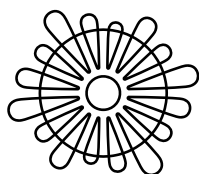


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adriatica



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# THE GUARDIAN ANCESTORS. BURIALS AT BRONZE AGE FORTIFIED SITES IN THE ADRIATIC AREA: COPPA NEVIGATA AND THE ISTRIAN HILLFORTS

## PREDCI-ČUVARI. UKOPI NA BRONČANODOBNIM UTVRĐENIM LOKALITETIMA NA JADRANU: COPPA NEVIGATA I ISTARSKÉ GRADINE

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**KEY WORDS:**

*Coppa Nevigata*  
(northern Apulia), Istria,  
Bronze Age, burials,  
fortified settlements

*Around the mid-second millennium BC, some inhumations and disarticulated bones were buried in the area of the fortification lines at the Coppa Nevigata settlement (northern Apulia). This funerary custom appears to be anomalous in the context of Bronze Age southern Italy. On the other hand, such a burial location near to a fortification wall mirrors the funerary evidence from Bronze Age hillforts (castellieri/gradine) in Istria, a region that indeed had close relationships with northern Apulia. Evidence from other European regions is also taken into account, in order to evaluate to what extent this phenomenon was a distinctive trait pointing to interaction between the south-western and north-eastern Adriatic and what their nature was. European contexts offer only generic similarities, whereas the consistency of funerary practices at settlements in the Adriatic area, based on a close association with defensive lines, appears to be far from random.*

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI:**

*Coppa Nevigata* (sjeverna Apulija), Istra, brončano doba, ukopi, utvrđena naselja

*Sredinom drugog tisućljeća pr. Kr., pokojnici ili pojedinačne kosti sahranjivani su u prostoru fortifikacija naselja u Coppa Nevigati u sjevernoj Apuliji. Ovaj pogrebni običaj izdvaja se u kontekstu brončanog doba južne Italije. S druge strane, takva lokacija ukopa blizu fortifikacijskih zidina zrcali se u funerarnim nalazima s brončanodobnih gradina (castellieri) u Istri, prostoru blisko povezanom sa sjevernom Apulijom. Uzimaju se u obzir i podatci iz drugih dijelova Europe kako bi se razmotrila narav ovog fenomena i kako bi se ustanovilo u kojoj je mjeri on posebna značajka odnosa jugozapadnog i sjeveroistočnog Jadrana. U europskim kontekstima nalazimo samo uopćene sličnosti, dok se dosljednost pogrebnih običaja u naseljima u jadranskom području, temeljenih na bliskoj povezanosti s obrambenim linijama, ne čini nimalo slučajnom.*

## INTRODUCTION

The long-lasting Bronze Age to Early Iron Age fortified settlement of Coppa Nevigata (18th-8th centuries BC) is located just to the south of the Gargano promontory on the inner shore of an ancient lagoon, connecting the site with the Adriatic Sea.<sup>1</sup> The occupation levels at the site belonging to the first half of the 15th century BC have yielded evidence of funerary customs that were quite anomalous in Bronze Age southern Italy.<sup>2</sup> A segment of the former dry-stone defensive wall came to be devoted to complex funerary rituals including both primary burials, and temporary entombments followed by the exhumation of noticeable skeletal remains. Moreover, individual human bones have been found scattered in the filling of the defensive line that was built in this phase. Although dislocated human bones and sometimes child burials are documented at the site across the various settlement phases, as well as at other Bronze Age centres in southern Italy (Fig. 1), the 15th century BC evidence at Coppa Nevigata stands out because of the sheer quantity of human remains, the occurrence of adult inhumations, the evidence of complex ritual practices and the link between the human remains and the defensive lines. A good comparison for burial depositions close to defensive walls is offered by the Bronze Age hillforts (*Castellieri / Gradine*) in Istria: a region that indeed had close relationships with northern Apulia (the Gargano and sub-Gargano area in particular) over the 17th-15th centuries BC and even later.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper presents the views held by the two authors. In particular, Giulia Recchia has written the following sections: *Burials and Human Remains at Coppa Nevigata*; *Human Remains at Bronze Age South-Eastern Italian Settlements*; *Burials at Hillforts in the Northern Adriatic*; Alberto Cazzella has written the sections: *Some Terms of Comparisons: Collective Burials in Hypogea and Caves in South-Eastern Italy*; *Evidence of Funerary Practices at Settlements in Other European Regions*.

<sup>2</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2008; G. RECCHIA, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> A. HELLMUTH KRAMBERGER, 2017, 127-129, 248-249, Abb. 98-99, 218; A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2018; A. ARENA et al., 2020.

## UVOD

Naselje u Coppa Nevigati, s dugim kontinuitetom naseljavanja od brončanog do ranog željeznog doba (1800. – 800. pr. Kr.), smješteno je južno od rta Gargana na unutrašnjoj obali drevne lagune koja povezuje ovo nalazište s Jadranskim morem.<sup>1</sup> U na-seobinskim slojevima na ovom nalazištu iz prve polovine 15. stoljeća pr. Kr., nađeni su tragovi pogrebnih običaja koji nisu tipični za brončano doba u južnoj Italiji.<sup>2</sup> Dio prijašnjeg suhozidnog bedema prenamijenjen je za složene pogrebne obrede koji su uključivali primarne ukope i privremene grobnice, nakon čega je slijedila ekshumacija znatnih dijelova kostura. Pojedinačne ljudske kosti pronađene su razbacane u nasipu obrambenog pojasa koji potječe iz ove faze. Iako su dislocirane kosti i dječji ukopi dokumentirani na nalazištu u raznim fazama naseljavanja, kao i u drugim brončanodobnim centrima u Italiji (Sl. 1), nalazi iz Coppa Nevigate koji datiraju iz 15. stoljeća pr. Kr., izdvajaju se već količinom ljudskih ostataka, pojavom složenih obreda i vezom između ljudskih ostataka i obrambenih zidova. Dobru analogiju za ukope u blizini obrambenih zidina nalazimo u brončanodobnim gradinama (*castellieri*) u Istri, regiji koja je njegovala bliske odnose sa sjevernom Apulijom (osobito područja oko Gargana i ispod njega) u razdoblju od 17. do 15. stoljeća prije Krsta, te čak i poslije.<sup>3</sup>

U ovom ćemo radu ukratko razmotriti dostupne podatke za ukope u naseljima iz sred-

<sup>1</sup> U radu su zastupljena gledišta dvoje autora. Giulia Recchia napisala je sljedeće dijelove: *Ukopi i ljudski ostatci iz Coppa Nevigate*; *Ljudski ostatci s brončanodobnih nalazišta iz jugoistočne Italije*; *Ukopi na gradinama na sjevernom Jadranu*. Alberto Cazzella napisao je sljedeće dijelove: *Okvir za usporedbu: masovni ukopi u hipogejima i spiljama u jugoistočnoj Italiji*; *Ostatci pogrebnih praksi u naseljima u drugim europskim područjima*.

<sup>2</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2008; G. RECCHIA, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> A. HELLMUTH KRAMBERGER, 2017, 127-129, 248-249, Abb. 98-99, 218; A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2018; A. ARENA et al., 2020.



In this paper we shall briefly reconsider the available data on settlement burials in Middle Bronze Age southern Italy and the eastern Adriatic, specifically focusing on similarities and differences as regards funerary practices related to fortified settlements. Evidence from other regions will also be considered, in order to evaluate to what extent this phenomenon was a distinctive trait pointing to interactions between the south-western and north-eastern Adriatic, and its nature.

## BURIALS AND HUMAN REMAINS AT COPPA NEVIGATA

At present, approximately 350 instances of human remains have been found at Coppa Nevigata across the various phases of the settlement occupation (particularly from the 16th to the 12th centuries BC),<sup>4</sup> besides two primary male burials belonging to the early 15th century BC occupation phase. The number of remains per phase varies greatly, reaching a peak in the early 15th century BC, (ca. 280 human bones, corresponding to 84% of the total human remains from the site). The observed variability in the amount of human remains per phase may depend on both the extent of the explored area(s) and the specific locations in the settlements investigated in each phase. Even so, it is only a short period of occupation out of the long life-span of the settlement that has yielded clusters of human bones, almost certainly resulting from intentional depositions, at specific spots of the former defensive wall and the newly built defensive line: this moment corresponds to the early 15th century BC (the Early Apennine occupation phase, according to our terminology).<sup>5</sup> In the subsequent Late Apennine period (14th century BC) this trend possibly continued, as human bones are still to be found in the area

njeg brončanog doba južne Italije i istočnog Jadrana, s naglaskom na sličnosti i razlike u načinu pokapanja u vezi s utvrđenim naseljima. Uzimaju se u obzir i podatci iz drugih dijelova Europe kako bi se razmotrila narav ovog fenomena i kako bi se ustanovilo u kojoj je mjeri on posebna značajka odnosa jugozapadnog i sjeveroistočnog Jadrana.

## UKOPI I LJUDSKI OSTATCI IZ COPPA NEVIGATE

Oko 350 nalaza ljudskih ostataka zasad je nađeno u Coppa Nevigati iz raznih faza naseljavanja (osobito od 16. do 12. stoljeća pr. Kr.),<sup>4</sup> uz dva primarno muška ukopa iz ranog 15. stoljeća pr. Kr. (cca 280 ljudskih kostiju što odgovara postotku od 84 % svih ljudskih ostataka s lokaliteta). Ovako neujednačena količina kostiju po fazama može se dovesti u vezu s proširenjem istraženog segmenta/segmenata, ali i specifičnim dijelovima naselja koji su istraživani u pojedinoj fazi. Čak i tako, to je još uvijek kratak period naseljavanja ovog dugotrajnog naselja gdje su otkrivene grupirane ljudske kosti koje su gotovo sigurno namjerno odložene na određenim mjestima prijašnjih obrambenih zidova i novosagrađenih obrambenih linija što se može datirati u početak 15. stoljeća pr. Kr. (ranoapeninska faza naseljavanja prema našoj terminologiji).<sup>5</sup> U sljedećem kasnoapeninskom razdoblju (14. stoljeće pr. Kr.) ova se tendencija vjerojatno nastavila, jer se ljudske kosti i dalje nalaze u prostoru obrambenog zida. Možda nije slučajno što je ovaj način odlaganja uslijedio nedugo nakon što je naselje teško stradalo u napadu (krajem 16. stoljeća pr. Kr.) zbog čega je bar njegov rubni dio bio izložen požaru.<sup>6</sup>

