5. Chapter

‘Deviant’ burials in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Central and South Eastern Europe

John Chapman

According to a popular 19th century North Yorkshire legend (Richmondshire District Council 1999), a certain Mr. Robert Willance of Richmond was out hunting one day in 1606 when a thick mist descended over his track. He was riding an inexperienced horse, which bolted in fear at the fog and fell over the edge of Whitcliffe Scar. The horse died in the fall, but Willance escaped with a broken leg, which was later amputated in his home and buried separately in St. Mary’s churchyard, Richmond. Willance recovered well and was later the Alderman of Richmond in 1608. Before his death in 1616, he had expressed in his will a strong desire to be re-united with his amputated leg after he died - a wish that was inscribed on his tombstone in St. Mary’s churchyard. Willance’s will was respected, leading to the excavation of the errant leg and its re-unification with the remainder of Willance’s body in his ‘second’ grave. This “human determination to assert wholeness in the face of inevitable decay and fragmentation” (Bynum 1991: 26) was just as strong at the time of Willance’s burial as in the Medieval times. However, within a century, the emergence of a new aesthetic of the part revealed doubts that the different body parts could ever successfully be re-assembled into a new whole. Instead, the ‘part’ gained more semiotic complexity than ever before (Hillman and Mazzio 1997: xviii).

This narrative and its occurrence at the start of a century of profound social and ideological change in respect of body parts illustrates that the status of the body part can never be taken for granted, reminding us of the ubiquitous tension between the body part and the complete body. This tension can be expressed in different ways, including ways of thinking and linkages to origins. The East African Oromo society recognizes three complementary ways of thinking – abdominal thinking, which is unifying and harmonizing, representing a dissolution of boundaries; head thinking, a patriarchal and hierarchical, male way of thinking which emphasizes divisions and distinctiveness; and heart thinking, a female form of thinking related to the prophetic, the poetic, the oracular and the inspirational, linked further to hearth and home, heritage and community (Jackson and Karp 1990: 16-17). The fragmentation of Oromo bodies after death is thus a gendered division of ways of thinking about the world. Another way of gendering body parts is the Gimi (New Guinea) belief that flesh is female and must be removed from the male bones of the deceased, before being returned to the female lineage, thus allowing the spirit to roam in the male-gendered forest (Strathern 1982).

Other ideologies emphasise not so much gender relations as the significance of the individual actor as symbolised by the whole body – a capitalist concept of 'individuality' that emerged coevally with dividuality in early Modern Europe (Hillman and Mazzio 1997). Some colleagues have transfered this ideology to later European prehistory, whereby the increasing tendency towards the burial of complete bodies has been interpreted in terms of the rise and increased importance of the 'individual' (e.g. Harrison and Heyd 2007, Treherne 1995, cf. criticisms of this approach by Fowler 2004: box 3.2). The burial of such 'individuals' may, however, represent but a single stage in protracted mortuary practices. A common Melanesian attitude to death is to bury complete bodies soon after death, with later exhumation of the body in order to emphasise its dividuality through fragmentation of its parts for exchange with living relatives (Hirsch 1990).

However, the burial of complete bodies has many potential interpretations. Many societies use the complete body to express a summary statement about the whole of the deceased's life. A good example is the 'Are'are society, where the death of a member stimulates the collection of all of the deceased's life-time possessions to enable a brief, but crucial, reconstitution of the deceased as a 'complete person' After the act of completeness, the body of the deceased is

fragmented and the parts and the deceased's possessions are divided up again among the living, as a further stage – this time a deconstitution – of the deceased person. The 'Are'are people believe that these exchanges between the dead and the living are crucial to future change and exchange relations (Fowler 2004: 84-85). Even in societies where personhood is based upon relations of dividuality, such as the Melpa (Strathern and Stewart 1988), the complete body in death can summarise all of the relationships symbolised by the exchange of bodily fluids and objects during a person's whole life. Moreover, societies in which personhood is seen as a series of gendered stages, such as the Mekeo, can use the whole body as a re-unification of all the stages through which it has passed (Mosko 1992). Thus, completion may define the proper way to contain the many dividual parts of a person's multiple identity rather than any significant difference between one person and other persons. The links between a person buried in complete form and all those other persons who partook of their identity and contributed to their personhood are frequently symbolised through the practice of fragmentation, whereby only part of an object (or ornament set) is buried with the corpse but other parts are curated outside of the grave (Chapman 2007, Jones 2002, Woodward 2002). The large number of instances of fragment enchainment known from many parts of prehistoric Europe (and beyond) suggest that social relations of dividuality are more common than is widely accepted (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007).

As much as the biography of the deceased her/himself, we should be in no doubt that corporeal completeness can also be used to make powerful statements about the categorisation strategies of society . While partial body burial may symbolise the importance of individuals and/or household relationships, the complete body may represent the power of the entire corporate group. If we can agree that standard burial as an individual corpse does not necessarily indicate the prevalence of an ideology of individuality, then we should be able to accept its converse, i.e. that partial burials are not always and necessarily concerned with the denial of *in*-dividual identity!

The material world exists alongside, and inter-digitating with, these forms of distributed personhood, whose logic relies on the links of a person with all other persons in a network of relationships – as Strathern emphasises, it is the links that make the person, not the individual body (Strathern 1988). It should be emphasised that the theoretical support for prehistoric

dividuals cannot yet be separated from the relationships of dividuality characterised by patterning in the material culture. For this reason, it is worth turning briefly to the materiality of fragmentation practices before we examine partial burials in Balkan prehistory.

The deliberate fragmentation of objects with the continued use of the fragments 'after the break' is well-established in Balkan prehistory (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). Methodologies have been developed for the study of two aspects of object biographies which can inform us about this: re-fitting of fragments from the same object at both the intra-site as well as the inter-site level; and the study of 'micro-stratigraphies' of objects which can document the continued use of fragments by the recognition of burning, wear traces or decoration on the fracture (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Gaydarska, Chapman, Raduntcheva and Koleva 2007).

One convincing explanation for the now commonly recognized pattern of deliberate fragmentation is that of enchainment – the linking of person to person through object (fragment) exchange (Chapman 2000a).[1] A good example is the way that parts of the same flint blade were placed in different burials under the same mound in the Chvalynsk-group site of Shlyakovsky, in the Volgograd region, in order to emphasise the close enchained relations of the two newly dead persons (Klepikov 1994). Since the two graves were dug into the barrow at different levels, we should accept the likelihood that the deceased died at different times, with the implication of the curation of one blade fragment until the death of the second person. Equally, fragments of vessels placed in the grave can be used to create enchained relations between the domain of the dead and that of the living, as symbolised by re-fitting parts of the same vessel (e.g. two parts of a Late Copper Age vessel from Durankulak, one part of which was in Grave 584, the other deposited in a house in Level VIII on the adjoining tell on the Big Island; Todorova, Dimov, Bojadžiev, Vajsov, Dimitrov and Avramova 2002: 59-60 and Tab. 99/11). On this reading, enchained relations become critical to the formation of personhood in Balkan prehistory, since they materialise these relationships.

Recent fragmentation studies propose that the relationship between material culture and dead persons was conceptualised in similar ways.

object fragments : complete object : set of objects

human bone : human body : set of bodies (cemetery)

(Chapman 2000a: 6-7; Figure 1.4). In these studies, I did not seek to clarify the similarities and differences between enchainment materialised by objects or through human skeletal parts. Instead, the notion that the distribution of human bodily parts enabled the materialisation of kinship links through the mobility of ancestral bones (2000a: 7) was left to imply a process similar to that with objects. It may not be wise at this juncture to assume a special relationship between human bones and kinship relations. While it is true that human bones do not merely symbolise kinship, they actually constitute it, the objectification of persons in objects may well mean that objects used to create enchained links can be said to constitute kinship relations just as much as human bones.

There were two ways of creating an image of the human body in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic. The first concerns the manner in which the human body is displayed in mortuary performance, while the second concerns the making of anthropomorphic figurines. Whereas the differences in the two images are greater than their similarities, it would be unwise to overlook some of the potentially shared principles at work in the biographies of the two forms of image. If multiple fragmentation of the majority of fired clay figurines is characteristic of the latter, we may expect some form of this practice in the former, in the form of the fragmentation of the human body prior to burial. Equally, if hybridity is a characteristic, albeit less frequent, of the latter, we may well expect it as well in the former, revealed as the combination of body parts from different humans or animals.

As a heuristic guide to the terrain covered in this exploration, I shall use the term ’deviant‘ burial to specify those burials in which there are no post-depositional reasons (e.g. the destruction or disturbance of the mortuary deposit) to explain the finding of a partial burial and yet, nonetheless, we do not find a complete skeleton. This is a wide-ranging definition of the term ‘deviant’, in effect creating a binary opposition between ‘normal’ complete burials and those where any one (or more) of a variety of unusual practices can be identified. The use of the term ‘deviant’ carries with it no *a priori* implication of moral, legal or ethnic differences from the norm and is similar to the first strand of the two-part definition used by Reynolds for Anglo-Saxon burials: “in terms

of the nature of the burial, I define anything as deviant which does not conform to what can be defined as normative burial practice - prone, decapitated, amputated body parts, corpse weighted down with rocks, etc. The second strand concerns the geographical location of burials and I consider deviants to be those buried away from normative community cemeteries - at crossroads, on boundaries etc." (Reynolds forthcoming).

In this study, the term 'deviant' is also used as a catch-all term to denote variations on the dominant theme of individual complete burial that would appear, for the most part, to characterise the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of the Balkans and Central Europe. Nonetheless, we shall immediately begin to differentiate varied kinds of 'deviant' burial to provide a more nuanced picture of those social practices relating the two main forms of fragment enchainment – human bones and object parts. There are four areas on which I wish to focus in this chapter:

What are the types of deviant burials found in later Balkan prehistory?
How frequent / significant are they in their social contexts?
How different were they from other, 'non-deviant' burials?
In terms of their meaning, how does enchainment by object differ from enchainment by body part?

This analysis will tack between the detailed meanings and symbolism of individual graves at one specific site and the general trends in mortuary practices found over the *longue durée* and across many regions in later Balkan prehistory.

Types of deviant burial

A survey of burial practices in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic (for key sites, see Fig. 2) provides strong evidence for multi-stage mortuary practices and body part mobility through five different practices (Tables 1 – 5). It should be recalled that burials of two or more complete individuals, such as a mother and child, are not included in this survey. I wish to emphasise that the preservation of burials is always an issue – especially with child burials and with certain body parts- especially hands, feet, patellae and hyoid bones (Bello and Andrews 2006: 3-6). The long-term pattern shows that between 1/5 and 1/10 of all graves have been destroyed. If 'badly-

preserved' graves are added to this total, this can rise to two-thirds of the total burials. This considerable data loss must caution against the acceptance of spurious patterns supported by minor differences in frequencies.

fragmentation – the sub-division of the skeleton into different and major parts (e.g. the torso), some or many of which were never buried in the context of the 'final' burial (Appendix 1 provides examples covering a wide range of periods and areas)

addition – the deliberate incorporation of human bones from another skeleton of the same age/biological sex identity into a burial of a more or less complete burial (Appendix 2)

removal – the extraction from the grave of a largely complete skeleton of one human bone or a small number of human bones for removal to another context (Appendix 3)

re-combination– the creation of a hybrid body by the placing of part of one human body in juxtaposition to that of part of the body of another human of different age/sex or another species (Appendix 4)

substitution– the replacement of a human bone in an otherwise complete burial by the bone of another species or by a material object (Appendix 5)

re-integration – the completion of a partial skeleton by placing the missing bone back in the anthropologically correct place but clearly without the previously destroyed articulation .(This form of deviant burial, represented by the Robert Willance case, has not yet been encountered in later Balkan prehistory.)

Table 1 Examples of fragmentation of human bodies prior to final burial

DATE	SITE	FORM OF FRAGMENTATION
Early Neolithic	Lepenski Vir IIIb	Head removed from body: post-cranial remains buried
Early Neolithic	Smilčić	Head removed from body: post-cranial remains buried

Early Neolithic	Kremenilo - Višesava	Skull separated from body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Zsoldos Tanya	Skull separated from body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Slavonski Brod	Skull removed from body of each of two burials in 'Pit-dwelling' 9
Early Neolithic	Maluk Preslavets	Mandible/maxilla removed from skull: skull buried
Early Neolithic	Zelena Pećina III	Skull and hand bones removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Kovacs Tanya	Long bones removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Maluk Preslavets	Long bones removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Obre I	Body fragmented and parts buried in midden with animal bones
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Vata Tanya	Metacarpals and metatarsals removed from rest of body for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Azmaska mogila	Human bones removed from body and buried in vessel
Early Neolithic	Azmaska mogila	Skull fragmented and fragments and other bones buried in vessel
Early Neolithic	Kazanluk	Skull, vertebrae and phalanges removed from body for separate burial
Copper Age	Zengővárkony	29 bodies buried without their crania
Late Copper Age	Devnja	Body disarticulated and buried after removal of skull
Late Copper Age	Vinitsa	Body disarticulated and buried after removal of skull
Late Copper Age	Hungarian barrows	Parts of skull removed from remainder of skull for separate burial
Late Copper Age	Hungarian barrows	Long bones detached from body for separate burial
Late Copper Age	Hungarian barrows	Parts of skull and several long bones detached from body for separate burial
Early Bronze	Bulgarian barrows	Parts of skull and several long bones detached from

Age		body for separate burial
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Parts of skull and several vertebrae detached; remainder of post-cranial skeleton buried

Table 2 Burials with additions from other human skeletal material

DATE	SITE	FORM OF ADDITION
Late Copper Age	Varna I Grave 43	Extra adult human femur in the grave of a 40 to 50-year-old male with two complete femora
Late Copper Age	Vinitsa grave 3	Extra adult long bone in grave of 13 to 14-year-old child
Late Copper Age	Devnja Grave 6	Extra foetus remains in female grave
Copper Age	Zengővárkony Grave 114	Adult male burial with additional legs of child under large sherds
Early Bronze Age	Goran-Slatina Barrow 3/ Grave 3	Adult long bone in child's grave
Early Bronze Age	Goran-Slatina Barrow 3 / Grave 4	Adult mandible near child's pelvis
Early Bronze Age	Goran-Slatina Barrow 3 / Grave 7	Part of additional adult cranium in an adult's grave

