

UNIVERSITÄTSFORSCHUNGEN ZUR PRÄHISTORISCHEN ARCHÄOLOGIE

Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften der Universität Bochum
Fach Ur- und Frühgeschichte

Band 215

Beyond Elites

Alternatives to Hierarchical Systems
in Modelling Social Formations

Teil 2

herausgegeben
von

Tobias L. Kienlin
Andreas Zimmermann

2012

VERLAG DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH, BONN

Kienlin/Zimmermann (Hrsg.) · Beyond Elites · Teil 2

Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie

Band 215

Aus dem Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften der Universität Bochum,
Fach Ur- und Frühgeschichte



2012

Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

Beyond Elites

Alternatives to Hierarchical Systems in Modelling Social Formations

International Conference at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany
October 22–24, 2009

Teil 2

herausgegeben
von

Tobias L. Kienlin
Andreas Zimmermann



2012

Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Gerda Henkel Stiftung, Düsseldorf

Satz & Layout: Angelika Wiebe-Friedrich

ISBN 978-3-7749-3675-1

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie.
Detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <<http://dnb.d-nb.de>> abrufbar.

Copyright 2012 by Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

Contents

Volume 2

Lorenz Rahmstorf

Control Mechanisms in Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, the Aegean and Central Europe,
c. 2600–2000 BC, and the Question of Social Power in Early Complex Societies. 311

Sheila Kohring

A Scalar Perspective to Social Complexity: Complex Relations and Complex Questions 327

Martin Bartelheim

Detecting Social Structures in the Bronze Age of Southeastern Spain 339

James A. Johnson – Bryan Hanks

Society, Demography and Community: Reassessing Bronze Age Sintashta Populations
in the Southern Urals, Russia (2100–1700 BC) 355

Margarita Primas

Networks and Hierarchy in Bronze Age Contexts. 369

Kristian Kristiansen

Bronze Age Dialectics:
Ritual Economies and the Consolidation of Social Divisions 381

Mateusz Jaeger

Social Archaeology or Archaeology of Elites?
Some Remarks on an Early Bronze Age Grave from Bruszczewo 393

Mechtild Freudenberg

Eliten in der Provinz – Überlegungen zu einigen
reich ausgestatteten Gräbern der älteren Bronzezeit in Schleswig-Holstein 403

Maikel H. G. Kuijpers

Towards a Deeper Understanding of Metalworking Technology 413

Bianka Nessel

Metallurgen im Grab – Überlegungen zur sozialen Einstufung handwerklicher Spezialisten 423

Thomas Stöllner

Mining and Elites: A Paradigm Beyond the Evidence in European Metal Ages 433

Siegfried Kurz

Die Heuneburg an der oberen Donau.
Ein Ansatz zur Interpretation eines späthallstattzeitlichen Siedlungszentrums 449

<i>Beat Schweizer</i> Fürsten, Chiefs und Big Men. Oder: <i>Dorophagoi</i> – <i>Basileis</i> als Gabenfresser. Zu Eliten in den Altertumswissenschaften und Elitenkritik der Antike	461
<i>Christoph Ulf</i> Der Streit um Standards: die homerischen Epen als Diskussionsforum	471
<i>Leonie C. Koch</i> Die Frauen von Veji – gegliederte Gesellschaft oder befreundete Gemeinschaft?	483
<i>Dirk Steuernagel</i> The Origins of Order: Funerary Imagery and Social Change in Lucania and Campania (4 th to 3 rd centuries B. C.)	509
<i>Martin Mohr</i> Kompetition und Kooperation von Gruppenidentitäten in einem intergruppalen Kontext – Die Herausbildung einer polisgemeinschaftlichen Gesamtidentität im archaischen Griechenland .	521
<i>Patric-Alexander Kreuz</i> Die Einheit der Stadt? ,Alternative' Topographien römischer Städte	533
<i>Heidi Peter-Röcher</i> Von Hjortspring nach Nydam – Macht und Herrschaft im Spiegel der großen Waffenopfer	545
<i>Anne Widura</i> From Status to Meaning – An Alternative Approach to Board Game Objects in Iron Age Scandinavia	551
<i>Sebastian Brather</i> Nur „Adlige“ und „Bauern“? Komplexe Sozialstrukturen der Merowingerzeit und ihre archäologische Rekonstruktion	561
List of Contributors	573

Mateusz Jaeger

Social Archaeology or Archaeology of Elites? Some Remarks on an Early Bronze Age Grave from Bruszczewo

Introduction*

A review of many important works on Bronze Age societies published in recent years¹ supports the thesis of a peculiar ‘paradigm of elites’ (*archaeology of elites*), with little attention being given to other segments of past societies (*archaeology of masses*).

The concentration on the rise, evolution, and life of Bronze Age elites is caused above all by their relatively good ‘visibility’ or prominence in archaeological sources. We tend therefore to see elites in exceptional features that depart from predefined standards. Next to luxury objects, either made of rare and inaccessible raw materials (imports) or having specific forms (e. g. halberds, rich and symbolic ornaments), we look for structures and graves, the erection of which required either a considerable outlay of labour or whose furnishings departed from a prevailing model (Müller 1994a; 1994b; Hansen 2002). The research thus far would appear to confirm that in accepting quite universally these criteria of ‘elitism’ of some archaeological sources, in particular burials, we do not err in our basic theses.

