

Princely graves from Kleinklein in Styria, Austria

Knežji grobovi v Kleinkleinu na avstrijskem Štajerskem

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Izvleček

V prispevku so opisane knežje gomile Hartnermichelkogel 1 in 2, Pommerkogel ter Kröllkogel, ki predstavljajo posebno grobišče iz starejšega halštatskega obdobja, ločeno od ostalih grobišč v okolici Burgstallkogla pri Kleinkleinu. Gre za največje in najbogatejše gomile vzhodnohalštatske kulturne skupine, ki je bila razširjena na območju doline reke Solbe, avstrijske in slovenske Štajerske, severovzhodne Hrvaške in zahodne Panonije.

Prispevek obravnava njihovo kronološko zaporedje, grobno konstrukcijo in opremo ter prifatke. Opisan je razvoj pogrebnega obredja, ki je veljalo za elito v časovnem razponu 150 let, ter opredeljen družbeni status pokopanih oseb: šlo naj bi za kralje in ne le poglavarje.

Ključne besede: Avstrija, Štajerska, Kleinklein, starejša železna doba, starejše halštatsko obdobje, gomile, knežji grobovi, grobni ritual

Abstract

The princely graves in the Hartnermichelkogel 1 and 2, Pommerkogel and Kröllkogel tumuli form a burial ground separate from the rest of the Early Hallstatt necropolis located below the hillfort at Burgstallkogel near Kleinklein. They are the largest and most richly furnished tumuli of the Eastern Hallstatt culture, which spread across Austrian and Slovenian Styria, in north-eastern Croatia and western Pannonia.

The contribution presents the chronological succession of the tumuli, their construction, furnishings and grave goods. It provides an outline of the funerary ritual of the elite buried there in the span of a century and a half, and defines the social status of the deceased as that of kings rather than chieftains.

Keywords: Austria, Styria, Kleinklein, Early Iron Age, Early Hallstatt period, tumuli, princely graves, funerary ritual

Prologue

The first time I met Prof. Stane Gabrovec was in 1975, during my visit to the Narodni muzej in Ljubljana. It was a study visit as part of my dissertation on the Negova/Negau helmets, many of which were found in Slovenia. I slept in the guest room of the museum and had plenty of time to speak with Prof. Gabrovec. During our conversations, I learnt a lot about the Iron Age in Slovenia, the chronology of the Eastern Hallstatt culture and the Iron Age helmets, as Gabrovec was a great connoisseur of these subjects. We stayed in contact even after the visit and last met in 1996, also in Ljubljana. In this year, I was granted membership of the Slovenian Archaeological Society at the same time as Prof. Gabrovec was honoured for his scientific oeuvre. At the event, he told to me that he considered me his student even though I had never attended his lectures at the University of Ljubljana. Honoured and proud, I agreed. Stane Gabrovec and his students, among them Biba Teržan, Mitja Guštin, Janez Dular and Borut Križ, are the reason why I remain a great friend of Slovenian archaeology.

The princely graves at the small village of Kleinklein in Styria rank among the most important discoveries of the whole Eastern Hallstatt culture. This culture was no unity, but rather consisted of many groups.¹ One of the most important was the Sulmtal group in Styria and neighbouring Slovenia and Croatia.² Within this group, the four monumental tumuli at Kleinklein represent the largest funerary monuments with richest grave goods, as well as one of the best examples of princely graves and a separate burial ground for the elite.

Kleinklein is located in the hilly landscape of western Styria, about 30 km south of Graz, the region's capital.³ Four monumental tumuli were discovered there (*Fig. 1*) and named after respective landowners as Hartnermichelkogel (two), Pommerkogel and Kröllkogel (the word *Kogel* is a local name for a tumulus). They lie on the terrace of the Saggau River and are visible from afar. Only Hartnermichelkogel 2 and Pommerkogel survive to this day, the other two were levelled with the ground already in the 19th century.

The four tumuli from Kleinklein represent a burial ground reserved for the elite separate from the vast necropolis and settlement complex at Burgstallkogel (*Fig. 2*). The main part of the Sulmtal necropolis lies on the terraces below the hillfort on Burgstallkogel. There are 559 tumuli surviving to this day, while a census from 1883 records 1124 and shows that many were destroyed during agricultural activities. The site that gave the Sulmtal group its name is one of the largest tumulus cemeteries in Europe; necropoleis of a similar extent can only be found in Etruscan Italy.

HISTORY OF EXCAVATIONS AT KLEINKLEIN

The early excavations in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were all conducted with the same goal in mind: the local land owners were looking for metal antiquities to sell to the Landesmuseum (today Universalmuseum) Joanneum in Graz, and for stones to be used as building material.⁴ The first to be excavated was Hartnermichelkogel 1

in 1844. The farmer found many bronze objects including a sword and a winged axe. He last dug here in 1861, even then recovering numerous bronze goods. He razed the tumulus to the ground and built a pigsty in its place, which is quite a social degradation from the princely occupants of the Hallstatt period. As for Hartnermichelkogel 2, a farmhouse (*Hartnermichelfarm*) now stands on top of it and the tumulus was never fully excavated. Several bronze goods were found in 1853 when a cellar under the house was dug into the earthen tumulus. Looking for antiquities and stone building material, farmer Vinzenz Grebenz opened Pommerkogel in 1856.

The last tumulus to be dug was Kröllkogel in 1860, revealing bronze vessels and two bronze hands. In the winter of 1905/1906, farmer Johann Schrei found a great amount of metal objects while levelling it with the ground. The excavation of this tumulus is better known thanks to the avid interest of Julius Ogrisegg, the schoolmaster in Großklein.

The finds from the four tumuli mainly survive in fragments and are kept in the Universalmuseum Joanneum. The initiative to publish them came after the Second World War, but the challenge was to first conserve and restore the fragmentary metal objects that include more than sixty bronze vessels. Discussions to that effect were held between Joanneum and the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz (RGZM). The successful revision excavation of Kröllkogel, conducted in 1995 by Diether Kramer from the Joanneum, provided fresh impetus to this idea.⁵ It revealed that the tumulus had been completely levelled, ploughing and grave robbers also damaged the stone-built burial chamber. Following this excavation, the restoration project involving the princely graves from Kleinklein began in 1999; the pottery and bone items were restored in Graz and the metal goods in Mainz.

TIME SPAN OF THE HILLFORT AND THE ELITE GRAVES AT KLEINKLEIN

The hillfort at Burgstallkogel was established in Ha B, i.e. the 10th or 9th century BC in absolute terms.⁶ The necropolis at the foot of the hill began at the same time. A handful of urn burials date to this early period, which were not marked with a

¹ Egg 1996, Fig. 152; Egg, Kramer 2005, Fig. 2.

² Dobiati 1980, 1973 ff; Teržan 1990, 124–142.

³ Schmid 1933, 219 ff; Dobiati 1978–1979, 57 ff; Egg, Kramer 2013, 15 ff, Fig. 5, Pl. 1.

⁴ Schmid 1933, 219 ff; Dobiati 1978–1979, 57 ff; Reichenberger, Dobiati 1985, 59 ff; Egg, Kramer 2013, 5 ff; Egg, Kramer 2016, 3 ff.

⁵ Egg, Kramer 2013, 21 ff.

⁶ Dobiati 1990; Smolnik 1994.



Fig. 1: Aerial photo of Kleinklein with marked locations of the princely tumuli.
 Sl. 1: Posnetek Kleinkleina iz zraka z označenimi knežjimi gomilami.

tumulus and hence not easily identifiable in the landscape. The princely graves on the separate burial ground at Kleinklein are later in date, first appearing at the end of the 8th century BC. The development of the community at Kleinklein ended in Ha D1, in the first half of the 6th century; the hillfort was abandoned and tumuli ceased to be erected. The appearance of princely graves in the Eastern Hallstatt culture is earlier than in the Western, with an overlap in Ha D1.

