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Collective and individual burial practices. Changing patterns at the beginning of the third millennium BC: the megalithic grave of Altendorf

Christoph Rinne, Clara Drummer, Christian Hamann

Abstract

The re-analyses of the Altendorf gallery grave reveal three different phases of inhumation burial practices: collective burials of a whole community (3250–3100 BC), a hiatus in burial practice (3100–2600 BC), and fewer but continuous single inhumations (2600-1450 BC). These changes can be associated with the abandonment of collective social practices all over Central Europe at the end of the fourth millennium BC, and the establishment of new ideologies and the re-use of older monuments by 2600 BC. In Altendorf, this last phase extends to the next pan-European change in burial practices, and reveals an enduring relationship with a local burial monument.

1. Introduction

The Wartberg style gallery grave of Altendorf in Hesse, central Germany, is one of the typical megalithic graves of the late fourth millennium BC, with a minimum of 235 inhumations and several grave goods consisting of pottery, bone and copper. As Altendorf is one of the better-preserved graves with a few finds documenting its use in the Final Neolithic, the site has been selected as a key site to address questions of transformation from the Late Neolithic Wartberg to the Final Neolithic Corded Ware communities in the German low mountain range¹.

Since their first discoveries, Wartberg gallery graves have been ascribed to the megalithic phenomenon of collective graves. However, their continuation in the Final Neolithic was seldom discussed (Raetzel-Fabian 2002 a, 5; Wiermann 2004, 50, 88; Schierhold 2012, 80 f.). On the contrary, discontinuity between Corded Ware single burials and Wartberg collective burials was emphasised both in respect to the changing burial practices and to changing burial locations. Recent discourses on the appearance of Corded Ware as a migration event have raised the question of continuities or discontinuities of burial practices at gallery graves (Haak et al. 2015; Olalde et al. 2018). We investigate these issues of burial practices at the grave of Altendorf.

Beside the re-evaluation of the archaeological documentation and the reconstruction of burial organisation, interdisciplinary projects for radiocarbon dating and aDNA were established. The sampling strategy was based on the localisation of the skulls and the preservation of the petrous bone as the most promising source for aDNA analysis. After preliminary tests on the aDNA-preservation of six samples, we have thus far taken 71 aDNA and radiocarbon samples from 39 individuals. This paper focuses on a general dating of the grave and its changing inhumation practices through time.

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Authors' addresses:

Christoph Rinne Institute of Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology, Kiel University, D-24098 Kiel crinne@ufg.uni-kiel.de

Institute of Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology, Kiel University, D-24098 Kiel c.drummer@ufg.uni-kiel.de

Christian Hamann Leibniz Laboratory for Radiometric Dating and Isotope Research. Kiel University, D-24098 Kiel chamann@leibniz.uni-kiel.de

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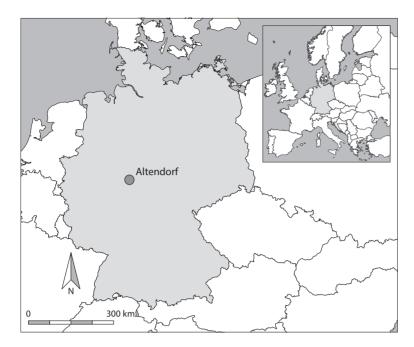


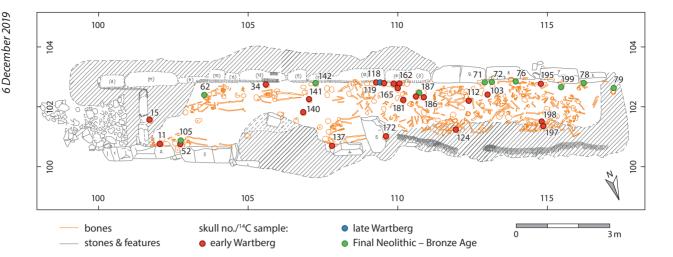
Fig. 1. The geographical location of the site Altendorf in Germany, Hesse.

2. Excavation and Research History

The gallery grave of Altendorf (9.203° E, 51.209° N) is situated 24 km south-west of Kassel in the west Hesse foothills. After its discovery in 1907, some stones were removed before the final excavation of the grave in 1934 (Jordan 1954, 5–6). The documentation comprises many photos, several drawings, and find lists including localisation. The documents in the archives allowed an up-to-date re-working of the evidence by the authors, including 3D reconstruction of the finds location. While several archaeologists had already reviewed the archaeological documentation and the material (e.g. Schierhold 2012), a re-study of the human bones of approximately 235 individuals, in order to improve upon the very basic initial anthropological study (Perret 1937), has not been conducted. Until now, radiocarbon dating was based on only two dates with a wide 2-sigma range between 3350 and 2900 cal BC (UtC-3325, UtC-3326, Raetzel-Fabian 2000, 155).

