

140 YEARS OF RESEARCH ON THE HALLSTATT PERIOD BURIAL SITE OF FRÖG IN CARINTHIA/AUSTRIA – AND NOW SOME NEW DATA¹

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In the 1960s, the Austrian *Bundesdenkmalamt* (Federal Historic Monuments Office; abbreviated BDA) carried out emergency excavations in the burial site of Frög in the southern part of Carinthia. Unfortunately, the documentation only became available for scientific processing some years ago.

The focus of my doctoral thesis, published in 2020, was to process this data, to review the excavation results of the 19th century and to integrate all data. An important point was the merging and entanglement of all existing grave field plans and the standardization of the grave mound designations. This Herculean task will facilitate future research and avoid confusion in nomenclature. Based on the excavation results of the 1960s, where barrows were to a large extent completely excavated and documented for the first time, and thanks to the linking of the obtained data with the known data on pottery of the 19th century, the local pottery could finally be better defined.

Since the metal finds were presented in detail by Gerhard Tomedi in 2002 they were only included in the analysis if necessary.

Since detailed plans and profile drawings of graves were produced in the 1960s for the first time, analyses on grave architecture and burial rituals are now possible. These were put into relation with those of the excavation of the 19th century. The presented results are based on comparatively few unrobbed graves.

INTRODUCTION

The burial site of Frög has been the subject of scientific research for 140 years and is one of the most important necropolises in the Eastern Alps, not least because of the relatively large number of burials. Lead figurines are one of the characteristics and the most famous findings of the burial site, which made the necropolis known far beyond the Austrian borders soon after the beginning of scientific research. It still constitutes a unique selling point today.

Frög is located in Carinthia, the southern province of Austria, within a sinuosity of the navigable Drava River (Tomedi 2001). The convenient location is reflected in the manifold cultural contacts, which become visible through the grave goods of different provenances. Frög was undoubtedly an important centre during the Hallstatt period and a hub for trade and communication between Italy, the eastern Alpine region, Central Europe and the Lower Danube region (Fig. 1).

RESEARCH HISTORY²

In 1883, Carl Baron Hauser reported in the *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission* of private persons opening legally leased burial mounds (Hauser 1883). Wilhelm Kokail, a local resident, found Frög's well known lead wagon (Egg 1987; Gleirscher 2004b; Kanitz 1884) during such a treasure hunt,

¹ This paper is a summary of my doctoral thesis submitted and approbated at the University of Innsbruck in 2019. The thesis was published in 2020 within the series *Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie* (Ebner-Baur 2020).

² For more detailed accounts of the research history see Ebner-Baur 2015, 162–164; 2020, 18–24; Fuchs 1988; Gleirscher 2002, 42–44; 2011, 9–26; Tomedi 2002, 21–28.

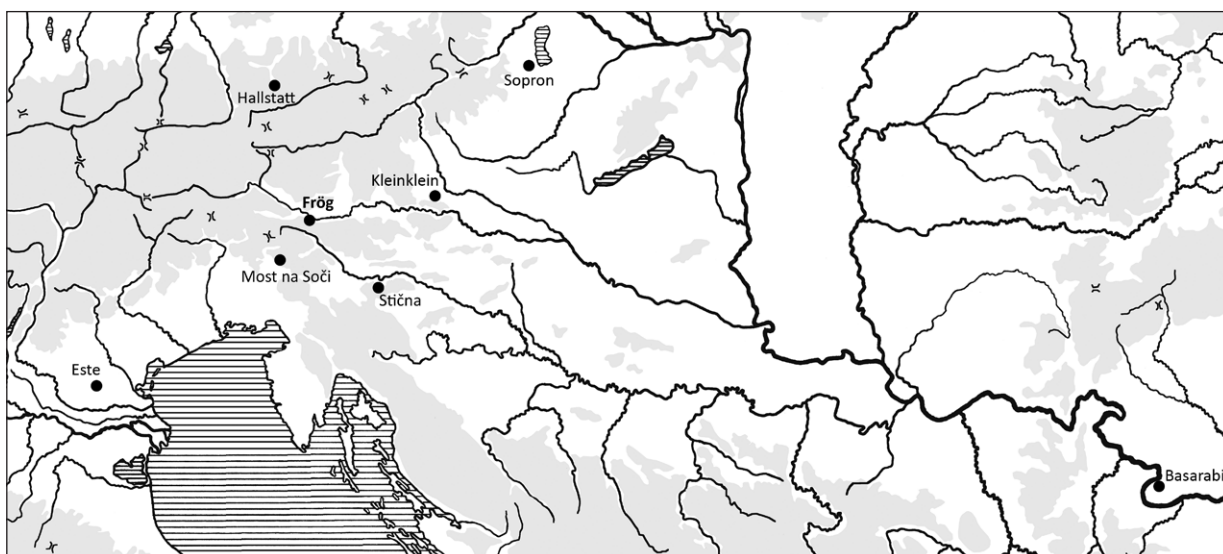


Fig. 1. The location of Frög and associated centres in the Hallstatt period.

therefore little is known about the circumstances of its discovery. It was 'restored and assembled' by Felix Philipp Kanitz,³ head of the k. k. anthropological and natural-historical collection which later was incorporated into the k. k. Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum (Natural History Court Museum) in 1876, who donated the find to the newly established Landesmuseum Kärnten (Carinthian State Museum).

The first director of the k. k. Naturhistorisches Hofmuseum Ferdinand von Hochstetter proposed systematic investigations in the burial ground. In its responsibility for coordinated archaeological interventions in Carinthia the Geschichtsverein für Kärnten (Carinthian Historical Institute) led archaeological excavations at Frög between 1883 and 1892 (Ebner 2009, 31–41). Caspar Kaiser, who carried out the excavations, opened 192 barrows under the scientific direction of Carl Baron Hauser.

In 1884 Josef Szombathy investigated another 32 burial mounds during an 18-day campaign on behalf of the Anthropologische Gesellschaft Wien (Viennese Anthropological Society).

Typically for this time, the excavators were focused on the recovery of the metal goods. Little attention was paid to everyday ceramic culture or grave architecture, burial rites and funeral acts.

Gerhard Tomedi published the results of those major excavations (Tomedi 2002).

After a few minor excavations during the first half of the 20th century (*Carinthia I* 1932, 2; *FÖ* 1, 1920–33 [1930–31, 100]; Müller-Karpe 1943), between 1962 and 1969 the *Bundesdenkmalamt* undertook rescue excavations in 58 barrows endangered by the construction of an artificial water channel of the Drava River (Fig. 2; Ebner-Baur 2020).

The excavators did not totally uncover the barrows from the beginning on. Rather, they first dug test trenches or opened small quadrants, which were successively expanded when necessary (Fig. 3). In addition, for the creation of a new burial site plan, the barrows were newly measured and labelled (BDA1–BDA433).

³ In 1884, Hauser mentioned cursorily the writer and Balkan explorer F. Kanitz as a supporter of the excavations at Frög. Later there was a confusion of his first name (Ebner-Baur 2020, 18; Gleirscher 2004b, 253; 2011, 13; Hauser 1884, LXIII; Tomedi 2002, 33).

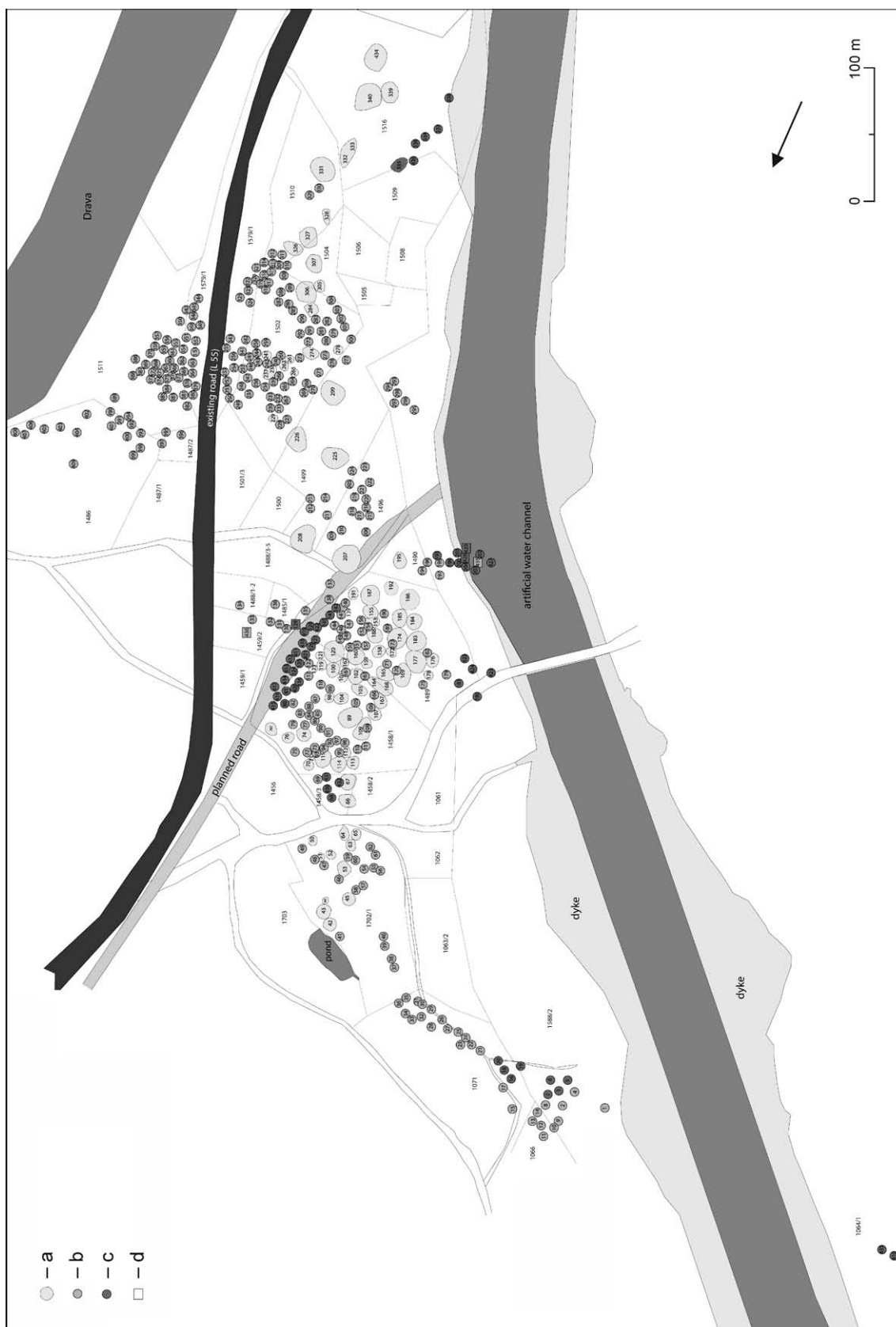


Fig. 2. The burial site Frög based on maps from the 1960s and 1980s (Ebner-Baur 2020). Legend: a – mapped barrow 1986; b – mapped barrow 1965; c – excavated barrow BDA 1960s; d – potential flat grave.

