

TRAVAUX DE LA MAISON DE L'ORIENT ET DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE

N° 58



# ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES

## BURIAL MOUNDS IN THE COPPER AND BRONZE AGES

(Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium B.C.)

Edited by

Elisabetta BORGNA and Sylvie MÜLLER CELKA



## ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES

### BURIAL MOUNDS IN THE COPPER AND BRONZE AGES

(Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium B.C.)

**MAISON DE L'ORIENT ET DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE – JEAN POUILLOUX**

(Université Lumière-Lyon 2 – CNRS)

Publications dirigées par Jean-Baptiste YON

*Derniers titres parus dans la série TMO (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient)*

- TMO 48** *Failaka, Fouilles françaises 1984-1988, Matériel céramique du temple-tour et épigraphie*, sous la dir. d'Y. Calvet et M. Pic, édition bilingue français-anglais, trad. par E. Willcox, 2008, 204 p. (ISBN 978-2-903264-98-7)
- TMO 49** *Archaeozoology of the Near East VIII (Actes des huitièmes Rencontres internationales d'Archéozoologie de l'Asie du Sud-Ouest et des régions adjacentes, Lyon, 28 juin-1<sup>er</sup> juillet 2006/Proceedings of the eighth international Symposium on the Archaeozoology of southwestern Asia and adjacent areas, Lyon, June 28th-July 1st 2006)*, ed. by E. Vila, L. Gourichon, A.M. Choyke and H. Buitenhuis, 2008, 648 p., 2 volumes. (ISBN 978-2-35668-005-1)
- TMO 50** *Actes de vente dans le monde grec. Témoignages épigraphiques des ventes immobilières*, J. Game, 2008, 210 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-004-4)
- TMO 51** *Amphores vinaires de Narbonnaise. Production et grand commerce. Création d'une base de données géochimiques des ateliers*, F. Laubenheimer et A. Schmitt, 2009, 204 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-007-5)
- TMO 52** *Fronts de scène et lieux de culte dans le théâtre antique*, Recueil édité par J.-C. Moretti, 2009, 240 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-010-5)
- TMO 53** *Espace ecclésial et liturgie au Moyen Âge*, sous la dir. d'A. Baud, 2010, 382 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-011-2)
- TMO 54** *Espace civil, espace religieux en Égée durant la période mycénienne. Approches épigraphique, linguistique et archéologique*, éd. par I. Boehm et S. Müller, 2010, 240 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-012-9)
- TMO 55** *Entre nomades et sédentaires. Prospections en Syrie du Nord et en Jordanie du Sud*, sous la dir. de P.-L. Gatier, B. Geyer et M.-O. Rousset, 2010, 288 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-014-3)
- TMO 56** *Regards croisés sur l'étude archéologique des paysages anciens. Nouvelles recherches dans le Bassin méditerranéen, en Asie centrale et au Proche et au Moyen-Orient. Actes des rencontres internationales « Broadening Horizons / Élargir les Horizons », éd. par H. Alarashi, M.-L. Chambrade, S. Gondet, A. Jouvenel, C. Sauvage et H. Tronchère, 2010, 256 p. Ouvrage consultable sur le site de Persée (<http://www.persee.fr>). (ISBN 978-2-35668-017-4)*
- TMO 57** *Le Tell d'Akkaz au Koweït / Tell Akkaz in Kuwait*, sous la direction de J. Gachet-Bizollon / *under the direction of J. Gachet-Bizollon*, 2011, 440 p. (ISBN 978-2-35668-018-1)

*Ancestral Landscapes. Burial mounds in the Copper and Bronze Ages (Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium B.C.). Proceedings of the International Conference held in Udine, May 15th-18th 2008*, E. BORGNA, S. MÜLLER CELKA (eds), Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Jean Pouilloux, 2011.- 608 p., 320 illustrations N/B; 30 cm.- (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient ; 58).

Mots-clés/Keywords: Aegean, Adriatic, Balkans, Central Europe, Bronze Age, Chalcolithic, Eneolithic, biological anthropology, burial customs, burial mound, cultural interaction, funerary rituals, grave, landscape archaeology, metal, monument, tumulus.

ISSN 1955-4982

ISBN 978-2-35668-022-8

© 2011 Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Jean Pouilloux, 7 rue Raulin, F-69365 Lyon CEDEX 07

*Les ouvrages de la collection « Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient » sont en vente :*  
à la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée – Publications, 7 rue Raulin, F-69365 Lyon CEDEX 07  
[www.mom.fr/publications](http://www.mom.fr/publications) — [publications@mom.fr](mailto:publications@mom.fr) – 04 71 72 58 26  
chez de Boccard Éditions-Diffusion, Paris – [www.deboccard.com](http://www.deboccard.com)  
et au Comptoir des Presses d'Universités, Paris – [www.lcdpu.fr](http://www.lcdpu.fr)

TRAVAUX DE LA MAISON DE L'ORIENT ET DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE

N° 58



## **ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES**

### **BURIAL MOUNDS IN THE COPPER AND BRONZE AGES**

**(Central and Eastern Europe – Balkans – Adriatic – Aegean, 4th-2nd millennium B.C.)**

Proceedings of the International Conference held in Udine, May 15th-18th 2008

#### **Advisory Board**

P. Càssola Guida, University of Udine  
B. Govedarica, Freie Universität Berlin  
A. Harding, University of Exeter  
G.S. Korres, University of Athens  
J. Maran, University of Heidelberg  
L. Šmejda, University of West Bohemia

Edited by

Elisabetta BORGNA and Sylvie MÜLLER CELKA

This volume has been published with the support of Archéorient (*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* – University of Lyon 2), the University of Lyon 2, the *Dipartimento di Storia e Tutela dei Beni Culturali* – *Università di Udine* and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	11
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	15
<b>I – KEYNOTE LECTURE</b>	
Anthony HARDING <i>The Tumulus in European Prehistory: Covering the Body, Housing the Soul</i> .....	21
<b>II – BURIAL MOUNDS: SYMBOLICS AND MYTH</b>	
Blagoje GOVEDARICA <i>Die sakrale Symbolik des Kreises: Gedanken zum verborgenen Sinnbild der Hügelbestattungen</i> .....	33
Giulio PALUMBI <i>The Arslantepe Royal Tomb and the “Manipulation” of the Kurgan Ideology in Eastern Anatolia at the Beginning of the Third Millennium</i> .....	47
Philippe DELLA CASA <i>Mythical Voyages and Ancestral Monuments: Tales on Knowledge and Leadership in Prehistoric Europe</i> .....	61
<b>III – LANDSCAPES, LANDMARKS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY</b>	
Julio BENDEZU-SARMIENTO <i>Réflexion sur l’espace funéraire et la notion de territoire en Asie centrale steppique aux périodes protohistoriques (II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> millénaires av. J.-C.)</i> .....	75
Jozef BÁTORA <i>Bestattungen unter Hügeln im Gebiet der mittleren Donau seit dem Ende des Äneolithikums bis zum Beginn der mittleren Bronzezeit</i> .....	87
Mateusz JAEGER, Łukasz POSPIESZNY <i>Tumulus Culture Barrows in the Polish Lowlands. The Case of the Cemetery in Smoszew</i> .....	97
Jan TUREK, Jaroslav PEŠKA, Andrea MATĚJÍČKOVÁ <i>Visible and Invisible Monuments. Late Eneolithic Burial Mounds in Forested Areas of Central Moravia</i> .....	107
Ladislav ŠMEJDA <i>Burial Mounds in West Bohemia: the Current State of Research</i> .....	119
Claudia SACHSSE <i>Burial Mounds in the Baden Culture: Aspects of Local Developments and Outer Impacts</i> .....	127