The Altendorf grave, belonging to the type Züschen, is built of large sandstone slabs with a total area of $17 \,\mathrm{m} \times 2.9 \,\mathrm{m}$, including a small antechamber. The axial entrance consists of a twofold porthole stone leading to the paved inhumation chamber of approximately $15.4 \,\mathrm{m} \times 2 \,\mathrm{m}$ and $1.4 \,\mathrm{m}$ height. The pottery consists of eleven vessels with recognizable shape, which typological dating places mainly in the second half of the early Wartberg phase (3250–3000 cal BC). In addition, more than 300 smaller fragments were preserved (Raetzel-Fabian 2002 b; Schierhold 2012, 75 f.; 284). Of these fragments, three decorated sherds of Corded Ware and a rim of a Giant Beaker (Riesenbecher) of the Final Neolithic or Early Bronze Age have been identified. While the Wartberg pottery was found on both sides of the entrance, the Corded Ware sherds were found in the posterior part of the chamber, and the fragment of the Giant Beaker in the upper infill in the central part. Thus, the relative dating points towards an inhumation phase in the Late Neolithic with possibly spontaneous secondary inhumation in the Final Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age. It may have been the case that, as proposed by the excavator, the grave had a wooden ceiling, fostering easy access to the posterior part of the chamber for these later burials (Jordan 1954, 9–11; Schierhold 2012, 6, 59).





During excavation, bones had been documented in different layers but only the skulls had been numbered consecutively. The preservation of the skeletons ranges from disarticulated scattered bones to individuals in an almost entirely articulated anatomic position (Fig. 2). Skeletons were documented from the base pavement at 1.0m up to a depth of 0.4 m. In one case, a skull was found under the shoulder of a nearly complete skeleton; thus articulated bones belong to older as well as younger inhumation activities. In addition, groupings of skulls were documented near the entrance and in the rear part. In general, we expected bone distribution to reflect the deposition process: bones from older inhumations should dominate in the posterior part of the grave in a secondary position, partly articulated bones from intermediate depositions along the sides, and mostly articulated skeletons near the entrance as the latest inhumations. Gathering all information on spatial positions, up to five subsequent deposition activities could be differentiated.

The age determinations for the interred individuals are based on the mandibles: 23 Infans I, 20 Infans II, 10 Juvenis, 169 Adultus-Maturus and 13 Senilis (Perret 1937, 41). Based on this rough classification a life expectancy at birth (e0) of 34.73 years can be calculated (Tab. 1)2. Due to the rough age classification and a supposed uniform distribution, the high number of older individuals leads to a high life expectancy at birth in comparison to other Wartberg burial populations (e0: 29.78; Tab. 2). This is a statistical effect and therefore not significant. While mandibles show a masculinity rate of 1.9 (75 male, 40 female, 15 n.d.), the 59 listed measures according to Martin give a mean rate of 2.3 (quartiles: 1.9, 2.3, 2.8) pointing to a general dominance of male individuals (Perret 1937, tab. II-III). Unfortunately, the sex determination cannot be linked to individuals. Beside this high proportion of males, Altendorf seems to be a standard burial community, spanning several generations during the second half of the older Wartberg phase. Comparable to the grave of Niedertiefenbach, the site is currently undergoing an interdisciplinary, in-depth re-examination (Rinne et al. 2019).

3. Sampling and Radiocarbon dating

As of yet, 44 radiocarbon dates are present from Altendorf (Tab. 3), of which 39 have been dated in Kiel. Three further dates by another project in Oxford have not yet been published (OxA-18807, OxA-18808, OxA-18809)³. These dates coincide significantly well with the

Fig. 2. The Altendorf gallery grave with main features, stones, human bones, and position of dated radiocarbon samples. The archaeological dating of the samples is based on the mean of the 2-sigma range of the unmodelled calibration (base map: Jordan 1954, fig. 1).

- 2 Anthropological life tables are not based on a cohort but are constructed by a hypothetical cohort derived from the time span represented by the inhumation community (e.g. Chamberlain 2006, 28). As shown later this time span is extremely broad in the case of Altendorf.
- 3 Information kindly provided by Linda Fibiger, University of Edinburgh.



Tab. 1. Life table of Altendorf based on the age classification of the mandibles (Perret 1937. 41). Calculated with the R package mortAAR. x = age interval, a = years within x, Ax = average number of years lived by an individual that died within a specific age class x, Dx = number of deaths within x, dx = proportion of deaths within x (percent), <math>Ix = survivorship within x(percent), qx = probability of death within x (percent), Lx = number of years lived within x by those that died within x and those that reached the next age class, Tx = sum of years lived within current and remaining x, ex = average years of life remaining, $rel_popx = percentage of L(x) of the sum of L(x)$.