By contrast, the treatment of finds departing from the predefined model is quite different. On most occasions, the study of such artefacts is limited to the description of their basic characteristics. The same is true for the graves that do not stand out with respect to their form or unusual grave goods. At best, the investigation in such cases is limited to physicochemical methods, used to determine absolute age, and anthropological analyses. However, even these limited efforts are not a dominant methodological standard.

Consequently, the difference in the treatment of sources referring to the *archaeology of elites* and *archaeology of masses* can be seen, above all, at the level of interpretation. Artefacts making up the latter category only rarely serve to spin broader narratives. It can be said that equally in our age, as in the past, the *masses* form only a background for the actions of

elites, which are far more readily described and reconstructed.

Unique archaeological sources, providing an opportunity to detect people occupying extreme rungs on the social ladder, were supplied by the northeast periphery of the Únětice culture (Kościan group), specifically by a defensive settlement in Bruszczewo and a barrow cemetery in Łęki Małe.

Archaeology of elites

In the micro-region of the Kościan group of the Únětice culture, a number of sources were recorded, indicating the existence of a local power structure. Next to the defensive settlement, we know of many finds of single bronze objects, hoards, and a barrow cemetery of ‘princely graves’ (fig. 1) (Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010).

The Bruszczewo settlement is one of the few well-documented examples of Únětice culture defensive structures² (Jaeger 2010a). In the light of what we currently know, it is reasonable to call it unique. For in the rich region of Central Germany, which must have originally been of key importance, no similar site has been discovered so far (Ettel 2008), while rather little is known about cited examples of defensive structures from Bohemia and Moravia, because they have yet to be thoroughly investigated (Stuchlík 1985).

In Bruszczewo, a record was made of a complex system of fortifications surrounding the settlement, which had been preserved in part under oxygen-free conditions, in the peat portion of the site. Investigations supplied proof of long-lasting occupation of the settlement (ca. 350 years) and the probable production of metal throughout its existence (Rassmann 2004; 2010). The site yielded also an amber bead that certainly could be said to be a trace of a larger presence of the original material (Czebreszuk/Kneisel/Müller 2010). Palynological profiles, in turn, have

* This article was written in frames of grant NN 109 053539, financed by National Science Centre.

1 Kristiansen 1998; Eliten 1999; Kristiansen/Larsson 2005; Krause 2002; 2005; 2009.

2 The site, excavated already in the 1960s, was an object of interdisciplinary archaeological investigations, forming part of a Polish-German project pursued in collaboration between the universities in Poznań and Kiel. See Czebreszuk/Müller (2004) and Müller/Czebreszuk/Kneisel (2010).



Fig. 1: Łęki Małe, barrow no. 1 (photo M. Jaeger).

shown how intensive the local farming and breeding economy was; intensive enough to deplete the resources of the natural environment so much as to contribute towards settlement decay at the decline of the Early Bronze Age (Haas/Wahlmüller 2004; 2010).

The erection of massive fortifications, intensive economic activity and access to the key raw materials of the Bronze Age, i. e. metal and amber, far from where they naturally occurred, argue in favour of Bruszczewo being an arena where elites were active organizing the life and activities of a local community. The presence of a privileged stratum in the micro-region of the Kościan group is borne out by both numerous deposits of bronze objects, testifying to ritual activities, and an exceptionally high number of 'princely graves'. The immediate surroundings of the defensive settlement yielded finds of bronze objects and amber. Originally, they could have been furnishings of a rich ('princely'?) barrow burial (Schwenzer 2004; Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010: 230).

The barrow cemetery in Łęki Małe, in turn, could be said to be absolutely exceptional on the scale of the Únětice culture. In contrast to other – single – examples of the culture's 'princely graves' (e. g. Leubingen, Helmsdorf), this is the only funerary complex associated with the culture, consisting of at least four barrows (Kowiańska-Piaszykowska/Kurnatowski 1954; Kowiańska-Piaszykowska 2006; Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010: 229–230). The explored graves proved to have a complex internal structure and rich grave goods (for instance, halberds, daggers with solid handles, gold and amber ornaments; Kowiańska-Piaszykowska 2006) (fig. 2). There is no doubt that they differ considerably

from numerous examples of flat graves of the Únětice culture that had relatively paltry collections of grave goods and a simple structure (Butent-Stefaniak 1997: 200–210; Kadrow 2001: 121–123).

The accumulation of wealth within the Kościan group is surprising above all because of its location far from the core of the Únětice oecumene. In another place, the very peripheral nature of the Kościan group was interpreted as the main reason for its cultural success (Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010: 231–232). It was argued that in areas distant from copper and tin deposits it was much easier to control and monopolize metallurgy. With time, local elites were able to play a significant role in the exchange of another strategic material – amber (Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010: 230–231, fig. 10) – distributed over the vast expanses of Bronze Age Europe (Jaeger 2010b: 179–180; Czebreszuk 2011).

The above short description of sources related to the Kościan group of the Únětice culture justifies a supposition that a privileged stratum – an elite – lived in its midst.

Until now, no cemetery directly related to the Bruszczewo settlement has been discovered. This means that it is still impossible to determine how numerous its population was and what differences in status could have applied to the whole local community.