Marko PORČIĆ	
<i>Interpreting the Vertical Distribution of Bronze Age Tumuli in the Central Balkans</i> .....	135
Vedran BARBARIĆ	
<i>Tumulus or Cairn? The Case of the Central Dalmatian Islands</i> .....	145
Giulia CODACCI-TERLEVIĆ	
<i>La scoperta della sepoltura a tumulo di Barbariga (Istria, Croazia). Novità e riscontri in relazione ai tumuli dell'età del bronzo rinvenuti nella penisola istriana e nell'Italia nord-orientale</i> .....	153
Biba TERŽAN, Bernhard HÄNSEL	
<i>A Specific Type of Tholos in the Northern Adriatic</i> .....	163
Hrvoje POTREBICA	
<i>Burial Mounds in Croatia: Landscapes of Continuity and Transformation</i> .....	171
Stavros OIKONOMIDIS, Aristeides PAPAYIANNIS, Akis TSONOS	
<i>The Emergence and the Architectural Development of the Tumulus Burial Custom in NW Greece (Epirus and the Ionian Islands) and Albania and its Connections to Settlement Organization</i> .....	185
Christina MERKOURI, Maria KOULI	
<i>The Spatial Distribution and Location of Bronze Age Tumuli in Greece</i> .....	203
Yannis GALANAKIS	
<i>Mnemonic Landscapes and Monuments of the Past: Tumuli, Tholos Tombs and Landscape Associations in Late Middle Bronze Age and Early Late Bronze Age Messenia (Greece)</i> .....	219
Lucia SARTI, Pino FENU, Valentina LEONINI, Fabio MARTINI, Sara PERUSIN	
<i>The Bell Beaker Tumulus of Via Bruschi in Sesto Fiorentino (Florence, Italy): New Research</i> .....	231
Serena VITRI, Alberto BALASSO, Giulio SIMEONI	
<i>Tumuli e strutture abitative presso Flaibano nell'alta pianura friulana (Italia, Friuli-Venezia Giulia): vecchi e nuovi dati</i> .....	239
Armando D'AGNOLO, Silvia PETTARIN, Giovanni TASCA	
<i>I tumuli del Friuli occidentale: un aggiornamento delle conoscenze</i> .....	253
Paola CÀSSOLA GUIDA	
<i>The Early Bronze Age in North Eastern Italy: the Making of a Monumental Landscape</i> .....	269
Elisabetta BORGNA	
<i>Individual Burial and Communal Rites: the Manifold Uses of Monumental Architecture in the North Adriatic Bronze Age</i> .....	279
<b>IV – BURIAL PRACTICES, RITUALS AND PEOPLE</b>	
Yuri Yakovlevič RASSAMAKIN	
<i>Eneolithic Burial Mounds in the Black Sea Steppe: from the First Burial Symbols to Monumental Ritual Architecture</i> .....	293
Stefan ALEXANDROV	
<i>Prehistoric Barrow Graves between the Danube and the Balkan Range: Stratigraphy and Relative Chronology</i> .....	307
Janusz CZEBRESZUK, Marzena SZMYT	
<i>Tumuli with Circular Ditch and the Ritual Scenario among Corded Ware Culture Societies on the North European Plain</i> .....	321

Frank FALKENSTEIN <i>The Development of Burial Rites from the Tumulus to the Urnfield Culture in Southern Central Europe</i> .....	329
Carol KACSÓ, Carola METZNER-NEBELSICK, Louis D. NEBELSICK <i>New Work at the Late Bronze Age Tumulus Cemetery of Lăpuș in Romania</i> .....	341
Martin HRISTOV <i>The Early Bronze Age Ritual Structures and Necropolis from near the Village of Dubene, Karlovo Region</i> .....	355
Kristina MIHOVIĆ, Bernhard HÄNSEL, Damir MATOŠEVIĆ, Biba TERŽAN <i>Burial Mounds of the Bronze Age at Mušego near Monkodonja. Results of the Excavations 2006-2007</i> .....	367
Mile BAKOVIĆ <i>The Princely Tumulus Gruda Boljevića Podgorica, Montenegro</i> .....	375
Sofia ASOUHIDOU <i>The Early Bronze Age Burial Mound at Kriaritsi – Sykia (Central Macedonia, Greece)</i> .....	383
Maria-Photini PAPAKONSTANTINOU <i>Bronze Age Tumuli and Grave Circles in Central Greece: the Current State of Research</i> .....	391
Vassilis ARAVANTINOS, Kyriaki PSARAKI <i>Mounds over Dwellings: The Transformation of Domestic Spaces into Community Monuments in EH II Thebes, Greece</i> .....	401
Sylvie MÜLLER CELKA <i>Burial Mounds and “Ritual Tumuli” of the Aegean Early Bronze Age</i> .....	415
Oliver DICKINSON <i>Why Grave Circles A and B at Mycenae are Very Unlikely to be Burial Tumuli</i> .....	429
Kalliopi SARRI, Sofia VOUTSAKI <i>The Argos “Tumuli”: a Re-examination</i> .....	433
Sofia VOUTSAKI, Anne INGVARSSON-SUNDSTRÖM, Søren DIETZ <i>Tumuli and Social Status: a Re-examination of the Asine Tumulus</i> .....	445
Jörg RAMBACH <i>Die Ausgrabung von zwei mittelhelladisch I-zeitlichen Grabtumuli in der Flur Kastroulia bei Ellinika (Alt-Thouria) in Messenien</i> .....	463
Giulia RECCHIA <i>Burial Mounds and “specchie” in Apulia during the Bronze Age: Local Developments and Transadriatic Connections</i> .....	475
Francesca RADINA <i>Un impianto dell’età del bronzo nell’Alta Murgia pugliese: il recinto e il tumulo del sito di Le Chianche (Minervino Murge, Bari)</i> .....	485
Elisabetta ONNIS <i>The Torre S. Sabina Tumulus (Brindisi, Italy) in the Context of Transmarine Relations during the 14th c. B.C.</i> .....	493
Elodia BIANCHIN CITTON, Claudio BALISTA <i>I tumuli funerari dell’età del Rame di Sovizzo-località S. Daniele (Vicenza): aspetti costruttivi, cronologici e culturali</i> .....	503