х	a	Ax	Dx	dx	Lx	qx	Lx	Tx	ex	rel_popx
0-6	7	3.5	23	9.787	100.000	9.787	665.745	3472.979	34.73	19.169
7–13	7	3.5	20	8.511	90.213	9.434	601.702	2807.234	31.118	17.325
14-20	7	3.5	10	4.255	81.702	5.208	557.021	2205.532	26.995	16.039
21–59	39	19.5	169	71.915	77.447	92.857	1618.085	1648.511	21.286	46.591
60-70	11	5.5	13	5.532	5.532	100.000	30.426	30.426	5.500	0.876

Kiel dates for the corresponding individuals and will be discounted in our model to prevent duplication of incidences. The other two already mentioned dates, formerly published by Raetzel-Fabian, were taken from a dog and a human bone and cannot be assigned to a find position or a single individual (Raetzel-Fabian 2000, 70; 155). Of the 39 Kiel dates, one was rejected because the IR-spectrum of the sample suggested a possible contamination. Another sample has a medieval date and possibly originates from a nearby medieval cemetery, which Jordan excavated concurrent with Altendorf. Stable isotope results (δ^{13} C, δ^{15} N and δ^{34} S) are expressed using δ notation $(\delta = [(Rsample/Rstandard-1)] \times 1000$, and $R = {}^{13}C/{}^{12}C$, ¹⁵N/¹⁴N, or ³⁴S/³²S) in parts per mille (‰) relative to international standards, Vienna PeeDee Belemnite for δ^{13} C, air N₂ for δ^{15} N, and Canyon Diablo Troilite for δ^{34} S. The results (Tab. 3) are averaged measurements of four aliquots of each sample, with standard deviations < 0.1 ‰ for δ^{13} C and < 0.2 ‰ for δ^{15} N, and < 0.4 ‰ for δ^{34} S. Final measurement uncertainties are therefore probably better than \pm 0.1 ‰ for δ^{13} C and δ^{15} N, and \pm 0.2 ‰ for δ^{34} S. The remaining dates show no differentiation or unexpected values in the isotopic values (Fig. 3).

For the skull distribution, the individual number of each skull was correlated with its position on the site plan or with the location given

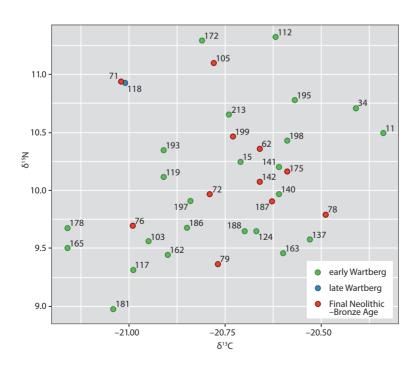


Fig. 3. Bi-plot of δ^{13} C against δ^{15} N values differentiated into archaeological phases by the mean of the corresponding calibrated 2-sigma range (for the values see



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Tab. 2. Life table of Wartberg gallery graves excluding Altendorf (Calden I, Calden II, Niedertiefenbach, Warburg I, Warburg III, Warburg IV). Data from: R package mortAAR::gallery_graves; Löwen 1997, tab. 6; Pasda 2000, tab. 7. Heading see Tab. 1.

х	a	Ax	Dx	dx	Lx	qx	Lx	Tx	ex	rel_popx
0-0	1	0.33	1.5	1.35	100	1.35	99.1	2978.33	29.78	3.33
1-4	4	1.33	5.67	5.11	98.65	5.18	380.97	2879.23	29.19	12.79
5-9	5	2.5	7.47	6.74	93.54	7.2	450.85	2498.27	26.71	15.14
10-14	5	2.5	4.35	3.92	86.8	4.51	424.21	2047.42	23.59	14.24
15–19	5	2.5	5.18	4.67	82.88	5.64	402.74	1623.2	19.58	13.52
20-24	5	2.5	19.97	18	78.21	23.02	346.04	1220.47	15.6	11.62
25-29	5	2.5	19.13	17.25	60.21	28.65	257.9	874.42	14.52	8.66
30-34	5	2.5	13.23	11.92	42.95	27.76	184.96	616.52	14.35	6.21
35-39	5	2.5	9.59	8.65	31.03	27.86	133.54	431.56	13.91	4.48
40-44	5	2.5	6.94	6.26	22.38	27.95	96.28	298.02	13.31	3.23
45-49	5	2.5	5.02	4.53	16.13	28.07	69.32	201.74	12.51	2.33
50-54	5	2.5	4.11	3.71	11.6	31.97	48.73	132.42	11.41	1.64
55-59	5	2.5	3.2	2.89	7.89	36.6	32.24	83.68	10.6	1.08
60-64	5	2.5	2	1.81	5	36.12	20.5	51.44	10.28	0.69
65-69	5	2.5	1.36	1.23	3.2	38.46	12.91	30.94	9.68	0.43
70-74	5	2.5	0.73	0.66	1.97	33.33	8.2	18.03	9.17	0.28
75–79	5	2.5	0.45	0.41	1.31	31.25	5.53	9.84	7.5	0.19
80-84	5	2.5	0.55	0.49	0.9	54.55	3.28	4.3	4.77	0.11
85-89	5	2.5	0.45	0.41	0.41	100	1.02	1.02	2.5	0.03

