

## REOPENING GRAVES<sup>1</sup>

### Post-Funerary Activities at Moravian Migration Period Cemeteries (5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD)

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The reopening of Migration Period graves, a topic that has been intensively discussed in recent years (summarised in *Klevnäs et al. 2021*), has not been comprehensively analysed to date for the territory of Moravia. In the studied period, Moravia formed an integral unit with the adjacent areas north of the Danube in the territory of present-day Slovakia and Austria, and while this is taken into account in the study, it is not included in the catalogue section, having already been evaluated in considerable detail with regard to the given subject (*Aspöck 2005; 2011*). Based on the available sources, the author aims to take into account all Moravian burial grounds (those with more than five investigated graves) from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c., while part of the study is devoted to the results of new excavations at the Mušov-Roviny site and the methodology of excavating grave pits with regard to the documentation of intentional interventions. The results of the analysed data indicate an extreme degree of disturbance of the observed burial grounds (98%); with few exceptions, practically all grave pits, especially in large sacred areas, were reopened. At the same time, cases concerning smaller cemeteries were observed at which graves without furnishings were left untouched. The findings raise numerous questions. Could, for example, the ‘robbers’ be members of the communities that buried their dead in the cemeteries? Could it possibly involve some unknown method of post-funerary activities? The timing of this activity, the identity of the ‘diggers’ and their motivations are key issues in addressing the subject of the reopening of Migration Period and early medieval graves across Europe.

#### INTRODUCTION

Devoted to the topic of post-funerary activities at Migration Period cemeteries in Moravia, this study was created as part of the project entitled ‘The Lombard Population in Moravia. Interdisciplinary Research into Migration Period Necropolises’ (reg. no. 21-31765 M of the Czech Science Foundation), the aim of which was to produce relevant information concerning the population and culture-historical development of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD in Moravia, primarily by means of a comprehensive evaluation of key Lombard necropolises with the maximum involvement of natural science disciplines. The issue of secondary intentional disturbances is an integral part of field and theoretical-methodological research of burial sites and ranks among topics of current interest in contemporary European archaeology.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF VIEWS ON THE REOPENING OF GRAVES AT MIGRATION PERIOD CEMETERIES

For many years it was thought that the main motivation for reopening graves at Migration Period cemeteries was to obtain the exclusive and valuable objects with which the deceased were furnished for their final journey, activities that the majority of scholars classified as ‘illegal grave robbing’ (*Adler 1970; Bóna*

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1964; Roth 1978; Sáqi 1964). At the same time, the aforementioned authors often referred to citations in early medieval barbarian codes that clearly forbade such behaviour (Effros 2002, 49–61; Nótári 2012), e.g. the Merovingian code *Pactus legis salicae*, which establishes a fine of 200 solidi for exhumation and robbing of the dead (Effros 2002, 64). In Burgundy, grave robbing was supposedly grounds for divorce (Effros 2002, 20; Salin 1952, 263), while Visigothic law speaks of a fine and the return of stolen objects to the heirs (Lafferty 2014, 257; Salin 1952, 263, 264). Looting certainly took place and is precisely documented, especially cases involving rich chamber graves from the end of the Roman Period and the Migration Period; an exceptionally well-documented example in this regard is the princely tomb from Poprad-Matějovce (second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c.), where it was possible to recognise in detail the course of this process and the tools used by the robbers (Pieta/Štolcová 2021, 34–41, fig. 25).

However, the situation is somewhat different in the inhumation row cemeteries of the Migration Period, where mass disruptions of grave pits have also been observed. This phenomenon is characteristic of a large geographical area across Europe from today's Romania (Dobos 2014), to Hungary (Bóna/Horváth 2009), Austria (Aspöck 2005; Lauer mann/Adler 2008), Slovakia (Schmidtová/Ruttkay 2008; Schmidtová et al. 2009), the Czech Republic (Tejral 2011), Germany (Codreanu-Windauer 1997), the Netherlands and Belgium (van Haperen 2015; 2017; 2018), France (Noterman 2015; 2016) and all the way to Southern England (Klevnäs 2013). Several specific cases resulting from find situations thus beg the question of whether the only reason for the looting of graves was easy profit and whether secondary disruptions can therefore be considered exclusively as acts of 'robbing'. Questions are already raised by the scope of the disturbance of the necropolis at a time when it was clearly still actively in use. Therefore, it cannot be completely ruled out that it was actually the local communities that could, with a certain probability, either directly participate in the opening of graves or participate in the process in some way (the use of 'professional' groups engaged in these activities?). Even if the graves were superficially marked (and they likely were), this view clearly shows good orientation in the terrain and knowledge of local conditions. Moreover, even secondarily opened graves often contained valuable artifacts, especially those made of precious metals. Manipulation with skeletal remains also occurred in some of them.

So, who actually 'looted' these burial grounds? Were they really gangs of looters focused specifically on this activity? Recently, this traditional view has been relativised by many independent studies. One of the first to appear was the work of E. Aspöck (2005; 2011) on the phenomenon of grave 'robbing' at the burial sites of Brunn am Gebirge (Lower Austria) and Winnall II (Southern England), which triggered a wave of interest in this particular subject. The conclusions of another similar study were published just a few years later, this time from the area of Anglo-Saxon Kent (Klevnäs 2013). In Bavaria, S. Zintl (2019) took into account 12 necropolises in the vicinity of Regensburg and, like M. C. von Haperen (2017; 2018), confirmed that this phenomenon is also typical for the area of today's Netherlands and Belgian Flanders. In the meantime, A. A. Noterman (2015; 2016) completed her dissertation related to 40 sites in Northern France, in which she presented a new methodology related to the recognition of intentional interventions at cemeteries. All the presented analyses and observations were carried out independently by the aforementioned researchers. They were based on a similar principle whereby the study of reopened graves requires knowledge of the time frame and method by which they were disturbed. They then summarised the acquired knowledge in a collective work (Klevnäs et al. 2021) with the conclusion that the local communities are primarily responsible for this act in the context of changes in burial customs. Let's have a look now at what Moravian Migration Period cemeteries can contribute to solving the given issue.

#### EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY AND DOCUMENTATION OF REOPENED GRAVE PITS AT THE MUŠOV-ROVINY CEMETERY

As in many other European countries, the methodology of investigating inhumation burials in Moravia has undergone gradual development. Necropolises, such as Šaratice (Staňa 1956), Šakvice (Novotný 1975), Čejkovice (Klanica 1987), Lužice (Klanica/Klanicová 2011) and Holubice (Čižmář 2011), where excavations were conducted in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., were exploited in the standard method, i.e. by a one-time excavation of the contents of the grave pit down to its bottom, where the situation with the preserved finds was captured at the coffin level and documented. Among other things, find reports and later publications often mentioned that grave robbing resulted in the dislocation of both skeletal material and individual artefacts.

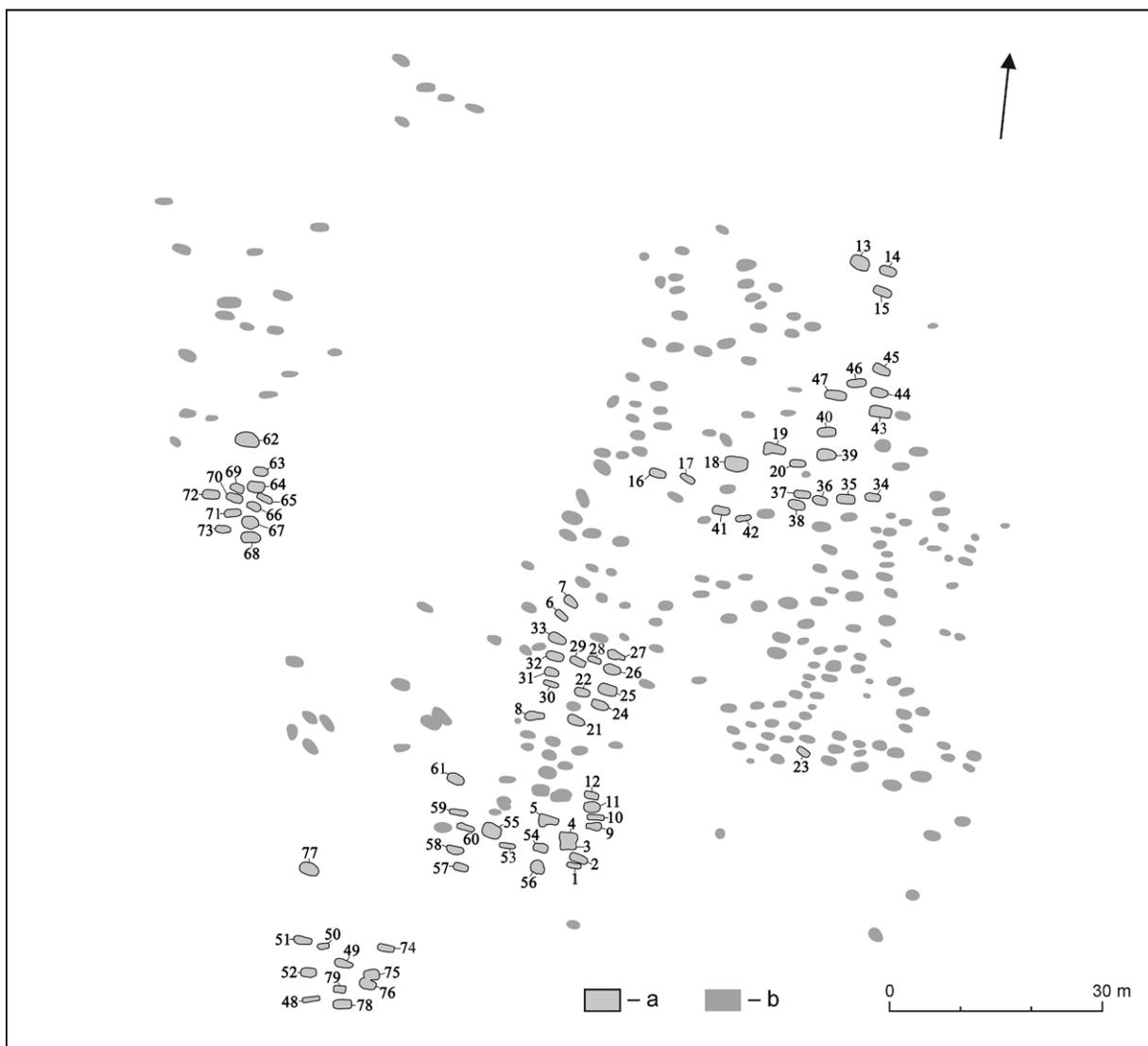


Fig. 1. Mušov-Roviny. Cemetery plan. Legend: a – excavated graves; b – graves, non-destructive survey.

The presence of an experienced anthropologist is an important factor influencing the quality of information collected in the field. Although skeletal material was recorded in graves in the past, its position was not given adequate attention. As a result of the repeated disruption of graves, the human bones also reach higher levels of the grave fill. Identification of the bones and further expert assessment directly in the field allow a more precise later interpretation of the find situation (e.g. the dislocation of parts of the skeleton in the period before the decomposition of tissues and connective tissues can be explained by secondary intervention at most several years after burial). During an excavation, it is advisable to number individual human bones as archaeological finds, document them, localise them and, if possible, identify them professionally in order to be able to later evaluate the situation of the find as best as possible. The time constraints of rescue excavations mean that it is not always possible to meet such demands; however, simple numbering of the skeletal material and separate storage, which enables at least additional analysis in the laboratory, also helps significantly.

Regular field excavations carried out at the Mušov-Roviny site (Fig. 1) brought new information on the topic of reopening graves at Migration Period cemeteries in Moravia (Fig. 1). This vast inhumation cemetery with approximately 240 grave pits dates to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Despite the significant degree of secondary disturbance of the entire sacred area, among other things, exclusive artefacts were also recovered, including gilded S-shaped fibulae inlaid with almandine garnets from

grave 13 (Fig. 2). The possibilities of excavation and documentation are always strongly influenced by the character of the local subsoil. It is evident that if the cemetery is situated on a loess bed, the fill of the grave pits is more legible and the skeletal material is usually preserved in better condition. In the area below the Pálava Hills, where the Mušov cemetery and the aforementioned Šakvice are located, the subsoil consists of gravel and sand, which greatly complicates the situation in the field and often makes it very difficult to recognise the boundaries of individual deposits in the grave fill and further interpret them. The initial attempts to uncover the grave pits by segment and document the profiles proved inadequate over time. Excavating the features by individual quadrant was very difficult and time-consuming. The subsequent documentation was also problematic because if the grave was relatively narrow and deep, it was not possible to photograph the profile in good quality. Moreover, if the skeleton lay in an anatomical position at the bottom of the grave, it was necessary to stop the excavation at the level 'above the coffin', after which the profile of the grave pit was then only partially documented. In the already uncovered quarter or half of the grave, a cleaned skeleton was lying on the bottom, even in an anatomical position with finds, which had to be covered and protected until the gradual excavation of the remaining fill of the grave pit took place. Therefore, what methodology should be chosen so that the situation is clear and it is possible to record individual deposits in the fill of the grave pit, testifying to the manner and nature of the secondary intentional intervention?

It seems that a solution could be to gradually uncover the burial pit in the area level by level (without trying to discern the profile). In a standard situation, the gradual lowering of the level of the grave in 20 cm-thick artificial layers using smaller tools (hoe, pointed spatula, etc.) would seem ideal; each such layer is regularly checked with a metal detector and, after cleaning, carefully documented photographically and graphically, and subsequently also geodetically surveyed. If the situation so requires (and it quite often does), it is possible to change the system of artificially set levels to documentation of levels showing any change (deposits or finds); in more complex cases (accumulations of skeletal material and artefacts in the fills of 'looting' shafts) even at 5 cm intervals. A grave 'shaved' in this way across the levels allows for a retrospective reconstruction of the transverse and also the lengthwise profile of the grave pit, including its fill (deposit contexts) and finds. A virtually identical methodology for excavating Migration Period graves was chosen, independently of the excavation of the burial grounds in Mušov, by colleagues during the rescue archaeological excavation of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. necropolis in Prague-Zličín. They were inspired by the procedure based on the experience from the excavation of the inhumation cemetery in Immebeck near Buxtehude in Lower Saxony (Jiřík *et al.* 2015, 108–129). Grave 78, excavated in 2022, was selected as a model example on which to present the sequential documentation of the level-by-level excavation of the grave pit (Fig. 3). At the time this article is being submitted for publication, the finds are in the laboratory, so only photographs of selected artefacts directly from the field are presented.



Fig. 2. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 13. Gilded silver S-shaped fibulae with almandine garnet inlays. Photo by J. Foltýn.



Fig. 3. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 78. Photo Z. Loskotová.

### Mušov-Roviny, grave 78 – model example

(Fig. 4–6)

Grave pit dimensions: max. 270 × 130 × 132 cm, bottom 215 × 65 × 132 cm.

Documentation interface: 0/1 – 0 cm, 1/2 – 20 cm, 2/3 – 40 cm, 3/4 – 60 cm, 4/5 – 80 cm, 5/6 – 100 cm, 6/7 – 120 cm, 7/8 – 130 cm.

Description of layers: K 101 – brownish-black sandy soil with a slight admixture of small stones; K 102 – brownish-yellow sand with a slight admixture of small stones; K 103 – yellow sand; K 104 – brownish-black sand.

Description of field situation: On the surface of the grave pit (DR 0/1) was a distinct layer of brownish-black soil (K 101) that can be interpreted as evidence of a secondary intentional intervention that disturbed the original fill of the grave pit, i.e. brownish-yellow sand with a slight admixture of small stones (K 102). Limestone stones (c. 12 pcs) filled the central part of the 'looting' shaft (K 101). In other documentation interfaces (DR 1/2 to 3/4), the ground plan of oval layer K 101 became gradually smaller and led towards the western part of the grave pit, i.e. towards where the upper half of the body could be expected. The yellow sand (K 103) described at level DR 4/5 was apparently only the slightly shifted wall of the grave pit. Layer K 101 was last documented at level 5/6; at the bottom of this 'looting' shaft was the last limestone stone, which on DR 6/7 already encroached on the space of the coffin and lay directly on the right tibia (1), which was raised above the skull (2). The coffin fill was composed of brownish-black mixed sand (K 104). The situation on the bottom of the grave pit was documented on level DR 7/8, where a skeleton was deposited nearly in an anatomical position on its back. Only the lower limbs from the knee down were dislocated; when they were still being held by the ligaments and connective tissues, the tibiae and foot bones (instep, toe digits) were pulled above the chest and skull. The fibulae had fallen off and remained tossed in the eastern part of the grave pit (23, 24). Animal bones were also found with the human bones (8, 27). In terms of artefacts, a single-sided antler comb (3) was to the right of the skull, a bead from glass paste (26) was between the ribs, and an unidentified iron artefact (6) (removed in a plaster block), a small silver fitting (5) and a ceramic spindle whorl (7) were found in the disturbed space between the lower limbs.

Preliminary anthropological identification: adult, gender: female, age: 20–22 years.

Description of finds (anthropological material, palaeozoological material, artefacts): 1 – human bone, right tibia (DR 6/7, K 104); 2 – human bone, skull (DR 6/7, K 104); 3 – bone/antler, comb (DR 7/8, K 104); 4 – bronze, ring (DR 7/8, K 104); 5 – silver, fitting (DR 7/8, K 104); 6 – iron (DR 7/8, K 104); 7 – ceramic, spindle whorl (DR 7/8, K 104); 8 – animal bone (DR 7/8, K 104); 9 – human bone, right foot bones (DR 7/8, K 104); 10 – human bone, left tibia (DR 7/8, K 104); 11 – human bone, scapula, clavicle, right rib (DR 7/8, K 104); 12 – human bone, scapula, clavicle, left rib (DR 7/8, K 104); 13 – human bone, vertebrae (DR 7/8, K 104); 14 – human bone, right humerus bone (DR 7/8, K 104); 15 – human bone, left humerus bone (DR 7/8, K 104); 16 – human bone, ulnar, right radius (DR 7/8, K 104); 17 – human bone, right hand bones (DR 7/8, K 104); 18 – human bone, ulnar, left radius (DR 7/8, K 104); 19 – human bone, left hand bones (DR 7/8, K 104); 20 – human bone, pelvic bones (DR 7/8, K 104); 21 – human bone, right femur (DR 7/8, K 104); 22 – human bone, left femur (DR 7/8, K 104); 23 – human bone, right fibula (DR 7/8, K 104); 24 – human bone, left fibula (DR 7/8, K 104); 25 – human bone, left foot bones (DR 7/8, K 104); 26 – glass, bead (DR 7/8, K 104, note: between ribs, unlocalised); 27 – animal bone, teeth (DR 7/8, K 104, note: acquired by flotation).