Table 3 Near-complete burials with removals of skeletal material

DATE	SITE	FORM OF REMOVAL
Early Neolithic	Obre I	Part of skull removed from skull for separate burial
Early Neolithic	Obre I	Hand removed from body; rest of body buried
Early Neolithic	Slavonski Brod	Body complete except for removal of parts of skull
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of parts of skull
Early Bronze	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of mandible

Age		
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of mandible and one foot
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of fingers of one hand
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of clavicle, scapula and some ribs
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of scapula and sternum
Early Bronze Age	Bulgarian barrows	Body complete except for removal of right-side ribs

Table 4 Re-combinations of human skeletal material

DATE	SITE	FORM OF RE-COMBINATION
Copper Age	Zengővárkony Grave 99	Skull of a 40 to 80-year-old male, with post-cranial skeleton of a 37 to 43-year-old female
Copper Age	Zengővárkony Grave 368	Grave with one skull, as well as bones from several different individuals
Early Bronze Age	Madara Barrow 2 / Grave 18	Adult burial with neck decorated by a necklace of perforated human milk teeth

Table 5 Graves with substitution of human body parts by objects

DATE	SITE	FORM OF SUBSTITUTION
Early Neolithic	Hódmezővásárhely – Kopancs Tanya	Skull replaced by pot with loom-or net-weight
Copper Age	Zengővárkony (9 graves)	Various substitutions

It is clear from this brief survey that the most important category is the fragmentary burial – a multi-stage mortuary treatment where burial follows the fragmentation of the body somewhere else but in the grave and presumably before primary burial. Fragmentary burials are more widespread than all of the other types of deviant burials put together. In some cases, different types of deviant burials are found together at the same site. A good example of a cemetery with a wide variety of deviant burials is the Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery, in North Bulgaria. Goran-Slatina is a cemetery with eight barrows, containing a total of 34 graves, all of which fully excavated in 1980 - 81 (Kitov, Panayotov and Pavlov 1991). Although there are no examples of substitution burial, the 13 deviant burials comprise one fragmentation burial, nine burials where removals have been made, and three additions with extra bones from another person. There is a concentration of deviant burials in Barrow 3 (three removal burials and three additional burials), with one deviant burial in Barrow 4 and two in each of Barrows 5, 7 and 9 (Table 6). There is no evidence from these Goran Slatina burials to suggest inter-cutting of graves or disturbance of graves by later interments.

Table 6 Deviant burials at the Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery

BARROW	GRAVE	SKELETAL FINDS
3	6	Skull, axis and atlas missing
3	3	Additional adult long bone in child's grave
3	4	Additional adult mandible near child's pelvis
3	7	Part of additional adult skull in adult grave
3	5	Mandible removed from skeleton
3	9	Some parts of skull moved
4	4	Left foot missing and mandible displaced (but still in grave)
5	2	Maxilla removed
5	5	Phalanx III of hand-bones removed
7	1	Scapula and clavicle removed; some ribs moved
7	3	Part of skull moved onto chest
9	1	Scapula and sternum missing
9	2	Right ribs missing

The frequency of 'deviant' burials – long-term patterning

In an earlier study, examples of deviant burial practices in the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic of South East Europe have been identified (Chapman 2000a: Table 5.1;). An example of this body part mobility was the Iron Gates Mesolithic, as demonstrated by the data on body completeness at Vlasac and Lepenski Vir (Chapman 2000a: 135-138 and Fig. 5.1). There are close similarities for the body part distribution of these Iron Gates Mesolithic sites in North West Europe, whether in Atlantic Mesolithic burials (Cauwe 2003, Scarre 2002: Table 1) or the combinations of partially represented bodies in the earthen long barrows of Southern Britain (King 2003).

The Early Neolithic burials of the 6th millennium BC include the only known Early Neolithic cemetery in the Balkans (Maluk Preslavets: Bačvarov 2003), as well as burials on tells and on flat sites. The widest variety in the frequency of deviant burials is found in the different samples from this period (Bačvarov 2003). While flat sites show low frequencies (9%), the frequencies increase on tells to 27%, reaching two-thirds of the 12 graves in the Maluk Preslavets cemetery. This is not a function of variations in the numbers of destroyed or disturbed graves, which is broadly equal. That the Maluk Preslavets burials are genuinely partial – i.e. partial as the result of cultural choice - is shown by the different parts missing in the graves. Skulls are missing from four undisturbed graves and post-cranial elements in a further four undisturbed graves. Moreover, grave goods were only found in deviant graves. The excavators often comment on the state of preservation, including many well-preserved deviant burials (e.g. at the Kardzhali and Kovachevo flat sites and the Karanovo and Kazanluk tells: Bačvarov 2003, cf. Minichreiter 2007). The variation in deviant burials thus appears to be a genuine pattern in mortuary practices amongst the first farmers.

The Climax Chalcolithic / Late Neolithic sites of the 5th millennium BC (for definition, see Chapman 2000a, 2 – 4) include Late Copper cemeteries in North East Bulgaria (Golyamo Delchevo: Todorova, Ivanov, Vasilev, Hopf, Quitta and Kohl 1975, Vinitsa: Raduntcheva 1976, Devnja: Todorova 1971) and the mortuary deposits within the settlement site of Zengővárkony,

in Western Hungary (Dombay 1939, 1960, Zoffmann 1972-73). The pattern of destruction and disturbance of graves increases in the larger mortuary complexes of this period, whereas the proportion of 'deviant' burials decreases in comparison with the Early Neolithic. The rate of destruction of graves varies between 13% and 22%. This increase relates mostly to the greater length of time over which burials took place, and a higher probability of earlier graves being damaged by later burials or non-mortuary activities. The proportion of deviant graves is highest at Zengővárkony (10%), while they are fewer at Devnja (2%), Vinitsa (3%) and Goljamo Delchevo (8%). The burials at Zengővárkony were distributed in clusters between areas of dwelling and deposition in this large settlement. The burials at Vinitsa and Goljamo Delchevo form small cemeteries outside tells, whereas no settlement was discovered adjacent to the cemetery of Devnja.

The post-Climax, late 4^{th} - 3^{rd} millennia BC, barrow landscapes include the Bulgarian barrow cemeteries (Panayotov 1989), for example the large barrow cemetery from Goran - Slatina (Kitov, Panayotov and Pavlov 1991) and the group of barrows on the Alföld Plain of Eastern Hungary (Ecsedy 1979; Fig. 2). The barrow burials fall into two groups, each usually with multiple burials under each barrow : single barrows and barrow cemeteries with up to 15 barrows. The difficulty of discovering coeval settlement remains in any region with barrow burials has produced a landscape dominated by dispersed mortuary monuments.[2]. While it may be thought that barrows offered better conditions of preservation for burials, in fact the frequent vertical as well as horizontal expansion of initially small, low barrows meant later digging activities would destroy or damage earlier graves. Taylor has pointed out that, while barrows protect graves, they also attract the attention of prehistoric grave robbers (Taylor 1999). Thus while only 9% of the Bulgarian barrow burials discussed in Panaytov (1989) were destroyed, a further 14% were poorly preserved, with no details recorded on the skeletal remains. Similarly, in Eastern Hungary, 15% of the barrow burials were destroyed and a further 16% were disturbed, diminishing the sample size by almost a third. The frequency of deviant burials in the Bulgarian sample (21% of all burials: 27% of preserved burials) is more than double that of the Hungarian sample (9% of all burials: 13% of preserved burials).

The most important point emerging from this survey is that the basic *visible* mortuary practice in later Balkan prehistory was the 'individual' burial of complete human bodies. There is undoubtedly a missing fraction of the populations whose burials are as yet invisible to the archaeologist. Nonetheless, the data presented indicates that the practice of deviant burial in is a long-term pattern of varying strength, covering the period 6000 to 2500 BC. In addition, there is a minor but significant third practice of collective burial that also occurs but with a specific temporal dimension. Collective burial is commonest in the Early Neolithic (Chapman 2000a), where it occurs on both tells and flat sites in two forms - complete skeletons buried in the same pit (e.g. Hódmezővásárhely – Bodzáspart) and multiple deviant burials in the same context (e.g. Karanovo, Ajmana and Vinča-Belo Brdo). Within the framework of distributed personhood, collective burial of wholes or parts is a strong signal of the enchainment of the ancestors which, in many ways, is comparable to mortuary practices in the Iron Gates Mesolithic and the Mesolithic and Neolithic of North West Europe.

Deviant burials – how different from normal burials?

Having identified a series of types of deviant burial in later Balkan prehistory, the next stage in the discussion is to explore possible ways in which these burials are different from complete burials of individual bodies. There are three kinds of evidence to consider: sex ratios, categories of grave goods and inclusions and exclusions of grave goods.

Sex and age ratios

The recording of age and sex attributions for burials from later Balkan prehistory is patchy at best and non-existent at worst. Moreover, few of the studies used here provided a statement for the methods used for the ageing and sexing. For this reason, I omit any consideration of specific age profiles, since they are particularly poorly recorded. The data for the site samples are incomplete in several ways, which means there are only three samples where it is possible to compare sex ratios for both normal and deviant burials – the small Early Neolithic Maluk Preslavets cemetery, the Anza flat site and the intra-mural burials at Copper Age Zengővárkony. The Maluk Preslavets cemetery sample is small (n=12) but quite carefully recorded. Despite the small numbers, it seems possible that male and females are treated slightly different. In Anza, 61% of the deviant

burials (33 deviant burials in this cemetery) were used for children and 33% for adults; with females being more often present (27%) than males (6%).

Moving to the Copper Age at the Zengővárkony cemetery (n=307), the sample of 185 sexed skeletons allows a comparison of normal and deviant sex ratios. The results differ somewhat from those of Maluk Preslavets, insofar as a higher proportion of adult females' and children's burials occurred in normal graves (60%), with a higher proportion of adult male burials in deviant graves (60%). The overall pattern shows a preference for adult males over children over adult females.

In summary, there are minor differences in the sex ratio of those found in normal and deviant burials in the Early Neolithic and the Copper Age which may not be without significance. But the wider point is that the selection of each person(s) for any kind of burial at any of these sites constitutes inclusion into a discourse concerning the relationship between the newly-dead and the survivors – a discourse with a strongly gendered component. There does appear to have been a shift from the Early Neolithic mortuary selection of children and females over males to a Copper Age selection of males over children and females in both normal and deviant burials. The cause of this change is not so much an issue of varying contexts (intra- vs. extra-mural burial) as an ideological switch to the enchainment of males between the mortuary domain and the land of the living.

Grave good categories

The study of grave goods aims to characterize significant associations of grave good categories with either normal or deviant burials. In this analysis, the term 'category' refers to the result of human classification processes, by which humans engage with the world (Chapman & Gaydarska 2007: 20 – 22). Thus, if red ochre lumps have an exclusive association with deviant barrow graves in Hungary, the interpretation is that this grave good category contributed something important to the category of persons under the rubric 'deviant burial'. Due to a lack of evidence, not all of the burials can be used for this analysis. This leaves the Zengővárkony burials, the barrow burials from the Goran-Slatina cemetery and the regional group of barrow burials in Eastern Hungary. The grave goods found with both grave types at Zengővárkony comprise more

categories of stone tools than fired clay than bone/antler. There are relatively few object categories found only with deviant graves, more ornaments than fired clay objects. There is, however, also a long list of object categories that are excluded from deviant graves, including some types of ornaments. At the Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery, the shared object categories found with both grave types comprise ornaments and pigments but not tools, which are mutually exclusive. The deviant burials are characterized by a number of distinctive personal ornaments not found in normal graves (e.g. gold wire ornaments, silver spiral rings and rock crystal beads), while pigments such as manganese and chalk and tool categories such as red flint, copper awls and perforated polished stone axe-hammers were excluded from deviant graves. There are too few deviant burials in the other Bulgarian barrow cemeteries (n = 4) for a comparison with normal burials. Interestingly, however, a suite of ornaments (e.g. copper spirals, bronze rings and limestone discs) from these cemeteries are different from those found in both normal and deviant burials at Goran-Slatina.

In the spatially more dispersed Hungarian barrows shared grave good categories found with both grave types include most frequently pigments, followed by textile coverings and ornaments. The finds of additional animal bones show a mutually exclusive distribution: some types of bones are found in normal graves but not in deviant graves, and *vice versa*. Most of the ornament categories are found in the normal graves and excluded from the deviant burials.

In summary, there is considerable variation in the number of object categories associated only with deviant burials: few at Zengővárkony and in the Hungarian barrows, many personal ornaments at Goran-Slatina. The identities of the deviant graves appear to be characterized more by the exclusion than the inclusion of object categories. There is a good correlation between the two Hungarian samples in terms of the most common exclusion (ornaments) and the second most common category (bone and antler tools). The same is true for the two Bulgarian samples, where ornaments are again excluded in deviant burials. Shared grave good categories occurred in both barrow samples in the form of pigments, whereas stone tools were shared at Zengővárkony. By contrast, the grave good categories excluded from the deviant burials revealed a further opposition: ornaments at Zengővárkony and the Hungarian barrows and certain distinctive

pigments (not all pigments!) at Goran-Slatina. A further higher-level patterning concerns exclusions from deviant burials which are shared between different regional samples (FIG 8):

General Category	Bulgarian Late Copper Age	Zengővárkony intra-mural burials	Bulgarian barrow burials	Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery	Hungarian barrow burials
Unworked stone	X	-	X	X	-
Chipped stone	-	-	X	-	-
Ground stone tool	X	X	X	-	-
Polished stone tool	X	X	X	X	-
PS ornaments	X	X	X	-	-
Fired clay tools	X	X	-	-	-
Fired clay figurine	X	X	-	-	-
Fired clay ornaments	-	-	-	-	X
Unworked bones	X	X	X	-	X
Bone tools	X	X	-	-	-
Antler tools	X	X	X	-	-
Bone ornaments	-	X	X	X	X
Unworked shells	X	-	-	-	-
Shell ornaments	X	X	X	-	-
Copper/Bronze tools	X	-	X	X	-
Copper ornaments	X	X	X	X	X
Gold ornaments	X	-	X	X	-
Pigments	X	-	X	X	-
Coverings	-	-	-	-	X

Fig 8 List of object categories excluded from deviant burials at the inter-regional scale (x = exclusion)

This inter-regional, long-term pattern of grave good exclusions is very complex. Only one single object category has been excluded from the deviant burials in all the five samples – copper ornaments, a visible sign of personal identity generally taken to signify high status. Three further object categories have been excluded from the deviant graves in four of the five samples: bone ornaments, polished stone tools and unworked bone and antler. Chipped stone tools, fired clay ornaments and unworked shells are most often included.