Lorenza ENDRIZZI, Elisabetta MOTTES, Franco NICOLIS, Nicola DEGASPERI <i>New Evidence of Ancestral Landscape in Trentino in the Copper and Bronze Ages: the Ritual Sites of Cles-Campi Neri and La Vela di Trento</i> .....	511
Elisabetta MOTTES, Michele BASSETTI, Elena SILVESTRI <i>The Bronze Age Tumuli of Gardolo di Mezzo (Trento, Italy) in the Adige Valley</i> .....	523
<b>V – DIFFUSIONISM UNDER EXAMINATION</b>	
Volker HEYD <i>Yamnaya Groups and Tumuli West of the Black Sea</i> .....	535
Janusz CZEBRESZUK, Łukasz POSPIESZNY <i>The Oldest Round Barrows of the European Lowlands</i> .....	557
Krassimir LESHTAKOV <i>Bronze Age Mortuary Practices in Thrace: A Prelude to Studying the Long-term Tradition</i> .....	567
Fanouria DAKORONIA <i>The Marmara Tumuli: their Contribution to Greek Protohistory</i> .....	579
Georgios Styl. KORRES <i>Middle Helladic Tumuli in Messenia. Ethnological Conclusions</i> .....	585
Alberto CAZZELLA <i>The (Possible) Tursi Tumulus Burial near Matera and the Relationships between Southern Italy and the Aegean-Balkan Area in the First Half of the 3rd Millennium B.C.</i> .....	597



## BURIAL MOUNDS AND “SPECCHIE” IN APULIA DURING THE BRONZE AGE LOCAL DEVELOPMENTS AND TRANSADRIATIC CONNECTIONS

Giulia RECCHIA \*

### ABSTRACT

Several funerary rituals coexist side by side during the Bronze Age in Apulia, within a small area moreover. Collective burials in hypogean tombs, that is to say tombs below ground, or natural caves, dolmens under tumuli, pit graves under tumuli and cremation cemeteries are all present. As regards the structural features, there are traits sharing parallels with Transadriatic funerary structures.

Intensive contacts between Apulia and the eastern Adriatic coast are attested from the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C. by several elements, especially by the ceramic patterns of the Cetina culture. Therefore, as regards the early phases of the Bronze Age, the presence in Apulia of small human groups of Transadriatic origin has been suggested.

The variability of the funerary structures and rituals could also reflect the existence of privileged links between some indigeneous groups and Transadriatic communities.

Following this hypothesis, Apulian funerary structures with a tumulus will be examined in detail in a diachronic perspective.

### BRONZE AGE TUMULI IN APULIA: EVIDENCE AND QUESTIONS

Several epigean, that is, above ground, monumental dry-stone, generally funerary, structures were built in Apulia during the early phases of the Bronze Age. Among them are several different structural features. They coexist with other types of funerary rituals, such as the use of hypogean structures. With a few exceptions, these appear to be opposite of the epigean structures as regards their impact on the landscape (*fig. 1, 1*).

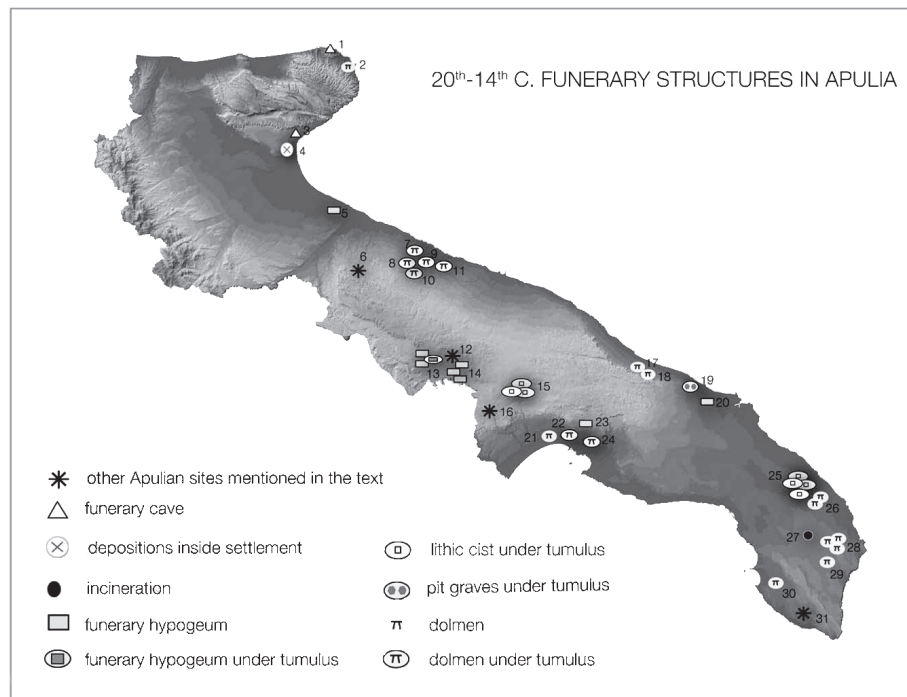
It seems useful to define some broad categories of funerary structures into which specific cases may be classified, even though the data are more complex actually. The categories of epigean structures include:

- stone cists under a tumulus (*e.g. fig. 2, 1*);
- gallery dolmens under a tumulus (*e.g. fig. 2, 3-4*);
- small dolmens, for which the presence of a tumulus is not certain (*e.g. fig. 1, 3*);
- several pit-graves under a tumulus (of which we have only one example so far at Torre Santa Sabina, discussed by E. Onnis in this volume).