by additional find lists (Fig. 2). Four of 37 skulls could not be localised. Between the front and the rear part of the chamber the proportions of skulls (52:77 = 0.68) and of radiocarbon dates (10:23 = 0.43) are roughly correlated (χ^2 test p-value = 0.3927) and therefore represent the overall distribution of inhumations in the chamber. Considering the dating-distribution of the samples, two spatial patterns can be observed: While samples dating to the Late Neolithic phase are distributed all over the chamber, the samples from the Final Neolithic to the Bronze Age seem to dominate in the rear part. Due to the low number of samples and the unspecific spatial separation in the chamber, statistical tests are not provided. In general, the samples are scattered throughout the whole space and belong to articulated skeletons as well as isolated skulls. In consequence, all 37 dates for 37 individuals incorporated into the chronological model for Altendorf are consistent and reliable.

4. Results: Chronological Models

The archaeological stratigraphy provides no model for a continuous sequence of different inhumation phases. The simple model of deposition along the longitudinal axis, proposed above, is not supported by the radiocarbon dates, as individuals 34, 52, and 140 in the front part fall very early in the sequence. Even a more sophisticated approach postulating depositions from a central point to selected areas along the walls (e.g. Salanova et al. 2017, 61 f.) does not lead to a convincing model. In a third model without preconditions, the 37 dates are considered to be a random sample from a uniform inhumation sequence. The overall dating of the grave could then be illustrated by a sum of the individual calibrations with the assumption that all dates are independent. From an archaeological perspective, this model cannot be true and the visible agglomeration at the beginning as well as the continuous distribution into the Middle Bronze Age do not support this model of independence. In our final working model, the dates are considered as a random sample from an



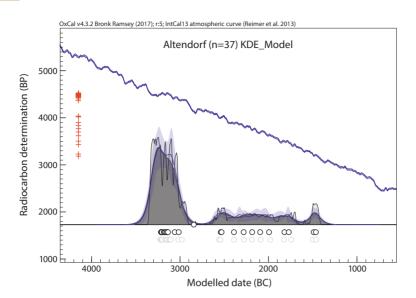


Fig. 4. KDE model of OxCal 4.3 for 37 inhumations in the Wartberg gallery grave of Altendorf (for the dates see Tab. 3). Red cross: mean of radiocarbon date; light grey circle: mean of unmodelled calibrated date; black circle: posterior mean; dark gray distribution: sampled KDE estimated distribution; blue line and lighter blue band: mean $\pm 1\sigma$ for snapshots of the KDE distribution generated during the Marcov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) process; black line: sum distribution of the data for reference.

inhumation history with changing frequencies and possible interruptions. For this, the Kernel Density Estimation (KDE) model of the calibration software OxCal 4.3 was applied (Fig. 4). The KDE model of radiocarbon dates is an alternative for sum calibration, avoiding disadvantages related to the latter method (Ramsey 2017). The model uses the normal kernel and the weighted likelihood for the KDE as provided by the function "KDE model" of OxCal.

The KDE model should reflect the expected distribution of the dating for all 235 inhumations based on the dates obtained so far. This distribution can be separated into three sections: a first phase with intensive use between 3350 and 3100, hardly reaching 3000 cal BC; an intermediate hiatus between 3000 and 2600 cal BC; and a subsequent third phase with a low but constant and regular inhumation history until 1500 cal BC.

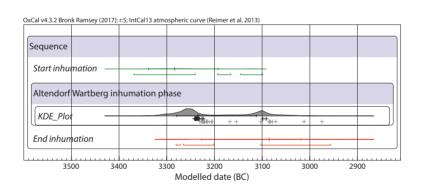


Fig. 5. Dating model for an independent Wartberg inhumation phase in Altendorf based on 26 radiocarbon dates (for the dates see Tab. 3). Green and red: boundaries with 2-sigma ranges; grey cross: median of the likelihood distributions of the calibrated date; black cross: median of the marginal posterior distribution for each dated event.