The process of secondary disturbance demonstrated on model grave 78 can be described and interpreted as follows (Fig. 7; 8): a secondary excavation 'looting' shaft with an oval plan led to the upper part of the body (i.e. to the western part of the burial pit), gradually narrowing until it reached the level of the wooden coffin. Once the coffin lid was punctured, longer tools, most likely hook-like, were undoubtedly used to manipulate the stored artefacts (Dobos 2014, 148; Thrane 1978, 9–12, fig. 1–3; 5). The goal was to pull and pick up objects located in the space of the lower limbs of the deceased person; it was through this manipulation that the artefacts were moved to the area where the skull was originally located. After this phase, larger limestone stones, originally either part of the grave pit construction or covering it, were tossed into the central space of the shaft.

Grave 78 was not the only one whose fill contained large limestone stones, which were also recorded in another 13 of the 79 grave pits investigated thus far. These stones mostly lay in unworked form on the surface of the grave pits or were part of the fill of the 'looting' shafts. It is possible that they originally covered (marked) the graves or were in some way part of the grave pit construction, and apparently not even their combined use for both of these functions in a single grave can be ruled out. However, the situation documented in grave 54 suggests that the limestone stones could have been used to line the walls of the grave pit. Similarly, only on a larger scale, this was also the case with extremely deep grave 17 from Šakvice (see catalogue). Six graves (grave 13, 50, 51, 56, 63 and 75) contained only one, usually quite large, limestone stone, primarily sitting right on the surface of the grave pit. The situation in grave 51 (Fig. 9) was exceptional in that the 'looting' shaft documented in the western part of the grave pit, again typically running towards the upper half of the body, did not contain large stone blocks, but a larger limestone stone was placed directly on the skull. The skull, however, was moved away from the postcranial skeleton, which otherwise lay in an anatomical position. Given that neither the first nor second vertebra was damaged, it is clear that the woman buried in grave 51 was not decapitated and the dislocation of

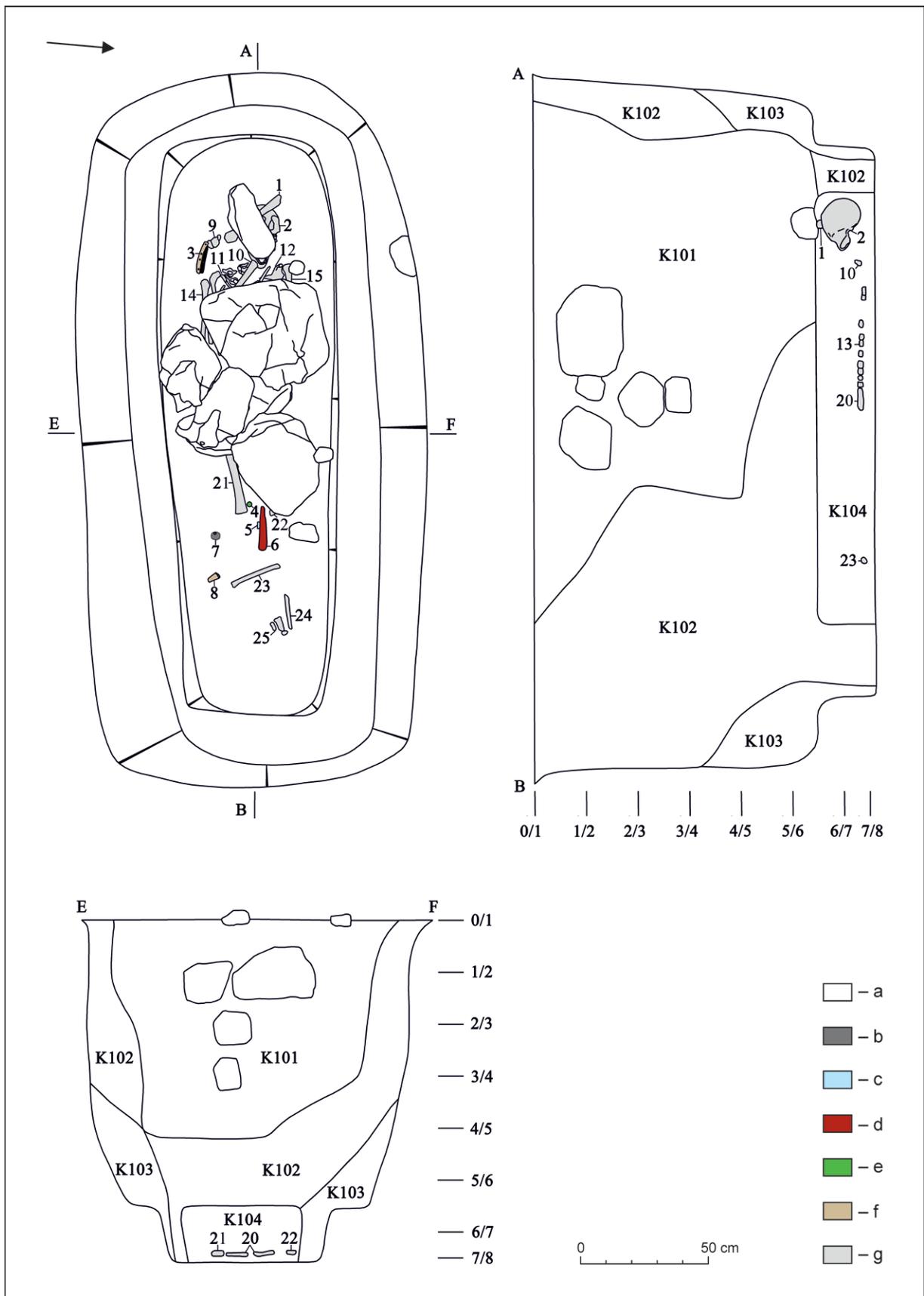


Fig. 4. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 78. Field context – plan view of grave with stones, transverse and lengthwise profile. Legend: a – stone; b – ceramics; c – silver; d – iron; e – copper alloy; f – animal bone; g – human bone.

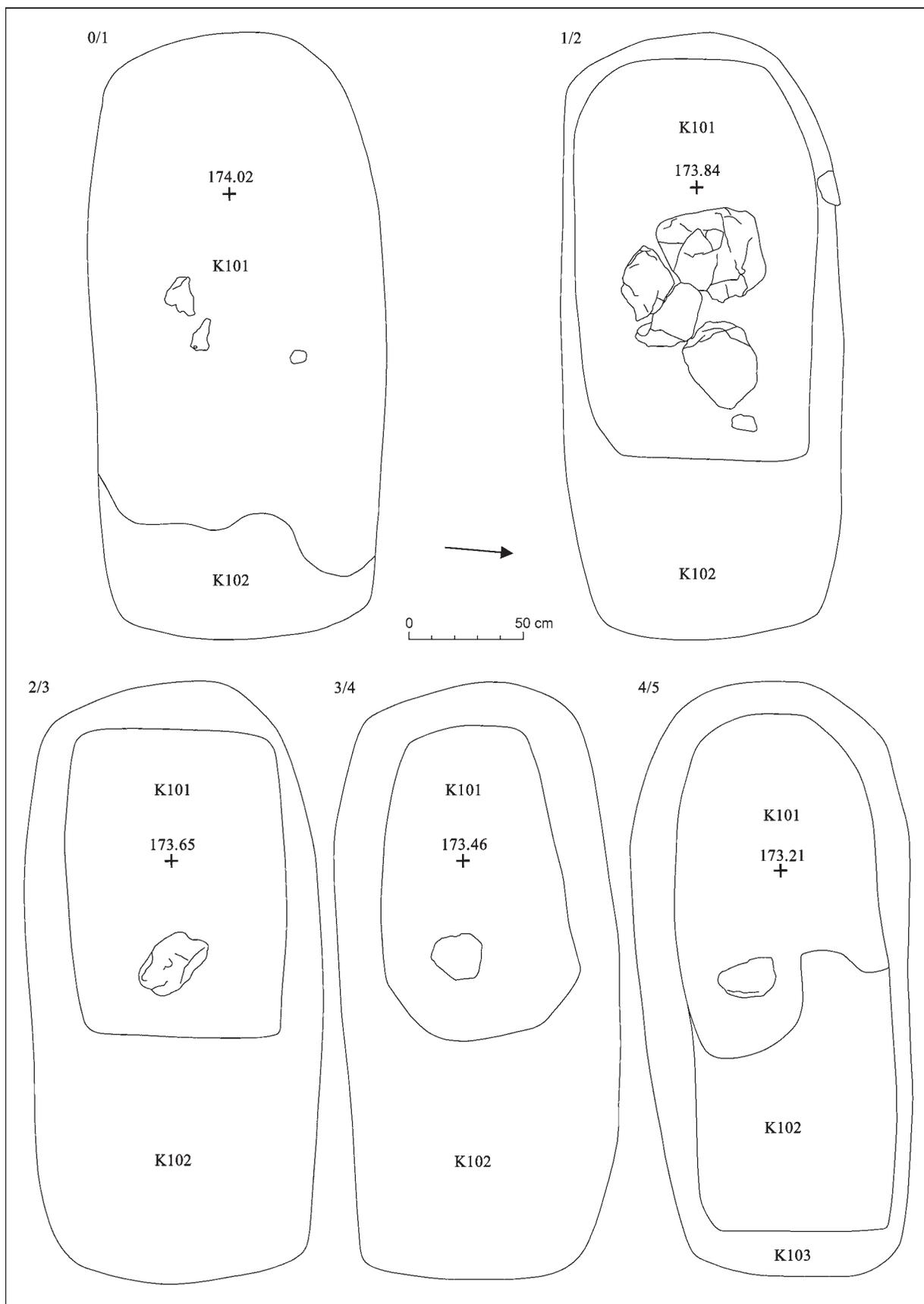


Fig. 5. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 78. Documentation level 0/1 to 4/5.

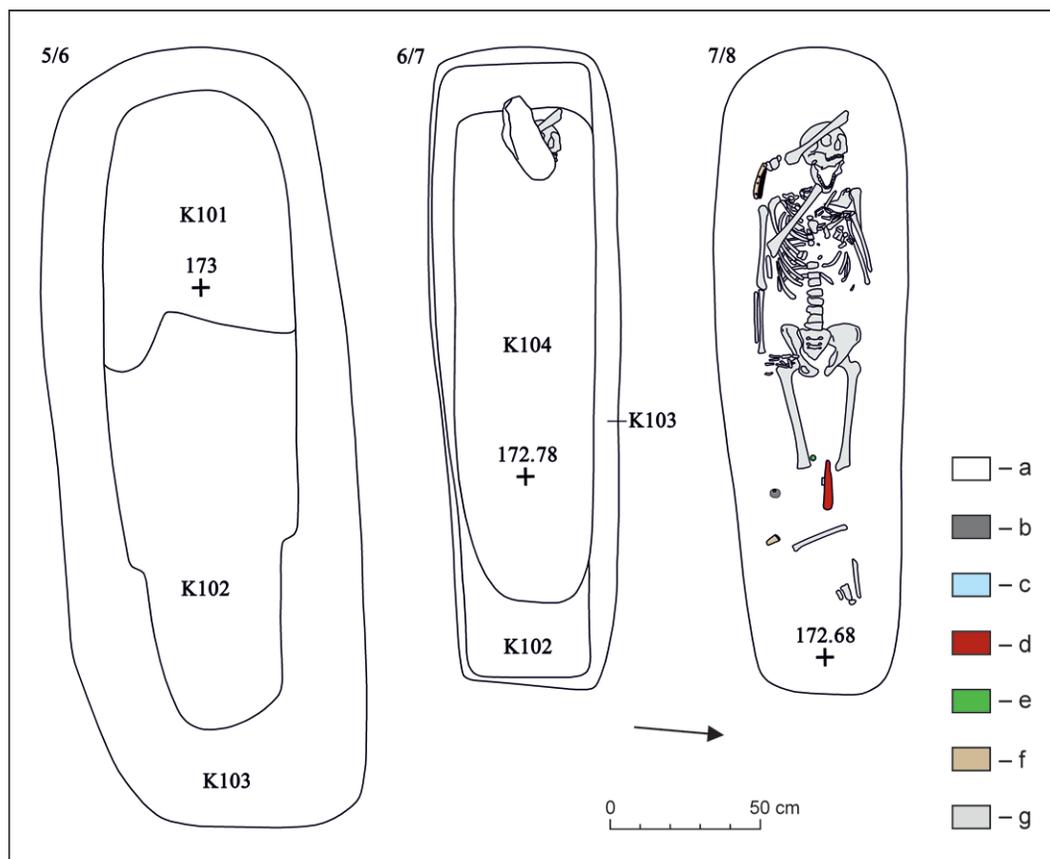


Fig. 6. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 78. Documentation level 5/6 to 7/8. Legend: a – stone; b – ceramics; c – silver; d – iron; e – copper alloy; f – animal bone; g – human bone.



Fig. 7. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 78. Detailed shot. Photo Z. Loskotová.

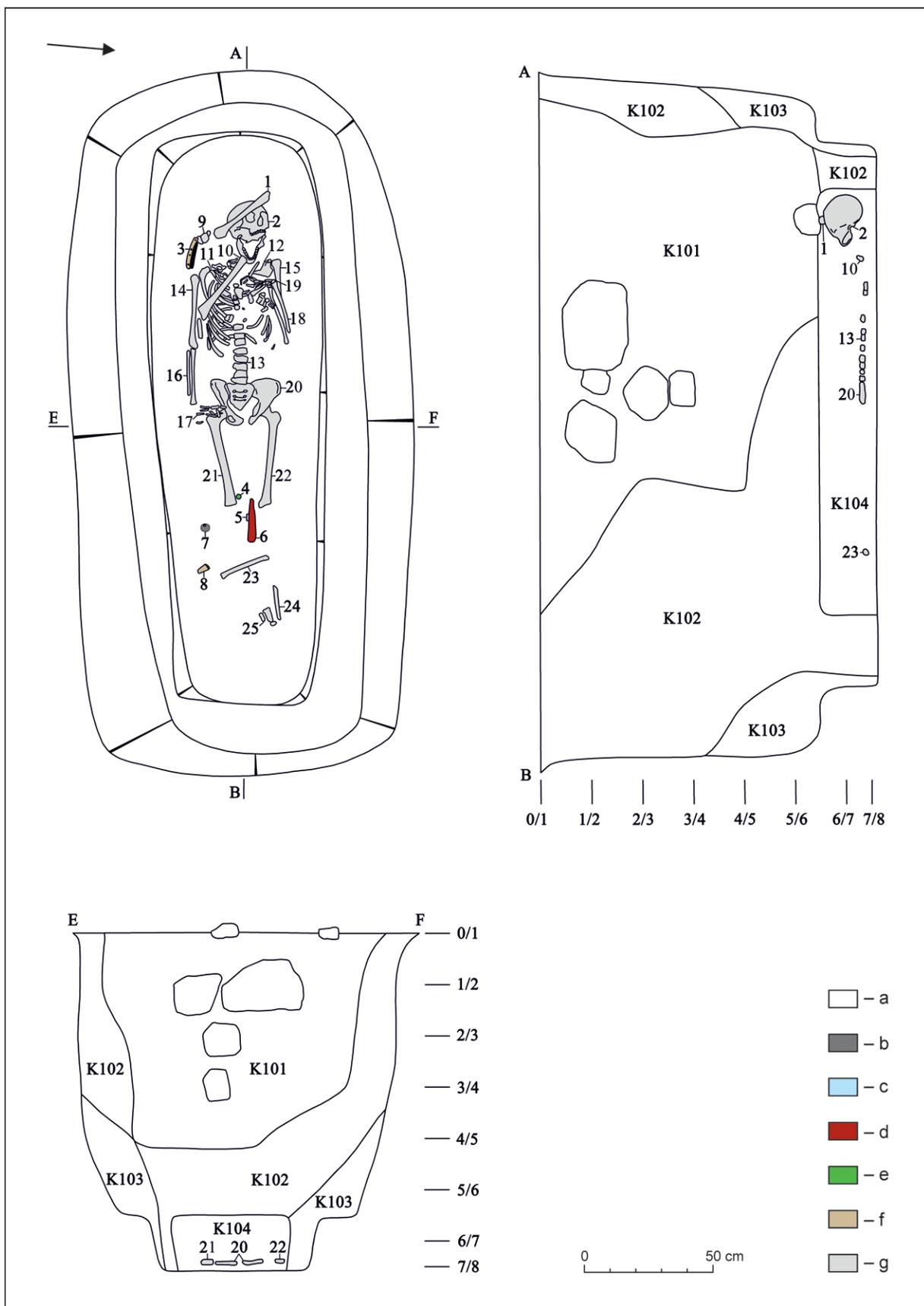


Fig. 8. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 78. Field context – plan view of grave, transverse and lengthwise profile. Legend: a – stone; b – ceramics; c – silver; d – iron; e – copper alloy; f – animal bone; g – human bone.



Fig. 9. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 51. 1 – documentation level at depth of 50 cm; 2 – situation at bottom of grave pit; 3 – detailed shot. Photo Z. Loskotová.



Fig. 10. Mušov-Roviny. Grave 55. 1 – concentration of limestone stones in ‘looting’ shaft; 2 – situation at bottom of grave pit; 3 – ceramic vessel; 4 – fibula with fragment of preserved textile. Photo Z. Loskotová.

the skull must have occurred during the secondary opening of the grave pit. The possible relocation of the skull as the result of natural decomposition and post-depositional processes was prevented by the limestone stone weighing it down. As such, this specific case can be positively interpreted as manipulation with the remains of the body during the reopening of the grave.

A large number of smaller and larger stones were found in graves 1, 2, 49, 24, 55, 76, 78 and 79, always in layers that are interpreted as evidence of intentional disturbance. The first stones appeared already on the surface of the grave, others progressively lower down to the space above the coffin. The largest accumulation of stones was found in large grave 55 (Fig. 10). A deposit in the form of dark soil was observed

in its central part and interpreted as the 'looting' shaft; it contained fragments of pottery, a fragment of a human skull and was filled with a number of large limestone stones (about 20 blocks, some measuring c. 30 × 20 × 20 cm, others up to 50 × 40 × 40 cm). The skeletons of three individuals in an anatomical position (woman, man and child) were placed at the bottom of the grave, while the skeleton of a dog was found outside the space of the coffin. It is evident that the skull fragment found in the grave fill belonged to a different individual, and it cannot be entirely ruled out that it came from adjacent grave 53, which was 'robbed' to such an extent that it contained no anthropological material or finds.

A similar situation, i.e. a discarded part of a skull in the fill of a grave with an entire skeleton at its bottom, was also found in grave 61. Here, too, was a burial (grave 60) in the immediate vicinity that was heavily disturbed, with only the lower limbs from the knees down remaining in their original position; the rest of the postcranial skeleton was concentrated in the western part of the grave pit, and the skull was completely missing. The possibility that it was thrown into another grave that was located nearby (61) is therefore likely, but verification would require further analyses (e.g. DNA) that would confirm or refute the possible match. Part of the skull of another individual as well as half of a ceramic vessel containing a cremation burial were thrown in another grave (73). The sacred precinct was already used in the Early Roman Period (and before that also in the Bronze Age), while cremation graves had to be disturbed by the funeral activities of the Lombard population during the entire first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.; the choice of this place to bury dead newcomers was apparently not accidental, as this phenomenon is also known from other Moravian cemeteries.