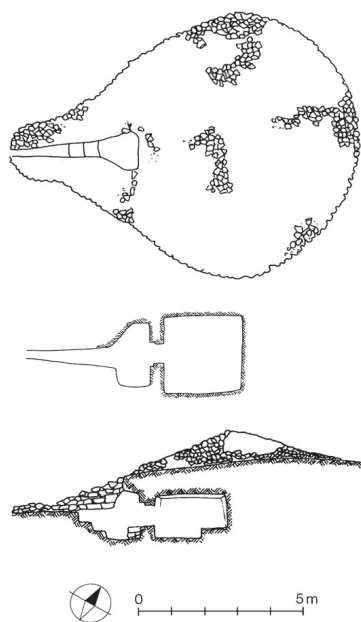
---

\* Department of Human Sciences, University of Foggia (Italy), g.recchia@unifg.it

- 1 - Grotta Manaccora
- 2 - Molinella
- 3 - Grotta di Occhiopinto
- 4 - Coppa Navigata
- 5 - Trinitapoli
- 6 - Minervino Murge
- 7 - Dolmen la Chianca
- 8 - Dolmen Albarosa
- 9 - Dolmen dei Paladini
- 10 - Dolmen Frisari
- 11 - Dolmen S. Silvestro
- 12 - Altamura
- 13 - Pisciulo
- 14 - Casal Sabini
- 15 - Masseria del Porto
- 16 - Laterza
- 17 - Dolmen di Cisternino
- 18 - Dolmen Santuri
- 19 - S. Sabina
- 20 - S. Vito dei Normanni
- 21 - Dolmen dei Lupi
- 22 - Leucaspide
- 23 - Crispiano
- 24 - Accettulla
- 25 - Vanze - Acquarica
- 26 - Giurdignano
- 27 - Muro Leccese
- 28 - Melendugno
- 29 - Minervino (LE)
- 30 - Recale
- 31 - Salve



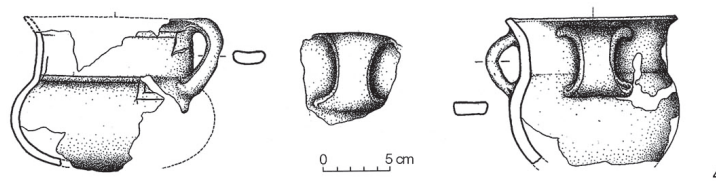
1



2



3



4

Fig. 1 – 1: 20th-14th c. funerary structures in Apulia and other Apulian sites mentioned in text; 2: Pisciulo tomb 3; 3: the dolmens of the Giurdignano area (Otranto); 4: Cetina style pottery from Pisciulo tomb 2 (2, 4 after Cataldo 1998; 3 after Cipolloni Sampò 1987).

The hypogean tombs beneath a tumulus are intermediate between burial mounds and collective inhumations in rock-cut tombs (*fig. 1, 2*). Collective hypogean structures without a tumulus are more frequently attested, and collective inhumations in natural caves also occur. Moreover, there are cremation burials in urns.

For the time being only one case of deposition within a settlement is attested at Coppa Nevigata, near Manfredonia, in the 15th c. B.C. layers (Recchia 2007-2008).

It is difficult to outline an overview of these structures, especially dolmens, in Apulia because of frequent destruction prior to recording,<sup>1</sup> later re-use and the fact that some excavations were carried out many decades ago.

To interpret these funerary monuments, some problems need to be taken into consideration:

### Origin

- they could derive from an old local tradition, possibly influenced by contacts with other regions at an earlier period;
- they could originate from cultural contacts with other regions during the Bronze Age;
- they could arise from a local development. If this is the case, similarities should be considered the mere effects of convergence.

### Chronology

It is sometimes difficult to identify the building phases of specific monuments because of their sporadic re-use in the following periods.

### Social and ideological aspects

These are embodied in the monuments in a number of ways: in their visibility in landscape (as regards dolmens), repeated use in time, internal variability and coexistence with other kinds of funerary practices, like rock-cut tombs inhumations. However, it is difficult to recognize specific rituals linked to dolmens and cists beneath a tumulus, whether these were reserved to any specific social figure and whether they originally were isolated or inserted in a cluster.

## THE EVIDENCE OF TUMULI IN APULIA DURING THE 3RD MILLENIUM B.C.

As regards the previous period, that is the 3rd millennium B.C., collective hypogean tombs (like those of the well-known cemetery at Laterza, cf. Biancofiore 1967; Biancofiore 1971) are very common,<sup>2</sup> but the use of natural caves is attested too.

New excavations carried out by E. Ingravallo (Ingravallo *et al.* 2007; Ingravallo *et al.* forthcoming) have unearthed tumuli with cremations at Salve (Lecce province). Their whole chronological range is unknown. Radiocarbon dates are lacking for tumulus no. 1: it included pottery (Ingravallo *et al.* 2007, fig. 5) showing close similarities with Taurasi, a 4th millennium site in Campania (Talamo, Recchia 2004; Talamo *et al.* forthcoming).<sup>3</sup> This kind of pottery is lacking so far in other Apulian sites: we do not know whether its use continued for a long

1. For example, we know this happened to several “specchie”, in the Salentine peninsula, and to some dolmens, like Santuri (Brindisi province: Cipolloni Sampò 1987, p. 93) and that seen from S. M. Puglisi not far from Coppa Nevigata (A. Cazzella, pers. comm.).

2. The use of rock-cut tombs starts earlier, during the Late Neolithic (see for example Arnesano: Lo Porto 1972).

3. They are cremations located near or under five apsidal or rectangular structures bounded by dry-stone walls.

period of time in this region. Tumulus no. 6 at Salve, which included Laterza type pottery, has a circular plan: it is dated by radiocarbon to 2500-2290 cal. B.C. (Ingravallo *et al.* 2007, p. 23, fig. 6). Tumulus no. 7 has a rectangular plan: its first use dates back to the first half of the 3rd millennium B.C., although we do not know whether the mound was already covering the graves.

Even if the problem of a possible “old” date for tumulus no. 1 is still unresolved, the funerary monuments of Salve are reminiscent of the burial mounds of the Western Balkans from a structural (in spite of specific differing details) and a symbolic point of view. They could support the idea that cultural contacts or movements of small human groups took place between the coasts of the Adriatic in the 3rd millennium B.C.

The possible tumulus of Tursi in the Basilicata region, probably dating back to the first half of the 3rd millennium, could also originate from this kind of relationship (Cazzella in this volume).

In other regions of peninsular Italy, tumuli are rare: the tumulus at Sesto Fiorentino (Toscana) is linked to the Beaker phenomenon but Beaker elements are very few in Apulia and such a cultural tradition seems unlikely to have influenced the appearance of Apulian tumuli. The rare Early Bronze Age tumuli in Campania are later (Palma Campania culture: Albore Livadie 2007, p. 181).