Based on the result of the KDE model of the entire data set, which suggests continuous inhumation with changing frequencies, a further statistical model is provided to illustrate the archaeological model of two independent inhumation phases separated by a hiatus. For this case, it can be expected that the minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 235 separates according to the proportion of the radiocarbon dates (26:11) into 165 inhumations during the Wartberg phase and 70 inhumations during the later phase. These inhumation activities are modelled as two separate sequences, each with one phase comprising the dates in a KDE plot and flanked with boundaries (Fig. 5-6). The Wartberg inhumations agglomerate with their posterior medians before 3200 cal BC, with only two medians closer to approx. 3100 cal BC (Fig. 5). By omitting the later radiocarbon



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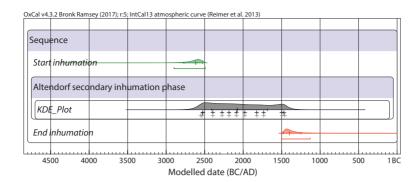


Fig. 6. Dating model for an independent secondary inhumation phase in Altendorf based on 11 radiocarbon dates (for the dates see Tab. 3). Additional information see Fig. 5.

dates as an independent second phase, this shift of the statistical outcome could be expected. Due to the calibration curve, the boundaries for the first inhumation phase spread over the entire Wartberg phase, but point towards a start after 3300 cal BC and a possible end shortly after 3100 cal BC. The 200 year usage would represent six to seven generations based on a life expectance at birth of 30 years with an estimation of a living population with 27 persons (e. q. Acsádi/Neméskeri 1970, 65).

The second inhumation phase in Altendorf extends over more than a millennium (Fig. 6). According to the proportion of radiocarbon dates, only 70 inhumations cover this long time span. Thus, it is unlikely that an entire living population is represented. This behaviour has to be explained differently and must be based on other motivations than using the grave for a whole community. The modelled KDE plot and the correlated boundaries suggest a start around 2600 cal BC and an end between 1500 and 1400 cal BC. Over this time-span inhumations are spread in nearly equidistant intervals. Due to this constant, low-level frequency, the changes between the unmodelled and the posterior medians are minor. By excluding the very short intervals at the beginning and the end, the median of the intervals is 106 years or approx. 3 generations. If we expect a uniform distribution of 70 inhumations over 1150 years, the interval between them is reduced to 16 years. By doing so, the data suggest either funeral events with two persons per generation or funeral events of smaller groups with up to eight dead in every third generation. In both cases only parts of a larger community would have been buried (e.g. Furholt 2012, 123). Considered as a whole, three different social practices are visible at Altendorf: the use as a collective burial place over two centuries (approx. 8 generations) in the Late Neolithic, the burial hiatus at the site for five centuries (approx. 17 generations) between 3100 and 2600 cal BC, and the use for a selected group of dead at regular intervals for more than a millennium (approx. 38 generations) from 2600 to 1450 cal BC.

5. Interpretation: Social discontinuities and remembrance

The three phases of different social practices detected in the gallery grave of Altendorf can be placed in a broader context, but also allow a detailed insight into the continuities in social practice of long-term traditions in respect to their local transformations.

The first phase shows an inhumation period during the second half of the early Wartberg, which is well known from other gallery graves in the central German uplands (Raetzel-Fabian 2002 a; 2000; 1997; Rinne et al. 2016). The end of this phase precedes the general change to late Wartberg (3000 BC) with new



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stylistic elements, e. g. Globular Amphorae and Bernburg pottery, and the presence of hilltop settlements (e. g. Schwellnus 1979, 4; 35). The change is visible in the adjacent region as well, although with a shift towards 3000 BC (Raetzel-Fabian 2001, 323; 1997, 165 f. tab. 45), and might be linked to a similar pattern in the gallery grave of Bury in France (Salanova et al. 2017, 59 f. fig. 2; 2018, 7 f. fig. 6).

The extraordinary duration and the regular intervals of burials on a low but constant level in the last phase in Altendorf are highly interesting, as it coincides with a fundamental change in burial practices in south central Europe (Falkenstein 2012, 330; 334–336; 338). Moreover, the re-establishment of burial practices after four centuries in a subterranean chamber, which is not visible in the landscape, has to be integrated into current theories on monuments, cultural memory, and identities (e. g. Furholt/Müller 2011; Veit 2005). First, we have to address the hiatus of approximate five centuries or 17 generations. A rediscovery of the grave would not necessarily explain its re-use for inhumations. Thus we can imagine persistent memory of the place or even the monument itself, although it was not directly visible above-ground.