The four princely graves at Kleinklein are in clear chronological succession.⁷ The separate burial ground of the elite started with Hartnermichelkogel 1 in the late 8th century BC as suggested by the

bronze antennae sword, the bronze winged axe and the conical helmet with a lophos from the tumulus (Fig. 9A).⁸

Clearly later is the Pommerkogel tumulus, which the three boat fibulae date to Ha C2, between 660/650 and 630/620 BC (Fig. 9B).⁹ The last in line is Kröllkogel, erected in the first half of the 6th century BC judging from the double crested helmet and the lozenge-shaped belt plate (Fig. 9C).¹⁰ Kröllkogel is also among the last burials of the Eastern Hallstatt culture.

⁸ *Ib.*, Figs. 5–6.

⁹ *Ib.*, Fig. 33.

¹⁰ Egg, Kramer 2013, 92 ff, Fig. 30; 136 ff, Fig. 50.

⁷ Egg, Kramer 2016, 203 ff, Tab. 3.

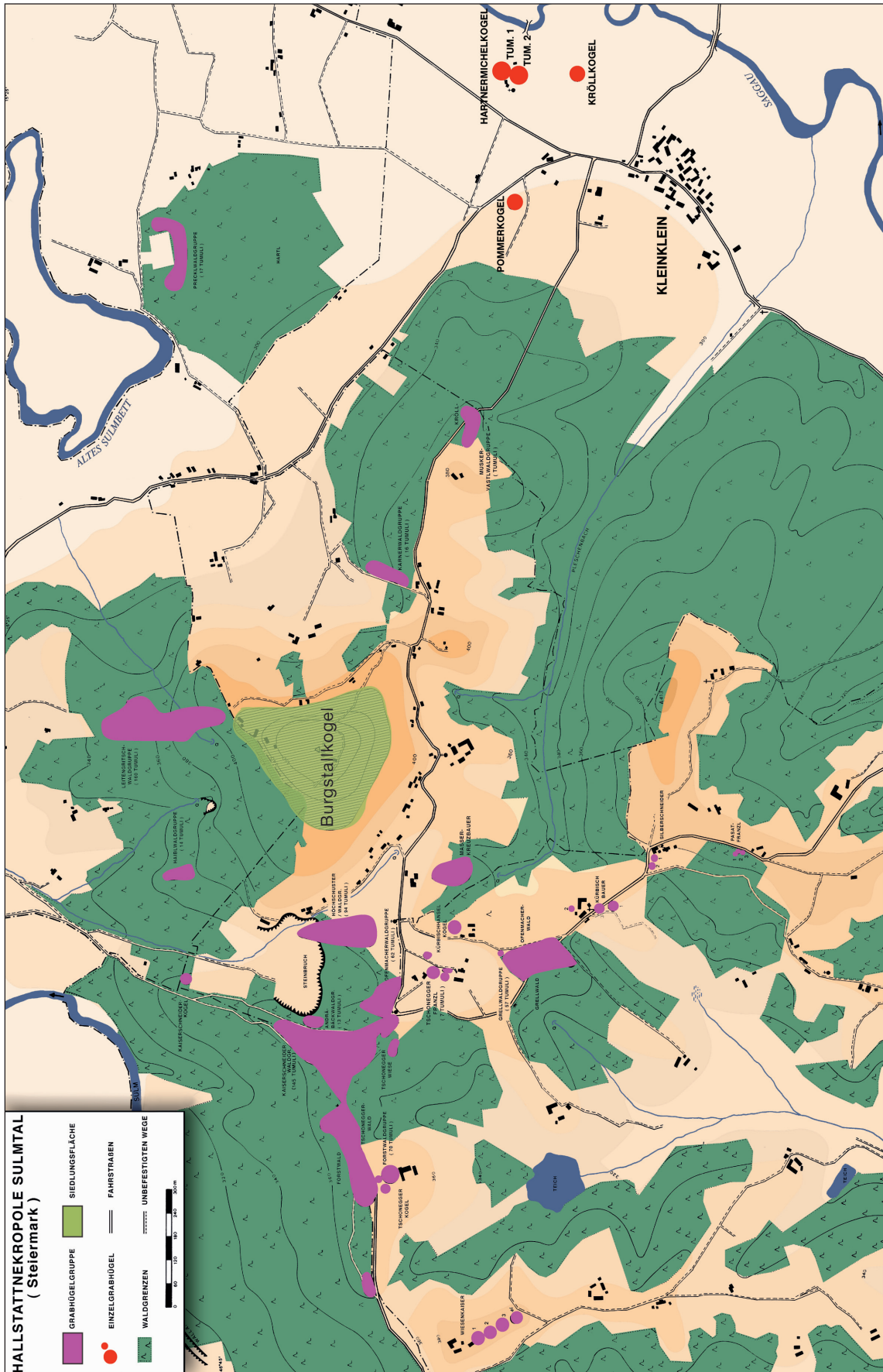


Fig. 2: Plan of Kleinlein with the princely graves, the hillfort at Burgstallkogel and the surrounding Sulmtal necropolis (from Dobiat 1980).
 Sl. 2: Kleinlein. Lega knežjih grobov, naselja na Burgstallkoglu in posolske nekropole. (po Dobiat 1980).

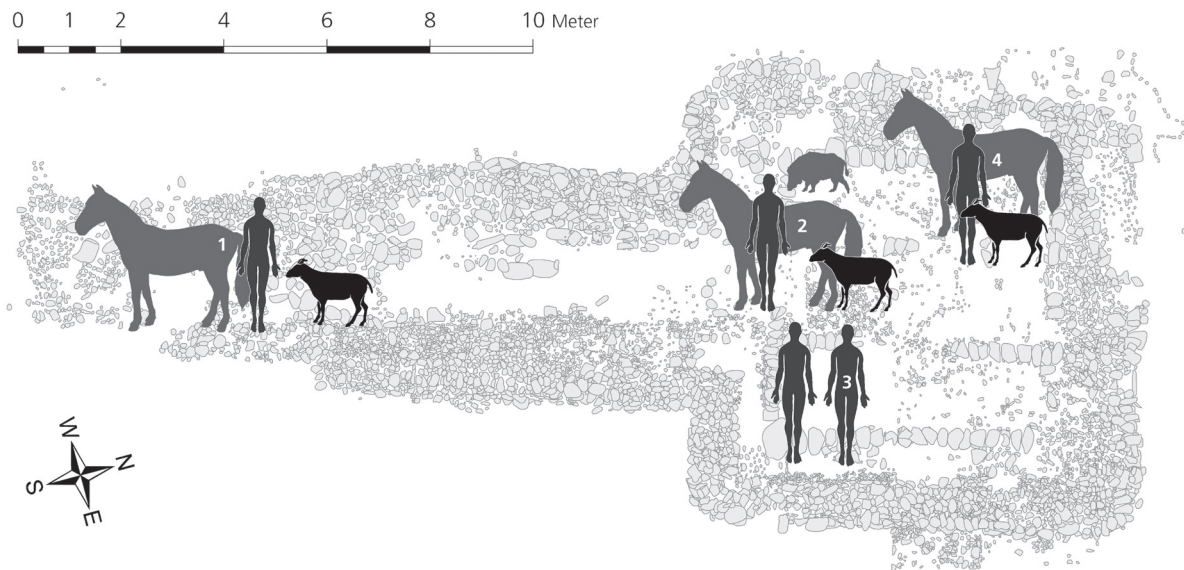


Fig. 3: Kleinklein, the Kröllkogel tumulus. Plan of the drywall burial chamber with marked locations of the cremated human and animal bones (from Grill, Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013).