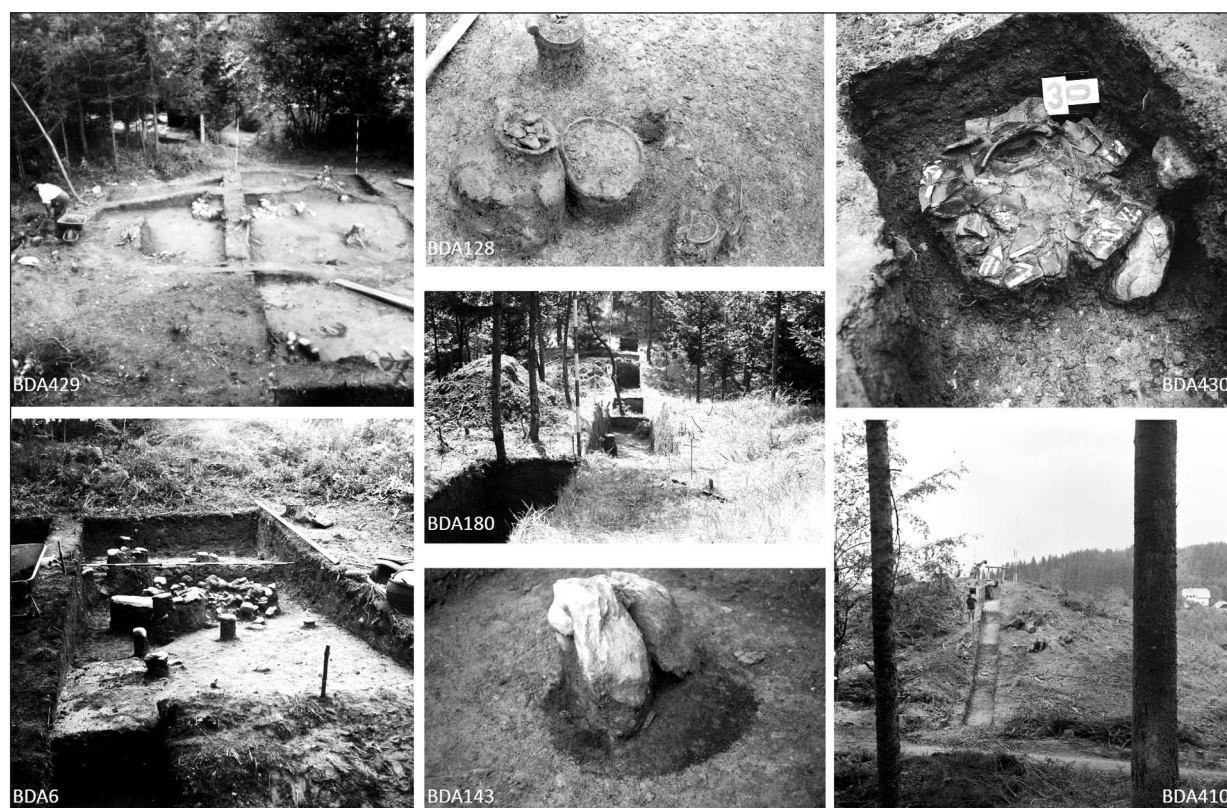


Fig. 3. Documentary photos of the BDA excavations (1962–1969) of the graves BDA6, BDA128, BDA143, BDA180, BDA410, BDA429 and BDA430 (Fotoarchiv Bundesdenkmalamt, Frög, Nos. 1271, 1357, 1530, 1576, 1594, 1633 and 1698; © BDA).

CHRONOLOGY

The metal objects of the traditional clothing have a supra-regional character and represent the basis for the local chronology and the synchronisation with other cultural groups. Fibulae and pins are the key finds of all phases.

Ceramics and their formal development at Frög are largely determined by local factors, even though supra-regional phenomena such as the emergence of Danubian decorative motifs as well as imported ceramics are also part of the pottery spectrum. Accordingly, ceramics may only support the existing chronological system.

So, even though the burial mounds of Frög were heavily robbed a relative chronological sequence can be established on the basis of individual costume objects and pottery sets. The chronological structure outlined by Gerhard Tomedi is still up to date (Tomedi 1992; 2002, 73–94). The inventory of graves dating to the relatively short-lasting initial phase Frög 1 remained in urnfield tradition, but the founding generation was the trailblazer for a new upcoming era. A similar trend can be observed within the burial site Ljubljana SAZU (Gabrovec 1973, 369). The majority of the graves date to Frög 2 and Frög 3. The occupancy became weaker after Frög 3 (around 720/700 BC). Only a few graves can be dated to Frög 5, which correspond to Ha D1, respectively Stična 2. The graves BDA201/1 and BDA143/1 held finds from Ha D2, respectively Sv. Lucija IIb, so it seems legitimate adding the short-lasting final phase Frög 6. In absolute chronological terms, the burial site was frequented between 820/810 and 550/530 BC. Findings of Lt A–Lt C indicate a not further definable frequentation during that time. The secondary burial BDA428/1 dates to Lt D1 (Fig. 4).

	Tomedi 2002 Ebner-Baur	Gabrovce 1966 Teržan & Trampuž 1973	Teržan & Črešnar 2014	Peroni 1975	Pare 1996 & 1998	Henning 2001	Egg 2013	David-Elbiali & Dunning 2005	absolute chronology
850		Ljubljana IIa		Bologna IIA Este IIA	Ha B3 Bologna IIA Este IIA	Ha B2/3		Ha B3b (récent)	850/840–810/780
800	Frög 1								
750	Frög 2	Ljubljana IIb Podzemelj 1 Sv. Lucija Ib	Horizont des eisernen Schmuckes	Bologna IIB Este IIB–C	Ha C1a Bologna IIB Este IIB–C	Ha C0	Ha C1a	Ha Ca (précoce)	810/780–730/720
700	Frög 3	Ljubljana IIIa Podzemelj 2	Halbmondfibel- horizont	Bologna IIIA Este IIIA	Ha C1b Bologna IIIA Este IIIA	Ha C1	Ha C1b	Ha Cb (tardif)	720/730–680/670
650	Frög 4	Ljubljana IIIb Stična 1 Sv. Lucija Ic1	Kahnfibel- horizont	Bologna IIIB Este IIIB		Ha C2	Ha C2	Ha D1a (ancien)	680/670–610/600
600	Frög 5	Stična 2 Sv. Lucija Ic2	Schlangenfibel- horizont	Bologna IIIC Este IIIC		Ha D1	Ha D1a	Ha D1b (moyen)	610/600–580/550
550	Frög 6	Sv. Lucija IIb	Certosafibelhorizont			Ha D2	Ha D1b	Ha D1c (final)	580/550–500
500									

Fig. 4. Chronological timetable of the Hallstatt period in Central Europe (Ebner-Baur 2020).

GRAVES AND BURIALS

Grave form

Barrows are the dominant grave form. Tomedi analysed the burial mounds (tumuli) according to size groups (Tomedi 2002, 104–106). Most of the hills had a diameter of between 5 and 6 m, but in the 19th century, the excavators rarely made reference to the height of the mounds.

Among the graves uncovered in 1960s a significant number were dug in natural ground formations.

They are especially noticeable on the north-eastern edge of the plots 1458/1 and 1489. However, the old excavations do not allow any clarification in this regard.

Flat graves, postulated by the excavators in the 1960s (FÖ 9, 1966–69 [1969, 188]; FÖ 10, 1971, 38) are likely but, because of the partly untraceable documentation, cannot be proven beyond doubt. However, barrows may flatten over time due to farming or land consolidation, e.g. the hills of the graves BDA429 and BDA129. The excavators declared the grave BDA428, with a secondary burial in the La Tène period, as a flat grave. The written documentation is unfortunately lost and the photos do not show any hill. However, for the reburial during the La Tène period, the grave must have been visible on the surface in some way.

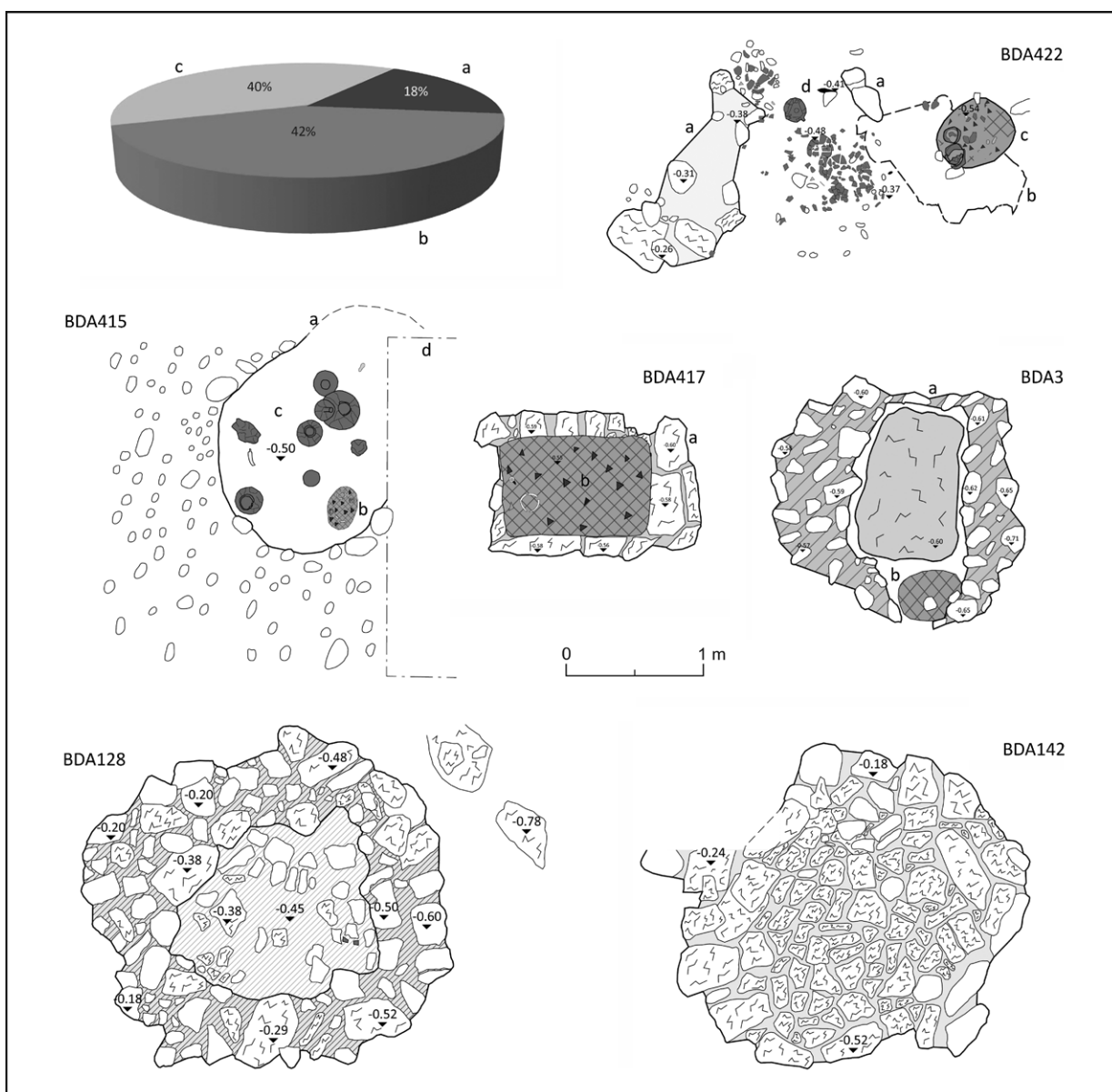


Fig. 5. Examples of the common grave architecture. BDA422: a – irregular stone setting, b – outline of the stone packing over the burial, c – unseparated cremation with personal outfit, d – grave goods; BDA415: a – grave pit, b – unseparated cremation with personal outfit, c – grave goods, d – trench limit; BDA417: a – stone cist, b – unseparated cremation with personal outfit; BDA3: a – stone enclosure with stone slab(s), b – charcoal concentration; BDA128: round and closed stone enclosure; BDA142: stone packing. No north orientation; for further descriptions see Ebner-Baur 2020. Diagram of the comparison: a – earthwork, b – stone construction, c – unknown.