In addition to the skulls discarded in the fill, other evidence indicates the 'tossing' of the contents of adjacent graves from one to another. Clear evidence is provided, for example, by a ceramic bowl from grave 12, part of which was thrown into the bottom of neighbouring grave 11. In general, it can be stated that more secondary interventions were performed in the central part of the cemetery than in outlying positions, and at least some of the graves in rows were opened simultaneously.

#### THE TESTIMONY OF INFORMATION ACQUIRED FROM ANALYSES OF MORAVIAN CEMETERIES

Of the 68 known burial sites from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. in Moravia (graves from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. are documented in one necropolis in Smolín and Šaratice), only sites with five or more graves were used for statistical data analysis, which is a total of 22; of these, 10 date to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and 12 to the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Massive 'looting' shafts are recorded in Moravia from as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> c., virtually to the same extent as in the following c. This concerns all inhumation row cemeteries up until the arrival of the Slavs, who then practised a different burial rite (cremation). This situation is also confirmed by excavations currently



Fig. 11. Pohořelice-Nová Ves. Aerial photograph of cemetery. Photo I. Čižmář, 2009. Document M-DL-202201238. Institute of Archaeological Heritage Care in Brno. Available on: <https://digia-rchiv.aiscr.cz/id/M-DL-202201238>

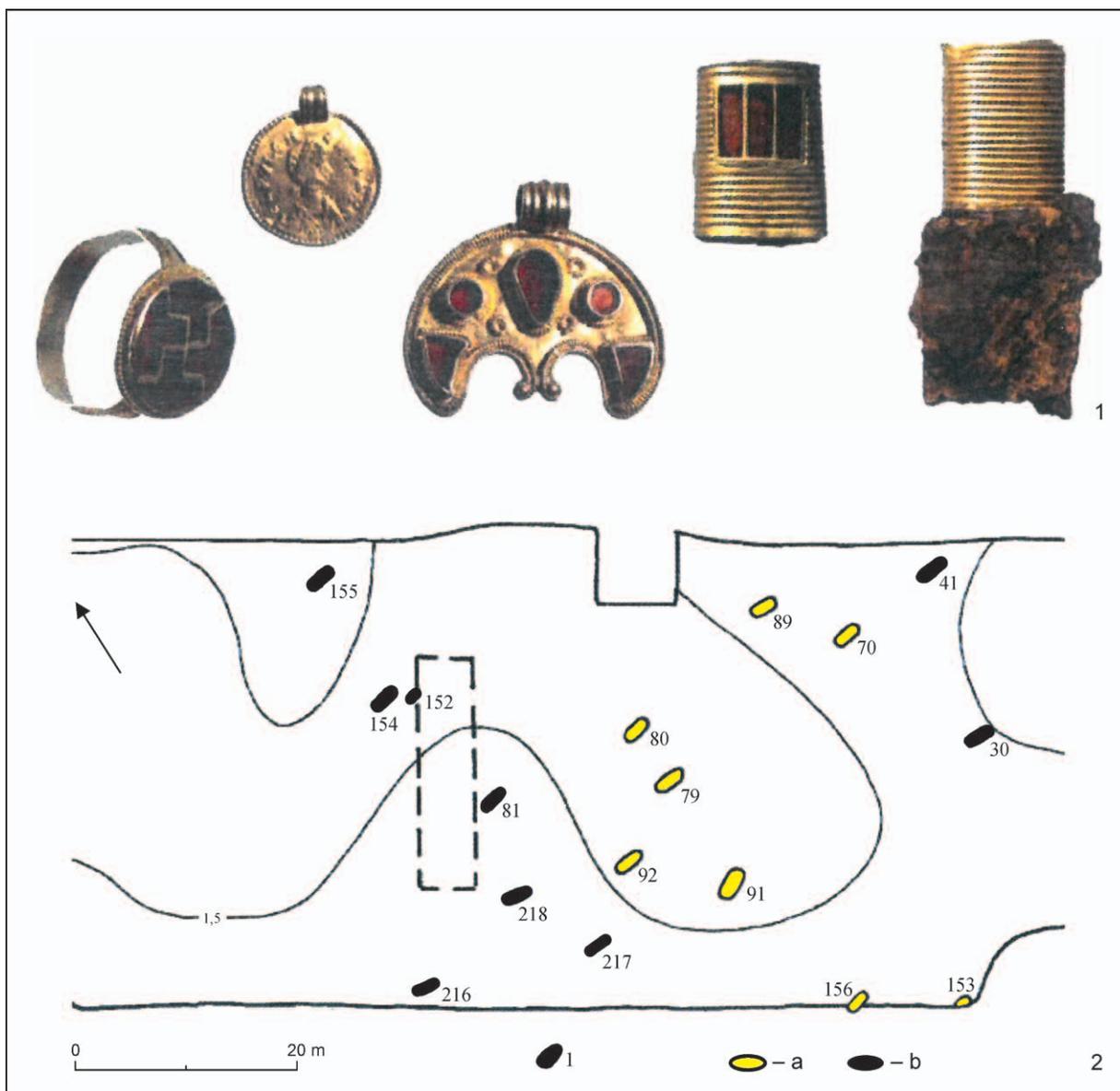


Fig. 12. Strachotín. Cemetery from 5<sup>th</sup> c. 1 – gold artefact from grave 79 and 80; 2 – plan view of cemetery (modified after *Tejral 2012*, fig. 12). Legend: a – plundered graves with originally rich assemblages; b – undisturbed graves with shallow grave pits and without furnishing.

being conducted at 5<sup>th</sup> c. burial grounds. For example, in Pohořelice-Nová Ves (Fig. 11) with 300 grave pits detected by non-destructive archaeological survey, all 31 that have already been investigated had been reopened and ‘robbed’.

At large 6<sup>th</sup> c. necropolises (e.g. Mušov-Roviny, Holubice, Lužice and/or Kyjov), the scope of secondary grave disruption was truly extreme; with few exceptions, practically all grave pits showed signs of having been reopened. Although it is not possible to establish a highly precise percentage for this activity, because graves examined in the past are mostly missing a detailed description of the find situation, based on the analysed data, a qualified assumption can be made that 98% of all grave pits had been reopened. In many cases, at least a few graves in these extensive necropolises were disturbed shortly after burial, at a time when the tissues and connective tissues had not fully decomposed; this act also took place relatively often just after the decomposition of the body, but before the decay of the wooden coffin. Some adjacent graves were excavated simultaneously at the Mušov-Roviny cemetery, and for now it seems that the extent of their ‘robbery’ is greater in the rows located in the central part of the burial area than at its periphery.

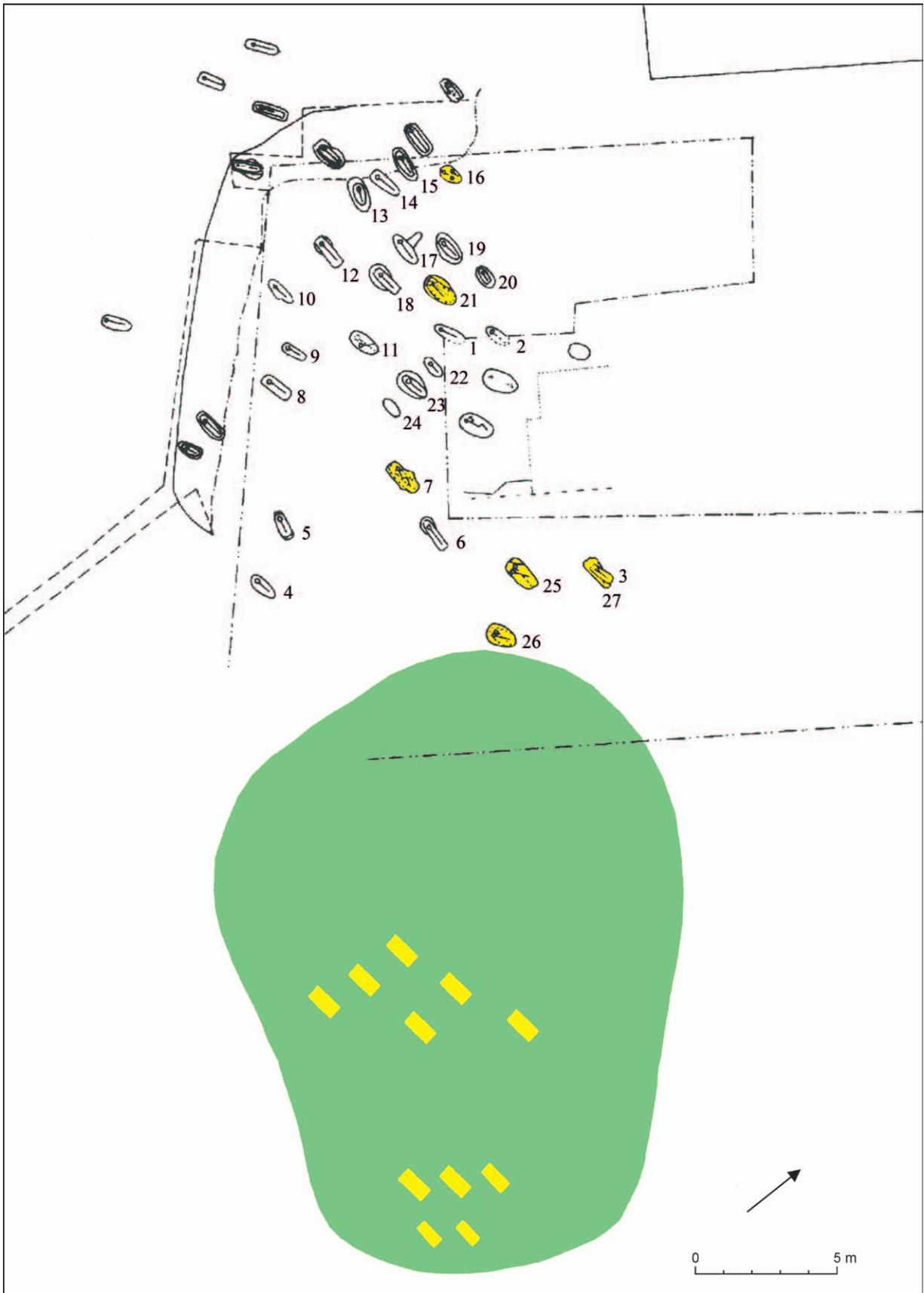


Fig. 13. Šaratice. Cemetery from 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. Graves from 6<sup>th</sup> c. marked in yellow (modified after *Tejral 2012*, fig. 19).

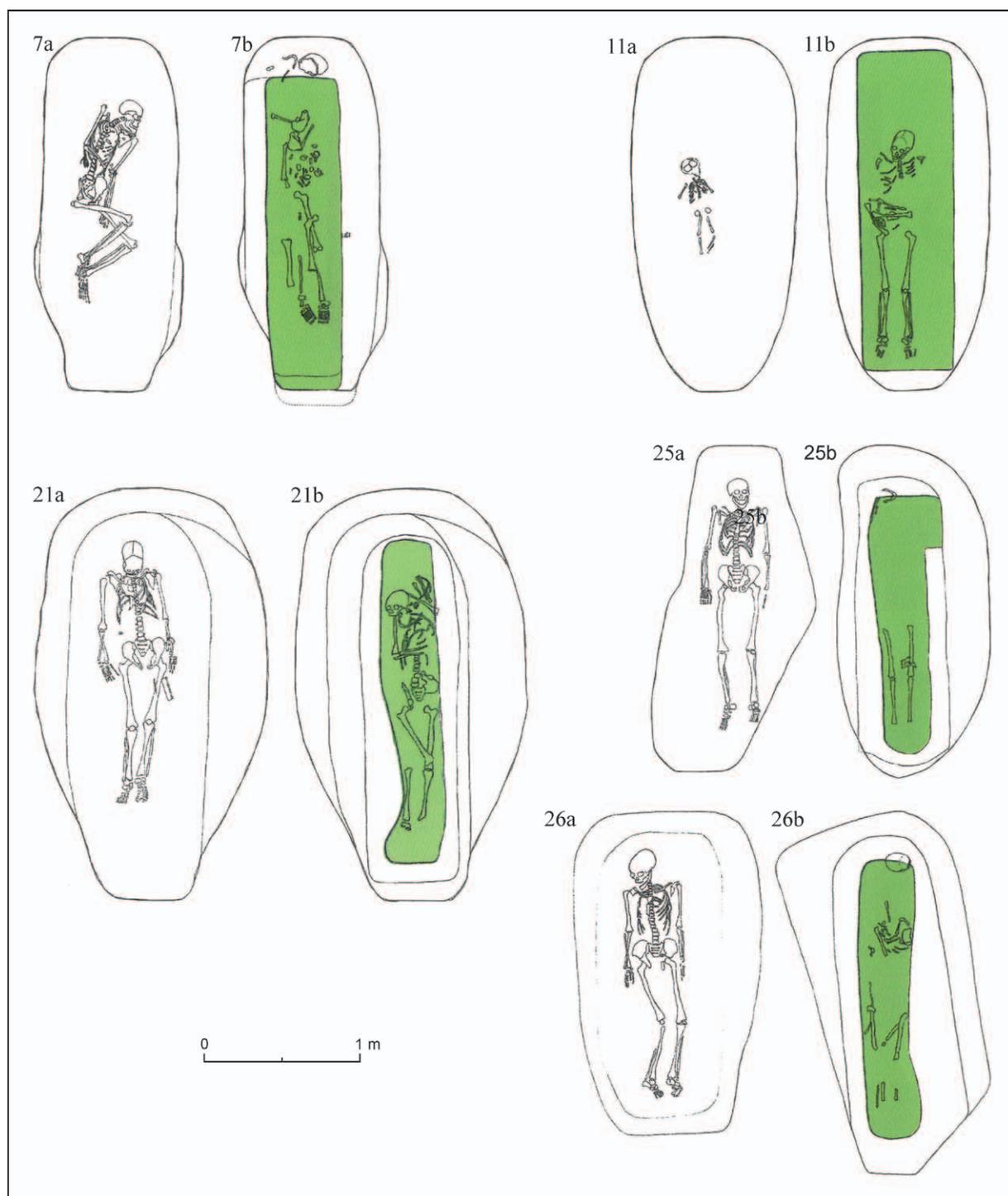


Fig. 14. Šaratice. Cemetery from 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. Graves from 6<sup>th</sup> c. marked in green. Graves 7, 11, 21, 25 and 26 from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. contained secondary burials from the 6<sup>th</sup> c. (Grave 3/27, which is not pictured, also belongs here. Modified after *Tejral 2012*, fig. 22; 23).

In addition to stating that the rate of the systematic 'looting' of Migration Period cemeteries in Moravia was very high and occurred at a time when necropolises still served their purpose or shortly thereafter, certain circumstances were also observed that may impact the discussion of the studied issue of these post-funerary activities. Two different groups of graves were discovered in the smaller cemetery in Strachotín (21 graves) from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Fig. 12). The first group is represented by the deep graves of mostly women, quite rarely also of children and men, with originally exclusive furnishings, which were

later 'robbed'; the second group is represented by shallow graves in which only men and children were buried without any grave goods. It is clear that the persons involved in the reopening of the graves must have known which graves contained grave goods and which held only human skeletal remains (cf. the Harting-Katzenbühl or Burgweinting-Ost I cemeteries below).

An interesting interaction between the populations of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. can be observed at the necropolis in Šaratice (Fig. 13) used during the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., when the graves were also apparently reopened. After a certain (probably not very long) hiatus, the burial site was partially reactivated in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. in connection with the arrival of a new community. The physical remains of the deceased, who for some reason had been expelled from this new community burying its dead in the nearby cemetery, were essentially thrown into the partially filled and 'robbed' grave pits from the earlier horizon (Fig. 14).

Another argument relevant to the topic is the fact that separately situated horse graves were also reopened in locations from the 6<sup>th</sup> c., e.g. Šaratice, Lužice and Čejkovice. Some of these graves show clear traces of manipulation of skeletal remains, and it is very likely that in these cases there were no special rituals, but the motivation was to retrieve parts of horse harnesses, often made of precious metals, and for the easy acquisition of material objects.

## THE PHENOMENON OF REOPENING GRAVES AT MIGRATION PERIOD CEMETERIES IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

### Scope of cemetery disturbance

The reopening of early medieval graves has been confirmed in a broad geographical area covering a large part of the European continent, from southeastern England through France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary to Romania (see *Klevnäs et al. 2021* with additional refs.). Differences can be seen in the time horizon in which inhumation row cemeteries were disturbed; in Western Europe, in general, there is far less disturbance at earlier Merovingian necropolises of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., but the percentage of reopened graves rises significantly in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. and peak in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. The scope of disturbance was not uniform across individual cemeteries. While in Kent, England, the percentage of secondarily disturbed graves was approximately 15% of their total number, in northern France it fluctuates around 30%, in the Netherlands around 41%. In northern France, the rate of disturbance of Merovingian burials is highly variable, in the 15–50% range, though without essentially exceeding this limit (*Noterman 2015, 169*). The situation is somewhat different in Germany, especially in Bavaria (*Zintl 2012; 2018; 2019*), Austria (*Aspöck 2005; 2011; 2018*), the Czech Republic, Slovakia (*Schmidtová/Ruttikay 2008; Schmidtová et al. 2009*, Hungary (*Bóna/Horváth 2009*) and Romania (*Dobos 2014*), where the percentage of 'robbed' graves is significantly higher than in Western Europe. In fact, there are regions where practically all the graves at cemeteries are reopened, e.g. at the Remseck-Pattonville cemetery in Baden-Württemberg, the percentage of reopened grave pits was up to 90% of the total number (*Bofinger/Sikora 2008*). The situation is similar in Austria (e.g. Aspersdorf, where all 27 graves were reopened – *Adler 1978*), partly in Hungary, but mainly in south Moravia (no differences were observed between the rate of 'robbery' at 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. cemeteries), where some of the necropolises were disturbed in their entirety (e.g. Pasohlávky, Sudoměřice, Borotice, Šakvice), while at others only a few graves remained untouched (e.g. Kyjov, Lužice, Holubice).