The cultural aspects of the last centuries of the 3rd millennium B.C. in Apulia are still poorly known as regards the funerary structures and most of the settlement patterns. We know that Cetina pottery occurs in several Apulian coastals (Rodi Garganico, Coppa Nevigata: Recchia 2002, Recchia 2010), nearshore sites (Rutigliano: Radina 1989) and inland sites (Altamura, Laterza: Biancofiore 1967; Biancofiore 1971): they are settlements, tombs and sites difficult to interpret (for example Pulo di Altamura). The funerary contexts consist of pre-existing (Laterza) and new rock-cut tombs (Casal Sabini tombs no. 1 and no. 3, Pisciuolo tomb no. 2: Cataldo 1996). These finds probably date back to the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Cazzella 1999; Della Casa 1995) and possibly continue into the early 2nd millennium in some areas (Recchia 2002).

The variety of funerary structures in the early 2nd millennium within such a narrow geographical area could be related to specific mental schemes of various communities, considering their potential value as territorial markers (see, for example, Cazzella 1992). Continuous relationships with the Transadriatic coast, even limited to a few human groups, could have impacted this phenomenon of variability.

#### THE FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 2nd MILLENNIUM B.C.

Certain rock-cut tombs used in the early 2nd millennium were probably built previously or near earlier hypogea: there are two groups of rock-cut tombs in the territory of Altamura (Casalsabini and Pisciuolo: Cataldo 1996; Cataldo 1998). There are three hypogea at Casalsabini, but tomb no. 2 was plundered. As aforementioned, the grave goods in tomb no. 1 included Cetina pottery dating back to late 3rd millennium B.C. A bossed-bone plaque was found too, the type of which is also widespread in the central and eastern Mediterranean during that period (Cataldo 1996, fig. 3). The tomb was also used during the phase characterized by Cavallino/Protoapennine pottery (20th-16th c. B.C.). Only a few data are available about tomb no. 3 but the presence of Cetina pottery leads to the hypothesis that it was built at the same time as hypogeum no. 1.

At Pisciuolo three hypogea were found too; they were probably built at different times but were partially contemporary in use, particularly during the 18th-16th c. B.C. (Protoapennine culture). Tomb no. 2 seems to be the earliest one: it has a long corridor, a vestibule and a sub-quadrangular chamber. The presence of Cetina pottery (*fig. 1, 4*) dates its construction at least to the late 3rd millennium (Cataldo 1998, fig. 2). Its use continues in the following centuries (Protoapennine culture), until the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age (Cataldo 1998, fig. 3). About ten inhumations were found in the vestibule and the chamber.

Hypogeum no. 3 is characterized by the presence of a tumulus (*fig. 1, 2*), which makes a significant difference with the other rock-cut tombs and constitutes a link with the dolmens. It cannot be ruled out that the tumulus was built some time after the digging out of the tomb. The plan of hypogeum no. 3 partially compares with tomb no. 2 (a sub-quadrangular chamber and vestibule, in this case larger) but the access

with three steps is different. The earliest material dates back to the early 2nd millennium B.C. (Cavallino/Protoapennine culture: Cataldo 1998, fig. 4); other elements are typical of the 15th-14th c. but a continuous use is not certain; moreover a re-use in the Late/Final Bronze Age is attested.

The hypogeum no. 1 is structurally different (it has a pit used as access and a sub-elliptical chamber); published pottery seems to start in the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Protoapennine culture: Cataldo 1998, fig. 1).

In the Apulia region (to use the term given by the modern administrative system) until now we do not know other hypogea under a tumulus but we can mention rock-cut tombs under a burial mound at Murgia Timone (Matera), not so far from Pisciuolo (Cipolloni Sampò 1987, p. 66-68). The association of a hypogeum tomb with a burial mound might not be as occasional as it looks like, at least in the High Murge-Matera plateau area.

Other rock-cut tombs (without a tumulus) are known in Apulia, starting from the early 2nd millennium B.C., like, for example, at S. Vito dei Normanni and Crispiano (Lo Porto 1964; Quagliati 1920).

As regards the epigeal structures, particularly dolmens, we do not know with any certainty when they first appear: some evidence, in particular the small dolmens in the Salentine peninsula, suggests that they began during the first phases of the Bronze Age, early in the 2nd millennium B.C. We do not know, however, whether they originally had a tumulus which has not been preserved. These structures are low and covered by a slab resting on stone piles or vertical slabs: it is the “block and boulder” technique in Whitehouse’s terminology (Whitehouse 1967). They are located in the costal area of the Salentine peninsula (Giurdignano, Muro Leccese, Melendugno, Minervino) (*fig. 1, 3*), often concentrated in small zones a few hundreds of metres apart. Most of them were plundered and lack an archaeological deposit, but remains of grave goods dating back to the early phases of the Bronze Age were preserved in some cases (Cipolloni Sampò 1987, p. 75-76). Many years ago J. Evans (1956) suggested similarity with the dolmens of the Tarxien Cemetery Maltese culture, now dated to 2300-1500 B.C. In M. Cipolloni’s opinion the comparison is strengthened by the presence (Maggiulli 1912) of a cremation burial near a destroyed dolmen at Muro Leccese, a funerary practice also used in the Tarxien Cemetery culture; moreover three small vases from this burial look like the vase of the cremation burial no. 1 at Contrada Diana, on the Lipari Islands (Cipolloni Sampò 1987).

Again in the Salentine peninsula, the “*specchie*” have to be mentioned: they are piles of stones, in a few cases dating back to the Bronze Age. The “*piccole specchie*” stone piles near Vanze (*fig. 1, 1.25*) are of great interest; eleven of them were explored in the first half of the 20th c. A.D. (Bernardini 1942; Drago 1954-1955). They are tumuli (diameter 15-25m) covering a stone cist, often in clusters: human bones and some pottery were found but not well published. In five cases pottery shows features also found in settlements dating back to the early 2nd millennium B.C.

Some dolmens are attested near Taranto too, on the costal plain, not far apart (*fig. 1, 1. 21-24*). The data are insufficient. The dolmen at Leucaspide had a tumulus (*ca.* 15m in diameter) and an access corridor bordered by a line of stones, like in the case of the “*piccole specchie*” (Cipolloni Sampò 1987, p. 93). Protoapennine pottery was found inside it. Also the dolmens of Accettulla and Taviano were considered more similar to those of the Salentine peninsula than those of the Bari province (Cipolloni Sampò 1987, p. 93-94; Whitehouse 1967, p. 361): this could depend on a chronological, rather than geographical, factor since the dolmens in the Bari province are probably somewhat later.

