

# Identitäten / Identities

## Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven

herausgegeben von  
Marlene Bainsczyk-Crescentini  
Kathleen Ess  
Michael Pleyer  
Monika Pleyer

unter Mitarbeit von  
Teresa Anna Katharina Beisel  
Cosima Stawenow

HGGS

HEIDELBERGER  
GRADUIERTENSCHULE  
FÜR GEISTES- UND  
SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTEN



UNIVERSITÄT  
HEIDELBERG  
ZUKUNFT  
SEIT 1386

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek  
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen  
Nationalbibliografie. Detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet abrufbar  
über <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

© 2015 Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg  
Plöck 107–109, 69117 Heidelberg  
[www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de](http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de)

Satz und Gestaltung: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg / Cosima Stawenow  
Umschlaggestaltung: Heidelberger Graduiertenschule für Geistes- und  
Sozialwissenschaften



Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY SA 4.0):  
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>

Umschlagabbildung: © Dr911 | Dreamstime.com – Human Head Silhouette With Set  
Of Gear Photo

Online verfügbar über den Heidelberger Dokumentenserver HeiDOK:  
<http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/18089>

# Inhaltsverzeichnis

<b>Vorwort</b>	7
<b>Einleitung</b>	11
<b>Introduction</b>	19
<i>Lisa Freigang</i>	25
<b>Identity and Violence</b> Sectarian Conflict in Post-Independence Indian Literature	
<i>Anne Franciska Pusch</i>	39
<b>Literary Animals and the Problem of Anthropomorphism</b>	
<i>Monika Pleyer</i>	57
<b>Identities and Impoliteness in Harry Potter Novels</b>	
<i>Susana Rocha Teixeira und Anita Galuschek</i>	77
<b>„Tell me what you don't like about yourself“</b> Personale Identitätskonstruktion in der US-amerikanischen <i>makeover culture</i> im 21. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Serie <i>Nip/Tuck</i>	
<i>Nicolas Frenzel</i>	95
<b>Werteidentitäten und Konsistenzverständnis einzelner Werte</b>	
<i>Sabrina Valente</i>	125
<b>Rechtstexte als Kultur- bzw. Identitätseinheiten</b>	
<i>Teresa Anna Katharina Beisel</i>	145
<b>Organisationsidentität im Kontext wohlfahrtssystemischer Strukturen</b>	
<i>Erin Rice</i>	169
<b>Patterned Identity: Textiles and Traces of Modernity in Contemporary Nigerian Art</b>	
<i>Andreja Malovoz</i>	191
<b>Late Bronze Age Place-Based Identity in Županjska Posavina</b>	

*Andreja Malovoz*

# **Late Bronze Age Place-Based Identity in Županjska Posavina**

## 1. Introduction

The region of Županjska Posavina in eastern Croatia is an archaeologically under-researched area at the borders of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Sites belonging to two distinct contemporary groups, Barice-Gređani and Belegiš II, provide evidence as to the relationship between the landscape and the construction of local identities in later prehistory. People's interaction with landscape is seen as integral to the process of materialisation of culture and as related to social responsiveness in group members. Examining the nature of this interaction will, hopefully, bring about a greater understanding of site variability, landscape use, and social practices of Late Bronze Age communities in the area. Data for this study are obtained from recently conducted or on-going stratigraphic excavations at cemeteries Zmijino and Purić-Ljubanj. Evidence obtained from the excavations is used to investigate the nature of particular social occurrences, such as specific deposits of funerary finds, and evidence of landscape alteration within site features. This is done in order to determine ways in which people in prehistory interacted with their landscape, how they acted upon it, and how they, in turn, were influenced by it. The practices of conceptualising and performing group identity were accomplished through communal actions in the landscape, resulting in the unique properties of these cemeteries. Through actively experiencing such places, people were constructing their world and partaking in transmission and appropriation of socially relevant knowledge necessary for constructive social action and the communication of identity across the group. The groups under study were taking part in the world that

extended through space and time, and whose formative parts included both local future and past. Their cemeteries offer proof for the importance that the prehistoric communities placed on the presentation of group identity in funerary contexts, its reliance on the past, and its preservation for the future.