Comprehensive sources, offering both an insight into differentiation of grave goods and necessary information on the hierarchy of settlement, can be found on the Iberian Peninsula and are associated with El Argar culture. In some respects, this culture resembles that of the Únětice (Bartelheim 1997). Ac-

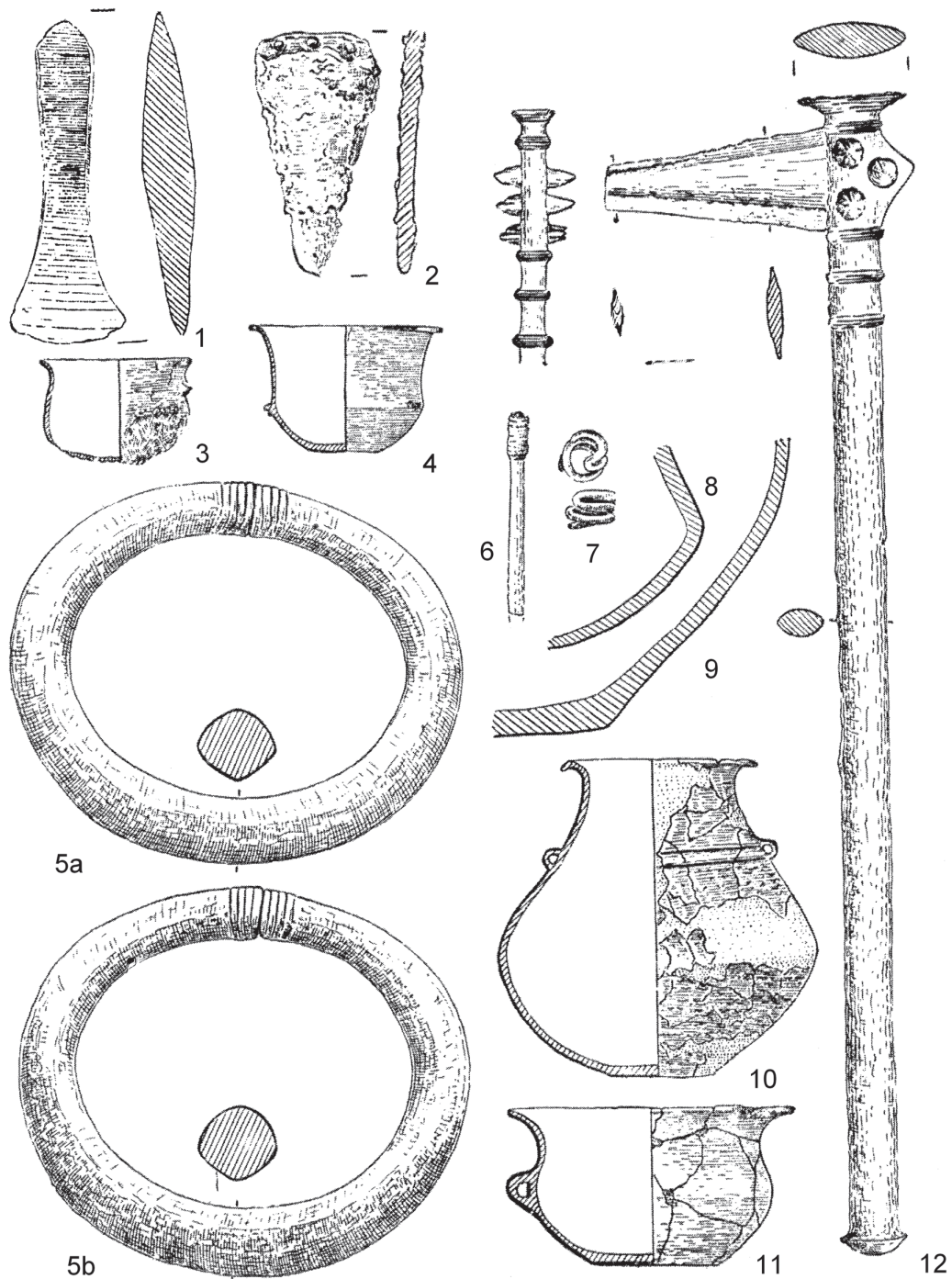


Fig. 2: Łęki Małe, contents of grave A (barrow no. 1): 1, 2, 5, 6, 12 – bronze; 7 – gold (after Kowiańska/Piaszykova 2006).

According to the authors of the investigations, relying on the analysis of grave goods, the dead can be divided into three separate categories corresponding to the social classes they belonged to when alive: a ruling class, a class formed of people enjoying full social rights or a middle class, and a class made up of dependent people who were economically exploited (Lull/Estevez 1986; Lull et al. 2010: 326). Regardless of the overall opinion on such clear distinctions made in respect of Early Bronze Age societies, the proportion

between the privileged class (a clear minority) and the other members of the community would appear to be correct.³

³ In his paper *Political collapse and social change at the end of El Argar*, delivered on 15 October 2011 in Halle at the conference *1600. Kultureller Umbruch im Schatten des Thera-Ausbruchs?*, Roberto Risch set the percentage distribution of members of individual classes as follows: 10 % (elites), 40 % (middle class) and 50 % (dependent people economically exploited).

Archaeology of masses

As already mentioned, no cemetery directly related to the Bruszczevo settlement has been discovered so far. In 2004, however, a single grave was unearthed in the eastern portion of the site, where conditions conducive to the preservation of organic substances prevail (Kneisel 2010a); that of a burial of a young man, aged 18–24 (Iwanek/Piontek/Nowak 2010: 744). The man's body had been originally buried, wrapped in a mat of birch twigs and the grave was fortified with a lining of timber beams (Kneisel 2010a) (fig. 3). The dead man's grave goods included a large piece of a coarse ceramic vessel placed next to the head and two hammerstones placed next to the hands (fig. 4). In a layer about 10–15 cm above the level of the grave, a deposit of cereals was discovered, consisting for the most part of husked barley (Kneisel 2010a). This paltry collection of grave goods does not differ significantly from the standards of Únětice culture funerary rites.