Grave architecture

The term grave architecture subsumes all attributes of the grave construction. An analysis of the grave architecture was possible for 188 features of the 19th century and BDA excavations. Additionally, the grave construction of 125 barrows (i.e. 40%) remains unknown. Barrows made solely of soil and such with stone burial chambers are most common. Precisely, in 132 (i.e. 42%) graves from the 19th century and the BDA excavations stone constructions could be detected (Fig. 5). On the other side stand 56 (i.e. 18%) pure earthworks, which were built during the entire occupancy of the necropolis. It appears there is also no correlation between grave architecture and wealth or status represented by grave goods. The grave T7 (= BDA133),⁴

⁴ List of corresponding 'hill' names see Ebner-Baur 2020, 552–569.

containing the famous lead wagon, or grave BDA193/2 with the extraordinary amount of spindle whorls and a burnt splendour attire (*Prunktracht*) had no stone architectures.

The stone burial chambers, documented during the BDA excavations, consist of round, polygonal, rectangular or square stone enclosures. These structures were sometimes covered by a round or polygonal stone mantel or a stone slab of shale (*Schiefersteinplatte*). In addition, multilayer stone packings, stone pavements, irregular stone settings and stone cists were common⁵ (Fig. 5).

As with most old excavated burial grounds, there is no direct evidence of wooden installations in the graves, although some shapes of stone constructions suggest it, like grave T146 with an inner rectangular shape of the stone construction. Tomedi assumed a wooden coffin surrounded by stones (Tomedi 2002, 534, 535).

The horizontal stratigraphic distribution scheme (cf. Tomedi 2002, 313) of the grave construction in the burial site shows that the same grave-building types are often located close to one another. The reason might be their excavation at the same time or at least near-term and often by the same excavator. Since a bias cannot be excluded, conclusions on grave-building preferences of families or certain groups are not possible.

In the burial groups or burial grounds of the Southeastern Alps,⁶ site-dependent, individual burial traditions with common denominators such as burial mounds, earthworks and stone structures can be identified (Ebner-Baur 2020, 190–192).

Funeral form

The term funeral form describes if the deceased was buried on his own (single burial), at the same time together with another individual (double burial) or time-shifted with another deceased (collective burial).

Based on the analysis of all available records, collective burials are apparently the main funeral form. However undetected or undocumented grave manipulations in the excavations of the 19th century may have led to an overestimation in the number of collective graves. Analysing only the BDA excavations, 17 individual burials face only ten collective graves. Therefore, single burials seem to be the characteristic feature at Frög. According to archaeological findings, graves BDA18, BDA193, T50, T72, T75 and T181 are double burials.

Collective burials are common in the grave grounds in the Southeastern Alpine group.⁷ However, individual burials are present as well.⁸ The finding in grave BDA428 proves a secondary burial of the La Tène period for the first time at Frög.⁹

Funeral rite

All graves at Frög are cremation burials. Therefore, the term funeral rite describes how the cremated bones were treated and deposited in the grave. An analysis of the funeral rite was possible for 125¹⁰ features of the 19th century and BDA excavations (Fig. 6). The dominant burial rite, documented 26 (i.e. 21%) times, was the scattering of the unseparated cremation¹¹ over the grave sole. Such unseparated cremations were filled 13 (i.e. 10%) times into a pit and 22 (i.e. 18%) times into an urn. The urn of grave BDA430 was

⁵ Features of the excavations in the 19th century and the BDA excavation in numbers: stone enclosures 16 times, stone enclosure combined with stone mantels 17 times, stone packings 36 times, stone pavements 4 times, stone settings 13 times and stone cists 14 times (for details see Ebner-Baur 2020, 189, 190).

⁶ E.g. Fürholz (Wedenig 1999), Gratschach (Gleirscher 1998), Grabelsdorf (Gleirscher 1996; 1997b, 60–62), Gurina (Gleirscher 1997a; 2004a; Jablonka 2001, 41), Judendorf (Dolenz 1969, 18–28, pl. 6–10, insert 2), Tscherberg (Fera 1998, 14; Gleirscher 1999, 45–47) and Warmbad Villach (Gleirscher 1997c, 61–72; 2008; Kohla 1961, 406, 407, fig. 5: 3), Sulmtalnekropole (Dobiat 1980, 55–60) or Vila Prah in Kranj (Gorenjska region, Slovenia; Škvor Jernejčič 2017, 178), Habakuk and Pivola near Poštela (Maribor, Štajerska region, Slovenia; Teržan/Črešnar/Mušič 2015, 63, fig. 4).

⁷ Gurina (Gleirscher 1997a; 2004a), Gratschach (Gleirscher 1998), Tscherberg (Fera 1998).

⁸ E.g., Fürholz (Wedenig 1999, 6); Sulmtalnekropole (Dobiat 1980, 47); Tolmin (Goriška region, Slovenia; Škvor Jernejčič/Vinazza 2016, fig. 8); Ljubljana (Osrednjeslovenska region, Slovenia; Škvor Jernejčič/Vinazza 2016, fig. 3).

⁹ For stray finds of the La Tène period from Frög see Ebner-Baur 2020, 158–159, fig. 107.

¹⁰ In 49 (i.e. 39%) cases it was only possible to assert scattered cremations in general as a funeral rite.

¹¹ The term unseparated cremation (*Brandschüttung*) refers to unseparated cremated bones and pyre residues.

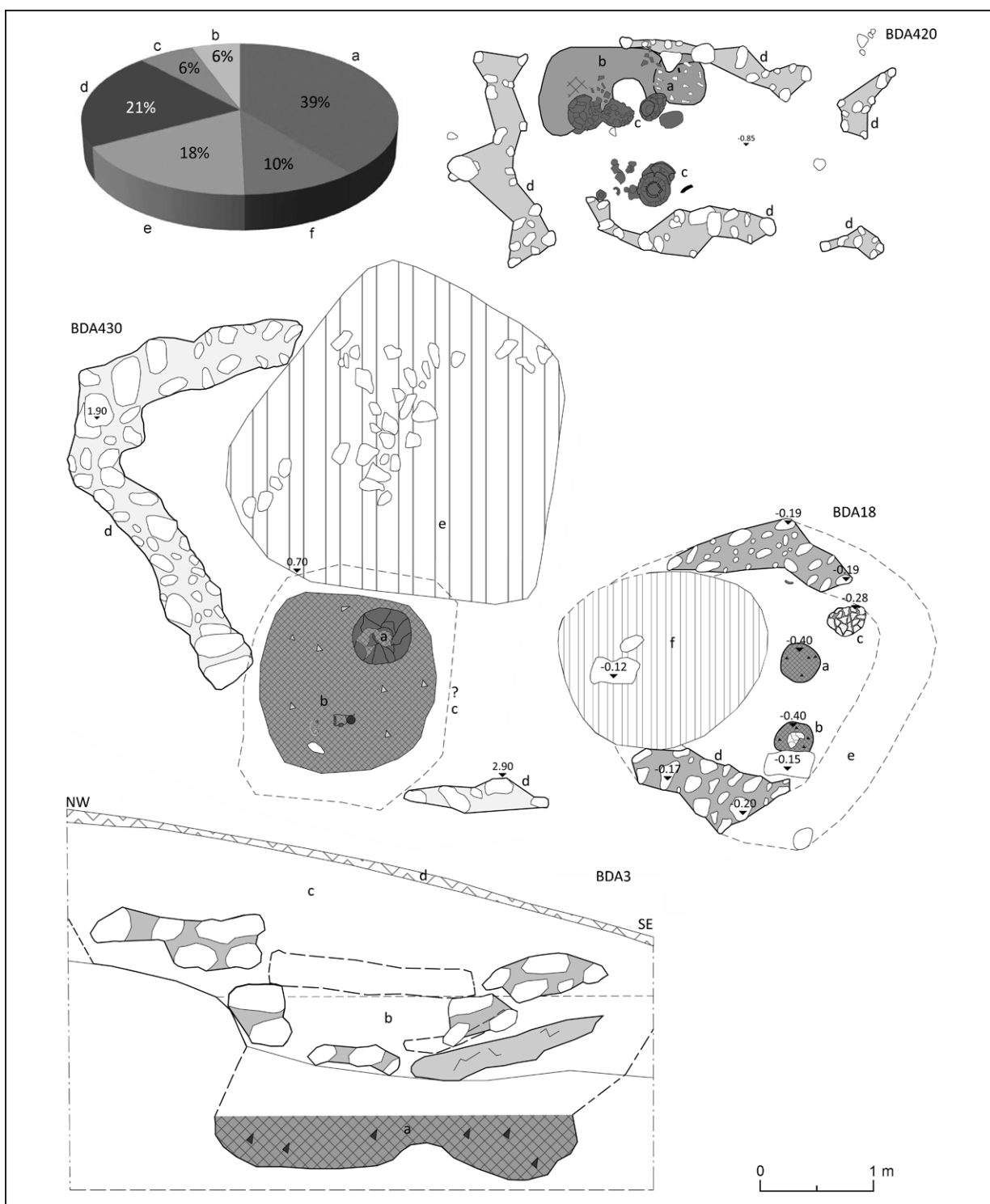


Fig. 6. Examples of the common funeral rites. BDA420: a – unseparated cremation with personal outfit scattered over the ground, b – pyre remains with pottery sherds, c – grave goods (set of ceramic vessels and an iron knife), d – stone setting; BDA430: a – urn with unseparated cremation and personal outfit, b – unseparated cremation with two unburnt fibulae, c – grave pit, d – remains of the stone setting (enclosure?), e – pottery-dated medieval robbery pit; BDA18: a – unseparated cremation filled into a pit, burial 1, b – unseparated cremation filled into a pit and pottery sherds on top, burial 2, c – pottery sherds in a charcoal concentration, d – remains of the stone enclosure, e – reconstructed outline of the stone enclosure, f – robbery pit; BDA3: a – *bustum* (unseparated cremation with personal outfit), b – stone enclosure with two stone slabs, c – earth filling, d – topsoil. No north orientation; for further descriptions see *Ebner-Baur 2020*. Diagram of the common funeral rites: a – unseparated cremation unclassified, b – *ossilegium*, c – *bustum*, d – unseparated cremation scattered over the ground, e – unseparated cremation filled into an urn, f – unseparated cremation filled into a pit (*Ebner-Baur 2020*, 183).