In any case – forgotten and rediscovered, as topos or known site - it is obvious to link both sets of funeral activities and to suggest a "hidden chain of tradition" (Veit 2005, 32). Taking into account the temporal dimension of at least 13 generations, a genealogy could bridge this "floating gap" (Assmann 2007, 50 f.). The placing of bodies in an obviously older chamber have to be seen as a conscious act of remembrance by the latter actors, or more straightforwardly, we can interpret this behavior as an expression of a historical awareness (Veit 2005, 25). This conscious act can then be encompassed in the frame of cultural memory (e.g. Assmann 1988, 13–15), even though the interwoven complexity of the ethnic, religious and political context forming the multiple cultures of memory (Oesterle 2005) remains invisible. The inhumation site of Altendorf is only one piece of a former social memory, showing a long-lasting place for burials after a break over generations, which was somehow integrated in the social memory and therefore did not get lost.

To provide reasons why Altendorf was not used as a grave for a certain time is difficult. The available data provide hints how to bridge the hiatus of five centuries. First we can mention the 101 skulls, which are documented in the drawings; in comparison to this number, postcranial bones seem to be underrepresented. This might be caused by excavation methods as well as documentation strategy, as both focused on the crania. However, the 235 jaws providing the MNI point towards a different interpretation. Skull and jaw are easily separated during natural disarticulation (Hill 1979), thus if both are found in equal numbers, the deposition of complete bodies can be expected. If - on the contrary - jaws are underrepresented in plastered skulls, we might deduce an intentional removal of the crani in Altendorf for a separate deposition (e.g. Kuijt 2008, 179 f. tab. 2). Consequently, there is neither clear evidence for the burial deposition of single skulls in the grave chamber, nor for their intentional exclusion. Skulls from both inhumation periods have been deposited alongside the chamber walls, indicating a similar emphasis on skulls in social organisation of the burials. On the other hand, the skulls do not exhibit traces of manipulations or plastering that would give us a hint for an individualisation or transformation into a 'pars pro toto'. It is tempting to deduce an idea of ancestry from the special deposition in groups and a genealogy bridging the gap mentioned above.



At least two critical points have to be mentioned, however:

- 1. The missing depositions of skulls during the hiatus.
- 2. Skulls from 101 individuals out of 235 in total can be explained by decomposition or burial rituals, but do not represent a selection of those whom later generations consider as important and ancestors (Whitley 2002, 122). The place of burial is therefore not based on ancestor worship.

The regular inhumation of selected individuals in the gallery grave during one millennium cannot be explained easily. The known number of 11 individuals, and the estimated number of 70 individuals out of 235 are very low for this time span. In any case, they cannot represent an entire living community. To evaluate the selection rate, we have to compare these values with a living population, focusing on the tumulus culture (Görner 2002, 152 f.; e.g. Nikulka 2016, 135 f.). The area of Altendorf has no Bronze Age burials within a radius of approx. 10 km (Görner 2002, 26 f.). The next sites with eight and twelve tumuli are located near Wolfhagen, 12 km north of Altendorf, and form part of a smaller agglomeration in the northern part of Hesse. Taking into consideration general approximations of group size, life expectancy, and frequency of primary and secondary inhumations, we can expect 56 to 81 deceased persons per group in 250 years, who would be buried in 11 to 19 tumuli (Görner 2002, 265 f.). If we generalise these estimations for the entire second inhumation phase of one millennium, the secondary inhumations in Altendorf would represent one quarter of a standard burial community.

6. Conclusion

During the early Wartberg phase, shortly after 3100 cal BC, the burial community stops inhumation in the gallery grave of Altendorf. Inhumations seem to disappear, while pottery of a younger Wartberg style still can be found in the surrounding hilltop settlements (Raetzel-Fabian 2001, 320). At the suggested end of the transformation into the Final Neolithic, the burial of inhumation start again in Altendorf. The temporal extent of this hiatus over more than four centuries and the persistence of knowledge of the subterranean gallery grave in cultural memory is intriguing. The second fascinating aspect concerns the long duration of the subsequent maintenance of a specific burial behaviour in the region over more than one millennium until 1500 cal BC. The site of Altendorf demonstrates the impressive temporal dimension a transformation can have in a very small area, and the complexity of traditions and cultural memory even on a sub-regional scale.