The collection of grave goods accompanying the dead man and their function – hammerstones, i. e. work tools – support the presumption that the buried person did not enjoy a special social status in his lifetime.

Many graves similar to that from Bruszczevo are known from the Únětice culture oecumene, including areas lying closest to the Kościan group (Sarnowska 1969; Butent-Stefaniak 1997: 200–210). The so called narrations taking them as a point of departure are most often limited to the description of grave goods as well as the form and structural elements of graves (e. g. Kopiasz 2004).

The Bruszczevo grave was situated in isolation, close to the remains of buildings discovered in the peat portion of the site where the conditions of burial deposition supplied unique information on the timber elements of the grave structure. What else needs to be stressed is a prosaic circumstance, but crucial at the same time, namely the burial was unearthed during one of the excavation seasons, forming part of an interdisciplinary project of stationary investigations spread over a number of years. These circumstances meant the grave was given a lot of



Fig. 3: Grave from Bruszczevo (photo J. Kneisel).

attention. As a result, unique information was collected which helped spin a narrative concerning the *archaeology of masses* and thus supplement the story of the *archaeology of elites*.

The burial was subjected to detailed specialist analyses. Three radiocarbon measurements were made (using the AMS method). One measurement dated the timber of the grave structure, another dated skeleton bones, while the third determined the age of the cereals found above the grave. According to the obtained sequence of dates, the period when the deceased was most probably interred in the grave spans the years 1870–1770 BC (Kneisel 2010a). The

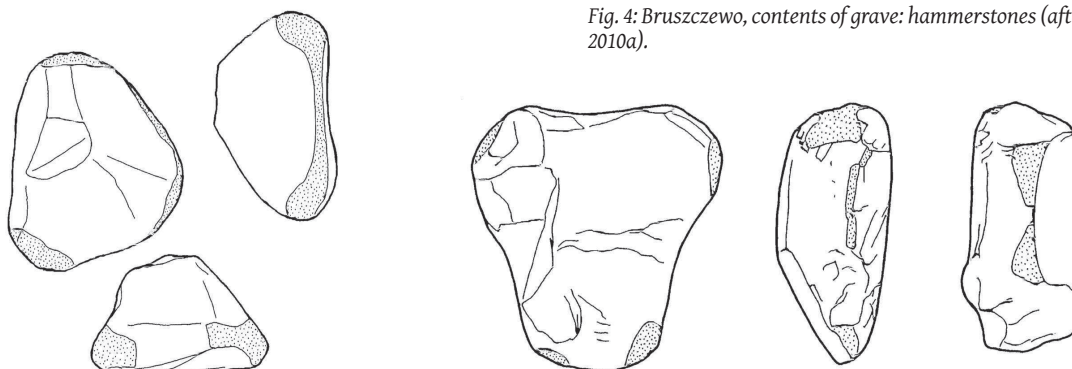


Fig. 4: Bruszczevo, contents of grave: hammerstones (after Kneisel 2010a).

skeleton was studied *in situ* by anthropologists. The study yielded a number of important observations. Next to making basic determinations (age, height, and weight of the deceased at the time of death), many skeleton deformations were recorded (Iwanek/Piontek/Nowak 2010). As the evidence suggests, from the age of 8 through to 13, the man suffered from anaemia. Other degenerative changes were caused by very intensive work that the deceased performed for a long time (from adolescence until his death). This involved chiefly lifting and carrying large weights on his right side, possibly with the weights being additionally made stable by a band fastened around the head. Additionally, the man dragged large weights, using a band put over his right shoulder. The work was so demanding and performed for so long a time that it induced degenerative changes in the skeleton (and possibly a dislocation of the acromio-clavicular joint). As a result, the man assumed a specific posture and moved in a characteristic way, visibly limping on his right leg, before he died (Iwanek/Piontek/Nowak 2010: 746).

The above information can be interpreted further, relying on the context of the grave. The fortifications of the settlement therefore are crucially important for the correct understanding of the information following from the anthropological study and for telling the story of a man belonging to the *masses*.

A peninsula (mineral portion of the site) was fortified with three palisades of massive oak piles (up to 30 cm in diameter) and a ditch which in some places was about 20 m wide and 4 m deep (fig. 5). Additional fortifications were built in the east part of the site, adjacent to the shore of the original lake. They comprised three lines of timber structures: two wattle walls and a wall of halved beams inserted between a double row of piles (Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010: 218–220). Many radiocarbon and dendrological measure-

ments from Bruszczewo (Kneisel 2010c: 173–174; Jaeger 2011: 59–60) show that the individual elements of the fortifications were built in various periods. Trees for the construction of the oldest elements (a palisade uncovered in excavation 7) were cut down in the late 21st and early 20th centuries BC. The structures were maintained for a period of about 200 years (Czebreszuk/Müller 2004b: 294–295, fig. 135; Czebreszuk et al. 2004: 73, fig. 27). The palisade piles in the entrance zone and the remains of a gate date back to 1740–1610 BC (Jaeger 2011: 60). The wattle structures on the lakeshore had been built in relatively short periods of time that were determined using dendrochronological dating. The outer wattle was built in 1797–1790 BC while the inner one was erected between 1793 and 1787 BC. The wall of halved beams was most likely built in 1787 BC (Kneisel 2010c: 224).