Kao što je već spomenuto, zabilježeni su

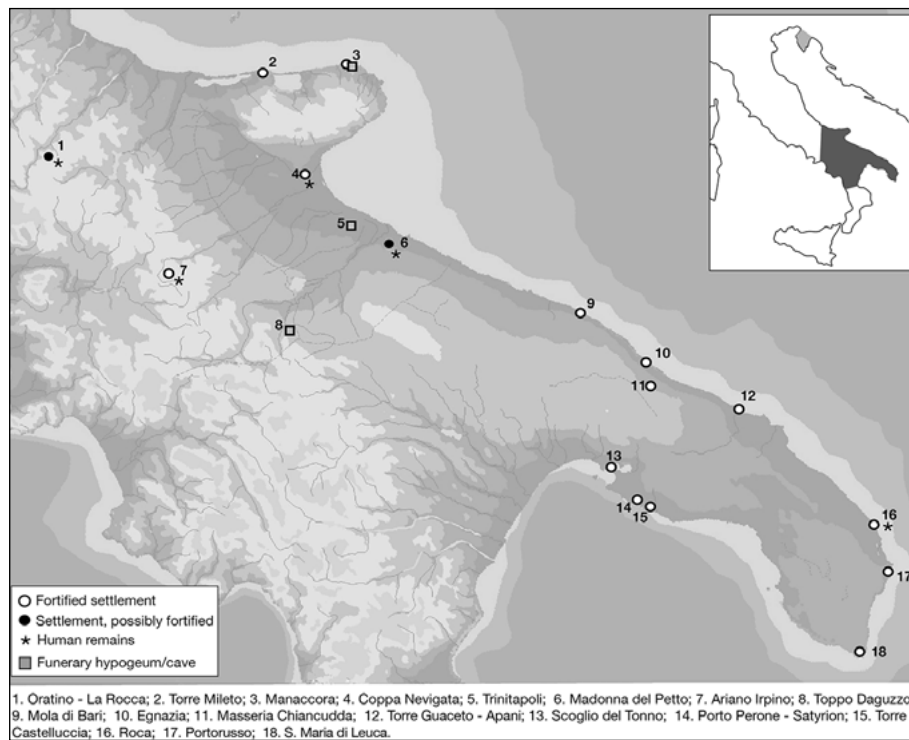
<sup>4</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012.

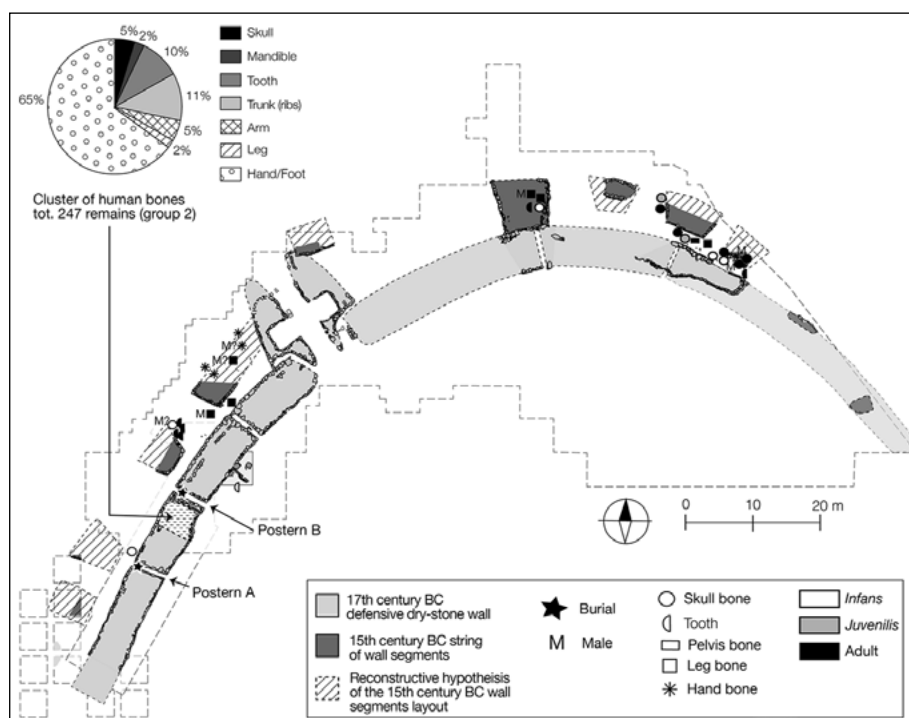
<sup>4</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> G. RECCHIA, A. CAZZELLA, 2019, 86.

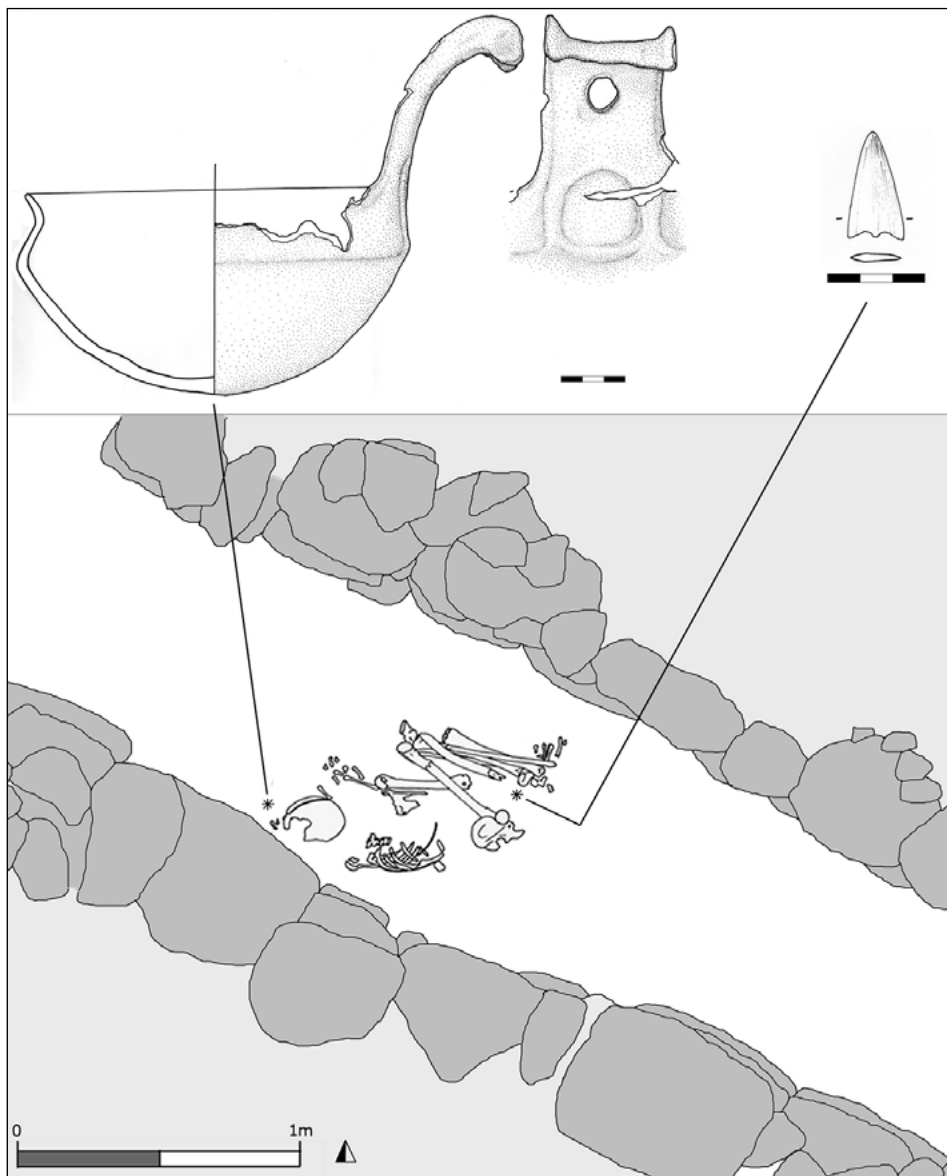


**FIGURE 1** Bronze Age settlements and funerary sites in south-eastern Italy mentioned in the text and main coeval fortified settlements in the area (map elaborated by G. Recchia)  
**SLIKA 1.** Brončanodobna naselja i pogrebna mjesta u jugoistočnoj Italiji spomenuta u tekstu i najvažnija istovremena utvrđena naselja toga područja (karta: G. Recchia)



**FIGURE 2** Coppa Nevigata (northern Apulia): map of the 15th century BC settlement with the distribution of human remains belonging to that period (Archive of the Coppa Nevigata Research Project)

**SLIKA 2.** Coppa Nevigata (sjeverna Apulia): karta naselja 15. st. pr. Kr. s rasporedom ljudskih ostataka koji pripadaju tom vremenu (arhiva istraživačkog projekta Coppa Nevigata)



**FIGURE 3** Coppa Navigata (northern Apulia): 15th century BC male burial in postern B; the ceramic bowl with high handle raised on the rim constitutes the grave good, while the bone arrowhead might well derive from a shot that wounded this individual (Archive of the Coppa Navigata Research Project)

**SLIKA 3.** Coppa Navigata (sjeverna Apulia): ukop muškarca iz 15. st. pr. Kr. u poterni B; keramička posuda s visokom ručkom na obodu je grobni prilog, a koštani vrh strijele je možda ranio tog pojedinca (arhiva istraživačkog projekta Coppa Navigata)

of the defensive wall. Perhaps it was not by chance that these depositional practices were adopted shortly after the settlement experienced a severe assault (at the end of the 16th century BC), which caused an extended fire affecting at least the marginal area of the site.<sup>6</sup>

As observed above, the 15th century BC re-

razni načini pokapanja iz 15. stoljeća (Sl. 2). Dva sporedna ulaza u prijašnjem obrambenom zidu (ulaz A i B)<sup>7</sup> upotrijebljena su kao grobnice za ukop muških osoba: dosta oštećen ukop mlađeg muškarca u dobi od 25 do 30 godina u ulazu A i muškarac srednje dobi

<sup>6</sup> G. RECCHIA, A. CAZZELLA, 2019, 86.

<sup>7</sup> Ovaj zid izgrađen je u 17. st. pr. Kr., a neki su dijelovi djelomično razgrađeni početkom 15. st. pr. Kr.

cord results from multifaceted funerary practices (Fig. 2). Two posterns of the former defensive wall (posterns A and B)<sup>7</sup> were used as tombs for the inhumation of male individuals: a young adult male (25-30 years old, quite disturbed) in postern A and a mature adult male (ca. 40 years old), buried in a crouched position, in postern B (Fig. 3). Both contexts suffered post-depositional disturbances. Along with the mature male in postern B, the incomplete skeleton of an *infans* I (0-1 year old), and some remains of one *juvenilis* (13-15 years old)<sup>8</sup> have been found. Both adult male burials displayed a few grave goods (Figs. 3 and 4, 1-4): each has a ceramic bowl; some ornaments (including repoussé decorated bronze studs of a western Balkan type) found near the remains of the young male probably belonged to him, but no weapons occur apart from a small animal bone arrowhead located near the pelvis of the mature male, which might well have been used against him rather than have belonged to him.<sup>9</sup>

The unusual locations of these entombments suggest that the buried male adults had an emerging social role within the community. Yet any warrior role they may have had was not stressed by the funerary ritual, conversely to what can be seen in some (broadly) coeval necropolises of the region, such as the collective hypogea of Toppo Daguzzo t. 3 (in the upper Ofanto Valley), Trinitapoli (along the same ancient lagoon on which Coppa Nevigata sits, but to the south) and the collective Funerary Cave of Manaccora (on the coast of the north-eastern Gargano promontory).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This had been built in the 17th century BC and some portions were partially dismantled in the early 15th century BC.

