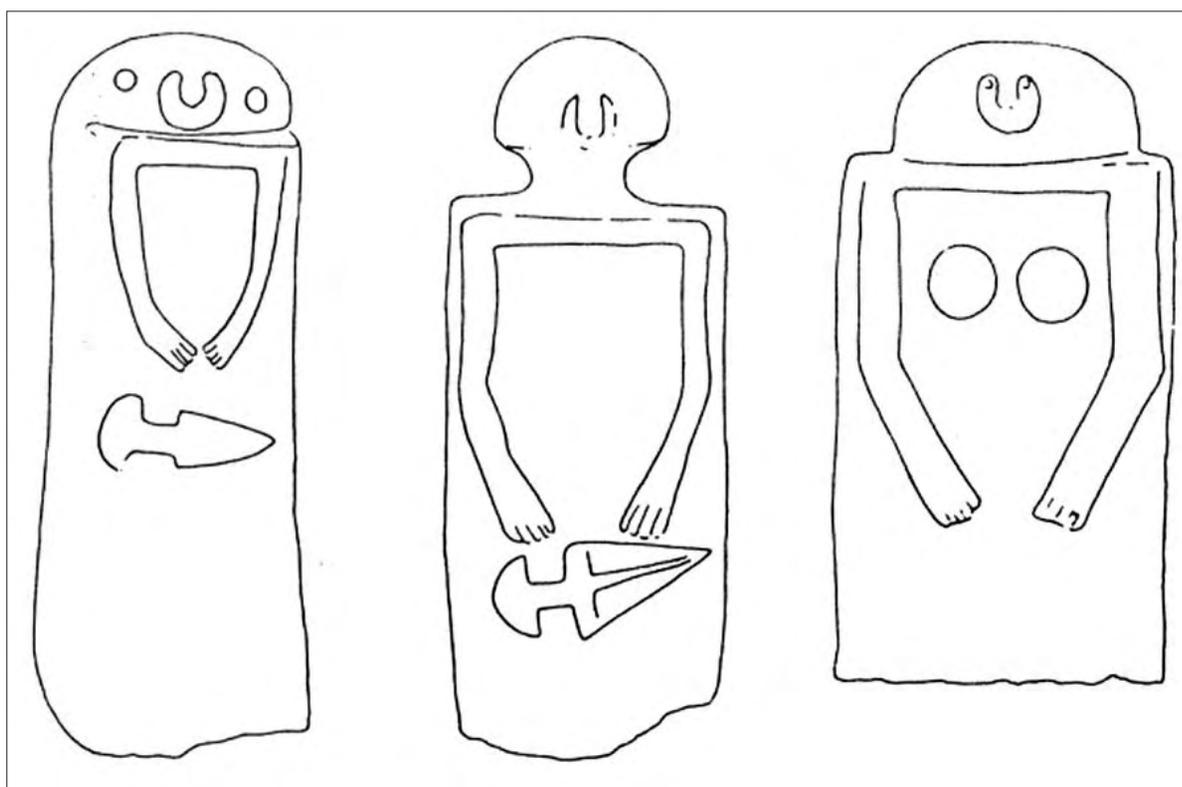


Fig. 5. Statue-menhirs from the Lunigiana area in northeast Italy (no scale) (after Barfield 1997, p.119, Fig. 11: 1-3).

### Male Identity and warriorhood

As discussed in the analysis, I assume the Amesbury Archer has been buried primarily with warrior equipment with connection to the body, and buried with warrior status. Second, he has a status as a powerful man with rich equipment and grave goods, which may symbolize his powers over various crafts and craftsmen. The amount of bell beakers and their placements in the grave refers to, besides food preparation, eating and drinking rituals, a manifestation or stressing of the grave cult and symbolism, as D.L. Clarke and J. Thomas have proposed. I suppose a further study of this grave would bring new information to the understanding of British bell beaker graves. In the discussion of warrior identity, the Amesbury grave is interesting. As with the other two graves, first and foremost, it contains a deceased man with weapon-related objects and symbols centrally placed in connection with the body.