Sl. 3: Kleinklein, gomila Kröllkogel. Tloris kamnite kamre z označeno lego sežganih človeških in živalskih kosti (po Grill, Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013).

As for the Hartnermichelkogel 2 tumulus, it is difficult to date as it only revealed a cuirass fragment.¹¹ Its close proximity to the earliest Hartnermichelkogel 1 suggests a connection between the two tumuli and hence a dating between Hartnermichelkogel 1 and Pommerkogel, probably to Ha C1b.

TOMB CONSTRUCTION AND FURNISHING

The 1995 revision excavation of Kröllkogel revealed many details of the funerary ritual and tomb construction.¹² The tumulus originally measured roughly 30 m in diameter and 8–10 m in height. The centre of the mound held an 8 x 8 m large drywall rectangular chamber accessed via a 12 m long dromos (Fig. 3). Two lines of stone slabs divide the chamber into three parts and are believed to have supported a wooden construction.

Stone chambers with a wooden frame often occur in the monumental tumuli of the Sulmtal and the neighbouring groups of the Eastern Hallstatt culture.¹³ The presence of a dromos is strongly

reminiscent of the Etruscan burial mounds that probably served as models.

The Kröllkogel burial chamber held four concentrations of cremated human and animal bones (Fig. 3).¹⁴ The anthropological analysis revealed the cremated remains of four individuals of undeterminable sex: three adults and one juvenile. The bones of the juvenile and one adult were found in the south corner, the bones of another adult were placed at the entrance to the chamber and one adult was laid in the north corner. The number of individuals suggests human sacrifice, a practice established as common at the death of important members of a community in the Eastern Hallstatt culture. The burned animal bones mainly belong to horses, with at least three horses killed and burned.

GRAVE GOODS

The princely graves at Kleinklein held grave goods that can be divided into five categories: weapons, pieces of horse harness and jewellery, metal vessels and pottery. There are also exceptional items, such as the mask and hands from Kröllkogel.

The Kröllkogel tumulus yielded the most complete panoply of the whole Hallstatt culture: bronze

¹¹ Egg, Kramer 2016, Fig. 25.

¹² Egg, Kramer 2013, 21 ff, Figs. 8–10; Apps. 2–20.

¹³ Reichenberger, Dobiak 1985, 34 ff, Figs. 1–2; Egg 1996, Fig. 5.

¹⁴ Grill, Wiltschke-Schrotta 2013, 33 ff, Fig. 22.

helmet, bronze cuirass, bronze sword, three iron socketed axes, six or seven iron spear or lance heads and one iron arrowhead.¹⁵

Armour

The most impressive piece is the cuirass¹⁶ (Fig. 4), composed of a breast and a back plate. Pectoral muscles with nipples are visible on the breast plate and shoulder blades on the back plate. The cuirass is very high, measuring over 60 cm, and the largest known example of its type. Cuirasses were custom made items, hence the size also reveals the size of its owner. Experiments have shown that it was made for a heavily built warrior who must have been around 180 cm tall, which was unusually tall for his day.

The other three tumuli from Kleinklein also contained bronze cuirasses composed of a breast and a back plate.¹⁷ The cuirass from Pommerkogel is well preserved, while the two Hartnermichelkogel tumuli only yielded fragments. The cuirass was the most important symbol of the Kleinklein elite.

The head of the warrior from Kröllkogel was protected by a double-crested bronze helmet (Fig. 4).¹⁸ It was forged of two pieces, the calotte and the brim, with plumage fitted to the two crests and a hook along the centre. Double-crested helmets belong to the family of Italian helmets with brim that developed in central Italy and were later adopted in the south-eastern Alpine region. The earliest date to the late 7th century, while they were most frequently used in the 6th century BC.

Until ten years ago, this was thought to be the only helmet from Kleinklein. The work on the Kleinklein project then revealed two other fragments of a bronze conical helmet with lophos found in Hartnermichelkogel 1.¹⁹ Helmets of this type are usual for the northern Adriatic area, where they appeared in the late 8th century BC. This helmet indicates contacts between the Kleinklein elite and the cultures of the Mediterranean.

Weapons

Kröllkogel yielded three socketed iron axes and six or seven iron spearheads (Fig. 9C), of which



Fig. 4: Kleinklein, the Kröllkogel tumulus. Helmet and cuirass. Sl. 4: Kleinklein, gomila Kröllkogel. Čelada in oklep.

only three are currently kept in Joanneum.²⁰ An Eastern Hallstatt warrior was usually equipped and buried with one axe and two spearheads. The high number of weapons in the tumulus, which would suffice for three warriors, suggests human sacrifice; one or two of the sacrificed individuals may have been bodyguards or shield bearers. The earlier tumuli of Kleinklein did not contain such numerous weapons. Kröllkogel is last in the line of Kleinklein tumuli and provides evidence of a development in the funerary ritual.

Kröllkogel also contained a bronze sword.²¹ This is an unusual item for this period of the Eastern Hallstatt culture where swords were replaced by battle axes as short distance weapons in the 7th century BC. Furthermore, bronze was substituted

¹⁵ Egg, Kramer 2013, 91 ff, Fig. 30: 32–Fig. 33: 39.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, 96 ff, Figs. 32–33.

¹⁷ Egg, Kramer 2016, Figs. 20, 25, 28, 29.

¹⁸ Egg, Kramer 2013, 92 ff, Fig. 30.

¹⁹ Egg, Kramer 2016, 14 ff, Figs. 8–9.

²⁰ Egg, Kramer 2013, 114 ff, Fig. 39.

²¹ *Ib.*, 109 ff, Fig. 39: 1.

by iron as the material for offensive weapons. The bronze sword from Kröllkogel was an anachronism. Another unusual feature is that it was present in the funeral pyre and damaged to the point that only five fragments survive. One fragment belongs to the blade with a thinned cutting edge such as are only known on Gündlingen type swords.²² These were the leading sword form of the 8th century BC and occurred in the Western Hallstatt culture and north-western Europe; the Gündlingen sword from Kröllkogel is thus a unicum in Styria in both chronological and spatial terms.

The deposition of antique bronze swords in the graves of the elite is a phenomenon specific to the Eastern Hallstatt area. An example also came to light in Hartnermichelkogel 1, in the shape of a bronze antennae sword. This was a weapon common in the 8th century,²³ but also offered in the princely graves of the 7th and the 6th century when it was no longer used in battle. Three years ago, a Tachlovice sword was found in Tumulus 2 at Stretweg, Upper Styria, in a grave dated by an iron dagger to Ha D1.²⁴ The deposition of antique swords was a means for the elite to establish a direct link with a tradition going back to the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Ages; these were symbols of power from the first generation elites used by the new elites to legitimise their power.

The 1995 revision excavation of Kröllkogel also yielded a small iron arrowhead, which represents the remains of archery equipment. The figural depictions on Iron Age objects, where bows and arrows mainly occur in hunting scenes, suggest that these items were not deposited in graves as weapons used in warfare, but rather as hunting symbols.

A reconstruction of the panoply from Kröllkogel, which presumably included an oval shield as suggested by the figural depictions from Kleinklein, shows the prominent role of warriors in the princely funerary ritual of the south-eastern Alpine Hallstatt culture. The chieftain/king was represented as a warrior in a shiny outfit, with the cuirass and helmet serving as insignias of the Kleinklein elite. The custom of burying the elites with their panoply was presumably adopted from central Italy, were Italian archaeologists call the phenomenon '*la terribile bellezza del guerriero*', the horrible beauty of the warrior.²⁵

²² Cowen 1967, 391 ff; Pare 1991, 4 ff.

²³ Egg, Kramer 2016, 23 ff, Fig. 6.

²⁴ Tiefengraber, Tiefengraber 2015, 255 f, Fig. 30.