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	mean	-3183.0	-3132.0	-3194.5	-3225.5	-2546.0	-1520.0	-2384.0	-1459.5	-2174.0	-2004.0	-3231.5	-2652.5	-3191.0	-3131.5	-2996.5	-3185.5	-3089.5	-3219.0	-3230.5	-3127.5	-2089.5	-3219.0	-3129.0	-3138.0	-3137.0	-1825.5	-3185.5	-3176.0	-3128.0	-1769.0	-3184.0	-3181.5	-3219.5	-3223.0	-3218.0
. Fibiger	conf	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5	95.5
project L	to	-3029	-2936	-3037	-3099	-2468	-1433	-2299	-1417	-2061	-1896	-3104	-2471	-3037	-2934	-2906	-3029	-2917	-3090	-3103	-2928	-1981	-3090	-2929	-2939	-2942	-1747	-3031	-3016	-2926	-1662	-3029	-3027	-3097	-3099	-3095
ibiger = _I	from	-3337	-3328	-3352	-3352	-2624	-1607	-2469	-1502	-2287	-2112	-3359	-2834	-3345	-3329	-3087	-3342	-3262	-3348	-3358	-3327	-2198	-3348	-3329	-3337	-3332	-1904	-3340	-3336	-3330	-1876	-3339	-3336	-3342	-3347	-3341
kiel.de, F	S	249 -	211 -	- 224		0.21	235 -	231 -	222	215 -	. 223	231 -	- 254	218 -	228 -	278 -	228 -	- 802	225 –	214 -	0.21	253 -	243 -	238 -	239 -	262 -	239 -	239 -	- 122	235 -	- 122	- 256	- 622	234 -	- 222	241 -
l-iun:gJr	8345	8.46	5.29	8.54		8.12 (9.05	9.02	8.52	7.21	8.59	7.65	8.01	7.62	7.82	8.78	7.96	7.90	8.81	8.06	7.42 (8.30	7.79	7.84	7.81	7.74	8.50	8.07	9.12	8.68	9.17	7.13	7.18	7.80	7.74	7.80
ʻradon.ı	N ₂₁ 9	10.50	10.25	10.72		10.36	10.94	26.6	9.70	9.80	9.37	9.56	11.10	11.33	9.32	10.93	10.12	9.65	9.58	9.97	10.21	10.08	9.45	9.46	9.50	11.30	10.17	89.6	86.8	89.6	9.91	9.65	10.35	10.78	9.92	10.43
= http://	δ¹³C std	0.40	0.40	0.30	0.34	0.26	0.27	0.17	0.11	0.16	0.11	0.20	0.13	0.28	0.10	0.40	0.57	0.61	0.24	0.29	0.20	0.24 1	0.31	0.30	0.43	0.57	0.45	0.29	0.21	0.25	0.20	0.25	0.22	0.22 1	0.24	0.11
g, radon	δ¹³C	-20.34	-20.71	-20.41		-20.66	-21.02	-20.79	-20.99	-20.49	-20.77	-20.95	-20.78	-20.62	-20.99	-21.01	-20.91	-20.67	-20.53	-20.61	-20.61	-20.66	-20.90	-20.60	-21.16	-20.81	-20.59	-21.16	-21.04	-20.85	-20.63	-20.70	-20.91	-20.57	-20.84	-20.59
Wartber	% N	14.68	15.05	14.43		14.75	14.30	14.00	- 14.60	15.05	- 14.99	15.02	14.12	14.60	14.73 -	14.26	14.70	14.68	14.57	14.80	- 86.41	14.68	- 14.89	14.04	14.84	14.85	- 11.31	14.26	- 14.69	- 01.31	14.87	15.12 -	14.25	14.40	15.07	15.12
V = late	%		40.53		47.32		38.76 14	37.65	39.77 1			40.45	38.49		39.64		39.64	39.54		39.73		39.49	40.06	37.68	39.83			38.59 1	39.33		40.08					
tberg, IV	U 7	8 40.06	40.	7 39.23	47.	6 39.91				5 40.67	5 40.47			3 39.23		7 40.02			4 39.21		4 40.27					4 40.00	5 40.78			4 40.62		5 40.91	5 38.47	6 38.95	4 40.51	5 40.84
ırly Warı	C:N	3.18		3.17		1 3.16	3.16	3.14	3.17	3.15	3.15	3.14	3.18	3.13	3.14	3.27	3.15	3.14	3.14	3.13	3.14	3.14	3.14	3.13	3.13	3.14	3.15	3.16	3.12	3.14	3.14	3.15	3.15	3.16	3.14	3.15
Bronze Age, eW = early Wartberg, IW = late Wartberg, radon = $http://radon.ufg.uni-kiel.de$, Fibiger = $project$ L. Fibige	pMC†	57.23 ± 0.22	57.02 ± 0.24	57.15 ± 0.22	57.04 ± 0.21	60.62 ± 0.24	66.89 ± 0.22	61.53 ± 0.21	67.27 ± 0.22	62.55 ± 0.20	63.74 ± 0.21	56.92 ± 0.20	60.51 ± 0.24	57.21 ± 0.20	57.54 ± 0.19	58.09 ± 0.21	57.25 ± 0.22	57.81 ± 0.21	57.18 ± 0.21	56.94 ± 0.21	57.59 ± 0.21	63.1 ± 0.22	57.17 ± 0.21	57.57 ± 0.21	57.48 ± 0.22	57.5 ± 0.20	64.65 ± 0.21	57.25 ± 0.20	57.45 ± 0.20	57.57 ± 0.23	65.21 ± 0.20	57.28 ± 0.19	57.33 ± 0.18	57.15 ± 0.19	57.10 ± 0.18	57.17 ± 0.18
Ш	CO ₂ Graphit	3.0 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.9 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.3 mg C/1.1 mg C	3.3 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.8 mg C/1.1 mg C	3.0 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.9mg C/0.9mg C	3.2 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/0.9 mg C	3.2 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.8 mg C/0.9 mg C	3.0 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.9 mg C/0.9 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.2 mg C/1.1 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.2 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.4 mg C/1.1 mg C	2.8mg C/0.9mg C	1.9 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.3 mg C/1.1 mg C	2.9 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.0 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.9 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.0 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.8 mg C/1.0 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C	2.8 mg C/0.9 mg C	3.1 mg C/1.0 mg C
nman bo	Dating	eW	eW	eW	eW	BA	BA	BA	BA	BA	BA	eW	BA	eW	eW	<u>></u>	eW	eW	eW	eW	eW	BA	eW	eW	eW	eW	BA	eW	eW	eW	BA	eW	eW	eW	eW	eW
Tab. 3. List of radiocarbon data. $c = collagen$, $b = bone$, $hb = human\ bone$, BA	Comment	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 – D2
agen, b	Indiv	11	15	34	52	62	71	72	9/	78	79	103	105	112	117	118	119	124	137	140	141	142	162	163	165	172	175	178	181	186	187	188	193	195	197	198
. c = coll	Mat	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb								
on data	Std	25	56	35	30	35	27	28	56	27	27	28	35	59	27	30	35	30	30	30	59	53	30	30	35	28	27	53	28	35	25	28	56	27	56	56
diocarb	ВР	4474	4438	4495	4510	4020	3230	3901	3185	3769	3618	4527	4035	4486	4439	4365	4480	4400	4490	4525	4433	3699	4490	4435	4450	4445	3504	4481	4453	4435	3434	4476	4469	4495	4502	4491
List of ra	Lab Nr	52610	52611	52612	52613	52614	52615	52616	52617	52618	52619	52621	52622	52623	52624	52625	52626	52627	52628	52629	52630	52631	52632	52633	52634	52636	52637	52638	52639	52640	52641	52642	52643	52644	52645	52646
Tab. 3.	Lab Code	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA	KIA								