## 2. Geographical context

The sites presented in this study are situated near marshy areas or water courses in the area of Županjska Posavina in Vukovar-Syrmia County in eastern Slavonija, Croatia, in the Spačva Basin along the lower course of the Sava river at the borders of Croatia with Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The river Sava flows into the Danube which ends its course in the Black Sea. This water course played an important role in east-west/north-south interaction in the Bronze Age. The Belegiš II site Purić-Ljubanj is situated within a managed forestry land, while the Barice-Gređani site Zmijino lies in a managed field and was explored due to a development project, the construction of the Danube-Sava Canal. The landscape of the plain in which these sites are situated is predominantly flat with a mean altitude of 82 m above sea level. This area is for the most part created in the Holocene and is characterised by later marsh sediments, clayey silt, and clay derived from quaternary sedimentary rock.<sup>1</sup> The Sava Holocene alluvial plain gradually rises in the south of the Sava, and northwards towards the Vukovar plain. The greater Đakovo-Vinkovci-Vukovar Plateau stabilised in the transition from the Pleistocene to the Holocene. In the meantime, a wetland-marshy environment was retained in the Slavonijan-Sirmium valley with Bosnian rivers carrying an influx of sand and somewhat rarer gravel. The bed of the Sava was formed at this time. Between the Sava and Vinkovci plateau water was retained through floods and river flows, and clayey silt with fine calcareous concretions became sedimented through the peneplanation of loess from higher areas.<sup>2</sup> The resulting soil found across the region is clay with a subsoil of granular ochre clay and sand with nodules of iron-rich limestone caused

1 Milan Herak, "Croatia," in *Encyclopedia of European and Asian Regional Geology*, ed. E. M. Moors, R. W. Fairbridge (London: Chapman & Hall, 1997), 155–160.

2 M. Brkić, I Galović, R. and Buzaljko, *Osnovna Geološka Karta SFRJ 1:100.000 list Vinkovci L 34–98*, Geološki zavod Zagreb and Geoinženjering Sarajevo, (Beograd: Savezni geološki Zavod, 1989).

by constant semi-flood conditions and ensuing ground water percolation. Oak forests today occupy large parts of this landscape.

As environmental conditions in Bronze Age Europe are known to have constantly fluctuated,<sup>3</sup> the current environmental conditions at our sites cannot be taken as representative of those in the Late Bronze Age. What can be said, however, even prior to conducting a detailed environmental analysis, is that clay and iron-rich limestone nodules were present across the sites within the sub-strata. In addition, the dense oak forest as it stands today was not present at many places, and the river courses and tributaries of the Sava and Danube were present, if not exactly following the same courses as today.<sup>4</sup>

For prehistoric communities in this area the Sava river would have played a particularly important role as a direct economic resource (fishing is witnessed by frequent finds of fish bones at prehistoric settlements in the area), and also as a secondary resource for procurement of the stone material used to make objects for daily use, such as microlithic tools or grindstones.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, its role in terms of communication, indicating strong ties to both east and west,<sup>6</sup> cannot be stressed enough, as it facilitated exchange with communities in other regions. This was particularly important for the procurement of metals, whether copper, tin, or finished bronze, which were not readily available locally.

### 3. Late Bronze Age in Županjska Posavina

The area of Županjska Posavina has not been extensively explored by archaeologists but, given its strategic position in the Sava river basin on the routes towards the ore-rich Bosnian Mountains, it is reasonable to

---

3 Anthony F. Harding, *European societies in the Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 15.

4 Sandy Budden-Hoskins, Andreja Malovoz, and Mu-Chun Wu, "The Prehistoric Tumuli Complex of Purić-Ljubanj near Vrbanja in the Spačva Basin, Županjska Posavina," *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 30 (2013), 138.

5 Boško Marijan, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije (brončano doba)* (Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera, Filozofski Fakultet, 2010), 14.

6 Nives Majnarić-Pandžić, "Brodsko Posavlje u brončano i željezno doba – posljednja dva tisućljeća prije Krista", in *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o Slavonskom Brodu u povodu 750. obljetnice prvoga pisanog spomena imena Broda*, ed. Z. Živaković-Kerže, (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2000) 112.

suppose that this region would be rich in settlements and cemeteries of the Late Bronze Age. So far two major groups belonging to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age have been identified in this region. These are Belegiš II and Barice-Gređani. It is understood that the Belegiš II group originated in Srijem at the end of Br C2 and spans all of Br D and Ha A1 (after Reinecke's periodisation<sup>7</sup>).<sup>8</sup> At its western border the Belegiš II group is understood to meet the Barice-Gređani cultural group,<sup>9</sup> which is considered to have developed in the process of infiltration of the Virovitica group in this area.<sup>10</sup> It too is considered to have originated at the end of the Br C2 period and extended into the Br D and Ha A1 periods.<sup>11</sup> The Belegiš II and Barice-Gređani groups in this area are, therefore, neighbouring and contemporary.

It is notable that the Belegiš II group, in striking contrast to Purić-Ljubanj, is not known for burying its deceased under mounds. Belegiš II cemeteries are known to be comprised of cremation burials in urns placed in flat graves.<sup>12</sup> The geographically closest parallels to Purić-Ljubanj in terms of the depositional practice of placing cremated (as well as skeletal) remains under tumuli in the Late Bronze Age can be found in western

---

7 Paul Reinecke was a German prehistorian whose periodisation of the European Bronze and Iron Ages published between 1902 and 1911 provides the basic classificatory schemes for the period. He divided the early and middle Bronze Age into four divisions: Br A to D. He also recognized the continuity of the late Bronze Age through into the Iron Age of central Europe and applied the term Hallstatt to this period. The Hallstatt was likewise subdivided into four phases Ha A to D. Subsequent revisions to the essential sequence now suggest a degree of overlap between Br D and Ha A (Timothy Darvill, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008], 362).