<sup>8</sup> These consist of some ribs and part of a lower limb. It is possible that the missing part of the skeleton was intentionally retrieved at some point after the deposition.

<sup>9</sup> A bone arrowhead is indeed unusual in a context where arrowheads were commonly made of flint, as testified by the record related to the 1500 BC assault at the site mentioned above (*cf.* note 6).

<sup>10</sup> M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1986; G. RECCHIA, 1993; G. RECCHIA, 1999; A. M. TUNZI SISTO, 1999; R. PERONI et al., 2003; A. M. TUNZI SISTO, M. LO ZUPONE, 2008.

(oko 40 godina), sahranjen u zgrčenom položaju, u ulazu B (Sl. 3). Oba su konteksta pretrpjela naknadna oštećenja. Uz starijeg muškarca u ulazu B, nađeni su i nepotpuni kostur djeteta (*infans*) (0–1 godina), i ostatci jedne juvenilne osobe (*juvenilis*) (dob 13–15 godina).<sup>8</sup> U obama ukopima odraslih muškaraca nađeno je nekoliko grobnih priloga (Sl. 3 i 4, 1–4): u svakom je bila keramička posuda. Ukasni predmeti (uključujući dugmad zapadnobalkanskog tipa ukrašena iskucavanjem) pronađeni uz ostatke mlađeg muškarca vjerojatno su mu i pripadali, ali nema oružja, osim malog vrha strijele od životinjske kosti nađenog uza zdjelicu starijeg muškarca, za koju će prije biti da je upotrijebljena protiv njega nego da mu je pripadala.<sup>9</sup>

Neobična lokacija ovih ukopa upućuje na to da su pokopani muškarci imali sve zapaženiju društvenu ulogu u zajednici. Ipak, njihova ratnička uloga nije naglašena pogrebnim obredom, suprotno situaciji koju nalazimo u (uglavnom) istovremenim nekropolama u ovom području, kao što su skupni hipogeji u Toppo Daguzzo t. 3 (u gornjem dijelu doline rijeke Ofanta), Trinitapoli (uz istu drevnu lagunu na kojoj je smještena i Coppa Nevigata, ali južnije) i pećina Manaccora korištena za ukope (na obali sjeveroistočnog dijela rta Gargana).<sup>10</sup>

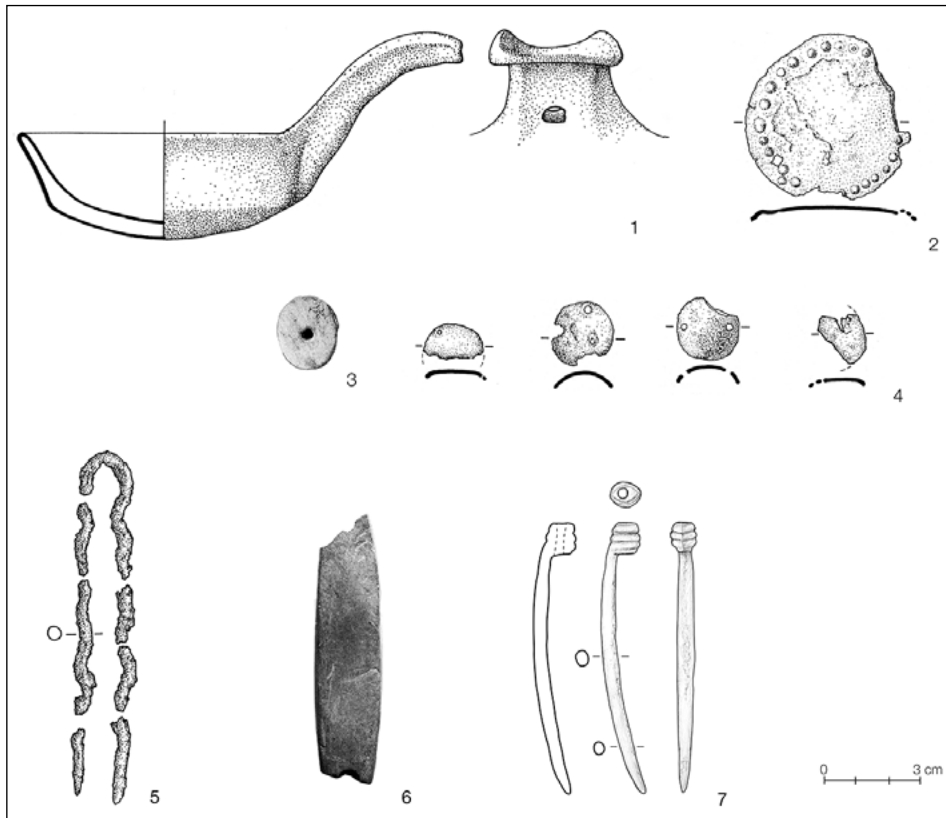
Veliki broj pojedinačnih ljudskih kostiju (odnosno odvojenih kostiju koje nisu u vezi s pravim ukopima) iz ranoapeninskih slojeva može se podijeliti u dvije grupe, prema lokaciji (Sl. 2).

U grupi 1 su ljudski ostatci rasuti u nasipu vjerojatno obrambenog zida izgrađenog

<sup>8</sup> Sastoje se od nekoliko rebara i dijela donjeg ekstremiteta. Moguće je da je dio kostura namjerno uklonjen nekad nakon odlaganja.

<sup>9</sup> Koštana strelica zaista je neobičajena u kontekstu gdje se strelice obično izrađuju od kremenca, kako je potvrđeno nalazima povezanim s napadom na naselje iz ca 1500. pr. Kr., što je spomenuto u tekstu (usp. bilješku 6).

<sup>10</sup> M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1986; G. RECCHIA, 1993; G. RECCHIA, 1999; A. M. TUNZI SISTO, 1999; R. PERONI et al., 2003; A. M. TUNZI SISTO, M. LO ZUPONE, 2008.



**FIGURE 4** *Coppa Nevigata* (northern Apulia), 15th century BC: some of the grave goods belonging to the male burial in postern A (1-4) and to the individuals in group 2 (5-7). 1: ceramic bowl with high handle raised on the rim; 2: bronze stud with repoussé decoration; 3: animal bone flat disc; 4: bronze studs; 5: bronze element (hair pin?); 6: polished stone element (whetstone?); 7: animal bone decorated pin (Archive of the Coppa Nevigata Research Project)

**SLIKA 4.** *Coppa Nevigata* (sjeverna Apulia), 15. st. pr. Kr.: neki od grobnih priloga koji su pripadali ukopu muškarca u posterni A (1-4) i pojedincima u grupi 2 (5-7). 1: keramička posuda s visokom ručkom na obodu; 2: brončano dugme s repoussé ukrasom; 3: ravan disk od životinjske kosti; 4: brončana dugmad; 5: brončani ulomak (ukosnica?); 6: ulomak uglčanog kamena (brus?); 7: ukrašena igla od životinjske kosti (arhiva istraživačkog projekta Coppa Nevigata)

The high number of 'single' human bones (that is disarticulated bones not related to proper burials) from the Early Apennine deposits can be divided into two groups, according to their spatial location (Fig. 2).

Group 1 includes the human remains scattered in the filling of the probable defensive line built in this phase.<sup>11</sup> The remains consist most-

u ovoj fazi.<sup>11</sup> Ostaci se uglavnom sastoje od izdvojenih kostiju (lubanje, mandibule, duge kosti udova) odraslih muškaraca i djece. Može se uočiti određeni stupanj varijabilnosti u dobi pojedinaca i zastupljenosti dijelova kostura uz različite dijelove zida.<sup>12</sup>

Grupa 2 sastoji se od velike količine malih ljudskih kostiju (uglavnom kosti ruke/sto-

<sup>11</sup> This structure, consisting of a string of wall segments of different lengths, leaving a series of wide openings between one segment and the next one, is quite puzzling and its defensive character is uncertain. Instead of stone rubble, these wall segments were filled up by crushed limestone mixed with soil. Human bones have been found both inside the filling and sometimes in the collapse layers of the wall segments. A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012, 272-279.

<sup>11</sup> Ova konstrukcija, koja se sastoji od niza segmenata zida različitih dužina, sa širokim otvorima među segmentima, nije do kraja razjašnjena i njezin obrambeni karakter je upitan. Umjesto kamenog šteta, ovi su zidovi zapunjeni usitnjenim vapnencem pomiješanim sa zemljom. Ljudske kosti nađene su i unutar nasipa i u urušenim dijelovima zida. A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012, 272-279.

<sup>12</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2012, 392-394.

ly of selected skeletal parts (skulls, mandibles, long limb bones) of male adults and children. A certain degree of variability in the age of individuals and occurrence of skeletal regions is detectable along various portions of the wall.<sup>12</sup>

Group 2 is made up of a large amount of small human bones (mostly hand/foot bones, ribs etc.) found in the portion of the former wall situated between postern A and B. This portion of the wall had been partially dismantled down to its base, becoming a kind of 'platform' of ca. 80 cm in height. In all likelihood bodies were exposed on this kind of platform and then the skeletal remains were periodically collected and buried elsewhere, leaving at this spot only the smaller bones and some ornaments (Fig. 4, 5-7), possibly once part of the grave goods that were retrieved as well. Individuals in this group include adults of both genders and some *juveniles*, while children were excluded. Thus, there is little possibility that the bones in group 1 represent the secondary burial of group 2, as the represented ages and genders differ. After the Early Apennine era, the 'platform' lost this funerary function and was covered over by new dwelling deposits, which also hid the posterns.

## HUMAN REMAINS AT BRONZE AGE SOUTH-EASTERN ITALIAN SETTLEMENTS

The entombment of adult individuals and/or deposition of human bones inside settlements were quite infrequent phenomena in southern Italy in the second millennium BC. Although there are other cases as well as Coppa Nevigata, none of them show any clear links between the depositions and the defensive lines.