Such forms of categorical inclusions and exclusions clearly work at several different nested spatial levels. At the local, inter-community level, contrastive material emphases were used to differentiate each village's own forms of enchained relationships and age/gender-based material identities (Chapman 1996): similar or identical material forms were used to objectify different age/gender categories in each of three different village cemeteries. But, on a broader spatial scale, distinctive object categories from the Neolithic and Copper Age settlement of Orlovo, South East Bulgaria, shared close analogies with artifacts used by village communities as far apart as South East Bulgaria, Moldavia (North East Romania) and Western Hungary, especially in the 5th millennium BC (Chapman, Gaydarska, Raduntcheva, Kostov and Petrov in preparation).

Deviant burials at Zengővárkony– a site-based contextual study

The general patterns of inclusion and exclusion of grave good categories have highlighted the differences in meanings of the same objects in different communities. The site of Zengővárkony can provide a snapshot of the deeper significance of these burials in relation to local cultural practices. Zengővárkony is a large Lengyel complex with clusters of burials (n=368) dispersed across the settlement between zones of settlement discard (Dombay 1939, 1960, Zoffmann 1972-3). The large number of graves at Zengővárkony enables a comparison of the number of object categories in different grave types. The preservation of the graves is clearly a key factor here, for the majority of destroyed, badly preserved and the cenotaph grave types have only one or two grave good categories In contrast, the three types of better–preserved graves (well preserved graves, graves with missing skulls, and graves with replaced skulls) show a clear division into 'richer' and 'poorer' grave assemblages. At least at Zengővárkony, the quantities of grave good categories show a close relationship between deviant and normal graves.

The spatial aspect of the Zengővárkony burials presents one of the most intriguing elements of the mortuary domain . A total of 41 deviant burials (or 11%) comprises 29 *fragmentary*, nine *substitutions*, two *combination* and one *addition* burials. These were concentrated in two out of the 14 trenches (VI and IX, Zoffmann 1972-3: Plan 3), which account for 75% of all deviant burials.

The distribution of groups of burials, both large and small, near to settlement remains suggests that an important aspect of the selection of burial location related to kinship proximity – the newly dead being buried near his or her dwelling place. With this model, the size of the burial cluster related to the number of dwellings near that cluster and the length of time over which burials were made. However, one important factor in the form of the burial – whether normal or deviant – would have related to the history of each cluster: i. e. the burials that had already taken place up to time 'x' would have influenced the form of the next burial (at time 'x + 1'), with the burial made at 'x + 1' setting the stage for the form of the burial at time 'x + 2', and so on (Chapman 2000b). I suggest that this would have made it more likely to place a deviant burial in an area with previous deviant burials, provided that this did not contradict kinship principles of burial location.

At the more specific level of the individual burial cluster, it is interesting to note the differences in clustering of deviant burials in their two main foci – Trenches VI and IX. In Trench VI, whereas four 'isolated' deviant burials occur on the edge of their group of burials, the main cluster of 15 deviant burials occurs in the South East margins of the trench, where they almost outnumber normal burials. In each case, the group of burials and the isolated burials lie marginal to other, normal burials. A radically different spatial pattern is found in Trench IX, where there is no dominant cluster of deviant burials, rather isolated graves (a group of two and two groups of three graves) usually close to normal graves but showing no specific tendencies to liminality.

What do these differences mean? I start with the interpretation that deviant burials mark an emphasis on the enchained relations existing during the life of the newly-dead, whether as an addition to the body or as a subtraction. The additional or missing parts of any deviant burial

presence at least two other persons. First, in the case of burials with additional bones, these include the person whose bones have been curated for burial with another body *and* the living person who is curating those bones. Second, in the case of burials with missing parts, there is the presence of the living person curating the bones removed after death but before the 'first' burial *and* the 'ancestral' person whose status is changing with time and whose bones are being curated.

While normal burials attest to the emotional relationships between the living and the newly-dead, the materiality of enchained human bones would have created a strong and enduring visual and tactile proof of the links to the deceased. The ancestral bones could have been used to presence the deceased in ceremonies and inter-group exchanges through the principle of *pars pro toto* – the part standing for the whole.

The Trench IX dispersion of deviant burials across the mortuary zone suggests that the kinship principles of burial location are dominant over the need for explicit referencing of enchained ties, which do not always require materialization. By contrast, in Trench VI, the liminality of both the deviant burial cluster and each isolated deviant grave suggests that the deviant burials played a more important role, standing for larger collectivities through the burials' emphasis on the relations between the living and the dead. One such general relationship concerns the continuity of the descent group beyond any human life-span or household.

The presencing of other persons is one of the key aspects of grave-goods. Those making offerings to the newly-dead would have chosen their objects with respect not only to the life of the deceased but also to the personal links of the objects to other members of the community. This was especially important in relation to another type of grave in which the absence of the deceased is a defining characteristic – the so-called 'cenotaph' grave. Here, the combination of the absence of any human bones and the presence of a few strategically placed grave goods laid out *as if* there were a body in a normal grave is likely to imply that, if there were a body that was once intended for burial, its parts had been widely distributed elsewhere, leaving a suite of enchained relationships which end with the empty tomb. It is therefore worth exploring the grave goods deposited in both normal and deviant graves in Trenches VI and IX.

A qualitative comparison between the grave goods of normal and deviant graves in two samples (the South East corner of Trench VI, and the entire sample of burials in Trench IX) showed a different presence-absence structure for each trench. Whereas a large number of objects were found in both deviant and normal graves in both trenches, in Trench VI ground stone, shell beads and bone tools occurred only in the deviant graves. By contrast, in Trench IX, the exclusive object categories comprise sherds, fired female clay figurines, fired clay balls and copper rings in the normal graves, and Tisza imports and polishers in the deviant graves. This detailed comparison shows that the manner in which grave goods were used to differentiate deviant graves from normal graves was remarkably different in the two trenches. These patterns indicate a highly localized selection of messages from an identical suite of material culture, implying that members of different corporate groups may well have defined themselves and their dead in different ways.

A close look at the graves at Zengővárkony which included an element of *substitution* (n = 9) reveals considerable variety in the choice of the bone substituted and the object used in the substitution. Missing skulls were replaced by hand bones in five graves, and by a pig mandible, a pig mandible and a tooth, a pig mandible and hand bones, and a zoomorphic vessel in one grave each. The substitution of hand-bones was found in both Trenches VI and IX, although it remains possible that the hand bones were not removed but only not preserved - indicating addition rather than substitution. Domestic pig mandibles were the second most common substitute for the human skull. In one case, the pig mandible was accompanied by a domestic pig tooth. This may be an allusion not only to boar's tusk ornaments (more frequently deposited in deviant than normal graves in Trenches VI and IX), but also to the three other graves with animal teeth included as grave goods. Pig mandible substitution occurred in Trench IX only. Pig mandibles were also found in other forms of deviant burials. In Grave 115 a pig mandible was placed next to the hand bones of a child and in Grave 118 a pig mandible was placed in front of the skull of a child. The final type of substitution, found in Trench VI, was a zoomorphic pot (a quadruped: Dombay 1960, Fig. CX/1a-b: here Fig. 12a). The red painted decoration on this vessel shows connections to many other vessels in both normal and deviant graves. There were two further graves with fired clay anthropomorphic figurines (Graves 97 and 142), these are common in Lengyel settlements contexts (e.g. Bánffy 1997: Fig. 5 and Fig. 18/2, Kalicz 1998: Figs. 61/1-5).

The symbolism of these substitutions for the skull emphasises close, enchained relations involving communal work with other humans (the hand-bones) and food production and forest exploitation with the domestic pig (the pig mandibles and tooth), perhaps identifiable as the emblem of the lineage. The contrast between the illegitimacy of combining partial human skulls with wild boar mandibles in the mortuary domain, not to mention any kind of cattle, sheep or goat bones, with the legitimacy of using the mandibles of domestic pig should shed some light on human relations with animals on a conceptual and symbolic level. The metaphorical importance of domestic suids relates, on the one hand, to their high birth rate and their provision of a wide range of meat products that can be dried for winter consumption – including varieties of ham, sausage, bacon, salami and dried bacon fat). But the hybridity of a pig-human image in death transcends dietary considerations.

There is a rich and varied narrative that can be told using the deviant burials at Zengővárkony. The deviant burials were clustered in two trenches, each with a very different distribution. In Trench VI the deviant burials were clustered in one corner, with most graves placed liminal to the main burial groupings. In Trench IX they were evenly dispersed across the whole area with no obvious liminal functions. These intra-site differences continue in the manner in which enchained relations are materialised in grave goods, with very few object categories used to characterize the difference between deviant from normal graves in the same way in both trenches. A final difference between the trenches was the forms of substitution for the human skull. They share the use of hand-bones, but pig mandibles were restricted to Trench IX, and the only example of a zoomorphic vessel was found in Trench VI . The pig mandible replacement of human skulls / skull parts raises the issue of hybrid pig-humans, who transgressed categorical boundaries and enabled thought about the differences and similarities between humans and other animals.

Discussion

The widespread practice of object fragment enchainment in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic has dominated the fragmentation literature in the last decade (Chapman 2000a, Chapman and Gaydarska 2007), in part owing to the enormous quantity of objects created, used and broken in these periods. It should also not be forgotten that the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic are

periods in which deposition in settlements outnumbers by far mortuary deposits, with the exception of major Late Chalcolithic cemeteries such as Varna (Slavchev 2008) and Durankulak (Todorova 2002). The position is partially reversed in the 4th to 3rd millennia BC with the emergence of distinctive and often monumental mortuary domains and the tendency towards settlement dispersion with minimum discard. Yet a third factor is the paucity of detailed physical anthropological reports, in which readers can be confident about the stability or mobility of the human bones.

The net result is that, although there has been a conceptual framework available for the study of deliberate human bone fragmentation for almost a decade (Chapman 2000a: 6-8), the topic has been under-researched (but see Bolomey 1984, Roksandić 2000). This chapter is an attempt to fill this empirical and conceptual gap by an examination of normal and deviant burials over 4,000 years, from the 6th to the 3rd millennium BC. One of the key questions arising from this research is how object enchainment differs from body part enchainment.

One starting-point for this question is the apparent inverse relationship between partial burials and fragments of things. In the largest sample in this study – the Zengővárkony burials – there is a single deviant burial with fragments of vessels, in contrast to the eight normal burials with sherds. The final publication of the Varna cemetery will enable a comparison of the completeness of the burials with the high rate of deposition of fragments of *Spondylus* shell bracelets – found in 75% of the graves (Chapman, Gaydarska and Slavchev 2008). Until further complex analyses are undertaken of large mortuary assemblages, the preliminary finding is that object enchainment and body part enchainment look like two alternative ways of distributing personhood.

While the two forms of fragment enchainment would seem to have similar spatial potential for linking distributed persons, the movement of body parts would probably have been constrained by the distance to the dwelling-places of relatives – perhaps close kin? – to a greater extent than the movement of, for example decorated sherds, which have been shown to move over hundreds of kilometers (Chapman 2000a: 64-65), or the intermediate category of anthropomorphic figurine parts, moving off-site but not as far as sherds (Gaydarska, Chapman, Raduntcheva and Koleva 2007). Moreover, the two forms of enchainment were probably choreographed according to

different temporalities. The opportunities for object enchainment started at a far earlier stage of the life-course (the *chaîne opératoire*), as with conjoint lithics deposited at different Mesolithic and Neolithic sites around Lake Gyrinos, Norway (Schaller-Åhrberg 1990) or conjoint sherds placed in different pits in Early Neolithic Kilverstone, Norfolk (Garrow, Beadsmoore and Knight 2005). Body part enchainment is predicated upon reaching the final stage of the human life-course. After death and de-fleshing, however, the pure white bones move into another, ancestral temporality, in which essentially new relationships were formed between the living and the newly-created ancestor. Only objects-as-heirlooms, with their personal biographies, could then assume the same time-depth as ancestral body parts.

Only a 21st-century Western view of personhood could accept without qualification the notion that body part enchainment was a more personal, overt statement of dividual identity than object fragment enchainment. The objectification of persons through objects has become such a well-established principle of personhood (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, Fowler 2004) that the personal, human dimension of things is recognised as a classic means of presencing the person who made or used the thing wherever the object is found. Nonetheless, the perforated fragment of human skull found in the Čoka I hoard, North Serbia possessed - perhaps at the time of the deposition of the hoard - a personal identity as part of a once-living human being probably known to those who accumulated the constituent parts of an important ornament hoard (Banner 1960, Raczky 1994: Fig. 1). Human bones are now things which were parts of persons; sherds were parts of things now believed to stand for persons. At a more general level, however, scapulae and sherds did share the same materiality, with both contributing to the formation of social realities through the presencing of related persons.