The funerary structures unearthed by R. Striccoli in the territory of Masseria del Porto, near Gioia del Colle (Alta Murgia), are of great interest too (*fig. 1, 1.15; fig. 2, 1-2*). They consist of five clusters of tumuli (Murgia San Francesco, Murgia Giovinazzi, Murgia San Benedetto, Masseria della Madonna, Masseria San Benedetto),<sup>4</sup> a few kilometres apart from each other, with different phases of building and use. The tumuli have a circular plan, with a perimeter wall and a central lithic chamber, sometimes with a corridor (Striccoli 1989). There are good drawings of the structures but the archaeological material is not so well published and chronology is problematic. The identified pottery allows to date some of the structures to the first centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Protoapennine culture): Murgia San Francesco tomb no. 3, Murgia Giovinazzi

4. No potsherd from Masseria della Madonna is characteristic enough to be surely attributed to the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.

tombs nos. 1 and 2, Murgia San Benedetto tomb no. 2, Masseria San Benedetto tomb no. 1 (Striccoli 1989, fig. 8, 15, 21, 23, 37, 38, 41, 51, 52, 98, 99). The presence of some flint arrowheads in the cist of tumulus no. 2 at Murgia Giovinazzi is reminiscent of Copper Age rather than Bronze Age. The abovementioned earliest tombs were re-used during the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age; in the last period new tumuli were built near the previous ones. Even if there are some differences, the tumuli of Masseria del Porto are similar to the Transadriatic Cetina ones (Marović 1959; Marović 1976; Marović 1991).

A. Jatta (1914) reported some tumuli with stone cists near Canosa (Ofanto valley). Chronological data are lacking and a later date (Final Bronze Age-Iron Age) cannot be ruled out. Recent excavations in the same area brought to light a non-funerary tumulus near Minervino Murge, which is difficult to interpret (Radina *et al.* 2008; Radina in this volume).

#### FUNERARY MONUMENTS BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 14TH C. B.C.

Important social and economic transformations took place in Apulia between the 16th and the 14th c. B.C., in relation to the development of transmarine trade with the Mycenaean world. These transformations are reflected in settlements and funerary rituals: even if rock-cut tombs and dolmens under a tumulus remain in use, changes are recognizable in both types.

The building and use of large dolmens in the Bari province seem to date back to this period.<sup>5</sup> Their structure is more complex than in previous ones: they are gallery dolmens, often built on a platform bounded by a line of vertical stones, under a tumulus. The dolmen at San Silvestro near Giovinazzo, for example, is very sophisticated: it has a circular vestibule ending the long corridor chamber and covered by the tumulus (*fig. 2, 4*) (Lo Porto 1967). They are located near the shore (but not visible from the sea). Four dolmens between Corato and Bisceglie (La Chianca, Albarosa, dei Paladini, Frisari: Cataldo 1995, pl. XXXVI) are along a stream, about 2 km apart (*fig. 1, 1.7-10; fig. 2, 3*): it is not a cluster but neither are they isolated.

Some features, especially as regards the grave goods, are reminiscent of the contemporary collective depositions in rock-cut tombs (Peroni *et al.* 2003; Tunzi Sisto 1999) or caves (for example the Grotticella Funeraria at Manaccora: Recchia 1993), the absence of weapons in the dolmens making the chief difference: it is not excluded that the well visible dolmens were all deprived of their most valuable artefacts by robbers. Elements of Transadriatic influence, such as the circular metal plaques with *repoussé* decoration or ceramics of Dinara style (Cataldo 1995, pl. XXXVII), are attested both in hypogeal and epigeal contexts.

Other dolmens, probably dating back to the same period, were recorded further south, again near the shore, such as those at Montalbano and Santuri (now missing), but we have no data on their inhumations and grave goods (Cipolloni Sampò 1987, p. 93-94). A plundered dolmen was excavated at Molinella too (Gargano promontory: Puglisi 1948; Nava 1982).

The presence of inhumations at the coastal settlement of Coppa Nevigata, near Manfredonia (*fig 1, 1.4*), is a separate case. There are certain similarities with the contemporary dolmens regarding the type of artefacts and the absence of weapons. During the 15th c. B.C. some parts of the earlier dry-stone fortification wall built about 1700 B.C. were re-used as funerary structures. In particular, two adults were each buried in a postern; residual human bones were found on the walls, which had been partially destroyed, between the posterns (see Recchia 2007-2008 for a detailed analysis). Metal plaques were found with *repoussé* decoration of Transadriatic influence, as it occurs in the Bisceglie dolmen (Cazzella, Moscoloni 1995).

In the 2008 campaign of excavation a new postern was partially unearthed: in this case the covering consisting of large slabs was preserved. I do not rule out the possibility that the posterns with burials originally looked like that. A symbolic and structural link with the dolmens is to be suggested since the dry-stone walls form a sort of tumulus and the postern a sort of stone cist, but the hypothesis needs more evidence.