### Time horizon of grave reopening

An important factor in the investigation of the phenomenon of the reopening of graves is its timing. In practically all monitored areas, Moravia included, the reopening practice took place at the time these necropolises were actively in use or immediately thereafter. To a lesser extent, reopening occurred relatively shortly after the burial (within a maximum of five years), which is evidenced by the dislocation of parts of the skeletons in the period before the decomposition of connective tissues and tissues, e.g. the pulling of the entire limb to a higher level of the grave. In Moravia, several such cases typically appear at larger burial grounds. However, the majority of grave pits were opened after the body had already decomposed but before the wooden coffin had decayed. Puncture marks in the coffin lid are often observed; dislocated human bones and finds respect the coffin and it is evident that the intervention was made in the hollow space. This

finding was made not only in Moravia, but also in other areas of Europe (summarised in *Klevnäs et al. 2021*). The graves were most likely opened throughout the year, perhaps with the exception of the winter months, when it probably would have been difficult to accomplish in snowy terrain with frozen ground.

### Identity and motivation

The secondary disturbance of graves in early medieval row cemeteries was previously unambiguously explained as an act of robbing (*Roth 1978; Steuer 1998*). However, the motivations of the ‘robbers’ may have been much more complicated and varied.

A grave could have been robbed to retrieve an object of symbolic value. Paolus Diaconus describes how Prince Giselpert of Verona opened the tomb of King Alboin to retrieve his sword and, from the perspective of those around him, thus obtain his strength and abilities (*Paolus Diaconus 1878, 89*); the same reasons for reopening graves are also stated in Old Nordic sagas (in more detail in *Hofmann 2015* with additional refs.; *Klevnäs 2019*). If this truly occurred, it undoubtedly involved the burials of the most important individuals (holders of power). Fibulae, precious metal artefacts of precise craftsmanship found in female graves, probably had a status similar to swords in male graves. In contrast, iron artefacts were very often left behind, e.g. spear points or knives, which represented perhaps some of the most common grave goods; in the case of female burials, these were e.g. beads made of glass paste, which commonly remained in their original position on the neck of the deceased. Some artefacts must already have been in relatively poor condition by the time the tomb was reopened, yet they were still retrieved, while others, perhaps in better shape, were left in the grave. This brings us to the question of the ownership of the artefacts; exclusive objects are thought to have been part of the burial ceremony, but may not have directly belonged to the deceased individual’s personal possessions (*Klevnäs 2015, 165, 180*). Intentionally retrieving artefacts of symbolic value and stealing for profit are naturally two distinct activities (*Noterman 2015, 153*) and while in the Kent area it was observed that the cemeteries were not ‘looted’ in one-off fashion, with only a few exceptions there is no evidence that the graves were opened at the same time, some indirect and direct evidence in the Moravian necropolises testifies to the opposite (see the Mušov-Roviny cemetery above); in some specific cases, the possibility of deliberate manipulation of human remains is also considered here. This possibility (interpretation) was also suggested in the case of the Winnall II burial ground in Southern England, where most of the graves were reopened before the bodies had fully decomposed. Such behaviour is explained here by fear of the dead or atypical burial practices, which included special treatment of the bodies (*Aspöck 2011, 318, 319*). A somewhat similar situation was also found in early Anglo-Saxon Kent (*Klevnäs 2013, 83–90*), where several disturbed graves show evidence of the deliberate shifting of skeletal remains or the removal of symbolically significant artefacts. *A. Klevnäs (2013, 83)* believes that it may have been a manifestation of intercommunity violence with the objective of reducing the supernatural power of the dead and thereby stabilising the position of the surviving families. These activities took place against the background of the consolidation of elites and royal power in Anglo-Saxon society in the 7<sup>th</sup> c. AD. Special and probably deliberate handling of human remains is also documented in other regions of Europe (e.g. *Gardela 2013*), including Moravia; an example could be female grave 51 from the Mušov-Roviny cemetery, the skull from which was moved away from the post-cranial skeleton during the reopening of the grave and weighed down with a limestone stone (see above).

*S. Zintl (2019)*, who analysed the situation in Bavaria, came to the conclusion that the burial practices of local communities who buried directly in necropolises were behind the opening of graves. Their intention may have been to control the symbolic power and social status of the dead and their survivors. *Ch. Kümmel (2009)* also came to a similar conclusion in his archaeological-ethnographic work. The disturbance of graves may have played a role in a conflict between local communities or it may have been carried out directly by the relatives of the buried persons as part of certain post-funereal activities. At the Harting-Katzenbühl and Harting-Katzenbühl cemeteries near Regensburg, graves that originally contained rich and representative furnishings were reopened, while the surrounding ‘poor’ graves remained untouched (*Zintl 2018, 158*). In Burgweinting-Ost, about two-thirds of the total number of 28 graves were opened secondarily, but the burial ground is located very close to the current settlement (within c. 20 m), which clearly rules out the possibility that the ‘robbery’ took place unbeknownst to the local residents (*Zintl 2018, 160*). At other large necropolises (e.g. in Burgweinting-Schule), practically all grave pits were reopened. Analysis of the situation at Moravian burial grounds shows certain common phenomena, e.g. in Strachotín, only graves with originally exclusive furnishings were disturbed, while the surrounding shallow graves without grave goods remained intact.

## CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of the reopening of grave pits is already evident at the Moravian burial grounds of the Migration Period in connection with the first inhumation graves of the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. In the second half of that same c., this phenomenon is already quite conspicuous, especially at large row necropolises (e.g. the recently investigated site of Pohořelice-Nová Ves). However, even smaller 'local' cemeteries (e.g. Pasohlávky and Sudoměřice) were completely disturbed. A special differentiation, probably based on social status and social conditions or the practiced funeral rite, can be observed in Strachotín (see above).

In the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., i.e. at burial grounds of an Elbe-Germanic character, the trend of 'robbing' graves continued; in necropolises with a hundred or more graves, burials untouched by secondary intervention are an absolute exception. The secondary opening of grave pits apparently occurred most often after the decomposition of the deceased's body, but before the decay of the wooden coffin. In practically all large burial grounds, cases of manipulation of still intact skeletons have been recorded, which must have taken place within a few years of the death and burial of the deceased. The nature and time horizon of the interventions suggest that these activities, at least in part, apparently involved local communities as part of certain post-funereal activities. Understanding their reasons is complicated, and it is necessary to take into account a possible combination of several motives: the gain of material property in the form of objects made of precious metals, the collection of artefacts of symbolic value that could be passed on to new bearers of the tradition (swords, fibulae) or the manipulation of skeletal remains for the purpose of reducing the supernatural power of the dead and thereby consolidating the position of the bereaved. Yet another interpretation that could be a certain shift in the understanding of the process of transformation is considered – after the decomposition of the body and the departure of the soul of the deceased to 'the other world', it seemed completely legitimate to retrieve from the grave the things that accompanied the deceased during the funeral rites and after the time of their final journey. Purely practical reasons could also be behind this behaviour: after the decision to leave the territory of Moravia was made, there was a deliberate and completely legal opening of grave pits and the collection of valuable artefacts by the departing community, which were supposed to facilitate their transfer to new settlements and the subsequent process of acculturation.

The archaeological research of reopened graves at Migration Period burial grounds is also significant from a methodological point of view. Today it is quite clear that the graves from the monitored time period cannot be viewed as closed find units, but rather as 'living' features, demonstrating a wide spectrum of variously motivated activities of the population of that time, leading, among other things, to their violation, destruction and theft.

## CATALOGUE OF MIGRATION PERIOD CEMETERIES IN MORAVIA WITH REGARD TO THE ISSUE OF REOPENING GRAVE PITS

The Catalogue section of the study taking into account Migration Period cemeteries is arranged alphabetically; all sites are shown on the map (Fig. 15). The analysis includes only necropolises with five or more grave pits, and certain grave units providing interesting insights into the studied issue of grave 'robbing' have been described in greater detail. The list of sources and published literature provides a basic overview and is not exhaustive.

Cemeteries with five and more graves: 3. Borovice, Znojmo dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 23 graves); 12. Břeclav-Líbivá, Břeclav dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 8 graves); 14. Čejkovice, Hodonín dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 38 graves); 17. Drnholec, Břeclav dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 7 graves); 21. Holásky, Brno-město dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 12 graves); 22. Holubice, Vyškov dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 105 graves); 28. Kyjov, Hodonín dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 240 graves); 30. Lužice, Hodonín dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 120 graves); 36. Mušov-Roviny, Břeclav dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., c. 240 graves/79 graves); 40. Nový Šaldorf, Znojmo dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 75 graves); 41. Pohořelice-Nová Ves, Brno-venkov dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 300 graves/31 graves); 44. Pasohlávky, Břeclav dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 28 graves); 49. Rajhradice (also published as Rebešovice), Brno-venkov dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 11 graves); 52. Smolín, Brno-venkov dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., ? graves); 53. Sokolnice, Brno-venkov dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 11 graves); 54. Strachotín, Břeclav dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 21 graves); 56. Sudoměřice, Hodonín dist. (8 graves); 58. Šakvice, Břeclav dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 56 graves); 59. Šaratice, Vyškov dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 27 graves; 6<sup>th</sup> c., 11 graves); 63. Velatice, Brno-venkov dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 34 graves); 65. Velké Pavlovice, Břeclav dist. (6<sup>th</sup> c., 22 graves); 67. Vyškov, Vyškov dist. (5<sup>th</sup> c., 30 graves).

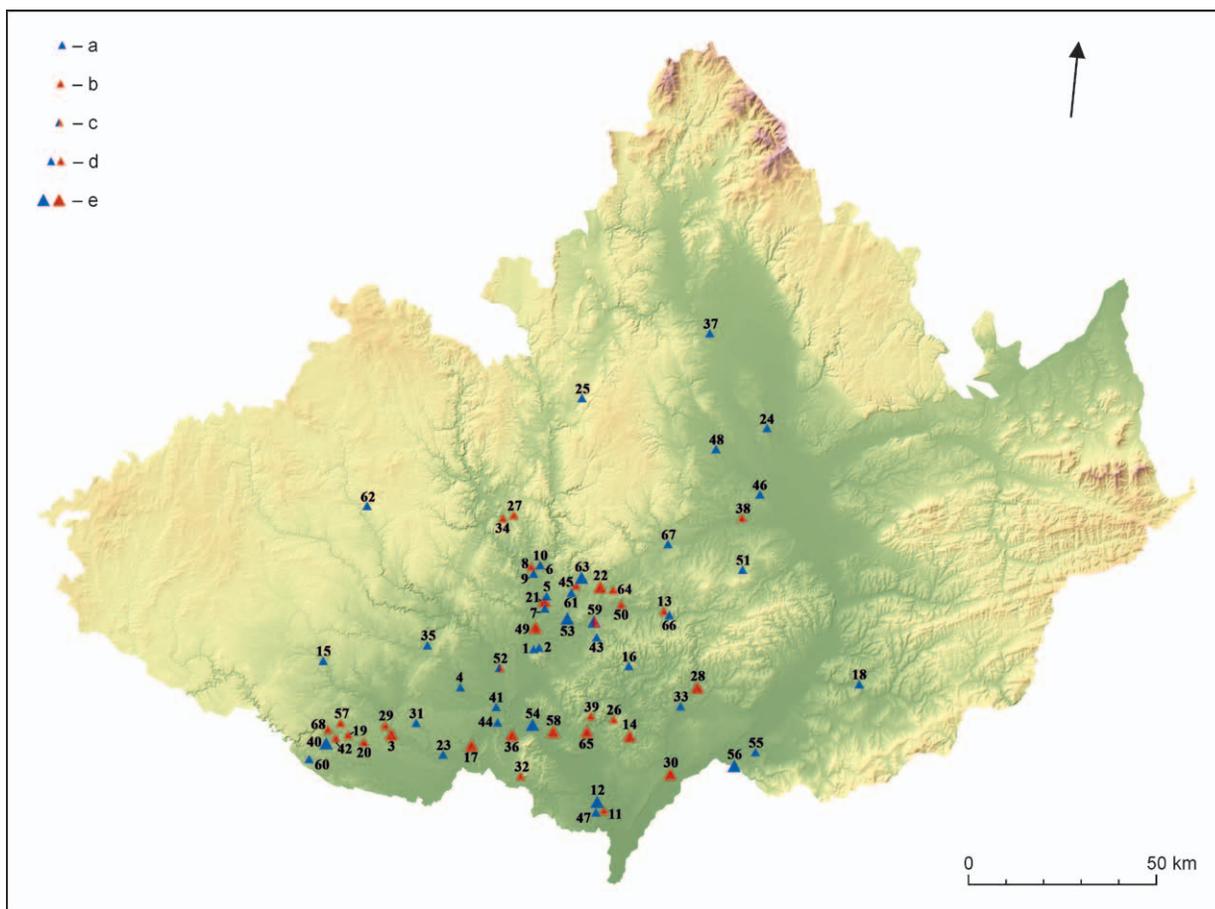


Fig. 15. Map of Migration Period cemeteries in Moravia (cemeteries with five or more grave pits). Legend: a – 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD; b – 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD; c – 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD; d – less than 5 graves; e – 5 and more graves.

#### Borotice, Znojmo dist. (Fig. 15: 3)

Number of graves: 23.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: site known since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. (M. Trapp); V. Podborský, Jan Evangelista Purkyně University (today Masaryk University in Brno), test-pitting (1962–1963); S. Stuchlík, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno (systematic excavation since 1976).

Essential references: *Stuchlík 2011*.

At the cemetery in Borotice, burials from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. (but also from the La Tène period) were made in barrows, 29 of which were built in the Early and Middle Bronze Age (*Stuchlík 2011*). Migration Period burials were made especially in large barrows located in the SE part of the cemetery (barrows 6, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 27; the dating of barrow 5 is uncertain), in which 32 graves with 35 individuals were buried. It cannot be ruled out that prehistoric mounds were used for funerary purposes in later periods for practical reasons; it was not necessary to dig the burial shafts to such an extent as elsewhere, especially in the hard gravelly subsoil characteristic of this site. Test pits verified that the space between individual barrows was not used for burying the dead in any of the listed periods (*Stuchlík 2011*, 82). Due to its central location, size and unique structural solution of the secondary grave, the situation in barrow 13 warrants special attention (*Stuchlík 2011*, 112–114).

#### Grave 13/XVII

Was placed in the centre of barrow 13 and differed from the other graves in the cemetery by its large dimensions (280–295 × 195–200 cm), the stepped deepening of the burial pit and the use of stones in its construction; it was also the deepest grave in the burial ground. The bottom was found at a level of 300 cm from the top of the mound, i.e. 160 cm was sunk into the body of the mound itself and the remaining 140 cm into the hard gravel-sandy subsoil. Human and animal bones were found in the backfill of the grave pit. A 'looting shaft filled with rubble' was identified at a depth of 50–80/90 cm before the subsoil level in the central part of the grave. At a depth of 100 cm, i.e. 260 cm from the current surface of the barrow, the south wall of the grave tapered in step-like form by 40 cm, 20 cm lower by another 40 cm. As such, the dimensions of the grave pit at the bottom were 280–195 × 130 cm. The original deposition of human remains

and the accompanying grave goods were significantly affected by the secondary intervention. The bones were jumbled, some missing entirely, and the presence of two lower jaws does not rule out that more individuals could have been buried here. The human bones were accompanied by animal bones belonging to a chicken and apparently also a duck. All that remained of the grave goods was a fragment of a silver bow fibula with an animal motif and a delicate silver lingulate strap-end.

Briefly summarising findings on the reopening of grave pits at the cemetery in Borotice, it is evident that all the graves from the Migration Period were reopened. They differ only in the scope of disturbance: in certain cases only bones from the area of the chest or upper limbs were moved (e.g. grave 27/I, 27/XVIII), while in others the entire upper part of the body was affected, sometimes even the femurs (e.g. grave 27/IIb, 27/IIIb). Finally, many graves were disturbed to the point where all of the bones were literally 'scattered' over the bottom of the grave pit (e.g. 6/VII, 9/IVa, 10/XV, 13/XVII, 27/IIa, 27/XIIIa, 27/VIIIb).

#### **Břeclav-Líbivá, Břeclav dist. (Fig. 15: 12)**

Number of graves: 8.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Masaryk University in Brno and the Břeclav Museum and Gallery, rescue excavation (1996). Essential references: *Macháček 2001; Macháček/Klanicová 1997*.

Břeclav – Líbivá (Břeclav dist.) A peripheral group of eight graves belonging to a large cemetery dated to the second third of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. heavily damaged by forestry operations was investigated (elsewhere dated to the middle to the 5<sup>th</sup> c., *Macháček 2001*, 39). Only in two cases (grave 8 and 10) were the skeletons relatively well preserved. Although it is reported that no clear traces of secondary disturbance of the grave pits (or of the wooden lining of the deceased – *Macháček/Klanicová 1997*, 59) were observed, the dislocation of bones in several graves (e.g. 6, 7 and 9) does not support this claim. Moreover, the furnishings of the deceased are poorer, raising the possibility that more luxurious items were 'removed'. Elsewhere, however, the head of the excavation states that 15 graves were discovered here, but due to the fact that most of them did not contain any inventory (they are mainly child burials), he does not rule out that they may belong to other periods, especially the early medieval period (*Macháček 2001*, 29–40).

#### **Čejkovice, Hodonín dist. (Fig. 15: 14)**

Number of graves: 38.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Zdeněk Klanica, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1984).

Essential references: *Klanica 1987*.

A total of 38 graves were uncovered at the cemetery in Čejkovice, including one horse burial (*Klanica 1987*, 35). Although the cemetery has not been catalogued and published, the partially preserved documentation indicates that the vast majority of grave pits were heavily disturbed (the expansion of the western part of the grave pit and the dark fill of the 'looting' shaft are typical). A secondary disturbance was not clearly visible in only a small number of graves and the skeletal material was found in an anatomical position (e.g. grave 31). On the hill in the central part of the burial grounds was the largest and deepest grave – grave 23, showing clear signs of reopening.

##### *Grave 23*

Max. dimensions of grave pit 178 × 350 × 385 cm, orientation W – E, step-like deepening. Traces of a wooden construction were also identified. The character of the fill containing fragments of pottery testified to the disturbance of the original grave fill. Secondarily displaced objects were found at a depth of 200–220 cm: part of a ceramic vessel, a copper needle, a fragment of a glass bead, fragments of a bone comb, fragments of a spindle whorl, a fragment of glass, fish bones and small silver fittings (two plates joined by rivets). Part of a horse's upper jaw and a human lower jaw lay at a depth of 260 cm. The rest of the fragmentarily preserved human skeletal remains were scattered about the burial pit fill; only the middle part of the body (ribs) remained perhaps in its original position at the bottom of the grave along with glass paste beads, which were apparently not moved. Five other small silver fittings of the same character as the specimen found above were also identified at the bottom, as was a fragment of a glass bead belonging to other fragments found higher in the grave fill.

#### **Drnholec, Břeclav dist. (Fig. 15: 17)**

Number of graves: 7.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: František Trampota, Regional Museum in Mikulov, rescue excavation (2016, 2017)

Essential references: *Trampota 2018; Trampota et al. 2022*.

