Intentionally broken vessels in Celtic graves Evidence of funerary rites in the La Tène period

Intencionálne rozbité nádoby v keltských hroboch Doklad pohrebných rituálov v dobe laténskej

Dominik Repka

Intentional destruction of objects is a rather frequent phenomenon in the Celtic world. In the past, the attention of researchers was primarily focused on damage to weapons. Intentional fragmentation – the breaking of clay vessels – has not yet been sufficiently explored. The subject of the article is these practices documented in La Tène graves in the Carpathian Basin, with a focus on selected cemeteries from the territory of southwest Slovakia (Dubník and Malé Kosihy) and northwest Hungary (Ludas). The author attempts to interpret the reasons for these practices in the context of the funerary rite based on an analysis of ways vessels were intentionally damaged, their position in the grave pit and also the types of these vessels.

intentionally broken – fragments of vessels – grave pit – La Tène period – funerary rites

Intencionálne ničenie predmetov je u Keltov pomerne častým javom. Pozornosť bádateľov bola v minulosti zameraná predovšetkým na poškodzovanie zbraní. Zámerné rozbíjanie hlinených nádob nebolo dosiaľ dostatočne riešené. Cieľom tohto článku je upriamenie pozornosti na uvedené praktiky doložené v hroboch doby laténskej na území Karpatskej kotliny, so zameraním na vybrané pohrebiská z územia juhozápadného Slovenska (Dubník a Malé Kosihy) a severozápadného Maďarska (Ludas). Autor sa na základe analýzy spôsobov zámerného deštruovania nádob, ich polohy v hrobovej jame, či ich druhovej skladby pokúša aj o interpretáciu dôvodov týchto praktík v súvislosti s pohrebným rítom.

intencionálne rozbitie – fragmenty nádob – hrobová jama – doba laténska – pohrebné rituály

Introduction

The intentional destruction of objects, documented at cemeteries, sacrificial grounds and temples, is a rather frequent phenomenon in the Celtic world (*Green 1993*, 71). The most common is destruction through breaking and bending of weapons e.g. swords, spear and lance heads or shield bosses (*Brunaux – Rapin 1988*; *Haruštiak 2009,* 123, 130, 137–139, 147; *Măndescu 2012*; *Rapin 1993*). Less frequent are damaged objects of everyday use and "toiletry articles". Iron tools are even rarer, e.g. the find of deformed blacksmith tools from the Lea River in Waltham Abbey, England (*Manning 1991*). At a site in Bath in the same country, most of the numerous Roman coins sacrificed to Sulis, the Celtic goddess of healing, were intentionally damaged by cutting in half (*Green 1993*, 71). The ritual context of such practices is unquestionable and traditionally interpreted as ritual "killing" of the objects before they are sacrificed (to gods), or the objects had to "die" together with their owners so they could serve them in the afterlife (*Błażejewski 1998*, 160).

In some cases, clay vessels were intentionally damaged. Most often, they were intentionally fragmented – broken. The identification of intentionally damaged clay vessels is

problematic and can be detected mainly in so-called "closed find contexts" such as graves. It will be argued that such practices occur in almost all territories settled by the Celts, especially in areas where numerous clay vessels (or their parts) occur in graves – mainly Austria, the Carpathian Basin, France and Northern Italy.

The detection of intentional breaking of vessels in La Tène graves

To identify the intentional fragmentation of vessels in graves, it is necessary to understand the conditions of evaluated contexts – the grave pits, the fill taphonomy and inventory. On the basis of available information, it is first necessary to exclude cases in which secondary impact causing unintentional breakage has been detected.

Vessels included among grave goods could have been broken unintentionally due to further grave or settlement activities in the area of the cemetery, e.g. farming or grave robbery (*fig. 1: A*). Graves could have been opened not only for robbery but also for ritual reasons like "anti–revenant" practices often discussed for the Middle Ages (e.g. *Hanuliak 2007*). During the intentional (re)opening of a grave with the aim to disturb, take out or relocate/misplace the remains, the originally complete vessels could also have been unintentionally damaged. There is also evidence of so-called "double graves", i.e. a repeated grave of the same individual in the same pit. When the grave was opened and the body was exhumed, the vessels of the primary grave could have been unintentionally or intentionally damaged. After the repeated (secondary) grave of the body or its parts, the grave pit was again filled (cf. *Bujna 2014*, 452–454).

In addition, vessels can also break naturally due to primary post-depositional processes such as pressure and the movement of deposits (cryoturbation) of the fill (*fig. 1: B*), chemical composition and humidity of the fill environment or some organisms (bioturbation). Vessels can also be damaged by the collapse of the rotten wooden features such as a coffin or wooden chamber construction which originally created a hollow space in the grave pit (*fig. 1: C, D*; *Bujna 1999*, 291, 294, 297, fig. 2: 34; 4: 9; 6: 16; *2014*, 453, 455; *Horváth, M. A. 2012*, 107, 110, fig. 8, 11). A similar situation could have occurred when a vessel and its possible content was covered by or wrapped in an organic material, e.g. textile or leather. After the cover had decayed, deposits filled the vessel and their pressure could have caused rupture and consequent breaking of the vessel.

An important aspect is that most of the funerary pottery was – in comparison with settlement pottery – made of finely washed clay and fired at low temperatures (some only 250 °C; *Kristály – Kovács 2011*, 251, 258, 260). Such vessels are fragile and easily breakable (a good example is the cemetery of Ludas: *fig. 2*; *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 131). It has long been proposed (cf. *Benadik 1960*, 414) that they were not suitable for common utilitarian use. Furthermore, some originally complete and preserved vessels fractured into smaller sherds when or after they had been retrieved during archaeological excavations (see e.g. graves 227, 235, 395, 482 at the cemetery in Malé Kosihy; *Bujna 1995*, 56, 59, 80, 98, no. 227: 6, 7, no. 235: 5, no. 395: 3, no. 482: 8).

The occurrence of finds unrelated to the grave in the fill of the grave pit, e.g. from earlier occupation (or funerary) activities in the cemetery's area must also be taken into consideration. For example, at the La Tène cemetery in Radovesice I (Czech Republic)

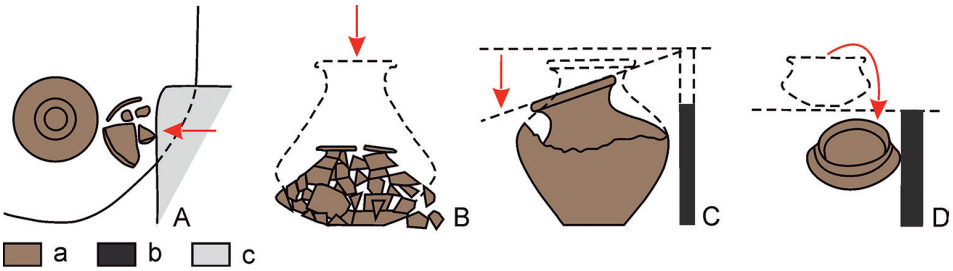

Fig. 1. Evidence of unintentional vessel fragmentation. A – secondary impact; B – pressure and movement of soil in backfill of grave pit; C, D – destruction of the wooden construction; a – clay vessels; b – wooden chamber; c – secondary impact.
Obr. 1. Doklady nezámerného fragmentarizovania nádob. A – sekundárny zásah; B – tlak a pohyb zeminy v zásype hrobovej jamy; C, D – deštrukcia drevenej konštrukcie; a – hlinené nádoby; b – drevená komora; c – sekundárny zásah.

late Hallstatt and Early La Tène pottery was discovered in several grave pits, for example graves 3, 5, 7, 10, 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 29 (*Waldhauser 1987*, 109–128).

When unintentional ways of fragmentation described above or the occurrence of unrelated pottery fragments can be ruled out, the presence of incomplete vessels, sometimes alongside the complete intact ones, can be taken as evidence of intentional destruction of vessels prior to their deposition in the grave pit.

Intentionally broken vessels at selected La Tène cemeteries in the Carpathian Basin

To address the phenomenon, it was first necessary to select from published cemeteries those providing the necessary data with a detailed description of find situations and good illustrations or photographs of individual grave complexes. Based on these criteria, La Tène cemeteries from Dubník (*Bujna 1989*; *1991*) and Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*) in southwest Slovakia and the Ludas cemetery (*Szabó ed. 2012*; *Szabó – Tankó 2006*) in northeast Hungary were selected. Detailed information on the fill of grave pits was given in publications and analyses of human remains (*Jakab 1995*; *Jakab – Vondráková 1989*; *Tankó 2012*; *Tankó – Tankó 2012*), animal bones (*Ambros 1989*; *1995*; *Fábry 2012*) and plant remains (*Bujna 1989*, 247, 248, table 1; *Gyalai 2012*; *Lázniková-Hunková 1995*) were carried out.

At the biritual[1] cemetery in Dubník, the presence of vessels was documented in all but three of the 31 graves[2] (*table 1*). Fragmented vessels were detected in 20 graves (64.5 % of the total number of graves at the cemetery), mostly in combination with intact vessels (17 graves). However, in only 4 graves (nos. 7, 9, 20, 22) was it possible to exclude secondary interference with the grave and its inventory. In graves 17, 19, 24, 25, 28 and 31 the inventory seemed untampered, but shafts through the fill were recognised (*Bujna 1989*,

1 26 inhumation and 5 cremation graves (*Bujna 1989*, 247, 292–293).

2 There were also two ditches (26, 33) found in the cemetery, but without buried graves, which should be bordered (*Bujna 1989*, 250, fig. 4).

Fig. 2. Ludas, grave 664. Unintentionally broken vessels (according to *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 22, fig. 21).
Obr. 2. Ludas, hrob 664. Nezámerne rozbité nádoby (podľa *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 22, fig. 21).

294, table 6). Grave 9 has to be excluded from the evaluation, as the breaking of two bottle-shaped vessels was probably caused by damage or decay of the upper part of the wooden construction originally situated above the vessels (*Bujna 1989*, 257, fig. 12: 16, 17). On the other hand, it is possible to consider intentionally broken vessels in some of the damaged graves based on the position or combination with intact vessels (23, 24, 27; *Bujna 1989*, 272, 274, 275, fig. 32: 20–22; 34: 9, 10; no. 23: 12–14).