5. Recently F. Radina promoted the publication and excavation of some of them (Radina 1995).

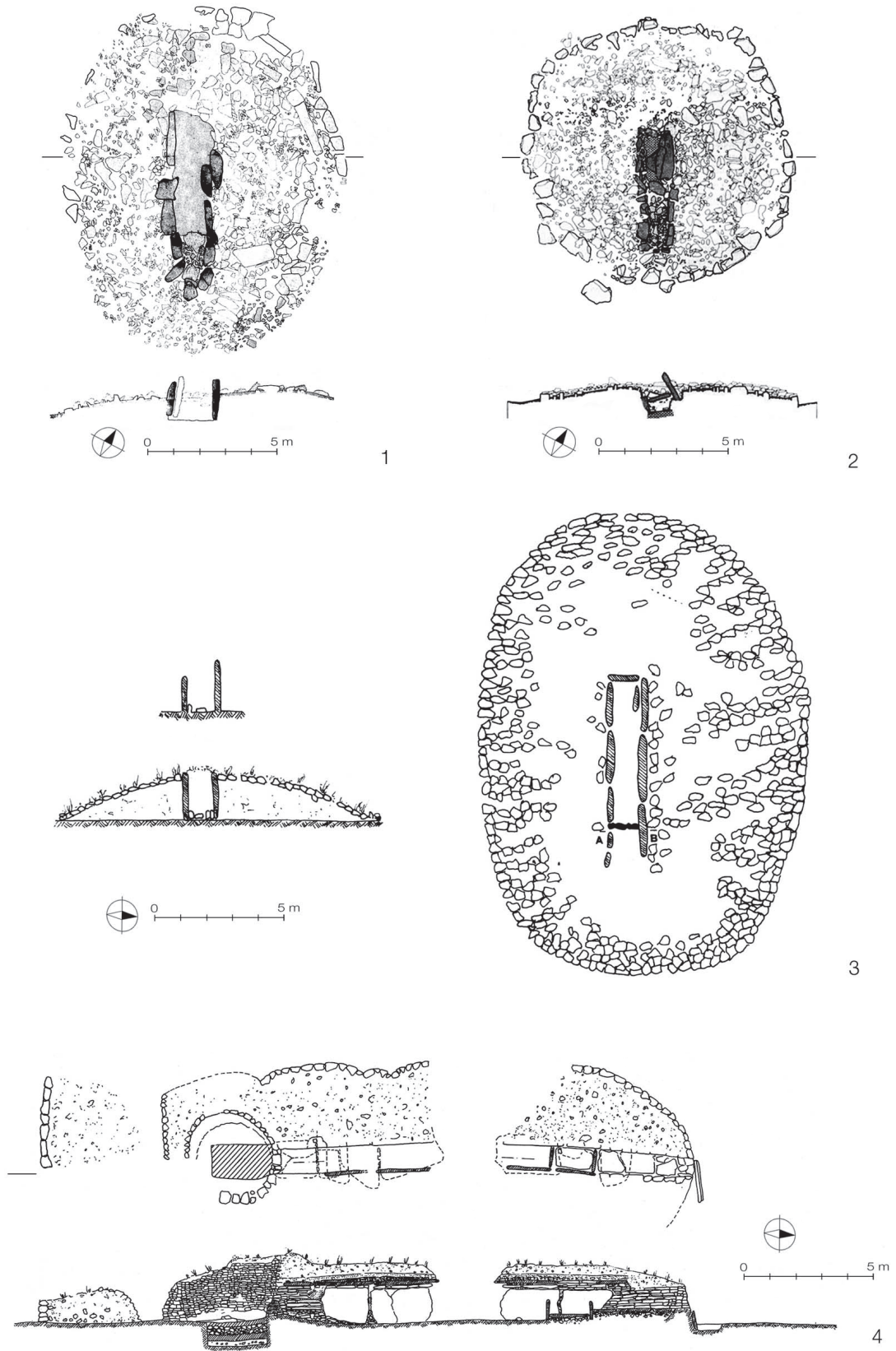


Fig. 2 – 1: Murgia S. Benedetto tomb 1; 2: Murgia Giovinazzi tomb 1; 3: dolmen of Albarosa; 4: dolmen S. Silvestro (Giovinazzo). (1, 2 after Striccoli 1989; 3 after Cipolloni Sampò 1987, 4 after Lo Porto 1965).

Burials linked to fortifications are well-known in the same period in the Istrian Castellieri (for example Monkodonja and Sedegliano: Mihovilić *et al.* 2005; Teržan, Hänsel in this volume; Càssola, Corazza 2009); this phenomenon, together with stylistic similarities in the pottery, attests a strong relationship between those regions.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The hypothesis that the presence in Apulia of Cetina pottery and Aegean elements such as the bossed-bone plaques is associated with the movements of small human groups was proposed some years ago (for example, Cazzella 1999). In my opinion another possible illustration of such interaction is the building of burial mounds in Apulia in the late 3rd millennium B.C., for instance as occurs at Salve (and perhaps some centuries earlier at Tursi: Primas 1996, p. 124; Cazzella in this volume).

These cultural contacts possibly imply that groups of immigrants on one hand adopted local funerary rituals (as attested by the presence of Cetina pottery in the rock-cut tombs of Laterza and Pisciulo) and, on the other hand, built funerary structures (burial mounds) continuing their tradition but using pottery of a local style. The differences between the monuments of southern Italy and those of the Transadriatic area could have to do with modifications of the local funerary patterns. Tomb no. 3 of Pisciulo could reflect such a “fusion” process: it leads to the hypothesis that there was a symbolic continuity with rock-cut tomb no. 2 which contained Cetina pottery. The burial mound of tomb no. 3 could derive both from a perpetuation of the Transadriatic funerary patterns and a social marking off of the buried group.

In conclusion, the appearance of burial mounds in the early centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C. (the “*specchie*” of the Salentine peninsula and tumuli of Masseria del Porto) could represent the Transadriatic tradition and, at the same time, attest to new contacts between the eastern and northern Adriatic coast and communities integrated in the local cultural context of south eastern Italy.

Continuous relationships during the Bronze Age between northern Apulia on one hand and the Transadriatic coast and Karst on the other are well attested by similarities concerning not only the ceramics and metal artefacts but also the fortified settlements. The trade of metal (and perhaps amber?) deriving from the eastern Adriatic coast could have been the basis of these relationships, and the continuous use of burial mounds a part of this enduring cultural contact and exchange, even though the monuments were transformed according to the changing social and political situation.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALBORE LIVADIE C. 2007, “L’età del Bronzo antico e medio nella Campania nord-occidentale”, in *Atti della XL Riunione Scientifica IIPP*, Florence, p. 179-203.
- BERNARDINI M. 1942, *Scavi in Vanze e Acquarica*, Lecce.
- BIANCOFIORE F. 1967, “La necropoli eneolitica di Laterza. Origini e sviluppo dei gruppi ‘protoappenninici’ in Apulia”, *Origini* 1, p. 195-300.
- BIANCOFIORE F. 1971, “Origini e sviluppo delle civiltà preclassiche dell’Italia Sud-Orientale”, *Origini* 5, p. 193-300.
- CÀSSOLA GUIDA P., CORAZZA S. 2009, “First clues as to emerging of élites and long-distance relationships in the Upper Adriatic hinterland at the end of the Bronze Age”, in E. Borgna, P. Càssola Guida (eds), *Proceedings of the International Workshop “From the Aegean to the Adriatic: Social Organisations, Modes of Exchange and Interaction in the Post-Palatial Times (12th-11th B.C.)”*, Rome, p. 273-287.