A rescue excavation conducted in 2016 and 2017 captured part of a cemetery with seven grave pits, several of which were partially damaged by earth work performed without archaeological supervision. One of the seven graves belonged to a child, three to women and three to men. Five of the graves (801–805) were heavily affected by a secondary intervention with the typical 'looting' shaft directed towards the upper part of the body; skeletal material and finds

were heavily scattered. Intervention was not clear in two graves (800 and 806), though child grave 800 was very shallow and without finds. Grave pit 806 was partially destroyed by machinery, and there were no signs of reopening; a male skeleton was located at the bottom in an anatomical position, accompanied by an antler buckle by the pelvis and an iron knife between the left arm and the ribs. A very interesting phenomenon was observed at the cemetery in Drnholec: remains of cremations found in deposits associated with the secondary disturbance of the grave pit (grave 801 and 802). And precisely with regard to the process of grave reopening, grave 801 merits special attention: the grave contained the burial of a man with a mule above him, both with a W – E orientation. The ‘looting’ shaft documented here ran to the upper part of the body and disturbed the mule skeleton.

#### *Grave 801*

Rectangular grave pit (dimensions at bottom: 238 × 47 cm), depth 136 cm. Right from the very surface of the pit, a ‘looting’ shaft (K 101, K 103) containing burnt human bones (the cremation of another individual) was identified in the western part of the fill. Just above the bottom, though stratigraphically above the space where human remains were found, was the skeleton of a man without a skull, which must have been damaged by a secondary disturbance (the teeth from this skull were found in the ‘looting’ shaft). The skeleton of an adult man was originally deposited in the southern part of the grave pit, though only the lower limbs from the knees down remained in the original anatomical position. The rest of the skeleton was very badly dislocated, which occurred after the connective tissues and tissues had already decomposed, i.e. many years after the burial. The skull was located directly on the bottom of the reopened space. In terms of finds, two iron buckles and a ceramic vessel were preserved in their original position. Fragments of pottery and two flint flakes come from the fill of the ‘looting’ shaft.

#### **Holásky, Brno-město dist.** (Fig. 15: 21)

Number of graves: 12.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Boris Novotný, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1954).

Essential references: *Novotný 1954; 1955, 338–342, fig. 166–170.*

A total of 12 graves were found at the cemetery in Holásky; the first two were destroyed by sand extraction in 1946, and a rescue excavation of the other ten graves was conducted in 1954 (*Novotný 1955*). The disrupted walls and character of the fill testify to the fact that all of the graves had been reopened (*Novotný 1954*). Skeletal material is preserved only in fragmented condition and has been significantly relocated in the vast majority of cases. Only grave 2, with the skeleton of an adolescent individual lying on the bottom in an anatomical position, was a certain exception. While it may seem at first glance that this grave remained intact, a detailed description of the find situation makes clear that this grave pit was also reopened and the skeleton and finds manipulated after the burial (*Novotný 1954, 4*).

#### *Grave 2*

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 200 × 120 × 120 cm. Testifying to secondary disturbance is the character of the grave pit fill; appearing in its western part was a ‘looting’ shaft (c. 100 × 50 cm) with an oval plan, the fill of which differs from the original fill particularly by its dark colour reaching all the way down to the bottom of the grave. That was where the skeleton of an adolescent individual in the original position lay, but with its scapulae, clavicles and some of the ribs dislocated, which point to a space that was secondarily disturbed. In terms of finds, the small point of an iron spear was preserved at the edge of the grave pit; on the right side by the ribs was an iron knife, by the lumbar vertebrae was an iron belt buckle and an awl (?), and two pottery vessels were found near the left lower limb.

#### **Holubice, Vyškov dist.** (Fig. 15: 22)

Number of graves: 105.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: M. Čižmář, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1979–1980).

Essential references: *Čižmář 1979; 2011.*

The cemetery in Holubice in the Vyškov dist. (Fig. 16) ranks among the best investigated sites. Detailed documentation carried out at the level with the use of photographs taken using a ‘Swedish tower’ and a good find report enabled a later credible evaluation of the field situation, including evidence of the intentional disturbance of burials (*Čižmář 2011*). Out of the total number of 104 inhumation graves (one grave was a cremation burial), in 48 cases the grave pit was secondarily disturbed around the entire perimeter, 34 times a ‘looting’ shaft was identified running towards the western part of the grave pit (i.e. in the area of the upper half of the body), while in exceptional cases the secondary intervention ran towards the eastern, lower half of the grave (5 x) or its northeastern part (1 x). It was determined that practically all the grave pits were opened secondarily. A possible exception could be female grave 95 with two pairs of fibulae and other equipment, but even here it is not entirely certain that the situation was fully intact. Some graves were reopened at a stage before the body was completely decomposed, with an example being the situation in grave 23 (*Čižmář 2011, 170, 171*).

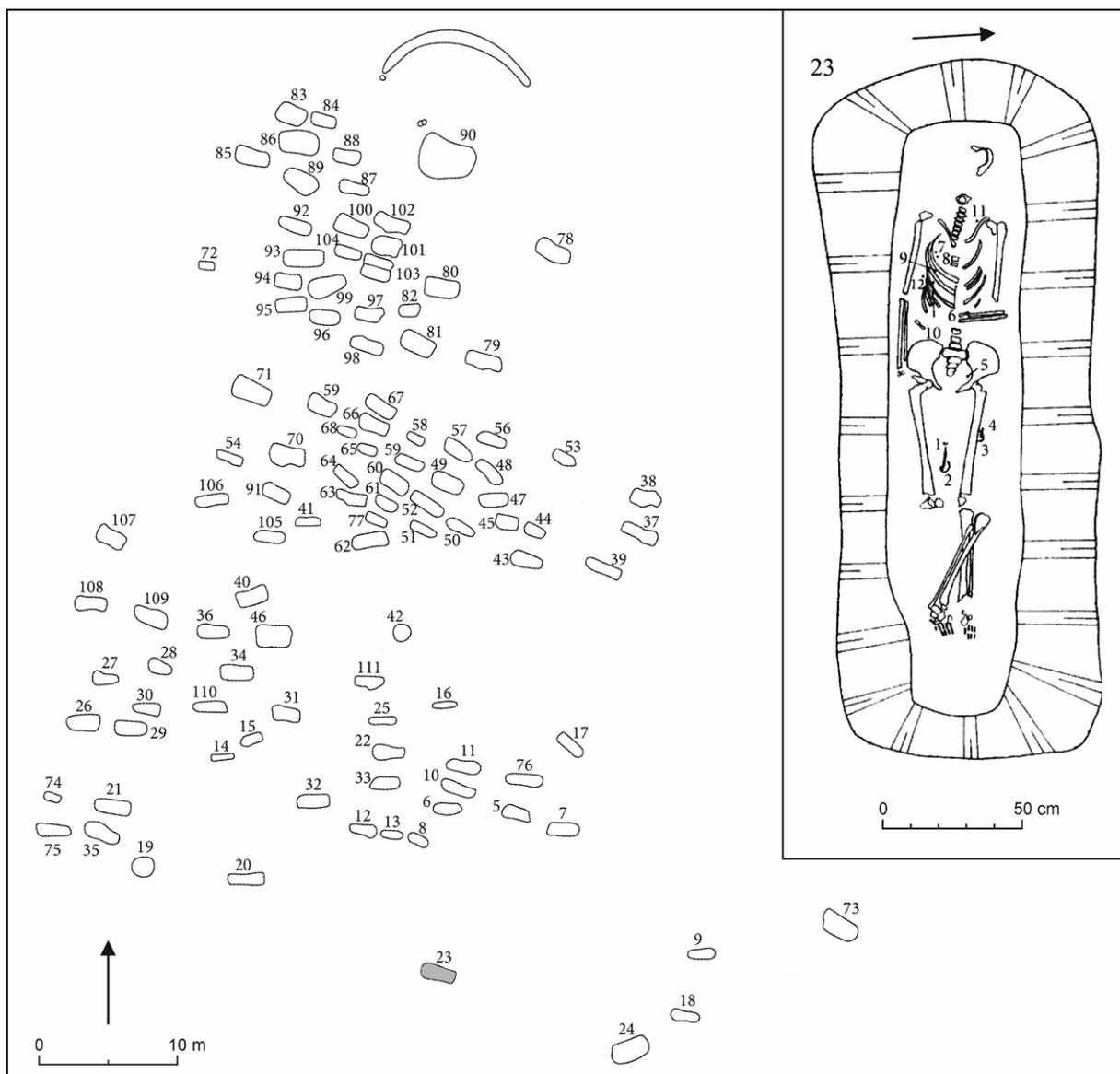


Fig. 16. Holubice. Plan view of cemetery and grave 23 (modified after Čižmář 2011, fig. 2; 7).

#### Grave 23

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 250 × 90 × 125 cm. W – E orientation. The skeleton of an adult individual was found on the bottom of the grave. The skeletal remains were evidently handled not long after being buried; the skull, except for the displaced lower jaw, was completely missing in the grave; the left forearm (ulnar and radius bone) and also part of the right lower limb (femur and tibia) were moved while still being held together. Of the finds in the grave, an iron knife and part of an iron ring remained between the femurs, other small iron fragments were found next to the left femur and in the place of the pelvis, and bronze fittings were found in the area of the torso. Three beads of glass paste, one of amber and magnesite lay between the ribs. Another glass bead appeared near the left clavicle. The head of the excavation, M. Čižmář (2011, 138), presented three methods of intervention: 1. graves only minimally disturbed, with skeletons found relatively often in an anatomical position, but a targeted retrieval of artefacts occurred; 2. graves disturbed in the upper part of the skeleton, which was heavily dislocated, while the lower limbs often remained intact in their original position beneath the fill; 3. completely ‘robbed’ graves with skeletal remains and finds scattered over the bottom, but also found in the fill of the grave pit.

#### Kyjov, Hodonín dist. (Fig. 15: 28)

Number of graves: 240.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: J. Šmerda, Masaryk Museum in Hodonín; rescue excavation (2010).

Essential references: Šmerda 2013; 2016; 2017.

The largest (and fully explored necropolis) in Moravia belonging to the Lombard population of the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c., is the cemetery in Kyjov with 240 graves. Although it was almost completely robbed, it provided a number of exclusive and highly chronologically sensitive artefacts (primarily fibulae, bucket fittings, etc.; Šmerda 2016); only four graves were not robbed – two male and two female (Šmerda 2013, 272). However, with the exception of a few shorter articles dealing with only parts of the cemetery, it has not yet been published as a whole. However, the burials at the site were not only those of a single individual, because in approximately ten cases the grave pit contained two skeletons, in two cases three individuals were buried and one grave even contained six individuals. In approximately seven cases, the deceased was buried with a horse and other animals (dog, bird of prey). Important for the thematic focus of this study is the observation that the 'looting' shafts were directed primarily at the upper half of the body, and that in many cases these bodies were manipulated before they had fully decomposed; some graves were then completely devoid of skeletal remains, and the body had very probably been pulled from the bottom of the grave pit while still intact (Šmerda 2011, 143–145; 2016, 168).

#### Lužice, Hodonín dist. (Fig. 15: 30)

Number of graves: 120.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Zdeněk Klanica, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; research excavation (1981–1982 and 1986–1989).

Essential references: *Klanica/Klanicová 2011*.

One of the largest Migration Period row cemeteries in Moravia was investigated in Lužice (*Klanica/Klanicová 2011*). A total of 120 west-east oriented graves from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. were found here, with 116 of them containing human skeletal remains and two horse skeletons. Most of the field documentation, including photographs, was unfortunately destroyed in the fire at the archaeological centre in Mikulčice in 2007, but at least a basic description of the grave pits and drawings were preserved, on the basis of which a catalogue of the entire cemetery was later created. Concerning the main issue of this work, i.e. the reopening of burials, it is evident that practically all the graves in Lužice were affected in this way, with the only possible exception being warrior grave 84 (*Klanica/Klanicová 2011*, 281, fig. 36).

#### Grave 84

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 304 × 140 × 264 cm. The fill of the grave showed no traces of secondary disturbance, only the northern side of the grave pit was widened approximately in the middle part of the grave, which could possibly indicate an intervention (?). The remains of a wooden sarcophagus (216 × 50 cm) were documented on the bottom; judging by the rounded bottom of this coffin, it was probably made from a hollowed-out tree trunk. It held the skeleton of an adult male (age about 40 years, estimated height 187 cm, relatively robust constitution with well-developed muscular relief) in an anatomical position with no signs of any later manipulation. Two iron rivets and a buckle were found outside the coffin area in the NW corner of the grave pit. A sword was placed on the left side of the deceased in such a way that the left hand was placed over it. Objects of everyday use were found around the waist – an iron and stone fire-making kit and a knife preserved in fragmented form. The remains of a wooden container with bronze fittings were found near the northern wall near the expansion of the burial pit. A spear had been thrust into the eastern wall of the grave pit and another iron rivet lay near the right foot.

Similar to other inhumation row cemeteries, in Lužice a funnel-shaped 'looting' shaft was often identified in the western part of the grave pit leading to the upper part of the buried body. The degree of dislocation of skeletal material and finds then varied; somewhere the entire skeleton remained practically in its original anatomical position, in other graves only the area of the upper half of the body was disturbed and the lower limbs were not affected. However, situations were also recorded in which all of the skeletal material was secondarily relocated at the bottom of the grave pit, or only a few bones were preserved. It is clear that in most cases the reopening of the grave took place before the decay of the wooden coffin, as evidenced by the fact that the accumulation of human bones respects it. It is likely that the coffin lid was punctured and that the bones and finds were manipulated in the hollow space. Two of the many examples are graves 28 and 44.

#### Grave 28

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 260 × 134 × 220 cm. The outline of the coffin (192 × 50 cm) is highly visible on the bottom of the grave containing the skeleton of an adolescent (15–16 years). A skull with the first vertebra was thrown from the coffin space; it was found against the south wall of the bottom of the grave. Behind it lay the bones of a hand, which must have been moved while it was still held together (i.e. several years after the burial); the lower jaw was also found in the same place. Its green colouring indicates that it must have been in contact with a non-ferrous metal object. The sarcophagus held the remains of a skeleton, with the vertebrae, ribs, pelvis and right femur lying in their original position. Regarding finds, a glass bead was retrieved from the place where the skull originally lay. An iron 'weaver's sword' lay in the southwest corner of the grave, fragments of two silver fittings near the tibia, and fragments of a pair of other silver fittings near the right knee; after removing the contents of the bottom of the grave, a ceramic spindle whorl was also found.

#### Grave 44

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 275 × 145 × 197 cm. In the western part of the grave pit, a deposit was recognised that narrowed towards the bottom in a funnel-like manner and can be understood as evidence of a secondary opening. The remains of a rectangular coffin (198 × 45 cm) and the skeletal remains of a young woman (about 25 years old) were identified at the bottom of the grave. The lower limbs remained intact from the knees down, the skull lay in the

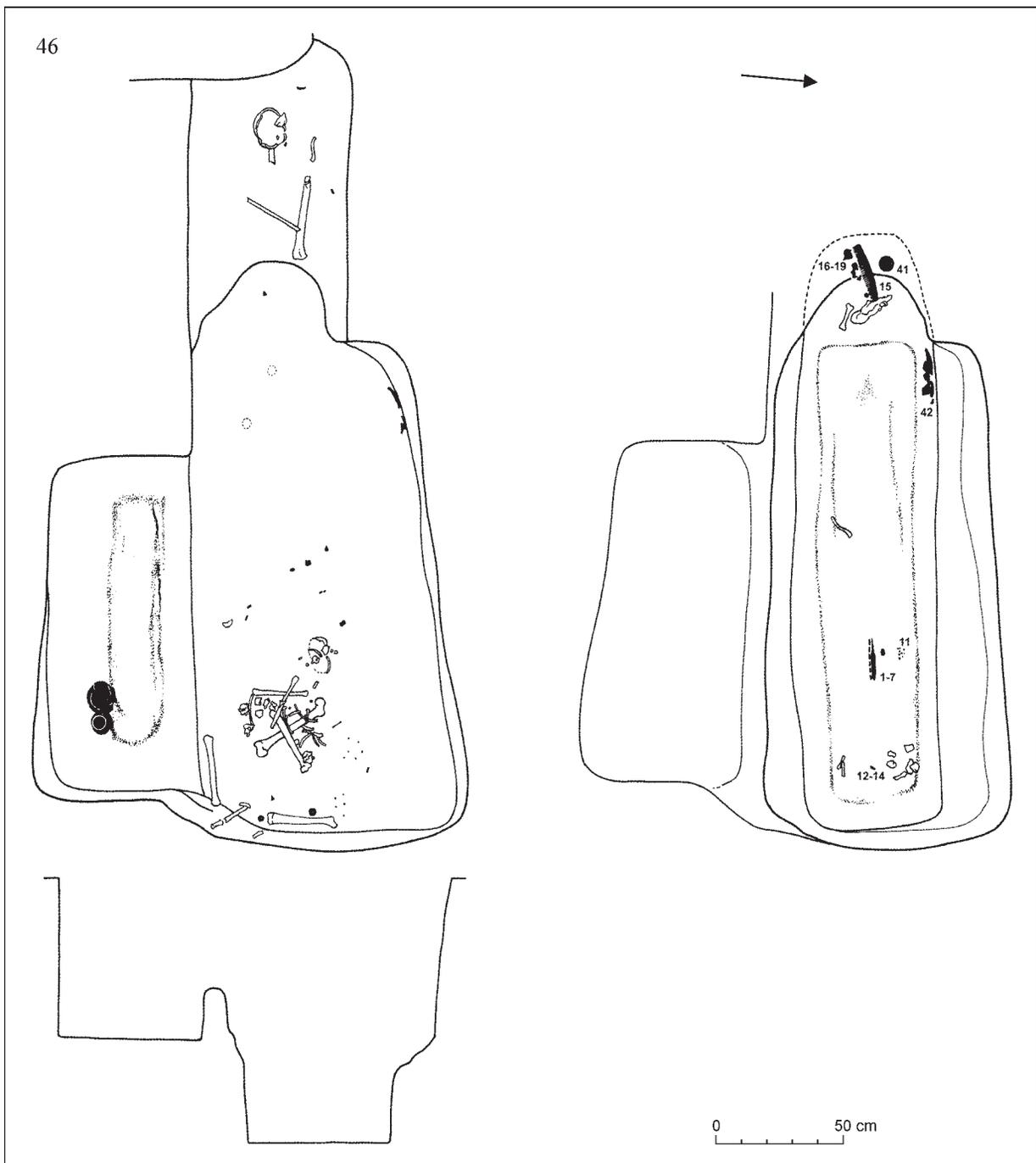


Fig. 17. Lužice. Grave 46. Two documentation levels and cross-section of grave pit (modified after *Klanica/Klanicová 2011*, fig. 19; 20).

middle part of the coffin and the rest of the skeleton was accumulated in the upper part of the coffin. Beads (17 pcs) were preserved near the cervical vertebrae (where they were apparently located at the time of burial), and a ceramic spindle whorl was under the accumulation of bones. During the preparation of the bottom of the grave, fragments of a copper sheet, a whetstone and part of an iron ring were also retrieved.