At the second analysed cemetery[3] in Malé Kosihy, 102 (104) graves were studied. Vessels were deposited in 92 graves and 76 graves contained fragmented vessels (82.6 % of the total number of graves at the cemetery; *table 1*). However, in 41 graves a type of disruption was recognised, in most cases caused by the later La Tène graves (e.g. grave 298, *Bujna 1995*, 67, 68, fig. 55, 59) or graves from the Early Middle Ages (e.g. graves 34, 257, *Bujna 1995*, 26).

Some of the shallow (c. 0.35 m) graves were damaged during the removal of the topsoil prior to the excavation (*Bujna 1995*, 11, 12). Some cremation graves with undisturbed grave pits still manifested significant damage to grave goods. It is not known whether it was intentional damage, but in graves 75, 142, 168 and 346, sherds were intentionally deposited around the cremated human remains and other grave inventory (*Bujna 1995*, 30, 37, 42, 76, fig. 15: 3a, c–f; 4a, c, f, g; 25: 6–8; 29: 10–14; 67: 9, 10). In grave 452, sherds from three vessels were not situated at the bottom, but higher up in the fill (*Bujna 1995*, 89, fig. 80: 10, 11 a–c, e–m, 12). In some of the other 33 intact graves (no. 9, 12, 28, 62, 149, 153, 176, 183, 188, 192, 197, 217, 221, 234, 235, 247, 274, 290, 330, 437, 448, 453, 468, 470, 475, 477, 482, 483, 488, 506, 526, 535, 541), we consider unintentional breaking, probably due to post-depositional processes. Graves 149 and 448 with wooden constructions can be used as examples. Tall bottle-shaped vessels were broken most probably after the collapse of the wooden construction and by the subsequent pressure of the deposit filling the hollow space (*Bujna 1995*, 38, 36, fig. 26a: 34; 78: 9b; *1999*, 291, 294, fig. 2: 34; 4: 9). Fragments of another broken bottle-shaped vessel were situated in two spatially distinct

[3] 36 inhumation, 62 cremation and 5 (7) graves without anthropological material (*Bujna 1995*, 12).

Cemeteries	Graves without vessels	Graves with vessels		
		With intact vessels	With fragmented vessels	
			Intentionally	Unintentionally
Dubník	1, 4	2, 5, 8, 14, 15, 16, 21, 30, 32	6, 7, 10?, 12, 13?, 17, 18?, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31	3, 9, 11, 29
∑	2	9	13 (16?)	4
Malé Kosihy	11, 24, 198, 228, 250, 257, 297, 355, 456, 476, 493, 518	95, 102, 109, 149, 166, 182, 189, 227, 249, 283B, 331, 396, 450, 469, 485, 507	1 (vessel no. 8), 9, 12, 28, 31?, 62, 75?, 142?, 153, 168?, 176, 183, 188, 192, 197, 216, 217, 221, 234, 235, 247, 248?, 274, 290, 313?, 345?, 346?, 347?, 425?, 437, 448 (vessel no. 10a, 10b, 10c?), 452?, 453, 468, 477, 482, 483, 488, 506, 526, 535, 541	1 (vessel no. 7), 6, 8, 34, 59, 68, 83, 84, 89, 103, 120, 133, 134, 171, 180, 184?, 204, 217, 222, 283A, 298, 307, 316, 330, 335, 356, 394, 395, 431, 437, 448 (vessel no. 9), 459, 470, 475, 490, 495
∑	12	16	31 (42?)	35 (36?)
Ludas	656, 695, 709, 733, 740, 990, 996, 1036B, 1155, 1267, 1289/1345	1156	699, 734, 1051, 1286?	651, 654, 655, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 664, 665, 669B, 670, 683, 685, 686, 692, 693, 703, 708?, 711, 725, 726, 729, 731, 801, 882, 883, 879, 904, 951, 953, 954, 955, 958, 960, 961, 962, 965, 988, 989, 992, 995, 998, 1003, 1005, 1006, 1008, 1009?, 1010, 1023A, 1030, 1038, 1050, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1139, 1140, 1157, 1241, 1274, 1282, 1288, 1290
∑	11	1	3 (4?)	64 (66?)

Table 1. Evidence of intentionally broken vessels at selected La Tène cemeteries from the Carpathian Basin.
Tabela 1. Doklady intencionálne rozbitých nádob na vybraných laténskych pohrebiskách z Karpatskej kotliny.

areas – next to the eastern and western walls of the grave 448. They were placed outside the wooden lining of the grave chamber and approx. 0.25 m higher than the rest of the grave inventory (*Bujna 1995*, 86, fig. 78: 10a, 10b; *1999*, 294, fig. 4: 10a, 10b). In grave 475, one of taller vessels was destroyed, but its sherds were found *in situ*, suggesting damage by pressure from the fill (*Bujna 1995*, 96, 159, fig. 87: 4, pl. 40: B4). The situation in inhumation graves 330 and 470 with broken bowl-shaped vessels used as lids covering other vessels is also probably an example of post-depositional damage by pressure (*table 1*; *Bujna 1995*, 72, 95, fig. 63: 9; 86: 4a, 4b). On the other hand, in grave 1 damaged by an excavator in its southern part, we consider intentional damage to the vessel deposited near the northern wall, that is part undisturbed by the excavator (*table 1*; *Bujna 1995*, 16, fig. 3: 8).

The last of the analysed cemeteries at Ludas contains 82 graves. Of these, 11 were destroyed by modern farming (*Szabó – Tankó 2006*, 326, footnote 4). Ceramic vessels were found in 71 graves (86.6 %). In almost all cases, pottery was highly fragmented and of poor quality, mostly due to very low firing temperature, in some cases preventing even basic identification of the vessel type (*Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 131). The intentional fragmentation of the vessels was clearly detected in only four graves 699, 734, 1051 and 1286 (*table 1*; *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 33, 41, 65, 83, fig. 58: 4a–4d; 102: 15; 135: 9).

Ways of intentionally breaking vessels based on the evidence from selected La Tène cemeteries from the Carpathian Basin

Whole intentionally broken vessels

The detection of whole but intentionally broken vessels in graves is (the most) problematic, but could be proposed with certainty for situations in which individual sherds from

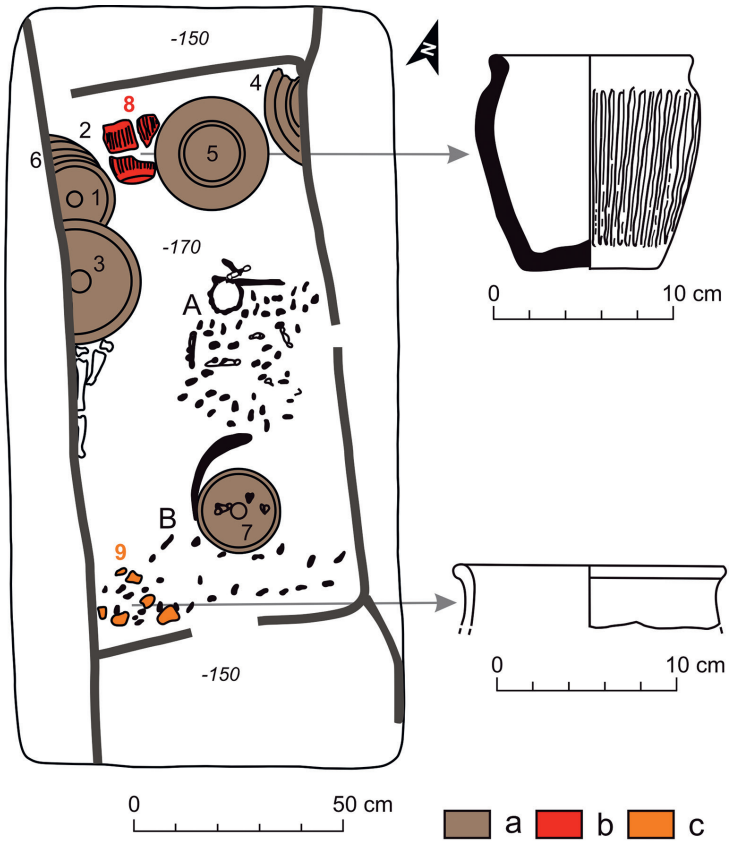

Fig. 3. Malé Kosihy, grave 437. Intentionally broken vessels in the grave pit (adapted according to *Bujna 1995*, 84, fig. 77). a – intact vessels; b – complete intentionally (?) broken vessel; c – sherds of an incomplete vessel.
Obr. 3. Malé Kosihy, hrob 437. Intencionálne rozbité nádoby v hrobovej jame (upravené podľa *Bujna 1995*, 84, Abb. 77). a – neporušené nádoby; b – kompletná intencionálne (?) rozbitá nádoba; c – črepy nekompletnej nádoby.

a completely restorable vessel are scattered throughout the fill and there is no evidence for bioturbation of burrowing organisms. One probable example is cremation grave 274 in Malé Kosihy, where fragments of three vessels, two completely restored, and one complete vessel are deposited (*Bujna 1995*, 64, fig. 55: 14–17). Another possible example is grave 437 from Malé Kosihy, in which most vessels are intact (*Bujna 1995*, 84, fig. 77: 13–17, 28) but one broken, though completely restorable, graphite cup (*fig. 3: 8*; *Bujna 1995*, 84, fig. 77: 18; *1999*, 303). However, it cannot be ruled out that the cup was broken by post-depositional processes. It is assumed that the grave was placed in a wooden "chamber" and the cup placed on top. After the wood decomposed, it could have fallen to the bottom of the grave pit. *Bujna* (*1999*, 296, 297, fig. 6: 16) also considers similar secondary spatial movement for one bowl in the grave.