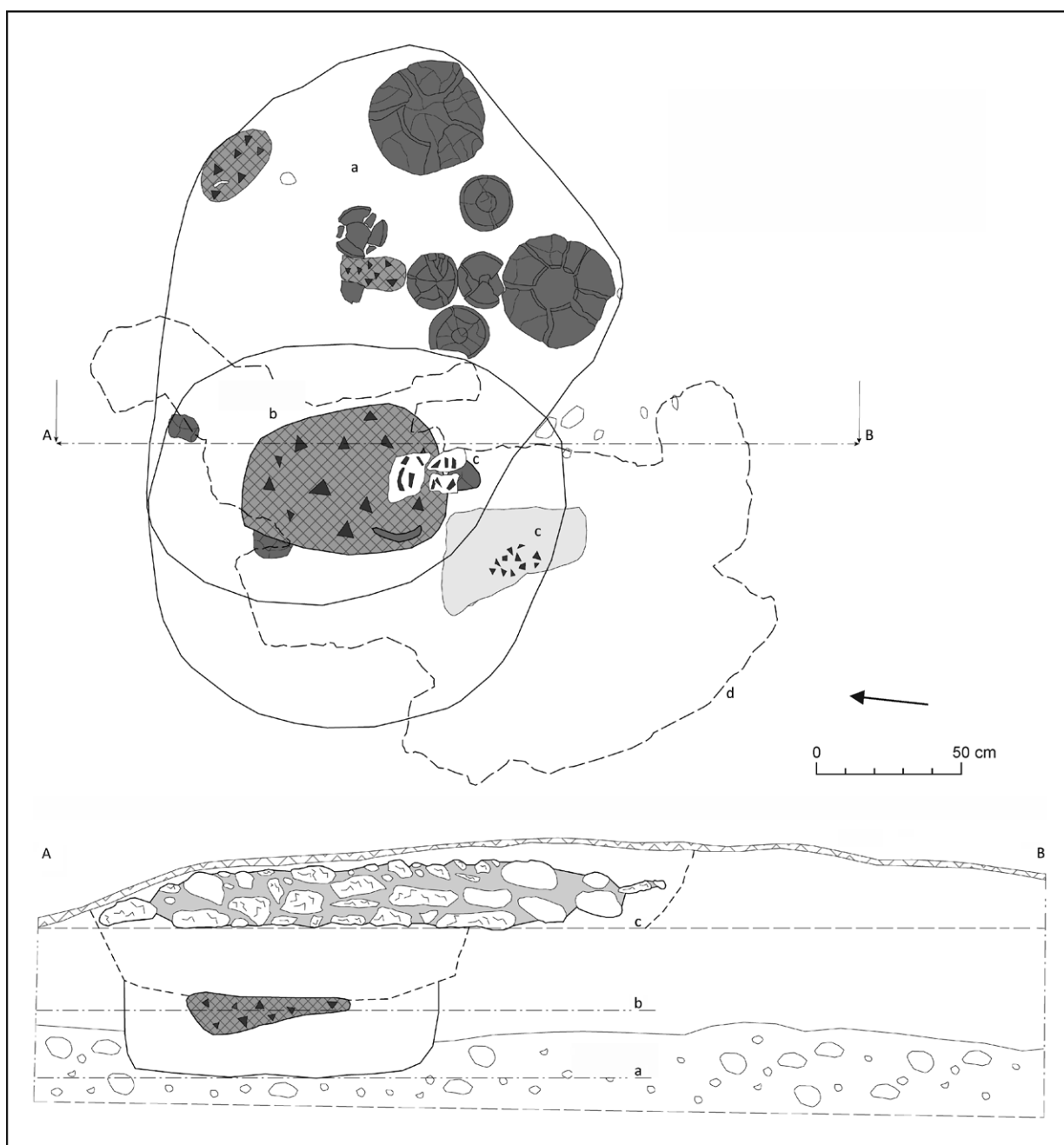


Fig. 7. Planum of grave BDA414: a – burial 1 (unseparated cremation with personal outfit and ceramic grave goods), b – burial 2 (unseparated cremation with pottery sherds), c – deposited pottery sherds and bones above burial 2, d – grave architecture, outline of the first stone layer; section A–B: a – level of burial 1, b – level of burial 2, c – level of deposited pottery sherds and bones (Ebner-Baur 2020).

possibly covered by a textile fixed with fibulae (e.g. Kohle 2019). The excavators found two unburned fibulae outside the urn lying on the grave sole whereas two burnt fibulae lay inside the urn between the cremated bones (Ebner-Baur 2019b; 2020, 187, 492–498).

Additionally, eight (i.e. 6%) bustum-graves and seven ossilegia (i.e. 6%) are evident. In the case of the bustum grave BDA3, the pyre was built over the burial pit. The bustum grave BDA193 is a possible double burial, since in addition to the female attire, objects with a male connotation were also found in the remains of the pyre (Ebner-Baur 2020, 184, 340–364). The term ossilegium refers to the case where the cremated human bones were sorted out and deposited separately from the pyre residues. Those bones

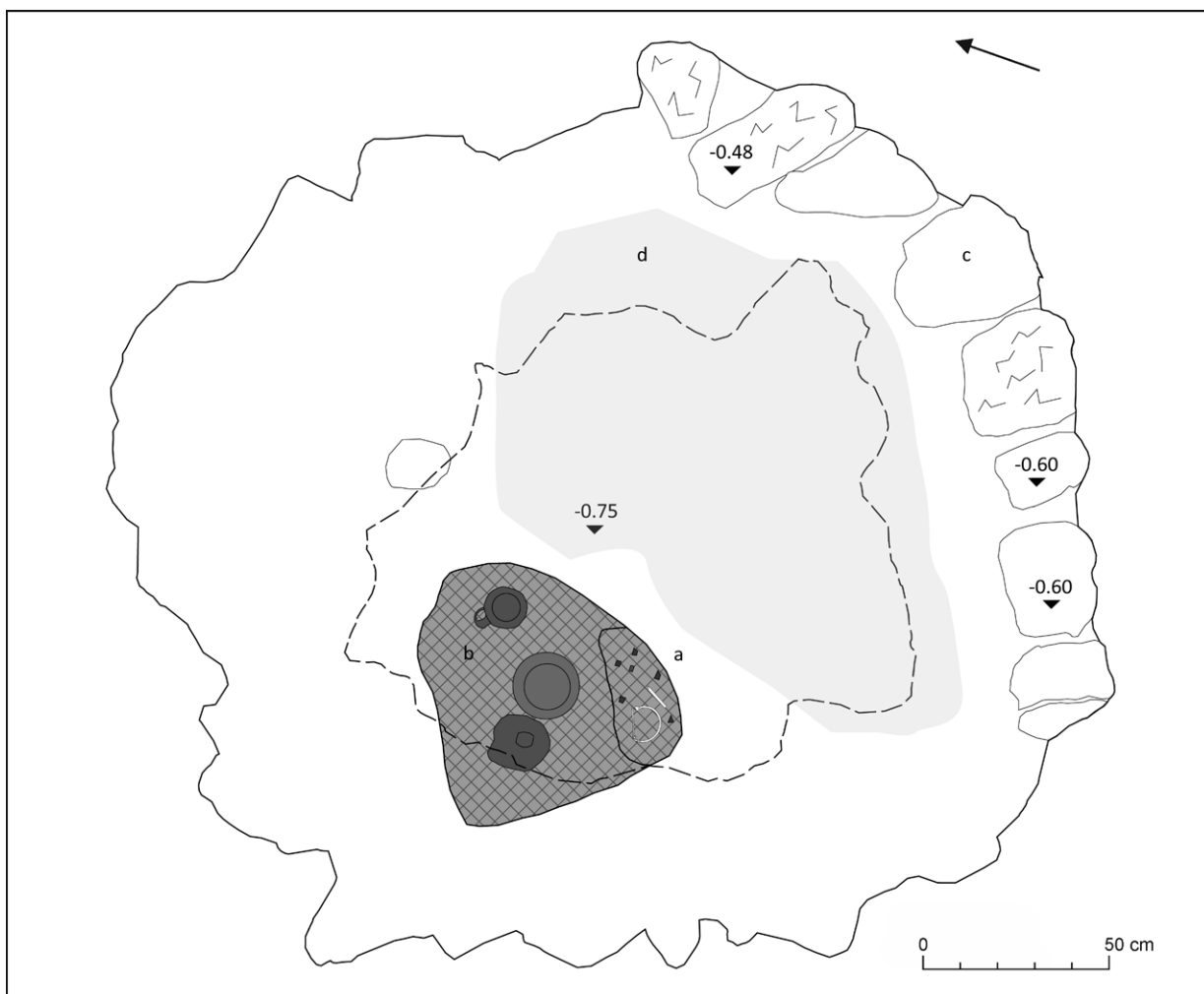


Fig. 8. Planum of grave BDA128: a – unseparated cremation with personal outfit, b – pyre remains with grave goods, c – grave architecture, lowest stone row of the stone enclosure, d – free area (Ebner-Baur 2020).

were usually found in small heaps on the grave sole. Hauser describes bones with bronze and iron objects within a cloth made of bast fiber in the burial T191/1 (Hauser 1891, 103). Another example is grave T168/1, where a small heap of human bones lay next to pieces of rich unburnt female jewellery. Here the latter was wrapped in a cloth (Tomedi 2002, 525, 527).

However, a chronological sequence of preferred burial rites cannot be determined.

Eating and drinking rituals

Eating and drinking ceremonies are an important part of the funeral ritual (Nebelsick 2000; 2017). Thanks to anthropological analysis and some documented features of the 1960s, eating and drinking rituals can be described for the first time at Frög. Funeral feast and meat offerings are evident through animal bones of the graves BDA68, BDA193/1 and BDA422. In the female grave BDA193/2 the anthropologist S. Renhart (Graz, Austria) was able to determine bones from a sheep or goat. L. D. Nebelsick noted gender-specific meat offerings for the Kalenderberg region: women got sheep or goat, whereas in male graves pig meat offerings were deposited (Nebelsick 2017, 173).

Numerous deposited drinking vessels as well as isolated pottery fragments, burnt and unburnt, indicate common drink offerings and libations in honour of the dead at the still open graves.