- CATALDO L. 1995, "I reperti del Dolmen la Chianca di Bisceglie nel Museo Archeologico di Bari", *Taras* 15, p. 263-274.
- CATALDO L. 1996, "La tomba di Casal Sabini e i rinvenimenti funerari tra Eneolitico ed età del Bronzo nel territorio di Altamura (Bari): le *facies* culturali indigene e i contatti transadriatici e con il Mediterraneo orientale", *Origini* 20, p. 109-164.
- CATALDO L. 1998, "The Bronze Age burials in the land of Altamura (Bari, Italy)", in C. Peretto (ed.), *Atti del XIII Congresso U.I.S.P.P.*, vol. 4, Forlì, p. 483-486.
- CAZZELLA A. 1992, "Usi funerari nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia nel corso dell'età del Bronzo: una riconsiderazione", in *La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo tra il Bronzo medio e il Bronzo recente (XVI-XIII Sec. a.C.). Un millennio di relazioni fra la Sardegna e i Paesi del Mediterraneo*, Selargius, p. 331-341.
- CAZZELLA A. 1999, "L'Egeo e il Mediterraneo centrale fra III e II millennio: una riconsiderazione", in V. La Rosa, D. Palermo, L. Vagnetti (eds), *Επί πόντον πλαζόμενοι. Simposio italiano di Studi Egei dedicato a L. Bernabò Brea e G. Pugliese Carratelli, Roma, 18-20 febbraio 1998*, Rome, p. 397-404.
- CAZZELLA A., MOSCOLONI M. 1995, "Coppa Navigata nel contesto adriatico dell'età del Bronzo", *Taras* 15, p. 129-142.
- CIPOLLONI SAMPÒ M. 1987, "Manifestazioni funerarie e struttura sociale", *Scienze dell'Antichità* 1, p. 55-119.
- DELLA CASA P. 1995, "The Cetina group and the transition from Copper to Bronze Age in Dalmatia", *Antiquity* 69, p. 565-576.
- DRAGO C. 1954-1955, "Specchie di Puglia", *BPI* 64, p. 171-223.
- EVANS D.J. 1956, "The 'Dolmens' of Malta and the Origins of Tarxien Cemetery Culture", *PPS* 22, p. 85-101.
- INGRAVALLO E., TIBERI I., FABBRI P.F., LONOCE N. forthcoming, "Il tumulo 7 nel territorio di Salve (Lecce), masseria Profichi", in *Atti della XLIII Riunione Scientifica IIPP, (Bologna, 26-29 novembre 2008)*.
- INGRAVALLO E., TIBERI I., LONOCE N., FABBRI P.F. 2007, "Testimonianze culturali e funerarie nel territorio di Salve (Lecce)", *Origini* 29, p. 7-31.
- JATTA A. 1914, *La Puglia preistorica*, Bari.
- LO PORTO F.G. 1964, "La tomba di San Vito dei Normanni e il 'Proto-appenninico B' in Puglia", *BPI* 73, p. 109-142.
- LO PORTO F.G. 1967, "Il 'dolmen a galleria' di Giovinazzo", *BPI* 76, p. 137-173.
- LO PORTO F.G. 1972, "La tomba neolitica con idolo in pietra di Arnesano (Lecce)", *RSP* 27, p. 357-372.
- MAGGIULLI P. 1912, "Scoperte di epoche primitive in Muro-Leccese", *BPI* 8, p. 159-167.
- MAROVIĆ I. 1959, "Iskopavanja kamenih gomila oko vrela rijeke Cetine god. 1953, 1954 i 1958", *VAHD* 61, p. 5-80.
- MAROVIĆ I. 1976, "Rezultati dosadašnjih istraživanja kamenih gomila oko vrela rijeke Cetine u god. 1953, 1954, 1958, 1966 i 1968", *Materijali SAdj* 12, p. 55-76.
- MAROVIĆ I. 1991, "Istraživanja kamenih gomila Cetinske kulture u srednjoj dalmaciji", *VAHD* 84, p. 15-199.
- MIHOVIĆ K., HÄNSEL B., TERŽAN B. 2005, "Moncodogno. Scavi recenti e prospettive future", in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi "Carlo Marchesetti e i Castellieri 1903-2002"*, Trieste 2003, Trieste, p. 389-408.
- NAVA M.L. 1982, "Materiali di corredo provenienti dal Dolmen di Molinella (Vieste)", *Taras* 1, p. 179-187.
- PERONI R., BARBARO B., VANZETTI A. 2003, "I materiali del nuovo ipogeo di Trinitapoli", in A. Gravina (ed.), *Atti del 23° Convegno Nazionale sulla Preistoria, Protostoria, Storia della Daunia*, San Severo, p. 287-320.
- PRIMAS M. 1996, *Velika Gruda I*, Bonn.
- PUGLISI S.M. 1948, "Le culture dei capannicoli sul promontorio del Gargano", *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* 2, p. 3-57.
- QUAGLIATI Q. 1920, "Deposito sepolcrale con vasi preistorici in Crispiano presso Taranto", *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei*, p. 433-498.

- RADINA F. 1989, "Insediamenti della prima età dei Metalli in territorio di Rutigliano (Bari)", in A. Ciancio (ed.), *Archeologia e territorio. L'area peuceta*, Gioia del Colle, p. 15-27.
- RADINA F. 1995, "Il dolmen Frisari di Bisceglie", *Taras* 15, p. 285-290.
- RADINA F., PRATICÒ G., SICOLO M., TENORE A.M. 2008, "Un paesaggio nascosto dell'Alta Murgia: l'insediamento dell'età del Bronzo sulle alture di Minervino Murge", in A. Gravina (ed.), *Atti del 28° convegno di studi sulla Preistoria, Protostoria, Storia della Daunia*, San Severo, p. 165-186.
- RECCHIA G. 1993, "Grotta Manaccora (Peschici): considerazioni sulla Grotticella funeraria e sull'area antistante (scavi Rellini-Baumgärtel)", *Origini* 17, p. 317-401.
- RECCHIA G. 2002, "I siti costieri garganici e i loro rapporti transmarini nell'età del Bronzo", in N. Negroni (ed.), *Atti del V Incontro di Studi "Preistoria e Protostoria in Etruria"*, Milan, p. 331-342.
- RECCHIA G. 2007-2008, "Antenati, 'eroi', nemici: sepolture e resti umani in alcuni abitati dell'età del Bronzo nell'Italia peninsulare", in *Proceedings of the International Congress "Buried among the living". Evidence and interpretation of intramural funerary contexts, Roma, 26-29 aprile 2006 (Scienze dell'Antichità 14)*, Rome, p. 83-121.
- RECCHIA G. 2010, "Interrelazioni culturali e scambi con l'area egeo-balcanica durante l'età del Bronzo", in A. Todisco (ed.), *La Puglia centrale dall'età del Bronzo all'Alto Medioevo*, Rome, p. 103-111.
- STRICCOLI R. 1989, *Dolmen e sepolcri a tumulo nella Puglia centrale*, Bari.
- TALAMO P., PASSARIELLO I., LUBRITTO C., TERRASI F. forthcoming, "Evoluzione culturale in Campania: indagine cronologica sistematica tramite datazioni radiocarboniche", in *Atti della XLIII Riunione Scientifica IIPP (Bologna, 26-29 novembre 2008)*.
- TALAMO P., RECCHIA G. 2004, "Taurasi, un nuovo aspetto dell'Eneolitico", in P. Talamo (ed.), *Campania. Guida alla Mostra*, Salerno.
- TUNZI SISTO A.M. 1999, "Trinitapoli – Ipogeo dei Bronzi", in A.M. Tunzi Sisto (ed.), *Ipogei della Daunia. Preistoria di un territorio*, Foggia, p. 184-216.
- WHITEHOUSE R.D. 1967, "The megalithic monuments of south eastern Italy", *Man* 2, p. 347-365.