²⁵ Tagliamonte 2000.

Horses

The revision excavation unearthed evidence that the main person buried in Kröllkogel was also a horseman. Apart from the already mentioned bones of three horses, the tumulus yielded fragments of horse gear, more precisely an iron horse bit and two buttons as rein decoration.²⁶

Horse bits were also found in Pommerkogel and Hartnermichelkogel 1.²⁷ The pair of bits from Pommerkogel is reminiscent of such pairs in the Western Hallstatt culture, where it is believed that the deceased was buried with a wagon drawn by two horses, each of which buried with its bit. There were no remains of wagons found at Kleinklein. The horse gear and the burned horse bones from Kleinklein demonstrate the connection between the elites and the quickest means of locomotion in the Iron Age, also used to military ends.

Jewellery

Not much is known of the jewellery worn at Kleinklein. Several pieces of a belt came to light during the early excavations, followed by additional and corresponding fragments unearthed during the revision excavations.²⁸ The lozenge-shaped belt plate is a piece of the male costume and indicates a dating to Ha D1. Other jewellery includes bronze spirals used as ear- or hair rings, as well as necklace beads made of glass, amber, bronze and gold, which are typical female grave goods, suggesting that one of the individuals buried in Kröllkogel was a woman.²⁹ The same can be said of the two spindle whorls found in 1905/1906,³⁰ as these items are typical female grave goods in the Eastern Hallstatt culture.

Typical female attributes were also recovered from Pommerkogel and Hartnermichelkogel 1: three boat fibulae and a bronze bracelet in Pommerkogel and a fragment of a bronze torque in Hartnermichelkogel 1. The torque is now lost, only an old drawing of it survives.³¹ It should be noted that other princely graves of the Eastern Hallstatt culture also provided evidence of a woman buried alongside a man.

²⁶ Egg, Kramer 2013, 124 ff, Fig. 45.

²⁷ Egg, Kramer 2016, 30 f, Fig. 6: 4–8; 72, Fig. 31.

²⁸ Egg, Kramer 2013, 136 ff, Fig. 50.

²⁹ *Ib.*, 153 ff, Fig. 56.

³⁰ Egg, Kramer 2013, 360 ff, Fig. 180.

³¹ Egg, Kramer 2016, 37 ff, Fig. 4: 11; 77 ff, Fig. 33.



Fig. 5: Kleinklein, the Kröllkogel tumulus. Bronze mask and hands.
Sl. 5: Kleinklein, gomila Kröllkogel. Bronasta obrazna maska in bronasta posnetka rok.

Bronze mask and hands

The bronze mask and hands from Kröllkogel are singular finds (Fig. 5).³² The mask is too small to be a death mask and the holes for bronze nails in the ears also speak against such an interpretation. Its discovery in 1906 was witnessed by Ogrisegg, who reported that the mask was nailed to a massive wooden object.³³ The two sheet bronze hands had already been found in 1860. Both show the back of the left hand with finger nails; it is not clear whether both being left is a mistake or a conscious decision on the part of the craftsman.

The mask has close parallels in Etruria. Numerous bronze masks were produced in the Etruscan city of Chiusi and fixed to ceramic urns. Bronze hands occur in Vulci, mostly in association with busts,³⁴ which are simple figural representations

showing the shoulders, neck and head of a human individual. Italian archaeologists presume that the face of the deceased was shaped by applying wax or other organic materials onto a globular head. In Etruria, much more sophisticated images began to be produced in the course of the 7th century, which are seen as the beginnings of the Etruscan portrait sculpture.

At Kleinklein, evidence of such busts can be found on the XIII bronze cist from Kröllkogel, which depicts human figures without torso and legs.³⁵ These figures probably also represent busts, like in Etruria. The bronze mask and hands are thus believed to have been nailed onto a wooden bust depicting either the deceased or his ancestor with the aim of preserving an image of the deceased chieftain/king to survive the cremation.

³² Egg, Kramer 2013, 166 ff, Figs. 64, 66.

³³ Dobiak 1978–1979, 32.

³⁴ Egg, Kramer 2013, 169 ff.

³⁵ Egg, Kramer 2005, 21, Fig. 15; Egg, Kramer 2013, 466 ff, Fig. 208.

Assemblages of bronze vessels and pottery

The most impressive group of metal goods from Kröllkogel are the bronze vessels (*Figs. 6–7*). There are 27 recorded vessels, though there may originally have been more and some were destroyed in the funeral pyre. Sets of metal vessel were used during religious feasts.

The sets of bronze vessels from Kleinklein comprise one large situla (*Fig. 6*) and several bronze cists with lids (*Fig. 7*). The largest vessel in Kröllkogel and Pommerkogel is a Kurd type situla, measuring over 75 cm in height.³⁶ They were decorated with figural scenes and used for mixing drinks.

Standing out in their fine decoration is a set of six or seven bronze cists (*Fig. 7*).³⁷ They are actually large cylinders of sheet bronze without base and handles. The interiors revealed no traces of organic materials. They are believed to have been in symbolic rather than functional use. Each has a bronze lid with typical rattling sheet bronze pendants on chains attached at the rim.³⁸

The cists and the situla form the bulk of the bronze vessels in Kröllkogel and Pommerkogel,³⁹ while Hartnermichelkogel 1 yielded few fragments of bronze vessels, one of which belongs to a lid with sheet bronze pendants.⁴⁰ Such lids are only associated with cists, suggesting that even the earliest Kleinklein tumulus held cists. Another sheet bronze fragment shows a row of rivets, which is characteristic of situlae, suggesting that already the earliest tumulus contained sets of situlae and lidded cists.

In the Eastern Hallstatt culture, the combination of a large situla and cists is known from a small number of rich graves. Its origins lie in eastern Italy, where the earliest sets came to light at Verucchio and in the Marche region.⁴¹ Of particular significance is the *Tomba del Trono* at Verucchio, which shows numerous similarities with Hartnermichelkogel 1 in that the warriors were buried with the same helmet type, a very similar battle axe and the same set of bronze vessels, indicating close ties between Kleinklein and Verucchio in the late 8th century BC. The combination of a large situla and 6 or 7 cists also reached the Western Hallstatt culture; it has been recorded, for example, in Tumulus 3 at

Kappel in the Rhineland.⁴² It is possible that the first generation of the elite buried in these princely graves looked towards Kleinklein for novelties and imitated their sets of bronze vessels and drinking habits. After Ha D1, when Kleinklein and Burgstallkogel were abandoned, the Western princely graves show increasing Italian influence.

The cists, lids and situlae from Kleinklein were decorated with dense geometric and figural motifs,⁴³ which only appear there and reflect the taste of the local elite. The vessels depict horsemen and other warriors, hunting and feasting scenes with games, i.e. the activities also associated with the grave goods laid in the burial chambers of Kleinklein.

A new find at Kleinklein is a large set of pottery in Kröllkogel⁴⁴ (*Fig. 8*). Before the revision excavation, only two ceramic vessels were known from Kleinklein, while now we know of more than a hundred vessels of great variety.

FUNERARY RITUAL

The revision excavation revealed many details of the funerary ritual at Kleinklein (*Figs. 3; 9C*).⁴⁵ When a member of the elite died, preparations began to erect a large tumulus. A wooden burial chamber was first constructed and enclosed with a stone drywall construction. A large funeral pyre was prepared nearby. Humans and horses were sacrificed to accompany the deceased into the afterlife. The human and animal bodies were then cremated at high temperatures together with lots of grain and pottery, as well as metal objects that included antiquities such as swords. The cremated human bones were transferred to the burial chamber, the animal bones also to the dromos. Pottery and metal grave goods were placed into the burial chamber, after which it was covered over with an earthen mound. The ritual concluded with a great feast with games such as depicted on the cists and situlae.