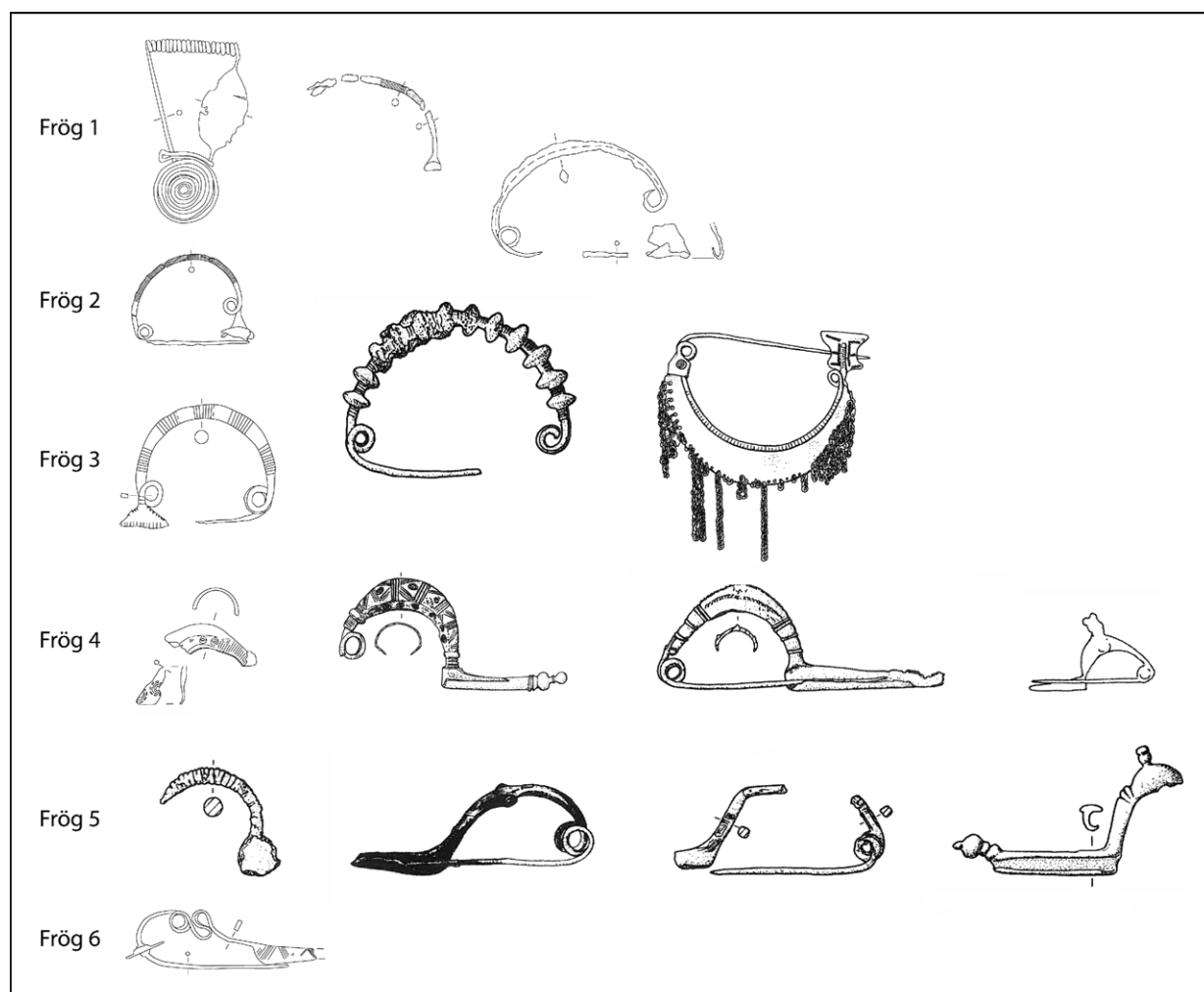


Fig. 9. Fibulae at Frög (after Gleirscher 2002; Tomedi 2002; newly arranged and supplemented by Ebner-Baur 2020).

Such traces are evident in grave BDA414/2 (Fig. 7). This collective grave contains two burials: the first burial on the bottom went with a rich pottery set and an arm ring made of bronze wire (*Drahtschmuckring*). The secondary burial lies 30 cm above the first one and consists of a pit filled with black loam, charcoal, cremated bones and pottery sherds. The burial pit was filled with soil up to the former level of the occupation layer. A multi-layer stone packing closed the burials. On the first stone layer, bones and pottery sherds were neatly arranged. Even if the bones were not kept for anthropological analysis, the remains of a funeral feast may be postulated (Ebner-Baur 2020, 212, 424–436).

The performance of rituals is elusive in the archaeological context. Certainly, the mourners did not dump the cremated bones of their relatives and friends into the grave without any ceremony. Analysis of the arrangement of the grave goods as well as the human remains and their relationship to the areas left free could reveal the movement of the actors during the burial ritual (Nebelsick 1995). Undisturbed burials in large number are a prerequisite for detailed studies. Therefore, the burial site of Frög can only rarely provide answers. Nevertheless, examining the plan of grave BDA128 (Fig. 8), the free place in the northwest of a stone row, which is the lowest level of the stone enclosure, is striking. It is conceivable that some mourners stayed in this approximately free area of about 3 m² during the funeral ceremony. A few people might have sat on the stones or placed some offerings on them (Ebner-Baur 2020, 211, 212, 312–318).

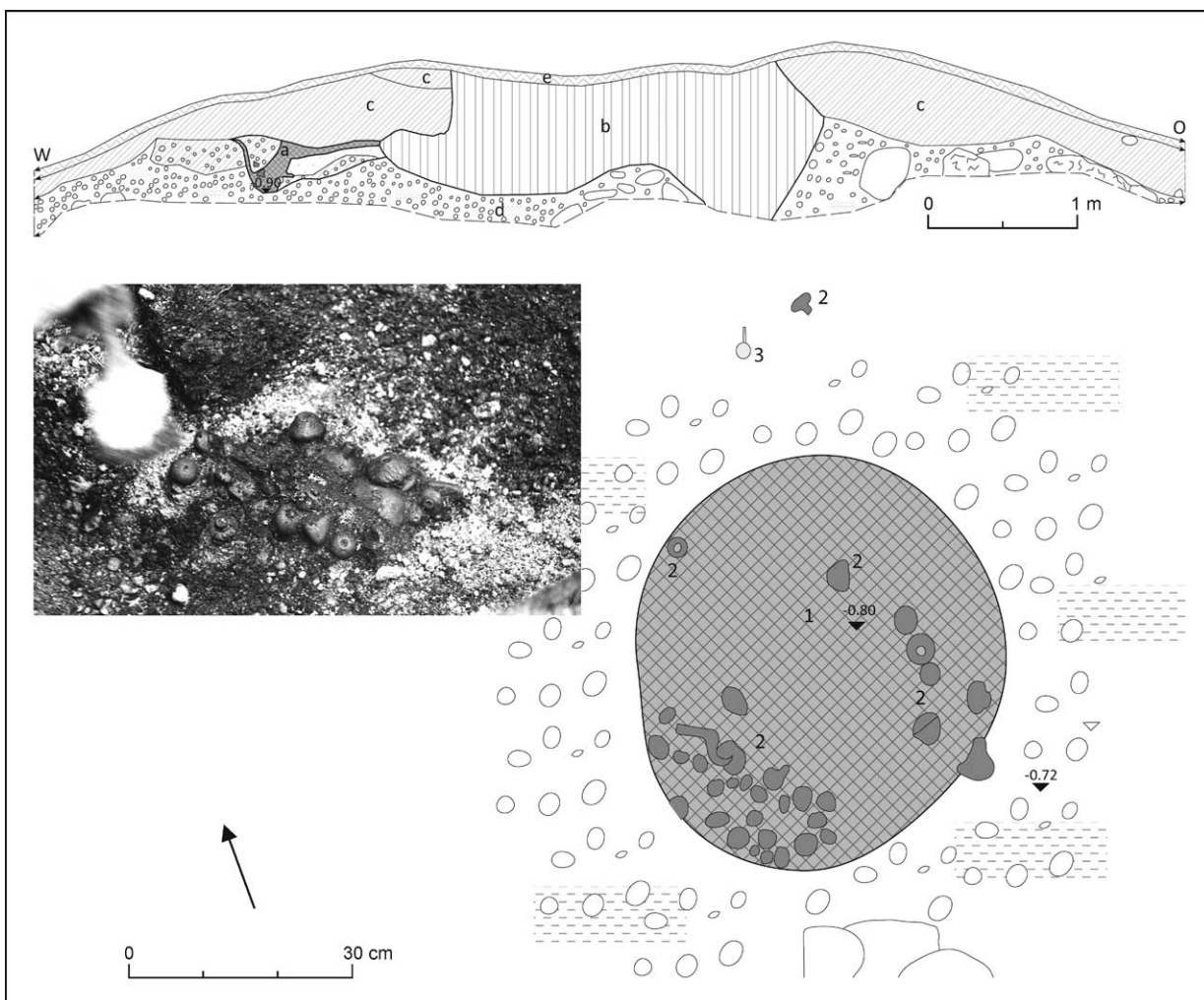


Fig. 10. Section of grave BDA193: a – burial 2 with spindle whorls, b – filled trench from the 19th century, c – barrow deposition, d – geological soil, e – topsoil (Ebner-Baur 2020); detailed planum of burial BDA193/2: 1 – burial pit filled with ash, cremated bones, pottery sherds, bronze objects, shells and the spindle whorls, 2 – 34 spindle whorls and two ceramic spacers, 3 – bronze object (Ebner-Baur 2020; photo of the feature, Fotoarchiv Bundesdenkmalamt, Frög No. 1387; © BDA).

GRAVE CONTENT

The grave contents consist of the cremated remains, the personal outfit and the grave goods. The burnt personal outfit and fitments of the deceased are most of the time mixed with the cremated remains. This includes all the items of clothing given to the deceased, such as brooches, pins, ring jewellery, belts, etc., and personal objects such as spindle whorls, knives and symposium crockery.

Grave goods are objects that were deposited around the buried person, such as vessels, spindle whorls or household appliances such as knives, which do not necessarily belong to the personal outfit of the deceased. Social groups or individuals might have laid such objects down. These mostly burnt items may have been placed already fragmentarily during burial rituals.

Social roles and identities of the buried person during his or her lifetime as well as the role he or she played for the community after death can be visible in the graves. The attire can indicate age and gender, and the goods can indicate the person's activities. Through the treatment of the body during the funeral ritual, the beliefs of the burying society can be explored (Gramsch 2010, 142; Rebay-Salisbury 2013, 83).

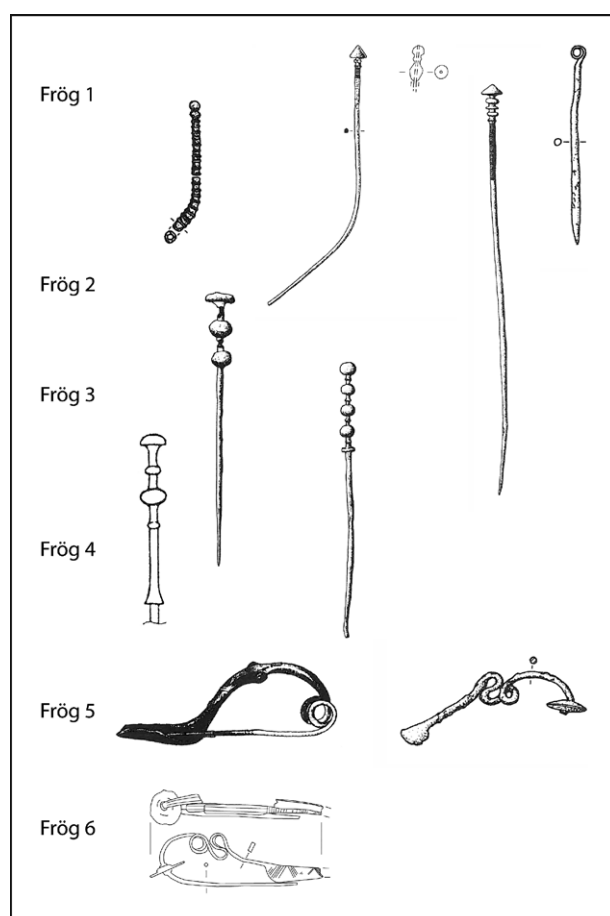


Fig. 11. Dress pins at Frög (after Gleirscher 2002; Tomedi 2002; newly arranged and supplemented by Ebner-Baur 2020).

burial site at Frög (cf. Tomedi 2002, 320). Individual female graves are documented only from phase Frög 2 onwards (e.g. BDA412), while female graves with rich jewellery do not appear before the transitional phase Frög 2–3 (e.g. BDA193/2 and BDA202).

Apart from male burials with weaponry graves with special and outstanding attires and grave goods seem to have been reserved for women.