In the Spilamberto grave, the deceased is completely differently placed than in the two other graves in this analysis. The placement of the grave goods in relation to grave room and body is also different, since all preserved objects are placed below the waist and no terms of action are stressed whatsoever. We may conclude that what we see here is another kind of body culture, such as a different way to dress and the use of symbolic objects in relation to the body. Still, the weapon-related objects have some connection with the body, and I find it plausible that the equipment has the same symbolic

association with the male or the warrior. L. Barfield compares his view of the dagger as a symbol of male identity in the north Italian area (1986, p.245) to the rock engravings at Mont Bégou, which depict ploughing scenes, oxen, and male figures with halberds. These halberds are morphologically closely connected with daggers (1997, p.120). He suggests that this sphere with male graves, statue-menhirs and rock engravings belongs to the adult male. He sees the engravings as a result of *rites de passage*, where young men are initiated by making the rock engravings, and maybe, in this connection, gains male status and become members of the group of men carrying the dagger (Barfield, Chippindale 1997, p.122). In this case, if the dagger was a symbol of institutionalised warriorhood, it must have been regulated by age (cf Vandkilde 2006).

### Concluding remarks

In my analysis of the three graves, I have not been able to prove any pronounced similarities. As a starting point, they are different and maybe also too different to generalize on male identity in Late Neolithic Europe. It would require a much larger amount and variety of graves and cemeteries to go further into this issue. The basic analyses are best made on the cemetery, cultural and geographical levels. I would suggest multi-varied analyses as a method for handling the data concerning objects and their placement in relation to body and grave room, determination of age, and sex of the

skeletons, etc. Such analyses can point out possible clusters or groupings that may relate to different social identities. Furthermore, I propose some future studies: a further study of the actual uses of objects, for example by chemical or use-wear analysis of tools, weapons and pottery.

A common feature of the three graves is that body and weapon-related objects are closely connected in the marking of identity. Whether the meanings in the three cases are the same, is more uncertain. Something could indicate that Late Neolithic societies had an overall ideology with the man as a weapon-bearing person or a part of a warriorhood. Others have already shown that CWC and BBC are closely connected in their opposites concerning sex, age, and the placement of the body in the grave (Turek, Cerný 2001, p.604). Besides the spatial and comparative analyses, the objects and issues concerning their practical and social functions and symbolic meaning have been discussed. In relation to this, I have pointed out that the metonymy of the weapons, besides being associated with warfare and hunting, may also be associated with slaughtering, an issue to take into consideration in further studies of male identity in Late Neolithic Europe.

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## VYRŲ TAPATUMAS EUROPOJE VĒLYVOJO NEOLITO–ANKSTYVOJO BRONZOS AMŽIAUS LAIKAIS (2800–2300 M. PR. KR.)

**Jakob Westermann**

### Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariami trijų vyrų, palaidotų su ginklais, įkapių erdvinis išsidėstymas kape. Šie kapai datuojami vėlyvuuoju neolitu – ankstyvuuoju bronzos amžiais. Aptariami vyrų kapai yra iš Vikletice (Bohemija), Spilamberto (šiaurinė Italija) ir Amesbury (pietinė Anglija) kapinynų. Vikletice kapinyno kapas priklauso virvelinės keramikos kultūrai, aptariamasis kapas iš Spilamberto skiriamas „eneolitui“, kapas iš Amesbury priklauso varpinių taurių kultūrai, jo kalibruota radio-karboninė data yra 2400–2100 m. pr. Kr. Šių kapų analizės dėmesio centre atsidūrė kapų įranga ir ypač ryšys tarp palaidotojo kūno ir įkapių išsidėstymo. Straipsnyje yra aptariami ir lyginami trijų minėtų kapų dirbiniai, jų funkcinė paskirtis, simbolinė reikšmė ir dėjimo į kapą ypatumai, siejant medžiagą su prasidėjusia diskusija apie vyrų ir karių tapatumą 2800–2300 m. pr. Kr.