Incomplete vessel fragments

The most frequent are fragments of incomplete vessels deposited mainly on the edges of grave pits, along the walls. In Malé Kosihy, most of the examples are from cremation graves e.g. 1, 9, 28, 62,[4] 448, 453, 477, etc. (*Bujna 1995*, 16, 19, 23, 28, 86, 90, 97, fig. 3: 8;

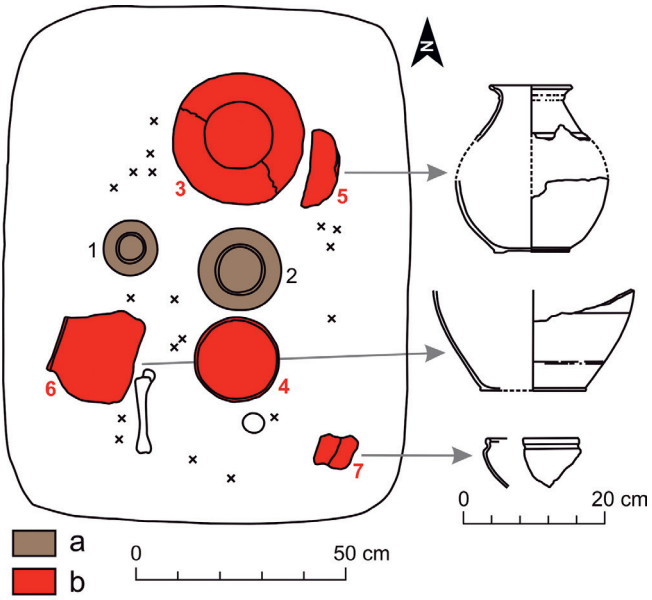

Fig. 4. Magyarszerdahely, grave 22 (adapted according to *Horváth, L. 1979*, 173, fig. 7). Sherds of intentionally broken vessels in the grave pit. a – intact vessels; b – sherds of incomplete vessels.
Obr. 4. Magyarszerdahely, hrob 22 (upravené podľa *Horváth, L. 1979*, 173, kép. 7). Črepy intencionálne rozbitých nádob v hrobovej jame. a – neporušené nádoby; b – črepy nekompletných nádob.

6: 14–16; 10: 11, 12; 13b: 18, 20, 21, 23; 78: 10; 81: 24, 26; 89: 8, 10–12), in rare cases from inhumation graves such as 188 and 221 (*Bujna 1995*, 49, 55, fig. 36: 2; 44: 1, 2). A similar situation has been observed in Dubník, e.g. inhumation grave 17 (*Bujna 1989*, 265, fig. 21: 27, 28, 29) and cremation grave 25 (*Bujna 1989*, 275, fig. 33: 15). Further evidence is known from Hungary, e.g. from cremation graves 734, 1051 in Ludas (*Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 26, 41, 65, fig. 27: 8, 10; 58: 4; 102: 4, 15)[5], cremation grave 22 from Magyarszerdahely (*fig. 4: 3–7*; *Horváth, L. 1979*, 173, fig. 7: 7, 8) and also cremation grave 12 from Vác (*Hellebrandt 1999*, 61, fig. 36: 3).

Incomplete vessel fragments forming concentrations

A clear intention ruling out post-depositional processes and/or accidental damage can be argued for graves in which sherds from one vessels are placed in several spatially distinct concentrations. This manner of deposition is documented in cremation grave 734 in Ludas, where sherds from one vessel are deposited in four concentrations along the southern, eastern and northern edges of the grave pit (*fig. 5: 4a–d*; *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 41, fig. 58: 4). Cremated human remains were also documented in the southern and eastern parts. A similar habit of the (probable) intentional formation of concentrations of sherds of one vessel was detected in cremation graves 9, 28, 62, 477 in Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*, 19, 23, 28, 97, fig. 6: 15; 10: 11; 13b: 18, 20, 21; 89: 12).

4 One fragmentary vessel was deformed by fire (*Bujna 1995*, 29, 130, no. 13, pl. 11: C4).

5 A fragment of a vessel handle was found in grave 1051 (*Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 65, fig. 102: 15). In the earlier graves of the Vekerzug culture in eastern Hungary, the placing of vessels with a broken handle in the grave pit was a common practice (*Kozubová 2013*, 285).

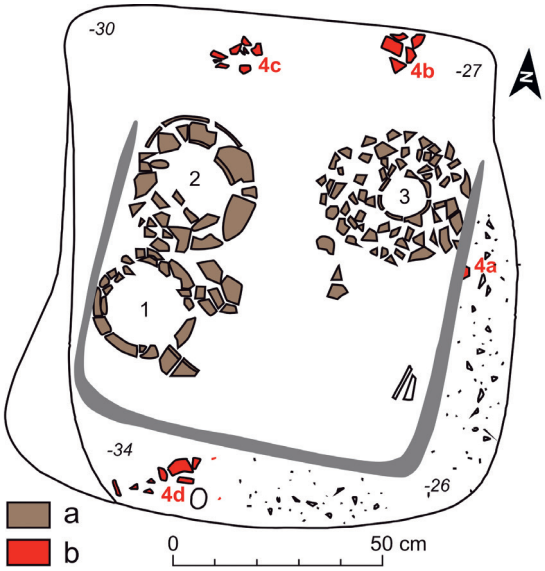

Fig. 5. Ludas, grave 734 (adapted according to *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 41, fig. 584). Sherds of an intentionally broken vessel deposited in four concentrations along the edge of the grave pit. a – complete vessels; b – sherds of an intentionally broken vessel.
Obr. 5. Ludas, hrob 734 (upravené podľa *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 41, fig. 584). Črepy intencionálne rozbitej nádoby uložené v štyroch koncentráciách pozdĺž okraja hrobovej jamy. a – kompletné nádoby; b – črepy intencionálne rozbitej nádoby.

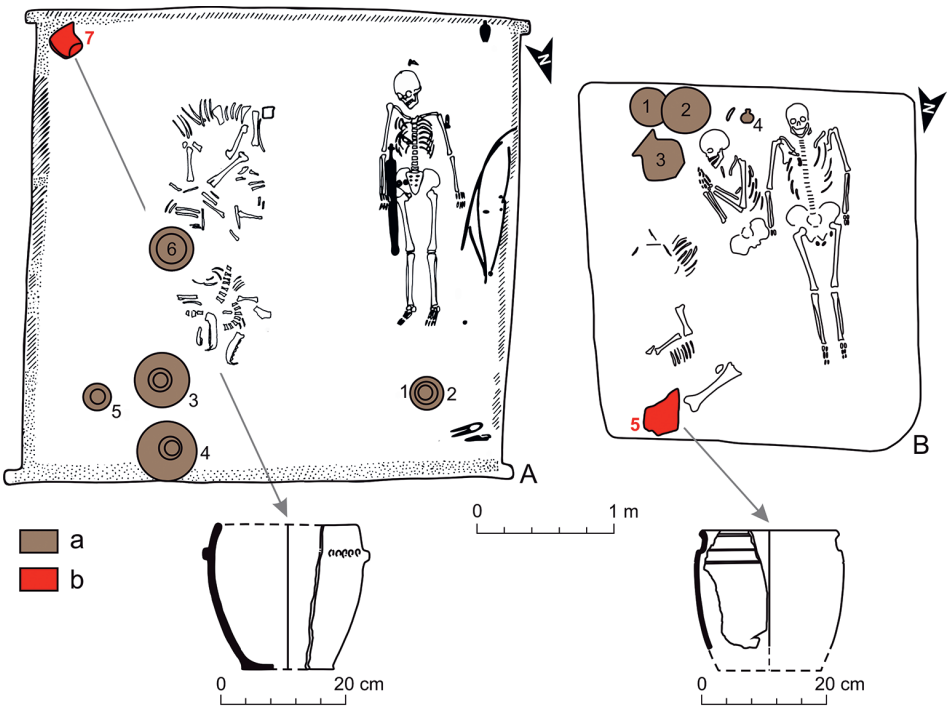

Fig. 6. Sherds of intentionally broken pot-shaped and situla-shaped vessels in the corner of the grave pit. A – Dubník, grave 19 (adapted according to *Bujna 1989*, 268, fig. 2); B – Győr-Ménfőcsanák, grave 10 (adapted according to *Uzsoki 1987*, 21, fig. 10). a – intact vessels; b – sherds.
Fig. 6. Črepy intencionálne rozbitých hrncovitých a situlovitých nádob v kúte hrobovej jamy. A – Dubník, hrob 19 (upravené podľa *Bujna 1989*, 268, Abb. 2); B – Győr-Ménfőcsanák, hrob 10 (upravené podľa *Uzsoki 1987*, 21, fig. 10). a – neporušené nádoby; b – črepy.

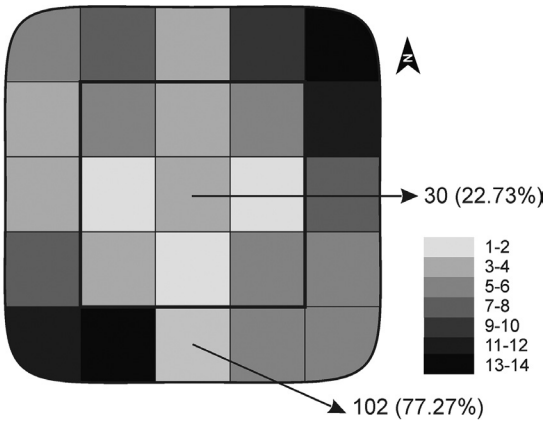

Fig. 7. Position and number of intentionally broken vessels in the grave pit on the basis of graves from the cemeteries in Dubník, Ludas and Malé Kosihy.
Obr. 7. Poloha a početnosť intencionálne rozbitých nádob v hrobovej jame na základe hrobov z pohrebísk v Dubníku, Ludasi a Malých Kosíhách.

Isolated sherds

Additional evidence of the intentional fragmentation of pottery can be the occurrence of individual pottery fragments deposited in an isolated manner in the corner of a grave pit, e.g. in Dubník, grave 19 (*fig. 6: A7*; *Bujna 1989*, 268, fig. 24: 23). An identical situation is also known from Herzogenburg (Austria) in grave 3 (*Trebsche 2011*, 467, fig. 11: 1), from Inzersdorf (Austria) in grave 272 (*Neugebauer 1996*), in double grave 10 from Győr–Ménfőcsanák (Hungary; *fig. 6: B5*; *Uzsoki 1987*, 21, fig. 10: 11) and grave 68 from Pottenbrunn (Austria; *Ramsl 2002*, pl. 41: 1). The mentioned graves have many common features. Most of them contain fragments of graphite and mainly pot-shaped and situla-shaped vessels. We also observe identical schemes of depositing solitary fragments of pottery – situated in the part of the grave designed for meaty food (and fragment of a vessel). In all cases, the spatial sequence along the longitudinal axis of the grave is maintained – pottery (complete vessels), remains of meaty food (animal bones) and a vessel fragment (*fig. 6*). All graves with this scheme are inhumation burials and have a characteristically large quadratic grave pit, often with evidence of a wooden chamber or construction.