If the enchainment of body parts and objects existed in tension, the same is equally true of the relations between the person and the corporate group in these communities. We can add a third term to LiPuma's (1998) discussion of the tension between individuals and dividuals – the corporate group to whom each type of person was related. It should not surprise us that such tensions were expressed in the mortuary domain in general and in partial burials, substitutions, additions and combinations in particular. One general contrast is seen between intra- and extra-mural burial. While intra-mural burial emphasises both the social and spatial proximity of the

individual deceased to the household within the greater village community, cemeteries build distinctive corporate identities by a spatial distancing from settlements that, paradoxically, includes a wider network of dispersed communities (Chapman 1983, 1994, Saxe 1970). Yet the high frequency of fragmentary grave goods in cemeteries (e.g. the Copper Age cemetery of Tiszapolgár-Basatanya, in Eastern Hungary: Chapman and Gaydarska 2007) reminds us that enchained dividuality is important in places expressing corporate identity, just as their prominence in intra-mural burials (e.g. Zengővárkony) signifies dividual relationships with other communities outside the settlement. This principle may also help to explain the difference in frequencies of deviant burials in the barrow burials of Bulgaria and Hungary. In a landscape of dispersed homesteads with poorly understood patterns of mobility, the mortuary barrow stands out as a growing, living but permanent monumental form representing generations of those wider communities whose members constructed it, as much as a visual imitation of the equally monumental tell settlements (Chapman 1997) constituting antecedent landscape features from the ancestral past (Zvelebil and Beneš 1997). The selection of a small fraction of the total population for burial in the barrow led to the conversion of those individuals into representatives, *pars pro toto*, of their native homesteads or extended families. The emphasis on more or fewer deviant burials illustrated the extent to which the opposing principle of dividuality was maintained in the face of the claim of corporate identity. The concentration of almost half of the deviant burials at the Goran-Slatina cemetery into one single barrow (Barrow No. 3) shows how this spatial pattern can reinforce the identity of the corporate group already defined through the categorisation of deviant vs. normal graves. Another facet of the relations between (in)dividuals and corporate groups is found at Zengővárkony in the differences in the spatial patterning of deviant burials within the site. The locations of deviant graves in Trench VI suggest the importance of defining normal graves in relation to the liminal deviant forms found as isolates and as a marginal cluster, with the clustering of deviant graves as a strong signal of the significance of dividual relations within the community and beyond. The contrasting pattern of deviant graves in Trench IX makes no such statement about corporate identity in terms of normality vs. deviancy, rather exemplifying the cumulative significance of dividual ties linking the mortuary zone to the domain of the living.

A third aspect of social tension arises out of gender relations in Balkan prehistory. This study points to a possible shifting preference from the Early Neolithic to the Chalcolithic of adult females to adult males in the choice of appropriate persons for deviant burial. This is part of a much more widespread shift in the spatial inclusion and exclusion of gender, that can be seen, *inter alia*, in the exclusion of female burials from the central core graves at Varna (Chapman 2000a) and the Late Neolithic tell at Csőszhalom, Eastern Hungary (Anders and Nagy 2007). This trend is exemplified in one of the deviant graves in the male-dominated cemetery core at Varna – the famous grave no. 43, with some of the richest grave goods in the entire cemetery. Here, an extra femur was placed alongside the corpse of an adult male of 40 - 50 years (Ivanov 1988: Abb. 25). Such messages are not about a direct reflection of social power but are rather concerned with the ideological message of male centrality and the importance of dividual links to adult males – messages that (presumably adult) males are transmitting with increasing success. The resistance to this male strategy from adult females in other Late Copper Age cemeteries can be seen in the exclusion of 'male-oriented' prestige grave goods (classically gold and copper tools and weapons) from female graves and their replacement by 'their' tools and ornaments (Chapman 1996).

A fourth area of tension concerns the relationships between people and animals, arising from the notion of hybrid images in the mortuary zone, specifically at Zengővárkony. A wider perspective on hybrid pig-humans can be offered from the standpoint of those many figurines in the Balkan Neolithic and Copper Age whose identity is either ambiguous or ambivalent or hybrid. Such characteristics of figurine images have often been overlooked (Bailey 2005) or misinterpreted (e.g. Gimbutas' notion of the "Bird Goddess", Gimbutas 1974). The interwoven and overlapping identities of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and ornithomorphic images, with their combinations of features, pose questions about the boundaries of the body and its permeability, as well as the origins of humanity and the relations between people and the outside world. Nanoglou (2008) has argued that different figurine forms sustain and empower different worlds and experiences, distinguishing between the anthropocentric discourse framing Early Neolithic lifeways in Thessaly from the ways in which both humans and animals form reference points for people's lives in the Early Neolithic of the Central Balkans. This development goes further than the incorporation of new members (i. e. domestic animals) into the human community; it also goes

further than Mullan and Marvin's (1978: 3) observation that "in an important sense, animals are human constructions". Instead, figurine makers in the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic created radically different ontological categories that have no basis in zoological facts - in 'real life' – but were clearly grounded in their own cultural experience of categorisation processes and their relationship to social power relations.

The idea of transgression between categories, evocatively discussed by Aldhouse-Green (2001: 2004), lies at the heart of the concept of 'deviant' burials used in this chapter, whether for the three-legged man of Varna (Grave 43, Fig. 13), the part child / part adult burials from Vinitsa (Grave 3, Fig. 14) and Goran-Slatina (Barrow 3/Grave 3), the half old male / half younger female from Zengővárkony or the headless and legless bodies found at so many sites. All of these examples depict, at the time of burial, a deliberate and symbolically rich deviation from normal, complete individuality. Moreover, all of these examples are underpinned by the principle of dividuality, by which the missing parts of each part-body are enchained to their burial from somewhere else. This is part of a much bigger picture, another element of which is the inclusion of human body parts in hoards (Chapman 2000a). These additions, subtractions and re-combinations remind one irresistibly of the heavily fragmented world of Balkan figurines, in which hybridity, ambiguity and ambivalence provide ways into the workings of the categorizing mind. The androgynous body from Zengővárkony presences the hermaphrodite figurines of the First Temperate Neolithic and the Hamangia group, which attest to a specific form of personhood amongst the earliest farmers of their respective regions (Chapman and Gaydarska 2007). The mixture of child and adult is not easy to document on figurines, being replete with issues of definition, but there is an evocative relationship between children and adults in any evolving corporate group. The liminal place of the three-legged man of Varna - between two-legged humans and four-legged animals – betokens an ambiguous relationship between animals and humans just as much as the pig-humans from Zengővárkony. Though rare, these cyborgs help us to peer into the minds of prehistoric humans whose systems of categorization go beyond the normal to define what it means to be human.

Conclusions

The interrogation of the diverse yet patchy data from the mortuary domain of the Balkan Neolithic, Chalcolthic and Early Bronze Age (6000 to 2000 BC) reveals the long-term predominance of what I am calling 'normal' burials, i. e. single complete individual burials. While collective burials were far less common, with specific distributions in particular periods and areas, especially the Early Neolithic in the Central Balkans, deviant burials can be seen as a long-term mortuary practice from the Balkan Early Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age, reaching over 20% in Bulgarian flat Neolithic and EBA barrow cemeteries but otherwise rarely crossing the 10% threshold. The most common form of the five defined types of deviant burial identified in later Balkan prehistory was the fragmentation burial – where the body was fragmented prior to burial and only part of the body placed in an identifiable mortuary context. Needless to say, such an interpretation should be made only if factors of differential bone preservation can be eliminated from the picture. The other forms of deviant burial, involving additional body parts, the removal of minor body parts from an otherwise complete skeleton, the re-combination of more than one body as a hybrid burial and the substitution of objects or other bones for human bones, are all relatively rare.

While all types of deviant burial – but especially fragmentation and removal – can be interpreted largely in terms of the enchainment of human body parts from the world of the dead to the world of the living, or indeed another part of the world of the dead, three types – addition, re-combination and substitution – have a further significance in terms of the creation of a series of strikingly hybrid images at the time of burial, including pig-humans, half-children, half-adults and men-women. Following Miranda Aldhouse-Green (Aldhouse-Green 2001), these images have been interpreted as transgressive of the social order, giving power to those able to manipulate the images, which also created a space to think about the similarities between men and women, children and adults and humans and animals.

The relationship between enchainment by body parts and enchainment by objects or object fragments is dynamic and complex, with the contextual evidence from this study producing the surprising preliminary conclusion that these were two parallel practices, operating largely independently of one another. This was strikingly so in the case of depositional events such as burial, where very few graves with evidence for body part enchainment contained fragmentary

objects denoting the other form of enchained relationships. However, interactions and exchanges in the world of the living may well have linked these two practices much more closely than is seen in the mortuary domain.

In this chapter, my aim has been to review the scattered evidence for deviant burials and relate it to the wider project of the investigation of deliberate fragmentation of objects and humans. My general conclusion is that deliberate body fragmentation is part of the long-term suite of mortuary practices found over four millennia in the Balkans. The most challenging research question for the fragmenterist – "where are the missing parts?" – remains relevant for the field of physical remains. It is my hope that this paper will provoke physical anthropologists to characterize human body part fragmentation in more detail in future skeletal reports (e.g. Duday 2006), so that we can understand the extent and general significance of this practice in European prehistory.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the organizers of the EAA Zadar session on "Bodies in pieces: the changing relations between body parts and bodies whole" – Dr Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, Dr Katharina Rebay and Dr Jessica Hughes, for their kind invitation to participate in the session and for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter. I am grateful to Becky Gowland, Tina Jakob and Dušan Borić for their helpful comments on this chapter. But, in particular, I wish to thank my long-term fragmentation partner, Bisserka Gaydarska, for her insights on the research problematic, her graphics skills and her forthright commentaries on various drafts.

Figure List

1. The relationships between parts of objects (bodies), whole objects (bodies) and sets of objects (bodies)
2. Location map of sites mentioned in the text: 1 - Durankulak; 2 – Varna I; 3 – Devnja; 4 – Goljamo Delchevo; 5 - Vinitsa; 6 - Maluk Preslavets; 7 - Goran-Slatina; 8 - Orlovo; 9 - Anza; 10 - Čoka; 11 - Hódmezővásárhely sites; 12 – Endrőd 3/6; 13 – Tiszapolgár - Basatanya; 14 – Polgár-Csőszhalom; 15 - Zengővárkony.

3. Preservation and types of graves: (a) Maluk Preslavets (b) flat Early Neolithic sites; (c) Early Neolithic tells; (d) Zengővárkony; (e) Bulgarian LCA cemeteries together; (f) Bulgarian LCA cemeteries separately; (g) Bulgarian barrows; (h) Hungarian barrows.
4. Sex ratios for normal and deviant burials: (a) Maluk Preslavets (normal: n = 4; deviant: n = 8); (b) Zengővárkony (normal: n = 26; deviant: n = 159); (c) sex ratios for deviant burials only, Anza (n = 31).
5. Grave goods vs. grave types: (a) Zengővárkony; (b) Goran-Slatina barrow cemetery, Bulgaria; (c) Hungarian barrow graves.
6. number of Object Categories by grave type, Zengővárkony: (a) cenotaphs; (b) badly preserved graves; (c) destroyed graves; (d) preserved graves; (e) graves with missing skulls; (f) graves with replaced skulls.
7. Plan of Zengővárkony, with proportions of normal (red) and deviant (blue) burials in trenches with burials (Trench I: n = 4; Trench II: n = 18; Trench VI: n = 134; Trench VIII: n = 16; Trench IX: n = 54; Trench X: n = 17; Trench XI: n = 30; Trench XIII: n = 26)
8. Proportions of normal and deviant burials by trench, Zengővárkony
9. Location of normal (numbered) and deviant burials (circle – fragmented burial; rhomboid – other deviant burial), Trench VI, Zengővárkony
10. Location of normal (numbered) and deviant burials (circle – fragmented burial; rhomboid – other deviant burial), Trench IX, Zengővárkony
11. Types of replacement for missing skulls, Zengővárkony
12. Vessels substituting for human crania: (a) zoomorphic vessel in Grave 214, Zengővárkony; (b) coarse ware vessel in Grave 3, Hódmezővásárhely – Kopancs – Kovacs-tanya
13. Burial of a three-legged adult male, Varna grave 43 (Ivanov 1988: Abb. 25)
14. part child – part adult burial, Vinitsa grave 3 (source: Raduntcheva 1976: Obr. 58/2)

References

Aldhouse-Green, M. 2001. Cosmovision and metaphor: monsters and shamans in Gallo-British cult-expression. *European Journal of Archaeology* 4, 2: 203-232.

Aldhouse-Green, M. 2004. *An archaeology of images. Iconology and cosmology in Iron Age and Roman Europe*. London: Routledge.

Anders, A., and E. G. Nagy. 2007. "Late Neolithic burial rites at the site of Polgár-Csőszhalom-dűlő," in *The Lengyel, Polgár and related cultures in the Middle/Late Neolithic in Central Europe*. Edited by J.K. Kozłowski and P. Raczky, pp. 83-96. Kraków: Polish Academy of Arts and ELTE Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Budapest.

Bačvarov, K. 2003. *Neolitni pogrebalni obredi. Intramuralni grobove ot bulgarskite zemi v konteksta na Jugoiztochna Evropa i Anatolia*. Sofia: Bard.

Bailey, D. W. 2005. *Prehistoric figurines. Representation and corporeality in the Neolithic*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bánffy, E. 1997. *Cult objects of the Neolithic Lengyel culture*. *Series Minor 7*. Budapest: Archaeolingua.

Banner, J. 1959. Anthropomorphe Gefäße der Theißkultur von der Siedlung Kökénydomb bei Hódmezővásárhely (Ungarn). *Germania* 37, 14-35.

Banner, J. 1960. The Neolithic settlement on the Kremenyak Hill at Csóka. *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica* 12, 1-56.

Bello, S., and P. Andrews. 2006. "The intrinsic pattern of preservation of human skeletons and its influence on the interpretation of funerary behaviours," in *Social archaeology of funerary remains*. Edited by R. Gowland and C. Knüsel, pp. 1-13. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Bolomey, A. 1984. Noi descoperire de oase umane intr-o aşezare Cucuteniana. *Cercetari Arheologice* 7, 159-173.

Bynum, C. 1991. *Fragmentation and redemption: essays on gender and the human body in Medieval religion*. New York: Zone Books.