Traces of secondary interventions outside of the actual graves appear only rarely at cemeteries. In Lužice, we can observe this phenomenon in the area between graves 44 and 46 in the form of an approximately 70 cm-wide trench filled with dark clay, essentially connecting the two grave pits. The situation is also exceptional in that the western wall of grave 46 was destroyed and part of the skeletal material, including the skull, was pulled out into this excavated space (Fig. 17). But part of the inventory also remained in the tomb, including exclusive small gold jewellery inlaid with almandine garnets, indicating that the buried woman was of high social status (Fig. 18).

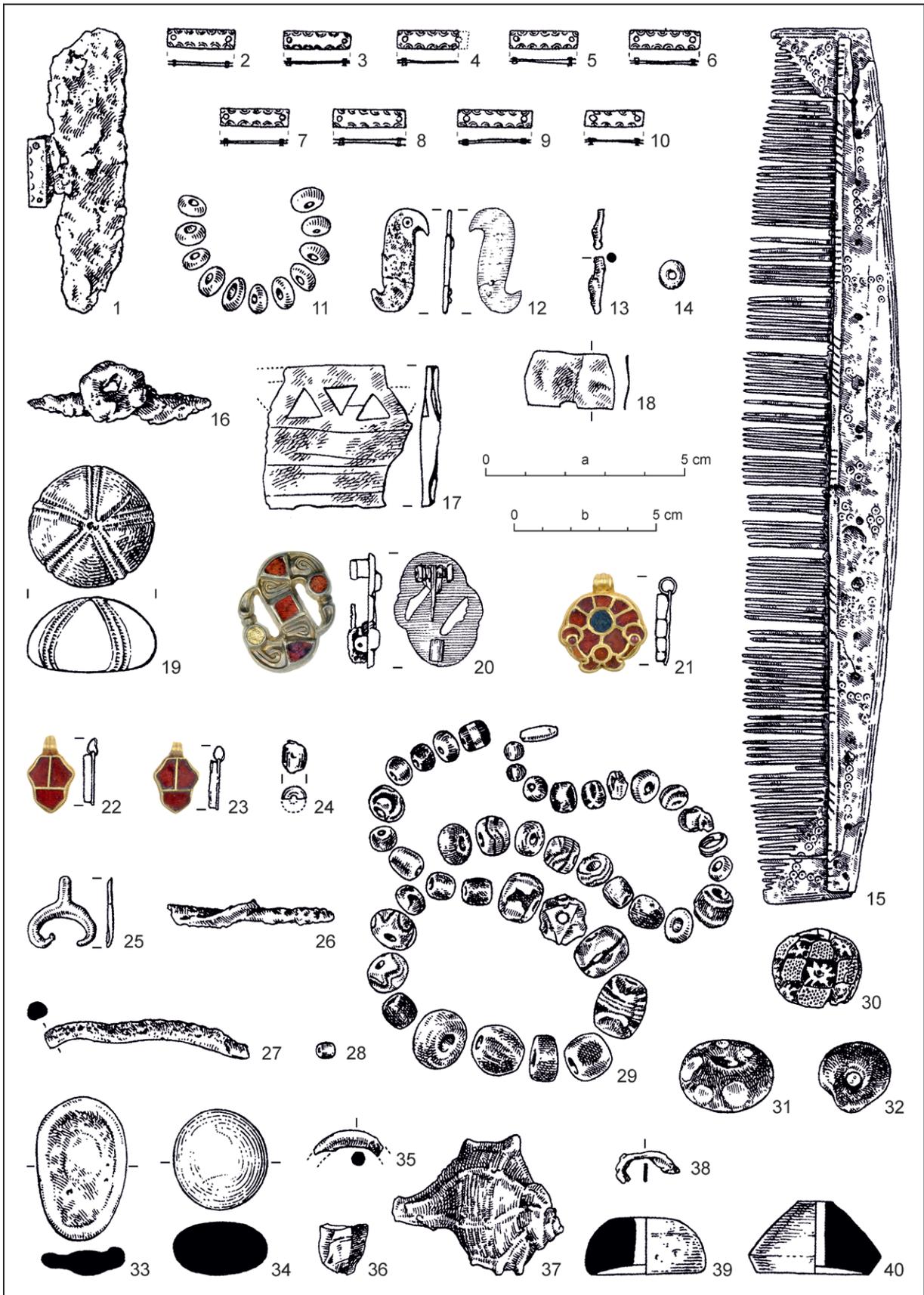


Fig. 18. Lužice. Finds from grave 44 (modified after Klanica/Klanicová 2011, fig. 18). Scale: a – 1–14, 16–40; b – 15.

*Grave 46*

The grave pit, originally rectangular in shape with maximum dimensions of 250 × 105 × 153 cm, formed one unit with adjacent child's grave 48 (the skull and small bones from it, attributed to a child aged 2–3 years, were retrieved from the fill of grave 46). Traces of a coffin (204 × 45 cm) were found on the bottom of the grave. The tomb was secondarily disturbed to such an extent that its western wall was destroyed. Part of the skeletal material including the skull was found in this place, practically already outside the original grave pit and almost on the surface; the rest of the bones were gathered at the bottom against the eastern wall of the grave. Perhaps only the small bones of the lower limbs lay in the coffin in the same place as at the time of burial. Based on an anthropological analysis, it belonged to a woman of indeterminate age, height of about 163.4 cm, with a slender to moderately robust constitution. Despite the significant destruction of the overall situation, numerous finds were preserved in the grave, including artefacts made of precious metals: near the eastern wall, an iron knife with silver fittings with punched decoration in the form of small crescents, six identical and two similar fittings near it. Eleven beads from glass paste lay to the right of the knife. A small silver S-shaped fibula, fragments of an iron rod, and a yellow bead were thrown between the leg bones and the eastern edge of the grave. A comb, an iron rod with an attached ring, fragments of a decorated bronze sheet, and a sea urchin fossil were found in the western part of the grave. The fill of the grave pit contained a gilded silver S-shaped fibula decorated with almandine garnets, three gold pendants (also inlaid with almandine garnets), a large number (46 pcs) of various types of beads (including several amber specimens), fragments of small iron objects, a sea snail shell, two ceramic spindle whorls, coloured pebbles, a stone fire-starting flint, a fragment of a ceramic bowl and two whole ceramic vessels (one miniature and the other bowl-shaped).

As mentioned above, two horse graves (grave 31 and 114) were also found at the necropolis in Lužice, and they were likewise opened secondarily, with the animal skeletons and finds having been manipulated.

*Grave 31*

Irregular oval grave pit (245 × 128 cm) with traces of secondary disturbance. The skeletons of a horse and dog were found on the bottom. The horse's skull, front legs and some of the ribs were moved during the intervention, while the rest of the skeleton was in its original position. An iron buckle and a piece of sheet metal lay in the SE corner of the pit, another iron buckle next to the femurs of the front legs, and fragments of an unidentifiable iron artefact between the skull and lower jaw.

*Grave 114*

Oval grave pit, max. dimensions 202 × 103 × 95 cm. Its fill clearly showed traces of a secondary opening – a deposit in the form of dark soil in an oval-shaped plan narrowed towards the bottom in a funnel-like manner. Remnants of the original fill could only be identified in the eastern corner of the pit. There was an iron buckle at the shoulder joint and an iron rivet by the left front leg. A fragment of an iron object comes from the grave fill above the skeleton.

**Mušov-Roviny, Břeclav dist. (Fig. 15: 36)**

Number of graves: 250 graves identified in a targeted non-destructive survey, 79 of which were subsequently investigated. Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Z. Loskotová, Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno; research excavation (2009–2013, 2022).

Essential references: *Loskotová 2013*.

Mušov cemetery (Roviny tract) was discovered by remote survey (aerial photography, satellite images). Of the total number of approximately 250 recorded grave pits, also confirmed by geophysical survey, 79 graves have been archaeologically investigated thus far, all with a confirmed dating to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. The test pits were deliberately sunk in different parts of this burial area in order to possibly capture the chronological development of the necropolis. See the chapter above for a more detailed analysis with regard to the studied issue.

**Nový Šaldorf, Znojmo dist. (Fig. 15: 40)**

Number of graves: 75.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: I. L. Červinka (1923, 1924).

Essential references: *Tejral 1982*, 206–210.

The necropolis in Nový Šaldorf was investigated in 1923–1924 with the support of the State Archaeological Institute under the supervision of I. L. Červinka. As the cemetery with 74 graves was opened and documented in the manner typical for the period, more detailed records regarding the circumstances of the find are lacking, including information on the nature of the fill, traces of secondary disturbance, etc. However, the head of the excavation stated that the vast majority of the skeletal remains were dislocated and the grave goods were generally very 'poor' (*Červinka 1936*, 135; *Tejral 1982*, 206).

**Pohořelice-Nová Ves, Brno-venkov dist. (Fig. 15: 41)**

Number of graves: c. 300 graves identified in a targeted non-destructive survey, 31 of which were subsequently investigated.

Archaeological excavation: Z. Loskotová, Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno (2021, 2022).

Essential references: *Loskotová 2022*.

Thanks to satellite images and aerial survey, an inhumation row cemetery of an unknown dating was identified in the cadastre of Pohřelice-Nová Ves. A geophysical survey was therefore performed over an area of 2.4 ha under Czech Science Project reg. no. 21\_31765M: The Lombard Population in Moravia. Interdisciplinary Research into Migration Period Necropolises. The resulting magnetogram confirmed the presence of roughly three hundred anomalies corresponding to grave pits with a west-east orientation; the measured data also correlated with the situation indicated by the vegetation marks (Loskotová 2022, 2023). A selected grave was excavated in the next phase, with the furnishings verifying the assumed identification of the necropolis as belonging to the Migration Period, specifically to the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Afterwards, regular archaeological excavations were launched, in the course of which a total of 31 grave pits were examined in 2021–2022, all of which correspond to the mentioned time horizon. From the point of view of the monitored phenomenon (reopening of grave pits), the key finding is that absolutely all graves examined thus far had been secondarily disturbed. The originally apparently regular rectangular and relatively narrow grave pits were significantly expanded by the interventions, especially in their western parts. In contrast, their eastern part, i.e. the area of the lower limbs of the buried individual, remained intact in several cases and the skeleton from the knees down was thus preserved in an anatomical position. It is also documented that part of the skeleton was pulled into the space above the coffin, with the situation of grave 22 being a good example. The rectangular plan of the coffin was visible at a depth of 180 cm (Fig. 19). Above it was an accumulation of human bones, including a skull belonging to an adult male according to a preliminary anthropological evaluation; these bones must have been pulled onto the lid of the coffin before it decayed. Silver buckles with an oval frame and three rivets and a gold coin of Valentinian III (419–455) then remained overlooked at the very bottom of the grave.

**Pasohlávky, Břeclav dist. (Fig. 15: 44)**

Number of graves: 28.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: rescue archaeological excavation conducted by the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno (2017/2018).

Essential references: unpublished.

The necropolis in Pasohlávky is one of the smallest 5<sup>th</sup> c. Moravian cemeteries; in total, 28 inhumation graves with a W – E orientation were examined during the rescue archaeological excavation, with all the grave pits having been heavily disrupted; only minor metal artefacts from a single grave allowed a chronological classification. The site is just now being evaluated and published in detail.

**Rajhradice (Rebešovice), Brno-venkov dist. (Fig. 15: 49)**

Number of graves: 11.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: J. Král and J. Nekvasil, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1952–1953).

Essential references: *Droberjar 2002*, 280; *Staňa 2006*; *Tejral 1976*, 109.

A small burial ground from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. (11 graves) investigated in the early 1950s in connection with the discovery of an extensive necropolis from the Great Moravian period (9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c.) was also found in Rajhradice (location 2, previously mentioned under the name Rebešovice, Brno-venkov dist.; briefly in *Droberjar 2002*, 280; *Staňa 2006*; *Tejral 1976*, 109; as yet unprocessed in summary form). The excavation of the area affected by very deep ploughing was difficult and conducted under considerable time constraints. From the find report (note: stored in the archive of the Archaeological Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno under ref. no. 1664), even though a ‘looting’ shaft is recorded in only a single case, it is quite clear that essentially almost all the graves were reopened (jumbled bones at the bottom of the grave pit, their presence in the grave pit fill); four burials were identified as male, two as female, one belonged to a child, and the gender of the others could not be reliably determined; one of the graves was devoid of any skeletal remains. Two male graves that can be designated as warrior graves are noteworthy (grave 178 – spear, sword, shield boss with handle; grave 199 – eight leaf-shaped arrowheads).

**Smolín, Brno-venkov dist. (Fig. 15: 52)**

Number of graves: 33?

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Boris Novotný, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1953).

Essential references: *Novotný 1957*; *Svoboda 1957*; *Tejral 1973*; *1982*, 213–215.

A total of 33 graves from the Migration Period (5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD) were discovered at the cemetery in Smolín. The graves had different orientations (predominantly NW-SE and NE-SW) and different depths (from 42 to 210 cm). Two individuals were buried in grave pit IX. Several circular structures with a diameter of 250–435 cm surrounded by a perimeter ditch were found in the burial ground. Inhumation graves were found inside three of them (graves I, II and X), in four cases there were rings without burials, and in five it was possible to recognise only the remains of disturbed grave pits without anthropological material or finds. Burials took place in the necropolis in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and then in

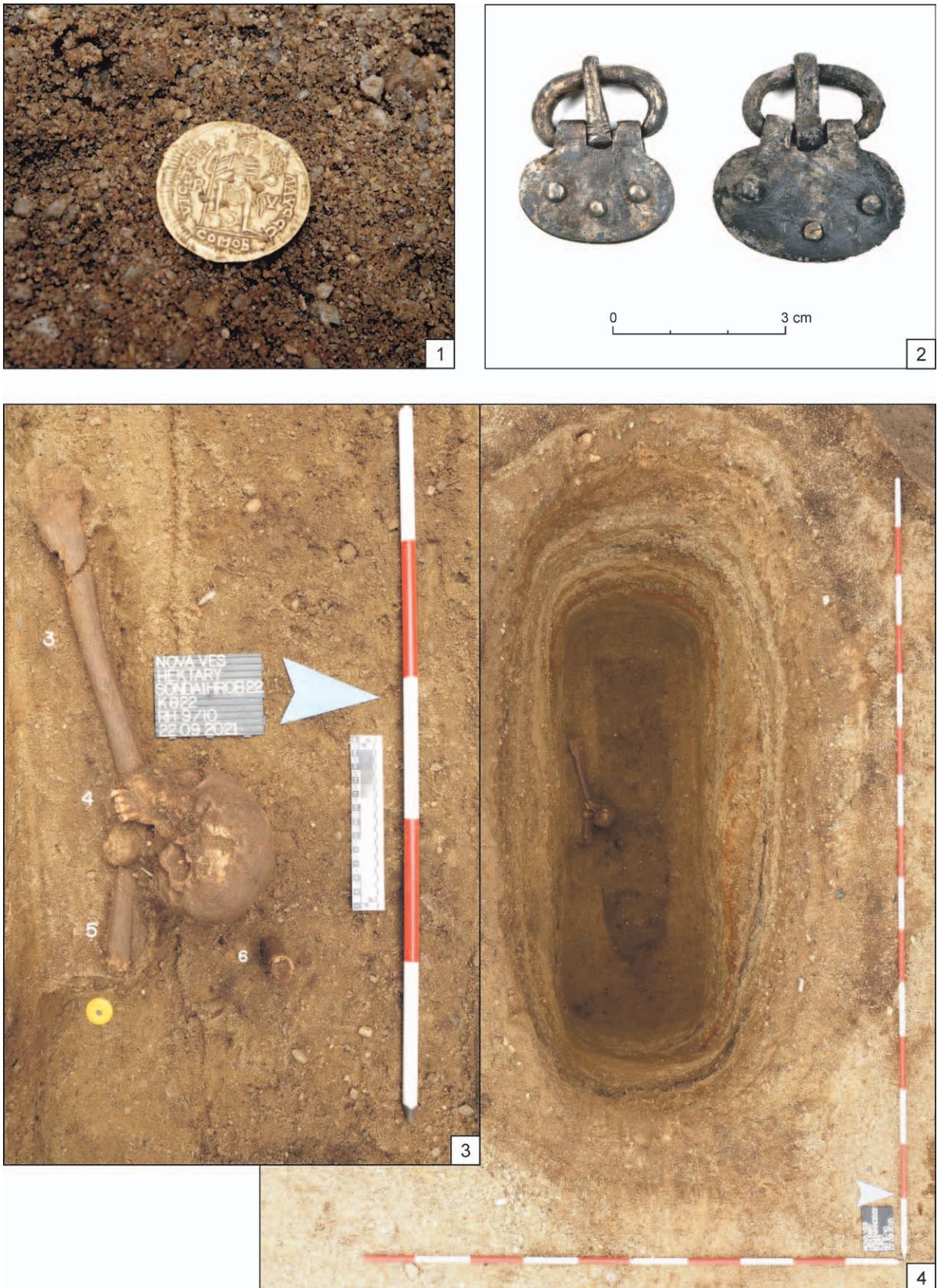


Fig. 19. Pohořelice-Nová Ves. Grave 22. 1 – gold Valentiniana III coin; 2 – silver buckle with oval frame and three rivets; 3 – accumulation of anthropological material; 4 – situation in documentation level 9/10. Photo Z. Loskotová.

the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Graves VIII, XXV, XXXI, and XXVII clearly belong to the older period, especially famous female grave XXXII, which was probably the only one in the entire cemetery that was not reopened; it contained a very rich inventory (21 cm long silver sheet fibulae, gold filigree decorated earrings, another large silver fibula, a silver buckle, a bracelet, a set of small buckles and pendants and a large number of beads of various types) representing elites of the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Graves IX and X (Tejral 1982, 214) date to the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. at the cemetery; dating is mainly based on finds of hand-formed ceramics, typical of the later part of the Migration Period in Moravia. Concerning a closer evaluation of secondary interventions, it should be remembered that the site was unfortunately heavily damaged by gravel extraction and the preserved documentation corresponds to the 1950s. However, published reports state that with the exception of the aforementioned grave XXXII, all others showed clear signs of disturbance manifested in the fill of grave pits as well as the dislocation or complete absence of skeletal remains. Only the skeletons in graves V, IX and X were to have been in their original anatomical position (Novotný 1957, 463).

#### **Sokolnice, Brno-venkov dist.** (Fig. 15: 53)

Number of graves: 11.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: rescue excavation by the State Archaeological Institute (1949).

Essential references: Říhovský 1951; Tejral 1982, 215–218.