Position of intentionally broken vessels in grave pits

Intentionally broken vessels and/or their fragments are mostly deposited at the edges of the grave pit, along the walls or in the corners (*fig. 3: 9*; *5: 4a–d*; *6A: 7*; *6B: 5*). In the analysed cemeteries in Dubník, Ludas and Malé Kosihy even 77.3 % of the 132 intentionally fragmented vessels were deposited along the walls of the grave pit, especially in the northeastern and southwestern corner (*fig. 7*). They are almost exclusively spatially separated from the other grave goods and human remains. In cremation graves, we observe their intentional deposition at the edge of a concentration or a scatter of cremated human remains and the other grave goods.[6] If there is a higher number of sherds, they clearly delimit the grave area (*fig. 8A*; Malé Kosihy, grave 9, 28, 142, 168, 452, 346; *Bujna 1995*, 19, 23, 37, 42, 76,

6 In cremation graves, the intact vessels were placed mostly where the burnt human remains were concentrated (*Ďuďáková 2014*, 490).

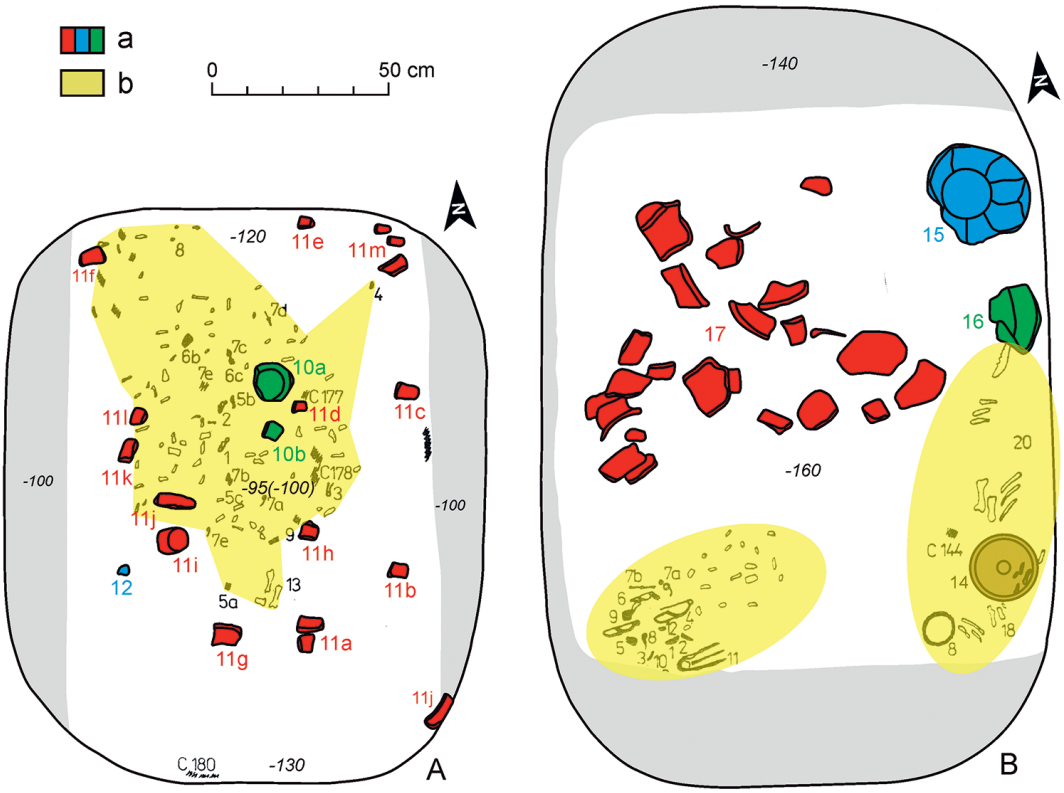

Fig. 8. Sherds of intentionally broken vessels deposited around the area of cremated human remains and other grave goods. A – Malé Kosihy, grave 452 (adapted according to *Bujna 1995*, 89, fig. 80: 10, 11 a–c, e–m, 12); B – Malé Kosihy, grave 274 (adapted according to *Bujna 1995*, 64, fig. 55: 14–17); a – intentionally broken vessels; b – area of cremated human remains and other grave inventory.
Obr. 8. Črepy intencionálne rozbitých nádob umiestnené okolo priestoru spálených ľudských pozostatkov a ďalšieho hrobového inventára. A – Malé Kosihy, hrob 452 (upravené podľa *Bujna 1995*, 89, Abb. 80: 10, 11 a–c, e–m, 12); B – Malé Kosihy, hrob 274 (upravené podľa *Bujna 1995*, 64, Abb. 55: 14–17); a – intencionálne rozbité nádoby; b – priestor spálených ľudských pozostatkov a ďalšieho hrobového inventára.

89, fig. 6: 14–16; 10: 9, 11; 25: 6–8; 29: 10–14; 67: 9, 10; 80: 10, 11a–c, e–m, 12). Having a high information value in connection with this are cremation graves 274 from Malé Kosihy (*fig. 8B*; *Bujna 1995*, 64, fig. 55: 14–17) and 1051 from Ludas (*Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 65, fig. 102: 15), where intentionally broken vessels and their fragments are situated in the central part of the grave pit. Cremated human remains together with the rest of the grave inventory are situated only southwards or southeastwards of them. In contrast, the northern part of the grave pit is empty. In one case the fragments of three vessels were located at the edge of two circular areas of slightly burned sediment with a diameter of 0.25–0.3 m in cremation grave 217 at Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*, 54, fig. 43: 18–20). A different method of probable delimitation of the grave area is represented by the situation in cremation grave 437 in Malé Kosihy, where sherds of three incomplete vessels were deposited on the top of a concentration of cremated human remains (*Bujna 1999*, 297, fig. 6: 21–23).

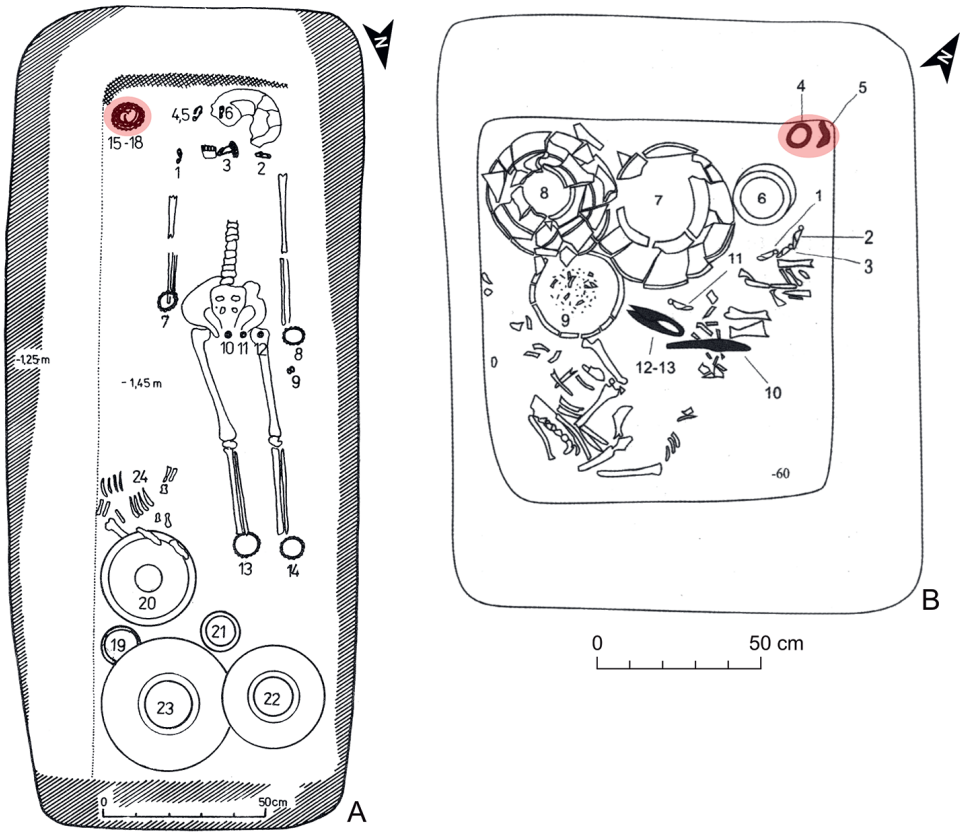

Fig. 9. Items of clothing and ornaments in a non-functional position. A – Ludas, grave 685 (adapted according to *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 27, fig. 31); B – Malé Kosihy, grave 331 (adapted according to *Bujna 1995*, 73, fig. 64). The colour red indicates objects in a non-functional position.
Obr. 9. Súčasti odevu a ozdoby v nefunkčnej polohe. A – Ludas, hrob 685 (upravené podľa *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 27, fig. 31); B – Malé Kosihy, hrob 331 (upravené podľa *Bujna 1995*, 73, Abb. 64). Červenou farbou vyznačené predmety v nefunkčnej polohe.

It is important to note that items of clothing and jewels also occur in rare cases in the same location as intentional vessels (in the corner of a grave pit) in a non-functional position, i.e. in a spot where they were not standardly placed. This situation is documented in female inhumation grave 331 in Malé Kosihy (*fig. 9A: 15–18*; *Bujna 1995*, 73, fig. 64), where two bronze bracelets and two bronze anklets were deposited in the southeastern corner. There were also other pairs of bracelets and anklets deposited in a functional position, i.e. on the upper and lower limbs. In another inhumation grave, no. 109 in Malé Kosihy, a fragment of a bronze ring was also discovered in its southeastern corner. Ornaments in non-functional positions are also known from grave 125 in Maňa (Slovakia) of a female with anklets on her lower limbs and another pair of anklets deposited to the right of her lower limbs (*Benadik 1983*, 80, fig. 12), and a second pair of anklets in a non-functional position was preserved in fragments (*Benadik 1983*, 131, pl. XLVIII: 3, 5). Similar cases