This funerary ritual was introduced to Kleinklein in the late 8th century under a strong Italian influence and continued into the first half of the 6th century BC, lasting more than five generations (*Fig. 9*).⁴⁶ The elite apparently became so impor-

³⁶ Egg, Kramer 2013, 175 ff, *Fig. 68*.

³⁷ *Ib.*, 204 ff, *Figs. 81–87*.

³⁸ *Ib.*, 223 ff, *Figs. 88–94*.

³⁹ Egg, Kramer 2016, 113 ff, *Figs. 47–57*.

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, 43 f, *Figs. 4–8*.

⁴¹ Egg, Kramer 2013, 399 ff, *Figs. 187–188*.

⁴² Dehn, Egg, Lehnert 2005, 142 ff, *Fig. 60*; 165 ff, *Figs. 68–76*.

⁴³ Egg 2012, 99 ff; Egg, Kramer 2013, 447 ff.

⁴⁴ Egg, Kramer 2013, 305 ff, *Pls. 49–87*.

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, 379 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, 435 ff.



Fig. 6: Kleinklein, the Kröllkogel tumulus. Large bronze situla.
Sl. 6: Kleinklein, gomila Kröllkogel. Veliko bronasto vedro.



Fig. 7: Kleinklein, the Kröllkogel tumulus. Bronze cists.
Sl. 7: Kleinklein, gomila Kröllkogel. Bronaste ciste.



Fig. 8: Kleinklein, the Kröllkogel tumulus. Reconstruction of the pottery set.
Sl. 8: Kleinklein, gomila Kröllkogel. Rekonstrukcija lončenega servisa.



Fig. 9: Kleinklein. Reconstruction of the grave inventory from the Hartnermichelkogel 1 (A), Pommerkogel (B) and Kröllkogel tumuli (C).

Sl. 9: Rekonstrukcija grobne opreme iz gomil Hartnermichelkogel 1 (A), Pommerkogel (B) in Kröllkogel (C).

tant that it could not be buried on the same spot as the rest of the Burgstallkogel population, but rather chose a separate burial ground. Grave goods portray the members of the elite as great warriors, hunters, horsemen, as horse owners, organisers of great feasts and masters of their subjects. The elite occupied leading positions in the military organisation, economy, religion, horse breeding, hunting and other activities. *Figure 9* shows the development from the earliest tumulus to the last. It also shows that there were clear rules governing the funerals of the elite, which were followed over more than a century and a half when an established elite ruled at Kleinklein.

Monumental tumuli were erected and a multitude of valuable objects placed into the burial chamber so that the dead chieftain or king could

take up the deserved position in the afterlife. This also legitimised the successor in the sense of ‘the king is dead, long live the king’. Erecting such a funerary monument was intended to ensure a smooth transition of power. The monumental tumuli served as a memorial and a point of contact between the current rulers and their heroicised ancestors. They became sanctuaries of the ‘royal’ ancestors and a strong identity-building force for the contemporary society.

A separate burial ground for the elite at Kleinklein, not buried with the rest of the population, as well as the grave goods and human sacrifice speak in favour of the buried dignitaries being kings rather than mere chieftains. Anyhow, it is difficult to understand the rules governing Iron Age society.

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Knežji grobovi v Kleinkleinu na avstrijskem Štajerskem

Prosti prevod

V štajerski gričevnati pokrajini so 30 kilometrov južno od Gradca v vasi Kleinklein odkrili ene najpomembnejših knežjih grobov v vzhodnohalštatskem kulturnem prostoru, ki sicer ni bil povsem enoten. Štiri monumentalne gomile iz Kleinkleina (*sl. 1*) sodijo med največje in najbogatejše opremljene gomile vzhodnohalštatske kulture, ki je bila razširjena ne le na območju doline reke Solbe, temveč tudi na avstrijskem in slovenskem Štajerskem ter v severovzhodni Hrvaški in zahodni Panoniji. Poimenovane so po lastnikih zemljišč kot Hartnermichelkogel (1 in 2), Pommerkogel in Kröllkogel (Kogel na avstrijskem Štajerskem pomeni gomila). Postavljene so bile na teraso ob reki Saggau in so bile vidne od daleč. Danes sta ohranjeni le dve – Hartnermichelkogel 2 in Pommerkogel, drugi dve sta bili zravnani v 19. st. (*Gl. op. 1, 2*)

Te štiri kleinkleinske gomile predstavljajo posebno grobišče elite, ločeno od prostrane nekropole okoli hriba Burgstallkogel (*sl. 2*), na katerem je bilo v halštatski dobi naselje. Na terasah okoli njega je danes znanih še 559 gomil, medtem ko so jih ob popisu leta 1883 našli 1124. Mnoge med njimi so kmetje z obdelovanjem zemlje uničili. Po tej nekropoli, ki je ena največjih v Evropi, je bila poimenovana posolbska kulturna skupina. Nekropole podobnih razsežnosti so znane le še v Italiji na območju etruščanske kulture. (*Gl. op. 3*)

ZGODOVINA IZKOPAVANJ V KLEINKLEINU

Razlog za izkopavanja v 19. in začetku 20. stoletja je bil vseskozi enak: lastniki zemljišč so gomile kopali zaradi starin, predvsem kovinskih najdb, ki so jih prodajali muzeju Joanneum v Gradcu; kopali so jih tudi zaradi kamna, ki so ga uporabili za gradnjo svojih hiš. Prve so se lotili gomile Hartnermichelkogel 1 leta 1844, v njej je kmet našel veliko bronastih predmetov, med drugim meč in plavutasto sekiro. Gomilo je nehal razkopavati leta 1861, tudi takrat je našel množico bronastih najdb. Na njej je postavil svinjak, ki je v rabi še danes, kar pomeni veliko degradacijo v družbenem pomenu, v nasprotju s tistim, ki ga je gomila imela v halštatski dobi. Na gomili Hartnermichelkogel 2 stoji kmečka hiša, zato ni bila nikoli v celoti raziskana; bronasti predmeti pa so bili odkriti leta 1853 pri vkopu klet-

nega prostora v njen plašč. Gomilo Pommerkogel je leta 1856 načel kmet Vinzenz Grebenz, da bi pridobil starine in kamenje za gradnjo. (*Gl. op. 4*)

Zadnjo so kopali gomilo Kröllkogel leta 1860, v njej je bilo najdeno bronasto posodje in dvoje bronastih posnetkov rok. Pozimi 1905/1906 jo je kmet Johann Schrei zravnal in pri tem našel veliko kovinskih predmetov. Kopanje te gomile je poznano bolje od ostalih, ker ga je budno spremljal učitelj iz Großkleina Julius Ogrisegg.