Each element of the Bruszczewo fortifications, the evidence suggests, required a lot of effort and time to build. It seems very likely that the deceased found in the grave within the settlement had been one of their builders. Tell-tale micro- and macro-injuries to his skeleton may have been caused, in the opinion of anthropologists, by repetitive strain. The examples of work causing such strain given earlier can be hypothetically identified with successive stages of procuring timber and erecting fortifications in Bruszczewo. For these types of work involved both considerable weight lifting – baskets of earth dug from the ditch – and dragging heavy oak trunks, necessary for constructing the palisade, over long distances to the peninsula.

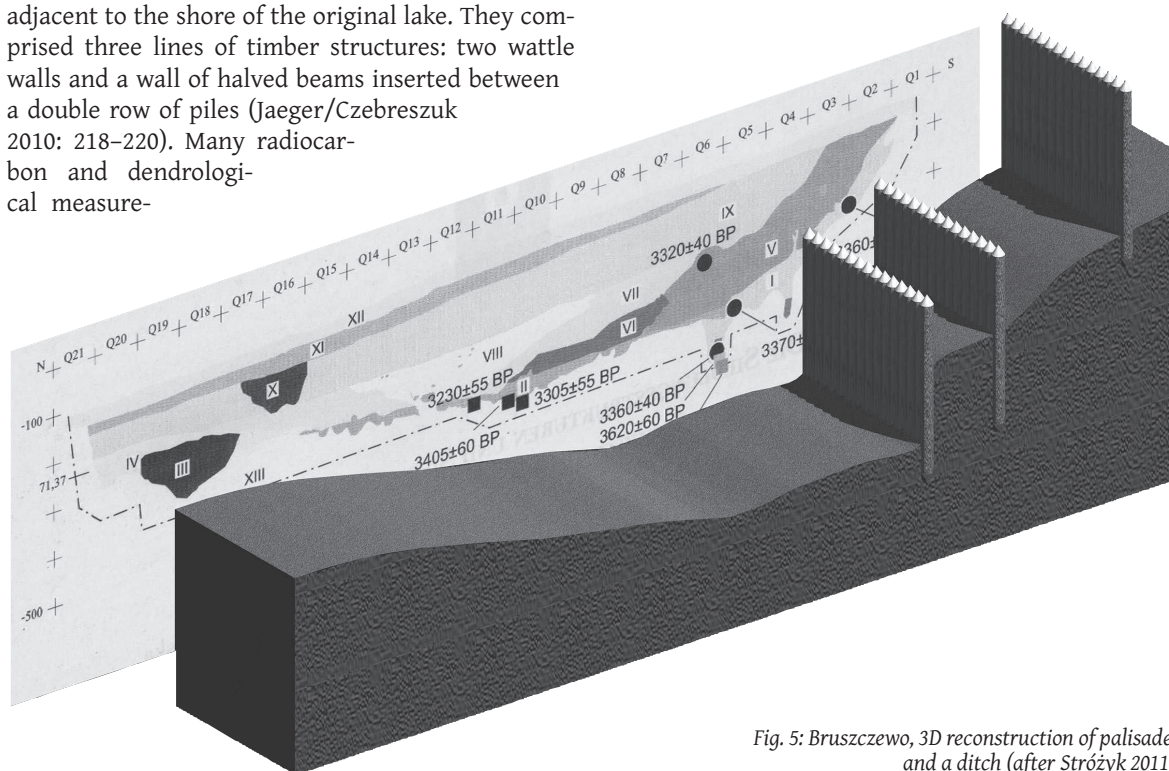


Fig. 5: Bruszczewo, 3D reconstruction of palisades and a ditch (after Stróżyk 2011).

The dating of individual fortification elements supports the assumption that the man could have worked at the raising and maintenance of the oldest palisade surrounding the peninsula (mineral part of the site), erecting the structure in the east zone of the settlement (peat portion of the site), or digging and possible deepening of the ditch. It emerges from simulations and a 3D reconstruction of individual parts of the Bruszczewo settlement that 1,850 oak piles, each over 3 m tall, were used for building the palisade (Stróżyk 2011: 64). A tree-stand with so many oaks of the right size must have occupied a large area. Given the fact that the immediate surroundings of the settlement were intensively used for farming and animal breeding, causing considerable deforestation, borne out by palynological profiles (Kneisel et al. 2008: 168–169), it must be assumed that procuring timber in the right quantity and of appropriate quality required covering large distances. Likewise, a considerable effort was needed to dig and deepen the ditch 20 m wide and 4 m deep, which at least periodically must have been filled with precipitation water (Bork 2010: 44). The thickness of the Early Bronze ditch fill was estimated at approx. 1,505 cu. m (Hildebrandt-Radke 2010).

Assuming that the hypothesis identifying the deceased man with a builder of the fortifications around the settlement is correct, what surprises is the huge amount of effort reflected in the skeleton deformations. They may be evidence that building and maintaining the fortifications in Bruszczewo were not short-lived instances of common effort, undertaken in the face of imminent threat of aggression or invasion.⁴ It seems rather more likely that the work at the fortifications was performed (as a sole task?) by a small group of people over long periods of time. The micro- and macro-injuries to bones resulted not only from intensive work, but also from the fact that it was performed over a long time – possibly even for several years (Iwanek/Piontek/Nowak 2010: 746). In the case of Bruszczewo, this would not be the only example of specialization in the performance of specific tasks. A clear division of labour and skills in other fields and crafts can be seen in the results of spatial analyses of individual source categories related to the processing of wood, leather and metals as well as the distribution of goods (cereals, meat of wild and domesticated animals) (Kneisel 2010c: 185–188; Makowiecki/Drejer 2010: 294, 300).