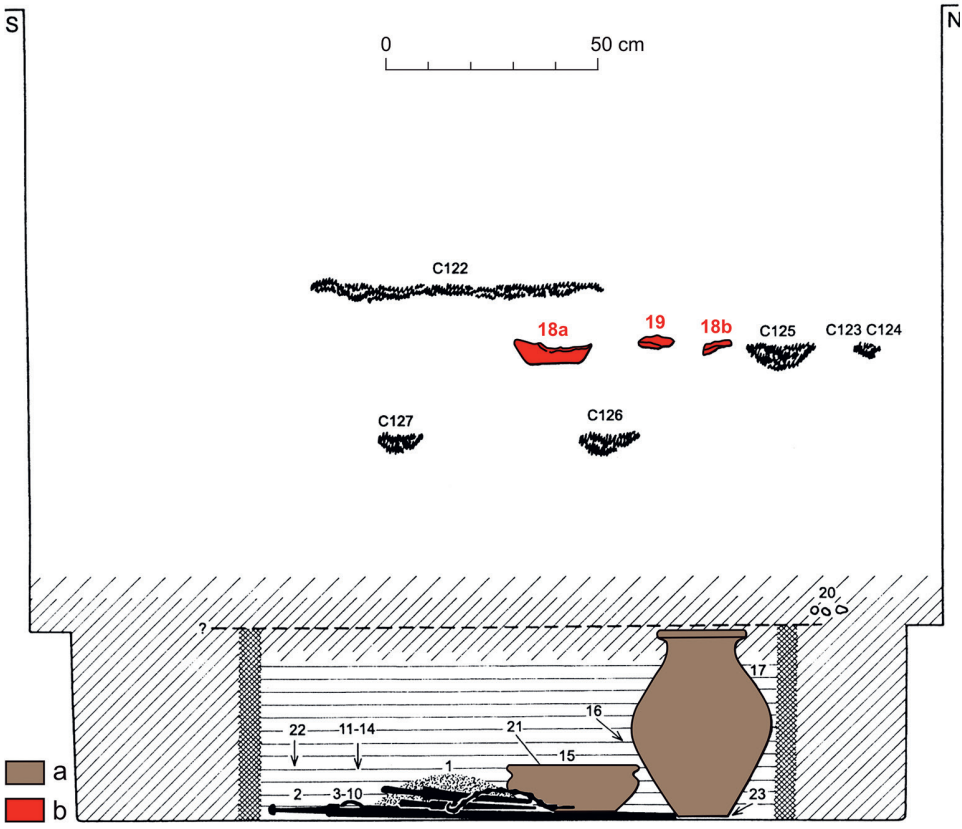

Fig. 10. Malé Kosihy, grave 176. Sherds of intentionally broken vessels in the fill of the grave pit. a – intact vessels; b – sherds (adapted according to *Bujna 1999*, 293, fig. 3).
Obr. 10. Malé Kosihy, hrob 176. Črepy intencionálne rozbitých nádob v zásype hrobovej jamy. a – neporušené nádoby; b – črepy (upravené podľa *Bujna 1999*, 293, Abb. 3).

of the occurrence of "additional" ornaments in graves are also known from cremation graves 685 and 1282 in Ludas (*fig. 9B: 4, 5*; *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 27, 81, fig. 31: 4, 5; 133: 1–3). As in graves 109 in Malé Kosihy and 125 in Maňa, they were represented here by fragments of circular bronze ornaments.

Another place where parts of intentionally fragmented vessels were observed is in the backfill of a grave pit. This was recorded in cremation graves from the Malé Kosihy cemetery, e.g. graves 28, 176, 448 (*fig. 10: 18a–b, 19*; *Bujna 1995*, 23, 43, fig. 10: 9, 11; 31a: 18, 19; *1999*, 293, 294, 300, fig. 3: 8, 19; 4: 10; 8). In grave 28, other parts of the same vessel (number 11 in the catalogue of the cemetery) were deposited at the bottom, along the pit's walls. Pottery fragments discovered in the backfill of warrior cremation grave 2 from Somogytúr (Hungary) were secondarily burned (*Szabó – Németh 2000*, 250). It is assumed that they were burned together with the dead body on the funeral pyre and then added to the grave's backfill. Fragments of vessels were also found in the backfill of inhumation graves, for example in grave 164 in Pişcolt (*Németi 1989*, 93, fig. 13: 9, 10).

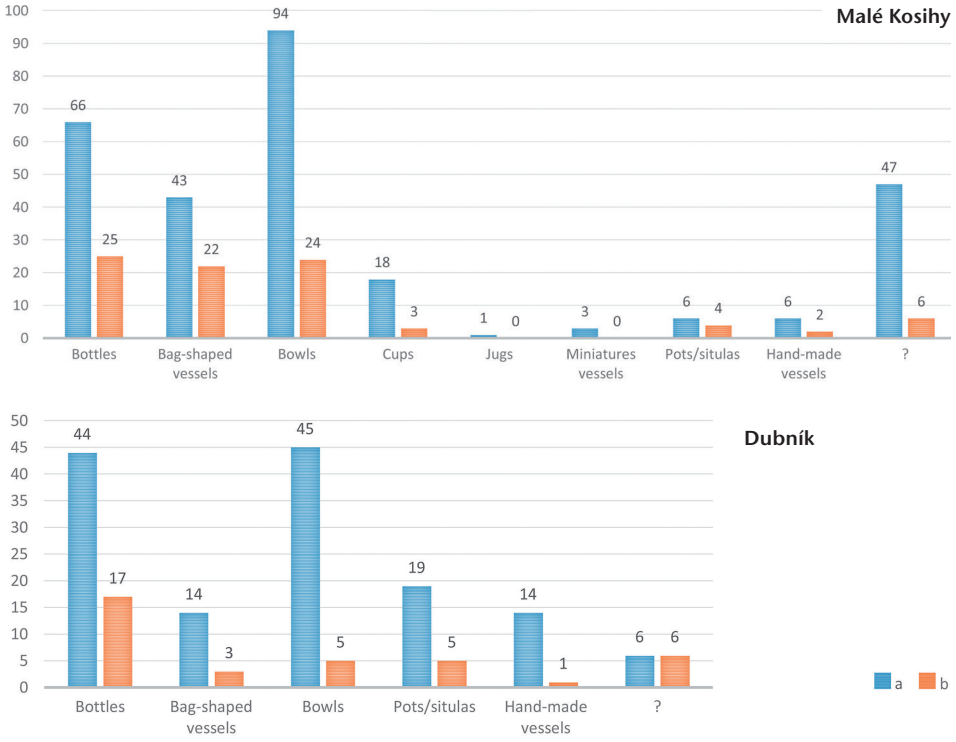

Fig. 11. Number of vessel types. a – intact vessels; b – intentionally broken vessels.
Obr. 11. Početnosť druhov nádob. a – neporušené nádoby; b – intencionálne rozbité nádoby.

Types of intentionally broken vessels and age and gender of buried individuals

Types of intentionally broken vessels deposited in graves are mostly typical grave pottery[7] such as bottles, bowls and bag-shaped vessels. Settlement (or kitchenware) pottery such as pots, situlas and hand-made thick pottery are much less frequent in the analysed graves (*fig. 11*). In the cemetery at Malé Kosihy, most (4 of 6) graphite situlas and non-graphite pot-type vessels were placed in graves as incomplete vessels and intentionally (?) destroyed prior the deposition (graves 1, 9, 28, 437; *fig. 3: 8*; *Bujna 1995*, 16, 19, 23, 84, fig. 3: 8; 6: 15; 10: 12; 77: 18). The only exceptions are infant graves 475 and 507, where such vessels were complete but – probably intentionally – placed on their sides (*Bujna 1995*, 96, 106, fig. 87: 3; 98: 5). This was already observed by *Bujna* (*1999*, 303; 2014, 455), who explains this as the probable "deprivation" of the vessel's original function. In Dubník, only 5 of 19 situlas and pots were also intentionally broken (*fig. 6A*; *7B*; *Bujna 1989*, 265, 268, 272, fig. 17: 24, 28; 24: 23, no. 22: 4) and 4 specimens were placed on their sides. Besides the

[7] For typical La Tène grave pottery in the area of Carpathian Basin, see *Ďuďáková 2014*, 490; *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 131–134, fig. 180.

cemeteries in Dubník and Malé Kosihy, intentionally broken situlas and pots also occur at other sites, representing, for example, the previously mentioned isolated sherds placed in the corners of inhumation graves. Nevertheless, it has been argued that (a part of) settlement kitchenware may not have been part of the grave goods destined for the afterlife of the buried individual or a sacrifice to gods, but could have been associated with (the preparation of) the funeral feast.

The phenomenon of the placement of intentionally fragmented vessels occurs at the studied cemeteries during the whole horizon of flat Celtic cemeteries, i.e. from the beginning of phase LT B1 to the end of phase LT C1. This period of occurrence is also confirmed by data from the other cemeteries mentioned in the text. The early phase (LT A, LT B1), i.e. the Early La Tène period, is characterised by the almost exclusive occurrence of individual sherds of graphite pots (pot-shaped vessels) and situlas placed in the corners of inhumation graves (Dubník, grave 19; Herzogenburg, grave 3; Inzersdorf, grave 272; Győr-Ménfőcsanák, grave 10; Pottenbrunn, grave 68).

Intentionally broken vessels occur mostly in graves of adult individuals. Only two cases (4 % of 50 anthropologically determinable graves) from Ludas and Malé Kosihy are infant graves: grave 28 in Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*, 23, fig. 10; *Jakab 1995*, 185) and grave 1051 in Ludas (*Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 65, fig. 102: 15; *Tankó 2012*, 201, 208, fig. 213). There are two cases in which children were buried in double graves (with intentionally broken vessels) – a child buried with an adult woman in grave 217 in Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*, 54, fig. 43; *Jakab 1995*, 192) and in grave 699 in Ludas (*Szabó – Tankó 2012,* 33, fig. 42: 5, 15, 16; *Tankó 2012*, 200, fig. 213). However, the general proportion of infant graves at the cemeteries in Dubník, Ludas and Malé Kosihy is slightly higher. There are 3 graves in Dubník (9.7 %), and children are buried with adult individuals in 3 other double graves (*Bujna 1989*, 293, table 5). In Ludas, 5 child graves are known (8.6 % out of 58 anthropologically determinable graves) and another 3 in double graves (*Tankó 2012*, 200, 211, fig. 213). In Malé Kosihy, 9 out of 80 anthropologically determinable graves are infants (11.25 %; *Jakab 1995*, 210, table III).

Among adult graves with intentionally broken vessels, male graves (18) slightly predominate over female graves (13). Male graves often contain warrior equipment, not only in the studied assemblage (72.2 % of male graves), but also at cemeteries like Herzogenburg (grave 3), Pişcolt (grave 164) or Somogytúr (grave 2). *Kozubová* (*2013*, 285) observed the same trend when studying Vekerzug graves from the Late Hallstatt period at the cemetery in Chotín. In Slovakia, there were different grave customs during the Middle Ages, when intentionally broken vessels occur almost exclusively in graves of adult women and children (*Hanuliak – Rejholcová 1999*, 83).