For male burials, only two fitment-patterns, namely with one or more dress pins, are evident.

During phase Frög 5 and 6 fibulae became popular, and the dress pins disappeared (Fig. 11).

Iron balls or 'iron whorls' like in the Kalenderberg culture appear in male graves (Nebelsick 1997, 102; Rebay 2006, 179, 180). Weapons, harnesses and craft tools such as files or grindstones found their way into the grave inventories less often.

Disregarding possible grave robbing, six weapon combinations are detectable. Axes and spears are the dominant offensive weapons at Frög. The first group of graves with weapons subsumes graves with one or two axes. The second combination refers to burials with one or two spearheads, the third to burials with one axe and a horse harness. The fourth group contains one axe and one or two spearheads, whereas the fifth combination includes one axe, one or two spearheads together with a horse harness (Ebner-Baur 2020, 197, 198). Tomedi describes and maps 19 graves with weaponry (Tomedi 2002, 313–320).

Graves with weaponry occur at a rate of 13 to 4 comparing the phases Frög 1–2 and Frög 3–4. In the early stages, more men were equipped with only one type of weapon: one or two axes or one or two spears, whereas in later periods men got two weapon types: one or two axes and a sword or an axe and two spears.

Personal outfit – female and male burials

For female burials five fitment-patterns can be distinguished, which consist of different kinds of fibulae, neck and arm rings (e. g. Teržan 1988/89, 75). The basic equipment consists of one or two fibulae of the same kind (Fig. 9). The second fitment-pattern refers to the combination of a fibula and an arm ring, the third comprises a fibula and a neck ring. The fourth combination consists of a fibula as well as an arm and a neck ring. The fifth equipment pattern summarises graves with more than two fibulae as elements of the female attire (Ebner-Baur 2020, 194–196).

Four women in the graves BDA193/2, T50/2, T168/1 and T230 were buried with a very rich splendour attire (*Prunktracht*). All these graves contained objects connected to textile production: spindle whorls were found in an exceptionally large number in grave BDA193/2 (Fig. 10), in grave T50/2 a magnificent distaff with a glass spindle whorl was placed and grave T70 included a burnt loom (Ebner-Baur 2020, 210, 211; Tomedi 2002, 160, 453). The graves BDA193/2 and T50/2 were part of double burials while graves T168/1 as well as T230 contained single burials. The rich jewellery was unburnt; it showed traces of fire contact only in grave BDA193/2.

If we postulate grave BDA430 from the initial phase to be a secondary burial it seems like individual female graves were not foreseen at the very beginning of the occupancy of the

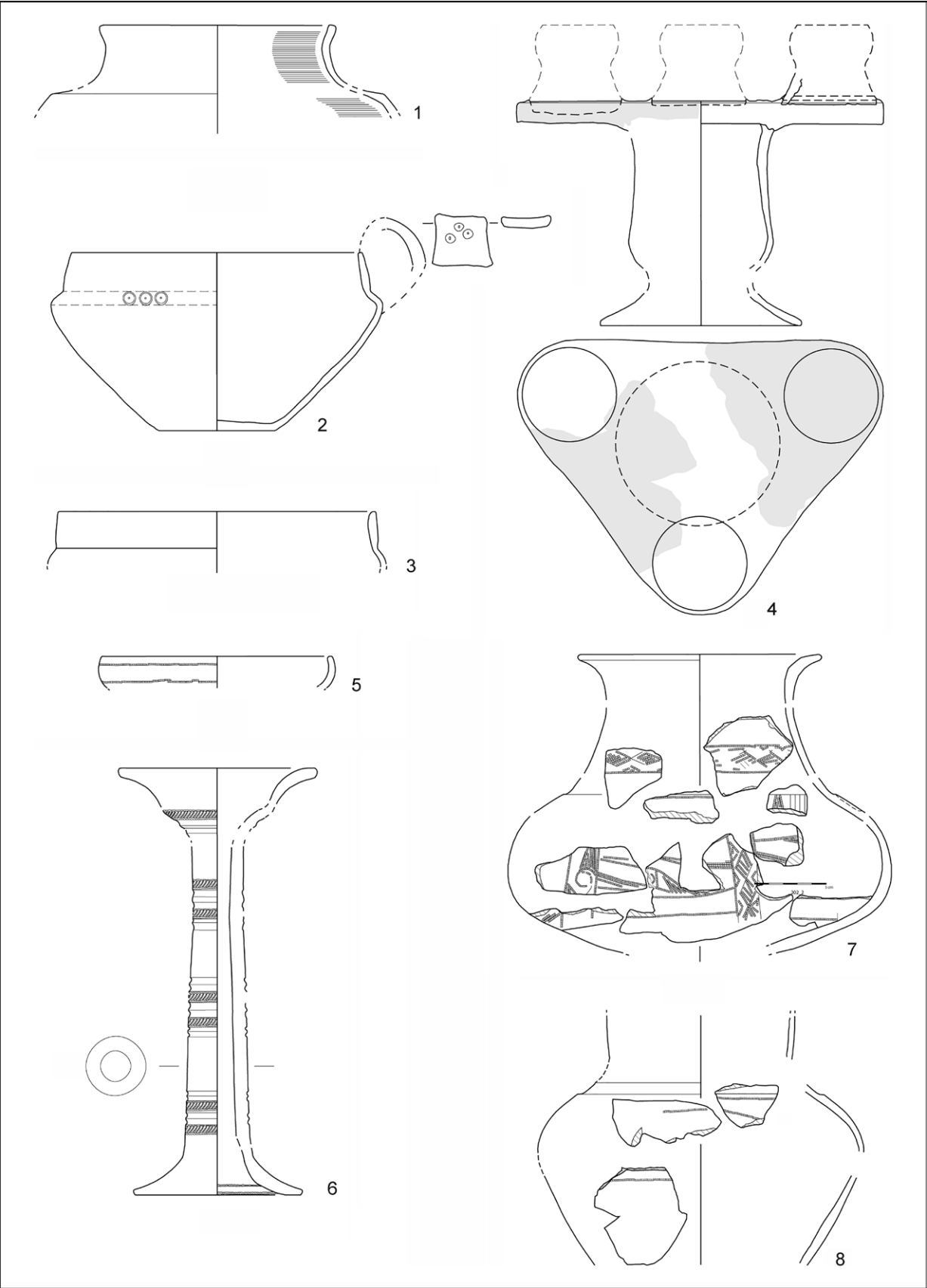


Fig. 12. Imported pottery and Basarabi-styled pottery (Ebner-Baur 2020).

Pottery

The pottery at Frög is uniform and was locally produced, although the natural clay deposits and the ceramic workshops are unknown. Its colour is brown-black in various nuances, with a smooth polished surface on the outside. The inner surface is usually smoothed and only polished in the upper part of the vessel.

It is difficult to assess the original appearance of the pottery, especially since fragments from the same vessel can differ from one another due to secondary firing and storage conditions in the ground. The most popular vessel forms are shallow bowls with an inward rim (*Einzugsrandschale*), followed by vessels with a conical neck (*Kegelhalsgefäß*) and shallow bowls on a foot (*Standfußschale*). The presence of imported ceramics testifies the versatile cultural contacts of the inhabitants of Frög.

The repertoire corresponds mainly to forms from the Southeastern Alpine region. Forms and decorations are influenced by the Lower Danube and the Mediterranean regions. In addition, imported pottery from the Kalenderberg culture, the Lower Danube area as well as Northern Italy and from the Alpine foothills reached Early Iron Age Frög.

The disc-turned vessel with a conical neck from grave BDA411 (Fig. 12: 1), the big handled cups with decoration of bronze nails (*Bronzenagelzier*) from grave BDA124, BDA125 (Fig. 12: 2, 3) and T192 (Tomedi 2002, pl. 86A: 1), the ceramic situla with horizontal ribs from grave T181 (Tomedi 2002, pl. 83: 6) and the presentatio from grave BDA202 (Fig. 12: 4) probably originated in Italy. Numerous fragments and some complete red-black painted vessels from the northwestern Alpine foothills are present as well, as well as pottery imports from the Kalenderberg culture.

In the absence of evidence for ceramic workshops and without any natural scientific analysis for reference groups the given thoughts and conclusions are theoretical.

The Basarabi-style ceramics were already treated in detail (Metzner-Nebelsick 1992; 2019). These objects are most likely of local production, inspired by the ornamental style of the Basarabi culture, like the hollow stand (*Tonständer*; Fig. 12: 6), the shallow bowl with an inward rim¹² (Fig. 12: 5) and the vessels with conical neck from grave BDA202 (Fig. 12: 7, 8). Although the grave was massively robbed and excavated in the 19th century the excavators in the 1960s recovered hundreds of pottery sherds and a lead equestrian. The ceramic equipment was immense: the rate of imported and Basarabi-inspired pottery is remarkable. The buried woman of this grave wore bronze and iron crescent fibulae, which date the grave to Frög 2–3 (Ebner-Baur 2019a; Tomedi 2002, 175–177).

Several times imitations of metal vessels can be observed, like the mentioned presentatio of grave BDA202 (Fig. 12: 4) and situlae in various graves (Ebner-Baur 2020, 105–107). All in all, the evaluation of ceramics from the grave inventories of Frög shows the importance of locally produced pottery, where role models and impulses from surrounding areas and cultures were implemented.

Vessel combinations

The analysis of the combination of vessels is based on the work of Louis D. Nebelsick, who analysed pottery sets in rich graves of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in the Carpathian Basin and attempted to reproduce the drinking modalities linked with those pottery sets (Nebelsick 2000, 220, 221; 2017).

Due to the selective preservation of the pottery in the 19th century only the features from the BDA excavations were considered for the analyses of the dishes at Frög (Fig. 13).

Some indications of libation rites became evident through the remaining vessels and the precise observation of their arrangement in the graves. More data would be needed for further conclusions.

First, simple drinking sets are attested in graves from the early phases.¹³ They consist of a vessel with conical neck and either a double-handled vessel or pot as well as a handle cup and a shallow bowl with an inward rim. The vessels were arranged directly on or in the cremated bone depositions, which might indicate the ownership of the pottery.

Second, the most extensive ceramic sets from undisturbed graves, probably intended for several people, date to Frög 3. These are sets of drinking and eating pottery and they include a vessel with conical neck for mixing as well as two vessels for serving, consisting of a situla and/or wide-necked

¹² Hollow stands (*Tonständer*) were probably used (also) as a pedestal for bowls with an inward rim. A use as an incense burner of this object combination is likely.

¹³ A simple drinking vessel is also attested for grave BDA412. However, since the burial was robbed, it was excluded for methodological reasons.

Lead objects

Two groups of lead objects occur at Frög, which must be strictly separated from each other. On the one hand, these are the well-known lead figurines, one of the most characteristic features of the burial site of Frög, and on the other hand, there are ceramic vessels decorated with flat-rolled lead applications. A well-preserved example for the latter is the urn from grave BDA430 (Fig. 14).

The vessel with conical neck appears dark brown to black and is broad in shape, softly profiled, round bodied, and has a short neck. The rim diameter is slightly smaller than the body of the receptacle. The surface was smoothed with a spatula, neck and rim were also polished. A circular 4.3 cm wide frieze with a diamond pattern made of thin flat-rolled lead wire was applied on the vessel's body with an adhesive that has now turned black.