Conclusion

The sources related to the Kościan group show us a picture of two totally different social spheres. On the one hand, we have a number of features that must be seen as a material manifestation of local elites. Relying on these features, we may without hesitation spin a so called narrative, presenting the elites as a social group, which was likely less numerous than other groups, but nevertheless provided the local community with access to strategic raw materials as well as organized and (re-) distributed labour and goods (Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010). On the other hand, a modest burial discovered within the settlement revealed a man whose existence imparts logical sense and justification to the discussion on the functioning of elites. The man buried in the grave died at a young age, worked very intensively when alive, and was crippled as a result. He was buried away from the cemetery proper, likely in isolation, and was given only two hammerstones – work tools.

The question of relations holding between members belonging to the extreme poles of Bruszczewo's Early Bronze Age society, for lack of space, cannot be addressed in this paper. This issue therefore deserves a separate study based on a greater number of sources. However, other conclusions following from the above discussion need to be stressed. The example of the grave from Bruszczewo indicates how important it is to apply detailed research procedures to features that seem typical in their respective category. This, it may be argued, is especially vital for the study of the Bronze Age where the paradigm of elites controlling the most significant aspects of the presence of a new raw material – metal – is deeply rooted.⁵ Information supplied by specialist analyses, combined with the knowledge of the burial context, helped present a narrative supplementing the picture of the local community. From within an anonymous *mass* therefore, a single person could be isolated. His brief history, based on his hypothetical identification as a builder, may seem naïve. It is worth noting, however, that contrary to the roles that are frequently imposed *a priori* on reconstructed elites (control – monopolization – distribution), the fate shared by the dead man from Bruszczewo presented, here at least, has left behind irrefutable evidence to prove his status and relative social function.

4 This corresponds to the prevailing view of warfare in the section of the Bronze Age in question. It is believed that small-scale conflicts dominated then (Louwe Kooijmans 1998: 338; Uhnér 2010: 285–286; Jaeger 2011: 176–177).

5 See comments in Kienlin/Stöllner (2009).

References

Bartelheim 1997

M. Bartelheim, Aunjetitz und El Argar. Neue Betrachtungen zu einer alten Frage. In: C. Becker/M.-L. Dunkelmann/C. Metzner-Nebelsick/H. Peter-Röcher/M. Roeder/B. Teržan (eds.), *CHRONOS. Festschrift Bernhard Hänsel. Studia Honoraria 1*. Espelkamp: Marie Leidorf 1997, 275–285.

Bork 2010

H. R. Bork 2010, Archäologische und umweltgeschichtliche Untersuchung eines markanten Sporns am westlichen Talrand der Samica/Archeologiczna oraz historyczno-przyrodnicza analiza półwyspu na krawędzi doliny rzeki Samica. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 39–50.

Butent-Stefaniak 1997

B. Butent-Stefaniak, Z badań nad stosunkami kulturowymi w dorzeczu górnej i środkowej Odry we wczesnym okresie epoki brązu. Wrocław: Ossolineum 1997.

Czebreszuk 2011

J. Czebreszuk, *Bursztyn w kulturze mykeńskiej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie 2011.

Czebreszuk/Ducke/Müller/Silka 2004

J. Czebreszuk/B. Ducke/J. Müller/P. Silka, Siedlungsstrukturen und Siedlungstopographie/Struktura i topografia osady. In: J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom I. Forschungsstand – Erste Ergebnisse – Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal/Stan badań – Pierwsze wyniki – Wschodnia, torfowa część stanowiska. Poznań/Kiel/Rahden Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf 2004, 71–77.

Czebreszuk/Kneisel/Müller 2010

J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller/J. Kneisel, Eine Bernsteinperle aus Bruszczewo/Paciorek bursztynowy z Bruszczewa. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 693–702.

Czebreszuk/Müller 2004a

J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom I. Forschungsstand – Erste Ergebnisse – Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal/Stan badań – Pierwsze wyniki – Wschodnia, torfowa część stanowiska. Poznań/Kiel/Rahden Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf 2004.

Czebreszuk/Müller 2004b

J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller, Zur absolutchronologischen Datierung des Siedlungsseschehens/Chronologia bezwzględna osadnictwa pradziejowego. In: J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom I. Forschungsstand – Erste Ergebnisse – Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal/Stan badań – Pierwsze wyniki – Wschodnia, torfowa część stanowiska. Poznań/Kiel/Rahden Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf 2004, 293–308.

Eliten 1999

Eliten in der Bronzezeit. Ergebnisse zweier Kolloquien in Mainz und Athen. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 43. Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum 1999.

Ettel 2008

P. Ettel, Die frühbronzezeitlichen Höhensiedlungen in Mitteldeutschland und Mitteleuropa – Stand der Forschung, unpublished document: „DFG Projekt: Die Höhensiedlungen

der Mikro- und Makroregion - ökonomische, politisch-soziale, administrative und kultische Zentralorte“, Bereich für Ur- und Frühgeschichte an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena.

Haas/Wahlmüller 2004

J. N. Haas/N. Wahlmüller, Pollenanalytische Untersuchungen im Bereich der bronzezeitlichen Seeuferstation „Bruszczewo“/Badania palinologiczne na stanowisku z epoki brązu w „Bruszczewie“. In: J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom I. Forschungsstand – Erste Ergebnisse – Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal/Stan badań – Pierwsze wyniki – Wschodnia, torfowa część stanowiska. Poznań/Kiel/Rahden Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf 2004, 273–279.