8 Ksenija Vinski-Gasparini, "Kasno brončano doba," in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja IV, Bronzано doba*, ed. A. Benac (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1983), 547–646; Nikola Tasić, "Belegiška grupa," in *Praistorija Vojvodine*, ed. Bogdan Brukner, Borislav Jovanović, and Nikola Tasić (Novi Sad: Institut za izučavanje istorije Vojvodine, 1974), 241.

9 Marijan, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije*, 145; Darija Ložnjak Dizdar, "Naseljenost Podravine u starijoj fazi kulture polja sa žarama," *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 22, no. 1 (2005), 34–35.

10 Kornelija Minichreiter, "Brončanodobne nekropole s paljevinskim grobovima grupe Gređani u Slavoniji," in *Arheološka istraživanja u istočnoj Slavoniji i Baranji: znanstveni skup*, Vukovar 6–9, X. 1981, ed. Nives Majnarić-Pandžić, (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1984), 104.

11 Marijan, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije*, 150.

12 Tasić, "Belegiška grupa," 241.

Serbia<sup>13</sup> and in the Glasinac area in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>14</sup> The site Purić-Ljubanj is the first known example of a Belegiš II site which testifies to this practice and opens questions on the presentation of local identity within the Belegiš II cultural circle.

The Barice-Gređani group, too, is not free from uncertainties in matters of its origin and development, its relationship with neighbouring cultural groups, and particularly with respect to its disappearance. In addition, a large number of sites vaguely determined as Late Bronze Age have been registered at both Croatian and Bosnian sides of the Sava river, in the area lying within this group's cultural sphere.<sup>15</sup> The group is known to have buried the cremated remains of their dead in shallow pits and covered them with an upturned urn. It should be noted, however, that cemetery sites in Županjska Posavina have highlighted a local regional variation within the burial practice of the Barice-Gređani group. Cemeteries Zmijino<sup>16</sup> and Popernjak<sup>17</sup> are representative of a specific burial practice where hot cremated remains are collected and left to cool and consolidate in urns, which are later buried in an upturned position.<sup>18</sup> In this period and region we are thus witnessing two local variations to an established practice of commemoration of the dead, hinting at a complexity of social phenomena greater than realised as of yet. In order to answer any further questions on place-based identity in the Late Bronze Age in Županjska Posavina, it is necessary to first assess these burial patterns in the light of the locally relevant social practice and look for evidence of landscape-specific behaviour.

---

13 Mihailo Zotović, *Arheološki i etnički problemi bronzanog i gvozdenog doba zapadne Srbije* (Beograd: Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije, 1985), 35–46.

14 Borivoj Čović, "Glasinačka kulturna grupa," in *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja IV, Bronzano doba*, ed. A. Benac (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1983), 413–433.

15 Marijan, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije*, 146.

16 Andreja Malovoz, *Živjeti kroz mrtve: pogrebni običaji kasnog brončanog doba u županjskoj Posavini, arheološka izložba* (Županja: Zavičajni muzej Stjepana Grubera, 2011), 38–41.

17 Marijan, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije*, 88–124.

18 Malovoz, *Živjeti kroz mrtve*, 30; Marijan, *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije*, 140.



#### 4. Finding Identity in the Landscape

The aforementioned elaborate burial procedure at the cemeteries in Županjska Posavina exhibits a deviation from the canonical burial practice of the Barice-Gređani group. Just as Purić-Ljubanj opened questions on the presentation of local identity within the Belegiš II group circle in Županjska Posavina, so do the Barice-Gređani group cemeteries in the area pose those questions in relation to their mother group. All the graves at Zmijino are single person burials, with one instance of dual burial of a woman and a child (grave no. 36, Zmijino). The graves are equally distributed throughout the cemetery and, having no mounds to mark individual graves, were most probably marked by a sign made of some degradable material. That they were marked in some fashion is evident in that, despite the longevity of the cemetery, the graves in no way interfere with each other. The grave goods include instances of depositing bronze jewellery, broken pottery, and whole ceramic vessels. In Županjska Posavina this phenomenon extends to the east to the area between the villages Bošnjaci and Vrbanja where it meets the Belegiš II group (fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Map showing areas of Barice-Gređani and Belegiš II groups in Županjska Posavina. Image by Andreja Malovoz. © Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum

Cemetery Zmijino, situated near Babina Greda village, is so far the necropolis with the largest number of excavated graves belonging to the Barice-Gređani group. It should be noted, however, that the 53 graves that have hitherto been explored at Zmijino represent only a part of the necropolis.