Cauwe, N. 2003. *L'héritage des chasseurs-cuilleurs dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Europe. 10,000-3,000 avant notre ère*. Paris: Errance.

Chapman, J. 1983. "Meaning and illusion in the study of burial in Balkan prehistory," in *Ancient Bulgaria Volume 1*. Edited by A. Poulter, pp. 1-45. Nottingham: University of Nottingham Press.

Chapman, J. 1994. "The living, the dead, and the ancestors: time, life cycles and the mortuary domain in later European prehistory," in *Ritual and remembrance. Responses to death in human societies*. Edited by J. Davies, pp. 40-85. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Chapman, J. 1996. Enchainment, commodification and gender in the Balkan Neolithic and Copper Age. *Journal of European Archaeology* 4, 203-242.

Chapman, J. 1997. "The origins of tells in eastern Hungary," in *Neolithic landscapes*. Edited by P. Topping, pp. 139-164. Oxford: Oxbow.

Chapman, J. 2000a. *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South Eastern Europe*. London: Routledge.

Chapman, J. 2000b. *Tension at Funerals. Micro Tradition Analysis in Later Hungarian Prehistory*. *Series Minor 14*. Budapest: Archaeolingua

Chapman, J. 2007. "Integrating fragmentation practices into landscape archaeology," in *Social orders and social landscapes. Second Chicago Conference on Eurasian Archaeology*. . Edited by L.M. Popova, C.W. Hartley, and A.T. Smith, pp. 55-94. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Chapman, J. 2008. "Object fragmentation in past landscapes," in *Handbook of landscape archaeology, WAC Research Handbooks in Archaeology*. Edited by B. David and J. Thomas, pp. 187-201. Walnut Creek, Aus.: Left Coast Press.

Chapman, J., and B. Gaydarska. 2007. *Parts and Wholes: Fragmentation in Prehistoric Context*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Chapman, J., B. Gaydarska, A. Raduntcheva, R. Kostov, and I. Petrov. in preparation. *From surface finds to past lifeways: the prehistoric site of Orlovo, South Eastern Bulgaria*.

Chapman, J., B. Gaydarska, and V. Slavchev. 2008. "Fragmentation research and the Varna Eneolithic Cemetery Spondylus rings," in *The Varna Eneolithic necropolis and problems of prehistory in Southeast Europe, Acta Musei Varnaensis 6*. Edited by V. Slavchev, pp. 139-162.

Chirica, V. 1995. Les vases anthropomorphes du néolithique-énéolithique de la Roumanie. *Préhistoire Européenne* 7, 203-224.

Comşa, E. 1995. *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române.

Dalla Riva, M. 2003. Pottery fragmentation at two Neolithic sites in Northern Italy: Fimon-Molino Casarotto (Vicenza) and Rocca di Rivoli (Verona). Unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Birmingham.

Dombay, J. 1939. A Zengővárkonyi őskori telep és temető. *Archaeologica Hungarica* 23, 47-88.

Dombay, J. 1960. *Die Siedlung und das Gräberfeld in Zengővárkony*. Budapest: Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaft.

Duday, H. 2006. "L'archéothanatologie ou l'archéologie de la mort (Archaeothanatology or the archaeology of death)," in *Social archaeology of funerary remains*. Edited by R. Gowland and C. Knüsel, pp. 30-56. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Ecsedy, I. 1979. *The people of the Pit-Grave kurgans in Eastern Hungary*. *Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Fowler, C. 2004. *The archaeology of personhood. An anthropological approach*. London and New York: Routledge.

Gambier, C. 1992. "Les populations magdaléniennes en France," in *Le peuplement magdalénienne: paléogéographie physique et humaine, Documents Préhistoriques 2*, pp. 41-51. Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques.

Gamble, C. 2007. *Origins and revolutions. Human identity in earliest prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Garrow, D., E. Beadsmoore, and M. Knight. 2005. Pit clusters and the temporality of occupation: an earlier Neolithic pit site at Kilverstone, Thetford, Norfolk. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 71, 139-158.

Gaydarska, B., J. Chapman, A. Raduntcheva, and B. Koleva. 2007. "The châine opératoire approach to prehistoric figurines: an example from Dolnoslav, Bulgaria," in *Image and imagination, a global prehistory of figurative representation*. Edited by C. Renfrew and I. Morley, pp. 171-184. Cambridge: McDonald Institute.

Gimbutas, M. 1974. *The gods and goddesses of Old Europe, 7000-3500 BC*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Green, M. 1997. Images in opposition: polarity, ambivalence and liminality in cult representation. *Antiquity* 71, 898-911.

Harrison, R., and V. Heyd. 2007. The transformation of Europe in the Third Millennium BC: the example of 'Le Petit Chasseur I + III' (Sion, Valais, Switzerland). *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 82, 129-214.

Hillman, D., and C. Mazzio. 1997. "Introduction. Individual parts," in *The body in parts. Fantasies of corporeality in early modern Europe*. Edited by D. Hillman and C. Mazzio, pp. xi-xxix. London: Routledge.

Hirsch, E. 1990. From bones to betelnuts: processes of ritual transformation and the development of "national culture" in Papua New Guinea. *Man* 25, 18-34.

Ivanov, I. 1988. "Die Ausgrabungen des Gräberfeldes von Varna," in *Macht, Herrschaft und Gold*. Edited by A. Fol and J. Lichardus, pp. 49-66. Saabrücken: Moderne-Galerie des Saarlands-Museum.

Jackson, M., and I. Carp. 1990. "Introduction," in *Personhood and agency. The experiences of self and other in African cultures*. Edited by M. Jackson and I. Carp, pp. 15-30. Uppsala: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Jones, A. 2002. "A biography of colour: colour, material histories and personhood in the Early Bronze Age of Britain and Ireland," in *Colouring the past. The significance of colur in archaeological research*. Edited by A. Jones and G. MacGregor, pp. 159-174. Oxford: Berg.

Kalicz, N. 1998. *Figürliche Kunst und bemalte Keramik aus dem Neolithikum Westungarns*. *Series Minor 10*. Budapest: Archaeolingua

King, M. 2003. *Unparalleled behaviour: Britain and Ireland during the "Mesolithic" and "Neolithic". British Archaeological Reports British Series 355*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Kitov, G., I. Panayotov, and P. Pavlov. 1991. *Mogilni nekropoli v Loveshkiya krai. Ranna Bronzova epoha (nekropol Goran-Slatina). Razkopki i Prouchvaniya XXIII*. Sofia: Bulgarskata Akademia na Naukite.

Klepikov, M. 1994. Pogrebeniya pozdneeneoliticheskogo vremeni u hutora shlyahovskii v Nizhnem Povolzhie. *Rossiska Arkheologiia* 1994/3, 97-102.

Kutzian, I. 1944. *The Körös culture*. *Dissertationes Pannonicae Series II, 23*. Budapest.

Larsson, L. Editor. 1988. *The Skateholm Project 1. Man and environment*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

LiPuma, E. 1998. "Modernity and forms of personhood in Melanesia," in *Bodies and Persons: Comparative Views from Africa and Melanesia*. Edited by M. Lambek and A. Strathern, pp. 53-79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Makkay, J. 2007. "Endrőd Site 3/6: Part 4.1.2: the Middle/Late Copper Age house," in *The excavations of the Early Neolithic sites of the Körös Culture in the Körös valley, Hungary: the final report. Volume1. The excavations: stratigraphy, structures and graves, Società per la Preistoria e protostoria della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia Quaderno 11*. Edited by J. Makkay, pp. 84-92.

Minichreiter, K. 2007. "The first farmers of northern Croatia," in *A short walk through the Balkans: the first farmers of the Carpathian Basin and adjacent regions, Società per la Preistoria e protostoria della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia Quaderno 12*. Edited by M. Spataro and P. Biagi, pp. 171-181.

Mosko, M. 1992. Motherless sons: "divine kings" and "partible persons" in Melanesia and Polynesia. *Man* 27, 697-717.

Mullan, B., and G. Marvin. 1978. *Zoo culture*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Nanoglou, S. 2008. Representation of humans and animals in Greece and the Balkans during the Earlier Neolithic. *Cambridge Journal of Archaeology* 18, 1: 1-13.

Némeskeri, J., and I. Lengyel. 1974. "Neolithic skeletal finds," in *Neolithic Macedonia, Monumenta Archaeologica 1*. Edited by M. Gimbutas, pp. 375-410. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Oross, K., and A. Whittle. 2007. "Figural representations and other clay objects," in *The Early Neolithic of the Great Hungarian Plain. Investigations of the Körös culture site of Ecsegfalva 23, County Békés, Varia Archaeologica Hungarica XXI*. Edited by A. Whittle, pp. 621-640. Budapest: Institute of Archaeology HAS.

Panayotov, I. 1989. *Yamnata kultura v bulgarskite zemi. Razkopki i Prouchvaniya XXI*. Sofia: Bulgarskata Akademia na Naukite.

Raczky, P. 1994. "Two late neolithic 'hoards' from Csóka (Čoka) Kremenyák in the Vojvodina," in *A kőkortól a közepkorig. Otto Trogmayer Festschrift*. Edited by G. Lőrinczy, pp. 161-172. Szeged: Mora Ferenc Múzeum.

Raduntcheva, A. 1976. *Vinitsa. Eneolitno selishte i nekropol. Razkopki i Prouchvania VI*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN.

Reynolds, A. forthcoming. *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richmondshire District Council. 1999. *Willance's Leap and Deepdale*. Richmond: Richmondshire District Council Leisure & Economic Development Unit.

Roksandić, M. 2000. Between foragers and farmers in the Iron Gates Gorge. Physical anthropological perspective. Djerdap population in transition from Mesolithic to Neolithic. *Documenta Praehistorica* 27, 1-100.

Saxe, A. A. 1970. Social dimensions of mortuary practices. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan.

Scarre, C. 2002. Contexts of monumentalism: regional diversity at the Neolithic transition in north-west France. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 21, 1: 23-61.

Schaller-Åhrberg, E. 1990. "Refitting as a method to separate mixed sites: a test with unexpected results," in *The big puzzle. International symposium on refitting stone artefacts*. Edited by E. Czielsa, S. Eickhoff, N. Arts, and D. Winter, pp. 611-622. Bonn: Holos.

Slavchev, V. Editor. 2008. *The Varna Eneolithic necropolis and problems of prehistory in Southeast Europe*. *Acta Musei Varnaensis VI*.

Strathern, A. 1982. "Witchcraft, greed, cannibalism and death: some related themes for the New Guinea Highlands," in *Death and the regeneration of life*. Edited by M. Bloch and J. Parry, pp. 111-133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strathern, A., and P. J. Stewart. 1988. "Melpa and Nuer ideas of life and death: the rebirth of a comparison," in *Bodies and bones. Comparative perspectives from Africa and Melanesia*. Edited by M. Lambek and A. Strathern, pp. 232-251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strathern, M. 1988. *The gender of the gift*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Taylor, T. 1999. "Envaluing metal: theorizing the Eneolithic hiatus," in *Metals in antiquity, British Archaeological reports International Series 792*. Edited by S.M.M. Young, A.M. Pollard, P. Budd, and R.A. Ixer, pp. 22-32. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Todorova, H. 1971. Kasnoeneolitnia nekropol krai grad Devnja-Varnensko. *Izvestia NM Varna* 7 (knj. 22), 3-40.

Todorova, H. Editor. 2002. *Durankulak Band II. Die prähistorischen Gräberfelder. 2 Bände.* . Berlin-Sofia: Anubis.

Todorova, H., T. Dimov, J. Bojadžiev, I. Vajsov, K. Dimitrov, and M. Avramova. 2002. "Katalog der prähistorischen Gräber von Durankulak," in *Durankulak Band II. Die prähistorischen Gräberfelder, Teil 2*. Edited by H. Todorova, pp. 29-125. Berlin-Sofia: Anubis.

Todorova, H., S. Ivanov, V. Vasilev, M. Hopf, H. Quitta, and G. Kohl. 1975. *Selishtanata mogila pri Goliamo Delchevo. Razkopki i Prouchvania V*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN.

Treherne, P. 1995. The warrior's beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, 1: 105-144.
Woodward, A. 2002. Beads and Beakers: heirlooms and relics in the British Early Bronze Age. *Antiquity* 76, 1040-1047.
Zoffmann, Z. 1972-73. Die unveröffentlichten Pläne des neolitischen Gräberfeldes von Zengővárkony. *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 17-18, 47-50.
Zvelebil, M., and J. Beneš. 1997. "Theorizing landscapes: the concept of the Historical Interactive Landscape," in *Landscapes in Flux*. Edited by J. Chapman and P. Dolukhanov, pp. 23-40. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

[1] Such enchained relations can be documented at the intra-site level, although Dalla Riva (2003) has observed that quotidian relations between co-residents may not have required material elaboration.
[2] But note the claims for a Yamna culture "pit-dwelling" at Endrőd site 3/6, in the Central Alföld (Makkay 2007).