The small cemetery in Sokolnice was partially uncovered at the beginning of the last c. (three graves); however, no documentation is available and only some of the finds, typologically corresponding to the 5<sup>th</sup> c., have been preserved. Later, in 1949, a rescue excavation was carried out here by the State Archaeological Institute, which captured another eight graves, three of which were, however, destroyed by gravel extraction. Thus, we only have basic information available for five graves, even if it is not clear what the nature of their fill was and whether their secondary disturbance was obvious. In all of them, a skeleton was found at the bottom in the supine position, and there is no mention of the possible dislocation of the skeletal material. However, the finds from these graves are quite 'poor' (iron buckle, spindle whorl, knife, antler comb, etc.), and only one of them produced a bronze bow fibula with a tied foot. It is worth recalling that isolated finds of gilded silver buckles dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. are known from the cadastre of Sokolnice (Tejral 1982, 217).

#### **Strachotín, Břeclav dist.** (Fig. 15: 54)

Number of graves: 21.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: M. Čížmář, K. Geislerová, I. Rakovský, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; rescue excavation (1978, 1979).

Essential references: Čížmář/Geislerová/Rakovský 1985; Čížmář et al. 1980 (nfind report: document M-TX-198801872, Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno); Tejral 2012, 130.

Considering the focus of this study, the cemetery in Strachotín represents one of the most significant sites; it is a smaller necropolis from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. with a total of 21 graves (anthropological material was preserved in 16 of them). The deepest grave pits (average depth 122 cm), concentrated on the slight hill, were originally probably richly furnished, later opened and 'robbed' (graves 70, 79, 80, 89, 91, 92). For example, female grave 80 contained a set of exclusive gold objects including, among other things, a gold pendant decorated with filigree and inlaid with almandine garnets, a gold ring with similar decoration, a knife with a handle with an ornamented gold socket and again with almandine garnets, amber and glass beads and silver rivets. Others from this group of graves were apparently also luxuriously furnished; grave 156 contained a pendant made from a gold coin of the Eastern Roman Empress Aelia Pulcheria (414–450). This concentration of deeper graves, originally richly furnished, was surrounded on the western and partly also on the eastern side by a group of relatively shallow burials (average depth 43 cm) which showed no signs of secondary disturbance (grave 1, 30, 41, 81, 216, 217, 218, 152, 154, 155). The skeletons in them lay stretched out on their backs, arms crossed over their chests, as was customary in the large provincial necropolises of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. in Pannonia. They did not contain any grave goods. Certain differences between the two groupings were also observed in the gender representation. The group of deep and richly decorated graves held mostly women, less often children and men. Conversely, only men and children were buried in shallow graves. A different burial rite, practiced within one funeral area, raises a number of questions related, for example, to the ethnicity of the buried, their religious beliefs, social status, etc. From the point of view of the phenomenon of reopening grave pits, it is important to note that the perpetrators of these interventions must have known that the persons buried in the shallow graves were not furnished with any artefacts, or it was not desirable for some other reason to disturb these graves.

#### **Sudoměřice, Hodonín dist.** (Fig. 15: 56)

Number of graves: 8.

Dating: Migration Period (without more precise dating).

Archaeological excavation: Marek Lečbych, Institute of Archaeological Heritage Care in Brno; rescue excavation (2016).

Essential references: Lečbych 2016.

A rescue archaeological excavation in the cadastre of the town of Sudoměřice uncovered eight Migration Period graves. The graves had a W – E orientation and one burial contained two individuals. The results of the excavation have been

published thus far only in preliminary and very limited form without a more precise chronology of the burials in the studied period. However, all the grave pits were opened secondarily, the skeletal material was heavily dislocated (it was also found in the fill of 'looting' shafts), finds were rather sporadic (*Lečbych 2016, 252*).

### Šakvice, Břeclav dist. (Fig. 15: 58)

Number of graves: 56

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: Boris Novotný, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1974).

Essential references: *Novotný 1975*.

A total of 56 nearly entirely robbed graves (*Novotný 1975*) were investigated at the cemetery in Šakvice (first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c.). Grave 17 (Fig. 20; 21) stands out with its size and construction; secondarily damaged horse burials with remnants of skeletons and horse harnesses were found in its vicinity.

#### Grave 17

The grave pit measuring 560 × 390 × 760 cm tapered conically towards the bottom and was filled with limestone blocks with a total weight of 1.5 tonnes. The upper part of a coffin and remnants of a male skeleton (only the skull and upper part of the skeleton were preserved) were observed on the bottom of the grave pit. The only finds were part of a wooden pail with a bronze foot and a silver (partially gilded) fitting of a sword belt decorated with 'braided' ornament.

There is no doubt that grave 17 was a male burial belonging to the elite of period society. However, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the entire situation is the difficulty of the reopening of this extremely deep grave. Digging a seven-metre pit to the bottom undoubtedly required considerable effort and time and was certainly carried out by multiple people; it is difficult to imagine that the whole operation could have been carried out secretly and at night. As a result of the reopening, the stone structure of the grave collapsed and huge limestone blocks fell to its bottom. The burial pit apparently remained open for some time after this secondary intervention before filling again through natural processes. We have indicated that this elite burial was surrounded on the northeast side by four horse graves and one such grave on the west side. All of these horse burials were quite demanding in terms of construction; postholes were documented in the corners of these burial chambers, the depth of which varied between two and four metres, and the use of limestone stones is also evident.

#### Grave 3

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 300 × 240 × 300 cm. Limestone stones and dispersed horse bones were found in the fill from the surface down to the bottom. A structure in the form of four posts in the corners and a fifth post in the middle of the front of the grave was documented. A horse skull was found at a depth of 270 cm, and an iron buckle, an iron bit and a glass bead also came from the fill of the feature.

#### Grave 4

Rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 210 × 120 × 170 cm. In addition to a horse skeleton, the remains of a dog and deer skeleton were also found on the bottom.

#### Grave 28

Oval grave pit with maximum dimensions of 220 × 200 cm (depth not stated). The skeletal remains of two horses were found in the grave. A bit and part of a chain from a harness lay in their original position in one of the horse skulls.

#### Grave 39

The grave was heavily damaged. Horse bones were found throughout its entire fill. Although no human bones were found, based on the recovered artefacts – ceramic vessels, iron buckles and gilded silver fittings from calf binding – it can be safely assumed that it could have been the grave of a horse and a rider.

### Šaratice, Vyškov dist. (Fig. 15: 59)

Number of graves: 26 graves from the 5<sup>th</sup> c., 11 graves from the 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c., 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: I. L. Červinka (1928); Č. Staňa, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno; rescue excavation (1954, 1959).

Essential references: *Staňa 1956; Tejral 1976, 109; 1982, 218; 2012, 134–135, fig. 19*.

Two skeleton burials were discovered in Šaratice – the first from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (26 graves), the second from the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. (11 graves); the distance between them was c. 40–50 m (*Staňa 1956*). All the graves in the older necropolis, oriented in the west-east direction, were reopened, with the secondary intervention already being observed on the surface of the grave pit, where it was manifested in a round or oval plan of a different colour located above the upper part of the body placed in a coffin; only 11 burials had lower limbs in their original position. It is worth noting that six grave pits from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. disturbed in this way were used for other burials in the following time period. They are the situations described below, with the number of the specific burial listed first in the description, followed by the number of the older disturbed grave in parentheses.

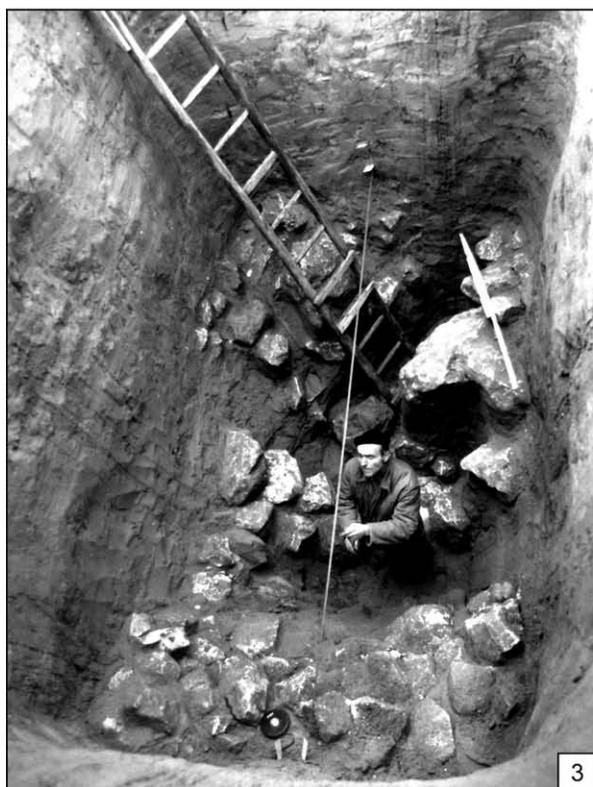
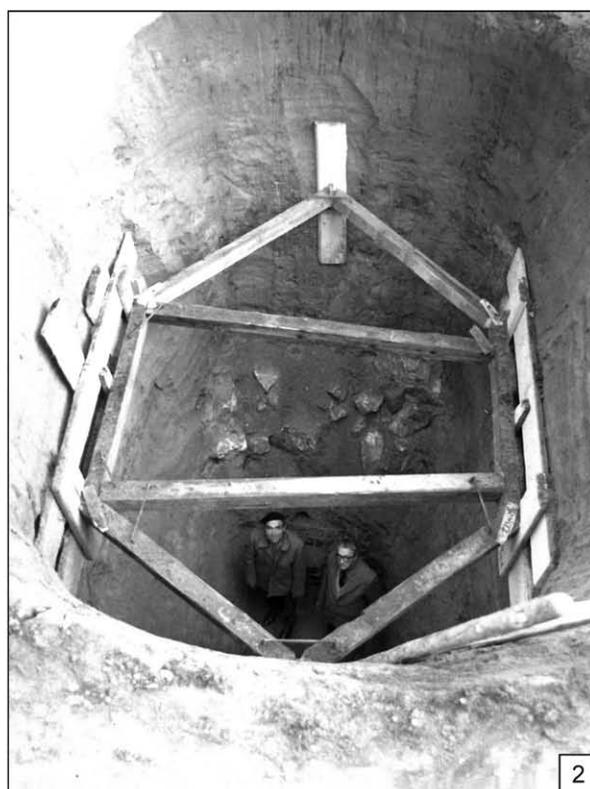


Fig. 20. Šakvice. Grave 17. 1–3 – grave pit filled with limestone stones; 4 – situation at bottom of grave.

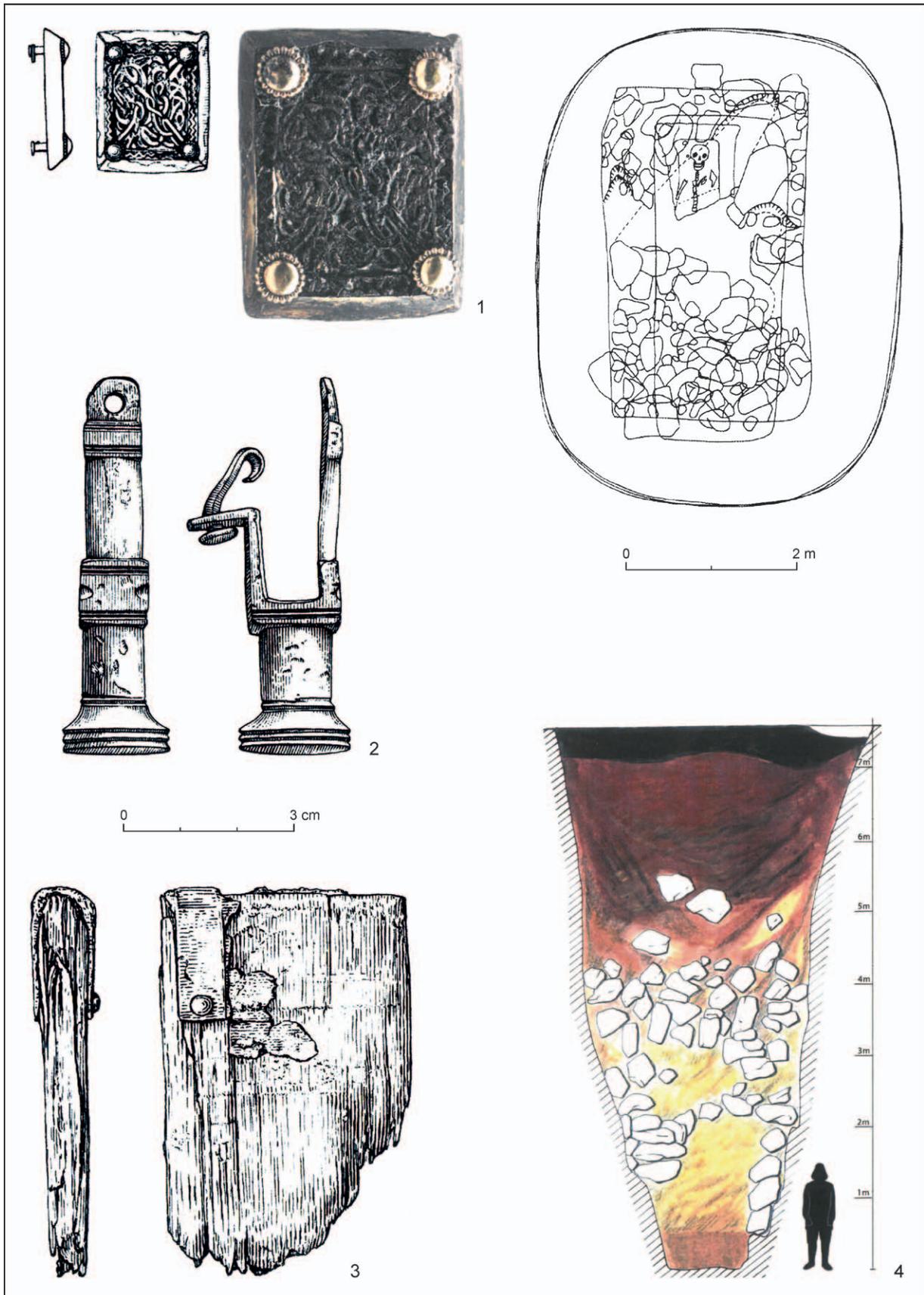


Fig. 21. Šakvice. Grave 17. 1–3 – finds; 4 – grave pit profile; 5 – plan view of grave pit (modified after *Tejral 2009*, fig. 5; 7–9).

*Grave 3 (27)*

The situation was disturbed to a large extent by earth moving in the course of construction in the selected area. Just below the surface of the grave pit (dimensions not provided) lay the skeleton of an adult individual in a non-ritual prone position with the lower limbs bent upwards at the knees. An iron buckle was recorded by the right femur. After the later burial was conserved, it was only belatedly determined that there was another burial below at a depth of c. 100 cm from the edge of the feature. It was characterised by an accumulation of skeletal material, with the skull completely missing; a smaller vessel made on a wheel and an iron buckle were preserved from the finds.

*Grave 7a (7)*

Grave pit 7a had an irregular oval plan with max. dimensions of 250 × 100 cm (precise depth not stated, probably 80 cm). The fill on the surface was black soil mixed with coarse gravel. Traces of secondary intervention were identified at a distance of 140–210 cm from the western wall of the grave pit. At a depth of 80 cm, the skeleton lay in an atypical crouched position on its side with the skull resting on the left temple, with the face towards the north. About 10 cm lower, a second skull was found facing downwards against the western wall of the pit; 15 small coloured beads were retrieved from the space beneath this skull, which probably belonged to an older grave (dimensions 220 × 55 × 110 cm) with the remains of a coffin and heavily dislocated skeletal material lacking any accompanying finds.

*Grave 11a (11)*

Grave pit 11a of a regular oval plan with max. dimensions of 245 × 120 × 70 cm. The fill on the surface was black soil mixed with gravel, which became prominent in lower parts. Fragments of a child's skull were found in the upper deposits. A child's skeleton lay in an anatomical position without any finds at a depth of 70 cm, it is not certain whether the fragments of the calvaria mentioned above belong to it. The rectangular outline of an earlier grave pit with dimensions of 225 × 70 × 95 cm was observed at the level of 85 cm. The skeleton of an adult deposited in this pit lay closer to the east side; empty space of c. 60 cm remained behind the head. Some ribs, the upper limbs and pelvis were dislocated secondarily; fragments of a small iron knife, a bone comb and a spindle whorl were found nearby.

*Grave 21a (21)*

Grave pit 21a of a regular ovoid plan with max. dimensions of 260 × 150 × 60 cm showed signs right at the surface of a secondary disturbance (expansion of the western part, the gravel-soil character of the fill). The undisturbed and well-preserved skeleton of an adult individual in an anatomical position was deposited at a depth of 60 cm. The finds also seem to have remained in their original position – a bronze bracelet on the left forearm, an iron buckle in the pelvic area, a bronze buckle between the tibia and fibula of the right leg, an iron knife and a bone comb at the left femur. After the conservation and excavation of the skeleton and accompanying artefacts, it was determined that there was another grave below. Its rectangular plan (210 × 60 cm) was observed at a depth of 80 cm, while at the 110 cm level, traces of a narrow coffin (max. width 40 cm) were recorded in the form of charred wood 3 cm thick. Despite obvious signs of manipulation, the skeletal material of the adult was relatively well preserved (bones in the upper part of the body – skull, upper limbs, ribs – were moved in particular). Without finds.

*Grave 25a (25)*

Grave pit of a very irregular plan, max. dimensions 245 × 115 × 115 × 60 cm. The backfill consisting of brownish-black soil with pebbles appeared to be homogenous. The skeleton of an adult individual without any signs of disturbance and without finds was uncovered at a depth of 60 cm. Beneath the skeletal material, the sandy fill was mixed with soil, with sand prevailing at a lower depth. A regular rectangle with dimensions of 215 × 70 cm emerged in it at a depth of 85 cm. The remains of the coffin were found at the 110 cm level and the bottom of the grave was at the level of 130 cm. Human bones were heavily dislocated; at the western edge lay the lower jaw and fragments of other bones, in the eastern part of the grave pit only the long bones of the lower limbs remained in their original position. A spindle whorl was found in the fill, a bone comb was found above the bottom in the western part, and after removing the skeleton in the place originally behind the head, a small ceramic jug made on a potter's wheel was found.

*Grave 26a (26)*

Approximately rectangular grave pit with max. dimensions of 200 × 125 × 60 cm. The fill was black soil lightly mixed with gravel, with sand predominating in the lower part. The skeleton of an adult individual lay in an anatomical position at a depth of 60 cm. An iron buckle and a small knife were found near the pelvis. Sand mixed with soil continued beneath the removed skeletal material and finds. At a depth of 80 cm, the outline of an earlier grave pit appeared with a slightly different orientation (210 × 70 × 140 cm). The remains of a coffin (documented in its preserved height of 30 cm) were captured at a depth of 110 cm. The relocated skeletal material of an adult individual was found in the space of the coffin. Without finds.