Mostly completely preserved urns found in the contexts of the graves show the diversity of vessel types, ceramic material and its firing, and decoration. A few children's and female graves contained rich finds of bronze jewellery (fig. 2) such as bracelets of differing make (cast and wrought) bearing various types of geometric ornaments, ornamental pins, tutuli, necklaces, rings, decorative bronze plates, etc. Grave goods included whole ceramic vessels and, what is particularly interesting, ritually broken ceramic vessels which were found concentrically arranged around the burial urns. Unlike the in situ broken pottery at Purić-Ljubanj, broken pottery at Zmijino was removed from the original context and carefully placed around the urns (fig. 3) prior to filling the burial pit with loose soil. The act of the burial ceremony at Zmijino seems to have been more detail focused and more directly related to the deceased individual than the one at Purić-Ljubanj. This difference in the presentation of individual identities between the two groups opens questions about its perceived role in the affirmation of group identity through burial practice. The burial ceremony at Zmijino was also comparatively less visually striking. It remains open whether the main funerary event was in fact represented by this final act of burial, or whether there was, perhaps, some prior act conducted elsewhere at the cemetery, by the funeral pyre, or in the settlement itself.



Fig. 2: Bronze finds from female grave no. 43, Zmijino. Photo by Miroslav Razum. © Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum

Although Purić-Ljubanj is situated in the same geographic area as Zmijino, the ceramic evidence suggests that it stands within the Belegiš II cultural circle. This evidence was, however, deposited in a different manner to known Belegiš II cemeteries in the region,<sup>19</sup> where cremated remains are placed in urns and buried in flat graves. At Purić-Ljubanj there are 117 tumuli (fig. 4), three of which have been subject to excavation. Surveys of the wider landscape have revealed another 15 sites of similar character situated in the area of Županjska Posavina in the Spačva Basin.<sup>20</sup> The numbers of tumuli at each site vary from just one to 178. These sites are a unique phenomenon in this area and it has recently been suggested that Purić-Ljubanj represents not only the westernmost boundary of the Belegiš II group in Županjska Posavina but also its regional variation.<sup>21</sup> This variation is most obvious in the characteristic deposition of cremated human remains and grave goods under mounds rather than in flat cemeteries (fig. 5), providing strong evidence for place-based identity formation in this area.

---

19 Tasić, “Belegiška grupa,” 242–246.

20 Budden, Malovoz, and Wu, “The Prehistoric Tumuli Complex of Purić-Ljubanj,” 142.

21 *Ibid.*, 157.



Fig. 3: Broken pottery arranged around the burial urn, grave no. 36, Zmijino. Photo by Miroslav Razum. © Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum

The funerary practice at Purić-Ljubanj includes selecting, altering, and depositing natural materials in such a way as to make a visual performance in which colour symbolism may have played a part.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 156.





Fig. 4: Layout of cemetery Purić-Ljubanj. Image by Andreja Malovoz and Mu-Chun Wu.  
© Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum



Fig. 5: Mound 3 at Purić-Ljubanj. Photo by Andreja Malovoz. © Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum

Throughout the process of mound building the choices of materials from the landscape are made in a consistent manner based on their properties of colour and texture, suggesting a deep knowledge of local landscape and its significance for an expression of local identity. Managing of natural materials is noticeable in the layers of the white, concrete-like capping made of calcareous concretions taken from the subsoil; in the selection of black or yellow clays for various stages of building the mound and in relation to various burial depositions; and in the varying degrees to which these materials are refined or purified from natural inclusions.

The three tumuli currently subject to excavation contain the cremated remains of children and adults of both sexes. The individual burials show less consistency in treatment than those at Zmijino. The charred remains are deposited into the mounds during all phases of their construction, either in urns, shallow pits, larger conical pits with or without a white lining and ochre clay capping, or as heterogeneous spreads of bone, ash, and charcoal in layers of building material. All the excavated mounds, however, imply that the key event, in relation to which most of the broken pottery is found, was performed after the burials were carried out and just before the final act of the closing of the tumulus. This is evidenced by the red, burnt surface of oxidised clay near the top of the mound (fig. 6). This area was flattened and thus turned into a platform on which fires were

burned during a visually impressive event which included breaking of both fineware and domestic settlement pottery. These fires were carefully managed as they required a considerable amount of fuel and air, and were fired to at least 600°C.<sup>23</sup> The surface was afterwards left to cool, so as to turn red, and was swept clean of ash and charcoal before being covered with a final layer of clay, i.e., the closing of the mound.