Najdbe iz Kleinkleina so v glavnem fragmentarno ohranjene, predane so bile v muzej (nekdanje Landesmuseum, danes Universalmuseum) Joanneum v Gradcu, kjer so še danes. Pobuda o moderni objavi kleinkleinskih gomil se je pojavila po drugi svetovni vojni, a je slaba ohranjenost kovinskih predmetov pomenila velik zalogaj, saj je med njimi kar 60 bronastih posod. O konserviranju in restavriranju kovinskih predmetov so stekli pogovori med graškim muzejem in rimsko-germanskim centralnim muzejem v Mainzu (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz). Nov zagon je ideja dobila po uspešnem revizijskem izkopavanju gomile Kröllkogel pod vodstvom Dietherja Kramerja iz graškega muzeja leta 1995; pred tem je bila gomila z oranjem zravnana, kamnita kamra pa precej uničena z divjim kopanjem. Po ponovnem izkopavanju se je leta 1999 začel projekt restavriranja predmetov iz knežjih grobov v Kleinkleinu. Lončenina in koščeni predmeti so bili restavrirani v Gradcu, kovinski pa v Mainzu. (*Gl. op. 5*)

KRONOLOŠKO MESTO NASELJA IN KNEŽJIH GROBOV V KLEINKLEINU

Višinsko naselje na Burgstallkoglu je nastalo v stopnji Ha B, tj. v 10. ali 9. st. pr. n. št. Sočasno je ob njegovem vznožju nastajala nekropola. Iz začetne faze so do zdaj znani le maloštevilni grobovi, saj so bili žarni in plani, zato v pokrajini niso prepoznavni. Knežji pokopi na ločenem grobišču so nekoliko poznejši, pojavili so se ob koncu 8. st. pr. n. št. Razvoj in obstoj kleinkleinske skupnosti je prenehal v stopnji Ha D1, tj. v prvi polovici 6. st. pr. n. št. Naselje na Burgstallkoglu je bilo takrat opuščeno, končalo se je tudi pokopavanje v gomile. Na območju vzhodnohalštatske kulture je pojav

knežjih grobov starejši kot v zahodnohalštatskem kulturnem prostoru, prekrivanje na obeh območjih pa je opazno v stopnji Ha D1. (*Gl. op. 6*)

Kronološko zaporedje štirih knežjih grobov v Kleinkleinu je jasno opredeljivo: ločeno grobišče elite je nastalo z gomilo Hartnermichelkogel 1 v poznem 8. st. pr. n. št. To datacijo podpirajo bronast antenski meč, plavutasta sekira in stožčasta čelada z grebenom (*sl. 9A*). (*Gl. op. 7, 8*)

Mlajša je gomila Pommerkogel (*sl. 9B*), ki je s tremi čolničastimi fibulami dobro datirana v stopnjo Ha C2, v časovni razpon med 660/650 in 630/620 pr. n. št. Najmlajša je knežja gomila Kröllkogel, ki je nastala v prvi polovici 6. st. pr. n. št., kar nakazuje dvogrebenasta čelada in rombična pasna spona. Ta gomila sodi med najmlajše v celotnem vzhodnohalštatskem kulturnem prostoru (*sl. 9C*). (*Gl. op. 9, 10*)

Gomilo Hartnermichelkogel 2 je težje datirati, saj je iz nje doslej znan le fragment oklepa. Po njeni legi tik ob najstarejši gomili Hartnermichelkogel 1 (*sl. 1, 2*), kar nakazuje tesno zvezo med njima, bi lahko domnevali, da je nastala v času med gomilama Hartnermichelkogel 1 in Pommerkogel, morda v stopnji Ha C1b. (*Gl. op. 11*)

GROBNA KONSTRUKCIJA IN OPREMA

Revizijska izkopavanja gomile Kröllkogel pod vodstvom Dietherja Kramerja leta 1995 so prispevala pomembna spoznanja o pogrebnem obredju in grobni konstrukciji. Gomila je nekoč merila 30 m v premeru in 8–10 m v višino. Središče gomile je zavzemala 8 × 8 m velika kamra, grajena iz kamnov v suhozidni tehniki, vanjo pa je vodil 12 m dolg dromos (*sl. 3*). Vrste kamnitih plošč, ki delijo kamro na tri dele, so služile za oporo lesenih konstrukcij. (*Gl. op. 12*)

Kamnite kamre z lesenim ogrodjem se pogosto pojavljajo v monumentalnih gomilah posolske in sosednjih skupin vzhodnohalštatskega kulturnega prostora. Zgradba z dromosom močno spominja na etruščanske grobnice in se je verjetno po njih zgledovala. (*Gl. op. 13*)

V kamri gomile Kröllkogel so bile na štirih mestih odkrite koncentracije sežganih človeških in živalskih kosti (*sl. 3*). Z antropološko analizo je bilo ugotovljeno, da so bili na grmadi sežgani štirje ljudje – trije odrasli in en mlajši, njihovega spola pa zaradi močnega ognja, ki so mu bili izpostavljeni, ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti. Ostanke mlajše in ene odrasle osebe so bili položeni v južni kot kamre,

kosti druge osebe so ležale pri vhodu v kamro, ena oseba je bila pokopana v severnem kotu. Na območju vzhodnohalštatske kulture je bilo v navadi, da so ob pokopu pomembnih oseb žrtvovali tudi ljudi in živali ter pridali njihove sežgane ostanke v knežje grobove. Sežgane živalske kosti iz gomile Kröllkogel večinoma pripadajo konjem, žrtvovani in sežgani so bili najmanj trije. (*Gl. op. 14*)

GROBNI PRIDATKI

Grobne pridatke lahko razdelimo v pet kategorij: orožje, konjska oprema, nakit ter kovinsko in lončeno posodje. V gomili Kröllkogel so bili odkriti še bronasta obrazna maska in dvoje posnetkov rok, ki ne spadajo v nobeno od naštetih kategorij.

Najpopolnejša bojna oprema v vsem halštatskem kulturnem prostoru je bila najdena prav v tej gomili. Sestavljajo jo bronasta čelada, bronast oklep, bronast meč, tri železne tulaste sekire, šest ali sedem železnih osti sulic ali kopij ter železna puščična ost (*sl. 9C*). (*Gl. op. 15*)

Zaščitna bojna oprema

Najiminitnejša najdba je oklep (*sl. 4*), sestavljen iz prsne in hrbtne polovice. Na prednji strani so poudarjene prsne mišice in bradavice, na hrbtni lopatici. Oklep je precej visok (60 cm) in je največji med vsemi znanimi primerki tega tipa. Po velikosti oklepa je mogoče sklepati tudi na telesno konstitucijo človeka, ki ga je nosil. Preizkus na danes živečih ljudeh je pokazal, da se je oklep prilegal korpulentnemu vojščaku, visokemu okoli 180 cm, kar je za tiste čase nenavadno velika telesna višina. (*Gl. op. 16*)

Tudi v ostalih treh gomilah v Kleinkleinu so bili odkriti bronasti oklepi, izdelani iz dveh polovic. Oklep iz gomile Pommerkogel je bil dobro ohranjen, medtem ko so iz gomil Hartnermichelkogel 1 in 2 znani le fragmenti. Oklepi v kleinkleinških knežjih grobovih so najprepoznavnejši simbol pripadnosti eliti. (*Gl. op. 17*)

Glavo vojščaka iz Kröllkogla je ščitila dvogrebenasta čelada (*sl. 4*). Skovana je bila iz dveh delov – kalote in krajcev, nanjo je bila z dvema grebenoma in protomom pričvrščena perjanica. Dvogrebenaste čelade pripadajo družini italjskih čelad s krajci, ki so se razvile v srednji Italiji, od tam so jih prevzele skupnosti v jugovzhodnoalpskem prostoru. (*Gl. op. 18*)

Iz kleinkleinških gomil še pred desetletjem ni bila znana nobena druga čelada. V okviru projekta restavriranja najdb iz knežjih gomil v Kleinkleinu sta bila ob pregledu muzejske zbirke v muzeju Joanneum odkrita fragmenta stožčaste čelade z grebenom iz gomile Hartnermichelkogel 1 (sl. 9A). Ta tip čelade je običajen v severnojadranskem prostoru, kjer se je pojavil v poznem 8. st. pr. n. št., in kaže na stike kleinkleinške elite z mediteranskim svetom. (Gl. op. 19)

Napadalno orožje

V gomili Kröllkogel so bile odkrite tri železne tulaste sekire in šest ali sedem železnih suličnih osti (sl. 9C), od katerih so v muzejski zbirki ohranjene le tri. Vzhodnohalštatski bojevnik je bil navadno opremljen in pokopan samo z eno sekiro in dvema sulicama. Nadštevilno orožje v tej grobnici, s katerim bi lahko opremili tri bojevnike, bi potemtakem lahko pripisali žrtvovanim osebam ob smrti predstavnika elite – ena ali dve med njimi bi lahko bila njegova telesna stražarja ali ščitonosca. V starejših kleinkleinških gomilah nadštevilnega orožja ni zaslediti. Kröllkogel, ki je najmlajša gomila na tem grobišču, tako priča o razvoju grobnega obredja. (Gl. op. 20)