At La Starza di Ariano Irpino (in the Campania Apennine, at the border of the Tavoliere plain) a number of human remains (approximately 100) were found across the various

pala, rebra itd.) pronađenih u dijelu prijašnjeg zida između ulaza A i B. Ovaj dio zida je djelomično razgrađen do baze, pa je nalik na platformu visoku nekih 80 cm. Najvjerojatnije su tijela izlagana na ovoj „platformi“ i ponovno pokapana drugdje, a na ovom su mjestu ostajale male kosti i nešto ukrasa (Sl. 4, 5–7), možda dijelovi grobnih priloga koji su također ponovno pokapani. U ovoj su grupi odrasli obaju spolova, kao i starija djeca (*juvenilis*), dok djece u pravom smislu riječi nema. Stoga je malo vjerojatno da kosti iz grupe 1 predstavljaju sekundarne ukope za grupu 2, s obzirom na to da se razlikuju i dob i spol. Nakon ranoapeninskog perioda, „platforma“ gubi svoju funerarnu funkciju i prekrivena je novim naseobinskim slojevima, koji su također skrivali sporedne ulaze.

## LJUDSKI OSTATCI S BRONČANODOBNIH NALAZIŠTA IZ JUGOISTOČNE ITALIJE

Pokapanje u postojećim strukturama odraslih pojedinaca i odlaganje ljudskih kostiju unutar naselja prilično su rijetke pojave u južnoj Italiji u drugom tisućljeću pr. Kr. Ipak, postoji još nekoliko slučajeva osim Coppa Nevigata, ali ni jedan ne indicira nikakvu vezu između ukopa i obrambenih linija.

U mjestu La Starza di Ariano Irpino (u kampanijskim Apeninima, na granici ravnice Tavoliere), nađena je relativno velika količina ljudskih ostataka (otprilike 100) u raznim naseobinskim slojevima iz brončanog doba (1800. – 1200. pr. Kr.).<sup>13</sup> Ostatci su nađeni unutar naselja, njihova zastupljenost varira po fazama, ali ne bitno. Zabilježena su oba spola i razne dobi. Općenito uzevši, prema zastupljenosti dijelova kostura, izgleda da je riječ ili o poremećenim ukopima (osobito dječjim) ili sekundarno sahranjen-

<sup>12</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2012, 392-394.

<sup>13</sup> P. PETRONE, 1999.

Bronze Age occupation phases of the settlement (18th – 12th centuries BC).<sup>13</sup> The remains lay inside the settlement; their incidence varied in each phase, but not markedly. Both genders and different ages are documented. Generally speaking, the distribution of segments of skeletal regions would indicate that the remains belonged to either disturbed burials (especially child burials) or the secondary deposition of selected bones.<sup>14</sup> The amount of remains and their occurrence throughout the life of the settlement speak in favour of a specific cultural pattern of behaviour connected to funerary practices. Yet, unlike at Coppa Nevigata, these practices have no recognisable link with the settlement's defensive line.

The Late Bronze Age deposits at the settlement of Madonna del Petto (near Barletta) have yielded two burials located close to one another: the skeleton of a child in an *enchytrismos* and the complete skeleton of a young individual (12-13 years old), probably a female. Neither were accompanied by grave goods.<sup>15</sup> The precise chronology of these burials remains uncertain, and their spatial relationship with the specific area of the settlement is unknown.

Other Bronze Age settlements in south-eastern Italy have not yielded evidence of human remains, but it should be noted that generally these have only been partially explored and/or published. An exception is the fortified coastal settlement of Roca, in the Salento peninsula, which has been extensively investigated, especially its fortification lines. No proper and intentional funerary practices have been detected there: the dead individuals discovered in rooms and posterns of the dry-stone defensive walls were clearly connected to a battle event. The individuals, dating to ca. 1400 BC, were not intentionally entombed there but had died during the assault and were then 'buried' by

nim izabranim kostima.<sup>14</sup> Količina ostataka i njihova zastupljenost tijekom postojanja naselja upućuju na specifičan kulturni obrazac ponašanja u vezi s načinom pokapanja. Ipak, za razliku od Coppa Nevigata, ovi pogrebni običaji nemaju vidljive veze s obrambenim strukturama naselja.

U kasnobrončanodobnim slojevima naselja Madonna del Petto (kod Barletta) otkrivena su dva ukopa, jedan kod drugog: kostur djeteta u keramičkoj posudi (*enchytrismos*) i cjeloviti kostur mlađe osobe (12–13 godina), vjerojatno ženske. Ni u jednom nije bilo grobnih priloga.<sup>15</sup> Točna je kronologija ovih ukopa nesigurna, a njihov prostorni odnos s određenim područjem unutar naselja nepoznat.

U drugim brončanodobnim naseljima u jugoistočnoj Italiji nije bilo ljudskih ostataka, ali treba naglasiti da su ta naselja samo djelomično istražena i/ili objavljena. Utvrđeno obalno naselje Roca, na poluotoku Salentu jest iznimka, jer je temeljito istraženo, osobito fortifikacijski dijelovi. Nisu zabilježeni primjeri pravog i namjernog pokapanja: mrtvi pojedinci u prostorijama i prolazima u suhozidnim obrambenim zidovima očito su bili povezani s nekom bitkom. Pojedinci, čiji se ostatci datiraju okvirno u 1400. godinu pr. Kr. nisu namjerno pokopani tamo, već su umrli tijekom napada i onda su „sahranjeni“ pod urušenim zidom.<sup>16</sup>

Konačno, u naselju La Rocca di Oratino, smještenom u apeninskom području doline Biferina (Molise), pronađen je namjerni ukop u kamenoj škrinji, naknadno teško oštećenoj. Grob je povezan sa suhozidnim objektom iz 14. stoljeća pr. Kr. čija je obrambena funkcija ipak nesigurna.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> P. PETRONE, 1999.

<sup>14</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> I. MUNTONI, 1998, 65-66.

<sup>14</sup> G. RECCHIA, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> I. MUNTONI, 1998, 65-66.

<sup>16</sup> T. SCARANO, 2012.

<sup>17</sup> V. COPAT, M. DANESI, 2017, 1006.

the collapsed wall.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, the settlement of La Rocca di Oratino, located in the Apennine area of the Biferino Valley (Molise), has yielded evidence of an intentional burial in a stone cist, heavily affected by post-depositional disturbances. The cist was spatially linked with a dry-stone structure dating to the 14th century BC, whose defensive function however remains uncertain.<sup>17</sup>

### SOME TERMS OF COMPARISONS: COLLECTIVE BURIALS IN HYPOGEA AND CAVES IN SOUTH-EASTERN ITALY

As mentioned above, in northern Apulia and the Ofanto valley in Basilicata some cemeteries (Toppo Daguzzo, Trinitapoli and Manaccora) that were in use in the 15th-14th centuries BC are known; they provide useful data on the funerary practices of these communities. These are characterised by collective inhumations in artificial hypogea or natural caves. Hypogea are sometimes organised in clusters of more than three (Trinitapoli, Fig. 5), while in the case of the Manaccora Cave various crevices or inner niches served as receptacles for the burials. In each structure/crevice were buried a number of inhumations, ranging from a dozen to two hundred individuals, mostly – but not exclusively – the young and adult of both genders. Grave goods include bronze weaponry for some (but not all) of the male individuals, bronze ornaments and exotic goods, such as amber and glass beads, for both genders. Spatial diversifications of the burials are also detectable in many cases.<sup>18</sup> Alas, any related coeval settlements remain either unknown or are only partially explored/published.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> T. SCARANO, 2012.

<sup>17</sup> V. COPAT, M. DANESI, 2017, 1006.

<sup>18</sup> G. RECCHIA, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> In both the cases of Toppo Daguzzo and Manaccora the existence of a settlement close to the necropolis is known, demonstrating a close spatial relationship between them.

### OKVIR ZA USPOREDBU: MASOVNI UKOPI U HIPOGEJIMA I SPILJAMA U JUGOISTOČNOJ ITALIJI

Kao što je već spomenuto, u sjevernoj Apuliji i dolini Ofanta u Basilicati, poznata su neka groblja iz 15. i 14. stoljeća pr. Kr. (Toppo Daguzzo, Trinitapoli, Manaccora) koja pružaju dragocjene informacije o načinu pokapanja ovih zajednica. Posebne su po grupnom pokapanju u umjetne hipogeje i prirodne spilje. Hipogeji su ponekad organizirani u grupe od više od tri (Trinitapoli, Sl. 5), dok su u slučaju spilje Manaccora razne pukotine u stijeni ili unutarnje niše služile kao recipijenti za kosti. U svakoj strukturi/pukotini bilo je više inhumacija, od dvanaest do dvjesto pojedinaca, uglavnom, iako ne isključivo, mladih i odraslih obaju spolova. Grobni se prilozima sastoje od brončanog oružja za neke muške pojedince (ali ne sve), brončanih ukrasa i egzotičnih predmeta, kao što su jantarne i staklene perle, za oba spola. Prostorna se podjela grobova također može uočiti u velikom broju slučajeva.<sup>18</sup> Nažalost, sva slična istovremena naselja su ili nepoznata ili djelomično istražena/objavljena<sup>19</sup> pa tako nedostaju podatci o tome jesu li (razni?) načini pokapanja također primjenjivani i u naselju.

Nasuprot tomu, u Coppa Nevigati raspoložemo podacima o pogrebnim običajima u naselju, ali nedostaju tragovi prave nekropole ili nekropola odnosno jednog ili više pogrebnih prostora izvan naselja. Ako je u ranoapeninskom razdoblju zajednica u Coppa Nevigati imala groblje u blizini naselja slično onima prije spomenutim (skupni ukopi, razlikovanje društvenog položaja na osnovi grobnih priloga i prostornog položaja),

<sup>18</sup> G. RECCHIA, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> I u slučaju Toppo Daguzza i Manaccore potvrđeno je naselje u blizini nekropole, i to u bliskoj prostornoj vezi.