Fig. 6: Burnt oxidised surface in mound 3, Purić-Ljubanj. Photo by Robbie Copsey. © Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum

This episode of burning seems also to have represented the only non-negotiable event at the site, as all the previous steps and their variations may or may not have been included depending on the mound in question. Thus, for example, mounds 1 and 3 exhibit no traces of white capping, which is a prominent feature of mound 2. Next, mound 3 has only two burial depositions and almost no associated pottery, while mound 1 has a variety of discrete depositions of pottery and bone in all phases of its construction. Finally, mound 2, although the smallest, has the richest and most frequent burial depositions of all three mounds, including a variety of discrete depositions of pottery and bone, as well as full-length layers of distinct spreads of bone and pottery distributed throughout the mound in all phases of its construction.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 152.

Purić-Ljubanj, the first known example of building mounds and thus radically altering this otherwise flat landscape, proves the key role of the landscape in the presentation of local group identity in the Late Bronze Age in Županjska Posavina. This practice may have come into being due to an influence from western Serbia or the Glasinac area in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, where a tradition of mound building lasts from the Early Bronze Age through to the Late Bronze Age. Whether this is an instance of cultural transference of social practices, and if so, how it occurred, remains to be explored. Both this practice of erecting mounds and the previously mentioned visual displays in a funerary context, however, make it clear that for some reason it was important to the people of Purić-Ljubanj to make a place of remembrance that would be highly visible in the landscape.

## 5. Landscapes of the Two Worlds

Burial practices of the two Late Bronze Age groups in Županjska Posavina with their related landscape behaviours offer insight not only into the “how” of the presentation of place-based identities, but also into the “why” of the underlying ontologies of the two worlds. The funerary practice at Purić-Ljubanj may be defined as a series of spectacles performed at the cemetery site itself. The area at which the main ritual event took place was determined by previous burials and could suggest kinship links between those buried, but what must be stressed is that the event itself was certainly played out for the wider community. There is evident structure in terms of meaning of layers of activity and yet, within those layers, a considerable variation was allowed. This was possibly precisely because the mound represented a process, a long-lasting engagement with the dead, whose final result would have been the same irrespective of the variability in its components. It seems, therefore, that this community was less taken up in the minutiae of individual burials than the one at Zmijino and that it placed more emphasis on the greater purpose of communal participation in the rituals. This stands in striking contrast to the uniform treatment and attention to detail given to the individual burials at Zmijino.

Whilst the members of the Belegiš II group in Županjska Posavina engaged in a specific, intentional modification of the landscape as a way



of distinguishing themselves from the rest of their group, it seems that members of the Barice–Gredani group created this distinction by engaging in a unique treatment of the remains of their dead. Their ritual behaviour involved collecting the crushed hot bones in the urn and leaving them to cool until consolidation with the bottom of the urn. This resulted in re-burning of the pottery, which was eventually buried in an inverted position at the communal cemetery. This consistency of practice, together with the attention given to arranging grave goods and broken pottery within the individual burials, indicates a higher level of interest in the individual burial, but also a practice prescribed in detail which, over time, yields a uniformed structure of cemeteries. At the Purić-Ljubanj site, even if practice was not necessarily conducted entirely as prescribed, an almost organic nature of the cemetery allowed for the structure to mend itself. In other words, regardless of the order in which the building layers were deposited, the resulting mounds would look the same. Such a thing was not possible at Zmijino. Here a burial is a final and time-bound act whose value lies in it being performed as specified in order for the greater structure to be maintained. It should also be noted that there is no bleeding of customs from one group to the other. The practice of fragmentation of pottery in which both groups engaged is a wider and not uncommon phenomenon in prehistory, as the presence of broken and incomplete ceramic items in funerary contexts may have presented a form of bloodless sacrifice.<sup>24</sup> It is, therefore, possible that the difference in archaeological evidence observable at these two cemeteries stems from a more fundamental difference in the ontologies and the conceptualisation of the world between the two groups.

The importance of the presentation of identity, of its reliance on the past and its preservation for the future are nowhere as clear as when considering cemeteries. The groups under study partake in the world that extends through space and time, and whose formative parts include both

---

24 See Yannis Hamilakis, “Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the politics of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age societies,” in *Cemetery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Keith Branigan (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1998), 115–32; János Makkay, “Foundation sacrifices in Neolithic houses of the Carpathian Basin,” in *Valcamonica Symposium III, 1979: The Intellectual Expressions of Prehistoric Man: Art and Religion. Proceedings*, ed. E. Anati (Capo di ponte: Editoriale Jaca Book Spa, 1983): 157–167; John Chapman, *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000).

local future and local past. The identity we are after is, therefore, reflexive and future-oriented. Despite sharing their landscape, these Late Bronze Age groups had specific identities of their own based not only on their belonging to different cultural horizons but also on different perceptions of reality. The immediacy of the landscape, however, allowed for these perceptions to be localised and for the collective intentionality of the group to be directed towards the materiality of the landscape at hand, which led to the here and now of experience. This experience of group self in the landscape was communicated to posterity by transforming the landscape into a socially relevant message. In such instances of communicating identity as represented by burial practices, it is possible to discern evidence not only of learned social practices but also of the dominant ontologies.