V njej je bil najden tudi bronast meč, kar je zelo nenavadno, saj je meče v vzhodnohalštatski oborožitvi za boj mož na moža v 7 st. pr. n. št. zamenjala sekira, napadalno orožje pa je bilo poslej namesto iz bronast izdelano iz železa. Bronasti meč iz Kröllkogla je potemtakem anahronizem; nenavadno je tudi, da je bil uničen s sežigom na grmadi. Od njega se je ohranilo le pet fragmentov, eden je pripadal rezilu s stanjšanima robovoma, enako kot pri mečih tipa Gündlingen. Ta tip je pomenil vodilno obliko v 8. st. pr. n. št. na območju zahodnohalštatske kulture in v severozahodni Evropi, ne pa na Štajerskem. Meč tipa Gündlingen iz gomile Kröllkogel je tako v kronološkem in geografskem smislu na Štajerskem unikum. (Gl. op. 21, 22)

Pridajanje starejšega bronastega meča v mlajši elitni grob je posebnost vzhodnohalštatskega prostora. V gomili Hartnermichelkogel 1 je bil najden bronast antenski meč, ki je pomenil sodobno orožje v 8. st. pr. n. št., a se tovrstni bronasti meči pojavljajo tudi v knežjih grobovih iz 7. in 6. st. pr. n. št., čeprav niso bili sestavni deli tedanje oborožitve. V Strettwegu na gornjem Štajerskem sta bila denimo v grobu iz stopnje Ha D1 v gomili 2 odkrita bronast meč tipa Tachlovice (tradicije Ha B) in železno halštatsko bodalo iz obdobja Ha D1. Prilaganje starejšega tra-

dicionalnega meča izraža navezavo elite na navade iz pozne bronaste in začetka železne dobe. Tako so pripadniki elite legalizirali svojo oblast, sklicujoč se na stare vladarske simbole prve generacije. (Gl. op. 23, 24)

Ob ponovnih izkopavanjih gomile Kröllkogel je bila odkrita še železna puščična ost, ki je ostanek opreme z lokom in puščicami. Argumente, da tovrstno orožje ni bilo pridano v grob kot bojno orožje, temveč kot simbol lova, najdemo v železnodobnih figuralnih upodobitvah, kjer nastopata lok in puščica večinoma v lovskih prizorih.

Rekonstrukcija bojne opreme iz gomile Kröllkogel, ki je sodeč po figuralnih upodobitvah iz kleinkleinških grobov vključevala tudi ščit, kaže, da je bila v knežjem grobnem obredju jugovzhodnoalpske halštatske kulture poudarjena vloga bojevnika. Poglavar/kralj se predstavlja kot vojščak v bleščeči opravi, oklep in čelada pa sta insigniji kleinkleinške elite. Ritual pokopa z orožjem za pripadnike vrhnjega sloja naj bi bil prevzet iz srednje Italije, kjer ga italijanski arheologi označujejo kot "la terribile bellezza del guerriero", tj. grozna lepota bojevnika. (Gl. op. 25)

Konji

Revizijska izkopavanja so še razkrila, da je bila glavna osebnost gomile Kröllkogel povrh tega konjenik. Kot rečeno, so bile v njej najdene sežgane kosti treh konj, odkriti so bili tudi fragmenti železnih žval in dva okrasna gumba za jermenje, ki so pripadali konjski opremi (sl. 9C). (Gl. op. 26)

Konjske žvale so bile odkrite prav tako v gomilah Pommerkogel in Hartnermichelkogel 1. V gomili Pommerkogel je bil najden par žval, kar spominja na običaje v zahodnohalštatskem kulturnem prostoru. V tamkajšnjih grobovih je pokojnik pokopan z vozom in parom vlečnih konj, kar dokazuje par priloženih žval. V Kleinkleinu ostankov vozov niso našli. Vendar pa konjska oprema in sežgane konjske kosti kažejo, da je kleinkleinška elita prav tako posedovala tedaj najhitrejša prevozna sredstva, kar je bilo z vojaškega vidika zelo pomembno. (Gl. op. 27)

Nakit

O kleinkleinškem nakitu ni znanega veliko. Med starejšimi izkopavanji so bili odkriti fragmenti pasu, nekaj prilegajočih se delov je bilo najdenih tudi med revizijskimi izkopavanji. Rombična pasna spona spada k moški noši in podpira datacijo groba

v Ha D1. Bronasti spiralni uhani ali lasni obročki ter steklene, jantarne, bronaste in zlate jagode, ki so sestavljale ogrlico, so tipično ženski pridatki, zato je mogoče domnevati, da je bila četrta oseba, pokopana v gomili Kröllkogel, ženska. V prid temu govorita tudi dva vijčka, najdena leta 1905/1906, saj so vijčki v vzhodnohalštatski kulturi tipičen ženski pridelek. (*Gl. op. 28–30*)

Tipični ženski pridatki so bili najdeni tudi v dveh drugih kleinkleinških gomilah. V gomili Pommerkogel so bile odkrite tri čolničaste fibule in bronasta zapetnica, v gomili Hartnermichelkogel 1 pa fragment bronaste ovratnice, ki je danes izgubljen, a je ohranjena njegova risba. Dokaze za pokope žensk skupaj z moškim pripadnikom elite najdemo tudi v drugih knežjih grobovih vzhodnohalštatskega kulturnega prostora. (*Gl. op. 31*)

Bronasta obrazna maska in dlani

Bronasta obrazna maska in posnetka rok iz gomile Kröllkogel so unikatni (*sl. 5*). Obrazna maska je premajhna, da bi bila posmrtna; tudi luknjice v ušesih za pritrditev z bronastimi žeblički na podlago govorijo proti takšni uporabi. Maska je bila ob odkritju leta 1906 po pričevanju očitvidca Ogrisegga pritrjena na masiven lesen predmet, medtem ko so bile iz bronaste pločevine izdelane roke najdene že leta 1860. Rokodelec je upodobil hrbtno stran rok z nohti, izdelal pa je dve levi. Ob tem ostaja odprto vprašanje, ali je šlo za napako ali za zavestno izdelavo samo levic. (*Gl. op. 32, 33*)

Za masko najdemo dobre primerjave v Etruriji, kjer je znanih veliko bronastih mask iz grobov v mestu Chiusi. Tam so maske pritrjevali na lončene žare. Bronaste roke so znane iz grobov mesta Vulci, kjer so bile pogosto najdene skupaj z doprsjem. Gre za enostavne človeške figure z izoblikovanimi rameni, vratom in glavo ter rokami. Italijanski strokovnjaki domnevajo, da je bil obraz umrlega modeliran z voskom ali iz druge organske snovi na okrogel model glave. A se je v Etruriji v 7. st. pr. n. št. pojavilo tudi že bolj izpopolnjeno umetniško upodabljanje. Po mnenju etruskologov so to začetki portretnih skulptur visoke umetnosti. (*Gl. op. 34*)

V Kleinkleinu so na bronasti cisti XIII iz gomile Kröllkogel upodobljene človeške figure brez trupa in nog, kar je dober argument za domnevo, da predstavljajo doprsja umrlih, podobna etruščanskim. Bronasta obrazna maska in roki so bile pritrjene z žeblički na leseno doprsje, ki je verjetno upodabljal umrlega ali njegovega prednika, s čimer so žaljujoči

želeli ohraniti podobo pokojnega poglavarja/kralja, ki je bil sežgan. (*Gl. op. 35*)

Servisi bronastega in lončenega posodja

Bronasto posodje iz gomile Kröllkogel predstavlja impresivno skupino kovinskih predmetov (*sl. 6–7*). Rekonstruirati je bilo mogoče 27 posod, morda jih je bilo še več, a so bile sežgane na grmadi. Servisi bronastega posodja so se uporabljali ob velikih slavjih z religioznim ozadjem.