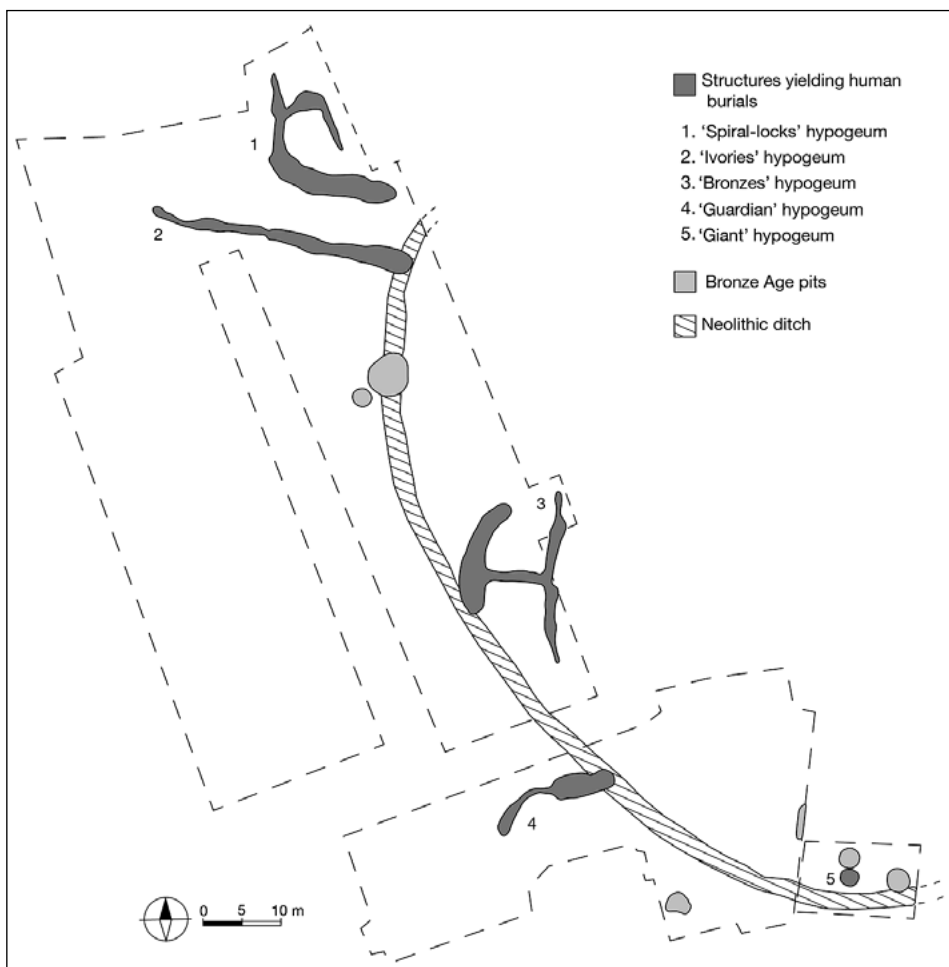


FIGURE 5 Map of the Bronze Age hypogeal structures at Trinitapoli (northern Apulia) (adapted from A. M. TUNZI, M. Lo ZUPONE 2008, fig. 1)

SLIKA 5. Karta brončanodobnih hipogejskih struktura u Trinitapoliju (sjeverna Apulia) (prema A. M. TUNZI, M. Lo ZUPONE, 2008, fig. 1)

Thus, evidence is lacking as to whether or not (various?) funerary practices were also carried out inside the settlements. Conversely, as regards Coppa Nevigata we do have information about funerary rituals inside the settlements, but traces of the proper necropolis(es) or funerary space(s) outside the settlement have yet to be found. Assuming that in the Early Apennine the Coppa Nevigata community had a proper cemetery nearby that was akin to those mentioned above (collective inhumation, distinction of social roles on the basis of the grave goods and spatial position), the question arises: why were some individuals buried inside the settlement instead? Was it because of their distinct social position, or did other factors come into play?

postavlja se pitanje zašto su neki pojedinci pokopani u naselju? Je li na to utjecala važnost njihova položaja u društvu ili neki drugi faktori?

Dva prava ukopa muškaraca u sporednim ulazima u Coppa Nevigati nisu sadržavala oružje, kao što je primijećeno prije u tekstu, za razliku od nekih muških ukopa u funerarnim hipogejima/spiljama. S druge strane, blizina grobnica u Coppa Nevigati obrambenim linijama, kao i nalaz koji pokazuje da je stariji muškarac (iz ulaza B) vjerojatno bio ranjen strelicom, mogli bi sugerirati da su ovi pojedinci bili barem upoznati s ratovanjem i/ili organiziranim nasiljem.

Među osobama „izloženim“ na platformi (grupa 2) čije su kosti zatim pokupljene, bilo

The two formal burials of male individuals in the posterns at Coppa Nevigata were not accompanied by weaponry, as observed above, unlike some of the male burials in the funerary hypogea/caves. On the other hand, the close spatial relationship of the Coppa Nevigata's tombs with the defensive line, as well as the evidence that the mature male (in postern B) was probably wounded by an arrow, may well suggest that these individuals were at least familiar with warfare and/or organised violence.

The individuals 'exposed' on the platform (group 2), whose bones were then retrieved, include both genders. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out that they were involved in warfare/violence too. The hypothesis that they are the casualties of the abovementioned assault the site experienced shortly before this peculiar funerary custom came into use is tempting, although it is difficult to prove. Further, the selected bones purposely scattered in the filling of the (probable) defensive wall (group 1) do include children, but not female individuals. Therefore, not only the way in which the bodies were treated but also the composition of the persons involved differs from group 2. Nonetheless, their direct or indirect involvement in violent conflict/a war episode remains possible.

## BURIALS AT HILLFORTS IN THE NORTHERN ADRIATIC

The Early Apennine Coppa Nevigata case mirrors, to some extent, the evidence of burials at some Bronze Age hillforts in the north-eastern Adriatic area, which are broadly coeval. This is not the first time that we have pointed out parallels between Coppa Nevigata/northern Apulia and the north-eastern Adriatic,<sup>20</sup> but we shall specifically focus here on similarities and differences as regards funerary practices at these fortified settlements.

<sup>20</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2018.

je muškaraca i žena. Ne može se isključiti mogućnost da su oni također sudjelovali u ratovanju/nasilju. Privlačna je pretpostavka da su oni žrtve spomenutog napada na naselje koji se dogodio malo prije pojave ovog neobičnog načina pokapanja, ali teško dokaziva. Nadalje, izdvojene kosti koje su namjerno razbacane u nasipu (vjerojatno) obrambenog zida (grupa 1) uključuju i djecu, ali ne i žene, pa se stoga razlikuje ne samo postupanje prema pokojnicima nego i struktura sahranjenih pojedinaca. U svakom slučaju, moguće je njihovo izravno ili neizravno sudjelovanje u nasilnoj epizodi/ratu.

## UKOPI NA GRADINAMA NA SJEVERNOM JADRANU

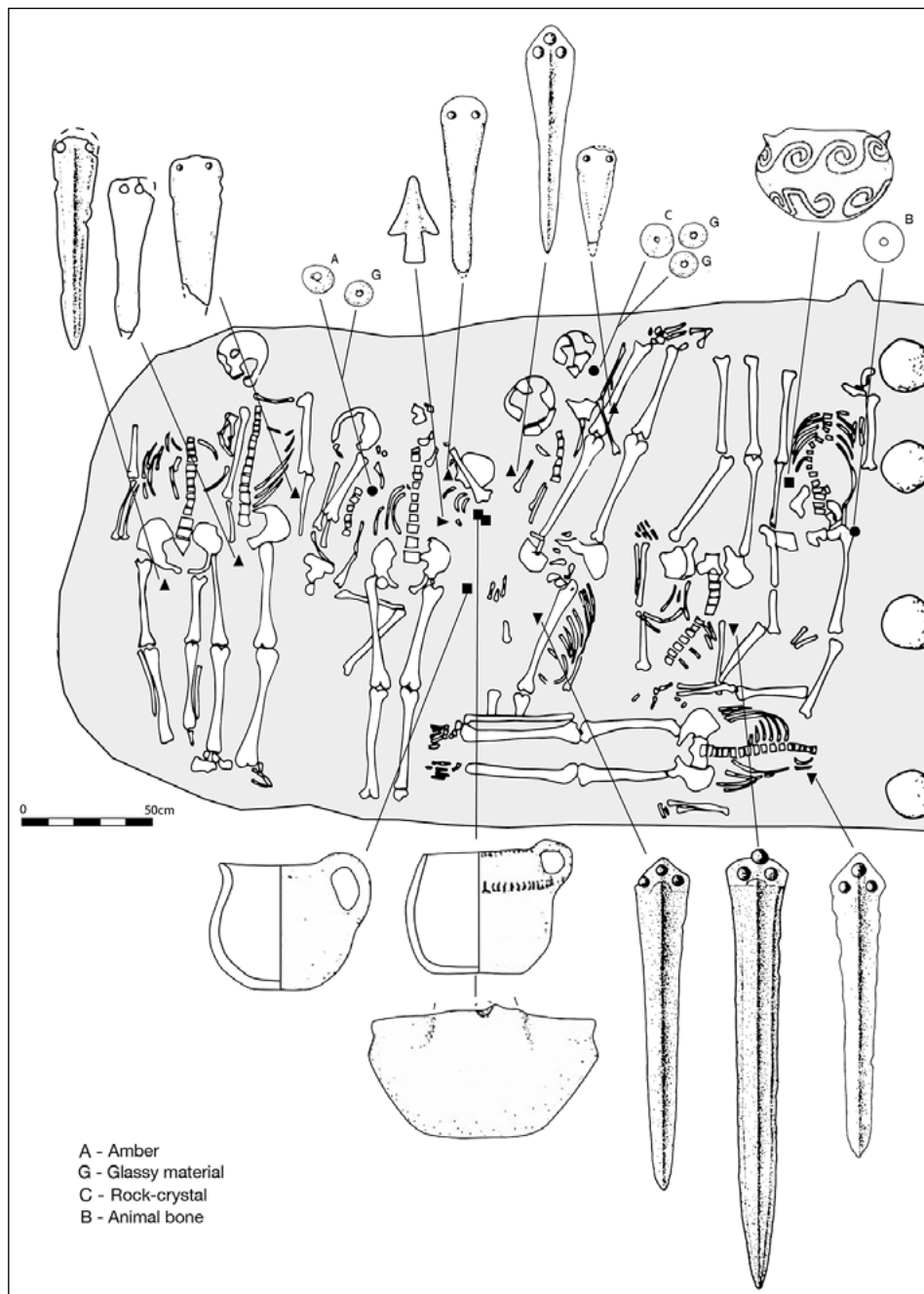
Ranoapenninski slučaj Coppa Nevigata donekle se zrcali u ukopima na nekim brončanodobnim gradinama sjeveroistočnog Jadrana koje su uglavnom istovremene. Ovo nije prvi put da ističemo analogije između Coppa Nevigata/sjeverne Apulije i sjeveroistočnog Jadrana,<sup>20</sup> ali ovdje ćemo se koncentrirati na sličnosti i razlike između načina pokapanja na utvrđenim naseljima.

Podatci o brončanodobnim ukopima povezanim s fortifikacijama sa sjevernog Jadrana su pomiješani: mogu se okvirno podijeliti u dvije grupe. Za jednu je tipično naselje Sedegliano,<sup>21</sup> s karakterističnim obrambenim sustavom od zemljanih nasipa. Ovdje su neki ukopi, datirani između 1900. i 1700. pr. Kr., pronađeni u ranijem zemljanom nasipu, blizu ulaza. Druga grupa odnosi se na inhumacije u vezi s fortifikacijama, ali u kamenim strukturama na nalazištima opasanim suhozidnim bedemima, kao što su Monkodonja i Vrčin u Istri, te Gradina na Velikom Brijunu.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2018.