Figure 1

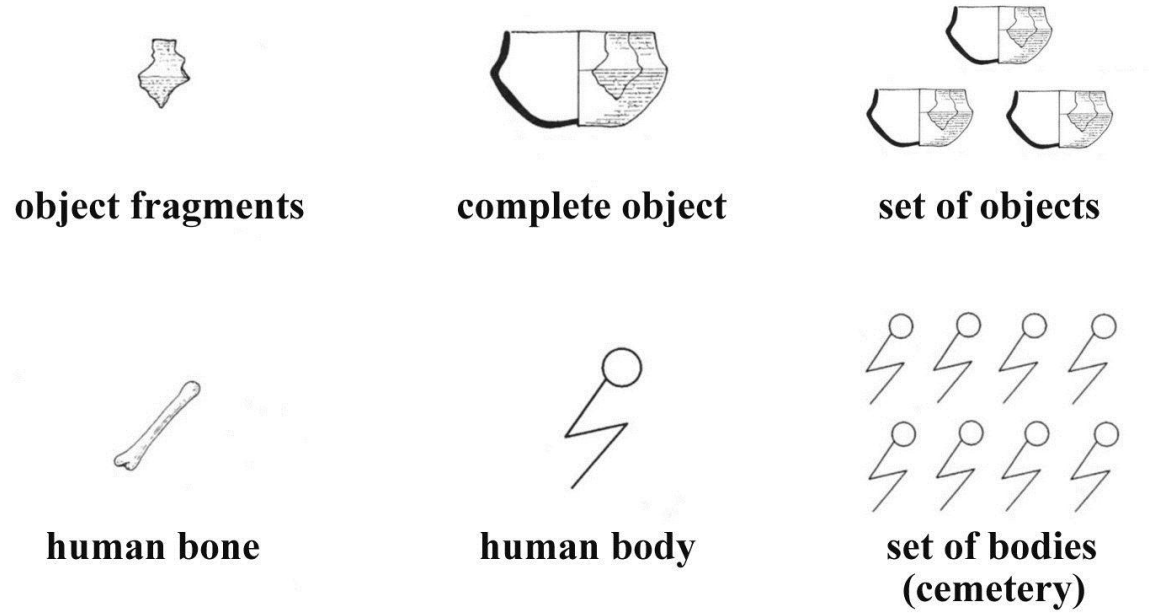
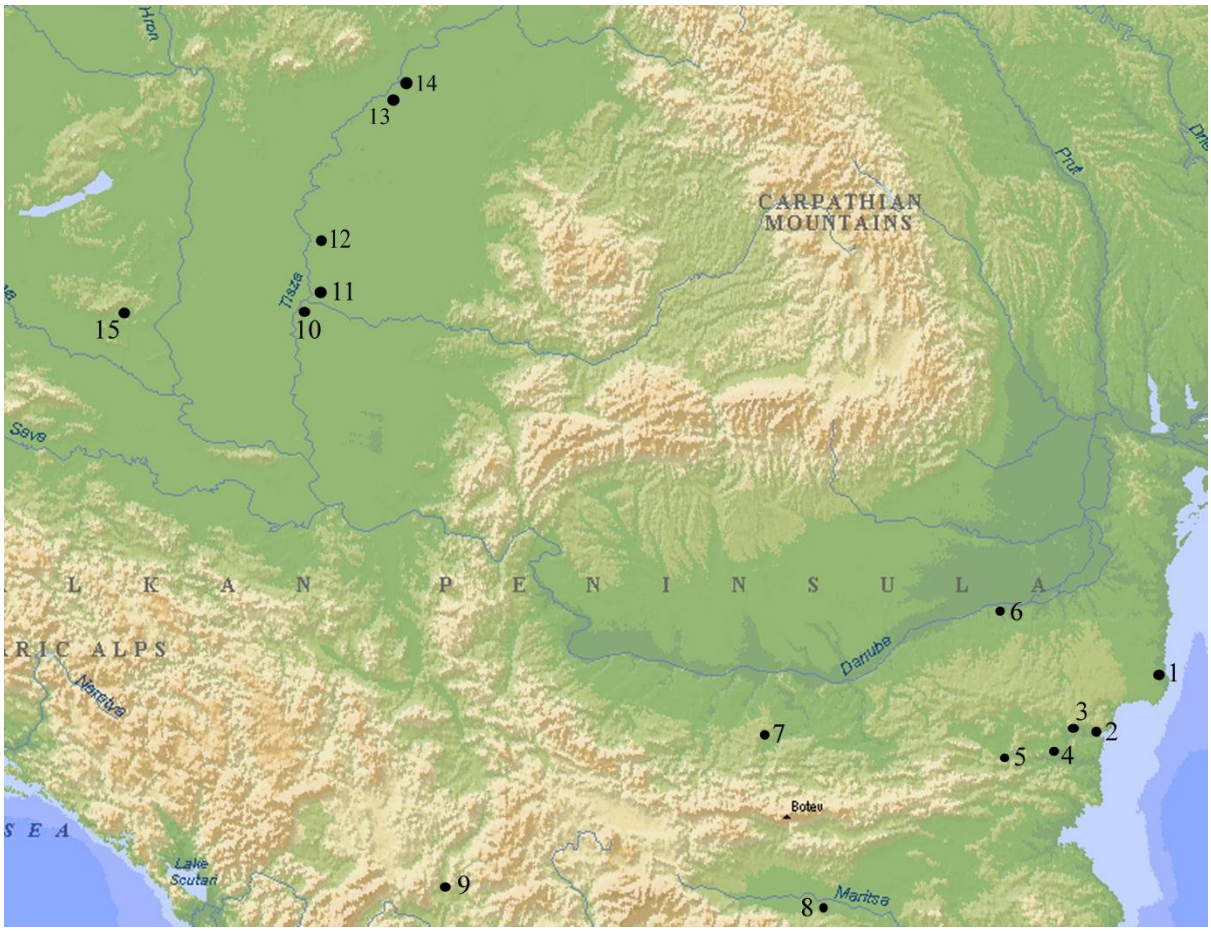

object fragments
complete object
set of objects
human bone
human body
set of bodies
(cemetery)

Figure 2


Hron
14
13
CARPATHIAN
MOUNTAINS
Prut
12
Tisza
11
15
10
Sava
L K A N P E N I N S U L A
6
RIC ALPS
Danube
Neretva
1
3
2
7
5
4
Botev
S E A
Lake
Scutari
9
8
Maritsa

Figures 3a – 3h

Fig. 3a

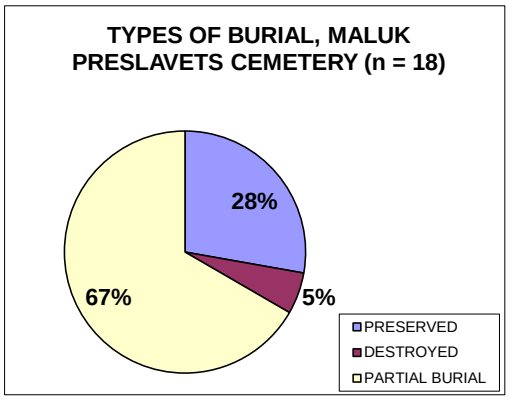


Fig. 3b

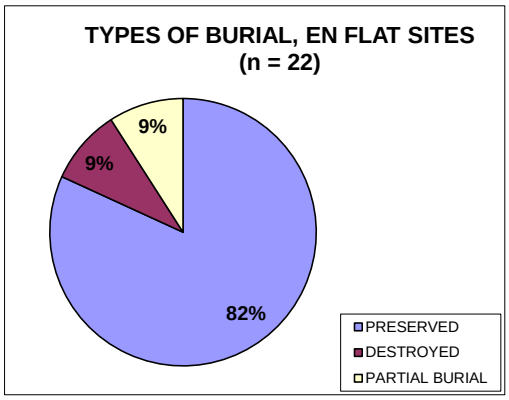


Fig. 3c

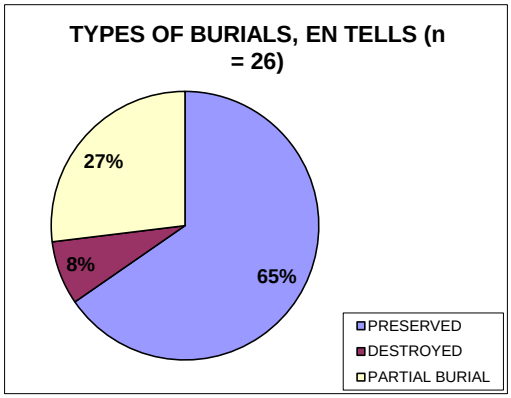


Fig. 3d

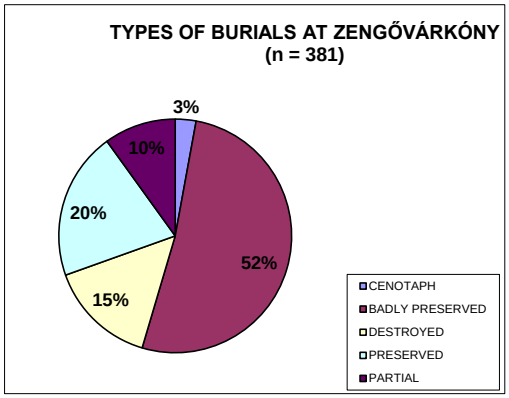


Fig. 3e

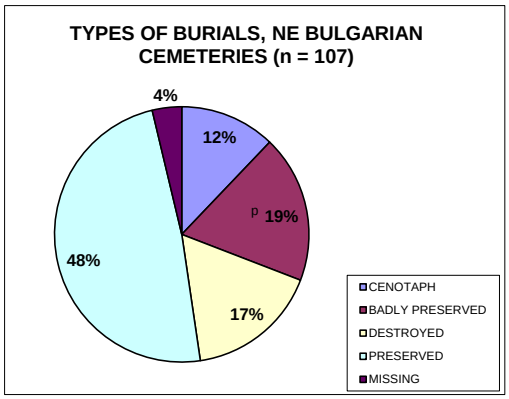


Fig. 3f

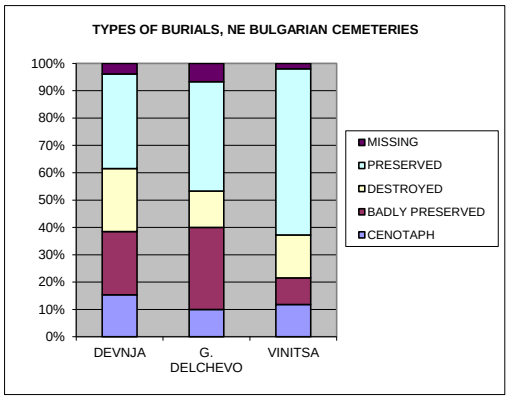


Fig. 3g

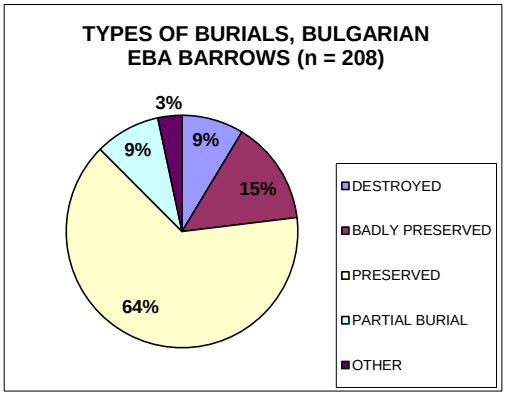
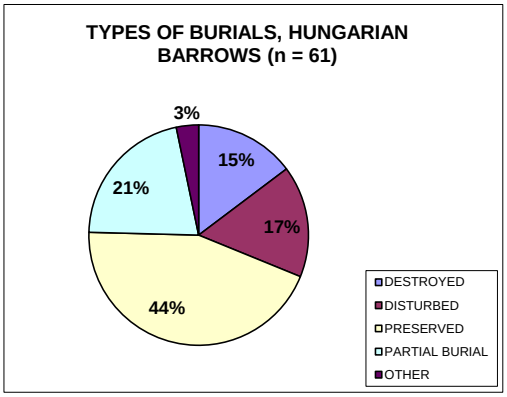


Fig. 3h



Figures 4a – 4c

Fig. 4a

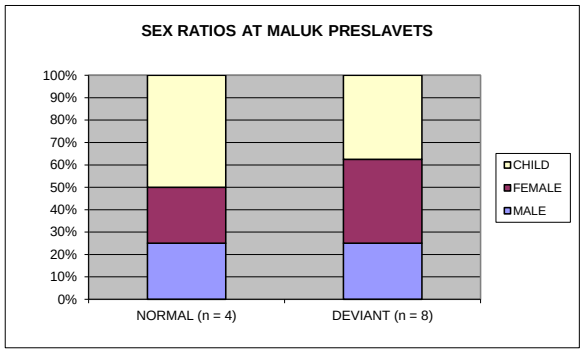


Fig. 4b

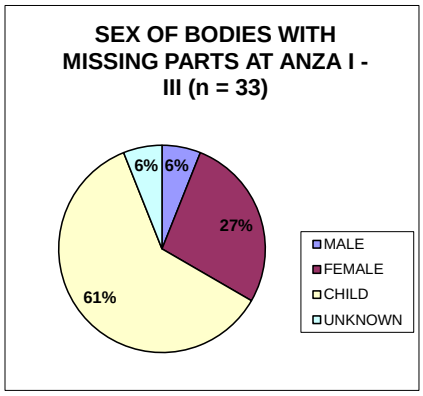
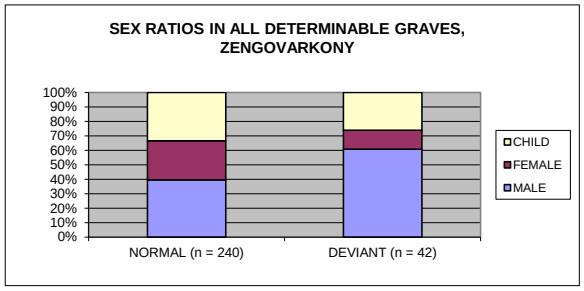