Bronaste servise iz Kleinkleina so sestavljala velika vedra (*sl. 6*) in ciste s pokrovi (*sl. 7*). Največje posode v gomilah Pommerkogel in Kröllkogel so bila vedra tipa Kurd, visoka več kot 75 cm in okrašena s figuralnimi motivi, služila pa so verjetno za mešanje pijač. (*Gl. op. 36*)

Arheologi so servisu šestih ali sedmih bronastih cist iz gomile Kröllkogel namenili veliko pozornosti tudi zaradi bogatega okrasa. Ciste valjaste oblike, izdelane iz bronaste pločevine, so brez dna in ročajev. Na notranjih stenah ni bilo nikakršnih sledi organske snovi, zato se predvideva, da niso bile v dejanski rabi, temveč le simbolni. Vse so imele bronast pokrov s tipičnimi pločevinastimi obeski na verižicah, pritrjenimi na rob ustja. (*Gl. op. 37, 38*)

Jedro bronastega servisa iz gomil Kröllkogel in Pommerkogel so predstavljale ciste in vedra, medtem ko je iz gomile Hartnermichelkogel 1 znanih le nekaj fragmentov bronastih posod – eden je pripadal pokrovu z visečimi pločevinastimi obeski. Ker so pokrove imele zgolj ciste, kaže, da so bile te tudi med grobnimi pridatki najstarejše kleinkleinške gomile. Na drugem fragmentu bronaste pločevine iz te gomile je viden niz zakovic, kar je tipično za vedra, potemtakem je bil že v najstarejšem grobu pridan servis z vedrom in cistami s pokrovi. (*Gl. op. 39, 40*)

Bronasti servisi, sestavljeni iz velikega vedra in cist, se v vzhodnohalštatski kulturi pojavljajo le v maloštevilnih bogatih grobovih; njihov izvor je mogoče videti v vzhodni Italiji, od koder so znani najstarejši servisi bronastega posodja v Verucchio v pokrajini Marche. Zlasti veliko podobnosti je med "Tomba del trono" v Verucchio in Hartnermichelkogel 1 v Kleinkleinu. Oba bojevnika sta posedovala isti tip čelade, podobno bojno sekiro in enak servis bronastega posodja, kar pomeni, da sta bila Verucchio in Kleinklein v poznem 8. st. pr. n. št. tesno povezana. Kombinacija velikega vedra in šestih ali sedmih cist je znana tudi v zahodnohalštatskem kulturnem prostoru. V Porenju je bila taka kom-

binacija odkrita v gomili 3 v kraju Kappel. Morda se je v zahodnohalštatskem krogu prva generacija v knežjih grobovih pokopane elite zgledovala po novostih v Kleinkleinu in je posnemala njihove bronaste servise in pivske navade. Po opustelosti Kleinkleina z Burgstallkoglom v Ha D1 pa je v zahodnohalštatskih knežjih grobovih zaznaven čedalje večji vpliv iz Italije. (*Gl. op. 41, 42*)

Kleinkleinska vedra, ciste in pokrovi so okrašeni z zelo gostim geometrijskim in figuralnim ornamentom, kakršen se pojavlja samo tam in je izraz okusa tamkajšnjega vrhnjega sloja. Na njih so upodobljeni konjeniki in bojevniki ter prizori lova in slavja s tekmovalnimi igrami, se pravi enaka tematika in dejavnosti, kot jih odsevajo grobni pridatki v kleinkleinskih grobnih kamrah. (*Gl. op. 43*)

Povsem novo odkritje je lončen servis iz gomile Kröllkogel z več kot sto najrazličnejšimi posodami (*sl. 8*), kajti pred revizijskim izkopavanjem sta bili znani le dve keramični posodi. (*Gl. op. 44*)

POGREBNO OBREDJE

Po zaslugi revizijskih izkopavanj nam je pogrebno obredje v Kleinkleinu zdaj bolje poznano (*sl. 3; 9C*). Ob smrti pripadnika elite so se začele priprave za gradnjo gomile. Zgradili so leseno kamro in jo obložili z veliko količino kamenja, to je bilo jedro pozneje nasute gomile. V bližini so postavili veliko grmado in umrlemu žrtvovali tri osebe, enaka usoda je doletela konje. Trupla preminulega ter žrtvovanih oseb in živali so zatem sežgali na grmadi skupaj z zrnjem, množico lončenine in izbranimi bronastimi predmeti, kot je meč. Ko je grmada ugasnila, so sežgane človeške kosti prenesli v kamro, ostanke konjev pa položili v dromos in pri vhodu v kamro skupaj z ostanke grmade. Pridali so lončene in kovinske predmete, ki so jih za ta namen izdelali rokodelci, in nasuli gomilo. Sledilo je veliko slavje s tekmovalnimi igrami, o čemer govorijo upodobitve na cistah in vedrih. (*Gl. op. 45*)

V Kleinkleinu je bilo tako pogrebno obredje uvedeno v poznem 8. st. pr. n. št. pod močnim italiskim

vplivom in se je obdržalo vse do prve polovice 6. st., tj. več kot pet generacij (*sl. 9*). Elita je bila očitno tako pomembna, da je niso več pokopavali skupaj s preostalimi prebivalci Burgstallkogla, temveč na posebnem, ločenem kraju. Grobni pridatki označujejo pripadnike vrhnjega sloja kot velike bojevnike, izjemne lovce in jezdece, kot lastnike konjev, prireditelje velikih slavij in kot gospodarje življenj svojih podanikov. Eliti je pripadal vodilni položaj v vojaški organizaciji, gospodarstvu in vzreji konj, prav tako v lovu in religioznih zadevah. *Slika 9* prikazuje razvoj rituala od najstarejše do najmlajše gomile in jasno razkriva sistem pravil pogrebnih slovesnosti za vrhnji sloj, ki je veljal več kot 150 let. Iz tega sledi, da je v Kleinkleinu poldrugo stoletje vladala etabrirana elita. (*Gl. op. 46*)

S postavljanjem monumentalnih gomil in pridanjem dragocenih grobnih pridatkov so pospremili poglavarja ali kralja na pot do zaslužnega položaja v onstranstvu. Hkrati so s tem podprli legitimacijo njegovega naslednika v smislu rekla "kralj je mrtev, živel kralj". Postavitev takega groba je bila vložek v neovirano nasledstvo prestola. Monumentalne gomile so služile kot spomeniki/pomniki in stična točka med živečimi vladarji in heroiziranimi predniki. S tem so monumentalne gomile postale svetišča "kraljevskih" prednikov in so imele močan identitetni naboj v tedanji družbi.

Ločeno grobišče za najvišjo elito v Kleinkleinu, ki ni bila pokopana skupaj s preostalim življem, ter grobna oprema in človeške žrtve govorijo v prid domnevi, da je šlo za kralje in ne le poglavarje. A je pravila, ki so veljala v tedanji železnodobni družbi, z današnjega zornega kota težko razumeti.

Prevod: Sneža Tecco Hvala

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Slikovno gradivo: – *Sl. 1* (foto: Gabriele Scharrer-Liška). – *Sl. 4–7* (foto: Sabine Steidl, RGZM). – *Sl. 8* (risba: Maria Windholz-Konrad, Graz). – *Fig. 9* (risba: Michael Ober, RGZM).