<sup>21</sup> P. CASSOLA GUIDA, 2011.

<sup>22</sup> B. HÄNSEL, B. TERŽAN, C. MIHOVIĆ, 2015; M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.



**FIGURE 6** Bronze Age funerary depositions in hypogeum 3 at Toppo Daguzzo (northern Basilicata) with the spatial distribution of grave goods (adapted from M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1986; distribution elaborated by G. Recchia)

**SLIKA 6.** Brončanodobni pogrebni depoi u hipogeju 3 u mjestu Toppo Daguzzo (sjeverna Bazilikata) s prostornim rasporedom grobnih priloga (prema M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1986; prikaz rasporeda: G. Recchia)

The data on Bronze Age burials connected with fortifications from the northern Adriatic is mixed: it can be broadly divided into two groups. One is typified by Sedegliano,<sup>21</sup> char-

<sup>21</sup> P. CASSOLA GUIDA, 2011.

Monkodonja se izdvaja složenošću sačuvanih ljudskih ostataka unutar naselja, uz dva groba u kamenim škrinjama i ukop u jami na donjem zidu zapadnog ulaza. Detaljna je analiza životinjskih ostataka otkrila znatan broj ljudskih kostiju u različitim dijelovima

acterised by an earthwork defensive system. Here some inhumations, dating between 1900 and 1700 BC, were performed inside the earlier earthwork, close to the entrance. The other concerns inhumations also connected with fortifications but entombed in lithic structures at sites defended by dry-stone walls, such as Monkodonja and Vrčin in Istria and Gradina on the island of Veliki Brijun.<sup>22</sup>

Monkodonja stands out because of the complexity of the evidence of human remains inside the settlement, in addition to the two stone cist-tombs and the pit burial found at the lower wall west entrance gate. A precise examination of faunal remains has provided evidence of a large number of human bones distributed in various areas of the settlement, the vast majority of which are in fact spatially related to the defensive lines at both the upper and the lower portions of the settlement.<sup>23</sup> These include possible child burials but also selected bones of individuals of various ages and both genders. An in-depth analysis of these remains is beyond the scope of the present discussion. Yet, the relevance of this evidence is twofold: it indicates how funerary practices at these settlements were manifold and, at the same time, that the occurrence of human remains can sometimes be underestimated, especially in the cases of old excavations where bones were not extensively collected and/or analysed. The two cist-tombs (A and B), originally located just outside the west gate of the lower wall, were absorbed over time by the growing complex structure of the gate itself. These contained multiple burials: at least 15 individuals in cist A and three in cist B; grave goods included bronze adornments and amber beads. A series of 14C dates are available for these burials, some of which, however, are possibly affected by a reservoir effect. The most reliable dates span from 1822 ± 44 BC and 1683±39

naselja, od kojih je većina prostorno povezana s obrambenim zidinama i u gornjem i donjem dijelu naselja.<sup>23</sup> Među njima se neki primjerci mogu povezati s dječjim ukopima, ali i izvojenim kostima osoba obaju spolova i različitih dobnih skupina. Opsežna analiza ovih nalaza nadilazi okvire ove rasprave. Ipak, važnost je ovih nalaza dvojaka: pokazuje da je bilo više načina pokapanja u ovim naseljima, te u isto vrijeme sugerira da se prisutnost ljudskih ostataka može podcijeniti, posebno u slučajevima starih iskopavanja u kojima se kosti nisu temeljito skupljale i/ili analizirale. Dvije grobnice u kamenim škrinjama (A i B), izvorno smještene izvan zapadnog ulaza donjeg zida, postupno su inkorporirane u sve veću složenu strukturu samog ulaza. Sadržavale su višestruke ukope: bar 15 osoba u grobnici A i tri u grobnici B; grobni prilozi sastojali su se od brončanih ukrasa i jantarnih perli. Dostupna je serija 14C datauma za ove ukope, od kojih su neki možda kompromitirani efektom rezervoara. Najpouzdaniji datumi obuhvaćaju kronološke intervale 1822 ± 44 BC i 1683±39 BC (KIA 26348 i KIA 33492; grobnica A) i 1658±29 BC (KIA 26346; grobnica B). Inhumacija u jami (mladog muškarca), ukliještena između dviju faza građenja ulazne konstrukcije, dala je 14C datum 1774±65 BC (KIA 42258).<sup>24</sup> Uz ovaj ukop, djelomično poremećen kasnijim intervencijama, vjerojatno je bila mala keramička posuda.<sup>25</sup>

Nekoliko kamenih funerarnih struktura otkriveno je u blizini ulaza na suhozidnim bedemima u Vrčinu. Sastoje se od 13 suhozidnih platformi, na kojima je jedna ili više grobnica u kamenim škrinjama, i još tri jednostavna groba u kamenim škrinjama. Broj pokojnika u svakoj grobnici varira od tri do sedam, od kojih su neki sekundarni ukopi. Grobni se prilozi uglavnom sastoje od bron-

<sup>22</sup> B. HÄNSEL, B. TERŽAN, C. MIHOVILIĆ, 2015; M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

<sup>23</sup> B. TESSMANN, 2020, figs. 2 and 20.

<sup>23</sup> B. TESSMANN, 2020, sl. 2 i 20.

<sup>24</sup> B. WENINGER, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> B. HÄNSEL, B. TERŽAN, C. MIHOVILIĆ, 2015, figs. 174–176.

BC (KIA 26348 and KIA 33492; cist A) and 1658±29 BC (KIA 26346; cist B). A further inhumation in a pit grave (a young male), sandwiched between two building phases of the gate articulate structure, has given a 14C date of 1774±65 BC (KIA 42258).<sup>24</sup> This burial, partially disturbed by later interventions, was probably accompanied by a small ceramic jar.<sup>25</sup>

Several funerary stone structures have been brought to light close to the entrance gate of the dry-stone wall at Vrčin. These consist of 13 dry-stone platforms, hosting one or more cists, and three simple stone cists. The number of individuals in each tomb ranges from three to seven, some of which are secondary burials. Grave goods mostly consist of bronze adornments and amber beads, but the sporadic presence of daggers cannot be ruled out.<sup>26</sup> Two 14C dates have been obtained (each from one individual) that span between 1700-1490 (LTL-14813A) and 1460-1220 BC (LTL-14814A); since all the bones were collected together it is not possible to assign them to specific tombs.<sup>27</sup>

At the Gradina hillfort on the island of Veliki Brijun some burials in stone cists were located between the second and third defensive walls.<sup>28</sup> No absolute dates are available, but it is generally agreed that these were broadly coeval with those at the aforementioned Istrian hillforts.

This funerary practice involving multiple burials in stone cists/stone platforms located close to the entrance gate is of particular interest for the parallel it offers with the Coppa Nevigata example, the main point being the close link between the burials and the fortifications. However, differences can be noted as regards various details, which might well result

čanih ukrasa i jantarnih perli, ali ne treba isključiti ni moguću sporadičnu pojavu bodeža.<sup>26</sup> Dobivena su dva 14C datuma (svaki za jednog pokojnika) u rasponu 1700. – 1490. (LTL-14813A) i 1460. – 1220. pr. Kr. (LTL-14814A); s obzirom na to su sve kosti sakupljene zajedno, ne može ih se pripisati zasebnim grobnicama.<sup>27</sup>

Na Gradini na Velikom Brijunu nađeni su ukopi u grobovima u kamenim škrinjama između drugog i trećeg obrambenog zida.<sup>28</sup> Nisu dostupni apsolutni datumi, ali smatra se da su uglavnom istovremeni s prije spomenutim istarskim gradinama.

Ovaj način pokapanja koji se odnosi na višestruke ukope u kamenim škrinjama/na kamenim platformama u blizini ulaza posebno je važan zbog analogija s Coppa Nevigatom, pri čemu je najvažnija sličnost blizina ukopa i fortifikacija. Ipak, mogu se primijetiti razlike u detaljima koji bi mogli biti posljedica lokalnih interpretacija jedinstvenog modela. Možemo uočiti sljedeće:

1) Ukopi u Coppa Nevigati (bar oni zasad poznati) nisu grupirani oko ulaza, niti su smješteni u planski izgrađenim kamenim strukturama. Treba priznati da reutilizacija sporednih ulaza kao grobnica na određeni način zrcali koncept grobnica od kamenih ploča, ali izdvojene ljudske kosti u nasipu vjerojatno fortifikacijskog zida (grupa 1), kao i preostale kosti na „platformi“ (grupa 2) definitivno se razlikuju od toga. Isto vrijedi i za ljudske ostatke rasute uz fortifikacije u Monkodonji.<sup>29</sup> Štoviše, ukop mladog muškarca u jami kod ulaza u Monkodonju upućuje na

<sup>24</sup> B. WENINGER, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> B. HÄNSEL, B. TERŽAN, C. MIHOVILIĆ, 2015, figs. 174-176.

<sup>26</sup> One bronze rivet occurs in one of the cists, while some more rivets and a possible dagger have been noticed among the materials, now out of contexts, that possibly came from the burials. M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 517.

<sup>27</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

<sup>28</sup> A. VITASOVIĆ, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Brončana zakovica nađena je u jednoj kamenoj škrinji, a još nekoliko zakovica i možda bodež primijećeni su među materijalom, sada izvan konteksta, koji bi mogao biti povezan s ovim ukopima. M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 517.

<sup>27</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

<sup>28</sup> A. VITASOVIĆ, 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Prema autoricama, ljudski ostatci s gornjeg naselja Monkodonje predstavljaju nepokopane žrtve napada koje je naselje pretrpjelo u drugoj polovini 15. stoljeća pr. Kr.: K. MIHOVILIĆ, B. TERŽAN, 2020, 599–600. Antropološke analize nisu otkrile rane ili bilo što drugo u korist ove hipoteze: B. TESSMANN, 2020, 540–541.

from local interpretations of a general shared model. We can observe the following:

1) Burials at Coppa Nevigata (at least those known so far) are not clustered near the entrance gate, neither are they placed in purpose-built stone structures. Admittedly, the reuse of the posterns as tombs somehow mirrors the concept of stone-cist tombs, but both the selected human bones in the filling of the probable fortification wall (group 1) and the remaining bones at the 'platform' (group 2) certainly differ from that. The same applies to the human remains scattered along the fortification lines at Monkodonja.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the young male in the pit-grave near the gate at Monkodonja points to a certain degree of accepted variability in the ritual in the Istrian area too.

2) The number of buried individuals in each context varies, as does the *post-mortem* treatment of bodies and skeletal portions.

In contrast, a common trait in all these contexts is that grave goods do occur but are not abundant, and weaponry is very scarce if not absent altogether.