Fig. 4c



Figures 5a – 5c

Fig. 5a

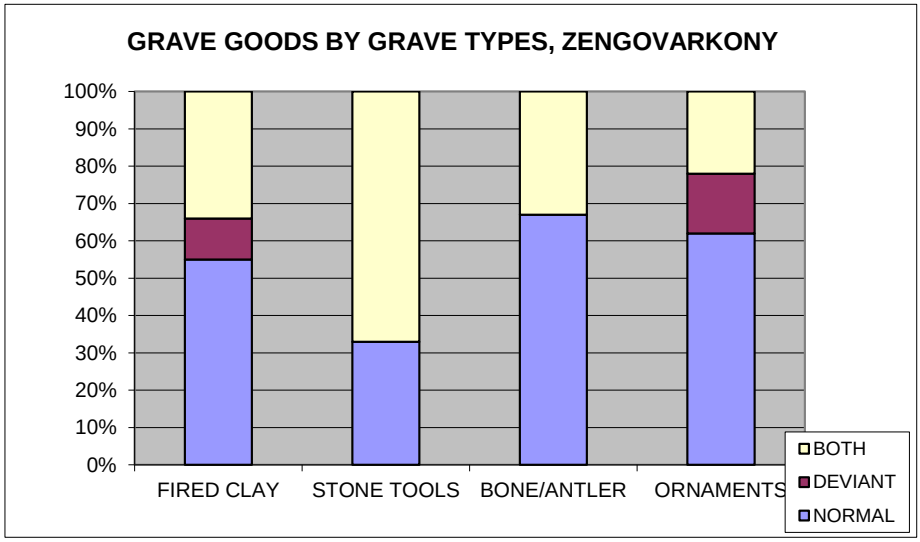


Fig. 5b

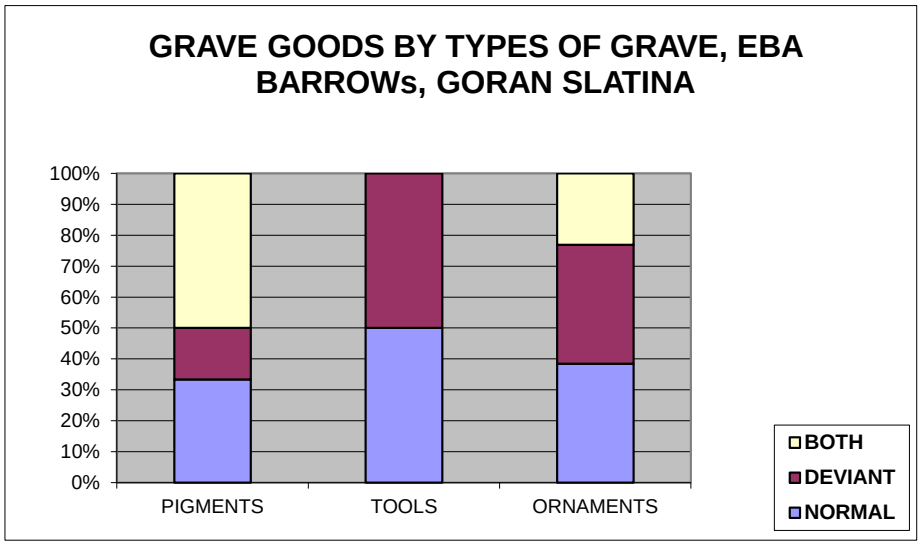
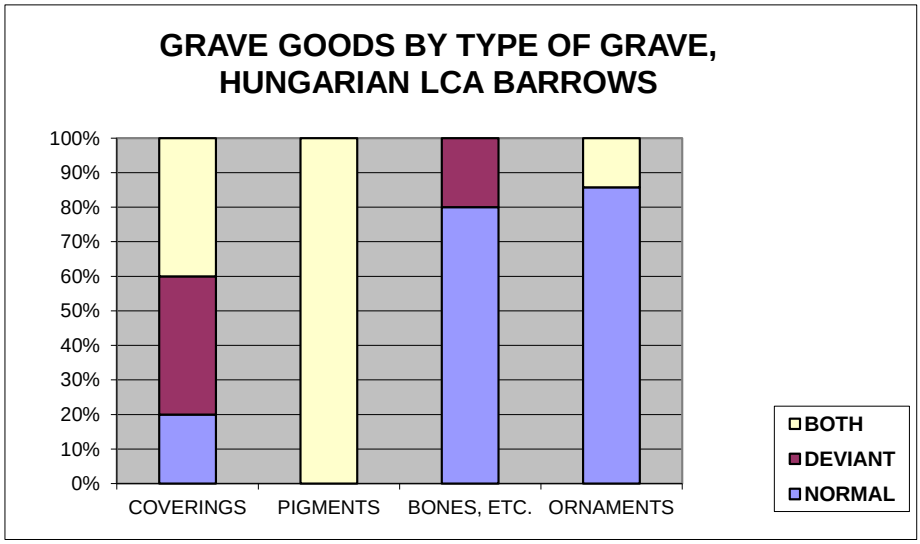