The seemingly chaotic layers of burial activity at Purić-Ljubanj may represent incompleteness brought about by death, the state of in-between-ness, which gets resolved with the final burning episode and closing of the mound. This may indicate an almost organic perspective of the landscape where a whole would be made out of imperfect parts and possess the ability to eventually repair itself. The role of the elements taken from the landscape, the settlement, and the funeral pyre in ritual performance is clear but not fixed, as it is through the final act of ritual that the mounds are made complete and the memory of the dead is perpetuated into posterity. The attention to detail in the funerary context exhibited at Zmijino, on the other hand, ensures that such incompleteness does not even become a possibility. The structure of their ritual exhibits a fragmentary, mosaic-like, at places almost geometrical nature, where each element is given equal treatment and is essential to the whole. There are also distinct instances of spatial clustering of graves at the cemetery (fig. 7), possibly signalling kinship relations between the deceased. On the level of cemeteries as places in the landscape, these concepts are reaffirmed, either in the organic shapes of mounds at Purić-Ljubanj, or in the relatively even spatial distribution of the graves at Zmijino.

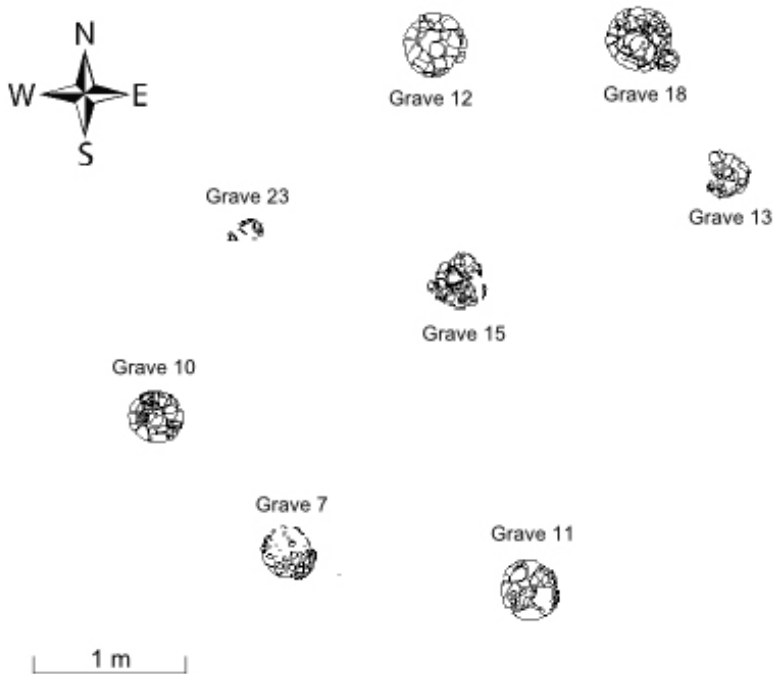


Fig. 7: Eight graves forming a spatial cluster at Zmijino. Image by Andreja Malovoz and Josip Bazo. © Andreja Malovoz / Stjepan Gruber County Museum

At the level of participation, this scheme implies that the people who actually conduct ritual actions at Purić-Ljubanj are many, due to the requirement for the workforce necessary to complete the ritual, while at Zmijino a single person would essentially be enough to complete the final act of burial. This, of course, does not lead to the conclusion that all members of the group were necessarily equally versed in the minutiae of ritual, nor that they were directly involved in the organisation of events. We should also be aware of the importance of spectators without whom there would be no performance as such, and who are, therefore, in essence, also participants.

The search for prehistoric identity is a search for a concept. The approach to landscape as material culture is, as a methodology, both sufficiently focused and extensive to include not only all immediate material manifestations at the site, its surroundings, and relations to other sites in the area (and to do so in an integrated way), but also the immaterial realities of these manifestations. This is because landscape

as a “socially constituted space”<sup>25</sup> is discovered, created, and executed both in mind and material form. It thus becomes a material culture and a visible expression of the practices that build it through time. Landscape’s meaningfulness and its potential to preserve memories and related stories have been repeatedly highlighted.<sup>26</sup> This potential for preserving and communicating memory may be at the root of the group’s impulse to act *with* the landscape, as it evokes the memory of community engagement central to group identity creation. From this continuous memory of conscious effort sustained in the landscape, the landscape becomes an entity which gives out cues from which the groups keep constructing their world and partaking in the transmission and appropriation of socially relevant knowledge<sup>27</sup>.

## 6. Towards a Place-Based Identity in Late Bronze Age Županjska Posavina

Burial processes have long been acknowledged as a way of furthering our understanding of broader social dynamics of later prehistory across

---

25 Thomas Meier, “‘Landscape’, ‘Environment’ and a Vision of Interdisciplinarity,” in *Landscape Archaeology Between Art and Science: From a Multi- to an Interdisciplinary Approach*, ed. Sjoerd J. Kluiving and Erika B. Guttmann-Bond (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 508.