Haas/Wahlmüller 2010

J. N. Haas/N. Wahlmüller, Floren- Vegetations- und Milieuveränderungen im Zuge der bronzezeitlichen Besiedlung von Bruszczewo (Polen) und der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung der umliegenden Gebiete/Przemiany środowiska, wegetacji i flory w ramach osadnictwa epoki brązu w Bruszczewie oraz gospodarcze użytkowanie otoczenia osady. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 50–81.

Hansen 2002

S. Hansen, „Überausstattungen“ in Gräbern und Horten der Frühbronzezeit. In: J. Müller (ed.), *Vom Endneolithikum zur Frühbronzezeit: Muster sozialen Wandels? Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 90*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2002, 151–174.

Hildebrandt-Radke 2010

I. Hildebrandt-Radke, Das geologische Alter und die Hauptphasen der Denudations- und Akkumulationsprozesse vor dem Hintergrund topografischer Verhältnisse des archäologischen Fundplatzes Bruszczewo/Wiek i główne fazy procesów denudacji i akumulacji w świetle uwarunkowań topograficznych stanowiska archeologicznego w Bruszczewie. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 15–38.

Iwanek/Piontek/Nowak 2010

B. Iwanek/J. Piontek/O. Nowak, Anthropologische Analyse des Skelettes aus Bruszczewo/Analiza antropologiczna szkieletu z Bruszczewa. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 730–753.

Jaeger 2010a

M. Jaeger, Stanowisko Pudlitzki 5 w ramach domniemanej sieci wczesnobrązowych osad obronnych Wielkopolski/Untersuchungen zum Fundplatz 5 Pudlitzki und seine Zugehörigkeit zum Netz frühbronzezeitlicher befestigter Siedlungen in Großpolen. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk /J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 784–819.

Jaeger 2010b

M. Jaeger, Transkarpackie kontakty kultury Otomani-Füzesabony. In: J. Gancarski (ed.), *Transkarpackie kontakty kulturowe w epoce kamienia, brązu i wczesnej epoce żelaza*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie 2010, 171–188.