Interpretation

The majority of pottery placed in La Tène graves during the grave ritual is tableware and drinking ware used for packaging or serving food and drinks intended for the buried individuals on their journey to the other world or their existence there. In addition, funerary vessels were also used as urns for the deposition of cremated human remains, often with some grave goods. Nevertheless, some vessels probably had other purposes. For instance,

there are miniature vessels interpreted as containers for cosmetics or as children's toys (e.g. *Krekovič 2014*; *Repka 2017*). The specific ritual role of an offering (or sacrifice) is attributed to vessels whose position within the grave pit indicates that they were originally placed on top of a wooden cover of the grave chamber or a wooden coffin (e.g. *Bujna 1999*, 297, 303, fig. 6: 16; *2014*, 453, 454, fig. 6: 11; 8; *Gardes – Georges 2009*, 42, 43).

Another (or different) ritual purpose should be considered for intentionally broken vessels. The spatial and contextual data of the analysed assemblage of La Tène graves from Dubník, Ludas and Malé Kosihy, including presented analogies from Győr-Ménfőcsanák, Herzogenburg, Magyarszerdahely, Pişcolt, Pottenbrunn, Somogytúr and Vác, indicate that intentionally broken vessels often delimited either the borders of the grave pit, or "enclosed" the borders of a grave with common grave goods (items of clothing, jewels, weapons, objects of everyday use, intact vessels) itself. In our opinion, this definition involving the delimitation or even enclosure of a grave suggests a protective or magical protective function of intentionally fragmented vessels. This could have been associated with the protection of the buried individuals, maybe during their transition to the other world or, on the contrary, with the protection of the living who feared the dead's return back to their world (anti-revenant practices). Several graves of this type contained evidence of the presence of inner timbering in the form of a wooden box or a chamber (Dubník, graves 7?, 12?, 18?, 19, 28, 31 – *Bujna 1989*, 288–290;[8] Malé Kosihy, graves 1?, 28, 62, 176, 197, 217, 437, 448, 477?, 482, 483, 506?, 526 – *Bujna 1995*). Thus, the grave itself was also enclosed by this wooden construction. Anti-revenant practices can also be considered for grave 67 from Palárikovo (which is not far from the analysed cemetery in Dubník) with the evidence of a repeated grave of the same individual in the same grave pit (*Bujna 2014*). Sometime after the first (primary) grave, the grave was opened, the body was exhumed and (secondarily) manipulated. Following potential rituals with the skeletal remains of the buried individual, the remains were again (secondarily) deposited in the original grave pit (*Bujna 2014*, 454). During the secondary grave, fragmented pot-shaped vessels were deposited in the grave and placed next to (at the southeastern wall) and above the secondary grave (*Bujna 2014*, 453–455, fig. 6: 14). They defined the area of (this time) secondarily deposited human remains in the same way as observed at cemeteries at Dubník and Malé Kosihy.

Besides anti-revenant practices, *Bujna* (*2014*, 454) considers a purification function of the intentionally broken vessels in grave 67 from Palárikovo. This interpretation could also be proposed for the majority of graves from Dubník and Malé Kosihy, where, alongside intentionally broken vessel fragments, wood charcoal from various trees and shrubs, but with a predominance of oak also occurred (*Quercus* spec.; *Bujna 1989*, 248, table 1; *Lázniková-Hunková 1995*, 221–229, table VI). They probably represent the remains of smouldering embers (or burning incenses) whose smoke was supposed to ritually purify the inside of the grave. In connection with this, it is important to draw attention to cremation grave 217 in Malé Kosihy, where slightly burned sediment in two circular areas with a diameter of 0.25–0.3 m was found at the bottom of the grave pit. Moreover, fragments of three intentionally broken vessels were found at their edges (*Bujna 1995*, 54, fig. 43: 18a, 18b, 19, 20). Traces of fire are also detected on intentionally broken vessels at Malé Kosihy (grave 62) and Somogytúr (grave 2).

8 Postholes from a wooden construction were documented in graves 6, 17, 24.

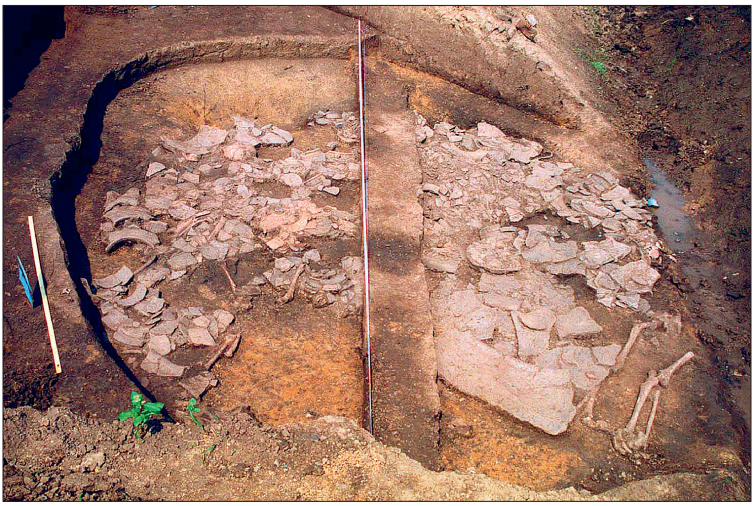

Fig. 12. Nové Dvory. Feature with a circular furrow, a high number of vessel fragments, animal and human bones (according to *Šumberová – Valentová 2011*, 230, fig. 10).
Obr. 12. Nové Dvory. Objekt s kruhovým žľabom, veľkým množstvom fragmentov nádob, zvieracími a ľudskými kosťami (podľa *Šumberová – Valentová 2011*, 230, obr. 10).

We also learn about purification rituals performed during graves from ethnography. In recent times, the grave pit and the body of the deceased were purified prior to the burial while using specific vessels and their contents. After the performance of the purification ritual, the vessels which "touched dark powers" had to be broken (*Hanuliak – Rejholcová 1999*, 83, 84). A similar purification ritual is known from Russia. To wash a dead body, a bowl with water was used and then broken or discarded (*Nosova 1975*, 85).

The presence of intentional breaking or the distortion of settlement kitchenware in some graves (see above) can be interpreted as the remains of a funeral feast. Vessels (tableware) or their fragments used at the feast could have been intentionally thrown or carefully deposited into the grave. This funeral feast practice is known, for example, from ancient Greece (*Kurtz – Boardmann 1971*, 146). Such a funeral feast (banquet) called a *perideipnon* originally took place at the graveside after the dead body had been placed in the grave pit. Food (from the feast) and also vessels and their fragments were added to the grave (*Kurtz – Boardmann 1971*, 146). A grave with a circular ditch with numerous finds of vessel fragments and animal and human bones from Nové Dvory in Bohemia is an evidence of a Celtic funeral feast or libation ceremony (*fig. 12*; *Šumberová – Valentová 2011*).

In relation to the intentional damaging/destruction of objects, their ritual "killing" as sacrifices is often discussed (*Green 1993*, 70, 71). In this regard we would like to draw attention to the Balkan region, where the custom of breaking vessels during a grave ceremony was commonly practiced until recently. The ritual was performed as part of the grave customs on the same spot where the dead body was exposed or on the threshold of their house. It was a sacrifice to Death intended to prevent another death in the family. Since the receiver of the sacrifice was Death, it was necessary to kill, i.e. break the sacrificed objects – in this case vessels (*Džordževič 2002*, 404). The ritual killing of objects is also

discussed with regard to their close connection to the buried individual. It is argued that the objects were destroyed so they could serve the deceased in the afterlife (*Błażejewski 1998*, 160), i.e. if the owner dies, they must die, too. This is often considered for weapons, armament or parts of garments, ornaments or toiletry articles. For vessels, we can most probably exclude any close (personal) relation to the buried person.

For individual sherds or fragments of vessels, it is often argued (and not only for the La Tène period) that they symbolically represent whole vessels as "*pars pro toto*" (e.g. *Dočkalová – Čižmář 2008*, 38; *Chropovský 1957*, 196; *Rejholcová 1979*, 421; *Trebsche 2011*). However, *M. Hanuliak* (*2004*, 201) disagrees with this interpretation for early medieval period Based on available evidence from early Slavic cemeteries, he points out that it was mostly fragments of settlement pottery that were deposited in graves and specifically in areas where buried individuals had the vital human organs. The majority of individual pottery fragments from La Tène graves are also utilitarian forms such as graphite pots and situlas, but as a rule are situated away from the body.

Conclusion

The study of the intentional breaking of vessels has several limits. The most important represent the problematic detection of such practices even in closed ("single event") contexts such as Late Iron Age graves. It is not always possible to determine whether a fragmented vessel is the result of intentional breaking or the result of post-depositional processes. A detailed analysis of individual graves from the La Tène cemeteries in Dubník, Ludas and Malé Kosihy, and selected grave complexes mainly from the territory of the Carpathian Basin and Lower Austria (Győr-Ménfőcsanák, Herzogenburg, Magyarszerdahely, Palárikovo, Pişcolt, Pottenbrunn, Somogytúr, Vác) helped identify typical traits of the intentional breaking of vessels:

1. Intentionally broken vessels are predominantly deposited at the edge of the grave pit or in the fill above the body of the deceased.

2. Intentionally broken vessels define, delimit/outline or enclose the area of the grave within the pit.

3. The majority of intentionally broken vessels are typical funerary pottery like bottles, bowls and bag-shaped vessels. Settlement "kitchenware" pottery like pots, situlas and hand-made vessels is rare in general and if present in some cases is intentionally destroyed or deposited in a non-functional position (e.g. on its side).

4. Intentionally fragmented vessels are found almost exclusively in graves of adult individuals, mostly males with weapons.

Evidence offers three possible interpretations of the practice of intentional breaking vessels and their deposition in graves during the La Tène period. First, the ritual role of the breaking and deposition is indisputable. Second, their position in graves suggests their protective or magical protective function, either as protection of the dead or protection of the living from the dead. Third, the (probable) purification function can be supported by the presence of charcoals or traces of *in situ* fires in the grave pit.

This work was supported by a grant of VEGA 1/0680/16.

References

Ambros, C. 1989: Tierbeigaben in den latènezeitlichen Gräbern von Dubník. Slovenská archeológia 37/2, 371–376.

Ambros, C. 1995: Tierbeigaben in der latènezeitlichen Gräbern von Malé Kosihy. In: J. Bujna ed., Malé Kosihy. Latènezeitliches Gräberfeld, Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 211–220.

Benadik, B. 1960: Keltské pohrebisko v Bajči-Vlkanove. Slovenská archeológia 8/2, 393–451.