## EVIDENCE OF FUNERARY PRACTICES AT SETTLEMENTS IN OTHER EUROPEAN REGIONS

Interactions between the north-eastern Adriatic region and northern Apulia in the period under scrutiny, probably occasioned by exchanges, are clearly testified to by good parallels in some ceramic and metal productions. The shared funerary traits discussed here provide evidence that these interactions also entailed shared socio-ideological aspects. Contacts between northern Apulia and Dal-

<sup>29</sup> According to the authors, human remains from the upper settlement of Monkodonja would represent casualties of an assault that the settlement witnessed in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC, left unburied: K. MIHOVILIĆ, B. TERŽAN, 2020, 599-600. The anthropological analysis has not revealed any traces of wounds or other evidence supporting this hypothesis: B. TESSMANN, 2020, 540-541.

određeni stupanj prihvaćene raznolikosti u obredu također na istarskom području.

2) Broj pokojnika varira u različitim kontekstima, kao i odnos prema pokojnikovu tijelu i njegovim dijelovima.

Nasuprot tomu, svim kontekstima zajednička je zastupljenost grobnih priloga, iako ne u velikom broju, a oružje je ili rijetko ili ga uopće nema.

## OSTATCI POGREBNIH PRAKSI U NASELJIMA U DRUGIM EUROPSKIM PODRUČJIMA

Interakcija između sjeveroistočnog jadranskog područja i sjeverne Apulije u danom razdoblju, vjerojatno potaknuta razmjenom, potvrđena je čvrstim analogijama u keramičkom i metalnom materijalu. Zajedničke pogrebne karakteristike o kojima je bilo riječi u tekstu pokazuju da je ova interakcija podrazumijevala i dijeljenje socijalno-ideoloških aspekata. Kontakti između sjeverne Apulije i Dalmacije odražavaju se u zajedničkim stilskim značajkama i proizvodima. Dostupni podatci s dalmatinskih utvrđenih naselja zasad su oskudni zbog čega je nemoguće provjeriti jesu li ukopi u prostornoj vezi s fortifikacijama obuhvaćali i šire jadransko područje. Istraživanja u Dalmaciji koja su u tijeku, uključujući i neka podvodna istraživanja, mogla bi promijeniti ovu sliku u budućnosti.<sup>30</sup>

Moguće rane veze s drugim kulturnim krugom, kasnom srednjoheladskom Grčkom, predložene su i za istarske centre Monkodonju i Vrčin,<sup>31</sup> ali i Coppa Nevigatu.<sup>32</sup> Pojave koje bi potvrđivale veze još od 18. stoljeća pr. Kr. prepoznate su ne samo u cirkulaciji pro-

<sup>30</sup> Vidi npr. M. ČELHAR, 2013; M. ČELHAR et al., 2017; I. RADIĆ ROSSI et al., 2020.

<sup>31</sup> B. HÄNSEL et al., 2015, 174-177, 499-504, 561-566; M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 514; B. HÄNSEL et al., 2019; K. MIHOVILIĆ, B. TERŽAN, 2020, 599-600.

<sup>32</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012, 249-250.

matia are also shown by shared stylistic traits and products. At present the available data from fortified settlements in Dalmatia is still limited, which fact hampers the possibility of verifying whether funerary practices entailing a spatial link with the fortification lines encompassed a larger Adriatic area. Ongoing research in Dalmatia, including underwater excavations, may change this picture in the near future.<sup>30</sup>

Possible early connections with another cultural sphere, that of late Middle Helladic Greece, have been suggested as regards both the Istrian centres of Monkodonja and Vrčin<sup>31</sup> and Coppa Navigata.<sup>32</sup> Evidence for ongoing connections as far back as the 18th century BC is suggested not only by the circulation of production techniques (such as purple-dye production and the extraction of oil from the olives),<sup>33</sup> but also by that concerning the building of complex (including defensive) structures. Yet, a link with this cultural sphere for the practice of burials connected with defensive lines is doubtful, and not only for chronological reasons. Burials in settlements do occur in Middle Helladic Greece (2000-1700/1650 BC),<sup>34</sup> but these are not clearly related to fortifications, apart from the most famous case of the two grave circles (A and B) at Mycenae dating to the transition between the Middle and Late Helladic periods, which are located in a spot near which the fortification line would be built in the *later* Mycenaean Palatial period. In these grave circles, however, the martial character of males is stressed,<sup>35</sup> quite unlike the Istrian and northern Apulian examples. Another interesting case is that of

izvodnih tehnika (kao proizvodnja purpurne boje i maslinova ulja)<sup>33</sup> nego i u gradnji kompleksnih građevina, uključujući i obrambene strukture. Ipak, upitna je povezanost s ovim kulturnim krugom za ukope u vezi s obrambenim linijama, ne samo zbog kronoloških razloga. Ukopi se u naseljima zaista pojavljuju u srednjoheladskom razdoblju Grčke (2000. – 1700./1650. pr. Kr.),<sup>34</sup> ali nisu u jasnoj vezi s fortifikacijama, osim najpoznatijeg slučaja dvaju grobnih krugova (A i B) u Mikeni koji datiraju u prijelaz iz srednjeg u kasni heladski period, a smješteni su blizu mjesta gdje će biti sagrađen fortifikacijski zid u *kasnijem* mikenskom razdoblju palača. U ovim grobnim krugovima naglašen je ratnički karakter muškaraca,<sup>35</sup> za razliku od istarskih i sjevernoapulskih slučajeva. Još jedan zanimljiv slučaj nalazimo u grobu u rovu koji je bio ugrađen u najistočniji dio fortifikacija u Kolonni, na otoku Egini, u kasnoj fazi srednjoheladskog razdoblja (faza IX)<sup>36</sup>. I konteksti iz Mikene i Kolonne u vezi su s pojavom društvenih elita, čiji su pripadnici na onaj svijet ispraćani s bogatim grobnim priložima<sup>37</sup> kakvi se ne nalaze ni u istarskim ni u sjevernoapulskim ukopima u naseljima.

Primjeri iz drugih područja koji se uklapaju u ovdje spomenuti kronološki okvir nude ograničene elemente za usporedbu s predmetnim kontekstima, koji su od male koristi u ovom razmatranju. Na primjer, u naseljima u El Argaru u jugoistočnoj Španjolskoj pokapanje u postojećim strukturama dobro je poznato, povremeno popraćeno karakterističnim grobnim priložima. Izravne veze s jadranskim područjem malo su vjerojatne ne samo zbog geografske udaljenosti već i zbog značenja ukopa *intra moenia* iz El

<sup>30</sup> See for instance M. ČELHAR, 2013; M. ČELHAR et al., 2017; I. RADIĆ ROSSI et al., 2020.

<sup>31</sup> B. HÄNSEL et al., 2015, 174-177, 499-504, 561-566; M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 514; B. HÄNSEL et al., 2019; K. MIHOVIĆ, B. TERŽAN, 2020, 599-600.

<sup>32</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012, 249-250.

<sup>33</sup> G. RECCHIA, A. CAZZELLA, 2012. Although imported artefacts in both Istria and northern Apulia are lacking. Some evidence occurs at other southern Italian sites.

<sup>34</sup> L. PHIALON, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> O. PELON, 2010.

<sup>33</sup> G. RECCHIA, A. CAZZELLA, 2012. Iako uvezenih predmeta nema ni u Istri ni u sjevernoj Apuliji, neki su nalazi zabilježeni na drugim lokalitetima u južnoj Italiji.

<sup>34</sup> L. PHIALON, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> O. PELON, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> W. GAUSS, R. SMETANA, 2010, 169.

<sup>37</sup> Iako interpretacija vjerojatne koegzistencije dvaju grobnih krugova iz Mikene nije jednoznačna u društvenom smislu.

the shaft-grave which was built in front of the easternmost fortification walls at Kolonna, in the island of Aegina, during a late phase of the Middle Helladic (phase IX).<sup>36</sup> Both the Mycenae and Kolonna contexts are clearly related to the emergence of elites, whose individuals were accompanied by distinctively opulent grave goods;<sup>37</sup> such are not to be found in the Istrian settlement burials nor in the northern Apulian ones.

Further examples from other regions that fall into the timespan considered here may offer some limited elements for comparison with the contexts under consideration, yet these appear to be of scant interest in this discussion. For instance, at the El Argar settlements in south-eastern Spain the practice of entombment – sometimes accompanied by distinctive grave goods – is well known. Not only are direct relationships with the Adriatic area unlikely given the wide geographical distance, but also the meaning that the El Argar *intra moenia* burials would have had is likely to have differed from the Adriatic cases. These in fact consist of single burials – also of adult individuals – in pits, cists or *pithoi* mainly located inside the houses, whose grave goods display sharp differences in terms of wealth.<sup>38</sup>

The picture offered by some settlements in central-eastern Europe is even more different.<sup>39</sup> For instance, evidence for the Otomani culture in Slovakia mostly consists of large pits at fortified settlements where a number of individuals were buried, whose gender and age varies. These burials have been seen as the results of human sacrifices, as in the cases of Spissky Stvrtek and Nizna Mysla.<sup>40</sup> As regards this latter site, a pit grave cemetery outside the settlement has been unearthed. Although interrelations between the

Argara. Ovi se primjeri zapravo sastoje od jednog ukopa, također odraslih pokojnika, u jamama, grobovima od kamenih ploča ili pitosima, smještenim uglavnom izvan kuća, s grobnim priložima koji odražavaju velike razlike u imovnom stanju.<sup>38</sup>

Razlike su još i veće u usporedbi s naseljima u srednjoj i istočnoj Europi.<sup>39</sup> Na primjer, nalazi iz Otomani kulture u Slovačkoj uglavnom se sastoje od ukopa u velikim jamama u utvrđenim naseljima gdje je pokopano više pokojnika, različite dobi i spola. Ovi se ukopi dovode u vezu sa žrtvovanjem ljudi, kao u mjestima Spissky Stvrtek i Nizna Mysla.<sup>40</sup> U potonjem nalazištu nađeno je groblje s grobnim jamama. Iako su zabilježene veze između zapadnog Balkana i sjeverne Italije, skupni ukopi u jamama u utvrđenim naseljima (čak i ako odbacimo tezu o žrtvovanju ljudi), znatno se razlikuju od istarskih i sjevernoapulskih primjera koji su predmet ovog rada.

## ZAKLJUČNE NAPOMENE

U europskim kontekstima nalazimo samo uopćene sličnosti, dok se dosljednost pogrebnih običaja u naseljima u jadranskom području, temeljenih na bliskoj povezanosti s obrambenim linijama, ne čini nimalo slučajnom.