26 Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), 15; Tim Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape,” *World archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993), 166; Fokke Albert Gerritsen, *Local Identities: Landscape and Community in the Late Prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 6; Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, “Immaterial Landscapes: Homeric Geography and the Ionian Islands in Greece,” *Quaternary International* 251 (2012), 136.

27 Even if this leads to attributing a form of animism to the landscape, it should not be thought of as a complete leap of faith if we consider the argument made by Alberti and Marshall for the necessity of an approach that allows for plural ontologies in order to be able to grasp ontological alterity through the past (Benjamin Alberti and Yvonne Marshall, “Animating Archaeology: Local Theories and Conceptually Open-Ended Methodologies,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 [2009], 354.).

Europe.<sup>28</sup> Late Bronze Age groups in the Županjska Posavina area have left us with evidence of locally specific burial practices which contradict the uniformity of ritual, memory, and presentation related to the dead in later prehistory. Particularities that we find in these Late Bronze Age cemeteries open many questions about the creation and transformation of local identity in the circumstances of intense cultural exchange that is experienced during this period in the area of what is now eastern Croatia. These groups' burial practices, in the context of the generally accepted cremation practice of the period, point to differences in the conceived relationship between the dead, the landscape, and material culture. Furthermore, they disclose these groups' ways of life not only as a part of their time period in the greater regional context, but also as a part of a specific community possessing locally relevant knowledge. This knowledge pertains to modes of behaviour in the landscape bearing on social values and accepted patterns of representation of local identity. If material and ritual elements of group culture served to confirm social connections between the members, then all instances of material and ritual behaviour mentioned earlier must be understood as meaningful to group self-perception and relevant to the creation and continuation of group identity.

Communal burial practices served to affirm the communal identity. An important feature of communal cemeteries such as these is a determination of the territory belonging to the deceased, and thus to their heirs. Items buried with the people can represent wealth and status of the deceased and, consequently, of the community that performs a funerary ritual. If burial custom is involved in the transfer of information,

28 E.g., Richard Bradley, "Death and the Regeneration of Life: A New Interpretation of House Urns in Northern Europe," *Antiquity* 76, no. 292 (2002): 372–377; Joanna Brück, "Fragmentation, Personhood and the Social Construction of Technology in Middle and Late Bronze Age Britain," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 16 (2006): 297–315, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0959774306000187>; David Fontijn, "Everything in its Right Place? On Selective Deposition, Landscape and the Construction of Identity in Later Prehistory," in *Prehistoric Europe: Theory and Practice*, ed. Andrew Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 86–106; Anthony F. Harding, *European Societies in the Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Kristian Kristiansen, *Europe Before History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Mike Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999); Julian Thomas, "Reading the Body: Beaker Funerary Practice in Britain," in *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion*, ed. Paul Garwood et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1991), 33–42.

its standardization within the group who practices it assumes a relevant component for the recognition of information and its communication. This information was communicated in the context of commemorating the dead which provided an opportunity for the living to eat and drink together, to engage in ritual performances in the landscape, and to thus demonstrate their connection with the area which they inhabit and prove their right to that place. In so confirming their affiliation to the community, group members shaped their world and formed a view of themselves and other contemporary groups. Through declaring their connections with the deceased, the living partook in defining and redefining their traditions and restating their rights among the living.

Why did the communities in Županjska Posavina behave in an elaborately different fashion to what is considered typical for the groups they belonged to? Explaining cultural change is one of the ever-present and most slippery subjects in archaeology. There are several established models which may serve to explain this change, such as those of group migration, outside group influence or migration of ideas, or of internal change. The mechanisms which would bring about such subtle yet elaborate internal change within groups are amongst the least known. I propose that this change may be incidental to the experience of a particular place and related to the practice of performing identity in the landscape. This is because landscape, while assuming a formative role of an immediate reality, does not imply its uniform interpretation. It is possible for different worlds to be inscribed into what is essentially the same landscape because it readily lends itself to multiple realities by its quality of openness and not being a priori contextualised.

## 7. Bibliography

ALBERTI, Benjamin, and Yvonne Marshall. "Animating Archaeology: Local Theories and Conceptually Open-Ended Methodologies." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009): 344–356.

BRADLEY, Richard. "Death and the Regeneration of Life: A New Interpretation of House Urns in Northern Europe." *Antiquity* 76, no. 292 (2002): 372–377.

BRÜCK, Joanna. "Fragmentation, Personhood and the Social Construction of Technology in Middle and Late Bronze Age Britain", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal Vol.16*, The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 20 September 2006, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0959774306000187>, 297–315.