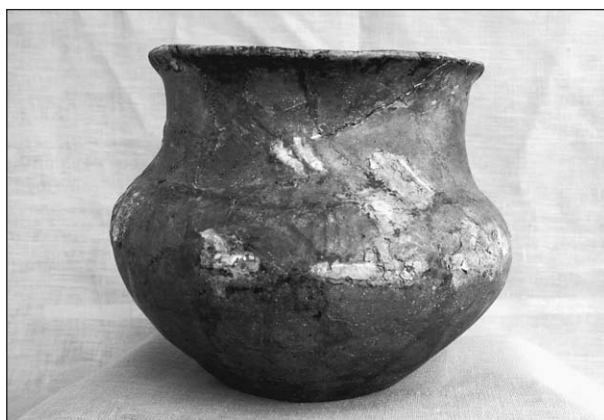


Fig. 14. The lead-wire decorated vessel with conical neck from grave BDA430 dated to Frög 1 (Ebner-Baur 2019b, 189, fig. 5).

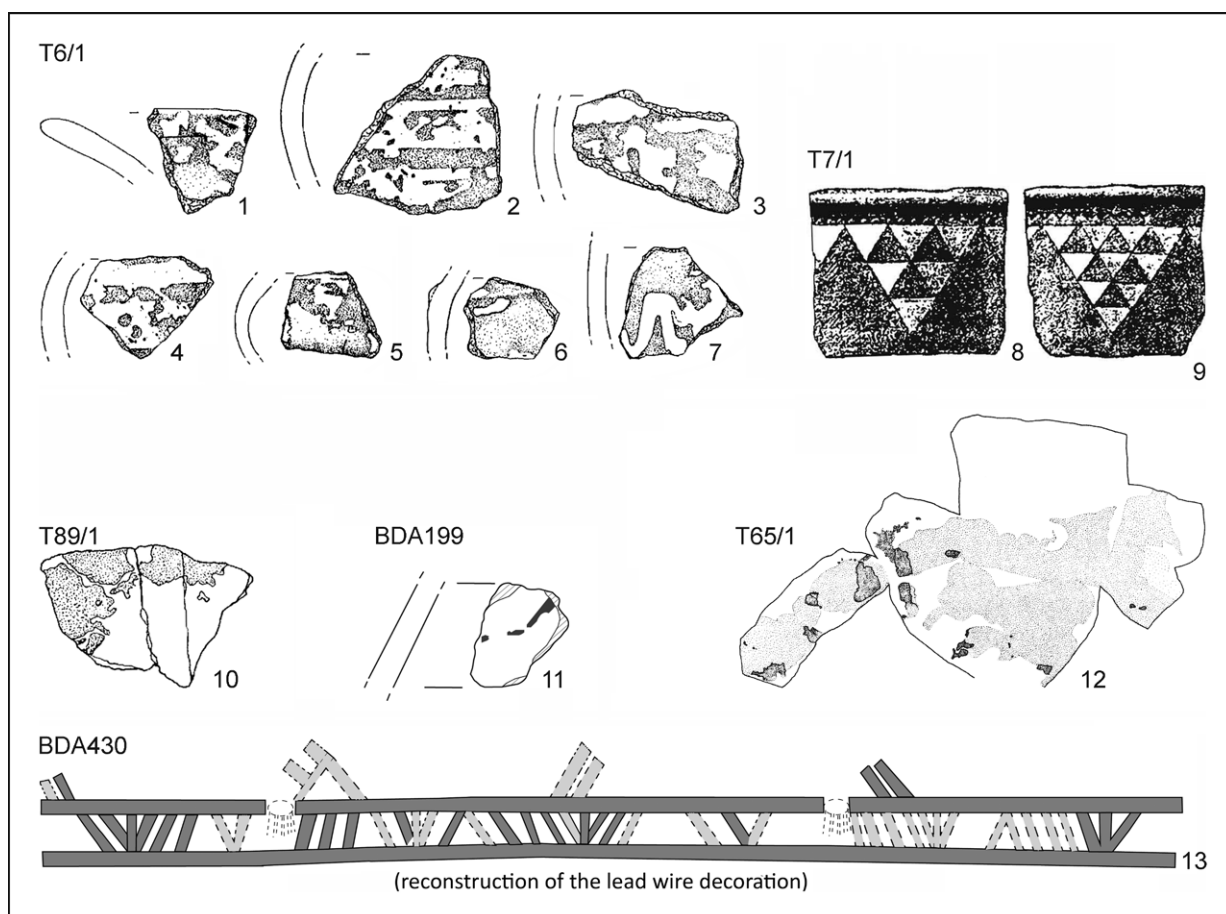


Fig. 15. Pottery with remains of geometric-style lead wire decoration (Ebner-Baur 2019b, 190, fig. 6).

A knob with a bundle of four channellings underneath interrupts the frieze. Neither an opposing knob nor the channellings have been preserved. Remains of four more lead ornaments are present on the neck of the vessel. Additionally, a 14 mm wide U-shaped lead band was folded over the rim.

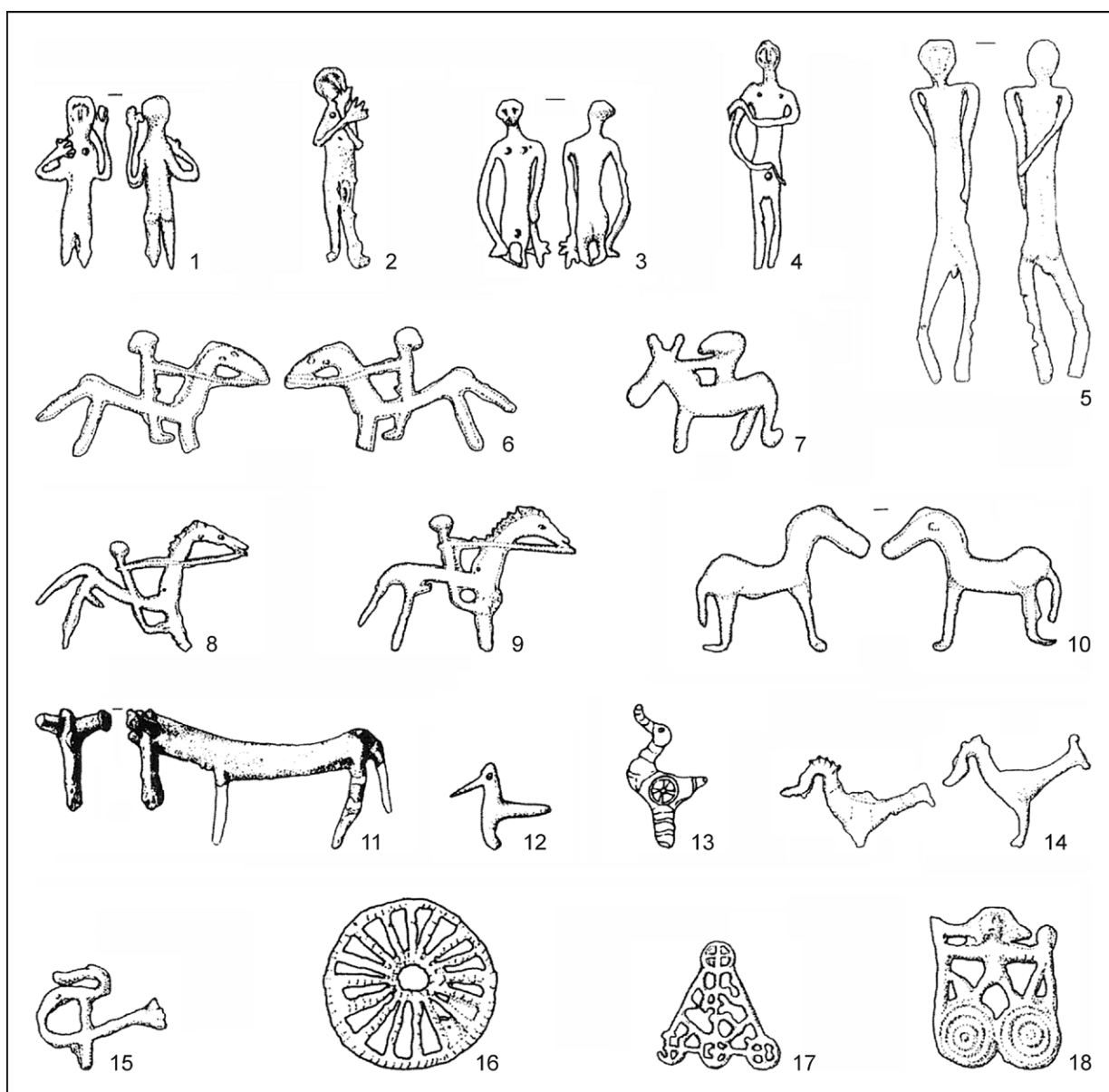


Fig. 16. Lead figurines from Frög (picture by G. Tomedi; *Tomedi 2002*, 257, fig. 42).

A comparative find for the shape of the vessel comes from burial mound 7 from Tscherberg, whose pottery is similar to that of the Maria-Rast group. Martin Fera dates the grave to Ha B3 (*Fera 1998*, 17, pl. 3: 1).

Remains of lead on vessels are also known from some old finds, which also bear – if still recognizable – geometrical patterns in horizontal bands (Fig. 15; *Ebner-Baur 2019b*, 189, 190).

Ceramic vessels with metal applications are widespread in the Eastern Alps and especially in the Villanova culture. More often tin or bronze is used instead of lead. Meanders are most common, more rarely angular stripes and small triangular plates are to be found. Figural decorations, though, are so far non-existent. In addition to Frög, Claus Dobiak also mentions Kobarid, Poreč, Sveta Lucija/Most na Soči and Bermo/Vermo with finds of vessels decorated with lead (*Dobiak 1980*, 130–133, List of finds 3).

The majority of the several hundred lead figurines (Fig. 16) are stray finds, since figurines of the same shape were often archived under the same inventory number without regarding the context of the findings. The spectrum of lead figurines consists of human, animal and geometric shapes.

From the beginning of the excavations, the semi-plastic lead figures were understood as applications for ceramic vessels (Hauser 1888, 84; Kanitz 1884, 143). Less carefully crafted males and equestrians, for example, lay in a ceramic bowl on the grave sole of barrow T168 next to the cremation. Having rejected his earlier interpretations as children's toys due to the high occurrence density, Hauser thought of a production exclusively for the burial and connected it with the burial ceremony (Hauser 1888, 84).

Later the figurines were interpreted as a primitive interpretation of the Situlae Art (Pittioni 1954, 632) or as the emblem of a family or clan (Teržan 1988/89). Tomedi associated burial rituals with the lead figurines, analogous to finds and findings from the Geometric and Archaic periods in Greece (Tomedi 2002, 279). He was followed by Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, who dealt with figurines made of different materials in Europe. She pointed out that especially the objects coming from shrines or graves were less carefully crafted and were probably made specifically as an offering or for burials. The lead figurines were relatively easy to produce using the open-sand-casting-process, and the soft material was easy to work with. This suggests not only professional craftworkers as producers (Rebay-Salisbury 2016, 173–177).

The lead figurines certainly played an important role in the belief of the people at Frög. The equestrians could have served as stylised protectors for a safe attendance into the world of the dead. Additionally they could have served as equipment for the next life. As aquatic or flying animals, birds move between two elements and symbolise a transition to a different state of body and soul. In this context, the wheels would symbolize chariots, which transported the deceased to the world of the dead (Tomedi 2002, 263).