Fig. 5c



Figures 6a – 6f

Fig. 6a

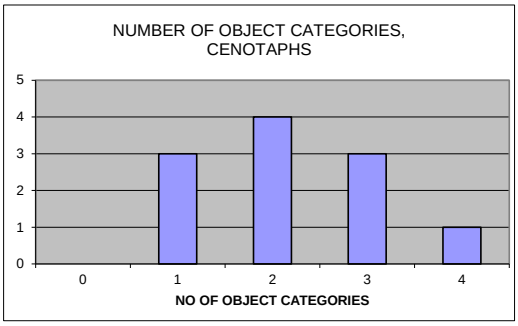


Fig. 6b

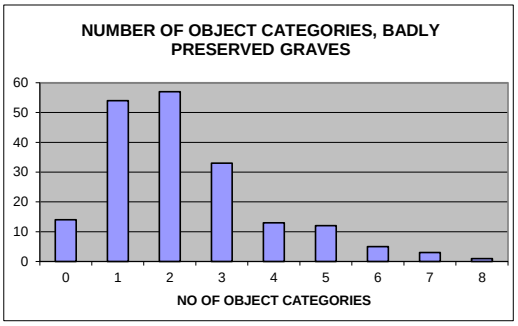


Fig. 6c

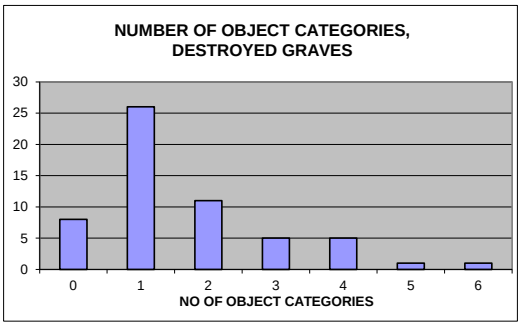


Fig. 6d

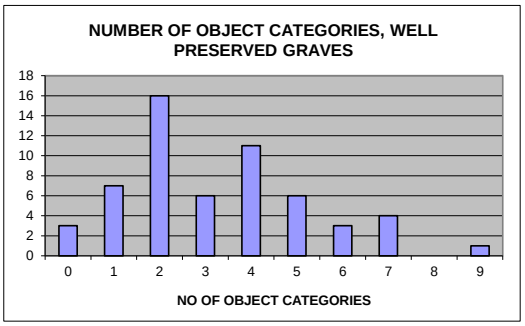


Fig. 6e

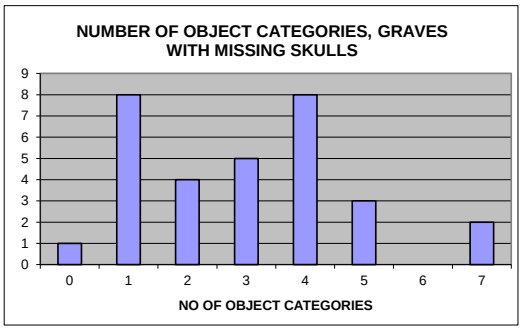


Fig. 6f

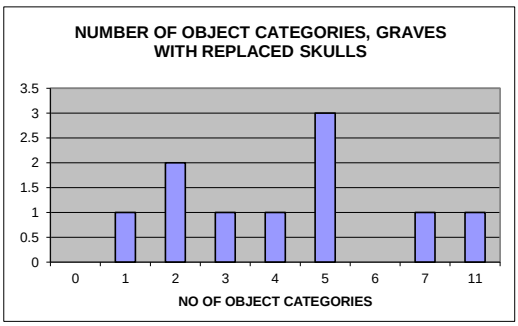


Figure 7

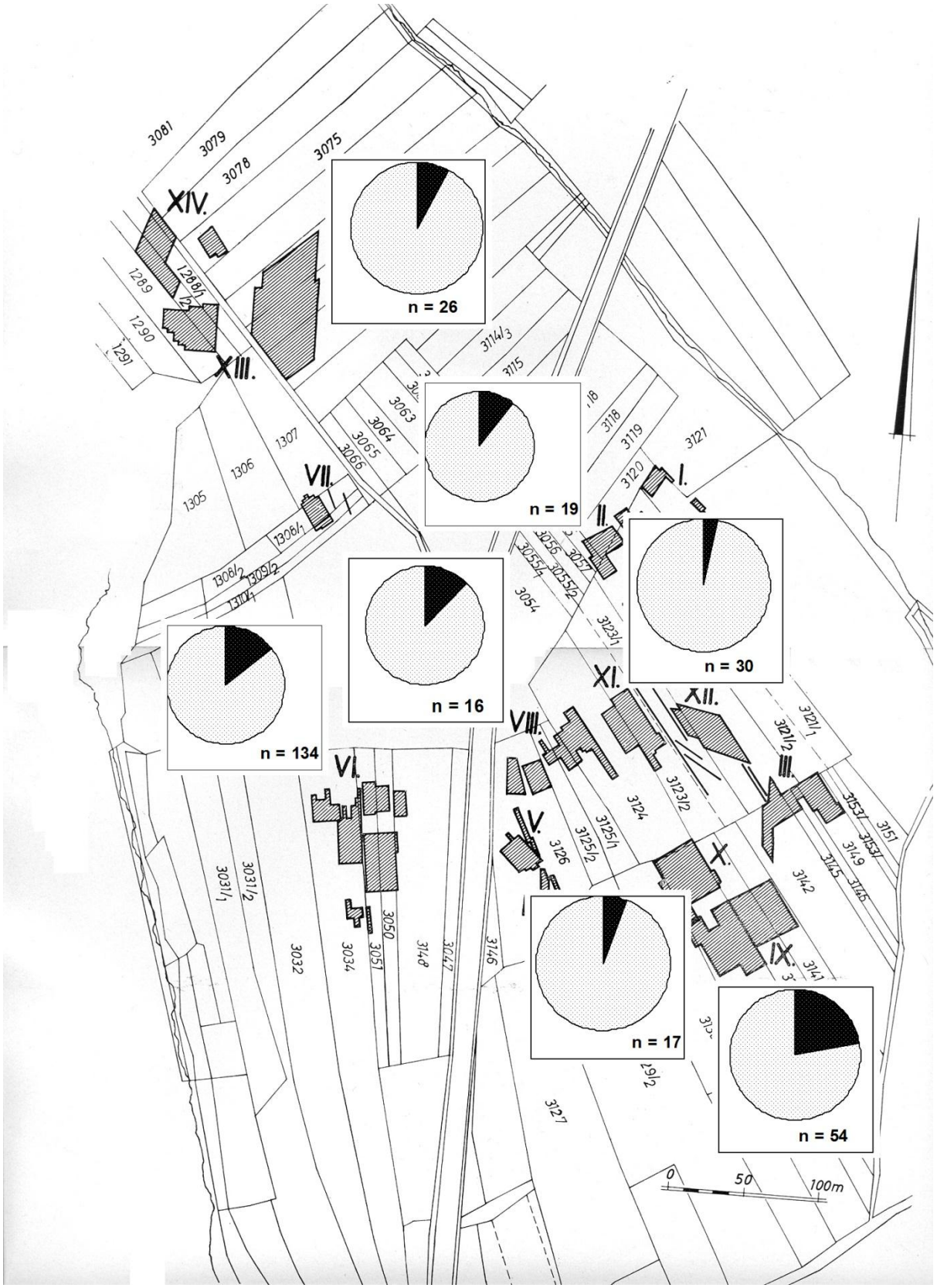


Figure 8

Fig. 8

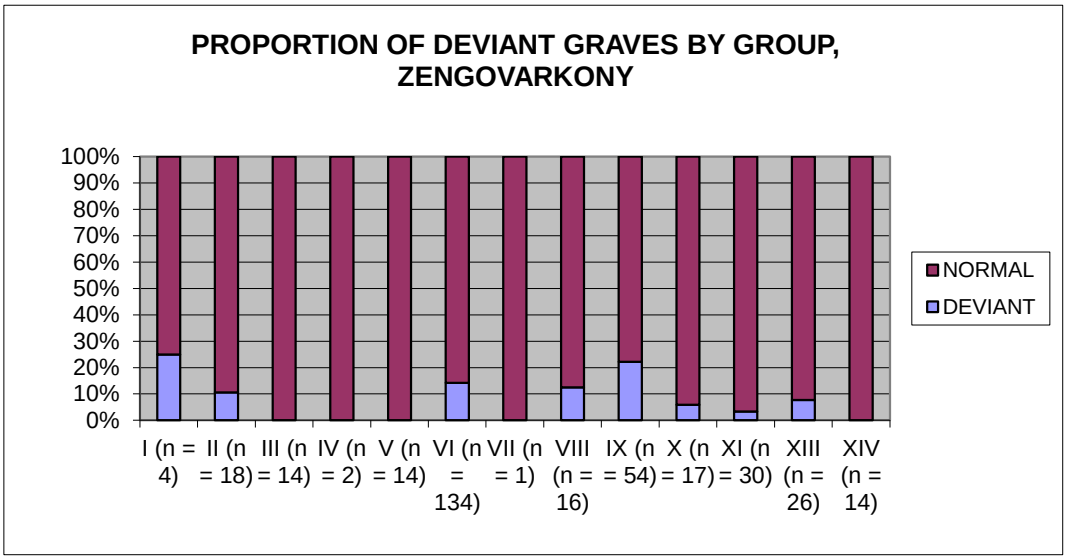


Figure 9

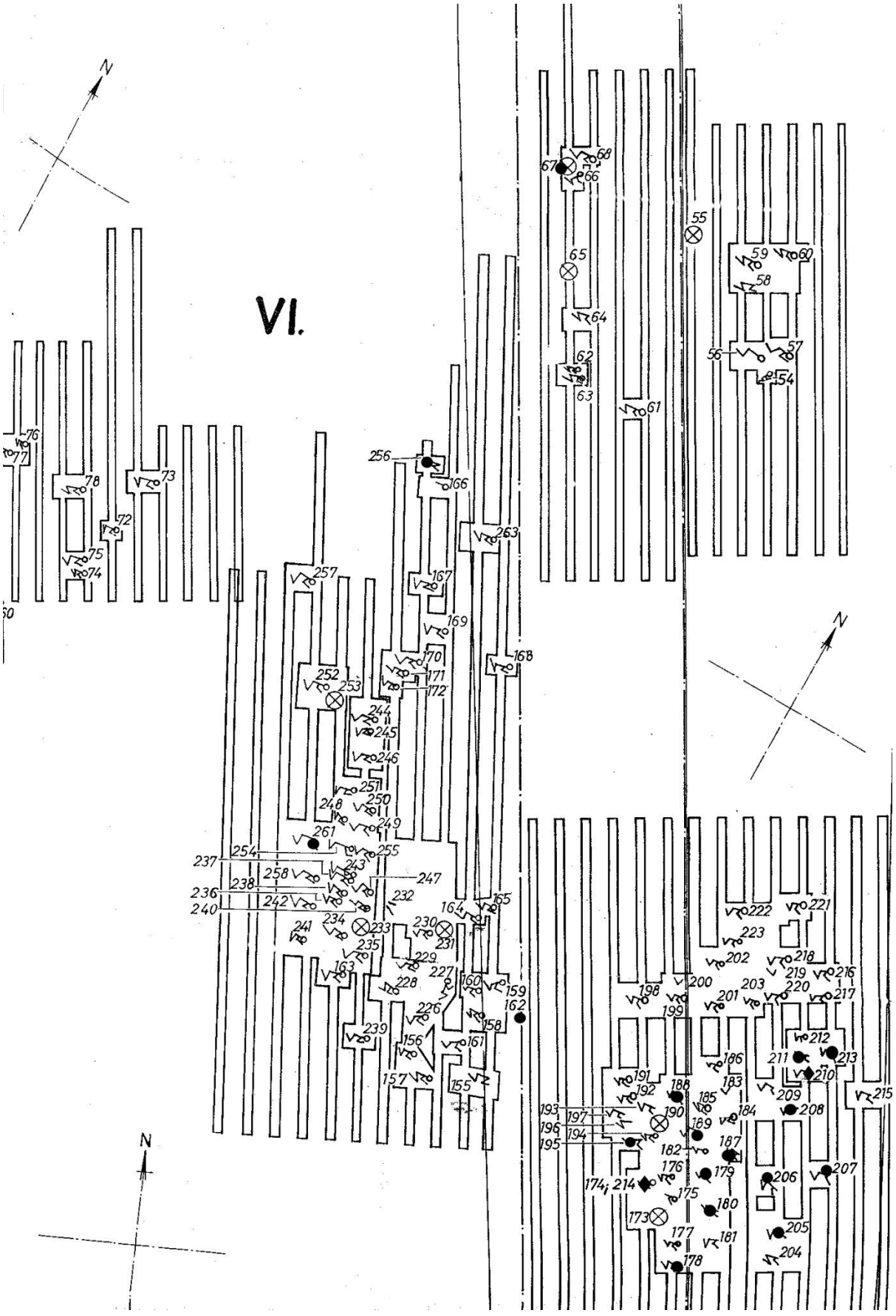


Figure 10

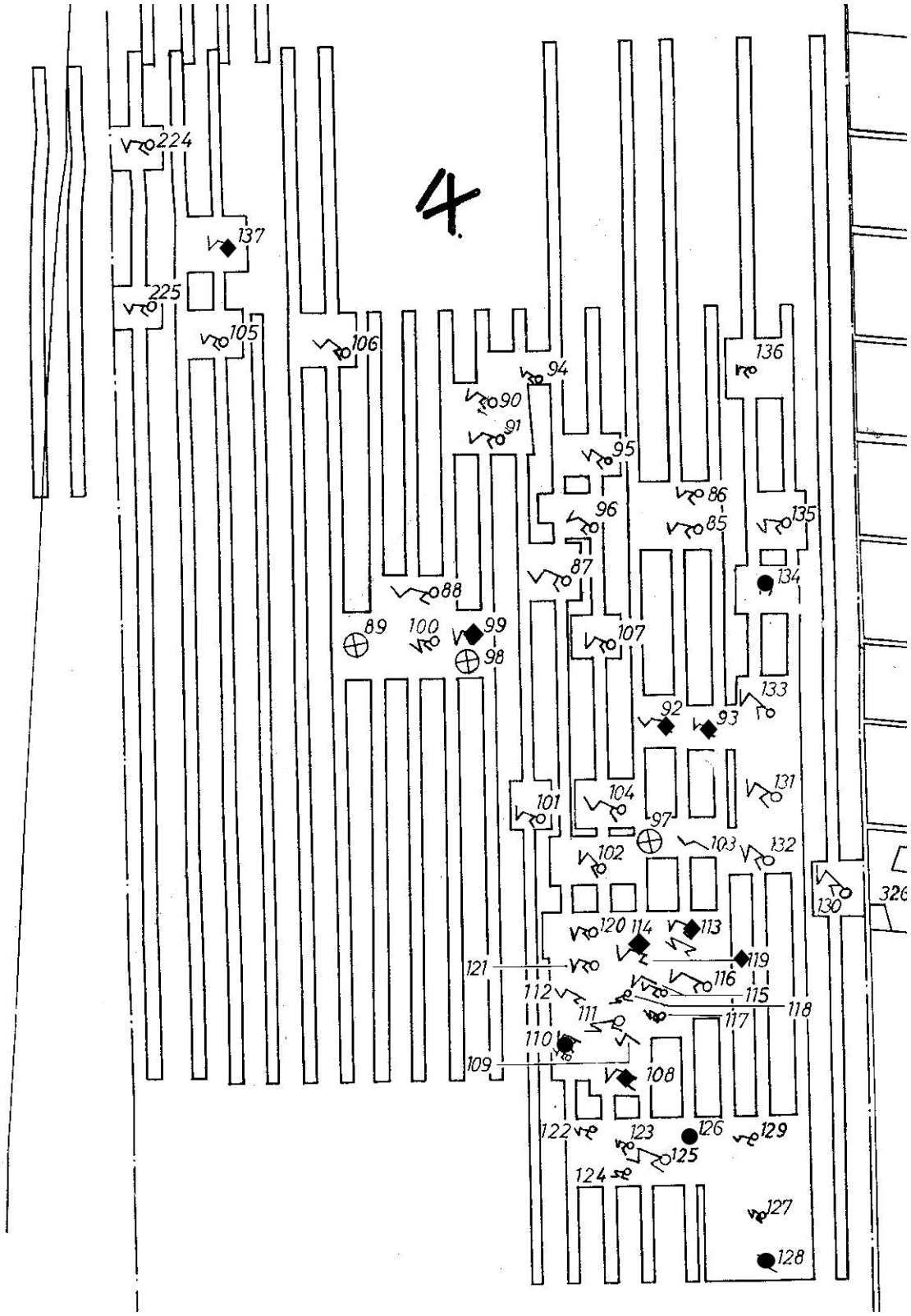

4
224
137
225
105
106
94
90
91
95
86
85
96
87
88
89
100
99
98
107
136
135
134
133
92
93
131
101
104
97
103
102
132
130
120
114
113
119
121
116
115
112
111
118
117
110
109
108
122
123
126
129
125
124
127
128

Figure 11

Fig. 11

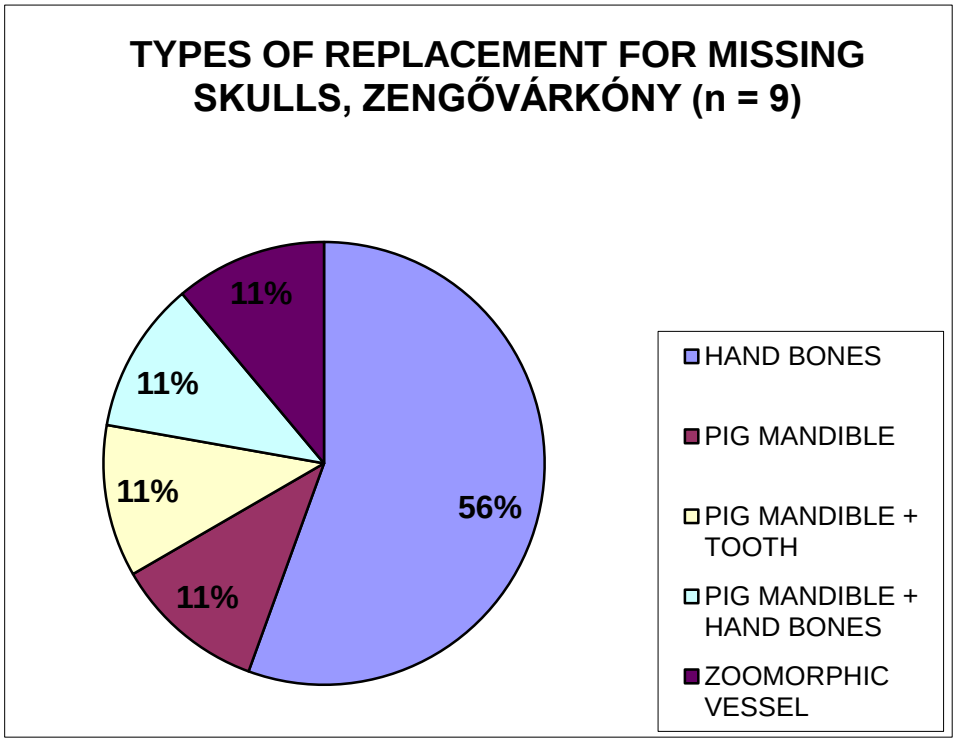


Figure 12a

Figure 12b

Figure 13

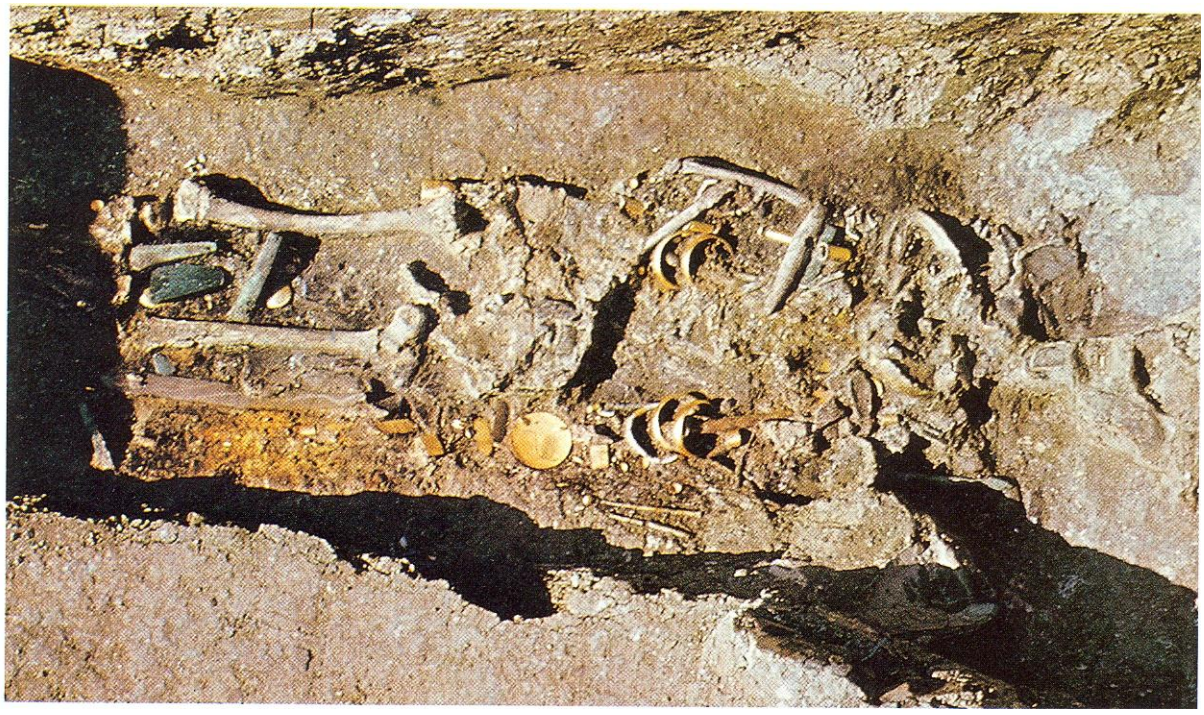
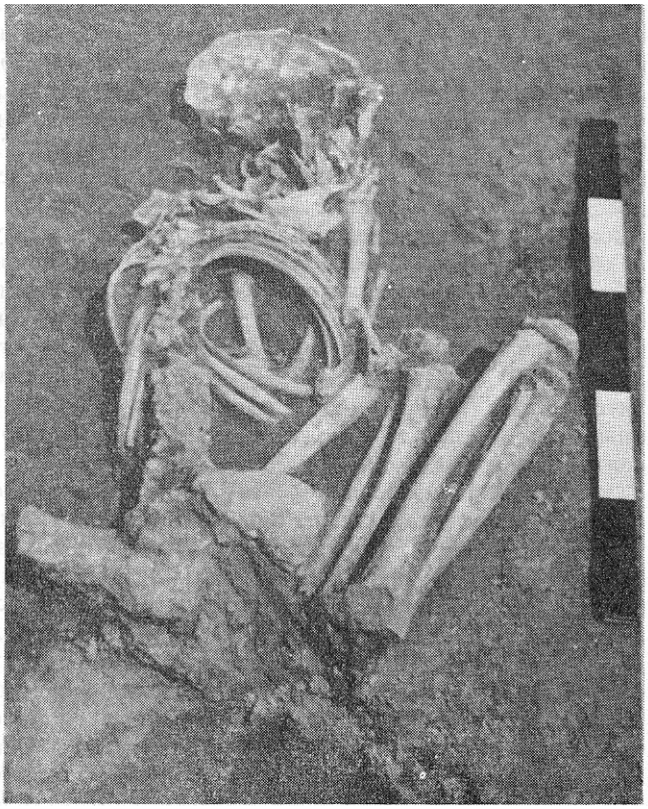



Figure 14