Erdvinė įkapių išsidėstymo analizė yra padaryta nesudėtingai, t. y., padalijant kapą kaip mirusiojo buveinę į tam tikras grupes, toliau analizuojant, ar ryšiai tarp išskirtų įvairių įkapių grupių išdėstymo kapo duobėje ir mirusiojo kūno yra pastovūs. Todėl kapas buvo padalintas į keturias dalis, o mirusiojo kūnas pasirinktas kaip pradinis atskaitos taškas. Pagal dirbinius, rastus išskirtose keturiuose dalyse, visi trys analizuojami kapai buvo aprašyti ir palyginti. Įkapės buvo padalintos į keturias grupes: keramika, aprangos detalės ir puoš-

menos, dirbiniai, susiję su ginklais, ir dirbiniai, susiję su amatais. Kape iš Vikletice mirusysis paguldytas ant dešiniojo šono, kairioji jo ranka buvo padėta ant pilvo, o dešinioji ištiesta (1: a pav.). Įkapės šiame kape išdėstytos aplink mirusįjį. Kelių į kapą įdėtų daiktų pozicija (kirvio ir virvelinės keramikos taurės) buvo tiesiogiai susijusi su mirusiojo padėtimi kape. Kirvio padėtis kape rodytų jo, kaip ginklo, svarbą, taip pat šio dirbinio padėtimi kape buvo akivaizdžiai parodyta socialinė ir simbolinė kirvio reikšmė. Tam tikros vyrų grupės, matyt, karių, kapuose rastos virvelinės keramikos taurės atspindi ir gėrimo ritualus.

Analizuojamame kape iš Spilamberto kapinyno mirusysis buvo palaidotas priešingai nei likusiuose dviejuose kapuose (1: b pav.). Didžiausią susidomėjimą šiame kape kelia kaulinis durklas, padėtas mirusiajam tarp šlaunikaulių. Todėl atrodytų, kad kape iš Spilamberto matome kitokią laidoseną, kuomet simboliniai dirbiniai ir jų ryšys su mirusiojo kūnu buvo kitokie, skyrėsi ir mirusiojo apranga.

Iki šiol kapas iš Amesbury yra turtingiausias varpinių taurių kultūros kapas Jungtinėje Karalystėje. Mirusysis, išskyrus kaukolės sritį, palaidotas įkapių apsuptyje (1: c pav.). Kape iš Amesbury rasta ne mažiau kaip 100 dirbinių. Būdas, kuriuo „funkcinė sferose“ dirbiniai buvo padėti kape, žymi, kad čia palaidotas įtakingas žmogus, turėjęs amatininko įgūdžių ir jam pavaldžių žmonių. Tačiau mirusiojo kūno ir dirbinių, įdėtų į kapą, ryšiai rodytų, kad šis žmogus palaidotas aprengtas ne su tokia išraiškinga apranga, kokia jis galėjo vilkėti gyvas būdamas, bet daugiau kaip karys, nes jo rankose buvo durklas, ant rankos buvo rasta riešo apsauga, o netoli jo drabužių buvo kaulinis smeigtukas. Aukštas šio žmogaus statusas buvo pabrėžtas dirbiniais, padėtais aplink.

Trys analizuoti kapai negali patvirtinti jokių aiškiai išreikštų panašumų. Analizuoti kapai yra per daug įvairūs ir galbūt per daug skirtingi, kad galėtų apibendrinti vyrų tapatumą vėlyvojo neolito laikotarpiu Europoje (2–5 pav.). Tačiau nors analizuojamų trijų kapų bendras bruožas yra tas, kad mirusysis ir ginklams skirtini dirbiniai yra glaudžiai susiję ir žymi palaidotojo tapatumą, tačiau ar jų reikšmė visais analizuojamais atvejais yra ta pati, lieka neaišku. Straipsnyje aptariami dirbiniai ir svarstoma problema dėl jų praktinės ir socialinės funkcijų bei simbolinės reikšmės. Ginklų metonimija rodytų, kad šalia ryšių su karyba ir medžiokle jie taip pat gali būti susiję su gyvūnų skerdimu.