Benadik, B. 1983: Maňa. Keltisches Gräberfeld. Fundkatalog. Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV.

Błażejewski, A. 1998: Obrządek pogrzebowy kultury przeworskiej na Śląsku. Wrocław: Katedra Archeologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.

Brunaux, J-L. – Rapin, A. 1988: Gournay. II, Boucliers et lances, dépôts et trophées. Paris – Amiens: Errance – Revue archéologique de Picardie.

Bujna, J. 1989: Das latènezeitliche Gräberfelder bei Dubník. I. Slovenská archeológia 37/2, 245–334.

Bujna, J. 1991: Das latènezeitliche Gräberfeld bei Dubník II. Slovenská archeológia 39/1–2, 221–254.

Bujna, J. 1995: Malé Kosihy. Latènezeitliches Gräberfeld. Katalog. Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV.

Bujna, J. 1999: Reich ausgestattete Brandgräber mit Holzeinbau auf dem Gräberfeld in Malé Kosihy. Reflexionen und Hypothesen über die Bestattungssitten der Kelten. Slovenská archeológia 46/2, 289–308.

Bujna, J. 2014: Deviantný pohreb na keltskom pohrebisku v Palárikove. Prípadová štúdia nenormatívnych praktík. In: J. Čižmářová – N. Venclová – G. Březinová eds., Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií, Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 449–460.

Chropovský, B. 1957: Slovanské pohrebisko z 9. st. vo Veľkom Grobe. Slovenská archeológia 5/1, 174–239.

Dočkalová, M. – Čižmář, Z. 2008: Neolithic settlement graves of adult and juvenile individuals in Moravia, Czech republic. Anthropologie XLVI/1, 37–76.

Džordževič, T. R. 2002: Životni krug /rozdženje, svadba i smrt u verovanjima i običajima našeg naroda. Niš: Prosveta.

Ďuďáková, Z. 2014: Variabilita spôsobu uloženia keramiky a zvyškov mäsitej potravy v kostrových a žiarových laténskych hroboch z územia juhozápadného Slovenska. In: J. Čižmářová – N. Venclová – G. Březinová eds., Moravské křižovatky. Střední Podunají mezi pravěkem a historií, Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 487–492.

Fábry, N. B. 2012: Les anneaux à oves creux de la nécropole laténienne de Ludas. In: M. Szabó ed., La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú–dűlő, Budapest: Institut archéologique de l'Université Eötvös Loránd, 181–188.

Gardes, P. – Georges, P. 2009: Toulouse. Les Gaulois de Saint-Roch. Archéologia 469, 38–45.

Green, M. J. 1993: Celtic myths. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Gyalai, F. 2012: L'examen archéobotanique de la nécropole celtique de Ludas – Varjú-dűlő. In: M. Szabó ed., La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú–dűlő, Budapest: Institut archéologique de l'Université Eötvös Loránd, 279–298.

Hanuliak, M. 2004: Veľkomoravské pohrebiská. Pochovávanie v 9.–10. storočí na území Slovenska. Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV.

Hanuliak, M. 2007: Porušovanie telesných zvyškov zomrelých vo veľkomoravskom prostredí z územia Slovenska – Zerstörung von Körperresten der Verstorbenen im großmährischen Milieu aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 24, 309–316.

Hanuliak, M. – Rejholcová, M. 1999: Pohrebisko v Čakajovciach (9.–12. storočie). Vyhodnotenie. Bratislava: VEDA.

Haruštiak, J. 2009: Vývoj pohrebného rítu na keltských pohrebiskách z územia Slovenska. Slovenská archeológia 57/1, 117–168.

Hellebrandt, M. 1999: Celtic Finds from Northern Hungary. Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary III. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado.

Horváth, L. 1979: A magyarszerdahelyi kelta és római temető. Zalai Gyűjtemény 14.

Horváth, M. A. 2012: Sírszerkezetek rekonstrukciós kísérlete egy La Tène kori temetkezés kapcsán. Budapest Régiségei XLV, 91–110.

Jakab, J. 1995: Anthropologische Grundanalyse des birituellen latènezeitlichen Gräberfeldes in Malé Kosihy. In: J. Bujna ed., Malé Kosihy. Latènezeitliches Gräberfeld, Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 183–210.

Jakab, J. – Vondráková, M. 1989: Ergebnisse der anthropologischen Analyse des latènezeitlichen Gräberfeldes in Dubník. Slovenská archeológia 37/2, 355–370.

Kozubová, A. 2013: Pohrebiská vekerzugskej kultúry v Chotíne na juhozápadnom Slovensku. Vyhodnotenie. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.

Krekovič, E. 2014: Miniaturgefässe im quadischen Kultur-Gebiet in der Slowakei. In: R. Madyda-Legutko – J. Rodzińska-Nowak eds., Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare. Studia dedykowane profesorowi Piotrowi Kaczanowskiemu z okazji siedemdziesiątej rocznicy urodzin, Kraków: Universytet Jagielloński, Instytut archeolologii, 443–453.

Kristály, F. – Kovács, P. 2011: Régészeti és archeometriai vizsgálatok a Hejőpapiban 2008-ban feltárt kelta temető 3. lelőhelyének kerámia anyagán – Archaeological and Preliminary Archaeometrical Investigation on the Ceramic Findings form NR. 3 Site of the Celtic Cemetery at Hejőpapi Excavated in 2008. Archeometriai Műhely 2011/3. 251–268.

Kurtz, D. C. – Boardmann, J. 1971: Greek Grave Customs. London: Thames and Hudson.

Lázniková-Hunková, E. 1995: Paläobotanische Bestimmung von Holzkohlenstückchen und Resten organischen Stoffes in den latènezeitlichen Gräbern von Malé Kosihy. In: J. Bujna ed., Malé Kosihy. Latènezeitliches Gräberfeld, Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 221–227.

Măndescu, D. 2012: Killing the Weapons. An Insight on Graves with Destroyed Weapons in Late Iron Age Transylvania. In: S. Berecki ed., Iron Age Rites and Rituals in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureș, 7–9 October 2011, Târgu Mureș: Editura MEGA, 343–356.

Manning, W. H. 1991: Blacksmiths' tools from Waltham Abbey, Essex. In: W. A. Oddy ed., Aspects of Early Metallurgy, London: British Museum Press, 87–96.

Németi, I. 1989: Necropola Latène de la Pişcolt, jud. Satu Mare II. Thraco–Dacica 10, 75–114.

Neugebauer, J.–W. 1996: Eine frühlatènezeitliche Gräbergruppe in Inzersdorf ob der Traisen, NÖ. In: E. Jerem – A. Krenn-Leeb – J.-W. Neugebauer – H.-O. Urban Hrsg., Die Kelten in den Alpen und an der Donau. Tagung in St. Pölten, 14.–18. Okt. 1992. Studien zur Eisenzeit im Ostalpenraum, Budapest: Archaeolingua, 111–178.

Nosova, G. A. 1975: Jazyčestvo v pravoslavii. Moskva: Nauka.

Ramsl, P. C. 2002: Das eisenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Pottenbrunn. Wien: Verlag Ferdinand Berger und Söhne.

Rapin, A. 1993: Destructions et mutilations des armes dans les nécropoles et les sanctuaires du second âge du Fer. Réflexions sur les rituels et leur descriptifs. In: D. Cliquet ed., Les Celtes en Normandie: les rites funéraires en Gaule (III^{ème}–I^{er} siècle avant J.–C.). Actes du 14ème colloque de l'Association française pour l'étude de l'âge du fer, Evreux, mai 1990, Rennes: Association pour la diffusion des recherches archéologiques dans l'Ouest de la France, 291–298.

Rejholcová, M. 1979: Pohrebisko z 10. storočia v Zemnom. Slovenská archeológia 27/2, 405–436.

Repka, D. 2017: La Tène miniature vessels from the Carpathian Basin. In: J. Kysela – A. Danielisová – J. Militký eds., Stories that made the Iron Age. Studies in Iron Age Archaeology dedicated to Natalie Venclová, Praha: Archeologický ústav AV ČR – Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Karlova, 207–221.

Šumberová, R. – Valentová, J. 2011: Dům mrtvých, nebo dům živých? Laténský objekt s lidskými kostrami z Nových Dvorů, okr. Kutná Hora. Archeologické rozhledy 63, 220–250.

Szabó, M. ed. 2012: La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú–dűlő. Budapest: Institut archéologique de l'Université Eötvös Loránd.

Szabó, M. – Németh, P. G. 2000: Keltische Gräber in Somogytúr. Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 51, 249–268.

Szabó, M. – Tankó, K. 2006: Nécropole laténienne á Ludas-Varjú-dűlő. Acta Archaeologia Hungarica 57, 325–343.

Szabó, M. – Tankó, K. 2012: La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú–dűlő. In: M. Szabó ed., La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú–dűlő, Budapest: Institut archéologique de l'Université Eötvös Loránd, 90–152.

Tankó, É. 2012: L'Étude des trouvailles anthropologiques de la nécropole celtique de Ludas. In: M. Szabó ed., La nécropole celtique à Ludas – Varjú–dűlő, Budapest: Institut archéologique de l'Université Eötvös Loránd, 197–218.

Tankó, É. – Tankó, K. 2012: Cremation and Deposition in the Late Iron Age Cemetery at Ludas. In: S. Berecki ed., Iron Age Rites and Rituals in the Carpathian Basin. Proceedings of the International Colloquium from Târgu Mureş, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 249–258.

Trebsche, P. 2011: Eisenzeitliche Graphitonkeramik im Mittleren Donauraum. In: K. Schmotz Hrsg., Vorträge des 29. Niederbayerischen Archäologentages, Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 449–481.

Uzsoki, A. 1987: Ménfőcsanak. In: T. Kovács – É. Petres – M. Szabó eds., Corpus of Celtic Finds in Hungary. Transdanubia I, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 13–62.
Waldhauser, J. 1987: Keltische Gräberfelder in Böhmen: Dobrá Voda und Letky sowie Radovesice, Stránce und Tuchomyšl. Bericht der Römisch–Germanischen Komission 68, 25–179.