As stated above, the situation in Šaratice is unique in that burials took place here in two different but relatively close time horizons. The graves at both cemeteries show clear signs of reopening. Based on field observations and the profile of grave 23, the head of the excavation, Č. Staňa, believed that the grave pits from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. may have been left partially unfilled for some time after they were disturbed. According to him, the composition of the deposits testifies to the gradual and natural filling of the 'looting' shafts with gravel and clay as a result of the weather conditions. In the later period (6<sup>th</sup> c.), several grave pits from the older burial ground were used for other funerary purposes, a conclusion based mainly on archaeological finds, e.g. from grave 21a (see above). However, a more detailed observation of the manner in which

the skeletal remains were deposited and the poor or completely absent grave inventory from these graves raises the possibility that individuals who differed in some way from the current community (?) were 'buried' here. This conjecture is based on the fact that two adults were lying in a non-ritual position (prone and on their sides), one could almost say that they were thrown into the grave, and that solitary occurrences of skulls were noted in the fill of some graves. On the other hand, however, it is somewhat surprising that some of these younger burials (e.g., grave 7a) also showed signs of secondary intervention, so that these graves were actually opened twice – once in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. and again a c. later.

#### **Velatice, Brno-venkov dist. (Fig. 15: 63)**

Number of graves: 34.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: amateur researchers (1936), J. Poulík, rescue excavation (1937).

Essential references: *Tejral 1982*, 219–222.

The cemetery in Velatice ranks among necropolises that were investigated even before the Second World War, so a significant part of the documentation is unfortunately no longer available. For example, from the c. 20 graves reportedly opened in 1936, information on only 13 of them has been preserved. In the vast majority of cases, there is talk of apparent evidence of their 'robbing', relocation or only partially preserved human skeletons. Some graves (1, 3, 11 and 12) had no accompanying finds. Grave 8 is interesting in that it was the only one oriented in the N-S direction (all the others followed the W – E direction); a skeleton was deposited in an anatomical position on its bottom, and the only accompanying grave good was to have been a vessel made on a potter's wheel and decorated with burnishing. The following year (1937), another 14 graves were examined by J. Poulík, but only eight of them were published (*Tejral 1982*, 219–222). The extent of their disturbance seems to correspond to the situation with previously explored graves, and almost all of them were opened a second time. This certainty is missing only in the case of grave 2 without finds, at the bottom of which rested a skeleton with an artificially deformed skull.

#### **Velké Pavlovice, Břeclav dist. (Fig. 15: 65)**

Number of graves: 22.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: J. Dezort, State Archaeological Institute in Brno, rescue excavation (1948); B. Svoboda, P. Ondráček and J. Tejral, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Brno, rescue excavation (1963).

Essential references: *Poulík 1950*, 47–48, fig. 87; 88; *Tejral 1963*; *Trňáčková 1972*; 231–246.

Smaller necropolises include the cemetery in Velké Pavlovice with 22 graves; 12 of them were 'investigated' in 1948 (*Trňáčková 1972*, 231–246), 10 in the regular way in 1963 (find report in *Tejral 1963*); very briefly in *Droberjar 2002* 360; *Poulík 1950*, 47, 48; *Tejral 1976*, 109; not processed comprehensively to date; note: Cf. find reports deposited in the archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno under numbers 676/90 and 1140/72; the second find report is an excerpt from the dissertation of Z. Trňáčková, *Inhumation Graves from the Migration Period in Moravia II*, pp. 231–246, Brno 1972) while in the first phase there was apparently uncontrolled and complete destruction of several other graves. We can observe traces of reopening in the vast majority of graves at this cemetery, even though the retrieval of the skeletal remains in 1948 was very problematic. Some of the deceased had a visible wooden lining (coffin?), one of the graves lacked a skeleton and finds, another (9/48) contained the bones of two individuals and animal bones; an anthropological determination is lacking. The presence of animal bones (exceptionally also eggshells) was noted relatively often both at the bottom of the grave pit and in its fill. Overall, it can be said that in terms of finds, the cemetery is relatively poor and unremarkable. Two graves can be classified as warrior graves (grave 1/48 – spear, axe, barbed arrowhead; grave 6/48 – shield boss with the remains of a handle).

#### **Vyškov, Vyškov dist. (Fig. 15: 67)**

Number of graves: 18.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Archaeological excavation: J. Ondráček, Institute of Archaeology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; rescue excavation, 17 graves (1958, 1960–1962); M. Šmíd, Institute of Archaeological Heritage Care, rescue excavation, one grave (1988).

Essential references: *Šmíd 1991*; *Tejral 1974*.

Graves from the Migration Period were disturbed in connection with work at the Vyškov brickyard just after the Second World War. Later rescue excavation made it possible to uncover 18 graves oriented in the W – E direction, whose furnishings correspond to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD (catalogue processing: *Tejral 1974*). Grave 1, situated on the southern edge of the necropolis, was likely the only one that remained intact.

##### *Grave 1*

Rectangular grave pit, dimensions not provided, depth 115 cm. No signs of intervention were observed in its intact loess fill, at the bottom of which was a female skeleton in an extended, supine position. Silver earrings were found beneath the skull, two gilded silver pincer fibulae above the left shoulder, a glass bead and an iron buckle on the inside of the right femur, an antler comb next to the left fibula, a ceramic spindle whorl at the right tibia, and an iron knife and two more glass beads and one amber bead at the left femur.

Clear signs of secondary opening were found in 17 of the 18 graves. In most cases, the disturbance of the original grave fill was observed and skeletal material and finds were heavily displaced or partially missing from the graves. The human skeletons were also manipulated, e.g. in grave 18 the skull lay on the right pelvic bone. Grave 17 was one of the few graves that was reopened but the skeleton remained almost intact in an anatomical position.

#### Grave 17

The dimensions of the grave pit are not given, only a mention that at the bottom, at a depth of 195 cm, the grave was 85 cm wide. The fill was dark and partially mixed with yellow loess. A female skeleton lay on the bottom, with the only signs of disturbance being apparent in the chest cavity. On the left pelvic bone was a gilded bow fibula with a semi-circular plate and buttons, on the left and right forearms were glass and amber beads that were scattered down to the femurs, between which lay a bell-shaped pendant; an iron knife and an antler comb were recorded by the lower limbs, and the deceased wore a silver ring on the middle finger of her right hand.

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## Opětné otvírání hrobů

### Postfunerální aktivity na moravských pohřebištích doby stěhování národů (5. a 6. století n. l.)

Zuzana Loskotová

Souhrn

Opětné otvírání hrobů doby stěhování národů, v současnosti intenzivně diskutované téma, nebylo, pokud jde o území Moravy, prozatím komplexně analyzováno. Morava tvořila ve sledovaném období jednotnou oblast s přilehlým územím Slovenska a Rakouska, ležícím severně od středního Dunaje, které je sice v práci reflektováno, ale není zahrnuto v její katalogové části. Studie si klade za cíl na základě dostupných pramenů zohlednit všechny moravské nekropole s více než pěti prozkoumanými hroby z 5. a 6. století a přispět tak k řešení studované problematiky dalšími podněty, vycházejícími mimo jiné i z nových terénních výzkumů.

Fenomén opětného otvírání hrobových jam se na moravských pohřebištích doby stěhování národů projevuje již v souvislosti s prvními kostrovými hroby 1. poloviny 5. stol. V 2. polovině tohoto věku je tento jev již zcela zřetelný, a to především na velkých řadových nekropolích (např. nově zkoumaná lokalita Nová Ves u Pohořelic). Kompletně narušeny byly však i menší „lokální“ hřbitovy (např. Pasohlávky nebo Sudoměřice). Náleží k nim i Strachotín, kde lze, patrně na základě odlišného sociálního postavení, společenských poměrů či praktikovaného pohřebního ritu (?), pozorovat zvláštní diferenciaci pohřbů. Na tomto menším pohřebišti (21 hrobů) z 5. stol. byly zjištěny dva typy hrobů: první skupinu představují hluboké hroby převážně žen, ale i dětí a také mužů, s původně exkluzivní výbavou, které byly později „vykradeny“, druhou skupinu reprezentují hroby mělké, v nichž byli uloženi pouze muži a děti bez doprovodné výbavy, které nebyly těmito aktivitami dotčeny. Je evidentní, že osoby, které se podílely na znovuotevření hrobů, musely vědět, které z nich obsahují milodary a ve kterých se nachází toliko lidské kosterní pozůstatky.

Zajímavou interakci mezi populacemi 5. a 6. stol. je možné pozorovat na nekropoli v Šaraticích. Lokalita byla využívána místní komunitou v průběhu 2. poloviny 5. stol., kdy také zřejmě došlo k opětnému otevření těchto hrobů. Pohřební areál byl znovu aktivován v 1. polovině 6. stol., do částečně zasypaných „vykradených“ hrobových jam ze staršího období byly v podstatě pohozeny tělesné ostatky zemřelých, kteří byli z nějakého důvodu vyčleněni z pospolitosti, pohřbívané na blízkém regulárním hřbitově.

V 1. polovině 6. stol., na pohřebištích tzv. labskogermánského charakteru, trend „vykrádání“ hrobů pokračoval, na nekropolích čítajících sto a více hrobů představují hroby nedotčené druhotným zásahem naprostou výjimku. K sekundárnímu otvírání hrobových jam docházelo zřejmě nejčastěji v době po rozkladu těla zemřelého, ale ještě před destrukcí dřevěné rakve. Prakticky ve všech velkých pohřebních areálech, jakými jsou Kyjov, Lužice, Holubice a další,

byly zaznamenány případy manipulace s dosud kompaktními skelety, což muselo proběhnout v úseku několika málo let po uložení nebožtíka do země. Taková pozorování byla zaznamenána i v případě rozsáhlé nekropole Mušov-Roviny; jako modelový příklad exkavace a dokumentace intencionálně narušených hrobových jam je v rámci studie prezentován hrob 78, odkrytý v roce 2022. Probíhající výzkum v Mušově poskytl obecně k tématu „vykrádání“ celou řadu zajímavých poznatků; mimo jiné bylo dokumentováno současné otevření dvou sousedních hrobových jam, což by mohlo napovídát rozsáhlejšímu charakteru těchto aktivit.

Třebaže naprosto přesné procentuální vyjádření této činnosti není možné stanovit, neboť v případě zejména v minulosti zkoumaných hrobů chybí detailní popis nálezové situace, lze na základě analyzovaných dat vyslovit kvalifikovaný předpoklad, že asi 98 % všech hrobových jam bylo opětovně otevřeno. Kromě konstatování, že míra programového „vylupování“ pohřebišť doby stěhování národů na Moravě byla velmi vysoká a docházelo k ní v době, kdy nekropole ještě sloužily svému účelu nebo krátce poté, byly pozorovány i jisté skutečnosti, které mohou zasáhnout do diskuse o sledované problematice těchto postfunerálních aktivit. Jedním, vzhledem k tématu relevantním argumentem, je fakt, že byly znovuotevřeny i samostatně situované hroby koní na lokalitách z 6. století jakými jsou Šaratice, Lužice nebo Čejkovice. Některé z nich vykazují jasné stopy po manipulaci se zbytky koster a je velmi pravděpodobné, že v těchto případech nešlo o nějaké zvláštní rituály, ale motivací bylo vyzvednutí součástí koňských postrojů, vyhotovených často z cenných materiálů a snadný zisk majetku.

Znovuotevírání raně středověkých hrobů bylo potvrzeno v rozsáhlé geografické oblasti zahrnující značnou část evropského kontinentu od jihovýchodní Anglie přes Francii, Belgie, Nizozemí, Švýcarsko, Německo, Rakousko, Českou republiku, Slovensko, Maďarsko až po Rumunsko. Rozdíly lze spatřovat v časovém horizontu, kdy docházelo k narušování řadových kostrových pohřebišť; v západní Evropě obecně jsou starší merovejské nekropole z 5. stol. narušeny mnohem méně, procenta sekundárně otevřených hrobů však výrazně stoupají v 1. polovině 6. stol. a vrcholí ve století sedmém. Ne všude byl rozsah narušení jednotlivých pohřebních areálů stejný. Zatímco v západní Evropě nepřekračuje míra narušení hrobů na pohřebišťích 50 %, jiná je situace ve střední a částečně východní Evropě, kde je procentuální zastoupení „vykradených“ hrobů výrazně vyšší než na Západě (Anglii, severní Francii, Nizozemí). Existují přitom regiony, kde jsou na pohřebišťích sekundárně otevřeny prakticky všechny hroby (Morava a část Rakouska ležící severně od Dunaje). Na Moravě se tento jev týká i hřbitovů z 5. stol., čímž se opět odlišuje od oblastí západní části kontinentu.

Charakter i časový horizont intervencí napovídá, že se na nich, alespoň z části, zřejmě podílely místní komunity v rámci jistých postfunerálních aktivit. Pochopit jejich důvody je komplikované, je nezbytné vzít v úvahu i možnou kombinaci více motivů: zisk hmotného majetku v podobě předmětů z drahých kovů, vyzvednutí artefaktů symbolického významu, které mohly být předány novým nositelům tradice (meče, spony) anebo manipulace s kosterními pozůstatky za účelem snížení nadpřirozené moci mrtvých a tím upevnění postavení pozůstalých. V úvahu přichází i výklad, že mohlo jít o jistý posun v chápání procesu transformace – po rozkladu tělesné schránky a odchodu duše zemřelého na „onen svět“ se zdálo být zcela legitimní z hrobu opětovně vyzvednout věci, které ho provázely v době pohřebních obřadů a po čas jeho poslední cesty. Jedním z argumentů pak mohou být i ryze praktické důvody, neboť je zapotřebí zvážit eventualitu, že poté, co padlo rozhodnutí opustit území Moravy, došlo k záměrnému a zcela legálnímu otevření hrobových jam a vyzvednutí cenných artefaktů odcházející pospolitostí, které jí měly usnadnit přesun do nových sídel a následný proces akulturace.

Archeologický výzkum sekundárně otevřených hrobů na pohřebišťích doby stěhování národů je významný i z hlediska metodologického. Dnes už je vcelku jasné, že na hroby ze sledovaného časového úseku nelze nahlížet jako na uzavřené nálezové celky, ale naopak jako na „živé“ objekty, dokládající široké spektrum různě motivovaných aktivit tehdejší populace, vedoucích mimo jiné k jejich porušování, ničení a vykrádání.

- Obr. 1. Mušov-Roviny. Plán pohřebišť. Legenda: a – prozkoumané hroby; b – hroby identifikované na základě nede-  
struktivní archeologické prospekce.
- Obr. 2. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 13. Pozlacené stříbrné esovité spony vykládané almandiny. Foto J. Foltýn.
- Obr. 3. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 78. Foto Z. Loskotová.
- Obr. 4. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 78. Terénní situace – půdorys hrobu s kameny, příčný a podélný profil. Legenda: a – kámen;  
b – keramika; c – stříbro; d – železo; e – slitiny mědi; f – zvířecí kost; g – lidská kost.
- Obr. 5. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 78. Dokumentační úroveň 0/1 až 4/5.
- Obr. 6. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 78. Dokumentační úroveň 5/6 až 7/8. Legenda: a – kámen; b – keramika; c – stříbro; d – železo;  
e – slitiny mědi; f – zvířecí kost; g – lidská kost.
- Obr. 7. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 78. Detailní záběr. Foto Z. Loskotová.
- Obr. 8. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 78. Terénní situace – půdorys hrobu, příčný a podélný profil. Legenda: a – kámen; b – ke-  
ramika; c – stříbro; d – železo; e – slitiny mědi; f – zvířecí kost; g – lidská kost.
- Obr. 9. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 51. 1 – dokumentační úroveň v hloubce 50 cm; 2 – situace na dně hrobové jámy; 3 – detailní  
záběr. Foto Z. Loskotová.
- Obr. 10. Mušov-Roviny. Hrob 55. 1 – koncentrace vápencových kamenů ve „vykrádací“ šachtě; 2 – situace na dně hrobo-  
vé jámy; 3 – keramická nádoba; 4 – spona s fragmentem dochovaného textilu. Foto Z. Loskotová.
- Obr. 11. Nová Ves u Pohořelic. Letecký snímek pohřebišť. Foto I. Čižmář, 2009. Dokument M-DL-202201238. Ústav ar-  
cheologické památkové péče Brno, v. v. i. Dostupné na: <https://digiarchiv.aiscr.cz/id/M-DL-202201238>
- Obr. 12. Strachotín. Pohřebišť z 5. stol. 1 – zlaté artefakty z hrobu 79 a 80; 2 – plán nekropole (upraveno podle *Tejral 2012*,  
obr. 12). Legenda: a – „vykradené“ hroby s původně bohatou výbavou; b – nenarušené hroby vyznačující se mělkými  
hrobovými jámami a absencí milodarů.

- Obr. 13. Šaratice. Pohřebiště z 5. a 6. stol. Hroby z 6. stol. jsou vyznačeny žlutě (upraveno podle *Tejral 2012*, obr. 19).
- Obr. 14. Šaratice. Pohřebiště z 5. a 6. stol. Hroby z 6. stol. jsou vyznačeny zeleně. Hroby 7, 11, 21, 25 a 26 z 5. stol. obsahovaly druhotné pohřby z 6. stol. (patří sem taky hrob 3/27, který není na obrázku. Upraveno podle *Tejral 2012*, obr. 22; 23).
- Obr. 15. Mapa pohřebišť doby stěhování národů na Moravě (nekropole čítající více než 5 hrobových jam). Legenda: a – 5. stol. n. l.; b – 6. stol. n. l.; c – 5., 6. stol. n. l.; d – méně než 5 hrobů; e – 5 a více hrobů.
- Obr. 16. Holubice. Plán pohřebiště a hrob 23 (upraveno podle *Čížmář 2011*, obr. 2; 7).
- Obr. 17. Lužice. Hrob 46. Dvě dokumentační úrovně a řez hrobovou jámou (upraveno podle *Klanica/Klanicová 2011*, obr. 19; 20).
- Obr. 18. Lužice. Nálezy z hrobu 46 (upraveno podle *Klanica/Klanicová 2011*, obr. 18). Měřítko: a – 1–14, 16–40; b – 15.
- Obr. 19. Nová Ves u Pohořelic. Hrob 22. 1 – zlatá mince Valentiniana III.; 2 – stříbrné přezky s oválným rámečkem a třemi nýty; 3 – kumulace antropologického materiálu; 4 – situace v dokumentační úrovni 9/10. Foto Z. Loskotová.
- Obr. 20. Šakvice. Hrob 17. 1–3 – hrobová jáma zavalená vápencovými kameny; 4 – situace na dně hrobu.
- Obr. 21. Šakvice. Hrob 17. 1–3 – nálezy; 4 – profil hrobové jámy; 5 – hrobová jáma v půdorysu (upraveno podle *Tejral 2009*, obr. 5; 7–9).

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