Jaeger 2011

M. Jaeger, Central European Societies of Fortified Settlements in the First Half of the 2nd Millennium BC. Compar-

- tive Study of Trial Areas. Unpublished PhD manuscript, Institute of Prehistory, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań 2011.
- Jaeger/Czebreszuk 2010
M. Jaeger/J. Czebreszuk, Does a periphery look like that? The cultural landscape of the Unetice culture's Kościan group. In: Kiel Graduate School "Human Development in Landscapes" (eds.), *Landscapes and Human Development: The Contribution of European Archaeology*. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie 191. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 217–235.
- Kadrow 2001
S. Kadrow, U progę nowej epoki. Gospodarka i społeczeństwo wczesnego okresu epoki brązu w Europie Środkowej. Kraków: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2001.
- Kienlin/Stöllner 2009
T. Kienlin/T. Stöllner, Singen Copper, Alpine Settlement and Early Bronze Age Mining: Is There a Need for Elites and Strongholds? In: T. Kienlin/B. Roberts (eds.), *Metals and Societies. Studies in honour of Barbara S. Ottaway*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 169. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2009, 67–104.
- Kneisel 2010a
J. Kneisel, Eine Siedlungsbestattung der Frühbronzezeit/Pochówek na osadzie z wczesnej epoki brązu. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 715–720.
- Kneisel 2010b
J. Kneisel, Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal: Stratigrafie des Schnitt 30, Fläche 1-4/Wschodnia, wilgotna strefa stanowiska: stratygrafia wykopu 30, działki 1-4. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 167–232.
- Kneisel 2010c
J. Kneisel, Aktivitätszonen und Ressourcennutzung in der Bronzezeit Großpolens. In: B. Horejs/T. Kienlin (eds.), *Siedlung und Handwerk. Studien zu sozialen Kontext in der Bronzezeit*, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 194. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 173–190.
- Kneisel et al. 2008
J. Kneisel/H. R. Bork/J. Czebreszuk/W. Dörfler/P. Grootes/J. N. Haas/K. U. Heußner/I. Hildebrandt-Radke/H. Kroll/J. Müller/N. Wahlmüller/T. Ważny, *Bruszczewo - Early Bronze Defensive Settlement in Wielkopolska. Metallurgy, peat zone finds and change in the environment*. In: J. Czebreszuk/S. Kadrow/J. Müller (eds.), *Defensive Structures from Central Europe to the Aegean in the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC*. Poznań/Bonn: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie/Rudolf Habelt 2008, 155–170.
- Kopiasz 2004
J. Kopiasz, Cmentarzysko kultury unietyckiej na stanowisku Milejowice 19, pow. Wrocław, woj. dolnośląskie. In: B. Gediga (ed.), *Archeologiczne Zeszyty Autostradowe IAIE PAN*, vol. 3. *Badania na autostradzie A-4. Część II*. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2004, 31–60.
- Kowiańska-Piaszykowska 2006
M. Kowiańska-Piaszykowska, Cmentarzysko kurhanowe z wczesnej epoki brązu w Łękach Małych (Wilanowie) w Wielkopolsce. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu 2006.
- Kowiańska-Piaszykowska/Kurnatowski 1954
M. Kowiańska-Piaszykowska/S. Kurnatowski, Kurhan kultury unietyckiej w Łękach Małych, pow. Kościan. *Fontes Archaeologici Posnaniensis* 4, 1954, 43–76.
- Krause 2002
R. Krause, Sozialstrukturen und Hierarchien – Überlegungen zur frühbronzezeitlichen Metallurgiekette im süddeutschen Alpenvorland. In: J. Müller (eds.), *Vom Endneolithikum zur Frühbronzezeit: Muster sozialen Wandels? Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie* 90. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2002, 45–60.
- Krause 2005
R. Krause, Bronzezeitliche Burgen in den Alpen. Befestigte Siedlungen der frühen bis mittleren Bronzezeit. In: B. Horejs/R. Jung/E. Kaiser/B. Teržan (eds.), *Interpretationssraum Bronzezeit. Festschrift Bernhard Hänsel*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 121. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2005, 389–413.
- Krause 2009
R. Krause, Bronze Age Copper Production in the Alps: Organisation and Social Hierarchies in Mining Communities. In: T. Kienlin/B. Roberts (eds.), *Metals and Societies. Studies in honour of Barbara S. Ottaway*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 169. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2009, 47–66.
- Kristiansen 1998
K. Kristiansen, *Europe Before History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998.
- Kristiansen/Larsson 2005
K. Kristiansen/T. B. Larsson, *The rise of Bronze Age society: travels, transmissions and transformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005.
- Louwe Kooijmans 1998
L. P. Louwe Kooijmans, Bronzezeitliche Bauern in und um die niederländische Delta-Niederung. In: B. Hänsel (ed.), *Mensch und Umwelt in der Bronzezeit Europas. Man and Environment in European Bronze Age*. Kiel: Oetker Voges 1998, 327–339.
- Lull/Estevez 1986
V. Lull/J. Estevez, Propuesta metodológica para el estudio de las necrópolis argáricas. In: *Homenaje a Luis Siret (1934-84)*. Sevilla: Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía 1986, 441–452.
- Lull/Micó/Herrada/Risch 2010
V. Lull/R. Micó/C. Herrada/R. Risch, Metal and Social Relations of Production in the 3rd and 2nd Millennia BCE in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula. *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 67, 2010, 323–347.
- Makowiecki/Drejer 2010
D. Makowiecki/A. Drejer, Analiza chronologiczna i przestrzenna zwierzęcych szczątków kostnych wydobytych w Bruszczewie w latach 1964 - 1968/Chronologische und chorologische Analyse der in Bruszczewo gefundenen Knochenreste aus den Jahren 1964 - 1968. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 288–315.
- Müller 1994a
J. Müller, Zur sozialen Gliederung der Nachbestattungsgemeinschaft von Magdalenenberg bei Villingen. *Prähistorische Zeitschrift* 69, 1994, 175–221.
- Müller 1994b
J. Müller, Bestattungsformen als Spiegel dualer Organisation in prähistorischen Gesellschaften. *Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 15, 1994, 81–88.
- Müller/Czebreszuk/Kneisel 2010
J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), *Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski*. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010.
- Rassmann 2004
K. Rassmann, Die Bemerkungen zu den chemischen Ana-

- lysen von Kupferartefakten aus der Siedlung von Bruszczewo/Uwagi na temat analiz chemicznych wyrobów miedzianych z Bruszczewa. In: J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller (eds.), Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski. Band/Tom I. Forschungsstand – Erste Ergebnisse – Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal/Stan badań – Pierwsze wyniki – Wschodnia, torfowa część stanowiska. Poznań/Kiel/Rahden Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf 2004, 257–262.
- Rassmann 2010
K. Rassmann, Neue chemische Analysen von Kupferartefakten aus der Siedlung von Bruszczewo/Nowe analizy chemiczne wyrobów miedzianych z osady w Bruszczewie. In: J. Müller/J. Czebreszuk/J. Kneisel (eds.), Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu osadniczego z terenu Wielkopolski. Band/Tom II. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt 2010, 702–712.
- Sarnowska 1969
W. Sarnowska, Kultura unietycka w Polsce. Wrocław: Osolineum 1969.
- Schwenzer 2004
S. Schwenzer, Przysieka Polska – Ein Grabfund in der Umgebung der frühbronzezeitlichen Siedlung von Bruszczewo/Przysieka Polska – znalezisko grobowe w sąsiedztwie osady w Bruszczewie. In: J. Czebreszuk/J. Müller (eds.), Bruszczewo. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in einer prähistorischen Siedlungskammer Grosspolens/Badania mikroregionu z terenu Wielkopolski. Band/Tom I. Forschungsstand – Erste Ergebnisse – Das östliche Feuchtbodenareal/Stan badań – Pierwsze wyniki – Wschodnia, torfowa część stanowiska. Poznań/Kiel/Rahden Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf 2004, 317–324.
- Stróżyk 2011
M. Stróżyk, Architektura wczesnej epoki brązu. Próba wirtualnej rekonstrukcji osady w Bruszczewie, unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Prehistory, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań 2011.
- Stuchlík 1985
S. Stuchlík, Vyšinná sídliště únětické kultury na Moravě. In: M. Gedl (ed.), Frühbronzezeitliche befestigte Siedlungen in Mitteleuropa. Archaeologia Interregionalis. Warszawa/Kraków: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1985, 129–142.
- Uhnér 2010
C. Uhnér, Makt och samhälle: politisk ekonomi under bronsåldern i Karpaterbäckenet. Göteborg: Göteborg University Press 2010.