Intencionálne rozbité nádoby v keltských hroboch
Doklad pohrebných rituálov v dobe laténskej

Intencionálne ničenie predmetov je u Keltov pomerne častým javom, doloženým na pohrebiskách, obetiskách a svätyniach. Poškodzované, formou lámania a ohýbania, boli predovšetkým zbrane (*Brunaux – Rapin 1988*; *Haruštiak 2009*, 123, 130, 137–139, 147; *Măndescu 2012*; *Rapin 1993*). Rovnako zámerne boli však v niektorých prípadoch ničené – rozbíjané aj hlinené nádoby. Identifikácia zámerného ničenia hlinených nádob je pritom pomerne obťažná a možno ju doložiť predovšetkým v uzavretých nálezových celkoch, akými sú hroby. V tomto prípade je potrebné dobre poznať stav jednotlivých hrobov a predovšetkým hrobových jám. Na základe týchto poznatkov možno vylúčiť prípady, kedy boli nádoby porušené z dôvodu sekundárneho zásahu (*obr. 1: A*). Ide napríklad o zásahy súvisiace s ďalším pochovávaním či osídlením v priestore pohrebiska, ďalej s poľnohospodárskou činnosťou, vykrádaním hrobov či rituálnymi praktikami (protirevenantské praktiky, sekundárne pochovávanie do tej istej hrobovej jamy; napr. *Bujna 2014*; *Hanuliak 2007*). Mnohé prípady pravdepodobne súvisia s postdepozičnými procesmi, ako je tlak zeminy v zásype hrobu (*obr. 1: B*), chemické zloženie pôdy (kryoturbácia), ak aj vplyv niektorých organizmov (bioturbácia). Zničenie nádob mohlo byť spôsobené aj odhnitým drevenej konštrukcie, vo forme rakvy alebo rozmernejšej drevenej komory, pôvodne vytvárajúcej v hrobovej jame dutý priestor (*obr. 1: C, D*; *Bujna 1999*, 291, 294, 297, Abb. 2: 34; 4: 9; 6: 16; *2014*, 453, 455; *Horváth, M. A. 2012*, 107, 110, kép. 8, 11). Ďalším aspektom je, že väčšina hrobovej keramiky bola v porovnaní so sídliskovou vyrábaná z jemne plavenej hliny a výpalom pri nižších teplotách (*Kristály – Kovács 2011*, 251, 258, 260). Takéto nádoby sa tak vyznačujú značnou krehkosťou a lomivosťou (*obr. 2*; *Benadik 1960*, 414; *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 131).

Pri riešení danej problematiky je nutné vychádzať z publikovaných pohrebísk, ktoré poskytujú potrebné údaje. Ide o podrobný opis nálezových okolností a kresebné či fotografické vyobrazenia jednotlivých hrobových celkov. Na základe uvedených kritérií predstavujú vhodný zdroj laténske pohrebiská Dubník (*Bujna 1989*;*1991*) a Malé Kosihy (*Bujna 1995*) z územia juhozápadného Slovenska a pohrebisko Ludas (*Szabó ed. 2012*; *Szabó – Tankó 2006)* zo severozápadného Maďarska. Na uvedených pohrebiskách sa môžeme stretnúť s viacerými spôsobmi zámerného fragmentarizovania – rozbíjania nádob (*tab. 1*). Jedným z nich je výskyt celých zámerne rozbitých nádob spolu s neporušenými nádobami (*obr. 3: 8*). Tento spôsob však nie je vždy jednoznačne dokázateľný, keďže môže súvisieť aj s postdepozičnými procesmi. Jednoznačným a najčastejším dokladom intencionálne rozbitých nádob je však prítomnosť fragmentov neúplných nádob (*obr. 4: 3–7*; ďalej napr. hroby 1, 9, 28, 62, 188, 221, 448, 453, 477 z Malých Kosíh – *Bujna 1995*, 16, 19, 23, 28, 49, 55, 86, 90, 97, Abb. 3: 8; 6: 14–16; 10: 11, 12; 13b: 18, 20, 21, 23; 36: 2; 44: 1, 2; 78: 10; 81: 24, 26; 89: 8, 10–12; hroby 17 a 25 z Dubníka – *Bujna 1989*, 265, 275, Abb. 21: 27, 28, 29; 33: 15; hroby 734, 1051 z Ludasu – *Szabó – Tankó 2012*, 26, 41, 65, fig. 27: 8, 10; 58: 4; 102: 4, 15). V niektorých prípadoch boli dokonca črepy pochádzajúce z jednej nádoby zámerne rozdelené do viacerých koncentrácii (*obr. 5: 4a–d*; ďalej hroby 9, 28, 62, 477 z Malých Kosíh; *Bujna 1995*, 19, 23, 28, 97, Abb. 6: 15; 10: 11; 13b: 18, 20, 21; 89: 12). Iným dokladom je výskyt osamotených fragmentov keramiky umiestnených v kúte hrobovej jamy, známy, napr. v Dubníku, hrob 19 (*obr. 6A: 7*; *Bujna 1989*, 268, Abb. 24: 23), Herzogenburgu, hrob 3 (*Trebsche 2011*, 467, Abb. 11: 1), Inzersdorfe, hrob 272 (*Neugebauer 1996*) a v dvojhroboch 10 v Győri-Ménfőcsanáku (*obr. 6B: 5*; *Uzsoki 1987*, 21, fig. 10: 11) a 68 v Pottenbrunne (*Ramsl 2002*, Taf. 41: 1).

Intencionálne rozbité nádoby a ich fragmenty sú vo väčšine prípadov umiestnené na okraji hrobovej jamy, pozdĺž jej stien (77,27% z intencionálne rozbitých nádob zistených na analyzovaných pohrebiskách v Dubníku, Ludasi a Malých Kosihách; *obr. 7*) alebo v kútoch (najmä severovýchodnom a juhozápadnom). Pritom sú takmer výlučne priestorovo odčlenené od zvyšku hrobového inventára a ľudských pozostatkov (*obr. 3: 9*; *5: 4a–d*; *6A: 7*; *6B: 5*). V žiarových hroboch možno pozorovať ich zámerné uloženie na okraji koncentrácie spálených ľudských pozostatkov a zvyšného hrobového inventára. V prípade prítomnosti väčšieho počtu črepov je viditeľné zjavné vymedzenie priestoru pohrebu (*obr. 8A*, *8B*; Malé Kosihy hrob 9, 28, 452; *Bujna 1995*, 19, 23, 89, Abb. 6: 14–16, Abb. 10: 9, 11, Abb. 80: 10, 11a–c, e–m, 12). Ďalším miestom umiestnenia črepov zámerne fragmentarizovaných nádob je zásyp hrobovej jamy (*obr. 10*).

Čo sa týka druhovej skladby intencionálne rozbitých nádob, tvoria ju predovšetkým fľaše, ďalej baňaté nádoby a hrnce. V omnoho menšom počte sa v hroboch na území juhozápadného Slovenska, ako aj celej Karpatskej kotliny, vyskytuje sídlisková kuchynská keramika, ako sú hrnce, situly a v ruke robená hrubá keramika (*obr. 7A*, *7B*). Zaujímavé je, že na pohrebisku v Malých Kosihách boli takmer všetky grafitové situly, ako aj negrafitové hrnce deštruované (hroby 1, 9, 28, 437). Výnimku predstavujú iba detské hroby 475 a 507, v ktorých ale boli tieto nádoby, pravdepodobne zámerne, položené na boku (*Bujna 1995*, 96, 106, Abb. 87: 3, Abb. 98: 5). Na tento fakt poukázal už *Bujna* (*1999*, 303; *2014*, 455), ktorý hovorí o „znefunkčnení" týchto nádob z hľadiska ich primárnej funkcie.

Z hľadiska datovania možno konštatovať, že doklady intencionálne fragmentarizovaných nádob sa na sledovaných pohrebiskách objavujú prakticky počas celého obdobia horizontu plochých keltských pohrebísk, t. j. od začiatku stupňa LT B1 až po koniec stupňa LT C1. V staršom období, vo včasnej a na začiatku staršej doby laténskej, sa stretávame hlavne s prítomnosťou osamotených črepov hrncovitých a situlovitých nádob, často s prímesou grafitu, v kúte inhumačných hrobov.

Doklady intencionálne rozbitých nádob sa týkajú predovšetkým hrobov dospelých jedincov. V rámci analyzovaných pohrebísk v Dubníku Ludasi a Malých Kosihách možno identifikovať 18 hrobov ako mužských, 13 ako ženských a 2 ako detské. V ďalších dvoch prípadoch boli deti pochovaní s dospelými jedincami.

Na základe uvedených znakov je možné uvažovať o niekoľkých interpretáciách intencionálneho rozbíjania nádob a pridávania ich fragmentov do hrobových jám. Ich poloha vypovedá predovšetkým o ich ochrannej, resp. magicko-ochrannej funkcii, pričom mohli súvisieť s ochrannou pochovaných, ako aj živých pred pochovanými, ktorí sa mohli ako revenanti vrátiť do sveta živých. Vo viacerých prípadoch boli v takýchto hroboch aj doklady prítomnosti vnútornej výdrevy vo forme drevenej debny či komory. Samotný pohreb bol teda uzavretý aj uvedenou drevenou konštrukciou.

Vylúčená nie je ani očistná funkcia (uvažuje o nej už *Bujna 2014*, 454), predovšetkým z dôvodu prítomnosti uhlíkov (*Bujna 1989*, 248, Tabelle 1; *Lázniková-Hunková 1995*, 221–229, Tabelle VI), či prepálených stôp na dne hrobovej jamy (napr. *Bujna 1995*, 54, Abb. 43: 18–20), ktoré mohli predstavovať zvyšky tlejúcej pahreby, ktorej dym mal pred, či počas pohrebu rituálnym spôsobom očistiť vnútro hrobovej jamy. O očistných rituáloch vykonávaných počas pohrebných obradov sa dozvedáme aj z etnografie. Počas týchto rituálov sa hrobová jama a telo mŕtveho pomocou nádob a ich obsahu pred samotným pochovávaním očistili. Po tomto obrade museli byť tieto nádoby rozbité, keďže prišli do styku s nečistými silami (*Hanuliak – Rejholcová 1999*, 83, 84; *Nosova 1975*, 85). Na umývanie tela zosnulého sa používala miska s vodou, ktorá bola potom rozbitá alebo zahodená. S očistnou alebo ochrannou funkciou mohlo mať súvis umiestnenie fragmentov zámerne rozbitých nádob pozdĺž stien hrobovej jamy, ktorý predstavuje na pohrebiskách doby laténskej najčastejší spôsob umiestnenia fragmentarizovaných nádob.

DOMINIK REPKA, Department of Archaeology, Constantine the Philosopher University Nitra, Hodžova 1, SK-949 74 Nitra; drepka@ukf.sk