BUDDEN-HOSKINS, Sandy, Andreja Malovoz, and Mu-Chun Wu. "The Prehistoric Tumuli Complex of Purić-Ljubanj near Vrbanja in the Spačva Basin, Županijska Posavina." *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 30 (2013): 135–158.

BRKIĆ, M., Galović, I., and Buzaljko, R. *Osnovna Geološka Karta SFRJ 1:100.000 list Vinkovci L 34–98*. Geološki zavod Zagreb and Geoinženjering Sarajevo, Beograd: Savezni geološki Zavod, 1989.

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

ČOVIĆ, Borivoj. "Glasinačka kulturna grupa." In *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja IV, Bronzano doba*, edited by A. Benac, 413–433. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1983.

DARVILL, Timothy. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

FONTIJN, David. "Everything in its Right Place? On Selective Deposition, Landscape and the Construction of Identity in Later Prehistory." In *Prehistoric Europe: Theory and Practice*, edited by Andrew Jones, 86–106. Oxford: Blackwell, 2008.

GERRITSEN, Fokke Albert. *Local Identities: Landscape and Community in the Late Prehistoric Meuse-Demer-Scheldt Region*. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 9. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001.

HAMILAKIS, Yannis. "Eating the Dead: Mortuary Feasting and the Politics of Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age Societies." In *Cemetery*

*and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Keith Branigan, 115–32. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1998.

HARDING, Anthony F. *European societies in the Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

HERAK, Milan. "Croatia." In *Encyclopedia of European and Asian Regional Geology*, edited by Eldridge M. Moores and Rhodes W. Fairbridge, 155–160. London: Chapman & Hall, 1997.

INGOLD, Tim. "The Temporality of the Landscape." *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152–174.

KRISTIANSEN, Kristian. *Europe Before History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

LOŽNJAK DIZDAR, Darija. "Naseljenost Podravine u starijoj fazi kulture polja sa žarama." *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 22, no. 1 (2005): 25–58.

MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ, Nives. "Brodsko Posavlje u brončano i željezno doba – posljednja dva tisućljeća prije Krista", in *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa o Slavonskom Brodu u povodu 750. obljetnice prvoga pisanog spomena imena Broda*, edited by Z. Živaković-Kerže, 103–130. Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2000.

MAKKAY, János. "Foundation Sacrifices in Neolithic Houses of the Carpathian Basin." in *Valcamonica Symposium III, 1979: The Intellectual Expressions of Prehistoric Man: Art and Religion*. Proceedings, edited by E. Anati, 157–167. Capo di ponte: Editoriale Jaca Book Spa, 1983.

MALOVOZ, Andreja. *Živjeti kroz mrtve: pogrebni običaji kasnog brončanog doba u županjskoj Posavini: arheološka izložba*. Županja: Zavičajni muzej Stjepana Grubera, 2011.

MARIJAN, Boško. *Crtice iz prapovijesti Slavonije (brončano doba)*. Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera, Filozofski Fakultet, 2010.



MEIER, Thomas. "Landscape', 'Environment' and a Vision of Interdisciplinarity." In *Landscape Archaeology Between Art and Science: From a Multi- to an Interdisciplinary Approach. Papers of the First International Conference on Landscape Archaeology, Amsterdam 2010*, edited by Sjoerd J. Kluiving and Erika B. Guttman-Bond, 503–514. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

MINICHREITER, Kornelija. "Brončanodobne nekropole s paljevinskim grobovima grupe Gređani u Slavoniji." In *Arheološka istraživanja u istočnoj Slavoniji i Baranji: znanstveni skup, Vukovar 6–9, X. 1981*, edited by Nives Majnarić-Pandžić, 91–106. Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1984.

PARKER PEARSON, Mike. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999.

SCHAMA, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. London: Harper Collins, 1995.

TASIĆ, Nikola. "Belegiška grupa." In *Praistorija Vojvodine*, edited by Bogdan Brukner, Borislav Jovanović, and Nikola Tasić, 240–246. Novi Sad: Institut za izučavanje istorije Vojvodine, 1974.

THOMAS, Julian. "Reading the Body: Beaker Funerary Practice in Britain." In *Sacred and Profane: Proceedings of a Conference on Archaeology, Ritual and Religion*, edited by Paul Garwood et al., 33–42. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1991.

VAN WIJNGAARDEN, Gert Jan. "Immaterial Landscapes: Homeric Geography and the Ionian Islands in Greece." *Quaternary International* 251 (2012): 136–141.

VINSKI-GASPARINI, Ksenija. "Kasno brončano doba." In *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja IV, Bronzano doba*, edited by A. Benac, 547–646. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1983.

ZOTOVIĆ, Mihailo. *Arheološki i etnički problemi bronzanog i gvođenog doba zapadne Srbije*. Dissertationes et Monographiae 26. Beograd: Savez arheoloških društava Jugoslavije, 1985.