Many figurines, at least those exhibited in the newly opened *kärnten.museum*, show one or two pin-sized holes in their body. It is possible that these figures were sewn onto textiles, serving as clothes wrapped around the urn.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Hallstatt period burial site of Frög has attracted international attention since the discovery of the famous lead wagon at the end of the 19th century, and the 'archaeological' investigation has begun.

The *Bundesdenkmalamt* carried out emergency excavations in burial mounds in the 1960s.

The chronological structure outlined by Gerhard Tomedi is still up to date. The published phases Frög 1–5 follows a short-lasting final phase Frög 6. In absolute chronological terms, the burial site was frequented between 820/810 and 550/530 BC. Findings of Lt A–Lt C indicate a not further definable frequentation during that time. The secondary burial BDA428/1 dates to Lt D1.

Barrows are the dominant grave form. A significant number of graves were dug in a natural ground formation.

The unseparated cremation in collective burials is the favoured burial rite and burial form.

For female burials five fitment-patterns can be distinguished, which consist of different kinds of fibulae, neck and arm rings. Four to the textile production linked women were buried with a very rich attire (*Prunktracht*). In men's graves only two equipment combinations, namely with one or more dress pins, are tangible. Weapons, harnesses and craft tools such as files or grindstones found their way into the grave 'inventories' less often.

The pottery at Frög is uniform and was produced locally, and to some extent even particularly for burials. The most popular forms are shallow bowls with an inward rim, followed by vessels with a conical neck and shallow bowls on a foot. Pots are not present regularly. The local ceramics is comparable to products from other sites in the Eastern Alps.

The international forms of metal objects find similarities in Italy, in the north of the Alps as well as in the Northeastern and Southeastern Alps.

One of the characteristic features of the Frög necropolis is the regular deposition of lead figurines, probably fixed on textiles. At least some were particularly made for burials. Additionally, ceramic vessels were decorated with geometrical motifs made of lead wire. The latter have counterparts in Villanova culture.

Frög has been a melting pot of different, sometimes very distant, fashions.

The Fröger Group belongs to the Southeast Alpine Hallstatt culture, with the strongest connections to the Styrian-Pannonian group. The lowest common denominator of graves in the Southeastern

Alpine Hallstatt group are cremation burials under earth hills with or without a burial chamber made of stones (or wood?), locally produced and – to a lesser extent – imported grave ceramics as well as ‘international’ traded metal forms.

The strategically advantageous location of Frög next to the navigable Drava River let to intensive cultural contacts not only within the Alpine region, but also with Early Iron Age cultural groups in Italy as well as the Middle Danube region and the Carpathian Basin. The route from the Adriatic Sea runs along the Tagliamento through the Canal Valley. Leading to the west it crosses the Alps over the Plöckenpass (= Monte Croce Carnico) and moves eastwards through the Gailtal Valley. The eastern route runs at Pontebba and Malborghetto to the Federauner Sattel (Coccau). In Arnoldstein it encounters the road from the west and leads north into the Drautal. Traders and travellers used the connection from the Black Sea via the Danube, the Sava and the Drava to the west. Without a doubt, Frög was an important Hallstatt centre for trade between Italy, the Eastern Alps, the Balkan Peninsula and Central Europe.

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140 rokov výskumu na pohrebisku z doby halštatskej vo Frögu v Korutánsku (Rakúsko) – a teraz i nové fakty

Desiree Ebner-Baur

Súhrn

Pohrebisko z doby halštatskej vo Frögu vzbudilo medzinárodnú pozornosť od objavu slávneho oloveného voza koncom 19. storočia a začal sa tu „archeologický“ výskum.

Spolkový pamiatkový úrad (*Bundesdenkmalamt*) vykonal v 60. rokoch 20. storočia záchranné výkopy v mohylách.

Jedným z charakteristických znakov pohrebiska vo Frögu je pravidelné ukladanie olovených figúrok, pravdepodobne upevnených na textíliách, do hrobov. Prinajmenšom niektoré z nich boli špeciálne vyrobené pre pohrebné obrady. Okrem toho boli keramické nádoby zdobené geometrickými motívami z oloveného drôtu. Tie majú obdobu vo vilanovskej kultúre.

Miestna keramika, do istej miery vyrábaná najmä na pohreby, je porovnateľná s výrobkami z iných lokalít vo Východných Alpách.

Nadregionálne tvary kovových predmetov nachádzajú podobnosti na území Talie, v severnej časti Álp, ako aj v severovýchodných a juhovýchodných Alpách.

Frög bol taviacim kotlom rôznych, niekedy veľmi vzdialených módných foriem.

Najmenším spoločným menovateľom hrobov v halštatskej skupine juhovýchodných Álp sú žiarové hroby pod zemnými násypmi s hrobovou komorou vybudovanou z kameňa (alebo z dreva?), alebo bez hrobovej komory, lokálne vyrábaná a – v menšej miere – importovaná hrobová keramika, ako aj nadregionálne obchodované kovové tvary.

Strategicky výhodná poloha Frögu pri splavnej rieke Dráva umožnila intenzívne kultúrne kontakty nielen v rámci alpského regiónu, ale aj s kultúrnymi skupinami staršej doby železnej v Talii, ako aj v strednom Podunajsku a v Karpatskej kotline. Cesta od Jadranského mora vedie pozdĺž rieky Tagliamento cez Val Canale (údolie v Alpách). Smerom na západ prekračuje Alpy cez priesmyk Plöckenpass (Monte Croce Carnico) a pokračuje na východ údolím rieky Gail. Východná trasa vedie cez obce Pontebba a Malborghetto do sedla Federaun (Coccau). V Arnoldsteine sa stretáva s cestou zo západu a vedie na sever do údolia Drávy. Obchodníci a cestujúci využívali spojenie od Čierneho mora cez Dunaj, Sávu a Drávu na západ. Frög bol bezpochyby dôležitým halštatským centrom obchodu medzi Itáliou, východnými Alpami, Balkánskym polostrovom a strednou Európou.

Obr. 1. Poloha Frögu a súvisiacich centier doby halštatskej.

Obr. 2. Pohrebisko Frög podľa máp zo 60. a 80. rokov 20. stor. (Ebner-Baur 2020). Legenda: a – mohyly zamerané v roku 1986; b – mohyly zamerané v roku 1965; c – mohyly skúmané BDA v 60. rokoch 20. stor.; d – potenciálny plochý hrob.

Obr. 3. Fotodokumentácia výskumu pamiatkového úradu (1962–1969), hroby BDA6, BDA128, BDA143, BDA180, BDA410, BDA429 a BDA430 (fotoarchív pamiatkového úradu, Frög, č. 1271, 1357, 1530, 1576, 1594, 1633 a 1698; © BDA).

Obr. 4. Chronologická tabeľa doby halštatskej v strednej Európe (Ebner-Baur 2020).

Obr. 5. Príklady zastúpených typov hrobov. BDA422: a – nepravidelné uloženie kameňov, b – obrys kamenného príkrovu nad hrobom, c – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu, d – hrobové prídavky; BDA415: a – hrobová jama, b – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu, c – hrobové prídavky, d – hranica sondy; BDA417: a – kamenná skrinka, b – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu; BDA3: a – kamenná ohrada s kamennou platňou/kamennými platňami, b – koncentrácia uhlíkov; BDA128: okrúhla a uzatvorená kamenná ohrada; BDA142: kamenný príkrov. Bez severky; pre podrobný opis pozri Ebner-Baur 2020. Diagram: a – zemný násyp, b – kamenná konštrukcia, c – neurčiteľné.

Obr. 6. Príklady zastúpených typov pohrebného ritu. BDA420: a – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu roztrúsené po zemi, b – zvyšky pohrebnej hranice s keramickými črepmi, c – hrobové prídavky (súbor keramických nádob a železný nôž), d – kamenná konštrukcia; BDA430: a – urna s neroztriedenými zvyškami kremácie a so súčasťami odevu, b – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie s dvomi nespálenými sponami, c – hrobová jama, d – zvyšky kamennej konštrukcie (ohrady?), e – stredoveká vykrádačská jama datovaná na základe keramiky; BDA18: a – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie v jame, hrob 1, b – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie v jame a keramické črepy na vrchu, hrob 2, c – keramické črepy v koncentrácii uhlíkov, d – zvyšky kamennej ohrady, e – rekonštruovaný obrys kamennej ohrady, f – vykrádačská jama; BDA3: a – *bustum* (neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu), b – kamenná ohrada s dvomi kamennými platňami, c – zemná výplň, d – ornica. Bez severky; pre podrobný opis pozri Ebner-Baur 2020. Diagram zastúpených typov pohrebného ritu: a – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie, neklasifikované, b – *ossilegium*, c – *bustum*, d – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie roztrúsené po zemi, e – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie v urne, f – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie v jame (Ebner-Baur 2020, 183).

Obr. 7. Pôdorys hrobu BDA414: a – hrob 1 (neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu a s keramickými hrobovými prídavkami), b – hrob 2 (neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie s keramickými črepmi), c – keramické črepy a kosti

- nad hrobom 2, d – hrobová konštrukcia, obrys prvej vrstvy kameňov; profil A–B: a – úroveň hrobu 1, b – úroveň hrobu 2, c – úroveň uložených keramických črepov a kostí (*Ebner-Baur 2020*).
- Obr. 8. Pôdorys hrobu BDA128: a – neroztriedené zvyšky kremácie so súčasťami odevu, b – zvyšky pohrebnej hranice s hrobovými prídavkami, c – hrobová konštrukcia, najnižší rad kameňov v kamennom obložení, d – voľný priestor (*Ebner-Baur 2020*).
- Obr. 9. Spony z Frögu (podľa *Gleirscher 2002; Tomedi 2002*; upravené a doplnené *Ebner-Baur 2020*).
- Obr. 10. Prierez hrobu BDA193: a – hrob 2 s praslenmi, b – zaplnený výkop z 19. stor., c – násyp mohyly, d – geologická pôda, e – ornica (*Ebner-Baur 2020*); detailný pôdorys hrobu BDA193/2: 1 – hrobová jama vyplnená popolom, spálenými kosťami, keramickými črepmi, bronzovými predmetmi, mušľami a praslenmi, 2 – 34 praslenov a dva keramické rozdeľovače, 3 – bronzový predmet (*Ebner-Baur 2020*; foto objektu: fotoarchív pamiatkového úradu, Frög č. 1387; © BDA).
- Obr. 11. Ihlice z Frögu (podľa *Gleirscher 2002; Tomedi 2002*; upravené a doplnené *Ebner-Baur 2020*).
- Obr. 12. Importovaná keramika a keramika basarabského štýlu (*Ebner-Baur 2020*).
- Obr. 13. Kombinácie nádob vo Frögu (*Ebner-Baur 2020*).
- Obr. 14. Nádob s kónickým hrdlom, zdobená oloveným drôtom, z hrobu BDA430, datovaná do fázy Frög 1 (*Ebner-Baur 2019b*, 189, obr. 5).
- Obr. 15. Keramika so zvyškami výzdoby oloveným drôtom v geometrickom štýle (*Ebner-Baur 2019b*, 190, obr. 6).
- Obr. 16. Olovené figúrky z Frögu (obrázok G. Tomedi; *Tomedi 2002*, 257, obr. 42).

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