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Fibiger.	mean	-2316.5	-3222.5	834.0	-3223	-3229,5	-3233	٠	
projectl	conf	95.5	95.5	95.5	95,4	95,4	95,4	•	٠
Fibiger =	to	-2199	-3098	938	-3095	-3100	-3104		٠
ıi-kiel.de,	from	-2434	-3347	730	-3351	-3359	-3362		٠
n.ufg.ur	S from	205	209						
p://rado		5.77	69.9						
on=htt	815N 834S	10.47	10.66						
erg, rad	δ¹³C std		0.14	0.26					
ateWartb	δ¹³C	-20.73	-20.74	-20.20			٠		
rg, IW=I	% N	14.93	14.83				٠		
/Wartbe	%)	40.01	39.90	45.69					
<i>N</i> = early	C:N	3.13	3.14						
: Bronze Age, e\	pMC†		57.10 ± 0.18	86.23 ± 0.28	·				·
Tab. 3. Continued. List of radiocarbon data. $c = collagen$, $b = bone$, $hb = human$ bone, $BA = Bronze$ Age , $eW = early$ $Wartberg$, $IW = Iate$ $Wartberg$, $radon = http://radon.ufg.uni-kiel.de$, $Fibiger = project$ L. $Fibiger$	Dating CO ₂ Graphit		2.9 mg C/0.9 mg C	3.0 mg C/1.0 mg C					
ne, hb = h	Dating	BA	eW		•				
collagen, b = bc	Std Mat Indiv Comment	199 CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 – D2	CRC1266 - D2	Fibiger	Fibiger	Fibiger	radon	radon
lata.c=	Indiv	199	213	6	Ξ	137	140		
arbonc	Mat	23 c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/hb	c/b	c/b
ofradioc	Std	23	56	56	33	33	33	70	70
ed. List c	ВР	3831	4501	1190	4501	4523	4533	4500	4500
Continu	Lab Nr	52647	52648	52620	18807	18808	18809	3325	3326
Tab. 3.	Lab Code	KIA	KIA	KIA	OxA	OxA	OxA	UtC	UtC

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