U vezi s dvama grobovima u kamenim škrinjama iz Monkodonje, autorica se zalaže za tezu da su ovo bili elitni ukopi, koje su s vremenom zamijenili tumuli u Mušegu, smješteni izvan naselja.<sup>41</sup> Slično objašnjenje nalazimo i za Vrčin: ukopi u kamenim škrinjama kod ulaza korišteni su u ograničenom periodu, a zatim u upotrebu ulaze tumuli izvan naselja. Ova se hipoteza temelji na za-

<sup>36</sup> W. GAUSS, R. SMETANA, 2010, 169.

<sup>37</sup> Although the interpretation in social terms of the probable coexistence of the two grave circles at Mycenae is not straight forward.

<sup>38</sup> M. C. FERNANDEZ CASTRO, 1997, 77-81; I. BARAN-DARIAN et al., 1998, 255-256.

<sup>39</sup> A. VANZETTI, 2008, 754-755.

<sup>40</sup> V. FURMANEK, R. KUJOVSKY, 2006, 55-58.

<sup>38</sup> M. C. FERNANDEZ CASTRO, 1997, 77-81; I. BARAN-DARIAN et al., 1998, 255-256.

<sup>39</sup> A. VANZETTI, 2008, 754-755.

<sup>40</sup> V. FURMANEK, R. KUJOVSKY, 2006, 55-58

<sup>41</sup> K. MIHOVILIĆ et al., 2011.



Otomani culture and both the western Balkans and northern Italy are documented, the collective burials in pits at fortified settlements (even discarding the hypothesis of human sacrifices) appear to differ greatly from the Istrian and northern Apulian contexts discussed here.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

European contexts offer only generic similarities, whereas the consistency among the funerary practices at settlements in the Adriatic area, based on their close association with defensive lines, appear to be far from random.

As far as the two cist-graves at Monkodonja are concerned, the authors' hypothesis is that these were the elite burials, which were replaced in time by those in the Mušego tumuli, located outside the settlement.<sup>41</sup> A similar explanation has been put forward for the Vrčin case: the burials in the stonecists near the gate would have been used for a limited span of time before the tumuli outside the settlement came into use. This hypothesis stems from the observation that the area where the cist-burials are located was affected by the building of a wall that obliterated some of the burials.<sup>42</sup> Even so, taking into account the chronological range resulting from the <sup>14</sup>C dates, it is possible to argue that the cist tombs were used over a long span of time, possibly overlapping to some extent that of the tumuli. Further, similarities can be detected between the grave goods of the two sets of burials.<sup>43</sup>

In the light of that, one can argue that the cist-burials at the Istrian hillforts could have represented a specific and relatively uncommon funerary ritual, but not one necessarily related to elites. Following the hypothesis suggested for Coppa Nevigata, some individuals could have been buried in that particular location who

pažanju da je prostor ukopa u kamenim škrinjama izmijenjen izgradnjom bedema jer su neki ukopi tada uništeni.<sup>42</sup> I u tom slučaju, ako uzmemo u obzir vremenski raspon C14 datuma, moguće je da su grobnice u kamenim škrinjama korištene u dužem razdoblju, čak se i preklapajući s tumulima u nekom kronološkom segmentu. Nadalje, primjetne su razlike u grobnim priložima između dviju grupa ukopa.<sup>43</sup>

U tom smislu, moglo bi se razmišljati da ukopi u kamenim škrinjama na istarskim gradinama predstavljaju specifičan i donekle neobičan pogrebni obred, ali ne nužno povezan s elitnim dijelom zajednice. U skladu s prepostavkom predloženom za Coppa Nevigatu, određeni pojedinci mogli su biti sahranjeni na toj lokaciji kao žrtve nasilja, moguće u više navrata tijekom dužeg vremenskog perioda.<sup>44</sup> U svakom slučaju, zastupljenost osoba obaju spolova i subadultnih pojedinaca u Coppa Nevigati, Monkodonji i Vrčinu pokazuje da pokojnici zasigurno nisu bili ratnici po zanatu, što sugerira i nedostatak/mala količina oružja među grobnim priložima. Štoviše, mala je vjerojatnost da su u kontekstima tako male demografske gustoće uopće postojali specijalizirani ratnici. Coppa Nevigata pruža se na 2,5 ha, a Vrčin na više od 3 ha: ova su naselja mogla imati oko tristo stanovnika, od čega bi samo četvrtinu činili odrasli muškarci.<sup>45</sup> Ako je dolazilo do organiziranih manifestacija agresije, bilo da je riječ o napadu na naselje ili obrani svojeg teritorija, po svoj prilici, svi su odrasli muškarci sudjelovali u borbama koje bi uslijedile. Ovu tezu podržavaju i podatci o napadu na Coppa Nevigatu koji se dogodio oko 1500.

<sup>41</sup> K. MIHOVILIĆ et al., 2011.

<sup>42</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 513.

<sup>43</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 517.

<sup>42</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 513.

<sup>43</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 517.

<sup>44</sup> Na kostima nisu zabilježeni jasni tragovi trauma što je u opreci s ovom hipotezom. Jedna muška lubanja iz Vrčina pokazuje ubodnu ranu, ali osoba je preživjela ozljedu. Vidi kod M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 520.

<sup>45</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012; M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

were victims of violent events, perhaps on several occasions over the timespan.<sup>44</sup> In any case, the presence of individuals of both genders and subadults at Coppa Nevigata, Monkodonja and Vrčín, besides the absence/paucity of weaponry in the grave goods, rules out that these buried individuals were specialised warriors. Moreover, it is unlikely that specialised warriors existed at all in contexts with so low demographic density. Coppa Nevigata extended over 2.5 hectares and Vrčín over 3 hectares: these settlements could have numbered about three hundred inhabitants, adult males amounting to just a quarter of them.<sup>45</sup> When it came to organised aggression, either attacking a settlement or defending their own, likely all the adult males were engaged in the ensuing warfare. The Coppa Nevigata record of the assault that the site experienced around 1500 BC, mentioned above, might attest to this hypothesis.<sup>46</sup> As for the larger settlement of Monkodonja, the estimate of its population is about one thousand inhabitants, but even in this case the presence of specialised warriors is doubtful.

Collective burials in hypogea/caves, sometimes organised in clusters, are known in northern Apulia and the adjacent area: these could have been related to settlements akin to Coppa Nevigata. The inhumations display rich grave goods and some of the male individuals were accompanied by weaponry. These collective burials appear to belong to kinship groups which had internal social differences but not a clear-cut hierarchy, at least at Manaccora and Trinitapoli.<sup>47</sup> The context of Toppo Daguzzo tomb 3, where a limited number of individu-

pr. Kr.<sup>46</sup> Monkodonja je veće naselje pa je i procjena stanovništva nešto veća – oko tisuću stanovnika, ali čak je i u ovom slučaju prisutnost profesionalnih ratnika upitna.

Skupni ukopi u hipogejima/spiljama, ponekad grupirani, poznati su iz sjeverne Apulije i okoline: mogli su biti u vezi s naseljima srodnima Coppa Nevigati. U inhumacijama se nalaze bogati prilozi, a uz neke je muškarce priloženo i oružje. Čini se da ovi skupni ukopi pripadaju srođnicima koji su se razlikovali po društvenom položaju, ali bez čvrste hijerarhije, bar u Manaccori i Trinitapoliju.<sup>47</sup> Kontekst u Toppo Daguzzo, grobnica 3, gdje je pokopan manji broj pojedinaca (ukupno 11), mogao bi upućivati na nešto drukčiju situaciju (Sl. 6). Svi inhumacijski ukopi imali su karakteristične grobne priloge, koji su u slučaju muških ukopa redovito uključivali i oružje. Moguće je da oni predstavljaju obiteljsku grupu u nastajanju, ali ne takvu koja će dovesti do stvaranja trajne elite, jer se čini da ova grobnica ostaje izoliran slučaj na ovom nalazištu.<sup>48</sup>

U ovakvim okolnostima, nedostatak oružja u ukopima u blizini obrambenih zidina, posebice u slučaju Coppa Nevigate, dobiva na važnosti. Ovi su pojedinci možda uživali određeni društveni prestiž, ali nisu imali izrazitu socijalno-političku vlast u zajednici. Ono što ih izdvaja kao grupu nisu grobni prilozi (uglavnom oskudni), nego ponajprije njihovo posmrtno smještanje na važna mjesta u naselju. Neki od ovih pokojnika nisu čak imali ni trajno mjesto ukopa, jer su kosti povremeno bile premještane. Iz ovog se prikaza čini da je kolektivna simbolična komponenta bila važnija od društvene stratifikacije u ovim pogrebnim običajima.

Kao što su naglasili M. Cupitò i suradnici,<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The absence of evidence of traumas leaving clear traces on the human bones would speak against this hypothesis. One male skull from Vrčín show traces of a wound inflicted by a stab, but the individual in question survived the wound: M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018, 520.

<sup>45</sup> A. CAZZELLA, G. RECCHIA, 2012; M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

<sup>46</sup> G. RECCHIA, A. CAZZELLA, 2019. The possibility that Monkodonja too suffered from an assault in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC has been also pointed out: *cf.* note 29.

<sup>47</sup> G. RECCHIA, 1999.

<sup>46</sup> G. RECCHIA, A. CAZZELLA 2019. Upućeno je na mogućnost da je i Monkodonja pretrpjela napad u drugoj polovini 15. stoljeća pr. Kr.: *usp.* bilješku 29.

<sup>47</sup> G. RECCHIA, 1999.

<sup>48</sup> M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1986; M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1987.

<sup>49</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

als (11 in total) were buried, could indicate a slightly different situation (Fig. 6). All inhumations had distinct grave goods, which in the case of the adult males always included weaponry. It is possible that they represent a small emerging kinship group, but not such as to lead to the emergence of a fixed elite, since this tomb appears to remain an isolated case at the site.<sup>48</sup>

In this framework the dearth of weaponry in the burials located near the settlement's defensive walls, especially in the case of Coppa Navigata, becomes even more significant. These individuals might have possessed social prestige, but probably did not wield a distinct socio-political power in the community. What distinguishes them as a whole are not the grave goods (generally scarce), but rather their *post-mortem* placement at relevant spots in the settlement. Some of these individuals did not even enjoy a permanent burial place, as bones were sometimes relocated. What would seem to emerge from this picture is that the symbolic collective component, rather than social stratification, was the prevailing feature characterising these funerary representations.

As M. Cupitò and colleagues have pointed asked:<sup>49</sup> could the early circulation of Baltic amber in the Bronze Age be the linking trait between the north-eastern Adriatic and northern Apulia before the Mycenaean exchange network impacted on Adriatic interactions?

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<sup>48</sup> M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1986; M. CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ, 1987.

<sup>49</sup> M. CUPITÒ et al., 2018.

možda bi rana cirkulacija baltičkog jantara mogla biti poveznica između sjeveroistočnog Jadrana i sjeverne Apulije prije nego što je mikenska mreža razmjene utjecala na jadransku interakciju?

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